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MARKING THE NORTH. THE GREEK TRADITION AND ITS INFLUENCE IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

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Broadcasting Imperial Policy about the Goths: Theodosius' Torque-Wearing Bodyguards

Cédrik Michel

1. Introduction

This chapter intends to contextualise the appearance of torques, thick metal neck rings associated with and worn by barbarian (non-Roman) groups, in Theodosian imperial iconography. I argue that this iconographical novelty was introduced in the context of Theodosian propaganda about the peace treaty of 382 CE between Romans and Goths, which brought an end to the Gothic War (376–382).[1] After 382, imperial bodyguards are customarily represented with torques, which function as an ethnic marker identifying their wearer as a barbarian. This iconographic novelty appears linked to Theodosian propaganda, conveyed through Themistius' *Orations* 16 and 34, which portrayed the Goths settled in the Roman Empire as farmers and soldiers, whose involvement in the affairs of the Roman Empire, either through the taxes they would generate or as manpower in the army, would benefit Romans. Thus, the introduction of the torque as an ethnic marker on the iconography of the imperial bodyguard should be understood, at least at its inception during the reign of Theodosius, as an attempt to broadcast the various ways in which barbarians could successfully contribute to the economy and safety of the Roman Empire.

This iconographic development is significant because it demonstrates that Late Antique portrayals of barbarians did not only function as imperial propaganda in the realm of literature but also of iconography. These media formed a coherent program according to which portrayals of barbarians were carefully moulded to further the interests of the imperial court. It also demonstrates that ethnic markers on iconography could be carefully manipulated to convey messages to their viewers. This mimicked the carefully crafted portrayals of barbarians in literary sources.[2]

First, I provide an overview of the historical context that generated the development of this new iconography. I focus on the portrayal of Goths in Themistius' *Orations* 16 and 34, delivered to the Theodosian court and Senate in Constantinople after the peace treaty of 382. Following Heather and Moncur's interpretation of Themistius' discourse as a reflection of imperial policy towards the integration[3] of barbarians in the Roman Empire throughout the Gothic War, I showcase how these *Orations* presented the Goths as important parts of the Roman workforce, both as farmers and army recruits, to broadcast this peace treaty as a success, not an unfavourable outcome that resulted from an inability to achieve military supremacy over the Goths.

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[1] All dates are CE, unless otherwise mentioned.

[2] See e.g., Michel 2024, chap. 3, on Synesius' carefully crafted portrayal of the Scythian/Goth in *De regno* and Van Nuffelen 2012, 170–185, on how Orosius portrayed barbarians to further his apologetic goals.

[3] Different sources had different ideas about what constituted 'integration.' In this chapter, I define it as the ability for the Goths to live within the Roman Empire, peacefully interact with Romans and participate in the Roman economy. On the complexities of the term, see Halsall 2007, 474.

In the subsequent sections, I examine three pieces of visual evidence, the Missorium of Theodosius, the Obelisk of Theodosius and the Column of Theodosius which depict imperial bodyguards wearing torques. After an overview of the history and iconography of the Roman imperial bodyguard and of torques, I argue that the introduction of the torque as an ethnic marker in the iconography of the imperial bodyguard should be understood, at least at its inception during the reign of Theodosius, as an attempt to showcase that the Goths settled on Roman lands had successfully integrated the Roman army. This emphasised that the peace treaty of 382 was the best possible outcome for the Roman Empire. Finally, I employ the date of the peace treaty as a *terminus post quem* to bring precision to the dating of two Late Antique silver plates that depict an emperor flanked by imperial bodyguards wearing torques.

2. Military failure and the peace treaty of 382

In October 382, the emperor Theodosius and the *magister militum* ('master of the soldiers') Flavius Saturninus negotiated a peace treaty with the Goths, which brought an end to the Gothic War. Although the specific terms of this treaty have been debated because they are not explicitly stated in any extant evidence, the Goths were settled in Moesia Secunda under favourable conditions that granted them a considerable degree of autonomy.[4] The Goths were given land to cultivate within the Roman Empire and were allowed to live relatively independently, under their own laws and customs, but could not elect a king or judge, whose influence and power base would facilitate revolt.[5] The Goths were expected to pay taxes, but this was probably a small, symbolic sum to stress that they were subjected to the Roman Empire. Goths of fighting age were given a stipend for arms and armour and were expected to fight for the Romans under the command of their own generals, who ultimately answered to Roman commanders.[6] Although some scholars, like Mathisen and Halsall, downplay the changes in Roman recruitment models after Adrianople – Romans had employed barbarian troops settled within the Empire for the past 200 years – the independence the Goths maintained after settling in the Empire and the favourable terms of their treaty were noteworthy and were certainly not the expected outcome for wars against barbarians.[7]

Themistius' *Orations* 16 and 34 provide insight into how the Theodosian court presented this peace treaty as the best possible outcome, rather than a compromise stemming from the inability to quell the Gothic threat. These orations were respectively delivered to Theodosius in January 383 and late 384 or early 385 in the Senate of Constantinople.[8] Themistius (*ca*. 317–388) was a philosopher and statesman. He had

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[4] On the treaty, see Heather 1991, 157–181; *id*. 2020, 73–75; Kaldellis & Kruse 2023, 29–30; cf. Halsall 2007, 180–185; Kulikowski 2002, 69–84.

[5] For a comparison of this situation with that of the Limigantes, settled in Illyricum in 359, see Lenski 2002, 350. On the settlement of the Naristi under Marcus Aurelius, see Stickler 2011, 496–497. On treaties with Goths prior to 376, see Heather 1991, 109–121.

[6] Normally, barbarians would serve under Roman commanders. See Jones 1964, II 611. On the traditional narrative that the aftermath of Adrianople provoked an overhaul of the Eastern Roman army, see Kaldellis & Kruse 2023, 1–2.

[7] Mathisen 2020, 280–283; Halsall 2007, 184–185. See also Heather 1997, 57–74.

[8] Heather & Moncur 2001, 199–284, 304. For an overview of the life of Themistius, see Vanderspoel 1995, 27–30. On the date of his death, see Swain 2021, 5 n. 13; Wintjes 2005, 146–147. See also Kahlos' chapter in this volume.

served Eastern emperors since Constantius II (r. 337–361). In 355, he was adlected to the Senate and played an influential role in the political life of Constantinople. During the reign of Theodosius, Themistius functioned as the spokesperson of the imperial court.[9] Consequently, the core contents and opinions voiced in Themistius' *Orations* reflected the immediate needs of the emperor and aimed to gain the support of the Eastern elite.[10] Although it is generally accepted that the imperial court did not explicitly dictate the content of imperial orations, Themistius ensured that his speeches would please the court and the emperor.[11]

Orations 16 and 34, delivered after the peace treaty of autumn 382, outline the pragmatic benefits of settling Goths on Roman land: they would pay taxes and serve in the Roman army. Whereas *Oration* 16 presents Goths as farmers and as future soldiers, *Oration* 34 mentions the integration of Goths into the Roman army as an accomplished fact.

Oration 16 emphasised that although the Goths had not been eradicated, they had surrendered to Theodosius and would be employed as manpower beneficial to the army and economy of the Roman Empire. The first lines of the speech depict the Goths surrendering their weapons to Theodosius voluntarily in a ceremony consistent with the form of a *deditio*, a ritual of submission.[12] This ekphrasis of the Gothic surrender allowed Themistius, as the spokesperson of the imperial court, to fulfil the emperor's burden of victory over barbarians.[13] Furthermore, its inclusion was significant because it was the convention that only subdued and defeated barbarian groups were allowed to settle on Roman territory.[14]

Themistius argued that the peace treaty with the Goths was as worthy of praise as a military victory because the Goths settled in the Empire would pay taxes, cultivate the land and provide troops at a time when there was a shortage of Roman recruits.[15] In *Oration* 16, Themistius argued that it was better for the wildness of Thrace to be cultivated by Goths than to be littered by their dead bodies.[16] This pragmatic argumentation required barbarians to be moulded into figures who, although deserving punishment for the havoc they had caused since their crossing of the Danube in 376, could be successfully integrated and settled into the Roman Empire.[17] In *Oration* 16, the catalysts for the change in the

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[9] Here, following Heather & Moncur 2001, xii–xiv; Heather 1998, 130–131; *id.* 2010. Also, Swain 2021, 11–13. Cf. Vanderspoel 1995*,* 2–3.

[10] On the importance and need for the late Roman monarchy to secure the support of interest parties (here the aristocracy in the East), which German scholarship has termed 'Akzeptanzsystem', see Ausbüttel 2025, 1–40, 123–137.

[11] This is the dominant view about the relationship between the Constantinian court and its panegyrists. See Popkin, 2016, 69; Mayer, 2006, 144; Bleckmann 2006, 24. Also, Nixon 1992, 235.

[12] This would imply that Theodosius had held a formal triumph for the occasion. See Heather & Moncur 2001, 265 n.189; *contra* McCormick 1986, 42.

[13] Vanderspoel 1995, 207; Dagron 1968, 102–103.

[14] Ladner 1976, 6.

[15] Agriculture had a longstanding association with moral behaviour stemming as early as Hesiod's *Works and Days*. See Isaac 2004, 196. Them. *Or.* 30 is also an encomium on the civilising power of agriculture. Its dating is uncertain, either before Themistius' adlection to the Senate in 355, or after 382. On its dating, see Penella 2000, 33–34; Vanderspoel 1995, 84; Dagron 1968, 26.

[16] Them. *Or.* 16.211a-b.

[17] Cf. to Them. *Or.* 10, delivered in January or February 370 after the peace treaty between Valens and the Goths. See Downey 1957, 270, who outlines how Themistius presented diplomacy as a suitable solution to

behaviour of the Goths are Theodosius' virtue and wisdom, which tamed the savage ways of the Goths and transformed them into productive members of society who cultivated the land and lessened the burdens of the military levy and taxation on Romans.[18]

This portrayal of the Goths as productive members of the workforce was an important change from the traditionally hostile depictions of barbarians, which Themistius had presented in *Orations* 14 and 15, delivered in early summer 379 in Thessalonica and January 381 in Constantinople, before the peace treaty.[19] In *Oration* 14, the onslaught of Goths in Roman territory is compared to a fire which burns all things it encounters.[20] In *Oration* 15, Themistius stresses that '"you [Theodosius] shall drive from hence the hounds of hell whom the Fates bring", and they shall carry them off to the Danube, "so that even someone born in the far hereafter may shudder at doing ill to the one who received strangers with friendship".'[21] This last passage not only anticipates the expulsion of the Goths from the Roman Empire but also amplifies the stakes of expelling the Goths decisively by making them an example for future generations.[22] The second half of this passage, quoting Menelaus' speech to Paris during their duel in *Iliad* 3, fittingly illustrates the punishment – death – deserved by those who abuse hospitality by stealing the wives of their host or, in the case of the Goths, pillaged the lands of their Roman hosts after seeking asylum in 376.[23]

Yet contemporary circumstances, the agreement of a peace treaty in autumn 382, required the modification of this discourse about Goths. In *Oration* 16, Theodosius' wise governance and virtue shape the Goths into productive members of society who cultivate the land and mitigate the burdens of the military levy and taxation on Romans.[24] By placing Theodosius as the catalyst for this change in the Goths' behaviour, from threats to be exterminated to useful members of the Roman workforce, Themistius positioned the emperor as the life force of the Empire. Theodosius' virtuous character replaced the role of the Roman institutions, such as laws, values and education, as agents to successfully integrate barbarians.[25] Theodosius embodied proper governance and morality to such a degree that even savage barbarians would voluntarily submit to his rule:

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conflict in *Orations* 10 and 13. However, unlike the peace treaty of 382, the agreement between Valens and the Thervingi did not grant lands to the Goths in the Roman Empire. Rather, after the symbolic submission of the Goths, normal relations between Romans and Thervingi resumed. See also Vanderspoel 1995, 207; Dagron 1968, 102–103. On the peace treaty of 369, see Heather 1991, 115–121. Also, Lenski 2002, 124–137.

[18] On conscription in Late Antiquity, see Brennan 1998, 196–203.

[19] On *Or.* 14 and 15 and the Gothic War, see Heather & Moncur 2001, 199–254; Michel 2024, ch. 1.

[20] Them. *Or.* 14.181a-b.

[21] Them. *Or.* 15.199a. Translation from Heather & Moncur 2001. Loosely quoting *Il.* 8.527 and 3.353–254. See also *Or.* 15.186b, where the Goths are described as acting like violent drunks (παρῴνησαν).

[22] As I have argued, *Oration* 15 introduces peace with the Goths as a possible solution to end the conflict, but the imperial court still anticipated and favoured a Roman military victory over the Goths. See Michel 2024, chap. 1; also, Stone 2020, 243–244. Cf. Heather 1991, 167; Swain 2021, 12–13; Vanderspoel 1995, 201 n. 58; Williams & Friell 1998, 16.

[23] It may also be relevant that Paris survives the duel despite deserving death, like the Goths. See also Heather & Moncur 2001, 254 n. 165.

[24] On conscription see fn. 18 above.

[25] Cf. Stone 2020, 245. In *De regno* 14, delivered in 398 to a group of close friends in Constantinople, Synesius counselled Arcadius to not give weapons to all 'those not born nor brought up under his [Roman] laws, for he has no guarantee of their good conduct from such as these'. Translation from Fitzgerald 1930. Here, Theodosius' virtue and wise governance compensate for life-long adherence to Roman laws and customs.

> he [Theodosius] was the first who dared entertain the notion that the power of the Romans did not lie in weapons […] but that there was need of some other power and provision […] which subdues all nations, turns all savagery (πάντα […] ἐξ ἀγρίων) to mildness and to which alone arms, bows, cavalry, the intransigence (αὐθάδεια) of the Scythians,[26] the boldness (τόλμα) of the Alans, the madness (ἀπόνοια) of the Massagetae yield.[27]

Rather than stressing their violent ways, like in *Oration* 14, the language describing these barbarian groups (savagery, intransigence, boldness, madness) evokes stubbornness and irrationality to emphasise the grandeur of Theodosius' feat of pacification, which would have been impossible through brute force.[28] As Richard Stone astutely remarks, Theodosius is assimilated as somebody who exceeds even Orpheus, charming and taming not just animals, but humans.[29] Themistius painted the evocative image of barbarians melting down the same weapons they had used to spill Roman blood to create farming implements, which would help provide the crops necessary for the newly settled Goths to pay taxes to the state.[30] Goths are as malleable as their weapons. They can be reforged into beings, which like farming implements, benefit the Roman Empire.[31]

Furthermore, in *Oration* 16, Themistius presented the successful integration of the Galatians in the third century BCE as evidence that the settlement of the Goths in Moesia Secunda would benefit the Empire:

> Look at these Galatians […] neither Pompey nor Lucullus destroyed them, although this was perfectly possible, nor Augustus nor the emperors after him; rather, they remitted their sins and assimilated them into the Empire. And now no one would ever refer to the Galatians as barbarian (βαρβάρους) but as thoroughly Roman (πάνυ Ῥωμαίους). For while their ancestral name has endured, their way of life is now akin to our own. They pay the same taxes as we do, they enlist in the same ranks as we do, they accept governors on the same terms as the rest and abide by the same laws. So *will* we *see* (ὀψόμεθα) the Scythians [i.e. the Goths] do likewise within a short time. For now their clashes with us are still recent, but in fact we *shall* soon *receive* (ληψόμεθα) them to share our offerings, our tables, our military ventures, and public duties.[32]

These Galatians, stressed Themistius, were now Romans and paid the same taxes, enrolled in the same army and followed the same laws as his Constantinopolitan, senatorial audience. The implication, explicitly expressed by Themistius, but in the future tense, is that the Goths will also become fully Roman, be recruited into the army and share in

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[26] Scythians were Themistius' archaic ethnonym of choice to refer to the Goths. See Them. *Or.* 30.349d, cf. 15.198a-b. Daly 1972, 366; Penella 2000, 34–35.

[27] Them. *Or.* 16.277b-c.

[28] Them. *Or.* 16.209a also contrasts how the Goths had previously drunkenly abused the Roman lands that they now cared for and cultivated. Cf. Them. *Or*. 34.23.

[29] Them. *Or.* 16.209c-d. See Stone 2020, 248. On Orpheus, see 19, 22, 40, 67–71, 87 fn. 51, 93–94, 226 in this volume.

[30] Them. *Or.* 16.211b. The same imagery occurs in Verg. *G.* 1.508.

[31] As is characteristic of his later orations, Themistius modified the conventions of Menander Rhetor's treatise on imperial orations according to which an emperor could be praised for providing slave labour to the Empire. See below, in *Or.* 34.

[32] Them. *Or.* 16.211c-d. Italics my own. See also the chapter of Kahlos in this volume.

the burden of public duties, like taxes.[33] The use of the future indicative tense contrasts with the indicative present tense a few lines earlier to express that the Goths had already turned to farming: 'I hear (ἀκούω) from those who have returned from there [Moesia Secunda] that they [the Goths] are now turning (μεταποιοῦσι) the metal of their swords and breastplates into hoes and pruning hooks […]'.[34] Consequently, through his portrayal of Goths as farmers, taxpayers and soldiers in the Roman army, Themistius presented the peace treaty of 382 as beneficial for the Roman Empire.

Oration 34, delivered in late 384 or early 385 in Constantinople, shows a later stage of barbarian integration, in which Goths have become part of the Roman army. *Oration* 34 justified Themistius' decision to accept the post of *praefectus urbis Constantinopolitanae* (urban prefect of Constantinople) and argued that the best Hellenistic and Roman philosophers promoted involvement in civic life. Themistius reflected on the beneficial impact of his involvement in imperial affairs and argued that philosophy, rather than military might, had allowed Theodosius to end the Gothic War. *Oration* 34 compares Theodosius to Hercules on account that both promote order and prevent 'the bestial elements of humans in the nature [of barbarians] (τοῖς θηριώδεσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων […] τῇ φύσει) to prevail'.[35] Yet the Scythians/Goths remain subordinate to the Romans, as the Goths are 'domesticated' for the benefit of the Romans. They are qualified as being accustomed to burdens (φορτηγεῖν ἐθίσειε) and associated with lions and leopards, whose savagery is charmed away (τὴν ἀγριότητα αὐτῶν κατεκήλησας).[36] This juxtaposition portrayed the Goths as working animals, trained to lessen the workload of Romans in the way Theodosius would see fit, whether as farmers or soldiers (εἴτε γεωργοῖς ἐθέλει χρῆσθαι βασιλεὺς εἴτε στρατιώταις).[37]

This section has highlighted how *Orations* 16 and 34 portrayed the Goths, who recently settled in Moesia Secunda according to the peace treaty of 382, as useful members of society. This allowed Themistius to praise Theodosius' ritualised submission of the Goths, which contrasted with the favourable terms and freedoms given to the Goths in Moesia Secunda. From the portrayals of Goths as brutish foes to be eliminated in *Orations* 14 and 15, Themistius presented Goths as productive members of the Roman workforce who would pay taxes and enrol in the Roman army. Although the Goths are not yet ready to be integrated into the Roman army in *Oration* 16, *Oration* 34, delivered two years later, presents this as an accomplished fact. This change in the portrayal of the Goths can be mapped onto historical events from the Gothic War. To present the 382 peace treaty with the Goths as a praiseworthy victory that brought pragmatic benefits to the Roman Empire, rather than as the outcome of military blunders, Themistius portrayed the Goths as well-suited to life within the empire.

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[33] Heather & Moncur 2001, 281 n. 255.

[34] Them. *Or*. 16.211b. Cf. *Or*. 34.22, in which the emperor can now use the Goths as farmers or soldiers. It is striking that Themistius emphasises the pragmatic benefits of the taxes paid by the Goths, when Goths were probably allowed to live off the produce of their lands with minimal or no taxes but required them to provide troops for the Roman army. See Wolfram 1988, 133.

[35] Them. *Or.* 34.28; transl. Heather & Moncur 2001, modified; cf. *Or*. 13.169c-d, 20.240a.

[36] Them. *Or.* 34.22, also 34.23. Theodosius' peace treaty had provided low-cost labour, rather than slaves, as was typical in a military victory over barbarians. See Men. Rhet. 2.1.37 (377). Cf. *Or.* 11.146a-b, which praises Valens' decision to spare Scythians and have them settle in Thrace.

[37] Them. *Or.* 34.22.

3. Gothic integration in Theodosian visual sources

The previous section highlighted how after the peace treaty of 382, Themistius portrayed barbarians as productive members of society who had submitted to Theodosius and been tamed by the emperor's virtue. This portrayal of the Goths responded to the Theodosian policy of accommodation with the Goths. This section argues that the change in the imperial portrayal of barbarians following the peace treaty of 382 can also be observed in visual evidence. I argue that visual evidence reflects the imperial stance on the inclusion of barbarians within the Empire on account of the introduction of a new ethnic marker on the imperial bodyguard – torques, or neck rings (Fig. 12.1) – which begin to appear regularly in imperial iconography after 382.

This new iconography appears on three significant imperial commissions: the Missorium of Theodosius (387–388) (Fig. 12.2), the Obelisk of Theodosius (390–391) (Figs. 12.3.1-12.3.4) and the Column of Arcadius (400–401) (Figs. 12.4.1-2). This, I argue, broadcasted the success of Theodosius' peace treaty of 382, and more generally, his policy towards the integration of the Goths. Goths had not only been integrated into the Roman army but were also members of his personal bodyguard, the *candidati* (lit. 'those dressed in white'), 40 men selected from the *scholares palatinae* (Palatine Schools). The *candidati* stood at the top of the military hierarchy and were members of Theodosius' inner circle.[38] The inclusion of torques in the iconography of the imperial bodyguard demonstrates that portrayals of barbarians in imperial iconography and in Themistius' *Orations* 16 and 34, our best extant evidence for the imperial stance on the integration of barbarians, represented a uniform and coherent program, which glorified the peace treaty of 382.[39]

4. Iconographic changes and the connotations of the imperial bodyguard

In this section, I briefly highlight why a change in the iconography of the imperial bodyguard is significant, not only because deviations from the norm deserve examination, but also on account that the emperor was always surrounded by his bodyguards and that they became synonymous with the emperor's image.

Changes in iconography require attention and often reflect the historical context in which visual sources were produced. For instance, Reinhard Wolters argues that most iconography on coins that differed from the norm would have been noticed and was evidence of a conscious attempt to influence opinions.[40] For instance, he remarks that abnormal coins were minted in periods of crisis as a form of propaganda aiming to appease turmoil.[41] These same considerations also applied to iconography on monuments and plates from the Theodosian period. Indeed, Antti Lampinen argues that the columns commissioned for Theodosius' rededication and renovation of the Forum Tauri, renamed Forum Theodosii, were modelled on Hercules' club.[42] Hercules was particularly popular in the Iberian peninsula, where Theodosius was born, and the emperor could leverage

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[38] Frank 1969, 49–50.

[39] On the importance of broadcasting propaganda through various media, see Ellul 1973, 9–17.

[40] Wolters 2003, 175–204; cf. id. 1999, 255–410.

[41] Hekster 2020, 278–279; also *id.* 2003, 26.

[42] Lampinen 2015, 9–38.

Hercules' symbolic status as a defender of civilisation and pacifier of barbarians.[43] The construction of the Forum Theodosii may have begun as early as 380, during the Gothic War, when a symbol of safety against barbarians like Hercules would have resonated with Theodosius' imperial image. In the same fashion, I argue that showcasing the non-Roman identity of the imperial bodyguard exemplified the success of Theodosius' policy towards barbarians.

Furthermore, the introduction of the torque on imperial iconography during the reign of Theodosius should also be understood as meaningful and calculated on account of the heavily politicised history of the imperial bodyguard. Since the times of Archaic and Classical Greece, bodyguards had been associated with tyranny.[44] Plutarch wrote that Julius Caesar refused to have bodyguards around him because they were a sign that he feared being killed.[45] These associations with tyranny would only have been compounded when the imperial bodyguards were represented as barbarians, as is the case on the Missorium of Theodosius, the Obelisk of Theodosius and the Column of Arcadius.[46]

An emperor's proximity to barbarians could generate public resentment. For instance, both the *Epitome de Caesaribus* attributed to Aurelius Victor and Zosimus record that Romans were dissatisfied with Gratian's blatant favouritism towards the Alans in his army.[47] These concerns about the integration of barbarians and the proximity of the emperor to barbarians suggest that adding a further iconographic element associated with barbarian birth to the iconography of the imperial bodyguard, which flanked the emperor, was deliberate and considered decision by the imperial court. Given the timing of the appearance of the torque in imperial iconography after 382, I argue that it was introduced as propaganda to support the view that the peace treaty with the Goths had not been caused by a military blunder, but rather by Theodosius' commitment to the welfare of the Roman Empire by alleviating the burden of military levies, paying taxes, and, more generally, shaping the Goths into useful and loyal members of the Roman Empire.

The iconography of the imperial bodyguard was also important because their presence was synonymous with that of the emperor. As Fergus Millar has stated: 'no conception of the emperor's relation to his subjects would be complete without taking into account the fact that he was almost always escorted by armed soldiers.'[48] The important role of the imperial bodyguard during triumphs, coronations and consular processions further reinforces the propagandistic purpose of this new iconography.[49] Imperial portraits, like the ones on the Missorium of Theodosius, the Obelisk of Theodosius and the Column of Arcadius were essential to propagate the image of the all-powerful emperor, as a vast proportion of the population would never see the emperor in person.[50]

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[43] See also Hekster 2005, 205–221.

[44] Kelly 2020, 133–134; Speidel 1994, 6.

[45] Plut. *Vit. Caes.* 57.

[46] Kelly 2020, 141. German bodyguards were however also responsible, whether directly or indirectly, for the death of numerous emperors, like Caligula. See Bingham 2012, 22–26.

[47] [Aur. Vict.] *Epit. de Caes.* 47.6; Zos. 4.35.2–3.

[48] Millar 1992, 61.

[49] Frank 1969, 147–165; Coulston 2000, 88–89; see also, Brennan 1998, 193.

[50] McEvoy 2013, 45.

5. The Missorium of Theodosius, the Obelisk of Theodosius and the Column of Arcadius

This section provides an overview of the iconography and historical contexts of three, Theodosian visual sources that depict imperial bodyguards with torques.[51]

The Missorium of Theodosius (Fig. 12.2) is a large silver dish of 15 kg with a diameter of 74 cm, created to celebrate Theodosius's *decennalia* (the tenth anniversary of his reign) on 19 January 388.[52] Its inscription points towards it being an imperial commission: D(ominus) N(oster) THEODOSIUS PERPET(uus) AUG(ustus) OB DIEM FELICISSIMUM X ('Our lord Theodosius, eternal emperor, for the very felicitous day of the tenth anniversary of his reign').[53] The Missorium was part of the imperial distribution of gifts (*largitiones*) on Theodosius' *decennalia*, which promoted the imperial image to the wealthy elite.[54] Receiving a *largitio* was a financial bonus, a marker of status and a symbol of a close relationship with the emperor.[55] These gifts were an important part of cultivating a favourable relationship between the emperor and the aristocracy.[56] The Missorium was designed in 387, probably by the office of the *comes sacrarum largitionum* (count of the sacred largesses), and given by the emperor to a member of the elite.[57] Although it is unlikely that the imperial court or the emperor selected the specific iconography to be portrayed on the Missorium, it is probable that the imperial court requested specific themes or even approved its iconography before production, as has been argued for the iconographic program on the Arch of Constantine.[58] Identical *missoria* could be given as gifts from the emperor to multiple people, but it is more probable that the Missorium of Theodosius was a unique imperial commission because of its abnormally great weight (15 kg of silver), high level of craftsmanship and its associated cost.[59] Its recipient may have been a family member or close friend of the Spanish emperor Theodosius, given its discovery in Almendralejo, Spain, near the city of Augusta Emerita (modern Mérida).[60]

The scholarly consensus interprets the Missorium of Theodosius as depicting four barbarian, imperial bodyguards flanking the emperor Theodosius, crowned with a *nimbus* and enthroned in his palace, symbolised by a portico, between Arcadius and Valentinian

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[51] Elton 1996, 151, mentions that torques are also visible on the Column of Theodosius, but I presume this is a typo and that he rather meant the Obelisk. No known fragments from the column depict imperial bodyguards wearing torques. On the depictions of each fragment of the column, see Sodini 1994, 48–55.

[52] On the Missorium and its imperial provenance, see MacCormack 1981, 214–221; Kiilerich 1993, 19; Baratte 1975, 194–195; Arce Martínez 2000, 281–288; González 2013, 91–98. The date of 411, the *decennalia* of Theodosius II, has also been proposed, but is less convincing. See Kiilerich 2000, 273.

[53] Cf. Corso 2016, 242.

[54] Kiilerich 2000, 274–275; Corso 2016, 247–248.

[55] Leader-Newby 2003, 16.

[56] See above fn. 10.

[57] González 2013, 92–93; Hobbs 2022, 313.

[58] Scholarship on the design of the Arch of Constantine stresses the agency of the imperial court. This finding can plausibly be applied to imperial iconography during the reign of Theodosius. See Bleckmann 2006, 17; Popkin 2016, 69–70; Rohmann 1998, 265; Elsner 2000, 171 n. 28.

[59] On the typical weight of *largitio* plates, see Hobbs 2022; also Leader-Newby 2003, 41–42, who notes that the weight of private (as opposed to imperial) silver plates given as gifts were usually lower than imperial commissions.

[60] Kiilerich 2000, 278; Corso 2016, 240.

II (Fig. 12.2).[61] Theodosius is bestowing a gift to a man wearing a *chlamys* – a cloak worn by high officials – who is bowing slightly to the emperor. The barbarian bodyguards are immediately identifiable by their long hair, torques, *bracae* (trousers), spears and oval shields.[62] Torques (Fig. 12.1) were associated with Celtic,[63] but also Germanic, Iranian and Scythian peoples.[64] Often made of precious metals and weighing up to 1kg, they represented symbols of wealth and military prowess.[65] Most notably, a torque features on the 'Dying Gaul' statue from the Musei Capitolini at Rome (Fig. 12.5).[66]

Both Bente Kiilerich and Sabine MacCormack notice similarities between the iconography of the Missorium and Themistius' *Orations*. Below the seated emperors and the bodyguards, a reclining Tellus, the Roman goddess of Mother Earth, adorns the bottom third of the plate. She is holding a cornucopia and represents 'the felicity of the times and earth established under the protection of imperial dominion'.[67] Although similar scenes are not uncommon during the reign of Theodosius, and more generally, in Late Antiquity, its iconography brings to life Themistius' praise of the good civil administration of Theodosius that had resulted in plentiful harvests in *Oration* 15: 'The black earth bears wheat and barley, the trees are heavy with fruit, everything unfailingly brings forth, the sea gives up fish from his good leadership and the people thrive under him'.[68] Although there is no way to prove that Themistius' rhetoric about Theodosius' governance was the source of inspiration for this scene, especially because Themistius' *Orations* to Theodosius are but a few extant witnesses to Theodosian propaganda, they nevertheless match and demonstrate commonalities between portrayals of emperors in different media.[69]

The base of the Obelisk of Theodosius also depicts imperial bodyguards wearing torques. It was erected in the *spina* of the Hippodrome of Constantinople *ca*. 390–391 to celebrate the defeat of the usurper Magnus Maximus (r. 383–388) and his son, Victor.[70] The Obelisk was once part of a pair erected at Karnak in the Great Temple by Thutmose III.[71] Constantine had it moved to Alexandria and prepared for shipping, but it was only

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[61] Leader-Newby 2003, 14. Corso 2016, 251 argues that the roof of the portico was decorated with shields, symbols of the Roman victory over Goths in 386, which the Column of Theodosius commemorated. Further examples or references would be required to convince this reader. On the dynastic and familial implications of this, see Kiilerich 2000, 274; *ead.* 1993, 20.

[62] On trousers, see Gergel 1994, 195.

[63] Polyb. 2.29.8–9; Lucil. F 438–439 *ap.* Non. 227.33; Livy 6.42.5, 7.10.11, 33.36.13, 36.40.12, 43.5.8; Quint. *Inst.* 6.3.70.

[64] Worn by the Persians in Hdt. 3.20, 9.80. See Walter 2001, 180; Garrow & Gosden 2012, 134–143. Speidel 1996, 235–243; Frank 1969, 159–164; Maxfield 1981, 86–87.

[65] Swift & al. 2021, 126.

[66] Another example is the 'Guerrier de Vachères', a first-century BCE torque-wearing Gaulish warrior (Fig. 12.6). See Barruol 1996, 1–12.

[67] MacCormack 1981, 214–215.

[68] Them. *Or.* 15.189a-b, quoting *Od.* 19.109–114. Spotted by Kiilerich 2000, 279–280. On similar scenes, see Leader-Newby 2003, 28.

[69] Themistius also references visual representations of the emperor and barbarians submitting to Romans in his *Orations*. See Them. *Or.* 15.192a-b, 16.199c.

[70] Omissi 2016, 178, 195, argues that Theodosius used the defeat of Maximus as an opportunity to erect commemorative monuments in Constantinople to dethrone Rome as the imperial capital.

[71] Habachi 1977, 145–150.

erected by Theodosius in the *spina* of the Hippodrome in 390–391.[72] The position of the two obelisks in the Hippodrome, the Obelisk of Theodosius and the Masonry Obelisk, mirrors the placement of the Obelisk of Constantius and the Piazza del Popolo (or Flaminio) Obelisk in Rome.[73] Its base is Theodosian and all sides depict the emperors (Theodosius, Arcadius, Honorius and Valentinian II), court and imperial bodyguards, in the back row, in the *kathisma* of the Hippodrome.[74] All bodyguards wear torques. These torques are thinner and have a different appearance than the ones on the Missorium and the Column of Arcadius, but Valerie Maxfield believes variations in appearance resulted from the ability of the artist to successfully represent the characteristic twisted metal appearance of torques on stone.[75] They gaze at a chariot race (south-western side, Fig.12.3.1), the erection of the obelisk (north-eastern side, Fig. 12.3.2),[76] receive a barbarian submission (north-western side, Fig. 12.3.3) and Theodosius holds the wreath of victory to be given to the winner of the race (south-eastern side, Fig. 12.3.4). In the north-western scene depicting a barbarian submission, it is noteworthy that the northern barbarians (identifiable by their fur clothing) submitting to the emperor are also wearing torques.[77] This shows an explicit link and continuity between the iconographic marker used to showcase the ethnicity of the submitted foes and of the imperial bodyguard. Two lower sections of the base contain inscriptions (north-west in Greek, south-east in Latin). The Latin inscription mentions that the obelisk was erected by Theodosius to 'celebrate the victory over extinct tyrants' (*extinctis palmam portare tyrannis*), a reference to Theodosius' victory over Magnus Maximus and Victor.[78] The Greek inscription praises Theodosius for his daring in erecting the column but makes no mention of the tyrants.[79] The other two bottom registers are decorated with a chariot race (south-west) and scenes of the erection of the obelisk (north-east).

Finally, the Column of Arcadius, begun in 402/3, but only completed in 421, when a statue of Arcadius was placed at its top, commemorated the defeat of Gaïnas, the Gothic commander who had marched on Constantinople and occupied the city in 399/400.[80] It was erected in the Forum of Arcadius, on the Xerolophus. Only its base

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[72] For the dating of the Obelisk, see Roullet 2015, 44.

[73] On the parallels between the Obelisks of Theodosius and Constantius, see Omissi 2016, 184–186; Bassett 2006, 86; Kiilerich 1998, 28; Ritzerfeld 2001, 182–183.

[74] Kiilerich 1998, 36, 38, 41.

[75] Maxfield 1981, 88.

[76] Safran 1993, 422, states that the north-eastern side was the least important because its carving is less refined and because a contemporary vertical channel, which transformed the base into a fountain, runs along this side.

[77] The torques are well-spotted by Speidel 1996, 237.

[78] *CIL* 3.737: DIFFICILIS QVONDAM DOMINIS PARERE SERENIS/ IVSSVS ET EXTINCTIS PALMAM PORTARE TYRANNIS/ OMNIA THEODOSIO CEDVNT SVBOLIQVE PERENNI/TER DENIS SIC VICTVS EGO DOMITVSQVE DIEBVS/IVDICE SVB PROCLO SVperaS ELATVS AD AVRAS. 'I was formerly reluctant to obey the serene masters, even when ordered to proclaim the victory over the extinct tyrants, [but since] all things yield to Theodosius and his everlasting offspring, I was conquered and subdued in three time ten days and raised to high heaven on the advice of Proclus [sic].' Transl. Omissi 2016. Safran 1993, 419–420, 425–426, 433, observes that the Latin inscription faced those in the *kathisma* and was addressed to the Latin-speaking aristocracy, whereas the Greek inscription addressed the Constantinopolitan public, many of whom would not have known Latin.

[79] *CIG* 4.8612: ΚΙΟΝΑ ΤΕΤΡΑΠΛΕΥΡΟΝ ΑΕΙ ΧΘΟΝΙ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΝ ΑΧΘΟC/ ΜΟΥΝΟC ΑΝΑCΤΗCΑΙ ΘΕΥΔΟCΙΟC ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC/ ΤΟΛΜΗCΑC ΠΡΟΚΛΟC ΕΠΕΚΕΚΛΕΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΤΟCΟC ΕCΤΗ/ ΚΙΩΝ ΗΕΛΙΟΙC ΕΝ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ ΔΥΟ.

[80] On the column, see Sodini 1994, 63; Grigg 1977, 469–482; Whitby 2006, 183. De Wet 2012, 2 believes it

survives, but drawings of the south, west and east sides of the Column survive in the Freshfield Album, from 1574.[81] A partial view of the iconographic program of the north side is catalogued in a drawing from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and matches the iconographic program of the Column in the Freshfield Album.[82] These two depictions are understood as highly accurate renditions of the friezes of the column.[83] Another drawing of the friezes of the Column of Arcadius is held at the Louvre, but Wolf Liebeschuetz argued convincingly that it is an artistic interpretation of the friezes and is of dubious accuracy.[84] On the south view of the base of the Column in the Freshfield Album, imperial bodyguards wear torques around their necks (Figs. 12.4.1 and 12.4.2).

This subsection has highlighted the key features of the Missorium, the Obelisk of Theodosius and the Column of Arcadius and their representations of torque-wearing imperial bodyguards. The following section will provide a history of the iconography of the imperial bodyguard and will illustrate how the inclusion of torques would have differed from the norm established by centuries of precedents.

6. The history and iconography of the barbarian bodyguard

This section provides a brief overview of the history of imperial bodyguards – the German bodyguard (*Germani corporis custodes*), the Praetorian Guard (*cohortes praetoriae*) and the Palatine Schools (*scholae palatinae*) – from the reigns of Julius Caesar to Theodosius and explores their iconography on imperial monuments. This will help flesh out the significance of the inclusion of a new ethnic marker, the torque, added to their iconography. The iconography of imperial bodyguards on Trajan's Column and on the Trajanic frieze of the Arch of Constantine provides parallels for those on the Missorium of Theodosius, the Obelisk of Theodosius, and the Column of Arcadius. This section argues that their iconography, before 382, did not include torques.

The first imperial bodyguards served Julius Caesar, but were not established in any formal nor permanent fashion.[85] He selected German bodyguards (*Germani corporis custodes*) for their political neutrality, perhaps like the Scythians employed to police Classical Athens.[86] Their nickname *Batavi* referred to a barbarian, Germanic group and hence evoked non-Roman origins.[87] Octavian repopulated the bodyguard with Caesar's veterans to fight against Mark Antony and their nickname, *Batavi,* remained.[88] Literary and epigraphic evidence attests that Germanic peoples were certainly employed in the *Germani corporis custodes* during the reigns of Caligula and Nero, and may have also

depicts the old beggar who initiated the Roman counterattack. See also Lampinen 2015, 22–29.

[81] Freshfield 1922, 87–104.

[82] Gaignières, inv. 6514 (Bouchot 1891).

[83] Liebeschuetz 1990, 273–278; Matthews 2012, 211–213.

[84] Liebeschuetz 1990, 273–274. The drawing is contained in Menestrier 1702.

[85] Bédoyère 2017, 15–16.

[86] *Ibid.*, 36. On the Scythian police force in Athens, see Bäbler 2005, 114–122.

[87] Speidel 1994, 26; Bédoyère 2017, 36; Haynes 2014, 296–298.

[88] This nickname may have endured despite a change in the ethnic composition of the guard. Bédoyère 2017, 36.

served in this unit during the reign of Augustus.[89] To counterbalance the influence of a single imperial bodyguard, Augustus also established a permanent imperial bodyguard, the Praetorian Guard (*cohortes praetoriae*), which was mainly recruited from Italian citizens and Romanised provinces.[90]

The *Germani corporis custodes* were temporarily banished by Augustus after the massacre of Varus' army by an alliance of German peoples at the Battle of Teutoburg Forest in 9 CE.[91] This was almost certainly a public relations tactic, but it demonstrates that the *Germani corporis custodes* were perceived as directly linked to Germanic groups beyond the frontier. The Germanic bodyguard was disbanded in 68 by Galba, but the unit was reformed in a different guise by Trajan, as the *equites singulares Augusti*, the cavalry unit of the Praetorian Guard.[92] Like the *Germani corporis custodes*, the *equites* were also recruited from auxiliaries from the frontier regions of the Empire along the Rhine and Danube and their nickname, *Batavi*, perdured.[93]

Despite the ethnic connotation of their nickname, *Batavi*, the Praetorian Guards, including the *equites singulares Augusti*, are not represented with torques nor any other ethnic marker denoting their non-Roman origin. There are few state representations of the Praetorian Guard, including the *equites singulares Augusti*, but the Column of Trajan and the Trajanic Frieze on the Arch of Constantine are excellent surviving witnesses to their iconography.[94] Two distinctive features distinguish the Praetorian Guard from legionaries on these monuments.[95] First is the scorpion emblem on their curved shields (Fig. 12.7) and helmets on the Trajanic Frieze of the Arch of Constantine.[96] The second distinctive marker is the wreathed standards (Figs. 12.8 and 12.9) – as opposed to the discs on standards of legionaries – which the Praetorian standard bearers carry.[97] Benjamin Kelly, Sandra Bingham and Jon Coulston remark that these differences were not sufficient for most viewers to distinguish Praetorian Guards from other soldiers.[98] In

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89 Speidel 1994, 26; Haynes 2014, 296–298.

90 See Coulston 2000, 76-8.

91 Suet. *Aug*. 49.

92 Suet. *Galb.* 12. Bingham 2012, 16–17; Speidel 1994, 1–18; Rankov 2008, 11–13; Bédoyère 2017, 190.

93 *OCD*, *'equites singulares Augusti'*. Speidel 1994, 67–70; Coulston 2000, 78.

94 The commander of the Praetorian Guard, the Praetorian Prefect, does appear on several coins from the reigns of Claudius and Nero, but was part of the equestrian rank and was a Roman, and hence does not display any ethnic markers. See Coulston 2000, 92. Portrayals of the Praetorian Guard in the fragments of the Trajanic monument at Puteoli and on the Cancelleria reliefs, commissioned by Domitian, will also be used as comparanda in the footnotes.

95 Praetorian Guards are also unarmoured on the Column of Trajan, but this is not unique to them. On the base of the Column of Antoninus Pius and on the Cancelleria relief, the Praetorian Guards are unarmoured. They bear no ethnic markers associated with barbarians. Oval shields were also associated with the Praetorian Guard, but they were not used exclusively by them. On the unarmoured bodyguards of the emperors and their oval shields, see Coulston 2000, 86–88, 92. Cf. Rankov 2008, 23–24.

96 Coulston 2000, 92, 98–99; Coulston 2003, 406 n. 78; Flower 2001, 636. See also Rankov 2008, 18–27, esp. 21; Bédoyère 2017, xix, 191. Cf. Richmond 1982, 8; Lepper & Frere 1988, 51, 81; as well as Rossi 1971, 108, who only distinguished the Praetorian Guard by their wreathed standards. The scorpion blazon is also present on the shield of a Praetorian on a destroyed Trajanic monument from Puteoli (modern Pozzuoli). See Kleiner 1992, 229–230, fig. 195.

97 Webster 1985, 138. Rossi 1971, 18, noted that one soldier or standard-bearer could be shorthand to represent an entire unit on Trajan's Column.

98 Kelly 2020, 144–145. Bingham arrives at the same conclusion. On the scorpion as emblem and the equipment of the Praetorian Guard see Bingham 2012, 75–79; Coulston 2003. Furthermore, the Praetorian and legionary

contrast, Dacian foes sometimes wear Phrygian caps, and the Roman auxiliary troops are depicted bare-chested and with different weapons such as clubs (Fig. 12.10).[99] Only the Praetorian Guard standard-bearers (*signiferi*) (Fig. 12.8) wear what could be considered 'ethnic' apparel – animal head pelt hoods – but this was standard attire for all standard-bearers and horn-blowers (*cornicines*).[100] Consequently, no ethnic markers identified the Praetorian Guards as non-Romans.

The Praetorian Guard remained in use until the reign of Constantine when the emperor replaced them with the *scholae palatinae*.[101] From this unit, 40 men, the *candidati,* were elevated to the emperor's bodyguard.[102] Frank has argued that the *scholares* were mostly composed of Germanic peoples because they were consistently depicted with 'distinctly Germanic characteristics of dress [i.e. oval shields] and appearance [i.e. long hair] and they are often armed with the Frankish spear (*ango*).'[103]

As Hugh Elton argues, Frank's tacit assumption that ethnic markers in iconography mirrored the actual ethnic composition of the imperial bodyguards is problematic.[104] Elton tabulates the occurrences of barbarian names amongst the *scholae palatinae* and argues that its ratio of barbarians was no higher than other troops in the fourth century. Likewise, Ian Haynes argues that ethnicity had no impact on the equipment used by auxiliary troops in the Roman army from Augustus to the Severans.[105] These ethnic markers, however, are significant as an indication of how the imperial court wanted the imperial bodyguard to be perceived. As Kiilerich writes: the 'figures on the Missorium [of Theodosius] are not meant to show who these persons *are*, but what these persons *mean,* what they stand for.[106] Torques functioned as evidence of the success of the peace treaty of 382: Goths had indeed been integrated into the highest spheres of the Roman army and were trusted as members of Theodosius' entourage.

The visual evidence on which Frank based his assessment is a glass vase found in Cologne from the fourth century – probably from the latter half, given similarities with more securely dated vases – depicting four *scholares* with long hair, spears, and oval shields.[107] These *scholares* cannot however be considered as part of the imperial

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standards on the column are mixed together in the same scenes, showing that the intention was to show the presence of different types of troops, but not to distinguish them.

[99] Coulston 2003, 399.

[100] Veg. *Mil.* 2.16. Rankov 2008, 23–24; cf. Webster 1985, 141.

[101] The origins of the *scholae* may date back to Diocletian but it was certainly established under Constantine. See Jones 1964, II 613; Frank 1969, 47–48, 155. The *protectores*, a group of men personally chosen by the emperor, could be imperial bodyguards, but also occupied various other roles. All members of the imperial bodyguards were *scholares*, some of which were promoted to the rank of *protectores*. See *ibid*., 40–45, 90, 174, 178, 185–186; Eumion 2017, 150–151.

[102] Jones 1964, II 613.

[103] Frank 1969, 59–79, quote from 59. Also Jones 1964, II 613–614. Similarly, Brennan 1998, 202 states that the imperial bodyguard retained 'cultural markers of their original ethnic identity'. On the representation of the *scholares*, see Von Fremersdorf 1952, 66–83.

[104] Elton 1996, 151–152.

[105] For the Dacian *falx* as an example of the disconnect between the ethnic associations of the Roman viewer and historicity, see Haynes 2014, 287, 291–292; Richmond 1982, 50; cf. Rossi 1971, 122.

[106] Italics are my own. Kiilerich 2000, 276; cf. Corso 2016, 243, who understands the torques as evidence of the prevalence of Germanic barbarians in high-ranking positions in the Roman army in the late fourth century. He also suggests that they might represent Bauto and Arbogastes. This is unconvincing.

[107] Von Fremersdorf 1952.

iconography because they are not flanked by the emperor, unlike the Missorium, the Obelisk of Theodosius and the Column of Arcadius. Nevertheless, an exploration of the ethnic markers depicted on this vase, which in Late Antiquity were not necessarily only associated with non-Roman groups, illustrates how the addition of torques to the iconography of the imperial bodyguard was significant in symbolising their non-Roman birth.

The introduction of the torques would have been especially important at a time when other markers of ethnicity (barbed spears, oval shields and long, curly hair) on the iconography of the imperial bodyguard were not only the prerogative of non-Romans. Spears, especially those with barbed heads, were part of the standard attire of 'Germanic' peoples but were commonly represented on numismatic imperial iconography as early as the first century CE showing an armed emperor as a symbol of the martial vigour of the Empire (Fig. 12.11).[108] Oval shields, although originally associated with Germanic groups, became the normative shield shape from the third century CE onwards (Figs. 12.11 and 12.12).[109] Hairstyles were a more distinctive ethnic marker than spears and oval shields. Bartman states that 'matted, spiky' hair was associated with barbarians, particularly the Gauls (e.g. Fig. 12.5), who used limewater to stiffen their hair.[110] This marker, however, is more apparent in sculptures in the round than on reliefs or engravings. Long hair, meaning laying below the ears and often to the shoulders, like on the Missorium and the Obelisk, could be labelled as typically 'barbarian'.[111] On the Obelisk and Missorium, all the imperial bodyguards have noticeably longer hair than all other figures. That the submitting barbarians on the north-western base of the Obelisk (Fig. 12.3.3) also have long hair indicates that it functioned as a marker of barbarian birth. This is not the case on the south view of the Column of Arcadius in the Freshfield Album. However, on coins, the emperor Julian – not a barbarian – has long hair, almost to the shoulders (Fig. 12.12). However, it is carefully combed and immaculate, unlike the hair of barbarians, which is unruly and wild. Julian's hairstyle has been interpreted as a conscious decision to differ from the norms set by previous emperors and to adopt the longer hairstyle of philosophers.[112] Consequently, longer, unkept hair was an important ethnic marker depicted on *scholares* but was not unique to barbarians. Nevertheless, juxtaposed with spears, and oval shields, the long hair of the imperial bodyguards in the fourth century CE would have been understood as a gesture towards barbarian birth, not their philosophical aspirations.

Depictions of the *scholae palatinae* and *candidati* are very rare. Two *scholares* are probably depicted on the Siege of Verona panel on the Arch of Constantine but display no ethnic markers, although their heads are damaged (Fig. 12.13). They are behind the emperor, wield the same large round shield and spears as other soldiers and do not wear helmets.[113] They are otherwise unremarkable, and their iconography does not convey that they were of barbarian birth.

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[108] E.g. *RIC* II Vespasian 689, *RIC* VIII Treveri 303, *RIC* VI Londinium 166, *RIC* VIII Treveri 329, *RIC* IX Antioch 19, *RIC* IX Aquileia 15A. See Bishop & Coulston 2006, 200–202.

[109] Coulston 2013, 475–477; Bishop & Coulston 2006, 216–217. *Auxilia* on Trajan's Column are also depicted with flat, oval shields, perhaps as a marker of their non-Roman origin. On this, see Haynes 2014, 281.

[110] Bartman 2011, 232; Johnson, 2019, 114, 117.

[111] Bartman 2011, 234–235.

[112] Davies 2019, 156–157; Schwab & Rose 2019, 31.

[113] Frank 1969, 48; Rose 2021, 177; Ferris 2000, 73.

The *scholares* functioned as the imperial bodyguard until the reign of Zeno (r. 474–475 and 476–491) when the emperor began to favour the *excubitores*, an imperial regiment traditionally composed of Isaurians founded under Leo I (r. 457–474) in *ca*. 466.[114] From the reign of Zeno, membership to the *scholae palatinae*, which provided direct access to the emperor, could be bought and the *scholae* largely took up ceremonial roles.[115] By the early sixth century, the *excubitores* largely took over the duties of the *scholares* as the imperial bodyguard and most influential palatial regiment. They would remain as the emperor's elite guards until the seventh century.

In sum, literary sources portrayed the imperial bodyguard as composed of Germanic barbarians from its inception and this was reflected in their nickname, *Batavi*. Nevertheless, an examination of the iconography of the Praetorian Guard and the *equites singulares Augusti* revealed that they were not portrayed with iconographic markers denoting their non-Roman origin. The *candidati*, the imperial bodyguard of the fourth and fifth centuries, were portrayed with oval shields, long hair, and barbed spears. However, these ethnic markers were not only attributes associated with barbarians, unlike torques worn on the neck.

7. The iconography of the torque

Torques were part of the iconography of the barbarian and would consequently have been recognised as a barbarian ornament when worn on the necks of imperial bodyguards.[116] A survey of evidence reveals that although torques were always associated with barbarians, they are also depicted as Roman war trophies or symbols of military valour when displayed on the breastplates of Roman soldiers or funerary monuments. However, torques worn around necks, like those on the Missorium of Theodosius, the Obelisk of Theodosius and the Column of Arcadius, were exclusively a sign of barbarian birth.

The association between torques and barbarians has been thoroughly studied and can be illustrated through a few examples.[117] Many depictions of torques from Imperial Rome adorn the necks of statues of defeated barbarians (e.g. the Dying Gaul, Fig. 12.5, see also Fig. 12.6) on statues or sarcophagi, mostly from the second half of the second century CE.[118] Claudian also personified Gaul as a warrioress with a torque.[119] Torques feature as trophies of barbarian arms and armour on monuments, for instance on an imperial monument commemorating Maximian's victory over the Moors and Franks in Spain in 296/7 CE (Fig. 12.14).[120]

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[114] Frank 1969, 205–219.

[115] Procop. *Anecd.* 24.15–24. See also Whitby 2001, 291.

[116] Sources also attest to torques being placed on a newly proclaimed emperors' and usurpers' heads: Amm. Marc. 20.4.18, 29.5.20. See Speidel 1996, 237.

[117] Walter 2001, 180; Garrow & Gosden 2012, 134–143; Speidel 1996; Frank 1969, 159–164; Maxfield 1981, 86–87.

[118] E.g. Schlachtsarkophag, *ca*. 160–200 CE, Villa Doria Pamphili, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Arachne ID 1077827; Schlachtsarkophag Ammendola, *ca*. 170 CE, Musei Capitolini, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Arachne ID 1215687. Cf. also the Barberini Ivory, where a subdued barbarian presents a heavy torque to the emperor.

[119] Claud. *Cons. Stil.* 2.241–242.

[120] Mráv states that a Roman offering a sacrifice on the *suovetaurilia* scene on the *Decennalia* base in the

Torques were also associated with military prowess, victory and conquest.[121] Indeed, Pliny the Elder wrote that Titus Manlius acquired his nickname *Torquatus* ('adorned with a torque' or 'torque-wearer') by taking the golden torque from a Gaul he slew in single combat.[122] Torques decorate the tombstones of Roman soldiers. The cenotaph of Marcus Caelius, a Roman citizen and legionary who died at the Battle of the Teutoburg forest, depicts the deceased showcasing two torques, presumably military awards, attached to his breastplate (Fig. 12.15).[123] Pliny the Elder, Ambrose and Vegetius mention torques given as a prize to outstanding Roman soldiers.[124]

Michael Speidel and Zsolt Mráv argue that from the fourth century, torques were no longer only ethnic markers, but were also associated with military prowess or the office of standard-bearer.[125] This is correct, but distinguishing how torques were displayed provides further details on the iconographic meaning of torques. Those worn around necks remained ethnic markers and were non-Roman ornaments, while those decorating tombstones or armour represent (Roman) military honours. This observation was mentioned by Maxfield, but not retained by Speidel and Mráv.[126] Torques appear on Roman shields on Trajan's Column as symbols of military prowess to commemorate the title of *torquata* (adorned with a torque) or *bis torquata* (twice adorned with a torque), allocated to entire units. They are also depicted on tombstones and representations of Roman spoils of war (Figs. 12.14, 12.15),[127] but never around the neck of an individual who can positively be identified as a Roman.[128] Maxfield argues that Roman units decorated with the honour '*torquata*' were not actually given individual torques, but

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Roman forum from the Tetrarchic period might be wearing a torque. However, its appearance is much more akin to a medallion, like a *bulla* than a torque: Mráv 2015, 288–89. On *bullae*, see Stout 1994, 77–78. On the use of *bullae* during triumphs, see Macr. *Sat.* 1.6.9.

121 Livy 7.10.11, 33.36.14.

122 Plin. *HN* 33.5. Earliest reference is Quadr. F 5 *FRHist* (= 10a Chassignet) *ap.* Livy 6.42.5–6 and F 6 *FRHist* (= 10b Chassignet) *ap.* Gell. *NA* 9.13.4–19; later authors giving versions of the Torquatus story are Cic. *Fin.* 1.7.23, *Tusc.* 4.49; Flor. 1.8; Amm. Marc. 24.4; Eutr. 2.5; Oros. 3.6.2; Zonar. *Epit.* 7.24.

123 Many examples exist, notably the cenotaph of Quintus Sertorius from Verona from *ca*. 42 CE. Torques represented alone also feature often, for instance on the tombstone of Tiberius Claudius Maximus. See the plates in Maxfield 1981, 97–98; also Speidel 1996, 236.

124 Plin. *HN* 33.10 wrote that gold torques were given to non-Romans, while silver torques were given to Roman citizens; cf. Zos. 4.40.8; Veg. *Mil* 2.7; Amb. *De ob. Val.* 68.9–10; Prud. *Perist.* 1.65. Also *CIL* 3.3844. Not to be confused with the *torquis* in Verg. *G.* 4.276. See Speidel 1985, 286–287; Canali 2005, 21; Frank 1969, 139; Haynes 1991, 243. Cf. Jones 1964, II 617, who mentioned that in 385, Valentinian II passed a law according to which recruits were given a lead identification disc which they would wear around their neck. This rather appears to have taken a form akin to the modern dog-tag carried by soldiers. This may have later been replaced by a tattoo or brand to make deserters more easily identifiable.

125 Mráv 2015; Speidel 1996, 237–238, who argues that torques on the necks of the *scholares* functioned both as an indicator of military status and as an ethnic marker.

126 Maxfield 1981, 88.

127 Rossi 1971, 112, 115–116; Maxfield 1981, 123–124, 171–172, 220–226. For more examples, see Mráv 2015, 291.

128 On the silver cup depicting the triumph of Tiberius, from the Boscoreale Treasure, a soldier wears a torque around his neck and a laurel crown on his head and follows the emperor Tiberius, on a chariot. Kuttner 1995, 145–147, suggests that this could be understood as an ethnic marker on a Gallic or Germanic auxiliary, but leaves open the possibility that the soldier could be a Roman who was granted a torque as a military decoration. Kuttner does also mention that Romans did not tend to wear torques around their necks but hung them on their armour. On the Boscoreale silver cups, see Kleiner 1992, 152–154. Figures of the cup are available in Héron de Villefosse 1899 pl. 35.1, also in Kleiner 1992, 155 fig. 129.

rather increased rations and pay.[129] This confirms Rossi's theory that torques were not likely worn around Romans' necks on account of their association with barbarians, but carried in other ways.[130] This is supported by Ambrose's *Letter* 10, dated to 381, in which the bishop wrote that the idolatrous priests of the Goths were accustomed to wearing a torque and bracelets (*torquem* [...] *brachiales* [...] *sic solent idolatrae sacerdotes prodire Gothorum)* and that this was alien to the Roman custom (*abhorret a more Romano*).[131]

Two figures wearing torques on their necks on the Arch of Constantine have been identified as Roman commanders and would contradict the argument outlined in the previous paragraph. However, it is more convincing that these torques functioned as a marker of barbarian identity. Both friezes were built between 312 and 315.[132] The first is a soldier who wears a Pannonian hat (*pileus Pannonicus*) and a torque on his neck but is not accompanied by the emperor (Figs. 12.16.1-2).[133] He is represented on the western Constantinian frieze, which depicts Constantine's departure from Milan.[134] Frank proposed that the torque distinguishes the individual as a commander, but it is more likely that it functioned as an ethnic marker to showcase that he was a northern barbarian, either a Gaul or a German in the Roman auxiliary.[135] Ferris rather believes that the commanders were seated on the wagon on the west side of the frieze.[136] Prominent ethnic markers distinguish the other soldiers on this frieze and illustrate Zosimus' narrative according to which Constantine conquered Italy with the Germanic and Celtic tribes he had submitted.[137] Goat-horn helmets adorn the heads of the *Cornuti*, and the Moors have curly locks of hair.

The other soldier wearing a torque occurs three-figures-distance away from Constantine on the panel of the *adventus* in Rome and is once again amongst German, Gallic, Moorish auxiliaries with clear ethnic markers (Figs. 12.17.1-2). His proximity to the emperor is noteworthy, but he shows no resemblance to other imperial bodyguards on Constantinian friezes on the arch. Ferris does not distinguish him from other barbarian auxiliaries preceding the emperor.[138] Furthermore, it is unlikely that only one unit commander would be demarcated with a torque when this frieze depicts at least 3 different units. It is thus sensible to understand the torques on the necks of these two soldiers as

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[129] Maxfield 1981, 234–235.

[130] Rossi 1971, 117–118.

[131] Amb. *Ep.* 10.9.

[132] This consensus was established by L'Orange 1939; see also Ferris 2000, 67–90. Rose 2021 has brought into question this consensus, convincingly proposing a Tetrarchic date for four of the six friezes dated to the reign of Constantine. She proposes that they were likely spoliated from a lost triumphal arch built under Diocletian. Nevertheless, this has no bearing on the discussion below.

[133] An overview of this frieze is given in Rose 2021, 187–188; Popkin 2016, 49. The Pannonian 'pillbox' hat provides no information about his ethnicity on account that they were worn by all soldiers in the third and fourth centuries CE. Veg. *Mil.* 1.20, wrote that soldiers always wore Pannonian leather caps when not wearing their helmets. See Van Thienen 2016, 118.

[134] In any case, he is not a member of the imperial bodyguard because there is no emperor depicted on this frieze.

[135] Frank 1969, 155.

[136] Ferris 2000, 72–73.

[137] On the composition of Constantine's army, Zos. 2.15. Frank 1969, 63–64. This use of the torque to display the ethnic composition of the army is also employed in the silver cup of the Boscoreale Treasure depicting Tiberius' triumph. See above, fn. 128.

[138] Ferris 2000, 78.

a visual marker intended to broadcast the ethnicity of Constantine's troops, who had all gathered under the legitimate emperor against the usurper Maxentius.

In short, no conclusive evidence points towards Romans wearing torques on their necks, at least before the seventh century. [139]

8. Reconsidering the chronology of the iconography of the torque-wearing imperial bodyguard

The result of this analysis on the iconography of the torque-wearing imperial bodyguards provides a chronological precision to the iconography of the *scholares* in the fourth century. Coulston and Bishop state that imperial bodyguards are depicted with neck torques throughout the fourth century.[140] I have argued that torques only feature as part of the iconography of imperial bodyguards from the reign of Theodosius, in response to the imperial policy on the integration of barbarians after the peace treaty of 382.[141] From foes to be eliminated in Themistius' *Oration* 14, Goths are portrayed as useful members of the Roman workforce in *Orations* 16 and 34. This peace treaty of 382 was seemingly one of Theodosius' greatest imperial achievements and Theodosius' ability to tame unruly barbarians remained a cornerstone of praise conferred on the emperor.[142]

The earliest evidence of this iconographic change is from 387/8, on the Missorium of Theodosius. The torques depicted on the imperial bodyguards on the four sides of the base of the Obelisk of Theodosius (390–391) and on the Freshfield album illustration of the Column of Arcadius (401–402) further support this timeline.[143] Consequently, imperial representations featuring bodyguards with torques can be given a *terminus post quem* of October 382 CE based on the peace treaty.

This chronological precision narrows down the time of production of two silver plates of uncertain dating with imperial portraits. Given the scarcity of imperial representations on plates from the fourth and early fifth centuries and the rarity of portrayals of the *scholares*, this reassessment is significant for our understanding of Late Antique art.[144] Both pieces have been tentatively dated before 382 but these assessments are based on uncertain evidence. Both pieces also share significant similarities with iconography post-dating the reign of Theodosius.

The first is a *largitio* plate (Fig. 12.18) dated to 364–392, depicting the emperor with six bodyguards, who, although portrayed on a heavily worn portion of the plate, wear torques on their neck.[145] The inscription *LARGITAS DN VALENTINIANI AUGUSTI*

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[139] Later depictions of imperial bodyguards include the mosaics of Justinian in San Vitale (consecrated 547 CE) and of Saint Sergius in the Church of Hagios Demetrios in Thessaloniki (seventh-eighth centuries).

[140] Bishop & Coulston 2006, 226. See also Stout 1994, 78–79 who notes that portraits from the fourth century often feature coins or medallions integrated in heavy neck rings.

[141] Many iconographic changes that characterised the visual culture of the fifth century seem to have occurred during the reign of Theodosius, i.e., the crossbow brooch becoming associated with members of the senatorial class, rather than the army. See Van Thienen 2016, 119–122.

[142] E.g., *Pan. Lat.* 2(12).22 and 2(12).32.3. See Nixon 1987, 11, as well as Kahlos' chapter above.

[143] Torques also adorn the necks of imperial bodyguards on the consular diptych of Constantius III in Halberstadt cathedral, which Cameron 2015, 258–262 dates to 414.

[144] Catalogued in Toynbee & Painter 1986, 15–65.

[145] Rummel 2012, 348–349.

provides a chronological frame: Valentinian I became emperor in 364 and Valentinian II died in 392. Valentinian II would thus be the only possibility because his reign postdates 382.[146] This redating is supported by the similar renditions of the emperor's pose and the bodyguards between this piece and representations of Arcadius and Honorius on the Column of Arcadius and the ivory consular diptych of Probus (Fig. 12.19).[147]

The second piece, traditionally referred to as the Missorium of Kerch, from Crimea, depicts a mounted emperor being crowned by Victory and flanked on his left by a bodyguard wearing a torque (Fig. 12.20).[148] Matzulewitsch and Baratte argue that it represents Constantius II on the basis that other silver plates and bowls, one of which has an inscription commemorating Constantius' *vicennalia* in 343, were found nearby.[149] Stylistic analyses by von Grünhagen and Sharov remain open to a later date.[150] Furthermore, Leader-Newby points out that the Missorium of Kerch differs significantly from and is much more elaborate than other finds nearby dated to 343.[151] This suggests a different production date and workshop than other finds. The nimbus on the emperor's head and the Chi-Rho on the shields of the imperial guard resemble those in the mosaic in the Basilica of San Vitale in Ravenna (540–547), in which Justinian's bodyguard also wear torques (Fig. 12.21). Leader-Newby identifies the 36-solidus multiple of Justinian minted between 527 and 538 (Fig. 12.22) as the closest stylistic parallel to the Missorium of Kerch.[152] It is thus likely that it depicts Justinian.

9. Conclusions

In conclusion, the inclusion of torques in the iconography of the imperial bodyguard after 382 is evidence of a coherent program of imperial propaganda about Goths in literary and visual sources, making use of the established imagery stemming from the Greco-Roman tradition about specifically 'northern' material culture. The imperial bodyguards were always at the emperor's side, both in battle and in the streets of Constantinople and this is evident in the Missorium of Theodosius, the Obelisk of Theodosius and the Column of Arcadius, where the emperor is flanked by his barbarian bodyguards. Consequently, a change in the iconography of imperial bodyguards profoundly influenced imperial iconography.

I argued that the iconography of the imperial bodyguard, with a distinctive non-

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[146] Valentinian I: MacCormack 1981, 204–205; Delbrück 1978, 179–182, pl. 79; Valentinian I or II: Ferris 2000, 102–103; Toynbee & Painter 1986, 27–28; Leader-Newby 2003, 14, observes that all examples of silver *largitio* plates are dated to the fourth century, rendering the hypothesis of Valentinian III improbable.

[147] Leader-Newby 2003, 38.

[148] Unlike the Missorium of Theodosius and the plate of Valentinian, scholarship does not generally consider the Missorium of Kerch as a *largitio* because it lacks an inscription.

[149] Matzulewitsch 1929, 95–100; Baratte 1975, 206. André 1966, 298, identifies the mounted emperor as Constantius II, but provides no evidence as support. Hobbs 2022, 319; Zaccagnino & al. 2012, 421 n.7, remain unconvinced of the identity of the emperor as Constantius II but give no alternative.

[150] Grünhagen 1954, 18; Шаров 2009, 508–514 proposes Constantine and Justinian as possibilities; Von Sybel 1909, 262 and Стшиговский 1892, 5–22 both propose Justinian.

[151] Leader-Newby 2003, 20–23, 36, 38.

[152] *Ibid*., 37–38: 'the most striking parallels for the iconic images of the emperor that appear on Valentinian's and Constantius II's *largitio* plates are found in other media and postdate them.'

Roman ethnic marker like a torque, presented the peace treaty of 382 as an example of the good civil administration of Theodosius. The emperor had turned a foe into an ally and sought to alleviate the burdens of taxation and military recruitment. Like their weapons, which are melted into farming tools, the once murderous Goths could be 'reforged' into productive members of society. Themistius, as the spokesperson of the Theodosian imperial court to the Eastern aristocracy, sought to convince his audience through the pragmatic benefits of the integration of Goths in Roman society. Through the iconography of the emperor flanked by his barbarian bodyguard, the imperial court propagated the successful integration of the Goths, for the wise emperor Theodosius could now trust them not only as farmers and soldiers, but also as part of his personal bodyguard.

Themistius' *Orations*, the Missorium of Theodosius, the Obelisk of Theodosius and the Column of Arcadius demonstrate that portrayals of barbarians in Late Antiquity, both in literary and visual sources, were meticulously crafted, functioned as rhetorical tools and responded to historical events. This inquiry has also shed light on the dating of the Valentinian *largitio* plate and the Kerch Missorium, some of the few extant representations of Late Antique emperors and *candidati* on silver plates.

Illustrations

Fig. 12.1: Copper alloy Celtic torque from Gaul, *ca*. 300–200 BCE. Photo by Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession number 17.191.204. Public domain.

Fig. 12.2: Copy of the Missorium of Theodosius, 387–388 CE, Museum of Mérida, Spain. Photo by Ángel M. Felicísimo. Wikimedia Commons. CC BY 3.0.

Fig. 12.3.1: South-western view of the base of the Obelisk of Theodosius, Constantinople, *ca*. 390–391 CE. Notice the torques, most prominently depicted on the two imperial bodyguards with oval shields, on both extremities of the upper row. Photo by Gryffindor. Wikipedia Commons. Public domain.

Fig. 12.3.2: North-eastern view of the base of the Obelisk of Theodosius. The imperial bodyguards on the top row wear torques around their necks. Photo by Ian Scott. Wikipedia Commons. CC BY-SA 2.0.

Fig. 12.3.3: North-western view of the base of the Obelisk of Theodosius. The imperial bodyguards on the top row wear torques around their necks. Eastern barbarians (left) and northern barbarians (right) submit to the emperor and offer gifts. Photo by Mark Landon. Wikipedia Commons. CC BY 4.0.

Fig. 12.3.4: South-eastern view of the base of the Obelisk of Theodosius. The imperial bodyguards on the top row wear torques around their necks. The emperor is holding a wreath, to be given to the victor of the chariot races. Photo by Mark Landon. Wikipedia Commons. CC BY 4.0.

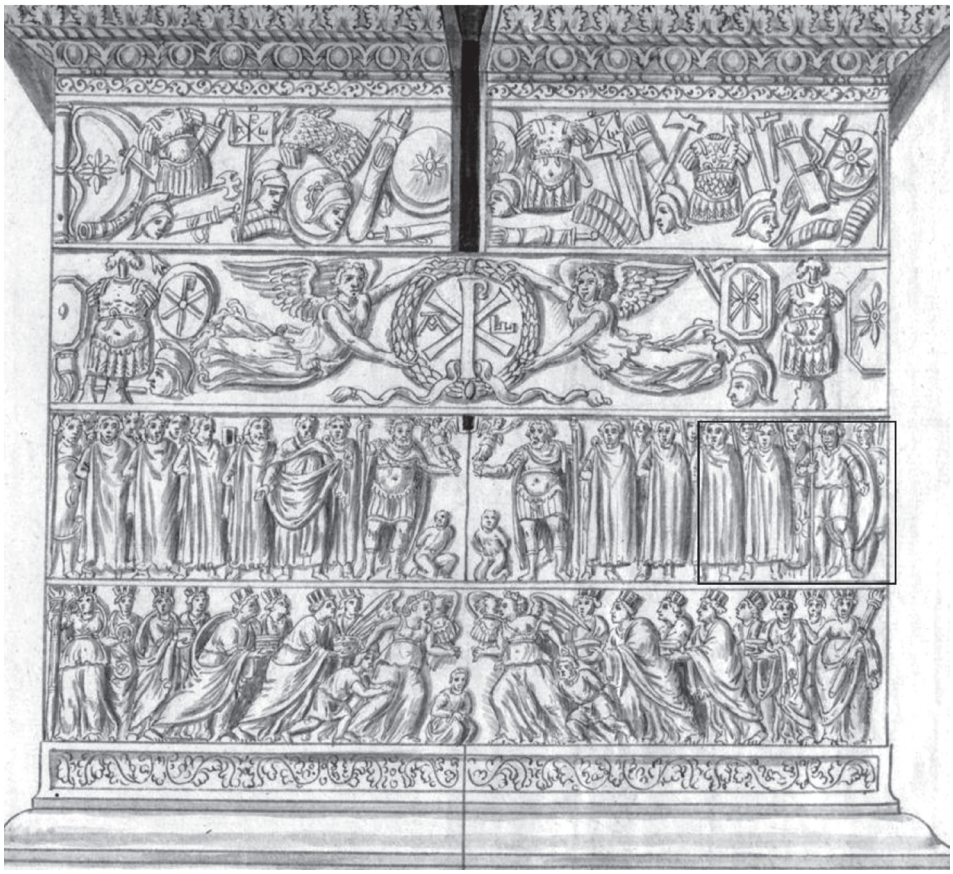

Fig. 12.4.1: Detail of the south view of the pedestal of the Column of Arcadius, Freshfield Album fol. 12, Trinity College Library, Cambridge. © Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge. CC BY-NC 4.0. Black square added is mine and indicates the close-up below.

Fig. 12.4.2: Detail of the south view of the pedestal of the Column of Arcadius.

Fig. 12.5: Dying Gaul (copy of an original commissioned by Attalus I of Pergamon between 230–220 BCE), *ca*. 60–40 BCE, Musei Capitolini, Rome. Photo by Priscilla Buongiorno. Photo reproduced with the permission of the creator.

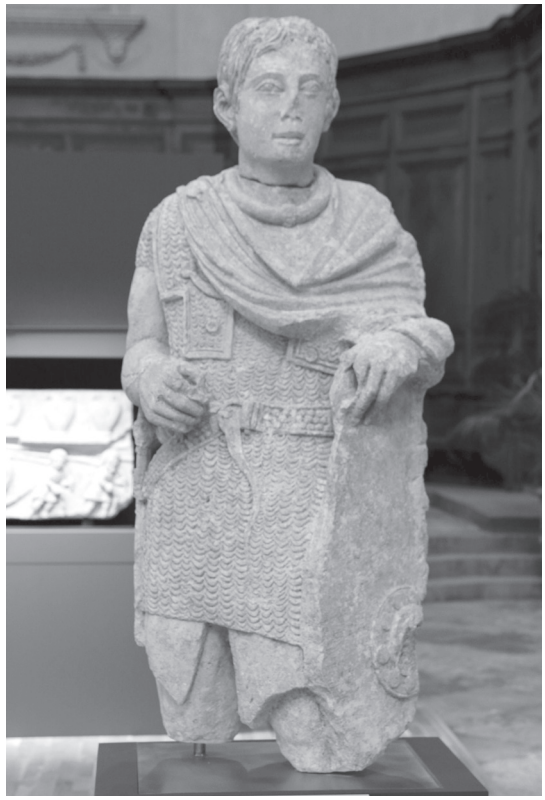

Fig. 12.6: Statue of a Gallic soldier wearing a torc, called the 'Guerrier de Vachères', *ca*. 30–20 BCE. Musée Lapidaire, Collection Archéologique du Musée Calvet, Avignon. Wikipedia Commons. Public domain.

Fig. 12.7: Detail of the Trajanic frieze from the Arch of Constantine, 315 CE, Rome. The scorpion insignia on the shield identifies this soldier as a member of the Praetorians. Photo by Mary Ann Sullivan. Photo reproduced with the permission of the creator.

Fig. 12.8: Trajan's Column (113 CE), Scene 104. The Praetorian Guards hold wreathed standards. Following Roman tradition, standard-bearers often wore animal hoods and pelts. Horn-bearers also wore animal hoods but are not the Praetorian Guards. Photo by Jeff Bondono www.jeffbondono.com. Photo reproduced with the permission of the creator.

Fig. 12.9: Trajan's Column, Scene 8. The wreathed standards on the left represent those of the Praetorian Guard and the standards with disks on the right, those of the legionaries. Photo by Roger B. Ulrich. Public domain.

Fig. 12.10: Trajan's Column, scene 36. The barbarian auxiliary troops are featured in the top half of the second fragment (from the left). Cichorius plate 27: from Conrad Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule, vol. 1,* Berlin 1896.

Fig. 12.11: Aes, *RIC* VI Londinium 166, 310–312 CE. Photo by American Numismatics Society. Public domain.

Obverse: CONSTANTINVS P F AVG – Bust laureate, helmeted cuirassed, facing left, holding spear over right shoulder and oval shield on left arm.

Fig. 12.12: Light *miliarensis*, *RIC* VIII Thessalonica 204, 355–361 CE. Photo from the British Museum, inventory number 1959,0302.6. © The Trustees of the British Museum. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

Obv.: D N CL IVLIAN-VS NOB CAES – Bust of Julian, bareheaded, draped, cuirassed, facing right.

Rev.: VIRTVS EXERCITVS-TES (mint mark) – Soldier, helmeted, draped, cuirassed, standing front, head turned to right, holding inverted barbed spear in right hand and resting left hand on oval shield.

Fig 12.13: The siege of Verona, Arch of Constantine, Constantinian frieze on the south face on the left. Constantine is in the *adlocutio* pose with his right hand up. Behind him are the two unhelmeted imperial bodyguards (in the black square). Photo by Jeff Bondono www.jeffbondono.com. Photo reproduced with the permission of the creator. Black square is mine.

Fig. 12.14: Detail of trophies on a relief celebrating Maximianus' victory over Franks and Moors in 296/7, *ca*. 300 CE, Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Merida, inventory number CE37028. The torque is wrapped on top of the pole, above the breastplate. © Ministerio de Cultura, photo by José María Murciano Calles.

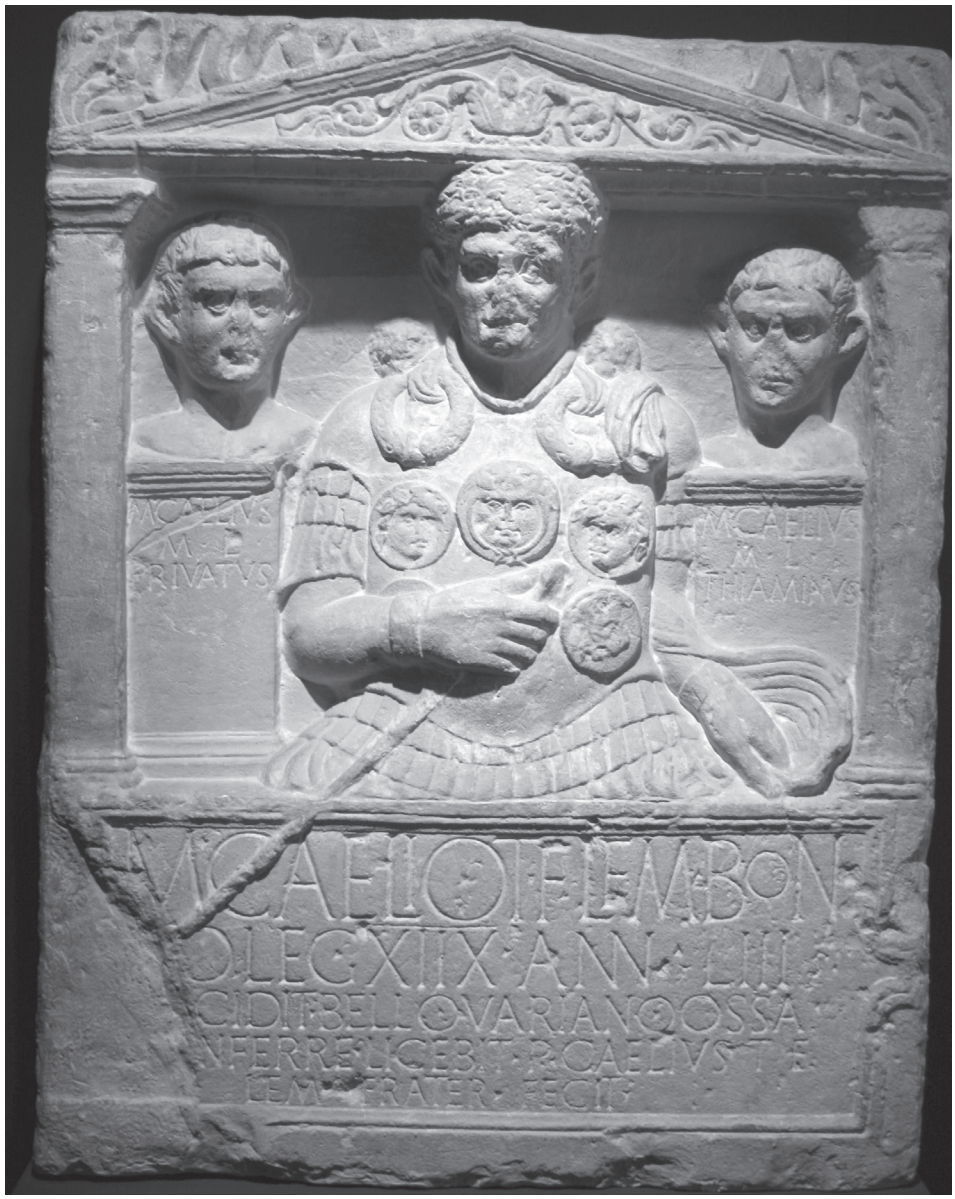

Fig. 12.15: Epitaph of Marcus Caelius, 9 CE. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn. Photo by Agnete. Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

Fig. 12.16.1: Constantine's departure from Milan, Arch of Constantine, Rome, Constantinian frieze on the west side. Photo by Jeff Bondono www.jeffbondono.com. Photo reproduced with the permission of the creator. Black square is mine and denotes the close-up below.

Fig. 12.16.2: Close-up of the soldier wearing a torque on the departure from Milan scene.

Fig. 12.17.1: *Adventus* scene into Rome, Arch of Constantine, Constantinian frieze on the east side. Photo by Jeff Bondono www.jeffbondono.com. Photo reproduced with the permission of the creator. Black square is mine and denotes the close-up below.

Fig. 12.17.2: Close-up of the soldier with the torque, identified by a black square.

Fig. 12.18: Largitio Plate of Valentinian (II?), 364–392 CE, MAH Musée d'art et d'histoire, Genève, inventory number C1241. Given to Bibliothèque publique de Genève by M. Mussard, 1721. © Musée d'art et d'histoire, Ville de Genève, photographer: Jean-Marc Yersin. Arrows are mine and indicate the torques, which are difficult to discern.
Inscription: *LARGITAS DN VALENTINIANI AUGUSTI*

Fig. 12.19: Consular diptych of Anicius Petronius Probus, Aosta Cathedral Treasury, 406 CE. It depicts Honorius on both sides. Photo by Tintero21. Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

Fig. 12.20: Lithograph of the Missorium of Kerch (depicting Justinian I?). Item housed at the Hermitage State Museum, St. Petersburg, inventory number 1820-79. Lithograph from Йозеф Стшиговский, 'Византийский памятник, найденный в Керчи в 1891. Изслѣдованіе проф. Ios. Стржиговскаго', *Материалы по археологии России* 8 (1892), pl. 1.

Fig. 12.21: Donation mosaic depicting Justinian and his imperial bodyguard, Church of San Vitale, Ravenna, *ca*. 547 CE. Photo by René Michel. Photo reproduced with the permission of the creator.

Fig. 12.22: Solidus multiple of Justinian (electrotype copy, the original was stolen in 1831), 527–538. Photo by the British Museum. © The Trustees of the British Museum. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.
Inscription: SALVS ET GLORIA ROMANORVM CONOB

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