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IMAGES AND IMAGE: A RE-EXAMINATION OF TETRARCHIC ICONOGRAPHY[1]

By ROGER REES

Consideration of Tetrarchic portraiture has usually focused on the extant porphyry sculptures (plates 2, 6, 7, 9, and 10). This was perhaps inevitable, since the arresting eyes of the Cairo bust or the stubby legs of the Vatican groups are certainly curious. Few scholars have resisted the temptation to pronounce their aesthetic judgement (and why not?), but none has been as caustic as Bernard Berenson who saw in them 'the meanest symptoms of decay', an effect into which the sculptor had 'simply blundered and stumbled'.[2] Berenson's book and many of the other academic works which refer to the porphyry sculptures address the wider issue of style and, in particular, stylistic change in Late Antiquity. They cite the same art, but draw a range of conclusions: L'Orange proposes parallels between style and the structure of society; Kitzinger suggests a conscious approximation to a 'sub-antique' style; and Bandinelli sees the porphyry work as exceptional, specialized and short-lived.[3] Without neglecting the porphyry sculpture, the present essay aims to consider the whole range of surviving portraits and to make sense of them within the relatively narrow field of Tetrarchic ideology. This necessarily involves the question of style and, therefore, has points of contact with the above ideas. However, the present study is primarily 'internal', drawing together images diverse in form and location. Patterns are soon apparent, but the Tetrarchy had to establish its ideological stability and credibility if the government were to endure. It collapsed quickly (A.D. 284–311), but in this respect, Tetrarchic portraiture offers a good example of the power of art to manipulate its audience by instilling belief.

Despite the fact that many details from the Arch of Galerius in Salonica have been eroded, more remains of the Arch than of any other Tetrarchic monument.[4] The Arch formed part of the Emperor's palace complex there. On the east and south faces of the north pier, events from the victorious campaign against the Persian king Narses in A.D. 297 by the Tetrarch Galerius are recorded. On the east face, in descending order, the reliefs depict the Roman cavalry charge, the capture of a Persian harem and the pursuit of the Persians; the south face depicts the final battle, the migration

and submission of the Persians and the *adventus* of the victorious Tetrarch. According to documentary mode of representation, therefore, the monument is a triumphal arch, specifically celebrating Galerius' victory. The relief panels on the north pier do not narrate the campaign as comprehensively as, for example, Trajan's Column catalogues that emperor's Dacian expedition; however, details such as the inscription *ΠΟΤΑΜΟϹ ΤΙΓΡΙϹ* (on the panel of the pursuit of the Persians), and the peculiar battledress of the opposing forces (in the scene of the final battle), would have enabled the original viewers to locate these reliefs in time and space and thus see them as illustrations of the recent past. Erosion, the paucity of epigraphy and the lack of a literary history of the campaign combine to prevent the modern viewer from relating the surviving relief panels to specific historical events with such confidence.

On the west face of the same north pier two relief panels appear which have both been identified as scenes of *clementia Augusti*.[5] The scenes are almost identical. If one scene represents Galerius, then that panel may be a further example of the narrative mode of representation. The second scene, therefore, may have greater symbolic significance. Perhaps the scene features the senior Tetrarch Diocletian. If so, then this juxtaposition of similar scenes illustrates the concurrency of narrative and symbolic modes in Roman art.

The panels on the south pier feature this symbolic mode. On the west face of the south pier, the panel reliefs depict, in descending order, *victoria Orientis*, *virtus Augusti*, *pompa triumphalis*, and finally at the bottom a badly damaged scene of Roma personified and winged Victoriae. These scenes were inspired by Galerius' victory, but are a celebration rather than a record. The lack of representation of historical fact and the multiple use of personification give the west face a totally symbolic function.

On the east face of the south pier a panel depicts a sacrifice (Plate 1). The ceremony is conducted by two central figures, identified by Rothman as Galerius and Diocletian.[6] Diocletian as Augustus Jovius had nominated Galerius as his Caesar in A.D. 293 and thus there was a bond between the two. This link is confirmed here by virtue of Galerius' victory and Diocletian's superiority. The fact that the two of them are celebrated together makes their group identity as important as their individual contribution.

Group identity, in fact, provides the key to much Tetrarchic art. Examples of such art are heavily symbolic, because, in reality, the four Tetrarchs rarely saw each other. The most famous example of this *concordia imperatorum* is the porphyry group from Constantinople, now in the

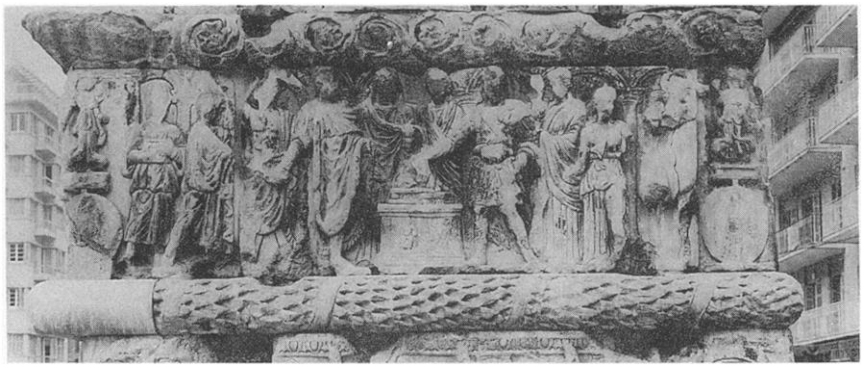

Plate 1. Scene of sacrifice from the Arch of Galerius. Reproduced from Pond Rothman, *AJA* 81 (1977), fig. 20. By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Ducal Palace, Venice (Plate 2).[7] In the group, *concordia* is established by homogeneity. Individuality has been suppressed and instead the four figures have similar postures: the dress is military; their left hands are on the handles of their swords, their right arms around their neighbour's shoulder and their feet equally spaced. The pose is highly stylized, creating an effect of regimentation. The overriding message of the group is that their strength lies in their unity and solidarity.

The frescoes in the Cult Room at Luxor depicted all four emperors, although Egypt was part of Diocletian's allotted province.[8] Decker's reconstruction includes, on the south wall, high above the frieze of the Romans and to left of the recess, a scene in which two emperors are enthroned (plate 3). Beneath the emperors is a jewel-encrusted foot-rest. The emperors are dressed in ceremonial robes, not military uniforms. The fact that the emperor on the left is noticeably bigger helps to identify him as Diocletian, for, as Augustus Jovius and Tetrarch in charge of Egypt, he alone would have been accorded this honour. Identification of the other Tetrarch is more difficult. The obvious candidates are Maximian, as Augustus Herculius, and Galerius, as Diocletian's chosen Caesar. However, this problem of identification may be solved by the hypothesis that the corresponding place to the right of the recess originally had a duplicate scene of two emperors enthroned. It is unlikely that the space would have been left blank, so although there is no *evidence* to put anything there on a reconstruction, the hypothesis is attractive. Not only would a duplication of

Plate2. Porphyry group, Venice. Photo: Ian McAuslan.

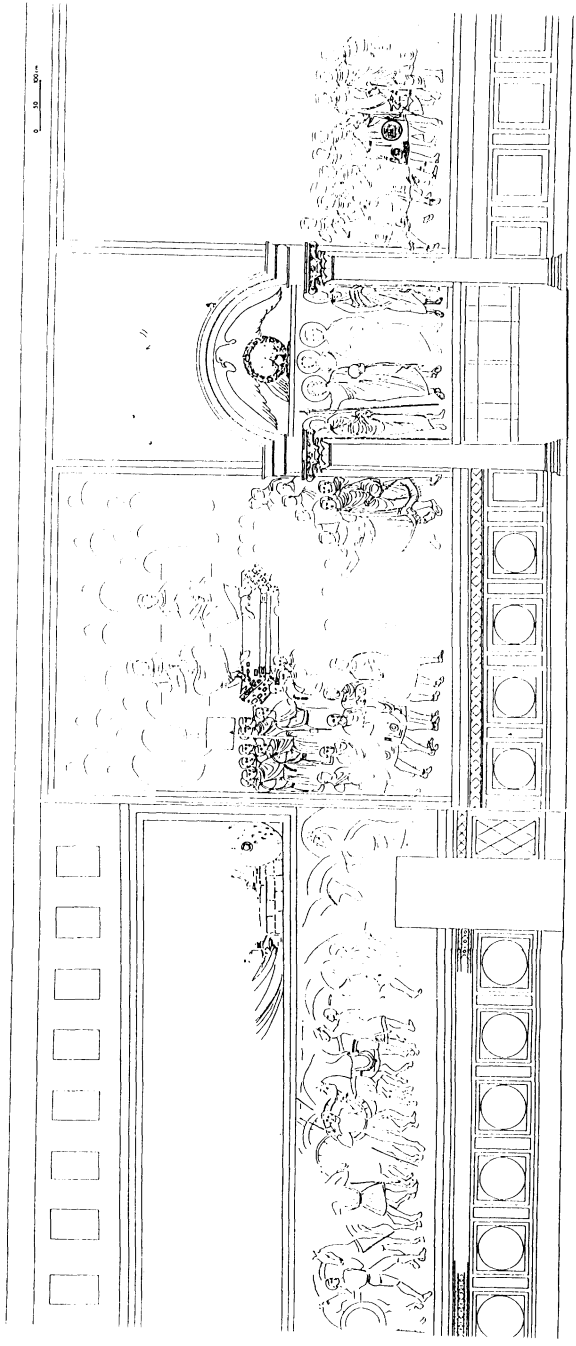

Plate 3. Reconstruction of the Luxor Cult Room by J. G. Decker, *JDAI* 94 (1979).

this scene enable all four Tetrarchs to be depicted enthroned, and thereby emphasize homogeneity and *concordia*, but also the symmetry achieved by such a duplication would focus the viewer's attention on the central recess.[9]

The importance of this recess is established by its central position on the south wall by the columns with Corinthian capitals which frame and decorate the scene. The fresco in the recess was of four emperors, obviously the entire Tetrarchy. The figures are all full-length and larger than the other figures on the lower panels in the room. No overlapping of the emperors occurs and their frontality is arresting. Equal dimensions among the four figures could suggest equal status, but the side figures are approximately ten centimetres smaller than the central pair. In addition, by their position beside the framing architecture, the outer figures are further optically underemphasized. Therefore, the middle figures are more important. All the Tetrarchs are nimbate and wear the imperial purple. The two central figures, by their greater size and more prestigious position, represent Diocletian and Maximian, the Augusti. Unlike the two Caesars, Galerius and Constantius, the Augusti carry orbs. Furthermore, one Augustus carries a staff. It is this extra symbol of authority that identifies the left central emperor as Diocletian. Thus the south wall of the Cult Room at Luxor is highly symbolic. This hegemony is a rich and unified rule of four. However, within the Tetrarchy, there is a definite hierarchy, with the Augustus Jovius, Diocletian, at the top.

On the north face of the south pier of the Arch of Galerius, a relief of enthroned emperors appears (Plate 4).[10] All four emperors are depicted, two of them enthroned and flanked by the others. This corresponds to the established hierarchy of the Augusti and the Caesars: Diocletian and Maximian are seated, flanked by Galerius and Constantius. By his more pronounced frontality and the gesture of his left hand – it is majestically raised to the skies – Diocletian can be differentiated from Maximian. Despite his readiness to see historical narrative in most of the reliefs, the Danish archaeologist Kinch did recognize the symbolic import of this panel:

> For it is sufficiently clear that the Arch was dedicated not to Galerius alone, but to the four emperors in general; we know that, according to the hierarchical system of government, the honour of the victory, although it was achieved by one emperor alone, was thought to reflect on the whole group of emperors and particularly on the two Augusti.[11]

This presentation of the unified yet rigidly hierarchical Tetrarchy is in exact accord with the Luxor frescoes, despite the distance in miles between

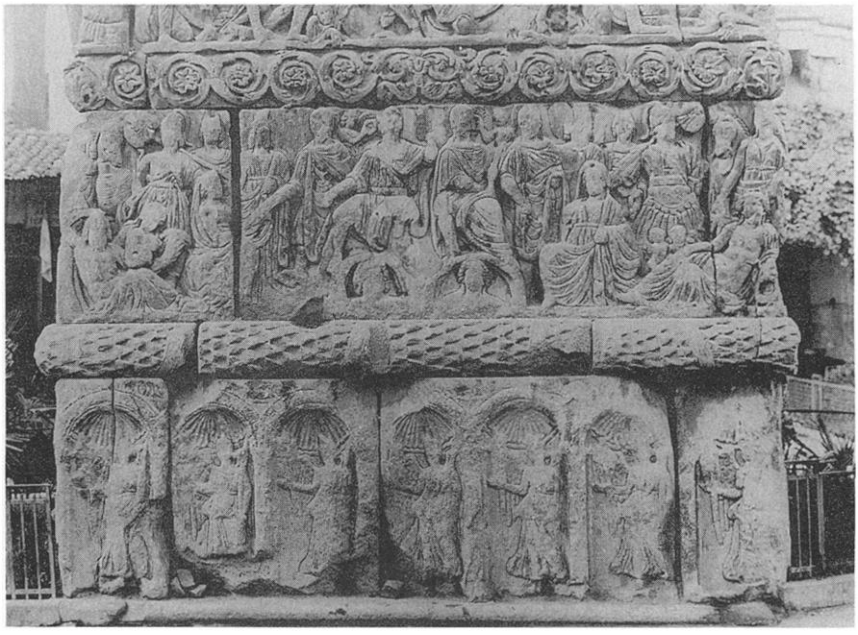

Plate 4. Scene of emperors enthroned from the Arch of Galerius. Reproduced from Pond Rothman *AJA* 81 (1977), fig. 24. By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

the monuments. The repetition of the figures in a hierarchical programme exemplifies a key aspect of Tetrarchic rule.

The internal hierarchy of the Tetrarchs corresponds closely to the gradation according to rank upon which military units are organized. On the Arch of Galerius, martial victory is a recurrent theme. For example, there is the scene of the cavalry charge on the east face of the north pier or the symbolic scene of combat between Galerius and Narses on the north face of the south pier. In the Luxor frescoes, the emperors themselves are not in military dress, but a procession with warhorses does extend over the east wall. The soldiers wear no helmets or armour, but are recognizable by their round shields, spears and short swords. It has been suggested that the scene represents a type of *adventus*, celebrating victory in a *bellum civile*.[12]

The regimentation by *similitudo* of the porphyry group in Venice has been noted, but has been claimed as a common feature of Tetrarchic

coinage too.[13] At the beginning of his reign, Diocletian initiated no change in the established coin types. However, sometime in the 280s or early 290s, a variety of changes in the style of *aurei* were introduced. Heads in very high relief and abbreviated legends could be seen. Portraits varied, especially from mint to mint, but similarities between the two emperors, Diocletian and Maximian, featured in many issues. These changes are hard to interpret. Webb understood them to be anticipating Diocletian's mint reforms.[14] At the very least, the uniformity of change in the *aurei* issues bespoke the *concordia* of the dyarchy.

The exact date of Diocletian's mint reforms has been variously contested, with suggestions ranging from A.D. 292 to A.D. 296. Sutherland's claim for A.D. 294 is attractive, not only because it occupies the sensible middle ground within the debate, but also because it was concluded from the most thorough survey of the surviving coinage ever made.[15] The significance of mint distribution for soldiers was that they needed currency if their loyalty were to be maintained. As the garrisons were regularly stationed in distant parts, mints had to be established there too. Therefore, from *c.* A.D. 294, two new mints were built, at Aquileia and Nicomedia, and a third was built at Salonica *c.* A.D. 298. One aspect of Tetrarchic rule reflected in coins, therefore, was its diffusion. This, of course, was a necessary prerequisite to the military and fiscal reforms which formed a major part of Tetrarchic policy.

Diocletian's rationalization of the mints and the creation of the Tetrarchy were possibly coincidental, but certainly the adaptations in numismatic art clearly celebrated them both. Through the new but uniform iconography between *c.* A.D. 294 and *c.* A.D. 305, the economy could be seen as stable, and the ruling body as united. The new portrait style was bold but not primitive. The emperors are generally shown as hardy rulers with short hair, bearded, with strong, square jaws, and eyes which stare straight ahead. The neck is unnaturally thick, the lips tight and the eyebrows sternly furrowed (plate 5). This common image is not military, but it does establish a sense of efficiency, severity, and duty – all necessary attributes of military rule.

Plate 5. Coin of Diocletian, minted after currency reforms. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

There has been considerable difference of opinion as to the extent of this uniformity. Sutherland denied that there was a deliberate portrayal of one emperor with the legend of another, but did acknowledge that, occasionally, any one mint was naturally prone to

assimilate the features of the emperors.[16] What is clear, however, is that iconographic uniformity was not restricted to the imperial image; the reverse types and legends on bronze and silver coinage at the time of the first Tetrarchy are universal.[17] The Western mints showed topical and regional variety at times, but basically, there is evidence of effective centralized control of the mints by the *rationalis* until *c.* A.D. 305. The bronze issues normally celebrate *Romanitas* with the legend *genio populi Romani*, or to coincide with the Maximal Edict on Prices in *c.* A.D. 300, the legend *sacra Moneta*. The silver regularly depicts the four emperors at sacrifice with an accompanying legend stressing the harmony of the army, such as *concordia militum* or *virtus militum*. Gold issues show greater variety, but generally tend to celebrate the emperors in traditional, ceremonial types. Through such similarity in iconography, the *concordia imperatorum* was vigorously presented.

Many of the extant busts of the Tetrarchs are also in the harsh, angular style which so dominated the coinage.[18] A portrait of Licinius (?) at the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, has highly stylized, short-cropped hair and beard, pronounced, linear eyebrows and wrinkles, and eyes with a piercing stare (plate 6). Another porphyry bust, this time of Diocletian (?), at the Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts, has similar features, though the emperor is older and the bust has greater plasticity (plate 7). More plastic still is the bust at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, again identified as Diocletian (?) (plate 8). The original location and context of these busts are unknown. However, the two porphyry busts, in Cairo and Massachusetts, have much in common with the porphyry group sculptures. Porphyry was only found in natural resources in Egypt, and it has been suggested that Egypt provided the sculptors to create these works too, bringing with them their own artistic heritage and inclinations. This hypothesis is, of course, possible, even probable, but it does not account for the *similitudo* between porphyry busts and the marble works, such as that in Copenhagen. Of these three works, the Cairo bust is clearly the least organic, with its hair and beard appearing overlaid and the symmetry of the eyebrows, wrinkles, and eyes appearing absolute. The eyes stand out, aggressive and threatening. The hair on the Massachusetts Diocletian is scantily incised. It is receding over the forehead which is massively exaggerated in size. This feature and the wrinkles on the forehead and under and beside the eyes, give a sense of age and wisdom. The Copenhagen bust lacks this inorganic form, but has the impressionistic incised hair and beard and the direct gaze which matches the dignity of the two porphyry works. It is the *similitudo* of these busts which makes identifica-

Plate 6. Licinius (?), Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

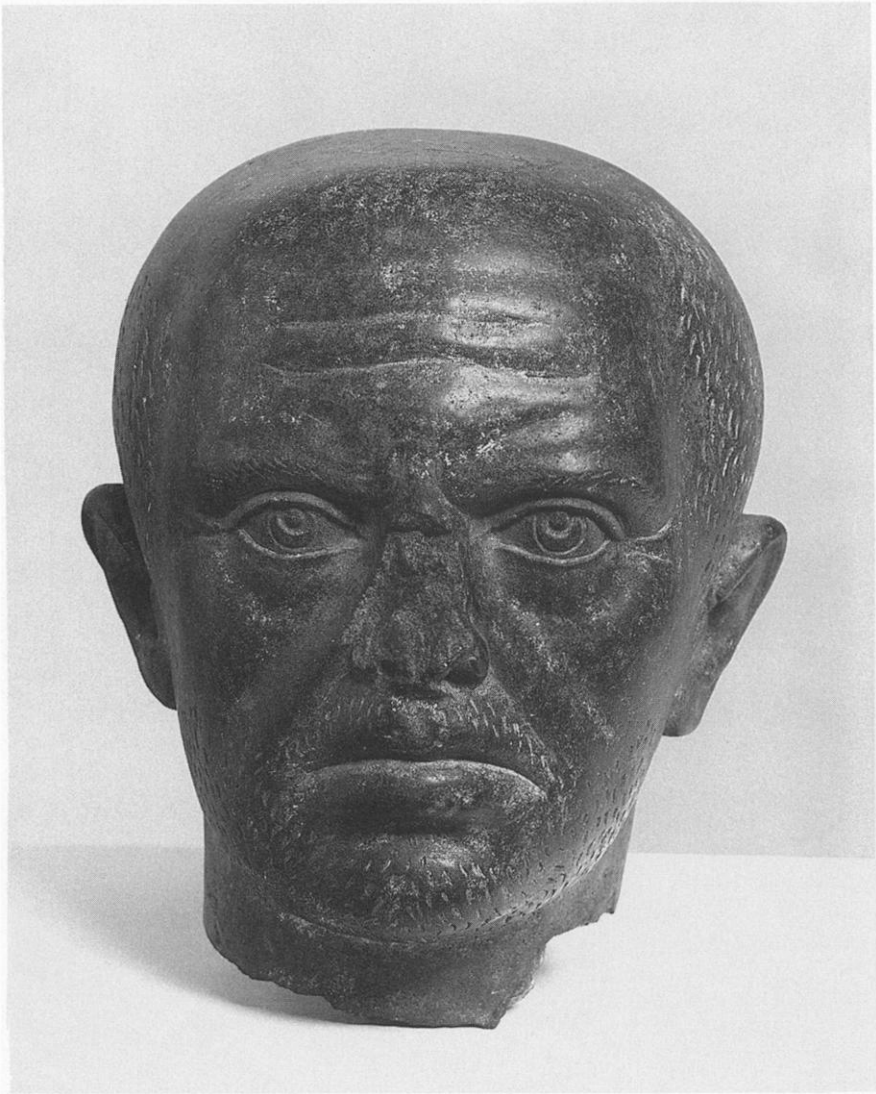

Plate 7. Diocletian (?), Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts.

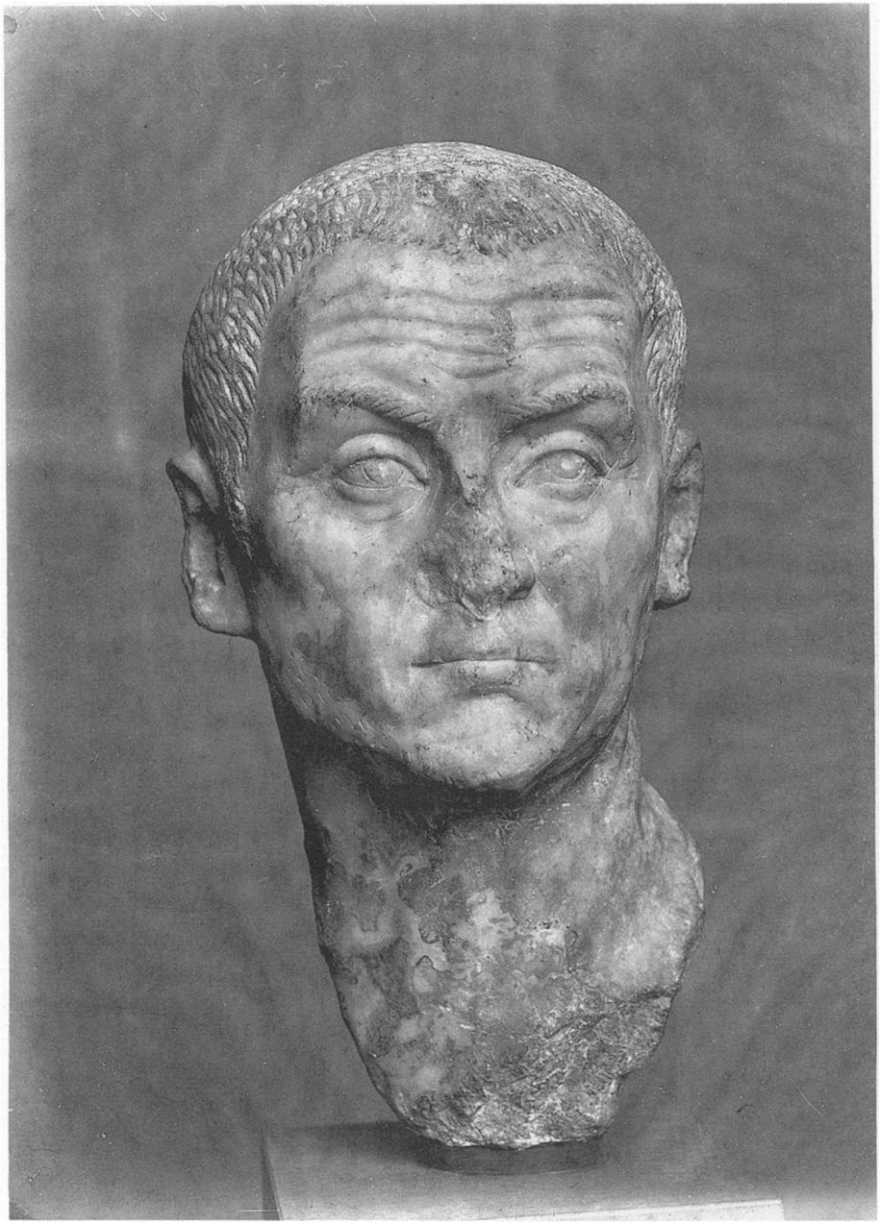

Plate 8. Diocletian (?), Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

tion difficult and tentative. Likewise, on some coin issues from the same mints, portraits can only be identified by the accompanying legend. These coin and bust images do not so much identify the individual as they do the individual's role. In this way, group identify and the *concordia imperatorum* become paramount.

Confirmation of the Tetrarchs' desire to achieve group identity may be found in diverse sculptural programmes. Rothman has conjectured that effigies of the Tetrarchs appeared on the facade above the main piers of the Arch of Galerius, citing other programmes as parallels.[19] Outside the temple complex at Luxor, on the north-west side, four large columns, which once supported statues, have been found.[20] Epigraphy shows dedications to Diocletian, Galerius, Maximian, and Constantius (the first Tetrarchy). On the east side of the complex were four more, dedicated to Licinius, Galerius, Constantine, and Maximin Daia (the adapted and reconstituted second Tetrarchy). These groups have been dated to A.D. 300 and A.D. 308/9 respectively. A similar group was erected in the Forum Romanum as part of the first Tetrarchy's *decennalia* celebrations, in A.D. 303/4.[21] This regular inclination to represent the entire ruling body together is of fundamental importance to the political ideology of the Tetrarchy.

A similar message is conveyed by the two group statues now in the Vatican Library, Rome (plates 9 and 10). Both works are made of porphyry. In dress, stance, and face all four emperors are very similar. One group has been identified as Diocletian and Maximian, and the other as Constantius and Galerius.[22] However, the Tetrarchic image often defies modern attempts to identify individual emperors. It was the ruling body, not its constituent members, the office and not the man, which was of primary importance. The legs of the emperors are squat and compressed, yet the arms of the two left-hand Tetrarchs are outsize in order to reach across to the left shoulder of the companion Tetrarch without affecting the groups' frontality or obscuring vision. All four emperors can thus form a *iunctio*, symbolic of *concordia imperatorum*.

These two works are clearly comparable to the group at Venice (plate 2). However, instead of the oriental sword, the emperors in these smaller sculptures have an orb in their left hands. The significance of the orb is worldly dominion. In the fresco in the recess of the south wall in the Cult Room at Luxor, the two Augusti carry an orb in their left hand. Power over the entire *orbis* is in the hands of the Tetrarchy; and certainly in the groups from Rome, the emperors are calm amid such responsibility.

In the time of the first Tetrarchy, Milan became a more regular seat for the Augustus than Rome. The itinerant nature of the Tetrarchic seat of

Plate 9. Porphyry groups, Vatican Library, Rome.

Plate 10. Porphyry groups, Vatican Library, Rome.

power, dictated by the need for absolute military security, resulted in neglect of the Senate and the *urbs Romana* in general. Diocletian did commission buildings at Rome, but he also spent money elsewhere, such as at his palace at Spalato, to where he retired in A.D. 305. Lactantius criticized Diocletian's building programme at his eastern seat, Nicomedia: 'Such was the perpetual folly which he revealed in his zeal to make Nicomedia rival Rome.' (*de mort.* pers.5.) In fact, Diocletian only visited Rome once, in A.D. 303/4. This visit coincided with the building of the statue group in the Forum Romanum (see above) and of a triumphal arch. The arch celebrated his *vicennalia*, the Tetrarchy's *decennalia* and the triumph over the East. The actual victory had been won by Galerius in A.D. 297, but such was the unity of the Tetrarchy that it was not inappropriate for some credit to be awarded to the senior Augustus. In Rome, therefore, the Tetrarchy was celebrated. Where, we might ask, was Rome celebrated by the Tetrarchy?

Since the fall of the Republic, the role of the Senate in Roman politics had been constantly reduced. However, the body was not merely ornamental, although it is true that emperors were responsible for diminishing its power throughout the first three centuries A.D. In the late third century A.D., this disregard reached its peak.[23] The historian Eutropius, writing in the second half of the fourth century, said: 'The army made Diocletian emperor, a man born and brought up in most obscure circumstances in Dalmatia' (*Brev.* 9,19). The Senate of earlier centuries would never have permitted such an appointment, but in A.D. 284 it was an impotent body. The allocation of *imperium* no longer depended upon the vote of the Senate but on the power of the army. This neglect of the Senate continued throughout the years of the Tetrarchy, as can be deduced from the fact that that body never features in decision making – or monumental art.[24]

On the lowest panel of the west face of the south pier of the Arch of Galerius, there is a personification of Roma, seated with a globe and a circle of the zodiac.[25] In this highly symbolic relief, the *urbs* controls the entire *orbis*. A panel on the east face of the south pier depicts the reception by Galerius of a Persian delegation. The kneeling barbarians are flanked by the emperor and a personification of Roma. Four figures are behind Roma, identified as major cities of the empire.[26] If this identification is correct, here we see a clear expression of the diverse nature of *Romanitas*. Rome itself had nothing to do with the victory won in A.D. 297; that victory was won by Galerius and his army. Nevertheless, the personification of Roma and the other cities on the panel relief in which the Persians are humbled is an expression of the superior force of the whole Roman Empire in general.

The *constitutio Antoniniana* of A.D. 212, which granted citizenship to all inhabitants of the empire, had institutionalized a drastic change in the concept of *Romanitas*. Without totally ignoring the ancient capital, Tetrarchic art seems to have added momentum to the shift in *Romanitas* from the *urbs* to the *orbis*.[27]

There was a notable exception to the decentralization and diffusion of power in these years. Lactantius writes:

> And so, a few soldiers, who had been left in their camp at Rome, seized their opportunity. With the restless people on their side, they killed certain men of the judiciary and gave the imperial purple to Maxentius. (*de mort. pers.* 25,3)

In the very capital, the Senate was powerless to control an army which was loyal to its leader.[28] Coin issues from A.D. 308 onwards, and his building programme, particularly around the Colosseum, confirm Maxentius' attempts to relocate and centralize power. He even called his son Romulus as he furthered his own claims to Rome, and Rome's to honour. These efforts finally ended in A.D. 312, when Constantine defeated Maxentius at the Battle of Milvian Bridge. However, Maxentius' claim to supremacy at the capital city constituted an exception which proved the general rule of the decentralization of power from the city of Rome under Tetrarchic rule.

The surviving fragments of the *novus arcus Diocletiani* are now in Florence. One fragment shows a personification of a captured province and the inscription *votis X et XX*. This refers to the *decennalia* and *vicennalia* respectively. Two pedestals also survive from the arch. On each is one Dioscurus and one Victoria, and on the right pedestal is a captured Dacian, on the left a German. The Dioscuri appear both in Tetrarchic coinage and on the panel of the enthroned emperors on the Arch of Galerius.[29] As brothers who lived in perfect harmony, they were ideal for inclusion in Tetrarchic art. In the panel, the four Tetrachs are flanked by other characters. In a highly balanced arrangement, Tellus, Fortuna, Honos, the Dioscuri, Serapis, Jupiter, Virtus, Isis and Oceanus appear. The personifications of Tellus and Oceanus, both reclining at the sides of the panel, seem to represent the Tetrarchy's worldwide rule. Furthermore, the gods Serapis and Jupiter balance each other and stand next to the Tetrarchs. Jupiter is a western divinity, representative of Rome and the western half of the empire; Serapis, no less important by his position, is the equivalent deity in the East. This would be particularly topical, since the Arch nominally celebrates Galerius' victory over Narses, the Persian. The Tetrarchs, therefore, embrace the whole world in their rule, and have the approval of the supreme deities of East and West.

The Cult Room at Luxor is on the central axis in the sanctuary complex.[30] The very location of this imperial imagery, therefore, establishes a religious context for the Tetrarchy. The enthronement scene is set high above the other frescoes, giving the emperors a sense of control and superiority. Throughout the frescoes, the emperors are central figures in representational scenes, just as they are in the strictly hierarchical society; the outstanding rank of emperor is manifested by arrangement of characters and by luxurious cloth and jewels.[31] In the fresco in the recess, the two Augusti are separated by a bust, presumably of Jupiter. Jupiter was included in group depictions of the Tetrarchy on monuments at Rome and Nicomedia too, making the number of subjects up to five. Using contemporary panegyrics, L'Orange has argued that the Tetrarchic *similitudo* is based on a shared 'divine essence'. 'The emperors are ... gods elevated above the Empire they govern.'[32] However, the visual evidence does not thoroughly support this claim: on some coins minted after A.D. 303 at Carthage and Trier, rulers and gods were interchanged. Jupiter, Hercules, Mars, and Sol are all used to represent the emperors. However, all such images have the accompanying legend *conservator Augg. et Caess.*, and thus, the distinction between man and god is maintained, securing iconographic decorum.[33] Elsewhere, the distinction is more definite: the 'emperors at sacrifice' is a common scene on silver coinage and appears too on the Arch of Galerius and on the *decennalia* base in Rome. Diocletian's devotion to Jupiter can be seen in his adoption of the name 'Jovius'; Maximian himself took the name 'Herculius'. Close cooperation between the Tetrarchs and the gods was claimed on coins; Jupiter's commonest epithet on coins was *conservator* and Hercules was frequently described as *comes Augusti*. Divine association strengthens Tetrachic rule, but this very fact of association presupposes a distinction, albeit hazy. The Tetrarchs were seen to mirror divine rule and to receive the blessing of the gods in their government on earth.

Their relationship with the gods was adumbrated. It was in the nature of Tetrarchic art that historically specific events, such as the victory of A.D. 297 or the *bellum civile* in Egypt in A.D. 296, would be used as starting points from which ideological themes could be developed. The Tetrarchs' relationship with mortals was defined by separation. In the group figures, the emperors are mutually supportive, mutually reliant. Whilst emphasizing internal accord, Tetrarchic art abstracted the emperors from reality. Even an isolated Tetrarchic image is representative of this bizarre hegemony. The rule of four was a new form of government, and any reworking of an old artistic style would carry with it unwanted associa-

tions.[34] Far from being a 'decline', Tetrarchic style and composition was a bold and progressive step in imperial iconography.

Fragmentation of the second Tetrarchy was caused by power struggles between rival leaders and pretenders. As images of the emperor are illustrations and constituent parts of imperial ideology, portraits were used by the rival leaders of the second Tetrarchy to establish their own claims to supremacy. Individual supremacy, a phenomenon completely antithetical to Tetrarchic ideology, was claimed by introducing changes to the established and expected models. Similarity in coinage ceased from about A.D. 306; the *genio populi Romani* type, thus far very common on bronze issues, was replaced by dedications to the *genius* of the issuing leader. Such changes to the Tetrarchic model constituted a challenge to the government. That model had only lasted twelve years or so, but it had advertised, in a readily legible form, the *concordia imperatorum*. But that *concordia* was short-lived. In his first adaptations of the established model, the ultimate successor to the Tetrarchy was modest, but even in his early dealings, we can see the political genius of Constantine the Great.

NOTES

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2. B. Berenson, *The Arch of Constantine* (London, 1952), p. 52.
3. H. P. L'Orange, *Art Forms and Civic Life* (Princeton, 1965), *passim*; E. H. Kitzinger, *Bucknell Review* 15 (1967), 1ff.; R. Bandinelli, in R. Breglia, *Roman Imperial Coins* (London, 1968), pp. 24ff.
4. M. S. Pond Rothman, *AJA* 81 (1977), 427ff.
5. Ibid., 437.
6. Ibid., 440.
7. Secure identification of this group as the Tetrarchy has been difficult. Without contributing new evidence to the debate, it is my hope that my discussion renders that identification at least reasonable.
8. The frescoes, dated *c.* A.D. 300, were destroyed last century. However, sketches made by Sir John Gardner Wilkinson survive and are now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. I rely on these sketches and modern amplification of them, made by J. G. Decker, *JDAI* 94 (1979), 600–52, for a reconstruction of the original.
9. I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner argues cogently that the imperial throne was stationed before the recess, *DOP* 29 (1975), 225ff.
10. M. S. Pond Rothman, *Byzantine Studies* II,I (1975), 19ff.
11. K. F. Kinch, *L'arc de triomphe de Salonique* (Paris, 1890), p. 11.
12. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, op. cit.
13. For example, see R. Reece in M. Henig, *A Handbook of Roman Art* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 173ff.
14. P. H. Webb, *Roman Imperial Coinage* v.2 (London, 1933), pp. 208ff.
15. C. H. V. Sutherland, *Roman Imperial Coinage* vi (London, 1967), p. 1.
16. Ibid., p. 108.
17. See R. Reece, *Roman Coins* (London, 1970), pp. 140ff., where he says that coin reverses now received more attention than obverses.

18. For a catalogue of the surviving sculpture of the period, see H. P. L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantike Porträts* (Oslo, 1933).
19. Pond Rothman (1977), p. 429 and n. 9.
20. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, op. cit., p. 228.
21. H. P. L'Orange, *Likeness and Icon* (Odense, 1973), pp. 131 ff.
22. Berenson, op. cit., plates 60 and 61.
23. M. T. W. Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1972), Chapter 2.
24. L'Orange (1973), pp. 139 ff., identifies a character on the base of the *decennalia* column in Rome as the *genius Senatus*. The parallels he cites are not decisive, yet even if he is correct, this is the only example of the Senate in Tetrarchic art. Perhaps it was considered appropriate to acknowledge the Senate in this Roman monument.
25. Pond Rothman (1977), pp. 447 ff.
26. Ibid., p. 440.
27. Only on coins actually minted at Rome do legends such as *conservatores urbis suae* occur, although a few issues from varied mints are dedicated to *Roma*.
28. P. Peirce, *Art History* 12 (1989), 387 ff.
29. Sutherland, op. cit., p. 310 and Pond Rothman (1975).
30. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, op. cit.
31. P. Springborg, *Royal Persons. Patriarchal Monarchy and the Feminist Principle* (London, 1990), p. 67, suggests that the figures of the two Augusti at Luxor might be related to their divine status.
32. L'Orange (1965), p. 52.
33. Sutherland, op. cit., p. 412.
34. E. H. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making* (London, 1977), pp. 1 ff.

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