Political Memory and the Constantinian Dynasty

Fashioning Disgrace

Rebecca Usherwood

New Approaches to Byzantine History and Culture

New Approaches to Byzantine History and Culture publishes high-quality scholarship on all aspects of Byzantine culture and society from the fourth to the fifteenth centuries, presenting fresh approaches to key aspects of Byzantine civilization and new studies of unexplored topics to a broad academic audience. The series is a venue for both methodologically innovative work and ground-breaking studies on new topics, seeking to engage medievalists beyond the narrow confines of Byzantine studies.

The core of the series is original scholarly monographs on various aspects of Byzantine culture or society, with a particular focus on books that foster the interdisciplinarity and methodological sophistication of Byzantine studies. The series editors are interested in works that combine textual and material sources, that make exemplary use of advanced methods for the analysis of those sources, and that bring theoretical practices of other fields, such as gender theory, subaltern studies, religious studies theory, anthropology, etc. to the study of Byzantine culture and society.

More information about this series at
https://link.springer.com/bookseries/14755

Rebecca Usherwood

Political Memory and the Constantinian Dynasty

Fashioning Disgrace

Rebecca Usherwood
Trinity College Dublin
Dublin, Ireland

For my parents, Carole and David

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

Abbreviations

AE	*L'Année épigraphique*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
ICUR	*Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
ILAlg	*Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie*
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
ILTun	*Inscriptions Latines de la Tunisie*
InscrIt	*Inscriptiones Italiae*
LSA	*Last Statues of Antiquity* (http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/)
PLRE	*Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*
RIC	*Roman Imperial Coinage*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*

List of Figures

List of Tables

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

When all hope was destined to fail and the will to make peace abandoned, who could doubt that he [Maxentius] was divinely delivered to your arms, when he had attained such a degree of madness that he even provoked, on his own, the one whom he ought to have tried to win over? Oh, what sharp and painful stings you have, insult, when inflicted by an inferior! Behold, for sorrow! (words come with difficulty), the violent overthrow of revered images and the vile erasure of the divine face! O impious hands, O savage eyes! … But in the end what do you gain, blind madness? This face cannot be destroyed. It is fixed on the hearts of all men. It does not shine by the gilding of beeswax or the dye of pigments, but blossoms forth through the longing of our spirits. Constantine will only be forgotten when the human race is destroyed.

Nazarius, *panegyric in praise of Constantine*[1]

---

[1] *Pan. Lat*. IV(10) 12.1–5 (after Nixon and Saylor Rodgers trans.): *Cum spes omnis frigere debuerit et voluntas pacificandi alienata sit, quis dubitet divinitus armis tuis deditum, cum eo dementiae processerit ut ultro etiam lacesseret quem ambire deberet? O quam acres dolorum aculeos habes, contumelia quam imponit inferior! Ecce enim, pro dolor! (verba vix suppetunt), venerandarum imaginum acerba deiectio et divini vultus litura deformis. O manus impiae, o truces oculi! […] Sed quid tandem adsequeris, caeca dementia? Aboleri vultus hic non potest. Universorum pectoribus infixus est, nec commendatione cerae ac pigmentorum fucis renitet sed desiderio efflorescit animorum. Una demum Constantini oblivio est humani generis occasus.*

This passage is a fitting point of departure for an examination of Roman concepts of political disgrace since it highlights many of the contradictions which surround the phenomenon. Firstly, it represents a divergence from the conventional view of image-destruction as a punishment inflicted posthumously on disgraced officials or failed emperors. Here, the expected scenario is inverted, with the 'bad' emperor Maxentius attacking the images of the 'good' emperor Constantine. Moreover, far from being overthrown or dead, Constantine was still alive and ruling when these attacks are said to have taken place; the portrait abuse instead serves as both an overture to, and justification for, Maxentius' own elimination and disgrace. Secondly, the passage highlights the obstacles to using such literary accounts as evidence for genuine practice. Not only is this passage the only surviving piece of evidence, either literary or material, which suggests that Constantine's honorific images were attacked as part of this civil conflict, the context also makes its veracity questionable, since it forms a climactic moment in a speech delivered almost a decade after Maxentius' death, praising the character and justifying the actions of his conqueror. Nevertheless, it has consistently been accepted by modern commentators as proof of an actual, historical event.[2]

Damnatio memoriae is a modern phrase, used as an umbrella term for a wide range of measures which the Romans used to denigrate, distort, or nullify the memories of those who were, for various reasons, deemed to have been disgraced. These measures changed with the passage of time, along with wider shifts in cultural priorities and forms of commemoration. From the confiscation of property, razing of houses, and banning of names and funerary honours in the insular aristocratic world of Republican Rome,[3] actions grew more public and ostentatious in the context of the empire, when images of the emperor, imperial family, and other officials were prominent and widely disseminated. Portraits were vandalised, removed, or recarved into others; dedications could be disfigured or altered; a victim's name and titles could be erased from inscriptions with varying degrees of thoroughness; official legal acts could be nullified; coins could be countermarked. In rarer cases, such as that of Maxentius,

---

[2] Smith (1971: 91), Pohlsander (1996: 19), Stewart (2003: 269, 287), Marlowe (2006: 228–229), and Killerich (2014: 64).

[3] See Mustakallio (1994) for sanctions against memory from the earliest periods of Rome's history, Flower (2006: Chapters 3–5) for the early to later Republican period, and Bats (2007) for the time of Sulla.

a victim's body was treated with the disrespect and malice customarily reserved for criminals and other social outcasts.[4] The past twenty years have witnessed a significant growth of interest in these phenomena: their mechanics, motivations, and the contradictions which were inherent in their use.[5] These modern investigations have urged us to view *damnatio memoriae* not as a monolithic or homogenous set of penalties, but instead as an inventive and adaptive process, and thus a lens through which the priorities of an age can be examined.

This book is an examination of political disgrace from Constantine's rise to power until the accession of Julian, the last of the Constantinian emperors. This period, encompassing roughly the first half of the fourth century CE, was a time of profound political, religious, and cultural change, and witnessed an unprecedented number of emperors suffering from the penalties associated with political disgrace.[6] Surviving literary and material evidence indicates that, of seventeen emperors and other major imperial claimants, fifteen were inflicted with some form of these measures.[7] This prevalence can be explained by features particular to this age, above all the establishment of a collegiate form of imperial government, increasing the number of emperors holding power at any one time, which combined with political instability. Meanwhile, our understanding of the political situation is also complicated by our reliance, particularly for the earlier years of the fourth century, on Christian sources which were written or revised in the aftermath of the Great Persecution. Disgrace is a central theme of such narratives, and these Christian discourses have had

---

[4] For associations between the treatment of the bodies of *infames* and disgraced members of the elite, see Kyle (1998: 131–133).

[5] See especially Hedrick (2000), Varner (2004), Flower (2006), Benoist and Lefevre (2007), Krüpe (2011), Crespo Pérez (2014), and Omissi (2018).

[6] By contrast, the Julio-Claudian period and its immediate aftermath witnessed measures against only the emperors Caligula, Nero, Galba, and Otho, and a small number of other prominent men, such as Sejanus. Instead, this period is distinct for its prevalence of imperial women being subjected to these types of penalties: Varner (2001; 2004: 21–108) and Flower (2006: 160–194).

[7] Diocletian: Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 42.1–2 and inscriptions; Maximian: Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 42, Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.13.15, *Vit. Const.* 1.47.1, and inscriptions; Maximinus Daia: Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 9.11 and inscriptions; Maxentius: inscriptions, portraiture, and monuments; Licinius: Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 10.9.5, inscriptions and portraiture; Severus, Galerius, Crispus, Licinius Iunior, Dalmatius, Constantine II, Constans, Magnentius, Decentius, and Gallus: inscriptions.

a significant impact on the ways in which scholars have interpreted events. As a consequence, the Constantinian age presents a unique opportunity to explore the later evolution of Roman notions of political failure and dishonour.

Despite several influential publications over the past twenty years which redress the concept, a view prevails that so-called *damnatio memoriae* was centralised, immediate, and totalising. This book uses four detailed and contrasting case studies to draw out distinctive features of these practices which stand at odds with this perspective. My central argument is that the penalties associated with political disgrace were neither immediate nor universal, neither centrally imposed nor regulated. By contrast, I argue that they reveal a spectrum of local responses to political change. As a consequence, this book not only shines light on Roman concepts of political disgrace, but provides wider insights on how imperial power could be communicated, understood, and interpreted across wide swathes of geographical space. Moreover, its argument that the transformation of these political figures into objects of disgrace was a communal enterprise, created over an extended period of time in a variety of media and by a range of different people, resonates with wider academic discourse on memory as a social and collective phenomenon.[8]

The Constantinian dynasty was built on the failure of its imperial opponents. In practice, this was an uneasy foundation since, more often than not, these opponents were either closely related to or even part of the Constantinian family. This book's first case study is Maximian (r. 285–310), former Augustus of the Tetrarchy and the father-in-law of Constantine, who was eliminated by the younger emperor in 310. The survival of multiple literary accounts of the destruction of Maximian's honorific images has cemented his position as a paradigm of political disgrace. However, the most puzzling feature of this episode is the fact that, seven years after he had killed his father-in-law, Constantine began issuing coinage which declared that he was now a *divus*, a deified figure. I unravel this episode through a close examination of the surviving literary, numismatic, and epigraphic evidence, the latter in particular revealing a wide variety of local responses to Maximian's downfall in different regions of the empire. Tracing the evolution of Maximian's posthumous status until the time of Julian, I argue that the emperor embodies the

---

[8] See especially Fentress and Wickham (1992), Markovits and Reich (1997), Misztal (2003), and Castelli (2004).

complexity of Roman attitudes to imperial memorialisation, one which extends beyond the binary of 'damned' versus 'deified'. Maximian was never forgotten, but nor was he simply 'rehabilitated'. Instead, he blurred the lines between political honour and political disgrace.

The second chapter considers another close ally turned opponent of Constantine: the emperor Licinius (r. 308–324) who was married to Constantine's sister, Constantia. Licinius was Constantine's final imperial rival from the disintegrated Tetrarchy, so the deconstruction of his legitimacy, as well as the rewriting of his relationship with Constantine, formed a cornerstone of Constantine's authority as sole ruler of the empire. Constantine and Licinius' turbulent decade-long co-emperorship, with its initial inconclusive civil war, leading to a new treaty where the borders between their territories were redrawn, provides the ideal conditions to trace distinct stages of reactions in a contested political environment. This chapter lays out most clearly one of this book's key arguments: that condemnation was neither immediate nor necessarily posthumous, but part of a protracted process which could begin before a ruler had even been decisively defeated.

Crispus (r. 317–326), the eldest son of Constantine, who was eliminated by his own father in mysterious circumstances, is my third case study. Like Maximian, Crispus has been regarded as an archetype of *damnatio memoriae*.[9] However, rather than being inspired by literary descriptions of the destruction of his images, this view is based on the conspicuous silences which surround his downfall, which create the impression that he had been 'vaporised' without any form of public explanation. After establishing the status and position which Crispus occupied within his father's regime, and how the treatment of his posthumous memory features in both ancient and modern explanations of his death, I turn to a full consideration of the epigraphic evidence for his disgrace. This understudied body of material offers contemporary documentation of the different kinds of reactions generated by Crispus' elimination. Rather than a centrally driven campaign to forget Crispus by expunging all traces of him from the empire, what emerges is a situation where some were hesitant to attack the young emperor's memory, whilst others openly and proudly dishonoured him.

[9] For example, MacMullen (1969: 187), Pohlsander (1984: 98; 1996: 58), Burgess (2008: 7, 13), Stephenson (2009: 200), and Barnes (2011: 5).

The final chapter moves forward a quarter of a century to an empire inherited by Constantine's sons. It examines the case of Magnentius (r. 350–353), the emperor who eliminated Constans, Constantine's youngest son, gaining control of half of the empire, and then posed a prolonged threat to Constantius II, the last surviving son of Constantine. As an individual who stood outside of the Constantinian dynasty, Magnentius garnered a western support base of individuals who had formerly served Constantine and his sons. Consequently, this chapter not only examines how Magnentius was treated both during and after his eventual defeat, but also how the memory of the Constantinian dynasty was managed in the territories which fell under the new emperor's control. Constans and Magnentius, both failed emperors, were in similar ways reduced to the status of *tyranni* ('tyrants') after their removal, transformed into scapegoats who were condemned in isolation, allowing for the survival and absolution of anyone who had supported them. Here, we witness a reframing of the past to meet the ongoing needs of the present, a present that treated recent events with selective amnesia and selective commemoration.[10]

An obvious question is: given the prevalence of disgraced emperors in the late third to mid-fourth centuries, why these particular four case studies? This book prioritises depth over breadth, an approach designed to avoid the assumption that disgrace followed a standard pathway, and to do justice to the large and complex body of material evidence. My methodology weighs surviving literary evidence against this material evidence, chiefly inscriptions, so a key rationale behind my choice of focus is the quantity and territorial distribution of these sources. The four case studies were also chosen with balance in mind, as each of them exemplifies a scenario where disgrace unfolded in a distinct way. An important factor in this is the disparate relationships between the examined individual and Constantine or his sons: a broken alliance between a senior and a junior emperor (Maximian); a troubled relationship of nominal equals (Licinius); a junior emperor viewed as an ideological extension of his father (Crispus); an imperial claimant who remained determinedly unrecognised by his would-be co-emperor (Magnentius).

---

[10] For the relationship between memory (and forgetting) and political transition, reconciliation, and continuity, see especially Loraux (2002) and Assmann and Shortt (2012).

Though each chapter has its central focus, each also incorporates at least two additional individuals with whom the central figure's disgrace was somehow entangled. My examination of Maximian's posthumous reputation involves a detailed treatment of the regime of his son, Maxentius, as well as some discussion of Diocletian, his colleague of over twenty years. The case of Licinius requires consideration of his young son, Licinius Iunior, as well as the emperor Maximinus Daia. Due to the proximity of their relative downfalls, analysis of the epigraphic evidence for Crispus' disgrace requires revisiting the Licinii, as well as a discussion of possible connections to the disappearance of Crispus' stepmother, Fausta. Finally, my chapter on Magnentius involves considerable analysis of the treatment of the ideological and material legacy of Constans, as well as some thought about the precedent set by the death of Constantine II a decade earlier. Hence, through its four case studies, this book aims to do due justice to the breadth and complexity of evidence, practices, and attitudes surrounding political disgrace in the Constantinian era.

Political Memory, Disgrace, and Oblivion

This book's four case studies and overarching arguments are embedded in wider themes of memory, disgrace, and the rhetoric of forgetting, all of which have a considerable history in modern scholarship. The 1936 doctoral thesis of Freidrich Vittinghoff was the first detailed modern study of the methods by which the Roman state attacked the memory of those deemed to be public enemies. In his close examination of the ancient legal and technical language used to target remembrance, Vittinghoff highlighted that the term *damnatio memoriae* belongs to the early modern rather than the ancient world and was never used by the Romans themselves.[11] Vittinghoff also drew attention to some of the inconsistencies found in practice, such as the case of Caligula, an emperor who was never officially condemned by the Senate but still suffered a form of de facto condemnation, since inscriptions survive where his name has been erased.[12] Hence, it has long been recognised that Roman attitudes to political disgrace were intricate and evolving, and the modern

[11] Vittinghoff (1936: 64–74). The first attested use of *damnatio memoriae* is in the title of a dissertation written by Schrieter and Gerlach in 1689: see Stewart (1999: 184 n.3) and Flower (2006: xix).

[12] Vittinghoff (1936: 13).

use of a static label or concept to encompass these practices is inherently problematic.

However, *damnatio memoriae* is still commonly used in modern scholarship, both of the Roman world and beyond, as well as in contemporary journalism.[13] The key reason for this is the convenience of the term, combined with the sense that it encompasses a concept and phenomena which are timeless and ubiquitous across cultures. One of the greatest appeals of *damnatio memoriae* is its universalism. From the pulling down and destruction of public statues to crowds vandalising the signs of streets named after disgraced leaders, these practices evoke our imagination because we see them at play in our contemporary world.[14] Yet it has been observed that, in these modern contexts, iconoclasm is an ineffective way of creating oblivion. From the widely disseminated photographs of these instances of violent attacks, to the statue plinths which are left vacant in city centres, these moments become memorials of disgrace in themselves, far more eye-catching and enduring than the original forms of commemoration.[15]

Psychological approaches to the ways in which humans create and forget memories have explored the paradoxical roles which personal or authoritative agency can play. For example, the research of American social psychologist Daniel Wegner demonstrated that ordering people to forget or avoid thinking about something can have the opposite effect, leading the object or event to become more deeply ingrained in memory, a phenomenon for which he coined the term 'ironic process theory'.[16] Though it *is* possible to make individuals intentionally forget something (so-called motivated forgetting), the right conditions need to be in place,

[13] For example, see Westenholz (2012: 89) for its use in an ancient Akkadian context, or Robey (2013) for its application to Renaissance Florence. *Damnatio memoriae* was used by a number of media outlets in reference to the tearing down of confederate monuments in Baltimore in the summer of 2017. See, for example, Davis Hanson (2017).

[14] See Osgood (2007: 1588), who describes Roman practices as 'eerily modern, like those of a Stalinist purge or the vaporization of "unpersons" in George Orwell's *1984*'. In contrast, see Flower (2006: 7) for an emphasis on the cultural specificity of Roman practices.

[15] See Forty (1999: 10) on removal of statues of communist heroes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union after 1989.

[16] See Wegner (1994).

such as deliberate avoidance of the object of recollection, active exclusion or suppression of ideas, or a change in physical context.[17] The kind of conspicuous defamation created by ancient practices, where the once-honoured figure's fall from grace is paraded, clearly does not meet these conditions. Hence, *damnatio memoriae* is a pantomime of forgetting.

Memory occupied a central position in Roman culture.[18] However, scholars of the Roman world were relatively slow to engage with the so-called memory boom which has touched disciplines as diverse as history, social sciences, anthropology, psychology, philosophy, literary studies, media studies, and neuroscience over the past thirty years.[19] *Damnatio memoriae* is the aspect of Roman memory-practices which attracted the earliest attention. A handful of articles were published over the half century which followed Vittinghoff's monograph,[20] but it was the 1990s which witnessed a growth in interest, particularly in American scholarship, not only in the practices associated with *damnatio memoriae*, but also in the creation of a more comprehensive and critical approach to the ideology and inherent contradictions of the phenomenon. An important contribution to this was the discovery in Spain in the late 1980s of bronze copies of the *Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre*, a senatorial decree which outlines the punishments to be inflicted on the Roman aristocrat Piso, who had been accused of treason during the reign of the emperor Tiberius.[21] This document, which contains a number of specifications concerning the treatment of Piso's public memory (the banning of his name, its erasure from specific inscriptions, the removal of his statues and images from both public and private places), stimulated discussions

[17] Pennebacker and Banasik (1997: 10–11), Anderson (2009: 220–221), and Brandt (2016: 263–267).

[18] See, for example, Gowing (2005: 2): 'Romans attached a heightened importance to memory, which manifests itself in almost every aspect of their existence', and Galinsky (2014: 1): 'Memory defined Roman civilization'.

[19] The work of Susan Alcock (2001, 2002), is a notable exception. The most comprehensive engagement with theories of social memory in Roman contexts can be found in the three edited volumes which emerged from Karl Galinsky's *Memoria Romana* project: Galinsky (2014, 2015, 2016). For critical general discussions of the origins, development, and shifting appeal of the 'memory boom', see: Gedi and Elam (1996), Hutton (2000), Klein (2000), Cattell and Climo (2002), Berliner (2005), White (2006), and Bond et al. (2017).

[20] For example, Sijpesteijn (1974), Pollini (1984), and Pallier and Sablayrolles (1994).

[21] Eck et al. (1996), Damon and Takács (1999), and de Castro-Camero (2000).

about the meaning and precedents of these punishments, as well as their intended effects.[22]

When the major works on Roman attitudes to political memory and disgrace are placed side by side, what is striking is the range of different approaches which the topic has stimulated. The work of Eric Varner has centred on mutilated and reworked portraiture and sculpture, and related issues of image and body destruction.[23] Harriet Flower's seminal *The Art of Forgetting*, which focuses on the Republican and early Imperial periods, contemplates the manipulation of political memory in a broader sense, as an aspect of Roman 'memory space', encompassing not just portraits, dedications, inscriptions, and monuments, but also rituals, oral traditions, and written texts.[24] Charles W. Hedrick's *History and Silence* represents another kind of approach. Hedrick used a single inscription from the end of the fourth century, honouring the condemned and then rehabilitated senator Virius Nicomachus Flavianus, as a springboard into a variety of discussions on issues such as the character of paganism in late antique Rome and the commemorative functions of editing. His fourth chapter, 'Remembering to Forget', draws upon the works of social theorists such as Jan Assmann and Paul Connerton, which have been fundamental to the wider academic 'memory boom'. Using modern examples of the manipulation of collective memory as points of reference, Hedrick highlights the dangers inherent in bringing the same expectations to ancient practices, especially for how systematically measures were applied.[25] He makes a compelling argument that, in the Roman context, it was the intention that actions disgracing individuals should be incomplete, since they gained their symbolic force from the visibility of their implementation.

Despite these important contributions to our understanding of Roman political disgrace, certain myths of *damnatio memoriae* persist. Three misconceptions are widespread in scholarship. First, that it was possible to declare or impose 'the' or 'a' *damnatio memoriae*, as though it was

[22] Kajava (1995), Eck et al. (1996), and Griffin (1997); the *American Journal of Philology* special edition on the document, ed. Potter (1999), especially Bodel and Flower.

[23] Varner (2000a, 2004). For related work on *spolia*, see especially Kinney (1997), Elsner (2000), Galinsky (2008).

[24] Flower (2006: 276) 'The Romans, especially those who wrote history, saw memory (*memoria*) as if it were a discrete space, filled with monuments, inscriptions, portraits, written accounts, and other testimonials to the life of Roman citizens.'

[25] Hedrick (2000: 92).

a standard or customary legal procedure.[26] Second, that measures were implemented in a methodical or systematic manner, when a holistic review of the surviving evidence demonstrates that generally only a fraction of material was ever affected.[27] Third, and most pervasive, is the idea that such measures were designed to forcefully and completely erase a victim from collective consciousness, to make them 'disappeared' like an eliminated opponent of a totalitarian regime, or an 'unperson' such as in George Orwell's novel *1984*.[28] Outside of Roman scholarship, *damnatio memoriae* has become a paradigm of social memory control at work, one which both foreshadowed and inspired these modern manifestations and dystopian visions.[29]

This book uses the unique conditions of the Constantinian period to offer new perspectives on these ideas of so-called *damnatio memoriae*. Drawing upon the extensive material evidence from the first half of the fourth century, above all the hundreds of inscriptions which have survived from across the Roman world, and integrating them with literary evidence, I reconstruct the political and social environment within which the actions associated with disgrace were carried out. My discussions pay close attention to temporal and regional intricacies, arguing that these practices were uneven and inconsistent across time and space, reflecting self-guided actions by individuals and communities responding to political events rather than central enforcement. Through a close examination of the subtleties of these responses in four contrasting case studies, I aim to open new avenues for our understanding of the diversities of ancient experiences of, and reactions to, wider political change.

---

[26] For example, Burgess (2008) and Lenski (2012: 70).

[27] For example, Pohlsander (1984: 101) and Varner (2004: 221 n.62) reference a small number of erased inscriptions of Crispus as evidence for systematic condemnation. See also Pollini (2006: 590–597).

[28] Barnes makes this assumption of both Crispus and Constantine II: (1993: 51; 2011: 5).

[29] See Childs (2016: 268–269) on Roman *damnatio memoriae* (misunderstood as a decree 'to erase an individual entirely from public memory and discourse') as a historical influence on Orwell's concept of 'memory-holes'.

Terminology

Harriet Flower is clear in her reservations against using *damnatio memoriae* and avoids it throughout her monograph, though accepts that it might be used as a convenient and familiar shorthand.[30] Some scholars have followed suit and now avoid the term, though this does not necessarily mean that they avoid falling into the traps it poses.[31] Varner and Hedrick use *damnatio memoriae* throughout their work, acknowledging its modern origin with varying degrees of explicitness.[32] It remains common in scholarship.[33]

The main issue is a lack of suitable alternatives. Hedrick suggests 'repression', 'purge', and 'anathematization', the last of which seems somewhat fitting, whilst the first two seem too evocative of the twentieth-century totalitarian models which he maintains are anachronistic.[34] Flower offers 'memory sanctions', which is well suited to her broad conception of Roman 'memory space'. Both this phrase and the framework which supports it have been highly influential, especially since they move analysis beyond erased inscriptions and pulled-down statues, and make space for discussions of the generative as well as destructive qualities of such processes.[35] However, it is not without flaws, since the word 'sanctions' carries implications of official authorisation and fixed legal procedures.

It has been suggested that the pervasiveness of *damnatio memoriae* means that we can never discard the label, despite the sometimes reductive ways in which it is still employed.[36] In this book, I only use it when addressing the arguments of others, and especially in cases where the

[30] Flower (2006: xix; see also 1998: 155–156).

[31] Barnes, having previously used the phrase (e.g. 1981: 41), now avoids it. However, his new terms of reference continue to make the same assumptions that Flower's rejection of *damnatio memoriae* sought to avoid (e.g. 2011: 5: '[Constantine II] suffered *abolitio memoriae* and officially became, like Crispus, an unperson for a decade or more').

[32] See Flower (2001–2002: 208) for a critique of Hedrick's use of the term ('he tends to talk in terms of "the" *damnatio memoriae* as if it were a system of standard penalties'). See Stewart (1999: 161) for an approval of the term (in reference to the edict against Eutropius, *Cod. Theod.* 9.40.17) as 'well suited to this kind of socio-legal annihilation'.

[33] For example, Krüpe (2011), Crespo Pérez (2014), and Östenberg (2019).

[34] Hedrick (2000: 93).

[35] For example, Omissi (2016).

[36] Omissi (2016: 170; 2018: 37).

anachronisms the phrase engenders are particularly apparent. I also avoid 'memory sanctions' because, in the period on which this book focuses, the senate of Rome had long been obsolete as a body for deciding the posthumous commemoration of emperors, and the reliability of literary sources which claim that emperors personally ordered such measures is questionable.[37] Though the policies and ideologies crafted and communicated by emperors and their courts were of paramount importance in deciding the treatment of the legacies of imperial rivals, this book seeks to create a distinction between these centralised messages and the ways in which they were—or, in many cases, were not—implemented by different actors across the empire.

The *Fashioning Disgrace* of this book's title refers to the collective and communal process whereby a once-honoured political figure was transformed into a disgraced figure. Physical evidence is central to this. Unavoidably, my analysis focuses on the objects and monuments which have happened to survive the passage of time, though I recognise the roles which now-lost material might have played. When, in my analysis, I speak of the 'physical manifestations' of an individual's political identity, his 'material presence' or 'political memory', I mean aspects which existed *because* of this individual's status, *because* he was an emperor. The image and name of an emperor were present in a variety of media, well beyond the portraits, statues, or statue bases that now draw the most attention. All of these media and behaviours, such as the issuing of coinage or the practice of inscribing an emperor's name as a consular date, were intrinsically associated with the emperor's authority: their use constituted the recognition of his legitimacy, in regions both inside and outside of his direct sphere of control.[38] These physical aspects of imperial identity could then be targeted as a potent way of rejecting this emperor and the status which he had held, thus reversing his honoured position, and retrospectively nullifying the relationships and alliances which he had formed with his former co-rulers. In particular, actions taken against the imperial name as it appeared on various kinds of inscription are a key focus in this book.

[37] MacCormack (1981: 107–109) and Humphries (2015: 151–152).

[38] See Noreña (2011: 300–324) and Hekster (2015: 1–2, 30–38) for recent discussions of the ideological construct of Roman emperorship, and the different media and agents involved.

Discourses of Disgrace

The example with which I began this introduction, in which the orator Nazarius gives his account of Maxentius' destruction of Constantine's images, illustrates a central theme of this book, namely the ways in which the literary evidence for iconoclasm and related practices fail to correspond with the surviving material evidence. There has been a tendency in modern scholarship to focus on literary accounts of these acts of destruction and then use selective examples of surviving physical evidence, such as damaged statues or erased inscriptions, to reinforce and confirm their content.[39] Whilst written accounts might refer to the wholesale, empire-wide destruction of an individual's images and other dedications, material evidence—particularly epigraphic evidence—tells a different story, where the majority of the physical traces of an emperor's political memory survived the 'campaign' unscathed.

I do not seek to disregard literary accounts, but to give weight to the circumstances in which these narratives were created. The destruction and disgrace inflicted on imperial victims was an *imagined* process as much as it was a tangible one, and this reality should be acknowledged from the outset. As we have already seen in the case of Nazarius' panegyric, authors had their own political, moral, religious, or aesthetic reasons for mentioning—or, equally, not mentioning—these practices. Moreover, such accounts are rarely eye-witness reports, but instead formed part of wider narrative discourses which drew upon literary conventions, imagination, and as we will see in the case of Christian writers, a certain level of wishful thinking. Ultimately, the writers who engaged in these discourses, envisioning how these long-established methods of inflicting dishonour could play out in their own or past environments, were constructing their own monuments of disgrace. This does not mean that we should expect to find them replicated in the archaeological record. My discussion explores the gap between this rhetoric and reality, and what it means for our understanding of Roman notions of political dishonour.

---

[39] See, for example, Varner (2004) on iconoclasm narratives in the cases of Vitellius (108–110), Domitian (112–125) and Maximinus Daia (220–221). For criticism of his approach, see, e.g., Machado (2007: 342–345).

Agency in Iconoclasm Discourses

Physical traces left on an object and the archaeological context of its discovery can reveal clues as to who might have carried out attacks. They might, for example, give some indication of the intentions behind such modifications: was it a careful and premeditated erasure, requiring time and skill, or a violent and perhaps impulsive assault? Parallels have been drawn between the find-spots of mutilated statues in sewers, latrines, cisterns, and rivers, and literary accounts of the posthumous desecration and deposition of the bodies of some fallen emperors.[40] Nevertheless, archaeological clues such as these are few and far between, and most evidence reveals little about the political and cultural framework of such attacks, or the motivations which lay behind them.[41] Literary evidence has an important role to play in supplementing these gaps in our understanding, particularly in furnishing possible answers to key questions, such as who might have ordered such attacks, or who was considered responsible for carrying them out.

Two distinct themes can be detected in literary accounts of political iconoclasm: image-destruction which takes place as the result of a command from an authority (either the Senate or the emperor), and that which is the result of sporadic mob violence.[42] In practice, however, this division was blurred. As we will see in due course, in the case of legal evidence there was a considerable gap between intention and actual implementation, and it was recognised that centralised commands could be ineffective. Moreover, literary accounts often present mobs as the instruments which enforced centrally-decided policies. As Bats has pointed out, it is rare that ancient authors describe the formal mechanics or procedures behind such orders in any detail, focusing instead on aspects such as the humiliation brought about by the destruction or mockery of his statues.[43]

---

[40] For the discovery of a head of Diadumenian in the latrine of the *vigilies* in Ostia, see Stewart (2003: 271), and Varner (2004: 107–108). For the treatment of the bodies of *noxii*, see Kyle (1998: 131–133) and Varner (2005) for its relation to statue abuse in the Roman context, and May (2012: 18) for the parallels with corporal punishment in Near Eastern precedents.

[41] See Stewart (2003: 278).

[42] See Stewart (1999: 168; 2003: 278–279), for what he calls 'the myth of mindless violence', a literary trope wherein iconoclasm is presented as a result of sporadic mob outbursts.

[43] Bats (2003: 281).

For example, Lactantius, in his narrative of the destruction of Maximian's honorific images, specifies that these measures were taking place 'at the order of Constantine' (*Constantini iussu*, *De mort. pers.* 42.1), but reveals nothing of who was actually executing this order, or where it was being implemented.

This ambiguity is typical of the literary accounts from the period under discussion, which tend to focus on the dramatic consequences of disgrace, favouring general statements of systematic obliteration over descriptions of specific examples of iconoclasm. Lactantius asserts that, as a result of Constantine's order, Maximian's portraits were pulled down 'everywhere' (*ubicumque*), omitting mention of the fact that the emperor only had direct control over Britain, Gaul, and Spain at this time. Likewise, Eusebius claims that Maximinus Daia's portraits were destroyed 'in every city' (κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν, *Hist. eccl.* 9.11). Ancient authors also tended to focus on the destruction of portraits and statues as the manifestations of political memory that were most charismatic, as well as most intimately connected to the faces and bodies of those they represented.[44] The removal, relocation, warehousing, or careful recarving of statues, all of which were very common in Late Antiquity, rarely get a mention.[45] Less dramatic actions taken against epigraphic dedications—the key form of evidence used in this book—also tend to be passed over in these accounts.

Ancient writers are frequently cryptic about who initiated such attacks or who precisely was responsible for carrying them out. They tend to use passive verbs, describing the action of tearing down images or statues without indicating who was actually doing it.[46] This lack of specification creates the impression that these are the deeds of an abstract general public, a manifestation of the people's hatred towards the fallen ruler. Consequently, accounts of these practices in the fourth century should not be seen in isolation, but as part of a much longer discourse which

[44] See Kajava (1995: 202–203) and Stewart (1999: 162).

[45] An exception is Lactantius' account of the iconoclasm inflicted on Diocletian and Maximian in *De mort. pers.* 42.1, where he claims their images were 'taken down' or 'removed' (*deponere*). However, he also uses verbs which imply more aggressive actions, such as 'dragged down' (*detrahere*) or 'torn down' (*revellere*). For statues as valuable civic assets, which tended to be relocated and recycled, processes carefully controlled by local authorities, see Curran (1994: 46–58), Smith (2007), and Leone (2013: 139–144).

[46] For example, *detrahebantur*, *deponebantur*, *revellebantur* in Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 42.1; ῥιπτούμεναι, συνετρίβοντο in Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 9.11.2.

linked these disgrace-inducing activities to tyrannical and failed regimes. For example, Eusebius' vivid account of the destruction of Maximinus Daia's portraits, where the mob pulls down, smashes, defaces, and mocks his images, has literary parallels from earlier in the Principate. In his panegyric to Trajan, Pliny the Younger described the Roman public gleefully participating in the wholesale destruction of Domitian's portraits, smashing the deposed emperor's likenesses as though they were inflicting damage and pain on the emperor himself (Plin. *Pan.* 53.4.11). The fact that in both cases these descriptions of body and effigy destruction form part of accounts which champion the victims' successors should immediately raise suspicions about their accuracy. This is compounded by the fact that there is little archaeological evidence that Domitian's portraits were intentionally mutilated. More often they appear to have been warehoused or carefully recarved into images of other emperors.[47]

We need to differentiate clearly between political iconoclasm as a historical occurrence and political iconoclasm as an imagined process. Take, for example, the so-called Riot of the Statues of 387, where the imposition of a new tax levy in Antioch resulted in an outbreak of urban violence where the images of the emperor Theodosius I and his family were torn down, dragged, and abused. The event and its consequences were widely discussed at the time, including by John Chrysostom and Libanius, both eyewitnesses with different agendas and perspectives.[48] By contrast, we have the panegyric of 321, in which Nazarius accuses Maxentius of having attacked the portraits of Constantine. In this case, the orator was delivering a speech in praise of the emperor who had defeated Maxentius, and uses this allegation to reinforce a portrait of Maxentius as a ruler who had been prone to outbursts of uncontrollable rage, who had exhibited impiety and disrespect to his imperial colleagues, and who therefore deserved to be deposed.[49] This finds parallels in other accounts, such as Lactantius' description of the emperor Galerius' *furor* (rage) when sent the *imago* of the newly-elevated Constantine. Lactantius envisages a scenario where Galerius was so enraged by this gesture that he almost

---

[47] Portraits of Domitian tended to be recarved into his successors, Nerva and Trajan, or his predecessor, Titus: Varner (2004: 113). See Kelly (2015: 228–229) for the impact of Pliny's background on this narrative of communal suffering and vengeance in the wake of Domitian's defeat.

[48] See Chrys. *De stat.* and Lib. *Or.* 19.

[49] See Laudani (2014: 181–183).

burned the portrait, along with the man who had brought it (25.1–2). Neither Nazarius nor Lactantius are describing historical episodes. They are generating literary constructions, a decade or more after the event, designed to legitimise Constantine by presenting him as a victim, and his former colleagues as unworthy to have shared imperial office with him.

This characterisation of the unfit emperor, unable to control his passions and, as a consequence, carrying out acts of irrational ferocity against the political memory of a rival, finds resonance with earlier traditions. The most conspicuous example is the campaign that Cassius Dio claims Caracalla inflicted on his own brother Geta, including venting his anger on the stones which had held the dead emperor's statues and melting down any coin which held his image.[50] The prevalence of such instances of political disgrace in both the literary and the material record of the Severan period provides a valuable background against which the fourth-century material of this book can be evaluated.[51] For example, in terms of agency, literary accounts of such campaigns often present the emperor as the instigator and the army, particularly the Praetorians in Rome, as both the principal audience for declarations of a rival's disgrace and the instrument of the subsequent attack.[52] It has been argued that the physical evidence for Geta's disgrace throughout the empire, which is unprecedented in its thoroughness, indicates the involvement of soldiers.[53] Not only is this reflected in the practical reach of the campaign's implementation, it also aligns with literary evidence which indicates the military's deep-seated engagement with the ideology of Geta as a disgraced figure, whose state of dishonour was intrinsically linked to the survival and well-being of the ruling emperor, Caracalla.

Evidently, careful attention needs to be paid to the circumstances surrounding such literary accounts of iconoclasm and political disgrace.

---

[50] Dio 78.12.6. See also Herodian 4.4–6, and SHA *M. Ant.* 3.5.

[51] Krüpe (2011) provides an especially comprehensive study of the condemnation of Geta against the backdrop of earlier practices.

[52] Immediately after his assassination of Geta, Caracalla is said to have gone directly to the camp of the Praetorian guards to give his account and secure their support, and secured the backing of the Senate only afterwards (Herodian 4.4.4–5; Dio 78.3; SHA *M. Ant.* 2). Also see the *Historia Augusta*'s description of Elagabalus sending men to smear mud on his young rival Alexander Severus' statue bases in the Praetorian Camp (SHA *Heliogab.* 13).

[53] Varner (2004: 171).

Far from a faithful description of real events, such stories were often designed to fulfil wider ideological or narrative purposes within an author's work. As we will now see, nowhere is this more applicable than in the case of Christian discourse of the early fourth century.

Political Disgrace in Christian Discourse

Lactantius' *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* and Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* and *Life of Constantine* provide the most contemporary and extensive literary accounts of the tetrarchic and Constantinian periods. Their polemical nature is generally recognised in modern scholarship, as is the effect that this tone has had on our perception of Constantine, particularly his rise and consolidation of imperial power, his relationship with other emperors, and his attitude towards Christianity.[54] However, the impact which our reliance on these sources has had on our perception of political disgrace in the period this book examines is an issue which needs addressing.

   Both authors provide vivid accounts of the destruction of imperial images: of Diocletian in Lactantius; Maximian in Lactantius and in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* and *Life of Constantine*; and Maximinus Daia in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*.[55] Some modern commentators have used these passages as proof of historical occurrences and for the continued existence of *damnatio memoriae* in this period.[56] However, it is rare that adequate consideration is given to the ways in which these episodes were shaped by their authors' identities and intentions. The idea that material obliteration and disgrace were the God-sent punishments inflicted on emperors who had persecuted the Christians is found throughout the writings of Lactantius and Eusebius. Both engaged in these established discourses, appropriating and adapting tropes to achieve their own ideological aims in the new religious and political environment of the aftermath of the Great Persecution.

[54] See, for example, Barnes (1981; 2011: 2–6).

[55] Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 42, Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.13.15, *Vit. Const.* 1.47.1, *Hist. Eccl.* 9.11.2.

[56] For example, Barnes (1981: 41), Odahl (2010: 98), Harries (2012: 115), Lenski (2012: 68), and Killerich (2014: 64), all reference Lactantius *De mort. pers.* 42 as evidence for Constantine's *damnatio memoriae* of his father-in-law Maximian.

The *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* is Lactantius' own monument to the political disgrace which he saw operating in the past and present. Beginning his account at the dawn of imperial persecutions of the Christians, Lactantius describes a sequence of emperors who suffered various forms of posthumous dishonour: Nero who simply vanished (2.7); Domitian whose name was erased beyond memory (3.3); Decius whose body was left on the battlefield as carrion for wild beasts and birds (4.3); Valerian who was skinned and hung in a Persian temple as an enduring trophy of Roman failure (5.6). He then adds the emperors of recent years to this pattern of imperial disgrace. A prolonged and graphic description of Galerius rotting away in agony on the eve of his *vicennalia*, the twentieth anniversary of his rule (33). Maximinus Daia, whose excruciating death mirrors the tortures he had inflicted on the martyrs he created (49). The once great emperor Diocletian, who starves himself to death in his lonely retirement palace, having been the first emperor to watch, powerless, as his honorific images were torn down before his own eyes (42).

This pattern is echoed in the writings of Eusebius. His account of the public dishonour inflicted upon Maximinus Daia's statues comes directly after his description of the emperor's illness and death, where the defeated ruler's body wastes away, disintegrating whilst he is still alive until it becomes nothing more than a 'tomb for his soul' (τάφον αὐτῷ τῆς ψυχῆς, *Hist. eccl.* 9.13). So after literally—corporeally—disappearing, the final shame for Maximinus is the posthumous destruction of all his honorific images. The result is the state of total dishonour which Eusebius claims was the ultimate punishment for all imperial persecutors: 'even their names were forgotten; their portraits and tributes received deserved disgrace'.[57]

Lactantius makes his narrative intentions clear in the introduction of his pamphlet, declaring his goal to recount and publicise the fates of the persecuting emperors 'so that all who were far away and all who are yet to come will know the extent to which God revealed his virtue and majesty in the destruction and obliteration of the enemies of His name'.[58] This is an excellent example of the paradox which lies at the heart of acts

---

[57] *Hist. eccl.* 10.9.5 (after Williamson trans.): οὐδὲ μέχρις ὀνόματος μνημονευόμενοι, γραφαί τε αὐτῶν καὶ τιμαὶ τὴν ἀξίαν αἰσχύνην ἀπελάμβανον.

[58] Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 1.8 (trans. Creed): *ut omnes qui procul remoti fuerunt vel qui postea futuri sunt scirent quatenus virtutem ac maiestatem suam in extinguendis delendisque nominis sui hostibus deus ostenderit.*

which target memory and commemoration. Far from creating a state of oblivion or amnesia, Lactantius is evoking the *topos* of the reversal of fortune, illustrating how these individuals who had risen so high had themselves suffered fates worse than death for their crimes against the Christians.[59] The grisly ends suffered by these persecuting emperors are the ironic reversal of the war which they had waged against the church: in striving to destroy (*extinguere*) and obliterate (*delere*) all traces of Christianity, they instead created the conditions of their own destruction and obliteration. Hence Lactantius' conclusion of his pamphlet, where he triumphantly declares that God's judgement has manifested in his punishment of Diocletian and Maximian: 'truly, the Lord has obliterated them, and erased them from the earth' (*nempe delevit ea dominus et erasit de terra*, 52.3). His choice of wording is significant: *deleo*, to expunge, delete, undo; and *erado*, the verb used to describe the action of scraping or striking something away.[60] Like a name on an inscription, these emperors have literally been scraped off the face of the earth for their crimes against the church.

It is important to recognise that the worldview found in Lactantius and Eusebius was not universal. For them, imperial success or failure was defined almost exclusively by an emperor's attitude and behaviour towards Christianity.[61] Dishonour, image-destruction, and body destruction all had their parts to play in the creation and propagation of this rhetorical construction. By contrast, such themes rarely feature in non-Christian writings of the fourth century.

Central Direction and Local Action

A key characteristic of the *damnatio memoriae* myth is that the phrase describes a static or standardised legal punishment which could be deployed against emperors or other prominent individuals. In reality, there was no formal way to 'carry out a *damnatio memoriae*', 'declare' or 'proclaim a *damnatio memoriae*', 'perform *damnatio memoriae*', or

---

[59] See Stewart (1999: 180–181; 2003: 276–277).

[60] OCD § F. 1–4 508, 615.

[61] For example, Lactantius' claim that Diocletian's reign was prosperous for almost 20 years, until the moment he turned against the Christians (*De mort. pers.* 9.11). See Søby Christensen (1980: 17) and Humphries (2006: 189).

'abolish the memory' of an individual in the Roman world.[62] Recent studies have stepped away from these definitions of *damnatio memoriae* as an official legal penalty, connected in particular with the crimes of *perduellio* or *maiestas* (treason).[63] As both Flower and Hedrick have stressed, the phrase should not be taken to indicate either a static judicial concept or the triggering of a formal procedure.[64] Rather, the penalties associated with disgrace formed a loose repertoire of measures which targeted political memory in different ways, and could be employed alone or in various combinations depending on the conditions or requirements of particular cases.

   That being said, the issuing and dissemination of imperial edicts would have played a fundamental role in communicating an individual's fall from power to the empire at large.[65] In some cases, these laws could stipulate certain measures designed to influence familial or public memorialisation. The most prominent example of this is found in the *Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre*, six bronze copies of which were discovered in the late 1980s in the region of ancient Baetica. Issued in 20 CE, this senatorial decree outlines the punishments to be inflicted on the disgraced aristocrat Piso. Among other penalties designed to target Piso's reputation and posthumous commemoration, such as a ban on the mourning of his death and the prohibition of the use of his portrait mask at family funerals, it orders that his *statuae* (statues) and *imagines* (likenesses) are to be removed from wherever they are on display.[66] A comparable

[62] For example: 'carry out': Odahl (2010: 99) (on the emperor Maximian); 'declare': McFadden (2015: 29–30) (on the emperor Maximian); 'proclaim': Burgess (2008: 42) (on the Caesar Dalmatius and Julius Constantius); 'perform': Drake (2000: 69) (on the Senate's right to enforce 'memory sanctions'); 'abolish the memory': Barnes (1993: 51–52) (on Constans and Constantius II's treatment of the legacy of their brother Constantine II).

[63] See Mustakallio (1994) for these early Roman measures against traitors, as well as the refutation (15) that they should be directly connected with later measures targeting political memory.

[64] Flower (1998: 155–156) and Hedrick (2000: 93).

[65] For the procedures of issuing and circulating legislation in the Roman empire, and factors which could affect promulgation at a local level, see Ando (2000: 109–122), Matthews (2000: 168–172), Corcoran (2000: 239–250), Rowe (2014: 229–230), and Schmidt-Hofner (2015) (esp. 71 n.116).

[66] Ban on mourning: lines 73–74. Ban on portrait mask: lines 76–82. Removal of statues and *imagines*: lines 75–76. See Bodel (1999b: 260–261) and Flower (1998: 23–31, 56–59).

example, from almost four hundred years later, can be found in a law of 399, preserved in the *Theodosian Code*, in which the emperors Arcadius and Honorius specify the penalties to be inflicted on the disgraced eunuch and former consul Eutropius. These have clear resonances with those imposed on Piso, including measures such as the confiscation of Eutropius' property, and then a long and expansive specification that all of his statues (*statuas*) and likenesses (*simulacra*), made out of any material and in both public and private places, should be removed 'lest they pollute they eyes of those who look at such images'.[67]

The *S.C. de Cn. Pisone* ends with lengthy provisions for the law's dissemination, stipulating that it should be read out publicly and inscribed in bronze, then hung in 'the most frequented city of every province and in the most frequented place of that city', as well as next to the standards (*signa*) at the heart of the legionary winter quarters.[68] These provisions illustrate the importance of—and difficulties inherent in—communicating and enforcing such instructions. It could take weeks for such an edict to reach parts of the empire. Even then, its implementation at a local level was not guaranteed, since it was dependent on the enthusiasm and diligence of local governors, or those further down the administrative hierarchy, such as municipal officers.[69]

Vittinghoff had already raised this issue of the gulf between what was instructed and the extent to which these instructions were actually enforced, particularly in the regulation of private space.[70] He argued that, although laws or literary texts might stipulate the complete eradication of traces of an individual, contemporary Romans must have been well aware that this was impossible. The intention was not to completely suppress recollection of the condemned, but to make a public and symbolic statement which reframed their memory, branding with infamy what had

---

[67] *Cod. Theod.* 9.40.17 (after Pharr trans.): *omnes statuas, omnia simulacra, tam ex aere quam ex marmore seu ex fucis quam ex quamcumque materia quae apta est effingendis, ab omnibus civitatibus oppidis locisque privatis ac publicis praecipimus aboleri, ne tamquam nota nostri saeculi obtutus polluat intuentum.*

[68] Lines 169–172. By contrast, the surviving excerpt of the Eutropius law contains no provisions for its dissemination, though it was likely this was cut when the law was incorporated into the *Theodosian Code*. See Matthews (2000: 168) and Schmidt-Hofner (2015: 71–72) for the abbreviation of laws when they were compiled in the *Code*.

[69] Almost all known copies of the *S. C. de Cn. Pisone* were set up by the governor of Baetica: Eck et al. (1996: 190–191) and Flower (1998: 157; 2000: 60).

[70] Vittinghoff (1936: 23–33).

formerly been honoured and respected, and making their disgrace serve as a warning against similar transgressions.[71] The convoluted and venomous language of the edict condemning Eutropius, especially the use of terms that denoted impurity or disease (*sordes*, 'filthy'; *contagione foedans*, 'polluting by contact'), illustrates that this law was not concerned with the literal erasing of Eutropius, but instead with publicising the extent and nature of his political disgrace.[72] Both the Eutropius and Piso edicts were declarations of the emperors' and Senate's authority to regulate the legacies of prominent individuals. When interpreting the material evidence for such attacks, it is crucial to bear in mind that the actual implementation of these laws was of secondary importance to the statement made by their pronouncement.[73]

No law stipulating penalties targeting the name, images, or remembrance of an individual survives from the period examined in this book. However, of the thirteen laws preserved in the *Theodosian Code* which abolish the legislation of defeated imperial rivals (*Cod. Theod.* 15.14), five date from the first half of the fourth century, addressing the defeats of Maxentius, Licinius, and Magnentius.[74] Gathered together under the title *De infirmandis his quae sub tyrannis aut barbaris gesta sunt* ('concerning the annulment of things carried out under the tyrants and barbarians'), this group of laws was issued across a hundred years, from the defeat of Maxentius in 312 to the usurpation of Heraclianus against Honorius in 413. They address issues such as whether a defeated rival's edicts, rescripts, gifts, or administrative appointments should remain valid, and whether private civil agreements executed during this time, such as wills or slave manumissions, should be honoured. Whilst they tend to be inflexible in their invalidation of a rival's regulations, condemning them to be removed from legal records, on the whole they demonstrate an appreciation of the chaos that would ensue if all legal activities from the 'time of tyranny' (*tyrannicum tempus*) were nullified. A law of 395, issued by

[71] Bodel (1999a: 52–53), Hedrick (2000: 107–112), and Flower (2006: 9).

[72] For the use of language denoting impurity, especially in political contexts, see Lennon (2014).

[73] See Schmidt-Hofner (2015) for the argument that fourth-century imperial legislation prioritised communicative and ideological concerns over pragmatic ones.

[74] Maxentius: *Cod. Theod.* 15.14.3–4 (for the re-dating of these laws from 326 to 313, see Corcoran [1993: 99], Dillon [2012: 91–93]); Licinius: *Cod. Theod.* 15.14.1–2; Magnentius: *Cod. Theod.* 15.14.5.

Arcadius and Honorius in the aftermath of the defeat of Eugenius, illustrates this tension between rhetoric and pragmatism. The edict ends with a flourish, ordering that 'the very time of tyranny shall be considered as though it had not been' (*tempus vero ipsum, ac si non fuerit, aestimetur*, *Cod. Theod.* 15.14.9), but only after specifying at great length all the different forms of legal activities which should remain valid.

As in the case of the edicts targeting Piso and Eutropius, the proclamation and dissemination of these laws were designed to make a rhetorical statement, not to eradicate all traces of these opponents. All thirteen use the term *tyrannus* in reference to the overthrown rival. Neri has suggested that *tyrannus/* τύραννος was devised by Constantine and Licinius together during their co-emperorship as a common catchword to discredit their opponents, Maxentius and Maximinus Daia. The term then evolved over the course of the fourth century, developing a closer affinity to political illegitimacy until it came to denote a 'usurper'—someone who had illegally seized imperial power—in a narrower, more literal sense.[75] However, as Mark Humphries has argued, this distinction between a usurper/*tyrannus* and a legitimate emperor was not a question of the validity of the ruler's accession, but whoever had, through their military success, been left to define the nature of a civil conflict.[76] The use of *tyrannus* in these laws is a public declaration of this victor's prerogative, one which, as we will see particularly in the cases of Licinius and Magnentius, was mirrored and reaffirmed in other media, such as public oratory and dedicatory inscriptions. Along with related catchwords, such as 'enemy' (πολέμιος; ἐχθρός; *inimicus*; *hostis*), this terminology played a central role in repackaging emperors during and in the aftermath of their downfalls. As I argue in the case studies of this book, these catchwords surrounded these figures with an aura of disgrace. At a local level, this could then be interpreted as validation or encouragement for attacks on their political memory.

Literary accounts provide an insight into the role which imperial edicts could play in facilitating such behaviour. For example, in his narrative of the emperor Maximinus Daia's downfall at the hands of Licinius in 313, Eusebius describes Licinius and Constantine posting in the public

[75] Neri (1997: 74–75). Grünewald (1990: 64–71) has alternatively argued that it was specifically Constantine who introduced *tyrannus* as a political catchword after the defeat of Maxentius in 312. See also Barnes (1996) and Omissi (2018: 30).

[76] Humphries (2008: 85–87).

notices that Daia was 'the common enemy of all' (κοινὸς ἀπάντων πολέμιος) and a 'tyrant' (τύραννος). Though nothing is said about the law containing specifications targeting Daia's images, Eusebius claims that its posting *incited* a violent campaign of iconoclasm against the honorific dedications of both him and his children 'in every city' (κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν). Their portraits were thrown down or blackened with paint, and his statues were smashed and mocked by the crowds (*Hist. eccl.* 9.11). Accounts such as this further underscore the communal nature of political disgrace. Through their selective re-definition of the recent past, imperial edicts created the conditions to maintain the status quo of both the present and the future: the *tyrannus* was condemned in isolation, and the rest of the community conformed to and enforced this new political reality.

In the timeframe which this book covers, the most unambiguous statement linking image-destruction to the directives of an emperor comes from the *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* of the Christian apologist Lactantius. Lactantius claims that the fall of Maximian was followed by Constantine issuing a *iussus*—command or decree—which instructed that the disgraced emperor's *imagines* were to be torn down (42.1). The circumstances surrounding this episode are discussed in full in chapter two.

The Materiality of Disgrace

Roman concepts of dishonour and disgrace were centred on their physical expression, be they actions against portraits, statues, inscribed names, coins, or even the bodies of victims. The material evidence for these practices which has survived the considerable passage of time is scattered and inconsistent. Nevertheless, its analysis opens up valuable avenues for our understanding of political change as a process that was socially, culturally, and geographically dispersed and complex. Many of the forms of evidence drawn upon in this book are similar to those used in previous studies of Roman disgrace. However, modes of political commemoration had changed by the fourth century, and these developments pose new problems but also present fresh opportunities. Some sources of evidence, such as portraiture, statues, and coins, become a less useful gauge of these activities in the later empire. Nevertheless, this absence can be filled by the rich and varied epigraphic corpus.

Portraits

In his monograph investigating the effects of political disgrace on imperial portraiture, Eric Varner identifies three patterns of response: deliberate mutilation, with the portrait either being disposed of, or alternatively left on display as an enduring mark of shame; warehousing, when portraits were removed from view; and recarving, either in the immediate aftermath of an emperor's downfall or considerably later, after the portrait had remained in storage for many years.[77]

However, this approach encounters obstacles when applied to the material surviving from Late Antiquity. The many emperors of the Tetrarchy and the Constantinian dynasty were intentionally designed to be virtually indistinguishable in order to project a sense of political and dynastic unity.[78] Such portraits, now out of context and separated from their statue bases, can only be identified in general terms as representing 'a Tetrarch' or 'a Constantinian emperor'. In the absence of an inscription or label identifying a specific emperor, it must have been equally hard for ancient audiences to single out a disgraced emperor from any other. An additional factor is how prolific the recarving of portraits had become by the fourth century, so reuse cannot be interpreted as an intentional attack on the portrait's original subject.[79] As Bauer has concluded, the loss of individualism in imperial portraiture, combined with changes in attitudes to and practices of reuse, must have had a significant impact on curbing politically-motivated portrait destruction in later periods.[80] As a consequence, Licinius is this book's only case study which considers portraiture, since he is one of the only examples of an emperor in this period who sought stylistic distinction from his imperial colleague and rival, Constantine.

[77] Varner (2000a: 11–10; 2004: 2–9, 44–45, 84–85, 154–155, 198–199).

[78] See, for example, L'Orange (1984: 3–10, 40–44) for the ideology of *similitudo* in tetrarchic, Licinian, and Constantinian portraiture, and Kleiner (1992: 400–404) for the obstacles to identifying specific emperors in tetrarchic portraiture.

[79] Varner (2004) tends to identify early fourth-century sculptural reuse as ideological rather than economical (see, for example, p. 223). For recarving, see Kinney (1997), Galinsky (2008), Prusac (2011), and Witschel (2015: 334–335).

[80] Bauer (1996: 346–348) and Stewart (1999: 170).

We must also bear in mind that, though we focus on the marble sculpture that survives, this represents only a fraction of imperial representations in ancient contexts. Though marble statues were vulnerable to later reuse as building materials or to be burnt to make lime, they survive in far greater numbers than bronze statues, which tended to be melted down and are now rare survivals.[81] We know from literary sources that imperial images could be wooden statues, or images painted on panels.[82] Rare examples of such painted images survive, such as the famous tondo of the Severan family from Fayum in Egypt where Geta's face is erased, or the tetrarchic frescoes from the temple of Luxor, which are discussed in chapter two. Imperial images could be smaller objects in precious materials, which, though diminutive, could possess considerable symbolic power as the focus for demonstrations of loyalty, especially if they were used in contexts such as on military standards.[83] We know from depictions on ivory diptychs that the imperial image could also feature prominently on ceremonial consular robes, or as embellishments on furniture.[84]

Coinage

Since the creation of coins was an integral part of an emperor's authority, some have identified attacks on them as an important way of targeting a ruler's claims to legitimacy.[85] Similar to the alterations made to inscriptions, surviving examples of altered coins demonstrate a lack of definitive rules as to how such modifications could be carried out, with multiple techniques attested.[86] In general, these can be divided into official alterations, such as mints countermarking names and images, and more

[81] Coates-Stephens (2007).

[82] See, for example, Julian *Letter to a Priest* 294C, which talks of the emperor being embodied in statues in wood, stone, and bronze (τὰς βασιλικὰς εἰκόνας ξύλα καὶ λίθον καὶ χαλκὸν).

[83] See Webster (1979: 138) and Fishwick (1988: 400).

[84] For the ubiquity of the imperial image in different media, as well as its significance and the agents involved, see Ando (2000: 232–239) and Hekster (2015: 30–38).

[85] Crawford (1983: 55–56) and Varner (2000b: 45).

[86] Hostein (2004: 223).

sporadic, informal, and isolated acts of vandalism, found on a very small number of surviving examples.[87]

Some ancient accounts describe centrally organised campaigns to wipe out all traces of an emperor's coinage by recalling and melting down his issues. Cassius Dio claims that the Senate ordered this for the bronze coins of Caligula, and that, a hundred and seventy years later, Caracalla did the same to Geta as part of a comprehensive series of measures designed to obliterate his brother's physical memory.[88] There is one example of comparable behaviour from the period this book examines. Peter the Patrician, writing in the mid-sixth century but drawing upon earlier sources, claims that the emperor Licinius melted down gold victory coins of Constantine on the eve of their final conflict, an advertisement of his refusal to recognise his colleague's military successes.[89] Literary sources generally present such instances as extreme and unreasonable, driven by excessive hatred or jealousy. However, there may be truths to such claims. For example, it has been suggested that a law of Constantius II which banned larger coins was designed to take his opponent Magnentius' issues out of circulation.[90] Moreover, a meticulous study has demonstrated that, later in the fourth century, Theodosius I recalled the coinage of his rival Magnus Maximus.[91]

Though mutilated coins are not discussed in this book, numismatic evidence plays an important part in each of its four case studies. Coins provide valuable insights into the messages which imperial courts chose to communicate, and the alliances which they formed with one another.[92] During the tetrarchic period, emperors practised reciprocal minting, striking coins in the names of all emperors and thus emphasising empire-wide political unity, a practice also found in honorific inscriptions.[93] This continued during the dissolution of the Tetrarchy, though emperors

[87] Crespo Pérez (2014: 119–138).

[88] Cass. Dio. 60.22.3, 77.12.6.

[89] Peter the Patrician *ES* 187, F 298 (Summer 323 CE), Banchich (2015: 143). For further discussion of the significance of this passage in the context of time and other references to coin-mutilation, see Wienand (2012: 342–350).

[90] *Cod. Theod.* 9.23.1, Abdy (2012: 596–597).

[91] Baldus (1984) and Leppin (2003: 112).

[92] For coinage and imperial agency, see Rowan (2012: 19–31) and Noreña (2011: 22–23).

[93] Rees (2004: 73).

could deviate from this custom, using coin-minting as a way of severing links with a rival or even rejecting his authority altogether. As will be demonstrated particularly in the cases of Licinius and Magnentius, coin iconography and minting patterns can be used to trace the ebbs and flows of this recognition and repudiation.

The Power of the Imperial Name

Our modern perceptions of iconoclasm find their roots in the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and before that the eighth-century Byzantine controversy from which the term 'the breaking of images' derives; as a consequence, it has been argued that we tend to accord images greater power and significance than written or inscribed words or names.[94] As we have seen, ancient literary accounts of the measures associated with political disgrace likewise tend to focus on portraits, statues, and images. In the Roman world, both religiously- and politically-motivated iconoclasm depended on sculptures and images being more than simple objects, since these representations were seen to embody the *numen*—divine essence—of what they represented, whether a ruler or a god.[95] As in Near Eastern cultures, these images were intrinsically connected to their prototype, to the extent that any hostility inflicted on an image was seen to carry over to the represented individual: 'a kind of magical transference', as David Freedberg has described it in his broad study of iconoclasm.[96]

This is a conspicuous feature of literary accounts of iconoclasm, such as Pliny the Younger's description of the destruction of Domitian's portraits, which is presented as an act of communal surrogate corpse abuse: they were struck 'as if blood and pain would follow every blow' (*ut si singulos ictus sanguis dolorque sequeretur*: Plin. *Pan*. 52.4).[97] In the empire, the maltreatment of, or misbehaviour in the vicinity of, imperial images could

[94] May (2012: 3).

[95] For the destruction of images of deities in Late Antiquity and their relationship to political iconoclasm, see Stewart (1999: 178; 2003: 296), Hannestad (1999: 183–184), Sauer (2003), Trombley (2008), and Kristensen (2009, 2010, 2013, 2015).

[96] Freedberg (1989: 392).

[97] See Varner (2004: 2–4; 2005).

be seen as a treasonable offence.[98] Aggression inflicted on an emperor's representations could be taken literally as an assault on the emperor himself. Hence Theodosius' harsh response to the attacks on his *imagines* at Antioch, which John Chrysostom and Libanius attempted to temper, passing them off as the result of daemonic intervention and collective madness.[99]

Though obviously less connected with the human body, the name of a ruler also embodied his *numen*.[100] Studies of Near Eastern practices of iconoclasm have emphasised how, in ancient contexts in which writing was a relatively new and elite phenomenon and thus intrinsically connected with power and authority, attacks on names could be just as—if not more—potent than attacks on images.[101] Naming, in particular the *inscribing* of names, played a central role in Roman culture, defining and performing familial, social, religious, and political identities. For example, examinations of Roman practices of magic have demonstrated the important roles which an individual's name played in facilitating actions such as curses, enabling the same kind of 'magical transference' as attacks on an individual's image.[102]

The measures associated with political disgrace underline that an individual's name was commensurate with his identity, and therefore vulnerable to censorship or attack.[103] For example, along with other penalties targeting remembrance, the *S.C. de Cn. Pisone* stipulates that Piso's eldest son should change his *praenomen* from that of his disgraced father, and that Piso's *nomen* should be removed from the inscribed base of a statue of Germanicus in the Campus Martius in Rome. Literary accounts of political disgrace similarly underline this link between the removal of an emperor's name from inscriptions and the obliteration

[98] For example, Suet. *Tib.* 58; SHA *Caracalla* 5.7; *Digesti Iustiniani* 58.44. See Stewart (1999: 159, 168), Elsner (1998: 56–58), Varner (2005: 67–68), and Prusac (2014: 41–42).

[99] Lib. *Or.* 19.29; Chrys. *De stat.* 21.3. See French (1998: 472–473) for the use of malevolent daemons as a rhetorical device in this context.

[100] See Stewart (1999: 165) for the association between *nomina* and *imagines* in Roman culture.

[101] May (2012: 4–5). See also Varner (2004: 8), Goodnick Westenholz (2012: 89–90), and Ritner (2012: 395).

[102] Beard (1991: 46–48) and Varner (2004: 8).

[103] Vittinghoff (1936: 19) and Flower (2000: 58).

of his political and personal legacy. In the case of Domitian, Lactantius makes the claim that 'even the memory of his name was erased' (*etiam memoriae nominis eius erasa sunt*, 3.2). He explains that this was due to the severity of the Senate's campaign against the disgraced emperor's *nomen*: they had reaped their vengeance on inscriptions (*tituli*) bearing his name so that no traces survived, thus wiping Domitian from the monumental landscape of Rome.

The imperial name as it appeared on inscriptions was seen to possess an associative power akin to that of imperial *imagines* as the embodiment of the emperor's or empresses' office and identity. Accordingly, assaults inflicted on imperial titles and names through attacks and erasures inflicted on pre-existing inscriptions were a key method by which a ruler's shift from honoured to dishonoured could be marked. In the timeframe which this book examines, such attacks are the most extensive body of surviving material for tracing the effects of political disgrace. Consequently, epigraphy forms the evidential backbone of the four case studies examined in this book.

Erasing Inscriptions

The tendency of ancient literary sources to focus on image abuse, combined with the seemingly insurmountable quantity and geographical extent of surviving inscriptions, has limited the interpretative possibilities of epigraphic evidence. This is compounded by the fact that many catalogues, particularly older volumes, do not consistently record whether inscriptions have been erased. This modern impulse to restore material, or record it how it was originally 'intended', is also a common barrier to our understanding of mutilated portraiture.[104] It overlooks the fact that these modifications are a crucial aspect of the object's story. When erasures are recorded, the method used, or effect this created, is not always specified. The manner of erasure—for example: is the name still legible? How much skill was involved in its removal?—can provide important clues as to the motivations behind such measures, or the individuals who carried them out. The prevalence of online epigraphic databases with photographs has gone a long way to remedying this issue, though it can still be a challenge to capture details such as the surface textures left by alterations.

---

[104] Varner (2000a: 15).

There are many unanswered questions concerning practices of erasing and altering texts. An obvious issue is the differentiation between ancient motivations for modifying texts, which were not only carried out as a result of political disgrace, but also for reasons of economy, to recycle material, or to make corrections.[105] The new appreciation of ancient attitudes towards reuse has demonstrated the importance of understanding the afterlife of monuments. Rather than simply being erected and ignored, dedications could be actively re-evaluated and changed over time.[106] In the case of imperial dedications, they could be adapted to fit rapidly changing political circumstances, sometimes on multiple occasions. Such modifications could be positive. Examples survive from the period this book examines where an emperor has been 'upgraded' on a pre-existing dedication, such as changing his title from 'Caesar' to 'Augustus' after he had risen to the senior imperial office.[107] However, by far, the most common form of modification was negative: erasures or attacks designed to assault a ruler's name, and therefore his identity and *numen*, and to negate the position of authority and respect which the original inscription claimed he held.

This practice epitomised the contradictions which were inherent in measures targeting political memorialisation, since the removal of the disgraced individual's name drew more attention to it through visible mutilation or absence.[108] Materiality and context were central to this, since the erased text might remain in its original environment, actively shaping the understanding and opinions of viewers.[109] It is possible that some dedications were removed from view, turned around or even

---

[105] Susini (1973) and Edmonson (2014: 125–126). For the practice of reusing bases in Late Antiquity, see Machado (2017). For the role of erasure in the reuse of pagan material in Christian contexts, see Sitz (2019).

[106] See Cooley (2000a, b).

[107] For example, a milestone from Mylassa (Milas) in Caria, where Constantine's three sons were upgraded from 'Caesar' to 'Augustus' after their father's death by erasing and replacing these words: French (2014a) no. 111B. See also *AE* 2006.1570 b-c, where the last line and a half of a Syrian milestone dedication to Constantine as Augustus and Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans as Caesars was erased. Julian as Augustus was then inserted at the bottom, thus creating a composite imperial college which never actually existed.

[108] Flower (2000: 131) and Hedrick (2000: 113–114).

[109] Östenberg (2019: 332–333).

completely destroyed in order to make an individual's presence disappear,[110] but an erasure created a different effect. In most cases, it left a visible scar on an inscription's surface which would be understood as a symbolic blot of infamy.[111] A handful of inscriptions survive from the period this book examines where an emperor's name has been erased so thoroughly that we cannot say for certain who was honoured, though the identity is more likely to have been known by ancient viewers who were familiar with the original dedication.[112] However, the fact that the majority of such names are still legible over one and a half thousand years after they were altered, or can be identified with relative ease from an inscription's context, is a testament to how such modifications were not concerned with forgetting but with advertising the victim's dishonoured status.

We cannot know for certain who was responsible for carrying out such attacks, though a close examination of the methods used can shed some light.[113] The surviving evidence demonstrates a wide variety of techniques, from the rough or smooth removal of the stone's surface, to vandalising, where lines or gouges were struck across the offending letters, to incisions which blurred the outline of texts, to meticulously executed erasures, where the remaining inscription was carefully modified in order to make the intervention appear as seamless as physically possible. Each approach would have created a distinctive effect in the context of its execution, as well as requiring differing levels of time, effort, resources, and skill.

[110] There are a number of alterations which are very difficult to trace archaeologically, such as the use of pigments or plaster to erase or modify texts, or the smearing of dirt of excrement over an emperor's name (see SHA *Elegab.* 14). Likewise, Kristensen (2015: 672) draws attention to Suetonius' description of abusive placards being placed over images of Nero (*Ner.* 45.2). See Kajava (1995: 209–210) and Flower (2000: 60–61) for the possibility that inscriptions might be turned away from view rather than attacked.

[111] Kajava (1995: 202), Bodel (1999a: 23), Flower (2000: 59), Hedrick (2000: 110), and Elsner (2003: 211).

[112] The style of lettering and formulae used can help date such inscriptions in a broad sense, and surviving letters, particularly any *praenomina* or victory titles, can narrow down the options. See, for example, a base from Iasos in Caria where the surviving *praenomen* 'ΟΥ' could indicate either Maximian, Licinius, or Galerius (LSA-515). A fragmentary base from Demetrias in Thessalia presents more extensive options, since it could have honoured any emperor of the late second to fourth centuries with the victory title 'Sarmaticus' (*SEG*-37.462).

[113] Kajava (1995: 210), Stewart (1999: 163), and Flower (2000: 60–69).

Targeting an emperor would have also called for only a relatively basic grasp of literacy, since both Latin and Greek inscriptions tended to be formulaic, and imperial names and titles were generally the most prominent and easily identifiable parts of an inscription, usually featured first, and in some cases differentiated by colour.[114] Since a political system with multiple rulers was a characteristic feature of the later empire, it is common for inscribed dedications from this time to honour imperial groupings which consist of two, three, four, or even five or six honorands. This created a scenario where one, two, or occasionally three or four, imperial names have been erased, but the other names left untouched, leaving the disgraced name juxtaposed against those of the still-honoured emperors. This phenomenon further underlines the potential of late antique material for opening new angles in our understanding of these practices.

A number of chronological, geographical, and practical trends can be identified in epigraphical erasures. Crespo Pérez, who has surveyed all published Latin and Greek inscriptions which exhibit politically-motivated erasures, revealed a spike of activity under the Severan dynasty, which corresponds to a peak in general epigraphic habit.[115] The early fourth century represents the second highest quantity of epigraphic erasures. Crespo Pérez has also identified regional variations which remain constant from the first to fourth centuries, such as comparatively higher instances in Italy and Africa, and lower rates in eastern provinces.[116] The function and context of an inscription certainly played an important role in whether or not it was erased. The erasure of an emperor's name on a building dedication was different from, for example, its erasure on a dedication in a religious sanctuary, or a milestone besides a road outside a city.[117] Those set up in recent memory were generally most vulnerable. The erasure of imperial names where they appear as part of consular dating formulas is

---

[114] See, for example, the painting of imperial names in yellow and other letters in red on a tetrarchic monument in the military camp at Thebes: Lacau (1934: 25). See Edmonson (2014: 126–127) for the painting and gilding of letters to enhance visibility.

[115] Crespo Pérez (2014: Chapter 5). Varner (2004: 198) has likewise identified this time as a peak in statue mutilation. See MacMullen (1982) for shifts in epigraphic habit over time.

[116] Crespo Pérez (2014: 54–59).

[117] Benoist (2003: 234).

rare, particularly on tomb epitaphs.[118] Of the four case studies examined in this book, the proportion of inscriptions where an individual's name has been erased ranges from just over a quarter at the highest, to less than ten per cent at the lowest.

Milestones

Milestones—the typically columnar stones which, by definition, marked every mile of each major road of the empire—have sometimes been overlooked in favour of other forms of epigraphic dedication. An obvious explanation for this is aesthetics, as they tend to be more crudely executed than other inscriptions, coupled with the formulaic nature of their content. Another reason is that they tend to survive in poor or fragmentary conditions, since their position in between settlements has left them at a greater risk of reuse, damage, and destruction.[119] However, in recent years, there has been rise in academic interest in milestones, both in the considerable task of collating and mapping their location in different regions, and in appreciating their historical value as expressions of imperial ideology.[120]

Milestones are an important source in this book, since they represent a significant proportion of the surviving epigraphic evidence in both Greek and Latin for fourth-century emperors: from sixty-five per cent in the case of Maximian to eighty per cent in the case of Magnentius. The late third and early fourth centuries mark the apex of milestone production, with more surviving from the tetrarchic period than any other era of Roman history.[121] Originally practical objects which marked distance and direction between settlements, from the early imperial period they started to be used to commemorate building or repair work undertaken by an emperor. By the late third century, milestones generally served as honorific dedications with imperial names in the dative, expressions of imperial legitimacy and territorial control. Their erection has been identified as marking the presence of an emperor in a region, or celebrating his

---

[118] See Carroll (2011) for the taboo of vandalising funerary monuments.

[119] Keppie (1991: 165).

[120] See, for example, David French's extensive work on the roads of Asia Minor. The resulting catalogues have been indispensable for this book: (2012a, b, 2013, 2014a, b, c).

[121] Kolb (2001: 139) and Laurence (2004: 48–49).

accession as a vote of loyalty, or commemorating imperial anniversaries.[122] Campaigns of milestone production provide valuable evidence for political partnerships whose significance might be overlooked with the benefit of hindsight, such as the treaty between Constantine and Maximian in Gaul in 307 (examined in chapter two), or the reinforced alliance between Constantine and Licinius in 317 (discussed in chapter three).

Imperial names were erased on milestones, though the proportion is notably lower than other forms of epigraphic dedication.[123] The reason for this is not entirely clear, though it could be explained by their comparative lack of prominence, or their position outside of urban centres. Another important consideration is their different patterns of reuse. It was extremely common for milestones to be inscribed with new dedications which could overlap older ones, sometimes multiple times, resulting in erasures and palimpsests which cannot be attributed to political attacks.[124] Despite these complexities, this book emphasises their potential as sources to trace reactions to political change in environments outside of cities.

A Note on Epigraphic Methodology

Each of this book's four case studies is supported by an index of epigraphic material, compiled using three online databases, the *Clauss-Slaby Epigraphik-Datenbank*, the Packard Humanities Institute's *Searchable Greek Inscriptions*, and the database created in 2012 as a result of Oxford University's *Last Statues of Antiquity* project, directed by R. R. R. Smith and Bryan Ward-Perkins.[125] These online resources were supplemented by a variety of epigraphic publications, such as the journals *L'Année épigraphique* (*AE*) and *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*

---

[122] Chastagnol (1988: 13–26), Salama (1992: 137–159), Witschel (2002), Laurence (2004: 45–47), Kolb (2001; 2014: 657–658), Benoist (2007: 85), Dey (2012: 300–303), Cooley (2012: 48–49, 160–165).

[123] The proportion varies from case to case. The survey data for Licinius shows that 22% of milestones with dedications including the emperor and his son were erased (41 of 187), in comparison with 40% of other dedications (24 of 60). In the case of Crispus, 12% of milestones holding his name have been erased (13 of 110), in comparison with 32% of other inscriptions (11 of 34). This book identifies some isolated clusters with very high proportions of erasures, such as Maximian in southern Gaul and Licinius in Anatolia.

[124] Keppie (1991: 65), Benoist (2007: 76–77), and Cooley (2012: 165).

[125] For digital epigraphic resources, especially issues of scattered and duplicated material across different project, see Feraudi-Gruénais (2010: 1) and Elliott (2014).

(*SEG*), as well as a range of more geographically focused catalogues and articles. In order to aid the reader's navigation of the large volume of evidence drawn upon in the first three case studies, the material is tabulated in appendices at the end of the book. In the interests of space, only erased inscriptions are included.

In each case study, I separate milestones from other forms of dedications because their high volume and lower erasure rate can distort the data significantly. This creates a second group which includes all other forms of dedication, including statue bases, building inscriptions, plaques, inscribed edicts, and altars, and also a small number of bronze documents such as military diplomas. I divide all these inscriptions into three categories: unerased, erased, and uncertain, the last of which acknowledges the considerable quantity of inscriptions where, due to their fragmentary state, it is now impossible to conclusively say whether an emperor's name has been attacked or left untouched. Latin, Greek, and some bilingual inscriptions are included, though it should be noted that Greek texts account for a comparatively small proportion of the material in this period. This reflects their confinement to Greek-speaking areas such as the Balkans, Greece, Asia Minor, and the Near East, as well as wider shifts in epigraphic habit from the Diocletianic reforms of the late third century onwards, leading to a rise of Latin inscriptions in regions where Greek was the most common language.[126]

The purpose of these indexes is not to provide an exhaustive catalogue of all surviving inscriptions where the individual in question appears, but rather to gain a greater understanding of the phenomenon of epigraphic erasure in the broadest possible sense, including the numbers involved and their geographical distribution. This approach allows a discussion of regional variations in treatment, as well as illustrating the large quantity of unerased material. Following this broader overview, I subject the erased inscriptions to a closer examination, supported by the appendices which provide additional details, such as the nature and function of inscriptions, their provincial and urban contexts, and the erasure techniques employed.

---

[126] See Beltrán Lloris (2014: 137) for regional concentrations in Latin epigraphy, and Van Dam (2007: 184–194) for the rise of Latin use from the tetrarchic period onwards.

References

Online Resource

Davis Hanson, V. (2017). 'Our War Against Memory.' *National Review*, August 22, 2017. https://www.nationalreview.com/2017/08/erasing-history-censoring-confederate-past-rewriting-memory-mob-vengeance/. Accessed 11.12.17.

Modern Sources

Abdy, R. (2012). 'The Tetrarchy and the House of Constantine.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, ed. W. E. Metcalf. Oxford: 584–600.

Alcock, S. E. (2001). 'The Reconfiguration of Memory in the Eastern Roman Empire.' In *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, eds. S. E. Alcock, T. N. D'Altroy, K. D. Morrison, and C. M. Sinopoli. Cambridge: 323–350.

———. (2002). *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscape, Monuments, Memories*. Cambridge.

Anderson, M. C. (2009). 'Motivated Forgetting.' In *Memory*, eds. A. Baddeley, M. W. Eysenck, and M. C. Anderson. Hove: 217–244.

Ando, C. (2000). *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty*. Berkeley.

Assmann, A., and Shortt, L. (2012). 'Memory and Political Change: Introduction.' In *Memory and Political Change*, eds. A. Assmann and L. Shortt. Basingstoke: 1–14.

Baldus, H. R. (1984). 'Theodosius der Große und die Revolte des Magnus Maximus – das Zeugnis der Münzen.' *Chiron* 14: 175–192.

Banchich, T. M. (2015). *The Lost History of Peter the Patrician*. London.

Barnes, T. D. (1981). *Constantine and Eusebius*. Cambridge, MA.

———. (1993). *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*. Cambridge, MA.

———. (1996a). 'Oppressor, Persecutor, Usurper: the Meaning of "*tyrannus*" in the Fourth Century.' In *Historiae-Augustae-Colloquium Argentoratense 4th*, eds. G. Bonamente, F. Heim, and J. Callu. Bari: 55–65.

———. (1996b). 'Emperors, Panegyrics, Prefects, Provinces and Palaces (284–317).' *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 9: 532–552.

———. (2011). *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire*. Chichester.

Bats, M. (2003). 'Mort violente et *damnatio memoriae* sous les Sévères dans les sources littéraires.' *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 14: 281–298.

———. (2007). 'La *damnatio memoriae* a-t-elle des origines républicaines? Les procédures de condemnation politique des Gracques aux proscriptions de Sylla.' In *Mémoire et Histoire: Les procédures de condemnation dans l'Antiquité Romaine*, eds. S. Benoist and A. Daguet-Gagey. Metz: 21–39.

Bauer, F. A. (1996). *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung des öffentlichen Raums in der spätantiken Städten Rom, Konstantinopel und Ephesos*. Mainz.

Beard, M. (1991). 'Writing and Religion: Ancient Literacy and the Function of the Written Word in Roman Religion.' In *Literacy in the Roman World*, ed. Humphrey. Ann Arbor: 35–58.

Beltrán Lloris, F. (2014). 'The "Epigraphic Habit" in the Roman World.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, eds. C. Bruun and J. Edmonson. Oxford: 129–148.

Benoist, S. (2003). 'Martelage et *damnatio memoriae*: un introduction.' *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 14: 231–240.

———. (2007). 'Martelages et espaces urbains entre public et privé. Remarque sur quelques exemples tires des provinces occidentales (Bretagnes, Gaules et Germanies).' In *Mémoire et Histoire: Les procedures de condemnation dans l'antiquité Romaine*, eds. S. Benoist and S. Lefevre. Metz: 75–94.

Berliner, D. (2005). 'Social Thought and Commentary: The Abuses of Memory: Reflections of the Memory Boom in Anthropology.' *Anthropological Quarterly* 78.1: 197–211.

Bodel, J. (1999a). 'Punishing Piso.' *American Journal of Philology* 120.1 (477): 43–64.

———. (1999b). 'Death on Display: Looking at Roman Funerals.' In *The Art of the Ancient Spectacle*, eds. B. Bergmann and C. Kondoleon. New Haven: 259–282.

Bond, L., Craps, S., and Vermeulen, P. (2017). 'Introduction.' In *Memory Unbound*, eds. L. Bond, S. Craps, and P. Vermeulen. Oxford: 1–16.

Brandt, K. R. (2016). 'Directed Forgetting.' In *Memory in the Twenty-First Century: New Critical Perspectives from the Arts, Humanities, and Sciences*, ed. S. Groes. London: 263–267.

Burgess, R. W. (2008). 'The Summer of Blood: The "Great Massacre" of 337 and the Promotion of the Sons of Constantine.' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 62: 5–51.

Carroll, M. (2011). '*Memoria* and *Damnatio Memoriae*. Preserving and Erasing Identities in Roman Funerary Commemoration.' In *Living Through the Dead: Burial and Commemoration in the Classical World*, eds. M. Carroll and J. Rempel. Oxford: 65–90.

Castelli, E. A. (2004). *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making*. Columbia, NY.

Cattell, M. G., and Climo, J. J. (2002). 'Introduction: Meaning in Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives.' In *Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*, eds. J. J. Climo and M. G. Cattell. Walnut Creek, CA: 1–36.

Chastagnol, A. (1988). 'Les inscriptions des monuments inaugurés lors des fêtes impérilaces.' *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome* 100.1: 13–26.

Childs, P. (2016). 'Remembrance in the Twenty-First Century.' In *Memory in the Twenty-First Century: New Critical Perspectives from the Arts, Humanities and Sciences*, ed. S. Groes. London: 268–270.

Coates-Stephens, R. (2007). 'The Reuse of Statuary in Late Antique Rome and the End of the Statue Habit.' In *Statuen in der Spätantike*, eds. F. A. Bauer and C. Witschel. Wiesbaden: 171–187.

Cooley, A. (2000a). 'The Life-Cycle of Inscriptions.' In *The Afterlife of Inscriptions*, ed. A. Cooley. London: 1–7.

———. (2000b). 'Inscribing History at Rome.' In *The Afterlife of Inscriptions*, ed. A. Cooley. London: 8–20.

———. (2012). *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*. Cambridge.

Corcoran, S. (1993). 'Hidden from History: The Legislation of Licinius.' In *The Theodosian Code: Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity*, ed. J. Harries. London: 97–119.

———. (2000). *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial Pronouncements and Government* (revised ed.). Oxford.

Crawford, M. H. (1983). 'Roman Imperial Coin Types and the Formation of Public Opinion.' In *Studies in Numismatic Method presented to Philip Grierson*, eds. C. Brooke, B. Steward, J. Pollard, and T. Volk. Cambridge: 47–56.

Crespo Pérez, C. (2014). *La Condenación al olvido (damnatio memoriae): La deshonra pública tras la muerte en la politica romana (siglos I–IV d.C).* Madrid.

Curran, J. (1994). 'Moving Statues in Late Antique Rome: Problems of Perspective.' *Art History* 17.1: 46–58.

Damon, C., and Takács, S. (1999). *The Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre: Text, Translation, Discussion.* Baltimore.

de Castro-Camero, R. (2000). *El crimen maiestatis a la luz del senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre.* Seville.

Dey, H. (2012). 'Spolia, Milestones and City Walls: The Politics of Imperial Legitimacy in Gaul.' In *Patrons and Viewers in Late Antiquity*, eds. S. Bink and B. Poulsen. Aarhus: 291–310.

Dillon, J. N. (2012). *The Justice of Constantine: Law, Communication, and Control.* Ann Arbor.

Drake, H. A. (2000). *Constantine and the Bishops: the Politics of Intolerance.* Baltimore.

Eck, W., Caballos, A., and Fernández, F. (1996). *Das Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre.* Vestigia 48. Munich.

Edmonson, J. (2014). 'Inscribing Roman Texts.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, eds. C. Bruun and J. Edmonson. Oxford: 110–130.

Elliott, T. (2014). 'Epigraphy and Digital Resources.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, eds. C. Bruun and J. Edmonson. Oxford: 78–85.

Elsner, J. (1998). *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph*. Oxford.

———. (2000). 'From the Culture of Spolia to the Cult of Relics: The Arch of Constantine and the Genesis of Late Antique Forms.' *Papers of the British School at Rome* 68: 149–184.

———. (2003). 'Iconoclasm and the Preservation of Memory.' In *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, eds. R. S. Nelson and M. Olin. Chicago: 209–232.

Fentress, J., and Wickham, C. (1992). *Social Memory*. Oxford.

Feraudi-Gruénais, F. (2010). 'Latin on Stone: Epigraphy and Databases.' In *Latin on Stone: Epigraphic Research and Electronic Archives*, ed. F. Feraudi-Gruénais. Plymouth: 1–19.

Fishwick, D. (1988). 'Imperial Sceptre Heads in Britain.' *Britannia* 19: 399–400.

Flower, H. I. (1998). 'Rethinking "*Damnatio Memoriae*": The case of Cn. Calpurnius Piso Pater in AD 20.' *Classical Antiquity* 17.2: 155–187.

———. (2000). '*Damnatio Memoriae* and Epigraphy.' In *From Caligula to Constantine: Tyranny and Transformation in Roman portraiture*, ed. E. Varner. Atlanta: 27–44.

———. (2001–2002). Review of Hedrick (2000). *Classical Journal* 97.2: 207–209.

———. (2006a). *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture*. Chapel Hill, NC.

Forty, A. (1999). 'Introduction.' In *The Art of Forgetting*, eds. A. Forty and S. Küchler. Oxford: 1–18.

Freedberg, D. (1989). *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*. Chicago.

French, D. R. (1998). 'Rhetoric and the Rebellion of A.D. 387 in Antioch.' *Historia* 47.4: 468–484.

French, D. H. (2012a). *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Vol. 3 Fasc. 3.2 (Galatia). London.

———. (2012b). *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Vol. 3 Fasc. 3.3 (Cappadocia). London.

———. (2013). *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Vo.l 3 Fasc. 3.4 (Pontus et Bithynia). London.

———. (2014a). *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Vol. 3 Fasc. 3.5 (Asia). London.

———. (2014b). *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Vol. 3 Fasc. 3.6 (Lycia et Pamphylia). London.

———. (2014c). *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Vol. 3 Fasc. 3.7 (Cilicia, Isauria et Lycaonia). London.

Galinsky, K. (2008). 'Recarved Imperial Portraits: Nuances and Wider Context.' *Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome* 52: 1–25.

———. (2014). 'Introduction.' In *Memoria Romana: Memory in Rome and Rome in Memory*, ed. K. Galinsky. Ann Arbor: 1–12.

———. (2015). 'Introduction.' In *Cultural Memories in the Roman Empire*, eds. K. Galinksy and K. Lapatin. Los Angeles: 1–22.

———. (2016). 'Introduction.' In *Memory in Ancient Rome and Early Christianity*, ed. K. Galinksy. Oxford: 1–39.

Gedi, N., and Elam, Y. (1996) 'Collective Memory—What Is It?' *Memory and History* 8.1: 30–50.

Gowing, A. (2005). *Empire and Memory: The Representation of the Roman Republic in Imperial Culture*. Cambridge.

Griffin, M. (1997). 'The Senate's Story.' *Journal of Roman Studies* 87: 249–263.

Grünewald, T. (1990). *Constantinus maximus Augustus: Herrschaftspropaganda in der zeitgenössichen Überlieferung*. Stuttgart.

Hannestad, N. (1999). 'How Did Rising Christianity Cope with Pagan Sculpture.' In *East and West: Modes of Communication*, eds. E. Chrysos and I. Wood. Leiden: 173–203.

Harries, J. (2012). *Imperial Rome AD 284 to 363: the New Empire*. Edinburgh.

Hedrick, C. W. (2000). *History and Silence: Purge and Rehabilitation of Memory in Late Antiquity*. Austin.

Hekster, O. (2015). *Emperors and Ancestors: Roman Rulers and the Constraints of Tradition*. Oxford.

Hostein, A. (2004). 'Monnaie et *Damnatio Memoriae* (Ier–IVe siècle ap. J.-C.): Problèmes Méthodologiques.' *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 15: 219–236.

Humphries, M. (2006). *Early Christianity*. London.

———. (2008). 'From Usurper to Emperor: The Politics of Legitimation in the Age of Constantine.' *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1.1: 82–100.

———. (2015). 'Emperors, Usurpers, and the City of Rome: Performing Power from Diocletian to Theodosius.' In *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, ed. J. Wienand. Oxford: 151–168.

Hutton, P. (2000). 'Recent Scholarship on Memory and History.' *The History Teacher* 33.4: 533–548.

Kajava, M. (1995). 'Some Remarks on the Erasure of Inscriptions in the Roman World (with Special Reference to the Case of Cn. Piso, cos. 7 B.C.' In *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini*, eds. H. Solin and O. Salomies. Helsinki: 201–210.

Kelly, C. (2015). 'Pliny and Pacatus: Past and Present in Imperial Panegyric.' In *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, ed. J. Wienand. Oxford: 215–238.

Keppie, L. J. F. (1991). *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*. London.

Killerich, B. (2014). 'Defacement and Replacement as Political Strategies in Ancient and Byzantine Ruler Images.' In *Iconoclasm from Antiquity to Modernity*, eds. K. Kolrund and M. Prusac. Farnham: 57–73.

Kinney, D. (1997). '*Spolia, Damnatio*, and *Renovatio Memoriae*.' *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 42: 117–148.

Klein, K. L. (2000). 'On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse.' *Representations* 69: 127–150.

Kleiner, D. (1992). *Roman Sculpture*. Yale.

Kolb, A. (2001). 'Römische Meilenstein: Stand der Forschung und Probleme.' In *Siedlung und Verkehr im Römischen Reich: Römerstrassen zwischen Herrschaftssicherung und Landschaftsprägung*, eds. F. Regula and H. Herzig. Berlin: 135–155.

———. (2014). 'Communications and Mobility in the Roman Empire.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, eds. C. Bruun and J. Edmonson. Oxford: 649–670.

Kristensen, T. M. (2009). 'Embodied Images: Christian Response and Destruction in Late Antique Egypt.' *Journal of Late Antiquity* 2.2: 224–250.

———. (2010). 'The Display of Statues in the Late Antique Cities of the Eastern Mediterranean: Reflections on Memory, Meaning, and Aesthetics.' In *Debating Urbanism Within and Beyond the Walls, AD. 300–700*, eds. D. Sami and G. Speed. Leicester: 265–288.

———. (2013). *Making and Breaking the Gods: Christian Responses to Pagan Sculpture in Late Antiquity*. Aarhus.

———. (2015). 'Iconoclasm.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Sculpture*, eds. E. A. Friedland and M. Grunow Sobocinski. Oxford: 667–680.

Krüpe, F. (2011). *Die Damnatio memoriae. Über die Vernichtung von Erinnerung. Eune Fallstudie zu Publius Septimius Geta (189–211 n.Chr.)*. Gutenberg.

Kyle, D. G. (1998). *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome*. London.

L'Orange, H. P. (1984). *Das spätantike herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen, 284–361*. Berlin.

Lacau, P. (1934). 'Inscriptions latines du temple de Louxor.' *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypt* 34: 17–46.

Laudani, C. (2014). *Nazario. Panegirico in onore di Costantino*. Bari.

Laurence, R. (2004). 'Milestones, Communications, and Political Stability.' In *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity*, eds. L. Ellis and F. Kidner. Farnham: 41–58.

Lennon, J. J. (2014). *Pollution and Religion in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge.

Lenski, N. (2012). 'The Reign of Constantine.' In *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. N. Lenski. Cambridge: 59–90.

Leone, A. (2013). *The End of the Pagan City: Religion, Economy, and Urbanism in Late Antique North Africa*. Oxford.

Leppin, H. (2003). *Theodosius der Große*. Darmstadt.

Loraux, N. (2002). *The Divided City: On Memory and Forgetting in Ancient Athens*. New York.

MacCormack, S. G. (1981). *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley.

Machado, C. (2007). Review of Varner (2004). *Journal of Roman Studies* 97: 342–345.

———. (2017). 'Dedicated to Eternity? The Reuse of Statue Bases in Late Antique Italy.' In *The Epigraphic Cultures of Late Antiquity*, eds. K. Bolle, C. Machado, and C. Witschel. Stuttgart: 323–361.

MacMullen, R. (1969). *Constantine*. New York.

———. (1982). 'The Epigraphic Habit.' *American Journal of Philology* 103: 223–246.

Markovits, A. S., and Reich, S. (1997). *The German Predicament: Memory and Power in the New Europe*. Ithaca, NY.

Marlowe, E. (2006). 'Framing the Sun: The Arch of Constantine and the Roman Cityscape.' *The Art Bulletin* 88.2: 223–242.

Matthews, P. J. (2000). *Laying Down the Law: A Study of the Theodosian Code*. Yale.

May, N. N. (2012). 'Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East.' In *Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, ed. N. N. May. Chicago: 1–32.

McFadden, S. (2015). 'Dating the Luxor Camp and the Politics of Building in the Tetrarchic Era.' In *Art of Empire. The Roman Frescos and Imperial Cult Chamber in Luxor Temple*, eds. M. Jones and S. McFadden. New Haven: 25–37.

Misztal, B. (2003). *Theories of Social Remembering*. Maidenhead.

Mustakallio, K. (1994). *Death and Disgrace: Capital Penalties with* post mortem *Sanctions in Early Roman Historiography*. Helsinki.

Neri, M. (1997). 'L'Usurpatore come Tirrano nel Lessico Politico della Tarda Antichitá.' In *Usurpationen in der Spatantike: Akten de Kolloquiums "Strattsstreich und Staatlichkeit"*, ed. F. Verlad. Stuttgart: 71–86.

Noreña, C. F. (2011). *Imperial Ideals in the Roman West: Representation, Circulation, Power*. Cambridge.

Odahl, C. M. (2010). *Constantine and the Christian Empire* (revised ed.). London.

Omissi, A. (2016). '*Damnatio Memoriae* or *Creatio Memoriae*? Memory Sanctions as Creative Processes in the Fourth Century AD.' *The Cambridge Classical Journal* 62: 170–199.

———. (2018). *Emperors and Usurpers in the Later Roman Empire. Civil War, Panegyric, and the Construction of Legitimacy*. Oxford.

Osgood, J. (2007). Review of Flower (2006). *The American Historical Review* 112.5: 1588.

Östenberg, I. (2019). '*Damnatio Memoriae* Inscribed: The Materiality of Cultural Repression.' In *The Materiality of Text—Placement, Perception, and Presence of Inscribed Texts in Classical Antiquity* eds. A. Petrovic, I. Petrovic, and E. Thomas. Leiden: 324–347.

Pallier, J. M., and Sablayrolles, R. (1994). '*Damnatio Memoriae*: un vraie perpétuité.' *Pallas* 40: 11–55.

Pennebacker, J. W., and Banasik, B. L. (1997). 'On the Creation and Maintenance of Collective Memory: History as Social Psychology.' In *Collective Memory of Political Events: Social Psychological Perspectives*, eds. J. W. Pennebaker, D. Paez, and D. Rim. New York: 3–19.

Pohlsander, H. A. (1984). 'Crispus: Brilliant Career and Tragic End.' *Historia* 33.1: 79–106.

———. (1996). *The Emperor Constantine*. London.

Pollini, J. (1984). '*Damnatio* Memoriae in Stone: Two Portraits of Nero recut to Vespasian in American Museums.' *American Journal of Archaeology* 88: 547–555.

———. (2006). Review of Varner (2004). *The Art Bulletin* 88.3: 590–597.

Potter, D. S. (1999). 'Political Theory in the *Senatus Consultum Pisonianum*.' *American Journal of Philology* 120.1 (477): 65–88.

Prusac, M. (2011). *From Face to Face: Recarving of Roman Portraits and the Late-Antique Portrait Arts*. Leiden.

———. (2014). '*Presence* and Image Controversies in the Third and Fourth centuries AD.' In *Iconoclasm from Antiquity to Modernity*, eds. K. Kolrund and M. Prusac. Farnham: 41–56.

Rees, R. (2004). *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy*. Edinburgh.

Ritner, R. K. (2012). 'Killing the Image, Killing the Essence: The Destruction of Text and Figures.' In *Iconclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, ed. N. N. May. Chicago: 395–406.

Robey, T. F. (2013). '"Damnatio memoriae": The Rebirth of Condemnation of Memory in Renaissance Florence.' *Renaissance and Reformation* 36.3: 5–32.

Rowan, C. (2012). *Under Divine Auspices: Divine Ideology and the Visualisation of Imperial Power in the Severan Period*. Cambridge.

Rowe, J. (2014). 'The Roman State: Laws, Lawmaking and Legal Documents.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, eds. C. Bruun and J. Edmonson. Oxford: 289–318.

Salama, P. (1992). 'Anniversaires impériaux Constantantino-liciniens à Djemila.' In *Institutions, société et vie politique dans l'empire Romain au IVe Ap. J.C.*, ed. M. Christol. Paris: 137–159.

Sauer, E. W. (2003). *The Archaeology of Religious Hatred in the Roman and Early Medieval World*. Stroud.

Schmidt-Hofner, S. (2015). 'Ostentatious Legislation: Law and Dynastic Change, AD 364–365.' In *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, ed. J. Wienand. Oxford: 67–99.

Sijpesteijn, P. J. (1974). 'Macrinus' *Damnatio Memoriae* und die Papyri.' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 13: 219–227.

Sitz, A. M. (2019). 'Hiding in Plain Sight: Epigraphic Reuse in the Temple-Church at Aphrodisias.' *Journal of Late Antiquity* 12.1: 136–168.

Smith, J. H. (1971). *Constantine the Great*. London.

Smith, R. R. R. (2007). 'Statue Life in the Hadrianic Baths at Aphrodisias, AD 100–600: Local Context and Historical Meaning.' In *Statuen in der Spätantike*, eds. F. A. Baur and C. Witschel. Wiesbaden: 203–231.

Søby Christensen, A. (1980). *Lactantius the Historian: an Analysis of the* De Mortibus Persecutorum. Copenhagen.

Stephenson, P. (2009). *Constantine: Unconquered Emperor, Christian Victor*. London.

Stewart, P. (1999). 'The Destruction of Statues in Late Antiquity.' In *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity*, ed. R. Miles. London: 159–189.

———. (2003). *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response*. Oxford.

Susini, G. (1973). *The Roman Stonecutter*. Oxford.

Trombley, F. R. (2008). 'The Destruction of Pagan Statuary and Christianisation.' In *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East*, eds. Y. Eliav, E. Friedland, and S. Herbert. Leuven: 143–164.

Van Dam, R. (2007). *The Roman Revolution of Constantine*. Cambridge.

Varner, E. R. (2000a). 'Tyranny and the Transformation of the Roman Visual Landscape.' In *From Caligula to Constantine: Tyranny and Transformation in Roman Portraiture*, ed. E. Varner. Atlanta: 9–26.

———. (2000b). 'Tyranny and Transformation in Roman Imperial Marble Portraits and Coins.' *Minerva* 11.6: 45–49.

———. (2001). 'Portraits, Plots, and Politics: "Damnatio Memoriae" and the Images of Imperial Women.' *Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome* 46: 41–93.

———. (2004). *Mutilation and Transformation:* Damnatio Memoriae *and Roman Imperial Portraiture*. Leiden.

———. (2005). 'Execution in Effigy: Severed Heads and Decapitated Statues in Imperial Rome.' In *Roman Bodies: Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*, eds. A. Hopkins and M. Wyke. London: 69–77.

Vittinghoff, F. (1936). *Der Staatsfeind in der römischen Kaiserziet: Untersuchungen zur* "damnatio memoriae". Berlin.

Webster, G. (1979). *The Roman Imperial Army*. London.

Wegner, D. M. (1994). *White Bears and Other Unwanted Thoughts: Suppression, Obsession, and the Psychology of Mental Control*. New York.

Westenholz, J. G. (2012). '*Damnatio Memoriae*: The Old Akkadian Evidence for Destruction of Name and Destruction of Person.' In *Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, ed. N. N. May. Chicago: 89–112.

White, G. (2006). 'Epilogue: Memory Moments.' *Ethos* 34.2: 325–341.

Wienand, J. (2012). *Der Kaiser als Sieger. Metamorphosen triumphaler Herrschaft unter Constantin I*. Berlin.

Witschel, C. (2002). 'Meilenstein als historische Quelle? Das Beispiel Aquileia.' *Chiron* 32: 325–393.

———. (2015). 'Late Antique Sculpture.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Sculpture*, eds. E. A. Friedland and M. Grunow Sobocinski. Oxford: 322–338.

Maximian

The stories of Maximian and Constantine are inextricably entwined: as the older emperor fell, the younger rose. Though their political alliance was brief, and ended with the execution of Maximian in a failed coup, it had lasting consequences, since it was cemented by Constantine's marriage to Maximian's daughter, Fausta. This union ultimately led to the Constantinian dynasty: the emperors Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans were Maximian's grandsons, and the emperor Julian was his great-grandson via the Theodoran line. Beyond his importance to the Constantinian story, Maximian is indispensable to a study of political memory and disgrace due to the nature of the surviving evidence and the ways in which this has been interpreted by modern commentators. The destruction of the emperor's honorific dedications following his execution by Constantine in 310 is one of the best documented examples of political iconoclasm in Roman history, described by both Lactantius and Eusebius. This has led to Maximian's downfall being characterised as an archetypal instance of *damnatio memoriae* in Late Antiquity.[1]

---

[1] Barnes (1973: 34–35; 1981: 41) 'Constantine damned the memory of his father-in-law, ordering the erasure of his name from public inscriptions and the destruction of his statues' (1982: 34), 'he suffered *damnatio memoriae*' (2011: 4). Odahl (2010: 99) 'Constantine … carried out a *damnatio memoriae* of the treacherous Maximian'. Lenski (2012: 68) 'Constantine responded by systematically eliminating Maximian's image from

Timothy Barnes in particular has returned to the episode on multiple occasions.[2] Drawing upon literary and numismatic evidence, he has consistently argued that Maximian's political memory was not subjected to immediate attacks, but that Constantine delayed pursuing this policy until 311, a year after the emperor's death. He then 'damned' him in response to Maximian's son, the emperor Maxentius, declaring that his father was a *divus*, but went on to 'rehabilitate' Maximian's memory after Maxentius' defeat by also claiming that Maximian was a *divus*.[3] Barnes' interpretation of the episode has been influential, and accepted by many.[4] These arguments and their evidential basis will be addressed in this chapter, along with the epigraphic evidence for Maximian's disgrace, which has never received systematic study.

This chapter traces how Maximian's posthumous legacy evolved from his death in 310 until the reign of Julian, the last of the Constantinian emperors, over half a century later. As I argue, the position which Maximian had occupied, and his close connection with the Constantinian dynasty, meant that he could never be marginalised or forgotten. He remained a liminal figure, never comfortably categorised as either damned or deified, thus illustrating how the blurred lines between imperial disgrace and honour could be navigated.

The Fall of Maximian

At the time of his death in 310, Maximian was problematic for anyone with claims to imperial power. Understanding how entangled he had become with the interests of other emperors of this time is key to our understanding of the varied responses his downfall triggered across the empire. He had ruled with Diocletian for twenty years before their joint abdications in May 305. However, his subsequent refusal to remain withdrawn from political life undermined the foundations of the Tetrarchy and therefore the legitimacy of those who owed their position to this political set up (Galerius, Maximinus Daia, and Severus). Only eighteen months

---

public places and his name from public inscriptions – a political practice called *damnatio memoriae*'.

[2] Barnes first laid this argument out in the *Journal of Roman Studies* in 1973, and has repeated it in subsequent monographs (1981, 1982, 2011).

[3] 'damnation' Barnes (1981: 41); 'rehabilitation' Barnes (1973: 35; 2011: 4).

[4] See, for example, Kennedy and Falahat (2008: 159) and Darby (2015: 474).

after his abdication, Maximian declared himself an active emperor after his son Maxentius seized imperial power in Rome. The sources are conflicted as to whether Maximian's involvement came from his own initiative or his son's.[5] In any case, his status as a veteran emperor, an object of loyalty for the western military in particular, is seen as playing an important role in the usurpation's success, helping to thwart an invasion of Italy led by Severus by winning over the emperor's troops.[6] Nevertheless, this loyalty was tested as events progressed. In 308 Maximian attempted to seize power from his son, but the same soldiers who had abandoned Severus did not support him. He was driven out of Rome and sought refuge at Constantine's court in Gaul.[7]

A year earlier, Maximian had travelled to Gaul and given his daughter to Constantine in marriage, forming an alliance which strengthened their respective positions against Galerius and Maximinus Daia in the east. Constantine had laid claim to the senior position of Augustus after his father Constantius' death in July 306, though had only been recognised as a junior Caesar by Galerius. However, after forming this alliance with Maximian, Constantine's mints began to strike coins claiming the title of Augustus.[8] The dynamic between Constantine and Maximian at this time is captured in the panegyric of 307, which was delivered in Trier as part of the wedding celebrations. In this speech the orator maintained that, despite his abdication two years earlier, neither Maximian's western armies nor his provincial subjects had forgotten him, or believed that he had ceased wielding *imperium* (12.5). The speaker also describes how Maximian had elevated Constantine's political standing by bestowing upon him the senior *nomen imperii* (2.1). Though it was delivered in Constantine's court, this speech pays greater attention to the status and

---

[5] Aurelius Victor (*De Caes.* 40) and Zosimus (2.10.2) say Maxmian came to Maxentius' rescue when he was threatened by Severus' invasion. Lactantius (*De mort. pers.* 26.7) claims that Maxentius sent the purple to his father after Galerius turned against him.

[6] Lactantius highlights the absurdity of Galerius' response, sending Severus to Italy 'with the army of Maximian, in order to conquer the son of Maximian' (26.5: *mittit eum cum exercitu Maximiani ad expugnandum Maximiani filium*).

[7] Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 28. See also *Pan. Lat.* VI(7) 14.6. Cullhed (1994: 44) underlines the significance of the troops supporting Maxentius over his father, since he had been emperor for a little over a year and had no military experience.

[8] For the change in status in Constantine's coinage, see Sutherland (1967: 12).

achievements of the younger emperor's new father-in-law.[9] Despite his ambiguous political position, Maximian was clearly an ongoing source of authority and prestige at this time, particularly in the western empire.

Circumstances changed quickly. Two years after Maxentius had expelled him from Italy, Maximian was executed after attempting to seize power from his son-in-law Constantine. The earliest account of this episode is found in the panegyric of 310, which was delivered shortly after Maximian's death. It was clearly a sensitive topic, since the orator looked to Constantine for his consent before continuing his explanation of what had transpired (9.4). The speaker walked an oratorical tightrope, absolving Constantine of personal blame whilst avoiding vilification of Maximian. The panegyrist of 307 had presented Maximian's age in positive terms: he was the older, experienced helmsman holding the tiller of state (14.1). Three years later, this new panegyrist reversed this view, and blamed Maximian's ill-conceived actions on the emperor's senility.[10] The rebellion itself is treated in a roundabout way. The lack of specifics suggests that the speaker was attempting to gloss over certain details, such as how Maximian had been able to win over some of Constantine's soldiers, and then withstand a siege after retreating to Marseille.[11] The speaker claims that, when Constantine eventually gained access to the city, he permitted both Maximian and the disloyal troops to keep their lives (20.3). However, Maximian voluntarily chose suicide, which is what fate had decided for him (14.5). As a consequence, Constantine received divine retribution despite his desire for clemency (20.4).

Lactantius' account in his *On the Deaths of the Persecutors*, completed around 315, is considerably more hostile towards Maximian. No longer

---

[9] Grünewald (1990: 26–33) has argued that the speech represents an authorised account of the time, and that Constantine only conceded a higher place to Maximian to placate him in the context of its delivery. Nixon (1993: 191), by contrast, has argued that the speaker's presentation of Maximian as occupying a higher status reflects the reality that, though he was a suppliant at Constantine's court, he must have been a more familiar and impressive figure to the speech's audience. See also Warmington (1974: 376) and Omissi (2018: 107–109).

[10] *Pan. Lat.* VI(7) 15.2. Nixon and Saylor Rodgers (1994: 240 n.69).

[11] The panegyrist goes on a long digression on the subject of military loyalty and bribery, then claims that Constantine's soldiers love him above any gifts (16). In Lactantius' account, the siege at Marseille is omitted: the city gates are simply opened to let Constantine's army in (*De mort. pers.* 29.8). See Nixon and Saylor Rodgers (1994: 242 n.77, n.78), and Omissi (2018: 111–116).

a victim of old age and fate, Maximian is a flawed and deceitful individual, a 'rebellious emperor, impious father, treacherous father-in-law' (*rebellis imperator, pater impius, socer perfidus*, 29.8). Like the panegyrist of 310, Lactantius claims that Constantine had pardoned Maximian after his surrender at Marseille (29.8). However, he goes on to describe how Maximian subsequently attempted to assassinate his son-in-law by embroiling his daughter in a plot to kill her husband in their bedchamber. Fausta dutifully reported this, Maximian was caught red-handed, and was told to choose the manner of his death. He picked hanging, a method Lactantius identifies as particularly disgraceful (*ignominiosa*, 30.6).[12]

It has been argued that the discrepancies between the account of the panegyrist of 310 and that of Lactantius, particularly the addition of the assassination story, reflect a hardening of attitudes towards Maximian as conflict between Constantine and Maxentius grew imminent.[13] Barnes, for example, has maintained that Lactantius heard this story in Constantine's court and then repeated it in his *On the Deaths of the Persecutors*, despite the fact that Maximian had been 'rehabilitated' by Constantine at the time Lactantius was writing.[14] However, the disparity between the panegyric of 310 and Lactantius on the subject of Maximian's reputation could also be explained by the fact that they were composed with different aims and audiences in mind. In 310 the panegyrist was improvising in the immediate aftermath of Maximian's death, speaking on a single occasion to the emperor and his court in Trier, not creating a narrative for widespread dissemination.[15] Jerome's claim that Lactantius spent his twilight years tutoring Constantine's eldest son Crispus has led to him being seen as closely aligned with the values and policies

---

[12] Fausta's role in foiling the plot is also found in Eutropius (10.3), Jerome's *Chronicle* (229[d] H), and Zosimus (2.11). Since the marriage was not dissolved, despite the breakdown of the alliance between Maximian and Constantine, it is likely that this story was designed to prove that Fausta's loyalties remained with her husband. See James (2013: 107) for a discussion of the gendered dynamics of this episode.

[13] Potter (2013: 125) has argued that the embellished story suggests few believed that Constantine was blameless for Maximian's death, so further vilification of the older emperor and exculpation of the younger was needed.

[14] Barnes (1973: 34; 2011: 4, 177–178).

[15] Nixon and Saylor Rodgers (1994: 215) describe the speech as 'a fleeting by-product of an immediate political embarrassment'. See also Warmington (1974: 374–375) and Rees (2002) for the primarily local and ephemeral nature of the *Panegyrici Latini*.

of the emperor's court.[16] But he was no mouthpiece of Constantinian propaganda, especially since it is not even certain that he was resident in Trier in the years 310–312, or when the *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* was written.[17] Accordingly, Lactantius' portrayal of the circumstances surrounding Maximian' death, and—especially—his claim that Constantine went on to destroy his father-in-law's political memory, requires further consideration.

Disgrace and Iconoclasm

Three separate accounts survive which describe how Maximian's honorific dedications were attacked as a result of his betrayal of Constantine: a longer passage in Lactantius' *On the Deaths of the Persecutors*, and two shorter statements in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* and *Life of Constantine*. Together these have become central to the claim that Constantine actively pursued a *damnatio memoriae* against his father-in-law after his execution. However, as I argued in this book's introduction, both Lactantius' and Eusebius' accounts contain the trope of authority figures suffering the destruction of their honorific images and physical bodies as a consequence of their persecution of the Christians. For both authors, Maximian's fate provided an ideal opportunity to prove the validity of this outlook within their respective works. Accordingly, we should be wary of accepting their writings as straightforward accounts of what actually unfolded after the emperor's death. This is corroborated by the fact that the destruction of Maximian's honorific dedications is not mentioned by any non-Christian author.

Lactantius' account is as follows:

[16] Jer. *De vir. Ill.* 80, repeated in *Chron.* 230e H.

[17] Lactantius was itinerant, but we know little of the precise timings of his movements after 305. Since Crispus' year of birth is not known, it is not certain when Lactantius might have been in the west acting as tutor. Barnes places him in Gaul from 311 to 312, but this argument is based solely on his delayed-*damnatio memoriae* argument (1973: 40–41; 1981: 13–15; 2011: 177–178). Heck (2009: 122–123) proposes that Lactantius was in Nicomedia until at least 313. De Palma Digeser (2000: 133–143) maintains that he arrived at Constantine's court between 306 and 310, and served as tutor between 310 and 313. She argues that he remained there when writing the *DMP*, and points to the increased influence of his work on Constantine's policies from 324, though admits it is impossible to say whether this was due to his presence at the court 'or simply from the force of his ideas' (142).

At the same time, the statues of the elder Maximian were being torn down by the orders of Constantine, and any *imago* in which he had been portrayed was being removed. And because the two old men had usually been painted together, this meant that the *imagines* of both were being taken down at the same time. Thus he [Diocletian] saw happening to him what had never happened to an emperor before; and afflicted by this double grief, he took the decision that he should die … Thus this emperor, who for twenty years had been most fortunate, was cast down by God to a life of humiliation, smitten with injuries which led him to hate life itself, and finally extinguished by hunger and anguish.[18]

This passage has been consistently referenced as evidence for Constantine actively pursuing a *damnatio memoriae* against his father-in-law.[19] However, Lactantius' purpose in telling this anecdote was not describing Maximian's iconoclasm, but devising an appropriately shameful death narrative for Diocletian, Maximian's colleague of twenty years. In contrast to the fates of Maximian, Galerius, and Maximinus Daia, Diocletian's undramatic end in the quiet seclusion of his Dalmatian retirement palace did not lend itself to tales of bodily obliteration and humiliation. As a consequence, Lactantius exploited his audience's awareness of the tetrarchic practice of portraying the co-Augusti Diocletian and Maximian together, and so imagined a scenario where Diocletian became the inadvertent victim of his former colleague's political disgrace.

The placement of this episode in the *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* was also dictated by its role in Lactantius' narrative of Diocletian's demise, which builds steadily from chapter forty-one. Lactantius described how Valeria, daughter of Diocletian and widow of Galerius, was maltreated by Maximinus Daia, harassed, and then banished to a Syrian desert. Lactantius claims that, despite pleading several times to Daia, the emperor who Diocletian had personally appointed at his abdication ceremony in Nicomedia seven years earlier, the younger ruler refused to grant Valeria safe

---

[18] Lactant. *De mort. Pers.* 42.1–3 (after Creed trans.): *Eodemque tempore senis Maximiani statuae Constantini iussu revellebantur et imagines ubicumque pictus esset, detrahebantur. Et quia senes ambo simul plerumque picti erant, et imagines simul deponebantur amborum. Itaque cum videret vivus quod nulli umquam imperatorum acciderat, duplici aegritudine adfectus moriendum sibi esse decrevit […] Ita viginti annorum felicissimus imperator ad humilem vitam deiectus a deo et proculcatus iniuriis atque in odium vitae deductus postremo fame atque angore confectus est.*

[19] Barnes (1973: 34–35; 1981: 42; 1982: 34; 2011: 4, 177–178), Odahl (2010: 99), Lenski (2012: 68), and McFadden (2015: 29–30).

passage to her father. This proof of the once-great emperor's impotence comes directly before the description of his death, where he is unable to prevent his honorific images being torn down before his own eyes. The time lapse in the *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* between Maximian's death in 310 and the attacks unleashed on his images has been taken as a reflection of a genuine gap of eighteen months between the two incidents.[20] However, it was merely a narrative device for Lactantius to illustrate the full trajectory of Diocletian's descent into despair and disgrace.

The passage also contains a suspicious lack of detail about how this supposed iconoclasm campaign unfolded. Though Lactantius specifies it took place 'by command of Constantine' (*Constantini iussu*), his use of passive verbs conceals who precisely was carrying out this order. He also makes the claim that Maximian's images were taken down 'everywhere' (*ubicumque*), despite the fact that Constantine only controlled the western regions of Hispania, Gaul, and Britannia at this time. Dalmatia, where Diocletian apparently saw the removal of these images with his own eyes, fell in the Pannonian realm of the emperor Licinius. As will be discussed in detail under the following heading, the epigraphic material suggests there is a kernel of truth in Lactantius' story. Milestones from southern Gaul reveal an uncharacteristically high level of erasures of Maximian's name within a small area of Constantine's territories, hinting at a level of centralised control that gives weight to the assertion that the disgraced emperor was targeted *Constantini iussu*. However, from a wider perspective, the scale of these attacks is nowhere near what is implied in Lactantius' story.

Lactantius' account can be compared with Eusebius' two descriptions of Maximian's iconoclasm, the first in his *Ecclesiastical History*, the final version of which was completed in the mid-320s, the second in his *Life of Constantine*, published in the years immediately after Constantine's death

---

[20] Barnes (1973: 34–35; 2011: 4).

in 337.[21] The text is almost identical, reflecting Eusebius' practice of recycling substantial portions of material from his earlier work with little or no change[22]:

> **Ecclesiastical History**
> Meanwhile, it was discovered that a plot to kill Constantine had been hatched by the man who, as we have seen, had resigned then resumed office, and he died a most shameful death: this man was the first whose honorific inscriptions and statues, and all such things that have customary been set up as a public dedication, they threw down, on the understanding that he was an unholy and most impious individual.[23]

> **Life of Constantine**
> While he [Constantine] was thus engaged, the second of those who had resigned from power was caught organising an assassination plot, and died a most shameful death: this man was the first whose honorific inscriptions and statues, and all other such things that had customarily been set up [to him] everywhere in the world as a public dedication, they threw down, on the understanding that he was an unholy and impious individual.[24]

The variation in wording accommodates the shift in genre from the *Ecclesiastical History* to the *Life of Constantine*, as well as the different function the episode serves in the two works. In the *Ecclesiastical History*, Maximian's plot, death, and iconoclasm are described in historical sequence, between the appointment of Licinius in 308 and Constantine's campaign against Maxentius in 312. In the *Life of Constantine*, Eusebius inserted the passage into a chapter where he describes various plots which Constantine's colleagues and relatives had hatched against

[21] For a discussion of the arguments surrounding the multiple editions of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, see the following chapter. For a termination date of the *VC* as Eusebius' death in 339, leaving the work unfinished, see Cameron and Hall (1999: 3).

[22] See Hall (1993: 269–270) for a comparison of the Greek texts of these specific passages.

[23] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.13.15 (after Williamson trans.): ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Κωνσταντίνῳ μηχανὴν θανάτου συρράπτων ἁλοὺς ὁ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόθεσιν ἐπανῃρῆσθαι δεδηλωμένος αἰσχίστῳ καταστρέφει θανάτῳ· πρώτου δὲ τούτου τὰς ἐπὶ τιμῇ γραφὰς ἀνδριάντας τε καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα ἐπ᾽ ἀναθέσει νενόμισται, ὡς ἀνοσίου καὶ δυσσεβεστάτου καθήρουν.

[24] Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 1.47.1 (after Cameron and Hall trans.): ἐν τούτοις δ᾽ ὄντι αὐτῷ μηχανὴν θανάτου συρράπτων ἁλοὺς τῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθεμένων ὁ δεύτερος αἰσχίστῳ καταστρέφει θανάτῳ· πρώτου δὲ τούτου τὰς ἐπὶ τιμῇ γραφὰς ἀνδριάντας τε καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἐπ᾽ ἀναθέσει τιμῆς νενόμιστο πανταχοῦ γῆς ὡς ἀνοσίου καὶ δυσσεβοῦς καθήρουν.

him, but which the emperor had foiled through his divine intuition.[25] The second part is almost identical, save for some minor tweaks (in the *Life* Eusebius expands the scope of the attacks to 'everywhere in the world', but downgrades the emperor from 'most impious' to just 'impious'). Despite the different genres and contexts, the two passages make a similar point that Maximian's disgrace and iconoclasm was the direct and immediate result of his betrayal of Constantine.

Though the Eusebius passages have been referenced along with the *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* passage as evidence for Maximian's *damnatio memoriae* as though they say the same thing,[26] there are subtle yet significant differences. They are similar in their avoidance of naming Maximian, their use of passive verbs, and their association of image-destruction with dishonourable death. However, Eusebius gives no indication of any delay between Maximian's downfall and the destruction of his images, nor does he connect the emperor's iconoclasm with Diocletian's in any way, thus underlining how these two features in the *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* passage were due to Lactantius' narrative choices. Finally, there is no specification that the campaign was driven by Constantine's agency. Instead, Maximian's iconoclasm is presented as the natural and inevitable result of his crimes.

The iconoclasm narratives of Lactantius and Eusebius are literary and ideological devices which fulfil specific roles within their respective works. Lactantius used his description of Maximian's image-destruction to kill two birds with one stone, devising a fitting punishment for Diocletian whilst augmenting the ignominy of Maximian's end. Eusebius used it to underscore further the connection between imperial persecution and political disgrace, as well as illustrating Constantine's divine favour. Though both authors lived through the events they describe, once the uncompromising rhetoric of their accounts are stripped away, little is revealed of the nuances of when, where, and why Maximian's political memory might have been targeted. This is where we now turn to the material evidence.

---

[25] *Vit. Const.* 1.46–47. Note Eusebius' earlier statement (1.23) that he would not discuss the fates of any persecuting emperors in this work.

[26] E.g. Lenski (2012 n.50).

Maximian's Disgrace in Constantine's Territories

Both Lactantius and Eusebius' descriptions of the destruction of Maximian's honorific dedications assert that these actions were universal in spatial terms. Since the emperor's political memory was found 'everywhere in the world' (πανταχοῦ γῆς, *Vit. Const.* 1.47.1), his iconoclasm was similarly far-reaching. Not only did this make Maximian's disgrace seem ubiquitous, it also gave the impression that Constantine exercised political control over the entire empire at the time of the senior emperor's death. But he did not. In 310, Constantine controlled only the regions of Spain (the Diocesis Hispaniarum), Britain (the Diocesis Britanniarum), and Gaul (the Dioceses Viennensis and Galliarum). Italy and Africa (the Dioceses Italiae and Africae) were ruled by Maxentius up to his defeat in October 312, after which point they were absorbed into Constantine's territories. From their elevations in 305 and 308, Maximinus Daia and Licinius took responsibility for Syria and Egypt (the Diocesis Orientis) and Pannonia (the Diocesis Pannoniarum) respectively, and then divided Galerius' territories (the Dioceses Moesiarum, Thraciae, Asiana, and Pontica) between them after the senior emperor's death in the spring of 311. As a consequence, substantial portions of the empire, such as those in the east which were taken over by Licinius after his defeat of Maximinus Daia in 313, were outside of Constantine's jurisdiction until after 324, almost fifteen years after Maximian's death, by which point the political environment had changed considerably.

Though the accounts of Lactantius and Eusebius skim over these nuances, surviving inscriptions offer the opportunity to analyse Maximian's disgrace in these regional terms. As a consequence, my analysis of this material is divided into two sections in this chapter, distinguishing between the geographical areas which were within and outside of Constantine's jurisdiction at the time of Maximian's death. In this section I consider the evidence from the regions of Spain, Britain, and Gaul (corresponding to section A in Appendix 1).

The great majority of the surviving epigraphic material including Maximian's name from these regions is in the form of milestones (see Tables 2.1 and 2.2). Of the sixteen non-milestone dedications, five are erased, four in the Diocesis Hispaniarum, and one in the Diocesis Viennensis. The Viennensis one, a base from Segusio (Susa) in the Cottian Alps, will be considered amongst the epigraphic evidence associated with Constantine's conquest of Italy, since the emperor took this city from

Table 2.1 Non-milestone dedications including Maximian from within Constantine's territories in 310

	Diocesis Hispaniarum	Diocesis Britanniarum	Diocesis Viennensis	Diocesis Galliarum
▨ erased	4	0	1	0
▨ not erased	3	2	2	3
▨ uncertain	1	0	0	0
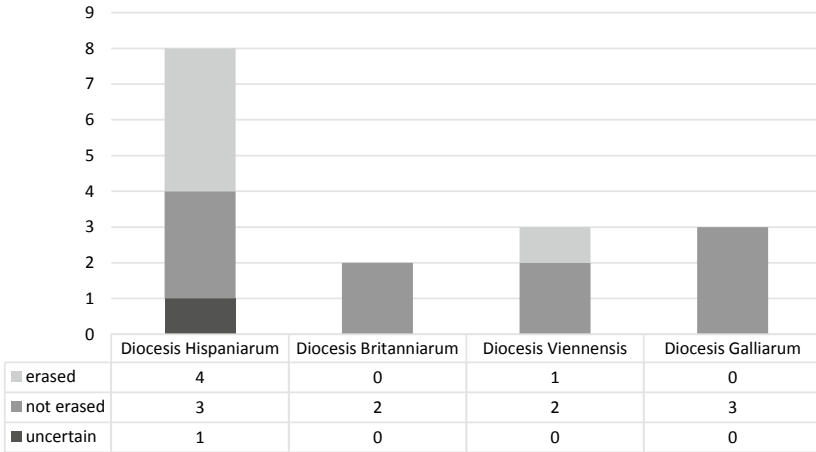
Table 2.2 Milestones including Maximian from within Constantine's territories in 310

	Diocesis Hispaniarum	Diocesis Britanniarum	Diocesis Viennensis	Diocesis Galliarum
▨ erased	2	1	9	1
▨ not erased	21	1	8	2
▨ uncertain	5	0	15	1
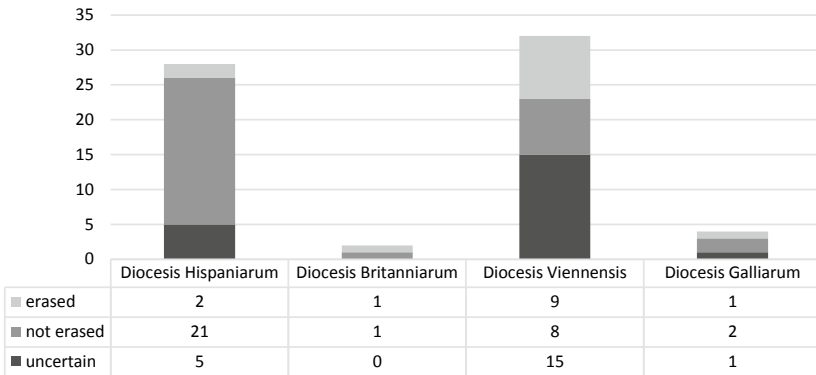
Maxentius' forces during his invasion of Italy in 312. Of the Hispanic examples, two are so thoroughly erased that their original honorand cannot be identified with certainty, but one of them, a statue base from

Barcino (modern Barcelona), is likely to have honoured Maximian.[27] Another example, a plaque from a base dedicated by the *ordo* (city council) of Segarra in Tarraconensis, can be indisputably identified as Maximian due to the method of erasure. The first two lines, which held the emperor's name and titles, were scrubbed away in a manner which left the second line almost entirely legible: a mark of infamy, rather than an attempt to make the disgraced emperor disappear (see Fig. 2.1).

The Segarra base was a civic dedication to Maximian, which suggests that the subsequent erasure was likewise a local initiative, responding to news of the emperor's execution. Segarra, modern els Prats del Rei, is around sixty-five kilometres northwest of Barcelona. This region is relatively close to the stretch of coastline in southern Gaul where Maximian's revolt took place and, as we will see shortly, there is an unprecedented concentration of epigraphic evidence for attacks on the emperor in this region. This also suggests that we should view the erasure of both of the Hispanic statue bases within the context of the immediate aftermath of the emperor's downfall. However, all in all there is little evidence for more widespread responses across Spain. His name is only erased from a possible two of twenty-seven surviving milestones in the region, and one of these examples is uncertain.[28]

It is in Gaul that a far higher proportion of milestone erasures can be identified: ten out of thirty-six, with a further eleven now too fragmentary to say for certain. This relates to a significant group of milestones, twenty-three in total, which date to the time of the alliance of Constantine and Maximian, (307–310). Apart from one anomaly in Bayeux, all of these are from the southern part of the Diocesis Viennensis. Fourteen examples follow the route of the southern coastal road for over four hundred

---

[27] *CIL* II.4507, Fabre et al. (1997 no. 27), LSA-1988 (C. Witschel). The base, which was later reused in the late Roman city wall, was set up by the city's council. The honorand was an Augustus, and the dedication formula dates the base to the tetrarchic or Constantinian period. The final letters of the name are restored as '-*NO*' by Fabre et al. (1997: 86–87) indicating the two possible candidates are Maximian and Maximinus Daia, and suggesting Maximian as the more likely. The other dedication, a columnar block from Singilia Barba in Baetica which possibly served as a statue base, also has a late antique dedicatory formula. Diocletian, Maximian, Licinius, and Constantine II have been proposed as the original honorands: *CIL* II-5.779, LSA-2005 (C. Witschel).

[28] The first is from Navagallega in Lusitania, but may have honoured Galerius. The second is from Arroyo de Lorilla in Baetica (just east of modern Córdoba), where Maximian's name is the only one which has been erased from a dedication to the first Tetrarchy: see Appendix 1 section A1.
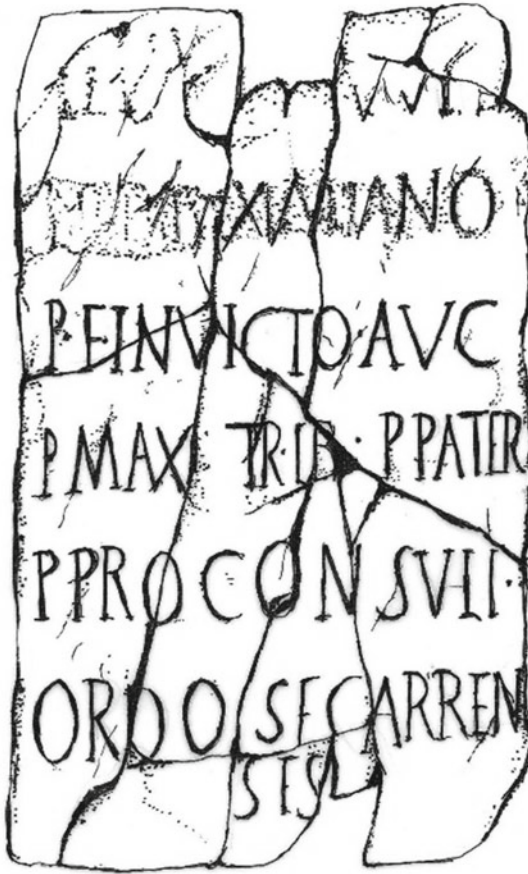
[[Imp(eratori) Cae(sari) M(arco)
  Aure[l(io)]]] / [[Val(erio) Maximiano]] /
  P(io) F(elici) Invicto Aug(usto) /
  p(ontifici) max(imo) trib(unicia)
  p(otestate) pater / p(atriae) proconsuli /
  ordo Segarren/sis.

'[[To the emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius
Valerius Maximian]], pious, fortunate, and
unconquered Augustus, holding
tribunician power, father of the fatherland,
proconsul. The council of the city of
Segarra [set this up].'

Fig. 2.1 Plaque from statue base of Maximian from Segarra (*AE* 1908.3)
(Illustration by author)

kilometres, from Nice, past Marseille and through Arles and Montpellier to Narbonne. A further nine run inland northwards for almost three hundred kilometres from Arles to Lyon (see Appendix 1 A4). Though many are now fragmentary, their text appears to be identical:

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Fl(avio) Val(erio) Constantino P(io) F(elici) Aug(usto) M(arci) Aur(eli) Maximiani Aug(usti) nepoti divi Constanti Aug(usti) pii filio.

To Imperator Caesar Flavius Valerius Constantine Augustus, pious, fortunate, grandson of Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximian Augustus, son of the deified Constantius Augustus pious.

Constantine is the focus in these dedications: he is the primary honorand, listed first in the dative. Maximian, on the other hand, is in a passive role: lacking the title *imperator* and its connotations of holding *imperium*, he appears in the genitive as the grandfather of Constantine, the same as the deceased Constantius who is listed as Constantine's deified father. Nevertheless, as Hekster notes, the fact that the living Maximian was listed before *divus* Constantius indicates the importance of the alliance forged between him and Constantine as part of the marriage union with Fausta.[29] The identical wording of these milestones, as well as the density of their placement, indicates a substantial campaign in this region. That so many have survived in whole or as fragments in relatively close proximity suggests that they represent a fraction of a larger number, a considerable investment of time and resources. Not only did they commemorate the political and familial alliance formed between Constantine and Maximian, the milestones functioned as a kilometres-long monument of Constantine's dominion over this region. The junior, senior, and deified Augusti together formed a triad of power, confidently broadcasting an imperial arrangement which stood at odds with the wider political world of this time.

Grünewald has drawn connections between the language of these milestones and the panegyric of 307, particularly how Constantine's legitimacy is presented as bolstered by his relationships with both the veteran emperor Maximian and his deified father Constantius (who makes an

---

[29] Hekster (2015: 290).

appearance at the end of the speech).[30] However, the milestones' focus on Constantine contrasts with this panegyric, where the younger emperor was eclipsed by the older, and where the speaker claimed that Maximian still wielded *imperium*: here only Constantine is *imperator*. This discrepancy could be explained by geographical distance. Though Grünewald has used the milestones to argue that the wedding alliance took place in Arles, suggesting that the city was the communal residence of Constantine and Maximian, Nixon and Saylor Rodgers make a case for the traditional location of Trier, 850 kilometres away in the Diocesis Galliarum.[31] Whether the marriage celebrations took place there or not, the region around Arles certainly played an important role in the following years, especially as conflict with Maxentius in Italy grew imminent. Significantly, it was also the place where Maximian's rebellion took place in 310 whilst Constantine was occupied on the Rhine frontier, which suggests that the older emperor might have been based here with troops, entrusted with guarding the Alpine passes against a potential invasion from his own son.[32]

Maximian's name is recorded as erased from every one of these twenty-four milestones, a level of thoroughness which is unprecedented, especially since, as a general rule, surviving milestones exhibit fewer erasures than other forms of epigraphic dedication.[33] On closer inspection, however, the picture is more complicated. Both the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* and Grünewald reconstruct Maximian's name as erased on fourteen milestones which are now in too fragmentary a state to say this with any certainty, since the entire lower section of the stone is missing. The fact that no examples survive where Maximian's name has escaped unscathed suggests that the campaign may have been as comprehensive as has been suggested, but this is now impossible to confirm.

An examination of the erasure methods of the more complete examples also reveals further nuances, such as inconsistencies in execution. From the descriptions, transcriptions, and photographs, two contrasting techniques can be broadly identified. The first and most common, found

[30] Grünewald (1990: 33–34).

[31] Grünewald (1990: 36–37, 105, 135), Nixon and Saylor Rodgers (1994: 184–185). See also Heijmans (2004: 43–45, 49–50).

[32] Nixon and Saylor Rodgers (1994: 185).

[33] Grünewald (1990: 46).

in seven surviving examples, involved the entire central section with Maximian's name and titles being removed in an abrasion, in some cases leaving the letters semi-legible. Slight differences in execution can be identified within this type: for example, whilst most have the *nepoti* left untouched, likely because the eraser understood it referred to Constantine as Maximian's grandson, some have it erased.[34] This created a void in the central section of the milestone which draws in the viewer's attention. The second response, found in two examples, involved the erasure of the entire inscription after Constantine's name and titles, including both Maximian *and* Constantius Pius as *divus*, followed by Constantius' name being re-carved over the central section. This technique would have taken much more time and involved greater skill, but created a more seamless effect by avoiding the central gap, as illustrated by a particularly fine example from Vienne, roughly thirty kilometres down the river Rhône from Lyon.[35]

These different responses also reflect regional variations. Most of the rougher erasures are found on the coastal route from Nice to Narbonne, and the more elaborate examples in relatively close proximity on the route from Arles inland to Lyon. It could even be suggested that the same individual or group of individuals were responsible for the execution on the different routes. Though the 307–310 milestones account for the majority with Maximian's name in this area, there are two earlier examples honouring the emperor which survive from the route which follows the Rhône inland to Arles, and neither of these exhibit any signs of erasure.[36] This suggests that we should interpret the erasures less as an attempt to eradicate the memory of Maximian, and more as an attack on his relationship with Constantine, who, after all, was the primary honorand of the new milestones.

This finds parallels with the condemnation of Piso, where the *Senatus Consultum* specified that the disgraced senator's name should be erased from the base of a statue of his alleged victim, Germanicus, which stood in the Campus Martius in Rome. It has been argued that this

---

[34] *Nepos* untouched: milestones from Cannes (*CIL* XVII-2.25), Les Arcs (*CIL* XVII-2.40), Cabasse (*CIL* XVII-2.46), and Les Granges-Gontardes (*CIL* XVII-2.166). *Nepos* untouched, and Maximian's '*Aug*' untouched: Fréjus (*CIL* XVII-2.28). *Nepos* erased: Arles-Triquetaille (*CIL* XVII-2.206) and Bayeux (*CIL* XVII-2.459).

[35] Vienne (*CIL* XVII-2.101); St. Clair-de-la-Tour (*CIL* XVII-2.100).

[36] Maximian as Caesar: Cruas (*AE* 1986.478); Maximian as Augustus: Bourg-Saint-Andeol (*CIL* XVII-2.186).

measure was designed to symbolically sever the link between Germanicus and Piso, leaving the monument standing, not only as a memorial to Germanicus but also to Piso's betrayal, embodied in the visible lacuna which had once held the senator's name.[37] Likewise, the removal of Maximian's name from these milestones severed the relationship that had been forged between the senior and junior emperors. Left in place along these key routes in southern Gaul, these milestones testified to the impiety Maximian had demonstrated, and the emperor's ongoing state of disgrace.[38] They also asserted Constantine's authority to suppress the memory of the man who had raised him to the position of Augustus only three years earlier. Constantine's legitimacy now stood alone, along with his deified father, without the need for Maximian's support.

The geographical context of these milestones also provides an unusual scenario where epigraphic evidence and historical events overlap, since they are located in precisely the area where Maximian's rebellion took place. The panegyric of 310 describes how Maximian seized the purple at Arles, before fleeing down the Rhône to the more easily defendable Marseille when he learnt that Constantine's forces were rushing from the Rhine frontier to put down his rebellion (18.4–6). Constantine's army travelled by river along the route that the inland milestones mark. Since the erection of milestones has been ascribed to military activity, could we likewise connect these erasures to military presence in this area due to the revolt? In 310, the entire region must have been inextricably associated with the rebellion and ensuing disgrace: not only the disgrace of Maximian, but of all of the soldiers who had abandoned Constantine, and had allegedly been granted clemency after their surrender at Marseille.

Overall, the unprecedented consistency of the milestone erasures over several hundred kilometres demonstrates a level of organisation which is extremely rare for epigraphic erasures, and one which may well reflect a centrally-ordered campaign. Could this be the *Constantini iussu* to which Lactantius refers? Moreover, the geographical location of this campaign makes most sense in the immediate aftermath of Maximian's rebellion, thus contradicting Barnes' argument that Constantine delayed such actions until tensions with Maxentius had intensified a year or so

[37] Kajava (1995: 202), Flower (1998: 162), and Bodel (1999: 53).

[38] The fact that three of these milestones (*CIL* XVII-2.25, 28, and 304) hold imperial rededications from the late fourth century demonstrates that many were left standing for at least 80 years after Maximian's death.

later. Neither should these attacks be seen as incompatible with the mood of the panegyric of 310, since they were a localised affair, concentrated in the southern parts of Gaul, and so neither witnessed nor reported by the speaker in Trier, over eight hundred kilometres to the northeast. This underlines the reality that this process, however thorough it may have been, represents a response which rejected Maximian's legacy in a confined and particularly loaded context, not a widespread campaign. As I will demonstrate later in this chapter, the epigraphic evidence from the empire as a whole demonstrates a dispersed and unsystematic reaction to the emperor's downfall. Moreover, as we will now see, in Maxentius' neighbouring territories a rather different interpretation of Maximian's posthumous status was being propagated at this time.

CIVIL WAR AND THE SPECTRE OF MAXIMIAN

Just over the Alps in Italy, Maxentius' regime was minting coinage that commemorated his father as a *divus*. That Maximian could somehow be seen as disgraced and deified at exactly the same moment, in immediately bordering regions of the empire, is a testament to the complex political landscape of this period. To modern scholars, Maximian's posthumous status and its relationship to the civil war between Constantine and Maxentius has become something of a 'chicken and egg' issue. Using Lactantius, Ramsay MacMullen interpreted Maxentius' deification of his father as a direct response to Constantine's official *damnatio memoriae* of the emperor.[39] Timothy Barnes, by contrast, has argued that Constantine's targeting of his father-in-law's political memory was *his* response to his rival Maxentius declaring that Maximian was now a *divus*.[40]

The tendency to view Maxentius' position at this time as particularly vulnerable has led to the appearance of his deified father on his coinage being seen as an act of opportunism. Unrecognised by any of the other emperors of this period, undermined by his own father, and outlawed by his father-in-law Galerius in 308, it is easy to see him as alienated and therefore doomed to fail. As the *Epitome de Caesaribus* puts it, 'Maxentius was dear to no one, not even his own father or father-in-law'.[41] MacMullen, for instance, explains Maxentius' commemoration

---

[39] MacMullen (1969: 61).

[40] Barnes (1982: 34–35).

[41] *Epit. de Caes.* 40.14: *Maxentius carus nulli umquam fuit ne patri aut socero quidem.*

of his deified father as a symptom of desperation.[42] By contrast, in his detailed study of the emperor, Mats Cullhed has argued that Maxentius was in a comparatively strong position in this period, both from practical and ideological standpoints.[43] He occupied Rome, a traditional hallmark of legitimate imperial rule, which simultaneously undermined the claims of his rivals. He exercised political control over the central regions of Italy, Sicily, and Africa. He was in a relatively secure military position, with a sizeable army, enlarged by the deserters from two failed campaigns to oust him, no borders to defend from barbarian incursions and the persistent loyalty of his troops, who had sided with him even against his own father.

The revolt of Lucius Domitius Alexander, Maxentius' African *vicarius*, was a major setback in 308, precipitating a crisis of food and resource shortages in Italy. There is some uncertainty as to how long this rebellion continued before it was suppressed by Maxentius' praetorian prefect, Rufius Volusianus, though most believe that this took place within a year. Even the loss of a single season of grain shipments from Africa would have put significant pressure on Maxentius' regime in Rome.[44] But it had certainly been quashed long before Constantine's invasion, giving Maxentius time to re-strengthen his domestic situation, restoring the grain supply and reducing unpopularly high taxation levels.[45] With the benefit of hindsight, it can be tempting to view Maxentius' defeat as a foregone conclusion. However, this period was a precarious time for every imperial claimant, Constantine included. The years 309–312 would prove to be the most dangerous and uncertain of Constantine's career.

This reassessment of the dynamics of this period has significant implications for our interpretation of attitudes towards Maximian's legacy. Rather than see Maxentius and Constantine's contrasting treatments of

---

[42] MacMullen (1969: 61): '[he] needed all the help he could get from the living or the dead.'

[43] Cullhed (1994: 65–73).

[44] As highlighted by Leadbetter (2009: 218–219). Chastagnol (1962: 54–55) argues that the rebellion must have been suppressed before October 310, since this is when Rufius Volusianus began his tenure as urban prefect of Rome (likely a reward for his success). Lepelley (1979: 89) dates the recovery to 310. Most argue for the end of 309: Barnes (1981: 33), Cullhed (1994: 73), Odahl (2010: 89, 92), and Stephenson (2009: 137).

[45] Aur. Vict. *De. Caes.* 40. Zosimus' account of Domitius Alexander's uprising (2.12–14) is full though muddled: see Barnes (1996: 533) and Corcoran (2012: 12) for further analysis.

the dead emperor as intrinsically connected—a result of cause and effect (in whichever direction)—we should entertain the possibility that both policies represented mutually exclusive responses to Maximian's death. Both Constantine and Maxentius had had a problematic relationship with the dead emperor. Given that he had been expelled from his territories in an attempted usurpation in around 308, some have expressed surprise at how readily Maxentius announced that his father was a *divus* just two years later. However, as with Maximian's later 'deification' under Constantine and his sons (examined later in this chapter), the commemoration of *divus* Maximian by Maxentius' regime was far more sporadic and limited than has been appreciated.

Maximian was only one of several imperial *divi* for whom Maxentius' mints struck low-denomination issues at this time. The earliest *divus* to appear was Romulus, Maxentius' young son who, after his death in 309, was commemorated in both gold and *follis* issues.[46] The reverses of these coins depict a building with a domed roof, doors ajar in reference to the afterlife, mounted by an eagle, a symbol of imperial apotheosis, and with the legend 'AETERNAE MEMORIAE' ('of eternal memory').[47] Matching *follis* issues were subsequently created for *divus* Maximian, *divus* Constantius and, after his death in the spring of 311, *divus* Galerius (Fig. 2.2). Like Maximian, Constantius and Galerius might not seem like obvious choices for Maxentius. Constantius was the father of his rival, Constantine, who had been minting his own coins of *divus* Constantius since autumn 307.[48] Galerius had never recognised Maxentius' legitimacy as emperor, and twice tried to remove him by military force. However, these coins rewrote Maxentius' relationship with these individuals, with matching reverse imagery but obverse legends which linked the *divus* depicted to the living emperor: 'Imperator Maxentius, to his son *divus* Romulus', or 'to his father *divus* Maximian', or 'to his father-in-law (*socer*) *divus* Galerius', or 'to his kinsman (*cognatus*)', or 'to his relation

---

[46] Sutherland (1967) *RIC* VI, Rome, nos. 207, 226, 239–240, 249, 256–257; Ostia, nos. 1, 32–44, 58–59.

[47] Beyond these common features, the building depicted varies considerably in style: sometimes circular, sometimes hexagonal, with or without columns, and occasionally with layered arcades. As a consequence, Dumser (2006: 106–119) has argued that the structures depicted in Maxentius' *divi* issues were symbolic rather than real.

[48] Sutherland (1967) *RIC* VI, London, no. 110; Trier, nos. 789–790 and no. 809; Lyon, no. 251, nos. 264–269, and no. 297.

Obverse: IMP MAXENTIVS DIVO MAXIMIANO PATRI
Reverse: AETERNA MEMORIA

Fig. 2.2 Follis of *divus* Maximian, *RIC* VI Ostia no. 26. ANS 1984.146.117 (Photograph: American Numismatic Society, reproduced with kind permission)

by marriage (*adfinis*) *divus* Constantius.[49] These issues set Maxentius apart from his imperial competitors, surrounding the emperor with a circle of *divi* bound to him alone through family ties.[50] Any antagonistic relationships he might have had with these individuals whilst they were alive were accordingly neutralised.

The only *divus* who was depicted in gold coins by Maxentius' regime, or was definitely honoured in statue dedications, was his son Romulus. A still unpublished (though consistently referenced) inscription, discovered hidden in the attic of the Arch of Constantine, has been interpreted as the fragmentary remains of a large plaque which rededicated the nearby Neronian Colossus to *divus* Romulus.[51] Likewise, fragments of a smaller plaque dedicated to *divus* Romulus were found in the entrance-way which

[49] Sutherland (1967) *RIC* VI, Rome, nos. 239–240, 243–257, 271; Ostia, nos. 1, 24–34, 58–59. See Hekster (2015: 295) for the translation of *adfinis* as 'related by marriage' and *cognatus* as 'kindred'.

[50] MacCormack (1981: 112–123), Cullhed (1994: 76–79), and Hekster (2015: 295).

[51] No photograph, record of dimensions, or transliteration of this inscription have ever been provided: Cullhed (1994: 61), Marlowe (2006: 228), Van Dam (2007: 82), and Bardill (2012: 84).

connected Maxentius' new circus complex to the Appian Way.[52] This is likely to have come from a statue set up for Romulus after his death, and honours the boy in relation to his paternal and maternal grandfathers, *divus* Maximian and *divus* Galerius. *Divus* Maximian also appears on a base from Caesarea in Mauretania Caesariensis, dedicated by Maxentius' governor in the region (see Fig. 2.3).[53] Here, once again, Maximian only plays a supporting role: the base is dedicated to Maxentius, and Maximian's name is featured alongside Galerius'. In these scenarios both Maximian and Galerius have become two-dimensional figures, divorced from the real individuals which they had, until only recently, been. Like the coin issues, these statue bases propagated an unapologetically edited version of the recent past. Instead of ignoring the existence of these oppositional individuals, they were reduced to commemorative figures which bolstered rather than undermined the legitimacy of Maxentius' regime.

There are two possible statue base dedications to *divus* Maximian from Italy. One, discovered in Amiternum in central Italy, is now lost, and the transcribed inscription makes no specific connection with Maxentius' regime.[54] Another, a plaque from Aletrium in Campania, is also very simple, with no indication as to whether it was inscribed when Maxentius or Constantine controlled Italy. Though it has been dated to the reign of the former,[55] there is no reason why it cannot be connected to Maximian's later commemoration as a *divus* under the Constantinian dynasty. The Aletrium example is remarkable because the dedication to *divus* Maximian is carved onto a surface which already held an earlier dedication to Diocletian and Maximian, and from which Maximian's name appears to have been erased (Fig. 2.4).

The plaque is a challenge to make sense of. A large slab of local limestone that was trimmed in antiquity and is highly corroded, the dedication to Diocletian and Maximian was partially superimposed over an

---

[52] *CIL* VI.1138, *ILS* 673. The fragments are now presumed lost: Cullhed (1994: 57, 78).

[53] *CIL* VIII.20989, LSA-2557. No measurements of the base are recorded, and no images have been published.

[54] *CIL* IX.4516, *ILS* 657.

[55] Gasperini (1965: 31).

FILIO DIVI MAXIMI

ANI GENERO DIVI

MAXIMIANI FELICIS

SIMORV IMPP IMP TO

TIVS ORBIS PERPETVO

D N M *a*VR VAL MAXEN

TIO PIO FELICI INVICTO

ET GLORIOSISSIMO SEM

PER AVG VAL FAVSTVS

V P P P MAVR CAES DEVO

TVS NVMINI MAIESTA

TIQVE EIVS

Filio divi Maximi/ani genero divi / Maximiani felicis/simoru(m) impp(eratorum) imp(eratori) to/tius orbis perpetuo / d(omino) n(ostro) M(arco) [A]ur(elio) Val(erio) Maxen/tio pio felici invicto / et gloriosissimo sem/per Aug(usto) Val(erius) Faustus / v(ir) p(erfectissimus) / p(raeses) p(rovinciae) Maur(etania) Caes(ariensis) devo/tus numini maiesta/tique eius.

'To the son of *divus* Maximian, to the son-in-law of *divus* Maximian [Galerius], most fortunate emperors, to the perpetual emperor of the whole world, our Lord Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maxentius, pious, fortunate, unconquered and most glorious, always Augustus; Valerius Faustus, of *perfectissimus* rank, governor of the province of Mauretania Caesariensis, devoted to his *numen* and majesty, [set this up].'

Fig. 2.3 Transcription of statue base of Maxentius from Caesarea (*CIL* VIII.20989)

earlier one to the emperor Gallienus.[56] The size of the panel—almost a metre high and over a metre wide—led Gasperini to suggest that it

[56] Gallienus inscription: *CIL* X.5804, *AE* 1998.300b. Diocletian and Maximian: *CIL* X.5803, *AE* 1998.300a, LSA-2036. *Divus* Maximian: *CIL* X.5805.1, *AE* 1998.300c, LSA-2569.
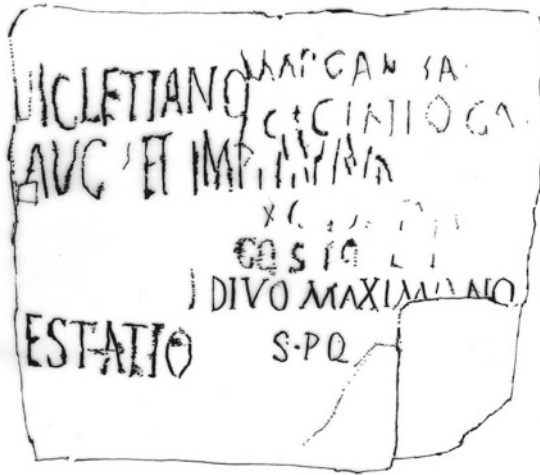
(visible letters emboldened)

Top left to centre: Centre right:

    [IMP DI]**OCLETIANO**
    [INVICTO] **AVG ET IMP <u>MA</u>**
    [[XIMIANO] INVICTO AUG]]   **DIVO MAXIMIANO**
      [DEVOT]**VS NVMINI**   **SPQ**[A]
        [MAI]**ESTATIQ**
      [EORVM SPQA]

[Imp(eratori) Di]ocletiano / [invicto]   'To the emperor Diocletian, unconquered
Aug(usto) et Imp(eratori) Ma/[[ximiano   Augustus, and to the emperor Ma[[ximian
invicto Aug(usto)]] / [devot]us numini /   unconquered Augustus]], the senate and
[mai]estatiq(ue) / [eorum s(enatus)   people of Aletrium, devoted to their *numen*
p(opulus)q(ue) A(letrinas)]   and majesty [set this up]'

Divo Maximiano / s(enatus) p(opulus)q(ue)   'To *divus* Maximian, the senate and people of
[A(letrinas)].   Aletrium [set this up]'

Fig. 2.4   Plaque from statue base of Diocletian and Maximian with rededication
to *divus* Maximian from Aletrium (*CIL* X.5803, 5805) (Illustration by author)

originally belonged to a larger public monument such as an equestrian statue group, though no associated statues survive.[57] The dedication to Diocletian and Maximian is partially cut off to the left side of the panel, though enough survives to show the first, second, and final lines. The first two letters of Maximian's name—'*MA*'—are preserved at the end of the second line, but the rest of it is erased along with the entire third line. A smaller dedication to *Divo Maximiano* was then carved in the lower centre of the panel, slightly imposed over the earlier inscription, to the right of the erasure of Maximian. As Galli and Gregori admit, the muddled overlapping erasures and plaque's poor condition pose considerable obstacles, limiting its interpretative potential.[58] Nevertheless, it provides an intriguing glimpse into the dissonance of Maximian's posthumous status. Here we find the emperor at both ends of the political memory spectrum: disgraced and a *divus* on literally the same piece of stone.[59]

Regardless of the attitudes towards Maximian held within Constantine's territories, the emperor's death necessitated some form of response from his son. However, the surviving material evidence indicates that Maxentius' regime made use of Maximian very selectively, and in limited circumstances: *divus* Maximian was an ingredient in, but not the cornerstone of, Maxentius' ideological strategy in the final two years of his reign. Moreover, if this behaviour is placed within the wider context of this period, it seems all the more conventional. To varying degrees, all contemporary emperors evoked the memory of various imperial *divi* at this time. Constantine struck coinage from 307 onwards in the mints of London, Trier, and Lyon commemorating the 'MEMORIA FELIX' ('blessed memory') of his father, *divus* Constantius, who was also a common feature of milestone dedications in Constantinian territories throughout this period.[60]

---

[57] Gasperini (1965: 31–33).

[58] Galli and Gregori (1998: 50–52, no. 16a).

[59] A comparative example of this phenomenon survives for the emperor Galerius in Thamugadi in Numidia, where a dedication to him as a *divus* was inscribed on exactly the same monument where his name had been chiselled out on an earlier occasion: *CIL* VIII.2385, LSA-2373.

[60] For milestones, see, for example, in the Diocesis Britanniarum: *CIL* VII.1153, the Diocesis Galliarum: *AE* 2003.1267, and the Diocesis Hispaniarum: *CIL* XVII-1.274.

The eastern emperors Licinius and Maximinus Daia were also engaged in the opportunistic use of deified figures in relation to their regimes, striking issues in honour of *divus* Galerius in the years following the emperor's death in May 311. In the mints of Siscia and Thessalonica in the territories of Licinius, coins were struck proclaiming 'DIVO GALERIO VAL MAXIMIANO / FORTI FORTVNAE' ('to *divus* Galerius Valerius Maximian / to *Fors Fortuna*': Siscia), and 'DIVO MAXIMIANO / MEM DIVI MAXIMIANI' ('to *divus* Maximian / to the memory of *divus* Maximian': Thessalonica).[61] The mints of Maximinus Daia also struck coins which explicitly underlined the emperor's connection to *divus* Galerius: 'DIVO MAXIMIANO MAXIM-INVS AVG FIL / AETERNAE MEMORIAE GALERI MAXIMIANI' ('to *divus* Maximian, Augustus Maximinus his son / to the eternal memory of Galerius Maximian': Cyzicus).[62] Clearly, the commemoration of recently deceased emperors as *divi* was part of wider strategies of the time, with each political claimant asserting ownership of their preferred tetrarchic figures as the political system crumbled around them.

This re-evaluation of the dynamics of the 310–312 period brings into question the view that the war between Constantine and Maximian played out over two conflicting conceptions—damned and deified—of Maximian. Rather than the *casus belli*, Maximian's death was one factor amongst many which contributed to the civil war, just as *divus* Maximian was only one of several *divi* who was commemorated across the empire at this time. We now turn to the epigraphic evidence for attacks on Maximian in the wider Roman world, outside of the territories held by Constantine at the time of the emperor's death in 310. As we shall see, the emperor's posthumous legacy was disgraced in contexts well beyond the confines of the conflict between Maxentius and Constantine.

Maximian's Disgrace in the Wider Roman World

The political context has important implications for our interpretation of the material evidence. If, as Barnes suggests, Constantine only pursued a *damnatio memoriae* against his father-in-law after the death of Galerius in

---

[61] Sutherland (1967) *RIC* VI, Siscia, nos. 205–206, 223–224, 226; Thessalonica, no. 48.

[62] Sutherland (1967) *RIC* VI, Cyzicus, no. 75. Issues were also struck for *divus* Galerius in Alexandria (nos. 133, 143, 148, 151, 154, 159), but not Antioch.

May 311, and ceased after his defeat of Maxentius in October 312, this would mean that this policy was sustained for only seventeen months. Consequently, we should expect evidence of Maximian's disgrace to be correspondingly limited, and restricted to regions in the west which were under Constantine's jurisdiction up to October 312: Britain, Gaul, Spain, and the areas of northern and central Italy which he and his army passed through on their campaign against Maxentius. However, this is not the case. Maximian's memory was disgraced across the full extent of the Roman world. As a consequence, the material evidence reveals a far more complex set of reactions to the emperor's downfall.

The Overall Picture

The memory of Maximian ran deep in the empire of the early fourth century, well beyond the regions of the west where he had been Augustus for over twenty years before his abdication in 305. The Tetrarchy had ushered in a period of relative stability after the political upheavals and divisions of the mid-third century, and this was reflected in a rise of imperial dedications across the empire, particularly in regions such as North Africa.[63] This period also marks the apex of milestone production, with more surviving from the late third to early fourth centuries than any other time in Roman history.[64] As a consequence, Maximian is the case study examined in this book with the largest surviving body of epigraphic material. The emperor's name is recorded in over seven hundred inscriptions, both whole and fragmentary, in Latin and Greek, and encompassing a wide range of different functions: statue bases, building inscriptions, milestones and boundary stones, religious dedications, and consular dates. The size of this corpus is testament to the epigraphic impact that Maximian had made in his twenty-five years as emperor. It also illustrates how unfeasible it is to expect that such a prominent individual could be systematically eradicated from the physical landscape of the empire.

This unwieldly body of evidence creates obvious pragmatic obstacles for the modern interpreter, which are exacerbated by additional complications in this particular case. One is that both Maximian and Galerius

---

[63] Lepelley (1979: 85–89).

[64] Kolb (2001: 139) and Laurence (2004: 48–49).

were called 'Maximianus' in antiquity, and appear as such in dedications. The emperors can easily be distinguished when they appear together on a collegiate inscription honouring the first Tetrarchy (so Diocletian and Maximian as Augusti, followed by Constantius and Galerius/Maximian as Caesars). However, if only one emperor is honoured, we have to look for other clues to guess the honorand's precise identity. *Praenomina* can be useful, but this is not foolproof, especially if the inscription concerned is now in a fragmentary state.[65] We should give credence to the possibility that ancient audiences may also have struggled to tell the two apart, as is suggested by the interchangeable ways in which the emperors are treated in some literary sources.[66] This confusion may have contributed to a lack of confidence in the identity of the emperor honoured in a dedication—the disgraced Maximian, or the still-living Augustus Galerius—which has obvious implications as to whether or not individuals chose to alter the texts.

A further issue is identifying when an attack took place. Not only was Maximian's memory targeted for political reasons after his downfall in 310, his reputation as a persecutor of the Christians left him vulnerable to religiously-motivated attacks later in the fourth century. In such cases, if other members of the first Tetrarchy who were also remembered as persecutors—Diocletian and Galerius—have also been attacked in an inscription or collegiate monument, a religious motivation might be inferred. The removal of all members of the tetrarchic college save Constantius I, the father of Constantine, is particularly common in dedications in Africa and this, as we shall see, could account for the high proportion of erasures of Maximian's name from inscriptions in this region. Sometimes a close examination of the manner of an erasure's execution can help to differentiate different stages of attack, where Maximian's name was removed in a different manner to the rest of the group, thus suggesting an earlier alteration, though this is an exception rather than the rule. Consequently, I have recorded Maximian's name as erased in any example where it appears to be the case, regardless of the

---

[65] See, for example, a fragmentary erased milestone from Lusitania (*AE* 2003.889).

[66] Lactantius calls both emperors 'Maximian', specifying the elder or the younger. In his *Caesars* Julian treats the emperors as a unit, twinning them together as 'the two Maximians' (Μαξιμιανὼ τὼ δύο, 315A). Moreover, Zosimus confuses Maximian with another similarly-name emperor, Maximinus Daia, claiming that the former died at Tarsus in the east (2.11).

possible dating of the attack. However, alterations which are likely to have taken place at a later date due to a different motivation will be treated as such, and they are distinguished by being shaded grey in Appendix 1.

With the exception of the campaign against the milestones in southern Gaul which honoured Constantine as *nepos* of Maximian, the erasure of Maximian's name from milestones and boundary-stones was not a common occurrence (see Table 2.3). No erased stones are recorded in Italy, Pannonia, or the Diocesis Orientis. Two of the six milestones erased in Africa are likely to have been modified for reuse rather than attacked for political reasons (see Appendix 1, section B2). Of the four confirmed erased milestones from the Dioceses Moesiarum and Thraciae, one is from Epirus and the remaining three from Achaia, though the large number of fragmentary stones make it challenging to expand this assessment further. A notable quantity of milestones from Asia Minor have been erased, a phenomenon that will receive due consideration in a moment. Given the large number of milestones with Latin and Greek dedications that survive from this region, this works out as just over 10%.

An important factor in all of these cases is the age of these inscriptions. A dedication to the members of the first Tetrarchy could have been between five and seventeen years old at the time of Maximian's death; one to just Diocletian and Maximian could be up to twenty-five years old. Dedications set up in most recent memory generally were more likely to

Table 2.3 Milestones including Maximian from outside Constantine's territories in 310

	Diocesis Italiae	Diocesis Africae	Diocesis Pannoniarum	Dioceses Moesiarum & Thraciae	Dioceses Asiana & Pontica	Diocesis Orientis
erased	0	6	0	4	17	0
not erased	42	75	8	22	113	59
uncertain	4	2	0	19	41	7
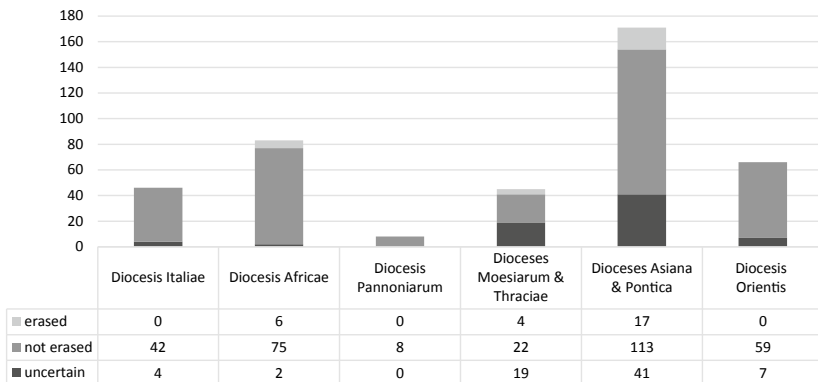
Table 2.4 Other dedications including Maximian from outside Constantine's territories in 310

	Rome	Diocesis Italiae	Diocesis Africae	Diocesis Pannoniarum	Dioceses Moesiarum & Thraciae	Dioceses Asiana & Pontica	Diocesis Orientis
erased	3	4	27	3	5	2	5
not erased	26	18	41	13	11	15	21
uncertain	6	2	10	5	9	4	5
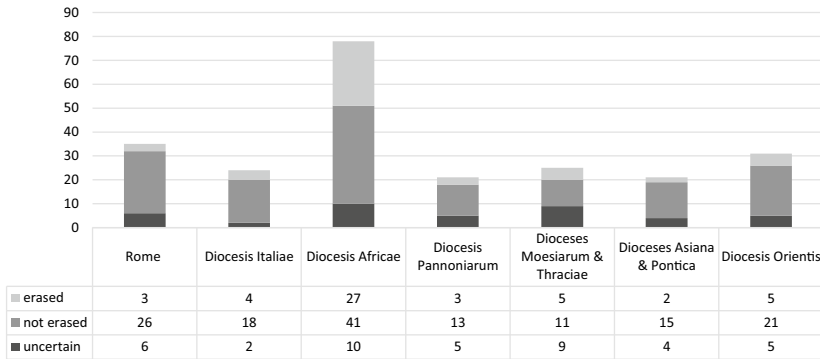
be erased, hence the high proportion of erasures of Maximian from the milestones in southern Gaul commemorating his alliance with Constantine, which were no more than three years old at the time of the senior emperor's downfall. Nevertheless, given the considerable age of many of these dedications, combined with the fact that milestones generally exhibit lower proportions of erasures than other forms of inscription, an erasure rate of almost 10% in the Balkans and Asia Minor is significant.[67]

Once milestones are removed, a different outlook emerges: a possible forty-seven erasures of Maximian's name are recorded, representing 20% of surviving inscriptions (see Table 2.4). There is considerable geographical variation, with the highest proportion found in Africa, which corresponds to a very high number of inscriptions in this region; explanations for this will be considered shortly. Though a small number of erasures are attested across the full breadth of the empire, it is notable that a significant quantity is found in regions such as the Diocesis Orientis which fell outside of Constantine's jurisdiction until his defeat of Licinius in 324, fourteen years after the execution of Maximian, and seven years after Maximian began appearing on Constantine's coinage as a *divus*.

I will now examine the evidence in geographical terms, beginning with the regions—Italy and Africa—which moved to Constantine's control

---

[67] Dioceses Asiana and Pontica: 17 of 171, 9.9%. Diocesis Moesiarum: 4 of 45, 8.8%.

after his defeat of Maxentius in 312, before moving on to the eastern empire.

The Diocesis Italiae and the City of Rome

There are five possible erasures of Maximian from Italy, two from the north and three from the centre. Either he or Diocletian was the original honorand of a base from Forum Germanorum (Caraglio) in Liguria where the name was partially erased, replacing the earlier letters with Constantine's name but leaving the last three letters intact ('*INO*').[68] Since this town is in the Po Valley, only around six kilometres south of where Constantine's army exited into Italy through the Alpine passes on his campaign against Maxentius, it is tempting to connect this cannibalisation of a pre-existing dedication to the presence of his forces in the region. However, the erasure and the rededication could have been executed at any point after 312, and reflects the opportunism of a local council in quickly adapting a statue dedication from a dead, irrelevant emperor to the current one. Likewise, the town of Segusio (Susa) in the Cottian Alps was the first which Constantine's army took on its offensive, and a statue base there of Maximian as Caesar, set up almost thirty years earlier, has been erased.[69] However, it was paired with a statue of Diocletian which was erased in a similar fashion, which makes a later religiously-motivated attack more likely.[70] In contrast to these uncertain examples, Maximian was definitely erased from a statue base in Patavium (Padova) in north-east Italy which had been set up by the provincial governor Insteius Tertullus, who went on to serve as prefect of Rome under Maxentius in 307.[71] Maximian's name, along with some of his epithets, were removed with rough chiselling, leaving them still partly legible and his *praenomina* 'Marcus Aurelius' intact (Fig. 2.5).[72]

[68] *AE* 1998.573, LSA-1609 (U. Gehn and C. Machado).

[69] *Pan. Lat*. XII(9) 4–6, IV(10) 21. *CIL* V.7249, LSA-1608. See Appendix 1 section A3.

[70] *CIL* V.7248, LSA-1609. On both bases the first line, with *Imp*(*eratori*) *Caes*(*ari*), is preserved, with the following two lines containing the *praenomen* and *nomen* erased. Both bases are now presumed lost.

[71] *PLRE* I, Attius Insteius Tertullus 6, 883–884

[72] *CIL* V.2818, LSA-1236, Alföldy (1984 no. 166). Note that Insteius is spelt 'Isteius' in this inscription.
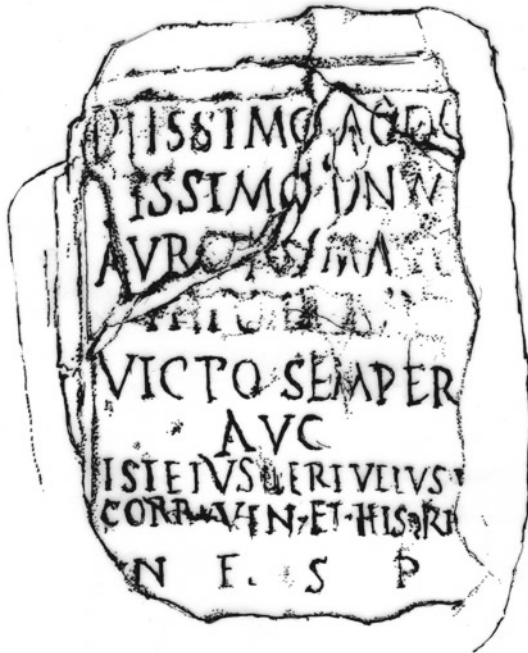
Piissimo ac fo[r]/tissimo d(omino) n(ostro) M(arco) / Aur(elio) [[Val(erio) Maxi]]/[[miano p(io) f(elici) in]]/victo semper / Aug(usto) / I<n>steius Tertullus v(ir) [c(larissimus)]/ corr(ector) Ven(etiae) et Histria[e] / n(umini) e(ius) s(emper) d(evotus).

'To our most pious and most powerful Lord, Marcus Aurelius [[Valerius Maximian, pious, fortunate, un]]conquered, forever Augustus, I[n]steius Tertullus, of *clarissimus* rank, governor of Venetia and Histria, always devoted to his *numen*, [set this up].'

Fig. 2.5 Statue base of Maximian from Patavium (*CIL* V.2818) (Illustration by author)

Further south in Tuscania, less than a hundred kilometres north of Rome, fragments survive of a marble panel, built into the pavement of the church of San Pietro, which have been identified as a dedicatory inscription of a public building set up in the town (Fig. 2.6).[73] It is

---

[73] *AE* 1964.235. See Papi (2000: 226–231) and Sordi (2002: 79–81) for wider discussions of the inscription's significance in its Etrurian context.

DOMINO NOSTRO

DIOCLETIANO

SENIORI AVG

[[[MAXI]MIANVS]] SENIOR

[AVG] FRATER ET

[CONS]TANTIVS ET

[[[MAXI]MIANVS]] AVGG ET

[[[SEVE]RVS]] ET [[MAXIMIANVS]]
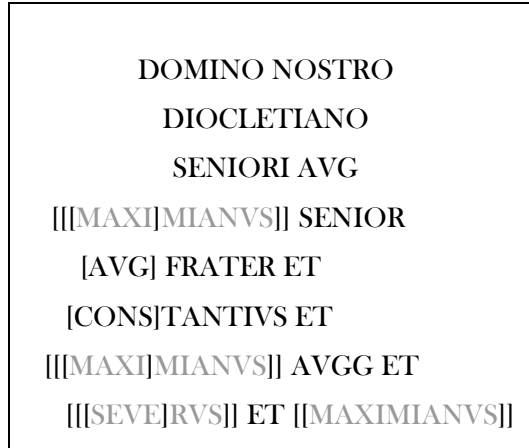
Domino nostro / Diocletiano / seniori Aug(usto) / [[[Maxi]mianus]] senior / [Aug(ustus)] frater et / [Cons]tantius et / [[[Maxi]]mianus]] Augg(usti) et / [[[Seve]rus]] et [[Maximinus]] … (*text missing*).

'To our lord Diocletian, Senior Augustus. [[Maximianus]] Senior Augustus brother, and Constantius and [[Maximian]] {*Galerius*} Augustii and [[Severus]] and [[Maximinus]] …'

Fig. 2.6 Transcription of fragmentary building plaque with dedication to Diocletian as Senior Augustus, from Tuscania (*AE* 1964.235)

unusual because it is dedicated to Diocletian as senior abdicated Augustus by Maximian as a senior Augustus and *frater* of Diocletian, along with the full members of the second Tetrarchy (Constantius and Maximian as Augusti, Severus and Maximinus Daia as Caesars). This imperial college indicates that it was set up within a fourteen-month window between the abdications of Diocletian and Maximian at the start of May 305 and the death of Constantius at the end of July 306. Of the six emperors who appear, the only names which are *not* erased are Diocletian's and Constantius'. In the case of Maximian, the erasure did not touch the associated *Senior Aug(ustus)* and *frater*, so left the identity of the disgraced emperor obvious. The modification, where Maximian's mutilated name as senior Augustus is juxtaposed against the untouched name of his *frater* Diocletian, is reminiscent of the panegyric of 310, where the speaker praises Diocletian for remaining a private citizen, honoured by the ruling emperors, whilst the impious Maximian had broken his word by usurping power once again (*Pan. Lat.* VI(7) 15.4–5).

Considering that Maxentius seized control of Italy at the end of October 306, we could date these erasures to his regime, especially since both Severus and Galerius had launched military campaigns against him. Despite his later commemoration as a *divus* by Maxentius' regime, Maximian's conflict with his son might have meant he was considered an opponent in the final two years of his life. The erasure of the eastern emperor Maximinus Daia is more difficult to place. Though his bond with Galerius and refusal to recognise Maxentius' regime might have marked him out as an adversary, Lactantius claims that Maxentius and Maximinus Daia had formed an alliance against Constantine after the death of Galerius in 311.[74] Moreover, Daia was not overthrown until his defeat by Licinius in the summer of 313. Accordingly, all the erasures might have been executed after Constantine gained control of Italy at the end of 312 (since they appear to have been executed by the same hand at the same time, Sordi expresses a preference for a post-312 dating).[75] In any case, whether carried out when Maxentius or Constantine controlled Italy, this attack on Maximian was carried out when this area was controlled by a regime of an emperor who minted coinage declaring he was a *divus*. Maximian was also erased from a dedication with Diocletian from Aletrium in Campania (already discussed), and a statue base from Castrum Novum in Tuscia & Umbria.

A substantial number of dedications including Maximian's name survive untouched from the city of Rome (thirty-five in total). Close to half are consular dates, and the rest are statue bases or fragmentary plaques from different areas of the ceremonial centre, none of which show clear sign of intentional mutilation. For example, on one base, dating to 287, Maximian's name has been erased and replaced with that of his grandson, Constantine II.[76] Since the rededication took place at least seven years after Maximian's death, and thirty years after the base was originally set up, it was more likely an act of expediency rather than a political attack. This is supported by the fact that the last three letters of Maximian's ('*INO*') name were retained, since they were the same for

---

[74] Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 43.3, 44.10.

[75] Sordi (2002: 84).

[76] *CIL* VI.1118, LSA-1256. See another base (*CIL* VI.36947) which has been thoroughly erased, but this is likely to have taken place when it was reused as building material.

the new honorand, and a matching base of Diocletian was also altered and rededicated to Constantine I.

The only confirmed erasure of Maximian is a significant one, but challenging to interpret: the dedication panel(s) of the Baths of Diocletian on the Viminal hill. Like the Tuscania inscription, this is a rare example of the commemoration of Diocletian and Maximian as 'Senior' abdicated emperors, along with the full college of the second Tetrarchy: Constantius I and Galerius as Augusti, followed by Severus and Maximinus Daia as Caesars (Fig. 2.7). The explanation for this college-of-six is found in the inscription, which outlines how the building project had been commissioned by Maximian after he returned to Rome from a campaign in Africa. This project took at least six years to complete, so the dedication panels commemorate the then-abdicated Diocletian and Maximian, along with the new tetrarchic college.

Now surviving only in fragments, the inscription is a jigsaw puzzle, complicated by the fact that the two most substantial sections, found from the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, are now lost, and the much smaller pieces discovered around the site in the twentieth century overlap with one another and exhibit varying epigraphic styles: here we are dealing with multiple original inscriptions, around four in total, which were presumably set up over the main entrances of the complex. A number of erasures are recorded, demonstrating inconsistency in execution between each version of the inscription. On the two large lost panels, described by Mommsen in the nineteenth century, the right section (*CIL* VI.1130b) has no erasures, but the left (1130a) records the names of Severus and Maximinus Daia as erased from the imperial titles, as well as the name of Maximian from the lower section that explains the emperor's involvement in the project. The smaller surviving fragments which are displayed in the Terme di Diocleziano museum represent more than one inscription, and Maximian's name is untouched in the lower part of the inscription (Fig. 2.7). However, on a fragment from the upper right which holds the final two letters of Maximian's name ('*VS*'), the letters have been chiselled out in a shallow abrasion that still reveals their outline (especially of the final '*S*': see Fig. 2.8).[77]

---

[77] Though recorded in the *CIL* (VI.31242, p. 3079), this erasure has been somewhat overlooked. Until recently the display in the Museo Nazionale Romano Terme di Diocleziano presented all the fragments within a reconstruction which restored the removed letters by painting over their traces. The new display (Fig. 2.7) presents the
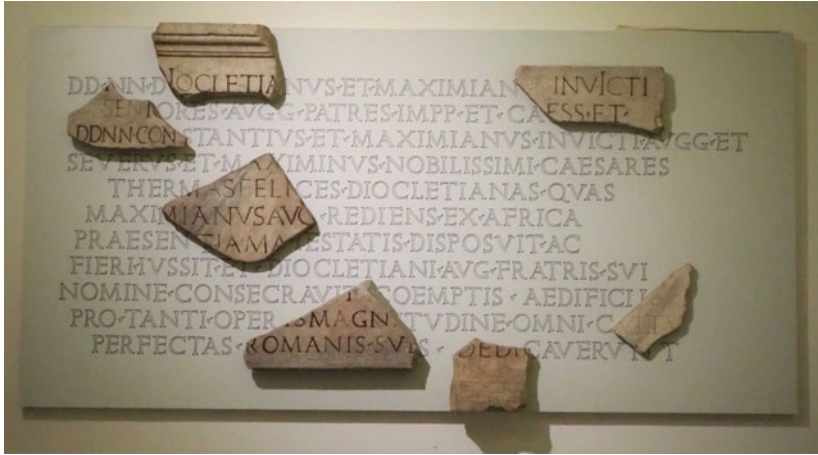
Dd(omini) nn(ostri) Diocletianus et [[Maximianus]] invicti / seniores Augg(usti) patres Impp(eratorum) et Caess(arum) et / dd(omini) nn(ostri) Constantius et Maximianus invicti Augg(usti) et / [[Severus]] et [[Maximinus]] nobilissimi Caesares / thermas felices Diocletianas quas / Maximianus Aug(ustus) rediens ex Africa / praesentia maiestatis disposuit ac / fieri iussit et Diocletiani Aug(usti) fratris sui / nomine consecravit coemptis aedificiis / pro tanti operis magnitudine omni cultu / perfectas Romanis suis dedicaverunt.

'Our Lords Diocletian and [[Maximian]], unconquered Senior Augusti, fathers of the Emperors and of the Caesars, and our Lords Constantius and Maximian {*Galerius*}, unconquered Augusti, and [[Severus]] and [[Maximinus]], most noble Caesars, dedicated to their Romans the propitious baths of Diocletian, perfected in every ornament, which Maximian Augustus, on his return from Africa, by the presence of his majesty laid out and ordered that they be built and dedicated to the name of his brother Diocletian Augustus, having purchased buildings proportionate to the magnitude of such a great work.'

Fig. 2.7 Fragments of Baths of Diocletian dedication panel(s) from Rome (Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, Inv. n. 115,813; 39,893. Photograph by author, reproduced with kind permission of the Ministry of Culture, Museo Nazionale Romano)

Overall, we can say that the names of Severus and Maximinus Daia were erased from at least one of the panels, and that Maximian's name was erased from at least two, though it was left untouched in at least

fragments in open space and reveals the erased text. For examples of the inscription presented without any erasures see Friggeri (2001: 80–81) and Crimi (2014).
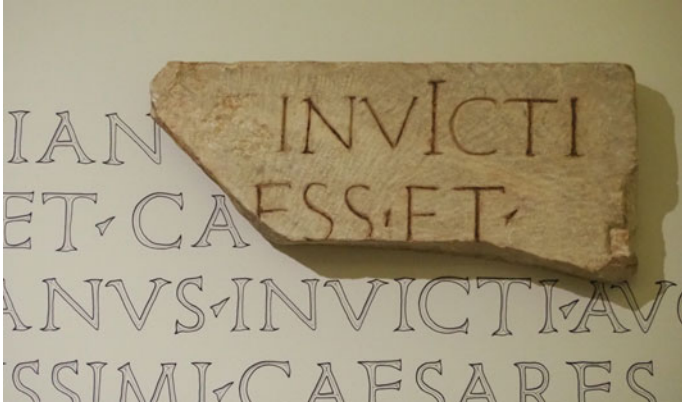
Fig. 2.8 Detail of fragment 'd' of Baths of Diocletian dedication panel(s) (Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, Inv. n. 115,813; 39,893. Photograph by author, reproduced with kind permission of the Ministry of Culture, Museo Nazionale Romano)

one other. Though this inconsistency in execution on identical inscriptions on the same building complex might seem puzzling, it serves as a useful lesson for the assumptions we bring to this kind of material. It was clearly acceptable for such modifications not to be completely thorough. If we follow the argument put forward by Charles W. Hedrick, the incompleteness of execution brought symbolic force to these actions, since they underlined how their performance was about selective disrespect rather than forgetting.[78] We should also bear in mind that the site of the bath complex was vast and each alteration would have involved considerable effort. Since the panels would have been mounted up high in visible locations over the main entrances of the complex, it is likely that some sort of scaffolding would have been necessary. These were not casual or incidental actions, but ones which would have created spectacles, and required time, resources, and authority.

This leaves the question of under whose regime these erasures might have occured. Since Rome fell under Maxentius' control only a few months after the panels were set up, we could postulate that, like the Tuscania inscription, all of these emperors were erased at this time, or

---

[78] Hedrick (2000: 111).

later, after Constantine took Rome at the end of 312. Alternatively, rather than see the erasure of Maximian's name as the direct result of imperial agency, we might view it as a result of what third parties in Rome *thought* that either Maxentius—less likely, since he was based in the city—or Constantine—more probable, since he was largely absent—would approve of. Since, as the inscription makes clear, this major building project was arranged by Maximian himself, it was a symbol of the longevity of his achievements, even after his abdication. Erasing the emperor's name would not erase the memory of his involvement in building the bath complex. It would, however, have served as a particularly potent attack of his identity and imperial aspirations.[79]

The Diocesis Africae

Like Italy, Africa moved from Maxentius' to Constantine's control at the end of 312. There are almost as many erasures of Maximian's name in this region as in the rest of the empire put together. However, the picture is complicated by the fact that well over half of these were carried out on inscriptions or group dedications where the names of Diocletian and sometimes also Galerius were erased, but Constantius was left untouched. This is a strong indication that they were later, religiously-motivated attacks. If we eliminate these erasures, we are left with only eight examples which might be dated to an earlier period (see the unshaded boxes in Appendix 1, section B2).

The most straightforward of these are group dedications, either to Diocletian and Maximian or to the complete first Tetrarchy, where Maximian is the only emperor who has been targeted. This accounts for five surviving erased inscriptions: (moving westwards from Carthage) from Thibar, Mustis, and Sidi Yussef in Proconsularis, Thuburiscu Numidarum in Numidia, and Sour El-Ghozalane in Mauretania. These inscriptions commemorated various building and restoration work, including temples (Thibar and Khamissa), baths (Sidi Yussef) and, in the case of Sour El-Ghozalane, a bridge which was reconstructed on Diocletian and Maximian's order. The work on this bridge had been completed for twenty years by the time of Maximian's death, and yet the emperor's

---

[79] See Fagan (2002: 121) for imperial bathhouses as symbolic of the permanence of the emperor and state, as well as their association with Hercules (Maximian's divine protector).

name was still erased from the dedicatory inscription.[80] Like the Baths of Diocletian inscription, such erasures targeted his legacy, cutting him out—both symbolically and literally—of the imperial college in which he had been an integral part.

Dedications where Maximian appears alone, as opposed to in a group inscription or statue-base group, pose more of a challenge to interpret, since it is almost impossible to establish whether an erasure took place in the early fourth century or later. One such example is a statue base from Ammaedara (Haïdra) in Africa Proconsularis, a veteran's colony established during the Flavian dynasty, which (as the inscription explains) was decreed by the council and paid for by public funds.[81] Maximian's name has been removed in a rough chiselled abrasion which became less enthusiastic as it progressed, leaving the last three letters of the emperor's name ('*ANO*') almost completely legible. It has been suggested that this was executed when either Maximian or Domitius Alexander controlled the region, or—more likely—that it was carried out later for religious rather than political reasons.[82]

There is one example, from Cuicul (Djémila) in Numidia, where the technique of the erasure's execution might suggest an earlier dating. There are numerous erased bases from the area of the old forum of Cuicul. Four—one dedicated to Diocletian, a second which probably honoured Maximian, a third which honoured Galerius, and a fourth to a *nobilissimus Caesar*, possibly also Galerius—have all been erased in an unusual and identical manner, where the entire top section which held the emperor's titles and names were carefully removed by lightly scraping back the epigraphic field. This was done in a way which literally wiped away surface traces of the emperors' names, but left the bottom section of the inscriptions intact.[83] However, one base, dedicated to Maximian

---

[80] *CIL* VIII.9014, Saastamoinen (2010: 612).

[81] *CIL* VIII.308.

[82] G. de Bruyn in LSA-1826.

[83] Diocletian: Pflaum (2003 no. 7856), LSA-2236: dated to 287, in situ in front of the Curia in the old forum. Maximian (or possibly Maxentius): Pflaum (2003 no. 7864), LSA-2238: in situ in the centre of the old forum square, set against a larger base. Galerius: Pflaum (2003 no. 7867), LSA-2239: dated 307–308, found reused in a wall near the Capitolium (adjoining the forum). *Nobilissimus Caesar*: Pflaum (2003 no. 7863), LSA-2240: Pflaum suggests Galerius but, as de Bruyn (LSA-2240) points out, the base could have honoured any Caesar from Geta to Julian. It remains in situ where it was found, within the basilica in the old forum.

and set in the centre of the forum, was erased in a notably different manner.[84] The first five lines of the inscription have been erased by violently punching through the outline of each letter with a sharp chisel, leaving the words still clearly legible. (As with the Ammaedara base, the eraser seems to have run out of steam as this progressed, since the punch-marks are noticeably shallower on lower lines, including the ones which held the Maximian's names.) As de Bruyn has proposed, this less systematic, more aggressive technique sets it apart from the other erasures in the forum, suggesting that it was done at a different time and for different reasons than the others.[85]

Overall, though the epigraphic evidence from Africa presents interpretative challenges, it is clear that Maximian was targeted in at least some of these honorific dedications after his death in the early fourth century. As with the examples from Italy and Rome, these actions could be contextualised within the regimes of either Maxentius (306–312) or Constantine (312 onwards), with the added possibility of the rebellion of Domitius Alexander, Maxentius' African *vicarius*. The last option is unlikely, mainly because the revolt had already been supressed by the time Maximian was executed in 310. Moreover, literary evidence suggests that it might have been triggered by loyalty to the senior emperor, since it took place when Maxentius expelled his father from his territories, and Maximian had formerly commanded the legions stationed in this area.[86] Overall, a Constantinian context makes most sense.

The Rest of the Empire

This leaves the question of how we interpret attacks on Maximian in regions which were outside of the territories of either Maxentius or Constantine at the time of the emperor's downfall. In 310 the Diocesis Pannoniarum (Pannonia) fell under Licinius' control. The Dioceses Moesiarum and Thraciae (Moesia and Thracia) and the Dioceses Asiana

---

[84] Pflaum (2003 no. 7858), LSA-2237: dated 286–293, in situ in the centre of the old forum square, set against a larger base.

[85] G. de Bruyn (LSA-2237).

[86] Cullhed (1994: 44) and Stephenson (2009: 137). Zosimus' garbled account claims that the soldiers in Africa rebelled in 308 out of loyalty to 'Maximian' (2.12). Cullhed (1994: 70–71) has suggested that Zosimus is referring here to the older rather than the younger Maximian (Galerius), since Maximian had commanded troops in Africa.

and Pontica (Asia Minor) were controlled by Galerius, and the Diocesis Orientis (the Near East) was in the hands of Maximinus Daia. After Galerius' death in May 311, Licinius absorbed Galerius' Balkans territory, but ceded all but the Diocesis Thraciae to Constantine in 317 as part of the settlement which followed their first civil war. A total of thirteen erasures of Maximian's name are recorded in Pannonia and the Balkans, four of them milestones (see Appendix 1 sections C1, 2, and 3).

One is a statue base dedicated to the emperor from Lendorf, ancient Teurnia in Noricum Mediterraneum, set up by the provincial governor (Fig. 2.9). The entire fifth line of this inscription has been removed in a shallow abrasion running through the centre of the base, leaving the outline of some of the letters still visible: a nullification of the dedication's original claim that Maximian was 'the most pious and mightiest of emperors of earlier times'. Two other erased inscriptions are found in Carnuntum, the city on the Danube where the Tetrarchs held their *consilium* in 308, both of which had been set up at the end of the third century in connection to the local cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Karnuntinus. One is a very fragmentary religious dedication where Maximian's name as a consular date (of 297) has been scrubbed off.[87] The other is a plaque, reconstructed from small fragments, originally from a base or column set up by the town's *decuriones* in 286 with a dedication to Jupiter and for the well-being (*pro salute*) of Maximian.[88] Over twenty years later the emperor's name was chiselled away, reversing the wish for the emperor's health by disgracing him, a powerful gesture considering the original dedication's connection with imperial cult.

There are a further eleven possible erasures of Maximian from the region of the Balkans and Achaea, many of which were also religious dedications which had been set up decades before the emperor's downfall. One is a plaque dedicated to *deus Sol* and the well-being of Diocletian and Maximian at Tomis (Constanța) by the *dux* Caius Aurelius Domitius, set up before the full Tetrarchy was established in 293.[89] Another is an altar dedicated to a legionary *genius* and the emperors Diocletian and Maximian in Viminacium (Kostolac), Moesia.[90] He was also the

---

[87] Piso (2003 no. 40).

[88] Piso (2003 no. 35), *AE* 1995.1262.

[89] *CIL* III.14450.

[90] *CIL* III.1646.

Piissimo ac / retro temporis / principum / fortissimo / [[Imp(eratori) Ma[ximia]no]] / p(io) f(elici) i[nvicto A]ug(usto) / Sep[timius ---]s / v(ir) [p(erfectissimus) p(raeses) N(orici) M(editerranei)] n(umini) / m(aeistati)[que eius] / di[catissimus].

'To the most pious and mightiest of emperors of earlier times, [[the emperor Maximian]], pious, fortunate, unconquered Augustus, Septimius [……..]s (?), of *perfectissimus* rank, governor of the province of Noricum Mediterraneum, most devoted to his *numen* and majesty, [set this up].'

Fig. 2.9 Statue base of Maximian from Teurnia (*AE* 1992.1359) (Lower damage is due to later reuse. Illustration by author)

only emperor erased from a plaque dedicated around 300 to the first Tetrarchy in another military context, a fortress on the Danube at Diana (Kladovo).[91]

91 *AE* 1979.519.

In the city of Thessalonica a now-lost statue base was dedicated to Hercules Augustus by the tetrarchic college, referred to by the names of their divine protectors: the Augusti 'Iovius' and 'Herculius' (Diocletian and Maximian), followed by the Caesars 'Herculius' and 'Iovius' (Constantius and Galerius).[92] The first 'Herculius'—Maximian—has been cut out of the base, along with the *et* which connected it to Diocletian. However, the identity of the erased individual remained obvious, since the statue was dedicated to Maximian's protector, whose name sat directly above the lacuna, and the second 'Herculius' (Galerius) remained untouched below. This was a calculated attack on Maximian's identity as part of the tetrarchic college, one which subverted the political unity celebrated in the original dedication.

We now move to the Dioceses Asiana, Pontica, and Orientis. The last of these was part of Maximinus Daia's jurisdiction at the time of Maximian's death in 310, and Daia absorbed the Anatolian Dioceses too after Galerius' death in 311. The whole region passed to Licinius after he defeated Daia in the summer of 313. As a consequence, it is the area of the empire that was furthest away from Constantine's control, only gained through his defeat of Licinius in 324, fourteen years after Maximian's death and seven years after *divus* Maximian appeared on Constantine's coinage. If attacks on Maximian are viewed as a matter of Constantine's personal agency, we should expect no erasures at all to be found here. However, some of the most conspicuous examples survive from these regions.

One is a tetrarchic monument in the city of Mytilene on the island of Lesbos, which fell in the Diocesis Asiana. A tetrastyle arch had been set up by the governor of Insulae with four niches, each of which originally held a statue of a member of the imperial college. Maximian's name has been erased, an alteration which made his disgrace all the more apparent since the names of his still-honoured colleagues were untouched, a comparable effect to the attack on Maximian as 'Herculius' in the base at Thessalonica. Maximian has also been identified as singled out in a tetrarchic statue group in Ephesus, where a statue of each of the emperors was set in front of the four pillars of the Temple of Hadrian on the Kuretenstraße. Since the base of Maximian has disappeared, replaced by a statue of Theodosius I's father at some point after 379, it has been

---

[92] *CIL* III-2.12310, *ILS* 634, LSA-377 (U. Gehn).

argued that the emperor's statue was either removed from the group or mutilated and left on display for seventy years, a prime example of *damnatio memoriae*.[93] However, after recent restoration, it now seems more likely that Maximian's statue had been destroyed accidentally when the left side of the pronaos collapsed in an earthquake, and the space was filled by a new dedication when the temple was restored in the Theodosian period.[94] But even without this particular case, the disgrace of Maximian is well testified in Asia Minor. The quantity of erasures of Maximian's name on milestones in the province of Helenopontus, on the southern coast of the Black Sea, seems to reflect a level of administrative enthusiasm comparable to what we saw in the milestone erasures in southern Gaul (see Appendix 1 section C5).

Most striking of all is the military context of many of the attacks on Maximian in the Near Eastern Diocesis Orientis (see Appendix 1 section C6). He has been erased from a total of four tetrarchic fort dedications in Palaestina Salutaris. All of these had originally been set up the governors in the final years of the third century and the start of the fourth as part of the military reorganisation of the region, hailing 'eternal peace' (*perpetua pax*) or praising the Tetrarchs as 'repairers' or 'restorers of the world' (*reperatores / resitutores orbis*).[95] On one example from 'Ayn Gharandal, the emperor's name, part of the *et* that connected it to Diocletian's name, and also the *Augg* have been cut out with sideways slices of a chisel. The panel would have still been in place over the fort's gate when this was carried out.[96] Much like the erasures of the panels from the Baths of Diocletian, this would have been a burdensome operation: this was not something that was carried out on a whim, but a calculated operation which required conviction and authority.

[93] As argued by Roueché (2009: 159–160). See also LSA-721 (A. Sokoilcek).

[94] Quatember (2017: 85).

[95] Palmyra (*CIL* III.133, 6661), set up by the *vir perfectissimus* Sossianus Hierocletes, governor of Syria Phoenice. Jotvata (*AE* 1986.699) and Arindela ('Ayn Gharandal, *AE* 2015.1691), set up by the *vir perfectissimus* Aufidius Priscus, governor of Palaestina (in office c.293–303). Augustopolis (Udruh, *AE* 2008.1569), set up by the *dux* and *vir perfectissimus* Aurelius Heraclides and the *vir clarissimus* and governor Aelius Flavianus (in office c.303–305), and organised by Aurelius Mucianus, prefect of the legion. See Appendix 1 section C6.

[96] Darby (2015: 472–474).

This is mirrored in another attack carried out in the military camp in Luxor, which had been created through the conversion of the temple complex at the end of the third century.[97] A central chamber was decorated with frescos depicting dignitaries and soldiers taking part in a procession and watching an imperial *adventus*, and an apse was added where four nimbate Tetrarchs were painted in a manner reminiscent of cult statues.[98] The second figure from the right has been deliberately erased, with only a ghostly outline remaining. Susan McFadden discusses the method of execution in detail: this was not a violent disfiguration, but a time-consuming operation where the top layer of the fresco was carefully rubbed rather than chipped away.[99] Since the figures are not labelled their identity is disputed, but the most plausible identification is the members of the first Tetrarchy, making Maximian the ghost standing with the three other emperors.[100] Three statue bases of Constantine, one set up just outside of this imperial cult room, demonstrate the continued importance of this military complex after Licinius was defeated and Egypt passed to Constantine's control.[101] However, the blot was never removed or repainted, and so served as a lasting testament to Maximian's disgrace.

* * *

Though I argued that Eusebius' claim that Maximian's political memory was destroyed 'everywhere in the world' was a literary exaggeration, it finds surprising agreement with the surviving material evidence. The emperor was targeted in a range of contexts across the full expanse of the Roman empire: from statue bases in Spain to forts in the Syrian desert, from altars on the Danubian frontier to the dedication panels of one of the largest imperial bath complexes in Rome. Many of these

[97] Kalavrezou-Maxeiner (1975: 241–243) and McFadden (2015: 27–28).

[98] Elsner (1995: 175) and Moormann (2011: 147).

[99] McFadden (2015: 29–31).

[100] Kolb (2000: 185) suggests the figures are the abdicated and new Augusti together, and Moorman (2011: 146) identifies the erased figure as Maximinus Daia. However, McFadden (2015: 25–31) makes a convincing case for the first Tetrarchy.

[101] See e.g. Lacau (1934 no. 4), set up by the *dux* Valerius Rometalca. Since Constantine is styled *invictus* in this base rather than *victor*, it is dated to before Licinius' death (LSA-1180, U. Gehn). McFadden (2015: 28) suggests that they might have been set up soon after Licinius' defeat but before *victor* was in common use. For further discussion in the context of Licinius' regime, see Chapter 3.

erasures took time and effort, were implemented in significant religious and military contexts, and were executed in ways which demonstrate that those carrying this out were aware of how best to dishonour Maximian in relation to his former imperial colleagues.

Since Maximian's downfall came at a chaotic moment when collegiate government was crumbling, contextualising the timings and meanings of these actions is challenging. Considering that Maximian had usurped imperial power in the west and been responsible for killing the emperor Severus, the eastern emperor Galerius and his protégés Licinius and Maximinus Daia would have viewed Maximian with animosity even before his death. Could the erasures in, for example, Syria and Egypt reflect the climate of hostility when Maximinus Daia was emperor there? Epigraphic evidence from Italy and Africa demonstrates that attacks on Maximian took place when these regions were under the control of Maxentius or, more likely, Constantine. Could Constantine's regime have viewed Maximian as disgraced for longer than has previously been thought?

The complicating factor is that *divus* Maximian appeared on Constantine's coinage in 317, seven years before he eliminated Licinius and gained control over the eastern empire. Does this mean that the erasures in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt took place whilst Licinius was emperor? The extent of evidence for Maximian's disgrace in these regions suggests that officials and individuals here were keen to participate in dishonouring the emperor. Rather than his betrayal of Constantine, what if Maximian was targeted here because of his impiety towards Diocletian and his tetrarchic colleagues? The attacks in military contexts in this region, where Maximian's name or image was the only one cut out of a college of four, seem to suggest this. This is especially the case since, as emperor in the west, Maximian had never visited these places in person, but loyalties to the eastern Augustus Diocletian would have run deeper. This was clearly a phenomenon which spread well beyond Constantine's personal agency. It is also important to note that Maximian's name remains untouched on over five hundred inscriptions from across the empire. Overall, the material evidence testifies to a fluid and de-centralised process with diverse agents and motivations.

Rehabilitating Maximian?

We now turn to the question of when, where, and how Maximian was commemorated a *divus* under Constantine and his sons, and the wider

significance of this shift in his posthumous status. As we have seen, the panegyrist speaking in Trier in the immediate aftermath of Maximian's death did not denigrate the emperor as he could have done, instead blaming his behaviour on senility and fate. Three years later, another panegyrist claimed that Maxentius was illegitimate (*Pan. Lat*. VII(9) 4.3–4). Since this severed the link between the emperor and his father, it has been suggested that Maximian was now 'on the road to rehabilitation' in the eyes of Constantine's court.[102]

However, this accusation seems to have gained little wider traction. Lactantius, writing around 315, vilifies Maxentius and Maximian equally, and never questions their relationship, and this is followed by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History*.[103] Neither Aurelius Victor nor Eutropius deny Maxentius' paternity.[104] Only the *Origo Constantini* discusses Maxentius' illegitimacy, saying that Eutropia, the emperor's mother, had been interrogated after her son's death, and confessed that he had been fathered by an unnamed Syrian.[105] However, earlier in his account the author presented Maxentius' paternity as undisputed (10). The orator Nazarius, who delivered his panegyric of Constantine in Rome in 321, accused Maxentius of a profusion of crimes, but never questioned his paternity. Consequently, the speaker in 313 seems to reflect a short-term reaction to Maxentius' elimination, one that accused the defeated emperor of the very offence that Maxentius had used to tar Constantine's reputation during their rivalry.[106] In reality, Maximian features little in the speech, and is only mentioned in the context of asserting Maxentius' illegitimacy or lack of *pietas*. Far from being rehabilitated, Maximian was simply an effective tool to undermine his son's political legitimacy. He was mentioned when necessary, but otherwise ignored.

The first concrete evidence that attitudes to Maximian had shifted came in 317, when Constantine's mints began issuing coinage in honour of

---

[102] Nixon and Saylor Rodgers (1994: 301, n.25). See also Barnes (1982: 33–35).

[103] Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 18.9. Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.13.15.

[104] Eutrop. *Brev.* 10.2, Aur. Vict. *De Caes.* 40.

[105] *Origo* 12. This story is further elaborated in the anonymous *Epitome* (40.13), where Eutropia treats Maxentius as legitimate to satisfy her husband's desire for a male heir.

[106] See Zosimus 2.92 for Constantine's humble origins being Maxentius' primary motivation for usurping the position of emperor in 307. Why should he, the son of Maximian, remain a private citizen, whilst Constantine 'born of an ignoble mother' (ἀσέμνου μητρὸς γεγονότι) claim his inheritance?

divus Maximian. The gap in time between Maxentius' elimination in 312 and the emergence of *divus* Maximian five years later has often been overlooked. For example, Barnes claims that Constantine was in the process of 'rehabilitating' Maximian from 312 onwards, but also asserts that the change related to a specific moment in time: that in Rome, in the aftermath of the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, Constantine took the decision not only to rehabilitate Maximian, but instructed the Senate to enact a *consecratio* of the emperor.[107] However, the evidence for any involvement of the aristocracy of Rome is tenuous,[108] and the Senate had long been obsolete as a body for deciding either the posthumous commemoration or condemnation of emperors.[109] Moreover, if Constantine had ordered Maximian's consecration in 312, then why was there a five-year wait before his appearance as a *divus*? As I have already argued, Maximian's posthumous legacy should not be defined as a matter solely related to the conflict between Maxentius and Constantine. When Maximian was finally 'resurrected' as *divus* Maximian,[110] it was in a different political context, after the first inconclusive war between Constantine and Licinius, the last two emperors of the Tetrarchy, had ended with a new political settlement.

The use of *divus* Maximian by Constantine's mints is notably similar to his use under Maxentius seven years earlier. He does not appear alone, but as one of a group of *divi* related to Constantine's regime, along with Constantius I and Claudius Gothicus (who, after featuring so prominently in the panegyric of 310, had disappeared in the intervening years).[111] Issues were struck for the three emperors with identical

[107] Barnes (1982: 35) insists that the consecration 'technically required a formal decree of the Roman Senate.' See also Barnes (1973: 3; 2011: 4) and Nixon and Saylor Rodgers (1994: 301 n.25).

[108] The senatorial involvement is assumed from a confused reference in Gelasius of Caesarea, writing around 395, who reports that Diocletian and Maximian were both condemned to death by the Senate after attempting to resume power. Barnes himself (1973: 34) agrees that the reference is dubious.

[109] MacCormack (1981: 107–109), Price (1987: 56–57), Arce (1988: 39), and Humphries (2015: 151). For earlier instances of the involvement of the Senate, particularly their coercion by an emperor to pass the *consecratio* of their predecessor, see Flower (2006: esp. 272–275).

[110] Potter (2013: 171).

[111] See Hekster (2015: 227–232) for the sporadic appearance of Claudius II from 310 onwards.

Obverse: DIVO MAXIMIANO SEN FORT IMP
Reverse: REQVIES OPTIMORVM MERITORVM

Fig. 2.10 Bronze *AE* 3 of divus Maximian, *RIC* VII Siscia no. 4. ANS 1994.123.33 (Photograph: American Numismatic Society, reproduced with kind permission)

designs (Fig. 2.10). The dead emperor's portrait features on the obverse, veiled like Maxentius' issues had been, but in this case also wearing a laurel wreath. The reverse depicted the emperor in a toga, seated in a curule chair, holding a sceptre in his left hand and with his right hand outstretched.[112] Simon Price argued that this simple design, with its archaic, almost Republican imagery, deflected attention away from the individual *divi* onto Constantine, under whose authority they had been struck, bolstering his legitimacy in relation to these archetypes of imperial success.[113] The coins' legends are also simpler than the Maxentian issues, with no mention of the relationship between the *divi* depicted and the emperor under whose authority the coin had been struck. Instead the Constantinian issues each hold the same legend: 'REQVIES OPTIMORVM MERITORVM', 'rest of the highest merit'.

---

[112] Bruun (1966) *RIC* VII, Trier, nos. 200–207; Arles, nos. 173–178; Rome, nos. 104–128 (with variations in the reverse image from the curule chair, including a standing eagle and an advancing lion); Aquileia, nos. 21–26; Siscia, nos. 41–46; Thessalonica, nos. 24–26.

[113] Price (1987: 98–101).

The political circumstances of these issues—the diarchy of Licinius and Constantine—are examined in depth in the following chapter of this book. Considering that these issues date from a time when the relationship between the two emperors had supposedly been repaired, their minting seems a provocative act, especially since they were struck not only in the mints at Trier, Arles, Rome, and Aquileia, but also at Siscia and Thessalonica, both cities which Constantine had seized when he invaded Licinius' territories, and then were formally granted to him in the new treaty. The three *divi* depicted were ancestors of the Constantinian dynasty, and asserted a preeminent claim to imperial authority which Licinius could not make.[114] But what are the implications of Constantine issuing coins celebrating the *requies optimorum meritorum* of an emperor whose *requies*—i.e. death—he had been directly responsible for? Would the irony of this situation have be lost on ancient audiences?

It was not unheard of for an emperor to die a violent death but later be commemorated as a *divus*. Pertinax, for example, was consecrated by Septimius Severus several years after his assassination in 193, made possible by an elaborate funeral in Rome where a wax effigy took the place of the emperor's corpse.[115] Likewise Commodus, who had been declared a public enemy by the Senate after his assassination, was later rehabilitated and deified by Septimius Severus, who claimed that the emperor was his *frater*.[116] However, the commemoration of an emperor as a *divus* by the individual who had been responsible for his death in the first place seems paradoxical, even absurd. Some have sought to distance Constantine from the initiative of Maximian's condemnation, rendering his later consecration of his father-in-law less problematic,[117] or suggesting that his wife, Fausta, was instrumental in her father's rehabilitation.[118]

Many of these interpretative issues stem from the assumption that Constantine had personally ordered a *damnatio memoriae* of his father-in-law, and so an equally formal cancellation or official consecration of the

[114] Humphries (2008: 98).

[115] Cass. Dio 75.4–5. See MacCormack (1981: 104).

[116] SHA *Sev.* 11.3–4; 12.8. Varner (2004: 147–148, 155) and Hekster (2015: 212–214).

[117] Moreau (1954: 418).

[118] Grünewald (1990: 123–124).

emperor was required to reverse this.[119] But there is no evidence for any kind of ceremony or ritual to mark Maximian's apotheosis, either under Maxentius or Constantine. In this period emperors seem to have been automatically upgraded to *divi* upon their deaths, and commemorated as such by any ruler who, for political reasons, chose to do so.[120] Maxentius' regime had created coinage which celebrated Galerius as his *divus socer*, skimming over the antagonistic relationship he had with the emperor whilst he was alive. As Maxentius had done seven years earlier, this coinage was reshaping memories of the recent past, neutralising the problematic elements of Maximian's legacy by associating him with *divus* Claudius and *divus* Constantius. The timing of the issues is also significant, since Constantine's union with Fausta, who had been so carefully disentangled from her father's betrayal in 310, had finally produced two sons (Constantine II in 316, and Constantius II a year later), and the elder had already been appointed Caesar in 317 as part of the new alliance with Licinius. It was no accident that *divus* Maximian appeared at exactly the moment that his grandson entered onto the imperial stage. Commemorated alongside Claudius II and Constantius I, Maximian had been reinvented as one of the founding *divi* of the Constantinian dynasty.

Nevertheless, these *divi* issues were only minted within a brief eighteen-month window. After this point *divus* Maximian vanished from Constantine's coinage, along with the *divi* Constantius and Claudius, and never appeared again, not even during the second conflict with Licinius, nor after Constantine had won control of the entire empire. Beyond these coins, the evidence for use of *divus* Maximian in association with Constantine's regime is scanty. No literary source makes reference to his commemoration as *divus* under Constantine. The base in Aletrium, where a simple inscription to *divus* Maximian was carved right next to a previously erased dedication to the emperor, may date from the time of Constantine, though could equally date from Maxentius' reign.

[119] Grünewald (1990: 122–123), whilst acknowledging the incompleteness of Maximian's 'rehabilitation' under Constantine, asserts that the coin issues amount to a 'formal repeal' (förmliche Aufhebung) of Constantine's condemnation of the emperor.

[120] MacCormack (1981: 107–109). For example, on the Brigetio Tablet (a bronze copy of a letter issued by Licinius in June 311) the emperor Galerius, who had died the month prior, is named as *divus Maximianus* in the consular dating formula.

Elsewhere *divus* Maximian is a notable absence, such as on the base of a statue set up in honour of Constantine by the *vir perfectissimus* Sertorius Silanus in Ravenna at some point after 324.[121] Here the emperor is honoured as 'eternal Augustus, grandson of *divus* Claudius, son of *divus* Constantius' (*semper Augustus divi Claudi nepos divi Constanti filius*). Maximian is the only *divus* of the 317–318 coin triad who is ignored. Likewise, on an inscription set up in Rome by the city's *curator aquarum*, commemorating the restoration of the Aqua Virgo, the emperor is praised as the *filius* of *divus* Constantius and the *nepos* of *divus* Claudius, but no mention is made of his *socer*, *divus* Maximian.[122] The absence of *divus* Maximian becomes all the more striking when viewed within the wider epigraphic landscape of the emperor's newly expanded territories. Around sixty-five milestones dedicated to Constantine as the son of *divus* Constantius survive from the region of Italy and its Alpine borders, some of which were set up shortly after Maxentius' defeat,[123] and others considerably later in Constantine's reign.[124] None mention *divus* Maximian in association with the emperor, nor *divus* Claudius.

This jettisoning of *divi* Claudius and Maximian might be explained by the fact that milestones generally held shorter dedications, and Constantius was considered a more relevant choice as Constantine's father. It might also be because *divus* Maximian was only considered appropriate in association with his grandsons rather than Constantine himself. However, Maximian was also overlooked in media where space was less of an issue. In his panegyric of 321, the orator Nazarius does not mention Maximian at all. His absence is all the more conspicuous considering the subject and circumstances of the speech, since it describes in detail the downfall of Maximian's son Maxentius and was delivered as part of celebrations commemorating the *quinquennalia* of his grandson, Constantine II.[125] The only *divus* mentioned by Nazarius is Constantius I, who is presented as protector of his grandsons and Constantine, leading a celestial army

---

[121] *CIL* XI.69, *ILS* 699, LSA-1611. The base is now lost.

[122] *CIL* VI.31564, *ILS* 702. As Hekster (2015: 229) argues, since the project was paid for by the emperor himself, this is 'as near to official titulature as one can get'.

[123] E.g. *AE* 1979.161, *AE* 1996.388, *CIL* X.4578 (dated 313–314); *CIL* IX.6028 (dated 314).

[124] E.g. *AE* 1996.674 (dated 327–328), *CIL* XI.6638 (dated 328), *AE* 1939.23, *CIL* V.8059 (dated 329).

[125] Nixon and Saylor Rodgers (1994: 338–342).

at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge to secure victory (14.6). There was clearly a hierarchy of *divi* in Constantine's empire, and Maximian was at the bottom of the pecking order.

In epigraphic dedications set up during Constantine's lifetime, *divus* Maximian is only found in association with Constantine's sons and successors rather than the emperor himself. This accounts for only two inscriptions, one of which is now lost. Both are statue bases from Celeia in Noricum Mediterraneum. The surviving base (Fig. 2.11) honours Constantine II as Caesar (the emperor's name has been erased), and the lost base honours Constantius II.[126] They are worded almost identically (the lost base omits *divus* Claudius) which, along with the plural *eorum* at the end of both inscriptions, is a strong indication they formed part of a Constantinian statue group, set up between 326 and Constantine's death in 337, commemorating the Constantinian Caesars, and possibly also Constantine. The surviving base honours Constantine II as *filius* of Constantine Maximus, *nepos* of the *divi* Maximian and Constantius, and *abnepos* (great-grandson) of Claudius. The absence of a base of Constantine (if there ever was one) makes it impossible to say whether *divus* Maximian was mentioned in relation to the emperor. However, it is clear that Maximian was used to legitimise the Constantinian Caesars, who are presented as the product of four consecutive generations of imperial success.

The statue group makes an interesting contrast to Maximian's treatment in contemporary literary accounts. The window within which the bases were set up corresponds to almost exactly the same time in which Eusebius completed his revisions of his *Ecclesiastical History* (after 324), and, thirteen years later, his *Life of Constantine* (after 337). Both, as we saw earlier in this chapter, expounded a highly negative portrait of Maximian as a persecutor and betrayer of Constantine, and described the emperor's ignoble death and the posthumous destruction of his honorific images. But here in Celeia we find Maximian not only recognised as a *divus*, but celebrated in close connection with the ruling dynasty. Clearly, Eusebius' assessment of Maximian's posthumous status was not the only perspective in Constantine's consolidated empire.

---

[126] Base of Constantine II: *CIL* III.2.5207, LSA-1127 (U. Gehn). Base of Constantius II: *CIL* III.2.5208, LSA-1135 (U. Gehn).

[[D(omino) n(ostro) Fl(avio) Cl(audio)]] / [[Constantino nobilissimo Caes(ari)]] / filio d(omino) n(ostri) Constan/tini Maximi victori/osissimi semper Aug(usti) / nepoti M(arci) Aureli Ma/ximiani et Fl(avi) / Constanti divorum / et divi Claudi abne/poti Norici Medi/ter(ranei) devoti numi/ni maiestatique / eorum.

'[[To our lord Flavius Claudius Constantine, most noble Caesar]], son of Constantine, the greatest and most victorious, forever Augustus, grandson of the *divi* Marcus Aurelius Maximian and Flavius Constantius, and great-grandson of *divus* Claudius. The inhabitants of Noricum Mediterraneum, devoted to their divine spirit, [set this up].'

Fig. 2.11 Statue base of Constantine II, Celeia (*CIL* III.5207) (Illustration by author)

Epigraphic evidence points to the sporadic use of *divus* Maximian under Constantine's sons and successors after the emperor's death. Milestones survive from Hispania with dedications to Constantine II and Constantius II as the sons of *divus* Constantine, grandsons of *divi*

Constantius and Maximian, and great-grandsons of *divus* Claudius.[127] This continued into the sole reign of Constantius II. One extremely fine milestone survives from Sirmium with a framed and detailed twenty-four-line inscription describing major infrastructure work done by Constantius in the region.[128] Here the emperor presents himself as the successor of three generations of *divi*: Constantine I, Maximian and Constantius I, and Claudius:

> *Imp*(*erator*) *Caes*(*ar*) *Fla*(*vius*) *Iul*(*ius*) / *Constantius Pius Fel*(*ix*) / *Aug*(*ustus*) *victor maximus* / *triumfator aeternus* / *divi Constantini Optimi* / *Maximique principis* [*f*(*ilius*)] *divo/rum Maximiani et* / *Constanti nepos divi* / *Claudi pronepos* …

> The emperor, Caesar, Flavius Iulius Constantius, pious, fortunate Augustus, greatest victor, eternal *triumfator*, son of *divus* Constantine, noblest and greatest *princeps*, grandson of *divi* Maximian and Constantius, great-grandson of *divus* Claudius….

Set up after a hard-fought conflict against his rival Magnentius (the subject of this book's final chapter), and located near Mursa, the site of their bloodiest battle, this milestone conveys Constantius' impressive lineage. His opponent had possessed no such ancestors, and, as the last son of Constantine, Constantius was the sole descendant of these *divi*.

On this milestone (as with other milestones, and the statue bases in Celeia) Maximian is twinned with Constantius as the two grandparents of the emperor, even sharing the adjective *divus* (*divorum Maximiani et Constanti*). This represents the latest stage in Maximian's posthumous journey, when the emperor's identity had become so two-dimensional that it was absorbed into that of Constantius I, with the two becoming an almost indistinguishable 'deified grandfather' unit. This is also found in literary sources of the time. In his first oration in praise of Constantius II, the future emperor Julian crafted a carefully sanitised version of his cousin's family history, explaining at length how the emperor's grandfathers ruled together in perfect cooperation, and arranged the marriage between Fausta and Constantine so this harmony would be

---

[127] For the most recent and detailed publication see Rodríguez Colmenero et al. (2004) Constantine II: no. 549; Constantius II: nos. 35–36, 179, 182, and 315.

[128] *CIL* III.3705, 10,617.

mirrored in their children (*Or.* 1 7A-D). (Unsurprisingly, there is no indication that Constantius' father had been responsible for the death of his grandfather, nor, indeed, of his mother.) Like the *divus* Maximian of Constantine's earlier coinage, Julian's Maximian has been reduced to a marionette, disconnected from the historical person he had been: just another ingredient in the Constantinian story.

But Maximian's crimes were not forgotten. In his *Caesars*, written seven or eight years after his first oration to Constantius, Julian, now sole Augustus, completely disassociated himself from Maximian, his great-grandfather via the Theodoran line. Barred from his imaginary banquet with the gods, Julian has the goddess Dike banish him to Hades alongside other infamous emperors of Rome's imperial past, punished for his licentiousness, his meddling nature, and his untrustworthiness.[129] Over fifty years after his death, according to Julian at least, Maximian was disgraced once again.

As with his posthumous condemnation, a close consideration of Maximian's posthumous commemoration reveals a complex and fluid reality. Rather than an officially-endorsed, stable figure, *divus* Maximian was in flux over time and space, and absent far more than he was ever present. Maximian's connection with the Constantinian dynasty meant that he could never be completely abandoned. But despite his occasional commemoration as a *divus*, his identity as a disgraced emperor was never forgotten, with Lactantius, Eusebius, and later his own great-grandson Julian putting forward this perspective. As a result, Maximian's two statuses—disgraced and honoured—co-existed, with the emperor becoming increasingly obscure and two-dimensional in the half century which followed his death.

Conclusion: The Blurred Lines of Disgrace

It has been stated that '*damnatio* is the direct antithesis of *consecratio*': that the sanctioning of the destruction of an emperor's political memory and the sanctioning of his commemoration as a *divus* represent the polar extremes on the spectrum of Roman memorialisation.[130] But where do

---

[129] Julian *Caesars* 315C. See Bowersock (1982 esp. 171–172) for Julian's 'highly personal' spin on the portraits of the emperors in his *Caesars*.

[130] Varner (2004: 6). See also MacCormack (1981: 97): 'the antithesis *consecratio-damnatio memoriae*'.

we place Maximian on this spectrum? As this chapter has illustrated, his treatment amounted to neither a systematic condemnation nor a systematic consecration. A great emperor of over twenty years, whose rule was memorialised in hundreds of dedications across the empire, and a persecutor who had justly received a dishonourable death. A valued and deified imperial predecessor, and an impious betrayer of his closest relatives. Maximian was wrought with contradiction. Though his status shifted with the political tides of the first half of the fourth century, he never existed in any standardised or authoritative form. Disgraced or honoured, his status was a matter of opinion and circumstance. In 315, Lactantius could triumphantly proclaim that God had obliterated all traces of Maximian's Herculian name from the face of the earth for his crimes against his family and against the Church (52.3). But he was never forgotten (after all, Lactantius' own account had immortalised the emperor's impiety) and even found some use as a *divus* to express the dynastic aspirations of the Constantinian family. The extraordinary journey which Maximian travelled in the half-century following his death exemplifies the intricacies of Roman political memorialisation.

References

Modern Sources

Alföldy, G. (1984). *Römische Statuen in Venetia et Histria: epigraphische Quellen.* Heidelberg.

Arce, J. (1988). *Funus Imperatorum: los funerales de los emperadores romanos.* Madrid.

Bardill, J. (2012). *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age.* Cambridge.

Barnes, T. D. (1973). 'Lactantius and Constantine.' *Journal of Roman Studies* 63: 29–46.

———. (1981). *Constantine and Eusebius.* Cambridge MA.

———. (1982). *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine.* Cambridge MA.

———. (1996). 'Emperors, Panegyrics, Prefects, Provinces and Palaces (284–317).' *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 9: 532–552.

———. (2011). *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire.* Chichester.

Bodel, J. (1999). 'Punishing Piso.' *American Journal of Philology* 120.1 (477): 43–64.

Bowersock, G. W. (1982). 'The Emperor Julian on His Predecessors.' *Yale Classical Studies* 27 (Later Greek Literature): 159–172.

Bruun, P. (1966). *The Roman Imperial Coinage, Vol. VII: Constantine and Licinius*. London.

Cameron, A., and Hall, S. G. (1999). *Eusebius, Life of Constantine: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*. Oxford.

Chastagnol, A. (1962). *Les fastes de la préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire*. Études Paris.

Corcoran, S. (2012). 'Grappling with the Hydra: Co-ordination and Conflict in the Management of Tetrarchic Succession.' In *Costantio: Prima e Dopo Constantino; Constantine: Before and After Constantine*, eds. G. Bonamente, N. Lenski, and R. L. Testa. Bari: 3–15.

Crimi, G. (2014). 'L'iscrizione dedicatoria delle Terme di Diocleziano.' In *Le Terme di Diocleziano / La Certosa di Santa Maria degli Angeli*, eds. R. Friggeri and M. Cianetti. Rome: 57–67.

Cullhed, M. (1994). *Conservator Urbis Suae: Studies in the Politics and Propaganda of the Emperor Maxentius*. Stockholm.

Darby, R. (2015). 'Aufidius Priscus, the *cohors Secunda Galatarum*, and Diocletian's Re-organisation of *Arabia* and *Palestina*: The New Tetrarchic Inscription from 'Ayn Gharandal.' *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 28: 471–484.

Digeser, E. D. (2000). *The Making of a Christian Empire: Lactantius and Rome*. Ithaca, NY.

Dumser, E. A. (2006). 'The AETERNAE MEMORIAE Coinage of Maxentius: An Issue of Symbolic Intent.' In *Imaging Ancient Rome: Documentation—Visualization—Imagination*, eds. L. Haselberger and J. Humphrey. *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Supplementary Series 61. Portsmouth: 107–118.

Elsner, J. (1995). *Art and the Roman View. The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity*. Cambridge.

Fabre, G., Mayer, M., and Rodà, I. (1997). *Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne. IV. Barcino*. Paris.

Fagan, G. G. (2002). *Bathing in Public in the Roman World*. Michigan.

Flower, H. I. (1998). 'Rethinking "*Damnatio Memoriae*": The case of Cn. Calpurnius Piso Pater in AD 20.' *Classical Antiquity* 17.2: 155–187.

Friggeri, R. (2001). *La collezione epigrafica de Museo nazionale romano alle Terme di Diocleziano*. Milan.

———. (2006). *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture*. Chapel Hill, N.C.

Galli, L., and Gregori. G. L. (1998). 'Aletrium.' In *Supplementa Italica, nuova serie. 16*, eds. M. Guarducci and S. Panciera. Rome: 13–90.

Gasperini, L. (1965). *Aletrium* (Quaderni, Instituto de Storia e Arte de Lazio Meridionale). Alatri.

Grünewald, T. (1990). *Constantinus maximus Augustus: Herrschaftspropaganda in der zeitgenössichen Überlieferung*. Stuttgart.

Hall, S. G. (1993). 'Eusebian and other sources in *Vita Constantini*.' In *Logos: Festschrift für Luise Abramowski zum 8. Juli 1993*, eds. H. C. Brennecke, E. L. Grasmück, and C. Markschies. Berlin: 239–263.

Heck, E. (2009). 'Contantin und Lactanz in Trier—Chronologisches.' *Historia* 58: 118–130.

Hedrick, C. W. (2000). *History and Silence: Purge and Rehabilitation of Memory in Late Antiquity*. Austin.

Heijmans, M. (2004). *Arles Durant l'antiquité tardive: de la duplex Arelas à l'urbs Genesii*. Rome.

Hekster, O. (2015). *Emperors and Ancestors: Roman Rulers and the Constraints of Tradition*. Oxford.

Humphries, M. (2008). 'From Usurper to Emperor: The Politics of Legitimation in the Age of Constantine.' *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1.1: 82–100.

———. (2015). 'Emperors, Usurpers, and the City of Rome: Performing Power from Diocletian to Theodosius.' In *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, ed. J. Wienand. Oxford: 151–168.

James, L. (2013). 'Ghosts in the Machine: The Lives and Deaths of Constantinian Imperial Women.' In *Questions of Gender in Byzantine Society*, eds. L. Garland and N. Bronwen. Abingdon-on-Thames: 93–112.

Kajava, M. (1995). 'Some Remarks on the Erasure of Inscriptions in the Roman World (with Special Reference to the Case of Cn. Piso, cos. 7 B.C.' In *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini*, eds. H. Solin and O. Salomies. Helsinki: 201–210.

Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, I. (1975). 'The Imperial Chamber at Luxor.' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29: 227–251.

Kennedy, D., and Falahat, H. (2008). '*Castra Legionis VI Ferratae*: A Building Inscription for the Legionary Fortress at Udruh Near Petra.' *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 21: 150–169.

Kolb, F. (2000). *Herrscherideologie in der Spätantike*. Berlin.

Kolb, A. (2001). 'Römische Meilenstein: Stand der Forschung und Probleme.' In *Siedlung und Verkehr im Römischen Reich: Römerstrassen zwischen Herrschaftssicherung und Landschaftsprägung*, eds. F. Regula and H. Herzig. Berlin: 135–155.

Lacau, P. (1934). 'Inscriptions latines du temple de Louxor.' *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypt* 34: 17–46.

Laurence, R. (2004). 'Milestones, Communications, and Political Stability.' In *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity*, eds. L. Ellis and F. Kidner. Farnham: 41–58.

Leadbetter, B. (2009). *Galerius and the Will of Diocletian*. London.

Lenski, N. (2012). 'The Reign of Constantine.' In *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. N. Lenski. Cambridge: 59–90.

Lepelley, C. (1979). *Les Cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire*, Vol. 1. Paris.

MacCormack, S. G. (1981). *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley.

Marlowe, E. (2006). 'Framing the Sun: The Arch of Constantine and the Roman Cityscape.' *The Art Bulletin* 88.2: 223–242.

McFadden, S. (2015). 'Dating the Luxor Camp and the Politics of Building in the Tetrarchic Era.' In *Art of Empire. The Roman Frescos and Imperial Cult Chamber in Luxor Temple*, eds. M. Jones and S. McFadden. New Haven: 25–37.

Moormann, E. M. (2011). *Divine Interiors: Mural Paintings in Greek and Roman Sanctuaries*. Amsterdam.

Moreau, J. (1954). *Lactance, De Mortibus Persecutorum: Sources Chrétiennes*. Paris.

Nixon, C. E. V. (1993). 'Constantinus Oriens Imperator: Propaganda and Panegyric. On Reading Panegyric 7 (307).' *Historia* 42.2: 292–246.

Nixon, C. E. V., and Saylor Rodgers, B. (1994). *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini. Introduction, Translation, and Historical Commentary with the Latin Text of R. A. B. Mynors*. Berkeley.

Odahl, C. M. (2010). *Constantine and the Christian Empire* (revised ed.). London.

Omissi, A. (2018). *Emperors and Usurpers in the Later Roman Empire. Civil War, Panegyric, and the Construction of Legitimacy*. Oxford.

Papi, E. (2000). *L'Etruria dei romani: opera pubbliche e donazioni privati in età imperiale*. Rome.

Pflaum, H. G. (2003). *Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie. 2. Inscriptions de la confédération cirtéenne, de Cuicul et de la tribu des Suburbures*. Vol 3. Paris.

Piso, I. (2003). *Das Heiligtum des Jupiter Optimus Maximus auf dem Pfaffenberg / Carnuntum. Die Inschriften*. Wien.

Potter, D. S. (1999). 'Political Theory in the *Senatus Consultum Pisonianum*.' *American Journal of Philology* 120.1 (477): 65–88.

———. (2013). *Constantine the Emperor*. Oxford.

Price, S. (1987). 'From Noble Funerals to Divine Cult: The Consecration of Roman Emperors.' *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, eds. D. Cannadine and S. Price. Cambridge: 56–105.

Quatember. U. (2017). *Der sogenannte Hadrianstempel an der Kurentenstraße* (Textband). Wien.

Rees, R. (2002). *Layers of Loyalty in Latin Panegyric: AD 289–307*. Oxford.

Rodríguez Colmenero, A., Ferrer Sierra, S., and Álvarez Asorey, R. D. (2004). *Miliarios e outras inscricións viarias romanas do Noroeste Hispánico*. Lisbon.

Roueché, C. (2009). 'The Kurentenstrasse: the Imperial Presence in Late Antiquity.' In *Neue Forschungen zur Kuretenstraße von Ephesos, Akten des Symposiums für Hilke Thür vom 13. Dezember 2006 an de Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenshaften*, eds. S. Ladstätter, J. Auinger, and I. Kowalleck. Vienna: 155–169.

Saastamoinen, A. (2010). *The Phraseology of Latin Building Inscriptions in Roman North Africa*. Helsinki.

Sordi, M. (2002). *Scrita di Storia Romana*. Milan.

Stephenson, P. (2009). *Constantine: Unconquered Emperor, Christian Victor*. London.

Sutherland, C. H. V. (1967). *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, Vol. VI. London.

Van Dam, R. (2007). *The Roman Revolution of Constantine*. Cambridge.

Varner, E. R. (2004). *Mutilation and Transformation:* Damnatio Memoriae *and Roman Imperial Portraiture*. Leiden.

Warmington, B. H. (1974). 'Aspects of Constantinian Propaganda in the Panegyrici Latini.' *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 104: 371–384.

Licinius

As the last senior emperor to share power with Constantine, Licinius is the ultimate loser in the story of the Constantinian dynasty. Constantine's thirty-one-year reign and cultural significance has naturally led to the marginalisation of many of the other emperors of the early fourth century. Some of these rulers, such as Galerius and Maxentius, have garnered sufficient interest to warrant being the subject of a book-length study.[1] Licinius, however, has been particularly overlooked. This is despite having been an emperor for over fifteen years, a period longer than, for example, the reigns of Claudius or Nero, and longer than the thirteen years of Constantine's sole rule after he defeated Licinius in 324. One explanation for this oversight is that Licinius' regime is poorly documented in contrast to Constantine's. As this chapter demonstrates, this is partly accidental, but mostly the result of intentional decisions made in antiquity.

Licinius is a valuable case study for understanding both the concepts and the mechanics of Roman political disgrace. The decade-long diarchy between him and Constantine, Constantine in the west and Licinius in the east, was a story of fluctuating mutual promotion and condemnation. Surviving literary and particularly material evidence reveals this protracted process of bilateral recognition and rejection, one which mapped onto the

---

[1] Leadbetter (2009), Cullhed (1994), and Donciu (2012).

emperors' long and turbulent relationship: from alliance in 313, to civil war in 316, through a period of reconciliation from 317 onwards, before relations began to deteriorate once again until their final confrontation in 323. This played out in geographical terms, with Licinius ceding the Balkans to Constantine in 317, before losing the eastern empire as a result of his defeat in 324. Material evidence can be used to trace how officials, communities, and individuals responded to this uncertain and evolving environment. As a consequence, the episode sheds light on the roles which the practices associated with political disgrace could play in unresolved territorial disputes, as well as in renouncing an emperor in the aftermath of his defeat.

The deconstruction of Licinius' political and moral legitimacy—both in literary accounts, and physically, through the destruction of the material traces of his regime and his partnership with Constantine—formed the foundation of Constantine's authority as sole ruler of the Roman empire. However, this chapter reveals how the transformation of Licinius from an emperor to a figure imbued with illegitimacy and dishonour was a collective endeavour. Though the impetus may have come from Constantine and his administrators, the implementation involved a wide range of different people across time and space, each with their own motivations for engaging—and in many cases, not engaging—with these processes.

Licinius and Constantine

A key barrier to our understanding of Licinius is a lack of unbiased literary evidence. No panegyric of him survives, though many must have been delivered in his praise as emperor resident in major cities of the central and then eastern empire, such as Sirmium, Naissus, Antioch, and Nicomedia.[2] By contrast, the five speeches of the *Panegyrici Latini* collection, delivered in Trier and Rome from 307 to 321 with Constantine as addressee or co-addressee, are central to our understanding of Constantine's reign. As Brian Warmington has highlighted, we should be wary of the distortion this disparity in evidence creates, especially in terms of how we view Constantine in contrast to those with whom he shared power.[3] Most of the surviving panegyrics are notably dismissive towards emperors

---

[2] For Licinius' principal residences, see Barnes (1982: 80).

[3] Warmington (1974: 371–372).

other than Constantine. For example, a panegyrist speaking in 310 gave a nod towards the existence of Constantine's co-emperors, only to say that they would not be discussed any further.[4] The orator then went on to announce that Constantine's ancestor was the emperor Claudius Gothicus, thus giving him a pre-tetrarchic claim to imperial power that lifted him above the other emperors of the time (Galerius, Maxentius, Maximinus Daia, and Licinius).[5]

Licinius' absence from the panegyric of 313, delivered in Constantine's presence as part of the celebrations for a victory over the Franks, is more surprising. The precise timing of the speech is uncertain, though some time later in 313 is most likely.[6] This would mean that the meeting between Constantine and Licinius in Milan, where an alliance was formed between the two emperors through Licinius' marriage to Constantine's sister Constantia, had already taken place. Nevertheless, no hint is given of Constantine having an eastern ally.[7] This oversight might be explained by Licinius, who had headed straight from Milan to the eastern empire to wage war on Maximinus Daia, still being on campaign, but this is unlikely, since Daia had already been defeated at Tzirallum at the end of April. Moreover, the panegyrist concludes his speech by imagining a future where Constantine and his sons alone steer the 'government of the world' (*gubernaculum orbis*, 26.5). Such a statement could easily be interpreted as a deliberate provocation of Constantine's supposed ally.[8]

However, it would be unwise to take this single speech, one of many which must have been delivered in Constantine's honour in this period,

---

[4] *Pan. Lat.* VI(7) 1.4–5. Nixon and Saylor Rodgers (1994: 218 n.4) call this 'lip service to the tetrarchic ideal of collegiality and cooperation'.

[5] *Pan. Lat.* VI(7) 2.1–2. For the speaker's dismissive remarks regarding other (unnamed) emperors, see Nixon and Saylor Rodgers (1994: 221 n.9) and Omissi (2018: 115–116). It is now accepted that Constantine's connection to Claudius was fictitious: Syme (1974: 240–245), Rodgers (1989: 237–240), Van Dam (2007: 84–85), Humphries (2008: 92–93), and Hekster (2015: 225–233).

[6] Nixon and Saylor Rodgers (1994: 289–290).

[7] The only mention of Constantine sharing imperial power comes at 2.3, where the speaker praises Constantine for removing Maxentius when his 'associates in power' (*imperii … sociis*) had failed. This must refer to Severus and Galerius, both of whom were dead by 313.

[8] Nixon and Saylor Rodgers (1994: 333 n.163).

as representative of the emperor's personal attitude towards Licinius.[9] Constantine and Licinius' meeting at Milan in February would have also been an occasion for epideictic oratory, comparable to the wedding between Constantine and Maximian's daughter Fausta which was celebrated in the panegyric of 307. If such a speech survived from these celebrations, capturing this moment of alliance, it is likely we would view Licinius and his relationship with Constantine differently. Material evidence demonstrates that it was widely understood that the two formed a cooperative unit in the middle years of the 310s. Their administrations minted coins in one another's name and image and, though ruling separate parts of the empire, they coordinated their sharing of the consulships of 312, 313, and 315. This drew attention to their collegiality, just as the refusal of other rulers of this time to recognise these consulships emphasised their political isolation in comparison.[10] They were also commemorated in joint dedications and paired statue monuments set up by governors and cities, many of which survive from Constantine's territories, and present both emperors as liberators, defenders of the empire, and destroyer of tyrants.[11]

Christian writers were well aware of this imperial diarchy and adapted their praise of Constantine to accommodate his colleague. Lactantius' *On the Deaths of the Persecutors*, which was completed around 315 before the outbreak of the first civil war between Constantine and Licinius,

---

[9] For the commonness of the delivery of panegyrics in contrast to tiny proportion which survives, see MacCormack (1981: 9), Nixon and Saylor Rodgers (1994: 3), and Rees (2002: 6, 19). For the argument that Licinius' absence from this panegyric must mean that it was widely understood that the Milan meeting was 'little more than a ceasefire', see Omissi (2018: 145).

[10] Bagnall et al. (1987: 158–165).

[11] For example, a fragment from a dedication from Rome which honours Constantine and another emperor, presumably Licinius, as *liberatores* and *restitutores*: *CIL* VI.40768. A base from Ureu in Proconsularis, which is dated to late 312 and presumably matched a now-lost base of Constantine, is dedicated to Licinius as the 'defender of the whole world' (*defensori totius orbis*): *AE* 1975.881. Two bases survive from Sicily, one which praises Constantine as the 'ruler of the earth and founder of public security' (*rector orbis terrae fundator publicae securitatis*: *AE* 1966.166) and another from the same awarder dedicated to Licinius as 'restorer of liberty and founder of public security' (*restutori libertatis et fundator publicae securitatis*: *CIL* X.7284). On a city gate dedication from Moesia II (Licinius' territories), both emperors are praised as the 'protectors of Roman security and liberty' (*vindices romanae securitas libertatisque*: *CIL* III.13734). All of these examples are discussed later in this chapter.

presents the two emperors working together, both favoured by God and saviours of the west and east through their elimination of Maxentius and Maximinus Daia, respectively (*De mort. pers.* 1.3). The pamphlet ends with Licinius' victory in 313, and includes an account of the emperor being visited by an angel to help secure his victory (46.3–8), just as Constantine had his own angelic visitation ahead of the Battle of the Milvian Bridge.[12] Eusebius reflects a similar understanding of the political environment in his panegyric, delivered around the same time at the consecration of a new basilica in Tyre. Here he spoke of the empire being ruled by two emperors, both of whom had served as God's instruments for stamping out idolatry and cleansing the world of impious tyrants.[13]

Just as in Lactantius' *On the Deaths of the Persecutors*, the original finale of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* had been Licinius' defeat of Maximinus Daia. However, the bishop then went on revise and adapt his account after Licinius' defeat in 324.[14] A dossier of imperial documents was removed, brushing over traces of Licinius' involvement in legislation favourable to the Christians, such as the so-called Edict of Milan of 313.[15] In some of the surviving manuscripts, hostile tweaks have been added to positive statements about Licinius. Rather than concealing the emperors' alliance by removing these sections altogether, these additions qualify the account with reminders that, at this point in time, Licinius was 'not yet mad'

---

[12] For examples of Lactantius' 'subdued hostility' to Licinius, see Creed (1984: xxxiv–xxxv). As Creed points out, Licinius is the only emperor in Lactantius' work who has no adjective applied to him which expresses approval *or* disapproval.

[13] *Hist. eccl.* 10.4.14. For the dating of this speech, see Amerise (2008: 314), Barnes (1973: 29–46) for 316, and Neri (2012: 381–403) for between 314 and 316.

[14] The question of how, when, and to what extent Eusebius revised his *Ecclesiastical History* has been subject to extensive debate over the past forty years. It is now generally accepted that Eusebius completed at least three versions: a first including most of books 1 through to 7 or 8, a new edition around 315, another around 325 accommodating Licinius' defeat, and possibly a final edition after the execution of Crispus in 326. For a discussion of adaptions in relation to Crispus' execution, see the following chapter. For the debate, see Barnes (1980: 191–201, 1981: 168–169), Louth (1990: 111–123), Burgess (1997: 471–504), Treadgold (2007: 33–41), Van Dam (2011: 84–93), Neri (2012: 151–181), and Johnson (2013: 104–112).

[15] Barnes (1981: 168–169) and Louth (1990: 111–123).

(οὔπω μανέντα).[16] These interjections are generally assigned to Eusebius.[17] However, as Aaron Johnson points out, they could have been the work of copyists and editors later in the fourth century who wanted to bring more clarity to the text and address the still-problematic figure of Constantine's colleague-turned-enemy.[18]

It was certainly Eusebius himself who added substantial new material to his *History*, describing how the alliance between Licinius and Constantine had broken down. According to the bishop, Licinius was struck by 'insanity' (μανία) and began maltreating his eastern subjects, targeting Christians in particular. Though he had previously described how Licinius had been appointed directly to the position of senior Augustus by consent of the other tetrarchic emperors in 308 (9.14), Eusebius went on to claim that it was only by Constantine's allowance that he was emperor at all, since by marrying him to his sister he had permitted him to share in his ancestral legitimacy (10.8.4). In this new account, Licinius grew irrationally jealous of his superior and plotted against him, justifying his removal. In his *Life of Constantine*, completed after Constantine's death in 337, Eusebius developed his portrait of Licinius into a full caricature of a persecuting tyrant. He skimmed over Licinius' victory over Maximinus Daia, as well as his important role in Constantine's early to mid career.[19] The conflict between the two emperors is blamed solely on Licinius, who Eusebius claimed had hatched plots against his colleague and brother-in-law (*Vit. Const.* 1.49–50). The civil war was also reframed in religious terms as a crusade which Constantine undertook to liberate the eastern empire, with the confrontation cast as the last stand of the old gods versus Christianity, where Licinius foolishly placed his faith in soothsayers and *superstitio*.[20]

---

[16] For example, *Hist. eccl.* 9.9.1, 9.9.12. The hostile changes are found in the manuscript group consisting of B, D, M, S, and L; see Johnson (2013: 106).

[17] Barnes (1980: 191–201).

[18] Johnson (2013: 105–112).

[19] The crimes and downfall of Maximinus Daia are discussed at 1.58.2–59.1. This is shorter than their coverage in the *EH*, and does not mention that Licinius had been responsible for defeating him, only that Licinius did not learn from Daia's fate. See Montgomery (2000: 133) for Eusebius' circumvention around Licinius in the *VC*, including his refusal to name him.

[20] See Cameron (2005: 93).

Eusebius' account of Licinius' reign is the longest that survives, but also the most biased. The *Origo Constantini*, dating to after Constantine's death or later in the fourth century,[21] provides a more detailed narrative of the civil war, though still one where Constantine is the primary focus. Zosimus' account, derived from Eunapius, also provides useful material, particularly on the first, inconclusive civil war. However, even Zosimus refrains from saying anything positive about Licinius. This is despite his general hostility towards Constantine, and referencing of emperor's relationship with Licinius as proof of his poor conduct and habitual oath-breaking.[22] This is consistent with other deliberate suppressions. Simon Corcoran has illustrated how the fifth-century compilers of the *Theodosian Code*, who wanted to isolate Constantine's legislation as first Christian emperor, excised Licinius from edicts issued during their decade-long diarchy.[23] This has resulted in not only the loss of this rich source of evidence for Licinius' priorities and policies, but also impedes our ability to trace his movements, since the issuing-location of edicts are key for the reconstruction of imperial itineraries. The outcome is that there are stretches of years where we do not know for certain where exactly Licinius was, or which external enemy he was campaigning against. The years 308 to early 313, 314 to 316, and 317 to 324 are largely blank. This is essentially Licinius' entire career when he was not making a treaty with or waging war against Constantine.[24]

Material remains have an important role to play in filling some of these gaps. Roughly two hundred and fifty inscriptions survive which hold dedications to Licinius and his son, Licinius Iunior, though the majority of these are milestones which honour them alongside Constantine and his sons. Coinage, both regular issues and donatives, provide some sense about the emperor's ideological priorities, such as the extensive presentation of Jupiter as the *conservator* ('preserver') of himself and his son (Fig. 3.1). A hoard of silver, one of the largest collections of imperial donatives to survive from antiquity, consists of a silver imperial bust and nine silver bowls, five of which were made to be distributed as part of

---

[21] Lieu and Montserrat (1996: 40–3) and Odahl (2010: 3).

[22] Corcoran (1993: 98–99) and Cameron (2005: 94).

[23] Corcoran (1993: 105–119).

[24] See Barnes (1982: 80–82) for the reconstruction of Licinius' itinerary, which is notably sparser than Constantine's.

Obverse: D N VAL LICIN LICINVS NOB C
Reverse: IOVI CONSERVATORI CAES

Fig. 3.1 Gold aureus of Licinius Iunior, *RIC* VII Antioch no. 33. ANS 1994.100.8978 (Photograph American Numismatic Society, reproduced with kind permission)

the *quinquennalia* celebrations of Licinius Iunior in 321.[25] A handful of portraits of Licinius have been identified, some of which are marble heads from colossal statues set up in the eastern cities that fell under his dominion. Such rare survivals offer a tantalising glimpse into the emperor's otherwise elusive regime.

Civil War and a New Alliance

The first civil war between Licinius and Constantine came in 316, three years after their alliance had been formalised in Milan.[26] Explanations for what caused it vary, but most accounts point to Constantine being the aggressor, which is likely given that the first battle took place at Cibalae, over 350 kilometres inside Licinius' territories. The anonymous

[25] Overbeck (1973), Leader-Newby (2004: 16), and Salway (2014: 380).

[26] The first civil war was traditionally dated to 314–315 on the basis of the *Consularia Constantinopolitana*. However, Bruun (1961: 53–55) re-dated it to 316–317 on the basis of numismatic evidence. See Barnes (1973, 36–39), Cameron (1983: 185), Grünewald (1990: 109–112), and Ehrhardt (1992: 79) for further discussions.

Origo Constantini provides a more elaborate explanation. It explains that Bassianus, who had married Constantine's half-sister Anastasia and been appointed Caesar, was accused of plotting against Constantine at the behest of his brother, Senecio. Senecio was an official of Licinius, thus implicating the eastern Augustus in the conspiracy, but Licinius refused to hand him over to Constantine for punishment, thus triggering hostilities (5.14–15). The story fits a common theme in sources favourable to Constantine, where allegations of intrigue and betrayal emerge at moments where the emperor's actions might be considered politically or morally controversial. An earlier example of this was discussed in this book's previous chapter, in which Maximian was accused of plotting to kill his son-in-law in his bedchamber. Such stories deflected away criticism by demonstrating that, rather than betraying his imperial colleagues and even his own family, Constantine himself had consistently been a victim of the disloyalty of those closest to him.[27]

The *Origo* goes on to mention an additional betrayal: that Licinius had intentionally 'thrown down' the statues and *imagines* of Constantine in the town of Emona, near the border between their territories.[28] Barnes has countered Degrassi's earlier claim that this was a straightforward aggressive invasion on the basis that Emona was not under Constantinian control, but rather within Licinius' own territories.[29] Whether or not it actually happened, the allegation provides insight into the role which political iconoclasm was seen to play in collegiate government. Collegiality created a scenario where the honorific dedications and images of an emperor existed in territories outside of his direct control. In Lactantius, for example, the display of imperial *imagines* side by side could be taken as proof that the emperors represented were in an alliance, and an emperor accepting the *imago* of a rival was tantamount to accepting him as a legitimate colleague.[30] Equally, Lactantius presents the destruction

---

[27] The theme comes across most obviously in *Vit. Const.* 1.46–47, where Eusebius claims that God gave the emperor intuition to uncover these betrayals. See Barnes (2011: 101) for further discussion.

[28] *Origo* 5.15: *additis etiam causis quod apud Emonam Constantini imagines statuasque deiecerat.*

[29] Degrassi (1954: 109–125) and Barnes (2011: 101). See also König (1987: 118).

[30] See Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 43.3–4, where the treaty between Maxentius and Maximinus Daia was formalised by displaying their *imagines* side by side. Constantine

of a rival's *imago* as a rejection of his political legitimacy.[31] Since a ruler's *numen*—his divine essence—was thought to reside in his representations, attacking them could be understood as a literal assault on the emperor, and so a treasonable offence if performed by normal individuals. If such an action was carried out or ordered by a fellow emperor, this was generally presented as carrying negative connotations, since it characterised him as unable to control his emotions and inflicting a significant insult on his co-emperor. This book began with such an example: the panegyrist Nazarius accusing Maxentius of smashing the *imagines* of Constantine in Rome in a fit of madness and impotent rage, thus justifying his deposition by Constantine. In both the Nazarius case and the case of Licinius in the *Origo*, an emperor deliberately mutilating his colleague's representations is presented as a physical declaration of war, and a valid *casus belli* for invading the perpetrator's territories. Not only do such descriptions demonstrate that it was understood that the penalties associated with political disgrace *could* take place before an emperor had been removed, they demonstrate that the emperor still being in power is what made such actions so insulting and effective.

It is now impossible to tell through material remains whether there is any truth in the *Origo*'s claim. However, one monument reveals that the opposite actually took place: that Licinius' political memory was attacked within Constantine's territories during this first civil war. This is a triumphal arch from Cillium in Byzacena, modern Kasserine in Tunisia, where Licinius' name has been erased and subsequently carved back into the same inscription after his alliance with Constantine was re-established (Fig. 3.2).

The arch holds two inscriptions. The first, on the epistyle, celebrates Cillium's elevation in urban status from a *municipium* to a *colonia* in the late second to early third century. The second, added just below the epistyle in shorter, cruder letters, commemorates the restoration of the

later uncovers this alliance by discovering not only the letters which the emperors had exchanged, but finding their *imagines* together (44.10).

[31] In *De mort. pers.* 25, Constantine's *imago* was sent to Galerius after his usurpation in York. Galerius debates whether to accept it, and thereby recognise Constantine as a legitimate member of the imperial colleague, or reject Constantine by burning it (along with the man who brought it). See also Zosimus 2.9.2, where Maxentius' usurpation is prompted by seeing Constantine's *imago* on display in Rome.

Fig. 3.2 Triumphal arch in Cillium (*CIL* VIII.210). (Photograph by Manfred Clauss, reproduced with kind permission)

city's 'ornaments of freedom' (*ornamenta liberta*(*tis*)) under Constantine and Licinius (Fig. 3.3). This new dedication was clearly designed to complement the sentiments of the older one: the first commemorates the city's acquisition of the highest urban status in the empire; the second commemorates the restoration of this status and associated privileges a hundred years later. Noel Lenski has interpreted this in comparison to the Galatian city of Orcistus, which had lost its autonomy as an independent city in the late third century, but this was returned after the citizens had appealed directly to Constantine.[32] The Cillium example is an earlier case, since it honours Constantine and Licinius together, and so must date from 313 onwards, when the emperors were allied and after Constantine had gained control of Africa through his defeat of Maxentius in October 312. Its reference to restoration and the 'clemency of the

[32] Lenski (2016: 224–225).

Constantinian / Licinian inscription below epistyle:

Clementia temporis et virtute / divina
d[[d]](ominorum) n[[n]](ostrorum) Constantini
[[et Licini]] Inv(i)c(tissimorum) / semp(er)
Aug(ustorum) ornamenta liberta(tis) restituta
et vetera civi/tatis insignia curante Ceionio
Aproniano c(larissimo) v(iro) / patro(no)
civitatis.

'In accordance with the clemency of the time
and the divine virtue of our Lords
Constantine [[and Licinius]], unconquered and
eternal Augusti, the ornaments of freedom and
former insignia of the city have been restored,
by the care of Ceionius Apronianus, of
clarissimus rank, patron of the city.'

Fig. 3.3 Detail of Constantinian/Licinian inscription on the arch at Cillium
(Photograph by Manfred Clauss, reproduced with kind permission)

times' (*clementia temporis*) also fits well with this period, since Maxentius
had caused devastation to this region during his suppression of the revolt
of Domitius Alexander in 309.[33]

As photographs show, the inscription is small and it is now chal-
lenging to make out at all, especially in contrast to the earlier inscription
above it (Fig. 3.3). This also appears to have been the case two hundred
years ago. The German nobleman, Prince Hermann von Pückler-Muskau,
who wrote about the Roman ruins as he passed through the city on
his tour of Tunisia in the 1830s, described the upper inscription on
the arch, but there is no indication that he noticed the later inscription

---

[33] Aur. Vic. 40.19, Lepelley (1981: 287–288), and Grünewald (1990: 101).

below it.[34] According to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, a telescope was required to accurately transcribe the lower text, though we should imagine that colour could have aided its visibility in antiquity.[35] This makes it all the more surprising that Licinius' name was erased at all. This would have involved considerable effort, since some form of elevated platform would have been necessary to reach the arch's façade. The fact that local officials went to these lengths to alter the dedication demonstrates that such an action could be seen as appropriate in such circumstances. It might also be explained by the prominence of the arch within the city, as well as the fact that the inscription was, at most, three years old when the conflict broke out.

The subsequent *restoration* of Licinius' names and titles would have entailed even more time and effort, since it would have required access to the elevated front of the arch once again, as well as the services of a stone-cutter. This challenges the view that the new treaty made between Licinius and Constantine in 317 was a temporary measure, a product of necessity which only postponed their final confrontation. It clearly *seemed* sufficiently genuine to warrant the authorities in this town to undo the insult which had been inflicted on the eastern emperor's name. The restoration also serves as a recognition of the potency of the original erasure, even in a place like North Africa which, unlike Emona, was not a border region, and on the opposite side of the empire from where the civil war was unfolding.

Paradoxically, the alterations mean that Licinius' name is now the easiest part of the lower inscription to make out, since it is carved in an indentation and so cast in shadow. The nature of stone carving, where material is removed from the surface and cannot be replaced, means that even a careful restoration such as this leaves it obvious that the dedication—like Constantine and Licinius' relationship—had been damaged and then repaired. But the most remarkable detail about the Cillium example is the fact that, having gone through such trouble erasing and then restoring the inscription, it was not erased again after Licinius' final downfall seven years later. This level of inconsistency is typical of the epigraphic evidence for political disgrace. It also raises the question, which I will consider in further depth later in this chapter, of whether other

---

[34] Pückler-Muskau (1837: 188).

[35] *CIL* VIII p.33: *Contuli diligenter telescopio usus*.

erasures of Licinius' name might be dated to the first civil war rather than the second, but were never restored in the intervening period.

Though Licinius' army was defeated decisively at the first battle at Cibalae, a second battle further east in Thracia was inconclusive, and led to the emperors coming to terms. The emperors' sons were made Caesars in this new treaty: Crispus, who was somewhere between twelve and seventeen, Constantine II, who was less than a year old, and Licinius Iunior, who was around two. As part of the settlement, Licinius ceded to Constantine the majority of his Balkan territories, the acquisition of which, according to Zosimus, had been Constantine's goal when he initiated the conflict (2.20). Though Aurelius Victor and Eutropius say that the new border was drawn at the Hellespont, Zosimus and the *Origo Constantini* indicate that Licinius maintained control over the Diocesis Thraciae (Thracia and Scythia).[36] Epigraphic evidence from this region confirms this to be the case.[37]

The elevation of the Caesars also provides a useful landmark in the epigraphic corpus, since any dedication which includes them must have been set up after the new treaty. The knowledge that Constantine and Licinius came to blows yet again, just seven years after their first conflict has led some modern commentators to doubt the sincerity of their settlement in 317.[38] This is encouraged by the fact that many ancient accounts, such as Aurelius Victor (41.7), brush over this period of renewed diarchy or, in the case of Eusebius, downplay the emperors' alliance by conflating the two outbreaks of war into one. However, archaeological evidence paints a different picture, revealing the substantial quantity of material commemorating the new alliance which was generated in both eastern and western halves of the empire. As we will see later in this chapter, this has significant implications for the subsequent dishonouring of Licinius and his son, since so much of the political memory of the Licinii was interwoven with that of the Constantinian emperors.

For example, at some point towards the end of 317 or in 318, a statue of Licinius was set up by the city of Bisica Lucana (Bijga) in Proconsularis. This was a region of Constantine's territories far away from

---

[36] Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 41.7, Eutr. *Brev.* 10.5, Zos. 2.20, *Origo* 5.18.

[37] See *ILS*.8940 discussed (145 n.81) below.

[38] For example, Odahl (2010: 165): 'the renewed concord between the emperors was merely formal'; Omissi (2018: 114): 'It was not to last'.

Licinius' power base, yet the eastern emperor was honoured as Pontifex Maximus, *pater patriae*, and 'greatest' (*maximus*) victor over both the Sarmatians and the Germans.[39] There is also evidence for at least one Constantinian monument in the heart of Licinius' territories at this time, a double statue of Constantine and Crispus in Ephesus, set up by the praetorian prefects of both Constantine and Licinius acting in cooperation.[40] Like his father, Licinius Iunior's name was included in milestones in the regions under Constantine's control—Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Africa—and in some cases he was even honoured alone, rather than in a group with the other new Caesars or the full post-317 imperial college.[41] Reciprocal minting, where coinage was struck in the name and image of Constantine and Licinius, eastern and western mints alike, began once more, but now with Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II added. This advertised mutual recognition of legitimacy in both halves of the empire, sometimes with appropriately collegiate legends such as 'CONCORDIA AVGG' ('the harmony of the [two] Augusti').[42]

As Constantine's nephew, Licinius Iunior appears to have been an ideological bridge between eastern and western emperors, in Licinius' territories at least. In some coins minted after his elevation at Heraclea, Nicomedia, and Alexandria, he is named as 'Valerius **Constantinus** Licinius' (my emphasis).[43] The practice of naming Licinius Iunior as 'Constantinus Licinius' is also found in numerous milestones in Anatolia. Here, in both Latin and Greek dedications to the post-317 college, Constantine always appears before Licinius in recognition of his relative seniority and Licinius Iunior is sandwiched between Crispus and Constantine II, honoured as 'Val(erius) Constantinus Licinius', thus melding the

[39] The base commemorates Licinius' 5th consulship, which he shared with Crispus in 318. Neither the dimensions nor the image of the base have been published: *CIL* VIII.1357, *ILS* 679, Lepelley (1981: 85), LSA-1833 (G. de Bruyn).

[40] Wankel (1979: 11–13). See chapter "Crispus" for discussion of this inscription in the context of Crispus' disgrace.

[41] Examples of Licinius Iunior appearing alone in Hispania: *CIL* II.4811, Rodríguez Colmenero et al. (2004 no. 3). Western examples of him appearing alongside Crispus and Constantine II: *CIL* V.8015, *AE* 1977.376, 1987.294, 1992.1886.

[42] For example, Bruun (1966 *RIC* VII, Aquileia, no. 2 (struck in Constantine's territories in Licinius' name and image).

[43] On some examples 'CONSTANTINVS' is written out in full, and in others it is abbreviated to just 'CO'. Bruun 1966 *RIC* VII, Nicomedia, nos. 26–27, Alexandria, no. 6.

two imperial colleges together.[44] However, this was also the time when Constantine's mints struck coins in honour of the *divi* Claudius Gothicus, Constantius I, and Maximian, all of which had close connections with Constantine and his sons but not the Licinii, a provocative action, especially since the minting locations included cities such as Siscia and Thessalonica which had recently moved from Licinius' to Constantine's control as part of the new settlement.[45]

Political cooperation and integration were also signalled through the annual consulships, which were distributed between all members of the new imperial college. In 318, Licinius held the consulship with Constantine's eldest son Crispus, and the next year Constantine shared it with his nephew, Licinius Iunior.[46] The pattern shifted in 320, when Constantine II held the consulship for the first time with his father. However, in 321, a completely different set of consuls were appointed for each half of the empire—Crispus and Constantine II in the west, and Licinius and Licinius Iunior in the east—a sign that relations between the two administrations had broken down and they were operating separately.[47] The same year as this fracture began, the orator Nazarius delivered a panegyric celebrating the *quinquennalia* (five-year imperial anniversary) of the Caesars Crispus and Constantine II in Rome. This was also the occasion of Licinius Iunior's *quinquennalia*, since all the Caesars had been elevated at the same time, but neither the eastern Caesar nor his father are mentioned. The topics covered must have drawn attention to their absence. Nazarius did not just praise Constantine and his heirs to the detriment of the Licinii, but re-imagined the political landscape as one in which they did not even exist, and Persian embassies came to

[44] French (2012a) nos. 16A, 16B, 16C, 88B, and 90A (all Latin), French (2014a) no. 46A (bilingual), no. 48 (bilingual), no. 74B (Latin), no. 92 (Greek), no. 108B (Greek), and no. 138 (Latin). On some examples from Syria (e.g. *AE* 1986.696; Grünewald 1990 no. 501), Licinius is *only* named as 'Val(erius) Constantinus.'

[45] Bruun (1966) *RIC* VII, Siscia, nos. 41–46; Thessalonica, nos. 24–26. Humphries (2008: 98). See chapter "Maximian" for further discussion of these coin issues.

[46] See *Origo* 5.19 for the importance of these consulships as part of the resettlement (though the *Origo* mistakenly claims that it was the Augusti who shared the first consulship), and Bagnall et al. (1987: 158–165).

[47] For Constantine and Licinius' joint policies on annual consuls, see Bagnall et al. (1987: 176–181) and Barnes (2011: 32, 104).

pay homage to Constantine as though he had no eastern colleague.[48] Nazarius' Roman audience must have been acutely aware of who had been written out of his narrative and why.[49]

War finally broke out again in 324, triggered, according to the *Origo Constantini*, by Constantine entering Licinius' Thracian territories whilst repelling the Goths (5.22). The conflict unfolded in three major battles, the first fought at Adrianople in July, where Licinius' forces were defeated and the emperor forced to retreat to Byzantium. This was followed by a naval battle at the Hellespont, where Licinius' lieutenant, Martinianus, was defeated by Constantine's son Crispus. Licinius' forces then retreated into Asia Minor and were defeated again at Chrysopolis in September. The eastern emperor withdrew to Nicomedia, where he later surrendered. Initially, neither Licinius nor Licinius Iunior were killed, the result, we are told, of Constantia entreating her brother to spare her husband and son. According to the *Origo*, Constantine entertained Licinius at a banquet, and then sent him to live as a private citizen in Thessalonica. However, a year later Constantine had him executed, and his nephew shortly afterwards.[50]

Literary accounts such as the *Origo* and Zosimus demonstrate that Constantine's personal responsibility for the deaths was well known. However, Eusebius remains vague about what exactly had happened to Licinius and his son. This stands in contrast to the previous conclusion of his *Ecclesiastical History*, where the story of Maximinus Daia's downfall was told in detail, including one of the longest and most vivid iconoclasm narratives of Late Antiquity. According to Eusebius, Licinius and Constantine posted a joint edict which announced that Daia was 'the common enemy of all' (κοινὸς ἀπάντων πολέμιος), and 'the most impious, most hateful God-hating tyrant' (δυσσεβέστατος καὶ δυσωνυμώτατος καὶ θεομισέστατος τύραννος, *Hist. eccl.* 9.11). As a consequence, the bishop claims the portraits, statues, and honorific dedications of the emperor, and his sons were dragged down, smashed, blackened with paint, and

---

[48] *Pan. Lat.* IV(10) 38.3, Grünewald (1990: 127). See Rees (2002: 91) for a comparative case where the panegyrist of 291's ignores Carausius, thus 'confirm[ing] the British usurper's exclusion from the grand images of political and cosmic order.'

[49] Rodgers (1989: 245), Ehrhardt (1992), Nixon and Saylor Rodgers (1994: 388, 354 n.48), Buckland (2010: 243–244), and Omissi (2018: 146–148).

[50] *Origo* 5.28–9, Eutrop. 10.6, Zos. 2.28.

publicly mocked by the mob. This passage comes immediately after Eusebius' account of Daia's defeat by Licinius' forces at Tzirallum, followed by a graphic description of the emperor's illness and death, where his body wastes away whilst he was still alive (9.10).

By contrast, in the updated version of his *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius was evasive about Licinius' fate. Nothing is said of the precise location or manner of his death, no indication is given of the gap between Licinius' surrender and his execution a year later, and nothing is said of what happened to Licinius Iunior. All Eusebius says is that Licinius had failed to learn from what had happened to the tyrants who came before him, and so suffered a similar end: 'even their name was forgotten; their portraits and dedications were swept into merited dishonour'.[51] Later, in his *Life of Constantine*, Eusebius also addresses the topic in vague terms. All he says is that the 'tyrant' (τύραννος) was judged 'according to the laws of war' (νόμῳ πολέμου διακρίνας) along with his followers, and all warranted the punishment of death.[52] This is unsurprising, since Constantine represented the ethical standards for Christian emperorship, so accordingly Eusebius passes over any aspects of his career which might bring this into question.[53] Constantine himself, however, seems to have fewer qualms with denigrating his brother-in-law and former colleague in the aftermath of his removal.

Licinius and the Law

The campaign to undo Licinius' legitimacy began with the ways in which he was described by his adversary. In a letter which Eusebius includes in his *Life of Constantine*, sent by the emperor to Arius and bishop Alexander in Alexandria, Constantine did not name his recently deposed ally, but instead denounced him as 'the common enemy of the world' (κοινὸς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐχθρός, *Vit. Const.* 2.66). This bears a clear resemblance to the way in which, according to Eusebius, Licinius and Constantine had denigrated Maximinus Daia as 'the common enemy of all' eleven years earlier. It has been suggested that the use of words such

---

[51] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 10.9.5 (after Williamson trans.): οὐδὲ μέχρις ὀνόματος μνημονευόμενοι, γραφαί τε αὐτῶν καὶ τιμαὶ τὴν ἀξίαν αἰσχύνην ἀπελάμβανον.

[52] Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 2.18 (trans. Cameron and Hall).

[53] Cameron (1997: 153–155), and Van Dam (2007: 283–285).

as 'tyrant' and 'enemy' to discredit and demonise political opponents began during Constantine and Licinius' political partnership, with them deployed by both emperors against Maxentius and Maximinus Daia.[54] If so, then the application of this same terminology by Constantine against Licinius must have made a powerful statement about his former colleague's fall into disgrace. Now in possession of the victor's prerogative, Constantine was able to present Licinius' rule as illegitimate in every respect.

Of the thirteen laws preserved in the *Theodosian Code* which abolish the edicts of 'tyrants', Licinius is the subject of two, both issued by Constantine in the immediate aftermath of his removal.[55] The first, issued in December 324, decrees:

> Let them know that, with the constitutions and laws of the *tyrannus* Licinius rescinded, they should observe the sanction of the ancient law of our statutes.[56]

The speed of this edict's appearance after Licinius' surrender in at the end of September indicates that discrediting and annulling his rival's legislation was a priority for Constantine.[57] Licinius, who was still alive as a captive in Thessalonica at the time this law was issued, is mentioned by name, albeit with the qualifier *tyrannus* indicating the illegitimacy of his former imperial position; the subsequent edict labels him simply 'the tyrant'.

The expunging of a fallen emperor's name from legal records has parallels with the removal of his name from inscriptions. Just as being honoured in dedications was an expectation for rulers, the ability to issue legislation was an integral part of being an emperor. Accordingly, like the erasure of inscriptions, the undoing of an emperor's edicts was a

---

[54] See chapter "Introduction (25 n.75)."

[55] *Cod. Theod.* 15.14.1 and 2. Two additional laws (15.14.3 and 4) were dated by the *Code*'s compilers to 326, and therefore taken to address the issue of Licinius, but have now been convincingly dated earlier to January 313, and thus issued by Constantine whilst he was still in Rome to address the overthrow of Maxentius: Corcoran (1993: 99), Dillon (2012: 91–93).

[56] *Cod. Theod.* 15.14.1 (after Pharr trans.): *remotis Licini tyranni constitutionibus et legibus omnes sciant veteris iuris et statutorum nostrorum observari debere sanctionem.*

[57] Dillon (2012: 91). For legislation as a conduit for the communication of imperial ideology during a period of political transition, see Schmidt-Hofner (2015 esp. 69–70).

powerful way to retrospectively undermine his claims to imperial office: if the emperor was never legitimate, then neither were his laws. As John Dillon has argued, edicts attacking the legislation of defeated rivals were central to Constantine's self-characterisation. The emperor used them to propagate a portrait of himself as a liberator and champion of traditional values and ancient Roman law (*vetus ius*), whilst simultaneously justifying his aggressive removal of his rivals.[58]

Eusebius identifies Licinius as an emperor who had focused on law-making, though, naturally, he placed a negative spin on his legal innovations. In his *Ecclesiastical History*, for example, Eusebius played on the contradiction of Licinius as an illegal ruler attempting to be a lawmaker, and so creating 'laws unquestionably unlawful and contrary to law'(νόμους ἀνόμους ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ παρανόμους, *Hist. eccl.* 10.8.12). Later, in his *Life of Constantine*, Eusebius takes this theme further and, exploiting the fact that Licinius had been emperor in the east, casts him as an un-Roman despot who persecuted his subjects with harsh foreign laws (*Vit. Const.* 1.54.2–55.3). As Simon Corcoran points out, this is somewhat ironic considering that Constantine himself made fundamental changes to legislation concerning marriage and death in this period, though Eusebius presents his innovations as transforming primitive laws into a more developed state.[59] For Eusebius, Licinius' legal behaviour is presented as central to his tyranny and a key part of what had motivated Constantine's campaign to 'liberate' the eastern empire. Given this background, we can understand the rhetoric of Constantine's edict of December 324, stipulating a return to a state of *vetus ius* and traditional Roman values.

Nevertheless, this edict, declaring the absolute annulment of every Licinian constitution, would have created serious repercussions which Constantine and his legislators should have anticipated.[60] Licinius had been a senior emperor for almost sixteen years, so declaring his laws null

---

[58] Dillon (2012: 91–96). See (Corcoran 2000: 69) for the ambiguous meaning of *vetus ius*.

[59] Corcoran (1993: 102), *Hist. eccl.* 10.9.12, *Vit. Const.* 1.54–55.

[60] Dillon (2012: 96–97) stresses the extent of Constantine's oversight: 'Such careless legislation by a ruler who had been in power already for almost twenty years, who had handled an identical situation once before [in the case of Maxentius], is nothing if not startling … The blunder is an excellent illustration of the impetuousness that often characterizes the legislation of Constantine. The legislative enactments of Constantine consistently place message before content'. See also Edward Gibbon's judgement in a

and void created a loophole which was open to manipulation and abuse. Constantine's behaviour also stands in contrast with the stance which earlier emperors had taken towards the laws of their overthrown predecessors. For example, we learn from Pliny the Younger that Nerva retained the rulings of Domitian as valid, a policy which had the added benefit of serving as a gesture of benevolence and reconciliation after a period of political upheaval (Plin. *Ep.* 10.58). Constantine's approach suggests that, by contrast, the emperor placed a higher value on disseminating a proclamation that the still-living Licinius had been a *tyrannus* than maintaining legal stability.

To compensate for the short-sightedness of the first law, a new edict was issued early the following year which stipulated harsh punishment for anyone who had taken advantage of the situation.[61] This amendment is an acknowledgement of the implications of nullifying Licinius' entire imperial career. How could Constantine brand his colleague as illegitimate without undermining his own actions over the past decade? What should happen to the pronouncements that Licinius had issued on behalf of himself *and* of Constantine during their diarchy, such as the so-called Edict of Milan? The Brigetio tablet, an imperial letter concerning privileges granted to veterans, demonstrates a practical response to this issue. Though it was issued by Licinius from Serdica (Sofia) in June 311, the emperor's name was scratched out of the bronze, leaving the name of his co-emperor Constantine intact and, presumably, maintaining the validity of the document for its beneficiaries.[62]

Though Licinius was expunged from the *Theodosian Code* during its compilation in the fifth century, his presence in legislative records can still be traced.[63] The gulf between Constantine's sweeping initial pronouncement that Licinius' laws should be utterly abolished, and the reality that they have not been—and arguably *could* not be—demonstrates how the

---

footnote (Chapter XIV n.113): 'These edicts of Constantine betray a degree of passion and precipitancy very unbecoming of the character of a lawgiver'.

[61] *Cod. Theod.* 15.14.2, issued February 325: 'Though the acts of the *tyrannus* and his *iudices* are annulled, let no one overturn through trickery what he himself has voluntarily done or what was lawfully executed.' (*tyranni et iudicum eius gestis infirmatis nemo per calumniam velit quod sponte ipse fecit evertere nec quod legitime gestum est*).

[62] Corcoran (1993: 104–105): 'It clearly remained valid after his fall'. See also Corcoran (2000: 278–289).

[63] Corcoran (1993: 105–118).

processes of undoing a rival's legitimacy more often than not involved maintaining a façade of uncompromising rhetoric, behind which existed the actual reality, which was inevitably compromised, piecemeal, and incomplete. In this way, the legal evidence for Licinius' condemnation bears similarity to the material evidence, which is where we now turn: the erasure of an inscription could make a powerful statement, but in most instances dedications were simply left untouched.

The Disgrace of Licinius

The downfall of Licinius and emergence of Constantine as sole senior ruler of a united empire represented a major shift in the political environment, and one to which many communities and individuals would have felt compelled to respond. Although they have been interpreted as such,[64] the two edicts issued by Constantine after Licinius' removal are not evidence per se for the emperor ordering the destruction or removal of his opponent's honorific monuments and dedications, but addressed a specific, legislative aspect of Licinius' legacy. However, issuing these proclamations was an effective way of broadcasting the message that Licinius and his regime were now considered illegitimate. Comparable to the case of Maximinus Daia in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, the propagation of such edicts, condemning an opponent as an 'enemy' or 'tyrant', surrounded him with an aura of disgrace, and might be interpreted as validation or encouragement for hostile responses to the emperor's political memory.

The Overall Picture

The names of Licinius and his son have been erased from 65 of the 247 surviving recorded dedications on which they appear, a rate of 26%. Though this might seem low, it is twice the erasure rate for Maximian, the subject of this book's previous chapter. It is, however, close to the erasure rate of Crispus (17%) who, as we shall see in more detail in the following chapter, tended to be targeted less frequently than the Licinii,

---

[64] For example, Gibbon ([1776–88] 1994: 445): 'The memory of Licinius was branded with infamy, his statues were thrown down, and by hasty edict, of such mischievous tendency that it was almost immediately corrected, all his laws, and all the judicial proceedings of, his reign, were at once abolished'.

despite the fact that their downfalls came only two years apart and they appear together in many dedications. By contrast, Maximian's status as an Augustus of the first Tetrarchy places him in an exceptional position. This period of increased stability and prosperity generated a considerable material output, so the emperor is well represented in the epigraphic corpus. Given that Licinius was emperor for a shorter time, and for a period characterised by political conflict and fragmentation, it is not unexpected that a far smaller number of his dedications survive. However, what is more surprising is the nature of these dedications, since the great majority are collegiate inscriptions such as milestones. Very few traces of more substantial monuments such as statue bases survive, especially from the eastern empire. We will return to the possible reasons for this in due course.

When milestones are separated from other inscriptions, the erased proportion shifts. As a rule, milestones are less likely to be targeted, but an erasure rate of 22% (41 of 187) is higher than any of this book's other case studies. 40% (24 of 60) of other kinds of epigraphic dedication have been erased. For both categories, the regions where the greatest number of inscriptions are recorded are where the erased proportion is highest, particularly Italy, the Balkans, and especially Asia Minor (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2).

Table 3.1   Milestones including Licinius and/or Licinius Iunior

	Diocesis Italiae	Diocesis Hispaniarum	Dioceses Viennensis, Galliarum, & Britanniarum	Diocesis Africae	Diocesis Pannoniarum	Diocesis Moesiarum	Diocesis Thraciae	Dioceses Asiana & Pontica	Diocesis Orientis
erased	7	0	1	7	1	1	1	24	0
not erased	19	16	10	24	3	7	2	32	10
uncertain	3	1	1	1	0	1	2	13	1
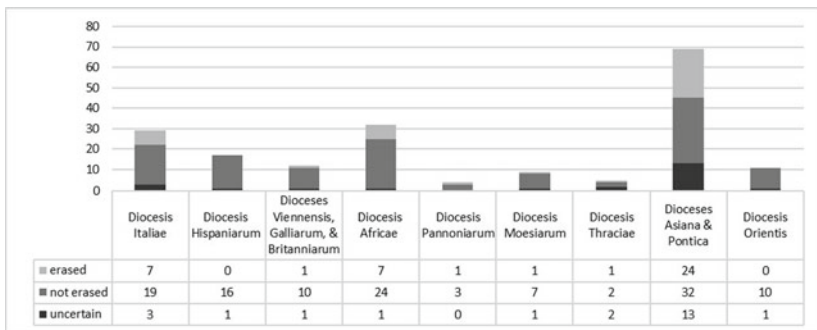
Table 3.2   Other dedications including Licinius and/or Licinius Iunior

	Rome	Diocesis Italiae	Diocesis Hispaniarum	Diocesis Africae	Diocesis Pannoniarum	Diocesis Moesiarum	Diocesiss Thraciae	Dioceses Asiana & Pontica	Diocesis Orientis
▦ erased	0	2	3	5	2	4	2	3	3
▪ not erased	1	4	1	4	3	4	4	3	2
▪ uncertain	2	1	1	2	1	0	0	2	1
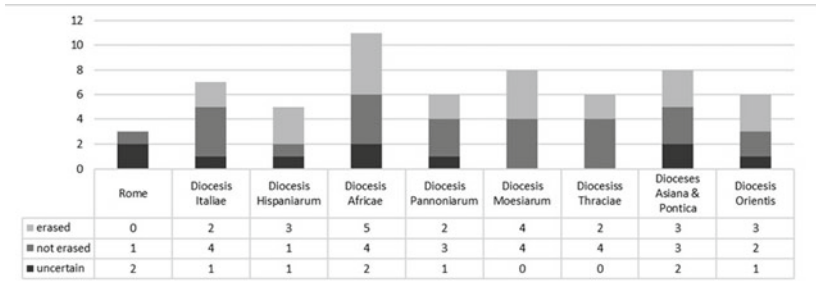
(The Dioceses Britanniarum, Viennensis, and Galliarum are omitted as no non-milestone dedications including the Licinii survive from these regions)

Dedications to Licinius can be broadly situated in three time periods:

  i. from his elevation as Augustus until the defeat of Maximinus Daia (308–313);
  ii. from his first alliance with Constantine until their first civil war (313–316); and
  iii. from their renewed alliance, when the new Caesars (Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II) appear, until the defeat of the Licinii (317–324).

The third category can be further refined, since relations between Constantine and Licinius' administrations seem to have deteriorated significantly from 321 onwards. As a consequence, dedications commemorating them as a united college are more likely to date from years soon after the new settlement (so 317–321), and those commemorating Licinius and his son without including the Constantinian emperors should be dated to the final years of their reign (321–324).

These time periods also relate to geographical space. After his appointment in 308, Licinius exercised direct political control over Pannonia (the Diocesis Pannoniarum), spreading further east to include the Balkans (the Dioceses Moesiarum and Thraciae) after the death of Galerius in May 311, and then finally incorporating Asia Minor (the Dioceses Asiana and Pontica) and the Near East (the Diocesis Orientis) after his defeat of Maximinus Daia in 313. Licinius was recognised and commemorated

as an emperor in the western empire (Britain, Spain, Gaul, Italy, and Africa) due to his alliance with Constantine, but he never controlled these regions personally. We should expect to find the most substantial evidence for the emperor's rule in Asia Minor and the Near East, since these are the regions where he was based in for the final eleven years of his reign. Material remains from the central part of the empire are of particular interest, since, with the exception of Thracia, they moved from Licinius to Constantine's domains as part of their settlement in 317. Moreover, the major battles of the first civil war took place in Cibalae in Pannonia Secunda and then further east at Mardia in Thracia and, according to the *Origo Constantini*, the second war was triggered by Constantine invading Thracia. To appreciate these geographical nuances, my analysis of the material evidence will begin with the western empire, before moving on to this contested central territory, and then finally the eastern empire.

Licinius Iunior

A question which needs some consideration is whether Licinius Iunior, who emerges in the epigraphic record after his appointment as Caesar in 317, should be considered a separate entity from his father or intrinsically connected with him. Born around 315, he was only two years old when he was made a Caesar, and only nine when his father was deposed, so never acted with any political independence. In some cases, we find Licinius Iunior honoured in dedications in the absence of his father, sometimes alone but mostly alongside Crispus and Constantine II as the three Caesars of the post-317 settlement. Nevertheless, it is likely that many of the empire's inhabitants would have viewed Licinius Iunior and his father as a single imperial unit. Coins demonstrate the close similarity that was fostered between the Licinii, including a distinctive portrait style that was notably different from the Constantinian emperors, with round faces and closely-cropped hair, and sometimes in unusual frontal images which accentuated these features (see Fig. 3.1).[65] In epigraphic contexts, the division between the Constantinian and Licinian emperors was also emphasised by their names, especially since the two Licinii, like Constantine and Constantine II, shared theirs in common. Even for a viewer of

---

[65] Smith (1997: 189–191 esp. 190): 'corpulent physiognomy was presented as a defining dynastic style.'

limited literacy, it would have been easy to distinguish Licinius and his son from the western emperors.

Accordingly, we would expect Licinius Iunior to be disgraced as an extension of his father, rather than targeted in his own right. However, most literary accounts indicate that their executions were actually separated in time: that Licinius was killed in 325, the year after his deposition, but Licinius Iunior was killed in 326, in connection with Constantine's execution of his eldest son Crispus.[66] Though the names of both the Licinii have been erased in a variety of contexts across the empire, in some cases it is possible to detect divergences in their treatment. This might be in the method of erasure. For example, on a milestone in Florentia (Fiorenzuola d'Arda) which holds a dedication to the full post-317 college, Licinius' name has been completely cut out, whilst his son's was merely scrubbed back and remains legible.[67] Could this indicate that these modifications took place at different times?

Even more intriguing is a cluster of five milestones in Pisidia in the Diocesis Asiana (Asia Minor) where Licinius' name has been erased from dedications to the post-317 college, but Licinius Iunior's has been left untouched on the same stone. In this particular case, the discrepancy might be explained by the fact that these milestones are examples which honour Licinius Iunior as 'Val(erius) Constantinus Licinius'.[68] Could this have created a blurred imperial identity, so that the individual who targeted Licinius' name left his son's untouched out of uncertainty, or out of concern that he might inadvertently dishonour one of Constantine's sons? However, in other examples this was clearly not an issue, since Licinius Iunior was erased despite him being called 'Constantinus'.[69] The most intriguing aspect of this is how, in almost all cases where the junior emperor is named in this way, the eraser was careful to carve out *only* the word 'Licinius', leaving the 'Constantinus' intact. As Constantine's

---

[66] Eutrop. *Brev.* 10.6, lists the deaths in the order of Licinius, followed by Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and then Fausta. In his *Chronicle*, Jerome couples Constantine's execution of Crispus and Licinius in year 326 (*Chron.* 231), with Fausta in the year after (*Chron.* 232[d] H).

[67] *CIL* XI.6671a.

[68] French (2012a nos. 16A, 16C, 88B, 90A, and 90F).

[69] In one case from Çapalı, (French 2012a no. 16B) Licinius Iunior has been erased along with his father, despite the fact that he was not erased in two other examples from *exactly* the same location (nos. 16A and 16C).

nephew as well as Licinius' son, Licinius Iunior is the ultimate symbol of how tangled the Constantinian and Licinian emperors had become during their diarchy. These milestones offer a rare insight into the consequences of this.

The Western Empire

The evidence for attacks on Licinius in the areas which had fallen under Constantine's control since his early rule—Britain, Gaul, and Spain—is minimal. There are no erasures of the emperor's name in milestones from the Dioceses Hispaniarum, Britanniarum, or Viennensis, and only one example from Belgica in the Diocesis Galliarum, though there is a general scarcity of epigraphic material from these regions. In terms of other forms of epigraphic dedication, there is a handful of examples from the Diocesis Hispaniarum which might be attacks on Licinius. However, of these three potential cases, two are undetermined since the emperor's name was erased so thoroughly that Licinius is only one of the possibilities.[70] We have slightly more concrete (though still uncertain) evidence from the city of Tarraco (Tarragona) in the form of two monuments which have been rededicated to Constantine. One is a now-fragmentary plaque dating from the late third or early fourth century, most likely from the base of a large equestrian statue, which was found in the city's amphitheatre in 1969. The stone was turned around and reused, which led Géza Alföldy to suggest that it had originally been a monument to Licinius which had been appropriated for Constantine.[71] This identification is hypothetical, but based on the survival of another dedication in Tarraco which is more reliably (though admittedly not indisputably) identified as an erased dedication of Licinius.[72] This is a base which was originally set up in the late

---

[70] One of these cases is a columnar block, possibly a statue base, from Singilia Barba in Baetica. The inscription is dated on stylistic grounds to the first half of the fourth century, and Diocletian, Maximian, Licinius, or Constantine II have been suggested as the erased emperor: *CIL* II-5.779, LSA-2005 (C. Witschel). Similar examples survive from the town with dedications to Constantius I (*CIL* II-5.777) and Licinius (painted, rather than inscribed: *CIL* II-5.778).

[71] Alföldy (1975: 56–57, no. 98).

[72] Alföldy (1975: 53–54, no. 94). The subject is identified as an Augustus who had been 'twice consul', which narrows him down to Constantine, Maximinus Daia, or Licinius (C. Witschel, LSA-1980). Constantine can be eliminated, since he is the subject of the

first or early second century, but was then turned upside-down and rededicated a further three times, first to the emperor Carus at the end of the third century, then to Licinius in the early fourth, and then finally turned back around and dedicated to Constantine.[73] Not only was the name erased and the base recycled to honour Constantine, it was rededicated as part of a statue group with Constantine's sons, set up within a couple of years of Licinius' defeat in a context associated with the imperial cult. This was a monumental expression of the re-orientation of the empire's political landscape in the aftermath of the elimination of the Licinii, where the rejection of Licinius and his son provided the space—symbolically and, in this case, literally—for the exclusive focus on the Constantinian emperors.

A considerable number of inscriptions including Licinius survive untouched from the areas of the western empire which moved from the jurisdiction of Maxentius to Constantine after the former's defeat at the end of 312 (the Diocesis Italiae and Diocesis Africae). In Italy, these include a bathhouse dedication to Constantine and Licinius from just outside Rome, a statue base of Licinius from Lucania & Bruttium, as well as bases from Sicily and Sardinia for which we have associated bases of Constantine, indicating they were originally part of statue groups where Constantine and Licinius were honoured together.[74] In Africa, a statue base of Licinius from Ureu (Ouraou) in Proconsularis, which was dedicated to the emperor as the 'defender of the whole world' (*defensor totius orbis*) shortly after Constantine won control of the region, has survived unerased, and was probably also part of a pair commemorating the two Augusti together in the context of their first period of alliance. The statue base from Bisica Lucana (Bijga) in Byzacena, which was set up in Licinius' honour after the second alliance in 317, was also never erased.

Nevertheless, there is some evidence that the political memories of Licinius and his son were targeted in these regions. In Africa, they were erased from a total of seven milestones and five non-milestone dedications

rededication. Of Daia and Licinius the latter is more likely, given the length of his alliance with Constantine.

[73] Rededication: Alföldy (1975 no. 95), LSA-1981 (C. Witschel). The dating is suggested on the basis of the base forming a statue group which includes Crispus.

[74] Bathhouse inscription from Lavinium (Pratica di Mare): *AE* 1984.151. Statue base of from Volcii (Buccino), now lost: *CIL* X.4076. Statue base of Licinius from Panormus (Palermo), dated 314: *CIL* X.7284. Statue base from Turris Libisonis (Posthudorra / Porto Torres) in Sardinia: *CIL* X.7974.
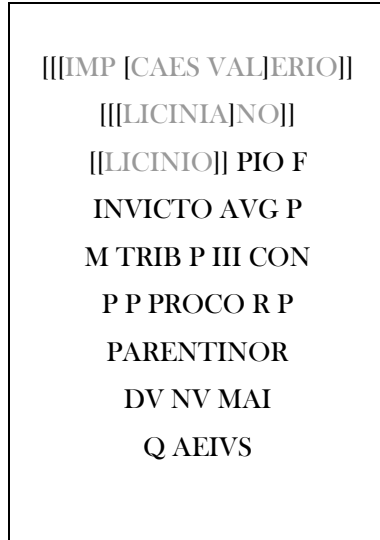
(see Appendix 2 section A6). One of these is the arch at Cillium where, as we saw earlier, Licinius' name was erased at the time of the first civil war, subsequently restored, but then left intact after the emperor's final defeat in 324. Most attacks on the Licinii from Italy are on milestones from the northern regions of Aemilia, Liguria, and Venetia & Transpadana. There are no confirmed erasures of Licinius from Rome, though this reflects a notable paucity of evidence for the emperor's commemoration in the city. Though the emperor never visited in person, the city's symbolic significance meant that it had been an important setting for both collegiate monuments and dedications to individual emperors in the tetrarchic period. Given the evidence for dedications to Constantine and Licinius as co-emperors elsewhere in the west, we should expect to find more traces of Licinius, especially given the level of commemoration enjoyed there by Constantine at this time.[75] A fragment of a plaque, discovered in the Forum Romanum, honours Constantine along with another emperor, since it uses the plural 'liberators' (*liberatores*) and 'restorers' (*restitutores*). Accordingly, it has been identified as a monument with paired statues to Constantine and Licinius, and it fits the political environment of the emperors' victories over the 'most offensive tyrants' (*taeterrimi tyranni*), Maxentius and Maximinus Daia, in 312 and 313. However, damage inflicted on the base when it was recut to be reused means that we cannot now tell whether Licinius' name was erased in any way.[76]

The two confirmed erasures of Licinius in Italy are both single statue bases, set up in close proximity in the Istrian peninsula. One was discovered in the mid-nineteenth century in the foundations of the church of St George in Poreč, ancient Parentium, and is likely to have been set up in the city's forum near where the church stands (Fig. 3.4). Since it honours the emperor as consul for the first time and in his third year of tribunician power, it can be dated to 309–310. Accordingly, it was set up early in Licinius' reign, when the emperor was based in Pannonia and had seized Istria from Maxentius.[77] The first three lines of the inscription

---

[75] As a point of contrast, at least 5 dedications set up in Rome in Constantine's honour can be dated before 324: *CIL* VI.1140, 1143, 1145, 36,952, and 40,768.

[76] *CIL* VI.40768, LSA-1430 (C. Machado).

[77] *CIL* V.330, Alföldy (1984 no. 19). For Licinius' annexation of Istria from Maxentius in 309 see Cullhed (1994: 71), Odahl (2010: 91), and Leadbetter (2009: 218–219).

[[[IMP [CAES VAL]ERIO]]]

[[[LICINIA]NO]]]

[[LICINIO]] PIO F

INVICTO AVG P

M TRIB P III CON

P P PROCO R P

PARENTINOR

DV NV MAI

Q AEIVS

[[Imp(eratori) [Caes(ari) Val]erio / [[[Licinia]no]] / [[[Licinio]]] pio f(elici) / invicto Aug(usto) p(ontifici) / m(aximo) trib(unicia) p(otestate) III con(suli) / p(atri) p(atriae) proco(nsuli) r(es) p(ublica) / Parentinor(um) / d(e)v(ota) nu(mini) mai(estati)/q(ue) aeius [*sic*].

'[[To the emperor Caesar Valerius Licinianus Licinius]], pious, fortunate, unconquered Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, holding tribunician power for the third time, consul, father of the fatherland, proconsul, the *res publica* of the Parentii, devoted to his *numen* and majesty, [set this up].'

Fig. 3.4   Transcription of base of Licinius from Parentium (*CIL* V.330)

which bear the emperor's name have been struck away in rough indentations, deep at the start of the lines but so shallow towards the end that the letters remain entirely legible. The second Istrian base is now built into the most western pillar, facing eastwards across the arcade, of the façade of the municipal palace at Pola (Pula), a structure dating from the end of the thirteenth century (Fig. 3.5). As with the Parentium base, this is the area of the ancient city's forum, and was a dedication set up by the city. The Pola base provides less detail to aid with dating, though it makes sense to place it in a similar time period to the Parentium one. This erasure was executed in a neater and less aggressive fashion: the surface has been chiselled back in an indentation from the end of the first line, through all of the second, to the start of the third. It is shallow, leaving Licinius'

Imp(eratori) C(a)esa(ri) [[Val(erio)]] /
[[Liciniano Lici]]/[[nio]] pio felici /
invicto Aug(usto) / res p(ublica)
Pol(ensium) d(evota) n(umini)
m(aestatique) e(ius).

'To the emperor Caesar [[Valerius
Licinianus Licinius]], pious, fortunate,
unconquered Augustus, the *res
publica* of Pola, devoted to his *numen*
and majesty, [set this up].'

Fig. 3.5   Statue base of Licinius from Pola (*CIL* V.31) (Photograph by author)

names partially legible, and, unlike the Parentium base, the emperor's
titles (*Imp(erator) C(a)esar*) have been left intact (Fig. 3.5).

Barnes has argued that both erasures were inflicted under Maxentius'
regime, and that they are evidence that the emperor briefly recovered
control over the Istrian peninsula after he had lost it to Licinius in 310.[78]

---

[78] Barnes (1981: 33) and (2011: 71).

However, it makes more sense to see them as carried out after the region passed to Constantine in 312. Since Istria was in a border region between Constantine and Licinius' territories at the time of the first outbreak of civil war in 316, it is tempting to interpret them in light of the *Origo*'s story of Licinius pulling down Constantine's statues. After all, Emona (Ljubljana in modern Slovenia) is only around seventy-five kilometres northeast of this Istria, and Constantine and his army must have travelled past it when he invaded Licinius' territories in the first conflict. Since the arch at Cillium demonstrates that attacks were inflicted on the eastern emperor during this first war, it is plausible that other examples, such as the Istrian bases, were also defaced at this time, but were not re-inscribed after Constantine and Licinius' relationship was repaired. If this were the case here, it would mean that these statues stood in the centre of these cities for a further eight years whilst Licinius was Augustus of the east.

The Central Empire

Poised between Constantine and Licinius' territories, the central dioceses of Pannonia, Moesia, and Thracia were the focal point for tensions between the emperors. This was the arena for many of the military confrontations of the first and second wars, and also a space that, with the exception of Thracia, moved from Licinius to Constantine's control as part of the new settlement in 317. As with the Istrian dedications, the historical background brings a valuable dimension to our analysis of material evidence from this region. One example of this is the Brigetio tablet, a bronze copy of a letter of Licinius outlining privileges granted to veteran soldiers which I discussed earlier in the context of the treatment of the emperor's legal legacy. This had originally been issued by Licinius in Serdica in 311 when the emperor controlled this region, and was discovered in the ruins of a military camp at its place-name, the modern city of Szőny in Hungary, a military town on the Danubian frontier. Licinius' name has been scratched out of the document's heading, but the name of his co-emperor Constantine was left intact. Simon Corcoran has raised the possibility that this amendment, which would have presumably maintained the validity of the letter's contents, might not have taken place after Licinius' defeat in 324 or his death in 325, but several years earlier

when the region passed to Constantine's control.[79] The document, which had already been altered in 313 to erase Maximinus Daia's name where it appeared as a consular date, reveals how such modifications served pragmatic as well as symbolic functions.

The body of epigraphic evidence from the Diocesis Pannoniarum is small, and there are only three erasures, including the Brigetio tablet and a milestone (see Appendix 2, section B1). The third example is noteworthy because it is surprising it was erased at all. It is a small altar from Salona (Solin, near modern Split) in Dalmatia, covered on each of its four sides with lists of names, three of which are topped with imperial consular dates for the years 303 (Diocletian XI and Maximian VIII), 319 (Constantine V and Licinius Iunior I), and 320 (Constantine VI and Constantine Caesar I). It has been identified as one of two small monuments belonging to a *collegium* (association or guild) in the city, possibly the builders' guild, which performed a ceremony *ad Tritones* on the Kalends of February every year, which is likely to have involved both religious and convivial activities.[80] Some of these annual ceremonies were commemorated by adding an inscription, giving the consular year and date, the name of the association's presiding prefect, and listing the member-participants. The name of Licinius Iunior as a consular date for 319 has been erased in a neat but shallow abrasion, removing the *et* which connected it to the name of his co-consul Constantine, along with the second '*S*' of the consular formula which referred to him. However, both the *Iunior* and the *Caesar* were left intact, thus leaving the identity of the erased emperor recognisable (Fig. 3.6).

The erasure of imperial names when they were not inscribed as part of an honorific dedication, but rather serving a pragmatic purpose as part of a consular date, is rare; the positioning of Licinius Iunior's name directly beneath Constantine's might have been a contributing factor in this particular case. Since this inscription was added in 319, it dates to

---

[79] Corcoran (1993: 104).

[80] *CIL* III.1968, *AE* 1971.297. The inscription on the 4th side holds no consular date, but is believed to pre-date the others by up to 30 years. Gauthier et al. (2011: 74–76, 168–175) identify the association as the *Collegium Ad Tritones* on the basis of the inscriptions specifying rites *ad Tritones*. However, Ivanišević (2016) argues that *ad Tritones* is probably a topographical reference, and the *collegium fabrum* is otherwise well attested in Salona (see 128–135 for a full discussion). The second altar is now lost.

DD(ominis) nn(ostris) Consta/ntino Aug(usto)
V [[et]] / [[[Li]cinio]] iuniore / Caesare
co(n)s[[s]](ulibus)...

'In the consulship of our lords Constantine,
Augustus, for the fifth time, [[and Licinius]]
Iunior, Caesar ...'

Fig. 3.6 Detail of altar from Salona (*CIL* III.1968). Arheološki muzej u Splitu inv. no. AMS A-187 (Photograph by Tonći Seser, reproduced with kind permission)

the period after the new settlement when Dalmatia fell under Constantine's control. Accordingly, the erasure must have been carried out after the removal of the Licinii in 324, or possibly a few years earlier, when the relationship between Constantine and Licinius had broken down but hostilities were yet to come. Though this altar had a communal function for the *collegium*, it was not a 'public' monument in the same way as, for example, a civic building or statue base in a forum. It is therefore unusual that this erasure was carried out at all, especially since it is so subtle. Nevertheless, the modification of this inscription was clearly considered appropriate and significant for the *collegium*. Since the close relationship which had been forged between the Licinian and Constantinian emperors generated considerable material, in this case because they shared the consulships which were used as a dating device, groups of people across the empire were faced with the dilemma of what to do with this material after the relationship broke down. Like the Brigetio tablet, the altar at Salona reveals how the erasure of imperial names was a tool which could be used to adapt documents and monuments of ongoing significance to a new political enviroment.

Moving east into the Balkans, there is a concentration of epigraphic evidence in the Diocesis Thraciae, the only part of the central empire over which Licinius maintained jurisdiction after the new alliance in 317. As is the case in Italy and Africa, several prominent dedications survive from this region which were not altered as a result of the emperor's removal. One of them is a plaque which survives from the site of a military camp in Salsovia in Scythia (Mahmudia in modern Romania). It records an order, issued by Licinius and his son to the *dux* and *vir perfectissimus* Valerius Romulus, instructing that a recently consecrated statue of Sol in the garrison should be honoured with annual libations. Since the Constantinian emperors are not included in the order, it should be dated to late in Licinius' reign. However, despite being set up not long before their defeat, and in a military camp in a contested border region, the imperial names were not erased from the plaque.[81] A marble statue base discovered in the temple of Mater Pontica (the Pontic Mother of the Gods) in Apollonia (modern Balchik on the coast of the Black Sea in Bulgaria) also documents Licinius' active patronage of tradition cult in this region. It records the emperor's dedication of a silver statue of the goddess through Aurelius Speratianus, his governor in Scythia. An early date in Licinius' reign has been suggested, connected with the emperor's campaigns against the Sarmatians to the north.[82] As with the plaque from Salsovia, the emperor's name was not erased, though the religious function of the dedication might have been a factor in its preservation, especially since it was set up within a temple building.

Moesia II is the location for one of the most compelling pieces of evidence for targeted attacks on Licinius' political identity. This is an elegantly carved and framed plaque, once set into the eastern gate and main entry point of the city of Tropaea Traiani, near modern Adamclisi in Romania. Tropaea was a colony originally settled by veterans of the Dacian wars, and named after the huge monument set up on its outskirts, dedicated to Mars Ultor and commemorating the victory and sacrifices of the Roman army in the region. Two hundred years later, this plaque was set up on the eastern city gates, positioned below a limestone statue of a trophy. Dedicated in the names of Constantine and Licinius, its language clearly was intended to reflect Tropaea's position as a city on the boundary

---

[81] *ILS* 8940, Popescu (1976 no. 271), LSA-2604 (U. Gehn).

[82] Sharankov (2013: 53–54).

of the Roman world, commemorating how the emperors provided new fortifications for the city, built *a fundamentis* ('from the foundations'), after conquering barbarian peoples and securing the empire's frontiers.[83] As the tiny letters at the bottom state, the dedication was made by Constantine and Licinius' praetorian prefects acting together. It is a testament to the cooperation of Licinius and Constantine's administrations at this time: a major defensive building project, taking place within the territories of the eastern emperor, but representing the benefits of the political and administrative collaboration of the two emperors and their highest officials.

The absence of the Caesars, along with the tenures of the offices—Petronius Annianus was Constantine's praetorian prefect from 315 to 317, and Iulius Iulianus served Licinius until the emperor's fall in 324—indicate the the dedication was set up shortly before the first outbreak of hostilities between the emperors in 316.[84] Licinius' names and titles were removed in a long and relatively deep indentation, extending over the end of the second and start of the third lines of the inscription, removing all his details along with the *et* which connected his name to Constantine's (Fig. 3.7). The rest of the text was left unaltered, including the plural 'AVGG(usti)', so it remained obvious that Constantine had once shared the dedication with a colleague. Unlike many of the erasures that we have seen, where the depth and consistency of the chiselling might decrease along a line, this was carried out with precision and care. It would have been a considerable operation, especially since the plaque was originally mounted above the city gate. Its execution in such a public place must have been a disruptive and memorable spectacle.

As I argued in the previous chapter of this book, such alterations to collegiate monuments were more than just attacks on the targeted ruler's political identity. They were designed sever the relationship between the erased and the unerased, transforming a dedication that had once honoured an alliance into a new dedication that embodied its breakdown in material form. Since Tropaea remained under Licinius' rule until after 317, this erasure must have been executed after his defeat in 324, or even during this conflict, as Constantine's army passed to the south this region ahead of the battle of Adrianople. The attack on Licinius' name

---

[83] Topilescu (1894: 108–109), Barnea (2006: 412–414), *CIL* III-2.13734, LSA-1120.

[84] *PLRE* I Annianus 2, 68–69, Iulius Iulianus 478–479.

Romanae securitatis libertatisq(ue) vindicibus / dd(ominis) nn(ostris) Fl(avio) Val(erio) Constantino et [[Liciniano]] / [[Licinio]] piis felicibus aeternis Augg(ustis) / quorum virtute et providentia edomitis / ubique barbararum gentium populis / ad confirmandam limitis tutelam etiam / Trop(a)eensium civitas auspicato a fundamentis / feliciter opere constructa est // Petr(onius) Annianus v(ir) c(larissimus) et Iul(ius) Iulianus v(ir) em(inentissimus) praef(ecti) praet(orio) numini e[o]rum semper dicatissimi.

'To the defenders of Roman security and liberty, our lords Flavius Valerius Constantine and [[Licinianus Licinius]], pious, fortunate, eternal Augusti, by whose virtue and providence, having conquered everywhere the people of the barbarians tribes, in order to strengthen the guardianship of the *limes*, the city of the Tropaeans has also been fortified, by work happily carried out auspiciously from its foundations. Petronius Annianus, of *clarissimus* rank, and Iulius Iulianus, of *eminentissimus rank*, praetorian prefects, always most devoted to their *numen*, [set this up].'

Fig. 3.7 Dedicatory plaque from city gate, Tropaea Traiani (*CIL* III.13734) (Illustration by author)

gained particular potency from this context, especially since the building project commemorated was carried out under Licinius' aegis, and possibly with the personal involvement of the emperor after he had campaigned against the Goths in the region in 315.[85] This monument to Licinius' success was subsequently appropriated for Constantine alone, whose name stood juxtaposed against the gouged-out space where his co-emperor's had stood: a lasting memorial to Licinius' failed regime and failed alliance with Constantine.

[85] As suggested by Barnes (1982: 65).

The Eastern Empire

We now move to areas of the eastern empire, encompassing the Dioceses Asiana and Pontica (Anatolia), and the Diocesis Orientis (the south-eastern section of Anatolia, the Near East, and Egypt), which Licinius won control over through his defeat of Maximinus Daia in 313. After the loss of most of his western territories in the settlement of 317, this region became Licinius' heartland for the final seven years of his reign, with Antioch and (especially) Nicomedia serving as his primary urban residences. There is a substantial quantity of erasures of Licinius and his son from Anatolia in particular, twenty-six in total, roughly one in three (see Appendix 2 sections C1 and C2). The overwhelming majority of these were executed on milestones, most of which hold collegiate dedications in Greek and/or Latin to various configurations of emperors.

The earliest of these were set up under Maximinus Daia's regime, commemorating the emperor alongside Licinius and Constantine. Of the examples dating from this short-lived triarchy, it is notable how much more common it is to find that Daia is the only emperor whose name has been erased.[86] This might suggest that the emperor's political memory was targeted with greater intensity after he lost this territory to Licinius in 313 than Licinius was himself, eleven years later. However, we should bear in mind that these dedications were more than a decade old by 324. Licinius was far more likely to be erased from milestones holding newer dedications from the time of his diarchy with Constantine, and especially from the far more numerous examples which date from after the new settlement in 317 and include the Caesars.

In many cases, the modifications made were thoughtful and inventive, reflecting how common it was to recycle and rededicate milestones. For example, on one stone in Sinop on the coast of the Black Sea, which held a dedication to Constantine and Licinius dating from their first period of alliance (313–316), Licinius' name was erased and the names of Constantine's sons Crispus and Constantine II then added to the bottom of the

---

[86] On the 4 milestones dating to this period where Licinius has been erased, Daia has also been erased: French (2012b nos. 15 and 150A, 2014a nos. 4 and 115A). Milestones where Daia has been erased but Licinius has not: French (2014a nos. 7B, 67B, 118C, 2014b nos. 5C, 9A, and 11A). See also two statue bases (or possibly milestones) from Asia where Daia is erased, in Burunuck (*AE* 1909.195) and Ephesus (*CIL* III.13675). Daia is also the only emperor erased from an architrave inscription in Ancyra (*AE* 1967.495).

inscription.[87] Since Constantius II, who was made Caesar in November 324, was not included, this must have taken place within two months of Licinius' defeat, but before he had actually been executed. On other examples, the Licinii have been erased and a new dedication added which includes Constantius II, indicating that this must have been done *after* November 324 but *before* the downfall of Crispus in 326.[88] In most cases, however, the only action taken was the erasure of the name of Licinius (and, to a lesser extent, his son).

The prevalence and concentration of these modifications to milestones, particularly in the provinces of Pisidia and Caria, reveal a situation comparable to that discussed in the previous chapter of this book, where Maximian was erased with an unprecedented level of consistency from milestones which commemorated his alliance with Constantine in southern Gaul.[89] Likewise, the concentration of erasures of Licinius in these regions suggest an unusual case where a considerable degree of organisation and effort was employed to deface traces of the emperor's existence. These milestones are also particularly useful for understanding the ways in which Licinius and his son were targeted in the eastern empire because, for reasons I will discuss in a moment, there is surprisingly little evidence for other monuments dedicated to the emperors in this region. In themselves, the milestones are evidence that, in at least some places, administrators in the east sought to excise Licinius and his son from collegiate monuments in this part of the empire.

There are only a few surviving examples of more substantial monuments, such as statue bases, of Licinius and his son. One is a large marble block from the island of Kos in the Province of Insulae in the Diocesis Asiana, set up by Valerius Silvinus, the provincial governor.[90] Originally,

---

[87] French (2013 no. 8B). A similar response is found in a milestone in Gençalı, Pisidia (the Diocesis Asiana), where a new dedication to Constantine, Crispus, and Constantine II was added beneath a collegiate dedication where Licinius (but not Licinius Iunior) were erased: French (2012a no. 88B).

[88] For example, Gebeceler in Pisidia (French 2014a no. 48) and Milas in Caria (French 2014a no. 111B), both in the Diocesis Asiana.

[89] In some cases, this might involve erasing multiple milestones in exactly the same location, such as at Çapalı (French 2012a nos. 16A, 16B, and 16C) and Gençalı (French 2012a nos. 90A and 90F) in Pisidia.

[90] *IG*-4,2.904; Bosnakis and Hallord (2010: 324–350).

holding a Latin dedication to the three Caesars of the post-317 imperial college, it demonstrates a thoughtful and enterprising response to the defeat of the Licinii. Rather than simply carving out Licinius Iunior's name and leaving an obvious gap, the inscription was adapted in two stages in an effort to create a more seamless effect. First Licinius Iunior's name was erased completely, and Constantine II's partially. Following this, Constantine II's name was recarved over the indentation where Licinius Iunior's name had been. Finally, the name of Constantius II, Constantine's third son who was appointed Caesar in November 324, was carved into the spot where Constantine II's had stood, and, since their names were so similar, only the alteration of the *praenomen* and the final few letters of the *nomen* was necessary (see Fig. 3.8 for details of the three stages). This operation is the antithesis of mutilating an imperial name but leaving it legible. Rather than leaving a stark cleft where the disgraced emperor's name had been, such as on the gate dedication at Tropaea Traiani, the outcome was subtle, especially if the letters were repainted. However, the depressions on the stone make it clear to even a casual observer that the dedication had been modified. No matter how much effort had been expended, the eraser could not make the reality that another Caesar had originally been honoured completely disappear.

The remaining evidence for statues of the Licinii in the east is more uncertain. Licinius is the suggested honorand of an erased base from Iasos in Caria (near Güllük in modern Turkey), with a dedication in Greek by the *boule* (council) and *demos* (people) of the city. However, his identification is not secure, and the emperors Galerius or Maximian have also been suggested on the basis of the partial remains of the first two letters of the *praenomen*.[91] A similar situation is found in the city of Seleucia ad Calycadnum in the province of Isauria in the Diocesis Asiana, modern Silifke on the southern Mediterranean coast of Turkey. Here five early fourth-century bases survive, all with Latin dedications under three consecutive governors, three of which have been erased.[92] At least one of these must have honoured Licinius, most likely a base where the name of Constantine

---

[91] LSA-515 (U. Gehn).

[92] Unerased base dedicated to Galerius as Augustus: *AE* 1972.652, LSA-2873 (U. Gehn). Erased base dedicated by the same governor to another Augustus, possibly Maximinus Daia, Severus, or Licinius: *AE* 1991.1548, LSA-2874 (U. Gehn). Base dedicated to Constantine as Caesar: *AE* 1978.814, LSA-2871 (U. Gehn). Erased base dedicated to Maximinus Daia by the same governor: *AE* 1978.815, LSA-2872 (U. Gehn).

B   F
DDD NNN FL VAL CRISPO ET **FL CL CONSTANTINO E**T
FLAVIO CONSTANTIO NOBBB CAESSS

VAL SILVINVS V P PRAES PROV INSVL DEVOTVS NVMINI
MAIESTATIQ EORVM

B(onae) f(ortunae) / ddd(ominis) nnn(ostris) Fl(avio) Val(erio) Crispo et [[Liciniano Licinio e]] <Fl(avio) Cl(audio) Constantino e>t / Fl(avio) [[Cl(audio)]]<avio> Constant[[ino]]<io> nobbb(ilissimis) Caesss(aribus) / Val(erius) Silvinus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) praes(es) prov(inciae) Insul(ae) devotus numini maiestatiq(ue) eorum.

'To good fortune. To our lords Flavius Valerius Crispus and [[Licinianus Licinius]] <Flavius Claudius Constantine> and Flavius Constantius, most noble Caesars. Valerius Silvinus, of *perfectissimus* rank, governor of the province of *Insulae*, devoted to their *numen* and majesty, [set this up].'

(a) original dedication:

B F
Fl VAL CRISPO ET LICINIANO LICINIO ET
FL CL CONSTANTINO NOBBB CAESSS
VAL SILVINVS V P PRAES PROV INSVL DEVOTUS NVMINI MAIESTATIQ EORVM

(b) erasures (emboldened):

B F
F VAL CRISPO ET **[[LICINIANO LICINIO E]]**T
FL **[[CL]]** CONSTANT**[[INO]]** NOBBB CAESSS
VAL SILVINVS V P PRAES PROV INSVL DEVOTUS NVMINI MAIESTATIQ EORVM

(c) re-inscription (emboldened):

B F
Fl VAL CRISPO ET **<FL CL CONSTANTINO E>**T
FL**<AVIO>** CONSTANT**<IO>** NOBBB CAESSS
VAL SILVINVS V P PRAES PROV INSVL DEVOTUS NVMINI MAIESTATIQ EORVM

Fig. 3.8 Transcription of base with dedication to Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II, altered to Crispus, Constantine, and Constantius II, Kos (*IG-4*,2.904). Emboldening indicates carving into indentations left by erased text

has been carved into a lacuna created when a previous emperor's name was erased.

Other forms of material evidence help to fill in some of the blanks surrounding Licinius' regime in the east. Licinius is a rare case from the fourth century, and the only case in this book, where there is archaeological evidence for the intentional removal or mutilation of his honorific portraits and images. R. R. R. Smith has identified Licinius as the subject of a group of statue-heads discovered in Asia Minor which had previously been dated to the mid- to late fifth century.[93] Now referred to as the Vienna-Izmir type after the two primary examples, they depict Licinius as aged and corpulent with a highly expressive, almost comical smile, large round eyes, and a clipped beard and hair, poles apart from Constantine's lean, beardless, and youthful portraits of the same period.[94] One of these portraits is a colossal head from Ephesus which was found in the central passage beneath the stage building of the city's theatre. This is consistent with it belonging to an acrolithic statue, composed of a wooden frame with marble depicting exposed flesh (similar to the famous statue of Constantine from the Basilica Nova in Rome). It would have stood at over three times human height, and was originally displayed in one of the central niches of the *scaenae frons*, the decorative architectural structure behind the stage. Smith has suggested that it escaped reuse as building material due to its awkward shape, and so was thrown down underneath the building.[95]

A second head of the same portrait prototype, smaller but still of large proportions, was excavated from the foundations of the western end of a basilica in Smyrna's agora. It is now in a poor condition but is likely to have also belonged to a colossal statue, possibly also acrolithic, which was set on the tribunal at one end of the building.[96] Ephesus and Smyrna were two important cities in Licinius' eastern territories, and the findspots of both heads in the foundations of buildings are suggestive of the

---

Base dedicated to Constantine as Augustus, written over the erased name of another emperor, most likely Licinius: *AE* 1978.816, LSA-2875 (U. Gehn).

[93] Smith (1997).

[94] As Smith points out, the visual contrast between the two emperors, who were only around a decade apart in age, might account for Aurelius Victor's claim that conflict between them was inevitable 'due to their opposite characters' (*ob diversos mores*, 41.2).

[95] Smith (1997: 173), LSA-687 (J. Auinger).

[96] Smith (1997: 174–177), LSA-325 (J. Auinger).

targeting of the most conspicuous monuments of Licinius after he lost this region to Constantine in 324. The lack of associated body parts creates the tempting possibility that the colossal heads were removed and new ones fixed to the frame. If we follow the procedure outlined by Jerome, these new portraits would have been of Licinius' conqueror, Constantine.[97] This would have been a powerful and performative statement: the pulling down, mutilation, and deposition of the defeated emperor's representations, followed by the cannibalisation of both his statue and his imperial position by Constantine; the lingering memory that the colossus had once been a depiction of Licinius.

Rare survivals of smaller metal objects from the east paint a similar picture of the repudiation, mutilation, and deposition of items associated with Licinius. An eighteen-centimetre-high hollow silver repoussé bust of an emperor has been identified as Licinius, since it was discovered in Asia Minor along with a hoard of largesse commemorating the *quinquennalia* of Licinius Iunior.[98] Now known as the Münich Treasure due to its acquisition by the Bayerische Hypotheken- und Wechsel-Bank, the cache is one of the largest and earliest collections of imperial donative silver ever discovered, consisting of the bust and nine silver bowls, five of which have details which associate them with the Licinian celebrations in 321.[99] Though the precise findspot of the hoard was not recorded, the Licinian bowls have stamps or incisions which specify they were made in the eastern cities of Nicomedia and Antioch.[100] Leader-Newby has argued that items of silver plate such as these, which were manufactured by the imperial court and distributed along with coinage to civil and military officials on important ceremonial occasions, served functions beyond a simple monetary bonus.[101] The imagery and inscriptions were symbolically significant to the emperor, and passing these items on affirmed the recipient's position within the political hierarchy, as well as cultivating their ongoing relationship with the emperor and stake in the

[97] Jer. *in Abacuc* 2.3.14ff. See Stewart (1999: 159, 180–181) for further discussion of this reference.

[98] Garbsch and Overbeck (1989: 47–68), LSA-522.

[99] The Bank acquired the bowls in 1972 and then subsequently the bust. They are now held in the Archäologische Staatssammlung München.

[100] Overbeck (1973), Leader-Newby (2004: 16), and Salway (2014: 380).

[101] Leader-Newby (2004: 16).

success of his regime. Against this background, Leader-Newby suggests that the relatively modest workmanship and weight of the silverware in the Münich treasure represents the property of an official or soldier of middling rather than high rank, who buried his wealth in the uncertainty following Licinius' defeat, hoping to preserve his prizes or jettison these politically charged objects.

The inclusion of the bust complicates this picture, since such an object was not a standard largesse gift. Garbsch and Overbeck have argued that it was designed to be fitted to a military standard, and so indicates this hoard belonged to a soldier, though this is not a certainty.[102] The bust was deliberately crushed before it was buried, squashing and distorting the portrait; it has since been unrolled and restored. It has been associated with a pair of smaller silver-plate busts now in Mainz which have also been tentatively identified as Licinius, since they also represent tetrarchic-era figures in military cloaks, and are broadly identified as originating in Asia Minor.[103] Like the Münich bust, both have been intentionally mutilated: one struck with a large weapon such as a sword or axe which removed a vertical chunk from the chest to the neck, the other pierced multiple times with a small pointed instrument, destroying most of the central part of the face, including the nose, mouth, and chin, as well as sections of the chest.[104] The portable size and weight of the busts has also led to speculation that they were military *signa*, originally attached to army standards, though a wide range of other religious, political, or juridical functions are possible.[105]

This material bears some similarity to the more recent discovery of a cache of late third to early fourth-century imperial insignia—orbs, sceptres, and lances—which were found during excavations in a house at the

---

[102] Garbsch and Overbeck (1989: 47–69, no. 10) and Smith (1997: 11). See Webster (1979: 138) and Fishwick (1988: 400) for the function of such small images on army standards, and their role in ritual processions related to the imperial cult.

[103] The pair are now in the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz (inventory nos. O.39760 and O.39761, LSA-462 and 463). Künzl (1983), the most detailed publication of the busts, suggests Licinius as a possible identification, considering they were discovered in Asia Minor. However, he concludes that they can only be identified broadly as representations of tetrarchic emperors, and that their violent treatment indicates the period of political unrest after 306 is a likely context for their mutilation.

[104] Künzl (2000: 568–569) describes this as a 'ritual killing' related to the subject's '*damnatio memoriae*'.

[105] Künzl (1983: 401).

foot of the Palatine hill, having been wrapped in a purple cloth and hidden under the floor.[106] Leader-Newby has highlighted the interpretative issues we encounter with such rare finds.[107] Should we see them as an individual deliberately rejecting an emperor they had once supported, or rather just a reflection of a chaotic civil war environment? The Palatine cache implies the careful concealment of the insignia of the emperor Maxentius, which was then left unrecovered after the emperor was defeated outside Rome. The twin Tetrarch busts are more difficult to interpret, since they lack precise contextual information and cannot be connected to a specific emperor with security (Licinius is a likely possibility, but so is Maximinus Daia, who was also based in the east). Since the Münich hoard is more firmly linked with Licinius, the crushing of the associated bust could be seen as a symbolic repudiation of the emperor, a kind of surrogate corpse abuse performed after his removal. It certainly indicates the deliberate burial of wealth acquired in the emperor's service in the unpredictable aftermath of his downfall. A comparative case of this is found in the final chapter of this book, where a huge hoard of gold donative medallions was deposited as Magnentius' army retreated from Pannonia into northern Italy. In both cases, the fact that these precious items were never recovered suggests that things did not go well for the owners.

Beyond this, the material evidence for Licinius' regime in the east is minimal. In fact, far more statue bases dedicated to Licinius survive from the western empire, in places such as Italy, Spain, and Africa, than the eastern empire where he had been based for the final decade of his reign. One explanation might be regional epigraphic habits, since generally a higher proportion of inscriptions survive from places like Spain and Italy, and some important eastern cities such as Nicomedia and Antioch are less excavated and understood than other cities. The survival of the colossal heads from Smyrna and Ephesus certainly testify to major monuments set up in Licinius' honour, and the wealth of material that his regime must have generated.

However, it is often the case where there are absences of Licinius where we would expect traces. Take, for example, the tetrarchic military camp in Luxor in Egypt, which had been created at the end of the third century

---

[106] See Panella (2008: 86–91) and Donciu (2012: 222–223).

[107] Leader-Newby (2004: 17).

by adapting the ancient temple complex. At least three bases of Constantine survive here, some still in situ, set up by the local commander, which use the title *invictus* which was dropped after the emperor's defeat of Licinius. Since this region fell inside Licinius' territories from 313 onwards, it seems unlikely that an officer under the emperor's jurisdiction would have set up so many monuments in Constantine's honour but ignored Licinius.[108] However, if such monuments existed, they have now completely disappeared. Ultimately, much of this loss of material can be explained by Constantine's trajectory in the thirteen years after Licinius' removal. Constantine shifted his base of power eastwards and, six years after he had defeated Licinius in a battle in the area, he formally refounded the city of Byzantium as Constantinople.[109] The memory of Licinius was swallowed up and vanished under the weight of Constantine's legacy.

Conclusion: The Emperor Vanishes

Constantine had a track record of recruiting the most prominent of his rivals' supporters in the aftermath of their defeats. He made Maxentius' former praetorian prefect, Rufius Volusianus, his *comes*, and later appointed him both consul and urban prefect.[110] Twelve years later, he made Iulius Iulianus, the official who had set up the city-gate dedication at Tropaea Traiani and who had been Licinius' praetorian prefect for at least a decade, a suffect consul, and even married him into the Constantinian dynasty. Such policies meant that even those with the most to lose were given a stake in the regime of the conqueror, and thus became complicit in the denigration of their former ruler.

Just as Iulianus went on to serve his new emperor, and Eusebius decided to adapt the text of his *Ecclesiastical History*, administrators, communities, and individuals across the empire re-evaluated their attitudes to Licinius. All of them had different motivations for participating or not participating in the transformation of the emperor and his son into disgraced figures. The actors and reasoning behind the removal of Licinius Iunior's name as a consular date on a small altar owned by a guild in

---

[108] As pointed out by McFadden (2015: 28), who suggests that they might have been set up after Licinius' defeat but before the '*invictus*' title was in common use.

[109] For the foundation of Constantinople as a victory city, see *Origo* 6, Grig and Kelly (2012: 8) and Potter (2013: 261).

[110] *PLRE* I, C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus 4, 976–978.

Salona are different from those behind the cutting out of Licinius' name from a city gate in Tropaea. However, both cases reflect similar ideas: the marginalisation of the Licinii, the dismantling of the memory of a political alliance which had survived on and off for over a decade, and the embracing of a new political landscape where only the Constantinian dynasty existed.

Though the roots of this denigration might have begun with Constantine and his court, and been propagated in edicts and other forms of imperial communication, it only came to fruition through the actions of a wider group of people who had stakes in this process: the orators who ignored Licinius; the authors and editors who adapted narratives to expunge his achievements; the officials, city councils, corporations, and individuals who cut his name out of their monuments, or rededicated their statues to Constantinian emperors, or crushed his silver busts, or scraped his name out of documents; the fifth-century compilers of the *Theodosian Code* who excised him from legal history. Accomplished over long periods and across wide distances, Licinius' disgrace was a communal enterprise with a myriad of participants.

References

Modern Sources

Alföldy, G. (1975). *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarracco*. Berlin.

———. (1984). *Römische Statuen in Venetia et Histria: epigraphische Quellen*. Heidelberg.

Amerise, M. (2008). 'Note sulla datazione de Panegirico per l'Inaugurazione della Basilica di Tiro.' *Adamantius* 14: 229–234.

Bagnall, R., Cameron, A., Schwartz, S. R., and Worp, K. A. (1987). *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*. Atlanta.

Barnea, A. (2006). 'Despre *Tropaeum Traiani*. Oraşul antic.' In *Dacia Augusti Provincia, Creare Provinciei*, eds. E. S. Teodor and O. Ţentea. Bucharest: 410–415.

Barnes, T. D. (1973). 'Lactantius and Constantine.' *Journal of Roman Studies* 63: 29–46.

———. (1980). 'The Editions of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*.' *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 21: 191–201.

———. (1981). *Constantine and Eusebius*. Cambridge, MA.

———. (1982). *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*. Cambridge, MA.

———. (2011). *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire*. Chichester.

Bosnakis, D., and Hallof, K. (2010). 'Alte und neue Inschriften aus Kos.' *Chiron* 40: 322–358.

Bruun, P. (1961). *Studies in Constantinian Chronology*. New York.

———. (1966). *The Roman Imperial Coinage, Vol. VII: Constantine and Licinius*. London.

Buckland, C. (2010). *To Praise the Emperor: Imperial Panegyric and the Epideictic Tradition*. Saarbrücken.

Burgess, R. W. (1997). 'The Dates and Editions of Eusebius' *Chronici Canones* and *Historia Ecclesiastica*.' *Journal of Theological Studies* 48.2: 471–504.

Cameron, A. (1983). 'Constantinus Christianus.' *Journal of Roman Studies* 73: 183-190.

———. (1997). 'Eusebius' *Vita Constantini* and the Construction of Constantine.' In *Portraits: Biographical Representation in the Greek and Latin Literature of the Roman Empire*, eds. M. J. Edwards and S. Swain. Oxford: 145–174.

———. (2005). 'The Reign of Constantine, A.D. 306–337.' In *The Cambridge Ancient History, Second Edition, Volume XII: The Crisis of Empire, A.D. 193–337*, eds. A. K. Bowman, P. Garnsey, and Av. Cameron. Cambridge: 90–109.

Corcoran, S. (1993). 'Hidden from History: The Legislation of Licinius.' In *The Theodosian Code: Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity*, ed. J. Harries. London: 97–119.

———. (2000). *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial Pronouncements and Government* (revised ed.). Oxford.

Creed, J. L. (1984). *Lactantius,* De Mortibus Persecutorum*: Translation and Commentary*. Oxford.

Cullhed, M. (1994). *Conservator Urbis Suae: Studies in the Politics and Propaganda of the Emperor Maxentius*. Stockholm.

Degrassi, A. (1954). *Il Confine nord-orientale dell'Italia romana: ricerche storico-topografiche*. Bern.

Dillon, J. N. (2012). *The Justice of Constantine: Law, Communication, and Control*. Ann Arbor.

Donciu, R. (2012). *L'Empereur Maxence*. Bari.

Ehrhardt, C. (1992). 'Monumental Evidence for the Date of Constantine's First War Against Licinius.' *Ancient World* 23.2: 87–94.

Fishwick, D. (1988). 'Imperial Sceptre Heads in Britain.' *Britannia* 19: 399–400.

French, D. H. (2012a). *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Vol. 3 Fasc. 3.2 (Galatia). London.

———. (2012b). *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Vol. 3 Fasc. 3.3 (Cappadocia). London.

———. (2013). *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Vo.l 3 Fasc. 3.4 (Pontus et Bithynia). London.

———. (2014a). *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Vol. 3 Fasc. 3.5 (Asia). London.

———. (2014b). *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Vol. 3 Fasc. 3.6 (Lycia et Pamphylia). London.

Garbsch, J., and Overbeck, B. (1989). *Spätanike zwischen Heidentum und Christentum: Einführung und Katalog*. Munich.

Gauthier, N., Marin, E., and Prévot, F. (2011). *Recherches archéologiques franco-croates à Salone. IV, Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne, IVe-VIIe siècles*. Split.

Gibbon, E. (1994). [1776–1788]. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. 3 vols., ed. D. Wormersly. London.

Grig, L. and Kelly, G. (2012). 'Introduction: From Rome to Constantinople.' In *Two Romes. Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, eds. L. Grig and G. Kelly. Oxford: 3–30.

Grünewald, T. (1990). *Constantinus maximus Augustus: Herrschaftspropaganda in der zeitgenössichen Überlieferung*. Stuttgart.

Hekster, O. (2015). *Emperors and Ancestors: Roman Rulers and the Constraints of Tradition*. Oxford.

Humphries. (2008). 'From Usurper to Emperor: The Politics of Legitimation in the Age of Constantine.' *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1.1: 82–100.

Ivanišević, D. (2016). *Epigraphic Culture and Social History in Late Antique Salona* (ca. 250–600 C.E.). PhD Dissertation, Central European University, Budapest.

Johnson, A. P. (2013). *Eusebius*. New York.

König. (1987). *Origo Constantini, Anonymous Valesianus: Text und Kommentar*. Trier.

Künzl, E. (1983). 'Zwei silberne Tetrarchenporträts im RGZM und die römichen Zaiserbildnisse aus Gold und Silber' *Jahrbuch des römisch-germanische Zentralmuseums Mainz* 30: 381–402.

———. (2000). [Commentary on no. 234 and 235] in *Aurea Romana: dalla città pagana alla città cristiana*, eds. S. Ensoli and E. la Rocca. Rome.

Leadbetter, B. (2009). *Galerius and the Will of Diocletian*. London.

Leader-Newby, R. E. (2004). *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity: Functions and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Century*. Aldershot.

Lenski. (2016). *Constantine and the Cities: Imperial Authority and Civic Politics*. Philadelphia.

Lepelley. (1981). *Les Cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire*, vol 2. Paris.

Lieu, N. C., and Montserrat, D. (1996). *From Constantine to Julian: Pagan and Byzantine Views*. London.

Louth, A. (1990). 'The Date of Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*.' *Journal of Theological Studies* 41.1: 111–123.

MacCormack, S. G. (1981). *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley.

McFadden, S. (2015). 'Dating the Luxor Camp and the Politics of Building in the Tetrarchic Era.' In *Art of Empire. The Roman Frescos and Imperial Cult Chamber in Luxor Temple*, eds. M. Jones and S. McFadden. New Haven: 25–37.

Montgomery, H. (2000). 'From Friend to Foe: The Portrait of Licinius in Eusebius.' *Symoblae Osloenses* 75: 130–138.

Neri. (2012a). 'Costantino e Licinio Θεοφιλεις e il Problema della *Historia Ecclesiastica* di Eusebio di Casarea.' In *Costantio: Prima e Dopo Constantino; Constantine: Before and After Constantine*, eds. G. Bonamente, N. Lenski and R. L. Testa. Bari: 381–403.

———. (2012b). 'Les éditions des l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* (livres VIIII–IX): bilan critique et perspectives de la recherché.' In *Eusèbe de Césarée: Histoire ecclésiastique. Commentaire Tome I: Études d'introduction*. Paris.

Nixon, C. E. V., and Saylor Rodgers, B. (1994). *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini. Introduction, Translation, and Historical Commentary with the Latin Text of R. A. B. Mynors*. Berkeley.

Omissi. (2018). *Emperors and Usurpers in the Later Roman Empire. Civil War, Panegyric, and the Construction of Legitimacy*. Oxford.

Odahl, C. M. (2010). *Constantine and the Christian Empire* (revised ed.). London.

Overbeck, B. (1973). *Argentum Romanum: ein Schatzfund von spätrömischen Prunkgeschirr*. Munich.

Panella, C. (2008). 'Imperial Insignia from the Palatine Hill.' In *Rome and the Barbarians*, ed. J. Aillagon. Milan: 86–91.

Popescu, E. (1976). *Inscripţiile greceşti şi latine din secolele IV-XIII descoperite în Románia*. Bucharest.

Potter, D. (2013). *Constantine the Emperor*. Oxford.

Pückler-Muskau. (1837). *Adventures in Algiers, and other parts of Africa*. Vol II. London.

Rees, R. (2002). *Layers of Loyalty in Latin Panegyric: AD 289–307*. Oxford.

Rodríguez Colmenero, A., Ferrer Sierra, S., and Álvarez Asorey, R. D. (2004). *Miliarios e outras inscricións viarias romanas do Noroeste Hispánico*. Lisbon.

Salway, B. (2014). 'Late Antiquity.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, eds. C. Bruun and J. Edmonson. Oxford: 364–393.

Saylor Rodgers, B. (1989). 'The Metamorphosis of Constantine.' *Classical Quarterly* 39: 233–246.

Schmidt-Hofner, S. (2015). 'Ostentatious Legislation: Law and Dynastic Change, AD 364–365.' In *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, ed. J. Wienand. Oxford: 67–99.

Sharankov, N. (2013). 'Inscriptions.' In *The Temple of The Pontic Mother of Gods in Dionysopolis*, eds. I. Lazarenko, E. Mircheva, R. Encheva, D. Stoyanova, and N. Sharankov. Varna.

Smith, R. R. R. (1997). 'The Public Image of Licinius I: Portrait Sculpture and Imperial Ideology in the Early Fourth Century.' *Journal of Roman Studies* 87: 170–207.

Stewart, P. (1999). 'The Destruction of Statues in Late Antiquity.' In *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity*, ed. R. Miles. London: 159–189.

Syme, R. (1974). 'The Ancestry of Constantine.' In *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1971*, ed. A. Alföldy. Bonn: 237–253.

Topilescu, G. G. (1894). 'Neue Inschriften aus Rumänien' *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn XVII*. Wien: 81–113.

Treadgold, W. T. (2007). *The Early Byzantine Historians*. Basingstoke.

Van Dam, R. (2007). *The Roman Revolution of Constantine*. Cambridge.

———. (2011). *Remembering Constantine at the Milvian Bridge*. Cambridge.

Wankel, H. (1979). *Die Inschriften von Ephesos II. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, Vol. 12. Bonn.

Warmington, B. H. (1974). 'Aspects of Constantinian Propaganda in the Panegyrici Latini.' *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 104: 371–384.

Webster, G. (1979). *The Roman Imperial Army*. London.

CHAPTER 4

Crispus

The spectacular fall from grace of Crispus, the eldest son of Constantine, remains one of the greatest mysteries of the emperor's three-decade reign. After a promising start to his political career—appointed Caesar in 317, three consulships, military victories against the Franks and Alamanni on the Rhine frontier, and an instrumental role in his father's victory over his last imperial rival, Licinius—Crispus was suddenly eliminated in 326, allegedly at the instruction of his father, amidst Constantine's *vicennalia* celebrations.

The circumstances surrounding the episode are elusive. Ancient sources vary widely in their responses and explanations: from explicitly stating their ignorance as to Constantine's motives (Aurelius Victor); to constructing an elaborate narrative linking Crispus' death to the disappearance of his stepmother (Zosimus); to passing over the incident in conspicuous silence (Eusebius). It is a challenge to construct a coherent account from these fragments of conflicting information, with each ancient author motivated by his own particular agenda and individual interpretation of Constantine. Accordingly, Crispus' downfall has prompted a range of hypotheses from modern commentators who have endeavoured to explain what provoked Constantine to execute his eldest son so soon after he had gained control over the entire empire, undermining his hard-won position both pragmatically and ideologically. This

aura of mystery surrounding Crispus' fate has encouraged many to iden-
tify the almost simultaneous disappearances of Crispus and his stepmother
Fausta as a paradigmatic example of *damnatio memoriae* in the later
Roman empire.

This chapter's central aim is to examine the construction of Crispus
as a disgraced figure in the aftermath of his disappearance: an under-
studied aspect of the episode which, I argue, holds crucial clues to the
contemporary reception of his downfall. Whatever Constantine's motiva-
tions for the execution of his eldest son, it has been consistently assumed
that Crispus' death was naturally followed by the condemnation of his
political memory. Both Hans Pohlsander and Timothy Barnes have explic-
itly commented on what they perceive as the thoroughness of Crispus'
deletion from his father's empire. Whilst in 1984 Pohlsander rhetorically
asked, 'was *damnatio memoriae* ever applied more strictly than here?',[1]
Barnes has more recently asserted that the 'historical' Crispus was obliter-
ated from his father's empire after his fall: 'he was not only dead, he was
abolished, an unperson'.[2]

Though epigraphic evidence has been offered in passing to support
these claims of Crispus' condemnation,[3] it has never received methodical
consideration. As this chapter illustrates, this material provides rich and
contemporaneous evidence for reactions to Crispus' downfall, opening a
new window onto this otherwise tangled and elusive episode. I will begin
by establishing the position Crispus occupied: the extensiveness of his
political memory, the different contexts in which he was commemorated,
and the close association of his imperial identity with that of his father.
Focusing on the issue of the treatment of his posthumous memory, I then
consider the range of reactions to his downfall found in ancient literary
accounts, followed by modern explanations which have been contingent
on the idea that the memories of Crispus and his stepmother Fausta were
condemned in antiquity. Finally, I introduce a quantitative and qualita-
tive investigation of the material evidence for Crispus' construction and
reception as a disgraced figure after his disappearance. What emerges is a

---

[1] Pohlsander (1984: 98, see also 1996: 58).

[2] Barnes (2011: 5), quoting George Orwell's *1984*. See also MacMullen (1969: 187),
Drijvers (1992b: 501), Woods (1998: 72), Stephenson (2009: 200), James (2013: 108),
and Burgersdijk (2018: 138).

[3] For example, Pohlsander (1984: 102), Woods (1995: 72), and Varner (2004: 221–
222).

process which was both regionally and contextually varied. I argue that, on the one hand, some were eager to promote a new image of Crispus as disgraced, whilst others found his transformation from honoured to dishonoured a more uneasy development.

CRISPUS AND CONSTANTINE

If we take our lead from the works of Eusebius of Caesarea, our primary source for the reign of Constantine, it is easy to overlook Crispus and the significance he once held within his father's regime. A Syriac translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* testifies to the removal of all references to the emperor in an edition of the work dating to after Crispus' death in 326. In Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, completed after 337, Crispus and his political career of almost a decade are entirely overlooked: here Constantine has, and has only ever had, three sons. Eusebius' policy of expunging and ignoring Crispus has been taken as the ultimate evidence for the thoroughness of the Caesar's condemnation after his execution. Nevertheless, there are inherent dangers in taking one voice—especially one with such a complex and misleadingly self-represented relationship with Constantine—as proof of imperial policy.

At the time of his downfall in 326, Crispus occupied an indisputably central position within his father's ideology and administration. The product of a union of ambiguous nature between Constantine and woman named Minervina, scholars are divided as to whether Crispus should be identified as legitimate or illegitimate.[4] Since Constantine married Fausta in 307, and a panegyrist speaking at this occasion makes no reference to an existing son, it has been proposed that Crispus was only pushed to the forefront of Constantine's regime when this marriage had produced no heirs for ten years, suggesting Fausta may have been unable to conceive.[5] However, the purpose of this marriage was the creation of a political alliance between Constantine and Fausta's father Maximian and, as Jill Harries has suggested, Fausta is likely to have been significantly underage at the time, since after an initial delay she had at least five children in

---

[4] MacMullen (1969: 59) and Potter (2013: 97–98) accept Minervina as Constantine's legal wife, whilst Guthrie (1966), Pohlsander (1984), and Drijvers (1992b) argue that both the union and Crispus were illegitimate. See Arjava (1996: 205–210) for the legal status of concubines and their children in this period.

[5] Stephenson (2009: 120, 163), and Potter (2013: 97–98).

quick succession.[6] Crispus is mentioned for the first time in the panegyric delivered in Trier in 313. At the end of this oration Constantine, recently victorious over Maxentius, stands apart with his 'divine progeny' (*divina suboles*). Since Fausta bore her first child three years later, this could only have been Crispus. However, the speaker also anticipates further male heirs who will also share Constantine's empire.[7]

Crispus' appointment as Caesar in the context of the reaffirmed alliance between Constantine and Licinius in 317, when Constantine II and Licinius Iunior were also made junior emperors, marked the emergence of his political memory across the empire. Coins were minted in his name, statues were set up in his honour, his name was carved into a range of honorific inscriptions across the empire, and he also appeared as a consular date. Over a hundred and forty inscriptions including Crispus' name survive from his nine-year imperial career. We find him commemorated both alone and in a range of collegiate groupings. On Greek and Latin dedications to the complete post-317 college—predominantly milestones—Crispus is listed after the Augusti Constantine and Licinius as first of the three Caesars, indicating their respective ages (Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and then Constantine II). In any dedicatory inscription honouring just the three Caesars, he always appears first. On some examples, particularly milestones in Spain and Africa, we find Crispus honoured alone.[8] After the defeat of the Licinii in 324, Crispus was listed second, appearing directly after his father and ahead of his co-Caesars and half-brothers. As a consequence, whichever political set up was commemorated—with the Licinii or without—Crispus always stood at the heart of the imperial college as the most senior of the junior emperors.

Crispus held the consulship three times in his nine-year political career: jointly with Licinius in 318, and jointly with his younger half-brother Constantine II in 321 and 324.[9] As a consequence, his name made a significant impact on the records of this year, appearing as a consular date

[6] Harries (2012: 259). See also Rougé (1980: 6)

[7] *Pan. Lat.* XII(9) 26.5. See Nixon and Saylor Rodgers (1994: 333 n. 162) and Burgersdijk (2018: 142–145).

[8] Spain: e.g. *CIL* II.4764, *AE* 1977.436. Africa: e.g. *CIL* VIII.22211, 22,376. Britain: e.g. *CIL* VII.1153. Gaul: *CIL* XVII-2.90.

[9] Due to the political fracture between Constantine and Licinius, Crispus, and Constantine II's consulships were only recognised in the west: Bagnall et al. (1987: 170–171, 176, 182–183).

on papyri and inscriptions such as altars, funerary dedications, and a series of bronze documents from Rome.[10] His name was also attached to imperial edicts issued in these years. Sozomen, writing in the first half of the fifth century, cites these legal records as proof of Crispus' high status within Constantine's regime, claiming he occupied the 'second place in the empire' after his father.[11] This outlook demonstrates a conspicuous disregard for Constantine's sons by Fausta, the eldest of whom, Constantine II, was technically equal in status to Crispus. Crispus' relative maturity meant that he inevitably held prominence. Of the three Caesars created in the alliance with Licinius in 317, the others were not only children, but infants: Licinius Iunior was less than two years old at the time of his appointment, and Constantine II around a year old.[12] Crispus, by contrast, was at least twelve years old, and possibly as old as seventeen. As a consequence, he was more than a passive dynastic figurehead and was able to hold active political and military roles under the guidance of administrative officers appointed by his father.

Based on the Rhine frontier at Trier and entrusted with the administration of Gaul under the supervision of a praetorian prefect, Crispus led a series of successful campaigns over the Franks and Alamanni in the early 320s.[13] These victories were commemorated in gold issues depicting Crispus as an alert, soldierly figure, holding a spear and alternatively a globe or shield, his portrait a youthful version of his father's, and with reverses showing trophies and subjected personifications, proclaiming the 'joy of the Romans' (*gaudium Romanorum*).[14] Other designs, minted in

[10] Consular date on altars: e.g. Rome: *CIL* VI.315; Carnuntum: *AE* 2003.1399. Christian funerary dedications in Rome: e.g. *ICUR*-3.8416; 4.9550. Bronze patronage documents from the house of the Valerii in Rome: *CIL* VI.1684–1685, 1687–1689.

[11] Soz. 1.5.2: τὸ δεύτερον σχῆμα τῆς βασιλείας.

[12] Licinius Iunior was born in either July or August 315, since he is identified as 20 months old at the time of his elevation to Caesar in March 317: Zos. 2.20.2, *Epit. De Caes* 41.4, *PLRE* I, Val. Licinianus Licinius 4, 509–510. Constantine II was born early in 316, though *PLRE* I, Fl. Claudius Constantinus 3, 223, identifies his birth as February 317, thus implying he was illegitimate since Fausta's second son, Constantius II, was also born in 317.

[13] For a discussion of the identity of Crispus' praetorian prefect, see Barnes (1982: 129), and Pohlsander (1984: 87). For the dates of the campaigns, see Barnes (1982: 83).

[14] Bruun (1966) *RIC* VII, Trier, nos. 186–187, 240, 243, 257. The panegyrist Nazarius, speaking in Rome in 321, also makes reference to these victories: *Pan. Lat*. IV(10) 17.2.

Obverse: F IVL CRISPVS NOB CAES
Reverse: PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS

Fig. 4.1 Bronze *AE* 3 of Crispus, *RIC* VII Trier no. 142. ANS 1979.78.25 (Photograph: American Numismatic Society, reproduced with kind permission)

both gold and lesser metals, commemorate Crispus' *virtus* and *victoria*, with reverses showing the emperor standing in full armour or spearing barbarians from horseback, and praising him with variations of *Princeps Iuventutis*, a title which had been used in reference to Constantine in his early career (Fig. 4.1).[15]

Overall, the image created was one of youthful energy and military success, broadcasting the accomplishments of this miniature Constantine, an heir worthy and ready to step into his father's shoes. This outlook is also found in Nazarius' panegyric, delivered in Rome in 321, where the speaker tried his best to create a level playing field between Constantine's two sons and Caesars. Extolling the virtues of the then four-year-old Constantine II, highlighting the promise represented in the name he shared with his father, he praised the child for his ability to sign his own name on imperial rescripts (*Pan. Lat*. IV(10) 37.5). But this pales in comparison to the praise Nazarius could offer Crispus, whom he depicted as an adolescent prodigy cast in the mould of Constantine, his military successes mirroring those his father achieved in his own youth (36.3).

[15] E.g. Bruun (1966) *RIC* VII, Arles, no. 134; Rome, nos. 60–62.

Nevertheless, the speaker creates a picture of familial affection and cooperation, describing how Crispus had rushed to Serdica to be with his father and brother, where his father praised his achievements and his brother listened in awe to Crispus' tales of victory, waiting impatiently until he was old enough to lead his own campaigns (36.4–37.4).

Epigraphic evidence points to a similar tension in the figure of Crispus between individual glory and his place within a larger imperial family. In many cases, he is carefully integrated into the Constantinian college, but in others the young emperor becomes the focal point of honours at the expense of his co-Caesars, especially Constantine II. Sometimes Crispus was honoured conspicuously, alone or in tandem with his father, and in the absence of his much younger half-brothers. For example, he is the subject of a statue base set up in the centre of Rome in the spring of 317, shortly after his appointment as Caesar, by the urban prefect Ovinius Gallicanus, which praises him as the *filius* (son) of Constantine Maximus and the *nepos* (grandson) of *divus* Constantius I.[16] Milestones survive from regions under Crispus' jurisdiction, such as Belgica and Viennensis, which are dedicated to him alone as *invictus* ('unconquered'), or honour him as *nobilissimus Caesar*, born the son, grandson, and descendant of emperors.[17]

Crispus was also honoured with his father in paired statue dedications. These include a long plaque, likely from a double statue base, in Samothrace with Greek dedications to Crispus and Constantine,[18] and a base erected in Ephesus in 317 by the praetorian prefects Petronius Annianus and Iulius Iulianus with a Latin dedication to the two emperors.[19] There are also some examples of paired base dedications, one for Constantine and the other for Crispus, such as in the city of Aeclanum, set up by Lucius Nonius Verus, the governor of Apulia & Calabria.[20] In Puteoli equestrian statues were set up by consecutive governors, first to Constantine in 324 and then to Crispus the following year: a conspicuous monument linking father and son, dedicated shortly after

---

[16] *CIL* VI.1155, LSA-1094 (C. Machado).

[17] E.g.: *CIL* XVII-2.534 (*invictus*); 90b, 92 (*patre avo maioribus* etc.).

[18] *IG* XII-8.244.

[19] LSA-241 (A. Sokolicek).

[20] *PLRE* I, Verus 4, 953. Base of Constantine: *CIL* IX.1115. Base of Crispus: *CIL* IX.1116.

their victory over Licinius in the eastern empire.[21] All in all, this points to the prominent commemoration of Crispus in close association with his father, generally in the absence of the infant Caesar Constantine II, late in Constantine's reign, and only a year or so before Crispus' elimination.

It was in the final conflict between Constantine and Licinius from 323 to 324 that Crispus is remembered for playing a pivotal role. The *Origo Constantini* records that the young emperor won a resounding victory over Licinius' navy, before meeting his father in Byzantium ahead of the final confrontation at Chrysopolis.[22] In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius described how Constantine and Crispus worked in unison to achieve victory, reuniting the empire into a single entity under their joint rule (*Hist. eccl.* 10.9.4–6). Comparing them to God the father and Jesus the son, he describes Crispus an 'emperor most dear to God and in every way resembling his father' (βασιλεύς θεοφιλεστάτος καὶ τὰ πάντα τοῦ πατρὸς ὁμοίος, 10.9.6). Though Eusebius acknowledges that Crispus was not Constantine's only son, that there are other children who stand to share in the rule of the unified empire (10.9.8, 9), they are not named or even numbered. This blinkered conception of Constantine's dynastic situation, where Crispus was preeminent amongst the emperor's offspring, mirrors the joint dedications dating to this period.

After the defeat of the Licinii in 324, the new political environment of Constantine's monarchy marked increased interest in promoting the female members of the Constantinian *familia*, especially Constantine's wife Fausta and mother Helena.[23] Both were given the title of Augusta, and commemorated in a series of coin issues. They were also honoured in several statues set up in towns around the Bay of Naples. These dedications demonstrate the care that was taken to assimilate Crispus into this family unit, his different maternity sometimes acknowledged but presented in an unproblematic fashion. For example, on a base of Helena in Salernum (Salerno), Helena was commemorated as the *avia* (grandmother) of Crispus and his half-brothers Constantine II and Constantius

[21] Base of Constantine: *AE* 1968/70.107, set up by Publius Aelius Proculus. Base of Crispus: *AE* 1969/70.108, set up by Iulius Aurelianus.

[22] *Origo* 5.23, 26–27. See also Zonar. 13.2, and Peter the Patrician *ES* 188, F 209 (Summer, 324 CE) in Banchich (2015: 143).

[23] See James (2013: 100–103) and Harries (2014: 203) for the ideological use of Constantinian empresses at this time.

II.[24] On a base dedicated to Fausta in Surrentum (Sorrento), Constantine's wife was identified as not just the *mater* of Constantine II and Constantius II, but also the *noverca* (stepmother) of Crispus.[25] All of these monuments will be discussed in the context of Crispus' disgrace later in this chapter.

Some important conclusions can be drawn from this examination of Crispus' status. There is no indication that he was treated as illegitimate, or that Constantine favoured his sons by Fausta to Crispus' detriment. Crispus was carefully integrated within the imperial family unit, though his relative seniority meant that both responsibility and honours were unevenly distributed between him and his brothers. For Eusebius, this involved passing over Constantine's other sons to heap praises onto the emperor and his adolescent son. For Iulius Aurelianus, the governor of Campania, this involved setting up a bronze equestrian statue in Puteoli commemorating Crispus to match one which had recently been set up to his father, with no such honours for Constantine's other sons. Both of these examples date to late in Crispus' career, after the defeat of the Licinii, and only just before his downfall. There was no sense of estrangement between father and son ahead of Crispus' disappearance, and the deposition of Constantine's final rival marked no diminishment in Crispus' role. In fact, it was his involvement in this victory which led to him being further elevated in relation to his father. This highlights the suddenness of Crispus' downfall, which must have made his disappearance all the more striking. Most significant of all is the extent to which Crispus was visually and ideologically assimilated with Constantine: in the words of Eusebius, 'in every way resembling his father'. Unlike the Licinii, he was not a separate imperial entity which could be marginalised and rejected, but had been constructed and perceived as an ideological extension of his father. As we will now see, this had important implications for his treatment after his downfall.

[24] *CIL* X.517.

[25] *CIL* X.678. See also a fragmentary base of Fausta from Priverno: *AE* 2007.354. The entablature of a portico in Arles, the so-called Arch of Constantine, originally held a dedicatory inscription consisting of inlaid bronze letters which has been deciphered from the post-holes as honouring the emperors Constantine, Crispus, Constantine II, and Constantius II, along with Fausta as *uxor materque*, thus concealing Crispus' different maternity: *CIL* XII.668, *AE* 1952.107. However, the monument was partially demolished in the seventeenth century, leaving scholars reliant on earlier drawings to restore the inscription. Heijmans (2004: 52–55) highlights how these reconstructions are highly tentative.

SILENCE AND SCANDAL: CRISPUS'
DOWNFALL IN ANCIENT ACCOUNTS

There are significant issues with the surviving literary accounts of Crispus' downfall. The first is a lack of contemporary evidence. It has been suggested that this absence is a consequence of Constantine's 'campaign to damn' the memories of the emperor and his stepmother Fausta, whose disappearance around the same time has been connected to Crispus' own fate.[26] However, much can be explained by circumstance and a general lack of detailed sources for the middling years of Constantine's reign. Lactantius' *On the Deaths of the Persecutors*, the key source for the earlier parts of Constantine's career, ends in around 315. No speeches praising Constantine from the *Panegyrici Latini* collection date from after 321, so we cannot see how the delicate issue of Crispus' execution was tackled in this context. Ammianus Marcellinus' account of Constantine's reign has been lost along with the rest of the first thirteen books of his history.

The claims of Crispus' *damnatio memoriae* stem primarily from his treatment in the works of Eusebius of Caesarea. In a Syriac translation of the *Ecclesiastical History*, all references to Crispus have been removed from the sections in book ten which had described how he and his father had conquered Licinius with the help of God. It has been argued that this constituted a final edition of the work, where Eusebius excised all references to Crispus to accommodate the Caesar's downfall, just as he had done on a much larger scale after the defeat of Licinius in 324.[27] However, the agency of these changes is uncertain. Though the Syriac translation is a comparatively early manuscript, dating from the mid-fifth century, and this indicates that *someone* felt compelled to expunge Crispus, there is no definitive proof that this was done by Eusebius himself as opposed to a later copyist, editor, or translator.[28]

In Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, dating to after 337, it is as if Crispus had never existed: he has been erased from the story of his father's rise to power, including the victory over Licinius where he had been so

[26] Stephenson (2009: 200).

[27] Barnes (2011: 5).

[28] Subsequent historians, such as Evagrius, quoted the version of the text which still included Crispus (3.41), which suggests that the removal of Crispus was either the work of the Syriac translator or the previously published text remained in circulation: see Johnson (2013: 104–112).

instrumental. Though some have interpreted this as a consequence of Constantine's formal abolition of his son's memory,[29] genre and context are important considerations. The *Life of Constantine* is a biographical panegyric that naturally passes over problematic aspects of Constantine's reign. The fact that Eusebius does not mention Crispus does not mean that the Caesar was 'abolished'. It simply means that, given the nature of the *Life* and when it was written, the bishop found it inappropriate to mention him.

The further in time we get from Crispus' death, the more detailed and elaborate the ancient accounts become. An obvious explanation for this is that later writers felt more at liberty to provide coverage of the more questionable actions of a previous dynasty, or to advocate a less than positive assessment of its founder. Aurelius Victor, writing under Constantius II, is the first to mention Crispus' fall explicitly. Victor says nothing overtly critical of Constantine (unsurprising, given that he was Constantius II's father) and glosses over the event quickly before moving onto Calocaeus' revolt in Cyprus: 'when the eldest of these [sons] had died by the judgement of his father, the motive is uncertain …'.[30] Despite the brevity of the reference, Victor divulges two crucial pieces of information: that Crispus' death was ordered by his father (*patris iudicio*), and that there was a general ignorance as to why Constantine took this action (*incertum qua causa*). Aurelius Victor's claim of ignorance lends credence to the argument that the details of Crispus' death remained a mystery to many contemporaries. This is significant considering that Victor, who later served as governor of Pannonia Secunda under Julian and then urban prefect of Rome in 389, was a man of considerable political standing who one assumes would have had access to this kind of information had it been readily available.[31] Nevertheless, some aspects of the event—that the impetus came from Constantine, for example—were clearly known, even if the basic motivation was not.

From the end of the Constantinian dynasty onwards, sources began to supply this motivation, and the floodgates of judgement and scandal open. Eutropius' *Breviarium* links Crispus' death to Constantine's recent defeat

[29] Barnes (2011: 5).

[30] Aur. Vic. *De Caes* 41.11: *quorum cum natu grandior, incertum qua causa, patris iudicio occidisset.*

[31] *PLRE* I, Sex. Aurelius Victor 13.

of his last imperial rival Licinius. After this point, he claims, the emperor's temperament changed, and he killed Crispus, his nephew Licinius Iunior and other relatives, followed by his wife and numerous friends (10.6). This idea of a negative juncture in Constantine's career was also popular in other even more hostile accounts, such as the *Epitome de Caesaribus* and Zosimus. Such a story placed blame squarely on Constantine and his unexpected change in personality rather than on his supposed victims. In his *Chronicle*, Jerome couples the death of Crispus with that of Licinius Iunior, both of whom he claims were 'most cruelly killed' (*crudelissime interficiuntur*, *Chron.* 231[d] H) by Constantine, who subsequently went on to eliminate Fausta the following year (*uxorem suam Faustam interficit*, *Chron.* 232[a] H).

A direct link between Crispus and Fausta's deaths comes comparatively late in the ancient tradition, from the final years of the fourth century onwards, as does the allegation of sexual misconduct between the pair. Zosimus, drawing upon Eunapius' history of the later fourth century, used the episode to expose the immoral and selfish reasons for Constantine's conversion to Christianity, motivated, he claims, by the emperor seeking absolution for his heinous crimes.[32] This idea certainly existed earlier than the sixth century since it was already known to Sozomen, who dedicates an entire chapter of his mid-fifth century *Ecclesiastical History* to refuting it (1.5). As David Potter suggests, this idea might even be traced back to the emperor Julian, since in his *Caesars* he satirised Constantine and his sons for taking refuge with Jesus, who promised to absolve all their sins, no matter how unforgiveable.[33]

Altogether, ancient literary accounts are heavy on judgement and domestic scandal, but few tell us any specific details about the deaths of Crispus or Fausta, such as the dates, the alleged method of Crispus' elimination, or where either met their demises. For example, Eutropius, Jerome and the *Epitome* indicate that it was understood that Fausta's downfall took place after Crispus', but how much later? Whilst the majority of the narratives of Fausta's death include the claim that she

---

[32] Zos. 2.29.2–5. For the lost history of Eunapius and its use by Zosimus, see Treadgold (2007: 81–89).

[33] *Caes.* 3.36 A-B, Potter (2013: 247).

perished in a bath, only two—Sidonius Apollinaris and Philostorgius—include details of Crispus' fate, which they claim was the result of poisoning.

In a letter written to Secudinus in 447, Sidonius praised the fearlessness that his friend had shown in his poetry compositions, offering a historical parallel:

> It [Secudinus' poem] seems to me to be no better fashioned than when the consul Ablabius jabbed at the house and life of Constantine with his twin verses, stinging them with such an excellent couplet hung up secretly on the gates of the palace:

> Who would long for the golden age of Saturn?
> We have a bejeweled one, but Neronian.

> Because, of course, that aforementioned Augustus had at almost the same time killed his wife Fausta with a hot bath and his son Crispus with cold poison.[34]

Flavius Ablabius, the senator to whom Sidonius refers, had enjoyed an illustrious career under Constantine, including service as the *vicarius* of Asia, praetorian prefect of the east, and consul of 331, prior to his later dismissal and execution by Constantius II.[35] It seems unlikely that he ever hung secret poems on the palace comparing the emperor's regime to Nero's. Moreover, as Hans Pohlsander points out, the clever elegance of Sidonius' phrase—a hot bath for one victim and cold poison for the other—gives us reason to question the writer's accuracy, as does his listing the two deaths in the opposite chronological order to any other ancient source.[36]

[34] Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 5.8.2: *ut mihi non figuratius Constantini domum vitamque videatur vel pupugisse versu gemello consul Ablabius vel momordisse disticho tali clam Palatinis foribus appenso:*
Saturni aurea saecla quis requirat?
sunt haec gemmea, sed Neroniana.
quia scilicet praedictus Augustus isdem fere temporibus extinxerat coniugem Faustam calore balnei, filium Crispum frigore veneni.

[35] *PLRE* I, Fl. Ablabius 4, 3–4. See Harries (2014: 206) for the suggestion there was a genuine *graffito* in Rome.

[36] Pohlsander (1984: 100).

Sidonius' mention of the Crispus / Fausta episode may tell us little about the truth of what happened, but it draws attention to what people *thought* may have happened, and how the deaths fell closely enough in time to be intrinsically linked in popular imagination. A century and a half after these events, the concurrent fates of Crispus and Fausta had become legendary. Constantine's responsibility was common knowledge, as indicated by Sidonius' use of the adverb *scilicet* ('of course'). Moreover, the idea of the eminent senator Ablabius 'secretly' (*clam*) posting dissident messages on the palace gates, spreading the word of what had *really* happened, suggests that Sidonius is making reference to a widely known urban myth.

Ammianus Marcellinus' account of the fall of Gallus—the cousin and Caesar of Constantius II, who was executed in 354 on a charge of treason—includes the only reference to a possible location for Crispus' death. Ammianus mentions in passing that the town near Pola in Istria where Gallus was interrogated and executed happened to be the same place where Crispus had been put to death over thirty years earlier (*duxit prope oppidum Polam, ubi quondam peremptum Constantini filium accepimus Crispum*, 14.11.20). The meaning of the word *accepimus* ('we learn') here is ambiguous, since it could indicate either a cross-reference to Ammianus' earlier account of this event (which is now lost), or that Crispus' death at Pola was a commonly known fact.[37] As Gavin Kelly argues, given Ammianus' hostility to Constantine, it is unlikely that he passed over the chance to discuss Crispus' execution in full in its rightful place. Proposing a more flexible interpretation of Ammianus' use of *accepimus* in general, Kelly demonstrates that the reference worked on two levels, since it both relied on general knowledge of Crispus' death *and* drew attention to the conspicuous parallels between the cases of Crispus and Gallus (*clearly* Istria was a popular place to dispose of junior emperors).[38]

---

[37] Frakes (1995: 235–237) and Matthews (1989: 29) argue against a cross-reference in this case.

[38] Kelly (2002: 225–227; 2008: 286–287): 'The word *accepimus*, 'we have heard', imparts an air of distance, which belies the recentness of the event, and the fact that Crispus' death must have been described in lost books. Crucial historical detail (that Crispus was Caesar at the time he was killed on the orders of his father, the Augustus) is left for the reader to fill in for himself'.

Overall, Ammianus' mention of the *oppidum* near Pola, as well as the existence of his now-lost account of Crispus' execution, reveals that details of the Caesar's downfall were still known later in the fourth century, either by specific individuals whom Ammianus had questioned, or by a wider group of people. Moreover, the parallels between the cases of Crispus and Gallus raise some intriguing questions about how such a political execution might have unfolded, and this might shine some light on the less well-documented case of Crispus. One is Ammianus' detailing of the sheer number of military officers, senior court officials, and other agents who were involved in engineering Gallus' downfall, including the general Barbatio, Constantius' grand chamberlain Eusebius, Pentadius, who later became *magister officiorum* in the west, and Serenianus, who later served as Valens' *comes domesticorum*. If *this* was what the elimination of a junior emperor involved, surely a comparable circle of prominent individuals in the imperial administration knew what had happened to Crispus? Moreover, even with the full account of Ammianus, the precise reasons for why Constantius had ordered Gallus' execution remain convoluted and obscure, the result of court intrigues and miscommunications. Could the execution of Crispus have been similarly esoteric, accounting for the subsequent lack of public explanation?

We can draw some important conclusions from this analysis. Firstly, it is clear that the silences surrounding Crispus in certain sources are not a symptom of an official *damnatio memoriae* proclaimed by Constantine against his son, but rather dictated by the contexts and agendas of specific writers. Secondly, the prominence of Crispus in his father's regime meant that his disappearance must have been correspondingly conspicuous, and therefore necessitated some form of explanation. However, there appears to have been a lack of clear narrative explaining exactly what Crispus had done to warrant his execution. Over time, this vacuum of information was filled with a range of scandalous stories which mapped onto the divisive nature of Constantine's legacy. But the most relevant aspects of this analysis for the concerns of this chapter are those of audience and communication. The mechanics of Crispus' elimination, and the reasoning behind it, cannot have been a complete unknown, especially to those in the imperial court and administration. As a consequence, we should expect to find evidence for people participating in the deconstruction of the junior emperor's legitimacy. But can we distinguish different nuances of reaction, depending on variable levels of understanding or enthusiasm to dishonour him? How were the inhabitants of the wider

empire, individuals beyond the cognoscenti, expected to react to the knowledge that Crispus, whose image was synonymous with Constantine himself, was now—abruptly—disgraced? It is these questions that should be held in the forefront of our minds as we interpret the material evidence for Crispus' downfall.

TREASON AND CONDEMNATION: MODERN INTERPRETATIONS

The downfall of Crispus, and its relationship to the fate of Fausta, has captured modern imaginations as much as those in the ancient world. Many commentators have accepted that the surviving evidence, with its undercurrents of silence, gossip, and scandal, are unlikely ever to provide any conclusive answers as to what exactly happened to the pair: why they were eliminated, how this was done, and whether their disappearances were actually related.[39] Nevertheless, because the concurrent disappearances of Constantine's wife and eldest son are identified as a critical juncture in his reign—a moment of family 'crisis' or 'tragedy' which profoundly impacted on the last decade of his rule, changing his plans for succession and even causing his abandonment of Rome for the new eastern city of Constantinople—many have felt compelled to supply explanations, some of which will be considered here.[40] Overall, the theories put forward introduce some compelling angles to the episode but also serve as a warning, firstly of the dangers inherent in taking ancient tropes at face value, and secondly of the dangers of applying anachronistic understandings of the role which *damnatio memoriae* might have played in the episode, and the agents and motivations involved.

A huge volume and range of hypotheses have been put forward over the past hundred and fifty years. The blame has been variously shifted from Constantine, to Crispus, to Fausta. Different approaches are predicated on whether the historian in question is primarily interested in the figure of Crispus or Fausta, the credibility given to various ancient stories, and the extent to which it is believed that the disappearances were directly

---

[39] E.g. Pohlsander (1984: 103), Drijvers (1992b: 505–506), Barnes (2011: 145), Potter (2013: 245).

[40] 'Crisis': Pohlsander (1996: 52). 'Tragedy': Pohlsander (1996: 52), Woods (1998: 70), Odahl (2010: 202), Ramskold (2013: 410).

related. Particular aspects of the ancient discourse have exerted considerable appeal to modern audiences, above all Fausta's gruesome and unusual death in an overheated bath (see, for example, Evelyn Waugh's portrayal of the empress as a vapid and scheming woman, obsessed with personal hygiene and bathing, in his 1950 novel *Helena*). Beyond the realm of historical fiction, many have accepted this detail as truth, even specifying the bath complex in which Fausta was killed.[41] Some have used the alleged location as the basis for their entire hypothesis for the empress' disappearance.[42]

But the death in the bath motif, as well as the wider allegations of Fausta's sexual impropriety, were both established tropes, clichés drawn from a deeply misogynistic discourse surrounding the ways in which women in Roman imperial households were thought to have behaved.[43] Re-evaluations of this discourse have shown how sexual misconduct was habitually used as a rhetorical *topos*, one which denied women their political agency by cloaking their actions in a shroud of stereotypes, female depravity designed as invective against the political worlds which these women inhabited.[44] The idea that Constantine's wife suffered a shamefully sordid and domestic end was a weapon that ancient commentators wielded against the emperor, who was turned into the most humiliated

---

[41] The imperial baths at Trier: MacMullen (1969: 50, 187). The baths in the *domus Faustina* in Rome: Varner (2001: 84).

[42] For example, the thesis of Woods (1998), who argues that Fausta died attempting to induce an abortion (this interpretation has been accepted by Stephenson 2009: 223). See (Odahl 2010: 207) for the idea that Fausta's death in a *calidarium* was intended as a merciful death, comparative to 'if one drinks too much wine and stays too long in a modern jacuzzi'. Desnier (1987: 305) argues that Fausta was placed in an overheated bath, first to torture her into confessing her adultery and then to kill her for this crime. Barnes (1981: 221) takes the bathroom location for Fausta's death as given, suggesting that the domestic context indicates that she committed 'suicide under compulsion' in this part of the palace.

[43] See Harries (2014: 205–206) for how the story of the body in the bathhouse had been 'embedded in an inventive historical tradition' since the Julio-Claudian period.

[44] See, for example, Ginsburg's 2006 re-evaluation of the characterisation of Agrippina the Younger, particularly the cultural assumptions and motives which lay behind accusations of transgressive female sexual behaviour (esp. 106–132). The Julio-Claudian period offers clear parallels for the treatment of Fausta, both in ancient discourse and modern interpretations: execution in the bathhouse (Octavia); the adulterous empress who is at the mercy of her sexual urges (Messalina); the paradigm of the 'wicked stepmother' (*saeva noverca*) who ruthlessly supports the interests of their own sons over their stepchildren (Livia; Agrippina). See also Varner (2001 esp. n.10, 42) and James (2013: 106–109).

of cuckolds—either through an incestuous affair between his wife and his own son, or by his wife's affair with a low-status *cursor*—thus undermining the political and moral legitimacy of his rule. The stories written about Fausta's demise—as with her life—were vehicles for commentary on the character, actions, and legacy of her male relatives, and reveal scant information about the reality of her existence.[45]

Since Fausta was an empress rather than an emperor, surviving traces of her political memory are sparse in comparison to those of Crispus. Her name was not inscribed on milestones nor used as a consular date. Only two statue bases honouring her survive, one in a very fragmentary state. Since both also hold Crispus' name, they are discussed in the following section of this chapter. But the kind of analysis of erased inscriptions that is possible for Crispus is impossible in the case of Fausta. Nevertheless, it is important that this void of information is not filled with explanations involving illicit affairs and botched abortions. The continued creation and acceptance of such stories perpetuate the misogyny of the past. In the light of more nuanced approaches to the ways in which the lives of prominent Roman women were written, echoes of these ancient biases in some modern interpretations are all the more apparent.[46]

Just ancient stories have been taken as truths, many have thought that the memories of both Crispus and Fausta were condemned by Constantine after their disappearances. For example, this has been used to refute the argument that Fausta had died of natural or accidental causes, since not only did she receive no honours after her disappearance, her name has been erased from inscriptions.[47] In some cases it might even negate a popular hypothesis, such as the idea that Fausta had engineered Crispus' downfall to free up the succession for her own sons, before being executed herself after her actions were uncovered.[48] If Crispus' death was the result

[45] James (2013: 107–112).

[46] For example, the assumption that the empresses Helena, aged around 80, and Fausta, in her early to mid-30s, must have been jealous rivals, e.g. Pohlsander (1984: 106), and Odahl (2010: 205), who points to 'the resentment Helena appears to have had for Fausta as the sister of "the other woman" Theodora'.

[47] Pohlsander (1984: 103), Drijvers (1992b: 505), Harries (2014: 205).

[48] This argument was originally proposed by Seeck (1901), and has been developed by both Austin (1980) and Barnes, who has consistently argued that Fausta used Constantine's new laws against adultery to eliminate Crispus via judicial murder: (1981: 220, 2011: 146).

of a false accusation, quickly regretted by Constantine, then why has his name been erased in inscriptions?[49] Such arguments tend to reflect anachronistic concepts of *damnatio memoriae*. They take for granted that both Fausta and Crispus were condemned on the authority and agency of Constantine himself, and that his personal revenge was a key motivating factor.[50] They also operate under the assumption that the emperor's subjects were compelled to recognise Fausta and Crispus' new disgraced statuses, and that these statuses were official and permanent.[51]

As David Potter has argued, the extant literary evidence is unlikely ever to supply us with a reason for Crispus' death, and we should be wary of assuming that Fausta's disappearance from public life was connected rather than coincidental.[52] However, careful and systematic analysis of material evidence still has important contributions to make in advancing our understanding, taking us beyond what the literary discourse alone can tell us. For example, Lars Ramskold has carried out a detailed study of the numismatic evidence for Constantine's *vicennalia*, particularly the travelling mint that accompanied the emperor on his long progression from the eastern empire to Rome, arriving in July 326. He highlights the discovery of a bronze coin, a celebratory issue struck in Rome in Crispus' name, which demonstrates that Crispus disappeared later than some have argued. Rather than being executed in the spring *en route* to the city, this new evidence points to him being eliminated very suddenly in late July, after the imperial court had travelled all the way through Balkan and Northern Italian cities and already arrived in Rome.[53] This was the culmination of a ceremonial occasion that placed Constantine and his family in the limelight. It was the most conspicuous of circumstances for Constantine's wife and eldest son to disappear. This context

---

[49] Odahl (2010: 208), who argues that Crispus' death was caused by Fausta's plotting, attempts to square this circle by claiming that Constantine could not 'rehabilitate the memory' of his son because 'he would have given himself a public reprimand for his grave mistake and he would have offered his sons an unpleasant remembrance of their mother's horrible crimes'.

[50] E.g. Barnes (2011: 5), and Stephenson (2009: 223).

[51] See, for example, Pohlsander (1984: 54) and Drijvers (1992b: 501 n.9) on Fausta's memory never being 'recalled' or 'rehabilated', even after Constantine's death when her sons were senior emperors.

[52] Potter (2013: 243–244).

[53] Ramskold (2013).

also introduces an important angle to the interpretation of the epigraphic evidence. As we shall see, the most prominent attacks on Crispus' political memory were executed on inscriptions clustered around the region of central Italy where the imperial court was present at the time of his disappearance, and on monuments which were designed to commemorate the junior emperor in close association with his father and family unit. This was not sordid and domestic, but very political and very public.

CRISPUS AS A DISGRACED FIGURE

Epigraphic evidence represents an untapped resource for understanding how Crispus was understood and constructed as a disgraced figure in the aftermath of his downfall. As has been established, some important threads can be teased out from the surviving ancient literary evidence, particularly the widespread understanding that Constantine had been responsible for his son's execution, that this had taken place very suddenly, and that there was a deficiency in the information which was disseminated explaining why Crispus had been eliminated. However, the fullest and most elaborate literary accounts date from decades to hundreds of years after the events which they describe and are fueled by biases, intrigue, and speculation. Epigraphic erasures, by contrast, we can assume took place shortly after Crispus' death, making them the most contemporaneous and immediate body of evidence for the varied responses which the emperor's downfall provoked.

When they occur, they inform us about how the Caesar's status was reevaluated after his downfall. This long-practised response cast Crispus as disgraced by physically disrespecting his name, aligning him with other individuals of the recent and distant past who had also been disrespected in this way. Context was an important aspect of this dishonour. In most cases, Crispus' name was attacked not in isolation by as part of a dedication to a wider imperial group. As a consequence, the meaning of this disgrace reinforced by these contexts: he was not just shamed but shamed in relation to—for example—his father, half-brothers, or grandmother.

This also spoke of the *nature* of Crispus' crimes. In such cases of intra-familial disgrace, attacks on an individual within this unit often communicated that the people who were exempt from these attacks were the ones against whom the transgression had been committed. This is demonstrated most compellingly in material from the Severan dynasty a century earlier, particularly dedications where Geta's name had been

removed and his brother Caracalla's preserved. These adaptions communicated in material form how Geta's new dishonoured status was due to his crimes against Caracalla: Geta's state of disgrace was intrinsically linked with the ongoing well-being of his brother, and so the removal of his name both severed the relationship between the brothers and functioned as a gesture of loyalty towards Caracalla, the ruling emperor.[54] Following this reasoning, attacks on Crispus' name both literally and symbolically excised the junior emperor from the Constantinian imperial college. Moreover, they could also be understood as expressions which defined the nature of his transgressions, and communicated continuing allegiance to Constantine, his remaining sons and successors, and the wider Constantinian *familia*.

Equally, when attacks on Crispus have *not* occurred, this suggests that either people did not know about the Caesar's downfall, or knew but had opted not to respond to it by erasing his name from local dedications. Overall, this book has shown that, when viewed holistically, such attacks are far less systematic and far more inconsistent than the *damnatio memoriae* model indicates: of the four case studies examined in this book, the highest erasure rate stands at just over a quarter of surviving examples, the lowest at less than ten per cent. However, though rates are far lower than has often been assumed, the comparison of *relative* rates is a challenge, since this can depend on highly circumstantial factors, such as an emperor's region of direct control, the length of time he had been in power, and the forms of epigraphic dedication that were originally set up or have happened to survive. But the case of Crispus is a unique example where we have a yardstick against which we can compare responses: the emperor Licinius and his son, who ruled in the east and were deposed only two years before Crispus, and who appear with Crispus in over a third of the surviving inscriptions which include his name. Accordingly, my analysis of the epigraphic material will be divided into two sections, the first discussing Crispus' treatment relative to Licinius and his son, mostly in the context of milestones, the second discussing his treatment relative to his father, half-brothers, and the female members of the Constantinian family.

---

[54] Varner (2004: 171).

CRISPUS AND THE LICINII

The epigraphic corpus for Crispus is notably smaller than the previous two case studies examined in this book. This corresponds to the relative brevity of his time as emperor, at just under ten years. As with all the other case studies, milestones constitute the majority of the inscriptions that survive: 110 of 144, just over 70%. This is roughly the same proportion as for Licinius and his son. The geographical distribution of these milestones also corresponds to the Licinii, with notable peaks in Italy and Asia Minor, though with some differences (a far larger number of milestones including the Licinii survive from Africa, and a greater proportion honouring Crispus from the Balkans).[55] Overall, the erasure rate of Crispus' name from surviving milestones is notably low, even by the standards of the time: he has been erased from just thirteen recorded inscriptions, roughly twelve per cent of the surviving corpus (see Table 4.1).

In comparison, the Licinii have been erased from twenty-three per cent of milestones including their names. Consequently, there is an apparent discrepancy between the treatment of Licinius and his son after their depositions in 324 and Crispus after his deposition just two years later. This pattern emerges more clearly when the milestone data is broken down by collegiate grouping (see Table 4.2). Milestones set up after the post-317 settlement between Constantine and Licinius, dedicated either to the full college of Constantinians and Licinii (2 on Table 4.2), or otherwise just the Caesars Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II (3 on Table 4.2), constitute over half of incidences of surviving milestones including Crispus. His name is recorded as erased from just six of sixty-seven of these stones. By comparison, he has been erased from 16% (5 of 31) of milestones dedicated to just the Constantinian emperors. This pattern is reinforced by surviving milestones, particularly in the more published areas of Italy and Anatolia, where Licinius and his son have been erased but Crispus has not. Three stones survive from Italy where the Licinii were removed and Crispus' name remains, but only

---

[55] Diocesis Italiae: 19 of Crispus vs. 29 of Licinii. Dioceses Asiana and Pontica: 35 of Crispus vs. 68 of Licinii. Diocesis Africae: 11 of Crispus vs. 32 of Licinii. Dioceses Pannoniarum, Moesiarum, and Thraciae: 22 of Crispus vs. 18 of Licinii. The regional picture is distorted by the fact that milestones in regions such as Italy, Spain, and Anatolia have been published more thoroughly than other areas.

Table 4.1 Milestones including Crispus
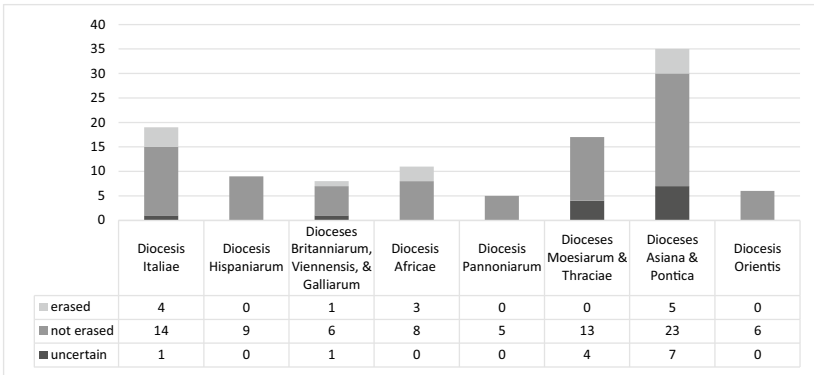
	Diocesis Italiae	Diocesis Hispaniarum	Dioceses Britanniarum, Viennensis, & Galliarum	Diocesis Africae	Diocesis Pannoniarum	Dioceses Moesiarum & Thraciae	Dioceses Asiana & Pontica	Diocesis Orientis
erased	4	0	1	3	0	0	5	0
not erased	14	9	6	8	5	13	23	6
uncertain	1	0	1	0	0	4	7	0

Table 4.2 Milestones including Crispus, broken down by collegiate grouping

	1: Crispus alone	2: Full post-317 college	3: Post-317 Caesars	4: Full Constantinian college	5: Constantinian Caesars
erased	1	5	1	5	0
not erased	21	37	20	13	4
uncertain	0	3	1	3	0
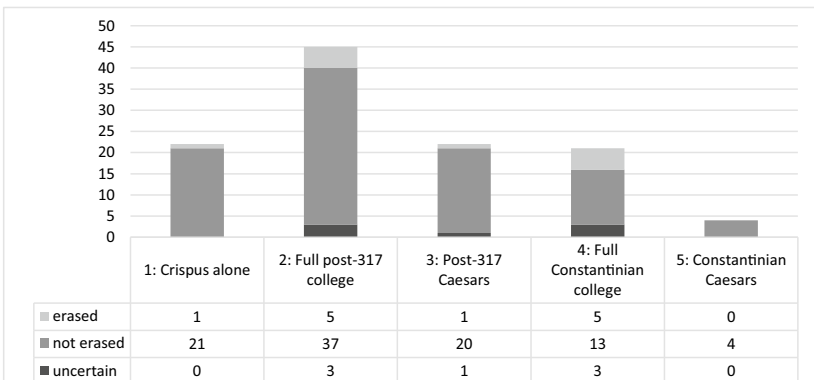
1) Crispus alone
2) Full post-317 college (Constantine and Licinius as Augusti; Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II as Caesars)
3) Post-317 Caesars (Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II)
4) Full Constantinian college (Constantine as Augustus; Crispus, Constantine II (and Constantius II) as Caesars)
5) Constantinian Caesars (Crispus, Constantine II (and Constantius II))

one example has survived in which Crispus' name has been erased and the Licinii are unscathed.[56] No examples survive where *both* have been erased, suggesting actions that are separated in time.

Further east, in the regions which had fallen under Licinius' control until his deposition, this pattern increases even further. A milestone from Mydonia in Macedonia holds a bilingual dedication to Constantine, Licinius, and their sons, a higher dedication to the Augusti in Latin and a lower dedication to the Caesars in Greek. Licinius and his son have been erased from both inscriptions, but Crispus' name is untouched.[57] As discussed in the previous chapter, there is a particularly high incidence of erasures of the Licinii in areas such as Pisidia and Caria, which must have been executed after Constantine gained control of this territory in 324. Though Crispus was erased from milestones in these regions, Licinius and his son were erased with far greater frequency: the Licinii were also erased from these examples, and the evidence points to their names being removed earlier than that of Crispus.[58] Eleven milestones survive from Anatolia where Licinius and/or his son have been erased, but Crispus' name survives untouched on the same milestone.[59]

[56] Milestone from Florentia (Florence), dedicated to the full post-317 college, where Licinius and Licinius Iunior's names have been erased: *CIL* XI.6671a. Aquileia, dedicated to the post-317 Caesars, Licinius Iunior's name erased: *AE* 2011.399b. Montecchio Maggiore (Venetia & Istria), dedicated to the post-317 Caesars, Licinius Iunior erased: *CIL* V.8015. Milestone from Mutina, dedicated to the full post-317 college, where only Crispus has been erased: *CIL* XI.6652.

[57] *SEG* 26.773, Grünewald (1990, no. 398).

[58] In a bilingual example from Gebeceler (French 2014a no. 48), the Licinii were erased and the dedication adapted to honour just Constantine, Crispus, Constantine II, and Constantius II (so after Nov 324, when Constantius II was made Caesar). Crispus was erased from the rededication. On a Latin dedication from Hacıosmanlar (French 2014a no. 138), the Licinii were erased thoroughly, but Crispus' name was only partially erased. See Appendix 3 sections A10 and 11.

[59] Diocesis Asiana: French (2012a nos. 16A, 16B, and 16C) (three examples from Çapalı where Licinius has been erased (in one case Licinius Iunior too), but Crispus spared); French (2012a nos. 88B and 90A) (two examples with Licinius erased in dedication to post-317 college; new dedications to Constantine, Crispus, and Constantine II, Crispus untouched); French (2012b no. 160) (Licinius and Licinius Iunior erased); French (2014a no. 56A) (dedication to Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II as Caesars, where Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II have been erased). Diocesis Pontica: French (2014a no. 4) (pre-317 dedication to Constantine and Licinius, Licinius' name has been erased and Crispus' inscribed over the top); French (2014a no. 74) (both Licinius and his son erased); French (2013 no. 8B) (pre-317 dedication to Constantine and Licinius,

Though most of the surviving evidence for the commemoration of the post-317 college are milestones, the pattern of exempting Crispus from inscriptions where the Licinii were erased is also found on a single non-milestone inscription: the statue base from Kos, holding a dedication to Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II, that was discussed in the previous chapter.[60] This base was carefully adapted after the deposition of the Licinii, removing the section holding Licinius Iunior's name and reinscribing letters into the lacuna so that the base honoured just the Constantinian Caesars. Despite this meticulous reworking, the base was not adapted again after Crispus' downfall less than two years later: his name remains untouched.

How might this discrepancy between the treatment of the Licinii and Crispus be explained? One factor is time. As a general rule, dedications set up in most recent memory are more likely to be erased. Inscriptions including the Licinii are generally older, since they date from the time of the new alliance between Licinius and Constantine that was formed in 317 and disintegrated from 321 onwards. As we shall see, the most conspicuous cases of erasures of Crispus are on dedications which were set up after 324. As a consequence, these older milestones might simply have been overlooked. However, since the gap between the eliminations of the Licinii and of Crispus was relatively short, this only partly explains the divergence. The epigraphic corpus seems to suggest that the ancient producers and users of these milestones, most likely the military and associated administrators, were more eager to dishonour Licinius and his son than Crispus, and were less comfortable dishonouring Crispus in a dedication he shared with the Licinii.

Given the circumstances, this makes sense. As I argued in the previous chapter, the conflict between Constantine and Licinius had been a prolonged affair, and renewed hostilities between the emperors must have seemed increasingly likely several years before they actually broke out. Crispus' death, by contrast, was a very sudden development. It was also easy for people to understand *why* the Licinii should be seen as disgraced. They had fought a major civil conflict and lost; attacks on their political memory were a natural development. Crispus, by contrast, was eliminated

---

Licinius erased, and Crispus and Constantine II then added); French (2013 no. 49D) (Licinius and Licinius Iunior erased).

[60] See Chapter 3 p. 151.

abruptly amidst his father's *vicennalia* celebrations, and there appears to have been a lack of understanding as to the precise nature of the crimes for which he had been punished. There was also the issue of the ideological construction of the Licinii in comparison to Crispus. Licinius may have been closely associated with Constantine through their long alliance and his marriage to Constantine's sister, but, ultimately, he and his son were a separate imperial unit: their subsequent marginalisation and delegitimation were more straightforward. Crispus, by contrast, had always been constructed and viewed as an extension of his father. Could this mean that people were more uncomfortable with disgracing him? Cutting the ruling emperor's eldest son out of an inscription was not something which would have been carried out on unsubstantiated grounds. It would have been a far less risky strategy to leave a dedication untouched. The milestone evidence suggests that, in the case of Crispus, many did exactly this.

CRISPUS AND THE CONSTANTINIAN FAMILY

Nevertheless, the epigraphic evidence for Crispus is polarised. On the one hand, Crispus seems to have been erased less than Licinius and his son, which reflects some hesitance to disgrace him in contrast to the eastern emperors. On the other hand, it is clear that in other circumstances some were not only happy to respond to news of Crispus' downfall by removing his name from pre-existing dedications, but even made bold statements in doing this. This is particularly the case in inscriptions which commemorated Crispus as part of the Constantinian college. Half of the attacks on Crispus in the context of milestones were carried out on dedications where he appears with his father and half-brothers, most of which date from after 324, and therefore only shortly before Crispus' elimination (see Table 4.2).

Context played an important role in such erasures, with adaptations serving as a commentary on the emperor's disgrace in relation to a wider imperial unit. This effect is evident in an example from Tolbiacum (Zülpich) in Belgica, near modern Bonn, located on the route from Trier to Cologne and therefore close to the Rhine frontier which Crispus had proven so successful at protecting in the 320s (Fig. 4.2).[61] Here the

---

[61] *AE* 1967.341c, Schillinger-Häfele (1977 no. 216).

IMP CAES
CONSTANTINO
MAXIMO PIO FELICI
VICTORI AVG ET
IMPP CAESS [[FLAV]]
[[IVL CRISPO ET
F]]LAVIO
CLAVDIO
CONSTANTINO
ET FLAV[I]
CONSTANTIO
NOBILISSIMIS
CAESARIBVS

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / Constantino / Maximo Pio Felici / victori Aug(usto) et / Impp(eratori) Caess(ari) [[Flav(io)]] / [[Iul(io) Crispo et F]]lav(io) / Claudio Constantino / et Flav[i]o Constantio / nobilissimis / Caesaribus.

'To the emperor, Caesar Flavius Constantine, the greatest, pious, fortunate victor, Augustus, and to the emperors, Caesars [[Flavius Iulius Crispus and F]]lavius Claudius Constantine and Flavius Constantius, most noble Caesars'.

Fig. 4.2 Transcription of milestone of Constantine and sons with Crispus erased, Tolbiacum (*AE* 1967.341)

Caesar's names have been removed in a deep abrasion, one which also removed the '*et*' which connected it to Constantine II (the enthusiastic eraser even removed the first letter of Constantine II's *praenomen*). This left a substantial gap in the milestone's surface, one that draws in the viewer's attention, juxtaposed against the untouched names of Crispus' father above and his half-brothers below. He has been cut out of the Constantinian college of which he had once been a central part, and the void stood as testament to his disgrace in relation to the rest of his family. Excluding milestones, the pool of epigraphic evidence is far smaller, but the effects of Crispus' disgrace are more apparent: his name shows sign of erasure in eleven of thirty-four surviving inscriptions, just over 30%. As Table 4.3 illustrates, the distribution of both the inscriptions and the proportion of erasures varies markedly along geographical lines. The high number of instances of Crispus' name in Rome are mostly due to his use as a consular date on tombs and documents that survive from the city; none of these show any sign of erasure. However, Crispus' entire name and titles have been roughly chiselled out of a three-line inscription on a statue base discovered in the nineteenth century front of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina in the Forum Romanum in the centre of Rome. Sufficient traces of the letters survive for the inscription to still be legible, but the brevity of the inscription leaves it uncertain as to whether this was intended as a targeted attack on Crispus or designed to facilitate the base's reuse. No awarder is mentioned, and it is likely that it was moved out of its

Table 4.3 Other dedications including Crispus

	Rome	Diocesis Italiae	Diocesis Hispaniarum	Dioceses Britanniarum, Viennensis, & Galliarum	Diocesis Africae	Diocesis Pannoniarum	Dioceses Moesiarum & Thraciae	Dioceses Asiana & Pontica	Diocesis Orientis
erased	1	4	1	0	2	0	1	1	1
not erased	8	2	0	0	2	1	0	2	1
uncertain	2	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
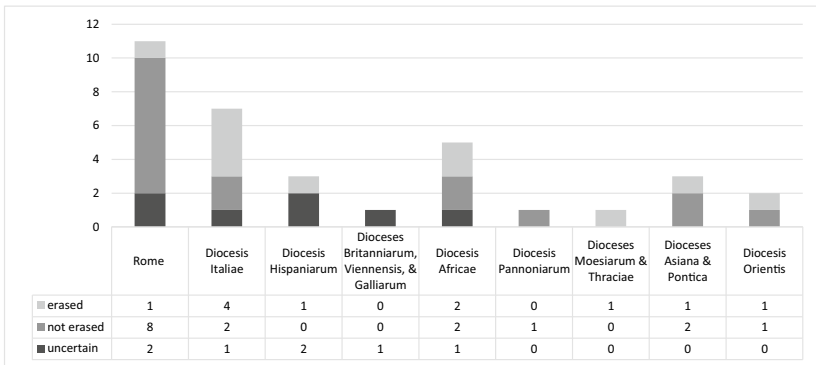
Table 4.4 Other dedications including Crispus, broken down by collegiate grouping
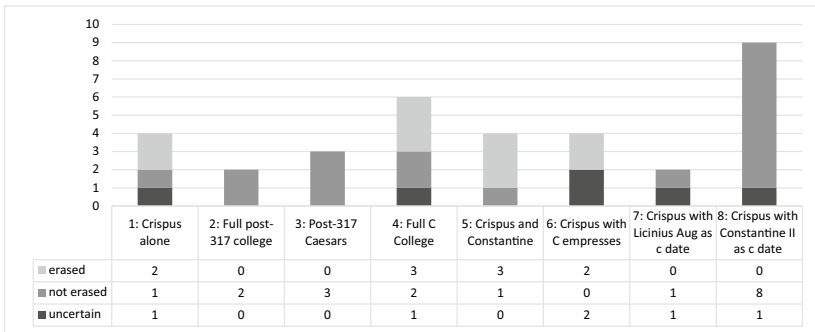
	1: Crispus alone	2: Full post-317 college	3: Post-317 Caesars	4: Full C College	5: Crispus and Constantine	6: Crispus with C empresses	7: Crispus with Licinius Aug as c date	8: Crispus with Constantine II as c date
erased	2	0	0	3	3	2	0	0
not erased	1	2	3	2	1	0	1	8
uncertain	1	0	0	1	0	2	1	1

1) Crispus alone

2) Full post-317 college (Constantine and Licinius as Augusti; Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II as Caesars)

3) Post-317 Caesars (Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II)

4) Full Constantinian college (Constantine as Augustus; Crispus, Constantine II (and Constantius II) as Caesars)

5) Crispus and Constantine (excluding Constantine II and Constantius II)

6) Crispus with either the empresses Helena or Fausta

7) Crispus with Licinius as a consular date (318)

8) Crispus with Constantine II as a consular date (321 or 324)

original context at a much later point in time.[62] This outlook is balanced by another statue monument of Crispus that was *not* erased, discovered in a similar area, probably on the Vicus Jugarius leading from the Forum Romanum to the Forum Boarium.[63] Though it is now lost, it can be reconstructed from a drawing made by Pirro Ligorio in the sixteenth century. Its inscription is far more elaborate than the first and dates it to shortly after Crispus became Caesar in 317. Dedicated by the urban prefect Ovinius Gallicanus, it praises Crispus as the *filius* of Constantine Maximus and the *nepos* of Constantius.

Crispus appears to have been particularly vulnerable in contexts where he was honoured alone or alongside his father and half-brothers (see

[62] *CIL* VI.40778b, LSA-1272 (C. Machado). It is now in the Museo Nazionale Romana in the Terme di Diocleziano.

[63] *CIL* VI.1155, LSA-1094 (C. Machado).

Table 4.4) This is significant, considering that these were often important and recent monuments, dating to after the defeat of the Licinii 324, and were designed to honour Crispus prominently as his father's deputy or integrate him within the Constantinian family unit. Two patterns of responses can be identified. The first is where existing dedications were carefully adapted to news of Crispus' downfall by removing his name and replacing it with that of one of his half-brothers. The second is where his name is erased in a conspicuous way which emphasises his disgrace in comparison to rest of his family (such as on the milestone from Belgica).

There are fewer examples of the first pattern of response, and their interpretation is more tenuous. One is a base from the old forum of Cuicul in Numidia where Crispus is believed to have been the original subject. 'Flavius Constantius', the imperial name on the third line of the inscription, has been carved into an erasure, leading Pflaum to argue that it had originally been dedicated to Crispus but was rededicated to his half-brother, who had been made Caesar in November 324.[64] The same action is also found in a plaque that fronted a statue base found in Ephesus, an unusual case of a double-dedication to Constantine and Crispus that was set up within Licinius' territories after the renewed alliance between east and west in 317.[65] Like the Cuicul example, the name of the Caesar reads 'Constantius II', though it was clearly written over an earlier erasure; since only one Caesar is mentioned, this must have originally been Crispus. As Sokolicek points out, this is likely to have been executed soon after Crispus' execution, though it may have happened later (since the current location of the plaque is uncertain, it is difficult to comment further).[66]

---

[64] Pflaum (2003 no. 7873). This is not the only possible reconstruction, since the remaining letters which can be read from the original inscription (*Flavio*) could also indicate Constantius I or Severus. However, of the two most likely reconstructions raised by de Bruyn (LSA-2250)—Crispus or Constantius I—I find the former far more likely. If Constantius I's name was erased, this would have taken place when Maxentius controlled Africa, which makes little sense (the emperor's regime minted coinage of *divus* Constantius I). Nevertheless, Lepelley (1981: 410) favours the identification of Constantius I.

[65] Wankel (1979: 112–113). The dedicators were Petronius Annianus (Constantine's praetorian prefect) and Iulius Iulianus (Licinius' praetorian prefect), the same pair who dedicated the city-gate inscription in Tropaea examined in the previous chapter.

[66] A. Sokolicek, LSA-241. A closer examination might reveal clues as to whether there was a gap between the erasure and rededication, such as whether the 'C' of Crispus' name was left in order to enable its quick adaptation to Constantius' name.

Both of these examples point to the opportunistic adaptation of pre-existing dedications to news of Crispus' downfall. The expedience of this is underlined by the fact that the new Caesar Constantius II was chosen as a replacement rather than Constantine II, who, like Crispus, had been Caesar since 317. This seems to be a case of communities turning the situation to their advantage, and using Crispus' downfall as an opportunity to honour the newly appointed emperor using fewer resources than creating a new dedication.

The second pattern of response, where Crispus' name was mutilated and not replaced, is much more common. One example of Crispus being disgraced in relation to his father and half-brothers is found in a group monument in Tarraco, on the north-eastern coast of Spain. Here a base of an erased Caesar was found in close association with contemporary bases dedicated to Constantine and Constantius II, indicating a Constantinian statue group dating to after the elimination of the Licinii in 324.[67] The Constantine and Constantius II bases were dedicated by the *vir perfectissimus* Badius Macrinus, the *praeses* (governor) of Hispania Tarraconensis. The Crispus base was set up by the higher ranking *vir clarissimus* Septimius Acindynus, who identified himself as having the more substantial job of *vicarius* responsible for the administration of all five provinces of Hispania along with Mauretania Tingitana in neighbouring Africa. As well as the involvement of these important individuals, the context of these statues is significant, since they were discovered in the cathedral, situated on the uppermost terrace of the ancient city that is believed to have held a shrine for the imperial cult.[68] An attack on Crispus' name in this kind of setting must have forcefully underlined the junior emperor's removal from the Constantinian family. It indicates not just knowledge of the emperor's disgrace, but also the confidence and authority to act on this knowledge. Septimius Acindynus, the *vicarius* who had set up the statue to Crispus,

---

[67] Base of an erased Caesar, identified as Crispus (now lost): *CIL* II.4107, LSA-1983, Alföldy (1975 no. 97). Base of Constantine, rededicated from Licinius: *CIL* II.4106, LSA-1981, Alföldy (1975 n.95). Base of Constantius II: *CIL* II.4108, LSA-1982, Alföldy (1975 no. 96). Hübner in *CIL* II and Alföldy (1975) have argued that the bases were all contemporary. As C. Witschel, LSA-1982, points out, the dedicators of the Crispus and Constantius II bases were different, which might indicate a slightly different date, but their identical opening formula indicates they were intended to be displayed as a single group. It likely that there was also a base of Constantine II.

[68] See Keay (1996: 28–29) for the placement of the bases within their ancient urban context, and the roles of the high-ranking officials who erected them.

ΑΓΑΘΗΙ	ΤΥΧΗΙ
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ ΑΥΓΟΥCΤΟΝ ΦΛ Ο[[ναλέριον Κρίσπον ?]] ΤΟΝ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕCΤΑΤΟΝ Κ[ΑΙCΑΡΑ] Η ΒΟΥ ΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟC	ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ ΑΥΓΟCΤΟΝ Μ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΟΝ ΚΟCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΝ CΕΒΑCΤΟΝ Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟC

'To Good   Fortune.'

'The council and people (set this up) to the   'The council and the people (set this up) to the
emperor and Augustus Flavius V[[alerius   emperor and august Flavius Valerius
Crispus]] the most noble Caesar.'   Constantine, the Augustus.'

Fig. 4.3 Transcription of double statue base from Samothrace, after Friedrich (*IG* XII-8.244), translation after LSA-826

had a long and prestigious career under the Constantinian dynasty, going on to serve as praetorian prefect of the east after Constantine's death, and then consul in 340.[69] This example has parallels with another case from Italy that is considered in a moment. The circumstances suggest that important aristocrats and administrators who set up such monuments might have been complicit in their adaptation after Crispus' downfall.

Crispus was also targetted in contexts where he was honoured in a pair with his father. One example of this is a joint dedication to Constantine and (most likely) Crispus from Samothrace, located in the church of St John in Lakoma on the south side of the island. The epigraphic field of this long plaque is organised into two columns, which suggests it originally fronted a long masonry base, supporting two statues standing side by side (see Fig. 4.3).It has been interpreted as a rare example of a dedication that exhibits two consecutive politically motivated erasures within a short time frame. Friedrich, who viewed it in situ, describes the base as having already been recycled from an earlier dedication by the council and people of Samothrace, since the text was inscribed over erasures. He identifies the original honorands as the tetrarchic Augusti Severus and

---

[69] The base is the last testament to Acindynus as *vicarius* of Spain, so the end of his office is assumed to be around 326: *PLRE* I, Septimius Acindynus 2, 11.

Galerius, dedicated at some point from 306 to 307.[70] It was then reded-
icated, he argues, to Crispus and Constantine, which accounts for why
the inscription contradicts itself, honouring Crispus first as 'Augustus' (a
position he never held) on the second line, and then 'most noble Caesar'
on the fourth line. Crispus' name was subsequently erased, leaving part
of his *praenomina* intact.[71] Gehn expresses some reservations about the
complexity of this interpretation, but, in the absence of any other analysis
or photographs, accepts Friedrich's reading.[72] The two alterations to the
statue group fall within a short time-period (Severus had been killed by
Maxentius in 307, and Galerius died in Serdica in 311; Crispus became
Caesar in 317, which provides the *terminus ante quem* for the rededi-
cation) demonstrates an acute awareness on the part of the *boule* of the
shifting realities of the political upheavals of the first decades of the fourth
century, and how loyalties could, like statues dedications, be reassessed
and adapted as necessary.

The most compelling body of evidence for Crispus' disgrace comes
from central Italy and dates from late 324 onwards. More than half
of the dedications including Crispus in this region have been erased,
four in total. One example is a plaque from Ostia, set up by Caeionius
Cecina Verus, the curator of the Tiber, to commemorate the restora-
tion of a bridge (Fig. 4.4). The top of this inscription holds a dedication
to Constantine Augustus and Crispus and Constantine II as Caesars.[73]
Crispus' name has not been erased but *attacked*. Despite the eroded
condition of the plaque after years underwater, around nine rough marks
are evident, inflicted with what seems to be a chisel running diagonally
across the small section which holds Crispus' name (Fig. 4.5). This is an
unusual and particularly aggressive response, targeting Crispus' identity
carried out with minimum skill and effort. Moreover, it left the name

[70] *IG* XII-8.244, LSA-823 (U. Gehn).

[71] Friedrich in *IG* XII-8.244.

[72] As Gehn also points out, Crispus' *praenomina* were 'Flavius Iulius' not 'Flavius
Valerius', though the variant forms are attested on some other surviving inscriptions.
It may, as he suggests, have honoured Constantine II: U. Gehn, LSA-823 (first use),
LSA-826 (Constantinian rededication).

[73] Since Constantius II is not mentioned, the inscription must have been set up at some
point before Constantius II's appointment as Caesar in November 324. See Burgersdijk
(2018: 146–147) for a comparison between the wording of this dedication and Nazarius'
panegyric of 321.

Fig. 4.4 Plaque with dedication to Constantine, Crispus, and Constantine II, Ostia (*CIL* VI.40770) (Photograph by author)

entirely legible: this is not an attempt to forget Crispus, but to violently dishonour his name in relation to those of his father and half-brother.

Puteoli in Campania was the setting of one of the most important surviving monuments of Constantine and Crispus, the twinned equestrian statues which I discussed in the first section of this chapter. The statue of Crispus as *clementissimus princeps* was dedicated by Iulius Aurelianus, the governor of Campania, in the first half of the year 325 (Fig. 4.6).[74]
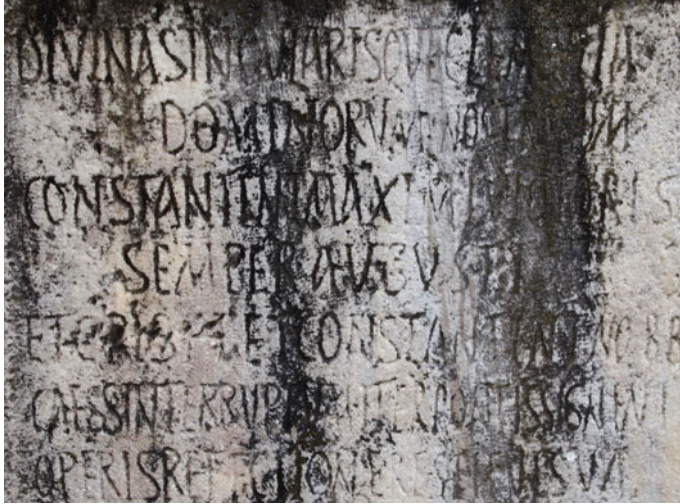
Divina singularisque clementia / dominorum nostrorum / Constantini maximi victoris / semper Augusti / et [[Crispi]] et Constantini nobb(ilissimorum) / Caess(arum) …

'The divine and singular clemency of our lords Constantine, greatest victor, always Augustus, and of [[Crispus]] and Constantine, most noble Caesars …'

Fig. 4.5 Detail of Fig. 4.4 (Photograph by author)

DOMINO NOSTRO CLEMEN
TISSIMO PRINCIPI [[FL IVLIO
[CRISPO NOBILIS]SIMO AC ---
TISSMO   CAESARI]]
IVLIVS AVRELIANVS V C CONS
CAMP DEVOTVS NVMINI MAIESTATI[q]
EIVS

Domino nostro clemen/tissimo principi [[Fl(avio) Iulio]] / [[Crispo, nobilissimo ac ---]]/[[tissimo Caesari]] / Iulius Aurelianus v(ir) c(larissimus) cons(ularis) / Camp(aniae) devotus numini maiestati[q(ue)] / eius.

'To our lord, the most merciful *princeps* [[Flavius Iulius Crispus, most noble and most - -- Caesar]], Iulius Aurelianus, of *clarissimus* rank, governor of Campania, devoted to his *numen* and majesty, [set this up].'

Fig. 4.6 Transcription of equestrian statue base of Crispus, Puteoli (*AE* 1969/70.108)

It matched a statue set up by Aurelianus' predecessor, Publius Aelius Proculus, the year earlier in the immediate aftermath of Licinius' defeat. This base praises the emperor as *victor*—a title adopted just after Licinius' deposition—and 'the enlarger of his world and founder of the Roman name' (*propagatori orbis sui Romani nominis conditori*), a clear reference to Constantine's attainment of the entire Roman empire.[75] Though set up at slightly different times, the bases were clearly intended as a pair: they are almost exactly the same size, have the same deep entablatures at the top and finely carved mouldings at the base, and were excavated in situ in 1955, placed on opposite sides of a nymphaeum in a semi-circular exedra with lateral wings in the area of the ancient forum.[76] This was a prominent dedication that united Constantine and Crispus in their triumph over the Licinii, just as Eusebius described the pair's victory in the tenth book of his *Ecclesiastical History*, composed around the same time as these statues were set up.

Crispus' names were erased from the inscription in two and a half rough abrasive lines. Given the timing of Crispus' downfall, this must have been executed no more than eighteen months after the statue had been set up, possibly whilst Aurelianus was still serving his term as governor. The dedication of such a conspicuous and expensive monument, one which paired Constantine with his eldest son in the context of a major victory, only to deface it a year or so later, must have made an impactful statement about Crispus' sudden shift from second place in his father's regime to a disgraced individual. Unlike the examples from Cuicul and Ephesus, the opportunity was not taken to re-appropriate the monument by rededicating it to one of Constantine's other sons. Moreover, since the base was discovered in situ, it provides a rare example where we can say for certain that Crispus' mutilated monument was left on display, juxtaposed against the untouched base of his father in the centre of this

[74] The honorand was originally identified as Constans, but Camodeca (1980–1: 65 no. 18) makes a convincing case for Crispus on the basis of forensic analysis of the inscription and circumstantial details; this is now the accepted identification. *AE* 1969/70.108 (identified as Constans); Guarino and Panciera (1970: 111–112), Camodeca (1980–1: 63–8), LSA-1923.

[75] *AE* 1969/70.107), LSA-1922.

[76] Camodeca (1980–1: 64).

busy port town.[77] Given the statue was almost new when it was erased, it commemorated Crispus' disgrace for far longer than it had honoured him.

This was a bold act, one that does not reflect a climate of concealment or uncertainty, but confidence and authority, the same kind of authority involved in erecting such a monument in the first place. The governorship of Campania had grown in importance at this time, upgraded from a *corrector* to the higher rank of *consularis*, and there had been a rise of imperial interest and expenditure in the region, such as the restoration of both the bridge at Ostia and the Augustan-era aqueduct that serviced the towns. Camodeca has argued that this governorship served as an important stepping-stone for aristocrats looking for new opportunities for advancement in the power vacuum left by Licinius' defeat.[78] The impressive equestrian statues at Puteoli were designed to attract the emperor's attention, especially since they were set up in anticipation of Constantine's *vicennalia* visit in July 326, the very context in which Crispus was eliminated. Could the erasure of Crispus' statue, severing his relationship with his father, have been carried out by the office-holding elite with similar aims in mind?

Crispus was not the only member of the Constantinian family who was honoured alongside Constantine at this time. Several statue monuments, pairing Constantine with either his wife Fausta or mother Helena, were set up in towns around the Bay of Naples.[79] Crispus's name was erased from at least two of these. Only two dedications of Fausta survive, both

[77] As is common in such cases due to conventions of sculptural reuse, we do not know whether the statue of Crispus was also mutilated at the time that the base was erased. However, at least part of the statue was left on display, since the horse, missing both the head and hooves, was apparently found along with the base: Guarino and Panciera (1970: 120), LSA-2464. In the case of the base of Constantine, the horse was also the only part of the statue which survived and was recycled from a Flavian or Trajanic statue: Guarino and Panciera (1970: 112), LSA-1511, Bergemann (1990: 48).

[78] Camodeca (1980–1: 62–68). Crispus' name is not erased from inscription commemorating the aqueduct's restoration (*AE* 1939.151).

[79] Beyond the bases of Fausta at Sorrento and Privernum and the base of Helena at Salerno, two bases in honour of Helena survive from Neapolis (Naples): *CIL* X.1483 and 1484. Both of these bases, set up by the *ordo et populus* of the city, describe Helena as the *avia* of the Caesars, but the individual Caesars are not named. See also Guarino and Panciera (1970: 111–121) and C. Machado in LSA-1923.

from Campania: a statue base in Surrentum (Sorrento), and another fragment of a statue base in Privernum (Priverno) which was cut down in the mediaeval period for reuse as a column capital. The Surrentum base was discovered in the town's cathedral alongside a base of Constantine which resembles that of Fausta but is a third smaller. Both bases were inscribed with crude, shallow, and uneven letters, carved onto a surface that was poorly refinished after reuse, making their reading a challenge and their interpretation contentious (Fig. 4.7).

Several of the words on the base dedicated to Fausta have been erased by removing the surface of the already shallowly carved letters (see Fig. 4.8). Much of the inscription has been reconstructed through the content and layout of the untouched areas. We know that the dedication was to an empress because the first line is in the dative feminine and the second line contains the word *Aug*(*ustae*). The presence of Constantine on the fifth line indicates that the empress commemorated must have been either his mother or his wife. Dessau noted that, although both the words *Faustae* on line two and *uxori* on line three were removed, they were still partially visible, which is corroborated by the *CIL*, though neither word is now legible when the inscription is viewed in daylight by the naked eye.[80] This indicates that the base originally honoured Fausta.

The word after Constantine's name on line four has also been removed, though its second letter ('*O*') was legible to Mommsen and Dessau, and still is today. Based on this letter and the remaining space, Mommsen reconstructed the word as *novercae*, the dative of *noverca*, stepmother. The traces at the start of line six are undecipherable, but are reconstructed as '*et matri*' since they are followed by the abbreviated titles of the three Constantinian Caesars '*DDD NNN*'. The final word which was removed is at the start of the seventh line. Though no traces of it survive, it is indisputably Crispus' name since it comes straight after the triple *domini nostri* and is directly followed by the names of Constantine II and Constantius II. The manner in which these erasures were executed demonstrates a clear understanding of what should be left—the name of the emperor Constantine and his surviving sons—and what should be attacked: not just the names of the disgraced individuals, but also any associated words

---

[80] *ILS* 710, *CIL* X.678. Both Drijvers (1992a: 49) and Van Dam (2007: 303) say that Fausta's name was replaced with that of Helena's after its erasure. However, this detail is not recorded by the museum collection's catalogue (Magalhaes 2003), and there are no visible traces of any recarving on the inscription in situ.

Piissimae ac veneravili [sic] / D(ominae) N(ostrae) [[Faustae]] Aug(ustae) / [[uxori]] d(omini) n(ostri) Maximi / victoris Aug(usti) / Constantini [[[n]o[ver]c(ae)]] / [[et matri]] ddd(ominorum) nnn(ostrorum) / [[Crispi]] Constantini / Constanti / b{a}ea/tissimorum [Caesarum] / [re]s p(ublica) S[urrentin]or(um).

'To our Lady [[Fausta]], most pious and most venerable, Augusta, to the [[wife]] of our lord Augustus Constantine, *maximus victor*, to the [[stepmother and mother]] of our Lords [[Crispus]], Constantine, Constantius, most fortunate Caesars, the *res publica* of Surrentum [set this up].'

Fig. 4.7 Statue base of Fausta, Surrentum (*CIL* X.678). Museo Correale inv. 55 sala 4 (Photograph by author, reproduced with kind permission of the Museo Correale di Terranova, Sorrento)

Fig. 4.8 Detail of Fig. 4.7 with reconstruction of erased words (Photograph by author, reproduced with kind permission of the Museo Correale di Terranova, Sorrento)

referring to them elsewhere in the text. The eraser left Fausta's imperial title of Augusta, bestowed on her by Constantine, intact, but went on to remove not just her name but all the nouns which defined her female imperial identity her status as wife (*uxor*), mother (*mater*) and—most significantly, for this case study—stepmother (*noverca*) of emperors.

This concentration of attacks on not just a victim's name but also the words which defined her relationship with others finds parallels with the treatment of earlier disgraced imperial women, such as Fulvia Plautilla, wife of Caracalla, who—like Fausta—is alleged to have been killed by her husband, the ruling Augustus, just over a hundred years earlier. For example, on a statue base dedicated to her by the city of Thugga (Dougga) in Africa Proconsularis, not only her name was erased but also the words which related her to others were also picked out: *sponsa* (bride) of Caracalla, *nursus* (daughter-in-law) of Septimius Severus, *filia* (daughter) of Fulvia Plautinianus, with the names of Caracalla and his father Septimius Severus left intact.[81] Eric Varner has argued that Roman imperial women who were considered disgraced after their deaths can be divided into two distinct groups: those who suffered as the extension of the disgrace of a male relative, their husband, father, or son (what Varner terms 'collateral *damnationes*': examples include Poppaea Sabina and Julia Soemias), and those who suffered as a punishment for alleged political intrigues *against* a male relative (such as Messalina, Agrippina Minor, and

---

[81] *AE* 1914.177.

Crispina).[82] Like the base of Plautilla at Dougga, these attacks on the base of Fausta at Surrentum—targeting her name and relationships but leaving her husband and sons unscathed—defined and broadcast the nature of the empress' political disgrace: she was clearly not dishonoured *alongside* her husband, so she must have been dishonoured for crimes *against* him. This would have been further underlined in the case of Fausta's base, since it was paired with a base of Constantine in the same context.

The erasure of Crispus' name was clearly of secondary importance: after all, Fausta was the primary honorand of this statue. Due to the poor execution and condition of the inscription, it is impossible to discern whether Crispus' name was removed with a different technique from his stepmother's, which might suggest they were attacked at different points in time. Nevertheless, the erasure of Crispus' name alongside Fausta's created an impression of mutual dishonour, one where the Caesar's disgrace was explicitly linked to his stepmother's, since the word *noverca* was also attacked. Given how fragmentary the Privernum base is, the Surrentum base is the only piece of contemporary evidence that indicates ancient audiences could connect Crispus and Fausta together in a state of disgrace, and one of only two pieces of evidence which point to Fausta's name being erased after her death.[83] Could this be the kernel of truth in the later stories of Fausta and Crispus' affair, or support for the hypothesis that the pair were found guilty of a co-conspiracy against Constantine? Alternatively, it could just be coincidence: that their dishonour was due to separate issues, but the circumstances of their appearance on this inscription dictated that they were dishonoured together.

A similar treatment of Crispus is found in a statue base of Helena, also set up in a central Italian town (in this case Salernum, modern Salerno),

---

[82] Varner (2001: 80). Though Varner places Plautilla in his latter category, it could be argued that she qualifies for both: her condemnation can be seen as an extension of her father's, whose name was also cut out of the Thugga inscription.

[83] It was discovered relatively recently in the abbey of Fossanova, close to the ancient town of Privernum in Campania. Since it was cut down for reuse as a column capital, only a fraction of the original inscription survives, enough to demonstrate that the letters are of far superior quality to the Sorrento base, and that Fausta's name and the word *uxor* were carved out in rough trough. The inscription's text has been reconstructed in comparison with the Sorrento base, so Crispus' name has been recorded as erased, though this is impossible to say since this section is missing: Evangelisti (2007: 151–155), *AE* 2007.354, LSA-2570.

DOMINAE NOSTRAE FLAVIAE AVGVSTAE
HELENAE DIVI CONSTANTI CASTISSIMAE
CONIVGI PROCREATRICI D N CONSTANTINI
MAXIMI PIISSIMI AC VICTORIS AVGVSTI
AVIAE DOMINORVM NOSTRORVM [[CRISPI]]
[[ET]] CONSTANTINI ET CONSTANTI BEATISSI
MORVM AC FELICIVM CAESARVM

ALPINIVS MAGNVS VC CORR LVCANIAE ET
BRITTIORVM STATVIT DEVOTVS EXCELLEN
TIAE PIETATIQVE EIVS

Dominae nostrae Flaviae Augustae / Helenae divi Constanti castissimae / coniugi procreatrici d(omini) n(ostri) Constantini / maximi piissimi ac victoris Augusti / aviae dominorum nostrorum [[Crispi]] / [[et]] Constantini et Constanti beatissi/morum ac felicium Caesarum // Alpinius Magnus v(ir) c(larissimus) corr(ector) Lucaniae et / Brittiorum statuit devotus excellen/tiae pietatique eius.

'To our lady Flavia Augusta Helena, most pure wife of *divus* Constantius, creator of our lord Constantine *maximus*, the most pious and victorious Augustus, grandmother of our Lords [[Crispus and]] Constantine and Constantius, most fortunate and blessed Caesars. Alpinius Magnus, of *clarissimus* rank, governor of Lucania and Bruttium set this up, devoted to her excellence and piety.'

Fig. 4.9   Transcription of base of Helena, Salernum (*CIL* X.517)

and also paired with a smaller base of Constantine.[84] This base praises Helena as the *castissima coniunx* ('most pure consort') of *divus* Constantius, *procreatrix* ('creator') of Constantine, and *avia* ('grandmother') of the three Constantinian Caesars, and was set up by Apinius Magnus, the governor of Lucania & Bruttium. The only part of the inscription which has been touched is the name 'Crispus' and the conjunction '*et*' which connected it to the name of Constantine II (Fig. 4.9). The base has suffered seriously through exposure to atmospheric pollution and rainwater since its discovery in 1725. However, in the nineteenth century Mommsen noted that the letters were erased in a way which rendered

[84] Base of Helena: *ILS* 708, *CIL* X.517, LSA-1847. Base of Constantine: *CIL* X.516, LSA-1846.

them still legible, and Dessau noted that the erasure was carried out by making puncture marks over the letters, a method which blotted over the words in a manner which left their outline clear, which finds agreement with published photographs.[85] In comparison with the base of Fausta, where Crispus' name was erased along with the primary honorand, the effect created was subtler since the rest of the base was left untouched. However, since the Caesar's name was the only one which was attacked, the context drew more attention to his dishonoured state. Such a blot of shame was augmented by an understanding of this context: here it severed the relationship between Crispus and his grandmother and excised him from the Constantinian family, a unit which continued to exist—both in reality and in this inscription—after his removal.

It makes sense that Constantine's rare presence in this region—the last time in his reign that he visited Italy—triggered a heightened awareness of the elimination of his eldest son, as well as an urgency to act on this knowledge. Moreover, the short passage of time that had passed between the erection of these dedications and Crispus' downfall suggests that the very people who had spent their time and resources commemorating the new Constantinian dynasty were, only slightly later, adapting these monuments as they learned of the eldest Caesar's downfall. This also underlines the ideological contexts of such attacks. These monuments, particularly the bases of Helena and Fausta and the Puteoli equestrian statues, were designed to propagate messages of dynastic success and security: the Constantinian family, founded by *divus* Constantius, where Constantine was accompanied by his wife and mother and succession secured through three sons, above all Crispus, who had aided in the reunification of the empire. But the subsequent attacks on Crispus and Fausta shattered the image of familial harmony. Despite this, these erasures were still carried out. Not only was it known that the pair were considered disgraced, but people were happy to act on this knowledge, even if it meant sabotaging expensive monuments which had recently been set up.

* * *

[85] *CIL* X.517: *Vocabula erasa nihilominus adhuc ipse vidi*. ILS.708: *Vocabula puntis signata erasa, sed leguntur*. Guarino (1993: 137).

In summary, the epigraphic evidence for Crispus' downfall might be fragmentary and contradictory, but it brings valuable new dimensions to our understanding of the episode. It certainly dispels the idea that, after his execution, there was a centrally managed and comprehensive campaign to expunge the junior emperor's presence from his father's empire. Since Crispus' name is untouched in over 85% of inscriptions that have survived the passage of time, this was clearly not an expectation or even a possibility. Whilst some conspicuous monuments were attacked, some equally prominent dedications have survived untouched.[86] Moreover, a close examination of the manner in which people chose to respond to Crispus' downfall demonstrates that his thorough obliteration was rarely the intention in such interventions. Rather than seamlessly excising the emperor's name, we find cases where it has been violently mutilated but left legible, or removed, creating a gap that served as a monument to his ignominy in relation to his family. In the equestrian statue base at Puteoli, we find a scenario where the most prominent surviving monument to Crispus was transformed into a commemoration of his dishonour in relation to his father mere months after it had been erected. All in all, when these interventions took place, Crispus never disappeared: his new disgraced status was paraded.

Such responses provide a contrasting perspective to the ancient literary evidence. They do not reflect the same doubt or embarrassment, or hesitancy in associating Constantine with his son's disgrace, no matter how closely assimilated they had been during Crispus' lifetime. Such attacks might be seen as a form of antiestablishment gesture, a statement expressing knowledge of Crispus' fate in a way which was intended to damage Constantine's reputation, much like the stealthy graffiti-writing poet of Sidonius Apollinarius' story. However, the majority of the examples examined here seem to speak of public statements, ones which sought imperial attention and approval, a desire to be *seen* to be conforming with a new political environment without the emperor's eldest son.

---

[86] For example, a base found in the amphitheatre of Aeclanum which, like the Puteoli base, appears to have been paired with a statue dedicated to Constantine. Base of Crispus: *CIL* IX.1116, LSA-1717. Base of Constantine: *CIL* IX.1115, LSA-1716. There is no record of the current location of either base. They are dated to before the defeat of the Licinii (C. Machado, LSA-1716), and this longer passage of time might account for why Crispus' base was never erased.

As for the questions of audience and agency, it is important to acknowledge that the erasure of an inscription does not mean that the person who was responsible for carrying it out knew exactly what had happened to Crispus and why. Like Aurelius Victor, they might have known that the Caesar had been condemned by his father but were unaware of the precise circumstances or reasons. Nevertheless, it was still recognised that this was an appropriate response to his downfall. The communal nature of these attacks meant that the engagement of a wide audience was needed, people who were drawn into participating in this process which transformed Crispus into a disgraced figure, whether or not they knew why he deserved this status. This in turn could create a feedback loop: the Caesar was considered disgraced because people had seen evidence of him being treated as such, which could then in turn result in them acting upon this knowledge.[87] However, the surviving evidence indicates intriguing nuances, suggesting a two-tier response, one which seems to map onto wider divides, such as west versus east, urban versus suburban, and the highest echelons of the administration versus those lower down. In some contexts, particularly in important western cities—such as Tarraco in Spain, or Puteoli in Italy—we find evidence which suggests the agency of the office-holding elite at work, men who engaged in this process to advance their careers by expressing their approval of Constantine's actions. In other contexts, particularly milestones, we seem to find a different story, one where there appears to have been less knowledge, or less compulsion to act on this knowledge.

Conclusion: Constantinian Disgrace

The influence that the Crispus episode has exerted over both ancient and modern imaginations certainly means it has earned its place alongside other paradigms of Roman disgrace. Nevertheless, the application of anachronistic ideas to the ancient context has limited our ability to analyse the processes at play. Deficiencies in the information provided by ancient sources are not evidence for some form of Orwellian 'memory hole' which sought to swallow up the inconvenient truths of Crispus' downfall. There is no indication that efforts were made to systematically obliterate all traces of the Caesar, and there is little sign that measures, when they did

---

[87] See Östenberg (2019: 332–333) for erasures shaping the opinions and actions of viewers.

take place, were designed to induce a state of amnesia. Neither Crispus nor Fausta was ever forgotten. The literary discourse which surrounded them testifies to how they were remembered in increasingly reductive ways for years, decades, and centuries after their disappearances. Nor was there any incentive to forget, particularly for those who used the episode to define Constantine's legacy, fashioning a narrative where the disgrace and shame belonged to Constantine himself rather than his wife or eldest son. Overall, the story of Crispus' fate demonstrates the enduring fascination with the concepts of male and female ignominy, familial murder, political intrigue, silence, forgetting, and dishonour. But it also offers us important lessons in drawing a line between fiction and reality.

References

Alföldy, G. (1975). *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarracco*. Berlin.

Arjava, A. (1996). *Women and Law in Late Antiquity*. Oxford.

Austin, N. J. E. (1980). 'Constantine and Crispus.' *Acta Classica* 23: 133–138.

Bagnall, R., Cameron, A., Schwartz, S. R., and Worp, K. A. (1987). *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*. Atlanta.

Banchich, T. M. (2015). *The Lost History of Peter the Patrician*. London.

Barnes, T. D. (1981). *Constantine and Eusebius*. Cambridge MA.

———. (1982). *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*. Cambridge MA.

———. (2011). *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire*. Chichester.

Bergemann, J. (1990). *Römische Reiterstatuen: Ehrendenkmäler im öffentlichen Bereich*. Mainz.

Bruun, P. (1966). *The Roman Imperial Coinage, Vol. VII: Constantine and Licinius*. London.

Burgersdijk, D. (2018). 'Constantine's Son Crispus and His Image in Contemporary Panegyrical Accounts.' In *Imagining Emperors in the Later Roman Empire*, eds. D. Burgersdijk and A. Ross. Leiden: 137–157.

Camodeca, G. (1980–1). '*Richerce su Puteoli tardoromana (fine III-IV seculo)*', *Puteoli : studi di storia antica* 4/5: 59–128.

Desnier, J. L. (1987). 'Zosime II.29 et la mort de Fausta.' *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*: 1.3: 297–309.

Drijvers, J. W. (1992a). *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of her Finding the True Cross*. Leiden.

———. (1992b). 'Flavia Maxima Fausta: Some Remarks.' *Historia* 1992: 500–506.

Evangelisti, S. (2007). 'Nuovo inscrizioni imperiali da Priverno.' *Epigraphia e terretorio: Politica e societa*. 8. Bari: 149–157.

Frakes, R. M. (1995). 'Cross-References to the Lost Books of Ammianus Marcellinus.' *Phoenix* 49.3: 232–246.

French. D. H. (2012). *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Vol. 3 Fasc. 3.3 (Cappadocia). London.

———. (2013). *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Vo.l 3 Fasc. 3.4 (Pontus et Bithynia). London.

———. (2014). *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Vol. 3 Fasc. 3.5 (Asia). London.

Grünewald, T. (1990). *Constantinus maximus Augustus: Herrschaftspropaganda in der zeitgenössichen Überlieferung*. Stuttgart.

Guarino, D. P. (1993). 'Intervento conservativo su un elemento lapideo del Museo Archaeologico Provinciale di Salerno.' *Apollo: Bollettino dei Musei Provinciali del Salernitano* 9: 136–142.

Guarino, D. P. (1993). 'Intervento conservativo su un elemento lapideo del Museo Archaeologico Provinciale di Salerno.' *Apollo: Bollettino dei Musei Provinciali del Salernitano*, 9: 136–142.

Guarino, D. P., and Panciera, S. (1970). 'Nuove testimonianze sul governo della Campania in età Costantiniana.' *Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali. storiche e filologiche*. Rome: 111–121.

Guthrie, P. (1966). 'The Execution of Crispus.' *Phoenix* 20.4: 325–331.

Harries, J. (2012). *Imperial Rome AD 284 to 363: The New Empire*. Edinburgh.

———. (2014). 'The Empresses' Tale, AD 300–360.' In *Being Christian in Late Antiquity*, eds. C. Harrison, C. Humfress, and I. Sandwell. Oxford: 199–215.

Heijmans, M. (2004). *Arles Durant l'antiquité tardive: de la duplex Arelas à l'urbs Genesii*. Rome.

James, L. (2013). 'Ghosts in the Machine: The Lives and Deaths of Constantinian Imperial Women.' In *Questions of Gender in Byzantine Society*, eds. L. Garland and N. Bronwen. Abingdon-on-Thames: 93–112.

Johnson, A. P. (2013). *Eusebius*. New York.

Keay, S. (1996). 'Tarraco in Late Antiquity.' In *Towns in Transition. Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, eds. N. Christie and S. Loseby. London: 18–44.

Kelly, G. (2002). *Ammianus Marcellinus: Autopsy, Allusion, Exemplum*. Oxford diss.

———. (2008). *Ammianus Marcellinus: The Allusive Historian*. Cambridge.

MacMullen, R. (1969). *Constantine*. New York.

———. (1982). 'The Epigraphic Habit.' *American Journal of Philology* 103: 223–246.

Magalhaes, M. M. (2003). *Storia, Instituzioni e Prospografia di Surrentum Romana. La Collezione Epigrafica del Museo Correle di Terranova*. Naples.

Matthews, P. J. (1989). *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*. London.

Nixon, C. E. V., and Saylor Rodgers, B. (1994). *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini. Introduction, Translation, and Historical Commentary with the Latin Text of R. A. B. Mynors*. Berkeley.

Odahl, C. M. (2010). *Constantine and the Christian Empire* (revised ed.). London.

Östenberg, I. (2019). '*Damnatio Memoriae* Inscribed: The Materiality of Cultural Repression.' In *The Materiality of Text—Placement, Perception, and Presence of Inscribed Texts in Classical Antiquity* eds. A. Petrovic, I. Petrovic, and E. Thomas. Leiden: 324–347.

Panciera, S. (1996). *Iscrizioni greche e latine del Foro Romano e del Palatino: inventario generale, inedita, revisioni*. Rome.

Pflaum, H. G. (2003). *Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie. 2. Inscriptions de la confédération cirtéenne, de Cuicul et de la tribu des Suburbures*. Vol 3. Paris.

Pohlsander, H. A. (1984). 'Crispus: Brilliant Career and Tragic End.' *Historia* 33.1: 79-106.

———. (1996). *The Emperor Constantine*. London.

Potter, D. S. (2013). *Constantine the Emperor*. Oxford.

Ramskold, L. (2013). 'Constantine's Vicennalia and the Death of Crispus.' In *Niš and Byzantium, Eleventh Symposium*, ed. M. Rakocija. Niš: 409–456.

Rougé, J. (1980). 'Fausta, femme de Constantin: Criminelle ou victim?' *Cahiers d'Histoire Lyon* 25.1: 3–15.

Schillinger-Häfele, U. (1977). 'Vierter Nachtrag zu CIL XIII und zweiter Nachtrag zu Fr. Vollmer, Inscriptiones Baivariae Romanae. Inschriften aus dem deutschen Anteil der germanischen Provinzen und des Treverergebiets sowie Raetiens und Noricums.' *Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission des deutchen archäologischen Instituts*: 452–603.

Seeck, O. (1901). *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*. Berlin.

Stephenson, P. (2009). *Constantine: Unconquered Emperor, Christian Victor*. London.

Treadgold, W. T. (2007). *The Early Byzantine Historians*. Basingstoke.

Van Dam, R. (2007). *The Roman Revolution of Constantine*. Cambridge.

Varner, E. R. (2001). 'Portraits, Plots, and Politics: "Damnatio Memoriae" and the Images of Imperial Women.' *Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome* 46: 41–93.

———. (2004). *Mutilation and Transformation:* Damnatio Memoriae *and Roman Imperial Portraiture*. Leiden.

Wankel, H. (1979). *Die Inschriften von Ephesos II. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, Vol. 12. Bonn.

Woods, D. (1998). 'On the Death of the Empress Fausta.' *Greece and Rome* 45.1: 70–86.

Magnentius

In his panegyric of the emperor Julian, delivered in Constantinople in thanks for the consulship of 362, the orator Claudius Mamertinus raised the issue of usurpation: the insanity which must motivate a private citizen to seize the imperial purple, and the ignominy and destruction which were the outcomes of such audacity. At first, Mamertinus' idea of political disgrace seems nostalgic, rooted in the distant Republican past: destruction of the guilty man's house, confiscation of his estates, the banning of his descendants using his name, and the throwing of his body down the Tarpeian Rock in Rome.[1] Mamertinus' focus then jumps forward in time to recent years:

> Our age as well has borne not a few men mad with this kind of rage, who, driven by a blind lust to rule, rushed to their deaths. Supposed they were temporarily restored to life, and god should address them: 'Ho, Nepotianus,' for example, 'and Silvanus, you sought *imperium* through hostile swords and imminent death.'[2]

---

[1] *Pan. Lat*. III(11) 13.1–2. For political disgrace in the Republican period, and the evocation of Republican values in the case of Piso in the early Principate, see Flower (1998, 2006, chapters 3–5) and Bodel (1999).

[2] *Pan. Lat*. III(11) 13.2–3 (after Nixon and Rodgers trans.): *non paucos huiusmodi furore vecordes etiam nostra aetas tulit, qui propter caecam imperandi cupidinem in ferrum*

Even by the standards of the time, the middle of the fourth century had witnessed an exceptional number of usurpations. A total of four individuals seized imperial power during the years 350 to 353. This was followed a decade later by the usurpation of Julian himself, only two months before Mamertinus delivered this speech in his honour.[3] After the death of Constantine in 337 and the subsequent purge of the Theodoran side of the family, the empire had been divided between his three surviving sons, Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans. Fraternal harmony was short-lived. The eldest, Constantine II, was killed near Aquileia in an escalation of a territorial dispute.[4] The two remaining brothers then denigrated him, branding him in an edict issued in the aftermath of his death as 'the public and our own enemy' (*publicus ac noster inimicus*), the kind of language which had been used by their father to vilify his own defeated opponents.[5] This set a dangerous precedent for what was to come a decade later, since it advertised how being a son of Constantine the Great was no guarantee of infallibility or even legitimacy.

Constans absorbed his brother's territories after his death, ruling all of the western and central empire (Spain, Africa, Britain, Gaul, Pannonia, and Moesia) with the exception of the Diocesis Thraciae, which remained in Constantius' control along with the eastern empire. The two remaining brothers maintained an uneasy alliance, marred by doctrinal disputes, over the following decade. Then in 350, Constans was deposed and executed by a group of his senior military and civilian officers. One of these, Magnentius, the commander of the military units of the Ioviani and Herculiani, replaced him as Augustus. Magnentius was eventually eliminated by Constantius, who then, as the last surviving son of Constantine, assumed control of the united empire with his cousins—first Gallus, and then Julian—as junior Caesars. But this process was long and costly.

---

ruerunt. Si hos deus paulisper vitae redditos adloquatur: 'Heus', verbi gratia, 'Nepotiane atque Silvane, per infestos gladios praesentesque mortes imperium petivistis.'

[3] See Nixon and Saylor Rodgers (1994: 413, n.86) for the 'charming novelty' of the discussion of usurpers in a speech delivered in praise of an individual who had recently usurped the position of senior emperor. The topic implies Julian's legitimacy in contrast with these unsuccessful imperial claimants.

[4] Eutr. *Brev.* 10.9, Jer. *Chron.* 235ª H, *Epit. de Caes.* 41.20–21, Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 2.5, Zonar. 13.5. Zosimus's account has Constans as the aggressor (2.41), which is unlikely given Constantine was killed in his youngest brother's territories.

[5] *Cod. Theod.* 11.12.1.

Magnentius had secured the support of many prominent individuals in the west, and Constantius had to abandon his campaign against the Persians on the eastern frontier to head west to face him. When they finally met at Mursa in Pannonia in September 351, the confrontation was one of the most notoriously devastating battles in Roman history.[6] Even then, Magnentius clung onto power for another two years before he finally committed suicide.

Magnentius was a figure who blurred the lines between legitimate and illegitimate imperial power. He was a dynastic outsider, yet garnered significant support from those who had once served under the Constantinian emperors. Given this background, it is unsurprising that Mamertinus did not offer him as an exemplum of a failed usurper in his speech in praise of Julian, settling for the more negligible figures of Nepotianus and Silvanus instead. These two had controlled only isolated areas—Nepotianus in Rome, Silvanus in Gaul—for a few weeks and have left nothing material to posterity except a few coins or, in the case of Silvanus, nothing at all. By contrast, the memory of Magnentius' rule ran deep in the political landscape of the empire, embodied in the individuals who had supported him, the coins minted in his name, and the epigraphic material his regime has left behind, the examination of which forms a central part of this chapter. Moreover, Magnentius had been the trigger for, or closely related to, all the other usurpations of this period. Nepotianus had seized power in Rome in response to his elimination of Constans, and Silvanus had been one of his senior military officers. Vetranio—the fourth usurper of the early 350s—had also been declared emperor as a counter-usurpation against Magnentius in Illyricum. Simply by acknowledging Nepotianus and Silvanus by name, the orator Mamertinus inevitably would have conjured up his audience's memories of the far more substantial threat that had been Magnentius. Mamertinus' silence speaks volumes. Over the opposite side of the empire and almost a decade after his death, the spectre of Magnentius was still looming.[7]

---

[6] Zonaras claims that Constantius lost nearly half of his men, and Magnentius lost two-thirds of his army, a total of over 50,000 dead (8.8). Jerome describes Mursa as the battle 'in which the Roman forces were ruined' (*in quo proelio Romanae vires conciderunt*: Jer. *Chron.* 238[d] H). See also Eutr. *Brev.* 10.12, *Epit. de Caes.* 42.4, Oros. 7.29.12.

[7] See Humphries (2002: 80) for how Julian's usurpation in Gaul would have been seen as reminiscent of Magnentius', and Nixon and Saylor Rodgers (1994: 387–388) for

In comparison with the earlier part of the fourth century, political disgrace and its associated practices—iconoclasm, epigraphic erasures—have attracted little attention in the period following Constantine's death.[8] As I demonstrate in this chapter, these practices continued as before into the mid-fourth century, though the discourse surrounding them adjusted to fit changes in the religious and political environment, as well as in the ancient sources which document these processes. By this time, the Christian accounts of Lactantius and Eusebius had ended, and along with them the vivid descriptions of the obliteration of imperial persecutors which have inspired scholars to identify the practices of *damnatio memoriae* at play in the age of Constantine. In the new world of the mid-fourth century, Christians, no longer reeling from their shifted relationship with imperial authority at the end of the Great Persecution, were now increasingly drawn into conflict with secular powers and as independent agents in the public arena. In terms of the political landscape, the hereditary succession of Constantine's sons had redefined imperial power in dynastic terms. Against this background, the rise of Magnentius—a dynastic outsider, an appealing alternative to Constantinian rule—represents a moment where the ruling dynasty, which drew its legitimacy from a quarter century of imperial memory, encountered the possibility of a different future.

This chapter incorporates a detailed examination of the epigraphic evidence for the disgrace of both Constans and Magnentius. This material is set within a wider discussion of the environment of this time, where imperial legitimacy was constructed and contested, and where the narrative of civil war and imperial failure was told and retold in creative and revealing ways. By approaching Magnentius from the perspective of political memory I introduce fresh angles to this episode, and also use him as a case study for the roles which disgrace could play in moments of political transition and the agents involved in these processes. Many of the people who supported Magnentius did so through the denigration of the overthrown Constans, and then in turn denigrated Magnentius to ensure their own survival and prosperity. In both cases, these processes involved

---

Mamertinus' Gallic origins, and what this might mean for his activities during Magnentius' reign ('his silence may denote embarrassment, sympathy, or tact').

[8] An exception is the condemnation of Constantine II by his brothers after his death 340, which has received some passing attention: Cahn (1987: 201–202), Barnes (1993: 51–52), and Harries (2012: 116–117).

recalibrating the past, but were essentially forward thinking. The transformation of both failed emperors into individuals imbued with disgrace turned them into scapegoats who could be vilified in isolation, and thus facilitated political and social continuity.

Magnentius' Supporters

Magnentius' defeat has had a serious impact on how his regime has been presented and perceived. Most ancient sources are deeply biased against him, and the fullest surviving accounts of his rise to power and confrontation with Constantius are panegyrics in praise of his rival. These include speeches composed in the immediate aftermath of his defeat, such as Julian's two orations in praise of his cousin—the first dating to 356–357, the second to possibly a year later[9]—and Themistius' third oration, delivered in Rome in May 357 during Constantius' visit to the city.[10] Some modern scholars have followed suit and, using the benefit of hindsight, downplayed the practical and ideological threat which Magnentius posed in the early years of the 350s.[11] This view presents the emperor as an outsider, desperate for recognition from his eastern counterpart, interprets his use of ideology reminiscent of Constantine as an attempt 'to edge into the limelight of the Constantinian dynasty', or considers him an opportunist who appealed to both Christians and pagans in a desperate attempt to win his subjects' approval.[12]

[9] Athanassiadi (1992: 61–62) and Tougher (2012: 21), expresses a preference for 356 for *Or*. 1. See Drake 2012: 39 for a discussion of the various datings of *Or*. 2, which stretch from late 357 to 360. Both should be contextualised within diplomatic overtures from Julian as Caesar in Gaul to his cousin as Augustus, and it is possible that neither were actually delivered, and that Constantius might have never even received copies of them: Tougher (2012: 22) and Drake (2012: 39).

[10] Heather and Moncur (2001: 114–115) and Vanderspoel (2012: 225–226).

[11] A recent advocate of this viewpoint is Harries, who has dismissed Magnentius as a 'regional emperor' and a 'failed local ruler' (2012: 114–115). She also downplays Constans' unpopularity, arguing that his elimination was 'the result of a private grudge on the part of an apprehensive official and not the outcome of widespread discontent among the military or the wider population' (196).

[12] Quotation from Van Dam (2011: 49), referring to both Vetranio and Magnentius. See also Kent (1981: 12) for an evaluation of Magnentius' policies as 'essentially opportunistic', and Barnes (1993: 102) for how they 'reflected both the weakness of his position as a usurper and his claim to replace an incompetent and corrupt regime'.

In contrast, I argue that, though there were clear signs of ongoing resistance to Magnentius' rule, the emperor enjoyed a significant level of support considering he was from an obscure background and bore no relation to the Constantinian dynasty, the family which had ruled the empire singlehandedly for the past quarter of a century. This has important implications for our understanding of the mechanisms and agents involved in constructing and deconstructing imperial legitimacy in this period. Magnentius was recognised and represented in an area which encompasses a far broader geographical extent than the limited zones of Gaul, northern Italy, and Pannonia where he and his Caesar Decentius were present in person during their three and a half years in power. This underlines how the establishment and maintenance of Magnentius' rule were due to the exploitation of established administrative structures and social networks, and, above all, the support of a group of prominent men from aristocratic, military, and administrative backgrounds and with track records of service to the Constantinian dynasty.

Magnentius' regime was constructed on a foundation of Constans' perceived failings as a ruler. Epigraphic and numismatic evidence demonstrates that the cornerstone of the new emperor's ideology was his status as a liberator: the eliminator of a despised predecessor, representing the interests of those whom Constans had alienated. Accounts of the usurpation plot in January 350 claim it was triggered by Constans' increasing unpopularity and tyrannical behaviour, his neglect of his troops and of his provincial subjects in more general, as well as financial issues and accusations of personal immorality.[13] A coup was staged at Autun whilst Constans was on a hunting trip, masterminded by a circle of the emperor's most senior officials, including Marcellinus—Constans' *comes rei privatae*, who Julian identifies as the principal 'author' (ποιητής) of the plot—and Magnentius himself who, as the commander of the Ioviani and Herculiani, was in control of the most senior units in the western field army.[14] Drinkwater argues the circumstances indicate a considerable level of organisation and confidence, thus demonstrating the true

---

[13] Eutr. *Brev.* 10.9, Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 41, *Epit. de Caes.* 41.23–24, Zos. 2.42.2–3. For a recent analysis of literary evidence for Constans' regime, see Woudhuysen (2018).

[14] Julian *Or.* 2 57.D. See Lee (2015: 103) for a discussion of the fact that, unlike in the case of Magnus Maximus 30 years later, Magnentius was not the most senior general or *comes* in the west at this time.

extent of Constans' 'political bankruptcy' by 350.[15] Though it has been suggested that Magnentius' faction sought to avoid the charge of regicide by allowing Constans to go on the run for an entire week before he was eventually killed,[16] there appears to have been little desire to deny responsibility for the murder of Constantine's youngest son. Instead, Constans' death was commemorated. Gaiso, the military officer who is identified as personally responsible for hunting down and dispatching the emperor as he fled west to Spain, was rewarded with the consulship for the following year, a position he shared with Magnentius himself.[17]

Magnentius was recognised in most, but not all, of the territories which had fallen under Constans' jurisdiction for the past decade. As Chastagnol has highlighted, his winning of the support of Fabius Titianus, Constans' praetorian prefect of over a decade, must have been crucial in quickly and convincingly establishing his control over the regions Titianus administrated (Gaul, Spain, and Britain).[18] However, the most eastern dioceses in the Balkans did not cede to him. Two months after his usurpation in January, Vetranio, Constans' *magister peditum* in Illyricum, was proclaimed Augustus. He held the region until the end of December, when Constantius, who had marched west, forced him to abdicate.

It is disputed whether Vetranio was a genuine threat—an opportunistic and independent usurper like Magnentius, motivated by disaffection with the Constantinian regime—or merely a tool used by Constantius to prevent the spread of Magnentius' rule, giving him time to secure the eastern frontier. Though some have made a case for the former,[19] the circumstances of his elevation (which Philostorgius claims was orchestrated by Constantius' sister Constantina) and then his deposition (the result of a speech delivered by Constantius rather than a military confrontation and followed by Vetranio's quiet retirement in Bithynia

---

[15] Drinkwater (2000: 134).

[16] Drinkwater (2000: 135–136).

[17] Eutrop. *Brev.* 10.9.4, *Epit. de Caes.* 41.23, Zos. 2.42.5. Bagnall et al. (1987: 236–237).

[18] Chastagnol (1960: 419, 1962: 109) and Szidat (2015: 124).

[19] See Bleckmann (1994) for the argument that Vetranio was a genuine usurper, and Drinkwater (2000: 156) for Vetranio as being 'an unwilling emperor' who 'in his heart remained loyal to Constantius'.

with a state pension) suggests that the latter is more likely.[20] The elevation of Vetranio to the status of an authentic and dangerous opponent later played an important role in reframing this period of civil war. Julian opens his first oration by praising his cousin for recently overcoming not one but *two* major usurpers: one (Magnentius) through military prowess, the other (Vetranio) by his eloquence alone.[21] Thus, Vetranio was transformed into Magnentius' foil: a bloodless victory to balance against the costly battle fought between Constantius and Magnentius in Pannonia the following autumn.

There were also instances of rebellion within Magnentius' western territories, focused on the city of Rome. Jerome's *Chronicle* mentions a revolt of the 'people' of the city against the 'followers of Magnentius' (*Magnentiacii*) in 350, which was uncovered by as senator named Heraclides of whom nothing else is known.[22] It is unclear whether this event should be connected to the usurpation of Nepotianus, who seized the city at the start of June 350, killing a prefect of Magnentius and declaring himself Augustus.[23] Unlike Vetranio, who came from an obscure background, originating in Moesia and rising through the ranks of the military,[24] Nepotianus was of considerable pedigree. As the son of Eutropia, half-sister of Constantine, he was one of the few members of the Theodoran side of the Constantinian family who had survived the massacre thirteen years earlier, spared either due to his youth or, as

[20] Philostorg. *Hist. eccl.* 3.22, Zonar. 13.7. For Vetranio as faux-usurper, see Dearn (2003) for an argument based on his coinage, and Omissi (2018: 181–190) for an argument based on the surviving panegyrics.

[21] Julian *Or.* 1 1A. The repetition of this 'eloquence versus arms' trope in accounts of Constantius' civil wars written over the following two decades is testament to its lasting impact. See Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 42, Greg. Naz. *Or.* 34, Libanius *Or.* 1 81.

[22] Jer. *Chron.* 238ᵃ H, *PLRE* I, Heraclides 3, 418.

[23] Jerome's *Chronicle* lists the death of Nepotianus directly afterwards (238ᵇ H), though it is unclear whether the first rebellion at Rome is slightly earlier and separate or instead connected to Nepotianus'. Aurelius Victor refers to the corruption of the common people as well as hatred of Magnentius as motivating factors for Nepotianus' coup, which suggests the two might be connected. For the usurpation of Nepotianus see Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 42.3, who records that Magnentius' urban prefect was killed in the uprising; Zos. 2.43.2–4, claims it was Magnentius' praetorian prefect (who he names as Anicetus). See also Eutrop. *Brev.* 11, and *Epit. de Caes.* 42.3.

[24] Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 41.

Burgess as suggested, because he had not yet been born.[25] If the latter is true, this would mean that he was less than twelve years old at the time of the revolt, which implies that his mother and other individuals who were keen to promote a Constantinian candidate were behind the usurpation attempt.

Despite his youth and his background, most sources are highly critical of Nepotianus, particularly the use of disreputable militia to seize Rome and the bloodshed which resulted. Aurelius Victor, who may well have been an eyewitness to events in the city, describes how it was taken using gladiators, and that the 'brutish nature' (*stolidum ingenium*) of the aspiring emperor led to a massacre of people and senators in the city: 'everywhere the houses, fora, streets, and shrines were bursting with gore and corpses like tombs'.[26] Nepotianus was Augustus for less than a month before he was eliminated by an army led by Marcellinus, now Magnentius' *magister officiorum*. Further bloodshed is said to have ensued. Nepotianus' severed head was paraded around the city, and there was a proscription of elite inhabitants, including Eutropia, Nepotianus' mother.[27] This episode was used subsequently by Constantius' panegyrists to accuse Magnentius of additional crimes against the Roman elite and imperial family resident in Rome.[28]Themistius, speaking in the city seven years later, shifted Magnentius' rule from northern Italy to Rome, despite the fact that there is no evidence the emperor set foot there during his reign. This allowed him to create parallels between Magnentius and Maxentius (even highlighting the similarity between their names), and thus assimilate Constantius with his father, since both had liberated Rome from a tyrant.[29]

Magnentius' regime won firm supporters elsewhere in the west. Epigraphic remains reveal that local administrators demonstrated their

[25] Burgess (2008: 10, n.34); *PLRE* I, Nepotianus 5, 624.

[26] Bird (1994: 200, n.6). Aur. Vict. *Caes*. 42.7 (after trans. Bird): *Cuius stolidum ingenium adeo plebi Romanae patribusque exitio fuit, uti passim domus fora viae templaque cruore atque cadaveribus opplerentur bustorum modo.*

[27] Ath. *Ad Const*. 6, Aur. Vict. *Caes*. 42, Eutrop. *Brev*. 11, Jer. *Chron*. 238[b] H.

[28] Themistius *Or*. 3 54C, Julian *Or*. 2 58C–D. See also *Ad Const*. 6, where Athanasius specifies the execution of Constantius' aunt Eutropia, mother of Nepotianus, amongst other distinguished individuals in Rome.

[29] Themistius *Or*. 3 44A–B.

loyalty to the new regime by setting up numerous milestones in Magnentius' honour, with particular concentrations surviving from Italy, Africa, and Spain. Given the brevity of his time in power, the prevalence of these milestones is remarkable. As a point of comparison, far greater numbers survive with dedications to Magnentius and Decentius than to Constans, who had been Augustus in the west for thirteen years, and Caesar for four years before that.[30] Distinct regional variations can be identified, reflecting the oversight of different jurisdictions. In the Diocesis Hispaniarum, where the largest number survive, Magnentius and his Caesar are honoured with a diverse range of formulations from the simple to the extravagant, describing Magnentius as *magnus*, *maximus, victor ac triumphator*, *terra marique victor*, and in one case as *semper Augustus Alaman(n)icus maximus p(ater) p(atria) procons(ul)*.[31] The milestones from the Italian mainland are particularly striking, since they all hold identical inscriptions:

> *Liberatori orbis Romani restitutori libertatis et rei publicae conservatori militum et provincialium domino nostro Magnentio invicto principi victori et triumphatori semper Augusto.*

> To the liberator of the Roman world, the restorer of liberty and the state, the preserver of the soldiers and the provincials, our lord Magnentius, unconquered *princeps*, victor, *triumphator*, ever Augustus.

The formulaic nature of these dedications indicates a considerable level of organisation and centralised control, characteristics not typically associated with a usurper with a shaky hold on power.[32] The majority are concentrated in northern regions of Italy, close to where Magnentius was based. The same formula is also found on a plaque from a statue base, found in a *villa rustica* in Viterbo, around sixty kilometres north of Rome. Fortini has suggested that this belonged to a close supporter of

---

[30] For example, 18 Magnentian milestones in the Diocesis Italiae to only 4 of Constans as Augustus.

[31] E.g. *magno*: Rodríguez Colmenero et al. no. 473; *maximo*: Rodríguez Colmenero et al. nos. 258 and 306; *victori et triumphatori*: CIL II.4765, Rodríguez Colmenero et al. no. 578; *semper Augusto*: CIL II.4840; *terra marique victori*: CIL II.4765; *victori ac triumphatori perpetuo semper Augusto Alaman(n)ico maximo p(atri) p(atriae) procons(uli)*: Rodríguez Colmenero et al. no. 253.

[32] As noted by Laurence (2004: 47).

Magnentius in central Italy, one of the important individuals who secured the emperor's control over Rome and the lower Italian peninsula.[33]

Epigraphic evidence from Africa also points to the local administration not only recognising the new emperor, but going out of their way to enthusiastically commemorate Magnentius 'the Great',[34] in some cases, even adding the new emperor's name to pre-existing Constantinian milestones.[35] In Mustis (modern Henchir Mest in Tunisia), a town which stood on the route from Carthage to Theveste (Tébessa), an inscription survives which commemorates Constantius, Magnentius, and Decentius as a united imperial college. Discovered in fragments in the 1930s during the clearing of the temple of Fortuna Augusta in the forum area, the long plaque records the dedication of a new *forum transitorium* during the time of Constantius, an erased Augustus and an erased Caesar (Fig. 5.1). Since the inclusion of a Caesar means it cannot be dated to the diarchy of Constantius and Constans, the erased emperors have been identified as Magnentius and Decentius.[36]

Beyond the emperors, the inscription records the involvement of four administrators: Egnatuleius Crescens, the *legatus* of Numidia, two unnamed *vir clarissimi* as proconsuls, and the city's *curator*, who must have been the main contractor of the project, and whose name appears to have been erased. Poinssot, who first published the inscription, interpreted it as evidence for a formal alliance being reached between the emperors before their confrontation.[37] However, we should be wary of viewing it as proof for an official agreement, since it only indicates the

---

[33] *AE* 1997.525, Fortini (1997: 315–321).

[34] See the series of milestones dedicated to Magnentius and Decentius radiating west out of the city of Carthage. For example, Decentius: *AE* 1987.1013c, *CIL* VIII.22184. Magnentius: *AE* 1987.1014b and 1108c, 1993.1716b, 2006.1786, *CIL* VIII.22193, 22,197.

[35] See 3 milestones in Mauretania Caesariensis, 2 with dedications to Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans (dated 337–340: *CIL* VIII.22558 and 22,555, the second more fragmentary and uncertain), and one dedicated to Constantius and Constans (dated 340–350: *CIL* VIII.22552). In all cases, Magnentius' name seems to have been inscribed over an erasure of Constans. In a milestone near Theveste, the last line of a milestone dedicated to Constantine II as Augustus has been erased and Decentius' name carved over the erasure, creating a composite college of the dead Constantine II as Augustus and Decentius as Caesar: *ILAlg* I.3909.

[36] Poinssot (1933: 21–24). See also Beschaouch (2005) and Campedelli (2015).

[37] Poinssot (1933: 23).

BEATI[SSIMIS TEMP]ORIBVS DDD NNN FLAVI IVLI CONSTANTII ET [[MAGNENTII]] VICTORVM
PERP [[AVGG ET DECENTII]] NOB CAES FORVM TRANSSITORIVM QVOD ANTEA NON ERAT
PROV[ISVM VV CC] AMP PROCOSS CVM EGNATVLEIO CRESCENTE V C LEGATO NUMIDIAE
COEP [PERFECERVNT]QVE INSISTENT[[[E --] CVRATORE R P MVSTITANOR]VM

Beati[ssimis temp]oribus DDD(ominorum) NNN(ostrorum) Flavi Iuli Constantii et [[Magnentii]] Victorum / perp(etuorum) [[Augg(ustorum) et Decentii]] nob(ilissimi) Caes(aris) forum trans{s}itorium quod antea non erat / prov[isum vv(iri) cc(larissimi)] amp(lissimi) proco(n)ss(ules) cum Egnatuleio Crescente v(iro) c(larissimo) legato Numidiae / coep(erunt) [perfecerunt]que insistent[[[e ---]] curator r(ei) p(ublicae) Mustitanor]um.

'In the most blessed times of our Lords Flavius Iulius Constantius and [[Magnentius]], victorious, always [[Augusti, and Decentius]] the most noble Caesar; a *forum transitorium*, which was not initially planned, that the [two] most illustrious proconsuls, both of *clarissimus* rank, assisted by Egnatuleius Crescens, of *clarissimus* rank, *legatus* of Numidia, began and completed; the prime contractor being [[-----]] [the *curator* of the *res publica* of the people of Must]is.'

Fig. 5.1 Transcription of *forum transitorium* inscription, Mustis (*AE* 1933.105. Textual reconstruction after Beschaouch 2005)

impulse to *present* Constantius and Magnentius as a co-operative imperial unit in this African city. Nevertheless, it is remarkable evidence for administrative continuity, even prosperity, despite the uncertain political climate.[38] Not only does it indicate that the machinery of government was carefully maintained as the west passed from Constans to Magnentius, but also that officials serving in the new regime could claim confidently that Magnentius was Constantius' colleague, even after the elevation of Decentius, which took place between twelve and fifteen months after Constans had been eliminated.[39] No wonder, then, that both Magnentius and Decentius' names were later erased from the architrave.

The *Chronograph of 354*, which was completed in Rome only a year after Magnentius' deposition, provides the identities of six men who held the urban prefecture of the city under the emperor (see Table 5.1). This list reveals a balance between periods of relative stability and rapid

[38] Beschaouch (2005: 1083) interprets the inclusion of two unnamed proconsuls as an acknowledgment that the word extended over two tenures, first Constans' administrator and then his successor appointed by Magnentius, who continued to fund the project and brought it to completion. The dedication of a new forum was a rare occurrence in Africa in this period see Lepelley (1979: 90–98, 1981: 147–148), Leone (2013: 35).

[39] For the dating of Decentius' elevation, see Appendix 4.

Table 5.1 Urban prefects of Magnentius

	(As listed in the Chronograph of 354)	Inauguration date
1	Fabius Titianus	February 27th (III Kal. Mar.) 350
2	Aurelius Celsinus	March 1st (Kal. Mar.) 351
3	Caelius Probatus	May 12th (IIII Idus Mai.) 351
4	Clodius Celsinus Adelfius	June 7th (VII Idus Iun.) 351
5	Lucius Aradius Valerius Proculus	December 18th (XV Kal. Ian.) 351
6	Septimius Mnasea	September 9th (V Idus Sept.) 352
	Neratius Cerealis	September 26th (VI Kal. Oct.) 352
	(Constantius' 1st urban prefect)	(until 8th December [VI Idus December] 353)

turnover. Some individuals held office for seven months (Clodius Celsinus Adelfius), nine months (Lucius Aradius Valerius Proculus), or over a year (Fabius Titianus, though his tenure must have been interrupted by the month-long usurpation of Nepotianus). Others, such as the second urban prefect, Aurelius Celsinus, held the position for less than three months, and two (Caelius Probatus and Septimius Mnasea) for less than a month. Short urban prefectures should not necessarily be taken as a sign of political instability, since the length of tenures had varied significantly over recent decades (it was not unheard of for an aristocrat to be in office for as little as four months).[40] However, the level of turnover from 351 onwards was unprecedented and indicates clear issues with the maintenance of Magnentius' hegemony over Rome and the lower Italian peninsula.

This maps onto the evolving political environment of this period. Twenty months elapsed between Magnentius' usurpation in Autun in January 350 and his first military confrontation with Constantius at Mursa in September 351. The result was a period of stalemate where the political landscape of the empire must have seemed ambiguous, with uncertainties as to how the situation might play out and what this might mean for various stakeholders. Western mints continued to strike coinage for Constantius for at least the first twelve months of Magnentius' rule

[40] See, for example, the 4-month tenures of Lucius Turcius Apronianus from July to October 339 and Lollianus Mavortius from April until July 342. Equally, tenures of 17 to 24 months are also attested, for example, Fabius Titianus' first prefecture (October 339 to February 341), and the tenures of Petronius Probianus (October 329 to April 331), Sextus Anicius Faustus Paulinus (April 331 to April 333), and Aconius Catullinus Philomathius (July 342 to April 344).

(eastern mints never returned the favour).[41] Since Constantius was on campaign against the Persians when news of his brother's death reached him, it took half a year for him to sufficiently secure affairs so that he could turn his back on the eastern frontier to address this internal threat.[42]

Given these circumstances, it seems likely that many of the individuals who were either directly involved in overthrowing Constans, or who subsequently threw in their lot with his replacement by serving in his government, anticipated that a settlement would be reached. After all, the regions over which Magnentius had gained control, though half of the empire, had belonged to Constans not Constantius, and so represented no territorial loss on the part of the eastern emperor.[43] A new imperial colleague in the west could have even been seen as a desirable outcome since, though brothers, the relationship between Constantius and Constans had been strained throughout their diarchy, even coming close to open warfare as a result of disputes over Christian doctrine.[44] Nevertheless, Constantius disentangled himself from the eastern frontier by the autumn of 350 and headed west, engineering the abdication of Vetranio at Naissus at the end of December.[45] The gears of war continued to turn slowly. Remaining in Pannonia for the following nine months ahead of Mursa, he appointed his cousin Gallus as Caesar in the spring to secure his rear, a tactic which mirrored Magnentius' own appointment of his kinsman Decentius as his junior to guard Gaul. A settlement must

[41] All issues were in base billion; gold was only struck in Constantius' name in Rome during the brief revolt of Nepotianus (June 350), Kent (1981: 40). See Kent (1981: 198) for the continued use of Constans' coin-types for Magnentius in Trier, and Shelton (1982: 211–235) for further evidence for continuity of mint personnel from Constans to Magnentius.

[42] In his 1st oration, Julian is defensive about how long it took for Constantius to head west to face Magnentius, claiming that the emperor had resolved to confront the usurper the moment he heard of the rebellion, but was diverted by Persian attack designed to take advantage of this distraction by renewing hostilities on the eastern frontier: Julian *Or.* 1 27A.

[43] In both orations, Julian makes the point that, when Constans had absorbed Constantine II's territories after his death in 340, Constantius would have been justified in taking military action against his younger brother, but only relented because he deemed that a civil conflict was not in their subjects' interest: Julian *Or.* 1 20A, *Or.* 2 94C–D.

[44] Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 2.22.4. For a detailed discussion of this period, see Barnes (1993: Chapter 7).

[45] Jer. *Chron.* 238ᶜ.

have remained a possibility throughout this period, though an increasingly unlikely one as time went on.

Channels of diplomatic communication seem to have remained open throughout 350. At least two separate embassies are recorded, the impetus of both coming from Magnentius in the west: one travelling through Alexandria to Constantius whilst he was still in the east, and another travelling through Pannonia whilst he was in Thrace. The first is referred to by Athanasius in his *Defence before Constantius*, where the churchman goes to considerable lengths to defend himself from accusations of exchanging correspondence with Magnentius during his tenure as bishop of Alexandria. Athanasius appeals to the emperor to question two bishops (Servatius and Maximus) along with two secular men (Clementius and Valens) who had passed through the city after being sent by Magnentius as envoys to Constantius.[46] The outcome of this embassy is not mentioned, but these individuals were clearly alive and well in 357 when the *Defence* was written. The episode provides a valuable insight into the dynamics of this period: the networks of significant people who were drawn into choosing sides or playing intermediary roles in this conflict, as well as the increasing influence which Church authorities exerted on political affairs.

The second embassy, recorded in Zonaras and a fragment of Peter the Patrician, relates to a time when Constantius had left the eastern frontier and was based in Heraclea in Thracia. Both sources indicate that Vetranio—the geographical middleman, caught between two emperors with far greater resources—had eventually come to terms with Magnentius and had sent a joint embassy consisting of a senator named Nunechius, Rufinus (who may have been praetorian prefect in Illyricum), and Marcellinus, Magnentius' right hand man.[47] These envoys apparently petitioned Constantius for a peace treaty, cemented through the marriage of Magnentius to Constantius' sister and Constantius to Magnentius' daughter, whereby Constantius would be recognised as the

---

[46] *Ad Const*. 9. See Barnes (1993: 102–103) for further discussion.

[47] Peter *ELGR* 14 (Banchich 2015 F. 231), Zonar. 13.7. For Rufinus as praetorian prefect in Illyricum see *PLRE* I, Vulcanius Rufinus 25, 782–783, and Banchich (2015: 147). Note that Peter claims that all the ambassadors except Rufinus were arrested and retained by Constantius, which contradicts Julian's account of Marcellinus' death at Mursa, after taking command of Magnentius' army following the emperor's flight. Julian claims that Marcellinus' body was never recovered, which he takes as a sign as a fitting punishment of oblivion: *Or*. 2 58B.

senior colleague, needless bloodshed could be avoided, and Constantius could redirect his attentions to the eastern frontier. According to both Peter and Zonaras, Constantius' rejected this offer after being visited by his father and murdered brother in a dream, where he was urged not to settle with Magnentius.

Consequently, the list of Magnentius' urban prefects maps onto wider fluxes in confidence and loyalties in this period. The long first tenure of Fabius Titianus reflects the period of de facto diarchy between the western and eastern emperors throughout 350, when negotiations were still ongoing and the outcome uncertain. Aurelius Celsinus and Caelius Probatus' short tenures could be linked to instability within Magnentius' territories provoked by the elevation of Gallus and Decentius and the potential escalation of hostilities, a time when a major confrontation must have been seen as increasingly inevitable. Clodius Adelfius Celsinus, Magnentius' fourth urban prefect who was in office at the time of the Battle of Mursa, was replaced three months after Magnentius' defeat.

Ammianus Marcellinus makes reference to the circumstances of Adelfius' removal, which he explains was the result of him being accused of treason against Magnentius by an individual called Dorus, a military officer of Magnentius who was based in Rome (and later went on to serve Constantius after Magnentius' downfall).[48] Barnes argues that this treasonous act was an attempted usurpation, reflecting the instability of Magnentius' control over Italy in the aftermath of Mursa, as the resolve of his western support base had begun to disintegrate.[49] Many ancient sources, with the benefit of hindsight and weighted in Constantius' favour, present the Battle of Mursa in September 351 as the beginning of Magnentius' downfall, the point at which the tide firmly turned against him. Julian claims that, after his defeat and retreat to Aquileia, there was an exodus of senators from Rome, bypassing Magnentius' court by sailing directly across the Adriatic to Constantius in Pannonia.[50] Nevertheless,

[48] Amm. Marc. 16.6.2. For a discussion of the episode, including the precise nature of Dorus' position and Adelfius' treason, see Barnes (2006). See Fortini (1997: 319–321) for Adelfius' conspiracy as evidence for a pro-Constantian senatorial faction in Rome using Magnentius' defeat at Mursa as an opportunity to oust him. Cameron (2011: 33, 336) argues that Adelfius left to join Constantius after his office ended in December 351.

[49] Barnes (2006: 249).

[50] Julian *Or*. 1 38C, 48.B, *Or*. 2 97.B. Chastagnol (1960: 421) insists this took place before Mursa, though it is unclear on what basis.

Magnentius clearly maintained support in the face of this major setback. He continued to control the Italian peninsula for a full year after the battle, with a further two urban prefects serving under his aegis. He then controlled Gaul for almost another year after Constantius gained control of Italy at the end of September 352, removing Magnentius' sixth and final urban prefect after he had been in office for less than a month and setting up a new candidate in his place.

The list of urban prefects preserved in the *Chronograph of 354* also provides insight into the *kinds* of people who were willing to openly participate in Magnentius' regime. Most of the men named were far from obscure: these were leading aristocrats, individuals who had held key administrative positions under Constantine and his sons, such as the cura- torships or proconsulships of provinces, or even offices as important as that of praetorian prefect. In two cases, those of Clodius Adelfius Celsinus and Lucius Aradius Valerius Proculus, Magnentius' faction appears to have tempted these noblemen out of career hiatuses of over a decade.

Fabius Titianus, Magnentius' first urban prefect, had enjoyed a polit- ical career spanning over twenty-five years. One of the aristocrats who had benefitted from the opportunities presented by Licinius' downfall in 324, Titianus held offices under Constantine in the east, including the proconsulship of Asia. This service continued after Constantine's death. Titianus held the urban prefecture of Rome from 339 to 341, before becoming Constans' praetorian prefect, the highest civil office in the emperor's government, a position he held until Constans' elimina- tion in 350.[51] Throwing his lot in with Magnentius, Titianus held the urban prefecture for a second time under the new emperor, a powerful statement that balanced the reassurance of administrative continuity with approval of Constans' removal. Epigraphic evidence from Rome—two statue bases dedicated by Titianus to Magnentius, describing himself as 'most devoted to his majesty' (*maiestati eius dicatissimus*)—indicates that the senator actively promoted the new regime in the city during his time in office.[52] Even after his tenure ended, he remained closely associated with the western emperor. His desertion of the Constantinian dynasty is

[51] His Constantinian offices are provided by *CIL* VI.1717. *PLRE* I, Fabius Titianus 6, 918–819. See Chastagnol (1962: 108–111) and Kent (1981: 8). 'It is a measure of his [Constans'] failure as Emperor that Titianus, after more than ten years in his service, emerged a devoted supporter of Magnentius'.

[52] *CIL* VI.1166a: now lost. *CIL* VI.1167: now fragmentary.

cemented by an episode preserved in Zosimus, where he is named as the envoy sent to Constantius' camp ahead of the Battle of Mursa. Apparently, Titianus, who Jerome notes was renowned for his eloquence, used the opportunity to deliver a diatribe which attacked all the Constantinian emperors, including Constantine himself.[53]

Like Titianus, Magnentius' second urban prefect, Aurelius Celsinus, had held a string of key administrative positions, serving as proconsul of Africa in the years immediately after Constantine's death, before being appointed urban prefect under Constans in 341, directly after Titianus' first tenure.[54] Chastagnol interpreted his holding of the urban prefecture for a second time under Magentius as evidence for the limited support which the new emperor enjoyed amongst the Roman aristocracy, arguing that it demonstrates the emperor had only a small pool of willing participants he could draw upon.[55] However, given the prominence of the noblemen who held this position, we should be wary of dismissing this evidence outright (as well as reflective about the grounds on which we do so).[56] Moreover, the striking repetition of offices—Titianus directly followed by Celsinus, firstly under Constans at the start of the 340s, then repeated under Magnentius a decade later—created a pattern of administrative continuity which must have imbued Magnentius' regime with an indisputable aura of legitimacy.

Aradius Valerius Proclus, who held the urban prefecture for ten months in the aftermath of Magnentius' defeat at Mursa, boasted a similar aristocratic and office-holding pedigree to Titianus and Celsinus. A member of the ancient Valerii family, no fewer than six statue bases erected in

[53] Jer. *Chron.* 236^d H, Zos. 2.49.1. See Humphries (2003: 38).

[54] *PLRE* I, Aurelius Celsinus 4, 192. See Chastagnol (1962: 112–113) for the likelihood that Celsinus was a relative of Titianus, and Humphries (2015: 163) for the suggestion that Magnentius' faction had exploited this connection.

[55] Chastagnol (1960: 420).

[56] Whilst Chastagnol (1960: 420–421) admits that a minority of aristocrats supported Magnentius, he insists that the great majority shunned him. However, he views the emperor's barbarian origins as a major factor in this lack of support, which reflects pro-Constantian invective rather than reality. He also views the usurpation within the context of pagan revivalism in mid- to late fourth-century Rome, identifying both the emperor and all of the aristocrats who supported him as pagans. See Salzman (1990: 209–211) for an insistence that the usurpation was not motivated by religious policies, and that Christian aristocrats, such as the Anicii, also supported Magnentius. See Cameron (2011) for a wider critique of the scholarly views on 'pagan revivalism' in late antique Rome.

Proculus' honour survive from Rome, one from the Forum of Trajan and five from the semi-public domain of his family's *domus* on the Caelian hill.[57] These inscriptions outline Proculus' impressive *curriculum vitae* in detail, one which spanned the breadth of the empire and the reigns of both Constantine and his sons, including administrative, legal, and religious positions: the governorships of Thrace, Sicily, and Africa, judge of the imperial court of appeal in Africa, *comes* in the imperial palace in Constantinople, urban prefect of Rome in the year of Constantine's death, the consulship of 340, priest in the cult of the Constantinian *Gens Flavia*. The base from the Forum of Trajan displays a letter which had been sent to the Senate by Constantine himself in the final year of his reign, honouring Proculus' distinguished nobility and the services he had rendered, a clear sign of the senator's position in the emperor's personal esteem.[58] Proculus then had an eleven-year hiatus in his public career between his holding of the consulship of 340 and his re-emergence as Magnentius' urban prefect in December 351.

What did an aristocrat as eminent and experienced as Proculus stand to gain from holding office under Magnentius at this time? Given he did this in the aftermath of Magnentius' defeat at Mursa, his re-entry into public life must have served as a significant gesture of confidence and stability of the western emperor's government (especially if, as Julian claims, many aristocrats had fled Rome to Constantius' court around this time). As leading senators with a considerable long-term investment in the Constantinian dynasty, the involvement of individuals such as Titianus, Celsinus, Adelfius, and Proculus in Magnentius' regime—and, in the case of Titianus and Proculus, the *continued* involvement, even when the western emperor's position appeared less secure—seems to indicate a significant level of disaffection with Constans, and the Constantinian dynasty in more general.

Such individuals had important roles to play as agents of political change. The transition from Constans to Magnentius—and, in due time, back to the Constantinian dynasty after Constantius' victory—involved

---

[57] *PLRE* I, Aradius Valerius Proculus *signo* Populonius 11, 747–749, Chastagnol (1962: 96–102). Forum of Trajan: *CIL* VI.40776. House of the Valerii: *CIL* VI.1690–1693. Uncertain provenance: *CIL* VI.1694. For the Caelian site where the *domus* of the Valerii family was located, see Barbera et al. (2008).

[58] LSA-2685 (C. Machado).

232 R. USHERWOOD

multiple recalibrations of political memory on the part of the elite, administrators, and wider populations in the west. These processes were both destructive and constructive: on the one hand attacks on the legacy of Constans, on the other hand the propagation of an image of Magnentius as a ruler whose ongoing legitimacy rested on his elimination of this Constantinian tyrant. The lack of Magnentius' personal presence in the regions where material evidence for these processes survive—places like Rome, central Italy, Spain, and Africa—underlines how they were carried out *on behalf* of the western emperor rather than by him directly.

The narratives created in the immediate aftermath of this civil war found creative ways of explaining the level of backing that Magnentius had managed to attract and maintain. One of the most pervasive aspects of the emperor's presentation is that he was not only barbarous in his behaviour, but *literally* a barbarian, an ethnic outsider who had risen through the ranks of the army.[59] Though Aurelius Victor acknowledges Constans' negative characteristics, he claims that his replacement was far worse because he was not even Roman: 'Yet would that these faults have continued! For everything was destroyed by the fearful and savage nature of Magnentius, as is typical of a barbarian'.[60] Four years after its suppression, Themistius described the usurpation as a 'barbarian revolt' (βαρβαρικῆς ἐκείνης ἐπαναστάσεως: *Or.* 3 43A) which had broken out in the heart of the empire. In his orations, Julian consistently stressed the western emperor's un-Roman and sub-Roman status. He transformed Magnentius into 'a shameless and savage barbarian who not long before had been among the captives of war', and 'a miserable remnant saved from the spoils of Germany', who not only murdered his master Constans, but then 'aimed at ruling over us, he who had not even the right to call himself free'.[61] Julian goes on to admit that there *were* some Roman supporters, but that they had been under duress (*Or.* 2 56C-D). He even

---

[59] See Drinkwater (2000: esp. 143–145) for the fullest discussion of Magnentius' ethnicity and its implications. As he argues, Magnentius 'could not have been in any way barbarian' by the standards of the time, since he was considered a suitable candidate as emperor by the anti-Constans faction, and more attention was drawn to his family by the subsequence appointment of his kinsman Decentius as his Caesar.

[60] Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 41.25 (trans. Bird): *quae tamen vitia utinam mansissent! Namque Magnentii, utpote gentis barbarae, diro atrocique ingenio … adeo exstincta omnia sunt.*

[61] Julian Or. 2 95C–D (trans. Wright): ἀναιδὴς καὶ τραχὺς βάρβαρος τῶν ἑαλωκότων οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ; Or. 1 34A: τῆς ἀπὸ Γερμανῶν λείας λείψανον δυστυχὲς περισωζόμενον. ἄρχειν δὲ ἡμῶν ἐπιχειρῶν, ᾧ μηδὲ ἐλευθέρῳ προσῆκον ἦν νομισθῆναι.

claimed that the episode should not even be labelled as a civil conflict: 'Civil war one could not call it, for its leader was a barbarian who had proclaimed himself emperor and elected himself general'.[62]

The denigration of the ethnic background, identity, and conduct of Magnentius served as an important tool in rationalising uncomfortable truths surrounding his regime and its support network, as well as the costs involved in its suppression. The demonisation and othering of Magnentius, extending to a select circle of his closest supporters (such as Marcellinus), transformed him into a scapegoat who took full blame for the conflict. It could then be claimed that Constantius had demonstrated clemency worthy of his father by pardoning the majority of those who had aligned themselves with his rival.[63] Nevertheless, we should not lose sight of all the individuals involved in creating and maintaining Magnentius' regime. From those who masterminded Constans' removal, to those who subsequently served in the new government, to those who felt compelled to choose sides; from leading senators, to generals, to soldiers, and those further down the administrative and social strata, all of whom played roles in this political transition.

THE DISGRACE OF CONSTANS

The ideology of Magnentius as a *liberator* was a commentary on the new emperor's relationship with the Constantinian dynasty, one deliberately chosen for its resonance with its intended audiences. It tapped into a discourse as old as the Principate itself, one which had evolved along with political structures and expectations. Andrew Gallia has traced how the concept of *libertas* came to the fore during moments of imperial upheaval and transition—for example, Galba after Nero, or Nerva and Trajan after Domitian—as a way of justifying why one emperor's regime had been replaced by another's which was, by comparison, *less* oppressive, despite its autocratic realities.[64] Constantine's consolidation of power in the first quarter of the fourth century had been underwritten by a well-developed

---

[62] Julian *Or.* 1 42A (trans. Wright): οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμφύλιον ἄξιον προσαγορεύειν τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ βάρβαρος ἦν ἡγεμὼν ἑαυτὸν ἀναγορεύσας βασιλέα καὶ χειροτονήσας στρατηγόν.

[63] Julian *Or.* 1 38B; *Or.* 2 96A, 100A.

[64] Gallia (2012: esp. 12–46).

ideology which justified his often aggressive encroachment into the territories of his colleagues and rivals with the claim that he was liberating the state from the tyrannical regimes of others.[65] By 350, any use of *libertas* in imperial ideology must have been understood in conversation with this legacy. However, based on the material evidence that survives, not even Constantine was presented as a *liberator* with the same consistency and explicitness as Magnentius during his three and a half years in power.

Many of the gold medallions which were created for distribution to his closest followers hold this message. Single and multiple solidi issues struck in Trier, Rome, and Aquileia declare the emperor is either the 'liberator of the Romans' (*liberator Romanorum*) or the 'liberator of the state' (*liberator rei publicae*).[66] One triple-solidi type, struck with variations from 350 until the start of 352, depicts an *adventus* scene on the reverse where a nimbate Magnentius rides a stallion towards a bowing personification of Aquileia, the city where the medallion was made and where the emperor was based before his retreat over the Alps (Fig. 5.2).[67] The majority of surviving examples come from a single hoard of almost sixty coins discovered in 1965 in the Slovenian capital of Ljubljana, ancient Emona in Pannonia.[68] Such a collection must have belonged to an important individual, someone who had also served under Constans, since two triple-solidi medallions of the emperor were discovered with the Magnentian issues. The hoard indicates a substantial output of gold donatives under Magnentius, issued from the end of 350 until early 352, the point at which he lost control of this region to Constantius (the likely context

[65] For example, on coinage: Sutherland (1967) *RIC* VI: Rome, nos. 303–304. In panegyric: *Pan. Lat.* XII(9) 2.4, 3.3. The Arch of Constantine ('*liberatori urbis*'): *CIL* VI.1139. Two bases dedicated to Constantine in Cirta: *ILAlg* 2.581 ('*restitutori libertatis et conservatori totius orbis*') and *ILAlg* 2.584 ('*perpetuae securitatis ac libertatis auctori*'). Milestones with '*liberatori orbis terrarium*': *CIL* IX.6038; *CIL* X.6932. For liberation ideology in Constantine's edicts see Chapter 3.

[66] *Virtus* type: Kent (1981) *RIC* VIII, Aquileia, no. 129. 'Of the Romans' type: Trier, nos. 245–254; Rome, nos. 162–165, 169–173; Aquileia, nos. 125–126, 132–137. 'Of the state' type: Aquileia, nos. 122, 127–128. See also a rare solidus, struck in Magnentius' name in Rome after the elimination of Nepotianus, which frames the emperor's removal of Nepotianus as a second restoration of *libertas* to the city of Rome ('*bis restituta libertas*': Rome, no. 168).

[67] Kent (1981: 309–311). *RIC* VIII, Aquileia, nos. 122 and 127.

[68] See Miškec (2011) for a full reconstruction and analysis of the hoard, which was largely dispersed by the workmen who discovered it.

Obv: IMP CAES MAGNENTIVS AVG
Rev: LIBERATOR REI PVBLICAE

Fig. 5.2 Gold medallion of Magnentius, *RIC* VIII Aquileia *aq. not.* ANS 1967.256.2 (Photograph American Numismatic Society, reproduced with kind permission)

for the hoard's deposition).[69] Given that the individuals who received such high-value gifts must have already been familiar with their emperor's ideology, these coins not only acted as a reward to Magnentius' followers (even after their defeat at Mursa in September 351), but reaffirmed the values shared between the emperor and his supporters. These messages were repeated to a wider audience in the Italian milestones dedicated to Magnentius as 'liberator of the Roman world, the restorer of liberty and the state' (*liberator orbis Romani, restitutor libertatis et rei publicae*). They also announce his role as 'preserver of the soldiers and provincials' (*conservator militum et provincialium*), the exact groups of people who, according to Eutropius, his predecessor Constans had alienated.[70]

But was Magnentius thought to have liberated the state from Constans, or from the Constantinian dynasty in more general? According to

[69] All of the coins were struck at Aquileia. Their near-perfect condition suggests that the owner obtained them directly from the city's mint, just over a 100 km to the west. Miškec (2011: 825) identifies six different issues with multiple dies, indicating a considerable quantity had been made.

[70] Eutr. *Brev.* 9: *intolerabilis provincialibus militi iniucundus*.

Zosimus, Constantinian disgrace loomed large as the armies of Magnentius and Constantius faced one another in Pannonia in September 351. Constantius sent an envoy called Philippus who almost caused Magnentius' army to mutiny by appealing to them to turn away from this civil conflict, since they stood against the army of a son of Constantine the Great (2.46). Magnentius is said to have only prevented this insurrection by reminding his soldiers of how Constans had maltreated them and the western empire, and how he had only become emperor to free them from his tyranny (2.47.2). Magnentius then sent Fabius Titianus to Constantius' camp with a rebuttal, attacking not only Constans and Constantius, but even their father (2.49.1). Zosimus provides little detail of the basis of these accusations. If—as has been suggested—his narrative was drawn from a now-lost panegyric of Constantius,[71] we might understand why the intricacies of these charges might be brushed over and dismissed. However, it might also mean that Magnentius' speech to his army, outlining Constans' failings, was a feature of this original account. The story shows how such denigration of his dead brother could work to Constantius' advantage. Constantius had done everything in his power to prevent a military confrontation, coming within a hair's breadth of winning over his enemy's troops. The devastation of Mursa was the fault of Constans alone.

In contrast to the allegations that Fabius Titianus is said to have made in his speech ahead of Mursa, epigraphic evidence points to an environment where the memory of Constans was actively disgraced in regions where Magnentius was recognised as emperor, but that this dissatisfaction did not extend to either his brother or his father. Evidence for attacks on Constantine at this time is negligible.[72] There is one possible instance

[71] The remarkable detail of Zosimus' account of Magnentius' rule in comparison to his narrative of the previous 20 years, recording minute tactical features and even imagining the internal deliberations of the emperor (e.g. 2.46.2–3), indicates that the material was drawn from a comprehensive source which has not survived. It has been suggested that this might have been the *Constantini bellum adversus Magnentium*, a poem in praise of Constantius II attributed to Faltonia Betita Proba, wife of Magnentius' 4th urban prefect, Clodius Celsinus Adelfius (/Adelphus): Ridley (1982: 165, n.118). See also Matthews (1992: 291–297) for a broader discussion of Proba's possible presentation of this poem to Constantius II during his visit in 357.

[72] A single milestone from Montijo in Lusitania, which held a much earlier inscription of Constantine, was re-inscribed with a dedication to Magnentius: *AE* 1999.878. However, the re-inscription of milestones was a common phenomenon and should not be attributed

where Constantius' name has been erased from a statue base in Cuicul (Djémila), Numidia. However, the base's original honorand is uncertain, and may have been his grandfather Constantius I.[73] None of the milestones holding Constantius II's name which survive from Britain, Spain, Gaul, Italy, or Africa shows any sign of erasure. By contrast, the evidence for attacks on Constans is much more extensive, especially in prominent monuments such as statue bases or building dedications.

Constans' name has been erased from two statue bases from the centre of Rome. The first was discovered out of context in the area of the Baths of Titus at the bottom of the Esquiline Hill (Fig. 5.3). The alteration extended beyond the emperor's name: the entire epigraphic field of the front was scrubbed back, leaving only a few letters, especially at the bottom. The base was then rededicated, an inscription that was also subsequently erased, but in a far rougher, punctured manner which has left most of the text still legible. As the superimposed inscription reveals, the new dedication was made by Fabius Titianus whilst serving his second term as urban prefect of Rome (February 350 until March 351). Titianus had been a prolific embellisher of the city during his first urban prefecture, held under Constans a decade earlier, moving at least six statues to the Forum Romanum and re-dedicating them on bases holding his name.[74] Like these earlier examples, this base does not specify a subject, only that Titianus '*curavit*' ('took care [of it]'). Consequently, this seems to be another case of Titianus acting with his authority as urban prefect to rededicate a pre-existing monument.[75]

as an attack on the earlier dedication (especially if, as in this case, the new inscription did not obscure the old).

[73] *ILAlg* III-2.7874: a base set up in the old forum of Cuicul, where the first line of the inscription, roughly erased, is still legible as 'Consta[n]ti[o]'. G. de Bruyn (LSA-2251) expresses for the identification of the victim as Constantius I, explaining the erasure as taking place during the reign of Maxentius (306–312), and stating that 'there are no known political circumstance that could have led to the erasure of the name of Constantius II'. Pflaum (2003 no. 7874) thinks Constantius II is the more likely candidate. Given that Maxentius presented Constantius I as his deified relation in coinage, it is feasible that this is a later erasure of Constantius II executed when Magnentius controlled Africa.

[74] *CIL* VI.1653a, 1653b, 1653c, 37,107, 31,879, 31,880. A 7th (*CIL* VI.37108) is now fragmentary, leaving it uncertain as to whether it should be dated to Titianus' first or second prefecture. See Machado (2006: 179–185) for a discussion of the bases in the Forum Romanum.

[75] Also see *CIL* VI.1654, another base without a subject that was set up by Titianus as urban prefect *iterum*.

First inscription: *CIL* VI.40783a

[[F[eli]c[issimo]]] / [[et m]a[ximo
prin]]/[[ci[pi d(omino) n(ostro) Flavi]o]] /
[[I[ulio Constanti]]] / [[p[io felici victori]]] /
[[a[c triumphatori Aug(usto)]]]] / [[C[---]]] /
[[c[omes primi ordinis?]] / et procon[s(ul)
pr[ov(inciae) ---] / d(evotus) n(umini)
m(aiestati)q(ue) eius.

'[[To the most fortunate and greatest emperor,
our lord Flavius Iulius Constans, pious,
fortunate victor and *triumphator* Augustus …
comes of the first order (?)]] and *proconsul* of
the pr[ovince of …], devoted to his divine
spirit and majesty, [set this up].'

Superimposed: *CIL* VI.41335a

[[Fab[i[[us T[itia]n[u]s]] / [[c(larissimus) v(ir)
p[ra]ef(ectus) [u]r[bi II] / [[curavit]].

'[[Fabius Titianus, of *clarissimus* rank, urban
prefect for the second time, took care (of it)]].'

Fig. 5.3 Statue base of Constans with rededication under Fabius Titianus,
Rome (*CIL* VI.40783a, 41335a) (Illustration by author)

IMITATORI INVICTI PATRIS
[[[FLAVIO IVLIO CONSTANT]I]
VICTORI AC TRIVMFATORI
SEMPER AVGVSTO

AVR CELSINVS V C PRAEF VRBI
IVDEX SACR COGN D N M Q
EIVS

Imitatori invicti patris / [[[Flavio Iulio Constant]i]] / victori ac triumfatori / semper Augusto / Aur(elius) Celsinus v(ir) c(larissimus) / praef(ectus) urbi / iudex sacr(arum) cogn(itionum) d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestati)q(ue) eius.

'To the imitator of his unconquered father [[Flavius Iulius Constans]], victorious and triumphant, always Augustus. Aurelius Celsinus, of *clarissimus* rank, urban prefect, judge in the imperial court of appeal, devoted to his divine spirit and majesty [set this up].'

Fig. 5.4 Transcription of statue base of Constans, Rome (*CIL* VI.40782)

Given the context—the erasure of a dedication to Constans, its rededication by an official who was had previously been Constans' praetorian prefect but was now holding office under the emperor who had eliminated him—this must have been understood as a political attack, one which took place within the first fifteen months of Magnentius' rule. This also aligns with the fact that, whilst we have no evidence that Titianus set up statues in honour of the emperor Constans during his first prefecture, he erected at least two with identical dedications to Magnentius during his second. Overall, these circumstances point to the senator being an energetic promoter of the new regime when he arrived in the city to take up his second prefecture, and that this went hand-in-hand with the denigration of Magnentius' predecessor.

The second base from Rome was discovered in 1935 in the area of the Circus Maximus, where it remains today (Fig. 5.4).[76] As with the Titianus base, the dedicator was a senator, Aurelius Celsinus, who served

---

[76] *CIL* VI.40782, LSA-1549, Ciancio Rossetto (1982: 571). The base is currently inaccessible, but has been photographed (*CIL* VI pars. 8 Fasc. 2 p.4559).

as urban prefect twice: first under Constans, and then under Magnentius a decade later (Magnentius' second, immediately after Titianus). In its original state, it would have been a conspicuous monument set up early in Constans' reign as Augustus, honouring him as the 'imitator of his unconquered father' (*imitator invicti patris*), a unique phrase which Ciancio Rossetto has suggested was intended to associate the young emperor's victories over the Franks in Gaul in late 341 with the earlier military exploits of his father.[77]

The entire second line of the inscription which held Constans' name has been erased, leaving the rest of the inscription untouched. This raises the attractive possibility that—as with the Titianus rededication—we might see the hand of Celsinus himself at work here.[78] However, this is almost impossible to prove, and we should bear in mind that Celsinus was only in office for three months before being replaced.[79] It is unclear how long the disfigured base was left on display. A small inscription was added between 362 and 364, recording the base's rededication to an unstated subject under the prefecture of Turcius Apronianus over a decade later.[80]

These monuments shine light on to how Constans' disgrace played out in a tangible and conspicuous way in the symbolic heart of the western empire, carried out in the absence of Magnentius but under the watch of officials and aristocrats who had once served the Constantinian dynasty. Such activity reveals the continued importance of the city of Rome as an arena for performing and contesting political legitimacy in the fourth century.[81] As we shall see in following section of this chapter, the city of Rome also played an important role in the denigration of Magnentius after he lost control of the Italian peninsula, even before his final defeat and death in the summer of 353.

[77] Ciancio Rossetto (1982: 571–573).

[78] His personal agency is implied by C. Machado in LSA-1549.

[79] Another base dedicated by Celsinus, in this case in Uthina in Proconsularis during his earlier term as proconsul of Africa (337–339), has also been interpreted as a political attack, since it now holds the name of Constantius carved into a lacuna caused by a previous erasure: Merlin (1944: no. 757). Ben Abdallah et al. (1998: 80) hypothesised that the base was originally dedicated to Constans during Celsinus' proconsulship and that his name was erased during the time of Magnentius, and then replaced with Constantius II's name after he won control of this region. G. de Bruyn (LSA-2242) finds this interpretation reasonable, though there is no way of telling if the base was rededicated to Magnentius in the meantime.

[80] *PLRE* I, Turcius Apronianus *signo* Asterius 10, 88–89.

[81] See Humphries (2007: 21–58, 2015).

Group inscriptions dating to the triarchy of Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans are few, which is unsurprising considering the brevity of this period (337–340) and the brothers' antagonistic relationship. The most significant example that survives is the dedicatory panel from the circus at Mérida, ancient Emerita Augusta in Lusitania, which was discovered in the area of the circus' *carceres* (starting-gates) during excavations in the 1920s (Fig. 5.5). It commemorates a major programme of rebuilding, renovation, and embellishment of the circus complex, including the building of a *euripus* (canal) with associated drainage work, colonnaded façades, and monuments on the circus' *spina*. This work, mirroring the features of the Circus Maximus in Rome, would have transformed Emerita's circus into one of most elaborate in the empire at this time.[82]

The circus was dedicated whilst the region of Spain fell under Constantine II's jurisdiction, hence the fact he is honoured so prominently and to the detriment of his younger brothers, his name taking up almost an entire line of the inscription.[83] Fittingly then, the section containing Constantine's name and titles was removed in a roughly chiselled horizontal groove, encompassing almost all of the inscription's third line but leaving traces of some letters, especially towards the end of the line. This certainly took place after the emperor's death in 340, when Constans took possession of Spain along with the rest of his brother's territories. Such an alteration would have involved a considerable level of effort since, as the plaque's design indicates, the inscription was originally mounted high in a visible and prominent position on the circus building, probably on the upper story or the magistrate's box.[84] This was repeated again on the name of Constans, immediately below the first erasure. Viewed side by side, it is clear that the later modification attempted to imitate the first, though it was executed in a rougher and briefer fashion, removing only the majority of Constans' *cognomen* but leaving his *praenomina* untouched. The name of the middle honorand, Constantius II, is the only one left unscathed. The inscription's conspicuous pre-existing erasure

[82] Humphrey (1986: 373–374) and Arce (2002: 139–140).

[83] See a comparative example of a dedicatory inscription from the city (*AE* 1975.473), where Constantine is praised as *maximus debellator et victor gentium barbarum* ('greatest conqueror and victor over barbarian peoples'), but his brothers Constantius and Constans are merely named.

[84] Humphrey (1986: 375).

Floren[tissimo ac b]eatissimo s[ae]culo favente / feli[ci]tate [et clementia?] Dominorum Imperatorumque / Nostror[um [[Fla(vi) Claudi Constantini p(ii) f(elicis) maximi victori]s]] / et Flav(i) Iul(i) Constanti et Flav(i) Iul(i) [[[Constant]is]] victorum fortissi/morumque semper Augustorum circum vetustate conlapsum / Tiberius Flav(ius) Laetus v(ir) c(larissimus) comes columnis erigi novis ornament/orum fabricis cingi aquis inundari diposuit adque / ita insistente v(iro) p(erfectissimo) Iulio Saturnino p(raeside) p(rovinciae) L(usitaniae) ita conpetenter / restituta eius facie{s} splendidissimae coloniae Emeriten/sium quam maximam tribuit voluptatem.

'In this most flourishing and blessed age, favoured by the happiness and clemency of our Lords and emperors [[Flavius Claudius Constantine, pious, fortunate, greatest victor]], and Flavius Iulius Constantius and Flavius Iulius [[Constans]], mightiest victors and always Augusti, Tiberius Flavius Laetus, of *clarissimus* rank, *comes*, ordered that the circus, which had collapsed in old age, be rebuilt with columns, surrounded by new ornaments and inundated with water; and so, with Iulius Saturninus, of *perfectissimus* rank, governor of the province of Lusitania, persevering, having restored the façade, bestowed the greatest delight to the most splendid colony of the Emeritenses.'

Fig. 5.5 Circus restoration dedication, Augusta Emerita (*AE* 1927.165) (Illustration by author)[85]

must have marked it out for further alteration when news was received of Constans' execution a decade after Constantine II's death.[86]

---

[85] Text after reconstruction of Ceballos Hornero (2004 no. 148). See 116–118 for his compilation of the various suggestions which have been proposed for the inscription's lacunae.

[86] Constantine II's name has also been roughly chiselled off a second inscription in Emerita which commemorated the restoration of the city's theatre. However, it is now

The two erasures combine to create an overall impression of Constantinian disgrace. This is compounded by the irony that, as the new erasure makes clear, Constans was now united in dishonour with the brother whose own dishonour he had brought about. This effect would have been further enhanced by the urban and political context of this dedication. The circus restoration was just one part of a substantial, imperially sponsored renewal programme in Emerita. This had been brought about by the city's new status as the capital of a united Hispanic diocese under Diocletian.[87] Emerita's importance as the centre of imperial government in Spain is evident in the circus inscription, since it records that the project was initiated by the *comes hispaniarum*, the *vir clarissimus* Tiberius Flavius Laetus, and executed by the *praes* (governor) of the province of Lusitania, the lower-ranking *vir perfectissimus* Iulius Saturninus.[88] This, along with additional epigraphic material, reveals considerable imperial interest and investment in the city during the time of Constantine and his sons, and the connection between the dynasty and the city's heightened prosperity.[89] The circus was one of the most important buildings in Emerita, serving not only as a place for spectacles and festivals, but also a focal point for local demonstrations of loyalty to the imperial family.[90] As with the first erasure of Constantine II, the attack on Constans' name could hardly have taken place in such a context without the knowledge or authority of prominent officials. Combined with the considerable number of milestones—almost forty—with honorific dedications to both Magnentius and Decentius which survive from the wider Iberian peninsula, the erasure demonstrates the favour of this new, non-Constantinian emperor in this region, as well as approval for his removal of Constans, who had ruled the region for the previous decade.

fragmentary, with the section which held Constans' name missing, so we cannot know whether the youngest brother was erased after his own downfall a decade later: *AE* 1935.4, Ceballos Hornero (2004: 613–616).

[87] Humphrey (1986: 372–374).

[88] Both Saturninus and Laetus are known only from the circus inscription: *PLRE* I, Tiberius Flav. Laetus 1, 492, Iulius Saturninus 13, 808.

[89] See Humphrey (1986: 373) on how the wording of the circus inscription 'clearly indicates that this was a government enterprise, not something left to provincial initiative', and Chastagnol (1976: 259–276) for the wider Constantinian epigraphic material from the city.

[90] Arce (2002: 140, 280–287) and Ceballos Hornero (2004: 613–616).

244 R. USHERWOOD

As we saw in the case of the arch at Cillium in Chapter 3, where Licinius' name was erased during an inconclusive civil war and then recarved when a new alliance was made, an emperor did not have to be defeated for his name to be targeted in dedications within a rival's territories. Going to the trouble of erasing Constans' name from the circus inscription in 350, whilst sparing his brother from the same treatment, made a statement that Constantius' legitimacy still stood in the west in spite of the downfall and disgrace of his younger brother. It makes sense, therefore, that the attack on Constans was carried out within the political ambiguity of the first year or so of Magnentius' rule, the period when western mints still issued coins for the eastern emperor and the new *forum transitorium* at Mustis was dedicated to Constantius and Magnentius as co-Augusti.

This pattern of attacking Constans but leaving Constantius is even more apparent in dedications that were set up during the emperors' diarchy (340–350). One such example is a panel from Tibur (Tivoli), less than thirty kilometres upstream from Rome, which commemorates restoration work carried out on the Tiber banks by the senator and *corrector* (governor) of Flaminia & Picenum (under whose judisdiction the town fell in this period), Lucius Turcius Secundus Asterius.[91] Constans' name has been erased in a neat and shallow abrasion, leaving a clear residue of the finely carved letters, particularly the central ridge of the first four letters (Fig. 5.6). This was a subtle attack. No other parts of the inscription have been altered, including the name of Constantius, which sits directly above that of Constans. This placement further underlines the visual parallel between the names of the disgraced Constans and the still-honoured Constantius (Fig. 5.7), especially since their names—appearing here in the genitive—differed by only a single letter (*Constanti* = Constantius, *Constantis* = Constans).

The Tibur panel is one of two surviving examples of dedications from central Italy where Constans has been erased but Constantius spared from a similar treatment. The second is a plaque from Ocriculum (Otricoli) in Tuscia & Umbria, around fifty kilometres north of Rome, which marks

---

[91] *CIL* XII.3582, *InscrIt*-4–1.82. A matching panel, commemorating the restoration of a bridge, also survives from Tivoli: *CIL* XIV.3583, *InscrIt*-4-1-83. A large portion of the upper panel is missing and the top half has been chiselled back to facilitate its reuse, making it impossible to tell whether the Constans' name has been erased.
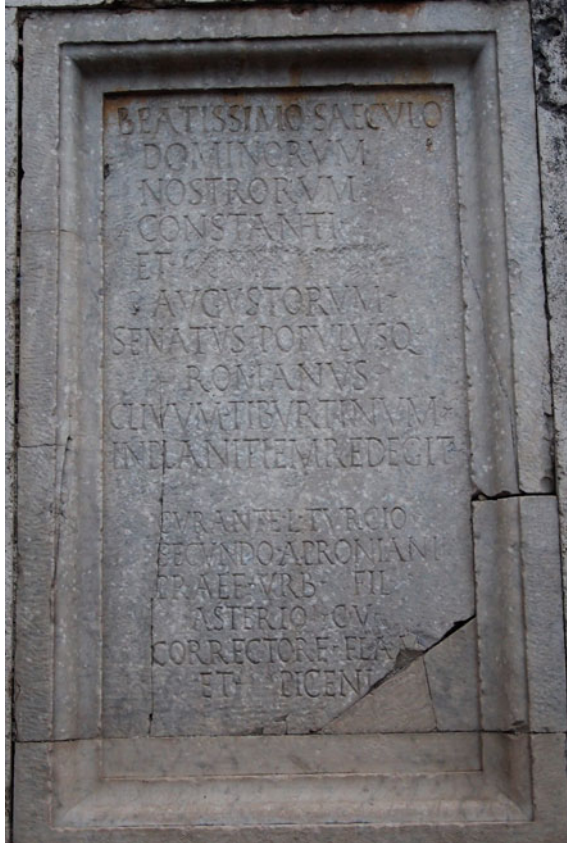
Beatissimo saeculo / dominorum / nostrorum / Constanti / et [[Constantis]] / Augustorum / senatus populusq(ue) / Romanus / clivum Tibertinum / in planitiem redegit / curante L(ucio) Turcio / Secundo Aproniani / praef(ecti) urb(i) fil(ii) / Asterio c(larissimo) v(iro) / correctore Flam(iniae) / et Piceni.

'In the happiest age of our lords Constantius and [[Constans]], Augustii, the senate and people of Rome drove back the Tiber slope into a level plane; arranged by Lucius Turcius Secundus Asterius, son of the urban prefect (Lucius Turcius) Apronianus, of *clarissimus* rank, governor of Flaminia and Picenum.'

Fig. 5.6 Tiber restoration plaque with dedication to Constantius and Constans, Tibur (*CIL* XIV.3582) (Photograph by author)
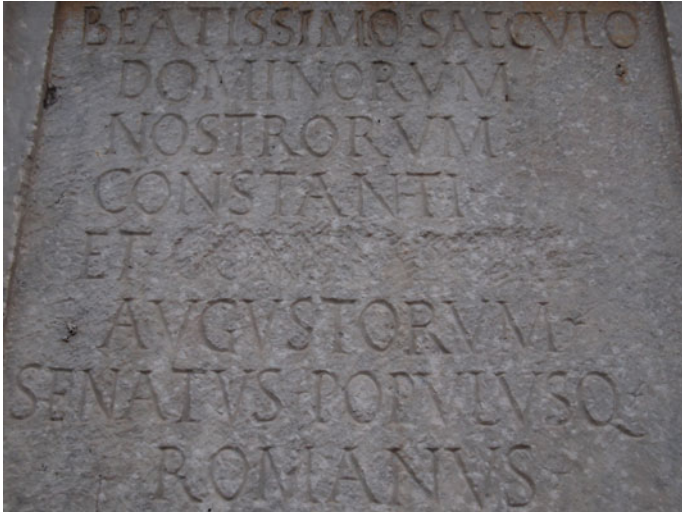
Fig. 5.7 Detail of Fig. 5.6 (Photograph by author)

the dedication of a winter bath complex in the town at the end of 341.[92] Here Constans' name was cut out, along with the '*e*' which connected it to Constantius, in a manner which slightly damaged the last two letters of his brother's name. A pattern of similar behaviour is also found in Africa. On an inscription recording the restoration and extension of a bathhouse in Haouli, Proconsularis, the eraser not only removed the emperor's *praenomina*, but also the second letters of the abbreviated *d*[[*d*]] (*omini*) *n*[[*n*]](*ostri*), leaving Constantius' names and titles intact.[93]

Constans has also been erased in two statue bases set up in the forum of Cirta (Constantine) in Numidia in honour of the city's *patronus*, Ceionius Italicus, the province's governor. The first holds an inscription which explains that the base's bronze statue was erected on the orders of Constantius and Constans at the request of the province and council (*ordo*) of the colony of Milev (Hamala), and placed in the forum of Cirta, a city renamed as Constantina after Constantine's victory over Maxentius

---

[92] *CIL* XI.4095, Fagan (2002: 274–275).

[93] *AE* 1934.133, *ILTun*.622.

thirty years earlier.[94] The second, slightly smaller base was also set up in the forum, but by the *ordo* of Cirta-Constantina itself.[95] Constans' name is recorded as erased in both inscriptions. A squeeze of the second clearly shows that the emperor was neatly scrubbed out of the second line, also removing the '*et*' which attached his name to his brother's.

As with the circus inscription in Emerita Augusta, the urban and political context of these erasures is significant. Cirta had strong ties to the Constantinian dynasty. The city had been devastated by Maxentius' suppression of Domitius Alexander's revolt and was subsequently rebuilt by Constantine after being re-established as a colony in his name.[96] Hence, the numerous dedications to the emperor which survive in the city centre, praising Constantine as the restorer of security and bringer of the light of liberty.[97] The statues dedicated over twenty-five years later to Ceionius Italicus in the same forum location, under the instruction and sponsorship of Constantine's sons, were clearly intended to tap into this legacy of Constantinian patronage. Given Cirta-Constantina's obvious allegiance to these emperors, the rejection and denigration of the founding emperor's youngest son on these two conspicuous bases, in the same central forum location where dedications to his father still stood, is striking. This is even more the case since the emperor responsible for his elimination had no connection to the Constantinian dynasty.

All of these erasures are found in regions of the western empire—Spain, North Africa, central Italy—where there is no evidence that Magnentius visited in person. This raises the question of who exactly was responsible for ordering and executing them, and the motivations that lay behind them. Were they the work of Magnentius' new officials in these regions, men such as Titianus? Are they evidence for local elites expressing their approval for Constans' replacement, either because they were genuinely pleased with the elimination of Constantine's eldest son, or because they felt this was in their best interests? Mommsen was certain that the erasure of Constans' name from the Tibur panel took place on Magnentius'

---

[94] *CIL* VIII.7013, Lepelley (1981: 439, no. 6), LSA-2321.

[95] *CIL* VIII.7012, *IlAlg* 2-590, LSA-2327

[96] Aur. *Caes* 40.28.

[97] *ILAlg* 2.581–586. For the city of Cirta-Constantina and its connection with the Constantinian dynasty, see Lenski (2016: 141–144).

instructions.[98] This is somewhat misleading, since it suggests either that Magnentius ordered this specific attack (impossible, since there is no evidence for his presence in this region), or that he issued a general edict ordering the destruction of Constans' political memory. If the second were true—and, of course, no such edict survives—this instruction was not enforced with any diligence, as revealed by the wide range of building, restoration, and statue dedications in Sicily, Africa, and even Rome where Constans has survived unscathed.[99]

These erasures were not compulsory actions, but choices made in a range of local contexts in response to the political environment that followed Constans' death. In this new world, the concepts of dynastic legitimacy had shifted, and Magnentius' right to rule rested on his removal of this tyrannical predecessor. As I argued in the case of Crispus in this book's previous chapter, the removal of an emperor from a dedication he shared with another living, still-honoured emperor was a delicate matter. If there was any uncertainty as to whether an individual was disgraced, or whether there might be any negative consequences if their status subsequently changed (in this case, the lingering potential that Magnentius might himself be eliminated by Constans' brother), it was safer to leave dedications untouched. From this perspective, every erasure that survives reveals clear confidence and certainty in the understanding of—and complicity in—Constans' disgrace. Moreover, if we follow the reasoning I suggested in the case of Crispus, that the removal of an emperor's name from a family dedication might be interpreted as evidence for that individual's transgressions *against* the untouched members of that group, it follows that Constantius' exemption from his brother's disgrace might be understood as approval for his brother's elimination.

Here I return to where I began this section, with the possibility that Constantius might have endorsed a narrative of the conflict against Magnentius which permitted or even encouraged criticism of his brother. Beyond Zosimus, this is also implied by Aurelius Victor, whose *De*

[98] *CIL* XIV.3582 (p. 384): *sine dubio iussu Magnentii*. Dessau more accurately explains this erasure as taking place 'during the time' of Magnentius' rule (*ILS*.239, p. 163: '*temporibus sine dubio Magnentii*').

[99] Examples: Sicily: *CIL* X.7200, a bathhouse inscription with a dedication to Constantius and Constans. Rome: *CIL* VI.40840, a statue base dedication to Constans as Caesar; *CIL* VI.40790, a base for a statue of Constantine's daughter Constantina where Constantine II's name had previously been removed.

Caesaribus was written during Constantius' reign, who felt free to censure the dead Constans as having demonstrated contempt towards his soldiers and being wilful, greedy, and engaging in homosexual behaviour. Fraternal vengeance was certainly a central theme in later accounts of the conflict between Constantius and Magnentius, for example, in the narratives of Peter the Patrician and Zonaras, where Constantius is visited in a dream by his father and brother and urged to take revenge for his death.[100] However, the need for personal vengeance is downplayed as a motivation in speeches of Julian and Themistius which were delivered in the immediate aftermath of the conflict's resolution.[101]

Such marginalisation of Constans' legacy diverted attention from a failed emperor to Constantius himself, the last surviving son of Constantine. There is no evidence that Constantius encouraged any kind of rehabilitation of his brother.[102] There is no sign that anyone carved the emperor's name back into any of the inscriptions from which it had been cut out after his brother gained control of the west. In the case of a statue base from Uthina in Africa Proconsularis where Constans' name had been erased, the statue was simply rededicated to Constantius.[103] Other erasures were left untouched as memorials to Constans' downfall and disgrace, long after his eliminator was himself overthrown and disgraced.

This view of Constans was certainly not held by all. Athanasius, who had been supported by the emperor in the doctrinal conflicts against his brother, painted a glowing portrait of him as an emperor 'of blessed and everlasting memory, the most pious Augustus'.[104] However, Athanasius' conception of Constans was clearly a question of personal perspective, since there is no evidence he was ever commemorated as a *divus*. For

[100] See also Eutropius, writing during the Valentinian dynasty, who claims that Constantius 'provoked a civil war' in order to avenge his brother's death (9.11: *ad ultionem fraternae necis bellum civile commoverat*), and Zosimus, who emphasises Constantius' need for vengeance when he rejects the terms of Magnentius' emissary Titianus (2.49.2).

[101] For example, Julian praises Constantius for placing the common good above his own private sentiments: *Or.* 1 33D. See also *Or.* 1 42A, *Or.* 2 58D.

[102] See Heather and Moncur (2001: 72) who argue that if Constantius had come to terms with Magnentius, (however temporarily) the situation 'would have demanded much justificatory condemnation of Constans'.

[103] See n.73 above.

[104] Athan. *Ad Const*. 3.3: Κώνσταντι, τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ Αὐγούστῳ.

example, Constans is not mentioned in the *Chronograph of 354*'s list of imperial birthday celebrations, a text that dates from only a few years after his death and includes the birthdays of *divi* who had died over three-hundred years earlier.[105] Disgraced under an emperor who was himself disgraced, but never rehabilitated, his status remained uncertain. Much like his grandfather Maximian before him, Constans persisted as an ambiguous figure, an enduring model of failed imperial rule but also the means by which Constantius had secured his control over the entire empire.

The Disgrace of Magnentius

Magnentius' disgrace was not the product of a single moment, but a status constructed over time, beginning months before the emperor's death following his final defeat at Mons Seleucus in Gaul in August 353. A decisive moment came in September 352 when, a full year after his defeat at Mursa, Magnentius retreated over the Alps and ceded control of Italy and Africa to Constantius' forces. This created a situation comparable to that of Licinius and Constantine's inconclusive civil war thirty years earlier, where a region adapted to a change in regime whilst its former ruler still claimed authority in a neighbouring territory. Magnentius' denigration then continued developing in the aftermath of his elimination, becoming more entrenched as time went on, as the story of his misrule and downfall was retold and refined whilst Constantius asserted his authority over the west. This process served the interests of a wide range of individuals, from those who had participated in Magnentius' regime and sought an avenue for self-preservation, to Constantius himself, who used the fallen emperor to form the basis of his self-construction as ruler of a united empire.

Neratius Cerealis, Constantius' first urban prefect of Rome, took up office on 25 September 352, displacing Magnentius' final prefect after less than a month. Cerealis was a senator who was related to the Constantinian dynasty: the brother of Iulius Constantius' wife, and so maternal uncle of Gallus, Constantius' new Caesar.[106] He had evidently been loyal to

---

[105] The birthdays of *divus* Constantine and *divus* Constantius I are listed, along with the birthday of Constantius II, but neither Constans nor Constantine II are mentioned: Strzygowski (1888, Fig. 9).

[106] *PLRE* I, Neratius Cerealis 2, 197–199, Chastagnol (1960: 521, 1962: 135–139) claims that Cerealis rallied to Constantius when Magnentius initially seized power, rather

Constantius throughout Magnentius' usurpation and had rallied to the emperor and travelled with his court, so his arrival in Rome must have served as a clear assertion of Constantius' control over the city. On the third of November, a little over a month after Cerealis had taken up office, Constantius issued a law from Milan, addressed 'to all provincials and people' (*ad universos provinciales et populum*), stipulating that:

> We command that all things set in place by the *tyrannus* or his *iudices* contrary to law shall be annulled. Possessions shall be returned to those persons who were expelled, so that any person who wishes may litigate as from the beginning. However, emancipations, manumissions, and contracts made during this time remain valid.[107]

This edict bears a clear resemblance to the series of laws issued by Constantine in the aftermath of his defeats of Maxentius and of Licinius over thirty years earlier. We saw in the case of Licinius how Constantine used such legal proclamations as a way of disseminating the message that his opponents were 'enemies' and 'tyrants', and that he was both a liberator and champion of ancient law through his removal of the illegitimate legislation of these oppressive rulers. Not only did Constantius' edict use the same rhetorical strategies as his father, it tapped into Constantine's legacy as eliminator of tyrants. It also demonstrates an awareness of the error Constantine had made in his first edict against Licinius, which stipulated the removal of *all* of his rival's legislation and required a follow-up edict two months later, clarifying the first by stating that subjects were not to use the emperor's downfall as an opportunity to evade any personal contracts or agreements. Thirty years later, Constantius and his legislators clearly grasped the need to balance rhetoric with common sense and closed this loophole by stipulating that all civil contracts made during Magnentius' rule remained valid.

It is unclear which particular laws of Magnentius the edict of November 352 sought to invalidate. Julian criticises the emperor for

---

than after Mursa in 351. He is reported as participating in Constantius' deposition of bishop Photinus in October 351: Socrates 2.29, Sozomen 4.6.

[107] *Cod. Theod.* 15.4.5 (after Pharr trans.): *quae tyrannus vel eius iudices contra ius statuerunt, infirmari iubemus reddita possessione expulsis, ut qui vult* ab initio *agat. emancipationes autem et manumissiones et pacta sub eo facta et transactiones valere oportet.*

having introduced excessive and unjust laws (*Or.* 1 34B), but such accusations reflect stereotypes of tyrannical behaviour. By contrast, a decade later Libanius admits that Magnentius, though guilty of usurping another man's empire, had actually governed in due accordance with the law (*Or.* 18 33). However, as had been the case with Licinius, the issue at stake was not the complete eradication of an opponent's legislation but broadcasting a statement which compelled his new subjects to recognise his authority to define the terms of this civil conflict. In the case of Licinius, the edicts were issued when Constantine's rival was deposed but still alive, spared for the meantime as a private citizen in Thessalonica. Constantius was making a bolder statement, since Magnentius was not only alive, but still emperor in Gaul when this law was issued. Nevertheless, Constantius addressed it to 'all provincials and people', as though his rival's regime was already non-existent. Eight months before Magnentius was conclusively defeated, the process of unpicking his legacy had begun in earnest.

A similar attitude is found in the first securely dated monument set up in Constantius' honour after his recovery of Rome (Fig. 5.8). This was an equestrian statue with an inscription that praised the emperor as a liberating force, the 'restorer' (*restitutor*) of the city of Rome and thus, by extension, of the entire world, and the 'eradicator' (*extinctor*) of a 'destructive state of tyranny' (*pestifera tyrannis*).[108] Since it was dedicated by Neratius Cerealis as Constantius' first urban prefect, it is likely that it was set up before Magnentius' death in August 353. As a consequence, like Constantius' edict of November 352, the monument took control of the civil conflict's narrative as it was unfolding, condemning Magnentius' regime as a *tyrannis* ('tyranny') whilst it was still in existence. This monument was designed to be viewed in conversation with the ideological landscape of Rome's centre. The Arch of Constantine stood just over half a kilometre up the Via Sacra, with a dedicatory inscription which commemorated the emperor's deliverance of the state from another *tyrannus* (Maxentius), describing Constantine as the 'liberator of the city' (*liberator urbis*) and 'establisher of peace' (*fundator quietis*).[109] In the forum, another dedication praised Constantine and another emperor (most likely Licinius) as the *liberatores* and *restitutores* of the state 'after

[108] Traces of an erased inscription on the right side indicates the earlier dedication used the shorter end of the base, and the block was re-orientated as well as moved when it was rededicated: *CIL* VI.1158, LSA-838 (C. Machado).

[109] *CIL* VI.1139.
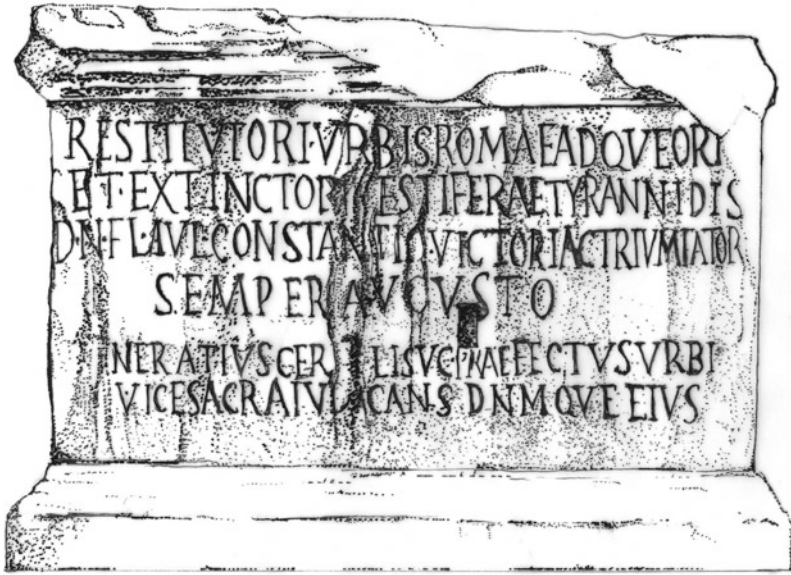
Restitutori urbis Romane adque orb[is] / et extinctor pestiferae tyrannidis / d(omino) n(ostro) Fl(avio) Iul(io) Constantio victori ac triumfatori / semper Augusto / Neratius Cerealis v(ir) c(larissimus) praefectus urbi / vice sacra(rum) iudicans d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestati)que eius.

'To the restorer of the city of Rome and of the world, and the eradicator of a pestilential tyranny, our master Flavius Iulius Constantius, victorious and triumphant, ever Augustus; Neratius Cerealis, of *clarissimus* rank, urban prefect, judge representing the emperor, devoted to his divine spirit and majesty, [set this up].'

Fig. 5.8 Equestrian statue base of Constantius II, Forum Romanum, Rome (*CIL* VI.1158) (Illustration by author)

their destruction of the foulest tyrants' (*taeterrimis tyrannis extinctis*).[110] A now-lost equestrian statue base of Constantine, set up in 334 by his urban prefect, is also likely to have stood in front of the senate house and

[110] *CIL* VI.40768.

thus provided the model for Cerealis' new dedication almost two decades later.[111]

   Just as Constantius' denigration of Magnentius as a *tyrannus* began before the emperor's death, it makes sense that the removal of traces of his rival's regime from Rome took place late in 352 as his control over Italy was being asserted.[112] The remains of two statue bases of Magnentius, both dedicated by Fabius Titianus with the same formula, have been discovered in Rome. The first, a plaque found on the Aventine and now in the Musei Capitolini, is missing the first three lines of its inscription, but the name of the dedicator—Titianus as urban prefect *iterum*—identifies it as a base of Magnentius. Though we cannot say for certainty whether the emperor's name was erased, it has been suggested that the whole upper part of the base was removed intentionally, with the block subsequently reused as building material.[113] The second base was found on the Oppian hill between the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli and the Colosseum. It has since been lost, but was recorded in full (Fig. 5.9).[114] The entire line with Magnentius' name was erased, leaving the first two lines ('to the expander of the world and Roman state') untouched, as well as traces of letters of the epithet '*maximus*'. The name of Titianus was also attacked, though his *praenomen* was left intact. Both modifications were clearly designed to leave the identities of the emperor and senator legible, linking the two in a state of disgrace. Two subsequent rededications of the base are recorded. The later rededication dates from sometime in the mid-fifth century, but the earlier one includes the consular dates for May 31st 355, indicating that the erased based was reused two years after Magnentius' death.[115] As with the absence of Magnentius from Rome, there is no evidence that Constantius' came to the city before his first state visit in the spring of

[111] The inscription was recorded in the ninth-century Codex Einsidlensis and is also mentioned in the *Notitiae Urbis Romae*: C. Machado (LSA-1263). It was dedicated by Anicius Paulinus Iunior as prefect from 334–335: *PLRE* I, Paulinus 14, 679.

[112] Humphries (2015: 159).

[113] *CIL* VI.1167, LSA-1284 (C. Machado), Gordon (1983: 121–122).

[114] *CIL* 6.1166a, 1656b, 31882b, LSA-1281 (C. Machado).

[115] *CIL* 6.1166b. C. Machado (LSA-1282) suggests the base was rededicated to Constantius, though this cannot be confirmed since name of the honorand is not preserved.

```
PROPAGATORI ORBIS
AC ROMANAE REI
[[D N Magnentio M]]AX[[imo]]
VICTORI AC
TRIVMFATORI SEMPER AVG
FABIVS [[Titianus V C]]
CONS ORD
PRAEF VRBI ITERVM IVDEX
COGN SACR MAIESTATI EIVS
DICATISSIMVS
```

Propagatori orbis / ac Romanae rei / [[d(omino) n(ostro) Magnentio M]]ax[[imo]] / victori ac / triumfatori semper Aug(usto) / Fabius [[Titianus v(ir) c(larissimus)]] / cons(ul) ord(inarius) / praef(ectus) urbi iterum iudex / cogn(itionum) sacr(arum) maiestati eius / dicatissimus.

'To the expander of the Roman world and the state, [[our lord Magnentius the greatest]], victor and *triumfator*, ever Augustus. Fabius [[Titianus, of *clarissimus* rank]], ordinary consul, urban prefect for the second time, judge in the imperial court of appeal, most devoted to his majesty, [set this up].'

Fig. 5.9 Transcription of lost statue base of Magnentius, Rome (*CIL* VI.1166)

357. Consequently, as with the attacks on Constans, these acts of denigration of a former emperor were carried out in Rome without direct imperial oversight.

This process can also be traced in the wider Italian peninsula. Camodeca has used two milestones to illustrate how one senatorial official in Italy abandoned and denigrated Magnentius in favour of Constantius as the region passed into the latter's control.[116] A milestone from Alba Fucens (Albe), around sixty kilometres east of Rome, holds a dedication to Magnentius and the extra detail that the work was completed by the governor of Flaminia & Picenum, Flavius Romulus, a *vir clarissimus* who had held the consulship in 341.[117] It is a particularly elaborate

---

[116] Camodeca (1978).

[117] *AE* 1951.17, *PLRE* I, Flavius Romulus 3, 711.

example of one of the milestones with the *liberatori orbis Romani resti-tutori libertatis* formula, standing a meter and a half high, the inscription enclosed in a frame and a relief of two figures in combat carved at the bottom. Magnentius' name has been removed in a shallow trough running across the inscription's sixth line, leaving the last three letters of the line ('*INV*') intact, along with the rest of the inscription. At San Ginesio, over a hundred kilometres north of Alba Fucens, another mile-stone was dedicated by Romulus as governor of Flaminia & Picenum, but the honorand was Constantius II as 'defender of peace and preserver of Roman *imperium*' (*defensor pac(is) ac conservator imperii Romani*).[118]

The two milestones indicate that Romulus continued to hold his posi-tion in the region despite the change in regime, and despite the fact that he had propagated the ideology of Magnentius as *liberator* when he had served under him. Camodeca has argued that the wording of the new milestone, which was clearly phrased in a way which differentiates it from Magnentius' ubiquitous *liberator orbis* dedications, indicates that it was set up not long after the expulsion of the emperor's forces from Italy in September 352.[119] It is debateable whether the erection of the new milestone and erasure of the old can be pinpointed so precisely, but it is credible that both took place earlier rather than later. They provide us with a rare glimpse into the mechanics of—and participants in—polit-ical commemoration and dishonour. Attacks on the dedications of one emperor might serve as a potent method for a prominent individual to sever his ties with a failing emperor and profess his loyalty to another, especially since, as is suggested in this case, these acts were accompanied by the erection of fresh dedications.

Nevertheless, the erasure of Magnentius from the Alba Fucens mile-stone seems to have been a rare occurrence, since there are only two further examples where the emperor's name is recorded as removed from the numerous milestones that were set up in his honour in Italy.[120] This mirrors the treatment of Magnentius and Decentius in the wider epigraphic landscape of the west. The *forum transitorium* inscription at Mustis is one of only two possible examples of erasures of the emperors

---

[118] *AE* 1975.358.

[119] Camodeca (1978: 152).

[120] Ancona: *CIL* IX.5940, Donati (1974 no. 55); Forum Livii (Forli): *CIL* XI.6640.

from Africa, the second being a milestone with a dedication to Decentius on the Carthage road.[121] On the Mustis dedication the erasers did not do a particularly thorough or seamless job, as the three *d*(*omini*) *n*(*ostri*) abbreviations at the start of the inscription were left intact, along with the conjunction which connected Constantius' name to Magnentius' (see Fig. 5.1). As a consequence, the inscription's altered state makes it perfectly clear to the viewer that Constantius had originally shared the dedication with two other emperors. The erasure merely invalidated the recognition which Magnentius had enjoyed in the region, and made it clear that Constantius now stood alone as sole legitimate emperor.

None of the milestones dedicated to Magnentius and Decentius which survive from Spain show any sign of erasure. The exhaustive study of Rodríguez Colmenero, Ferrer Sierra, and Álvarez Asorey, mapping milestones in the north-eastern region of Hispania, reveals not only that milestones of the two emperors survive in considerable numbers in the region, but that they remained standing along stretches of arterial road in close proximity—in some cases literally within sight of—earlier and later dedications to members of the Constantinian dynasty.[122] In regions of Hispania, as in much of the western empire, the memory of Magnentius' regime lived on in a literal, material form.

Nor was it ever the intention that Magnentius *should* be forgotten, though the rhetoric of amnesia loomed large in the aftermath of the emperor's defeat. In an edict sent to Cerealis a month after Magnentius' death, Constantius declared a general pardon of criminals in Rome in order that all the miseries of the 'tyrannical time' (*tyrannicum tempus*) might be completely eradicated.[123] In his panegyric of around six years later, Julian claims that Constantius had issued a general amnesty to Magnentius' followers after his defeat: 'as though their association with

---

[121] *AE* 1987.1013c. The erasure means the text is only partially legible, so the identification as Decentius is not certain.

[122] Rodríguez Colmenero et al. (2004). See, for example, the concentration of milestones surrounding and inside the city of Bracara Augusta (modern Braga in Portugal), where a milestone of Magnentius (no. 38) is located within sight of milestones of Constantius II (no. 35) and Constantine I (no. 31), and on the same circuit as ones of Constantine II (nos. 32–33) and Constans (no. 34).

[123] *Cod. Theod.* 9.38.2.

the tyrant had been due to some misadventure or unhappy error, he deigned to reinstate them and completely cancel the past.'[124]

As with the transformation of Magnentius into a nameless 'tyrant' or 'enemy', such claims of imperial clemency assimilated Constantius with his father by casting the conflict in a familiar formula, invoking the memory of Constantine's civil wars of thirty and forty years earlier. Themistius, delivering his oration in Rome during Constantius' visit in 357, turned Magnentius into a new Maxentius. Speaking as Constantinople's ambassador, he described the partnership between his city and Rome, since both had benefitted from liberation brought about by Constantinian emperors a generation apart: the father defeating a tyrant in Rome before moving east to found Constantinople, the son embellishing Constantinople before heading west to save the Eternal City from tyranny once again (*Or.* 3 44A-B). Speaking in Constantinople, Julian called upon the model of Licinius instead, even going so far as to claim that Constantius' victory was more impressive than his father's, since Magnentius' regime had been more firmly established than Licinius', who he dismissed as nothing more than a 'miserable old man'.[125] By presenting this new victory as a broad, timeless Constantinian victory, and Constantius as his father's only heir, this discourse drew explicit attention to the terms on which the war had been fought: the Constantinian dynasty versus an individual who, though an outsider, had garnered substantial support from those who had rejected a Constantinian emperor. It also re-asserted Constantius' ownership over the ideology of tyranny and liberation which had been so central to Magnentius' legitimacy during his time in power.

How truthful are the claims that the emperor pardoned all who had participated in his opponent's regime? Ammianus Marcellinus—whose preserved narrative begins the year after Magnentius' defeat—paints a bleaker picture of Constantius' behaviour and the atmosphere of fear in the west, with the emperor presiding over denunciations and proscriptions of both military and civilian officials on the slightest suspicion of having favoured his opponent (Amm. Marc. 14.5). However, as Hartmut

---

[124] *Or.* 2 58.B–C (trans Wright): ὥσπερ δε ἐκ τινος ταλαιπωρίας και ἄλης δυστυχοῦς τῆς ξύν τῷ τυράννῳ βιοτῆς κατάγειν σφᾶς ἐπ' ἀκεραίοις τοῖς πρόσθεν ἠξίου. See also *Or.* 1 38.B–D, for Constantius' issuing of an amnesty after Mursa.

[125] Julian *Or.* 1 37B: γέροντος δυστυχοῦς. See Zos. 2.48.3, for Constantius' selection of Mursa as suitable site for battle due to its proximity to Cibalae, since this where Constantine had defeated Licinius in 316.

Leppin has argued, Ammianus is just as biased as Julian or Themistius, and the two opposing narratives might be reconciled through an appreciation of perspective: Ammianus focused on the relatively few individuals who were denied amnesty, particularly ones who were of a similar background as himself.[126] By contrast, we have seen how the stories of the conflict are full of the names of those who played their parts in Magnentius' regime but survived the emperor's destruction, such as Vetranio, or Dorus (who engineered the removal of the emperor's urban prefect Adelfius for treason), or those who had served as ambassadors to Constantius' court.

It is not even certain that the infamous Fabius Titianus suffered major consequences for his support of Magnentius' regime. Though—as with Magnentius' other urban prefects Celsinus and Proculus—no traces of the aristocrat are attested after 352, and it has been argued that his property was confiscated, the evidence for this is ambiguous.[127] In Rome, where Titianus had worked so hard to leave a lasting impact during both of his prefectures, the senator's memory remains. He has been erased from only two of the twelve statue bases which he had dedicated, both of which date from his second prefecture under Magnentius. The rest were left standing, still bearing his name, some of which remain in situ in the forum today.[128]

---

[126] Such as Gerontius, a *comes* of Magnentius, whose torture and exile he describes: Leppin (2015: 203).

[127] In *Or.* 1 38B, Julian claims that the amnesty was grated to all who sided with Magnentius, 'excepted when they had shared the guilt of those infamous murders' (trans. Wright: πλὴν εἴ τις ἀνοσίων ἐκείνῳ φόνον ἐκοινώνει). In *Or.* 2 96A, Julian makes reference to the forgiveness Constantius demonstrated to *all* of Magnentius' supporters, including those who had carried out the worst crimes, Magnentius' closest companions, and those who 'had stooped to win a tale-bearer's fee by slandering the emperor' (οὐδὲ μὴν εἴ τις ἐκείνῳ χαριζόμενος φέρειν τε ἠξίου κηρύκιον καὶ ἐλοιδορεῖτο βασιλεῖ). Accordingly, Jones et al. (*PLRE* I, 919) suggest that Titianus should be identified as this individual who both Julian and later Themistius (*Or.* 3 62C, *Or.* 6 80C, *Or.* 7 97C), identify as having insulted Constantius but had *not* been punished. However, Chastagnol 1962: 111 interprets these references as Titianus being spared execution but having his property confiscated, and references Titianus' erased name from the Oppian base as evidence for his political disgrace. However, it should be noted that Julian's references to the precise individuals and penalties involved are very vague and unspecific—presumably intentionally so—so we cannot be certain whether the senator was punished, or the extent of these punishments.

[128] He is recorded as erased from the lost Oppian base dedicated to Magnentius (*CIL* VI.1166a), and from the re-dedicated base of Constans (*CIL* VI.4133a). His name is not erased in the extant dedication to Magnentius from the Aventine where the emperor's name was erased (*CIL* VI.1167), nor was he erased from any of the ten statue bases

As with the new equestrian statue in front of the senate house, these monuments formed the backdrop of Constantius' ceremonial visit to Rome in the spring of 357. Here, the emperor demonstrated his friendly relationship with the city's elite, with no apparent differentiation between those who had served under Magnentius or not, or those who had fled the city after Mursa or remained in Rome.[129] Leaving Rome after a month, the emperor ordered that a great obelisk, one which his father had intended to be sent to Constantinople but had laid neglected in Alexandria after the project had been abandoned, be shipped to the city and set up in the Circus Maximus. Ammianus Marcellinus gives an account of the daunting task involved in transporting and erecting this monolith, which was dragged through the city like a triumphal procession and winched into place through a complex system of ropes and pulleys.[130] This event was monumentalised in twenty-four lines of hexameter carved around the obelisk's new base, which announced that the monolith was a gift to the city, set up by Constantius as a trophy after the death of the *tyrannus* and his recovery of the whole world.[131] And so the spectre of Magnentius was invoked once again, half a decade after his death, and the emperor's victory over his *tyrannus* found monumental and lasting form.

Conclusion: The Limits of Disgrace

Magnentius occupies an enigmatic position in the ancient sources. In many, such as the orations of Julian and Themistius, he is denigrated as a tyrant. Others, such as Claudius Mamertinus' panegyric of Julian with which I began this chapter, pass over him in silence as a figure whose legacy was too problematic to engage with. Yet, a positive reputation clung to Magnentius. In his satire *The Caesars*, despite passing over all of the other imperial claimants of the 350s and not even mentioning any

which date from his first prefecture. One base (*CIL* VI.37107) remains in situ in front of the Basilica Aemilia.

[129] See Humphries (2015: 158–160) for the visit's significance in the context of the senatorial support for Magnentius.

[130] Amm. Marc. 17.4. Ammianus places the event in the second urban prefecture of Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus (January 357 to March 359), who had previously held the prefecture directly after Cerealis (December 353 to July 355). For the relationship between Ammianus' account and the obelisk's poem, see Kelly (2008: 225–230).

[131] *CIL* VI.1163, *ILS* 736.

of Constantine's sons by name, Julian features Magnentius in his list of past emperors who try to gain access to a banquet with the gods. It is here that the idea first appears, later repeated by Zosimus, that some people still considered Magnentius to have been a virtuous man who had ruled well, though both emphatically reject it. Julian has the gods send Magnentius away after seeing the unvirtuous basis of these claims. Zosimus states forcefully: 'Let the truth about him be known: he never did anything from worthy motives'.[132]

This book's final case study has illustrated how we should be wary of falling in sync with post-conflict literary accounts, dismissing individuals such as Magnentius as mere usurpers, eliminated by legitimate emperors such as Constantius. The line between these two categories is finer than this dichotomy allows. Constans was a son of Constantine the Great, but was still denigrated as a tyrant. Though he was the last son of Constantine, Constantius was still viewed as illegitimate by many who resented the imposition of his theological beliefs.[133] Despite his humble origins and the brevity of his reign, Magnentius' reputation remained highly contested long after his death. In such cases, we should look beyond the rulers themselves and, where possible, pay close attention to all of the people involved in creating and dismantling imperial authority. Here, the opportunity emerges to reconstruct a sense of how political change might have been experienced by those who lived through and adapted to these conditions, and the roles which honouring and dishonouring their leaders played.

References

Modern Sources

Arce, J. (2002). *Mérida Tardoromana, 300–580 d.C.* Mérida.
Athanassiadi, P. (1992). *Julian: An Intellectual Biography*. London.
Bagnall, R., Cameron, A., Schwartz, S. R., and Worp, K. A. (1987). *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*. Atlanta.
Banchich, T. M. (2015). *The Lost History of Peter the Patrician*. London.

---

[132] Julian *Caes.* 316A, Zos. 2.54 (trans. Ridley): ὥστε γνωσθῆναι περὶ αὐτοῦ τἀληθῆ, [καὶ] ὡς οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀγαθῆς αὐτῷ πεποίηται προαιρέσεως.

[133] See Flower (2016 esp. 19–20).

Barbera, M., Paladino, S., and Paterna, C. (2008). 'La domus dei Valerii sul Celio alla luce delle recente scoperte.' *Papers of the British School at Rome* 76: 75–98.

Barnes, T. D. (1993). *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*. Cambridge, MA.

———. (2006). 'An Urban Prefect and His Wife.' *Classical Quarterly* 56.1: 249–256.

Ben Abdallah, Z., Ben Hassen, H., and Maurin, L. (1998). 'L'histoire d'*Uthina* par les textes.' In *Oudhna (Uthina), La redécouverte d'une ville antique de Tunisie*, eds. H. Ben Hassen and L. Maurin. Bordeaux: 37–91.

Beschaouch, A. (2005). 'Un témoignage sur la prospérité de l'Afrique proconsulaire au milieu du IV siècle: le *forum transitorium* aménagé à *Mustis sous Magnence et Décence.*' *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 149.3: 1071–1084.

Bleckmann, B. (1994). 'Constantina, Vetranio und Gallus Caesar.' *Chiron* 24: 29–68.

Bodel, J. (1999). 'Punishing Piso.' *American Journal of Philology* 120.1 (477): 43–64.

Burgess, R. W. (2008). 'The Summer of Blood: The "Great Massacre" of 337 and the Promotion of the Sons of Constantine.' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 62: 5–51.

Cahn, H. A. (1987). '*Abolitio Nominis* de Constantin II.' In *Mélanges de Numismatique, offerts à Pierre Bastien à l'occasion de son 75e Anniversaire*, eds. H. Huvelin, M. Christol, and G. Gaultier. Wetteren: 201–202.

Cameron, A. (2011). *The Last Pagans of Rome*. Oxford.

Camodeca, G. (1978). 'Per la redazione del fasti delle province italiche: Fl. Romulus, consularis Flaminiae et Piceni nel 352(-3).' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 28: 151–158.

Campedelli, C. (2015). 'La strana vicenda di una statua di *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* a *Mustis.*' In *L'Africa Romana: Momenti di continuità e rottura: bilancio di trent'anni di convegni* L'Africa Romana, ed. P. Ruggeri. Rome.

Ceballos Hornero, A. (2004). *Los espectáculos en la Hispania romana: la documentación epigráfica*. Mérida.

Chastagnol, A. (1960). *La préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le Bas-Empire*. Paris.

———. (1962). *Les fastes de la préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire*. Études Paris.

Ciancio Rossetto, P. (1982). 'Due epigrafi prefettizie dal Circo Massimo.' *Atti del Colloquio internazionale AIEGL su epigrafia e ordine senatorio, 14–20 maggio 1981*. vol. 1. Rome: 571–573.

Dearn, A. (2003). 'The Coinage of Vetranio: Imperial Representation and the Memory of Constantine the Great.' *Numismatic Chronicle* 163: 169–191.

Donati, A. (1974). 'I miliari delle regioni IV et V dell'Italia.' *Epigraphica* 36: 155–222.

Drake, H. A. (2012). '"But I digress …": Rhetoric and Propaganda in Julian's Second Oration to Constantius.' In *Emperor and Author: The Writings of Julian the Apostate*, eds. N. Baker-Brian and S. Tougher. Swansea: 35–46.

Drinkwater, J. F. (2000). 'The Revolt and Ethnic Origin of the Usurper Magnentius (350–353), and the Rebellion of Vetranio (350).' *Chiron* 30: 131–159.

Fagan, G. G. (2002). *Bathing in Public in the Roman World*. Michigan.

Flower, H. I. (1998). 'Rethinking "*Damnatio Memoriae*": The case of Cn. Calpurnius Piso Pater in AD 20.' *Classical Antiquity* 17.2: 155–187.

———. (2006). *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture*. Chapel Hill, NC

———. (2016). *Imperial Invectives against Constantius II: Athanasius of Alexandria, History of the Arians, Hilary of Poitiers, Against Constantius, and Lucifer of Cagliari, The necessity of dying for the Son of God*. Liverpool.

Fortini, P. (1997). '*Flavius Magnus Magnentius* in una iscrizione da Monte Romano (*Ager Tarquiniensis*). Indagine preliminare.' In *Etrusca et Italica: Scritti in ricordo di Massimo Pallottino*. Pisa: 315–321.

Gallia, A. (2012). *Remembering the Roman Republic: Culture, Politics and History Under the Principate*. Cambridge.

Gordon, A. E. (1983). *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*. Berkeley.

Harries, J. (2012). *Imperial Rome AD 284 to 363: the New Empire*. Edinburgh.

Heather, P., and Moncur, D. (2001). *Politics, Philosophy, and Empire in the Fourth Century: Select Orations of Themistius*. Liverpool.

Humphrey, J. H. (1986). *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing*. Berkeley.

Humphries, M. (2002). 'The Lexicon of Abuse: Drunkenness and Political Illegitimacy in the Late Roman World.' In *Humour, History and Politics in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, eds. G. Halsall. Cambridge: 75–88.

Humphries, M. (2003). 'Roman Senators and Absent Emperors in Late Antiquity.' *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 17.3: 27–46.

———. (2007). 'From Emperor to Pope? Ceremonial, Space and Authority at Rome from Constantine to Gregory the Great.' In *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300–900*, eds. K. Cooper and J. Hillner. Cambridge: 21–58.

———. (2015). 'Emperors, Usurpers, and the City of Rome: Performing Power from Diocletian to Theodosius.' In *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, ed. J. Wienand. Oxford: 151–168.

Kelly, G. (2008). *Ammianus Marcellinus: the Allusive Historian*. Cambridge.

Kent, J. P. C. (1981). *The Roman Imperial Coinage, Vol. VIII, The Family of Constantine I*. London.

Laurence, R. (2004). 'Milestones, Communications, and Political Stability.' In *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity*, eds. L. Ellis and F. Kidner. Farnham: 41–58.

Lee, A. D. (2015). 'Emperors and Generals in the Fourth Century.' In *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, ed. J. Wienand. Oxford: 100–118.

Lenski, N. (2016). *Constantine and the Cities: Imperial Authority and Civic Politics*. Philadelphia.

Leone, A. (2013). *The End of the Pagan City: Religion, Economy, and Urbanism in Late Antique North Africa*. Oxford.

Leppin, H. (2015). 'Coping with the Tyrant's Faction.' In *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, ed. J. Wienand. Oxford: 198–214.

Lepelley, C. (1979). *Les Cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire*, Vol. 1. Paris.

———. (1981). *Les Cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire*, vol 2. Paris.

Machado, C. (2006). 'Building the Past: Monuments and Memory in the *Forum Romanum*.' In *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, eds. W. Bowden, A. Gutteridge, and C. Machado. Leiden: 157–191.

Matthews, P. J. (1992). 'The Poetess Proba and Fourth-Century Rome: Questions of Interpretation.' In *Institutions, société et vie politique dans l'empire Romain au IVe Ap. J.C.*, ed. M. Christol. Paris: 277–304.

Merlin, A. (1944). *Inscriptiones Latines de la Tunisie*. Paris.

Miškec, A. (2011). 'The Double Solidus of Magnentius.' *Proceedings of the XIVth International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009* ed. N. Holmes. Glasgow: 822–826.

Nixon, C. E. V., and Saylor Rodgers, B. (1994). *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini. Introduction, Translation, and Historical Commentary with the Latin Text of R. A. B. Mynors*. Berkeley.

Omissi, A. (2018). *Emperors and Usurpers in the Later Roman Empire. Civil War, Panegyric, and the Construction of Legitimacy*. Oxford.

Pflaum, H. G. (2003). *Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie. 2. Inscriptions de la confédération cirtéenne, de Cuicul et de la tribu des Suburbures*. Vol 3. Paris..

Poinssot, M. L. (1933). 'Une inscription de Musti, contemporaine de Magnence.' *Competes rendue de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* 77.1: 21–24.

Ridley, R. T. (1982). *Zosimus: New History*. Sydney.

Salzman, M. R. (1990). *On Roman Time: the Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley.

Shelton, K. (1982). 'The Usurpers' Coins: The Case of Magnentius.' *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8: 211–235.

Strzygowski, J. (1888). *Die Calenderbilder. Des Chronographen Vom Jahre 354*. Berlin.

Sutherland, C. H. V. (1967). *The Roman Imperial Coinage, Vol. VII: Constantine and Licinius*. London.

Szidat, J. (2015). 'Gaul and the Roman Emperors of the Fourth Century.' In *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, ed. J. Wienand. Oxford: 119–134.

Tougher, S. (2012). 'Reading between the Lines: Julian's *First Panegyric* on Constantius II.' In *Emperor and Author: The Writings of Julian the Apostate*, eds. N. Baker-Brian and S. Tougher. Cardiff: 35–46.

Van Dam, R. (2011). *Remembering Constantine at the Milvian Bridge*. Cambridge.

Vanderspoel, J. (2012). 'A Tale of Two Cities: Themistius on Rome and Constantinople.' In *Two Romes. Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, eds. L. Grig and G. Kelly. Oxford: 223–240.

Woudhuysen, G. (2018). 'Uncovering Constans' Image.' In *Imagining Emperors in the Later Roman Empire*, eds. D. P. W. Burgersdijk and A. J. Ross. Leiden: 158–182.

Epilogue

Constantine is one of the most mythologised figures in history. Since he and his sons established the style of Christian emperorship for the coming centuries, it is easy to pluck them out of the messy political environments from which they originated. Our conception of the Constantinian age has tended to rest a little too comfortably on positivist and teleological narratives. As the cases examined in this book have shown, a study of the intricacies of the processes by which rulers—not only rivals and opponents, but allies and even members of the Constantinian dynasty—were transformed into disgraced figures, offers an opportunity to re-evaluate this period in broader terms. The evidential basis is shifted, challenging accepted narratives. On the one hand, the agendas and artifices of the literary sources on which interpretations of the Constantinian age have relied so heavily are exposed. On the other hand, the status of epigraphic material is raised as a valuable source which can trace the construction and deconstruction of imperial authority.

The opportunity emerges to reconstruct the significance of snapshots in both time and space. For example, the years of stalemate between Constantine and Maxentius, where outcomes remained uncertain, and the considerable time which passed between Maximian's downfall and his brief re-emergence as a *divus* on Constantine's coinage several years later. The half a decade between the first and second conflicts between

Constantine and Licinius, where the emperors' alliance was commemorated across the empire, and the erasers of the arch at Cillium in Africa chose to repair Licinius' name to match their understanding of the wider political environment. The year between the deposition and then the execution of Licinius. The suddenness of Crispus' disappearance, and how long it might have taken for news of his downfall to spread, and to whom. The twenty months between Magnentius' usurpation in Gaul and his first confrontation with Constantius in Pannonia, where the possibility of a settlement, and with it a new way of conceptualising the political landscape of the empire, might have been made. The ten months between Constantius' recovery of Italy and his final defeat of Magnentius, where both Constantius and individuals who had stood on either side of the conflict played their parts in unravelling this opponent's legitimacy, whilst Magnentius maintained his rule in a neighbouring region.

My approach in this book has recreated a sense of the immediacy of how these moments of political upheaval and ambiguity might have been *experienced* by those living in the empire who, unlike us, and the majority of the literary accounts upon which we rely, were uncertain of the long-term consequences of what they witnessed. This in turn offers a new way of thinking about the establishment of the regimes of Constantine and his sons, and the development of the systems and ideologies which underwrote them: as entities whose existence was not necessarily as inevitable as literary discourse might reflect, and profoundly shaped by the memory of these moments of insecurity and interaction with other rulers.

The purposes of this book have been two-fold. Firstly, it has sought to redress the impact which the prevailing assumptions surrounding *damnatio memoriae* have had on the interpretation of key moments in the establishment of the Constantinian dynasty and, in doing so, offer a new outlook on this period in more general. Secondly, it has sought to use the unique conditions of the Constantinian period to make a broader contribution to our understanding of Roman practices of political memorialisation. Drawing upon the wealth of evidence that is unique to this time, my aim has been to add a new set of archetypes to the more familiar repertoire of fallen emperors, each of which represents its own position on the typological spectrum of disgrace, and the circumstances and variables involved. I have also set out an interpretative framework which emphasises the blurred lines between 'official' and 'unofficial' condemnation. Even if measures were inflicted as a result of centrally issued instructions (an assumption which, for the period this book examines, is not borne out

by the surviving evidence) its implementation was always reliant on local and even personal inclinations. Hence, the transformation of an honoured individual into a dishonoured individual—both as an imagined process, and one that was actually carried out through physical actions such as erasures—should be viewed as a communal enterprise, one that ultimately relied on the willing participation of a wide range of individuals who chose to engage in these processes.

This book has also reinforced important contributions made by scholars in this field: that these practices were far more diverse and contextually specific than has been appreciated; that they were not concerned with forgetting but a different form of commemoration—infamy—and therefore drew their potency from continued memorialisation. The fact that these points require reiteration is in itself evidence for the persuasive influence of the myths surrounding *damnatio memoriae*, especially in contexts which have fallen outside of the parameters of detailed study. In the case of the Constantinian period, this myth remains so compelling precisely because it was generated within ancient contexts. Authors such as Lactantius and Eusebius, who we rely upon heavily for the reconstruction of the early decades of the fourth century, perpetuated and repurposed the rhetoric of disgrace and oblivion to fulfil their ideological ends. Though we might be tempted to use such authors to anchor what they say in a familiar and timeworn pattern of behaviour, they, like other such accounts, can never be fully disentangled from this discourse and should never be taken at face value.

Some might find my avoidance of *damnatio memoriae* pedantic, especially since it is so evocative and widely used, and many who have made important contributions to this field are comfortable with using it. My doctoral thesis, from which this book derives, used the term throughout. I only removed it when adapting this work into a monograph because I recognised my own struggles to shake off the baggage that it carried, since I was using it as a label which provided simple, formulaic, and neat answers to the complex and often frustrating questions posed by the material.

The reality was not neat. In many ways, the anachronism surrounding the term maps onto wider anachronisms concerning the ways in which the Roman Empire 'worked' on both pragmatic and conceptual levels. The Roman Empire was an enormous and diverse entity, and its cultures

and forms of governance were not uniform.[1] It might take weeks for people and messages to travel from one side to the other. There was no propaganda machine, no sinister mastermindings of social control. Since the construction of imperial authority was the result of communicative consensus, and therefore the composite product of various actors (emperors, their courts, officials, local elites, the military etc.),[2] should we not expect its *deconstruction* to be similarly disparate? Once I reframed the question as a matter of political disgrace, and therefore something which, like political honour, was *generated* at the interface between central intention and a dispersed range of local and individualised reactions, the evidence began to make more sense. It seemed less problematic, for example, that such a small proportion of surviving inscriptions exhibit signs of erasure. It also meant that every single inscription which *had* been erased became a valuable fragment of evidence which opened a window onto a particular moment where this local understanding of imperial ideology had been articulated.

This in turn draws me back to the aspect of this topic which has always fascinated me the most: the materiality of these responses. The chiselmarks in stone which provide a tangible link to a decision, over one and a half thousand years ago, to cut into the name of an individual who had previously occupied the most honoured position in the social order. These traces give us a rare glimpse into the minds of those who were not 'forgotten' in a narrow, rhetorical sense, but otherwise *truly* invisible and unknown, like the majority of individuals who lived in the ancient world.

References

Modern Sources

Ando, C. (2000). *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty*. Berkeley.

Hekster, O. (2015). *Emperors and Ancestors: Roman Rulers and the Constraints of Tradition*. Oxford.

Lenski, N. (2016). *Constantine and the Cities: Imperial Authority and Civic Politics*. Philadelphia.

---

[1] See, for example, Woolf (1997) and Noreña (2011: 1–5) for related discussions.

[2] See in particular Ando (2000, esp. 131–275), Noreña (2011 esp. 14–21, 300–320), Hekster (2015, esp. 25–30), and Lenski (2016 esp. 6–15).

Noreña, C. F. (2011). *Imperial Ideals in the Roman West: Representation, Circulation, Power*. Cambridge.

Woolf, G. (1997). 'Beyond Romans and natives.' *World Archaeology* 28.3: 339–350.

Appendix 1: Maximian

All texts are Latin unless otherwise noted.

Grey shading indicates erasures that may have been carried out for reasons other than Maximian's political disgrace.

A: Erased inscriptions including Maximian from within Constantine's territories in 310 CE
1: Diocesis Hispaniarum

CIL II-5.779, LSA-2005	Singilia Barba (Bobadilla), Baetica	Maximian (?) erased	Columnar block, possibly a statue base. Possibly Diocletian, Licinius, or Constantine II.
CIL II.1439, *CIL* II-5.226, *ILS*.630, *AE* 1990.533	Olaurum (Arroyo de Lorilla), Baetica	Maximian erased, along with Diocletian	Milestone with dedication 1st Tetrarchy.
Hispania Epigraphica 2002.72, LSA-1990	Sigarra (els Prats de Rei), Tarraconensis	Maximian erased	Statue base dedicated to Maximian, awarded by *ordo* of the town.

CIL II.4507, Fabre *et al.* 1997 no. 27, LSA-1988	Barcino (Barcelona), Tarraconensis	Maximian (?) erased	Statue base of an Augustus, awarded by *ordo* of the town. Possibly Galerius, Maximinus Daia, or Licinius, though Maximian preferred.
AE 2003.889, *Hispania Epigraphica* 2003/4.570	Navagallega, Lusitania	Maximian (?) erased	Milestone with dedication to Maximian. Possibly Galerius.
CIL VIII.9988	Tingis (Tangier), Tingitania	Maximian erased, along with Diocletian	Altar dedicated to Capitoline Triad and the 1st Tetrarchy.

2: Diocesis Britanniarum

RIB-1.2256, *CIL* VI.1159	Aberafan (Port Talbot), Valentia	Maximian erased	Milestone with dedication to Diocletian and Maximian.

3: Diocesis Viennensis

CIL V.7249, LSA-1608	Segusio (Susa)	Maximian erased	Statue base dedicated to Maximian as Caesar (c.285-286). Paired statue of Diocletian with same awarder (*CIL* V.7248) which is also erased. Both are now lost.
CIL XVII/2.120b, *AE* 1985.658a	Versvey	All subjects erased (due to reuse)	Milestone with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy. Entire inscription erased and rededicated to Constantine (c.312).

4: Milestones dedicated to Constantine as *nepos* of Maximian in the Diocesis Viennensis

On the coast, from Nice westwards to Narbonne

CIL V.8108	Nicea (Nice)	Uncertain: fragmentary	
CIL V.8109	Nicea (Nice)	Uncertain: fragmentary	
CIL XII.5425, XVII-2.19, Grünewald 1990 no. 50	Antipolis (Cagnes-sur-Mer)	Uncertain: fragmentary	Now lost.
CIL XVII-2.21, Grünewald 1990 no. 51	Antipolis (Antibes)	Uncertain: fragmentary	Now lost.
CIL XII.5442, XVII-2.24, Grünewald 1990 no. 52	Golfe-Juan	Uncertain: fragmentary	
CIL XII.5443, XVII-2.25, Grünewald 1990 no. 53	Antipolis, (Cannes)	Maximian erased in rough abrasion	Later dedication to Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian.
CIL XII.5463, XVII-2.28, Grünewald 1990 no. 54	Forum Iulii (Fréjus)	Maximian erased in rough abrasion	Now lost, with some inconsistency in transcription records. Later dedication to Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian.
CIL XVII-2.37, Grünewald 1990 no. 55	Le Muy	Uncertain: fragmentary	Very fragmentary.
CIL XII.5465, XVII-2.40, Grünewald 1990 no. 56	Les Arcs	Maximian erased in rough abrasion	Lowest section missing.
CIL XII.5470, XVII-2.46, Grünewald 1990 no. 58	Cabasse	Maximian erased, but still legible	Now cut into 2 pieces and reused in 2 separate churches.
CIL XII.5466, XVII-2.42, Grünewald 1990 no. 57	Forum Iulii (Vidauban)	Uncertain: fragmentary	

CIL XII.5490, XVII-2.206, Grünewald 1990 no. 59	Arles-Trinquetaille	Maximian erased in rough abrasion	Inscription carved in tabular frame.
CIL XII.5662, XVII-2.282, Grünewald 1990 no. 60	Sextantio (Montpellier)	Uncertain: fragmentary	
CIL XII.5675, XVII-2.304, Grünewald 1990 no. 65	Aigues-Vives	Uncertain due to reuse	Later dedications to i) Magnus Maximus and Flavius Victor; ii) Valentinian II, Theodosius, and Arcadius.

Northwards from Arles to Lyon

AE 2011.709	Vasio (Nyons)	Uncertain: fragmentary	Very fragmentary, only lowest 2 lines survive.
CIL XII.5555, XVII-2.166, Grünewald 1990 no. 45	Les Granges-Gontardes	Maximian erased in rough abrasion	Lower section missing.
CIL XII.5506, XVII-2.97, Grünewald 1990 no. 42	Valentia (Upie)	Uncertain: fragmentary	Very fragmentary, only lower section survives.
CIL XVII-2.100, *AE* 1948.165, Grünewald 1990 no. 36	St.-Clair-de-la-Tour	Section with Maximian erased, lower section with *divus* Constantius moved up	
CIL XII.5512, XVII-2.101, Grünewald 1990 no. 37	Vienna (Vienne)	Section with Maximian erased, lower section with *divus* Constantius moved up	
CIL XII.5540, XVII-2.146, Grünewald 1990 no. 43	Lugudunum (Lyon)	Uncertain: fragmentary	Lower section missing.
CIL XII.5513, XVII-2.102, Grünewald 1990 no. 38	Boutae (Sévrier)	Unknown: fragmentary	
CIL XVII-2.103, Grünewald 1990 no. 39	Veyrier-du-lac	Unknown: fragmentary	Only lower section survives.

Diocesis Galliarum

CIL XIII.8978, XVII-2.459, Grünewald 1990 no. 22	Augustodurum (Bayeux)	Maximian erased, but still legible	

B: Inscriptions including Maximian from the Dioceses Italiae and Africae

1: Diocesis Italiae

CIL VI.1130, 31242, *ILS*.646	Rome	Maximian erased from at least one panel. Severus and Galerius also erased	Dedication panel(s) of the Baths of Diocletian.
CIL VI.1118, LSA-1256	Rome	Maximian erased (for reuse?)	Statue base, rededicated to Constantine II. Paired base of Diocletian (*CIL* VI.1117) has name erased and rededicated to Constantine I.
CIL VI.36947, LSA-1364	Rome	Maximian erased (corrosion or reuse?)	Statue base, badly corroded, reused in an early medieval structure.
CIL X.5803, *AE* 1998.300a, LSA-2036, Gallia and Gregori 1998 no. 16a	Aletrium (Alatri), Campania	Maximian erased	Plaque from equestrian statue base (?) with dedication to Diocletian and Maximian. Later rededication to *divus* Maximian (*CIL* X.5805, *AE* 1998.300c, LSA-2569).
CIL XI.3580	Castrum Novum (Santa Marinella), Tuscia & Umbria	Maximian erased	Statue base dedicated to Maximian. Now lost?
AE 1964.235	Tuscana (Tuscania), Tuscia & Umbria	Maximian erased, along with Galerius, Severus, and Maximinus Daia	Building dedication to Diocletian as 'senior' Augustus (post-abdication), with dedicators listed as Maximian (as 'senior' Augustus), Constantius I, Galerius, Severus, and Maximinus Daia.
AE 1988.573, LSA-1609	Forum Germanorum (Caraglio), Liguria	Maximian (?) erased (for reuse?)	Statue base with Constantine inscribed over erased emperor. Original honorand either Diocletian or Maximian.
CIL V.2818; LSA-1236, Alföldy 1984 no. 166.	Patavium (Padova), Venetia & Istria	Maximian erased.	Statue base dedicated to Maximian.

2: Diocesis Africae

AE 1927.29, *ILTun*.461	Ammaedara (Haïdra), Africa Proconsularis	Maximian erased (?), along with Diocletian	Fragment of building inscription (repair of theatre) with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy. Section with Maximian's name missing.
CIL VIII.309, 11532, *ILS*.5649	Ammaedara (Haïdra), Africa Proconsularis	Maximian erased, along with Diocletian	Consular date on building inscription (repair of theatre porticoes).
CIL VIII.308, *ILS*.6786, LSA-1826.	Ammaedara (Haïdra), Africa Proconsularis	Maximian erased	Statue base dedicated to Maximian.
AE 2003.2010, 2010.1805	Thibars (Thibar), Africa Proconsularis	Maximian erased	Building inscription (temple) with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy.
EDCS 364 *(published by Manfred Clauss on EDCS online database)*	Mustis (Henchir Mest), Africa Proconsularis	Maximian erased	Fragment of building inscription with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy.
CIL VIII.23401, *ILS* 4142, *AE* 1897.121, 1898.46	Mactaris (Maktar), Africa Proconsularis	Maximian erased, along with Diocletian	Statue base of Mater Deum, with dedication *pro salute* Diocletian and Maximian.
ILS.9357b, *ILAlg*-I.1228, LSA-2483	Thubursicu Numidiarum (Khamissa), Africa Proconsularis	Maximian erased, along with Diocletian	Statue base of Hercules Invictus with dedication *pro salute* Diocletian and Maximian.
AE 1940.18, LSA-2484	Thubursicu Numidiarum (Khamissa), Africa Proconsularis	Maximian erased, along with Diocletian	Statue base of Jupiter Optimus Maximus with dedication *pro salute* Diocletian and Maximian.
AE 1914.243, *ILAlg*-I.1241	Thubursicu Numidiarum (Khamissa), Africa Proconsularis	Maximian erased	Building inscription (temple) with dedication *pro salute* Diocletian and Maximian.
ILAlg-I.2048	Madauros (M'Daourouch), Africa Proconsularis	Maximian erased, along with Diocletian	Building inscription (temple restoration) with dedication to Diocletian and Maximian.

CIL 8.21971, *ILTun*.1727	Salah Ben Belgessem, Africa Proconsularis	Maximian erased, along with Diocletian (for reuse?)	Milestone with dedication to Diocletian and Maximian. Later dedication to Valentinian I.
AE 2012.1899	Kef, Africa Proconsularis	Maximian erased	Milestone with dedication to Diocletian and Maximian (as Caesar).
CIL VIII.608, 11772, *ILS*.637	Mididi (Henchir Meded), Byzacena	Maximian erased, along with Diocletian and Galerius	Building inscription (portico) with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy.
CIL VIII.11774	Mididi (Henchir Meded), Byzacena	Maximian erased, along with Diocletian	Building inscription (porticoes) with dedication to Diocletian and Maximian.
AE 1992.1763	Sufes (Sbiba), Byzacena	Maximian erased, along with Diocletian and Galerius	Triumphal arch with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy.
CIL VIII.10766, 16812, *ILAlg*-I.1187	Naraggara (Sidi Yussef), Byzacena	Maximian erased	Building inscription (bath house) with dedication to Diocletian and Maximian.
CIL VIII.23291, *AE* 1898.48	Thala (Talah), Byzacena	Maximian erased, along with Diocletian	Consular date on building inscription (street restoration).
CIL VIII.21975, *ILTun*.1727	Chusira (Kesra), Byzacena	Maximian erased	Milestone with dedication to Diocletian and Maximian.
CIL VIII.22116	Bu Maazoun, Byzacena	Maximian erased	Milestone with dedication to Diocletian and Maximian (as Caesar).
AE 1916.18, *ILAlg*-II-3.7858, LSA-2237	Cuicul (Djemila), Numidia	Maximian erased	Statue base dedicated to Maximian in old forum. Associated bases of Diocletian and Galerius also erased.
ILAlg-II-3.7863, LSA-2240	Cuicul (Djemila), Numidia	Maximian (?) erased	Statue base of Caesar from old forum. *ILAlg* identifies as Galerius, but could also be Maximian. Associated bases of Diocletian and Galerius also erased.

ILAlg-II-3.7864, LSA-2238	Cuicul (Djemila), Numidia	Maximian (?) erased	Statue base dedicated to Maximian (or possibly Maxentius), from old forum. Associated bases of Diocletian and Galerius also erased.
LSA-2845	Lambaesis (Tazoult), Numidia	Maximian erased.	Statue base dedicated to Maximian (or Maxentius, but more likely Maximian), from Lambaesis town. Part of a pair with Diocletian (LSA-2254, not erased).
AE 1916.21	Lambaesis (Tazoult), Numidia	Maximian erased, along with Diocletian	Legionary inscription with dedication to Diocletian and Maximian, from the military camp.
CIL VIII.2572, *ILS* 5786	Lambaesis (Tazoult), Numidia	Maximian erased, along with Diocletian	Restoration of aqueduct with dedication to Diocletian and Maximian, from near the Praetorium of the military camp.
CIL VIII.2573, LSA-2257	Lambaesis (Tazoult), Numidia	Maximian erased	Statue base dedicated to Maximian, from near the Praetorium of the military camp. Close to erased base of Diocletian.
CIL VIII.2574, LSA-2258	Lambaesis (Tazoult), Numidia	Maximian erased	Statue base dedicated to Maximian, from military camp. Associated base of Diocletian (*CIL* VIIII.2575, LSA-2255) also erased.
CIL VIII.1862, *ILAlg*-I.3051	Theveste (Tébessa), Numidia	Maximian erased, along with Diocletian	Building inscription (theatre) with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy.
CIL VIII.2346, LSA-2487	Thamugadi (Timgad), Numidia	Maximian erased	Statue base of Hercules as *conservator* of Maximian, part of a statue group of 1st Tetrarchy. Associated bases of Diocletian and Galerius also erased.
CIL VIII.4764, 18698, *ILS* 644	Macomades (Mrikeb Thala), Numidia	Maximian erased, along with Diocletian and Galerius	Triumphal arch with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy.
CIL VIII.7003, *ILAlg*-II-1.579, LSA-2867	Cirta (Constantine), Numidia	Maximian erased	Statue base dedicated to Diocletian and Maximian.
CIL VIII.22392	Zitunet el Bidi, Numidia	Maximian erased	Milestone with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy (lower half missing).

CIL VIII.10245	Uthaia (El Outhaia), Numidia	Maximian erased, along with Diocletian (due to reuse?)	Milestone with dedication Diocletian and Maximian. Later dedication to Constantine and Licinius (the latter erased).
CIL VIII.9041, *ILS* 627	Auzia (Sour El-Ghozlane), Mauretania Sitifensis	Maximian erased	Bridge restoration with dedication to Diocletian and Maximian.

C: Inscriptions including Maximian from outside Constantine's territories in 312 CE
1: Diocesis Pannoniarum

AE 1992.1359, 1995.1191, LSA-2650	Teurnia (Lendorf), Noricum Mediterraneum	Maximian erased	Statue base dedicated to Maximian.
AE 1995.1262, Piso 2003 no. 35	Carnuntum, Pannonia I	Maximian erased	Marble plaque, originally from a base or column dedicated to Jupiter and *pro salute* of Maximian (dated 286 CE).
Piso 2003 no. 40	Carnuntum, Pannonia I	Maximian erased	Consular date (297 CE) on fragmentary dedication to Jupiter.

2: Diocesis Moesiarum

CIL III.1646, *ILS*.2292	Viminacium (Kostolac), Moesia I	Maximian erased.	Altar with dedication to the *genius* of a legion, and to Diocletian and Maximian.
AE 1979.519	Diana (Kladovo), Dacia Ripensis	Maximian erased.	Plaque with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy.
SEG-27.462, LSA-933	Demetrias, (Thessalia)	Maximian (?) erased	Fragmentary plaque, probably from a statue base (Greek). Identity of honorand not secure, but most likely Maximian or Licinius.

CIL III.12310, *ILS*.634	Thessalonica (Thessaloniki), Macedonia	Maximian (as 'Herculius Aug') erased	Statue dedication to Hercules Augustus by the members of the 1st Tetrarchy (as Iovians and Herculians). Now lost.
Anamali *et al.* 2007 no. 281	Peca (Pecë), Epirus Vetus	Maximian erased	Milestone with dedication to Diocletian and Maximian as abdicated *patres*, and Constantius and Galerius as Augusti.
Roesch 2007 no. 446, LSA-916	Thesbiae (Thespies), Achaia	Maximian erased	Statue base dedicated to Maximian (Greek).
IG 12-9.146	Amarynthos, (Achaia)	Maximian erased	Milestone with (Greek) dedication to 1st Tetrarchy. Later dedication to Constantine.
AE 1998.1250a	Laconia (exact provenance unknown)	Maximian erased, along with Galerius	Milestone with (Greek) dedication to 1st Tetrarchy. Later dedications to (i) Constantine and Licinius; (ii) sons of Constantine; (iii) Valentinian and Valens.
IG 5-1.1382	Thuria (Thouria), (Achaia)	Maximian erased	Milestone with (Greek) dedication to Diocletian and Maximian.

3: Diocesis Thraciae

CIL III.14450	Tomis (Constanța), Scythia	Maximian erased	Fragmentary plaque with dedication to Sol and Diocletian and Maximian.

4: Diocesis Asiana

CIL III.450, LSA-938	Mytilene (Mytilini), Asia	Maximian erased	Arch dedication, originally with statues, to the members of the 1st Tetrarchy.
LSA-515	Iasos (Kıyıkışlacık), Caria	Maximian (?) erased	Statue base with (Greek) dedication by *boule* and *demos* of Iasos to an erased Augustus. Could be identified as Maximian, Licinius, or Galerius.
AE 1986.682, LSA-513, French 2014a no. 111B	Mylassa (Milas), Caria	Maximian erased	Milestone with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy (Greek). Later dedications to (i) Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II (Greek); (ii) Constantine, Crispus, Constantine II, and Constantius II (Latin); (iii) Constantine, Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans (Latin; Caesars later upgraded to Augusti).
AE 1986.681, French 2014 no. 115A	Halicarnassus (Bodrum), Caria	Maximian erased, along with Diocletian	Milestone with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy (Greek). Later (Greek) dedications to (i) Constantius II and Constans; (ii) Arcadius and Honorius.
French 2012b no. 144	Mahmatlar, Pisidia	Maximian erased	Milestone with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy.
French 2014a no. 86B	Doryleaeum (Eskişehir), Phrygia Salutaris	Maximian erased	Milestone with dedication to Diocletian and Maximian.

5: Diocesis Pontica

French 2013 no. 11B	Sinope (Çalboğaz), Helenopontus	Maximian erased, along with Galerius	Milestone with dedication to the 1st Tetrarchy. Later dedications to (i) Constantine, Licinius and Caesars (fragmentary), and (ii) Constantine, Crispus, and Constantine II (fragmentary).
CIL III.6895, French 2013 no. 31A	Ahmetsaray / Amaseia (Ahmet Saray), Helenopontus	Maximian erased	Milestone with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy.
French 2012b no. 18	Çiğdemlik, Helenopontus	Maximian erased	Milestone with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy.
French 2012b no. 21	Aydoğdu, Helenopontus	Maximian erased	Milestone with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy. Later dedication to Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian.
French 2012b no. 145B	Amasia (Uygar), Helenopontus	Maximian erased	Milestone with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy. Earlier dedication to Maximinus Thrax.
French 2012b no. 147D	Kapıkaya, Helenopontus	Maximian erased, along with Constantius II and Galerius (due to reuse?)	Milestone with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy. Earlier dedication to Septimius Severus and sons. Later dedication to Constantine and sons.
AE 1961.26; 1975.785b; French 2012b no.15	Yornus (Çakırsu), Helenopontus	Maximian erased	Milestone with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy. Later dedications to (i) Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II; (ii) Constantine, Constantine II, Constantius II, Constans, and Delmatius; (iii) Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian; (iv) Honorius.
French 2012b no. 16	Yerkozlu, Helenopontus	Maximian erased	Milestone with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy. Earlier dedication to Carinus and Numerian.
French 2012b no. 22	Boğa, Hellenopontus	All emperors erased (due to reuse?)	Milestone with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy.
French 2012b no. 79D	Hierapolis (Çakırlar), Armenia II	Maximian erased	Milestone with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy.
French 2012b no. 143	Akyazı, Bithynia	Maximian erased.	Milestone with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy.
French 2012a no. 106B	Ilyağut, Galatia	Maximian erased (due to reuse?)	Milestone with dedication to 1st Tetrarchy.

| *CIL* III.14184,51, French 2012a no.126B | Karaali, Galatia I | Maximian erased | Milestone with dedication to Diocletian and Maximian. |

6: Diocesis Orientis

CIL II.133, 6661	Palmyra (Tadmur), Phoenice Libanesis / Syria Phoenice	Maximian erased	Fort dedication to 1st Tetrarchy.
AE 2015.1691, Darby 2015: 472-476	Arindela ('Ayn Gharandal), Palaestina III Salutaris	Maximian erased	Fort dedication to 1st Tetrarchy.
AE 1986.699	Jotvata, Palaestina III Salutaris	Maximian erased	Fort dedication to 1st Tetrarchy.
AE 2008.1569, Kennedy and Falahat 2008: 157-160	Augustopolis (Udruh, 15km east of Petra), Palaestina III Salutaris	Maximian erased	Fort dedication to 1st Tetrarchy.
IGLSyr 21-4.42	Petra, Palaestina II Salutaris	Maximian erased	Building dedication (Greek) to 1st Tetrarchy (fragmentary).

Appendix 2: Licinius

All inscriptions are Latin unless otherwise noted.

A: Erased inscriptions including Licinius from Constantine's territories in 312
1: Diocesis Italiae
Milestones

CIL XI.6667	Blera (Civitavecchia), Tuscia & Umbria	Licinius erased, along with Maximinus Daia (both still legible)	Milestone with dedication to Constantine, Maximinus Daia and Licinius. One of two *praenomina* of Maximinus Daia erased along with *nomen*. Licinius' *praenomen* 'Liciniano' is untouched.

CIL XI.6671a, Grünewald 1990 no. 333	Florentiola (Fiorenzuola d'Arda), Aemilia	Licinius and Licinius Iunior erased.	Milestone with names (in nominative) of Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, Licinius Iunior and Constantine II. Licinius' name erased almost fully, leaving final 'S'. Name of Licinius Iunior removed in rough abrasion and still legible. Earlier Republican dedication.
CIL V.8060, Grünewald 1990 no. 310	Ticinum (Pavia), Liguria	Licinius erased, along with Maximinus Daia	Milestone with dedication to Constantine, Maximinus Daia, and Licinius. Later dedication to Valentinian and Valens.
CIL V.8963	Comum (Como), Liguria	Licinius erased	Milestone with dedication to Constantine, Maximinus Daia, and Licinius. Later dedication to Valentinian and Valens.
CIL V.8021, Grünewald 1990 no. 291	Verona, Venetia & Istria	Licinius erased	Milestone dedicated to Constantine and Licinius.
CIL V.8015	Colognola ai Colli (near Verona), Venetia & Istria	Licinius Iunior erased	Milestone dedicated to Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II. Earlier dedication to Maxentius (unerased).
CIL V.8013, *ILS* 669, Basso 1987 no. 50, Grünewald 1990 no. 289	Montecchio Maggiore, Venetia & Istria	Licinius Iunior erased	Milestone with dedication to Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II.

Other dedications

CIL VI.40768, Grünewald 1990 no. 240	Rome	Licinius erased (? / base missing?)	Fragmentary plaque from statue dedication to Constantine and another emperor, presumably Licinius.
CIL V.31, LSA-1209	Pola (Pula), Istria	Licinius erased.	Statue base in honour of Licinius, set up by the *res publica* of Pola.
CIL V.330, *ILS*.678, LSA-1213	Parentium (Poreč), Istria	Licinius erased.	Statue base in honour of Licinius, set up by the *res publica* of Parentium.

2: Diocesis Hispaniarum
Milestones

-	-	-	-

Other dedications

CIL II-5.779, LSA-2005	Singilia Barba (Bobadilla), Baetica	Licinius (?) erased	Columnar block, possibly a statue base, with erased honorand. Identified as either Diocletian, Maximian, Licinius, or Constantine II.
Alföldy 1975 no. 98, LSA-1984	Tarraco (Tarragona), Tarraconensis	Licinius (?) erased.	Fragmentary plaque, from an equestrian statue base (?) with dedication to an Augustus, identified as possibly Licinius.
CIL II.4105, Alföldy 1975 no. 94, LSA-1980	Tarraco (Tarragona), Tarraconensis	Licinius erased	Plaque from statue base dedicated to Licinius by Valerius Iulianus, *praeses* of Hispania Tarraconensis. Could be Maximinus Daia.

3: Diocesis Britanniarum
Milestones

	-	-	-

Other dedications

	-	-	-

4: Diocesis Viennensis
Milestones

	-	-	-

Other dedications

	-	-	-

5: Diocesis Galliarum
Milestones

CIL XVII-2.557	Tolbiacum (Zülpich), Belgica	Licinius erased	Milestone with dedication to Licinius Augustus. Later dedication to Constantine, Crispus, Constantine II, and Constantius II (Crispus erased).

Other dedications

-	-	-	-

6: Diocesis Africae
Milestones

AE 1987.1010	Apisa Maius (Ain Tarf el-Suchna), Africa Proconsularis	Licinius erased, along with Maximinus Daia	Milestone with dedication to Constantine, Maximinus Daia, and Licinius.
AE 1987.1008d, Grünewald 1990 no. 200a	Borj el-Amri, Africa Proconsularis	Licinius erased, along with Maximinus Daia	Milestone with dedication to Constantine, Maximinus Daia, and Licinius. Later dedications to (i) Constantius; (ii) Magnentius.
CIL 8.22117	Bu Maazoun, Africa Proconsularis	Licinius erased	Milestone with dedication to Constantine and Licinius.
CIL VIII.10246; Grünewald 1990 no. 174	Uthaia (El Outhaia), Numidia	Licinius erased	Milestone with dedication to Constantine and Licinius. Earlier dedication to Diocletian and Maximian.

AE 1992.1885	Cuicul (Djemila), Numidia	Licinius Iunior erased.	Milestone with dedication to Constantine and Licinius Iunior as consuls of 319.
AE 1992.1886	Cuicul (Djemila), Numidia	Licinius Iunior erased, along with Crispus	Milestone with dedication to Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II.
CIL VIII.20636, Grünewald 1990 no. 88	Sertei (Kherbet Gidra), Mauretania Sitifensis	Licinius erased	Milestone with dedication to Constantine (missing) and Licinius as consuls (so 309, 312, 313, or 315). Licinius' name is still legible. Later dedication to Constantius II and Constantine II as Caesars.

Other dedications

CIL VIII.27415, *ILTun*.1533, Grünewald 1990 no. 127	Agbia / Thugga (Ain Hedja), Africa Proconsularis	Licinius erased	Municipal dedication to Constantine and Licinius on fragmentary block.
CIL VIII.210, *ILS* 5570, Grünewald 1990 no. 138	Cillium (Kasserine), Byzacena	Licinius' name erased, and subsequently re-inscribed.	Arch with dedication to Constantine and Licinius.
Lepelley 1981 no. 9, LSA-2415	Lambaesis (Tazoult), Numidia	Licinius (?) erased	Statue base dedicated to an erased fourth-century Augustus. Lepelley identifies as Licinius on the basis of the survival of a similar base dedicated to Constantine.
ILAlg-II-3.8540	Milev (Hamala), Numidia	Licinius erased	Block with dedication *pro salute* Constantine and Licinius.
CIL VIII.8713, Grünewald 1990 no. 92	Bir Haddada, Mauretania Sitifensis	Licinius erased	Dedication of statue of Sol, set up by Septimius Flavianus (*praeses* of Mauretania Sitifensis), with dedication to Constantine and Licinius.

B: Erased inscriptions including Licinius from the central empire
1: Diocesis Pannoniarum
Milestones

CIL III.5710, XIV-4.147	Virunum (Zollfeld), Noricum Mediterraneum	Licinius erased	Milestone with dedication to Licinius.

Other dedications

AE 1937.232 Grünewald 1990 no. 377	Brigetio (Komarom), Pannonia I	Licinius erased, along with Maximinus Daia (as consular date)	Bronze military diploma (the so-called Brigetio tablet).
CIL III.1968	Salona (Dugopolje), Dalmatia	Licinius Iunior erased (as consular date)	Consular date on four-sided altar.

2: Diocesis Moesiarum
Milestones

SEG 26.773, *AE* 1933.251b, Grünewald 1990 no. 398	Mydonia (near Thessalonike), Macedonia	Licinius and Licinius Iunior erased.	Milestone with bilingual dedication to Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II.
AE 1998.1250c	Laconia (exact provenance unknown)	Licinius erased. Maximian erased, along with Galerius.	Milestone with dedication to Constantine and Licinius (Greek). Earlier dedication to 1st Tetrarchy. Later dedications to (i) sons of Constantine; (ii) Valentinian and Valens.

Other dedications

Beševliev 1964 no. 34, *AE* 1978.720	Pautalia (Kyustendil), Dacia Mediterranea	Licinius erased	Quadrangular base set up by veteran Sallustius Diogenes with dedication to Licinius as *sanctissimus et invictus Augustus*.
SEG-37.462, LSA-933	Demetrias, (Thessalia)	Licinius (?) erased	Fragment of statue base with (Greek) dedication to an emperor, likely late 3rd to early 4th century. Maximian or Licinius most likely honorands.
SEG-23.266, *AE* 1966.380, LSA-914	Megaris, Achaia	Erased (for reuse rather than political reasons?)	Statue base with (Greek) dedication to Constantine and Licinius as 'brothers'. Reused in an early Byzantine basilica.

3: Diocesis Thraciae
Milestones

CIL III.14215,2, Grünewald 1990 no. 410	Tomis (Constanţa), Scythia	Licinius erased	Milestone with dedication to Licinius and Constantine.

Other dedications

AE 1894.111, *CIL* III.13734, *ILS* 8938, Grünewald 1990 no. 402, LSA-1120	Tropaeum Traiani (Adamclisi), Moesia II	Licinius erased	City gate inscription with dedication to Constantine and Licinius.
CIL III.6174, *ILS* 683, *AE* 2000.1269, Grünewald 1990 no. 401	Troesmis (Balta Iglita), Scythia	Licinius erased	Legionary dedication, possibly a statue base, to Licinius and Constantine (Licinius listed first), reused in later structure.

C: Erased inscriptions including Licinius from Asia Minor and the Near East
1: Diocesis Asiana
Milestones

AE 1987.938b, French 2012a no. 16A	Apollonia (Çapalı), Pisidia	Licinius erased	Milestone with dedication to Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, Licinius Iunior (as 'Val. Constantinus Licinius', not erased), and Constantine II. Earlier dedication to Septimius Severus and sons. Later dedication to Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius.

AE 1987.939b, French 2012a no. 16B	Apollonia (Çapalı), Pisidia	Licinius and Licinius Iunior erased	Milestone with dedication to Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, Licinius Iunior (as 'Val. Constantinus Licinius', only 'Licinius' erased), and Constantine II. Later dedication to Julian.
AE 1987.940, French 2012a no. 16C	Apollonia (Çapalı), Pisidia	Licinius erased	Milestone with dedication to Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, Licinius Iunior (not erased), and Constantine II.
CIL III.319, 6966, 12216c, Grünewald 1990 no. 479, French 2012a no. 90A		Licinius erased	Milestone with dedication to Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, Licinius Iunior (as 'Val. Constantinus Licinius', not erased), and Constantine II. Earlier dedication to Hadrian. Later dedication to Constantine, Crispus, and Constantine II.
French 2012a no. 90F	Apollonia (Gençali), Pisidia	Licinius Iunior erased; Licinius uncertain (fragmentary)	Milestone with dedication to Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II. Later dedications to (i) Constantine and post-333 Caesars, later adding Dalmatius, and (ii) Valens, Valentinian, and Gratian.

CIL III.6969, French 2012a no. 88B, Grünewald 1990 no. 480	Esendere (Büyükkabaca), Pisidia	Licinius erased	Milestone with dedication to Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, Licinius Iunior (as 'Val. Constantinus Licinius', not erased), and Constantine II. Later dedication to Constantine, Crispus, and Constantine II.
CIL III.7172, Grünewald 1990 no. 468, French 2014a no. 46A	Synnada (Afyonkarahisar), Pisidia	Licinius and Licinius Iunior erased from both Latin and Greek text, along with Crispus	Milestone with dedication to Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, 'Constantinus' Licinius, and Constantine, first in Latin and then repeated in Greek. Later dedications to (i) Constantine, Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans; (ii) Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans as Augusti; (iv) Valentinian and Valens.
French 2014a no. 48	Gebeciler, Pisidia	Licinius and Licinius Iunior erased. Crispus erased from Greek text but not Latin	Milestone with dedication to Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, Licinius II and Constantine II, first in Latin and then repeated in Greek. Earlier dedication to Septimius Severus and sons. Later dedications to (i) Constantine, Crispus, Constantine II, and Constantius II; (ii) Constantine, Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans; (iii) Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans as Augusti; (iv) Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius.
French 2014b no. 10B	Ilyas (Ilyasköy), Pisidia	Licinius erased, along with Maximinus Daia	Milestone with dedication to Maximinus Daia, Constantine, and Licinius. Later dedication to Constantine, Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans (Caesars later upgraded to Augusti).
French 2014 no. 56A	Smyran (Pınarbaşı), Hellespontus	Licinius Iunior erased, along with Constantine II	Milestone with dedication to Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II. Later dedication to Gratian, Valentinian II, Theodosius and Arcadius.

AE 1986.682, French 2014a no. 111B	Mylassa (Milas), Caria	Licinius and Licinius erased, along with Crispus	Milestone with dedication to Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, 'Constantinus' Licinius Iunior and Constantine II (Greek). Earlier dedication to 1st Tetrarchy (Greek, Maximian erased). Later dedications to (i) Constantine, Crispus, Constantine II, and Constantius II (Latin, Crispus erased); (ii) Constantine, Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans (Latin, Caesars later upgraded to Augusti); (iii) Constantius II and Constans as Augusti (Greek).
AE 1998.1593b, *SEG* 49.1426, French 2014a no. 115A	Halicarnassus (Bodrum), Caria	Licinius erased, along with Maximinus Daia	Milestone with (Greek) dedication to Galerius, Licinius, Constantine, and Maximinus Daia.

Other dedications

IG-4,2.904, *AE* 2010.1545b	Kos, Insulae	Licinius Iunior erased	Marble block (statue base?) with dedication to Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II. Constantius II added after the erasure of Licinius Iunior.
LSA-515	Iasos (Kıyıkışlacık), Caria	Licinius (?) erased	Statue base with (Greek) dedication by *boule* and *demos* of Iasos to an erased Augustus. Could be identified as Maximian, Licinius, or Galerius.

2: Diocesis Pontica
Milestones

French 2014a no. 4	Esnemez, Bithynia	Licinius Iunior erased	Milestone with dedication to Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II. Earlier (Greek) dedication to 1st Tetrarchy.
CIL III.14188,4, Grünewald 1990 no. 418, French 2013 no. 17A	Tium (Çaycuma), Honorias	Licinius erased	Milestone with dedication to Constantine and Licinius.

French 2013 no. 8B	Çalboğaz / Sinope (Helenopontus)	Licinius erased.	Milestone with dedication to Constantine and Licinius. After downfall of Licinius names of Caesars Crispus and Constantine inscribed. Later dedications to (i) Constantine, Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans, (ii)
CIL III.14184,31, *AE* 1900.152, Grünewald 1990 no. 426, French 2013 no. 49D	Neoclaudiopolis (Vezirköprü), Helenopontus	Licinius and Licinius Iunior erased	Milestone with dedication to Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II. Earlier dedication to 1st Tetrarchy.
CIL III.14184,53, Grünewald 1990 no. 424, French 2012a no. 132	Sarihüyük, Galatia I	Licinius erased	Milestone with dedication to Constantine and Licinius.
AE 1986.656b, Grünewald 1990 no. 427, French 2012b no. 29C	Bebuk (Boğazkaya), Helenopontus	Licinius erased, along with Galerius and Maximinus Daia.	Milestone with dedication to Galerius, Licinius, Maximinus Daia, and Constantine. Earlier dedication to Maximinus Thrax.
French 2012b no. 15	Yornus (Çakırsu), Helenopontus	Licinius erased, along with Maximinus Daia (and possibly Galerius)	Milestone with dedication to Galerius, Licinius, Maximinus Daia, and Constantine II. Earlier dedication to Maximinus Thrax.

CIL III.14187, Grünewald 1990 no. 425, French 2012b no. 160	Archelais (Aksaray), Cappadocia II	Licinius and Licinius Iunior erased	Milestone with dedication to Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II. Earlier dedication to 1st Tetrarchy.
French 2014a no. 138	Thyatira (Hacıosmanlar), Armenia I	Licinius and Licinius Iunior erased, along with Crispus	Milestone with dedication to Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, 'Val. Constantinus' Licinius Iunior (only 'Licinius' erased), and Constantine II.
French 2012b no. 150A	Ilica (Aziziye), Armenia I	Licinius erased	Milestone with dedication to Constantine and Licinius. Later dedications to (i) Julian; (ii) Valentinian and Valens.
French 2014a no. 74B	Gökağaç, Armenia I	Licinius and Licinius Iunior erased	Milestone with dedication to Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, 'Constantinus' Licinius Iunior ('Constantinus' also erased), and Constantine II. Earlier dedication to Galerius, Severus (erased), and Maximinus Daia (erased).

Other dedications

CIL III.6979, *ILS*.660, Grünewald 1990 no. 416	Amios (Samsun) Helenopontus	Licinius erased, along with Maximinus Daia	Inscribed letter of Galerius, naming Licinius, Maximinus Daia, and Constantine.

3: Diocesis Orientis
Milestones

-	-	-	-

Other dedications

AE 1991.1548, LSA-2874	Seleucia ad Calycadnum (Silifke), Isauria	Licinius (?) erased	Base for bronze dedicated by governor of Isauria to an erased Augustus, either Licinius, Severus, or Maximinus Daia. Paired with a base of Galerius (*AE* 1972.652).
AE 1978.816, LSA-2875	Seleucia ad Calycadnum (Silifke), Isauria	Licinius erased and replaced with Constantine	Statue base dedicated to Constantine replacing a former dedicant, most likely Licinius.
AE 1989.750, 2003.1832	Haila (Aqaba), Palaestina III Salutaris	Licinius Iunior (?) erased, along with Crispus	Fragmentary marble plaque with dedication either to Constantine, Licinius Iunior, Crispus, and Constantine II, or only to Constantine and Caesars. In first case Licinius Iunior and Crispus erased, in second case just Crispus.

Appendix 3: Crispus

All inscriptions are Latin unless otherwise noted.

A: Milestones with Crispus erased
1: Diocesis Italiae

CIL XI.6386, Donati 1974 no. 44, Grünewald 1990 no. 341	Histonium (Vasto), Samnium	Crispus erased	Milestone dedicated to Constantine, Crispus, Constantine II, and Constantius II.
CIL XI.6652, Grünewald 1990 no. 328	Mutina (Nonantola), Aemilia	Crispus erased	Milestone dedicated to Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II.
AE 2006.468	Bellesine, Venetia & Histria	Crispus erased	Milestone dedicated to Constantine and sons. Now fragmentary.
CIL V.8030, *ILS* 788, Basso 1987 no. 23, Grünewald 1990 no. 296	Bottonagho, Venetia & Histria	Crispus erased, along with Constantine II	Milestone dedicated to Constantine, Crispus Constantine II, and Constantius II. Later dedication to Magnus Maximus.

2: Diocesis Hispaniarum

	-	-	-

3: Diocesis Britanniarum

	-	-	-

4: Diocesis Viennensis

	-	-	-

5: Diocesis Galliarum

AE 1967.341, Grünewald 1990 no. 20	Tolbiacum (Zülpich), Belgica	Crispus erased	Milestone with 2 dedications, the 1st to Licinius Augustus (erased), the 2nd to Constantine, Crispus, Constantine II, and Constantius II.

6: Diocesis Africae

AE 2000.1736	Uchi Maius (Henchir Douemis), Africa Proconsularis	Crispus erased	Milestone (?) with dedication to Constantine, Crispus, and Constantine II.
AE 1992.1886	Cuicul (Djemila), Numidia	Crispus erased, along with Licinius Iunior	Milestone with dedication to Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II.
ILAlg-II-1.533, *AE* 1926.133, 1950.164	Cirta (Constantine), Numidia	Crispus erased	Milestone (?) with dedication to Crispus.

7: Diocesis Pannoniarum

	-	-	-

8: Diocesis Moesiarum

	-	-	-

9: Diocesis Thraciae

	-	-	-

10: Diocesis Asiana

CIL 3.7172, Grünewald 1990 no. 468, French 2014a no. 46A	Synnada (Afyonkarahisar), Pisidia	Crispus erased, along with Licinius and Licinius Iunior from both Latin and Greek texts.	Milestone with dedication to Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II (in Latin, then repeated in Greek). Later dedications to (i) Constantine, Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans (Caesars later updated to Augusti); (ii) Valentinian and Valens.

French 2014a no.48	Gebeciler, Pisidia	Crispus erased from Greek text but not Latin text; Licinius and Licinius Iunior erased from both	Milestone with dedication to (A) Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, Licinius Iunior, and Constantine II (in Latin, then repeated in Greek). Later adaptation as dedication to (B) Constantine, Crispus, Constantine II, and Constantius (in Latin, then repeated in Greek). Earlier dedication to Septimius Severus and sons. Later dedications to (i) Constantine, Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans (Caesars later updated to Augusti); (ii) Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius.
AE 1986.682, LSA-513, French 2014a no. 111B	Mylassa (Milas), Caria	Crispus erased from both texts A and B; Licinius and Licinius Iunior erased from A	Milestone with dedication to (A) Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, 'Val. Constantinus' Licinius, and Constantine II (Greek), and to (B) Constantine, Crispus, Constantine II, and Constantius II added (Latin). Earlier dedication to 1st Tetrarchy (Greek). Later dedications to (i) Constantine, Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans (Caesars later updated to Augusti); (ii) Constantius and Constans as Augusti.
SEG 31.1324, French 2012b no. 162A	Colonia Aurelia Antoniniana (Kemerhisar), Cappadocia II	Crispus erased	Milestone with dedication to Constantine, Crispus, Constantine II, and Constantius II (Greek). Earlier dedication to Gordian.

11: Diocesis Pontica

French 2014a no. 138	Thyatira (Hacıosmanlar), Armenia I	Licinius and Licinius Iunior erased, along with Crispus.	Milestone with dedication to Constantine, Licinius, Crispus, 'Val. Constantinus' Licinius Iunior (only 'Licinius' erased) and Constantine II. Crispus erased in more incomplete fashion than Licinii ('[[C]ris[po]]').

12: Diocesis Orientis

-	-	-	-

B: Other inscriptions with Crispus erased
1: Diocesis Italiae

CIL VI. 40778b, LSA-1272	Rome	Crispus erased (for reuse?)	Base for statue of Crispus discovered in the Forum Romanum. Erased but still legible.
AE 1975.135, Grünewald 1990 no. 269	Ostia Antica	Crispus erased (attacked)	Bridge restoration with dedication in honour Constantine, Crispus, and Constantine II.
CIL X.517, *ILS*.709, LSA-1847	Salernum (Salerno), Campania	Crispus erased	Statue base in honour of Helena, also including names of Constantine, Crispus, Constantine II, and Constantius II.
CIL X.678, *ILS*.710 LSA-1852	Surrentum (Sorrento), Campania	Crispus erased, along with Fausta	Statue base in honour of Fausta, also including names of Constantine, Crispus, Constantine II, and Constantius II.
AE 1969/70.108, 1983.194, LSA-1923	Puteoli, Campania	Crispus erased	Equestrian statue base in honour of Crispus.
AE 2007.354, LSA-2570	Privernum (Priverno), Campania	Crispus erased (?), along with Fausta	Fragment of a statue base dedicated to Fausta. If reconstructed in comparison to the Surrentum base, the section containing Crispus' name is missing.

2: Diocesis Hispaniae

CIL II.4107, LSA-1983	Tarraco (Tarragona), Tarraconensis	Crispus erased	Statue base in honour of Crispus (now lost). Originally part of a group with other Constantinian emperors; Constantius II's survives (*CIL* II.4108).

3: Diocesis Britanniarum

	-	-	-

4: Diocesis Viennensis

	-	-	-

5: Diocesis Galliarum

	-	-	-

6: Diocesis Africae

IlAlg II-III.7873, LSA-2250	Cuicul (Djemila), Numidia	Crispus (?) erased. Name replaced by Constantine II	Statue base honouring Crispus, or possibly Constantius I. Re-dedicated to Constantius II.
CIL VIII.4227, LSA-2381	Verecunda (Markouna), Numidia	Crispus (?) erased	Statue base to erased Caesar; Crispus suggested due to associated base of Constantine II as Caesar (*CIL* VIII.4426). Current location unknown.

7: Diocesis Pannoniarum

	-	-	-

8: Diocesis Moesiarum

IG XII-8.244, LSA-826	Samothrace, Macedonia	Crispus erased	Oblong marble plaque with 2 dedications, to Constantine I and Crispus (Greek). Likely supported 2 honorific statues, with the inscription under each.

9: Diocesis Thraciae

	-	-	-

10: Diocesis Asiana

AE 2003.1685, LSA-241	Ephesus, Asia	Crispus' name erased and replaced by Constantius II	Statue base for Crispus, now fragmentary. Name erased and replaced with that of Constantius II (?). Current location uncertain.

11: Diocesis Pontica

	-	-	-

12: Diocesis Orientis

AE 1989.750, 2003.1832	Haila (Aqaba), Palaestina III Salutaris	Crispus erased, along with Licinius Iunior	Fragmentary marble plaque with dedication either to Constantine, Licinius Iunior, Crispus, and Constantine II, or only to Constantine and Caesars. In first case Licinius Iunior and Crispus erased, in second case just Crispus.

Appendix 4: Dating Decentius' Elevation as Caesar

The date of Decentius' appointment as Magnentius' Caesar is typically seen as the point at which western mints ceased issuing coins for Constantius II, and therefore the point from which a settlement between Magnentius and Constantius must have seen unlikely. However, the literary sources either say little about Decentius (Eutropius, Jerome, and Philostorgius only mention him at the point of his death in 353), or provide conflicting information.

The earliest dating of Decentius' elevation is in response to the revolt of Nepotianus in Rome in June 350, six months into Magnentius' reign.[1] This is based on the sequence provided by the *Epitome De Caesaribus* (42.2–3) and on Aurelius Victor's comment (*Caes.* 42.9) that Decentius had already been appointed Caesar in Gaul prior to Nepotianus' usurpation. However, the *Epitome* dates the elevation of Constantius' Caesar Gallus to before either of these dates (42.1), despite the fact it is more securely placed in March 351 (*Chron. Min.* 1.238; Amm. Marc. 14.11). Moreover, Aurelius Victor presents the elevations of Decentius and Gallus as though they took place simultaneously. In contrast, Zonaras (13.8) places Decentius' elevation at Milan in the aftermath of Vetranio's

---

[1] See Barnes (1993: 101–102: 'The usurper no longer aspired to join the Constantinian dynasty, but to supplant it.') See also Bastien (1964: 7–28), Kienast (2011: 318), and Szidat (2015: 127).

abdication in December 310 and places Gallus' elevation afterwards.[2] Drinkwater follows this.[3] Zosimus also indicates that Decentius' elevation happened after Vetranio's removal, but mentions Gallus' elevation as Caesar before Decentius' (45.1–2). This has led Kent to date Decentius' elevation to the summer of 351, so several months after Gallus' and just before the Battle of Mursa. He corroborates this with the example of a coin, commemorating Magnentius and his Caesar, which was struck in Siscia before the city was recaptured by Constantius.[4] He later clarified that the exact date is unknown, but Decentius' appointment was closely related to Gallus' and should be dated to the spring of 351.[5] Bagnal et al. draw attention to the fact that Decentius held the consulship in 352 rather than 351, which suggests he was appointed in 351 rather than the previous year.[6]

In summary, it is certain that Decentius' elevation took place before Mursa in September 351, and it is likely it happened around the time of Gallus' appointment in Spring 350. However, the final days of 350 or start of 351 are also possible.

---

[2] See Philostorgius 3.25 for an agreement that Constantius appointed Gallus to secure his eastern frontier as he headed west.

[3] Drinkwater (2000: 147).

[4] Kent (1959: 105–106).

[5] Based on solidi and billion, he suggests that Decentius' proclamation took place at Rome: Kent (1981: 242).

[6] Bagnal et al. (1987: 239).

Bibliography

Ancient Sources

Ammianus Marcellinus—ed. W. Seyfarth (1978). Berlin (Teubner); trans. W. Hamilton (1986). London (Penguin).

Aurelius Victor—*De Caesaribus*—ed. P. Dufraigne (1975). Paris (Budé); trans. H. W. Bird (1994). Liverpool.

Epitome De Caesaribus—ed. M. Fest (1999). Paris (Budé); trans. T. M. Banchich (2009). Buffalo.

Eusebius—*Ecclesiastical History*—ed. G. Bardy (1952–1960). Paris (Source chrétiennes); trans. G.A. Williams, rev. A. Louth (1989). London (Penguin).

Eusebius—*Life of Constantine*—ed. F. Winkelmann (1975). Berlin; trans. A. Cameron and S.G. Hall (1999). Oxford.

Eutropius—*Breviarium*—ed. H. Droysen (1879). (MGH.AA); trans. H. W. Bird (1993). Liverpool.

Jerome—*Die Chronik des Hieronymus. Hieronymi Chronicon*—ed. R. Helm (1956). Berlin.

Julian—*First Oration to Constantius—Julian: Volume 1*—ed. and trans. W. C. Wright (1912), 5–127. London (Loeb)

Julian—*Second Oration to Constantius—Julian: Volume 1*—ed. and trans. W. C. Wright (1912), 132–269. London (Loeb).

Julian—*Caesares—Julian: Volume 2*—ed. trans. W. C. Wright (1913), 345–419. London (Loeb).

Lactantius – *De Mortibus Persecutorum* – ed. and trans. J.L. Creed (1984). Oxford.

Origo Constantini—ed. I. König (1987). Trier; trans. Lieu and Montserrat (1996), 39–62. London (Routledge).

Orosius, Paulus—*Seven Books of History Against the Pagans*—ed. C. Zangemeister (1882). Berlin (CSEL); trans. A.T. Fear (2010). Liverpool.

Panegyrici Latini (In Praise of the Later Roman Emperors)—ed. R. A. B. Mynors (1964). Oxford (OCT); trans. C. E. V. Nixon and B. Saylor Rodgers (1994). Berkeley.

Philostorgius—*Ecclesiastical History*—ed. J. Bidez (1913). Berlin; trans. P. R. Amidon (2007). Atlanta.

Sidonius Apollinaris—*Poems and Letters II*—ed. and trans. W. B. Anderson (1965). London (Loeb).

Sozomen—*Ecclesiastical History*—eds. J. Bidez and G. C. Hansen (1960). Berlin; trans. E. Watford (1846). London.

Themistius—*Oration 3: Embassy Speech for Constantinople Delivered in Rome*—eds. G. Downey and A.F. Norman (1965–1974). Leipzig (Teubner); trans. P. Heather and D. Moncur (2001), 108–135. Liverpool.

The Theodosian Code and Novels—ed. T. Mommsen, 2nd edn. (1954); trans. C. Pharr (1952). Princeton.

Zonaras, Joannes—*The History of Zonaras*—ed. L. Dindorf (1868–1875). Berlin; trans. T. M. Banchich and E.N. Lane (2009). London (Routledge).

Zosimus—*Historia Nova*—ed. F. Paschoud (1971–1989). Paris (Budé); trans. T. Ridley (1982). Sydney.

Online Resources

Davis Hanson, V. (2017). 'Our War Against Memory.' *National Review*, August 22, 2017. https://www.nationalreview.com/2017/08/erasing-history-censoring-confederate-past-rewriting-memory-mob-vengeance/. Accessed 11.12.17.

Modern Sources

Abdy, R. (2012). 'The Tetrarchy and the House of Constantine.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, ed. W. E. Metcalf. Oxford: 584–600.

Alcock, S. E. (2001). 'The Reconfiguration of Memory in the Eastern Roman Empire.' In *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, eds. S. E. Alcock, T. N. D'Altroy, K. D. Morrison, and C. M. Sinopoli. Cambridge: 323–350.

———. (2002). *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscape, Monuments, Memories*. Cambridge.

Alföldy, G. (1975). *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarracco*. Berlin.

———. (1984). *Römische Statuen in Venetia et Histria: epigraphische Quellen*. Heidelberg.

Anamali, S., Ceka, H., and Deniaux, É. (2009). *Corpus des inscriptions latines d'Albanie*. Rome.

Amerise, M. (2008). 'Note sulla datazione de Panegirico per l'Inaugurazione della Basilica di Tiro.' *Adamantius* 14: 229–234.

Ando, C. (2000). *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty*. Berkeley.

Anderson, M. C. (2009). 'Motivated Forgetting.' In *Memory*, eds. A. Baddeley, M. W. Eysenck, and M. C. Anderson. Hove: 217–244.

Arce, J. (1988). *Funus Imperatorum: los funerales de los emperadores romanos*. Madrid.

———. (2002). *Mérida Tardoromana, 300–580 d.C.* Mérida.

Arjava, A. (1996). *Women and Law in Late Antiquity*. Oxford.

Assmann, A., and Shortt, L. (2012). 'Memory and Political Change: Introduction.' In *Memory and Political Change*, eds. A. Assmann and L. Shortt. Basingstoke: 1–14.

Athanassiadi, P. (1992). *Julian: An Intellectual Biography*. London.

Austin, N. J. E. (1980). 'Constantine and Crispus.' *Acta Classica* 23: 133–138.

Baldus, H. R. (1984). 'Theodosius der Große und die Revolte des Magnus Maximus – das Zeugnis der Münzen.' *Chiron* 14: 175–192.

Banchich, T. M. (2015). *The Lost History of Peter the Patrician*. London.

Banzi, A. (1999). *I miliari come fonte topografica e storica: l'esempio della XI Regio (Transpadana) e delle Alpes Cottiae*. Rome.

Bagnall, R., Cameron, A., Schwartz, S. R., and Worp, K. A. (1987). *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*. Atlanta.

Barbera, M., Paladino, S., and Paterna, C. (2008). 'La domus dei Valerii sul Celio alla luce delle recente scoperte.' *Papers of the British School at Rome* 76: 75–98.

Barnea, A. (2006). 'Despre *Tropaeum Traiani*. Oraşul antic.' In *Dacia Augusti Provincia, Creare Provinciei*, eds. E. S. Teodor and O. Ţentea. Bucharest: 410–415.

Barnes, T. D. (1973). 'Lactantius and Constantine.' *Journal of Roman Studies* 63: 29–46.

———. (1976). 'Imperial Campaigns, A.D. 285–311.' *Phoenix* 30.2: 174–193.

———. (1980). 'The Editions of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*.' *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 21: 191–201.

———. (1981). *Constantine and Eusebius*. Cambridge, MA.

———. (1982). *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*. Cambridge, MA.

———. (1984). *Early Christianity and the Roman Empire*. London.

———. (1985). 'Proconsuls of Africa, 337–392.' *Phoenix* 39.2: 144–153.

———. (1993). *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*. Cambridge, MA.

———. (1994). *From Eusebius to Augustine: Selected Papers*. Aldershot.

———. (1996a). 'Oppressor, Persecutor, Usurper: the Meaning of "*tyrannus*" in the Fourth Century.' In *Historiae-Augustae-Colloquium Argentoratense 4th*, eds. G. Bonamente, F. Heim, and J. Callu. Bari: 55–65.

———. (1996b). 'Emperors, Panegyrics, Prefects, Provinces and Palaces (284–317).' *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 9: 532–552.

———. (2006). 'An Urban Prefect and His Wife.' *Classical Quarterly* 56.1: 249–256.

———. (2011). *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire*. Chichester.

Barnes, T. D., and Vanderspoel, J. (1984b). 'Julian on the Sons of Fausta.' *Phoenix* 38.2: 175–176.

Bardill, J. (2012). *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*. Cambridge.

Basso, P. (1987). 'La propaganda imperial lungo le strade romane: il caso del miliario di Magnenzio al Museo Civico di Oderzo.' *Quaderni di Archeologia del Veneto* 3: 167–171.

Bastien, P. (1964). *Le monnayage de Magnence (350–353)*. Wetteren.

———. (1983). *Le monnayage de Magnence (350–353)* (2nd ed.). Wetteren.

Basso, P. (1987). *I miliari della Venetia Romana*. Padova.

Bats, M. (2003). 'Mort violente et *damnatio memoriae* sous les Sévères dans les sources littéraires.' *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 14: 281–298.

———. (2007). 'La *damnatio memoriae* a-t-elle des origines républicaines? Les procédures de condamnation politique des Gracques aux proscriptions de Sylla.' In *Mémoire et Histoire: Les procédures de condamnation dans l'Antiquité Romaine*, eds. S. Benoist and A. Daguet-Gagey. Metz: 21–39.

Bauer, F. A. (1996). *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung des öffentlichen Raums in der spätantiken Städten Rom, Konstantinopel und Ephesos*. Mainz.

Beard, M. (1991). 'Writing and Religion: Ancient Literacy and the Function of the Written Word in Roman Religion.' In *Literacy in the Roman World*, ed. Humphrey. Ann Arbor: 35–58.

Ben Abdallah, Z., Ben Hassen, H., and Maurin, L. (1998). 'L'histoire d'*Uthina* par les textes.' In *Oudhna (Uthina), La redécouverte d'une ville antique de Tunisie*, eds. H. Ben Hassen and L. Maurin. Bordeaux: 37–91.

Benoist, S. (2003). 'Martelage et *damnatio memoriae*: un introduction.' *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 14: 231–240.

———. (2004). 'Titulature imperiale et *damnatio memoriae*: l'enseignment des inscriptions.' *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 15: 175–189.

———. (2007). 'Martelages et espaces urbains entre public et privé. Remarque sur quelques exemples tires des provinces occidentales (Bretagnes, Gaules et Germanies).' In *Mémoire et Histoire: Les procedures de condemnation dans l'antiquité Romaine*, eds. S. Benoist and S. Lefevre. Metz: 75–94.

Bergemann, J. (1990). *Römische Reiterstatuen: Ehrendenkmäler im öffentlichen Bereich*. Mainz.

Berliner, D. (2005). 'Social Thought and Commentary: The Abuses of Memory: Reflections of the Memory Boom in Anthropology.' *Anthropological Quarterly* 78.1: 197–211.

Beschaouch, A. (2005). 'Un témoignage sur la prospérité de l'Afrique proconsulaire au milieu du IV siècle: le *forum transitorium* aménagé à *Mustis sous Magnence et Décence*.' *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 149.3: 1071–1084.

Beševliev, V. (1964). *Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien*. Berlin.

Beltrán Lloris, F. (2014a). 'Latin Inscriptions: The Main Types of Inscriptions.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, eds. C. Bruun and J. Edmonson. Oxford: 89–110.

———. (2014b). 'The "Epigraphic Habit" in the Roman World.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, eds. C. Bruun and J. Edmonson. Oxford: 129–148.

Bleckmann, B. (1994) 'Constantina, Vetranio und Gallus Caesar.' *Chiron* 24: 29–68.

Blockley, R. C. (1972). 'The Panegyric of Claudius Mamertinus on the Emperor Julian.' *American Journal of Philology* 93.3: 437–450.

———. (1989). 'Constantius II and Persia.' *Latomus* 5: 465–490.

Bodel, J. (1999a). 'Punishing Piso.' *American Journal of Philology* 120.1 (477): 43–64.

———. (1999b). 'Death on Display: Looking at Roman Funerals.' In *The Art of the Ancient Spectacle*, eds. B. Bergmann and C. Kondoleon. New Haven: 259–282.

———. (2014). 'Inscriptions and Literacy.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, eds. C. Bruun and J. Edmonson. Oxford: 745–763.

Bond, L., Craps, S., and Vermeulen, P. (2017). 'Introduction.' In *Memory Unbound*, eds. L. Bond, S. Craps, and P. Vermeulen. Oxford: 1–16.

Bormann, E. (1884). 'IX. Tropaeum Traiani (Adam-Klissi).' In *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn* 17. Wien: 103–111.

Bosnakis, D., and Hallof, K. (2010). 'Alte und neue Inschriften aus Kos.' *Chiron* 40: 322–358.

Bowersock, G. W. (1982). 'The Emperor Julian on His Predecessors.' *Yale Classical Studies* 27 (Later Greek Literature): 159–172.

Brandt, K. R. (2016). 'Directed Forgetting.' In *Memory in the Twenty-First Century: New Critical Perspectives from the Arts, Humanities, and Sciences*, ed. S. Groes. London: 263–267.

Brenot, C. (1992). 'À propos de monnaies au chrisme de Magnence.' In *Institutions, société et vie politique dans l'empire Romain au IVe Ap. J.C.*, ed. M. Christol. Paris: 183–191.

Bruun, P. (1961). *Studies in Constantinian Chronology*. New York.

———. (1966). *The Roman Imperial Coinage, Vol. VII: Constantine and Licinius*. London.

———. (1997). 'The Victorious Signs of Constantine: A Reappraisal.' *Numismatic Chronicle* 157: 41–59.

Buckland, C. (2010). *To Praise the Emperor: Imperial Panegyric and the Epideictic Tradition*. Saarbrücken.

Burckhardt, J. (1949). *The Age of Constantine the Great*, trans. M. Hadas. Reprinted Berkeley, 1983.

Burgersdijk, D. (2018). 'Constantine's Son Crispus and His Image in Contemporary Panegyrical Accounts.' In *Imagining Emperors in the Later Roman Empire*, eds. D. Burgersdijk and A. Ross. Leiden: 137–157.

Burgess, R. W. (1997). 'The Dates and Editions of Eusebius' *Chronici Canones* and *Historia Ecclesiastica*.' *Journal of Theological Studies* 48.2: 471–504.

———. (2001). 'Eutropius V. C. "Magister Memoriae?".' *Classical Philology* 96.1: 76–81.

———. (2008). 'The Summer of Blood: The "Great Massacre" of 337 and the Promotion of the Sons of Constantine.' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 62: 5–51.

Cahn, H. A. (1987). '*Abolitio Nominis* de Constantin II.' In *Mélanges de Numismatique, offerts à Pierre Bastien à l'occasion de son 75e Anniversaire*, eds. H. Huvelin, M. Christol, and G. Gaultier. Wetteren: 201–202.

Cameron, A. (1983). 'Constantinus Christianus.' *Journal of Roman Studies* 73: 183-190.

———. (1997). 'Eusebius' *Vita Constantini* and the Construction of Constantine.' In *Portraits: Biographical Representation in the Greek and Latin Literature of the Roman Empire*, eds. M. J. Edwards and S. Swain. Oxford: 145–174.

———. (2005). 'The Reign of Constantine, A.D. 306–337.' In *The Cambridge Ancient History, Second Edition, Volume XII: The Crisis of Empire, A.D. 193–337*, eds. A. K. Bowman, P. Garnsey, and Av. Cameron. Cambridge: 90–109.

———. (2006). 'Constantius and Constantine: An Exercise in Publicity.' In *Constantine the Great: York's Roman Emperor*, eds. E. Hartley, J. Hawkes, M. Henig, and F. Mee. York: 18–30.

———. (2011). *The Last Pagans of Rome*. Oxford.

Cameron, A., and Hall, S. G. (1999). *Eusebius, Life of Constantine: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*. Oxford.

Camodeca, G. (1978). 'Per la redazione del fasti delle province italiche: Fl. Romulus, consularis Flaminiae et Piceni nel 352(-3).' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 28: 151–158.

———. (1980–1981). 'Richerce su Puteoli tardoromana (fine III-IV seculo).' *Puteoli: studi di storia antica* 4/5: 59–128.

Campedelli, C. (1980). 'Richerche su Puteoli Tardoromana fine III–IV secolo." *Atti del Convengo Studi e Richerche su Puteoli Romana* 4–5: 59–128.

———. (2015). 'La strana vicenda di una statua di *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* a *Mustis*.' In *L'Africa Romana: Momenti di continuetà e rottura: bilancio di trent'anni di convegni* L'Africa Romana, ed. P. Ruggeri. Rome.

Carroll, M. (2011). '*Memoria* and *Damnatio Memoriae*. Preserving and Erasing Identities in Roman Funerary Commemoration.' In *Living Through the Dead: Burial and Commemoration in the Classical World*, eds. M. Carroll and J. Rempel. Oxford: 65–90.

Castelli, E. A. (2004). *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making*. Columbia, NY.

Cattell, M. G., and Climo, J. J. (2002). 'Introduction: Meaning in Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives.' In *Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*, eds. J. J. Climo and M. G. Cattell. Walnut Creek, CA: 1–36.

Ceballos Hornero, A. (2004). *Los espectáculos en la Hispania romana: la documentación epigráfica*. Mérida.

Chastagnol, A. (1960). *La préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le Bas-Empire*. Paris.

———. (1962). *Les fastes de la préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire*. Études Paris.

———. (1976). 'Les inscriptions Constantiniennes du cirque de Mérida.' *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome* 88: 259–276.

———. (1988). 'Les inscriptions des monuments inaugurés lors des fêtes impériaces.' *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome* 100.1: 13–26.

Childs, P. (2016). 'Remembrance in the Twenty-First Century.' In *Memory in the Twenty-First Century: New Critical Perspectives from the Arts, Humanities and Sciences*, ed. S. Groes. London: 268–270.

Chilton, C. W. (1955). 'The Roman Law of Treason Under the Early Principate.' *Journal of Roman Studies* 45: 73–81.

Ciancio Rossetto, P. (1982). 'Due epigrafi prefettizie dal Circo Massimo.' *Atti del Colloquio internazionale AIEGL su epigrafia e ordine senatorio, 14–20 maggio 1981*. vol. 1. Rome: 571–573.

Coates-Stephens, R. (2007). 'The Reuse of Statuary in Late Antique Rome and the End of the Statue Habit.' In *Statuen in der Spätantike*, eds. F. A. Bauer and C. Witschel. Wiesbaden: 171–187.

Cooley, A. (2000a). 'The Life-Cycle of Inscriptions.' In *The Afterlife of Inscriptions*, ed. A. Cooley. London: 1–7.

———. (2000b). 'Inscribing History at Rome.' In *The Afterlife of Inscriptions*, ed. A. Cooley. London: 8–20.

———. (2012). *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*. Cambridge.

Corcoran, S. (1993). 'Hidden from History: The Legislation of Licinius.' In *The Theodosian Code: Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity*, ed. J. Harries. London: 97–119.

———. (2000). *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial Pronouncements and Government* (revised ed.). Oxford.

———. (2012). 'Grappling with the Hydra: Co-ordination and Conflict in the Management of Tetrarchic Succession.' In *Costantio: Prima e Dopo Constantino; Constantine: Before and After Constantine*, eds. G. Bonamente, N. Lenski, and R. L. Testa. Bari: 3–15.

Cosme, P. (2008). 'The Roman Frontier on the Danube.' In *Rome and the Barbarians*, ed. J. Aillagon. Milan: 102–105.

Costal, J. (1992). *Los Miliarios de la provincia Tarraconense*. Zargoza.

Crawford, M. H. (1983). 'Roman Imperial Coin Types and the Formation of Public Opinion.' In *Studies in Numismatic Method presented to Philip Grierson*, eds. C. Brooke, B. Steward, J. Pollard, and T. Volk. Cambridge: 47–56.

Crimi, G. (2014). 'L'iscrizione dedicatoria delle Terme di Diocleziano.' In *Le Terme di Diocleziano / La Certosa di Santa Maria degli Angeli*, eds. R. Friggeri and M. Cianetti. Rome: 57–67.

Creed, J. L. (1984). *Lactantius,* De Mortibus Persecutorum*: Translation and Commentary*. Oxford.

Crespo Pérez, C. (2014). *La Condenación al olvido (damnatio memoriae): La deshonra pública tras la muerte en la politica romana (siglos I–IV d.C)*. Madrid.

Cullhed, M. (1994). *Conservator Urbis Suae: Studies in the Politics and Propaganda of the Emperor Maxentius*. Stockholm.

Curran, J. (1994). 'Moving Statues in Late Antique Rome: Problems of Perspective.' *Art History* 17.1: 46–58.

———. (2000). *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century*. Oxford.

Damon, C., and Takács, S. (1999). *The Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre: Text, Translation, Discussion*. Baltimore.

D'Andria, F., Piera Caggia, M., and Ismaelli, T. (2012). *Hierapolis di Frigio. 5, Le attività delle campagne di scavo e restauro 2004–2006*. Istanbul.

Darby, R. (2015). 'Aufidius Priscus, the *cohors Secunda Galatarum*, and Diocletian's Re-organisation of *Arabia* and *Palestina*: The New Tetrarchic Inscription from 'Ayn Gharandal.' *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 28: 471–484.

Davies, P. S. (2000). '"What Worse Than Nero, What Better Than His Baths?" "*Damnatio memoriae*" and Roman Architecture.' In *From Caligula to Constantine: Tyranny and Transformation in Roman portraiture*, ed. E. Varner. Atlanta: 27–44.

Dearn, A. (2003). 'The Coinage of Vetranio: Imperial Representation and the Memory of Constantine the Great.' *Numismatic Chronicle* 163: 169–191.

de Arrizabalaga y Prado, L. (2010). *The Emperor Elagabalus: Fact or Fiction?* Cambridge.

de Castro-Camero, R. (2000). *El crimen maiestatis a la luz del senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*. Seville.

Degrassi, A. (1954). *Il Confine nord-orientale dell'Italia romana: ricerche storico-topografiche*. Bern.

Delmaire, R. (2003). 'La *damnatio memoriae* au bas-empire à travers les textes, la legislation et les inscriptions.' *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 14: 299–310.

De Jong, J. (2005). Review of Varner (2004). *The Classical Review* 55.2: 680–681.

———. (2007). 'Propaganda or Pragmatism? *Damnatio memoriae* in the Third-Century *papyri* and Imperial Representation.' In *Mémoire et Histoire: Les procédures de condemnation dans l'Antiquité Romaine*, eds. S. Benoist and A. Daguet-Gagey. Metz: 95–111.

Desnier, J. L. (1987). 'Zosime II.29 et la mort de Fausta.' *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 1.3: 297–309.

Dessau, H. (1916). *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Berlin.

Dey, H. (2012). 'Spolia, Milestones and City Walls: The Politics of Imperial Legitimacy in Gaul.' In *Patrons and Viewers in Late Antiquity*, eds. S. Bink and B. Poulsen. Aarhus: 291–310.

Dillon, J. N. (2012). *The Justice of Constantine: Law, Communication, and Control*. Ann Arbor.

Digeser, E. D. (2000). *The Making of a Christian Empire: Lactantius and Rome*. Ithaca, NY.

Donati, A. (1974). 'I miliari delle regioni IV et V dell'Italia.' *Epigraphica* 36: 155–222.

Donciu, R. (2012). *L'Empereur Maxence*. Bari.

Drake, H. A. (1988). 'What Eusebius Knew: The Genesis of the *Vita Constantini*.' *Classical Philology* 83.1: 20–38.

———. (2000). *Constantine and the Bishops: the Politics of Intolerance*. Baltimore.

———. (2012). '"But I digress …": Rhetoric and Propaganda in Julian's Second Oration to Constantius.' In *Emperor and Author: The Writings of Julian the Apostate*, eds. N. Baker-Brian and S. Tougher. Swansea: 35–46.

Drijvers, J. W. (1992a). *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of her Finding the True Cross*. Leiden.

———. (1992b). 'Flavia Maxima Fausta: Some Remarks.' *Historia* 1992: 500–506.

Drinkwater, J. F. (2000). 'The Revolt and Ethnic Origin of the Usurper Magnentius (350–353), and the Rebellion of Vetranio (350).' *Chiron* 30: 131–159.

Dumser, E. A. (2006). 'The AETERNAE MEMORIAE Coinage of Maxentius: An Issue of Symbolic Intent.' In *Imaging Ancient Rome: Documentation—Visualization—Imagination*, eds. L. Haselberger and J. Humphrey. *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Supplementary Series 61. Portsmouth: 107–118.

Eck, W., Caballos, A., and Fernández, F. (1996). *Das Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre*. Vestigia 48. Munich.

———. (1997). '*Cum dignitate otium*. Senatorial *domus* in Imperial Rome.' *Scripta Classica Israelica* 16: 162–190.

Edmonson, J. (2014). 'Inscribing Roman Texts.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, eds. C. Bruun and J. Edmonson. Oxford: 110–130.

Ehrhardt, C. (1992). 'Monumental Evidence for the Date of Constantine's First War Against Licinius.' *Ancient World* 23.2: 87–94.

Elliott, T. (2014). 'Epigraphy and Digital Resources.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, eds. C. Bruun and J. Edmonson. Oxford: 78–85.

Elsner, J. (1995). *Art and the Roman View. The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity*. Cambridge.

———. (1998). *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph*. Oxford.

———. (2000). 'From the Culture of Spolia to the Cult of Relics: The Arch of Constantine and the Genesis of Late Antique Forms.' *Papers of the British School at Rome* 68: 149–184.

———. (2003). 'Iconoclasm and the Preservation of Memory.' In *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, eds. R. S. Nelson and M. Olin. Chicago: 209–232.

Ensoli, S., and La Rocca, E. (2000). *Aurea Roma: dalla città pagana alla città cristiana*. Rome.

Evangelisti, S. (2007). 'Nuovo inscrizioni imperiali da Priverno.' *Epigraphia e terretorio: Politica e societa*. 8. Bari: 149–157.

Evans-Grubbs, J. (1989). 'Abduction Marriage in Antiquity: A Law of Constantine (*CTh* IX.24.I) and its Social Context.' *Journal of Roman Studies* 79: 59–83.

Fabre, G., Mayer, M., and Rodà, I. (1997). *Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne. IV. Barcino*. Paris.

———. (2002). *Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne. V. Barcelone. Suppléments aux Volumes I–IV et instrumentum inscriptum*. Paris.

Fagan, G. G. (2002). *Bathing in Public in the Roman World*. Michigan.

Fentress, J., and Wickham, C. (1992). *Social Memory*. Oxford.

Feraudi-Gruénais, F. (2010). 'Latin on Stone: Epigraphy and Databases.' In *Latin on Stone: Epigraphic Research and Electronic Archives*, ed. F. Feraudi-Gruénais. Plymouth: 1–19.

Fishwick, D. (1988). 'Imperial Sceptre Heads in Britain.' *Britannia* 19: 399–400.

Flower, H. I. (1998). 'Rethinking "*Damnatio Memoriae*": The case of Cn. Calpurnius Piso Pater in AD 20.' *Classical Antiquity* 17.2: 155–187.

———. (1999). 'Piso in Chicago: A Commentary on the APA/AIA Joint Seminar on the *senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*.' *American Journal of Philology* 120.1 (470): 99–116.

———. (2000). '*Damnatio Memoriae* and Epigraphy.' In *From Caligula to Constantine: Tyranny and Transformation in Roman portraiture*, ed. E. Varner. Atlanta: 27–44.

———. (2001–2002). Review of Hedrick (2000). *Classical Journal* 97.2: 207–209.

———. (2006a). *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture*. Chapel Hill, NC.

———. (2006b). Review of Varner (2004). *The Classical World* 99.4: 471–472.

Flower, R. (2016). *Imperial Invectives against Constantius II: Athanasius of Alexandria, History of the Arians, Hilary of Poitiers, Against Constantius, and Lucifer of Cagliari, The necessity of dying for the Son of God*. Liverpool.

Fortini, P. (1997). '*Flavius Magnus Magnentius* in una iscrizione da Monte Romano (*Ager Tarquiniensis*). Indagine preliminare.' In *Etrusca et Italica: Scritti in ricordo di Massimo Pallottino*. Pisa: 315–321.

Forty, A. (1999). 'Introduction.' In *The Art of Forgetting*, eds. A. Forty and S. Küchler. Oxford: 1–18.

Frakes, R. M. (1995). 'Cross-References to the Lost Books of Ammianus Marcellinus.' *Phoenix* 49.3: 232–246.

———. (2012). 'The Dynasty of Constantine down to 363.' In *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. N. Lenski. Cambridge: 91–107.

Freedberg, D. (1989). *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*. Chicago.

French, D. R. (1998). 'Rhetoric and the Rebellion of A.D. 387 in Antioch.' *Historia* 47.4: 468–484.

French, D. H. (2012a). *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Vol. 3 Fasc. 3.2 (Galatia). London.

———. (2012b). *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Vol. 3 Fasc. 3.3 (Cappadocia). London.

———. (2013). *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Vo.l 3 Fasc. 3.4 (Pontus et Bithynia). London.

———. (2014a). *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Vol. 3 Fasc. 3.5 (Asia). London.

———. (2014b). *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Vol. 3 Fasc. 3.6 (Lycia et Pamphylia). London.

———. (2014c). *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Vol. 3 Fasc. 3.7 (Cilicia, Isauria et Lycaonia). London.

Friggeri, R. (2001). *La collezione epigrafica de Museo nazionale romano alle Terme di Diocleziano*. Milan.

Galinsky, K. (2008). 'Recarved Imperial Portraits: Nuances and Wider Context.' *Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome* 52: 1–25.

———. (2014). 'Introduction.' In *Memoria Romana: Memory in Rome and Rome in Memory*, ed. K. Galinsky. Ann Arbor: 1–12.

———. (2015). 'Introduction.' In *Cultural Memories in the Roman Empire*, eds. K. Galinksy and K. Lapatin. Los Angeles: 1–22.

———. (2016). 'Introduction.' In *Memory in Ancient Rome and Early Christianity*, ed. K. Galinksy. Oxford: 1–39.

Galli, L., and Gregori. G. L. (1998). 'Aletrium.' In *Supplementa Italica, nuova serie. 16*, eds. M. Guarducci and S. Panciera. Rome: 13–90.

Gallia, A. (2012). *Remembering the Roman Republic: Culture, Politics and History Under the Principate*. Cambridge.

Garbsch, J., and Overbeck, B. (1989). *Spätanike zwischen Heidentum und Christentum: Einführung und Katalog*. Munich.

Gasperini, L. (1965) *Aletrium* (Quaderni, Instituto de Storia e Arte de Lazio Meridionale). Alatri.

Gauthier, N., Marin, E., and Prévot, F. (2011) *Recherches archéologiques franco-croates à Salone. IV, Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne, IVe-VIIe siècles*. Split.

Gedi, N., and Elam, Y. (1996) 'Collective Memory—What Is It?' *Memory and History* 8.1: 30–50.

Gibbon, E. (1994) [1776–1788]. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. 3 vols., ed. D. Wormersly. London.

Gillet, A. (2001). 'Rome, Ravenna and the Last Western Emperors.' *Papers of the British School at Rome* 69: 131–167.

Ginsburg, J. (2006). *Representing Agrippina: Constructions of Female Power in the Early Roman Empire*. Oxford.

Gordon, A. E. (1983). *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*. Berkeley.

Gowing, A. (2005). *Empire and Memory: The Representation of the Roman Republic in Imperial Culture*. Cambridge.

Graf, D. F. (1994). 'Milestones with Uninscribed Painted Latin Texts.' *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 5: 417–425.

Grant, M. (1993). *The Emperor Constantine*. London.

Grierson, P. (1996). 'Six Late Roman Medallions in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50: 139–145.

Griffin, M. (1997). 'The Senate's Story.' *Journal of Roman Studies* 87: 249–263.

Grig, L. and Kelly, G. (2012). 'Introduction: From Rome to Constantinople.' In *Two Romes. Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, eds. L. Grig and G. Kelly. Oxford: 3–30.

Grünewald, T. (1990). *Constantinus maximus Augustus: Herrschaftspropaganda in der zeitgenössischen Überlieferung*. Stuttgart.

Guarino, D. P. (1993). 'Intervento conservativo su un elemento lapideo del Museo Archaeologico Provinciale di Salerno.' *Apollo: Bollettino dei Musei Provinciali del Salernitano* 9: 136–142.

Guarino, D. P., and Panciera, S. (1970). 'Nuove testimonianze sul governo della Campania in età Costantiniana.' *Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali. storiche e filologiche*. Rome: 111–121.

Guthrie, P. (1966). 'The Execution of Crispus.' *Phoenix* 20.4: 325–331.

Hall, S. G. (1993). 'Eusebian and other sources in *Vita Constantini*.' In *Logos: Festschrift für Luise Abramowski zum 8. Juli 1993*, eds. H. C. Brennecke, E. L. Grasmück, and C. Markschies. Berlin: 239–263.

Hamilton, W. (2004). *Ammianus Marcellinus: The Later Roman Empire*. London.

Hannestad, N. (1999). 'How Did Rising Christianity Cope with Pagan Sculpture.' In *East and West: Modes of Communication*, eds. E. Chrysos and I. Wood. Leiden: 173–203.

Harries, J. (2012). *Imperial Rome AD 284 to 363: the New Empire*. Edinburgh.

———. (2014). 'The Empresses' Tale, AD 300–360.' In *Being Christian in Late Antiquity*, eds. C. Harrison, C. Humfress, and I. Sandwell. Oxford: 199–215.

Heather, P., and Moncur, D. (2001). *Politics, Philosophy, and Empire in the Fourth Century: Select Orations of Themistius*. Liverpool.

Heck, E. (2009). 'Contantin und Lactanz in Trier—Chronologisches.' *Historia* 58: 118–130.

Hedrick, C. W. (2000). *History and Silence: Purge and Rehabilitation of Memory in Late Antiquity*. Austin.

Heijmans, M. (2004). *Arles Durant l'antiquité tardive: de la duplex Arelas à l'urbs Genesii*. Rome.

Hekster, O. (2015). *Emperors and Ancestors: Roman Rulers and the Constraints of Tradition*. Oxford.

Holum, K. G. (2008). 'Caesarea's Fortune: Ancient Statuary and the Beholder in a Late Antique City.' In *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East*, eds. Y. Eliav, E. Friedland, and S. Herbert. Leuven: 539–558.

Hostein, A. (2004). 'Monnaie et *Damnatio Memoriae* (Ier–IVe siècle ap. J.-C.): Problèmes Méthodologiques.' *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 15: 219–236.

Howgego, C. J. (2005). *Greek Imperial Countermarks: Studies in the Provincial Coinage of the Roman Empire* (reprint). London.

Huet, V. (2004). 'Images et *Damnatio Memoriae*.' *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 15: 237–253.

Humphrey, J. H. (1986). *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing*. Berkeley.

Humphries, M. (2002). 'The Lexicon of Abuse: Drunkenness and Political Illegitimacy in the Late Roman World.' In *Humour, History and Politics in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, eds. G. Halsall. Cambridge: 75–88.

———. (2003). 'Roman Senators and Absent Emperors in Late Antiquity.' *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 17.3: 27–46.

———. (2006). *Early Christianity*. London.

———. (2007). 'From Emperor to Pope? Ceremonial, Space and Authority at Rome from Constantine to Gregory the Great.' In *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300–900*, eds. K. Cooper and J. Hillner. Cambridge: 21–58.

———. (2008). 'From Usurper to Emperor: The Politics of Legitimation in the Age of Constantine.' *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1.1: 82–100.

———. (2009). 'The Minds of the Persecutors: "By the Gracious Favour of the Gods".' In *The Great Persecution*, eds. D. V. Twomey and M. Humphries. Dublin: 11–29.

———. (2015). 'Emperors, Usurpers, and the City of Rome: Performing Power from Diocletian to Theodosius.' In *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, ed. J. Wienand. Oxford: 151–168.

Hunt, D. (1999). 'The Outsider Inside: Ammianus on the Rebellion of Silvanus.' In *The Late Roman World and its Historian: Interpreting Ammianus Marcellinus*, eds. J. W. Drijvers and D. Hunt. London: 51–63.

Hurlet, H. (2014). 'The Roman Empire and the Imperial Family.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, eds. C. Bruun and J. Edmonson. Oxford: 178–201.

Huss, W. (1978). 'Das Ende de Maximianus.' *Latomus* 37: 719–725.

Hutton, P. (2000). 'Recent Scholarship on Memory and History.' *The History Teacher* 33.4: 533–548.

Inan, J., and Rosenbaum, E. (1966). *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor*. Oxford.

Ivanišević, D. (2016). *Epigraphic Culture and Social History in Late Antique Salona* (ca. 250–600 C.E.). PhD Dissertation, Central European University, Budapest.

James, L. (2013). 'Ghosts in the Machine: The Lives and Deaths of Constantinian Imperial Women.' In *Questions of Gender in Byzantine Society*, eds. L. Garland and N. Bronwen. Abingdon-on-Thames: 93–112.

Johnson, A. P. (2013). *Eusebius*. New York.

Jones, A. H. M. (1948). *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe*. London.

———. (1964). *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602*. Oxford.

Jones, A. H. M., Martindale, A. R., and Morris, J. (1971). *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire: I*. Cambridge.

Jones, M. (2015). 'Appendix: John Gardner Wilkinson's Documentation of the Imperial Cult Chamber and the Frescoes.' In *Art of Empire. The Roman Frescoes and Imperial Cult Chamber in Luxor Temple*, eds. M. Jones and S. McFadden. New Haven: 154–168.

Jones, M., and McFadden, S. (2015). 'Introduction.' In *Art of Empire. The Roman Frescoes and Imperial Cult Chamber in Luxor Temple*, eds. M. Jones and S. McFadden. New Haven: 1–11.

Kajava, M. (1995). 'Some Remarks on the Erasure of Inscriptions in the Roman World (with Special Reference to the Case of Cn. Piso, cos. 7 B.C.' In *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini*, eds. H. Solin and O. Salomies. Helsinki: 201–210.

Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, I. (1975). 'The Imperial Chamber at Luxor.' *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29: 227–251.

Keay, S. (1996). 'Tarraco in Late Antiquity.' In *Towns in Transition. Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, eds. N. Christie and S. Loseby. London: 18–44.

Kelly, C. (2015). 'Pliny and Pacatus: Past and Present in Imperial Panegyric.' In *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, ed. J. Wienand. Oxford: 215–238.

Kelly, G. (2002). *Ammianus Marcellinus: Autopsy, Allusion, Exemplum*. Oxford.

———. (2008). *Ammianus Marcellinus: the Allusive Historian*. Cambridge.

Kennedy, D., and Falahat, H. (2008). '*Castra Legionis VI Ferratae*: A Building Inscription for the Legionary Fortress at Udruh Near Petra.' *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 21: 150–169.

Kent, J. P. C. (1959). 'The Revolt of Trier Against Magnentius.' *Numismatic Chronicle* 19: 105–108.

———. (1981). *The Roman Imperial Coinage, Vol. VIII, The Family of Constantine I*. London.

Keppie, L. J. F. (1991). *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*. London.

Kienast, D. (2011). *Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie*. Darmstadt.

Killerich, B. (2014). 'Defacement and Replacement as Political Strategies in Ancient and Byzantine Ruler Images.' In *Iconoclasm from Antiquity to Modernity*, eds. K. Kolrund and M. Prusac. Farnham: 57–73.

Kinney, D. (1997). '*Spolia*, *Damnatio*, and *Renovatio Memoriae*.' *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 42: 117–148.

Klein, K. L. (2000). 'On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse.' *Representations* 69: 127–150.

Kliener, D. (1992). *Roman Sculpture*. Yale.

———. (2000). 'Now You See Them, Now You Don't: The Presence and Absence of Women in Roman Art.' In *From Caligula to Constantine: Tyranny and Transformation in Roman portraiture*, ed. E. Varner. Atlanta: 27–44.

Kolb, A. (2001). 'Römische Meilenstein: Stand der Forschung und Probleme.' In *Siedlung und Verkehr im Römischen Reich: Römerstrassen zwischen Herrschaftssicherung und Landschaftsprägung*, eds. F. Regula and H. Herzig. Berlin: 135–155.

———. (2014). 'Communications and Mobility in the Roman Empire.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, eds. C. Bruun and J. Edmonson. Oxford: 649–670.

Kolb, F. (2000). *Herrscherideologie in der Spätantike*. Berlin.

König, I. (1970). *Die Meilensteine der Gallia Narbonesis: Studien zum Strassenwesen der Provincia Narbonensis*. Bern.

———. (1987). *Origo Constantini, Anonymous Valesianus: Text und Kommentar*. Trier.

Kristensen, T. M. (2009). 'Embodied Images: Christian Response and Destruction in Late Antique Egypt.' *Journal of Late Antiquity* 2.2: 224–250.

———. (2010). 'The Display of Statues in the Late Antique Cities of the Eastern Mediterranean: Reflections on Memory, Meaning, and Aesthetics.' In *Debating Urbanism Within and Beyond the Walls, AD. 300–700*, eds. D. Sami and G. Speed. Leicester: 265–288.

———. (2013). *Making and Breaking the Gods: Christian Responses to Pagan Sculpture in Late Antiquity*. Aarhus.

———. (2015). 'Iconoclasm.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Sculpture*, eds. E. A. Friedland and M. Grunow Sobocinski. Oxford: 667–680.

Krüpe, F. (2011). *Die Damnatio memoriae. Über die Vernichtung von Erinnerung. Eune Fallstudie zu Publius Septimius Geta (189–211 n.Chr.)*. Gutenberg.

Künzl, E. (1983). 'Zwei silberne Tetrarchenporträts im RGZM und die römichen Zaiserbildnisse aus Gold und Silber' *Jahrbuch des römisch-germanische Zentralmuseums Mainz* 30: 381–402.

Künzl, E. (2000). [Commentary on no. 234 and 235] in *Aurea Romana: dalla città pagana alla città cristiana*, eds. S. Ensoli and E. la Rocca. Rome.

Kyle, D. G. (1998). *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome*. London.

Lacau, P. (1934). 'Inscriptions latines du temple de Louxor.' *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypt* 34: 17–46.

Laudani, C. (2014). *Nazario. Panegirico in onore di Costantino*. Bari.

Laurence, R. (2004). 'Milestones, Communications, and Political Stability.' In *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity*, eds. L. Ellis and F. Kidner. Farnham: 41–58.

Leadbetter, B. (1998). 'The Illegitimacy of Constantine and the Birth of the Tetrarchy.' In *Constantine: History, Historiography and Legend*, eds. S. Lieu and D. Montserrat. London: 21–51.

———. (2009). *Galerius and the Will of Diocletian*. London.

Leader-Newby, R. E. (2004). *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity: Functions and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Century*. Aldershot.

Lee, A. D. (2015). 'Emperors and Generals in the Fourth Century.' In *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, ed. J. Wienand. Oxford: 100–118.

Lefebvre, S. (2004). 'Les cites face à la *damnatio memoriae*: les martelages dans l'espace urbain.' *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 15: 191–217.

Lennon, J. J. (2014). *Pollution and Religion in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge.

Lenski, N. (2012). 'The Reign of Constantine.' In *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. N. Lenski. Cambridge: 59–90.

———. (2016). *Constantine and the Cities: Imperial Authority and Civic Politics*. Philadelphia.

Leone, A. (2013). *The End of the Pagan City: Religion, Economy, and Urbanism in Late Antique North Africa*. Oxford.

Leppin, H. (2003). *Theodosius der Große*. Darmstadt.

———. (2015). 'Coping with the Tyrant's Faction.' In *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, ed. J. Wienand. Oxford: 198–214.

Lepelley, C. (1979). *Les Cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire*, Vol. 1. Paris.

———. (1981). *Les Cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire*, vol 2. Paris.

Lieu, N. C., and Montserrat, D. (1996). *From Constantine to Julian: Pagan and Byzantine Views*. London.

Liu, J. (2012). 'Late Antique Fora and Public Honor in the Western Cities: Case Studies.' In *Shifting Cultural Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, eds. D. Brakke, D. Beliyannis, and E. Watts. Farnham: 225–239.

Loraux, N. (2002). *The Divided City: On Memory and Forgetting in Ancient Athens*. New York.

Louth, A. (1990). 'The Date of Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*.' *Journal of Theological Studies* 41.1: 111–123.

L'Orange, H. P. (1933). *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts*. Oslo.

———. (1984). *Das spätantike herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen, 284–361.* Berlin.

MacCormack, S. G. (1981). *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley.

Machado, C. (2006). 'Building the Past: Monuments and Memory in the *Forum Romanum*.' In *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, eds. W. Bowden, A. Gutteridge, and C. Machado. Leiden: 157–191.

———. (2007). Review of Varner (2004). *Journal of Roman Studies* 97: 342–345.

———. (2017). 'Dedicated to Eternity? The Reuse of Statue Bases in Late Antique Italy.' In *The Epigraphic Cultures of Late Antiquity*, eds. K. Bolle, C. Machado, and C. Witschel. Stuttgart: 323–361.

MacMullen, R. (1969). *Constantine*. New York.

———. (1982). 'The Epigraphic Habit.' *American Journal of Philology* 103: 223–246.

Magalhaes, M. M. (2003). *Storia, Instituzioni e Prospografia di Surrentum Romana. La Collezione Epigrafica del Museo Correle di Terranova*. Naples.

Maranesi, A. (2018). 'An Emperor for all Seasons—Maximian and the Transformation of His Political Representation.' In *Imagining Emperors in the Later Roman Empire*, eds. D. P. W. Burgersdijk, and A. J. Ross. Leiden: 63–82.

Markovits, A. S., and Reich, S. (1997). *The German Predicament: Memory and Power in the New Europe*. Ithaca, NY.

Marlowe, E. (2006). 'Framing the Sun: The Arch of Constantine and the Roman Cityscape.' *The Art Bulletin* 88.2: 223–242.

———. (2010). '*Liberator Urbis Suae*: Constantine and the Ghost of Maxentius.' In *The Emperor and Rome: Space, Representation and Ritual*, eds. B. Ewald and C. Noreña. Cambridge: 199–220.

Matheson, S. B. (2000). 'The Private Sector: Reworked Portraits Outside the Imperial Circle.' In *From Caligula to Constantine: Tyranny and Transformation in Roman Portraiture*, ed. E. Varner. Atlanta: 70–80.

Matthews, P. J. (1989). *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*. London.

———. (1992). 'The Poetess Proba and Fourth-Century Rome: Questions of Interpretation.' In *Institutions, société et vie politique dans l'empire Romain au IVe Ap. J.C.*, ed. M. Christol. Paris: 277–304.

———. (2000). *Laying Down the Law: A Study of the Theodosian Code*. Yale.

Mattusch, C. C. (2015). 'Bronzes.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Sculpture*, eds. E. A. Friedland and M. Grunow Sobocinski. Oxford: 139–154.

May, N. N. (2012). 'Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East.' In *Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, ed. N. N. May. Chicago: 1–32.

McCormick, M. (1990). *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantine and the Early Medieval West*. Cambridge.

McFadden, S. (2015). 'Dating the Luxor Camp and the Politics of Building in the Tetrarchic Era.' In *Art of Empire. The Roman Frescos and Imperial Cult Chamber in Luxor Temple*, eds. M. Jones and S. McFadden. New Haven: 25–37.

Meban, D. (2009). 'Virgil's "Eclogues" and Social Memory.' *American Journal of Philology* 130.1: 99–130.

Mennella, G. (2004). 'La campagna di Costantino nell'Italia nord-occidentale: la documentazione epigrafica.' In *L'armée romaine de Dioclétien à Valentinien Ier: Actes de Congrès de Lyon (12–14 setembre 2002)*, eds. Y. Le Bohec and C. Wolff. Lyon: 359–369.

Merlin, A. (1944). *Inscriptiones Latines de la Tunisie*. Paris.

Meyer, E. (2004). *Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World*. Cambridge.

Miškec, A. (2011). 'The Double Solidus of Magnentius.' *Proceedings of the XIVth International Numismatic Congress, Glasgow 2009*, ed. N. Holmes. Glasgow: 822–826.

Misztal, B. (2003). *Theories of Social Remembering*. Maidenhead.

Moormann, E. M. (2011). *Divine Interiors: Mural Paintings in Greek and Roman Sanctuaries*. Amsterdam.

Montgomery, H. (2000). 'From Friend to Foe: The Portrait of Licinius in Eusebius.' *Symoblae Osloenses* 75: 130–138.

Moreau, J. (1954). *Lactance,* De Mortibus Persecutorum*: Sources Chrétiennes*. Paris.

Mowat, R. (1901). 'Martelage et abrasions des monnaies sous l'empire romain, leur contremarques.' *Revue numismatique* 5: 443–471; RN 6 (1902): 286–290.

Mustakallio, K. (1994). *Death and Disgrace: Capital Penalties with* post mortem *Sanctions in Early Roman Historiography*. Helsinki.

Neri, M. (1997). 'L'Usurpatore come Tirrano nel Lessico Politico della Tarda Antichitá.' In *Usurpationen in der Spatantike: Akten de Kolloquiums "Strattsstreich und Staatlichkeit"*, ed. F. Verlad. Stuttgart: 71–86.

———. (2012a). 'Costantino e Licinio Θεοφιλεις e il Problema della *Historia Ecclesiastica* di Eusebio di Casarea.' In *Costantio: Prima e Dopo Constantino; Constantine: Before and After Constantine*, eds. G. Bonamente, N. Lenski and R. L. Testa. Bari: 381–403.

———. (2012b). 'Les éditions des l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* (livres VIIII–IX): bilan critique et perspectives de la recherché.' In *Eusèbe de Césarée: Histoire ecclésiastique. Commentaire Tome I: Études d'introduction*. Paris.

Nixon, C. E. V. (1993). 'Constantinus Oriens Imperator: Propaganda and Panegyric. On Reading Panegyric 7 (307).' *Historia* 42.2: 292–246.

———. (2012). 'Latin Panegyric in the Tetrarchic and Constantinian Period.' *Latin Panegyric*, ed. R. Rees. London: 223–239.

Nixon, C. E. V., and Saylor Rodgers, B. (1994). *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini. Introduction, Translation, and Historical Commentary with the Latin Text of R. A. B. Mynors*. Berkeley.

Nora, P. (1989). 'Between Memory and History: *Les lieux de mémoire*.' *Representations* 26: 7–24.

Noreña, C. F. (2011). *Imperial Ideals in the Roman West: Representation, Circulation, Power*. Cambridge.

Odahl, C. M. (2010). *Constantine and the Christian Empire* (revised ed.). London.

Omissi, A. (2016). '*Damnatio Memoriae* or *Creatio Memoriae*? Memory Sanctions as Creative Processes in the Fourth Century AD.' *The Cambridge Classical Journal* 62: 170–199.

———. (2018). *Emperors and Usurpers in the Later Roman Empire. Civil War, Panegyric, and the Construction of Legitimacy*. Oxford.

Osgood, J. (2007). Review of Flower (2006). *The American Historical Review* 112.5: 1588.

Östenberg, I. (2019). '*Damnatio Memoriae* Inscribed: The Materiality of Cultural Repression.' In *The Materiality of Text—Placement, Perception, and Presence of Inscribed Texts in Classical Antiquity* eds. A. Petrovic, I. Petrovic, and E. Thomas. Leiden: 324–347.

Overbeck, B. (1973). *Argentum Romanum: ein Schatzfund von spätrömischen Prunkgeschirr*. Munich.

Pallier, J. M., and Sablayrolles, R. (1994). '*Damnatio Memoriae*: un vraie perpétuité.' *Pallas* 40: 11–55.

Panciera, S. (1996). *Iscrizioni greche e latine del Foro Romano e del Palatino: inventario generale, inedita, revisioni*. Rome.

Panella, C. (2008). 'Imperial Insignia from the Palatine Hill.' In *Rome and the Barbarians*, ed. J. Aillagon. Milan: 86–91.

Papi, E. (2000). *L'Etruria dei romani: opera pubbliche e donazioni privati in età imperiale*. Rome.

Paschoud, F. (1971). 'Zosime 2.29 et la version paienne de la conversion de Constantin.' *Historia* 20: 334–353.

Pennebacker, J. W., and Banasik, B. L. (1997). 'On the Creation and Maintenance of Collective Memory: History as Social Psychology.' In *Collective Memory of Political Events: Social Psychological Perspectives*, eds. J. W. Pennebaker, D. Paez, and D. Rim. New York: 3–19.

Pflaum, H. G. (1967). 'L'alliance entre Constanti et Lucius Domitius Alexander.' *Bulletin d'archéologie Algérienne* 1967: 58–61.

———. (2003). *Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie. 2. Inscriptions de la confédération cirtéenne, de Cuicul et de la tribu des Suburbures*. Vol 3. Paris.

Piso, I. (1995). 'Ein neuer Statthalter von Noricum mediterraneum.' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 107: 299–304.

Piso, I. (2003). *Das Heiligtum des Jupiter Optimus Maximus auf dem Pfaffenberg / Carnuntum. Die Inschriften*. Wien.

Platner, S. B., and Ashby, T. (1929). *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. Oxford.

Pohlsander, H. A. (1984). 'Crispus: Brilliant Career and Tragic End.' *Historia* 33.1: 79–106.

———. (1996). *The Emperor Constantine*. London.

Poinssot, M. L. (1933). 'Une inscription de Musti, contemporaine de Magnence.' *Competes rendue de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* 77.1: 21–24.

Pollini, J. (1984). '*Damnatio* Memoriae in Stone: Two Portraits of Nero recut to Vespasian in American Museums.' *American Journal of Archaeology* 88: 547–555.

———. (2006). Review of Varner (2004). *The Art Bulletin* 88.3: 590–597.

———. (2008). 'Gods and Emperors in the East: Images of Power and the Power of Intolerance.' In *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East*, eds. Y. Eliav, E. Friedland, and S. Herbert. Leuven: 165–194.

Popescu, E. (1976). *Inscripţiile greceşti şi latine din secolele IV-XIII descoperite în România*. Bucharest.

Potter, D. S. (1999). 'Political Theory in the *Senatus Consultum Pisonianum*.' *American Journal of Philology* 120.1 (477): 65–88.

———. (2013). *Constantine the Emperor*. Oxford.

Price, S. (1987). 'From Noble Funerals to Divine Cult: The Consecration of Roman Emperors.' *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, eds. D. Cannadine and S. Price. Cambridge: 56–105.

Prusac, M. (2011). *From Face to Face: Recarving of Roman Portraits and the Late-Antique Portrait Arts*. Leiden.

———. (2014). '*Presence* and Image Controversies in the Third and Fourth centuries AD.' In *Iconoclasm from Antiquity to Modernity*, eds. K. Kolrund and M. Prusac. Farnham: 41–56.

Pückler-Muscau (1837). *Adventures in Algiers, and other parts of Africa*. Vol II. London.

Quatember. U. (2017). *Der sogenannte Hadrianstempel an der Kurentenstraße* (Textband). Wien.

Ramskold, L. (2013). 'Constantine's Vicennalia and the Death of Crispus.' In *Niš and Byzantium, Eleventh Symposium*, ed. M. Rakocija. Niš: 409–456.

Ramírez Sádaba, J. C. (2003). *Catálogo de las inscripciones Imperiales de Augusta Emerita*. Mérida.

Rees, R. (2002). *Layers of Loyalty in Latin Panegyric: AD 289–307*. Oxford.

———. (2004). *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy*. Edinburgh.

———. (2012). 'The Modern History of Latin Panegyric.' In *Latin Panegyric*, ed. R. Rees. Oxford: 3–48.

Ridley, R. T. (1982). *Zosimus: New History*. Sydney.

Ritner, R. K. (2012). 'Killing the Image, Killing the Essence: The Destruction of Text and Figures.' In *Iconclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, ed. N. N. May. Chicago: 395–406.

Robey, T. F. (2013). '"Damnatio memoriae": The Rebirth of Condemnation of Memory in Renaissance Florence.' *Renaissance and Reformation* 36.3: 5–32.

Rodríguez Colmenero, A., Ferrer Sierra, S., and Álvarez Asorey, R. D. (2004). *Miliarios e outras inscricións viarias romanas do Noroeste Hispánico*. Lisbon.

Roesch, P. (2007). *Les Inscriptions de Thespies* (*IThesp*). Lyon.

Roueché, C. (2009). 'The Kurentenstrasse: the Imperial Presence in Late Antiquity.' In *Neue Forschungen zur Kuretenstraße von Ephesos, Akten des Symposiums für Hilke Thür vom 13. Dezember 2006 an de Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenshaften*, eds. S. Ladstätter, J. Auinger, and I. Kowalleck. Vienna: 155–169.

Rougé, J. (1980). 'Fausta, femme de Constantin: Criminelle ou victim?' *Cahiers d'Histoire Lyon* 25.1: 3–15.

Rowan, C. (2012). *Under Divine Auspices: Divine Ideology and the Visualisation of Imperial Power in the Severan Period*. Cambridge.

Rowe, J. (2014). 'The Roman State: Laws, Lawmaking and Legal Documents.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, eds. C. Bruun and J. Edmonson. Oxford: 289–318.

Russi, A. (1999). 'La Romanizazione: il quadro storico. Età Repubblicana e età Imperial.' In *Storia della Basilicata*, ed. D. Adamestenu. Roma: 487–557.

Saastamoinen, A. (2010). *The Phraseology of Latin Building Inscriptions in Roman North Africa*. Helsinki.

Salama, P. (1976). 'Recherches numismatiques sur l'usurpateur africain L. Domitius Alexander.' *Actes du VIIIe Congrès international de numismatique*. Wettern: 365–369.

———. (1992). 'Anniversaires impériaux Constantantino-liciniens à Djemila.' In *Institutions, société et vie politique dans l'empire Romain au IVe Ap. J.C.*, ed. M. Christol. Paris: 137–159.

———. (2002). *Les bornes milliaires du territoire de Tipasa* (Maurétanie Césarienne). Rome.

Salomonoson, J. W. (1964). 'Ein Porträtkopf der Tetrarchenzeit in Leiden.' *Bulletin antieke beschaving* 39: 180–184.

Salter, A. (2014). *Four Emperors and an Architect: How Robert Adam rediscovered the Tetrarchy*. Exeter.

Salway, B. (2008). 'Roman Consuls, Imperial Politics, and Egyptian Papyri: the Consulates of 324 and 344 CE.' *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1.2: 278–310.

———. (2014). 'Late Antiquity.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, eds. C. Bruun and J. Edmonson. Oxford: 364–393.

Salzman, M. R. (1987). "Superstitio' in the "Codex Theodosianus" and the Persecution of Pagans.' *Vigiliae Christianae* 41.2: 172–188.

———. (1990). *On Roman Time: the Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley.

Sauer, E. W. (2003). *The Archaeology of Religious Hatred in the Roman and Early Medieval World*. Stroud.

Saylor Rodgers, B. (1989). 'The Metamorphosis of Constantine.' *Classical Quarterly* 39: 233–246.

Schillinger-Häfele, U. (1977). 'Vierter Nachtrag zu CIL XIII und zweiter Nachtrag zu Fr. Vollmer, Inscriptiones Baivariae Romanae. Inschriften aus dem

deutschen Anteil der germanischen Provinzen und des Treverergebiets sowie Raetiens und Noricums.' *Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission des deutchen archäologischen Instituts*: 452–603.

Schmidt-Hofner, S. (2015). 'Ostentatious Legislation: Law and Dynastic Change, AD 364–365.' In *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, ed. J. Wienand. Oxford: 67–99.

Seeck, O. (1901). *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*. Berlin.

———. (1906). *De Briefe des Libanius zeitlich geordnet*. Leipzig.

Sharankov, N. (2013). 'Inscriptions.' In *The Temple of The Pontic Mother of Gods in Dionysopolis*, eds. I. Lazarenko, E. Mircheva, R. Encheva, D. Stoyanova, and N. Sharankov. Varna.

Shelton, K. (1982). 'The Usurpers' Coins: The Case of Magnentius.' *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8: 211–235.

Sillières, P. (1986). 'De la borne milliaire à la dedicace impériale: l'exemple de quelques inscriptions routières de l'Hispanie méridionale.' *Revue de études anciennes* 88: 351–358.

Sijpesteijn, P. J. (1974). 'Macrinus' *Damnatio Memoriae* und die Papyri.' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 13: 219–227.

Sitz, A. M. (2019). 'Hiding in Plain Sight: Epigraphic Reuse in the Temple-Church at Aphrodisias.' *Journal of Late Antiquity* 12.1: 136–168.

Smith, J. H. (1971). *Constantine the Great*. London.

Smith, R. R. R. (1997). 'The Public Image of Licinius I: Portrait Sculpture and Imperial Ideology in the Early Fourth Century.' *Journal of Roman Studies* 87: 170–207.

———. (2007). 'Statue Life in the Hadrianic Baths at Aphrodisias, AD 100–600: Local Context and Historical Meaning.' In *Statuen in der Spätantike*, eds. F. A. Baur and C. Witschel. Wiesbaden: 203–231.

Søby Christensen, A. (1980). *Lactantius the Historian: an Analysis of the* De Mortibus Persecutorum. Copenhagen.

Sordi, M. (2002). *Scrita di Storia Romana*. Milan.

Stephenson, P. (2009). *Constantine: Unconquered Emperor, Christian Victor*. London.

Stewart, P. (1999). 'The Destruction of Statues in Late Antiquity.' In *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity*, ed. R. Miles. London: 159–189.

———. (2003). *Statues in Roman Society: Representation and Response*. Oxford.

———. (2007). 'Continuity and Tradition in Late Antique Perceptions of Roman Portrait Statuary.' In *Statuen in der Spätantike*, eds. F. A. Baur and C. Witschel. Wiesbaden: 27–42.

Strzygowski, J. (1888). *Die Calenderbilder. Des Chronographen Vom Jahre 354*. Berlin.

Susini, G. (1973). *The Roman Stonecutter*. Oxford.

Sutherland, C. H. V. (1967). *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, Vol. VI. London.

Syme, R. (1974). 'The Ancestry of Constantine.' In *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1971*, ed. A. Alföldy. Bonn: 237–253.

Szidat, J. (2015). 'Gaul and the Roman Emperors of the Fourth Century.' In *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, ed. J. Wienand. Oxford: 119–134.

Töpfer, J. (2011). *Signa Militaria: die römischen Feldzeichen in der Republik und im Prinzipat*. Mainz.

Topilescu, G. G. (1894). 'Neue Inschriften aus Rumänien' *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn XVII*. Wien: 81–113.

Tougher, S. (2012). 'Reading between the Lines: Julian's *First Panegyric* on Constantius II.' In *Emperor and Author: The Writings of Julian the Apostate*, eds. N. Baker-Brian and S. Tougher. Cardiff: 35–46.

Toynbee, J. M. C. (1944). *Roman Medallions*. New York.

Treadgold, W. T. (2007). *The Early Byzantine Historians*. Basingstoke.

Trombley, F. R. (2008). 'The Destruction of Pagan Statuary and Christianisation.' In *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East*, eds. Y. Eliav, E. Friedland, and S. Herbert. Leuven: 143–164.

Van Dam, R. (2007). *The Roman Revolution of Constantine*. Cambridge.

———. (2008). 'Imagining an Eastern Roman Empire: A Riot at Antioch in 387 C.E.' In *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East*, eds. Y. Eliav, E. Friedland, and S. Herbert. Leuven: 451–481.

———. (2011). *Remembering Constantine at the Milvian Bridge*. Cambridge.

Vanderspoel, J. (2012). 'A Tale of Two Cities: Themistius on Rome and Constantinople.' In *Two Romes. Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, eds. L. Grig and G. Kelly. Oxford: 223–240.

Varner, E. R. (2000a). 'Tyranny and the Transformation of the Roman Visual Landscape.' In *From Caligula to Constantine: Tyranny and Transformation in Roman Portraiture*, ed. E. Varner. Atlanta: 9–26.

———. (2000b). 'Tyranny and Transformation in Roman Imperial Marble Portraits and Coins.' *Minerva* 11.6: 45–49.

———. (2001). 'Portraits, Plots, and Politics: "Damnatio Memoriae" and the Images of Imperial Women.' *Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome* 46: 41–93.

———. (2004). *Mutilation and Transformation:* Damnatio Memoriae *and Roman Imperial Portraiture*. Leiden.

———. (2005). 'Execution in Effigy: Severed Heads and Decapitated Statues in Imperial Rome.' In *Roman Bodies: Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*, eds. A. Hopkins and M. Wyke. London: 69–77.

———. (2015). 'Reuse and Recarving: Technical Evidence.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Sculpture*, eds. E. A. Friedland and M. Grunow Sobocinski. Oxford: 123–138.

Vittinghoff, F. (1936). *Der Staatsfeind in der römischen Kaiserziet: Untersuchungen zur "damnatio memoriae"*. Berlin.

Vogel, A. (1857). *Der Kaiser Diokletian*. Gotha.

Ward-Perkins, B. (1984). *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy AD 300–850*. Oxford.

Wardman, A. E. (1984). 'Usurpers and Internal Conflicts in the Fourth Century A.D.' *Historia* 33.2: 220–237.

Warmington, B. H. (1974). 'Aspects of Constantinian Propaganda in the Panegyrici Latini.' *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 104: 371–384.

Wankel, H. (1979). *Die Inschriften von Ephesos II. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, Vol. 12. Bonn.

Webster, G. (1979). *The Roman Imperial Army*. London.

Wegner, D. M. (1994). *White Bears and Other Unwanted Thoughts: Suppression, Obsession, and the Psychology of Mental Control*. New York.

Westenholz, J. G. (2012). '*Damnatio Memoriae*: The Old Akkadian Evidence for Destruction of Name and Destruction of Person.' In *Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, ed. N. N. May. Chicago: 89–112.

White, G. (2006). 'Epilogue: Memory Moments.' *Ethos* 34.2: 325–341.

Whitehead, A. (2009). *Memory. The New Critical Idiom*. London.

Wienand, J. (2012). *Der Kaiser als Sieger. Metamorphosen triumphaler Herrschaft unter Constantin I*. Berlin.

———. (2015). '*O tandem felix civili, Roma, victoria!* Civil-War Triumphs from Honorius to Constantine and Back.' In *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, ed. J. Wienand. Oxford: 169–197.

Witschel, C. (2002). 'Meilenstein als historische Quelle? Das Beispiel Aquileia.' *Chiron* 32: 325–393.

———. (2010). 'The Epigraphic Habit in Late Antiquity: An Electronic Archive of Late Roman Inscriptions Ready for Open Access.' In *Latin on Stone: Epigraphic Research and Electronic Archives*, ed. Feraudi-Gruénais. Plymouth: 77–99.

———. (2015). 'Late Antique Sculpture.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Sculpture*, eds. E. A. Friedland and M. Grunow Sobocinski. Oxford: 322–338.

Woods, D. (1998). 'On the Death of the Empress Fausta.' *Greece and Rome* 45.1: 70–86.

Woolf, G. (1997). 'Beyond Romans and natives.' *World Archaeology* 28.3: 339–350.

Woudhuysen, G. (2018). 'Uncovering Constans' Image.' In *Imagining Emperors in the Later Roman Empire*, eds. D. P. W. Burgersdijk and A. J. Ross. Leiden: 158–182.

Index

341