

PLAYING GOD: THE ROLE OF INDETERMINACY IN REPRESENTATIONS OF TRIUMPH AND *ADVENTUS*

The Roman triumph was a civil and religious ceremony in which a victorious general entered the city in a chariot, passing through the Triumphal Gate preceded by captives and spoils taken in war.¹ The triumph publicly celebrated and sanctified the military achievements of a victorious commander. It was an auspicious occasion and the presence of a triumphator was considered beneficial not merely in terms of military protection but in all aspects of life.² As an ephemeral ceremony, the triumph achieved its more permanent form in the representations of the ceremony routinely carved on triumphal arches. These scenes were depicted in a pictorial idiom that ranged from the more symbolic example found on the Arch of Titus in Rome from ca. 82 CE (Fig. 1, 2),³ to the more descriptive one shown on the Arch of Trajan in Benevento, ca. 114-117 CE⁴.

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¹ The Roman triumph would begin in the *Campus Martius* and follow a prescribed route that led through the Triumphal gate, then through the Forum and would terminate on the Capitoline hill. For the processions, see E. Makin, *The Triumphal Route, with Particular Reference to the Flavian Triumph*, *Journal of Roman Studies* 11 (1921), 26-30; E. La Rocca, *La processione trionfale come spettacolo per il popolo romano. Trionfi antichi, spettacoli moderni*, in *Trionfi romani*, ed. E. La Rocca and S. Tortorella, Milano 2008, 34-55. For more on the triumphal route, see: H. H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic*, London 1981, 77.

² For the definition of the Roman triumph, see: A. Rich, *A Dictionary of Roman and Greek Antiquities*, London 1893, 692-93. The most detailed description of a Roman triumph belongs to Josephus in *De bello Judaico*, 7.3-7(123-162) where he describes the triumph of Titus and Vespasian in 70 CE, see: G. Gustafson, *Evocation Deorum. Historical and Mythical Interpretations of Ritualised Conquests in the Expansion of Ancient Rome*, Uppsala 2000, 30. For the origin of triumph ceremony, see: H. S. Versnel, *Triumphus. An Inquiry Into the Origin, Development and Meaning of the Roman Triumph*, Leiden 1970, 11-55; M. Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, Cambridge, London 2007; *Triplici invectus triumpho. Der römische Triumph in augustinischer Zeit*, ed. H. Krasser, D. Pausch and I. Petrovic, Stuttgart 2008.

³ On Arch of Titus, see: M. Gjodesen, *A Fragment of the Arch of Titus*, in *Studia Romana in honorem Petri Krarup septuagenarii*, ed. K. Ascani, Odense 1976, 72-86; M. Pfanner, *Der Titusbogen*, Mainz am Rhine 1983; R. Holloway, *Some Remarks on the Arch of Titus*, *L'antiquité classique* 56 (1987), 183-189; L. Yarden, *The Spoils of Jerusalem on the Arch of Titus*, Stockholm 1991; E. Künzl, *Der römische Triumph: Siegesfeiern im antiken Rom*, München 1988, 20-22; F. S. Kleiner, 'The Spoils of Jerusalem on the Arch of Titus. A Re-Investigation,' *review of Leon Yarden*, *American Journal of Archaeology* 96, 4 (October 1992), 775-776.

⁴ I. Richmond, *The Arch at Beneventum*, in *Roman Archaeology and Art: Essays and Studies*,

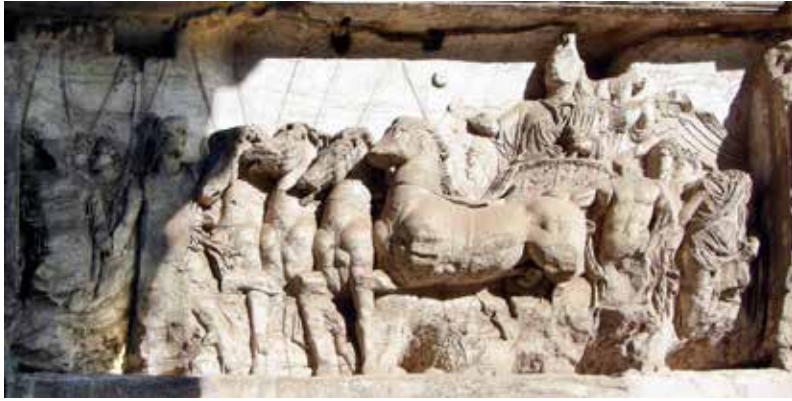


Fig. 1 Triumph of Titus, relief from the Arch of Titus, Rome, Italy, ca. 82 CE

Сл. 1 Титов тријумф, рељеф са Титовог славолука, Рим, Италија, 82. н.е.



Fig. 2 Spoils of Jerusalem, relief from the Arch of Titus, Rome, Italy, ca. 82 CE

Сл. 2 Сполије из Јерусалима, рељеф са Титовог славолука, Рим, Италија, 82. н.е.

Similar to the triumph, the Roman *adventus* designated the entry of the emperor into a city accompanied by great pomp. It marked the specific moment where the two realms of the human and divine overlapped. *Adventus* involved a passage through a liminal space, one whose ontological status was essentially indeterminate. It was a means of suspending the old Roman dichotomy between earthly and heavenly rule.⁵ This was the difference between understanding an emperor as *primus inter pares*, modeled after the public image of Augustus as the first among equals, and the emperor who aspired to the divine.⁶ Reflecting the representations of triumph, the *adventus* ceremony as depicted in monumental art, included a large procession in which the emperor was shown entering the city driven in a chariot or on his horse as depicted on the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki, 298-303 CE (Fig. 3)⁷.

ed. P. Salway, Oxford 1969, 229-38; M. Rotili, *L'Arco di Traiano a Benevento*, Roma 1972, 131-175; Künzl, *Der römische Triumph*, 24-28.

⁵ For the Roman and Christian *adventus*, see: E. H. Kantorowicz, *The 'King's Advent': And The Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina*, *The Art Bulletin* 26/4 (1944), 207-231; S. MacCormack, *Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: The Ceremony of Adventus*, *Historia* 21 (1972), 721-52; Nikolaus Gussone, *Adventus-Zeremoniell und Translation von Reliquien Victricis von Ruen, De laude sanctorum*, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 10 (1976), 125-133; S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley 1981, especially 49-50; P. Dufraigne, *Adventus Augusti, Adventus Christi: recherche sur l'exploitation idéologique et littéraire d'un cérémonial dans l'Antiquité tardive*, Paris: Institut d'études augustiniennes 1994, 249-325; J. Lehnen, *Adventus principis: Untersuchungen zu Sinngehalt und Zeremoniell der Kaiserankunft in den Städten des Imperium Romanum*, Frankfurt am Main, New York 1997; *Adventus: Studien zum herrscherlichen Einzug in die Stadt*, ed. P. Johaneck and A. Lampen, Köln 2009.

⁶ A. Alföldi, *Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe*, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 49 (1934), 3-118; see also: S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, Oxford 1971.

⁷ A nineteenth-century study of the Arch of Galerius provides drawings of images which have

Fig. 3 *Adventus*,
Triumphal Arch,
or Tetrapiylon
of Galerius,
Thessalonica,
ca. 300 CE

Сл. 3 *Adventus*,
Галеријев
славолук или
тетрапилон,
Солун, 300. н.е.



In this paper I would like, through several case studies from Late Antique to Early Christian period, to examine the ways in which images of the Roman triumph and *adventus* ceremonies were transformed from representations of dynamic processions into hieratic portraits of the ruler that emphasized the static presence of the triumphal emperor and thereby embodied an important shift in his status.

The triumphal procession offered the opportunity for many different modes of perception. By using effigies, paintings and sculpture, the ceremony became a theatrical stage with moving scenery in which the boundary between representation and referent was blurred.⁸ When writing about the triumph, ancient authors frequently note not only spectacular images of triumph being carried in the procession, but how the overall display was staged as well.⁹ For them, the



Fig. 4 Bowl with the Arrival of Constantius II,
mid-4th century CE

Сл. 4 Посуда на којој је приказан цар
Констанције II на коњу у пратњи Победе,
средина 4. века н.е.

since disappeared, K. F. Kinch, *L'Arc de triomphe de Salonique*, Paris, 1890; H. P. Laubscher, *Der Reliefschmuck des Galeriusbogens in Thessaloniki*, Berlin 1975; M. S. Pond Rothman, *The Thematic Organization of the Panel Reliefs on the Arch of Galerius*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 81/4 (1977), 427-454; F. S. Kleiner, *A History of Roman Art*, Belmont CA 2007, 286-287.

⁸ P. J. Holiday, *Roman Triumphal Painting: Its Function, Development, and Reception*, *The Art Bulletin* 79/1 (1997), 130-147; Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, 147; J. Rüpke, *Triumphator and Ancestor Rituals Between Symbolic Anthropology and Magic*, *Numen* 53 (2006), 251-289; I. Östenberg, *Staging the World. Spoils, Captives, and Representations in the Roman Triumphal Procession*, Oxford 2009, especially 189-262.

⁹ On several occasions Ovid writes about the overall display, one of which marks the triumph of Tiberius over Illyricum around 12 CE, see: *Ovid, Pont. 2, I, 37-38*; Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto*, ed. R. Ehwald and F. W. Levy, Leipzig 1922. Another account comes from the historian Appianus of Alexandria (*ca.* 9- *ca.* 165) on the triumph of Pompey in 61 BCE, Appianus of Alexandria, *Mith.* 117. For more on this subject,



Fig. 5 Triumphal procession of Septimius Severus, relief from the Arch of Septimius Severus, Leptis Magna, Libya, ca. 203 CE

Сл. 5 Тријумфална процесија Септимија Севера, рељеф са Славолука Септимија Севера, Лептис Магна, Либија, 203. н.е.

representation became more important than the main event itself. As is the case with many ephemeral rituals the triumph was, as Mary Beard writes: a ceremony of image-making as much as it is one of images. It is the place where, in many written versions, representation (or *mimesis*) reaches its limits, and where the viewer (or reader) is asked to decide what counts as an image or where the boundary between reality and representation is to be drawn.¹⁰

This blurring of the boundaries“„ between reality and fiction, near and far, present and past would be precisely the quality of the triumph that led Christian rulers to adopt it and transform it into a representation of Christian victory.



Fig. 6 The base of the obelisk of Theodosius I (378-392 CE) in Constantinople, Hippodrome, late 4th century, Istanbul

Сл. 6 Постоље Теодосијевог обелиска у Цариграду, Хиподром, касни 4. век н.е., Истанбул

The triumph ceremony culminated in the pseudo-deification of the triumphator. In this regard, the ceremony anticipated the funeral rites that were accorded the Roman emperor whose deification was proclaimed after his corpse or his wax effigy was cremated.¹¹ As Lily Ross has stated, “the triumph was the closest thing in Roman state ceremony to deification.”¹² Usually the Roman triumph was treated as the entry of a victor, originally the victorious king, who for this occasion represents the

see: Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, 181-185.

¹⁰ Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, 181.

¹¹ Versnel, *Triumphus*, 124; the Arch of Titus motif: the triumphal procession with spolia (candleabrum) carried on shoulders, the apex of the coffered ceiling of the arch shows an eagle, representing the soul of the emperor ascending to heaven following his apotheosis, for more on Arch of Titus, see above, note 3. For more on Roman funerary rites, see: W. Kierdorf, *Funus und consecration. Zu Terminologie und Ablauf der römischen Kaiserapothese*, Chiron 16 (1986), 43-69; D. A. Davis, *Death, Ritual and Belief. The Rhetoric of Funerary Rites*, London-New York 2002, especially 18.

¹² L. Ross Taylor, *Local Cults in Etruria*. Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 2, Rome 1923, 57.

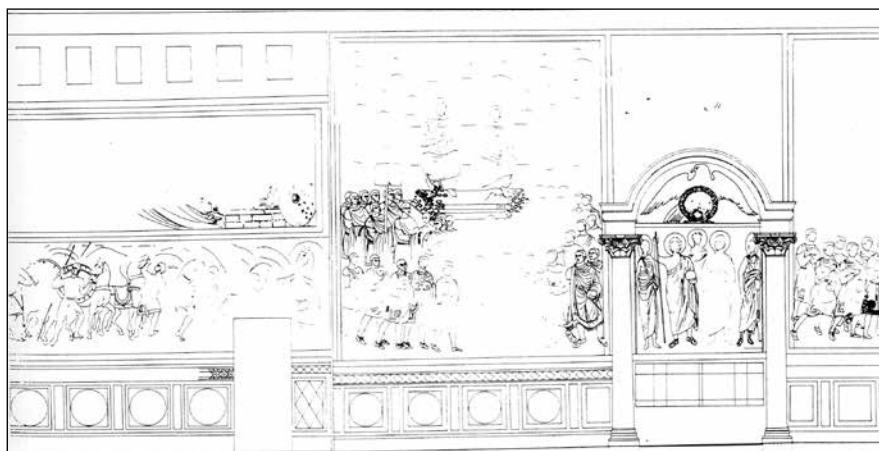


Fig. 7 The cult room in the temple of Ammon, general view, Luxor Egypt, sketches by J.G. Wilkinson, 19th century

Сл. 7 Култна просторија у храму бога Амона, Луксор ,Египат, цртеж Ј. Г. Вилкинсона, 19. век

Roman god Jupiter. This entry took place through a special gate, which was opened only for this ceremony and was not used at any other time.¹³ One of the chief characteristics of the triumph was that the triumphator oscillated between divine and human status through the course of the procession; he constituted both a living image of the god Jupiter himself and, simultaneously, a negation of that divine presence.¹⁴

Scholars have come to differing conclusions concerning the question of the triumph versus *adventus*.¹⁵ According to Sabine MacCormack the triumph and accession were related issues in late antiquity, both of which were formulated in the idiom of *adventus*.¹⁶ She holds that at the time of Constantine the triumph was in the process of being definitively transformed into the *adventus*. Mac Cormack's argument is based upon on the availability of the vocabulary of

¹³ Versnel, *Triumphus*, 154.

¹⁴ S. Price, *From Noble Funerals to Divine Cult: the Consecration of Roman Emperors*, in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. D. Cannadine and S. Price, Cambridge, New York 1987, 56-105; J. de Jong-O. Hekster, *Damnation, deification, commemoration*, in *Un discourse en images de la condamnation de mémoire*, ed. S. Benoist and A. Daguet Gagey, Metz 2008, 79-96; O. Hekster, *Honouring Ancestors: The Dynamic of Deification*, in *Ritual dynamics and religious change in the Roman Empire: proceedings of the eighth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Heidelberg, July 5-7, 2007)*, ed. O. Hekster, S. Schmidt-Hofner and C. Witschel, Leiden, Boston 2009, 95-111.

¹⁵ For more on triumph versus *adventus* see, Lj. Milanović, *The Politics of Translatio: the Visual Representation of the Translation, of Relics in the Early Christian and Medieval Period, The Case of St. Stephen*, Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, New Brunswick 2011, especially, 78-84.

¹⁶ The focal point for the celebration of imperial triumphs and accessions in the late third century was still Rome. The tradition went back to republican and early imperial times, see: MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 34.



Fig. 8 Reconstruction of the south wall and apse of the cult room in the temple of Ammon, Luxor Egypt, 3rd century AD (after J.G. Deckers)

Сл. 8 Реконструкција изгледа фресака на јужном зиду Амоновог храма у Луксору (по Ј. Г. Декерсу), Египат, 3. век н.е.

the *adventus* to describe an imperial triumph, and for that reason the panegyrist who greeted Constantine in Trier in 313 CE could describe Constantine's entry into Rome as an *adventus*.¹⁷ While the *adventus* was one of the vehicles for expressing imperial pietas during the tetrarchy it becomes the means for expressing imperial victory, both universal and particular, under Constantius II (317-361 CE), Theodosius I (347-395 CE) and Honorius (384-423 CE).¹⁸

Beard confirms Mac Cormack's observation that by the end of the fourth century the triumph was "in effect transformed into *adventus*."¹⁹ She argues further that the *adventus* had mutated into the triumphal. According to Beard, the symbolic language of the triumph provided an apt way of representing the ceremonial arrival of a successful general or emperor. She writes: "one could almost say that the adjective tends to replace the noun: we now deal as much with ceremonies that are "triumphal" or "like a triumph" as with triumphs themselves."²⁰ This importing of triumphal forms into other rituals is particularly evident in art of the fourth century.²¹

Both triumph and *adventus* explicitly engage themes of transformation and liminality and in both ceremonies the role of triumphator becomes indeterminate, positioning him between the human and the divine realms. For late antique, medieval, or indeed, contemporary viewers, this lacuna produces a sense of tension akin to the uncertainty of whether the triumphator was receiving due praise as a civic hero or hubristically usurping the position of the supreme deity.

The *adventus* motif developed into two distinct iconographic lineages. The first continued to depict the triumphal entry of the ruler, although now un-

¹⁷ *Pan. Lat.*, 9, 16, 1f, see: MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 34, n. 98.

¹⁸ MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 42.

¹⁹ Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, 324, also MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 51.

²⁰ Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, 324.

²¹ R. Brilliant, *Scenic Representations*, in *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century: Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977, through February 12, 1978*, ed. K. Weitzmann, New York 1979, 60-65.

der the auspices of imperial patronage. Based on the depictions of *adventus* on triumphal arches Kantorowicz asserts that by the second century the *adventus* was an “integral and independent element within the imperial theology of triumph and victory.”²² In art, the *Adventus Augusti* became almost a common element on triumphal arches from the time of Trajan (98-117 CE). A good example of this tradition in monumental arts is found on the arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki.²³ The scene of *adventus* is represented on the southwest pier of the Arch. The emperor is seen arriving seated in a chariot surrounded by his cavalry and greeted outside the gate by the people from the city. As Margaret Rothman has observed, this scene is not of a typical *adventus* as was developed in Roman imperial art. It emphasizes the aspects of an epiphany with new details such as the city of departure, crowds that carry tapers and standards, and an equestrian bodyguard.²⁴ This form of *adventus* is often represented in an abbreviated way showing an emperor in profile in an equestrian position. Usually he is depicted arriving in front of a fortress or a gate as shown on the reverse



Fig. 9 The cult room in the temple of Ammon, south wall, niche, Tetrarchs, Luxor Egypt, sketches by J.G. Wilkinson, 19th century

Сл. 9 Култна просторија у храму бога Амона, јужни зид, ниша, тетарси, Луксор Египат, цртеж Ј. Г. Вилкинсона, 19. век

of *The Arras Medallion*, representing Constantius I (250-306 CE) *adventus* in London, 296-297 CE.²⁵ Sometimes an emperor is approached by a figure of Victory, or slashing barbarians under the legs of his horse as on the *Bowl with the Arrival of Constantius II*, mid-fourth century (Fig. 4).²⁶

The other type of representation of the triumphal *adventus* is more iconic with the triumphant emperor positioned frontally alone or surrounded by co-rulers, often accompanied by a figure of Victoria as well. An example of this type can be seen on the relief showing the triumph of Septimius Severus on the Triumphal arch from his native city Leptis Magna, 203 CE (Fig. 5). Here the emperor is represented full-frontal, standing in a chariot accompanied by his sons, Caracalla and Geta. While on the left side of the relief there are still indications of a procession of moving horsemen, the emperor in the chariot is represented in a static, iconic position.²⁷

²² Kantorowicz, *The 'King's Advent*, 214.

²³ See above note 7.

²⁴ P. Rothman, *The Thematic Organization*, 442.

²⁵ J. P. C. Kent, *Roman Coins*, London 1978, pl. 152, no. 585.

²⁶ *The Road to Byzantium: Luxury Arts of Antiquity*, ed. F. Althaus and M. Sutcliffe, London 2006, 147.

²⁷ On the arch and its representation, see: R. Bartoccini, *L 'Arco quadrifonte dei Severi a Leptis in Africa*, *Italiana* 4 (1931), 32-152; Dufraigne, *Adventus Augusti, Adventus Christi*, 65; J. Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: the Art of the Roman Empire AD 100-450*, Oxford 1998, 127; Kleiner, *Roman sculpture*, New Haven 1992, 140-142 with bibliography; Z. Newby, *Art at the Crossroads? Themes and style in Severan Art*, in *Severan Culture*, ed. S. Swein, S. Harrison and J. Elsner, Cambridge, New York 2007, 201-250.



Fig. 10 *Adventus* of Constantine the Great in Rome, 313 CE, Arch of Constantine, Rome

Сл. 10 *Adventus* Константина Великог у Риму, 313. н.е., Славолук Константина Великог, Рим

The iconic presence of the emperor suggests the emergence of a new type of *adventus*, one that MacCormack describes as an *adventus* in state or “the eternal presence” model that developed during the fourth century²⁸. By the fourth century, the representation of the ceremony of *adventus* had changed from showing movement, or a moment in a progressive series of actions, to become more stationary, indicating the emperor’s static presence. Once the emperor came to be identified with the capital city, the ceremony of the *adventus* achieved its next evolutionary step. Now, the procession of the emperor was

replaced by his presence. The presence of the emperor was formulated as the coexistence between the emperor and subjects in the form of the stationary, enthroned emperor.²⁹ This new model of *adventus* became dominant in the art of the Theodosian age.³⁰ An example of this is the base of Theodosius I’s obelisk in Constantinople erected on the Hippodrome during the late fourth century (Fig. 6). The base contains four relief panels with the south face showing the emperor in state. The figure of the emperor is both elevated and frontal, and as Richard Brilliant has written, his “very eminence is hieratically charged, revealing the abstract ideological structure of the concept” of the emperor. On the east side relief, the emperor is represented offering a laurel to the victor of the games in the Hippodrome. Brilliant has argued that because we do not see the victor in the scene, the program of the relief implies that all the victories or victors are channeled through the person of the emperor.³¹

Both progressive and static modes of representation reflect the indeterminate essence of a triumphal emperor having, at the same time, a human, or temporal nature while invoking or being likened to the divine and thus taking on an eternal, atemporal aspect. At the turn of the third and fourth century

²⁸ MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 55-61, also R. Brilliant, *Scenic Representations*, 60-61.

²⁹ A. Grabar, *L’empereur dans l’art byzantin; recherches sur l’art officiel de l’empire d’Orient*, Paris 1936; MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 55, 56.

³⁰ Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph*, 83-85.

³¹ R. Brilliant, ‘I Come to You as Your Lord,’ *Late Roman Imperial Art*, in *Artistic Strategy and the Rhetoric of Power. Political Uses of Art from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. D. Castriota, Carbondale 1986, 27-37. On the base of Theodosius I obelisk see more in MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 56-57.

a shift occurred in the representation of emperors.³² Thanks to the help of 19th century sketches done by J. G. Wilkinson, we are able to reconstruct the destroyed fresco program in the chamber in the temple of Ammon at Luxor, Egypt (Fig. 7).³³ The fresco dated from the time of the tetrarchy and the function of the chamber is still debatable.³⁴ The program, which filled four walls, represented the emperor Diocletian in the two different modes, symbolically separating his two natures. In a deep niche, under the ciborium on the south wall there was a representation of the four standing emperors of the first tetrarchy: the two Augusti, Diocletian and Maximian, and the two Caesars, Constantinus Chlorus and Galerius. The Augusti were represented in the center of the composition. According to Jaś Elsner, based on J.G. Decker's reconstruction, on both sides next to the niche and still on the south wall enthroned emperors were depicted receiving honors from their subjects (Fig. 8).³⁵



Fig. 11 The Ticinum Medallion, Constantine the Great and Sol Invictus, 313 CE

Сл. 11 Мултипла са представом Константина и Непобедивог Сунца из 313. н.е.

The rest of the room, except the west wall, is covered with an imperial procession of soldiers. Although Wilkinson did not draw the west wall, he left an interesting note noting: "Mr. Monier told Mr. Harris that the name of 'Diocletian' was on one of the chariot wheels in the fresco."³⁶ From the note it is not difficult to hypothesize that the west wall had a similar procession to that on the east wall, but this time a figure of Diocletian was figured as the leader of the procession. While on the west wall we have a representation of Diocletian in a more historical and narrative context, in the niche on the south wall, we

³² J. Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer. The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity*, Cambridge, New York 1.995, 157-190

³³ Wilkinson Sketchbook (1852-56), Griffith institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, see, J. Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer*, 175.; For a detailed description of the fresco and its reconstruction see, U. Monneret de Villard: *The Temple of the Imperial Cult at Luxor*, *Archaeologia* 95 (1953), 85-105; J.G. Deckers, *Die Wandmalerei des tetrarchischen Lagerheiligtums im Ammon-Tempel von Luxor*, *Roemische Quartalschrift* 68 (1973), 1-34; J.G. Deckers, *Die Wandmalerei im Kaiserkultraum von Luxor*, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 94 (1979), 600-652; I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *The Imperial Chamber at Luxor*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975), 225-253.

³⁴ While most scholars agree that the chamber functioned as a cult room, Kalavrezou suggests that it was Diocletian's throne room, see, Kalavrezou, *The Imperial Chamber*, 249-250; Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer* 173-176, especially note 46.

³⁵ Elsner, *Art and the Roman Viewer*, 173.

³⁶ As quoted in Kalavrezou, *The Imperial Chamber*, 238.

have the use of the opposing mode of representing a triumphal emperor (Fig. 9). Here, his iconic representation in the cult niche with a halo around his head and an orb in his hand suggest his pseudo-divine status.³⁷ This therefore marks a crucial moment in the process of the transformation images of a triumphant emperor between his association with pagan deities and a Christian god.

A transitional moment in the shift from the dynamic to the static image of the emperor is shown on the Arch of Constantine in Rome.³⁸ On the small, eastern side of the arch, a relief depicts the triumphal entry of Constantine the Great in Rome in 312 CE (Fig. 10). He is represented seated on a chariot in a more formal, iconic three-quarter view. In the Roman triumph, the emperor was always in proximity to Jupiter, and, if only for a day, achieved his attributes; however, in this representation, Constantine the Great is juxtaposed with Sol-Apollo. While Constantine enters the city seated in a chariot, a *tondo* placed above the procession shows Sol rising from the ocean. The association of the emperor with Sol indicates his having been bestowed with divinity, lending his figure a more human, or temporal status.³⁹ This is best represented in a gold medal showing Constantine the Great next to the Sol Invictus. Here, the emperor's divinity is granted via an association with a recognizable deity, one whom pagans would identify as Apollo and Christians, Sol Invictus, who they could equate with Christ (Fig. 11).⁴⁰ Scholars see the identification of Constantine with the Sun-god as a bridge to Christian monotheism.⁴¹

This leads us to the final stage in the transformation of triumphal images of emperors, which is demonstrated by the case of the emperor found on the so-called Barberini ivory (Fig. 12). The ivory dates from the sixth century and scholars are still debating the identification of the emperor depicted, relating the image to the byzantine emperor Justinian (482-565 CE).⁴² The emperor

³⁷ Before the fourth century, emperors were depicted more with a nimbus with radiating rays than with a solid disc as is represented on the relief with an enthroned emperor as Helios found in Egypt 2nd-3rd century, *Age of Spirituality*, no. 59, 69-70. For the use of the nimbus, see A. Krücke, *Der Nimbus und verwandte Attribute in der frühchristlichen Kunst*, Strassburg 1905, especially 5-15. For the imperial insignia, see A. Alföldi, *Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser*, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung 50 (1935), 1-171.

³⁸ P. Peirce, *The Arch of Constantine: Propaganda and Ideology in Late Roman Art*, *Art History* 12 (1989), 387-418; J. Elsner, *From the Culture of Spolia to the Cult of Relics: The Arch of Constantine and the Genesis of Late Antique*, *Papers of the British School in Rome* 68 (2000), 149-184.

³⁹ Sol is depicted several times on the Arch of Constantine and it is juxtaposed with the goddess Victory. The connection between Sol and Victory could be traced back to Severan period, see P. Peirce, *The Arch of Constantine*, 407; H. P. L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World*. Oslo, Cambridge 1953, 139ff.

⁴⁰ From as early as the mid-third century, we find pictorial analogies between Christ and Sol in the mosaic scenes from the tomb of the Julii in the Vatican cemetery. One shows a beardless male figure in a chariot pulled by white horses. The figure has a nimbus from which rays extend representing most likely Christus-Helios, see J. Toynbee, J. Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican excavations*, London, New York 1956, especially, 72.

⁴¹ Peirce argues that the Sun god replaced Jupiter "as the embodiment of pagan monotheism," Peirce, *The Arch of Constantine*, 408.

⁴² Some scholars have identified the emperor on the ivory as Anastasius (, see,

is shown as an equestrian figure in a triumphal position with a winged Victoria presenting him a palm of victory and a wreath, now lost. Tellus, the personification of earth is positioned below the rearing horse. He supports the emperor's foot with one hand while spilling fruit from a basket with his other, indicating prosperity. In the lower register, exotically clad barbarians are depicted offering their tribute.⁴³ In the apex of the composition we see a young, beardless Christ with an upraised hand in the gesture of blessing. The image of an emperor imbued with semi-divine status is changed by the presence of Christ in the panel above. Here, as elsewhere in Early Christian art, the dual, pseudo-divine status of the emperor has migrated to the essentially dualistic nature of Christ, a God who was born of the flesh, died, and rose from the dead. The inclusion of the figure of Christ in triumphal imagery, either dynamic or more iconic, delegates the role of the emperor on earth as a temporal figure, one whose function is to act as a mediator between humans and a God who was also man. The semi-divine status formerly manifested by the emperor and expressed in the dualistic, indeterminate iconographic schema, is now embodied by the singular figure of Christ.



Fig. 12 The 'Barberini Ivory,' first half of the 6th century, The Louvre, Paris

Сл. 12 'Барберинијева слоновача,' прва половина 6. века, Лувр, Париз

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У УЛОЗИ БОГА: ИКОНОГРАФСКА НЕОДРЕЂЕНОСТ У ПРЕДСТАВЉАЊУ
ВЛАДАРА У СЦЕНАМА ТРИЈУМФА И *ADVETUS*-а.

Мој рад истражује начине на које су ликовне представе римског тријумфа и *adventus*-а трансформисане из репрезентације динамичких поворки у хијератичан портрет

Byzance: l'art dans les collections publiques francaises, ed. J. Durande, Paris, 1992, 63-66, no. 20, with older bibliography, see also: H. Maguire, 'Signs and Symbols of your always victorious reign,' *The Political Ideology and Meaning of Falconry in Byzantium*, in *Images of the Byzantine World: Visions, Messages and Meanings: Studies Presented to Leslie Brubaker*, ed. A. Lymberopoulou, Farnham, Surrey, Burlington, VT 2010, 135-149.

⁴³ For the identification of barbarians and the gift they were presenting see, A. Walker, *The Emperor and the World: Exotic Elements and the Imaging of Byzantine Imperial Power, Ninth to Thirteenth Century CE*, Cambridge, New York 2012, 1-20.

владара који наглашава статичко присуство тријумфалног императора и промену његовог статуса. Своје тумачење заснивам на исчитавању примера касноантичке, ранохришћанске и рановизантијске уметности .

Тријумф је био грађанска и верска церемонија у којој победник слави повратак у град у кочији коју прати поворка заробљеника и караван са пленом запленим у рату. Сходно томе тријумф представља јавно прослављање и освећење војних достигнућа победничког команданта. Била је то прилика у којој је тријумфатор представљен не само као заштитник грађана већ као неко ко је донео благодет у свим аспектима живота. Тријумфална церемонија је често представљана као театарска представа у којој се губила јасна граница између режираног спектакла и реалне церемоније. Управо та неодређеност самог догађаја је погодовала хришћанским владарима да је усвоје и трансформирају у представу хришћанске победе.

Слично томе , *adventus* је представљао свечан улазак цара или неког званичника у град у пратњи са великом помпом. Он је означавао специфичан тренутак преламања два универзума, људског и божанског . Чин *adventus*-а је подразумевао пролазак кроз лиминални, гранични простор чији је онтолошки статус био у суштини неодређен. Сама церемонија је служила као средство за превазилажење старе римске дихотомije између земаљске и небеске владавине. То је била разлика између прихватања цара као *primus inter pares*, по узору на јавну представу какву је имао римски император Октавијан Август, као први међу једнакима, и императора који је тежио божанској представи.

Током касне антике и тријумфалне и *adventus* процесије су представљане као динамични догађаји. У време Константина Великог тријумф је полако трансформисан у тријумфални *adventus*. У периоду до четвртог века церемонија *adventus*-а је претрпела визуалне промене и уместо ранијег представљања као секвенце у динамичном следу акција, церемонија је постала статична наглашавајући непромењиву природу императоровог иконишког присуства.

Оба начина представљања *adventus*-а, било као динамична или више статична церемонија, одражавају неодређени статус тријумфалног императора који истовремено представља човека пролазне природе и има карактер божанства, вечне тј. атемпоралне природе.

На прелазу из трећег и четвртог века дошло је до промене у представљању владара. То се најбоље огледа у представи императора Диоклецијана са данас изгубљене фреске из нише култне просторије у храму бога Амона у Луксору, Египат. Представљен у фронталном ставу, са копљем и орбом у руци и са нимбусом око главе, Диоклецијан се највише приближио представи псеудо божанства.

Представа тријумфалног уласка Константина Великог у Рим 313 са његовог славолука у Риму на којој је владар постављен паралелно са представом бога Сола, индикативно указује на извор владареве моћи и у исто време наглашава његову више земаљску, тј. људску природу. Овим долазимо до завршне трансформације у представљању тријумфалног императора која је најбоље исказана на такозваном Барберинијевом диптиху. Изнад статичне коњаничке представе владара у тријумфу је постављена допојасна фигура младог Христа који благосиља. На овој представи као и на другом у раној хришћанској уметности, двоструки, псеудо-божански статус императора је мигрирао у представу Христа и његове двоструке природе. Полу-божански статус раније оличен у тријумфалном императору и његовим дуалистичким, амбивалентним иконографским представама, сад је потпуно отелотворен у појединачној фигури Христа Богочовека свдећи улогу императора на медијатора између земаљске и небеске сфере.