

Epitome De Caesaribus

In these days, the Caesars Constantius, the father of Constantine, and Armentarius were proclaimed Augusti, with Severus in Italy and, in Oriens, Maximinus, the son of Galerius' sister, created Caesars; and at the same time Constantine was made a Caesar.

5 2. Maxentius was made imperator in a villa six miles outside the city, on the road to Lavicanum, next Licinius became an Augustus, and, in the same fashion, Alexander at Carthagina; and likewise Valens was created imperator. Their demise was as follows:

10 3. Severus Caesar was killed by Herculius Maximian in Rome at Tres Tabernae and his ashes were interred in the sepulchre of Gallienus, which is nine miles from the city on the Appian Way.

15 4. Galerius Maximianus, when his genitals were consumed, died.

5. Maximian Herculius, besieged by Constantine at Massilia, then captured, was executed in a fashion most base, with his neck snapped by a noose.

15 6. Alexander was slaughtered by Constantine's army.

7. Maxentius, while engaged against Constantine, hastening to enter from the side a bridge of boats constructed a little above the Milvian Bridge, was plunged into the depth when his horse slipped; his body, swallowed up by the weight of his armor, was barely recovered.

20 8. Maximinus died a simple death at Tarsus.

9. Valens was punished with death by Licinius.

10. As for characters, moreover, they were of this sort: Aurelius Maximian, with the cognomen Herculius, was fierce by nature, burning with lust, stolid in his counsels, of rustic and Pannonian stock. For even now, not far from Sirmium, there is a spot

25 prominent because of a palace constructed there, where his parents once worked wage-earning jobs.

11. He died at the age of sixty, imperator for twenty years.

12. From Eutropia, a Syrian woman, he sired Maxentius and Fausta, the wife of Constantine, to whose father Constantius had given his stepdaughter, Theodora.

30 13. But Maxentius, they say, was substituted by the womanly wile of one laboring to control a husband's affection by means of an auspice of a most felicitous fecundity which commenced with a boy.

14. Maxentius was dear to no one at all, not even to his father or father-in-law, Galerius.

35 15. Galerius, moreover, although possessed of an uncultivated and rustic justice, was praiseworthy enough, physically attractive, a skilled and fortunate warrior, sprung from country parents, a keeper of cattle, whence for him the cognomen Armentarius ["Herdsman"].

16. He was born and also buried in Dacia Ripensis, a place which he had called

40 Romulianum from the name of his mother, Romula.

17. He insolently dared to affirm that, in the fashion of Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, his mother had conceived him after she had been embraced by a serpent.

45 18. Galerius Maximinus, scion of Armentarius' sister, called by the name Daca, to be sure, before imperium, was a Caesar for four years, then an Augustus in Oriens for three -- in birth, indeed, and in station a shepherd, yet a supporter of every very learned man and of literature, quiet by nature, too fond of wine.

19. Drunk with which, with his mind corrupted, he used to command certain harsh measures; but when he repented what had been done, in a continent and sober time,

50 what he had enjoined, he ordered deferred.

20. Alexander was a Phrygian in origin, inferior in the face of hardship through the fault of old age. [166]

With all these men out of the way, the rights of imperium fell to Constantine and Licinius.

55 2. Constantine, son of imperator Constantius and Helena, ruled thirty years. While a young man being held as a hostage by Galerius in the city of Rome on the pretence of his religion, he took flight and, for the purpose of frustrating his pursuers, wherever his journey had brought him, he destroyed the public transports, and reached his father in Britain; and by chance, in those very days in the same place, ultimate destiny was pressing on his parent, Constantius.

60 3. With him dead, as all who were present -- but especially Crocus, King of the Alamanni, who had accompanied Constantius for the sake of support -- were urging him on, he took imperium.

4. To Licinius, who was summoned to Mediolanum, he wed his own sister Constantia; and his own son, Crispus by name, born by Minervina, a concubine, and likewise Constantinus, born in those same days at the city Arlate, and Licinianus, son of Licinius, about twenty months old, he made Caesars.

5. But, indeed, as imperia preserve concord with difficulty, a rift arose between Licinius and Constantine; and first, near Cibalae, beside a lake named Hiulca, when Constantine burst into Licinius' camps by night, Licinius sought escape and, by a swift flight, reached Byzantium.

6. There Martinianus, Master of Offices, he made a Caesar.

7. Then Constantine, stronger in battle in Bithynia, pledged through the wife to confer regal garb upon Licinius, his safety having been guaranteed. Then, after he had been sent to Thessalonica, a little later he ordered him and Martinianus slaughtered.

8. Licinius died after about fourteen years of dominatio, and near the sixtieth year of his life: through a love of avarice he was the worst of all men and not a stranger to sexual debauchery, harsh indeed, immoderately impatient, hostile toward literature, which, as a result of his boundless ignorance, he used to call a poison and a public pestilence, especially forensic endeavor.

9. Obviously he was sufficiently salutary to farmers and country folk, because he had sprung from and had been raised from that group, and a most strict guardian of the military according to the institutes of our forefathers.

10. He was a vehement suppressor of all eunuchs and courtiers, calling them worms and vermin of the palace.

11. But Constantine, when mastery of the entire Roman empire had been obtained through the wondrous good fortune of his wars, with his wife, Fausta, inciting him, so men think, ordered his son Crispus put to death.

12. Then, when his mother, Helena, as a result of excessive grief for her grandson, chastised him, he killed his own wife, Fausta, who was thrown into hot baths.

13. He was, to be sure, too desirous of praise, as is able to be ascertained. On account of the legends inscribed on many structures, he was accustomed to call Trajan "Wall Plant". He built a bridge over the Danube.

14. The royal garb he adorned with gems, and his head, at all times, with a diadem. Nevertheless, he was most agreeable in many matters: by means of laws most severe he checked malicious prosecutions; he nurtured the fine arts, especially studies of literature; he himself read, wrote, reflected, and listened to legations and the complaints of the provinces.

15. And when, with his children and his brother's son, Delmatius, confirmed as Caesars, he had lived sixty-three years, half of which thus, so that thirteen he alone ruled, he was consumed by disease.

16. He was a mocker rather than a flatterer. From this he was called after Trachala in the folktale, for ten years a most excellent man, for the following twelve a brigand, for the last ten, on account of his unrestrained prodigality, a ward irresponsible for his own actions.

17. His body was buried in Byzantium, called Constantinople.

18. With him dead, Delmatius was put to death by the violence of the troops.

19. Thus dominatio of the Roman world was returned to three men, Constantinus, Constantius, and Constans, the sons of Constantine.

20. These individually held these areas as their realms: Constantinus the Younger, everything beyond the Alps; Constantius, from the Strait of the Propontis, Asia, and Oriens; Constans, Illyricum and Italy and Africa; Delmatius, Thrace and Macedonia and Achaea; Hannibalianus, brother of Delmatius Caesar, Armenia and neighboring, allied nations.

21. However, on account of the legal right to Italy and Africa, Constantinus and Constans immediately disagreed. When Constantinus, reckless and horribly intoxicated, in a display of highway robbery, rushed into territories not his own, he was slain and thrown into a river, the name for which is Alsa, not far from Aquileia.

22. But while Constans, because of a desire of hunting, was roaming through forests and woodland pastures, some soldiers, with Chrestius, Marcellinus, and also Magnentius the instigators, conspired toward his murder. As soon as the day of carrying out the business was resolved, Marcellinus, feigning the birth of a son, invited many men to dinner. And so, late in the night, while a drinking party was being celebrated, he withdrew as if to relieve himself as is normal, and assumed the revered attire.

23. When this action was discovered, Constans attempted to flee to Helena, a city close to the Pyrenees, and by Gaiso, who had been dispatched with picked men, he was killed in the thirteenth year of his reign as an Augustus (for he had been a Caesar for a three-year period), at the age of twenty-seven.

24. Disabled in the feet and hands through a malady of the joints, he was fortunate in temperateness of climate, in an abundance of harvests, and in no terror from barbarians, things which would have been still greater indeed, if he had promoted governors of provinces not for a price, but on the basis of judgment.

25. When his death became known, Vetrario, Master of Soldiers, seized imperium in Pannonia at Mursia; not many days after, Constantius desposed him from power,

granting to him not only a long life, but also a retirement full of pleasures. He was, moreover, a most simpleminded man, verging on stupidity.

140 Constantius proclaimed Caesar Gallus, the son of his father's brother, marrying to him his sister, Constantia.

2. Magnentius, too, made Decentius, his brother, Caesar beyond the Alps.

3. In these days, at Rome, Nepotianus, son of Eutropia, Constantine's sister, with those who had been destroyed driving him on, took the name Augustus; him Magnentius crushed in twenty-eight days.

145 4. At this time, Constantius did battle with Magnentius at Mursa and was victorious. In this battle, hardly anywhere was Roman might more fully consumed and the fortune of the whole empire dashed.

5. Then, when Magnentius had removed himself toward Italy, near Ticinum he scattered many who were recklessly and, as is customary in victory, too boldly pursuing him.

150 6. Not much later, cornered near Lugdunum, he breathed his last in the forty-second month of imperium and in about the fiftieth year of his life, his side pierced with a sword secretly supplied, assisting the blow by pushing against a wall - as he was of immense size -, spewing blood from the wound, his nostrils, and mouth.

155 7. He sprang from barbarian parents, who inhabited Gallia; he was inclined toward the study of reading, sharp of tongue, of a haughty spirit, and cowardly beyond measure; a master, nevertheless, for concealing terror under a pretext of boldness.

8. When his death was heard of, Decentius ended his life with a noose made of a cloth swathe.

9. At this time, Gallus Caesar was killed by Constantius. He ruled four years.

160 10. Silvanus was made imperator and, on the twenty-eighth day of imperium, was destroyed. He was by nature most charming.

11. Although the scion of a barbarian father, he was nevertheless, as a result of Roman training, sufficiently cultivated and patient.

165 12. Constantius took to himself with the rank of Caesar Claudius Julian, Gallus' brother, almost twenty-three years old.

13. In the Argentoratensian Fields in Gallia, he, with a few troops, destroyed an innumerable army of enemies.

170 14. The heaps were standing like mountains, the blood was flowing in the fashion of rivers; a king, noble Nodomarius, was captured; the entire aristocracy was routed; the frontier of Roman property was restored; and afterward, doing battle with the Alamanni, he captured their most powerful king, Badomarius.

15. He was proclaimed Augustus by the Gallic troops.

175 16. Through legations, Constantius urged him to return to his original status and title. Julian, in a rather mild, secret correspondence, replied that he would serve far more dutifully under the title of a lofty imperium.

17. As a result of these things, Constantius burned more and more with outrage and, as he was unable to endure the like, with a sharp fever which excessive indignation increased by sleepless nights, perished in the foothills of Mount Taurus near Mopsocrene in the forty-fourth year of age and in the thirty-ninth of imperium, but in his twenty-fourth as an Augustus: eight alone, sixteen with his brothers and Magnentius, fifteen as a Caesar.

180 18. He was lucky in civil wars, lamentable in foreign; an amazing artist with arrows, very abstinent from food, drink, and sleep, able to endure labor, a lover of eloquence, which, since, through slowness of mind, he was unable to attain, he used to envy in others.

185 19. He was addicted to the love of eunuchs, courtiers, and wives, by whom - satisfied by no deviant or unlawful pleasure - he used to be polluted.

190 20. But from wives, many whom he obtained, he especially delighted in Eusebia, who was indeed elegant, but, through Adamantiae and Gorgoniae and other dangerous abettors, harmful of her husband's reputation, contrary to what is customary for more upright females whose precepts often aid their husbands.

195 21. For, as I pass over others, it is incredible to relate how much Pompeia Plotina increased the glory of Trajan: when his procuratores were disrupting the provinces with false accusations to the extent that one of them was said to have greeted a certain wealthy fellow thus, "How did you get so much?"; another, "Where did you get so much?"; a third, "Give me what you've got," she admonished her husband and, reproaching him because he was so unconcerned with his reputation, returned so much that afterward he spurned unjust exactions and called the fisc the spleen, because, as it increased, the remaining muscles and limbs dwindled.

200 <https://www.roman-emperors.org/epitome.htm>

Origo Constantini Imperatoris

Constantius, grandson of the brother of that best of emperors Claudius, was first one

of the emperor's bodyguard, then a tribune, and later, governor of Dalmatia. With Galerius, he was appointed Caesar by Diocletian; for he put away his former wife Helena and married Theodora, daughter of Maximianus, by whom he afterwards had six children, brothers of Constantine. But by his former wife Helena, he already had a son Constantine, who was later the mightiest of emperors.

This Constantine, then, born of Helena, a mother of very common origin, and brought up in the town of Naissus, which he afterwards splendidly adorned, had but slight training in letters. He was held as a hostage by Diocletian and Galerius, and did valiant service under those emperors in Asia. After the abdication of Diocletian and Herculius, Constantius asked Galerius to return his son; but Galerius first exposed him to many dangers. For when Constantine, then a young man, was serving in the cavalry against the Sarmatians, he seized by the hair and carried off a fierce savage, and threw him at the feet of the emperor Galerius. Then sent by Galerius through a swamp, he entered it on his horse and made a way for the rest to the Sarmatians, of whom he slew many and won the victory for Galerius. Then at last, Galerius sent him back to his father. But in order to avoid meeting Severus as he passed through Italy, Constantine crossed the Alps with the greatest haste, ordering the post-horses to be killed as he went on; and he came up with his father Constantius at Bononia, which the Gauls formerly called Gesoriacum. But his father Constantius, after winning a victory over the Picts, died at York, and Constantine was unanimously hailed as Caesar by all the troops.

In the meantime, two other Caesars had been appointed, Severus and Maximinus; to Maximinus was given the rule of the Orient; Galerius retained Illyricum for himself, as well as the Thracian provinces and Bithynia; Severus received Italy and whatever Herculius had formerly governed. But after Constantius died in Britain, and his son Constantine succeeded him, Maxentius, the son of Herculius, was suddenly hailed as emperor by the praetorian soldiers in the city of Rome. By order of Galerius, Severus took the field against Maxentius, but he was suddenly deserted by all his followers and fled to Ravenna. Thereupon Galerius, with a great army, came against Rome, threatening the destruction of the city, and encamped at Interamna near the Tiber. Then he sent Licinius and Probus to the city as envoys, asking that the son-in law, that is Maxentius, should attain his desires from the father-in law, that is Galerius, at the price of requests rather than of arms.

Galerius' proposal was scorned, and having learned that through Maxentius' promises many of his own men had been led to desert his cause, he was distressed and turned back; and in order to furnish his men with whatever booty he could, he gave orders that the Flaminian Road should be plundered. Maximianus took refuge with Constantine. Then Galerius made Licinius a Caesar in Illyricum, and after that, leaving him in Pannonia, returned himself to Serdica, where he was attacked by a violent disease and wasted away so completely, that he died with the inner parts of his body exposed and in a state of corruption – a punishment for a most unjust persecution, which recoiled as a well-merited penalty upon the author of the iniquitous order. He ruled for nineteen years.

Severus Caesar was low both in character and in origin, given to drink, and hence a friend to Galerius. Accordingly, Galerius made Caesars of him and Maximinus, without Constantine having knowledge of any such step. To this Severus were assigned some cities of Pannonia, Italy, and Africa. Through this chance, Maxentius became emperor; for Severus was deserted by his men and fled to Ravenna. Summoned to support his son Maxentius, Herculius came to Ravenna, deceived Severus by a false oath, gave him into custody, and took him to Rome in the condition of a captive; there he had him kept under guard in a villa belonging to the state, situated thirty miles from Rome on the Appian Road. When Galerius later went to Italy, Severus was executed; then his body was taken to a place eight miles from the city, and laid in the tomb of Gallienus. Now Galerius was such a tippler that when he was drunk he gave orders such as ought but to be obeyed; and so, at the advice of his prefect, he directed that no one should execute any commands which he issued after luncheon.

Meanwhile Constantine, after defeating the tyrant's generals at Verona, went on to Rome. When he had reached the city, Maxentius came out and chose a plain above the Tiber as the place to do battle. There the usurper was defeated, and when all his men were put to flight, he was prevented from escaping by the crowd of fugitives, thrown from his horse into the river, and drowned. On the following day his body was recovered from the Tiber, and the head was cut off and taken to Rome. When his mother was questioned about his parentage, she admitted that he was the son of a Syrian. He ruled for six years.

Now Licinius was a native of New Dacia, and was of somewhat common origin. He was made emperor by Galerius, in order that he might take the field against Maxentius. But when Maxentius was overthrown and Constantine had recovered Italy, he made 270 Licinius his colleague on condition that he should marry Constantine's sister Constantia at Mediolanum. After the celebration of the wedding Constantine went to Gaul, and Licinius returned to Illyricum. Some time after that Constantine sent 275 Constantius to Licinius, to persuade him to confer the rank of Caesar on Bassianus, who was married to a second sister of Constantine (named Anastasia), to the end that, after the manner of Maximianus, Bassianus might hold Italy and thus stand as a buffer between Constantine and Licinius. But Licinius thwarted such an arrangement, and influenced by Bassianus' brother Senicio, who was loyal to Licinius, Bassianus took 280 up arms against Constantine. But he was arrested in the act of accomplishing his purpose, and by order of Constantine was condemned and executed. When the punishment of Senicio was demanded as the instigator of the plot and Licinius refused, the harmony between the two emperors came to an end; an additional reason for the break was, that Licinius had overthrown the busts and statues of Constantine at Emona. Then the two emperors declared open war. Their armies were led to the plain of Cibalae. Licinius had 35000 infantry and cavalry; Constantine commanded 20000. After an 285 indecisive contest, in which 20000 of Licinius' foot soldiers and a part of his mail-clad horsemen were slain, he himself with a great part of his other cavalry made his escape under cover of night to Sirmium. From there, taking with him his wife, his son, and his treasures, he went to Dacia and appointed Valens, who was commander on 290 the frontier, to the rank of Caesar. Then, having through Valens mustered a large force at Hadrianopolis, a city of Thrace, he sent envoys to Constantine, who had established himself at Philippi, to treat for peace. When the envoys were sent back without accomplishing anything, the war was renewed and the two rivals joined battle 295 on the plain of Mardia. After a long and indecisive struggle, the troops of Licinius gave way and night aided them to escape. Thereupon Licinius and Valens, believing that Constantine (as turned out to be the case), in order to follow up his advantage, would advance farther in the direction of Byzantium, turned aside and made their way towards Beroea. As Constantine was eagerly pushing on, he learned that Licinius had remained behind him; and just then, when his men were worn out from fighting and marching, Mestrianus was sent to him as an envoy, to propose peace in the name of 300 Licinius, who promised to do as he was bidden. Valens was ordered to return again to his former private station; when that was done, peace was concluded by both emperors, with the stipulation that Licinius should hold the Orient, Asia, Thrace, Moesia, and Lesser Scythia. Then Constantine, having returned to Serdica, arranged with Licinius, 305 who was elsewhere, that Crispus and Constantinus, sons of Constantine, and Licinius, son of Licinius, should be made Caesars, and that thus the rule should be carried on in harmony by both emperors. Thus Constantine and Licinius became colleagues in the consulship. In the regions of the Orient, while Licinius and Constantine were consuls, Licinius was stirred by sudden madness and ordered that all the Christians should be driven from the Palace.

310 Soon war flamed out again between Licinius himself and Constantine. Also, when Constantine was at Thessalonica, the Goths broke through the neglected frontiers, devastated Thrace and Moesia, and began to drive off booty. Then because of fear of 315 Constantine and his check of their attack they returned their prisoners to him and peace was granted them. But Licinius complained of this action as a breach of faith, on the ground that his function had been usurped by another. Finally, by using sometimes humble entreaties and sometimes arrogant threats, he aroused the deserved wrath of Constantine. During the interval before the civil war began, but while it was in preparation, Licinius gave himself up to a frenzy of wickedness, cruelty, 320 avarice and lust; he put many men to death for the sake of their riches, and violated their wives. Now peace was broken by consent of both sides; Constantine sent Crispus Caesar with a large fleet to take possession of Asia, and on the side of Licinius, Amandus opposed him, likewise with naval forces. Licinius himself had covered the slopes of high mountain near Hadrianopolis with a huge army. Hither Constantine turned his march with his entire force. While the war went on slowly by land and sea, 325 although Constantine's army had great difficulty in scaling the heights, at last his good fortune and the discipline of his army prevailed, and he defeated the confused and disorganised army of Licinius; but Constantine was slightly wounded in the thigh. Then Licinius fled to Byzantium; and while his scattered forces were on the way to the city, Licinius closed it, and feeling secure against an attack by sea, planned to 330 meet a siege from the land-side. But Constantine got together a fleet from Thrace. Then Licinius, with his usual lack of consideration, chose Martinianus as his Caesar. But Crispus, with Constantine's fleet, sailed to Callipolis, where in a sea-fight he so utterly defeated Amandus that the latter barely made his escape with the help of the forces which he had left on shore. But Licinius' fleet was in part destroyed and

335 in part captured. Licinius, abandoning hope on the sea, by way of which he saw that he would be blockaded, fled with his treasures to Chalcedon. Constantine entered Byzantium, where he met Crispus and learned of his naval victory. Then Licinius began a battle at Chrysopolis, being especially aided by the Gothic auxiliaries which their prince Alica had brought; whereupon the army of Constantine was victorious, slaying 340 25000 soldiers of the opposing side and putting the rest to flight. Later, when they saw Constantine's legions coming in Liburnian galleys, the survivors threw down their arms and gave themselves up. But on the following day Constantia, sister of Constantine and wife of Licinius, came to her brother's camp and begged that her husband's life be spared, which was granted. Thus Licinius became a private citizen, 345 and was entertained at a banquet by Constantine. Martinianus' life was also spared. Licinius was sent to Thessalonica; but Constantine, influenced by the example of his father-in law Herculius Maximianus, for fear that Licinius might again, with disastrous consequences to the State, resume the purple which he had laid down, and also because the soldiers mutinously demanded his death, had him assassinated at 350 Thessalonica, and Martinianus in Cappadocia. Licinius reigned nineteen years and was survived by his wife and a son. And yet, after all the other participants in the abominable persecution had already perished, the penalty he deserved would surely demand this man also, a persecutor so far as he could act as such. In commemoration of his splendid victory Constantine called Byzantium Constantinople 355 after his own name; and as if it were his native city, he adorned it with great magnificence and wished to make it equal to Rome. Then he sought out new citizens for it from every quarter, and lavished such wealth on the city, that thereon he all but exhausted the imperial fortunes. There he also established a senate of the second rank, the members of which had the title of clari. Then he began war against the 360 Goths, rendering aid also to the Sarmatians, who had appealed to him for help. The result was that almost a hundred thousand of the Goths were destroyed by hunger and cold through Constantius Caesar. Then he also received hostages, among whom was Ariaricus, the king's son. When peace with the Goths had thus been secured, Constantine turned against the Sarmatians, who were showing themselves to be of 365 doubtful loyalty. But the slaves of the Sarmatians rebelled against all their masters and drove them from the country. These Constantine willingly received, and distributed more than three hundred thousand people of different ages and both sexes through Thrace, Scythia, Macedonia, and Italy.

370 Constantine was also the first Christian emperor, with the exception of Philippus who seemed to me to have become a Christian merely in order that the one-thousandth year of Rome might be dedicated to Christ rather than to pagan idols. But from Constantine down to the present day all the emperors that have been chosen were Christians, with the exception of Julian, whose disastrous life forsook him in the midst of the 375 impious plans which it was said that he was devising. Moreover, Constantine made the change in a just and humane fashion; for he issued an edict that the temples should be closed without any shedding of pagan blood. Afterwards he destroyed the bravest and most populous of the Gothic tribes in the very heart of the barbarian territory; that is, in the lands of the Sarmatians.

380 Constantine also put down a certain Calocaerus, who tried to achieve a revolution in Cyprus. He made Delmatius, son of his brother of the same name, a Caesar; Delmatius' brother Hannibalianus he created King of Kings and ruler of the Pontic tribes, after giving him his daughter Constantiana in marriage. Then it was arranged that the younger Constantine should rule the Gallic provinces, Constantius Caesar the Orient, Constans Illyricum and Italy, while Dalmatius was to guard the Gothic coastline.

385 While Constantine was planning to make war on the Persians, he died in an imperial villa in the suburbs of Constantinople, not far from Nicomedia, leaving the State in good order to his sons. He was buried in Constantinople, after a reign of thirty-one years.

<https://www.constantinethegreatcoins.com/Constantine/Origo.html>

390 Constantine: triumph over a usurper

Victory in war was, as already mentioned, an integral part of generating political legitimacy, and, as during the Late Republic, civil war had to be justified if individual emperors were to obtain that legitimacy. Discussing the contested triumph of Constantine, Beard comments on later Roman triumphal celebrations:

395 Yet we should hesitate before we conclude that the ancient triumph lasted as long as anyone was prepared to describe ceremonies in triumphal terms. This was, after all, contested territory. And at a certain point the gap between the triumphal rhetoric and the ritual action must have become so wide as to be implausible. It does indeed seem difficult to use the evidence of panegyrists and poets to determine whether a 400 triumph has actually taken place, and in general one should be careful with

inferences on this point drawn from their effusions. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that the triumph was, as mentioned above, already contested territory during the period of the Late Republic.

But first an obvious point: we should not exclude any triumphs held outside Rome.

405 Triumphs in imperial residences were nothing new by the time of Constantine and certainly were not problematic, moreover, but as we shall see, a similar practice can be traced to Republican times. During Constantine's time at Trier he successfully defeated several German tribes. Barnes has tabulated these victories as follows: the first German victories of Constantine appeared in 307,

410 the second in 308,

and the third preceded his decennalia in 315, most probably in 313.

The panegyric of 310 recounts the punishing of enemy chiefs within a triumphal context, referring to triumphs of the Republican period (Pan. Lat. 6(7).10.2-11.6, esp. 10.5-7). The result of the victory was peace (11.1), which corresponds to the

415 'sense of an ending' implicit in the ritual of the triumph (cf. Livy 26.21.2-4). After this victory over Frankish tribes, a procession was held in Trier culminating with the enemy chiefs being fed to the beasts in the arena (Eutr. 10.3.2: "magnificum spectaculum"). The spectacle and punishment of the enemy is also described in the panegyric of 307 (Pan. Lat. 7(6).4.2, 4; cf. Eutr. 10.3.2). The panegyric of 313 (Pan. Lat. 12(9).21.5-22.5; 23.3-4; cf. Euseb. Vit. Const. 1.46; RIC 7 124, 163f, 420 166f) also mentions the celebration of a Frankish triumph (triumphus), probably in 313 (23.3):

Nam quid hoc triumpho pulchrius, quo caedibus hostium utitur etiam ad nostrum omnium voluptatem, et pompam munerum de reliquis barbaricae cladis exaggerat?

425 What is lovelier than this triumphal celebration in which he employs the slaughter of enemies for the pleasure of us all, and enlarges the procession of the games out of the survivors of the massacre of the barbarians?

430 Cameron and Hall suggest that this was only a generalizing statement, not a reference to a specific campaign. This cannot be entirely excluded, but a local triumph remains a more reasonable conclusion, in light of the detailed description of the fate of the enemy chiefs. In 307 and 308 Rome was under the control of the usurper Maxentius and even if Constantine desired to celebrate a triumph in Rome, he would not have had access to the city. In 313 Constantine chose to celebrate a triumph in Trier for other reasons, away from Rome and the Capitol, perhaps because this was close to the 435 victories and because crossing the Alps with a large armed force would have weakened the frontiers.

440 In the Republic the Alban Mount triumph had already revealed the conundrum of the physical locality of the triumph: it concluded outside the city of Rome, approximately 30 km to the South-East of the city. As it did not end on the Capitol, it could not be considered a triumph; moreover it was the only form of triumph that was not granted to the victorious commander by the Senate. However, Alban Mount triumphs are mentioned and recorded on the Fasti Triumphales, erected during the reign of Augustus. This adaptability in the concept of the triumph can also be seen in the celebrations of Constantine in Trier: triumphs held outside Rome, out of necessity or practicality. And this adaptability reappears in the 312 celebrations in Rome.

Constantine and Rome AD 312

450 Having been passed over as a member of the tetrarchy, Maxentius usurped power in Rome, whereupon Galerius summoned Severus to recover the city from the usurper. This was unsuccessful, as was Galerius' later attempt to take Rome. Finally in 312 Constantine invaded Italy and after the capitulation of Verona, moved against Rome. The Tetrarchy was finally collapsing into civil war. On the 28th of October Maxentius was defeated at the Milvian Bridge, in what was to become the foundation myth of the regime, and on the 29th of October Constantine entered Rome.

455 As a usurper Maxentius was a *hostis publicus* and could be killed without consequence. Furthermore, Lactantius and Zosimus both claim that Maxentius declared war on Constantine due to the death of his father, allegedly killed by Constantine. This, however, may be a later rewriting by the regime, as the panegyric from 321 (4(10).9-11) observes that Constantine attacked first.

460 The case is similar to that of Antonius in the civil war against Octavian: if Antonius, as mentioned, was to take up arms against Octavian and the *res publica*, he would declare war on the *res publica* and thus declare himself a *hostis*. This was mainly a question of justification: civil war appeared inevitable, but Constantine did not want to be seen to cause it. He was, it would seem, closely following the tactics of Augustus.

[aptability_of_Triumphal_Tradition_Analecta_Romana_Instituti_Danici_37_2012_29_53_the_complete_article/?swp=rr-rw-wc-4359131](http://www.arts.kuleuven.be/latijn/edicta/edicta/edicta.htm)

EDICT OF CONSTANTINE I CONCERNING THE ACCUSATIONS (314-323)

470 Two chapters of this edict are preserved in CTh. 9, 5 and in CJ 9, 8, 3. Three copies of the edict on stone have been discovered: one somewhere in Asia Minor, before 1600, but now lost; one in Lycia, also in Asia Minor, before 1902; one in Crete, reported in 1889, which exhibits all of the surviving part of the edict. The date is doubtful, for the superscription and the subscription preserved in the codes do not agree by an interval of about a decade, but the codes and the stones all agree in the subscription, which is dated 314

475 1) Copy of the sacred edict.

2) ... it has been proved that very many persons not only in respect to their fortunes ... accusations ... sometimes ... by cases of this kind those who are accused as well as those who are summoned for evidence are afflicted with very serious annoyances. Wherefore, taking counsel for the security of our provinces, we provide remedies of this character, that an accuser indeed may not entirely be repulsed from court, but whoever believes that he can add proofs to his charges may have the free opportunity to approach a judge and may reveal the defendant by clear evidence of the offenses, so that according to the nature of the deeds suitable punishment may be inflicted on the person who is convicted. But if he is not at all able to establish those charges which he makes he shall know that he must be subjected to a very severe sentence.

480 3) To be sure, if anyone charges someone with the crime of treason, since the accusation of such a kind not at all protects anyone by the privilege of any high rank from a very strict inquisition, he shall know that he also must be subject to torture if he is not able to establish his accusation by other clear evidences and proofs, since in the case of the person who is detected in this temerity this fact properly shall be elicited also by torture, namely, by whose advice and instigation it appears that he entered upon the accusation, so that punishment from all persons who are accessory to so great a deed can be exacted.

485 4) Moreover, it is known to all how often an opportunity also to approach a judge has been denied to informers not only by the statutes of our parents, but also by our ordinances, since a hearing must not be granted to persons of this kind, because indeed they must be subjected to punishment in accordance with the daring of such great wickedness.

490 5) Also in the case of slaves or of freedmen who attempt to accuse or to report their masters or their patrons we decree that the law according to the statute of the ancient law also must be observed, namely, that, to be sure, the declaration of such atrocious audacity shall be repressed immediately in the inception of its commission itself by the judge's decision, and, after a hearing has been denied, whoever proceeds to the desperate boldness of this kind shall offer, affixed to a gibbet, an example to all others, lest anyone of like audacity should appear in the future.

495 6) To be sure, that everywhere counsel may be taken for the security of innocent persons, it is our pleasure that defamatory informations shall not be accepted. And if anyone discovers these displayed anonymously, he shall be bound to remove them immediately and to tear them in pieces or to consume them by fire. And in these cases it shall be proper for the judges to take note of such a kind that, if perchance such information is brought to them, they shall direct it to be burned by fire, since a writing of such kind properly shall be removed completely from a judge's hearing, but an investigation shall remain against those persons who dare to display information of such a sort, that, when discovered, they shall be subjected to the due punishments of their temerity.

500 7) Accordingly, we have written about all these matters not only to our prefects but also to the governors and the treasurer and the master of our private estate, by whose other copy, when our edict has been published, it is declared most fully what kind of law and statute it contains.

505 8) Publicly posted January I in the consulship of Volusianus and Annianus.