



## **Roma and Constantinopolis in Late-Antique Art from 312 to 365**

J. M. C. Toynbee

*The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 37, Parts 1 and 2. (1947), pp. 135-144.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0075-4358%281947%2937%3C135%3ARACILA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-4>

*The Journal of Roman Studies* is currently published by Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/about/terms.html>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/journals/sprs.html>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

---

JSTOR is an independent not-for-profit organization dedicated to creating and preserving a digital archive of scholarly journals. For more information regarding JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

# ROMA AND CONSTANTINOPOLIS IN LATE-ANTIQUE ART FROM 312 TO 365

By J. M. C. TOYNBEE

(Plates v-xiii)

Little more than a decade after Constantine's conversion to Christianity the ancient gods and goddesses of the Graeco-Roman pantheon ceased to appear upon the official coinage and public monuments of the Empire.<sup>1</sup> The personifications—Victoria, Virtus, Pax, Libertas, Securitas, etc., and the 'geographical' figures of Res Publica, Roma, Tellus, cities,<sup>2</sup> countries, and tribes—remained. Yet some of these had, up to that very time, received, like the Olympians, their shrines and altars and other honours associated with pagan cultus; and we ask ourselves how it was that a Christian State, while rejecting the one, could retain and 'baptize' the other. The answer to this question, which involves the whole complex problem of the nature of pagan religious belief under the later Empire, can only be tentatively suggested here. The pantheon had eventually to go because its denizens had possessed, for the great majority of pagans, a real, objective, and independent existence. They were not merely poetic or mystic symbols, but divine personalities, patrons and protectors both of the State in general and of imperial dynasties in particular, worshipped in their own right. The personifications were also capable of receiving worship, but derivatively so; as *genii* and *junones*, or spirits (δαίμονες), they possessed a secondary, reflected, and symbolic godhead.<sup>3</sup> They stood for powers and 'virtues' exercised, or for blessings bestowed, by the gods and their vice-gerent, the Emperor. Dea Roma, although worshipped as a tutelary goddess, was, ultimately, the superhuman might, majesty, and imperial spirit of Rome, wherein were manifested the power and favour of the State gods; while the Tychai of other localities symbolized their collective existence and psychology, and either the communal dignity and good fortune which they enjoyed, through heaven's grace, as members of the Empire, or their communal disaster as vanquished peoples outside. No one had, presumably, really conceived of Victoria, Virtus, Pietas, Liberalitas, Annona, Roma, Alexandria, Gallia, Alamannia, etc., as persons existing objectively and independently of men, activities, States, and places, in the same sense in which Juppiter, Mars, Hercules, Apollo, Vesta, Minerva, etc., were held to exist somewhere in the spiritual world.<sup>4</sup> Hence, when the Roman State transferred its allegiance from pagan polytheism to the religion of

<sup>1</sup> The Hadrianic 'tondi' on the Arch of Constantine, erected between October, 312, and September, 315, with the imperial heads recut as portraits of Constantine and Licinius (H. P. L'Orange and A. von Gerkan, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck der Konstantinsbogen*, 1939), would seem to be our last extant example of reigning Emperors shown as sacrificing to pagan deities on a public monument. After the fall of Licinius even Sol Invictus, possibly portrayed as a symbol of the Sun of Righteousness between 312 and 323 (N. H. Baynes, *Constantine the Great and the Christian Church*, 1931, 95 ff.), vanished from Constantine's coinage. Yet on a bronze medallion of Roman mintage Constantine himself appears in the guise of Juppiter (see Alföldi, above, p. 15, pl. I, 7; F. Gnechchi, *I medaglioni romani*, 1912, II, pl. 130, no. 2).

<sup>2</sup> e.g. the two converging files of city-goddesses in the lowest zone of reliefs on the south side of the base of Arcadius' Column at Constantinople (*Archaeologia* LXXVII, 1921-2, pl. 17).

<sup>3</sup> For 'daimon', see Nock, above, p. 109 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Of imperial 'virtues' in the Panegyrist, in whose work he traces the influence of neo-Platonic ideas, J. Maurice wrote (*Numismatique constantiniennne*

II, 1911, cxiv): 'Les panégyristes donnent à ces vertus une existence personnelle; ils en parlent comme si elles étaient des êtres indépendants, des esprits qui s'imposent à l'empereur et peuvent parfois se trouver en lutte entre eux.' But these 'virtues', if in a sense, distinct from the Emperor (e.g. *Paneg.* II, 5, Maximian: 'tu enim divinae providentiae, imperator, consilio,' etc.), did not operate independently of him; they were his attributes, part of his moral and mental endowment as a man (a divinized man, in the case just quoted), and, as such, they could quite conceivably come into conflict with one another. We may recall in this connection the divergent fates of Fortuna and Victoria in the fourth century. Both had been worshipped in Rome as divinities from early times (Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 1912, 139 ff., 256 ff.; Toutain, *Les cultes païens* I, 1907, 413 ff.). But while Fortuna, as an independent goddess, guiding the world's destiny for good or for ill, disappeared from the imperial coinage on the eve of Constantine's conversion (Maurice, op. cit., II, cxxiii), Victoria, as an achievement or attribute of men and States, stayed.

the One True God, the unique object of worship and divine honours, the personifications, gradually shorn of their shrines, altars, and sacrifices, could remain as symbols of the powers, 'virtues,' blessings, and political and local entities which, as His gifts and creatures, derived their significance from Him and operated in accordance with His will.<sup>5</sup> The pagan figures could survive in a new context, still venerated, but no longer worshipped; and with the birth of the Christian Empire there opened, not only another, notable chapter in the history of Roma in art, but also the story of new art-types sprung from the old tradition, those of Constantinopolis, the Tyche of the new, Christianized Rome.

At the solemn consecration of Constantinople to God<sup>6</sup> on 11th May, 330, Constantine forbade the offering of religious cult to the images in the pagan temples which had been erected, or restored, and adorned with statues and ornaments culled from various provinces since 323, while the city was still governed by a pagan senate.<sup>7</sup> By sanctioning the continued presence in his Christian city of pagan buildings and works of art the Emperor recognized their value as part of Rome's cultural heritage,<sup>8</sup> tolerable for decorative and aesthetic purposes, but not as places or objects of worship or as *motifs* for representation on official monuments. Graeco-Roman art-treasures and art-traditions were as integral a part of the city's intellectual background as were the hippodrome and *ludi*, with all their pagan associations, of her people's social life. Furthermore, Zosimus particularizes two temples built (or restored?) by Constantine's orders between 323 and 330 (ναοὺς ᾠκοδομήσατο δύο), and tells us that he placed in one of them the image of Rhea, in the other that of the Tyche of Rome.<sup>9</sup> These ναοί were, presumably, designed, not as places of worship, but as architectural 'settings' for the statues,<sup>10</sup> one of which, that of Roma, causes us no surprise: a goddess no longer, she still symbolized the spirit of the old metropolitan city come to dwell in the new foundation in the East.<sup>11</sup> Nor is the statue of Rhea, mother of the gods, quite so perplexing as at first appears, when we consider that an image of Cybele, traditionally portrayed as patroness of cities with turreted crown, might, if divested of its divine aspect, serve as a type of Constantine's city-Tyche. Zosimus says that Constantine removed the lions which the image had previously held, restored its hands in an attitude of prayer,<sup>12</sup> and showed it as τὴν πόλιν ἐφορῶσα καὶ περιέπουσα. Indeed, the presence of these two statues in the city might partly account for the dual character of Constantinopolis in art, on the one hand, helmeted and assimilated to Roma as Νέα Ῥώμη, on the other, turreted, or coifed, and often grasping a *cornucopiae*, the attribute of Fortuna-Felicitas, as Anthousa.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>5</sup> That the early Christian mind could distinguish between the divine and symbolic elements in these figures seems clear from the use made of them in primitive Christian art. A well-known fourth-century sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum (No. 174: P. Ducati, *L'arte in Roma*, 1938, pl. CCXXXIII, 1), and the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (A.D. 359: in the crypt of St. Peter's, *ibid.* pl. CCXXXV), show Our Lord enthroned above the heavens, which are personified in the traditional manner as the sky-god Caelus; and the personifications of the Jordan as a river-god in the vault-mosaics of the Ravenna Baptisteries are another very familiar example of this purely symbolic interpretation of pagan types. On the famous bridal casket of Proiecta in the British Museum even Venus, a member of the pantheon, can appear, symbolically, above the aspiration 'Secunde et Proiecta vivatis in Christo' (O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum*, 1901, no. 304, 61-4, pl. 15).

<sup>6</sup> Eusebius, *VC* 3, 48: τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν τῶ τῶν μαρτύρων καθιέρου θεῶ.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 3, 48 and 54; Zosimus, *Hist.* 2, 31; Maurice, *op. cit.*, II, LXXVIII ff., 488 f.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Constantius II's admiration for the pagan monuments of Rome in 357 (Ammianus Marcellinus 16, 10, 13-17).

<sup>9</sup> Zosimus, *loc. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> Grisar, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* VI (1882), 587, 588, characterizes them as 'Ziergebäude für die als Kunstwerke darin aufgestellten Bilder', and as 'Kunst- oder Schmuckbauten'.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the POP ROMANVS bronze coins, issued only in Constantinople, which show the traditional figure of the Genius Populi Romani portrayed as a youth with *cornucopiae* (Maurice, *op. cit.*, II, 536-7, pl. 16, nos. 11, 12). Unlike the familiar Genius Populi Romani on folles of the Tetrarchies, or the Genius P R of Constantine's silver medallion (see Alföldi, *above*, p. 13, pl. 1, 4), the Constantinopolitan Genius wears no turreted crown or *modius*.

<sup>12</sup> Upheld, in the attitude of an 'orante'?

<sup>13</sup> *Mon. Germ. Hist. Chron. Min.* I, 233. For the literary records of statues of Constantinopolis erected in the city, see J. Strzygowski, *Die Tyche von Konstantinopel (Analecta Graeciensia, 1893, 144 f.)*. Of these statues one is described as wearing a *modiolus* (turreted crown?), another as holding a *cornucopiae*, a third as setting her foot on a prow. The θυσία ἀναιμακτος held, according to the chronicler, by Constantine in 328, when the city-Tyche received the title of Anthousa, was doubtless a festival of some kind celebrated in her honour without sacrifices.

There can be little doubt that the heavy silver multiples<sup>14</sup> of Constantinopolitan mintage, with the seated city-Tyche as reverse type, were issued for presentation to distinguished persons on the inauguration day (pl. x, no. 1).<sup>15</sup> Their legendless obverse shows the diademed head of Constantine facing to the right, with longish, luxuriant locks of hair on the nape of the neck. The reverse bears the legend D N CONSTANTINVS MAX TRIVMF AVG and the figure of Constantinopolis as Anthousa, turreted and veiled, wearing long tunic and mantle, and seated three-quarters towards the right on a decorated, high-backed throne: she holds in her right hand a short branch and in her left hand the *cornucopiae* of prosperity and she rests her feet upon a prow, the symbol destined to remain, throughout the whole course of her history in antique art, a distinctive, if not invariably constant, mark of the seaport capital.<sup>16</sup> It is noteworthy that the new Christian city is here personified according to pure hellenistic tradition, without the slightest trace of Christian symbolism, and as quite distinct from the Tyche of Rome.<sup>17</sup> She holds a smaller branch, but otherwise corresponds in dress and attributes with the Constantinopolis and Constantinopolis-Victoria types of the Roman bronze medallions of 330.<sup>18</sup>

Turning to Rome, we find there, in the famous Barberini Roma, discovered in 1655 on the site of the Domus Lateranorum and now in the Museo Nazionale Romano, a possibly Constantinian painting, c. 4 ft. 5 in. high, which seems to fit the context of the years 326–330 (pl. VIII, no. 1).<sup>19</sup> Roma is seated to the front on a decorated throne, with a sceptre

<sup>14</sup> Representing from 5½ to 6½ siliquae pieces (14+ to 16+ grammes).

<sup>15</sup> Gneecchi, op. cit., I, pl. 28, nos. 11–13; J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, 1944, pl. 37, no. 9.

<sup>16</sup> For the prow as a rare symbol of Roma in republican, and early imperial art, see P. Lederer, 'Die Roma mit Seesymbolen', *Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau* (1942), 21 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Contrast the contemporary helmeted Constantinopolis, with Christian sceptre, on the small bronze coins issued all over the Empire and on the large bronze medallions of Roman mintage (see pls. X, no. 4; XIII, no. 2, and Alföldi, above, pp. 10, 15). At Constantinople itself specific Christian symbolism was less necessary for emphasizing the Christian character of the city as contrasted with the paganism of old Rome. The close assimilation of the bronze Constantinopolis obverse busts to those of Roma may have been meant to suggest the idea that there could be a Christian Rome. The laurel wreath on Constantinopolis' helmet presumably alludes to the victory at Chrysopolis. The peak of her helmet is turned down; whereas that of Roma is turned up and has no wreath.

<sup>18</sup> Professor Alföldi believes that on the PIETAS AVGVSTI N and PIETAS AVGVSTI NOSTRI solidi and gold medallions struck at Treveri and Nicomedia and probably issued for Constantius II's elevation to the rank of Caesar on 13th November, 324 (*NC* 1940, 18 ff.), the kneeling, turreted figure of a woman is not Byzantium-Constantinopolis, but just a generalized symbol of any city of the Empire (see Alföldi, above p. 12, n. 16 and pl. X, nos. 2, 3). Yet it would seem more natural to suppose that, in types commemorating the victory which led directly to the transformation of Byzantium into Constantinople, the city represented is the ancient Byzantium, now restored as Constantinopolis. On the solidi and large medallions Roma presents the kneeling city to the Emperor, in other words, the senior capital of the Empire is sponsoring the eastern capital-to-be as her *protégée*, not as her rival. The fact that this type was struck at Treveri and Nicomedia would seem to be no argument against recognizing Byzantium-Constantinopolis in the kneeling city, since types of Roma and Constantinopolis frequently appear on coins and medallions minted in these and other provincial cities. This

turreted figure would thus be the precursor of the Constantinopolis of the silver medallions. For an imitation of this type on a large gold medallion of Libius Severus (if genuine), see *NC* 1940, 17 ff., pl. 4, no. 3; Toynbee, op. cit., pl. 30, no. 3; S. L. Cesano, 'Un medaglione aureo di Libio Severo e l'ultima moneta di Roma imperiale', *Studi di Numismatica* I (1940), 83–98, figs. 1, 3. Turreted figures of Res Publica, without other attributes, occur on the SECVRITAS REI PVBLICAE 2-solidi medallion of Constantine I, struck at Treveri (Toynbee, op. cit., pl. 34, no. 9), on the SALVS ET SPES REI PVBLICAE 3-solidi medallion of Constantine I, struck at Heraclea in Thrace and at Constantinople, possibly for the Vicennalia of 326, with Res Publica (= Constantinopolis here?) presenting the Emperor with a Victory-on-globe (Gneecchi, op. cit., I, pl. 7, no. 16; Toynbee, op. cit., pl. 34, no. 11), on the Constantinian RESTITVTOR REI P bronze medallion with Constantinopolis on the obverse and Res Publica (= Byzantium-Constantinopolis here?) being 'restored' by the Emperor (Gneecchi, op. cit., II, pl. 131, no. 7; pl. X, no. 4), and on bronze coins of Gratian, Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Magnus Maximus, with the legends REPARATIO REI P and REPARATIO TEMPORVM and the type of the Emperor 'restoring' Res Publica (Cohen, *Médailles impériales* 2, VIII, 130, nos. 30–2; 142, nos. 26–8; 157, no. 27; 167, no. 3; *NC* 1935, pl. 12, nos. 14–16). A similar turreted figure of Res Publica, this time with *cornucopiae*, genuflects before Magnentius, who advances towards her on horseback (LIBERATOR REI PVBLICAE: Toynbee, op. cit., pl. 34, no. 12), and before Valens, Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius I, who stand and raise her from her knees (RESTITVTOR REI PVBLICAE: Gneecchi, op. cit., I, pls. 15, no. 2; 19, nos. 8, 12; Toynbee, op. cit., pls. 29, no. 9; 35, nos. 1, 2: 36).

<sup>19</sup> G. Körte, *Arch. Zeit.* 1885 (1886), 23–31, pl. 4; J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom iv bis xiii Jahrhundert* I, 127–148; IV, pl. 125 (in colour); G. Calza, 'La figurazione di Roma nell'arte antica', *Dedalo* VII (1927), 677; P. Ducati, *L'arte in Roma* 1938, pl. 237. Wilpert unhesitatingly assigns the painting to the fourth century on the ground of 'die verzeichneten Arme und die Gedrungheit der Gestalt'.



in her left hand, a Victory, who carries a globe and a standard, on the palm of her extended right hand, and her shield at her side. Restored are the head, with its helmet, from just above the nose upwards, the knob of the sceptre, the greater part of the shield, with its decoration, the feet of the figure, and the lower part of the legs of the throne. Most of the standard of Victory is also restored; and the face of Roma has been so much over-painted as to be virtually modern. Roma wears rich robes—first, a long under-tunic of white linen, secondly, a long over-tunic of stiffer material, gold in colour and girded at the waist, with a broad, purple, vertical stripe down the centre of the body, and embroidered round the lower part of the skirt with three horizontal bands showing decorative *motifs* in white upon a purple ground, the two upper bands enclosing a frieze of figures (sea-deities?) painted in polychrome on a gold ground, and, thirdly, a purple mantle, falling from the shoulders and wrapped across the knees. The Victory wears a long, golden tunic. On each of Roma's shoulders is perched a small winged figure; and on each side of the seat of the throne lies a swan, with its head hanging down and a half-draped female figure seated behind it. On the right, above the swan, there appears to be a small globe, supporting Roma's left hand. It has been conjectured that this Roma, and the other figure-paintings from the Lateran site, found in 1780 and now at Naples, belonged to a great series of frescoes executed in honour of Constantine I and his sons.<sup>20</sup> At any rate, the Barberini Roma reminds us of the fine series of 2-solidi Roma medallions struck for the Roman Vicennalia of 326<sup>21</sup> at the mints of Nicomedia (pl. x, no. 5),<sup>22</sup> Treveri (pl. x, no. 6),<sup>23</sup> and Constantinople (pl. x, no. 8).<sup>24</sup> Of these the Nicomedia and Treveri types show the long robes of the Lateran painting. The short tunic worn by the Roma of the Constantinopolitan medallions may possibly reflect the costume of the statue of Roma in the eastern city.<sup>25</sup> Again, the long tunic and rich embroideries of the painting recall the VRBS ROMA obverse busts and the seated Roma reverse types of the bronze medallions minted in Rome in 330, and the VRBS ROMA obverse busts on the small bronze coins issued at the same date at various mints throughout the Empire.<sup>26</sup>

O. Seeck was surely right in his view that the cession of the diocese of Thrace and of Constantinople by Constans to Constantius II in 339 marked an important step in the rise of Constantine's city to the rank of second imperial capital.<sup>27</sup> Now for the first time Roma and Constantinopolis appear on the imperial coinage side by side, not as equals, indeed, but as pendant, or sister, cities. Our earliest dated examples of the new types are the solidi of Constantius II struck for his Vicennalia in 343, chiefly at Antioch, but also at Constantinople, Rome, Sirmium, and Nicomedia. The reverse of these shows the legend GLORIA REI PVBLICAE and the twin cities seated on high-backed thrones, holding up between them a shield inscribed VOT XX MVLT XXX and each grasping a sceptre in her free hand: Constantinopolis, we observe, has exchanged the *cornucopiae* of mere prosperity for the sceptre of sovereignty. On the left is Roma, seated to the front, wearing helmet, short, slipped tunic, high boots, and mantle: on the right we have Constantinopolis, turreted, her feet on a prow, turning to the left to gaze deferentially towards her senior partner (pl. x, no. 9).<sup>28</sup> At Nicomedia a solidus was struck for Constans, whose Decennalia also fell in 343, with the same reverse legends and type.<sup>29</sup> After Constans' death the type was reissued by Constantius for his Tricennalia in October, 353, with the legend VOT XXX MVLT XXXX on the shield and with or without the Christian monogram in the field, this time

<sup>20</sup> E. Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome* II, 1929, 206; Ducati, op. cit., 342; A. Ruesch, *Guida del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* 1911, 58, nos. 185, 187.

<sup>21</sup> See Alföldi, above, p. 14.

<sup>22</sup> Gnechi, op. cit., I, pl. 7, no. 8; Toynbee, op. cit., pl. 35, no. 3 (Constantine I).

<sup>23</sup> Toynbee, op. cit., pl. 35, no. 5 (Constantine I); Gnechi, op. cit., I, pl. 11, no. 6 (Constantius II). Cf. the 1½-solidi pieces of Constantius II (British Museum: Gnechi, op. cit., I, 30, no. 15; pl. x, no. 7), and of Constantine II (Gnechi, op. cit., 24, no. 5).

<sup>24</sup> Toynbee, op. cit., pl. 35, no. 4.

<sup>25</sup> Above, p. 136.

<sup>26</sup> See Alföldi, above, p. 10. For other reverse types of Roma on bronze coins of Constantine I (ROMAE AETERNAE: Roma seated to right, holding *vota* shield; GLORIA ROMANORVM: Roma seated to left, holding Victory-on-globe and spear), see Cohen, op. cit., VII, 259, nos. 263, 264; 283, nos. 469-473, and Alföldi, above, p. 12 and pl. iv, nos. 6-8.

<sup>27</sup> P-W, s.v. Constantius II, col. 1052; ZN XXI (1898), 59-65.

<sup>28</sup> Cohen, op. cit., VII, 456, nos. 108, 109.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 415, no. 79.

at other mints, some of them western—Siscia, Thessalonica, Lugdunum, Treveri, Aquileia, and Mediolanum, as well (pl. x, no. 10).<sup>30</sup> Yet another issue shows VOT XXXV MVLX XXXX upon the shield (pl. x, no. 11).<sup>31</sup> Again, the same legend (GLORIA REI PVBLICAE) and the twin-cities type appear on solidi of Constantius Gallus struck at Antioch, with a star upon the shield,<sup>32</sup> and on others struck for his Quinquennalia (354), with VOTIS V and VOT V MVLX on the shield, at Nicomedia, Lugdunum, Treveri, Thessalonica, and Siscia (pl. x, no. 12).<sup>33</sup> The type was also struck for Julian as Caesar, at Rome with the legend FEL TEMP REPARATIO and a star on the shield,<sup>34</sup> at Rome, Antioch, and Constantinople, with the legend GLORIA REI PVBLICAE and a star on the shield (pl. x, no. 13),<sup>35</sup> and at Constantinople Treveri, and Lugdunum for his Quinquennalia (359–360), with VOTIS V, VOT V MVLX, and VOTIS V MVLX on the shield (pl. x, no. 14).<sup>36</sup> Possibly the pieces showing the star instead of the *vota* numbers on the shield were issued for the elevation of Constantius Gallus and Julian to the rank of Caesar in 351 and 355 respectively. At least it is clear that Constantius II intended the twin-cities type to be a prominent feature of the *vota* coinage of his reign.

For the Tricennalia of 353 the *vota* type of the two capital cities was issued at Constantinople on a 2-solidi medallion with the regular coin legend, GLORIA REI PVBLICAE, and VOT XXX MVLX XXXX upon the shield (pls. x, no. 15, XI, no. 1).<sup>37</sup> Both cities display the same dress, attributes, and attitudes as on the solidi. At Rome for the same occasion was issued a bronze medallion, of which a specimen in Paris shows contorniate features (turned-up edges and circular groove), with a helmeted bust of Constantius on the obverse and on the reverse the legend GLORIA ROMANORVM R and a type depicting the sister cities (pl. xi, no. 2).<sup>38</sup> Here they are standing, instead of seated, and they hold up between them a shield, resting on a *cippus*, on which VOT XXX MVLX XXXX is inscribed. On the left is Roma, helmeted, holding a spear, or sceptre, in her right hand, and wearing a long tunic with mantle above. Constantinopolis is on the right, turreted and veiled, wearing long tunic and mantle, and holding in her left hand a *cornucopiae*: this is, as we have seen, the regular attribute of the Constantinopolis and Constantinopolis-Victoria of the Constantinian bronze medallion reverse types of Roman mintage, some of which were reissued after Constantine's death, as the legend VICTORIA AVGG NN and the coupling of these designs with portraits of Constantine II (pl. xi, no. 3),<sup>39</sup> Constans,<sup>40</sup> and Constantius II<sup>41</sup> as Augusti show.<sup>42</sup>

It is, however, in a group of undated gold medallions, without *vota* allusions, that we find the most interesting developments in the Constantian type of Constantinopolis. These medallions fall into two series, one of 2-solidi, the other of 4½-solidi pieces, all with the reverse legend GLORIA ROMANORVM and all almost certainly contemporary, to judge by the remarkably homogeneous style of their obverse portraits. They are certainly earlier than 350, for one of the larger pieces was struck for Constans at Antioch by his brother, with a portrait and obverse legend<sup>43</sup> closely assimilated to his own. The smaller pieces, struck at Antioch and Thessalonica, show a new version of the twin-cities reverse type

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 457, 458, nos. 112–122; H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, 1928, pl. 54, no. 7. These solidi of Constantius II are among the commonest of later imperial gold coins.

<sup>31</sup> Cohen, op. cit., VII, 458, nos. 123, 124; 459, nos. 125, 126, gives this type with VOT XXXX on the shield; 449, no. 72, gives a variant of this type with the legend FELICITAS ROMANORVM VOT XXXV MVLX XXXX.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., VIII, 34, nos. 22, 23.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 34, 35, nos. 24–6. No. 27, struck at Constantinople, is described as showing the legend VOT V MVLX XX.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 44, no. 8.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 45, 46, nos. 22–4.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 46, nos. 26–30.

<sup>37</sup> Gnechi, op. cit., I, pl. 11, no. 5.

<sup>38</sup> A. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten*, 1943, pl. 2, no. 9.

<sup>39</sup> Gnechi op. cit., II, pl. 134, no. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 144, no. 21.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 149, no. 32.

<sup>42</sup> For reissues, in the names of Constans and Constantius II as Augusti and of Constantius Gallus of the Roman bronze medallion types of Roma (VRBS ROMA, ROMA BEATA, VRBS ROMA BEATA) seated to the left on a high-backed or backless throne, wearing helmet, long or short tunic, and mantle, a shield at her side, a spear or sceptre in her left hand, and a Victory-on-globe on her extended right hand, see Gnechi, op. cit., II, pls. 135, nos. 1, 12; 136, no. 8; 138, nos. 2, 3; Toynbee, op. cit., pl. 35, no. 7; and pl. XI, no. 4.

<sup>43</sup> FL IVL CONSTANS PERP AVG: FL IVL CONSTANTIVS PERP AVG. The formula PERP AVG is found on only one other medallion of Constans (see below, n. 58), and occurs but rarely on his coins (Cohen, op. cit., VII, 426, nos. 139–141).

(pl. XI, nos. 5-7).<sup>44</sup> Roma and Constantinopolis are seated side by side, wearing the same dress, and in the same relative attitudes, as on the *vota* coins and gold medallion. Constantinopolis has her distinctive prow and turreted crown, but on her extended right hand she holds Roma's own emblem, the Victory-on-globe, identical with that held on the right hand of her senior partner in this very design. Again, while Constantinopolis is seated, as before, on a high-backed throne, Roma's seat is backless, the knob of her sceptre is smaller than that on the thyrsus-like sceptre of her eastern sister,<sup>45</sup> and sometimes, instead of a sceptre, she holds only the spear.<sup>46</sup> More striking still is the reverse type of the large gold pieces, where Constantinopolis is portrayed alone (pls. XI, nos. 8, 9; XII, nos. 1-6).<sup>47</sup> These medallions were issued at Antioch, Nicomedia, Sirmium, and Rome; and while the main features of the type are constant, the details vary very considerably from die to die. Constantinopolis is seated towards the left on a high-backed throne, the framework of which is carved with decorative patterns of varying degrees of richness: some dies show the folds of a curtain screening the back. Her feet rest upon a prow. She wears a necklace, a long, short-sleeved tunic, girded at the waist, sometimes by a broad, embroidered belt, a mantle, falling from the left shoulder, caught over both lower arms, and wrapped across the knees, and boots which, on some dies, appear to be richly embroidered. Her head-dress is specially noteworthy, for here she is characterized neither by helmet, as on the obverses of the Roman bronze CONSTANTINOPOLIS medallions,<sup>48</sup> nor by turreted crown. On most dies this head-dress suggests a broad *stephane* or *sphendone*, or coif, not unlike that worn by Helena on her bronze medallions: <sup>49</sup> one die, struck at Nicomedia and coupled with the unique full-face helmeted bust of the Emperor on the obverse, shows the Tyche with a narrow diadem.<sup>50</sup> This type of head-dress, whether coif or diadem, was, we may surmise, intended to give Constantinopolis a quite distinctive and individual stamp: it was an experiment, only once, it seems, repeated at a later date.<sup>51</sup> On her extended right hand the city holds the Victory-on-globe. In her left hand she grasps a sceptre, terminating below in a small knob, above, in a large object, sometimes round, sometimes cone-shaped, with two *taeniae* fluttering at its base, closely resembling the top of a thyrsus. In fact, her sceptre, both here and also, most probably, in the twin-cities type of the smaller pieces, is a thyrsus, the emblem *par excellence* of Dionysos, bringer of victory and prosperity from the East, and hence most appropriate to Constantinopolis as Anthousa and 'glory of the Romans' in the Orient. The differentiation and exaltation of Constantinopolis is even more obviously marked here than in the twin-cities design of the parallel series. When, and for what occasion, was this remarkable group of medallions designed? Seeck would assign them to 339 and thinks that they were actually struck to commemorate the transfer of Constantinople to Constantius' domains.<sup>52</sup> But we should expect some interval of time to have elapsed before the effect of the session on the status of the eastern city could be thus clearly and graphically formulated. Again, the issue of magnificent gift-pieces of so individual a character suggests as its occasion some special festival, rather than a mere political readjustment, however far-reaching its consequences were destined to be. Were they, then, issued for Constantius' Vicennalia in 343-4, contemporaneously with the VOTA XX twin-cities solidi? Possibly so; yet other medallion types with VOTA XX allusions were struck for both brothers in all three metals, providing

<sup>44</sup> Gnechchi, op. cit., I, pl. 11, no. 7; Toynbee, op. cit., pl. 37, nos. 3, 4.

<sup>45</sup> See below I. 26 ff.

<sup>46</sup> Gnechchi, loc. cit.

<sup>47</sup> Constans: Gnechchi, op. cit., I, pl. 9, no. 13; Constantius II: ibid., pls. 11, nos. 8-10; 13, nos. 1, 2; Toynbee, op. cit., pl. 38, nos. 3, 4.

<sup>48</sup> See Alföldi, above, p. 10.

<sup>49</sup> Gnechchi, op. cit., II, pl. 128, no. 9. This comparison was made by the present writer before she saw L. Laffranchi, 'Appunti di critica numismatica, I: La data finale della personificazione di Constantinopoli ed i medaglioni aurei del tempo Teodosiano', *Numismatica* (1941), 4.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., I, pl. 13, no. 2.

<sup>51</sup> Gnechchi, op. cit., I, pls. 16, no. 2; 17, no. 2 (gold medallions of Valens). With this Constantian diademed Constantinopolis we might possibly connect the parallel obverse-types of Constantinopolis and Roma on small silver coins bearing K (the Greek initial for Constantinopolis), or P (the Greek initial for Roma), on their reverses. Here the bust of Constantinopolis is shown diademed and draped to right, that of Roma helmeted, with slipped tunic and *balteus*, also to right (Cohen, op. cit., VII, 337, no. 22; 401, no. 287; 327, no. 3).

<sup>52</sup> P-W, s.v. Constantius II, col. 1053.

adequate medallic honours for that feast. For instance, in Rome in 343-4 Constans had struck for Constantius a bronze medallion with the legend *GLORIA ROMANORVM*, portraying Roma with helmet, long tunic, and mantle, and a shield beside her, inscribing *VOT XX* on an oval shield supported on a pillar (pl. XIII, no. 1).<sup>53</sup> There remains one other occasion which can hardly have been suffered to pass without witness on the medallions of the reign, the eleven-hundredth anniversary of Rome in 348. To that year Seeck assigns Constantius' monetary reforms and the first appearance of the great *FEL TEMP REPARATIO* bronze coin series, issued in his own and in Constans' name<sup>54</sup>; and the bronze *CONSTANTINOPOLIS* medallion with this reverse legend, showing Constantinopolis turreted, with standard and corn-ears, standing towards the left upon a prow, doubtless dates from the same time (pl. XIII, no. 2).<sup>55</sup> In 148 Antoninus Pius had recalled Rome's ancient glories by his famous series of historical and legendary medallion types.<sup>56</sup> In 248 Philip the Arabian had inaugurated with his *SAECLVLVM NOVVM* bronze medallions a new era for Roma Aeterna.<sup>57</sup> And in 348, we may believe, Constantius II augured on these gold medallions, with their twin-cities and new Constantinopolis types, a rebirth of Rome on the Tiber in Rome on the Bosphorus, hinting at the destiny of the then still junior partner to succeed and supersede her senior. These 'Birthday of Rome' celebrations may also have occasioned the 2-solidi Roma medallion struck for Constans at Antioch and known from a single specimen in Sofia. The obverse has the same portrait and legend as Constans' large Constantinopolis medallion. The reverse bears the legend *GLORIA ROMANORVM* and shows Roma helmeted, wearing long tunic and mantle, seated to the left, with a shield at her side: in her left hand she holds a sceptre, or spear, and on her extended right hand is a Victory-on-globe (pl. XIII, no. 3).<sup>58</sup>

At Thessalonica Constantius reissued the twin-cities type, again with the legend *GLORIA ROMANORVM*, on a 2-solidi medallion struck for Constantius Gallus, perhaps when he became Caesar in 351.<sup>59</sup> Julian's elevation to the same rank in November, 355, may have prompted a second reissue of the type in Constantinople, with the same legend and in two variants, one on a 2-solidi piece in Paris, with the obverse bust facing to the left and the top of Constantinopolis' thyrsus-sceptre on the reverse particularly clearly portrayed (pl. XIII, no. 4)<sup>60</sup>; the other on a similar piece, lost from Paris, but known from a cast in Berlin, with the obverse bust facing to the right and, on the reverse, Roma turning, it seems, towards her partner, instead of gazing, as is normally her wont, towards the spectator (pl. XIII, no. 5).<sup>61</sup>

Nepotianus' brief rule in Rome in 350 was marked by the issue of two coin types of Roma (*VRBS ROMA*) shown seated to the left upon a high-backed throne, a shield at her side, and wearing helmet, short tunic, and mantle. On a unique solidus in the Vatican she holds a reversed spear in her left hand and on her right hand a globe surmounted by the Christian monogram (pl. XIII, no. 6)<sup>62</sup>: on the bronze she holds Victory and sceptre (pl. XIII, no. 7).<sup>63</sup> Bronze coins of Magnentius and Decentius show the usual Roma figure seated to the left with a shield beside her, holding spear, or sceptre, and Victory, or Victory-on-globe (*VRBS ROMA*,<sup>64</sup> *RENOBATIO*, or *RENOVATIO*, *VRBIS ROMAE*).<sup>65</sup> At Treveri Magnentius issued for himself and his brother twin 2-solidi medallions with reverse legend *GLORIA ROMANORVM* and Roma seated to the left, with helmet, long tunic, mantle, a shield at her side, a sceptre in her left hand and on her extended right hand a Victory-on-globe (pl. XIII, no. 8).<sup>66</sup> Two imposing

<sup>53</sup> Gnecci, op. cit., II, pl. 136, no. 4.

<sup>54</sup> P-W, s.v. Constantius II, col. 1062. The legend itself first occurred on a silver *VOTA XX* type struck in both names in Rome (Cohen, op. cit., VII, 405, no. 8; 445, no. 30).

<sup>55</sup> Gnecci, op. cit., II, pl. 131, no. 6.

<sup>56</sup> Toynbee, op. cit., 143 f., 193 f.

<sup>57</sup> Gnecci, op. cit., II, pl. 108, no. 9; 109, no. 6; *Trans. Internat. Num. Congr.*, 1936, 179 ff.

<sup>58</sup> A photograph of this piece was kindly supplied to the present writer by Dr. Gerassimov of the National Museum, Sofia. Obverse legend = *FL IVL CONSTANS PERP AVG*.

<sup>59</sup> Gnecci, op. cit., I, 34, no. 1: formerly in Paris.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., pl. 14, no. 5.

<sup>61</sup> Toynbee, op. cit., pl. 37, no. 5.

<sup>62</sup> Cohen, op. cit., VIII, 2, no. 2.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., nos. 3, 4.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 22, no. 86.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 12, no. 27; 24, no. 8.

<sup>66</sup> Toynbee, op. cit., pl. 6, no. 6 (Magnentius); Gnecci, op. cit., I, 34, no. 1 (Decentius).

bronze medallions, of exceptionally large size and clearly pendants, were struck by Magnentius in 350, presumably at the Roman mint, which he controlled after Nepotianus' death, at the time when he still hoped to gain recognition as Augustus in the West from Constantius, in return for recognizing the latter as the senior Emperor.<sup>67</sup> One bears Constantius' obverse portrait, with the diadem, the other that of Magnentius himself, with bare head. The reverse types of both pieces are identical and show the Emperor enthroned towards the front in festive attire, a scroll in his left hand, while with his right hand he showers coins into the mantle of Constantinopolis, who is seen on the left, wearing a turreted, or radiate, crown and bending down to receive the largess: on the right Roma stands towards the front, wearing helmet, short, slipped tunic, and high boots, her head turned towards the Emperor and her right arm resting on his shoulders. The reverse legend reads LARGITIO (pl. XIII, nos. 9, 10).<sup>68</sup> Thus did Magnentius hope to create the illusion of fraternal concord between East and West. Roma is certainly the leading spirit here: she prompts and blesses the imperial liberality, while Constantinopolis humbly accepts the gifts. After his final breach with Constantius in 351, Magnentius claimed lordship over the entire Empire, with Rome restored to her ancient role of centre of the imperial government. Hence we may, with C. Boeck,<sup>69</sup> assign to this date the bronze reliefs on a cedar-wood casket, found in Croatia, in which the subordination of Constantinople to Rome is vividly portrayed. The largest and most important section of these reliefs contains personifications of five cities, each inscribed with its name (pl. VII). In the place of honour in the centre is Roma, enthroned towards the front. She wears helmet, necklace (?), slipped (?) tunic, and mantle, and she holds a spear in her right hand. On the ground at her left side is her shield. The attribute held in her left hand cannot be determined, as at this point the relief is damaged. Constantinopolis, followed by Carthago, and Nicomedia, followed by Siscia, advance towards Roma from the left and right respectively. Each wears long, fluttering draperies, and holds a wreath in both hands. Only her veil and turreted crown distinguish Constantinopolis from the lesser cities, as all four do homage to Roma as the undisputed mistress of the world. Between 330 and the destruction of Nicomedia by earthquake in 358 there is no more suitable date for such a scene than the last months of Magnentius' usurpation in the West. Boeck suggests that the casket may have belonged to some senior officer in the usurper's service.

The primacy of Roma as still 'prima urbes inter divum domus, aurea Roma',<sup>70</sup> is the most striking feature of the paintings of the four imperial *metropoleis*, Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Treveri, preserved for us in the Barberini copy made in 1620 of the eighth- or ninth-century version of the calendar of 354, which bears on its title-page the legend 'Furius Dionysius Filocalus titulavit'.<sup>71</sup> Philocalus, a Greek by origin, as his name suggests, worked in Rome; he was later employed by Pope Damasus (366-384),<sup>72</sup> and his miniatures reflect the Roman and Western attitude towards the capital cities of the Empire. Roma (pl. VIII, no. 2) alone is seated, enthroned in state towards the front upon a throne with a high, decorated back and cushioned seat, her feet resting on a footstool. A ceremonial curtain is draped on either side of her: on the left stands an Eros, carrying on his left shoulder a bag of largess from the mouth of which coins are showering; and on the right another money-bag, tied round the neck, lies on the ground. Roma wears a helmet with triple crest, a necklace, a long, sleeveless tunic, embroidered with a broad band down the centre of the breast, girded at the waist, and crossed diagonally by a sword-strap, and a mantle, falling from the left shoulder and wrapped across the knees. In her

<sup>67</sup> Ensslin, P-W, s.v. Magnentius, col. 448.

<sup>68</sup> Gnechi, op. cit., II, pl. 136, no. 7; 138, no. 4.

<sup>69</sup> *Sitzungsberichte d. k. Akad. d. Wissensch. Wien* xxvii, 1 (1858), 57-88, with plate. The present location of the casket is unknown to the present writer. It is not in Vienna, and inquiries from Zagreb have, so far, elicited no reply.

<sup>70</sup> Ausonius, *Ordo urbium nobilium*, 1.

<sup>71</sup> J. Strzygowski, 'Die Kalenderbilder des Chronographen vom Jahre 354', *JDAI Ergänzungsheft* 1 (1888), pl. 4-7; M. Schapiro, 'The Carolin-

gian Copy of the Calendar of 354', *Art Bulletin*, 1940, 270-2. C. Nordenfalk (*Der Kalender vom Jahre 354 und die lateinische Buchmalerei des iv Jahrhunderts*, Göteborg, 1936) maintains that the Barberini copy was made, not from a Carolingian copy of the lost original, but from the MS. of 354 itself.

<sup>72</sup> 'Damasus s. pappae cultor atque amator Furius Dionysius Filocalus scripsit' (W. Kroll, P-W, s.v. Philocalus, col. 2432).

left hand she holds a spear, and on her extended right hand a large globe surmounted by a Victory bearing wreath and palm. The figure of Constantinopolis (fig. 1) is of the traditional city-Tyche type. She stands towards the front, wearing turreted crown, necklace, long tunic, and mantle. In her right hand she holds a laurel-wreath and in her left hand a spear, a strange attribute for Antheusa: possibly it is a mistake on the copyist's part for a sceptre. Two Erotes hover in the air, holding a laurel-wreath above her head. On the left an Eros, poised upon a comrade's back, holds up a lighted torch, a symbol of prosperity: a third Eros runs on the right, also holding a lighted torch; and on the ground, to the left, is a bag of largess. Here Constantinopolis is not raised in any marked or special degree above the level of her sister-cities, Alexandria and Treveri.

The brief reign of Jovian in 363 made two numismatic contributions to our subject. In Rome he issued a bronze medallion of the usual VRBS ROMA type, with Roma seated to the left on a high-backed throne, wearing helmet, short tunic, and mantle, with a spear in her left hand, a globe on her right hand, and a shield at her side (pl. XIII, no. 11).<sup>73</sup> In honour of his anticipated Quinquennialia Jovian struck at Antioch, Constantinople, Rome, Thessalonica, and Sirmium a series of *vota-solidi* with the twin-cities reverse type and the legends GLORIA REI PVBLICAE VOT V and SECVRITAS REI PVBLICAE, or REI PVBLICE, VOT V MVL, or MVLT, X (pl. XIII, no. 12).<sup>74</sup>

With the succession to power of the Valentinian House there came a change in the relation of Constantinopolis to Roma in art. This is exemplified in two non-numismatic groups of representations. The *Tabula Peutingeriana*, with its painted figures of Roma, Constantinopolis, and Antiochia, has been assigned by K. Miller to the year 365-6, when all three cities were simultaneously imperial residences, with Valentinian I residing, nominally, in Rome, Valens making Antioch his headquarters, and Procopius, the 'pretender', holding Constantinople.<sup>75</sup> The twelfth-century (?)<sup>76</sup> copy which has come down to us doubtless preserves the main features of the original figures. Each is portrayed in its local setting—Roma upon the Tiber, with Ostia below her and the Basilica of St. Peter's to the left, Constantinopolis on the shores of the Bosphorus, with Constantine's column, crowned by a statue, on the left, and Antiochia, grouped with the Orontes personified beside her, the aqueduct surrounding her, and, on the left, the famous temple of Apollo at Daphne, with its stream gushing forth. Roma (pl. ix, no. 1), enthroned within a circular medallion, to distinguish her as mistress

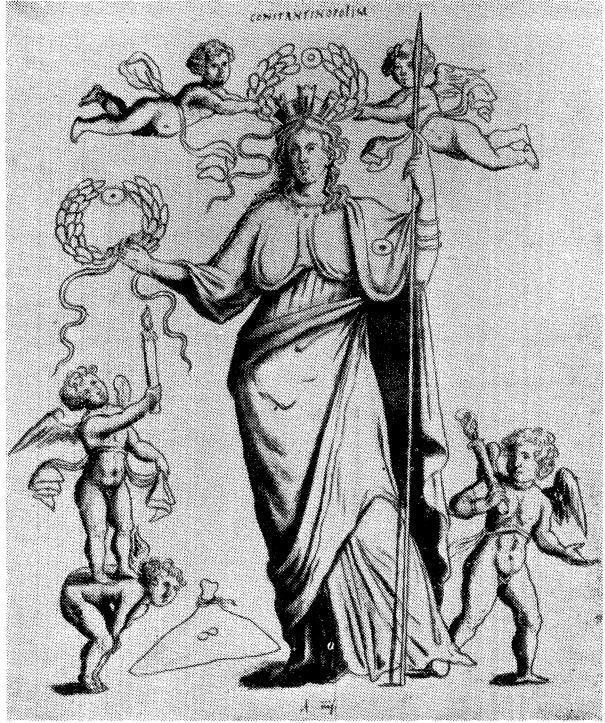


FIG. 1. COPY MADE IN 1620 OF A PAINTING OF CONSTANTINOPOLIS FROM THE CALENDAR OF PHILOCALUS, NOW IN THE BARBERINI LIBRARY, ROME

<sup>73</sup> Gneecchi, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 140, no. 1; see Alföldi, above, p. 10.

<sup>74</sup> Cohen, *op. cit.*, VIII, 74, no. 3; 75, 76, nos. 8-15.

<sup>75</sup> K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana: römische Reise-  
wege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana*, 1916,  
xxx-xxxii.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, xvii.

of the world, is seated to the front on a high-backed throne with a cushioned seat and footstool. She wears long tunic and mantle, has a small, round shield at her side, and holds a sceptre in her left hand and a globe in her right hand. On her head she wears a regular medieval crown, most probably representing a helmet with a triple crest in the original.<sup>77</sup> Constantinopolis (pl. ix, no. 2) is here, as on the special Constantinian series of CONSTANTINOPOLIS coin and medallion obverse busts, closely assimilated to Roma. She is seated in the same posture, on a similar throne with cushion and footstool, with a similar shield at her side. But she has a spear in her left hand and her right hand, extended towards the left, holds no attribute. On her head is a helmet with a double crest.

A somewhat similar approximation of the types of the two chief capitals confronts us in the silver-gilt seated statuettes (5·4 in. high) of Roma and Constantinopolis from the Esquiline treasure (pls. v, vi), discovered in 1793 and acquired by the British Museum in 1866.<sup>78</sup> These, together with the companion statuettes of Antiochia and Alexandria, probably served as the ornamental ends of the poles of a *sedia gestatoria* or of the cross-pieces of a chair. On general stylistic grounds we may assign them to about the sixties of the fourth century. Both cities wear a double-crested helmet, with ornamental side-pieces shaped like double volutes, a long, embroidered tunic, girded at the waist, a mantle, falling from the left shoulder and wrapped across the knees, and short boots. Roma holds a sceptre in her right hand and rests her left hand on a small, round shield at her side. Constantinopolis' military aspect is, indeed, here confined to her helmet. The *cornucopiae* in her left hand and the *patera* held in her right hand proclaim her Anthousa; while the rich armlet and bracelet on her right arm suggest the wealth and prosperity of the eastern city. But the helmeted Constantinopolis as a normal alternative to the turreted type, both on coins and medallions and on other works of art, had come to stay.

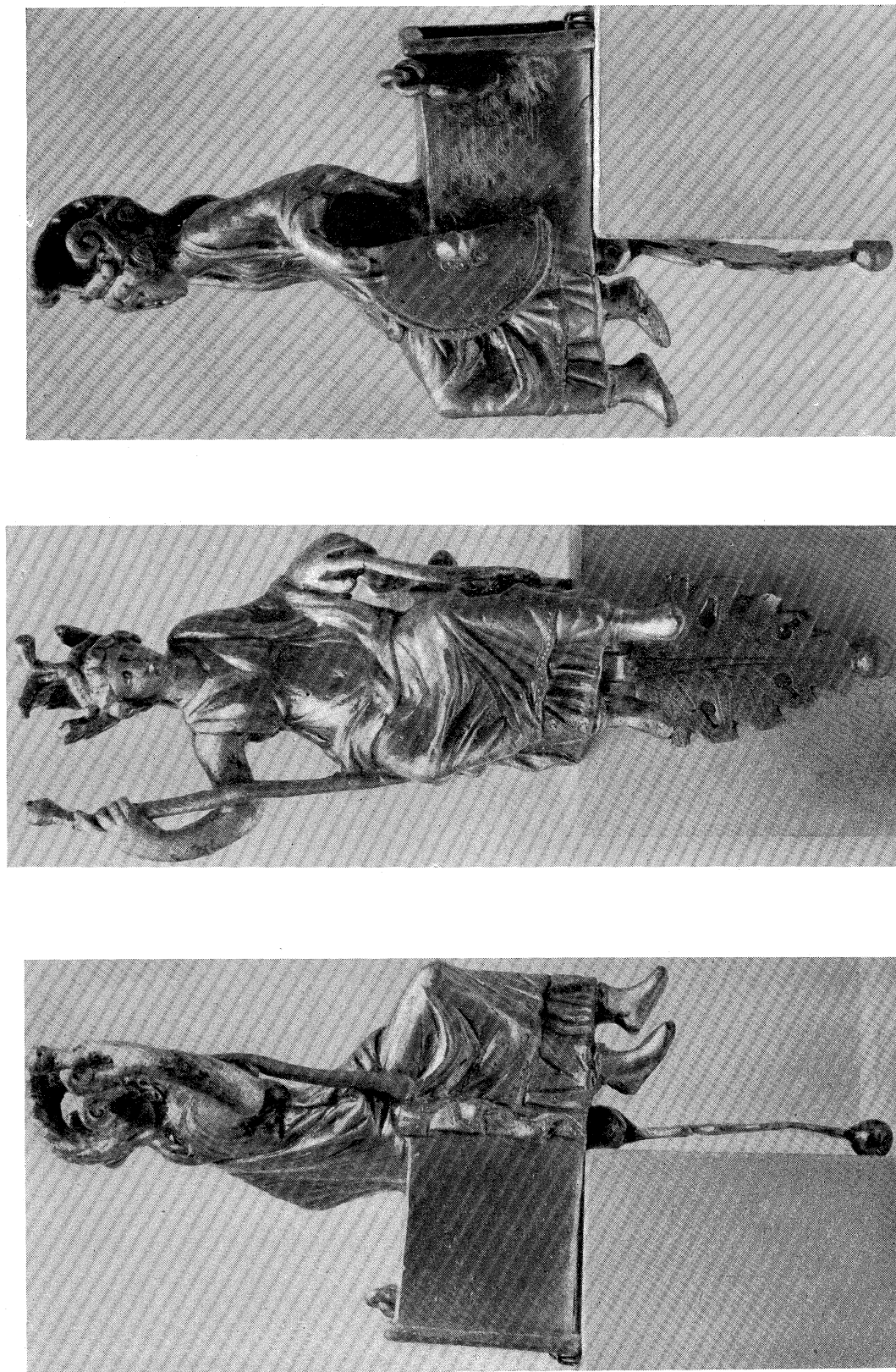
The aim of this paper has been to trace the historical sequence and development of Roma and Constantinopolis types in the art of the middle decades of the fourth century.<sup>79</sup> It is offered here as a small tribute to *concordia* between the old Rome and the new, between Roman and Byzantine studies.

<sup>77</sup> The curious headgear affected by the nimbate Antiochia may be the medieval corruption of a turreted crown.

<sup>78</sup> *JHS*, 1888, 77-8, pl. 5, nos. 1, 2; O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum*, 1901, 74-5, pl. 20, nos. 332, 333.

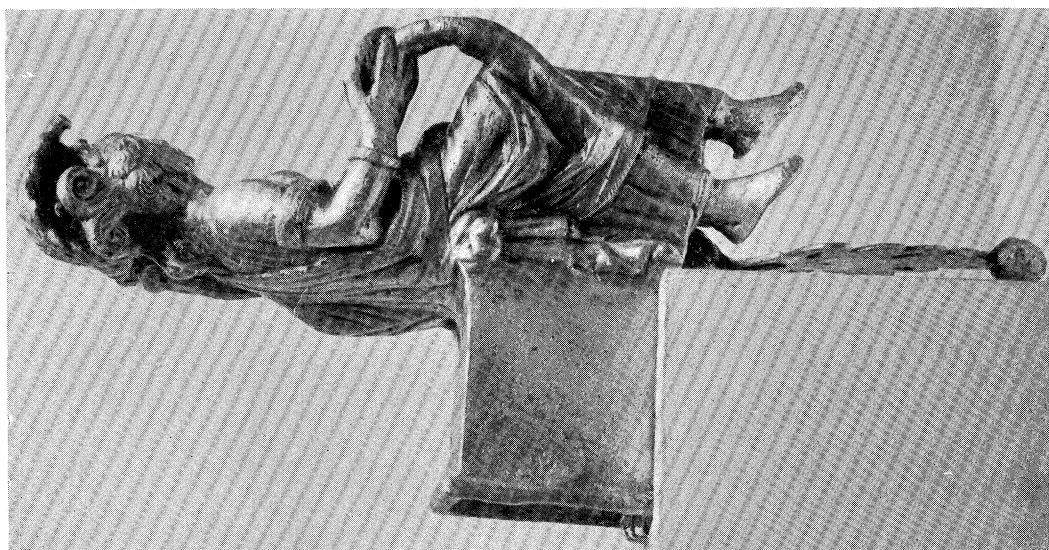
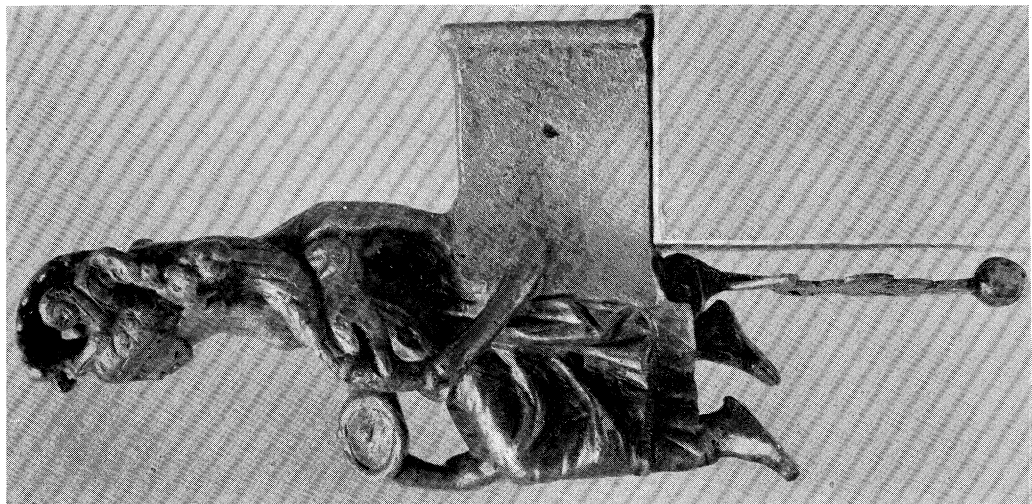
<sup>79</sup> It is hoped to follow out to its conclusion, in some future issue, the story of Roma and Constantinopolis on coins and medallions, and in paintings, mosaics, glass, cameos, silver-ware, and ivories, of the late-fourth, and of the fifth and sixth centuries.



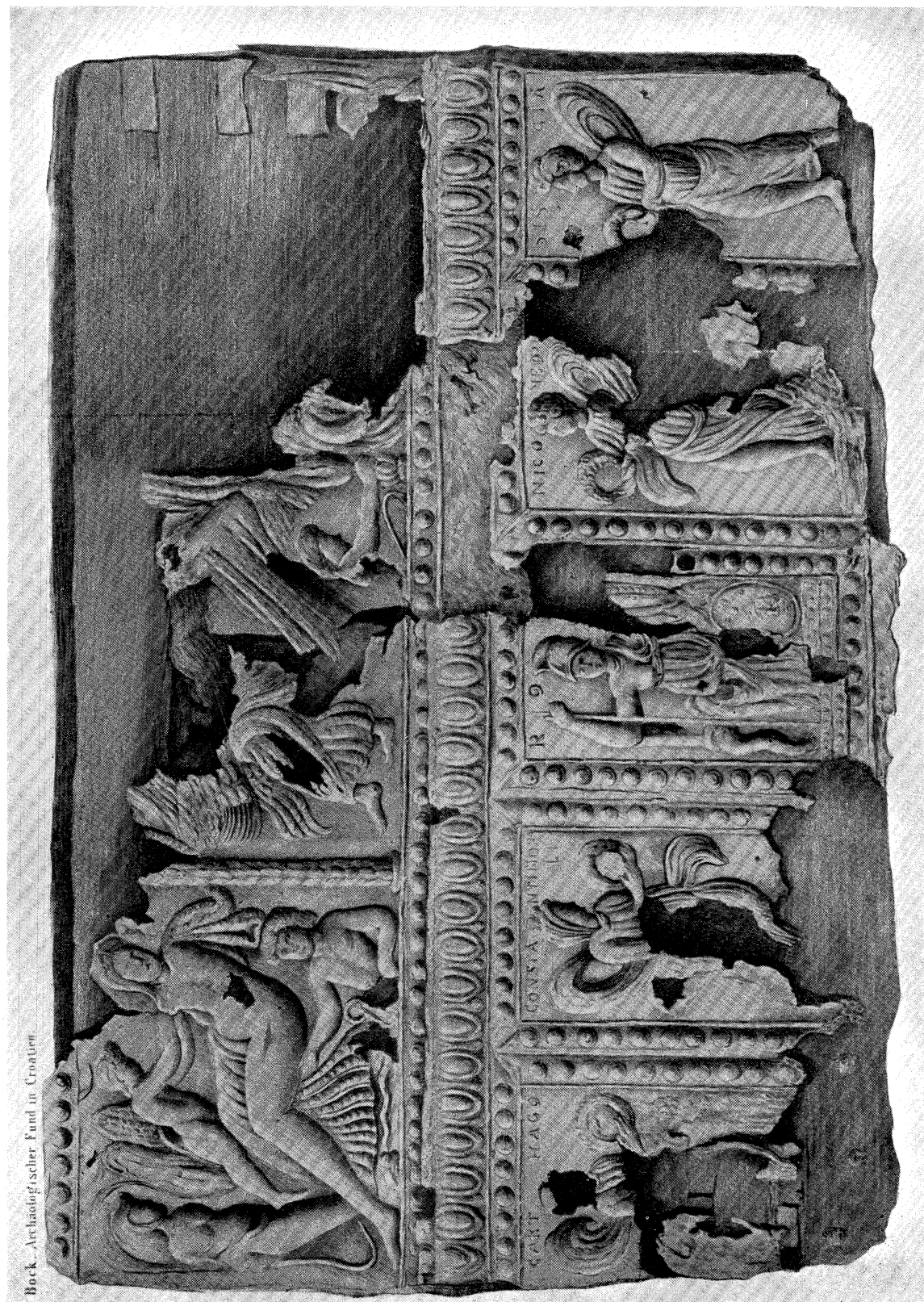


ROME (ESQUILINE) : SILVER GILT STATUETTE OF ROMA, DECORATING A *sedia gestatoria* OR CHAIR, FOUND IN 1793 AND NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. c.  $\frac{1}{4}$  (see p. 144)



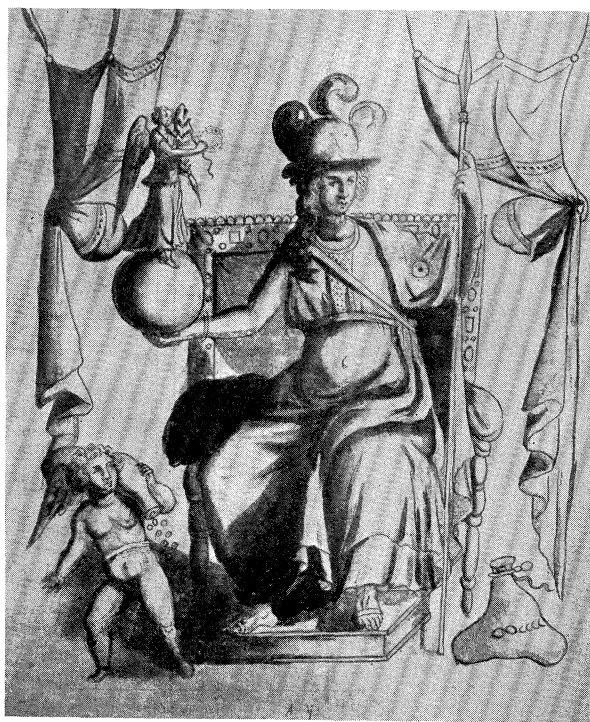


ROME (ESQUILINE) : SILVER GILT FIGURE OF CONSTANTINOPOLIS, DECORATING A *sedes gestatoria* OR CHAIR, FOUND IN 1793 AND NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. c. 1 (see p. 144)



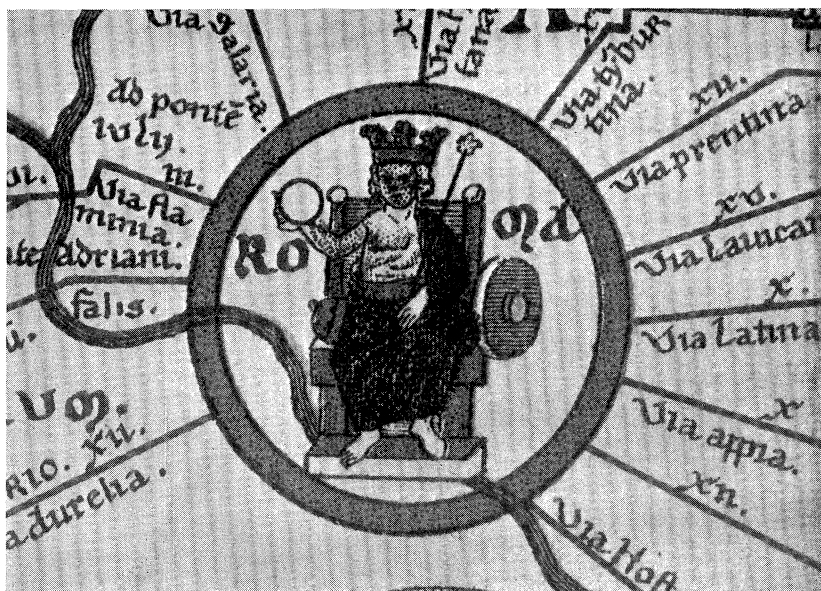
Bock. Archäologischer Fund in Croatten.

CROATIA : BRONZE RELIEF FROM A CEDAR-WOOD CASKET (see p. 142)  
 (From ' Sitzungsberichte d. k. Akademie d. Wissenschaften Wien ' xxvii, 1, 1858)



1. ROME (DOMUS LATERANORUM): PAINTING (RESTORED) OF ROMA FOUND IN 1655 AND NOW IN THE MUSEO NAZIONALE ROMANO.  $\frac{1}{4}$  (see pp. 137 f.)
2. COPY MADE IN 1620 OF THE EIGHTH- OR NINTH-CENTURY VERSION OF THE PAINTING OF ROMA IN THE CALENDAR OF PHILOCALUS, NOW IN THE BARBERINI LIBRARY, ROME (see p. 142 f.)





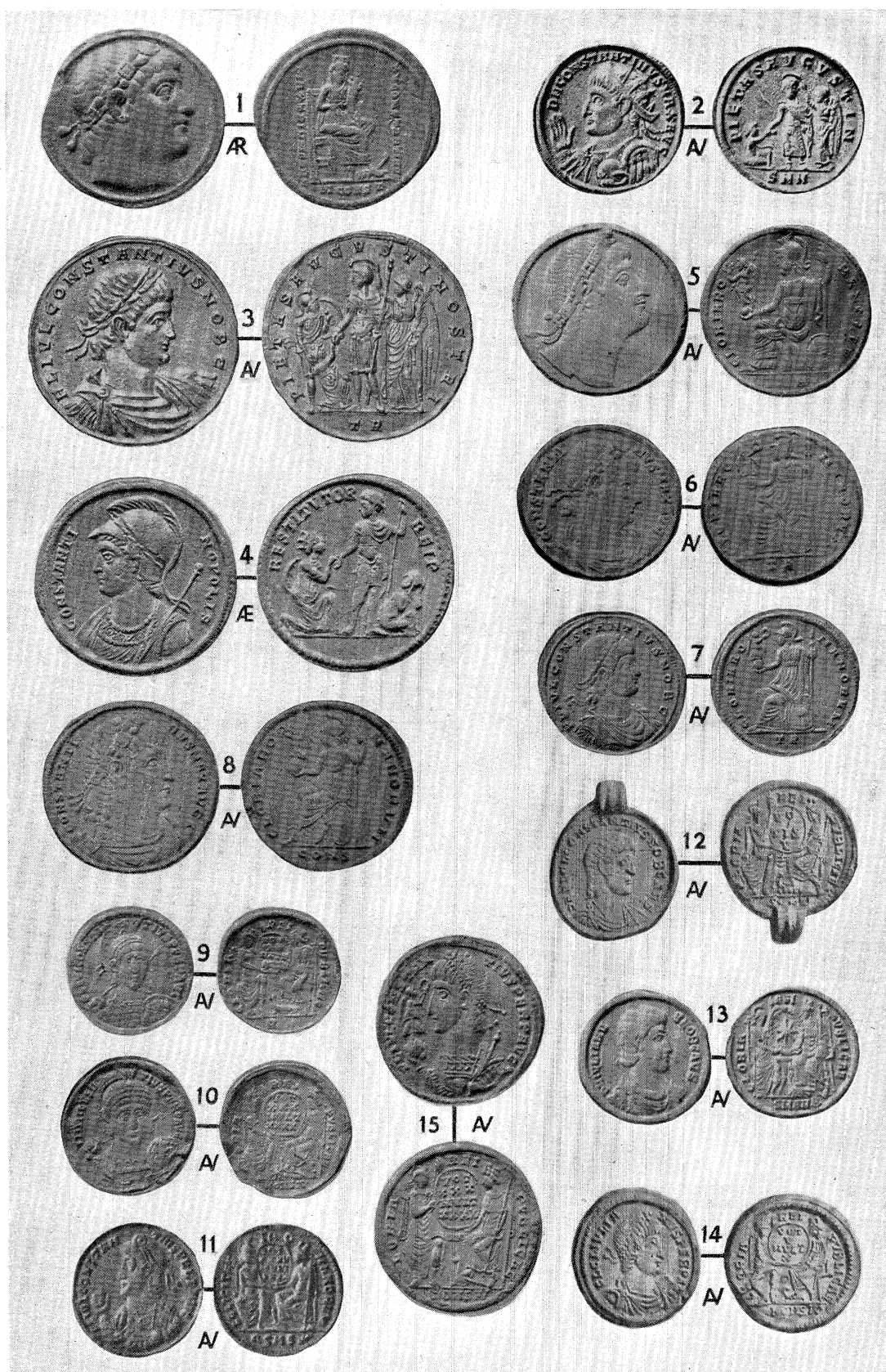
I



2

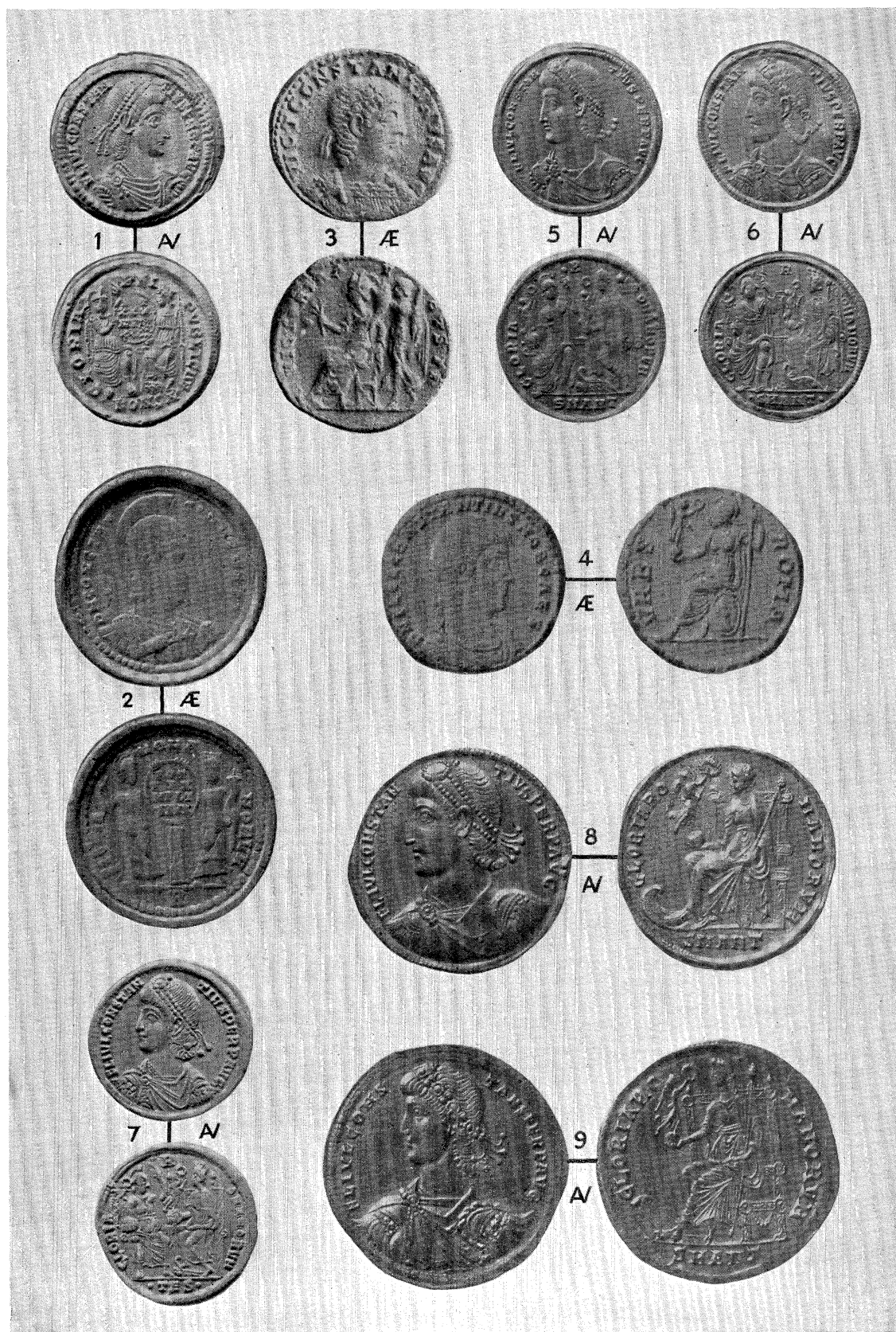
FIGURES OF ROMA AND CONSTANTINOPOLIS FROM THE *Tabula Peutingeriana*, NOW IN THE STATE LIBRARY, VIENNA  
c. 12 (see p. 143 f.)

(From 'Weltkarte des Castorius,' ed. K. Miller, 1888)

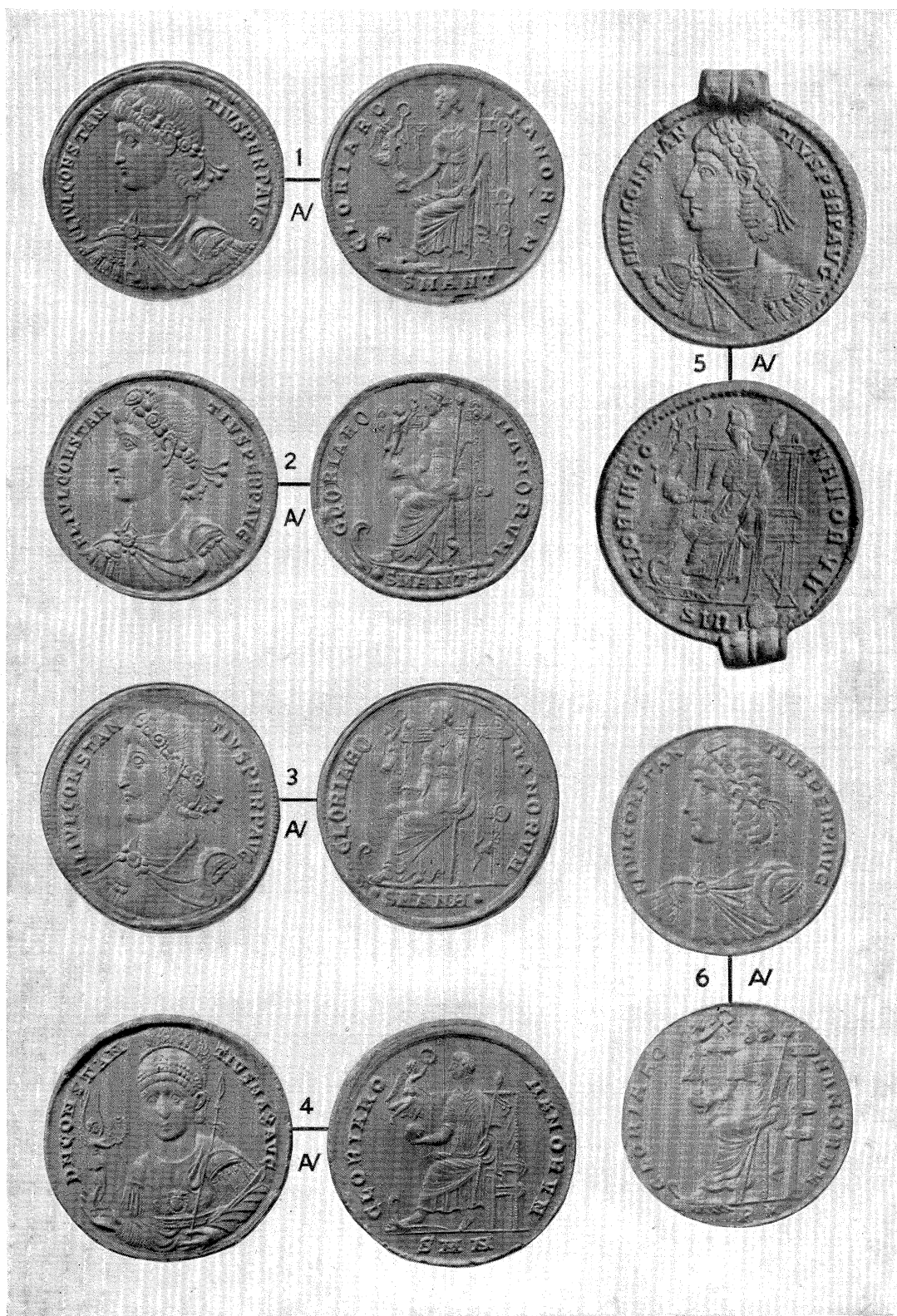


ROMA AND CONSTANTINOPOLIS ON GOLD, SILVER, AND BRONZE COINS AND MEDALLIONS OF CONSTANTINE I, CONSTANTINUS II, GALLUS, AND JULIAN.  $\frac{1}{4}$  (see pp. 137 for 1-4, 138 for 5-9, 139 for 10-15)





ROMA AND CONSTANTINOPOLIS ON GOLD AND BRONZE MEDALLIONS OF CONSTANTINE II, CONSTANTIUS II, CONSTANS AND GALLUS. † (see pl. 139 for 1-4, 140 for 5-9)



CONSTANTINOPOLIS ON GOLD MEDALLIONS OF CONSTANTIVS II. † (see p. 140)





ROMA AND CONSTANTINOPOLIS ON GOLD AND BRONZE COINS AND MEDALLIONS OF CONSTANTIUS II, CONSTANS, NEPOTIANUS, MAGNENTIUS JULIAN AND JOVIAN. † (see pp. 141 for 1-8, 142 for 9, 10, 143 for 11, 12)