

# SOME PICTURES IN AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

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READERS of Ammianus are struck by the pattern which certain scenes of greeting follow (21. 10, 1, etc.), in an author who tries so hard to avoid pattern and repetition: a personage approaches a city; the populace streams out to receive him with torches and flowers; troops and senators cluster around; there are shouts hailing his presence and virtues; and thus accompanied he enters the city gates. From other sources, however, we know that such occasions, through a very long history, had accumulated features which were indeed patterned, which included also details passed over by Ammianus such as chants and incense, and which were advertised to a larger audience in imperial coinage or in inscriptions set up by the local magistrates.<sup>1</sup> It would be interesting to find out how deeply into the society of Ammianus' time the impression of such events penetrated, and whether they were imposed by the rulers of the Dominate from above or whether they satisfied more widespread tastes. They are prominent enough in art, notably in relief sculpture; but most surviving art presents us with emperors, consuls, saints, great patrons. It is natural to attribute to the high position of men like these the qualities so often detected in the works they commissioned: grandiloquence, pose, theatricality, and dramatic richness. The present paper, however, pursues these qualities beyond painting and sculpture, into other forms and customs, and into lower levels of society. Its object is to add the support of some social history to the history of art; its conclusion is that, far from being isolated in the upper classes, fourth century art reflected with fair accuracy the enthusiasms and tastes of a popular audience.

## I. ARCHITECTURE, LANGUAGE, COSTUME

The first question to ask is whether there was much communication or movement of ideas of any sort up and down through the various layers of society. Ancient authors concentrate on the doings only of the higher classes. They rarely dip below a senatorial level. To this point, indeed, evidence is plentiful. Ammianus fixes a sour stare (14. 6, 9-17; 28. 4, 8-19) upon those senators who can afford armies of servants mustered in brigades under their officers; upon their carriages, out-riders, and uniforms for the day; upon their rigid receptions and the degrees of condescension offered to the different members of their circle. But in much of this, emperor and noble copied each other. The hem of the senator's mantle that swept the marble floors of Constantine's palace as that senator kissed the imperial purple had lately been kissed by some much humbler client, and if the senator had been ranged among the privileged of the emperor's First Admission, that rank derived from the formalities of Republican levées to which even one's meaner acquaintance

1. On the ceremonies of the later Empire, generally studied with reference only to the emperor himself, the literature is now very abundant. The name most often cited is A. Alföldi, whose kindness in criticizing this paper deserves special thanks. His own two classic articles, "Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, römische Abteilung*, XLIX, 1934, and "Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser," *ibid.*, L, 1935, are the main foundation for the subject, which has since been divided and pursued by narrower specialists: R. Delbrück, for instance, on costume, in his *Die Consulardiptychen*, Berlin, 1929; "Der spätantike Kaiserornat," *Die Antike*, VIII, 1932; and "Zu spätromischen Elfenbeinen des

Westreichs," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CLII, 1952; on ceremonial architecture, A. Boethius, "The Reception Halls of the Roman Emperors," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XLVI, 1951, among others; on the *adventus*, H. P. L'Orange, "The Adventus Ceremony," *Late Classical Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend*, Princeton, 1955; F. Cumont, "L'adoration des mages et l'art triomphal de Rome," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Memorie*, III, 1932-1933; and especially E. Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," *ART BULLETIN*, XXVI, 1944. A convenient general résumé is W. Ensslin, "Der Kaiser in der Spätantike," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXXVII, 1954, pp. 177ff.

were admitted. The aristocracy, at least, could enjoy an elaborate ceremony of which they were themselves the direct heirs, without feeling wholly dependent on some still higher model. They brought it somewhat closer to the common man. From the emperor down at least to a town councillor's petitioners, the same customs were in use.

But of course society, however one divides it for analysis, is not really made up of grades and distinctions, nor are its customs really kept in compartments. Was ceremonious behavior, for example, generally accommodated in an appropriate arrangement of rooms? By way of answer, we find a series unbroken from the emperors' reception halls of Spalato, Piazza Armerina, or Constantinople down through the mansions of rich provincials, and so to the houses of the middle class: all indulge in a showier use of marble; the opening out of public rooms at the expense of bed-chambers and servants' quarters; apsidal recesses to give focus to a room; monumental entrances.<sup>2</sup> The point cannot be pursued here, so far as architecture is concerned, but it can be supported in various other ways. Take the recently discovered panegyric directed apparently by Constantius to one of his pretorian prefects:

Innate virtue holds this extraordinary advantage for tested and faithful men, that when such a man is constantly on the alert to promote the interests of his emperor and the republic, the glory of the thing weighs as much as the disadvantages of the life itself and besides he is considered to have sought for himself in respect to fame this recognition, that by merit in the service of his emperor he has prospered as a result of industry and hard work. If anyone among all these men remains fixed in our sight and mind—and the felicity of our age has drawn from fortune a great supply of them—Philip would be the outstanding man whom I rightly proclaim our parent and friend.<sup>3</sup>

The self-consciousness, sense of role, and importance which inflate the emperor can be found again and again throughout the period, more fully in the speeches of trained rhetoricians (a good example, keeping to the reign of Constantius, is Julian's *Oration* 1. 50 C-D), less lengthily in the letters of Symmachus, and so too an unknown and ill-educated Egyptian monk, writing in the 330's:

To the most genuine and most enlightened, most blessed, beloved and in God's keeping and filled with the Holy Ghost and most valued in the sight of the Lord God, Apa Paieou, greeting in our master Jesus Christ. Before all things I pray for prosperity for you with the Lord God. This our letter I wrote on this papyrus that you might read it with joy and with most secure peace from the Holy Ghost and with cheerfulness in God's keeping and with entertainment of long-suffering filled with the Holy Ghost. To you, then, I write, most genuine and most secure in the sight of the Lord God, Apa Paieou . . .<sup>4</sup>

To these two lines of illustration, architecture and language, a third may be added: costume. We are fortunate enough to have an early fourth century procession fresco, showing soldiers, "magistrates, and high functionaries" parading with the emperors, and a mosaic street scene of the next century with people walking about or sitting at tables (Fig. 3).<sup>5</sup> Here, too, the styles that one can see in use among the great men of the realm prevailed at a lower level, so far as lesser riches, leisure, and sophistication allowed—many-colored clothing, and the embroidered patches and ribbons to be discussed later—giving to Ammianus' world a homogeneity of which he was himself hardly aware.

2. On the tendencies of late Roman private architecture toward more grandiose effects, see R. Stillwell, "Houses of Antioch," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xv, 1961, pp. 55ff.; I. Lavin, "The House of the Lord," *ART BULLETIN*, XLIV, 1962, pp. 1ff.; R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, Oxford, 1960, pp. 260ff.; and L. Crema, *L'architettura romana (Enciclopedia classica, Sezione III: Archeologia e storia dell'arte classica, XII: Archeologia, 1)*, Turin, 1959, pp. 604ff., especially p. 608.

3. Translation of L. J. Swift and J. H. Oliver, "Constantius II on Flavius Philippus," *American Journal of Philology*, LXXXIII, 1962, pp. 248ff. It is astonishing when one thinks of it, that all this and a great deal more in the same vein

was carefully written on stone.

4. Translation of H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, London, 1924, p. 83. For further discussion of the style of late Latin and Greek, and of the influence of the capitals like Constantinople on the language of the man in the street, see MacMullen, "Roman Bureaucrat," *Traditio*, xviii, 1962, pp. 372ff.

5. U. Monneret de Villard, "The Temple of the Imperial Cult at Luxor," *Archaeologia*, xcv, 1953, pp. 85ff., 105; D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton, 1947, pp. 329-32. On clothing, see further below, Section IV.

But the three features of fourth century society collected here are chosen not only because they can be traced at several levels, but also because of a characteristic that they share. They may all be said to contain a kind of theatricality. Halls and courts in imperial palaces are deliberately adapted to dramatic appearances—appearances generally of the emperor, from behind a curtain, after the observers have been lined up formally like an audience; or, less often, appearances of consuls or high officers of state, surrounded like their ruler by a bodyguard. The fronts of private villas and the internal arrangements of the better town residences betray a similar purpose, to impress, even at some expense of comfort. A particularly significant liking for that most spectacular achievement, the marble stage-backdrop or *scaenae frons*, grows upon the empire as time goes on, in the first century in frankly ornamental fountains, *nymphaea*, in private houses, or shown in frescoes and mosaics; then as palace façades, by Septimius Severus' reign, and so to the palace architecture of late antiquity.<sup>6</sup> The advantages of color and drama in curtained doorways are much more fully exploited in the same late period than earlier, especially for churches and the emperor's residence (Figs. 1, 2, 4).<sup>7</sup> As for the hyperbole of panegyrists, it was of course completely conscious, and completely artificial. This we might suspect from common sense. No man can have deserved the praise that Julian offers to Constantius. Our suspicions might be aroused, too, by the very emphasis so regularly placed on protestations of sincerity. Beyond that, we have Julian himself admitting that "this kind of praise is gravely suspected because of those who misuse it, and is considered base flattery rather than trustworthy testimony of noble deeds."<sup>8</sup> But this being so, we are hard put to imagine the scene of a panegyric. All stood except the target of praise. The rhetor spoke slowly, in a singsong manner, to bring out the rhythm, and with carefully rehearsed gestures, "Uttering platitudes / In stained-glass attitudes." Possibly Julian's mind wandered while Mamertinus addressed to him a text that now spreads over forty pages. And all to what purpose? We can only suppose that the participants in the occasion, quite aware of its falsity, valued themselves for their patience, saw themselves the custodians of an ancient literature, perhaps even savored the skill of the rhetor—but above all, felt themselves part of a *tableau vivant*. We have many monuments to show this, tombstones and mosaics featuring the deceased among the Muses or in the company of Plato and Aristotle.<sup>9</sup> There was a pride in such poses of cultivation.

Another form of address was also popular: acclamation. The custom shades off into its opposite, malediction, into magic spells common in this and earlier periods, into the army's shouts that hailed a man emperor, savior, bringer of prosperity, and the rest. What is common to these is the repetition of a set of words. The origin of the practice can be traced to Hellenistic audiences cheering their favorite actors or jockeys rhythmically;<sup>10</sup> the custom penetrated in the earliest

6. The influence of the *scaenae frons* on other edifices can be traced through J.-P. Cèbe, "Une Fontaine monumentale," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome*, LXIX, 1957, pp. 190ff.; P. Grimal and J. Guey, "À propos des 'Bains de Livie,'" *ibid.*, LIV, 1937, p. 153; H. Stern, "Nouvelles recherches sur les images des Conciles dans l'Église de la Nativité à Bethléem," *Cahiers archéologiques*, III, 1948, pp. 83ff.; F. Wirth, *Römische Wandmalerei vom Untergang Pompejis bis ans Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1934, pp. 33ff., 126; and G.-C. Picard, "Le Septizonium de Cincari," *Monuments Piot*, LII, 2, 1962, pp. 77-92.

7. Curtains in architecture: C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, s.v. "Velum"; on their use to close stage doors, see E. Bethe, "Die antike Terenz-Illustrationen," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, XVIII, 1903, p. 107 and figs. 5-7; E. R. Fiechter, *Die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des antiken Theaters*, Munich, 1914, p. 120. Curtains on later doorways can be seen in Stern, *op.cit.*, pp. 94ff.; G.-C. Picard, "Une Schola de collège," *Karthago*, III, 1951-1952, pp. 177ff. and fig. 5; J. Strzygowski, *Die Calendarbilder*

*des Chronographen vom Jahre 354*, Berlin, 1888, pl. 35 and pp. 90ff.; W. F. Volbach, *Frühchristliche Kunst*, Munich, 1958, fig. 152; *idem*, in *Alchristliche Mosaiken*, Bern, 1947, p. 14 and fig. 12.

8. *Oration* 1. 4 C; cf. 2 C, the orator's art "does not forbid flattery, nor is it generally counted a disgrace to the speaker to praise falsely those who do not deserve praise." Augustine recollects with more shame the occasion in Milan "when I was preparing to recite a panegyric on the emperor, wherein I was to deliver many a lie and, lying, was to be applauded by those who knew I lied" (*Confessions* 6. 6). Add some more references to similar occasions in MacMullen, "Roman Bureaucratise," p. 375 n. 43.

9. H. I. Marrou, *MOYCIKOC ANHP*, Paris, 1938, pp. 8, 138ff., and *passim*.

10. Alföldi, "Ausgestaltung" (*cit.* above, note 1), pp. 79ff.; further, F. Staehelin, "Felicio Augusto, melior Traiano," *Museum Helveticum*, 1, 1944, pp. 179ff., and H. U. Instinsky, "Kaiser und Ewigkeit," *Hermes*, LXXVII, 1942, p. 350, pointing to the reflections of acclamation style in the dedications

Empire into the meetings of the Roman senate<sup>11</sup> and turns up once more in a session of the town council of Oxyrhynchus.<sup>12</sup> A famous example is the shouts of senators hailing the Theodosian Code: "Augustuses of Augustuses, the greatest of Augustuses [repeated eight times]. God gave You to us, God gave You to us [twenty-seven times]. As Roman emperors, pious and felicitous, may You rule for many years [twenty-two times], etc., etc." We have at a still higher level the words dictated to an emperor by an angel, so he said, and distributed in copies like an actor's script to his soldiers, who obediently called to the Deity, "Greatest God, we beseech you, Holy God, we beseech you, To you we commit all care of justice, To you we commit our salvation, Through you we conquer, etc." [three times repeated].<sup>13</sup>

But the mob shouted like this too, in Rome, Egypt, or Africa: "May the gods keep you!"<sup>14</sup> "Rejoice! May you prosper!" they wrote on their drinking vessels, for their toasts,<sup>15</sup> and "May we conquer" was the cry of the slaves as they entered the master's house in the evening.<sup>16</sup> Pieces of jewelry had acclamations inscribed on them: "God save the wearer!"<sup>17</sup> All this testifies to the very wide diffusion of a social practice, in every class and activity. The emphatic cheers, short phrase by short phrase, that greeted a triumphator upon his entrance into Rome greeted the eyes of more ordinary folk as they looked above the lintels of their homes. Language itself had become static and stagy.

## II. THE POWER OF POMP AND GLITTER

Yet "static and stagy" fits nothing so well as the imperial entrance, into whatever city. No ceremony was more carefully managed, more contrived and impressive, than the *adventus*. Ammianus' frequent references to *adventus* have been mentioned above, but there is one instance (16. 10, 2-10) quite well known and worth quoting fully. Constantius approached Rome from Ocriculum

accompanied by a formidable armed retinue, led in battle formation, . . . in order to show an inordinately long parade, banners stiff with gold, and the splendor of his retainers. [He entered] with the standards preceding him on both sides, he himself seated alone upon a golden car shining with the beauty of precious stones of various kinds, which seemed to hold a light of mingled luster. And behind those that preceded him, many other dragons surrounded him, inwoven with purple, fastened to the gold and jeweled spear tips, with their wide mouths open to the breeze and as if hissing thus aroused with rage, trailing their twisted tails in the wind. And on both sides marched a double line of armed men with shields and crests, shining with a shifting light, clad in gleaming scale mail, and here and there the cavalry in full mail whom they call *clibanarii*, masked, breast-plated, girt with iron belts, whom you might take not for men but for statues

of the later Empire, e.g., in H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1954, No. 597. In the Byzantine amphitheater, the claquees also waved colored handkerchiefs.

11. Alföldi, "Ausgestaltung," pp. 83-86.

12. P. Oxy. (B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, et al., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, London, 1898- ) No. 41, late 3rd-early 4th century.

13. Lactantius *De mortibus persecutorum* 46. 6 and 11, the moment being Licinius' joining of battle with Maximin in 313.

14. *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (SHA), *Severus Alexander* 57. 5; *Firmus* 9. 1; *Gordiani* 8. 4. The SHA are particularly rich in the texts of acclamations, or alleged ones, a few running to several pages, but they occur in other authors too, e.g., *Codex Theodosianus* (*Cod. Theod.*) 7. 20, 3; Herodian 1. 4, 8; 2. 2, 4.

15. The common words are *felicitur* or *vivas* in the early Empire, *gaudeas* or *floreas* later (H. Stern, *Le Calendrier de 354*, Paris, 1953, p. 119). But variants are many: *utere felix*, *zeses*, *ave*, *bibe*, etc.

16. Amm. 16. 8, 9, *exclamasse ex usu 'vincamus', verbum sollemne*; similar *Glückwünsche* to protect the house, written

over its doors, *in his praediis NN . . . et filii . . . vivant, senescant, et meliora perficiant* (*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* [henceforth *CIL*] 8. 22774), or *spes in deo* (*CIL* 8. 21533). The practice goes back at least to the *Salve* of a Pompeian mosaic, and the greetings of slaves to the same period. Cf. Trimalchio's first and second "shifts," *illi quidem exclamavere, Vale Gai, hi autem, Ave Gai* (Petronius *Satyricon* 74).

17. R. Zahn, "Zur Sammlung Friedrich L. von Gans," *Amilicher Bericht aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen*, xxxviii, 1916, pp. 42-46, the inscription on a decorative disc attached to a necklace; cf. "Good luck to the Tungri," on a gold torque, A. Roes, "Some Gold Torques Found in Holland," *Acta archaeologica*, xviii, 1947, p. 179; "Long life to Julian," on a gold fibula, *CIL* 3. 1639; and similar phrases on largesse-dishes of glass or silver, coins or medallions, or items of military equipment. On the last, with *utere felix* or *optime conserva*, see P. Wuilleumier, "Information de la XVe circonscription, Rhône," *Gallia*, viii, 1950, pp. 146ff., and A. Ruhlmann, "Communication à propos d'une plaquette de caractère militaire," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1935, pp. 69ff.

polished by the hand of Praxiteles . . . [As for Constantius himself] he showed himself immobile . . . . . keeping his gaze straight ahead, nor turned his face to left or right, and like a statue of a man was never seen either nodding when the wheel jolted, nor spitting, nor wiping or rubbing his face or nose, nor moving his hands.

This long passage contains a number of points that deserve discussion. We may begin at the end, with the immobility of the emperors, which they assumed to make more perfect their resemblance to a god, and which was upon need completed by painting their eyes or by adding a wig lest their hair blow.<sup>18</sup> Makeup went back to Oriental monarchy, the motionlessness of the emperor to the rules of the stage: "not to sit down if weary, not to wipe away the sweat save with the robe [the performer] wore, to allow no discharge from nose or mouth to be seen" (Tacitus *Annals* 16.4). Such traditions ended in a curious rapprochement: at the same time that imperial statues were coming to resemble their subjects by being borne about in processions, carried in chariots, wreathed and hailed and addressed as witnesses to oaths, the emperors themselves copied their own statues. They were increasingly forced into an ideal impersonal mold, encompassing the whole list of virtues necessary in a ruler, expressed outwardly in strength of body, in the splendor of their eyes, in their gait and voice, in the serenity of their behavior. Individual differences tended to recede in official representations. Once the commissioned artists had caught the proper character, it was repeated again and again: "The flattened head, low forehead, the enormous muscles of the jaw, great eyes glassy and placed somewhat too far apart, the bull neck, short snub nose, beard with stiff short hair like bristles," recur from one portrait to another, and emperors with a change only of the title re-used the portraits of their predecessors, even of pretenders against them, in coins and busts.<sup>19</sup> In all of these, however, nothing is so striking as their rigidity. Metal or stone seems only to delineate a man made of the same substance, whose expression is fixed in a show of imperturbable omnipotence, and who is addressed as Your Serenity. He could be complimented on "the gravity of his visage, the tranquillity of his eyes and countenance."<sup>20</sup> And if he responded to the artistic and philosophic impulses of his time, he transformed himself into a sort of icon, for display and adoration. He did not even scratch his nose in public.

It is hardly necessary to mention here the quality of frontality, which is spread so broadly across the arts of late antiquity. Theodora and her party (Fig. 2) typify it. They stand in repose, their gaze set on nothing, their motions frozen, their faces full toward the viewer. So also Stilicho, in Ammianus' day (Fig. 5). What the description in Ammianus allows us to imagine, however, is that men who wished to emphasize their own importance did so through gestures and poses exactly resembling those of art.

In this period, the fourth century, a more heavily armed kind of elite cavalry troops was coming to the fore. They wore scale-mail, less often chain-mail, covering both man and mount. In parades they frequently added masks, gilded, silvered, or bronze. These are what Ammianus

18. M. P. Charlesworth, "Imperial Deportment," *Journal of Roman Studies*, xxxvii, 1947, p. 36. Yet wigs may rather have served the purpose of giving a very full head of hair, which was thought to express a plenitude of power. See H. P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture*, Oslo, 1947, pp. 33ff., 68ff., 94. Themistius had proclaimed that the good ruler should indeed resemble an ἀγαλμα, εἰκὼν, or ἰνδαλμα. The references and earlier sources for this extraordinary view are collected by L. Delatte, *Les traités de la royauté d'Éphante*, etc., Liège-Paris, 1942, pp. 157 and 216. Some aspects go back to Plato. Compare his *Republic* 420 C and *Politicus* 277 A with Synesius, *De Regno* 5. 1068.

19. P. Castelfranco, "L'arte nella moneta nel tardo impero," *Critica d'arte*, II, 1937, pp. 13ff., and C. C. Vermeule, "Roman Numismatic Art, A.D. 200-400," *Numismatic Circular*, LXV, 1957, pp. 2-6, on the coins; L'Orange, *Apotheosis*, fig. 66, p.

91, and p. 118, on both coins and portrait busts. This feature of art begins suddenly at the turn of the 3rd-4th centuries, and though there are some later developments, the ideal image remains remarkably stable throughout the next 250 years.

20. *Panegyrici veteres*, Galletier, ed., 7[6]. 4, 4, referring to Constantine. *Serenitas* is a frequent title, e.g., *Cod. Theod.* 1. 12, 5; 6. 29, 3; cf. L'Orange, *Apotheosis*, p. 95, on the προσώπου γαλήνην ἐνθεος, the calm that bespoke divine power resident in the philosopher or ruler, recalled in Synesius' address on kingship (J. P. Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, LXVI, col. 1069). *Tranquillitas* is more often ascribed to the empire than to the emperor, but coins of the 2nd and 3rd centuries carry the legend *Tranquillitas Augusti* or *Augustorum*, and *Beata tranquillitas* is familiar in the 4th century. *Gravitas* harks back to Republican ideals of weighty calm, but it too is ascribed to the emperor (*Panegyrici veteres* 10[4]. 9, 5).

calls, in the description just given, *clibanarii*. The word comes from Persia<sup>21</sup> as did this particular style of armor.<sup>22</sup>

*Clibanarii* received much attention in the sources, being something really fantastic and terrifying. Ammianus returns to them in another passage (25. 1, 12); a Latin panegyrist (*Panegyrici vet.*, ed. Galletier, 10[4]. 22, 4), like Claudian (*In Rufinum* 2. 357f), dwells on them; Julian (*Oration* 1. 37 C-D; 2. 57 C) twice describes them at length, each time, like Ammianus, emphasizing their similarity to statues. They contributed to parades and martial ceremonies exactly the quality desired in the emperor himself: dramatic immobility.

Beside *clibanarii* moved troops with resplendent equipment, shields, crests, mail (Amm. 16. 10, 8). These too entered Rome with Constantius. While soldiers like the praetorian guards in the earlier Empire might well have matched the pageantry of these fourth century ones, the latter attracted a growing attention by their greater number, their exotic splendor, and the contrast they offered to the very shabby soldiers of the regular army. They are prominent in the mind's eye of contemporaries. The commander's helmet, arms, his shield, even his horse, are decorated with gold and precious stones, his bodyguards are agleam "with the splendor of gold and colors,"<sup>23</sup> and wear an increasing weight of jewelry: torques, pendant medallions, rings, bracelets, engraved or stamped with the emperor's image, inscribed "Luck to the bearer," or a gift from the throne.<sup>24</sup> Such ornament answered an obviously barbarian demand for a wealth more intelligible than coins, especially during the third century when the increasing use of troops recruited from beyond the Empire was matched by the increasing adulteration of the coinage to pay them. In the fourth century, sculptured representations of soldiers with elaborate decoration are more often barbarians, and men (not only women) in excavated graves are buried with increasingly rich, and wholly un-Roman, jewelry. The habit of showy costume spread rapidly throughout society, along with Germanic motifs such as the opposed swans' heads on a belt buckle from Rome (Fig. 8 and note 37 below). Even a private citizen's lowest servants wore torques, fancy fibulae, and embroidered tunics.<sup>25</sup> Court fashions were higher. Theodora's attendant wears a big brooch on his left shoulder (Fig. 2), of a type that can be studied more closely in a mid-fourth century fresco from Bulgaria (Fig. 6 and note 25 above), and on Stilicho (Fig. 5). Its exact counterparts are recovered by the archaeologist in Africa, Switzerland, or elsewhere round

21. Meaning "oven," which gives the wearer's point of view. On these troops see my article, "Inscriptions on Roman armor," *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXIV, 1960, pp. 30ff.; *ibid.*, *passim*, for many references on elaborate armor, adding H. Klumbach, "Ein römischer Legionarshelm aus Mainz," *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz*, VIII, 1961, pp. 96ff., on helmets mostly of the early Empire.

22. The precise origin is disputed, but it is generally Eastern. See H. Seyrig, "A Helmet from Emesa," *Archaeology*, v, 1952, p. 69, and B. Rubin, "Die Entstehung der Kataphraktenreiterei," *Historia*, IV, 1955, pp. 264-283. Another piece of equipment with an Eastern home was the ring-pommel used on the hilts of longer swords, introduced into the Roman army from Severan times on. See H.-J. Hundt, "Ein tauschiertes römisches Ringknaufschwert aus Straubing," *Festschrift des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz*, III, 1953, pp. 109-118, and on the overall Orientalization of the later army, R. Grosse, "Bewaffnung und Artillerie des spätrömischen Heeres," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1-11, 1917, p. 43.

23. On the commander's extravagant costume, see *Panegyrici veteres* 10[4]. 29, 5; Claudian *De Consulatu Stilichonis* 2. 88ff.; Amm. 23. 3, 6. The quotation on the guards is from Amm. 31. 10, 14. The SHA often mention gifts by the throne to favored officers, upon advancement, and stress the elegant results of this generosity: "fine bright uniforms," "nobly armed" (*Severus Alexander* 33. 3ff.; 50. 3), belts with gold and gems (*Gallieni* 20. 3) or gilded (*Claudius* 14. 5), etc.

I am inclined to believe that they are accurate statements of conditions in the period when they were written, though of little value for the period which they pretend to describe. They are confirmed by the soldiers' uniforms, some with *segmenta*, shown in frescoes and mosaics; by the gold-and-silver chased helmets of *Cod. Theod.* 10. 22, 1; and by the evidence referred to in notes 21 above and 28 below.

24. Gold torques went back to the Republic, borrowed from Germanic and Gallic usages (Alföldi, "Insignien," [*art. cit.* above, note 1] p. 54; A. Büttner, "Untersuchungen über Ursprung und Entwicklung von Auszeichnungen im römischen Heer," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CLVII, 1957, pp. 133ff., 152ff.) but are far more frequently noticed in the late Empire, becoming by the mid-4th century a standard instrument of coronation ceremonies (Amm. 20. 4, 18; 29. 5, 20). Several authors speak of gifts by emperors of torques, rings, fibulae, and armillae to troops (MacMullen, "The Emperor's Largesses," *Latomus*, XXI, 1962, pp. 159ff.). One branch of the Roman army got its name from its ornaments, *Bracchati* (Alföldi, "Cornuti: A Teutonic Contingent in the Service of Constantine the Great," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XIII, 1959, pp. 174ff.), and Roman civilians put on jewelry that bore Germanic motifs in decoration (*idem*, "Eine spätrömische Helmform," *Acta archaeologica*, v, 1934-1935, p. 114; J. Heurgon, *Le trésor de Ténès*, Paris, 1958, pp. 40ff.).

25. D. P. Dimitrov, "Le système décoratif et la date des peintures murales du tombeau antique de Silistra," *Cahiers archéologiques*, XII, 1962, pp. 38ff.

the empire.<sup>26</sup> Laws that restricted the use of jeweled fibulae to the emperor suggest some similar implications of rank in slightly less sumptuous examples. At least they were found only on soldiers and officials entitled to wear the heavy cloak (*chlamys*), and *chlamydarii* certainly did not include the majority of the emperor's servants.

People who commissioned their portraits naturally wanted their importance to be made evident, just as Rembrandt's sitters wanted the lace to show. Thus fourth century reliefs, paintings, and mosaics emphasize details of costume and equipment at the expense of form, a fact often noted by critics and sometimes attributed to a contemporary theory that the reality of detail should prevail over the demands of perspective and proportion.<sup>27</sup> But the true explanation is probably more social and psychological than aesthetic.

So a passion for pure display took hold throughout the empire. But there is a curious interpretation laid upon this display, wholly typical of the period and echoed in a Latin rhetor (*Paneg. vet.* 10[4]. 14, 3), the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Julian, and Ammianus. The first writer, describing an army, mentions how "their shields flashed forth something terrifying, and the awful splendor of their heavenly arms gleamed." This is slightly expanded (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Sev. Alex.* 50. 3) by the statement that in an army well equipped at all points, well mounted, and so on, an enemy "might recognize the Roman state itself." Julian says more explicitly (*Oration* 1. 23 C), "the enemy were discountenanced [*ἐκπληττόμενοι*] by the close order, splendor, and calm" of the Roman troops. When we come to Ammianus, however, we find no less than seven passages ascribing the alarm of the enemy solely to the brilliant *appearance* of the Roman army.<sup>28</sup> Vegetius adds his support in the view that "the radiance of arms carries the greatest terror to the foe."<sup>29</sup> This is to attribute to something purely external a force that it cannot have possessed. The belief is puzzling. One must interpret it, I think, in terms of the psychology implied in what has already been discussed—in terms of the value placed upon the almost supernatural power supposed to lie behind a pose, a costume, an expression, a set of words. What arms and armor only represent or imply is thought to reach out against the enemy in some effectual fashion. The point I am making will be supported further in the discussion of uniforms, Section IV.

### III. ANIMAL DECORATION AND METAPHOR

Roman soldiers throughout the Empire put their names on their shields, writing them, or punching the letters on some metal part. By this means, according to Dio, they identified themselves and their exploits in the very midst of battle.<sup>30</sup> If that was indeed their purpose, it was better served by a custom that developed, at least by the later Empire, of painting shields in some heraldic way—*diversa signa in scutis pingebant, ut ipsi nominant, digmata*—and perhaps these devices can be detected even in the second century as well as later, some like a fleur-de-lis, some harder to describe.<sup>31</sup> It seems probable, however, that most of these designs were adopted for their own

26. The so-called *Zwiebelknopffibel*, in, for example, R. Laur-Belart, "Spätromische und frühmittelalterliche Gräber," *Ur-Schweiz*, XXI, 1957, pp. 7ff. and fig. 6; Heurgon, *Trésor de Ténès*, pp. 23ff.

27. The views of Plotinus are discussed by A. Grabar, "Plotin et les origines de l'esthétique médiévale," *Cahiers archéologiques*, 1, 1945, pp. 18ff.

28. Amm. 18. 2, 17; 21. 13, 15; 27. 2, 6; 27. 5, 3; 28. 5, 3; 29. 5, 15; 31. 10, 9. The enemy *pavore torpescent, territi stetero*, etc., because of the Romans' flashing eyes, splendid equipment, shining standards, etc. Ammianus is not saying that splendor terrifies by implying military efficiency, but that it terrifies by itself alone.

29. Vegetius 2. 14, cited by Alföldi, "Eine spätromische Helmform," p. 117.

30. Dio Cassius 67. 10, 1. In M. Rostovtzeff et al., *Dura*

*Preliminary Reports*, VI, New Haven, 1936, p. 466, we have the written mark of a maker or owner; stamped or punched on *tabulae ansatae* or *umbones* in E. Hübner, "Römische Schildbuckel," *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Oesterreich*, XI, 1878, pp. 105ff.; and a late example (5th century) in J. Werner, "Kriegergräber aus der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CLVIII, 1958, pp. 406ff.; on the general practice, consult Grosse (*op.cit.* above, note 22) p. 42. Against Dio, probability favors the use of shield inscriptions simply to protect the articles against loss.

31. The quotation is from Vegetius 2. 18. A neglected text is clearer (Amm. 16. 12, 6): *Alamanni enim scutorum insignia contuentes, norant eos milites . . . quorum metu aliquotiens . . . abiere dispersis*. Cf. corps identification implied earlier in Tacitus *Hist.* 3. 23. As to shield insignia, the earliest examples that I find are on Trajan's column, and then on

sake, for they are hard to fit into a pattern of actual legionary organization even as early as the Trajanic and Antonine columns, and are afterwards exploited for purely ornamental ends. The taste for such bright decoration was not Roman, though whether imported from western auxiliary regiments or from the East is not clear.<sup>32</sup> Shields of the third and fourth centuries unfold scenes of the sack of Troy or of battles with Amazons (no heraldry here, at least) or are colored a vivid red, rose, or green, or blue-green with patterns in yellow and red, or borders of alternating red, white, and orange, black and gold, etc.<sup>33</sup> Some are shown in the mosaic from Piazza Armerina (Fig. 7). They contribute richly to that splendor of armament thought to terrify the enemy.

On some shields were painted opposed goats' heads, giving their name to the soldiers of these units, *Cornuti*. They were especially favored by the emperors from Constantine on, prominent and envied. Another unit which appears first in the fourth century bore the name, "The Lions," *clipeoque . . . teste Leones*.<sup>34</sup> The two together declare the popularity of animal symbolism among the western barbarian troops, both being called after their shield device. A. von Domaszewski pointed out that animal insignia in the earlier imperial army are almost all derived from the signs of the zodiac, chosen through horoscopy to represent important dates in the legions' history.<sup>35</sup> Favorite types are the Bull, Ram, Capricorn, and Lion; the ram and the griffin (sacred to Apollo, hence *leg. XV Apollinaris*?) appear on helmets in the Antonine column. The griffin is the more easily explained by the eastern home of the legion, and so also, in the third century, is the raising of units' animal signs from a lower place on the legionary standard to the very tip, a development "reflecting the spread of forms of worship from the Orient, in which animal cults had their true home."<sup>36</sup> Later, however, apotropaic animal symbolism comes in through Celtic and Germanic influences.<sup>37</sup>

In writers from Homer on, animals are used in comparisons, for the sake of vividness. Warriors are likened to lions, for instance; mythology affords a fairly complete bestiary from which further comparisons can be drawn. In the largely derivative literature of Ammianus' time, such classical comparisons are fairly frequent and fairly easy to detect, along with vaguer references to men who are "beasts" or "monsters"—*beluae*, *θηρία*, or the like.<sup>38</sup> Beyond these, late writers draw in

the Antonine column. All the others are abstract. Later pictures can be seen in G. V. Gentili, *La Villa Erculia di Piazza Armerina. I mosaici figurati*, Milan, 1959, pls. 24 and 30-31; B. Pace, *I mosaici di Piazza Armerina*, Rome, 1955, pl. 17; W. F. Volbach, *Altchristliche Mosaiken*, pl. 2; Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, p. 73; P. Muratoff, *La peinture byzantine*, Paris, 1935, pl. 7; H. Stern, "Les Peintures du mausolée 'de l'Exode' à El-Bagaouat," *Cahiers archéologiques*, XI, 1960, pp. 112ff.; and Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, New York, 1961, pl. 89.

32. I presume that the shield-devices on the Trajanic and Antonine columns represent painted ones, but the earliest surviving example in color that I know is on the mural in the Temple of Gaddé at Dura, a scale design on a gold and reddish-brown shield, dated to the second half of the 1st century (*Dura Preliminary Reports*, VII-VIII, 1939, pp. 232, 269ff.). The Monza diptych of Stilicho (Fig. 5) has a similar scale pattern.

33. Homeric scenes on shields painted in the year 256, *ibid.*, pp. 326ff., 349ff., and plates 41-45; vivid colors and borders, Gentili, *op.cit.*, pls. 24, 30, and 52; Pace, *op.cit.*, pl. 17; Volbach, *Mosaiken*, pl. 2. There is one mention, SHA *Alexander Severus* 50. 5, of special corps with silver and gold shields.

34. Claudian *De Bello Gildonico* 1. 423.

35. Domaszewski, "Die Tierbilder der Signa," *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1909, p. 3, and again in E. Petersen et al., *Die Marcus-Säule*, Munich, 1896, pp. 112ff.

36. Domaszewski, *Abhandlungen*, pp. 12ff.

37. On these, on the *Cornuti*, and on their connection with

animal cults and horned helmets of later centuries, see Alföldi, "Cornuti," pp. 172ff., adding the shield shown in E. Schaffran, "Eine Völkerwanderungszeitliche Bronzestatuette," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, XXXII, 1956, pp. 245ff. It dates ca. 600. For lions on various objects in metal such as 4th century belt-buckles, see J. Lafaurie, *Le Trésor de Chécy* (Suppl. to *Gallia*, XII, Paris, 1958) pp. 301ff.; for a dolphin- and horse-motif on a 4th century buckle, J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain*, London, 1962, p. 178. On the general subject of the revival of animal forms in Western provincial art of this time I have gathered some references in "The Celtic Renaissance," to appear in *Historia*, XIV, 1965, fasc. 1.

38. "Beasts" or the like as a term of vituperation: SHA *Maximini* 17. 1; Zosimus 2. 47, 5; Pacatus in *Panegyrici veteres*, Galletier, ed., 12[2]. 24, 6; Julian *Oration* 1. 38 C; 2. 62 C, the monster of Lerna; *Panegyrici veteres* 2 [10]. 4, 3, *monstra biformia* like the ones Hercules faced; Eusebius *Martyrs in Palestine* 2. 16; *idem*, *Vita Constantini* 1. 49; 2. 1; 3. 66; Athanasius *Historia Arianorum* 3; 20; and 25; *idem*, *Vita Sancti Antonii* 9; Amm. 16. 5, 17; 28. 1, 12; 28. 3, 4; 28. 6, 4; 31. 15, 12. Examples of Homeric metaphors are Amm. 19. 3, 3 and 29. 4, 7, *leo magnitudinē corporis et voracitate terribilis*; Julian *Or.* 1. 48 C, *ὡς περ τινὰ λύκον*; 2. 84 D, cf. *Iliad* 17. 20; 2. 87 A; 2. 98 C, cf. *Iliad* 22. 262; Synesius *De Regno* 6. 1069, comparison with the Hydra. Earlier authors exercised a tyranny over the imaginations of their successors in Latin and Greek, and readers tire of this borrowed and mechanical savagery as of other stock types of metaphor, nautical (pilots, storms, rudders, favoring winds), medical (doctors, wounds, diseases), military (bastions, walls,

a variety not found earlier, and use them with increasing freshness and effectiveness. In Claudian we find, beside the ordinary classicizing metaphors, others that involve an assortment of monkeys, boars, ostriches, and dogs.<sup>39</sup> Ammianus has a still larger collection: bulls, vultures, kites, lions, dogs, which he uses sometimes in extended similes, always with vigor.<sup>40</sup> If we look for the source of the images that come to his mind, we may assume a certain amount of borrowing, from the elder Pliny or the *Georgics*; a certain amount of ordinary observation of country life; but beyond these, a third source as well, belonging especially to the Roman world, that is, the amphitheater. Often he compares men to "wild beasts with tusks, in their cages" under the stage (19. 6, 4), to "the beasts of the amphitheater" (15. 5, 23; 28. 1, 10; 29. 1, 27; 31. 8, 9), "like a beast in a hunting show" (*venatio*, 30. 1, 15)—very much as Claudian (*In Rufinum* 2. 394f) refers to an enemy, in about the same period, "as a beast who has lately left his native mountains and, torn from the high forests, is doomed to the shows of the arena." Scholars are sometimes so scholarly that they forget the obvious, the things that came instantly to the common mind when in search of a phrase to convey excitement, ferocity, color, or danger. The Romans not only spent more public money on their amphitheaters than on anything else—it is usual to find a provincial city putting one up even before its public baths, and sometimes before it could really afford either—but when they could not actually attend a performance, they gawked at the placards in the street advertising the next day's show<sup>41</sup> or solaced themselves in their own homes with scenes of *venationes* and combats between animals, extremely common in frescoes and mosaics. They had a robust taste for blood. Valentinian kept two pet bears in cages by his bedroom, which he playfully called Goldflake and Innocence (Amm. 29. 3, 9), and a private citizen specified his favorites, Cruel and Mankiller, written over portraits of bears.<sup>42</sup> These theatrical scenes and gaudy paintings certainly must have made a profound impression on Ammianus and his contemporaries, and help especially to account for comparisons of people with rare animals like monkeys and ostriches.

The largest number of Ammianus' animal metaphors concern snakes, serpents, and dragons: an enemy is "like an underground serpent lurking below the hidden entrance of its hole," or "like a viper swelling with its store of poison."<sup>43</sup> It is tempting to find the inspiration for this in, or somehow connected with, the dragon standards which we have already seen accompanying Constantius on his tour of Rome. A closely similar passage, to which we will return a second time below, is Themistius' *Oration* 1. 1-2:

Most admirers see [not the emperor's soul but see] rather, and sing in their discourses, things such as the expanse of the realm, the number of subjects, the invincible regiments of infantry and the troops of cavalry and the great wealth of their equipment and the insuperable screens of weapons and the dragons on the delicate banners, raised high on gilded shafts, filled and shaken by the breeze. The more elegant of those

towers, armor, weapons), and miscellaneous old favorites such as shepherds, watch-dogs, seasons of the year, rivers, sun, stars, etc., etc., to all of which men or events are likened. The animal and other metaphors in Ammianus to which I draw attention are, however, much further elaborated than in Tacitus, Cicero, or other writers. Such is my own impression, confirmed *per litteris* by Prof. Geo. Kennedy, whose kind response I must acknowledge.

39. P. Fargues (*Claudian*, Paris, 1933, pp. 322ff.), gathers the references and distinguishes between the old (lions, horses, bees, etc.) and the new animals. The latter he derives without discussion from images in vulgar speech. M. P. Brown, *Authentic Writings of Ignatius*, Durham, N.C., 1963, p. 112, even fixes on a fondness for extended and exotic animal metaphors as among the differentia of the mid-4th century Pseudo-Ignatius, as opposed to the more limited range of metaphor in the genuine Ignatian corpus.

40. Amm. 14. 4, 1; 14. 9, 9; 15. 3, 5; 28. 4, 10; 28. 6, 13.

41. It is a safe assumption that these existed, given the use of placards in triumphs and in the light of other public paintings described below (see the ample material from the Re-

public and Empire assembled by L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, 9th ed., Leipzig, 1920, III, pp. 50ff.); but there are three direct references. Herodian (1. 15, 4) speaks of animals collected for Commodus' games which "we then saw that we had [earlier] wondered at in pictures." SHA (*Carus* 19. 1) mentions games "which we can see painted in the Portico of the Stables, on the Palatine," and *Gordiani* (3. 6), a picture set up in the House of Beaks showing 200 stags, 30 wild horses, 100 wild sheep, 300 red ostriches, etc. The number of animals was probably written on a representative of each species, as is done in a surviving mosaic (L. Poinssot and P. Quoniam, "Bêtes d'amphithéâtre sur trois mosaïques du Bardo," *Karthago*, III, 1951-1952, p. 140), and on gladiators' figures on cups and mosaics to show the total of their victories (J. Gricourt, "Les 'Marques chiffrées intra-décoratives' de la Graufesenque," *Hommages à Albert Grenier*, Brussels, 1962, II, pp. 763-770).

42. Poinssot and Quoniam, *op.cit.*, pp. 144ff. (later 4th century).

43. Amm. 14. 5, 6; 14. 7, 13; 15. 2, 4; 15. 7, 4; 18. 4, 4; 28. 1, 7; 28. 1, 33.

speakers come a little nearer to yourself and lay hold of your crown and your gleaming robe, your strong girdle and tunic.

Here we meet again the same parade device that struck Ammianus, the dragon banner. By his day it was a familiar sight in the army. Introduced originally from the East,<sup>44</sup> it appears in many Eastern writers: Theodoret, Claudian, Eusebius, and others (but in the Spaniard Prudentius as well).<sup>45</sup> Eusebius in a rather well-known passage describes how Constantine

caused to be painted on a lofty tablet and set up in the front of the portico of his palace, so as to be visible to all eyes, a representation of the salutary sign [the cross] placed in the painting above his head, and below it [Licinius] . . . under the form of a dragon falling headlong into the abyss. For the sacred oracles in the books of God's prophets have described him as a dragon and a crooked serpent, and for this reason the emperor thus publicly displayed a painting of the dragon, stricken through with a dart, beneath his own and his children's feet.<sup>46</sup>

The image recalls one closely similar but far more ancient and widely diffused, that in which some hero on horseback spears a wild beast. In such a posture Claudian imagines Stilicho's son (*De cons. Stilichonis* 2. 350f) portrayed in gold in a panel of an embroidered cloak (cf. the *togae pictae*, below, p. 449). Scenes of exactly this kind survive in Coptic textiles, as in ivory reliefs, frescoes, and mosaics. The Coptic examples lead us to the suggestion that there was a symbolic aspect to the hunter's triumph, clear not only in the Babylonian and Assyrian kings' trampling upon their enemies, but, more abstractly, in the victory of Good over Evil. Strzygowski brings forward a work of Egyptian art, Horus depicted on his horse spearing a crocodile.<sup>47</sup> An Egyptian already quoted more than once, Claudian (*In Rufinum* pr. 15f), compares the murdered Rufinus to a poisonous, coiling serpent. "Now that second Python has been killed by the weapons of our master . . . who preserved the world unshaken for the brother emperors [Arcadius and Honorius] and held sway in peace with justice, in war with energy." But Good victorious over Evil, the one mounted, the other wriggling below, meets us in crudely carved magical amulets from Asia Minor, from Syria, and from Egypt, demonstrating the prevalence of the image in the common mind.<sup>48</sup> So do other animals, not only dragons but lions, boars, stags, representing vices or enemies, these being interpreted by both pagan and Christian in an abstract way, in an age devoted to symbolism. Their appeal especially to a popular audience has been emphasized.<sup>49</sup> Finally, the serpent in particular as the embodiment of Evil enters the literature of the fourth century through a source uniquely influential, the Bible, which offers a host of texts and images that fill the authors of East and West, not only with such hunt-motifs as have been mentioned, but with other situa-

44. It is first seen on Trajan's column, borne by Eastern auxiliaries only, but in Vegetius' day it is found also among the legions. It was known among Germans, Dacians, and Sarmatians (J. Dobiasz, "Roman Imperial Coins as a Source for Germanic Antiquities," *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*, 1936, London, 1938, pp. 170ff.) but its more obvious origins were recognized: *Persici dracones* (SHA *Aurelianus* 28. 5). On its history, see R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte*, Berlin, 1920, p. 231. There is only one picture of it, dating to the 4th century. See H. Stern, "Peintures" (*art.cit.* above, note 31), pp. 112ff.

45. Athanasius *Vita Sancti Antonii* 6; *idem*, *Historia Ariano-rum* 80; Theodoret *Historia ecclesiastica* 1. 14, a political enemy is "that dragon"; Claudian (an Egyptian) *De III Consulatu Honorii* 138ff., *idem*, *In Rufinum* II 177ff., 346ff., *Epithalamium* 193, *De IV Consulatu Honorii* 545, *De VI Consulatu Honorii* 566ff.; Eusebius *Vita Constantini* 2. 1; and add the two Eastern provincials just cited, Ammianus and Themistius (but also Prudentius *Peristeph.* 1. 35, *Contra Orat. Symm.* 2. 713, *Cathemerinon* 5.56). The earliest reference to dragons that I know is in the African poet Nemesianus (*Cy-negetica* 85), of the later 3rd century.

46. *Vita Const.* 3. 3; cf. Licinius again a δράκων, *ibid.*,

2. 46. The scriptural allusions are to Revelations 20: 2 and Isaiah 27: 1 (cf. Luke 10: 19 and Psalm 91: 113ff.), which Constantine's allegory closely follows. The Eusebius passage is discussed by G. Rodenwaldt, "Eine spätantike Kunstströmung in Rom," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, römische Abteilung*, xxxvi-xxxvii, 1921-1922, pp. 85ff., and by Alföldi, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome*, Oxford, 1948, pp. 84ff. The picture is repeated in Constantine's coinage for wider circulation and again (*ibid.*, p. 134 n. 28) in Firmicus Maternus *De errore profanarum religionum* 21. 2.

47. J. Strzygowski, *Hellenistische und koptische Kunst*, Vienna, 1902, p. 27 fig. 16; p. 35 fig. 19; and p. 37.

48. G. Schlumberger, "Amulettes byzantins anciens destinés à combattre les maléfices et maladies," *Revue des études grecques*, v, 1892, pp. 73ff., especially p. 91; N. Thierry, "Notes sur l'un des bas-reliefs d'Alahan Manastiri," *Cahiers archéologiques*, xiii, 1962, p. 43.

49. G. Downey, "The Pilgrim's Progress of the Byzantine Emperor," *Church History*, ix, 1940, pp. 207-217; *idem*, "Ethical Themes in the Antioch Mosaics," *ibid.*, x, 1941, pp. 367-376. He finds vices presented as animals, and their conquest as a *venatio*, in a 2nd century moral tract, and in later art.

tions and metaphors also.<sup>50</sup> Constantine (to return to his "lofty tablet") was thus indulging in no recondite imagery. He as well as rulers after him continued to triumph over some dragon—Paganism, Pretender, or whatever—in their coins and official art, with the confidence that they would be understood.<sup>51</sup> The painting that offered Licinius in the guise of "a crooked serpent . . . stricken through with a dart" spoke to everyone in the most universal and intelligible language.

Perhaps Ammianus remembered this conspicuous allegory when he searched for terms of special force to describe a creature of evil. Perhaps the army dragons came to his mind, billowing sinuously in silk. Perhaps instead a man who had spent some years with the military carried over into his writing other animal emblems in use among the troops, filled out by pictures of the beasts in the amphitheater. In all these possibilities, however, are found new, non-classical sources of vividness, whether appearing in bronze standards, paintings, literary metaphors, or dragon banners.

Banners were borne by late Roman guilds as they marched in parades.<sup>52</sup> An orator of Autun tells us how the townsfolk went to meet the emperor: "We bore forth the *signa* of all the guilds, the statues of all our gods, with some very few instruments of brilliant sounds, reappearing on [Constantine's] path several times by the use of shortcuts."<sup>53</sup> The use of brass bands to lend a pleasing emphasis to the emperor's *adventus* was borrowed by his servants, among whom the more important took a trumpeter with them on their official rounds of the provinces, as Ammianus tells us.<sup>54</sup> There are in addition several proofs of musicians attached to the army for entertainment as well as for the usual issuing of orders to attack or retreat;<sup>55</sup> and trumpet-players and organists were popular in theater shows;<sup>56</sup> so we are once more uncertain whether Ammianus drew his horn-metaphors from his army years, from the amphitheater, or from *adventus* parades. It is nevertheless striking how often he employs musical instruments in a metaphorical sense; "Those people who were powerful in the court thus blew the horns of civil discord," "the trumpets of internal slaughter sounded," etc.<sup>57</sup>

#### IV. SYMBOLISM IN UNIFORMS

Themistius' and Ammianus' descriptions as well as texts quoted in the notes (above, notes 23 and 52) stress the glitter of the *adventus*, the silk, the gold and silver and steel, the jewels. To glitter was joined color. Of this, one source has been mentioned, soldiers' shields. Their uniforms also became, as time went on, brighter and brighter, more and more variegated—*auro colorumque micantia claritudine* as Ammianus says (31. 10, 14), in a passage reinforced by the long lists of "part-silk garments with Girba purple, one undervest with Moorish purple," handed out to

50. Prudentius *Peristeph.* 5. 176 and 381ff., 14. 112; Firm. Matern. *De errore profan. relig.* 5. 1. Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Sermon on all the Saints*, in Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, x, col. 1201; and in Perpetua's vision (*Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis* 4), in which her first step upward to salvation is trod upon the head of a dragon: *calcavi illi caput, et ascendi*.

51. Strzygowski, *op.cit.*, p. 35 and fig. 19, the Aachen reliefs with the standing warrior type crushing a monster beneath his foot; Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, pp. 243, 341 (citing Downey's articles).

52. For their presence in parades welcoming Athanasius in Alexandria, see E. R. Hardy, *Christian Egypt: Church and People*, New York, 1952, p. 61; for their banners, see Friedländer, *Darstellungen*, I, p. 167; M. Rostovtzeff, "Vexillum and Victory," *Journal of Roman Studies*, xxxii, 1942, p. 105; and G. Lugli, *Roma antica*, Roma, 1946, pp. 614ff. The scene recalls Gallienus' triumph in Rome (SHA *Gallieni* 8. 6-7) featuring "50 gilded spears borne on both sides of him, 100 *vexilla* besides those of the guilds, *dracones*, and *signa* of all the temples and legions . . . as well as men dressed to represent foreign nations, like Goths, Sarmatians, Franks, or Persians," and in the early Middle Ages (Gregory *Historia Francorum* 8.1) celebrating the king's entry into Orleans with standards, banners, ac-

clamations, and the rest—the whole rigmarole of the *adventus* perpetuated in the West.

53. *Paneg. vet.* 8[5]. 8, 4; cf. Herodian 4. 8, 8, Alexandrians receiving Caracalla with "instruments of every style, stationed everywhere." As this second passage is the earliest that I find, perhaps the use of instruments in *adventus* may be ascribed to Eastern initiative.

54. Amm. 28. 2, 13; further evidence in MacMullen, "Imperial Bureaucrats in the Roman Provinces," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, lxxviii, 1964, p. 308.

55. MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 1963, p. 83.

56. Claudian *De Consulatu Manlii Theod.* 313-319; Basil *Homil. in Gord.* 19 (Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, xxxi, col. 500), flutes and organs in the theater in the early 4th century; horns of various kinds, and organs, in mosaics also, e.g., of Zliten and Antioch; and tax-exemption for the winners of trumpet contests in 3rd century Egypt, in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (*cit.* above, note 12) No. 2338.

57. Amm. 14. 7, 21; 15. 2, 1; 16. 8, 11; 20. 5, 2; 26. 4, 5; 28. 1, 14; 29. 1, 14; 31. 13, 1; Orosius *Historiae libri septem* 7. 39, "the trumpets of salvation," has different origins.

soldiers upon promotion (SHA *Claudius* 14. 8). Such lists abound in the Augustan Histories. When we turn to surviving representations of soldiers, we find those of the first century generally clad in grey or white uniforms, while later ones are much gayer. But a Dura painting of the second half of the first century presents a divine figure wearing a red cloak bordered in gold with a black design on it, fastened at the right shoulder by a gold fibula, with a shield and corselet (evidently a soldier). His tunic is red.<sup>58</sup> Scenes on shields from the same city a century later show Trojan warriors in obviously unhistorical dress, wearing blue cloaks, brown tunics, and trousers.<sup>59</sup> *Segmenta*, that is, patches with embroidered pictures or designs on them, sewn to cloaks, also appear early, in Antioch,<sup>60</sup> and again in the early fourth century on soldiers with red tunics and the regulation red belt fastened with a dangling ribbon at the right hip.<sup>61</sup> These scraps of evidence, scanty but consistent with what will be said later about civilian clothes, seem to point to the eastern provinces as the home of the more cheerful costumes which ultimately spread over the empire, in a growing variety of special corps.<sup>62</sup>

Three points are worth making about soldiers' uniforms of the later Empire. In the first place, they reflected a barbarization, or more accurately, an un-Romanization, of the army. The general process is too familiar to need discussion. It affected the size of troop units, formations of attack, war cries, armor with corps of specialists in one type of weapon or another; it affected army slang, army worships, even the rites by which armies chose their emperors. So far as costume is concerned, soldiers' jewelry and animal emblems have already been mentioned in passing, and we may add other items: for example, trousers. These were worn both in the East and West, and in auxiliary regiments of Gauls, Sarmatians, or Osroenians. By the late fourth century they were so prevalent that Romans had to be recalled to their traditional toga by a law.<sup>63</sup> But by the same route—through native recruits—cylindrical little hats of Illyrian origin (Fig. 7), a longer, sleeved tunic called the Dalmatic from its provenience (Figs. 4, 5, and 6), and a kind of short German cloak, all entered into frequent use.<sup>64</sup> These innovations and others besides caused people in the more Romanized provinces at first to stare, later to imitate. "I myself," says Eusebius (*Vita Const.* 4. 7), "have sometimes stood near the entrance to the imperial palace and observed a noticeable array of barbarians drawn up, differing from each other in costume and decorations. . . . All these in turn, like some painted pageant, presented to the emperor those gifts which their own nation valued, some offering crowns of gold, others diadems set with precious stones, some bringing fair-haired boys, others barbaric vestments embroidered with gold and flowers."

This brings us to the second point: the love of display through dress. Here too, little need be said where so much has been said before, especially by Alföldi. The Romans started with a purple cloak for a triumphator. In Marcus Aurelius' day it was still possible for the emperor himself, if he chose, "to live in a palace without wanting either guards or embroidered costumes, or torches and statues, and such-like show" (*Meditations* 1. 17). By Ammianus' day, what with red shirts, blue mantles, red leggings and belts, and even colored caps, white itself was sought out for

58. *Dura Preliminary Reports*, VII-VIII, pp. 232, 269ff.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 326, 330-337, 363ff. Some of the costumes are thought to follow Roman models.

60. Patroclus depicted with square *segmentum* on left shoulder, in Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, pp. 46ff. and pl. 8a.

61. Gentili, *La Villa Erculia*, p. 69 and pl. 52.

62. MacMullen, "Imperial Bureaucrats," p. 309, on uniforms of green, of fur, silver-decorated, etc.

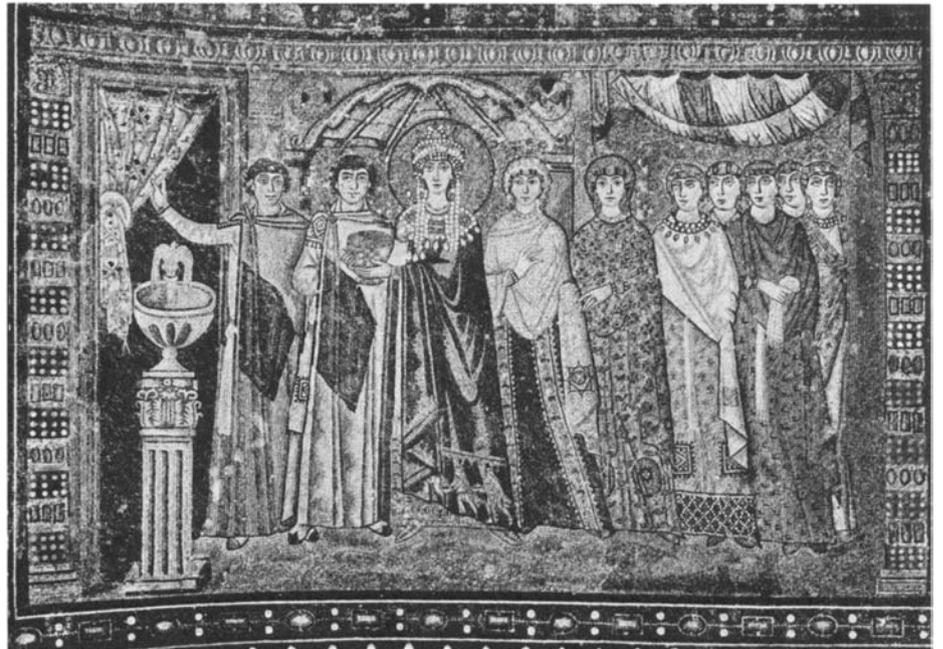
63. *Cod. Theod.* 14. 10, 2 restricts the use of trousers in Rome. They were called *braccae* (whence our "breeches") in Gaul, and their popularity had spread into the army even before the 2nd century (Alföldi, "Insignien," [*cit.* above, note 1] pp. 61ff.). They are attested in Palmyra long before the Romans came (M. Morehart, "Early Sculpture at Palmyra,"

*Berytus*, XII, 1956-1957, p. 76) along with the long-sleeved tunic, to which cavalry added the skirted riding coat—*scaramangion*—known to the Romans from the 3rd century and prominent as an item of Byzantine military and ceremonial costume (F. Cumont, "L'uniforme de la cavalerie orientale et le costume byzantin," *Byzantion*, II, 1925, pp. 181ff., with Kondakov's article, "Les costumes orientaux à la cour byzantine," *ibid.*, I, 1924, pp. 7-49).

64. Gentili, *op.cit.*, p. 70, on the hats ("of a clearly Eastern origin," says Pace, *Mosaici*, p. 66) which we can see also on the famous statue of the Tetrarchs in Venice, "costume ufficiale dell'età tetrarchica"; Alföldi, "Insignien," pp. 47ff., on the Dalmatic; and Herodian 4. 7, 3, on the kind of cloak worn by the Germans and adopted by Caracalla.



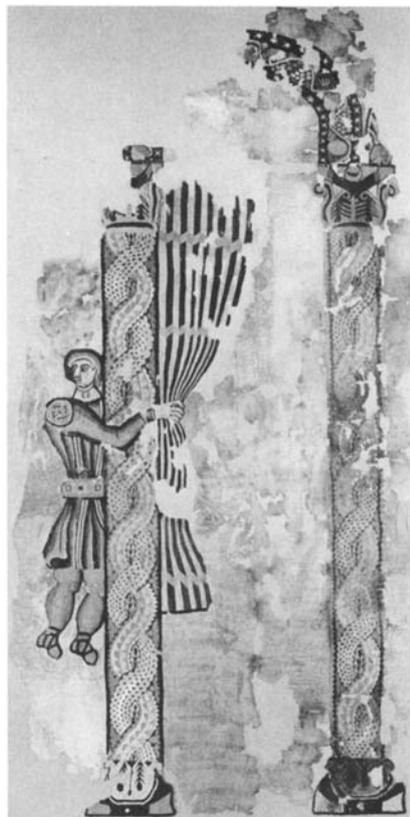
1. Gallus Caesar as consul, copied from a Carolingian MS in turn a faithful copy of a IV century original (Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat., MS Barb. Lat. 2154)



2. *The Empress Theodora*. Ravenna, San Vitale (photo: Anderson)



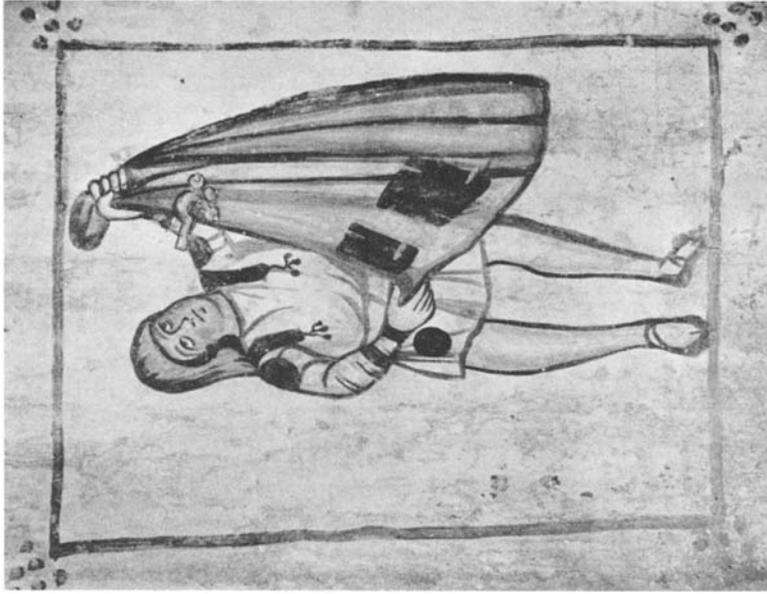
3. Mosaic border from Yasto near Antioch, Antioch Museum (Courtesy of Professor R. Stillwell)



4. Tapestry panel, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts



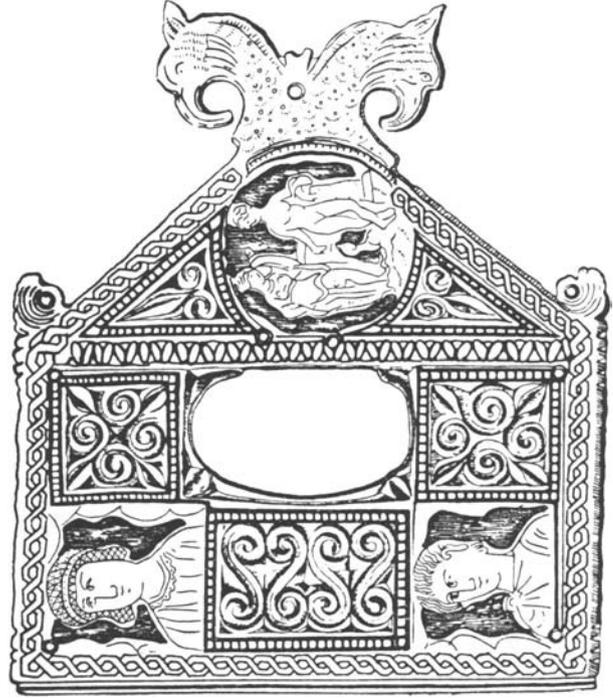
5. Stilicho in an ivory diptych Monza, Cathedral Treasure (photo: Alinari)



6. Tomb fresco, Silistra, Bulgaria (from Frova, *Cahiers d'art*, XXIX, 1954, p. 38)



7. Mosaic hunt scene, Piazza Armerina (photo: Fototeca Unione)



8. Terminal plate to a belt. Rome, Castellani Coll. (from Heurgon, *Treŝor de Ténés*, p. 41, fig. 11)



9. Mosaic from Torre Nuova (detail). Rome, Borghese Gallery (photo: Anderson)

distinction, and embroidered *segmenta* were superadded in all hues.<sup>65</sup> Showy garments were so much valued that they became almost a kind of currency, given out as pay to soldiers; offered by envoys to the emperor, as in the above quotation from Eusebius; more often offered by the emperor to envoys.<sup>66</sup>

But this value (for our third point) derived from the connotation of rank and power that belonged to rich clothing. Some items such as gems sewn to shoes had been long reserved to rulers, according to Hellenistic practice. Fourth century rulers aimed the charge of treason against anyone who usurped an article of dress from a lengthening list of imperial prerogatives. Purple was the most famous. Diocletian officially equated the Birthday of the Purple, *natalis purpurae*, with the anniversary of his accession, thereby proving the abstracting tendencies of the times as well as the position of the imperial color;<sup>67</sup> but to the influence of such examples radiating from the throne, a second powerful influence was added by the army, in which ranks were indicated by different types or shades of dress<sup>68</sup> and on which the civilian bureaucracy modeled itself.<sup>69</sup> All this indeed fitted the innate sense of caste of which the Romans are often accused. The striped tunics of their senators and equestrians had been envied, and the sash (*limus*) of their public slaves had been despised, as far back as the era of the Republic. Though stripes were later very widely usurped, they seem to have raised the wearer at least above the laboring classes, and their significance, and that of the long Dalmatic robe, the embroidered mantle, and other parts of dress, established ranks in the Church also (below, p. 448). Among soldiers and civilians, laymen and clerics, importance thus expressed itself in a man's outward appearance.

This was quite openly acknowledged by contemporaries. One could tell the ruler by his "declaring the august title of supreme authority in the notable form of his vesture"—a statement which may stand for a number of similar ones spread over the period of the Empire, and which finds much earlier echoes in Hellenistic practices.<sup>70</sup> The ceremonial surrounding kingship was, in fact, precocious. It was complete, or nearly complete, even before the Romans had an emperor. Not till the fourth century do we find the inner spirit applied more widely. We have already discussed Ammianus' view that soldiers *ought* to wear a brilliant uniform because it somehow realized their will to conquer. The same sense of the fitness of a costume explains Salvian's saying (*Governance of God* 4. 7), "When a man changes his garments he immediately changes his rank." Fourth century legislation is filled with words and phrases which show how the insignia of a position, notably the *cingulum* but also the consular *toga picta* (Fig. 1) and the chlamys, were unconsciously equated with the position itself (e.g., *Cod. Theod.* 6. 10, 3), and the Code goes on to forbid the usurpation of the *cingulum* etc., without letters patent, even to enjoin the wearing of certain clothes by certain people: togas by senators and lawyers, for instance.<sup>71</sup> The next step

65. Jerome *Ep.* 60. 9, on the emperor's bodyguard in white; white shirt not of wool but of silk, a piece of real finery, in SHA *Claudius* 17. 6; white for officers, or reserved for troops only on festal occasions, in E. Sander, "Die Kleidung des römischen Soldaten," *Historia*, XII, 1963, pp. 153ff., and white with mystic meaning in E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, IX, New Haven, 1964, pp. 165ff. I must thank Prof. Goodenough for letting me see his volume in galleys. For embroidery on uniforms, SHA *Aurelianus* 46. 5-6 and Monneret de Villard, "The Temple of the Imperial Cult," (*cit.* above, note 5) pl. 32 c, supply more details.

66. Themistius *Oration* 10. 135 A-B, in the year 367; Amm. 21. 6, 8; Zosimus 5. 41, 6.

67. A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, s.v. *Dies imperii*, col. 478; on the general importance of purple, W. T. Avery, "The Adoratio Purpurae and the Importance of the Imperial Purple," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XVII, 1940, pp. 66-80.

68. Sander, *op.cit.*, p. 153; MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian*, pp. 170ff. and the Appendix.

69. *Ibid.*; *idem*, "Imperial Bureaucrats," p. 309; and below, note 86.

70. Eusebius *Oration to Constantine* 5. 613; cf. Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 19. 8, 2, "Agrippa put on a garment made wholly of silver and of a wonderful contexture . . . [that] glittered in a surprising way and was so resplendent as to inspire fear and trembling in those that looked intently upon him."

71. *Cod. Theod.* 6. 8, 1, *praepositi sacri cubiculi*, at the ceremonious Adoration of the Purple, "shall of course wear the conventional garb." Cf. 14. 10, 1 (382), stipulating that senators must wear togas in public hearings, applied more widely to anyone appearing in the courts, whence the reminder in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* No. 123 (3rd-4th centuries) that a *notarius* (apparently) must remember to attend sessions *μετὰ τῆς αἰσθητοῦ*, "with the [proper] dress."

was to substitute the uniform for its wearer's rank, in common speech. This was done in the laws and in Ammianus: *togati* = lawyers, *palliati* = philosophers.<sup>72</sup> But that last word, which came to mean "Pope" from the Pope's *pallium*, reminds us how the Church adopted secular customs and expressed them in its own way. Salvian may be quoted a second time, here speaking to clerics: "Although you pretend religion by your clothes, although you proclaim faith by your cincture, although you feign holiness by your cloak, you do not believe at all" (*Adversus avaritiam* 4. 5). A longer text from Sozomenus is more remarkable:

It is said that the other vestments of these [third century] Egyptian monks referred to some secret of their philosophy, and did not differ from those of others by chance only. They wore tunics without sleeves, in order to teach that the hands should not be ready for any presumptuous act. They wore a covering on their heads called a cowl, to show that they ought to live with the same purity and innocence as infants who are nourished with milk. . . . Their girdle and a kind of scarf, the one around the loins, the other around the shoulders and arms, admonish them that they ought to be always ready in the service and work of God.<sup>73</sup>

It is not easy to understand a way of looking at things so alien to our own day. The difficulty may excuse the rather full citing of the passages in which Ammianus' contemporaries set down their thoughts most explicitly. What is apparent is their conviction that for one's role, one should dress the part. An emperor should look like an emperor and should be identifiable by his shoes alone or by the hem of his mantle; a soldier should distinguish himself visibly from his officers, and they from their commander-in-chief; chamberlains should not dress like lawyers, nor lawyers like consuls, nor consuls like monks or bishops. From each person might be expected, instead, a declaration of what he did in the world.

For these points support may be found in a great body of works of late antique portraiture. They pay less attention to plasticity and individuality in order to focus on the insignia of a role, with laborious exactitude (Figs. 1 and 2). In so doing, they demonstrate a dominating harmony of tastes that could be demonstrated as well in twenty other ways: in the glitter of advent parades (for one example) corresponding to the gold leaf and precious stones that, in this period, begin to flash in the background or frames of portraits. Artists and emperors, and the emperors' subjects of all ranks and callings, join in the enjoyment of the same fashions.

A peculiar and puzzling outgrowth of these fashions is the wearing of badges. Apparently the earliest known among the Romans were sewn to the robes of Salian priests.<sup>74</sup> In eastern provinces over the first three centuries they display mythological scenes or warriors or *venationes*.<sup>75</sup> These early figured embroideries are, so far as I can discover, very rare, and it is not until the fourth century that their use spreads. We then see, in surviving pieces of clothing from Syria and Egypt or from Egypt by way of Switzerland (!), such designs as birds in blue and green; human and animal figures in red and yellow; floating putti in violet on yellow; a hunter in black and white; hunt scenes; crowned Eroses; and a white-on-black warrior standing over a lion and hare.<sup>76</sup> In the same period, continuing with even greater popularity into Byzantine times, appear embroidered

72. P. DeJonge, *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus*, IV, Groningen, 1953, p. 12; on *palliati*, Amm. 15. 8, 1 and Alföldi, "Insignien," pp. 150ff. and p. 156.

73. Sozomenus *Historia ecclesiastica* 3. 4, 111. Initiates of Isis received special robes embroidered with beasts, dragons, and griffins, and other pagan and later Christian rites employed symbolism in dress. See Goodenough, *op.cit.*, IX, p. 144.

74. Livy 1. 20, 4, quoted by P. Perdrizet, "La tunique liturgique historiée de Saqqara," *Monuments Piot*, XXXIV, 1934, p. 116; Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, p. 48, ascribing the origins of the practice to "a very early age," for various priesthoods, one example coming from the Egyptian hieratic garment from Saqqara described at length by Perdrizet. It dates to the 2nd century.

75. R. Forrer, *Die Gräber- und Textilfunde von Achmim*, Strasbourg, 1891, p. 19.

76. E. Vogt, "Frühmittelalterliche Stoffe aus der Abtei St-Maurice," *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, XVIII, 1958, pp. 122ff., on the 4th or 5th century cloth from St. Maurice abbey; H. Seyrig and L. Robert, "Sur un tissu récemment publié," *Cahiers archéologiques*, VIII, 1956, pp. 27ff., on a fragment of a figured curtain from Egypt woven in Syria or Bithynia; R. Forrer, *Römische und byzantinische Seiden-Textilien aus dem Gräberfelde von Achmim*, Strasbourg, 1891, p. 15; S. Donadoni, "Stoffe decorate da Antioche," *Scritti dedicati alla memoria di Ippolito Rosellini* 1943, Florence, 1945, pp. 114ff. and pls. 20 and 23, showing Egyptian pieces of the 3rd/4th and 4th/5th centuries.

portraits of the emperor or empress, of private individuals, and, above all, of Biblical figures: Mary and John, Christ with nimbus, the Annunciation, the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth, sometimes identified with titles:  $\text{I}\Omega\text{Σ}\text{H}\Phi$ ,  $\text{M}\alpha\chi\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ .<sup>77</sup> Christian or pagan symbols are also common,<sup>78</sup> and others indicate degrees of rank.<sup>79</sup> Among various examples should be mentioned the Magi on the hem of Theodora's dress, in the Ravenna mosaic (Fig. 2), the eight figures to be counted on the toga of Gallus as consul (Fig. 1),<sup>80</sup> and, less often noticed, the reliefs even upon the terminal plates of belts (Fig. 8).<sup>81</sup> Ammianus (14. 6, 9) mentions tunics "figured in different threads with the shapes of animals of many types," and other writers confirm our knowledge of sewn patches showing men and women.<sup>82</sup> One reference in the Augustan Histories may give a clue to the meaning of some of these badges. We read of the family of Macrinus that they carried their admiration of Alexander the Great so far as to have his portrait woven into their clothing, *ut tunicae et limbi et paenulae matronales in familia eius hodieque sint quae Alexandri effigiem de liciiis variantibus monstrent*.<sup>83</sup> Alexander had become, when this was written—*hodie*, "even today"—a figure of pagan polemic, and those who wore his face on their clothing were perhaps asserting their loyalties. This is certainly true of the parading of the emperor's face, and of a variety of Christian scenes and symbols. The patches, then, identified the wearer more completely and explicitly than the cut and color of what he wore.

Under the term badges I have included the round, oval, or square bits of cloth fastened on tunics and mantles (*segmenta*) and the vertical strips on tunics running from shoulder to mid-chest, to waist, or to hem (*clavi*). Not all had figures on them; far more usual, in fact, were those showing some abstract design.<sup>84</sup> Similar designs appeared also on the collars, sleeves, cuffs, and hems of tunics. Since these were worked in a riot of color, they can indicate nothing more complicated than that love of display already described as typical of the late Empire. Decorative *segmenta* and *clavi* (not the red stripes of Roman knights) turn up sporadically in the East, in Hellenistic times,<sup>85</sup> rise to a wide popularity in the late third century, and are often attested even in the West in the fourth.<sup>86</sup> They belong to a still more general development which quite trans-

77. Forrer, *Seiden-Textilien*, pp. 15-18 and pls. 3, 3-4 and 5, 1; A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles from Burying Grounds in Egypt, I: Graeco-Roman Period*, London, 1920, pp. 64ff.

78. Stern (*Calendrier*, p. 167) detects astrological meaning in certain signs and symbols, but not all of them seem to answer his interpretation; on the fish, alpha and omega, and cross embroidered on garments, see Forrer, *Seiden-Textilien*, *loc. cit.*; *idem*, *Gräber- und Textilfunde*, p. 22; M. Chéhab, *Mosaïques du Liban (Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth, XIV-XV)*, Paris, 1958-1959, p. 64 and pl. 30, 2. The letters on garments H, I, X, Z, etc., are more obscure (G. Wilpert, *Le pitture delle catacombe romane*, Rome, 1903, I, p. 89). A late parallel is interesting: personified Philosophy with pi and theta on her robe, for Practice and Theory (Boethius *De Consolatione philosophiae* I. 1 pr. 18ff.).

79. L. W. Jones, "The Archetypes of the Terence Miniatures," *ART BULLETIN*, X, 1927, p. 117; below, note 86.

80. Ms Vat. Barb. lat. 2154. Stern, *Calendrier*, p. 153, accepts it, though from a Carolingian MS, as a faithful copy of the 4th century original.

81. Heurgon, *Trésor de Ténès*, p. 41, from Rome; cf. a similar belt-end in gold fretwork with four tiny medallion scenes surrounding a relief, all with classicizing figures in them, in O. von Falke, "Spätantike Goldschmuck aus Alexandria," *Pantheon*, XIV, 1934, pp. 370ff. (cited by Heurgon).

82. Theodoret *Oration* 4. 541; Ausonius *Gratiarum actio ad Gratianum* 11. 51ff.

83. SHA *Triginta tyranni* 14. 4; on the propaganda value of Alexander in the struggle of late paganism against Christianity, see A. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten. Ein verkanntes Propagandamittel der stadtrömischen heidnischen Aristokratie*, Budapest,

1942-1943, pp. 57ff.; but on the merely formular nature and unreliability of the word *hodie*, see W. Hartke, *Römische Kinderkaiser*, Berlin, 1951, pp. 21-23.

84. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, p. 336 n. 81, on early *clavi* going back to the later 2nd century (pls. 11, 20, and 48); Goodenough (*Jewish Symbols*, IX, pp. 134-153) traces the use of *clavi* on religious dress back through Pompeian frescoes into Etruria, south Italian Greek, and ultimately eastern Hellenistic uses. J. Leroy ("Mosaïques funéraires d'Edesse," *Syria*, XXXIV, 1957, pp. 316ff.) describes 2nd/3rd century cloak *segmenta* from Edessa, derived (p. 335) from Persia in the 2nd century, the garments so-decorated being called *oculatae* according to O. Marucchi, "L'ipogeo sepolcrale di Trebio Giusto," *Bulletino di archeologia cristiana*, XVII, 1911, p. 214; and Gentili, *La Villa Erculia*, p. 69, deriving the hemmed tunic from Egypt of the 3rd century.

85. Goodenough, *op. cit.*, IX, pp. 134ff.

86. In addition to the early 4th century Sicilian mosaics, there are 3rd and 4th century paintings and mosaics from Rome, France, Switzerland, Germany, and Africa showing such details. See Wilpert, *Pitture*, I, pp. 88ff. and pls. 142, 146, 192, and 237; Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pls. 7-10 and 130; J. Moreau, *Das Trierer Kornmarktmosaik*, Cologne, 1960, pls. 1-2; V. von Gonzenbach, *Die römischen Mosaiken der Schweiz*, Basel, 1961, pls. 49 and 52; H. Stern, *Recueil générale des mosaïques de la Gaule*, Suppl. to *Gallia*, X, Paris, 1957, p. 53; *idem*, *Calendrier*, pls. 3, 2; 42, 2-3; and 45, 5. In Wilpert's very large collection of the catacomb paintings, the only figures clearly lacking *clavi* belong to servants, shepherds, and laborers (pls. 51, 95, 107, 112, and 132), which rather supports Goodenough's belief (*op. cit.*, IX, p. 164) that *clavi* indicated rank. Yet Goodenough specifies rank in the

formed styles of dress from a narrow preference for local garments, dyed in a low key or left the natural color of the wool or linen, into an eclectic enjoyment of many imported garments colored in the highest key and with the greatest possible variety. One might guess as much from the price edict of 301 alone. The sections dealing with dyes, garments, and textiles specify the products of six tribes (Treveri, Atrebates, etc.), thirteen cities (Poetovio, Mutina, Tarentum, the rest eastern), and seventeen provinces, from Britain to Arabia. At Cologne, Soissons, Halicarnassus, Rome, and Thabarca (Tunisia) one could see in mosaics the same range of choice in clothing, with the same favorite items, that prevailed in Syria or Egypt.<sup>87</sup>

Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 9 illustrate what people wore. Most of these speak for themselves. A few details may be noted: that on servants we can indeed see *segmenta*, yet smaller than those on their masters (see the chlamys held up, Fig. 6, and the spectator in rich dress in the Piazza Armerina mosaic, Fig. 7, whether he be a great senator or Maximian himself): rank determines decoration. Or that gladiators were got up as splendidly as emperors (Fig. 9). There is a useful hint here. Some fashions may have begun, or at least reached the West, in the amphitheater—perhaps *braccae*, even in Septimius Severus' reign "common at Rome, particularly for charioteers and heralds";<sup>88</sup> perhaps costly clothing in general, which Cyprian and Tertullian attest for the theater.<sup>89</sup> A procession of heralds in a Severan mosaic from Rome already shows the *clavi* on their tunics and sets them before a background that is, or resembles, a *scaenae frons*;<sup>90</sup> still another Severan mosaic shows a herald in yellow cloak with black fibula and decorated cuffs on his tunic, plus two swastika *segmenta* at mid-thigh. A second figure sports a costume, and a shield, equally colorful. The green and yellow curtains above them, and the architectural background, suggest a theatrical setting.<sup>91</sup>

Since late Roman costume is so obscure a subject, and since so much of the material is relatively recent, it has seemed worthwhile to gather a good deal of the evidence in the plates and footnotes to this section. It should be emphasized to begin with that the developments of the later Empire were very striking. Had Cicero, had so late a figure as Marcus Aurelius, stepped into Ammianus' world, what certainly would have made him stare the most would have been people's clothing: children in red tunics, riders on horses decorated with silver plates and fancy harness in black and red, magistrates in long jeweled chlamydes, some wearing the red leather belt of imperial service—all these as mosaics portray them with wonderful detail, in the new realism of the period. The outer garment most often seen is a mantle pulled over both shoulders or held by a fibula at one shoulder. *Segmenta* often mark the shoulders as well as the two lower corners in the front, sometimes together with embroidered edges down the front. Underneath, perhaps with no mantle at all, is a tunic. Its short sleeves—common in the early Empire—are, except for the costume of children or for heavy exercise, gradually replaced by long sleeves from Severan times on, and are cut fuller in the fourth century. Its hem drops lower, from knee finally down to ankle; and *segmenta* get bigger, up to five inches across in surviving fourth and fifth century examples, three times that size on the "magistrates and high functionaries" of the Luxor frescoes (above, note 5). They also become more common: earlier only two near the hem, at about mid-thigh (later lower down, with the longer style of tunic) framed in a deep ornamental border

sense of degree of saintliness, so that the figure of Christ, apostles, and Joseph will differ in richness of dress. In this narrow interpretation he seems to be mistaken.

87. Especially the tunic, with *segmenta* and *clavi*. The examples are scattered in P. Gauckler, *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, vol. II of plates (*Tunisie*), Paris, 1911, No. 967; Moreau, *Kornmarktmosaik*, p. 11; Stern, *Recueil*, p. 53; R. P. Hinks, *Catalogue of the Greek Etruscan and Roman Paintings in the British Museum*, London, 1933, pp. 129 and 143; and Monneret de Villard (*op.cit.* above, note

5) pl. 33, a Tripolitanian figure.

88. Levi, *op.cit.*, p. 336 n. 81.

89. Cyprian *Ep.* I. 7, *veste pretiosa*; Tertullian *De Spectaculis* 23; and Plutarch *Moralia* 554 B.

90. Wirth, *Römische Wandmalerei*, pp. 126ff. and pls. 29-30; Lugli, *Roma antica*, pp. 614ff.

91. L. Leschi, "Une mosaïque achilléenne de Tipasa," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome*, LIV, 1937, pp. 25-41. He identifies some of the figures (Achilles, centaur) but not the probable scene.

along the lower hem, and joined by bands of brocade at the wrist and even down the arm. Another band runs round the collar, set off at each corner (the shoulders) by a second pair of *segmenta*. *Clavi* become fashionable. Above all, color is accented in both mantles and tunics. It covers a spectrum of red, violet, crimson, pink, orange, yellow, ochre, brown, tan, blue, green, white, black, and grey, up to six in one piece of clothing: yellow, purple, blue, green, tan, white; and many other assertive contrasts are sought out, especially in *clavi*. A modern scholar, Forrer, speaks of the *Farbenpracht* and *Farbenliebe* of the times, attributable to the eastern shift of the empire's center; more vivid, we have an anonymous Egyptian's order to his tailors, "let them be large-handed in the coloring" (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* No. 1069, B. P. Grenfell et al., eds.). On top of all this, we must remember the wholly un-Roman garments such as trousers, high leggings, little capes or big cloaks with hoods, which ultimately relegated the toga to a purely symbolic use as a kind of gigantic scarf; and the greater luxury of textiles and embroidery, extracting an understatement from Ammianus: "The lavish use of silks and the arts of weaving had increased" (22. 4, 5).

Ammianus (14. 6, 9 and elsewhere) is scornful of excessive finery; a churchman ridicules the sumptuous dress of another bishop (Eusebius *Hist. eccles.* 7. 30); but further attacks on mere show concentrate on that obvious target, the emperor. Several grounds of criticism can be detected. First and most common is the feeling that an elaborate costume came from the East and somehow brought with it a hated softness of spirit in the subject, a hated despotism in the ruler.<sup>92</sup> This line of thought, incidentally illustrating once more the tendency of the times to attribute reality to symbols, was countered by an appeal to that same tendency: a less extravagant ceremony around the emperor would diminish the awe which the monarchy aroused among the masses.<sup>93</sup> Somewhat similar is the view implied in Ammianus' ridicule of the pretender Procopius, who, amid other embarrassments in getting his revolt started, had to appear before the troops in some obviously makeshift regalia, "so you might think him a splendidly decorated figure [*simulacrum*] or comic puppet suddenly popped up through the curtain on the theatrical stage" (Amm. 26. 6, 15). What Ammianus is making fun of is not so much the regalia as its wearer. A better man, like Julian, could put a soldier's torque on his head and make it look like a crown. A more profound uneasiness meets us in a passage of Themistius quoted above (pp. 443-444). He seems to be saying, a little obliquely, that all the pomp around the emperor is just that—pomp—and what counts is the man's inner qualities. An old, standard view, this, embodied in a Stoic emperor. There are further echoes in a set piece spoken by Eusebius. The good emperor "when he beholds the military service of his subjects, the vast numbers of his armies, the multitude of horse and foot . . . feels no pride at the possession of such mighty power, but turns his thoughts inward on himself and recognizes there the nature common to everyone. He smiles at his vesture gold-embroidered with flowers of many colors, at the imperial purple and the diadem, when he sees the multitude stare trembling, looking at the apparition like children at a spook."<sup>94</sup> It is not easy to imagine Constantine smiling at anything about himself; not easy, indeed, to imagine Eusebius giving up his episcopal finery for a monk's cowl. His statement, and those of Themistius, Ammianus, Symmachus, and Socrates, are chiefly valuable in showing that contemporaries had given conscious thought to the meaning of the ceremonies that filled their world.

92. All this has been discussed at length by Alföldi, "Insignien," p. 59; *idem*, "Das Problem des verweichlichten Kaisers Gallienus," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, xxxviii, 1928, pp. 172ff.

93. E. A. Thompson (*Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus*, Cambridge, 1947, p. 83) seems to misinterpret Amm. 22. 4, 1, but has picked out the perfect passage on Socrates

*Historia ecclesiastica* 3. 1, 50 (=172): "To give up the overwhelming impression wrought upon the masses [*τοῖς πολλοῖς κατάπληξίς*] by the emperor's wealth would bring the monarchy into contempt."

94. *Oration to Constantine* 5. 613. There is a like tone in Symmachus *Relatio* 4. 1-2: "such ostentation is inconsistent with a self-respecting office."

## V. DRAMATIC EXAGGERATION

One final scene from Eusebius (*Vita Const.* 3. 10). Constantine enters the sessions of Nicaea "like some heavenly messenger of God, clothed in raiment which glittered as it were with rays of light, reflecting the glowing radiance of a purple robe, and adorned with the brilliant splendor of gold and precious stones. Such was the external appearance of his person; and with regard to his soul, it was evident that he was distinguished by his piety and godly fear. This was indicated by his downcast eyes, the blush of his countenance, and his gait. For the rest of his form, he surpassed all present in height of stature, etc., etc." Certainly Constantine may have been and seemed all these things—but I doubt it. Set against the formality of acclamations of *adventus*, of the throne's *allocutiones* to the troops, this Nicene picture is suspiciously perfect. The vaulted chamber is too high, the bishops rise in too close a unison upon the emperor's entrance, and he arranges his jeweled person too humbly upon a little stool. He is in fact playing the part of a modest moderator to his audience. It is an act from a play.

And against this behavior of Constantine, whose mildness is so much paraded, we must set his shout (*Cod. Theod.* 1. 16, 7), "The greedy hands of the civil secretaries shall immediately forbear, they shall forbear, I say; for if after due warning they do not cease, they shall be cut off by the sword." Or a second law of his (*Cod. Theod.* 9. 24, 1) that for parents accessory to the seduction of their daughter "the penalty shall be that the mouth and throat of those who offered inducement to evil shall be closed by pouring in molten lead." There is a didactic symbolism, a kind of dramatic appropriateness, in these barbaric explosions, found again in other incidents: the groom's hand that fails the emperor as he tries to mount his horse is to be hewn away; if a bureaucrat's fingers have signed false documents, their tendons are to be cut, lying tongues shall be torn out; the seller of "smoke" (*fumum* = false promises) shall be suffocated over a slow fire, etc.<sup>95</sup> Theatrical edification is expected as much from the Deity as from earthly powers. "By the just judgment of God Himself, Valens was burned alive by the very men who, through his action, will burn hereafter for their heresy."<sup>96</sup> And a tyrant or a heresiarch, Elagabalus or Alexander, dies fittingly in a latrine off the Roman forum, others by the most incredible diseases, hardly fit to be described.<sup>97</sup> We may turn in bewilderment from these thoughts and scenes and laws, from heterodox enemies smitten by horrible effluxions, by worms, by insanity, back to our earlier pictures of the emperor. What has become of his *Clementia*, the most common of all his titles in the Codes? Or of his Gentleness?<sup>98</sup> Is the immobile Constantius of the Roman *adventus* the same who "beyond a usual degree of indignation, blazed up, regarding them [the envoys] with sidelong glances till they feared for their lives . . . burning with anger" (*Amm.* 20. 9, 2-3)? What of similar outbursts of insane ferocity, with the emperor falling dead from apoplexy, or rendered speechless, or banging his head against the walls?<sup>99</sup> Is it the embodiment of *Tranquillitas* who bursts into tears at the pitiful pleas of his subjects (*Paneg. vet.* 8[5]. 9, 5-6; cf. 7[6]. 8, 3)? The answers to these questions must surely lie in the general customs of the fourth century. All emotions appropriate to a scene must be fully expressed, violently, assertively, publicly. Exaggerated grief, exaggerated calm, the flush of modesty or of rage, should be equally evident. This

95. *Amm.* 28. 6, 20; 30. 5, 19; SHA *Severus Alexander* 28. 4; 36. 2; cf. the cruel joke played on a criminal as a punishment, *Gallieni* 12. 5, and Claudian *In Rufinum* 2. 436ff.

96. Orosius *Hist. libri sept.* 7. 33; cf. Eusebius *Vita Constantini* 1. 59, "And still the stroke of God was laid cruelly on him, so that his eyes protruded and fell from their sockets, leaving him blind; and thus he suffered, by a most just sentence, the very same punishment which he had been the first to devise for the martyrs of God."

97. Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 9. 10, 365; *Vita Const.* 1. 57; Jerome *Vita Sancti Hilarionis* 34; *Amm.* 14. 11, 24; and Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, *passim*. See J. Moreau's edition of

the last work, Paris, 1954, 1, pp. 60ff., tracing the vigorous tradition of fitting deaths back to Herodotus.

98. *Clementia*, in *Cod. Theod.* 11. 7, 15; 11. 8, 7; etc.; Gentleness (*mansuetudo* or *ἡμερότης*) in Symmachus *Relatio* 13. 2; 29. 2; 34. 2; *Corpus scriptorum Eccles. Lat.* xxxv, p. 52; Athanasius *Apologia ad Constantium* 621 B; Julian *Ep.* 110 (Bidez).

99. SHA *Maximiani* 17. 1; *Gordiani* 13. 3; *Severus Alexander* 17. 2; on Julian, *iratus et frendens*, *Amm.* 24. 5, 6; on Valentinian, *ira vehementi percussus, et inter exordia respondendi tumidor, increpabat verborum obiurgatorio sonu*, 30. 6, 3; on Theodosius, *Zosimus* 4. 51, 4.

is the age of Theodosius' open penance at Milan, of Galerius' humiliation, running a mile on foot at the side of his senior colleague's chariot.

It would be interesting to know how the *gravitas* of the old Roman came to be so utterly changed. There is no easy answer. One influence may well have come from barbarians in the army, often rising to high positions, even to the throne. Their anger at least was freely vented, in brawling, by war cries, by raging or grinding their teeth or by banging their shields. All this is referred to in the sources, but its range is limited.

Another line of explanation is suggested by the comparisons frequently drawn in late antiquity between real events and events on the stage. Some illustrations in the writings of Ammianus (above, p. 451) and Eusebius (above, p. 446) have been given in passing. These and a number of others demonstrate how quickly the stage came to a writer's mind when he sought to make his story vivid. So a battle unfolded itself "like some theatrical show, the curtains revealing many wonders" (Amm. 16. 12, 57). The intrigues and investigations of courtiers are dramas (*fabulae*) seen when the curtains are drawn apart (28. 6, 29); people disappear from history "at the drop of the curtain" (16. 6, 3). Orosius (*Hist. libri sept.* 7. 26) and Eusebius (*Treatise on Philostratus' Life of Apollonius* 42) also turn to the stage for metaphors, while Constantius and Athanasius attack each other with the same image, the emperor in a letter (Athanasius *Apolog. ad Const.* 633 B) accusing his unruly subject of drumming up sympathy "the way people in dramas recite their woes to the first comer," Athanasius (*Hist. Arian.* 52) asserting that a council "exactly resembles what one might see on the stage, being shown as a comedy by them [the Arians], the bishops like actors, Constantius like their servant." When we find Procopius the pretender popping up from behind a curtain, in Ammianus 26. 6, 15, and actual emperors or their more important agents in their offices appearing to a crowd by the same fashion,<sup>100</sup> we seem to have a direct link between a real theatricality and a borrowed one, which may very well have extended itself to ranting and raging, to violent open grief, or to the other instances of dramatic conduct collected above.

Though the link is not easy to establish, several further hints may help. We know the Romans' fondness for pantomime, broad gesture, and caricatured masks. Their audiences must have grown accustomed thus to the exaggerated expressions that later lent themselves to symbolic use. We know, too, that acclamations copied rhythmic applause first practiced by theater claque; that some fashions of rich dress are likely to have originated among players, heralds, and gladiators. We know the keen interest in spectacles throughout the Empire, growing to frenzy in Constantinople of the Byzantine era. The theater, then, did touch many late antique images, motifs, and manners.

Still a third comparison lies between dramatic poses and a fondness for paintings with a message, for occasional paintings reminding people of anything from a circus to a consul's accession. While these were not likely to survive, while their style must often be deduced from their mosaic imitations, there are references to prove that imperial portraits were widely distributed,<sup>101</sup> that emperors commissioned works to show their exploits in battle,<sup>102</sup> and that political and religious loyalties were allegorized. Examples have been mentioned already. If an emperor was attacked, the vile pretender was pilloried in a painting under the guise of a dragon. Pagans flaunted a badge of Alexander the Great, and the heroes of the Church stood forward in one or the other

<sup>100</sup>. Alföldi, "Ausgestaltung," pp. 37ff.; *Cod. Theod.* 1. 16, 7.

<sup>101</sup>. Besides those on military standards and on the labarum, see Lactantius *De Mort. persecut.* 42, *imagines ubicumque*; SHA *Gordiani* 13. 6; Herodian 4. 2, 7; Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 7. 18, 265, "the likeness of the Apostles Paul and Peter, and of Christ himself, are preserved in paintings, the ancients being

accustomed, as is likely . . . to pay this kind of honor indiscriminately to those regarded by them as deliverers." Cf. the portraits on *segmenta* and robes, above, note 82, and Claudian *De Cons. Stilichonis* 2. 35off.

<sup>102</sup>. SHA *Maximini* 12. 10, placed in front of the senate house; Herodian 7. 3, 8, "large paintings" displayed in the same place; *idem*, 3. 9, 12, displayed "publicly" in Rome.

of the two forms which most appealed to popular taste, as "soldiers of Christ," with a rapidly developing language of symbolism, or as "athletes of Christ." The latter personification was certainly surprising. Christians were supposed to have nothing to do with the arena, and the Fathers scowled upon attendance at it. St. Augustine's strictures are the best known. When it came to decorating a shrine, however, the artist was expected to show the eponymous martyr in the most appropriate dress, perhaps a philosopher's cloak, present in the ring with, but really against, his captors and judge, while above sat the figure of Christ as "umpire."<sup>103</sup> A sort of billboard brightness thus served the uses of propaganda, Christian, pagan, or imperial. Such paintings revealed the power of popular art. It is not rare to find these clearly before an author who is describing some important moment: an acclamation hailing a man as emperor, fit subject for "a painting worthy of the ages, a scene worthy of our times" (Symmachus *Oration* 3. 5), or a gathering of foreign envoys before the palace "like some painted pageant" (Euseb. *Vita Const.* 4. 7).

## VI. CONCLUSION

Here then are Ammianus or his contemporaries comparing real scenes to works of art, in color or (above, p. 439) in stone and bronze—the more naturally since the artist of the same period so often draws his inspiration (or at least his commission) from particular events: from the magistrate's appointment, from the rich citizen's gift of a hundred stags to a *venatio*, or from the emperor's victories over his enemies. Occasional art, of course, tends to be didactic. It aims not at pleasing so much as at inculcating an idea, generally political or religious (above, pp. 444, 448). Often the idea is very simply that the principal figure is doing something wonderful, stands for something important, in which case his importance will be suitably set off. An arch or a drawn curtain will frame him, soldiers or listeners surround him, and some other person will be shown suppliant or vanquished. His own figure will be larger and more impressively costumed. Hence the care taken in even so really crude a work as the porphyry Tetrarchs of Saint Mark's, to show their belts of office inlaid with jewels, the rich fibulae holding their mantles, the eagles' heads on their sword pommels and the decorated scabbards. Details of this kind are indeed only symbols; but symbols—cross, star, human or animal heads—appear also on real costumes. Even splendor quite by itself is symbolic. Is this why it is emphasized in the Ravenna mosaics (Fig. 2); or do they reveal only the same straining for color found in Syrian or Sicilian mosaics (Fig. 7) and again in surviving fragments of mantles and tunics of the period?

Questions of art and social history become inextricably mixed. The unity of culture is in fact all I am trying to illustrate, as has been done many times for other periods. The flat poses of an ivory diptych (Fig. 5) surmounted perhaps by some phrase of good wishes, differ hardly at all from the positions taken up by the actors in living pageants of acclamation or the like, shouting or even chanting in unison, "Long life to you," "May you conquer." The disposition of people in the late Empire to arrange themselves in *tableaux vivants* is most striking, and finds closest parallels in the fifteenth century. Whether people welcome a personage with torches and flowers, or greet him as he emerges upon a balcony; whether they play Socrates to a philosophic circle and commemorate the pose on a grave relief, or equip themselves with a brass band and guild banners for parades, the joy of an occasion is evident. They declare their roles in the most

103. 'Ο τῶν παλαισμάτων ἀγωνοθέτης Χριστός, the martyrs οἱ ἀθληταί, in 4th century paintings of the eastern provinces. See the phrase in both Gregory of Nyssa *Oratio de S. Theod.* (*Patrologia graeca* XLVI, col. 737) and Basil *Homil.* 17 (*Patrologia graeca*, XXXI, col. 489), and a fuller and extremely vivid description of such a painting in Asterius *Homil.* 12

(*Patrologia graeca*, XL, cols. 335ff.). Originally the symbolism of the athlete fitted martyrs who died in the arena. It was, however, applied indiscriminately later. Moreau in his edition of Lactantius, p. 295, traces earlier examples of the athlete metaphor, among pagan as well as Christian authors.

aggressive hues, augmented by jewelry and by varieties of garments; in statuesque immobility, the limbs, hands, and features arranged just so; or in public outbursts of emotion.

These cultural developments, much as they connect and mingle with each other, have nothing to do with "classical" culture. They represent the upthrust of non-Greek and non-Roman elements through an upper surface worn thin. The point is familiar, and too large to discuss here, but it can be conveniently illustrated by returning to the subject of metaphors in Ammianus. Among these, as has been said, we find statues, paintings, theater-scenes, animals, and the bray of trumpets. They are not new, but the emphasis on them is his own, and non-classical. His commentators notice also that his vocabulary combines the colloquial and the classical to an unusual degree. It is tempting to say that his vocabulary and metaphors agree together in giving a glimpse into the common mind, so far as it could break loose from the tyranny of classical example, and confirmation lies in the habits of other authors. Where they have any colloquial sources to draw on, i.e., Christian sources, they choose such similes as occur also in Ammianus. So one can follow dragons from Revelations to Eusebius (and Ammianus), into imperial placards, and into the banners of the army; but when one turns from Eusebius to Mamertinus, from Lactantius to Symmachus or Julian, one finds the old commonplaces: the ruler a pilot, the warrior a lion. Literature of the late Empire joins with the other arts in revealing a partial vulgarization, a partial turning from stale imitations, laboriously mastered, to a richer source of images in popular culture. A movement like this cannot be hidden. Rodenwaldt saw it; more recently, and with more delicate definition, Bianchi Bandinelli, who attributes it particularly to the insurgent creativity of Christians, and to the lifetime of Constantine.<sup>104</sup> Surely this is a view too limited, in its basis as in its conclusions. The whole of this paper has been meant to prove the wider prevalence of a change of taste, in which an eclectic enjoyment of whatever might make men stare, from whatever province derived, took hold of the empire. In this change, the East, the army, and the theater were the principal contributors, the whole population the sharers. We can return to the first question of this paper (above, p. 435) equipped with a fuller answer. What struck the imagination of the man in the street was the ancient equivalent of today's royal marriage or bull-fight, and his delight in such vivid moments worked its way up even into the sophisticated circles of Ammianus.

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104. Rodenwaldt (*op.cit.* above, note 46) pp. 79-97 and *passim*; R. Bianchi Bandinelli, "Continuità ellenistica nella pittura di età medio- e tardo-romano," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, 11, 1953, pp. 122-

145; M. Bonicatti, "Industria artistica classica e tradizioni popolari nella cultura del basso impero," *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di M. Salmi*, Rome, 1961, I, p. 61.