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# THE PUBLIC IMAGE OF LICINIUS I: PORTRAIT SCULPTURE AND IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY IN THE EARLY FOURTH CENTURY\*

By R. R. R. SMITH

(Plates I–XII)

Ancient history, it could be said, is composed of long and broad bands of unchanging social and political culture, punctuated in the upper levels by periods of upheaval and re-orientation. Ancient art works document and make visible both aspects: numbing continuity and static production on the one hand and sudden shifts and sharp turns in representation on the other. This paper takes as an example one of those periods of highly-charged visual re-orientation, the early fourth century A.D., and is intended as an alternative to the discussion and explanation of ancient images in this period in terms of artistic and formal processes. It aims to set an unusual and fat-faced late antique portrait (Pl. I) in its proper context alongside the thin-faced portraits of a better known figure (Pl. XII), and looks at the wider implications of this for the interpretation of imperial portrait sculpture as a significant expression of political ideology. The lean-faced man is Constantine, the other it will be argued is Licinius.

The fat-faced portrait is a colossal head from Ephesus, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, and, taken out of context and without a statue body, it may at first glance look comic, but I hope to show that it was once an important and meaningful player on the public stage. Since its first discussion the head has been dated in the fifth-century A.D., and has been identified in its main publication as the mid-fifth-century emperor Marcian. This date and name are based on a detailed stylistic chronology and are open to question. Although the portrait is unusual on any view, a better context can be created for it elsewhere. Some questions are obvious: What kind of person is

\* A shorter version of this paper was given as my inaugural lecture as Lincoln Professor of Classical Archaeology and Art at the University of Oxford in November 1995. Versions were also given at Columbia and Uppsala Universities. I would like to thank the audiences on those occasions for helpful and interesting discussion, as well as the Editorial Committee of this journal for their thoughtful advice. Warm thanks to the following, who very kindly supplied photographs: A. Çalik (London), C. King (Oxford), E. Minchin (Canberra), B. Overbeck (Munich), D. Srejić (Belgrade), and D. Willers (Bern).

The following abbreviations are used:

*Age of Spirituality* = K. Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, 3rd–7th Century* (1977);

Alföldi = M.-R. Alföldi, *Die constantinische Goldprägung: Untersuchungen zu ihrer Bedeutung für Kaiserpolitik und Hofkunst* (1963);

Barnes = T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (1981);

Bergmann = M. Bergmann, *Studien zum römischen Porträt des 3. Jhdts. n. Chr.* (1977);

Calza = R. Calza, *Iconografia romana imperiale III: Da Carausio a Giuliano, 287–363 d.C.* (1972);

Corcoran = S. Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial Pronouncements and Government (AD 284–324)* (1996);

Delbrueck, *Porphyrywerke* = R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrywerke* (1932);

Delbrueck, *Kaiserporträts* = R. Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts* (1933);

DOP = A. R. Bellinger, P. Bruun, J. P. C. Kent and C. H. V. Sutherland, 'Late Roman gold and silver coins at Dumbarton Oaks: Diocletian to Eugenius', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964), 161–236;

FZ = K. Fittschen and P. Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom. I. Kaiser und Prinzenbildnisse* (1985);  
Garbsch-Overbeck = J. Garbsch and B. Overbeck, *Spätantike zwischen Heidentum und Christentum* (1989);

IR I = J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture from Asia Minor* (1966);

IR II = J. Inan and E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei: Neue Funde* (1979);

Kent-Hirmer = J. P. C. Kent, M. and A. Hirmer, *Roman Coins* (1978);

L'Orange, *Studien* = H. P. L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts* (1933);

L'Orange, *Herrscherbild* = H. P. L'Orange, *Diocletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen: Das römische Herrscherbild III.4* (1984);

Nixon-Rodgers = C. E. V. Nixon and B. S. Rodgers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini. Introduction, Translation, and Historical Commentary. With Latin Text of R. A. B. Mynors* (1994);

RIC VI = C. H. V. Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage VI: From Diocletian's Reform (A.D. 294) to the Death of Maximinus (A.D. 313)* (1967);

RIC VII = P. Bruun, *The Roman Imperial Coinage VII: Constantine and Licinius, A.D. 313–337* (1966);

SuFC = D. Stutzinger (ed.), *Spätantike und frühes Christentum* (1983);

Stichel = R. H. W. Stichel, *Die römische Kaiserstatue am Ausgang der Antike* (1982);

Von Sydow = W. von Sydow, *Zur Kunstgeschichte des spätantiken Porträts im 4. Jhd. n. Chr.* (1969).

represented? Why is he shown as so corpulent? Why is he smiling? And more generally, what did such a public image signify?

Some might ask what interest there can be in the re-naming and re-dating of more marble heads. What difference does it make if this image is not of the fifth century, is not Marcian? I would like to show how such images have historical value — not in terms of new historical facts, but in terms of the representation of political ideas. They allowed contemporaries to visualize different moral, cultural, and political agendas. They could carry concentrated statements about a range of ideas, and it is the selection, manipulation, and projection of those ideas that we learn about. Their striking visualization of a few, often familiar concepts gives these portraits a certain force and power as historical evidence.

Section I describes the Vienna portrait, its archaeological context, and its previous interpretations. Section II sets out the different kinds of argument for its correct date in the early fourth century. Sections III and IV create a historical and interpretive context in that period, tracing the evolution of the imperial image from Caracalla to Constantine. Section V argues a precise identification of the Vienna portrait, on partly typological, partly contextual grounds, as Licinius I (A.D. 308–324), Constantine's rival, and looks at a range of other images that can be associated with him and his young son Licinius II. Sections VI and VII interpret the corpulence and joviality of Licinius' public image and compare the visual and verbal representation of an emperor's role in this period, in portrait images and the Latin Panegyrics. And Section VIII offers some concluding remarks on the competing image styles of Constantine and Licinius and on the use of portrait sculpture in projecting political postures.

More general issues in the interpretation of ancient portraits that will arise are the importance of recreating a full historical context, the significance of imperial portrait typology and methods of identification, and the need to anchor interpretation within a range of meaning and concerns attested for the period, context, and level of expression of an image and its subject. The aim is to show that there are good methodologically consistent alternatives to some false premises that currently undermine much of the study and interpretation of the portraits of this period. Those false premises include, for example, misplaced faith in the autonomous formal development of ancient art that takes little account of context and level of production; arbitrary and contradictory identifications of sculptured portraits, many of which are simply in the current state of our evidence not identifiable; and intuitive subjective interpretations based either on modern physiognomical assumptions or on unproblematized deployment of what ancient sources say about a given subject. While some scholars recognize the problems of stylistic chronology and the need to pursue portrait identification by more scientific methods, interpretation has perhaps been of less concern and appropriate procedures little discussed. A test case and some ground rules are offered here.

## I. THE VIENNA HEAD

The Vienna head was found in 1897 by Austrian excavators in the central passage beneath the stage building of the theatre at Ephesus (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> A careful description will serve to bring out important typological features that can connect the head to other

<sup>1</sup> Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung, Inv.No. I 932. Colossal marble head. H: 86 cm; H, chin to crown: 58 cm; W: 45.5 cm; D: 46 cm. Found: 'Im Mittelgang der Bühne', so the Austrian excavation daybook for 19 November 1897, quoted by Oberleitner (n. 17), 153. Some technical details. The lower neck is finished as a tenon for insertion in a statue. A rectangular dowel hole in the nape was for a wide clamp to fasten the head to its

statue (Pl. II, 1). The metal dowel in the hair above the nape is modern. The surface is well preserved, and only the extremities are missing: chin, nose, outer helix of both ears. The crown of the head was originally added separately as a shallow disk of marble (see Pl. IV, 1). The back of the head is almost completely flat, without its proper volume in depth front to back. For publications and discussions of the portrait: see below nn. 6–23.

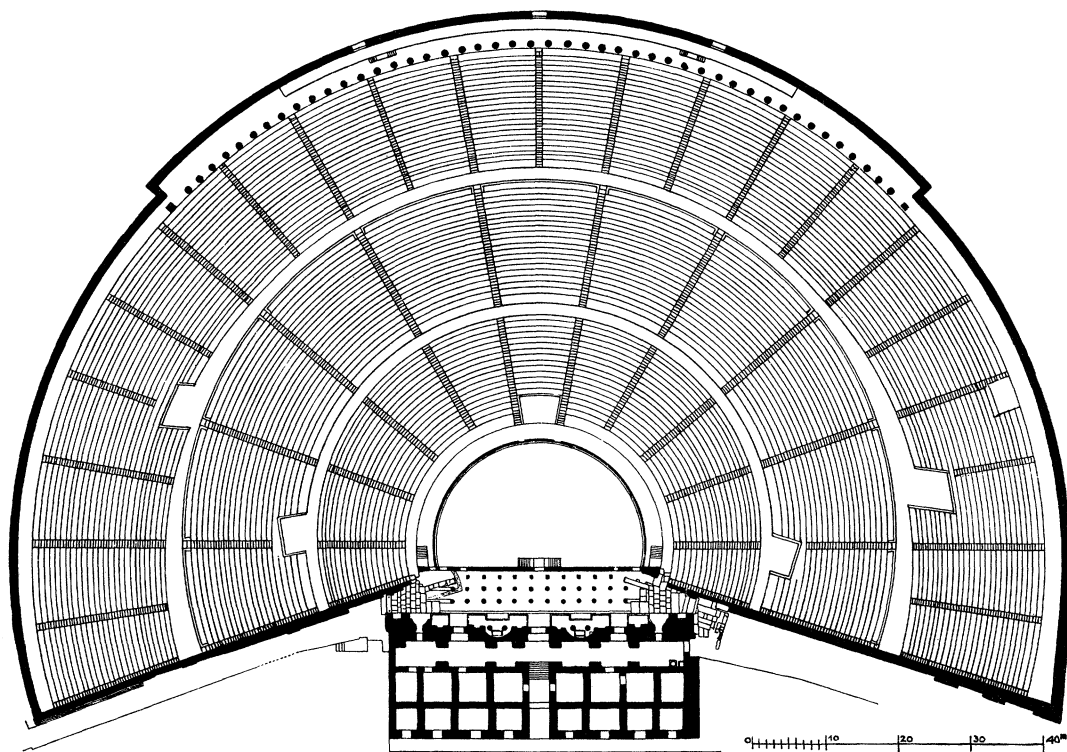


FIG. 1. THEATRE AT EPHEBUS. RESTORED PLAN.  
AFTER R. HEBERDEY (N. 5), 50, FIG. 98.

portraits and to give a preliminary reading of the combination of observed (real) and normative (ideological) elements that make up the image.

The colossal portrait head (Pls I–II) sits on a long thick neck with heavy rolls of carefully modelled flesh and muscle. It has a full, round, elder face; fat cheeks narrowing above, at the temples; large, once-protruding ears; big, round, staring eyes set close together; and a small, thin-lipped, smiling mouth turned up at the corners. The subject wears a light stubbled beard and short cropped hair. The hair sits flatly on the head, following a receding hairline that forms sharp angles over the temples, and is raised slightly from the surface like a tight-fitting cap. It is worked into short individual locks brushed forward onto the brow at the hairline; a few strands are engraved irregularly onto the surface above the ears; and a few cursory short locks are marked behind, at the nape. Otherwise the hair is a plain smooth surface that would have been finished in paint. Over the brow the fringe of short locks is arranged to turn in on both sides towards the centre in an axial-symmetrical arrangement, quite common in late antique portraits and first seen in portraits of Constantine in the 310s.<sup>2</sup>

The handling of the face combines expressionist features with finely modelled and observed details. The unnatural staring eyes are the central focus. The bulging eyeballs are framed by sharply cut, narrow upper eyelids set off from the orbitals above by a narrow 'black' drill line. The form of the eyeballs continues beneath the lower lids which give way to exaggerated sagging pouches or bags under the eyes. They present the subject as ageing but tireless. The refined naturalistic modelling of the bag below the (proper) right eye is aided by an engraved line descending from the inner corner of the eye. The eyes have unusually small and delicate pupils engraved in a halfmoon shape and are opened wide by showing nearly the full circle of the engraved irises. Both the

<sup>2</sup> Constantine: FZ I, no. 122 (Capitoline); L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, pls 48–9 (Belgrade, Istanbul, New York). Later portraits: for example, head in Terme, below n. 8.



wide irises and the small pupils emphasize the size and wide-staring vigilance of the eyes.

Above, the large staring eyes set off a complex muscle pattern, strongly modelled and engraved, of rising arched eyebrows and furrowed forehead. The eyebrows, modelled in relief and incised with coarse strands, flare upwards above the eyes and plunge together forming a narrow V-shape at the root of the nose. Immediately above the eyebrows, thickly modelled brow muscles imitate their upward curve but on a wider radius. A heavily accented vertical line forms a pronounced vertical axis between the eyes and rises to form a T-shape with the lowest of the several undulating horizontal lines that furrow the brow. This we will see later was a significant typological detail.

Narrow at the level of the eyes and temples, the composition of the face swells out below into a full, round, almost bloated face in which the forms of the jaw and deep chin are lost — at least in front view. The smooth surface of this swollen physiognomy is broken only by carefully modelled nasolabial lines, the small mouth, and the lightly picked beard. The corners of the mouth are pulled backwards and upwards into the deep soft flesh — again very finely and naturalistically modelled — to form a thin, tight-lipped smile. The light stubble of the beard and moustache — a campaign beard of two- or three-days growth — is engraved directly onto the surface of the face in short, light chisel strokes. It covers the cheeks and under-chin evenly, the upper lip more sparingly (a naturalistic touch). On the cheeks the beard stubble has a highly distinctive feature. In front of the ears and on the cheeks below, it is formed into round spiral patterns or whorls, made up of series of concentric chisel strokes. Four such whorls are clearly visible on the (proper) left side, two on the right (Pl. II, 2–3). Those that mark the transition between hair and beard in front of the ears are the most prominent. Although the outer parts of the ears are now broken off, it can be seen that they were large and protruding; and the nose, also broken off, was clearly strikingly long and thin-bridged between the eyes.

The whole is an extraordinary portrayal of the individual-looking features of an elder heavy-faced man, combined with some highly expressive adjustments and theoretical content — notably in the eyes and arching muscled brows.

The head was worked for insertion into a statue, and such disembodied portraits need to be mentally equipped with the full figure that supported them and gave them a semantic context. The statue transmitted basic ideas and points about the subject's role — as general or senator, for example — while the head expressed more differentiated aspects of identity and ideology. The full statue, if standing, would have been some five metres tall, and at such a scale it may have been acrolithic in construction. The tight, even contour around the neck where it joined the body indicates the head belonged most likely to a cuirassed figure (a head joined to a statue wearing a toga or paludamentum requires an asymmetrical join-line of the neck with the drapery). The head of Titus from the temple of Domitian at Ephesus belonged to such a cuirassed and acrolithic colossus.<sup>3</sup> It has, however, a vigorous 'Hellenistic' turn to the head, clearly alien to the effect of the Vienna head. We should imagine instead something more like the Barletta statue, a colossal cuirassed late emperor with a plain static posture.<sup>4</sup> The Vienna head had fallen (or more likely, we will see, had been thrown down) into the central passage underneath the stage-building of the theatre at Ephesus (Fig. 1) — as a piece of stone it was of too awkward a shape for reuse as building material. It surely lay where it fell, protected by the subsequent collapse of the stage façade, and it therefore no doubt once belonged to a statue in one of the central niches of the scaena.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> IR I, no. 27. G. Daltrop *et al.*, *Die Flavier: Das römische Herrscherbild* II. 1 (1966), 86, 100, pl. 15b.

<sup>4</sup> Delbrueck, *Kaiserporträts*, 219–26, pls 116–20; Stichel, 61, pls 30–1.

<sup>5</sup> Reconstruction of scaena: R. Heberdey, G. Nie-mann and W. Wilberg, *Forschungen in Ephesos II: Das Theater* (1912), 53–94. The available restored

heights of the central niche at first-storey level (max. 3 m) and of the main niches at stage level beside the central door (max. 4 m) suggest the statue might (like the colossal Constantine from the Basilica Nova: FZ I, no. 122) have been a seated figure. See Heberdey, 92, fig. 189; cf. P. Scherrer (ed.), *Ephesos: Der neue Führer* (1995), 160–4, fig. 1.

Though found in 1897, the Vienna head was first published only in 1933, by L'Orange in his major study of late antique portraits.<sup>6</sup> He placed it in a group of five other portraits which he assigned on the grounds of formal stylistic evolution to the end of his 'Theodosian-Honorian' period, that is, in the early fifth century A.D.: 'The characteristics of the Theodosian head type . . . stand out (in this group) . . . in their last, enhanced phase (*Steigerung*)'.<sup>7</sup> One of the leading pieces of the group is a thin-faced portrait in the Terme Museum, which is compared for the symmetrical treatment of the hair.<sup>8</sup> L'Orange did not consider any context or what kind of person might be represented, and confidently placed the head in a group to which formally, even on his own terms, it bears little resemblance. L'Orange further described the characteristics of the group thus: 'The whole structure of the head loses corporeality, becomes thinner, more fragile, as the soft oval of the Theodosian face-form lengthens into a near-Gothic slenderness'.<sup>9</sup> For understanding the Vienna head, this analysis is clearly not much help.

The head was next discussed by Kollwitz in 1941.<sup>10</sup> He passed over L'Orange's analysis in silence, and dated the head to the *middle* of the fifth century A.D., on the basis of a comparison with a diademed imperial head in the Louvre: 'Decisive for the dating seems to me the relationship of the head with the so-called Honorius in the Louvre'.<sup>11</sup> The nature of any such relationship is not specified, nor is there any mention of who or what might be represented. Again, it may be simply stated that the Louvre head is not dated, and the Vienna head is anyway not much like it.

The authority of L'Orange and Kollwitz set the terms of future debate about the Vienna portrait within clear limits: early or middle fifth century A.D., and most authorities, such as Bianchi Bandinelli, favoured the later date.<sup>12</sup>

Meanwhile, in 1950, interesting new evidence was published, the significance of which has not been properly appreciated. In the excavation of the west end of the basilica in the Roman agora at Smyrna (Fig. 2) was found a colossal battered head (Pls III–IV).<sup>13</sup> The excavators, Naumann and Kantar, included a brief description and one photograph of the head in their report, where they simply date it in the mid-fifth century by comparison with the Vienna head, citing Kollwitz.<sup>14</sup> It is in fact a second, scale copy of the same portrait type as the head from the Ephesus theatre (further below).

Both the Vienna and Izmir heads were then included in the corpus of portraits from Asia Minor by Inan and Rosenbaum published in 1965.<sup>15</sup> They preferred L'Orange's date in the *early* fifth century, and recognized that the Izmir head should represent the same person as the Vienna head and described it correctly as a replica. From this however they drew no conclusion. Addressing the question of who might be represented,

<sup>6</sup> L'Orange, *Studien*, 76–7, 144, no. 105, figs 199–200.

<sup>7</sup> L'Orange, *Studien*, 76.

<sup>8</sup> L'Orange, *Studien*, 144. Terme head: *ibid.*, 142, no. 102, figs 194–5.

<sup>9</sup> L'Orange, *Studien*, 76.

<sup>10</sup> J. Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik der theodosianischen Zeit* (1941), 130–1, pl. 44.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, 130. 'Honorius' in Louvre: Delbrueck, *Kaiserporträts*, 215–16, pl. 112; Stichel, 56–7, pl. 23b, 24b; K. de Kersauson, *Musée du Louvre: Catalogue des portraits romains II* (1996), no. 257.

<sup>12</sup> R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome: The Late Empire* (1971), 363, fig. 346: 'This head . . . has evolved still further . . . dating . . . to the mid-fifth century'.

<sup>13</sup> Agora Depot, Archaeological Museum, Izmir. Colossal marble head broken off through the top of the neck. H: 54 cm; W: 33 cm; D: 45.5 cm. Found in the 1920s(?) in the Turkish excavations in the Roman agora of Smyrna conducted by Selâhattin Kantar: R. Naumann and S. Kantar, 'Die Agora von Smyrna', in *Kleinasien und Byzanz: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur*

*Altertumskunde und Kunstgeschichte* (= *Istanbuler Forschungen* 17, 1950), 104, no. 29: 'FO: Basilika Westende'. The authors do not state whether the head was found at the main, ground-floor level of the basilica or in the elaborate vaulted substructure basement beneath. Its surface is much abraded all over, and the ears and most of the features in the front plane of the face are destroyed. The full extent of the hair, however, is preserved, with most of the brow, cheeks, right eye and the (proper) right half of the mouth.

<sup>14</sup> Naumann and Kantar, *op. cit.* (n. 13), 104: 'Wegen der Zerstörung ist der Kopf schwer zu beurteilen. Er dürfte im fünften Jahrhundert n. Chr. gearbeitet sein; zu vergleichen etwa Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik* Taf. 44 [= the Vienna head]'. They exaggerate somewhat the poor condition of the head: 'Das Gesicht ist fast vollständig zerstört; erhalten sind nur Teile der Schläfen, die Stirn mit zwei Querfalten und das Haar' (*ibid.*). More than this can be made out.

<sup>15</sup> IR I, 119–20, no. 133 (Izmir) and 149–50, no. 191 (Vienna).

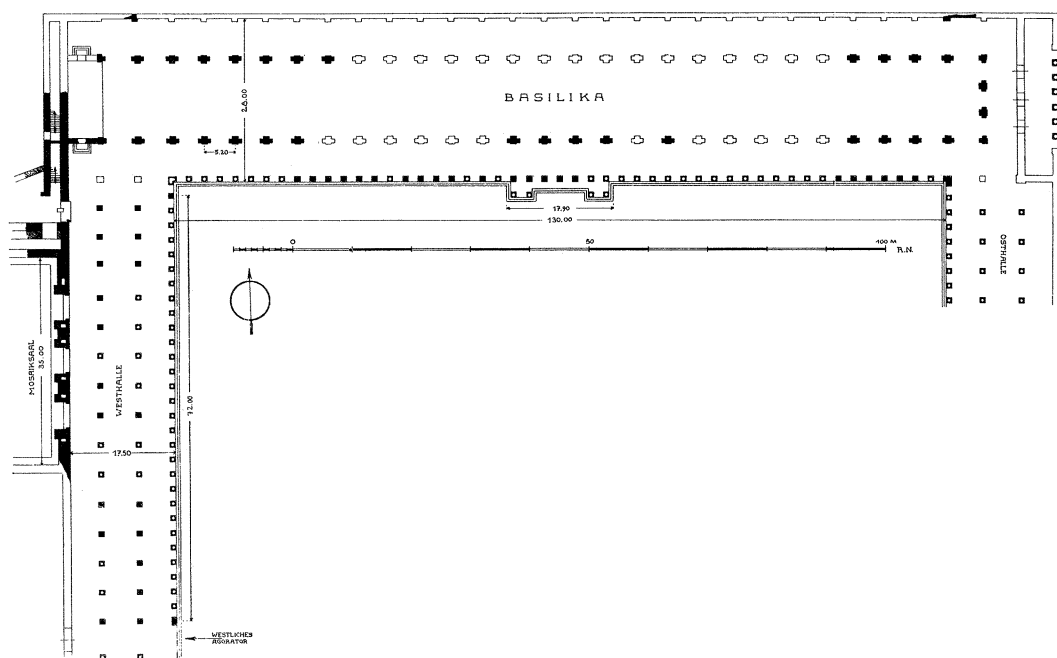


FIG. 2. ROMAN AGORA AND BASILICA, SMYRNA, RESTORED PLAN.  
AFTER R. NAUMANN AND S. KANTAR (N. 13), PL. 48.

they say: '... a person of importance, but as an imperial personage seems to be out of the question, we are unable to identify the subject portrayed'.<sup>16</sup>

In 1973 Oberleitner published a new study of the Vienna head — really its first full publication — where he argues as follows: (1) given its scale, the head must be imperial (surely correct); (2) Kollwitz was right about the date — the stylistic context is the *mid*-fifth century; and therefore, (3) it should represent the emperor Marcian (A.D. 450–457), who was both as old as the portrait suggests (late fifties) and reigned at the 'right' date.<sup>17</sup> Oberleitner was undeterred in this identification by (and did not illustrate any of) the lean-faced coin portraits of this emperor.<sup>18</sup>

Other scholarly opinion has generally supported this chronology. In special studies, both Severin (in 1972)<sup>19</sup> and Bergman (in 1977) after some stylistic discussion left the Vienna head in the fifth century.<sup>20</sup> Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum returned to the Vienna and Izmir portraits in 1979, now less confident: 'These two heads still belong unfortunately in the category of the many unsolved problems of early Byzantine portrait art'.<sup>21</sup> And Fittschen reviewing their volume declared, while assuming a fifth-century date, that 'certainty will only be achieved if the two colossal heads are identified'.<sup>22</sup> Most recently, it has been proposed that the Vienna head is in fact stylistically somewhat before the reign of Theodosius, not somewhat after it.<sup>23</sup> The key comparison proposed this time is with an imperial head in Trier — again neither dated nor much like the Vienna head.<sup>24</sup> From the stylistic date follows an identification as the usurping emperor Procopius. An obvious difficulty in identifying the Vienna head as either Marcian or

<sup>16</sup> IR I, 119. K. Fittschen, *GGA* 225 (1973), 46–67, at 53 agreed with the fifth-century date.

<sup>17</sup> W. Oberleitner, 'Zwei spätantiken Kaiserköpfe aus Ephesos', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 69 (1973), 127–65, at 153–65, figs 141–5.

<sup>18</sup> Marcian's coins: Kent-Hirmer, nos 773–4.

<sup>19</sup> H. G. Severin, *Zur Porträtplastik des 5. Jhds. n. Chr.* (1972), 93–4: 'Eine bessere Datierung [than that of L'Orange and Kollwitz] ... kann ich nicht geben ...'.

<sup>20</sup> Bergmann, 162–3.

<sup>21</sup> IR II, 37, n. 167.

<sup>22</sup> K. Fittschen, *GGA* 236 (1984), 208–9, no. 309.

<sup>23</sup> J. Meischner, 'Das Porträt der Valentinianischen Epoche', *JdI* 107 (1992), 217–21. This date also suggested more briefly earlier: J. Meischner, 'Fragen zur römischen Porträtgeschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung kleinasiatischen Beispiele', *Bonn. Jhb.* 181 (1981), 143–67, at 158.

<sup>24</sup> Delbrueck, *Kaiserporträts*, 193–5, pls 90–1; Stichel, 49–50, pls 13–14.

Procopius — apart from the lack of any defensible typological connection to the thin-faced coin profiles of either emperor — is that it does not wear a diadem.

In spite of the unusual character of the portrait, the initial assessments of L'Orange and Kollwitz have had a long currency. They asked only one question — what date? — and to answer it relied on a tall edifice of stylistic comparisons with other miscellaneous undated and undocumented portraits. They assumed a model of developing stylistic forms, the distinctions between which are to be measured in years. The latest interpretation, as Procopius, is a chronological adjustment made on the basis of the same criteria. A fresh look from a different perspective is required.

## II. THE VIENNA-IZMIR PORTRAIT TYPE: THE ARGUMENT

Stylistic arguments cannot prove the dates proposed for the Vienna head; nor can they disprove them. A different context may be proposed, not because the portrait is in any sense 'impossible' in the fifth century. Far from it: there are a number of fat-faced portraits that could have been cited as comparisons in the later fourth and fifth centuries and which show at least that the portrait in question was part of a wider image choice.<sup>25</sup> It is simply that the head can be shown to belong better elsewhere.

The argument is as follows. (1) The Vienna and Izmir heads are close replicas of one portrait type. (2) The scale, replication, and the setting of the two portraits show the subject was imperial. (3) Since the portrait wears no diadem, it should belong most easily before Constantine. And (4) it is in this period, the early fourth century, that the portrait's unusual manner is best attested. A context that best suits archaeology and history can be put together here. That context, we will see, was a war of images waged in the twenty years before the final victory of Constantine.

Firstly, replication. The new, more complete photographic documentation of the Izmir head published here (Pls III–IV) should demonstrate that both heads are copies of a single, centrally-provided portrait type or model. That is, it is not merely that the two heads resemble each other and so may represent the same person, but that they derive from a common prototype. This distinction is fundamental to the study of Roman imperial portraits: the point of reference in the manufacture of the surviving local versions of an emperor's image was not the subject, the emperor's person directly, but rather another image, an official portrait model or type, a 'concealed original' made at court, and made available for reproduction in local workshops.<sup>26</sup> The heads in Vienna and Izmir easily satisfy objective criteria for dependence on a common prototype. In both overall composition and in details, the two heads reproduce common, carefully designed typological features. In front and profile views, one can see clearly the same head form, fat face, short hair, and stubble beard. It is striking that viewed from above the two heads also share the same outer circumference line around the head and hair (Pl. IV, 1–2) — a shared element of design that was of course invisible and resulted from use of a common model in the manufacture of the two heads. Very telling too are some details that are repeated 'word for word' on both heads — for example, the line followed by the hair contour, the precise pattern of the furrowed lines on the forehead, the form

<sup>25</sup> One thinks of corpulent images such as the following. (1) The coin portraits of the usurpers Magnentius and Decentius (A.D. 350s): Kent-Hirmer, nos 672–4; *Age of Spirituality*, no. 41 (W. E. Metcalf). (2) A diademed imperial bust in Vienne of the later fourth century: Delbrueck, *Kaiserporträts*, 175–7, pls 76–7; Stichel, 43, pl. 6; L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 90, 140, pl. 62. (3) One or two background figures on the Theodosian base in Constantinople (A.D. 390): G. Bruns, *Der Obelisk und seine Basis auf dem Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel* (1935), fig. 81. (4) The poet of the fifth-century Monza ivory diptych ('Claudian'): W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und frühe Mittelalters* (3rd edn, 1976), no. 68.

<sup>26</sup> There is a highly developed methodology in this area with which great advances have been made in recent years. Among important and accessible studies are: K. Fittschen, 'Zum angeblichen Bildnis des Lucius Verus im Thermen-Museum', *JdI* 86 (1971), 214–52; M. Bergmann, *Marc Aurel* (1978); P. Zanker, *Studien zu den Augustus-Porträts I. Der Actium-Typus* (1973); K. Vierneisel and P. Zanker, *Die Bildnisse des Augustus* (1979). The significance of this work and the uses of the methodology are described by the present writer in 'Typology and diversity in the portraits of Augustus', *JRA* 9 (1996), 31–47.

of the upturned mouth, and the highly unusual spiral whorl patterns in the engraved beard (see details, Pl. IV, 3-4). The two heads were doubtless both versions of a central model.

While both heads are close versions after a 'concealed' court prototype, they are also very similar in scale, technique, and finish. They have, for example, the same technical handling of the hairline, which is worked only around its perimeter. The two copies were probably then the work of the same workshop or crew of sculptors. The few obvious divergencies between them are most easily understood as functions of the manufacturing process and of the shape of the available marble blocks. In profile, the back of the Izmir head is fuller, where the Vienna head is flat (Pls II, 2-3 and III, 2-3). The Izmir head, then, was carved from a block that was deeper front to back, the Vienna head from a block that was too shallow in this dimension. The crown of the Vienna head was added separately and the projecting back of the head — part of the model as seen in the Izmir head — was abbreviated to allow greater depth at the front.<sup>27</sup>

The portrait type should be imperial, not only because the heads are replicated and colossal (already strong arguments), but also because they were both found in positions — the centre of a columnar stage façade at Ephesus, and the tribunal at one end of a civil basilica at Smyrna (Figs 1-2) — that only the image of an emperor or a divinity might occupy. Among theatres one might think of the colossal portrait of Augustus from the centre of the aediculated scaena of the theatre at Caere.<sup>28</sup> And among basilicas one might compare the colossal seated acrolithic statue of Constantine found in the west apse of the Basilica Nova in Rome.<sup>29</sup>

Since the portrait wears no diadem, it belongs most easily in a period before this insignia was adopted by Constantine (who was the first Roman emperor to do so).<sup>30</sup> Soon after his final victory and achievement of sole rule in 324, Constantine started to wear a plain hellenistic-style royal diadem on his coins (Pl. XI, 5).<sup>31</sup> After various forms had been tried, it mutated in the 330s into the distinctive 'jewel diadem', with the headband formed by various sizes and shapes of linked jewels in settings, which was the form current up to the mid-fourth century (Pl. XI, 6).<sup>32</sup> Literary sources refer to Constantine wearing the diadem, but they neither explain its origins and significance or supply the date of its assumption.<sup>33</sup> The numismatic record gives the key evidence: the diadem was adopted by Constantine in c. 325, appears on all his coin portraits after that date, and had been worn by no earlier emperor.<sup>34</sup> The monarchical and royal meaning of the diadem worn by hellenistic and later kings of the eastern empires and principalities was clearly transferred in some measure to Constantine's diadem and its later mutations. The victory over his last rival, the approaching vicennalia, and the founding of the new capital in the East were no doubt relevant attendant circumstances in Constantine's

<sup>27</sup> See Pl. II, 1-3 and above n. 1.

<sup>28</sup> M. Fuchs, *Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung römischer Theater* (1987), 79, 82-4, 170. D. Boschung, *Die Bildnisse des Augustus: Das römische Herrscherbild* I.2 (1993), no. 174, pl. 139.

<sup>29</sup> FZ I, no. 122. For the find position: T. Buddensieg, 'Die Konstantinbasilika in einer Zeichnung Francesco di Giorgio und der Marmorkoloss Konstantins des Grossen', *Münch. Jhb.* 13 (1962), 37-48.

<sup>30</sup> On the diadem: Delbrueck, *Kaiserporträts*, 56-66; Alföldi, 93-5; Bruun, *RIC VII*, 43-4; W. Ritter, *Diadem und Königsherrschaft* (1965); A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche* (1970), 263-8, and index s.v. 'diadem'; R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (1988), 34-8; P. Bastien, *Le buste monétaire des empereurs romains*, 3 vols (1992-94), 143-67.

<sup>31</sup> This coin: *RIC VII* Siscia 206; Kent-Hirmer, no. 655. Further details, n. 99.

<sup>32</sup> Later the simpler 'pearl diadem' predominates — a plain band edged on both sides by 'pearls', with a central jewel over the forehead: Delbrueck, *Kaiserporträts*, 59-63.

<sup>33</sup> The sources are, however, clear on two points. (1) The diadem was part of Constantine's royal costume: Eusebius, *V. Const.* 4.66.2 (Constantine lying in state in 337 dressed in 'the royal ornaments, the purple robe, and the diadem'); Eusebius, *De laud. Const.* 5.6 (diadem is part of royal costume at tricennalia of 336); 'Aurelius Victor', *Epitome de Caesaribus* 41.14 ('habitu regum gemmis et caput exornans perpetuo diademate'). And (2) Constantine was the first emperor to wear the diadem: Cedrenus I, p. 517.7 (Bonn); Chronicon Paschale I, 529.18 (A.D. 331); Malalas, *Chron.* 13.321.17 (Bonn). Most of these texts are quoted by Delbrueck, *Kaiserporträts*, XI-XIX, some by Calza, 38-9, A 15-18.

<sup>34</sup> Delbrueck, *Kaiserporträts*, 56-8 ('Diademe — Vorformen') detected a diadem on some of Licinius' coins, where however the attribute is clearly rather a schematic- and metallic-looking laurel wreath: so Alföldi, 142-3; Bruun, *RIC VII*, 44, n. 1. Claims that Aurelian wore the diadem ('Aurelius Victor', *Epitome de Caesaribus* 35.5; Malalas, *Chron.* p. 299, 20C) are refuted by the numismatic evidence.

choice of this insignia.<sup>35</sup> As coins show, all reigning later emperors wore the diadem. While most of Constantine's sculptured portraits do not wear the diadem (many are from Rome and the West and date from before 325), the sculptured portraits of later reigning emperors do regularly wear it.<sup>36</sup>

The swift demise in the fourth century of imperial portrait replication and the assumption of the diadem as an explicit imperial symbol were clearly connected phenomena. Close replication after a given 'identifying' type became rare after Constantine.<sup>37</sup> With the regular wearing of the diadem as an external badge of imperial office, the imperial image became immediately recognizable as the emperor's regardless of its physiognomical appearance. The whole imperial portrait system of the Middle Empire, of type and replication, was a function and expression of the idea that the emperor was a person not different in principle from others. His portrait was known to be the emperor's because it was recognizable as of that particular person, whom the viewer knew (from constant exposure to versions of his official portrait) also happened to be emperor. The purpose of centrally-provided models and their use by portrait workshops around the Empire was thus to ensure the ruler's recognizability and identifiability. The Izmir-Vienna portrait was in fact, we will see, one of the last of such closely copied, physiognomically identifiable imperial images.

It might be objected to a pre-Constantinian date for the Vienna head that its exaggerated staring eyes look very 'late antique': why could it not be of some other kind of imperial figure after Constantine? There were imperial princes and usurpers of the mid- to later fourth century seen on coins who did not wear the diadem. Why could the head not represent one of them? Both contexts are unlikely. Firstly, images of imperial princes, the sons or Caesars of reigning emperors, were by definition youthful,<sup>38</sup> and the represented age of our portrait is emphatically high. And secondly, all princes and most usurpers after 337 wear Constantinian-length hair, with a fringe brushed neatly forward onto the forehead.<sup>39</sup> Some private portraits might of course have worn short-cropped hair,<sup>40</sup> but, as far as we know, few aspiring emperors. Since our portrait is imperial, the combination of represented age, cropped hairstyle, and lack of diadem would seem to rule out a period after Constantine. The eyes may look 'late antique', that is, unnaturally large and staring, but the date at which such eyes entered the imperial portrait vocabulary is a question not a given. They are, we will see, first and well attested for the emperors of the tetrarchy.

No one has proposed an earlier date for the Vienna head, but it may be said that the wilful violation of 'classical' norms of representation that it employs would be unparalleled in such a large, high-quality, self-conscious, and thoughtful work from a major public context before the period of the tetrarchy. Further, the portrait types of third-century emperors are well known from coins, and some too in sculpture, and none is typologically connected to the Vienna-Izmir portrait.<sup>41</sup>

The basic portrait mode of the Vienna head was an old one in Roman self-representation — realistic-looking, short-haired, advanced in years but still vigorous. The elements and signs are familiar. Muscled neck and furrowed brow convey strength and energy; unusual physiognomical features define an individual, 'cognominal' identity; short-cropped hair and stubble growth are those of the camp; and the smile is

<sup>35</sup> For a long perspective and discussion of the emperor's role as *basileus*: F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (1977), 612–15.

<sup>36</sup> Undiademed heads of Constantine: FZ I, 149–51, nos 1–13 (all, except no. 9, undiademed); L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 118–28, pls 32–41. Rare diademed sculptured head of Constantine, from Naissus: Delbrueck, *Kaiserporträts*, 119–21, pls 35–6; *SuFC*, no. 40; L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 120, pl. 48. Diademed heads later than Constantine: collected in Stichel.

<sup>37</sup> Rare examples. (1) 'Ariadne': FZ III, no. 39 (three versions). (2) 'Valentinian I/Valens': FZ I, no. 126 (three versions).

<sup>38</sup> For example, in large-scale sculpture, three heads in the Capitoline: FZ I, nos 124–5 (Constantinian princes) and 127 (Theodosian prince, 'Honorius').

<sup>39</sup> Kent-Hirmer, pls 166–99 offers a good conspectus of emperors, princes, and usurpers on coins in the period after 337.

<sup>40</sup> See, for example, the 'Claudian' diptych, above n. 25.

<sup>41</sup> R. Delbrueck, *Die Münzbildnisse von Maximinus bis Carinus: Das römische Herrscherbild* III.2 (1940); J. Bracker *et al.*, *Gordianus III bis Carinus: Das römische Herrscherbild* III.3 (1979).

that of the affable, accessible leader.<sup>42</sup> This portrait manner goes a long way back, but here it descends directly from the energetic and technically expressive versions of the mid-third century. It has here been given a novel, 'late antique' styling — a manipulation and exaggeration of certain features and aspects, such as wide eyes, arched brows, and emphatic smiling mouth. It belongs, I think, among a set of competing portrait styles of the early fourth century. We may sketch the background of portrait options through the third century.

### III. IMPERIAL STYLES, CARACALLA TO DIOCLETIAN

In the wake of Caracalla, third-century emperors had switched from the placid 'bourgeois' *civilitas* of the Antonine imperial image to the expressive energy of military leaders seen in the well known portrait types of emperors such as Maximinus Thrax, Philip the Arab, Decius, and Valerian.<sup>43</sup> Short-cropped hair, realist physiognomies, and overtly expressive features denoted strenuous military vigour. The later literary representation of third-century emperors provides some of the vocabulary, if in cruder terms than those of the carefully differentiated images: *vir strenuissimus* ('a most energetic man'), *vir in bello potens*, *Gothos strenuissime vicit* ('capable in war, defeated the Goths most vigorously'), *vir acer, strenuus, iustus* ('an ardent, energetic, and fair man').<sup>44</sup>

Though highly expressive, the marble portraits of third-century emperors generally stay within the norms of a potentially verifiable objectivity that had been a basic premise of Roman portraits up until then. There is intensification but no easily detected manipulations, no overtly theoretical rather than physiognomical content. The emperor was still someone who could be measured and recognized like others. What had changed was the kind of person that was thought best to do what an emperor now needed to do — that is, to endure the life of the camp, to lead the army, and to fight in defence of the frontier provinces.<sup>45</sup> Imperial ideology now required of its leaders not the clemency, humanity, and elegant civilian culture of the Antonine emperors, but the military ability to crush barbarian invaders.<sup>46</sup> The finely formulated portrait types of the mid-third-century emperors are one of the most potent expressions of this changed ideological priority.

The inappropriate term 'soldier-emperor' is one perhaps unduly influenced by these images: they seem so obviously and wholly military. But the military role of the emperor had always been important, just as other aspects and 'virtues' of the imperial office remained important in the third century. (That many of these figures actually had military backgrounds was of course no concern of the portraits — so had earlier emperors.) The rulers as presented in these portraits are not so much 'soldier-emperors' as emperors for whom life in the camp has become a necessary priority.<sup>47</sup>

Beside the new military styling of the imperial image, the portrait evidence also records some unchanged concerns. Not only do the portrait types of each emperor have

<sup>42</sup> Stubble: Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.11 (and below n. 157). Smiling accessibility: sources collected in J. Hellegouarc'h, *Le vocabulaire latin des relations et des partis politiques sous la république* (1963), 215–17, on *comitas* and *facilitas*; cf. L. Giuliani, *Bildnis und Botschaft: Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Bildniskunst der römischen Republik* (1986), 74–5, 98. Discussed further, Section VII.

<sup>43</sup> On which, Bergmann, 30–43, and *SuFC*, 41–9; Bracker, op. cit. (n. 41); Fittschen, in *FZ* I, nos 105, 110–11.

<sup>44</sup> Eutropius, *Breviarium* 9.9, 13, and 17 (on Victorinus, Aurelian, and Probus).

<sup>45</sup> On these emperors, their role, and priorities: R. Syme, *Emperors and Biography: Studies in the Historia Augusta* (1971), chs 11–13; D. Potter, *Prophecy and*

*History in the Crisis of the Roman Empire* (1990), 3–64, esp. 12–16.

<sup>46</sup> Duty to crush barbarians: for example, *Pan.Lat.* 7.14.1. Diocletian at the start of his Price Edict preamble (refs, n. 62) puts it like this: 'we have crushed the former seething ravages of barbarian nations by massacring them' ('aestuantes de praeterito rapinas gentium barbararum ipsarum nationum clade compressimus').

<sup>47</sup> This is perhaps worth emphasizing because it has occasionally been doubted that the short-cropped hairstyle was that of the camp: M. Bergmann, 'Zeit-typen im Kaiserporträt', in *Römisches Porträt: Wege zur Erforschung eines gesellschaftlichen Phänomens* (*Wiss.Zeit.Berlin* 31, 1982), 145–7 and *SuFC*, 44.

a sharply defined personal identity, it is less well known that many also issued portrait types of their sons as Caesar, styled as 'junior' versions of their own 'family' image, several of which survive in multiple replicas in the sculptural record. The most easily recognized are those of the sons of Maximinus Thrax and Philip the Arab.<sup>48</sup> Though many of these emperors were with hindsight very short-lived, they each marked their intention through the issuing of these young Caesar portraits to found a new and lasting personal dynasty, as the Julio-Claudians and the Antonines had done.

With Diocletian and the tetrarchy there was a clear break in the formal manner of the imperial image and a reversal of some of these ideas. The basic formula for externals remained — short-cropped, stubble-bearded, elder general — but it was now restyled as a plain, block-like, frontal, and often wide-eyed image (Pls VIII–IX).<sup>49</sup> That is, while the message-subject remained the same — military imperator — its formal expression changed. This is best represented in the finest coins (Pl. IX, 1) and sculptured portraits, such as the porphyry head from Antioch and the porphyry bust from Athribis in Cairo (Pl. VIII, 1–2 and 4).<sup>50</sup> Although the new manner was received and interpreted rather differently in the various mints and workshops of the Empire, there is no doubt that at the centre lay a radical new imperial idea and style. Two new ideas are perhaps foremost in the visual record, first that of an imperial board or college, and second that of a new moral fundamentalism. The first idea is often commented on in relation to the portraits, the second I think not at all.

The tetrarchs, it is well known, are difficult to distinguish one from another in art. That is, personal identity was (or was partially) submerged in order to represent the idea of the imperial office as an appointed board of several members. Not family dynasty, not army appointments of charismatic leaders, but a cohesive self-replacing college of loyal, like-minded members. This was an imperial system that had no place for the incapable and under-age Caesars of the third century. This collective aspect, a unified college of four, is well represented on the coins — issued with portraits of all four tetrarchs at all the imperial mints — and in the sculptured porphyry groups in Venice and the Vatican.<sup>51</sup> And to that extent these images are a good expression of this most important aspect of tetrarchic ideology, but it is one compounded and exaggerated by the obvious difficulties encountered at the level of manufacture — in die-engraving and stone-carving — of retaining defining personal physiognomical characteristics that might distinguish one stubbled, short-cropped, and square-headed tetrarch from another. This is clear from the way that coin portraits of tetrarchs tend to get assimilated to the image of the particular emperor in control of a given mint and from the intractable difficulties of identification within the surviving sculptural record.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Bergmann, 32–3 (Maximus Junior), 35–8 (Philippus Junior). For illustrations: V. Poulsen, *Les portraits romains* (1974) II, nos 165–6 (Maximus), 140–2 (Philippus, there misidentified as Alexander Severus); Bracker, op. cit. (n. 41), 42–50, pls 15–20 (Philippus).

<sup>49</sup> Best general discussion: Bergmann, 163–79 — the only detailed work on the portraits of this period based on methodologically consistent identifications and which recognizes that not all portraits of this period can be named. Other work is based on more or less arbitrary identifications. Most recent studies: J. Meischner, 'Die Porträtkunst der ersten und zweiten Tetrarchie bis zur Alleinherrschaft Konstantins: 293 bis 324 n. Chr.', *AA* (1986), 223–50; L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 3–36; R. Rees, 'Images and image: a re-examination of tetrarchic iconography', *Greece and Rome* 40 (1993), 181–200; F. Baratte, 'Observations sur le portrait romain à l'époque tétrarchique', *Antiquité Tardive* 3 (1995), 65–76. On the relationship of Diocletian's coin reform of the 290s and tetrarchic coin style: H. A. Cahn, 'Kunstgeschichtliche Bemerkungen zu Diokletians Münzreform', *Gestalt und Geschichte: Fests. K. Schefold* (1967), 91–5.

<sup>50</sup> Antioch: L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 27, 106, pl. 18 c-d. Cairo: L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 27–8, 107, pl. 19; G. Grimm, *Kunst der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo* (1975), no. 29, pls 58–61 has the best published photographs.

<sup>51</sup> Delbrueck, *Porphyrywerke*, 84–91 (Venice), 91–2 (Vatican), pls 31–7; L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 6–10, 99 (Vatican), 103 (Venice), pls 4–7.

<sup>52</sup> Clearest in a later example from this period: coin images of Constantine minted at Nicomedia look more like Licinius: *RIC* VII Nicomedia 7 (pl. 20); see P. Bruun, 'Notes on the transmission of imperial images in late antiquity', *Studia Romana in honorem P. Krarup* (1976), 122–31. Intractable identifications: there are no agreed identifications of individual sculptured heads, for example, of Diocletian, Maximian, Severus, or Maximinus Daia. The difficulties are readily apparent in the arbitrary division of sculptures in the catalogues of Calza and L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*. In Calza, for example, the Cairo bust (here Pl. VIII, 4) is catalogued separately three times, as Galerius, Maximinus Daia, and Licinius (Calza, nos 55, 102, and 122)! Cf. Bergmann, *SuFC*, 49–50.



It is also clear, however, from the best medallions and some regular gold issues that the tetrarchs, within the quite strict limitations of the new flat-headed cubic norm, *did* deploy portrait types that were personalized by one or two defining physiognomical features. Maximian, for example, always has a short, retroussé nose, while Constantius has a long curved nose.<sup>53</sup> The concept of the *similitudo* of the tetrarchic emperors is presented by L'Orange as a key to understanding the imperial portraiture of the period, but this concept lacks the textual basis claimed for it and is more a description of the surviving visual record and its simplifications and abbreviations than of intended tetrarchic ideology.<sup>54</sup> *Similitudo* of appearance was, of course, a feature proper to dynastic rulers, something the Latin Panegyrics repeatedly harp on in the changed ideological circumstances of Constantine's reign when Constantine is said frequently to look like his father.<sup>55</sup> But it was hardly a tetrarchic desideratum. And in a speech of 291 it is in fact stated explicitly that what united Diocletian and Maximian as brothers was 'the similarity not of appearance but of character': *non vultuum similitudo sed morum*.<sup>56</sup> *Similitudo* of character was something which was translated visually by a normative styling.

We may say then that Diocletian's new imperial style was conceived both with some residual personal identity and with a highly normative collective aspect expressive of a unified political-moral character, but it was perhaps inevitable that it was the latter which prevailed. Standing in the way of the accurate 'identifying' replication of tetrarchic portrait types were some obvious external factors, such as the number and relatively fast turn-over of rulers, the lack of detailed models available for provincial workshops to follow (clear even at the imperially-operated mints, n. 52), and the prevailing need to re-use old portraits.<sup>57</sup>

The drastic formal restyling of the imperial image under the tetrarchs — cubic heads, hard severe lines and planes, intense gaze — has nothing to do with the 'orientalism' cited in hostile ancient sources describing Diocletian's supposedly extravagant Persian court and personal style<sup>58</sup> and which some modern authorities used also to see at the root of late antique style, nor again probably with the culmination of inexorable formal stylistic trends, such as the final emergence of native 'Roman' form hitherto confined to provinces and plebs.<sup>59</sup> This new portrait manner can perhaps be read better as the visual representation of the tetrarchs' radical political morality — the physiognomical expression of the need for order, discipline, moral behaviour, correct observance, and the rule of law in accordance with old Roman traditions (*disciplina iuris veteris*, *disciplina legesque Romanae*) that so concerned the emperors of this period.<sup>60</sup> We see in these portraits the face of the unswerving, all-seeing ruler who roots out the greed, immorality, and corruption threatening the Empire. Literary sources talk of the

<sup>53</sup> Maximian: best in *DOP*, nos 9–19. Constantius: Kent-Hirmer, nos 583 and 585. Note also the Trier medallion with two double portraits showing all four emperors of the first tetrarchy: *Age of Spirituality*, no. 31 (with comments of W. E. Metcalf).

<sup>54</sup> L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 3–6. Accepted, for example, by Rees, op. cit. (n. 49), *passim*.

<sup>55</sup> *Pan.Lat.* 7.3.3; 7.14.5; 6.4.3; cf. 4.3.4–7.

<sup>56</sup> *Pan.Lat.* 10.9.5, so correctly translated by Nixon-Rodgers: 'not any resemblance of features, but rather resemblance of character'. Nixon-Rodgers, 68, n. 34, appeal to the monuments to refute the claim of *non vultuum similitudo*, but complete assimilation was not imperial policy, merely a frequent result.

<sup>57</sup> The prevalence of re-working old portraits in this period is not in itself an explanation of the difficulties in identification: the style and form of an earlier portrait can intrude into a reworked portrait (cf.

below n. 68), but not always or necessarily. Indeed, a thoroughly reworked head can be as typologically precise as one made from new stone. Most of Constantine's surviving portraits, for example, were made from recycled sculptures, but are readily identifiable by their use of a central type: below nn. 90–1, 93–4.

<sup>58</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, 15.5.18; Eutropius, *Breviarium* 9.26; Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus* 39.1–4. Cf. Alföldi, op. cit. (n. 30), 6–9.

<sup>59</sup> On the old controversy, whether 'the Orient or Rome' was more influential in the make-up of late antique art, see Von Sydow, 12–16 and Bergmann, 163–4, both with full references to the works of chief protagonists, such as J. Strzygowski (for the Orient) and G. Rodenwaldt (for the native plebeian/provincial Roman traditions).

<sup>60</sup> On *ius vetus*: Corcoran, 69–73.

emperor's 'burning gaze' (*fulgor oculorum*),<sup>61</sup> which now finds exaggerated expression in imperial portraits for the first time. These are eyes that will seek out the moral decay lamented in such strong terms in the rhetoric of imperial laws of this period — for example, in the symbolic moral-religious legislation on such threats to the Empire as incestuous marriages and the Manichees and in the lengthy and fervently moralizing preamble to the famous Edict on Maximum Prices.<sup>62</sup> The tetrarchs looked to the package of old Roman laws, morals, and religion to save the Empire.<sup>63</sup>

A direct connection was drawn by contemporaries between morality and the safety of the Empire that made public morals the direct concern of the imperial government. Diocletian's edict on incestuous marriages puts it like this:

ita enim et ipsos immortales deos Romano nomini, ut fuerunt, faventes atque placatos futuros esse non dubium est, si cunctos sub imperio nostro agentes piam religiosamque et quietam et castam in omnibus mere colere perspexerimus vitam.<sup>64</sup>

There is no doubt that even the immortal gods will be, as they have been in the past, well-disposed and favourable to the name of Rome, if we scrutinize thoroughly (*perspexerimus*) everyone under our rule and see they properly cultivate in every way a pious, observant, peaceful, and chaste life.

Emperors depicted in images such as the Cairo bust (Pl. VIII, 4), with emphatic muscle patterns surrounding huge intense eyes, were engaged in that action of radical moral 'perspection' of the Empire's subjects (*si cunctos . . . perspexerimus*).

The new radicalism of the tetrarchic imperial image had a mixed reception in contemporary workshops. It is carried to its extreme in some eastern mints and in the imperially controlled porphyry workshops.<sup>65</sup> It is combined with the more naturalistic or 'classical' third-century manner in the best marble workshops, for example, in Rome (Pl. IX, 3),<sup>66</sup> and is simplified, diluted, or misunderstood in provincial workshops. A bronze head from Adana is a good example of such provincial simplification and abbreviation (Pl. IX, 2),<sup>67</sup> and a hesitant or diluted reception is seen in a series of strangely bland tetrarchic portraits from southern Asia Minor, several of which have

<sup>61</sup> For example, *Pan.Lat.* 6.17.1.

<sup>62</sup> Edict on incestuous marriages: S. Riccobono *et al.*, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani* (2nd edn, 1940), II, 558–60. Imperial letter on the Manichees: Riccobono, *ibid.*, II, 580–1. Prices Edict preamble: *ILS* 642 (abridged); M. Giacchero, *Edictum Diocletiani et Collegarum de pretiis rerum venalium* (1974) I, 134–7; S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt* (1971), 90–7; C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (1989), no. 231; full English translation by E. R. Graser in T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome V* (1940), 310–17. On the 'intense moral fervour' of imperial legislation and its rhetoric in this period: Barnes, 19–20; Corcoran, 207–13 (on Price Edict preamble). One can think of comparable symbolic legislation in modern societies — that is, legislation whose motivation is unrelated to its ostensible purpose.

<sup>63</sup> cf. Corcoran, 69 (with refs): Diocletian is fond of citing the Laws of the Twelve Tables.

<sup>64</sup> Riccobono, *op. cit.* (n. 62), II, 559.

<sup>65</sup> Porphyry sculptures: below n. 70. On the eastern mints: L'Orange, *Studien*, 24–6; E. Harrison, 'The Constantinian portrait', *DOP* 21 (1967), 81–4; Cahn, *op. cit.* (n. 49), sees the distinctive Diocletianic portrait style on the coinage as a development of the

Eastern mints. Their style seems not, however, to represent a general 'Eastern' stylistic regional preference, merely the particular response of some mints to the tetrarchic portrait manner. This is shown later at the same mints by the style of their portraits of Constantine and Constantius II which have no such 'Eastern' handling of the central imperial style then prevailing (see, for example, *DOP*, nos 127–38). In other words, the style, for example, of the Antioch mint in the early fourth century is better viewed as '(radical) tetrarchic' than as 'Eastern'.

<sup>66</sup> For example, heads in Milan (Calza, 122, no. 30; here Pl. IX, 3), Florence (Bergmann, 153, pl. 45.5–6), Capitoline (Calza 92–3, no. 2; Bergmann, 140–1, pl. 40.1). Bergmann, 153, sees the Milan head as a forgery because it copies the Florence head. The two are related, but not as model and (modern) copy. The form of the forehead hair and its relation to the brow, for example, are in each case rather different, suggesting they draw loosely on a common model. Cf. J. Meischner, 'Bemerkungen zu einigen Kaiserporträts des 3. Jhdts.n.Chr.', *AA* (1995), 375–87, at 376, on the Milan head.

<sup>67</sup> IR II, no. 255, pl. 182.



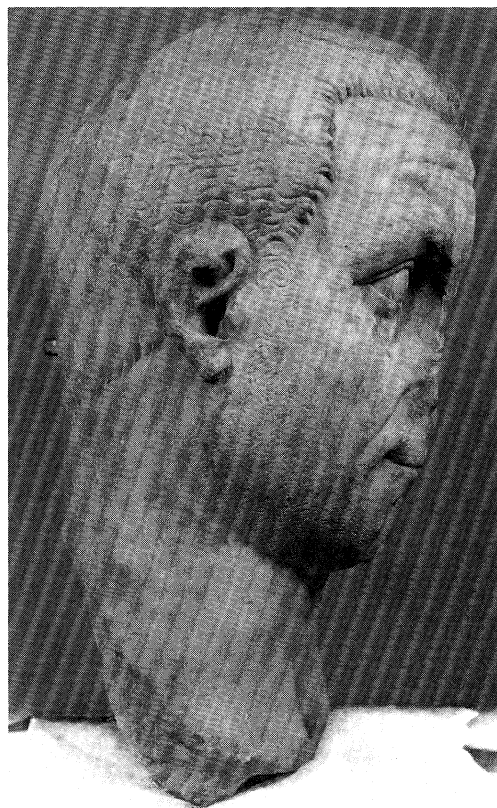
MARBLE PORTRAIT HEAD FROM EPHEOS. KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM, VIENNA.  
*Photo: Museum*



1



2



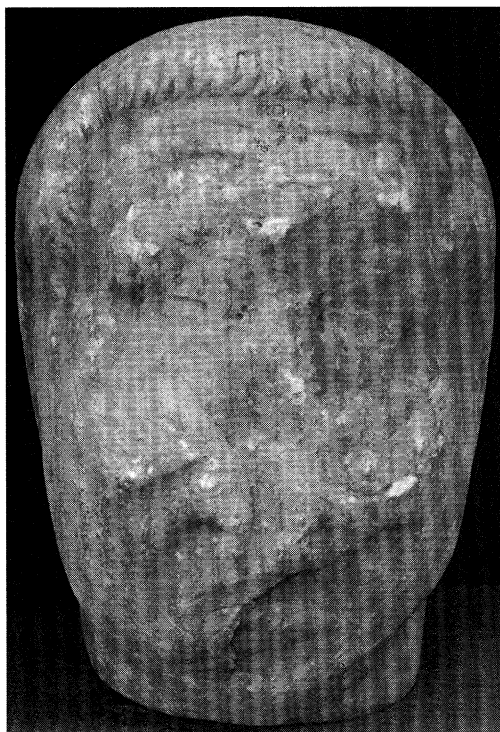
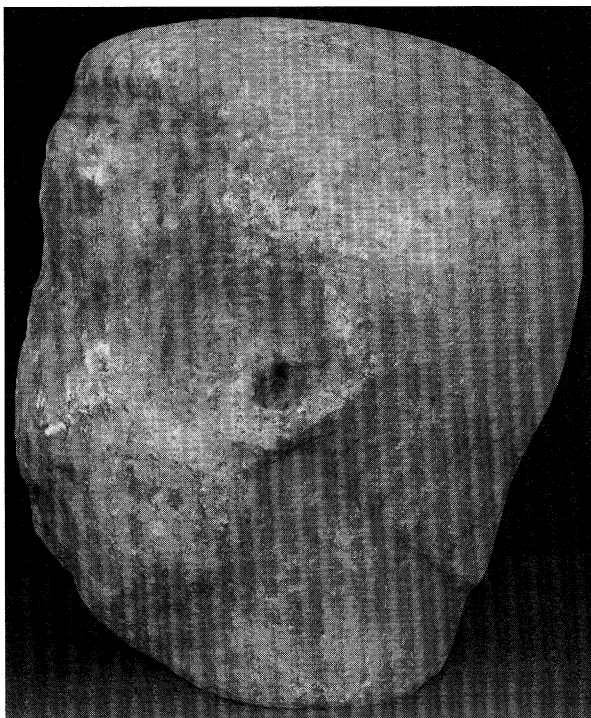
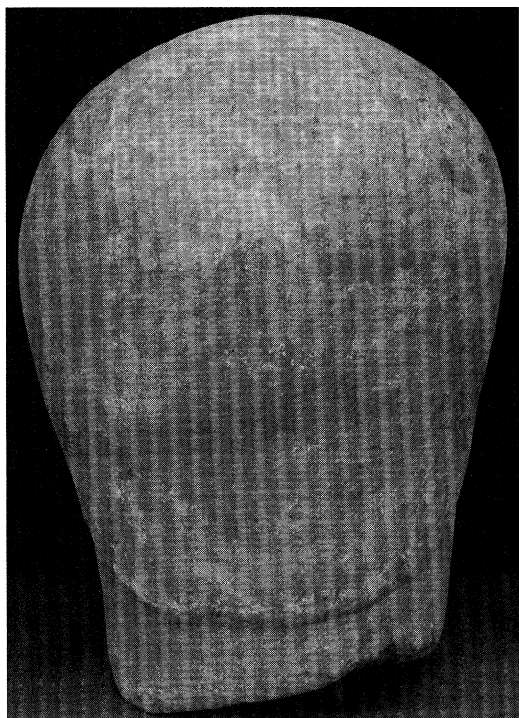
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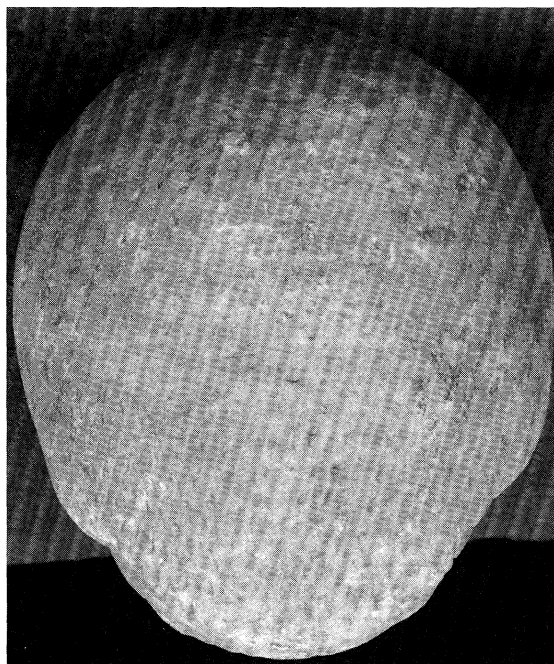
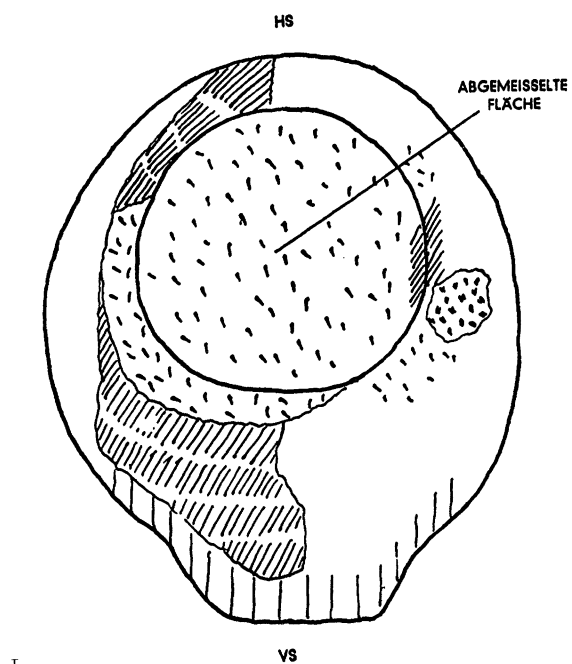
4

1-3. BACK AND PROFILE VIEWS OF HEAD, PL. 1. VIENNA; 4. LICINIUS. AUREUS, A.D. 313, ANTIOCH. RIC 2. BM, LONDON.  
Photos: 1-3. Museum; 4. Hirmer





1-4. MARBLE PORTRAIT HEAD FROM SMYRNA. AGORA DEPOT, IZMIR.  
*Photos: R. R. R. Smith*



I

2



3



4

1-2. VIEWS LOOKING DOWN ON TOPS OF HEADS, FROM ABOVE, (1) VIENNA, (2) IZMIR. (HEADS ORIENTED FACING DOWN PAGE.)

3-4. DETAILS OF HEAD, PL. III. IZMIR.

*Drawing: after W. Oberleitner, op. cit. (n. 17), fig. 146. Photos: R. R. R. Smith*



1. LICINIUS. A.D. 317-18, NICOMEDIA.



2. LICINIUS. A.D. 317-19, ANTIOCH.



3. LICINIUS. A.D. 321-22, NICOMEDIA.



4. LICINIUS. A.D. 321-22, ANTIOCH.



5. LICINIUS II. A.D. 321-22, NICOMEDIA.



6. LICINIUS II. A.D. 321-22, ANTIOCH

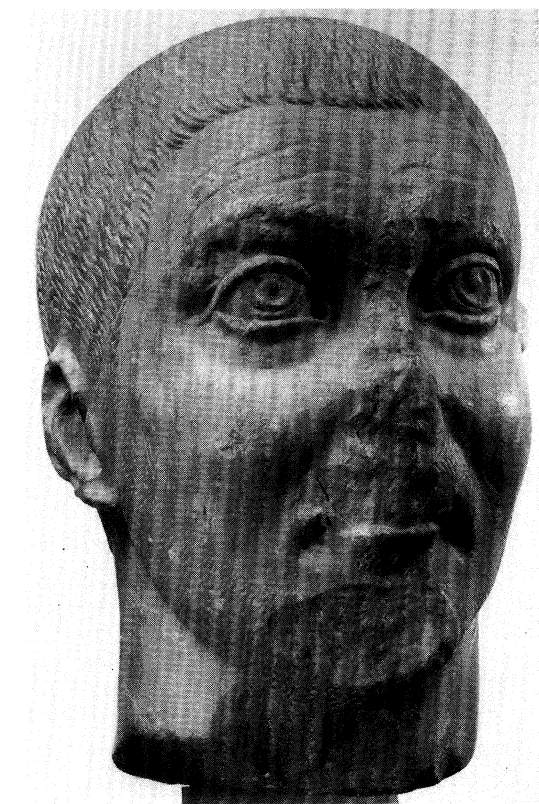
1-6. ALL GOLD AUREI.

(1) RIC 18. MUNICH. (2) RIC 23. ASHMOLEAN, OXFORD. (3) RIC 41. (4) RIC 32. BM, LONDON.

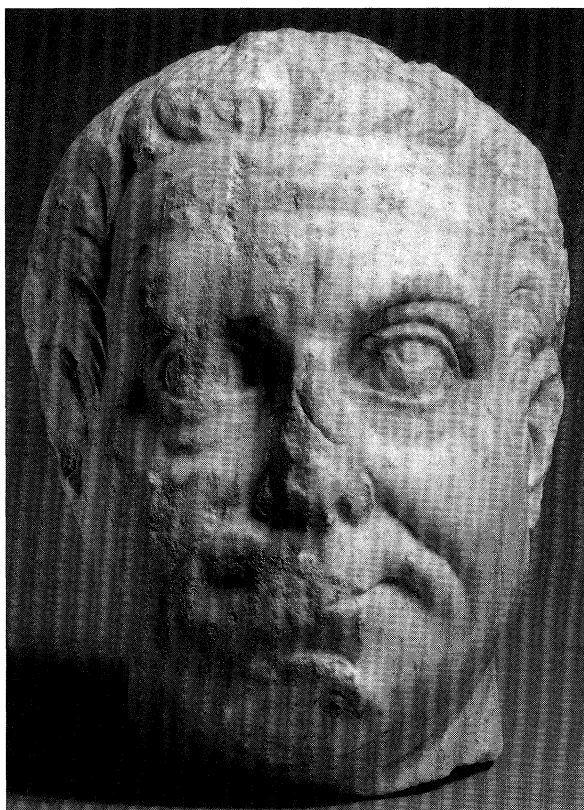
(5) RIC 42. BM, LONDON. (6) RIC 33. MILAN.

Photos: 1. After Garbsch-Overbeck, M87; 2. Museum; 3. Hirmer 622; 4, 5. Museum; 6. Hirmer 623.

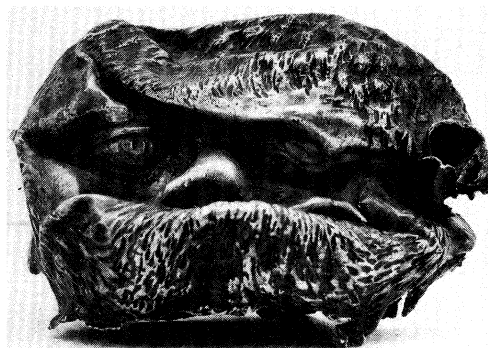




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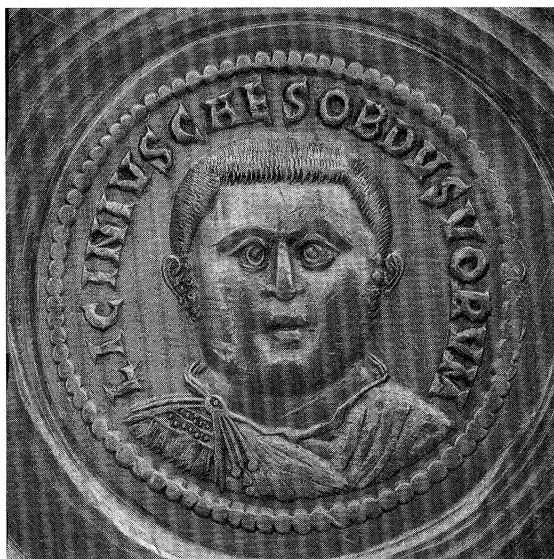
1. MARBLE PORTRAIT HEAD. LEIDEN; 2. MARBLE PORTRAIT HEAD. CANBERRA; 3. CRUSHED SILVER PORTRAIT HEAD. MUNICH;  
4. MARBLE PORTRAIT HEAD. EDINBURGH.

*Photos: 1, 2. Museum; 3. B. Overbeck; 4. D. Willers*





1. LICINIUS. A.D. 321–22, NICOMEDIA.



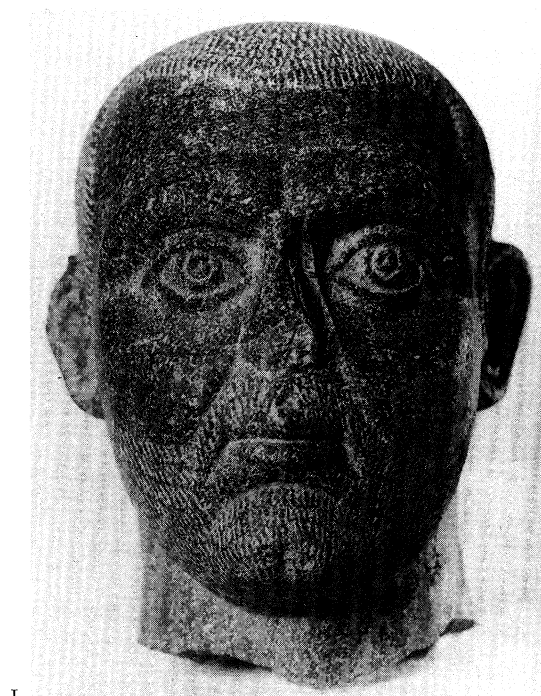
2. LICINIUS II. A.D. 321–22, NICOMEDIA.



3. LICINIUS II. A.D. 321–22, ANTIOCH.

1–3. SILVER MEDALLIONS (DIAM. 3 CM) SET IN SILVER BOWLS. PART OF A HOARD (WITH PL. VI, 3), PROPERTY OF BAYERISCHE HYPOTHEKEN-UND WECHSEL-BANK, MUNICH.

*Photos: after B. Overbeck, op. cit. (n. 117), nos 1–3*



1



2



3



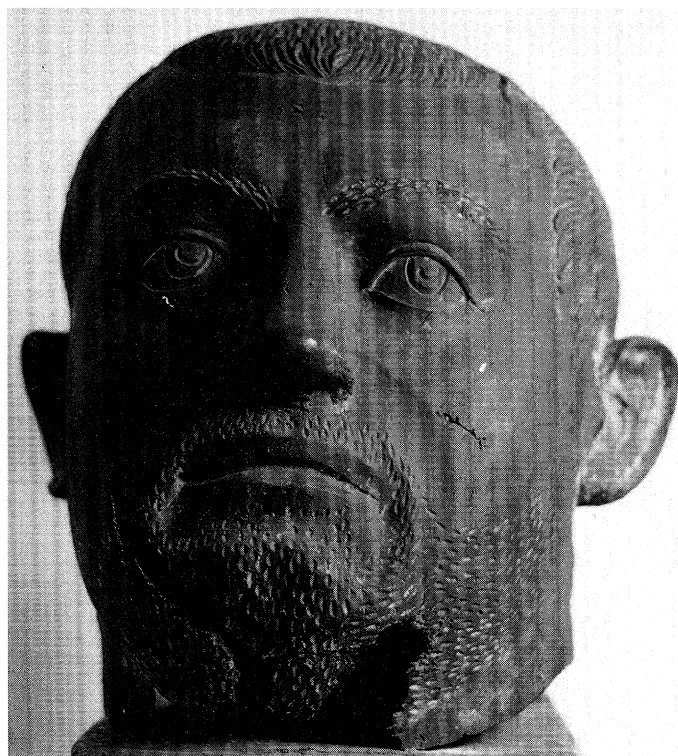
4

1-2. PORPHYRY HEAD OF TETRARCH, FROM ANTIOCH. NOW LOST; 3. PORPHYRY HEAD OF TETRARCH, FROM GAMZIGRAD. ZAJECAR; 4. PORPHYRY BUST OF TETRARCH, FROM ATHRIBIS. CAIRO.

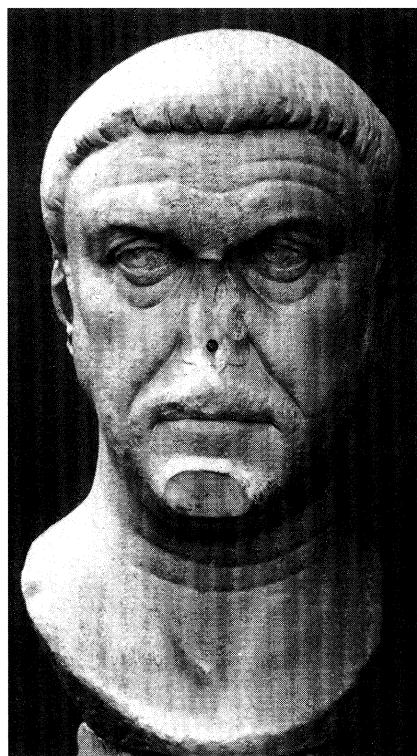
*Photos: 1. DAI Rome; 2. D. Srejić; 3. DAI Cairo*



1. DIOCLETIAN. GOLD MEDALLION, c. A.D. 294, NICOMEDIA. RIC I. BM, LONDON.  
*Photo: Hirmer*

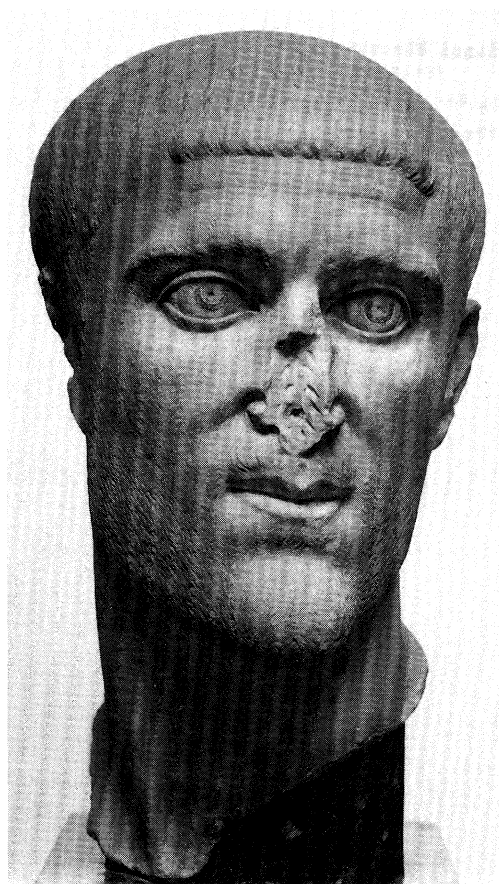
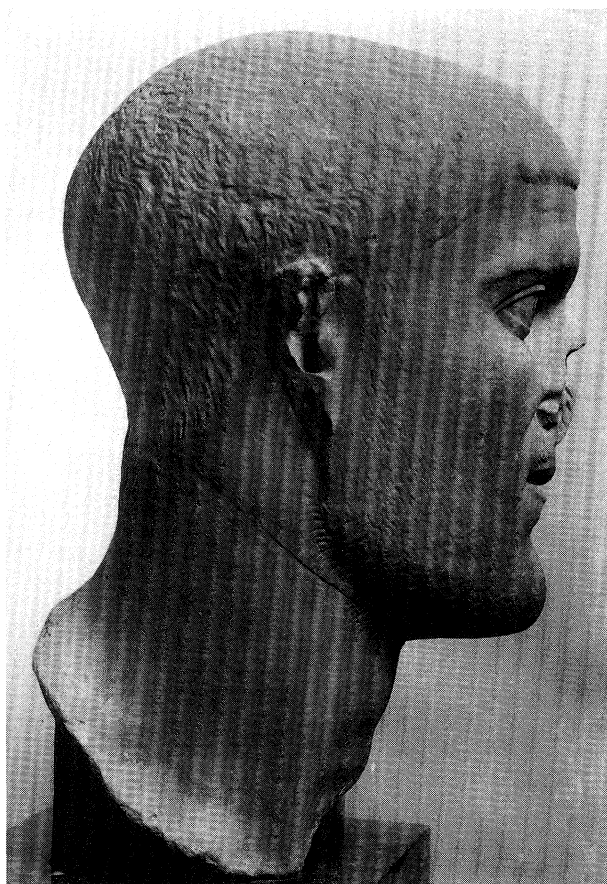


2. BRONZE HEAD OF TETRARCH, FROM ADANA. ISTANBUL.  
*Photo: Ayşe Çalık*



3. MARBLE HEAD OF TETRARCH. MILAN.  
*Photo: DAI Rome*





1-2. MARBLE HEAD OF CONSTANTIUS I. BERLIN.

*Photo: Antiken Sammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz*



3-4. MAXENTIUS. A.D. 308-12, OSTIA. BOTH GOLD AUREI. (3) RIC 5. BM, LONDON; (4) RIC 10.  
*Photos: 1. Museum; 2. Hirmer 615*



1. CONSTANTINE. A.D. 310-13, TRIER.



2. CONSTANTINE. A.D. 316, TICINUM.



3. CONSTANTINE. A.D. 313, TICINUM.



4. DIVVS AVGVSTVS. c. A.D. 25, ROME.



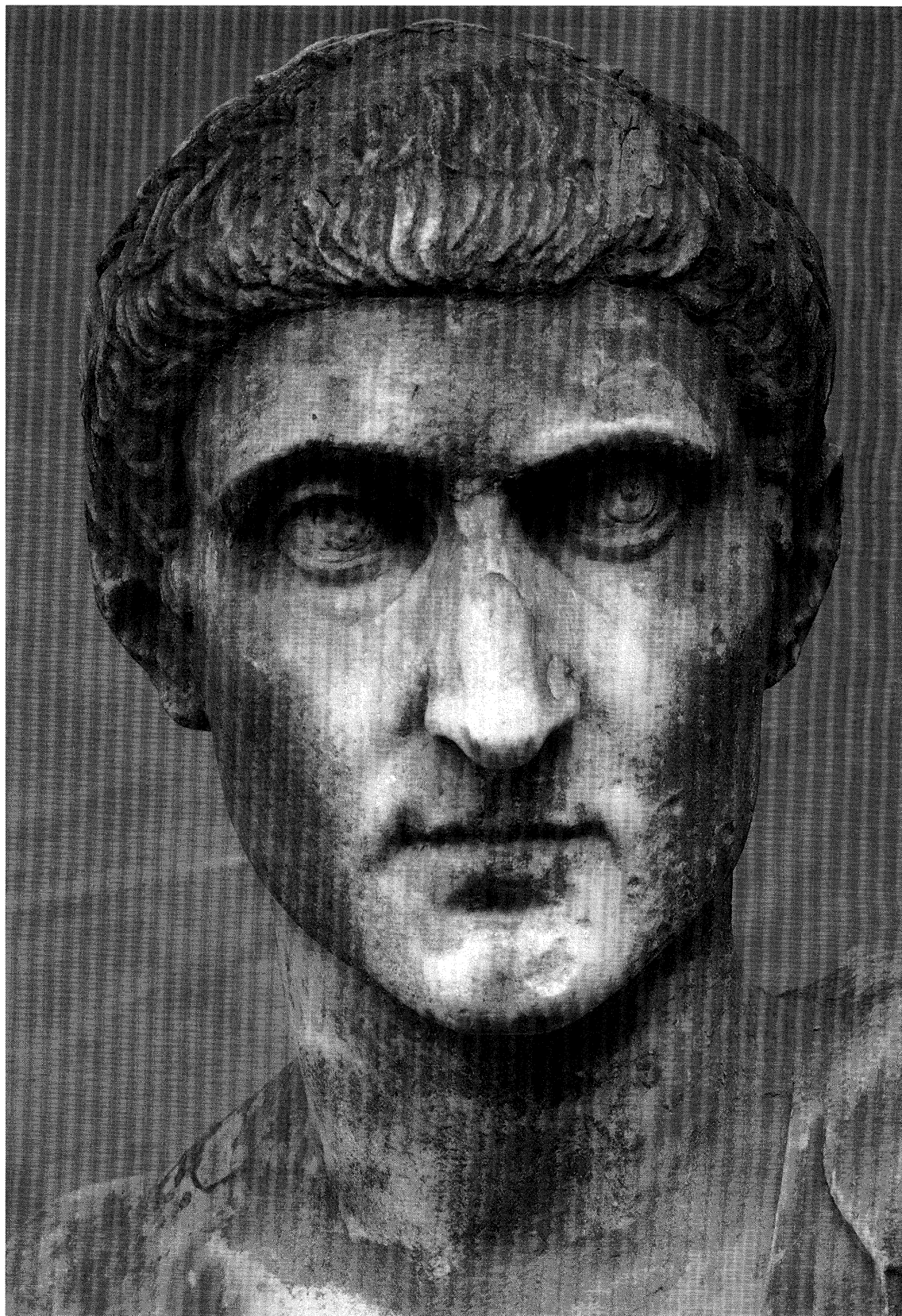
5. CONSTANTINE. A.D. 326-27, SISCIA.



6. CONSTANTINE. A.D. 336-37, CONSTANTINOPLE.

(1) RIC 810. GOLD SOLIDUS. ASHMOLEAN, OXFORD. (2) RIC 41. GOLD SOLIDUS. ASHMOLEAN, OXFORD.  
 (3) GOLD MEDALLION (NINE SOLIDUS PIECE). PARIS. (4) BRASS DUPONDIVS. BERLIN. (5) RIC 206. GOLD  
 ONE-AND-A-HALF SOLIDUS PIECE. BM, LONDON. (6) RIC 108. GOLD SOLIDUS. BM, LONDON.  
 Photos: 1, 2. Museum; 3. Hirmer 629; 4. Hirmer 150; 5. Hirmer 655; 6. Hirmer 653.





MARBLE HEAD OF CONSTANTINE. PALAZZO MATTEI, ROME.  
*Photo: DAI Rome*

only recently come to light.<sup>68</sup> This wide range of reception shows that local sculptors and their municipal employers understood that something new was appropriate for the sculptured representation of a tetrarch but not quite what its 'correct' visual formulation should be.

The porphyry sculptures are the most radical, the most consistent, and probably the most likely to reflect central imperial ideas. The famous relief groups in Venice and the Vatican are important mainly for their visualization of a college of four, the idea of a *multiuugum imperium* ('the yoked team of empire'), and for their representation of the key tetrarchic virtue of *concordia*.<sup>69</sup> They are the distorted subsidiary relief decoration of much larger column monuments and have roughly abbreviated and unsophisticated portrait heads. The most detailed, thoughtful, and carefully formulated versions of the style are the life-size porphyry sculptures in the round from Tekija on the Danube, Antioch in Syria, and Athribis in Egypt (Pl. VIII, 1-2, 4).<sup>70</sup> These random finds of very closely related porphyry tetrarchic portraits in 'imperial' material surely imply centrally organized distribution, as does the distribution of the porphyry relief groups. The Venice group was originally from Constantinople, the Vatican group presumably from Rome, and a fragment of a head from a third such group comes from Naissus (Niš) in the Balkans.<sup>71</sup> The porphyry portraits seem, therefore, to share with the imperial legislation of the period the new desire to reach all the Empire with a strong and distinctive imperial Roman message. The new, strongly 'directed' tetrarchic style and its dissemination can be seen as parallel to other striking novel features of tetrarchic government — such as the enforcement of Roman law over local law, the use of Latin in the administration of the Greek East, and the crusading use of proactive legislation of universal validity.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> For example. (1) Portraits in Side: IR I, nos 63-5. (2) Head in Basel: M. Bergmann in H. Jucker and D. Willers, *Gesichter: Griechische und römische Bildnisse aus Schweizer Besitz* (1982), no. 92; H. A. Cahn, 'Adlernase und Backenbart', in *Kanon: Fest. E. Berger* (1988), 218-21; M. Bergmann in E. Berger (ed.), *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig III: Skulpturen* (1990), 383-401, no. 254. (3) Head in Getty: L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 108, pl. 21c-d. (4) Head in Karlsruhe: K. Fittschen, in IR II, no. 343 (period of Probus); dated correctly in later tetrarchic period by J. Meischner, *AA* (1986), 230-1, fig. 8; Bergmann, *Ludwig III*, 386, n. 3 (there reported now to be in a private collection in Tübingen). Several (all?) of these portraits were recut from older heads, but each attempts to adjust them to a local understanding of tetrarchic style. Cf. M. Weber, 'Ein spätantikes Privatporträt aus Kleinasien', *Ist.Mitt.* 45 (1995), 123-9.

Other imperial heads of this period little affected by the central tetrarchic style, were the result of less thoroughgoing re-workings of earlier, second-century portraits from which the classical reserve still comes through. Two examples. (1) Head wearing *corona civica* from Nicomedia ('Diocletian'): IR I, no. 61; *SuFC* no. 23; Meischner, op. cit. (n. 66), 375-82, figs 1-2 — the handling of the eyes and brow are clearly tetrarchic, but the length and style of the hair at the back and of the thick beard are in my opinion those of an earlier (Antonine?) head. (2) Head wearing *corona civica*, Levy-White collection, New York: M. L. Anderson in D. von Bothmer (ed.), *Glories of the Past: Ancient Art from the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection* (1990), no. 165 — re-worked, surely from a head of Trajan (the beard is engraved into the surface of a previously clean-shaven marble face).

<sup>69</sup> Venice and Vatican relief groups: above n. 51.

*Multiuugum imperium: Pan.Lat.* 6.15.5. *Concordia: esp. Pan.Lat.* 10.11.1-3, 'Your concord has this result . . . you rule the state with one mind . . . governing, so to speak, with right hands clasped'; cf. Nixon-Rodgers, 43.

<sup>70</sup> Cairo, Antioch: above n. 50. Fragment from Tekija, in Belgrade: Bergmann, 166, n. 683 (with earlier lit.), pl. 48.6 — it was clearly part of a fine head in the round closely related to the Cairo head. On the status of the porphyry sculptures within tetrarchic representation and 'their centrally organized production', see esp. Bergmann, 163-8 (phrase quoted from p. 167). Note also (1) a fragment of a porphyry togatus from Edirne (Istanbul: Mendel, 652), a copy of the same type as the enthroned porphyry togatus in Alexandria: Delbrueck, *Porphyrywerke*, 98, fig. 36; and (2) a marble fragment of a relief group in Istanbul of precisely the same type as the porphyry group in Venice: J. Strzykowski, 'Orient oder Rom. Stichprobe: Die Porphyrygruppen von S.Marco in Venedig', *Klio* 2 (1902), 105-24, at 119-20, fig. 8.

<sup>71</sup> A fragment of console and foot that joins the Venice group was excavated in Istanbul: R. Naumann, *Ist.Mitt.* 16 (1966), 209-11, pl. 43.2. For hypothetical reconstruction of the context of the two groups: W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbul* (1977), 267, fig. 302a. For the context of the Vatican groups, near the tops of two porphyry columns: Delbrueck, *Porphyrywerke*, 93, fig. 34. Fragment from Niš: Bergmann, 165, pl. 51.1-2; *SuFC*, 409-10, no. 28.

<sup>72</sup> cf. Corcoran, 207-15, 229-33, 293-7. For a stimulating attempt to relate tetrarchic art, architecture, and government in a general way: H. P. L'Orange, *Art Forms and Civic Life in the Later Roman Empire* (1965).

## IV. IMPERIAL STYLES, A.D. 300–325

This new Diocletianic portrait manner was the backdrop for what followed. The period between 300 and 325 saw an expanded range of imperial portraiture with contrasting personal images and different formal styles ranged side-by-side. It is this kind of situation that poses the greatest trouble for a developmental, incremental model of ancient art. Viewed in formal, art-historical terms, it has been well said of the portraiture of this period that ‘a kind of style-chaos breaks out’.<sup>73</sup> While this is perhaps a fair description of the phenomena, it gives the impression that it was the result of autonomous cultural forces, a kind of formal-stylistic breakdown waiting to happen, something that grew naturally, even predictably out of seeds sown in the third century.<sup>74</sup>

An alternative, more explanatory model would rather re-connect the conflicting image styles to their historical circumstances and the political needs they served. Instead of ‘style-chaos’, one might see ideological selection and dynastic preference. The period should be seen, in my opinion, as one of experimentation with the imperial image, as contenders for power tried out different portrait modes within and beyond tetrarchic norms. There was not one development, zigzagging to different points of the stylistic compass, rather an unsettled variety of choices, innovations, and reactive posturing. We may look at some coins and sculptures of the best documented competitors — that is, those with replicated and securely identified portraits — among which the Vienna-Izmir portrait type may then be situated.

The Diocletianic idea of an appointed board of emperors was not dead until 324 (until when there were always two or more Augusti), and for the portrait image of an aspiring dynast in this period, the Diocletianic style was the natural ‘default setting’. Steadfast tetrarchism into the early 310s is represented, for example, in the coin images of Galerius (died 311) and Maximinus Daia, loyal Galerian to his end in 313.<sup>75</sup>

*Constantius I*

Many tetrarchs, of course, already harboured distinctly non-collegial ambitions, and elements of personal charisma and identity soon crack the collegiate image. The earliest and best documented image that moves outside tetrarchic norms is that of Constantius I ‘Chlorus’, the father of Constantine. On his coins and medallions, he wears a large, curving nose that later becomes a Constantinian dynastic badge.<sup>76</sup> From the coins alone, one could say only that Constantius, like other tetrarchs, retained an element of personal identity within the collective image. There is also, however, a remarkable portrait type of Constantius known in two good marble versions, now in Copenhagen and Berlin (Pl. X, 1–2).<sup>77</sup> The Copenhagen example preserves the nose, and the coins connect with and identify the type without difficulty. Short hair, represented age, and strong gaze are tetrarchic, but the formal manipulation and simplification, especially in the powerful Berlin head (Pl. X, 1–2), are used to shape a quite novel physiognomical style. It combines thrusting energy with a tall, deep-chinned, lean-faced portrait. Full personal identity, vigour, and charisma are back already in a striking physiognomical transformation.

<sup>73</sup> Bergman, *Ludwig III*, op. cit. (n. 68), 390: ‘eine Art Stilchaos’; also Harrison, op. cit. (n. 65), 81: ‘The scene that we have to survey is a restless one’.

<sup>74</sup> B. Andree, *The Art of Rome* (1977), 328: ‘the logical consequences (sc. of the tetrarchic style) were carried so far that the vital thread of the development finally snapped’.

<sup>75</sup> Galerius: *DOP*, nos 23–7, and below nn. 131–2. Maximinus: *DOP*, nos 28–33; Kent-Hirmer, nos 605–6 (generally beardless). Note also coin image of Severus (reigned 305–307): Kent-Hirmer, nos 602–4.

<sup>76</sup> Constantius’ coin portraits: Kent-Hirmer, nos

583 and 585. Constantine’s curved nose is explicitly noted in the Anonymous Byzantine *Life of Constantine* (*BHG* 364), Sect. 8 = S. N. C. Lieu and D. Montserrat, *From Constantine to Julian: Pagan and Byzantine Views. A Source History* (1996), 115; Calza, 34, A2.

<sup>77</sup> Copenhagen: Poulsen, op. cit. (n. 48), 189, no. 179, pls 320–1. Berlin: C. Blümel, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Katalog der Sammlung antiken Skulpturen VI: Römische Bildnisse* (1933), 50, R 121, pls 78–9. On the type: Bergmann, 144–7, pls 41.5–6, 42.4–5; L’Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 30, 110, pls 24–5.



The coins identify the marbles as Constantius, but they carry no hint of the radical novelty of the type seen in the portraits in the round. If contemporary (before 306), the sculptured type is precocious; and so it may be. But it is also possible that it belongs a little later, that it is part of Constantine's politics. In other words, this may be a later restyling of his father's image by the master image-manipulator of the period, bringing out chosen dynastic traits, long curved nose and long lean face. It could be read then as an older dynamic version of what becomes Constantine's preferred image. And indeed it is perhaps worth noting that the type was for long taken as a portrait of Constantine himself.<sup>78</sup>

### *Maxentius*

In the younger generation in this period stood Maxentius and the young Constantine. On his coins Maxentius in his mid-twenties appears as a faithful, mature-looking tetrarch in the manner of his father Maximian. One of his mints (at Ostia) experimented with a striking frontal coin portrait, in one type with a schematic, lean, triangular face, in another with a more rounded oval face (Pl. X, 3–4).<sup>79</sup> His regular profile issues meanwhile defined a sharply individual portrait profile, which, together with the oval frontal portrait, allow firm identification of a powerful portrait type in the round, known in two large and impressive copies in Dresden and Stockholm, both with the new intense, staring eyes.<sup>80</sup> Again the sculptured versions present a more carefully formulated image that negotiates successfully between a lower represented age and the Diocletianic norm: this is a less aged, more vigorous tetrarchism.

### *Constantine*

Constantine too came to power in 306 as a relative youth — in his mid-20s or early 30s (his birth-date is not precisely known).<sup>81</sup> The evolution of his imperial style over his thirty-year reign is a rewarding subject of study. One of his first image types put out on coins at Rome soon after his seizure of power in 306 is simply that of an old tetrarch — square head, short-cropped hair, beard.<sup>82</sup> This was a typical 'default setting' portrait, with the nose of his father Constantius added. At the mint of Trier, however, which was under his direct control, Constantine seems from the beginning also to have been issuing a very different portrait. It usually has short-cropped hair, sometimes has a light stubble beard, sometimes is clean-shaven (which reveals some uncertainty in the mint).<sup>83</sup> And it is generally boyish in appearance, which reveals its derivation from the standard third-century portrait types of boy Caesars.<sup>84</sup>

This portrait soon assumes on coins from the early 310s onwards a definitive form — a revised and more carefully formulated image with a taller, more thin-faced profile, a clean-shaven, youthful, handsome face, and a distinctive hairstyle grown into

<sup>78</sup> So still, for example, by Poulsen, *op. cit.* (n. 48). Other receptions of the extraordinary manner of Constantius I's image in imperial portraits include the following. (1) The two elder recut heads in the tondi of the Arch of Constantine in Rome (context shows this must be Divus Constantius, not Licinius) — they have the curved nose but not the long lean face: R. Calza, 'Un problema di iconografia imperiale sull'arco di Costantino', *Rend. Pont. Accad. ser. 3*, 32 (1959–60), 133–61; L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 40–9, pls 28–9, defends his old identification as Licinius without success. (2) Head in Karlsruhe: IR II, no. 343 and above n. 68 — exaggerated lean face and slightly curved nose suggest perhaps a provincial version of Constantius' portrait. For examples of 'private' reception, in non-imperial portrait representation, see (1) portrait stele in Cyrene: E. Rosenbaum, *A Catalogue of Cyrenaican Portrait Sculpture* (1960), 122, no. 281, pl. 100.1; (2) the remarkable, expressionist portrait herm of one Asklepiades in the Capitoline: G. M. A. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks* (1965), III, 288–9, fig. 2055.

<sup>79</sup> *RIC VI Ostia* 3; Alföldi, 53–6, pl. 2.36–9; Kent-Hirmer, no. 615.

<sup>80</sup> Coin profiles: Kent-Hirmer, nos 612–16, L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, pl. 66f–g. Dresden and Stockholm heads: Bergmann, 142–3 (with full refs n. 564), pls 44.3, 45.1 (both); *SuFC*, no. 35 (Stockholm); L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 35, pl. 27a–d (both).

<sup>81</sup> Outside dates: c. 272–283. T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (1982), 39, for an early date of c. 272/3. Most recently for a later date: Nixon-Rodgers, 195, n. 10, with full lit.

<sup>82</sup> *RIC VI Rome* 141, pl. 6; Kent-Hirmer, no. 611.

<sup>83</sup> D. H. Wright, 'The true face of Constantine the Great', *DOP* 41 (1987), 493–507, at 494–6, figs 6–7, for rare gold of Trier, 306. Rare silver of 306 from Trier has beginnings of a different hairstyle (brushed forward and longer): *RIC VI Trier* 636; Wright, *ibid.*, fig. 8; L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, pl. 67a.

<sup>84</sup> See above n. 48. Cf. Wright, *op. cit.* (n. 83), 494.

an arched fringe brushed forward onto the brow (Pl. XI, 1).<sup>85</sup> This hairstyle and the long slender face can be best assessed on frontal coin portraits of 316 and on the famous medallion of 313 that features the emperor in a double profile portrait with Sol (Pl. XI, 2–3).<sup>86</sup> The image, like contemporary sources, emphasizes the youth and handsome features of the young emperor, and in form and surely meaning it was modelled on the tall, lean-faced, and youthful-looking portraits of Augustus (Pl. XI, 4).<sup>87</sup> The designers seem to have looked especially to the later versions of Augustus' main type, that we know best from late Augustan and Tiberian cameos and coins.<sup>88</sup> These images have a tall profile with lightly curved nose and a distanced air of ageless majesty that were skilfully adapted for Constantine by his designers. They achieve the same sleight of hand or visual paradox in the representation of the emperor's age — that is, a covert ideal vocabulary represents both Augustus and Constantine with a mature youthfulness. This is the image of an Apolline princeps that rejects the aggressive paternal militarism of third-century and tetrarchic portraits and reintroduces the idea of the emperor as a clean-shaven civilian. Early in his constitutionally anomalous reign Maxentius had experimented with the title of princeps,<sup>89</sup> but only Constantine thought to capitalize on rather than to deny his real youth and handsome appearance by moulding his public image in the likeness of the first princeps.<sup>90</sup>

It is to this basic type that most of Constantine's sculptured portraits look (Pl. XII). There are more than a dozen versions surviving, and they embody a variety of receptions and variations of the new clean-shaven image.<sup>91</sup> They are mostly rather plain, bland, and physiognomically formless ('ideal'), as so often Augustus' sculptured portraits had been. In this they are close to the well defined coin portraits, both the large medallions and the fine frontal coin portraits of the 310s (Pl. XI, 2–3).<sup>92</sup> A typical example is illustrated here, a large head in the Palazzo Mattei in Rome (Pl. XII),<sup>93</sup> rather than the best known portrait of Constantine, the Capitoline colossus from the Basilica Nova, which is highly unusual both for Constantine and for colossal portraits in general in having a very pronounced physiognomical handling of the main features.<sup>94</sup>

The date and political context of the final definition of this portrait type are clear — it coincides with the official celebration of Constantine's first five-years of rule (quinquennalia) in 311, that is, soon after the reorganization of his ideological base

<sup>85</sup> Wright, op. cit. (n. 83), 496, figs 10, 12, 13; L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, pl. 67 b, c, e.

<sup>86</sup> Frontal nimbate bust, 316 (here Pl. XI, 2): *RIC* VII Ticinum 41, pl. 9; Alföldi, figs 65–8. Medallion with Sol, 313 (here Pl. XI, 3): Kent-Hirmer, no. 629. Note also the helmeted frontal coin portrait with christogram, 315: *RIC* VII Ticinum 36; Kent-Hirmer, no. 648.

<sup>87</sup> Kent-Hirmer, no. 150.

<sup>88</sup> For example, Gemma Augustea and Blacas cameo: W.-R. Megow, *Kameen von Augustus bis Alexander Severus* (1987), 155, A 10 and 166, A 18, pls 5.6–7 and 8.6. Tiberian coins: n. 87 and Pl. XI, 4.

<sup>89</sup> MAXENTIUS PRINC INVICT: *RIC* VI, 695. M. Cullhed, *Conservator Urbis Suae: Studies in the Politics and Propaganda of the Emperor Maxentius* (1994), 32–44.

<sup>90</sup> Alföldi, 57–69, 'Das trajanische Bild Constantins', followed for example by P. Zanker (FZ I, no. 122), argued for a specific assimilation to Trajan, supported by literary texts. Earlier scholars, for example, Delbrueck, *Kaiserporträts*, 12 (cf. Von Sydow 45–9, with further references), had seen both Augustan and Trajanic elements. Wright, op. cit. (n. 83), based on the coins, rightly sees a more specific resonance of Augustus' portraits. Their images are closely connected in their handling of a tall, youthful, handsome profile. Trajan's portraits have the same hairstyle, brushed lank onto the brow, and are clean-shaven, but they have a markedly squat, short profile and emphatically lined features of mature age. The key elements shared by the images of Constantine and Augustus were youth and beauty, whose visual lan-

guage in antiquity was that of classical form. 'Constantinian classicism' was thus less a period style than a visual means specific to the projection of a majestic youth by Constantine and his successors.

For a large head of Constantine, found recently at Bolsena, probably worked out of an earlier Augustus portrait: A. Giuliano, 'Augustus-Constantinus', *Boll.d.Arte* 76 (1991), nos 68–9, 3–10.

<sup>91</sup> L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 54–7; and esp. P. Zanker in FZ I, no. 122, with list of portraits.

<sup>92</sup> Above n. 86.

<sup>93</sup> Set on a statue that does not belong. H: 38 cm. Calza, no. 140; F. Carinci, *Sculture di Palazzo Mattei*, *Stud.Misc.* 20 (1972), 32, pl. 40a–c; idem in L. Guerini (ed.), *Palazzo Mattei di Giove: Le Antichità* (1982), 147–8, no. 21, pl. 42; L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 55–6, 126–7, pl. 39a–b; Zanker, FZ I, 150, no. 6; C. Evers, 'Remarques sur l'iconographie de Constantin', *MEFRA* 103 (1991), 785–806, at 799.

<sup>94</sup> P. Zanker, FZ I, no. 122. The head has a huge hooked nose, jutting dimpled chin, and square jawline. The combination of physiognomical particularity and truly colossal scale (H: 2.97 m; H, chin to crown: 1.74 m) is most unusual and gives this monument its extraordinary and memorable effect. Zanker takes it as the best of the copies. The head probably re-uses an earlier colossal image (so Zanker, but surely not yet, in the early fourth century, that of a divinity). Evers, op. cit. (n. 93), 794–9, on the basis of the forward-curved locks over the temples, sees re-use from a head of Hadrian; but some early coins of Constantine (Wright, above n. 83 and here Pl. XI, 1) show such curls.

following the defeat and death of Maximian in 310. This reorganization involved the fictitious adoption of Claudius Gothicus as an imperial ancestor and the adoption of Sol-Apollo as the dynasty's protector deity.<sup>95</sup> A key text for these ideological manoeuvres is the Latin Panegyric of 310, delivered after the celebrated visit to a temple of Apollo in Gaul.<sup>96</sup> There, says the orator, Constantine saw Apollo offering him laurels, and the emperor 'recognized himself in the form of that ruler to whom rule of the entire world (*totius mundi regna*) was prophesied by the divine songs of the poets of old (*vatum carmina divina*)' (*Pan.Lat.* 6.21.4–6). It has been attractively argued that the world ruler alluded to through deliberate echoes of Vergil is Augustus.<sup>97</sup> Constantine thus sees himself in the visible form of the first princeps. Like this world-ruler, Constantine is said to be *iuvēnis*, *laetus*, *salutifer*, *pulcherrimus* ('youthful, joyful, bringer of well-being, most handsome', *Pan.Lat.* 6.21.6). Whether explicit in this cryptic passage or widely recognized, the Augustan reference is clear in the visual resonance of the new portrait image itself. It would usefully evoke many of the associations attested as part of the contemporary political agenda: renewal, regeneration, tranquility, and peace. The emperor is *fundator quietis*, the result is *lux perpetua* and *beata tranquillitas*.<sup>98</sup> Such ideas were common stock in the period but only Constantine expresses them in his images and physiognomical style.

Constantine's two later portrait types need not detain us long. After 325 and the vicennalia came a bold experiment with a diademed royal style and upturned energetic head clearly modelled on that of Hellenistic kings (Pl. XI, 5).<sup>99</sup> It was clearly this coin type that was commented on in a famous passage of Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* and so wilfully misinterpreted there as having a Christian meaning.<sup>100</sup> This 'royal' image was treated with considerable variety on the coinage through the later 320s. At the same time (from c. 326) a new type appeared that eventually prevailed in the 330s and that came ultimately to dominate as the basic imperial portrait manner for two or three centuries (Pl. XI, 6).<sup>101</sup> This last type returns to a placid Augustan tranquillity but retains the diadem and now has a richer treatment of the fringed hair and a more imposing sense of majesty. This image defined at one stroke the *sacer vultus* of the late Roman emperor.

#### V. THE PORTRAITS OF LICINIUS I AND II

It is in this area of experimentation with the tetrarchic image in the early fourth century that the emperor of the Vienna-Izmir portrait type should in my opinion be located. He belongs among the competing enemies and contemporaries of Constantine. This context we have seen is indicated by the unusual combination of elements typical of the tetrarchic aftermath: wide-eyed gaze, sharply individuated features, exaggerated vigour. As a carefully replicated image there should be some echoes or reflections of it in the imperial coinage whose mints regularly employed the same models as those made available to the sculpture workshops. An identification can be argued partly on its own

<sup>95</sup> Barnes, 35–7; T. Grünewald, *Constantinus Maximus Augustus: Herrschaftspropaganda in der zeitgenössischen Überlieferung* (1990), 46–61.

<sup>96</sup> Detailed commentaries: B. Müller-Rettig, *Der Panegyricus des Jahres 310 auf Konstantin den Grossen* (1990); Nixon-Rodgers, 211–17.

<sup>97</sup> B. S. Rodgers, 'Constantine's pagan vision', *Byzantion* 50 (1980), 259–78; cf. Müller-Rettig, op. cit. (n. 96), 280–6, 330–8; Grünewald, op. cit. (n. 95), 50–4. Useful commentary in Nixon-Rodgers, 248–51, nn. 91–3.

<sup>98</sup> 'Fundator quietis, pacis': *ILS* 694.3 (Arch of Constantine); *RIC* VII, 738. 'Lux perpetua': *Pan.Lat.* 8.4.3. 'Beata tranquillitas': *RIC* VII, 729.

<sup>99</sup> Delbrueck, *Kaiserporträts*, 74–5, pl. 2.21–4, pl. 3.25–33 (upward-staring, with various diadem

forms); *DOP*, nos 54–6 (Nicomedia, 325–6, with plain diadem); Alföldi, 93–4, figs 164–76 (earliest upward-staring, 325, with plain diadem), figs 187–206 (326, varied diadem forms); Kent-Hirmer, no. 655 (327).

<sup>100</sup> Eusebius, *V.Const.* 4.15. On these coins, A. Alföldi, *JRS* 22 (1932), 17 — 'His whole being . . . flooded with religious enthusiasm' (cited approvingly by L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 53) — hits the wrong note. One might better say the image is flooded with something like royal charisma. Cf. Delbrueck, *Kaiserporträts*, 59; W. E. Metcalf, *Age of Spirituality*, on no. 34.

<sup>101</sup> Delbrueck, *Kaiserporträts*, 76–7, pl. 4.41–7; Alföldi, figs 220–3, 230, 234; Kent-Hirmer, nos 653, 657; *Age of Spirituality*, nos 35, 37.

typological merits, that is, as a version of a type also known on coins, and partly on its unusual physiognomical ideology, attested visually for only one emperor in this period.

The coin profiles of Licinius have a heavy-faced, bearded image, with most of the emphasis thrown on the facial features: it is a Diocletianic image but with an individualizing portrait (Pls II, 4 and V, 1–2).<sup>102</sup> The coins vary in their formulation of the physiognomy between different issues and mints, even those under Licinius' direct control, and although the more heavily-jowled profiles (seen best in coins of the Antioch mint, Pls II, 4 and V, 2)<sup>103</sup> share elements with the sculptured type, these coins are perhaps not sufficiently consistent or 'stable' on their own to identify the Vienna-Izmir portrait. But they are not all. Both Maxentius (at the mint of Ostia, Pl. X, 3–4) and Constantine (at the mint of Ticinum, Pl. XI, 2) had experimented with thin-faced frontal portrait heads on their coins; and Licinius a little later (321–2) put out an astonishing series of frontal portraits at two of his main mints, Nicomedia and Antioch (Pl. V, 3–4).<sup>104</sup> They make clear that the defining physiognomical characteristic he chose to emphasize was extreme corpulence. We see an older portrait with large, closely-set, staring round eyes, jowly fat round face, light under-chin beard with light moustache, and a short tetrarchic hair-crop with a right-angled turn in the hairline over the temples. The portraits from the mint at Nicomedia (Pl. V, 3) tend to be more organic in composition with a longer face more like the Vienna head; those of the Antioch mint (Pl. V, 4) tend to have a squatter round face and a more schematic handling.

A precise typological connection cannot perhaps be pressed, because there are some features missing from the coins that were clearly part of the model followed by the Vienna and Izmir heads, most notably the smile — unless it was considered unwise to attempt such a sophisticated expressive feature on the small coin field, where the result might too easily have been caricature.<sup>105</sup> The general resemblance of the fat-faced elderly ruler of the frontal coins to the leading features and physiognomical concerns of the Vienna head are, however, obvious. They are probably close enough that we can say the die engravers and the designer of the Vienna-Izmir portrait type were at least aware of a common central image of Licinius.

Valerius Licinianus Licinius was an old comrade-in-arms of Galerius of the hardy military northern sort — from Dacia Nova and said to be *in bello strenuus*.<sup>106</sup> He had campaigned with Galerius against the Persians in the 290s and was promoted to Augustus on Galerius' initiative at the summit meeting with the retired Diocletian at Carnuntum in 308. In 313 he eliminated the Augustus of the East, Maximinus Daia, in battle. He was then sole ruler of the East for the eleven years between 313 and 324, during which time Ephesus and Smyrna, where the two colossal portraits in question were set up, were two of the principal cities of his empire. He married Constantine's daughter (Constantia) at Milan in 313, by whom he had a son and heir, Licinius II, promoted to Caesar in 317, the year of his father's decennalia, and the same year that Crispus and Constantine II, Constantine's sons, were also promoted to Caesar. Licinius II's quinquennalia was celebrated in 321 (as were those of Constantine's sons) with fanfare, and as we will see the occasion generated a considerable fallout in the archaeological record. Licinius was defeated in battle by Constantine at Chrysopolis in 324, banished to Thessalonica, and executed early in 325. His memory was damned, his

<sup>102</sup> *RIC* VII Siscia 18, 20 (pl. 12), Serdica 3, Thessalonica 5 (pl. 15), Heraclea 4, 6, 9, 12, 13, 15 (pl. 17), Nicomedia 2, 10, 11, 18, 20 (pl. 20); L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, pl. 68 d, e, f (Nicomedia, Serdica); Garbsch-Overbeck, 91, 93, M 87 (Nicomedia) and M 48–56 (bronzes).

<sup>103</sup> *RIC* VII Antioch 2, 3, 20 (pl. 23); Garbsch-Overbeck, 17, 97, M 113; Kent-Hirmer, no. 622.

<sup>104</sup> *RIC* VII Antioch 32 (pl. 23), Nicomedia 41 (no illus.); Kent-Hirmer, no. 622 (Nicomedia).

<sup>105</sup> Compare the caricatured smile on some of the

coins of M. Antony in the 30s B.C.: M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (1974), 541–5, pl. 64.9–15; Kent-Hirmer, nos 103, 110–11; M.-L. Vollenweider, *Die Porträtgemmen der römischen Republik* (1972), pls 134–9, illustrates a good range of dies.

<sup>106</sup> *PRLE* I, 509 Licinius 3; Barnes, 32–41, 62–77; T. D. Barnes, *New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (1982), 6–7, 43–4, 80–2; D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle* (1990), 290–3, with lit. 'In bello strenuus laboribus et officiis acceptus': Eutropius, *Breviarium* 10.4.1.

name erased from documents, and his images thrown down.<sup>107</sup> The heads of his statues would have been recarved or replaced.

Licinius' character is little commented on. There are the usual hostile remarks about rustic ignorance and tyrannical insanity after his defeat by Constantine.<sup>108</sup> He was said to be frugal and, like all good rulers of the time, attached to old Roman tradition, and he is noted in several sources for being or appearing decidedly aged. Already in 308 Galerius tells Maximinus Daia to show respect for Licinius' old age and grey hair.<sup>109</sup> He is said to have 'infused new life into the cities', and something of his legislation, typical for its time, can be pieced together.<sup>110</sup> An imperial letter, preserved on bronze (the Brigetio tablet), shows, for example, traditional concern and care for his soldiers.<sup>111</sup>

The Vienna-Izmir portrait can be identified as Licinius with some confidence. (1) He is the only dynast to make a personal ideology out of his corpulence — something obvious when his frontal coins (Pl. V, 3–4) are set beside the lean-faced frontal coin portraits of Maxentius and Constantine (Pls X, 3–4 and XI, 2). (2) The sculptured portrait type shares enough elements with both the frontal and the profile coins (Pls II, 4 and V, 1–2) to see they are aware of a common court image of the emperor. And (3) he is the only major dynast left in this period. We have looked already at the quite distinct images of most of his major contemporaries and competitors.<sup>112</sup> Alone this identification might be resisted, but there is further material that puts the Vienna and Izmir heads in a wider context, and shows that the subject of this portrait type was important enough to leave, in spite of a condemned memory, a considerable and varied archaeological trail.

Most important is a portrait head from Asia Minor now in Leiden, with fat face, stubbled beard, short-cropped hair, and bulging round eyes (Pl. VI, 1).<sup>113</sup> It has usually been dated correctly in the tetrarchic period, although Fittschen briefly proposed that it should be placed in the fifth century with the Vienna head.<sup>114</sup> And indeed they clearly belong together. Two details show that the Leiden head depends ultimately on the same portrait type as the Vienna head. First, it has the same unusual vertical line dividing the forehead muscles between the eyebrows, only more crudely executed than on the Vienna head. Second and more striking, it has an exaggerated and clumsily handled representation of an upturned smiling mouth — a highly unusual feature in imperial portraits, found in this emphatic form only on the Vienna-Izmir type. The Vienna and Izmir heads can be seen as sophisticated and detailed statements of Licinius' imperial style, made by an imperial workshop, the Leiden head (it is only life-size) as a simplified version from a local workshop.

Another head that belongs in precisely this context has appeared recently on the art market and was bought by the Museum at the Australian National University in

<sup>107</sup> R. Andreotti, 'Licinius (Valerius Licinianus)', in E. Ruggiero (ed.), *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane* IV (1959), 979–1041, at 1030, for erased inscriptions. Eusebius, *HE* 10.9.5, on the throwing down of his images; cf. *HE* 9.11.2, in more detail on the throwing down and defacing of (Maximinus') portraits and statues.

<sup>108</sup> Especially, Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus* 41.3–5; 'Aurelius Victor', *Epitome de Caesaribus* 41.8; Anonymus Valesianus 5.13; and the tirade in Eusebius, *HE* 10.8–9. R. Andreotti, 'L'imperatore Licinius nella tradizione storiografica latina', *Hommages à L. Herrmann* (1960), 105–17.

<sup>109</sup> Grey hairs: Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* (hereafter *DMP*, edited and translated by J. L. Creed, 1984), 32.2. He is 'aged about sixty' (in 325) in 'Aurelius Victor', *Epitome de Caesaribus* 41.8, and *eschatogērōs* ('vieillard décrépit', trans. G. Bardy; 'besotted old dotard', trans. G. A. Williamson) in Eusebius, *HE* 10.8.13.

<sup>110</sup> 'Infused new life': Libanius, *Or.* 30.6 (trans. A. F. Norman, Loeb). Legislation: S. J. J. Corcoran, 'Hidden from history: the legislation of Licinius', in J. Harries and I. Wood (eds), *The Theodosian Code:*

*Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity* (1993), 97–119 (modified version in Corcoran, 274–92).

<sup>111</sup> Riccobono, op. cit. (n. 62), I, no. 93; Corcoran, 145–8, no. 53.

<sup>112</sup> Constantius, Galerius, Severus, Maximinus Daia, Maxentius, and Constantine: above Section iv. The replicated sculptured portrait types of Constantius (Berlin, Copenhagen: n. 77) and Maxentius (Dresden, Stockholm: n. 80) are identified by a typological connection to the variable coin images of these rulers that is very similar in kind and degree to that proposed between the Vienna-Izmir type and the coin images of Licinius.

<sup>113</sup> Leiden Inv. I 1961/3. From the art market in Geneva. Supposedly found at Istanbul. H: 28 cm. J. W. Salomonson, 'Ein Porträtkopf der Tetrarchenzeit in Leiden', *BABesch* 39 (1964), 180–4, figs 1–4; Von Sydow, 114–19, pl. 17; Bergmann, 161–3; IR II, no. 309; F. Bastet and H. Brunsting, *Corpus Signorum Classicorum: Catalogus van het klassieke Beeldhouwwerke in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* (1982), 214–15, no. 397, pl. 118.

<sup>114</sup> K. Fittschen, *GGA* 225 (1973), 53, and *GGA* 236 (1984), 208–9, on no. 309.

Canberra (Pl. VI, 2).<sup>115</sup> It shares with the Vienna head the heavy fat round face, tall furrowed forehead with central vertical line, hair cut square across the forehead, with the locks turned in at the sides (though not forming an axial arrangement), enlarged eyes (it has the similar wide-diameter iris, but different U-shaped pupil markings), upward flaring eyebrows, sagging pouches under the eyes, pronounced wide-splayed nasolabial folds, and a carefully modelled version of the same thin-lipped upturned smiling mouth with deeply modelled folds of flesh at the corners. The head is clearly a version of the same portrait type, modelled with a more naturalistic 'classical' vocabulary that tones down some of the strong normative exaggerations seen in the Vienna head. The sophisticated reproduction of the precise form of the thin-lipped smiling mouth would be enough on its own to demonstrate that the Canberra head depends on the same model as the Vienna and Izmir heads. It came doubtless from Asia Minor.

Licinius' young son, Licinius II, as noted above, was born in 315, was Caesar in 317, and celebrated his quinquennalia in 321. The coin types and medallions of both father and son issued for this occasion show how the corpulent physiognomy was presented as a defining dynastic style. Licinius II (aged six to seven) is presented on fine frontal coin portraits, minted at Nicomedia and Antioch in parallel with those of his father, as a plump-cheeked, round-faced boy in an obvious junior version of his father's image (Pl. V, 5–6).<sup>116</sup>

The boy's five-year celebration also generated a series of silver presentation (*largitio*) bowls of which a group recently on the market are now owned by the Hypobank in Munich (Pl. VII).<sup>117</sup> Three of the bowls are decorated with very fine silver portrait medallions, two of the young son and one of the elderly father. One of the medallions of the boy was minted at Antioch (Pl. VII, 3),<sup>118</sup> and like the frontal gold coins of this mint, it has a squatter, spherical head, wider staring eyes, narrower nose, and more linear, synthetic handling. His other medallion, minted at Nicomedia (Pl. VII, 2),<sup>119</sup> has a longer, though still plump face and slightly less emphatic eyes set very close together. Like the gold coins of Nicomedia, this medallion has a softer handling and more natural formations of the nose and ears, with light curly sideburns on the cheeks. The Antioch medallion (Pl. VII, 3) has no sideburns and attaches the ears to the side of the head in a highly artificial manner.

The silver medallion of Licinius himself, set in the third of the Munich bowls, was minted at Nicomedia (Pl. VII, 1).<sup>120</sup> It is a numismatic masterpiece, with a much crisper, more controlled, plastic rendering of the great jowled face, which on the gold coins of the Nicomedia mint tends to become rather formless (Pl. V, 3). It has a lot of features in common with the Vienna portrait. Thick muscled neck, square-cut angled fringe with cropped hair brushed forward, lined brow, arched eyebrows and exaggerated round staring eyes, long thin-bridged nose, and heavy puffy cheeks and double chin. The medallion treats the beard differently — as a kind of underchin ruff, slung from ear to ear — and still makes no attempt at the smile.

<sup>115</sup> Marble head broken off through neck: H: 22.9 cm. No reported provenance. *Sotheby's Antiquities*, 18 May 1987, no. 206, there described as follows: 'A Roman marble head of a man, 3rd-4th century A.D., the face with heavy plump features, deep furrow lines on the high forehead'. Back of head missing, broken off or added separately. Nose, end of chin, outer part of ears broken off. Some abrasions to surface. Square cutting in proper right temple for attachment of back of head(?). The hair on the side of the head, brushed forward over the ears seems thicker than the portrait type requires and probably indicates that the present portrait was worked out of an earlier head with fuller hair. This might also account for its unusual scale — slightly underlifesize. I am grateful to Thorsten Oppen for bringing this head to my attention, and to Dr Elizabeth Minchin of the Australian National

University for permission to discuss and illustrate it here.

<sup>116</sup> *RIC* VII Nicomedia 41–2 (pl. 20), Antioch 33 (pl. 23); Garbsch-Overbeck, 22, 91, M 89 (Nicomedia); Kent-Hirmer, no. 623 (Antioch). Note also the double frontal portrait of Licinius I and II together on a medallion in Paris (Beistegui, no. 232): Bastien, op. cit. (n. 30), pl. 162.6.

<sup>117</sup> B. Overbeck, *Argentum Romanum: Ein Schatzfund von spätromischen Prunkgeschirr* (1973); Garbsch-Overbeck, 47–68. *SuFC*, 419–24, no. 37.

<sup>118</sup> Overbeck, op. cit. (n. 117), 29, no. 3; Garbsch-Overbeck, 51, 55–6, Cat. S 3.

<sup>119</sup> Overbeck, op. cit. (n. 117), 23, no. 2; Garbsch-Overbeck, 50–1, 55, Cat. S 2.

<sup>120</sup> Overbeck, op. cit. (n. 117), 23, no. 1; Garbsch-Overbeck, 48–9, 51, Cat. S 1.

From the same hoard as the *largitio* bowls came also a crumpled silver bust, clearly of Licinius I, that had been deliberately crushed (Pl. VI, 3).<sup>121</sup> It has since been 'unrolled' and reconstituted but with a considerable amount of restoration and infilling. This restoration lacks, in my opinion, a sufficiently jowled corpulence, and the unrestored crumpled head in which its facial fatness can still be felt is illustrated here (Pl. VI, 3). There are also two round-faced silver busts now in Mainz, poorly preserved and plainer and cruder in execution, but probably also from a similar context.<sup>122</sup>

Finally, there is a plump-faced youthful marble head (well over life-size) reportedly from Cyzicus and now in a private collection in Edincik in Turkey (Pl. VI, 4).<sup>123</sup> It wears a laurel wreath over a cap of short cropped hair arranged in a square-cut fringe over the forehead and has a fat round boyish face with normal-sized eyes. It has been correctly identified as Licinius II and can be read easily as a plainer version of the plump-faced imperial boy of the coins. It has the shorter, rounder face of the Antioch frontal coins (Pls V, 6 and VII, 3), but the sideburns and more naturalistic handling of the Nicomedia versions (Pls V, 5 and VII, 2).

These medals, marbles, and silver busts usefully fill out the picture of Licinius' physiognomical agenda, best seen in the Vienna portrait.<sup>124</sup> It was a personal dynastic style, a basically tetrarchic portrait with strong personal individuation reintroduced. It was also clearly an oppositional and reactive style, to be seen with that of Constantine and his father, in the context of personal and political rivalry. Licinius' portrait should be set first beside that of Constantius I (Pl. X, 1-2) — it is in a sense a physiognomical inversion of Constantius' portrait, that is, it is energetic and tetrarchic in style, but fat-faced instead of lean-faced in identifying physiognomy. It may then be set beside the main type employed by Constantine in the period between 310 and 324: the thin-faced, handsome, Augustan youth versus the sturdy, corpulent old general (Pls I and XII). The boy-portraits of Licinius II and Constantine II put out in the early 320s made the same point in a junior register: opposed personal and physiognomical styles became opposed dynastic styles.<sup>125</sup>

## VI. CORPULENCE AND JOVIALITY

There remain two aspects of the Vienna-Izmir portrait type on which a little more may be said: its corpulence and its smile. Portrait corpulence no doubt reflected some corpulence in real life (otherwise it would be to little point), but here it has been visually enhanced as a statement of distinctive character — energized flesh as a representation of personal strength and power. In Roman portrait language, a strong identifying physiognomy was an aristocratic tradition — the profiles of Julius Caesar or the emperor

<sup>121</sup> Preserved in two parts, crushed head (Pl. VI.3) and bust wearing cuirass and paludamentum. Restored H: 18.3 cm; H, chin to crown: c. 10 cm. Garbsch-Overbeck, 58-64, Cat. S 10.

<sup>122</sup> E. Kunzl, 'Zwei silberne Tetrarchenporträts im RGZM und die römische Kaiserbildnisse aus Gold und Silber', *Jahrb.Röm.-Germ.ZentralMuseum* 30 (1983), 381-402, pls 64-6, at 384, suggesting Licinius I and II (a connection to the frontal coin types is again perhaps easier to see in their unrestored, crushed state, pl. 66); M. Weber, in *SuFC*, no. 27; Garbsch-Overbeck, 69-70.

<sup>123</sup> Head broken off through top of neck, H: 30 cm. IR II, no. 79 (Licinius II); S. Trümpler in Jucker and Willers, op. cit. (n. 68), no. 39.

<sup>124</sup> Calza, 202-7, and L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 116-18, catalogue some fourteen further sculptured heads proposed by them or others as portraits of Licinius. None are sufficiently corpulent and none are connected by clearly repeated typological elements to the Licinius type seen in the coins and the Vienna head. Such provincial pieces as the Adana bronze (IR

II, no. 255, above at n. 67, here Pl. IX, 2; cf. Meischner, *AA* (1986), 240-4, figs 12 and 23) and the bland reworked head of the cuirassed figure from the tetrarchic group found in Building M at Side: (IR I, no. 63, above at n. 68) *could* be read as diluted receptions of the type, but are not sufficiently detailed or precisely formulated. Another such portrait might be the fine (surely reworked and tetrarchic) head from Antioch: IR II, no. 76 ('Trebonianus Gallus?'). For other possible pieces in this category, below n. 135. The other Licinius identifications proposed in Calza and L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, are far from the type. The two reworked elder heads in the tondi of the Arch of Constantine are best taken as Constantius I (n. 78). And the powerful, near-colossal head from Ostia (H, chin to crown: 38 cm; L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, pl. 31) is again more likely of Constantius I (it has a large curved nose): Bergmann, 145, pl. 41.3, 42.2.

<sup>125</sup> Licinius II: here Pls V, 5-6, VI, 4, and VII, 2-3. Constantine II: Kent-Hirmer, no. 636; and for two sculptured heads in this manner: FZ I, nos 124 and 125.

Galba, for example, come readily to mind<sup>126</sup> — and being fat had a long history in portraits as a positive element of personal identity. In the third century, Balbinus and Valerian, for example, had boasted visually of a round-faced corpulence,<sup>127</sup> so too did many Balbinus-like non-imperial figures on sarcophagi in the third century.<sup>128</sup> It had a long aristocratic tradition from at least the late Republic, and fat-faced portraits can be documented, for example, of the following: Pompey, (an) Ahenobarbus, Seneca, and Vitellius.<sup>129</sup> There are also fine examples in undocumented sculptures, such as the famous bust of a Hadrianic aristocrat in Venice, much copied in early modern times because it was thought to represent Vitellius.<sup>130</sup>

While it should be seen in the context of this respectable minority tradition which valued a personalized physical identity of whatever sort, Licinius' portrait corpulence may also have contained a more precise, contemporary reference. A fine porphyry head was discovered recently in eastern Serbia at Gamzigrad, ancient Romuliana, the palace site and and burial place of Galerius in his native Dacia Ripensis. It has a flat, square-cut fringe, is evidently of tetrarchic date, and should in all likelihood represent Galerius (Pl. VIII, 3).<sup>131</sup> It gives us a much more detailed and carefully formulated version of Galerius' personal style than we had just from his coins, and shows that he too had favoured a remarkably heavy-jowled image.<sup>132</sup> Galerius, as mentioned earlier, was the patron and comrade-in-arms of Licinius, and the striking accentuation of Licinius' corpulence, best seen in the Vienna head and the frontal coin portraits, may then be read as a sign of his loyal Galerian posture, of his fidelity to his former political mentor.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>126</sup> Kent-Hirmer, nos 92–5 (Caesar), 210–14 (Galba).

<sup>127</sup> Balbinus: Kent-Hirmer, 440; Bergmann, *SuFC*, 47, fig. 21 (Vatican bronze bust); H. G. Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung der römischen Kaiser* (1968), 112, cat. 125, pl. 46 (Piraeus statue). Valerian: Kent-Hirmer, 479–80; IR II, no. 77 (head in Copenhagen).

<sup>128</sup> B. Andreae, *Art of Rome* (1977), figs 587 (Borghese), 588 (Rospigliosi), 590 (Mattei II), 592 (Sciara), 596 ('Balbinus' sarcophagus); idem, *Die römische Jagdsarkophagen*, *ASR* I.2, (1980), cat. 41, 65, 128, 131.

<sup>129</sup> Pompey: V. Poulsen, *Les portraits romains* I (1973), no. 1. An uncertain Ahenobarbus: Kent-Hirmer, no. 100. Seneca: Blümel, op. cit. (n. 77), 44, R 106, pl. 71. Vitellius: Kent-Hirmer, 218–22; V. Poulsen, *Les portraits romains* II (1974), no. 1. Republican gems: Vollenweider, op. cit. (n. 105), pl. 52.6–7 (Boston).

<sup>130</sup> Venice: G. Traversari, *Museo Archeologico di Venezia: I ritratti* (1968), 63–5, no. 43. Similar, one of Hadrian's Companions in the tondi of the Arch of Constantine: H. Bulle, 'Ein Jagddenkmal des Kaisers Hadrian', *JdI* 34 (1919), 144–72, figs 3–4 (lower row). A heavy-jowled, corpulent personal style, common on sarcophagi in the third century (above n. 128), remained an option into the tetrarchic period and later. Some examples. (1) Coin images of Carausius (separatist emperor in Britain, 287–93): Kent-Hirmer, nos 566–70, 572–3. (2) Portrait medallion of deceased couple on sarcophagus from Arles, c. 320–350: J.-M. Rouquette, 'Trois nouveaux sarcophages chrétiens de Trinquetaille (Arles)', *CRAI* (1974), 254–73, at 268, fig. 5. (3) Relief from Aquileia, fourth century: F. Poulsen, *Porträtstudien in norditalienischen Provinzmuseen* (1928), 16–18, no. 15 — 'ein alter, fetter Herr'. For examples later in fourth and fifth centuries, above, n. 25. The extraordinary thick-necked, broad-faced, bearded portrait head from Chiragan (in Toulouse, Espérandieu II, no. 892.8) is in my opinion unlikely to be tetrarchic: *Le regard de Rome: portraits romains des musées de Mérida, Toulouse et Tarragona* (1995), 235, no. 171 (there suggested by J. C. Balty to be of Maximian).

<sup>131</sup> Over-life-size head broken off through middle of neck (H: 35 cm), found 1993, in the baths (not *in situ*) at Romuliana: D. Srejić, 'The representations of tetrarchs in Romuliana', *Antiquité Tardive* 2 (1994), 143–52, figs 10–13. The head wears a thick laurel wreath decorated with three oval gems alternating with four busts. The small left hand of another figure (Victory?), carved in one piece with the head, is preserved holding the wreath at the back: the emperor was in the act of being crowned. The perimeter line followed by the hair on the nape is very close to that of the Izmir and Vienna heads: Srejić, fig. 11. The coins of Galerius closest to the porphyry head are those of the mint of Antioch: they have the sharpest and fattest profiles, and they are also most like Licinius' coins issued later at the same mint: *DOP*, no. 27; Garbsch-Overbeck, 33, M 27.

Further relevant finds at Gamzigrad are (1) a neck fragment, (2) a hand holding an orb, both from further porphyry figures in the round: Srejić, 143–5, figs 6–7; and (3) three pilasters of tuffaceous sandstone decorated with relief medallions of schematic frontal paired tetrarchs: Srejić, 145–6, figs 1–5, 8–9 — the well preserved Pilaster B is taken by Srejić, surely correctly, as representing the six overlapping rulers of the first and second tetrarchies.

<sup>132</sup> Two further sculptured portraits, identified by context, almost certainly of Galerius, are both decidedly plump in the face. (1) Relief head (lost), formerly in Berlin, from the Arch of Galerius at Thessalonica, L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 27, 106, pl. 20a-b. (2) Frontal tondo portrait decorating the spandrel of the small arch discovered at Thessalonica in 1957: L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 8, 27, 109, pl. 21a, Beil. A 4; T. Stephanidou-Tiveriou, *To mikro toxo tou Galeriou stē Thessalonikē* (1995).

<sup>133</sup> Similarly, the (rare) coins of Licinius' generals, Valens (A.D. 316) and Martinianus (A.D. 321–324) have loyal 'Licinian' heavy-faced portraits, especially the former: *RIC* VII Cyzicus 7 (pl. 22), Nicomedia 45 (pl. 20); Garbsch-Overbeck, 21, 41, M 62; *Numismatic Fine Arts, Auction 25: Ancient Greek and Roman Coins* (Nov. 1990), nos 487 and 488.



That a weighty, heavy-faced appearance had indeed been a part of the personal style of Galerius is strikingly confirmed by the brief portrait of him, drawn in sharp negative reversal, by Lactantius. At his first introduction of the persecutor, Diocletian's protégé, Lactantius describes Galerius thus:

He was a beast, with a natural barbarity, and a wildness quite foreign to Roman blood. . . . His body matched his character: he was tall in stature, and the vast expanse of his flesh was spread and bloated to a horrifying size (*caro ingens, et in horrendam magnitudinem diffusa et inflata*). (Lactantius, *DMP* 9.1–3)

This was a moral not a medical judgement. It comes in a context set in the 290s long before Lactantius' well-known description of the ghastly disease that eventually killed Galerius.<sup>134</sup> It is a negative representation of the positive physiognomical associations of corpulence — impressive personal weight, imposing presence — that were so carefully formulated in the Gamzigrad portrait and then in more radical form in the Vienna-Izmir portrait type of Licinius.<sup>135</sup>

The Vienna portrait also lays surprising emphasis on the smiling mouth. It is this smile which gives the portrait an initially rather disturbing mixed message of soldierly aggression and informal sociability. But in Roman portrait language there was no contradiction. At one level, the smile can be situated in a long tradition: it is the smile of the commander who is a hardened fighter but affable and accessible to his men. *Facilitas* and *comitas* were the watchwords of this virtue, something required both of the leaders of the late Republic and of the emperor in his role as 'fellow-soldier' of the legionaries (*commilito*) and more generally in his relations with his subjects.<sup>136</sup> Pompey's mature, round-headed portrait almost smiles, so on some coins do Julius Caesar and M. Antony.<sup>137</sup> Vespasian's main portrait type has a toothless expression that combines hardened old features with what is clearly meant as a smile<sup>138</sup> — one that was typically and wilfully misinterpreted by the biographical tradition as a sign of constipated straining.<sup>139</sup> The intended signal was benign accessibility, *facilitas*, after the renowned haughtiness, *superbia*, of the Julio-Claudians. A smile is also sometimes introduced into local and provincial versions of an emperor's portrait, even when we know it was not part of the central model, and it appears sometimes too as an expressive element in private portraits.<sup>140</sup>

Again there may be more to this in Licinius' case. By the early fourth century, the emperor's smile, always rare in portraits, had not been deployed for a long time.

<sup>134</sup> Lactantius, *DMP* 33. So also Eusebius, *HE* 8.16.4: 'for the whole of his hulking body, thanks to overeating, had been transformed even before his illness into a huge lump of flabby fat' (trans. G. A. Williamson).

<sup>135</sup> Two large and fat-faced heads in Athens, both re-worked in the tetrarchic period, perhaps belong here as provincial receptions/versions of Galerian-Licinian style: A. Datsoule-Stavridis, 'Ein Porträt des Vitellius(?) im Nationalmuseum zu Athen', *RM* 89 (1982), 457–8, pls 143–4; eadem, *Romaika portraita sto ethniko archaiologiko Mouseio tēs Athēnas* (1985), 36–7 (inv. Th. 312), 86–7 (inv. E 582/735), pls 29–30 and 126–7.

The extraordinary corpulence of a head in Gubbio, dated because of its round staring eyes by L'Orange to c. A.D. 300 (*Studien*, 27, 114, cat. 22, figs 59–60 — 'ein älterer Mann von krankhafter Körperfülle') is specific, like its clean-shaven head, to its category of subject. L'Orange did not notice that the skull has the engraved cross-shaped scar above the right temple worn by priests of (probably) Isis on a series of Roman-period portraits. For a list of more than thirty examples: K. Fittschen, *Katalog der antiken Skulpturen in Schloss Erblich* (1977), 67–9, no. 22, n. 4 (not however including the Gubbio head).

<sup>136</sup> Republican: above n. 42. Imperial: B. Campbell, *The Emperor and the Roman Army, 31 BC–AD 235* (1984), 32–59. For the ideology of the simple-man-

nered, familiar, accessible emperor, at one with his peers and subjects, see, for example, Suet., *Vesp.* 12–13; Pliny, *Paneg.* 13.1–3, 15.5, 19.3, 23.1–3. At Pliny, *Paneg.* 4.6, the complementary virtues of traditional *gravitas* (authority) and *severitas* (seriousness) are the emperor's *simplicitas* (candour) and *hilaritas* (smiling good humour).

<sup>137</sup> Pompey in Copenhagen: n. 129. Caesar: n. 126. Antony: n. 105. Note also a smiling late Republican head in Copenhagen: Poulsen, op. cit. (n. 129), no. 26.

<sup>138</sup> Daltrop, op. cit. (n. 3), 72–84, pls 1–9; M. Bergmann and P. Zanker, 'Damnatio Memoriae: Umgearbeitete Nero- und Domitiansporträts. Zur Ikonographie der flavischen Kaiser und des Nerva', *JdI* 96 (1981), 317–412, at 332–49.

<sup>139</sup> Suet., *Vesp.* 20; cf. Bergmann and Zanker, op. cit. (n. 138), 335.

<sup>140</sup> Imperial. (1) Caius, Carthage: D. Boschung, *Die Bildnisse des Caligula. Das römische Herrscherbild* I. 4 (1989), 38–40, 100, cat. 114, pl. 14. (2) Trajan(?), Ephesus: IR 11, no. 39; Fittschen, *GGA* 236 (1984), 204, on no. 39. Private. (1) Trajanic bust, Ostia: R. Calza, *Scavi di Ostia V: I ritratti* I (1964), no. 78. (2) Early fourth-century head, Izmir: IR 1, no. 188. (3) Fourth-century head from Sparta: L'Orange, *Studien*, 30, figs 67, 72. Constantius' portrait, in the Berlin-Copenhagen type (Pl. X, 1–2), is perhaps also intended to be smiling slightly — most apparent in the strange lip formation of the Copenhagen head (n. 77).

Caracalla's scowl, tetrarchic severity, and Constantine's impassive calm were more the order of the day. The upturned smiling mouth is a surprising intrusion in the Vienna-Izmir portrait, and one so carefully modelled and programmed into the two heads and reproduced in the two other marbles in Leiden and Canberra (Pl. VI, 1-2), that we should perhaps look for some extra significance or additional reference, alongside the traditional meaning of accessibility and soldierly sociability. Along with ideas of renewal and regeneration in this period, came various upbeat public slogans of the joyfulness and prosperity of the times and of the joyful victories of the emperor, such as now appear on coins: *gaudium Romanorum*, *gaudium Augusti nostri*, *victoriae laetae principis*.<sup>141</sup> It seems legitimate to see Licinius' smile, as well as carrying traditional associations of affability, in this more particular and contemporary light as a visual expression of the joyfulness of the victorious commander.

#### VII. IMPERIAL PORTRAITS AND THE LATIN PANEGYRICS

The old idea of the ruler's accessibility and the new idea of imperial joyfulness are explicitly connected in a passage of one of the Latin Panegyrics but in one that was delivered to Constantine (4.34.4).<sup>142</sup> In order to make proper use of such a text, some methodological points about the use and abuse of literary sources in this context should first be addressed. A synthetic sketch is then attempted of how the Panegyrics can help to interpret the different imperial styles of Diocletian, Licinius, and Constantine. The basic point to be made is that while these texts are vitally important for locating the range of ideas, concepts, and virtues that could be represented in imperial images of the period, they are for the most part synthetic one-fits-all descriptions of the ideal emperor of the early fourth century. The images on the other hand present a careful, unified choice of ideas and virtues, express priorities, and show the sharp image changes and contrasting postures projected by different rulers. That is, interpretation of the portrait images both relies on the terminology and concepts of the texts and can add something to them.

There is still a widespread tendency among archaeologists and historians to treat ancient portraits and other images unselfconsciously, as direct, unproblematic reflections of historical realities known from literary sources. Subjective, often perjorative, interpretations still abound. Nero's image, for example, has been said recently to be that of 'a debauched megalomaniac',<sup>143</sup> and Diocletian's to be that of 'a face of ruthless cruelty and brutality',<sup>144</sup> while another portrait has been said to depict Galerius as 'old, bloated, and despondent'.<sup>145</sup> Neither the images nor probably the texts on which such assessments are ultimately based worked in such a simple relation to ancient reality. They are perhaps better seen as parallel sets of representation, each with their own languages, techniques, audiences, and agendas. That is, images were not passive reflectors, but like texts and speakers, active participants in public discourse. The 'silent' meaning of ancient images is however hardly self-evident. The ideas they expressed have both to be located in relation to an evolving visual language and to be grounded in written evidence that deals with similar concerns. That is, interpretation requires examination of whatever relevant collateral written information is available, in which the ideas likely to be in play in a given image might be located.

The use of textual evidence in this context has some methodological pitfalls. Ancient texts and images sometimes overlap quite closely on a given theme — for

<sup>141</sup> *RIC* VII, 738-9, 754.

<sup>142</sup> All bracketed references in the text of this section are, unless otherwise indicated, to the *Panegyrici Latini*, following the traditional, i.e. manuscript, numbering of the orations, as in Nixon-Rodgers.

<sup>143</sup> D. E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (1992), 139.

<sup>144</sup> Kent-Hirner, 48.

<sup>145</sup> Barnes, 301, n. 54. It does not affect the point at

issue that the head here referred to (in the Canellou-poulos Museum in Athens: P. Dontas, 'Collections Paul Canellopoulos IX; Portrait de Galerius', *BCH* 99 (1975), 521-33, figs 1-4) is a private portrait of the Trajanic period — so rightly, A. K. Massner, 'Corona civica, Priesterkranz oder Magistratsinsigne? Bildnisse thasischer Theoroi', *AM* 103 (1988), 239-50, at 245-6.

example, Pliny's *Panegyric* and the relief programme of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum.<sup>146</sup> But they may also conflict. The hostile biographical presentation of Caius and Nero, for example, does little to assist interpretation of their centrally designed portrait types.<sup>147</sup> Literary texts can often be eccentric in their judgements, atypical in what they record. The monuments, by their nature and survival, tend to be typical and, of course, positive in expression. Hostile statements are obviously of little help in interpreting images unless they can be translated or reformulated back into positive language. We have seen a good example in the case of Galerius' corpulence: his representation as disgustingly obese in Lactantius can be usefully reformulated as that of a weighty and powerful presence such as we see in the Gamzigrad head (Pl. VIII, 3).<sup>148</sup> It may be said as a rough general rule that all pejorative modern interpretations of ancient images have probably started from a false premise.

We may identify from literature and inscriptions the range of ideas and themes likely to be expressed in a given image out of which different images may emphasize different parts. And we may then compare their verbal and visual formulations. But we cannot as a point of method interpret images as meaning or referring to something else altogether, that is, something that we as modern viewers see, such as despondency, cruelty, or anxiety, but which are unattested as part of the range of possible meanings in antiquity. Since the meaning of images is relative to their circumstances and historical context — the same visual signs obviously could and often did mean different things in different times and places — on what, other than subjective modern impressions, could such interpretations be based?

For the early fourth century there is, we have seen, good contemporary written evidence that can be brought to bear on the strange new portrait styles of the period: inscriptions, legal texts, edicts, coin slogans, and histories, such as that of Lactantius. The most detailed, articulate, and directly applicable texts, however, are the Latin *Panegyrics*, a group of speeches by Gallic orators in praise of late Roman emperors, from Diocletian to Theodosius, gathered in one corpus together with Pliny's *panegyric* of Trajan.<sup>149</sup> Nine of them are exactly contemporary with our period, and range in date from 291 to 321. These *panegyrics* are applicable to the interpretation of the imperial image for some obvious reasons: they are contemporary, they are by their nature couched in positive terms, they preserve official language and phraseology concerning the role and virtues of the emperor, and being delivered (usually) in the emperor's presence, they often include direct references to his appearance and real-life self-presentation.

The use of the *Panegyrics* in earlier portrait studies of the period has often been marred by false premises, by what may be called the biographical fallacy — the belief, promoted by ancient authors, that portraits and self-presentation had a necessary connection to the biography of the subject. The texts have thus often been taken separately and individually, using details of appearance and character recorded for a particular emperor either to interpret his named portraits or (worse) to identify his unnamed ones.<sup>150</sup> Such selectivity obscures the way the *Panegyrics* portray typical emperors and misses their real value for portrait studies.

The *Panegyrics* tend each to present a composite picture of an ideal tetrarch, drawing on the overlapping ideological aspects of an emperor's role and person shared by other emperors of the period. That they are little concerned with individual aspects

<sup>146</sup> K. Fittschen, 'Das Bildprogramm des Trajansbogens zu Benevent', *AA* (1972), 742–89.

<sup>147</sup> Caius' main type presents him simply as a son of Germanicus: Boschung, *op. cit.* (n. 140), 102–3. Nero's last portrait type, well defined on coins (Kent-Hirmer, nos 192–3, 196, 199, 202, 204–5) combines contemporary Roman fashions of hairstyle and light beard with a quasi-regal magnificence and grandeur. The élite and negative historiographical tradition on this emperor does not transmit the court ideas and language with which this image was concerned (*elegantia* combined with *splendor* and *maiestas*?). For a

new gilded bronze portrait of this type, see H. Born and K. Stemmer, *Damnatio Memoriae: Das Berliner Nero-porträt* (1996).

<sup>148</sup> Above at n. 134.

<sup>149</sup> For all aspects, see now the excellent introduction in Nixon-Rogers, 3–37.

<sup>150</sup> Thus in the useful collection of sources relating to the appearance of later Roman emperors in Calza, 13–81 (compiled by Marina Torelli), the texts are arranged by emperor in order to assist in the identification of the sculptures.

of the ruler is not peculiar to tetrarchic panegyric. It is something inherent in the medium. As each orator seeks to cover all the desired ideological points whether appropriate to a particular ruler or not, an evolving repertoire of common ideas and virtues is attributed to each emperor in turn. The orators give both a typical account and a comprehensive coverage of possible virtuous qualities. Detailed physiognomical and visual specificity is difficult in words and was never a concern of these texts. It is, therefore, not of great significance in relating these texts to portrait images to which emperor a given speech was directed. Many of the surviving texts are addressed to Constantine, but apart from a few novelties in his imperial style (to which we will come), there is little that was not also said of other tetrarchs.<sup>151</sup> The portraits obviously cannot say so many diverse ideological things at once as a panegyric text; they select a few ideas that can be highlighted visually and represented convincingly in a unified image. We may look at some of those ideas, comparing their literary formulations with their physiognomical expression, in relation to the typical tetrarchic portrait, its modulation by Licinius, and its inversion by Constantine.

The Panegyrics explicitly recognize the signifying power of the imperial physiognomy and its image. They carried the outward signs of the emperor's moral qualities: 'they saw the signs of all the virtues in your face' ('tuo vultu videbant omnium signa virtutum', 8.19.3). The emperor's body and limbs were also taken to express his virtues and powers: 'erat autem corpus moribus congruens' ('his body matched his moral character').<sup>152</sup> The Panegyrics recognize too the importance of the universal presence of the imperial image: 'the power of your divinity is everywhere that your images and statues are revered' (8.15.6). That is, the ruler's empire is co-extensive with the area in which his image is set up.<sup>153</sup> The emperor's physical appearance is an active expression of his supreme role: blind barbarians are unable to recognize the emperor and to read 'the signs of a ruler in his face' ('in illo vultu signa principis', 4.18.4). The explicit inference of this last passage is that if the barbarians had been able, like good Romans, to recognize the emperor's image and to read its visual signs properly, then they would have seen before they rose up that defeat was a foregone conclusion.

An experienced, hardy, energetic militarism is represented in the portraits of the tetrarchs and of Licinius in the cropped hair and stubbled beard of camp life, and this is one of the most insistently formulated qualities of an emperor in contemporary texts. The emperor endures 'the toil of campaigning' ('militiae labor', 3.20.1) and 'the dust and toil of the camp' ('pulvis et labor castrorum', *Cod.Theod.* 6.36.1), and displays 'soldierly energy' ('industria militaris', Lactantius, *DMP* 18.10). The emperors of the period often came, as did Licinius, from frontier provinces where 'all life is military service' ('omnis vita militia est') and inhabitants are taught 'the tireless habit of toil and persistence' ('infatigabilis consuetudo laboris ac patientiae', 11.3.9). The whole of this passage is worth quoting:

For you were not raised in some quiet part of the world, a land enfeebled by luxury, but in those provinces whose border, exposed to the enemy (although a beaten one) and always arrayed in arms, has taught them the tireless habit of toil and persistence, in provinces where all life is military service, whose women even are braver than the men of other lands. (11.3.9, trans. slightly adapted, Nixon-Rogers, 85-6)

<sup>151</sup> To Constantine: 7 (A.D. 307), 6 (A.D. 310), 5 (A.D. 311), 12 (A.D. 313), 4 (A.D. 321). The other addressees and subjects are as follows. To Maximian: 10 and 11 (both A.D. 291). To Constantius 8 (A.D. 297/8). On the restoration of the schools, 9 (late 290s). To Julian: 3 (A.D. 362). To Theodosius: 2 (A.D. 389). To Trajan: 1 (A.D. 100).

<sup>152</sup> Lactantius, *DMP* 9.1. Remarks about the (large, tall, powerful, broad-shouldered) body are frequently coupled with statements about facial appearance in the Panegyrics and imperial histories: *Pan.Lat.* 6.17.1, 6.18.5, 7.9.5, 12.4.3.

<sup>153</sup> Compare the similar idea in the Tabula Siarensis, I. 23-31: Germanicus' image is to be posted on arches

sited in Syria and Germany, at the opposite ends of the Empire where the prince held *imperium*. Text: J. González, *ZPE* 55 (1984), 55-100. Translation: R. K. Sherk, *The Roman Empire, Augustus to Hadrian* (1988), no. 36. Both now in M. H. Crawford (ed.), *Roman Statutes* (1996), I, no. 37. On the arches as markers of the limits of empire: D. S. Potter, 'The Tabula Siarensis, Tiberius, the Senate, and the eastern boundary of the Roman Empire', *ZPE* 69 (1987), 269-76, at 272-4. On the significance in this period of the sending out and receiving of the *imagines laureatae* of new emperors in different parts of the Empire, see Bruun, op. cit. (n. 52).

The emperor is said to have 'total bodily vigour', 'stout strength', and 'eagerness of spirit' ('totius corporis vigor, solidae vires', 7.9.5; 'ardor mentis', 6.18.5). He is 'completely vigorous in body and endowed with energy and bravery' ('toto . . . corpore vigens, . . . praeditus alacritate ac fortitudine', 6.4.2). Energy, strength, and bravery are expressed in portraits, such as the Cairo tetrarch and the Vienna Licinius (Pls I and VIII, 4), by exaggerated neck muscles and deep patterns of tensed, muscled brows. A good neck was explicitly a sign of strength and courage: among a list of four cardinal virtues and their physiognomical equivalents is 'the neck of Bravery' (*cervicem Fortitudinis*) and one emperor of the period was even known affectionately as 'Bullneck'.<sup>154</sup>

Emperors need strength and vigour for their job of defending the Empire. They should 'range tirelessly along the frontiers where the Roman Empire presses upon barbarian peoples' ('indefessum ire per limites qua Romanum barbaris gentibus instat imperium', 7.14.1). The labour of war is part of the more generalized 'labour of ruling' and 'burden of government' ('imperandi labor', 'reipublicae onus', 7.11.7). Empire is 'hard work' ('magnus labor', 7.11.7) and requires physical exertion. The bad emperor is *otiosus* ('leisure-seeking', 6.13.4 — Caius), the good emperor is *strenuus* ('energetic', 3.25.4). The imperial tranquillity of the times was 'laboured for with profuse sweat' ('sudore largo laboratum est').<sup>155</sup>

The stubble of the Vienna portrait is a two–three day growth not a proper beard, and indicates lack of time and conditions for shaving. It may have become routine in third-century portraits, but did not lose its connection with this basic meaning — a campaign beard, that by implication might be shaved off after the campaign. Thus at his 'civilian' retreat at Romuliana (Gamzigrad), the portrait of Galerius is, remarkably, clean-shaven (Pl. VIII, 3). And conversely emperors after Constantine, who were generally represented as clean shaven, may wear light beards when portrayed in military costume, as though visually on campaign.<sup>156</sup> The constant stubble beard of third-century emperors and the tetrarchs indicated leaders whose life was spent in active military service.<sup>157</sup>

Whatever later historians may have said of Diocletian's 'oriental' court style,<sup>158</sup> accessibility remained an important part of the ideal imperial persona in this period. It remained in large part a military virtue: 'his military energy, upright character, and extraordinary affability made him loved by the soldiers' ('industria militari et probis moribus et comitate singulari a militibus amaretur', Lactantius, *DMP* 18.10). And in one of the Panegyrics, it is a virtue whose outward sign is said explicitly to be joviality: 'his easy access, his most forebearing ability to listen . . . combined with his joviality' ('faciles aditus, aures patientissimas, . . . hilaritate admixta', 4.34.4). While this had always been a desirable quality for an emperor, and had earlier been (subtly) represented in 'official' portrait types of Pompey and Vespasian,<sup>159</sup> it was in the early fourth century something expressed emphatically in portraits only in the public image of Licinius. His exaggerated 'programmatic' smile was, as suggested earlier, the visual sign for a new kind of happy demeanour. The emperor is now 'joyful' ('laetus', 6.21.6), a deified emperor 'rejoices from heaven' ('gaudet e caelo', 12.25.1), and coins issue

<sup>154</sup> Neck of Bravery: *Pan.Lat.* 3.5.4. 'Bullneck' (*Tra-chala*, Constantine): 'Aurelius Victor', *Epitome de Caesaribus* 41.16, and later in Byzantine writers: Cedrenus 1.472.23, quoted by Delbrueck, *Kaiserporträts*, XII and Calza, 34–5, A 2; cf. Lieu and Montserrat, op. cit. (n. 76), 5. Already in Ps.-Aristotle, *Physiognomica*, a man's neck should be strong (807a) and long but thick (809b).

<sup>155</sup> In the Price Edict preamble: Giacchero, op. cit. (n. 62), 134, l. 20; Lauffer, op. cit. (n. 62), 90 (I, 2); Roueché, op. cit. (n. 62), no. 231, l. 10; Graser, op. cit. (n. 62), 311, translates weakly as 'won with great effort'.

<sup>156</sup> Thus, for example, the cuirassed Barletta statue (n. 4).

<sup>157</sup> Textual evidence, if it is necessary, makes explicit the connection between campaigning and not shaving: Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.11 — the emperor (Otho at Bedriacum) marches out for campaign, as he should, on foot, 'stubbled and unkempt', *horridus, incomptus*. *Horridus* (lit. 'bristly, prickly') refers to the beard, *incomptus* ('unkempt') to the hair. Permanent stubble-length beard was probably meant to represent the idea that on campaign an emperor had time only to *clip* his beard rather than shave it. For this distinction and practice in antiquity, see Suetonius, *Aug.* 79.1: 'modo tonderet modo raderet barbam'.

<sup>158</sup> Above n. 58

<sup>159</sup> Above, nn. 129, 136, 138, 140.

slogans of the 'joy of our Augustus' ('gaudium Augusti nostri'), and of his 'joyous victories' ('victoriae laetae').<sup>160</sup>

Officially sponsored happiness was clearly of some importance as a political idea in the period: it extended widely in various media and had a developed vocabulary. The emperor's presence is said, for example, in a notable passage (4.1.1–3), to move an audience to 'exultant rejoicing' and 'impassioned delight' ('gaudia exsultantia', 'laetitia gestiens'), there is general 'public good cheer' ('hilaritas publica') and 'overflowing joy' ('exundans laetitia'). This passage is from the introduction to a speech delivered in 321 on the occasion of the quinquennalia of Constantine's sons, Crispus and Constantine II — that is, in exact parallel to the celebrations for the quinquennalia of Licinius' young son at the same time in the East. The idea had wide resonance on the coinage. Since the second century, the named personification Hilaritas and various forms of Felicitas and *felix* (for example, 'felicia tempora', 'happy and prosperous times') had been common on the coinage.<sup>161</sup> In our period, *felicitas* continues to be densely represented and is joined by frequent appearances of various kinds of *gaudium*, something new on the coinage.<sup>162</sup>

Gleaming eyes and powerful vision had always been something desirable, if not frequently commented on, in the literary representation of Roman generals and emperors — as far back, for example, as Marius and Augustus.<sup>163</sup> But intense, widened eyes had never been part of the centrally designed portrait types of the early and middle imperial period which sought to maintain both the 'normal' human measure of the emperor's person and a sober, unexpressive reserve.<sup>164</sup> Only some local versions and 'receptions' of the central types, especially colossal figures, had sometimes enlarged or emphasized the emperor's eyes.<sup>165</sup> With the tetrarchy, intensified vision and exaggerated wide-open staring eyes suddenly enter the imperial portrait vocabulary at the centre. They are perhaps the most striking and period-specific aspect of many late antique portraits, and are at their most emphatic in their earliest deployments in 'officially' constructed portraits of the tetrarchic period, such as the Cairo bust and the Vienna head (Pls I and VIII, 4).

The intensity of the emperor's eyes and vision and his untiring vigilance also receive new and dense parallel coverage in the Panegyrics. Imperial eyes are said by the orators to flash, to have a physical intensity, a burning gleam ('fulgor oculorum', 12.19.6). Such eyes were intimately connected with the projection of an imperial majesty ('this flashing of his eyes, this awesome majesty', 'hic fulgor oculorum, haec veneranda . . . maiestas', 6.17.1), and they were something specific to the person of the emperor ('the imperial gleam of his eyes', 'imperatorius ardor oculorum', 7.9.5). Because the emperor sees everything, he receives divine support: 'since you saw all these things . . . what did you have as counsel if not a divine power?' (12.4.1). No one is more vigilant or sees more than the emperor: 'quis vigilantior ad videndum' (4.11.4). The big wide-staring eyes of the Vienna head, with their saggy pouches below, express both intense, powerful vision and the overlapping idea of sleepless vigilance and indefatigability. The emperor is tireless: 'indefessum', 'infatigabilis' (11.3.9, 7.14.1).<sup>166</sup> And emperors of this

<sup>160</sup> Above n. 141

<sup>161</sup> H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* III (1936), 615, 617 (Nerva to Hadrian), and IV (1940), 920, 923 (Antoninus Pius to Commodus).

<sup>162</sup> *RIC* VII, 736–9, with a full listing of the many Felicitas and Gaudium reverses. The connection of Felicitas and Gaudium is made clear in the shared reverse designs of playful garland-carrying putto-genii — figures that would bring a smile to the stoniest tetrarchic face. Emperors' edicts can enjoin their subjects to rejoice, for example, in Eusebius, *HE* 9.7.11 (an edict of Maximinus). 'Good cheer' (*euphrosynē*) remained an estimable official virtue well into late antiquity: Roueché, op. cit. (n. 62), 56, with refs.

<sup>163</sup> Appian, *BC* 1.61 — 'the gleam and flash of fire darting from his eyes' deters Marius' would-be assassin; Suetonius, *Aug.* 79.2 — Augustus has 'oculos

claros ac nitidos' that have 'the radiance of the sun', 'fulgorem solis', forcing spectators (the emperor liked to think) to lower their gaze; Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.9 — the corpse of the false Nero in A.D. 68 was 'remarkable for its eyes'; *HA Claudius* 13 — Claudius Gothicus has 'oculi ardentis'.

<sup>164</sup> For classical physiognomists (Ps.-Aristotle, *Physiognomica* 809b), eyes should be bright, but not round or enlarged in size.

<sup>165</sup> P. Zanker, *Provinzielle Kaiserporträts: Zur Rezeption der Selbstdarstellung des Princeps* (1983), 18, 30, 34, pls 9 (Hadrian, from Leptis), 11 (Trajan, Sousse), 27.1 (Septimius, from Markouna).

<sup>166</sup> Compare also Diocletian's indefatigable ancestor, Jupiter, 'ever watchful, he revolves this enormous mass (of the world) with tireless hand' ('hanc tantam molem infatigabili manu volvitur . . . pervigil', 11.3.4).

period, of course, also saw supernatural visions that others did not, such as divine epiphanies in temples (6.21) or celestial armies in the sky coming to their support (4.14).<sup>167</sup>

The emperor's powerful eyes can also see into the future and so characterize the long-standing imperial virtue of *providentia* (5.2.3, 4.11.4; 12.8.3).<sup>168</sup> One passage makes the point in high rhetorical manner:

But neither the Sun itself nor the stars watch over human affairs with such unremitting light as you, who illuminate the world with scarcely any discrimination of night and day and look to the future for the well-being of nations not only with those eyes which animate your immortal countenances, but much more with those eyes of your divine minds, and you bless with your healing light not only those provinces where the day rises, passes by, and disappears from view, but also those in the northern belt. (8.4.3, trans. slightly adapted, Nixon-Rodgers, 114)

The emperors look to the future ('providetis') for the well-being of nations ('salus gentium') with the eyes of their immortal faces ('[sc. oculis] quibus immortales vultus vestri vident', lit. 'the eyes by which your immortal faces are animated') and the eyes of their divine minds ('divinarum mentium vestrarum oculis'). The emperor can thus be said to have not only 'the neck of Fortitude' but also 'the eyes of Foresight' ('oculi Providentiae', 3.5.4).

Rather than the passive receptors of modern ophthalmic science, these imperial eyes are positive illuminators, emitting vision, like searchlights. In one striking passage, the emperor is said to have laser eyes, more powerful than those of the hero Lynceus, who could see through walls and trees:

Who is more watchful? Who views the present more keenly, the future more comprehensively . . . Lynceus could not compete with you who, as the poets have it, easily saw through walled enclosures and the trunks of trees. (14.11.4)

The passage continues with a favourable comparison of the emperor to a legendary sharp-eyed lookout who from his watchtower in Sicily could see ships docking in Africa (14.11.5). The emperor sees further and through denser obstacles than anyone else, and he sees into the future.

There is a clear connection between the representation of such piercing panoptic imperial eyes and the enhanced rhetoric of the period concerning imperial light and illumination. With their immortal eyes, the emperors watch over human affairs 'with perpetual light' and 'illuminate the world' (8.4.3, quoted above). They 'bring forth light to the nations' (11.15.1-3), and an orator asks of the emperor 'may you frequently make radiant with your presence these your provinces' ('has provincias tuas frequenter illustres', 10.14.4).<sup>169</sup> Another reports that at the emperor's arrival, the provincials 'were carried away by such joy . . . at last restored to life by the true light of the Empire' ('tanto gaudio ferebantur . . . tandem vera imperii luce recreati', 8.19.3). Raised from the abyss by the emperor, they 'emerged to the vision of the light of Rome' ('ad conspectum Romanae lucis emersit', 9.18.3).

Intense piercing eyes became a distinguishing feature of much late antique self-representation, not only of emperors. In an age of competing visions, such eyes represented in essence a claim to see more than others. They were a claim to superior powers and soon came to be made on behalf of most figures of authority of whatever kind — political, military, intellectual, or religious — from emperors to generals, governors, philosophers, saints, and late Roman notables more generally. The portrait images of such men express this claim to extra power in a general way, while texts can specify for us in which sphere it was exercised. That is, only the emperors (and the

<sup>167</sup> Above n. 97; cf. R. MacMullen, 'Constantine and the miraculous', *GRBS* 9 (1968), 81-96.

<sup>168</sup> See Nixon-Rodgers, 267, n. 9 (on 5.2.3), with lit. on imperial *providentia*.

<sup>169</sup> In a text from Caria, the emperor's 'illuminating'

presence (*epelampsēn*) is enough to stop banditry: M. Ç. Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia I: Panamara*, *IGSK* 21 (1981), 170, no. 310; cf. Corcoran, 111, n. 137.

gods) claim to see everything, while the texts appropriate to the other figures show that their superior vision was exercised in their proper sphere of activity.<sup>170</sup>

As noted earlier, the Panegyrics tend to attribute all virtues and powers to each emperor in turn. Constantine is no exception, and with only these texts we would have missed the full contrast and opposition between his public image and that of his contemporaries. The texts give him all the military virtues of vigour, energy, ardour, accessibility, and joviality, none of which are represented in his official portrait image. His main portrait type of the 310s has instead a plain, reserved, youthful, handsome, Augustan, clean-shaven, civilian aspect, without special emphasis on powerful vision (Pls XI, 1–3 and XII).<sup>171</sup> From 310, while continuing to attribute all the energetic military qualities to him, the orators also start to add language and ideas that correspond to his new ideological posture. While his images selected and projected forcefully a single clear new ideological stance, the texts can combine partly incompatible ideas without difficulty.

For example, Constantine's 'fulgor oculorum' is much praised in 307 (7.9.5), 310 (6.17.1), and 313 (12.19.6), but already in 310 he is also said to have a tranquil face and eyes: 'in oculis et in ore tranquillitas' (6.4.4). The idea of the emperor's person as a locus of tranquillity was a contemporary idiom already under Diocletian which Constantine picks up, amplifies, and gives new expression. In 321 the orator makes an explicit point of Constantine's change in personal style: his subjects are not pushed back by his *fulgor* (now apparently not such a good thing), rather they are attracted by his 'serene illumination' ('serenum lumen', 4.5.4). A little later in the same speech, however, he still has the laser-eyes of Lynceus (4.11.4).

From 310 the orators know of Constantine's newly discovered descent from Claudius Gothicus (6.2.2) and start to emphasize his posture as a dynastic ruler who looks like his father: 'such a close similarity in appearance (*tanta similitudo*) has been transmitted from him to you that it seems Nature herself has impressed and stamped it on your features' (6.4.3).<sup>172</sup> The orators also begin vigorously to praise his youth and handsome appearance (especially 6.17.1–4). It was on a pretext of youthfulness, that Constantine, 'showing his *modestia* and *pietas*', is said in 305 to have staged an Augustan-style *recusatio* 'to defer his rule' (6.8.3). He is *imperator adulescens*, who is admired by the soldiers for his looks; 'his appearance is as handsome as his divinity is certain' ('cuius tam pulchra forma est quam certa divinitas', 6.17.4). He has 'pulcherrimi imperatoris formam' (12.7.5), he is 'iuvenis et pulcherrimus imperator' (6.21.6). And in Lactantius, he is 'a young man of the highest integrity . . . (with) a distinguished and becoming presence' ('sanctissimus adulescens . . . insigni et decoro habitu corporis', *DMP* 18.10).

Such emphasis on looks and youth was a clear departure from prevailing imperial norms and reflects a deliberate policy choice. Regardless of his real age, Constantine might easily have chosen instead to play up his maturity and experience with an older-looking ruler portrait (as Maxentius had: Pl. X, 3–4) and seen to it that youth and beauty were elided from his public representation. They were, however, clearly features he emphasized in his self-styling and which were picked up and intensified in the visual and verbal media.

The orator of 310 felt obliged to change explicitly a basic yardstick of Roman physiognomics, that good looks did *not* guarantee any moral qualities. He now praises physiognomists of old, *doctissimi viri* (sc. Greeks), who saw that as in the case of Achilles outward beauty and inner spirit and courage were closely connected: 'Nature metes out bodily domiciles worthy of great minds, and from a man's face and the comeliness of his limbs one can tell how great a heavenly spirit dwells therein' (6.17.2–3). For the tetrarchs and earlier emperors, an older, sturdy, stubbled, unpretty appearance was alone what signified courage and manly spirit. In Constantine the result of the new

<sup>170</sup> For the special eyes, for example, of philosophers: R. R. R. Smith, 'Late Roman philosopher portraits from Aphrodisias', *JRS* 80 (1990), 127–55, at 146. For gods — for example, 'all-seeing Helios' (*panepoptēs Hēlios*): S. Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor* (1993), II, 47.

<sup>171</sup> The greatly enlarged eyes of the Capitoline head were due less to the type than to its colossal formulation: above n. 94.

<sup>172</sup> And already too in 307: 'upon whose face Nature has stamped his father's heavenly features (*caelestes vultus*)', 7.8.3.



physiognomical rules is 'an awe-inspiring and *agreeable* majesty' ('*veneranda pariter et grata maiestas*', 6.17.1). Again a 'pleasing' or 'agreeable' majesty is probably not how an orator of the early fourth century would have characterized the appearance of a Galerius or a Licinius.

Finally the references in the orators to Constantine's serenity, calm, tranquillity, and personal illumination become more frequent and emphatic after 310. These qualities emitted by the emperor's person bring the same qualities to the Empire and its citizens: the emperor has 'tranquillity in his countenance' ('*in ore tranquillitas*', 6.4.4) and 'serene light' ('*serenum lumen*', 4.5.4), the Empire has 'repose, civil benefits, public calm, peace' ('*otium, bona civilia, quies publica, pax*', 4.10.2) and there is 'placid calm in the world' ('*placida rerum quies*', 4.35.4).<sup>173</sup> Quiet, tranquillity, and light already part of the late antique political vocabulary with Diocletian were given new prominence and expression under Constantine in both word and image.<sup>174</sup>

The orators were thus aware of some novelties in Constantine's ideological posture, while continuing to attribute to him all other contemporary imperial virtues. It is the portrait images, drawing selectively on the same range of ideas, that represent the full force and import of Constantine's daring and radical new public image.

#### VIII. CONCLUSION: THE PUBLIC IMAGES OF LICINIUS AND CONSTANTINE

In this period there was a set of old and new ideas about what constituted a good emperor and an effective imperial agenda that was shared by the members of the imperial board who issued coins and documents together carrying the same slogans. The portraits we have looked at make a series of choices from across the inherited repertoire of political self-representation and create striking new images that defined an identifying imperial persona for each dynast. The ideas were common stock, while choices of physiognomy, age, hairstyle, and expression, put visual emphasis on just a few ideas, enough to create a personal-looking agenda. Licinius chose an expressive personal variation on the old tetrarchic military style, fat-faced, energetic and smiling, that goes back to Pompey (Pl. I). Constantine chose a youthful, handsome, lean-faced, Augustan style (Pl. XII).<sup>175</sup> Each dynast clearly exaggerates the axes of age/youth, thinness/fatness, toughness/elegance, military/civilian that give the appearance of radically different and opposed political agendas. Probably their political ideas and ambitions were not so different. Here as elsewhere images and representations probably contained not only the expression but much of the substance of the differences. Such carefully designed and widely disseminated images could usefully create a texture and appearance of vitally opposed stances. The main types of Constantine and Licinius are two precisely contemporary images invested with the appearance of distinctive political choices.

A later historian gives the following facile account of the breach between Licinius and Constantine in 316:

Thus the control of the Roman world was acquired by two men, who although they were connected by the marriage of Constantine's sister to Licinius, nevertheless because of their diverse characters (*ob diversos mores*) only managed to co-exist with difficulty for three years [313–316]. For you see, the former possessed great qualities, the latter only frugality, and that, to be sure, of merely a rustic nature. (Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus* 41.2, trans. H. Bird)

<sup>173</sup> For Constantine's 'nourishing of the liberal arts, especially literature' and other pursuits appropriate to a civilian emperor, such as 'reading, writing, thinking, and listening to embassies and complaints from the provinces', see 'Aurelius Victor', *Epitome de Caesaribus* 41.14. In the panegyric of 321, the boy Constantine II, aged four, it is said, can already write (4.37.5).

<sup>174</sup> Note the solid disc of light around Constantine's head already in 313: Pl. XI, 2.

<sup>175</sup> From Constantine's point of view, the parallels with the rise to power of Octavian-Augustus in the thirties B.C. may have been attractive: the Apolline youth, *divi filius*, ruler of the West, versus the old campaigner, tyrant of the East to whom he had married his sister.

It is remarkable that the historian finds the difference of the two emperors' characters (*ob diversos mores*) a satisfactory explanation for the outbreak of a major war between them. Clearly such questions of personal quality and moral character were felt by contemporaries to matter a great deal, and it was precisely such a pretended diversity of political *mores* and moral qualities that the contrasting portrait images of Constantine and Licinius shaped and projected.

A final word on the topics mentioned at the start. I hope at least to have shown that the images discussed here can be usefully interpreted in other ways than as illustrations of artistic trends. The history of portraiture in this period has traditionally seen a natural organic development, a procession of style-phases, of style movement and counter-movement — third-century realism, Gallienic renaissance, tetrarchic abstraction, Constantinian classicism.<sup>176</sup> The basic unhelpfulness of such categories — quite apart from the difficulty of applying them effectively to the archaeological variety of images preserved from the period in question — is that they are essentially ahistorical. They do not describe or explain the contemporary effect of the images concerned, and see instead an ebb and flow of styles independent of all but the most basic historical changes, such as crisis and anxiety.<sup>177</sup> Ancient art seems not to have worked like that. Anguish and anxiety, one might add, were emphatically not the business of ancient portrait representation.

Such period and dynastic style-categories as 'Constantinian classicism' are both too narrow and too wide for the jobs usually assigned to them. On the one hand, they are much too *narrow* for the great layers of more static image production (for example, mosaics, grave reliefs, and images of divinities) that will not fit onto the evolutionary line marked into intervals by the names of successive rulers. And on the other hand, even for ruler portraits, from which they are derived, such period-labels can be too *wide*. We have seen in the period discussed here that there is rather more to the imperial image between Diocletian and Constantine than a comfortable progression from abstraction to classicism. Ancient portraits were a more sensitive and complicated expression of political ideology.

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<sup>176</sup> E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making* (1977), 7–21; S. Wood, *Roman Portrait Sculpture, 217–60 A.D.* (1986), reviewed by this writer, *JRS* 78 (1988), 257–8.

<sup>177</sup> Kitzinger, *op. cit.* (n. 176), 16, speaks of the 'deeply troubled people' represented in third-century portraits, of their 'sense of anguish' and 'worried concern', Bianchi Bandinelli, *op. cit.* (n. 12), 3, of

their 'agonized expressions' and 'moral agony'. Such intuitive interpretations, in which images repeat what history says, have wide currency. Most recently the Venice tetrarchs have been said to betray 'late third-century anxiety about an empire threatened with dissolution': F. Fernandez-Armesto, *Millennium: A History of Our Last Thousand Years* (1995), 64, fig. 2.8.