THE NEW EMPIRE
OF DIOCLETIAN AND CONSTANTINE
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OF DIOCLETIAN
AND CONSTANTINE

TIMOTHY D. BARNES

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1982
La méthode historique professe qu’aucune source d’information ne peut être négligée. Tout le monde en convient; mais trop d’historiens paraissent encore ne pas connaître l’importance des infiniment petits.

PAUL PEETERS

Recherches d’Histoire et de Philologie Orientales
The present work was conceived as a companion volume to *Constantine and Eusebius*, to argue in detail dates and facts which are there assumed and made the basis for historical interpretation and synthesis. It has inevitably also become an independent work of reference, for it sets out to establish the basic factual framework for a period in the history of the Roman Empire which is both obviously significant and notoriously obscure. Nevertheless, its scope continues to reflect its genesis. I have not attempted to solve all the problems posed by the imperial coinage or the legal sources, nor to draw up lists either of court and financial officials or of military commanders. The emphasis lies on emperors and imperial chronology (Part One), on the holders of the highest administrative posts and provincial governors (Part Two), and on the administration of the empire (Part Three)—and even within these restricted fields I have usually refrained from drawing general conclusions from the individual facts documented.

The work has been revised and largely rewritten several times, and I am most grateful to friends who have read one or more of the drafts, either in whole or in part, and proposed many improvements—Drs. A. K. Bowman, P. Brennan, and J. R. Rea, and Professors G. W. Bowersock, E. J. Champlin, H. A. Drake, J. F. Gilliam, C. Habicht, C. P. Jones, P. Kussmaul, F. G. B. Millar, and Sir Ronald Syme. Their comments, particularly those of Glen Bowersock, Christian Habicht, and Fergus Millar, have made the final version far more accurate than it would otherwise have been. Nonetheless, I am sure that many mistakes and omissions must remain, and I hope that readers who notice any errors or oversights will either inform me privately or publish the necessary corrections as rapidly as possible.

I must also express my gratitude to Donna Burns, Margaret von Sant, and Maria Pezzot for typing and retyping a difficult and complicated manuscript.

T. D. B.
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EDITIONS OF LITERARY AND LEGAL SOURCES

The following standard editions of the most important literary and legal sources have been used in compiling the present work, and all substantive deviations from the text of these editions have (in principle) been noted.

Chr. Min. 1  

Chr. Pasch.  
*Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf, 1 (*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* 4: Bonn, 1832). (The list of consuls from 509 B.C. to A.D. 394 and some historical entries are printed by T. Mommsen in *Chr. Min. 1.205-245*.)

CJ  

CJ 1.51.1M  
The superscript M indicates the acceptance of T. Mommsen's emendation of the date or place of issue (*Ges. Schr.* 2 (Berlin, 1905), 267-290)

CTh  
*Codex Theodosianus*, ed. T. Mommsen, published under the title *Theodosiani Libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis* 1.21 (Berlin, 1962)

CTh 13.10.2s  
The superscript S indicates the acceptance of O. Seeck's emendation of the heading and/or the subscription (*Regesten* 159-185)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Const. Sirm.</strong></td>
<td><em>Constitutiones Sirmondianae</em>, in <em>Codex Theodosianus</em>, ed. T. Mommsen, 907-921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Constantine, Oratio</strong></td>
<td><em>Eusebius Werke 1: Das Leben Konstantins</em>, ed. I. A. Heikel, GCS 7 (Leipzig, 1902), 149-192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eusebius, HE</strong></td>
<td><em>Eusebius Werke 2: Die Kirchengeschichte</em>, ed. E. Schwartz, GCS 9.1 (Leipzig, 1903); 9.2 (Leipzig, 1908)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eusebius, Mart. Pal. (S)</strong></td>
<td><em>Eusebius Werke 2: Die Kirchengeschichte</em>, ed. E. Schwartz, GCS 9.2 (Leipzig, 1908) 907-950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eusebius, VC</strong></td>
<td><em>Eusebius Werke 1.1: Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin</em>, ed. F. Winkelmann (Berlin, GCS, 1975)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Frag. Vat.</strong></td>
<td><em>Fragmenta quae dicuntur Vaticana</em>, in <em>FIRA</em> 2.461-540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jerome, Chronicle</strong></td>
<td><em>Eusebius Werke 7: Die Chronicum Hieronymi</em>, ed. R. Helm, GCS 47 (Berlin, 1956). References are normally given to the page of Helm’s edition with the superscript letter which there precedes the relevant entry (e.g., 227a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EDITIONS OF LITERARY AND LEGAL SOURCES

Lactantius,

_Mort. Pers._

_Lucii Caecilii de Mortibus Persecutorum liber vulgo Lactantio tributus_, ed. S. Brandt, _CSEL_ 27 (Vienna, 1897), 171-238. Two more recent editions have been published: by J. Moreau, in two volumes with a valuable commentary (_SC_ 39 (Paris, 1954)), and by F.Corsaro (Catania, 1970). Both offer some improvements to Brandt's text, but Brandt's repertory of modern conjectures remains indispensable for the study of a text which depends on a single manuscript with many obvious corruptions and lacunae. (I am extremely grateful to Professor J. Rougé for allowing me to inspect the revision of Moreau's text (based on a fresh collation of the manuscript) which he has prepared for the series _Sources Chrétiennes_.)

_Mos. et Rom._

_legum collatio_

_Mosaicarum et Romanarum legum collatio_, in _FIRA_ 2. 541-589

Optatus

_S. Optati Milevitani libri vii_, ed. K. Ziwsa, _CSEL_ 26 (Vienna, 1893)

Origo

_Excerpta Valesiana_, ed. J. Moreau (Leipzig: Teubner, 1961, with later editions revised by L. Velkov), 1-10: _Pars Prior_. I have here employed an abbreviated form of the title which appears in the manuscript: _Origo Constantini Imperatoris_. (This text is cited by many modern scholars as "Anon. Val. 1" or "Exc. Val. 1").

Pan. Lat.


Victor, Caes.


Zosimus

_Zosimus Historia Nova_, ed. L. Mendelssohn (Leipzig: Teubner, 1887)
COLLECTIONS OF DOCUMENTS

EOMIA

FIRA
Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani

Opitz, H.-G. Opitz, Urkunden zur Geschichte des arianischen Streites 318–328. Athanasius Werke 3.1 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1934). (I am extremely grateful to Professor W. Schneemelcher for sending me a checklist of documents to be included in his planned continuation of this collection.)


Sotgiu 1
G. Sotgiu, Iscrizioni latine della Sardegna 1 (Cagliari, 1966)
MODERN WORKS
MOST FREQUENTLY CITED

BHG
F. Halkin, Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, 3rd edition, in three volumes (Subsidia Hagiographica 8a, 1957), with Auctarium (Subsidia Hagiographica 47, 1969).

BHL
Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis, in two volumes (Subsidia Hagiographica 6, 1898-1901), with Supplementum, 2nd edition (Subsidia Hagiographica 12, 1911)

BHO
P. Peeters, Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis (Subsidia Hagiographica 10, 1910)

Chastagnol, Fastes

Clavis²
E. Dekkers, Clavis Patrum Latinorum². Sacris Erudiri 3 (Steenbrugge, 1961)

H. Delehaye and others, Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Decembris. Martyrologium Romanum ad formam editionis typicae scholiiis historicis instructum (Brussels, 1940)

Jones, LRE

Kolbe, Statthalter
MODERN WORKS MOST FREQUENTLY CITED

Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse (284–382).* Mémoires de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres 57. 2 (Brussels, 1964)


PLRE 1


Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt* 1 (Berlin, 1910); 2, 3 (Stuttgart, 1921); 4 (Berlin, 1913); 5 (Berlin, 1913); 6 (Stuttgart, 1920–21)


Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire,* 1, translated and revised by J.-R. Palanque (Paris/Bruges, 1959): two volumes, one of text and one of notes, with the pagination of the original *Geschichte des spätromischen Reiches* 1 (Vienna, 1928) marked throughout

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations used in citing papyri and ostraca conform in general to those proposed by J. Oates, R. Bagnall, and W. Willis, Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca\textsuperscript{2} (Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists, Supplement 1, 1978), while those used in citing inscriptions and periodical publications conform in general to the usage set out in the American Journal of Archaeology 82 (1978), 3–10. As an additional guide, the bibliography states the full title of all periodical publications cited in an abbreviated form. The names of ancient writers are not abbreviated; their works are often cited in an abbreviated form, but the full titles can easily be discovered with reference to the Oxford Classical Dictionary\textsuperscript{2} (Oxford, 1970), ix–xix; H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and W. S. Jones, Greek-English Lexicon\textsuperscript{9} (Oxford, 1940), xvi–xxxviii; and G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon (Oxford, 1961), ix–xliii.
PART ONE

EMPERORS
Diocletian was proclaimed Augustus on 20 November 284 and in 285 defeated the only other emperor then reigning. The following lists provide the names, rank, and order of seniority of those emperors whom the senior emperor recognized as his colleagues between 285 and 9 September 337, when the three surviving sons of Constantine were proclaimed Augusti.\(^1\) Documentation is deliberately selective, concentrating on the evidence for the exact date at which each man entered and departed from the imperial college.\(^2\) For the full official names, only the cases where some uncertainty exists are documented or discussed.\(^3\)

1. For four of the eight colleges distinguished below, see the examples of the imperial titulature printed in Chapter III; for the others, see respectively ILS 657 (3), 663 (5), 712 (6), 724 (8).

The principles governing the order of seniority are inferred partly from the actual order of names, partly from explicit indications in ancient writers, principally Lactantius, *Mort. Pers.* 18.5, 25.5, 28.1, 32.3, cf. J. Straub, *Vom Herrscherideal in der Spätantike* (Stuttgart, 1939), 37 ff. There seem to be three main principles: (1) Augusti precede Caesars; (2) within each rank, precedence depends on the order of \textit{dies imperii}, apparently regardless of the date at which a Caesar was promoted to Augustus; (3) seniority among two or more emperors of the same rank who have the same \textit{dies imperii} is determined by age or antecedent seniority.

2. The Julian years are confirmed by a mass of papyrological evidence (Chapter III.3).

EMPERORS

1. The “First Tetrarchy”

Diocletian
(C. Aurelius Valerius
Diocletianus)
Augustus 20 November 284; abdicated 1 May 305

Maximian
(M. Aurelius Valerius
Maximianus)
Caesar 21 July 285; Augustus 1 April 286; abdicated 1 May 305

Constantius
(M. Flavius Valerius
Constantius)
Caesar 1 March 293

Galerius
(C. Galerius Valerius
Maximianus)
Caesar 1 March 293

2. The “Second Tetrarchy”

Constantius
Augustus 1 May 305; died 25 July 306

Galerius
Augustus 1 May 305


Diocletian’s original nomen was Valerius (Victor, Caes. 39.1 ff.), while Maximian’s was Aurelius (Epitome 40.10). I. Didyma 89, 90 (before 293) give Diocletian’s praenomen as Marcus.

5. Maximian took the purple in 285, before his campaign against the Bagaudae (Pan. Lat. 10(2).3.1, 4.1), and he was a Caesar before becoming Augustus (Eutropius, Brev. 9.20.3). Hence the dies festus imperatoris vestri which the Passio Marcelli attests on 21 July 298 will be the anniversary of the day on which Diocletian created Maximian Caesar, as conjectured by J. Carcopino, Le Maroc antique (Paris, 1943), 378. (For editions of the Passio, see Chapter X.1; it should be observed that the natalis imperatoris of Recension M, 1a (H. Delehaye, Anal. Boll. 41 (1923), 260) occurs in a passage which is a manifest interpolation.) A. Rouselle, Dialogues d’Histoire Ancienne 2 (1976), 445 ff., argues that Maximian’s dies imperii fell between 10 and 31 December 285.

6. Chr. Min. 1.229. A receipt dated by Maximian on 31 March 286 (BGU 1090, col. 4.34–39) was not necessarily written on that day, see Vandersleyen, Chronologie 36. The earliest indubitable attestations of Maximian as Augustus appear to be on 24 May 922 and 12 June 286 (P. Oxy. 1260). It might conceivably be relevant that there were ludi on 1 April (CIL 1.2, p. 262); they are conventionally interpreted as ludi votivi marking the birthday of Constantius one day late, see A. Degrassi, Inscriptiones Italicæ 13.2 (1963), 434.

7. Pan. Lat. 8(5).2.2–3.1; Chr. Min. 1.229. For Constantius’ praenomen, both Gaius and Marcus are attested (PIR² F 390); since Constantius was the adoptive son of Maximian, Marcus should be officially correct.

8. Pan. Lat. 8(5).3.1; Lactantius, Mort. Pers. 35.4. On the modern hypothesis that Galerius’ actual investiture occurred on 21 May 293, see Chapter V, n. 73.

9. Lactantius, Mort. Pers. 19.1 ff. (the changes on 1 May 305); 46.8.

10. Pan. Lat. 6(7).8.2; Lactantius, Mort. Pers. 24.8; Origo 4; Victor, Caes. 40.4; Epitome 41.3; Zosimus 2.9.1 (Constantine proclaimed at his father’s deathbed); CIL 1.2, pp. 268, 269; Chr. Min. 1.229, 234 (the day).
Severus
(Flavius Valerius Severus)
Maximinus
(C. Galerius Valerius Maximinus)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caesar 1 May 305</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

3. From the death of Constantius to the Conference of Carnuntum (November 308)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Galerius</th>
<th>Augustus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Severus</td>
<td>Augustus in place of Constantius; abdicated in spring 307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximinus</td>
<td>Caesar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constantine (Flavius Valerius Constantinus)</td>
<td>Proclaimed Augustus on 25 July 306 by his father's troops, then accepted appointment as Caesar from Galerius; invested as Augustus c. September 307 by Maximian, and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. The name "Daia," which Maximinus originally bore (Lactantius, Mort. Pers. 18.13; cf. I. Ephesos 311a), never formed part of his official name as emperor and is nowhere attested as such.
12. IL 657 (Egypt); Lactantius, Mort. Pers. 25.5.
13. Lactantius, Mort. Pers. 26.5 ff. The date is deduced primarily from two facts: the consular date of 307 employed at Rome changed in April from Maximiano VII et Maximino to post consulatum sextum (Chr. Min. 1.66-67), and Galerius invaded Italy c. September 307. Severus continued to be recognized as emperor and consul in the East until his death, which was known in the Arsinoite nome of Egypt by 24 December 307 (P. Merton 31; P. Col. 138: contrast P. Oxy. 3192; MPER 1.291 = Stud. Pal. 20.77; P. Mil. 55, which include Severus' name in dating formulae on 9 May, 25 July, and 29 September). He died shortly before Galerius invaded Italy, probably on 15 or 16 September, see E. Groag, RE 14 (1929), 2433; W. Seston, Carnuntina (Graz and Cologne, 1956), 178, citing Chr. Min. 1.148: "Severus imp. ann. III m. III d. XV."
14. CIL I 2, pp. 268, 269; Chr. Min. 1.231, 235 (the day); Lactantius, Mort. Pers. 24.8 f.; Origo 4; Victor, Caes. 40.4; Epitome 41.3; Zosimus 2.9.1 (the circumstances).
15. Lactantius, Mort. Pers. 25.3-5; RIC 6.128-130 (London), 207-214 (Trier), 255-259 (Lugdunum); RIB 1.2233, 2237, 2292, 2303, 2310. In Egypt, Constantine's dies imperii fell after 28 August 306 (Chapter III.3).
16. Pan. Lat. 7(6) celebrates both the investiture and Constantine's marriage to Fausta; hence, since the investiture was later than 25 July 307 (RIC 6.213, Treveri 744-746, cf. R. Strauss, Rev. Num. 5 16 (1954), 26 ff.), while the marriage coincided with Galerius' invasion of Italy (Lactantius,
subsequently (it appears) not recognized by Galerius as a member of the imperial college

4. From the Conference of Carnuntum to the death of Galerius

Galerius  Augustus; died late April or early May 311

Licinius  Augustus 11 November 308

(Valerius Licinius Licinius)

Maximinus Caesar; given the title filius Augustorum by Galerius early in 309; proclaimed Augustus by his troops in 310

Constantine a. In the East: Caesar; then filius Augustorum; then Augustus

b. In the West: Augustus

Mort. Pers. 27.1), the date must be c. September 307.

17. Galerius and Maximinus alone appear as emperors on P. Cairo Isid. 87 (29 April 308), 88 (6 May 308), 125 (6 August 308); ILS 658 (Aquincum, undated), and no issue of coins in Constantine’s name from a mint of Galerius can be dated with certainty to the period between c. September 307 and November 308 (see C. H. V. Sutherland, RIC 6 (1967), 60).

18. A. Chastagnol, Aiôn: Le Temps chez les Romains (Caesarodunum 10bis, 1976), 228 ff., has proposed that Galerius also proclaimed Candidianus Caesar between 29 August 310 and 10 April 311. He argues from the regnal years which appear in P. Cairo Isid. 51.7 (1 April 311) and P. Princeton Roll 2.5, 11 (17 June 312). The inference should be rejected: Lactantius is silent, there is no coinage in Candidianus’ name, he is missing from the documents which attest the imperial college in 310 and 311 (Chapter III, nos. 5–7), and all other papyri and ostraca of 310–312 omit the additional and aberrant regnal year (R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt (BASP, Supp. 2, 1979), 34–36). Its probable origin is scribal carelessness, as argued by A. E. R. Boak and H. C. Youtie, The Archive of Aurelius Isidorus (Ann Arbor, 1960), 225.

It should be observed that, when Maximinus and Constantine were acknowledged as Augusti, they took precedence over Licinius (BCH 11 (1887), 69 no. 49 (Isaura); ? P. Rylands 616, cf. R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, BASP 17 (1980), 10 ff.)—although Galerius seems at first to have attempted to maintain the old order of names (Chapter III, no. 6).

19. Lactantius, Mort. Pers. 35.4 (the exact day in May 311 on which his death became known in Nicomedia is lost in a lacuna).


21. Lactantius, Mort. Pers. 32.1–5, confirmed by ILS 659 (Carnuntum); RIC 6.514 Thessalonica 31a, 38a; 535–536, Heraclea 38, 40, 45, 46; 562–563, Nicomedia 55, 60; 586–588, Cyzicus 43, 49, 52, 55, 61; 630–634 (Antioch), 677–679 (Alexandria) (all Caesar); RIC 6.514–515, Thessalonica 32a, 39a (filius Augustorum). That Maximinus was proclaimed Augustus precisely on 1 May 310 was conjectured by C. H. V. Sutherland, RIC 6 (1967), 15ff. Maximinus and Constantine are still filii Augustorum on an Egyptian census declaration dated 27 February 310 (P. Strassburg 42 = P. Sakaon 1).

22. ILS 659; RIC 6.514–515, Thessalonica 31b, 38b; 633, Antiochia 118b (Caesar); Lactantius, Mort. Pers. 32.5; RIC 6.513–515, Thessalonica 28, 32b, 39b; 562–563, Nicomedia 56, 61; 631–632, Antiochia 104, 105, 111; 678–680, Alexandria 99b, 100b, 113, 117; P. Cairo Isid. 47, 90,
5. From the death of Galerius to the death of Maximinus

Maximinus Augustus; died c. July 313
Constantine Augustus; declared to be the senior emperor by the Roman Senate in November 312
Licinius Augustus

6. From the death of Maximinus to the defeat of Licinius

Constantine Augustus
Licinius Augustus; abdicated 19 September 324
Crispus Caesar 1 March 317
(Valerius Licinianus Licinius)
Constantinus Caesar 1 March 317
(Valerius Claudius Constantinus)

23. R. M. Grant, Christianity, Judaism and other Greco-Roman Cults 4 (Leiden, 1975), 144, argues that Maximinus appointed his son Maximus and Candidianus emperors in 311. Although, like Chastagnol, he adduces P. Princeton Roll 2.5, 11 (above, n. 18), Grant relies principally on Eusebius, HE 9.11.7: οἱ Μαξιμίνου παῖδες, οὺς ἡδη καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς τιμῆς τῆς τε ἐν πίναξι καὶ γραφαῖς ἀναθέσεως πεποίητο κοινωνοῦς. But Eusebius knew only that Maximinus' children were depicted with the emperor on reliefs and pictures (cf. 11.2)—which by no means proves that they were formally invested with the imperial purple. Again, the silence of Lactantius (Mort. Pers. 50.2, 6, cf. 20.4), the vast majority of papyri from 311-313 (R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, Regnal Formulas 35-37), and the complete absence of contemporary attestation on coins or inscriptions forbid the inference.

24. Maximinus was still recognized as emperor and consul at Oxyrhynchus on 23 July 313 (P. Oxy. 3144), but his death was known in Karanis by 13 September 313 (P. Cairo Isid. 103.20); the date of his death, therefore, is probably July or August 313, although late June cannot be excluded on present evidence.

25. Lactantius, Mort. Pers. 44.11: “senatus Constantino virtutis gratia primi nominis titulum decrevit, quem sibi Maximinus vindicavit.” For the order Constantine, Maximinus, Licinius in Constantine's territory, CIL 5.8021a, 8963, 11.6667. For the order Maximinus, Constantine, Licinius, ILS 663 (Asia); AE 1963.141 (Cyrene); ILS 664 (Noricum).

26. Origo 28; CIL 11, p. 272; Chr. Min. 1.232; Praxagoras, FGrH 219; Epitome 41.8; Zosimus 2.28.1.

27. Chr. Min. 1.232; Origo 19. For Crispus the names Claudius and Valerius are also attested in place of Julius (RIC 7.175, Trier 138–139; ILS 716 (Rome)), while Constantinus is occasionally Fl. Julius Constantinus (AE 1889.34 (Sbrangatu, Sardinia); AE 1938.85 = 1. Ephesos 312, where the published supplement Con[stantia] is impossible, since the date is before 19 September 324).
EMPERORS

7. Constantine as sole Augustus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emperor</th>
<th>Status and Death Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constantine</td>
<td>Augustus; died 22 May 337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crispus</td>
<td>Caesar; executed c. May 326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constantinus</td>
<td>Caesar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constantius (Flavius Julius Constantius)</td>
<td>Caesar 8 November 324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constans (Flavius Julius Constans)</td>
<td>Caesar 25 December 333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalmatius (Flavius Julius Dalmatius)</td>
<td>Caesar 18 September 335; killed between 2 August and 9 September 337</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. The sons of Constantine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emperor</th>
<th>Status and Death Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constantinus</td>
<td>Augustus 9 September 337; killed spring 340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constantius</td>
<td>Augustus 9 September 337; died 3 November 361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constans</td>
<td>Augustus 9 September 337; killed shortly after 18 January 350</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28. Hannibalians, whom Constantine proclaimed king over territory outside the Roman Empire (Origo 35; Ammianus 14.1.2; Epitome 41.20), was not technically a member of the imperial college; he was nobilissimus, but not a Caesar (Zosimus 2.39.2).

29. Festal Index 10; Chr. Min. 1.235; Eusebius, VC 4.64; Socrates, HE 1.39.2, 40.3.

30. Crispus disappears from the imperial coinage in the course of 326, see P. Bruun, RIC 7 (1966), 71f. His death is dated to late March by O. Seeck, Regesten 63, 176, to May/June by A. Piganiol, L'Empire chrétien (Paris, 1947), 35, and to September or October by P. Bruun, RIC 7 (1966), 71. Epitome 41.12; Zosimus 2.29.2 imply a date not long before Constantine arrived in Rome in mid-July 326.

31. CIL 12, p. 276; Chr. Min. 1.232; AE 1937.119 (with plain idibus Nob. in error); Ammianus 14.5.1 (with Oct. for Nov.).

32. Chr. Min. 1.234.

33. Chr. Min. 1.235. Both Dalmatius and Delmatius are attested. It may be relevant that the antiquarian Varro had insisted on calling the province Delmatia (De Gramm. frag. 73 Goetz-Schoell).

34. On the date of his death, A. Olivetti, Riv. Fil. 43 (1915), 67 ff. CTh 13.4.2 shows Valerius Maximus, who appears to be Dalmatius' praetorian prefect, still in office on 2 August 337 (Chapter VIII.4).

35. Chr. Min. 1.235.
APPENDIX: AUGUSTAE

On the strictest definition, Augustae are not members of the imperial college, since their names never appear among those of the emperors who jointly issue imperial pronouncements. Nevertheless, an Augusta did possess at least some of the privileges of an Augustus: her name might appear in the nominative case on the imperial coinage, and at least one Augusta released prisoners from exile and the mines and had unfettered access to imperial funds (Eusebius, VC 3.44; 47.3). Between 284 and 337, the following Augustae are attested:

1. Galeria Valeria, the wife of Galerius.

2. Flavia Julia Helena, wife of Constantius and mother of Constantine.

3. Flavia Maxima Fausta, wife of Constantine.
   Helena and Fausta both appear as Augustae on the coinage of Constantine immediately after the defeat of Licinius (RIC 7.116, 137, 203, 263–264, 325–326, 383, 447, 475, 514–515, 551, 612–613, 647, 709), and it is an attractive conjecture that both were proclaimed Augustae when Constantius became Caesar, i.e. on 8 November 324. Fausta died in the summer of 326 (Epitome 41.12; Philostorgius, HE 2.4; Zosimus 2.29.2), Helena in the summer or autumn of 327 (Eusebius, VC 3.46.2).

36. E.g., Chapter III, nos. 5–7, issued while Galeria Valeria was an Augusta; P. Oxy. 889 (re-edited below, Chapter XIV.3), probably issued when Helena and Fausta were Augustae.


38. P. Bruun, Numismatica e Antichità Classiche 8 (1979), 255 ff.


40. Helena made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land after encountering Constantine in Rome c. August 326 (Zosimus 2.29.2) and died in his presence (Eusebius, VC 3.46.2). Her death must fall before 7 January 328, when Constantine refounded Drepanum as Helenopolis in her memory (Chr. Pasch. 527, cf. Chapter V: Constantine).