

Caesar's Castor:
The Cult of the Dioscuri in
Rome from the Mid-Republic
to the Early Principate.

Volume One: Thesis.

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of
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Abstract

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This thesis examines the development of the cult of the Dioscuri in Rome from the mid-Republic to the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. This was a period of great political and social upheaval and of religious change. Through a detailed examination of the cult of the Dioscuri, I trace how the cult developed and adapted in conjunction with religious, political and cultural changes within Roman society. I furthermore examine how the cult changed and explore the reasons why those changes occurred at that time and in that place.

Chapter One surveys the two temples of Castor and Pollux in Rome, focusing in particular on their temple in the Roman Forum. Using archaeological and literary evidence, I argue that this temple was a central stage for many of the pivotal events and speeches of the late Republic. Chapter Two examines the epiphanies of the Dioscuri, most commonly associated with battles and their aftermath, although later appearing to commemorate the deaths of prominent individuals such as Julius Caesar and Drusus the Elder. I examine how the epiphanic tradition of the Dioscuri changed over time and ask why it was these gods in particular who rode to aid Rome. Chapter Three turns to exploring the relationships Castor and Pollux were said to possess with groups in Roman society, in particular horsemen, boxers and sailors. I examine how these relationships were formed and publicised and how they benefitted both the mortals and the gods. Chapter Four explores how a different aspect of the Dioscuri became prominent in the imperial period: their fraternal harmony. Castor and Pollux were linked to and compared with pairs of potential imperial successors. I explore the purposes of this comparison and how apt it was for the different pairings.

Throughout this thesis, I examine some of the most prominent aspects of the cult of the Dioscuri in Rome within the wider context of history, culture and politics, arguing that the cult was a fully integrated part of Roman society as a whole.

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Table of Contents.

Volume One:

Abbreviations	4
Introduction	5
Mythology	8
Iconography.....	14
Methodology	15
Roman Religion Literature Review	19
Dioscuri Literature Review	21
Form of the Thesis	30
Chapter One: The Temples of Castor and Pollux.....	34
The Temple of Castor and Pollux in the <i>Forum Romanum</i>	35
Depictions of the Temple	40
Phases of the Temple	44
Functions of the Temple	56
The Platform at the Temple	62
Political use of the Temple	75
The Temple of Castor and Pollux in <i>Circo Flaminio</i>	83
Comparison of the temples.....	93
Conclusion	95
Chapter Two: Epiphanies of the Dioscuri	98
Helpers in Battle.....	111
Messengers of Victory	126
Companions at Death	140
Conclusion	144
Chapter Three: The Responsibilities of Castor and Pollux	155
Castor (and Pollux) as Protectors of Horsemen	164
Pollux as Protector of Boxers.....	194
Castor and Pollux as Saviours of Sailors	197
Conclusion	209
Chapter Four: The Dioscuri and Imperial Brothers.....	211
Gaius and Lucius Caesar	223
Tiberius and Drusus the Elder.....	236
Germanicus and Drusus the Younger	250
Nero and Drusus Caesar.....	259
Germanicus and Tiberius Gemellus	262
Gaius Caligula and Tiberius Gemellus	264

Nero and Britannicus.....	272
Conclusion	277
Conclusion	283

Volume Two:

Appendix One: Catalogue of Dioscuric Epiphanies.....	294
Appendix Two: The Dioscuri and the Penates	296
Appendix Three: Images.	307
Bibliography	348

Abbreviations

For ancient authors and modern catalogues, I have used the standard abbreviations provided by the Oxford Classical Dictionary, third edition. All translations are taken from the Loeb Classical Library volumes, published by Harvard University Press, unless otherwise noted.

I use the following abbreviations for often cited works:

<i>BMC</i>	Mattingly, H., (1923), <i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, Volume 1: Augustus to Vitellius</i> , British Museum Press.
<i>CIL</i>	(1863-) <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin.
<i>FGrHist</i>	Jacoby, F., (1954) <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , Brill.
<i>FRHist</i>	Cornell, T.J., Bispham, E., Rich, J., Smith, C.S., (eds.), (2013) <i>Fragments of the Roman Historians</i> , Oxford University Press.
<i>LIMC</i>	Ackermann, H.C. and Gisler, J.-R. (eds.) (1981-) <i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , Zurich.
<i>LSJ</i>	Lidell, H.G. and Scott, R., (eds.), (1996) <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9 th ed., rev. S. Robert, Clarendon Press.
<i>LTUR</i>	Steinby, E.M., (ed.) (1993-2000) <i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae</i> , Quasar.
<i>OCD</i>	Hornblower, S., and Spawforth, A., (eds.), (1996) <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 3 rd ed., Oxford University Press.
<i>OLD</i>	(1968) <i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> , ed. P.G.W. Glare, Clarendon Press.
<i>RIC</i>	Sutherland, C.H.V. and Carson, R.A.G (eds.) (1984), <i>Roman Imperial Coinage, Volume One: from 31 BC to AD 69</i> , rev. ed., Spink and son.
<i>RPC</i>	Burnett, A., Michel, A., Ripollés Alegre, P.P., Spoerri, M., (1992-) <i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> , British Museum Press.

Introduction

Castor and Pollux were two of the most famous brothers of classical mythology; they sailed with Jason on the Argo and fought beside Meleager in the hunt for the Calydonian boar. In Rome, however, they were perhaps best known as gods who had manifested themselves to ensure a crucial victory, receiving public cult in thanks. Their cult continued to play a significant role in Roman history, politics and culture into the Imperial period. As society's needs developed, the cult continued to remain relevant by adapting and promoting different aspects of the Dioscuri.

Throughout the chapters of this thesis, the significance of these changes is analysed to develop our understanding of the cult of the Dioscuri, as well as the place of individual cults within Roman religion. By placing the changes within the cult of the Dioscuri in the context of political and societal developments at Rome, I not only expand upon our understanding of how religion, politics and society were intertwined, but also how each might affect the others. The cult of Castor and Pollux is well suited to such an examination, for the cult possessed many different aspects which linked it to politics, society and historical events, as explored throughout this thesis. This exploration will not only enhance our knowledge of the cult of the Dioscuri, but also provide a greater understanding of how cults might interact with Roman society and culture more widely.

I use the term 'cult' throughout this thesis as a convenient shorthand for the many different aspects that were connected to, or a part of, the worship of Castor and Pollux in Rome.¹ For example, these include, but are not restricted to, sacred locations, such as temples or altars; their mythology and responsibilities; rituals, festivals and sacrifices carried out in their name; and vows, prayers and offerings made to them.

¹ For a brief discussion of Roman religious terminology, including *cultus deorum*: Ando (2008) p2-6.

The study of Roman religion has gone through many phases. Early studies, such as those carried out by Wissowa, examined Roman religion as a whole, as a pantheon of gods and their cults.² Other studies, concerned with the worship of a single god, revealed details of individual cults.³ Later studies eschewed the exploration of individual gods, preferring instead to regard Roman religion as a cohesive whole made up of a multiplicity of cults; central here are the works of Beard, North and Price, Ando, Rüpke and Scheid.⁴ When studies did narrow their focus, it was often through thematic choices, such as examinations of rituals or officiants.⁵ However, there has recently been a renewed interest in scholarship to explore individual gods, their worship and institutions, producing studies of Artemis,⁶ Athena⁷ and Hercules,⁸ among others.

Single cult studies run the risk of prioritising or isolating the god and cult being studied from their wider context, misrepresenting the importance or uniqueness of the particular cult.⁹ However, as noted by Dorcey, the Romans did separate the gods who made up their pantheon, for gods and goddesses were individualised by different temples, responsibilities, epithets and priests.¹⁰ Although some gods might share a temple, such as Jupiter, Juno and Minerva on the Capitoline, these gods were still acknowledged as individuals and worshipped separately. Although Romans would be aware of the many different deities who made up their pantheon, this does not mean that they actively or equally worshipped all of these gods and goddesses. The value of single cult studies can be found in the fact that, although Roman religion was polytheistic, by examining a part of

² Wissowa (1912); Rose (1949); Latte (1960).

³ For example: Gagé (1955); Schilling (1982).

⁴ Scheid (1985); Beard, North and Price (1998); North (2000); Rüpke (2000), (2007a), (2007b); Ando (2003), (2008).

⁵ For example: Price (1984); Beard and North (1990).

⁶ Green (2007); Fischer-Hansen and Poulsen (2009).

⁷ Deacy and Villing (2001); Deacy (2008).

⁸ Rawlings and Boden (2005); Stafford (2012).

⁹ Dorcey (1992) p5; Graf (2009) p3-4.

¹⁰ Dorcey (1992) p5.

this wider system, we can better understand the whole. Cults do not exist in a vacuum; they interact with other cults and engage with other facets of life. A benefit of studying Roman religion as the total of its smaller parts is that it allows a more nuanced understanding of the single cult than could otherwise be achieved. This allows a closer examination of why the cult developed as it did, suggesting what factors caused the cult to change and the significance of these developments.

Studies such as those carried out by Beard, North and Price or Rüpke allow for the creation of a cohesive chronological narrative of how Roman religion developed.¹¹ However, such studies have limitations: by creating a continuous picture, drawing on all cults to illustrate development, they obscure how individual cults changed in importance, and how and why, even within a single cult, different aspects grew more or less significant. I am not diminishing the importance of such studies, but I would argue that they should be partnered with single cult studies. Likewise, single cult studies need other single cult studies and comprehensive studies, to put their findings into context and to assess how similar or different each cult is. Just as one can miss the wider context by only looking at the details of a single cult, without the details, we could not see the picture for what it is.

This thesis therefore explores the cult of Castor and Pollux not in isolation, but in the context of Roman politics, society and historical events, minimising the potential pitfalls of single cult studies. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to compare the cult of the Dioscuri in detail with other cults and assess resulting differences or similarities. However, I hope to have suggested a methodology that, following similar studies of other single cults, might allow such analyses to be carried out. I do not seek to just expand our

¹¹ Beard, North and Price (1998); Rüpke (2007b).

understanding of one cult, but to show how different facets of religion changed in importance. I argue that individual cults, as well as religion as a whole, had great social and cultural importance. For example, through the lens of the cult of the Dioscuri, I examine the relationship between Latin cities and early Rome; cult mobility; the significance of the *ordo equester*; how and why individuals and groups claimed the favour of gods; and the significance of speeches' locations. This thesis therefore is not restricted to a discussion only of the cult of the Dioscuri in its religious context, but explores it as a fully integrated part of Roman life.

Mythology

The story of Castor and Pollux has been represented and transmitted to us in many forms, from statues and reliefs to epic poems and tragic plays. Compiling the information allows the presentation of a detailed account of their mythology. Castor and Pollux were the sons of the Spartan queen Leda, and the brothers of Helen and Clytemnestra.¹² They did not share the same father, for Jupiter and her husband Tyndareus impregnated Leda on the same night and thus the brothers were known interchangeably as the Dioscuri and the Tyndaridai.¹³ As Jupiter had seduced her as a swan, Leda gave birth to two eggs, in one were her husband's children, Castor and Clytemnestra, and in the other were Jupiter's offspring, Pollux and Helen.¹⁴ Owing to their differing parentages, Castor was mortal whilst Pollux was immortal.¹⁵ Castor and Pollux married two sisters, Phoebe and Hilaira, known as the Leucippides,¹⁶ who bore them both sons.¹⁷ Together the brothers took part in

¹² Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.146-150; Dio. Chrys. *Or.* 11.44-46; Eur. *El.* 988-993, *Hel.* 1643-1645; Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.24, *Ep.* 17.42-43; Hyg. *Fab.* 14, 79; Ov. *Her.* 8.76-78, 13.61-62, *Met.* 8.301-302; Pind. *Ol.* 3.1-4, 3.31-40.

¹³ Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.6-7; Hyg. *Fab.* 155, 173, 224, 251, 273, 275; Pind. *Pyth.* 4.171-172, *Ol.* 3.31-40, *Nem.* 10.55.

¹⁴ Hyg. *Fab.* 77; Hor. *Sat.* 2.1.26-27, *Ars P.* 146-147; Lucian *Dial. D.* 25.286; Paus. 3.16.1.

¹⁵ Hom. *Cyp.* fr.7, although referring to Pollux as Ares' son, demonstrating that other variants existed.

¹⁶ Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.3, 3.11.2; Hyg. *Fab.* 80; Ov. *Her.* 16.327-329, *Ars. Am.* 1.679-680, *Fast.* 5.693-720; Paus. 1.18.1-2, 2.22.5-6, 3.12.8; Prop. *El.* 1.2.15-16.

many heroic endeavours: sailing on the Argo¹⁸ and hunting the Calydonian boar.¹⁹ They were renowned for their athletic skills, Castor being a skilled horseman²⁰ and Pollux famed for his boxing.²¹ During the voyage of the Argo, when the King of the Bebrycians, Amycus, challenged a member of the crew to a boxing match before he would allow them to draw water, Pollux defeated him.²² It was also during this voyage that they were said to have gained one of their most common attributes, stars,²³ and their responsibility for helping sailors.²⁴ When the Argonauts fled Colchis, Medea murdered her brother Apsyrtus to end her father's pursuit, and a storm was sent to punish her fratricide. It was only owing to Castor and Pollux's prayers that the ship emerged safely from the storm.²⁵ According to Euripides and Catullus, the Argo was the first ship, and thus Castor and Pollux were among the first sailors and the saviours of sailors from the beginning of sailing.²⁶

During one of their later adventures, Castor, the mortal brother, was killed in a fight with another pair of brothers; Idas and Lynceus.²⁷ These brothers also had mixed parentage, Neptune having fathered Idas, while Lynceus was the son of Aphareus.²⁸ The fight between the two sets of brothers occurred because Idas and Lynceus had previously been betrothed to Phoebe and Hilaira,²⁹ or because a joint raid for cattle had ended in

¹⁷ Paus. 2.22.5-6, 3.18.13-14.

¹⁸ Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.16; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.146-150; Callim. *Aet.* 1.18.1-4.

¹⁹ Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8.2.

²⁰ Hes. *Cat.* 68.21-33; Hom. *Hymn* 33.3, *Cyp.* fr.12; Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.24-32, *Sat.* 2.1.26-7; Mart. 7.57; Ov. *Am.* 3.2.54, *Met.* 8.301-302, *Fast.* 5.693-720; Prop. 3.14.17-20; Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 10.13.

²¹ Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.19-109; Dio Chrys. 37.14; Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.24-32, *Sat.* 2.1.26-7; Lucian *Dial. D.* 25.281; Mart. 7.57; Ov. *Am.* 3.2.54, *Met.* 8.301-302, *Fast.* 5.693-720; Paus. 5.8.4; Plut. *De Frat. Am.* 15; Prop. 3.14.17-20; Sid. Apoll. *Pan.* 5.177-184, *Epist.* 9.186-9, 10.13; Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.138-140; Val. Flacc. *Argon.* 4.222-314.

²² Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.19.109; Val. Flacc. *Argon.* 4.222-314.

²³ Diod. Sic. 4.43.2; Hyg. *Fab.* 14; Val. Flacc. *Argon.* 1.568-573.

²⁴ Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.649-653; Callim. *Aet.* 1.18.1-4; Diod. Sic. 4.43.2; Val. Flacc. *Argon.* 1.573.

²⁵ Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.580-595; Diod. Sic. 4.43.2.

²⁶ Catull. 64.1-11; Eur. *Andr.* 865.

²⁷ They had also participated in the Calydonian boar hunt: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8.2.

²⁸ Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.3.

²⁹ Hyg. *Fab.* 80; Ov. *Fast.* 5.699-704.

treachery.³⁰ During the fight, Idas mortally wounded Castor.³¹ Pollux avenged his brother by killing Lynceus and, in some versions Idas as well, (elsewhere Jupiter does so).³² Pollux, upon discovering Castor's death, begged Jupiter to allow him to share his immortality with his brother, preferring to surrender his place on Olympus than to be separated from his brother.³³ Jupiter agreed, allowing Castor and Pollux to divide their time between Hades and Olympus.³⁴ The Dioscuri thus were famous for their fraternal piety.³⁵ They were also set among the stars, becoming the constellation *Gemini*.³⁶ How Castor and Pollux shared their time between the underworld and Olympus is unclear: some versions have the brothers remaining together³⁷ whilst others have one in each realm.³⁸

Much of the mythology of the Dioscuri is preserved for us by Greek sources. In the *Iliad*, Helen notes that Castor and Pollux have not come with the Greek army, wondering if it is because of their shame at her behaviour.³⁹ The poet, however, notes that it is because they were dead and buried in Lacedaemonia. It appears that at the time of the composition

³⁰ Paus. 4.3.1; Pind. *Nem.* 10.60; Treachery by Castor and Pollux: Hom. *Cyp.* fr1; Treachery by Idas and Lynceus: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.11.2.

³¹ Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.11.2; Hom. *Cyp.* fr1, 12; Ov. *Fast.* 5.709-710 (killed by Lynceus).

³² Pollux killed Lynceus: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.11.2; Hom. *Cyp.* fr1; Pind. *Nem.* 10.69-70. Idas killed by Pollux: Hom. *Cyp.* fr1. Zeus killed Idas: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.11.2; Paus 4.3.1; Pind. *Nem.* 10.71. Zeus protects Pollux against Lynceus: Ov. *Fast.* 5.709-710. Hyg. *Fab.* 80, *Poet. Astr.* 2.22 preserves variants, including the Lacedaemonians killing Castor during the assault on Aphidnae or Castor being killed when Lynceus and Idas were attacking Sparta.

³³ Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.11.2; Hyg. *Fab.* 80; Ov. *Fast.* 5.715-720; Philo. *Leg.* 84-85; Pind. *Nem.* 10.55-60, 75-79; Plut. *De. Frat. Am.* 12.

³⁴ Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.11.2; Hom. *Cyp.* fr1; Hyg. *Fab.* 80, 224, 251, *Poet. Astr.* 2.22; Ov. *Fast.* 5.719; Pind. *Nem.* 10.75-90; Virg. *Aen.* 6.121.

³⁵ Hyg. *Poet. Astr.* 2.22; Ov. *Tr.* 4.5.29-30, *Ex. P.* 1.7.31-32; Philo. *Leg.* 84-85, 91-92; Plut. *De. Frat. Am.* 1.1, 11; Val. Max. 5.5.3.

³⁶ Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.43.110, 2.44.114 (quoting his translation of Aratus' *Phaenomena*); Germanicus, *Aratus*, 3.6-7, 4.1120 (quoting his translation of the *Phaenomena*); Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.2, 1.12.26-27; Hyg. *Poet. Astr.* 2.22; Manilius, *Astronomica*, 4.152-161, 5.157-159; Ov. *Met.* 8.372, *Fast.* 5.720; Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 9.3.1-2, 9.5.2. Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.21.22 identifies them with the sun.

³⁷ Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.11.2; Eur. *El.* 988-993; Pind. *Pyth.* 11.61-64, *Nem.* 10.55-60.

³⁸ Hyg. *Fab.* 80 (Grant (1960) p75 notes this section may be an interpolation from Virgil), *Poet. Astr.* 2.22; Lucian *Dial. D.* 4.276, 25.286-287, *Dial. Mort.* 1.1, Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.21.22, Mart. *Carm.* 9.51.7-8; Ov. *Fast.* 5.719-720, Sil. *Pun.* 9.295, 13.804-805; Virg. *Aen.* 6.121.

³⁹ Hom. *Il.* 3.236-244.

of the *Iliad*, the Dioscuri had not become gods, a discrepancy criticised by later authors.⁴⁰ When the *Odyssey* was composed, a more detailed version of their afterlife was known, for although they are stated to lie beneath the earth, the poet notes that they live and die on alternate days.⁴¹ The earliest extant treatment of the Dioscuri containing most of the elements summarised above is found in Pindar's *Odes*, composed in the first half of the fifth century BC.⁴² Translations of Aratus' *Phaenomena*, in which he described the constellations and their myths, were known in Rome by the late Republic: Cicero translated the work into Latin, as did Ovid and Augustus' grandson Germanicus.⁴³ At least some of the members of the Roman elite would probably have been aware of the mythology of the Dioscuri, having read the Greek texts. The first translation into Latin of the *Odyssey* was undertaken by Livius Andronicus in the mid- to late third century BC. However, material culture demonstrates that Greek myths were known in Italy before this; the François vase, from the sixth century BC, depicts mythological scenes, including Castor and Pollux participating in the Calydonian boar hunt.⁴⁴ Although this *krater* was produced in Greece, it was found in an Etruscan tomb. By the fourth century BC, material objects were being produced in Rome with depictions of myths, such as the scene on the Ficaroni Cista depicting the contest between Pollux and Amycus (fig.50).⁴⁵

However, these works of art, although showing that some inhabitants of Latium and Etruria knew some of the mythology of Castor and Pollux, do not prove that their myth was known by the entire society. We cannot say to what extent an inhabitant of Latium or Etruria in the archaic age, or even a Roman republican citizen would have been familiar with all aspects of their mythology. It is likely, however, that oral retellings would

⁴⁰ Diod. Sic. *Or.* 11.71-72.

⁴¹ Hom. *Od.* 11.299-304; the *Iliad* may have neglected to mention their deification to increase Helen's isolation.

⁴² Particularly Pind. *Nem.* 10.

⁴³ Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.43.110, 2.44.114; Gee (2000) p3-4; Possanza (2004) p7, 15-16.

⁴⁴ Lloyd-Jones (1978) p55.

⁴⁵ See p194-195; Williams (1945a) p339-340, (1945b) p348; Wiseman (2004) p92-93.

have informed some of at least the rudimentary facts.⁴⁶ The story might have been transmitted in many ways: at symposia, dramatic festivals or performances.⁴⁷ From the sixth century BC, when the Dioscuri are attested as receiving worship in Italy, the spread of their cult may have influenced or increased how and when their mythology was retold. Whether every Roman would have known the names of Castor and Pollux's sons is perhaps doubtful. They were more likely to have known that the Dioscuri were brothers, who had once been mortal but were deified, sons of Jupiter, rode horses, perhaps that they had sailed on the Argo, and, most likely, that they had come to the aid of the Roman army at the Battle of Lake Regillus. The stories of the Dioscuri would have been often retold, adapting with their cult to the changing needs of contemporary society.

It was a commonplace assertion in previous scholarship that Rome had no myths, or at least any it did possess were pale imitations of Greek myths.⁴⁸ In recent years, this view has been refuted by many scholars, including Beard, North and Price who argue that Rome may not have possessed the same type of myths as Greece did, but had 'myths of place'.⁴⁹ Feeney and Wiseman also demonstrate that Romans did have myths, and argue that myth should be recognised as a potent source of evidence for Roman religion.⁵⁰

Nevertheless, there is still a difficulty in the definitions of mythology and history, which may, on occasion, overlap.⁵¹ Thus, this thesis covers aspects of the cult of the

⁴⁶ Although mistakes could easily be made in oral transmissions, for example, the depiction of Trimalchio as confusing mythological characters probably had some basis in reality; he confuses Castor and Pollux with Dionysius and Ganymede: Petron. *Sat.* 52, 59.

⁴⁷ Wiseman (1989) p135, (2007) p71-72, citing Cicero's list of those who may influence opinions: Cic. *De Leg.* 1.47. Vansina (1985) esp. ch. 1 on the ways myths might be transmitted.

⁴⁸ Ogilvie (1969) p4; on Roman myth: Rüpke (2007b) p127-130.

⁴⁹ Beard, North and Price (1998) p171-174.

⁵⁰ Feeney (1998), (2007) p78-79; Wiseman (2004); Ando (2008); on the use of myths by ancient historians: Marincola (1997) p117-127.

⁵¹ Rüpke (2007b) p127-128; Wiseman (2004) p10-11 defines myth more widely as "a story that matters to a community, one that is told and retold because it has a significance for one generation after another. Such a story may be (in our terms) historical, pseudo-historical or totally fictitious, but if it matters enough to be retold, it can count as a myth".

Dioscuri which could be characterised as both mythical and historical, particularly their epiphanies, which bear similarities to the actions of the gods from epic poetry and mythology, although they continue to be reported until the late first century BC. How then can ‘mythical’ events occurring in the ‘historical’ period be reconciled? Firstly, I would query whether Romans viewed ‘myth’ and ‘history’ as separate entities, for as Wiseman argues, “myth and history do not exclude each other”.⁵² Mythical stories can grow up around historical events and myth can fill historical gaps. Would the Romans have viewed the tale of Romulus and Remus, their divine ancestry, and their quarrel over the walls of Rome, as history or as myth? For example, Livy doubts how much he can accomplish in his history of the earliest days of Rome.⁵³ He describes the evidence available for this period as “rather adorned with poetic legends than based upon trustworthy historical proofs”, which he does not intend to either affirm or refute, although expressing scepticism.⁵⁴ Livy states that he will only be able to give a more precise account following the Gallic sack of Rome in the fourth century BC.⁵⁵ Thus, instead of regarding mythical stories as being purely fantastical, they perhaps should still be seen as historical, albeit less trustworthy history.⁵⁶ Thus, perhaps the lives of Romulus and Remus and the epiphanies of Castor and Pollux were both mythological and historical.⁵⁷ In this study, I do not set out to debate whether these ‘mythical’ events occurred, or whether the gods appeared or existed, but rather I discuss what the Romans present as happening. Thus, as the sources represent Castor and Pollux as appearing to ensure military victories, I treat these events as the Romans did: as part of their history.

⁵² Wiseman (2004) p10-11.

⁵³ Liv. *Praef.* 1.1-2.

⁵⁴ Liv. *Praef.* 1.6: *Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo est.*

⁵⁵ Liv. 6.1-3; Gabba (1991) p94; Miles (1995) p19.

⁵⁶ Saïd (2007).

⁵⁷ Feeney (2007) p87-88 argues that Romulus straddles the boundary between myth and history.

Iconography

The Dioscuri can often be recognised by their iconography or attributes. Giarducci argued that they most commonly appear as nude youths with spears and horses.⁵⁸ They can also be identified by their hats, known as *piloi*, or by stars above their heads. Geppert expanded Giarducci's study, examining the depictions of the Dioscuri in the Imperial period, analysing the extant representations of Castor and Pollux, including statues, coins and reliefs.⁵⁹ His study classified the images into types, based on the content, such as the rape of the Leucippides, or on their pose, for example standing with rearing horses. Through this categorisation, he demonstrated the relative prominence of different depictions, and how the representations of the Dioscuri changed between Augustus and the Severans.

The Dioscuri were also represented aniconically, particularly in Sparta, by *dokana*: two vertical beams joined by two transverse beams, symbolising their indivisible relationship.⁶⁰ Waites analysed the significance of this symbol, suggesting two potential interpretations: firstly, that it represents a door to a tomb or shrine of the Dioscuri; secondly, that it corresponds with the zodiac sign *Gemini*, which was associated with Castor and Pollux.⁶¹ The constellation was probably identified in the mid-sixth century BC,⁶² however, we do not know when it became associated with the Dioscuri. Conversely, Castor and Pollux were associated with doors in Etruria from an early date, appearing beside tomb entrances, which thus seems to be the most likely interpretation.⁶³

The most common numismatic depiction of the Dioscuri in Rome is also the earliest preserved: the reverse of the first *denarii* minted from 211 BC depicts the Dioscuri

⁵⁸ Giarducci (1984) p135.

⁵⁹ Geppert (1996).

⁶⁰ Plut. *De Frat. Am.* 1.1; two are depicted on a relief dated to the second century BC (fig.54).

⁶¹ Waites (1919) p1-2.

⁶² Domenicucci (1989) p23-24.

⁶³ De Grummond (2006) p190-191.

riding their horses (fig.1). This image has a striking longevity, as it remains almost completely unaltered for nearly a century.⁶⁴ Terlinden has suggested that this design may have been intended to celebrate military success, making a specific reference to the epiphany of Castor and Pollux at Lake Regillus, an idea I develop further.⁶⁵ The use of this and similar images can also demonstrate how moneyers might use coin issues to celebrate a notable deed from their family's history. A descendant of Aulus Postumius, the victor at Lake Regillus, minted an issue approximately four hundred years after the battle, recalling the epiphany of the Dioscuri and advertising his family's relationship with the gods.⁶⁶ Coins were well suited for this type of self- or family advertisement, owing to their wide circulation, enabling a moneyer to proclaim his ancestors and elevate himself by their reflected glory.⁶⁷

Methodology

The evidential problems for the study of ancient history are well known and have been explored in detail by many scholars.⁶⁸ To avoid summarising in inadequate detail here, I have examined relevant methodological problems where they are pertinent within the text of this thesis. I discuss the limitations of archaeological evidence in Chapter One; the difficulties of interpreting numismatic depictions in Chapter Two; the problems of using later literary sources as evidence for republican ceremonies in Chapter Three; and the assimilation of gods and humans in portraiture in Chapter Four.

A discussion of some of the overarching difficulties encountered throughout this thesis, in particular, the evidential problems for early Rome, will be helpful.⁶⁹ There is a

⁶⁴ See p122.

⁶⁵ Terlinden (1961) p95.

⁶⁶ Poulsen (1994) p94; Petrocchi (1994) p102-103; discussed further below: p139.

⁶⁷ On moneyers: Wiseman (1971) p147-149; Crawford (1974) vol. 2, p598-603, 710-711.

⁶⁸ For summaries: Astin (1989); Ogilvie and Drummond (1990); Lintott (1994); Cornell (1995) ch.1.

⁶⁹ For discussion: C. Smith (2000) p16-18.

problem of prioritising certain kinds of evidence; commonly literary sources are most favoured. Material or archaeological evidence is sometimes used to fill in the gaps found in the literary record, or to illustrate, confirm or contradict the literary evidence, rather than being assessed in its own right, complete with its own biases and interpretation difficulties. Instead of using literary evidence as the baseline for our understanding of the ancient world, it is necessary to use all kinds of ancient evidence with equal weighting and assessment.⁷⁰ However, although it is problematic to separate literary and material evidence, it is necessary to do so here in order to assess some of the limitations of each form of evidence.

The late emergence of the Roman literary tradition presents particular difficulties.⁷¹ The earliest works to feature Rome were those of non-Romans, such as Timaeus of Tauromenium,⁷² followed by the earliest Roman historians, such as Ennius and Fabius Pictor, all of whose works are fragmentary.⁷³ These authors drew upon many different sources, such as the *annales maximi*,⁷⁴ *libri lintei*,⁷⁵ oral traditions,⁷⁶ family legends,⁷⁷ eulogies or epitaphs,⁷⁸ symposia songs,⁷⁹ and dramatic performances.⁸⁰ All these sources are susceptible to alterations: family legends could be elaborated upon to benefit

⁷⁰ Cornell (1995) p28-30; Purcell (2003) p33-34.

⁷¹ Ogilvie and Drummond (1990); Marincola (1997) p26-27, (2007) p7.

⁷² Marincola (2007) p7; Dillery (2009) p80-83.

⁷³ Badian (1966); Ogilvie and Drummond (1990) p4-5; Cornell (1995) p5, 7-8; Mellor (1999) p14-17; Forsythe (2000); Beck (2007); Flower (2009) p66; Bispham and Cornell (2013); for fragments: *FRHist*, *FGrH*; for Ennius: Skutsch (1985).

⁷⁴ Ogilvie and Drummond (1990) p6-7, 20-21; Cornell (1995) p13-15; Marincola (1997) p26-27, (2007) p7; Oakley (1997) p24, 72; Flower (2009) p78; Rich (2013) esp. p156-158.

⁷⁵ Ogilvie and Drummond (1990) p7-8.

⁷⁶ Cornell (1995) p10-11; Oakley (1997) p23-24; Wiseman (1989) p135.

⁷⁷ Cornell (1995) p9-10; Oakley (1997) p28-29, 31; Marincola (1997) p26-27; Woodman (1998) p91-92; Wiseman (2007) p71; Fox (2011) p254.

⁷⁸ Ogilvie and Drummond (1990) p24; Wiseman (2007) p71; for example, the Scipionic epitaphs: *CIL* 6.1284-1294.

⁷⁹ Cic. *Brut.* 75; Cornell (1995) p12; C. Smith (2000) p18; Wiseman (2007) p71-72.

⁸⁰ Wiseman (1994) p17, (1998); Cornell (1995) p11-12.

descendants,⁸¹ and ancient historians may have embellished their accounts to glorify their family.⁸² Where these sources faltered, ancient authors also supplemented the ‘facts’, adding what could have happened or what might have been said.⁸³

This is not just a problem for the earliest Roman historians; although later texts survive more completely, they possess their own problems for their accounts of both archaic and later Rome.⁸⁴ These authors may in fact tell us more about what they and their contemporaries thought of Rome’s early history than its reality.⁸⁵ Additionally, histories did more than relate events; they provided *exempla* to follow or to avoid; characterised previous events as precedents to contemporary ones; or demonstrated themes, such as *luxuria* leading to corruption.⁸⁶ Ancient historiography was closely linked to rhetoric, and the persuasive techniques of that genre could be transferred to history.⁸⁷ The author’s aims, audience and his own historical context therefore must be, as far as is possible, determined, for otherwise no more than a superficial reading of the text can be achieved.

Material evidence is no less complicated, for example, numismatics,⁸⁸ epigraphy⁸⁹ and archaeology⁹⁰ have their own difficulties, purposes and audiences. Just as texts might hold multiple readings within them, so too did material culture, presenting the opportunity for different interpretations, leaving it to the viewer to assess which they saw as pre-

⁸¹ Oakley (1997) p28-29.

⁸² Ogilvie and Drummond (1990) p8; Cic. *Brut.* 62 on false consulships and triumphs.

⁸³ Cornell (1995) p17-18; Kraus and Woodman (1997) p5-6; Marincola (1997) p6; Oakley (1997) p6, 11, 76; Woodman (1998) p14-15; Wiseman (1998) p76; Forsythe (1999) p40-43; Haynes (2003) p29-30; Pitcher (2007) p106.

⁸⁴ On republican and imperial authors: Astin (1989); Lintott (1994); Cornell (1995) p4; Haynes (2003) p30.

⁸⁵ Livy: Oakley (1997); Forsythe (1999). Dionysius of Halicarnassus: Gabba (1991). Tacitus: Haynes (2003).

⁸⁶ Cornell (1986) p82-83; Ogilvie and Drummond (1990) p9, 26.

⁸⁷ Saïd (2007) p76-77; Gabba (1981) p54; Cornell (1995) p17-18; Wiseman (1998), (2003) p32-34 argues that authors would have expected their audience to be able to distinguish between history and rhetoric.

⁸⁸ Astin (1989) p13-14; Howgego (1995).

⁸⁹ Astin (1989) p14, 15-16; Ogilvie and Drummond (1990) p11-12, 14.

⁹⁰ Astin (1989) p13; on the archaeology of early and archaic Rome: Cornell (1995) p26-30; C. Smith (2000) p18-31.

eminent, if any.⁹¹ Like literary sources, material evidence often frequently only survives in fragments. It is often necessary to draw together evidence from a wide chronological or geographical span to create a unified picture, but doing so risks the creation of an artificial image that may provide generalised information, but that masks chronological or geographical differences.

Archaeology may reveal information not found within the literary record, for example, as explored in Chapter One, an otherwise unattested alteration of the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux.⁹² However, archaeological evidence can only provide so much information, perhaps not a precise date for the construction of a temple or its dedicator, and thus should be used with other evidence, including literary accounts or numismatics, to place archaeological findings in their proper context.⁹³ Similarly, epigraphy provides a wealth of details regarding dedications, decrees and honours either unattested or summarised in literary accounts. However, inscriptions are often fragmentary and tell us little about transmission or purpose: why were Gaius and Lucius' names replaced with those of Tiberius and Germanicus Gemellus on an inscription from Cyprus?⁹⁴

Material evidence survives from far earlier than literary sources and should not be used only for fact checking other sources. For example, although archaeology proves that the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux was constructed in the early fifth century BC, correlating with the dates given by ancient historians, the size and form of the temple can also provide a wealth of information.⁹⁵ Ancient coins are useful in this regard; owing to the

⁹¹ Explored at p221-222.

⁹² See p46.

⁹³ Astin (1989) p13; Ogilvie and Drummond (1990) p21-22.

⁹⁴ See p234, 265.

⁹⁵ Wiseman (1986) p88 warns that “for the regal and early republican periods, of course, we may suspect that [monuments] were used as foundations for whatever aetiological stories they could be made to fit”.

fact that we can date coins relatively precisely, they provide contemporary evidence for the date at which they were produced.⁹⁶ The designs on coins can therefore provide information about contemporary events or attitudes. However, moneyers celebrating the deeds of an ancestor on an issue might also make false or elaborated claims in order to increase the prominence of their family.⁹⁷

Roman Religion Literature Review

Despite the difficulties noted above, some scholars have attempted to discover a ‘pure’ core of archaic Roman religion using ancient literary and material evidence, by stripping away influences thought to be foreign or late.⁹⁸ Such a search necessitates locating the beginning of Roman religion before Rome encountered Etruria or Greece. However, as noted above, many cults were influenced by different cultures and to try to separate the ‘Roman’ cult would be to create an artificial construction. Altheim advised against such a methodology, for Italian and Etruscan influences appeared so early within Roman religion, it is futile to try to discover a ‘pure’ Roman religion.⁹⁹ Any attempt to discover ‘pure’ religion is flawed, for the earliest extant authors to describe the religious life of Rome wrote during the Republic and thus after the date when ‘pure’ Roman religion was contaminated by foreign influences.¹⁰⁰ Rather than discovering what archaic Roman religion was like, we find only what later Romans thought their archaic religion was like.

Accompanying the theory of ‘pure’ religion is the suggestion that Roman religion underwent a period of decline from the mid-Republic, only to be revived by Augustus.¹⁰¹ Abandoned temples and rites, politicians manipulating prophecies, and vacant priesthoods

⁹⁶ Howgego (1995) p63.

⁹⁷ Howgego (1995) p70.

⁹⁸ Wissowa (1912); contra Scheid (2003a) p7-8.

⁹⁹ Altheim (1938) p206.

¹⁰⁰ Beard, North and Price (1998) p17.

¹⁰¹ Warde-Fowler (1911); Dumézil (1996).

are used to demonstrate this decline. The idea of such a decline is influenced by the suggestion that Augustus restored Roman religion.¹⁰² Jocelyn criticised this view, arguing that any such decline was emphasised by Augustan propaganda, which required a preceding decline in order to have a restoration.¹⁰³ North has demonstrated the continuing importance of religion, stating, “these aspects of Roman religion - conservatism, legalism and innovation - should be seen as its basic characteristics, not as phases of its degeneration”.¹⁰⁴ As Beard, North and Price suggest, instead of identifying certain aspects falling into disuse as symbols of decline, they should be seen as adaptations and demonstrate the continuing strength and relevance of Roman religion.¹⁰⁵

This model of decline is linked to a debate on the nature of Roman religion and its relationship with different aspects of society, a subject of importance for this thesis. Pivotal to this debate is the perceived relationship between religion and politics. For some this is another symbol of religion’s decline, as religion became a political tool. This is the view of Polybius, who states that the Romans “have adopted this course [religion] for the sake of the common people.”¹⁰⁶ This view was been followed by some scholars,¹⁰⁷ although others have argued against it, such as North and Scheid.¹⁰⁸ I would agree with the later scholars, for any attempt to separate the sacred and secular aspects of ancient life would be a misrepresentation of how the two spheres interacted. As argued by Rives, “‘religion’ did not exist as a separate area of human activity, but was embedded in the overarching structure of the city; there were no important religious institutions or offices separate from civic institutions and offices.”¹⁰⁹ As I shall argue throughout this thesis,

¹⁰² Warde-Fowler (1911) p429; Rose (1949) p107-108.

¹⁰³ Jocelyn (1966) p96; also Rives (2010) p248-249.

¹⁰⁴ North (1976) p11.

¹⁰⁵ Beard, North and Price (1998) p126; also North (1986) p251; Feeney (1988) p3-5.

¹⁰⁶ Polyb. 6.56.9-11.

¹⁰⁷ Taylor (1949) ch.4; also Rawson (1974).

¹⁰⁸ North (1976); Scheid (2003a).

¹⁰⁹ Rives (2010) p269.

religious actions could have a political component: the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux was built in response to a religious vow, and descendants of Aulus Postumius, who made that vow, depicted the epiphany of the Dioscuri on their coins to advertise themselves.¹¹⁰ Throughout this thesis, I shall explore the cult of the Dioscuri as a religious institution whilst demonstrating that it was inextricably linked with the political life of Rome, as well as changes within society and culture.

Dioscuri Literature Review

Unlike my study, previous scholarship on the cult of Castor and Pollux in Rome and Italy has tended to focus on aspects of the cult, such as their temples,¹¹¹ representations,¹¹² literature,¹¹³ attributes,¹¹⁴ numismatic depictions,¹¹⁵ epiphanies,¹¹⁶ or the role they play in oaths.¹¹⁷ Their cult has been studied across Italy, in Etruria, Latium and Magna Graecia.¹¹⁸ However, these studies have for the most part focused on a particular location, date, or aspect of the cult.

The earliest monograph examining the cult of Castor and Pollux in Italy was published by Albert in 1883. Although primarily a history of the cult, Albert's study also examined material evidence to show how the cult developed. The most comprehensive

¹¹⁰ See p140.

¹¹¹ Richter (1898); Van Buren (1906); Frank and Stevens (1925); Bartoli (1927); Hadzits (1931); Strong and Ward-Perkins (1962); Quinn-Schoffield (1967); Conticello de' Spagnolis (1984); Nielsen and Zahle (1985); Cerutti (1988), (1998); Steinby (1989), (1994); Nielsen (1990) (1992b); Grønne (1990); Alföldy (1992); Nielsen and Poulsen (1992a), (1992b), (1992c); Sande (1992), (1994), (2009a), (2009b), (2009c), (2009d), (2009e); Sande and Slej (1992); Ulrich (1994); Tucci (1994), (2007), (2013); Ciancio Rossetto (2000); Sande and Zahle (2009); Slej (2008); Nilson, Persson and Zahle (2009a), (2009b); Vitti (2010).

¹¹² Williams (1945a), (1945b); Bendinelli (1962); Clarke (1968); Capelli (1994); Nista (1994b); Parisi Presicce (1994); Geppert (1996).

¹¹³ Terlinden (1961); Molyneux (1971); Manning (1988); Sironen (1989); Kloppenborg (1993).

¹¹⁴ Waites (1919); Giarducci (1984).

¹¹⁵ Terlinden (1961); Petrocchi (1994).

¹¹⁶ Van Compernelle (1969); Sordi (1972).

¹¹⁷ Ullman (1943).

¹¹⁸ Petersen (1900); McCracken (1940); Castagnoli (1959), (1983); Poulsen (1991a); Bertinetti (1994); Bonanno Aravantinos (1994); Cancellieri (1994); Guzzo (1994); Sanzi di Mino (1994); Strazzula (1994); Heinzlmann and Martin (2004).

volume of articles concerning the cult of the Dioscuri in Italy was published in 1994.¹¹⁹ The collection commences with examinations of the cult in Magna Graecia, Etruria and Latium.¹²⁰ Articles then turn to Rome, exploring the temples of Castor and Pollux,¹²¹ and the Quirinal and Capitoline statue groups.¹²² With a focus on material evidence linked to the interpretation of the literary sources, this volume explores many facets of the cult. However, the nature of a volume of essays by different scholars prevents the presentation of an overall examination of the cult's development, although not diminishing the significance of individual essays. Furthermore, the lack of an introduction or conclusion to draw the threads together and analyse the significance of the cult and its development, somewhat lessens the contribution that this volume could have made to our understanding of the cult of the Dioscuri.

A particular interest in scholarship has been to attempt to unravel the origins of the cult of the Dioscuri, suggesting that they are two of a larger group of 'divine twins'. These 'divine twins' link Castor and Pollux to the Vedic Asvins and Germanic horseman gods.¹²³ Some scholars attempt to explain aspects of their mythology by using this theory of a common type of 'divine twins' in different cultures. Dumézil's work on the Indo-European origin of the religions of different cultures, including Greece and Rome, has been influential on later studies, arguing for the identification of similar constructions of divine groups across different cultures.¹²⁴ Rendel Harris identifies Idas and Lynceus as another pair of 'divine twins'. He argues that their battle with the Dioscuri was an explanation for the conflict between two cults of 'divine twins', of which Castor and Pollux emerged

¹¹⁹ Nista (1994a).

¹²⁰ Bertinetti (1994); Cancellieri (1994); Guzzo (1994); Sanzi di Mino (1994); Strazulla (1994).

¹²¹ Sande (1994); Steinby (1994); Tucci (1994).

¹²² Nista (1994b); Parisi Presicce (1994).

¹²³ Tac. *Germ.* 43.4; Rendel Harris (1903) p2, (1906) p28; Ward (1968) p3, 6, 11-12; Dumézil (1970) p171; Lehmann (1988) p373; Capelli (1994) p140; Wiseman (1995) p7.

¹²⁴ Dumézil (1970).

victorious.¹²⁵ These studies introduce the cult of Castor and Pollux in Italy, while arguing for the common origin of the cult from an Indo-European prototype. However, they do not explore the cult and its changes in enough detail to assess the cause or significance of its internal developments.

A similar theory concerning the original form of the cult has been posited by Chapouthier, who proposes that the Dioscuri were originally a triad, comprised of Castor, Pollux and a goddess, perhaps Helen or the nymph Juturna, besides whose spring their temple was built in Rome.¹²⁶ Bloch has followed this theory to an extent, using etymological links to suggest that Juturna was a daughter of Jupiter, and so the sister of the Dioscuri.¹²⁷ In this methodology, using etymology to attempt to divine the origin of various groups, he follows Maresch who argued that the other common appellation of the Dioscuri, Tyndaridai, was originally Etruscan, not Greek, deriving from Tinia, the Etruscan Jupiter.¹²⁸ Tyndaridai is a synonym for Dioscuri, and the differing mythological parentage of Castor and Pollux could have been created to explain these two names. Unfortunately, in these studies' pursuit of similarities between pairs of 'divine twins', any aspects that do not fit the pattern are ignored, or made to fit. This results in an inaccurate portrayal of the individual pairings in order to make them appear more harmonious as a pattern. Rendel Harris, for example, stated that the Dioscuri came to be seen as "patrons of agriculture and bestowers of rain"; however there is no evidence to suggest that the Dioscuri had these roles in Rome.¹²⁹ Although the Dioscuri share many traits with other mythological brothers, to regard them and their cult only as offshoots of a larger tradition is to neglect the significances of these differences and the relevance of the cult to the society that perpetuates its worship.

¹²⁵ Rendel Harris (1903) p2.

¹²⁶ Chapouthier (1935) p207-208.

¹²⁷ Bloch (1960) p191.

¹²⁸ Maresch (1925) p298-299.

¹²⁹ Rendel Harris (1906) p28.

The cult of the Dioscuri may have had its origins in Sparta, their birthplace, then spreading across Greece.¹³⁰ Greek contact with Italy is attested from an early date and Wiseman has noted that many Greek heroes' adventures took place across Italy, including those of the Argonauts.¹³¹ It is likely that the cult of the Dioscuri was brought from Greece initially to Magna Graecia. Many Greek cities, including Sparta, had colonies in this area and it is probable that the colonists brought their cults with them, including that of Castor and Pollux. These cults then spread within Italy, perhaps through migration or trade as people relocated.¹³²

The earliest evidence for the worship of Castor and Pollux in Italy comes from Lavinium, in Latium: a small bronze plaque, found in 1959, reading from right to left '*Castorei Podlouqueique Qurois*' (fig.2). The plaque was discovered in a sanctuary of thirteen altars, in the fill of altar eight, which was repaired between the fourth and second centuries BC.¹³³ The inscription has been dated to the second half of the sixth century BC, and the holes at each corner show that it was attached to something, perhaps one of the altars in use at the time.¹³⁴ The form of Pollux's name is interesting, deriving etymologically from the Greek Πολυδεύκης rather than the Etruscan *Pultuke*, which suggests that the cult at Lavinium came from Greece, or, more likely, from Magna Graecia rather than from Etruria.¹³⁵ This inscription represents a moment in the transformation of the names of the Dioscuri from Greek into Latin, from Κάστωρ and Πολυδεύκης, to Castor and Pollux. Castor is already spelt with a C, but the change in Pollux's name is the most

¹³⁰ Paus. 1.18.1-2, 1.31.1, 2.7.5, 2.22.5-6, 2.36.6, 3.13.1, 3.13.6, 3.14.6-7, 3.20.1-2, 3.24.2-3, 5.15.5, 7.22.5, 8.9.1-2, 8.21.4.

¹³¹ Albert (1883) p9; Wiseman (2004) p11-12, 13, 22-23, (2007) p67-68.

¹³² Bailey (1932) p119-120; Palmer (1974) p79; Sihvola (1989) p78.

¹³³ Weinstock (1960) p112-118; Alföldi (1963) p269-270; Castagnoli (1983) p4-7; Poulsen (1992a) p46-47; Cornell (1995) p294; Smith (1996) p134.

¹³⁴ Poulsen (1992a) p47.

¹³⁵ Weinstock (1960) p112; Alföldi (1963) p269-270; Scullard (1967) p177 suggests from Locri; Poulsen (1992a) p47; Coarelli (2007) p74 suggests from Tarentum.

obvious, with the metathesis of the L and D, although it has not yet become fully latinised. The last word ‘*Qurois*’ may be a transliteration of part of their name as a pair: Dioskouroi. However, it has also been identified as a transliteration of a title relating to young horsemen, particularly used in Sparta, again suggesting that the cult came to Lavinium from Magna Graecia, perhaps specifically with influence from Tarentum, Sparta’s colony. That Castor and Pollux were worshipped in this sanctuary at Lavinium by the sixth century BC, their names having undergone changes from the Greek, suggests that their cult was present and popular in Italy from an early date. If ‘*Qurois*’ on the plaque is to be understood as a reference to horsemen, it furthermore suggests that their role as the protecting gods of the cavalry was known and prominent from the earliest attestation of their cult in Italy.¹³⁶

The Dioscuri were also worshipped in Etruria, where Castor and Pollux were known as Castur and Pultuce, the *Tinas Cliniiar* or children of Tinia, the Etruscan Jupiter.¹³⁷ Their depiction in Etruscan art retains many of the same attributes and iconography seen elsewhere. Their cult is first explicitly attested in Etruria on a red-figure kylix from Tarquinia. The kylix is dated to around 510 BC and featured a Dionysiac scene with an inscription: ‘this Venel Atelinas dedicated to the children of Tinia’.¹³⁸ Castor and Pollux were also depicted on Etruscan mirrors from the fourth century BC.¹³⁹ Both Etruria and Latium therefore had cults to the Dioscuri by the late sixth century BC. Several scholars use the Lavinium inscription’s Greek transliteration to argue that the cult came

¹³⁶ This responsibility is discussed in Chapter Three.

¹³⁷ de Puma, *LIMC* 3.2: ‘Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniiar’, p597; De Grummond (1991) p17; Simon (2006) p54.

¹³⁸ De Grummond (1991) p17; Strazzula (1994) p39; Simon (2006) p60.

¹³⁹ De Grummond (1991), (2006) p189-191.

from Magna Graecia or Greece.¹⁴⁰ Whether Etruria and Latium received their cults independently, or one through the mediation of the other is unfortunately unclear.

How the cult of the Dioscuri was introduced to Rome has been much debated. For those who argue that the cult of the Dioscuri came to Rome from an Italian location, there are two main contenders: Etruria¹⁴¹ or a Latin city, perhaps Tusculum.¹⁴² However, it is unlikely that the cult was taken from a single location completely unchanged. Rather, there may be two stages in this process. It is improbable that the Romans had never encountered the cult of Castor and Pollux before the introduction of their state cult. Instead, Rome may have become familiar with their cult in Latium or Etruria, through political, commercial or religious connections or the movement of people from these locations into Rome. Although it is impossible to state when private cults to the Dioscuri were present in Rome, their state cult is attested as having been introduced by 484 BC, the date of the dedication of their Forum temple.

The question of the origins of the cult of the Dioscuri in Rome has been explored primarily in the context of the *pomoerium*, the so-called sacred boundary of Rome, within which foreign cults are often said to have been forbidden.¹⁴³ Scholars have argued that, as the cult of the Dioscuri was within the *pomoerium*, contemporary Romans did not regard it as foreign.¹⁴⁴ In order to conform to this ‘pomoerial rule’, scholars have suggested various explanations: Castagnoli argues that the cult was mediated through Latin cities before reaching Rome, and thus was seen as a Latin cult, adding as proof the fact that they were

¹⁴⁰ Castagnoli (1959) p3, (1983) p12; Weinstock (1960) p112; Poulsen (1992a) p46-47.

¹⁴¹ Bloch (1960) p186; Scullard (1967) p117.

¹⁴² Weinstock (1960) p112; De Sanctis (1907-1964) vol. 2 p262; Scullard (1981) p66; Petrocchi (1994) p101; Geppert (1996) p25.

¹⁴³ Altheim (1938) p244; Ogilvie (1969) p571-572; Castagnoli (1983) p8; Sihvola (1989) p78; Gustafsson (2000) p35.

¹⁴⁴ For example: Altheim (1938) p244; Alföldi (1963) p270; Sordi (1972) p65; Castagnoli (1983) p4; Sihvola (1989) p81; Poulsen (1992a) p47; Cancellieri (1994) p63; Richardson (2013) p902.

not worshipped with ‘Greek rites’.¹⁴⁵ Cancellieri agrees that cult was already Italian, as the Dioscuri had received worship in Latium.¹⁴⁶ Poulsen suggests that there was an existing cult of the Dioscuri in Rome before the foundation of the Forum temple.¹⁴⁷ However, this ‘pomoerial rule’ has been re-examined by Ziolkowski and Orlin, who argue that the origin of cults did not determine whether they received a temple inside or outside the *pomoerium*.¹⁴⁸ Ziolkowski instead suggests that the location of a cult site was determined by practical reasons of space.¹⁴⁹ Orlin argues that the Aventine hill in particular became the location of many foreign cults and possessed a liminal nature, since it was outside the *pomoerium* until Claudius’ extension of the boundary, but inside the city walls. Orlin’s argument risks circularity, for by asserting that the cults were not located on the Aventine due to the hill being outside the *pomoerium*, he is forced to seek another reason for the concentration of ‘foreign cults’ on this hill, and does so by citing the hill’s liminal nature.¹⁵⁰ However, this liminality may be in part because of the hill’s location outside the *pomoerium*. Regarding the location of the cult of the Dioscuri, as discussed below, there is no evidence that they had another public cult prior to the building of their Forum temple, and their cult is depicted as having been introduced following a battle against the Latins.¹⁵¹ However, our evidence is insufficient to state whether in the early fifth century BC Romans thought of the cult as foreign and to what extent the *pomoerium* dictated the placement of cults at this date.

¹⁴⁵ Castagnoli (1959) p6, (1983) p4; however, Albert (1883) p16 suggests that some Italian towns continued to use Greek rituals for the Dioscuri. This may suggest differences in how the cult was treated in different locations, but it is difficult to use Greek rites as evidence for a cult’s origins. Hercules received Greek rites, but other cults, such as Castor and Pollux, did not: Scheid (1995) p21-22, (2005) p90-91.

¹⁴⁶ Sordi (1972) p65; Cancellieri (1994) p63.

¹⁴⁷ Poulsen (1992a) p47.

¹⁴⁸ Ziolkowski (1992); Orlin (2002); Scheid (2003a) p62-63 suggests that the rule cannot apply by the imperial period, even if it had earlier.

¹⁴⁹ Ziolkowski (1992) p266-267, 278-279.

¹⁵⁰ Orlin (2002) p9-10.

¹⁵¹ See p114-116.

The centre of the state cult of Castor and Pollux in Rome was their temple in the Forum. Their temple played many different roles, being used for senatorial meetings, the inspection of the *equites* and as the depository of the official weights and measures.¹⁵² These functions, however, usually are discussed only in terms of the temple as a building, rather than as a cult site. For example, Frank asserts that even as the temple building grew in significance, the cult of Castor and Pollux diminished.¹⁵³ Poulsen states that although the temple was the centre of political tumults, the cult itself was unaffected.¹⁵⁴ Most studies cite practical reasons for the non-cultic use of the temple, such as its large size, allowing senatorial meetings to take place there. Although these may partly explain why certain events occurred at the temple, there may be other reasons, related to the cult, that are not considered by these studies, which I explore in Chapter Two. However, the importance of the cult has recently been more favourably appraised: Champlin noted the centrality of the temple and its cult to political life, noting that, owing to their use in oaths, the Dioscuri were “deeply embedded in the Roman consciousness”.¹⁵⁵

The final facet of previous scholarship concerning the cult of the Dioscuri explored here is their relationships with different groups in Roman society. Two groups have received the most attention in this regard: the *equites* and the Imperial family, explored in Chapters Three and Four respectively. Scholars have noted the importance of the Dioscuri for the *equites*.¹⁵⁶ Cancellieri argues that as Castor and Pollux received their temple at an early date and in a prominent location, this demonstrated the power of the elite, which included the equestrians.¹⁵⁷ Geppert, however, suggests that the motivation for the

¹⁵² Explored in Chapter One.

¹⁵³ Frank and Stevens (1925) p79-80.

¹⁵⁴ Poulsen (1994) p74.

¹⁵⁵ Champlin (2011) p75.

¹⁵⁶ Helbig (1905); Poulsen (1992a) p49.

¹⁵⁷ Cancellieri (1994) p64.

constructions of the temple was to use their fraternal harmony to symbolise the hoped for concord between the patricians and plebeians.¹⁵⁸ Cancellieri's hypothesis seems more likely, owing to the prominence of equestrians in early Roman society, who continued to be associated with the temple; however, multiple interpretations could exist concurrently.

Scott first noted the comparisons drawn between Castor and Pollux and young imperial men.¹⁵⁹ McCracken's discussion of inscriptions from Tusculum noted that the priests of Castor and Pollux in the town were known as *Augustales (et) aeditui [Castoris et] Pollucis*, linking the Imperial cult with that of the Dioscuri.¹⁶⁰ Other scholars explored how this relationship between Castor and Pollux and the imperial youths was publicised and developed.¹⁶¹ The origin of this parallel is unclear, Poulsen arguing that Augustus first used it for his grandsons Gaius and Lucius,¹⁶² while Champlin posits that the impetus came from Tiberius following the death of his brother Drusus.¹⁶³ Pollini has continued to argue in favour of Poulsen's hypothesis, however noting that this parallel was implied rather than stated, which allows for interpretation, both among contemporaries and modern scholars.¹⁶⁴

The majority of previous scholarship exploring the cult of Castor and Pollux in Rome has focused on individual elements of the cult, such as the temples, numismatic depictions, or their link to the imperial family and the *ordo equester*. No study since the late nineteenth century has attempted to bring together these facets for a full examination of the cult in Rome. Furthermore, of those studies that do present a history of the cult, few

¹⁵⁸ Geppert (1996).

¹⁵⁹ Scott (1930a), (1930b).

¹⁶⁰ McCracken (1940) p486, 487-488; *CIL* 14.2620; see p239-240.

¹⁶¹ La Rocca (1994); Poulsen (1994); Pollini (2012) p420-444.

¹⁶² Poulsen (1991b) p122-123, 125.

¹⁶³ Champlin (2011). For further discussion, see Chapter Four.

¹⁶⁴ Pollini (2012) p430-431.

explore the significance of changes within it across a substantial period. This study not only fills a void in scholarship, but also goes beyond the creation of a narrative history of the cult. The exploration of the cult of the Dioscuri in concert with the political and societal development of Rome will permit a more detailed understanding of this specific cult, but also explore how these aspects of ancient Roman life affected each other.

Form of the Thesis

This study begins when we are told the Dioscuri first received public cult in Rome in the early fifth century BC, tracing the changes in the cult, as far as the evidence permits, into the Imperial period. I conclude this study in AD 68, with the death of Nero. To an extent, this is dictated by the constraints of the thesis; to expand the chronological span further would sacrifice detailed analysis for a broader picture. However, the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty does signal a break in the use of the Dioscuri. Augustus revived the *transvectio equitum* that commemorated an epiphany of the Dioscuri and promoted their relationship with the *ordo equester*. The last restorer of the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux was Tiberius. The last epiphany of the Dioscuri occurs at Drusus the Elder's death. Nero and his adoptive brother Britannicus were the last imperial young men to be compared to Castor and Pollux before the Severan period. Thus, the period between the mid-Republic and the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty provides a wealth of information about the rise and fall in prominence of the different aspects of the cult of the Dioscuri, a period of otherwise unparalleled richness of information for the cult in Rome.

I have restricted the majority of my discussion to the cult of the Dioscuri in Rome itself, although by doing so, I do not intend to minimise the importance of their cults outside Rome. This choice does not suggest that the Roman cult of the Dioscuri can serve

as an exemplar for all their other cults in Italy; their Roman cult may be very different from others, responding to the particular needs of Roman society. However, by situating this study in Rome, it is possible to take advantage of the greater amount of evidence linked to the Roman cult. Furthermore, locating this study in Rome provides the opportunity for analysing the relationship between the religious and political spheres that would not be possible elsewhere.

There exists a notable difference between the brothers' titles in Greece and Rome. In Rome, Castor and Pollux were known as the *Castores*, a pluralisation of Castor's name. In contrast, in Greece, they were commonly called the Dioskouroi, the sons of Zeus. Technically, this title was only applicable to Pollux, the son of Zeus, and not to Castor, the son of Tyndareus. It might be suggested, based on these titles, that Pollux was more prominent in Greece and Castor was more central in Rome. The greater prominence of Castor in Rome is explored throughout this thesis, however I argue against the idea, perhaps partly based on the title *Castores*, that Pollux was initially omitted from the Roman cult.¹⁶⁵ I have therefore elected to use the name Dioscuri, not only as their best-known title, but also as one that has less obvious connotations of differing prominence. Furthermore, I have selected to use the Roman names of other gods, so Jupiter instead of Zeus, except where I am specifically referring to a Greek context, such as a cult site, text or inscription.

The chapters of this thesis focus on important aspects of the cult of the Dioscuri in Rome, analysing the significance of each facet and its development. Chapter One examines the temples of Castor and Pollux, the first in the Roman Forum and the second in the Circus Flaminius. Owing to the greater amount of evidence available for the Forum

¹⁶⁵ See p39-40.

temple, the majority of my discussion focuses upon this temple. I analyse the significance of the addition of a speaker's platform to the temple in the second century BC. I argue that this platform was linked to the *ordo equester* from an early date, but also became associated with popular politics.

The second chapter focuses on the explanations given for the cult's arrival in Rome. Castor and Pollux were reported to have appeared at the Battle of Lake Regillus and ensured the Roman victory against the Latin army who were attempting to restore the Tarquins to power. The Dioscuri are reported to have appeared on several other occasions, and I examine the significance of these epiphanies and the events with which they are associated. I argue that the reason that Castor and Pollux appeared was their transitory nature, as deified heroes who constantly crossed the boundaries between Olympus and Hades.

Chapter Three analyses the relationships between the Dioscuri and groups within Roman society, including the *ordo equester*, sailors, merchants and athletes. I argue that the annual parade and review of the *equites*, the *transvectio* and *recognitio equitum*, exemplify how the cult of the Dioscuri was influenced by the politics and society of Rome. I also explore why Castor's relationship with horsemen took precedence over Pollux's link to boxers, and suggest how this affected the form of their cult and portrayal in Rome.

The final chapter continues to explore relationships between the Dioscuri and mortals, focusing on individual parallels, examining how imperial young men were compared to the Dioscuri. I argue that these parallels draw on Hellenistic precedents, in which pairs of ruling brothers were linked to the Dioscuri in order to suggest that they too had a strong bond. I consider why certain imperial youths were linked with the Dioscuri, whilst others were not, and how this relationship was publicised. I conclude with an

examination of the significance that this new relationship had for the Dioscuri and for the imperial pairs.

Three appendices are included in a second volume for ease of consultation. The first appendix provides a catalogue of the epiphanies of the Dioscuri, as referenced in Chapter Two. The second appendix examines the parallels often drawn between the Dioscuri and the Penates of Rome. I argue that although there are certain similarities between the depictions, descriptions and responsibilities of these gods, they remained separate gods in Rome. The third appendix provides the figures referred to throughout this thesis.

Chapter One: The Temples of Castor and Pollux

Castor and Pollux possessed many temples throughout the ancient world, from their native Sparta¹ to those at Athens² and Corinth.³ Their presence is attested in Italy at a cult site outside Lavinium in the sixth century BC, and they possessed shrines throughout Italy, including at Naples and Ostia.⁴ The Dioscuri also had two temples in Rome: the first was dedicated in the south-eastern corner of the *Forum Romanum* following their epiphany at the Battle of Lake Regillus, the second stood in *Circo Flaminio*.⁵

The significance of particular locations and monuments in the political life of ancient Rome has received attention in scholarship, particularly in the work of Coarelli, Morstein-Marx and Sumi.⁶ The topography of Rome could serve as a kind of historical document, which, through its buildings, statues and inscriptions, could suggest legends or memories of the past.⁷ An orator might draw upon the locations of his speeches or nearby monuments to evoke emotions or memories in his audience.⁸ For example, Cicero summoned the Senate to the temple of Jupiter Stator to denounce the Catilinarian conspiracy, evoking the foundation legend of the temple: during a battle against the Sabines Romulus prayed to Jupiter that his army would stand firm and vowed a temple to Jupiter the Stayer if they did so.⁹ Cicero's intention in choosing this temple for his first

¹ Paus. 3.13.6, 3.14.6-7.

² Paus. 1.18.1-2.

³ Paus. 2.225-6.

⁴ Nielsen and Poulsen (1992c) p127; Heinzelmann and Martin (2004) p17-18.

⁵ Vitr. *De Arch.*, 4.8.4; *Fasti Allifani: CIL 1².1 p217: Casto[ri] Polluci in Circo Flam; Fasti Amiternini: CIL 1².1 p244: Castori Polluci in Circo Flaminio.*

⁶ Coarelli (1983), (1985), (2007); Morstein-Marx (2004); Sumi (2005), (2009), (2011).

⁷ Wiseman (1986) p88-89; Stamper (2005) pxiii; Sumi (2005) p8-9, 13.

⁸ Vasaly (1993) p25, p59; Morstein-Marx (2004) p42, 48; Sumi (2005) p13, (2009) p168.

⁹ Cic. *Cat.* 1.11, 1.33, 2.12; Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 2.50.3; Liv. 1.12.3-6; Ov. *Fast.* 7.794; Vasaly (1993) p43-45; Edwards (1996) p20-21.

Catilinarian oration was perhaps to encourage his audience, by analogy with the legend, to also stand firm.¹⁰

The Temple of Castor and Pollux in the *Forum Romanum*

The foundation legend of the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux is examined in the following chapter, so shall not be analysed in detail here, however, a summary will be helpful. The temple was vowed in 496 BC by the dictator Aulus Postumius following the epiphany of the Dioscuri at the Battle of Lake Regillus.¹¹ The dictator's son was elected *duumvir* to build and dedicate this temple, which was completed in 484 BC.¹² Livy preserves the foundation date as 15th July¹³ whilst some *Fasti* give it as 27th January.¹⁴ The battle was believed to have occurred on 15th July, and this was also when sacrifices to the Dioscuri were made and the annual parade of the *equites* performed.¹⁵ The difference in these dates may be explained by the rededication of the temple by Tiberius in AD 6, at which point the dedication date may have changed from 15th July to 27th January.¹⁶ The fact that the only sources to connect the 27th January to the Forum temple are the *Fasti Praenestini* and *Verulani*, dated to the Late Augustan and Tiberian periods respectively, may further indicate that this is the case¹⁷. Why this new date in particular was chosen is unclear, although many temples received a new *dies natalis* through rebuildings in the reign of Augustus, with dates significant to him or his family, this date does not seem to

¹⁰ Vasaly (1993) p46-47, 49-54, 57-59; Clark (2007) p23.

¹¹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.1-5; Flor. 1.5.2-4; Frontin. *Strat* 1.11.8; Plut. *Cor.* 3.4; Val. Max. 1.8.1. Liv. 2.20.10-13 dates the battle to 499 BC.

¹² Liv. 2.42.5.

¹³ Liv. 2.42.5.

¹⁴ *Fast. Praen.*, *CIL* 1².1 p232; *Fast. Verul.*, *Ov. Fast.* 1.705-708; Nielsen, *LTUR I*: 'Castor, Aedes, Templum' p242-245; Ogilvie (1965) p347-348.

¹⁵ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.1-5; Liv. 9.46.15; Val. Max. 2.2.9.

¹⁶ Ogilvie (1965) p347-348; Zanker (1972) p18; Scullard (1981) p65; Poulsen (1991) p120, (1992a) p59, (1992b) p57.

¹⁷ Rüpke (2011) tab. 1.

have any significance.¹⁸ However, the games in honour of Castor and Pollux at Ostia, Rome's port and colony since the fourth century BC,¹⁹ were also held on 27th January.²⁰ The cult of the Dioscuri at Ostia appears to have been closely linked to the cult at Rome, not only because of this date, but also as the Roman *praetor urbanus* travelled to Ostia to perform the annual ceremonies.²¹

The foundation year of the temple is significant: it was the first temple to be both vowed and constructed in the Forum during the Republic.²² Although other prominent temples, such as the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus,²³ had been constructed prior to that of Castor and Pollux, the Capitoline temple was vowed by Tarquinius Priscus and building begun under Tarquinius Superbus. Aulus Postumius also vowed the temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera in the same year as his vow for the temple of Castor and Pollux: 496 BC. The vow for the temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera was less unusual, made on the instructions of the Sibylline Books, which had been consulted after a famine.²⁴ The consul Spurius Cassius consecrated the temple in 493 BC, reportedly *ex manubiis*.²⁵ Being situated on the Aventine, this temple was outside the *pomoerium* and not as geographically central as the temple of Castor and Pollux.²⁶ However, this does not diminish the importance of the cult of Ceres in Rome, which is demonstrated by the attestation of a *flamen Cerealis*, one of the oldest groups of priests, believed to have been founded by

¹⁸ Poulsen (1992a) p59.

¹⁹ Bispham (2000) p159-161 argues that Ostia was founded during the regal period, perhaps the early sixth century BC and re-founded during the third century BC.

²⁰ According to a fifth century AD calendar of Polemius Silvius, *CIL* 1².1 p257, but this date is accepted by many scholars: Taylor (1912) p22-23; Meiggs (1973) p344; Heinzlmann and Martin (2004) p17-18; Bruun (2009) p137.

²¹ See p205; Taylor (1912) p22-23; Meiggs (1973) p344; Bispham (2000) p163-164; Bruun (2009) p137-138.

²² Orlin (1997) p22.

²³ Liv. 1.38, 1.55.

²⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.17.2.

²⁵ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.94.3.

²⁶ Although note my discussion on the *pomoerium*: p26-27.

Numa.²⁷ Although this priest may predate the introduction of the triadic cult of Ceres, Liber and Libera, it is interesting to note the difference between the officials of the cults of the two temples vowed by Aulus Postumius. Ceres had her own *flamen* and would later have a Greek priestess who was awarded Roman citizenship so she could carry out religious acts for the state, retaining aspects of her foreignness.²⁸ However, we know very little of the officials of the cult of Castor and Pollux: they did not have a *flamen*, and the only official explicitly connected to sacrifices for the Dioscuri in Rome is the *praetor urbanus*.²⁹ Some of this difference may have been because of the differing ages of the cults; the cult of Castor and Pollux was introduced at the start of the Republic but the cult of Ceres may have been even older. Spaeth has argued that the cult of Ceres in Rome dated to the regal period, demonstrated by the *flamen Cerialis* and the fact that the festival of the goddess, the *Cerealia*, is listed in capital letters in the pre-Julian calendar, suggested to mean a foundation under the kings.³⁰

As explored in the subsequent chapter, the Battle of Lake Regillus was seen as a pivotal moment in Roman history at which the Roman army defeated an attempt to restore Tarquinius Superbus and his sons to power.³¹ The temple can therefore be seen as embodying anti-monarchical sentiments. The Forum temple was also one of the first recorded temples to be dedicated after a vow in battle. The only attested earlier example is that of the Capitoline temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, reportedly vowed by Tarquinius Priscus in a battle against the Sabines.³² The construction of the temple of

²⁷ *CIL* 11.5028; Spaeth (1996) p6. Later, the introduction of the *Graeca sacra* of Ceres from Magna Graecia instituted the role of a Greek priestess from the same region: *Cic. Balb.* 55; Spaeth (1996) p13.

²⁸ Spaeth (1996) p13.

²⁹ See p182-184.

³⁰ Spaeth (1996) p6; contra Isayev (2011) p378-379.

³¹ *Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.* 6.4.1, 7.71.2; *Plut. Aem.* 25.1.

³² *Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.* 3.69.1; although Romulus vowed to build a temple of Jupiter Stator, the area was consecrated, but the temple building itself was not constructed until it was vowed a second time by Marcus

Castor and Pollux therefore played an important role at the very beginning of the Republic, being dedicated and built at a crucial moment in the formation of Roman identity. To what extent the temple of Castor and Pollux would have been recognised by the Romans as significantly different from other early temples, such as those of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Saturn, is unclear. The regal origin of the Capitoline temple does not appear to have diminished its importance; rather it was regarded as the most prominent temple in Rome.³³ Nevertheless, the temple of Castor and Pollux, as the first temple to be both vowed and built in the Republican Forum, played an important role in the formation of the religious identity of early Rome.

It has been a commonly held view that no temple was built to a foreign god within the *pomoerium*³⁴ and thus the inclusion of the cult of the Dioscuri, originally Greek gods, within this boundary has been seen as requiring explanation.³⁵ As noted in the Introduction, Ziolkowski and Orlin have argued against the view that the origin of cults dictated their location relative to the *pomoerium*.³⁶ Other scholars have proposed various hypotheses to explain the temple's location in the context of this 'pomoerial rule', from Poulsen's idea that a cult to Castor and Pollux must have existed in Rome before the temple's foundation, to Sordi's suggestion that the cult had been mediated through the Latins.³⁷ Both propositions deny that the cult was foreign by the time the temple was built. While it may be possible that the cult had previously been present in Rome privately, or on

Atilius Regulus in 294 BC (see p89). Coarelli, *LTUR* III: '*Iuppiter Stator, Aedes, Fanum, Templum*, p155-156; Liv. 1.12, 10.36.15.

³³ Tagliamonte, *LTUR* III: '*Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, Aedes, Templum* (Fino all'a 83 a.C.)', p144-148; De Angeli, *LTUR* III '*Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, Aedes*, (Fasi Tardo-Repubblicane e di età Imperiale)', p148-153. Feeney (2007) p141-142; Forsythe (1999) p62; Flower (2008) p75-77 with Liv. 7.3.3-8.

³⁴ Altheim (1938) p244; Ogilvie (1969) p571-572; Castagnoli (1983) p8; Sihvola (1989) p78; Gustafsson (2000) p35.

³⁵ Altheim (1938) p244; Alföldi (1963) p270; Sordi (1972) p65; Castagnoli (1983) p4; Sihvola (1989) p81; Poulsen (1992a) p47; Cancellieri (1994) p63.

³⁶ Ziolkowski (1992); Orlin (2002); Scheid (2003a) p62-63; see p26-27.

³⁷ Sordi (1972) p65; Poulsen (1992a) p47.

a far smaller scale, there is no evidence for this. The creation of the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux is inextricably linked in our sources to the foundation of the cult in Rome and is therefore of great importance for our understanding of the cult.

It has been suggested that the temple in the Forum was initially dedicated to Castor alone, omitting Pollux from the cult.³⁸ This is based upon the commonest form of the temple's name in our sources: *aedes Castoris*. However, the Forum temple was known by many names, including *aedes Castoris*,³⁹ *templum Castoris*,⁴⁰ *aedes Castorum*,⁴¹ and *aedes Castoris et Pollucis*.⁴² It has been suggested that the official name of the temple was either *aedes Castoris* or *templum Castoris*.⁴³ To what extent, however, did temples have an 'official name'? Is the 'official name' the one which is most commonly used by ancient authors, which for this temple is *aedes Castoris*, or the one which appears in the texts of calendars, in which case the temple's name could be *Aedes Castoris et Pollucis*?⁴⁴ It could be argued that the name depicted on the *Forma Urbis Romae* should be the official title; the fragment examined below suggests the name only included *[Ca]storis* and there is no room for *Pollucis* (fig.5). However, should this be considered the full 'official' title, or, more likely, was the title truncated to fit on the plan? Furthermore, although Vitruvius calls the second temple *Castoris in Circo Flaminio*, a fragment of another marble plan gives its title as *Castoris et Pollucis* (fig.17).⁴⁵ It seems therefore that the name of a temple

³⁸ Hadzits (1931); Latte (1960) p23, 173; Platt (2003) p173; Rüpke (2007b) p77; Champlin (2011) p88-89 esp. n4. Contra: Sihvola (1989) p78; Poulsen (1992b) p54.

³⁹ Liv. 2.20.12, 2.42.5; Suet. *Iul.* 10.1.

⁴⁰ Cic. *Sest.* 79; Liv. 9.43.22.

⁴¹ Plin. *HN.* 10.121.

⁴² Suet. *Calig.* 22.2; Poulsen (1992b) p60 provides a list of attestations in literary and epigraphic sources: *Aedes Castoris* is attested 24 times; *Templum Castoris*, 12 times; *Aedes Castoris et Pollucis*, 7 times; *Templum Castorum* 7 times; *Templum Castoris et Pollucis* once.

⁴³ Nielsen, *LTUR* I: 'Castor, Aedes, Templum', p242.

⁴⁴ *Fasti Praenestini: CIL* 1².1 p232; Ogilvie (1965) p347; Poulsen (1992b) p60.

⁴⁵ Vitr. 4.8.4.

could vary widely and it is difficult to assess which should be designated the ‘official’ title, if any should.

Furthermore, there is no evidence that Pollux was omitted from the cult at any time. The foundation legend of the epiphany at the Battle of Lake Regillus states that both Castor and Pollux appeared to aid the Romans.⁴⁶ Furthermore, a fundamental characteristic of the Dioscuri is that they appear as a pair; their mythology states that Pollux shared his immortality so that they would not be parted.⁴⁷ There is a more practical explanation for the inclusion of Castor alone in the most common title for the temple: the tendency to abbreviate. Many places are known by a shortened version of their full name, for example, the temple on the Capitoline hill to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva was usually called the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.⁴⁸ A similar abbreviation can be seen in the case of the temple of Castor and Pollux; *aedes Castoris* abbreviating the longer *aedes Castoris et Pollucis*. I would argue that both temples were dedicated to the Dioscuri as a pair, both Castor and Pollux receiving cult there and, if the temples did have ‘official’ names, they were probably *aedes Castoris et Pollucis*, although this was not the title most used.

Depictions of the Temple

An image of the temple appears on the second century AD relief known as the *anaglypha Traiani* (or *Hadriani*).⁴⁹ The reliefs depict an emperor during an *adlocutio* (fig.4). The background is identifiable as the western side of the Forum Romanum. It stretches from the single bay of an arch, usually identified as the right-hand bay of the Actian arch of Augustus,⁵⁰ and the temple of Castor and Pollux across the Vicus Tuscus to the *Basilica*

⁴⁶ Although the sources are relatively late, when the Dioscuri appear in this epiphany, they appear together, see p114-115.

⁴⁷ Flor. *Epit.* 1.28.12-15.

⁴⁸ Liv. 40.52.7, Suet. *Iul.* 84.

⁴⁹ Torelli (1982) p89-92; Hannestad (1988) p193-194.

⁵⁰ See p82-83.

Julia and statue of Marsyas. It represents the columns of the temple of Castor and Pollux as Corinthian and shows the temple's distinctive high *podium*. These reliefs are double sided; on the other side is depicted a *souvetaurilia*. The original placement of these reliefs must have allowed them to be viewed from both sides, suggesting they formed a parapet. Torelli has identified them as forming the enclosure for the *figus Ruminalis* and Marsyas' statue.⁵¹ Alternatively, Hannestad has suggested that these panels would fit exactly on the platform of the temple of Castor and Pollux.⁵² However, at two metres high, if these were a parapet, they would surely obscure the view from the ground of anyone standing on the platform, rendering it impractical.

The platform on which the emperor stands to address his subjects is depicted from the side with a *rostrum* attached. There has been much discussion whether this platform is the one attached to the temple of Castor and Pollux⁵³ or to the temple of Divus Julius.⁵⁴ Sande and Slej have argued for the identification of the platform as the one attached to the temple of Castor and Pollux. They base their argument on the suggestion that the emperor's entourage is depicted advancing through the arch, represented by the tips of their spears being obscured by the bay of the arch.⁵⁵ In addition, the position of the archaeological remains of the arch next to the temple suggest that one of the bays may have led directly to one of the lateral staircases leading to the platform.⁵⁶ Although Sande has acknowledged a difficulty of their identification, namely the *rostrum* depicted, she argues that this could be symbolic, denoting the fact that the emperor is speaking in a

⁵¹ Torelli (1982) p108.

⁵² Hannestad (1988) p192.

⁵³ Sande and Slej (1992) p133; Sande (2009a) p126.

⁵⁴ Torelli (1982) p98; Nielsen and Zahle (1985) p1.

⁵⁵ Sande and Slej (1992) p133.

⁵⁶ See p82-83; Sande and Slej (1992) p133; Sande (2009a) p126.

public location.⁵⁷ She also suggests that it would not be surprising to find that the platform of the temple of Castor and Pollux was adorned with *rostra*, owing to the gods' maritime connections. However, there is no evidence to suggest that the platform at the temple of Castor and Pollux possessed *rostra* and such an argument risks circularity. It furthermore remains difficult to use this relief as evidence for the exact appearance of the temple, as it is not accurate even in simple matters. The temple is depicted *pentastyle*, whereas the archaeological evidence suggests that the temple at this time had eight columns across the front, not five.⁵⁸ Therefore, it seems more probable, considering the *rostrum* on the front of the platform, that it should be identified as the platform at the temple of Divus Julius which is attested as having *rostra*,⁵⁹ rather than at the temple of Castor and Pollux.

The temple plan is depicted on fragments 18a-c, 18f and 18g of the *Forma Urbis Romae*.⁶⁰ Some of these fragments have subsequently been lost, but are preserved in photographs (18f and g comprising the S of ...STORIS) or in Renaissance drawings (18b). When these fragments are fitted together, a fairly clear representation of the temple can be seen. The fragments are not without problems: Steinby has argued that, owing to the differences in the representation of the temple between fragments 18a-c, that 18a belongs to a different marble plan than the *Forma Urbis*.⁶¹ The differences she notes include the double line of the temple outline on fragments 18a, f and g (fig.5), compared with the single line of 18b (fig.6) and the possible indication of a column at the rear of the temple on 18a, suggesting a peripteral design, which is not indicated on 18b. Palombi has suggested that this fragment does not represent the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux, but the *Lacus Pastoris* on the Oppian, mentioned in the fourth century AD regionary

⁵⁷ Sande (2009a) p126.

⁵⁸ Sande and Slej (1992) p113; Nielson (1992b) p113-114.

⁵⁹ Cass. Dio 51.19.2.

⁶⁰ Numbering from the Stanford Digital *Forma Urbis Romae* Project.

⁶¹ Steinby (1994) p120; see also criticisms by Richter (1898) p113-114.

catalogues.⁶² He critiques the traditional identification of the fragment on varied grounds, including the inconsistencies between the preserved fragment 18a and the Renaissance drawing of 18b (however, as discussed below, it is difficult to compare the fragment and drawing, as we do not know how accurate the Renaissance artist was). He argues that the structure on the fragment traditionally identified as the *Lacus Juturnae*, comprising of two squares within a larger rectangle, does not resemble the archaeological remains of the *Lacus* and does not include the *aedicula* of Juturna. Najbjerg and Trimble have also noted this discrepancy, but suggest that the plan may depict the *Lacus* in its pre-Domitianic or pre-Trajanic form.⁶³ However, it is difficult to reassign this fragment based on this evidence, and although there are certainly problems and incongruities, particularly regarding the *Lacus Juturnae*, Palombi's argument is in my opinion not strong enough to reject the interpretation of the fragment as depicting the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux.

The three-dimensional scans of the fragments produced by the Stanford Digital *Forma Urbis Romae* Project allow closer examination than was previously possible. This has led them to argue that the engraver of these fragments may not have been careful, for on closer study it appears that the columns on fragment 18a are depicted on only three sides and the second solid line perhaps should have been a dashed one, to complete the fourth side of the columns.⁶⁴ Najbjerg and Trimble question the reliability of the Renaissance drawing, considering the damage to the fragment, they suggest it is possible

⁶² Palombi (2007) p285.

⁶³ Najbjerg and Trimble, Stanford Digital *Forma Urbis Romae* Project 18a
<http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=85> accessed 19th November 2013.

⁶⁴ Najbjerg and Trimble, Stanford Digital *Forma Urbis Romae* Project 18a
<http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=85> accessed 19th November 2013.

that damage was done to the depiction of the rear wall of the temple. Thus, just because no depictions of rear columns survive, does not mean they were not depicted.⁶⁵

Phases of the Temple

The temple was first excavated by Boni in 1900-1903 and most recently re-excavated by a Scandinavian team between 1983 and 1985.⁶⁶ The latter team's archaeological findings, together with literary accounts, have allowed them to construct a chronology of the site. The builders of each reconstruction built over the foundations of the previous temple, often utilising its material in the fill. This technique has preserved the evidence necessary to create a detailed analysis of the temple's changing design and components.⁶⁷ The excavators have constructed a history of the temple, which I will use throughout this chapter. I have adapted their scheme of Roman numerals designating major reconstructions of the temple with the addition of letters to denote minor alterations.⁶⁸ I have also included literary sources for adaptations of the temple, which they investigate separately, to provide a full chronological list of alterations:

First temple (I).	484 BC: Built by the son of Aulus Postumius following his father's vow at the Battle of Lake Regillus in 496 BC.
Restoration of first temple (Ia).	Early second century BC: Addition of platform to the front of the temple.
Metellan temple (II).	117 BC: A complete rebuilding of the temple by Lucius Metellus Dalmaticus, integrating the platform.
Restoration of Metellan temple (IIa).	Possible restoration adding columns to strengthen the <i>cella</i> .

⁶⁵ Najbjerg and Trimble, Stanford Digital *Forma Urbis Romae* Project 18a
<http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/fragment.php?record=85> accessed 19th November 2013.

⁶⁶ Nielsen and Zahle (1985) p2.

⁶⁷ Nielsen and Zahle (1985) p6; Nielsen (1992a) p32.

⁶⁸ Slej (2008) p318.

Tiberian Temple (III).	AD 6: A complete rebuilding of the temple, dedicated by Tiberius.
Alteration of third temple (IIIa)	AD 40: Caligula turns the temple into the vestibule of his palace.
Restoration of third temple (IIIb)	AD 41: Claudius restores the temple to Castor and Pollux.
Alteration of third temple (IIIc)	Possible alteration by Domitian, adding Minerva to the temple.
Removal of the platform.	Perhaps during Late Antiquity, removing the platform and creating a single central stair.

Temple I was the original structure, built in 484 BC. From the preserved structures within the later fill, the temple appears to have had three *cellae*, the central one being slightly wider than the lateral two, 8.60m compared to 8.30m (fig.7).⁶⁹ The idea of one temple dedicated to two gods possessing three *cellae* seems initially incongruous. However, as the excavators indicate, the number of *cellae* does not always match the number of gods to which the cult is dedicated, for example, the Capitoline temple of Juno Moneta also possessed three *cellae*.⁷⁰ It is likely that the cult statues would have stood in the larger and more visible central *cella*, but there is not enough evidence to state this definitively. This early temple would probably have had stone columns, a wooden entablature, and terracotta decorations, as found in Boni's excavations in the Vicus Tuscus.⁷¹ An anecdote preserved by Strabo demonstrates that this phase of the temple was known not only in Rome, but also across the Mediterranean by the early third century BC. It was used as a diplomatic tool by Demetrius Poliorcetes, who complained that it was not

⁶⁹ Nielsen and Poulsen (1992a) p76, although Nielsen and Zahle (1985) p21 cite the widths as 5m, 6.10m and 5m.

⁷⁰ Nielsen and Zahle (1985) p22.

⁷¹ Nielsen and Poulsen (1992a) p78.

right for the Romans to have in their Forum a temple to the Dioscuri, who were known to be saviours, whilst sending pirates to Greece.⁷²

This first temple stood for nearly four centuries before being completely rebuilt in 117 BC. It was not unaltered throughout this time; however, the aspects of the temple that probably underwent the most changes, such as the wooden entablature, have left little imprint on the archaeological record and the only terracottas found from this period are fragmentary.⁷³ The excavators did, however, find traces of an alteration to the *pronaos* (Temple Ia) (fig.8).⁷⁴ The most notable change during this rebuilding involved the first line of columns and four courses of stone underneath being removed, as well as the inner columns of the *pronaos*. This created a lower platform in front of the second row of columns, which now supported the pediment and entablature.⁷⁵ This open space was paved and appears to have taken on the function of an orator's platform (discussed below). It is likely that this platform was accessed in the same manner as in later phases: lateral staircases led up to the platform and then stairs at the back of the platform provided access to the *cellae*.

The first complete rebuilding of the temple (Temple II) was carried out by Lucius Caecilius Metellus Dalmaticus in 117 BC and was paid for by the spoils of his Dalmatian campaigns (fig.9).⁷⁶ This rebuilding included the platform, which was accessed by lateral staircases, and steps across the back of the platform led to the *cella*.⁷⁷ It is during this phase that the temple began to play an important role in politics; as has been noted by

⁷² Strabo 5.3.5; Bispham (2013) p234-234, 239.

⁷³ Grønne (1992) p157-171.

⁷⁴ Nielsen and Poulsen (1992b) p80.

⁷⁵ Nielsen and Poulsen (1992b) p82-83.

⁷⁶ Cic. *Scaur.* 46, *Verr.* 2.1.59.

⁷⁷ Nielsen (1992b) p112.

Nielsen, the temple is mentioned in our sources more frequently in a political rather than a cultic context during this period.⁷⁸ It is in this phase that the Senate is first attested as using the temple as a meeting place, perhaps facilitated by the three *cellae* being merged into a single *cella*, permitting a larger gathering inside.⁷⁹ The platform was enlarged to 7m deep by 21m wide.⁸⁰ Cicero also describes the temple as a “large and elaborate building”⁸¹ with its “whole roof beautifully panelled” (*undique tectum pulcherrime laqueatum*),⁸² and columns of stuccoed tufa.⁸³

The majority of the evidence we possess for the next alteration comes from Cicero’s invectives against Gaius Verres. In 80 BC, Publius Iunius had bid for the contract to maintain the Forum temple, but after he died this passed to his young son. During Verres’ praetorship in 74 BC, in order to make a profit, it is alleged that he ordered that the temple columns should be made plumb, a near impossible feat. Cicero accused Verres of attempting to defraud the younger Iunius by employing a fraudulent contractor and re-erecting the same columns with new stucco.⁸⁴ However, Verres may have done more than Cicero alleges; the excavators suggest that six columns were added inside the *cella* after the Metellan rebuilding (fig.10). These columns were irregularly placed, which suggests that they were not part of the Metellan structure, but later additions.⁸⁵ The plinths of these columns were only 20cm narrower than those of the outer columns, suggesting that they were intended to be load bearing rather than decorative.⁸⁶ The date of the addition of these columns is unknown and thus the identification of the instigator can only be a suggestion.

⁷⁸ Nielsen (1992b) p113.

⁷⁹ Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.49. The Senate may have met in the earlier phases of the temple, but the use of the *cella* for senatorial meetings is not attested prior to the Metellan phase.

⁸⁰ Nielsen (1992b) p113.

⁸¹ Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.50.

⁸² Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.51.

⁸³ Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.55.

⁸⁴ Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.49-55.

⁸⁵ Sande (2009b) p204-205.

⁸⁶ Sande (2009b) p204-205.

However, as the only repair of the temple referred to in our literary sources is by Verres, it is reasonable to suggest that this was his doing. The excavators have noted that the temple, owing to the instability of the ground, subsides in the north-western corner.⁸⁷ Depending on the rate of subsidence of the Metellan temple, the columns might have needed repositioning. As Sande notes, Cicero's aim is to cast Verres in the worst possible light and it is likely that he would minimise any practical benefit to the temple.⁸⁸

Tiberius undertook the third rebuilding of the Forum temple, the remains of which still stand today (Temple III). It was dedicated in AD 6 in his and his deceased brother Drusus' names.⁸⁹ The temple maintained much of the plan of the Metellan phase: peripteral or peripteral *sine postico* columns with an almost square *cella*. However, it was larger and constructed mostly of marble. *Tabernae* are present in the *podium* in this rebuilding, but may have already been included in the Metellan temple.⁹⁰

Although the temple was never completely rebuilt, it was not left unaltered in the following centuries. Most infamously, in AD 40 it is reported that Caligula turned the temple into the vestibule of his palace, cutting a hole in the back wall of the temple so he could stand between the statues of the Dioscuri and call them his gatekeepers (Temple IIIa).⁹¹ Gradel argues that there is no sign of any alteration to the temple such as the addition of walls, a doorway in the rear wall or any changes to the base for the cult statues.⁹² However, any alterations would only have been present for a short period, as Cassius Dio states that Claudius restored the temple to Castor and Pollux in AD 41,

⁸⁷ Nielsen and Zahle (1985) p4.

⁸⁸ Frank and Stevens (1925) p81; Sande (2009b) p205.

⁸⁹ See p241-242.

⁹⁰ Nielsen (1990) p92, (1992a) p34; Poulsen (1992b) p57; Holleran (2012) p108.

⁹¹ Cass. Dio 59.28.5; Suet. *Cal.* 20; See p267-268, 269-272.

⁹² Gradel (2002) p154-155.

removing any alterations (Temple IIIb).⁹³ Little remains of the superstructure of the temple, so any traces of Caligula's alteration may have been lost.

Remnants of a building close behind the temple, discovered in Boni's excavations of 1900-1901, predate the Domitianic structures that remain today (fig.3).⁹⁴ Early imperial brick stamps were found in a marble lined *piscina*, as well as pottery dating from AD 25-30 beneath the construction, providing a *terminus post quem*. Later excavations carried out between 1983 and 1989 have suggested that this *piscina* was in the *atrium* of a larger complex which included rooms on the north and eastern sides. Hurst has suggested that these rooms were primarily for storage, with the principal rooms being located on the first floor.⁹⁵ He has argued that this complex may have been part of the *Domus Tiberiana*, expanded by Caligula, and thus we should take the reports that Caligula transformed the temple into his vestibule seriously. For, if he did create an opening in the back wall of the *cella* and built a bridge between the temple and this complex, this would accord with the suggestion that the most important rooms were on the first floor, at the level of the temple *podium*.⁹⁶ However, the construction of Domitianic buildings over the complex behind the temple makes it difficult to assess to what extent Caligula may have altered the temple.

A further alteration may have been undertaken by Domitian, as referred to by the Chronographer of AD 354 who lists *Templum Castorum et Minervae* among Domitian's works.⁹⁷ A further reference in a contemporary epigram of Martial may also refer to this alteration, in which the poet claims that if the gods were to reward Domitian for his temple dedications they would have to auction the contents of Olympus to pay him. Included in

⁹³ Cass. Dio 60.6.8; Gradel (2002) p155 suggests that Caligula had placed a statue of himself in the temple, and it was this that Claudius removed.

⁹⁴ Krause *LTUR II: 'Domus Tiberiana'*, p189-190; Hurst, *LTUR II: 'Domus Gai'*, p106-108; '*Domus Tiberiana (Forum Extension)*', p199.

⁹⁵ Hurst, *LTUR II: 'Domus Gai'*, p106-108.

⁹⁶ Hurst, *LTUR II: 'Domus Gai'*, p107-108.

⁹⁷ Anderson (1983) p93, 100-101; Poulsen (1992b) p58; Richardson (1992) p75.

Martial's list of gods who would owe Domitian are the "Loving Laconians" (*piosque Laconas*), probably a reference to Castor and Pollux.⁹⁸ These references may suggest that Domitian converted the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux into one including his favoured goddess Minerva.⁹⁹ However, no significant alteration to the temple is visible in the archaeological remains, although some Flavian pottery sherds have been found in one of the archaeological trenches.¹⁰⁰ If Domitian did alter the Forum temple, Poulsen has suggested the modifications were probably minor, perhaps restricted to the *cella* floor and decorations.¹⁰¹ He may, for example, have added a statue of Minerva to the temple. Other scholars have remained sceptical of this suggested alteration. Poulsen has suggested that the reference in the Chronographer is a conflation of two temples, the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux with an (unidentified) temple to Minerva, perhaps as the temple built by Domitian to Minerva in the Forum Transitorium.¹⁰² This is paralleled elsewhere in the list preserved by the Chronographer, when he records *Thermae Titianae et Traianae*, which were different buildings, although located close to each other.¹⁰³ Anderson suggests that the structures revealed in excavations near S. Maria Antiqua, near the temple of Castor and Pollux, may be a vestibule of the imperial palace and a guardroom, perhaps the one connected to the temple by Caligula. Paired with a fragmentary statue of Minerva found near the *Lacus Juturnae*, he suggests that there was a shrine to Minerva at this entrance to the palace.¹⁰⁴ However, the identification of the structure remains uncertain, and there is no proof that Minerva was associated with it.¹⁰⁵ For now, it can only be stated that Domitian may have altered the Forum temple, but how remains unclear.

⁹⁸ Mart. 9.3.7-11.

⁹⁹ Albert (1883) p40.

¹⁰⁰ Sande (2009e) p353-354.

¹⁰¹ Poulsen (1992b) p58.

¹⁰² Bartoli (1927) p294; Poulsen (1992b) p58.

¹⁰³ Anderson (1983) p100.

¹⁰⁴ Anderson (1983) p100.

¹⁰⁵ Hurst, *LTUR* II: 'Domus Gai', p106-108, 'Domus Tiberiana (Forum Extension)', p197-199.

A final alteration to the Forum temple may be preserved on fragment 18b of the *Forma Urbis*. Instead of lateral staircases leading to a platform, the drawing shows a single staircase from the *pronaos* to the Forum floor (fig.6). A square sits near the bottom of these steps, slightly to the left of centre. This square appears too small to represent the platform and no lateral staircases are depicted on either side; the large stairs continue parallel to the front of the temple on either side of this square. It is usually identified as an altar, set into the bottom steps.¹⁰⁶ The suggestion of an altar is problematic, however, as the extant central staircase (and that photographed in 1871, fig.11) preserve no trace of this altar. Instead, the flight of stairs continues uninterrupted to the Forum level.¹⁰⁷ In response to this problem, the excavators have suggested that the altar would have been removed and the central stair reconstructed following Theodosius' decree of AD 391 outlawing pagan sacrifices.¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately, we only know of the relevant fragment of the *Forma Urbis* through a drawing made in the Renaissance, as it is lost, and the reliability of this drawing has been questioned.¹⁰⁹ As noted above, the artist may have preferred speed to accuracy; note the different sized and spaced columns on the temple as well as the uneven lines on the *Basilica Julia*. However, we should not only question the accuracy of the Renaissance artist, but also that of the engraver of the original plan. Either might have neglected to render the stairs correctly, continuing the central staircase rather than showing the lateral staircases. It is therefore difficult to use this drawing as evidence for the design of the temple in the Severan period as we do not know the accuracy either of the engraver or of the Renaissance artist.

¹⁰⁶ Richter (1898) p88; Steinby (1994) p120; Nilson, Persson and Zahle (2009b) p73; Coarelli (1985) p309 describes it as a 'monument'.

¹⁰⁷ Steinby (1994) p120.

¹⁰⁸ Nilson, Persson and Zahle (2009b) p73.

¹⁰⁹ Richter (1898) p113-114.

The continuous staircase shown in the photograph of 1871 demonstrates that the platform was removed at some point. The most recent excavators have suggested that this occurred during Late Antiquity, and that the core of the platform and central stair were built over for the new frontal staircase (fig.13).¹¹⁰ The lowest three steps of this staircase were found *in situ* (visible on fig.12) and are indicated on the plan by the darker colour. The excavators have aligned their reconstruction of the stair with these remains. They argue that the removal of the platform must have occurred after the depiction of the temple on the *Anaglypha* relief (fig.4) which appears to show the platform. It may have occurred during the early fourth century AD, when Diocletian added a new *rostra* to the southern end of the Forum, in front of the temple of Divus Julius, thus restricting the usefulness of a platform at the temple of Castor and Pollux.¹¹¹

However, their reconstruction remains problematic as it does not explain what has happened to the lateral stairs, which at the top of their flight would be higher than the central staircase and lead to nothing, as can be seen in a photograph of 1871 (fig.11).¹¹² The front of the temple is now damaged, but traces of these lateral staircases can be seen in the remaining cores, although partially restored. The Digitales Forum Romanum project has reconstructed the temple in the Severan age as still using these lateral staircases, which lead to a small platform midway up the central stair.¹¹³ However, this reconstruction is unlikely, as there is no such break in the central staircase on the *Forma Urbis* drawing (fig.6), (although see the caveats noted above) or on the 1871 photograph (fig.11). However, if the Scandinavian team's reconstruction of the lateral staircases is correct, showing the lateral staircases ascending underneath a lintel (fig.14), I would suggest that the aperture left open to allow people to climb the stairs might have been filled in when the

¹¹⁰ Nilson, Persson and Zahle (2009b) p60.

¹¹¹ Nilson, Persson and Zahle (2009b) p73.

¹¹² Noted by Sande (1992) p23, although she suggests no explanation for this difficulty.

¹¹³ <http://www.digitales-forum-romanum.de/gebaeude/dioskurentempel>; accessed 1st November 2014.

central staircase was created. This would leave high walls on either side of the central staircase, using the cores of the lateral staircases as fill, preserving their remnants.¹¹⁴

The reasons for these successive repairs and reconstructions are unknown; no literary source describes the destruction of the temple. It is probable that the fires that frequently swept Rome played a part in the need for these reconstructions. The first temple probably fell prey to a fire, for terracotta elements from this phase were discovered in an excavation layer including traces of fire.¹¹⁵ A fire of the late first century BC may have created the need for the reconstruction of the temple by Tiberius, although the temple is not mentioned in any list of destroyed buildings.¹¹⁶ Spoliation of the temple began relatively early, coins from the fourth century AD were found in the clamp holes in the tufa blocks, suggesting that the temple was by then being robbed of valuable material. However, the reason behind the abandonment of the temple is uncertain.¹¹⁷

Statues of the Dioscuri have been suggested to have stood at the front of the temple, possibly on two plinths extending from the *podium* level, parallel to the central stairs (fig.15). Richter noted that the statues of the Capitoline Dioscuri would almost exactly match the proportions of these platforms.¹¹⁸ Although he acknowledged that these statues, owing to their find spot in the Circus Flaminius, were unlikely to have adorned the Forum temple, he suggested that they are copies of the original statues that occupied these

¹¹⁴ Although no walls are visible on the *Forma Urbis* or today, but the materials used could have been removed when the temple was spoliated, or in Richter's excavations, who removed what he believed to be later additions and restored the eastern lateral staircase: Sande (1992) p23.

¹¹⁵ Poulsen (1992a) p50, (1992b) p55.

¹¹⁶ Nielsen (1988) p13, (1992b) p114; Poulsen (1992b) p57; Alföldy (1992) p55. 36 BC: Cass. Dio 48.42.4-5, which destroyed the *Regia*; 14 BC: Cass. Dio 54.24.2, which burned the *Basilica Aemilia*; 7 BC: Cass. Dio 55.8.5: "many of the structures around the Forum had been burned."

¹¹⁷ Sande (1992) p9-10.

¹¹⁸ Richter (1898) p96-97, 112.

plinths.¹¹⁹ Sande initially agreed with Richter's analysis of the function of these platforms, citing the presence of travertine blocks underneath to support the weight of a statue. She disagreed, however, with his identification of the statues, suggesting they would probably be of Tiberius and Drusus the Elder, as statues of the Dioscuri would have been in the *cella*.¹²⁰ However, after close examination of a plinth fragment, she later asserted that there are no indications that statues were erected upon them, for she states that graffiti appear on the surface of one of these projections, suggesting that they were used as seats and thus were unlikely to have been occupied by statues.¹²¹ However, it is possible that statues originally stood on these plinths but at some point were removed and the graffiti was made after their removal. The reconstruction of the temple by the Scandinavian team have the plinths extending over the lateral staircases, as described above (fig.14). It is unlikely that any statues would have stood on this thin support and more likely that they were closer to the *cella*.

We know very little about the cult statues, as no depictions of them exist and we know probable original locations for the surviving statue groups of the Dioscuri in Rome. It may be possible to extrapolate from the most common depictions of the Dioscuri that Castor and Pollux were probably depicted as nude youths, wearing a cloak, holding a spear and standing alongside their horses.¹²² Juvenal, in his efforts to console Calvinus, who has been defrauded, argues that others fare far worse and such crimes are rife, as people will even steal from the gods, and indicates that a contemporary temple (probably mid first century - early second century AD) possessed a gilded statue of Castor:

¹¹⁹ Richter (1898) p112.

¹²⁰ Sande (1994) p115 identifies the cult statues as the pair found in the *Lacus Juturnae*. As, however, we know that statues of the Dioscuri stood in the *Lacus*, it seems more likely that these statues belonged there in antiquity.

¹²¹ Sande (2009a) p120-121.

¹²² See p164.

“Compare people who filch from an ancient temple large chalices of venerable rust, gifts of nations or crowns dedicated by some king long ago. If no such items are there, a minor vandal will emerge to scrape the thigh of a gilded Hercules or even the face of a Neptune or strip the gold leaf from a Castor”.

*confer et hos, veteris qui tollunt grandia temple pocula adorandae robiginis et populorum dona vel antiquo positas a rege coronas; haec ibi si non sunt, minor exstat sacrilegus qui radat inaurati femur Herculis et faciem ipsam Neptuni, qui bratteolam de Castore ducat...*¹²³

He does not specify the temple, so the statue may have stood in a temple other than that of the Dioscuri, but more likely, it could be the cult statue of one of the temples of Castor and Pollux.

One thing is clear, throughout its history the temple remained an important building in Rome’s political, legal and religious centre. Additionally, the temple and cult of the Dioscuri have been claimed to have a healing aspect.¹²⁴ However, this aspect is often connected to the neighbouring shrine of Juturna, rather than the temple of Castor and Pollux.¹²⁵ Although the Dioscuri were associated with Juturna’s shrine because of their epiphanies there, this is not proof that their cult possessed healing aspects. On one occasion, Castor and Pollux are said to have given instructions for a cure to a plague in a dream of a man who had fallen asleep in their temple.¹²⁶ This is the sole reference to healing related to the temple of Castor and Pollux and it seems likely that it was the proximity of their temple to the shrine of Juturna, who did have healing aspects, which has led scholars to link the Dioscuri with healing.¹²⁷

¹²³ Juv. *Sat.* 13.147-152.

¹²⁴ Rendel Harris (1906) p50; Dumèzil (1970) p171; Schilling (1979) p346; Aronen (1989) p64, 72; Orlin (1997) p22.

¹²⁵ Varr. *Ling.* 5.71; Prop. *El.* 3.22.26.

¹²⁶ Cited by Schilling (1979) p346 n4; Scholi. ad Pers. 2:56.

¹²⁷ Aronen (1989) p72.

Functions of the Temple

The Forum temple, like many others in Rome, was linked to military victories, from its dedication following a vow in battle through successive reconstructions by Metellus from the spoils of his Dalmatian campaigns¹²⁸ and by Tiberius from his battles in Germany.¹²⁹ Although the first temple was vowed in battle, no literary source suggests that it was built with the spoils from that battle.¹³⁰ It is only in the heavily restored *elogium* of Aulus Postumius in the *Forum Augustum* that such a suggestion may appear:

<i>Latin[or]um exercitum [—]</i>	The army of the Latins [—]
<i>cae[sis m]ulti[s milit]ibu[s] —]</i>	many soldiers having been slain [—]
<i>Supe[rbi]filiis et gen[tilibus] —]</i>	with the sons and family of Superbus [—]
<i>omn[—p]errum, [p] —]</i>	all ...
<i>spem [—]</i>	hope [—]
<i>Aed[em] Castoris —]</i>	the temple of Castor
<i>ex s[poliis] hostium vovit].¹³¹</i>	he vowed from the spoils of the enemy.

The inclusion of Aulus Postumius and his deeds among the statues of the *summi viri* selected by Augustus as examples to which he and his successors should be held is interesting.¹³² Although little of the *elogium* survives, and that which does requires reconstruction, it is clear that Postumius' victory at Lake Regillus, the fact that the sons and family of Tarquinius Superbus were present, and the vow to build the temple of Castor and Pollux were seen as important details. As will be argued below, the victory at Lake Regillus ensured the survival of the new Republic over attempts to reinstate the Tarquins to the throne of Rome. This might seem a strange detail for Augustus to include. However, in the last years of the first century BC, the transition from Republic to Empire may not have been as clear as it may seem to modern scholars, and Augustus took care to depict his

¹²⁸ Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.59.

¹²⁹ Suet. *Tib.* 20.1.

¹³⁰ Dion. Hal. 6.13.4; Flor. 1.5.4; Liv. 2.20.10-13; Val. Max. 1.8.1; Pliny *HN* 33.11.38 mentions the booty, but in connection with a crown given to the soldier who was responsible for the capture of the Latin camp.

¹³¹ *CIL* 6.40959; Geiger (2008) p138.

¹³² Suet. *Aug.* 33.5: "I have contrived this to lead the citizens to require me, while I live, and the rulers of later times as well, to attain the standard set by those worthies of old."

power in Republican terms.¹³³ As Eder has argued, the *summi viri* and their *elogia* were part of this message: Augustus and his successors were placed at the end of the Republican tradition of great men.¹³⁴ The mention of the vow for the temple of Castor and Pollux may also have contemporary relevance, as when the Forum of Augustus was dedicated in 2 BC, the temple may have already been damaged and undergoing restoration, before it was rededicated by Tiberius in AD 6.¹³⁵

A relief depicting a battle between Romans and barbarians has been suggested to have belonged to the temple (fig.16).¹³⁶ Strong and Ward Perkins identified similarities between the ornamental forms of Temple III and those of the relief, suggesting that they were contemporaneous and probably the work of the same group of craftsmen. They therefore suggest that the relief would have been part of the interior decoration of the temple.¹³⁷ Strong suggested two possible interpretations of this relief, although both rely upon the assumption that it belongs to the temple. Either the battle scene refers to a moment in the temple's history, perhaps the Battle of Vercellae against the Cimbri in 101 BC, after which the Dioscuri appeared outside their temple to announce the victory.¹³⁸ Alternatively, it depicts the campaigns of Tiberius and Drusus the Elder against the Raeti and Vindelici in 15 BC. Considering that the relief is assigned stylistically to the Tiberian rebuilding of the temple, said to be *ex manubiis*, this is the more persuasive hypothesis. Sande, a recent excavator of the temple, has carried out a close examination of the decorative fragments of the Tiberian temple and of this relief, and has agreed that the relief

¹³³ See, for example, Eder (1990) p72-73, 75, 86-87.

¹³⁴ Eder (1990) p86.

¹³⁵ See p53 for potential date of the destruction of the Metellan temple, p243-244 on of the date of the vow to reconstruct the temple and p244-245 concerning whether Gaius and Lucius or Tiberius were originally intended to rededicate the temple.

¹³⁶ Strong and Ward Perkins (1962) p29-30; Galinsky (1998) p348; Sande (2009b) p207-208.

¹³⁷ Strong and Ward Perkins (1962) p29-30.

¹³⁸ See p132.

was made in the same workshop as the decorative elements of the temple. Although Sande agrees that the attribution of the relief to the temple is attractive, she correctly warns that it is impossible to be certain, as nothing explicitly links the two.¹³⁹ Until greater evidence is discovered to link this relief to the Forum temple, it is therefore not possible to analyse the significance of the relief in the context of the cult of the Dioscuri.

Temples in ancient Rome possessed many different functions aside from their role as cult sites. The Forum temple of Castor and Pollux was the location of many public orations and Senatorial meetings. In either the Metellan or the Tiberian phase, the temple acquired *tabernae* in its *podium*.¹⁴⁰ These were small spaces in the *podium*, perhaps 29 in total; most have a width between 1.98 and 2m with a depth of 4.30m, giving an average area of 8.56m².¹⁴¹ Some of the floors of the *tabernae* are intact, revealing postholes that may have been used for shelving.¹⁴² From the amount of wear on the thresholds, it is clear that some *tabernae* were more frequented than others.¹⁴³ The *tabernae* appear to have been secured with wooden shutters and some with metal grates, perhaps the *loricata* referred to by inscriptions.¹⁴⁴ The function of the majority of these *tabernae* is unclear, although some may have been used as shops.¹⁴⁵ A channel, thought to be a drain, was discovered in the floor of one of the western *tabernae*; in it were found extracted teeth and cosmetics, suggesting that this *taberna* was used as a barbershop.¹⁴⁶ Catullus also refers to a “*salax taberna*” at the ninth column from the temple.¹⁴⁷ Some of the *tabernae* may have served as

¹³⁹ Sande (2009b) p207-208.

¹⁴⁰ Nilsson, Persson and Zahle (2008) p56.

¹⁴¹ Nilsson, Persson and Zahle (2008) p53; there is some variety in both width and depth, depending on the intercolumniation measurements, the foundations of the columns and the impact of the peristyle.

¹⁴² Nilsson, Persson and Zahle (2008) p54: *tabernae* E4, E7.

¹⁴³ Nilsson, Persson and Zahle (2008) p54, Richter estimated that the threshold of *tabernae* E6 had been worn to a depth of 4cm, compared to TE7 which was only slightly worn.

¹⁴⁴ Nilsson, Persson and Zahle (2009b) p57; *CIL* 6.8688.

¹⁴⁵ On *tabernae*: Holleran (2012) p99-158.

¹⁴⁶ Poulsen (1992b) p58; Nilsson, Persson and Zahle (2008) p56.

¹⁴⁷ Catull. 37.1-2; characterised by Wiseman (1985) p267 as a “42nd street speakeasy”.

safe deposits and banks, most likely those which possessed the metal grates for security.¹⁴⁸ Although *tabernae* in temples were unusual, the temple of Castor and Pollux was not unique in Rome: the middle temple in the *Forum Holitorium*, usually identified as belonging to Juno Sospita, also had *tabernae* in its podium.¹⁴⁹

The excavators of the temple have found it difficult to equate the “bazaar-like picture” of these *tabernae* with the “solemn functions of a temple”.¹⁵⁰ This has led them to argue that the *podium* should not be regarded as consecrated, but only the temple building above the *podium*. Such a division between the sacred and secular functions of a temple building is otherwise unattested in the ancient world; temple *podia* were used for storage, with no impact on the religious nature of the structure.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, I would argue that the apparent difficulty of the proximity of such sacred and secular functions derives from the preconceived notions of modern scholars rather than those of the ancients, for whom religion was not viewed as separate from politics or trade.

Although Plautus warns that “behind the temple of Castor there are those who you shouldn’t trust quickly” (*pone aedem Castoris, ibi sunt subito quibus credas male*),¹⁵² the temple was associated with grand events. Cicero accuses Publius Vatinius, tribune of 59 BC, of entering the temple of Castor and Pollux dressed in black whilst Quintus Arrius was holding his father’s funeral banquet.¹⁵³ Aristocratic families could hold a public funerary event in the Forum, originally centred on the *rostra*.¹⁵⁴ The scholiast has noted that Vatinius’ actions were perhaps to object on Caesar’s behalf to *supplicationes* in

¹⁴⁸ Nilson, Persson and Zahle (2009b) p57; *CIL* 6.8688.

¹⁴⁹ Described as ‘celletta’ by Crozzoli Aite (1981) p76-79; Nilson, Persson and Zahle (2009b) p57, 58.

¹⁵⁰ Nilsson, Persson and Zahle (2008) p58.

¹⁵¹ For example, Apollodorus suggested that Hadrian should have stored theatrical machines in the basement of the temple of Venus and Roma: Cass. Dio 69.4.4.

¹⁵² Plaut. *Curc.* 481; Sen. *Constant.* 13.4 suggests slave traders could be found near the temple.

¹⁵³ Cic. *Vat.* 30; Pocock (1967) p117 notes that Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.84 may be a reference to this feast; Ulrich (1994) p106.

¹⁵⁴ Polyb. 6.53.1-10, but who does not mention a funeral feast; Hopkins and Letts (1983) p201-202; Flower (1996) ch.4, esp. p92, 95; Ulrich (1994) p106; Hope (2009) p87-88.

honour of Gaius Pomptinus' victory over the Allobroges during 61 BC.¹⁵⁵ It is difficult to say where exactly the funeral feast was taking place, but the fact that Vatinius entered the temple of Castor and Pollux suggests that it was associated with it.¹⁵⁶ It is possible that Arrius delivered a *laudatio* from its platform, perhaps providing an example of this platform fulfilling some of the functions of the *rostra*.¹⁵⁷ Pocock has suggested that Arrius the son may be the same man who is mentioned elsewhere by Cicero and is perhaps the son of another Quintus Arrius, praetor in 72 BC, whose funeral feast this would thus be.¹⁵⁸ Nicolet argues that the father Quintus Arrius was an equestrian and thus, if these arguments are correct, the father's membership of the *ordo equester* may have been a factor behind the temple of Castor and Pollux being associated with his funeral feast.¹⁵⁹

The temple also served other purposes, housing the official standardised weights and measures, some of which were marked that they had been weighed at the temple of Castor and Pollux (*exac[tum] ad Castor*),¹⁶⁰ as well as the imperial *fiscus*.¹⁶¹ These may have been kept in the temple for practical reasons: the temple was close to the shops who measured their own weights by these standardised ones, and it possessed lockable chambers in its podium at least from the first century AD, but perhaps as early as the second century BC. Private individuals clearly approved of this use of the temple, for at some point they began to store their savings here as well. For, in his fourteenth satire, in

¹⁵⁵ If this was Vatinius' motivation, he was unsuccessful, as Pomptinus was awarded a triumph in 54 BC: Cass. Dio 39.65.1; Pocock (1967) p117-118; Sumi (2005) p275 n36 suggests that the feast was in Sulla's honour.

¹⁵⁶ On the Saturnalia, a feast was held in the temple of Saturn: Macr. *Sat.* 1.10.18. The sacrificial banquets at which the gods participated, although originally taking place in front of temples, moved inside at some point: Stambaugh (1978) p577-578. However, I have found no references to a temple being used for a private funeral feast, although they were held in the Forum, for example, the funeral of Publius Licinius in 183 BC: Liv. 39.46.2-4.

¹⁵⁷ Ulrich (1994) p106.

¹⁵⁸ Pocock (1967) p117; Cic. *Att.* 1.17.11, 2.5.2; *Q. Fr.* 1.3.8; *pro Mil.* 46.

¹⁵⁹ Nicolet (1966) vol. 2 p786.

¹⁶⁰ *CIL* 5.8119.4; similar inscriptions: *CIL* 11.6726.2 (*Exa ad / Casto*), 13.10030.13; Terlinden (1961) p94.

¹⁶¹ *CIL* 6.8688-8689.

which he complains that parents teach their vices to their children, particularly encouraging greed, Juvenal attests that a temple of Castor and Pollux, probably the one in the Forum, was also used as a private bank:

“All you have to do is to look at how people risk their lives for growth to their fortunes, for the huge money bag in the bronze-bound treasure chest and the cash which has to be deposited under Castor’s guardianship, ever since even Mars the Avenger lost his helmet and couldn’t hang onto his own property.”

*Si spectes quanto capitis discrimine constant incrementa domus, aerata multus in arca fiscus et ad vigilem ponendi Castora nummi, ex quo Mars Vltor galeam quoque perdidit et res non potuit servare suas.*¹⁶²

Why might the temple of Castor and Pollux have been used by individuals to store their money (*nummi*)? The location being a temple may have served to discourage thieves from stealing property under the gods’ guardianship, although that does not seem to have worked in the case of Mars Ultor, who had suffered the indignity of having his helmet stolen. However, the temple of Castor and Pollux in the Forum may have been particularly well suited for the storage of money, if it was kept not in the *cella* itself, but instead in the *tabernae* in the *podium*, as archaeological evidence suggests that some of which were secured by metal gates.¹⁶³ This would enable the secure storage of private and public funds. However, there may have also been a connection with the cult: Castor and Pollux were associated with the *ordo equester*.¹⁶⁴ Equestrians were included among the *publicani*¹⁶⁵ or as moneylenders,¹⁶⁶ and the Dioscuri may also have been their protectors in this regard, as well as their military aspect.¹⁶⁷ Keeping the standard weights and measures used by traders in their temple would therefore be appropriate, whilst also close to the *tabernae* in the temple and other shops in the Forum.

¹⁶² Juv. *Sat.* 14.258-262; *CIL* 6.8688.

¹⁶³ *CIL* 6.8688.

¹⁶⁴ Explored in Chapter Three.

¹⁶⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 4.6.3; Liv. 30.16.1-4 lists *publicani* among the *equites* being reviewed by the censors; Hill (1952) p54; Nicolet (1966) vol. 1, p287-288; Wiseman (1970) p71; Demougin (1988) p100-103, 104-106; Hackl (1989) p114; Paterson (2009) p29-30.

¹⁶⁶ Hill (1952) p50; Demougin (1988) p112-115.

¹⁶⁷ Albert (1883) p70-71; Hill (1952) p114.

Inscriptions were displayed on the temple's walls, such as a plaque celebrating the award of citizenship to the Campanian *equites*.¹⁶⁸ It seems that the temple also held other official documents, as Cassius Dio records that in 44 BC:

“Ravens, moreover, flew into the temple of Castor and Pollux and pecked out the names of the consuls, Antony and Dolabella, which were inscribed there somewhere on a tablet.”

ορακές τε ἐς τὸ Διοσκόρειον ἐσπετόμενοι τὰ τῶν ὑπάτων τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ Δολοβέλλου ὀνόματα, ἐνταῦθά που ἐν πινακίῳ ἐγγεγραμμένα, ἐξεκόλασαν.¹⁶⁹

What exactly the πινάκιον recorded is unclear,¹⁷⁰ but as Dio notes that Antony and Dolabella's names were there because of their position as consuls, it was probably an official document. As the ravens were able to damage the tablet, it was probably made of wax or wood, perhaps part of the official records for that year.

The Platform at the Temple

Perhaps one of the most prominent non-ritual aspects of the temple is the presence of a platform from the early second century BC. What the platform should be called is a point of some uncertainty. Ancient sources only locate the action at the temple, for example Cassius Dio, describing the location at which Caesar is giving a speech as “πρὸς μὲν τὸ Διοσκόρειον”.¹⁷¹ Cicero, when describing a speech by Marc Antony, states it was given whilst he was “sitting in front of the temple of Castor (*pro aede Castoris*)”.¹⁷² Antony was probably seated on the platform rather than in front of the temple at the level of the Forum

¹⁶⁸ See p166-167; Liv. 8.11.16. Although the veracity of Livy's statement has been debated: Oakley (1998) p513-515, it is significant that the temple of Castor and Pollux is where the plaque was reportedly located.

¹⁶⁹ Cass. Dio 45.17.6 after Cary; also reported by Julius Obsequens 68, with the interpretation that this portent meant that both would be estranged from their fatherland.

¹⁷⁰ *LSJ* s.u. πινάκιον: the term can mean a small tablet, something used for drawing lots, a noticeboard on which laws were written, a memorandum book, or a small painting.

¹⁷¹ Cass. Dio 38.6.2; *LSJ* s.u. πρὸς as “on the side of, in the direction of”.

¹⁷² Cic. *Phil.* 5.21.

floor.¹⁷³ The problems of translating *pro* are manifold, as illustrated by Aulus Gellius, who notes that its use varies greatly: from an action being done in the name of a group to geographical locations: “*aliter etiam dici ‘pro aede Castoris’, aliter ‘pro rostris’, aliter ‘pro tribunali’, aliter ‘pro contione’...*”.¹⁷⁴ Furthermore, Festus suggests that “*pro censu*” should be understood as to mean “in the census”, quoting Varro’s use of “*pro aede Castoris, pro tribunali, pro testimonio*”.¹⁷⁵ Thus, Cicero may mean “inside the temple of Castor”, instead of “in front of the temple of Castor”. However, this is unlikely as he goes on to say that Antony was speaking “*audiente populo Romano*”, which would suggest the platform, as opposed to the *cella*. Festus’ *Lexicon*, from which these examples are drawn, is widely accepted to be a second century AD epitome of the *De Verborum significatu* of the Augustan Verrius Flaccus,¹⁷⁶ whom Gellius also drew upon elsewhere in his *Noctes Atticae*.¹⁷⁷ Thus, although it is not certain, I would suggest that Antony was sitting on the platform of the temple of Castor and Pollux rather than inside it. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the examples provided by Varro (via Festus) and Gellius closely associate the temple of Castor and Pollux with rostra, tribunals and *contiones*: “*aliter etiam dici ‘pro aede Castoris,’ aliter ‘pro rostris,’ aliter ‘pro tribunali,’ aliter ‘pro contione’...*”¹⁷⁸

The ancient sources therefore are little help when it comes to the name of the platform, although they do demonstrate that it was closely associated with the temple of Castor and Pollux.¹⁷⁹ It is incorrect to call the platform a *rostra*, as there is no evidence that the platform was adorned with the eponymous prows, although scholars have

¹⁷³ Manuwald (2007) vol. 2, p410-411, also on the significance of Antony being described as ‘sitting’.

¹⁷⁴ Gell. *NA*. 11.3.1-2.

¹⁷⁵ Festus 290L.

¹⁷⁶ Glinister, North and Wood (2007) p2.

¹⁷⁷ For example: Gell. *NA* 5.17.1, 5.18.2; Glinister, North and Wood (2007) p2.

¹⁷⁸ Gell. *NA* 11.3.1-2.

¹⁷⁹ Nielsen (1992b) p113-114.

suggested this.¹⁸⁰ They draw upon a reference preserved in a fourth century AD regional catalogue to *rostra tria* in the Forum.¹⁸¹ Two of these three can be identified as the republican *rostra*, which had been rebuilt by Caesar and Augustus, and the Diocletianic *rostra* at the southern end of the Forum.¹⁸² The identity of the other *rostra* is debated, the candidates being the platform of the temple of Castor and Pollux and another platform connected to the *Aedes Divi Iulii*. The latter is more convincing as Augustus adorned the platform at the front of the temple of Divus Julius with the prows of the ships captured at Actium.¹⁸³

‘Tribunal’ is the most commonly used term in scholarship for the platform; however, this term is not unproblematic either.¹⁸⁴ Tribunals are attested in the Forum; for example, the *Tribunal Aurelium*.¹⁸⁵ The platforms on which praetors sat while receiving business or holding court proceedings were described as *tribunal praetoris*. These tribunals were only inches high and usually situated on other platforms, such as altar platforms in front of temples. They were not fixed and thus are an inappropriate parallel for the permanent platform at the temple of Castor and Pollux.¹⁸⁶ Some sources do mention a tribunal in association with the temple, however this may be inaccurate terminology on the author’s part, or may refer to a temporary tribunal placed on top of the temple’s platform.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁰ Richardson (1992) ‘Castor, Aedes’, p74-75; Sumi (2005) p51, 162, (2009) p169-171. Richter (1898) included *rostra* on his reconstruction of the temple (fig.15); Taylor (1966) suggested that they might have come from ships of Dalmatian pirates.

¹⁸¹ Coarelli (1985) p309; Nielsen and Zahle (1985) p14-15 n22; Hannestad (1988) p193; Nielsen (1992b) p113-114.

¹⁸² Verduchi, *LTUR IV: ‘Rostra Diocletiani’*, p217.

¹⁸³ Cass. Dio 51.19.2.

¹⁸⁴ For example: Taylor (1966) p28, 41, 108-109; Scullard (1981) p66, 232-233; Poulsen (1992b) p55, 56; Nielsen (1992a) p111, 113-114; Sande and Slej (1992) p134.

¹⁸⁵ Richardson (1992) p400-401, Cic. *Sest.* 34, *Pis.* 11, *Dom.* 54, *Red. Pop.* 13.

¹⁸⁶ Lugli (1947) p62-63 suggested that a *tribunal praetorium* should be associated with remains in front of the temple of Castor and Pollux and the temple of Divus Julius. Richardson (1992) p401 argues that this is not high enough for a tribunal but perhaps marks an area in front of the temple of Divus Julius, on whose *rostra* the praetors would sit.

¹⁸⁷ For example, Val. Max. 4.1.10 describes the platform on which Scipio Africanus carried out the *recognitio equitum* as a tribunal.

There is a third term used in antiquity to describe such platforms: *suggestus*, which denotes a platform that breaks the frontal stairs of a temple and might hold an altar or function as a speaker's platform.¹⁸⁸ There are similarities between this description and the platform at the temple of Castor and Pollux, although the platform does not interrupt a single central stair to the temple. It could be that the lateral staircases to the platform were a later development, to allow an audience to stand directly in front of the platform, rather than at the distance created by the lower part of the stair.¹⁸⁹ In the troubled late Republic, this could have provided the speaker with a modicum of safety by restricting access to the platform.¹⁹⁰ None of these descriptions matches the platform attached to the temple of Castor and Pollux, and to refrain from using potentially misleading terms, I shall continue to refer to it as a platform.

The platform may have also held the altar of the temple, which was one of the original functions of such spaces.¹⁹¹ Ulrich states that there is no example of a *templum rostratum*, a term that he uses to encompass all temples with a platform, which possesses an altar on the ground level, and concludes that the altar of Castor and Pollux must have been on the platform.¹⁹² Yet, the praetor Sempronius Asellio, who was attacked in 89 BC while sacrificing to the Dioscuri in the Forum, presumably at their altar, fled towards the temple of Vesta.¹⁹³ If the altar was on the platform, to reach the temple of Vesta he would have descended from the platform, which owing to its height and lateral staircases would have been relatively defensible. He would therefore probably have fled into the *cella* of

¹⁸⁸ Richardson (1992) p334.

¹⁸⁹ Stamper (2005) fig.26, adapting Frank and Stevens (1925) fig.2, suggests that the original temple had a platform; however, there is no archaeological evidence for a platform at this date.

¹⁹⁰ The orator's safety may have been a consideration for the arrangement of stairs to the platform of the temple of Venus Genetrix, which ran backwards along the side of the temple: Sumi (2005) p53.

¹⁹¹ Richardson (1992) p334.

¹⁹² Ulrich (1994) p11.

¹⁹³ See p75; App. *B.Civ.* 1.54; Liv. *Per.* 74.4; Hill (1952) p138-139; Badian (1969) p476-478; Corey Brennan (2000) p443.

Castor and Pollux rather than leave the *podium*'s comparative security. The fact that he does not do so might suggest that the altar was on the Forum floor, in front of the temple. However, this is not unproblematic, for a road ran in front of the temple, and the altar could sit by the side of this road, protrude into it, or even on the far side of the road. Whenever a crowd gathered to listen to an orator declaiming on the platform, this road would have been at least partially blocked. The evidence is inconclusive, but in my opinion, the incident of Asellio's murder lends weight to the altar being at the Forum level in front of the temple.

The addition of a speaker's platform was a significant moment in the temple's history. It is unfortunate that we cannot date this addition precisely, as this would tell us much about how the political use of the temple developed in the changing circumstances of the second century BC. The temple stands diagonally opposite the Curia and Comitium in the north-western corner of the Forum. The creation of a speaker's platform in this opposite corner has been linked to the movement of public meetings from the Comitium. The first platform for the purposes of addressing meetings of the people was probably attached directly to the front of the Curia.¹⁹⁴ This was developed after 338 BC and the incorporation of Antium, at which time the platform was decorated with the prows of the captured ships.¹⁹⁵ The platform was connected to the Comitium, but rather than being adjacent to the Curia, now faced it across the Comitium. At some point following this redesign, orators no longer addressed crowds standing in the Comitium between the *rostra* and the Curia, but rather for meetings such as *contiones* the crowds stood in the Forum and the orator would have his back to the Curia.¹⁹⁶ According to Plutarch, Gaius Gracchus was

¹⁹⁴ Sumi (2009) p170; Richardson (1992) p335. On the Comitium: Coarelli, *LTUR* I: 'Comitium', p309-314; Taylor (1966) p21-23; Sumi (2005) p51; Coarelli (2007) p51-54.

¹⁹⁵ Richardson (1992) p335.

¹⁹⁶ Taylor (1966) p23; Sumi (2005) p51, 171.

the first to do this when he was promulgating a law adding the *equites* to the rank of judges.¹⁹⁷ Interestingly, this would mean that he, whilst arguing for a privilege to be given to the *ordo equester*, would have been facing the temple of their protecting deities: the Dioscuri. Comitial meetings were later also relocated from the Comitium itself into the Forum.¹⁹⁸ The plebeian tribune of 145 BC, Gaius Licinius Crassus, is thought to have been the first to redirect the crowds away from the Curia.¹⁹⁹ The platform was added to the front of the temple of Castor and Pollux during the second century BC, before the rebuilding of 117 BC; scholars have argued that it was present before Licinius' action, suggesting he led the people to the temple of Castor and Pollux.²⁰⁰ Unfortunately, the earliest certain reference we possess to a speech possibly being delivered on the platform *pro aede Castoris* is a speech of Scipio Aemilianus, probably in 142 BC.²⁰¹ If the platform was not built until after Licinius' tribunate, it is possible that his actions inspired the alteration to the temple, which created the platform. However, perhaps more likely, if the platform were added prior to Licinius' tribunate, he may have taken advantage of the existing structure and led the crowds to hear him speak from that platform.

Why might the temple of Castor and Pollux have been selected for the addition of this platform? There may have been practical reasons for the location of the platform at this temple: space. During the second century BC, there would have been a large space available for crowds to gather in front of the temple, as the temple of Divus Julius, which now occupies this space, was not yet built. The temple of Castor and Pollux was perhaps

¹⁹⁷ Plut. *C. Gracc.* 5.3.

¹⁹⁸ Taylor (1966) p23-25; Sumi (2005) p51, 170.

¹⁹⁹ Varr. *Rust.* 1.2.9; Cic. *Lael.* 96; Poulsen (1992b) p55; Sumi (2005) p51, 170, (2009) p169-171; for a different interpretation of Licinius' aims: Taylor (1966) p23-25.

²⁰⁰ Poulsen (1992b) p55; Sumi (2005) p51, (2009) p170.

²⁰¹ Discussed further below: p71-72, 171-173. Festus 402L, although this does not prove that the speech was delivered from a platform, but only in front of the temple. Scholars have stated that the content of Scipio's speech is lost: Sumi (2009) p170; or do not explore it: Nielsen and Zahle (1985) p26; Sihvola (1989) p87; Ulrich (1994) p93; Cerutti (1998) p298. Frank and Stevens (1925) p79-80 suggested that the speech was made c.135 BC and not during Scipio's censorship.

best suited for the addition of the platform: it was a large and prominent temple with space available in front of it for a crowd to gather. It was also an important temple linked to the preservation of the Republic, and perhaps was ideologically suited for meetings of the people to occur nearby. Additionally, the temple of Castor and Pollux stood directly opposite the complex of the Curia and Comitium and the positions of the orator and the crowd could be ideologically charged. Symbolically, orators speaking at the Comitium turned their backs on the Curia. With the addition of the platform at the temple of Castor and Pollux, the orator speaking here would face the Curia and, Sumi asserts, if he was a *popularis* politician, could gesture across the Forum to the seat of Senatorial power, to which the crowd would have their backs.²⁰² For this reason, the temple's platform has been seen as a particularly attractive venue for popular politicians, notably Publius Clodius Pulcher.²⁰³

However, assigning the temple to the popular cause alone is difficult, as the temple was also associated with the elite. Orlin argued that Aulus Postumius' other temple dedication to Ceres, Liber and Libera, a popular group of plebeian deities, was intended to balance out the elite nature of the temple of Castor and Pollux.²⁰⁴ The Senate, according to Cicero, frequently met in the temple, although by no means exclusively.²⁰⁵ The addition of a platform to the temple would have allowed magistrates leaving senatorial meetings to address the people, as occurred at the *rostra* attached to the Curia.²⁰⁶ In addition, the temple and cult of the Dioscuri were associated with the equestrian order, through the role of Castor and Pollux as protectors of horsemen.²⁰⁷ The popular connotations of the temple or platform may have developed at a later date, after the construction of the platform and

²⁰² Sumi (2005) p51, (2009) p169-170.

²⁰³ Nichols (1877) p103; DeWitt (1926) p223-224; Sumi (2005) p78, (2009) p172. Clodius' use of the temple is explored below: p76-77, 78-81.

²⁰⁴ Orlin (1997) p25-26, cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.17.2-4.

²⁰⁵ Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.49.

²⁰⁶ Sumi (2009) p170.

²⁰⁷ Explored in Chapter Three.

derive from the speeches given here, rather than providing a reason for the choice of the temple of Castor and Pollux as the location for this platform.

The archaeological evidence indicates that the platform was created in the early second century BC, as suggested by the use of concrete. However, the exact date of the addition of the platform is a matter of some debate.²⁰⁸ It is possible that the temple had been damaged in a recent fire, for example that of 210 BC which came close to the temple of Vesta, and thus provided the opportunity for the addition of the platform, however, Livy does not mention the temple was damaged in his account of this fire.²⁰⁹ Steinby has argued that the *Lacus Juturnae* was rebuilt at a similar time to the alteration of the temple, and has suggested that this was done by Aemilius Paullus, during his censorship of 164 BC, who may also have created the platform.²¹⁰ Although there is no conclusive evidence, this is an attractive suggestion, as he was connected to the Dioscuri. As explored in the following chapter, Castor and Pollux were believed to have appeared at the *Lacus Juturnae* after the Battle of Pydna to announce Aemilius' victory.²¹¹ It is additionally worth noting that in the early second century BC the censorship increased in prominence and, especially following the censorship of Cato the Elder in 184 BC, had an increased interest in morality.²¹² Interestingly, Cato also proposed a reorganisation of the *equites equo publico*, increasing their number from 1800 to 2200.²¹³ Thus, there was a renewed focus upon the censorship and perhaps the *equites equo publico* in the early second century BC, when this platform was added to the temple of Castor and Pollux. However, as Ulrich argues, it is more likely

²⁰⁸ For discussion: Ulrich (1994) p93.

²⁰⁹ Liv. 26.27.1-5, Nielsen and Poulsen (1992b) p86.

²¹⁰ Steinby (1987) p167-169, (2012) p53-54; Nielsen and Poulsen (1992b) p86.

²¹¹ Min. Fel. Oct. 7.3.

²¹² Suolahti (1963) p355-358; Astin (1978) p102-103, (1982) p175 argues that the five-year interval became regular in 209 BC.

²¹³ Scullard (1973) p160.

that the addition of the platform was a result of a slow evolution based on need, rather than a sudden invention for a new requirement in a changed political atmosphere.²¹⁴

Alternatively, we may seek a cultic reason for the platform being located at the temple of Castor and Pollux. The Dioscuri were not famed for their eloquence, rather being skilled in physical pursuits: horsemanship and boxing. They do not appear to have been linked to oratory so it is unlikely that the platform was placed on this temple to reflect their responsibilities. One of the most prominent uses of the platform was, however, linked to their role as protectors of horsemen. In 304 BC, Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus, as censor, instituted the annual parade of the *equites equo publico*, the *transvectio equitum*.²¹⁵ Connected with this parade was the *recognitio equitum*, in which the censors inspected the moral conduct and physical ability of the men who held the public horse.²¹⁶ We do not know where the censors carried out this inspection in the Republic; the most detailed reference we possess is from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, describing the Augustan ceremony, who links it to the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux.²¹⁷ However, considering the connections present from an early date between the equestrians and the cult of Castor and Pollux, it is likely that the censors would have used the Forum temple for this purpose in the Republic.

However, even though the exact date of the addition of the platform is uncertain, even the most general estimates are over a century after the foundation of the parade in the late fourth century BC. If I am correct that in the Republic the censors conducted their review of the *equites* from the Forum temple, it is possible that they viewed the procession from the *pronaos*, at the top of the single staircase, or from a temporary wooden platform,

²¹⁴ Ulrich (1994) p55.

²¹⁵ Liv. 9.46.15; Val. Max. 2.2.9.

²¹⁶ See p169-180.

²¹⁷ Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 6.13.4-5.

such as the bridges used for voting.²¹⁸ Ulrich argues that the voting bridges may have inspired the design of the platform with the lateral staircases, and that the platform was used for voting.²¹⁹ If so, this would add a further popular connection to the temple: it was a place for the people to cast their vote. However, I would suggest that the censors would also have used the platform from its addition, during the *recognitio equitum*, associating the platform with the elite. Although it is impossible to say whether this was the purpose behind the creation of the platform, it might have been an important motivation.²²⁰

As seen above, the earliest reference to a speech delivered *pro aede Castoris* is to one by Scipio Aemilianus as censor in 142 BC.²²¹ In light of the preceding discussion, it is interesting that the biological son of Aemilius Paullus (whom Steinby suggests oversaw the addition of the platform) is the first person attested to have used this platform for a speech as censor.²²² I believe that we can identify a closer connection between the platform, the *recognitio equitum* and Scipio Aemilianus as censor. Cicero and Valerius Maximus describe an event that occurred during the *recognitio equitum* during Scipio Aemilianus' censorship.²²³ Whilst Scipio was reviewing the *equites*, Gaius Licinius Sacerdos came before him, at which point Scipio stated to the crowd that he possessed proof that this man had committed perjury and was willing to give evidence should anyone prosecute him. When no one volunteered, Scipio permitted Licinius to retain his status, for he was not willing to be accuser, witness and judge. I would therefore argue that this event should be linked with the speech discussed above, which was delivered *pro aede Castoris*

²¹⁸ Taylor (1966) p39.

²¹⁹ Ulrich (1994) p91-92; Taylor (1966) p41 suggests that *pontes* were attached to the lateral staircases.

²²⁰ Suggested by Morstein-Marx (2004) p58; Taylor (1966) p28 suggested that this was the main use of the platform by the Metellan rebuilding.

²²¹ See p67.

²²² See p69; Steinby (1987) p167-169, (2012) p53-54.

²²³ Val. Max. 4.1.10, explored and quoted at p171-173. Cic. *Cluent.* 134 describes the event as happening “*in equitum censu*” which should be identified as the *recognitio equitum*.

by Scipio Aemilianus as censor in 142 BC, linking the *recognitio* with the platform at the temple of Castor and Pollux. If this is correct, Scipio's use of the platform for a speech occurred three years after Gaius Licinius Crassus led the crowds into the Forum, suggesting that the platform may have been used from an early date to deliver speeches and to review the *equites*, and was possibly created with these purposes in mind.

The Senate might also meet in temples, including the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux.²²⁴ In his prosecution of Verres from 70 BC, on trial for extortion during his time as governor of Sicily, Cicero describes:

“...the temple of Castor, that famous and glorious monument, that sanctuary which stands where the eyes of the Roman people may rest upon it every day, in which the Senate not seldom meets, and where most frequently the greatest matters and legal counsels take place...

*...aede Castoris, celeberrimo clarissimoque monumento, quod templum in oculis cotidianoque aspectu populi Romani positum est, quo saepe numero senatus convocatur, quo maximarum rerum frequentissimae cotidie advocationes fiunt...*²²⁵

Cicero highlights the importance of the Forum temple, where its prominent position brings it to notice. He also notes the use of the temple for political matters: the Senate often met there and other citizens came to seek guidance: *advocationes fiunt*. The *Senatus Consultum de Tiburtibus* of 156 BC refers to a praetor consulting the Senate *sub aede Castoris*.²²⁶ The *Lex Bantina Latina*, probably dated to between 104 and 100 BC, specifies that magistrates during their span of office should swear an oath [*pro ae*]de *Castoris palam luci in forum vorsus*.²²⁷ Richardson argues that this unusual stipulation, as a magistrate had to swear to uphold all the laws upon taking office, suggests the particular

²²⁴ Stambaugh (1978) p581; Nielsen (1992b) p113; Poulsen (1992b) p56; Ulrich (1994) p14, 82-83, 93; Cerutti (1998) p298; Morstein-Marx (2004) p57-59.

²²⁵ Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.49, after Greenwood.

²²⁶ *CIL* 1².586: the use of *sub* is unclear, but may suggest that the Senate had gathered in the temple *cella* and the praetor sought their guidance from the lower platform.

²²⁷ *CIL* 1².582; Brunt (1988) p139-143; Richardson (1996) p196-208; Sumi (2005) p165. Richardson (1996) p197-199 for discussion of to which law this fragment belongs.

importance the legislator placed upon this oath being sworn in public and thus perhaps this law was of interest to the people.²²⁸ The choice of the temple of Castor and Pollux for this oath suggests that the temple was a location where the people gathered, suggesting a popular association.

It has been suggested that some events, particularly those involving the consuls or at assemblies called by the consuls, should be seen as evidence that the temple of Castor and Pollux served as the ‘office’ of the consuls.²²⁹ However, none of the sources cited proves that the consuls possessed any such ‘office’ at the temple. Instead, references to consuls, senatorial meetings or public assemblies at the temple illustrate the centrality of the temple to civic and political life. Although some events, such as the attempted murders of Pompey and Sestius,²³⁰ may have happened in the temple because the consuls had called the meeting there, it does not follow that the temple was their office. There were probably many factors determining the choice of where the Senate met, ideological and practical, depending on the purposes of the meeting, the number of senators expected to attend, the probability of a *contio* following the meeting and, perhaps, the convenience of the location for the consuls.

From Cicero’s statement that he summoned the Senate to meet in the temple of Jupiter Stator in 63 BC, it seems that the presiding magistrate, usually the consul, decided where the Senate would meet.²³¹ As demonstrated in the parallels that Cicero draws between the meeting place of the Senate, on this occasion in a temple vowed during a military crisis, and the subject of the meeting and his aims, the location of senatorial meetings in certain temples may have been planned for a specific effect. Cicero may have

²²⁸ Richardson (1996) p207.

²²⁹ Stambaugh (1978) p582; Ulrich (1994) p82-83, 105, citing App. *B.Civ.* 1.64; Plut. *Sull.* 8.1-4.

²³⁰ See p76.

²³¹ Cic. *Cat.* 2.12; Plut. *Cic.* 16.3.

chosen the temple of Jupiter Stator for ideological reasons, as described above, or for practical purposes as it may have been more defensible than the Curia.²³² Unfortunately, although Cicero suggests that the Senate met in the temple of Castor and Pollux often, we have only one certain occurrence.²³³ However, other references suggest meetings of the Senate occurred more commonly than this single reference attests, such as, for example, the attempted murders of Pompey²³⁴ and Sestius.²³⁵ Thus, the Senate probably did meet here on several occasions, highlighting the political importance of the temple.

Some of the speeches attested as taking place at the temple, such as those by Marc Antony²³⁶ and Octavian after Caesar's assassination,²³⁷ seem to be linked to the temple's location. In these instances, it is likely that these men chose to speak from the platform at the temple of Castor and Pollux owing to its vicinity to the site of Caesar's cremation and shrine. Octavian appears to draw directly on the proximity of the temple of Castor and Pollux to his adoptive father's shrine, as Cicero describes how he "[stretches] his hand out towards the statue (*simul dextram intendit ad statuam*)", perhaps of Julius Caesar at the site of his pyre and where his temple would later stand.²³⁸ Sumi has suggested that if the platform at the temple of Castor and Pollux was used for the oaths of magistrates, as in the *Lex Bantina*, Octavian may have sought to legitimise his hopes "of rising to his father's honours (*parentis honores*)".²³⁹ I will argue in the following chapter that another epiphany of the Dioscuri occurred on the future site of the temple of Divus Julius, and this may be another reason, if the story of the epiphany was known soon after the cremation, for the choice of the platform of Castor and Pollux for these pro-Caesarian speeches.²⁴⁰

²³² See p34-35; Cic. *Cat.* 1.21.

²³³ Ulrich (1994) p14.

²³⁴ Cic. *Mil.* 18, *Sest.* 32.69; see p76.

²³⁵ Cic. *Sest.* 37.79, 38.83, *Q. Fr.* 7.6; see p76.

²³⁶ Cic. *Phil.* 3.27, 5.21; see p62-63.

²³⁷ App. *B.Civ.* 3.4.41; Cic. *Att.* 16.15.3.

²³⁸ Cic. *Att.* 16.15.3. Sumi (2005) p163, (2011) p216.

²³⁹ Cic. *Att.* 16.15.3; Sumi (2005) p165.

²⁴⁰ See p141-142.

Political use of the Temple

The temple featured prominently as a location for political meetings and demonstrations of power in the turbulent late Republic. Such demonstrations sometimes descended into violence in front of the temple, on the steps or platform.²⁴¹ In 89 BC, the praetor Asellio was attacked by moneylenders whilst offering sacrifice to the Dioscuri in front of their temple, because he had permitted debtors to take their cases to the courts, while reminding the jurors of a law forbidding the lending of money at interest.²⁴² He attempted to escape his murderers, but was killed in a *taberna*, possibly one in the temple *podium*. During the battle for supremacy between Marius and Sulla, Publius Sulpicius, a tribune of the *plebs* in 88 BC and a partisan of Marius, proposed that Marius be given the Mithridatic command, removing it from Sulla.²⁴³ The consuls were holding an assembly close to the temple of Castor and Pollux and, to prevent his proposal becoming law, declared an *iustitium*, banning all public business.²⁴⁴ Sulpicius led a mob to the Forum and many were killed before the temple. Sulla, after hiding in Marius' house, rescinded the *iustitium*, giving Marius the command.²⁴⁵ In 87 BC, the consul Cinna called for the integration of new citizens into all the voting tribes. His colleague Gnaeus Octavius opposed this motion, whereupon Cinna's supporters occupied the Forum with concealed weapons.²⁴⁶ The majority of the tribunes vetoed Cinna's motion and so the people began to riot. At this

²⁴¹ Albert (1883) p37; Nichols (1887) p103-105; Sihvola (1989) p87.

²⁴² App. *B.Civ.* 1.54; Hill (1952) p138-139; Badian (1969) p476-478; Brennan (2000) p443; discussed above: p65-66. Val. Max. 9.7.4 adds that it was the tribune of the plebs Lucius Cassius who led the mob, but states that Asellio was sacrificing in front of the temple of Concordia, Liv. *Per.* 74.4 only states that he was killed in the Forum. Badian (1969) p476 suggests that the location change to before the temple of Concordia may have been for dramatic effect, and as Appian's account is more detailed, including the names of the gods to whom Asellio was sacrificing, but who are omitted by Valerius Maximus, that Appian is the more trustworthy source on this matter. See also Clark (2007) p183-184 on the fabrication of locations, including this event as an example.

²⁴³ App. *B.Civ.* 1.55-56; Plut. *Mar.* 35.1-4; Scullard (1982) p69; Shotter (1994) p38-40; Seager (1994a) p168-169.

²⁴⁴ Plut. *Sull.* 8.3.

²⁴⁵ Plut. *Sull.* 8.1-4.

²⁴⁶ App. *B. Civ.* 1.64; Seager (1994a) p173-174.

point, Octavius and his supporters entered the Forum and “went on to the temple of Castor and Pollux, and drove Cinna away” (ἐς τὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν παρήλθε, τὸν Κίνναν ἐκτρεπόμενος).²⁴⁷ Appian’s account suggests that Cinna may have been at the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux, perhaps on the platform, and Octavius dislodged him from the temple, taking it for his own cause.

More blood was shed during Sulla’s dictatorship, when Lucretius Ofella stood for the consulship in 81 BC. He did not obey Sulla’s command to withdraw his candidature and was slain by a centurion on Sulla’s orders while Sulla was “sitting on a tribunal at the temple of Castor and beholding the murder from above”.²⁴⁸ Sulla may have been seated on the platform for many different reasons; however, Plutarch relates that Sulla had conducted sales of confiscated estates ἐπὶ βήματος, the same phrase used to describe his vantage point for Ofella’s murder, thus Ofella may have interrupted a similar event taking place at the temple of Castor and Pollux.²⁴⁹

Cicero also alleges that a slave of Publius Clodius Pulcher tried to assassinate Pompey in the temple.²⁵⁰ In early 57 BC, the tribune Publius Sestius was set upon by a mob of Clodius’ supporters when he attempted to proclaim an *obnuntiatio* to the consul Quintus Caecilius Metellus Nepos, and was left for dead in the temple.²⁵¹ Cato the Younger was dragged into the *cella* to protect him from an angry crowd, when he opposed a motion brought by Metellus and Caesar to recall Pompey to Rome to quash the Catilinarian conspiracy.²⁵² All of these events show that the temple was commonly used for political meetings and the site of demonstrations.

²⁴⁷ App. *B. Civ.* 1.64.

²⁴⁸ Plut. *Sull.* 33.4 after Perrin; Asc. *Tog. Cand.* 91C (as Afella); Albert (1887) p37; Seager (1994a) p200.

²⁴⁹ Plut. *Sull.* 33.2, 33.4.

²⁵⁰ Cic. *Mil.* 18, *Har.* 49; Tatum (1999) p174; Marin (2009) p138.

²⁵¹ Cic. *Sest.* 37.

²⁵² Cic. *Sest.* 29; Plut. *Cat. Min.* 27.1-28.3.

The temple of Castor and Pollux and its platform played an important role in the struggles of the late Republic, but why did these events occur here? It is possible that Pompey was about to attend a senatorial meeting in the temple during the alleged assassination attempt by Clodius' slave, however, Clodius was a prominent figure in the power struggles for control of the temple and its platform.²⁵³ This incident may have been a political statement, sending Pompey into hiding and proving that Clodius' influence extended to the interior of the temple.²⁵⁴ If one considers the connotations of the temple, it is possible that the temple was not always the location of such events by coincidence. As stated above, the temple served as a safe deposit for public and private valuables,²⁵⁵ bankers seem to have done business close to the temple, and it later held the imperial *fiscus*.²⁵⁶ Members of the *ordo equester* were engaged in moneylending,²⁵⁷ so it is possible that some of Asellio's attackers were *equites*, although none of his attackers were revealed. The moneylenders who murdered Asellio may have chosen to commit their crime in this location not only because they knew that he would be there, but also to make this violent statement on their own territory. If some members of the *ordo equester* were among their number, this would have heightened the symbolism of his murder occurring outside the temple of Castor and Pollux, the protecting gods of their order. Furthermore, many of these events involved mass gatherings of the people and tribunes of the *plebs*. In addition to *contiones*, public meetings at which the magistrates addressed the people, *comitia*, the meetings at which the people voted, also took place before the temple during the late Republic, and as has been suggested, the people may have voted at the temple.²⁵⁸ As noted above, the temple possessed popular connotations, and thus certain politicians when trying

²⁵³ See p78-81.

²⁵⁴ Marin (2009) p138 suggests that Clodius may have staged this incident, perhaps as a demonstration of his power and to suggest his willingness to remove opponents.

²⁵⁵ *Juv. Sat.* 14.258-262; *Cic. Quinct.* 17.

²⁵⁶ *CIL* 6.8688.

²⁵⁷ Hill (1952) p50; Demougin (1988) p112-115.

²⁵⁸ Taylor (1966) p25, 28, 41; Sumi (2005) p24, 52, 53, 78.

to cast themselves as a champion of the people, as for example Clodius did, may have selected the Forum temple as the location of their speeches or bids for power owing to these connotations.

The temple was a prominent location for speeches, the platform would allow a speaker to be seen and heard by a crowd. An additional factor perhaps was that the platform might have been safer for orators who felt that their words might be badly received. The lateral staircases and the platform's height might allow a magistrate's lictors to defend their charge more easily than in other locations. That the temple was seen as defensible is evident from the actions of Lucius Opimius, consul of 121 BC, who chose to make his stand at the temple of Castor and Pollux to oppose Gaius Gracchus' agrarian legislation, perhaps in an attempt to reclaim from the Gracchans a location often associated with popular politics.²⁵⁹ The most famous use of the temple as an improvised fortress occurred when Clodius, according to Cicero's denunciation, used the temple of Castor and Pollux as a stronghold in 58 or 57 BC.²⁶⁰ Exactly how he did so is debated: our knowledge is hampered by the fact that the most detailed account comes from Cicero, whose hatred towards Clodius is well known, but who was also absent from Rome during this period, rendering his account at least second-hand.²⁶¹

Cicero records that Clodius and his henchmen ripped up the stairs of the temple to bar others from accessing the temple and, Cicero suggests, so he could use it as an armoury.²⁶² Taylor has suggested a different purpose to Clodius' actions; she argues that the lateral staircases to the platform were used for voters, who would ascend the stairs, or

²⁵⁹ App. *B.Civ.* 1.25.

²⁶⁰ Cic. *Sest.* 34; *Dom.* 21.54; Nichols (1877) p104; Albert (1883) p37; Frank and Stevens (1925) p80; Cerutti (1998); Tatum (1999) p143-144; Sande (2009b) p205; Sumi (2009) p172.

²⁶¹ See Rundell (1979) for discussion of Cicero's value as a source.

²⁶² Cic. *Sest.* 34, *De. Dom.* 21.54, 42.110, *Para. Stoic.* 29-30, *Sest.* 15.34-35, 39.85, *Vat.* 2.5, *Pis.* 11, 23, *Dom.* 3.5, 21.54, 42.110, *Mil.* 91.

pontes attached to them, in order to approach the voting basket. It was for this reason that Clodius tore up the steps, to prevent the people voting on a tribunician bill to recall Cicero from exile.²⁶³ Ulrich sees a similar purpose, although not explicitly linked to the voting procedures, suggesting that Clodius tore up the steps leading to the speaker's platform in order to "disrupt the legislative function of the *comitia*", meaning that no bills could be passed.²⁶⁴ However, although the temple of Castor and Pollux was an important venue for Republican politics, its importance should not be overstated; there were other venues for *contiones* and *comitia*, and it is unlikely that Clodius halted all government business. Cerutti asserts that Clodius cannot have destroyed the lateral staircases, for he identifies a chronological problem concerning Clodius' actions based on Cicero's evidence.²⁶⁵ Cicero records that the destruction of the steps occurred after his own exile, which occurred in February 58 BC.²⁶⁶ However, he records two other occasions when the temple was used for meetings of the Senate, suggesting that the stairs were intact at these times. Firstly on 11th August, 58 BC, when Clodius allegedly sent a slave to assassinate Pompey²⁶⁷ and secondly early in 57 BC when Sestius was attacked in the temple.²⁶⁸ If Cerutti is correct in these dates, it would suggest that Clodius' fortification of the temple must have occurred either between February and August of 58 BC, or between August and January of the following year. Through his examination, Cerutti asserts that Clodius cannot have destroyed the lateral staircases. Instead, like Taylor, he proposes that the steps that Clodius removed were not the permanent lateral staircases, but rather a temporary arrangement of platform and stairs connected to the front of the tribunal, used for voting procedures.²⁶⁹

²⁶³ Taylor (1966) p41.

²⁶⁴ Ulrich (1994) p104-105 states "Clodius shut down the government by filling the Forum with armed men and occupying the Temple of Castor".

²⁶⁵ Cerutti (1998) p295.

²⁶⁶ Cic. *Sest.* 34; Cerutti (1998) p295.

²⁶⁷ Cic. *Sest.* 32.69, *Har. Resp.* 49, *Mil.* 18.

²⁶⁸ Cic. *Sest.* 75-77.

²⁶⁹ Cerutti (1998) p303-304.

The destruction of the lateral stairways, according to Cerutti, would defeat Clodius' purpose, as reported by Cicero, of using the *cella* as an armoury, preventing movement of weapons from the high temple *podium* or platform to the Forum. Secondly, he argues these dates do not allow enough time for the steps to be both destroyed and repaired before the next attested use of the temple.²⁷⁰

In my opinion, such an explanation is unnecessary, Cicero is explicit that “the steps of the temple itself were taken away” (*gradus eiusdem templi tollebantur*).²⁷¹ It would not be necessary to dismantle the lateral staircases completely to hamper access to the temple, if Clodius' supporters removed the facing of the stairs, the concrete core could be left.²⁷² Any opponent who attempted to gain access to the platform would encounter unstable footing, and owing to the height of the platform and the narrowness of the stairs, could be easily repelled by guards at the top. Such damage could be more swiftly rectified than a complete replacement of the stairs in time for the attested occasions on which the temple was in use. Cerutti appears to base his argument on the statement of Cicero that Clodius' intention was to make the temple a stronghold and an armoury,²⁷³ which he suggests creates a problem of how to disperse the weapons among the mob on the Forum floor from the temple.²⁷⁴ The extent to which we should take Cicero's accusations at face value is doubtful, Cicero's hatred of Clodius is well known and many of his accusations were exaggerated or fabricated. However, even if we believe Cicero that Clodius' intention was to store weapons, the height of the temple would not prevent the movement of weapons, which could be thrown from the platform to the waiting mob below. When the weapons were being transferred into the temple, I see no reason why, if I am correct that the core of

²⁷⁰ Cerutti (1998) p294.

²⁷¹ Cic. *Sest.* 34, *Pis.* 23.

²⁷² On the structure of the Metellan tribunal and its stairs: Nielsen (1992b) p105-106, fig. 96.

²⁷³ Cic. *Sest.* 89, *Pis.* 11.

²⁷⁴ Cic. *Sest.* 34-35, *Pis.* 23.

the lateral stairs remained, they could not be carried back to the temple this way. After all, Clodius' supporters would not have to contend with both perilous footing and guards.

Instead, Clodius' aims appear to have been to take control of the platform owing to the popular connotations of legislation passed and speeches presented here.²⁷⁵ Clodius, once he controlled access to the platform (and thus to the temple) could promote his own legislation and policies, whilst preventing others from speaking against him from the same place. Instead, any orators who wanted to argue against him would speak from another location, such as the *rostra*, allowing Clodius to attempt to paint them as the enemies of the people. Clodius' choice of the temple of Castor and Pollux for his fortress is likely to have been informed by two factors: the popular connotations of the platform and the defensible nature of the temple.

The importance of the platform may be marked by an increase in size in Tiberius' rebuilding of the temple, measuring 8.2m by 33m, giving a total area of 270 m².²⁷⁶ The platform during the Metellan phase was almost half the size, measuring approximately 7m by 21m, giving an estimated area of 141m².²⁷⁷ The Augustan temple enclosed the structure of the Metellan temple within its core, so the increase in the size of the platform matches the increase in size of the whole structure. However, it seems that this platform was used less often than its predecessor. This may have been because when Tiberius rebuilt the temple in AD 6, the temple of Divus Julius with its own platform now stood in front of the temple of Castor and Pollux. The space for the audience to stand in front of the platform at

²⁷⁵ Cerutti (1998) p304.

²⁷⁶ There is a discrepancy in the figures suggested by the excavators for the temple III platform. Nielsen (1992b) p113 suggests that the Tiberian platform was 4m by 22m. Sande (2009a) p126 agrees that the temple III platform is shallower than temple II, but does not provide measurements. Nilsson, Persson and Zahle (2009b) cite the measurements as 8.2m by 33m. The difference in these measurements is considerable, between 88m² and 270.6m². Excavations carried out between the publications of the volumes may explain the discrepancy, but this presents a difficulty. I have followed the more recent measurements.

²⁷⁷ Nielsen (1992b) p113.

the temple of Castor and Pollux was therefore significantly diminished. The *Rostra Divi Iulii* began to be used for important occasions, taking attention away from the older platform. For example, at Augustus' funeral, Drusus the Younger read a eulogy from the Augustan *rostra* near the Curia, while Tiberius spoke from the *rostra* at the temple of Divus Julius.²⁷⁸ It seems that in the Imperial period the sole function of the platform at the temple of Castor and Pollux was a return to what I have argued was one of its initial functions; it was here that the revived *transvectio equitum* passed and the *recognitio equitum* took place. This may be the reason for the survival of the platform in the imperial period, for no political speeches or *contiones* are recorded as being held at the platform *pro aede Castoris* in the Tiberian rebuilding.

In the early empire, a three-bayed arch was constructed, spanning the street that ran between the temple of Divus Julius and the temple of Castor and Pollux. The identification of the arch remains contested, with two arches suggested:²⁷⁹ firstly, the Actian Arch of Augustus, erected in 29 BC to celebrate his victory over Antony and Cleopatra two years earlier;²⁸⁰ secondly, Augustus' Parthian Arch, built in 19 BC to celebrate the return of the Parthian standards.²⁸¹ However, the identity of the arch is not central to my discussion, as the dates for both arches fall before the reconstruction of the temple by Tiberius in AD 6. Examining the foundations of the arch uncovered in Gamberini Mongenet's excavations of 1950-1952, the three bays of the arch do not correspond exactly with the width of the road. As shown on a plan of the Roman Forum, the northern foundation is flush with the side of the temple of Divus Julius and the larger central bay provides access along the road (fig.3).

²⁷⁸ Cass. Dio 56.34.4; Suet. *Aug.* 100.3.

²⁷⁹ See Kleiner (1989) p198-200; Niedergaard, *LTUR* I: 'Arcus Augusti (a. 29 a.C.)', p80-81 and 'Arcus Augusti (a. 19 a.C.)', p81-85.

²⁸⁰ Coarelli (1985) p260-268 suggests it replaced an arch for the victory at Naulochos; Claridge (2010) p101-103.

²⁸¹ Richardson (1992) p23; Kleiner (1985) p24-25 suggests that the Actian arch was removed to be replaced with the Parthian arch, a view that he seems willing to change in (1989) p199-200; Favro (1996) p159.

However, the route into the Forum through the southern bay is hindered by the temple of Castor and Pollux, which stands in front of it. In fact, this archway appears to correspond to the temple's eastern lateral staircase. This may have monumentalised the staircase, but obstructed access to the Forum through this bay. This may not have been the case when the arch was built, for the Metellan temple was smaller than the Tiberian, and the platform was over a metre shallower, perhaps allowing this bay to lead into the Forum. It is possible that when the alterations to the temple's dimensions were made under Tiberius, the lateral staircase and the bay of the arch were deliberately aligned. If this were the case, then a link may be being suggested between the Dioscuri and the victory celebrated by the arch. If the suggestion that this arch should be identified as the Parthian arch were correct, this would provide an interesting correlation, as Tiberius, who was compared to the Dioscuri,²⁸² was entrusted with the mission to retrieve the Parthian standards.²⁸³ As discussed in the following chapter, the Dioscuri were believed to appear to aid the Romans in battle, and the link between the arch and the temple might suggest that the Dioscuri helped ensure Augustus' victory over Antony and Cleopatra, or Tiberius' mission to the Parthians, depending upon its identification.

The Temple of Castor and Pollux in *Circo Flaminio*

This temple of Castor and Pollux is referred to rarely in our sources when compared to the Forum temple. Two *Fasti* preserve the *dies natalis* of the temple as 13th August,²⁸⁴ and Vitruvius describes its unusual shape, having a transverse *cella*, twice as long as it is wide and with the *pronaos* in the middle of the long side.²⁸⁵ The choice of a transverse *cella* for

²⁸² Explored in Chapter Four.

²⁸³ Suet. *Tib.* 9.1.

²⁸⁴ *Fasti Allifani*: *CIL* 1².1 p217; *Fasti Amiternini*: *CIL* 1².1 p244.

²⁸⁵ Vitr. 4.8.4.

this temple has been explained in many different ways, from restrictions of space,²⁸⁶ to the hellenization of architectural design.²⁸⁷ Vitruvius' description of the temple is confirmed by a depiction preserved on the fragment of a marble plan. Known as the Via Anicia fragment, it does not belong to the *Forma Urbis*, for although it has the same scale of 1:240 it is orientated differently (fig.17).²⁸⁸ There are also considerable differences in the way in which buildings are depicted, for on the *Forma Urbis* a single line denotes walls, whilst the Via Anicia fragment's use of a double line allows the representation of the differing thicknesses of walls.²⁸⁹ The Via Anicia plan is more detailed, including labels for private buildings, which are not found on the *Forma Urbis*, and measurements in Roman feet are given.²⁹⁰ The plan is perhaps older than the Severan *Forma Urbis*, possibly dating to the early second century AD.²⁹¹ The level of detail on this plan has led Tucci to suggest that it had an administrative purpose, possibly as a cadastral document linked to taxes.²⁹²

The temple depicted on the fragment (figs.17 and 18) is labelled *Castoris et Pollucis* and stands in front of a building comprised of a series of long bays facing the Tiber bank labelled *Corneliae et soc[ia]*, suggested to be warehouses. A rectangular projection from the back wall of the temple is usually identified as the cult statue base.²⁹³ A central stair, with no platform, approaches the hexastyle *pronaos* of the temple. On the front walls of the *cella* are depicted two crossed areas, possibly statue niches or windows. Two walls project forwards from the short sides of the *cella*, creating niches on each side. The right-hand niche holds a square base, possibly for a statue. Although the fragment is

²⁸⁶ Petruccioli (2002a).

²⁸⁷ Vitti (2010) p85; Tucci (2013) p127.

²⁸⁸ Tucci (1994) p123, (2013) p92; Wallace-Hadrill (2008) p304-305.

²⁸⁹ Wallace-Hadrill (2008) p304-305.

²⁹⁰ Tucci (1994) p123, (2013) p92; Wallace-Hadrill (2008) p304-305.

²⁹¹ Tucci (1994) p123.

²⁹² Tucci (2013) p92.

²⁹³ Conticello De'Spagnolis (1984) p27.

broken across the left-hand niche, the space where another square base should be, assuming symmetry of layout, is empty. In front of the staircase is depicted a pair of concentric circles centred with a dot. This has been identified as an altar or a *cippus*.²⁹⁴ It might also be a fountain basin, but unfortunately, the plan provides no further details.

The Via Anicia fragment overlaps with fragment 32i of the *Forma Urbis*, which provides greater information about the area surrounding the temple. Unfortunately, the temple does not appear on this fragment and the exact location of the temple within the Circus Flaminius, and even the exact dimensions of the Circus itself remain a subject of debate.²⁹⁵ The overlap between these marble plans and the correspondence of certain elements to the modern street plan has led Conticello De' Spagnolis to suggest that the Circus temple of Castor and Pollux stood where the church of S. Tommaso ai Cenci is now (fig.19).²⁹⁶ One of the horse's heads of the Capitoline Dioscuri group was recorded as having been found in this church, strengthening this identification.²⁹⁷ The recent excavations also uncovered a fragment of one of the heads of the Capitoline Dioscuri in a medieval foundation.²⁹⁸ In 1996, some late republican walls were found underneath this church; these are suggested by Vitti to have formed the substructure of the temple's *pronaos* and the foundations for the cult statue base.²⁹⁹ However, there are some difficulties with this proposed reconstruction: to fit these structures into the plan of the Via

²⁹⁴ Conticello De' Spagnolis (1984) p27.

²⁹⁵ Conticello De' Spagnolis (1984) p55-56; Tucci (2013).

²⁹⁶ Conticello De' Spagnolis (1984) p55.

²⁹⁷ Conticello De' Spagnolis (1984) p37 details the description of the find by Albertini in his *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae*, Rome 1510 f61; Wiseman (1974) p5. It is possible that the statues were moved in antiquity, so the find spot of these fragments does not automatically prove their original location.

²⁹⁸ Vitti (2010) p80-81, figs. 18-20.

²⁹⁹ Vitti (2010) p74, 79.

Anicia fragment the excavators have needed to elongate the plan along the central axis (fig.20).³⁰⁰

Tucci has argued against this identification, stating that this reconstruction does not allow the temple to have a *podium*, the absence of which is otherwise unattested in Rome.³⁰¹ Additionally, that the temple was raised above the floor level is shown on the Via Anicia fragment by the steps leading to the *pronaos*. Tucci has re-examined the walls and dated them to the Late Antique period.³⁰² Tucci also criticises many of the plans put forward by Vitti, citing incorrect and misleading metric scales, and stating that the Via Anicia plan has been reproduced at the incorrect scale to fit the archaeological findings, which alters dimensions such as the depth of the *cella*.³⁰³ He therefore argues that this building cannot be identified with the temple of Castor and Pollux and suggests that the temple is situated thirty metres to the east, under four *villini*, where walls were found in the early twentieth century, specifically under the south-western corner of the *Villino Serventi*.³⁰⁴

The dates when the temple was vowed, constructed and dedicated are unknown, but several hypotheses have been proposed. The *Fasti* present a *terminus ante quem* for the temple's construction, as it is mentioned in the *Fasti Amiternini*, before Caesar's reform of the calendar in 46 BC.³⁰⁵ De Sanctis suggested that it was built contemporaneously with the Circus Flaminius, which was constructed in 220 BC by the censor Gaius Flaminius Nepos, and that the temple should be linked to the horse races that sometimes took place

³⁰⁰ Vitti (2010) p80; noted by Tucci (2013) p97-98, 98-102; Ciancio Rosseto, *LTUR V Addenda: 'Castor et Pollux in Circo; Aedes Castoris in Circo Flamini'*, p234-235

³⁰¹ Tucci (2013) p94-95.

³⁰² Tucci (2007) p419, (2013) p103.

³⁰³ Tucci (2013) p97-98, 98-102, see fig.20.

³⁰⁴ Tucci (2007) p413, 419-420; (2013) p118.

³⁰⁵ *Fasti Amiternini: CIL 1² p244*; Conticello De'Spagnolis (1984) p59.

there.³⁰⁶ Coarelli, following Degrassi, has suggested that the temples named in the *Fasti* are ordered chronologically, and that they are arranged around the circus in this chronological order.³⁰⁷ The reference to the temple of Castor and Pollux follows those to the temples of Fortuna Equestris and Hercules *ad Portam Trigemnam*. Thus, according to Coarelli, the temple of Castor and Pollux was built after the construction of the temple of Hercules in 173 BC. The temple, according to these arguments, should date between 173 and 46 BC. It may be possible to narrow this range further, as Livy does not mention the foundation of the temple, and although he does not record all temple foundations, he does preserve a very large proportion of them, and so it is possible that the temple was dedicated after 167 BC, after which Livy's books are no longer extant.³⁰⁸ Coarelli's argument is problematic; the dates of many buildings in the Circus Flaminius are uncertain and there is nothing prohibiting temples being placed in a space between older temples and thus not conforming to Coarelli's plan.

This proposed window has led scholars to attempt to identify who vowed and dedicated the temple. Publius Servilius Vatia Isauricus has been suggested after his triumph of 74 BC.³⁰⁹ Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius has also been proposed, owing to his suggested identification as the Caecilius Metellus who was responsible for decorating one of the temples of Castor and Pollux with a painting of the courtesan Flora.³¹⁰ Coarelli extends a second piece of evidence to support this identification, a stylistic dating of the Capitoline Dioscuri, suggesting they should be attributed to the same artist who created the statues of Apollo and the Muses from the theatre of Pompey, working in Rome in the

³⁰⁶ Varr. *Ling.* 5.154; De Sanctis (1907-1964) vol. 4.2.1, p264-265; Conticello De'Spagnolis (1984) p59; Claridge (2010) p250.

³⁰⁷ Coarelli, *LTUR* I: 'Castor et Pollux in Circo', p246.

³⁰⁸ Ziolkowski (1992) p14-15 argues that Livy recorded every temple's dedication. Contra: Levene (1994) p220.

³⁰⁹ Vitti (2010) p84; Tucci (2013) p91.

³¹⁰ Plut. *Pomp.* 2.3-4; Coarelli, *LTUR* I: 'Castor et Pollux in Circo', p246; Van Ooteghem (1967) p392; Vitti (2010) p84; discussed further below: p93-94.

middle of the first century BC.³¹¹ He acknowledges that these colossal statues would not fit on the suggested base inside the temple, but proposed that they stood on bases in the *alae* either side of the *pronaos*. However, there is evidence of only one suggested base outside the temple and, as noted below, the date of the Capitoline Dioscuri statues is much debated. Unfortunately, therefore, we do not possess enough evidence to be able to date the temple precisely, or to identify who vowed and dedicated it.

The Capitoline Dioscuri statues were found near the Circus Flaminius in 1561 (fig.21).³¹² As noted above, dating these statues is difficult, being primarily judged stylistically, which has led to two scholars coming to very different conclusions: Coarelli suggests the mid-first century BC and Parisi Presicce proposes the mid-second century AD.³¹³ The statues show Castor and Pollux standing beside their horses, the brothers grasp their horse's reins in one hand while the other extends out from their body, possibly to hold a spear. They wear a cloak and *piloi*, which of the right-hand Dioscurus has a hole at the front, possibly for the mount for a metal star.³¹⁴ Both statues were already damaged when they were found and have needed many repairs, including the head of the left-hand Dioscurus.³¹⁵ The right-hand Dioscurus stands 5.50m tall and the left-hand 5.80m tall, owing to the addition of a plinth under his feet. Conticello De'Spagnolis has suggested, based on the location in which they were found, being some distance from the proposed location of the temple, that these were not associated with the temple, but that they may have flanked a monumental entrance to the Circus Flaminius.³¹⁶

³¹¹ Coarelli, *LTUR I*: 'Castor et Pollux in Circo', p246.

³¹² Conticello De'Spagnolis (1984) p37; Parisi Presicce (1994) p153.

³¹³ Parisi Presicce (1994) p166-167.

³¹⁴ Parisi Presicce (1994) p161.

³¹⁵ Tucci (2013) p92 n2.

³¹⁶ Albert (1883) p86; Conticello De'Spagnolis (1984) p40.

It was not unusual for a god to have more than one temple in Rome; the *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* lists thirty-six cult places for Jupiter in the city,³¹⁷ and seventeen for Hercules.³¹⁸ Although some of these sites are only found in one reference and in late sources, this demonstrates the diversity and number of cult places a single god might receive in Rome. The sites listed vary from altars to large temples and include different attributes or epithets of the gods, for example: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Jupiter Tonans, Jupiter Stator and Jupiter Heliopolitanus. The different areas of responsibility for these attributes, from Jupiter the Stayer to Jupiter of Thunder, may explain the perceived need for multiple temples to a single divinity.³¹⁹ It is more unusual to find multiple temples to the same god with the same epithet, although not impossible. There are two temples to Jupiter Stator in the city, first vowed by Romulus and then by the consul Marcus Atilius Regulus in 294 BC.³²⁰ This temple stood on the Sacra Via, possibly near the later Arch of Titus.³²¹ Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus built the second temple near the Circus Flaminius after his Macedonian triumph in 146 BC.³²² These temples were both referred to as *aedes*, located in prominent areas and dedicated after a victory. Why Regulus and Metellus both decided, some 150 years apart, to build temples to the same god is unknown. The earlier temple was extant when the second temple was built, for Cicero gave his first *In Catilinam* speech here.³²³ The epithet of a temple could be of great significance: temples to the same god but different epithets were not necessarily interchangeable. This is illustrated by an incident when the *equites* had made vows to Fortuna Equestris for Livia's health, but then encountered difficulties, for there was no longer a temple to the goddess

³¹⁷ *LTUR* II p130-162.

³¹⁸ *LTUR* II p11-26.

³¹⁹ See p162.

³²⁰ Liv. 1.12.4-6, 10.36.11.

³²¹ Coarelli, *LTUR* II: 'Iuppiter Stator, Aedes, Fanum, Templum', p155-157.

³²² Coarelli, *LTUR* II: 'Iuppiter Stator, Aedes ad Circum', p157-159.

³²³ Cic. *Cat.* 2.12.

with this epithet in Rome.³²⁴ In the end, they gave their dedications to a temple of Fortuna Equestris in Antium.

Neither of the temples of Castor and Pollux in Rome possess an epithet to suggest that they had different functions and both were known as *aedes* or *templum*, rather than one being an altar. The question thus arises as to why a second temple was built in Rome for the same pair of gods. As I have explored above, the temple in the Forum was often known as *Aedes Castoris*, which has suggested to some scholars that this temple was only of Castor, rather than of Castor and Pollux, a suggestion I have refuted.³²⁵ A similar problem occurs in the case of the Circus temple, for the only literary reference is to the *aedes Castoris in Circo Flaminio*, but the Via Anicia fragment preserves the title as *Castoris et Pollucis*.³²⁶ As I have argued above, there is no reason to believe that Pollux was at any stage excluded from the temple in the Forum. Thus, it cannot be suggested that the first temple was dedicated to Castor alone and the second temple was dedicated to both the Dioscuri, which might have explained the need for a second temple. Other potential reasons for the dedication of a second temple to the same gods in Rome may be owing to a different location or dedicator, an instruction from the god or an unattested epiphany.

There are some indications that the cult of the Dioscuri in the Circus Flaminius may have possessed a different purpose from their Forum temple. For the purposes of my argument, the exact position of the temple is not of paramount importance; however, it is important to note its relative position within the Circus Flaminius. The Via Anicia fragment shows that it was placed close to the Tiber, with a building between it and the

³²⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 3.71; Scullard (1981) p175; although there had previously been one in the Circus Flaminius, vowed by Fulvius Flaccus in 180 BC: Liv. 40.40.10, 40.44.9, see p87.

³²⁵ See p39-40.

³²⁶ Vitruvius 4.8.4.

river (fig.17).³²⁷ Another structure appears on the opposite side of the Circus Flaminius, which has been identified as the temple of Neptune, dating to the second century BC.³²⁸ Additionally, two Severan inscriptions from AD 198 may contribute further evidence, although later than the period under discussion. These were found near the *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*, not far from the Circus Flaminius, which contains a second century BC shrine to the Lares Permarini.³²⁹

<p><i>M. Ael. M.F. Rusticus. Rect</i> <i>Imm. II. Hon. III</i> <i>Indiem. vitae. suae</i> <i>Mesorib. mach. F.P.</i> <i>Quib. ex. S.C. coire. licet.</i> <i>Castores. D.D.</i> <i>et. ob dedicatione.</i> <i>dedit. sing. X II.</i> <i>L. Faenio. Fidele.</i> <i>QQ.II.</i> <i>Dedic. XV. Kal. Iun.</i> <i>Saturnino. et. Gallo. cós</i>³³⁰</p>	<p>Marcus Aelius Rusticus, son of Marcus, <i>Rector</i> twice exempt, thrice honoured On his birthday to the surveyors of the machines for the public grain who are permitted to meet by a decree of the Senate he gave the Castores as a gift and for this dedication he gave two <i>denarii</i> to each individual when Lucius Faenius Fidelis was <i>quinquennalis</i> for the second time this was dedicated fifteen days before the Kalends of June in the consulship of Saturninus and Gallus</p>
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These inscriptions were erected in honour of Marcus Aelius Rusticus, *rector* of the *mensores machinarii frumenti publici* who operated the scales that measured grain for distribution. Rusticus' gift to his *collegium* was probably statues of the Dioscuri, perhaps owing to their role as protecting gods of sailors. The *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*, built perhaps during the reign of Claudius, was used as the centre for corn distributions.³³¹ This function of the *porticus* may explain the location of these inscriptions, as well as the shrine

³²⁷ This building has been identified by Conticello De'Spagnolis (1984) p30 as a *navalia*; although not mentioned by Rankov (2013) p39-41 in his survey of Roman shipsheds. For a discussion of the identification of this structure and the *navalia* along the Tiber, Haselberger and Petruccioli (2002) p180.

³²⁸ Petruccioli (2002b).

³²⁹ Manacorda (2000) p15-16, *LTUR* IV: '*Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*', p134-135; Tran (2008) p296-297; *CIL* 6.85a and b.

³³⁰ *CIL* 6.85a; restorations from Tran (2008) p297 n23: *M(arcus) Ael(ius) M(arci) f(ilius) Rusticus, rect(or),/ imm(unis) II, hon(oratus) III, / in diem uitae suae / me(n)sorib(us) mach(inariorum) f(frumenti) p(ublici) / quib(us) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) coire licet, / Castores d(onum) d(edit), / et ob dedicatione(m) / dedit sing(ulis) (denarios) II, / L(ucio) Faenio Fidele, / q(uin)q(uennali) II; / dedic(ata) (ante diem) XV Kal(endas) Iun(ias) / Saturnino et Gallo co(n)s(ulibus)*. I am grateful to Christopher Siwicki for bringing these altars to my attention.

³³¹ Rickman (1980) p192-193, 195-197; Manacorda, *LTUR* IV: '*Porticus Minucia Frumentaria*', p132-137.

to the Lares Permarini. However, prior to the building of this *porticus*, it seems that there was no single centre for the corn distributions during the Republic or reign of Augustus.³³²

The proximity of the Circus temple of Castor and Pollux to the Tiber, the altars to the Dioscuri from a college associated with the grain trade in a *porticus* linked to the distribution of grain, and a nearby temple of Neptune, suggests that this area near the Circus Flaminius and the Tiber may have been linked to the grain trade.³³³ This may be a reason for a second temple to the Dioscuri in Rome; Castor and Pollux were not only the protectors of the *equites*, but also of sailors, as I explore in Chapter Three.³³⁴ It is therefore possible that this temple was connected to the Tiber, ships, merchants and sailors, all of whom were part of the transport of grain from Ostia to the capital. The cult of the Dioscuri at Ostia was closely connected to that at Rome and was linked to sailors.³³⁵ However, these few references can be no more than an indication of a differing responsibility of Castor and Pollux at their Circus temple. These references are chronologically and geographically separated and may be nothing more than a series of coincidences; they are also all later than the suggested dates for the foundation of the temple, so an argument suggesting the temple was built here for this reason risks circularity. However, it is possible that if the temple was not built with this purpose in mind, as this area became associated with the grain trade, the temple became linked to the trade owing to Castor and Pollux's role as saviours of sailors.

Is it possible to discover a political aspect of the Circus temple of Castor and Pollux similar to that of their Forum temple? *Contiones* and trials were held in the Circus

³³² Rickman (1980) p185.

³³³ However, the Circus Flaminius also had equestrian connections: p86-87.

³³⁴ Catul. *Carm.* 48a.63-65; Sen. *Q. Nat.* 1.1.13; Ov. *Tr.* 1.10.45-50.

³³⁵ See p204-207.

Flaminius,³³⁶ and the imperial family also made use of the area: Augustus pronounced a eulogy in the Circus for Drusus the Elder in 9 BC.³³⁷ It is unfortunate that we do not know the location of these meetings and the speech, for considering the parallels drawn between Drusus and the Dioscuri, the possibility that the eulogy was given at their temple is intriguing.³³⁸ However, the lack of evidence regarding the Circus temple hampers more detailed analysis of its cultural, political and religious significance.

Comparison of the temples

The Forum temple was connected to prominent individuals throughout its history, firstly to the family of Aulus Postumius who vowed the temple, and his son who dedicated it. However, the family connected most often to the temple is the Caecilii Metelli, a fact that was played upon by Cicero in his defence of Lucius Metellus.³³⁹ Metellus Dalmaticus dedicated the first major reconstruction of the temple, and a Caecilius Metellus decorated a temple of Castor and Pollux in Rome with statues and paintings, among which was a portrait of the courtesan Flora.³⁴⁰ Unfortunately, Plutarch does not specify to which temple this Metellus gave his dedications, or his identity. Coarelli has persuasively argued, followed by Petruccioli, that he is Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius, consul of 80 BC.³⁴¹ He argues that, as we have no further attested interventions in the Forum temple by a Metellus, we should identify the Circus temple as the one receiving the dedications, as mentioned by Plutarch.³⁴² This assertion, however, is incorrect, as Metellus Pius is

³³⁶ Cic. *Sest.* 11.33, *Att.* 1.14.1; Plut. *Marc.* 27.3, *Cic.* 13.2-4; Liv. 27.21; Platner and Ashby (1929) p111-113; Taylor (1966) p20-21; Wiseman (1974) p4, 15-17.

³³⁷ Cass. Dio 55.2.2.

³³⁸ Examined in Chapter Four.

³³⁹ Cic. *Scaur.* 46; Sihvola (1989) p87; La Rocca (1994) p78.

³⁴⁰ Plut. *Pomp.* 2.3-4.

³⁴¹ Badian, *OCD*³: 'Caecilius Metellus Pius, Quintus'; Plut. *Ser.* 12.4-13.5, 18.1-19.6.

³⁴² La Rocca (1994); Petruccioli (2002a); Coarelli, *LTUR* I: '*Castor et Pollux in Circo*', p246. Plutarch does not mention this dedication in his *Life of Sertorius*, in which Metellus features. However, this is perhaps owing to his focus on the campaigns in Spain. However, as the only temple of Castor and Pollux that Plutarch refers to throughout his *Lives* is the Forum temple, this is inconclusive.

associated (although distantly) with the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux, as it was during his consulship with Sulla in 80 BC that the contract for the upkeep of the Forum temple was let to Publius Iunius.³⁴³ Although Metellus does not seem to have been actively involved in this process, for Cicero states that the praetors Verres and Publius Caelius were in charge of examining these contracts, it is still interesting to note that Metellus is linked to the Forum temple at this time. If Coarelli is correct that Metellus Pius is the Caecilius Metellus who gave these dedications to a temple of Castor and Pollux, it is probable that he did so to the Forum temple, which was undergoing refurbishment during his consular year. No matter which temple received this dedication, it may have been an attempt by a Metellus to reinforce the relationship between his family and the cult of the Dioscuri. However, the Caecili Metellii did not appear to publicise a connection with Castor and Pollux in other ways, for example, they do not mint any coins depicting them.

The prominence of the temple ensured its continuous use, redevelopment and reconstructions. To be associated with such a prominent temple, both in terms of its location and its functions, would confer significant prestige on those connected with it through dedications or rebuildings. The Metellii were not the only family to be connected to the Dioscuri, as shall be explored in Chapter Two, other families, such as the Postumii and Domitii Ahenobarbi, sought to gain prominence from their connection with Castor and Pollux. Members of the imperial family were quick to capitalise upon this prestige, or perhaps to make sure they were the only ones who might do so. The reasons for the imperial family to connect themselves with Castor and Pollux will be explored in Chapter Four. However, it is useful to note that in AD 6, two years after his adoption by Augustus, it was Tiberius, the most senior of Augustus' potential heirs, who rebuilt this temple, and

³⁴³ Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.50; see p47-48.

Caligula may have chosen to use the temple of Castor and Pollux as his vestibule for similar reasons.

Conclusion

The Forum temple, to which most of my analysis has been restricted because of our limited knowledge of the Circus temple, underwent many reconstructions and repairs, but never by the same person or family. Why were so many individuals associated with this temple?³⁴⁴ The association between this temple and epiphanies of Castor and Pollux (discussed in the following chapter) may have been attractive, suggesting that even if the Dioscuri had not appeared at a battle, the victory had been divinely ordained, and thus the gods looked after the general. The connections between the *ordo equester* and the temple may have influenced the general's choice, if the actions of the cavalry had been particularly significant in their campaign. The temple and any inscription on its architrave naming the dedicator would have been highly visible owing to its prominent position in the Forum, but this would have been true of temples throughout the city. However, not all temples played such a central role in the religious, social and political life of the city as the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux did. The antiquity of both their cult and their temple allowed individuals, through their benefactions to the temple, to associate themselves with the great heroes of the early Republic and with Castor and Pollux. By this association, they could distinguish themselves from their peers, celebrate their piety and win a political advantage.

Throughout this chapter, particularly concerning the platform at the Forum temple, I have argued that political necessities affected and added to the religious functions of the

³⁴⁴ On the motivations for building or repairing monuments, see Sumi (2009) p168-169; Edwards (1996) p21.

temples of Castor and Pollux in Rome. The platform always had a quasi-civic function, as although the *transvectio* and *recognito equitum* occurred on the feast day of the Dioscuri and the anniversary of the foundation of the temple, these were also civic and military functions. They ensured that the men selected for the public horse were physically and economically able to fight in the cavalry. The Forum temple housed senatorial meetings and if the consuls chose the location of these meetings, it is possible that the temple could be chosen for its connotations and those of the cult it housed. As I have illustrated above, the same may be true of the use of the platform, although other factors might also influence the choice of location.

Cicero, in his speech prosecuting Verres, explored above, highlights the centrality of Castor and Pollux to many aspects of Roman society; for, according to Cicero, they were particularly relevant to political and legal life, for they observed the doings of those who gathered nearby.³⁴⁵ They saw everything that occurred in the Forum, including senatorial meetings, speeches given on the platform of their temple, the *equites equo publico* being judged before them, even violent deeds that occurred nearby. However, the cult of Castor and Pollux in Rome was significant for more reasons than just a conveniently central large temple, for other temples in the Forum could have fulfilled this need. Instead, the temples of Castor and Pollux in Rome, particularly the Forum temple, were strongly associated with many different groups in society, an aspect explored further in Chapter Three. I have argued that the Forum temple played a significant role in ceremonies involving the equestrian order. The temple also featured prominently in the struggles between the *optimates* and *populares* that dominated the late Republic, becoming a location so loaded with significance that violence was used to try to win it for each side. Ulrich notes that Cicero's reaction to the occupation of the Forum temple of Castor and

³⁴⁵ Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.72 after Greenwood.

Pollux is more in terms of political disruption than of religious sacrilege, indicating the central role the temple played in the politics of the late Republic.³⁴⁶ Throughout this chapter, I have shown the ever-present role that the cult of Castor and Pollux played in many different aspects of Roman life. They, and their temples, were important fixtures in the political, legal and religious spheres of Roman society.

³⁴⁶ Ulrich (1994) p105.

Chapter Two: Epiphanies of the Dioscuri

The phenomenon of gods appearing to mortals to give warnings, aid or knowledge has a long history in the Classical world. In the Homeric epics, the gods are active characters, being parents of many of the heroes, participating in battles, and manipulating humans.¹ Gods are also prominent in Greek tragedy, often appearing at the end of a play to explain what the future holds for the characters or to instruct them on their next course of action. Gods and heroes are reported as appearing to humans on several occasions in Greek history; one of the most famous examples occurred when Pheidippides met the god Pan between Athens and Sparta, who promised that if the Athenians honoured him, he would help them.² The Athenians, following the Greek victory, founded a temple to Pan beneath the Acropolis and honoured him with annual sacrifices. Athena, Herakles and Theseus, among other heroes, also appeared to fight with the Greeks against the Persians at the Battle of Marathon in 490 BC.³ As epiphanies are rarer in Roman history than Greek, as will be explored below, it will be useful here to briefly explore famous Greek epiphanies which may have influenced later depictions to provide context to the following discussion.

Appearances of the gods such as at the Battle of Marathon are called epiphanies in ancient literature and modern scholarship, the word ἐπιφάνεια appears in Greek literature during the fourth century BC.⁴ It possesses a variety of meanings, from its root meaning of an appearance, through more complex ideas such as the manifestation of a god or goddess,

¹ For example: Athena's appearance to Achilles to prevent him from slaying Agamemnon: Hom. *Il.* 1.190-200; on the gods in Homer: Dietrich (1983); Kearns (2004) p59-73.

² Hdt. 6.105; Paus 1.28.4.

³ Theseus: Plut. *Thes.* 35.3; Athena, Herakles, Marathon, Echelaeus: Paus. 1.15.3. On Greek epiphanies: Pritchett (1979) p11-49; Kron (1999) p61-83; Wheeler (2004) p1-14.

⁴ Pfister (1924) col 277.

or of their power, to an emperor's accession.⁵ By the first century BC, Dionysius of Halicarnassus could use the term to describe actions of the gods that had an effect on the mortal sphere, even if the god or goddess did not physically appear, as demonstrated by the case of two Vestal Virgins who were accused of letting the sacred flame go out. Although Vesta did not appear, she helped the Vestals prove their innocence by allowing them to perform impossible deeds.⁶ Plutarch also used the term to describe dreams in which the gods appear,⁷ and Diodorus Siculus to describe occasions when the gods heal the sick.⁸ It can also refer to a person being distinguished or possessing a great lineage.⁹ In a Ciceronian dialogue, Lucilius states that "the gods often manifest their power in bodily presence" (*praesentes saepe di vim suam declarant*).¹⁰ However, appearances of the gods are rarer in Rome than in Greece, as shall be explored below. This may perhaps explain why Roman authors do not seem to use a specific term for appearances of the gods. Instead, they tend to state that the gods were seen,¹¹ shown,¹² or most commonly, simply report the appearance and the event at which it occurred.¹³

Pfister defines a divine epiphany as the "form of divine revelation in which the supernatural being, a god, a hero, a spirit of the deceased, may visibly appear in person among men".¹⁴ For the purposes of this chapter, I use 'epiphany' to refer to the physical manifestation of a deity or hero. I also categorise epiphanies by two criteria: firstly, by whether the god who appeared was unambiguously identified or not. For epiphanies in which the god or goddess is not clearly named, it is often possible to identify them by their

⁵ *LSJ* s.u. ἐπιφάνεια.

⁶ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.68.1-69.3.

⁷ Plut. *Them.* 30.6.

⁸ Diod. Sic. 1.25.3.

⁹ *LSJ*: s.u. ἐπιφάνεια; Plut. *Cor.* 22.1, *Cat. Min.* 1.1.

¹⁰ Cic. *Nat. Deo* 2.2.6

¹¹ For example: Val. Max 1.8.1; Cic. *Div.* 1.34.75.

¹² For example: Min. Fel. *Oct.* 7.3.

¹³ For example: Cic. *Tusc.* 1.12.28; Flor. 1.5.2-4, 1.28.14-15; Suet. *Iul.* 84.3, *Ner.* 1.1.

¹⁴ Pfister (1924) col 281, my translation: "diejenige Form der göttlichen Offenbarung, bei der das übermenschliche Wesen, ein Gott, ein Heros, ein Totengeist persönlich sichtbar unter den Menschen erschient".

attributes, appearances or through knowledge of a particular epiphanic tradition. The second criteria concerns whether the epiphany was invoked or spontaneous. Invoked epiphanies occurred in response to human action, be it requesting aid or a prophecy, an *evocatio*, or vowing a temple to the god should he or she render the human aid. Spontaneous epiphanies refer to those in which the god or goddess appears without being called upon by humans. Such epiphanies may have similar results to invoked epiphanies, as the god may bestow knowledge upon humans, or receive a temple or cult in thanks for his or her actions, but the crucial difference between these two categories is the impetus behind the epiphany- either mortal or divine. The Romans made such distinctions, as evidenced by the different categories of auspices: those signs that occurred unasked for were *oblative*, whilst those that were invited, often in a ritual context, were *impetrativa*, correlating to spontaneous and invoked epiphanies respectively.¹⁵ Cicero also mentions a third type: “forced auspices” in which a person influenced the signs, which may correspond to ‘false epiphanies’ in which an epiphany was staged or falsely said to have occurred.¹⁶ A catalogue of Dioscuric epiphanies is included as Appendix One, in which the epiphanies explored throughout this chapter are described as either ‘Roman’ or ‘Greek’, and then listed chronologically and described by the above criteria. However, by dividing the epiphanies in this way, I do not mean to suggest that the epiphanies were only relevant to their geographical location. Furthermore, in this chapter, my use of descriptors such as ‘Italy’ or ‘Italian’ does not suggest that there was any political, ethnic or religious unity between disparate areas and cultures such as Magna Graecia, Etruria, Latium or Rome itself, but instead I use these only as geographical terms.

¹⁵ Linderski (1986) p2195-2196.

¹⁶ For example: Cic. *De Div.* 1.15.28.

Not all epiphanies were immediately recognised and some sources indicate scepticism as to whether the reported epiphanies were authentic. Cicero and Valerius Maximus preserve the tale of Publius Vatinius, who was travelling to Rome when he encountered the Dioscuri who bade him carry the news of the victory at the Battle of Pydna in 168 BC to the Senate (cat.7). Vatinius obeyed and was imprisoned for disrespecting the Senate with idle talk.¹⁷ The fact that the Senate considered that he might have been lying demonstrates that not all epiphanies were immediately recognised or believed when reported. Belief in such claims may have been linked to the religious authority of the reporter; as seen on this occasion, it was not until a message confirming the victory arrived from Aemilius Paullus that Vatinius was released and rewarded.¹⁸

Cicero demonstrates that scepticism might exist regarding the veracity of epiphanies. These statements occur in scholarly dialogues, and may be more extreme than those that might be expected in everyday conversation; however, they demonstrate that such opinions existed. After Gaius Cotta questions why the Dioscuri appeared to Vatinius, a farmer, rather than a well-respected senator such as Cato the Elder:¹⁹

Do you really think them old wives' tales?" rejoined Lucilius. "Are you not aware of the temple in the Forum dedicated to Castor and Pollux by Aulus Postumius, or of the resolution of the Senate concerning Vatinius? As for Sagra, the Greeks actually have a proverbial saying about it: when they make an assertion, they say that it is 'more certain than the affair on the Sagra'. Surely their authority must carry weight with you?"

*Tum Lucilius "An tibi" inquit "fabellae videntur? Nonne ab A. Postumio aedem Castori et Polluci in foro dedicatam, nonne senatus consultum de Vatinio vides? Nam de Sagra Graecorum etiam est volgare proverbium, qui quae adfirmant certiora esse dicunt quam illa quae apud Sagram. His igitur auctoribus nonne debes moveri?"*²⁰

¹⁷ Val. Max. 1.8.1.

¹⁸ There is a similarity between this epiphany and the epiphany of Romulus as Quirinus (noted on p151) in which Romulus appeared to the senator Julius Proculus on a road outside Rome: Plut. *Rom.* 28.1-3, cf. Plut. *Num.* 2.3.

¹⁹ Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.5.11-12, Cotta may be arguing from a philosophical standpoint of academic scepticism, rather than a mainstream religious one and so his comments must be read with this in mind: Dyck (2003) p5.

²⁰ Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.5.13.

When challenged as to the veracity of epiphanies, Lucilius does not argue about theological issues. Rather he uses as evidence the temple dedicated in thanks for an epiphany, a senatorial decree and tradition, indicated by a proverb. Like Lucilius, rather than debate the unanswerable questions of whether gods existed or appeared to humans, I shall focus upon proofs that they were believed to do so: literary and material references to epiphanies, and actions, such as temple dedications, stated to be in response to epiphanies.

However, there has been a recent trend in scholarship to rationalise epiphanies and provide scientific explanations. Characteristic of this approach is Herman, who utilises a comparison of reported epiphanies in modern times, including an account from World War One in which British soldiers reported seeing cavalry wearing the armour of French medieval knights.²¹ Herman suggests that ancient epiphanies, particularly those witnessed in a heightened emotional state such as during a battle, can be explained by the psychological impact of such circumstances, resulting in a 'sensed presence'.²² These epiphanies might then be publicised by the individual who experienced them,²³ or by another person, perhaps to win support for their religious beliefs.²⁴ However, as stated above, I do not intend to use epiphanies to explore ancient views on the existence of gods or whether epiphanies took place. Rather, the fact that ancients appear to have believed that epiphanies occurred, or at least that they represent themselves as believing this, is of greater importance. The objective of this chapter is to explore what significance the belief that Dioscuric epiphanies happened held for Roman society.

²¹ Herman (2011) p132.

²² Herman (2011) p134, 152-153.

²³ Herman (2011) p153.

²⁴ Herman (2011) p152.

There has been a resurgence of interest in epiphanies, including a dedicated volume exploring the evolution of epiphanies from Minoan Crete to the Christian period.²⁵ Other important works include Platt's volume which examines the representations of epiphanies in art and literature, and Hekster's article on 'Reversed Epiphanies' which explores how a god or goddess might appear to an emperor shortly before his downfall to withdraw his or her support.²⁶ Bravo, following Pritchett, suggests that a precedent for the later epiphanies of the Dioscuri may be found in Greek hero cult.²⁷

As the earliest reported epiphanies of the Dioscuri occur in Greece, a discussion of these epiphanies will be useful, in order to place the Roman appearances into their proper context. Castor and Pollux held a prominent role in their native Sparta from an early date. When the Spartan army marched into battle, it was to the sound of pipes playing τὸ Καστόρειον μέλος: the hymn to or of Castor.²⁸ Herodotus relates that it was decreed that when Sparta was at war, one of the Dioscuri should accompany the King who led the campaign whilst the other should remain with the other King in Sparta.²⁹ Herodotus also mentions that prior to the passing of this law, both of the Dioscuri were called upon by the army for help and accompanied them to battle. Which of the twins went with the army and which one remained in Sparta is not stated; however, considering the 'hymn to Castor' that the army marched to, perhaps we should identify the brother with the army as Castor, whilst Pollux remained in Sparta.³⁰ How exactly one of the Dioscuri accompanied the army is uncertain; it has been suggested that what was carried was half of their aniconic

²⁵ Shanzer and Marinatos (2004).

²⁶ Hekster (2010); Platt (2011).

²⁷ Pritchett (1979) vol.3 p11-46; Bravo (2004) p63.

²⁸ Plut. *Lyc.* 22.2.

²⁹ Hdt. 5.75; Pritchett (1979) p14-15; the change in custom was reportedly due to a disagreement between the kings Demaratus and Cleomenes, Hdt. 5.74-75.

³⁰ Michell (1952) p107, who suggests that Castor's spirit accompanied the king.

representation, the *dokana*.³¹ On occasions, it appears that this tactic was successful, for the first reported epiphanies of the Dioscuri occurred in Messenia to prevent Spartan defeats (cat.14 and 15).³²

The Battle of Marathon provides a good example of a variety of heroes coming to the aid of the Athenian army in this pivotal battle against the Persians. Theseus, the founder of Athens, and Marathon, the eponymous hero of the plain, were seen fighting beside the Athenians. A third hero fought the Persians with a plough, and although not previously known to the Athenians, was revealed by the Delphic oracle to be Echetlaeus, and they were ordered to honour him as a hero.³³ The painting of the battle in the Stoa Poikile demonstrates the bond between Theseus and the city; it represented him rising from the earth to come to the aid of the Athenians.³⁴ Kron has argued that the location of the hero's tomb or burial place was of great importance, as heroes who were venerated at the site of their tombs sometimes appeared in epiphanies nearby.³⁵ However, in the case of Theseus, contrary to Kron's emphasis on the hero's burial place, his bones were not repatriated to Athens until the 470s BC.³⁶ The importance of the location of the hero's bones and tomb is emphasised by Cimon's expedition to Skyros to retrieve Theseus' bones and rebury them in Athens.³⁷ However, Theseus appeared in the epiphany at Marathon when his bones were still on Skyros. This exception might be explained by the presence of a shrine at Marathon or Athens that did not contain his bones, but also demonstrates that

³¹ Pritchett (1979) p14-15; see p14.

³² Paus 4.16.5; Ogden (2004) p67-68 has suggested that these epiphanies were of the representations of the Dioscuri which the Spartans carried into battle and which he argues they may have placed in trees near the battle. However, I see no evidence that these epiphanies were regarded as false in antiquity.

³³ Paus. 1.32.5.

³⁴ Paus. 1.15.3.

³⁵ Kron (1999) p62-63.

³⁶ Podlecki (1971) p141-142.

³⁷ Plut. *Cim.* 8.6; *Thes.* 36.1-2; Kron (1999) p62-63.

there was a great variety within epiphanies and as such, there were no absolute rules dictating such appearances.

Geographical limitations do not seem to apply to the Dioscuri, who are reported to appear in many different places. This may be related to their mythology, as they constantly travelled between the mortal and divine realms. Castor and Pollux also had a maritime aspect, as saviours of sailors, having responsibility over the entire Mediterranean Sea, which may have influenced their widespread appeal.³⁸ Additionally, the traditions regarding their tomb and its location are somewhat confused. In the *Iliad*, Castor and Pollux are said to be buried in their native Lacedaemonia, with no reference to their apotheosis.³⁹ In the *Odyssey*, this description is enlarged upon, stating that they lie beneath the earth, but they alternately die and live again.⁴⁰ It has been suggested that the more detailed account of their afterlife, as reported in the *Odyssey*, is the work of an elaborator, or that the author of the *Odyssey* was drawing upon a different tradition from that seen in the *Iliad*.⁴¹ Pausanias records the presence of only one tomb; of Castor in Sparta, accompanied by the statement that it was not until forty years after Castor's death that the Dioscuri received worship at the sanctuary built over the tomb.⁴² The absence of a tomb for Pollux may be explained by his immortality. However, the variety of traditions regarding the possible tombs of Castor and Pollux creates some difficulty. Most accounts of their mythology state that both became gods,⁴³ and therefore I would suggest that we should perhaps not expect to find their tombs. Such uncertainty suggests that, even in

³⁸ Explored in Chapter Three.

³⁹ Hom. *Il.* 3.236-244.

⁴⁰ Hom. *Od.* 11.299-304.

⁴¹ Kirk (1985) p300; Dawe (1993) p445-446 notes that an ancient critic, Aristarchos, believed that lines 301-304 of the *Odyssey* passage were spurious.

⁴² The reason for this gap is not elaborated upon: Paus. 3.13.1.

⁴³ Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.11.2; Hom. *Cyp.* Fr1; Hyg. *Fab.* 80, 224, 251, *Poet. Astr.* 2.22; Ov. *Fast.* 5.719; Virg. *Aen.* 6.121; Pind. *Nem.* 10.75-90.

antiquity, there was uncertainty as to the death(s), burial(s) or deification of the twins, and this may explain why the epiphanies of Castor and Pollux do not fit neatly within the tradition of Greek hero cult, in which epiphanies commonly have a geographical determinant, as argued by Kron.⁴⁴ It is significant, however, that when we do possess references to the burial of one or both of the Dioscuri, they are situated in Sparta, their homeland. Most commonly however, Castor and Pollux were heroes in life, and, following Castor's fatal injury, both were characterised as gods, with freedom from mortal limitations. Their eventual divine status may be another factor that allowed the Dioscuri to break away from restrictions that may have limited the epiphanies of heroes.

Epiphanies of Castor and Pollux feature in two tragedies by Euripides, *Elektra* and *Helen*, as the *dei ex machina*. In *Elektra*, they instruct Orestes, following the murders of Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus, to go to Athens to stand trial.⁴⁵ In *Helen*, the same ambiguity can be seen concerning their deaths and afterlives as noted between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Helen is told that her brothers are either dead, having killed themselves owing to her shame, or that they are immortal, having "been made like stars and are gods".⁴⁶ It is only the audience, after Helen and Menelaus have made their escape, who discover that that they have become immortal, for Castor and Pollux appear to instruct Theoclymenus not to pursue the couple.⁴⁷ Throughout this thesis I explore the idea that, particularly in Rome, Castor was more prominent than Pollux and thus it is noteworthy that Castor speaks in these epiphanies, while Pollux, although he also appears, is silent. The heroines of both plays were also related to the Dioscuri: Helen was their sister, Elektra

⁴⁴ Kron (1999) p62-63.

⁴⁵ Eur. *El.* 1233-1248.

⁴⁶ Eur. *Hel.* 137-142.

⁴⁷ Eur. *Hel.* 1643-1669.

was their niece. This familial bond may explain why the playwright chose Castor and Pollux to appear rather than another god.

The ‘historical’ epiphanies of the Dioscuri can be separated into three categories, although with some exceptions: helpers in battle, messengers of victory and companions at a death. Battle epiphanies occur during combat or to prevent a battle. Messengers of victory describes their appearances following a victory to bring the news to others. In the final category, Castor and Pollux marked the death of prominent individuals. This is a role that they occupy in Etruria, appearing beside tomb doors,⁴⁸ and one to which they are particularly suited owing to their constant movement between Olympus and the underworld.⁴⁹

It is possible from the epiphanies in which Castor and Pollux are explicitly named, to construct a template of their appearances to identify them in those in which they are not named.⁵⁰ Most commonly, they take the form of two young men, of unusual size and beauty.⁵¹ They are often accompanied by their horses, which, when their colour is noted, are white.⁵² They sometimes are described as wearing military garb,⁵³ red cloaks⁵⁴ and holding spears.⁵⁵ They are often associated with stars, appearing only as stars most commonly in a naval context, such as when they appeared as stars beside the Spartan general Lysander’s ship at the Battle of Aigospotamoi.⁵⁶ The Dioscuri also appear in their astral form outside battles in their role as protectors of sailors.⁵⁷ Some epiphanies in which the gods are not explicitly named correspond closely to this description and the deities thus

⁴⁸ De Grummond (1991) p22-26; Simon (2006) p54; Krauskopf (2006) p76-77.

⁴⁹ Lucian, *Dial. D.* 24.276.2, 26.281-287; Pind. *Nem.* 10.55-59; Lycoph. *Alex.* 564-566.

⁵⁰ Sironen (1989) p98-99 for the identifying *topoi* of the Dioscuri in literature.

⁵¹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.1; Plut. *Aem.* 25.1-7.

⁵² Flor. 1.5.2-4; Val. Max. 1.8.1.

⁵³ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.1.

⁵⁴ Just. *Epit.* 20.3.7-9.

⁵⁵ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.1.

⁵⁶ Plut. *Lys.* 12.1; Flor. 1.5.2-4 describes them as “like stars”.

⁵⁷ Ov. *Tr.* 1.10.45-50; Diod. Sic. 4.43.2; Plin. *HN.* 2.101; Sen. *Q. Nat.* 1.1.13.

may be identified as the Dioscuri, although some epiphanies are less easy to identify. I shall examine why authors might choose not to refer to the Dioscuri explicitly in the conclusion to this chapter, following my analysis of their epiphanies.

Any discussion of the epiphanies of the Dioscuri, particularly the earliest, is made difficult by the lack of contemporary evidence: most sources that describe their appearances are late republican or imperial, although we do not know if earlier writers included Dioscuric epiphanies in their works. Conversely, there may have been a renewed interest in epiphanies during the last two centuries BC, when the Dioscuri are reported to have appeared at or after the Battles of Pydna, Vercellae and Pharsalus.⁵⁸ However, it is likely that these later sources are continuing to report an older tradition. In the Thesis Introduction, I noted ways in which history and myths were retold, many of which leave little record and do not require literacy.⁵⁹ Epiphanies of the Dioscuri may have been first described in plays or symposia songs, of which no trace survives.⁶⁰ However, it may be possible to suggest when the tale of the epiphany at the River Sagra may have become known more widely in Italy. During the early sixth century BC, when this epiphany occurred, Magna Graecia had strong links to Greece due to the number of Greek colonies in the area, but few with Rome. However, the language of the bronze plaque from Lavinium, explored above, which proves that the cult of the Dioscuri had been introduced to Latium by the mid-sixth century BC, strongly suggests a connection between Latium and Magna Graecia, specifically in terms of the cult of Castor and Pollux.⁶¹ If the cult of Castor and Pollux in Lavinium was introduced from Magna Graecia during the mid-sixth century BC, it is possible that the story of their epiphany in Magna Grecia, dated to 580-

⁵⁸ Explored below, cat.4-6 (Pydna); 7 (Vercellae); 8 (Pharsalus).

⁵⁹ See p11-12.

⁶⁰ Clark (2007) p110-112 on *Fabulae Praetextae*, which took their plots from history.

⁶¹ Guzzo (1994) p29; see p24-25.

576 BC,⁶² could have been transmitted at a similar date. It may thus have influenced tales of the first Roman epiphany of the Dioscuri at the Battle of Lake Regillus in Latium in 496 BC.

Timaeus of Tauromenium, writing in the late fourth to early third century BC,⁶³ included a history of Rome in his work.⁶⁴ We know from a fragment that he wrote about Locri, where the epiphany of the Dioscuri at the River Sagra occurred.⁶⁵ Timaeus may have written about this epiphany, as well as the Battle of Lake Regillus and its epiphany.⁶⁶ Unfortunately, no extant fragments describe either epiphany, and so it is impossible to be certain. Timaeus may have been used as a source by subsequent authors, including the early Roman historians Quintus Fabius Pictor and Marcus Porcius Cato.⁶⁷ It thus may be through the works of these authors that the Romans became familiar with the literary depictions of Dioscuric epiphanies. Fabius Pictor was the first Roman to write a history of Rome in the late third century BC, his work spanning from the city's foundation to recent history. Another Roman historian was Aulus Postumius Albinus, consul of 151 BC, a descendant of Aulus Postumius, the victor at Lake Regillus, who had been aided by the Dioscuri. This historian may have increased the prominence of this tradition in order to emphasise his family.⁶⁸ It is impossible to say which, if any, of these historians introduced the Dioscuric epiphanic tradition to Rome in literary form; we do not possess enough of their works. I will argue below that we can perhaps see references to these epiphanies in earlier material culture, although again not contemporary with the epiphanies. These in turn must be examined with the *caveat* that we are interpreting them through knowledge of the epiphanic tradition from later written sources. However, I argue below that the

⁶² Bricknell (1966) p300.

⁶³ Brown (1958) p1-4; Cornell (1995) p8.

⁶⁴ Gell. *NA*. 11.1.

⁶⁵ Polyb. 12.5.4-6; Brown (1958) p44-46.

⁶⁶ See p116-117.

⁶⁷ Mellor (1999) p16.

⁶⁸ Wiseman (1998) p86-87; (2007) p74.

depictions of the Dioscuri on the early *denarius* coinage of Rome, dated to 211 BC, (fig.1) represent their epiphany at Lake Regillus,⁶⁹ which provides a *terminus ante quem* for when the epiphanies became common knowledge.

It may be possible to identify when the story of the epiphany of the Dioscuri at the Battle of Lake Regillus became particularly prominent. As noted in the previous chapter, the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux was dedicated in 484 BC and its *dies natalis* was 15th July. In 304 BC, the censor Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus introduced an annual parade of the *equites*, the *transvectio equitum*, which I shall argue in the following chapter was closely linked to the Dioscuri. Furthermore, this parade took place on the anniversary of the Battle of Lake Regillus. It may have been at this point that connections were made between Lake Regillus, the Dioscuri and the *equites*.⁷⁰ However, this does not mean that no connection between any of these three parts existed before; the Dioscuri and the *equites* had probably been associated in Rome since the cult's foundation, and it is possible that the epiphany of the Dioscuri was an existing legend. Rather, it was at this point that this legend may have been created or repurposed to link all three aspects together.⁷¹ The tale of the epiphany of the Dioscuri at the Battle of Lake Regillus may have been created or added to an earlier tradition to explain the convergence of the battle, *equites*, temple and parade. It would be surprising if there were not an aetiology explaining this confluence by the fourth century BC, even if there is no record of one in our literary evidence.

⁶⁹ See p122-123.

⁷⁰ Also suggested by Wiseman (1998) p86; Richardson (2013) p902-903.

⁷¹ Weinstock (1937a) p14-15; Richardson (2013) p904.

Helpers in Battle

The first epiphany of the Dioscuri in the Italian peninsula took place at the Battle of the River Sagra between Locri and Croton at around 580 BC (cat.13).⁷² This epiphany has many similarities to the Spartan military use of Castor and Pollux, suggesting knowledge of this tradition among the Locrians, potentially through the nearby Spartan colony of Taras.⁷³ The translocation of the Dioscuri in order that they might come to the aid of the Locrians in this battle is therefore significant. When the Locrians sent messengers to Sparta to seek their assistance in the war, the Spartans declined to send troops, but instructed the envoys to seek help from Castor and Pollux.⁷⁴ The Locrians offered sacrifice at a nearby temple and prepared their ship to transport their new allies back to Locri. Justin reports that they laid down cushions, while Diodorus states that they prepared a κλίνη for the gods. As noted by Graf, this care for the comfort of the gods suggests that there was believed to be a physical aspect of this transportation.⁷⁵ This may again draw upon the Spartan tradition in which the representation(s) of the Dioscuri were carried into battle.

Graf has suggested that this may be influenced by the *theoxenia*, a ritual particularly linked to the cult of the Dioscuri in Greece.⁷⁶ A similar ritual, linked to the cults of the Dioscuri in Sparta and Magna Graecia was the *lectisternium*, a feast that the gods were invited to share alongside their worshippers.⁷⁷ A marble relief from Larissa, Thessaly, dated to the first century BC may depict a similar ritual (fig.22).⁷⁸ At the bottom of the relief stands a large couch and a table laden with food; a man and a woman stand near an altar; the Dioscuri ride in the air, a Victory flying beneath them. The prominence

⁷² Bricknell (1966) p300.

⁷³ Hdt. 5.75; Pritchett (1979) p14-15.

⁷⁴ Just. *Epit.* 20.2.9-14; Diod. Sic. 8.32.1-2.

⁷⁵ Graf (2004) p125-126; such physical translocation of gods is also seen in the transport of statues of the gods in the *pompa circensis*, explored below: p160-161.

⁷⁶ Burkert (2004) p10; Graf (2004) p125-126; on the *theoxenia*: Jameson (1994).

⁷⁷ Poulsen (1992a) p47; perhaps also at Tusculum, where Festus 410L mentions a *pulvinar* for Castor.

⁷⁸ Burkert (2004) p10; *LIMC* 3.1 'Dioskouroi' no.118. The relief is dedicated to the Great Gods, probably of Samothrace, who were sometimes identified with the Dioscuri: Ov. *Tr.* 1.10.45-50, see p198-199, 305.

of the Dioscuri as epiphanic gods is thus emphasised: Burkert states that no other gods are depicted appearing at their festivals in such a manner.⁷⁹ This representation of the Dioscuri, physically manifesting themselves and being seen by their worshippers, indicated by the woman's gesture, is suggestive of the epiphanic habit of the Dioscuri.

The success of the Locrian mission was proven when two young men of extraordinary size with white horses and scarlet cloaks fought in their ranks, ensuring the Locrian victory.⁸⁰ An eagle, a symbol of Castor and Pollux's father Jupiter, flew above the army until the victory was won.⁸¹ This is the first epiphany in which the Dioscuri are reported to appear and turn the tide of the battle in the favour of their supplicants. A pair of acroteria from a temple at Marasà, near Locri, depicts a pair of young men dismounting from their horses (fig.23).⁸² A pair of tritons, whose bodies undulate beneath the horses, support their front hooves.⁸³ They have been identified as Castor and Pollux,⁸⁴ and the temple, dated to the fifth century BC, as belonging to Jupiter.⁸⁵ As Castor and Pollux were protectors of sailors,⁸⁶ these tritons may be an allusion to their marine aspect, their transmarine birthplace in Sparta⁸⁷ or even a representation of their arrival in Italy, coming to the aid of the Locrians.

It is worth noting that the Dioscuri may not be the only divinities who appeared to aid the Locrians, for they had a close relationship with another Greek hero, the so-called

⁷⁹ Burkert (2004) p10; although he compares this relief with Minoan seal rings that he suggests depict epiphanies.

⁸⁰ Although the Crotoniates sought divine help, consulting the Delphic Oracle (*Just. Epit.* 20.3.1), they were unsuccessful.

⁸¹ *Just. Epit.* 20.3.7.

⁸² Van Compernelle (1969) p754; De Franciscis (1979) p110.

⁸³ Guzzo (1994) p27 fig.39c provides a parallel in the form of a youth mounted on a horse whose front hooves are supported by a sphinx, which Sourvinou-Inwood (1974) p190 also identifies as a Dioscurus.

⁸⁴ Chapouthier (1935) p207-209; Pritchett (1979) p21-22; Guzzo (1994) p27.

⁸⁵ Van Compernelle (1969) p754-755.

⁸⁶ Catull. *Carm.* 48a.63-65; Sen. *Q. Nat.* 1.1.13; this aspect is explored in Chapter Three.

⁸⁷ Giangulio (1983) p497.

Lesser Ajax.⁸⁸ Locri, known as Locri Epizephyrii, was a colony of the Greek Locrians and they continued to pay homage to the cult of Ajax in their new city. In battle, the Locrians left a space in their front ranks for Ajax, as Leonymus of Croton found to his cost when he attacked this space, was wounded in the chest and only healed when he travelled to Delphi.⁸⁹ As the Locrians called upon Ajax for his help in a battle against Croton, Speyer has argued that this battle should be identified as the Battle of the River Sagra.⁹⁰ However, the epiphany of the Dioscuri and this event are never reported together. Van Compernelle argues that they derive from two separate traditions, one which he terms ‘*Dioscures-Olympie*’ and the second ‘*Ajax-Delphes*’, the former tradition being later than the latter.⁹¹ The Ajax tradition again demonstrates that variations existed within Greek hero-cult epiphanies. Although the tomb of a hero might be significant for the occurrence of an epiphany, as claimed by Kron,⁹² I would argue that it was more important to possess a local cult to a hero, near which they might appear, or to have a history of worshipping the deity, as the Locrians inherited from their Greek ancestors. The tradition of Castor and Pollux appearing in battle seems to be a further development, in which a cult site was not essential to an epiphany, although one might be dedicated subsequently.

It is significant that this first epiphany of the Dioscuri in Italy follows the translocation of these gods from Sparta to Locri. However, this relocation did not remove the cult of the Dioscuri from Sparta; Castor and Pollux came to the aid of the Spartans on at least one further occasion. At the Battle of Aigospotamoi, it was claimed that they appeared as twin stars on either side of the general Lysander’s ship and secured his victory

⁸⁸ Hom. *Il.* 2.527.

⁸⁹ Paus. 3.19.12.

⁹⁰ Speyer (1980) p62.

⁹¹ Van Compernelle (1969) p749.

⁹² Kron (1999) p62-63.

(cat.18).⁹³ In thanks for their help, Lysander dedicated golden stars to Castor and Pollux at the Delphic shrine.⁹⁴ After the Battle of Leuctra in 371 BC, which ended Sparta's military dominance, these stars vanished from the shrine, never to be seen again.⁹⁵ The disappearance of their symbols, dedicated in thanks for a Spartan victory, should perhaps be read as a 'reversed epiphany', a phenomenon suggested by Hekster.⁹⁶ By the disappearance of their symbols, the Dioscuri perhaps signalled that the Spartans no longer held their favour and that they no longer guaranteed victory for them.⁹⁷

The second reported epiphany of the Dioscuri as helpers in battle in Italy occurred at Lake Regillus near Tusculum, and at a significant moment in the history of the Republic (cat.1).⁹⁸ Dated to 499 or 496 BC, it followed shortly after the expulsion of the Tarquins. Among the Latin forces led by Octavius Mamilius of Tusculum were the recently deposed Tarquinius Superbus and his sons⁹⁹ and this battle formed the defence of the new Republic against an attempt to restore the Tarquins to power.¹⁰⁰ During the battle, Castor and Pollux appeared on their horses and led the cavalry in a charge, securing the Roman victory. In thanks for their aid in battle, the commander Aulus Postumius vowed to build their Forum temple,¹⁰¹ which was dedicated by his son.¹⁰² In recognition of his own achievement in winning this battle, Postumius received the *cognomen* Regillensis.¹⁰³ Dionysius of

⁹³ Plut. *Lys.* 12.1; Cic. *Div.* 1.75; this epiphany may be linked more to Lysander himself, demonstrating that he was favoured by the gods, than to the Spartan army.

⁹⁴ Plut. *Lys.* 18.1; Cic. *Div.* 1.75.

⁹⁵ Graz (1992) p117; Bravo (2004) p66-67.

⁹⁶ Hekster (2010) p601-615.

⁹⁷ Graz (1992) p117; Shapiro (1999) p107.

⁹⁸ Liv. 2.19; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.5.1-6.13.3.

⁹⁹ Plut. *Aem.* 25.1; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.4.1.

¹⁰⁰ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.71.2.

¹⁰¹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.1-5; Flor. 1.5.2-4; Frontin. *Strat.* 1.11.8; Plut. *Cor.* 3.4; Val. Max. 1.8.1.

¹⁰² Liv. 2.42.5.

¹⁰³ Liv. 5.16.1; *CIL* 6.40959; Geiger (2008) p138. Niebuhr (1831) suggested that Regillensis was a surname of the Postumian *gens* from their home near Regillus, arguing for the retroactive identification in antiquity of Aulus Postumius as the commander at Lake Regillus. Although this is possible, as all our sources state that Aulus Postumius commanded the army, I have followed this tradition.

Halicarnassus, writing during at the end of the first century BC, describes the epiphany in similar terms to the one at the Battle of the River Sagra:

“It is said that in this battle two men on horseback, far excelling in both beauty and stature those our human stock produces, and just growing their first beard, appeared to Postumius, the dictator, and to those arrayed about him, and charged at the head of the Roman horse, striking with their spears all the Latins they encountered and driving them headlong before them.”

Ἐν ταύτῃ λέγονται τῇ μάχῃ Ποστομίῳ τε τῷ δικτάτορι καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν τεταγμένοις ἵππεῖς δύο φανῆναι, κάλλει τε καὶ μεγέθει μακρῶ κρείττους ὧν ἡ καθ’ ἡμᾶς φύσις ἐκφέρει, ἐναρχόμενοι γενειᾶν, ἡγούμενοί τε τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἵππου καὶ τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας τῶν Λατίνων παίοντες τοῖς δόρασι καὶ προτροπάδην ἐλαύνοντες.¹⁰⁴

Although Florus and Frontinus state that the two led the army, Dionysius is more specific: they led the cavalry charge. Considering their connection with horses, it is not surprising that Castor and Pollux would lead the cavalry rather than the infantry.¹⁰⁵ Livy, in his description of the Battle of Lake Regillus and its aftermath, does not refer to this epiphany, although he describes the battle in detail. He states, “the dictator, neglecting no help, divine or human, is said to have vowed a temple to Castor”, (*ibi nihil nec divinae nec humanae opis dictator praetermittens aedem Castori vovisse...*).¹⁰⁶ Although Livy mentions no epiphany, the tradition is perhaps being alluded to by his mention of divine help, immediately followed by the vow to build a temple to Castor. Levene argues that Livy’s motive for neglecting to include this epiphany was not scepticism regarding epiphanies. Instead he proposes that Livy prefers to show that the greatest battles of the Romans, listing Regillus with Cynoscephalae, Pydna, and surprisingly Cannae, are to be credited to (or in the case of Cannae blamed upon) the humans involved.¹⁰⁷ The inclusion of the reference to the foundation of the temple of Castor and Pollux, stated by other sources to be in thanks for the aid of the Dioscuri at the battle, may be a nod to the

¹⁰⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.1-5.

¹⁰⁵ Explored in Chapter Three.

¹⁰⁶ Liv. 2.19.1-20.13.

¹⁰⁷ Levene (1993) p153; cf Forsythe (1999) p87-98 on Livy’s caution regarding miraculous happenings.

epiphanic tradition.¹⁰⁸ Livy, however, may not wish to minimise the human involvement in securing such an important victory by crediting its achievement to divine forces.

The epiphany at Lake Regillus closely follows the story of the epiphany at the River Sagra. Many elements might have led to this similarity: one may have inspired the other; both may descend from a common ancestor; or they may have existed independently before later being standardised.¹⁰⁹ Archaeological evidence shows that the Dioscuri were known in Locri and Latium at an early date.¹¹⁰ The Lavinium inscription attests to the presence of a cult of Castor and Pollux in the second half of the sixth century BC (fig.2).¹¹¹ Strabo reports that there were altars of the Dioscuri on the banks of the River Sagra, close to the battlefield.¹¹² It is likely that these altars were erected either in anticipation of, or, more probably, in thanks for, their aid in battle.¹¹³ Owing to the nature of our literary sources, all of whom wrote in the first century BC or later, at least four hundred years after the Lake Regillus epiphany, the relationship between the accounts of these two epiphanies cannot be established definitely.¹¹⁴ However, Cohen-Skalli, following De Sensi Sestito, has argued that Diodorus Siculus' fragmentary account of the Locrian ambassadors' mission to Sparta drew upon the work of Timaeus.¹¹⁵ Thus, if Timaeus recorded the Locrian ambassadors' mission and their request for Castor and Pollux's help, he probably also included the epiphany of the Dioscuri. This would then date a literary account of this epiphany to the late fourth and early third century BC. It is possible that Timaeus also recorded the epiphany of the Dioscuri at the Battle of Lake Regillus, or that later Roman

¹⁰⁸ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.4; Flor. 1.5.4.

¹⁰⁹ Sordi (1972) p62-65 believes that the Sagra legend belongs to the sixth century BC and the epiphany at Regillus draws upon that of the Sagra and originated in the late fourth or early third century BC; Poulsen (1991b) p139-140.

¹¹⁰ Weinstock (1960) p112-118; Bricknell (1966) p300.

¹¹¹ See p24-25.

¹¹² Strab. 6.1.10.

¹¹³ Albert (1883) p11; Giangiulio (1983) p497; Edlund (1987) p131.

¹¹⁴ Although see discussion of the transmission of the epiphanic tradition above: p108-110.

¹¹⁵ Diod. Sic. 8.31.1-2, given by Cohen-Skalli (2012) as fr8.32, p323 n116.

authors, such as Fabius Pictor or Postumius Albinus, may have drawn upon his telling of the Sagra epiphany as inspiration for their accounts of Lake Regillus, perhaps linking the epiphany to the fight to preserve the Republic or to the Postumii.

These epiphanies, particularly that at Lake Regillus, have been linked to the Roman practice of *evocatio*, the ‘calling out’ of a city’s protecting deity to win his or her support whilst removing it from their enemies.¹¹⁶ Macrobius, who may be utilising the older work of Sammonicus Serenus, an author perhaps of the Severan period,¹¹⁷ includes the invocation he claims was used by Scipio Aemilianus to call out the gods of Carthage after its conquest in 146 BC.¹¹⁸ The best attested example of this practice (although one which no source names as an *evocatio*) occurs in 396 BC shortly before the capture of Veii by Camillus.¹¹⁹ The ritual of *evocatio* possesses some similarities with the epiphanies explored above, although most closely with the invoked Sagra epiphany. However, *evocatio* was probably a purely Roman ritual.¹²⁰ As has been noted, there are hints that the Dioscuri were physically transported from Sparta to Locri before the Battle of the River Sagra. After both battles, the Dioscuri received a new cult. However, there are some significant differences, most importantly that the process of *evocatio* removed the god or goddess from the previous place of worship, transferring the deity and their cult to Rome. This does not occur in the context of the epiphanies explored above. In the case of the epiphany at the River Sagra, when the Locrians sought the help of the Spartan Dioscuri, as noted above, they appeared afterwards at the Battle of Aigospotamoi to help the Spartans

¹¹⁶ On *evocatio*: Basanoff (1947); Gustafsson (2000). Lake Regillus as an *evocatio*: Albert (1883) p25; Wissowa (1912) p383-384; Basanoff (1947) p203; Cancellieri (1994) p65; Smith (2007) p37.

¹¹⁷ Serenus claims to use the work of Furius as a source, perhaps Lucius Furius Philius, consul of 136 BC and friend of Scipio Aemilianus: Kloppenborg (2005) p435-436.

¹¹⁸ Macrob. *Sat.* 3.9.6-8; Kloppenborg (2005) p435-436.

¹¹⁹ Liv. 5.21.3-7; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 13.3.1-2; Plut. *Cam.* 6.1-2; Val. Max. 1.8.3; Gustafsson (2000) p47-48.

¹²⁰ Gustafsson (2000) p11.

(cat.18). Exactly which Latin cult would have been transferred to Rome by the proposed *evocatio* at Lake Regillus is unclear, as many towns in the region had cults to Castor and Pollux; but Tusculum, from which the enemy general Octavius Mamilius came, would seem a logical choice.¹²¹

However, it is unlikely than an *evocatio* did occur, as none of these epiphanies bear similarities to the procedure at Veii, at which Juno was asked if she wished to be transferred to Rome.¹²² Furthermore, Latium in general, and Tusculum in particular continued to possess cults of the Dioscuri, as shown by an *aureus* minted in 41 BC by Lucius Servius Rufus, which depicts the heads of Castor and Pollux on the obverse, and a representation of Tusculum on the reverse (fig.24).¹²³ Therefore, the foundation of the temple in Rome, following the epiphany at the Battle of Lake Regillus, did not require the removal of the cult from the defeated city, and does not conform to an *evocatio*.¹²⁴ Ogilvie put forward an alternative hypothesis, which suggests that these events “corresponded to an *exoratio*, by which a deity’s allegiance would be alienated and which was followed by the establishment of a temple or cult as a reward.”¹²⁵ This term is unattested in this sense in antiquity, but may be a useful and more accurate term to use than *evocatio*.¹²⁶

A third and final battle epiphany of the Dioscuri occurred during the Battle of Pydna in 168 BC (cat.4). Their most prominent epiphanies at this time follow the battle, as messengers of victory, discussed below.¹²⁷ However, it may be possible to identify an allusion to an epiphany in the battle itself within the description of the messenger

¹²¹ Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.6.

¹²² Liv. 5.21.3-7; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 13.3.1-2; Plut. *Cam.* 6.1-2; Val. Max. 1.8.3.

¹²³ Cic. *Div.* 1.98; *RRC* 515/1.

¹²⁴ Poulsen (1992a) p47, although stating that Postumius called upon the Dioscuri because they were already worshipped in Rome, a theory argued against above: p26, 38-39.

¹²⁵ Ogilvie (1969) p570-571.

¹²⁶ *OLD* s.u. *exoratio*: “the act of imploring, entreaty”; *LSJ* s.u. *exoratio*: “a moving by entreaty, effectual entreaty... an appeasing”.

¹²⁷ See p130-131.

epiphany. According to Florus' *Epitome of Roman History*, written perhaps during the reign of Hadrian, the two young men who appeared:

“were popularly believed to have been Castor and Pollux because they were twins, and to have taken part in battle because they were dripping with blood, and to come from Macedonia because they were still out of breath”.

*Castorem et Pollucem fuisse creditum volgo, quod gemini fuissent; interfuisse bello, quod sanguine maderent; a Macedonia venire, quod adhuc anhelarent.*¹²⁸

Minucius Felix likewise states that they “announced the victory over Perseus on the same day on which they had achieved it” (*de Perse victoriam eadem die qua fecerant nuntiaverunt*).¹²⁹ These statements indicate a tradition that an epiphany occurred at the Battle of Pydna, although it does not feature in narratives of the battle.¹³⁰ If this is so, the Dioscuri are again credited with helping to achieve a Roman victory.

Although the Romans appear to have made particular use of the Dioscuri as helpers in battle, this does not mean that other states or cities ceased to use them in the same way. An inscription from Chios may suggest another epiphany of the Dioscuri. Although the name of the gods who appear in the epiphany is missing, the editors of the inscription have proposed their identification as the Dioscuri, owing to Castor and Pollux's epiphanic habit and the possibility that they were worshipped on Chios.¹³¹ They suggest that the inscription should be dated to the war between Rome and Antiochus in the late third and early second century BC, when Chios supported Rome.¹³² The inscription also suggests that the epiphany, argued by Garbrah to have occurred at the naval battle at the siege of

¹²⁸ Flor. 1.28.12-15.

¹²⁹ Min. Fel. *Oct.* 7.3.

¹³⁰ Also suggested by Richardson (2013) p905.

¹³¹ Forrest (1963) p61-62; Derow and Forrest (1982) p82. However, attestation of the cult of the Dioscuri on Chios dates only to the first century BC, thus their identification using this proof risks circularity.

¹³² Derow and Forrest (1982) p86, 87, 90-91; although they note that letter forms suggest a date in the third century BC, suggesting that the Romans are being thanked for freeing the Greeks, including the Chians, from Illyrian power in the late third century BC.

Chios in 201 BC, was subsequently celebrated on Chios with a festival of the *theophaneia*.¹³³ If this interpretation is correct, despite the inscription's fragmentary state, the Chians instituted a festival to celebrate an epiphany of the gods in a battle. It is possible that these gods are Castor and Pollux owing, as Derow and Forrest note, to their "natural plurality".¹³⁴ If this were correct, it would suggest that the epiphanies of the Dioscuri continued to be reported throughout the Mediterranean. However, this argument and the identification of the Dioscuri as the gods who appear, are at risk of circularity, as it is based on the knowledge of an epiphanic tradition of Castor and Pollux.

An additional epiphany connected to a battle is included in Silius Italicus' *Punica*. This epic version of the Second Punic war was probably written from the late 80s AD; Silius drew on Livy for the historical facts, although he emulated Virgil for style.¹³⁵ The gods feature heavily in this poem, and as Roman and Carthaginian forces battle at Cannae in 216 BC, so do the gods:

"On one side fought Apollo and Mars with him, and the Ruler of the stormy sea; with them was Venus in despair, and Vesta, and Hercules, stung by the slaughter of captured Saguntum, and likewise worshipful Cybele; and the native gods of Italy - Faunus and father Quirinus; and Pollux who takes turns of life with his brother Castor. On the other was Juno, daughter of Saturn, with her sword girt round her, and Pallas who sprang from the Libyan waters of Lake Tritonis; and Ammon, the native god of Africa, whose brow bears curving horns, and a great company of lesser deities as well."

*hinc Mavors, hinc Gradivum comitatus Apollo et domitor tumidi pugnat maris; hinc Venus amens, hinc Vesta et, captae stimulus caede Sagunti, Amphitryoniades, pariter veneranda Cybele indigetesque dei Faunusque satorque Quirinus alternusque animae mutato Castore Pollux. contra cincta latus ferro Saturnia Iuno et Pallas, Libycis Tritonidos edita lymphis, ac patrius flexis per tempora cornibus Hammon multaue praeterea divorum turba minorum.*¹³⁶

¹³³ Derow and Forrest (1982) p82; Garbrah (1986) p208, 210.

¹³⁴ Derow and Forrest (1982) p82.

¹³⁵ Feeney, *OCD*³: 'Silius Italicus, Tiberius Catius Asconius'.

¹³⁶ Sil. *Pun.* 9.287-299.

As this is an epic retelling, I do not believe that it suggests that these gods were thought to have appeared at this battle; however, Silius' interpretation deserves some exploration. This is the first battle with which a Dioscuric epiphany is associated, that the Romans lost. Instead, the gods who supported the Carthaginians defeated Pollux and the other gods who fought alongside him. Silius additionally follows the variant of the mythology of Castor and Pollux that separates them during their afterlife, with one in the heavens and one in the underworld, although, as noted above, the other epiphanies follow the variant in which they are always together.¹³⁷ Here, Pollux alone appears, and Castor is in Hades.¹³⁸ Pollux was often seen as being the less favoured brother, and so it is interesting that Silius included him, rather than Castor. Pollux is also named in Silius' list as one of the "*indigetes... dei*", or the native gods of Italy, alongside Faunus and Quirinus. For Silius, Pollux (and presumably Castor) are not Greek in origin, but Italian, and fighting to defend their native land. However, this unusual epiphany of Pollux alone, being defeated alongside other gods, is more a feature of epic style rather than of the historical epiphanic tradition.

The tradition of Castor and Pollux appearing as helpers in battle has a long, albeit intermittent, history in Italy.¹³⁹ At least seventy-seven years pass between the Battle of the River Sagra, suggested by Bricknell to be in 580 or 576 BC, and the Battle of Lake Regillus in 499 or 496 BC.¹⁴⁰ Three more centuries pass before the Dioscuri appear at the

¹³⁷ For the mythology of Castor and Pollux, see thesis introduction.

¹³⁸ Sil. *Pun.* 13.804-805.

¹³⁹ Lieu and Monserrat (1996) p31 suggest that Nazarius in his panegyric to Constantine states that two young men who should be recognised as the Dioscuri appeared at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in AD 312 (*Pan. Lat.* 10(4)15.4-7). However, the reference cited, rather than relating a new epiphany of the Dioscuri in this battle, refers to past epiphanies to glorify Constantine, for where previously two horsemen had appeared, now entire armies do so; Liebeschuetz (1979) p290-291; Van den Hoek (2013) p292.

¹⁴⁰ Bricknell (1966) p300.

Battle of Pydna in 168 BC. However, Castor and Pollux appear in other roles within these gaps and therefore my analysis appears in the conclusion to this chapter.

Images of the Dioscuri began to appear on Roman coinage from the third century BC and remained popular for over a century.¹⁴¹ From 280 BC, they have been identified as a pair of janiform heads of young men, their hair tied with a band or adorned with a wreath (fig.25).¹⁴² This identification is uncertain, however, as these young men are not depicted with any of the Dioscuri's attributes, and it seems that the only identifying element is the fact that they are depicted as a pair.¹⁴³ From 211 BC, the head of the goddess Roma appears on the reverse of the first *denarius* and on the obverse are two horsemen with spears, wearing cloaks, *piloi* and with stars above their heads (fig.1). These attributes allow their identification as Castor and Pollux. Two other designs were featured on Roman coins minted at this time. The first was a *victoriatu*s, pairing a laureate head of Jupiter on the obverse with a depiction of the goddess Victory crowning a trophy on the reverse.¹⁴⁴ The second design, on sixty-, forty- and twenty-*as* pieces, represented the head of Mars on the obverse and an eagle on a thunderbolt above the word 'Roma' on the reverse.¹⁴⁵ If we consider these designs together, a pattern emerges, connecting gods associated with the military sphere with victory.

The relationship between the Dioscuri and victory became more explicit on another issue, minted between 211 and 208 BC.¹⁴⁶ The goddess Victory is included on the obverse, flying behind Castor and Pollux, a wreath extended above their heads (fig.26). This

¹⁴¹ Välimaa (1989) p110-126; Petrocchi (1994) p101.

¹⁴² *RRC* 14/1.

¹⁴³ Wiseman (1995) p158.

¹⁴⁴ *RRC* 44/1.

¹⁴⁵ *RRC* 44/2.

¹⁴⁶ *RRC* 61/1.

addition may refer to a victory occurring shortly before its issue, although no further epiphanies of the Dioscuri are reported until 168 BC. Furthermore, this issue was minted during the Second Punic war, before Rome had won any decisive victories. Accompanying this issue are other designs associating gods and goddesses with victory: Janus, Saturn, Minerva, Hercules, Mercury and Roma are depicted on the obverses with Victory above a prow on the reverse.¹⁴⁷ It is possible to suggest a specific event being referred to by the depiction of the Dioscuri on these issues: their epiphany at Lake Regillus. They appear on the obverse in a full-length depiction, including their horses, in an active pose.¹⁴⁸ Poulsen has suggested that this representation was intended to present Rome as strong and victorious in the context of the city's expansion across the Mediterranean.¹⁴⁹ Considering that Rome was engaged in the Second Punic war, it is unsurprising to find a preoccupation with victory. The Dioscuri had previously ridden to the aid of Rome, so this representation of their epiphany might serve, if not as an invocation to the gods to appear again, then as a reminder that the gods who had previously ensured a Roman victory were on Rome's side in this fraught period.

Rome was not the first to depict the Dioscuri on her coins, nor to associate them with victory in this way. A *stater* minted by Taras around 315 BC depicts a pair of naked youths on horseback (fig.27). One holds a palm branch adorned with ribbons and the other a victory wreath. Although they are not depicted with stars or *piloi*, the inscription identifies them as the Dioscuri. This depiction of Castor and Pollux on the coinage of

¹⁴⁷ *RRC* 61/2-8.

¹⁴⁸ Jupiter appears in a similarly active manner, in a quadriga driven by a Victory on earlier *drachm* and *didrachm* coinage: *RRC* 28/3, 28/4 29/3, 29/4, 30/1, 30/2, 31/1, 32/1, 33/1, 34/1, 42/1. These coins may also be associated with the Dioscuri, perhaps bearing their janiform heads on the obverse. Although, the other coins minted at the same time may also represent historical events, this does not appear to be the case, as there are no references to the epiphanies of these gods, thus these are more likely to have a more general military victory association. Sidnell (2006) p161 suggests that this image commemorates an unspecified victory over the Capuans. However, as no such epiphany is attested, this appears unlikely.

¹⁴⁹ Poulsen (1994) p93.

Taras should be seen in light of the fact that the city was a Spartan colony and which, it appears, may have claimed the same relationship with the Dioscuri as its mother city. A coin minted by the Brettioi between 282 and 203 BC bears a resemblance to the *denarii* (fig.28).¹⁵⁰ The Dioscuri are depicted on both faces of the coin, on the obverse as paired portrait heads, wearing their *piloi* with a laurel wreath, and stars above their heads. The reverse depicts them riding their horses, again with stars above their heads, but carrying palms over their shoulders and with raised right hands. A similar motif depicting the Dioscuri riding together with spears held vertically appeared on coins under Antiochus II between 264 and 246 BC¹⁵¹ and Seleucus III between 226 and 223 BC.¹⁵²

These issues are similar to the Roman *denarius* and may have inspired the design. I am aware, however, of no earlier numismatic designs that depict the Dioscuri in the particularly active manner of the *denarius*, showing the gods riding with spears levelled. Therefore, although earlier coins may have inspired the *denarius* design, I would suggest that the implication of this image for the Romans would differ from that among the Brettioi or people living under the Seleucids. For the Roman audience, this active representation of Castor and Pollux would call to mind the occasion when the Dioscuri had appeared at the Battle of Lake Regillus, riding against Rome's enemies to preserve the Republic.¹⁵³

The *denarius* design remained popular, appearing virtually unchanged until 121 BC. There are some minor variants, including the angle of the horses and their legs, inscriptions and minter's marks. However, in 136 BC on an issue minted by Gaius

¹⁵⁰ Rutter (2001) p157.

¹⁵¹ Poulsen (1992a) p49; Houghton, Lorber, Hoover and Kritt (2002) no.565-567.

¹⁵² Houghton, Lorber, Hoover and Kritt (2002) no.937-938.

¹⁵³ Sumi (2009) p174-175.

Servilius, the depiction of the Dioscuri changes (fig.29).¹⁵⁴ This issue represents the Dioscuri, riding their horses whilst holding spears, with stars above their heads. Instead of charging forward, they ride in opposite directions, looking back at each other, crossing the butts of their spears between them, spear points directed to the ground. The reason behind this change is unclear; although it follows the epiphany of the Dioscuri at the Battle of Pydna, it is thirty-two years later and, because of the paucity of references, it is impossible to tell if it is intended to refer to this epiphany. Van Ooteghem notes that the family of the moneyer sometimes bore the *cognomen* Geminus and suggests that the moneyer may be commemorating the deeds of his ancestor, Marcus Servilius Pulex Geminus, who distinguished himself by many single combats in the Second Punic War.¹⁵⁵ Although this is possible, as the figures bear stars above their heads, they should be identified as the Dioscuri, rather than mortals. Thus, the meaning of this design remains uncertain; it may refer to an ancestor, signal some change in the equestrian order, or possess another reference that is unclear. Whatever the reason, this design did not last long, as the type was not reproduced again in Rome. However, the Italians replicated Servilius' design during the Social War, with the addition of Oscan text identifying the female head on the reverse as Italia, and the name of Gaius Papius Mutulus, the Samnite commander (fig.31).¹⁵⁶ The motive of the Italians behind the replication of this image is complicated by the question of what the *socii* were seeking: the Roman citizenship¹⁵⁷ or independence from Rome.¹⁵⁸ If the former, the motive for this design may be that by depicting the Dioscuri, who were worshipped at Rome and throughout Italy, they were highlighting similarities and a justification for citizenship. If the latter, this may have been an attempt to reclaim the

¹⁵⁴ *RRC* 239/1; Välimaa (1989) p113; Petrocchi (1994) p102-103.

¹⁵⁵ Van Ooteghem (1967) p389.

¹⁵⁶ *RR* 2.32, p330; Ogilvie (1969) p571.

¹⁵⁷ *App. B.Civ.* 1.34; Keaveney (1987) p50-58; Brunt (1988) p95, 102-103.

¹⁵⁸ Scullard (1982) p64-65; Brunt (1988) p111-113, although after attempts to attain the citizenship had failed; Lomas (1996) p84; Mouritsen (1998) p137-138, 140-141; Pobjoy (2000) p190-193.

Dioscuri as Latin gods, lost at the Battle of Lake Regillus, but who might now support their former worshippers and ensure their victory against Rome.

The next Roman *denarius* featuring the Dioscuri was minted in 126 BC by Titus Quinctius Flamininus, and reverted to the traditional design, with a Macedonian shield beneath the horses' hooves (fig.30).¹⁵⁹ This shield has been suggested to be a reference to the Battle of Pydna in 168 BC, where the Dioscuri appeared,¹⁶⁰ or the victory won by another Titus Quinctius Flamininus at Cynoscephalae in 197 BC, both against the Macedonians.¹⁶¹ The latter interpretation is more likely, although no epiphany is attested at Cynoscephalae, due to the familial link between the moneyer and the general and the fact that after the victory Flamininus dedicated a pair of shields to the Dioscuri at Delphi.¹⁶²

Messengers of Victory

The Dioscuri also functioned as messengers of victory, when they appeared to announce an army's victory away from the battlefield. This role only appears in the Roman tradition and predominantly these epiphanies either occur in Rome or close by. Only one messenger epiphany occurs a significant distance outside Rome, in Syria, and it is the last epiphany of this kind, following the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 BC (cat.8). The first reported messenger epiphanies follow battles in which the Dioscuri also appeared as helpers in battle, at Lake Regillus and Pydna. In later messenger epiphanies, following the Battle of Vercellae and the Battle of Pharsalus, there is no suggestion that the Dioscuri appeared in these battles; instead they only appeared to announce the victory afterwards.

¹⁵⁹ *RRC* 267/1.

¹⁶⁰ Albert (1883) p75.

¹⁶¹ Poulsen (1992a) p49; Petrocchi (1994) p102; Sumi (2009) p175; Richardson (2013) p910.

¹⁶² Plut. *Flam.* 12.6.

The first epiphany of the Dioscuri as messengers of victory occurs after the Battle of Lake Regillus (cat.2-3). The most common variant of this epiphany occurs at the *Lacus Juturnae* in the Forum, beside the future location of the temple of Castor and Pollux. The Dioscuri were seen watering their horses and they announced the Roman victory before disappearing.¹⁶³ Dionysius of Halicarnassus records the aftermath of this epiphany: following the appearance of the pair at the battle:

“...two youths are said to have appeared in the same manner in the Roman Forum attired in military garb, very tall and beautiful and of the same age, themselves retaining on their countenances as having come from a battle, the look of combatants, and the horses they led being all in a sweat. And when they had each of them watered their horses and washed them at the fountain which rises near the temple of Vesta and forms a small but deep pool, and many people stood about them and inquired if they brought any news from the camp, they related how the battle had gone and that the Romans were the victors. And it is said that after they left the Forum they were not seen again by anyone, though great search was made for them by the man who had been left in command of the city. The next day, when those at the head of affairs received the letters from the dictator, and besides the other particulars of the battle, learned also of the appearance of the divinities, they concluded, as we may reasonably infer, that it was the same gods who had appeared in both places, and were convinced that the apparitions had been those of Castor and Pollux.”

ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀγορᾷ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὀφθῆναι δύο νεανίσκοι λέγονται, πολεμικὰς ἐνδεδυκότες στολὰς μήκιστοί τε καὶ κάλλιστοι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἔχοντες, αὐτοὶ τε φυλάττοντες ἐπὶ τῶν προσώπων ὡς ἐκ μάχης ἦκοντες τὸ ἐναγώνιον σχῆμα, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἰδρῶτι διαβρόχους ἐπαγόμενοι. ἄρσαντες δὲ τὸν ἵππον ἐκάτεροι καὶ ἀπονίσψαντες ἀπὸ τῆς λιβάδος ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἑστίας ἀναδίδωσι δίδωσι λίμνην ποιοῦσα ἐμβύθιον ὀλίγην, πολλῶν αὐτοὺς περιστάντων καὶ εἴ τι φέρουσιν καινὸν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου μαθεῖν ἀξιούντων, τὴν τε μάχην αὐτοῖς φράζουσιν ὡς ἐγένετο καὶ ὅτι νικῶσιν· οὓς μεταχωρήσαντας ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς ἔτι λέγουσιν ὀφθῆναι, πολλὴν ζήτησιν αὐτῶν ποιουμένου τοῦ καταλειφθέντος τῆς πόλεως ζήγεμόνος. ὡς δὲ τῇ κατόπιν ἡμέρᾳ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δικτάτορος ἐπιστολὰς ἔλαβον οἱ τῶν κοινῶν προεστῶτες, καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ γενομένοις καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τῶν δαιμόνων ἔμαθον, νομίσαντες τῶν αὐτῶν θεῶν εἶναι ἄμφω τὰ φάσματα, ὥσπερ εἰκός, Διοσκούρων ἐπέισθησαν εἶναι τὰ εἰδῶλα.¹⁶⁴

It seems that the pair were not immediately recognised, as the crowd initially identified them as soldiers. This differs from their battle epiphany, for they are described by the same

¹⁶³ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.1-2; Plut. *Cor.* 3.4, *Aem.* 25.1-7.

¹⁶⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.1-3.

author there as divine: “far excelling in both beauty and stature those our human stock produces”.¹⁶⁵ Dionysius’ suggestion that the gods were only identified after their epiphany is also found in one of Plutarch’s descriptions. In his *Life of Aemilius Paullus*, he states that the apparitions “were conjectured to be the Dioscuri” (τούτους εἶκασαν εἶναι Διοσκούρους),¹⁶⁶ although in his *Life of Coriolanus*, he states that they were the Dioscuri.¹⁶⁷ However, despite this initial uncertainty, the two young men were later identified as Castor and Pollux. This epiphany may have been ratified by the Senate, perhaps linked to the construction of the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux.¹⁶⁸

Plutarch adds that as proof of their divinity, Castor and Pollux changed the beard of the man they met from black to red. He was a member of the *gens* Domitia, from which his descendants took the name Ahenobarbus, or ‘Bronze Beard’.¹⁶⁹ A variation on this tradition can be found in Suetonius’ account, in which he states this epiphany occurred to Domitius Ahenobarbus, not in the Forum, but in an unspecified location as Domitius “returned from the country” and so probably on a road outside Rome.¹⁷⁰ A significant difference in this tradition is that in their appearance in the Forum, Castor and Pollux announced the victory to a crowd, or to the first man they encountered, whereas in Suetonius’ anecdote, it appears that they chose Domitius. The reason for such specificity in this variation may be a reflection that the story was intended to flatter the Domitii Ahenobarbi or perhaps particularly the Emperor Nero, a member of this family, suggesting that the Dioscuri appeared to his ancestor.¹⁷¹ However, Nero favoured his descent from Augustus; when Britannicus, following Nero’s adoption by Claudius, called him

¹⁶⁵ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.1.

¹⁶⁶ Plut. *Aem.* 25.1-7.

¹⁶⁷ Plut. *Cor.* 3.4.

¹⁶⁸ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.5.

¹⁶⁹ Plut. *Aem.* 25.1-7.

¹⁷⁰ Suet. *Ner.* 1.1; there was a later appearance of the Dioscuri on a road to announce the victory to Vatinius after the Battle of Pydna (explored below: p130) Val. Max., 1.8.1. The epiphanies to Vatinius and Ahenobarbus may have belonged to the same tradition.

¹⁷¹ The relationship between Nero and the Dioscuri is explored in Chapter Four.

Ahenobarbus, he and his mother Agrippina protested.¹⁷² It is thus likely that this story originated from the republican Domitii.

These two epiphanies, one in the Forum, the centre of Rome and beside the future temple of Castor and Pollux, and the second on a road to a single man are not mutually exclusive as they are similar and may be variants of the same tradition. No source preserves both versions and the Forum epiphany is the one most commonly reported. The Forum epiphany is likely to have been the older one; as I have argued above, it probably dates to the late fourth century BC or earlier,¹⁷³ whilst the Domitianic one was linked to a *gens* which first became prominent in the second century BC.¹⁷⁴ Carlsen suggests that this tradition originated among the Ahenobarbi, possibly in the second century BC when their family grew in prominence, culminating in the triumph of Gnaeus Domitius in 115 BC.¹⁷⁵ Another Gnaeus Domitius, perhaps an Ahenobarbus, as moneyer struck a series of *denarii* between 189 and 180 BC that featured the Dioscuri.¹⁷⁶ However, these coins are the common design, depicting Castor and Pollux riding on their horses.¹⁷⁷ If the tradition that the Dioscuri had appeared to one of his forebears was known prior to this date, it is perhaps surprising that the design did not celebrate this meeting. The tradition therefore probably became known after this date, although this is an argument from silence. The tradition was re-emphasised when another Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus struck coins on which he featured the portrait of his famous ancestor, complete with beard (fig.32) in 41

¹⁷² Suet. *Ner.* 7.1; Tac. *Ann.* 12.41.

¹⁷³ See p109-110.

¹⁷⁴ Carlsen (2006) p14.

¹⁷⁵ Carlsen (2006) p17 n16.

¹⁷⁶ Perhaps the suffect consul of 162 BC; Carlsen (2006) p164.

¹⁷⁷ *RRC* 147/1; Carlsen (2006) p17 n16.

BC.¹⁷⁸ This re-emphasis should be seen in the context of the late Republic, in which prominent individuals publicised their special relationship with one or more gods.

Castor and Pollux also appeared after the Battle of Pydna in 168 BC (cat.5-6). As I have argued above, this messenger epiphany followed a battle epiphany. The first variant follows the example of the Lake Regillus epiphany, as the Dioscuri are recorded as appearing at the *Lacus Juturnae* and announcing the victory over Perseus.¹⁷⁹ The second variant records that the Dioscuri appeared to Publius Vatinius on the road to Rome and announced the capture of Perseus, news that was not believed by the Senate until a letter from Aemilius Paullus confirmed the victory.¹⁸⁰ Castor and Pollux are not named explicitly in Valerius' report, but are described as "two exceptionally handsome young men on white horses".¹⁸¹ This description possesses many of the same features as earlier epiphanies and it is clear that they were recognised, for when Cicero mentions this incident in his dialogue *De Natura Deorum*, their identity is stated.¹⁸² It is curious that Plutarch does not mention this messenger epiphany in his biography of Aemilius Paullus, instead preserving a different supernatural occurrence following the victory. According to his report, four days after the battle, during equestrian contests in the theatre, a rumour spread rapidly that Perseus had been defeated.¹⁸³ Owing to the lack of proof, the rumour subsided, only to be validated when the news of the victory arrived in Rome. Spontaneous knowledge of a victory away from the battle occurs on other occasions, including a report following the Battle of the River Sagra reaching the Peloponnese on the same day, another

¹⁷⁸ Bradley (1978) p25-26; Carlsen (2006) p17.

¹⁷⁹ Min. Fel. *Oct.* 7.3; Plin. *HN.* 7.86.

¹⁸⁰ Val. Max. 1.8.1; Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.6.

¹⁸¹ Val. Max. 1.8.1.

¹⁸² Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.6.

¹⁸³ Plut. *Aem.* 24.1.4-6.

occasion when Plutarch does not mention an epiphany.¹⁸⁴ Castor and Pollux do not appear to have any particular connection to the theatre, although Plutarch notes that when the victory at the Battle of Pydna became known, horseraces were taking place.¹⁸⁵ Castor and Pollux, as shall be explored in Chapter Three, were prominently connected with horses, so this is a potential reason for the victory becoming known in this location. However, a more mundane reason is also possible as the theatre, as a crowded place, would be an ideal place for rumours to spread.

Plutarch does not consistently omit epiphanies, as he relates the epiphanies of the Dioscuri at Lake Regillus and announcing the victory in Rome.¹⁸⁶ The question therefore remains, why did he not include the epiphany of the Dioscuri after Pydna? The tradition is attested in earlier sources, including Valerius Maximus and Pliny the Elder so it would be surprising if Plutarch were unaware of it, but not impossible.¹⁸⁷ As Levene has argued in the case of Livy, Plutarch may have intended to glorify Aemilius, who would therefore have achieved the victory without divine help.¹⁸⁸ It is unfortunate that the account concerning the Battle of Pydna by Polybius, the Greek historian who was closely associated with Aemilius' son Scipio Aemilianus, is fragmentary, as it may have provided an indication of Aemilius' perspective of the battle. However, Plutarch draws on Polybius' account of the campaign against Perseus, so it is possible that he preserves the Polybian (and perhaps Aemilian) treatment of the epiphany, not explicitly identifying the Dioscuri.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ Plut. *Aem.* 25.1.

¹⁸⁵ Plut. *Aem.* 24.1.4.

¹⁸⁶ Plut. *Aem.* 25.2-7.

¹⁸⁷ Plin. *HN.* 7.86; Val. Max 1.8.1.

¹⁸⁸ See p110.

¹⁸⁹ Plut. *Aem.* 15.5, 16.3, 19.4.

An unnamed epiphany occurred after Marius' victory over the Cimbri at the Battle of Vercellae in 101 BC (cat.7). Florus reports that on the same day as the battle:

“young men were seen to present to the praetor a despatch decked with laurels in front of the temple of Pollux and Castor, and the rumour of a victory over the Cimbri spread far and wide through the theatre.”

*visi pro aede Pollucis et Castoris iuvenes laureatas praetori litteras dare, frequensque in spectaculo rumor victoriae Cimbricae.*¹⁹⁰

Although the number of young men is not specified and they are not named, Florus states that the news was received “from the lips of the gods themselves”.¹⁹¹ The similarity of this account to earlier named epiphanies indicates that the youths may be identified as the Dioscuri. The figures appeared in front of the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux, close by the site of their previous epiphanies, and they fulfilled a role that the Dioscuri had performed at this site on two previous occasions.

The Dioscuri's final appearance as messengers of victory can perhaps be found in the aftermath of the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 BC (cat.8). Cassius Dio records that “in Syria, two young men announced the result of the battle and vanished”.¹⁹² Although this is another unnamed epiphany, owing to the long tradition of the Dioscuri appearing as a pair and announcing Roman victories, we can identify this reference as an epiphany of the Dioscuri. It is unusual that they appear in Syria, rather than in Rome. Although the Dioscuri were known in this area, appearing on Seleucid coins, they do not seem to have been especially prominent.¹⁹³ Furthermore, Dio's description of the epiphany appears in a list of other supernatural incidents stretching from Pergamum to Patavium in Italy; a list

¹⁹⁰ Flor. 1.38.20; the significance of the inversion of the temple's traditional name is examined below: p247-250.

¹⁹¹ Flor. 1.38.20.

¹⁹² Cass. Dio 41.61.3-5.

¹⁹³ For example: two issues of Antiochus II, one with the Dioscuri on horseback (Houghton, Lorber, Hoover and Krittr (2002) no567), and the other showing their *piloi* (Houghton, Lorber, Hoover and Krittr (2002) no568), or jugate busts of the Dioscuri on coins of Seleucus II (Houghton, Lorber, Hoover and Krittr (2002) no776-778).

probably collated from many different sources.¹⁹⁴ The Dioscuri appearing in Syria therefore falls into the pattern of signals of Caesar's victory, the effects of which spread across the whole of the empire, as represented by the wide geographical range. These reports may be connected to cities and colonies that honoured Caesar after his victory at Pharsalus, some of whom may have claimed these supernatural incidents as impetus for their honours.¹⁹⁵

This difference may also be because of the difficult nature of this battle. For at all previous messenger epiphanies, the battle had been against a foreign enemy, and the victory had been unequivocally Roman. At Pharsalus, in a civil war, as Caesar fought against Pompey, both armies were Roman and therefore the result was not as straightforward, for both the victors and the defeated were Roman citizens.

We possess two other references to epiphanies of the Dioscuri that are not explicitly linked to any of the epiphanies explored above. One, preserved by Minucius Felix (cat.12), does not specify to which epiphany he is referring, but rather appears to summarise the tradition of the Dioscuri appearing at the *Lacus Juturnae*.¹⁹⁶ The other epiphany is more complicated. In a section on religion from his compilation of famous deeds and words, composed in the reign of Tiberius, Valerius Maximus states that, following the epiphany following the Battle of Pydna:

“Castor and Pollux were found vigilant on behalf of the Roman people's empire on another occasion when they were seen washing the sweat from themselves and their mounts at the pool of Juturna and their temple adjoining the spring was found open, though unbarred by no man's hand.”

¹⁹⁴ The inclusion of Patavium, Livy's birthplace, suggests that he was one of Dio's sources for this list, although Livy's books for this period are lost. Plut. *Caes.* 47.3-6, in which the same prodigy is described, states that Livy is his source, for he was an acquaintance of the augur who interpreted the auspices of Caesar's victory: Berti (1987) p146.

¹⁹⁵ Weinstock (1971) p296-299, 401.

¹⁹⁶ Min. Fel. *Oct.* 27.4.

*Castorem vero et Pollucem etiam illo tempore pro imperio populi Romani excubuisse cognitum est quo apud lacum Iuturnae suum equorumque sudorem abluentes visi sunt, iunctaque fonti aedis eorum nullius hominum manu reserata patuit.*¹⁹⁷

Although this has been suggested to be the same epiphany as the one following the Battle of Pydna, Valerius explicitly states that this epiphany was “*etiam illo tempore*” (cat.11).¹⁹⁸ The only subsequent epiphany of the Dioscuri as messengers of victory follows Marius’ victory in 101 BC and it is tempting to associate this epiphany to that instance. However, the detail of the door of the temple being open is not present in any other source describing that epiphany. Furthermore, the mention of the Dioscuri washing sweat from themselves and their horses suggests an active role in the battle, which is unattested at Vercellae. There are thus two possibilities: first, that Valerius has preserved an otherwise unknown epiphany; or second, more probably, that he is recounting a known epiphany but adding or confusing actions from other epiphanies, perhaps that the Dioscuri washed their horses, and adding the otherwise unknown detail that the temple door was found open.

The locations of the epiphanies are central to this tradition. Of the four epiphanies described, only one occurred any great distance from Rome and it is the latest. Castor and Pollux’s appearances at the *Lacus Iuturnae* are of greatest significance, for, as explored above, their first epiphany at this location was celebrated by the foundation of their temple. The epiphany may have given the impetus for the creation of their temple beside this fountain, or perhaps the epiphany was created as the temple’s aetiology. The connection between the Dioscuri and the *Lacus Iuturnae* was monumentalised in the reliefs upon an altar found in the *Lacus* (fig.33).¹⁹⁹ Castor and Pollux stand, wearing their *piloi*, without their horses, leaning on their spears and holding swords. On an adjoining face is a

¹⁹⁷ Val. Max. 1.8.1.

¹⁹⁸ Poulsen (1992a) p49.

¹⁹⁹ *LIMC* 3.1 ‘Dioskouroi/Castores’, no.1.

depiction of Juturna, and the other two sides depicted Jupiter and Helen. The Dioscuri were also represented in this location as statues of the “horsemen brothers, consecrated, even as they appeared, in the lake waters... breathless on their foaming and smoking steeds”.²⁰⁰ These statues are probably those of two men and their horses that were discovered in fragments in the *Lacus Juturnae* (fig.34).²⁰¹ Platt has suggested that this statue group recreated the epiphanies of the Dioscuri at this site, monumentalising their aid and the *aition* for their temple beside which this group stood.²⁰² The date of these statues is debated, stretching from Greek originals of the early Classical period,²⁰³ the fifth century BC,²⁰⁴ to an archaising style of the second century BC.²⁰⁵ If they were originally Greek statues, it has been suggested that Aemilius Paullus, whom Plutarch attests exhibited numerous works of art in his triumph, might have brought them from Greece.²⁰⁶ A further connection has been suggested between Aemilius Paullus and the *Lacus Juturnae*, for Steinby has argued that he was involved in extensive remodelling of this area during his censorship in 164 BC.²⁰⁷ Sihvola suggests that these statues may be identified as a pair described by Pausanias as having been transported to Rome from Pharae in Achaëa.²⁰⁸ Aemilius may have passed through Pharae on his victory tour of Greece, perhaps on his way to Olympia, but there is no evidence that links him to the statues described by Pausanias.²⁰⁹ Furthermore, although the statues from Pharae were transported to Rome,

²⁰⁰ Min. Fel. *Oct.* 7.3.

²⁰¹ Clarke (1968) p147-148; Platt (2003) p154-155.

²⁰² Platt (2003) p154-155.

²⁰³ Richardson (1992) p230.

²⁰⁴ Alföldi (1963) p93, 270; Clarke (1968) p147.

²⁰⁵ Coarelli (1976) p27, (2007) p76; Harri (1989) p187-188.

²⁰⁶ Plut. *Aem.* 32.4; Clarke (1968) p147; Steinby (1985) p82-83, (1987) p167-169; Sihvola (1989) p86-87; Nielsen and Poulsen (1992b) p86. Coarelli (2007) p76 dates these statues to the second century BC, but suggests that Aemilius may have commissioned them.

²⁰⁷ Steinby (1985) p82-83, (1987) p167-169, (2012) p53-54; Poulsen (1992a) p50; Platt (2003) p156; Boyle (2003) p190.

²⁰⁸ Paus. 7.22.5; Sihvola (1989) p86-87

²⁰⁹ Plut. *Aem.* 28.1-5

there is no way of identifying them as the *Lacus Juturnae* statues, nor who brought them from Greece.

Why do the Dioscuri appear in this particular spot? Although our sources state that the epiphany after the Battle of Lake Regillus determined the placement of the temple, providing an *aition* for its foundation, this may be a retroactive explanation for the temple's location. Might there have been another reason for the location of the temple? I have argued that the temple was a focal point during the *transvectio* and *recognitio equitum*.²¹⁰ This area also possessed other equestrian connections. A foundation tale of the nearby *Lacus Curtius* relates that in 362 BC, a chasm opened in the Forum and an oracle explained that it would close when what the Romans valued most was thrown into it.²¹¹ After various attempts, a young patrician, Marcus Curtius, realised the meaning of the oracle, and, after arming himself and mounting his horse, plunged into the chasm, which subsequently closed. This spot was monumentalised with a relief, dated perhaps to the second century BC, depicting Curtius, bearing shield and spear, astride his horse as they leaped into the earth (fig.35).

Other equestrian statues also stood in this corner of the Forum. A bronze equestrian statue of Cloelia was erected on the *Sacra Via*, close to the temple of Castor and Pollux.²¹² The story of her escape from the Etruscan Lars Porsenna belongs to the same period as the Battle of Lake Regillus, at the very beginning of the Republic.²¹³ An equestrian statue of Quintus Tremulus, the conqueror of the Hernicans, stood in front of the temple of Castor

²¹⁰ See p70-71.

²¹¹ Liv. 7.6.1-6; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 14.11.1-5; Prop. 3.11.61-62; Varr. *Ling.* 5.148. An alternate explanation is that it commemorated Mettius Curtius, one of Romulus' opponents, who escaped in some versions on horseback: Liv. 1.8.5; Plut. *Rom.* 18.3-4; others not: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.42.2-6; Varr. *Ling.* 5.147. Varro states that lightning struck the spot and the consul Curtius fenced it in: Varr. *Ling.* 5.150.

²¹² Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.35.2; Liv. 2.13.11; Plin. *HN.* 34.28-29; Plut. *Pub.* 19.5; Sen. *Consol. ad Marc.* 16.2. A variant tradition states that the statue was of another hostage, Valeria, Publicola's daughter: Plut. *Pub.* 19.5; Pliny *HN.* 34.29. However, the identification matters little for my point that an equestrian statue of a woman stood near the temple of Castor and Pollux.

²¹³ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.33.1, 5.34.3; Liv. 2.13.6-11; Plin. *HN.* 34.28-29; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 8.31.1; Plut. *Pub.* 18.2-19.5; Val. Max 3.2.2.

and Pollux, linking the temple's location to another victory, this time over a tribe subsequently assimilated with the Latins.²¹⁴ Cicero's comparison of this statue to another of Lucius Antonius, brother of Marc Antony, suggests that Lucius' statue was also equestrian and stood nearby.²¹⁵ The *Equus Domitiani* also stood near the temple; Statius draws parallels between this statue and Cyllarus, Castor's horse, who trembles at the sight of Domitian's mount.²¹⁶ However, equestrian statues populated the Forum and other public spaces, as it was an honour awarded to prominent men, although not commonly. However, it is significant that the south-eastern corner of the Forum, where the temple of Castor and Pollux was built, has a significant number of equestrian connections.

Furthermore, the *Lacus Juturnae*, as a natural spring, would provide an obvious landmark that existed prior to the temple. During the epiphanies of the Dioscuri at this spring, their horses are described as making use of the water, drinking it or being washed.²¹⁷ It may be that this spring was associated with the cavalry in the early days of Rome, or at least was believed to be, as it may have been a convenient place to water and refresh horses. This connection may have been a reason for the placement of the temple of Castor and Pollux or, more probably, that owing to their equestrian connection, the statues and tradition of the *Lacus Curtius* followed the foundation of the temple.

The question remains; why do the Dioscuri appear at the *Lacus Juturnae*? One possibility is its geographical proximity to the future site of their temple, although any argument based on this premise is in danger of circularity. However, a further connection may have existed between Juturna and the Dioscuri.²¹⁸ As a nymph, Juturna had a spring

²¹⁴ Cic. *Phil.* 6.13; Liv. 9.43.22-23; Plin. *HN.* 34.23; Salmon and Potter: *OCD*³: 'Hernici', p693; Sihvola (1989) p86; Poulsen (1994) p92-93.

²¹⁵ Cic. *Phil.* 6.13.

²¹⁶ Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.46-55.

²¹⁷ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.2; Plut. *Aem.* 25.3; this is depicted on a *denarius* of the late 90s BC (fig.37).

²¹⁸ Aronen (1989) p57-75.

near Lavinium, which connects her geographically with the Dioscuri, who possessed a cult outside Lavinium from the sixth century BC.²¹⁹ In the *Aeneid*, Virgil characterises Juturna as the sister of Turnus, transformed into a goddess by Jupiter after he had seduced her.²²⁰ Upon her realisation that Turnus was doomed to die, she flung herself into a river, emerging from her spring, possibly the one on the (then) future site of Rome's Forum. Manning has identified parallels between the story of Juturna and Turnus as related by Virgil and the mythology of the Dioscuri. In both pairs of close siblings, one is mortal (Turnus and Castor) and one is immortal (Juturna and Pollux). During a battle, the immortal siblings discover that their mortal brother is fated to die (Juturna, through the appearance of a Dira) or fatally wounded (Pollux).²²¹ Here the parallels cease; Juturna is unable to save her brother, while Pollux shares his immortality with Castor, ensuring that they will live together forever. It is likely that this detailed treatment of Juturna and Turnus is a Virgilian invention, suggested by Manning to draw heavily upon Pindar's *Nemean Ode* to the Dioscuri, in which he relates their fight with Idas and Lynceus.²²² It is possible that Juturna at least, and possibly Turnus, became known in Rome from Latium. If this were the case, and as Juturna became the nymph of the spring in the Forum, these parallels might have inspired the placement of the temple of Castor and Pollux beside her spring, suggesting that a connection was seen to exist between them. The Dioscuri therefore may have appeared at the *Lacus Juturnae* because of both their and the nymph's Latin connection.

As with the depiction of the battle epiphany of Castor and Pollux on the *denarii* discussed above, coin types also marked their appearances as messengers of victory. An

²¹⁹ Pietilä-Castrén (1987) p46.

²²⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 12.139-160, 843-886.

²²¹ Manning (1988) p211-222.

²²² Manning (1988) p211.

issue of Lucius Memmius in 109 or 108 BC depicts the Dioscuri standing between their horses and leaning on their spears (fig.36). This depiction of Castor and Pollux is a significant change from the earlier type of the Dioscuri riding into battle. It has been suggested that this image represented the *Lacus Juturnae* statue group (fig.34), owing to the similarities between it and the numismatic depiction, and may commemorate an epiphany at this location.²²³ In the late 90s BC, another design matches the literary treatments of the epiphanies of the Dioscuri at the *Lacus Juturnae* even more closely (fig.37).²²⁴ Castor and Pollux stand beside their horses, which are drinking from a trough, probably intended to represent the *Lacus Juturnae*. Although this scene matches closely two of the Dioscuric epiphanies in this location, those following the Battles of Lake Regillus and Pydna, we can suggest an exact identification. For the moneyer of this issue is Aulus Postumius Albinus, a descendant of the victor at Lake Regillus.²²⁵ The date of this coin's issue is a second potential reason for Albinus' recollection of his famous ancestor's connection to Castor and Pollux. For the traditional date of the Battle of Lake Regillus is 496 BC, and this coin marks approximately four hundred years since their epiphany at this battle.²²⁶ The same moneyer also produced another design at the same date, which may represent the Battle of Lake Regillus: depicting Diana on the obverse and on the reverse three horsemen in front of Roman standards charging a fleeing or fallen warrior (fig.38).²²⁷

²²³ Min. Fel. *Oct.* 7.3.

²²⁴ Petrocchi (1994) p103 suggests the inclusion of Apollo on the obverse as representing the time of day when the epiphany occurred, but also as a reference to the dual nature of the Dioscuri as passing between death and life, day and night. This explanation is far-fetched, and although we do not know why Apollo was chosen for the obverse, his sister Diana also featured on the obverses of other coins minted by these moneyers: *RRC* 335/9; Välimaa (1989) p121.

²²⁵ *RRC* 335/10a.

²²⁶ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.1-5 gives the date of the battle as 496 BC, while Liv. 2.19.1 states it occurred in 499 BC. Although the Romans did not use our dating format, this did not hamper their ability to note dating parallels or anniversaries. See Feeney (2007) ch. 5, esp. p142-148, and p145 for 100-year anniversaries, including Claudius' *Ludi Saeculares* of AD 47 celebrating 800 years since the foundation of Rome. Flower (2008) p87 argues that a *denarius* minted by Petillius Capitolinus in 43 BC depicting the Capitoline temple (*RRC* 487.1-2) was intended to recall the destruction and rebuilding of the temple on the fortieth anniversary of its destruction.

²²⁷ *RRC* 335/9: Luce (1968) p30. As these horsemen have no stars, it is unlikely that they are the Dioscuri, instead they probably represent the cavalry who followed Castor and Pollux into battle.

These epiphanies of the Dioscuri should be examined within the context of elite competition in the mid- to late Republic, as it became popular for families or individuals to associate themselves with certain gods. I have suggested the Ahenobarbi sought to do this with the epiphany of the Dioscuri to Domitius Ahenobarbus following the Battle of Lake Regillus. Such relationships might be claimed between a mortal and a god independently or in competition with others for the favour of, or relationship with, the same god. For example, the epiphany of the Dioscuri following the Battle of Vercellae has been seen as an attempt by Marius (or his supporters) to appropriate divine support.²²⁸ A victorious general might utilise an epiphany of the Dioscuri to increase his prominence and the prestige of his victory by comparing it to great battles where the Dioscuri also appeared. As Sumi has noted, the use of this epiphanic tradition by different generals removes it from the exclusive use of the Postumii, creating a ‘national myth’ that any general might use.²²⁹ Although, as seen in the coin minted by Aulus Postumius Albinus (fig.37), their descendants might continue to claim a special connection many years after the epiphany.

Companions at Death

The final category of epiphanies of the Dioscuri is the latest attested and most different from those described above; the final two epiphanies of the Dioscuri signal a significant change in their epiphanic tradition. Instead of assuring or announcing a military victory, they appear at moments connected to the deaths of prominent individuals. They are well suited to this role owing to their mythology, constantly moving between the realms of the dead and the living.²³⁰ In Etruscan tombs, depictions of the brothers appear on either side of tomb doors, perhaps symbolising that they would accompany the soul of the interred to

²²⁸ Platt (2003); Rebggiani (2013) p56, citing *LIMC* 3.2 p622-623 no109; explored below: p147-148.

²²⁹ Sumi (2009) p176.

²³⁰ Lucian, *Dial. D.* 24.276.2, 26.281-287; Pind. *Nem.* 10.55-59; Lycoph. *Alex.* 564-566.

the underworld.²³¹ A closer parallel is found in a fragment of Callimachus, describing the apotheosis of Arsinoë II in 270 BC: “O bride, already up under the stars of the wain... snatched away, you were speeding past the (full) moon...”.²³² Although this fragment does not preserve the agents of Arsinoë’s apotheosis, the *diegesis* includes this detail, recording that Callimachus depicted the Queen as being “snatched up by the Dioskouroi”.²³³

The two epiphanies in which the Dioscuri act in this manner occur at the funeral of Julius Caesar in 44 BC²³⁴ and at the deathbed of Drusus the Elder, brother of Tiberius, in 9 BC (cat.9-10).²³⁵ On both occasions, the Dioscuri are not named but in light of the tradition explored above, can be identified through the description of the epiphany. After Caesar’s funeral in the Forum, the crowd argued where his body should be burnt. Suetonius records that in the midst of this argument:

“two beings with swords by their sides and brandishing a pair of javelins set fire to it with blazing torches, and at once the throng of bystanders heaped upon it dry branches, the judgment seats with the benches, and whatever else could serve as an offering.”

*“...repente duo quidam gladiis succincti ac bina iacula gestantes ardentibus cereis succenderunt confestimque circumstantium turba virgulta arida et cum subselliis tribunalia, quicquid praeterea ad donum aderat, congessit.”*²³⁶

In the preceding chapter, I argued that the altar of Castor and Pollux might have stood in front of their temple on the Forum floor.²³⁷ If I am correct, the altar would have been located close to the site of this cremation and this may further support the identification of these two beings as Castor and Pollux.²³⁸ It was at this location at the southern end of the

²³¹ De Grummond (1991) p22-26; Simon (2006) p54; Krauskopf (2006) p76-77.

²³² Callim. *Ia.* 228.1-7; Kloppenborg (1993) p284; Sumi (2009) p182.

²³³ *Diegesis* 10.10 on Callim. fr228.

²³⁴ Suet. *Iul.* 84.3.

²³⁵ Cass. Dio 55.1.3.

²³⁶ Suet. *Iul.* 84.3 after Rolfe; cf Cass. Dio 44.35.4; App. *B.Civ.* 2.148.1.

²³⁷ See p65-66.

²³⁸ Sumi (2009) p177-178 argues that these two figures may be the Dioscuri assimilated with the Penates Publici (see Appendix Two). The sacred objects of the Penates Publici were kept in the temple of Vesta,

Forum, near the temple of Castor and Pollux that the temple to *Divus Julius* was built.²³⁹ This location is significant, for, as noted in the epiphanies explored above, proximity to their temple is one way we may identify epiphanies of Castor and Pollux. Once again, therefore, we possess a reference to a pair of supernatural beings, armed with spears, appearing close to the temple of Castor and Pollux. Considering also that the epiphany of the Dioscuri following the Battle of Pharsalus had associated them with Caesar, we should identify these figures as Castor and Pollux, transporting the dictator's spirit to the heavens.²⁴⁰

The other epiphany of Castor and Pollux in this category occurs at the death of Drusus the Elder (cat.10).²⁴¹ Drusus was on campaign in Germany in 9 BC when he was fatally injured. As he was dying, various portents were reported, including the sound of wolves howling and women crying. Most significantly, however, Cassius Dio includes that two young men who rode through the camp and shooting stars.²⁴² Again, the presence of a pair of horsemen and stars suggests that this epiphany should be identified as being of the Dioscuri. Although we do not possess Livy's account of Drusus' death, it was here he ended his 142-book history, reinforcing that this was seen as a significant moment.²⁴³

The function of the Dioscuri in these epiphanies changes from being connected with victories to companions at the deaths of important figures. However, they were still linked to the military sphere, for both Caesar and Drusus were military commanders. Caesar had been previously connected to the Dioscuri as they appeared following his

they also had a temple on the Velia, and are suggested to have once been the private Penates of the Kings, who lived in the *Regia*. However, there are no attested epiphanies of the Penates; thus, as Castor and Pollux were believed to have appeared on three occasions in this area of the Forum, I believe that the weight of the evidence lends itself to the identification of these figures as the Dioscuri.

²³⁹ Cass. Dio 47.18.4; App. *B.Civ.* 2.148.1.

²⁴⁰ Discussed further below.

²⁴¹ The relationship between the Dioscuri and young imperial men is explored in Chapter Four, including this incident: p237-238.

²⁴² Cass. Dio 55.1.3.

²⁴³ Levene (2007) p277.

victory at Pharsalus (cat.8), but he does not seem to have publicised a relationship with these gods, preferring Venus instead. The role of the Dioscuri at Caesar's funeral therefore may be explained by their links with apotheosis, as in the case of Arsinoë II. As the Dioscuri often appeared near their own temple in the context of messenger epiphanies, it is also suggestive that they do so again here, where the future temple of Divus Julius would stand, creating another aetiology for a temple in the Forum.

As Sumi has suggested, this use of the Dioscuri demonstrates that myths and traditions could be adapted for the needs and circumstances of contemporary society.²⁴⁴ However, as I shall argue in my final chapter, their appearance at Drusus' deathbed was owing to the relationship between the Dioscuri and pairs of imperial youths, for there is no suggestion that Drusus became a god. Later deified emperors were also not linked to Castor and Pollux as agents of apotheosis. Even Caesar, although linked to the Dioscuri at his funeral, was depicted as being carried to heaven by Venus²⁴⁵ and his apotheosis was symbolised by a comet.²⁴⁶ However, there may have been other traditions concerning Caesar's deification that have not been preserved. At the funeral of Augustus, an eagle was released as his pyre burned, "appearing to bear his spirit to heaven".²⁴⁷ The relief on the apex of the Arch of Titus in Rome can also be interpreted as the scene of the emperor's apotheosis, depicting Titus being carried by an eagle. The symbol of Jupiter, the eagle was perhaps thought to be more appropriate to an emperor's station rather than the Dioscuri, his sons. In any case, following the death of Drusus in 9 BC, no further epiphanies of the Dioscuri occur in any guise. The Dioscuri took on a new role in the imperial period, transforming from republican saviours in battle to the divine parallels for imperial young men and this may explain the cessation of epiphanies following Drusus' death.

²⁴⁴ Sumi (2005) p111.

²⁴⁵ Ov. *Met.* 15.843-851.

²⁴⁶ Cass. Dio 45.7.1; Plin. *HN.* 2.94.

²⁴⁷ Cass. Dio 56.42.3.

Conclusion

In the first epiphanies explored in this chapter, at the Battles of the River Sagra and Lake Regillus (cat.13 and 1), the Dioscuri are credited with ensuring the victory of their chosen side. Although I have suggested that the Dioscuri appeared during the Battle of Pydna in 168 BC, on this occasion Castor and Pollux's epiphany as messengers of victory is more prominent (cat.5-7).²⁴⁸ Moreover, only Pliny explicitly states that it was the Dioscuri who appeared.²⁴⁹ Following the Battle of Pydna, the Dioscuri no longer played an active part in battles; instead, they announced the victory and the sources only imply their identity. Throughout the tradition of the Dioscuric epiphanies, we may identify a trend of diminishing activity on the part of Castor and Pollux and of less explicit references. This picture is complicated by the fact that, as noted above, the majority of extant sources describing these epiphanies are late republican or imperial. Additionally there may have been other epiphanic traditions that are now lost. However, it seems that even the ancient authors characterised the most prominent and explicitly named epiphanies as belonging to the distant past. Perhaps an explanation for this diminishing activity and more implicit references lies in growing scepticism: epiphanies of the gods in battles belong to the age of heroes. Quintus voices such an attitude in one of Cicero's scholarly dialogues, demonstrating that some might hold this view, although not necessarily that it was common:

“Then what do we expect? Do we wait for the immortal gods to converse with us in the Forum, on the street and in our homes? While they do not, of course, present themselves in person, they do diffuse their power far and wide - sometimes enclosing it in caverns of the earth and sometimes imparting it to human beings.”

²⁴⁸ This may be owing to inconsistent source preservation. However, we possess sources who record other epiphanies, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch, whose extant works cover this period, but do not mention an epiphany at Pydna. If an account of a battle epiphany at Pydna was recorded in our sources, it seems to have been less popular and so less preserved.

²⁴⁹ Plin. *HN*. 7.86.

“*Quid igitur expectamus? an dum in foro nobiscum di immortales, dum in viis versentur, dum domi? qui quidem ipsi se nobis non offerunt, vim autem suam longe lateque diffundunt, quam tum terrae cavernis includunt, tum hominum naturis implicant.*”²⁵⁰

The connection between the Dioscuri and victory was so strong that they might be associated with victories outside this epiphanic context. Following his victory at Cynoscephalae against Philip V in 197 BC, the general Flamininus dedicated a golden wreath to Apollo at Delphi and:

“some silver bucklers and his own long shield, he provided them with this inscription: “O you sons of Zeus, whose joy is in swift horsemanship, O you Tyndaridae, princes of Sparta, Titus, a descendant of Aeneas, has brought you a most excellent gift, he who for the sons of the Greeks wrought freedom.”

ἀσπίδας ἀργυρᾶς καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θυρεὸν ἐπέγραψε· Ζηνὸς ἰὼ κραιπναῖσι γεγαθότες ἵπποσύναισι κοῦροι, ἰὼ Σπάρτας Τυνδαρίδαι βασιλεῖς, Αἰνεάδας Τίτος ὕμμιν ὑπέρτατον ὄπασε δῶρον, Ἑλλήνων τεύξας παισὶν ἐλευθερίαν.²⁵¹

The reasons behind his dedication of a wreath to Apollo, the god of the shrine, are clear enough, but why did Flamininus dedicate shields to the Dioscuri? In the inscription preserved by Plutarch, who was a priest at Delphi and thus may be quoting the dedication through autopsy, there is no reference to an epiphany of Castor and Pollux. As saviour gods, who were prominent in Greece and Rome, they may have been a particularly appropriate pair of gods to receive a dedication from the general who claimed to have liberated Greece. Additionally, as the Dioscuri were linked to prominent Roman victories, Flamininus, through his dedication, may have been equating his victory at Cynoscephalae with other great victories of past generals. This dedication, as noted above, may have been celebrated by his descendants on a *denarius* of 126 BC that showed a Macedonian shield beneath the horses of Castor and Pollux (fig.30).²⁵²

²⁵⁰ Cic. *Div.* 1.79.

²⁵¹ Plut. *Flam.* 12.6 after Perrin.

²⁵² *RRC* 267/1.

Another victory monument, fragments of which were found in the church of S. Omobono near the Forum Boarium, included depictions of Castor and Pollux.²⁵³ The monument's central scene depicts two Victories holding a garland across a shield with a representation of Jupiter's eagle holding a palm adorned with two wreaths in its beak and a thunderbolt in its claws. On either side are two shields that depict the Dioscuri, mounted on rearing horses and brandishing spears (fig.39). The best preserved of the two shields includes a *pilos* and star (fig.40). Although they are represented singly, their depiction is nevertheless reminiscent of the common *denarius* type explored above, which I have argued represented the Dioscuri as they rode into battle at Lake Regillus.

This monument is traditionally identified as the one dedicated by Bocchus, King of Mauretania, which Plutarch describes as being erected before the start of the Social War on the Capitoline hill, circa 91 BC.²⁵⁴ The monument's statue group included gold Victories and Bocchus handing over the captive Jugurtha to Sulla, ending the Jugurthine war. The two wreaths and trophies depicted may correlate with the number of acclamations of *imperator* or triumphs of the honouree. However, Sulla did not receive any crowns before 90 BC, after the suggested date of the monument,²⁵⁵ and identification is therefore problematic.²⁵⁶ Other motifs on the preserved section depict armour and the head of Roma on another shield.²⁵⁷ Although which event the monument commemorates is uncertain, the connection between the Dioscuri and victory, as presented by the decorative scheme, is clear. Furthermore, the monument has a strong equestrian theme, for beside the shields featuring the Dioscuri are two armoured faceplates or bardings for horses. Therefore,

²⁵³ Hölscher (1994) p60-72; Clark (2007) p131-133.

²⁵⁴ Plut. *Mar.* 32.2, *Sull.* 6.1-2; Poulsen (1992a) p52; Kuttner (2013) p251.

²⁵⁵ Kuttner (2013) p251-253. Hölscher (1994) p70-71 suggests that the trophies represent those erected by Sulla at Charonea in 86 BC (Paus. 9.40.7), and thus that the monument was not completed in 91 BC, but altered later. Kuttner (2013) p244 argues that the central slab was not recut.

²⁵⁶ Clark (2007) p132 suggests that this monument could have been located in the temple of Fides and thus Marius was prevented from destroying it on religious grounds, which was seen to be a problem by Hölscher (1994) p71 who doubts that a pro-Sullan monument would have survived Marius' rule of Rome.

²⁵⁷ Hölscher (1994) p62; Clark (2007) p132.

whatever victory this monument celebrates, it may be one in which the cavalry played a significant role.

Rebeggiani, following the traditional identification, has argued that this monument was a propagandistic attempt by Sulla to imply that the Dioscuri had aided him in his capture of Jugurtha. As has been discussed above, the Dioscuri had appeared following Marius' victory at the Battle of Vercellae in 101 BC (cat.8). The coin issue of Aulus Postumius Albinus (fig.37), who has been identified as a Marian, could have been minted in reaction to Sulla's appropriation of the Dioscuri on this monument.²⁵⁸ Were Sulla attempting to claim that the Dioscuri aided his capture of Jugurtha, it is strange that no reference to the alleged epiphany is preserved. Literary sources record Sulla's interest in publicising divine support, perhaps drawing on his own memoirs,²⁵⁹ and coin issues advertised the surrender of Jugurtha to Sulla.²⁶⁰ Furthermore, previous epiphanies of the Dioscuri occurred in battles in which the cavalry were active. This is not the case in our descriptions of the capture of Jugurtha, which was more of a diplomatic victory than a military one, for Bocchus betrayed Jugurtha and handed him over to Sulla without a fight.²⁶¹

Rebeggiani has proposed that Sulla and Marius were “[struggling] to appropriate the support of the Dioscuri” from the other.²⁶² Poulsen similarly suggests that the epiphany following Marius' victory at Vercellae was a response to the rebuilding of the Forum temple in 117 BC by Metellus Dalmaticus.²⁶³ The use of this tradition by prominent individuals should be placed in the context of elite competition of the period. Many of the

²⁵⁸ Carney (1961) p7 n35; Van Ooteghem (1967) p389; Luce (1968) p30; Rebeggiani (2013) p56.

²⁵⁹ Plut. *Sull.* 9.4, 12.5, 29.6, 34.2; App. *B.Civ.* 1.97.

²⁶⁰ *RRC* 426/1.

²⁶¹ Sall. *Iug.* 113.1-5.

²⁶² Rebeggiani (2013) p56.

²⁶³ Poulsen (1994) p94.

families and figures connected with the Dioscuri had political affiliations, perhaps with Marius, Sulla or Pompey. However, their use of the Dioscuri may not have been because of these affiliations or on behalf of the leader of their 'faction', but rather individuals attempting to win prestige for themselves. Being able to claim a connection to the Dioscuri through an epiphany, or through a rebuilding of their temple, which would bear your name in the dedicatory inscription, would have been one of many tactics to gain greater prominence than your political competitors. By 91 BC, the suggested date of the monument, epiphanies of the Dioscuri had been linked to three unrelated prominent figures: Aulus Postumius, Aemilius Paullus and Marius, and the temple was connected to Aulus Postumius' son and Metellus Dalmaticus. Although there was certainly friction between some of these men, in particular between Metellus and Marius, and Marius and Sulla, the tradition did not belong more to one person or *gens* than another. Instead, it could be used consecutively or concurrently by different individuals, all of whom were trying to place themselves in the context of the tradition of Dioscuric epiphanies. By comparing themselves, the battle they won, and their victory with the first epiphany of the Dioscuri at the pivotal Battle of Lake Regillus, these individuals inserted themselves into this tradition and, by equating their victory with Aulus Postumius', increased their own glory.

Although the later epiphanies draw upon the motif of the epiphany at Lake Regillus, these epiphanies should be examined individually, rather than as replicas in a large tradition. Each epiphany may have been relevant to the time when it was reported to have occurred, as well as when it was (re-)publicised. The epiphanies related to Pydna should be considered in the context of Roman expansion; the epiphanies following Vercellae and Pharsalus within elite competition that publicised personal relationships

with gods; the epiphanies at the deaths of Caesar and Drusus should be viewed in light of the Augustan use of the Dioscuri.²⁶⁴ The earliest epiphanies of the Dioscuri, particularly those explaining the foundation of their cult in Rome, may have been created as aetiologies for the cult and temple.

The date when each epiphany was introduced into the tradition is unattested, owing to our lack of contemporary sources. In order for epiphanies to be relevant and achieve the desired effect, they may have been publicised soon after the epiphany was said to have occurred. The epiphany would demonstrate that the general had the support of the Dioscuri and that his victory was divinely sanctioned. The generals were perhaps the chief beneficiaries of the epiphany, gaining glory through their association with the gods and the epiphanic tradition. Others may also have benefited, such as the Domitii Ahenobarbi, who might have gained prominence from the fact that, according to one tradition, the Dioscuri appeared to a member of their *gens* (cat.4). Castor and Pollux were protectors of horsemen, including the cavalry as well as the equestrian census class. Both these groups could bask in the reflected glory of the gods, for each epiphany increased the prominence of the Dioscuri and the general, but also the cavalry, whom the gods had led in the Battle of Lake Regillus. The generals and their families, however, had greater opportunities to propagate the tale of the epiphany through temple dedications or restorations and the erection of statues. Descendants of these generals could remind their contemporaries of the glorious deeds of their ancestors by minting coins, as seen in the issue of Aulus Postumius Albinus, celebrating the epiphany of the Dioscuri at the Battle of Lake Regillus approximately four hundred years later (fig.37).²⁶⁵

²⁶⁴ Explored in Chapter Four.

²⁶⁵ *RRC* 335.10a-b.

Over such a large period, between 496 and 9 BC, epiphanies of the Dioscuri concerning Rome were quite rare: eight in nearly five centuries. Although other epiphanies may have been reported, we no longer possess the evidence for them. The Dioscuri are unusual in the frequency of their epiphanies, especially when compared with other gods. However, two other gods are attested to appear in similar epiphanies in a Roman context: Mars and Romulus. Mars' most famous epiphany occurred when he appeared to impregnate Rhea Silvia and father Romulus and Remus. However, he also appeared to ensure a Roman victory over the Bruttians and the Lucanians, who were attacking Thurii in 282 BC.²⁶⁶ When the Roman army were reluctant to join the battle, a young man of exceptional size urged them on, leading the way by scaling a ladder up the ramparts. After the victory, a reward was offered:

“but nobody was found to claim the reward, and it was discovered and likewise believed that Father Mars had come to his people's aid at that time. Among other clear indications thereof a helmet decked with two feathers, with which the divine head had been covered, furnished evidence.”

*nec inveniretur qui id praemium peteret, cognitum pariter atque creditum est Martem patrem tunc populo suo adfuisse. inter cetera huiusce rei manifesta indicia galea quoque duabus distincta pinnis, qua caeleste caput tectum fuerat, argumentum praebuit.*²⁶⁷

This epiphany of Mars bears many similarities to those of the Dioscuri as helpers in battle. As war was one of Mars' responsibilities, he was well suited for military epiphanies; however, this is the only time he was attested to appear. Why did he appear on this occasion and never again? This does not seem to have been a particularly significant battle, as those are at which the Dioscuri are attested to appear. The consul Gaius Fabricius Luscinus was awarded a triumph in the same year against the Samnites, Bruttians and Lucanians, but is not otherwise attested to have been linked with Mars.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁶ Val. Max. 1.8.6, this anecdote is preserved in the same section as the epiphanies of the Dioscuri, *de miraculis*, also mentioned by Amm. Marc. 24.4.24

²⁶⁷ Val. Max. 1.8.6.

²⁶⁸ Drummond, *OCD*³: 'Fabricius, Luscinus, Gaius', p585; Broughton (1951-1960) vol.1 p189.

Nor does Mars seem to receive either a new or adapted cult after this epiphany, although he left behind his helmet, which could have become an object of worship. Owing to the scant information about this epiphany, it is therefore difficult to suggest its significance. One further epiphany occurred when Romulus, following his mysterious disappearance, appeared to a senator and announced that the gods had determined that Romulus must live among them on Olympus and be known as Quirinus, after which the Senate honoured him as a god.²⁶⁹

Thus, although it is possible to identify epiphanies of other gods in a Roman context, the Dioscuri remain the most prominent epiphanic gods, appearing more than any other god. However, there were many important battles at which the Dioscuri are not said to have appeared. It is impossible to state why the Dioscuri were not claimed to have appeared at more battles, as the motivations probably differed between circumstances and individuals. Although it is possible that the reports of some epiphanies are deliberately not preserved in our extant sources,²⁷⁰ or other epiphanies were claimed to have occurred and were not believed, as almost happened in the epiphany reported by Vatinius after the Battle of Pydna (cat.7).²⁷¹ Nevertheless, some general trends can be seen within the epiphanies we do possess. Excluding the companions at a death epiphanies, those at or following the Battles of Lake Regillus, Pydna, Vercellae and Pharsalus exhibit some similarities. These were battles, featuring the cavalry, to which appearances of Castor and Pollux, as protectors of horsemen, were suited.²⁷² All four battles are characterised as significant moments in Roman history; repelling the Kings and saving the Republic; defeating the

²⁶⁹ Plut. *Rom.* 28.1-3.

²⁷⁰ For example, Livy's omission of the Lake Regillus epiphany: p115-116.

²⁷¹ Val. Max. 1.8.1; see p101.

²⁷² Regillus: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.12.3-4, 6.13.1; Flor. 1.5.2-4. Pydna: Liv. 44.42, at Pydna, interestingly, a horse running away from the Roman lines started the battle, as depicted on the monument of Aemilius Paullus; Plut. *Aem.* 18.1. Vercellae: Plut. *Mar.* 25.3. Pharsalus: Plut. *Caes.* 44.3-4, 45.6-7; Cass. Dio 41.60.1-3.

Macedonians and securing Rome's interests in Greece; preventing the Gauls from entering Italy; and concluding the civil wars between Caesar and Pompey. Two of these were also considered as being crucial to Rome's survival: if the victories of Regillus or Vercellae had been defeats, the kings would have been reinstated in Rome and the Gauls would have destroyed the city.²⁷³ Furthermore, Pydna was seen by contemporaries as being a significant moment in the expansion of the Empire, the moment at which Rome first had a secure foothold in the East.²⁷⁴ Rebggiani has suggested that by linking themselves to the first epiphany of the Dioscuri, which ensured Rome's freedom from the Tarquins, the later generals were equating themselves with the consuls (or the dictator Aulus Postumius) who had fought against the kings and thus identified their own enemies as possessing monarchical aspirations.²⁷⁵ This interpretation, requiring a king, or at least monarchical sentiments from the enemy, and a link to previous consuls may be too specific. However, all the battles at which the Dioscuri appeared were significant for the continuation or rise of Roman power and the generals who commanded the battles at which the Dioscuri appeared could add themselves to a list of commanders who were favoured by the gods and who saved Rome. Epiphanies of the Dioscuri can therefore be summarised as occurring at battles featuring the cavalry, which were significant in Roman history, in which defeat would have meant disaster. However, many other battles fit this general description so it is by no means a rule and other factors, such as the individuals concerned, would have played a part. Why other battles are not reported to feature an epiphany is unanswerable, but if we assume that the general or his supporters created or publicised the epiphany, the generals at the other battles may have had their reasons not to do so.

²⁷³ Plut. *Mar.* 11.8.

²⁷⁴ Polyb. 1.1.5 describes 167 BC as the date at which Rome had "succeeded in subjecting nearly the whole inhabited world to their sole government".

²⁷⁵ Rebggiani (2013) p56.

The majority of the epiphanies I have explored in this chapter were spontaneous, only one, at the River Sagra, was invoked.²⁷⁶ Before this battle, the Locrians called upon the Dioscuri for aid and sacrificed before the epiphany occurred.²⁷⁷ On all other occasions, the epiphany was spontaneous; the gods appeared of their own accord, rather than being called upon by humans. At those events when a vow was made, it was following the epiphany, as thanksgiving rather than inducement.²⁷⁸ This distinguishes Dioscuric epiphanies from the more traditional format of vows made to gods before battle and, following the victory, the building of a temple in thanks.²⁷⁹ For it appears that the Dioscuri chose when to appear, they could not be called upon to ensure military success, but rather added divine support to those battles at which they choose to manifest themselves.

All of these epiphanies possess a degree of ambiguity; Castor and Pollux never introduce themselves. Instead, we have to rely upon the identification of the mysterious young men by contemporaries and later sources, using the attributes of the Dioscuri and the tradition itself as evidence. Some scepticism regarding the veracity of epiphanies was present in antiquity, and this ambiguity may allow the audience, either of the epiphany itself, or of its depiction in literature, to make up their own minds. It may also suggest some doubt or purpose on the author's part, as argued in the case of Livy who does not mention the epiphany at Lake Regillus.²⁸⁰ Furthermore, there is a certain ambiguity inherent in the Dioscuri, as mortals who became gods and who moved constantly between Olympus and Hades. However, certain epiphanies are clearer, even to the ancients themselves, as being of the Dioscuri, whilst others remain more subtle.

²⁷⁶ I have not separated false epiphanies into invoked or spontaneous categories, as by their nature they must be invoked by the humans who are carrying out the pretence.

²⁷⁷ Diod. Sic. 7.32.1-2; Just. *Epit.* 20.2.9-14.

²⁷⁸ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.4; Flor. 1.5.4 states that Aulus Postumius prays to the Dioscuri and promises them a temple, however this follows their appearance on the battlefield.

²⁷⁹ For example: Catulus' vow before the Battle of Vercellae to build a temple to Fortuna Huisce Dei if the Romans won the battle, following the victory, he dedicated the temple in Largo Argentina: Plut. *Mar.* 26.

²⁸⁰ See p115-116.

The last epiphany of the Dioscuri in a military context was after the Battle of Pharsalus. Although key battles continued to be fought after 48 BC, the Dioscuri did not appear again in this role. In Virgil's depiction in the *Aeneid* of the Battle of Actium in 31 BC, gods are said to appear and support their chosen side. However, the Dioscuri were not among these gods, instead Apollo supported Octavian, accompanied by Venus, Neptune, Minerva and Mars, who all raged against Cleopatra's Egyptian gods.²⁸¹ These epiphanies, however, took place within the context of Virgil's poem, modelled upon the Homeric epics, in which the gods participate in human battles. Although Apollo is publicised as possessing a special relationship with Augustus, no historical source claims that he physically manifested himself. The epiphanies of Castor and Pollux possibly derive from the tradition of Greek hero cult; however, it is still notable that the Dioscuri are the gods who appear most in Roman history; Mars and Romulus are the only other gods who appear. The Dioscuri's mythology meant that they constantly crossed the boundaries between mortality and immortality, gods and heroes, and life and death. Because of their transitory nature, the Dioscuri were particularly well suited to serve as liaisons between the mortal and divine realms, living in and affecting both.

²⁸¹ Virg. *Aen.* 8.690-705.

Chapter Three: The Responsibilities of Castor and Pollux

Castor and Pollux have been described as the ‘patron gods’ of many different aspects of ancient life, from their relationship with horsemen and sailors to other responsibilities such as protectors of guests and exemplars of fraternal harmony.¹ Castor was famed as a horseman and Pollux for his boxing prowess. They were believed to be linked to these two disciplines in particular, but also to athletics and circus games in general. I shall focus on these two aspects in this chapter, with the addition of a third responsibility as the saviours of sailors.

Aulus Gellius, writing in the late second century AD, records that the names of Castor and Pollux were taken as oaths:

“In our early writings neither do Roman women swear by Hercules nor the men by Castor. But why the women did not swear by Hercules is evident, since they abstain from sacrificing to Hercules. On the other hand, why the men did not name Castor in oaths is not easy to say. Nowhere, then, is it possible to find an instance, among good writers, either of a woman saying “by Hercules” or a man, “by Castor”; but *edepol*, which is an oath by Pollux, is common to both man and woman. Marcus Varro, however, asserts that the earliest men were wont to swear neither by Castor nor by Pollux, but that this oath was used by women alone and was taken from the Eleusinian initiations; that gradually, however, through ignorance of ancient usage, men began to say *edepol*, and thus it became a customary expression; but that the use of “*me castor*” by a man appears in no ancient writing.”

In veteribus scriptis neque mulieres Romanae per Herculem deiurant neque viri per Castorem. Sed cur illae non iuraverint Herculem non obscurum est, nam Herculaneo sacrificio abstinent. Cur autem viri Castorem iurantes non appellaverint non facile dictu est. Nusquam igitur scriptum invenire est, apud idoneos quidem scriptores, aut “me hercle” feminam dicere aut “me castor” virum; “edepol” autem, quod iusiurandum per Pollucem est, et viro et feminae commune est. Sed M. Varro adseverat antiquissimos viros neque per Castorem neque per Pollucem deiurare solitos, sed id iusiurandum fuisse tantum feminarum, ex initiis Eleusinis acceptum; paulatim tamen inscitia antiquitatis viros dicere “edepol” coepisse factumque esse ita dicendi morem, sed “me castor” a viro dici in nullo vetere scripto inveniri.²

¹ Callim. *Lyric*. 227.8-9; Rendel Harris (1906) p2; Terlinden (1961) p96.

² Gell. *NA*. 11.6.1-6.

Ullman, following Nicolson, used the plays of Plautus and Terence to assess the veracity of Gellius' claim.³ His calculations suggest that Gellius' picture is accurate, for in the surviving plays only women swear by Castor, whilst both genders swear by Pollux.⁴ Ullman suggests that this differentiation occurred as men initially swore by Castor, but, through overuse, the oath became weaker and was adopted by women. This 'feminisation' led men to reject the oath and thus it became only used by women.⁵ However, this is contradicted by the fact that both genders used oaths by Pollux: why did this oath not become 'feminised' and rejected by men? There do not appear to be cultic reasons for this practice: there is no evidence that links women to Castor or to the Roman cult of the Dioscuri. The only individuals linked to their cult in Rome are men, although this does not mean that women were excluded.⁶ Furthermore, Castor was a warrior, athlete and equestrian, traditionally masculine roles in antiquity. The reasons behind this gender differentiation therefore remain unclear.⁷

Also uncertain is what is meant by Varro's statement that women's use of these oaths derives from "*initiis Eleusinis*".⁸ Although Castor and Pollux were initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, I have found no other connection between the Dioscuri and the mysteries.⁹ A connection may have been seen between oaths by Ceres, who was worshipped in the mysteries, and oaths by the Dioscuri, as Paul the Deacon likens an oath by Ceres to those by Castor and Pollux.¹⁰ There is, additionally, a mythological link between the mysteries and the Dioscuri. The mysteries were connected to Persephone's kidnap by Hades, which led to her spending time in both Olympus and Hades, similar to how the Dioscuri divided their time. However, this does not explain why Varro links the Dioscuri to Eleusinian

³ Nicolson (1893); Ullman (1943).

⁴ Ullman (1943) p87-88.

⁵ Ullman (1943) p88.

⁶ See p182-184.

⁷ On gendered speech, see Fögen (2010).

⁸ Gell. *NA*. 11.6.5.

⁹ Plut. *Thes.* 33.1; Mylonas (1961) p77.

¹⁰ Paulus Festus 69.18L.

initiations. Wagenvoort has argued that these initiations must have been in Rome, and that the women swearing by Castor and Pollux must have been Roman, for Eleusinians did not use oaths by the Dioscuri.¹¹ This is based on an argument that the only Greeks attested to swear by Castor and Pollux were the Laconians.¹² Wagenvoort notes that there were festivals known as Eleusinia outside Eleusis, including in Laconia, and thus suggests that both the “*initiis Eleusinis*” and oaths by Castor and Pollux were transmitted from Laconia to the Spartan colony of Tarentum in Magna Graecia and thence to Rome. He continues to argue that these initiations would have been only for women, which, he suggests, explains why only women swore by both Castor and Pollux. Although there were initiations into the cult of Ceres in Rome, these do not appear to have been thought of as Eleusinian, and it is uncertain if these are the initiations referred to by Varro.¹³ However, the Eleusinian mysteries were open to both genders and this argument again does not explain why men also swore by Pollux. Furthermore, Wagenvoort’s argument does not satisfactorily connect oaths by the Dioscuri to the Eleusinian initiations. Instead, he merges two claims: firstly, that there were Eleusinia in Laconia, and secondly that Laconians alone swore by Castor and Pollux. Furthermore, Wagenvoort’s premise that Varro must be describing Roman initiations is uncertain; although Varro’s work focused on Rome, he included facts about Greece when relevant.¹⁴

It is thus not possible to explain Varro’s statement, or to suggest why the oaths were gender differentiated. However, the significance of the fact that oaths by Pollux were more common than those by Castor should be noted. Pollux was less prominent than his brother in

¹¹ Wagenvoort (1980) p124.

¹² Wagenvoort (1980) p126.

¹³ Isayev (2011) p381; Cic. *Leg.* 2.21, 37, although Isayev (2011) p381 n50 notes that these passages do not necessarily mean that only women could become initiates.

¹⁴ For example: Varr. *Ling.* 5.96-97 when he notes the Greek names for farm animals alongside the Latin etymology.

Rome: their temples were often known by Castor's name alone,¹⁵ and Castor's responsibility was more prominent than Pollux's, as shall be explored below. These oaths are the only circumstance in which Pollux is more popular than his brother. This therefore demonstrates the importance of Pollux and his inclusion in the Roman cult. Furthermore, the common use of oaths by the Dioscuri in Rome, at least until the second century AD, reveals their prominence in the Roman consciousness.

Before commencing a discussion of Castor and Pollux's responsibilities, it is necessary to examine the phenomenon of 'patron gods'. The term 'patron god' is not one that I have found explicitly attested in our ancient sources, although many modern scholars of ancient religion use it.¹⁶ Although this is not necessarily a problem, the term is often used as if it were part of the ancient religious lexicon, and few, if any, scholars, define what they mean by it.¹⁷ In the contexts cited in these studies, it was possible to have patron gods of individuals,¹⁸ cities,¹⁹ houses,²⁰ groups of people,²¹ and of concepts such as hospitality.²² However, if this term did not exist in antiquity, what does it mean to say that Athena is the patron goddess of Athens, Dionysus is the patron god of Marc Antony or the Dioscuri are the patron gods of horsemen? How should we define this relationship between gods and mortals?

¹⁵ See p39-40.

¹⁶ For example: Helbig (1905) p101; Rendell Harris (1906) p2; De Sanctis (1907-1964) vol. 2 p506; Taylor (1912) p25; Weinstock (1937b) col. 2180; Rose (1949) p91; Hill (1952) p114; Richardson (1955) p86; Terlinden (1961) p96; Ward (1968) p20, 23, 27; Ogilvie (1969) p568; Badian (1969) p477; Sordi (1972) p66; Gabelmann (1977) p326; Olivová (1984) p164; Meijer (1986) p27, 219; Demougin (1988) p783; Sihvola (1989) p86; Poulsen (1991b) p144; Iles Johnson (1992) p307; Thuillier (1996) p18; Geppert (1996) p27, 32, 111, 124; Rebecchi (1999) p195; McCall (2002) p7; Platt (2003) p161; Scheid (2003a) p155; Golden (2004) p137; McDonnell (2006) p80; Rüpke (2007b) p7, 133, 145; Sumi (2009) p181; Pitassi (2011) p41, (2012) p82; Zaleski (2014) p597.

¹⁷ This is a term primarily used in Anglophone scholarship, although scholars writing in other languages use similar terms, such as 'Schutzgötter': Weinstock (1937b) col. 2180 or 'dieux patrons': Scheid (1998) p124, 126.

¹⁸ Speyer (1980) p70; Pollini (2012) p438.

¹⁹ Ziolkowski (1992) p237; Kron (1999) p63.

²⁰ Richardson (1955) p86.

²¹ Scott (1930a) p157; Weinstock (1937b) col.2180 (Schutzgötter); Hill (1952) p114; Ogilvie (1969) p568; McCall (2002) p7; Platt (2003) p161; Pollini (2012) p423.

²² Terlinden (1961) p67.

Few modern scholars assess the term ‘patron god’, instead using it as a catch-all phrase, seemingly to mean that a god possessed a responsibility for, or a relationship with, a specific person or group of people, location or craft. The *Oxford Classical Dictionary* describes Jupiter as possessing “patronage of the exercise of supreme power”, as well as being the patron of wine, oaths and treaties, and along with Juno and Minerva, of Rome.²³ Venus is described as the “patron of all persuasive seductions, between gods and mortals and between men and women” as well as the “protectress” of Sulla, Pompey and Caesar.²⁴ What do these lists mean? To better understand this relationship between mortals and gods, we must enquire how such relationships were formed, maintained and what resulted from them, for both the god and mortal.

The concept of ‘patron gods’ seems to have been taken from the model of patronage in ancient Roman society and then transferred to the relationships between men and gods. Is this comparison a valid one however? According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, patronage between humans was instigated by Romulus, who laid down the regulations for this institution.²⁵ He permitted any plebeian to select a patrician to be his patron and it is interesting to note that the impetus comes from the client rather than the patron.

There could be many types of connections between gods and mortals. In the Homeric epics, it seems that every great hero has a relationship with a god or goddess, who helps the hero when he is in danger or orders him to do certain deeds.²⁶ Athena describes her relationship with Odysseus, stating that she always “stands by [his] side and guards [him] through all [his] adventures”.²⁷ Although these examples are taken from Greek epic poetry

²³ Scheid, *OCD*³; ‘Jupiter’, p801-802.

²⁴ Scheid, *OCD*³; ‘Venus’, p1587.

²⁵ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.9.2-10.4.

²⁶ Aphrodite rescues Aeneas from Achilles: Hom. *Il.* 5.311-317; Athena orders Achilles not to kill Agamemnon: Hom. *Il.* 1.193-214.

²⁷ Hom. *Od.* 13.300-301.

and myth, they provide an example of the relationships believed to be possible between mortals and gods. As explored in the previous chapter, the Dioscuri physically manifested themselves to aid humans in a similar manner to this Homeric model, and so this comparison is not without merit. Similar relationships can perhaps be seen in reference to Roman gods. Ovid refers to Apollo as “*Phoebe domestice*” in a list of gods whom he is imploring to delay when Augustus joins them in heaven.²⁸ What does he mean by this phrase? Is Apollo the god who protects Augustus’ house, or the private god of Augustus upon whom he alone can call? Augustus certainly appears to have advertised a close relationship to Apollo. A story claimed that his mother Atia had fallen asleep in a temple of Apollo and dreamed that she had intercourse with a snake, giving birth to Octavian nine months later.²⁹ Representations of Octavian on coins and statues also seem to have been assimilated to the depictions of gods such as Apollo, Neptune and Mars.³⁰ Their link was made especially clear after the temple of Apollo Palatinus was built on land intended for Augustus’ house, but consecrated after being struck by lightning.³¹ Ovid notes that three gods now live in that house: Vesta, Apollo and Augustus himself, perhaps suggesting that Vesta and Apollo are not only gods of the Roman state, but also private gods of Augustus.³² Thus, although the exact meaning of “*Phoebe domestice*” is unclear, the implication is that there was a special relationship between Augustus and Apollo. Ovid provides evidence for more widespread relationships; he narrates a procession of the gods’ statues entering the *Ludi Circenses* during Augustus’ reign, linking each god with a group of people:

Applaud Neptune, those who trust the sea too much!
 I have nothing to do with the sea; my earth occupies me.
 Applaud your Mars, soldier! We hate weapons;
 Peace pleases and love discovered in the midst of peace.
 May Phoebus aid augurs, and Phoebe those who hunt!

²⁸ Ov. *Met.* 15.865.

²⁹ Cass. Dio 45.1.2-3; Gurval (1998) p101-102.

³⁰ Pollini (1990) p349-350, (2013) p70-71, 73-74.

³¹ Suet. *Aug.* 29; Cass. Dio 49.15.5; Gurval (1998) p87-89, 115.

³² Ov. *Fast.* 4.951-954.

Craftsmen, to you, Minerva, turn their hands!
Country dwellers, stand up for Ceres and tender Bacchus!
The Boxer please Pollux, the horseman Castor!

*plaudite Neptuno, nimium qui creditis undis!
nil mihi cum pelago; me mea terra capit.
plaude tuo Marti, miles! nos odimus arma;
pax iuvat et media pace repertus amor.
auguribus Phoebus, Phoebae venantibus adsit!
artifices in te verte, Minerva, manus!
ruricolae, Cereri teneroque adsurgite Baccho!
Pollucem pugiles, Castora placet eques!*³³

Ovid commands different groups to honour a god or goddess associated with their profession or craft. The exact commands given to the supporters of the gods vary, from applause to rising to one's feet, to invocations to the gods for aid and finally to the unspecific exhortation *placet* for boxers and horsemen to Pollux and Castor. This may suggest that, in the context of the *Ludi Circenses*, boxers and horsemen were intended to please the Dioscuri by their victory in the games, for none of the other mortal groups listed would have participated in the contests. However, there may not be any specific cultic references behind the poet's orders, the variety of which may depend on poetic variation.

Ovid does not specify or define the nature of the relationships between the gods and mortals. He suggests that groups of individuals, usually connected by a profession or craft, were thought to possess a special relationship with a particular god whom they might honour above others, although not exclusively. Most of these gods are connected to the skill that these groups practise as their profession: oracular Apollo is linked to augury. The closest official form of this connection may be found in a guild of craftsmen, actors or athletes. Such groups sometimes venerated a god or goddess who was linked to their craft or skill.³⁴ Hercules, as the strongest hero and organiser of one of the earliest Olympic Games, was an obvious choice for the patron of a guild of athletes.³⁵ However, we do not possess any

³³ Ov. *Am.* 3.2.47-54 after Showerman, rev. Goold.

³⁴ For example, the *mensores frumentarii Cereis Augustae* at Ostia: Hermansen (1982) p56-57.

³⁵ Forbes (1955) p245; Pleket (1973) p208.

evidence that guilds of horsemen, boxers or sailors existed, or that there was any similar use of Castor and Pollux.

In his *Dialogues of the Gods*, Lucian humourously retells traditional mythology and its inconsistencies. He explores the relationships between men and gods from the divine point of view: for Apollo complains that all the gods have “some special craft that helps gods and men”, except Castor and Pollux.³⁶ Apollo lists some of these special crafts with their respective deity; he is the god of prophecy, Asclepius of healing and Hermes teaches wrestling. Hermes then informs Apollo that Castor and Pollux are assigned to serve Poseidon, saving sailors in storms.³⁷ Once again, although we see gods being linked to skills and crafts or giving a particular aid to humans, the exact nature of this link is not specified. Instead, broadly speaking, the relationship is depicted as one of education and aid from the god to the human, and although these may share aspects with patronage, they do not equate to it. This lack of clarity might be because of the ubiquity of the ancient notion of protective gods, which would not seem strange to contemporaries and thus did not require elucidation.

Some of these responsibilities are perhaps manifested as epithets or aspects of these gods: in Rome there are temples of Jupiter Conservator, Jupiter Tonans and Jupiter Africanus.³⁸ Does this mean Jupiter is the protecting god of defenders, of thunder, or of Africa? I would argue that these epithets should not always be interpreted so literally: Jupiter may bring thunder, be the god who defends, and a god worshipped in Africa, however, this is not the same as being the ‘patron’ of supreme power, oaths or wine. Furthermore, epithets are of little use for the cult of the Dioscuri, who have none attested. When they are given a title, it

³⁶ Lucian *Dial. D.* 25.286-287.

³⁷ Lucian *Dial. D.* 25.287.

³⁸ On epithets: Linderski, *OCD*³: ‘Epithets, Divine: Roman’, p549; Belayche (2005) p211-212.

is most often σωτήρες, particularly of those who sail on the sea.³⁹ However, this epithet was also commonly given to Hellenistic kings and Roman generals.⁴⁰

Roman noble families were also connected to gods and heroes, from whom they might claim descent.⁴¹ During the late Republic, prominent individuals began to link themselves to specific gods, claiming a close relationship. Perhaps the earliest example is Scipio Africanus, whom Livy depicts as consulting Jupiter Optimus Maximus in his Capitoline temple before undertaking any public or private business.⁴² During the Civil Wars, Sulla, Pompey and Caesar all claimed to have a special relationship with Venus.⁴³ However, even in the sources concerning these three men, I have not discovered any description of Venus as a *patrona*.

It therefore appears that the term ‘patron god’ is a modern one that is used to encompass a wide range of divine attributes, responsibilities and relationships. Venus is said to be the ‘patron goddess’ of love and lovers, the island of Cyprus and individuals. These are modern usages of a term that was not used in this way in antiquity. This brief discussion has demonstrated that there could be many different types of relationship between mortals and gods, including personal ones determined by individual preferences; transitory ones, which are only emphasised in certain situations, such as a traveller on a ship appealing to the Dioscuri to keep him safe; and collective ones determined by a profession. The term ‘patron god’ in modern scholarship has often been used to refer to all such relationships, without taking into account or exploring the nuances and significances of each. Although this term is ubiquitous in modern scholarship of ancient religion and society, it should be used with

³⁹ Paus. 2.1.9; Strab. 1.3.2, 5.3.5.

⁴⁰ For example, Ptolemy I Soter, Titus Quintus Flamininus: Plut. *Flam.* 16.4.

⁴¹ Fishwick (1978) p377; Suet. *Vesp.* 12.1 on an attempt to create a divine genealogy for Vespasian.

⁴² Liv. 26.19.7-9.

⁴³ See Schilling (1982) p276-324.

caution and only after having been defined, if at all. Therefore, during this examination of the responsibilities of the Dioscuri, I shall avoid its use.

Castor (and Pollux) as Protectors of Horsemen

Although Castor was renowned for his equestrian skills,⁴⁴ both he and Pollux were known as protectors of horsemen.⁴⁵ Both brothers were most commonly depicted with their horses: in the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* catalogue for the Dioskouroi/Castores, of 52 representations attested from Italy, 32 depict the Dioscuri with horses.⁴⁶ These images are both private and public, such as the paintings of the House of the Dioscuri in Pompeii⁴⁷ and the famous Capitoline and Quirinal statue groups (figs.21 and 41). The fact that 62% of this catalogue depicts the Dioscuri with their horses demonstrates that their connection with horses was the most commonly represented in Roman art. Furthermore, it was one of their most enduring images: of the 219 coins that depict the Dioscuri or their attributes in the catalogue of *Roman Republican Coins*, 174, or 79%, show them with their horses. This image endures from one of the earliest *denarius* types, minted from 211 BC, which depicts Castor and Pollux riding their horses, an image which I have argued in Chapter Two depicts their epiphany at the Battle of Lake Regillus (fig.1).⁴⁸ Our surviving evidence for the representation of the Dioscuri in Roman art reveals that the majority of depictions of the Dioscuri featured them alongside their horses, demonstrating that both brothers were prominently identified as horsemen.

⁴⁴ Hes. *Cat.* 68.21-33; Hom. *Hymn* 33.3, *Cyp.* fr.12; Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.24-32, *Sat.* 2.1.26-27; Mart. 7.57; Ov. *Am.* 3.2.54, *Met.* 8.301-302, *Fast.* 5.693-720; Prop. 3.14.17-20; Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 10.13.

⁴⁵ Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.146-150; Callim. *Lyric.* 227.8-9; Plut. *Flam.* 12.6.

⁴⁶ This total number does not include coins, gems, fragmentary items or those such as busts, which should not be expected to include horses. However, it includes replicated images, such as depictions of certain myths.

⁴⁷ LIMC 3.1 'Dioscuri/Castores' no.34.

⁴⁸ See p122-123.

It could be suggested that every man who rode a horse could claim a relationship with the Dioscuri, and perhaps they did so. However, there is little proof for such a broad relationship. There is more evidence for the equestrian order in Rome, and so I will focus upon this group in what follows. Horsemen were important in the foundation legends of Rome; Romulus selected three hundred men to serve as his bodyguard and cavalry.⁴⁹ He also founded an equestrian festival; the *Equirria* on 27th February, in honour of Mars; this festival may originally have been connected to warfare and the cavalry as a military institution.⁵⁰ The sixth King of Rome, Servius Tullius, was said to have expanded these three centuries to eighteen during the sixth century BC.⁵¹ Livy describes how Servius Tullius drew upon the principal men of the state for this expansion, and so the cavalry has often been seen as a privileged regiment, made up of members of the elite.⁵² They were an important military unit; owing to their speed, the cavalry could perform surprise manoeuvres and were used to pursue fleeing opponents.⁵³ The cavalymen were not expected to bear the entire cost of buying, equipping and maintaining their horses. During the reforms of Servius Tullius, Livy anachronistically describes that the state provided 10,000 *asses* for the purchase of a horse and an annuity was provided for each cavalryman from rich widows who paid 2,000 *asses* annually.⁵⁴ Cicero reports a similar arrangement, although he dates it to the reign of Tarquinius Priscus and adds that wealthy orphans also contributed.⁵⁵ Momigliano has argued that the fact that the cavalry was partially funded by the state suggests that the early cavalry

⁴⁹ Liv. 1.15; Taylor (1924) p162-163; Wiseman (1995) p11.

⁵⁰ Ov. *Fast.* 2.856-862; Tert. *Spec.* 5; Scullard (1981) p82 suggests that this festival may have been linked to exercising the horses before the campaigning season.

⁵¹ Liv. 1.43; Nicolet (1966) p29-30; Dixon and Southern (1992) p20.

⁵² Liv. 1.43; Mommsen (1894) vol. 3, p8-10; Hill (1952) p5, 8-9; Drummond (1990a) p167-168; Dixon and Southern (1992) p20; McCall (2002) p2-3, 9, 137.

⁵³ For the military advantages of the cavalry, see Castor's battle against the Sarmatians: Val. Flacc. *Argon.* 6.239-242; also Liv. 2.20.10-13.

⁵⁴ Liv. 1.43, coins were not minted by Rome until about 280 BC: Crawford (1974) vol. 1 p35-43. Livy is projecting later arrangements back to the foundation of the *equites equo publico*; Hill (1952) p10-11; Dixon and Southern (1992) p20.

⁵⁵ Cic. *Rep.* 2.20; Nicolet (1966) p29-30.

should not be identified with the elite, who should have been able to fund their own horses and equipment.⁵⁶ However, this does not agree with the majority of evidence for the cavalry.

The men selected to serve in these eighteen centuries with a state horse were known as *equites equo publico*.⁵⁷ Until the reforms of the third century BC, these eighteen centuries had the privilege of casting the influential first votes in the centuriate assembly.⁵⁸ They were not the only men who served in the cavalry; wealthy individuals who provided their own horse and equipment served with them, known as *equites equis suis*⁵⁹ or *equites equo privato*.⁶⁰ These men received some of the same privileges as the *equites equo publico*, although not the honour of riding in the annual equestrian parade of the *transvectio equitum*. Together, it has been suggested, these two groups of cavalymen formed the nucleus of the *equester ordo*.⁶¹ In 129 BC, senators were excluded from membership of these equestrian centuries and the *equites* soon became seen as the second order in Roman society.⁶² Giovannini has argued that some *equites equo publico* surrendered their public horse when they had fulfilled their term of military service and this signalled their move into the political sphere as they could now stand for election to magistracies.⁶³

We do not know when the *equites* and the Dioscuri became linked in Roman thought, but it probably was contemporary with the introduction of their cult to Rome, since Castor and Pollux were said to be associated with horsemen from this early date. This association is attested by the time the story of the Battle of Lake Regillus became known, as Castor and Pollux appeared on horseback to lead the cavalry to victory.⁶⁴ In the fourth century BC the

⁵⁶ Momigliano (1966) p20.

⁵⁷ Mommsen (1894) vol. 3, p8-10; Hill (1952) p10-11; Demougin (1988) p192-193; Hackl (1989) p107.

⁵⁸ Liv. 1.43; Taylor (1924) p162-163.

⁵⁹ Liv. 5.7.5-6; Mommsen (1894) vol. 3, p8-9 n1; Hill (1952) p17.

⁶⁰ Nicolet (1966) p25.

⁶¹ Nicolet (1966) p25.

⁶² Hill (1952); Badian, *OCD*³: 'Equites', p550.

⁶³ Giovannini (2010) p359, 362-364.

⁶⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.1.

Campanian aristocracy were awarded Roman citizenship as they had not revolted against Rome during the First Samnite war and a plaque to commemorate this grant was erected in the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux.⁶⁵ The Campanian aristocracy were famous for their equestrian skill⁶⁶ and the construction of the Via Appia by the censor Appius Claudius Caecus in 312 BC had promoted links between Rome and Capua.⁶⁷ Humm has suggested that Appius Claudius used the model of the Campanian cavalry to reorganise the *ordo equester* of Rome, linked to the contemporary reorganisation of the Senate.⁶⁸ He notes that Livy states that the Campanian people were required to pay an annual stipend for the upkeep of the cavalry, a feature reported in the Servian reforms of the Roman cavalry, as noted above.⁶⁹ Thus, the choice of temple for the placement of the Campanian plaque is indicative of the association between the Dioscuri and equestrians, not only in Rome, but also in other locations in Italy, including Campania and Samnium.⁷⁰

In some instances, it is Castor alone who is connected to the cavalry, without Pollux. Statius writes that the “bridled troop [was] favoured by Castor” and that it was Castor who taught his friend Crispinus how to manoeuvre horses.⁷¹ However, the Dioscuri appear together on horseback in their epiphanies. They also are depicted on armour, including specifically equestrian items. On the S. Omobono monument, which I have argued had a strong equestrian theme, the Dioscuri are featured on two of the round shields (fig.39).⁷² The monument also includes two bardings, which provide protection for a horse’s face, and so

⁶⁵ Liv. 8.11.16; Humm (2005) p150-151.

⁶⁶ Liv. 23.46.11-14; Sihvola (1989) p86; McCall (2002) p9.

⁶⁷ Humm (2005) p134-135.

⁶⁸ Liv. 8.11.16; Humm (2005) p146-147, 153, 160-161, 181.

⁶⁹ Humm (2005) p150-151.

⁷⁰ Tagliamonte (2004).

⁷¹ Stat. *Silv.* 4.7.47-48: *frenatae... alae / Castore dextro*, 5.2.129.

⁷² See p146-147.

this armour likely belonged to a cavalryman.⁷³ A reference to Castor and Pollux may perhaps also be seen in the stars that decorate the shoulder straps of a cuirass on the monument.

Although cavalry in general could be associated with Castor and Pollux, specific groups were more closely linked. The relationship between the Dioscuri and the *equites equo publico*, the *equites* who held a public horse, was the most obvious, and was celebrated at a state event. This was in the annual equestrian procession of the *transvectio equitum*, held on 15th July, the anniversary of the Battle of Lake Regillus.⁷⁴ The establishment of the *transvectio equitum* was credited to Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus in his censorship of 304 BC.⁷⁵ It was probably due to Fabius himself that the parade was established at this time: he had played a central role in the Samnite wars, being elected Dictator⁷⁶ and Consul.⁷⁷ It may also be connected to the prominent role that the cavalry had played in several battles during these wars and with Fabius' reorganisation of the centuries.⁷⁸ Weinstock has suggested that Fabius did not introduce the *transvectio equitum*, but restructured an earlier ceremony alongside his reform of the centuries; however the sources depict Fabius as the initiator of the tradition.⁷⁹ At some point during the Republic, the *transvectio equitum* lapsed, and did not occur again until Augustus revived it. We do not know exactly when he did so, however Dionysius of Halicarnassus provides a very detailed account of the Augustan version of the parade and it is likely he witnessed the procession during his stay in Rome. The *transvectio equitum*, at the latest, must have been revived by 9 BC, for Dionysius to have

⁷³ Dixon and Southern (1992) p43: cavalry shields could be oval, hexagonal, rectangular or round, although the round type became more common from the third century AD; Stephenson and Dixon (2003) p33-34. The shields given to Gaius and Lucius by the *ordo equester* are depicted as round on fig.66.

⁷⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.4-5.

⁷⁵ Liv. 9.46.15; Val. Max. 2.2.9; Aur. Vict. *De Vir. Ill.* 32.1-4.

⁷⁶ Liv. 9.22.1.

⁷⁷ Liv. 9.33.1, 9.41.1; Sihvola (1989) p86.

⁷⁸ Liv. 9.46.14-15; Oakley (2005) p644.

⁷⁹ Weinstock (1937a) p17-18.

seen it and described it in his work, published in 8 BC.⁸⁰ It is likely that it was reinstated earlier than this, however, as Dionysius' description that "sometimes to the number even of five thousand" *equites* took part, suggests that he has seen more than one parade.⁸¹ Ingleheart has argued that the renewal of the *transvectio* and *recognitio equitum* occurred in 29 BC, when Augustus received the *praefectura morum*.⁸² Shortly thereafter, in 28 BC, Augustus formed a board of three men to review the *equites* in the *recognitio equitum*, a censorial procedure linked with the *transvectio equitum*, suggesting that this may have been the date for the revival of both ceremonies.⁸³

The *transvectio equitum* was closely associated with a censorial procedure, the *census* or *recognitio equitum*, which took place in censorial years during the parade, as I argue below.⁸⁴ It is difficult to date the establishment of the *recognitio equitum* because no source describes the foundation of this ceremony. The review may have been one of the original duties of the censors from the commencement of the office in 443 BC, but it is also possible that the ceremony was introduced after this date. It was older than the *transvectio equitum*, as Diodorus Siculus relates that the censors of 312 BC, Appius Claudius and Gaius Plautius carried out an examination of the cavalry.⁸⁵ Humm suggested that this was the first *recognitio equitum*, linked to the reform of the Senate and *ordo equester* he argues was undertaken by these censors. Diodorus' explanation that it was customary for the censors to remove unworthy senators and *equites* indicates that he did not regard this ceremony as innovative, although this may be owing to his first century BC perspective. Owing to Humm's thesis that

⁸⁰ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.7.2, Dionysius describes that he arrived in Rome "at the very time that Augustus Caesar put an end to the civil war" and in the middle of the 187th Olympiad. This would be between 30 and 29 BC, and he published his *Roman Antiquities* twenty-two years later, around 8 BC.

⁸¹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.4.

⁸² Suet. *Aug.* 27.5; Ingleheart (2010) p114.

⁸³ Suet. *Aug.* 27.5; See p176.

⁸⁴ See p170-171.

⁸⁵ Diod. Sic. 20.36.5; Hill (1952) p37; Humm (2005) p148-149.

Appius Claudius was responsible for the organisation and institution of the *ordo equester* based on the Campanian cavalry, he does not examine the *recognitio equitum* as a distinct ceremony, but as part of a larger pattern.⁸⁶ No source tells us that Appius instituted the ceremony, or that it did not exist prior to his censorship, so although Appius' ceremony may be the first attested, this does not mean it was the first to occur.⁸⁷ The ceremony was probably intended for military purposes, to assess that each member of the *equites equo publico* possessed the required wealth, that he and his horse were in suitable physical condition and that the man had not morally disgraced himself.⁸⁸ Where necessary, the censors could fill gaps in the equestrian centuries, left vacant through death or expulsion of a member.

As Fabius Maximus established the *transvectio equitum* in his role as censor, it seems probable that these two ceremonies were linked together from the foundation of the parade.⁸⁹ We do not know how frequently the *recognitio equitum* was held prior to 304 BC, or on which date; however, if I am correct that Fabius Maximus linked the ceremonies, from 304 BC it would have taken place on the same day as the *transvectio equitum*, 15th July. Although the *transvectio equitum* was an annual parade, reportedly since its inception,⁹⁰ owing to the nature of the office of the censors, the *recognitio equitum* cannot have occurred every year. The intervals between censorships varied greatly during the early Republic, from the institution of the office in 443 BC until 209 BC, when the normal interval became five years, although with a few exceptions of six or seven year periods.⁹¹ However, the censors only held office for the first eighteen months of these periods, and thus must have carried out the *recognitio equitum* during this time.⁹² Considering that the census of the citizens was one of the first duties which the censors carried out, I would suggest that although the *transvectio*

⁸⁶ Bispham (2008) p189.

⁸⁷ Hill (1952) p37.

⁸⁸ Hill (1952) p35.

⁸⁹ Hill (1952) p38 n7 suggests that there was no connection between the two ceremonies in the Republic.

⁹⁰ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.4-5; Liv. 9.46.15; Val. Max. 2.2.9.

⁹¹ Astin (1982) p175.

⁹² Drummond (1990b) p197.

equitum took place every year, the *recognitio equitum* would have only taken place once (on average) every five years, during the first July of the *lustrum*.⁹³ This correlates with the evidence provided by Livy, for when he relates that the censors undertook a census of the *equites*, he includes it among the actions of their first censorial year.⁹⁴

The *recognitio equitum* occurred throughout the Republic; Livy attests nine occurrences between 214 BC and the loss of his books in 167 BC.⁹⁵ In Chapter One, I explored an incident concerning Scipio Aemilianus, censor in 142 BC, which can be identified as occurring during the *recognitio equitum*:

“During his term as censor he was holding the census of the *equites* when Gaius Licinius Sacerdos came forward; whereupon, in a loud voice, so as to be heard by the whole assembly he said that he knew that Licinius had committed deliberate perjury; and that if anyone wished to bring an accusation against him, he would give his evidence to support it. Then, as no one brought an accusation he bade Licinius ‘lead past his horse’.”

*qui cum esset censor et in equitum censu C. Licinius Sacerdos prodisset, clara voce, ut omnis contio audire possit, dixit se scire illum verbis conceptis peierasse: si qui contra vellet dicere, usurum esse eum suo testimonio: deinde cum nemo contra diceret, iussit equum traducere.*⁹⁶

“Nor did his censorial moderation show itself less clearly on his tribunal. In reviewing the centuries of *equites*, he observed Gaius Licinius Sacerdos, come forward as his name was called and said that he knew him to have committed perjury in set terms; therefore if anyone wished to charge him, his, Scipio’s, testimony would be at his disposal. But when nobody took the matter up, “Lead your horse across, Sacerdos,” he said “and go free of the censorial stigma. For I must not seem to have played the role of prosecutor cum witness cum judge in your particular.”

Neque alia eius in censura moderatio pro tribunali apparuit. centurias recognoscens equitum, postquam C. Licinium Sacerdotem citatum processisse animadvertit, dixit se scire illum verbis conceptis peierasse: proinde, si quis eum accusare vellet, usurum testimonio suo. sed nullo ad id

⁹³ Gardner (1993) p65.

⁹⁴ Liv. 24.18.6 (214 BC); 27.11.12-14 (209 BC); 29.37.8-11 (204 BC); 34.44.4-5 (194 BC); 38.28.1-2 (189 BC); 39.44.1 (184 BC); 41.27.13 (174 BC); 43.16.1-2 (169 BC); 45.15.8 (168 BC). Unfortunately, the loss of Livy’s books from 167 BC means we have less evidence for the later republican tradition, but it seems likely that it continued.

⁹⁵ Cf. n.94 above; for a summary of the recorded actions of censors from 443-22 BC: Cram (1940) p107-109.

⁹⁶ Cic. *Cluent.* 134, after Grose Hodge.

*negotium accedente 'transduc equum' inquit, 'Sacerdos, ac lucrifac censoriam notam, ne ego in tua persona et accusatoris et testis et iudicis partes egisse videar.'*⁹⁷

Cicero and Valerius Maximus describe Scipio as being concerned, in his role as censor, with the moral standing of this *eques*. Although both authors focus upon praising Scipio's conduct, their descriptions provide some information regarding the republican *recognitio equitum*. Valerius states that Scipio was standing on a tribunal, which I believe should be identified as the platform attached to the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux.⁹⁸ Livy records that a herald summoned individuals to be examined by the censors.⁹⁹ Scipio ordered Licinius to "lead past his horse", probably the public horse, which he thus retained. If the censors found an *eques* morally wanting, or if they were not content with the physical fitness of the horse or the man, or the state of his equipment, they could impose varying penalties. During the review of the *equites* in the censorship of Marcus Livius Salinator and Gaius Claudius Nero in 204 BC, owing to the antagonistic relationship between the censors, both of whom held the public horse, when each was summoned by the herald, the other censor *equum vendere iussit*.¹⁰⁰ This was the greatest penalty; the *eques* would lose his horse and possibly his equestrian status in a very public way.¹⁰¹ What the command to sell the horse meant is unclear; as the money to buy and maintain the horse was provided by the *aes equestre*, the *eques* might have had to return the funds.¹⁰² Other punishments included additional years of military service, disenfranchisement from his tribe, or a fine.¹⁰³

⁹⁷ Val. Max. 4.1.10, after Shackleton Bailey.

⁹⁸ Suolahti (1963) p33 states that the *recognitio equitum* took place at the *atrium Libertatis*, which perhaps was close to the Curia, and was a building with which the censors are known to have been associated. However, none of the passages of Livy Suolahti cites as evidence state that this ceremony was held there: Liv. 34.44.5, 43.16.13; 45.15.5.

⁹⁹ Liv. 29.37.8-10; exactly how this occurred is unclear, discussed further below, p179-180.

¹⁰⁰ Liv. 29.37.8-10; Val. Max 2.9.6; Hill (1952) p35.

¹⁰¹ Hill (1952) p35.

¹⁰² Mommsen (1887-1888) vol. 3 p256 n3; Hill (1952) p35.

¹⁰³ Liv. 24.18.6, 27.11.14; Hill (1952) p35.

Cicero states that Scipio announced Licinius' crimes before a *contio*, which I have noted could take place in front of the temple of Castor and Pollux.¹⁰⁴ It is therefore possible that the gathering of the people to observe the *recognitio equitum* took the form of a *contio*. These meetings could take many different forms, from introducing legislation to the people prior to the vote, to those at which a politician campaigned for election.¹⁰⁵ In the context of the incident concerning Scipio, however, it is interesting to note that the censors also called *contiones* to give instructions to the people concerning the census, and Pino Polo has suggested that the revised lists of senators and *equites* following the censorial review was also read at a *contio*.¹⁰⁶ During the republican *recognitio equitum*, the people also possessed the right to challenge any *eques* within the procession to dismount from his horse, a privilege that Augustus removed.¹⁰⁷ It may be this right that Scipio invoked, or was encouraging a member of the crowd to invoke, in his challenge of Licinius. This privilege, combined with the possibility that the *recognitio equitum* took place in the context of a *contio*, may therefore suggest that there was an element of popular judgement upon the men who possessed a public horse.

One of the last attested ceremonies of the republican *recognitio equitum* occurred in 70 BC. Pompey, following his election to the consulship and second triumph whilst still an equestrian, appeared in the *recognitio equitum* in order to seek his discharge from military service. Plutarch states that it was customary for an *eques* who completed his military service to present himself to the censors at this ceremony and to list his commanding officers and the campaigns in which he had participated. The censors would decide if he had fulfilled his obligations, releasing him from military duties if they judged him to have done so and meting

¹⁰⁴ See p77.

¹⁰⁵ Pina Polo (1995) p207-211.

¹⁰⁶ Liv. 43.14.5; Pina Polo (1995) p210; Connolly (2007) p47 n78.

¹⁰⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 38.3.

out punishments or rewards as they saw fit.¹⁰⁸ Pompey, who had a rather unusual military career to say the least, seems to have taken this opportunity to promote himself and to advertise his successes, for when the *equites* were being reviewed by the censors:

“Pompey was seen coming down the descent into the Forum, otherwise marked by the insignia of his office, but leading his horse with his own hand. When he was near and could be plainly seen, he ordered his lictors to make way for him, and led his horse up to the tribunal. The people were astonished and kept perfect silence, and the magistrates were awed and delighted at the sight. Then the senior censor put the question: “Pompeius Magnus, I ask you whether you have performed all the military services required by law?” Then Pompey said with a loud voice: “I have performed them all, and all under myself as imperator”.”

ᾧφθη δὲ Πομπηΐος ἄνωθεν ἐπ’ ἀγορὰν κατερχόμενος, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔχων, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ χειρὸς ἄγων τὸν ἵππον. ὡς δ’ ἐγγύς ἦν καὶ καταφανῆς ἐγεγόνει, κελεύσας διασχεῖν τοὺς ῥαβδοφόρους τῷ βήματι προσήγαγε τὸν ἵππον. ἦν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ θαῦμα καὶ σιωπὴ πᾶσα, τοὺς τε ἄρχοντας αἰδῶς ἅμα καὶ χαρὰ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἔσχεν. εἶτα ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος ἠρώτησε: “Πυνθάνομαί σου, ᾧ Πομπηΐε Μάγνε, εἰ πάσας ἐστράτευσαι τὰς κατὰ νόμον στρατείας;” Πομπηΐος δὲ μεγάλη φωνῆ, “Πάσας,” εἶπεν, “ἐστράτευμαι, καὶ πάσας ὑπ’ ἐμαντῶ αὐτοκράτορι”.¹⁰⁹

As his lictors were required to clear a path, it seems that Pompey came to the censors separately from the parade. It may be, as I discuss below, that the *equites* who were to leave the order in disgrace or because they had fulfilled their military service, approached separately.¹¹⁰ However, Pompey’s actions should not necessarily be seen as being typical of the parade or of the order, as he may have broken with tradition for a grand entrance.¹¹¹ Some scholars have dismissed this incident as being staged for Pompey’s vanity, but there is no reason to disregard this event entirely, as Plutarch’s testimony concurs with other, earlier, sources, and Pompey did celebrate his extraordinary prominence whilst *an eques*.¹¹²

Plutarch relates that during the next *lustrum*, in 65 BC, the censors Marcus Crassus and Lutatius Catulus did not carry out the review, for Crassus “neither made a revision of the

¹⁰⁸ Plut. *Pomp.* 22.4.

¹⁰⁹ Plut. *Pomp.* 22.5 after Perrin.

¹¹⁰ See p179-180.

¹¹¹ Plut. *Pomp.* 22.3-6; Seager (1994b) p225 suggests that the *transvectio equitum* was revived this year by the censors to “[pander] to Pompey’s vanity”.

¹¹² Nicolet (1966) p192; Seager (1979) p26-27.

Senate, nor a scrutiny of the *equites*, nor a census of the people.”¹¹³ This may have been because of their discord and resignation from office before completing their duties.¹¹⁴ If they resigned before July, they would not have had the opportunity to conduct the *recognitio equitum* and thus this may not have been a conscious decision, but rather there was no one with the censorial powers required to carry out the ceremony. The last republican *recognitio equitum* may have been in 50 BC, in the censorship of Appius Claudius Pulcher and Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesonius, when Cassius Dio records that Claudius expelled “a great many both of the *equites* and senators” (πλείστους γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἰππέων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν διέγραψεν).¹¹⁵ Caesar, upon his election as Dictator, took on many of the duties of the censors,¹¹⁶ and no censors were elected until Octavian reinstated the role in 28 BC, holding it with Agrippa.¹¹⁷ At some point in the last years of the Republic, the *recognitio equitum* fell out of use, probably in connection with the lapse in the censorship.

Suetonius reports that Augustus restored the *recognitio equitum*, probably at the same time as the *transvectio equitum*:

He reviewed the companies of *equites* at frequent intervals, reviving the custom of the procession after long disuse. But he would not allow an accuser to force anyone to dismount as he rode by, as was often done in the past; and he permitted those who were conspicuous because of old age or any bodily infirmity to send on their horses in the review, and come on foot to answer to their names whenever they were summoned. Later he excused those who were over thirty-five years of age and did not wish to retain their horses from formally surrendering them.

*Equitum turmas frequenter recognovit, post longam intercapedinem reducto more travectionis. Sed neque detrahi quemquam in travehendo ab accusatore passus est, quod fieri solebat, et senio vel aliqua corporis labe insignibus permisit, praemisso in ordine equo, ad respondendum quotiens citarentur pedibus venire; mox reddendi equi gratiam fecit eis, qui maiores annorum quinque et triginta retinere eum nollent.*¹¹⁸

¹¹³ Plut. *Crass.* 13.1.

¹¹⁴ Suolahti (1963) p471; Marshall (1976) p64.

¹¹⁵ Cass. Dio 40.63.3, after Cary.

¹¹⁶ Suet. *Iul.* 76.1; Suolahti (1963) p489.

¹¹⁷ Cram (1940) p100-102.

¹¹⁸ Suet. *Aug.* 38.3, after Rolfe.

Having obtained ten assistants from the Senate, he compelled each *equus* to render an account of his life, punishing some of those whose conduct was scandalous and degrading others; but the greater part he reprimanded with varying degrees of severity. The mildest form of reprimand was to hand them a pair of tablets publicly, which they were to read in silence on the spot. He censured some because they had borrowed money at low interest and invested it at a higher rate.

*Impetratisque a senatu decem adiutoribus unum quemque equitum rationem vitae reddere coegit atque ex improbatis alios poena, alios ignominia notavit, plures admonitione, sed varia. Lenissimum genus admonitionis fuit traditio coram pugillarum, quos taciti et ibidem statim legerent; notavitque aliquos, quod pecunias levioribus usuris mutuati graviore faenore collocassent.*¹¹⁹

Suetonius also records that in 28 BC, at the same time that he received censorial powers, Augustus created a board of three men to review the companies of the *equites*, whenever it should be required.¹²⁰ As noted above, this may be the date of the revival of both the *transvectio* and *recognitio equitum*.¹²¹ An inscription may show that this *triumvirate* continued to be used until the late Augustan or early Tiberian period. The text from Ipsus in Asia names Favonius, a legate of *Divus Augustus* and Tiberius, whose many offices included *triumvir centur[iis] equit[um] recognosc[endis] censoria potestat[e]*.¹²²

For the first restored *recognitio equitum*, Augustus took charge: with the aid of ten senators, he examined every *equus* on his personal affairs.¹²³ I believe that this detailed examination would only have occurred once, on the first occasion of the revived procedure. For after the long lapse of the censor's office, it would have been a significant effort to carry out a detailed assessment of all *equites equo publico* and to introduce suitable new members. Such a detailed review, assessing the conduct of each *equus* for the entirety of his life, would not be required on every occasion of the census. After this detailed review, the emperor and

¹¹⁹ Suet. *Aug.* 39.1, after Rolfe.

¹²⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 27.5.

¹²¹ See p169.

¹²² *ILS* 9483; Calder (1912) p240-242; Syme (1983) p198-199. Carter (1982) p150 argues that as the emperor seems to have carried out the *recognitio equitum*, the *tresviri* were not a regular office. It is possible that Favonius and his colleagues were extraordinary officers, but the date of the inscription suggests that they continued to help the emperor, at least until the end of Augustus' reign.

¹²³ Suet. *Aug.* 38.3-39.1.

the *triumviri* would have only assessed the *equites* since their last review, and there would have been less need to eject people from the order, or to fill spaces.

Augustus' reasoning behind the creation of these official bodies may not only have been to create more magistracies, but also to distance himself from the unpopular business of degrading senators and *equites*.¹²⁴ The *recognitio equitum* continued to be held under Augustus, perhaps annually along with the *transvectio equitum*. He revised the review at least once more, excusing those *equites* over the age of 35 from formally surrendering their horses if they did not wish to keep them.¹²⁵ Augustus postponed the review in AD 7, owing to the on-going conflict with the Dalmatians, or, as has been suggested by Weidemann, following the increase in taxation upon senators and *equites*, as an attempt to remove any focal point for unrest within the city.¹²⁶ Reviews were also carried out under Caligula,¹²⁷ Claudius,¹²⁸ Nero¹²⁹ and Vespasian,¹³⁰ and perhaps continued until the fourth century AD, for an *Equit(um) Ro(manorum) prob(atio)* is listed in the calendar of Philocatus of 354 AD.¹³¹

Those *equites equo publico* found wanting were censured, probably in the same way as in the republican ceremony. Those who had lesser transgressions were permitted to read the emperor's criticisms in silence, those who committed more major sins might lose their equestrian status.¹³² It seems that this revived procedure was more concerned with the morals of the *equites* than their military capability. The use of Roman citizen cavalry had begun to diminish during the second century BC, and by the first century BC, the cavalry seems to

¹²⁴ Demougin (1988) p164.

¹²⁵ Suet. *Aug.* 38.3.

¹²⁶ Cass. Dio 55.31.2; Weidemann (1975) p267.

¹²⁷ Suet. *Calig.* 16.2.

¹²⁸ Suet. *Claud.* 16.1.

¹²⁹ Cass. Dio 62.13.3 (AD 67).

¹³⁰ Suet. *Vesp.* 9.2; Wiseman (1970) p70.

¹³¹ Demougin (1988) p151-152; *CIL* 1².1 p268: *Mensis Iulius: 15... Idib. Equit. Ro. Prob.*

¹³² Suet. *Aug.* 39.1.

have been drawn from non-Italian allies.¹³³ Although the equestrian order of Rome continued to highlight its military origins and previous prowess, they were no longer called upon to serve in the cavalry, although they continued to hold military commissions.¹³⁴ In the imperial period, the *equites* as a group began to hold more administrative roles, most prominently the governorship of Egypt,¹³⁵ as well as becoming involved in tax collecting and money lending.¹³⁶ This may therefore be a reason for the decline in use and eventual end of the republican *recognitio equitum*, as the members of the *ordo equester* were no longer needed in a military role, the ceremony intended to ensure that they were fit for that purpose lost its principal function. Augustus diminished this function further, for he removed the right of the crowd to challenge an *eques* to prove his physical capabilities and dismount whilst the parade was occurring.¹³⁷

Following Augustus' moral legislation in 18 BC encouraging marriage and procreation of legitimate children, this new emphasis for the ceremony, becoming more concerned with a care for morals, is understandable.¹³⁸ Some of his legislation may have been aimed directly at the *equites*, as is seen by an incident during a public show, when the *equites* appealed for a repeal of the legislation. Augustus' response was to call for Germanicus' nine children, demonstrating that he was an example the *equites* should emulate.¹³⁹ Considering Germanicus' association with the Dioscuri, explored in the following chapter, he may have been a pointed example.

One of the most prominent testimonies of this new moralistic interpretation of the review can be seen in the case of Ovid, who held a public horse, rode in the restored

¹³³ Keppie (1984) p79.

¹³⁴ Hill (1952) p27; Brunt (1983) p47; Keppie (1984) p79.

¹³⁵ Suet. *Aug.* 40.1; Cass. Dio 53.13.2, 53.15.2-3; Brunt (1983) p50-51, 61-63; (1990) p213-255.

¹³⁶ Brunt (1983) p42, 43; Demougin (1988) p100, 104-105.

¹³⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 38.3.

¹³⁸ Suet. *Aug.* 34.1; Cass. Dio 54.16.1-2.

¹³⁹ Suet. *Aug.* 34.2.

transvectio equitum and underwent inspection at the *recognitio equitum*. The poet's bitter complaints following his exile in AD 8 bemoan the injustice that his conduct had been approved in these reviews but was later the cause of his exile. He describes how he had passed before Augustus many times, an "*irrevocatus eques*", even following the publication of his *Ars Armatoria*, perhaps the *carmen* which led to his exile.¹⁴⁰ He protests that the emperor had approved of his life and behaviour, and he had suffered no impeachment and thus did not deserve to be exiled years later.¹⁴¹

Although I have argued that the *recognitio equitum* took place on the same day as the *transvectio equitum*, and that it would have occurred as the *equites* processed in front of the temple of Castor and Pollux, how the review was co-ordinated is unclear. That every *eques*, whose numbers varied between 1800 in the Republic and 5000 in the Augustan period, would dismount from their horse and be individually examined mid-parade is highly improbable.¹⁴² From the republican accounts, it appears that individual *equites* were summoned before the censors.¹⁴³ However, it should be noted that on each occasion when individuals were called before the censors (with the exception of the detailed review by Augustus and his senatorial board) the *eques* either was about to be censured or was requesting the fulfilment of his military obligations to be approved.¹⁴⁴ Ovid does not state that he was examined personally during each review, but rather indicates that he was allowed to ride past, uninterrupted, signalling Augustus' approval.¹⁴⁵ I would therefore suggest that the compiling of evidence, either with or without interviewing the *eques* in question, would be carried out in the first

¹⁴⁰ Ov. *Tr.* 2.539-542.

¹⁴¹ Ov. *Tr.* 2.89-92.

¹⁴² Even if we were to assume a continuous stream of men dismounting, ascending the stairs of the temple, being interviewed by the censors or the emperor, receiving his reward or punishment, then descending and remounting his horse, only halting for a minute to be interviewed, for 1800 men, this would take thirty hours without stopping, for 5000 it would take over eighty-three hours without stopping.

¹⁴³ Plut. *Pomp.* 22.3-6; Liv. 29.37.8-10; Val. Max. 2.9.6.

¹⁴⁴ For example, Licinius Sacerdos (see p71, 171-172); the censors Salinator and Nero (see p172) and Pompey (see p173-174).

¹⁴⁵ Ov. *Tr.* 2.89-93, 2.539-542.

year of the censor's duties, before the *transvectio* and *recognitio equitum* took place, and the decision of these censors would stand until the next review.¹⁴⁶ There are then two options: firstly, that the *equites* who failed to pass the censor's assessment would not take part in the *transvectio equitum*. Thus, all who rode in the parade would pass by the censors unchallenged, minimising the humiliation for those disciplined.¹⁴⁷ The second option is that although all *equites* would file past the censors, only those to be released from military service or publicly censured would be summoned from the parade by the herald, perhaps riding in distinct groups from the rest of the *equites equo publico*. This second option seems to me to be the most likely, as the evidence we have for such censures shows them being given in public.¹⁴⁸

Our best source of information for the *transvectio equitum* is Dionysius of Halicarnassus, although describing the Augustan revival of the ceremony. Dionysius may be drawing upon a republican source, as signified by his use of the name Quintilis for the month, which was renamed Julius in Caesar's honour after his death.¹⁴⁹ However, he is primarily describing the Augustan parade, which has caused problems for our understanding of the republican ceremony, as this description has been used as a template for the republican practice. We only need to compare the Augustan *Ludi Saeculares* with the scanty references we possess for the earlier version, to see that Augustus adapted, often quite freely, republican ceremonies for his own ends. Nevertheless, as the Augustan procession is the best described, it has been useful to focus upon Dionysius' account, in which he explicitly links the motivation for the parade to Castor and Pollux's epiphany at Lake Regillus:

“Of this extraordinary and wonderful appearance of these gods there are many monuments at Rome, not only the temple of Castor and Pollux which the city

¹⁴⁶ Oakley (2005) p645; Ingleheart (2010) p114.

¹⁴⁷ Shuckburgh (1896) p87.

¹⁴⁸ For example, Licinius: Cic. *Cluent.* 134, Val. Max. 4.1.10. Under Augustus: Suet. *Aug.* 39.

¹⁴⁹ Suet. *Iul.* 76.1; Cass. Dio 44.5.2.

erected in the Forum at the place where their apparitions had been seen, and the adjacent fountain, which bears the names of these gods and is to this day regarded as holy, but also the costly sacrifices which the people perform each year through their chief priests in the month called Quintilis, on the day known as the Ides, the day on which they gained this victory. But above all these things there is the procession performed after the sacrifice by those who have a public horse and who, being arrayed by tribes and centuries ride in regular ranks on horseback, as if they came from battle, crowned with olive branches and attired in the purple robes with stripes of scarlet which they call *trabeae*. They begin their procession from a certain temple of Mars built outside the walls, and going through several parts of the city and the Forum, they pass by the temple of Castor and Pollux, sometimes to the number even of five thousand, wearing whatever rewards for valour in battle they have received from their commanders, a fine sight and worthy of the greatness of the Roman dominion. These are the things I have found both related and performed by the Romans in commemoration of the appearance of Castor and Pollux; and from these, as well as from many other important instances, one may judge how dear to the gods were the men of those times.”

Ταύτης ἐστὶ τῆς παραδόξου καὶ θαυμαστῆς τῶν δαιμόνων ἐπιφανείας ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλὰ σημεῖα, ὃ τε νεὸς ὁ τῶν Διοσκούρων, ὃν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατεσκεύασεν ἡ πόλις ἔνθα ὤφθη τὰ εἶδωλα, καὶ ἡ παρ’ αὐτῷ κρήνη καλουμένη τε τῶν θεῶν τούτων καὶ ἱερὰ εἰς τόδε χρόνου νομιζομένη, θυσίαι τε πολυτελεῖς, ἅς καθ’ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὁ δῆμος ἐπιτελεῖ διὰ τῶν μεγίστων ἱερέων ἐν μηνὶ Κυματίῳ λεγομένῳ ταῖς καλουμέναις εἰδοῖς, ἐν ἧ κατάρθωσαν ἡμέρα τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα ἢ μετὰ τὴν θυσίαν ἐπιτελουμένη πομπὴ τῶν ἐχόντων τὸν δημόσιον ἵππον, οἱ κατὰ φυλάς τε καὶ λόχους κεκοσμημένοι στοιχηδὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ὀχοῦμενοι πορεύονται πάντες, ὡς ἐκ μάχης ἤκοντες ἐστεφανωμένοι θαλλοῖς ἐλαίας, καὶ πορφυρᾶς φοινικοπαρύφους ἀμπεχόμενοι τηβέννας τὰς καλουμένας τραβέας, ἀρξάμενοι μὲν ἀφ’ ἱεροῦ τινος Ἄρεος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἰδρυμένου, διεξιόντες δὲ τὴν τε ἄλλην πόλιν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς παρὰ τὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν παρερχόμενοι, ἄνδρες ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι φέροντες ὅσα παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀριστεῖα ἔλαβον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, καλὴ καὶ ἀξία τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὄψις. ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς γενομένης ἐπιφανείας τῶν Διοσκούρων λεγόμενά τε καὶ πραττόμενα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἔμαθον ἐξ ὧν τεκμήραι’ ἂν τις ὡς θεοφιλεῖς ἦσαν οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι, σὺν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις.¹⁵⁰

The *equites equo publico* gathered at a temple of Mars,¹⁵¹ usually identified as the one outside the Porta Capena,¹⁵² perhaps of Mars Gradivus,¹⁵³ highlighting the military aspect of the parade. The *equites* processed through the city, passing the Forum temple of Castor and

¹⁵⁰ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.4-5.

¹⁵¹ Or later at the temple of Honos and Virtus: Aur. Vict. *De Vir. Illus.* 32.3.

¹⁵² Weinstock (1937) col.2879-2880; Poulsen (1992b) p59; Rebecchi (1999) p194; see Coarelli, *LTUR*

Suburbium IV: ‘Martis, Aedes, Templum, Lucus’ p44-45.

¹⁵³ Glinister (2011) p129.

Pollux. The procession ended at the Capitoline hill, possibly at the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.¹⁵⁴ The exact route is unknown with the exception of these three locations.

Dionysius is also inexact about how and where many aspects of this ceremony occurred; however, detailed analysis of this passage reveals suggestions of how the Roman cult of the Dioscuri functioned. For instance, Dionysius describes the sacrifices as being performed by the chief priests (μεγίστων ἱερέων).¹⁵⁵ Exactly to whom Dionysius is referring is unclear: is it a number of priests on each occasion, drawn from the major colleges or flamines, or a cumulative number of single priests, such as the *pontifex maximus*? Dionysius does not use this phrase elsewhere, nor have I found it in any other Greek text. *Pontifex maximus* is more usually translated into Greek using forms of ἀρχιερεύς,¹⁵⁶ but also as “ὁ δὲ μέγιστος τῶν Ποντιφικῶν”¹⁵⁷ and “ἀρχιερωσύνην”.¹⁵⁸ Dionysius describes the pontifical college elsewhere as “τὴν μεγίστην παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἱερατεῖαν” and thus they may have been involved, but this remains uncertain.¹⁵⁹

The other individual linked to sacrifices to Castor and Pollux in Rome is the urban praetor; there are several occasions that connect this magistrate with the cult of the Dioscuri.¹⁶⁰ In 89 BC, the urban praetor Asellio was killed whilst performing sacrifices to Castor and Pollux.¹⁶¹ Florus, when recording the epiphany following the Battle of Vercellae, states, “young men were seen to present to the praetor a despatch decked with laurels in front of the temple of Pollux and Castor” (*visi pro aede Pollucis et Castoris iuvenes laureatas praetori litteras dare*).¹⁶² The *praetor urbanus* is attested in the second century AD as

¹⁵⁴ Aur. Vict. *De Vir. Ill.* 32.3.

¹⁵⁵ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.4.

¹⁵⁶ LSJ s.u.: ἀρχιερέως as “arch-priest, chief-priest”; ἀρχιερατεία, ἡ “= Lat. *Pontificatus Maximus* (RGDA 5.22)”; ἀρχιερεύς: RGDA 7.2; ἀρχιερεύς: Polyb. *Hist.* 32.6.5; ἀρχιερέως: Polyb. *Hist.* 22.3.3; Plut. *Sull.* 6.10, *Caes.* 7.1; Cass. Dio 37.37.2.

¹⁵⁷ Plut. *Num.* 9.4.

¹⁵⁸ RGDA 10.2; App. *BC* 2.69.

¹⁵⁹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.73.1.

¹⁶⁰ Sumi (2009) p175 n42.

¹⁶¹ See p65, 75; Liv. *Per.* 74.4; App. *B.Civ.* 1.54.

¹⁶² Flor. 1.38.20.

overseeing the ceremonies for the Dioscuri in Ostia,¹⁶³ a role that probably dates from earlier times.¹⁶⁴ The Ostian ceremonies took place on 27th January, as recorded by the fifth century AD calendar of Polemius Silvius; however scholars have accepted this date as accurate for earlier ceremonies.¹⁶⁵ Badian and Brennan suggest that the sacrifice to the Dioscuri at which Asellio was killed also took place on 27th January, the date the *Fasti Praenestini* and *Fasti Verulani* give as the dedication day of the temple.¹⁶⁶ However, these calendars date to the late Augustan and Tiberian periods respectively and there are no republican sources which connect 27th January to the Forum temple; thus they may record the dedication date of Tiberius' rebuilding of the temple in AD 6.¹⁶⁷ Badian uses the date of the Ostian ceremonies to suggest that the sacrifice in Rome would also have occurred on 27th January, arguing that it cannot be the sacrifice before the *transvectio equitum*.¹⁶⁸ However, as noted above, the urban praetor may also have performed the ceremonies at Ostia.¹⁶⁹ Thus, if the urban praetor performed the Ostian festival on 27th January in the Republic, as has been suggested, he would need to give the sacrifice in Rome and oversee the ceremonies in Ostia on the same day. According to the ORBIS project, it would have taken 0.4 days, over nine and a half hours to cover the 23 kilometres between Rome and Ostia.¹⁷⁰ Although not impossible, it seems unlikely for the *praetor urbanus* to carry out the sacrifice in Rome and then travel to Ostia to perform the ceremonies there on the same day. This leads to one of two conclusions. Either, firstly, the Republican ceremonies to the Dioscuri in Ostia did not involve the urban praetor or did not date to 27th January (as noted above, these facts derive from the second and fifth centuries AD respectively). Or, secondly, if, as has been argued, that the urban praetor

¹⁶³ Bispham (2000) p163-164.

¹⁶⁴ Meiggs (1973) p345.

¹⁶⁵ *CIL* 1².1 p257; Taylor (1912) p22-23; Meiggs (1973) p344; Heinzelmann and Martin (2004) p17-18; Bruun (2009) p137.

¹⁶⁶ *Fast. Praen.*, *CIL* 1².1 p232; *Fast. Verul.*; Badian (1969) p476-477; Brennan (2000) p443.

¹⁶⁷ Rüpke (2011) tab. 1.

¹⁶⁸ Badian (1969) p476-477.

¹⁶⁹ See p205; Bispham (2000) p163-164.

¹⁷⁰ <http://orbis.stanford.edu>, accessed 5th September 2015; the journey is the same length by road in a fast carriage (calculated to travel at 67km/day) or in a civilian ship down the Tiber.

did travel to Ostia on 27th January in the Republic, then the sacrifice which Asellio performed in Rome whilst urban praetor, is unlikely to have occurred on 27th January. It is thus possible, as Poulsen has tentatively suggested, that the sacrifice Asellio performed in Rome may have been the one prior to the *transvectio equitum*.¹⁷¹ Yet, according to Dionysius, priests performed this sacrifice, and Asellio is not attested as a priest, which may suggest that this is a different sacrifice once more.¹⁷² However, it is possible that the urban praetor carried out the sacrifice together with the priests. Alternatively, Dionysius is describing the Augustan revival of the parade, so perhaps the urban praetor performed the sacrifice in the Republic, but in the Imperial period, priests did so instead. Once again, therefore, we do not possess enough details of the cult's workings to be able to state definitively whether there were two sacrifices to the Dioscuri during the year, one on 27th January and the other on 15th July, or only one before the *transvectio equitum* on 15th July. However, we can note that the *praetor urbanus* and some priests, although exactly who is unclear, did perform at least some of the rituals for the cult.

The location of the “costly sacrifices” (θυσίαι τε πολυτελεῖς) before the parade is also unclear; Dionysius states these sacrifices occur before the procession (ἢ μετὰ τὴν θυσίαν ἐπιτελουμένη πομπή), which might suggest that they occurred where the *equites equo publico* gathered at the temple of Mars, although the sacrifices are to Castor and Pollux.¹⁷³ However, considering Dionysius' emphasis that the temple, sacrifice and procession are all in response to the epiphany of the Dioscuri at the Battle of Lake Regillus, I think it is more likely that the sacrifice occurred outside their Forum temple. Although not conclusive, this discussion, I believe, suggests that the sacrifice before the procession in honour of the Dioscuri on the

¹⁷¹ Poulsen (1992b) p59.

¹⁷² Münzer, Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie* 27a/28a 'A. Sempronius Asellio (17)'; noted by Badian (1969) p467 who suggests this sacrifice had lapsed by the late Republic.

¹⁷³ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.4.

anniversary of their epiphany would occur at their Forum temple, dedicated in thanks for their epiphany and beside which location they had appeared.

We possess less information about the republican form of the parade; the few literary sources restrict themselves to summaries of the foundation of the parade, and do not provide a description of its organisation. However, several scenes, usually from funerary monuments, have been identified as depicting the *transvectio equitum*.¹⁷⁴ The largest of these scenes is the Grand Relief of Como (fig.42).¹⁷⁵ Rebecchi suggests that, owing to its large size, this relief originally was intended for a public monument, whilst Gabelmann proposes that it would have adorned a tomb.¹⁷⁶ The inclusion of many figures, none of whom seems to be emphasised above the others, may strengthen Rebecchi's identification, for a funerary relief might be expected to emphasise the tomb's occupant. By analysing the hairstyles, Gabelmann has dated the relief to between the reigns of Nero and Hadrian.¹⁷⁷ The relief represents two horsemen and several other figures on foot. The second horseman is preceded by a man, probably an attendant, who leads the horse, and a similar figure would have appeared before the first horseman, as a foot can be seen, although the rest of the figure is lost. Attendants, the first of whom holds a wreath on a pole above the first horseman's head, follow the *equites*. We should probably interpret the man at the left of the procession as having a similar duty, although the damage to the relief prevents certainty. Both equestrians wear a short tunic, which appears to be fringed. This garment is probably the *trabea*, which Dionysius specifies was worn by the *equites* during the *transvectio equitum*.¹⁷⁸ Although this relief was found in Northern Italy, not Rome, it matches closely with the description of the Augustan procession. Additionally, a prominent citizen of Como, Pliny the Younger, not only participated in the

¹⁷⁴ Rebecchi (1999); Veyne (1960).

¹⁷⁵ Veyne (1960) p108-110; Gabelmann (1977) p337; Rebecchi (1999) p198.

¹⁷⁶ Veyne (1960) p110; Gabelmann (1977) p335-337; Rebecchi (1999) p198-199.

¹⁷⁷ Gabelmann (1977) p337.

¹⁷⁸ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.4; Gabelmann (1977); Demougin (1988) p783-785.

transvectio equitum in Rome on at least one occasion, but also commanded one of the squadrons as a *sevir equitum Romanorum*.¹⁷⁹

The relief bears many similarities to other reliefs possibly depicting *transvectio equitum* scenes found closer to Rome. A cinerary urn, dated to the third or second century BC, represents a similar scene (fig.43).¹⁸⁰ Six horsemen follow two musicians towards a temple, where a lamb is being held ready for sacrifice. The temple is not shown in enough detail to identify it, although the high *podium* is similar to the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux. A lamb was an appropriate sacrifice for the Dioscuri, as described in the *Homeric Hymn to the Dioscuri*.¹⁸¹ The horsemen wear the short tunic, the *trabea*, on which have been found traces of red paint and gilding.¹⁸² They also wear wreaths on their heads, probably of olive, the traditional headgear of the *equites* in the *transvectio equitum*.¹⁸³

Other images show a single *eques*, such as the funerary relief of Titus Flavius Verus from Ostia, who is described as *eques Romanus* (fig.44).¹⁸⁴ The *eques* is mounted, wearing the *trabea*, accompanied by two attendants, one of whom crowns him with a wreath, the other leads his horse. The notable difference in this relief is the inclusion of two women, one seated, the other standing behind her. Gabelmann has suggested that the seated woman is probably Flavius' mother, and the second woman is a servant or slave, bringing her flowers to weave into a garland.¹⁸⁵ Considering the funerary context, Gabelmann has hypothesised that Flavius died young, and his most celebrated achievement was represented on his grave relief: his possession of the public horse and participation in the *transvectio equitum*.¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁹ *CIL* 5.5262, 5667; Trisoglio (1973) p12; Rebecchi (1999) p210.

¹⁸⁰ Walters (1926) p11-12.

¹⁸¹ *Hom. Hymn.* 33.10; although this is in the context of their role as saviours of sailors, a lamb could have been the standard animal to sacrifice to the Dioscuri.

¹⁸² Walters (1926) p12.

¹⁸³ *Plin. HN.* 15.5.9.

¹⁸⁴ Gabelmann (1977) p345-347; Demougin (1988) p786-787; for similar funerary reliefs: Rebecchi (1999).

¹⁸⁵ Gabelmann (1977) p345.

¹⁸⁶ Veyne (1960) p100-101; Gabelmann (1977) p345.

Veyne has noted that the majority of the *equites* depicted in similar scenes are young men.¹⁸⁷ He therefore agrees with Gabelmann that this was the highest honour achieved by these individuals, explaining the choice of showing them in the *transvectio equitum* on their graves.¹⁸⁸

The depictions on these reliefs are very similar to the description of the Augustan ceremony of the *transvectio equitum*. The presence of attendants, not included in Dionysius' description, but preserved on the reliefs are not an insurmountable problem as Dionysius may have considered their presence so obvious as not to require mention. One hint that this may be the case can be seen in Suetonius' explanation of Augustus' innovation concerning infirm or elderly *equites*, whom Augustus permitted to report to him on foot, and have their horses sent for inspection elsewhere, presumably led by an attendant.¹⁸⁹

I have argued that the two ceremonies, when both occurred, would have happened on the same day, 15th July, the anniversary of the Battle of Lake Regillus. These ceremonies celebrated the epiphany of the Dioscuri at Lake Regillus and used their Forum temple as a focal part of the occasion, connecting those who took part in the ceremonies to the Dioscuri. Dionysius describes that the *equites* wore military rewards or honours and that they rode "in regular ranks on horseback, as if they had come from battle".¹⁹⁰ Platt has suggested that this procession, which she notes is described by Dionysius as ὄψις (which can mean a vision), recreates the messenger epiphany of Castor and Pollux as they arrived in Rome from the battlefield.¹⁹¹ To borrow Beard's phrase regarding the triumph, the *transvectio equitum* "is a ceremony which stages the myth of its own origins".¹⁹² It recreates the first epiphany of the

¹⁸⁷ Veyne (1960) p106-107; later it was possible for young children to possess a public horse, *CIL* 10.3924.

¹⁸⁸ Veyne (1960) p107.

¹⁸⁹ Suet. *Aug.* 38.3.

¹⁹⁰ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.4.

¹⁹¹ Platt (2003) p161-162.

¹⁹² Beard (2003b) p33-34; Platt (2003) p165-166; Spencer (2007) p90, 95-96.

Dioscuri near the site of their future temple, but also perhaps the triumphant return of the cavalry after the battle. Although Dionysius is the first literary source to state explicitly the connection between the Dioscuri and the *transvectio equitum*, as I have suggested above, he appears to be drawing upon a republican source.¹⁹³ Furthermore, the fact that from 304 BC the parade took place on the anniversary of the Battle of Lake Regillus, suggests that this association existed from the institution of the parade.¹⁹⁴

A further connection between Castor and Pollux and the *equites equo publico* can perhaps be seen in their costume, the *trabea*.¹⁹⁵ However, the *equites* were not the only ones to wear this garment. Dionysius describes the garment in his account of the Salian priests as “robes striped with scarlet and bordered with purple, which they call *trabae*; this garment is peculiar to the Romans and a mark of the greatest honour”.¹⁹⁶ Gabelmann notes that augurs, the *Flamen Dialis* and the *Flamen Martialis* also wore the *trabea*.¹⁹⁷ As noted above, the ‘greatest priests’ who carried out the sacrifice to the Dioscuri are not named, and thus might include augurs and *flamines*.¹⁹⁸ As the parade began at a temple of Mars and finished at the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, the *flamines* of these gods may have been associated in some way with the procession, although this is unattested. Unfortunately, we do not know when each group began wearing the *trabea*; Servius Tullius is said to have worn the *trabea* after Tarquinius Priscus’ assassination, although the reason why is not stated, it may thus have been regarded as archaic clothing.¹⁹⁹ Considering that Servius Tullius was also connected with a reorganisation of the equestrian centuries, this may have been when the *equites* began wearing the *trabea*. However, the Salian priests, who also wore the *trabea*,

¹⁹³ See p180.

¹⁹⁴ Liv. 9.46.15; Val. Max. 2.2.9.

¹⁹⁵ Gabelmann (1977).

¹⁹⁶ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.70.2.

¹⁹⁷ Gabelmann (1977) p329.

¹⁹⁸ See p182.

¹⁹⁹ Liv. 1.41.6.

were reportedly created by Numa, before Servius' reign and may have worn the *trabea* first. However, the *trabea* was most prominently connected with the *equites*, as Martial describes the characteristics of the *equites* as “theatres and rows and edicts and *trabeas* and Ides and clasps and property qualifications”.²⁰⁰ Gabelmann has argued that *equites* often were represented in this costume, not only in the republican funerary reliefs explored above, but also in imperial depictions. An example is the equestrian cavalcade shown on the base of the column of Antoninus Pius, suggested by Davies to be a *decursio*, the cavalry parade around an emperor's funeral pyre (fig.45).²⁰¹ The horsemen are represented as wearing a tunic with short sleeves, probably the *trabea*, and a cloak (fig.46).

Is it possible to connect the *trabea* to the costume of the Dioscuri? Images of the Dioscuri are of little help, as the two typically appear in heroic semi-nudity, usually only wearing a *chlamys* and *piloi*. Dionysius notes that when the Dioscuri appeared in the Forum following the Battle of Lake Regillus they were in military garb (πολεμικὸς ἐνδεδυκότες στολᾶς).²⁰² Although this description is similar to the *trabea*, and Dionysius' description of military clothing is suggestive, there is not enough information to link the *trabea* with the costume of the Dioscuri, although there were similarities in colour and military function.

Two particular officials in the parade may display a closer link to Castor and Pollux. The *transvectio equitum* in the Augustan revival was divided into companies²⁰³ or *turmae*.²⁰⁴ A young man, usually of a senatorial family, known as a *sevir equitum Romanorum*, led each of these companies.²⁰⁵ Although the title is not attested in this form until the Neronian period, Taylor suggests equivalent titles such as *sevir* and *sevir centuriarum equitum* existed under

²⁰⁰ Mart. 5.41.4-5, after Shackleton Bailey.

²⁰¹ Davies (2004) p42.

²⁰² Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.1.

²⁰³ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.4.

²⁰⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 37, 38.3; Demougin (1988) p222-223.

²⁰⁵ Taylor (1924) p162.

Augustus.²⁰⁶ It is possible that Gaius Caesar, Augustus' grandson and adopted son, received a similar title in 5 BC, described by Cassius Dio as ἄραρχόν: "commander of a division of cavalry".²⁰⁷ It is the second title which Gaius received at this time which is most interesting, that of *princeps iuventutis*.²⁰⁸ Gaius and his younger brother Lucius were declared the 'leaders of the youth' by the *equites*, and were given a silver shield and spear.²⁰⁹ The two may have participated in the *transvectio equitum*, bearing these ceremonial weapons, which were the traditional arms of the cavalry.²¹⁰ I will explore the role of Gaius and Lucius, as well as other imperial heirs, as *principes iuventutis* in the following chapter.

It is now possible to state the importance of the ceremonies analysed above. The *transvectio equitum* was connected with the cult of the Dioscuri from its inception in the late fourth century BC. Together with the *recognitio equitum*, I have argued that this event was intended to assess the military and moral suitability of the *equites equo publico*. However, in the Augustan revival, the moralistic element grew in prominence, probably linked to Augustus' moral legislation, but also with the diminishing number of citizen horsemen who served in the cavalry. I have suggested that the *recognitio equitum* may have taken place in a *contio* and thus there was a popular element of inspection present in these ceremonies: in the republican ceremony, anyone had the right to challenge *an eques*. These two ceremonies were closely associated with Castor and Pollux: both the sacrifice and the censorial review occurred at their Forum temple, and the ceremonies took place on the anniversary of the Battle of Lake Regillus, celebrating both their epiphany but also the deeds of the *equites* at this significant victory. Thus, every year this web of connections would present and reinforce the relationship between the Dioscuri and the *equites equo publico* of Rome.

²⁰⁶ Taylor (1924) p162; *CIL* 6.3835, 6.3530.

²⁰⁷ Cass. Dio 55.9.9.

²⁰⁸ *RGDA* 14.1-2; Cass. Dio 55.9.9-10; Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.

²⁰⁹ *RGDA* 14.1-2.

²¹⁰ Stephenson and Dixon (2003) p33, 66.

Although the parade of the *equites* and its accompanying review may have been one of the most prominent ways in which the equestrians, particularly those who held the public horse, were associated with the Dioscuri, it was not the only way. The *equester ordo* in the late Republic had a diminished military role, but some of their number became prominent in commercial and financial business among the *publicani*.²¹¹ Castor and Pollux may have been regarded as their protectors in these roles too, claiming them as guardians of good faith and oaths, for which their names were commonly used, but also for commerce in general.²¹² This latter purpose may be linked to the Dioscuri's role as protectors of sailors, as many merchants would have transported their goods by sea. Horace states that he will not pray to save his goods from the sea, but rather trusts in the Dioscuri to protect his cargo.²¹³ This responsibility of the gods may also be connected to the location of the temple of Castor and Pollux in the Roman Forum, near many commercial sites and where the standardised weights and measures were kept.²¹⁴ It may also be associated, as I have argued, with their Circus temple, which may have been connected with the grain trade and sailors.²¹⁵

Although thus far I have focused on the connection between the Dioscuri and the professional cavalry of Rome, Castor (and to an extent Pollux) could also be associated with equestrian athletics. As noted in Chapter One, it has been suggested that the Capitoline statues of the Dioscuri with their horses were originally part of a monumental entrance to the Circus Flaminius, which was probably used for horse races.²¹⁶ Castor and Pollux were

²¹¹ Hill (1952) p54; Nicolet (1966) vol. 1, p287-288; Wiseman (1970) p71; Demougin (1988) p100-103, 104-106; Hackl (1989) p114; Paterson (2009) p29-30.

²¹² Albert (1883) p70-71; Hill (1952) p113-114; Terlinden (1961) p94.

²¹³ Hor. *Carm.* 3.229.62-64.

²¹⁴ See p60.

²¹⁵ See p91-92.

²¹⁶ Varro. *Ling.* 5.154.

included in Ovid's description of the procession of the gods' statues at the *Ludi Circenses*.²¹⁷ A representation of this procession may be preserved on the lid of a sarcophagus from Rome dated to the third century AD (fig.47).²¹⁸ The relief depicts a *tensa*, a cart pulled by horses, which transported the sacred objects or the statues of the gods themselves, albeit here represented in miniaturised form.²¹⁹ Three gods are depicted: Jupiter on the front and on the side Castor and Pollux, accompanied by their horses and each holding an object, the one on the right a spear and the one on the left perhaps a sword or torch. Their inclusion in the parade of the *Ludi Circenses* may demonstrate that Castor and Pollux could also be connected generally with the athletic sphere, either as competitors as mortals or being honoured when gods.²²⁰ Tertullian also suggests that the rites of the Dioscuri are seen as being associated with gymnastic skills.²²¹

It is not until Tertullian, writing in the late second century AD, that we find an explicit reference to equestrian athletics being linked to Castor and Pollux. Tertullian suggests that originally there were no moral problems for Christians in equestrian skills outside the games, but when horse races became a competition, it passed into the territory of demons; "so to Castor and Pollux is dedicated this kind of exhibition, the pair to whom Stesichorus says horses were assigned by Mercury".²²² However, Castor and Pollux may have been associated with the Circus Maximus and horse races during the Republic. Livy records that during the censorship of Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Aulus Postumius Albinus in 174 BC, as part of their improvement programme for the circus, they let contracts for the creation of eggs to

²¹⁷ Ov. *Am.* 3.2.54; Castor and Pollux were also included among other gods in the procession of the *Ludi Magni* voted by the Senate following Aulus Postumius' victory at the Battle of Lake Regillus. The *Ludi* were chariot races and horse races: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.71.2-7.73.1.

²¹⁸ Junkelmann (2000) p99.

²¹⁹ OLD: s.u. *tensa*; Gardner (1993) p64; Junkelmann (2000) p99.

²²⁰ Dio. Chrys. *Or.* 37.14; Paus. 5.8.4; Plut. *De. Frat. Amor.* 15; Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 10.13.

²²¹ Tert. *Spec.* 11.

²²² Tert. *Spec.* 9: *itaque Castori et Polluci deputatur haec species, quibus equos a Mercurio distributos Stesichorus docet.*

count the laps.²²³ Castor and Pollux had long been associated with eggs, according to the mythology of their birth, they and their sisters Clytemnestra and Helen were born from a pair of eggs, as Jupiter seduced their mother Leda as a swan.²²⁴ Aulus Postumius Albinus, a relative of Aulus Postumius, the victor at Lake Regillus, may have selected the design of the lap markers to be eggs as an allusion to the epiphany of Castor and Pollux that aided his ancestor. These eggs can be seen in the background of a number of reliefs that depict chariot races, such as a child's sarcophagus from the third century AD (fig.48).²²⁵ These markers were restored in 33 BC when Agrippa erected a series of eggs and dolphins on the *spina* of the Circus Maximus.²²⁶ These markers presumably worked by moving an egg and dolphin after each finished lap and thus showing the 'countdown' to the finish. Some depictions of these or similar markers on mosaics from around the Empire may suggest how they functioned. On a mosaic from Lyon, the eggs are fastened to poles, which allow the eggs to be raised or lowered (fig.49), while other mosaics show ladders propped up against the structures, presumably for the same purpose.²²⁷ The dolphins were perhaps selected for the other lap counters as they were believed to be the swiftest animals, and were linked to Neptune, the god of the sea, but who also was a god associated with horses.²²⁸ Humphrey has suggested a political allusion behind the choice of marine animals, for three years before Agrippa's erection of the eggs and dolphins, he had defeated Sextus Pompey at the naval Battle of Naulochus.²²⁹ Sextus had claimed to be the son of Neptune, wearing a dark blue cloak and sacrificing horses into the sea.²³⁰ He had become so closely identified with the god that the people applauded a statue of Neptune when it was carried into the Circus Maximus,

²²³ Liv. 41.27.6; Varr. *Rust.* 1.2.11; alternatively, Cassiod. *Var.* 3.51.10 suggests that the eggs symbolise the flighty character of birds and the people attending the races.

²²⁴ Hor. *Sat.* 2.1.26-27; *Ars P.* 146-147; Lucian *Dial. D.* 25.286; Paus. 3.16.1.

²²⁵ Jenkelmann (2000) p98. Although these depictions are later than the period under discussion here, they are nevertheless useful as indications for how Agrippa's eggs may have appeared.

²²⁶ Cass. Dio 49.43.2.

²²⁷ Humphrey (1986) p260-265.

²²⁸ Plin. *HN.* 9.24-28; Quinn-Schofield (1966) p99; Humphrey (1986) p262.

²²⁹ Humphrey (1986) p262.

²³⁰ Cass. Dio 48.19.2, 48.48.5; App. *B.Civ.* 5.100.

in protest at the war between Sextus, Octavian and Antony.²³¹ It is possible that Agrippa's choice of dolphins, the animal associated with Neptune, was alluding to Sextus' defeat and reclaiming the god from his defeated opponent.²³²

The presence of Castor and Pollux in the *Ludi Circenses* procession, linked to the fact that both brothers were famed for athletic skills and born from eggs, may suggest that these lap counter eggs were connected to the Dioscuri. However, they were not the only gods included in the procession and they do not appear to have been worshipped close to or in the Circus Maximus. It is furthermore not until Tertullian that a connection between these eggs and the Dioscuri is explicitly stated and thus this identification between the lap counters and the Dioscuri remains attractive but speculative.²³³

Therefore, Castor and Pollux were connected to many different horsemen in Roman society, not only to the members of the professional cavalry, but also to equestrian competitors. This was represented in material culture, for, as noted in the introduction to this section, the most common depiction of the brothers in Roman art was as horsemen, the significance of which I shall discuss in the conclusion to this chapter.

Pollux as Protector of Boxers

Considering the prominence of his twin's attribute, it is perhaps surprising that Pollux does not appear to have been particularly celebrated as a boxer in Rome.²³⁴ His most famous accomplishment as a boxer occurred during the voyage of the Argo, when Amycus, King of the Bebrycians, demanded a boxing match before he would allow the crew to draw water.

²³¹ Cass. Dio 48.31.1-5.

²³² Humphrey (1986) p262.

²³³ Tert. *Spec.* 8.

²³⁴ Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.19-109; Dio Chrys. 37.14; Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.24-32, *Sat.* 2.1.26-27; Lucian *Dial. D.* 25.281; Mart. 7.57; Ov. *Am.* 3.2.54, *Met.* 8.301-302, *Fast.* 5.693-720; Paus. 5.8.4; Plut. *De Frat. Am.* 15; Prop. 3.14.17-20; Sid. Apoll. *Pan.* 5.177-184, *Epist.* 9.186-189, 10.13; Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.138-140; Val. Flacc. *Argon.* 4.222-314.

Pollux stepped forward to do battle with the King, eventually killing him.²³⁵ This tale was known in Italy from an early date, as it is depicted on the Ficoroni Cista, made in Rome in the fourth century BC (fig.50).²³⁶ The scene represents a ship and a group of men, some of whom are carrying large jars, which they may be filling with water. Two figures wear leather thongs around their hands, traditionally worn by boxers in antiquity, not to protect the hands, but to inflict greater injuries upon their opponent.²³⁷ There is one noticeable difference however: the victorious boxer, Pollux, does not kill his older opponent, Amycus, but rather binds him to a tree (fig.51). Similar scenes appeared on other items, from Etruscan and Praenestine mirrors, to an Etruscan *stamnos* from 340-320 BC.²³⁸

A depiction of Pollux as a boxer has been suggested to have existed in a statuary group which represented this match. Two bronze statues, the Terme Boxer and the Hellenistic Ruler, have been suggested to represent Amycus and Castor respectively. If so, there would need to be a third statue of Pollux to complete the group.²³⁹ Although both extant statues are made of bronze and were found in the Baths of Constantine, this is not enough to identify them as belonging to a specific group, as statues of athletes were commonly located in bath complexes. This hypothesised group appears to be an attempt to link two unrelated statues to a mythological narrative, requiring a missing third statue to validate this interpretation.²⁴⁰

It therefore seems that, with the exception of the depiction of his fight with Amycus, Pollux does not appear as a boxer in republican or imperial art. It may be that works depicting Pollux in this guise are simply no longer extant. However, in comparison with the number of representations of the Dioscuri in which Pollux appears with a horse and without boxing

²³⁵ Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.19.109; Val. Flacc. *Argon.* 4.222-314.

²³⁶ Williams (1945a) p339-340, (1945b) p348; Wiseman (2004) p92-93.

²³⁷ Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.55-59.

²³⁸ *LIMC* 1.1 s.u. 'Amykos', p738-741, no 4-7; in a slight variation, some scenes show Amycus tied to a tree or pillar of rock: no.11-13.

²³⁹ Carpenter (1945) p353-357; Williams (1945a) p335-336; Himmelmann (1989) p22, 151.

²⁴⁰ Queyrel (2003) p214-215 also rejects this identification.

gloves, any such depictions which once existed were probably far less numerous than those showing Pollux with a horse and no athletic attribute. This may signify why Pollux was seen to be the less popular brother in Rome, and suggest that the manner in which he was represented by the Romans was tailored to suit their society.

Why might this be? Pollux was known as a boxer in Rome, and boxing was a popular sport; Augustus apparently enjoyed watching matches.²⁴¹ Boxing was one of the most challenging sports in antiquity,²⁴² and ancient depictions of boxers often show the scarring associated with the brutal sport.²⁴³ The Terme Boxer represents an older man who bears the scars of many fights; he has a cauliflower ear, his nose has been broken and wears the *caestus* gloves (fig.52-53). Lucian suggests Pollux should have similar scars: when Apollo confesses to Hermes that he finds it impossible to tell the brothers apart, Hermes points out that:

“This one, Apollo, has on his face the marks of the injuries he’s got from his opponents when boxing, and especially from Bebryx, the son of Amycus, when he sailed on that expedition with Jason. The other has no marks like that; his face is free from blemish.”

Ἵτι οὗτος μὲν, ὃ Ἄπολλον, ἔχει ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου τὰ ἴχνη τῶν τραυμάτων ἃ ἔλαβε παρὰ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν πυκτεῦων, καὶ μάλιστα ὅποσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Βέβρυκος Ἀμύκου ἐτρώθη τῷ Ἰάσονι συμπλέων, ἄτερος δὲ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐμφαίνει, ἀλλὰ καθαρὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπαθὴς τὸ πρόσωπον.²⁴⁴

Again, Lucian reveals the humour in Apollo’s complaint, which depends on the incongruences between mythology and iconography. Plutarch also suggests that the physique of a boxer should be recognisable, for “just as, in spite of the likeness between Castor and Pollux as they are represented in sculpture and painting, there is a certain difference of shape between the boxer and the runner”.²⁴⁵ However, he acknowledges that this is not the case in Greek statues of Castor and Pollux. Although their mythology suggests that Pollux should

²⁴¹ Suet. *Aug.* 45.2; Kyle (2007) p293.

²⁴² Dio Chrys. *Or.* 29.10.

²⁴³ Golden (2004) p28.

²⁴⁴ Lucian *Dial. D.* 25.281.

²⁴⁵ Plut. *Tib. Gracc.* 2.1.

have a larger physique than his brother, perhaps with cauliflower ears and boxing gloves, this is not the case in extant statuary. The three statue groups of the Dioscuri in Rome, standing on the Capitoline and Quirinal hills and the *Lacus Juturnae*, do not possess any of these indications (figs. 21, 41 and 34).

As I have noted, boxing was a popular sport in Rome. Cato the Elder reportedly trained his son in athletic and military skills, rather than entrusting his education to a slave.²⁴⁶ He believed that a young Roman nobleman should be proficient in javelin throwing, fighting in armour, horse riding, swimming and boxing.²⁴⁷ A noteworthy difference between the Greek and Roman versions of these sports however, is that it appears that Romans did not feel it appropriate for members of the elite to compete publicly, although they practised sports for health and fitness.²⁴⁸ As noted above, some athletes organised themselves into guilds, often linked to gods such as Hercules and Mercury.²⁴⁹ It was natural for athletic guilds to take on religious aspects, for games were customarily linked with religious festivals or cult activities.²⁵⁰ However, these guilds seem to have included all athletic disciplines, and appealed to and been joined by all athletes, rather than being distinguished by event, and therefore no guild of boxers is attested who might have celebrated Pollux as their protecting god or a guild of horsemen to claim Castor's patronage.

Castor and Pollux as Saviours of Sailors

When compared to their relationship with horsemen, the role of the Dioscuri as saviours of sailors is also less prominent in Rome. This is perhaps not surprising as Rome is an inland city, although connected to the sea by the Tiber. The Romans are often portrayed as

²⁴⁶ Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 20.4.

²⁴⁷ Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 20.4; Olivová (1984) p164; Thuillier (2004) p417.

²⁴⁸ Newby (2002) p178; Thuillier (2004) p417.

²⁴⁹ Forbes (1955) p245-246.

²⁵⁰ Forbes (1955) p245.

developing a navy relatively late, preferring land engagements to sea battles, and relying upon allied fleets.²⁵¹ However, the Romans possessed ships from an early date, as Polybius records that in Rome's first treaty with Carthage, dated to 509 or 508 BC, limitations were agreed as to where Roman ships might sail.²⁵² Polybius claims that the Romans first built ships in 261 BC, during the First Punic War, reportedly even using a captured Carthaginian ship as a template.²⁵³ However, there are indications that Rome possessed ships before this date; Livy records that in 338 BC, some of the captured Antiate ships were moved to *navalia* in Rome, and in 311 BC that two naval commanders were elected to equip and refit the fleet.²⁵⁴ Although this does not show Rome was a powerful naval force, it demonstrates that Romans were more familiar with ships and sailing than has previously been suggested.

Castor and Pollux were known as saviours of sailors from an early date. The *Homeric Hymn to the Dioscuri* describes both brothers as “deliverers of men on earth and of swift going ships when gales rage over the ruthless sea”.²⁵⁵ In this role, they are often known as σωτήρες.²⁵⁶ It was this responsibility that Demetrius Poliorcetes noted when he accused the Romans of sending pirates to plunder Greece, although they had built a temple to the Dioscuri, whom all know to be saviours.²⁵⁷

Castor and Pollux are sometimes assimilated with other gods who are also associated with sailors and sailing, most commonly with the Great Gods of Samothrace.²⁵⁸ Ovid sees no difference between the gods of Samothrace and the Dioscuri, whom he states the island of

²⁵¹ Polyb. 1.20.7-16 dates the first time Romans took to sea to 261 BC; Meijer (1986) p147-149; Scullard (1990) p548-549.

²⁵² Polyb. 3.22.1-8; Scullard (1990) p517-518, 521-524; Steinby (2007) p37.

²⁵³ Polyb. 1.20.8-16; Mommsen (1894) vol. 2, p173-174; Scullard (1990) p549.

²⁵⁴ Liv. 8.14.12, 9.30.3-4; Steinby (2007) p55-56, 61; Leigh (2010) p266-267; Pitassi (2012) p1-3.

²⁵⁵ Hom. *Hymn.* 33.6-8: σωτήρας τέκε παῖδας ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων / ὠκυπόρων τε νεῶν, ὅτε τε σπέρχωσιν ἄελλαι / χειμέριαι κατὰ πόντον ἀμείλιχον.

²⁵⁶ Paus. 2.1.9; Strabo 1.3.2, 5.3.5.

²⁵⁷ Strabo 5.3.5.

²⁵⁸ Varro, *Ling.* 5.58; Cole (1984) p3, 57-58, 102; Geppert (1996) p120; McDonnell (2006) p84. The Dioscuri are also on occasion known as the Great Gods: Paus. 1.31.1, see p305 for the link between the Dioscuri and the Great Gods of Samothrace.

Samothrace worships, as he calls upon them to preserve his ship.²⁵⁹ A temple to the Dioscuri on the island is attested from at least 168 BC, as it was to their temple that King Perseus of Macedon fled after his defeat at the Battle of Pydna.²⁶⁰ This was a somewhat ironic choice considering the epiphany of the Dioscuri following this battle, who were thought to have played a role in ensuring Perseus' defeat.

Castor and Pollux took part in one of the most famous voyages of the heroic age, the quest for the Golden Fleece. According to many of the retellings of the adventures of the Argonauts, it was during this voyage that they became saviours of sailors.²⁶¹ However, the sources do not agree when in the voyage they gained this aspect. Apollonius Rhodius situates this event as the Argonauts are returning from Colchis when the Argo spoke, ordering them to travel to Circe to cleanse them of the murder of Medea's brother Apsyrtus, and that Castor and Pollux must pray to the gods to grant them passage.²⁶² They arrived at the Stoichades islands thanks to Hera's aid and to the Dioscuri, for Apollonius states that Jupiter had made them protectors not only of the voyage of the Argo, but also of future sailors.²⁶³ Valerius Flaccus instead places this moment when the Argonauts set sail from Iolcus, as Jupiter bade the gathered heroes to strive and overcome their enemies and obstacles so that some of them might join him in Olympus. Following this, Jupiter fired an arrow, which sent two flames to settle on the foreheads of the Dioscuri, to whom sailors would later call upon for aid.²⁶⁴ Diodorus Siculus instead sets it near Samothrace, and it is instead Orpheus, an initiate into the Samothracian mysteries, who prayed for their safety. Following his prayer, the winds calmed and stars settled on the heads of the Dioscuri, which led the Argonauts to decide that

²⁵⁹ *Ov. Tr.* 1.10.45-50.

²⁶⁰ *Plut. Aem.* 23.11.

²⁶¹ *Callim. Aet.* 1.18.1-4.

²⁶² *Ap. Rhod. Argon.* 4.580-595.

²⁶³ *Ap. Rhod. Argon.* 4.649-653.

²⁶⁴ *Val. Flacc. Argon.* 1.561-573.

they had been saved by the gods, and later sailors to pray to the Samothracian gods and to regard the appearance of two stars as being Castor and Pollux.²⁶⁵

The Dioscuri were probably depicted in the *Basilica* of Neptune in Rome, which Agrippa completed in 27 BC in honour of his naval victories, and decorated with a painting of the Argonauts.²⁶⁶ Castor and Pollux were associated with Neptune, which is unsurprising, considering that the sea was his realm. Lucian suggests that the specific care of the Dioscuri for helping sailors was under the aegis of Poseidon's more general responsibility.²⁶⁷ Statius and Propertius, when praying for the safety of a friend who is undertaking a sea voyage, invoke Neptune, Castor and Pollux, while Propertius also includes the goddess Leucothoë.²⁶⁸ Once again, this emphasises that this relationship between humans and gods was not exclusive; humans called on many gods who possessed similar responsibilities, in order to gain as much divine help as possible.

The *Homeric Hymn to the Dioscuri* provides an example of how they might be called upon; in a storm, the sailors gathered at the prow and vowed to sacrifice lambs to Castor and Pollux. If the Dioscuri answered their prayers, they appeared, "darting through the air on tawny wings", and calmed the sea.²⁶⁹ More usually, when the appearance of Castor and Pollux to sailors is described, it is as stars.²⁷⁰ Pliny, Seneca and Statius describe the stars as landing on the mast, sails or yardarm of the ship.²⁷¹ If one star appeared, this was a bad sign, as according to Pliny it was so heavy that it could wreck ships, or set the wood aflame: both

²⁶⁵ Diod. Sic. 4.43.2.

²⁶⁶ Cass. Dio 53.21.1; Albert (1883) p61, although he refers to the Basilica as a temple of Neptune.

²⁶⁷ Lucian *Dial. Deo.* 25.287. Another aspect that the Dioscuri and Neptune share is their connection to horses: Tert. *Spec.* 9.

²⁶⁸ Prop. *El.* 2.26a.7-10; Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.1-12.

²⁶⁹ Hom. *Hym.* 33.

²⁷⁰ Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.2, 1.12.27, 4.8.31; Mart. *Spec.* 30; Plin. *HN.* 2.101; Sen. *Nat. Quaes.* 1.1.13; Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.1-12.

²⁷¹ Plin. *HN.* 2.101; Sen. *Nat. Quaes.* 1.1.13; Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.1-12.

Pliny and Statius name this single astral appearance as Helen, sister of the Dioscuri.²⁷² Two stars signified the arrival of Castor and Pollux and the ship and sailors would therefore be saved. These descriptions of balls of light playing over the rigging of ships have been identified as the meteorological phenomenon known as St Elmo's Fire, an electrical discharge still seen today.²⁷³ A second reason for the appearance of the astral form of the Dioscuri rather than their anthropomorphic one may rest on the importance of stars for sailors, who used them as navigational aids at sea.

This responsibility of the Dioscuri is not only attested in poetry, as votive offerings have been discovered giving thanks to the Dioscuri for their protection whilst at sea. Such a dedication, perhaps originally from Pephnos, dating to the second century BC depicts the dedicator beside his ship and offering thanks to statues of the Dioscuri (fig.54).²⁷⁴ The ubiquity of such dedications is the feature of an anecdote about Diagoras the Atheist. A friend attempted to use the many votive offerings erected as thanks for safe voyages that were on display in Samothrace as an example of the care that gods have for mortals. Diagoras replied that although many people may have believed that the gods saved them, no votives exist for those whom the gods did not save and were lost at sea.²⁷⁵ As Rüpke notes, the system of erecting votives after the completion of a safe voyage renders the failures of the gods to save humans invisible.²⁷⁶

²⁷² Plin. *HN*. 2.101; Stat. *Sily*. 3.2.1-12: "your Ilian sister's stormy light".

²⁷³ Courtney (1984) p329; Burkert (2004) p10; Wheeler (2004) p13; Pitassi (2012) p82.

²⁷⁴ A similar relief, from the fourth or third century BC, found in Piraeus, shows a figure on a boat raising his hand to the Dioscuri who appear with their horses: Van Straten (1981) p97; *LIMC* 3.1 'Dioskouroi' no. 121. Albert (1883) p59-60 cites an inscription (Grüter MXVI.3) as proof that this responsibility of the Dioscuri was known in Rome: *Castori. et. Polluci / sacrum / ob. felicem. in. patriam / reditum. tot. superatis / naufragii periculis / ex. voto. cum sociis / L. M. P / C. Valerius. C. F. Agellus*. However, Wissowa (1912) p270 n7 dismisses this inscription as a forgery.

²⁷⁵ Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.93.

²⁷⁶ Rüpke (2007b) p164, although the number of epigrams describing deaths from shipwrecks or drowning, at least indicates that those who did not survive their voyage might be remembered, for example: the Greek anthology 7.263-279, 282-291, however these epigrams do not reveal if the unfortunate sailors prayed to Castor and Pollux for safety.

Some ships were named after Castor and Pollux or used their images as figureheads, perhaps as an attempt to ward off danger. One such Alexandrian ship carried Saint Paul from Malta to Syracuse.²⁷⁷ An example of decoration featuring Dioscuric symbols is found on the Athlit Ram, discovered off the coast of Israel, which has been identified as originally belonging to a Ptolemaic warship from the second half of the second century BC.²⁷⁸ The ram is decorated with three groups of paired symbols: eagle heads, *piloi* with stars and a decorative handle (fig.55).²⁷⁹ Another example is the figured representation suggested to represent the Dioscuri, which was found as part of the cargo from the Mahdia wreck near Tunisia and dated to the first century BC.²⁸⁰ These fittings, according to the measurements, could perhaps fit a ship such as a quinquireme, and depict the heads and shoulders of two young men, both of whom wear wreaths and have been suggested to be the Dioscuri (fig.56). This identification is conjectural, as neither youth possesses *piloi* or stars, the traditional attributes found on the heads of the Dioscuri. However, the combination of the fact that the depiction is of a pair of young men and that the Dioscuri had a prominent role as saviours of sailors, makes this identification likely. Thus, the inclusion on ships of the hats and stars of the Dioscuri, or even representations of Castor and Pollux themselves, may have served to dedicate the ship to the brothers, or at least to their care, as protective deities.

It may be for similar reasons that a series of Roman coins minted between 169 and 158 BC depict the prow of a ship with the *piloi* and stars of the Dioscuri floating above it (fig.57).²⁸¹ This image follows the epiphany of the Dioscuri at the Battle of Pydna in 168 BC,

²⁷⁷ *Acts* 28.11.

²⁷⁸ Murray (1991) p66.

²⁷⁹ Murray (1991) p55-56; Oron (2006) p64-65.

²⁸⁰ Pitassi (2011) p41.

²⁸¹ A similar reference is perhaps made in a contemporary *as* of an anonymous moneyer, replacing the hats with a star: *RRC* 196/1.

however this was not a naval battle, and without further information regarding the moneyer, the message of the coin is unclear. It is not possible to know whether the anonymous moneyer was attempting to publicise a relationship with the Dioscuri or if he was connected with shipping. This issue is also the first coin to refer to this responsibility of the Dioscuri; previous Roman coinage, which featured the Dioscuri with attributes, depict them as horsemen (for example, fig.1). Although they are less popular than the horse riding type, which were produced until at least 121 BC, similar issues connecting Castor and Pollux with ships continued to be minted as well.²⁸² The next issue was minted in 114 or 113 BC by Gaius Fonteius and depicts janiform heads of the Dioscuri on the obverse and a ship on the reverse, above the word ROMA (fig.58).²⁸³ Other issues were minted a few years later by Manius Fonteius, between 108 and 107 BC, which depict the heads of Castor and Pollux with their stars (fig.59).²⁸⁴ The inclusion of the Dioscuri on the coins of these two members of the Fonteian family, minted close together, suggests that the Fonteii may have been publicising a connection to the Dioscuri. Their family were originally from Tusculum, which possessed a cult of the Dioscuri, and this may have provided the motivation for their choice of the gods.²⁸⁵ A further coin depicting the hats of the Dioscuri above a ship was minted in Achaea between 38 and 37 BC. It represents the busts of Marc Antony and his wife (and Octavian's sister) Octavia on the obverse, and on the reverse two ships with *piloi* and stars above the prow and stern (fig.60).²⁸⁶ The coin celebrates their marriage and the reinforced bond between Antony and Octavian, and may commemorate the newlyweds' tour of the east from

²⁸² *RRC* 278/1, other issues continue to depict the Dioscuri standing beside their horses: *RRC* 304/1 in 109/108 BC and *RRC* 335/10a-b in the late 90s BC (figs. 36 and 37).

²⁸³ *RRC* 290/1. This ship is possibly a military ship, signified by the *rostrum*, perhaps suggesting that the Dioscuri protected the navy as well as merchants and civilians. However, aside from one occasion in which their stars appear either side of Lysander's prow, the Dioscuri are not connected with naval victories: Cic. *Div.* 1.34.75; Plut. *Lys.* 12.1.

²⁸⁴ *RRC* 307/1a-1d; some of these issues have *PP* as the legend, which has led some scholars to suggest that the Dioscuri are being assimilated to the Public Penates on this issue. These issues and the similarities between the Dioscuri and the Penates are explored in Appendix Two.

²⁸⁵ Graf, *Brill's New Pauly*: 'Fonteius', col. 490; Münzer, Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie* vol. 6, 'Fonteius'; Petrocchi (1994) p104.

²⁸⁶ *RPC* 1.1 1464.

the winter of 39 BC.²⁸⁷ This coin depicts Castor and Pollux as protective gods of sailors, but should also be seen in the context of the contests to claim the favour of gods by major figures in the triumviral period.

An interesting addition to the ship on some of the republican issues explored above is the presence of a *dolium*, which could be used to store supplies such as wine, olive oil or grain, suggesting that these ships were being used for trade.²⁸⁸ I proposed in Chapter One that the temple of Castor and Pollux in the Circus Flaminius may have been linked with the grain trade through the ships and sailors which conveyed the grain to Rome.²⁸⁹ These coins may also suggest a connection between Castor and Pollux, in their role as protectors of ships and sailors, with the corn fleet. At least by the fourth century AD, this connection could be explicitly made, for Ammianus Marcellinus tells that in AD 359 Rome was at risk of famine owing to storms at sea preventing the grain ships from coming into the harbour. When Tertullus, the *praefectus urbanus*, travelled to Ostia and sacrificed to Castor and Pollux, the sea grew calm and the ships were able to dock and unload their cargo, relieving the famine in Rome.²⁹⁰

Indeed, it is perhaps at the port city of Ostia that the Dioscuri's role as protectors of sailors is most clear. The cult of the Dioscuri at Ostia was strongly connected with that at Rome; the games of Castor and Pollux at Ostia occurred on 27th January, a date also linked to the cult in Rome.²⁹¹ From an inscription dating to AD 200, we know that these games

²⁸⁷ Plut. *Ant.* 31.1-3, 33.3; App. *B.Civ.* 5.64, 76.

²⁸⁸ Docter, *Brill's New Pauly*: 'Dolium', col. 618.

²⁸⁹ See p90-92.

²⁹⁰ Amm. Marc. 19.10.4.

²⁹¹ See p35-36; *Fasti* of Polemus Silvius from AD 448/449, *CIL* 1.²1 p257; Taylor (1912) p22; Meiggs (1973) p345.

included chariot racing.²⁹² An even clearer connection can be seen in the person who presided over this Ostian festival: the *praetor urbanus* who travelled from Rome to do so.²⁹³ There are few examples of Roman magistrates travelling to conduct sacrifices in other locations, and this may demonstrate the close relationship between Rome, Ostia and their cults of Castor and Pollux.²⁹⁴ Although the presence of the *praetor* is only attested from the second century AD, it has been suggested that this custom dates to an earlier period.²⁹⁵ A fifth century AD source additionally suggests that the people of Rome may have come to Ostia to celebrate the festival.²⁹⁶

As a port city, it would not be surprising to find that the aspect of the Dioscuri as protectors of sailors was more prominent here. There is little evidence for this however, the mosaic from the House of the Dioscuri in Ostia does not depict Castor and Pollux with any attributes of this role.²⁹⁷ However, Castor and Pollux did possess a temple in Ostia, presumably where Tertullus carried out his sacrifice.²⁹⁸ An inscription records that the temple was restored, among other buildings, in the second century AD by Publius Lucilius Gamala.²⁹⁹ It was adorned with a depiction of games held in honour of Neptune, Castor and Pollux by a *consul ordinarius* of AD 216, Catus Sabinus.³⁰⁰ The exact location of the temple is debated; Heinzelmann and Martin suggested that the temple stood atop a structure on the

²⁹² Bruun (2009) p137; *CIL* 14.1.

²⁹³ Taylor (1912) p22-23; Meiggs (1973) p344; Bispham (2000) p163-164; Heinzelmann and Martin (2004) p18; Bruun (2009) p137.

²⁹⁴ Bispham (2000) p175 n143.

²⁹⁵ Latte (1960) p175-176, perhaps a comparison can be seen in the consuls' annual trip to Lanuvium to sacrifice to Juno Sospita since 338 BC.

²⁹⁶ Bispham (2000) p164, p179 n65; *Cosmographia Iulii Caesares* in Riese (1878) p83: *ubi populus Romanus cum urbi praefecto uel consule Castorum celebrandorum causa egreditur*. Although this source is from the fifth century AD, the festival of Castor and Pollux was observed in Ostia in the fourth century AD and this may preserve an earlier tradition.

²⁹⁷ *LIMC* 3.1: 'Dioskouroi/Castores' no. 10; however depictions of the Dioscuri showing their marine aspect did exist, such as the acroteria from the temple at Marasà (fig.23).

²⁹⁸ Bruun (2009) p137.

²⁹⁹ *CIL* 14.376; Taylor (1912) p22; Meiggs (1973) p345; Heinzelmann and Martin (2004) p17; Rankov (2008) p59.

³⁰⁰ *CIL* 6.864, 14.1; Taylor (1912) p22; Meiggs (1973) p344.

eastern side of the Tiber basin, near the so-called Palazzo Imperiale.³⁰¹ From their excavations, they note that the first level of this complex is a terraced structure raised above many vaults.³⁰² Wave action weathering on the western side of the structure, which faces the harbour mouth, suggests that in antiquity the structure was directly beside the river, with the waves lapping at its side. Heinzelmann and Martin have therefore identified these vaults as ship slidings and the structure as a *navalia*. Although the widths of these vaults are too small to house large seagoing ships, they suggest that this structure stored the smaller warships that were used to protect the mouth of the Tiber.³⁰³ On the roof of this structure, they identified the remains of a *podium* temple, which they note possesses an unusually large socle for the base of the cult statue: 3.5 by 3.2m.³⁰⁴ From finds such as pottery sherds, Heinzelmann and Martin have suggested that construction of the temple structure was begun in the second quarter of the first century AD, and coins of Caligula and Claudius were found in a modification to the building.³⁰⁵ Using the inscription that lists Gamala's benefactions to Ostia, they have suggested that this structure should be identified as the temple of Castor and Pollux, aided in part by the large statue base, which they suggest would have held equestrian statues of the gods.³⁰⁶ However, they note that these two structures are unconnected in the inscription, which appears to list the building projects by type, firstly religious buildings and then utilitarian structures.³⁰⁷ It would be fitting that the Dioscuri possessed a temple near the harbour and sea, because of their maritime aspect, perhaps also related to the grain fleet, which docked at Ostia, before the grain was transported up the Tiber to Rome. The

³⁰¹ Heinzelmann and Martin (2004) p17-18.

³⁰² Heinzelmann and Martin (2004) p9.

³⁰³ Heinzelmann and Martin (2004) p12.

³⁰⁴ Heinzelmann and Martin (2004) p14-16;

³⁰⁵ Heinzelmann and Martin (2004) p16.

³⁰⁶ Although statues of the Dioscuri often include their horses, (figs. 21, 34 and 41), we do not possess any depictions of the cult statues of Castor and Pollux, thus it is difficult to use this as evidence for the identification of the temple.

³⁰⁷ Heinzelmann and Martin (2004) p17-18.

importance of the grain supply is well known,³⁰⁸ and if the Dioscuri guarded these supplies, this once more suggests the importance of their cult.³⁰⁹

Rankov has argued against Heinzelmann and Martin's identification of the structure on which the temple sits as being a *navalia*. He suggests that "*navale a L. Coilio aedificatum / extru[e]ntibus fere collapsum*" does not refer to shipsheds, but a dock where ships were built and repaired.³¹⁰ Gamala's *navale* therefore may not be this structure at all. Rankov's analysis suggests that only the western vaults of this structure could have been used as shipsheds, and only for riverboats, owing to the angle of the river.³¹¹ He furthermore warns that the size of the vaults would have made storage difficult for all but small vessels, as well as the difficulty in slipping or launching boats.³¹² Although Rankov does not examine the temple foundations above this structure, he does acknowledge, as I have done above, that this would be a suitable location for a temple to the Dioscuri.³¹³ Unfortunately, we do not possess enough information to definitively state the purpose of this structure, or to identify to which gods the temple was dedicated. However, a temple atop a building which may have housed ships on the coast would be a suitable location for the cult of Castor and Pollux at Ostia, where their maritime aspect was emphasised. Thus, although we cannot be certain that this was the temple of the Dioscuri in Ostia, it is a strong candidate.

Castor and Pollux may also have been connected with lighthouses.³¹⁴ According to Lucian, the architect of the Pharos of Alexandria, Sostratus of Cnidus, devised a plan so that his name would be displayed on the lighthouse, rather than that of Ptolemy Philadelphus, in

³⁰⁸ Rickman (1980).

³⁰⁹ Bispham (2000) p164.

³¹⁰ *CIL* 14.376, l. 25-27; Rankov (2008) p58-60.

³¹¹ Rankov (2008) p60, (2013) p41-42.

³¹² Rankov (2008) p61-63, 64.

³¹³ Rankov (2008) p59.

³¹⁴ Plin. *HN*. 36.18.

whose reign the building was completed.³¹⁵ He inscribed his own words on the lighthouse, but covered them with plaster, which would eventually fall off, and inscribed the King's name on this more fragile base.³¹⁶ His inscription, which would eventually be revealed, is recorded as "Sostratus of Cnidos, the son of Dexiphanes, to the Divine Saviours (θεοῖς σωτηρῶν), for the sake of them that sail at sea".³¹⁷ Who exactly the 'Divine Saviours' are to whom the Pharos was dedicated is uncertain. They may be Ptolemy I Soter and Berenice, the parents of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who had instigated the project.³¹⁸ However, they may also be Castor and Pollux, who were known as *soteres*, particularly of those who travelled on the sea.

A relief found in Portus (fig.61) depicts a lighthouse, probably the one that Claudius built at Portus. A large fire to guide sailors coming into the harbour tops the lighthouse. Of particular interest is the figure depicted to the right of the upper level, although little detail is provided, the image shows a nude young man holding a spear in his right hand and possibly a sword in his left, with a cloak draped over his left shoulder (fig.62). This is a very similar pose to many depictions of the Dioscuri, although not exclusive to them.³¹⁹ There would be space for a second figure on the left-hand side, although one is not shown, however, a figure in this location would be almost entirely covered by the ship's sail and may have been omitted. If two statues of nude young men holding spears stood either side of the protecting flame of a lighthouse, it would certainly be plausible to identify them as the Dioscuri, who may also be associated with the most famous lighthouse of antiquity, the Pharos. However, the relief unfortunately does not provide enough information to prove this hypothesis.

³¹⁵ Clayton (1988) p145 suggests that Sostratus was not the architect, but paid for the construction of the Pharos and dedicated it himself; Giardina (2010) p17.

³¹⁶ Plin. *HN*. 36.18 states that the King gave permission for Sostratus to inscribe his name on the lighthouse; Clayton (1988) p143.

³¹⁷ Lucian, *Hist. Conscr.* 62; cf. Strabo 17.6.

³¹⁸ Clayton (1988) p142.

³¹⁹ For example, figs. 21, 33, 36, 37, 42, 48.

Although there is little material evidence for the worship of Castor and Pollux as protectors of sailors, there are a compelling number of references in contemporary literature as well as suggestions from architecture and epigraphy. An explanation for the fewer attestations of this attribute of the Dioscuri may be the limitations of our evidence. Although I have suggested that the Circus temple of Castor and Pollux may have been connected to the grain fleet,³²⁰ Rome was not a coastal city. It would be more likely to find a greater prevalence of the Dioscuri as guardians of sailors in places on or near the coast such as Naples,³²¹ Cumae,³²² Capua,³²³ Puteoli,³²⁴ Ardea,³²⁵ or Paestum³²⁶ where they are attested to have received cult. In Rome, on which this study is focused, the role of Castor and Pollux as the guardians of sailors has left relatively little trace.

Conclusion

Of the three responsibilities of the Dioscuri discussed in this chapter, Castor's role as a horseman, which Pollux came to share, was the most widely known and used in Rome. Although the majority of my discussion has been focused upon Rome, the prominence of the Dioscuri as horsemen is also likely to have a wider background in the whole of Italy. Owing to the cost of buying, equipping and maintaining a horse, from an early date the ownership of a horse would have predominantly have been restricted to the wealthy. The association between the Dioscuri and horsemen would have made it easy for those richer members of society who owned horses to proclaim Castor and Pollux as gods to whom they possessed a special connection. This would not have only been true in Rome, but as Castor and Pollux were worshipped throughout Italy, members of the elite across the peninsula could have seen

³²⁰ See p90-92.

³²¹ Nielsen and Poulsen (1992c) p127; Poulsen (1992a) p48.

³²² Poulsen (1992a) p48.

³²³ Poulsen (1992a) p48. *CIL* 10.3778, 3781.

³²⁴ Poulsen (1992a) p48.

³²⁵ Poulsen (1992a) p46; Cancellieri (1994) p65.

³²⁶ Suggested by Albert (1883) p12; Nielsen (1992b) p114.

the same connection, as found, for example, in Samnium.³²⁷ This demonstrates why it was Castor and his responsibility that became the most prominent in Rome, for in this early militaristic society, the ability to fight from horseback would have been a greater advantage than boxing. Although members of the elite practised athletic skills such as boxing for the sake of their health and fitness, they did not commonly participate in athletic competitions. Conversely, the cavalry continued to be of great importance in military campaigns, and it was in this form that Castor and Pollux first manifested themselves and were introduced to worship in Rome.

It is therefore unsurprising that we possess the greatest amount of evidence for Castor and Pollux as protectors of horsemen, their aspect which was of greatest relevance for the members of the elite. For these were the men who most commonly dedicated temples and statues; undertook the office of moneyer and designed coin issues; and wrote history and poetry. Our preserved evidence has an inherent bias towards the preferred aspects of the Dioscuri by the members of the elite. This may also be a contributory factor to why Castor was seen as the more prominent of the twins, because at the moment of the introduction of their cult to Rome, it was Castor's role as a horseman which was the most relevant to contemporary Roman society. However, although their relationship with horsemen was the most prominent, Castor and Pollux were known as protecting gods of many different facets of Roman society, from boxers to sailors, as well as possessing other responsibilities, such as acting as guardians of oaths and, considering their mythology, of symbolising fraternal harmony, an aspect I examine in the following chapter.

³²⁷ Tagliamonte (2004).

Chapter Four: The Dioscuri and Imperial Brothers¹

“To these I for my part know that no example of kindred affection can be suitably added save Castor and Pollux.”

*His scio equidem nullum aliud quam Castoris et Pollucis specimen consanguineae caritatis conuenienter adici posse.*²

Thus, Valerius Maximus concluded his description of the fraternal harmony of Tiberius and Drusus the Elder, the stepsons of Augustus, by comparing the mortal brothers with the Dioscuri. Tiberius and Drusus were not the only imperial young men to be compared to them: other pairs were also linked to Castor and Pollux. These comparisons should be seen in light of the discussion of the responsibilities of the Dioscuri in the previous chapter, in this case being linked to brothers and fraternal harmony. For Castor and Pollux were known as paragons of brotherly love: the two undertook their adventures together and Pollux sacrificed his immortality rather than be separated from Castor. Through the parallels drawn between the young imperial men and the Dioscuri, the implication was that, just like Castor and Pollux, these mortal brothers were also devoted siblings.

When examining the dynamics of the Imperial family, terms like ‘succession policy’ can misrepresent what were constantly changing circumstances. As members of the *Domus Augusta* were born, married, had children or died, the prominence of individuals changed. This can be seen in the career of Tiberius, whose popularity and importance waxed and waned, from his marriage to Augustus’ daughter Julia to his self-imposed exile on Rhodes, to his eventual accession as *princeps*. As this brief summary of Tiberius’ career demonstrates, any ‘succession policy’ was not fixed, originating at an early point in Augustus’ reign and

¹ Aspects of this chapter, particularly concerning the use of adoption as a succession strategy and the inequality within the pairs of imperial youths appear in Gartrell (2014).

² Val. Max. 5.5.3.

remaining unchanged, except for the potential successor.³ Instead, the membership of the *Domus Augusta*, and the ‘succession policy’, should be regarded as constantly evolving.

This is complicated further by the question of to what exactly any potential ‘successor’ could succeed. Augustus had taken pains to portray himself as *primus inter pares*, and his ‘position’ was in reality honorific and had evolved gradually with the accumulation of honours, offices and titles, some of which were unique to him. The majority of these could not legally be inherited, although his wealth and clients could. Since the foundation of the Republic there had been no hereditary offices; annual, paired officials, acting as checks and balances upon the other, replaced the monarchy.⁴ A father could not leave his position as a consul to his son; the son had to work his way up the *cursus honorum*, standing for the lower posts before he might be elected to the consulship. However, it was possible for certain families to hold the consulship in consecutive generations: the Servili Caepiones had consuls in six successive generations, beginning in 253 BC.⁵ Cicero referred to Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus (consul in 54 BC), as being a “consul designate from the cradle”.⁶ However, although it may have been easier for sons of established consular families to attain the consulship, it was by no means an automatic process, as each individual still had to be elected to the position.⁷

The matter of the imperial ‘succession’ was complicated, for any potential successor needed to accrue *auctoritas*, powers and honours to ensure that when Augustus died, he was the foremost citizen. One of the principal ways that this was achieved was by the young men being permitted by the Senate to hold magistracies before the legal age. Gaius and Lucius

³ On the problems of a ‘succession policy’: Gibson (2012) p1; Osgood (2012) p19, 31-32.

⁴ Liv. 2.1; Marastoni (2011) p1; on consuls see Beck (2011).

⁵ Prevost (1949) p27-28 lists other families whose generations held the consulship in succession, although none so numerous and this was sometimes only achieved through adoption. However, Hopkins and Burton (1983) p32-33, 42-43, 55-60 argue that political success for a man did not guarantee political success for his descendants.

⁶ Cic. *Att.* 4.8a.2.

⁷ For example, neither son of Scipio Africanus held high office: Briscoe: *OCD*³: ‘Cornelius, Scipio (2), Lucius’ and ‘Cornelius, Scipio (2) Publius’, p397.

Caesar, for example, on their fifteenth birthdays were elected *consul designatus*, to take up the office at twenty years old,⁸ the same extraordinary age that Augustus had first attained the consulship.⁹ From the age of twenty therefore, these young men would have the same *dignitas* as men twice their age. Through similar elevation in his political career, when Augustus died in AD 14, Tiberius was the foremost statesman and general in the empire, having been consul and triumphed twice.

Augustus had one biological child, a daughter, Julia the Elder, from his first marriage to Scribonia,¹⁰ while his wife Livia had two sons from a previous marriage, Tiberius and Drusus the Elder. Augustus also had other male relatives, including his sister Octavia's son Marcellus, and his grandsons Gaius and Lucius, born from the marriage between Marcus Agrippa and Julia. It was therefore to these young men that his attention turned. Marcellus was promoted in various ways: he married Julia in 25 BC,¹¹ two years later he was co-opted into the pontifical college, permitted to stand for the consulship ten years before the legal age,¹² and elected aedile.¹³ However, he died later that same year and was never able to fulfil any plans his uncle had for him. There was, therefore, a second difficulty: the relatively high rate of mortality. Augustus outlived many of the younger men of his family, including Marcellus, Gaius, Lucius and Drusus the Elder. Perhaps in an attempt to counteract the possibilities of such deaths, young imperial men of similar ages were partnered. This system was analysed by Kornemann who termed it a *Vieraugensystem* or *Doppelprinzipat*.¹⁴ Hurlet has more recently explored this system of pairs in his study of imperial colleagues, in which

⁸ *RGDA* 14.1.

⁹ *RGDA* 1.7.

¹⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 63.1.

¹¹ Cass. Dio 48.38.3; Suet. *Aug.* 63.1; Vell. Pat. 2.93.2.

¹² Cass. Dio 53.28.3.

¹³ Tac. *Ann.* 1.3, Cass. Dio 53.28.3; Plin. *HN.* 19.24; Vell. Pat. 2.93.1.

¹⁴ Kornemann (1930).

he links the system to the pairing of Augustus and Agrippa.¹⁵ It has been further examined by Pollini as a ‘dual heir’ system, providing an heir and a spare.¹⁶

The idea of collegiality for positions of power, as in magistracies and priesthoods, as well as specifically two men sharing power as seen in the consulship and censorship, was central to the republican system. There was, however, a significant difference in the ‘dual heir’ system, for the position of *princeps* was for life, not a year. However, perhaps the two imperial youths were not intended to share power equally. This interpretation has a parallel in Augustus’ relationship with Agrippa, one of the partners being the senior and the other his loyal lieutenant. This would suggest that one of the pair was intended as the principal heir, to follow Augustus as *princeps*, whilst the other was to be his second-in-command, supporting him, and should the first heir die, stepping into his place.

A successful precedent can be found in the kingdom of Pergamon, in the relationship between Eumenes II and his younger brother Attalus II. Eumenes and Attalus’ relationship was held up as an example of fraternal harmony and the reason why their kingdom had grown so great.¹⁷ Attalus was later known by the epithet *Philadelphos*, honouring the great love between the brothers.¹⁸ Livy furthermore stated that although Eumenes held the title of king, he ruled with all his brothers, although Attalus was his second-in-command.¹⁹ This position was formalised when Attalus was proclaimed co-ruler in 160 or 159 BC.²⁰ The parallels drawn between the Dioscuri and the Attalids were celebrated on tetradrachms, which depict the head of Eumenes on the obverse and, on the reverse, the Dioscuri standing together

¹⁵ Hurlet (1997) p3.

¹⁶ Pollini (2012) p420.

¹⁷ Liv. 40.8.14-15, 45.19.10-11; Diod. Sic. 29.34.2; Polyb. 23.11.6-7, 27.18.1-3; Plut. *De Frat. Amor.* 480C, 489D-490A.

¹⁸ Hansen (1971) p127.

¹⁹ Liv. 45.19.10-11.

²⁰ Allen (1983) p81; Habicht (1989) p334.

(fig.63).²¹ Castor and Pollux are not depicted identically, although both hold spears, the right-hand one does so with his arm raised and the other with his arm lowered. Additionally, the one on the left looks and appears to gesture towards his brother. It is difficult to say whether there is any significance behind these differences, although it could be suggested that the Dioscurus on the right is more prominent than his brother, thus representing Eumenes, with the left-hand one signifying Attalus.

The two kings of Sparta, the birthplace of the Dioscuri, were closely connected to Castor and Pollux, and when the kings divided their military and civic duties, a Dioscurus accompanied each one.²² Augustus' use of the Dioscuri as divine parallels to mortal imperial pairs may have been inspired by either the Attalid or Spartan precedents. His wife Livia was a member of the *gens Claudia*, who were patrons of Sparta, and she had fled to Sparta with Tiberius and her first husband Tiberius Claudius Nero during the proscriptions of 43 BC.²³ Following their marriage, Augustus visited Sparta in 21 BC.²⁴ He may therefore have been inspired by the Spartan usage of the Dioscuri being linked to the paired kings. In addition, Attalid Pergamon had been a close ally to Rome, to the extent that Attalus III, the last king of Pergamon, left the kingdom to Rome in his will in 133 BC.²⁵ A detail provided by Suetonius suggests how Augustus may have become familiar with the parallels drawn between Eumenes, Attalus and the Dioscuri; he records that at the Saturnalia, Augustus was accustomed to give assorted gifts, among which were "coins of every device, including old pieces of the kings and foreign money".²⁶ It is therefore possible that one of the very coins examined above passed through Augustus' hands and perhaps suggested to him the use of the

²¹ Chapouthier (1935) p242-243; La Rocca (1994) p75; Schultz (1997) p16; Queyrel (2003) p144-146 suggests it was minted between 163 and 161 BC.

²² Hdt. 5.75. Additionally, some Spartan nobles claimed descent from Castor and Pollux into the Imperial period: Spawforth (1985) p198-199, 200, 213-215, 255; Poulsen (1991b) p142, (1994) p96.

²³ Suet. *Tib.* 6.2; Sanders (1993) p220.

²⁴ Poulsen (1991b) p141-142, (1994) p96.

²⁵ Strabo, 13.4.2; Plin. *HN.* 33.148; see Kuttner (1995).

²⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 75.1.

same parallel. Although this theory is unprovable, it is certain that the parallel between the Attalid brothers and the Dioscuri was known at this time, as demonstrated by its inclusion in Livy's work.

What Augustus intended for the partners after his death is uncertain, for only one pair survived him: Germanicus and Drusus the Younger and they were in the second generation, the adoptive and biological son, respectively, of Tiberius. An indication of Augustus' intentions can perhaps be seen in the arrangements left by Tiberius, for he reportedly followed the practices of Augustus in all things, as if they were law.²⁷ In his will, Tiberius named his surviving grandsons Caligula, son of Germanicus, and Tiberius Gemellus, son of Drusus the Younger, as co-heirs to his estate, although this does not equate to their being named as heirs to the principate.²⁸ This arrangement suggests that Tiberius intended the two to co-rule as equals, perhaps following Augustus' own plans if both members of a pair survived him.

If the pairs were intended to function as colleagues, in the manner of the consuls, this may have been intended to reassure the Roman people, showing continuity from the Republic. A second (and more plausible) advantage to this system may have been an insurance policy against the vagaries of fate, lessening the likelihood of civil war should a single heir die and leave a power vacuum. However, negative aspects of this strategy were possible if there were internal power struggles. For as will be seen in the pairings of Caligula and Tiberius Gemellus or Nero and Britannicus, when one of the pair was unwilling to share power, he removed his partner. External concerns could also fracture the pairing: Tacitus reports that during Tiberius' reign the people complained that they were "to be slaves... to two half-grown boys Germanicus and Drusus. First they will be a burden to the state and then

²⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 1.77.1, 4.37.1; Strabo 6.4.2; Peachin (2007) p80; Cowan (2009) esp. p181-182.

²⁸ Suet. *Tib.* 76.1, Cass. Dio 59.1.1.

they will tear it in two”.²⁹ Although reportedly the adoptive brothers never felt rivalry between themselves,³⁰ other parties declared their support for one or the other, potentially creating competition.³¹

In some imperial pairings there was an existing fraternal relationship, such as between Tiberius and Drusus the Elder, Gaius and Lucius, Nero and Drusus Caesar and Tiberius and Germanicus Gemellus. In other cases, this relationship had to be constructed, usually by adoption from within the family. Tiberius adopted Germanicus as a brother to his son Drusus, and Claudius adopted Nero, who became the brother of Britannicus. Other pairings may have been less clearly linked, such as Caligula and Tiberius Gemellus; although both were grandsons of Tiberius, he did not adopt either but made them equal heirs in his will. Marcellus and Tiberius may also have been suggested as a pair through public displays, for example, during Octavian’s triumph Tiberius and Marcellus rode beside his chariot, a privilege usually reserved for the triumphator’s sons.³²

Imperial princes were often swiftly elevated through the *cursus honorum*, receiving exemptions from age restrictions, enabling them to hold magistracies at an early age. The imperial youths also won popularity by participating in public displays, such as the revived equestrian exercises, the *Lusus Troiae*.³³ These games featured two squadrons of noble youths, separated by age, who performed manoeuvres on horseback, imitating battle formations.³⁴ When the games were held in the Republic, the leaders of each squadron were

²⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 1.4. Tacitus’ perception of the succession and his depiction of attitudes towards Germanicus and Drusus may be coloured by his experience of the succession and the reported conflict between Titus and Domitian: Cass. Dio 66.26.2-4; Suet. *Dom.* 2.3.

³⁰ Cass. Dio 57.18.7; Tac. *Ann.* 2.45.

³¹ Tac. *Ann.* 2.45.

³² We do not hear of any role for Tiberius’ brother Drusus in these ceremonies; Suet. *Tib.* 6.4; Rowe (2002) p1; Severy (2003) p48-49.

³³ Sumi (2005) p61; Crowther (2010) p202-204.

³⁴ Suet. *Iul.* 39.2.

sons of distinguished families and much respected by their peers.³⁵ Many of the imperial princes led one of these squadrons during exhibitions, including Gaius, Tiberius, Agrippa Postumus, Nero, and Britannicus.³⁶ Considering the relationship between the Dioscuri and horsemen, this display of the imperial youths' equestrian skill may have further developed the parallels drawn between them and Castor and Pollux.³⁷

Lavish games were also given on behalf of these young men, or by them.³⁸ Augustus states that he gave five gladiatorial shows and one display of international athletes in the names of his sons or grandsons as well as twenty-six African beast hunts in total, some in his own name and some in those of his sons and grandsons.³⁹ The Senate voted games and annual sacrifices at Gaius' birth.⁴⁰ Gaius and Lucius also gave circus games at the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor, at which time their younger brother Agrippa Postumus rode in the *Lusus Troiae*.⁴¹ A later pair of brothers may also have been linked to the Dioscuri through the holding of games. Cassius Dio reports that in AD 6:

“...gladiatorial games in honour of Drusus were given by Germanicus Caesar and Tiberius Claudius Nero, his sons. For this mark of honour to the memory of Drusus comforted the people, and also the dedication by Tiberius of the temple of Castor and Pollux, upon which he inscribed not only his own name, - calling himself Claudianus instead of Claudius, because of his adoption into the family of Augustus, - but also that of Drusus.”

³⁵ For example: Plut. *Cat. Min.* 3.1.

³⁶ Gaius: Cass. Dio 54.26.1; Tiberius: Suet. *Tib.* 6.4; Agrippa Postumus: Cass. Dio 55.10.6; Nero: Suet. *Ner.* 7.1, Tac. *Ann.* 11.11; Britannicus: Tac. *Ann.* 11.11.

³⁷ However, there are likely to have been occasions on which the *Lusus Troiae* was held without an imperial youth as a leader.

³⁸ By Augustus in the names of his grandsons, the Panathenaic games of 12 BC: Cass. Dio 54.28.3, possibly the same games: Suet. *Aug.* 43.5; Drusus the Younger in his and Germanicus' names in AD 15: Cass. Dio 57.14.3; Tac. *Ann.* 1.76; Germanicus and Claudius in AD 6: Suet. *Claud.* 2.2; Cass. Dio 55.27.3-5; Tiberius in the names of Germanicus and Claudius in AD 8: Cass. Dio 55.33.4.

³⁹ *RGDA* 22.1-22.3.

⁴⁰ Cass. Dio 54.8.5. No such vote is known for the birth of Lucius (54.18.1), but this may be because both brothers were adopted by Augustus shortly after Lucius' birth and thus any honours for his birth were overlooked as the sources focused upon the adoption.

⁴¹ Cass. Dio 55.10.6. Although all three brothers were involved in the Games, perhaps lessening the Dioscuric parallel, Agrippa only rode in the *Lusus Troiae*, while Gaius and Lucius, due to their role in managing the games, would have been more clearly linked together, probably appearing as a pair in the course of their duties.

... μονομαχίας ἀγῶνες ἐπὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ πρὸς τε τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ πρὸς Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Νέρωνος, τῶν υἱέων αὐτοῦ, ἐγένοντο. τοῦτό τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Δρούσου μνήμῃ παρεμυθήσατο, καὶ ὅτι τὸ Διοσκόρειον ὁ Τιβέριος καθιερώσας οὐ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ὄνομα αὐτῷ, Κλαυδιανὸν ἑαυτὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ Κλαυδίου διὰ τὴν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου γένος ἐκποίησιν ὀνομάσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου ἐπέγραψε.⁴²

The close link between the games in Drusus' honour and Tiberius' rededication of the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux, the significance of which is discussed below,⁴³ may suggest that the two occurred close together or were connected. However, it seems likely that the focus of these events would have been on Tiberius and Drusus as a pair, rather than Germanicus and Claudius. For, as will be explored below, Germanicus had been adopted by Tiberius and was more commonly paired with his adoptive brother Drusus the Younger than his biological brother Claudius, who was kept out of the public eye. Nevertheless, such lavish displays by young members of the imperial family were certain to increase their prominence. Their conduct at such games was closely scrutinised; Drusus the Younger's excessive enthusiasm for bloodshed at gladiatorial games is reported to have alarmed the people and so his father Tiberius reprimanded him.⁴⁴ A letter from Augustus to Livia, preserved by Suetonius, demonstrates his concern for how the younger members of the family might be regarded by the populace.⁴⁵ Augustus also presented the younger members of his family as examples to follow at such events, as noted in the previous chapter, when the *equites* protested against his marriage legislation, Augustus' response was to call the large family of Germanicus to his side.⁴⁶

The young pairs were publicised throughout the empire by statuary groups and coins. Their portraits were often assimilated to each other and to Augustus' portrait, to the extent

⁴² Cass. Dio 55.27.3-5; Champlin (2011) p92.

⁴³ See p241-246.

⁴⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 1.76.

⁴⁵ Suet. *Claud.* 4.3.

⁴⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 34.2.

that it is often difficult to distinguish one Julio-Claudian from another. This is particularly problematic for those individuals for whom we have no inscribed detailed portraits, such as Gaius and Lucius.⁴⁷ Although some facial similarities may have been because of familial resemblance, the high degree of similarity, particularly between those who had no biological relationship, served to suggest a closer relationship than existed in reality. Owing to the ancients' belief that physiognomy suggested character traits, the similar appearance of the young imperial men to Augustus would suggest that they possessed a similar character and would follow his example.⁴⁸ Portrait types may have been created at significant events, for example, to commemorate taking the *toga virilis*, their adoption into Augustus' family, holding the consulship, or military success.⁴⁹ These portraits were often placed in dynastic groups, indicating which members of the imperial family were important at that time.

It has been suggested that for some statues the young men's appearances are assimilated to those of the Dioscuri. Pollini describes divine assimilation, as "either the alteration of an individual's portrait so that he looks like a god, or the representation of a god with some degree of physiognomic resemblance to a specific individual".⁵⁰ Divine assimilation could be used to suggest that the mortal and the god possessed shared characteristics, and as I shall argue in this chapter, the particular characteristic emphasised by the assimilation of imperial youths to the Dioscuri was that of fraternal harmony.

There is a methodological problem in the analysis of these assimilations: to what extent is it correct to see allusions to the Dioscuri in any statue of an imperial youth? Although the young men may be depicted in a heroic manner, is it specifically Dioscuric? If the representations include some of the common attributes of the Dioscuri; stars, *piloi*, spears,

⁴⁷ Pollini (1987) p6-7.

⁴⁸ On imperial portraiture: Rose (1997).

⁴⁹ Pollini (1987) p14-15; Hannestad (1988) p48.

⁵⁰ Pollini (1990) p335.

horses or leonine hair, an assimilation could be argued. However, not all of these attributes were exclusive to the Dioscuri; although *piloi* and stars could identify them, spears, horses or hairstyle might not be enough to do so. Was every equestrian statue of an imperial youth intended to be seen as a comparison with the Dioscuri? If there were two young men depicted with horses, this would increase the probability of the allusion, but does not guarantee it. No surviving source tells us how a Roman viewer would have interpreted two equestrian statues of imperial youths. Likewise, the star was a symbol of the Dioscuri, although not exclusively, as a star could also denote deification.⁵¹ A comet during the *Ludi Veneris* had marked Caesar's apotheosis.⁵² To mark this portent, Octavian placed a star, the *Sidus Iulium*, on the forehead of all the statues of Julius Caesar, now Divus Julius, in Rome.⁵³ Thus, the inclusion of a single attribute, such as horses or stars, does not guarantee that an allusion to the Dioscuri was intended. Each suggested assimilation must therefore be assessed on its own merits, such as how the figure was represented, the inclusion of attributes, or a connection to a paired image. Perhaps significantly, these depictions allow each viewer to interpret the statue independently; some may have seen an assimilation to the Dioscuri, others may not have, but the image itself neither precluded this, nor made it compulsory.

The biases of our literary sources also need to be taken into account, for we must remain vigilant for the problems of the hostile source tradition concerning the so-called 'bad' emperors: in particular Caligula and Nero. Our accounts are coloured by hindsight, for example, the knowledge that Nero would become emperor and that Britannicus would die, but also by a hostile tradition towards Nero.⁵⁴ This condemnation is prominent in Philo's discussion of Caligula wearing the *piloi* of Castor and Pollux, discussed further below, in

⁵¹ On the use of stars in portraiture: Rose (1997) p75.

⁵² Cass. Dio 45.7.1; Plin. *HN*. 2.94; Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* 7.17.2; Suet. *Iul.* 88.1.

⁵³ Cass. Dio 45.7.1; Plin. *HN*. 2.94; Suet. *Iul.* 88.1.

⁵⁴ On the source tradition of Nero, both positive and negative: Champlin (2003) p24-28, ch.2.

which he explicitly contrasts the relationship between the Dioscuri and that between Caligula and Tiberius Gemellus.

A further difficulty occurs in the location of much of the evidence for the relationship between imperial pairs and the Dioscuri. The most explicit evidence often comes from the provinces, most commonly from Greece and Asia Minor. This is not unexpected, considering that these provinces had a history of assimilating prominent individuals to gods, as seen in the Attalid coin type discussed above (fig.63). Rome was familiar with such relationships, which became more explicit, for example, when Octavian portrayed himself as Apollo at a dinner party.⁵⁵ After 27 BC, Augustus moved away from such explicit comparisons, no longer depicting himself with the attributes of the gods.⁵⁶ It seems, however, that it was possible to be more explicit in assimilating members of the imperial family to gods in the provinces. There is also the question of the impetus behind the inscriptions, coin issues and statuary found in the provinces, which link the Dioscuri with imperial pairs. In the majority of cases, the impetus seems to have come not from Rome, but from the provincials. They may have either noted the parallels that were drawn between imperial pairs and the Dioscuri in Rome, or independently drawn the same parallels themselves, but depicted them more explicitly than we find in Rome. However, as Smith warns concerning the depictions of the imperial family at the Aphrodisian Sebasteion, it is first to a “de-centralised local perspective that these reliefs answer – that of Greek provincial perceptions of Rome and of the Empire and of Greek and local identity negotiated through the contemporary language of visual mythology”.⁵⁷ This does not, however, mean that they cannot tell us how provincials believed the imperial family was represented in Rome. The provenance of our evidence needs to be taken into account, but does not render provincial evidence useless.

⁵⁵ Suet. *Aug.* 70.1-2.

⁵⁶ Pollini (1990) p356.

⁵⁷ Smith (2013) pvii.

There were several ways in which young imperial men were distinguished as potential successors; in this chapter I will argue that their connection to the Dioscuri was one such method. The Dioscuri had previously functioned as the saviours of the Roman army and the fledgling Republic. It is not surprising that in the changed political atmosphere of the early Empire, the use of the Dioscuri changed, and their fraternal harmony became more important than their previous epiphanic tradition. At times, Castor and Pollux were perceived as being unequal, as exemplified by a complaint made by Bibulus during his co-consulship with Caesar in 59 BC, for “just as the temple erected in the Forum to the twin brethren, bears only the name of Castor, so the joint liberality of Caesar and myself is credited to Caesar alone.”⁵⁸ I shall therefore explore pairs of potential imperial successors, examining their relationship with the Dioscuri, how these parallels changed with each pairing, as well as the relative prominences of the humans and gods.

Gaius and Lucius Caesar

The brothers Gaius and Lucius were only a few years apart in age, Gaius being born in 20 BC⁵⁹ and Lucius in 17 BC.⁶⁰ They were Augustus’ grandsons, sons of his daughter Julia and Agrippa. Both were distinguished soon after their births: Gaius received annual sacrifices on his birthday,⁶¹ and they were adopted by Augustus soon after Lucius’ birth; the adoption, according to Cassius Dio, denoted the brothers as his successors.⁶² The brothers were commonly linked, appearing at the same events and being depicted together on coins, as well as public buildings and spaces being named after them, albeit posthumously. Augustus rebuilt

⁵⁸ Suet. *Iul.* 10.

⁵⁹ Cass. Dio 54.8.5.

⁶⁰ Cass. Dio 54.18.1.

⁶¹ Cass. Dio 54.8.5.

⁶² Cass. Dio 54.18.1; Suet. *Aug.* 64.1.

the *Basilica Julia* in the Forum and named it *Basilica Gai et Luci* in AD 12.⁶³ A joint monument was erected on an island in a lake within the *nemus Caesarum*.⁶⁴ Tiberius also reportedly composed a lyric poem lamenting Lucius' death.⁶⁵

Gaius and Lucius swiftly rose in prominence, receiving a series of titles, including *consul designatus*⁶⁶ and membership of a priestly college, Gaius being co-opted into the *pontifices* and Lucius into the augurs.⁶⁷ Although this variance in priesthood may have differentiated the boys, diminishing their similarity slightly, it may have been because of the republican tradition that there may only be a single member of a *gens* in each priestly college.⁶⁸ The youth of the boys was noted in inscriptions found in the Forum, which proclaimed that Gaius was the first Roman to be appointed consul (albeit for five years later) at the age of fourteen,⁶⁹ and the same honour for Lucius.⁷⁰ A coin, issued in Tarraco after 2 BC, the date of Lucius' coming of age, celebrates the brothers, depicted as two togate figures with the legend *Caesares Gemin[i]*, linking the brothers as the 'twin Caesars' (fig.64).⁷¹ The brothers also took part in many public engagements, including the *Lusus Troiae*; Gaius is attested to have taken part in 13 BC.⁷² Gaius is celebrated in another coin type, in reference to an occasion in 8 BC when he participated for the first time in equestrian exercises in Gaul,

⁶³ *RGDA* 20.3; Suet. *Aug.* 29.4; Cass. Dio 56.27.5. Van Deman (1913) argues that the *Basilica Gai et Luci* should be identified as the front arcade of the *Basilica Aemilia*. However, Augustus' description in the *Res Gestae* as the *Basilica* being "*inter aedem Castoris et aedem Saturni*" suggests the *Basilica Julia* instead: Cooley (2009) p194.

⁶⁴ Originally constructed by Augustus to stage naval battles: *RGDA* 23; Suet. *Aug.* 43.1; Cass. Dio 66.25.3-4 mentions εικόνων: 'images', probably of Gaius and Lucius; Cooley (2009) p210.

⁶⁵ Suet. *Tib.* 70.2; it is possible he may also have composed one after Gaius' death, but no source mentions this. If he did not, it may be owing to their reportedly strained relationship: Suet. *Tib.* 12.2, 13.1-2; for an alternative perspective: Vell. Pat. 2.101.1, 2.103.3.

⁶⁶ *RGDA* 14.1; Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.

⁶⁷ Cass. Dio 55.9.4; *CIL* 11.1420.

⁶⁸ Szemler (1972) p189; Rüpke (2007b) p217-218; although this rule was disregarded when the brothers were elected to the priesthoods, as Augustus had been a pontifex since 47 BC, and an augur from 42-40 BC: *RGDA* 7.2; Rowe (2002) p46; Cooley (2009) p134-136. However, as Augustus was a member of all the priesthoods, perhaps a supernumerary one, (Cooley (2009) p135) this was a necessary exception so that his sons could hold any priestly office.

⁶⁹ *CIL* 6.3748, 6.31271, 6.36893; Cooley (2009) p164.

⁷⁰ *CIL* 6.900, 6.36908.

⁷¹ Grant (1946) p219; Poulsen (1991b) p125.

⁷² Cass. Dio 54.26.1.

which Augustus marked by giving a donative to the troops.⁷³ Gaius is shown on a horse, holding a sword and wearing a shield on his left arm, with standards flanking an *aquila* in the background (fig.65). He is wearing a short tunic, perhaps the *trabea*, and this depiction has some similarities to the common *denarius* reverse type of the Dioscuri (fig.1). The fact that this issue was minted in Lugdunum and may have been contemporary with Gaius' visit suggests that these coins could have been part of the donative given to the troops by Augustus to celebrate this occasion. Therefore, Gaius was publicly introduced to the army in Gaul, and participated in these exercises, perhaps even leading them. The soldiers also received a donative with his name and depiction, alongside that of Augustus, illustrating their relationship as father and son. Augustus, from his own experience, was aware of the importance of the support of legions linked to the father for the legitimacy of the son, and may have been attempting to secure the army's loyalty for Gaius.

Gaius and Lucius were trained to follow in Augustus' footsteps, becoming miniature replicas of the *princeps* in their statue types, but also in their behaviour. Augustus took responsibility for some aspects of their education, teaching the brothers to read and swim, as well as to imitate his handwriting.⁷⁴ They continued to be trained as potential successors as they grew older, Dio stating that Gaius "was learning to rule in peace and quiet" whilst commanding legions on the Ister while Lucius was "being trained to rule by being dispatched on missions to many places".⁷⁵ Augustus wrote in a letter that he hopes their country shall continue to prosper whilst Gaius is "preparing to succeed to my position (*statio*)".⁷⁶ It seems clear therefore that the brothers were viewed by Augustus as not only heirs to his personal

⁷³ Cass. Dio 55.6.4-6 states that the donative celebrated Gaius' participation rather than Augustus and Tiberius receiving the title *Imperator*, correlating with the coin type.

⁷⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 64.3.

⁷⁵ Cass. Dio 55.10.17, 55.10a.8-9, although this may be a later inference, it could be a contemporary view.

⁷⁶ Gell. *NA* 15.7.3. This letter was composed on the ninth day before the Kalends of October in Augustus' 64th year - AD 2. Lucius' death occurred in August the same year, which explains why Augustus directs this letter to Gaius alone.

property, but also as potential successors to his position in the state, which over the years had become increasingly consolidated.

A further title, which both received upon taking the *toga virilis*, was that of *princeps iuventutis*, the leader of the youth. Augustus in his *Res Gestae* states “each of them was presented with a silver shield and spear by all the Roman *equites* and hailed as *princeps iuventutis*”.⁷⁷ Spears and shields were the traditional weapons of the cavalry, although as these gifts were silver they would have been only ceremonial.⁷⁸ Following the deaths of Gaius and Lucius, these gifts were kept in the Curia.⁷⁹ A well-known coin from the Lugdunum mint depicts Gaius and Lucius in this role (fig.66). This coin was minted in 2 BC, the year in which Lucius received the title, and on the reverse shows the brothers wearing togas, standing beside their shields and spears. The symbols of their priestly offices are in the air between them: a pontiff’s *simpulum* for Gaius and an augur’s *lituus* for Lucius. The legend reads “Gaius and Lucius Caesar, sons of Augustus, consuls designate, leaders of the youth”. The obverse depicts the head of Augustus, crowned with a wreath and with an inscription giving his titles as Caesar Augustus, *divi filius*, *pater patriae*.

‘Leader of the youth’ was clearly seen to be one of the most significant titles held by the brothers. This is demonstrated by the fact that it is the only title included on the ossuary in which Gaius’ ashes were interred in the Mausoleum of Augustus: *ossa C. Caesaris. Augusti. f. Principis. iuventutis*.⁸⁰ Augustus states that the impetus for this honour came from the whole of the *ordo equester*: “*equites autem Romani universi*”; while Dio and Tacitus see his influence behind the honour, however these variances are not incompatible.⁸¹ An inscription,

⁷⁷ *RGDA* 14.2.

⁷⁸ For example, as depicted on the *Lacus Curtius* relief (fig.35). Dixon and Southern (1992) p43: cavalry shields could be oval, hexagonal, rectangular or circular. Eck, *Brill’s New Pauly*: ‘*Principes Iuventutis*’, col.859 notes that a parallel can perhaps be drawn between these silver shields being awarded to potential successors of Augustus, and Augustus’ *clipeus virtutis*, which he received in 27 BC: Lott (2012) p8.

⁷⁹ Cass. Dio 55.12.1.

⁸⁰ *CIL* 6.884.

⁸¹ Cass. Dio 55.9.9-10, Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.

found near the theatre of Marcellus, appears to commemorate the award of this title.⁸² Unfortunately, the inscription is broken on the left-hand side, preventing certainty over whether the inscription concerned Gaius or Lucius. Vassileiou has therefore reconstructed the inscription for both brothers:⁸³

[C. Caesari Augusti filio divi I]ulii nepoti
[pontifici cos. desig. Principi] iuuentutis a se
[appellato post deposita p]ueritiae insignia
[equester ordo pe]rmissu senatus

Gaius Caesar, son of Augustus, grandson of Divus Julius
Pontifex, Consul Designate, Leader of the Youth
after having laid down the symbols of boyhood he was named this
by the equestrian order, with permission of the Senate.

[L. Caesari Augusti filio divi I]ulii nepoti
[auguri cos. desig. Principi] iuuentutis a se
[appellato post deposita p]ueritiae insignia
[equester ordo pe]rmissu senatus

Lucius Caesar, son of Augustus, grandson of Divus Julius
Augur, Consul Designate, Leader of the Youth
after having laid down the symbols of boyhood he was named this
by the equestrian order, with permission of the Senate.

The inscription places the award of the title *princeps iuventutis* after the young men had taken the *toga virilis*, signified by the removal of the *pueritiae insignia* of the *bullae* and *toga praetexta*.⁸⁴ If Vassileiou's restorations are correct, the inscription reaffirms Augustus' version of events: the young men were given the honour by the equestrian order, with the permission of the Senate.⁸⁵ From the age of fifteen therefore, both brothers possessed a title that mirrored Augustus' own honorific as *princeps senatus*, which he had held since 28 BC.⁸⁶ Ovid demonstrates that this parallel was recognised by contemporaries, describing Gaius as “*princeps* now of the youth, but one day of the elders (*nunc iuvenum princeps, deinde future senem*)”.⁸⁷ This title therefore has been seen as one given to young men who were the designated successors of the emperor.⁸⁸

⁸² Vassileiou (1994).

⁸³ Vassileiou (1994) p834.

⁸⁴ Vassileiou (1994) p829.

⁸⁵ Cooley (2009) p166; Vassileiou (1994) p834.

⁸⁶ *RGDA* 7.2, Cass. Dio 52.1.3.

⁸⁷ *Ov. Ars. Am.* 1.195, after Mozley, rev. Goold.

⁸⁸ Taylor (1924) p159; Hannestad (1988) p105; Lott (2012) p8.

The title *princeps iuventutis* was also used in the Republic; for example, Cicero used it in reference to Curio the Younger, describing him as the best of the young men of the Republic.⁸⁹ It thus appears to be an honorific title entailing no specific role. Scholars have therefore suggested that the Augustan use of the title is drawing on republican precedent.⁹⁰ Taken in conjunction with Augustus' unofficial monopoly of *princeps*-related titles, and the connotations that Ovid shows that *princeps iuventutis* possessed, dynastic implications seem plausible, especially considering that no young men outside the imperial family are so described in the imperial period.⁹¹ However, the use of a republican honorific title for young imperial men may have suggested continuity with the Republic whilst mitigating dynastic connotations.

A more nuanced interpretation of the title may be possible, linked to the societal group known as the *iuventus*.⁹² When a young freeborn man came of age, he became a *iuvenis*, and those who were destined for an equestrian or senatorial career undertook the required military service. Neraudau, based on the Servian reforms, has argued that *iuvenes* were between seventeen and forty-six years of age, and were defined by their military capacity.⁹³ This group was distinguished by assigned seating in theatres and the circus, the *cuneus iuniorum*, and by their participation in certain festivals. It has been suggested, however, that *Iuventus* could also be used as an alternative term for those noblemen under thirty-five years of age who had not yet attained membership of the Senate, who made up the *equites equo publico*.⁹⁴ The title *principes iuventutis* could therefore not only mean the leaders of the youth in a general sense, but also more specifically the leaders of the *equites*

⁸⁹ Cic. *Vat.* 24; Balsdon and Levick, *OCD*³: '*Princeps Iuventutis*', p1247; Eck, *Brill's New Pauly*: '*Princeps Iuventutis*', col. 859.

⁹⁰ Kornemann (1930) p29-30; Poulsen (1991b) p122-123, (1992b) p59-60.

⁹¹ Poulsen (1991b) p123.

⁹² Yavetz (1984) p16; Swan (2004) p90.

⁹³ Neraudau (1979) p5, 116-117.

⁹⁴ Balsdon and Levick, *OCD*³: '*iuvenes (or iuventus)*' p791.

equo publico.⁹⁵ As Augustus states that the *ordo equester* bestowed the title upon Gaius and Lucius, this interpretation is persuasive. Furthermore, Swan suggests that, like the *iuventus* themselves, the *principes iuventutis* relinquished their title upon joining the Senate, which for Gaius would have been AD 1, the year of his consulship.⁹⁶ As evidence, he cites two inscriptions found at the *Porta Papia*, naming Lucius *princeps iuventutis*, but not Gaius.⁹⁷ A similar omission occurs in the posthumous honours for the brothers from Pisa, in which Lucius is named *princeps iuventutis* in his inscription,⁹⁸ but Gaius is not, although he is alluded to as “*iam designatu[m] ... principem*”.⁹⁹ However, the fact that the only title included on the ossuary of Gaius, a choice surely made by Augustus, was *princeps iuventutis* complicates the issue.¹⁰⁰ It may be that on both the inscription from Pisa and from the *Porta Papia*, Gaius’ acclamation as *Imperator* was felt to be more significant than the title of *princeps iuventutis*, which was replaced or perhaps omitted for reasons of space. His younger brother Lucius, however, died before being able to win the title of *Imperator* and thus *princeps iuventutis* continued to be used in his titulature. Although the matter remains uncertain, the inclusion of the *princeps iuventutis* title on the ossuary of Gaius may therefore suggest that he did not lay down this title.

Poulsen has argued that this title closely connected Gaius and Lucius with Castor and Pollux. She suggests that the *principes iuventutis* would have ridden at the front of the *transvectio equitum*. If it were correct that the *principes iuventutis* were the leaders of the

⁹⁵ Balsdon and Levick, *OCD*³: ‘*iuvenes* (or *iuventus*)’ p791.

⁹⁶ Swan (2004) p90.

⁹⁷ Swan (2004) p90; perhaps from an arch, other inscriptions found at the same site include Augustus, Livia, Tiberius, Germanicus, Drusus the Younger, Nero and Drusus Caesar and Claudius: *CIL* 5.6416.7-8, Gaius: [C.] *Caesari / Augusti f. / Divi nepot. / Pontific. Cos. / Imperatori*; Lucius: [L.] *Caesari / Augusti f. / Divi nepot. / Auguri Cos. design. / Principi Iuventutis*.

⁹⁸ *CIL* 11.1420.

⁹⁹ *CIL* 11.1421. No such title is attested for Lucius, but both inscriptions follow his death; however, this title is also only bestowed on Gaius in the inscription commemorating his posthumous honours, and therefore he may not have been referred to in this way during his lifetime.

¹⁰⁰ See p226.

iuventus, synonymous with the *equites equo publico*, this would seem logical.¹⁰¹ This parade, as explored in the previous chapter, took place on the anniversary of the Battle of Lake Regillus and celebrated the relationship between the *equites equo publico* and the Dioscuri.¹⁰² We possess no evidence that Gaius and Lucius led the *transvectio equitum*, or for any ceremonial duties for the *principes iuventutis*, but it seems plausible that both would have participated in the procession. Whether they did so as *principes iuventutis* is not certain, although likely, but Gaius and Lucius were also each named “leader of the division of cavalry”.¹⁰³ This title has been suggested to be a translation of *sevir equitum Romanum*, one of the leaders of the six *turmae* that made up the *equites equo publico* and took part in the *transvectio equitum*. The six individuals who made up the *seviri* were drawn from among the young aristocrats.¹⁰⁴ Gaius and Lucius therefore would have probably led squadrons in the Augustan revived parade. The silver spears and shields the *equites* had awarded to Gaius and Lucius would have served to illuminate their more prominent status. Furthermore, we do not know how these squadrons were arranged in the procession, but Gaius and Lucius may have led the first two *turmae* in the procession, with the other leaders and their squadrons following behind.

Were Gaius and Lucius likened to the Dioscuri by their participation in this parade, as Poulsen suggests? Although the Dioscuri were commonly seen on *denarii* brandishing spears, I have found no issues depicting them carrying shields.¹⁰⁵ Rather than these being a reference to the Dioscuri, spears and shields were the traditional arms of the cavalry, and so these may be ceremonial equestrian weapons, made of a precious metal to signify the status of their bearers. Although Poulsen notes, as explored above, that the general Flamininus dedicated

¹⁰¹ Poulsen (1991b) p123; Bannon (1997) p178; Pollini (2012) p430.

¹⁰² See p168.

¹⁰³ Cass. Dio 55.9.9; Swan (2004) p90-91.

¹⁰⁴ Taylor (1924) p162; see Demougin (1988) p225-240 for a list of the imperial holders of the title.

¹⁰⁵ The Dioscuri are depicted with spears, although not carrying shields: figs. 1, 26, 29, 33, 36, 37, 39. Although fig.30 includes a shield, it is underneath their horses and therefore not one of their attributes

silver shields to the Dioscuri at Delphi, this does not necessarily mean that the Dioscuri were always associated with such shields.¹⁰⁶

There is a further problem concerning this role, and that is the question of how often both brothers could have ridden in the parade. Gaius had held the title for two years before Lucius received it. When in 2 BC Lucius took the *toga virilis* is uncertain, and although it was customary for the ceremony to occur at the Liberalia on 17th March, many imperial men were exceptions to that custom.¹⁰⁷ As Vassileiou has calculated Lucius' birthday to fall between 14th June and 15th July, if he took the *toga virilis* in that year, he must have either taken it early to match the date of the Liberalia, or in a later ceremony.¹⁰⁸ If Lucius took the *toga virilis* and was acclaimed *princeps iuventutis* in March or around the date of his birthday, if his birthday was before 15th July, he could have participated in the *transvectio equitum* that year.¹⁰⁹ Gaius departed for his military campaign in the East in 1 BC, and, depending on the date of Gaius' departure, they could have both participated in the *transvectio equitum* of 1 BC.¹¹⁰ At most, the brothers can only both have participated as *principes iuventutis* on two occasions: in 2 and 1 BC. Assuming that they rode in every *transvectio equitum* when they were in Rome from the age of fifteen, more parades would have had a single brother participate than both. However, this may have rendered the occasions on which they did take part more notable.

All these considerations problematize Poulsen's hypothesis that Gaius and Lucius were assimilated to the Dioscuri through their role as *principes iuventutis* riding at the front

¹⁰⁶ See p145; Plut. *Flam.* 12.6.

¹⁰⁷ Ov. *Fast.* 3.771-788; Swan (2004) p89.

¹⁰⁸ Vassileiou (1984) p49, 51.

¹⁰⁹ Cooley (2009) p162.

¹¹⁰ Cass. Dio 55.10.17.

of the *transvectio equitum*.¹¹¹ As noted above, Gaius had held the title alone for two years, and perhaps the title should not be seen as requiring two incumbents. Not only was it rare for both Gaius and Lucius to participate in the parade, but it is also unlikely that they would have ridden together even on these occasions; as *seviri* they should have each been at the head of a separate *turma*.¹¹² This therefore makes assimilation between the Dioscuri and Gaius and Lucius more difficult to argue, as one of the defining attributes of the Dioscuri is that they are depicted together. Unfortunately, we cannot know if Augustus reorganised the parade to better emphasise his sons, as Dionysius published his work around 8 BC, before either Gaius or Lucius had been awarded the title and there are no later detailed descriptions. It must therefore be acknowledged, as Champlin notes, that there is no proof that Gaius and Lucius led the procession of the *equites* together, or that they were assimilated to the Dioscuri in this role.¹¹³

There is one explicit link attested between Gaius, Lucius and the Dioscuri: an inscription from Ephesus refers to a cult worshipping Castor and Pollux, Gaius and Lucius, and Alexander the Great.¹¹⁴ Although this inscription is dated to the beginning of the second century AD, it would be strange for a cult to Gaius and Lucius to be instigated at this date, when they had been dead for a century.¹¹⁵ It is possible that Alexander, Gaius and Lucius were later additions to the cult of the Dioscuri, but in order for these additions to be relevant, the worship of Gaius and Lucius must have commenced during their lifetimes or soon after their deaths. Thus, in Ephesus a relationship was seen between Castor and Pollux and Gaius

¹¹¹ Poulsen (1991b) p123.

¹¹² Although how these *turmae* relates to the organisation by tribes and centuries described by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.4 is unclear.

¹¹³ Champlin (2011) p98.

¹¹⁴ *SEG* 4.512; Poulsen (1991b) p125; the Dioscuri are worshipped here under the name Ἀνακτόρων.

¹¹⁵ Cults of Gaius and Lucius were founded during their lifetimes, in Eresus on Lesbos: Price (1984) p3, cat.5 = *IG* 12 suppl.124, and Sardis: Price (1984) p66: *IGR* 4.1756.

and Lucius.¹¹⁶ A further inscription from Cyprus between 7/6 BC and AD 2 refers to Augustus as Zeus, and Gaius and Lucius as διδύμων υἱῶν, his twin sons.¹¹⁷ The link between Augustus and Zeus, the father of Gaius and Lucius and the father of the Dioscuri, suggests that Gaius and Lucius, although not twins themselves, were being linked to the sons of Zeus, Castor and Pollux. Additionally, the fact that this inscription is found on an altar suggests it was associated with the imperial cult and therefore this may be a local, and more explicit, expression of parallels only hinted at in Rome.

A further allusion to the similarities between Gaius and Lucius and the Dioscuri has been suggested in Rome. Alexander the Great was depicted with Castor, Pollux and Victory in a portrait by Apelles, which was displayed by Augustus in the “most frequented place in his Forum”.¹¹⁸ It seems that a comparison was being drawn between Augustus and Alexander, which was later made explicit by Claudius, who had the portrait of Alexander removed and one of Augustus substituted.¹¹⁹ Poulsen has suggested that a second comparison can be seen between the Dioscuri and Gaius and Lucius, who had been closely linked to the dedication of the Forum of Augustus and the temple of Mars Ultor.¹²⁰ Although Claudius’ actions make the correlation between Alexander and Augustus clear, does the parallel between Gaius and Lucius with the Dioscuri follow? Claudius did not replace the faces of Castor and Pollux with those of Gaius and Lucius, or even of his own sons, Britannicus and Nero, who were also compared to the Dioscuri in the provinces.¹²¹ Perhaps it was acceptable to replace a mortal’s face with that of a god, Divus Augustus, but not to replace the faces of

¹¹⁶ On the difficulties of using provincial evidence: see p222.

¹¹⁷ Ehrenberg and Jones (1955) no.115a; Mitford (1947) p222-225, (1974) p111-115; Poulsen (1991b) p125; Rose (1997) p28. The inscription was later altered to change the names of Gaius and Lucius to Tiberius and Germanicus: Ehrenberg and Jones (1955) no.115b; Mitford (1947) p224, 225, (1974) p111; Poulsen (1991b) p125 n26 identifies these two as the emperor and his adopted son, Mitford (1974) p111 as Tiberius and Germanicus Gemellus, Tiberius’ grandsons, see p264.

¹¹⁸ Plin. *HN*. 35.27.

¹¹⁹ Plin. *HN*. 35.93-94.

¹²⁰ Cass. Dio 55.10.6; Poulsen (1991b) p124.

¹²¹ Discussed below.

gods with those of mortals. However, the inclusion of a painting featuring Castor and Pollux in a location linked with Gaius and Lucius from its inauguration, at which they presided over the circus games, may have inspired comparisons for contemporary viewers.

It has been argued that certain statues depict Gaius and Lucius in a style reminiscent of the Dioscuri. Although it was once suggested that the Capitoline Dioscuri were depicted with the faces of Gaius and Lucius, this is no longer believed.¹²² More recently, Rose and Pollini have suggested that the depictions of a pair of young Julio-Claudians from a group found in the Julian Basilica at Corinth, identified as Gaius and Lucius “were given heroically nude types, reminiscent of the Dioscuri” (fig.67).¹²³ Pollini draws a comparison between these depictions of the imperial youths and statues of the Dioscuri from Leptis Magna.¹²⁴ He suggests that these statues of a pair of young men, depicted in a heroic nudity, draped in a cloak and with idealised features would have suggested a resemblance to Castor and Pollux. Although these depictions are perhaps like those of the Dioscuri, they are like them only insofar as the imperial brothers are depicted in an idealised ‘heroic’ manner. For although there are some similarities between these statues and depictions of the Dioscuri, such as pose and idealised features, they are superficial. Neither of the Corinth statues possess any Dioscuric attributes, such as horses, *piloi* or stars, although it seems likely that they held something in their right hands, the statues are too damaged to be certain. They furthermore do not have the characteristic ‘leonine’ hair, commonly seen on statuary and numismatic images of Castor and Pollux.¹²⁵ In this case, therefore, I cannot see any explicit reference to the Dioscuri in these statues; rather the princes are depicted in generic heroic nudity with the

¹²² Venuti (1824) vol. 1, p128, vol. 2 p176.

¹²³ Rose (1997) p19; Pollini (2012) p431-432.

¹²⁴ Pollini (2012) p431-432.

¹²⁵ See, for example, figs. 21, 24, 28, 33, 36, 41; La Rocca (1994) p74; Parisi Presicce (1994) p160-161.

hairstyle of the Julio-Claudians; closely cropped hair with a distinctive fringe.¹²⁶ This lack of explicit reference, however, does not mean that these heroic-style statues of Gaius and Lucius would not have suggested a parallel with the Dioscuri to ancient viewers.¹²⁷

Pollini suggests a second pair of statues might have invited the viewer to draw a comparison between this imperial pair and the Dioscuri. An inscribed base of an equestrian statue of Lucius has been found near the west gateway to the Roman Agora in Athens; Pollini thus suggests that a pendant statue of Gaius would have stood at the eastern gate.¹²⁸ He links these two hypothetically paired equestrian statues of Gaius and Lucius to a pair of Castor and Pollux, which he suggests stood in front of the Propylaea on the Athenian Acropolis.¹²⁹ If the statues Pollini refers to are those described by Pausanias, the ancient author described them only as statues of horsemen, perhaps the sons of Xenophon or made to beautify the place, but no point identified as the Dioscuri.¹³⁰ Thus, as neither of the suggested equestrian statues of the imperial brothers survives, or even an inscription for Gaius, I would hesitate to argue for an assimilation to the Dioscuri based on the evidence we possess.

Champlin has argued against Poulsen's hypothesis that Gaius and Lucius were the first imperial brothers to be compared to the Dioscuri, instead proposing that Tiberius first conceived of the parallel, rather than Augustus.¹³¹ He is correct in his assessment of the evidence for Gaius and Lucius being linked to the Dioscuri, as it is all from the provinces and much of it is only suggestive.¹³² However, the inconclusive nature of the parallels between Gaius and Lucius and the Dioscuri may be because Gaius and Lucius were the first imperial

¹²⁶ The differences in the fringes are used to identify the portrait: Pollini (1987) p10.

¹²⁷ See p220-221.

¹²⁸ Although no such statue is attested: Pollini (2012) p432-433.

¹²⁹ Pollini (2012) p432-433.

¹³⁰ Paus. 1.22.4; Pollini does not provide a reference for the statues of the Dioscuri, but it seems likely that Pausanias is his source.

¹³¹ Champlin (2011) p98-99.

¹³² For a discussion of the difficulties of provincial evidence, see p222.

brothers so paired as potential heirs. Any imperial ‘succession policy’ that focused on promoting a pair of brothers would be still developing in response to the needs of the principate, whilst trying to maintain a connection to the Republic. If Gaius and Lucius had survived and become Augustus’ successors, the comparisons may have become more evident. Owing to their early deaths, however, we have no more than an accumulation of suggestive potential comparisons.

Tiberius and Drusus the Elder

Tiberius and Drusus were not biologically related to Augustus, being the sons of Livia from her first marriage; although Tiberius was adopted by Augustus in AD 4, Drusus never was. Born in 42 and 38 BC respectively, both were permitted to stand for offices five years before the legal age, Tiberius receiving this honour in 24 BC¹³³ and Drusus in 19 BC.¹³⁴ Tiberius was the same age as Augustus’ nephew Marcellus, and the two seem to have been linked during Marcellus’ lifetime more than Tiberius was with Drusus. Tiberius and Marcellus rode either side of Augustus in his triumph of 29 BC, while no participation is reported for Drusus.¹³⁵ Following Marcellus’ death and Drusus’ coming of age, the Claudian brothers both received honours and a series of military commands. In 20 BC, Tiberius was sent to retrieve the standards lost to the Parthians by Crassus.¹³⁶ He also settled the Armenian succession, held a military tribunate in Spain, the governorship of Gallia Comata, and commanded in wars in Pannonia and in Germany, for which he was awarded an *ovatio*.¹³⁷ Drusus likewise demonstrated military prowess, campaigning in the Alps in 15 BC¹³⁸ and in

¹³³ Cass. Dio 53.28.3.

¹³⁴ Cass. Dio 54.10.4.

¹³⁵ Suet. *Tib.* 6.4.

¹³⁶ Suet. *Tib.* 9.1.

¹³⁷ Suet. *Tib.* 9.1-2; Cass. Dio 54.9.4-5, 54.31.3-4.

¹³⁸ Cass. Dio 54.22.1-4.

Germany in 11 BC.¹³⁹ Both brothers won *ornamenta triumphalia* and were acclaimed *imperator* by their troops.¹⁴⁰

Augustus adopted his remaining grandson, Agrippa Postumus at the same time as Tiberius.¹⁴¹ Agrippa was much less distinguished than his brothers had been, taking the *toga virilis* at seventeen, two years later than Gaius and Lucius.¹⁴² Tiberius and Agrippa do not appear to have been linked as a pair, perhaps owing to the differences in age and experience: in AD 4 Tiberius was forty-five and had been consul twice, whilst Agrippa was sixteen, rendering any attempts at depicting a fraternal or near equal relationship between the two impossible. Agrippa was exiled to the island of Planasia three years later, reportedly because of his erratic behaviour and violent temperament.¹⁴³ He was killed in AD 14, in the famous words of Tacitus, as the “opening crime of the new principate”.¹⁴⁴

During his campaign in Germany in 9 BC, Drusus was wounded when his horse fell on him, perhaps breaking his leg.¹⁴⁵ As he lay dying, two horsemen were seen riding through the camp, a manifestation which I have argued should be identified as an epiphany of Castor and Pollux.¹⁴⁶ When Tiberius was informed of his brother’s fatal injury, he hurried to his side, reaching him shortly before he died.¹⁴⁷ Drusus, although on the verge of death, responded appropriately to a more senior commander, ordering the legion and standard bearers to greet his brother, saluting him as *imperator* and consul, and arranging for

¹³⁹ Cass. Dio 54.33.4-5.

¹⁴⁰ Cass. Dio 54.33.4-5.

¹⁴¹ Suet. *Aug.* 65.1, *Tib.* 15.2; Vell. Pat. 2.104.1.

¹⁴² Cass. Dio 55.22.4; 55.10.6.

¹⁴³ Cass. Dio 55.32.1-2; Suet. *Aug.* 65.1; Tac. *Ann.* 1.3 lays the blame for Agrippa’s exile on Livia’s machinations. Tac. *Ann.* 1.5 reports a rumour that shortly before Augustus’ death, he had visited Agrippa in exile, with the suggestion that he might have planned to restore Agrippa to his family.

¹⁴⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 1.6; who ordered Agrippa’s execution is uncertain, Tacitus suggests it was Livia and Tiberius, whereas Suetonius reports that there was a conspiracy to return Julia the Elder and Agrippa Postumus to Rome during Augustus’ lifetime: Suet. *Aug.* 19; Seager (1972) p48-50; Levick (1999) p64-66.

¹⁴⁵ Liv. *Per.* 142; Champlin (2011) p76.

¹⁴⁶ Cass. Dio 55.1.3; see p142.

¹⁴⁷ Cass. Dio 55.2.1-3; Val. Max. 5.5.3; Liv. *Per.* 142; Sen. *Consol. ad Polybium* 15.5.

headquarters to be erected.¹⁴⁸ After Drusus' death, Tiberius escorted his brother's body to Rome, walking before it the entire way.¹⁴⁹ Both brothers thus are depicted as exemplifying fraternal love, harmony and respect.¹⁵⁰ Tiberius gave a eulogy that greatly honoured his younger brother in the Forum, as Augustus did in the Circus Flaminius.¹⁵¹ Both of these locations had a temple to Castor and Pollux, and although there is no conclusive evidence, the possibility that these speeches were given from their temples is attractive. Valerius Maximus' account of the death of Drusus highlights the similarities between the two sets of brothers, stating, "I for my part know that no example of kindred affection can be suitably added save Castor and Pollux."¹⁵² The epiphany of the Dioscuri at Drusus' death should thus be seen in a wider context: not only did the Dioscuri appear at the death of a prominent individual, but they also appeared at the death of a young man who was compared to them. However, it is difficult to know if the parallel or the epiphany came first and which may have inspired the other. Nevertheless, the parallel was present after Drusus' death and perhaps casts the deceased Drusus as the mortal Castor, and Tiberius, the surviving brother as the immortal Pollux, although in this case tragically unable to restore his brother to life.

A pair of inscriptions suggests another connection between Castor and Pollux and the imperial family.¹⁵³ The first describes a group of men as *Augustales (et) aeditui [Castoris et] Pollucis*; linking them as priests of the imperial cult as well as of the cult of the Dioscuri.¹⁵⁴ One of the men named in this inscription, Marcus Tusculanius, is also possibly attested in

¹⁴⁸ Val. Max. 5.5.3; for discussion of this mutual respect: Wardle (2000) p489-490.

¹⁴⁹ Suet. *Tib.* 7.3.

¹⁵⁰ Although Suet. *Tib.* 50.1 preserves a tradition that the brothers were not always so close, stating that Tiberius demonstrated his hatred of Drusus after his death, by producing a letter Drusus had written in which he discussed compelling Augustus to restore the Republic. However, it is likely that this anecdote comes from a source hostile to Tiberius. Levick suggests that the letter may have been preserved in the memoirs of Agrippina the Younger: Levick (1999) p32-33, 237 n8; Lindsay (1995) p149 regards the tradition and letter as suspect and propagated by anti-Tiberian sources.

¹⁵¹ Cass. Dio 55.2.1-2.

¹⁵² Val. Max. 5.5.3.

¹⁵³ McCracken (1940) p487-488.

¹⁵⁴ *CIL* 14.2620.

another inscription naming Marcus Tusculanius Amianthus as *mag(ister) aeditu(um) Castoris (et) Polluc(is) Augustalium*.¹⁵⁵ These inscriptions have been identified as originating from Tusculum, and probably date to after the death of Augustus in AD 14. They may suggest that at Tusculum the imperial cult and the cult of the Dioscuri were linked, at least by their officials. This link may be connected to the fact that Tiberius possessed a villa at Tusculum and stayed here on several occasions.¹⁵⁶ The proximity to the town of the residence of a man who was compared to the Dioscuri and whose father, as Divus Augustus, also received cult, may have inspired the link between the two cults. However, unfortunately we do not possess enough information regarding either cult at Tusculum to state how long this link continued, or what inspired it.

A further suggestion that Tiberius and Drusus shared aspects of the Dioscuri has been argued based on an inscription from the theatre of Caesarea in Judea:

*[Nauti]s Tiberieum
[— Po]ntius Pilatus
[praef]ectus Iudae[a]e
[ref]e[rit].¹⁵⁷*

This inscription can be dated by the infamous tenure of Pontius Pilate as prefect of Judea to between AD 26 and 36.¹⁵⁸ The building restored by Pilate, known as the *Tiberieum*, has been suggested to be one of a pair of lighthouses built by King Herod during the reign of Augustus.¹⁵⁹ Josephus describes the city in detail, including, on the sea wall great towers “the loftiest and most magnificent of which was called *Druseion* after the stepson of Caesar” (ὁ μέγιστος Δρούσος ὀνομάζεται, πάνυ καλόν τι χρῆμα, τὴν προσηγορίαν εἰληφὸς ἀπὸ

¹⁵⁵ *CIL* 14.2637.

¹⁵⁶ Cass. Dio 58.24.1; Jos. *AJ.* 18.6.6; McCracken (1940) p486.

¹⁵⁷ *AE* 1963.104; Alföldy (1999) p106, (2002) p134; Giardina (2010) p65-66; Champlin (2011) p90.

¹⁵⁸ Champlin (2011) p90.

¹⁵⁹ Alföldy (1999) p96.

Δρούσου τοῦ Καίσαρος προγόνου...).¹⁶⁰ Alföldy has argued that the *Tiberieum* named in the inscription was a partner to the *Druseion*. Furthermore, Josephus states that Herod created in this tower “a series of vaulted recesses as shelters for sailors”, which led Alföldy to restore the inscription’s first word as [*Nauti*]s and to suggest that both of these towers functioned as lighthouses.¹⁶¹ As I have argued in Chapter Three, the most famous lighthouse of antiquity, the Pharos of Alexandria, was dedicated to the ‘Saviour Gods’, perhaps the Dioscuri.¹⁶² If Alföldy’s reconstruction is correct, these lighthouses named after Tiberius and Drusus would further demonstrate that the imperial brothers were seen to share responsibilities with the Dioscuri.¹⁶³ Taylor, however, has argued that the use of a Latin word such as *Tiberieum* by a Roman governor may not have the same use as the Greek equivalent used by a Hellenistic King, but that names such as *Caesareum* and *Augusteum* tend to refer, when used by Romans, to buildings associated with the imperial cult.¹⁶⁴ She argues that this inscription should belong to some such building and would have read “Pontius Pilate, Prefect of Judaea, [made and d]e[dicated] the *Tiberieum* for the (Augustan) gods”.¹⁶⁵ Taylor notes that the small size of the inscription suggests it was used on a modest building, perhaps the rectangular building to the west of the theatre in Caesarea, which has thus been identified as the *Tiberieum*.¹⁶⁶ However, it would seem strange for a Roman provincial governor who built or restored a shrine to the imperial cult in such a prominent location, to mark his euergetism and piety to the emperor with such a small inscription. Although again the evidence does not allow a clear answer to this problem, Alföldy and Champlin’s arguments are convincing, particularly linked to Josephus’ descriptions. Although Josephus does not mention a lighthouse for

¹⁶⁰ Jos. *AJ.* 15.336-337, also *BJ.* 1.412.

¹⁶¹ Jos. *AJ.* 15.337; Alföldy (1999) p96.

¹⁶² See p207-208.

¹⁶³ Giardina (2006) p65-66; Champlin (2011) p91.

¹⁶⁴ Taylor (2006) p567, 569 on the probability of an imperial cult building to Tiberius being dedicated or restored during his lifetime.

¹⁶⁵ Taylor (2006) p570.

¹⁶⁶ Taylor (2006) p566.

Tiberius, the reasons for which are unknown, it would be strange for there to be a tower in honour of Drusus and not one for his older brother, Tiberius.

The parallels between Castor and Pollux and the Claudian brothers are also emphasised by the anonymous author of a poem addressed to Livia to console her for the loss of her son.¹⁶⁷ In this poem, Livia's sons are compared to those of Leda: "the Ledaean brethren, concordant stars", (*Ledaeos, Concordia sidera, fratres*).¹⁶⁸ Tiberius and Drusus' strong relationship is emphasised and the brothers, although born three years apart, are described as twins, like Castor and Pollux, possessing a "two-fold birth".¹⁶⁹ The author of the *Consolatio* further emphasises the parallel, referring to the rededication of the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux by Tiberius in AD 6 in his own name and that of Drusus, suggesting Tiberius would ask "Why, brotherless, alas! Do I approach the brother gods?"¹⁷⁰ Ovid, recording the dedication of the temple, writes "brothers of the race of the gods founded that temple for the brother gods beside Juturna's pools", (*fratribus illa deis fratres de gente deorum / circa Iuturnae composuere lacus*), drawing a parallel between the two sets of brothers.¹⁷¹ These references indicate that this was a well-known and publicised paradigm.

Cassius Dio preserves a curious detail about the dedicatory inscription on the temple: Tiberius recorded his name as Claudianus rather than Claudius.¹⁷² The suffix '-ianus' denoted Tiberius' status as a member of the Claudian *gens* prior to his adoption by Augustus and perhaps served to emphasise the family relationship between himself and Drusus, whose

¹⁶⁷ This poem cannot be dated precisely and could date from any point after Tiberius' rededication of the temple in AD 6. Schoonhoven (1992) p37 suggests, owing to the emphasis on the Claudian branch of the imperial family and similarities between the depiction of the family of Augustus and that of Claudius, an early Neronian date, before Britannicus' death, and that the poem contains an anti-Neronian perspective. For a discussion of suggested dates: Schoonhoven (1992) p26-30.

¹⁶⁸ *Consolatio ad Liviam* 283.

¹⁶⁹ *Consolatio ad Liviam* 83-94, 121-124.

¹⁷⁰ *Consolatio ad Liviam* 283-290; Suet. *Tib.* 20; Cass. Dio 55.27.3-4.

¹⁷¹ Ov. *Fast.* 1.705-708.

¹⁷² Cass. Dio 55.27.4; Champlin (2011) p85 notes that this is the only attested use of 'Claudianus' within Tiberius' nomenclature.

name in the inscription would have included 'Claudius'. Augustus had adopted Tiberius in AD 4, two years before the rededication of the temple and this may have been a way of emphasising his new position as the son of Augustus, whilst still advertising his Claudian roots. Dio also recorded that Tiberius in 7 BC, his second consulate, convened the Senate and "[assigned] himself the duty of repairing the temple of Concord, in order that he might inscribe upon it his own name and that of Drusus".¹⁷³ Although the same level of detail is not recorded in the case of the temple of Castor and Pollux, it is perhaps implied; as Suetonius and Dio state that the temple was dedicated in both brothers' names, as well as by Dio's explanation that these actions and the honour they bestowed upon Drusus soothed the Roman people.¹⁷⁴

It may be possible to see in Tiberius' vow to rededicate the temple of Concordia just before his exile to Rhodes, a reference to the internal conflict between the two groups within the imperial family, the Julian and the Claudian *gentes*. Champlin has suggested that Tiberius' use of Claudianus may have been a deliberate undercutting of his adoption by Augustus, choosing instead to celebrate his biological family.¹⁷⁵ However, it would have been dangerous for Tiberius to undermine his relationship with Augustus and the Julian family, which after all, was his claim to power, not only as the adopted son of Augustus, but as the grandson of Divus Julius. Furthermore, although Champlin claims that Augustus' control over his "pseudo-Julian family" was waning owing to his age, I do not agree that the inclusion of Claudianus was somehow slipped past the emperor. Tiberius would probably also have been described in the inscription as the son of Augustus. Therefore, the inclusion of these two filiations, describing Tiberius as the son of Augustus, adopted from the Claudii, was perhaps an attempt to show unity within the imperial family. For both the Julian and

¹⁷³ Cass. Dio 55.8.1.

¹⁷⁴ Suet. *Tib.* 20; Cass. Dio 55.27.4.

¹⁷⁵ Champlin (2011) p86.

Claudian parts were represented in Tiberius, who, like the Dioscuri, could also claim two fathers, one by birth, the other by adoption.

However, we do not know when the rededication of the temple of Castor and Pollux was vowed and hear nothing until the temple's dedication in AD 6.¹⁷⁶ There are many possibilities: it may have been vowed at the same time as the temple of Concordia in 7 BC, or perhaps earlier, soon after Drusus' death in 9 BC, when comparisons to the Dioscuri may have begun to be made. It may even be possible to explain the inclusion of Drusus' name as a dedicator on the temple, although he had been dead for sixteen years, by pushing this date back further, to just after the fire of 14 BC, when the temple may have been damaged and both brothers were still alive to make a vow.¹⁷⁷ Tiberius, at least at the start of his reign, was praised for inscribing the original builders' names upon monuments that he restored.¹⁷⁸ Another option is proposed by Suetonius, who links the dedication of both temples with Tiberius' triumph over the Pannonian tribes.¹⁷⁹ As Poulsen has argued, scholars have used Suetonius' reference to the temples being rebuilt *de manubiis* to suggest that both temples were vowed in 7 BC, as Tiberius did not triumph again until AD 12, after both temples had been dedicated.¹⁸⁰ This is logical, but it is still somewhat surprising that the sources mention his vow for the temple of Concordia, but not one for the temple of Castor and Pollux, considering the prominence of the comparison between the Dioscuri and the Claudian brothers. This omission may be a result of the fragmentary survival of the texts, and thus we

¹⁷⁶ Cass. Dio 55.8.1; Poulsen (1991b) p121-122.

¹⁷⁷ See p53.

¹⁷⁸ Cass. Dio 57.10.2; this is a problematic reference, since Dio states that Tiberius built no new structures except the temple of Augustus. This may suggest that this was only his practice during his reign, or that although he rebuilt the temple of Castor and Pollux entirely, this was not counted as a new structure. Unfortunately the temple's inscription is too fragmentary to discern whether Tiberius also included in the inscription the name of Metellus, the last builder of the temple, although this would be unlikely, as such an inclusion would have lessened the dynastic connotations of the temple's rebuilding.

¹⁷⁹ Suet. *Tib.* 20.

¹⁸⁰ Poulsen (1991b) p121; triumphs: Cass. Dio 55.8.2 (7 BC), 56.17.1 (AD 12, after Germanicus' victory in Dalmatia).

must beware of constructing an argument from silence. However, the rebuilding of both temples, whenever it commenced, would have taken some time, perhaps inconvenienced by Tiberius' exile on Rhodes from 6 BC to AD 2. The temple of Concordia was still on Tiberius' mind at the start of his time at Rhodes, as when he visited Paros he compelled the Parians to sell him a statue of Vesta, with the intention to dedicate it in the temple of Concordia.¹⁸¹ However, during his long exile, it is possible that plans were made for another member of the imperial family to dedicate the temple, only for it to be reassigned to Tiberius upon his return and adoption by Augustus. We hear nothing, however, of any plans concerning the temple of Castor and Pollux, although upon Tiberius' return, it seems that temple possessed greater importance and was rededicated four years before Concordia.¹⁸²

Poulsen and Pollini have posited a reason for the delay between the suggested date of Tiberius' vow to rebuild the temple of Castor and Pollux and the completion of the rebuilding.¹⁸³ Poulsen argues that the rededication of the temple was initially intended to be carried out by Gaius and Lucius. This plan was foiled by their deaths, and Tiberius, following his adoption by Augustus, stepped in to perform the rededication. The temple may have begun to be rebuilt prior to Tiberius' adoption and his return from Rhodes in AD 2, especially as he did not re-enter political life until the death of Gaius and his own adoption in AD 4.¹⁸⁴ Unfortunately, Augustus also does not include the temple of Castor and Pollux in his list of restored temples in his *Res Gestae*.¹⁸⁵ Considering the relative prominence of Gaius and Lucius as the sons of Augustus, compared with that of Tiberius in exile from 6 BC, it would be surprising if two major temples in the Forum were planned for Tiberius to rededicate,

¹⁸¹ Cass. Dio 55.9.6; Poulsen (1991b) p121.

¹⁸² However, this may also have been affected by the differing states of the temples, as we do not know how or when either temple was damaged. It is possible that the temple of Concordia was more damaged than that of Castor and Pollux, and therefore took longer to rebuild.

¹⁸³ Poulsen (1991b) p126; Pollini (2012) p425.

¹⁸⁴ Suet. *Tib.* 13.2, 15.1.

¹⁸⁵ *RGDA* 19.1-2.

rather than the brothers who were being promoted as Augustus' successors and who were compared to the Dioscuri. It may therefore be that the early deaths of Gaius and Lucius left the way clear for Tiberius. However, Poulsen and Pollini's suggestions for Gaius and Lucius being the original dedicators rests upon our knowledge of Augustus' dual heir system, and the suggestion that Gaius and Lucius were compared with the Dioscuri. As noted above, this comparison is not as certain as in the case of Tiberius and Drusus and thus we may never be able to know who was originally intended to rededicate the temple, only that Tiberius was the one to do so.

Given the parallels between the Claudian brothers and the Dioscuri, Tiberius' rededication of the temple of Castor and Pollux was a prominent way to promote this paradigm. His second rededication, the temple of Concordia, was rife with troublesome associations; built in the aftermath of the struggle of the orders and rebuilt by Lucius Opimus, consul of 121 BC, who had orchestrated the fall of Gaius Gracchus.¹⁸⁶ However, the republican temple of Concordia, with its fraught history, was renamed and repurposed as the temple of Concordia Augusta, as the harmony of the imperial family had become integral to the harmony of the state. As I have suggested above, the temple inscription, through Tiberius' nomenclature, may have linked the Julian and Claudian parts of the imperial family, concealing any rivalries between them. This interpretation, combined with the dedication of the temple of Castor and Pollux in the names of Tiberius and Drusus, emphasised the fraternal concord of these brothers, even fifteen years after one of the brothers had died.

Tiberius' rebuilding of the temple of Concordia has been identified on a coin issue minted between AD 35 and 36 (fig.68).¹⁸⁷ The statues before the temple are identifiable from their attributes as Hercules and Mercury, and the seated female figure inside the temple is

¹⁸⁶ Morstein-Marx (2004) p55.

¹⁸⁷ Sumi (2009) p184-185.

probably Concordia Augusta.¹⁸⁸ The details are unfortunately less clear for the figures on the roof. Sumi suggests that the central female figures are Concordia, flanked by Pax and Salus.¹⁸⁹ Victories stand on the roof of the transverse *cella*, and the corners of the pediment. The other two figures are harder to identify, they are males with bare chests, and hold spears. They may perhaps be Tiberius and Drusus, whose names were on the temple inscription. Sumi, however, suggests that they should be identified as the Dioscuri.¹⁹⁰ As attractive as such an identification would be, the figures do not seem to wear the *piloi* or stars, and although such details may be difficult to render on a coin, other details such as Mercury's *caduceus* have been included, and thus the identification of the Dioscuri can only be a suggestion. As explored above, the association between the imperial brothers and the Dioscuri may have been strong enough for paired statues to evoke the relationship, without needing to state it explicitly. As Sumi notes, even without this extra link between the temples of Concordia Augusta and Castor and Pollux, the fact that they were rebuilt at similar times by the same person, suggests that a common theme of harmony may be seen; in the temple of Concordia Augusta that of the imperial family, and in the temple of Castor and Pollux, between brothers.

Nothing of the temple of Concordia Augusta's inscription survives and only a few fragments do from the temple of Castor and Pollux. From the fragments found near the temple, attempts have been made to reconstruct the inscription. As Suetonius and Cassius Dio describe the inscription in almost identical terms, their accounts have been used as the basis for the reconstruction.¹⁹¹ The most detailed reconstruction of the inscription is by Alföldy, who reconstructs three separate inscriptions; two columnar inscriptions for Tiberius and

¹⁸⁸ Packer (2010) p166.

¹⁸⁹ Sumi (2009) p184-185.

¹⁹⁰ Sumi (2009) p184-185.

¹⁹¹ Poulsen (1991b) p121.

Drusus, and a third one underneath, running along the length of the façade.¹⁹² Alföldy's full reconstruction of the inscription would have appeared as:

<i>[Ti(berius)] C[ae]sar Augusti f(ilius) Divi n(epos) Claudianus] / [co(n)s(ul) [ite]r(um), imp(erator) ter, tribunic(ia) pot(estate) VII, pontif(ex)]</i>	<i>[Nero Claudius Ti(beri) f(ilius) Drusus Germa]ni[cus] / [Augusti privignus, co(n)s(ul), i]mp(erator)[ite]r(um)] au[gur]</i>
<i>[aedem Pollucis e]t C[asto]r[is] incendio consumptam de manubiis r]ef(ecerunt).¹⁹³</i>	

In his reconstruction, Alföldy has accepted the inversion of the temple's traditional name, as seen in Suetonius, who states that Tiberius "*dedicavit... aedem... Pollucis et Castoris*", which is seemingly confirmed by a fragment reading *T · C* which Alföldy locates within the phrase *[aedem Pollucis e]t · C[astoris]*.¹⁹⁴ As Champlin notes, Alföldy's reconstruction is based upon contemporary inscriptions, epigraphic conventions and study of the fragments. However, only thirteen letters or parts of letters survive on a total of six fragments, and it is debated how many should be attributed to the temple of Castor and Pollux. Alföldy defends his use of all the fragments, citing common characteristics such as the type of marble, the use of a chisel on the front faces, and the letters and holes to secure the bronze letter being all of the same depth.¹⁹⁵ Conversely, Sande has expressed doubt regarding four fragments, owing to the differing measurements or signs of reuse. She reconstructs the inscription as a single line, using only two of the fragments.¹⁹⁶ Particularly interesting is her explanation for the *T · C* fragment, on which, after close study, she notes that the C could also be a G, O, or Q.¹⁹⁷ She also observed two carved 'drops' to the left of the 'T' which she identifies as part of a decoration and claims that this fragment must have belonged at the left side of the inscription, making these the first letters.¹⁹⁸ She suggests that these letters must have formed the

¹⁹² Alföldy (1992), following Tomasetti's reconstruction of 1890: Bartoli (1927) p289.

¹⁹³ Alföldy (1992) p53.

¹⁹⁴ Suet. *Tib.* 20; Alföldy (1992) p48-49.

¹⁹⁵ Alföldy (1992) p46.

¹⁹⁶ Sande (2009b) p180.

¹⁹⁷ Sande (2009b) p183.

¹⁹⁸ Sande (2009b) p180, 183.

abbreviated “*T(emplum) · C[astorum] or C[astoris]*”.¹⁹⁹ It is impossible to state if either of these reconstructions is correct, as the survival of so few fragments makes any reconstruction tenuous and thus it is best to concentrate on the literary testimonies of the inscription.

As noted above, Suetonius’ description of the temple rededication includes a startling detail that Tiberius restored the “temple of Pollux and Castor”.²⁰⁰ Florus also refers to the temple as “*aede Pollucis et Castoris*” in his account of the messenger epiphany after the Battle of Vercellae.²⁰¹ This may simply be a corruption of a common source used by both authors or of Suetonius’ text itself, particularly as Suetonius’ work is only known from a single manuscript from the late eighth or early ninth century AD.²⁰² However, it is interesting to inquire, if this inversion were deliberate, what its significance might be. The inscription fragments are of little use for determining why Suetonius and Florus provide an inverted form of the traditional name of the temple, especially without noting that Tiberius changed the order. Although the temple was known by many names,²⁰³ for such a significant change to go unremarked, although not impossible, is at least improbable.²⁰⁴ After this supposed change, Augustus in his *Res Gestae* refers to the temple as ‘*aedes Castoris*’ which is surprising if the renaming was intended to emphasise Tiberius’ role in the succession policy and his relationship to the Dioscuri.²⁰⁵ Furthermore, Suetonius does not refer to the temple the same way again, rather using “*aede Castoris et Pollucis*” in the next *Life of Caligula*.²⁰⁶ It seems

¹⁹⁹ Sande (2009) p180.

²⁰⁰ Suet. *Tib.* 20.

²⁰¹ Flor. *Epit.* 1.38.20, see p132.

²⁰² Kaster (2014) p133.

²⁰³ See p39-40.

²⁰⁴ The change from Concordia to Concordia Augusta is also not remarked upon, but an addition of an epithet seems less extreme than a reversal of the order of the gods’ names. Champlin (2011) p87 argues that Tiberius’ rededication did change the name of the temple, as any reader of Suetonius in Rome could have checked the inscription. He does not, however, account for Suetonius’ subsequent use of the more traditional order at *Calig.* 22.2.

²⁰⁵ *RGDA* 20.3. There may have been earlier versions of the *Res Gestae* that were updated throughout Augustus’ life, and thus it is possible that an older name of the temple is preserved from a draft before AD 6. However, it seems unlikely that a change with potential dynastic implications would not be noted in the altered text.

Furthermore, Augustus states in the text that the version we have preserved is dated to his thirteenth consulship and thus after 1st July AD 14: *RGDA* 4.4; Cooley (2009) p126.

²⁰⁶ Suet. *Calig.* 22.2.

therefore unlikely that Suetonius and Florus are recording a change in the order of Castor and Pollux's names on the temple's inscription.

Why then do Suetonius and Florus, writing a century after Tiberius' rededication of the temple, provide this inverted name? It is possible that this inversion is derived from a common unidentified source. If we take into consideration the parallels drawn between Castor and Pollux, and Tiberius and Drusus, perhaps there is an explanation for the inversion of the temple's title. In the relationships between the mortal and divine pairs, specific links can perhaps be seen between individuals within the pairs, particularly in the circumstances of Drusus' death.²⁰⁷ Drusus, the deceased brother, could be linked to Castor, the mortal Dioscurus, which would leave Tiberius, the surviving brother, connected to Pollux, the divine son of Jupiter. This parallel could also be emphasised by the differing parentages of the Claudian brothers at the time of the temple's rededication; for Tiberius was the (adopted) son of Augustus, and so had a different and more powerful father than his deceased brother. It is possible that Suetonius, or his source, through the inversion of the traditional name of the temple, was highlighting the importance of the new Pollux, Tiberius. Suetonius was aware of the different perceptions of the twins, as shown by his inclusion of the quip of Bibulus regarding Caesar equating the relative prominences of Castor and Pollux to their own uneven partnership as consuls.²⁰⁸ It is possible that he, or his source, inverted the traditional order, so that the usually less prominent Pollux came first. It seems likely that this play on words would derive from a source that was close to the time at which this relationship, and perhaps inversion of the importance of the Dioscuri, was relevant: that is, after Tiberius' adoption in AD 4, or during or soon after the reign of Tiberius. If so, it would suggest that the relative importance of the Dioscuri underwent a change in the early imperial period, perhaps because of a change in their responsibilities. During the Republic, they were most prominent as

²⁰⁷ I explore this idea further in the chapter conclusion.

²⁰⁸ Suet. *Iul.* 10.1.

epiphanic gods and the protectors of horsemen. In the early imperial period however, a different aspect became more important, perhaps owing to their connection with imperial heirs: their fraternal piety. Suetonius may therefore be reflecting the new importance attached to the Dioscuri's fraternal harmony by naming the temple of Pollux and Castor, dedicated by Tiberius and Drusus. Just as Tiberius was the more important of the dedicators and thus came first, Pollux had perhaps become the more important of the Dioscuri with him.

Germanicus and Drusus the Younger

Germanicus and Drusus the Younger were cousins who became brothers in AD 4, when Tiberius adopted his nephew Germanicus.²⁰⁹ By doing so, Germanicus replaced Tiberius' son Drusus, who was a year younger, in the order of succession. Germanicus, the son of Drusus the Elder and Antonia the Younger, was Augustus' great-nephew. Drusus, the son of Tiberius and Vipsania, was only related to Augustus by the emperor's marriage to Livia, and his father's adoption. Soon after Germanicus' adoption, in AD 4 or 5, both young men married: Germanicus wed Agrippina, Augustus' granddaughter,²¹⁰ and Drusus married Gaius' widow, Julia Livilla, Germanicus' sister.²¹¹ Tacitus, although describing the situation in the reign of Tiberius, states that Germanicus' grander genealogy, being a descendant of Augustus' sister Octavia, as well as the descent of his wife, led to his greater popularity.²¹²

Germanicus and Drusus were elevated through the *cursus honorum*, although at different paces. Germanicus was elevated more rapidly, becoming quaestor at twenty, while Drusus had to wait four more years until he was awarded the same position, at twenty-four.²¹³ Germanicus was sent on a military command to Pannonia in AD 7, at the age of twenty-

²⁰⁹ Cass. Dio 55.13.2; Suet. *Tib.* 15.2; Tac. *Ann.* 1.3.

²¹⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 64.1, *Calig.* 7.1; Tac. *Ann.* 2.45.

²¹¹ Cass. Dio 57.22.2-3, 58.11.6-7; Suet. *Tib.* 7.1; Tac. *Ann.* 2.45.

²¹² Tac. *Ann.* 2.45.

²¹³ Cass. Dio 56.25.4.

one.²¹⁴ For his deeds, he was later awarded the *ornamenta triumphalia* in AD 9,²¹⁵ and was acclaimed *imperator* in AD 14.²¹⁶ Germanicus became consul, bypassing the office of praetor, and was commended to the Senate by Augustus.²¹⁷ This was done in a letter, at the same time also commending the Senate to Tiberius.²¹⁸ Germanicus was two years younger than Drusus was when he received the same honours in AD 15. The reason behind this disparity in prominence, not seen between Gaius and Lucius, or Tiberius and Drusus may perhaps be that this was the first pair of adoptive brothers with different degrees of blood kinship to Augustus.

Following Tiberius' accession, this disparity changed: Drusus, Tiberius' biological son began to rise faster in prominence, while Germanicus' elevation slowed. Following a successful campaign in Germany, Tiberius recalled Germanicus from his command in AD 16. Although Germanicus requested a further year to complete the campaign, Tiberius offered him a second consulship and triumph, adding "if the war must be continued, he might leave his brother, Drusus, the material for a reputation".²¹⁹ This recall should not be seen as a rejection of Germanicus, for in addition to the second consulship, which he shared with Tiberius, Germanicus received *imperium maius* over the eastern provinces and began a tour of the east.²²⁰ A similar task was given to Tiberius in 20 BC²²¹ and Gaius in 1 BC.²²² Drusus was awarded *imperium proconsulare maius* and began his Balkan command in AD 17.²²³ This may suggest a reason for the change in relative prominence between Germanicus and

²¹⁴ Cass. Dio 55.31.1.

²¹⁵ Cass. Dio 56.17.2.

²¹⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 1.58.

²¹⁷ Cass. Dio 56.26.1-2.

²¹⁸ Germanicus, according to Dio, as was usual, read this letter to the Senate: Cass. Dio 56.26.2.

²¹⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 2.26. Tacitus' portrayal of Tiberius and Germanicus must be approached with caution, owing to his negative representation of Tiberius and his use of Germanicus as a popular foil for the emperor, which colours his report of their relationship, see Seager (1972) p260-262; Griffin (1995); Levick (1999) p222-223.

²²⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 2.43.

²²¹ Suet. *Tib.* 9.1; Cass. Dio 54.9.4.

²²² Cass. Dio 55.10.18.

²²³ Tac. *Ann.* 2.44.

Drusus. Although legally Germanicus was Tiberius' elder son, with the same standing as if he had been born to his family, Tiberius may have intended to bring his biological son closer to Germanicus' status. These relative positions can therefore be seen as Tiberius continuing to follow the order of succession as laid down by Augustus, distinguishing Germanicus as the more prominent of the pair, but narrowing the gap in prominence between the two.

One notable title is missing from this summary, *princeps iuventutis*, as scholars disagree whether or not Germanicus and Drusus received it.²²⁴ Lott argues that the office had been too closely bound to Gaius and Lucius to be offered to another pair of brothers.²²⁵ Tiberius and Drusus the Elder do not appear to have received the title, but this may be because of Drusus' early death, and Tiberius' age, for at the deaths of Gaius and Lucius, he was forty-five. Although by Neraudau's definition, he could still just perhaps be counted as a *iuvenis*, the title seems to have been reserved for younger men- all the Julio-Claudian men who are explicitly attested to have received the title did so before the age of twenty.²²⁶ Although the majority of these awards occurred during or after Tiberius' reign, nevertheless it is indicative that the title was given to younger members of the imperial family. Although Tiberius and Drusus could have received the title in the 20s BC, when both were in their teens, they do not appear to have done so, probably because Marcellus, Augustus' nephew, was the most likely successor at this time. However, Germanicus and Drusus, aged eighteen and seventeen in AD 4, were more feasible candidates. If they were awarded this title, we would perhaps expect to find similar references to those we possess for Gaius and Lucius: numismatic depictions or inscriptions; and we do not. There are, however, references

²²⁴ For: Weinstock (1937a) p22; Pollini (2012) p435. Against: Lott (2012) p14.

²²⁵ Lott (2012) p14.

²²⁶ Neraudau (1979) p5, 116-117 suggests that the age of the *iuvenes* was between 17 and 45. Exact ages are difficult to state, as we do not know whether the title was awarded before or after their birthday during a certain year. However, it seems likely to me that the title would be awarded as part of the coming of age and thus I here give the age after the individual's birthday: Gaius and Lucius at age fifteen: Cass. Dio. 55.9.9-10; Tiberius Gemellus at age nineteen: Cass. Dio 59.8.1; Nero at age fifteen: Tac. *Ann.* 12.41

preserved in their posthumous honours which suggest that they were honoured in similar ways. The Senate issued a decree following Drusus' death in AD 23 and an outpouring of proposed honours from the *equites*:

That a golden equestrian statue of Drusus Caesar should be erected in the Lupercal at the expense of the equestrian order...

And the Senate decided that a silver shield decorated with a picture of Drusus Caesar should be carried before the Roman *equites* when they parade on July 15, with a banner stating that this shield was given by the equestrian order to Drusus Caesar, son of Tiberius Caesar Augustus...

[... *uti status equestris inaurata Drusi*
Caesaris in Luperci p[oneretur sumptu equestris ordinis ---]
Utque clupeus argenteus c[um imagine Drusi Caesaris praeferretur equitibus
Romanis, cum transue-
*rentur idib(us) Iul(is) cum titul[o eum clupeum --- ab equestri ordine datum]*²²⁷

The inclusion of a silver shield in the list of honours is particularly interesting,²²⁸ considering that a silver shield was included in the gifts of the *ordo equester* to Gaius and Lucius when they were acclaimed *principes iuventutis*.²²⁹ However, what was depicted on the shield is restored and uncertain. A similar posthumous honour is reported for Germanicus, that the *equites* decided that his image should be carried before the *transvectio equitum*.²³⁰ Although no details are provided, it would not be surprising, in light of Drusus' honours, if it too adorned a silver shield. None of these references, however, show that Germanicus or Drusus were *princeps iuventutis*, but may indicate that these became familiar posthumous honours for imperial youths.

The brothers reportedly had a good relationship and were fond of each other.²³¹

Following Germanicus' death, Drusus raised his brother's children; Tacitus cynically observes, "Drusus, difficult as it is for power and concord to dwell together, had the

²²⁷ *CIL* 6.31200, fr.b-c, col. 2 (527-546); Rowe (2002) p40; Lott (2012) p162-167.

²²⁸ Rose (1997) p29 suggests that this was placed alongside those of Augustus, Drusus the Elder and Germanicus in the portico of the Palatine temple of Apollo.

²²⁹ *RGDA* 14.2.

²³⁰ *Tac. Ann.* 2.83; Lott (2012) p316.

²³¹ *Cass. Dio* 57.18.7; *Tac. Ann.* 2.43.

reputation of being well disposed, or at least not inimical, to the youths".²³² However, members of the elite aligned themselves to one or other of the brothers and their families, according to their own aims, creating factions within the imperial court.²³³ Tacitus reports that the people feared that the two young men would oppress the state, and then, upon Tiberius' death, tear it in two with their rivalry.²³⁴ These fears were allegedly discussed by people debating the merits of the various candidates for the succession as Augustus was dying, including Agrippa Postumius and Tiberius. However, to what extent these fears were current among different groups within society is uncertain and they do not reappear later in the narrative, perhaps suggesting they were fleeting concerns at a moment of transition, or invented by Tacitus.

Tiberius' relationship with both Germanicus and Drusus is noted by various ancient sources to have been hostile.²³⁵ This may have been in part owing to the belief that Tiberius was jealous of Germanicus' popularity; at Augustus' death, the army under Germanicus' command tried to acclaim him as emperor.²³⁶ Furthermore, Tiberius was popularly accused of having ordered Gnaeus Piso to kill Germanicus.²³⁷ Cassius Dio relates that Tiberius' relationship with Drusus was not much better, as Tiberius disapproved of Drusus' cruelty.²³⁸ At Drusus' death, Tiberius refused to extend the traditional period of mourning and returned to his usual routine soon after his son's funeral.²³⁹ However, other references suggest that Tiberius had a good relationship with his sons. For example, Tiberius composed a poem posthumously honouring Germanicus, as he had done for Lucius; the Senate ordered this to

²³² Tac. *Ann.* 4.4.

²³³ Tac. *Ann.* 2.43.

²³⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 1.4.

²³⁵ On their relationship: Shotter (1968); Seager (1972) p64-65, 97-99, 104-105, 110-111, 121-122; Levick (1999) p50-51, 148-149, 152-153, 158.

²³⁶ Suet. *Tib.* 25.2-3; Cass. Dio 57.5.1.

²³⁷ Suet. *Tib.* 52.3.

²³⁸ Cass. Dio 57.13.1-2.

²³⁹ Suet. *Tib.* 52.1-2.

be inscribed on bronze as it demonstrated the deep feelings Tiberius held for his adopted son.²⁴⁰ Although this could, of course, have been the intended impression, concealing Tiberius' true feelings. Concerning his relationship with Drusus, Dio disputes Suetonius' interpretation of Tiberius' behaviour after Drusus' death, stating that this was his usual custom.²⁴¹ He adds as proof of Tiberius' care for his son the fact that he gave his eulogy and, upon the revelation that Drusus had been poisoned, punished those held responsible. It is difficult to ascertain the reality behind these different accounts of Tiberius' relationships with his sons, given the often hostile tradition. We are on more certain footing concerning Germanicus and Drusus' relative prominence, owing to the honours awarded to them being corroborated by other sources. The comparisons drawn between Castor and Pollux, and Germanicus and Drusus may have been one way to alleviate the appearance of such difficulties, suggesting that the brothers were on excellent terms, and to reassure the populace that no rivalry would occur should both brothers survive Tiberius.

Germanicus and Drusus were explicitly compared to Castor and Pollux. Ovid, in a prayer for the safety of the imperial family, wishes for the good health of Augustus, of his son, Tiberius, and his grandsons, the "*sidus iuvenale, nepotes*".²⁴² Germanicus and Drusus were therefore linked by a contemporary poet, albeit one in exile in Pontus, to stars, the common symbols of the Dioscuri.²⁴³ The author of the *Consolatio ad Liviam* used a similar phrase to describe Castor and Pollux as "*Ledaeos, Concordia sidera, fratres*".²⁴⁴ This phrase, as noted above, was used in a passage in which the Dioscuri were compared with Tiberius and Drusus after the latter's death.²⁴⁵ A further, more explicit comparison appears in Ovid's

²⁴⁰ *Tabula Siarensis*, fr. b, col. 2, 160-166; Lott (2012) p94-95.

²⁴¹ Cass. Dio 57.22.1-4, 57.14.6.

²⁴² *Ov. Tr.* 2.165-168.

²⁴³ Scott (1930b) p349.

²⁴⁴ *Consolatio ad Liviam* 283.

²⁴⁵ See p241.

ex Ponto, describing how Germanicus and Drusus, the “*πία... proles*” of Tiberius, accompanied their father in his triumph, probably over the German tribes in AD 12.²⁴⁶ As Tiberius and Marcellus are recorded as having done for Augustus’ triumph, Germanicus and Drusus may have ridden at either side of Tiberius’ triumphal chariot.²⁴⁷ The adoptive brothers as described as “like unto the brethren dwelling in the neighbouring temple whom the divine Julius beholds from his lofty shrine” (*fratribus adsimiles, quos proxima templa tenentis divus ab excelsa Iulius aede videt.*)²⁴⁸

When describing Drusus’ temperament, Cassius Dio reports, “he was so given to violent anger that he inflicted blows upon a distinguished *eques* and for this exploit received the nickname of Castor” (τῆ μέντοι ὀργῇ οὕτω χαλεπῇ ἐχρήτο ὥστε καὶ πληγὰς ἰππεῖ ἐπιφανεῖ δοῦναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Κάστωρ παρωνύμιον λαβεῖν).²⁴⁹ He also notes that Drusus’ death in AD 23 was believed to have been caused by poison administered by his wife Livilla, who had taken Sejanus as her lover.²⁵⁰ One of the reasons provided by Dio for Sejanus’ animosity towards Drusus was owing to Sejanus’ fear of the young man, having once struck him with his fist.²⁵¹ This anecdote is also preserved in Tacitus, who provides further details, suggesting that Drusus, angered to have a rival in Sejanus, had instigated an altercation between the two men, each striking the other.²⁵² Scott therefore has suggested that the prominent equestrian whom Drusus struck was none other than Sejanus.²⁵³ However, Pollux was famed for boxing and using his fists as weapons, not Castor. It has been suggested that

²⁴⁶ Champlin (2011) p91; Seager (2013) p44.

²⁴⁷ Suet. *Tib.* 6.4; Cass. Dio 58.11.6-7.

²⁴⁸ Ov. *Ex. Pont.* 2.2.79-85.

²⁴⁹ Cass. Dio 57.14.9.

²⁵⁰ Cass. Dio 57.22.1-2.

²⁵¹ Cass. Dio 57.22.1.

²⁵² Tac. *Ann.* 4.3.

²⁵³ Scott (1930a) p156-157.

this nickname was given in reference to a gladiator of the time.²⁵⁴ However, considering the fact that Drusus hit a distinguished *eques*, and the celebrated role of the Dioscuri as protectors of the equestrian order, I would instead see this nickname as a sarcastic comment on the differences between Drusus and Castor, the protector of the *equites*.²⁵⁵ It furthermore adds weight to my argument that Castor was the more prominent of the divine brothers in the Roman consciousness. For although Pollux might have been a better comparison for Drusus' actions, Castor was the twin of whom the Romans thought first. At the very least, this nickname suggests that there was a familiarity with the concept of comparing young imperial men with Castor and Pollux, such as to allow this play upon the concept.

A series of coins was minted by the Koinon of Asia in Sardis, depicting Germanicus and Drusus wearing togas and sitting on curule chairs, with the legend νέοι Θεοὶ φιλάδελφοι (fig.69).²⁵⁶ The figure on the left holds a *lituus* and is therefore perhaps Germanicus, who was an augur.²⁵⁷ Rose has argued that on Roman provincial coinage during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, full-length depictions were typically used for the gods or deified emperors and thus this coin depicts the brothers after AD 23, when they both had died.²⁵⁸ The legend, calling the brothers Θεοὶ, might also suggest a posthumous date. The curule seats, Rose suggests, refer to the posthumous honours given to the brothers, which for Germanicus included placing a curule chair, crowned by an oak wreath, among the priests of Augustus in which priesthood he had served.²⁵⁹ Although Φιλάδελφος had been used as an epithet for members of the Ptolemaic and Attalid dynasties, it was often applied to the

²⁵⁴ Suggested by Rudd in the Loeb edition at 57.14.9, citing Horace for a gladiator by this name: Hor. *Ep.* 1.18.19, rebutted in Scott (1930a) p157.

²⁵⁵ Stein (1918); Scott (1930a) p156-157.

²⁵⁶ Rose (1997) p29.

²⁵⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 2.83.

²⁵⁸ Rose (1997) p29-30; however, the coin is similar to an issue minted in Rome in 13 BC, depicting Augustus and Agrippa, togate and seated on curule chairs: *RIC* Augustus 406

²⁵⁹ *Tabula Hebana* 251-255; Tac. *Ann.* 2.83; Rose (1997) p30; Rowe (2002) p7; Lott (2012) p112-113.

Dioscuri.²⁶⁰ The legend referring to Germanicus and Drusus as the new brother-loving gods would therefore surely bring to mind a parallel between the imperial brothers and the Dioscuri.

The ‘Ravenna relief’, thought to be of Claudian date, depicts various members of the Julio-Claudian family (fig.70).²⁶¹ The crowned figure on the right has been identified as Divus Augustus, with Livia beside him, a cupid cradled to her shoulder.²⁶² To the left of the relief, a fragmentary female figure sits on a rock, and beside her stands a man in armour, perhaps Antonia Minor and Drusus the Elder.²⁶³ Of particular interest is the male figure in the centre of the group, depicted in heroic semi-nudity. This figure has been suggested to be Germanicus, and a star has been carved on his forehead, with a hole behind for the attachment of a metal ornament, perhaps another star (fig.71). The figure of Divus Augustus has a similar hole on his head. However, Germanicus was never deified, even by his son Caligula or his brother Claudius, who deified Livia.²⁶⁴ This star may suggest that Germanicus is being assimilated to the Dioscuri.²⁶⁵ Unfortunately, the relief is broken, and we cannot tell whether Drusus the Younger was included on the relief and perhaps depicted in a similar way.

Germanicus and Drusus the Younger were the last imperial pair of brothers to be explicitly compared to the Dioscuri in Rome. Perhaps in their case, being the first pair of adoptive brothers and following the first imperial succession, this comparison was even more necessary to alleviate the fears that Tacitus notes, that a pair of brothers who did not

²⁶⁰ Kloppenborg (1993) p282-282.

²⁶¹ Rose (1997) p40; Koortbojian (2013) p146.

²⁶² Rose (1997) p40.

²⁶³ Rose (1997) p40.

²⁶⁴ Suet. *Claud.* 11.2.

²⁶⁵ Although it also may symbolise deification: see p221.

possess a strong fraternal bond and loyalty to each other might tear the empire apart in their struggles for power.

Nero and Drusus Caesar

After Drusus the Younger's death, Tiberius delivered a speech before the Senate lamenting the loss of his son. At the same time, he entrusted to the Senate's care the oldest sons of Germanicus, Nero and Drusus Caesar, his grandsons by adoption, whom Drusus had brought up after their father's death.²⁶⁶ The emperor implored the senators to care for the boys, highlighting their future importance for the succession and the imperial power as the descendants of Augustus.²⁶⁷ The brothers had been born to Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder in AD 6 and 7, and grew in popularity owing to the fond memories the people had of their father.²⁶⁸ They, like other members of the Imperial family, were elevated through the political ranks at an early age. Nero was fourteen when, having taken the *toga virilis*, Tiberius commended him to the Senate and requested the honour that he should be able to stand for the quaestorship five years before the legal age.²⁶⁹ Nero was also co-opted into the pontifical college and a donative was given to the people upon his first arrival in the Forum as a man. His position within the imperial family was consolidated by his marriage to Julia, daughter of Drusus the Younger and Livilla. Nero's younger brother Drusus received similar honours in AD 23, when he took the *toga virilis*, although at sixteen, and married Aemilia Lepida.²⁷⁰ Although Poulsen and Weinstock have suggested that the brothers were honoured with the title of *principes iuventutis*, there is no evidence that they were.²⁷¹

²⁶⁶ Cass. Dio 57.22.4a; Suet. *Tib.* 54.1.

²⁶⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 4.8.

²⁶⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 4.15.

²⁶⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 3.29.

²⁷⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 4.4, 6.40.

²⁷¹ Weinstock (1937a) p22; Poulsen (1991b) p129; *BMC I* pcvlvi suggests they are shown as *princeps iuventutis* on a coin type, see p257-258, fig.72, but the coin does not bear any legend denoting this role.

Tiberius, although he had commended the youths to the Senate, did not always welcome honours for the brothers. In AD 24 the pontiffs, when offering the annual vows for the emperor's health, included Nero and Drusus, an example which the other priestly colleges followed.²⁷² The emperor censured the colleges and warned the Senate not to give such honours to the young men, for fear of exciting arrogance in them.²⁷³ Tacitus, typically sceptical, states that Tiberius' annoyance was because of his hatred of the family of Germanicus and anger that the brothers were being honoured on the same level as himself. However, Tiberius' actions did have a precedent, Augustus had censured members of the Senate and the people of Rome, as well as Tiberius, for allowing Gaius and Lucius greater prominence than he felt was appropriate.²⁷⁴

Neither brother survived Tiberius, both falling prey to the machinations of Sejanus. Indiscrete comments made by Nero were reported by his wife Livia to her mother Livilla, who was Sejanus' lover.²⁷⁵ Sejanus, according to Tacitus, turned Drusus, Nero's younger brother against him, because of the "lust of power and hatred habitual to brothers" and suggesting that with his older brother out of the way, he would be next in line for the succession.²⁷⁶ Nero was spurned by members of the court and by Tiberius himself.²⁷⁷ He was denounced to the Senate as a traitor alongside his mother Agrippina by a letter from Tiberius in AD 29.²⁷⁸ Mother and son were declared public enemies and exiled, Nero to Pontia,²⁷⁹ and Agrippina to Pandateria,²⁸⁰ where they died.

²⁷² Tac. *Ann.* 4.17.

²⁷³ Tac. *Ann.* 4.17; Suet. *Tib.* 54.1.

²⁷⁴ Cass. Dio 54.27.1, 55.9.1-6.

²⁷⁵ Cass. Dio 57.22.2; Tac. *Ann.* 4.59-60.

²⁷⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 4.60.

²⁷⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 4.60, 4.67.

²⁷⁸ Suet. *Tib.* 54.2, *Calig.* 7.1; Tac. *Ann.* 5.3, 5.5.

²⁷⁹ Suet. *Tib.* 54.2, *Calig.* 7.1; Tac. *Ann.* 5.3, 5.5.

²⁸⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 6.25; Suet. *Tib.* 53.2.

Drusus did not fare much better; he too was accused of treason through the reports of his wife, and imprisoned in the imperial residence on the Palatine in AD 30.²⁸¹ Tiberius' choice to keep Drusus in the city is unusual: all other disgraced members of the imperial family had been banished to far-off islands. Following the revelation of Sejanus' 'conspiracy' Tiberius reportedly gave orders that should Sejanus attempt to seize power, Drusus was to be released from captivity and named emperor.²⁸² Tiberius, it seems, was keeping the young man as an insurance policy, as Drusus was guaranteed popularity owing to his descent from Augustus and Germanicus. After Sejanus had been executed, Drusus was seemingly of no further use to his grandfather and was abandoned to starve to death.²⁸³ Even following his death however, Drusus remained popular, reportedly being seen in the Cyclades on his way to claim the loyalty of his father's armies in Germany.²⁸⁴

Although there is no evidence for Nero and Drusus being compared to the Dioscuri during their lives, they were perhaps linked to the divine brothers after their deaths. When their younger brother Caligula became emperor, he rehabilitated the memory of his family, bringing the ashes of Agrippina and Nero back to Rome and interring them in the Mausoleum of Augustus.²⁸⁵ He ordered that annual sacrifices should be carried out in their memory as well as circus games in his mother's honour.²⁸⁶ Statues were also commissioned of his brothers, the responsibility for which fell to the consuls, one of whom was Claudius, who was rather slow in contracting for them.²⁸⁷ These statues may have been depicted on, or were perhaps the inspiration for, a *dupondius*, minted in Rome in AD 37 or 38, which shows

²⁸¹ Cass. Dio 58.3.8; Suet. *Tib.* 54.2, *Calig.* 7.1.

²⁸² Suet. *Tib.* 65.2; Cass. Dio 58.13.1.

²⁸³ Suet. *Tib.* 54.2; Tac. *Ann.* 6.23-24.

²⁸⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 6.5.10; other false heirs also appeared after their reported deaths, including Nero: Suet. *Ner.* 57.2.

²⁸⁵ Cass. Dio 59.3.5; Suet. *Calig.* 15.1. Ossuaries for Agrippina and Nero have been found in the Mausoleum: *CIL* 6.886, 887. What happened to Drusus' body is unknown, and his ossuary has not been found.

²⁸⁶ Suet. *Calig.* 15.1.

²⁸⁷ Suet. *Claud.* 9.1.

two young men wearing cloaks, riding on horses (fig.72).²⁸⁸ The legend identifies the two figures as Nero and Drusus Caesar.²⁸⁹ The coin bears many similarities to the republican *denarius* reverse type depicting Castor and Pollux (fig.1). Both issues show a pair of young men riding, the front hooves of the horses lifted from the ground, cloaks flying behind them. It therefore appears that Nero and Drusus may have been posthumously assimilated to Castor and Pollux on this coin of their younger brother Caligula.²⁹⁰ The coin may have been intended to dispel rumours of their disharmony, or perhaps, as argued below, to link Caligula with Castor and Pollux.

Germanicus and Tiberius Gemellus

Soon after Germanicus' death in AD 19, twin sons were born to Drusus the Younger and Livilla. The twins received the nickname Gemellus, commonly used by modern scholars, as I do, to differentiate between the twins and other members of the imperial family. However, it is only attested in one ancient source: Josephus.²⁹¹ Their birth was celebrated by Tiberius, who boasted to the Senate that never before had twins been born to such an eminent citizen.²⁹² The Roman people were less enthused, according to Tacitus, fearing that these new births would cause Germanicus' descendants to fall from prominence.²⁹³ A coin was issued from the mint at Rome a few years after their birth, depicting the busts of two young boys in crossed *cornucopiae* with a winged *caduceus* between them (fig.73). The reverse bears the letters S C and the name of Drusus the Younger. These twin portraits must represent his young sons, Tiberius and Germanicus.

²⁸⁸ Rose (1997) p33.

²⁸⁹ Weinstock (1937a) p22; Zanker (1972) p19; Poulsen (1991b) p129; Kloppenborg (1993) p285; La Rocca (1994) p86; Rose (1997) p33.

²⁹⁰ Zanker (1972) p19; Kloppenborg (1993) p285; La Rocca (1994) p86; Rose (1997) p33.

²⁹¹ Jos. *AJ.* 18.6.8.

²⁹² Tac. *Ann.* 2.84.

²⁹³ Tac. *Ann.* 2.84.

Medallions depicting two or three children encircling Drusus the Younger's portrait have been found in Germany, again celebrating his family.²⁹⁴ Similar medallions depicted Germanicus with his children and may have been produced for the army stationed in Germany, where Germanicus and Drusus both served as commanders.²⁹⁵ One such glass medallion, unfortunately only partly preserved, depicts a young boy with a star above his head beside a larger figure (fig.74). As the adult figure is lost, identification is impossible, but this child depicted is probably a young member of the imperial household, maybe a son of Germanicus or Drusus the Younger.²⁹⁶ It is difficult to know whether this star is an allusion to the Dioscuri, particularly as we are missing the rest of this medallion, which might depict another young boy with a star. Considering that Tiberius and Germanicus were referred to elsewhere as the Dioscuri, it is possible, if the other twin was also depicted with a star, that the pair was being linked to Castor and Pollux. This interpretation is strengthened by another medallion, this time made of lead, which depicts Drusus on one side and on the other two males with stars above their heads.²⁹⁷ As Tiberius and Germanicus were twins, like Castor and Pollux, the parallel was perhaps easier to draw for the sons of Drusus than other pairs of brothers who were of different ages.

Tiberius and Germanicus Gemellus were linked explicitly to the Dioscuri outside Rome. An Ephesian inscription details a dedication of paintings of Ephesian Artemis, Livia as Demeter Sebaste, and Germanicus and Tiberius Gemellus as the New Dioscuri.²⁹⁸ The priests and priestesses of these cults dedicated the paintings: so in Ephesus there was a cult

²⁹⁴ Poulsen (1991b) p129.

²⁹⁵ Kiss (1975) p125.

²⁹⁶ Poulsen (1991b) p128-129 identifies him as a son of Drusus the Younger; Kiss (1975) p125 as a son of Germanicus.

²⁹⁷ Alföldi (1951) p75, taf 2.6 and 7; Poulsen (1991b) p129.

²⁹⁸ *I Ephesos* 7.2 (1981) no 4337, l. 14-20; Rose (1997) cat.116, p175-176. Scott (1930b) p379 reads this inscription as referring to Nero and Drusus Caesar, sons of Germanicus; however he has confused the parentage of the twins as being Germanicus and Julia Livilla, rather than Drusus the Younger and Julia Livilla: Tac. *Ann.* 2.84.

of Tiberius and Germanicus as the New Dioscuri, which was supervised by the priest Proklos. This inscription and the paintings can be dated quite precisely: probably between the births of the twins in AD 19 and before the death of Germanicus Gemellus in AD 23.²⁹⁹ Coins were also minted in Cyrenaica that depicted a pair of male heads on the reverse and the portrait of Drusus on the obverse. The legend identifies the two male portraits as ‘ΤΙΒ ΓΕΡ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΣ’, Tiberius and Germanicus Caesars.³⁰⁰ On Cyprus, the previously discussed inscription on an altar, comparing Augustus to Zeus and naming Gaius and Lucius as his twin sons, which I have argued may be a reference to the Dioscuri, was re-carved during the reign of Tiberius, replacing Augustus’ name with Tiberius’, and Gaius and Lucius with Tiberius and Germanicus Gemellus.³⁰¹ Once again, this inscription shows that a pair of imperial princes, this time Tiberius and Germanicus, were compared to the Dioscuri on Cyprus. This inscription furthermore suggests that the islanders saw, or anticipated, a similar programme being carried out by Tiberius for his grandsons, as had previously been seen for Augustus’ sons. However, neither Tiberius nor Germanicus were adopted by their grandfather Tiberius. Germanicus died at the age of five in AD 23, the same year as his father Drusus the Younger also passed away.³⁰²

Gaius Caligula and Tiberius Gemellus

Two years before his death, at some point in AD 35, Tiberius wrote his will.³⁰³ In it, he named Tiberius Gemellus as a co-heir to his estate, along with the last remaining son of

²⁹⁹ Rose (1997) p176.

³⁰⁰ *RPC* 1.1.946-949, minted during the reign of Tiberius. A similar issue was minted in Corinth between AD 32-33, depicting two male heads, some of which bear the legend *Cae(sares) Gem(ini)*, a legend noted above (see p224, fig.64) on coins depicting Gaius and Lucius. These may be Tiberius and Germanicus Gemellus, but Gaius and Lucius, Nero and Drusus Caesar and Caligula and Tiberius Gemellus have also been suggested: Rose (1997) p28, 231-232, n110.

³⁰¹ Rose (1997) p28; see p233.

³⁰² Cass. Dio 57.14.6.

³⁰³ Suet. *Tib.* 76; Cass. Dio 59.1.1-2.

Germanicus, Gaius, better known as Caligula.³⁰⁴ Possibly owing to Tiberius' long absence from Rome, neither young man was particularly distinguished with political positions and honours. Caligula was born in AD 12³⁰⁵ and was several years older than his cousin, who was born in AD 19.³⁰⁶ Caligula appears to have remained in the shadow of his older brothers, Nero and Drusus Caesar. Following his father's death, he lived with his mother Agrippina until her banishment in AD 29, and then with Livia, his great-grandmother, until her death. Caligula distinguished himself by delivering the funerary oration for Livia, even though he was still technically a child at seventeen, not having taken the *toga virilis*.³⁰⁷ Caligula was summoned to join Tiberius on Capri at the age of nineteen, at which point he did take the *toga virilis*, although in a simpler ceremony than those of his brothers. Whilst residing on Capri, Caligula married Junia Claudilla, who died shortly afterwards.³⁰⁸ He was co-opted into the college of augurs, replacing his older brother Drusus, and was named *quaestor*, although not one of the first rank, but he was also promised the usual privilege of a five-year exemption from the legal age for office.³⁰⁹

Tiberius Gemellus, after the publicity surrounding his birth and early years, fell out of public notice. We hear of no offices, honours or titles being awarded to him during Tiberius' life. Following the revelation that his mother Livilla had been involved in his father Drusus' death and had had an affair with Sejanus, Tiberius reportedly entertained suspicions that his grandson was the son of Sejanus, not Drusus.³¹⁰ Tacitus and Philo however, both sources hostile to Caligula, suggest that Tiberius still favoured Tiberius Gemellus over Caligula for

³⁰⁴ Suet. *Tib.* 76, *Calig.* 14.1.

³⁰⁵ Suet. *Calig.* 8.1.

³⁰⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 2.84.

³⁰⁷ Suet. *Calig.* 10.1.

³⁰⁸ Suet. *Calig.* 12.1.

³⁰⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 6.20; Cass. Dio 58.23.1; Suet. *Calig.* 12.1.

³¹⁰ Cass. Dio 58.23.1-2; Suet. *Tib.* 62.3.

the succession, because of their closer blood relationship and his dislike of Germanicus, Caligula's father, but it was only Tiberius Gemellus' youth which concerned him.³¹¹

Although Tiberius left his estate to both grandsons, he predicted an unhappy ending for this pairing, prophetically saying to Caligula when he was arguing with Tiberius Gemellus, "you will kill him and others will kill you".³¹² Apocryphal or not, this claim was correct, for as soon as he died, Caligula alone was recognised and hailed as the new emperor.³¹³ He had the Senate annul Tiberius' will on the grounds that he clearly had not been of sound mind to leave the empire in the hands of a mere boy.³¹⁴ Tiberius Gemellus lost his inheritance, but was adopted by his cousin, although there were only seven years between them, and was placed in the position of heir to Caligula's estate.³¹⁵ He received the *toga virilis* at nineteen, after which Caligula bestowed upon him the title *princeps iuventutis*.³¹⁶ This the first time that this title was held by a single member of the imperial family, with no prospect of a second holder joining him, and the first time the *equites* are not the authors of this honour.³¹⁷ Tiberius Gemellus did not have long to enjoy this title: later in AD 37, Caligula fell seriously ill and his newly adopted son was accused of having hoped for his death and ordered to commit suicide.³¹⁸

Caligula and Tiberius Gemellus, perhaps unsurprisingly, were not compared to the Dioscuri whilst both were alive. From the date of Tiberius' will in AD 35, when they were

³¹¹ Tac. *Ann.* 6.46; Philo. *In Flacc.* 12.

³¹² Cass. Dio 53.23.3; Tac. *Ann.* 6.46.

³¹³ Tac. *Ann.* 6.50.

³¹⁴ Cass. Dio 59.1.2; Suet. *Calig.* 14.1.

³¹⁵ Cass. Dio 59.1.3; Suet. *Calig.* 15.2.

³¹⁶ Suet. *Calig.* 15.2; Cass. Dio 59.8.1; Poulsen (1992a) p52, (1994) p97 notes that from this award onwards, the title of *princeps iuventutis* is only attested for individuals.

³¹⁷ Although Gaius Caesar had received the title three years before Lucius, as these brothers were elevated at the same rate, Lucius was probably always intended to receive the honour.

³¹⁸ Cass. Dio 59.1.3; Philo *Leg.* 23-31; Suet. *Calig.* 23.3, 29.1 states a different motivation: that Tiberius had taken drugs as a precaution against being poisoned by Caligula.

certainly seen as a pair, if only by the emperor, they were not linked to the Dioscuri in any of the ways seen for earlier pairings. Following Tiberius' death, Caligula swiftly distinguished himself as sole ruler, and even if some still saw them as partners, Tiberius Gemellus died soon after. The brevity of their pairing as well as its fatal end may have denied them the opportunity (or ability) to be compared to the harmonious Dioscuri. They were, however, compared with Castor and Pollux after Tiberius Gemellus' death, albeit negatively, as shall be explored below.³¹⁹

Caligula infamously extended the imperial place into the Forum, cutting the temple of Castor and Pollux in two and using it as the palace vestibule.³²⁰ A *vestibulum* could be “an enclosed space in front of the entrance to a building”,³²¹ or an empty space in front of the doors of a house, but which was not part of the building itself.³²² As discussed in Chapter One, it is difficult to assess what alterations Caligula made to the temple of Castor and Pollux, if any, as they were probably restricted to the superstructure and removed soon after by Claudius. However, the remnants of buildings dated to the Caligulan period behind the temple may suggest that there is some truth in this anecdote.³²³ This transformation of a temple would have been an extraordinary action for Caligula to take, and it was one with no precedent. What was his purpose in doing so? It is possible that he wished for a monumental entrance for his palace from the Forum, and decided to use a temple for this purpose. The choice of temple may have been determined by its location in this corner of the Forum, closest to Caligula's extension of the palace. However, as argued in Chapter One, the temple was also often seen as being a ‘popular’ location. During Caligula's early years, he was reportedly fondly regarded by the people, and took on a *popularis* stance, returning powers to

³¹⁹ See p268-269.

³²⁰ Cass. Dio 59.28.5; Suet. *Calig.* 22.2; Nichols (1877) p106; Poulsen (1991b) p129-130, (1992b) p58.

³²¹ *OLD* s.u. *vestibulum*.

³²² Macr. *Sat.* 6.8.16.

³²³ See p48-49.

magistrates and the vote to the people.³²⁴ Thus, the temple of Castor and Pollux would have been a logical choice, especially considering the prominence of the temple's platform, as well as the number of people who would have passed by this location; however, this alone does not seem enough to justify his actions.

Philo, who had met Caligula on his embassy on behalf of the Alexandrian Jews, censured his treatment of Tiberius Gemellus through a comparison to Castor and Pollux. For Philo criticised Caligula's fondness for comparing himself to various gods, including Hercules, Apollo, Neptune, Dionysius and the Dioscuri.³²⁵ He did so by adorning himself with their attributes: a golden club and lion skin for Hercules; ivy, the skin of a fawn and a thyrsus for Dionysius, and the *pilos* for the Dioscuri.³²⁶ Philo censures Caligula's appropriation of divine attributes, asking:

“And yet what business had you, Gaius, to take the insignia commonly used to adorn the images of said deities? For you should have emulated their virtues”.

Καίτοι τί παρασήμων ἔδει σοι, Γάιε, οἷς ἔθος ἀσκεῖσθαι τὰ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀφιδρύματα; ἐχρῆν γὰρ ζηλοῦν τὰς ἐκείνων ἀρετάς.³²⁷

This is significant, suggesting that the use of divine attributes was not impious itself. Smith makes a similar suggestion, arguing that the wearing of divine attributes by a human was regarded as symbols of the honours earned by that individual, and thus conveyed their remarkable status.³²⁸ This demonstrates the contrasts between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ emperors: ‘good’ emperors only wear attributes bestowed upon them or refuse honours altogether,

³²⁴ Suet. *Cal.* 13.1, 16.1-2.

³²⁵ Cass. Dio 59.26.5-8; Philo *Leg.* 78-79; Poulsen (1991b) p129-130; Beard, North and Price (1998) p209; Pollini (2012) p377 suggests that these impersonations should be seen as part of Caligula's theatrical fascination, and that Philo and Dio are distorting his performance of a private pantomime. However, he does not address the fact that Dio and Suetonius place his impersonation of Jupiter Latiaris at the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux.

³²⁶ Philo *Leg.* 79.

³²⁷ Philo *Leg.* 81; Kloppenborg (1993) p283.

³²⁸ R.R.R. Smith (2000) p535, 541.

whilst ‘bad’ emperors appropriate the attributes of gods that they do not deserve. According to Philo’s depiction, Caligula is firmly in the latter category:

“To begin with the Dioscuri. Did you imitate them in brotherly love? Your brother and fellow heir you, iron-hearted and utterly ruthless, cruelly slew in the flower of his prime.”

ἐμιμήσω τοὺς Διοσκούρους εἰς φιλαδελφίαν; ἵνα ἐντεῦθεν ἄρξωμαι. τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν καὶ συγκληρονόμον ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας, ὃ σιδήρειε καὶ ἀνηλεέστατε, ὡμῶς ἀπέσφαξας, τὰς <δ’> ἀδελφὰς ὕστερον ἐφυγάδευσας...³²⁹

“So then you must not rank with the Dioscuri, those best of brothers, you who dealt murder and perdition to your brother...”

μήτε οὖν ἐν Διοσκούροις γράφου τοῖς φιλαδελφοτάτοις, ὁ σφαγεὺς καὶ λυμεὼν τῶν ἀδελφῶν γεγονώς...³³⁰

Philo compares the fraternal piety of the Dioscuri, in which Pollux was willing to share his immortality so that his brother might live, with Caligula’s murder of Tiberius Gemellus. To heighten the contrast, Philo refers to Tiberius Gemellus as Caligula’s brother, although they were cousins, and following Gemellus’ adoption by Caligula, father and son. Philo’s characterisation of the two as brothers also demonstrates the pervasiveness of the parallels between paired imperial youths and the Dioscuri, not only in Rome, but also in the provinces.

Cassius Dio’s description of Caligula’s conversion of the temple follows shortly after his description of the emperor dressing as the gods and it is possible that his actions were viewed in a similar light: that Caligula, by turning the temple of the Dioscuri into his *vestibulum* was attempting to associate himself with the gods. This suggestion is strengthened by his actions in standing between the statues of Castor and Pollux and allowing himself to be worshipped as Jupiter Latiaris. However, there may be another reason for the selection of the temple of Castor and Pollux, found in an Etruscan precedent, where the Dioscuri have been

³²⁹ Philo *Leg.* 86-87.

³³⁰ Philo *Leg.* 92.

identified as appearing on either side of tomb doors.³³¹ As guardians of doorways, Castor and Pollux were particularly suited to be the ‘gate-keepers’ (πυλωρούς) of Caligula’s palace. However, they were often found either side of tomb doorways, perhaps as guardians of the passage between life and death. Although this might seem like a macabre choice, considering the fact that death for the Dioscuri meant deification, this may have been a more appropriate link for the emperor and may possibly have influenced Caligula in his choice of the temple of Castor and Pollux for his vestibule.

Caligula’s choice of deity to pose as is interesting; Jupiter was the father of Castor and Pollux and perhaps by standing between the statues of the Dioscuri, Caligula was seeking a comparison with their father. The epithet Latiaris may also be significant, for Jupiter Latiaris, the ancestral god of the Latins, was the deified Latinus, father-in-law of Aeneas.³³² This may suggest a further connection to the Dioscuri, who were also connected to the Latins, their cult being introduced to Rome following the defeat of the Latin army at the Battle of Lake Regillus, and they maintained cults in Latium throughout the Republic and into the Imperial period.³³³ Jupiter Latiaris was the god worshipped at the Alban mount at the *Feriae Latinae*, at which all the Latin communities, including Rome, participated.³³⁴ Gradel has suggested that it may not have been the emperor who chose this epithet, but rather that it was a subversive remark on Caligula’s bloodthirstiness, for Jupiter Latiaris received the blood of criminals, *bestiarii* and gladiators as a sacrificial offering.³³⁵ Kleijwegt has additionally noted that the sanctuary of Jupiter Latiaris was on the Alban mount, where generals who were not awarded a triumph sometimes conducted a triumph-like procession. He therefore suggests

³³¹ De Grummond (1991) p24; Simon (2006) p54.

³³² Alföldi (1963) p19-20.

³³³ For example at Tusculum, Ardea, Cori and perhaps Assisi: Cancellieri (1994) p65-67.

³³⁴ Alföldi (1963) p19; Harvey (2008) p132-133.

³³⁵ Kleijwegt (1994) p662-663; Gradel (2002) p152; Lennon (2010) p381-382; this aspect of Jupiter Latiaris’ cult is only attested in Late Antique and Christian writers: Tert. *Apol.* 9.5; Min. Fel. *Oct.* 23.6, 30.4-6.

that, as the triumphing general was compared to Jupiter Capitolinus during triumphs in Rome, the general who conducted a triumph on the Alban mount may have been linked to Jupiter Latiaris.³³⁶ Caligula, he suggests, may thus have chosen to be worshipped as Jupiter Latiaris following his ‘triumph’ at the Bay of Baiae.³³⁷

Exactly which statues of the Dioscuri Caligula stood between is uncertain; it is possible that they are the cult statues, which would probably have been located at the rear of the *cella*. The suggestion that Caligula “exhibited himself there to be worshipped” may however indicate that he chose a more prominent position, where all could see him.³³⁸ We have seen that the plinths either side of the central staircase could have supported statues.³³⁹ If so, Caligula could have stood on the platform of the temple and presented himself for worship by all who passed by this prominent location. This may be supported by a further incident reported by Cassius Dio, in which Caligula, while giving oracles from a high platform in the guise of Jupiter, was mocked by a Gaul.³⁴⁰ This platform could be the one at the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux. If it is also correct that the *dupondius* minted by Caligula depicting his deceased brothers on horseback (fig.72) assimilates Nero and Drusus to the Dioscuri, as argued above, this may add a further layer of interpretation to Caligula’s actions. Not only was Caligula worshipped as Jupiter Latiaris, but he stood between two gods who were divine parallels for his deceased brothers, giving him an even closer link to the Dioscuri, whose attributes he had appropriated on other occasions. Caligula, as a sole ruler, may thus have been attempting to continue the use of the Dioscuri, not as a comparison with imperial pairings, but for his benefit alone. The focus may not have been the fraternal

³³⁶ Kleijwegt (1994) p662-663.

³³⁷ Suet. *Calig.* 19.1-3; Cass. Dio 59.17.1-11; Kleijwegt (1994) p662-663, although this does not explain why Caligula would have chosen to assimilate himself to the god of the ‘lesser triumph’ rather than Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

³³⁸ Suet. *Calig.* 22.2.

³³⁹ Richter (1898) p112; Sande (2009a) p120-121; see p49-50.

³⁴⁰ Cass. Dio 59.26.8-9.

harmony of the Dioscuri, but their subsequent deification. In dressing as Castor and Pollux and standing between their statues, he may have been suggesting that he was also destined for immortality as a god after his death.

It is unfortunate for this incident in particular, but also for Caligula's reign as a whole, that the ancient sources present a highly negative depiction of Caligula as an archetypal 'bad emperor'. This makes it very difficult to distinguish fact from fiction.³⁴¹ Although Philo met the emperor on his embassy to Rome and published his works concerning Caligula shortly after his death, they are highly polemical.³⁴² However, the near contemporary nature of Philo's writings do suggest that the views expressed and a connection between the Dioscuri and Caligula were current, either during Caligula's reign or shortly thereafter, although perhaps not quite as expressed by Philo. Gaius and Lucius, Tiberius and Drusus the Elder, and Germanicus and Drusus the Younger, as I have shown above, were all compared to the Dioscuri in a favourable manner. Philo therefore is playing with this established parallel, the fraternal harmony of previous pairs making the homicidal ending to this pairing of Caligula and Tiberius Gemellus all the more striking.

Nero and Britannicus

Following the reign of Caligula, it becomes much harder to find comparisons of imperial young men with the Dioscuri. Caligula appears not to have been greatly concerned with the question of who might succeed him, but he was only twenty-five when he became emperor and was assassinated four years later. The next pairing therefore occurred under the emperor Claudius, who had two biological sons; Drusus from his first marriage to Urgulanilla, and

³⁴¹ For a discussion on this hostile tradition concerning Caligula, which is applicable to the treatment of all 'bad' emperors: Pollini (2012) p369-370.

³⁴² Goodenough (1940) p74, 75, (1967) p13-14; Smallwood (1961) p3.

Germanicus, known as Britannicus, from his second marriage to Messalina. Drusus died just before taking the *toga virilis*, probably in his mid- to late teens.³⁴³

Following Claudius' marriage to his niece Agrippina the Younger, he adopted her son Nero who married the emperor's daughter Octavia.³⁴⁴ Nero was three years older than Claudius' son Britannicus and thus, as had happened before, the adopted son was the elder of the two. This difference was noted by the people of Rome, who honoured Nero with more applause than Britannicus when both boys participated in the *Lusus Troiae*, even before Claudius had adopted Nero.³⁴⁵ Nero, a grandson of Germanicus, surely inherited some of his popularity from his much-admired ancestor. He was perceived by some as being advanced to the detriment of Britannicus, according to Tacitus on account of Agrippina's intrigues.³⁴⁶ There probably was rivalry between the brothers: Britannicus allegedly called Nero by his birth name 'Domitius' after his adoption.³⁴⁷ Nero took the *toga virilis* at fifteen, he was also chosen to hold the consulship when he was twenty; selected to be a supernumerary member of all the priestly colleges; to have proconsular authority outside Rome before his consular year; and to bear the title *princeps iuventutis*.³⁴⁸ These honours were celebrated on *aurei* minted in Rome between AD 51 and 54. One issue gave the nomenclature of Nero and the title *princeps iuventutis* on the obverse around a portrait of Nero, whilst on the reverse were the symbols of the priestly colleges, the *simpulum*, *lituus*, tripod and *patera*, with the legend naming him supernumerary member of these colleges by Senatorial decree.³⁴⁹ The second coin is particularly interesting, for although the obverse is the almost the same, with the single difference being Nero is named consul designate instead of *princeps iuventutis*, on the

³⁴³ Suet. *Claud.* 27.1.

³⁴⁴ Cass. Dio 61.31.6, 61.31.8, 61.32.2, 61.32.5; Suet. *Claud.* 26.3, 27.2, *Calig.* 6.2, 7.2; Tac. *Ann.* 12.58.

³⁴⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 11.11.

³⁴⁶ Cass. Dio 61.32.1-2, 61.32.5-6, 61.33.10; Tac. *Ann.* 12.3, 12.41.

³⁴⁷ Cass. Dio 12.41; Suet. *Ner.* 7.1.

³⁴⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 12.41.

³⁴⁹ *RIC Claudius* 76, 77 also 75 without priestly symbols.

reverse is shown a shield with a spear (fig.75).³⁵⁰ These were cavalry emblems, and as I have shown, if in silver, of the *princeps iuventutis*. Inscribed on the shield is the message ‘*equester ordo principi iuvent.*’: the *ordo equester* bestowed this honour upon him, not Claudius,³⁵¹ although it may have been influenced by Claudius’ close relationship with the *ordo*.³⁵²

On his coming of age, money was given in Nero’s name to the army and the people of Rome and circus games were held, at which the disparity in status between himself and Britannicus was made even clearer, for while Nero was attired in triumphal regalia, Britannicus wore the *toga praetexta*.³⁵³ A great number of these differences may have simply been on account of the difference in age between Nero and Britannicus. It is likely that at times Gaius would have appeared, if perhaps not in triumphal robes, then in the *toga virilis* while his younger brother Lucius would have still been wearing the *toga praetexta*. Reportedly Claudius planned for Britannicus to take the *toga virilis* at fourteen, a year younger than Nero, and to declare him his successor.³⁵⁴ His plans were interrupted by his death in AD 54, allegedly at Agrippina’s hands to secure her son’s prominence.³⁵⁵ Britannicus himself did not long survive his father, as Nero, as emperor, supposedly took a leaf out of his mother’s book and poisoned his adoptive brother in AD 55.³⁵⁶

Nero and Britannicus, although seemingly not compared to the Dioscuri in Rome, may have been likened to them in the provinces. This potential comparison appears on reliefs dated to the first century AD from the Sebasteion of Aphrodisias, a city linked to the Julio-

³⁵⁰ *RIC Claudius* 78, 79.

³⁵¹ An inscription, supposedly found in the Forum of Caesar seems to confirm the role of the *equites: Neroni Claudio Druso Ger. Cos. Design / Equester ordo principi iuvent.* However, it has been dismissed as a forgery: Vassileiou (1994) p838-839.

³⁵² Suet. *Claud.* 6.1; Levick (1990) p26, 102-103.

³⁵³ Rose (1997) 42.

³⁵⁴ Cass. Dio 61.34.1; Suet. *Claud.* 43.1.

³⁵⁵ Cass. Dio 61.34.2; Suet. *Claud.* 43.2.

³⁵⁶ Cass. Dio 61.1.2, 61.7.4; Suet. *Ner.* 33.2-3, *Tit.* 2.1; Tac. *Ann.* 13.17-18.

Claudian dynasty through their shared special relationship with Venus.³⁵⁷ The young men depicted in the reliefs hold the reins of a horse in one hand, which steps out from behind them. The other hand would have held a spear, remnants of which can be seen (fig.76). Both young men wear a moulded cuirass, cloak and boots.³⁵⁸ Smith suggests that these depictions combine aspects of both Dioscuric and imperial types. The Dioscuri are usually depicted in heroic nudity, perhaps wearing a cloak or *chlamys*, but rarely in full armour.³⁵⁹ Once again, as in the Julian Basilica portraits of Gaius and Lucius from Corinth,³⁶⁰ these reliefs do not appear to feature the leonine hair of the Dioscuri, or their *piloi* or stars. Instead, the reliefs show the ordered locks of the Julio-Claudian hairstyle, although we can say nothing about the fringes, which do not survive. However, these depictions possess more similarities to representations of the Dioscuri than the Corinth statues, in particular owing to the inclusion of horses. The pose of the men and the horses is also similar to that used for the Dioscuri, particularly the *Lacus Juturnae* statue group (fig.34) and the *denarius* of Lucius Memmius (fig.36). The similar poses and pairing of two young Julio-Claudians with horses has led Smith to argue that these reliefs should be identified as two imperial princes assimilated to the Dioscuri.³⁶¹

The re-identification of the youths has been made possible by a new understanding of the structure of the decorative scheme. The reliefs have recently been shown to have been organised in thematic triptychs, as each third bay was wider than the two flanking it, permitting a wider relief in that space.³⁶² This difference, as well as the find-spots of some reliefs, have allowed the excavators to identify the original location of some of the reliefs, and

³⁵⁷ Smith (2013) p1.

³⁵⁸ Smith (2013) C4: Armoured Prince as Dioskouros p133-134; C6; Armoured Prince as Dioskouros p138-139.

³⁵⁹ A later *sestertius*, minted in Alexandria under Hadrian depicts Castor and Pollux in legionary cuirasses at the same time as issues depicting them nude: Kantorwicz (1961) p368-369.

³⁶⁰ See p234-235, fig.67.

³⁶¹ Smith (2013) p133-134, 138-139.

³⁶² Smith (2013) p3.

suggest an interpretation of the theme of each triptych. Initially these imperial princes were identified as Gaius and Lucius, as a relief featuring Augustus was found in the same room.³⁶³ However, the differing intercolumniations have shown that the Augustus relief was too narrow to be a central panel.³⁶⁴ Instead, a relief depicting Claudius being crowned by Agrippina the Younger should be placed between these two reliefs. The fact that Claudius was shown between these Dioscuric reliefs allows the probable identification of the two young men flanking him as Nero and Britannicus.³⁶⁵ Smith has suggested that these reliefs probably represent the brothers before the death of Britannicus in AD 55.³⁶⁶ A second assimilation is perhaps suggested by such depictions of imperial princes as the Dioscuri: if Nero and Britannicus are linked to Castor and Pollux, was their father Claudius being assimilated to Jupiter, the father of the Dioscuri? Although this is certainly possible, it does not seem to be so in this case, as Claudius is not shown with any attributes of Jupiter.³⁶⁷

This comparison is only made outside Rome, where Nero and Britannicus do not appear to have been linked to Castor and Pollux. A reason for this may be that only Nero had come of age before Claudius' death, and thus they were not celebrated as a pair, although they may have been had Britannicus taken the *toga virilis*. A further reason may perhaps lie in the way in which Caligula had compared himself to the Dioscuri, dressing in their attributes and turning their temple into his vestibule. Caligula, having allegedly ordered the death of his co-heir, was seen to be the opposite of the Dioscuri, and was censured for appropriating their likeness. It may therefore have been seen as unwise to publicise a

³⁶³ Smith (2013) C2: Augustus.

³⁶⁴ Smith (2013) p189.

³⁶⁵ Smith (2013) p134, 139.

³⁶⁶ Smith (2013) p139. A second pair of imperial princes are also depicted, but they are not assimilated to the Dioscuri and their identification is uncertain, however Smith suggests they are either Gaius and Lucius or Nero and Britannicus, C19: Two Princes, p159-160.

³⁶⁷ Although he was elsewhere, for example, the well-known statue of Claudius from Lanuvium in the Musei Vaticani.

comparison between another pair of imperial youths, Nero and Britannicus, and Castor and Pollux. Any comparison might have reminded the Roman citizens of the relationship between Caligula and Tiberius Gemellus, making any parallel between imperial youths and the Dioscuri unsuitable, especially if there was believed to be rivalry between Nero and Britannicus, which might lead to a similar ending to their partnership.

Conclusion

Many pairs of imperial youths were compared to Castor and Pollux, beginning with Gaius and Lucius and ending with Nero and Britannicus. After Britannicus' murder, Nero's suicide, and the Civil Wars of AD 69, this comparison appears to have remained unused for some time. Although Vespasian, the next emperor to reign for long enough to implement plans for the succession, did have two sons, Titus and Domitian, they do not appear to have been linked to the Dioscuri. Even after Titus' death, Domitian does not appear to have been cast in the role of Pollux to his deceased brother's Castor, despite the precedent of Tiberius and Drusus the Elder. Instead, Domitian was compared by Statius to Castor, to the detriment of the god's steed; however, it was probably the geographical proximity between the equestrian statue of Domitian and the temple of Castor and Pollux,³⁶⁸ which led the poet to make this comparison, rather than parallels drawn between Castor and Pollux and Titus and Domitian. However, the parallel had great longevity, reoccurring even in the fifth century AD when Claudianus compared Honorius with Jupiter and his sons with Castor and Pollux.³⁶⁹

It may be possible to see not only a comparison between pairs of imperial youths and the pair of the Dioscuri, but also of a single Dioscurus with a single imperial youth.³⁷⁰

Throughout this thesis it has been shown that Castor was the more prominent of the Dioscuri

³⁶⁸ See p137.

³⁶⁹ Claud. *Cons. Hon.* 203-211; Van den Hoek (2013) p292.

³⁷⁰ Also explored in Gartrell (2014) p188-189.

in Rome; it was his name alone which was most frequently attached to their temples and his responsibility which received the most attention. It would therefore not be surprising if similar inequalities were seen between the imperial pairings, that the more prominent potential successor was compared to Castor, whilst his partner was linked to Pollux, the less prominent twin. Tiberius appears to have been compared, at least after his brother's death, to Pollux, particularly in reference to his rebuilding of the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux. This comparison in some ways appears strange, especially considering the prominence of Castor over his brother, as Tiberius was the more prominent of the Claudian brothers, being older, he had always received more honours, powers and offices, even before becoming Augustus' eventual successor. This specific comparison can easily be explained by a reference to the mythology of the Dioscuri, in which Castor was the mortal twin, to whom it was more suitable to compare the deceased Drusus, whilst Pollux was the son of Jupiter and the immortal twin. This explanation is strengthened by the fact that the comparison between Tiberius and Drusus the Elder with Castor and Pollux is only seen after the death of Drusus. Is it possible to suggest that, before Drusus' death, Tiberius was less prominent than his brother and perhaps was connected to Pollux as the less prominent of the Dioscuri? Tiberius, the elder son of Livia, was born during her marriage to her first husband Tiberius Claudius Nero. Drusus, however, was born three months after her divorce from Nero and her marriage to Octavian, instigating rumours that Drusus was Octavian's son from an adulterous liaison; Cassius Dio and Suetonius record that this rumour was so prevalent that a proverb arose from it: "the lucky have children in three months".³⁷¹ Whether this is true or not, the rumour was known by the time these authors were writing. It may have been Claudius, the last surviving son of Drusus the Elder, who publicised this rumour at the start of his reign, perhaps to add

³⁷¹ Suet. *Claud.* 1.1; Cass. Dio 48.44.4.

legitimacy to his own position by claiming descent from Augustus.³⁷² He may also have been behind the report that Augustus was fond of Drusus, naming him joint-heir with Gaius, Lucius and probably Tiberius, in a meeting of the Senate, and after his death wishing that Gaius and Lucius would emulate Drusus.³⁷³ Augustus also wrote a verse epitaph for Drusus and a prose memoir of his life, and delivered a eulogy for his deceased stepson in the Circus Flaminius.³⁷⁴ None of this suggests that Drusus was more prominent than his brother, who was four years older, and at any time had received more honours, titles and powers. I would argue that it was the parallels drawn between the lives and deaths of Tiberius and Drusus and those of Castor and Pollux which motivated the comparison between Tiberius and Pollux specifically.

The most explicit reference to a single Dioscurus being compared to a single member of an imperial pairing occurs in the case of Drusus the Younger, when on account of his violent behaviour towards a prominent equestrian he received the nickname Castor. Is there a further significance to this nickname, suggesting that Drusus was more prominent than his adoptive brother Germanicus? Although Drusus' elevation increased when Tiberius, his father, became emperor, he did not eclipse his older brother until after Germanicus' death. It therefore does not seem that direct comparisons were made between the Dioscuri and this imperial pair based on their relative prominence. Rather, as I have argued, the significance of this nickname was a sarcastic play on the fact that Castor was the protector of the *ordo equester*, and it was a member of this order whom Drusus punched, the nickname playing with the parallel between the Dioscuri and the imperial brothers, and Castor's responsibilities.

In none of the other pairs of potential imperial successors explored in this chapter was one member compared explicitly with a Dioscurus. However, similar differences in

³⁷² Suet. *Claud.* 11.3.

³⁷³ Suet. *Claud.* 1.5.

³⁷⁴ Suet. *Claud.* 1.5; Cass. Dio 55.2.2.

prominence can be seen within the pairings explored above. Generally, it was the older member of the imperial pairings who was the more prominent. This, to an extent, is natural; the older of the two would have been the first to be awarded honours, titles and powers that the younger would later receive. However, as has been argued throughout this chapter, the Dioscuri could be unequal in prominence, yet also have a harmonious relationship.

The use of the Dioscuri as parallels for imperial brothers, or at least young men of the imperial family of a similar age, endured throughout the Julio-Claudian period. After the imperial use of this parallel, the comparison could be made not only between the Dioscuri and imperial potential successors, but also with other brothers. An epigram of Martial shows that from the 80s AD such a comparison could be drawn between other devoted brothers such as two from the *gens Domitii*.³⁷⁵ This comparison was probably inspired by the imperial usage, as no surviving references to devoted brothers being compared to Castor and Pollux in Rome predate the imperial parallels.

The parallel was used from Gaius and Lucius Caesar, to at least Caligula and Tiberius Gemellus, if not later, with Nero and Britannicus in Aphrodisias. Why were Castor and Pollux selected to be the divine parallels to these imperial pairings? The fact that there were a pair of Dioscuri and a pair of imperial youths may be a simple comparison to draw, but not irrelevant; it is fundamental for this parallel. However, it is likely that the choice was based on more than just numbers. Throughout their mythology, the divine brothers shared every adventure, danger and reward, to the extent that Pollux was willing to give up his own immortality rather than live without his brother. As a mythological *exemplum* for fraternal harmony, the Dioscuri were an unparalleled model. The only other pair of brothers so well known in Rome were Romulus and Remus, also twin sons of a god, but whose story had a

³⁷⁵ Mart. *Epig.* 1.36; Bannon (1997) p59-60. A similar allusion is seen in a fifth century AD poem of Sidonius, referring to a pair of devoted brothers as “those two Spartans of my time”: Sid. *Apoll. Carm.* 24.26-30.

less happy conclusion. For when Romulus was building the walls of Rome, his brother Remus mockingly leapt across the walls and was killed, either by Romulus or by Celer, one of his companions.³⁷⁶ Therefore, although Romulus and Remus were inextricably tied to Rome from an earlier date than Castor and Pollux, their story possessed fratricidal resonances.³⁷⁷ A further concern lay in the nature of Romulus' power, for he was the first king of Rome, and even though Octavian reportedly considered taking the name Romulus, he was wary of such regal connotations and chose the more circumspect name Augustus instead.³⁷⁸ So, although the fratricidal associations of Romulus and Remus' relationship might have been more apt for certain of the imperial pairs, it would not have been a reassuring comparison to draw in the early days of the principate nor as the question arose who was to succeed to Augustus' position. Instead, as Castor and Pollux possessed more positive connotations, they were better suited to serve as a divine parallel for pairs of imperial brothers.

Some of the brothers explored above were reportedly close and enjoyed a harmonious relationship, like that of Castor and Pollux, such as Gaius and Lucius, Tiberius and Drusus the Elder, and Germanicus and Drusus the Younger. Other such pairs were not so fortunate, including Caligula and Tiberius Gemellus, and Nero and Britannicus. The harmonious mortal brothers, through their close relationship, could be equated even more closely to the Dioscuri, directly comparing their fraternal harmony with that of the gods and suggesting through this that they were closer to the gods than other mortals. For less harmonious pairs, the comparison could serve to lessen the appearance of any antagonism between the brothers, even if it could not be completely removed.

³⁷⁶ Plut. *Rom.* 10.1.

³⁷⁷ Sumi (2009) p184. On Romulus and Remus: Bannon (1997).

³⁷⁸ Suet. *Aug.* 7.2.

Their brotherly harmony was not the only positive connotation that Castor and Pollux possessed, however, for a second aspect of their mythology was also relevant for potential emperors: their deification. Augustus had been compared to Pollux, Hercules, Bacchus and Quirinus, all mortals who were deified.³⁷⁹ The parallels drawn between imperial youths and the Dioscuri therefore also might suggest that although they might not attain divinity after death, if the mortal brothers followed the examples of Castor and Pollux, their close tie to the gods might act as a substitute for apotheosis.

³⁷⁹ Hor. *Od.* 3.3.9-17. The divinity of these figures is on account of their virtuous lives: Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.62, 3.39, 3.45; Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.5-10.

Conclusion

Throughout this thesis, I have explored some of the most prominent aspects of the cult of the Dioscuri in Rome, examining its wider social and cultural relevance. I have investigated how these aspects changed over the long duration of the Republic and into the Empire and what factors, be they political, cultural, historical or religious, affected the cult and caused such changes.

Chapter One concentrated on the physical remains of the cult in Rome, examining the significance, development and use of the temples of Castor and Pollux. My exploration of the cult sites of the Dioscuri in Rome demonstrated how a cult site could be not only a religious location, but also a political, commercial and historical space, and how all of these different facets were connected and could exist in the same time and place. The Forum temple of Castor and Pollux not only housed the cult of the Dioscuri, but also was the location of the censorial review of the *equites*, of the struggles and speeches of *popularis* politicians, and of businesses in the *tabernae*. The examination of this temple in particular demonstrated that all of these spheres were intertwined and explored how they overlapped. I explored what effect this nexus of connections had on the cult of the Dioscuri but also on wider society. It is important to note that it was not only the political, historical or cultural spheres that had an impact on religion, but rather that religion was an integral part of these other spheres, and in fact they all, to a greater or smaller extent, overlapped and affected each other.

Chapter Two explored what we are told was the reason for the introduction of the cult of the Dioscuri to Rome: the help they gave through their epiphanies. Their first epiphany to aid Rome ensured that their cult became embedded in Roman history, for their appearance guaranteed the continuation of the republic. Most important was the manner in

which this epiphanic tradition developed; it is possible to see a trend of diminishing activity in their epiphanies, changing from ensuring the victory to merely announcing the victory. I suggested that this trend might have been in response to the changing needs of society: as Rome became the dominant military power in the Mediterranean, the epiphanies of the Dioscuri, which had occurred at significant battles at which Rome was believed to be in great danger, were no longer as essential for the republic's safety. Instead, their epiphanies transformed, becoming linked to prominent individuals at their deaths. The development of their epiphanic tradition emphasises one way that their cult adapted to remain relevant to the changing needs of Roman society.

The third chapter focused upon the relationships between the Dioscuri and three groups within Roman society: horsemen, boxers and sailors. These relationships were publicised in different ways, from large public ceremonies such as the *transvectio equitum*, to individual vows for the safety of voyagers. I argued that Castor became the more prominent of the twins, owing to the fact that members of the elite favoured equestrian prowess and did not celebrate boxing skills. This example demonstrates how the cultural preferences of the society in which the cult was worshipped, affected the form that the cult took.

Chapter Four built upon the foundations established by the previous chapter, assessing the significance of another relationship of the Dioscuri with mortals; the young men of the imperial household. This chapter explored how the cult developed to remain relevant after a period of unrest and under a new political system. In the imperial period, the fraternal harmony of Castor and Pollux became of greater importance. This aspect of their mythology was used to develop parallels between the gods and imperial young men, suggesting that the mortal brothers were as devoted to each other as Castor and Pollux were. This change demonstrates the flexibility of the mythology and responsibilities of the

Dioscuri, which enabled the cult to retain its prominence even during the upheavals between the end of the Republic and the beginning of the imperial period. This reveals once more how religion and politics were so closely interlinked that the same cult which prominent republican individuals had associated themselves with could be linked to the imperial family, who also benefited from this association, albeit through a different focus.

There is thus great value in exploring a cult as more than just a religious construct, temples as more than just buildings, and the relationships publicised between mortals and gods as more than just political machinations. Instead, I have demonstrated that it is only by looking at a single cult in its broader context that we can assess the ways in which it changed over time, and the factors that influenced these changes. It is now possible to draw together some of the threads and themes explored throughout this thesis, to explore how and why the cult developed as it did.

I have argued that the cult of Castor and Pollux played a significant role in many aspects of ancient life, from its foundation in the early years of the Republic into the imperial period. I have analysed not only how the cult developed, but also suggested why it did so and what changes in the social, political and religious culture of ancient Rome influenced those developments. However, I have also asked this question in reverse, not only how society affected the cult, but how this cult also may have influenced society. The use of the Dioscuri as protective gods and parallels for imperial heirs, as well as the use of their temple for senatorial meetings and the *transvectio* and *recognitio equitum* left their own marks on Roman culture. As society developed, different aspects and responsibilities of the Dioscuri became more or less prominent, as was necessary for the cult to remain relevant and central to a society with changing requirements. Although it is unlikely that a cult with such a prominent temple in the Forum could have vanished entirely, it could have

diminished in relevance and importance, relegated to a curiosity or vestige of the past, such as those whose festivals or origins were not understood by the Romans themselves.¹ However, this did not happen; the multivalent nature of the cult of the Dioscuri meant that there was the opportunity for constant reinterpretation of the relative importance of their roles and aspects, enabling the gods and their cult to maintain relevance to a changing society.

Through the aspects of the cult of the Dioscuri examined in this thesis, I have shown some of the ways in which the public cults of Rome could influence and be influenced by varying changes, groups and aspects of society. I am not, however, suggesting that the same things affected all cults, or that they developed in the same way. A focus upon individual cults allows for a far closer understanding of what factors influenced the changes in the cult of the Dioscuri and thus opens the possibilities of new perspectives, not only on religion, but on society as a whole. By exploring the cult of the Dioscuri within the context of historical events, such as the Battle of Lake Regillus; societal needs, such as the censorial programme of the *recognitio equitum*; and cultural shifts, such as the imperial use of the Dioscuri as representations of fraternal harmony, this thesis explores the ways in which religion played an important role in Roman society.

It is also necessary, whilst exploring the development of the cult, to ask who influenced or led these developments. There is no record of a specific priest for the Dioscuri, although the *praetor urbanus* presided over the festival of the Dioscuri at Ostia, as well as sacrifices to Castor and Pollux in Rome, perhaps alongside the “greatest priests”

¹ For example: the Parilia: Ov. *Fast.* 4.783-806 states that he is unsure which of the options he offers is the true origin of the festival.

mentioned by Dionysius.² It seems probable that some aspects of the cult were maintained by the state, such as the responsibility of the censors to let public contracts to restore damaged temples, but this seems likely to have been reactive or *ad hoc* behaviour. Some developments in the cult were dictated by the needs of the society, which influenced the form the cult took. For example, because archaic Roman society placed a high value on equestrian skills, it was Castor, rather than Pollux, who was the more prominent of the twins in Rome. It would seem likely that, through a process of evolution, those aspects of the cult which were the most relevant to society would have continued to function and be prominent. Meanwhile, those aspects that were less relevant lost prominence and perhaps disappeared entirely. The cult maintained its relevance by developing in accordance with some of the changing needs of society, demonstrating the inherent adaptability of Roman religion, and of the individual cults within it, to the political, religious and cultural needs of society.

Some developments can be traced to specific groups and individuals. For example, the institution of the *transvectio equitum* by Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus in 304 BC emphasised the relationship between the Dioscuri and the *ordo equester*. Various families have appeared throughout this thesis, connected in some way to the Dioscuri. The epiphany of Castor and Pollux at Lake Regillus aided the commander Aulus Postumius, and it was he who vowed their Forum temple, and his son who constructed it. Aulus Postumius Albinus, the historian, may have embellished this story for his family's glory, and in the 90s BC, another Aulus Postumius Albinus minted a coin depicting the epiphany of the Dioscuri after Lake Regillus.³ The Caecilii Metellii were strongly linked to the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux, so much so that Cicero was able to play on this fact in

² Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.4; on the festival at Ostia: p195-197; for discussion of who these priests might be: p175, 179.

³ Fig. 37.

his defence of Lucius Metellus.⁴ His ancestor Lucius Caecilius Metellus Dalmaticus had rebuilt the temple in 117 BC. Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius, consul of 80 BC, let the contract for the restoration of the Forum temple, and may have been the Caecilius Metellus who gave a number of dedications to a temple of Castor and Pollux.⁵ Van Ooteghem has furthermore suggested that the brothers Marcus and Gaius Metellus, who both triumphed on the same day in 111 BC, one for his victory in Sardinia, the other in Thrace, did so on the Ides of July, the festival day of the Dioscuri.⁶ The Domitii Ahenobarbi, however, did not use the temple as their connection to the cult, but instead claimed that the Dioscuri had appeared to a member of their family to announce the victory at Lake Regillus.⁷ This epiphany was commemorated on a coin minted by Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus in 41 BC.⁸ The emperor Nero, the last member of this family, was also associated with the Dioscuri outside Rome, alongside his adoptive brother Britannicus. One final family may have also associated themselves with the Dioscuri; in the late second century BC, two members of the Fonteii minted coins depicting the Dioscuri on the obverse and ships on the reverse.⁹ As the Fonteii hailed from Tusculum, which had a cult of the Dioscuri, I suggested that this may have been the motivation for their use of the Dioscuri.

Why might these families have chosen to connect themselves to the cult of the Dioscuri? A family or individual who claimed a special relationship with a god could win religious and political benefits. The generals who advertised epiphanies of the Dioscuri connected to their victories could claim that Castor and Pollux protected them and elevate

⁴ Cic. *Scaur.* 46; La Rocca (1994) p78; Sihvola (1989) p87.

⁵ Plut. *Pomp.* 2.3-4.

⁶ Van Ooteghem (1967) p381; there is no attested occurrence of the *transvectio equitum* in this year, so it is not possible to state if this triumph occurred alongside the parade, or if the parade did not take place this year; Vell. Pat. 2.8.3.

⁷ Plut. *Aem.* 25.1-7; Suet. *Ner.* 1.1.

⁸ Fig. 32; Bradley (1978) p25-26; Carlsen (2006) p17.

⁹ *RRC* 290/1, 307/1a-1d, figs. 59-60.

the significance of their victories to a par with Lake Regillus, which had secured the safety of the Republic. Rebuilding a temple could have political and religious connotations; the temple could demonstrate and commemorate the dedicator's piety, whilst the dedicatory inscription would preserve his memory for posterity. Unfortunately, it is impossible to state exactly why any of these individuals introduced the changes that they did, whether this was for religious feeling towards the cult of the Dioscuri, for political advantage, for personal reasons, a vow, or indeed a combination of many different factors.

Many of the actions and events noted above, particularly those linked to individuals or families, may possess a political aspect. Not only did the individuals or families gain religious prominence, as suggested above, by claiming that they possessed a closer relationship with the gods than other mortals, but they may have additionally gained political advantages or increased their social status. Earlier scholarship often ascribed manipulative notions to these actions, suggesting that individuals were employing religion for purely political ends.¹⁰ However, this appears to be an oversimplification, take, for example, the use of the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux. The temple was associated with the Senate, who often met in the *cella*; it was associated with the *equites* as the focal location of the *transvectio* and *recognitio equitum*; it was a place of particular contention in the struggles for power in the late Republic, as the platform was often connected with popular politics. All these groups may have sought to gain (or retain) both religious and political prominence through a connection to the Dioscuri. Thus, actions such as vowing or (re)dedicating a temple, creating and taking part in processions, making vows, and likening oneself to the gods might have both religious and political benefits, neither of which should be automatically prioritised above the other. As I have shown, the religious aspects

¹⁰ Following Polyb. 6.56.6-11; Taylor (1949) p76-97; Rawson (1974) p193. Contra: Warde Fowler (1911) p338-340; Jocelyn (1966) p91; Scheid (1985) p95, (2003b) p117; North (1990) p590, (2000) p29-31; Beard (1994) p729, 731, 733; Feeney (1998) p3, 4-5; Beard, North and Price (1998) p117, 359; Bendlin (2001) p198; Beard and Crawford (2004) p26, 28; Orlin (2010) p25, (2011) p66.

of the cult of the Dioscuri were interwoven with the political, societal and historical facets and to attempt to separate these would be to place artificial limitations that do not appear to have existed in ancient Rome.

Restricting my examination to the single cult of the Dioscuri has enabled me to explore aspects of the cult in great depth; however, this methodology has its limitations. By no means do I intend to suggest that the cult of the Dioscuri can be used as a paradigm for all other cults in Roman religion. Certain aspects of the cult in fact argue against this, for example, the unusually prominent role of Castor and Pollux as epiphanic gods. Neither do I suggest that the cult of the Dioscuri in Rome was identical to their cults throughout Italy. This study should, therefore, be read alongside other studies of individual cults to enable us to understand the similarities and differences between various cults. It should also be used with larger studies of Roman religion as a whole, to place the cult in its proper wider context.

This study has been limited by the constraints of a doctoral thesis; thus, our understanding of the cult of the Dioscuri could be further improved by the expansion of this work. I have been unable to explore in detail how the cult came from Greece to Italy and to Rome. Our understanding of the process of this transfer, alongside our knowledge of archaic religion of Italy, could be enriched by a study focusing more widely upon the cult of the Dioscuri throughout Italy. It would also be valuable to explore the re-emergence of the cult in the later Roman Empire, from the employment of the Dioscuric parallel to the sons of Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta, to the depiction of Romulus and Remus alongside Castor and Pollux on the coins of Maxentius. Many of these are aspects of the

cult that would have been of great interest to this study, but had to be excluded given the length restrictions of a thesis.

My study has also indicated further areas of research outside the cult of the Dioscuri, which would aid in the creation of a more detailed understanding of Roman religion. Individual chapters have highlighted areas of deficiency in our knowledge of religious elements, such as, for example, our understanding of the relationships between mortals and gods or goddesses often termed 'patron gods'. Further research would clarify still further our understanding of religion and its place in ancient societies.

In conclusion, throughout this study I have outlined some of the most prominent aspects of the cult of Castor and Pollux in Rome, including their temples, epiphanies, relationship with groups in Roman society, and finally their use as parallels for members of the imperial family. I have attempted, where possible, to assess the developments in the cult in concert with changes in society, culture and politics. It was necessary for the cult to evolve throughout the six centuries explored in this study, for if it did not, although it would have continued to be a cult within Roman religion, it would probably not have remained so prominent or possessed such a variety of connections with different groups. Perhaps the best example of how much the cult developed and adapted to the changing society is found in the difference between how the Dioscuri came to Rome and when this study concludes. Castor and Pollux arrived as warrior gods who led the Roman army to battle in order to preserve the Republic, and transformed into parallels for pairs of young men of the imperial family, who were intended to continue the new form of imperial government. This transformation underlines the relevance and continued significance of

the cult of Castor and Pollux in Rome, which endures from their arrival at the start of the Republic to the early Imperial period and beyond.

Caesar's Castor:
The Cult of the Dioscuri in
Rome from the Mid-Republic
to the Early Principate.

Volume Two: Appendices and
Bibliography.

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Appendix One: Catalogue of Dioscuric Epiphanies¹

Roman Epiphanies:

Cat.	Date	Location	References	Type
1	499/496 BC	Lake Regillus, Italy	Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> 6.13.1 Flor. 1.5.2-4 Frontin. <i>Strat</i> 1.11.8 Val. Max. 1.8.1	Battle Named Spontaneous
2	499/496 BC	<i>Forum Romanum</i> , Rome	Dion Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> 6.13.1-5 Plut. <i>Cor.</i> 3.4 Plut. <i>Aem.</i> 25.1-7	Victory Messengers Named Spontaneous
3	499/496 BC	Road near Rome	Suet. <i>Ner.</i> 1.1	Victory Messengers Unnamed Spontaneous
4	168 BC	Pydna	Min. Fel. <i>Oct.</i> 7.3 Flor. 1.28.12-15	Battle Unnamed Spontaneous
5	168 BC	<i>Forum Romanum</i> , Rome	Min. Fel. <i>Oct.</i> 7.3; Plin. <i>HN.</i> 7.86	Victory Messengers Named/ Unnamed Spontaneous
6	168 BC	Road near Rome	Val. Max. 1.8.1	Victory Messengers Unnamed Spontaneous
7	101 BC	<i>Forum Romanum</i> , Rome	Flor. 1.38.19-20 Plin. <i>HN.</i> 7.86	Victory Messengers Unnamed Spontaneous
8	48 BC	Syria	Cass. Dio 41.61.3-5	Victory Messengers Unnamed Spontaneous
9	44 BC	<i>Forum Romanum</i> , Rome	Suet. <i>Iul.</i> 84.3	Companions at a Death Unnamed Spontaneous
10	9 BC	Germany	Cass. Dio 55.1.3-2.3	Companions at a Death Unnamed Spontaneous
11	Unspecified	<i>Forum Romanum</i> , Rome	Val. Max. 1.8.1	? Named Spontaneous

¹ These epiphanies are separated into different categories when any significant detail differs. For example, although Plut. *Aem.* 25.1-7 and Suet. *Ner.* 1.1 record the same tradition, Plutarch records the event as happening in the Forum, whilst Suetonius states that the epiphany occurs “as he was returning from the country” and not explicitly in the Forum. Epiphanies are also listed, especially in the case of messengers of victory, by the location where the epiphany occurred rather than the location of the event which prompted the epiphany.

12	Unspecified	Rome	Min. Fel. <i>Oct.</i> 27.4	? ? ?
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Greek Epiphanies:

Cat.	Date	Location	References	Type
13	c. 580 BC	River Sagra, South Italy	(Diod. Sic. 8.31.1-2) Just. <i>Epit.</i> 20.2.9 – 3.9	Battle Named/ Unnamed Invoked
14	c. 685 BC	Messenia	Paus. 4.16.5	Battle Named Spontaneous
15	c. 685 B	Messenia	Paus. 4.16.9	Battle Named Spontaneous
16	650 BC	Stenyclerus, Messenia	Paus. 4.27.1-3 Polyaenus, <i>Strat.</i> 2.32.4	Battle Named False
17	467 BC	Sparta	Frontin. <i>Strat.</i> 1.11.9 Polyaenus, <i>Strat.</i> 1.41.1	Battle Named False
18	405 BC	Aigospotamoi, Greece	Plut. <i>Lys.</i> 12.1	Battle Named (Stars) Spontaneous
19	c. 370 BC	Thessaly	Polyaenus, <i>Strat.</i> 6.1.3	Battle Named False

Other Epiphanies:²

Cat.	Date	Location	References	Type
20	556-468 BC	Crannon, Thessaly	Cic. <i>Orat.</i> 2.351-3 Callim. <i>Aet.</i> 3.64.5-14 Val. Max. 1.8.ext7 Quint. <i>Inst.</i> 11.2.11	Saviours Named/ Unnamed Spontaneous
21	Unspecified	Sparta	Paus. 3.16.2-3	? Named Spontaneous
22	Unspecified (c. 6th century BC)	Paeus, Arcadia	Hdt. 6.127	? Named Spontaneous

² I have included these epiphanies here for completeness, but as they are not immediately relevant to my thesis, owing to reasons of space, they have been omitted from discussion.

Appendix Two: The Dioscuri and the Penates

Like Castor and Pollux, the Penates were young male gods, and this similarity, among others, has led some scholars to suggest that the two pairs were confused, linked or assimilated in Roman thought. Other similarities, such as the fact that both divine pairs were protective deities, the Penates of the house and the Dioscuri of sailors, boxers and horsemen, have also been used to suggest a link.¹ This connection may have come about in various ways. Firstly, through assimilation of both pairs, in which they began to share the iconography, role and depiction of the other. Secondly, owing to the similarities between the two pairs, a link may have been made due to mistaken interpretation of iconography.

The history and legend of the Penates is convoluted; there were two types of Penates, who were worshipped separately and had differing origins, one pair coming from Samothrace, linked to Dardanus,² and the other pair being transported from Troy to Italy by Aeneas.³ Dionysius of Halicarnassus provides an elaborate history of the Penates to combine these two disparate aetiologies. He states that the Palladium and ‘the sacred symbols of the Great Gods’ (τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν) were part of Dardanus’ wife Chryse’s dowry.⁴ When the couple fled from the Peloponnese to Samothrace, Dardanus instituted the mystery cult of the Great Gods on the island, but took the holy objects with him when he founded a city in Asia Minor. His descendants took the sacred objects to Troy, from which Aeneas saved them, along with the images of the gods, taking them to Italy, where they received cult in Lavinium. Dionysius also preserves a statement of Timaeus, informing us that the holy objects of the Penates at Lavinium were iron and

¹ Petrocchi (1994) p104.

² Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.67.1.

³ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.67.1; Vir. *Aen.* 3.12; Lloyd (1956).

⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.68.3-69.2.

bronze *caducei* and Trojan pottery: κηρύκια σιδηρᾶ καὶ χαλκᾶ καὶ κέραμον Τρωικὸν.⁵ After Aeneas' death, his son Ascanius built a temple for these gods in Alba Longa and moved the cult statues from Lavinium to this city. This move was not well received by the gods, for the statues returned to Lavinium. After this prodigy occurred again, despite supplications and sacrifices, the Albans consented to the gods' will and sent six hundred of their people to Lavinium to worship the Penates there.⁶ This version combines the dual origins of the gods, from Samothrace and Troy, stating that the Penates originated on Samothrace and came to Italy via Troy.⁷

In Rome, the two types of Penates, public and private, were distinguished by their differing spheres. The private Penates were found in any household, as gods who protected the store cupboard or *penus*, from which their name is often derived.⁸ There were also the *Penates Publici*, who perhaps initially were the private Penates of the king's household, transformed to guardians of the state after the foundation of the Republic.⁹ The private Penates received cult within the households they protected, but the public Penates were worshipped in two locations. One of these was hidden inside the *penus* of Vesta's temple in the Roman Forum. It has been suggested that the objects worshipped here were aniconic, perhaps those that Timaeus describes at Lavinium.¹⁰ Dionysius is unwilling to describe these objects, describing it as 'unlawful' to see them or hear about them from others.¹¹ According to Tacitus, these were known as *Penates populi Romani*.¹² The Penates were also worshipped in a small temple on the Velia, not far from the Forum, on the site of

⁵ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.67.2; Timaeus: *FGrHist* 566.F59.

⁶ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.67.1-2.

⁷ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.69.4.

⁸ Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.67; Scullard (1981) p65.

⁹ Scullard (1981) p65-66; Sumi (2009) p177.

¹⁰ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.67.4; Weinstock (1960) p114; Alföldi (1963) p258; Gabba (1991) p134.

¹¹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.67.4.

¹² Tac. *Ann.* 15.41.1; Alföldi (1963) p258; Dubourdieu (1989) p3.

the house of King Tullus Hostilius.¹³ Unlike the shrine of the Penates in the temple of Vesta, the public could see these statues; Dionysius describes them as a pair of ancient statues of young male gods, seated with spears in their hands.¹⁴ According to the historian, many statues of these gods could be seen in other temples and they were always represented in military clothing.¹⁵ An inscription on the statue base identified the gods in the Velian shrine as the Penates.¹⁶ Further information emerges from a passage of Varro, preserved by Servius, which states that the inscription read *Magnis Diis*.¹⁷ It has been suggested that neither of these authors preserve the entirety of the inscription, but rather both references should be combined into a single phrase, *Penatibus et Magnis Diis*, which is used by Virgil to describe the sacred objects Aeneas saved from Troy.¹⁸ This hypothesised inscription to the Penates and the Great Gods may suggest that Aeneas was believed to have transported two sets of holy objects, one being the Penates and the other the Great Gods, or alternatively that the pairs were identified to some extent.

This temple is now lost, probably being situated under the temple of Romulus (fig.3). However, a depiction of it, or another temple of the Penates, may exist. A relief on the *Ara Pacis Augustae* depicts a sacrificial scene with a bearded man, another figure behind him, and two boys leading a pig to an altar (fig.77). In the upper left-hand corner of the relief is a small temple on a rocky outcrop, perhaps belonging to the gods to whom the central figure, identified as Aeneas, is sacrificing. The temple is small but includes the representation of the gods, or perhaps their cult statues, worshipped within. They are bare-chested, bearded, seated on thrones, and each holds a spear in their left hand (fig.78). This

¹³ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.68.1-2; Palombi, *LTUR IV: 'Penates, Aedes'*; Alföldi (1963) p258; Scullard (1981) p65-66; Dubourdieu (1989) p3.

¹⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.68.1-2.

¹⁵ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.68.2.

¹⁶ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.68.1.

¹⁷ Serv. *Ad Aen.* 3.12.

¹⁸ Vir. *Aen.* 3.12, 8.679; Dubourdieu (1989) p435; Virgil refers to the statues as the *effigies sacrae divum Phrygiiue Penates*: Vir. *Aen.* 3.148; Horsfall (2006) p48-50.

description corresponds to that given by Dionysius of the Penates' statues in their Velian shrine, with the exception that these gods are bearded and older than the youthful statues Dionysius described. The representation of the statues on the relief, as well as the Velian statues, have been suggested to be archaic statues of the Dioscuri, either mistakenly identified as the Penates in antiquity, or deliberately assimilated to the Penates.¹⁹ Dionysius, however, draws no comparison between these statues and those of the Dioscuri, even though he was familiar with the cult of Castor and Pollux.²⁰ It is not until Servius, writing in the fourth century AD, that we find a literary source perhaps linking the Penates and the Dioscuri.²¹ However, Servius does not state that the Penates and the Dioscuri were identified with each other, but instead that the *simulacra* of the Great Gods and the Dioscuri were similar. The description Dionysius gives of the Penates' statues in the Velian temple could fit statues of the Dioscuri: a pair of young men with spears. However, this description could also apply to many other pairs of young heroes, rather than being specific to the Dioscuri.

Although Castor and Pollux are often depicted carrying spears, this is by no means their only attribute, which also include stars, *piloi* and horses. However, the description by Dionysius of these statues has been used as a foundation of the argument that Castor and Pollux were identified with the Penates. It has been proposed that the statues in the Velian temple are of the Dioscuri, but placed in the Penates' temple.²² However, the Dioscuri are rarely depicted seated, when they are not on horseback, they are usually shown standing.²³ To my knowledge, there is only one extant representation of Castor and Pollux in a seated pose found in Rome, although perhaps originally from Greece, and that is a relief which

¹⁹ Albert (1883) p17; Waites (1920) p253-254; Lloyd (1956) p44-45; Scullard (1981) p65-66.

²⁰ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.13.1-5.

²¹ Serv. *Ad Aen.* 3.12: *id est Varro et alii complures magnos deos adfirmant simulacra duo virilia, Castoris et Pollucis, in Samothracia ante portam sita, quibus naufragio liberati vota solvebant.*

²² Scullard (1981) p66; Cole (1984) p102.

²³ Dubourdieu (1989) p431.

shows them seated on rough-cut rock thrones beside their horses (fig.79).²⁴ The seated pose of the statues in the Velian temple has also been interpreted in different ways; Dubourdiou sees the indication that these are not warriors, but have a peaceful or protective character, closer to the Penates than the Dioscuri, who were famous in Rome for their activity in battle.²⁵ Masquelier, however, interprets the statues as being of the Dioscuri and suggests that this unusual pose signals a transformation: they are no longer warrior gods, but are shown seated to demonstrate that they remain in the state to safeguard it.²⁶

The identification of these statues as Castor and Pollux rather than the Penates ignores the fact that all of the ancient evidence identifies them as the Penates or the Great Gods. To get around this problem, scholars propose that the Penates and the Dioscuri were thought of as interchangeable from the date that these ‘Dioscuric’ statues were included in the Penates’ temple. Lloyd even suggests, based on his identification of these statues as archaic images of Castor and Pollux, that this temple was originally dedicated to the Dioscuri and later was associated with the Penates, dating this association as occurring prior to the third century BC.²⁷ Other scholars are rightly more cautious, suggesting that although these statues share iconography with the Dioscuri, they were not Castor and Pollux.²⁸ Peyre notes that there are iconographic differences between the Penates and the Dioscuri and proposes that the two pairs were not seen to be the same, but that the Penates were assimilated to the Dioscuri at some point, taking on some of Castor and Pollux’s iconography.²⁹ Dubourdiou casts further doubt on the similarities between the two pairs by

²⁴ De Angelis d’Ossat (2002) p143.

²⁵ Dubourdiou (1989) p423, 430-432.

²⁶ Masquelier (1966) p93.

²⁷ Lloyd (1956) p43-44.

²⁸ Peyre (1962) p433-434; Alföldi (1963) p258; Dumèzil (1970) p355.

²⁹ Peyre (1962) p461-462.

suggesting that Dionysius is mistaken, arguing that the objects held by the statues were not spears, symbols of gods such as the Dioscuri, but staffs, more suitable to the protective Penates.³⁰ Unfortunately, as no other description of the statues exists, this cannot be proven. Although according to Dionysius the statues in the Velian temple bear some similarities to Castor and Pollux, being a pair of young male gods, this is not enough to state that both pairs were seen to be the same, or that one pair of gods was assimilated to the other.

Numismatic images have also been used to suggest that the Penates and Dioscuri were closely linked in the Roman consciousness. A *denarius*, minted by Manius Fonteius in 108/107 BC, depicts on the obverse a pair of young male laureate heads, with stars above their foreheads, accompanied on some issues by the legend *PP* (fig.59).³¹ I have previously explored this issue, suggesting it represents the Dioscuri in their role as saviours of sailors.³² The reverse design is of an oared ship, a helmsman at the rear and with the name of the moneyer inscribed above. A serrated *denarius*, minted shortly afterwards in 106 BC by Gaius Sulpicius again depicts two laureate male heads on the obverse, although without stars, and with the legend *DPP* (fig.80).³³ The reverse shows two men holding spears with a sow, possibly a reference to the sow with thirty piglets that Aeneas encountered when arriving in Italy. The final coin that has been suggested to demonstrate a link between the Dioscuri and the Penates was minted in 47 BC by Gaius Antius Resto, again with paired heads of laureate youths, although no stars, accompanied

³⁰ Dubourdieu (1989) p287-288.

³¹ *RRC* 307/1a (without legend); Waites (1920) p253; Lloyd (1956) p43; Weinstock (1960) p112; Peyre (1962) p459; Masquelier (1966) p97; Crawford (1971) p153; Dubourdieu (1989) p287, 432; Petrocchi (1994) p104.

³² See p203.

³³ *RRC* 312/1; Waites (1920) p253; Mattingly and Robinson (1933) p37; Lloyd (1956) p43; Weinstock (1960) p112; Masquelier (1966) p97; Dubourdieu (1989) p432.

by a fuller inscription: *Dei Penates* (fig.81).³⁴ Hercules is featured on the reverse of this issue.

The abbreviated legends on the first two of these coins, *PP* (although this does not appear on all issues) and *DPP*, have been suggested to stand for *P(enates) P(ublici)* or *D(ei) P(enates) P(ublici)*.³⁵ Peyre has noted that the interpretation of these abbreviated legends appear to be based on the third coin, with the full title *Dei Penates*, rather than any iconography representing the Penates.³⁶ Furthermore, this legend does not replicate the abbreviations, which read *PP* or *DPP* rather than *DP*. Peyre also notes that differing interpretations of the legends are possible: *P(ecunia) P(ublica)* or *D(e) P(ecunia) P(ublica)*, perhaps a reference to the fact that the metal for these coins was taken from the public treasury.³⁷ He rejects this second interpretation, stating that it would be unusual for *pecunia* to be used to refer to raw materials instead of minted coins.³⁸ Crawford also notes this potential interpretation, dismissing Peyre's assumption that the legend cannot refer to bullion, suggesting that if *P(ecunia) P(ublica)* is the correct interpretation, it refers to the issue rather than the raw material. He, however, also prefers the interpretation of the legend as referring to the *P(enates) P(ublici)*, because of a *dolium* depicted over the ship's stern on the reverse of some issues of the Fonteius *denarius*, which he suggests would have contained the *sacra* of the gods from Troy.³⁹ Petrocchi has suggested that the ship on this coin links the Dioscuri, as protectors of sailors, with the Penates, who fulfil a similar protective role over the store cupboard.⁴⁰ I have argued above that this coin instead

³⁴ *RRC* 455/2a; Mattingly and Robinson (1933) p37; Lloyd (1956) p43; Weinstock (1960) p112; Masquelier (1966) p97.

³⁵ Peyre (1962) p433-434, 456, 459.

³⁶ Peyre (1962) p435, 451.

³⁷ Peyre (1962) p447-449.

³⁸ Peyre (1962) p449.

³⁹ Crawford (1971) p153.

⁴⁰ Petrocchi (1994) p104.

represents the Dioscuri as saviours of sailors.⁴¹ It is only this first coin, minted by Fonteius, which may demonstrate a link between the Dioscuri and the Penates, if the interpretation of the legend (which only appears on some coins) as *P(enates) P(ublici)* is correct, which is not certain. Petrocchi has noted that the moneyer's background may explain the inclusion of the Dioscuri, as the Fonteii originally came from Tusculum, where Castor and Pollux had a prominent cult.⁴² It has also been suggested that the people of Tusculum had a fondness for the Penates, for many Tusculans were involved with the shrine of the Penates on the Velia, thus pointing to a further possible connection between the Dioscuri and the Penates.⁴³ However, this by no means demonstrates that the Dioscuri and the Penates were seen to be the same gods by the Tusculans or the Romans.

The pair of youthful male laureate heads on these coins has been identified as depicting the Dioscuri. The first coin, minted by Fonteius, includes a pair of stars above their foreheads, a common attribute of the Dioscuri. It is likely that this issue depicts Castor and Pollux. However, the second and third issues do not include the stars, suggesting that the Dioscuri are identified on these later issues only by linking them to the first coin. Furthermore, the identification of the figures as Castor and Pollux on all coins ignores the fact that the only coin that names the two youths, the *denarius* of Resto, does so as the Penates. Instead, the Penates are depicted as young men, with idealised facial features and with a wreath or diadem in their curly hair. Although there are similarities with the manner in which the Dioscuri are represented, there are also with depictions of other heroes or gods. Therefore, the argument suggesting the Penates are being assimilated to the Dioscuri through their depiction on these coins requires the three issues to be viewed

⁴¹ See p203.

⁴² The Battle of Lake Regillus also took place, according to Livy, *in agro Tuscolano*: Liv. 2.19.3; and the city had a cult of Castor and Pollux into the late Republic: Cic. *De Div.* 1.43.98; a coin of 41 BC shows the heads of the Dioscuri on the obverse and the city on the reverse: *RRC* 515/1 (24).

⁴³ Lloyd (1963) p43.

together, borrowing aspects from other coins (the stars on the coin of Fonteius and the *Dei Penates* inscription on the coin of Resto) to understand the others.

Lavinium was the chosen home of the Penates and also possessed a cult to Castor and Pollux by the sixth century BC.⁴⁴ Alföldi has argued that the finding of the inscription to Castor and Pollux at Lavinium proves that the Dioscuri and the Penates were assimilated at this early date.⁴⁵ However, although there was a shrine of the Penates in Lavinium, there is no evidence that it was at the sanctuary of the thirteen altars at which the dedication to the Dioscuri was found. Even if the Penates had an altar at this sanctuary, this is not proof that Castor and Pollux were interchangeable with the Penates.⁴⁶ Instead, Castagnoli has pointed out that archaeological excavations show that the sanctuary of the thirteen altars fell into disuse during the second century BC, while the Penates continued to be worshipped at Lavinium into the imperial period, suggesting that their shrine was elsewhere, perhaps in the town itself.⁴⁷

A further parallel has been suggested between the Dioscuri and the Penates in terms of their sacred objects. Timaeus reports that the Penates' sacred objects at Lavinium included 'Trojan pottery', while the Dioscuri are sometimes depicted beside a pair of amphorae in Laconian and Tarentine art.⁴⁸ What these amphorae symbolise for Castor and Pollux is unclear, for when they were represented aniconically, it was more common to use their hats, or *dokana*.⁴⁹ It is possible that the amphorae are linked to the Dioscuri's role as protectors of sailors and merchants, who may have transported their goods in such vessels.

⁴⁴ Weinstock (1960) p112-114.

⁴⁵ On this inscription, see p24-25; Alföldi (1963) p269-270.

⁴⁶ For discussion, see Dubourdieu (1989) p252.

⁴⁷ Castagnoli (1983) p7.

⁴⁸ Although this does not seem to be the case in Rome. Weinstock (1960) p289, 290-291; Peyre (1962) p455; Masquelier (1966) p91; Crawford (1971) p153-154; Giarducci (1984) p135.

⁴⁹ See p14.

Thus, they may serve as an attribute of Castor and Pollux, or, perhaps more likely, represent the offerings brought to the Dioscuri. In any case, as Weinstock notes, the Dioscuri do not appear to be closely linked to amphorae, whilst the Penates are with their sacred objects.⁵⁰

There was another pair of gods to whom both the Penates and the Dioscuri were linked in antiquity: the Great Gods of Samothrace. The Penates, as stated by Servius, had *Magnis Diis* inscribed on their statue base in their Velian temple. Castor and Pollux could be equated with the Great Gods and the Kabiri because they all had responsibilities for the safety of sailors. Thus, the Penates and the Dioscuri were linked to the Great Gods of Samothrace. This has led scholars to suggest that the Penates and the Dioscuri became linked through their mutual similarity with the Samothracian gods.⁵¹ The Penates thus seem to be a pair of gods who could easily be associated with other pairs of young male gods, as they were with the Great Gods of Samothrace, and it has been suggested they were with the Dioscuri.

However, although similarities existed between the Dioscuri and the Penates, this does not mean that they were assimilated. The suggestion that they were may have resulted from these similarities, perhaps as Castagnoli suggests, following syncretistic speculation during the late Republic.⁵² I have shown that much of the evidence cited to argue that the Dioscuri and the Penates were linked, and to some extent interchangeable, in the Roman mind, only demonstrates similarities. Although such similarities can lead to assimilations or mistaken identifications, they do not prove that the Penates and the Dioscuri were thought to be the same gods in antiquity. However, the coin of Manius Fonteius, if the

⁵⁰ Weinstock (1960) p290-291.

⁵¹ Waites (1920) p256; Cole (1984) p102; Dubourdieu (1989) p45, 436-437.

⁵² Castagnoli (1983) p7.

legend refers to the Penates, perhaps a link, although I would hesitate to suggest this proves any assimilation. Scholars disagree on when any such confusion may have begun in Rome. For Dubourdieu it was based in the growing prominence of the myth of Aeneas and was created to explain the inconsistencies between the different versions of how the Penates came to Rome.⁵³ Schilling, however, suggests that the *Ara Pacis* relief was intended to show the Dioscuri, who became linked to the Penates through an Augustan reinterpretation.⁵⁴

To what extent would a Roman citizen have seen a connection or assimilation between the Penates and the Dioscuri? The question remains to an extent unanswerable, however, from the evidence examined above, they may have seen similarities, but would also probably have seen other attributes more individual to the separate pairs than we have evidence for today. For although the Dioscuri and the Penates may have shared characteristics of iconography, number and role, these do not necessarily equate to shared identity.

⁵³ Dubourdieu (1989) p437-438.

⁵⁴ Schilling (1980) p1972.

Appendix Three: Images.

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Fig. 1: Anonymous *Denarius*, after 211 BC, Rome.
RRC 44/5.
British Museum inv. no. R.7418.



Fig. 2: Dedication to Castor and Pollux, Lavinium, 6th century BC.
Museo Nazionale Romano - Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, author's photograph.

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Fig. 3: Plan of the Forum Romanum.
Claridge (2009) fig.1.



Fig. 4: *Adlocutio* scene from the *Anaglypha Traiani* (or *Hadriani*).
Exhibition in the Curia, Forum Romanum; author's photograph.

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Fig. 5: Fragments 18a, f, g of the *Forma Urbis Romae* from a photograph by Lanciani.
Stanford Digital *Forma Urbis Romae* Project.

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Fig. 6: Fragment 18b of the *Forma Urbis Romae* from a Renaissance drawing (Cod.Vat.Lat. 3439).
Stanford Digital *Forma Urbis Romae* Project.

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Fig. 7: Plan of Temple I.
Nielsen and Poulsen (1992a) fig. 55.

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Fig. 8: Plan of Temple Ia.
Nielsen and Poulsen (1992b) fig. 61.

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Fig. 9: Plan of Temple II with suggested peripteral design and showing extant structures.
Nielsen (1992b) fig. 100.

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Fig. 10: Plan of Temple IIa.
Nielsen (1992b) fig. 101.

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Fig. 11: Photograph of the front of the temple of Castor and Pollux in 1871.
Taylor (1966) pl. 7.

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Fig. 12: Photograph of the front of the temple of Castor and Pollux, 1895.
Taylor (1966) pl. 8.

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Fig. 13: Section of the front of the tribunal with a reconstruction of the Late Antique front staircase above the three steps found *in situ* in 1896. Nilson, Persson and Zahle (2008) fig. 3.4.16.

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Fig. 14: Reconstruction of the north-east corner of the platform with the lateral staircase, Temple III. Nilson and Persson (2008c) fig. 4.7.

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Fig. 15: Richter's reconstruction of the Forum temple of Castor and Pollux.
Richter (1898) fig. 1.

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Fig. 16: Battle Relief between Romans and Gauls, first century AD.
Strong (1988) fig. 40.

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Fig. 17: Via Anicia fragment depicting the temple of Castor and Pollux in the Circus Flaminius.
Conticello de' Spagnolis (1984) fig. 1.

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Fig. 18: Reconstructed plan of the temple of Castor and Pollux in the Circus Flaminius from the Via Anicia Fragment.
Conticello de' Spagnolis (1984) fig.14.

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Fig. 19: Location of the Via Anicia fragment on Lanciani's plan.
Conticello de' Spagnolis (1984) fig. 23.

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Fig. 20: Plan of the Via Anicia fragment, with excavation results. Blue signifies the excavation findings, the black outline is from the Via Anicia fragment and the red outline is the altered plan to correspond with the archaeological findings.
Vitti (2010) fig. 11.

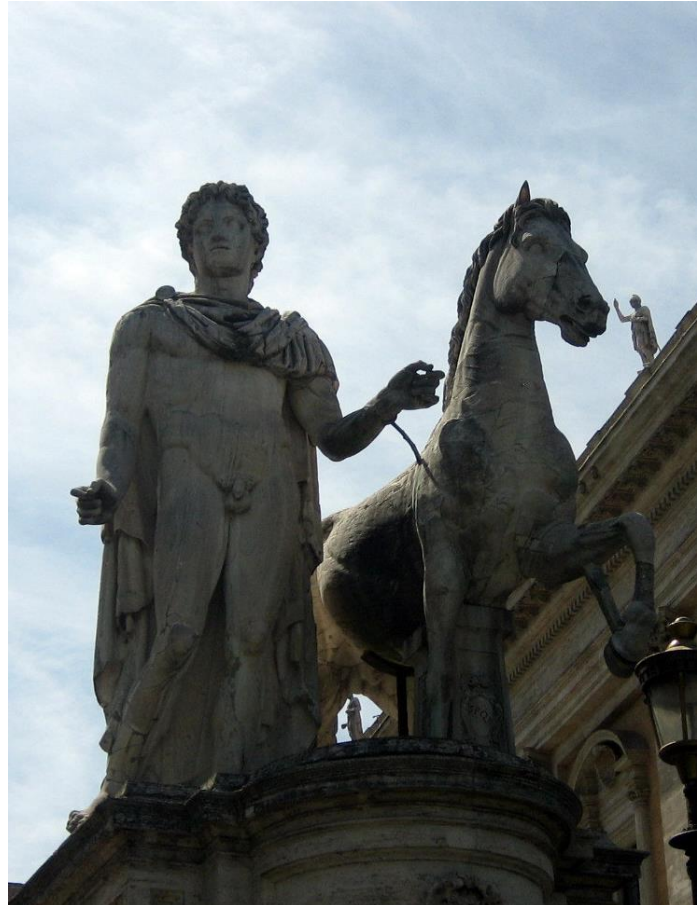


Fig. 21: Statues of the Capitoline Dioscuri group. Capitoline Hill, Rome; author's photograph.

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Fig. 22: Marble Relief, Thessaly, first century BC.
Musée du Louvre, inv. no. MA 746.

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Fig. 23: The Dioscuri as acroteria from the temple of Jupiter at Marasà.
Guzzo (1994) figs. 1-2.

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Fig. 24: *Aureus*, 41 BC, Rome.
RRC 515/1.
British Museum inv. no. 1848,0819.79.

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Fig. 25: Anonymous *As*, 280-276 BC, Rome.
RRC 14/1.
British Museum inv. no. 1867.0212.117.

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Fig. 26: Anonymous *denarius*, 211-208 BC, Central Italian mint.
RRC 61/1.
British Museum inv. no. R.6952.

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Fig. 27: Stater, c.315 BC, Taras.
Jenkins (1972) 444.

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Fig. 28: Brettian Octobolus, 282-203 BC.
LIMC 3.2: Dioskouroi 8.

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Fig. 29: *Denarius* of Gaius Servilius, 136 BC, Rome.
RRC 239/1.
British Museum inv. no. 2002,0102.870.

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Fig. 30: *Denarius* of Titus Quinctius Flaminius, 126 BC, Rome.
RRC 267/1.
British Museum inv. no. 2002,0102.952.

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Fig. 31: *Denarius* of Gaius Papilius Mutulus, 90-89 BC, Italy.
RR2 32, p330.
British Museum inv. no. 1843,0116.96.

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Fig. 32: *Denarius* of Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, 41 BC, Moving Mint.
RRC 519/2.
British Museum inv. no. 1867,0101.1247.

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Fig. 33: Altar from the *Lacus Juturnae*, Forum Romanum.
LIMC 3.2, 'Dioskouroi/Castores' 1.

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Fig. 34: Statues of the Dioscuri found in the *Lacus Juturnae*, Forum Romanum. *LIMC* 3.2: 'Dioskouroi/ Castores' 56.



Fig. 35: Relief from the *Lacus Curtius*, Forum Romanum, Rome. Musei Capitolini, Rome; author's photograph.

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Fig. 36: *Denarius* of Lucius Memmius, 109/108 BC, Rome.
RRC 304/1.
British Museum inv. no: 2002,0102.1148.

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Fig. 37: *Denarius* of Aulus Postumius Albinus, late 90s BC, Rome.
RRC 335/10b.
British Museum inv. no: 1841,0726.1240.

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Fig. 38: *Denarius* of Aulus Postumius Albinus, late 90s BC, Rome.
RRC 335/9.
British Museum inv. no: 1904,0204.153.



Fig. 39: Detail of a Dioscurus on a shield from the 'Monument of Bocchus'. Musei Capitolini, Rome; author's photograph.



Fig. 40: Detail of a Dioscurus' *pilos* and star on a shield from the 'Monument of Bocchus'. Musei Capitolini, Rome; author's photograph.



Fig. 41: Quirinal Dioscuri Statue group. Rome, author's photograph.

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Fig. 42: The Grand Relief of Como.
Rebecchi (1999) fig. 1.

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Fig. 43: Cinerary Urn, Volterra, third or second century BC.
British Museum inv. no. 1925,1218.1.

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Fig. 44: Funerary relief of Titus Flavius Verus, Ostia.
Demougin (1988) fig. 2.



Fig. 45: Base of the column of Antoninus Pius, c. 161 AD.
Musei Vaticani, Rome; author's photograph.



Fig. 46: Detail of Base of Column of
Antoninus Pius.
Musei Vaticani, Rome; author's photograph.

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Fig. 47: Sarcophagus lid panel with a *tensa* depicting Jupiter and the Dioscuri, Rome, third century AD.
British Museum 1805.0703.145.

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Fig. 48: Sarcophagus depicting a race in the Circus Maximus, third century AD.
Jenkelmann (2000) fig. 109.

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Fig. 49: Mosaic of a circus from Lyon.
Humphrey (1986) fig. 36.

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Fig. 50: Illustration of the decoration encircling the Ficoroni Cista. Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome.
<http://www.villagiulia.be/niculturali.it/index.php?it/144/i-bronzi>.

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Fig. 51: Detail of the Ficaroni Cista.
Himmelmann (1989) p172.



Fig. 52: Detail of the Terme Boxer.
Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Rome; author's photograph.



Fig. 53: Detail of the Terme Boxer.
Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Rome; author's photograph.

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Fig. 54: Votive Relief, Pephnos, second century BC.
LIMC 3.2: 'Dioskouroi' 122.

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Fig. 55: Athlit Ram, 150-100 BC.
Murray (1991) fig. 4.1.

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Fig. 56: Bronze fittings for a ship's prow, first century BC.
Pitassi (2011) fig 22b.

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Fig. 57: Anonymous As of 169-158 BC, Rome.
RRC 181/1.

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Fig. 58: *Denarius* of Gaius Fonteius, 114/113 BC, Rome.
RRC 290/1.
British Museum inv. no: R7778.

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Fig. 59: *Denarius* of Manius Fonteius, 108-107 BC, Rome.
RRC 307/1c.
British Museum inv. no: R.7845.

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Fig. 60: *Dupondius* of Marc Antony, 38-37 BC, Achaea.
RPC 1.1. 1464.
British Museum inv. no: R.9565.

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Fig. 61: Torlonia Relief, Ostia, c. 200 AD.
<http://www.ostia-antica.org/portus/portus10.jpg>.

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Fig. 62: Enlarged detail of the Torlonia Relief (fig. 62).
<http://www.ostia-antica.org/portus/portus10.jpg>.

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Fig. 63: Tetradrachm of Eumenes II, 180-160 BC.
British Museum 1849,0717.10.

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Fig. 64: *Aes* of after 2 BC, Tarraco.
RPC 1.1 212.

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Fig. 65: *Denarius* of Augustus, 9/8 BC, Lugdunum.
RIC Augustus 199.
British Museum inv. no. R.6138.

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Fig. 66: *Aureus* of Augustus, 2 BC, Lugdunum.
RIC Augustus 205.
British Museum inv. no. 1920.0325.5.



Fig. 67: Casts of statues of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, from the Julian Basilica, Corinth. Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome; author's photograph.

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Fig. 68: *Sestertius* of Tiberius, AD 35-36.
RIC Tiberius 67.
British Museum inv. no. R.6385.

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Fig. 69: Coin of Koinon of Asia.
RPC 1.1 2994.
Rose (1997) p119.

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Fig. 70: Ravenna Relief, Claudian period.
Pollini (2013) fig. IX.8a.

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Fig. 71: Detail of Ravenna Relief.
Pollini (2013) fig. IX.10a-b.

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Fig. 72: *Dupondius* of Caligula, AD 37/38, Rome.
RIC Gaius 49.
British Museum inv. no. R.6439.

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Fig. 73: *Sestertius* of Tiberius, AD 22/23, Rome.
RIC Tiberius 42.
British Museum inv. no. 1842,0214.37.

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Fig. 74: Fragmentary Glass Medallion.
Kiss (1975) fig. 460.

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Fig. 75: *Aureus* of Claudius, AD 51-54.
RIC Claudius 78.
British Museum inv. no. 1864,1128.250.

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Fig. 76: Reliefs of Imperial Princes as the Dioscuri, *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias, C4 and C6. Smith (2013) pl. 50 and 54.



Fig. 77: Aeneas Relief, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Rome.
Museo dell'Ara Pacis, author's photograph.



Fig. 78: Detail of Aeneas Relief, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Rome.
Museo dell'Ara Pacis, author's photograph.



Fig. 79: Relief of the Dioscuri and worshippers.
Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, Rome; author's photograph.

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Fig. 80: *Denarius* of Gaius Sulpicius, Rome, 106 BC.
RRC 312/1.
British Museum inv. no. 1843,0116.1081.

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Fig. 81: *Denarius* of Gaius Antius Resto, Rome, 47 BC.
RRC 455/2a.
British Museum inv. no. 2002,0102.4543.

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