Mariana Bodnaruk

THE POLITICS OF MEMORY AND VISUAL POLITICS:

COMPARING THE SELF-REPRESENTATION OF

CONSTANTINE AND AUGUSTUS

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with the specialization
in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

May 2012

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(Ukraine)

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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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I, the undersigned, **Mariana Bodnaruk**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with the specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 16 May 2012

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Signature

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AÉ   *L'Année Épigraphique*

AJA   *American Journal of Archaeology*

BZ   *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*

CIL   *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum.* 16 vols. Ed. Theodor Mommsen et alia. Berlin: Reimer, 1863–.

CP   *Classical Philology*

CQ   *Classical Quarterly*

CTh   *Codex Theodosianus*. Vol. 1, pars posterior. *Theodosiani Libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondinis*. Ed. Theodor Mommsen and Paul M. Meyer. Berlin, 1905.

DOP   *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*

EAA   *Enciclopedia deil'arte antica. Classica e orientale*. Vol. 6. Ed. R. Bianchi-Bandinelli. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1965.

ILS   *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. 3 vols. Ed. Hermann Dessau. Berlin: Weidmann 1892–1916.

JbAChr *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*

JHS   *Journal of Hellenic Studies*

JLA   *Journal of Late Antiquity*

JRA   *Journal of Roman Archaeology*

JRS   *Journal of Roman Studies*

JThS   *Journal of Theological Studies*

JWarb   *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*

LCL   *Loeb Classical Library*. 518 vols. Ed. T. E. Page et al. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1912–.

LTUR   *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*. 5 vols. Ed. E. M. Steinby. Rome: Quasar, 1993–2000.

PBSR   *Papers of the British School at Rome*

PG   *Patrologia Graeca*. 161 vols. Ed. Jacques-Paul Migne. Paris, 1857–1866.

RIC   *Roman Imperial Coinage*. 10 vols. Ed. H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, et alia. London: Spink 1923–1994.

RRC   *Roman Republican Coinage*. Ed. Michael H. Crawford. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.

EXORDIUM

Augustus primus primus est huius auctor imperii, et in eius nomen omnes velut quadam adoptione aut iure hereditario succedimus.

The first Augustus was the first founder of this Empire, and to his name we all succeed, either by some form of adoption or by hereditary claim.

(Scriptores Historiae Augustae, *Alexander Severus* 10.4)[1]

Introduction

I begin with the questions of political history. To understand what happened after the Battle of the Milvian Bridge on 28 October 312 CE and how the new political order of the empire was constituted I start with political events. The first question is thus the following: What does Constantinian art say about imperial politics in the aftermath of the year 312 CE?

It all began with the Constantinian Arch in Rome (fig.1). Constantine had just overcome the army of the usurper Maxentius and captured Rome. Maxentius died disgracefully and his head was paraded in triumphal procession exhibited to the populace of Rome, his military forces – the *equites singulares* and Praetorian Guard – were dissolved, and his memory was obliterated.[2] The senatorial aristocracy denounced defeated Maxentius as a tyrant and hailed Constantine, the unconquered ruler over the Western empire. In the exultation of victory, the time was ripe for Constantinian revenge, yet the Roman senators, the very aristocrats who had supported Maxentius, retained their offices.[3] Like young Octavian, who chose to exercise the politics of *clementia* – Caesar's special virtue – towards

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[1] Scriptores Historiae Augustae, *Alexander Severus* 10.4, ed. and tr. Magie 1924, II, 196–97.
[2] Eric R. Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation.* Damnatio Memoriae *and Roman Imperial Portraiture* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 216–17.
[3] Noel Lenski, "Evoking the Pagan Past: *Instinctu divinitatis* and Constantine's Capture of Rome," *JLA* 1 (2008), 206–59.

supporters of Mark Antony after his Actian victory, Constantine sought to maintain good relations with the most influential members among the senatorial aristocrats. At that time he appeared to be a glorious winner over the common enemy and as such received the triumph traditionally granted by the senate.[4] What is more, around 315 CE Constantine also received a commemorative monument from the senate, the triumphal Arch whose re-carved relief panels exemplified an ideology of victory and explicit ideological interpretation of Roman military conquest of barbarians as well as recent civil war events. Constantine's defeat of his enemy was therefore put in the context of the general theme of famous imperial victories. In contrast, the Constantinian foe, Maxentius, was stigmatized as a tyrant as it apparent in the dedicatory inscription on the Arch.[5]

Having liberated Rome from the rule of a tyrant, in terms reminiscent of the claims of Augustus expressed in the *Res Gestae* three and a half centuries earlier,[6] Constantine evoked his ideological father, the founder of the empire. Octavian, future Augustus (of whom Constantine was often reminiscent), had previously received a triumphal arch from the senate in the Roman Forum about 29 BCE,[7] after the naval victory over Mark Antony and Cleopatra (fig.3). As Diana Kleiner has put it, "since the Arch of Constantine is set apart from most, if not all, of its predecessors by its commemoration of a civil war between Roman citizens and not a glorious foreign victory, the only related monument to it is Augustus' Actian arch (in

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[4] See Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).

[5] *CIL* 6.1139 + 31245 = *ILS* 694. Timothy D. Barnes, "Oppressor, Persecutor, Usurper: The Meaning of 'Tyrannus' in the Fourth Century," in *Historiae Augustae Colloquium Barcionense*, ed. Giorgio Bonamente (Bari: Edipuglia, 1996), 55–65.

[6] *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 1.1, ed. and tr. Brunt and Moore 1967, 18–9. Averil Cameron, "Constantius and Constantine: An Exercise in Publicity," in *Constantine the Great: York's Roman Emperor*, ed. E. Hartley et al. (York: York Museums and Gallery Trust, 2006), 24.

[7] On the imperial development of the Forum Romanum, see Ingrun Köb, *Rom – Ein Stadtzentrum im Wandel. Untersuchungen zur Funktion und Nutzung der Forum Romanun und der Kaiserfora in der Kaiserzeit* (Hamburg: Kovač, 2000) and Klaus Stefan Freyberger, *Das Forum Romanum: Spiegel der Stadtgeschichte des antiken Rom* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2009). See also Frank Kolb, *Rom: die Geschichte der Stadt in der Antike* (Munich: Beck, 2002) on urban history.

the Forum Romanum), which celebrated his monumentous victory over Mark Antony for which the young Octavian was granted a triumph."[8]

The Roman revolution of Augustus is parallelled in the Roman revolution of Constantine, which marked a break with the tetrarchy and resulted in a new state order characterized by dynastic succession. There is certainly a huge difference between the long period of civil war before Augustus and the shorter period of turmoil before Constantine, even though it is equally called 'civil war' and not for a lack of another term. Indeed, Augustus had to create a completely new order; Constantine restored one. Yet political theology reminds one not to forget Lactantius' complaint about the divided empire of the tetrarchs.[9] The empire, for him, should be governed by one ruler for the whole universe is ruled by one. Diocletian's establishment of the tetrarchy is thus a metaphysical crime against the order of the universe. One therefore clearly recognizes a Christian request for a unified empire expressed in the time of Constantine.

The Roman state divided between two ultimate rivals, both Roman citizens, both supported by Roman armies – Constantine contra Licinius similarly to Octavian contra Mark Antony – was calling for unity. The tetrarchic project failed utterly. The Age of Augustus, the Age of Constantine: the empire at peace with itself was founded on the forgetting of civil conflict.

I will continue with the questions of ideology. Niklas Luhmann discerns two opposite forms of reflecting on the self-description of a complex system: tautological and

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[8] Diana Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 447. On the rôle that the Actian victory played in the political formation of the principate and its public ideology, see Robert Alan Gurval, *Actium and Augustus: The Politics and Emotions of Civil War* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998).

[9] Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 7.1–2, ed. and tr. Creed 1984, 10–3. On Lactantius, see Arne Søby Christensen, *Lactantius the Historian: An Analysis of the De Mortibus Persecutorum* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1980) and E. DePalma Digeser, *The Making of a Christian Empire. Lactantius and Rome* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2000). On tetrarchic project, see Frank Kolb, *Diokletian und die erste Tetrarchie* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1987) and *Diokletian und die Tetrarchie: Aspekte einer Zeitenwende*, ed. Alexander Demandt et al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004); on tetrarchic art, see highly suggestive Hans Peter L'Orange, *The Roman Empire: Art Forms and Civic Life* (New York: Rizzoli, 1965).

paradoxical.[10] Tautologies are distinctions that do not distinguish. They explicitly negate that what they distinguish really makes a difference. Thus, an ideological description in a form of tautology states, for example, that 'a tyrant is the tyrant.' It is always based on a dual observation schema: something is what it is. The tautological statement, however, negates oppositions and the posited duality and asserts an identity. Yet such an identity became an ideological one and the tautology ultimately blocks observations.

Ideology indeed works only when it succeeds in determining the mode of everyday experience of reality itself.[11] There is therefore a gap between the ideological figure of a 'tyrant' and the factual one. The logic of an inversion could be made clear by example: at first, the 'tyrant' appears as a signifier connoting a cluster of supposedly 'effective' properties – e.g., detestable characteristics ascribed to Maxentius by Lactantius and Eusebius[12] – but this is not yet an ideology. It is achieved by inversion of the relations, that is to say, that Maxentius is like that because he is a tyrant. This inversion seems at first sight purely tautological – because 'tyrant' means precisely a savage and cruel murderer with unrestrained sexual appetite, engaged in sacrilegious activities. A de-tautologization works so as to show that the 'tyrant' in 'because he is a tyrant' does not connote a series of effective properties, but refers to something unattainable, to what is in the tyrant more than a tyrant. Thus, tautologies are not such in themselves, they are rather special cases of paradoxes.

Indeed, tautologies turn out to be paradoxes while the reverse is not true. For example, 'a usurper is the usurper' is a tautology that can to be translated in a paradox 'the Roman emperor is a usurper.' In fact, a late antique usurper pursued no other aims than the emperor; the only problem is that he claimed the throne later: his desired position was already

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[10] Niklas Luhmann, "Tautology and Paradox in the Self-Descriptions of Modern Society," *Sociological Theory* 1 (1988), 21–37.
[11] Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (Lonon: Verso, 1989), 49.
[12] Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 18.9–11; 26-27; 43–44.1–9, ed. and tr. Creed 1984, 28–9; 40-3; 62–5; Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 1.33-36, ed. Winkelmann 1975, 32-4; tr. Cameron and Hall 1999, 82-3; Jan Willem

occupied. Moreover, the usurpation by no means was meant to change the imperial system, rather the opposite is true: it intended to conform to it.[13] Constantine was no less a usurper than Maxentius, who was later stigmatized as a tyrant; the only difference between them was that the former was successful, or, if one prefers, self-referential in his victory.

Correspondingly, one might say the very Empire is what it is or, alternatively, what it is not. Imperial ideology was to be expressed in a formula 'must be, and therefore is': the Empire must be unified, therefore it is based on the forgetting of civil war, or, more precisely, forgetting the inherently conflictual nature of politics.

Thus, art history corroborates the political approach being based on a concordance of visual and narrative sources; and search for the symbolical shifts, or ideology, is founded on a remarkable degree of agreement with it. My thesis topic qualified within the genre of cultural history deals therefore with a comparison between Constantinian visual self-representation and that of the first emperor, Augustus, at the intersection of art, politics, and ideology.

Justification for the topic and characteristics of the sources

Only two important articles in the field of art history deal with a direct iconographical comparison between Augustus and Constantine in various media such as sculptural portraiture and coinage. The first is David Wright's *The True Face of Constantine the Great*,[14] which is concerned with a search for a real physical appearance (*sic*!) of Constantine that in the author's opinion can be revealed under the multiple ideological representations that changed in time.

Drijvers, "Eusebius' Vita Constantini and the Construction of the Image of Maxentius," in *From Rome to Constantinople*, ed. H. Amirav and B. ter Haar Romeny (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2007), 11–27.

[13] On usurpation in Late Antiquity, see *Usurpationen in der Spätantike*, ed. François Paschoud and Joachim Szidat (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997); Joachim Szidat, *Usurpator tanti nominis: Kaiser und Usurpator in der Spätantike (337-476 n. Chr.)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2010). On usurpers in the principate, see Egon Flaig, *Den Kaiser herausfordern: Die Usurpation in römischen Reich* (Frankfurt: Campus-Verlag, 1992).

[14] I know of no essay treating comparison between the self-representation of Constantine and Augustus directly, but see David H. Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," *DOP* 41 (1987), 493–507.

The second, written by R. R. R. Smith, *The Public Image of Licinius I: Portrait Sculpture and Imperial Ideology in the Early Fourth Century*,[15] aims to re-identify one particular late antique sculptural portrait, investigating for this purpose the corresponding imperial ideology behind contrasting images of the tetrarchs. The author relies on the conclusions of Wright's article while elaborating an argument comparing the self-representation of Constantine to that of Augustus in a suggestive interpretation that I am inclined to follow. Besides these attempts that served as a starting point for my thesis, the only bookish inspirations for a comparison were scattered mentions in secondary literature.

Comparing the imperial self-representation of Constantine and Augustus in the visual culture of their times, I will not address a question of style (as post-Rieglian tradition does), but both form and specific meaning, i.e., how the Roman images worked in their cultural contexts conveying different meanings in different ways. That is to say, how their meaning emerged within the ideological field and what pins this meaning down. What interests me the most is an ideological continuity embodied in Roman imperial imagery.

The imperial self-representation cannot be understood without the Empire; therefore, they are both subjects of this thesis. I must begin with the Empire itself and the political realities of the system created by the first emperor, Augustus. Next, I turn to Constantine. He reigned longer then any of the emperors since the forty-five years of Augustus, who had created the imperial system three centuries earlier. For twenty-three of the thirty years of his reign, according to a standard reckoning, Constantine ruled as a Christian, the first ever to sit in Augustus' place.[16]

For the most part I rely on visual sources. Resembling the first Roman emperor, Constantine launched an enormous, urban building program and began producing imperial

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[15] R. R. R. Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I: Portrait Sculpture and Imperial Ideology in the Early Fourth Century," *JRS* 87 (1997), 170–202.

[16] Harold A. Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops: The Politics of Intolerance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 4.

images[17] all over the empire using a traditional visual language and vocabulary. Evoking a comparative perspective, Constantinian art can be assessed on a large scale in its relation to an earlier imperial imagery, apart from specifically Christian affiliations. A number of difficulties that art historians have faced in approaching Constantinian visual politics are connected with the problem of the relative paucity of evidence preserved from this period. A weak evidentiary base as well as problems with the identification and dating of disputable imperial portraits challenges an interpretation of Constantinian state art. Dealing with only approximately fifty surviving sculptural portraits of Constantine – in contrast to more then two hundred preserved portraits of Augustus[18] – one can not trace their empire-wide impact or the long-term effect on the same level as the Augustan imperial imagery.[19]

The narrative sources for both the Augustan and Constantinian periods are abundant and detailed – especially in contrast to other periods of Roman history – yet the layer of interpretations over them is even more copious. Although my point of departure is material evidence, a combination of the archaeological and the literary sources is crucial. Yet portrait studies – usually profiting from a comparison with contemporary written sources – raise specific difficulties in the case of Constantinian textual evidence.

As the earliest, most detailed, and directly relevant rhetorical material, the *Panegyrici Latini* – the Latin panegyrics – are invaluable sources for the beginning of the Constantinian reign.[20] R. R. R. Smith defines their applicability to the comparisons with imperial portrait images by several factors: the orations are contemporary (five of twelve are dedicated to Constantine in the period between 307 and 321 CE); their language is coined in the

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[17] For the most comprehensive catalog of imperial portraits, see Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Portraits in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom, I: Kaiser- und Prinzenbildnisse* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1985).

[18] An estimate made in Dietrich Boschung, *Die Bildnisse des Augustus* (Berlin: Gebruder Mann Verlag, 1993); R. R. R. Smith, "Typology and Diversity in the Portraits of Augustus," *JRA* 9 (1996), 30–47.

[19] Jaś Elsner, "Perspectives in Art," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. Noel Lenski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 256.

[20] *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors. The* Panegyrici Latini, ed. C. E. V. Nixon and Barbara S. Rodgers (Berkley: University of California Press, 1994).

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affirmative terms required by the traditional format of a *basilikos logos*; they preserve official phraseology praising the emperor's qualities and accomplishments, particularly those attached to the Emperor Constantine; and, not least, they were composed to be delivered in the presence of the emperor.[21] Yet, since panegyrics depict the ideal emperor of the tetrarchy, they provide one-size-fits-all descriptions that are scilent about the competing imperial images of different rulers in the early fourth century CE. Nevertheless, as can be traced in panegyrics, Constantine resembles Augustus in so many ways that one indeed wonders whether the Late Roman emperor intentionally initiated his ideological affiliation to the founder of the empire.[22]

Certainly, Lactantius' (ca. 240 – ca. 320 CE) essential *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* (*De Mortibus Persecutorum*),[23] a political Christian pamphlet on the tetrarchy, provides indispensable but tendentious details on Constantine for the period after the 'Edict of Milan' but before the break with Licinius, i.e., 313–314 CE. The most pertinent sources for Constantine are then Eusebius' (ca. 260 – 339 CE)[24] the *Ecclesiastical History*,[25] the *Tricennial Orations* (*In Praise of Constantine* and *On Christ's Sepulchre*),[26] and the *Life of Constantine*.[27] The latter contains the fullest account of Constantine's accomplishments; the historical 'events' Eusebius witnessed, although no more reliable than Latin panegyrics, are of the greatest value. As parallel reading to orations in praise of the emperor, the laudatory

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[21] Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 195.

[22] Barbara S. Rodgers, "The Metamorphosis of Constantine," *CQ* 39 (1989), 233–46.

[23] Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, tr. J. L. Creed (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984); idem, *Divine Institutes*, tr. Anthony Bowen and Peter Garnsey (New York: Liverpool University Press, 2003).

[24] Barnes dates the birth of Eusebius to some point in the five years between 260 and 265: Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 277.

[25] Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2 vols, ed. K. Lake., tr. K. Lake, J. E. L. Oulton and H. J. Lawlor (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926–1932).

[26] Eusebius, "De Laudibus Constantini," in *Eusebius Werke I*, ed. I. A. Heikel (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902), 195–259; Harold A. Drake, *In Praise of Constantine: A Historical Study and New Translation of Eusebius' Tricennial Orations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 83–102, 103–27.

[27] *Eusebius Werke I.1: Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin*, ed. Friedhelm Winkelmann, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Akademie, 1975); Eusebius of Caesarea, *Life of Constantine*, tr. Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

apologia by Eusebius reflects Constantine's physical appearance and self-representation in practice.

The fullest 'secular' life of Constantine with the focus on political and military events, the anonymous *The Origin of Constantine* (*Origo Constantini*),[28] a heavily interpolated work of uncertain date, omits references to the emperor's religious policies and cultural matters. The epitomes of Aurelius Victor (*De Caesaribus*),[29] Eutropius (*Breviarium*),[30] Festus (*Breviarium*),[31] and the anonymous author of the *Epitome de Caesaribus*[32] also offer compressed secular political and military histories of the period, portraying the favorable image of Constantine. Zosimus, not a Christian author, draws a hostile depiction of Constantine from an anti-Christian and anti-Constantinian source.[33] The ecclesiastical histories of Socrates,[34] Sozomen,[35] and Theodoret[36] describe the theological disputes of Constantine's later period of rule – written a century later – in contrast to the neglect of religious themes in polytheist sources, although their biases are no less firm. Last, for imperial self-representation Constantine's own *Oration to the Saints*[37] is essential.

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[28] *Origo Constantini: Anonymus Valesianus*, part 1: Text und Kommentar, ed. Ingemar König (Trier: Trierer Historische Forshungen, 1987); "The Origin of Constantine: The *Anonymus Valesianus pars prior* (*Origo Constantini*)," tr. J. Stevenson, in *From Constantine to Julian: Pagan and Byzantine Views*, ed. Samuel N. C. Lieu and Dominic Monserrat (London: Routledge, 1996), 39–62.

[29] *Sexti Aurelii Victoris Liber De Caesaribus*, ed. F. Pichlmayr (Munich, 1892); Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, tr. H. W. Bird (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994).

[30] *Eutropii Breviarum Ab Urbe Condita*, ed. C. Santini (Leipzig: Teubner, 1979); Eutropius, *Breviarium*, tr. H. W. Bird (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993).

[31] *The Breviarium of Festus. A Critical Edition with Historical Commentary*, ed. J. W. Eadie (London: Athlone Press, 1967); *Festus. Breviarium of the Accomplishments of the Roman People*, tr. T. M. Banchich and J. A. Meka (Buffalo: Canisius College, 2001).

[32] Pseudo-Aurélius Victor, *Abrégé des Césars*, ed. and tr. Michel Festy (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1999); *Epitome de Caesaribus. A Booklet about the Style of Life and the Manners of the Imperatores*, tr. Thomas M. Banchich (Buffalo: Canisius College, 2009).

[33] Zosimus, *Histoire Nouvelle*, 3 vols, ed. and tr. François Paschoud (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1971–2000); Zosimus, *New History*, tr. R. Ridley (Sydney: University of Sydney, 2004).

[34] Sokrates, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G. C. Hansen (Berlin: Akademie, 1995).

[35] Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris, 1864).

[36] Theodoret, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. L. Parmentier, rev. ed. (Berlin: Akademie, 1998).

[37] "Konstantins Rede an die heilige Versammlung," in *Eusebius Werke I*, ed. I. A. Heikel (Leipzig, 1902), 149–92; *Constantine and Christendom*: *The Oration to the Saints; The Greek and Latin Accounts of the Discovery of the Cross; The Edict of Constantine to Pope Silvester*, tr. Mark Edwards (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003), 1–62.

Since it is not feasible to enumerate here the abundant sources on Augustus, for the sake of space I articulate them in a series of equivalences: his own account *The Res Gestae Divi Augusti*,[38] Dio Cassius' *The Roman History,* in Greek,[39] Svetonius' *The Life of Augustus,* in Latin,[40] and the literature of the Augustan Age that extols a positive image of the emperor (Livy,[41] Virgil,[42] Horace,[43] Ovid,[44] Propertius,[45] and Tibullus) as well as narratives less considerable for my topic Vitruvius' *On Architecture*,[46] Velleius Paterculus' *The Histories*,[47] Tacitus' *The Annals*,[48] Nicolaus of Damascus' *The Life of Augustus*,[49] Appian's *Civil Wars*,[50] Pliny the Elder's *The Natural History*,[51] Flavius Josephus' *The Jewish War* and *Jewish Antiquites*,[52] and *The Embassy to Gaius* by Philo of Alexandria.[53] Also the inscriptions of the period, e.g., *Fasti Consulares* and *Fasti Juliani*, hold valuable information.

A guide to the previous scholarship

A curious observation appears in the recent book by Harold Drake *Constantine and the Bishops*, which specifically addresses the issue of the academic discussion on

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[38] *Res Gestae Divi Augusti. The Achievements of the Divine Augustus*, ed. P. A. Brunt and J. M. Moore (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967).

[39] Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 9 vols, ed. and tr. E. Cary (London: Heinemann, 1914–1927); *Cassius Dio: The Augustan Settlement (Roman History 53–55.9)*, ed. J. Rich (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1990).

[40] Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, 2 vols., ed. and tr. J. C. Rolfe. (London: Heinemann, 1913–1914); *Suetonius. Lives of the Caesars*, ed. C. Edwards (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 43–97.

[41] Livy, *History of Rome*, tr. B. O. Forster, 14 vols (London: Heinemann, 1967).

[42] Vergilius, *Aeneis*, ed. O. Ribbeck (Leipzig: Teubner, 1895), 211–835; Virgil, *Aeneid*, tr. H. R. Fairclough (Cambridge.: Harvard University Press, 1916).

[43] *Q. Horati Flacci Opera*, ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1995); Horace, *Odes and Carmen Saeculare*, tr. Guy Lee (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1999).

[44] *P. Ovidi Nasonis Metamorphoses*, ed. R. J. Tarrant (Oxford: Oxford. University Press, 2004); Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, tr. D. Raeburn (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2004).

[45] Propertius, *Elegiae*, ed. and tr. H. E. Butler (London: Heinemann, 1912).

[46] Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, 2 vols, ed. and tr. F. Granger (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945–1970).

[47] Velleius Paterculus, *Historiarum Libri Duo*, ed. William S. Watt, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Saur, 1978); Velleius Paterculus, *The Caesarian and Augustan Narrative (2.41-93)*, tr. A. J. Woodman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[48] Tacitus, *Annales*, vol. 1, ed. and tr. J. Jackson (London: Heinemann, 1979); Tacitus, *The Annals*, tr. A. J. Woodman (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2004).

[49] *Historici Græci Minores*, vol. 1, ed. L. Dindorf (Leipzig, 1870), 1–153; Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*, tr. C. M. Hall (Bristol: Kessinger Publishing, 2010).

[50] Appian, *Roman history*, vols. 3–4, ed. H. White (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913).

[51] Pliny, *Natural History*, vol. 10, ed. H. Rackham and W. H. S. Jones, tr. D. E. Eichholz (London: Heinemann, 1962).

[52] Josephus, *The Jewish War*, 2 vols, ed. and tr. St. J. Thacjeray (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927–1928); Josephus Flavius, The Jewish Antiquities, 9 vols, tr. St. J. Thackerey and R. Marcus (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926–1958).

10

Constantine. It is indeed curious in the sense that the great debate occupying the foreground of intellectual scene of the Constantinian scholarship until today, the Burckhardt-Baynes debate masks another and probably more far-reaching question. It seems that the Burckhardt-Baynes debate replaced another issue in a kind of metaphorical substitution, a different position at stake. Drake reconstructs the debate on Constantinian politics asking the participants one single question: Was their approach really political?

In 1853, in his brilliant *Die Zeit Konstantins des Grossen* (*The Age of Constantine the Great*), Jacob Burckhardt ascribed to Constantine an engrossing lust for power, a political ambition without surcease, and cynical rationalism.[54] Indeed, Burckhardt questioned the sincerity of Constantine's conversion, an issue that had been in play since the Reformation, but he did it on the anachronistic premise that the political and spiritual realms are not only separate but also mutually exclusive and essentially contradictory. Fundamentally, the question of the sincerity of faith is not political but religious – here lies Burckhardt's error in his approach to the political – even though religion and politics could not be easily separated in the time of Constantine.

Considering it to be a theoretically productive reading, Drake commends to comprehend Burckhardt's conclusions about Constantine together with the statement found in Norman Baynes' magisterial Raleigh Lecture of 1929, *Constantine the Great and the Christian Church*, which remains to be the best starting point for studying the question of the emperor's conversion. Although in Barnes' thesis, a twist on Burckhardt's argument with a theological supplement – Constantine was sincerely converted but made tactical concessions

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[53] *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 6, ed. L. Cohn and S. Reiter (Berlin: Reimer, 1915), 155-223.
[54] Burckhardt, *The Age of Constantine the Great*, 261–62: "Then at least the odious hypocrisy which disfigures his character would disappear, and we should have instead a calculating politician who shrewdly employed all available physical resources and spiritual powers to the one end of maintaining himself and his rule without surrendering himself wholly to any party. It is true that the picture of such an egoist is not very edifying either, but history bas had ample opportunity to grow accustomed to his like. Moreover, with a little latitude we can easily be persuaded that from his first political appearance Constantine consistently acted according to the principle which energetic ambition, as long as the world has endured, has called 'necessity'."

required by political circumstances[55] – has pervaded virtually every noteworthy work on Constantine written since, the author came to a result strikingly similar to Burckhardt's. Despite their dramatically opposite conclusions, the fundamental principle they shared was that the explanation of the politics of the Constantinian age lies in the sincerity of the emperor's belief and that everything on the subject of the imperial politics can be explained from this point of view. The subsequent effect of both works has been to supersede a political approach to the Constantinian question.

More recent debate in modern Augustan historiography elucidates the issue of the debate on Constantine; it was conspicuously something of the same order that has resulted in two major monographs in the twentieth century analyzing the transition from the republic to the empire. Raymond Van Dam goes into reading probably the most significant book about Roman history, Ronald Syme's *The Roman Revolution*, together with and through an example of the work of a classical art historian. Syme's compelling narrative of Augustus' career and reign has been a distinctive political interpretation of the basis of the first emperor's power, emphasizing the networks of personal relationships, obligations, and alliances over the emperor's ambitions, and institutional frameworks.[56] In the words of Van Dam, since Augustus was still a significant presence during the fourth century, it might be predictable that modern scholarship on late Roman emperors and aristocrats has often followed the lead of Augustus' most powerful modern interpreter.[57] Among the different perspectives of Syme's direct influence that are apparent in analyses of Constantine, the most notable one concerns the sincerity of Constantine's commitment to Christianity. Burckhardt

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[55] Norman H. Baynes, *Constantine the Great and the Christian Church* (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1930), 19: "The important fact to realize is that this alteration in policy entailed no change in spirit, only a change of method. What Constantine would have recommended in 323 he later felt free to proclaim as the imperial will."

[56] Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, Claredon Press, 1939), vii: "Emphasis is laid, however, not upon the personality and acts of Augustus, but upon his adherents and partisans. The composition of the oligarchy of government therefore emerges as the dominant theme of political history, as the binding link between the Republic and the Empire... ."

thus triumphantly returns – with the help of Augustus (or rather Syme) – not only was Constantine sometimes inconsistent in his attitudes toward Christianity, but he also seems to have used Christian policies in order to advance a political agenda. As Van Dame concludes, "the question of the sincerity of Constantine's religious commitment is hence an analogue of the question about the sincerity of Augustus' political claim to have restored the Republic."[58] Therefore, since each pronouncement can be readily dismissed as disingenuous, Burckhardts' cynical view of Constantine is principally equal to Syme's skeptical interpretation of Augustus.

In an effort to shift the discussion beyond the Burckhardt-Baynes debate, Fergus Millar in his monumental study *The Emperor in the Roman World* advanced an idea that came from the 'history of practices': "the emperor 'was' what the emperor did."[59] This book overestimated the rational outcomes of the imperial politics, which can bee seen in the debate, with its decisive attempt to break with the vain search for the emperors' true yet concealed religious belief and supposed intentions. As Gilbert Dagron summarizes in his study of Byzantine imperial ideology: "To break out of this mind set, we have to stop scrutinizing the conscience of the first Christian emperor and speculating about the sincerity or the depth of his faith… ."[60]

Symptomatically, Paul Zanker's great work *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (*The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*) appeared in 1989 as a complement yet at the same

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[57] Raymond Van Dam, *The Roman Revolution of Constantine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 5.

[58] Van Dam, *The Roman Revolution of Constantine*, 6. On a reconstruction of Constantine's 'Christianity', which being used as an instrument of the imperial policy was depraved the image of Christ and overlaid by that of Constantine the favorite of God, whose kingly status in heaven he adumbrates on earth, see Alistair Kee, *Constantine Versus Christ: The Triumph of Ideology* (London: SCM Press, 1982).

[59] Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London: Duckworth, 2001), 6. For a critique of Miller's approach, see Keith Hopkins, "Rules of Evidence," *JRS* 68 (1978): 178–86; Jochen Bleicken, "*Zum Regierungsstil des römischen Kaisers. Eine Antwort auf Fergus Millar (1982)*," in idem, *Gesammelte Schriften II* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1998), 843–75.

[60] Gilbert Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 128. For a debate initiated by Peter Weiss, "The Vision of Constantine," *JRA* 16 (2003), 237–59, see Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 74–80 with literature.

time an answer to Syme's approach. Its premise can be summarized as following: self-representation in various artistic media facilitated Augustus in inventing himself as a Republican emperor accepted by his subjects. Questioning Syme's perspective on Augustus – the emperor used art and literature to conceal his power, the true underlying reality of imperial rule – Zanker has assumed that the public display of favorable imagery was used to reveal the emperor.[61] In a similar way, Constantine appears to be presented in modern scholarship either as a manipulative hypocrite or calculating self-advertiser, depending on the perspective.

It may be noted, moreover, that to read Zanker as a remedy for Syme is to recognize that the former has decisively dismissed the notion of propaganda as a cold-war projection, i.e., as an anachronism thus inadequately applied to Roman culture: "Recent experience has tempted us to see in this a propaganda machine at work, but in Rome there was no such thing."[62] The author argues that what appears in retrospect as a subtle program resulted in fact from the interplay of the image that the emperor himself projected and the honors bestowed on him more or less spontaneously.

Yet exactly these "honors bestowed on him more or less spontaneously" have become an issue for a further debate with the notion of ideology at stake. In two topical works, *Le pain et le cirque* (*Bread and Circuses*) and *Quand notre monde est devenu chrétien* (*When Our World Became Christian*) – one on Augustus and the other on Constantine – Paul Veyne has attacked the concept of ideology.[63] "The notion of ideology is misleading … it is too

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[61] Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 238 argues that in the consciousness of the Romans themselves "an image was more powerful than the reality, and nothing could shake their faith in the new era."

[62] Ibid., vi; 3: "Since the late 1960s, studies of Augustan art as political propaganda, building on the work of Ronald Syme and Andreas Alföldi, have dominated the field. Evidence for the workings of a secret propaganda machine began to be uncovered everywhere, though no one could actually put his finger on the source."

[63] Paul Veyne, *Bread and Circuses* (London: The Penguin Press, 1990); idem, *When Our World Became Christian, 312-394* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010).

rational."[64] Veyne expresses again the sincere faith of Constantine and almost all his successors, and in such a way Baynes makes a victorious return.

Zanker has an "ideology, in accordance with which Augustus's architects created an appropriate style," that is to say, one faces "the ideology of Augustus's regime."[65] To be sure, rejecting propaganda, Zanker has never questioned the issue of ideology: "As much as the imperial mythology, this cultural ideology echoes through all spheres of life and all levels of population, becoming inextricably bound up with the personal values and concerns of the individual."[66] Certainly, it was not propaganda that forced cities to dedicate monuments and inscriptions to the emperors' genius and to bestow honors upon Augustus and Constantine. It therefore must have been an ideology that did so.

Theoretical approach and terminology

To anyone who doubts: "Was there an ideology?"[67] one should in strictly Althusserian terms replay 'yes':

> … as a system of representations, where in the majority of cases these representations have nothing to do with 'consciousness': they are usually images and occasionally concepts, but it is above all as structures that they impose on the vast majority of men. They are perceived-accepted-suffered cultural objects.[68]

This thesis is infinitely richer than the one that it challenges and shows that ideology is not limited itself to an alleged machinery of deliberately launched propaganda in the imperial context. In other words, not to be misled, if someone renounces the very notion of

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[64] On propaganda and ideology, see Veyne, *Bread and Circuses*, 377–80, idem, *When Our World Became Christian*, 126; 130: "The concept of ideology is mistaken in another respect too, for it suggests that religion, education, preaching and, in general, the means of inculcating beliefs are projected upon virgin wax, upon which they can imprint obedience to the master and to the commands and prohibitions of the group."

[65] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 69; 155.

[66] Ibid., 337; 324: "The building activity for the imperial cult that we have just considered will have made clear how closely the architectural revival was linked to the new political situation and the sense of excitement that went with it. Even purely aesthetic refinements … cannot be fully divorced from the ideological foundations of the Augustan cultural program."

[67] Veyne, *When Our World Became Christian*, 123–37.

[68] Louis Althusser, "Marxism and Humanism," in idem, *For Marx* (London: The Penguin Press, 1969), 223. For the Althusserian approach applied to the Classical and late antique Roman material, see Phillip Peirce, "The Arch of Constantine: Propaganda and Ideology in Late Roman Art," *Art History* 12 (1989): 387–418; and

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15

ideology, then psychoanalysis also appears utterly dubious to him/her, and from here it is just a step to disdain images as 'illustrations'[69] and to an arrogant refusal of the importance of visual representation as historical evidence.

In answer to those then who criticize iconography or reading of images for the inherent static character of visual sources, which, often treated uncritically in the related scholarship, exclude the conflict from representation,[70] one should seek for the political reading of the iconographic and social function of imagery. In contrast, against those who define art exclusively by its social content, there is a need to put forward the fundamental requirement of formal (aesthetic) criteria. Thus, late antique imagery is the new type of representation, which apparently differs in form from the early imperial image types. This intriguing alignment of meaning with form (iconographic and iconological, social and contextual) firmly locates artistic change in the political imaginary or, to be precise, in the ideology of its age.

On the one hand, I use the notion of 'ideology' – yet not the 'collective representation' – as synonymical in conjunction with other expressions such as 'political imaginary' or 'symbolic order'. On the other hand, 'the political' is a conceptual term that designates less political activity or a particular political position than, more broadly, that which is political, or, in a sense, the political form of social life in general. Following an inspiration of Vernant's school,[71] which has renewed approaches to the study of antiquity, I draw attention to the political from the point of view of the ritual expressed in public

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Clifford Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

[69] Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity, AD 150-750* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971). See Hjaimar Torp's for criticism of Brown's treatment of images in Peter Brown, et al., "The World of Late Antiquity Revisited," *Symbolae Osloenses* 72 (1997): 59–65.

[70] Nicole Loraux, *The Divided City: Forgetting in the Memory of Athens* (New York: Zone Books, 2002), 48–50.

[71] The 'Paris School' of cultural criticism in Greek studies was originally composed of Jean-Pierre Vernant, Nicole Loraux, Marcel Detienne, and Pierre Vidal-Naquet.

ceremonies and processions, which are a dynamic complement for the static media of architecture and sculpture.

Political history excludes from the political everything in the life of cities that is not an event, the time of religion and the long work of myth are eliminated as further links between the political events and religion because of modern concern of keeping religion and the political regime separate.[72] Instead, Jean-Pierre Vernant and Marcel Detienne argue for the 'politico-religious', a concept that appeals to those who are not content to secularize the politics on principle. They refer to the politico-religious 'thought', 'intent', 'function', 'condition', 'space', and more generally to the dominant 'order', 'world', and 'system', in which art and ritual have an integral part along with a political dimension.[73]

Further, the concept of the "politics of memory"[74] is an elucidation of the issues of legacy and discontinuity in the Roman Empire and as applied to its art it comprises two sides: the affirmative visual politics of imperial self-representation and a negative type of remembering (e.g., *damnatio memoriae*). *Damnatio memoriae* as a process of eradicating the memory of political opponents was a formal and traditional practice which included different politics of memory, for instance, removing the person's name and image from public inscriptions and monuments, making it illegal to speak of him, and prohibiting funeral observances and mourning.[75] In contrast to the politics of memory, visual politics is not a concept in itself.

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[72] Loraux, *The Divided City*, 19.

[73] *The Cuisine of Sacrifice among the Greeks*, ed. Marcel Detienne and Jean-Pierre Vernant (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 6–8, 129, 131, 136.

[74] On the 'politics of forgetting', see Loraux, *The Divided City*; eadem, *The Invention of Athens: The Funeral Oration in the Classical City* (New York: Zone Books, 2006).

[75] Basic bibliography on *damnatio memoriae*: Friedrich Vittinghoff, *Der Staatfeind in der Römischen Kaiserzeit. Untersuchungen zur 'Damnatio Memoriae'* (Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1936), the first and classical work on the topic, shows that the process now known as *damnatio memoriae* is not itself a Roman term yet a heuristic modern concept, however; Charles Hedrick, *History and Silence: The Purge and Rehabilitation of Memory in Late Antiquity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000) argues that while Roman memory practices dishonored the person's memory, paradoxically, they did not destroy it; Harriet Flower, *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006) provides the first chronological overview of the development of this Roman practice up to the second century CE and rejects the concept of *damnatio memoriae*, arguing instead for 'sanctions against memory.' For a recent

17

Methodology and structure

First, art-historical iconographic methodology will assist my analysis. The Constantinian images will be compared to the representation of the paradigmatic emperor, Augustus, as a starting point for exploring the issue of how the imperial ideology worked through the visual media. I will show the conflict within Constantinian imperial imagery as the confusion between the factual and the ideal inherent in imaginary representations and formulations, which is one of the constitutive principles of imperial art. Imperial ideology, the dream of a unified empire, is such insofar as it produces the 'empire' as an ideal, and I will examine how images are involved in its orbit.

Second, a broader comparative analysis will be my chief methodological tool and will comprise a topical analysis of the imperial self-representation that this thesis is devoted to. I observe the *topoi* taken from the Hellenistic repertoire of images that Constantine and Augustus shared in common in order to arrive at how the reference to Augustus emerged from the Constantinian assimilation to Apollo/Sol and his *imitatio Alexandri*.[76] The other *topoi* for the comparison are those that refer to the memory politics towards the legacy of the previous political order, both the republic and the tetrarchy. Being active participants in pacifying civil wars, both emperors established discontinuity with their predecessors and sought legitimation of their rule. The *topos* of an establishing of a stable and prosperous worldly dominion, on the basis of which Eusebius juxtaposes Constantine and Augustus in his political theology, justifying the empire as a prelude to Christ's rule, requires an exploration in visual sources and a conceptualization in corresponding terms.

I structure my study according to the visual sources that I intend to explore: the media of architecture, sculpture, and coinage dominate the arrangement. In chapter one I analyze the elements of the Constantinian building program both in Rome and Constantinople compared

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contribution, see Florian Krüpe, *Die* Damnatio memoriae. *Über die Vernichtung von Erinnerung. Eine Fallstudie zu Publius Septimius Geta (198-211 n. Chr.)* (Gutenberg: Computus, 2011).

18

to that of Augustus as well as ritualized politics expressed in public ceremonies and processions, which are dynamic complements to the static media of architecture and sculpture. The Constantinian appropriation of Maxentius' major building projects within the capital (together with the reused Maxentian sculpted images) inevitably adds references to Augustus, a *pater urbis* and the founder of the empire, to Constantine's representation. The evocative power of architectural *spolia* and re-carved sculpted portraits in the Constantinian age constitutes an essential part of its politics of memory, whether positive or negative. Constantinian ceremonial originated profoundly or had structural parallels in Augustan ceremonial from the time of the empire's foundation.

In chapter two I examine various possible sources – visual as well as literary – to establish specific iconographic characteristics that Constantinian representation borrowed directly from the Augustan pictorial vocabulary. I will argue that the eternally young, clean-shaven type of portrait of the Emperor Constantine in sculpture and on coins which appears after his defeat of Maxentius is an emulation of that of Augustus.

In the third chapter I investigate imperial representation on the basis of numismatic material[77] and provide an iconographic account supported by literary evidence to trace comparable features in the coin portraiture of both emperors in a context of a struggle of rivaling images of the civil war adversaries. Further on I will evaluate the work of ideology from a broader perspective as it involved altering images of imperial self-representation.

Clearly, Constantine's politics and therefore his self-representation should be viewed as eminently diverse, yet my argument in this thesis focuses on structural similarities and functions of Augustan references. Lastly, I finish with the summary of conducted research, point out my contributions to the topic, and draw conclusions.

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[76] See Evelyn B. Harrison, "The Constantinian Portrait," *DOP* 21 (1967), 79–96.

1. ACHITECTURE AND REMEMBERING

1.1. Monuments as memory sites

In this chapter I examine the self-representation of the emperor Constantine compared to that of Augustus by means of architecture. Further, I situate it in the context of memory politics, where the representation of the political events of Constantinian time and contemporary to it political theology constitute a crucial reference to the figure of Augustus both historically and ideologically. Last, I consider the hypothesis that the forgetting of the internal conflict in the ideology of Empire establishes a link between these two periods.

1.1.1. Empire at war

Conceived as a *concept*, Empire (the capital letter is intentional), as defined by Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt,[78] first and foremost posits a regime that effectively encompasses the spatial totality or that rules over the entire 'civilized' world (the *orbis terrarum* or *oikoumene*). On a relief from the Istanbul Museum, Augustus is represented ruling the earth and seas worldwide,[79] for the Roman Empire claimed to control 'the whole world'.[80] Second, the concept of Empire presents itself not as a historical regime originating in conquest, but rather as an order that effectively suspends history and thereby fixes the existing state of affairs for eternity.[81] Thus, Augustus stands at the end of history: the statuary program of his Forum orchestrated a procession of the heroes of Roman history closed by Augustus and consummated with his figure.[82] After all, although the practices of Empire

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[77] For a comprehensive numismatic catalog, see Patrick Bruun, *RIC. Vol. 7. Constantine and Licinius A.D. 313–337* (London: Spink, 1966).

[78] Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), xiv.

[79] Compare *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 3, ed. and tr. Brunt and Moore 1967, 18–9.

[80] Garth Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth. Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 12. This triumphalism is fundamental to Pliny's *Natural History*: Trevor Murphy, *Pliny the Elder's Natural History: The Empire in the Encyclopedia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) argues for a reading of Pliny's encyclopedia as a political document and a cultural artifact of the Roman empire, to which, in turn, it was devoted to support.

[81] Hardt and Negri, *Empire*, xiv.

[82] On the Forum Augustum, see Paul Zanker, *Forum Augustum: das Bildprogramm* (Tubingen: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1968), who provides the most convincing reconstruction plan of the Forum; Martin Spannagel,

encompass enormous powers of oppression and destruction, the concept of Empire is always dedicated to peace – a perpetual and universal peace outside of history.[83] In the honorific inscriptions, similarly to Augustus, Constantine appears as the great and unconquered ruler, the restorer of his world (literally, 'restorer of his orb of the earth'), the victor over all enemies, the defender of public peace, and the author of perpetual security and freedom.[84]

Conversely, taken rather as a *metaphor*, the notion of Empire calls primarily for a comparative theoretical approach, which would require demonstration of the resemblances between the Empires, e.g., Rome and Iran, "the world's two eyes,"[85] in their pursuit of world order. While the *concept* of Empire is characterized fundamentally by a lack of boundaries – Empire's rule has no limits – given as a *metaphor*, Empire recognizes territorial borders that restrict its reign. Contemplating the strategic picture, Constantine realized that the areas of the extreme northern and southern points of contact between Rome and Iran were both dominated by immense blocks of mountains, to the North the Caucasus and Transcaucasia and to the South Yemen and Ethiopia. Similarly to Constantine, who came to see all these factors as part of a single strategic view, Augustus had already detected the need to

strengthen Rome's position simultaneously in Transcaucasia on the one hand and in southern Arabia and Ethiopia on the other, where he sent military expeditions.[86] Empire as a *metaphor* is thus totally aware of the historical geography, Empire as a *concept* is constituted by the gesture of equating it to the whole world. Although, in the past it expanded during the Republican period of expansionist wars, the succeeding Augustan Empire presented its rule not as a transitory moment in the movement of history, but as a regime with neither temporal boundaries (nor spatial) and in this sense outside of history, tying together historical and mythological past.[87] The Constantinian Empire fully inherited such an Augustan legacy.

1.1.2. Political theology and the theology of Augustus: Eusebius' case

First, focusing on structural correspondence between the realm of divine and Empire, the domain of politics – following the original Schmittian construct of political theology[88] – Erik Peterson has confronted an ancient version of political theology (a term he does not define explicitly) that consisted of an ideological correlation of political structure and religious belief system: one God (or the highest power in heaven) and one emperor on earth. In the Christian version subsequent to the conversion of Constantine, this construct, served the same purpose as had previous polytheist theories on kingship:[89] it legitimated a

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[86] Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth*, 102–3.

[87] On the Roman conception of time, see Denis Feeney, *Caesar's Calendar: Ancient Time and the Beginnings of History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

[88] Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, [1922] 1985), 36: "…All significant concepts of the modern theory of the state are secularized theological concepts not only because of their historical development – in which they were transferred from theology to the theory of the state, whereby, for example, the omnipotent God became the omnipotent lawgiver – but also because of their systematic structure, the recognition of which is necessary for a sociological consideration of these concepts."

[89] Diotogenes, *On Kingship*, ed. Thesleff 1965, tr. Goodenough 1928; Polybius, *Historiae* 6.4.2, ed. Page, tr. Paton 1923, III, 274-5; Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses 1*, ed. and tr. Colhoon 1932. Arnaldo Momigliano, "The Disadvantages of Monotheism for a Universal State," *CP* 81 no. 4 (1986): 285–97 shows that the polytheist political theology, that is, an attempt to relate the structure of the Roman Empire to the structure of the divine world appeared relatively late; for the first time serious concern with the relation between Roman polytheism and the Roman Empire was expressed by Celsus in the late second century CE, who polemized against Christians and whom Origen chose as his adversary in his devastating *Contra Celsum*; see also John Procope, "Greek and Roman Political Theory," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c.350 – c.1450*, ed. J. H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 25–6; Michael J. Hollerich, "Introduction," in Erik Peterson, *Theological Tractates*, ed. and tr. M. J. Hollerich (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), xxiv. Jan Assman has coined the term cosmotheism (*Kosmotheismus*) to signify a form of cosmological

monarchical government by showing its cosmological roots and sanctioning the belief that a single divine power is the ultimate source of political rule. It demonstrated a particular affinity for theologies that emphasized the secondary character of the Logos (Word) and his subordination to God the Father.[90]

What was at stake in the far-reaching Peterson-Schmitt debate were two different theoretical positions, and at the same time two different views on the Eusebian politico-theological model of the emperor, state, and Church. With Melito of Sardis (died ca. 180 CE)[91] and Origen (184/185 – 253/254 CE),[92] a non-coincidental link between the establishment of the Augustan *Pax Romana* and the birth of Christ became a *topos*.[93] Yet to claim that God had used the Empire as an instrument for disseminating the gospel was not in itself an expression of political theology, but rather recognition of God's providential rule over history, although favoring the Roman Empire with a special providence. With Eusebius,[94] who historicized and politicized Origen's ideas, one encounters firstly a

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monotheism, which is grounded in the idea of the unity of the universe. He has argued that cosmotheism is a system of non-political monotheism where different divinities are incorporated in unity and that the concept of cosmotheism liberates the modern researcher from ideological and political constraints, for a heavily laden term such as monotheism has strong connotations with Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. See his book on political theology Jan Assman, *Herrschaft und Heil: Politische Theologie in Altägypten, Israel und Europa* (Munich: Hanser, 2000), 17.

[90] See Eusebius, *Laudatio Constantini*, ed. Heikel 1902, 193-259; tr. Drake 1976, 83-102 for Arian political theology. In this work, however, Eusebius portrays Constantine not merely as the divinely appolited ruler of the Empire, the *soter* or the *nomos empsychos* of Hellenistic philosophy or the sacral king of the Jewish tradition, but as the one who partakes of the divine *logos* and communicates it to the Empire, in a process which parallels Christ's rule over the universe: Claudia Rapp, "Imperial Ideology in the Making: Eusebius of Caesarea on Constantine as Bishop." *JThS* 49 (1998): 685–95.

[91] Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.26.7–8, ed. and tr. Lake 1926, I, 388-91, tr. Williamson 1989, 133-5. Erik Peterson, "Monotheism as a Political Problem," in idem, *Theological Tractates*, 91–2. Melito's pronouncements that the religion, which blossomed under Augustus, was intrinsically linked with the Empire's prosperity was an old apologetic theme, but not an actual politico-theological reflection, which came only with Origen.

[92] Origen, *Contra Celsum* 2.30, ed. Marcovich 2001, 107; tr. Chadwick 1953, 92: Καὶ σαφές γε ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Αὐγούστου βασιλείαν ὁ Ἰησοῦς γεγέννηται, τοῦ, ἵν' οὕτως ὀνομάσω, ὁμαλίσαντος διὰ μιᾶς βασιλείας τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς. On Origen, see Peterson, "Monotheism as a Political Problem," 87–93.

[93] The first linkage of Augustus with the gospel is found around 204 CE in Hippolytus, *Commentarium in Danielem* 4.9, ed. and tr. Lefèvre 1947, 280–5. For Hippolytus mistrust of an Empire that claims universality, see Peterson, "Monotheism as a Political Problem," 91. See also Ilona Opelt, "Augustustheologie und Augustustypologie," *JbAChr* 4 (1961): 44–5; Metropolitan Demetrios Trakatellis, "ΛΟΓΟΣ ΑΓΟΝΙΣΤΙΚΟΣ: Hippolytys' Commentary on Daniel," in *Religious Propaganda and Missionary Competition in the New Testament World*, ed. Lukas Bormann et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 527–50.

[94] For Constantine's rôle compared to that of Christ, see Eusebius, *Laudatio Constantini*, ed. Heikel 1902, 193-259; tr. Drake 1976, 83-102; Francis Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy*, vol. 2 (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1966), 614–17.

typological parallel connecting Augustus with Constantine (not really conveyable by quotation), the moment of imperial foundation with its ultimate accomplishment through which both Augustus and Christ were finally manifested in the person of the first Christian emperor, Constantine. While civil wars and other types of wars were tied in with polytheistic ethnic particularisms, the Roman Empire, in contrast, connoted peace.[95] For Eusebius, in principle, monotheism – the metaphysical corollary of the Roman Empire – began with Augustus, but had become reality in the present under Constantine. When Constantine defeated Licinius, Augustan political order was reestablished and at the same time the divine Monarchy was secured.[96] Eusebius asserts that Augustus inaugurated monotheism by triumphing over the polyarchy, the cause of endless wars and all the suffering that goes with war, and Constantine only fulfilled what Augustus had begun. The political idea that the Roman Empire did not lose its metaphysical character when it shifted from polytheism to monotheism, because monotheism already existed potentially with Augustus, was then linked with the rhetorical-political idea that Augustus was a foreshadowing of Constantine.[97]

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[95] Peterson, "Monotheism as a Political Problem," 93.

[96] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 2.19; 4.29, ed. Winkelmann 1975, 55–6; 130–31; tr. Cameron and Hall 1999, 101–2; 163–64; Peterson, "Monotheism as a Political Problem," 94. The very statues of Augustus and Livia with the sign of the cross neatly carved on their foreheads continued to stand outside the Prytaneion of Ephesus throughout the whole period of Late Antiquity, gazing down on empere's Christian successors of the Council of 431 CE: Peter Brown, *Authority and the Sacred. Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 25; Øystein Hjort, "Augustus Christianus – Livia Christiana: *Sphragis* and Roman Portrait Sculpture," in *Aspects of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium*, ed. L. Ryden and J. O. Rosenqvist (Stockholm, 1993), 93–112. Likewise, in the fifth century CE crosses appeared everywhere, inscribed on pagan buildings to ward off the daimones that lurked in stones, as at Ankara, where crosses were carved on the walls of the temple of Roma and Augustus, decidedly sealing the object for Christian purposes and placing the power it represented under Christian control: Clive Foss, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara," *DOP* 31 (1977): 65.

[97] Ibid., 97–8. In his Augustus' theology – in the manner of Eusebius – Ambrose proclaims that before the Roman Empire was founded not only did the kings of the various cities make war on one another, but the Romans themselves were often torn by civil wars. There follows an enumeration of the civil wars up to the battle of Actium; after it there were no more wars. It amounted to a declaration of Augustan total victory reincarnated in the *Pax Constantiniana*. In turn, Orosius even more closely binds the Roman Empire and Christianity together, most impressively by linking of Augustus and Christ: on Ambrose, Orosius and a typology of Augustus, see Opelt, "Augustustheologie und Augustustypologie," 54–7.

Peterson has emphasized the 'exegetical tact' – a 'striking lack' of which he found in Eusebius[98] – that kept all other ecclesiastical writers from binding the Empire so closely to God's intentions that it would appear to be less an instrument and more the object of divine blessing for its own sake.[99] If previous apologetics which defended Christianity were permissible, and, conversely, apologetics which primarily served the Empire were not, Eusebius' voice was that of a political propagandist.[100] At stake in this openly political struggle was that, if monotheism, the concept of the divine Monarchy in the sense in which Eusebius had formulated it, was theologically untenable, then so too was the continuity of the Roman Empire untenable, and Constantine could not longer be recognized as the fulfiller of what had begun in principle with Augustus, and so the unity of the Empire itself was threatened.[101]

Peterson has further argued that the ultimate triumph of the orthodox dogma of the Trinity as three co-equal, co-eternal divine persons vitiated the theological possibility of an ideological correlation between the emperor – and for Eusebius that can only be Constantine – (and the universal state he governed) and God, and thereby of any Christian political theology. In his response, Schmitt has accused Peterson of isolating his Eusebian model from the historical concreteness of the Council of Nicaea, the true stage for Eusebius, the Church politician, and pointed out further an existence of numerous *staseis* within the very Trinitarian ortodoxy.[102]

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[98] Pages on Eusebius are generally considered as the centerpiece of Peterson's essay: Peterson, "Monotheism as a Political Problem," 94–7.

[99] On later Christian writers, see Francis Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy*, 585; 725.

[100] The tenth book of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* is wholly taken up by an extraordinary messianisation of Constantine, see Anthony Kemp, *The Estrangement of the Past: A Study in the Origins of Modern Historical Consciousness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 3–18.

[101] Peterson, "Monotheism as a Political Problem," 102–3.

[102] Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology II. The Myth of the Closure of Any Political Theology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, [1970] 2008), 84: "When a bishop from the fourth century suspected of heresy is introduced into twentieth century as the prototype of political theology, there seems to exist a conceptual link between politics and heresy: the heretic appears *eo ipso* as the one who is political, while the one who is orthodox, on the other hand, appears as the pure, apolitical theologian." Schmitt has asked where is the crucial point where political theology becomes abuse of the Christian gospel for justification of a political situation, and portrayed Eusebius

Eusebius' political theology of *Pax Constaniniana* is in essence a counterpart to the Roman political imaginary: an ideology of Empire is, in the other words, the idea that Empire must be – and so, by definition, is – one and at peace with itself. Therefore, if the misrecognition of the ideal for the factual inherent in imaginary formulations is one of the constitutive and even vital principles of imperial ideology,[103] another of these principles – even more fundamental, perhaps, although it is a corollary of the first – is the forgetting of conflict,[104] that is civil war, an expression with very Roman connotations, or, more precisely, of the inherently conflictual nature of politics.[105]

1.1.3. What to do with the political event which must not be commemorated? Actium and Milvian Bridge as sites of civil war

One could refuse to celebrate the victory when it was a matter of a civil war in which two armies of Roman citizens fought against each other. This is how Constantine's refusal to sacrifice on the Capitol of Rome has been explained after his defeat of Maxentius in 312 CE in the course of the first civil war.[106] Yet the solution does not consist of losing all memory of it, as the swift use of negation might suggest.[107] Indeed, negation – with the help of the traditional Roman practice of *damnatio memoriae* applied to crushed political opponents[108] –

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as a prototype of political theology, who demoted from pure theologian to the political theologian, when he seeks to implement a heretical deviation from the doctrine opposed to an apolitical Trinitarian theology.

[103] Louis Althusser, "Marxism and Humanism," in idem, *For Marx* (London: The Penguin Press, 1969), 223. On Althusser's concept of ideology see, Terry Eagleton, *Ideology. An Introduction* (London: Verso, 1991), 18–20.

[104] Nicole Loraux, *The Mourning Voice: An Essay on Greek Tragedy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), 26.

[105] See Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996).

[106] Lenski, "Evoking the Pagan Past," 206–59.

[107] On the architecture, memory, and oblivion in Rome, see *Architektur und Erinnerung*, ed. Wolfram Martini (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2000); *Erinnerungsorte der Antike: Die römische Welt*, ed. Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp (Munich: Beck, 2006). On collective and cultural memory, see theoretical contribution by Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, tr. and ed. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26 (1989): 7–25; Jan Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique* 65 (1995): 125–33, idem, "Remembering in Order to Belong," in idem, *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies*, tr. R. Livingstone (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 81–100, and idem, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[108] See the pioneering work on the topic Vittinghoff, *Der Staatfeind in der Römischen Kaiserzeit*, 9–105. Hedrick, *History and Silence*, 89–130 argues that *damnatio memoriae* intended damnation rather then a complete eradication of memory.

was immediately turned against Maxentius, who was stigmatized as a tyrant and thus converted into an ideological figure.[109] However, the appearance of the honorific victory monuments in the context of a negative commemoration is more complex and infinitely more interesting.

Constantine's commemoration of the victory over his political rival referred to the first and paradigmatic one of an actual series in the imperial context; nothing refrained one from evoking the Augustan victory over Mark Antony that constituted an imperial precedent for Constantine.[110] Like Maxentius, Mark Antony first suffered extensive sanctions against his memory soon after his suicide in Egypt; before victorious Octavian returned to Rome, the senate had ordered the erasure not only of Antony's name but also of the names of all his ancestors.[111] Curiously, this severe action did not meet with Octavian's approval, however, and he soon decided on a reinstatement. Exercising *clementia Caesaris*,[112] both young Octavian and Constantine forgave their political opponents among the senatorial aristocracy and forgot their previous support of now-defeated Antony and Maxentius, respectively. For by the very proclamation of clemency and amnesty they strove to forget, officially and institutionally, that there were two parties and the winners themselves solicited the forgetting by equaling both those who were on their side and those – no longer dangerous – who were not.

Ordered by the senate, born of a negative sentiment of repentance after the defeat of Maxentius, the Arch of Constantine, glorifying not a splendid foreign victory, but a civil war between Roman armies, radically differed from most, if not all, of its precursors (fig.1). Hence, the only relevant monument that appears to be equal to it is Octavian's

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[109] Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation*, 286–88.
[110] Harriet L. Flower, "Damnatio Memoriae and Epigraphy," in *From Caligula to Constantine*, 59.
[111] Ibid., 63.
[112] Peter Heather, "New Men for New Constantines? Creating an Imperial Elite in the Eastern Mediterranean," in New *Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries*, ed. Paul Magdalino (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994), 11–33.

commemorative series of Actian monuments, and, in particular, the Arch in the Forum Romanum that mirrored the Augustan politics of memory and forgetting (fig.3).[113] Thus, one of the monuments honoring Actium, dedicated by Octavian in 29 BCE to Neptune and Mars in Nikopolis with a celebratory inscription and ornamentation in the form of spoils of war – the prows and warship rams of Antony's fleet – was erected near the very site of the battle.[114] Another monument, the Actian arch in the Roman Forum, recorded on the coin reverses of 29-27 BCE, has been associated with the foundations and part of the superstructure of a single-bay arch, decorated with Victories in the spandrels, also of about 29 BCE, located between the Temple of Divus Julius and the Temple of Concord.[115]

What unites early Augustan and Constantinian monuments is the idea of inception: through momentous victories both cemented, first and foremost, their ruler's positions, and at the same time, the conquest was presented to the populace of Rome as one over a despot (Antony) and a foreign queen (Cleopatra), as well as a tyrant (Maxentius). This version of negation, which also concerns the positive content of memory in relation to a military victory, does not require a severe measure of memory eradication towards the defeated enemy; the emphasis is on the triumpher himself. In the other words, he is hesitant between not – or never – evoking an episode that must be erased and an enemy that must be forgotten and exploiting a procedure for commemorating his own glorious military achievements. Yet he could emphasize the negation as such. Symptomatically, there is little evidence for sanctions against memory under Augustus, yet it has not been definitely established whether this is because such sanctions were not often used or whether they were so skillfully applied that the

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[113] Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 447.

[114] The monument was not enhanced with relief sculpture, and there are no surviving remains of statuary: ibid., 82.

[115] This association has been questioned. The numismatic representations record the attic statuary, which, like the Palatine Arch of Gaius Octavius – that honored Octavian's father and thus demonstrated that his victory at Actium gave him the security to proclaim publicly his pietas toward his real father – consisted of a four-horse chariot group. In this case, were not held by a god and goddess but by the living emperor himself. See ibid. See also John W. Rich, "Augustus' Parthian Honours, the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Arch in the Forum Romanum," *PBSR* 66 (1998) 71–128.

first *princeps* was in a position to successfully eliminate the memory of those who had fallen from his favor.[116] Negation results in an official decree of forgetting: traditionally, the case of Mark Antony immediately after his defeat in 31 BCE has been cited as the first example of the 'sanctions against memory', and, similarly, with the striking resurrection of the practice in the early fourth century, Maxentius was one of the first victims of the *damnatio memoriae* decree.

1.1.4. To remember and not remember in Rome: A founding forgetting

An interest in the conflict requires neutralization of the ideology of victory: in the Roman imaginary a successful emperor emerges as an a-temporal figure, 'the founder of peace and the restorer of the state', who inaugurates the Golden Age. This becomes ideology for the divided Empire since it denies the very possibility of thinking about factual divisions. Thus, the panegyrist praised Constantine by referring to Virgil's Fourth Eclogue,[117] implicitly evoking the *Pax Augusta*. Almost equally, the laudatory inscription on the Arch of Constantine thanked the emperor for having saved the state from a tyrant and his faction in a way that linked Augustus' accomplishments: ending civil wars, restoring peace, and returning power to the senate and the Roman people.[118] The Constantinian inscription – reminiscent of Augustus' *Res Gestae*[119] – claims to have taken revenge over the tyrant, stopped a faction, and saved the city. Alluding to the founder of the Augustan Peace, the inscription characterizes Constantine's accomplishments by calling him *liberator urbis* and *fundator quietis*.[120] As for no surprise, Christian Lactantius eulogizes Constantine for his unification of

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[116] Flower, "Damnatio Memoriae and Epigraphy," 65. For the notion of 'sanctions against memory', see Flower, *The Art of Forgetting*.

[117] *Panegyrici Latini* 6.21.6, ed. and tr. Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 250, 583; Rodgers, "The Metamorphosis of Constantine," 233–46.

[118] *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 13; 34, ed. and tr. Brunt and Moore 1967, 24–5; 34–7.

[119] Compare similar language in Greek in Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 1.41.2, ed. Winkelmann 1975, 37; tr. Cameron and Hall 1999, 86. Compare *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 1, ed. and tr. Brunt and Moore 1967, 18-9 with the critical commentary in Tacitus, *Annales* 1.9-10, ed. and tr. Jackson 1979, 258–65; tr. Woodman 2004, 7–8. Averil Cameron, "Constantius and Constantine: An Exercise in Publicity," in *Constantine the Great*, 24.

[120] *CIL* 6.1139 + 31245 = *ILS* 694.

the Empire, the 'illegitimate' division of which during the period of tetrarchy is considered to be against God's will.[121] It comes later that the traditional language of the panegyrists and the ideas that stemmed from the rhetoric were fully taken over by Eusebius.[122] Symptomatically – appear as a 'curious accident' entirely in a Sherlock Holmesian sense of the term – there is but a single explicit literary parallel to the growing resemblance of Constantine to Augustus, which, on the contrary, is wholly visible in representational art.[123] It is indeed curious, since the explanation that the orations delivered in Rome at that time have not survived does not seem to be sufficient: Eusebius basically makes clear a parallel between Augustus and Constantine.

Certainly, neither contemporaries and of Augustus were all taken in by this language, nor, perhaps, were all contemporaries of Constantine,[124] and soon for Augustine the Augustan peace that had served to promote dubious political theology appeared questionable, for even Augustus himself waged civil wars against many, and a host of outstanding men also perished in them, among whom was Cicero.[125] However, critical (ironical) distance is itself a form of ideology for the ruling ideology was never meant to be taken literally and ideological propositions were never meant to be taken seriously.

In turn, Maxentius' massive architectural program aimed to restore Rome to her former glory as the capital of the Empire – after the tetrarchs had founded subsidiary capitals scattered throughout east and west[126] – and appears to have been appropriated by

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[121] Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 7.1-2, ed. and tr. Creed 1984, 10–11.
[122] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 1.39–40, ed. Winkelmann 1975, 36–7; tr. Cameron and Hall 1999, 85–6. Probably, Eusebius' formulation of the idea on the Roman Empire was shaped by the rhetorical *topoi* in the encomia on Rome, e.g., the idea in Eusebius that everyone in the Roman Empire had become one family. Peterson, "Monotheism as a Political Problem," 226, n. 136.
[123] Richard Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts von Constantin Magnus bis zum Ende des Westreichs* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1933), 15.
[124] Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 308, n. 24; Cameron, "Constantius and Constantine," 30, n. 73.
[125] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 3.30, ed. Dombart and Kalb, tr. Combes 1959, 516–19. On Augustine's conscious antithesis to the defenders of *Pax Romana* like Eusebius, Ambrose or Orosius, see Peterson, "Monotheism as a Political Problem," 103–4.
[126] On tetrarchic capitals as *sedes imperii*, see Emanuel Mayer, *Rom ist dort, wo der Kaiser ist: Untersuchungen zu den staatsdenkmälern des dezentralisiert Reiches von Diocletian bis zu Theodosius II* (Mainz: Verlag des

Constantine,[127] who in fact did not launch an architectural *damnatio memoriae*,[128] destruction of the buildings of his ill-fated predecessor. After Augustus' demise, the buildings of the first emperor became emblematic of the Golden Age he had inaugurated, and the case of restoring or rebuilding one of them constituted a visible act of alignment with his memory: Maxentius thus deliberately publicized his affiliation to the 'founder of the city', Augustus, new Romulus-Quirinus.[129] The resonant message of Maxentius' building campaign – that Rome had been saved and reborn – was ideologically significant enough to warrant Constantine's unreserved expropriation of it. A quick walk through Maxentian Rome would include his major building projects (appropriated by Constantine together with the disfigured and re-carved portraits of his defeated enemy), which were ultimately an extension of the emperor's body – the Basilica (fig.4), the circus complex on the Via Appia (fig.5), the imperial Baths on the Quirinal.[130] In effect, in an intricate play of metaphors, Constantine, the expander of the City, reappeared as a new Augustus, the *pater urbis* of Rome.

1.1.5. The revenue of remembering: The evocative power of *spolia*

Once again, forgetting was founding for the *Pax Constantiniana*: traces of the internal war were quickly erased, elapsed, and metaphorically substituted. Ideologically reading,

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Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2002), who treat Constantinople as one of the tetrarchic residences among many others. Glen Bowersock has shown that first recorded mentions of Constantinople as a New Rome are dated not early then early 380s CE: Glen Warren Bowersock, "Old and New Rome in the Late Antique Near East," in *Transformations of Late Antiquity. Essays for Peter Brown*, ed. Philip Rousseau and Manolis Papoutsakis (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009, 37–50).

[127] Penelope J. E. Davies, "'What Worse Than Nero, What Better Than His Baths?': '*Damnatio Memoriae*' and Roman Architecture," in *From Caligula to Constantine*, 34.

[128] Ibid., 42 argues for the absence of *damnatio memoriae* in architecture for the Constantinian period.

[129] On Maxentius' reference to Augustus in his building program in Rome, see Mats Cullhed, Conservator Urbis Suae. *Studies in the Politics and Propaganda of the Emperor Maxentius* (Stockholm: Paul Aström, 1994); and also Hartmut Leppin, and Hauke Ziemssen, *Maxentius: Der letzte Kaiser in Rom* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2007). On Augustus and the making of a City Founder, see Diane Favro, "'*Pater urbis*': Augustus as City Father of Rome," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 51 no. 1 (1992): 61–84; eadem, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Susan Walker, "The Moral Museum: Augustus and the City of Rome," in *Ancient Rome: The Archaeology of the Eternal City*, ed. J. Coulston and H. Dodge (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2000), 61–75; and Kathleen S. Lamp, "'A City of Brick': Visual Rhetoric in Roman Rhetorical Theory and Practice," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 44 no. 2 (2011): 171–93.

while the re-use of the sculpture and architectural elements, formerly belonging to the defeated rival was triumphant in character (and as such related to the spoils of victory and thus reminders of the conflict),[131] the treatment of *spolia* in the Constantinian politics of memory also appears to have been revivalist, that is, proclaiming the renovation of past imperial glories. Whether in opposition or affinity, Constantine bound himself with the symbolic capital of its possessors through *spolia*. For it was not by chance that in a series of alignments and juxtapositions he associated himself with the victorious emperors of the second century – expanders of the Empire – appropriating Trajanic, Hadrianic and Aurelianic reliefs as *spolia* for his Arch.[132] Moreover, the civil war panels of the Constantinian monument – the only representation of *stasis* inside the citizens' body of the Empire in imperial art that did not censor the political – included in a single narrative together with representations of great victories over barbarians, metaphorically equated abominable domestic conflict with the prestigious foreign campaigns of the Roman army and erased an essentially radical difference between them.[133] One might suppose that the symbolic capital generated through the artistic medium in this economy of the visual assimilation of Constantine to the paradigmatic emperors of the high Empire once again legitimated an imperial order, first established by Augustus, which it both concealed and reproduced. Indeed, a mode of existence it exemplifies belongs to ideology: behind it lies a dream of unity for the Empire.

In his article "From the Culture of Spolia to the Cult of Relics: The Arch of Constantine and the Genesis of Late Antique Forms," Jaś Elsner has suggested a structural parallel between the aesthetic of spoliation, e.g., Constantine's Arch, and the cult of Christian

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[130] From the beginning of his reign Maxentius represented himself as an heir to Augustus, who claimed to have revived the institutions and traditions of the Republic, see recent contribution by Raymond Van Dam, *Remembering Constantine at the Milvian Bridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 224–52.
[131] Paul Stephenson, *Constantine: Unconquered Emperor, Christian Victor* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009), 153.
[132] Peirce, "The Arch of Constantine," 387–418.

relics exemplified in his mausoleum in Constantinople.[134] Built by Constantine, the mausoleum rotunda, as Cyril Mango has noted, bears a resemblance to mausoleums of the age of the tetrarchy, like those of Diocletian or Maxentius, themselves referring to Augustan precedent.[135] Although Constantine consecrated the building to the twelve apostles and placed his tomb in its center, surrounded by their relics; the building itself was conceived in its architectural form as a typical imperial mausoleum.[136]

Thus, the late antique practice of using *spolia* – like those, for example, known from the Arch of Constantine – structurally paralleled (if indeed were not genealogically related to) that of polytheist trophies and, later, Christian relics – like those kept in the celebrated Constantinian statue and its pedestal in the Forum Constantini,[137] the monument that later acquired legendary status far above that of any other non-Christian monument in Constantinople, becoming a magical guarantee, an apotropaic symbol of the survival of the city (fig.9). One of the famous *spolia*, the Palladion, an ancient guardian statue of the armed Pallas Athena that was associated first with Troy and its fortunes and later with Rome and its destiny, is reported to have stood beneath the porphyry column said to have brought by Constantine from Rome.[138] Linked irrevocably with the destiny of Troy, the Palladion was rescued by Aeneas and later was taken to Rome: the embrace of the apotropaic power of the

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[133] Compare *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 3, ed. and tr. Brunt and Moore 1967, 18–9.

[134] Jaś Elsner, "From the Culture of Spolia to the Cult of Relics: The Arch of Constantine and the Genesis of Late Antique Forms," *PBSR* 68 (2000): 149–84.

[135] Penelope J.E. Davies, *Death and the Emperor: Roman Imperial Funerary Monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) suggests *imitatio Alexandri* in the form of the Augustus' mausoleum. Compare the round mausolea on the Via Flaminia and the Via Nomentana in Rome.

[136] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 4.58–60, ed. Winkelmann 1975, 144–5; tr. Cameron and Hall 1999, 176–77. Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 138–39; Glanville Downey, "The Builder of the Original Church of the Apostles at Constantinople. A Contribution to the Criticism of the *Vita Constantini* Attributed to Eusebius," *DOP* 6 (1951): 51–80 rightly defends that the basilica of the Holy Apostles was constructed by Constantius II; Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), 69–70 incorrectly ascribes the whole church of the Holy Apostles to Constantine; Cyril Mango, "Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics," *BZ* 83 (1990): 51–62 establishes that the circular mausoleum is the work of Constantine.

[137] On the Forum of Constantine in Constantinople, see Franz Alto Bauer, *Stadt, Platz, und Denkmal in der Spätantike* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1996), 167–86.

[138] Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 68, no. 114 creates a catalog of the Constantinian collection of statues transported to Constantinople.

Palladion was, in effect, an assimilation of Trojan and Roman legendary history, and, eventually, the imperial history. For the Empire that denies its historicity anchors itself instead in a mythical glorious origin. Thus, the largest collection of mythological figures' statuary appropriated for Constantinople, around three dozen in all, placed in the Baths of Zeuxippos, were linked to the Trojan epic – large enough to suggest the particular sequence of mythological scenes with their evocative power, yet almost all connected with fall of the Homeric city.[139] Characters from the Trojan epic, themselves related to other numerous examples, were displayed together with other mythological themes in baths throughout the Empire.

By creating a sense of timeless permanence and unbroken continuity from the destruction of Troy to the foundation of Rome, one witnesses Constantine's denial of historicity in favor of the myth intensively spread in the cities of the Roman Empire from the Augustan period. This vision of Roman origins articulated by Virgil in the Augustan age was thereafter integrated into the visual repertoire of the Empire's cities and still had currency in the Constantinian era.[140]

If, looking for the possible location of his new city, as is clear from fifth-century commentaries on the foundation written by Zosimos[141] and Sozomen[142], Constantine had chosen Ilion there can be little surprise or doubt that the Empire would have eventually reenacted its primary Augustan model. The first Roman emperor was known for his foundation of a new city called Ilium on the alleged site of Troy, factual and mythic at the

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[139] Ibid., 53.

[140] Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 54.

[141] Zosimus, *Historia Nova* 2.30.1, ed. Paschoud 2000, 101–2; tr. Ridley 1982, 37: Οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν δὲ τὰς παρὰ πάντων ὡς εἰπεῖν βλασφημίας πόλιν ἀντίρροπον τῆς Ῥώμης ἐζήτει, καθ' ἣν αὐτὸν ἔδει βασίλεια καταστήσασθαι· γενόμενος δὲ Τρῳάδος μεταξὺ <Σιγείου> καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἰλίου καὶ τόπον εὑρὼν εἰς πόλεως κατασκευὴν ἐπιτήδειον, θεμελίους τε ἐπήξατο καὶ τείχους τι μέρος εἰς ὕψος ἀνέστησεν, ὅπερ ἄχρι τοῦδε ὁρᾶν ἔνεστι τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέουσιν· ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς μετάμελον καὶ ἀτελὲς τὸ ἔργον καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ᾔει.

[142] Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.3.2, ed. Migne 1864, 936–37; tr. Hartranft 1890, 259. Christopher Kelley, "Bureaucracy and Government," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. Noel Lenski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 192–93.

same time. Therefore, Constantine's foundation, itself an appeal to Augustus, would have been grounded in the reality of its mythical origin. By fostering its timeless history, the Empire was smoothing out its divisions and vicissitudes and anchoring itself in eternity. This 'production of imaginary' does not correlate directly with the reflection of historical reality: it is rather the very structure of reality, since 'imaginary' itself is not some fixed system of structural oppositions to the real and factual, but a circular trajectory of making connections and oppositions in the thinking of the citizens of the Empire.

1.1.6. What does the Empire make of civil war?

The Constantinian Empire in its effort to forget internal strife, would have liked to make nothing of the second civil war fought against Licinius,[143] which meant doing everything possible to transform it into nothing: in other words, the memory of the defeated enemy was erased through *damnatio memoriae* to deny that the (illegitimate) conflict had any link to the inaugurated *Pax Constatiniana*. The harmony it created is paralleled the greatest peace of Augustus, whose arrival had vanquished multiple authorities, and whose peace embraced the whole world. In politico-theological pronouncements, one rulership of Constantine dismissed tetrarchic pluralistic sovereignty to secure peace in all the parts of the world. Establishing a single government, Constantine thus realized the Augustan principate, ultimately alluding to its prototype, the goal contemplated by Alexander the Great.

Although ongoing, the operation of denial is not easy: yet there were two for which the Empire had a distinct preference in a procedure of a metaphorical substitution. The first one, in a process of transference, placed civil war outside of the intrinsic bloody confrontation of two equally legitimate Roman emperors and the eventual victory of one part of Empire over the other, outside of the totality called the Empire; civil war was like the

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143 Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire*, 146 shows that Constantinian ideology deliberately obscured that he fought two wars against Licinius separated by an interval

dreadful consequences of a defensive external war. Foreign wars were glorified, and the Empire waited for the moment when it would fully recover its integrity after defeating an evil that had come from outside. Usurpers were thus equaled to the barbarians as tokens of disorder – reminiscent in a suggestive juxtaposition of the historical reliefs of the Arch of Constantine – who, through a similar procedure were construed as an ideological figure; hence the two main functions of the late Roman army to exclude invaders and to regulate disturbances within were intricately connected.[144] The second operation was less comfortable since by recognizing the civil war as having taken place inside the Empire it threatened it with a sense of uncanny. Civil war thus settled inside the Empire, which raised the figure of the tyrant, a violent savage, a beast who was ultimately outside of humanity, who was to be extinguished and annihilated. Therefore, battle waged in the midst of the Empire is without trophies, but not without victory, which imitates and degrades the more legitimate battles waged against external enemies.

After the battle of 31 BCE, Octavian's naval victory was commemorated by founding the city of Nikopolis in Epiros, beautified with an Actian triumphal arch raised on the place of the Roman command post. Similarly, in 324 CE Constantine founded Constantinople in commemoration of his victory over Licinius. The great Constantinian project of the city's foundation, viewed from perspective of a concerted and developing visual strategy over three decades, paralleled only that of the Augustan exploitation of imagery; it is quite clear that Constantine's building program was as masterly and creative as that of Augustus.[145] Together with a whole collection of monuments dedicated to the celebration of defining moments in the history of Greco-Roman civilization, Constantine brought a bronze statue of the Ass and Keeper from Nikopolis to Constantinople as a monument to Octavian's victory at Actium,

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of six years. See also Christopher Ehrhard, "Monumental Evidence for the Date of Constantine's First War Against Licinius," *Ancient World* 23 (1992) 87–96.

[144] Alan E. Wardman, "Usurpers and Internal Conflicts in the 4th century AD," *Historia* 33 (1984): 232.

which memorialized events of far-reaching significance.[146] The Ass and Keeper, originally set up by Augustus, was itself only a small part of a larger program commemorating the final defeat of Mark Antony, and thus recalling one of the seminal moments in the creation of Empire. It suggested an analogy between Augustus and Constantine, Nikopolis and Constantinople: like Octavian at Actium, Constantine consolidated his power defeating of his last rival emperor, Licinius, in a naval battle near Chrysopolis and shortly thereafter raised the walls of his new city on the Bosphoros. Like Nikopolis, Constantinople could be seen as a monument to victory and consolidation of one emperor's rule. Moreover, similarly to Augustus, Constantine was repudiating a system of power sharing; his defeat of Licinius represented the final rejection of the Tetrarchic system in favor of the more traditional apparatus of the principate, a mode of rule defined by Augustus himself.[147]

In addition to *apotropaia* and victory monuments like the Ass and Keeper, the hippodrome was stocked with images of public figures. Images of Julius Caesar,[148] Augustus,[149] and Diocletian[150] represented men who had ruled Rome from republic to empire and tetrarchy, and their presence may have been intended to achieve for the hippodrome the politics of memory that the re-use of the reliefs of Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius had accomplished for the Arch of Constantine in Rome. In the Arch a sequence of images of sound rulers from the peaceful days of the Empire's past evoked at once the memory of a Golden Age and, by means of comparison, the idea of its resurgence in the present under the

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[145] Jaś Elsner, "From the Culture of Spolia to the Cult of Relics," 177–8, and idem, "Perspectives in Art," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, 256.

[146] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 96, ed. and tr. Rolfe 1913, I, 272–75; tr. Edwards 2000, 93; *Parastaseis* 64, ed. and tr. Cameron and Herrin 1984, 140-47; *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* 2.82, ed. Preger 1907, II, 192–93; Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten 1975, 650; tr. Magoulias 1984, 359; Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 44, 62, 65, 67, 213, no. 122.

[147] Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 66; Stephenson, *Constantine*, 200.

[148] *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* 2.81, ed. Preger 1907, II, 192; Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 64, 214, no. 126.

[149] *Parastaseis* 60 ed. and tr. Cameron and Herrin 1984, 136–37; *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* 2.73, ed. Preger 1907, II, 189; Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 214, no. 124.

[150] *Parastaseis* 76 ed. and tr. Cameron and Herrin 1984, 156-9; *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* 2.73, ed. Preger 1907, II, 189; Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 214–5, no. 127.

enlightened rule of Constantine, who appears both as the inheritor of imperial tradition and as the catalyst for renewal.[151] Among these monuments of overtly imperial images was one of Emperor Augustus, an imperial portrait probably made during lifetime, imported from Rome that would have operated by inviting comparison between the great ruler of the past and his modern counterpart.[152] The image of Augustus would have functioned to similar effect, pushing the equation even further back in time to imply similarity not only between Constantine and Augustus as rulers, but also between the Principate and the Constantinian Empire.

1.2. Ceremonies as a dynamic topography of memory

1.2.1. An embarrassing triumph: Augustus and Constantine as *triumphatores*

From the day after the Battle of Milvian Bridge and Constantine's entry into Rome in triumph on 29 October 312 CE, one parallel with Augustan times seems indisputable. The actual battle resembled the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE in two fundamental respects. As Timothy Barnes has phrased it, first, both battles started with an awareness of a foregone result, for Constantine could have been defeated by Maxentius no more then Octavian could have been crushed by Mark Antony, and, second, both conflicts provided a foundation myth for the victor's reordering of Roman society, culture, and ideology, for both Augustus and Constantine claimed that they had won glorious victories, fundamentally misrepresenting the factual events.[153] As the consequences of Roman civil wars both victors reaffirmed themselves as triumphalist by the exercise of military violence over those who challenged their political power. Their monopoly of the (violent, physical) power therefore determined what the political order would be. Both Octavian and Constantine succeeded in a discursive transformation of their internal enemy into a foreign one, for the real possibility of war and the threat of a common enemy essentially constitutes the state with the ruler's power to wage

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[151] Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 64.

war in its name and the right to order to their death the citizens in whose name he rules.[154]

Augustus himself and the Augustan poets thus intentionally portrayed the campaign of Actium as a war waged by a united Italy against an Egyptian queen and her Oriental allies together with the Roman renegade, Mark Antony, reinforcing it with cultural opposition by presenting the conflict between Octavian and his adversary as a match between 'our Roman Jupiter' and 'barking Anubis'.[155] Constantine, in turn, blaming the evils of the regime which he had overthrown, denied that his defeated rival was the son of the legitimate tetrarch Maximian, and forced his own mother-in-law, Maximian's widow, to confess in public that she had conceived Maxentius in adultery with a Syrian, thus ascribing a foreign origin to the Roman emperor.[156] Remarkably similar to a transformation of Mark Antony into the ideological figure of an eastern tyrant by Augustus, in his self-representation as the legitimate defender of the Roman people Constantine advanced the discourse of an internal yet ultimately essentially foreign enemy and presented Maxentius as a *tyrannus*. As Barnes has cogently observed, in this discursive context the transformation involved a combination of the traditional meaning of this Latin noun as denoting an oppressive ruler, a specific Christian reading of the word to denote a persecutor – regardless of the fact that Maxentius had granted the Christians of Italy and Africa toleration shortly after he came to power – and a newly prompted meaning to designate an illegitimate emperor.[157]

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[152] Ibid., 63, 214.

[153] Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire*, 82.

[154] The intimate connection between the state and violence has been recognized generally within Marxist and non-Marxist theory alike. For a reconstruction of the Benjamin-Schmitt debate on the concept of emergency/exception, see Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

[155] Propertius 3.11.41, ed. and tr. Butler 1912, 214–15; Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), 297, 335. Vergil's *Aeneid* exalts the battle at Actium in an epic setting; any record of Roman civil war (the battles at Mutina, Philippi, Perusia, Naulochus, and Actium), however, is conspicuously absent from the Horatian corpus: Gurval, *Actium and Augustus*, 10–11, 19–85, 137–278.

[156] *Origo Constantini* 12, ed. König 1987, 40; tr. Stevenson 1996, 45; Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire*, 82-3.

[157] *Panegyrici Latini* 12.19.1; 4.31.1, ed. and tr. Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 322, 604; 376, 623; Thomas Grünewald, Constantinus Maximus Augustus. *Herrschaftspropaganda in der zeitgenössischen Überlieferung* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990), 64–71; Barnes, "Oppressor, Persecutor, Usurper," 55–65.

From the iconographic evidence of the Constantinian Arch, one paradox seems indubitable. If the triumph of Constantine in 312 CE followed civil war, the Arch would thus have appeared as a monument to this civil war, even glorifying and commemorating civil war, identification further strengthened by including representations of the Siege of Verona and the Battle of Milvian Bridge among its historical reliefs.[158] So far, according to the political events, the Constantinian civil war against the usurper did not begin until the failure of their short-term alliance in 308 CE. Nevertheless, the structuring logic of its political imaginary was already in place with the acclamation of Constantine, yet another, and chronologically the first, usurping emperor, in 306 CE. One can put the matter more strongly. For Constantine, all other rulers were a threat from the very beginning, for he challenged both the principle of tetrarchic succession as conducted by adoption and their exercise of power as secured on territorial grounds. Reviving the imaginary of Octavian's civil war was therefore a means of consolidating Constantine's own power against the threat, domestic yet simultaneously foreign, ultimately legitimating his extralegal power in political conquest.

Although when Constantine entered Rome he neither celebrated a formal triumph nor ascended the Capitol in order to sacrifice and render gratitude to Jupiter Feretrius,[159] his arrival was performed and perceived as a triumph, even if transformed into a form of urban *adventus*, one of the various imperial rituals that came to be expressed in a triumphal idiom, and not necessarily only in Rome.[160] Form the times of republic, the triumph, an individual appropriation of a collective achievement was allowed in agreement with legal requirements as a ceremony to honor the victorious general, under whose command a great victory had

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[158] Hans Peter L'Orange, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1939), 60–65 (*obsidio Veronae*) and 65–71 (*proelium apud Tiberim*); Tonio Hölscher, "Images of War in Greece and Rome: Between Military Practice, Public Memory, and Cultural Symbolism," *JRS* 93 (2003): 6–7, 15 on ideological superstructure of war in Trajanic and Aurelianic reliefs from the Arch.

[159] Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 44.5, ed. and tr. Creed 1984, 62–3.

[160] Within the Classical framework from the fourth century onwards *adventus* in action took on intrinsic characteristics of the Roman triumph, see Sabine McCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 33–89; See Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in*

been won, upon his return home. The *vir triumphalis* and the triumphant army entered Rome in a procession (*pompa triumphalis*) which crossed the sacred boundaries of the city (*pomerium*) from the Campus Martius through the *porta triumphalis* to the Circus Maximus and through the Forum Romanum up to the Capitoline Hill and the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the final destination of the route.[161] Yet Roman emperors never celebrated triumphs over foes in a civil war: in August 29 BCE Octavian held triumphs on three successive days which officially commemorated his victories over the Dalmatae, the defeat of Cleopatra, and the conquest of Egypt. Although the Romans themselves had marched forces under arms into the city in times of civil war, they had never been forced to besiege the sacred Urbs Roma, and thus Constantine must have been aware that a siege of Rome bore somewhat more then only serious logistical and military risks.[162] His seizure of Rome as a site of power was simultaneous with the construction of the enemy within the imaginary discourse. For Constantine, as earlier for Augustus, the 'enemy' (*hostis*) was an ideological figure within the political imaginary, that is, positioned on imaginary terrain. What was striking on both sides was the degree to which art and ceremonies were used to foster these imaginaries in the popular imagination.

While triumphal monuments comprised the imperial parade of virtues,[163] the triumphal processions celebrated 'symbolic capital' of the army commander as he handed his booty over to the state in return for due recognition of his status, placed in a canonical series of the great Roman emperors. While Augustus had misrepresented civil war as a foreign victory, included as a part of his triple triumph, Constantine's soldiers paraded only the head

Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 35–130; Beard, *The Roman Triumph.*

[161] Egon Flaig, *Ritualisierte Politik* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2003), 32.

[162] Noel Lenski, "The Reign of Constantine," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, 59–90.

[163] Peirce, "The Arch of Constantine," 410.

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of Maxentius, displayed as the spoils, through the streets of Rome before it was sent to Carthage to prove his actual death to the African subjects.[164]

The sincerity of the welcome that Constantine received when he entered Rome should not be doubted. The Constantinian frieze on the Arch, commissioned by the senate, portrayed the emperor in senatorial dress in its civil scenes, surrounded by *patres*, the fathers of the city.[165] Although Constantine invalidated all of Maxentius' appointments, he reintegrated senators into the imperial administration. He thus announced the amnesty through which he bound himself to the supporters of his former opponent, a proclamation which helped all of them to forget what had happened in Rome and in Italy over the past six years. Renouncing vengeance in an act of forgetting, they agreed not to recall civil strife and factionalism for the benefit of future cooperation to their mutual advantage. The senators, the very aristocrats who had supported Maxentius, used the inscription on the Arch and its iconography to project onto Constantine the iconic doings of earlier distinguished emperors. He was merged into these forms by replacing their features with his own – hunting, dispensing justice, addressing the populace (*adlocutio*), entering cities (*adventus*), distributing *largitio*, even performing the act of sacrifice (*suovetaurilia*)[166] – which ascribed a polytheist interpretation of his success in battle 'by the instigation of the divine' (*instinctu divinitatis*) to the visionary emperor.[167] Similarly, the processional friezes of the Ara Pacis in the Campus Martius, the monument commissioned and dedicated by the senate on 30 January 9 BCE, were guided by the idea of

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[164] *Panegyrici Latini* 4.32.6-7, ed. and tr. Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 377–78, 624; *Origo Constantini* 12, ed. König 1987, 39–40; tr. Stevenson 1996, 45.

[165] Peirce, "The Arch of Constantine," 405.

[166] Scott Bradbury, "Constantine and the Problem of Anti-Pagan Legislation in the Fourth Century," *CP* 89 (1994), 120–39 accepts Eusebius' claim in *Vita Constantini* 2.44, ed. Winkelmann 1975, 66; tr. Cameron and Hall 1999, 110 that Constantine issued a prohibition on sacrifice in the autumn 324 CE. See also, A. D. Lee, "Traditional Religions," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, 159–79.

[167] For a philological argument, see Linda Jones Hall, "Cicero's *instinctu divino* and Constantine's *instinctu divinitatis*: The Evidence of the Arch of Constantine for the Senatorial View of the Vision of Constantine," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6 (1998): 647–71. Cf. Lenski, "Evoking the Pagan Past," 206–59.

representing the concept of the Pax Augusta (fig.2).[168] The pictorial program of the Altar of Peace emphasized prosperity, the Augustan present as linked to the Roman past in the basic manner of Virgil's *Aeneid*, and references to peace and tranquility as indicated by the demeanor of the participants in the ceremonial procession: the scenes on the Ara Pacis Augustae, inspired by Classical reliefs in sculptural style and composition, appeared as elevated beyond the historical occasion into a timeless sphere.[169]

1.2.2. A circus and a palace

As much as the triumph through a ceremonial procession staged political harmony and concord, eliminating conflict and imposing consensus instead, the ritual of circus games enacted political unanimity and social consent. Meeting eye-to-eye with the *populus Romanum* at the circus, Augustus himself was careful to avoid Caesar's mistake of dealing with correspondence while watching games.[170] He firmly recognized it as an emperor's duty to attend the games and when unable to be present he considered it necessary to send his apologies (*petitia venia*) and a substitute to avoid offence.[171] Augustus was also the first to see that the emperor's responsibility was not only to attend the games, but enjoy them as well, sharing his fellow citizens' excitement and favoring a chosen color (for all four colors went back into the days of the republic)[172] in the ongoing competition of chariot races.

Conversely, the choice of a seat repeated the social structure of the everyday world. Due to this elementary hierarchization, Augustus, like Caesar, used to watch games from

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[168] Arnaldo Momigliano, "The Peace of the Ara Pacis," *JWarb* 5 (1942), 228–31; Karl Galinsky, "Venus, Polysemy, and the *Ara Pacis Augustae*," *AJA* 96 (1992) 457–75; John Elsner, "Cult and Sculpture: Sacrifice in the *Ara Pacis Augustae*," *JRS* 81 (1991): 50–61 emphasizes the sacrificial function of the altar. For a recent catalog, see *Ara Pacis*, ed. Orietta Rossini (Rome, Electa, 2006).

[169] Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, 121.

[170] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 45.1, ed. and tr. Rolfe 1913, I, 196–97; tr. Edwards 2000, 68. Suetonius' records of Augustus' contributions and innovations in the field of public entertainments are particularly full and detailed, confirmed on many points by Augustus' own list in the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions. Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 175.

[171] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 45.1, ed. and tr. Rolfe 1913, I, 196–97; tr. Edwards 2000, 68.

[172] Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 59.

pulvinar, an open couch large enough to seat the emperor's whole family.[173] Originally a site for worshipping the traditional state gods during religious festivals, a wooden platform in the Circus Maximus for images of the gods (including Romulus-Quirinus, the deified founder of Rome, who, significantly, according to a version preserved in Malalas, was credited with all four factions[174]) still in place in Caesar's day, the *pulvinar* was later monumentalized by Augustus.[175] He built a proper temple from which he could also watch the races, in a way constructing the shrine as an imperial box that equally allowed his divine recognition. While later emperors did not use the *pulvinar*, sometimes preferring to share the public seats for the exchange with fellow spectators in the egalitarian manner of *civiles principes*, in the late empire the *kathisma*, the imperial box where the emperor sat surrounded by his entourage far away from the sharing *cavea*, was the point of connection between the palace and hippodrome. In Constantinople this arrangement was designed for the ceremonial entrance of the emperor onto the 'interior' stage of the *kathisma*, where he appeared in his full splendor before the public at the races, like a sun from the east, in a box reminiscent of the *pulvinar*, the couch of the gods at the Circus Maximus at Rome.[176]

The circuses' *spina* appeared to have been frequently adorned by obelisks, amplifying their monumental nature, and if one is to believe Pliny the Elder, the earliest obelisk had been installed on the *euripus* east of the track of the Circus Maximus in Rome on Augustus' orders after the annexation of Egypt following his victory at Actium (fig.6).[177] Constantine enlarged

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[173] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 45, ed. and tr. Rolfe 1913, I, 196–99; tr. Edwards 2000, 68; *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 19, ed. and tr. Brunt and Moore 1967, 26–9; Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 176–77.

[174] Malalas, *Chronicle*, 7.4, ed. Dindorf 1831, 175, tr. Jefreys et al. 1986, 92–3; Cassiodorus' version implies the same, see *Variae* 3.51, ed. Mommsen 1894, 106, tr. Barnish 1992, 69.

[175] *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 19, ed. and tr. Brunt and Moore 1967, 26–7 refer to the *puluinar ad circum maximum*, demonstrating that this construction was important to Augustus personally.

[176] Jonathan Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 152, 157 n. 11; Gilbert Dagron, "L'organisation et le déroulement des courses d'après le *Livre des Cérémonies*," *Travaux et Mémoires* 13 (2000): 122–24.

[177] Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 36.70–71, ed. Rackham and Jones, tr. Eichholz 1962, X, 158–61. Regarding the actual fabric of the Circus Maximus, the scale of Augustus' intervention was enormous, epitomized in the finalizing of work begun by Julius Caesar, bringing to a completion the monumental form of the site and adding the obelisk at a later date (10–9 BCE).

the circus eastwards and his son bestowed an obelisk on it to match that of Augustus still standing in Constantius' times (fig.7).[178] Whereas Constantine celebrated his *tricennalia* at Constantinople, he visited Rome for both his *decennalia* and his *vicennalia*. Although it is not unlikely that Constantine had already planned to remove the Theban (or Lateran) obelisk, which has been interpreted in so many different ways,[179] before 324 CE as a demonstration of his power, authority, and undisputed control of the western half of the empire, the Thebes obelisk would have been the most appropriate gift on the occasion of his twentieth anniversary visit to Rome, which fell in the year 326 CE. Clearly, while promoting the standing of Constantinople Constantine was simultaneously resolving differences with Rome; the obelisk would have been seen by the senatorial establishment as a pagan monument to install in the balance against the imperially-funded church-building program which was transforming the peripheries of the city (at least).[180] It would therefore have been an offering

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[178] Ammianus Marcelinus, *Res Gestae* 16.10.17, ed. and tr. Rolfe 1935, I, 252–53 on Constantius' donation; Bertrand Lançon, *Rome in Late Antiquity: Everyday Life and Urban Change, AD 312–609* (London: Routledge, 2000), 24–6.

[179] *CIL* 6.1163 = *ILS* 736, Constantius' inscription claims that the obelisk was intended by his father as adornment for Constantinople; Ammianus Marcelinus, *Res Gestae* 17.4.13, ed. and tr. Rolfe 1935, I, 322–25 asserts that Constantine planned to send the obelisk to Rome. For a discussion, see Gilbert Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1974), 310–11, who prefers Constantius' version of the story to the later literary account by Ammianus; Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, 154–55 assumes that it is less likely that Constantius' inscription misrepresented the truth about Constantine's intentions and that Ammianus lied "to diminish the significance of Constantius' gift or to avoid making reference to Constantinople," cf. Garth Fowden, "Nicagoras of Athens and the Lateran Obelisk," *JHS* 107 (1987): 54–7; and idem, *Empire to Commonwealth*, 47, who argues that Ammianus is correct in stating that Constantine intended the obelisk for Rome and understands the whole obelisk project as conceived by Constantine in the context of his finely balanced relations with his pagan subjects, and, in particular, "his desire to conciliate the pagan Establishment of Old Rome." Van Dam, *The Roman Revolution of Constantine*, 137 n. 9 supports that Constantine decided to honor Rome with the gift of an obelisk from Egypt and suggests that Constantius' dedication had enhanced his own standing in Rome and implied that he had returned priority to Rome at the expense of Constantinople by tacitly criticizing his father who had acquired a reputation for having supplied Constantinople at the expense of other cities. Gavin Kelly, "The New Rome and the Old: Ammianus Marcellinus' Silences on Constantinople," *CQ* 53 (2003): 604-6, and idem, *Ammianus Marcellinus: The Allusive Historian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 224–30 allows both possibilities, that Ammianus was correcting an erroneous inscription and that he was deliberately falsifying, yet stresses his intentional suppression of any reference to Constantinople. Steven E. Hijmans, "The Sun Which Did Not Rise in the East: The Cult of Sol Invictus in the Light of Non-Literary Evidence," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 71 (1996): 115–50 advances the diverting suggestion that Constantine and Licinius had agreed to erect the obelisk in Rome soon after Maxentius' defeat, yet the project failed with the failure of their alliance.

[180] Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth*, 55. On the church building program as the self-representation of Constantine, see Suzanne Alexander, "Studies in Constantinian Church Architecture," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 67 (1971), 281–330; still useful Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th

to the capital from the newly re-conquered East, for the unique single obelisk (a major cult-object, previously the focus of its own small temple, and unusually, not one of a pair) could stand for the Empire's unity under a single ruler. According to Ammianus, Augustus, who beautified Rome with other obelisks, left it untouched for religious reasons:

> It was consecrated as a special gift to the Sun God, and because, being placed in the sacred part of his sumptuous temple, which might not be profaned, there it towered aloft like the summit of the whole.[181]

Yet Constantine, notorious for robbing the holy places of the East to embellish newly founded Constantinople, as Ammianus continues, slightly surprisingly, shifting his focus from Augustus, "rightly thought that he was committing no sacrilege if he took this marvel from one temple and consecrated it at Rome, that is to say, in the temple of the whole world."[182] As Ammianus points out, it was a solar symbol, and inscriptions confirm that Augustus dedicated his obelisks in the Circus Maximus and the Campus Martius to Sol.[183] Egyptian obelisks with a pyramidal tip covered in gold had been considered to glorify the sun, and it was in the likeness of Apollo-Helios that Constantine had himself portrayed in a famous statue on top of the porphyry column, another immense task that Constantine had embarked upon in order to transport it from Egypt to Constantinople (fig.9).[184] Intending to

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ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986) and idem, *Rome: Profile of a City 312–1308* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Rudolf Leeb, *Konstantin und Christus* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992), 71–82; Hugo Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome from the Fourth to the Seventh Century: The Dawn of Christian Architecture in the West* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

[181] Ammianus Marcelinus, *Res Gestae* 17.4.12–14, ed. Goold and tr. Rolfe 1935, I, 322–25.

[182] Ibid.

[183] *CIL* 6.701=702, ... *Aegupto in potestatem populi romani redacta. Soli donum dedit*; cf. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 27.1, ed. and tr. Brunt and Moore 1967, 32–3 with Jaś Elsner, "Inventing *Imperium*: Texts and the Propaganda of Monuments in Augustan Rome," in *Art and Text in Roman Culture*, ed. J. Elsner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 40, who suggests that the inscription on the Horologium's obelisk on the Campus Martius all but quotes the *Res Gestae Augustae*; on Egyptian cults in Rome and the transportation of obelisks, see Hubert Cancik and Hildegard Cancik-Lindemaier, "'Tempel der ganzen Welt' – Ägypten und Rom," in *Ägypten – Tempel der Gesamten Welt: Studies in Honour of Jan Assmann*, ed. Sibylle Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 41–6 with n. 16. Later, in the sixth century, Cassiodorus mentions two obelisks that adorned Augustus' mausoleum and asserts that Constantius' obelisk was dedicated to the sun and the smaller Augustan obelisk to the moon, Cassiodorus, *Variae* 3.51.8, ed. Mommsen 1894, 106, tr. Barnish 1992, 69. See also John Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 248–9; Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, 154–55.

[184] Richard Delbrück, *Antike Porphyrwerke* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1932), 26; 140–45, pl. 68, 57–59 shows that fashion on porphyry works initiated by Augustus was revived under Diocletian after the long break and continued to enjoy popularity under Constantine; Raymond Janin, *Constantinople byzantin: développement*

move the obelisk which Augustus had not moved, planning to place it in proximity to the existing Augustan obelisk of the Circus Maximus in Rome, Constantine therefore appeared to be competing with the first emperor, launching a comparable monumental project that surpassed the height of the monolith Augustus had acquired, similarly aggrandizing his sole rule enunciated after a series of civil wars.

Constantinople's dedication ceremony resembled the kind of *pompa circensis* that had been used in 45 BCE to commemorate the founding of Rome. The *Chronicon Paschale*, the *Chronicle* of Malalas, and the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* describe the hippodrome ceremonial procession on the occasion of the *encaenia* of Constantinople on 11 May 330 CE.[185] Recalling circus procession of Caesar and his Hellenistic predecessors, Constantine's gilded statue, with a personification or Tyche of his new city in its right hand and, probably, with the radiate crown, was transported on a wagon from the starting gates of the hippodrome to a point opposite the imperial box.[186] After that, Constantine appeared wearing the jeweled form of diadem and presided over chariot races in the hippodrome.

The *pompa circensis*, the grand procession of deities which preceded the celebration of the *ludi circenses*, was Rome's most remarkable and elaborate display of images of the gods and hence a major focus for the categorization of the divine, particularly in Triumviral and early Augustan Rome. During this period, when questions of divine status and deification were very much part of the political scene, since Augustus dared not follow Caesar's

urbain et répertoire topographique, 2nd ed. (Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1964), 83; Garth Fowden, "Constantine's Porphyry Column: The Earliest Literary Allusion," *JRS* 81 (1991) 119–31; Cyril Mango, *Studies on Constantinople* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), 312–13.

[185] Malalas, *Chronicle*, 13.8, ed. Dindorf 1831, 322, tr. Jefreys et al. 1986, 175; *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf 1832, I, 529–56, tr. Whitby and Whitby 1989, 17-8; *Parastaseis* 56, ed. and tr. Cameron and Herrin 1984, 132–33, 242.

[186] *Parastaseis* 56, ed. and tr. Cameron and Herrin 1984, 100–3 with 215–18; Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale*, 41, 44–5 argues that it could be a figure of Victory standing upon a globe, thus representing the worldwide extent of Roman power; Basset, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 240–41, no. 160.

precedent of displaying of his own statue in a chariot in the procession of deities,[187] thus claiming divinity, the *pompa circensis* became a tribute to deified (and therefore deceased) emperors. Nevertheless, Augustus' keen interest in the *pompa* is demonstrated by Suetonius, whose narrative goes as follows:

> When he was giving votive games in the Circus he happened to fall ill and led the procession of sacred chariots reclining in his litter.[188]

Yet between organizing the divine procession and being a part of it many Roman spectators may have seen a line being crossed.[189]

The parading statue of the departing Constantine, presumably accompanied by statues of pagan deities, may also have suggested to many observers that Constantine was claiming to be a god, a *presens dues*, the concept behind the ruler cult in the Greek East that had been articulated in Rome by Augustus' time, when Octavian, immediately after Actium, spent almost a year and a half in the eastern provinces.[190] The panegyrist of 310 CE reflects the same view of the emperor as synonymous with being a god, present (here and now), when he ascribes the appellation to Constantine in the religious sphere, referring to him as the *praesentissimus hic deus*, this most manifest god.[191]

The spatial context of the hippodrome in Constantinople, remarkably similar to every one in all tetrarchic capitals and in general symptomatic of the elaboration of Roman imperial cities, included an adjacent palace directly connected to the imperial box by a stairway,

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[187] Suetonius, *Divus Caesar* 76.1, ed. and tr. Rolfe 1913, I, 98–9; tr. Edwards 2000, 35 *sed et ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est*: ... *tensam et ferculum circensi pompa*; Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 43.45.2; 44.6.3, ed. Goold, tr. Cary 1916, IV, 290-1; 316–17.

[188] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 43, ed. and tr. Rolfe 1913, I, 190–94; tr. Edwards 2000, 66 *accidit uotiuis circensibus, ut correptus ualitudine lectica cubans tensas deduceret.*

[189] Damien Nelis and Jocelyne Nelis-Clément, "Vergil, Georgics 1.1–42 and the *pompa circensis*," *Dictynna* 8 (2011): 1–14 suggest that Virgil, whose *Georgics* is the text in which the issue of Octavian's apotheosis is central to the thematic unity of the whole, conceived the prologue in terms of a *pompa circensis*, where a procession is explicitly mentioned, as related to the opening's prediction of the future apotheosis of Octavian.

[190] On Augustus as the *presens deus*, see Karl Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 314, 316. See Simon Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 249–74 for a catalog of imperial temples and shrines in Asia Minor.

[191] *Panegyrici Latini* 6.1.5 and 22.1, ed. and tr. Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 219, 251, 573, 583.

evidently in direct imitation of the Domus Augustana/Circus Maximus complex in Rome.[192]

Malalas reports that Constantine completed the Severan hippodrome and built a *kathisma* like that in Rome for the emperor to watch races, and also built a large palace, closely patterned on that in Rome, near hippodrome, with a staircase leading from the palace to the *kathisma*.[193] First, the hippodrome itself, inherited from the Severan era, followed the standard circus form, which stemmed ultimately from the Circus Maximus in Rome. Second, twice the author emphasizes that Constantine followed the pattern of Rome, once in the construction of the *kathisma* and once in linking it with the palace.[194]

In 309 CE, following the death of his son, Romulus, Maxentius had a sanctuary and circus built at one of his villas in Rome, dedicated to his son's memory (fig.5):[195] the only games recorded at this circus were the inaugural ones, which are generally thought to have been funerary in character. As for Maxentius, the second palace/circus complex in Rome, situated on the Via Appia, which kept the connection between the villa and the imperial box (*pulvinar*) of the circus through a covered portico, quoted – that is to say, imitated – the first one in a combination of the circus and the associated palace, which derived ultimately from the prototype of the Circus Maximus at the foot of the Domus Augustana on the Palatine. Maxentius himself made some alterations to the Palatine complex in which he played a public rôle. Remarkably, at the same time, Maxentius also relocated the obelisk from the temple of Isis to adorn the *spina* of his new circus.[196] Second in size only to its progenitor, the Circus

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[192] Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 180–81.

[193] Malalas, *Chronicle*, 13.7, ed. Dindorf 1831, 320, tr. Jefreys et al. 1986, 173–74; *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf 1832, I, 527–30, tr. Whitby and Whitby 1989, 16. Cf. Cyril Mango, "Constantinople," in *Oxford History of Byzantium*, ed. C. Mango (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 65, who argues that "the juxtaposition of the imperial palace and the hippodrome did, of course, mirror the coupling of Palatine hill and circus maximus in Rome, but had become a standard feature of Tetrarchic capitals even before Constantine."

[194] Jonathan Bardill, "The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors and the Walker Trust Excavations," *JRA* 12 (1999): 216–30.

[195] On *divus Romulus*, see *CIL* 6.1138. Alfred Frazer, "The Iconography of the Emperor Maxentius' Buildings in Via Appia," *The Art Bulletin* 48 (1966): 382–83.

[196] Leppin and Ziemssen, *Maxentius: Der letzte Kaiser in Rom*, 59–66; Lançon, *Rome in Late Antiquity: Everyday Life and Urban Change*, 25.

Maximus, the circus of Maxentius, together with his other building projects, was appropriated by Constantine in the aftermath of 312 CE.

Given his devotion to the solar deity, Constantine also perpetuated an aesthetic tradition of erecting obelisks rivaling Rome graced by the Augustan monolith in the Circus Maximus by adorning the central barrier of a Constantinople's hippodrome with one built of masonry.[197] Constantine, who systematically plundered pagan temples throughout his empire of their valuables during the 320s CE, although never acquired a genuine Egyptian obelisk, would have compensated for it with masonry substitute (fig.8), covered in bronze and sparkling in the sunlight, in anticipation of the arrival of a proper adornment equaling or exceeding the Augustan obelisk.[198] The entire Egyptian enterprise shows that the Constantinian endeavor was a strikingly Augustan imitation.

1.2.3 *Consecratio*

The imperial ceremony of *consecratio*, that is, the ceremony of an imperial funeral that continued the tradition of the noble funeral in Rome,[199] and the subsequent apotheosis of deceased emperors from Augustus in 14 CE to Constantine in 337 CE – the most problematic for Christian ideology and, as a result, short-lived compared to other Roman rituals that enjoyed perpetuation in Byzantium – came to be a re-enactment of the elevation of the deceased emperor to heaven and his divinization, initiated by the case of Caesar's

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[197] On the masonry obelisk in Constantinople, probably of Constantinian date, see Mango, *Studies on Constantinople*, art. X, 17–20; Basset, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, 86 with n. 20.

[198] Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, 154–57 suggests that Constantine was responsible for the masonry obelisk; cf. Dagron, "L'organisation et le déroulement des courses d'après le *Livre des Cérémonies*," 106, who argues that that the presence of two obelisks in the Circus Maximus must have provided the model for erecting two obelisks in Constantinople thus establishing the rule of Constantius II as *terminus post quem* for the erection of the masonry obelisk.

[199] Harriet Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); cf. Egon Flaig, "Die Pompa Funebris. Adlige Konkurrenz und annalistische Erinnerung in der Römischen Republik," in *Memoria als Kultur*, ed. Otto Gerhard Oexle (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1995), 115–48; and idem, *Ritualisierte Politik*, 49–68.

deification.[200] As rare examples of well attested imperial funerals, both the *consecrationes* of Augustus and Constantine are remarkably parallel, for the latter partially followed a model provided by that of the first apotheosized Roman emperor.[201]

Both emperors died outside of their residential capitals: after the death of Constantine the ceremonial began with a military procession that carried the mortal remains in convoy to Constantinople, where the body, crowned and in imperial robes, was displayed on a high catafalque in the most splendid room in the palace[202] – which were in fact all the normal honors due to an emperor:

> The military took up the remains and laid them in a golden coffin. They wrapped this in imperial purple, and bore it into the city named after the Emperor; then in the most superb of the imperial halls they laid it on a high pedestal, and by kindling lights all round on golden stands they provided a wonderful spectacle for the onlookers of a kind never seen on earth by anyone under the light of the sun from the first creation of the world. Within the palace itself, in the central imperial quarters, the Emperor's remains, adorned with imperial ornaments, with purple and crown, was guarded day and night by a huge circle of people keeping vigil.[203]

The display of the body, or an image in place of the body in the case of belated funerals, was a conventional Roman practice. The political element was present in the form of fear over succession: the emperor's sons were all absent from Constantinople and the funeral ritual reflected these preoccupations, yet the practices it adopted show some analogies with the imperial funerals of Augustus in 14 CE, Pertinax in 193 CE (both described by Dio Cassius) and Septimius Severus in 211 CE (recorded by Herodian). More precisely, a wax effigy was

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[200] Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, 152–3; Brian Bosworth, "Augustus, the *Res Gestae* and Hellenistic Theories of Apotheosis," *JRS* 89 (1999) 1–18. See also, Glen Warren Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965)

[201] Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 56.34–46, ed. and tr. Cary 1924, VII, 74–107.

[202] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4.61–75, ed. Winkelmann 1975, 145-51; tr. Cameron and Hall 1999, 177–82.

[203] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4.66, ed. Winkelmann 1975, 147–48; tr. Cameron and Hall 1999, 179: Ἄραντες δ' οἱ στρατιωτικοὶ τὸ σκῆνος χρυσῇ κατετίθεντο λάρνακι, ταύτην θ' ἁλουργίδι βασιλικῇ περιέβαλλον ἐκόμιζόν τ' εἰς τὴν βασιλέως ἐπώνυμον πόλιν, κᾆπειτα ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ παντὸς προφέροντι τῶν βασιλείων οἴκων ⌜βάθρον⌝ ἐφ' ὑψηλὸν κατετίθεντο, φῶτά τ' ἐξάψαντες κύκλῳ ἐπὶ σκευῶν χρυσῶν θαυμαστὸν θέαμα τοῖς ὁρῶσι παρεῖχον, οἷον ἐπ' οὐδενὸς πώποτ' ὑφ' ἡλίου αὐγαῖς. ἐκ πρώτης αἰῶνος συστάσεως ἐπὶ γῆς ὤφθη. ἔνδον γάρ τοι ἐν αὐτῷ παλατίῳ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον τῶν βασιλείων ἐφ' ὑψηλῆς κείμενον χρυσῆς λάρνακος τὸ βασιλέως σκῆνος, βασιλικοῖς τε κόσμοις πορφύρᾳ τε καὶ διαδήματι τετιμημένον, πλεῖστοι περιστοιχισάμενοι ἐπαγρύπνως δι' ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐφρούρουν.

laid on top of or substituted for the body of the deceased, treated for a while as a living emperor – for it was convenient for the public ceremonial to use an image untainted by human mortality and corruption – then burned at the time of the *consecratio*, that is, of the ascension of the *divus imperator* in the form of an eagle opportunely released.

As in the case of Augustus, the official deification of Constantine came immediately after the funeral, but the ceremonial was transformed for the burial of Constantine. Although he was the last emperor for whom consecration coins were struck, elaborate ceremonial appropriate to a living emperor and his actual funeral with a tomb burial or inhumation, decisively broke with the previous imperial tradition. Imperial funerals traditionally included ritualized deification of the emperor by engaging a *pompa funebris*, the funeral procession, which, for Augustus, was said to have included almost all the population of Rome.[204] Eusebius, in turn, portrays scenes of lamentation, evoking the traditional iconography of the apotheosis, telling that the people and senate of Rome dedicated an image to Constantine which portrayed him seated above the heavenly vault, and describes a coin type chosen by Constantius II with a veiled effigy of the dead emperor on the obverse and the image of the same emperor driving a quadriga up to heaven, from which the hand of God emerges to receive him, on the reverse. Gilbert Dagron has stressed that Christianization allowed the Classical image of the imperial *consecratio* to be re-employed with a different meaning due to the conservative nature of visual media.[205] Yet what was behind Eusebius' rhetoric was the pagan apotheosis of Constantine.

Augustus' funeral was designed by the emperor himself, who left instructions to be followed by the senate. Similarly, Constantine initiated the building of his mausoleum,

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[204] Simon Price, "From Noble Funerals to Divine Cult: The Consecration of Roman Emperors," in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. D. Cannadine and S. Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 83.
[205] Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 137.

described by Eusebius.[206] The mausoleum-rotunda, as Cyril Mango has discovered, resembles tetrarchic imperial mausolea, for which many parallels can be cited.[207] As for Maxentius, the mausoleum on the Via Appia was certainly intended for the emperor himself, as were the mausolea built by Galerius and Diocletian, yet it first received Maxentius' deified son, Romulus. The all-encompassing emphasis on death and apotheosis and the memorial references generated by Romulus' death re-articulated the whole Maxentian building complex on the Via Appia as overwhelmingly funerary in character spatially as well as ideologically. It has been also assumed that the sarcophagus in which the remains of Constantine's mother, Helena, were placed was confiscated from the mausoleum of Maxentius, for whom it was originally made.[208]

Although, as Eusebius explains, Constantine had consecrated the building of his mausoleum to the Saviour's apostles, he himself intended to be buried there, placing his tomb in the central niche, in the middle of 'cenotaphs' of the twelve apostles, so that his soul would benefit from the prayers that would be offered in honor of them.[209] Jaś Elsner has persuasively shown that Constantine, buried as the thirteenth apostle in a sacred shrine also constructed to commemorate the twelve apostles, each of whom received a tomb, inaugurated the cult of relics in his later years, and that within the typological scheme the Roman Arch with its abundant *spolia*, a commemorative monument which paralleled the Augustan arch on the Forum Romanum and also celebrated the post-Milvian Bridge triumph of 312 CE, was the first step in a set of experiments which ultimately resulted in the mausoleum of

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[206] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4.58–60, ed. Winkelmann 1975, 144–45; tr. Cameron and Hall 1999, 176–77.
[207] Mango, "Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics," 51–62. For instance, the mausolea of Diocletian at Split, Galerius at Gamzigrad and Thessalonike, Maxentius on the Via Appia outside Rome, Helena on the Via Labicana, Santa Costanza on the Via Nomentana and Centcelles in Taragona.
[208] Mark Joseph Johnson, *The Roman Imperial Mausolea in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 118; Jam Willem Drijvers, "Helena Augusta, the Cross and the Myth: Some New Reflections," *Millenium* 8 (2011): 144 argues against the suggestion that Helena's sarcophagus was initially designed for Constantine.
[209] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4.60, ed. Winkelmann 1975, 144–45; tr. Cameron and Hall 1999, 176–77.

Constantine and, later, the chuch of the Holy Apostles.[210] The circular mausoleum of Augustus on the Campus Martius, the ultimate prototype for later imperial mausolea, was one component of a tripatrite complex that also consisted of the Ara Pacis and Solarium or Horologium Augusti visibly united by their topographical proximity to one another and their isolation from other buildings which shared Augustus' commemorative scheme and thus commonalities in symbolic themes, such as references to the Actian victory.[211] Just as Augustus inaugurated the empire with his victory in civil war, so too did Constantine, who, after his last rival was defeated, began the empire anew by establishing of his own new residential capital, palace, and burial place. The Constantinian mausoleum therefore paralleled the message of the mausoleum of Augustus as primarily an imperial dynastic monument, yet not merely a Constantinian family foundation but the foundation of a new imperial line that succeeded the original line set up by Augustus.

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[210] Elsner, "From the Culture of Spolia to the Cult of Relics," 157–58.
[211] Davies, *Death and the Emperor*, 13–9.

2. SCULPTURE: MEMORY IN MARBLE AND BRONZE

2.1. The affirmative politics of memory: an appropriation of symbolic capital

A bronze statue of the Emperor Constantine, commissioned in 1998, stands in front of the cathedral in York. Situated near the south transept of York Minster, which itself is on the site of the headquarters of the Roman fort, the monument marks the probable spot where Constantine was proclaimed emperor by the army to succeed his father, Constantius I. The statue itself shows Constantine after the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, represented as a battle-hardened warrior seated on his imperial throne looking down in a conciliatory manner upon his broken sword, which forms the shape of a cross. Notably, even though Constantine's presence in York is decisively supported by sources, this gesture commemorating Constantine nevertheless expresses a desire to appropriate a Christian Roman imperial figure publicly and visually by claiming a material connection with a local site.[212] However, what is even more curious in this contemporary artistic manifestation than yet another appropriation is rather the Constantinian iconography itself, which has came to show that after becoming the uncontested ruler of the West in 312 CE, Constantine adopted a radically new style for his portraits – from that period on more classicizing[213] – which both differed him from the severe rigid portraits of his predecessors and was intended to evoke the image of Augustus (fig.17),

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[212] A plaque on the side reads: "Near this place Constantine the Great was proclaimed Roman Emperor in 306. His recognition of the civil liberties of his Christian subjects, and his own conversion to the Faith, established the religious foundations of Western Christendom." See Antonina Harbus, *Helena of Britain in Medieval Legend* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2002), 8.

[213] R. R. R. Smith denounces the 'Constantinian classicism' in Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 202, and argues against the Augustus-Doryphoros theory, which claims that an Augustan classicistic formal language derived from Polykletian works in Smith, "Typology and Diversity in the Portraits of Augustus," 30–47. Hans Peter L'Orange speaks of an Augustan classicism in Constantinian portraiture: Hans Peter L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1965), 56–7, since Constantine's portrait with its retention of a youthful idealized physiognomy would have appealed to the classicizing traditions in Roman portraiture first introduced under Augustus. The youthful facial features and idealized form would have been intended as a visual signal of Constantine's likeness as re-fashioned from representations of Augustus, demonstrating the enduring legacy of the first emperor of Rome and the continued desirability of creating portraits resembling him: Eric R. Varner, "Tyranny and the Transformation of the Roman Visual Landscape" in *From Caligula to Constantine*, 11.

clean-shaven and youthful with a cap of comma-shaped locks recalling the coiffure of the first Roman emperor.[214]

To continue with the image, I will show how a specifically Constantinian reorganization of the imperial portraiture was instituted in consequence of the end of the first civil war against Maxentius and turned out to be affiliated with an Augustan figure. As a result, although it lost its continuity with the tetrarchic representation irreversibly,[215] Constantine's portrait appeared henceforth to be a battleground for the different politics of memory or even indeed a *lieux de mémoire*, unless one wishes to suggest that the Constantinian representation was essentially diversified. For evidence of this, I suggest looking at iconography. It confirms that Constantine was apparently aware of the advantages of representing himself in Rome in the fashion of a princeps, a soldier, but a civilian at the same time,[216] and images of Augustus served as a model for Constantinian portraits.

In 1981, in the Christian basilica of Bolsena (Volsinii) (situated on the site of a pagan basilica), a colossal marble head was found (fig.10). It has been identified as a portrait of

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[214] *From Caligula to Constantine*, 171, 210; Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 406, 426, 434, 438. Constantine was clean-shaven as well as handsome and youthful, the first emperor to show himself clean-shaven with Augustus-length hair after a long succession of emperors who had adopted the military iconography of close-cropped hair and a stubble beard and who generally affected an intense expression, often a look of ferocious power, in the tradition of Caracalla, with hard, individualizing realism instead of the calm idealism one perceives in Constantine. For the details, see Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 493.

[215] 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. Both in combing his rather short hair casually over his brow and in the shape and bony character of his youthful face Constantine reminded the Roman beholder of Augustus. For the iconographical argument, see Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 185–7.

[216] For Constantine as an emperor with intellectual attainments, who presented himself as a patron of literature in the mold of Augustus, see Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire*, 84, who argues for the letter exchange between Constantine and the Roman senator and poet Publius Optatianus Porfyrius in late 312 CE. By nourishing of the liberal arts, especially literature as well as reading, writing, thinking, and listening to the embassies, Constantine favored pursuits appropriate to a civilian emperor, see *Epitome de Caesaribus* 41.14, ed. Festy 1999, 33; tr. Blanchich 2009, 168: *commodissimus tamen rebus multis fuit: … nutrire artes bonas, praecipue studia litterarum, legere ipse scribere meditari audire legationes et querimonias provinciarum.* Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 89.3, ed. and tr. Rolfe 1913, I, 258–59; tr. Edwards 2000, 88 reports that Augustus encouraged the literary talents of his time (*ingenia saeculi sui*) and that he listened recitations, not only poems and histories, but also speeches and dialogues. Constantine himself thus intended to evoke comparison with Augustus, the imperial model he imitated.

Augustus re-utilized to represent Constantine.[217] Recycling for Constantine affected the Augustan face and hair, but the back of the head and neck ere not altered and thus allows determining of an original function: it is possible that the sculpture stood in a niche and it was visible only from the front.[218] The iconography of Constantine-Augustus from Bolsena suggests a date for the re-carving due to its similarity with the iconography of the emperor's figure in the Trajanic reliefs and Hadrianic roundels on the Arch of Constantine erected by the Roman senate in honor of the emperor on the occasion of his *decennalia*, which he celebrated in Rome on 25 July 315 CE. It is reasonable, however, to assume that the senate voted to erect the Arch while Constantine was in Rome in the weeks following the Battle of the Milvian Bridge on 28 October 312 CE.[219] Constantine, the conqueror of 312 CE, therefore justifies his appropriation of Rome in a monument which simultaneously celebrates his victory over Maxentius in 312 CE, his *decennalia* of 315 CE, and the new Constantinian Golden Age evoked in the images of 'good' emperors from the second century CE.[220] At the same time, the sculptor similarly reworked the head of Augustus from Volsinii into the Constantinian portrait.

The act of re-cutting in the case of the Arch of Constantine represents in fact not an elimination of the previous emperors (who in effect topped the list of good rulers), but rather a strengthening and elevating of Constantine through literally putting him in their bodies. As Jas Elsner has suggested, the Arch searches for methods of creating a typological relationship between Constantine, the fourth-century usurping conqueror, and his great second-century predecessors and it does so by simultaneously exploiting and transforming time-honored

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[217] Initially, the sculpture from Volsinii, the ancient Etruscan city, was not supposed to differ from those similar to it in central and southern Italy, evidencing the official cult of Augustus. It is indeed plausible that the Augustan marble portrait was kept and worshipped in the basilica of Volsinii. For a portrait of Augustus recarved as Constantine from Bolsena (Rome, Museo di Villa Giulia), see Antonio Giuliano, "Augustus-Constantinus," in idem, *Scritti Minori* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2001), 173–82, figs. 1-4.

[218] Giuliano, "Augustus-Constantinus," 172.

[219] Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire*, 18–9.

[220] Elsner, "From the Culture of Spolia to the Cult of Relics," 152.

patterns of Roman image-making.[221] Thus, for instance, in 14-15 CE, according to Tacitus, "Augustus' head had been sliced off and Tiberius' likeness imposed"[222] on an Augustan statue by Granius Marcellus, a proconsul of Bithynia. Indeed, in comparison to Constantinian times with its prevalent practice of spoliation, the early imperial period was distinguished by its rigor concerning matters of the emperor's sacred image, as expressed acutely by Suetonius:

> A certain man had removed the head from a statue of Augustus so that he might replace it with the head of someone else. This matter was brought before the senate and, because there was some uncertainty, the witnesses were examined under torture. The defendant was found guilty and in time malicious accusations of the following kind resulted in capital trials: beating a slave near a statue of Augustus, or changing one's clothes there; carrying a coin or a ring bearing his image into a lavatory or a brothel; criticizing any of his words or deeds.[223]

Although the Constantinian *litura* (erasure, reworking) became a typical trait of the new imperial power in the early fourth century, the emperor's image had retained a sacred significance confirmed by capital punishment for the crime of forging the imperial solidi, aurei, or an expression *felicia tempora* taken by the new emperor, as Constantine's law of 317 CE shows:

> All the solidi on which appear our face and which have the same degree of veneration must be valued and sold at the same price, although the size of the image may vary. For a solidus that is extended with a greater appearance of the Emperor's face is not worth a greater price, nor must one that is compressed with a smaller image be supposed to be of less value, when the weight is the same. But if anyone should do otherwise, he shall be capitally punished or be delivered to the flames or subjected to some other fatal punishment.[224]

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[221] Ibid., 174.

[222] Tacitus, *Annales* 1.74.3–4, ed. and tr. Jackson 1979, 370–71; tr. Woodman 2004, 38: *alia in statua amputato capite Augusti effigiem Tiberii inditam.*

[223] Suetonius, *Tiberius* 58, ed. and tr. Rolfe 1913, I, 372–74; tr. Edwards 2000, 125–26: *Statuae quidam Augusti caput dempserat, ut alterius imponeret; acta res in senatu et, quia ambigebatur, per tormenta quaesita est. Damnato reo paulatim genus calumniae eo processit, ut haec quoque capitalia essent: circa Augusti simulacrum seruum cecidisse, uestimenta mutasse, nummo uel anulo effigiem impressam latrinae aut lupanari intulisse, dictum ullum factumue eius existimatione aliqua laesisse.*

[224] *CTh.* 9.22.1, ed. Mommsen and Meyer 1905, 891; tr. Pharr 1952, 224: *Omnes solidi, in quibus nostri vultus ac veneratio una est, uno pretio aestimandi sunt atque vendendi, quamquam diversa formae mensura sit. Nec enim qui maiore habitu faciei extenditur, maioris est pretii, aut qui angustiore expressione concluditur, minoris*

Therefore, in a similar way, the Augustan marble portrait from Volsinii, the re-cut head – for centuries a sign of condemnation in contrast to the sacred imperial presence of the figure whose face has been destroyed – now became a mark of honor for the emperor whose face had been inserted, in part because of the praiseworthy sacred body of Augustus from which Constantine's head was re-carved.[225] For the message of comparison between the emperor and a supreme deity (or God) would not have been lost on the grand audience of cities throughout the empire who were the primary onlookers of all the messages the imperial statuary gave off. Once again, what defined Roman political theology was the essential view of the elites that it must be recognized that God chooses the emperor and through this special relationship the emperor loves and imitates God. This structural relation between the emperor and the divine realm was mirrored on yet another level in the relation between the emperor and his flock. Thus, at the same time, the emperor, like God, felt responsible for his subjects and their well-being.[226] On their side of this equilibrium, his subjects must trust the emperor to ensure that justice is done in the state, and they expect generosity and philanthropy from him.[227] In effect, these are constantly recreated hierarchical relations of a constitutive asymmetry of dominance and obedience.

Since emperors were in a position to select and to promote their public image, one may take Constantinian portraiture to represent accurately the image of himself that Constantine had decided to project at the official celebration of his *quinquennalia* in 311 CE, that is, soon after he reorganized of his ideological base following the defeat and death of Maximian in 310 CE, which clearly constituted the political context and coincided with the

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valere credendus est, quum pondus idem exsistat. quod si quis aliter fecerit, aut capite puniri debet, aut flammis tradi, vel alia poena mortifera.

[225] The Bolsena portrait of Constantine's recut from Augustus is not a single isolated case; for another portrait of Augustus reworked as Constantine (London, private collection), see Giuliano, "Augustus-Constantinus," 177, figs. 9–11.

[226] There are different 'ideologies' related to the types of emperor's rule or the various practices, for which, see Paul Veyne, "Foucault révolutionne l'histoire," *Information sur les Sciences Sociales* 25, no. 2 (1986): 401–19.

date when the new portrait type was defined.[228] Constantine's first portraits, created ca. 306-311 CE, were conceived in the prevailing tetrarchic style, which represented all of the emperors in a similar stylized and geometric format.[229] The political reorganization involved the fictitious adoption of Claudius Gothicus as an imperial ancestor and the adoption of Sol-Apollo as the dynasty's protector deity.[230] The famous Latin panegyric of 310 CE exemplifies Constantine's politics of memory or ideological maneuvers, including the vision of Apollo who had appeared to the emperor during his celebrated visit to the temple in Gaul. Before the visionary emperor miraculously saw a cross, he established a visual affirmation of his affinity with Sol-Apollo. Constantine's association with Sol Invictus, itself echoing Augustus' affiliation to Apollo, had outstanding significance for the emperor's imperial subjects, especially in the military sphere. Moreover, it has been cogently argued that the language of the panegyric directly alluded Constantine to Augustus in the Virgilian interpretation of imperial rule over the entire world (*totius mundi regna*):[231]

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[227] Robin Cormack, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and Its Icons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 211–12. In general, see Robin Cormack, *Byzantine Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[228] The likening of Constantine to Augustus probably originated from his experiments with the image on early coins as well as from allusions in contemporary panegyrics, for the particular characteristics that are usually mentioned in the comparison – the handsome figure with a smooth-shaven face and short hair combed forward over the brow with a slender neck emphasizing youthfulness – were all considered the standards of Augustan classicism. On coins, see *infra* chapter 3.1.

[229] Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 171. The approximate length of the hair in the earlier portraits and the use of flame-shaped locks as well as the breadth of the skull create a real resemblance, although he never attempts the characteristic division of the locks over the forehead into recognizable shapes that is the hallmark of Augustus' portraits. For the assumption that the Constantinian image was based on the imitation of Augustus with the ultimate prototype of Alexander, see Harrison, "The Constantinian Portrait," 94–5. The idea that Augustus was Constantine's model has become as the *comunis opinio* of iconographic research: Maria R. Alföldi, *Die constantinische Goldprägung: Untersuchungen zu ihrer Bedeutung far Kaiserpolitik und Hofkunst* (Mainz: Römisch-Germanischen Zantralmuseums, 1963), 60.

[230] On solar cult, see Stephan Berrens, *Sonnenkult und Kaisertum von den Severern bis zu Constantin. I (193–337 n. Chr.)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2004). On Constantine's religious policy, see recent contribution: Klaus M. Girardet, *Der Kaiser und sein Gott. Das Christentum im Denken und in der Religionspolitik Konstantins des Großen* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010). For Constantine's rescript to Hispellum, *CIL* 11.5265 = *ILS* 705; see Van Dam, *The Roman Revolution of Constantine*, 23–34; cf. recent critique in Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire*, 20–3, who ascribes the document to Constans.

[231] Barbara Rodgers has argued against the traditional interpretation of Constantine as recognizing himself in the likeness of Apollo, cf. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 36. Instead, she has proposed that Constantine, to whom the gods prophesied world rule, resembles rather Augustus: he is himself the new Augustus, fulfilling an old prophecy of the return of the Golden Age. For a philological argument, see Barbara S. Rodgers, "Constantine's Pagan Vision," *Byzantion* 50 (1980), 259–78; also Nixon and Rodgers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors*, 250–51, n. 93. See also, Rodgers, "The Metamorphosis of Constantine," 233–46.

For you saw, I believe, O Constantine, your Apollo, accompanied by victory, offering you laurel wreath, each one of which carries a portent of thirty years. For this is the number of human ages which are owed to you without fail – beyond the old age of a Nestor. And – now why do I say "I believe"? – you *saw*, and recognized yourself in the likeness of him to whom the divine songs of the bards had prophesied that rule over the whole world was due.[232]

The panegyrist deliberately echoes Constantine's resemblance to Virgil's world ruler, Augustus. As R. R. R. Smith has phrased it, Constantine thus sees himself in the visible form of the first princeps: similarly to Augustus, Constantine is seen to be *iuvenis, laetus, salutifer, pulcherrimus*: youthful, joyful, bringer of health and very handsome.[233] Whether explicit in this enigmatic passage or widely recognized, R. R. R. Smith has argued that the Augustan reference is clear in the visual resonance of the new portrait image itself. It would rightfully evoke many of the associations attested as part of the contemporary political agenda: renewal, regeneration, tranquility, and, last but not least, peace, since the emperor is *fundator quietis*, a giver of *lux perpetua* and *beata tranquillitas*. Such ideas were widespread, available to the panegyrist, yet only Constantine expressed them in the physiognomic style of his images.[234]

What is clearer rather than the familiar yet opaque panegyrist's vocabulary is that Constantine certainly could and had to choose how to represent himself – not least because so many images were already available – to the Roman people at the time of his *decennalia* in 315 CE, the occasion indicated by the votive inscription on the Arch. Therefore, the head of Constantine of remarkably high artistic quality in the Boar Hunt medallion, together with the others on the Arch, appears to be the key exemplar for any attempt to identify and date the marble portraits of Constantine, since it is the best preserved of his portraits on his Roman

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[232] *Panegyrici Latini* 6.21.4–6, ed. and tr. Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 248–50, 583: *Vidisti enim, credo, Constantine, Apollinem tuum comitante Victoria coronas tibi laureas offerentem, quae tricenum singulae ferunt omen annorum. Hic est enim humanarum numerus aetatum quae tibi utique debentur ultra Pyliam senectutem. Et – immo quid dico 'credo'? – uidisti teque in illius specie recognouisti, cui totius mundi regna deberi uatum carmina diuina cecinerunt.* For the common VOTA coin type, see *RIC* 6.174, Trier.
[233] *Panegyrici Latini* 6.21.6, ed. and tr. Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 251, 583.
[234] Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 187.

Arch.[235] Although re-cut from a head of Hadrian, it shows no trace of the earlier face and agrees in every surviving detail of physiognomy with the other portraits of Constantine on his Arch, two of them re-cut from heads of Hadrian, two from heads of Trajan, and one in one of the original historical reliefs representing civil war, namely, the Siege of Verona.[236]

David Wright has outlined the basic iconography of the Constantinian portrait: a youthful face, with a broad forehead and prominent cheekbones that give the upper part of his face a rectangular character. This is complemented by strongly modeled facial muscles flanking the nose, mouth, and chin, and by a jaw-bone that expands outward slightly at the back of the jaw, giving a clear-cut articulation between jaw and neck.[237] Such an image, like contemporary narrative sources, emphasizes the handsome features of the young emperor:

> And so when your soldiers see you walking, they admire and love you; they follow you with their eyes; you are in their thoughts; they consider that they are submitting themselves to a god, whose form is as beautiful as his divinity is certain.[238]

Intrinsically, Constantine's face appeared both strong and muscular, handsome and youthful. The image, in form and certainly in meaning, was modeled on the tall, lean-faced, and youthful-looking portraits of Augustus. Yet one senses that it was appropriate for the heroic hunter and, by clear implication, the heroic victor, and whose self-representation as *liberator urbis* is celebrated in one of the inscriptions inside the Arch. The other inscription inside the Arch with which Constantine characterized his accomplishments, *fundator quietis*, reinforced the political allusion without in fact quoting the founder of Augustan Peace.

R. R. R. Smith has argued that the designers seem to have looked especially to the later versions of Augustus' main type (fig.18g), best-know from late Augustan and Tiberian

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[235] On this basis a considerable group of heads of similar expressive character but generally lower quality can be recognized.
[236] Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 493.
[237] Ibid.
[238] *Panegyrici Latini* 6.17.4, ed. and tr. Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 243, 581: *Itaque te cum ingredientem milites uident, admirantur et diligent, sequuntur oculis, animo tenent, deo se obsequi putant, cuius tam pulchra forma est quam certa diuinitas.*

cameos and coins, for these images have a tall profile with a lightly curved nose and a distanced air of ageless majesty that were skillfully adapted for Constantine by his designers.[239] They achieve the same visual contradiction in representing the emperor's age – for Augustan art did not accept wrinkles – an ideal pictorial vocabulary that represents both Augustus and Constantine with a mature youthfulness, as youthful faces were the order of the day.[240]

More than a dozen survived versions of this basic type embody a diversity of receptions and variations of the new clean-shaven image.[241] One example is a colossal marble statue of Constantine that once occupied the west apse of the Basilica of Maxentius on the Forum Romanum (fig.11).[242] The date is not documented, yet circumstances suggest the same era as the Arch, and its claim to authenticity almost equals the portraits on the Constantinian Arch. The face of Constantine appears to look remarkably similar to the one in the Boar Hunt medallion on the Arch; yet it is a face with a stronger and more heroic character. However, it has the basic features of the youthful face similar to Augustus': apart from the complete preserved nose, it shows Constantine's strongly projecting chin and a squarely articulated jaw. The other emperor's sculptural portrait of that time even more typical than the Capitoline colossus – which is highly unusual both for Constantine and for colossal portraits in general in having a pronounced physiognomic handling of the main features – is a large marble head displayed in the Palazzo Mattei in Rome. These diverse portrait statues of the

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[239] Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 186.

[240] Ibid.; Paul Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 13.

[241] On the Constantinian portrait in the context of late antique imperial images, see Raissa Calza, *Iconografia romana imperiale da Carausio a Guiliano (267–363)* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1972); Richard Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts: Von Constantinus Magnus bis zum Ende des Westreichs* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1933); Hermann Dörries, *Das Selbstzeugnis Kaiser Konstantin* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1954); Hans Peter L'Orange et al., *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen, 284–361 n.Chr.* (Berlin: G. Mann, 1984). For the introduction of a new portrait type, Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 186: these images are close to the coin portraits, both the large medallions and the fine frontal coin portraits of the 310s CE, due to their plainness, blandness, and ideal physiognomic formlessness, as Augustus' sculptured portraits had so often been.

period express a variety of features, although on all major elements of detail they are in conformity, i.e., they all agree with the basic typology of Augustus' iconography.

When Constantine defeated Licinius in 324 CE and conquered the East he adopted the diadem and the heavenly-gazing Alexandrian type of representation (fig.12), although the physiognomy remained essentially the same, an idealized youthful face with an aura of majesty that had been developed on the basis of the Augustan model, which was already a generally recognized iconography. It changed completely only around 333 CE into a heavier and old-age style of portraiture (fig.13).[243] The enormous eyes jump out of their organic context, dominating the expressive quality of the face and is lifted up to heaven even more emphatically than in the early versions of the Alexander type. Constantine's Augustan-Appoline portraits suggest the ecstatic inspiration of divine power in the same way as Augustus' consistent representation as eternally youthful and idealized, yet the eyes also give the impression that they emit divine power, as Suetonius claimed about Augustus:

> His eyes were clear and bright; he liked it to be thought that they revealed a godlike power and was pleased if someone who regarded him closely then lowered their gaze, as though from the sun's force.[244]

This image of spiritual authority equals a deliberately idealized visualization of Apolline-Augustan beauty and heroic nudity apparent in a colossal gilded bronze statue of Constantine that once crowned his porphyry column on the Forum in Constantinople. Although the details of the iconography of the statue are uncertain (and will remain disputed), it was definitely a grandiose imperial image in the tradition of Hellenistic ruler portraits,

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[242] L'Orange et al., *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen,* 70–5; Fittschen and Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Portraits in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom, I,* 147–50, no. 122, pls. 151-152 (with earlier literature).

[243] Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 507, in a search for the real portrait of Constantine has preferred his old-age portrait, which evolved over a period of two or three years at a time when Constantine was secure on the throne, when he had not had a significant rival for a decade. It had no direct precedent – after all, Augustus did not allow his image to grow old – and therefore it, too, must be seen as the result of personal choice, effectively the same taste that had led to the early fleshy portrait, now freed of the restrictions of political iconography.

displaying the above-human status of the ruler (through attributes such as the lance), and, plausibly, associations with the god Sol-Helios through a *corona radiata*. Iconographically it evokes a radiate crown that was added to the statue of Octavian in the precinct of Apollo on the Palatine at an uncertain date after Augustus' death. His statue, which stood on a column decorated with ships' prows and anchors, had been set up to commemorate the victory at Actium. The monument is shown with the added crown on coins minted under Vespasian and Titus: the rays emerge at angles from Augustus' head, and the naked statue thus prefigures that of Constantine on the porphyry column in Constantinople.[245]

The new Constantinian image therefore appears as emphatically imperial, unlike the idealizing portrait style of Augustus and his Julio-Claudian successors, although it was probably perceived as 'monarchical', purposely rejected by all the emperors from the Flavians to the tetrarchy. The late imperial representation introduced by Constantine, a new version of Augustus' portrait style with the prominent addition of a jewelled royal diadem, thus replaces the actual person with the ideological figure of the emperor par excellence.[246]

Thus, Constantine's sculptural *collosi*, whose abundant presence and power are expressed, by definition, by their redundancy, called to produce affects of both bronze and marble that surpass ordinary affections and perceptions. They appear to produce a presence whose expressions the meaning cannot convey: by a simple act of seeing the emperor's statues every imperial subject felt that space was occupied by a strong power, for a superiority is only undoubted when it is excessive. What these monuments bear as ideology is the right they claim to exist, the expression of power, not least the vertiginous glory of

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[244] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 79, ed. and tr. Rolfe 1913, I, 244; tr. Edwards 2000, 84: *Oculos habuit claros ac nitidos, quibus etiam existimari volebat inesse quiddam divini vigoris, gaudebatque, si qui sibi acrius contuenti quasi ad fulgorem solis vultum summitteret... .*

[245] *RIC* II, 6, 114 and Vespasian nos. 119–120, Titus nos. 4, 10, 16; Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, 47–8.

[246] R. R. R. Smith, "Roman Portraits. Honours, Empresses, and Late Emperors," *JRS* 75 (1985): 202.

Constantine that made them rise from the earth.[247] Within the dimension of 'presence,' a dimension in which cultural phenomena and cultural events become tangible and have an impact on senses and bodies, they are important by the mere act of the manifestation of their existence. For it is obvious that omnipresent monuments inspire socially acceptable behavior, and often also a very real love or fear. The visual, iconographical interchangeability of the imperial statuary or sculpted reliefs that allows an astonishing reworking of previous images into the Constantinian portrait, nonetheless implies an ideological catch by means of sculpture. The power of imperial imagery interpellated individuals as concrete subjects, since this aspect of imperial ideology sought to obtain from its subjects the recognition that they really did occupy the place it designated for them as theirs in the empire. It made them visible and aware that they were viewed. It this sense there was an ideology: it was interpellating Constantine's gaze which Roman beholders passing the imperial imagery non-metaphorically felt on themselves.

2.2. *Damnatio memoriae*: A negative politico-memorial practice

In addition to the Constantinian affirmative politics of memory evoking Augustus, I had adduced previously, a negative politico-ritual practice of *damnatio menoriae* merits discussion. Thus, in the aftermath of the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312 CE and even more so in the context of the inauguration of his sole rule over the whole civilized world after 325 CE that announced the demise of the usurpers, Maxentius and Licinius, Constantine launched a series of acts of the memory politics intended to eradicate the memory of the defeated political opponents.[248] I therefore will undertake a reading of Constantine's obsessive struggle with tyrants, who, like the Freudian return of the repressed, once again reappeared as ghosts, specters, and spirits. I will show that although Maxentius was taken as a

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[247] See Paul Veyne, "Conduct Without Belief and Works of Art Without Viewers," *Diogenes* 143 (1988): 1–22.
[248] For the concept, see *supra* n. 58.

paradigmatic ideological tyrannical figure,[249] more than one ghost haunted Constantine, and it became his responsibility or political consideration as an heir – since he was thus the heir of these deceased emperors – to sift through the possible legacies he had inherited, reaffirming one yet not the other. This being-with or evocation of specters was thus, not only but also, the politics of memory and inheritance. Consequently, I suggest that the Augustan legacy of Maxentius was of paramount importance in Constantine's politics of memory.

Constantine's disavowal of his rivals' memory, especially his attempt to exorcise Maxentius' ghost in Rome, aimed to disjoin the living present from the powerful ghosts of those who were already dead as victims of political violence and civil wars. Why then Maxentius? This character, both as a historical and as an ideological figure (*tyrannus*), was an expelled spirit from the era of civil wars and the exemplary result of an exclusion that became the basis for a new imperial consensus. Licinius was thus yet another significant ghost haunting Constantine as the ultimate defeated enemy of the last tetrarchic civil war. Indeed, if one does not wish to perceive Constantine within this ideological consensus, one should return to the figure of Maxentius and what his memory has to say about the 'Constantinian' era, like the memory of Mark Antony, the *other* who is not present but speaks about the Augustan time. In this sense, a symptomatic reading of the political imaginary of the Constantinian Golden Age parallels with that of the *Pax Augusta* will be more prolific than comparative study of the social and economic features of both periods.

Maxentius, the usurping emperor in Rome, was, in effect, the first to initiate a war of images directed against Constantine. The panegyric of 321 CE, an oration in honor of Constantine provides the evidence that Maxentius destroyed images of Constantine which would have been sent to Rome long since, as was usual between emperors who recognized each other. Nazarius thus proclaims:

> Behold, for sorrow! (words come with difficulty), the violent overthrow of venerable statues and the ugly erasure of the divine visage.[250]

Despite the cryptic meaning of this passage, it is possible, as the common interpretation suggests that Maxentius indeed demonstrated a hostile and destructive attitude, late in his reign, toward statues of Constantine that the emperor in Rome would have previously set up himself during the period of their short-term alliance (307-308 CE).[251] However, Antonio Giuliano has read the phrase *litura deformis* (ugly erasure) as meaning an alteration that changes the form of something for the worse and therefore interprets it as a reference not to the destruction of images but to their re-carving or transformation, that is, from portraits of Constantine into portraits of Maxentius.[252] In turn, Elizabeth Marlowe has suggested that if the orator was thinking of the re-carving of a distinguished portrait of Constantine, considering that it implausible that Maxentius would have erected such a statue in Rome, the only candidate for both the *litura* and an altered *divini vultus* (the divine visage) is the Solar Colossus, the former notorious statue of Nero.[253] The Colossus of Nero, consecrated to Sol under Hadrian, was transformed through a rededication to Divus Romulus, Maxentius' deceased son,[254] and would have been associated with Constantine by the time Nazarius delivered his panegyric, following a long tradition of installing new imperial portraits on the statue.[255] Yet another statue of Constantine, that on the porphyry column in Constantinople,

[250] *Panegyrici Latini* 4.12.2–3, ed. and tr. Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 356, 614: *Ecce enim, pro dolor! (verba vix suppetunt), venerandarum imaginum acerba deiectio et di vini vultus litura deformis.*

[251] Nixon and Rodgers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors*, 356 n. 54; at Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 44.10, ed. and tr. Creed 1984, 64–5 Constantine discovers statues of Maximinus in Rome. It was also usual to destroy the images of a ruler declared illegitimate or one whose memory was damned: Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 42.1–2, ed. and tr. Creed 1984, 60–3 relates that Diocletian's images were pulled down together with those of Maximian for the two were often depicted together.

[252] Giuliano, "Augustus-Constantinus," 177.

[253] Elizabeth Marlowe, "Framing the Sun: The Arch of Constantine and the Roman Cityscape," *Art Bulletin* 88, no. 2 (2006): 229.

[254] Cullhed, Conservator Urbis Suae, 61; Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital*, 62; Peirce, "The Arch of Constantine," 404; and Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation*, 66.

[255] Marianne Bergmann, *Der Koloss Neros: Die Domus Aurea und der Mentalitätswandel im Rom der frühen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1994) establishes the chronology of the alterations of the features of the statue; see also R. R. R. Smith, "Nero and the Sun-god: Divine Accessories and Political Symbols in Roman Imperial Images," *JRA* 13 (2000): 532–42; Marlowe, "Framing the Sun," 228–29. Linda Safran, "What

portraying the emperor in the guise of Sol-Apollo, did not look distinctly 'Neronian' in the sense of its genealogy and chronology, as would be in the case of the Colossus of Sol in Rome, but 'Nero-like'. It should therefore be viewed rather a part of the affirmative Constantinian politics of memory recalling at the same time the radiate statue of Nero beside the Colloseum and ultimately that of Octavian on the Palatine, both of which can be interpreted as symbols of a new Golden Age of prosperity, security, and freedom under the rule of the sun-god or his chosen representative, for the association of Octavian with Apollo verged on identification with the god.[256]

Constantine's re-appropriation of the Colossus in Rome, previously a Maxentian appropriation itself, was thus a sign of *damnatio memoriae* similar to the re-carved image of Maxentius on the famous colossal marble statue (fig.11) that once occupied the west apse of the Basilica of Maxentius (fig.4) on the Forum Romanum.[257] The emperor was almost certainly depicted seated in the traditional pose of Jupiter holding a scepter, possibly the cross-scepter described by Eusebius.[258] Although, the controversy over the dates for both the head and the body of the Conservatori statue may never be solved conclusively, this aggrandizing sculpture undoubtedly conveys some sense of the great antipathy that greeted Maxentius, denounced by the senatorial aristocracy of Rome as a tyrant. Born of political disappointment, the statue is considered to be a re-used portrait of Maxentius, who suffered

Constantine Saw. Reflections on the Capitolone Colossus, Visuality and Early Christian Studies," *Millenium* 3 (2006): 43–73 argues that Constantine's marble colossus could have been visually linked with Nero's colossus.

[256] Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "The Golden Age and Sin in Augustan Ideology," *Past and Present* 95 (1982) 19–36; Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, 57. On Augustus' special affiliation with Apollo, see recent John F. Miller, *Apollo, Augustus, and the Poets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), who offers a synoptic study of 'Augustan' Apollo in Augustan poetry, analyzing the various poets' responses to the emperor's appropriation of Phoebus Apollo in the construction of imperial symbolism or resistance to his ideological project.

[257] Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation*, 217-8, no. 9.4, fig. 209 a–d.

[258] Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 9.9.10–11, ed. Lake, tr. Oulton, II, 362–64, tr. Williamson 1989, 291–96 and idem, *Vita Constantini* 1.40.2, ed. Winkelmann 1975, 36–7; tr. Cameron and Hall 1999, 85–6. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 46 and Cullhed, Conservator Urbis Suae, 51–2 suggest that the Conservatori colossal marble may be the statue to which Eusebius refers; cf. Cameron and Hall in *Eusebius of Caesarea, Life of Constantine*, 218 consider this identification improbable.

damntio memoriae, much later imbued with the new Christian iconography.[259] The colossal portrait of Maxentius-Constantine suggests not merely a resurgence of the earlier political practice, the practice of intentional mutilation that provided an ideologically diverse alternative to re-carving, in which images of 'bad emperors' were disfigured and defaced and so transformed from celebratory monuments into graphic reminders of an emperor's overthrow and posthumous disgrace.[260] It also signaled the specific nature of the Constantinian appropriation as a conscious adoption of Maxentius' *romanitas*,[261] prominently presenting himself as a princeps.[262] Constantine's self-representation as the liberator of Rome is evident from his epithets such as *liberator urbis* and *fundator quietis* on the inscription on his Arch as well as *fundator pacis* and *restitutor libertatis*.[263]

The Arch itself, however, appears as a highly traditional senatorial monument (resembling the Ara Pacis)[264] with the emperor as the recipient of externally bestowed honors (fig.1).[265] The placing of the Arch at the endpoint of Maxentius' series of major architectural commissions to the east of the Forum allows it to make the whole Maxentian project Constantinian.[266] Hence, the Conservatori colossus, similarly to the Arch, an imagining of a

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[259] Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 438.

[260] Varner, "Tyranny and the Transformation of the Roman Visual Landscape," 14.

[261] Drijvers, "Eusebius' *Vita Constantini* and the Construction of the Image of Maxentius," 26.

[262] The legends on Maxentius; coins styled him from the beginning of his reign as *princeps invictus*, invincible first man. Although princeps was not typically a part of the official titulature of emperors, it was commonly applied to emperors, primarily because it had been the title assumed by Augustus. The legends of his gold coins continued until the end of his rule to style him *princeps imperii Romani*. See Van Dam, *Remembering Constantine at the Milvian Bridge*, 241.

[263] Grünewald, Constantinus Maximus Augustus, 63–4; Wolfgang Kuhoff, "Ein Mythos in der römischen Geschichte: Der sieg Konstantins des Grossen über Maxentius vor den Toren Roms am 28. October 312 n. Chr.," *Chiron* 21 (1991): 171–72.

[264] The six years of Maxentius reign witnessed extensive new building and restoration of earlier structures, including possibly a restoration of the Ara Pacis. On the restorations of the Ara Pacis, see Niels Hannestad, *Tradition in Late Antique Sculpture: Conservation, Modernization, Production* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1994), 13–66.

[265] Peirce, "The Arch of Constantine," 388, 391, 415; critiqued by Elsner, "From the Culture of Spolia to the Cult of Relics," 171 n. 28, arguing that the Arch represents not Constantine justifying himself, but rather the senate presenting the new emperor with a visual program that constructs him in the way they hoped he would turn out.

[266] On Maxentian great building program in Rome, see Cullhed, Conservator Urbis Suae, 49–55; for a recent catalog, see Leppin, and Ziemssen, *Maxentius: Der letzte Kaiser in Rom*.

new emperor by an approved initiative of the senate, was a serious attempt to create a symbolic event through launching a grand new visual narrative.

Apart from the famous colossal marble from the Basilica Nova, three other portraits of Constantine were re-carved from images of Maxentius in Rome:[267] another portrait in the Palazzo dei Conservatori[268] and two more cuirassed statues that originally stood in the bath on the Quirinal, one of which is now on the Campidoglio,[269] and another in the narthex of S. Giovanni in Laterano.[270]

Equal to Constantine's appropriation of the Basilica, the circus complex on Via Appia, and the Imperial Baths on the Quirinal, re-carved sculpted likenesses of Maxentius are the sites of expropriations of the emperor's face and body as a result of *damnatio*. However, during his reign (306-312 CE), Maxentius, pursuing his affirmative politics of memory, in a similar way had already affiliated himself to Augustus, whose portraits were transformed into relatively well-executed images of the usurping emperor in Rome.[271]

Marble and coin portraits of Maxentius are consistent in their portrayal of the emperor, depicting him with a distinctive coiffure in which comma-shaped locks over the forehead are combined with the short military coiffure of the tetrarchs.[272] The locks over the forehead were designed to recall the hair style of Augustus and link Maxentius with this revered predecessor. Remarkably, after the defeat of Maxentius, Constantine also adopted a

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[267] Varner, "Tyranny and the Transformation of the Roman Visual Landscape," 14.

[268] Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation*, 218; no. 9.3, fig. 210a–c.

[269] Fittschen and Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Portraits in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom, I*, 144–45, no. 120. On the dynastic group to which this statue belongs, see L'Orange et al., *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen*, 58-67; Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 436–37; Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation*, 218; no. 9.2; fig. 211.

[270] Fittschen and Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Portraits in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom, I*, 145–47, no. 121, pls. 149–150; L'Orange et al., *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen,* 63–5; Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation*, 218–19; no. 9.5.

[271] For the portrait of Augustus reworked as Maxentius (Rome, private collection), see Giuliano, "Augustus-Constantinus," 177, 180 n. 3, figs. 5–8. On the central place of Rome in the ideology of Maxentius, see Frazer, "The Iconography of the Emperor Maxentius' Buildings in Via Appia," 385–92.

[272] Varner in *From Caligula to Constantine*, 210. On the portrait typology of Maxentius, see L'Orange et al., *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen,* 34–6, 114–16, pls. 26-27; Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 407 and fig. 374.

full head of hair with comma-shaped locks arranged across the forehead in a manner associated with Augustus and the Julio-Claudians, a coiffure, therefore, with conscious Augustan references. Early Constantinian portraits recycled from pre-existing images of Maxentius preserve their stylistic closeness: the wide, arching brows and large eyes essentially retain their Maxentian characteristics, including the pouches beneath the eyes. Two large and impressive sculpted portraits in Dresden (fig.15) and Stockholm (fig.14) are both distinguished by the new intense staring eyes.[273] The emphasis on the eyes endows the image with an acknowledged spiritual and hieratic quality, which was clearly a feature of the likeness of Maxentius (fig.16).[274]

Similarly to Maxentius, Licinius defeated by Constantine at the Battle of Chrysopolis in 324 CE, banished to Thessalonica, and executed early in 325 CE, suffered *damnatio memoriae*: his name was erased from documents, his images were pulled down, and the heads of his statues would have been re-carved or replaced.[275] Constantine's portraits on the Arch comprise two supposedly reworked portraits of Licinius, on the northeast side, making an

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[273] On colossal head of Maxentius now in Dresden, cf. Calza, *Iconografia romana imperiale da Carausio a Guiliano*, 196, no. 114; Marianne Bergmann, *Studien zum römischen Porträt des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Bonn: Habelt, 1977), 142–43, 148, 153 pl. 45, 1; L'Orange et al., *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen*, 114, pl. 27a–b; on the over life-size head from Stockholm, cf. Calza, *Iconografia romana imperiale da Carausio a Guiliano*, 157, no. 69, pl. 47, 140–41; Bergmann, *Studien zum römischen Porträt des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, 114, 142–43, 163, pl. 44, 3; L'Orange et al., *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen*, 115–16, pl. 27c–d. In general on portraits re-cut and re-used to represent Maxentius (Dresden-Stockholm type), cf. L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts*, 52, 105, 129, no. 70, figs. 137–138; 119, no. 40, fig. 86; L'Orange et al., *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen*, 115, pl. 26; Calza, *Iconografia romana imperiale da Carausio a Guiliano*, 257–58, no. 174, pl. 90, 318 identifies as Delmatius. Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 185 suggests that these sculptured images present a more carefully formulated image that negotiates successfully between the Diocletianic norm and a representation of Maxentius at a younger age, this is a less aged, more vigorous tetrarchism. For both heads, see Bergmann, *Studien zum römischen Porträt des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, 142–43, pls. 44.3, 45.1; L'Orange et al., *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen*, 35, pl. 27a–d; *Imperator Caesar Flavius Constantinus. Konstantin der Grosse*, ed. Alexander Damandt and Josef Engemann. Catalog (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2007), 64, no. I.7.5 and I.7.4.
[274] Varner, "Tyranny and the Transformation of the Roman Visual Landscape," 11; idem, *Mutilation and Transformation*, 217–18; Fittschen and Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Portraits in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom, I*, 151.
[275] *CIL* 2.4105 with the name of Licinius deliberately erased; Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 10.9.5, ed. Lake, tr. Oulton 1932, II, 476–77, tr. Williamson 1989, 332 on the pulling down of his images; see Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 188–89.

offering to Apollo, and on the northwest side, making an offering to Hercules.[276] Licinius, whose memory was damned after his defeat by Constantine, is noted in several sources for his tyrannical insanity,[277] thus re-appearing as an ideological figure and a specter in the Constantinian age.

Later Constaninian times were notoriously marked by the re-appearance of two more specters, namely, Crispus and Fausta. Executed in March of 326 CE, Crispus' memory was condemned and his name erased from inscriptions.[278] As Constantine's eldest son and potential heir, Crispus had previously been honored with numerous sculpted and numismatic portraits.[279] Implicated in the events surrounding Crispus' downfall in 326 CE, Fausta was killed shortly afterwards as supposedly the two may have been involved in a plot to overthrow Constantine. In a series of Constantinian *damnationes* her memory also suffered badly and her name was subsequently removed from public inscriptions.[280] Prior to her death, primarily celebrated as the mother of Constantine's heirs, Fausta was undoubtedly honored with numerous public images – her likeness was disseminated on coins, medallions, and cameos as well as commemorated in marble[281] – yet none of the sculptures can be attributed

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[276] L'Orange et al., *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen*, 43–5, 116–17, pls. 28a–b, 29a–b; Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation*, 65 n. 165.

[277] Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus* 41.2–5, ed. Pichlmayr 1892, 48; tr. Bird 1994, 49–50; *Epitome de Caesaribus* 41.8, ed. Festy 1999, 31; tr. Banchich 2009, 167; Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 10.8–9, ed. Lake, tr. Oulton 1932, II, 464–69, tr. Williamson 1989, 328–33. Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 189.

[278] E.g., *CIL* 2. 4107; *CIL* 3.7172; *CIL* 6.1155; *CIL* 8.2387; *CIL* 10.517.

[279] *CIL* 6.40770; *CIL* 6.40778b; *CIL* 9.1116; Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation*, 221–22; Patrick Guthrie, "The Execution of Crispus," *Phoenix* 4 (1966), 325–31; Hans A. Pohlsander, "Crispus: Brilliant Career and Tragic End," *Historia* 23 (1984): 79–106. On sculpture: Calza, *Iconografia romana imperiale da Carausio a Guiliano*, 189–90, no. 189, pl. 97.347; 2 75-76, no. 185, pls. 95.335, 96.341; L'Orange et al., *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen*, 67, 129, 133; pl. 45b (with earlier literature), *Imperator Caesar Flavius Constantinus*, no. I.8.9. On coins: *RIC* VII Nicomedia 89 (silver *miliarensis* from 325 CE); *RIC* VII Nicomedia 104 (solidus from 325 CE); see also Calza, *Iconografia romana imperiale a Guiliano*, pls. 95.336 (solidus from Nicomedia), 95.337 (solidus from Trier), 96.340 (gold medallion from Ticinum).

[280] David Woods, "On the Death of the Empress Fausta," *Greece and Rome* 45 (1998): 70–86; critiqued by Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire*, 144–50.

[281] *CIL* 10.678 = *ILS* 710. On Fausta's numismatic portrait typology, see: Calza, *Iconografia romana imperiale da Carausio a Guiliano*, 249; Wegner in L'Orange et al., *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen*, 152-5; Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 443. On the Ada Cameo: L'Orange et al., *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen*, 127, 138, 147, 154, pl. 74a (with earlier literature); Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 441–42, fig. 403; *Imperator Caesar Flavius Constantinus*, no. III.19.1. The imposed condemnation of Fausta's memory resulted in the removal and destruction of her portraits,

to her unquestionably. Allegations of Fausta's sexual misconduct and the subsequent condemnation were not unprecedented, for Augustus had exiled his grand-daughter Julia, a notorious imperial adulteress, and razed her house to the ground in a gesture of *damnatio*.[282] Previously exiled from Rome, Augustus' own daughter, Julia, was deprived of public portraits, disinherited, denied burial in the imperial dynastic mausoleum, and her image on the north frieze of the Ara Pacis remained a wraith-like reminder of the Augustan politics of memory (fig.2).[283]

The ways I have discussed so far in which Constantine imitated Augustus are multiple and rather different. Yet demonstrated iconographical similarity presented through the medium of sculpture was remarkably mirrored in a typological relation on the level of political theology and ultimately an ideology of the late empire.

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therefore sculptural images of the empress cannot be identified with certainty: Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, 166, pl. 65; Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation*, 222–23, also n. 73. For coins, *RIC* 7 Constantinople 12, yet coins of Fausta and Crispus from the mint of Constantinople are rare, since both were killed in late 326 CE, shortly after the mint began operation.

[282] Suetonius, *Divus Aug*ustus 65.4, ed. and tr. Rolfe 1913, I, 222–25; tr. Edwards 2000, 76–7. On Constantine, *Panegyrici Latini* 4.34; 38, ed. and tr. Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 379–80, 383–85; Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 207 suggests that fulsomely praised by polytheist Nazarius for staying immune to the charms of attractive women petitioners, Constantine legislated in concordance with expectations of his upper-class contemporaries who "looked for an Emperor in the tradition of Augustus," giving new laws to control morals. Constantine, however, rescinded the Augustan marriage laws (the *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* of 18 BCE and the *Lex Papia Poppaea* of 9 CE), issuing an edict in 320 CE which both invalidated the main provisions of the *Lex Papia Poppaea* and denounced its deleterious effects, see *CTh* 8.16.1, ed. Mommsen and Meyer 1905, tr. Pharr 1952, 217-8 against penalizing celibacy. Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire*, 136–37 argues against the argument that this law was intended mainly to benefit the senatorial aristocracy of Rome, who always hated the restrictions of the Augustan law, rather then Christian adherents of asceticism, insisting that it was equally done to satisfy Christians, who "objected to the Augustan law on ideological grounds." Constantine thus was an author of much moral legislation: *CTh* 9.24.1, ed. Mommsen and Meyer 1905, tr. Pharr 1952, 244-5 against rape; *CTh* 9.8.1, ed. Mommsen and Meyer 1905, tr. Pharr 1952, 233 against seduction; *CTh* 9.9.1, ed. Mommsen and Meyer 1905, tr. Pharr 1952, 233 against women having sexual relationships with slaves; *CTh* 3.16.1, ed. Mommsen and Meyer 1905, tr. Pharr 1952, 76–7 imposing restrictions on unilateral divorce; and *CTh* 15.12.1, ed. Mommsen and Meyer 1905, tr. Pharr 1952, 436 against gladiators. Thomas McGinn, "The Social Policy of Emperor Constantine in *Codex Theodosianus* 4, 6, 3," *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 67 (1999): 57–73 argues that the effect of the Constantinian law (*De naturalibus filiis et matribue eorum*, *CTh* 4.6.3, ed. Mommsen and Meyer 1905, tr. Pharr 1952, 86) was to take the restrictions first applied, in the Augustan legislation, to members of the Roman senatorial class and extend them to equestrians and members of municipal aristocracies in order to broaden and consolidate the imperial elites, cf. John Matthews, "The Roman Empire and the Proliferation of Elites," *Arethusa* 33 (2000): 435 accepting the argument that the law "concerned the adaptation of Augustan laws to the new social situation" as "a response to the great changes that had happened since the days of Augustus," and had "certainly nothing to do with Constantine's religious position," suggests that it was merely "a consequence of the enlargement of the scope of government and of its greater intervention in the lives of its subjects."

3. COINAGE AS A MEDIUM OF COMMEMORATION

3.1. The early image of Constantine

In a curious parallelism, the imagery of both the early Constantinian period and that of the late republic was constituted by the conflict and a principal contradiction within it. Were these visual phenomena accidental? An answer to that is, as one might expect, political. In the late Republican times the spoils of war, together with economic expansion, had led to a concentration of wealth and property in the hands of a few. Large private armies gave rise to factions that in turn made the victorious generals into political powers rivaling the state itself. Their monuments and imagery, consequently, financed by the spoils of war, were intended primarily to give added visibility to one or the other rival faction in Rome.[284] A series of Republican civil wars culminated in a decisive conflict between Octavian and Mark Antony in their struggle for sole power. Rival images of the chief participants in this ultimate Republican civil war illuminate the highly political function of the public representation. Similarly, the period of civil wars fought by Constantine against Maxentius and Licinius should be seen as one of an intense experimentation with the imperial image, as contenders for power tried out different portrait modes within and beyond tetrarchic norms.[285] For a political reading of the Constantinian imagery, I therefore suggest taking into consideration a war of images of the tetrarchs had waged almost twenty years before the final victory of Constantine (324 CE) as structurally comparable to that of the decade of the Second Triumvirate (42-32 BCE) before the Battle of Actium (31 BCE). In another remarkable parallelism, although historically distanced in three hundred years, both victories in the civil wars were great turning points: they inaugurated a new-born imperial style in the case of

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[283] Diana E. E. Kleiner, "Now You See Them, Now You Don't: The Presence and Absence of Women in Roman Art," in *From Caligula to Constantine*, 46, fig.1.

[284] Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 2, 65.

[285] Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 176, 184.

Octavian and its rebirth, with a prominent evocation of Augustus, in the case of Constantine.[286]

To pursue questions of the iconography further and to secure a broader basis for interpreting Constantinian portraiture as deliberately resembling that of Augustus, it is necessary to turn from sculpture to yet another medium, i.e., numismatic evidence, where although the range of material is enormous, most examples are reliably attributed, dated, and localized. David Wright has cogently traced the development of Constantine's self-representation, in which, after a short period of conventional tetrarchic iconography of his first gold coins,[287] the early coin portraits of Constantine, those struck ass early as 306-307 CE with the title Caesar (fig.18a),[288] abandoned the military image of the third-century and tetrarchic emperors and defined a new self-image of a beardless young Caesar,[289] appropriate for Constantine's political expectations of accession after his father's death on 25 July 306 CE.[290] Furthermore, for Wright, the youthful Augustan model, first chosen for the silver coins of 306 CE, was thus probably a variant and perfection of the formula of the youthful

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[286] For a discussion among earlier scholars, see Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, 12, who identifies both Augustan and Trajanic elements in Constantinian portraiture, cf. Wilhelm von Sydow, *Zur Kunstgeschichte des spätantiken Porträts im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Bonn: R. Habelt, 1969), 45–9. In recent scholarship, for the same line of arguments, acknowledging both Augustan and Trajanic characteristics, see Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 5, 426, 434 and Varner in *From Caligula to Constantine*, 171, 210. For the debate over the choice between Augustus and Trajan, see Alföldi, Die *constantinische Goldprägung*, 57–69, followed by Paul Zanker (Fittschen and Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Portraits in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom, I*, no. I22), who argues for a specific assimilation to Trajan, supported by literary texts. On the contrary, Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 505, who bases his argument on numismatic evidence, followed by R. R. R. Smith ("The Public Image of Licinius I," 186 n. 90), points out a more specific resonance of Augustus' iconography. The key elements shared by the images of Constantine and Augustus were youth and beauty, classical forms in the visual language in antiquity.

[287] *RIC* VI Trier 620a (aureus from 305–306 CE), see Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," fig. 4, defined as the portrayal still within the conventions of the tetrarchic iconography. See also an *aureus* from 306–307 CE, *RIC* VI Rome 141, pl. 6, Constantine with a typical 'default setting' portrait: a geometrical head, short-cropped military hairstyle, and beard. His earliest portraits on coins appear to be relatively accurate likeness of the youth whose physical resemblance to his father is further underscored by depicting him in an identifiable tetrarchic style, see Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 9.

[288] *Aurei* from 306 CE: *RIC* VI Trier 633, *RIC* VI Trier 615, and *RIC* VI Trier 627, for the latter, see Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," fig. 6 (with the face closer to the ideal youthful character of the formula) and 7. An aureus from 307 CE: *RIC* VI Trier 755.

[289] Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 179–80, 185, reveals its derivation from the standard third-century portrait types of boy Caesars, cf. Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 494, fig. 5 (Maximinus Daia as Caesar). See *RIC* VI Trier 630b. The most easily recognized portrait types of the sons of Maximinus Thrax and Philip the Arab as Caesars, styled as 'junior' versions of the 'family' image, see Marianne Bergmann, *Studien zum römischen Porträt des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, 32–3 (Maximus Junior), 35–8 (Philippus Junior).

Caesar/eventual successor type, whose modification occurred under the influence of Augustan iconography, suggesting a deliberate choice of the emperor who directly controlled the mint in Trier.[291] After the small initial issue of Constantine as Caesar – extremely rare gold – hardly any *aurei* were struck at Trier until the *quinquennalia* of 310 CE, yet the almost equally rare silver of particularly high artistic quality from Trier suggests a significantly different direction of portraiture's stylistic development.[292]

Wright has concluded that even in the first months of his rule Constantine chose to found his image on that of Augustus, which is confirmed by the fact that his hair is combed forward over the brow – slightly longer on the silver coin than the gold – closely resembles the Augustan coiffure.[293] Constantine therefore rejected the military image of the third-century and tetrarchic emperors and defined an entirely new self-representation for himself in contrast with theirs, with his Augustus-length hair instead of a soldier's crew-cut and his calm, youthful idealism instead of hard, individualizing realism.[294] This type, established in the Trier mint during the first months of Constantine's reign, continued – with some

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[290] Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 494–95, 506.

[291] The mint at Trier had been established as the principal mint of Constantius in 293–294 CE and later was under direct control by Constantine: Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 185.

[292] *RIC* VI Trier 636 (306 CE), with Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 495–96, fig. 8, emphasizing the heroic character of the best Constantinian silver die as certainly dependent on the Augustan model; the die-cutter of the silver coin turned to the specifically Augustan formula as used in the Trier mint, modifying it only for the profile of the nose. See L'Orange, et al. *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen*, pl. 67a. For the Augustan image on Tiberian coins, *RIC* I Rome 72, 74, 77, issues in honor of Divus Augustus with his head on the obverses, and *RIC* I 91–3 on the reverses; also Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," pl. XI, 4. Compare the iconography of deified Augustus on the obverse of the *consecratio* issue of argentei of the Emperor Decius (from ca. 251 CE), *RIC* IV.3 Milan 77 and 78, and Divus Augustus on the reverse of the rarer aureus of the Emperor Gallienus (from 260–268 CE), *RIC* V.1 Rome 28, also Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 496, fig. 9, accentuates the recognizability of the Augustan hairdo, the square shape of the head with a strong brow, prominent cheekbones, and clearly articulated jaw, and more generally the idealized youthful character of Augustan iconography. There is no doubt, therefore, that the Roman public in Constantine's time generally recognized the Augustan iconography and character seen on coins.

[293] Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 496.

[294] Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 221.

interruptions late in 307 CE when he assumed the title Augustus[295] – as codified for repetition in normal use with only slight modifications for nearly three decades.[296]

Intriguingly, reading the images alongside the contemporary panegyrics has definitely shown that panegyrists ascribed to Constantine the whole spectrum of military virtues of vigor, energy, ardor, accessibility, and joviality, none of which were in fact represented in his official portrait figure. His main portrait type of the 310s CE had instead a plain, reserved, youthful, handsome, Augustan, clean-shaven, civilian aspect without special emphasis on powerful vision.[297]

3.2. A war of images

To read the iconography politically requires re-connecting of the conflicting image types with the political circumstances of their appearance. With the defeat and death of Maxentius on 28 October 312 CE, Constantine appropriated the mints at Rome and Ostia, which, presumably, almost at once, together with the mint at Ticinum (Pavia), began to strike coins for Constantine.[298] These issues retained the typical Constantinian nose and hairstyle, his prominent cheekbones, projecting chin, and clearly articulated jaw,[299] and, at the same time, features which one can see as having been inherited from the tetrarchic type used for Maxentius, with the simplified planar modeling and generally square character of the face.[300] Maxentius in his mid-twenties appears on coins portraits as a faithful, mature-looking tetrarch in the manner of his father, Maximian, yet Maxentian regular profile issues defined a sharply individual image profile with the rounded oval face of the frontal portrait (18d).[301] Both

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[295] *RIC* VI Trier 758 (from 307 CE), *RIC* VI Trier 821 (from 310 CE), for the latter, see Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," fig. 10, the hairdo is now even more luxuriant than that of Augustus.
[296] Ibid., 496, 505.
[297] Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 200, pl. XI, 1-3.
[298] Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 505.
[299] A typical version of the Constantinian portrait on these first coins is that in *RIC* VI Rome, n. on page 688; Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," fig. 12.
[300] Ibid., 505.
[301] Alföldi, Die *constantinische Goldprägung*, 53–6, pl. 2.36-9.

Maxentius at the mint of Ostia[302] and Constantine at the mint of Ticinum (fig.18e)[303] had experimented with thin-faced frontal portrait heads on their coins resembling the lean-faced Augustan style.[304] The type was, however, quickly modified to introduce more subtleties in the modeling of cheek and brow, giving the impression of naturalistic observation, and this became the standard Augustan portrait of Constantine, corresponding to the representation of the contemporary heads on the Arch with the intrinsically heroic qualities of an idealized youth.[305] The portrait Constantine had briefly used in 306-307 CE, re-assumed on coins from the early 310s CE onwards a definitive form, as R. R. R. Smith has phrased it, a revised and more carefully formulated image with a taller profile with a handsome, youthful, thinner, clean-shaven face, and a distinctive hairdo grown into long slender face that reflects a decision to return to the specifically Augustan iconography best assessed on the famous medallion of 313 CE, featuring the emperor in a double profile portrait with Sol (18c), and on frontal coin portraits of 316 CE.[306] After the conquest of Rome, Constantine thus appeared with a smooth face, an Augustan cap of hair, and an idealized expression that accentuated his youthfulness, deftly transformed from a member of the tetrarchy to the sole emperor of Rome, styled as *liberator urbis* and *fundator quietis*, who was therefore more similar to his ideological father, Augustus, than to his natural father, Constantius Chlorus.[307]

Furthermore, a series of coins representing only a part of the Ticinese coinage, enormously rich in the years 315-316 CE, introduced a novelty in their design of the frontal nimbate imperial portrait. For the first time one sees a nimbate imperial person in a multi-

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[302] Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," pl. X, 3-4.

[303] Ibid., pl. XI, 2.

[304] Ibid., 188.

[305] *RIC* VII Trier 21; Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 505, fig. 13 shows an example typical of the best numismatic versions of this portrait type, a solidus struck at Trier in the first half of 315 CE while Constantine was in residence there.

[306] Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 185–86.

[307] *RIC* VI Trier 620a; Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 9.

figured scene, principally distinguished by the weak contour lines of the nimbus.[308] The solid

disc of light appears around Constantine's head, depicted *en face*.[309] This type of portrait was

new, but not without a precedent, for in the reign of Maxentius high quality coins from the

mints of Rome[310] and Ostia (18d)[311] showed the Roman usurper seen from the front. It is

therefore possible, as Maria Alföldi has supposed that the same artist created the portraits of

Constantine, yet with a new concept of imperial majesty.[312]

The imperial portrait with a nimbus, originally a solar symbol, as Patrick Bruun has

shown,[313] effectively derived from the event narrated by Velleius Paterculus that occurred on

the occasion of the return of Octavian from Apollonia after the assassination of Caesar in 44

BCE:

> As he [Octavian] approached Rome an enormous crowd of his friends went
> out to meet him, and at the moment of his entering the city, men saw above his
> head the orb of the sun with a circle about it, coloured like the rainbow,
> seeming thereby to place a crown upon the head of one destined soon to
> greatness.[314]

Iconographic tradition dictated that intangible solar light would have been represented

by a nimbus (similar to halo), by the crown of angled rays worn by Hellenistic kings and sun-

gods, or by both.[315] The authors who recorded this occurrence are in unanimous agreement

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[308] Patrick Bruun, "Una permanenza del Sol Invictus di Costantino nell'arte cristiana," in *Costantino Il Grande dall'antichtà all'Umanesimo: Colloquio sul Christianesimo nel mondo antico, Macerata 18–20 Dicembre 1990*, vol. 1, ed. G. Bonamente and F. Fusco (Macerata, 1992–1993), 222–23.

[309] A solidus: *RIC* VII Ticinum 41, pl. 9; Alföldi, Die *constantinische Goldprägung*, figs. 65-8.

[310] An argenteus: *RIC* VI Rome 191; Bruun, "Una permanenza del Sol Invictus di Costantino nell'arte cristiana," fig. 13; Alföldi, Die *constantinische Goldprägung*, pls. 2, 39.

[311] *RIC* VI Ostia 10, rare aureus struck as a donative to celebrate Maxentius' *quinquennalia* and to commemorate the death of his son Romulus on 28 October 310 CE shows bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Maxentius facing; Bruun, "Una permanenza del Sol Invictus di Costantino nell'arte cristiana," fig. 14. See also a famous silver medallion from 315 CE: *RIC* VII Ticinum 36, where three-quarters facing Constantine depicted with a helmet bearing a Chi-Rho emblem. Andreas Alföldi, "The Helmet of Constantine with the Christian Monogram," *JRS* 22 (1932): 9–23; *Imperator Caesar Flavius Constantinus*, no. I.13.120.

[312] Alföldi, Die *constantinische Goldprägung*, 42.

[313] Bruun, "Una permanenza del Sol Invictus di Costantino nell'arte cristiana," 223–28.

[314] Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae* 2.59.6, ed. and tr. Shipley 1961, 178–79: *Cui adventanti Romam inmanis amicorum occurrit frequentia, et cum intraret urbem, solis orbis super caput eius curvatus aequaliter circumdatuque <vers>icolor arcus, velut coronam tanti mox viri capiti imponens, conspectus est.*

[315] For a discussion on the radiate crown, see Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, 42–57.

with the celestial or solar character of the phenomenon,[316] as, for example, Seneca explains in

his *Natural Questions* ca. 65 CE:

> History has put on record that, on the day of the late Emperor Augustus
> entrance into Rome on his return from Apollonia, a parti-coloured circle, such
> as is wont to be seen in a rainbow, appeared round the sun. The Greeks call
> this a *Halo*; our most appropriate name for it is a Crown.[317]

Interestingly, the writers in Late Antiquity[318] were no less concerned with this episode

then the authors in the times of the principate,[319] assigning a distinct flavor of divinity to

Augustus. Orosius thus links Augustus to the birth of Christ in his Christian version of

political theology:

> The first proof is that when he [Octavian] entered the City, returning from
> Apollonia, after his uncle, Gaius Caesar's murder, at around the third hour, a
> circle of light like a rainbow surrounded the sun in a clear, serene sky as if to
> mark him as the one, mightiest man in this world and by himself the most
> glorious man on the earth in whose days would come He Who by Himself
> made and rules over the sun and the whole world.[320]

Yet this fact also confirms the importance and prevalence of the life of the first

princeps, exploited later n by his imperial successors and also applies to Constantine.

However, it is indeed intriguing that the panegyrist of 313 CE, comparing the deeds of

Constantine at the Battle of Milvian Bridge with those of Augustus at Actium, noted that the

princeps himself was the *ignavum exemplum*:

> Xerxes observed a naval battle from a high mountain; Augustus won at
> Actium while he was doing something else. … These examples, you will say,

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[316] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 95, ed. and tr. Rolfe 1913, I, 272; tr. Edwards 2000, 93: *Post necem Caesaris reverso ab Apollonia et ingrediente eo urbem, repente liquido ac puro sereno circulus ad speciem caelestis arcus orbem solis ambiit, ac subinde Iuliae Caesaris filiae monimentum fulmine ictum est.*

[317] Seneca, *Naturales Quaesti*ones 1.2.1, ed. Mondadori 2010, 24; tr. Clarke 1910, 12: *Memoriae proditum est, quo die urbem diuus Augustus' Apollonia reuersus intrauit, circa solem uisum coloris uarii circulum, qualis esse in arcu solet. Hunc Graeci halo uocant, nos dicere coronam aptissime possumus.*

[318] Julius Obsequens, 68, ed. and tr. Schlesinger 1959, 308–9: *Cumque hora diei tertia ingenti circumfusa multitudine Romam intraret, sol puri ac sereni caeli orbe modico inclusus extremae lineae circulo, qualis tendi arcus in nubibus solet, eum circumscripsit.*

[319] This portent is also recorded by Livy, *Periochae* 117, ed. and tr. Schlesinger 1959, 146; and Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 45.4.4, ed. and tr. Cary 1916, IV, 414–15.

[320] Orosius, *Historiae Adversus Paganos* 6.20.5, ed. Zangemeister 1882, 419; tr. Fear 2010, 309: *Nam cum primum, C. Caesare auunculo suo interfecto, ex Apollonia rediens urbem ingrederetur, hora circiter tertia repente liquido ac puro sereno circulus ad speciem caelestis arcus orbem solis ambiit, quasi eum unum ac potissimum in hoc mundo solumque clarissimum in orbe monstraret, cuius tempore uenturus esset, qui ipsum solem solus mundumque totum et fecisset et regeret.*

are ignoble – but safe, and fear for your danger is weightier than joy for your victory.[321]

Nevertheless, later in the same oration the audience was informed that the senate had dedicated "a statue of a god and Italy shortly before that a shield and crown, all of gold,"[322] to the liberator of Rome, Italy, and Africa, as the panegyrist said, to lessen partially the debt of their conscience.[323] The parallel cannot be ignored: these honors were but once again the honors granted to Augustus: the *simulacrum deae* is nothing but a statue of Victory standing on a globe,[324] the *clupeus virtutis*, and the *corona civica*. The panegyrist, in an unknown location in Gaul, speaking one year after the events in Italy, had already reviewed them keeping a critical distance from the previous year. Not concerned with details, he laid emphasis on Constantine, who had exceeded Augustus as a military commander. Two years later, during his *decennalia*, Constantine introduced his nimbate coin portrait seen from the front in a return to the Augustan model – the aforementioned *super caput orbis solis [Octaviani] curvatus* – as a visual manifestation of his own success.[325]

3.3. The end of civil wars: The self-referentiality of victory

With the defeat of his last rival, Licinius, at Chrysopolis on 18 September 324 CE, Constantine conquered the East and became the sole master of the whole Roman world.

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[321] *Panegyrici Latini* 12.10.1–2, ed. and tr. Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 312–13, 599: *Spectauit ex edito monte Xerses nauale certamen; augustus aliud agens uicit apud Actium … Ignaua, inquies, sunt haec exempla – sed tuta, grauiorque metus est periculi tui quam laetitia uictoriae.* Although Agrippa was responsible for the naval tactics at Actium, Augustus was in fact involved in the battle, Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae* 2.85, ed. and tr. Shipley 1961, 228–31; Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 18, ed. and tr. Rolfe 1913, I, 148–51; tr. Edwards 2000, 51–2; Plutarch, *Antonius* 66-67, ed. and tr. Perrin 1920, IX, 286–93 nevertheless Actium, the final war of the Republic, became a commonplace instance of wrong-doing.

[322] *Panegyrici Latini* 12.10.1-2, ed. and tr. Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 331, 607: *…signum dei et paulo ante Italia scutum et coronam, cuncta aurea… .*

[323] Cf. Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus* 40.28, ed. Pichlmayr 1892, 47; tr. Bird 1994, 49; Nixon and Rodgers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors*, 331–32 n. 157 summarize a discussion on the identity of the god: Andreas Alföldi, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), 69, 132 n. 23 supposes that Constantine was represented with Sol's attributes; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 46 (and n. 16) assumes that the senate consecrated a statuette of Victory in the Curia in Constantine's honor, following Maria R. Alföldi, "Signum Deae," *JNG* 11 (1961): 19ff, restoring reading *dee* (i.e., *deae*) as originally in the manuscripts instead of the *dei* preferred by most editors.

[324] Bruun, "Una permanenza del Sol Invictus di Costantino nell'arte cristiana," 224–25 accepts Alföldi's restoration of the text and interpretation of the statue and points out that Constantine was also portrayed with a nimbus, the symbol of Victory.

[325] Ibid., 224.

Previously, in their portrait images, drawing selectively on the same range of ideas, both Constantine and Licinius had made a series of choices from across the inherited repertoire of political self-representation in order to create remarkably new public images that defined an identifying imperial persona for each tetrarch. While Licinius selected an expressive personal variation on the old tetrarchic energetic military style, fat-faced (18f), that goes back to Pompey, and smiling, comparable to Mark Antony's smile on coins in the 30s BCE,[326] Constantine decided on the youthful and classicizing features found in his coin portraits, which would have served visually to link him with Augustus.[327] Similarly to the main types of Constantine and Maxentius, those of Constantine and Licinius were two contemporary rival images invested with the ideological capital of their distinctive political preferences. From Constantine's standpoint, the parallels with the rise to power of Octavian-Augustus in the thirties BCE may have been attractive: the Apolline youth, *divi filius*, ruler of the West, against the old campaigner, tyrant of the East, to whom he had married his sister.[328]

After his final victory over Licinius, Constantine remained essentially represented as a young ruler, as Augustus had been also. Nevertheless, Augustus himself was not the prototype of a young ruler – he merely used the type, as did Constantine in his imitation – whereas the originator of the type was Alexander the Great.[329] Furthermore, about 324 CE Constantine adopted the diadem of Alexander – the first Roman emperor to do so – and his heaven-gazing pose with strong evocations of royal-divine kingship from the Hellenistic past for special issues of coins struck later that year in Nicomedia, which was Constantine's

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[326] *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, 41 (pl. 20); L'Orange, et al. *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen*, pl. 68 d, e, f (Nicomedia, Serdica); Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 188, 201, pl. I (in sculpture), pl. V.1-6 (on coins). For Mark Antony's coinage, see *RRC*, 541-5, pl. 64.9-15.
[327] Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus* 41.2, ed. Pichlmayr 1892, 48; tr. Bird 1994, 49 highlights diverse characters (*ob diversos mores*) of Constantine and Licinius.
[328] Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 201 n. 175.
[329] Harrison, "The Constantinian Portrait," 95.

principal residence at the time.[330] The iconography associated with Alexander of a plain Hellenistic-style royal diadem that appeared on all his coin portraits from 325 CE (18i), transformed after a series of experiments with the form into the jewel diadem in the 330s CE,[331] and the notably exaggerated upward-gazing portrait seen on some coin issues,[332] both attributes of divinely guided kingship, did not require any modifications in the idealized youthful physiognomy of Constantine that had been developed on the basis of the Augustan model. Although most of the emperor's sculptured portraits had not worn the diadem yet (even those from the East dated after 325 CE), R. R. R. Smith has connected the swift disappearance of imperial portrait replication in the fourth century CE with the assumption of the diadem as an explicit imperial insignia.[333] The Constantinian portrait therefore prominently retained the heroic Augustan type that had been standardized a dozen years earlier: similar coins were struck in 324-325 CE at Thessalonica, Sirmium, and Ticinum.[334]

However, from circa 326 CE a new type was launched into a circulation that eventually prevailed in the 330s CE and that came ultimately to dominate as the basic imperial portrait manner for two or three centuries.[335] This type absorbed a placid Augustan tranquillity[336] yet kept the diadem, taking advantage of the associative aspects of a generally recognized iconography, and received a richer treatment of the fringed hair and a more

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[330] *RIC* VII Nicomedia 70. For the diadem, see Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, 56–66; Alföldi, Die *constantinische Goldprägung*, 93-5; Patrick Bruun, *RIC* VII, 43–4; Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 506, fig. 14; Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, 11–19, figs. 5-7.

[331] *RIC* VII Siscia 206. On Constantine's diademed royal style and upturned energetic head, clearly modeled on that of Hellenistic kings, see Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, 74–5, pl. 2.21–24, pl. 3.25–33 (upward-staring, with various diadems); Hans Peter L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug, 1947), 90–94; Alföldi, *Die constantinische Goldprägung*, 93–4, figs. 164–76 (the earliest upward-staring, 325 CE, with plain diadem), figs. 187-206 (326 CE, varied diadem forms); Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 177, pl. XI, 5–6; Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, 19–24, fig. 13.

[332] Cf. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4.15, ed. Winkelmann 1975, 125–26; tr. Cameron and Hall 1999, 158–59.

[333] Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 178; idem, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 34–8.

[334] Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 506 notes that in Ticinum and about two years later in Trier this special type was rendered with more naturalistic modeling, considering the general distinction in style between eastern and western mints at this time.

[335] Smith, "The Public Image of Licinius I," 187, pl. XI. 6; Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, 76–7, pl. 4.41–7; Alföldi, *Die constantinische Goldprägung*, figs. 220–223, 230, 234.

imposing sense of majesty. The Constanian appearance began to change, however, in the old-age portrait around 333 CE, as is particularly evident in coins of the highest artistic quality – having no direct precedent, for Augustus did not allow his image to grow old – the jaw gradually becoming heavier and the jowls coming to obscure the transition from the back of the jaw to the neck.[337] Yet, significantly, despite the dispensability of the figural image, which mutated in the aging fleshy-faced portrait deprived of the handsome features of the youthful face similar to Augustus', the Augustan parallel in fact remained explicit due to the importance of the written text of the coin legends. Likewise, both obverse and reverse images represent symbols of authority, persuasive and value-laden, both the figural image and inscription are embedded with discursive power.

Lastly, that Augustus was a model for Constantine is made explicit by a series of silver medallions minted late in Constantine's reign (336-337 CE) carrying the legend "AVGVSTVS" and "CAESAR" (18j) in direct imitation of Augustan coins minted three hundred years earlier (18h).[338] At the peak of his power, Constantine issued a series of medallions in silver bearing the laconic legends "AVGVSTVS" on the obverse and "CAESAR" on the reverse.[339] The model with the similar coin design and precise legends can be found without difficulty in the coinage of Augustus more than three hundred years before.[340] This ideological gesture is clear evidence that the legacy of Augustus was a current political reality in the fourth century CE. Another corroboration of Constantine's deliberate

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[336] *Panegyrici Latini* 6.4.4; 4.5.4; 4.10.2; 4.35.4, ed. and tr. Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 223, 574; 354, 613; 381, 626.

[337] *RIC* VII Constantinople 101 (medallion of two solidi struck in 336–337 CE); *RIC* VIII Constantinople 1 (posthumous coin of Divus Constantinus struck shortly after his death on 22 May 337 CE); Wright, "The True Face of Constantine the Great," 506, figs. 15–16.

[338] Bruun, "Una permanenza del Sol Invictus di Costantino nell'arte cristiana," 225, figs. 15–16.

[339] *RIC* VII Siscia 259, rosette-diademed head of Constantine on the obverse and the legend "CAESAR" within laurel wreath on the reverse; see also similar *RIC* VII Lyons 283, *RIC* VII Arles 410, *RIC* VII Thessalonica 221, *RIC* VII Constantinople 132, *RIC* VII Nicomedia 197, and unlisted in *RIC* VII Trier issue minted in 336 CE; Bruun, "Una permanenza del Sol Invictus di Costantino nell'arte cristiana," fig. 15.

[340] *RIC* I Ephesus? 486, bare head of Augustus with the legend "CAESAR" on the obverse and the legend "AVGVSTVS" within laurel wreath on the reverse, struck ca. 25 BCE; Jean-Baptiste Giard, *Catalogue des monnaies de l'empire Romaine, I. Auguste* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1976), pl. 37, 963, 964, 966.

Augustan reference is the overwhelmingly frequent occurrence of Victory on a globe – a gift from the senate to Constantine in a remarkably analogous way similar to that once granted by the senate to Augustus – in the numismatic records during the later decades of his rule, that is, an image that appeared to be an attribute of the imperial power.[341] This self-referentiality of Constantine's victory conveniently led into oblivion troublesome questions of the legitimacy of his rule and made Constantine to stand for the territorial integrity of the Empire, portrayed as having kept the internal peace of the Empire during his reign as sole Augustus.

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[341] Bruun, "Una permanenza del Sol Invictus di Costantino nell'arte cristiana," 225; Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus," *JRS* 76 (1986): 69 accentuates the importance of the reverse image and therefore notes that Victory, signifying military success on which the power and authority of the emperors was founded, is the commonest of reverse themes at all imperial periods.

CONCLUSION

The restoration of a unified empire was a dream of Constantine. It was the driving ideological force of his engagement in both waging tetrarchic civil wars to a victorious end and exploiting the power of Augustan imagery as the central visual discourse in representations of the emperor. The Constantinian dream of a united, in effect, oecumenical, empire or, if one prefers, imperial political imaginary, itself had immense material power that transformed the constitution of the Roman state, investing its ideological discourse with a new, industrially produced, iconography of the triumphant emperor that I have examined in the context of Constantine's memory politics. Based therefore on the visual yet also corroborative textual material surveyed, the following conclusions can be drawn comparing the self-representation of Constantine and Augustus.

First of all, each of three chapters has assembled comparable historical data and explicated structural parallels between the Augustan and Constantinian periods and the emperors' representations around nodal points of the hypothesis: the ideological discourse of the Constantinian empire was construed in remarkable resemblance with the Augustan one, maintaining the mooring on the image of Augustus, who was held to be a prototype and a paradigm for all the succeeding Roman emperors. For it has been indeed intriguing to discern, first, how eminently similarly both the polytheist and Christian narratives approached Constantine within the framework of figural interpretation they shared in common. Notably, in both polytheist political theology, exemplified by coterminous imperial panegyrics, and Christian political theology, epitomized by contemporaries Eusebius and Lactantius, the reign of Constantine, figuratively interpreted, was placed explicitly in a typological relationship with that of the founder of the empire.[342] Christian authors believed

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[342] On *typos* as a term and an interpretative mode for prefiguring the future in prior history, see Leonhard Goppelt, *Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1982), 4. On Lactantius' figural interpretation, Erich Auerbach, "Figura," in idem, *Scenes*

87

in a predetermined concordance between the history of salvation and the Roman monarchy, thus, Constantine was conceptualized as the revealed or fulfilled figure, the truth of the figural event. Constantine therefore appeared to re-enact the actions of his ultimate predecessor by putting an end to the civil discontent and internal war that erupted in the Roman state and inaugurating peace anew, completing the work initiated by Augustus in a new creative act that was meant to make the first to pale by comparison. The impulse toward typological thought and the desire to interpret in this way that arose in the fourth century CE led Constantinian writers to see events that showed the way to the Augustan foundation of the empire as those that prefigured or foreshadowed political events in time of Constantine. While the Christian texts are preoccupied with reconciling the Roman emperorship and salvation history, making Constantine the first Christian emperor and the liberating agent of divine providence through a typological link with Augustus, under whose reign Christ deliberately chose to be born, the polytheist panegyrics figurally interpret Constantinian rule as a return or indeed renewal of the Golden Age, referring to Virgil who in the Fourth Eclogue proclaimed the eternal transcendent order.

Next, to complement such a structure, I have assembled empirical support for the theoretical presentation from studies of iconography. To address to organizing strategies I have exploited, I have restructured the empirical material according to the power of the medium: first, architecture and ceremonies, second, imperial sculpture, and, third, coinage. The visual narratives, particularly, addressed the typological functions of the emperor insofar as Constantine was portrayed as a new Augustus, as a founder of a city and dynasty, and ultimately, as an architect of a new empire. The visual politics of Constantine thus stood in a striking parallelism to the program of Augustan classicizing iconography, imagining a Constantinian likeness typologically that assumed the relation between Augustus and

Constantine as equal to the relation between a figure and its historical fulfillment, regarded as imminent. Since the figure of Augustus had as much historical reality as what it prophesied, for both emperors possessed a high degree of historical concreteness, Constantine showed a marked interest in characterizing himself as the heir to the legacy of the founder of the empire rather then the heir to the tetrarchic imperial system who would continue Diocletian's recent initiatives. Knowing no definite rules of transmission for the iconographic enunciations of imperial power, Constantine thus adopted a youthful and handsome clean-shaven portrait image from a distant yet attractive Augustan model, although, remarkably, without implying a similarity in the conception of authority held by the princeps.[343]

By a prominent correspondence, the pre-Constantinian tetrarchy, similarly to the late Republican period, was notorious for producing crises: the cohesion and integrity of the empire of Augustus and that of Constantine were therefore preceded by devastating internal strife within the Roman state, which they managed to subdue.[344] All this suggests a parallel: whereas Octavian had established order and unity by putting an end to the dying republic, the *Pax Constantiniana* was constituted due to the final disintegration of a quarrelsome tetrarchic arrangement. In this respect, Augustus, only implicitly addressed in relation to Constantine in the narratives of imperial panegyrics and specifically in Eusebius, became a primary model for the iconography in association with which the Constantinian image was worked out after his victory at the Milvian Bridge in 312 CE. The Augustan-Apolline image of Constantine, with its reference to a supreme solar deity who guaranteed his holder's possession of a heavenly mandate to rule, and the emphasis on effective military leadership was retained and amplified, and, although after the decisive defeat of the last Constantinian rival, Licinuis, in 324 CE, the typological focus shifted to Alexander the Great, it did not replaced

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[343] On the concept of *auctoritas*, see Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 10–41.

[344] Providing a narrative of the triuviral period was problematic in Augustan time; there are famous silences in the *Res Gestae* regarding Republican civil wars: Josiah Osgood, *Caesar's Legacy: Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Constantine's Augustan iconography now imbued with the divine attributes of Hellenistic kingship. The media of sculpture and coinage examined here clearly show an increasing tendency to introduce elements from the royal iconography into the primary Augustan visual scheme first adopted by Constantine.

For, once again, the dream of Constantine had the structural power of ideological fantasy. It dared to imagine the Empire as if it was not subject to physical boundaries, as if it was excluded from the cycle of internal and external conflicts, and as if it perpetuated everlasting peace for the Roman state, over which time had no power. If therefore one concentrates on imperial ideology, then all of these elements, the politics of memory, legitimacy, and political imaginary, come together in a coherent configuration.

The introductory part of this thesis thus has focused on the historical context of Constantine's emperorship, weaving together cultural and political history in an attempt to throw light on both. The first chapter, "Architecture and Remembering," has seen the political ideology of both the Augustan and Constantinian periods as embodying a consistent practice of forgetting internal conflict that was manifest in the civil war logic of the mutual annihilation of political opponents. The second chapter, "Sculpture: Memory in Marble and Bronze," has critically examined visual narratives of Constantinian portraiture by analyzing Constantine's memory politics, both affirmative and negative, in terms of the appropriation of ideological capital, and suggested the Augustan prototype for the Constantine's self-representation. The third chapter, "Coinage as a Medium of Commemoration," has taken its lead from the artists in the Constantinian period, representing the Augustan dream of Constantine from the moment of falling into it in 312 CE to the peak of a new constellation of power in 324 CE, and juxtaposed numismatic portraits of fighting tetrarchs so that the struggle between these adversaries became visible as a rivalry of images, producing the same diverse ideological forms as in the times of the Republican civil wars.

Rather than stressing the unique policies of the Augustan principate and the Constantinian empire seen in a comparative perspective of their historical development, I have discussed structural similarities inherent in both periods. I have interpreted symbolic shifts in the early fourth century CE, stressing the commonalities of the civil war periods and subsequent establishments of the sole rule of the victorious emperors, ultimately suggesting that Constantine in fact imitated Augustus in his ideological dream. The *Pax Augusta* was therefore a dream form of Constantine's empire.

To summarize: within the typological scheme inherent in both polytheist and Christian textual narratives, Augustus functioned as a forerunner of Constantine, while, at the same time, the latter is ichnographically represented in visual narratives closely modeled on Augustan sculpted and coin portraiture that similarly celebrated the all-mighty triumphant emperor of the unified state. Every beholder of Constantinian imagery was thus exposed to power of this bewildering ideological combination of intricately connected imperial image-making, Augustan visual allusion, and historical reference to contemporary Roman political concerns. The issue is therefore worthy of further pursuit.
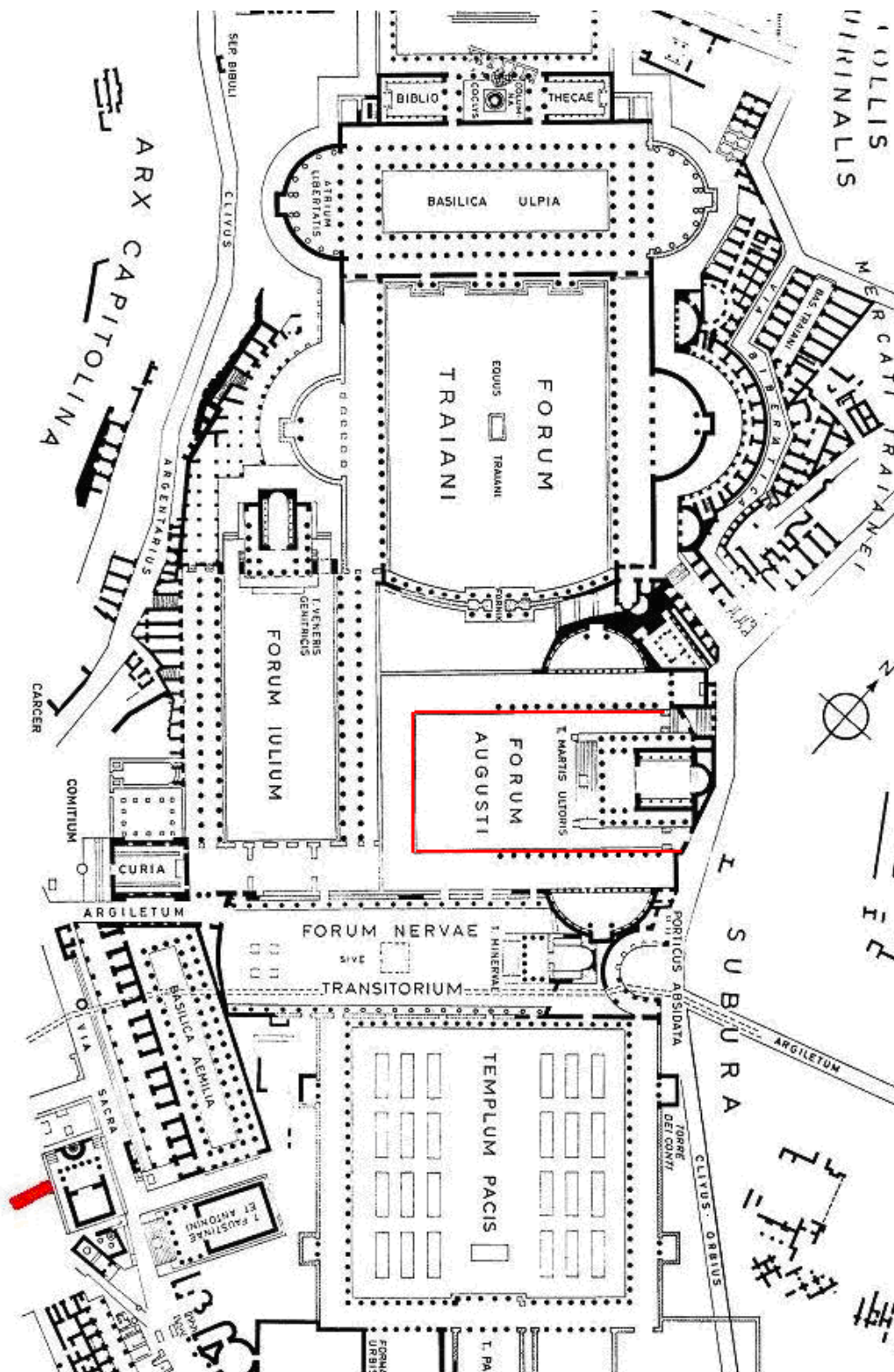
Figures

Fig. 1. The Arch of Constantine, Rome, 312–315 CE. View from the south.
Source: The Art Archive/ Alamy

Fig. 2. The processional north frieze of the Ara Pacis Augustae, Rome, 13–9 BCE.
Source: The Art Archive/ Art Resource, New York

Fig. 3. The Forum Augustum and the Actian Arch of Augustus on the Forum Romanum, Rome. General plan of the Roman Fora (with adjustments).
Source: After *EAA*, vol. 6, ed. R. Bianchi Bandinelli (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana 1965), 838.

Fig. 4. The Basilica of Maxentius in the Forum Romanum, Rome, 308–312 CE.
Source: The Art Archive/ Alamy

Fig.5. The Circus of Maxentius along the Via Appia, Rome, ca. 306–312 CE.
*Source:* Google Earth Images. Accessed May 14, 2012.

94

Fig. 6. **The Egyptian Obelisk of Augustus from Circus Maximus, 10 BCE. Piazza del Popolo, Rome.**

Fig. 7. **The Egyptian Obelisk of Constantius II from Circus Maximus, 357 CE. Piazza di San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome**

Fig. 8. **The Masonry Obelisk of Constantine in the hippodrome in Istanbul, ca. 330 CE.**

Fig. 9. **The Porphyry Column of Constantine in the Forum Constantini. Istanbul, ca. 324–330 CE.**

Source: The Art Archive/ Alamy
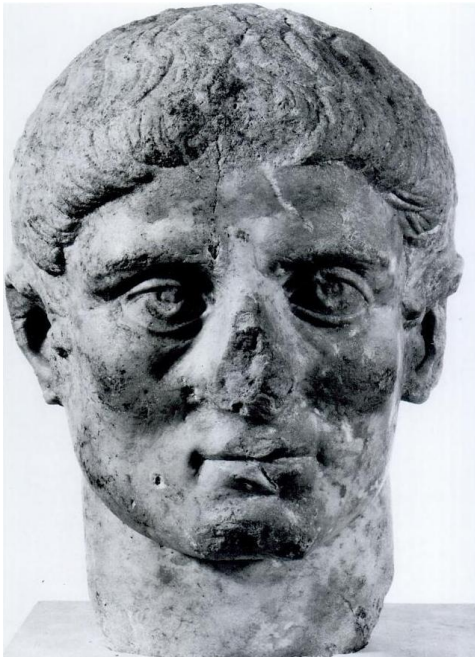
Fig. 10. A marble portrait of Augustus re-carved as Constantine from Bolsena, ca. 315 CE, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome.
Source: Antonio Giuliano, *Scritti Minori* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2001), 174, fig.1.
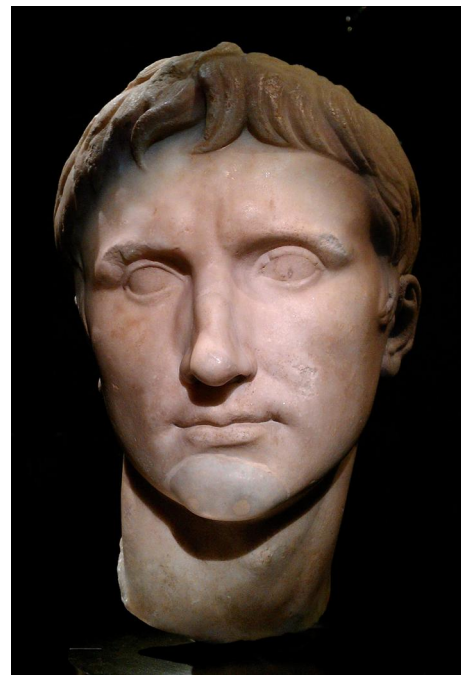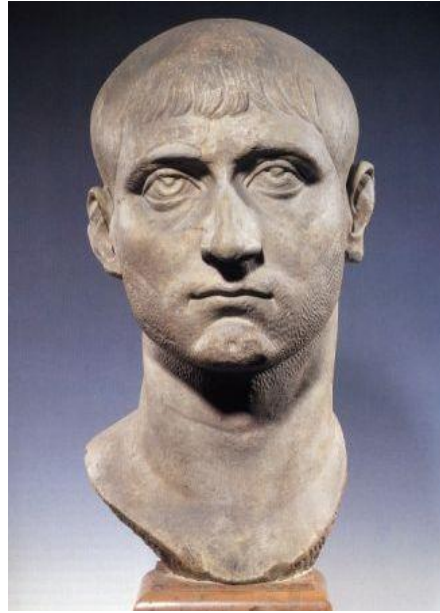
Fig. 11. A colossal marble head of Constantine. Capitoline Museums, Rome, ca. 315 CE.
Fig. 12. A marble portrait head of Constantine with eyes raised heavenward. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, ca. 324–337 CE.
Fig. 13. A colossal bronze head of Constantine. Capitoline Museums, Rome, ca. 336–37 CE.
Source: The Art Archive/ Alamy

Fig. 14. A marble portrait head of Maxentius ca. 306 CE, Stockholm.
Fig. 15. A marble portrait head of Maxentius, ca. 306–312, Dresden.
Source: Imperator Caesar Flavius Constantinus. Konstantin der Grosse, ed. Alexander Damandt and Josef Engemann. Catalog (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2007), 64, nos I.7.5, I.7.4.

Fig. 16. A marble portrait head of Maxentius, ca. 306–312, Paris.
Source: The Art Archive/ Art Resource, New York

Fig. 17. A marble portrait head of Augustus, ca. 20 BCE – 14 CE, Vienna.
Source: Photograph by the author.

97

Fig. 18: a) Constantine, *RIC* VI Trier 633, aureus, 306–307 CE; b) Constantine, *RIC* VII Ticinum 40, solidus, 315 CE; c) Constantine and Sol comes, gold medallion from Ticinum, 313 CE; d) Maxentius, *RIC* VII Ostia 10, aureus, 310–312 CE; e) Constantine, *RIC* VII Ticinum 36, silver medallion, 315 CE; f) Licinius, *RIC* VII Nicomedia 41, solidus, 321–322 CE; g) Divus Augustus (rev.), *RIC* I Rome 23, aureus, 40 CE; h) Augustus, *RIC* I Ephesus? 486, as, ca. 25 BCE; i) Constantine, RIC VII Nicomedia 112, solidus, 325–326 CE; j) Constantine, *RIC* VII Siscia 259, silver medallion, 336–337 CE.

Source: Photographs in the public domain.

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