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PATRIAE FACIEM: THE EMPEROR'S PORTRAIT AS A SIGNIFIER OF ROMAN IDENTITY IN THE FIRST AND SECOND CENTURIES CE[1]

MATTI FISCHER

Nationes, gentes, ethne

Belonging to a collective may take many forms. Here I discuss belonging to the large collective that was Rome and its connections to formulations of portraits of the Roman emperor. The term "national" comes naturally to the modern mind when speaking about communal identity. Walbank has argued that this term is inaccurate, however, for Roman group identity. The Romans referred to themselves more as belonging to a city than a nation and the intimate link as that formed between those who share the same civic identity – *civitas*, rather than those who are of the same *gens*, *natio* or *lingua*.[2] There is a similar opposition in Greek between *polis* and *ethnos* or *genos*, and Walbank argues that neither Greek nor Roman identity was a "national" identity in the modern sense of the nations that came into being from the eighteenth century and combined national feelings and a political striving for independence with equality and democracy for their citizens.[3] In his view "nationality" did not play a significant part in the history of Classical antiquity because the Greeks operated at the polis level – below the national level of *ethne*, while the Romans operated above that level. They were "Romans" – belonging to a city, yet they forged a supra-national empire, in which Roman citizenship was intended to outstrip other "nations" of their value, while paradoxically destined to outstrip of its own value the original "Roman" feeling of community based on the city.[4]

Another modern term that comes to mind is "ethnic" identity. In defining this term research oscillates between older demarcations, which are encompassed in "race" and more up-to-date definitions involving social and cultural habits.[5] Yet the Latin words *nationes* and *gentes*, as well as the Greek *ethne*, were used interchangeably in antiquity to refer to "peoples",[6] making our own distinction between national and ethnic identity not completely suitable for ancient cultures. In this article I will therefore not distinguish between them but use them in this general sense of "peoples" in respect to what makes them distinct and unites them, while the ambiguities of "belonging" to city, ethnic group, nation and empire, will be considered as part of the difficult process of the construction of a communal identity and its naturalization. Cicero contributes to

this construction when he says: "slavery is tolerable to all *nationes* but not to our *civitas*".[7] The opposition created by this formulation indicates the viability of speaking of "national-civic" identity in Rome that is dependent on various forms of construction – such as the opposition presented here by Cicero.

Contributing to these observations is Benedict Anderson's discussion of the rise of "nationality" in the eighteenth century. He sees these new nations as a development that arose from and interacted with those older forms of communal assemblies that were larger than an intimate village community, such as the religious community and the dynastic community. Anderson coined the term "imagined community" to refer to the emergence of the new national communities in the eighteenth century, in which the national feeling of community was constructed in the imagination of the citizens, and its promulgation (such as the concept of a national language) was based on printing and newspapers. Yet in a certain sense this development in the eighteenth century did not constitute a total break with the older communities. The religious medieval community was also "imagined" in the sense that it was based on a sacred language and book administered by an elitist clergy.[8]

This formulation of an "imagined community" appears to have emanated from a basic human need: to belong to a large community – a need that is answered and formulated on the imaginary level. This point is made clear if we look at national or ethnic identity in terms of modern social identity theory; such identities are instances of group identity, which is a basic human need. This study of "national/ethnic" identity in Rome follows and identifies the construction of such a feeling of community and of the particular changes it sustained. The ambivalence between city, nation and empire can be understood as part of the difficult process of imagining and constructing a community.

Obviously, there were various ways of imagining Roman national/ethnic/civic identity.[9] In imperial times one such way was through its citizens' allegiance to the emperor. In this process, the image of the leader was a "player" – signifying a particular form of identity and participating in the process of identification. Thus – by extension – the image participated in constructing "Rome".

In adopting the view of Rome as an "imagined community", I am not saying that it was analogous to the modern nation state but that it was a community that undertook to address certain human needs, which changed their form during history. As we shall see, the Romans had, initially, a very real aspect of identification with the State – one based on family ties and catering particularly to the aristocracy, and this aspect of Rome was partially retained even in its later formulations, when "Rome" operated almost without any form of national identity.

The importance of belonging to a group

Theoreticians on the issue of ethnic identity see in it, as in other group formations – the basic psychic need of the individual for continuity in belonging.[10] The importance of belonging to a group is stressed in social psychology. Contrary to psychoanalysis, which moves from the individual to community, modern social psychology sees social ties as being those that constitute

an individual, or that individuality and belonging to a group are interdependent.[11] In the case of ethnic identity, this need to belong is based on a belief in common origins and ultimately common parentage. This forms a bond of loyalty based on a common sense of the *past*.[12] It also provides a sense of purpose based on the mutual understanding of things (Romans are destined to rule[13]) so this common identification also has implications for the *future*.[14]

Belonging to a group implies a distinction from other persons or groups; for instance Romans-others, as presented by Cicero above, or Rome, Greece and barbarians, as he presented it elsewhere,[15] or enumerating the various *ethne* as in Aphrodisias.[16] As will be seen, a clear-cut visual definition of Romanness became more and more problematic – especially in empire times when the Empire encompassed different *nationes* or *ethne*.

Belonging to a group provides two additional basic human needs. It makes it possible to categorize and thus to recognize various phenomena and attribute meaning, significance and moral value to them,[17] and it provides the possibilities for self-esteem in belonging to a certain group with high value.[18] The fact that these two needs are answered on the group level leads us to the next step in this discussion, namely: the possibilities of individuation within the group.

Belonging to a group as a basic need is countered by the need to be unique. These two tenets are seen as opposed by social psychologists and different societies or different individuals reach different levels of equilibrium between the two.[19] Society itself may provide the mechanisms of reaching a balance. In being Roman, as opposed to non-Roman, a sense of worth and distinction was gained (and material benefits expected).[20] Among Romans there was sameness, but also internal competition for status and roles, which enabled distinction and self-esteem within the group of the same.[21] Thus the basic human needs of being both the same and different were met within the national / ethnic group.

The sense of belonging to Rome also had a marked influence on the demeanor of the body and on its formulation in art.[22] Conversely, artistic representations functioned as crystals of *identity* – in which Romans could see stability and a prevailing sameness.[23] The head of the Roman state was both an emblem and constructor of this Roman identity – and his construction in art served as a litmus paper of *Romanitas* (and its changes). Psychoanalytic theory explains the association between the head of a group and individual identity in a more intrinsic manner: a group constitutes a number of individuals who have put the same object in the place of their ego-ideal and have consequently identified themselves with one another in their ego. The leader himself can be this object, so that a national group may have an inbred mechanism of identification with the leader.[24]

One further point connects us more directly with the subject of this paper. The sense of individual worth inside the group is accorded as a function of *role*[25] – so "role" is in fact a central aspect of the self, because it is that aspect which is accredited by the group. In Roman thought based on Stoic principles this concept was one of the few ways of defining a person and especially upper-class Romans. The linguistic concept for this was itself already connected to the face – the *persona* – the mask-role.[26]

The "face of the father" and Roman identity

It is a well-known fact that a sense of worth was accorded to a Roman aristocrat as a function of his role and his succession of roles in serving the Roman state.[27] This sense of worth had a visual signifier. One of the most ancient honors for a Roman involved the *preservation of his face* – as the "father" of the family. The means for this was the *imagines maiorum* (masks of the fathers), which were kept in the atrium of the Roman house. Making a "mask of a father" was a privilege for Roman magistrates as a function of attaining a certain level in State service.[28] One of the uses of the masks was during funerals, when the symbolic value of these "faces" was realized and enhanced the prestige of the family – providing a basis for political power.[29] While the face of the father enabled individual distinction – it also afforded the upper-class Roman family a bond based on parentage. This bond stressed sameness and ultimately referred to the common origins of all Romans – as coming from the same fathers (Aeneas and Romulus). I see this as another application of the above-noted formula of being both the same and different: playing a unique role in the Roman state also indicated belonging to the large collective that was Rome, and that was embodied in the "face of the father".

The incorporation of Romanness within the family was also helpful in maintaining a continued narrative of Romanness, thereby countering the problematics of maintaining sameness in the "nation". In Rome, the "faces of the fathers" ideally formed a possibility of continuation of nationality by linking family, social position (within the state) and nationality. According to Anderson, one of the functions of the modern nation was to form a possibility for transforming mortality into continuity – in face of the marginalization of religion, which had administered to this need up to the enlightenment.[30] Roman "fathers" functioned in a similar way in forming continuity in the family and linking it to the nation. The "face of the father" referred to actual family ties that concurrently constructed the sense of belonging to the State. This applied especially to upper-class males, who identified their own interests with those of Rome. Of course, over the approximately one thousand years of the existence of "Rome", families did not form a continuous sequence and "faces" were invented (see below for Augustus) – but there is evidence that this form of maintaining continuity in which nation and aristocratic family merged was still upheld in the second century CE and was even functional in the early sixth century.[31] The shift to a completely imaginary level came with the use of such images for maintaining ties with the whole Roman population – a move precipitated by Augustus and realized in portraits and not in masks.

In the late Republic, the importance of the face of the "father" for indicating *Romanitas* and acting in a Roman way is seen most significantly in the portraits of Marcus Brutus on coins (Fig. 1), especially after the murder of Caesar. Brutus, who minted these coins – connects himself, portrayed on the obverse, with his ancestor Lucius Junius Brutus, founder of the Roman republic, portrayed on the reverse. This association was used as a legitimization for his deed and for his form of Romanness.[32] This does not mean that the coins portrayed the *imagines maiorum*, but that the face retained a sense of belonging, a sense of worth and a moral outlook, despite the problematic deed associated with Brutus.

Fig. 1: The face of the "father" and Roman Republicanism. The portrait of Marcus Junius Brutus with his ancestor Lucius Junius Brutus on a coin from Athens, 42 BCE (Crawford 1974: Fig. 506.1)

It is a matter of debate as to what was retained from the masks of the fathers in the Roman Republican portraits,[33] but it is clear that erecting a public statue constituted a sign of honor. Although Pliny recounts that people also erected statues privately to honor themselves,[34] most statues were intended to commemorate a deed performed for the Roman State or an office held by the person portrayed. Pliny notes that P. Cornelius Scipio, as a censor, ordered all statues of men who had held office as magistrates to be pulled down, except for those that had been erected by a resolution of the senate or the people.[35] Often along with the statue was an inscription recounting the individual's honors.[36] Thus the early connection between representing the face and the sense of worth accorded by the national group, was retained in the Republican portrait. This is perhaps the reason for the particular visual form of these portraits. They portray people as "fathers" – as elderly, bald, with wrinkles and without any tendency for idealization. It will never be known whether these were direct copies of the faces but the resemblance among all the portraits in these characteristics suggests a deliberate style, portraying these men as "fathers" – grave, severe, commanding authority and bound by duty.[37] As we shall see, the Roman emperors utilized this early conception of the portrait as indicating belonging, worth and as representing national values.

Augustus – constructing the identification

As the portraits of the emperors became widespread, they crystallized as one of the main indicators of belonging to the national group. This is already evident in the portraits of Augustus. Ovid – in his exile in Pontus – looks at the portrait of Augustus as an embodiment of the Homeland and writes: "As I gaze on him I seem to look on Rome, for he embodies the likeness of our fatherland" (*patriae faciem*).[38] The emperor's portrait was also an indicator of Ovid's own exile; in its expression, he imagined he could read Augustus' discontent with him.[39]

Augustus' portrayed embodiment of Rome was not a straightforward copy of the emperor's face and body, but was based on several ideas, which could be divided into an appropriation of past and future. The bond with the past utilized the sense of community afforded by the fathers of the nation. This was especially elaborated by Augustus in his imaginary "*imagines*".

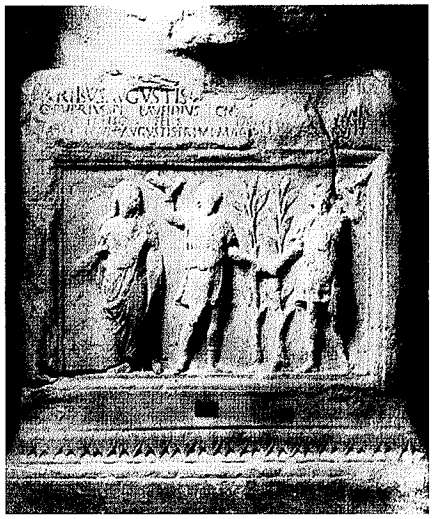

Fig. 2: The extension of the father image: the *genius* of Augustus with the Lares on an altar (Galinsky 1996: Fig. 136)

According to Rowell, Augustus' private atrium and his forum were coordinated to include representations of his actual family alongside his imaginary and legendary family. The legendary figures that were shown as statues in his forum included Aeneas, his son Iulus and their descendant Romulus, thus linking Augustus to the whole Roman people through the legendary fathers of the Roman *gens*.[40] This connection of the Iulii family with the whole of the Roman people was referred to explicitly in Marc Anthony's oration for Julius Caesar after his murder,[41] just as it was in the funeral organized for the young Drussus, Tiberius' son (and thus an adopted Julii), in which the *imagines* of Aeneas and Romulus were present.[42] As we have seen, common parentage is a main quality of ethnic identity, and Augustus was shown as the living representative of this common parentage and family ties, thus linking the continuity of Rome to the continuity of the emperor.[43]

The "family ties" bonding the Romans were strengthened by Augustus' divine person, through incorporating him into the worship of the Roman household gods, the *Lares* – along with the *Genius* of the paterfamilias. This was done both in private houses where sometimes a second "father" was added to the *Genius* of the paterfamilias,[44] and in public – where the cult of the *Lares* and the *Genius* of Augustus were celebrated at crossroads and appeared on altars (Fig. 2). The public cult was especially aimed at the lower strata of society, with whom Augustus maintained good ties and whom he encouraged – so that he was perceived as their father too, thereby linking them to the familial bonds of *Romanitas*.[45] Thus, what had been real family ties signified by the masks of the aristocratic fathers, became an imaginary linking of the whole Roman "nation", utilizing portraits.

Another aspect of role-playing connecting national identity with Roman conceptions of the family was the emperor's title as *pater-patriae* – the father of the fatherland. The importance of this title is the connection it makes between the Roman conceptions of the legal and moral significance of the father – as in the title *pater-familias* with its mutual obligations of care and reverence,[46] and the emperor's role as father of the country.[47] The *corona civica* was the visual sign of this and it designated the emperor as the savior of the people and bestower of clemency.[48] Once again, these "family ties" did not refer only to the traditional aristocratic involvement with the State, but rather to all strata of society who were engaged by Augustus in State projects. Augustus prided himself that this was acknowledged by the entire Roman people, who offered him the title of *pater-patriae* collectively.[49] This was considered by him as his most prized title,[50] and it continues to appear on emperors' coinage during the first and second centuries CE.[51]

Yet Augustus did not adopt the traditional "face of the father" as indicated by Roman coins and "veristic" portraits of the Republican period, opting instead for a more idealized youthful

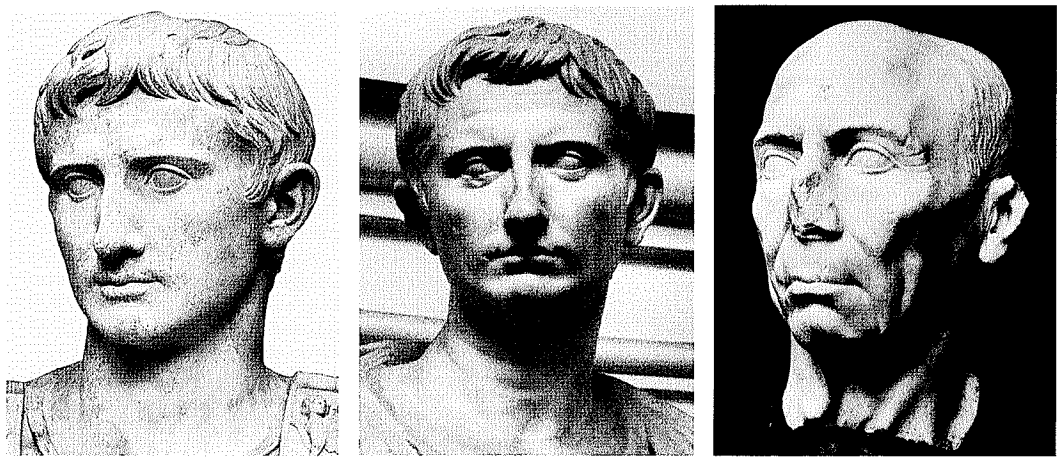

Fig. 3: The youthful face of the new Rome in Augustus' portrait of the Prima Porta type (Zanker 1988: Fig. 83), and the Actium type (Galinsky 1996: Fig. 84) compared to Republican veristic portraiture (Breckenridge 1968: Fig. 74)

look (Fig. 3). He was an innovator – through him Rome acquired a new "face" – the "young face" of a new empire. My interpretation of this is that alongside traditional family links, common parentage also implied goals for the future – as Romans – and this is one of the main points of Augustus' policy. Belonging to Rome implied a new Golden Age of stability and prosperity, which was to be connected with Augustus.[52] This is seen most vividly in his portrait from Prima Porta, which achieves a balance between the previous images that had shown Augustus as very young, and a new, more mature and stable countenance. This face is incorporated with the body of the cuirassed general along with a commanding / pacifying gesture and allegorical imagery. The new harmony was based on several models, Greek (Doryphorus), Hellenistic (regal) and Roman (military and rhetorical iconography).[53] This formulation also implied a connection between Roman civic identity and the new empire and constructed "nationality" as operating between these two poles. As we shall see this point was made explicit in later formulations of the emperors. The image of Augustus in his portraits thus gave form to this complex web of relations. So when Ovid says he sees the "face of the fatherland" in Augustus' portrait he sees this conglomerate of ideas: the backward look to Augustus as embodying the family ties of all Romans, and their attachment to the emperor as a "father", along with the harkening to the old Republican values; and the forward-looking aspirations of a new young ruler, who rules a new Rome, which is an empire.

Another aspect of national identity was contained within the national costume – the toga. This item signified the citizenly aspect of Romanness and some aspects of nationality connecting all Italians.[54] While the actual use of the toga became increasingly restricted to festive occasions due to its cumbersome nature,[55] representations still showed emperors in a toga. Augustus called Romans "Toga clad" following Virgil,[56] and he himself and the imperial family were shown this way in reliefs of the Ara Pacis. The toga presented the emperor as a citizen of a certain status or role reflecting Roman social structure,[57] and thereby conferred legitimacy upon his rule. Emperors were shown in this way as citizens alongside other citizens, marking the important

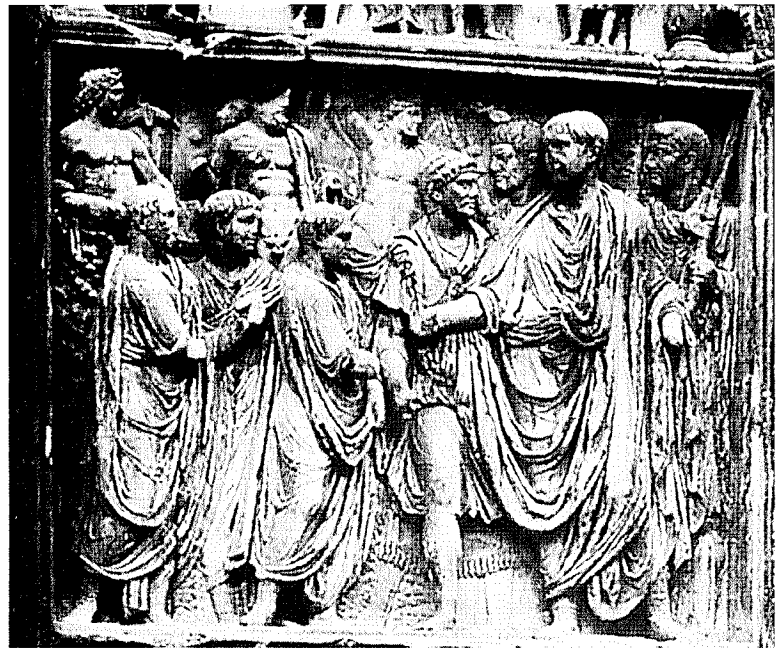

Fig. 4: A togate Trajan with togate citizens on the Arch in Beneventum (Stone 1994: Fig. 1.11)

citizen aspect of Roman identity, an aspiration still used in the rhetoric of the second century CE, which presents Trajan as a candidate for election like the rest of the citizens.[58] The toga-wearing emperor was thus a Roman, a citizen, and of a certain legal status, which also reflected upon those citizens who were his "equals" in this citizenly respect (See Trajan with toga alongside the citizens of Beneventum – although their inequality is conveyed through size, Fig. 4).

The problematics of extending Romanness

Not too many years later, however, the problematics of a multi-ethnic community relating to Rome was evident in Aphrodisias – in Caria. The *ethne* at the Sebasteion show a Greek interpretation of "Romanness". The Aphrodisias dedication was made by Greek inhabitants who had recently received Roman citizenship.[59] Smith sees the statues of the *ethne* as indications of peoples conquered by Rome.[60] Yet at the same time there was ambivalence about them because the Roman triumphal iconography of prisoners was supplemented by the Hellenistic repertoire of draped women, used for all *ethne* including Greek islands (Fig. 5).[61] Smith suggests that this ambivalence was inherent in imperial reliefs, which could simultaneously indicate the *gentes devictae* (conquered peoples) while at the same time suggesting peaceful incorporation or the *cura imperii* (cares of the Empire).[62] He sees this monument as an indication of the Aphrodisian's identification with Roman world rule. This was also evident in emperor worship in the Greek world,[63] and in visual formulations of the emperor, whose portraits combined local dedication and work with imperial models imported from Rome, manifesting the ideological interaction of belonging.[64]

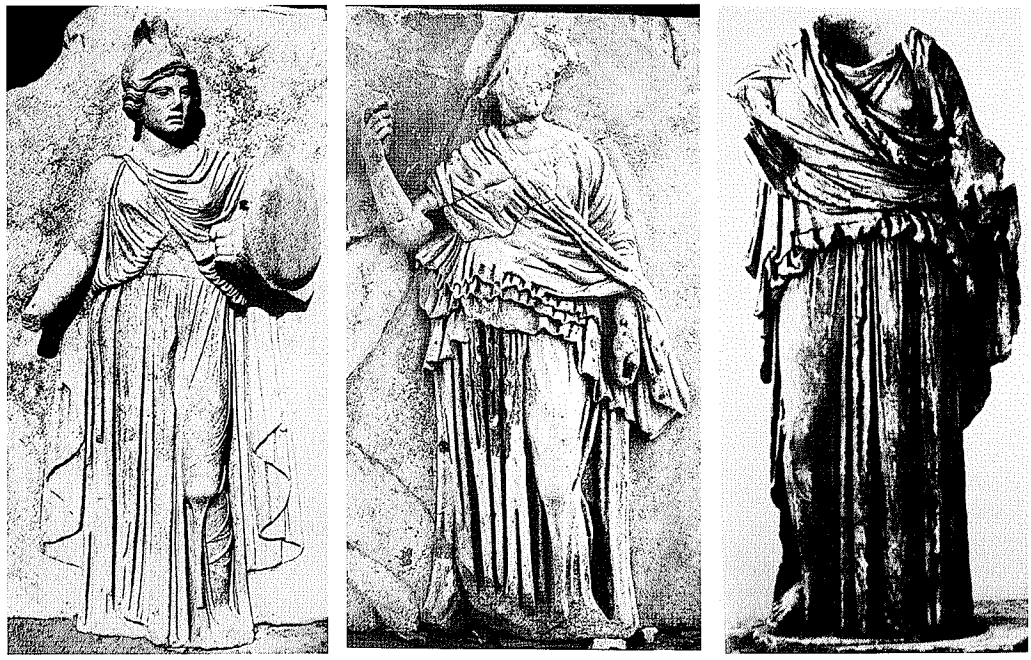

Fig. 5: Left: a warrior – like *ethnos* – the Piroustae (Smith 1988: Pl. 1). Center: a Greek *ethnos* (Smith 1988: Pl. 3). Right: a Hellenistic muse as a prototype for the Greek *ethnos* (Smith 1988: Pl. 7.2)

Greek adoption of Roman rule was ambivalent. The representation of the Roman captives in Greek dress or in Greek form, somewhat equals Plutarchus's writing Roman biography in Greek terms. The translation was at the same time both an acceptance of Roman rule but a refusal of Roman terms describing that rule. In Plutarch Romans are described in Greek ethical terms,[65] in much the same way that the Roman emperor is incorporated into the Greek power structure of the Gods,[66] and Rome is seen as the "Acropolis" while the nations are like the *demes* for Aelius Aristides.[67] In the south portico at Aphrodisias panels depicting Greek mythology are located below Roman emperors and indicate Greek culture as the background for imperial rule, or the Greeks as partners rather than conquered peoples.[68] The peoples represented in the *ethne* series leave out the Greek cities but do include three important Greek islands, Crete, Cyprus and Sicily.[69] The sculptural formulation of these, contrasts, according to Smith, with a more barbarian formulation of other *ethne* thus indicating a free people (compare Figs. 5 and 6).[70] The ambivalence in including a free people within a series of conquered peoples, all formulated in a Hellenistic manner and dressed in Greek clothing while being subtly discriminated,[71] is an indication of the complexity of Roman models (themselves based on Greek prototypes) reformulated and intended for a Greek audience.

Claudius as conqueror of Britain in Aphrodisias exemplifies this ambivalence (Fig. 7). He has a conspicuously large and individualized head set on a nude body – a Roman graft on a Hellenistic composition of Achilles supporting Penthesilea after her defeat, or on late classical amazonomachies.[72] His heroic status is further indicated by the *balteus* and flying *chiton*. Claudius is shown here as a Greek with a Roman head, battling the Britains just as Achilles battled the

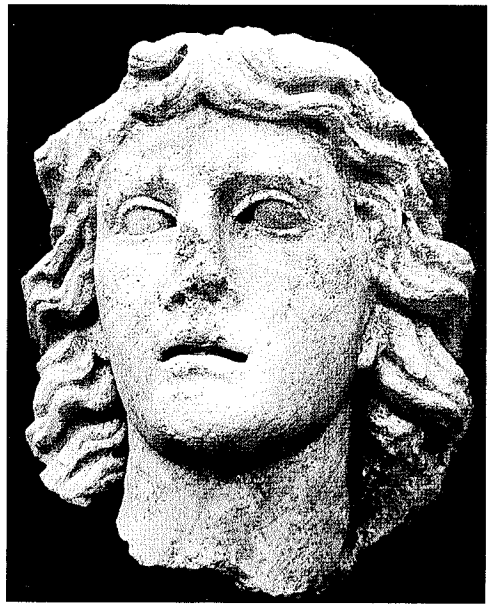

Fig. 6: Barbarian *ethnos* indicated by hairstyle and pathetic expression according to Smith (Smith 1988: Pl. 6)

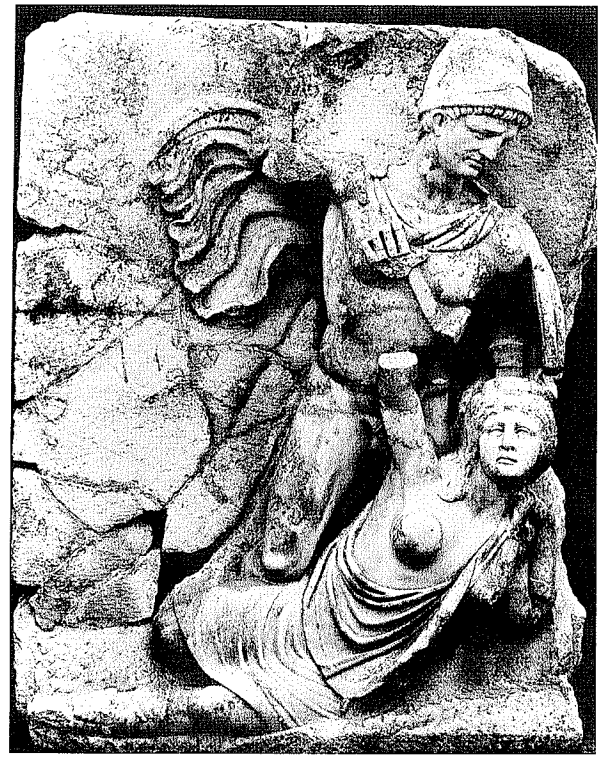

Fig. 7: Claudius conquering Britannia, from Aphrodisias (Kleiner 1992: Fig. 134)

Amazons. This enabled Greeks to identify with Roman rule, while at the same time recasting this rule in Greek terms and including themselves among the rulers.

This can of course all be seen as part of the international classicism that was initiated by Augustus,[73] and which deliberately set out to obliterate differences. It was convenient to look back upon a golden age of "classicism" with which both Greeks and Romans could identify, and intimate the beginning new classical age, while disregarding the passage of time and the change of rule. This integration constituted a delicate balancing act and depended on interpretations by the Greek viewers who were sensitive to the promises and realities. In a slightly later period, it was the Romans who reacted against a regal interpretation of the emperor, cast in Hellenistic forms.

Domitian – problematics of the conceptions of the emperor for national values

The problematics of grafting Roman ideas onto Greek or Hellenistic form is evident with Domitian. His intimations of kingship along with its Hellenistic divine components was perhaps the direction in which the empire was going, but produced a countermove by the Roman Senate. In visual terms this Hellenistic interpretation of the emperor aimed at by Domitian was fashioned in coins and portraits. This created a cultural clash – the Hellenistic regal *pothos*[74] – the yearning or desire for great acts – was opposed to the Roman *pietas*. The Hellenistic kingly mode

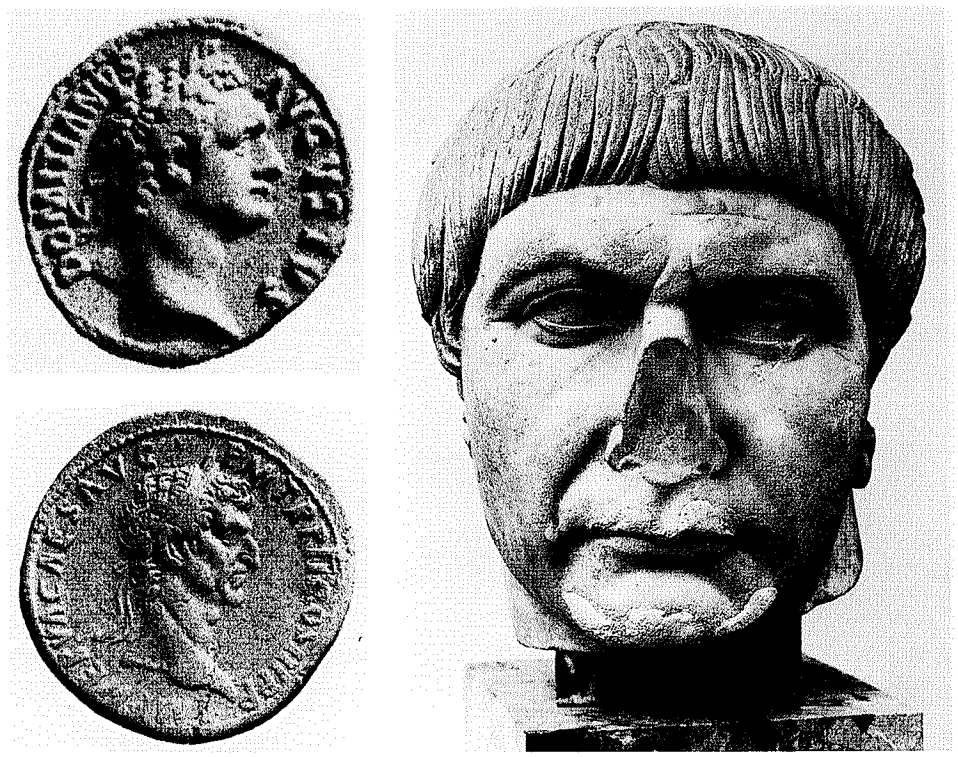

Fig. 8: Top left: a young Domitian on a coin with Hellenistic style hair and upward gaze. (*BMC* II: Pl. 66.15). Bottom left: Nerva on a coin in the Republican "veristic" mode. (*BMC* III: Pl. 7.2). Right: Trajan, Type 1 from the Louvre (FZ Beilage 18)

was exemplified in the young upward-gazing king with the dynamic hairstyle, suggesting a charismatic – divine kingship with a strong emphasis on Domitian's personal desires. It was opposed to the Roman image of *pietas* – the performance of duty and suppression of personal desire for glory – as incorporated into those Republican portraits of elderly men whose lifetime of service is inscribed in their faces (Fig. 8).[75]

This visual interpretation needs additional clarification in light of modern scholarship. Domitian's reign was denigrated by various writers in antiquity, concentrating on his corrupt moral character.[76] Yet modern scholarship assesses him as an able administrator, continuing his father's policies and enacting valuable financial and agrarian laws in Italy, while being fairly successful in conducting foreign wars as well. In fact the much-loved Trajan continued many of his policies.[77] His problems with the Senate seem to have arisen, among others, from a blend of personal tendencies that led to a change in the notion of an emperor. These tendencies included a certain distancing of himself from the Senate and the people, a privacy on which he insisted, and which was perhaps a function of his personality.[78] It is perhaps difficult to understand why these characteristics elicited such a violent retaliation. Yet it is important to remember the actual ties that were incorporated into the notion of the emperor and constituted his real ties with the population of Rome. Romans (both upper and lower classes) did not want an aloof and distant symbol of Rome, even with administrative capabilities, but an actual one with

whom they could have physical ties. Thus Domitian's distancing himself was destabilizing on the national level, which as I have stressed – did not operate completely on the ideational level but needed actual manifestations of belonging.

This interpretation is corroborated by taking a look at Domitian's successor – Trajan (after the short reign of Nerva). An important part of Pliny's emphasis is precisely on the physical elements of Trajan, as those that portray him as a good emperor in opposition to Domitian. These include his physical closeness to the people – he participated in the soldiers' exercises, moved among the people when he entered Rome and did not eat alone. His physical stature received admiration, his face was constantly in the hearts of his subjects and his statues resembled those of the Republican heroes in the forum who had saved Rome from tyranny.[79] This formulation of Trajan's physicality, contrasting with Domitian's,[80] indicates the Roman need for a physical aspect of belonging that was centered on the emperor's body and face. This recalls the Freudian formulation of the same ego ideal incorporated into many people who thus form a group. Although the group incorporation was in fact made through the image, what was sought was the actual physical contact. Trajan's image was reified so that group identity could regain its material bond.

Upper-class resistance to Domitian's move was formulated along moral lines as seen from Tacitus and Pliny the Younger.[81] It was necessary to restore public faith in the emperor as a Roman. This was achieved by returning (with Trajan's portraits) to Republican modes of representation, which stressed the "exact likeness" as Pliny the Elder says;[82] in other words, the Roman mode of sincerity and integrity. Speaking about the emperor would no longer be mere rhetoric to be understood ironically, as Pliny the Younger notes.[83] The new truthfulness was prompted by the *fides* (sincerity) of the emperor himself – as Pliny says again of Trajan – his whole body is *fides*.[84] Likewise the emperor's portraits would be like those of the Republicans who had saved the State and now stand in the forum.[85] Thus there was a harkening back to more "Roman" times, when ideally there was no gap in representation – the statues were to be exactly like and to embody the Roman ideals of integrity that were present in the emperor himself. This was to be a reversal from Domitian, who was portrayed in the Hellenistic idealizing manner – but was not "like" and therefore not only unRoman himself, but also employed unRoman modes of representation, eliciting uncertainty in what could be believed in a representation (statue or speech); for instance he was bald[86] but was portrayed with Hellenistic style curls. Thus the portrait of the emperor not only provided the image of the Fatherland (as Ovid says) but also was an indicator of the moral values such as *fides* associated with such a nation.

The second century – expanding Rome

It is no wonder that the new century began with a return to "Roman" portraits of elderly men, as seen in the coins of Nerva and in the portraits of Trajan (Fig. 8). This was to counter the ambition seen in the young upward-gazing Domitian. Romanness was indicated through age, in a more modest bend of the neck, and in wrinkles, as seen in the faces of Nerva and Trajan. Such elderly Romans were associated with the moral precepts of duty, integrity and modesty

Fig. 9: Roman virtues of strength and dominance in the figure of Trajan as *imperator* (Kleiner 1992: Fig. 173)

Fig. 10: Left: Coin of Trajan. Trajan embodies Roman virtue in his dominance of Mesopotamia and Armenia (*BMC* III: Pl. 42.8) Right: Coin of Hadrian, with the legend "The Virtue of Augustus" in the same pose with a cuirass (*BMC* III: Pl. 62.2)

and Trajan's portrayal this way was intended to provide a model for the nation.[87] This formulation of Trajan's image was also instrumental in consolidating Roman ideas of the past. The Republican era was to be seen as a common past, visualized in the portrait of the emperor, which supplied a unifying communal factor.

Other characteristics too of being Roman are revealed in these portraits. They include dominance, manliness and power, which are especially manifest in the military field. This is incorporated within the powerful armored body of the emperor as *imperator* (Fig. 9). These characteristics were linked to Roman virtue, as can be seen on coins where Virtue and the victorious emperor are featured in the same pose and both wearing armor (Fig. 10). In the words of Pliny the Younger, the emperor's title of *imperator* was won in actual bloody wars, giving Rome a deserved domination.[88] Another aspect of Romanness can be seen in the bodily gestures of the emperor. The chiastic pose originating in the classical Doryphorus, along with the outstretched hand, played out complicated associations of classical harmony and dominance.[89] This dominance was a two-edged sword: it could be attributed to the Romans themselves as they "had a part" in the emperor; but it could also construct the Roman viewer as dominated by the emperor. For the viewer in many of the provinces in which such *imperator* statues were positioned,[90] it probably indicated both Roman domination and the emperor's military might. Another feature of this imagery is its gendered aspect. In utilizing the imagery of the father and showing physical strength and dominance in the emperor's image as *imperator* – Roman national identity itself was specifically gendered as male and catered especially to males.[91] Although this had become "naturalized" in Roman thought and law (Romans are rulers and the dominance of the *pater-familias* over his family) it was not simple and elicited ambivalence from women, which was answered with the images of empresses as

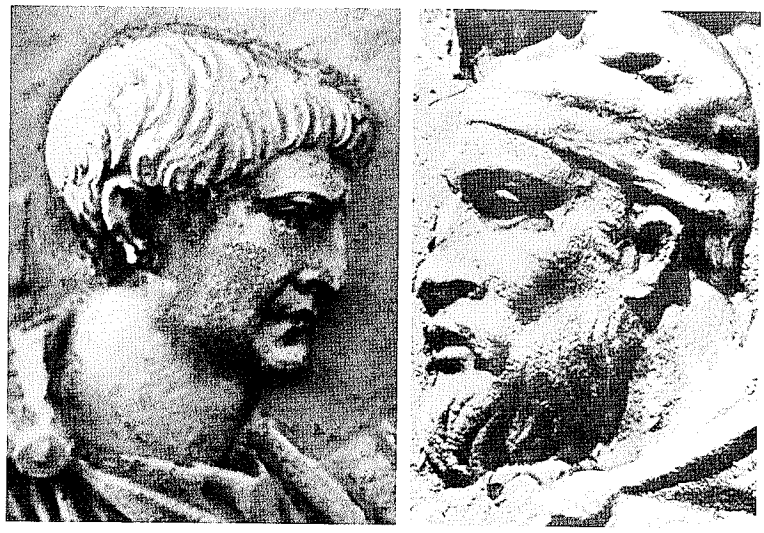

Fig. 11: Right: The Dacian leader Decebalus from the surrender scene on Trajan's column (lxxv) (Bonanno 1976: Pl. 152). Left: Trajan from a scene in which he is counseling one of his officers (civ) (Bianchi-Bandinelli 1970: Fig. 253)

models for identification for women, especially as they played a role (wife and mother) inside the imperial family and as they were assimilated with religious imagery (see Fig. 19). Yet, once again, the ambivalent situation of Roman men was also indicated. As Romans they were male and dominant, yet as Romanness was formulated in the body of the emperor, they themselves were dominated and therefore – not completely males.

The emperor's portrait was also used as an indication of allegiance to Rome by those who may have been suspected of being her enemies, much as Trajan's portrait was used by Pliny the Younger. It was placed among the statues of the Gods and suspected Christians were meant to sacrifice to it while denying allegations of Christian practice.[92] Earlier, the emperor's portrait had also been used as a representative of Rome when an Armenian king had wanted to prove allegiance during the time of Nero.[93] Thus, the divine status of the emperor was tied to his Romanness and his portrait came into play when the question of "who is a Roman subject?" was raised. For the Romans, religion was one of the factors that determined national cohesion and that of the empire. While they themselves were ambivalent about the emperor's divine status during his lifetime and accorded him a definite divine status only after his death, they expected their subjects to acknowledge their commitment to Rome by recognizing the emperor's divine status while he was alive. For Jews and Christians this religious aspect of national identity was a focus for objection and resistance.[94]

Pliny's need to test his subjects in Bythinia is a clear indication of the widening of the question of Romanness. Being Roman was changing and no longer applied only to the people of the city or of Italy themselves or to a glorified Republican past.[95] So far we have seen the image of Romanness as having evolved in interaction with the Hellenic sectors of the empire. Trajan's wars and public monuments seem to have reawakened a concern with barbarians.

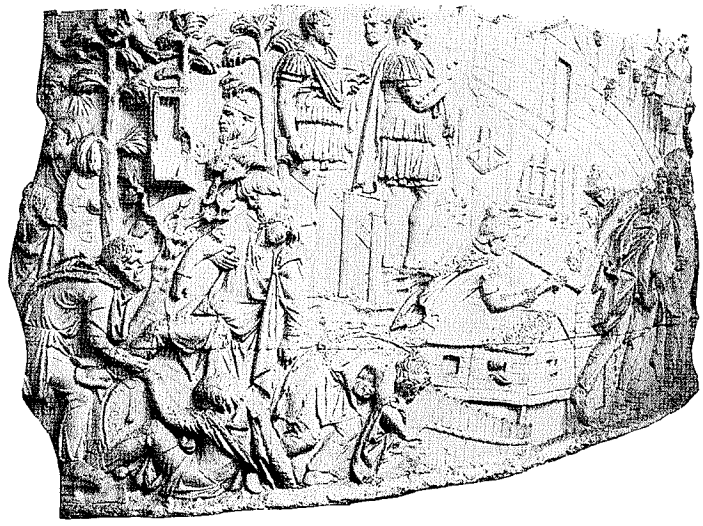

Fig. 12: Trajan and officers "in charge" while the Dacians (below) in disarray, falling and not in control. Trajan's column, scene 24. (Richmond 1982: Pl. 15)

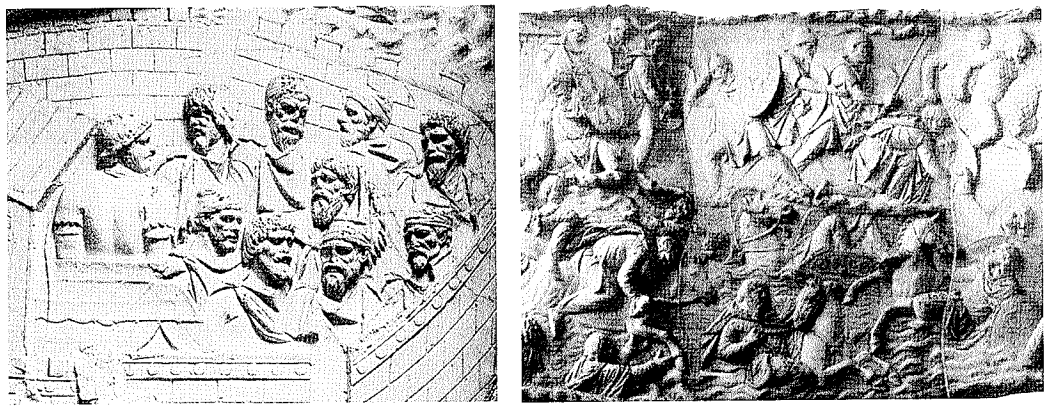

Fig. 13: Dacian prisoners in a prison camp, long hair and beards and faces showing strong accent of light and shade, Trajan's column scene 93. (Richmond 1982: Pl. 11). Dacians crossing a river in disarray, Trajan's column, scene 31 (Lepper and Frere 1988: Pl. 23, 35)

On his column Trajan is depicted as the model Roman, especially in opposition to the leader of the barbarian Dacians (Fig. 11). The Dacians themselves are indicated as opposed to Romans in their looks. The Romans are portrayed as neatly dressed, constantly at work, displaying impressive and finely modeled facial features and well-groomed hair, and are "in control" (Fig. 12). The Dacians, in contrast, are shown neither working nor organized (e.g. when crossing a river) (Fig. 13).[96] They are depicted dressed in breeches, with long disheveled hair, and rugged facial features produced by strong accentuations of light and shade, sometimes with a front jaw resembling the muzzle of an animal (Fig. 13). This is a projection of Roman conceptions of barbarity. Tacitus reports that the people of a certain Germanic tribe are beast-like and offers unconfirmed reports that some tribes have the limbs of animals. He was also impressed by the Germans' size and fierce eyes.[97] The formulation of Trajan's column thus makes Romans

Fig. 14: Trajan's Column, scene 115. Three grades of Roman soldiers. On the bottom a legionnaire with the rectangular shield and *gladius*. To his left and right above him, auxiliary soldiers. On the top, two barbarian-like soldiers with long hair and beard and without an upper garment who were also drafted into the Roman army (Rossi 1971: Fig. 26)

recognizable by distinguishing them clearly from non-Romans, thereby marking the boundaries of Romanness.

However, as I see it, the need to distinguish was a function of the anxiety produced by the process of assimilation. The clear-cut distinctions were not based so much on actuality but rather were a Roman projection of everything non-Roman.[98] The process of assimilation had already begun in the army, and continued in the granting of Roman citizenship and the right to hold public office to peoples of the provinces as a reward for their Romanization.[99] On Trajan's column, several types of Roman soldiers, distinguished by the level of their Romanization, can be found (Fig. 14), among them irregular units revealing similar features to those allotted to the barbarians and appearing for the first time in Roman triumphal imagery.[100] Thus, more in keeping with the Romans' own ambivalence about themselves, there evolved a scale of Romanness.[101]

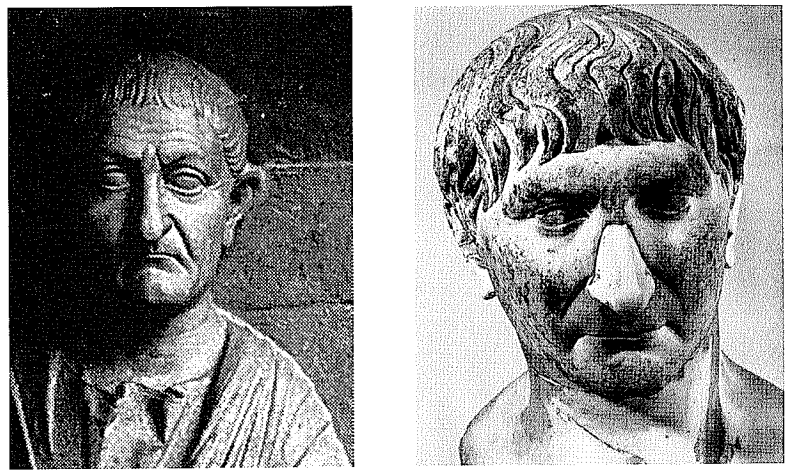

Fig. 15: Identifications between the emperor and lower classes. Right: Trajan, type 2 (Paris-Mariemont) (FZ Beilage Pl. 20). Left: detail of a head of a freedman from "circus " relief of Trajanic date (Kleiner 1992: Fig. 201)

The erosion of a clear-cut distinction was also progressing in internal terms, taking the form of including more of the lower classes within the concept of Rome, such as freedmen, and this was realized in portraits of the emperor engaging even lower classes in a dialogue of identity (see funerary portrait of a freedman with Trajanic hair, Fig. 15).

Identification with the emperor can be seen in portraits of officers as well (Fig. 16).[102] Trajanic identifications – imitating the emperor, or the emperor imitating prevailing fashions – indicate the role of the emperor's image in the construction of identity. Marks of identity were transported back and forth between emperor and subjects via their portraits. Thus, starting with Augustus' portraits[103] and continuing into the second century, a new Rome was beginning to be forged in which clear distinctions between upper and lower classes were eroding; and despite the intimations of clear distinctions from the barbarians, there was a scale even here.

Changing conceptions of Romanitas

In the portraits of the next emperor, Hadrian, a clear break with his predecessor is seen. The addition of a beard and the smoothening of the facial wrinkles and broadening of the face suggest a more Greek conception.[104] These facial features were combined with Roman military iconography to create a new conception of the empire and of being a "Roman" as a combination of the Roman and Hellenic elements (Figs. 17-18). The influences can be seen as reciprocal: the emperor's portrait affected fashion throughout the empire, while the prevailing Hellenic fashion and cultural trends influenced the emperor's portraits.[105] (Fig. 17).

The cultural trends that influenced the image of the emperor were part of a larger cultural movement known as the "Second Sophistic".[106] During his reign, Hadrian himself was at the forefront of this movement and his face and figure crystallized the new notion of being Roman as including the Hellenic element of the empire. His personal appearance in portraits and their

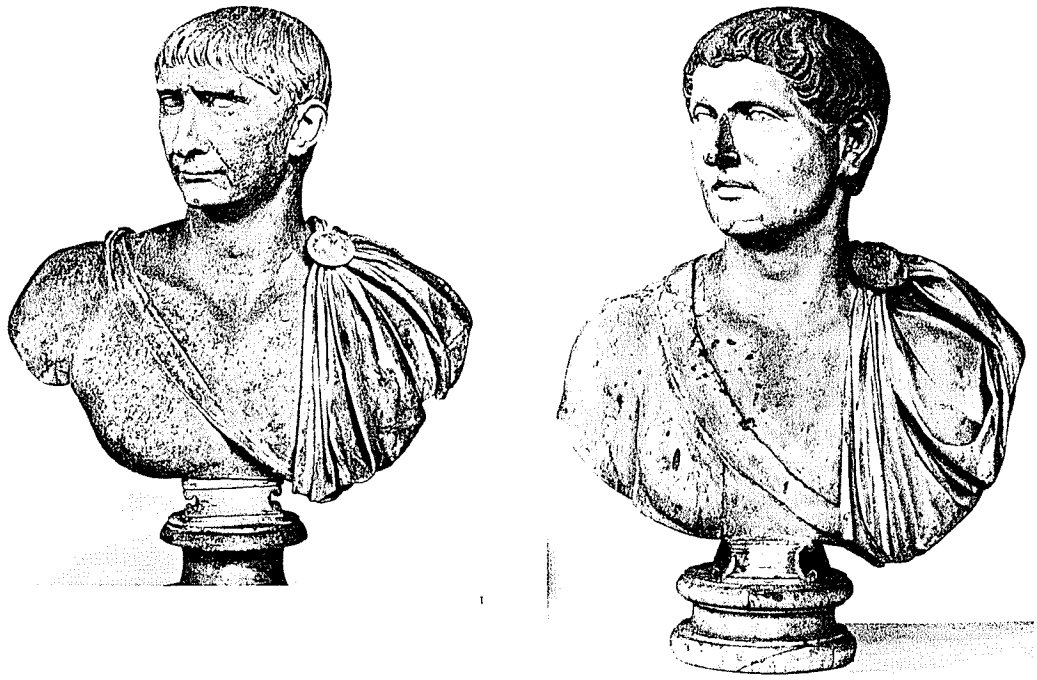

Fig. 16: Identifications between the emperor and the Army officers. Trajanic officer (right) compared to Trajan type 3 (left) (Zanker 1980: Pl. 65.1-2)

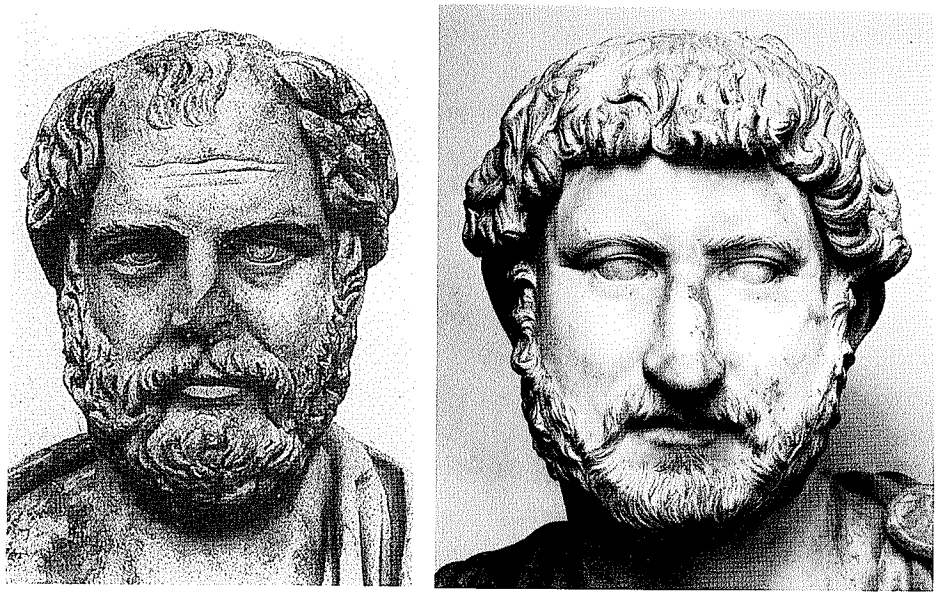

Fig. 17: Identifications: Left: one of the Athenian officials of the *gymnasia* (Zanker 1995: 117). Right: Hadrian of the fourth (Baiae) type (FZ beilage 32)

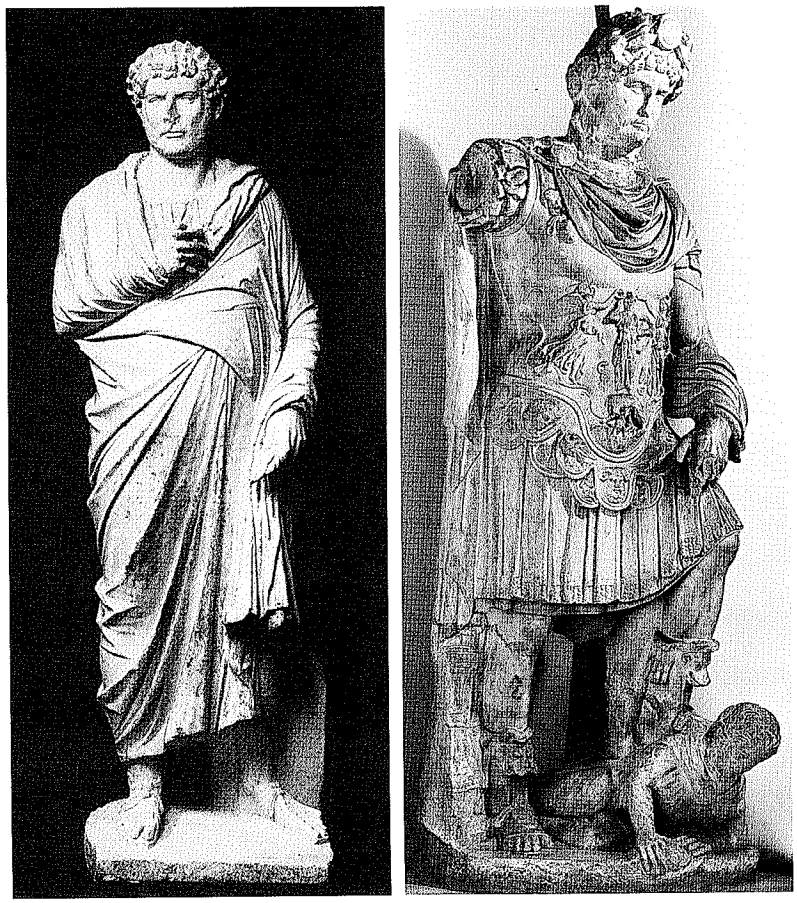

Fig. 18: Hadrian as a Greek orator, from Cyrene (Zanker 1995: Fig. 115). Right: Hadrian as a Roman *imperator* stepping on an enemy, from Crete (Kleiner 1992: Fig. 205)

internal development suggest an awareness and possibly guidance of this.[107] Portraits such as those in the guise of a Greek orator in Cyrene, or as an *imperator* from Crete, subduing a barbarian while his breastplate suggests cooperation with Greece (Fig. 18), suggest a new cohesiveness in the Empire in which the Roman-Hellenic element is dominant.[108]

Hadrian's policy towards Greece was intended to promote these identifications by suppressing the actualities of the present Roman rule over Greece, in favor of a common Hellenic past – and a common acceptance of Hadrian. The Panhellenion, founded by Hadrian, was a league intended for Hellenic cities that stressed common Greek ancestry alongside connections to Hadrian's divine status as manifested in his statues in the Olympieion.[109] Thus mythic past and present Roman rule were interwoven to form a new communal identity.[110]

Greek acceptance of inclusion in Rome was ambivalent. There is discourse on Roman rule in Aelius Aristides, Plutarch, and Apollonius of Tyana. The view presented by Aelius Aristides, who adopts a Greek democratic view of Rome, elides the problem of being a Greek under Roman rule "(Rome is the Acropolis and rules democratically over its *deme*; "everybody is either

Fig. 19: Family and Dynastic Values: Faustina the Younger, Marcus Aurelius' wife, on a coin. On the reverse possibly the empress as *temporum felicitas* (good fortune of the times) with her children (holding in her hands the twins Commodus and his brother Antoninus who died at a young age) (*BMC* IV: Pl. 56.4)

Roman or is not").[111] Perhaps this was evidence of Hadrian's success in creating the idea of a State that encompassed a new race of ruling Roman-Greeks.[112] Plutarch, however, is aware of Roman rule, but shows Greek intellectual superiority by his discussion of Roman biography in Greek moral terms, and Apollonius of Tyana comments on the Greek beard vs. Roman shaven face and chides those Greeks who seek to emulate Roman names.[113] On the one hand there was an acceptance of the possibility of mutual values (as seen in Plutarch's comparison, and Aelius Aristides acknowledgment of Roman benefits), but on the other hand was the realization of the present situation. This was perhaps also realized in those of Hadrian's portraits that originated in Greece.[114]

Roman acceptance of this situation was also ambivalent as can be seen in Hadrian's nickname *Graeculus*, an indication of the Romans' contempt for Greekness along with their high evaluation of Greek culture.[115] Roman writers stressed in particular his Roman deeds such as strengthening and organizing the army.[116]

Hadrian's province medallion series was interpreted by Toynbee as pointing to his policy of bringing peace to the empire, and not of conquest. This was in keeping with his policy of a limited and unified Empire.[117] Smith has argued, however, that imperial iconography did not change greatly between the Augustan policy of conquest embedded in the reliefs at Aphrodisias and Hadrian's *ethne* in his temple in the Campus Martius.[118] Similarly, he understands Hadrian's province series as showing graded levels of pacification in the same way as the Aphrodisias reliefs.[119] Nonetheless, Hadrian's overall policy appears to have been directed more towards unification of the civilized constituents of the empire and the care of the Empire[120] than the stress on conquest represented in the first century Sebasteion series. Smith concludes that although imperial allegorical reliefs did not greatly differ, one of their features was the ability simultaneously to contain conflicting ideas, such as conquest and the Empire as a family of equals.[121]

The identification of the emperor with Rome seen in the case of Augustus, and with old-style Romanness in the case of Trajan, was, with Hadrian, to become superseded by identification

Fig. 20: Left: Erosion of differences between Romans and barbarians: Marcus Aurelius on his column (Caprino 1955: Pl. C). Right: a Roman soldier fighting a barbarian (Caprino 1955: Pl. M). (Compare to Figs. 11 and 13 above)

of the Emperor with the Empire. Despite resistance, Rome itself was changing its meaning and becoming associated with notions of the Empire. In Hadrian's image and policy, interaction between Greeks and Romans was still stressed, but forces from other provinces were also in the process of infiltrating Rome.[122]

Perhaps this change is also a reflection of the fact that Hadrian was not born in Rome and neither was his predecessor Trajan.[123] Both were from the town of Italica, near Gades in Spain, and Hadrian's mother is reported to have come from Gades. Hadrian may have been referring to this with his coin celebrating Hercules Gaditanus as bearded – a reference to himself.[124]

Hadrian's image already shows an erosion of the clear-cut distinction between Roman and Greek. In his successors' reigns we can see a decline of interest in the Greece-Rome problematic (perhaps due to Hadrian's success) in favor of further incorporation of the lower classes in Rome through the Emperor's image and a further ambivalence regarding barbarians. On the relief showing the apotheosis of Antoninus Pius and Faustina, and the scenes of *decursio* (circling of the funerary pyre), elements of popular Roman art have infiltrated the high art of the court.[125] The change is seen both stylistically (in the *decursio* scenes; unclassical proportions, noncohesive space, combination of different perspectives), and iconographically (in the bust length depiction of the couple). These innovations may have originated in the funerary art of freedmen. The Antonines also met the need for the increased inclusion of the lower strata of Roman society by emphasizing the family and the empress (Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius) (Fig. 19),[126] stressing popular images in the depiction of the Emperor (Lucius Verus and Commodus)[127] and, uniquely, the conception of the Emperor as moralist in the image of Marcus Aurelius.[128] Other popular moves were realized through the imperial family by means of the disclosure of dynastic births and especially the sustained prospect of the development of the princes as reflected in sculpture and on coins.[129] This continuity in the public eye perhaps harkens back to the need for physical ties with the emperor as father.

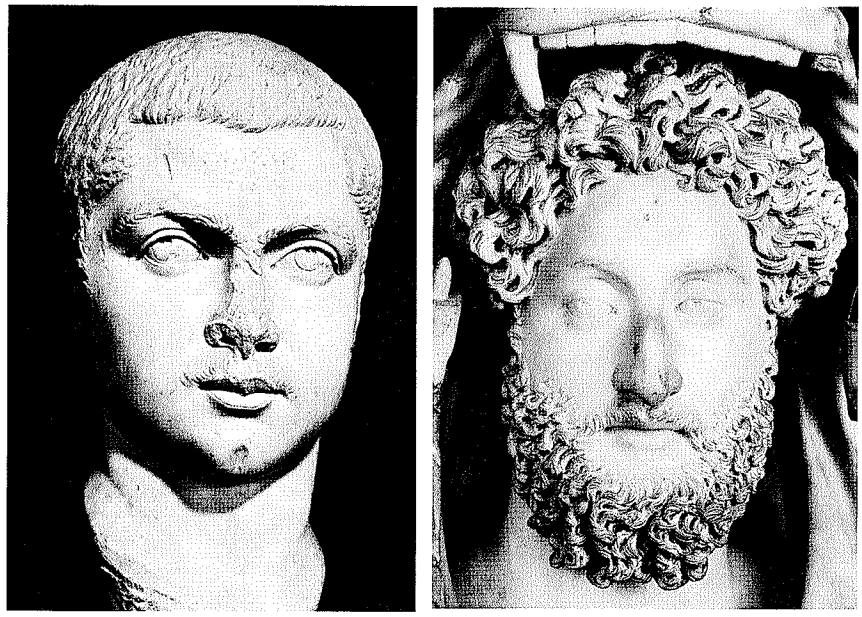

Fig. 21: Left, Gordian III from the middle of the third century CE (Breckenridge 1968: Fig. 121) compared to Commodus as Hercules – detail (FZ cat. 78). Despite "baroque" effects in the portrait of Commodus – the classical harmony is maintained. Commodus' portraits were read ironically, while third-century portraits exemplify a new conceptualization of the Emperor

The dissolution of the clear demarcation between high and low was accompanied by changes in the demarcation of Romans and barbarians. This can be seen in the depiction of the emperor on Marcus Aurelius' column from Commodus' time as compared to Trajan's column. The two columns exemplify changes in the conception of Romanness – on the visual plane. Marcus' face at the end of the century is more like those of the barbarians at the beginning of the century, than the face of the Republican Trajan, or the Hellenic Hadrian (Fig. 20).

With Commodus – the problematics of the emperor's portrait as a signifier of national identity became apparent. This was realized when the emperor considered the signifier not as a basis for interpretation but as to be taken at face value – all of Rome was to be Commodus – identified with him. His multifarious roles perhaps indicated this ability to absorb all Roman roles – from the people to the heroes to the gods.[130] Thus national identity became "identical" in the emperor. But the two-fold nature of role also came to the fore. The appraisal of Commodus by the Rome he embodied was that this was not indeed the case; rather it was just a masquerade, a variety of roles, which rather than indicating an identity, suggested an emptiness, or lack of identity. Thus Commodus' attempt to embody all of Rome was read as ironic.[131] The arena for this interaction was partly his portraits, in which he played various roles such as Hercules (Fig. 21), and partly in the variety of roles that were played out in person and in costume.[132]

Despite the attempts by Pliny the Younger at the beginning of the second century to tie the Romans to the physicality of the emperor, there was a resistance among Romans to becoming completely absorbed by the emperor. In Commodus's time there was still the prevailing

memory of a "classical" equilibrium or harmony. The need to be part of the ruler can be seen as a need to participate in the mechanism of power. When the emperor's body was perceived to be absorbing Rome too completely, a countermove by other forces was seen as necessary. In terms of art, the Classical harmony that constituted the basis of the Emperor's portrait still prevailed, despite the intimations of "Otherness" in this official art. Yet not many years later, a new visual conception of the Emperor arose. In third-century portraits, the classic organic conception of the body and face was replaced by a more abstract conception of the parts of the body, which do not form an organic whole but retain the distinctiveness of their separate parts. At the same time, a stronger intimation of emotion was demonstrated on the face, not utilizing the organicity of the whole head, but the minute (organic) attention to surface details (compare: Gordianus III, Fig. 21), such as the expression of the mouth.[133] This emotional appeal presents a new conception of the emperor and a new conception of Rome. The classical balancing act (as incorporated into the notion "the emperor") between the emperor, the city, the people of Rome and Italy, the Senate, the army, Greece and the provinces, had come to an end. The "objectivity" of the classical perspective, which allowed the conceptualization of an organic whole of these disparate elements, came into question. As the classical notions of society began to wane, the classical perspective, which had naturalized these conceptions, also underwent change.[134]

The portrait as a factor in national identity

This section focuses on the question of the suitability of the emperor's portrait to operate as a factor in national identity. The function of constructing national identity means producing and maintaining sameness and continuity within the group. The portrait was suited to this task since it was, unlike the real face or body, a stable object, which could reflect the core of belonging to the national collective, by linking various visual features associated with Romanness, with moral, religious and family conceptions of the Romans about themselves. These were invested in the image of the leader, which became a stable crystal of identity and a focus for identification. As the idea of nationality changed – so there were changes in portraits themselves. The Classical portrait was able to do this because it could be manipulated to change its typical appearance – in accordance with the mutual wishes of artist and patron.[135] This was especially necessary as the empire progressed and the limits of *Romanitas* were continuously being challenged. This challenge affected the image of Romanness and thus also the image of the emperor – the pure Roman.

Another way of perceiving the interdependence of images of the emperor and national identity stems from the reflective dependence of the image for its interpretation: the image does not just indicate the norms of national identity, but is also subject to criticism as to its indication of these norms. The portrait is dependent on the spectator, who judges its suitability in this category of national identity. This gains further weight because the idea of national identity as a role played by the emperor and portrayed in his images, puts "national identity" under the rules of the role – especially its dependence on a viewer who assesses the suitability and correctness of playing the role.[136] In this sense of role the portrait is a revelation of the worth

and function inside a group. It is what the group values for itself, and for the individual who is articulated by and needs this sense of worth. In showing the emperor as the performer of the valued role therefore, a specific form was given to Roman conceptions of national identity. Manipulating the portrait to play this role did not mean it was untrue, but rather that it revealed a central concept of identity. Understanding the emperor as playing a role in his portrait made the viewer himself aware of the importance of playing a role in the compound of group identity: maintaining collective identity along with an ability for individuation. It also signaled to the viewer his own position and worth within the group, or asserted that he was outside it.

My contention that the portrait of the emperor contained this aspect of role is based on a certain understanding of the portrait in Antiquity. As I have elaborated elsewhere concerning Greek portraits, the Classical portrait contained within it a representation of the individual's interaction with society.[137] The portrait marks him as "seen by the Other" – indicating the dependent aspect of the conception of Man in Classical society.[138] This dependent aspect is conceptualized in certain aspects of the mask – especially in theater masks of Antiquity. These masks – contrary to modern popular conceptions of the mask – do not hide, but act as revelations of character, and hence possible modes of action and moral standing (what ought to be done).[139] Classical theatre masks do this in being fitted to specific roles, which contain conceptions of human possibilities (action, morals) within society, and hence are a central part of the conceptions of what it means to be a man.[140] In my formulation of the portrait – this "mask" aspect of the face is retained in the portrait. In seeing the emperor the portraitist saw the role (or combination of roles – as was the notion of an emperor) as well as the actual phenomenon of specificity, and this role (roles) was incorporated into the portrait. In this formulation – the specificity possible in sight is countered by the fact that the portrait is also sight by another – which incorporates the "mask" as "the face – seen by the Other".[141]

In its incorporation of the concepts of the mask-role-*persona*, therefore, the Classical portrait was especially suited to show the interworking of group identity (sameness and difference, esteem and self-esteem, values and criticism).

Conclusion

The many notions of belonging to Rome, which we would term differently today, such as racial/ethnic identity, civic identity, national identity, belonging to an empire, were part of an ongoing and sometimes discordant process of identification in Antiquity. The emperor's portrait served as an image in which an attempt to form a unifying factor of identity was made. For Romans, the actual attachment with the emperor's body through the intimation of physical closeness or family ties was part of the feeling of community. This need had roots in the Republican connections between belonging to a family and the civic roles exemplified in the face of the father preserved as a mask. Although, as Rome became more and more an empire, those ties began to be fabricated and "imagined" (the *imagines* in Augustus' forum) they are still evident in Trajan's imagery and perhaps even in the Atonines' projection of the imperial family. Thus the image of the leader was incorporated into Roman group psychology as the

face of the father. This aspect of group identity was instrumental for the Romans in forging a central aspect of ethnic identity – a common past, based on common parentage, and in some cases also acted as a legitimization of future actions, especially concerning Roman dominance. It also contributed to the idea of the continuity of Rome, an essential aspect of communal identity. Another aspect of connecting Romanness to this father imagery is the gendering of Romanness as male.

The Romans were able to ascribe national characteristics through this unifying image. They could distinguish physical characteristics such as typical bodily gestures and non-pathetic facial expressions along with details of costume or armor, which allowed them a sense of belonging to the elite group that were Romans, and thus to differentiate themselves from others. Identification as Roman also had moral implications stressing duty, integrity and responsibility alongside dominance. This is especially evident in figures shown with middle-aged or elderly facial features, such as Trajan and Nerva. Dominance was especially manifest towards other nations in the images of the emperor as male and as *imperator*, widely distributed within the empire, but it also contained marks of hierarchy inside Romanness. Such images were an emblem both of the viewer's lower status, alongside awareness of his possibilities of advancement. However, the Roman people were not just passive recipients of the emperor's messages; rather, there was an actual exchange of visual signifiers as was seen in the portraits in the time of Trajan, Hadrian and the Antonines, when upper and lower-class Romans were involved in visual identification with the image of the emperor while the image itself was influenced by current trends. Thus the Romans themselves (and others) were part of the process of formulating national identity vis-à-vis the portrait of the emperor.

The Romanness of individual features on the portraits (as Pliny says, *maxime similes)*, can be connected to the Roman notion of role–playing. The strong sense of community was mitigated by an equally strong need to distinguish oneself. The Roman solution to this was formulated within the concept of role – a Roman was supposed to be able to distinguish himself while performing a role in the service of the State. The emperor's portrait was a mark of this (ideal) possibility because it fused uniqueness alongside showing the emperor in his role or as a unifier of several roles (Augustus). Thus, embedded in the portrait was a solution to one of the central problems of group identity, the need to be the same and be different at the same time. The idea of role also implies an ability to rate the performance. The portrait of the emperor did not only operate towards the population, but was open to criticism and irony by the population, as seen with Domitian and Commodus.

On a diachronic level – the emperor's portrait reflected and crystallized the changing ideas of being a Roman. This was a function of Rome becoming an empire and absorbing diverse elements into it. A close interaction with Greece is evident throughout the period (Augustus, Domitian), culminating in Hadrian's attempt at forging a new elite for the Empire, which was formulated in his image, in which as Aristides says, everyone was either Roman or non-Roman. But there was also anxiety and interaction with barbarians. They appear on Trajan's column and are articulated as opposed to Romans in their long disheveled hair, large and animal-like facial features, and their dress. Yet the column also displays intimations of the shifting of borders in the

depiction of the army. By the end of the second century the Romans themselves were sometimes being depicted visually as little different to the barbarians, such as on Marcus Aurelius's column. These changes reflect Rome's change from a civic identity with a conception of "fathers" to an interest in its connection with Greece, and to a conceptualization of empire perhaps even "empire without a nation".[142] Thus on the one hand the emperor's portrait encompassed the ability to identify with Romanness as opposed to outside forces such as barbarians; while on the other hand through it, other *ethne* or *nationes* were absorbed into Romanness, and influenced the notions of being a Roman. This interaction was especially evident with the Greeks, but the influence of other *nationes* was also beginning to be evident by the second century.

Another aspect that arises, although not the main point of this article, is that for other nations the acceptance of the portrait of the emperor was not simple. For Greeks it was absorbed into the local power system and understood as such (Aphrodisias and religious images). The formulation of a Roman-Greek emperor tended to collapse the differences between the two and to articulate a present based on a common past. Yet both Romans and Greeks were aware of the discrepancies in this formulation (*Graeculus* for the Romans, everything in Greek terms for the Greeks). For Jews and Christians it was more problematic, especially since as a unifying emblem of Romanness, it also had a religious aspect. For Romans this religious aspect was diffuse but they expected their subjects to acknowledge it through the portrait.

In the face of growing diversity in the community called Rome, the image of the emperor was shown to have an important unifying role as an imaginary emblem of Romanness. It helped to set the borders of visual definitions of Romanness and to change them, and to maintain a notion of common ancestry. It contributed to maintaining physical ties between emperor and population and formed a network of visual identifications between them. It helped define sameness and difference inside a diverse community and intimated the possibilities of fusion in the role of the emperor. Thus the emperor's portrait, with its wide distribution in coins and statues, was one of the central aspects of defining the face of the fatherland.

Notes

1. This article is an elaboration of a chapter in my PhD dissertation, written under the supervision of Professor Asher Ovadiah.
2. Walbank 1972: 145, 152, 154, 168.
3. Walbank 1972: 146, 167.
4. Walbank 1972: 146-149, 154.
5. See Hall 2000: 19-21. He follows De Vos and Romanucci-Ross 1995: 350, in seeing ethnic identity as "socially constructed and subjectively perceived" in Greek antiquity, and argues against the "racial" definitions of ethnicity.
6. The word *ethne* and the words *nationes* and *gentes*, were used respectively in Greek and Latin texts to describe the same phenomenon of groups of statues set up to enumerate different "peoples". See Smith 1988: 71-72, 74, with references.
7. Cicero *Phil.* 10.20. Walbank 1972: 156.

8. Anderson 1991: 1-65, esp. 5-7, 12, 64-65. One of the factors that enabled identity and the rise of modern nations was the invention of the press. This precipitated the decline of the old "holy languages" and the rise of vernacular languages and their standardization and thus enabled the cohesion of the popular audience. *Ibid*, 12-15, 34-46, 76-78.
9. Other formulations of group identity in Rome included religious and geographical considerations, which were sometimes interconnected, for example in the determination of the sacred boundaries of Rome (the *Pomerium*), Beard, North and Price 1998: I, 178-192, 214-218, 278-294. Other considerations included costume (see below on the toga) and moral outlooks (for instance the distinction for the Romans between being Greek and being Roman in the instance of Cato the elder – Earl 1967: 39-40, Gruen 1993: 52-83; of the emperor Hadrian – Goldhill 2001: 11-13, and in the theatre – Segal 1987: 36-41).
10. De Vos and Romanucci-Ross 1995: 350.
11. Tajfel 1978a: 403-405. In psychoanalytic theories "society provides a variety of settings in which the basic individual laws of motivation or cognition are uniformly displayed. In contrast social psychological theories tend to start from individuals in groups...". Tajfel was a Polish Jew who survived the Holocaust and was the major figure in the study of group identity centered in Bristol University, U.K. His thinking about the subject initiated in studies of group prejudice and was prompted by his wartime experiences, see Turner 1996, who stresses the interdependence of social and individual and rejects the tendency to view social psychology as just another way of explaining the individual, Turner 1996: 19-21, and Turner and Bourhis 1996: 30. This is also in keeping with current ideas in psychoanalysis, which reject the Freudian pleasure seeking "libido", in favor of the need for human relations – as the basic need of man (On this see Gadi Taub, "Freud's Mistake" *Haaretz*, 30.4.04 -Hebrew). Yet individuals and society influence one another and construct each other, and their respective values in the creation of the "Self" and of "Society" change in different societies. Modern culture stresses individuality, while ancient cultures were more dependent on the collective for the construction of the self and in the construction of Society. On this see Baumeister, 1997: 192-193. Alongside the interdependence of the individual and the group, there are thus also changes in the boundaries between the two, and different ways in which they are formulated in different societies.
12. See De Vos and Romanucci-Ross 1995: 350.
13. "But thou, O Roman, learn with sovereign sway, To rule the nations. Thy great art shall be, To keep the world in lasting peace, to spare humbled foe, and crush to earth the proud." Vergil *Aeneid* vi. 853. This comes after a long passage recounting Romans of the past – all the way to Rome's founders.
14. See De Vos and Romanucci-Ross 1995: 350. The authors are not completely clear on this issue – they see ethnic identity as providing a sense of purpose but do not see it as pointing to a future, but profess that other forms of social identity do this.
15. *Graecia, Italia* and *barbaria* refer to the whole world, Cicero, *Fin.* 2.49, Walbank, 1972: 160.
16. There are several such groupings of "nations" in Roman sculpture. The Latin words *nationes* and *gentes*, and the Greek *ethne* were all used to describe this phenomenon, namely peoples encompassed within or on the outskirts of the empire and grouped together in sculptural programs. See Smith 1988: 71-72, 74, with references. It is not clear if these programs included the Romans or only the "other" people who were under Roman rule. If indeed as Smith claims these were monuments intended to celebrate the Roman victories, then perhaps the Romans did not include themselves within these "*nationes*" or "*ethne*" – they were "Romans" while the other peoples were "Other". In other texts sometimes *nationes externae* was used to refer to "other" *nationes* who were defeated by Romans. See Rochette 1997: 53.

17. See Tajfel 1978b: 305-309. Tajfel attributes to social categorization even perceptual meaning which otherwise would be senseless data. This categorization also concerns humans who are categorized according to belonging to a group and liked or disliked as a result of this. See Hogg and McGarty 1990: 12-13, 20.
18. Self-esteem may be based on the group's distinction from other groups, which gives the individual a sense of being good or "better than". Social scientists dealing with psychological aspects of belonging to a group, stress this as a way a group bestows a sense of value upon the individuals. They tend to formulate this in the context of the need to belong to a group with stereotypical positive value as opposed to a group with negative value, see Abrams and Hogg 1990: 2-3, and Hogg and Abrams 1990: 30. But the group does not only provide self-esteem – in it are also constructed the categories in which self esteem may be employed – such as "roles". This formulation again points to the fact that even the possibility to meet the needs of individualization is formulated within the group. For this formulation, see Turner 1996: 21, and Turner and Bourhis 1996: 31.
19. For this formulation, see Brewer 1991: 477. Brewer criticizes those theories that postulate that the only explanation for identification with a group is the positive self-esteem as a member. The fact is that people tend to associate themselves with groups of lesser social standing and do not abandon those groups. Her view is that there is a basic human tension between needing to belong (being the same) and needing to individuate (being different). These two needs are understood to be on a continuous scale so that "belonging" may nullify or mitigate individuation, and vise versa. (On this, see also Abrams and Hogg 1990: 3-4.) An optimum level of distinctiveness will be reached when the conflict between the two is resolved (Brewer 1991: 478). Her view is that groups provide the possibility for distinction as opposed to people who are not members of the group, while allowing similarity to people who are. Thus they allow both being the same and being different. My own formulation refines this. People may be distinct towards other groups and the same with their own group, but inside each group a certain level of distinction is also allowed, provided it does not break the group's cohesion and it fits with the group's formulation of the roles and norms that enhance the group itself. This formulation fits with findings that people who are not individuated and participate in majority groups, seek ways to individuate themselves, see Sherman, Hamilton and Lewis 1999: 89-91 and Brewer, Manzi and Shaw 1993: 88-92.
20. See Aelius Aristides' "Oration On Rome" in the middle of the second century in which he designates the Romans as the best people of the empire opposing to them all the "non-Romans" and counting the benefits of Roman rule, Aelius Aristides "Regarding Rome" *Or.* xxvi, 58-63. Rostovtzeff stressed the importance of this speech as a blueprint for the Empire in the middle of the second century C.E., Rostovtzeff 1957: I, 130-133. According to him, Aristides already includes in the Romans all the elite city dwellers and abolishes differences between nations calling them *deme* ruled from the acropolis. Aristides was a Greek citizen of Smyrna who was also a Roman citizen – on his attitude to Rome, see Swain 1994: 274-275 and n. 81 there – on the differing scholarly views of Aristides in the oration on Rome as representing a Roman view or a Greek upper-class view, which expected benefits from its association with Rome. See also below in the present article.
21. I stress here a dimension of self esteem within a group, not between groups. A group allows its members a degree of individuality and gives rewards for this and thus allows the enhancement of self-esteem within the group, provided it does not break the group's cohesion. See n. 19 above.
22. On the gestures associated with some aspects of Romanness – such as distinguishing between high and low and giving the impression of moral virtues – see Graf 1993: 39-40, 44-48; also Dodwell 2000: 27-28. On gestures as denoting rank in Rome, Brilliant 1963. I will show that there was not only internal classification but also external – between Romans and barbarians focusing on the Roman emperor as the indicator of this.

23. "Identity" is understood here as a basic human need for stability and maintaining sameness. It is therefore constructed by various means and concepts and is manipulated. On the concept of national identity in Antiquity, Preston 2001: 87-88 and Goldhill 2001: 18-19.
24. See this interpretation of Freud in Tajfel 1978a: 406-407. The ego ideal is the ideal of perfection that the ego strives to emulate. For Freud, the ego ideal is closely bound up with the super-ego. The super-ego is "the vehicle of the ego ideal by which the ego measures itself, which it emulates, and whose demand for ever greater perfection it strives to fulfill" (Freud 1964, Vol. 22: 65). The ego-ideal and super ego thus refer to the evolution of an image of perfection and authority – usually occupied by the father after the Oedipal phase, but subsequently occupied by other figures of authority. A person strives to emulate or attain achievements or conform to the wishes of this imaginary ego.
25. On the concept of Role, see Stephenson 1978: 337-339. The standard description of role is the "required behavior of someone in a given position". But current thoughts about role are giving more emphasis to the abilities of individuals to fashion their own version of the role. This is in keeping with my formulation of the role as encompassing both the need to be the same and to be different. see also Blau 1995: xix-xxiv and Lopata 1995: 1-9; see also Coser's theory of role which stresses the more individual possibilities of "playing a role", Coser R. 1975: 237-263.
26. On the concept of "playing a role" (the word used in *persona*: role-mask) in Stoic and Roman thought, see Gill 1988: 173-187, Long 1983: 188-190, Brunt 1975: 12. For Cicero (Cic. *Off.* 1.124), the Roman magistrate must literally "wear the mask of the state": *se gerere personam civitatis*, meaning he must fully represent the state. Morford explains this "mask" not as a hiding but as a real identity of the magistrate, Morford 2001: 27-28.
27. By the second century BC the admission into the ranks of the *Nobilitas* was based on the attainment of public office of high degree (*consul, praetor, curule aedile*), Earl 1967: 12-13. The "*cursus honorum*" was the succession of roles or offices, which was part of the career of a Roman. Fulfilling this "course" resulted in a place in the Senate, heightened status along with emblems of honor such as lictors, and the right to make a mask and thus be remembered as an "elder". See *DNP*, Vol. 3, *s.v.* "cursus honorum", 1020-1021.
28. It is not clear from the literary sources whether this privilege was a law or a custom, and who decided which *imagines* would participate in a funeral. See Rowell 1940: 135-136 – A *curule* aedilship gave the descendants the right to the mask but this was a custom and a family matter – not a law. See also Flower 1996: 10.
29. The two main sources are: Polybius 6. 53-54, Pliny *NH.* 35.4-9. For details and interpretation of these masks, see esp.: Flower 1996: 9-15, 33, 37-38, 59, 168.
30. Anderson 1991: 11.
31. Flower 1996: 263-269.
32. Cicero suggests that the masks set an example for the Brutii for the saving of the State. Cic. *Phil.* 2. 26 (for the text, see also Flower 1996: 286). The coins and interpretation, see Evans 1992: 145-148, Fig. 55; Flower 1996: 88-89; Crawford 1974: Vol I, 517 and Fig. 506.1.
33. See Gruen 1993: 153, n. 90, 155. Gruen is skeptical about the connections between death masks, *imagines* and portraits. Zadoks 1932: 35-38, 41-46, 86-87 reconstructs an intricate relationship of influences between *imagines*, death masks and portraits.
34. Luccius Accius set up a statue of himself in the shrine of the Latin Muses. Plin. *NH.* 34.10
35. Plin. *NH.* 34.14. See also Rowell 1940: 134-135 on the scholarly disagreement about the existence and details of a law regulating the making or displaying of masks and statues (*ius imaginis*).
36. Plin. *NH.* 34.9.
37. For this interpretation of republican "veristic" portraits, see Nodelman 1975: 28 and Gruen 1993: 166-170. For a discussion of origins, see Breckenridge 1968: 146-180.

38. Ovid, *Ex Ponto*: 2.8.19-22. *"hunc ego cum spectem, videor mihi cernere Romam, nam patriae faciem sustinet ille suae"*. The words *patriae faciem* may also be translated literally as "...the face of the fatherland".
39. Ovid, *Ex Ponto*: 2.8.19-22. His reading of Augustus' facial expression is in the sentence following the association of Augustus' face with Rome: "Am I wrong or do the features of his portrait show anger against me?".
40. Rowell 1940: 139, 141.
41. Dio Cassius, xliv, 37: Julius Caesar is a kinsman of the whole city.
42. Rowell 1940: 138.
43. Aeneas as father of the Romans and Iulus as father of the *gens* Iulia, culminating in Augustus, Vergil, *Aeneid*, i. 257-296, vi. 755-800. See also Vergil *Aeneid*, vi. 788-790 with Rowel 1940: 142, n. 110 – the Iluii are the most particular Romans.
44. Galinsky 1996: 302.
45. On the *Lares Augusti*, and the importance of maintaining close ties with lower orders for Augustus see Galinsky 1996: 300-310.
46. Roman tradition organized this type of relationship under the term of *benificium*, which created a relation of obligation and reverence between patron and client. See Yavetz 1994: 142; Stevenson 1992: 424; Lacey 1986: 139.
47. Galinsky suggests that this was one of the means of obtaining a*uctoritas*, the unofficial, but highly influential form of power aimed at by Augustus, Galinsky 1996: 76. For Galinsky's emphasis on *auctoritas*, see *ibid.* 10-40.
48. Weinstock 1971: 240 – Julius Caesar received it as a sign of his clemency. On Augustus' coins it was *"ob civis servatos"* – "because of the citizens he saved", Galinsky 1996: 34.
49. See Galinsky 1996: 76 and Yavetz 1994: 139-155, 218-220, on Augustus's interaction with the *plebs*, see also Yavetz, 1988: 83-102.
50. Suetonius *Aug.* 58.
51. See *BMC* II: xx (the Flavians); *BMC* III: lvii-lxi (on Trajan's usage of *pater patria*). Following his title of *pater patriae*, Pliny sees Trajan as truly a father of the people, Plin *Pan.* 21.
52. On the new Golden Age for Rome, see Zanker 1988: 167-192. On Augustus' youthfulness in the portraits of the Actium and Prima Porta types, Galinsky 1996: 170-174.
53. See Zanker 1988: 98-100; Galinsky, 1996: 164-176 and Augustan imagery as combining Greek, Hellenistic and Roman, Galinsky 1999: 180-185.
54. Bonfante-Warren 1973: 613. She quotes Momsen that a *togatus* in legal terminology signified an Italian person. See also Walbank 1972: 153.
55. Stone 1994: 17.
56. Suet. *Aug.* 40; Vergil, *Aen.* 1.282; Zanker 1988: 163-164.
57. Niemeyer 1968: 41. The toga itself was designed to distinguish the status of its wearer: the toga *virilis* (coming of age), *picta* (triumphal), *pratexta* (for magistrates), *candida* (for candidates), Stone 1994: 13-15.
58. See Pliny *Pan.* 63-64.
59. Smith 1987: 90.
60. Smith 1988: 58, 71.
61. Smith 1988: 71.
62. Smith 1988: 71, 76-77.
63. Price sees imperial worship in the Greek provinces as a form of "power". This does not mean a forced worship, but a form of reciprocal relationship between the emperor and subjects in which the Greeks could integrate the notion of the emperor into their power structure – equating him with the gods

and honoring him as a god. This would not interfere with everyday power relations within the city, while expecting the benefactions a god would bring. Price 1984: 43, 52-53, 235-248.

64. The dedication of portraits was initiated by the citizens as a mark of gratitude to the emperor: Lucian *Apol.* 13; Pekáry 1985: 11-12, 22. Their manufacture was an interplay between centralist models and local work, Price 1984: 172-175; Stuart 1939: 616-617; Swift 1923: 290. On coins, Galinsky 1996: 30-31 sees the fluidity between imperial ideas and public elaboration and initiative in developing these ideas, see also Zanker 1988: 93-94, 100. Such dedications were in keeping with the relations of patronage between the emperor and leading citizens who represented their cities to the emperor and through whom benefactions were received, Millar 1977: 7-11.
65. Duff 1999: 302-309. For Duff the Greek terms used by Plutarch are an indication of Greek resistance to Roman rule.
66. Price 1984: 43, 52-53, 235-248.
67. Aelius Aristides, "Regarding Rome", *Or.* xxvi, 58-61.
68. Smith 1990: 95, 100.
69. There are only sixteen securely identified "*ethne*" in inscriptions, Smith 1988: 55-57.
70. Smith 1988: 62-70. The Piroustae (Fig. 5) are based on classical sculpture, but the inexact rendering of clothing and the fierce expression suggest to Smith a different conception than the more Greek *ethnos* seen in the center of Fig. 5. In Fig. 6 the hair style and pathetic expression suggest a barbarian *ethnos*.
71. Smith 1988: 59-60.
72. Smith 1987: 115-118. Achilles and Penthesilea, Bieber 1961: 79, fig. 279.
73. Zanker 1988: 89.
74. On Hellenistic kingly *pothos* in the image of Alexander the Great, see Stewart 1993: 78-86, 118-120. Domitian is also sometimes shown with a beard on coins, another indication of his attraction to a Greek mode of representation, Walker 1991: 272. On his Hellenistic "kingly" iconography of hair, see L'Orange 1982: 63-66.
75. This formulation follows Nodelman 1975: 28.
76. Waters 1964: 49-51.
77. For modern assessments see especially: Waters 1964: 49-77, and Waters 1969: 390-394.
78. On Domitian as monarch: Jones 1992: 22-23, 196-198. On Domitian's withdrawal and solitude, see Southern 1997: 122 and Jones, *ibid.* 32-33.
79. Trajan mingled his sweat with that of his soldiers: Pliny, *Pan.* 13. He was not in a chariot when he entered Rome but walked the streets while huge crowds left him only a narrow path and jostled him: Pliny, *Pan.* 22-23. His dining habits as opposed to Domitian's: Pliny, *Pan.* 49. His face is preserved in his words and in the hearts of his subjects: Pliny, *Pan.* 55.11. His splendid body: Pliny, *Pan.* 4. His statue resembles Republican figures, Pliny, *Pan.* 55.6
80. Compare Pliny, *Pan.* 48.4 on Domitian's countenance, with Pliny, *Pan.* 24 on Trajan's, and his dining habits compared with Domitian's in the previous note.
81. Tacitus portrays his father-in-law Agricola as a "Republican" figure bound by duty while Domitian is portrayed as the arrogant and jealous ruler motivated by personal desire, Tacitus *Agricola*, 42-44. Pliny the Younger contrasts Domitian's aspirations to be a *dominus et deus* with Trajan's civic and fatherly attitude, Pliny, *Pan.* 2.3.
82. Pliny (*NH*, 35.4-7), *maxime similes*, laments that this type of portraiture was forsaken in favor of vagueness, and contrasts this moral degeneration with a glorified past in which the masks of the ancestors were shown in the *atrium* of houses. Contemporary scholarship concludes that the artists that produced the Republican mode of portraiture were Greeks, see Smith 1981: 28-29, and Gruen

1993: 134-141. Despite this, they are understood as Roman in Pliny's eyes, perhaps because this was the mode of representation selected by the Romans, see Gruen 1993: 166.

83. Bartsch 1994: 154-156, with Pliny, *Pan.* 3.4.
84. Pliny, *Pan.* 67.1.
85. Pliny, *Pan.* 55.6.
86. Suet. *Dom.* 18.
87. On Republican portraits, see Nodelman 1975: 28. Pliny says that Trajan's integrity inspires everyone around him to behave in the same way and he took steps to reward the truthful behavior of his subjects while other emperors liked to see their own bad traits reflected by their subjects, Plin. *Pan.* 44, 45, 83-84. *Fides* was one of the basic moral traits and values that organized the Republican relations of patron to client and afterwards of Rome to its subject nations, Earl 1967: 33, 45.
88. Pliny connects Trajan's battlefield triumphs with his title of *imperator* and with the domination of Rome over her enemies, Pliny, *Pan.* 12.1-2.
89. The held-out hand is both a gesture of dominance and a gesture indicating an address to the people – indicating speech as the power of the emperor or the orator and not physical force. On this gesture in Roman art see Brilliant 1963: 30-31, 39-40, 119-120, Figs. 1.43, 1.63, 1.66, 3.5, 3.34-37. On the harmony and dominance in the Classical Doryphorus, Stewart 1997: 92-95. In Roman terms this harmony may be understood as the possibility of the emperor to harmoniously unite the variety of legal and leadership roles he was to perform – such as consul, proconsul, tribune, *pontifex maximus, imperator, pater-patriae.*
90. For discussion and lists, see Niemeyer 1968: 47-54, cat. 36-70; Vermeule 1959: 15-76.
91. I will only refer to gender in general terms here, because dealing with this aspect of national identity merits a special publication. It is clear from the formulation of the emperor as a father with its connections to Republican imagery (*imagines maiorum*), the function of the father in Roman society (*pater-familias*) and the idea that communal identity was constructed utilizing these images, that the idea of Roman communal identity itself was gendered. This is also evident in Fig. 7, showing Claudius conquering Britain as a Greek conquers an Amazon, and in the formulation of the strength of the male body in the emperor as *Imperator*, in Figs. 9 and 10. Romanitas formulated as male indicated dominance as a central trait of Romanness, and allowed mainly male identification with communal identity. On Roman conceptions of maleness as connected to *virtus*, domination and *imperium*, see Williams 1999: 132-135.
92. Pliny, *Ep.* X, xcvi. 5-6.
93. Tac. *Ann.* 15.29, Tiridates put his crown before the emperor's and the gods' statues and promised to put it in front of the emperor's statue in Rome until Nero himself would crown him.
94. See Price 1984: 220-222; Beard, North and Price 1998: I, 206-210, 361-362; II, 258-259. The introduction of the emperor's statue among the gods is not attested often, but it seems that this was problematic for these two religions. The main focus of objection was the sacrifice to pagan gods. The sacrifice on behalf of the emperor was not problematic for the Jews, but Caligula questioned them as to why they refused to sacrifice directly to him. Sometimes a lesser alternative was offered to Christians – the sacrifice to the emperor alone or to his image, and this was met with less resistance. For the Roman governors, the test was important because it indicated an acceptance of the web of social relations which made up Roman society.
95. During the second century C.E. more and more senators came from the provinces, and already in the first century more of the army was recruited from the provinces and it included barbarian elements as seen on Trajan's column. See Rostovtzeff 1957: 106-110, 123-125; Earl 1967: 98. Granting Roman citizenship to foreigners was also progressing and instrumental in the erosion of national distinctions, Walbank 1972: 160.

96. For the distinctions between Romans and barbarians on the column, see Hannestad 1986: 159-165; Brilliant 1963: 119-125; Rossi 1971: 98-99. Barbarians crossing a river – scene 28.
97. Tac. *Ger.* 46, Tacitus is impressed by the Germans' size and their fierce eyes, Tac. *Ger.* 4, Tac. *Agr.* 11.
98. Shaw 2000: 374.
99. See above n. 95. The changes in recruitment to the Army in Vespasian's times, Rostovtzeff 1957: 106-110; during Julio-Claudian times, Purcell 2000: 420-421. On granting of Roman citizenship and rights to holding office, Walbank 1972: 160; Jones and Sidwell 1997: 1-2, 77-78, with Tac. *Ann.* 11.23-24, where the Emperor Claudius argues for granting rights of holding office to Gauls despite strong arguments against this.
100. Rossi 1971: 154-156. There is a possibility to distinguish between three grades of soldiers: the praetorians and legionaries wear a metal cuirass, have rectangular shields and the *gladius*, and were Roman citizens; the auxiliaries wear a different armor with a round shield and had a chance of obtaining citizenship; and semi-regular units who were very close in appearance to complete barbarians. The semi-regulars were recruited to the Roman army but appeared without an upper garment, with long dishevelled hair and they are sometimes differentiated by racial features (such as negroid). They were without possibility of obtaining citizenship. For this division of the Roman army, see Rossi 1971: 100-104, and the possibilities of obtaining citizenship, Adkins 1994: 77.
101. Walbank 1972: 166 – the distinctions between Romans and barbarians was one of shades and gradations in the early empire. Walbank (1972: 158) thinks that the Romans were never completely on the side of civilization in the dichotomy Greeks – barbarians, devised by the Greeks.
102. See Kleiner 1992: Fig. 194 – a soldier with Trajanic hair. *Ibid.* Fig. 201, an elderly official who was a freedman and exhibits Trajanic hair and a creased elderly face comparable to Trajan in his type 2 portrait in FZ, beilage Pl. 20. For an officer with Trajanic hair and facial features, Zanker 1980: Fig. 65.2-4 compared with a portrait of Trajan of the third type, *ibid.* Fig. 65.1.
103. See Zanker 1988: 292-295.
104. On the changes in Hadrian's portraiture from his predecessor Trajan showing him bearded in an early coin, Birley 1997: Pl. 5. On the changes in Hadrian's portraiture (more finely modeled) on coins of 125-126 CE after his long stay in Greece in 124 CE: Mattingly and Sydenham 1968: II, 323, and *BMC* III: cxxxiv. On his portraits in sculpture, Kleiner 1992: 238 (especially emphasizing the beard and its relation to Greece). FZ: p. 51 marks the changes from a young and ideal conception in the earlier types of portraits ("Stazione Termini" and "Vatican Chiaramonti 392") and the more Hellenistic influences in the third type ("Rollockenfrisur") in anticipation of his intended journey to the provinces. In the next type (126-127 CE, Wegner 1956: 60), associated with his *decennalia* and after the return from Greece, there can be seen a milder and more subdued expression, smoothening of the features and a broader and rounder face – as seen on coins, see type "Cuirass-Paludamentum-Bust Baia", Wegner 1956: 16 and taf. 19b and 20 and Kleiner 1992: 240.
105. On the influence of Greek fashions and Hadrian's adoption of the change in fashion and consequently his influence, see Zanker 1995: 218-224. On Greek identity as including a beard and on Hadrian's adoption of this mode and his influence, see also Walker 1991: 272-275.
106. On this cultural move of reassertion of Greek culture, see Swain 1994, Anderson 1993, Bowie 1974, Goldhill 2001.
107. I especially refer to the change in his portraits after his second long stay in Greece from which he returned in 125 CE. This is seen in the portraits on coins from 125-127 (*BMC* III: cxxxiv) and in the sculpted portraits from 127 CE, connected with his *decennalia*, FZ: p. 53; Wegner 1956: 60. This is indicated in the widening of the face, less emphasis on expression and facial wrinkles.
108. Hadrian helped in the rehabilitation of Cyrene after the Jewish uprising there and contributed to the education of youths of Greek families, Birley 1997: 152. For his portrait in Cyrene, see Zanker

1995: Fig. 115 compared with *ibid*, Fig. 26. On his portrait from Crete and the interpretation of his breastplate as Athena on the Roman wolf, Kleiner 1992: 241. A different interpretation in Niemeyer 1968: 49.

109. On the Panhellenion league and on the temple of Olympian Zeus and the possible connections between them, see Boatwright 2000: 147-153.
110. "Woven " is the metaphor used by Boatwright 2000: 153.
111. Aelius Aristides *Or.* xxvi. "Regarding Rome", 58-63. Rome's benefits are enumerated in the rest of Aristides' speech. They include the management of the empire, the safeguarding of the borders, the judicial system and much more. See n. 20, above.
112. See Walbank 1972: 166. He presents a mixed view – on the one hand Aristides is mere rhetoric, but on the other – he exemplifies Roman success in forming a supranational state.
113. Duff 1999: 291-309. For Duff, the Greek terms used by Plutarch are an indication of Greek resistance to Roman rule. Preston 2001: 97-98 shows how Plutarch's "Roman questions" are answered in Greek terms (the question why Janus was two-faced is answered: because he was originally a Greek). For Apollonius, *Epistles* LXX, LXXI; Walker 1991: 272.
114. It is perhaps possible to distinguish between Hadrian's portraits made in Greece and those made in Rome. Although Wegner does not see a fundamental difference between work from Rome and that from western provinces (Wegner 1956: 34) there are portraits from Greece that suggest a more typically Greek work. Wegner points out the portrait from Athens National Museum found in the Olympieion, Wegner 1956: 40 taf. 26b. He sees this Athenian portrait as showing an effeminacy and lack of energy as compared to the portraits from Rome. A colossal head from Athens National Museum shows a more resolute character, but it too has a special Greek flavor in the simplification of the facial features – Wegner 1956: 40 taf. 25a. This suggests that the differences in the conceptualization of the emperor were embedded in the artistic traditions associated with the two *ethne*. Greek resistance to Rome may be seen in articulating the Roman emperor in Greek terms.
115. *Graeculus* as derogatory, Goldhill 2001: 11-13; Hadrian's organization of the military, HA *Had.* 10.1-11.1 and *BMC* III: p. 466.
116. Hadrian's organization of the military, HA *Had.* 10.1-11.1 and *BMC* III: p. 466.
117. Toynbee 1967: 3-23. Building the wall in Britain and the surrender of territories won by Trajan, alongside the forceful suppression of the Judean uprising, and the many benefactions to Greek cities, can be seen as part of this policy. See Birley 1997: 78-85, 275-276. Hadrian was criticized by Fronto for relinquishing Trajan's territorial gains. Hadrian's travels can be seen as an attempt to unify the empire with his person.
118. Smith 1988: 76.
119. For Hadrian's series, see Smith 1988: 75. Graded in Aphrodisias *ibid.* 69-70 (nos. 5 and 6).
120. For the many benefactions to Greek cities, see Boatwright 2000.
121. Smith 1988: 76-77. See also Aelius Aristides who sees the Empire as a collection of *demes* under the democratic rule from the "acropolis" – Rome, Aelius Aristides *Or.* xxvi "Regarding Rome", 58-61.
122. See nn. 95 and 99 above. The success of various persons from the provinces in becoming leading figures in Rome is also exemplified in the second century by such diverse authors as Dio of Prusa, Fronto and Apuleius from North Africa, Favorinus from Gaul, Aelius Aristides from Smyrna, Polemo from Laodicaea and Herodes Atticus from Athens. Some held honorary offices in Rome such as consul (Herodus Atticus and Fronto in 143). Fronto was also influential through his appointment as tutor of Marcus Aurelius.
123. There are conflicting statements about Hadrian's birthplace in the *Historia Augusta*, but the fact that he was born to a family that had lived in Spain for a long time, is not disputed, see HA *Had.* 1.1, 2.1-2 and Birley 1997: 10-12. On Trajan, Bennett 1997: 1.

124. *BMC* III: cxxix.
125. Kleiner 1992: 286-288.
126. For example, Antoninus Pius emphasized the importance of his wife Faustina with the construction of a temple for her, later the temple for Antoninus and Faustina (Mattingly and Sydenham 1968: vol. III, 16; *BMC* IV, lx), and with coins indicating family harmony and Faustina as a *diva* after her death (*BMC* IV: li-lii, lviii-lx), and his *pietas* towards her (*BMC* IV: lx-lxiii; Mattingly and Sydenham 1968: vol. III, 15-16). On Marcus Aurelius' coins, Faustina the Younger is shown with her children, *BMC* IV: cxxxii.
127. Commodus as Hercules, FZ: p. 88, the popularity of Commodus' imagery as gladiator and Hercules, Hekster 2001: 69-74. Lucius Verus as fashionable in his portraits: FZ: p. 81 and Zanker 1995: 239-245 about the "fashion" of "philosophy".
128. Marcus' outstanding character made him popular and his image was to be seen everywhere, according to his teacher Fronto, *Epist.* ad M. Caes. IV.12, Haines p. 207. Later he was included with the household gods, HA *Marcus Antoninus*, 18.5. His features were said to be a result of his Stoic inclinations: Julian *Caesars*, 317C.
129. Fittschen sees the abundant portraits of the Antonine princes as an indication of the importance of the family and of dynastic inheritance (Fittschen 1999: 1). The development of the princes is indicated with several stages of a beard as seen in the portraits of Marcus Aurelius: Fittschen 1999: 22-25, 29. On the development of Commodus as shown on coins as a child: Fittschen 1999: 54, and as an adult and emperor: Wegner 1939: 68-69.
130. As Hercules: HA *Commodus Antoninus*, 9.2, 9.6; as an Amazon: HA *Commodus Antoninus*, 11.9, 13.4; as a gladiator: HA *Commodus Antoninus*, 5.5; 11.10-12; as a god while playing the myth of the Gigantomachy: HA *Commodus Antoninus*, 9.6; as the gods Sol and Janus: Bergmann 1998: 247, 264-265 and Pl. 51. Rome was called Colonia Commodiana: HA *Commodus Antoninus*, 8.9 ; and the months of the year were all renamed after him: HA *Commodus Antoninus*, 11.8-9, Dio Cassius, 73.15.3. The people, the palace, the navy and Carthago were all named after him: HA *Commodus Antoninus*,12.7, 15.5, 17.8.
131. Dio Cassius, 73.16 calls him "this Hercules" and "Golden"; ironically, the *Historia Augusta* says that the Senate understood Rome as *Colonia Commodiana* ironically: HA *Commodus Antoninus*, 8.9.
132. His many guises in portraits and in person (as an Amazon or dressed as Mercury) are described by Dio Cassius, 73.15.6, 73.17.3-4.
133. See Hanfmann 1952: 207-208.
134. On the problematics of Roman society of the second century that brought about the changes in the third, Rostovtzeff 1957: 353-392, 400-404. Rostovtzeff sees two major problems – the rift between the upper class masters and the lower strata of society, and the strengthening of the interests of the State over those of the citizens. Along with this, other problems included crime, pressures from barbarian tribes, the dwindling of Italy and the growing needs of the army. This resulted in the process of changing Rome from centered on the city, on Italy and on the upper classes in the provinces, with the emperor as a harmonizing element – to a conception of the emperor as an eastern king and an empire based on the provincial army and on the disenfranchisement of the older elites in favor of the lower classes in public office and army posts. See also Purcell 2000: 440-443, on the leveling of the city of Rome with other centers of the Empire and on the Empire without a notion of nation.
135. See above n. 63 and Plin. *Ep.* 3.10, on the way a portrait is discussed between the patron and artist.
136. See Huskinson 2000: 34, who stresses communication – but sees it as one way – the power to represent and communicate. In my opinion every mode of communication needs the receiver as much as the sender – the acceptance of the message and its judgment is up to the spectator – and inversely he is the "master" of the situation because it is put to his appraisal. An objection to my formulation may

be that the "national identity" of the emperor in the portrait seems more an indicator of status, which mainly marks hierarchy, rather than an indicator of role, which is a performative concept. However, according to Social theory, a status is connected with certain roles that are derived from it. See Coser R. 1975: 239. This definition is not clear-cut and there are diverging views on the conceptualization of status and role and their interaction. See Lopata 1995: 1-4. I stress here the active ingredient in "national identity", which means that this identity was achieved by the emperor (as every identity is), and therefore had a performative aspect. On "Role" as an interaction – not as something static – see Lopata 1995: 1-4.

137. Fischer 2001: 35-44.
138. On the different conceptions of Man in Ancient Greek and Enlightenment theories, see Gill 1996: 10-12 esp. point 2 on p. 12. He stresses the ancient conceptions of a person of himself as dependent on his participation and roles in society. This aspect of the conception of man is continued in Stoic theories – despite Stoic tendency to disassociate personal morality from its dependence on specific social situations and locate it in the private soul, Long 1983: 184-191. On Roman (Cicero) conceptions of role as a central aspect of defining the person, see Gill 1988: 172-176, 179-182. See also n. 10 above (Baumeister), and n. 24 (Coser).
139. See Wiles 1991: 2-4, 23-24, 68, 86-87; Wiles 2000: 151.
140. This is especially evident in Roman times in the comedies of Terence, in which the mask-roles reveal the moral tendencies and possibilities of action for each role. I refer especially to Terence because there are known representations associated with his plays, see Dodwell 2000: 1-21 for a third century CE date for the original of the Terence manuscripts.
141. For this formulation, Fischer 2001: 39.
142. See above, n. 134.

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