

# AIV

*Arts in Virginia*

A magazine published by the Virginia Museum  
for the enjoyment of its Members  
Volume Thirteen, Number Two  
Winter, 1973

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Though they aren't as chilling as an Agatha Christie murder mystery, two articles in this *AIV* are models of sleuthing at its best. The two scholarly detectives are Madeline Caviness, who has painstakingly evaluated our Canterbury window, and Dr. Hans Jucker, whose vast knowledge of Roman art has been applied to a study of our statue of the emperor Caligula. We are very grateful to these two experts for adding immensely to the understanding of two of the finest works in our permanent collection.

The third article deals with a contemporary artist; thus the need for such scholarly detective work is not as great. Lawrence Campbell, instead, has given us a wonderfully intuitive glimpse into the life and work of the remarkable American painter Edward Hopper. Anyone who is fond of returning regularly to the Modern World gallery to view our painting *House at Dusk* surely will benefit from Mr. Campbell's observations. The article also provides an appropriate background for an appreciation of the exhibition *Edward Hopper*, which comes to us in March from the Whitney Museum.

James M. Brown, Director

Cover (1): *Canterbury panel*, Virginia Museum.

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# Caligula

by Hans Jucker

The Museum's monumental Roman statue is assessed thoroughly by one of Europe's leading scholars on the art of Rome.

Translated by Pinkney L. Near

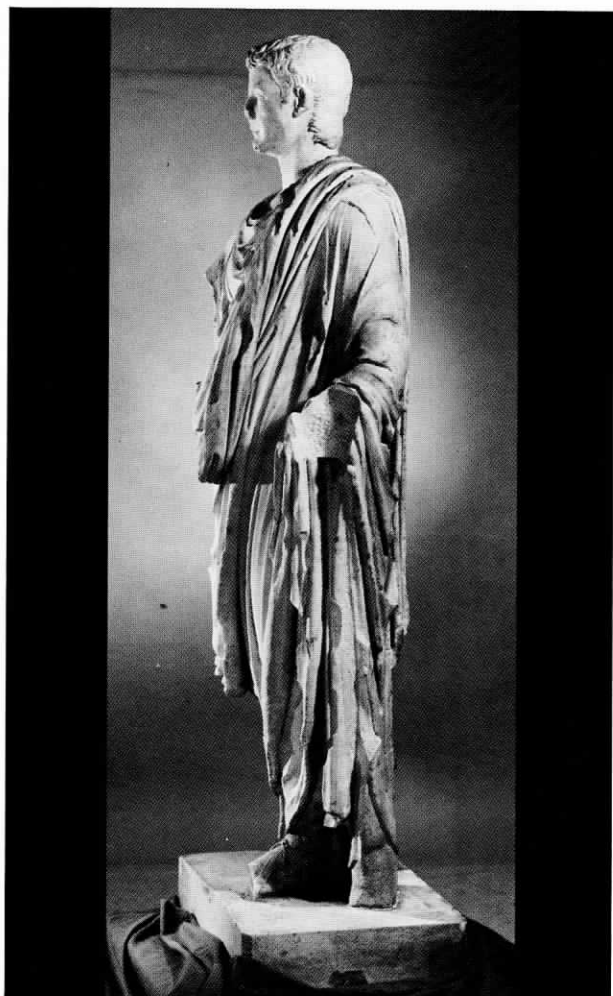
Between 1875 and 1880 Friedrich von Duhn, in the manuscript on antique sculpture in Rome<sup>1</sup> which Friedrich Matz had entrusted to him for completion, added the following description under number 1247: "Palazzo Colonna. Life-size. Advancing pose. Weight on left leg. The toga falls in the usual way in a double umbo,<sup>2</sup> leaving the right arm free, only a narrow edge of which rests on the right shoulder. The right arm swings freely to the side and downward, the left forearm forward. On the feet are shoes of soft, close-fitting material, wound around with bands. The head seems to belong to the statue and dates from the first century, but the neck is a modern addition. It recalls a Julian type. Restorations include the nose and part of the rear of the head and also the right arm from the midpoint of the upper arm, the lower half of the left forearm, the left foot and a considerable amount of the garment behind, on the right side and in front. Excellent work, surely from the first century."

It can scarcely be doubted that the togate statue which the Virginia Museum acquired in 1970 (figs. 1-8)<sup>3</sup> is identical with this Julian figure which, due to its outstanding quality, the scholarly Heidelberg archaeologist found worthy of inclusion in a catalogue that is still in use ninety years later. Moreover, there is other evidence of a provenance from the Colonna collection and it is said, according to the family tradition of the former owner, that the statue was found in the neighborhood of the Theater of Marcellus in Rome. It is not mentioned in J.J. Bernoulli's *Roman Iconography* of 1886,<sup>4</sup> nor apparently is it considered anywhere else in the scholarly literature. From this fact, perhaps, it might be concluded that shortly after 1880 it was moved to some remote family estate.

As the illustrations here show, all the modern additions, which were correctly detailed by von Duhn, have been removed. The nose, arms, several drapery edges and the tip of the left foot were fixed with metal dowels to surfaces which were precut to fit these added pieces. If additions were made to the drapery in the rear, it could only have been at the bottom of the vertical drapery fold where a large hole now remains. In this hole a metal dowel must have been set in order to hold the statue to the wall. Von Duhn's catalogue reference is incorrect only in asserting that additions had been made to the back of the head and that the neck was a modern insertion between body and head.

Examination under better conditions than were available to von Duhn in the Palazzo Colonna shows that only a simple break separates the head from the torso. This break runs from just under the chin to the bottom of the lock of hair at the nape of the neck. The part comprising head and neck was not inserted into the draped part of the chest, as so often happened in antiquity for reasons of economy of labor, or material; because torsos were made in advance for future use or were used more than once; or because the execution of the heads was entrusted to more able sculptors. The left hand and right forearm may have been made separately and attached, as was the case with the statue from Gortyn (fig. 10) discussed below. Otherwise, however, the whole statue, including the socle, was carved from a single block of fine-grained, pure-white marble, probably from Carrara, despite its relatively pronounced transparency. It is evident that the same sensitive hand executed both head and body.

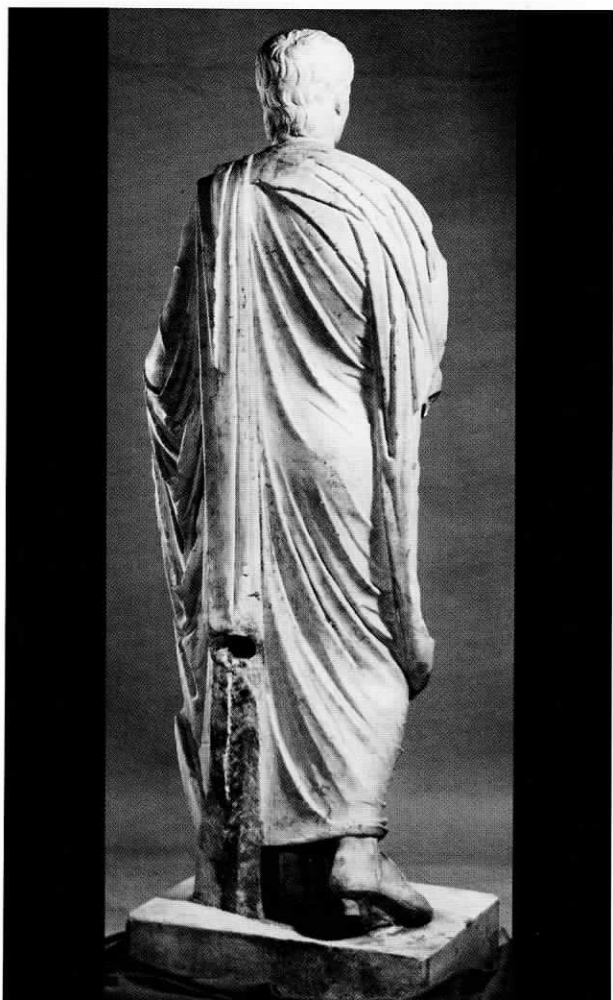
1 Caligula. Virginia Museum, accessions number 71-20.



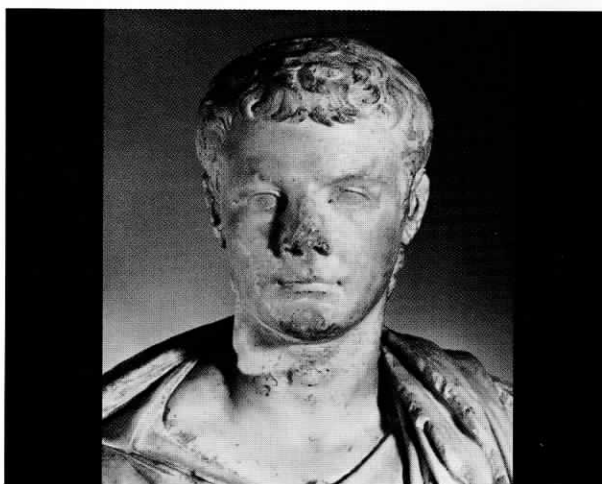
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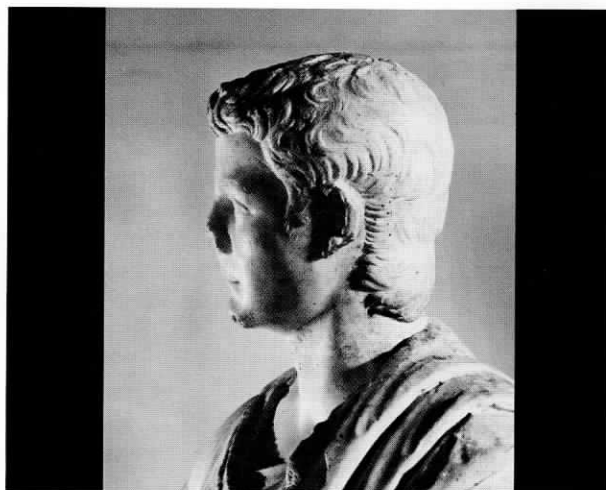
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The identity of the marble and handling of the chisel led von Duhn to conclude that the head belonged to the body, a conclusion that was all the bolder in light of the fact that he considered that the neck had been "inserted." The break surfaces fit together exactly even though the edges are not perfectly flush, as if the head was separated by chiseling (fig. 7). This damage has now been restored. The widest gap is at the nape of the neck and over the Adam's apple. An insignificant impairment of the original condition is seen in some minor chipping under the chin, which undoubtedly occurred during the first restoration. The break precisely follows the edge of the toga in the nape of the neck, so that no locks of hair extend down over the juncture. On the other hand, the neck tendons are accurately and organically continued across the break, thereby assuring the sense of energy and stateliness in the rightward turning of the head. The fact that the front is more damaged than the rear leads one to assume that the statue toppled forward.

A deeply chiseled indentation borders the hem of the toga along the chest, an indentation which gradually disappears at shoulder height. Because of this, apparently, von Duhn considered that the neck had been made from a separate piece. I can only explain this indentation by assuming that after the head of the statue had been knocked off, an attempt was made to chisel out the rest of the undraped part of the upper bust in order to permit insertion of another portrait head, following the practice mentioned above. Such a reworking is readily understandable, since the statue represents Caligula; after his assassination on 24 January 41 A. D., his successor, Claudius, ordered that images of him were to be removed.<sup>5</sup> In the case of the statue of Claudius from Velleia, now in Parma, the execution of the head clearly betrays it as a substitution, indeed a substitution for the head of Claudius' predecessor (fig. 9).<sup>6</sup> After the time that Claudius forestalled a formal Senate decree damning the memory of Gaius, it might have seemed rash, on sober reflection, to honor the new *Princeps* in so mean a way in the capital city itself. The project of separating the heads from Caligula statues was in any case abandoned and it was considered sufficient to overturn the statues.

Later, after the hatred of the murdered tyrant had subsided, the heads could be removed to a safe place. Because of this, and perhaps also because Caligula was already in better repute under Nero, more portraits of him were preserved than one would have expected considering the circumstances of his end. Statues with heads intact are rare. In addition to the one described here there is only one other certain example, and that is in the remote town of Gortyn on the island of Crete (fig. 10).<sup>7</sup> In this case the head was not even broken off, perhaps because the young ruler, inclined as he had been to Oriental conceits, was not so unpopular in the East as he was in Rome, where after his death the surviving patricians saw themselves again deprived of their prerogatives by Caligula's lawless regiment.<sup>8</sup> There may have been a second Caligula statue in the Agora of Gortyn, along with a group of representations of some more distant relatives of the Julian house erected on an imperial commission.<sup>9</sup>

All other extant, full-round portraits of the Emperor Gaius Julius Caesar Germanicus, usually designated by the nickname Caligula (the "little boot"), are merely



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- 2 Caligula.
- 3 Caligula.
- 4 Caligula.
- 5 Caligula (detail).
- 6 Caligula (detail).
- 7 Caligula (detail), before restoration.
- 8 Caligula (detail).



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heads from statues or busts. In all, I know of twenty-four definitely identifiable examples. At this time I cannot go into the very difficult problem of the portraits, which may represent him prior to his recognition by the Senate on 18 March 37 A.D. He spent his years of childhood and youth in seclusion with his great-grandmother and grandmother until the year 31 A.D., when the aged Tiberius summoned to his court this nineteen-year old grandson of his brother and great-grandson of Augustus. The most likely years for portraits of the prince are 31 to 37 A.D. However, there is no uncontested attribution. Only after his accession to the throne does the portrait of Caligula appear on coins and this is the portrait that forms the basis for identifications. Only two recently discovered heads bear a wreath, the *corona civica*, composed of oak leaves, which was initially granted Augustus for saving the Roman State. The presence itself of the wreath confirms the identification. One of these heads is in the Pozzuoli Museum,<sup>10</sup> the other in Fossombrone in the Marche (fig. 11).<sup>11</sup> The same portrait type, although without the wreath, is represented by the head in the collection of Professor Frank Brown in the Yale University Art Gallery in New Haven<sup>12</sup> and, somewhat altered, a small bronze bust the armor of which has disappeared.<sup>13</sup>

Including the Richmond and Gortyn statues, the majority of the 18 mostly unwreathed portraits belong to the type which Vagn Poulsen calls "the young emperor."<sup>14</sup> To be sure, Poulsen's third classification also conforms to this type.<sup>15</sup> I would likewise consider Copenhagen head 637a, which derives from the Greek East, as a variant of the type.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, to be dissociated from it are the head in Worcester, which is perhaps a later creation from the time of Nero;<sup>17</sup> the marble bust in New York;<sup>18</sup> and the small bronze bust in Brooklyn showing the world ruler on a globe, which was presumably found in the Tiber.<sup>19</sup>

Since 1958, when Poulsen's compilation appeared, the following have been added to the main type: both the statue in Richmond and that in Gortyn, as well as a head in Carthage<sup>20</sup> and one in Genoa (fig. 12).<sup>21</sup> Even as fragments, both of these heads, in the pathos of their upwardly directed gaze, betray the fact that they are meant to recall Alexander the Great.<sup>22</sup> Finally, there are a small, cuirassed bronze bust on the art market, and a head in Frankfurt that can be published here for the first time thanks to the kindness of the owner (fig. 13).<sup>23</sup> Forty-five centimeters high, it is one and one-half times life-size. It is nevertheless of excellent workmanship and, except for the ears and some insignificant abrasion of the tip of the nose, is undamaged. The bevelled contour at the bottom proves that the head was designed for a Togatus statue, and, just as with the Richmond Togatus, the head turned to the right. Also the arrangement of the locks of hair on the brow corresponds almost exactly, with the exception of a certain amount of simplification determined by the colossal format.

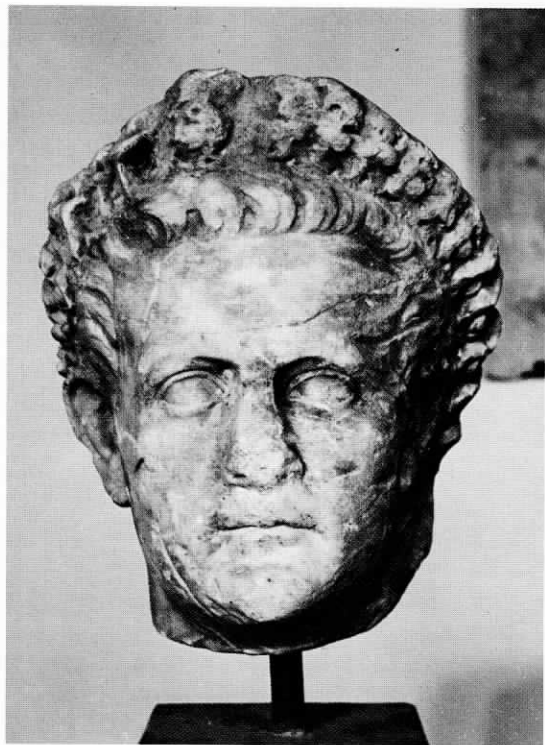
9 Toga statue of Caligula with head of the Emperor Claudius, from Velleia. Museo Nazionale di Antichità, Parma.

10 Toga statue of Caligula in Gortyn.

11 Head of Caligula with oak wreath in Fossombrone.

12 Head of Caligula in Genoa, Museo Genova-Pegli.

13 Head of Caligula, Frankfurt, art market.

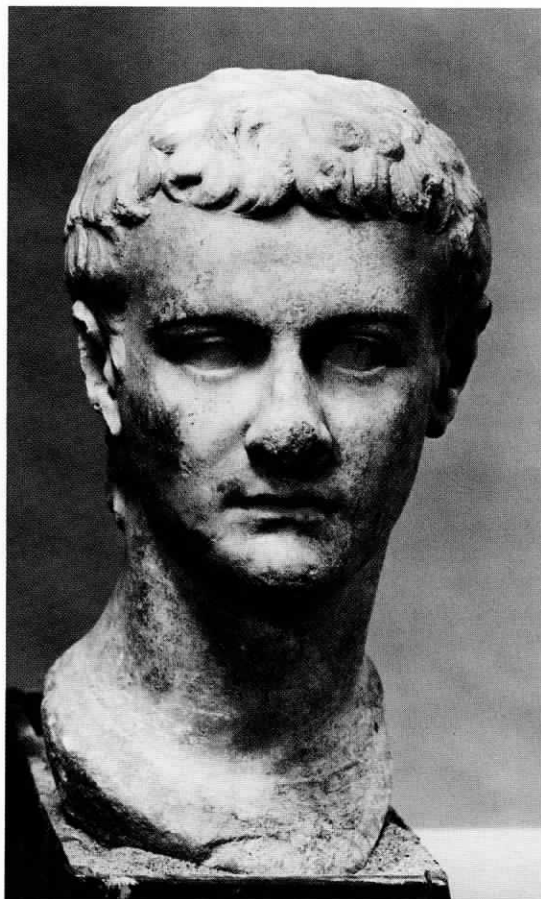


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In the spring of the year 38, Caligula assumed the title *Pater Patriae*, Father of the Fatherland, which the Senate had earlier granted him. In celebration of this event, the first coins were struck which bear on their reverse the oak-leaf wreath framing an inscription stating that Senate and People have conferred this distinction on him, in his capacity as Father of the Fatherland (P.P.), for his deliverance of the citizens (fig. 14).<sup>24</sup> On the same occasion, the relatively rare portrait type mentioned above was created if, as we assume, the *corona civica* did originally belong to him. On the other hand, the main type can be traced back to what V. Poulsen rightly dubs the "coronation portrait."<sup>25</sup> The coiffure of our portrait is already recognizable in the coins struck at the time of Caligula's accession to the throne. The forked locks over the temples are clearly reproduced only in the second edition of 37-38 A.D. (fig. 15).<sup>26</sup> The obverse portraits, which are associated with the oak leaf reverse, also follow this scheme (fig. 14).

It would be hazardous to assign individual representations of a portrait type to different periods of the reign of Caligula, which extended from his twenty-fifth to twenty-ninth year, on the basis of the estimated age of the sitter or a more or less "tyrannical" expression. The coin portraits permit no such differentiations. Their dating is almost exclusively dependent on the titles given. In order to establish the relative sequence, a painstaking investigation of the interrelation between coin dies would be required, yet this promises little for the iconography. Consequently, for the time being we must forego fixing the date of our portrait with any more exactness than

sometime between the beginning of the reign and the assassination. Also, at the time of his death Caligula was still young and, moreover, in accordance with Greek ideals it was characteristic of the Roman court style down to the time of the equally violent end of Nero, the last ruler of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, to represent the emperor only as a youthful man. Although Augustus died at the age of 76 and Tiberius not until 78, there is no really aged portrait of either. One would expect even less to find premature signs of age in portraits of Gaius. None betrays his partial baldness. The assertion of Suetonius that his pale face was ugly and repulsive by nature, and that by a studied mimicry he tried to make it arouse even greater dread, has in light of our portrait little credibility. The historiography issuing from Senatorial circles was hostile toward Caligula, and a highly unfavorable description is given not only of his character but also of his external appearance.<sup>27</sup> How the emperors themselves wished to appear can, however, be learned from their contemporary portraits. The originals of these—with very few exceptions (for example, a chance caricature scrawled on a wall)<sup>28</sup>—were done on commission from the court or state administration. They were reproduced in untold numbers throughout the breadth of the enormous empire, according to the talent and skill of the particular atelier. Our statue, however, was surely created in Rome and definitely by a leading master. It is a product of court art.

This becomes immediately apparent when comparing it with the *Togatus* in Gortyn (fig. 10), the spare and linear handling of which has been noted by L. Fabbrini.<sup>29</sup> Its formal peculiarity should indeed be considered an indication of provincial origin, rather than as an argument for a dating in late Tiberian times. This is true also of the drapery, which in contrast to the *Togatus* from Rome is old-fashioned. In the latter, the "umbo" is drawn down much farther over the "balteus," running from right hip to left shoulder, and the drapery descending from the right shoulder in back swings forward under the knee, clearly revealing the shape of the knee over the "sinus."<sup>30</sup> It was the toga—which down to Flavian times prevailing fashion had made ever more substantial and which had become more luxuriant in the capital than in Crete—that had to create the image of the new emperor according to an older pattern. Only the model for the head came from the metropolis.<sup>31</sup> There the dry, restrained manner that prevailed under Tiberius gave way very quickly to a more naturalistic, sensuous kind of modelling. From Augustus on, the determining artistic impulses came from Rome, and it might be some time before an awareness and understanding of them reached remote workshops. Innovations also show up in those temporally determinable documents, coins; their value to the history of Roman art scarcely has been exploited.<sup>32</sup> Archaeological research generally sets the beginning of the style change that leads from the Augustan-Tiberian Neo-Classicism to Neronian-Flavian Neo-Hellenism not earlier than the reign of Claudius, because too little

14 Sestertius of Caligula, Naples, Museo Nazionale.

15 Aureus of Caligula, Bern (actual size).

16 Toga statue of Prince Nero from Rome, in Paris, Louvre.

17 Toga statue of Prince Nero, from Velleia, Museo Nazionale di Antichità, Parma.





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attention is paid the time of Gaius; this period, although of short duration, was a very consequential time for the development of art as well as political affairs. The Virginia Museum's Togatus may contribute toward a more accurate appraisal.

A comparison of our togate figure with the Caligula from Velleia mentioned above, which in 41 A.D. was transformed into a Claudius (fig. 9), leads to the same result as the comparison with the figure from Gortyn. Here also the umbo and sinus do not hang as far down but, in addition, the drapery is drier and rendered in a manner that is more draftsman-like than plastic. Furthermore, the elegant, spirited pose of the Virginia Museum Caligula is lacking.

Since the inscription on the statue of Claudius' sister, Drusilla, at Velleia (which was presumably erected with his), designates her as Diva,<sup>33</sup> her death date, 12 June 38 A.D., would be a terminus post quem. No more than two and one-half years would therefore separate the togatus from Rome from the one from Velleia, and the possibility exists that these statues, which represent such divergent styles, may in fact be exact contemporaries.

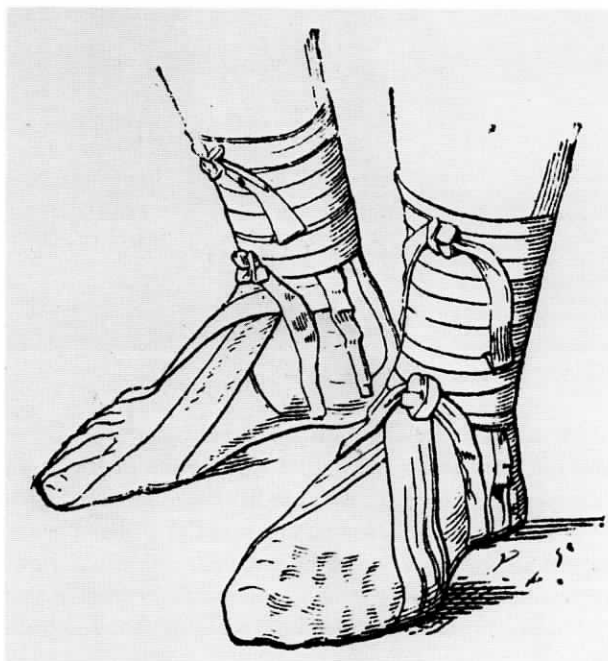
Among those togate statues of approximately the same date, one in the Louvre representing a boy (fig. 16)<sup>34</sup> is closer to ours than the two Caligula statues from the provinces. Except for the unquestionably pre-Flavian head which he supposed did not belong, Goethert assigned the draped figure to his Flavian classification. However, there is no break between head and body and the statue apparently represents Nero as a Prince at the time

of his adoption by Claudius on 25 February 50 A.D.; at any rate, before his premature assumption of the adult toga, which occurred in the year 51. Here also the degree of progressiveness cannot be measured in terms of years, except according to the traditional linear-historical viewpoint. The little Nero in the Louvre comes from Rome and is only apparently ahead of its times. Another such Nero, with the child's seal on his breast, is in the find of statues from the basilica of Velleia (fig. 17).<sup>35</sup> The toga is once again more closely fitting and harshly chiselled, and again its maker, misinterpreting the Paris counterpart, has fabricated between it and the latter a distinction in terms of chronology and stylistic development. Both sculptures must be approximately contemporaneous, although created at some distance from each other.

The Caligula statues from Gortyn and Velleia show the Emperor engaged in a cult activity, turning to the godhead<sup>36</sup> either in the act of sacrifice or prayer. His covered head emphasizes piety, which under Augustus became one of the primary cardinal virtues of the Princes. Anyone familiar with the *Aeneid* knows how Vergil stresses the *pietas* of his hero, the Trojan ancestor of the Julian clan. One of the first concerns of Caligula was the dedication of the Temple of the deified Augustus, which Tiberius had begun. How important this act of piety was, is shown by a sestertius from 37-38 A.D. that represents a sacrificial ceremony on the reverse (fig. 18).<sup>37</sup> The Emperor with covered head pours the contents of a cup over the altar, before the bull is slaughtered. Behind him rises the festively garlanded, opulent facade of the new temple of the Divus Augustus. In the



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lateral acroteria on the roof are seen, on the left, Romulus with the victory trophy and, on the right, the *pious* Aeneas saving his aged father, Anchises, from burning Troy and setting off for Rome with him and his little son, Julius. The personification of *pietas* itself is given on the obverse of the coin, which is so sharply engraved that in well-preserved examples the facial features of Caligula can be readily recognized, even though the head measures a mere three millimeters. Only the capital had such die-cutters at its disposal. The soft folds of the ample toga worn by the chief figure seem already to suggest the new court style. The emperor is about a head's length taller than the sacrificial attendants, less because he really was "of outstanding stature" (*statura fuit eminenti*)<sup>38</sup> than to set him off hieratically in the pictorial composition.

The Richmond togatus is the earliest identifiable imperial statue which foregoes covering the head.<sup>39</sup> This also might be an innovation directly traceable to an imperial command, but it might equally well be due to the chance preservation of this single example. He bears no insignia of his authority, and that the person portrayed is a member of the highest nobility is proven alone by the fact that he wears the characteristic *calcei patricii* (fig. 19), those peculiarly complicated shoes which are awkwardly rolled down over the ankles and tied with double laces. They are of course not made of cloth, as von Duhn wrote, but of a particularly soft black—perhaps even red—leather.<sup>40</sup> In addition, the undergarment, or tunica, surely was painted with broad, vertical stripes of purple, as was due persons of senatorial rank.<sup>41</sup> Examination under ultra-violet light might reveal these stripes and might also possibly show up painted borders on the white linen toga.<sup>42</sup> The *scrinium*, or box for holding papyrus rolls, which serves as a support behind the left foot, leads one to assume that the left hand held such a roll, whereas the right hand undoubtedly pointed sharply to the front in a rhetorical gesture, much as it was in its restored state.<sup>43</sup>

The young emperor thus presents himself not first and foremost as the devout mediator between heaven and the Roman world, but rather with an accentuated modesty as the first citizen, as *princeps* in the ancient sense of that honorary title. Each individual is to be thought of as a petitioner—as well as, collectively, the citizens and subjects who approached the statue wherever it may have been located (doubtless on a raised podium). With its expansive pose and sense of forward motion, the statue seems to demand an encounter. From the standpoint of form and content it becomes complete only when confronted by a living person. A total environment with the work of art will induce a feeling of awe in the truly perceptive museum visitor. To be sure, he will no longer be able to experience the emotions that the image of the increasingly autocratic young ruler aroused in his Roman contemporaries, but he will be all the more free to appreciate the work of art. □

After completing this manuscript I received news of the findings of J. Ternbach, who dismounted and reset the head. The head was also fixed with a metal dowel and break surfaces confirm the observations I made on the basis of the edges alone. Ternbach wrote on October 3, 1969: "I could definitely establish by the roots of the breakage that head and body breakages match. This is quite reliable evidence that head and body belong together." The same information was given in a letter of January 1, 1971.

18 Sestertius of Caligula.

19 Patrician shoe, after Daremberg-Saglio.

1. F. Matz and F. von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom mit Abschluss der grösseren Sammlungen*, vol. I, Leipzig, 1881, 361 No. 1247. The location is specified on page 308, vol. III: "Ground floor (below left, by the window next to the inner garden)." The reference is to private rooms in the palace not accessible to the author. On von Duhn, cf. L. Curtius, *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Röm. Abt.* 45, 1930, III f.
2. Surely incorrectly for "Sinus." Cf. further below.
3. Height, 1.81 meters (the socle measures 0.16 meters). Acc. No. 71-20.
4. J. J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, vol. II, 1, Berlin-Stuttgart 1886, p. 148 No. 66 (Matz-Duhn No. 1270? It is certainly not a question of No. 1247).
5. F. Vittinghoff, *Der Staatsfeind in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Untersuchungen zur damnatio memoriae*, Berlin 1936, 13 ff. 102 f. H. Blanck, *Wiederverwendung alter Statuen als Ehrendenkmäler bei Griechen und Römern*, Rome 1969.
6. Photo DAI Rome 67.1582 with the kind permission of Dr. M. Calvani. Blanck, 1. c. 27 f. Pl. 2 f. C. Saletti, *Il ciclo statuario della basilica di Velleia*, Milan 1968, 45 ff. No. 10. Pl. 31-34. I readily agree with L. Curtius that the head is better executed than the toga. The head of the Agrippina Minor (Saletti No. 2) is also certainly a substitution.
7. Photos very kindly made available to me by L. Fabbrini. The author's photos of 1953 are less satisfactory. In the *Antiquarium of Gortyn*. Height without base 1.97 m. L. Fabbrini, "Caligola: Il ritratto dell'adolescenza e il ritratto della apoteosi," *Mitt. d. dtsh. archäol. Inst., Röm. Abt.* 73/74, 1966/67, 140 ff. Pl. 44, 45, 1. 46, 1. 47, 1. 82, 2.
8. Cf. D. Timpe, *Untersuchungen zur Kontinuität des frühen Prinzipats*, Diss. Freiburg 1956, 11 ff.
9. L. Mariani, "Some Roman Busts in the Museum of the Sylloge of Candia," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 2d Ser. 1, 1897, 26 ff. A, Fig. 1 Pl. 12, 1. Fabbrini, 1. c. 141 ff. Pl. 45, 2. 46, 2. 47, 2.
10. H. Jucker, *Das Bildnis im Blätterkelch*, Olten 1961, 49 No. 11 n. 10. A. De Franciscis, "Qualche ritratto romano dell' Antiquarium Flegreo," *Bolletino d'Arte* 48, 1963, 23 No. 2 Fig. 2 a-b.
11. Museum. Unpublished. Deutsches archäol. Inst., Rome, Neg. 66.2229-31.
12. V. Poulsen, "Portraits of Caligula," *Acta Archaeologica* 29, 1958, 187 Fig. 15-16. R. Brilliant, "An Early Imperial Portrait of Caligula," *Institutum Romanum Norvegiae, Acta* 4, 1969, 13 ff. Pl. 1-2. 5-6.
13. Poulsen, 1. c. 188 III, 1 Fig. 17-18.
14. 1. c. 178 ff.
15. 1. c. 182, "The mourning emperor" named after the bust with bristly beard in the Louvre, which is associated with the more greatly simplified bronze in New York (Poulsen p. 181, Nos. 8 and 9).
16. Poulsen, 1. c. 187 "The despot" II, 3. Idem, *Les portraits romains I*, Copenhagen 1962, 89 No. 54, of Greek origin like the bust in the Louvre. Poulsen, *Les portraits*, No. 55, probably represents Caligula, but certainly not the head also mentioned there, which was formerly in the Lateran belonging to a type already correctly evaluated by Studniczka, *Archäol. Anzeiger* 1910, 532 ff. Poulsen's classification, "the Despot," *Acta Arch.* p. 185 ff. is reduced to naught and Fabbrini, 1. c. 134 ff., has correctly recognized his classification, "the young Prince," p. 175 ff., as unrelated and not representing Caligula. At the same time she did not recognize that the bronze head in the Museo Capitolino and the marble in Chalkis (plates 42 f.) as portraits of Augustus. Her recent suggestions about the heads in Poetovio and Arles (p. 144, 146) seem to me less convincing than the former identifications as Tiberius. The head in Seville must for the time being remain unidentified.
17. *Bull. Worcester Art Museum* V, 3 1914, 12. XXIII, 1932, 17. Poulsen 1. c. 185 Fig. 13 f.
18. G. M. A. Richter, *Roman Portraits*, New York 1948, No. 36 (Fig. reversed). Poulsen, 1. c. 186 II, I. Brilliant, 1. c. (cf. n. 13) Pl. 3d. 4c.
19. D. G. Mitten and S. F. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World*, Cambridge, Mass. 1967, No. 230. H. Jucker, *Gnomon* 41, 1969, 609.
20. Fabbrini, 1. c. 144 Pl. 49 f.
21. Museum Genova-Pegli, No. 614. Author's photo, published with kind permission of A. Frova. Unpublished. Lifesize.
22. Fabbrini, 1. c. 145. Cf. Suetonius, *Caligula*, 52: "He . . . sometimes wore the breastplate of Alexander the Great, which he had taken from his sarcophagus." D. Michel, *Alexander als Vorbild für Pompeius, Caesar und Marcus Antonius*, Brussels 1967, 27 ff.
23. Left profile view in a prospectus issued by the Gallery for Greek, Roman and Byzantine Art, Frankfurt.
24. Sestertius. Naples, Museo Nazionale, Coll. Fiorelli 4123, after a photo for which I owe thanks to E. Pozzi. Diameter 37.0 mm. Cf. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, I (1923) 150, 29 f. 32, 152, 38-40. 156, 58. 157, 67. C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy* 31 B.C. - A.D. 68, London 1961, 116 Pl. 10, 4. 8.
25. With laurel wreath and armor on the cameo fragment in New York, the authenticity of which has been questioned by Poulsen, 1. c. 181, No. 12. G. M. A. Richter, *The Engraved Gems of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans*, Part II, London 1971, 107 No. 514. H. Kyrieleis, "Zu einem Kameo in Wien," *Archäol. Anzeiger* 1970, 492 ff., thinks he recognizes Caligula instead of Augustus, an opinion which seems to be right in spite of the low forehead.
26. Aureus, formerly on the art market. Author's photo. Diameter 18.5 mm. Cf. Mattingly, 1. c. 148, 16.
27. Cf. J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius*, Oxford 1934, 205 ff. Timpe 1. c. J. Couisson, "Suéton physiogmomiste dans les Vies des XII Césars," *Revue des Études Latines* 31, 1953, 246.
28. H. Jucker, "Porträtminiaturen von Augustus, Nero und Traian," *Schweizer Münzblätter* 13/14, 1964, 87 f. Fig. 8.
29. 1. c. 144.
30. Cf. L. M. Wilson, *The Roman Toga*, Baltimore 1924, 61 ff. Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie*, 2 Rh. VI (1937) 1651 ff. 1655 (F. W. Goethert).
31. H. Kruse, *Studien zur offiziellen Geltung des Kaiserbildes im römischen Reiche*, Paderborn 1934, 23 ff.
32. Cf. Sutherland, 1. c. 120.
33. Saletti, 1. c. 65 No. 5. p. 103 ff.
34. Photo A. G. Paris 1408. Height 1.22 m. F. W. Goethert, "Studien zur Kopienforschung," *Mitt. d. dtsh. archäol. Inst., Röm. Abt.* 54, 1939, 206 Pl. 48, 2. H. G. Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung der römischen Kaiser*, Berlin 1968, 84 No. 11 Taf. 3, 2. The latter corrects Goethert's account of the work's condition. Independently of Niemeyer, I found Goethert's account unsubstantiated on examining the original.
35. Photo DAI Rome 67.1587, with the kind permission of M. Calvani. Saletti, 1. c. 49 ff., No. 11, Pl. 35-38.
36. Cf. H. Freier, *Caput velare*, Diss. Tübingen (1965), 71.177.
37. From the Voirol collection, Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel, Auktion 38, 1968, 35, after a photo for which I am indebted to H. A. Cahn. Diameter, 35.0 mm. Cf. Mattingly, 1. c. p. 151, 33-35. L. Breglia, *L'arte romana nelle monete dell'età imperiale*, Milan 1968, 50 f., after a photo which E. Pozzi very kindly had made for me.
38. Suetonius, *Caligula* 50, 1.
39. Niemeyer, 1. c. 43, cites the Titus statue in the Vatican as the earliest example. The head in fig. 13 also belongs to an unveiled togatus.
40. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités* I 2, Paris 1887, 816 ff., Fig. 1016 (L. Heuzey). A. Alföldi, *Der früh-römische Reiteradel*, Baden-Baden 1952, 54 ff. O. Lau, *Schuster und Schusterhandwerk in der griechischen und römischen Literatur und Kunst*, Diss. Bonn 1967, 116.
41. L. M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans*, Baltimore 1938, 59 f. A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche*, Darmstadt 1970, 122 ff.
42. Saletti, 1. c., as in the case of most togas, engraved borders are recognizable here.
43. R. Brilliant, "Gesture and Rank in Roman Art," *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 14, 1963, 69. 93 Fig. 2, 46 f. 2, 49 f. 2, 98. Cf. Saletti, 1. c. Pl. 21-24. 27 f. 31 f.; the rolls (rotulus) in the hands are here held together by bands.



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