

## IMPERIAL BUSTS ON A GLOBE AND THEIR ROLE IN THE TETRARCHIC IDEOLOGY\*

I v a n a P o p o v i ć

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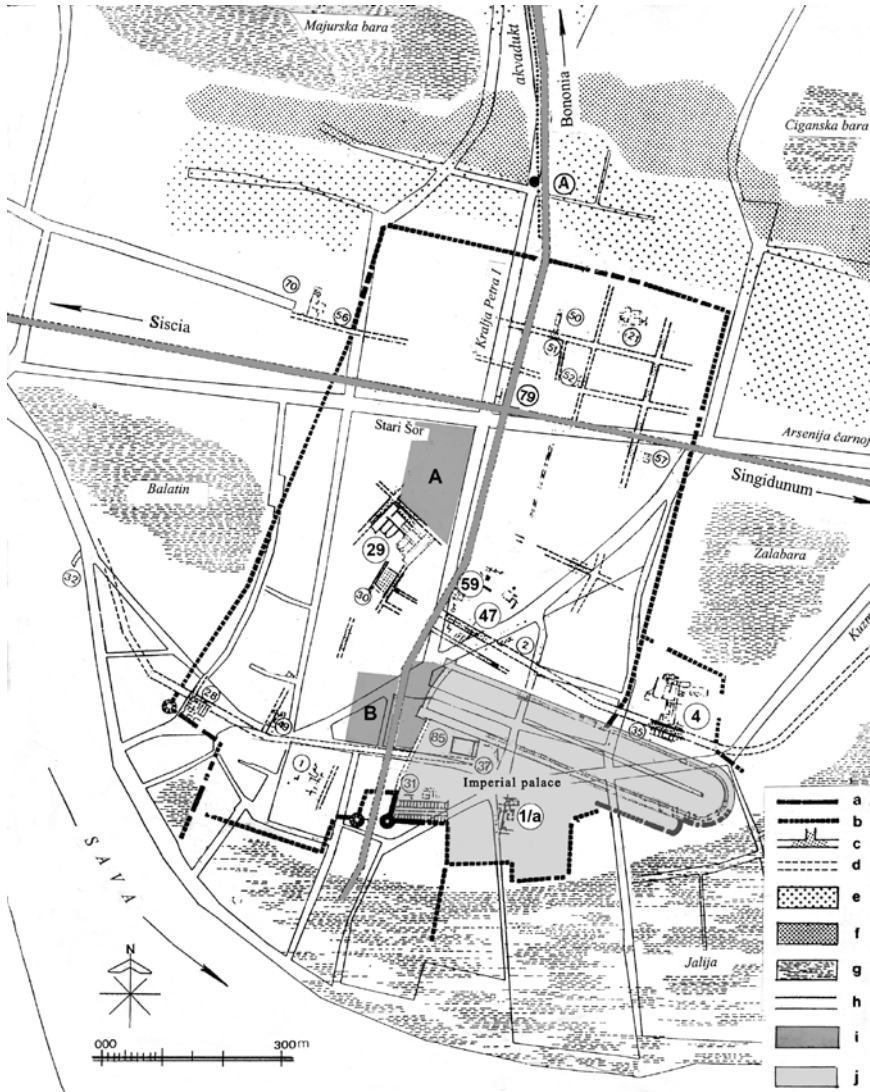
Izvorni znanstveni rad

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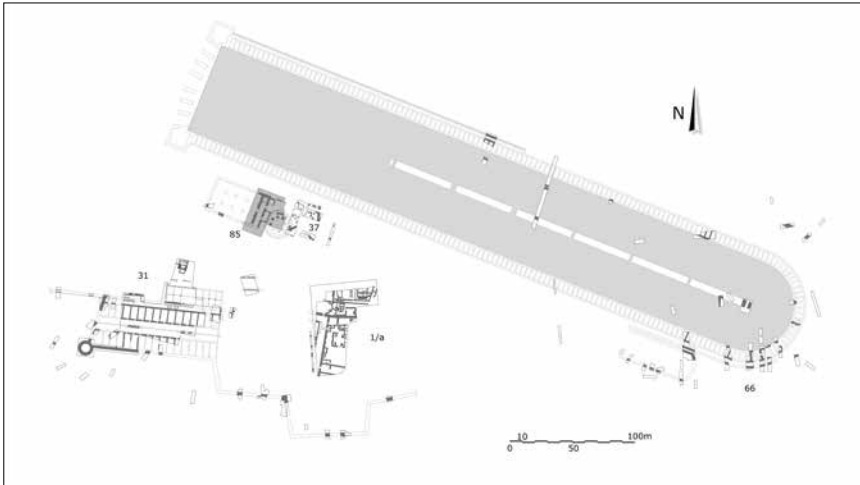
Porforna bista cara na kugli, otkrivena u sjevernom dijelu rezidencijalnog kompleksa u Sirmiju, skrenula je ponovo pozornost na dva porfirna stupa sa bistama Nerve i Trajana na kugli iz muzeja Louvre u Parizu, a porijeklom su iz stare bazilike sv. Petra u Rimu. Polemika koja se vodi u znanstvenoj literaturi o vremenu nastanka ovih stupova još je uvijek aktuelna. Moguće rješenje dileme o kronologiji porfirne biste cara na kugli iz Sirmija i porfirnih stupova sa bistama Nerve i Trajana iz Louvra pruža medaljon sa pilastra A iz Gamzigrada (*Felix Romuliana*). Obraden u vidu niza vojnih znakovlja (*signa*), pilastar je sadržavao tri medaljona sa po dvije carske biste od kojih je sačuvana samo donja, sa prikazom *seniores augusti*, Dioklecijana i Maksimijana na kugli. Budući da je pilastar podignut poslije abdikacije ova dva augusta, 1. svibnja 305. godine, a prije smrti tadašnjeg augusta Konstancija Klora u lipnju 306. godine, nastanak prikaza carskih bisti na kugli na ovom spomeniku se može relativno precizno datirati. Stoga smatramo da su i porfirne biste careva na kugli iz Sirmija, kao i stupovi sa bistama Nerve i Trajana iz Louvra, nastali u doba prve ili druge tetrarhije.

\* This article is the result of the project *Romanisation, urbanisation and transformation of urban centres of civil, military and residential character in Roman provinces in the territory of Serbia* (no 177007) founded by Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.



*Sirmium* in the 4th century: a) city rampart; b) supposed location of the rampart; c-d) main streets and roads; e-f) necropolises; g) marshland and ponds; h) modern day streets; i) forum (A - original forum, B - supposed location of the second forum); j) palatial complex; 1/a, 37, 85) palace; 31) *horreum*; 1) *villa*; 28) craftsmen's quarter; 29) *thermae*; 30) *horreum*; 59) city basilica; 47) pagan temple (?); 35) *villa urbana*; 79) intersection of main thoroughfares *cardo* and *decumanus* (after Jeremić 2009.)

Although decades-long excavations of *Sirmium* yielded numerous facts about its urban structures during the Late Antique period, it was only the excavations at the beginning of the 21th century that provided data about the architectural layer from the period of the First Tetrarchy and about one religious structure from

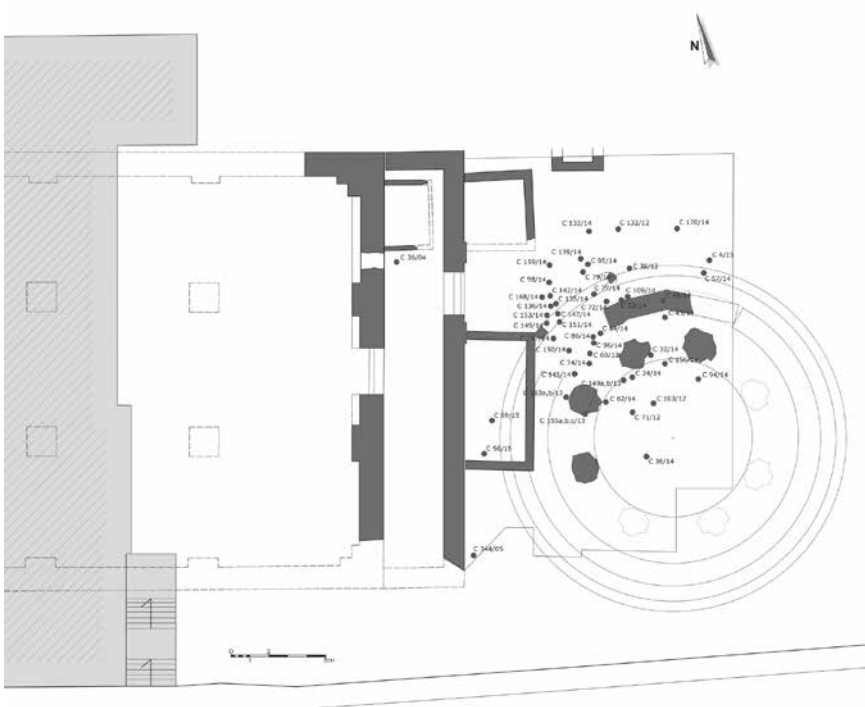


Explored sites within the palatial complex (plan by B. Popović)

this time. During the archaeological excavations of the northern part of the palatial complex in Sirmium at site 85), which was begun in 2002, fragments of porphyry were sporadically registered as early as in 2004 and 2005. In 2012, it became clear, with the find of a part of a head with an external ear, that a porphyry sculpture or a figural composition was in question. The exceptional finds of the head and of a bust on a globe, registered in 2014, have confirmed that they are fragments of a complex porphyry composition. Of the 50 porphyry finds made to date, 48 of them, discovered in 2015, were found in a rubble layer, together with mortar, fragments of bricks, parts of frescoes and architectural decorations. This layer was registered above floor g, and the porphyry finds were registered at absolute depths from 79.71 to 80.86 m. Their greatest concentration was registered to the east and north-east of the south annex of the Late Antique building (horreum ?), partly excavated during earlier campaigns of research. Floor g was first registered in 2002 and it was assigned to the earliest Late Antique horizon, built above the earlier Roman structures. Chronologically, it was defined by finds of coins of Galerius from 297-311 and of Maximianus Herculius from 300-303 above the floor, at an absolute depth of 79.51 m. This level was also confirmed at the eastern part of the site by finds of coins of Constantius Chlorus from 293-306 in the rubble under floor g. The beginning of the building of the octagonal structure, whose four column bases were discovered, and around and in which the greatest number of porphyry fragments were found, was delimited by the coins of Maximianus Herculius from 301, found in the soot next to the a column of the structure, on the very floor, at an absolute depth of 79.80 m. In addition, the coins of Constantius Chlorus of 298/299, of Diocletian of 300/303 and of Maximinus Daia of 308/310 discovered in the rubble above the floor corresponded to the period in which this structure was built. Later, the structure was transformed by building or adding the circular supporting wall. Found in the fill of the negative of



Impressions of the column bases in the octagonal structure from the time of the first Tetrarchy, *Sirmium*



Octagonal building and finds of porphyry fragments (plan by B. Popović)

that wall were minted by Constantius II, belonging to the »fallen rider« type and dated to the period between 348 and 361.<sup>1</sup>

After the conservation of the 50 porphyry fragments, it was concluded that parts of three heads were involved, of one bust on a globe and of another, probably identical but fragmented, parts of a sculpture and of the architectural composition. Two of the fragmented heads were imperial portraits while one belongs to an Egyptian priest.<sup>2</sup> The analysis of the fragments of porphyry sculptures from Sirmium showed that they were made in different periods, representing at least two archaeological horizons. The first one is connected to the period from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the first years of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. with the rule of Diocletian and his Caesar Galerius (fragmented head of the emperor), while the other one, from the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, belongs to the period of rule of Constantius II (fragmented head with a diadem in the hair). It is hard to come to any conclusion concerning the date when the head of the Egyptian priest was made.<sup>3</sup> The dating of the most interesting sculptures from this find, the imperial busts on a globe, is also conjectural.

Of the two imperial busts, one was clearly defined at the time of the discovery, while only fragments that could be placed in an appropriate position on the basis of the design and dimensions of the first example found were preserved from the other. The preserved bust of the emperor on a globe (height 31 cm, width 40 cm) was placed on an ellipsoid pedestal with a protrusion for fixing the globe to it, in a square opening at the bottom of the globe. The bust is represented in armour, with a cloak cast over it, folded around the neck and clasped on the right shoulder with a fibula. Only one bulb of the fibula is preserved. On the basis of this we can draw the conclusion that it belongs to the early variant with bulbous fibulae with a poorly developed bulb, of the Keller 1 / Pröttel 1 A type dated to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> or the very beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> According to the finds from Serbia, golden and silver specimens of this type were characteristic of the period of the First Tetrarchy (293-305).<sup>5</sup> The cloak is represented around the neck by four deep folds in the form of arcs, while one of them, shallower than the others, is placed diagonally over the chest. From the right shoulder the cloak drops vertically down, creating four deep folds. The part of the cloak under the shoulder is missing. According to the way of modelling, the closest analogy to it is the cloak on the porphyry bust from Athribis in Egypt, which is supposed variously to

<sup>1</sup> E. Keller 1971, »Die spätrömischen Grabfunde in Südbayern«, *Münchener Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 14, München 1971, 32-35, fig. 11; P. M. Pröttel, »Zur Chronologie der Zwiebelknopffibeln«, *Jahrbuch des Römisch – Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 35 (1988), Mainz 1991, 349-353, Fig. 1 A.

<sup>2</sup> I. Popović 2016, 374-377, no 1-3; I. Popović 2017, 114-119, cat. 1-3.

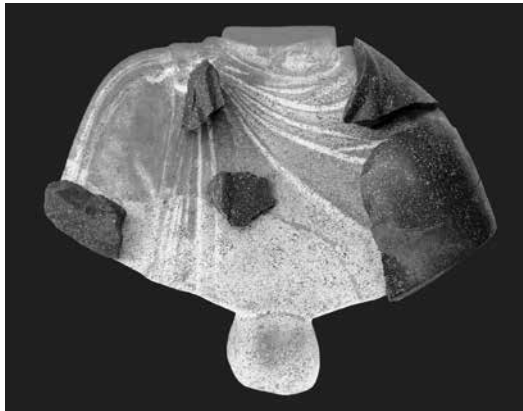
<sup>3</sup> I. Popović 2016, 387-388; I. Popović 2017, 65-67.

<sup>4</sup> E. Keller 1971, »Die spätrömischen Grabfunde in Südbayern« *Münchener Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 14, München 1971., 32-35, fig. 11; P. M. Pröttel, »Zur Chronologie der Zwiebelknopffibeln«, *Jahrbuch des Römisch - Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 35 (1988), Mainz 1991, 349-353, Fig. 1 A.

<sup>5</sup> S. Petković, »Crossbow fibulae from Gamzigrad (Romuliana)«, *Starinar* LX (2010), 2011, 121.



Porphyry bust of the emperor on a globe at the moment of finding, *Sirmium*.  
(documentation of the Institute of Archeology, Belgrade)



Porphyry bust of the emperor, fragmented, *Sirmium*.  
(documentation of the Institute of Archeology, Belgrade)

represent Galerius,<sup>6</sup> Diocletian,<sup>7</sup> Licinius<sup>8</sup> or Maximinus Daia.<sup>9</sup> The cloak on the shoulder of this bust also has a bulbous fibula belonging to the Keller 1 / Pröttel 1 type. The similarities of the representations of the cloaks on the busts from

<sup>6</sup> R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Roma. La fine dell'arte antica*, Milano 1970, 282, fig. 258; R. Calza, *Iconografia romana imperiale. Da Carausio a Giuliano (287/363 d. C.)*, Roma 1972, 144-145, fig. 104-105; Zs. Kiss, *Études sur le portrait impérial romain en Egypte*, Warszawa 1984, 95, figs. 238-239; H.P. L'Orange, *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin Söhnen 284-361 n. Chr.*, Berlin 1984, 27-28, Pl. 7.

<sup>7</sup> D. Del Bufalo, *Porphyry. Red Imperial Porphyry. Power and Religion*, Turin 2012, 124, no B 16.

<sup>8</sup> R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke. Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 6, Berlin-Leipzig 1932, 94-96; D. Srejović, »The Representations of Tetrarchs in Romuliana«, *Antiquité Tardive* 2, 1994, 262.

<sup>9</sup> F. H. Volbach, G. Salls, G. Duthmit, *L'art byzantin*, Paris 1931, 36, fig. 5.



Porphyry bust of the emperor on a globe with a pedestal, *Sirmium*.  
(documentation of the Institute of Archeology, Belgrade)

Sirmium and from Athribis, point to the conclusion that busts of this type were produced in series, in the same workshop and that the heads were added later.<sup>10</sup>

The finding of the imperial busts on a globe in Sirmium drew the attention again to the two porphyry columns with imperial busts on a globe. These are the porphyry busts of Nerva and Trajan on a globe fixed to porphyry columns originating from Rome, today in the Louvre Museum in Paris. Although the busts have the portrait characteristics of these emperors, there are still heated scholarly discussions about their chronological determination. There are opinions that they originate from the time of these emperors,<sup>11</sup> then that their dating can be expanded to the period between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> century, but that their later production can not be excluded,<sup>12</sup> as well as that they were made at the time of Tetrarchy.<sup>13</sup> On the basis of a manuscript from the 8<sup>th</sup> century and from a Renaissance drawing kept in the Uffizi Gallery it can be supposed that two columns with the busts on a globe belonged to the construction of the fountain (*Cantharos*) in the atrium of

<sup>10</sup> I. Popović 2016, 384.

<sup>11</sup> Ph. Malgouyres, ed., *Porphyre. La pierre pourpre, des Ptolémées aux Bonaparte*, Paris 2003, 51-54, no 7-8; D. Del Bufalo, *op. cit.* (7), 123, no B11; 178, no C 4.

<sup>12</sup> H. P. Laubscher, »Beobachtungen zu tetrarchischen Kaiserbildnissen aus Porphyre«, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 114 (1999), 2000, 219.

<sup>13</sup> R. Falkiner, »Mystery Red Head Identified«, *Minerva* 2012, November/December, In the news, 6.



Porphry columns with the busts of Nerva and Trajan on a globe, Louvre Museum, Paris (documentation of D. Del Bufalo)

Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome, whose bronze roof in the shape of a canopy was supported with eight columns, one of them decorated with a bust on a globe.<sup>14</sup> Although the Sirmium bust of the emperor on a globe was not fixed to a column, but to a cylindrical pedestal, it is clear that it follows the same iconographic principle as the busts of Nerva and Trajan from the Louvre.

The head of the bust on a globe from Sirmium is not preserved, and thus its identification and the time of its emergence can only be spoken of on the basis of similarity with the bust from Athribis and the bulbous fibula on its shoulder, dated to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. But for the chronological determination and possible identification of the busts from Sirmium there could be great importance in the representation on the single preserved medallion on pilaster A,<sup>15</sup> the architectural ornament of the eastern gate of the later fortress in Gamzigrad (*Romuliana*), handled in the form of a military standard (*signum*). In three out of the five round medallions that form this military standard there are two busts in each: of two augusti – Galerius and Constantius Chlorus, two caesars – Severus and Maximinus Daia, and of two older augusti – Diocletian and Maximianus Herculus. The two last tetrarchs withdrew from power in 305, but they had the titles *seniores augusti*. This places the raising of pilasters in Gamzigrad in the period between their abdication on the Calendae of May 305 and the

<sup>14</sup> H. P. Laubscher, *op. cit.* (12), 219-221, fig. 14; D. Del Bufalo, *op. cit.* (7), no B 11e.

<sup>15</sup> I. Popović 2017, 55-56, fig. 13.





Diocletian's and Maximianus Herculius' busts on a globe,  
pilaster A, Gamzigrad (*Romuliana*)

death of Constantius Chlorus in July 306.<sup>16</sup> Their busts, represented in the lower medallion of this pilaster, were placed on globes, which testifies to the fact that even the porphyry busts solved in this way had a strong dynastic message. They are the best testimony of the tetrarchic idea that the Emperors are representatives of Jupiter and Hercules on Earth, that is the rulers of the Universe, upon which, represented in the form of globe, their busts were posted. However, while the busts of emperors on the globes on pilaster A from Gamzigrad could be relatively precisely dated and identified as those of Diocletian and Maximianus Herculius represented as *seniores augusti*, the determination of the busts on the globes from Sirmium remains uncertain. It is possible that they originated in the same period, with the aim of continuing the idea of the tetrarchs' authority after the abdication of August 2, 305, but the historical circumstances are more in favour of their having been made during the First Tetrarchy, when Sirmium was Diocletian's military base during the conflicts with the barbarians from the left banks of the Danube and the Sava. Diocletian had already faced the intrusions of the Sarmatians and Quadi over the northern border of the Empire in the beginning of his rule, and, using Sirmium as a military base, he started military resistance. During his wars with the Sarmatians at the end of the ninth and in the beginning of the tenth decade of the 3rd century, Diocletian stayed on several occasions in

<sup>16</sup> D. Srejšović, *op. cit.* (8), 145, fig. 2.

Sirmium, and according to the imperial constitutions we know that he stayed in this city in 289/90, from February 26<sup>th</sup> to 29<sup>th</sup> 293 and in 294.<sup>17</sup> Although there is also a scholarly opinion that Sirmium was his imperial residence in the period from 290 to 294,<sup>18</sup> there are no records in written sources in confirmation. After the establishment of the tetrarchical system of rule in the spring of 293, the defence of territories to the south of the Danube, from the Alps to the Black Sea, was entrusted to Diocletian's Caesar, Galerius; his seat was in Sirmium.<sup>19</sup> Although there is an opinion in academic literature that Galerius' official residence was in this Pannonian metropolis, where he also had the imperial office in which laws were enacted,<sup>20</sup> the ancient writers do not mention this.<sup>21</sup> But, some information can be gleaned from the list of consuls that Diocletian and Galerius received in Sirmium the consulate for 294.<sup>22</sup> In the same year the fortification *Onagrinum*, opposite Banoštor (*Bononia*)<sup>23</sup> was built and the Sarmatians, with whom Galerius waged a war that was commenced from Sirmium, were defeated. On this occasion Diocletian and his co-rulers received the title *Sarmaticus Maximus*.<sup>24</sup> The later fights with the barbarians on the Danube were sporadic, but Lactantius mentions that Galerius spent 15 years in Illyricum carrying out Diocletian's orders.<sup>25</sup> The same author wrote that Diocletian intended to build Nicomedia in such way that it would become another Rome.<sup>26</sup> The idea of *imitatio Romae* was also a part of Diocletian's building program in Sirmium.<sup>27</sup> Guided by this idea, he could have built an octagonal religious object with porphyry sculptures inside this city, either on the occasion of obtaining the consulship in 294, or on the occasion of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Tetrarchy, held in Rome in 303. Porphyry imperial busts would symbolize the significance of these anniversaries and the steadiness of the rule of tetrarchs.

The idea that tetrarchic rule is eternal and that it is demonstrated by cosmic analogies, that is the division of the Earth's sphere into four parts, is symbolically represented in the panegyric of Constantius Chlorus from 297 in the words of an unknown author *orbis quadrifariam duplici discretus Oceano*. The significance of the Earthly globe in the ideology of the Emperors of the First Tetrarchy is

<sup>17</sup> *Cod. Iust.* IV, 9,1; 34,8.

<sup>18</sup> A. Madgearu, *Împăratul Galerius*, Târgoviște 2012, 48.

<sup>19</sup> E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* I. Amsterdam, 1968, 68.

<sup>20</sup> O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt* II, Stuttgart 1905, col. 2519-2520.

<sup>21</sup> M. Mirković, »Sirmium - its History from the I Century A.D. to 582 A.D.«, in: *Sirmium I*, ed. V. Popović, Beograd, 1971, 36.

<sup>22</sup> *Consularia Constantinopolitana, Chronica Minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII.*, ed. Th. Mommsen, vol. I, Berolini 1892, 230 (a. 294).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>24</sup> A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia. A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire*, London and Boston 1974, 268.

<sup>25</sup> W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la Tétrarchie*, Paris 1946, 131-136.

<sup>26</sup> Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, edited and translated by J.L. Creed, Oxford, 1984, 7. 8-10.

<sup>27</sup> S. Dušanić, »Diocletian's Visits to Quarries and Mines in the Danubian Provinces«, *Die Archäologie und Geschichte der Region des Eisernen Tores zwischen 275/602 N. Chr., Kolloquium in Drobeta-Turnu Severin (2.-5. November 2001)*, București 2003, 9.



Pophyry figures of the augusti and caesari of First Tetrarchy,  
Vatican Library (documentation of D. Del Bufalo)

evident in both works of art and numismatics. The tetrarchs from the Vatican group have in their left hands an earthly globe, while with their right arms they are embracing their co-ruler. The earthly globe in the hand, on which Victory is due to descend, represents the Emperor as Jupiter, the ruler and the liberator of the Universe, the *cosmocrator*. The representations of Diocletian and Maximian Herculus together with a globe and Victory are accompanied on the coins by the legend *CONCORDIA AUGG*, which confirms the concord of the ruling pair.<sup>28</sup> These aureii were minted in Cyzicus in 290/92<sup>29</sup> and the antoniniani with the reverse representation of Diocletian and Maximian Herculus holding a globe with Victory at the top, accompanied by the legend *VICTORIA AUG*, was issued in the Siscia mint in 292.<sup>30</sup> Approximately at this time, in 290, the mint of Cyzicus issued aureii of Diocletian with reverses showing this Emperor holding a globe in his right hand<sup>31</sup>. On the occasions of some of Diocletian's visits to Egypt, the *sacellum* of the Great Temple of Amun, located in the city of Thebes (Luxor), was frescoed with a representation of the Tetrarchs. The two augusti, Diocletian, holding a globe his left hand and Maximian Herculus, holding an olive branch - a symbol of peace - in his right hand, are depicted in the centre with the two ca-

<sup>28</sup> H. P. Laubscher, *op. cit.* (12), 209-216.

<sup>29</sup> P. H. Weeb, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* (RIC), Vol. V, Part 2, ed. H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, London 1968, 250, nr. 290.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, 249, nr. 277.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, 250, nr. 285.



Aureus of Diocletian issued AD 290 in the Cyzicus mint; place of finding: vicinity of Stari Slankamen (*Acumincum*), Serbia (documentation of the National Museum in Belgrade)

esars, Constantius and Galerius, beside them.<sup>32</sup> A colossal statue of Galerius from Gamzigrad (*Romuliana*), which has preserved the Emperor's head with an insignia symbolizing the triumphal crown and the crown of imperial priests, could be connected to these artistic representations from the time of diarchy of Diocletian and Maximian Herculeus and from the time of the First Tetrarchy. Based on the dimensions of this head and the dimensions of the earlier discovered porphyry hand of the left arm with the globe, it is considered that this sculpture is the colossal figure of Galerius represented as the *cosmocrator* crowned by Victory, erected in 303,<sup>33</sup> or in 298.<sup>34</sup> From the written sources we learn that the bronze statue with the same iconography was erected in the honour of Galerius in the vestibule of the palace in Antioch.<sup>35</sup> Although there is an opinion that this sculpture was put in place after 305,<sup>36</sup> this is based on the assumption that only an augustus, and not a caesar, was permitted to be represented as *cosmocrator*. According to a recently published opinion, Galerius is carrying its representation on his suit of armour in the scene of sacrifice on frieze B I 17 from the triumphal arch in Thessalonica.<sup>37</sup> In any case, the dating of the sculpture from Gamzigrad (*Romuliana*) and its interpretation are subject to different interpretations. According to one of the theories, this porphyry group, consisting of two Augusti and two Victories, placed in the period between 306 and 311, represents Galerius to the right, and Severus or Licinius to the left of Victory.<sup>38</sup> But, because only the wing, the right foot and the part of the right arm holding the back part of the crown on Galerius' head in

<sup>32</sup> A. K. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs. 332 BC-AD 642 from Alexander to the Arab Conquest*, London 1986, 44-46, 54; D. Del Bufalo, *op. cit.* (7), 73, figs. 79-81, 96-97.

<sup>33</sup> D. Srejšović, *op. cit.* (8), 150.

<sup>34</sup> I. Popović, »Insignia on Galerius' Porphyry Head from Felix Romuliana (Gamzigrad), East Serbia«, *The Lower Danube in Antiquity (VI C BC-VI C AD)*, Sofia 2007, 291.

<sup>35</sup> *Ammianus Marcellinus in Three Volumes*, with an English Translation by J.C. Rolfe, London - Cambridge Mass., 1964, XXV, 10, 13.

<sup>36</sup> W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la Tétrarchie*, Paris 1946, 182, note 4.

<sup>37</sup> S. Dušanić, »Imitator Alexandri and Redditor Libertatis. Two Controversial Themes of Galerius' Political Propaganda«, in: *The Age of Tetrarchs*, ed. D. Srejšović, Belgrade 1995, 85.

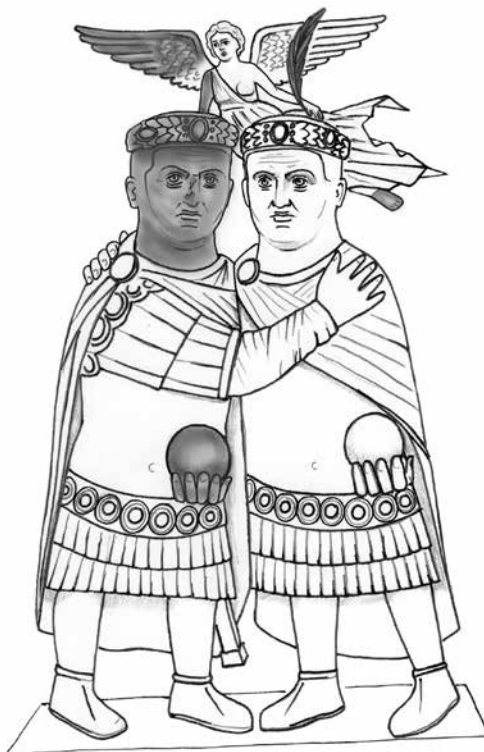
<sup>38</sup> H. P. Laubscher, *op. cit.* (12), 242-250.



Drawing of the fresco with the representation of tetrarchs, temple of Amun, Luxor  
(after Del Bufalo 2012, fig. 97)



Porphyry left hand with globe, Gamzigrad (*Romuliana*)  
(documentation of the National Museum, Zaječar)



Possible view of the scene *Victory crowning Galerius and Severus or Licinius*  
(drawing B. Popović)

his hand are preserved from the figure of Victory in Gamzigrad, the position of her left arm cannot be determined with certainty, especially because no remains of another wreath and/or of an imperial head have been found.

Regardless of the existing dilemmas about the precise dating of certain monuments, it is clear that in the art of the diarchy, the First and Second Tetrarchies, the representations of the globe and of Victory played a very important role. The imperial busts on a globe carved in porphyry that were found in Sirmium, as well as the imperial busts on a globe shown in the lower medallion of limestone pilaster A from Gamzigrad (*Romuliana*), combine these two themes. The augusti depicted on these two monuments, Diocletian and Maximian Herculus, are not only *cosmocratores*, but, placed upon the globe, they take on the role of Victory, becoming also the *liberatores*. The globe is beneath them, and not in their hand, which gives effect to the scene shown and supports the idea that *augusti* are the earthly representatives of Jupiter and Hercules. As the numismatic material shows, iconographic solutions where the globe is placed between the two augusti, Diocletian and Maximian Herculus, or the Diocletian with the globe in his hand, appeared in 290-292, that is before the naming of the caesars and the formation of the First Tetrarchy. Did the scene with a presentation of the augusti on a globe

originate from that period, or did it have to wait for the formation of the tetrarchic ideology, immediately after 293? Although there are no representations of the Emperor on a globe in the reverse presentations of the coins from that period, we think that this type of bust from Sirmium would probably represent a testimony to Diocletian's efforts to formulate new ideological propaganda through porphyry sculptures that, like the coinage, had a strong propaganda function. And as it can be seen from the numismatic material, Diocletian had already formed his state policy, that is, the main topics of the future ideological propaganda, during his co-rule with Maximian Herculius as the second augustus, before his naming of the caesars and the formation of the Tetrarchy.

If we accept the proposed interpretation of the identification and significance of the imperial busts on globes from Sirmium and Gamzigrad, it is also possible to see more precisely the chronological framework in which some of the porphyry busts and portraits now preserved in European museums but unreliably dated were created. Previously, the dilemmas about the dating of the busts of Nerva and Trajan from the porphyry columns kept in the Louvre Museum were already discussed. Just the same, the identification, dating, and even the authenticity of a porphyry bust of a young man, 69 cm high, kept in the Vatican in the Pio Clementini Museum, have caused numerous controversies in scholarly writing. Today, it is mostly accepted that the bust was made in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, maybe at the time of Constantius II.<sup>39</sup> It can be linked with Nerva's and Trajan's bust, because only a small part of the globe on which the bust is leaning is saved, but it can not be stated with certainty if the bust was fixed to the column, or if that column was a part of the construction of the *Cantharos* fountain in the atrium of the old Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome.<sup>40</sup> Recently, the porphyry head from the Temple Gallery in London was identified as a portrait of a Tetrarch and it was linked, stylistically, with the above-mentioned bust from Vatican. The head from London and the head of the bust from Vatican differ from the porphyry representations of tetrarchs made in the hard style, and the sleepy expression of the eyes points toward the idealistic style of the representations of Constantine as Alexander the Great, also cultivated in the art at the time of his sons. It was supposed that the head from the Temple Gallery also belongs to a bust and that it was, like the Vatican specimen, fixed to a column, which, together with the columns from Louvre, created an architectural unit with the representations of the four tetrarchs. The heads of the porphyry sculptures from London and the Vatican have hairstyles characteristic of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, while the busts of Nerva and Trajan on the columns from Louvre have the hairstyles and facial features typical of these emperors. This phenomenon has been explained by the need of the later emperors to establish their legitimacy by referring to the »good rulers« from the previous periods.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> R. Delbrueck, *op. cit.* (8), 27, 103-104, Taf. 45-46.

<sup>40</sup> M. Bergmann, P. Liverani, »Busto con ritratto imperiale non pertinente«, nr. 220, in: *Aurea Roma. Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana*, eds. S. Ensoli, E. La Rocca, Roma 2000, 563-564; P. Liverani, Busto con ritratto imperiale non pertinente, nr. 123, in: *Constantino il Grande. La civiltà antica al bivio tra Occidente e Oriente*, eds. A. Donati, G. Gentili, Milano 2005, 285; D. Del Bufalo, *op. cit.* (7), 124, no B 17.

<sup>41</sup> R. Falkiner, *op. cit.* (13), 6.

If we accept the dating of the porphyry sculptures from Louvre, Vatican and Temple Gallery to the 4<sup>th</sup> century, there is a small possibility that they can be determined to the period of the First Tetrarchy, considering the ideological-political concept of that time. On the other hand, during the period of conflicts between the co-rulers, it is hard to believe that four imperial busts were erected. But, regarding Constantine's insistence on legitimacy and respect to the »good emperors«, which was also cherished by his successors, it is possible that the four busts represent Constantine and his three sons and that they were made around the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>42</sup> The questions of dating and identifying these sculptural works still remains open, but the imperial busts on a globe from Sirmium and *Romuliana*, sculpted in the time of the First and/or Second Tetrarchy, are works of a robust imperial propaganda conveying the message that tetrarchs are *cosmocratores* and *liberatores*.

The idea implicit in the porphyry busts on a globe from Sirmium, in all likelihood of Diocletian and Maximian Herculus, probably made during the Diocletian's active mandate during the First Tetrarchy, and, as demonstrated by the representation of busts from Pilaster A in Gamzigrad (*Romuliana*), was of continued vitality at the time following their withdrawal from power in 305, when Diocletian and Maximian Herculus received the title *seniores augusti*. Judging by the porphyry bust from the Vatican, the porphyry portrait from the Temple Gallery in London and the busts of Nerva and Trajan from the porphyry pillars in the Louvre, this idea, in a somewhat changed form, is also present in the imperial ideology of the Constantinian era. Namely, the idea of the Tetrarchs as liberators and rulers of the Universe was transformed into the idea of giving legitimacy to the rule of a hereditary dynasty.

<sup>42</sup> I. Popović 2016, 307; I. Popović 2017, 63-65.



## PRIKAZI CARSKIH BISTA NA KUGLI I NJIHOVA ULOGA U TETRARHIJSKOJ IDEOLOGIJI

Ivana Popović

Tijekom arheoloških iskopavanja sjevernog dijela rezidencijalnog kompleksa u Sirmiju od 2012.-2015. godine, otkriveno je 50 fragmenta skulptura od porfira. One su nađene unutar ili oko oktogonalnog objekta, čije su baze četiri masivna stupa registrirana i dokumentirana. Na razini poda ove konstrukcije pronađen je novac Maksimijana Herkulija iz 301. godine. Poslije konzervacije porfirnih fragmenata ustanovljeno je da se radi o jednoj djelomično sačuvanoj glavi cara iz doba tetrarhije, o jednoj djelomično sačuvanoj glavi cara iz postkonstantinovskog perioda, o glavi jednog egipatskog svećenika i o dvije carske biste na kugli, od kojih je jedna relativno dobro sačuvana, a druga fragmentarno. Nalaz carske biste na kugli ponovo je skrenuo pozornost na dva porfirna stupa sa bistama Nerve i Trajana na kugli, danas u muzeju Louvre u Parizu, a porijeklom iz stare bazilike sv. Petra u Rimu. Polemika koja se vodi u znanstvenoj literaturi o vremenu nastanka ovih stupova još je uvek aktualna. Dok su po mišljenju pojedinih znanstvenika oni izrađeni početkom 2. stoljeća, druga grupa stručnjaka smatra da su ovi porfirni stupovi izrađeni tijekom kasnoantičkog perioda i da su biste Nerve i Trajana izvedeni kao likovi »dobrih careva«, što je tijekom vladavine careva kasne antike bio običaj u cilju davanja legitimiteta osobne vlasti. Moguće rešenje dileme o kronologiji sirmijumske porfirne biste cara na kugli i porfirnih stupova sa bistama Nerve i Trajana iz Louvra pruža medaljon sa pilastra A izrađen od vapnenca iz Gamzigrada (*Felix Romuliana*). Obrađen u vidu niza vojnih znamenja (*signa*), pilastar je sadržavao tri medaljona sa po dvije carske biste od kojih je sačuvana samo donja, sa prikazom *seniores augusti*, Dioklecijana i Maksimijana na kugli. Budući da je pilastar podignut poslije abdikacije ova dva avgusta, 1. svibnja 305. godine, a prije smrti tadašnjeg avgusta Konstancija Klora u lipnju 306. godine, nastanak predstave carskih bisti na kugli na ovom spomeniku se može relativno precizno datirati. Stoga smatramo da su i porfirne biste careva na kugli iz Sirmija nastale bilo za vrijeme prve tetrarhije, a povodom proslave desetogodišnjice vlasti četvorice careva 303. godine, bilo povodom povlačenja avgusta i uspostavljanja druge tetrarhije 305. godine. Ovo bi mogao biti i kronološki okvir za izradu porfirnih stupova sa bistama Nerve i Trajana na kugli, podignutih u atriju stare bazilike sv. Petra u Rimu. Inače, zemaljska kugla ima značajnu ulogu u ideološko-religijskom sistemu uspostavljenom tijekom tetrarhije. To je uočljivo već na skulptorskoj grupi koja se čuva u Vatikanskoj biblioteci u Rimu. Dva avgusta i dva cezara, prikazana u okviru ove kompozicije, u lijevoj ruci drže kuglu, dok desnom grle svog suvladara. U Gamzigradu (*Felix Romuliana*) otkrivena je i šaka lijeve ruke u kojoj je kugla, a koja pripada monumentalnoj carskoj skulpturi. Zemaljska kugla u ruci, na koju treba sletjeti Viktorija, predstavlja cara kao Jupitera, vladara i oslobodioca svemira, odnosno kozmokratora. Biste careva na kugli sublimiraju ovu ideju, potencirajući dinastičke poruke tetrarhijske ideologije, po kojoj su carevi bili zemaljski zastupnici Jupitera i Herkula.