

**The Making of an Emperor: Categorizing Power  
and Political Interests in Late Roman Imperial Accessions  
(284 CE – 610 CE)**

By JaShong King

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts in conformity with the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts in Classical Studies

Supervisor: Dr. Geoffrey Greatrex  
Department of Classics and Religious Studies  
Faculty of Arts  
University of Ottawa

© JaShong King, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, 2017

## **Abstract**

Roman emperors came to power through a hybrid dynastic/elective selection system that was never formally codified. This lack of codification has caused problems for modern scholars looking to identify and categorize those who were involved in selecting the next Roman emperor. This thesis believes that these problems exist because scholars are not distinguishing the names of key ancient institutions from the underlying types of power which backed their capability for action.

This thesis seeks to solve this problem by creating a categorization system for imperial accessions based around a basic unit called the “political interest.” At its core, a political interest is a combination of the name of the individual or group as listed in the primary sources, the different types of power they possessed, and the level of decision-making authority they wielded during an imperial selection.

Using this system, this thesis creates a database of Late Roman emperors with information on when they came to power, the various stages of their accessions, what political interests supported them, and where these interests were located. This thesis then analyzes the political and geographic trends from the database and supplies provisional explanations as to why changes in the Late Roman accession process occurred.

## Acknowledgments

As we all know, no project exists in a vacuum. The fruition of this thesis is by no means the result of my sole efforts, but one made possible by the assistance of many others behind the scenes. I apologize in advance if I have forgotten to thank anyone for their help.

I would like to first thank my advisor, Geoffrey Greatrex, who has been a calming and collaborative presence throughout the past two years. It was an innocuously simple question of his that started this project, and the search for its answer has been a most rewarding adventure.

I would like to thank all of the professors at the University of Ottawa with whom I have worked, Jitse Dijkstra, Louise Stephens, Karin Schlapbach, Dominique Coté, Marie-Pierre Bussièrès, Pierluigi Piovanelli, Rajiv Bhola, Theodore De Bruyn, Efharis Kostala, and Richard Burgess, as well as Hugh Elton from Trent University. Their instruction, advice, and patience, especially with all of my unending questions, have made this Masters degree and the researching of this thesis quite an enjoyable experience.

I would like also to give a thanks to the online history communities, most notably Reddit's AskHistorians forum, that have acted as sounding-boards for many of these ideas. They have been vital in not only developing my interest in history, but also in critically engaging and challenging my thoughts in their various states of formation.

An additional thank you is warranted to all of my peers, both undergraduate and graduate, for their moral and academic support. I want to give a special thanks in particular to J.-P. Rehr at the Université de Lyon and Scott Wings at the University of Ottawa for their close editing of this unexpectedly lengthy thesis. I expect I will be reading both of your equally lengthy theses soon enough.

My parents, Hsang and Mei-Fong King, have my eternal gratitude for their good cheer and optimism toward me joining their ranks as a fellow graduate degree holder.

Finally, the absolute deepest of all thanks to my partner, Leah Schnurr, without whom none of this would be possible. Thank you for being there for me, and know that I will always be there for you, to make both of our dreams come true.

# Table of Contents

Abstract .....	ii
Acknowledgments .....	iii
Table of Contents .....	iv
List of Illustrations .....	vi
<u>INTRODUCTION</u> .....	1
Previous Accession Analyses .....	2
Reaction to Kaldellis and Pfeilschifter .....	5
Project Purpose .....	7
<u>CHAPTER ONE: METHODS</u> .....	9
Definitions and Categorizations .....	9
<i>Time Frame and Sources</i> .....	9
<i>“Emperors”</i> .....	10
<i>Accession Types</i> .....	12
<i>Accession Stages</i> .....	15
Identifying Political Power .....	21
<i>Master List of Political Interests</i> .....	21
<i>Political Interests</i> .....	23
<i>Power Types</i> .....	26
Interest Types .....	29
<i>Executive</i> .....	30
<i>Military</i> .....	33
<i>Administrative</i> .....	35
<i>Religious</i> .....	37
<i>Popular</i> .....	38
<i>Non-Roman</i> .....	39
Levels of Decision-Making Power .....	40
<i>Deciders, Affirmers, Mentions</i> .....	41
<i>Tacit Assent vs. Refusal</i> .....	42
<u>CHAPTER TWO: SYNTHESIS</u> .....	44
Sample Accession Analysis (Diocletian) .....	44
Political Interests by Power Type .....	50
Influence of Power Types .....	55
<i>Charts and Explanations</i> .....	55
<i>Trends</i> .....	58
Geographic Range of Political Interest Power .....	60

<i>Explanation of Maps</i> .....	63
<i>Analysis</i> .....	64
<b>CHAPTER THREE: THEORIES</b> .....	67
Implications .....	67
Origins .....	67
<i>Inheritance</i> .....	67
<i>Election</i> .....	70
Late Roman Evolution .....	72
<i>Child Emperors and the Capital</i> .....	72
<i>Precedents and Political Interests</i> .....	74
<b>CONCLUSION</b> .....	80
Caveats .....	80
Uses and Applications .....	82
<b>APPENDIX A (Late Roman Emperors, 284 CE – 610 CE)</b> .....	86
Sample Entry .....	86
Tetrarchy .....	87
Fourth Century .....	103
Fifth Century .....	120
<i>Western</i> .....	120
<i>Eastern</i> .....	133
Sixth and Seventh Centuries .....	145
<b>APPENDIX B (Emperor Lists)</b> .....	156
Consularia and Chronicles .....	156
Modern Emperor Lists .....	158
PLRE Emperors, Usurpers, and Rebels .....	160
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b> .....	163
Abbreviations .....	163
Primary Sources .....	163
Secondary Sources .....	170

## **List of Illustrations**

(Fig. 1) Chart of Emperors and Interest Types .....	50
(Fig. 2) Chart of Decision-Making Interests .....	55
(Fig. 3) Maps of Political Interest Activity .....	61
(Fig. 4) Diagram for the Evolution of Political Interest Power .....	75

All illustrations are my own work.

## Introduction

The Roman Empire was one of the longest-lasting political entities in history, beginning with Augustus in 31 BCE<sup>1</sup> and continuing to its last emperor, Constantine XI in 1453 CE. Central to the empire's governing structure was the position of emperor, its supreme executive. Although most powerful societies in human history have had supreme executives, the uniqueness of the Roman leadership system was that the transmission of the position from one person to the next did not follow strict dynastic or electoral rules. Instead, the transmission of the office seemed to follow a hybrid system of both familial inheritance and group election, with customs loose enough to allow for violent overthrows, also called usurpations, to be legitimized alongside non-violent transitions without forcing a complete overhaul of the state.<sup>2</sup>

The hybrid nature of the Roman executive transition system has, in the past, caused problems with attempts to create a system for determining how an emperor's coming-to-power, or accession, occurred. This thesis aims to put forth just such an organizational scheme for identifying the key players or political interests, involved in an imperial accession. This is done in order to assist in answering the broader question, "Who was involved in choosing the next Roman emperor, and why did they have that power?" At the core of this thesis is an attempt to reconcile two competing scholarly positions, one from Anthony Kaldellis, the other from Rene Pfeilschifter, on which interests were more important in the backing and selection of a new emperor. Are the interests which were theoretically, or *de iure*, more important, or the interests that were functionally, or *de facto*, more important?<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Many historians count the beginning of Augustus' reign from either 31 BCE or 27 BCE. Those using the date of 31 BCE follow Dio (51.1.2), who thought Octavian/Augustus took power following the defeat of Mark Antony and Cleopatra, the last effective military threats to Augustus, at the Battle of Actium. The alternate start date is 27 BCE, with Octavian taking the name/title of *Augustus*. One other date possibility is 43 BCE, the year when Augustus took up the *fasces* for the first time as well as his first imperial salutation. See Burgess (2014: 38-9), Crook (1996: 73, 79).

<sup>2</sup> The Chinese Empire is perhaps the only other political entity that shares Roman flexibility and longevity in executive transition, both dynastic and non-dynastic. Mommsen's (1877: 1077) explanation of the Roman imperial governing and succession system as "an autocracy tempered by the legal right of revolution" is paralleled with the Chinese notion of the Mandate of Heaven, which also allowed for a *post factum* legitimization of revolution. See Zhu (2009: 31-7), Loewe (1986: 735-7), Glanville (2010: 324). If we take Kaldellis' (2015: xii, 164) view that Roman ideas of legitimized popular revolt persisted to the end of the Byzantine Empire in 1453 CE, then we have the political and ideological survival of both imperial states for a period of almost 1,500 years for the Roman Empire and more than two millenia for the Chinese Empire.

<sup>3</sup> I interpret Kaldellis (2015) as holding the *de iure* position and Pfeilschifter (2013) as holding the *de facto* position.

This thesis will attempt to address these questions in the following manner. First, it will lay out the existing research. Next, it will define its parameters for analysis, including time frames, sources, definitions, and units of examination, i.e. the list of emperors that it will scrutinize. Afterward, it will define its methods for identifying political interests in a way that reconciles the aforementioned question as to which interests are more important, the *de iure* or the *de facto*. Then these methods of identifying political interests will be applied to a comprehensive list of emperors in the examined time frame, with the results available in the appendix, to see how the categorization system handles the diversity of accessions in the Late Roman period. It will synthesize the appendix data and discuss changes to political interest configurations over time. Finally, it will offer a few provisional theories as to why these changes occurred.

This thesis will touch on many aspects of Late Roman accession.<sup>4</sup> However, it is not its intention to examine comprehensively all aspects of the accession process. Its utility lies in the categorization scheme it puts forward and the application of that scheme toward a systematized reference guide as to how a significant majority of Late Roman emperors came to power, and what types of power supported them in their accessions.

## PREVIOUS ACCESSION ANALYSES

The accessions of Roman emperors represent a subject<sup>5</sup> touched on by nearly every general overview of Late Antiquity with a political narrative.<sup>6</sup> However, there are several problems with the ways that these books approach accessions, since they do not aim to examine this subject closely. Because these overviews cover vast stretches of time, they skip less important emperors,

---

<sup>4</sup> I use the following periodizations for this paper. I consider 509 BCE to 107 BCE the “Early” Roman Republic and 107 BCE to 31 BCE the Late Republic. I consider 31 BCE to 284 CE the period of the Early Roman Empire. I define the Late Roman Empire period as from 284 CE to 641 CE. I consider the Byzantine Empire to have started from 284 CE, and the Early Byzantine Empire to be synonymous with the eastern half of the Late Roman Empire from 284 CE until 641 CE. I define the Middle Byzantine period as from 641 CE until 1204 CE and the Late Byzantine period as from 1204 CE until 1453 CE. The use of the term Early or Late Empire refers exclusively to the Roman Empire. The earlier or later periods of the Byzantine Empire will always include the word Byzantine.

<sup>5</sup> Although it focuses on the Middle Byzantine period, Beihammer gives a solid historiographical overview in “Comnenian Imperial Succession” (2013: 159-63) on the state of research on earlier Byzantine accessions. Some of Beihammer’s suggested bibliography is repeated in the footnotes to follow.

<sup>6</sup> A few overview books on the Late Roman period which briefly analyze the phenomenon of imperial accessions include: Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire, AD 284-641* (2015: 56-9, 109-11); Sarris *Empires of Faith* (2011: 14-17); Gregory, *A History of Byzantium* (2010: 4-7); Innes, *Introduction to Early Medieval Western Europe, 300-900* (2007: 23-6); Feissel, “L’empereur et l’administration impériale.” *Le Monde byzantin I*. Ed. Morrison (2004: 80-4); Jones, A. H. M. *The Later Roman Empire 284-602* (1964: 321-9); Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire: From the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian, Vol. 1* (1923: 5-18).

leaving comprehensive biographies, and by extension their accessions, to more popular non-fiction books or reference websites.<sup>7</sup> This means that most of the time, within a single work, there is no space to examine imperial accessions as a phenomenon in themselves.<sup>8</sup>

The exception to this is a 1956 monograph by Aikaterinē Christophilopoulou entitled, in translation, the *Election, Acclamation, and Coronation of the Byzantine Emperor*.<sup>9</sup> It is currently the only book devoted purely to the subject of Late Roman accessions, although it was written in a hybrid-classicized Greek known as *Katharevousa*, rendering it less accessible to many readers. This book covers more than a thousand years of Byzantine accessions from the sons of Constantine I to Constantine XI. The book leaves out the chaotic Tetrarchic era and the last emperors of the western empire. Christophilopoulou's monograph focuses mostly on coronation ceremonies, and their transition from a military to an ecclesiastical focus over the course of the Byzantine period.<sup>10</sup> Within a particular time frame, Christophilopoulou organizes her analysis by describing in an integrated narrative the accessions and coronations of key Byzantine emperors from primary and secondary sources before summarizing themes and changes in the conclusion. This descriptive approach is understandable given the complexity of attempting to categorize such widely disparate systems as the Early and the Late Byzantine, and her division of the long history of Byzantium into shorter subsections allows for some synchronic analysis within the overall diachronic framework. However, the essential problem of the descriptive approach is that conclusions can be frustratingly reduced to "things change over time" without answering why. A secondary problem of her analysis is her focus on coronations. Since coronations are ceremonies staged for the appearance of unity rather conflict, a focus on them limits what we can learn about the political struggles happening behind the scenes.

On the other hand, there is a plethora of research dealing with more specific aspects of the legitimization and/or the control of the imperial office, all of which equally touch on the accession process, although once again not to any significant depth. There is a considerable body of

---

<sup>7</sup> Scarre, *Chronicle of the Roman Emperors* (1995) is one such popular history book. Its imperial biographies stop with Valentinian III in the east in 455 CE and Romulus Augustulus in the west in 476 CE. Two reference websites with fairly comprehensive lists and short biographies are *roman-emperors.org*, administered by Weigel, and "List of Roman emperors" on *Wikipedia*, which is curated by volunteers.

<sup>8</sup> Brightman, "Byzantine Imperial Coronations" (1901: 359-92) and Boak, "Imperial Coronation Ceremonies of the Fifth and Sixth Centuries" (1919: 37-47) are two early twentieth century articles that examine the coronation aspect of accessions across a period of Byzantine emperors, but do not delve too deeply beyond the ceremony.

<sup>9</sup> Christophilopoulou, *Ἐκλογή, ἀναγόρευσις καὶ στέμμις τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ αὐτοκράτορος* (1956).

<sup>10</sup> Christophilopoulou (1956: 33, 58-66), through citations in Nelson (1986: 263 n.17) and Cameron (1976: 159-60 n.122).

scholarship, mostly German, on usurpation and the role of the military in backing and selecting new emperors.<sup>11</sup> There are likewise many works dealing with the dynastic monarchy and the role of regents and women.<sup>12</sup> There are several works dealing with the role of ceremony and Christian theology in an accession as well.<sup>13</sup> Both new and old research exists on the legal transition from republic to “monarchy.”<sup>14</sup> Many books address the importance of the imperial capitals, whether it be the new one of Constantinople or the old one of Rome, as the basis of the power of later emperors.<sup>15</sup> A recent book, *The Byzantine Republic* by Anthony Kaldellis, has radically rethought the role of the people in Roman politics, although not without some controversy.<sup>16</sup> One other book, *Contested Monarchy*, comes very close to tackling all the subjects previously discussed. Several chapters discuss usurpation, dynastic inheritance, ceremony, and the role of the city.<sup>17</sup> However, each chapter is written by a different author, so there is an absence of coherence on the different aspects of the accession process. Moreover, it focuses on the fourth century without delving into early imperial precedents or later Byzantine consequences.

In fact, many of aforementioned books have similar problems to *Contested Monarchy* in the way they delimit their scope, whether it is with time or subject matter. Timothy Gregory and Christophilopoulou, for example, focus purely on the Byzantine period. Meaghan McEvoy and

---

<sup>11</sup> Some key books are: Flaig, *Den Kaiser herausfordern* (1992); Paschoud and Szidat, ed. *Usurpation in der Spätantike* (1997); Elbern, *Usurpation im spätrömischen Reich* (1984); Szidat, *Usurpator tanti nominis* (2010).

<sup>12</sup> Hekster, *Commodus: An Emperor at the Crossroads* (2002: 15-39) discusses the early imperial precedents for dynastic succession. McEvoy, *Child Emperor Rule in the Late Roman West* (2013), O’Flynn, *Generalissimos of the Western Roman Empire* (1983), and Holum, *Theodosian Women* (1982) cover the child emperors of the late fifth to mid sixth century and their regents, although each from a different perspective.

<sup>13</sup> MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (1981) and Dagron, *Emperor and Priest* (2003) are two important works. Yannopoulos, “Le couronnement de l’empereur à Byzance” (1991: 71-92) is also useful.

<sup>14</sup> Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (1939) is an example of an earlier work discussing the political and military transformation from the late republic to Augustus’ reign as the first emperor. Gruen, “Augustus and the Making of the Principate”, *Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus* (2005) is a more modern take on the transition. However, far more relevant are works like Brunt, “Lex de Imperio Vespasiani” (1977: 95-116) which gives evidence for how a “monarchic” emperor system continued to survive after Augustus under the legal guise of a chief magistrate. Rowe, *Princes and Political Cultures* (2002) also discusses the legal evolution from republic to “monarchy” using newer evidence from the 1980s.

<sup>15</sup> Dagron, *Naissance d’une capitale* (1974); Ewald and Noreña, *The Emperor and Rome: Space, Representation, and Ritual* (2010); Pfeilschifter, *Der Kaiser und Konstantinopel* (2013); Grig and Kelly, *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity* (2012).

<sup>16</sup> Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic* (2015). Kaegi in his review (2016: 1347) considers the book “provocative, brilliant, concise, and important.” Treadgold in his review (2015: 450), although he is not entirely convinced, considers Kaldellis’ ideas “interesting” and “a great service.” Dmitriev (2016: 112-3) says “Although there is a lot in this book to agree with, many will object to Kaldellis’s general approach.”

<sup>17</sup> Wienand, ed. *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century* (2015). A sample of important chapters in the book include: Wienand’s “The Cloak of Power” on consensus and legitimacy; Humphries’ “Emperors, Usurpers, and the City of Rome” on usurpers, the capital and ceremony; Lee’s “Emperors and Generals” on military power; Börm’s “Born to be Emperor” on dynastic monarchy.

John O’Flynn focus on the western fifth century as a separate entity, but then do not delve significantly into the survival of the Eastern Roman Empire in similar circumstances.<sup>18</sup> Stephen Mitchell and A. H. M. Jones both look at west and east from Diocletian to Heraclius, but are only able to treat the subject of accessions briefly in their broad analyses.<sup>19</sup> F. E. Brightman and A. E. R. Boak mostly eschew analysis and prefer to give descriptions of what happened.<sup>20</sup> E. Gruen and P. A. Brunt focus on the earlier imperial period, and tend to follow more traditionally legalistic conceptions of the transmission of imperial power.<sup>21</sup> Gilbert Dagron presents the problems of the conversion of these legalistic notions of power into the Old Testament-modeled Middle Byzantine imperial office.<sup>22</sup> Egon Flaig ignores the questions of legality and legitimacy and focuses more on military and social power through consent.<sup>23</sup>

Clearly there is a need for a work that not only provides a narrow examination of the accession process itself, both in the east and west, but also casts a broad look across the long transition years of Late Antiquity, and which attempts to contextualize the changes that occurred, and organize the various ancient and modern interpretations of how one was made emperor.

## REACTION TO KALDELLIS AND PFEILSCHIFTER

The ideas behind this thesis’ structuring of imperial power come out of a response to two recent books, *The Byzantine Republic* by Anthony Kaldellis, and *Der Kaiser und Konstantinopel* by Rene Pfeilschifter. Neither book is devoted primarily to accessions. The first book deals mostly with the overall Byzantine theory of political sovereignty as derived ultimately from the people.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> McEvoy (2013: 2-3) focuses on the western empire because child-emperor rule persisted there for an amount of time, unprecedented in the east or west. O’Flynn (1983: ix-x) focuses on the west because eastern emperors were able to overcome their powerful generals, unlike western emperors.

<sup>19</sup> Mitchell (2015: 109-11), Jones (1964: 321-9).

<sup>20</sup> Brightman (1901: 359) states that he was only sketching an outline on coronation practices and that he was not intending to write a history of it. After his description of coronation practices, Boak (1919: 42-7) offers some general conclusions but these seem more focused on determining if specific rituals have only symbolic power or have practical power.

<sup>21</sup> Gruen (2005: 34) does point out that Augustus understood fully his own *de facto* power. However, the necessity to explain the legal mechanisms of the transmission of his power to Tiberius puts him in the same *de iure* company as Brunt’s (1997: 95) analysis of the formal handing of power from the Senate to the emperor. I am aware that Gruen, like other scholars, believes imperial power to be based around specific legal concepts like *maius imperium* and *tribunicia potestas*. I acknowledge this line of thinking as a perfectly valid theory for imperial power and its transmission, but sidestep it in order to develop a less legalistic and more pragmatic conception for the handover of power.

<sup>22</sup> Dagron (2003: 16-7).

<sup>23</sup> Flaig (2010: 275-8).

<sup>24</sup> Kaldellis (2015: 200).

The second deals with the practical means by which Early Byzantine emperors maintained and managed their power through the institutions of the capital city of Constantinople.<sup>25</sup> However, the themes and questions they raise are important ones for any analysis of Late Roman accessions.

Kaldellis believes that it is not possible to track changes to the ways a new emperor was made legitimate since no formal rules, like a constitution, had ever been written down.<sup>26</sup> He believes that the closest thing approximating a legitimizing entity for an emperor was the People themselves and that all legitimacy, even through other institutions like the Church or the Army, flowed through the People.<sup>27</sup> This would mean that there was ever only one political interest in charge of the accession process, the People, and thus an attempt at distinguishing the power of other interest groups would be an exercise in futility.

Pfeilschifter, on the other hand, believes that tracking changes to power configurations is possible by looking at the capital city institutions that gave practical power to the emperor. Pfeilschifter borrows Flaig's theoretical framework of "acceptance" in lieu of "legitimacy" as the key way to encapsulate an emperor's right to rule.<sup>28</sup> However Pfeilschifter limits his system to the fifth and sixth centuries because he believed the acceptance model only worked so long as the city of Constantinople forced interaction between the emperor and urban political groups.<sup>29</sup> Once an emperor could leave or ignore the capital city, as with the case of the military emperors of the fourth and early seventh emperors, the urban acceptance model would break down.<sup>30</sup> It should be noted that Pfeilschifter is not talking about accessions when he is discussing "acceptance," but the entirety of an imperial reign. But as we will see in this thesis, it is quite hard to distinguish one from the other, especially when one has to determine when the "end" of an accession is.

With regards to Kaldellis' point, I believe that such tracking of changes is in fact possible. It only seems impossible if one relies upon a purely theoretical conception of sovereign authority, based around the acknowledgement of popular consent.<sup>31</sup> This is where Pfeilschifter and Flaig's ideas come in as an alternative. By dispensing with theoretical legality and moving towards practical acceptability as a framework, we can tangibly track political support structures, like the

---

<sup>25</sup> Pfeilschifter (2013: 1, 10-11).

<sup>26</sup> Kaldellis (2015: 104).

<sup>27</sup> Kaldellis (2015: 114, 117, 131).

<sup>28</sup> Flaig (1992: 11-208, 550-68), Pfeilschifter (2013: 3).

<sup>29</sup> Pfeilschifter (2013: 23, 25).

<sup>30</sup> Pfeilschifter (2013: 29, 164, 611).

<sup>31</sup> Kaldellis (2015: ix).

people and groups named in the sources which backed an emperor. At the same time, there is also an opportunity for us to expand beyond Pfeilschifter and Flaig's political confines of the capital city. Past scholars relied on an urban institutional understanding of the powers that back an emperor, which is their reason for focusing on the fifth and sixth centuries.<sup>32</sup> The fact that such institutions varied in power, access and importance throughout the Late Roman and overall Byzantine periods, a point which Kaldellis uses to question the ability to track such changes,<sup>33</sup> means that institutions alone are an insufficient basis for an examination of the underlying basis of imperial power. Instead, I propose that we look at the types of power these institutions held, which will be expanded upon later.

By adapting Pfeilschifter/Flaig's approach, a system can be created for a consistent analysis of the entire Roman period, from the Early Imperial to the Late Roman, and even to the Late Byzantine. Ultimately however, this means that the "acceptance" system of analysis I have built is not Flaig or Pfeilschifter's system, but it can certainly be said to be inspired by them.

## PROJECT PURPOSE

The lack of a systematized structure of analysis for the accession of emperors in general can be chalked up to the fact that there are many different conceptions of power. Some of the aforementioned authors view one type of power – whether it be legal, sacral, military, or popular – as the ultimate and most important one. Other scholars, like sociologist Michael Mann, attempt to organize different types of power under one umbrella.<sup>34</sup> The problem at its core is that our modern debates mirror ancient debates over what should be the basis of power and authority for a supreme executive. Should the office be monarchical or elective? Do the leaders reign or do the people? In fact, one could argue that the entirety of the western study of political theory is derived from attempts to classify power from ancient or Roman models.<sup>35</sup> Instead of arguing over which classification of power is definitive, perhaps we should take all these classifications of power as

---

<sup>32</sup> Pfeilschifter (2013: 25, 611).

<sup>33</sup> Kaldellis (2015: 104).

<sup>34</sup> Mann (1986: 2) divides power into Ideological, Economic, Military, and Political types.

<sup>35</sup> Fontana's "Ancient Roman Historians and Early Modern Political Theory" (2009: 362-79) specifically discusses the development of political theory as primarily the result of early modern readings of classical authors. As a more general sampling, Klosko's *Oxford Handbook of the History of Political Theory* (2011) devotes four chapters to Greco-Roman influences on political theory, five if we include early Christian philosophy. McClelland's *A History of Western Political Thought* (1996) likewise devotes five chapters to Greco-Roman influences, seven if including early Christian perspectives, as well as two chapters under the subtheme of "Romans and humanists: the reinvention of sovereignty," addressing the classical influence on early modern political thought.

of equal value in study, and yet of varying importance depending upon the imperial accession or the era.

It is for this reason that my goals align more with Mann's than those of some of the other authors, although my purpose is more specific than his. Instead of looking at social stratification in general,<sup>36</sup> I am looking at social power divisions specific to the selection process of a new Roman emperor. At this tactical, rather than strategic level, constraints like precedents, rituals and personal relationships matter. The topic of my examination is also more narrowly historical than his examination into the origins of all human social power, and therefore I must constrain my power divisions along historical lines. By doing so, this paper will be able to move beyond the previously-mentioned problem of overly descriptive analyses. We will have a categorization structure based primarily on the original sources, but with some added flexibility from modern theories. Through this approach, we can hopefully see which powers were working behind the scenes of an accession and under what rules they operated.

---

<sup>36</sup> Mann (1986: 10, 30).

# Chapter One: Methods

## DEFINITIONS AND CATEGORIZATIONS

### Time Frame and Sources

The time frame chosen for analysis is from 284 CE with the accession of Diocletian to 610 CE with the end of the accession of Heraclius, a period which coincides with much of what is considered Late Antiquity. Conventionally, these two emperors are seen as bookending the Late Roman period. Diocletian set up the divided imperial rulership that made emperors and capitals based outside of Rome possible, whereas under Heraclius, the Arab conquests permanently changed the empire from a hegemonic superpower to a regional power.<sup>1</sup>

These three-and-a-quarter centuries cover a variety of different accession types reflective of the types practiced throughout the entire lifespan of the Roman/Byzantine Empire. First there are accession patterns that seem to only exist within this period, such as the control of the process by powerful army masters in the west in the late fourth to mid fifth centuries.<sup>2</sup> Then there are accessions in the Tetrarchic period and the mid fourth century, which have residual similarity to third century accessions in the frequency of civil wars, but were also the beginning of the multi-emperor dynastic system common to the Late Roman period.<sup>3</sup> The Constantinople-based accessions of the sixth and early seventh centuries share a lot in common with the palace intrigue and capital-city-focused military conflicts of the early empire.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, the eastern fifth century, with its increased ceremonial procedures and the involvement of the patriarch sets the stage for the intensely ritualized accessions of the later Byzantine period.<sup>5</sup> Thus this Late Roman period allows us to extrapolate patterns for a much broader Roman/Byzantine world.

Given this time frame, I have chosen to use the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire (PLRE)* as the spine from which I am identifying primary sources and emperors for examination. This reference series attempts to list all non-church individuals – including emperors – mentioned in the Late Roman period within the territory of the empire from a certain status upward as well

---

<sup>1</sup> Mitchell (2015: 5, 11, 56-60, 466-7).

<sup>2</sup> O'Flynn (1983: x-xii).

<sup>3</sup> See Harries (2012: 209) for the opinion that mid fourth century up until 363 CE was part of a continuous period from and thus shares similarities with the third century.

<sup>4</sup> Pfeilschifter (2013: 607).

<sup>5</sup> Kaldellis (2015: 125-38), Dagron (2003: 59-70, 73, 78).

as where they appear in various primary sources.<sup>6</sup> Although time constraints prevent me from looking at all the primary sources listed in a *PLRE* entry, I have tried to look at a majority of the sources, with an eye toward identifying the most important individuals or groups involved in an emperor's accession. I have also looked beyond the *PLRE* at the most important secondary sources so as to give further detail and context as to what other interests may be involved. Where possible I attempt to take into account conflicting primary and secondary source narratives, but I will not always have the space to discuss them.

In situations where the primary sources seem to disagree sharply on what happened, the emperor appendix entries will include them as alternate narratives, but sort them in order of my interpretation of likeliness.

### “Emperors”

Before we can compile a list of emperors to examine, we must first decide on how we identify someone as an emperor. For this paper, I define an emperor as an individual who holds the publicly recognized supreme executive office of the Roman state. This definition is to differentiate an emperor from other individuals who may have decision-making power, but do not possess the specific office, such as the various people who were the “powers behind the throne” of the late fourth and fifth century.<sup>7</sup> Emperors can be identified in the primary sources, in the Latin and/or the Greek, with titles such as *princeps*/*πρόκριτος*, *imperator*/*ἀτοκράτωρ*, *Caesar*/*Καῖσαρ*, or *Augustus*/*Αὔγουστος*/*Σεβαστός*.<sup>8</sup> Emperors considered “usurpers” or “rebels,” sometimes designated in the literature as *tyrannus*/*τύραννος*, are also included in this definition.

This paper makes no distinction between emperors that ancient or modern scholars view as “legitimate” or “illegitimate/usurpers,” as legitimacy is a very contentious subject. Whether an emperor is legitimate or not frequently depends upon the moment at which in time the question is posed. After all, there are emperors that were considered “illegitimate” when first proclaimed who were later recognized as legitimate.<sup>9</sup> There are also emperors who some in the past consider

---

<sup>6</sup> *PLRE* 1 (1971: vi).

<sup>7</sup> Jones (1964: 341-7).

<sup>8</sup> Salway (2007: 38) gives a brief discussion of the usage of *caesar* and *augustus* as titles in the early empire, as well as Constantine I being the reason for the shift of the Greek translation of *Augustus* from *Σεβαστός* to *Αὔγουστος* (2007: 49-50).

<sup>9</sup> This is especially the case with Tetrarchic and fourth century emperors such as Maxentius (Appendix A: 1.a, 4.[17]), Maximian (Appendix A, Maximian (2): 1.a, 4.[5]), and Magnus Maximus (Appendix A: 1.a, 4.[5]), who came to power in a revolt against a reigning emperor, but then were recognized later. Constantine I was elevated in an unrecognized accession initially, but was recognized later although only as a *caesar* (Appendix A: 1.a, 4.[3]).

illegitimate, as they were usurpers, that those in the modern era have no problem considering legitimate emperors.<sup>10</sup> This paper will adopt the position that all emperors are legitimate from their own perspective, since “legitimacy” can really only be conferred after a contest between emperors has been settled in one or the other’s favor.<sup>11</sup> This is why, when an emperor entry is put together in this paper’s appendix, it is organized from the perspective of the emperor in question, rather than from a combination of ancient and modern perspectives attempting to determine an emperor’s “legal” status in relation to other emperors. Doing so allows us to focus only on the political interests an emperor has to appease in order to maintain his power, which are the interests most important to this paper’s goal of scrutinizing the imperial accession process.

Having established a definition for emperor, we must decide which emperors to incorporate into a list for examination. The original goal of this paper was to examine “all” emperors in this time frame. However “all” is as problematic a term as “legitimate.” The ancient way of determining a comprehensive list of emperors would be to look at the various lists or chronicles of consuls and emperors collected over a period of time, such as the *Consularia Constantinopolitana* or the *Fasti Vindobonense*. These lists tend to be in general agreement for stable long-reigning emperors when their time frames overlap. This is less the case during periods of instability, such as the fifth century, where recognition by one half of the empire was not followed by the other half, or with some emperors being omitted because of the frequency of their replacement.<sup>12</sup> This instability of emperor lists is actually mirrored in the modern scholarship, where there is never agreement on a “full” list of emperors, or whether individuals should be considered usurpers or emperors.<sup>13</sup>

This paper creates its list with the following framework, adhering to my earlier definitions for an emperor. It will begin by including all the emperors agreed upon by the vast majority of sources that cover the Late Roman time frame. From there, it will include emperors that I consider the most important “usurpers”, for those sources that consider them as such. Finally, I will add

---

<sup>10</sup> Essentially any emperor considered a usurper by ancient sources who is not indicated as one by modern sources, even if it is only because they do not distinguish usurpers as separate, is an example of this. See Appendix B. A more specific example of this is with Marcian. Marcian was considered illegitimate by Miaphysite authors because he had convened the Council of Chalcedon and overturned support for them (Burgess, 1994: 59-60) but also because he was not initially recognized by Valentinian III (Appendix A, Marcian: 4.[4]). However, this does not prevent modern sources from considering Marcian a regular emperor. See Appendix B: Modern Emperors List.

<sup>11</sup> Humphries (2008: 85-7), Pfeilschifter (2013: 562-604).

<sup>12</sup> Appendix B: Consularia and Chronicles.

<sup>13</sup> Appendix B: Modern Emperor Lists.

other emperors appearing in at least a few ancient and/or modern sources that are illustrative of particular accession patterns critical to this paper's analysis, including individuals who may not be considered emperors by other sources.<sup>14</sup> The various ancient and modern emperor lists from which I have made my selection are included in the appendix, alongside a comprehensive list of all individuals in the *PLRE* regarded as emperors and notable "rebel" leaders with possible imperial intentions.<sup>15</sup>

### Accession Types

Now we will discuss the two types of imperial accession, Inheritance and Election,<sup>16</sup> since identifying the type assists in determining which political interests are involved.

Scholars differ as to which type is the "true" accession type for the Roman Empire. On the one hand, there is the position that the empire was monarchical, given that the hallmark of the empire over the republic was the fact that the executive office could be passed to dynastic successors. On the other hand, there is the position that the empire remained elective, given that the transference of the imperial office to a successor was not performed automatically as in other dynastic systems.<sup>17</sup> Because a successor had to be selected, I view the distinction between inheritance and election as rather simple: an accession is an inheritance if the new emperor is selected by the previous, reigning, or senior emperor, whereas an election is if the new emperor is selected by other people or groups. This formula works cleanly only in situations where the previous emperor has publicly proclaimed his designated successor a significant amount of time before his death and without any competing emperors seeking to unseat him and his dynasty. Any deviations from the above formula result in greater complications for categorization. However, a

---

<sup>14</sup> Within this paper's appendix, only Marcianus (Appendix A: 1.a) is an individual I classify as an "emperor" even though he was never acclaimed with any of the imperial titles or even identified as a usurper in the primary sources. His status is only alluded to in the calling of his revolt against Zeno a "civil war" (πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος) in John of Antioch (*Fr.* 234, ed. Mariev). Heraclius' father Heraclius the Elder, who made himself and Heraclius consuls, and who sent Heraclius on his mission against Phocas (Appendix A, Heraclius: 4.[2-3]) is an alternate possibilities for an "emperor" who were never acclaimed, although I have not given him a separate entry in my appendix like I have with Marcianus.

<sup>15</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>16</sup> The term "election" may seem anachronistic, given its image of modern voting, but the word has a long history in the scholarship. Gibbon (1909: 80, 91), Bury (1923: 5-6), and Jones (1964: 322) use the term to refer to the selection processes for the Roman imperial office.

<sup>17</sup> Wiedemann (1996b: 198) says "Rome under Augustus and his successors was a monarchy." Rowe (2006: 114-6) takes a more nuanced view, suggesting that a monarchy would eventually emerge, but in the early Julio-Claudian days, the government still retained many republican elements. For the later empire, Bury (1923: 5) says "Down to its fall in the fifteenth century the Empire remained elective" while Jones (1964: 324-6) straddles both views by suggesting that the empire was *de facto* monarchical although it was still *de iure* elective.

significant number of imperial accessions, especially those of long-reigning emperors, would occur in just such an uncontested manner.<sup>18</sup>

One of the key elements of the survival of imperial dynasties was the intense affinity the Romans had for long-standing and popular ruling families.<sup>19</sup> Such affinity meant that in many accessions, an emperor might claim to have been designated as an inheritor by a previous emperor, even if that never happened. This could be in the form of an implied inheritance, as in the case of the army officers selecting Valentinian II to succeed the sudden death of his father Valentinian I, or a manufactured inheritance, as in the case of Justin II, who is suspected of bribing the eunuch in attendance at the deathbed of Justinian to claim that the emperor wanted his nephew Justin II to succeed him.<sup>20</sup> In both these cases, the accessions have the appearance of an inheritance, even though they should be treated as elections. Although elections were regarded as acceptable means of accession, if a previous dynasty was well-liked and the appearance of an inheritance could be manufactured, frequently the accompanying “evidence” of an inheritance designation would be produced.<sup>21</sup> In the case of some contested accessions, an emperor might attempt to paint his accession type as both inheritance and election in order to maximize the appearance of legitimacy.<sup>22</sup> The question over how to categorize these hybrid accessions is why it can be difficult to create a standard model for the purpose of analysis.

I am not including usurpations as a separate accession type, as I do not believe that they are. The traditional definition of a usurper is an individual who launches a revolt against a reigning emperor with the intention of becoming the new emperor.<sup>23</sup> However, beyond this technical definition is its connotation as a pejorative epithet, given by pre-existing emperors to a new emperor with whom they are in competition. After all, no emperor would consider himself a usurper even though many emperors began their accessions as “usurpers” in competition with other

---

<sup>18</sup> For accessions of *augusti*, 19 out of the 55 in my appendix were uncontested. See Appendix A, (1.a) of the emperors listed below. However, these 19 emperors reigned for an overlapping total of 221 out of the 326 years of my paper’s examination period. Constantius I, Galerius (305-311 CE), Jovian, Valentinian I, Valens, Gratian, Theodosius I, Arcadius, Honorius, Theodosius II (363-450 CE), Leo I, Majorian, Anthemius (457-474 CE), Anastasius, Justin I, Justinian, Justin II, Tiberius II, Maurice (491-602 CE).

<sup>19</sup> Hekster (2002: 20-1).

<sup>20</sup> Appendix A, Valentinian II: 4.[2], Justin II: 4.[1A-2].

<sup>21</sup> Other examples include Constantine I (Appendix A: 4.[2B]), Procopius (Appendix A: 4.[1]), and Marcian (Appendix A: 4.[2B]).

<sup>22</sup> Maxentius (Appendix A: 4.[4]) and Procopius (Appendix A: 4.[1, 3, 6]) both seemed to claim their legitimacy as one from an inheritance but also made a public display of their election by capital city institutions.

<sup>23</sup> Flaig (1992: 205-7).

emperors. Even in situations where a new emperor wanted to paint his accession as a revolt against a formerly legitimate reigning emperor whom he now views as illegitimate, the new emperor would still portray his own accession as an election.<sup>24</sup> In essence, “usurper” is always a negative category which functions antagonistically. It therefore is useless as an analytical category, as it is only after the ultimate resolution of a conflict that we can say for certain who was a usurper and who was an emperor.<sup>25</sup> For this reason, I categorize accessions as either inheritances or elections on the basis of the overall evidence from the primary sources as to who were the initial selectors of a new imperial candidate, from the perspective of the new emperor. I do note whether there are others to contest this new emperor’s accession, but whether or not an accession is a “usurpation” only matters for the purposes of determining the length of a contested accession, which will be discussed in the next section.

One additional note should be added here about contested accessions. When new emperors are proclaimed, the communication time between different parts of the empire prevents some elevations from being known for quite some time. Given this situation, the question might be raised as to how we would determine whether a new emperor is contested or not if a current emperor did not yet know about the accession, or was not directly involved. For example, it was Diocletian’s decision to elevate Galerius from *caesar* to *augustus*.<sup>26</sup> This elevation would occur concurrent to Diocletian and his Maximian resigning as *augusti*. We know Maximian disagreed with Diocletian’s resignation decision, although he complied anyway,<sup>27</sup> but we do not know if he also disagreed with Diocletian’s decision to elevate Galerius. In the event Maximian did disapprove, or if he was not consulted, how would we determine whether or not Galerius’ accession was contested by Maximian? A similar situation to this is the elevation of Valentinian II by the army. The army at Brigetio did so without consulting either the closest reigning emperor, Gratian or the other reigning emperor, Valens.<sup>28</sup> In the cases of both Galerius and Valentinian II’s accession, the

---

<sup>24</sup> Zosimus (2.42) talked about how Constans oppressed his subjects, and thus Magnentius was raised as an emperor during a banquet coup, with Constans present. However, Magnentius still followed elective accession protocol by having the army officers at the banquet and the people of the city acclaim him afterward (Appendix A, Magnentius: 4.[1-2]).

<sup>25</sup> Humphries (2008: 85-7).

<sup>26</sup> Appendix A, Galerius: 4.[2].

<sup>27</sup> Appendix A, Maximian (2): 4.[1].

<sup>28</sup> Appendix A, Valentinian II: 1.a, 4.[2-4].

new emperors were eventually accepted by the other emperors, but why was Galerius' elevation not considered contested whereas Valentinian II's elevation was?<sup>29</sup>

I attribute the difference to be one based upon expectations of the chain of command. Diocletian was higher up in the "chain" as the senior emperor, so it was implied that whatever he decided would be approved by the emperors lower in "rank" than him, even if they disagreed. In Valentinian II's case, on the other hand, the army council was violating the chain of command, making a decision independent of Gratian who was in theory the chief military commander, at least for the western empire. For my purposes, it does not matter that Gratian later opted to accept Valentinian II's accession. If the raising of an emperor violates the expected chain of command, I consider the accession of that new emperor to be contested. When this contest ends, whether immediately upon receipt of the information as in Gratian's case or after a drawn out civil war as in the case of other contested accessions, is a separate matter.

#### Accession Stages

Now that we have defined the term "emperor", identified our list of emperors to examine, and explained the two types of imperial accessions, we need to establish a procedure for tracking and categorizing information from the primary sources.

The first thing we need to do is to figure out where to mark the beginning of an emperor's reign. There are often some inconsistencies in the general scholarship on this subject. For example, when looking at the modern sources from which I have used to help put together my emperors list, we can see different answers as to when to start.<sup>30</sup> I should note that the sources I am examining below are selected specifically because they are general overviews, rather than specific biographies. As general overviews, the authors may be forced to choose one date over another with certain emperors for a variety of reasons and thus illustrate the problems I am outlining regarding accession and reign date inconsistency.

Constantine I's three sons, Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans, are called *caesars* for their respective 317, 324, and 333 CE accessions by the *Cambridge Ancient History* and Goldsworthy.<sup>31</sup> However, they are not considered emperors until 337 CE, when they are promoted

---

<sup>29</sup> Ammianus (30.10.6) explicitly states the worry that Gratian would disapprove (*Gratianum indigne laturum existimantes, absque sui permissu principem alium institutum*). Maximian's acceptance of his and Diocletian's resignation seems to imply that he also accepted Diocletian's other decision, to elevate Galerius (Eutr. 9.27).

<sup>30</sup> Appendix B: Modern Emperor Lists.

<sup>31</sup> See the Chronology in *CAH* 12 (2005: 784-5), Goldsworthy (2009: 431-2).

to *augusti* after the death of Constantine I. This is agreed upon by all the modern sources in Appendix B.<sup>32</sup>

A similar separation of *caesar* from *augustus* accessions is also present with Julian, except here the start dates vary greatly. While the *Cambridge Ancient History* has no problem with Julian's 355 CE accession as *caesar*, it has his reign's start as 360 CE,<sup>33</sup> the year of his acclamation by the soldiers in Paris.<sup>34</sup> This date is agreed upon by *Wikipedia*.<sup>35</sup> However, the other modern sources, Gregory, Mitchell, and Weigel, all start Julian's reign in 361 CE,<sup>36</sup> the date of the death of Constantius II and Julian's triumphal entry into Constantinople.<sup>37</sup> Goldsworthy straddles both positions, indicating that, while Julian was proclaimed in 360 CE, his reign did not start until 361 CE.<sup>38</sup>

One other example is the issue of the start dates for Arcadius and Honorius. The *Cambridge Ancient History*, Gregory, and *Wikipedia* have their start dates as 383 and 393 CE, respectively.<sup>39</sup> These are the dates of their proclamation as *augusti*.<sup>40</sup> Goldsworthy, on the other hand, has Arcadius and Honorius' start dates as 395 CE,<sup>41</sup> the date of the death of their father Theodosius I.<sup>42</sup> Gregory describes Arcadius and Honorius as junior emperors to Theodosius I for 383-395 CE, with their reigns proper beginning from 395 CE.<sup>43</sup> Weigel combines the two date reckonings and has Honorius' start date as 393 CE and Arcadius' start date as 395 CE.<sup>44</sup>

The problem of conflicting dates exists because deciding on a start requires one to decide on a theory of imperial power. If we begin an emperor's reign with his accession as *caesar*, presuming he has one, then imperial power is based on the granting of the title from a senior

---

<sup>32</sup> See the Chronological Table in *CAH* 13 (1998: 762), Goldsworthy (2009: 432), Gregory (2010: 438), Mitchell (2015: 522), *Wikipedia* (2017), Weigel (2013).

<sup>33</sup> See the Chronological Table in *CAH* 13 (1998: 762). Although the *CAH* only says 360 CE was the year "he was proclaimed," there is no other entry regarding his accession, so we can surmise that the *CAH* does consider 360 CE the start of Julian's reign.

<sup>34</sup> Appendix A, Julian (2): 4.[2].

<sup>35</sup> *Wikipedia* (2017).

<sup>36</sup> Gregory (2010: 438), Mitchell (2015: 522), Weigel (2013).

<sup>37</sup> Appendix A, Julian (2): 4.[8-9].

<sup>38</sup> Goldsworthy (2009: 432).

<sup>39</sup> See the Chronological Table in *CAH* 13 (1998: 764), Mitchell (2015: 522), *Wikipedia* (2017).

<sup>40</sup> Appendix A, Arcadius: 4.[2], Honorius: 4.[4].

<sup>41</sup> Goldsworthy (2009: 434), Weigel (2013).

<sup>42</sup> Appendix A, Honorius: 4.[6].

<sup>43</sup> Gregory (2010: 438) has a correct *augustus* start date for Arcadius in 383 CE, but says Theodosius I reigns "392-395 with Arcadius and Honorius." The years likely represent the period where it is either just Arcadius, or Arcadius and Honorius reigning as junior emperors. In this case, the 392 CE date must mark the death year of Valentinian II.

<sup>44</sup> Weigel (2013).

*augustus*. If we begin an emperor's reign with his acclamation as *augustus* even though he was already designated a *caesar*, such as in the case of Julian, then his formal election is from where a new emperor derives his power. Finally, if we begin an emperor's reign with the death of the senior *augustus*, even though the emperor already held the title *augustus* as in the case of Honorius, then an emperor's power is the practical power to rule without anyone else to override his decisions. All of these possibilities highlight the complexity of deciding on a start. However, since scholars need to begin somewhere, the easiest answer is to look for moments of commonality between emperors. For this reason, one accepted starting point is to look at coronations.

A coronation is a coordinated ceremony following pre-existing rituals where an individual is designated at a widely attended event as the new leader. The concreteness of the event as a symbol of an imperial accession explains why earlier research focuses on them.<sup>45</sup> However, one problem of using coronations is that they are only the ceremonies representing an accession. They are not an accession in themselves.<sup>46</sup> The duration of a coronation ceremony may overlap with the period of an accession, but that is only in very specific cases where there are no other competing emperors.<sup>47</sup> After all, coronations do not occur in the middle of a violently contested accession. Coronations generally are not held until an emperor is strong enough to gather a significant number of the other political interests to be present at such a ceremony. This is, of course, not ignoring the fact that many emperors had no recorded coronation ceremonies, raising the separate questions, did all emperors have a coronation with some not being recorded, or did many emperors not have a coronation at all?

An alternative accession start point would be to move from coronations to the acclamation or designation of an individual as an emperor. This was considered the key first stage of Christophilopoulou's analysis, with the second stage being coronation.<sup>48</sup> However, much like with

---

<sup>45</sup> Brightman (1901), Boak (1919).

<sup>46</sup> Yannopoulos (1991: 86, 89, 92).

<sup>47</sup> The coronations of Leo I, Leo II, Anastasius, Justin I, and Justinian described in *De Ceremoniis* (1.91.410-95.433) are the best example of accessions which overlap directly with coronation ceremonies.

<sup>48</sup> Christophilopoulou (1956: 60, 64). Another, albeit Middle Byzantine, example of why a coronation is not the same as an acclamation/proclamation is in the *De Ceremoniis* account of the accession of Nicephorus II Phocas (1.96.433). After the death of the previous emperor, Nicephorus II was first proclaimed an emperor by the soldiers out in Cappadocia and then proceeded to march on a senior eunuch who had rebelled and taken control of Constantinople (*De Cer.* 1.96.434). After the eunuch was defeated, Nicephorus II went into the city and the Hagia Sophia, and popular acclamations greeted him in the same manner as recorded in previous coronations in *De Ceremoniis* (1.96.439). Afterwards, the patriarch crowned him (Treadgold 1997: 499). The first ritual is more clearly the proclamation, with the second one being more likely the coronation. Both events in Nicephorus II's accession are distinct and separate, even though in earlier accessions like with Justin I (*De Cer.* 1.93.428-30), they occurred at the same time.

coronations, acclamation/designation is only a suitable start point for emperors who do not come to power in a contested situation, such as if they “inherited” power from an imperial parent who declared them a co-emperor or if they were publicly elected. There are several “usurper” emperors who were not acclaimed or designated as emperors until either a good portion of political interest negotiation had already occurred,<sup>49</sup> or who were not proclaimed until the revolt was nearly at an end,<sup>50</sup> if they even had a chance to be proclaimed at all.<sup>51</sup> To begin tracking at the acclamation/designation point would be to leave large periods of the accession process out of the analysis.

For my purposes, I treat the the granting of a *caesar* title as a full imperial accession. Occasionally I will separate an emperor’s entry into his *caesar* and *augustus* accessions when the breadth of detail demands it.<sup>52</sup> After all, if an emperor was made a *caesar* before becoming an *augustus*, the date of the first imperial accession, or *dies imperii*, is when emperors themselves thought they actually took power. Considering that some *caesares* could operate with full independence and authority in the event of the incapacitation of or a conflict with other *augusti*, we should not discount them as emperors and executive decision-makers in their own right.<sup>53</sup>

Now that we have established a start point for our accession analysis, we need to decide on an end. In the case of an uncontested accession, the end could be considered the conclusion of a coronation ceremony. In the case of a contested accession, the end is less clear. What happens if an acclamation, designation, or coronation occurs at the same time as, or triggers a civil war? After all, inaugural events could occur at the beginning of a civil war, as with Maxentius,<sup>54</sup> or at the end of one, as with Heraclius,<sup>55</sup> or at the beginning and the end, as with Julian.<sup>56</sup> How are we to decide on an accession endpoint that incorporates all three emperors’ examples? Most nightmarishly, how

---

<sup>49</sup> Appendix A, Procopius, Johannes.

<sup>50</sup> Appendix A, Hypatius, Heraclius.

<sup>51</sup> Appendix A, Marcianus.

<sup>52</sup> Julian and Tiberius are two emperors whose entries I split separately into *caesar* and *augustus* entries. Maximian’s entry is split for his two “reigns” as *augustus*. The entries are separated by numbers in parentheses, e.g. Appendix A, Julian (1) and Julian (2).

<sup>53</sup> John of Ephesus (3.3.5) considered Tiberius II, when he was made a *caesar*, to have completely taken over power from an increasingly mentally unstable Justin II, even though Justin II remained a sitting *augustus* (Appendix A, Tiberius II (1): 4.[3-5]). We should also consider the case of Constantine I. Even though he was only formally recognized as a *caesar* by the others, he had complete freedom of action in the parts of the empire under his control (Appendix A, Constantine I: 4.[3-9]).

<sup>54</sup> Appendix A, Maxentius: 4.[4].

<sup>55</sup> Appendix A, Heraclius: 4.[9].

<sup>56</sup> Appendix A, Julian (2): 4.[2, 9].

would we decide the accession endpoint of an emperor like Constantine I, who was elevated by his supporters to be a senior emperor, was initially not recognized by others until an agreement was made to recognize him as a junior emperor, had his recognition rescinded and restored, and then fought civil wars with former allies who had recognized him in the past?<sup>57</sup> The answer is not always obvious, especially in the cases of the emperors themselves. Maximian, for example, regarding his return to power in 308 CE seemed to oscillate between claiming that he had resigned and resumed the imperial office, and claiming that he had always had imperial power and that his previous abdication was only ceremonial, not actual.<sup>58</sup>

My solution to this problem is to focus on answering two straightforward questions: who supports the new emperor and who does not? Once we answer these two questions, we have our beginning and our end. An accession begins when we identify who has offered initial support to an emperor. An accession ends when those who do not support the emperor have been eliminated or co-opted into supporting him. To assist in delineating the various start and finish stages, I have identified three critical moments in an accession, although I stress that these moments do not have to follow the order in which I have described them, nor do all three moments necessarily occur in all accessions or happen only once.

(1) First there is a Deliberation, the earliest point of political interest and/or imperial candidate consideration over who should be the next emperor. This stage will always mark the beginning of an accession, as an accession cannot begin if there are no options for succession.

(2) After this, there is a Proclamation, be it an acclamation or a coronation moment(s). This is the public declaration to both a new emperors' supporters and to his enemies that he has declared himself an emperor. This stage can occur multiple times, whether to confirm a promotion in imperial status, such as from *caesar* to *augustus*, or as a reaffirming ceremony attempting to replicate and improve upon the prestige associated with a previous proclamation ceremony.

(3) Finally, there is the Co-opt of competitors. I am using the word "co-opt" as a technical term which can encapsulate the recognition, deposition, or execution of competing emperors. The word is necessary because recognition, deposition, and elimination are all different phenomena. The first is the conversion of a former competitor to an ally, the second is the removal from the imperial office of a competing emperor while allowing that individual to live, and the last is the

---

<sup>57</sup> Appendix A, Constantine I: 4.[2A-21].

<sup>58</sup> Nixon and Rodgers (1994: 191 n.1), *Pan. Lat.* 7.1.1.

killing, i.e. permanent removal, of a competing emperor. However, despite the differences, the result of all three is the same: the removal of competition to the new emperor.

Although these moments can occur in different orders and sometimes repeat themselves, Deliberation always occurs first. Sometimes, proclamation(s) can occur near simultaneously with deliberation(s) when a decision for a new emperor is made relatively quickly.<sup>59</sup> Technically, in the case of uncontested inheritance accessions, a co-option is also implicitly simultaneous with the deliberation, as any competing emperors would have been co-opted already in the past by the previous emperor. Because of this, uncontested inheritances tend to end shortly after the deliberation with the proclamation, which may also occur simultaneously. In the case of contested inheritances, the accession ends after the last competing emperor is co-opted.

As for elections, the notion of “contest” requires further elaboration. It is the very nature of an election to be a contest, so we can never say that any election is truly uncontested. However, there is a difference between contested accessions where there is an agreement by deciding parties to abide, with relative non-violence, by the majority decisions of those present vs. contested accessions where there is no such prior agreement and violence is expected. The first tends to occur when the parties involved are all in close physical proximity, whereas the second tends to occur when there are parties spread out across the empire. The first type is what historians tend to traditionally call “elections.” The second is what historians tend to call usurpations and civil wars.<sup>60</sup> For my purposes and following the traditional terminology, I consider elections to be uncontested when there is the implicit or explicit establishment of an agreement, without major violence or a civil war resulting.<sup>61</sup> If a major violent conflict does follow, or is anticipated, then I view the election as a contested one.<sup>62</sup>

When accessions are contested, they end only after both conditions, a public proclamation and a co-opting of competitors, have been fulfilled. Both are necessary, and if only one has been done, the other must follow for an accession to have been considered ended. For some “usurper” emperors like Maxentius, Procopius and Marcianus, the last co-opting phase is technically never achieved, or rather, is only achieved with their own deaths or deposition, terminating the necessity

---

<sup>59</sup> From Appendix-A, 27 out of the 57 total emperors have combined Deliberation-Proclamation events.

<sup>60</sup> Kaldellis (2015: 138) acknowledges that civil wars are essentially a kind of election.

<sup>61</sup> Appendix A, Jovian: 4.[2], Valentinian I: 4.[2-3], Anastasius: 4.[2-4], Justin I: 4.[3-4].

<sup>62</sup> Appendix A, Valentinian II: 4.[4], Marcian: 4.[4-6] are two examples where violence was anticipated but did not occur. Most of the other contested election accessions could be considered examples of situations where violence did occur afterward.

for the co-opting of other emperors.<sup>63</sup> It is for this reason that I continue some accession entries in the appendix through to the death of the emperor, which covers the entirety of their “reign.”

This phenomenon actually illustrates a second point about the nature of Flaig-Pfeilschifter’s acceptance system: the need for the placation of political interests would continue for the entirety of an emperor’s life.<sup>64</sup> In many ways, one could argue that the entirety of an emperor’s reign was simply one long accession process where he had to juggle constantly the interests needed to keep him in power and the empire functioning. Or alternatively, an accession is merely an arbitrary cut-off point in an emperor’s lifetime of political interest management. Thus for example, if a civil war happens after a successful co-opting of emperors into imperial colleaguehood, I do not consider that war a part of the accession, although a civil war before or during a co-opting would be considered a part.<sup>65</sup> In both cases, the line between an accession conflict and a reign conflict can be quite blurry. For the sake of comprehensiveness, I frequently include in my appendix events after my chosen accession end point. I do so when I believe others may consider the accession to have continued in order to preserve a maximal accession chronology, even while noting my preferred beginning and end points.

## IDENTIFYING POLITICAL POWER

### Master List of Political Interests

This is a master list of all the key political players, or political interests, that I have identified in my emperor accession index in alphabetical order. Each interest is filed under its relevant interest type, which is then grouped according to their main power type. Within an interest type, I have two separate sections, one for individuals of the interest type, the other for groups of people in that interest type. I put this list at the beginning of this section to illustrate the volume and complexity of the political interests in the sources, and to provide a framework for understanding the coming explanations for my categorization of them.

#### **1. Executive (Power Type)**

##### **a. Emperors (Interest Type)**

- i. Achilleus, Allectus, Anastasius, Anthemius, Arcadius, Attalus, Basiliscus’ son Marcus, Carausius, Carinus, Constans, Constantine I, Constantine II, Constantine III, Constantine III’s son Constans, Constantius I, Constantius II, Dalmatius, Decentius, Diocletian,

---

<sup>63</sup> Appendix A, Maxentius: 4.[19], Procopius: 4.[10], Marcianus: 4.[8].

<sup>64</sup> Pfeilschifter (2013: 1).

<sup>65</sup> Licinius (Appendix A: 4.[5, 10, 13-14]) and Constantine I (Appendix A: 4.[12, 18, 19, 21]) had a civil war after an agreement to recognize each other, as did Magnus Maximus (Appendix A: 4.[5, 10]) and Theodosius I.

Domitianus, Eugenius, Galerius, Gallus, Glycerius, Gratian, Gratianus, Honorius, Johannes, Jovian, Julian, Julius Nepos, Justin I, Justin II, Justinian, Leo I, Leo II, Licinius, Licinius II, Magnentius, Magnus Maximus, Magnus Maximus' son Victor, Marcian, Marcus, Martianus, Maurice, Maxentius, Maximian, Maximinus Daia, Maximus, Nepotian, Numerian, Olybrius, Petronius Maximus, Phocas, Romulus Augustulus, Sabinus Julianus, Severus, Theodosius [Maurice's son], Theodosius I, Theodosius II, Tiberius II, Valens, Valentinian I, Valentinian II, Valentinian III, Valerius/Domitius Alexander, Vetrano, Zeno. (Political Interests)

b. Imperial Family

- i. Alypia, Ariadne, Candidianus, Constantine I's sister Constantia, Constantine I's sister Eutropia, Constantius II's daughter Constantia, Eusebia, Fausta, Faustina, Galla, Germanus [Theodosius' father-in-law], Helena, Heraclius the Elder, Jovia's relative Januarius, Justin [Germanus' son], Justina, Leontia, Maximinus Daia's daughter, Maximinus Daia's son Maximinus, Maximinus Daia's wife, Minerva, Pompey, Prisca, Severianus, Theodora, Tiberius II's daughter Constantina, Valeria, Varronianus
- ii. Imperial relatives, Relatives of Maurice

c. Augustae

- i. Aelia, Ariadne, Constantina [Constantius II's sister], Eudoxia, Galla Placidia, Leontia, Pulcheria, Sophia, Theodora, Verina, Zenonis

**2. Military**

a. Army Master

- i. Aetius, Arbogast, Aspar, Gerontius, Gundobad, Illus, Orestes, Ricimer

b. Army

- i. Arintheus, Armatus, Army officer Armatus, Army officer Aspar, Army officer Bonosus, Army officer Candidianus, Army officer Illus, Army officer Majorian, Army officer Nicetas, Army officer Trocundes, Belisarius, Comes Excubitorum Tiberius, Comes Heraclianus, Comes Sebastianus, Cura Palatii Aetius, Dagalaifus, Former Magister Equitum Arbitio, Julius, Magister Militum Castinus, Magister Militum Constans, Magister Militum Marcellinus, Magister Militum Ricimer, Magister Peditum Agilo, Magister Peditum Severus, Magister Utriusque Ardabur, Merobaudes, Nevitta, Praetorian Prefect Aper, Tribune, Tribune Aequitius, Victor, Vitalianus
- ii. [Achilleus' army], [Allectus' army], [Anthemius' army], [Carausius' army], [Constantius III's army], [Constantius II's army], [Domitianus' army], [Illus and Leontius' army], [Julius Nepos' army], [Licinius' army], [Ricimer's army], [Sabinus' army], [Theodosius I's army], African army, Armies, Army, Army council, Army officers, British army, Constantine I's army, Constantius I's army, Danube army, Diocletian's army, Eastern Army, Galerius' army, Gallic army, Gothic soldiers, Gratian's army, Illyricum army, Invasion fleet, Isaurian army, Isaurian soldiers, Johannes' army, Jovii and Victores legions, Julian's army, Magnentius' army, Magnus Maximus' army, Maxentius' army, Maximinus Daia's army, Nicaean defenders, Orestes' army, Procopius' army, Severus' army, Thracian army, Two legions, Western army, Zeno's army

c. Guards

- i. Candidatus Justinian, Comes Excubitorum Priscus, Drill instructor Godilas, Stratelates Patricius, Tribune John
- ii. Candidati, City guards, Drill instructors, Excubitores, Guards, Imperial Guards, Praetorian Guards, Scholae, Scholares, Soldiers, Two imperial bodyguards

**3. Administrative**

a. Senate

- i. Members of the Senate of Constantinople, Senate of Constantinople, Senate of Rome

- b. Court
    - i. Aetius' domesticus Maximian, Comes Privatarum, Domesticus Theocritus, Former Praetorian Prefect Julian, Magister Memoriae Eupraxius, Magister Memoriae Rusticus Julianus, Magister Officiorum, Magister Officiorum Celer, Magister Officiorum Helion, Magister Officiorum Illus, Magister Officiorum Patricius, Notarius, Photius, Praetorian Prefect Flavianus, Praetorian Prefect Salutius, Probus, Probus, Senator and former guard Strategeius
    - ii. Administrative officials, Archons, City prefects, Civil administrators / Pork distributors, Civil leaders, Court, Court advisors, Ex-consuls, Exiles, High officials, Magistrates, Nobles, Officials, Palace, Palace officials, Patricians, Silentiaries, Treasury, Vestry officials
  - c. Eunuchs
    - i. Chrysaphius, Eugenius, Narses, Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi, Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi Amantius, Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi Callinicus, Primicerius Heraclius, Urbicius
    - ii. Cubicularii, Palace eunuchs
  - d. Places
    - i. Africa, Amoriga, Aquileia, Arles, Asia Minor, Britain, Dalmatia, Egypt, Gaul, Governors of the East, Greece, Illyricum, Isauria, Italy, Levant, Local nobles of Southern Gaul, Moesia, Nicaea, Northern Italy, Ravenna, Rome, Senate/People of Athens/Greece, Sirmium, Southern Gaul, Spain, Thrace
- 4. Religious**
- a. Bishops
    - i. Bishop Stephen of Cyzicus, Deposed Patriarch of Antioch Peter the Fuller, Meletius, Patriarch, Patriarch Acacius, Patriarch Euphemius, Patriarch John, Pope
    - ii. Clergy
  - b. Devotees
    - i. Daniel the Stylite
    - ii. Antiochene Syrians, Chalcedonians, Christian followers, Christians, Egyptian diocese, Miaphysites, Monks, Non-Miaphysites, Pagan followers
- 5. Popular**
- a. People
    - i. Armed citizens, Armed slaves, Bagaudae, Farmers, Gladiators, Mob, People, People of Autun, People of Constantinople, People of Egypt, People of Italy, People of Rome, People of Tarsus, People of York
  - b. Factions
    - i. Blues, Faction rioters, Factions, Greens
- 6. Non-Roman**
- a. Barbarians
    - i. Alamanni King Crocus, Alaric, Athaulf, Chief of the Scythians, Geiseric, Khusro II, Odoacer, Persian King Narses, Theoderic, Theodoric Strabo
    - ii. Alani, Ambassadors, Barbarian army, Barbarian soldiers, Barbarian tribes, Barbarians, Moorish cavalry, Ostrogothic army, Persia, Persians, Scythian soldiers, Suevi, Vandal army, Vandals, Visigothic allies, Visigothic army, Visigoths

### Political Interests

I define a political interest as any individual or group mentioned in the sources as being involved in the Roman political community.<sup>66</sup> This is a broad term, and can apply for a variety of

---

<sup>66</sup> I sometimes use the term “political community,” which is borrowed from Kaldellis (2015: 19-21) in lieu of the “state,” which has a specific connotation of people or resources directly under the control of a particular group of office-holding elites, which in our case is the imperial bureaucracy. The latter term is one I adapted from Wickham (2005: 57). I find “political community” a more amenable definition as this would then include people and resources in the overall Roman sphere, including that which is not under direct “state” control.

circumstances beyond the specific goal of identifying accession interests. Thus, because we need to restrict the identification of interests to that goal, we begin by identifying who the Romans themselves thought were essential to the political selection of Roman leadership.

Embedded in the name of the Roman state from the Republican period were two such groups, *Senatus Populusque Romanus* or the Senate and the Roman People.<sup>67</sup> During the transition period from the Late Republic to the Early Empire, the army also became pivotal to the various leaders seeking greater, if not complete, control of the state. With Augustus' securing of unitary power, the Roman military shifted from being a series of semi-private armies to defeat political rivals to a frontier force defending the whole empire.<sup>68</sup> From then on, the main political interests necessary for securing the office as well as maintaining imperial power were the Senate, the Army, and the People.<sup>69</sup>

Although this formula was commonly accepted,<sup>70</sup> the problem is that beyond this simplified power scheme, there are many other players at work, with differing levels of actual influence over a new emperor's accession at different periods of the empire. There are palace guards, eunuchs, and imperial relatives. There are administrators and religious leaders. In the Late Roman era, non-Roman groups and leaders would become important. The categorization of these interests becomes even more complicated when they overlap with one another, or compete among themselves. The question arises, how do we simplify all these political interests without discounting their importance to the backing of imperial power?

When we ask, "who was involved in choosing the next emperor?", what we want is not the full account of every named individual or group, many of which overlap or conflict, in the orbit of a new emperor. What we actually want are useful categories of people that allow us to see the difference in imperial power-brokers at specific periods in time. My solution is to separate named individuals or groups in the sources from the types of power they embody and the geographic basis of their power. In my opinion, this is the missing element from past attempts to categorize essential units to imperial power. They ignore the fact that the types of power which an individual, a group

---

<sup>67</sup> Beneš (2009: 874-5 n.2-4).

<sup>68</sup> Pollard (2006: 207), Rowe (2006: 117)

<sup>69</sup> This was mentioned in Tacitus (*Annals* 1.7) where "the senators, the soldiers, and the populace" pledged their allegiance to Tiberius in the first century. These three groups were still recognized as the most important factors in the fourth century, as echoed in Julian's entry into Constantinople after the death of Constantius II, when he was greeted "with the respectful attendance of the senate and the unanimous applause of the people, and surrounded by troops of soldiers and citizens" (Amm. 22.2.4, tr. Rolfe, rev.).

<sup>70</sup> Kaldellis (2015: 103-4).

of people, or an institution can wield can change even as their names in the sources remain the same.<sup>71</sup>

For example, the army is considered a vital institution to securing imperial power well into the later Byzantine Empire.<sup>72</sup> Yet, some modern scholarship on the actual role of the army outside Constantinople in the sixth century shows their effect to be negligible,<sup>73</sup> even though their presence is arguably represented by specific military ceremonies during a coronation, such as a new emperor being raised on a shield by palace soldiers.<sup>74</sup> As has been shown throughout Roman history, palace soldiers do not have the same goals as armies outside the capital.<sup>75</sup> In both cases, field armies and palace soldiers attempt to represent themselves as “the army,” but they are not the same entities. Attempts at categorization become even more complicated when one brings important individuals into the analysis. Ricimer was a powerful military leader in the fifth century western empire. However, he was also seen as the *de facto* leader of the west.<sup>76</sup> Was his power practical, because of his control over the military, or could it be construed as “legal,” since he was the chief “representative” of the army, a key pillar of imperial power? How can all three entities be “the army” at the same time, despite their vast differences?

In my proposed solution, a field army, palace soldiers, and Ricimer possess military power, but each one of these entities is different in power type, number of people, geographic remit, and political affiliation. What we are calling a field army is the entire body of soldiers based in a particular region. Palace soldiers are the body of soldiers specific to the capital city. Ricimer is an individual with control of the Roman army in Italy. Each one of these interests may have different political affiliations. Ricimer could be in alliance with Anthemius one year and be his enemy the next.<sup>77</sup> One set of palace guards may want one person as a new emperor while another set of guards

---

<sup>71</sup> The prime example of this would be the Senate. Although the Senate as an institution existed in both the Early Republic and the Late Empire, the amount and types of power they could wield varied immensely. This will be discussed further in Chapter Three in the subsection “Late Roman Evolution.”

<sup>72</sup> Michael Psellus in the 11th century talked about how an emperor’s power rested on “the people, the Senate, and the army” (*Chronographia* 7.1).

<sup>73</sup> Jones (1964: 358), Pfeilschifter (2013: 28-9).

<sup>74</sup> Pfeilschifter (2013: 160, 172-5).

<sup>75</sup> In the Early Empire period, the Praetorian Guard supported Otho against the army of Vitellius (Bingham, 2013: 35) during the Year of the Four Emperors. In the Year of the Five Emperors, the Praetorian Guard chose Didius Julianus as emperor after an “auction,” although this elevation was not agreed upon by Septimius Severus, who had his own army (Bingham, 2013: 44-5). Within my period of examination, Maxentius (Appendix A: 4.[4, 19]) and Procopius (Appendix A: 4.[2-3, 5, 10]) are two emperors in control of capital city guards who are in opposition to other emperors in control of their own army forces.

<sup>76</sup> O’Flynn (1983: 107, 112)

<sup>77</sup> Appendix A, Anthemius: 4.[4], Olybius: 4.[3-5].

wants a completely different person.<sup>78</sup> What these groups or individuals are called in the sources, whether an “army”, “palace guards”, or “patricius” is merely a label for these varying power arrangements. This text label is what a political interest actually is. I believe scholars have been fixated on the source names, not realizing that the configurations of power under the names can and do change.<sup>79</sup> Thus, in order to undertake a methodologically consistent analysis, we should focus on these underlying power configurations rather than the labels, and let changes to our configuration be our guide as to how the late Roman accession process evolved over time.

This does not solve the problem of reducing the number of labels. It merely explains why they as labels are difficult to categorize. To solve this problem, I have created a more restricted list of what I call interest types, which amalgamates the most common political interests into generalized units. I will elaborate on the formal list of these interest types later, when I explain their function under the different types of power. But before I can do that, I must first explain political interest power types and my system for differentiating them. By doing so, we will be able to understand what the mechanism of action was for these different types of power, and by extension, what actions each political interest could take, on the basis of their main power type.

### Power Types

I have classified the main types of power as Executive, Military, Administrative, Religious, and Popular, as they reflect divisions understood by the Late Romans themselves.<sup>80</sup> Even though these types reflect Late Roman conceptions, they are themselves backed by different theoretical definitions of power, and my system represents an attempt to organize them under one umbrella.<sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>78</sup> Appendix A, Justin I: 4.[3].

<sup>79</sup> A good example of this problem is in figuring out the role of the Senate. Bury (1923: 5) and Jones (1964: 329), like other historians, both believed the Senate was *de iure* an important institution although its *de facto* power was greatly reduced in the Late Roman era. By not separating the institution from the type of power it held, all analysis has to be done through the perspective of the Senate as a fixed institution, rather than from the perspective of the different types of power the Senate possessed throughout its lifespan across the different eras of Roman history.

<sup>80</sup> These divisions can be seen in the acclamation of Byzantine emperors in *De Ceremoniis* (1.93.410), particularly the first one of Leo I, where he is “demanded” by the people, and his selection is the result of the prayers of the “palace,” the “Army,” and the “Senate.” The Church’s role is mentioned in subsequent pages (*De Cer.* 1.93.413), detailing various crowning procedures.

<sup>81</sup> Pfeilschifter (2013: 188) actually attempted an accession analysis of the type I am proposing, although he did it for only one accession, that of Hypatius. He divides the critical interests as Justinian, the factions/people, Hypatius/elites, soldiers, and the clergy/monks. This seems to mirror my divisions of executive, popular, administrative, military, and religious. Pfeilschifter indicated in e-mail correspondence that he organized only Hypatius in this tabular form because that accession was one of the most detailed, with several primary sources from which events could be reconstructed. This is in contrast to other Early Byzantine accessions, for which we mostly have to rely upon a single source, the *De Ceremoniis*.

Executive power is the perceived right of ultimate decision-making. This power is held by the emperor and key members of the imperial family. This type can be seen as following a “legal” understanding of power, where there must be a supreme magistrate to arbitrate or execute decisions in a codified environment. For this conception of power, I draw from Brunt’s article on the *Lex de Imperio Vespasiani*, who suggested that there was a formal, legal handing over of power from the Senate to a new emperor during the late first century CE.<sup>82</sup>

Military power is the ability to use violent force or the threat of it to compel the actions of others. This power is reflected in the army. This conception of power is normally associated with Weber and his idea that power is the ability to carry out one’s wishes despite resistance, presumably with violence, and that the state is a social group with a monopoly on “legitimate” violence.<sup>83</sup> The army in this case would be the largest tool available to those in the Roman political community for the enactment of decisions, even against the will of their opponents.

Administrative power is the capability of institutions or groups like the Senate or the aristocracy to organize the material resources of the empire. This type is derived from an anthropological understanding of power from Donald Kurtz, who suggests we think of power not in terms of violence, but in terms of denial, namely the ability of an individual or a group to deny the use of physical or “imagined” resources.<sup>84</sup> It is also similar to Mann’s idea of economic power, which is equally about resource organization. My adaptation of this idea is that much of the functional power of aristocrats, which includes the Senate and the imperial administration, is their ability to organize, or to deny an organization of, the resources of the Roman public and/or political community. I have chosen to identify the Senate and Aristocracy with this power, because whether we are dealing with the Senate of Rome which was composed of hyper-wealthy landed aristocrats, or the Senate of Constantinople which was more of a service aristocracy, senators had an interest in organizing the resources of the empire. The main difference is to whom the profits of that resource organization should flow, whether to the individuals themselves, to the Roman community of which they were a part, or to the emperor and the imperial bureaucracy.

---

<sup>82</sup> Brunt (1977: 95-116).

<sup>83</sup> Weber (1964: 152), (2015: 136).

<sup>84</sup> Kurtz’s (2001: 31) precise definition is that power is control over material or ideational resources.

Religious power is the ability to interpret divine sanction and moral norms, which I identify with the Church.<sup>85</sup> Religious power is in many ways related to administrative power, as it involves a denial or a promotion of acceptance of “imagined” resources.<sup>86</sup> However, to the Late Romans, there was clearly a difference between a physical person denying them resources and a higher being denying them resources. After all, a supernatural being could inflict inescapably greater penalties than an average person.

Popular power is the right of the governed to demand change when their needs are not met. This power type is reflected by the people of the empire, whether they are represented physically in specific regions of the empire, or ideologically when a mob or hippodrome factions in a capital city are seen as acting on behalf of all Roman people.<sup>87</sup>

One additional form of power should be noted. Non-Roman power can equally be considered part of the accession process. Although not formally part of the Roman state, “barbarians” still take an active part in the Roman political community and in the accession process. Two examples of barbarian individuals helping to raise Roman emperors are Avitus being encouraged to assume the imperial office by the Visigothic king Theoderic, or the Alamannic king Crocus doing the same with Constantine I.<sup>88</sup>

While the main institutions map roughly over their respective types of power (Emperor as Executive, Army as Military, Senate as Administrative, Church as Religious, People as Popular, Barbarians as Non-Roman), some political interests can also have more than one type of power. Court advisors can include people holding military and administrative power.<sup>89</sup> A mob of angry monks can be seen as holding religious and popular power.<sup>90</sup> A barbarian army can be Non-Roman

---

<sup>85</sup> Mann (1986: 22-3) considers religion an applied example of attaining power, specifically ideological power, through the monopolization of norms.

<sup>86</sup> In the Chapter Three subsection, “Late Roman Evolution,” I suggest that Religious and Administrative power are both under the same political interest umbrella in the Republican period, but become separate in the “Byzantine” period.

<sup>87</sup> This power type conceptualization borrows the most from Kaldellis (2015: 139-50, 156-9, 164).

<sup>88</sup> Appendix A, Avitus 4.[1], Constantine I: 4.[2C].

<sup>89</sup> One example is when Valentinian I was near death, Gallic members of his entourage (*qui aderant in commilitio principis*) briefly attempted to raise Julianus, the *magister memoriae*, as emperor before Valentinian I recovered (Amm. 27.6.1). The fact that Valentinian and his court were on a military campaign and that the person they attempted to raise was administrator should suggest that the court here had both military and administrative elements. The same elements could be said to be at the court in Sirmium, which decided on Theodosius I as emperor shortly after the death of Valens (Errington 1996: 451). Also the archons in the accession of Anastasius are explicitly described as military and civil archons (*De Cer.* 1.92.418).

<sup>90</sup> Although not an accession, one such example is the march of Dalmatius and his monks to confront Theodosius II about his interference of the First Council of Ephesus (Nestorius, *Bazaar of Heracleides*, tr. Driver 1925: 272-3).

as well as Military. Political interests also do not have unified political stances. Palace officials like eunuchs and civil servants both have administrative power, but their goals repeatedly clash when it comes to succession.<sup>91</sup> The same thing occurs when armies back different contenders in a civil war. This is why it is also necessary sometimes to include affiliation alongside the other information in a political interest “label,” in order to distinguish similar groups from each other, while maintaining that their power is based on the same types.

The fact that political players could be individuals or groups, leaders or followers, or that they could be individuals, leaders or groups as subsets of larger groups, serves to explain why a separate field indicating their “people type” is necessary to include. However, I do not subdivide people beyond differentiating them as either an individual, or as a group “body.” In the cases of some accessions, like the coronations described in *De Ceremoniis*, some of the interests involved seem to be present because they are intended to be representative of larger institutions.<sup>92</sup> Whether these interests truly represented larger institutions is not a major point of concern for me, which is why I do not bother distinguishing their practical size. I am interested in their symbolic involvement as much as I am their practical involvement, and for that, only a distinction between individual and representative body is needed.

However, it must be remembered that it is not the political affiliations or group size of accession backers that we are seeking to analyze in this paper. We are looking for the source of these interests’ power and their reason for involvement in an imperial accession. For this reason, it is ultimately the other information on power types and their geographic remit that is most useful to us.

## INTEREST TYPES

Now that we have established what political interests and power types are, I will detail my essential political interest types, ordered according to their primary power type. For clarification, certain interest types like Emperors, *Augustae*, Army Masters, and Bishops are only composed of individuals as leaders within a power type. With the other interest types, when categorized from

---

<sup>91</sup> The contested palace accession of Justin I (Appendix A: 4.[1-3]) is a good example.

<sup>92</sup> A prime example of this is the “drill instructors” in charge of putting the military torque on new emperors, or the soldiers involved in raising a new emperor on a shield. They seem to be there to represent the army/military as a whole, even though they are only a few individuals, and likely belonging to the Guards interest type. See the accessions of Leo I (Appendix A: 4.[2]), Anastasius (Appendix A: 4.[5]), and Justin I (Appendix A: 4.[4]).

the sources, they can be composed of individuals, groups, or the perceived entirety of the institution as a body.

### Executive

I have created three interest types to summarize key political interests with executive power as their main type: Emperors, Imperial Family, and *Augustae*.

Emperors are individual leaders with the perceived executive right of ultimate decision making. They are the quintessential example of this power, and their ability to decide which other individuals should be recognized or not is the reason why it is only they who can end, and mostly they who can start an accession attempt.

Although other emperors are also essential interests in an accession, I make one specific exception to the executive categorization of emperors: I exclude the emperor that is the focus of the analysis or appendix entry. I do so because what I am looking for is the support structure for an emperor. Determining whether an emperor supports himself does not help in the identification of other interests. That an emperor candidate would support himself is not as self-evident a statement as it might seem. Two instances demonstrate this problem.

(1) A first example of the uncertainty of an emperor's support for himself as an imperial candidate would be with the practice of the *recusatio*, where an emperor denies that they are worthy of the office. Historians tend to view this practice as merely a standard ritual.<sup>93</sup> However, if we are to take a less cynical view, I do not think we can assume that in each instance, the *recusatio* was only for show. In at least two accessions, that of Jovian and Justin I, the *recusatio* of the alternate candidates, Salutius and Justinian, was heeded.<sup>94</sup> But if we count their refusals as genuine, must only heeded *recusatio* count? It seems that the way historians treat the *recusatio* is one based on *post factum* results. If a *recusatio* was observed, then that person never intended to be emperor and thus did not support himself as a candidate. But if a *recusatio* was not observed, then historians would argue that it was merely a formality, and that person was always intending to be emperor.<sup>95</sup> Clearly, if we take an objective view, we should consider the possibility of *recusatio* as genuine, as we do not have access to a person's intentions at the moment they are

---

<sup>93</sup> Wallace-Hadrill (1982: 36-7).

<sup>94</sup> Appendix A, Jovian: 4.[2], Justin I: 4.[3].

<sup>95</sup> Although the subject of Pizarro's (2005: 114-25) book is the late seventh century Visigothic king Wamba, there is an extensive section in it discussing the phenomenon of Roman and Late Roman *recusatio*.

offered the imperial office. Thus, we have to consider the possibility that some of them are real refusals. Without an ability to tell whether an unheeded *recusatio* is genuine or not, there would be no way to determine an emperor's own support for himself.

(2) Second, how would we determine a candidate's support for himself if the individual was a child or a youth? An emperor crowned as an infant like Theodosius II would not be able to consent to being elevated as an emperor,<sup>96</sup> but what about Gratian, who was sixteen at the time of his four-year-old half-brother Valentinian II's accession?<sup>97</sup> What about Valentinian II himself? To put young inexperienced individuals at the same level as mature adults with years of political experience behind them would be to make false equivalences and assumptions about the quality of each candidate imperial intentions. It is because of these issues that I have opted to leave an emperor himself out of the supporting interests list.

After emperors are imperial family members. These members should be seen, like emperors, as individuals rather than an organized group. Although they do not wield executive decision-authority, they seem to be holders of it. The most prominent example of family members as executive power holders is with the women of an imperial dynasty. Throughout the Late Roman period, the offer of marriage to a female imperial family member was seen as a way for powerful non-dynastic individuals to be incorporated into the imperial family.<sup>98</sup> However, because they are only holders of power, categorizing them as executive is understandably problematic.<sup>99</sup> Without a proper title as emperor or *augusta*, one could easily ask where they would derive any decision-making power, especially given the large circle of people who could be considered imperial relatives. At the same time, it is clear that members of the imperial family, both male and female, were considered to have some degree of authority, even if that authority only existed because of their relationship to the emperor.<sup>100</sup> A short time after Jovian was elected as emperor, he designated

---

<sup>96</sup> Theodosius II (Appendix A: 4.[1-2]) was less than a year old when he was made *augustus*.

<sup>97</sup> Appendix A, Gratian: 4.[1], Valentinian II: 4.[1, 3].

<sup>98</sup> Constantius I (Appendix A: 4.[3]), Galerius (Appendix A: 4.[3]), Licinius (Appendix A: 4.[8]), Constantine I (Appendix A: 4.[5]), secured their places in the Tetrarchy and in alliance with one another via imperial family marriages. Julian (Appendix A, Julian (1): 4.[3]) and later Gratian (Appendix A: 4.[3]) secure their imperial appointments by imperial family marriages in the fourth century. Constantius III (Appendix A: 4.[2]), Anastasius (Appendix A: 4.[8]), and Maurice (Appendix A: 4.[2]) do the same in the fifth and sixth century.

<sup>99</sup> Pfeilschifter (2013: 461-3) considers imperial women in Constantinople to have the same power limitations as the elites, namely that any power that they might have was not independent but dependent upon their relationship with the emperor.

<sup>100</sup> With Procopius' (Appendix A, Procopius: 4.[1, 6] and Marcianus' revolts, their case as to their right to rule was dependent upon them being a member of a legitimized dynasty, or in Marcianus' case, having a superior dynastic relationship (Appendix A, Marcianus: 4.[1]). When Honoria, who was not an *augusta*, offered herself in marriage to

his infant son Varronianus as a consul.<sup>101</sup> Although Jovian did not make his son an emperor, it seems clear that this elevation was intended to mark Varronianus for some kind of an imperial future. When the Tetrarchy was reduced to just Licinius and Constantine I, Licinius sought to secure his power by having the close relatives of the defunct Tetrarchs, including the women and children, executed.<sup>102</sup> In my opinion, these family members would not have been killed if they were not viewed as possessing some form of executive threat. The fact that one family subset, the imperial women, would more formally be brought into the selection process as *augustae*, suggests that this power threat was real.

Because *augustae* can publicly select and promote new emperors, I distinguish them as a separate interest type from the imperial family. Although imperial women were involved in Roman politics and the imperial selection process since the Early Empire period,<sup>103</sup> it is only in the Late Roman period, and specifically with the accession of Vetranio that an imperial woman and possible *augusta*, Constantina, is seen as raising a new emperor.<sup>104</sup> This power seems directly related to an imperial woman's possession of the title itself. If an imperial woman has the title, whether officially or unofficially,<sup>105</sup> she can proclaim an emperor publicly. Otherwise, if she does not, she can recommend or influence behind the scenes, but she cannot publicly promote.<sup>106</sup> The regular presence of an *augusta* in later Byzantine decision-making makes their separation as an interest

---

Attila, it is interesting that Valentinian III had to explain to Attila's envoys that she had no power to pass on imperial power (Prisc. *Fr.* 17, 20). The fact that they had to explain this suggests that the idea that imperial women did possess such power was commonplace, if not officially approved. See Holum (1982: 1-5).

<sup>101</sup> Appendix A, Jovian: 4.[4].

<sup>102</sup> Appendix A, Licinius: 4.[11].

<sup>103</sup> e.g. Livia's securing of succession for Tiberius, Agrippina the Elder's advocacy for her son and future emperor Caligula, and Agrippina the Younger's poisoning of Claudius in order to promote Nero. See Bauman (1992: 127-8, 142, 187).

<sup>104</sup> Appendix A, Vetranio: 4.[2A]. Burgess (1994: 66 n.78) does not believe that Constantina was an *augusta*, or that she promoted Vetranio since there were no coins minted in her name at all. See also Holum (1982: 31 n.90). He cites the fact that seventy-five years later, the *augusta* Galla Placidia was not the one who crowned her son Valentinian III emperor, even though she traveled with him to Italy (Appendix A, Valentinian III: 4.[3-4, 7-80]). Drinkwater (2000: 151-3) on the other hand believes that Constantina was involved in Vetranio's accession and that she did possess an *augusta* title which was then used to legitimize Vetranio.

<sup>105</sup> In line with the lack of numismatic evidence, I do not believe Constantina was officially recognized as an *augusta*, although following Holum (1982: 31 n.90), I believe that the people involved in Vetranio's accession claimed that she was one as a "convenient fiction" for the purpose of his elevation. For my analysis purposes, I treat Constantina as an *augusta*, in part because, in line with my aforementioned statements on legitimacy as a *post factum* designation, if Vetranio had somehow been successful in remaining an emperor, it would be likely that Constantina would be legitimized as an *augusta* after the fact as well.

<sup>106</sup> Compare two cases involving Ariadne. If we believe *Chronicon Paschale* (474.599), before she had an *augusta* title, she had to induce her young imperial son Leo II to crown her husband Zeno as emperor. After she had an *augusta* title, she could be seen as the public decider of Anastasius' election. See Appendix A, Anastasius: 4.[3A].

type necessary.<sup>107</sup> However, I only include imperial women as an *augusta* if they are perceived to have the title in some capacity. If they do not, I file them as members of the imperial family interest type.<sup>108</sup>

### Military

For military interests, there are three which seem to be the most important: the Army, the Guards, and the Army Master.

The army, like emperors, are the most representative interest for their power type. They are the essential backers of power for any new emperor, whether explicit or implicit, and have been indispensable since the establishment of a permanent supreme executive position with Augustus. They have the ability to force an imperial candidate or emperor to supreme power at the expense of all other interests.<sup>109</sup> For my classification purposes, I consider an army to be regional military forces based outside the main capital city for an emperor, or in the event of a more mobile emperor without a main capital city, the military forces not immediately attendant on his physical person.<sup>110</sup> So a military force based just outside of Constantinople in Thrace would be considered an army, whereas a military force based inside Constantinople would not.

Guards are my designation for forces based inside a capital like Constantinople, or the military force in near-permanent proximity to the emperor. Generally they are explicitly mentioned in the sources as separate units from the “regular” field army. This combined definition is

---

<sup>107</sup> In addition to the *augusta* Ariadne’s involvement in Anastasius’s accession, in the case of Justin I’s accession, the *De Ceremoniis* specifically states that the succession only became an election because Anastasius died without issue and there was no *augusta* to designate a successor (*De Cer.* 1.93.426). The last accession/coronation detailed in the *De Ceremoniis* is that of Nicephorus II Phocas, more than 400 years later in 963 CE (*De Cer.* 1.96.433). This accession account also mentions an *augusta*, Theophano, as part of the power transition. She would later go on to marry Nicephorus II (Moffatt and Tall, 2012: 433 n.5).

<sup>108</sup> e.g., I consider Constantius II’s wife Eusebia a member of the imperial family rather than an *augusta* because she does not have the title, even though she was involved in the decision process for Julian (Appendix A, Julian (1): 4.[2]). One question worth asking would be, if she did have the title, would her opinions have more say? For my part, I do not believe so, as Constantius II was still there to make a final decision. In my opinion, the power of an *augusta* to decide on a new emperor depends upon what other imperial authority is there. This is why Constantina can act on Vetrician or can be seen as acting on him by his supporters since there was no other executive authority present, and why Galla Placidia cannot, since Theodosius II’s representative, the *magister officiorum*, is there to perform the coronation (Appendix A, Valentinian III: 4.[3-4, 7-8]).

<sup>109</sup> Although Late Republican rather than Early Empire, Suetonius’ famous quote (*Augustus* 26.1) of one of Augustus’ soldiers threatening the Senate with his sword, saying “This will make him consul, if you do not,” is a prime example of the power of coercive force.

<sup>110</sup> Campbell (1984: 109-20) explains the distinctive separation between guards and the army in early imperial Rome. Campbell (1984: 114) points out that even when guards would accompany an emperor on campaign, their primary function was still the protection of the emperor, rather than any sort of elite strike force.

important because many of the military interests involved in the making of a new emperor in the Late Roman era were all physically close to the emperor. The difference between one century and the next was over where the emperor himself was located, whether in a capital city or out on campaign. Guards as an interest type are intended to bridge the two geographic circumstances.<sup>111</sup> Guards, like the army, have the ability to force other interests to comply with their preferred selection, but unlike the army, their military power is limited to the immediate environs of the emperor or the capital city. Their ability to decide a new emperor quickly and set a precedent for others to follow is a key component of their power, but should that decision be contested, it becomes the army who has the final say, if they choose to involve themselves.<sup>112</sup>

Lastly, there is the army master. This interest type is different from army individuals who happen also to be leaders. This interest type is for the Late Roman military leaders who seemed to have near-complete control of imperial forces within a division of the empire, who at the same time also had the ability to choose new emperors directly. In the scholarship, they are sometimes called *magistri militum*, *patricii*, or generalissimos.<sup>113</sup> I choose the name of this interest type very specifically. First, because it is a loose translation of the office of *magister militum*, but second, because the connotation of the English word “master” suggests that this is not an office, but a description. This is an important distinction as the power of an army master derived not from his title, but from his effectiveness and functional command of the military.<sup>114</sup> After all, there were *magistri militum* in the early to mid-fourth century, but they did not have the power of fifth century *magistri militum* in the west. At the same time, eastern *magistri militum* did not have the power of western *magistri*.<sup>115</sup> Moreover, the importance of *de facto* military control over a *de iure* title is why I do not view it as synonymous with the title of *patricius*. Although Stilicho and Constantius III were both army masters and *patricii*, the title was clearly intended to reflect their powerful

---

<sup>111</sup> Thus guards can mean both the mobile bodyguards of Julian, of whom Jovian was a member, or the fixed palace guards of Justinian, whose support was key to Justin II’s accession. See Appendix A, Jovian: 4.[2], Justin II: 4.[2].

<sup>112</sup> The Praetorian Guards who supported Otho being defeated by Vitellius’s army (Wiedemann, 1996a: 267-8, 271-2) is an early empire example. The defeat of Maxentius’ forces, composed of the Praetorian Guards who had supported him (Appendix A: 4.[4]) by Constantine I’s army at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge (Appendix A, Constantine I: 4.[13A]) is a Tetrarchic example. See also Campbell (2005: 128). The *excubitores* guards in charge of defending Constantinople for Phocas against the army of Heraclius is a late Roman example (Appendix A, Heraclius: 4.[8]).

<sup>113</sup> O’Flynn (1983: x-xi, 65-6).

<sup>114</sup> I view an army master’s power as similar to that of the contemporary position of “paramount leader” of the People’s Republic of China, in that a powerful individual, like Deng Xiaoping, could be considered by everyone as the supreme leader, despite holding none of the official highest offices. See Tyler (1997).

<sup>115</sup> Lee (1998: 215-6), Jones (1964: 341-4).

military status and was not conferred until after these leaders had already acquired their *de facto* power.<sup>116</sup> This military control requirement for an army master is why I differ from O’Flynn’s chosen term, *generalissimos*. Aside from the word’s twentieth century connotations, O’Flynn’s definition has a lower threshold, requiring only that military leaders have the ability to interfere at-will in imperial politics, rather than possess total military command.<sup>117</sup> This is why he can consider someone like Merobaudes a *generalissimo*, even though I do not consider him an army master. This same reason is why I do not classify Aspar as an army master when he raises Marcian, but why I do consider him one when he raises Leo I. During Marcian’s accession, he is still only one of many powerful military leaders. When he raises Leo I, he is nearly supreme in military control.<sup>118</sup> Because army masters possess this amount of power, they are competitive with the emperor in ways that are different from other army leaders who may have some political influence, but do not have the army master’s ability to choose a new emperor without the need to consult other interests.<sup>119</sup> For this reason, army masters are considered to have combined military and executive power, although for my categorization purposes I am labeling them primarily as military.

### Administrative

For administrative power types, I am placing emphasis in my analysis on the following interest types: the Senate, the Court, Eunuchs, and various regional geographic interests which I refer to as Places.

The Senate was seen as a key legitimizing institution for much of the history of the Roman state, and for this reason I view it as necessary to separate them from other administrative interest types. Although my explanation of “administrative power” revolves around the organization of public resources, one could argue that this was not the power of the Senate itself. Their power was more in the legitimization of the imperial office, whether through the transfer of legal power as it

---

<sup>116</sup> O’Flynn (1983: 65-6).

<sup>117</sup> O’Flynn (1983: xi).

<sup>118</sup> Burgess (1994: 62-3), Croke (2005: 152-3).

<sup>119</sup> According a church council record, Aspar was offered the office of emperor by the Senate, but he declined (Croke, 2005: 152). Even if one treats this story as suspect, the possibility of this act suggests that the officials already saw Aspar as possessing a level of power equivalent to an emperor. This amount of power Aspar has here is in contrast to third and fourth century army leaders who would have to act in concert with one another to raise one of their own as an emperor. See the accessions of Diocletian (Appendix A: 4.[2]), Valentinian I (Appendix A: 4.[2]), and Valentinian II (Appendix A: 4.[2]). The army election just before Jovian’s accession may also be included, since the factions had not decided on a candidate, and Jovian only seemed to be accepted because no one else wanted the position. Appendix A, Jovian: 4.[2].

had in the Early Empire, or simply through consultation as a core component of the state.<sup>120</sup> My defense of their classification as administrative is that the Senate's actual power was derived from the day-to-day priorities of its members, which were reflected more in the social management of the capital city and the elites of the empire than the legitimization of a new emperor.<sup>121</sup> Although their legitimizing role existed to some degree, it was not an absolutely necessary legitimization.<sup>122</sup>

The court is what I refer to as the palace and imperial administration based in the capital city or around the emperor. Similar to the military interest type of "guards," the court can follow the emperor, reflecting the different needs of more mobile emperors of one era against the static emperors of other eras. Although they have less of an ability to force the decision of a new emperor, unlike guards, they do appear in the sources when the bureaucracy itself has come to an agreement about a preferred imperial candidate, or if an individual in the bureaucracy has managed to secure the support of the guards to push their candidate through.<sup>123</sup>

Eunuchs are a subset of the court interest type that I am choosing to distinguish because of their frequent appearance in the sources. Eunuchs in the specific case of this paper are members of the court or palace who were born male but lack male genitalia, whether through castration or circumstance.<sup>124</sup> Their lack of reproductive organs supposedly meant their loyalty would be to the emperor, rather than to other family members since they could not, in theory, establish their own biological dynasties.<sup>125</sup> In practice, many eunuchs retained ties to their original families, if they were from particularly notable ones.<sup>126</sup> However because of their perceived loyalty, they had privileged access to the emperor, and were frequently in charge of his physical person, as well as his imperial garb, a key symbol of imperial power, the control of which would become important during some sixth century imperial accessions.<sup>127</sup>

---

<sup>120</sup> See Brunt's (1977: 95-116) article on the legal transfer of power to the emperor. See Kaldellis (2015: 103-4), Jones (1964: 358), Pfeilschifter (2013: 28-9) on the references to the legitimizing formula of People, the Army, and the Senate in the first, fourth, and eleventh centuries.

<sup>121</sup> Heather (1998: 184-91), Barnish, Lee, and Whitby (2000: 176-7).

<sup>122</sup> See the upcoming subsection in this chapter, "Tacit Assent vs. Refusal."

<sup>123</sup> Petronius Maximus (Appendix A: 4.[3]) and Justin II (Appendix A: 4.[1A-2]) are two examples. Both Petronius Maximus (*PLRE* 2, 1980: 749-51) and Justin II (*PLRE* 3A, 1992: 755) were court members.

<sup>124</sup> Tougher (2008: 19-25) talks about the problems of eunuch classification, raising the issue that some individuals are classified as eunuchs because they hold positions held by other eunuchs, but that there is no guarantee that they are eunuchs if they are not described as such elsewhere.

<sup>125</sup> Tougher (2008: 42-3).

<sup>126</sup> Tougher (2008: 46-7).

<sup>127</sup> Eunuchs in charge of the emperor's wardrobe were able to reject imperial candidate options during the deliberation period before a decision for Justin I was made by refusing to handover the imperial clothes and locking themselves in their chambers (Appendix A: 4.[3]). A small additional note: Although the *cubicularii* (*koubikoularios* in Moffatt and

Finally, Places is the name I have given to non-capital city based regional interests. I use the word Places so as to be able to encapsulate both geographic regions and individual cities. During accession, civil, or foreign wars which extend across a large expanse of Roman territory, the allegiances and resources of various places would be critical to the securing of power for a new emperor. For example, in the case of the western empire, securing the grain resources of Africa was essential to the daily survival of Rome itself.<sup>128</sup> In the eastern empire, Egypt fulfilled this role.<sup>129</sup> Even with regions seen as non-essential to the survival of the empire, like Britain, their removal from a new emperor's authority would be seen as a loss of authority on multiple counts.<sup>130</sup> Because the resources of a region can extend beyond the economic and the physically material and into political, in some cases, Places can be seen as possessing other power types in addition to administrative, such as military,<sup>131</sup> popular, or religious.<sup>132</sup> However, for my categorization purposes, I consider administrative the most important of the types that it embodies.

### Religious

For religious interest types, I have only distinguished two: Devotees and Bishops. Theoretically, non-Christian religious leaders could also be an interest type, but I have not encountered them as significant accession players in my analysis. For this reason, I have not included them as a separate interest type.

Devotees is my attempt not to factionalize religious interests according to their religious affiliation, whether to Christianity and its many doctrinal divisions, or to followers of traditional Greco-Roman religions, in order to focus just on religious followers as a power and group type. They appear in the primary sources generally, and in the Late Roman period predominantly, as

---

Tall's glossary) are eunuchs who were also in charge of the emperor's clothes, vestry officials (*vestetores* in Moffatt and Tall's glossary) are non-eunuch court members in charge of actually dressing the emperor (Moffatt and Tall, 2012: 831, 836).

<sup>128</sup> Appendix A, Maxentius: 4.[11], Constantine: 4.[14], Procopius: 4.[4], Attalus: 4.[5-8], Johannes: 4.[3]. See also Wickham (2005: 20).

<sup>129</sup> Wickham (2005: 23).

<sup>130</sup> Appendix A, Maximian (1): 4.[2, 4], Magnus Maximus: 4.[2-3], Constantine III: 4.[1-3].

<sup>131</sup> Where it is specifically the army of a region that is an interest which is being sought, the army interest type will be used over the place interest type.

<sup>132</sup> During Leontius' revolt, the *augusta* who crowned him, Verina, sent letters to different places (Appendix A, Leontius: 4.[12]) asking for support. She asked the governors of the east (administrative), the armies of the east (military), Antiochene Syrians (administrative, popular), and the Egyptian diocese (administrative, popular) for their support. Even though her request to Antiochene Syrians and the Egyptian diocese can be seen as directed to both the leaders as well as the people of these places, I consider her essential request to be one soliciting primarily the practical resources of these regions. Thus, I categorize them as Places.

Christians, but occasionally as non-Christians for specific periods of Greco-Roman religious revival, such as with the emperor Julian.<sup>133</sup> Because most political interests are Christian, but likely belonging to a doctrinal faction, when devotees are mentioned in an emperor's entry, an attempt is made to label their theological position as an affiliation to differentiate one from the other.<sup>134</sup> The interest type itself, however, remains the same so as to provide a general marker for the importance of placating religious interests in an accession.

Bishops as an interest type are specifically Christian religious leaders based in a major city. Most of them, when cited, will be the head bishop of a capital city like Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, or Jerusalem. They are sometimes referred to in the literature as a patriarch. Starting with patriarchal involvement in the accession of the emperor Leo I in the fifth century, bishops will grow in importance until they become an essential part of the coronation process in the Middle and Late Byzantine eras.<sup>135</sup>

### Popular

For popular interest types, I have created two main categories: People and Factions.

I use People as a broad interest type to categorize any mention in the sources of a group of people, not primarily of another power type, who are intended to be representative of the population of the empire as a whole. Included in this interest type are not only populations of people, but also *ad hoc* combatants, such as armed citizens, armed slaves, and *bagaudae*. Whether in a city or or a countryside revolt, the loss of their support is construed as a loss of support of the people on behalf of whom an emperor is supposed to be governing.<sup>136</sup> Thus in some instances, they can be considered similar to Places in that they are regionally based.<sup>137</sup> I define the essential difference between People outside capital cities and Places as whether or not a revolt is directed

---

<sup>133</sup> Although the persecution of Christians under Diocletian/Galerius are noted in my appendix (Appendix A, Galerius: 4.[6]), I make no mention of "pagan" interests since they seem to be the standard religious position. "Pagan" devotees only appear once in my appendix, as political interests in the accession of Eugenius (Appendix A: 4.[2, 4]).

<sup>134</sup> The accessions of Marcian and Basiliscus makes note of devotees belonging to Miaphysite and non-Miaphysite affiliations. Under Basiliscus (Appendix A: 3.h) non-Miaphysite affiliations are expressly called Chalcedonian but not under Marcian (Appendix A: 3.g), as the Council of Chalcedon had not been convened at the time of his accession.

<sup>135</sup> Appendix A, Leo I: 4.[2], Pfeilschifter (2013: 161-2).

<sup>136</sup> Kaldellis (2015: 157-8).

<sup>137</sup> An example of this is when the people of a city stand in for the people of Rome during an acclamation. See the accessions of Constantine I (Appendix A: 4.[2A]), Magnentius (Appendix A: 4.[2]), and Leontius (Appendix A: 4.[12]).

by the regional bureaucracy or elites, or has the appearance of an organic ground-level uprising led by non-elites.<sup>138</sup>

Circus factions, specifically those of Constantinople, are then very clearly a subgroup of this People interest type in that they claim that they are representative of the people, and that their central organizing space, the Hippodrome, is where interaction between emperor and people was supposed to take place.<sup>139</sup> Their separation from People is because over the course of the fifth and sixth centuries, they would take a direct role in the accession of new Byzantine emperors and are listed in the sources specifically.<sup>140</sup> In a few accessions, the factions also take on a more directly military role.<sup>141</sup> However, their limited military effectiveness, combined with the ultimate reason for their participation in an imperial accession, namely as claimed representatives of the people, is why I maintain their primary power designation as popular.

### Non-Roman

I am grouping all other political interests of primarily a non-Roman power type under the interest type Barbarians. This covers not only barbarian soldiers, but also barbarian kings and foreign ambassadors. Because the non-Roman power type designation indicates they are “officially” operating outside the Roman state, barbarian interests can include many secondary and tertiary power types. For example, Alaric is both non-Roman and executive, and his Visigothic army is non-Roman and military. Since Alaric as a barbarian military leader shares similarity to the army master interest type, we can have executive added to his power types.

The modern literature on the problem of classifying barbarian identity is quite extensive.<sup>142</sup> In an attempt to avoid wading into the debate, I have identified as “barbarians” only individuals or groups who organize and express themselves along non-Roman lines and/or those whose ethnicity is indicated in the records as non-Roman when operating in military opposition to the Roman

---

<sup>138</sup> A good example of the distinction is in the first accession of Maximian. Maximian is raised as a Caesar to deal with *bagaudae* revolts in Gaul, which do not seem to be led by anyone (Appendix A, Maximian (1): 4.[1]). A year later, a revolt occurs in Britain, but this time led by Carausius, who is proclaimed as a competing emperor (Appendix A, Maximian (1): 4.[2]). In the first case, the revolt is considered popular. In the second case, the revolt is not, and is instead considered a contested accession since it is led by an emperor.

<sup>139</sup> Main (2013: 11), Pfeilschifter (2013: 298-9).

<sup>140</sup> Appendix A, Anastasius 4.[5], Justin I: 4.[3], Hypatius: 4.[1-8], Justin II: 4.[3], Phocas: 4.[2, 4, 6], Heraclius: 4.[8]. Possibly also Marcian (Appendix A: 4.[2B]), although faction involvement may be a typo in the source (Whitby and Whitby, 1989: 81 n.265).

<sup>141</sup> Appendix A, Hypatius: 4.[1-8], Phocas: 4.[2], and Heraclius: 4.[7?]. See also Main (2013: 27-32).

<sup>142</sup> One brief overview is available in Pohl (2014: 247-63).

government. Thus barbarian soldiers mixed in with Roman soldiers operating as a unit under direct Roman authority would be considered an army interest type, whereas a mixed Roman/Germanic unit under a Germanic king operating in opposition to any Roman authority while attacking a Roman city would be considered a barbarian interest type.<sup>143</sup> Thus, I have chosen to classify individuals of barbarian descent like Ricimer and Gundobad who were working under the imperial state as Roman, but Alaric when he was opposed to the state as barbarian. One adjustment I make to the formula is in the classification of Odoacer. Although I can classify him as an army master because of his control of the western military, his assuming of the title of *patricius*, and his continued operation within the Roman structure, I am choosing to consider him primarily as a barbarian because of his *rex* title. In reality, Odoacer possessed both titles, and he used them both to operate between Roman and barbarian worlds, as would the person who replaced him, Theoderic.<sup>144</sup> However, for my purposes, I am choosing to distinguish Odoacer's *rex* title over his *patricius* in line with the general opinion that his control of Italy marked the beginning of a different political era from that of the western empire beforehand, if not for any other reason than that there was no longer a western emperor.

## LEVELS OF DECISION-MAKING POWER

Now that we have identified the different political interests by interest types, we have to create a system for distinguishing their importance or relevance to the imperial accession process. The necessity of one more classification level of political interests lies in my attempt to reconcile the Kaldellis and Pfeilschifter arguments that I cited in the beginning of the first chapter over which political forces are most important to an accession, those represented in the ceremony, or those with functional power. By balancing interests with clear decision-making power with interests that do not have such power but are present because of implied importance, we can simultaneously acknowledge the importance of interests like regional armies, even while knowing that they functionally played no part in a capital-city decision.<sup>145</sup> For this purpose, I have created a three-

---

<sup>143</sup> Elton (1996): 95-106 gives an example of one individual of Gothic descent who did not have any problems navigating up the Roman military hierarchy and that ethnic descent was more for the identification of someone's background than as some kind of clear racial and class divide.

<sup>144</sup> Bury (1923: 405-11).

<sup>145</sup> This idea is adapted in opposition to one from Yannopoulos (1991: 83-6, 91-2) who believed that the presence of political interests at Byzantine coronation ceremonies was purely symbolic. While I acknowledge its symbolic nature, I do not believe the presence of certain political interests is something that can be dismissed. I believe ceremonies represent an idealized form of who "should" be involved in an accession, even if those interests do not have any

tier classification system for when I encounter a political interest or interest type in the sources. I classify interests as either Deciders, Affirmers, or Mentions.

### Deciders, Affirmers, Mentions

At the top, there are Deciders. These are interest types involved in the earliest possible point of deliberation over multiple successor candidates. They are the ones noted in the sources as performing the actual selection of individuals to be acclaimed as emperors, although as with the other decision-making interests, I am aware that just because the sources say they are deciders, this does not mean that they actually were.

Below them are the Affirmers. These are interest types that are mentioned explicitly as ones whose public assent is sought or seen as necessary for an accession of an emperor selected by deciders. The line between decider and affirmer can be very blurred, especially when attempting to discern “actual” decision points between competing narratives, each of which claim to be “the truth” as to the reasons for a new emperor’s selection.<sup>146</sup> For my purposes, I seek to find the interests at the earliest point in time where the need to decide on a new emperor has been agreed upon, but the ultimate selection of an imperial candidate has not yet been decided. Once an imperial candidate has been decided, then I presume the interest types afterwards are affirmers, as they are no longer choosing between multiple imperial candidates, but merely the acceptance or rejection of one offered to them.

At the lowest level are Mentions. These are simply interest types that have appeared in any capacity within the primary sources’ details of an accession. They are classified as such when the sources do not explicitly discuss the relationship of this interest type to the accession process, such as whether they confirmed or refused the new emperor. They are noted only for their presence. In situations where I am presuming the involvement of an interest, but their existence is not explicit in the source, I am also categorizing them as mentions.

Because the number of interest types mentioned in the historical sources can be quite numerous, in my appendix I prioritize the identification of deciders first, then affirmers, and lastly

---

decision-making power. The power of this idealized representation is not in the coronation currently happening, but in the next one, when the interests will have to be placated in some capacity for their continued participation. Kaldellis (2015: 103-6) seems similarly to believe that ceremony is a surface representation of deeper forces, but that those forces were ultimately still driven by the people.

<sup>146</sup> An example of this would be the differing claims as to who was responsible for the selection of Marcian as an emperor, whether it be Theodosius II, Aspar, Pulcheria, or the Senate. See Appendix A, Marcian 4.[2A, 2B, 2C].

mentions. The goal of this prioritization is that in the event some interests have been overlooked in the sources, they would not be from the more important decider or affirmer categories.

### Tacit Assent vs. Refusal

One of the grey areas separating an affirmer from a mention is this notion of affirmation. When approvals are explicit, the categorization of an interest as an affirmer is easy. But what if the approvals are not explicit? What if we have to presume an approval?

This question comes up most often when considering the level of support an emperor's army has for him. In many accession civil wars, army support is presumed because it is considered an extension of an emperor's own executive decision power.<sup>147</sup> However, how are we to know? There are many cases where an army seemed to be behind their emperor until they suddenly turned sides.<sup>148</sup> Given these cases, how are we to understand the army's decision-making power both before and after their turn from their emperor?

The question of who has the responsibility for explicit consent or rejection is a complex one. The problem is that there are many possible options in interpreting silence. An interest can just as well be in tacit disagreement as much as they could be in tacit agreement. They can also simply be uninterested in the debate, which would mean that assuming their approval or disapproval is just as wrong as guessing incorrectly. For my purposes, I rely upon explicit statements of intent so as to avoid second-guessing the intentions of interests who are present but otherwise silent in an accession or a ceremony.<sup>149</sup> So for example, if an emperor is implied to have the support of an interest like the army, that interest will be counted as a mention unless it is explicitly noted as one of the key affirmers. Likewise, I have chosen not to consider an emperor's nominated consuls in *consularia* as evidence for the Senate's affirmation of a new emperor.<sup>150</sup> One

---

<sup>147</sup> To take one example, in Aur. Vict. *De Caes.* (39.11, tr. Bird), the Battle of Margus between Diocletian and Carinus' forces are described as if it were a fight between two individuals. "Moreover when Carinus reached Moesia he straight away joined battle with Diocletian near the Margus (*At Carinus ubi Moesiam contigit, illico Marcum iuxta Diocletiano congressus*)."

<sup>148</sup> Appendix A, Maxentius: 4.[7], Procopius: 4.[10].

<sup>149</sup> The second half of Leo I's accession ceremony (Appendix A, Leo I: 4.[3]) consists of a long string of political interests who seem to have no place in any formal affirmation ceremony. The interests seem like they are interacting with him as a day-to-day emperor.

<sup>150</sup> Usually the Senate's acceptance of an emperor's nominated consuls is seen as a uncontroversial rubber stamp approval of the new emperor. But in the specific case of Avitus, although Hydatius reports that Marcian accepted Avitus as a co-emperor (Appendix A, Avitus: 4.[5B]), there is a discrepancy in two *consularia* for 456 CE (Appendix A, Avitus: 4.[5A]), where the *Consularia Constantinopolitana* lists different consuls from the *Fasti Vindobonenses*. This has been interpreted to mean that the Roman Senate accepted Avitus, while the Constantinopolitan Senate, and by extension Marcian, did not. See Mathisen (1981: 233-4).

can certainly argue that the acceptance of consuls is a conscious act, but I would disagree. This same argument could be applied to the military, suggesting any soldier staying in an army after a new emperor is raised is giving an active assent. However, in at least one case, we have an instance of soldiers changing allegiances on the battlefield after supposedly giving such “assent” to a new emperor.<sup>151</sup> In my opinion, the acceptance of consuls is a similar, but bureaucratic, version of this tacit “assent.” Thus, I do not put *consularia* appearance on the same level as an explicit affirmation.

For this reason, an act of refusal is a much clearer statement of intent. It is a denial of affirmation and thus requires the opinion to be publicly expressed. Thus when an army betrays their emperor in the field, I consider its decision-making power to have moved from being a mention to an affirmer. I do the same for other political interests in my analysis. The clarity of the refusal over the tacit “assent” is why I prefer to place the onus of affirmation on that which is said, rather than that which is implied.

---

<sup>151</sup> The turning of Severus’ army against him because of their previous loyalty to Maximian is an example of this. See Appendix A, Maximian (2): 4.[4]. Severus had only just been raised as an emperor the previous year. See *NEDC* 146.

## Chapter Two: Synthesis

### SAMPLE ACCESSION ANALYSIS (Diocletian)

I begin this chapter with a sample analysis from my first chosen accession, that of Diocletian,<sup>1</sup> in order to demonstrate how I apply the methods outlined in the previous chapter to the creation of an appendix entry.

#### 4. Narrative stages

- a. [1] DELIBERATION (Death of Numerian) [< Nov. 20, 284] (*PLRE* 1 Numerianus).
  - i. *Numerian - Bithynia* (Williams, 1985: 35) murdered by *Praetorian Prefect Aper*, possibly with the tacit approval of *DIOCLETIAN* (Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 38, Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 38, Eutr. 9.18, Jer. *Chron.*, Oros. 7.24.4, Bird 1994: 164).
- b. [2] DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [*Dies Imperii: Nov. 20, 284*] (*P. Beatty Panop.* 2.162).
  - i. *Army Council - Nicomedia* (*NEDC* 49) elects *DIOCLETIAN* as Augustus (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39, Eutr. 9.20, Jer. *Chron.*, Oros. 7.25.1)
- c. [3] *Carinus - Gaul/Northern Italy* (Eutr. 9.19, Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39) marches on *DIOCLETIAN - Illyria* (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39).
- d. [4A] CO-OPT (Death of Carinus) [*Spring 285*] (*NEDC* 50).
  - i. *Carinus - Moesia* confronts *DIOCLETIAN - Moesia* at the Battle of Margus (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39, Eutr. 9.20, Jer. *Chron.*, Oros. 7.25.1).
  - ii. *Carinus* is killed by his own *Western Army - [Carinus]* because of his mistreatment of soldiers' wives (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39, Eutr. 9.19-20).
- e. [4B] CO-OPT (Death of Carinus) - Death of *Carinus* by his *Tribune* (Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 38).
- f. [4C] CO-OPT (Death of Carinus) - *Carinus* killed in battle against usurper *Sabinus Julianus*.
  - i. Almost a merging of [4A] and [4B] but with *Carinus* battle being against *Sabinus*, i.e. *DIOCLETIAN* is on his way to battle *Carinus* but they never meet. (Joh. Ant. *Fr.* 189, ed. Mariev).
- g. [5] *DIOCLETIAN* claims he had no part in *Numerian's* death, kills *Aper* and pardons everyone else in the *Eastern Army*. (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39), (Eutr. 9.20), (Jer. *Chron.*). May have happened after [2] (Eutr. 9.20).
- h. [6] PROCLAMATION [Summer 285] (Williams, 1985: 241), (*NEDC* 50).
  - i. *DIOCLETIAN - Rome*, gets official recognition from the *Senate* (Zon. 12.31), (*NEDC* 50).

Although each entry starts with the results of my analysis in three sections (accession type, political interest types, locations), my analysis actually begins with the fourth section, the creation of a unified narrative for each accession. Both narratives and dates are derived, initially, from the sources listed in an emperor's *PLRE* entry. In my sample analysis, I begin with Diocletian's *PLRE* entry.<sup>2</sup> Diocletian's entry gives a list of sources, in both inscriptions and literary texts, that first

---

<sup>1</sup> Appendix A, Diocletian.

<sup>2</sup> *PLRE* 1 (1974: 253-4).

describes his full name and his background. After this information, there is a brief paragraph stating when he was proclaimed *augustus*, followed first by the sources that support the date of his accession, and afterward by sources that discuss his accession. In Diocletian's case, the sources listed are: *P. Beatty Panop.*, Aurelius Victor and Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, the *Historia Augusta*, Eutropius, Jerome, Zosimus, Orosius, John of Antioch, and Zonaras. After this list, the sources that describe his abdication and his retirement are cited. The *PLRE* generally avoids detailing events which occur during an emperor's reign,<sup>3</sup> presumably so as to minimize book length. From this initial source list, I choose which ones will form the backbone of my accession narrative. Within my appendix entry for Diocletian, I have utilized all the sources listed except the *Historia Augusta*. I have excluded this source because the information in the source appears to duplicate the information from the other sources, as well because the *Historia Augusta* has a reputation for being unreliable. Where multiple versions of the narrative exist, I try to note alternative narratives with the letters [A], [B] and so on.

Despite my attempts to organize competing traditions into a unified narrative, there is a limit as to how much focus I can place on an accession's historiography. Ultimately, this means I may not always be aware of when different narratives come from a common tradition. Thus the sources I choose for inclusion are guided by the availability of modern translations or influenced by a single source with the most coherent narrative.<sup>4</sup> Wherever possible, I attempt to mitigate these problems by sticking to the sources closest in time to the event. The exception to this would be if a later source seems to contain information from now-lost sources, such as Zonaras' twelfth century report of Diocletian's visit to Italy, an event confirmed by numismatics.<sup>5</sup>

The sources are brought together principally within a timeline reconstruction of that emperor's accession. Where dates and locations are available, I put the most likely one first, followed by alternatives. Where an entry disagrees with the *PLRE*, I will list a secondary source that makes a more compelling argument. Affiliations are listed in square brackets so as to distinguish similar interests on opposing political sides. I list the stages that I believe are the start,

---

<sup>3</sup> *PLRE* 2 (1980: vii).

<sup>4</sup> In the case of Diocletian's accession, even though different sources talk about the event, it is believed that many of them descend from a common source, a lost work known to modern scholars as the *Kaisergeschichte*. See Kovács (2011: 241).

<sup>5</sup> Banchich (2009: 1-2) describes the three points where Zonaras' account is uniquely valuable, of which the third to fourth century is one. Zon. (12.31) for Diocletian's visit. *NEDC* (50) cites *Roman Imperial Coinage* (5.2.241: 203) for the coinage confirmation of Diocletian in Italy.

end, and most important mid-points of an accession in bold, and those that others might argue as alternative starting and ending points in a normal font. In the case of Diocletian's entry, we can see both possibilities at work.

The earliest possible start point for Diocletian's accession would be with the murder of the emperor Numerian by the Praetorian Prefect Aper. Although there is still another reigning emperor at this point, Numerian's elder brother Carinus, the death of one emperor allowed for the possibility of another to be raised in his place. If Diocletian was involved in the murder, the assassination could be seen as beginning his imperial accession, thus confirming Numerian's death as a potential start point.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, if Diocletian was not involved in the murder, then the earliest possible deliberations for him as a candidate would come during the army council meeting to decide Numerian's successor.<sup>7</sup> Only when the army council met, in violation of the expected chain of command where Carinus should be the one to select a new emperor, would we see the start of conflict over who should be emperor.

Diocletian's proclamation stage is paired with his deliberation stage because we only have information on the date of his official coming to power, or *dies imperii*.<sup>8</sup> We do not have more information on the circumstances of his election except that the sources say he was elected by an army council.<sup>9</sup> As is normally the case with ancient sources, this does not mean that the deliberation and proclamation actually happened in one day. The deliberations leading up to the proclamation day may have taken considerably longer. However, lacking any other information, and given that it is very possible that deliberations took only a day, I have opted to pair Diocletian's initial deliberation with his proclamation, presuming both occurred on the same day.

After Carinus and his army march on Diocletian, we are presented with three possibilities as to how Carinus died.<sup>10</sup> The first variation in bold [4A] is the one I consider the most likely. [4B]

---

<sup>6</sup> Appendix A, Diocletian: 4.[1].

<sup>7</sup> Appendix A, Diocletian: 4.[2].

<sup>8</sup> Appendix A, Diocletian: 4.[2].

<sup>9</sup> *P. Beatty Panop.* (2.162 tr. Skeat) only mentions the date as a passing reference, "See that you pay out to the mounted archers... on account of donative for the accession of our ruler Diocletian, the senior *augustus*, on November 20th..." *Aur. Vict. (Caes. 39, tr. Bird)* only says "...at a council of generals and tribunes Valerius Diocletian, commander of the household troops, was selected because of his good sense."

<sup>10</sup> Although I have only noted three possibilities, a recent paper by Kovács (2011: 241-52) laid out seven alternate versions. However, Kovács' ultimate conclusion was that the versions do not necessarily contradict each other, and variations may be due to mistranslations or misunderstandings. In the interest of time and space, I have attempted only to lay out what I view are the most important variations. I am also keeping in mind, as mentioned in note 4, that these variations may still descend from one common tradition, the *Kaisergeschichte*.

and [4C] are possibilities listed in other primary sources. Although not applicable in this case, some later emperor entries include variations based on secondary source interpretations, rather than primary source accounts.<sup>11</sup> Despite there being three possible versions as to what happened, each version ends with the death of Carinus.<sup>12</sup> Thus, each variation is considered part of the same co-opt stage, as the death of Carinus means the elimination of all remaining competitors. I include another intermediary event on Aper's death before the final event, Diocletian's recognition by the Senate.<sup>13</sup> I do not view this event as the formal end of his accession, but include this event because others may argue it as a possible end for reasons that will be explained shortly.

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. AUGUSTUS-A: Election (4 to 6 months)
    - i. Elected as Augustus by the Army.
    - ii. From raising of Diocletian as Augustus to the death of Carinus at the Battle of Margus.
  - b. Augustus-B: Election (7 to 9 months)
    - i. Elected as Augustus by the Senate.
    - ii. From proclamation to Senate approval.

Now we are going to move back to the start of the accession entry and look at the categorization of accession type and the determining of the length of imperial uncertainty. For Diocletian, I have indicated Augustus-A and Augustus-B two possible ways of conceptualizing his *augustus* accession. A is the possibility that follows my rules for determining an accession's beginning and end. B is an alternative possibility which might be considered by other scholars. In the case of Diocletian, both accession possibilities are elections since Diocletian was not and did not claim to be designated by another emperor. However, in the case of other emperors, the accession possibilities may be inheritances as well as elections, especially in the case of self-proclaimed emperors who want to make their accession seem as legitimate as possible by incorporating both accession types for their elevation.<sup>14</sup>

With Augustus-A, I consider Diocletian's accession contested, because at the point that he was raised as an emperor, there was another emperor, Carinus. Thus the imperial uncertainty coincides with the period where there was an overlap in competing emperors. Because we do not

---

<sup>11</sup> Appendix A, Theodosius I: 4.[2A, 2B, 3], Marcian: 4.[2A], Anastasius: 4.[3B]

<sup>12</sup> Appendix A, Diocletian: 4.[4A-4C].

<sup>13</sup> Appendix A, Diocletian: 4.[5-6]

<sup>14</sup> Appendix A, Maxentius: 1.[Augustus-A, B], Maximian (2): 1.[Augustus-A, B, C], Constantine I: 1.[Caesar-A, B, Augustus-A, B], Constantine II: 1.[Augustus-A, B], Constans: 1.[Augustus-A, B], Constantius II: 1.[Augustus-A, B], Vetrician: 1.[Augustus-A, B], Procopius: 1.[Augustus-A, B], Theodosius I: 1.[Augustus-A, B], Majorian: 1.[Augustus-A, B], Marcian: 1.[Augustus-A, B], Anastasius: 1.[Augustus-A, B], Justin II: 1.[Augustus-A, B].

know the precise date of Carinus' death, I estimate this uncertainty period to be four to six months, starting from Diocletian's *dies imperii*, and suggesting that Diocletian does not fully take power over the empire until Carinus' death.

Augustus-B relates to the last event listed in the narrative stage, that of the recognition by the Senate. If the formal handover of power by the Senate to a new emperor was the true marker of recognition,<sup>15</sup> then Diocletian's accession length would be the time between his proclamation and his recognition. I indicate Augustus-B as contested because, although the period of contest ends with the death of Carinus, if we consider Senate recognition as necessary, then the period of unrecognized uncertainty continues an additional three months. I have included this type and event as a possibility for his accession's end. However, I have yet to find any scholar who considers Diocletian's start as the date of his Senate recognition. Diocletian is the only entry where I have indicated a contested time frame ending with Senate recognition. I have done so in order to raise the question of the necessity of the Senate in the Late Roman period and will indicate when Senate recognition occurs after my interpretation of a final co-option of competitors, but after Diocletian's accession, I do not include it as among the accession possibilities.

2. Political interest types involved

**a. EXE-A: Emperors**

- i. DIOCLETIAN - Illyria, Moesia, Rome
- ii. **"Carinus" (Executive / Individual) - Southern Gaul, Northern Italy, Moesia**
- iii. **"Sabinus Julianus" (Executive / Individual)**
- iv. **"Numerian" (Executive / Individual) - Bithynia**

**b. MIL-D: Army**

- i. **"Army Council" (Military / Body) - Nicomedia**
- ii. **"Western Army" (Military / Body) - [Carinus], Moesia**
- iii. **"Eastern Army" (Military / Body) - [Diocletian], Moesia**
- iv. **"Praetorian Prefect Aper" (Military / Individual) - Bithynia**
- v. **"Tribune" (Military / Individual)**
- vi. **(Military / Body) - [Attached to Sabinus Julianus], Moesia**

**c. ADM-A: Senate**

- i. **"Senate" (Administrative / Body) - Rome**

The next section is the most important one to the overall thesis, and that is the listing and classification of political interests. I begin with a list of all the political interests in section four, the narrative stages section. Then I attempt to categorize these interests by what I view as their relevant interest type, before sorting the interest types by their primary power types. The power

---

<sup>15</sup> Brunt (1977: 95, 116). We should also consider that Dio (80.2.2) thought it was improper for Elagabalus to call himself emperor before his titles and tribunician powers had been voted to him by the Senate.

types for each interest type are abbreviated, EXE for Executive, MIL for Military, ADM for Administrative, REL for Religious, POP for Popular, NON for Non-Roman. Next to the power type categorization is a letter abbreviating the highest decision-making power of a political interest within that interest type. For example, EXE-A means at least one of the interest types with a main power type of Executive is an Affirmer, whereas MIL-D means at least one of the interest types with a main power type of Military is a Decider.

As mentioned previously, the key classifications for decision-making interests are deciders, affirmers, and mentions.<sup>16</sup> Deciders are interests listed in a bold regular font, affirmers in a bold italic font, and mentions are in a regular italic font. In the case of Diocletian, only the army council fits this criteria. Although the army council ultimately chose Diocletian, during their deliberations, they would have had the opportunity to choose from and debate other candidates for emperor. This choice is one not available to affirmers, who I have listed in Diocletian's accession as Carinus, Sabinus Julianus, the Western Army, and the Senate.<sup>17</sup> With these interests, a new emperor has already been suggested, and they only have the decision of approving or rejecting the new emperor.

Praetorian Prefect Aper is considered a mention, although he could arguably be considered a decider. His classification depends upon whether or not Diocletian was involved in the assassination of Numerian, and whether Diocletian tasked Aper to kill Numerian. If Diocletian was involved, then arguably Aper would be part of the multi-candidate deliberations for Numerian's replacement, supporting Diocletian as his preference. If Diocletian was not involved, then Aper could either be a disgruntled soldier, or alternatively, he could have been the supporter of another candidate for emperor. Without more information, we can not know for certain. For my purposes, I have opted to consider the two as not involved, considering Diocletian's later execution of Aper.

For Diocletian, the Senate's presence as an affirmer is not the result of their acceptance of his consuls, as per my previously stated guidelines.<sup>18</sup> Instead, it is the mention in Zonaras that he journeyed to Italy in combination with the numismatic evidence of his presence that is enough to designate the Senate as an affirmer.<sup>19</sup> Although it can be argued that this literary account of the Senate's affirmation is no different as a historical source from a *consularia*'s account, I prefer to

---

<sup>16</sup> See the Chapter One subsection "Deciders, Affirmers, and Mentions."

<sup>17</sup> Appendix A, Diocletian: 2.a-c.

<sup>18</sup> See the Chapter One subsection "Tacit Assent vs. Refusal."

<sup>19</sup> Zon. 12.31, *NEDC* 50, Appendix A, Diocletian: 4.[6].

place priority on the literary account on the basis that it is the specific decision of the author to record the Senate as acting in this instance. The authors from whom Zonaras was copying could have just as well chosen not to record the Senate’s participation.

3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Southern Gaul, Northern Italy, Rome, Illyria, Moesia, Bithynia, Nicomedia

Lastly, Diocletian’s accession entry includes a section on locations mentioned. This brief section simply relists and geographically lists where interests were mentioned to be in the narrative stages. The utility of this section is in quickly laying out the geographic scope of an emperor’s accession, a scope which, as we will see, will diminish over time from the imperial accessions of the third to the sixth centuries.

## POLITICAL INTERESTS BY POWER TYPE

The chart below is the collation of interest types categorized from the political interests recorded in the imperial accessions in the appendix, utilizing the methods described in Chapter One and similar to the ones used in the sample analysis of Diocletian in the section above. Deciders are in bold, affirmers are in bold italics, and mentions are in italics only. The listing of an interest type only indicates that at least one political interest was of that type in an accession. It does not indicate how many political interests were categorized as that interest type. The alternating grey or white background indicate emperors whose *dies imperii* fall within a fifty year span,<sup>20</sup> with the exception of Phocas and Heraclius, who cover only a twenty-five year span. A black border around some emperors indicates that their accessions overlap in the appendix. Emperors after Theodosius I in red are those considered western emperors, while those in purple italics are considered eastern emperors.

(Figure 1)

Emperors	<i>Dies Imp.</i>	Executive (not counting self)	Military	Administrative	Religious	Popular	Non-Roman
Diocletian	284	<b>Emperors</b>	<b>Army</b>	<i>Senate</i>			
Maximian	285	<b>Emperors, Family</b>	<b>Army, Guards</b>	<i>Court, Places</i>		<b>People</b>	
Constantius I	293	<b>Emperors, Family</b>	<i>Army</i>	<i>Places</i>			

<sup>20</sup> The first interval is technically fifty-one years, from Diocletian’s accession in 284 CE to 335 CE.

Galerius	293	<b>Emperors, Family</b>	<i>Army</i>	<i>Places</i>	<i>Devotees</i>		<i>Barbarians</i>
Severus	305	<b>Emperors</b>					
Maximinus Daia	305	<b>Emperors</b>	<b>Army</b>	<i>Places</i>	<i>Devotees</i>		
Constantine	306	<b>Emperors, Family</b>	<b>Army, Guards</b>	<b>Senate, Court, Places</b>	<i>Devotees</i>	<b>People</b>	<i>Barbarians</i>
Maxentius	306	<b>Emperors</b>	<b>Army, Guards</b>	<b>Senate, Court, Places</b>	<i>Devotees</i>	<b>People</b>	
Licinius	308	<b>Emperors, Family</b>	<i>Army</i>	<i>Places</i>	<i>Devotees</i>		
Constantine II	317	<b>Emperors, Family</b>	<b>Army</b>				
Constantius II	324	<b>Emperors, Family</b>	<b>Army</b>				
Constans	333	<b>Emperors, Family</b>	<b>Army</b>				
Magnentius	350	<b>Emperors, Family</b>	<b>Army</b>	<i>Places</i>		<b>People</b>	
Vetranio	350	<b>Emperors, Augustae</b>	<b>Army</b>				
Julian	355	<b>Emperors, Family</b>	<b>Army</b>	<b>Senate, Court, Places</b>		<b>People</b>	
Jovian	363	<i>Emperors, Family</i>	<b>Army, Guards</b>	<b>Court</b>	<i>Devotees</i>		
Valentinian I	364	<i>Emperors, Family</i>	<b>Army</b>	<b>Places</b>			
Valens	364	<b>Emperors</b>	<b>Army</b>				
Procopius	365	<b>Emperors, Family</b>	<b>Army, Guards</b>	<b>Senate, Court, Eunuchs, Places</b>		<b>People</b>	<i>Barbarians</i>
Gratian	367	<b>Emperors, Family</b>	<b>Army</b>	<i>Court</i>			
Valentinian II	375	<b>Emperors</b>	<b>Army</b>				
Theodosius I	378	<b>Emperors</b>	<i>Army</i>	<b>Court</b>	<i>Bishops</i>		
Magnus Maximus	383	<b>Emperors, Family</b>	<b>Army</b>	<i>Senate, Places</i>			<b>Barbarians</b>
Arcadius	383	<b>Emperors</b>					
Eugenius	392	<b>Emperors</b>	<b>Master, Army</b>	<b>Senate, Court, Eunuchs</b>	<i>Devotees</i>		<i>Barbarians</i>
Honorius	393	<b>Emperors</b>	<i>Magister</i>				
Theodosius II	402	<b>Emperors</b>				<i>People</i>	
Constantine III	407	<b>Emperors</b>	<b>Master, Army</b>	<i>Places</i>			<i>Barbarians</i>
Attalus	409	<b>Emperors, Family</b>	<b>Army, Guards</b>	<b>Senate, Places</b>			<b>Barbarians</b>

Constantius III	421	Emperors, Family	Master				Barbarians
Johannes	423	Emperors	Army	Places			
Valentinian III	424	Emperors, Augustae	Army	Court, Places		People	
Marcian	450	Emperors, Augustae	Army	Senate, Eunuchs	Bishops, Devotees	Factions	
Petronius Maximus	455	Emperors, Augustae	Master, Army, Guards	Court, Eunuchs		People	Barbarians
Avitus	455	Emperors	Army	Senate, Places		People	Barbarians
Leo I	457	Augustae	Master, Army, Guards	Senate, Court, Eunuchs	Bishops	People	
Majorian	457	Emperors	Army	Senate		People	
Libius Severus	461	Emperors	Master	Senate			
Anthemius	467	Emperors, Family	Master, Army	Senate, Places			
Leo II	472	Emperors	Guards	Senate, Court, Eunuchs	Bishop	People	Barbarians
Olybrius	472	Emperors	Master, Army	Senate			
Glycerius	473	Emperors	Master, Army				
Zeno	474	Emperors, Augustae, Family		Senate		People	
Julius Nepos	474	Emperors	Army				
Basiliscus	475	Emperors, Augustae	Army	Senate, Court, Places	Bishop, Devotees	People	Barbarians
Romulus Augustulus	475	Emperors	Master, Army				Barbarians
Marcianus	479	Emperors, Augustae, Family	Army, Guards	Court		People	Barbarians
Leontius	484	Emperors, Augustae	Master, Army	Places	Devotees	People	Barbarians
Thela	490	Emperors		Places			Barbarians
Anastasius	491	Emperors, Augustae	Army, Guards	Senate, Court, Eunuchs	Bishop, Devotees	People, Factions	
Justin I	518	Emperor	Guards	Senate, Court, Eunuchs	Bishops	People, Factions	

<i>Justinian</i>	527	<b>Emperors</b>	<i>Guards</i>	<i>Senate, Court</i>	<b>Bishops</b>		
<i>Hypatius</i>	532	<b>Emperors, Augustae, Family</b>	<i>Army</i>	<i>Court, Eunuchs</i>		<b>People, Factions</b>	
<i>Justin II</i>	565	<b>Emperors, Augustae, Family</b>	<b>Guards</b>	<b>Senate, Court, Eunuchs</b>	<b>Bishops, Devotees</b>	<b>People, Factions</b>	
<i>Tiberius II</i>	574	<b>Emperors, Augustae</b>	<i>Army, Guards</i>	<b>Senate, Court, Places</b>	<i>Bishops, Devotees</i>		
<i>Maurice</i>	582	<b>Emperors, Family</b>	<b>Army</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>Bishops</b>	<b>People</b>	
<i>Phocas</i>	602	<b>Emperors, Augustae, Family</b>	<b>Army</b>	<b>Senate</b>	<b>Bishops</b>	<b>People, Factions</b>	<i>Barbarians</i>
<i>Heraclius</i>	610	<b>Emperors, Family</b>	<i>Army, Guards</i>	<b>Senate, Court, Places</b>	<b>Bishops, Devotees</b>	<b>People, Factions</b>	<i>Barbarians</i>

First, I will explain before explaining why I divide the analysis of the emperors, political interests, and power types into fifty-year intervals.

One of the main problems of undertaking a data analysis of key political players in the primary sources, is that the sources themselves are not a random or uniform sample from which to draw. Unlike social scientists performing research on modern populations, who have specific methods for ensuring that their data is representative,<sup>21</sup> there is little equivalent methodological assurance of the representativeness of ancient source data. The survival of some sources as opposed to the others is almost always the result of chance and circumstance. This is of course not neglecting the fact that ancient sources are not individual accounts of the past. Sources copy other sources. Sometimes they do so directly. Other times they paraphrase and elaborate on earlier accounts.<sup>22</sup> This becomes a problem if a later source lists more political interests involved in an accession than an earlier source. This later source would give a false impression as a more comprehensive account of the accession than the earlier source, even though they come from the same base text.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> Onwuegbuzie and Collins (2012).

<sup>22</sup> Within this paper and the specific example of the accession of Marcian, Burgess (1994: 47-68) gives an excellent example of the above difficulties. He unpacks the different traditions of the sources on Marcian, as well as how they operated in concert, in competition and in addition with one another.

<sup>23</sup> Continuing with the example of Marcian, Theophanes (AM 5942) says Pulcheria summoned the Patriarch, although the earlier sources do not. Theophanes is one of the later sources and he lived in the early ninth century, during a time when patriarchal involvement in the accession was regular. Thus there is the possibility that the patriarch's involvement was a later addition, and not something that happened during Marcian's actual accession.

Because of these problems, my proposed solution is to group imperial accessions within a fifty year span. By doing so, we can hopefully get a sense as to the average participation of interest types as well as their decision-making power within that period. A fifty year span also avoids the inconsistent time frames that would result from an analysis by a set number of emperors. With fifty-eight emperors analyzed in the appendix, if we were to separate them roughly into sections of ten, then the first ten emperors would have a *dies imperii* interval between them of thirty-three years, whereas the last eight would have an interval of ninety-two years. The amount of change not only in accession patterns but in everyday life between thirty-three and ninety-two years is immense. A consistent fifty year time frame would still be a large change from one end of the spectrum to the other, but the hope is that the spectrum of change itself will be more consistent.

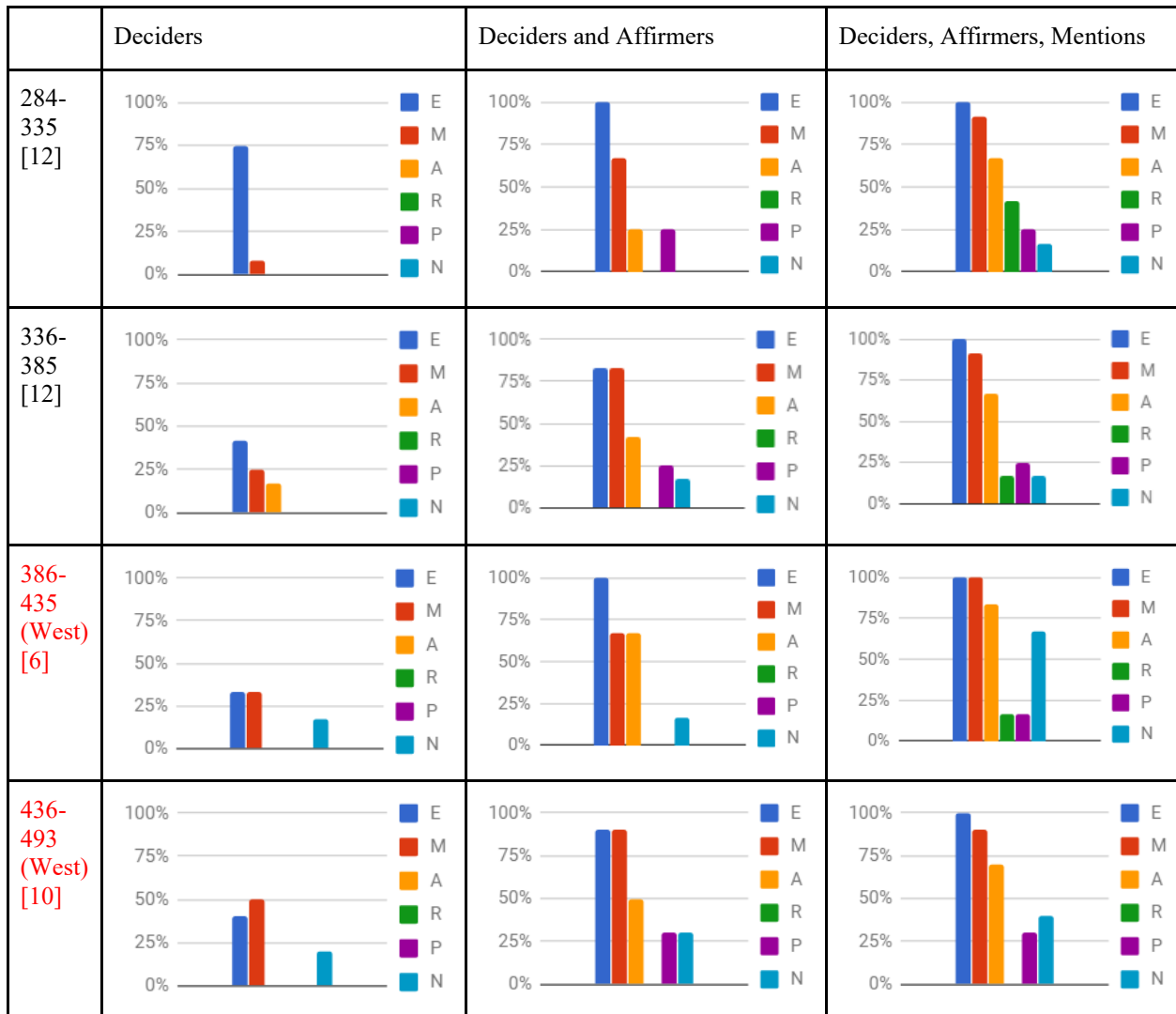
There are limitations to this first approach however. Because my ultimate goal is to see what the difference in power type configurations are between west and east, there are some intervals where the number of accessions is quite low. For 386-435 CE in the east, there are only two accessions, that of Theodosius II and Honorius, both of whom were proclaimed in Constantinople. For 486-535 CE in the west, there is only Thela. Because Thela is such a single outlier, I have chosen to wrap his 490-493 CE accession into the 436-485 CE interval when my analysis is separated by which half of the empire it is observing. However, because accessions in these periods are so few in number and with very sparse accounts in the sources, there are limits to what they can tell us about possible accession patterns for that period. I will still leave them in my analysis for data consistency.

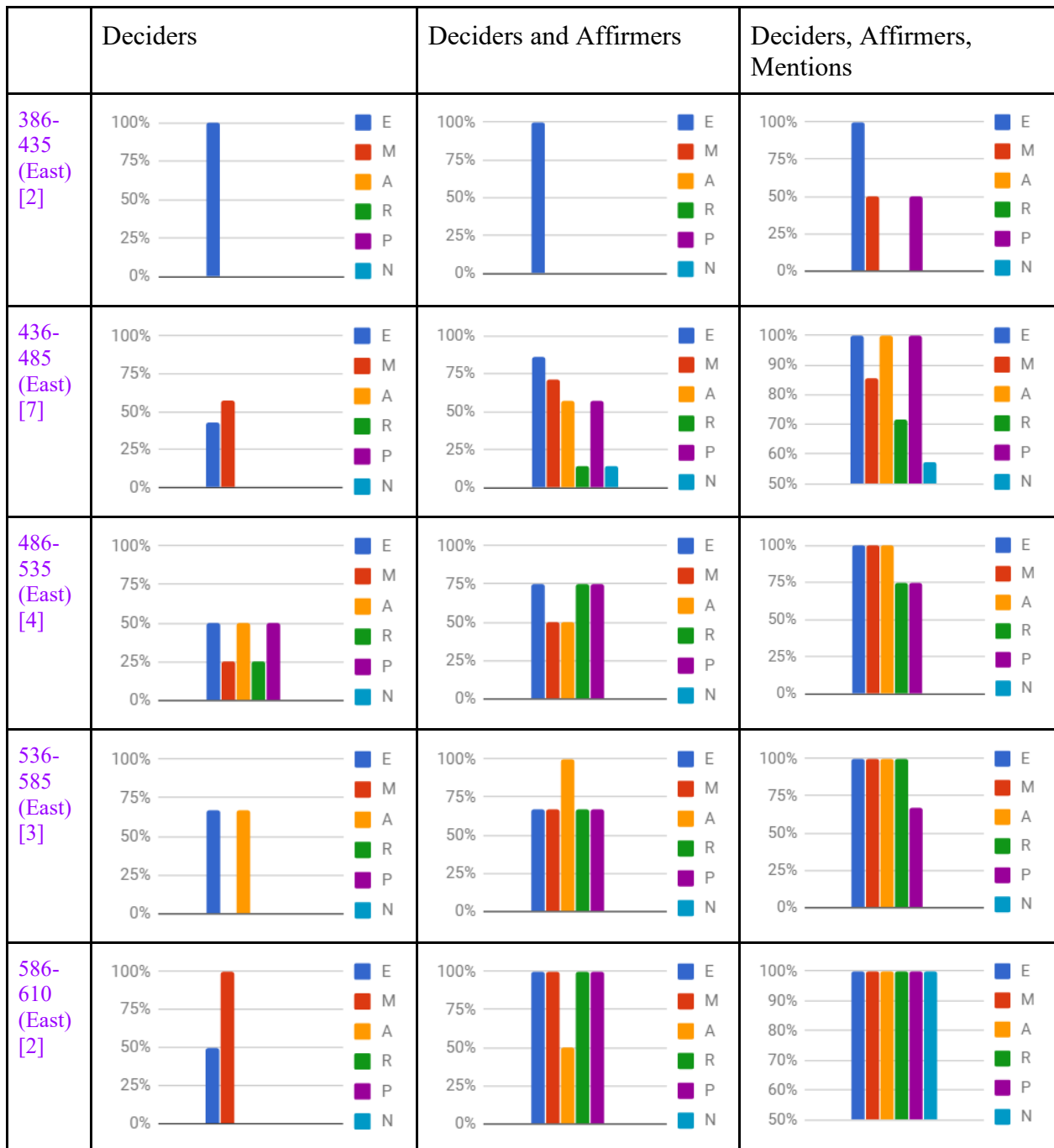
## INFLUENCE OF POWER TYPES

Once we have grouped the deciding power types for emperors in fifty-year intervals according to the methods outlined in the previous section, we can display them to see what patterns emerge.

### Charts and Explanations

(Figure 2)





First, I will explain what these graphs are illustrating. The furthest left column shows the fifty-year date interval (exceptions for the last western interval of fifty-seven years and the last eastern interval of twenty-five years), followed by an indication of whether the interval is for the western or the eastern empire if the date is after 386 CE. Beneath the date, in square brackets, is a number indicating how many emperors' accession fall within this date range. The furthest left

graph shows the percentage of the time a particular power type appears as a decider in the accessions of that period. The central graph does the same, but for deciders and affirmers. The right graph shows the appearance of any power type, whether they are a decider, affirmer, or a mention. To the right of each graph is a color key followed by a letter, each standing for the first letter of a power type category: E for Executive, M for Military, A for Administrative, R for Religious, P for Popular, N for Non-Roman. The following graphs are presented in color, but in the event a reader is viewing a black and white version of this document, the first bar on the left will always be the executive category, and the order of bars afterwards, including when there are no bars, will be in the same order as that listed above according to the abbreviations.

So as an example, during the Tetrarchic period of 284-335 CE, executive power types were deciders in seventy-five percent of the accessions for that era. There were twelve accessions in this period: Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius I, Galerius, Severus, Maximinus Daia, Maxentius, Licinius, Constantin I, Constantine II, Constans, Constantius II. In the accessions of Diocletian, Maxentius, and Constantine I, executive power types were not involved as deciders. Thus in the other nine they were, and nine accessions out of twelve result in a seventy-five percent participation. The deciding totals do not need to be exactly at one hundred percent because some emperors may be self-raised, and are thus their own deciders, and other accessions may have deciders of multiple power types. The possibility of total over one hundred percent is true for the other graphs of deciders and affirmers and the ones of all three deciding types.

Finally, I will explain how the information for the “Influence of Power Types” charts are drawn from the “Political Interests by Power Type” chart. When breaking down the decision-making power of various political interests, I do not record the level of each individual interest for “Influence of Power Types” chart. Instead, I record only the highest level among the political interests within a power type. One of the main problems of attempting a data analysis of historical sources is that we are subject to narrative source biases as to which events and people they include and what events they do not. A full listing of the decision-making power of each political interest would give the appearance of comprehensiveness. However, this presumed comprehensiveness would in fact be biased by the selective records of the authors. Recording all interests separately alongside their decision-making power level would produce misleading statistics as to the power configurations for an accession. For this reason, I am disregarding the power of individual interests and only recording, for each emperor’s accession, the highest decision-making power of a political

interest within a power type to represent the power type overall. By doing so, we are foregoing any attempt at understanding the actual political players at work in an accession, although we can get a sense as to what was considered possible for those players operating within a power type.

### Trends

There are several trends in changes to accession power types that we can detect from these graphs.

One clear trend is the importance of executive and military power types in the decision-making process for new emperors. Up until 493 CE in the west, and 485 CE in the east, executive and military power types compose the largest two blocks of deciding interests, with the sum of their participation in these eras outweighing even the sum of alternate political interests from other power types. Even when we expand the list of interests involved to deciders as well as affirmers, executive and military power types still comprise the two largest blocks involved in each accession before the sixth century. The preponderance of executive interests highlights the importance of personal relationships for the purposes of securing power, as the executive interests are composed entirely of emperors and imperial families. It is only after the demise of the western imperial office and the continuation of the eastern office in the century after 485 CE that we see a levelling off of the influence of these two power types. The exception to this is in the last twenty-five years, the period covering the accessions of Phocas and Heraclius. With these two emperors, we see a return in the power of the executive and the military as the premier deciding interests, likely because these two accessions were militarily-contested accessions. With that said, I am hesitant to put too much stock in deciders as their own analytical category. There are rarely more than one to two decider interest types per accession, which makes identifying trends a problem, due to a lack of data points. It is the middle graph of deciders and affirmers that is, in my opinion, the better graph to see the changing configurations of power.

Once again, executive and military power types appear as the most counted types before 493/485 CE. However, beginning in the east in 435 CE and becoming more apparent after 485 CE, the diversity of interests and their associated power types increases to a point of near equal participation by the end of our examined period in 610 CE. On the other hand, the west in the fifth century continues the fourth century trends of the main focus being on executive and military power types, at the expense of the other types, until the demise of the western office in 493 CE.

Administrative power types consistently rank or tie in third place after executive and military power types in both halves of the empire until 493/485 CE. In the east from 536-585 CE at the accessions of Justin II, Tiberius II, and Maurice, they equal or overtake all other interests in visibility as deciding or affirming interests. However, we should keep in mind that three emperors is a very limited sample from which to make a firm judgment about the increased power of administrative interests in this one fifty year interval.

Two power types that do seem to rise consistently as part of a pattern are religious and popular power types for the east after 435 CE. Whereas religious power types would be non-existent in the pre-division third and fourth centuries, they would rise to prominence in the eastern empire by 610 CE as deciders and affirmers. This rise would not be paralleled in the final century of the western empire. Likewise, popular power types would make sporadic appearances in the third and fourth centuries, and the fifth century in the west, whereas their involvement would be more consistent in the eastern empire, from the fifth century forward.

Non-Roman political interests appear sporadically in the fourth and the fifth centuries in the west, although not in the east. They appear in their greatest percentage in the last decades of the fifth century in the west, with a concomitant presence in the east at the same time, and then disappear from the eastern accessions as a deciding or affirming interest. The percentage may seem lower than expected, given our expectation of the power of barbarian political interests in the fifth century in the west. This is because I have employed a particularly limited system for the identification of individuals or groups as barbarians, as discussed previously.<sup>24</sup>

Over the 326 year course illustrated by these graphs, there is a shift in predominance of power types from the executive and military to one that is relatively uniform with all power types represented. This is most obvious when focusing on the graphs of deciding and affirming interests, or the graphs displaying all three types of deciding interests. This illustrates the well-known phenomenon that the negotiation of eastern imperial power involved many more interests, and incorporated them on a more equal footing, especially when compared to fourth century Roman accessions or western accessions of the fifth century which were much more military in focus.<sup>25</sup> Although the Byzantine sixth century has substantially fewer accessions per fifty year period, the

---

<sup>24</sup> See the Chapter One subsection “Non-Roman.”

<sup>25</sup> Pfeilschifter (2013: 28-9).

consistency of power type and interest diversity in this interval when compared to earlier eastern intervals suggests that the patterns are stable.

With these three sets of graphs, we can return to the Pfeilschifter/Kaldellis posed in my introduction over whether *de iure* or *de facto* political interests were more important. In my opinion, their key disagreements were over which interests held ultimate power, the army or the people, and simultaneously which kind of power was more important, *de iure* or *de facto*. In many ways, although this graph tends more towards the *de facto* position, it too illustrates Kaldellis' *de iure* position. In each of the periods, popular interests are at least mentioned, suggesting Kaldellis' position of the people as ultimate sovereign is plausible because of the necessity of other interests to acknowledge them.<sup>26</sup> At the same time, proponents of the importance of *de facto* power can just as well argue that the prevalence of military power types as deciders shows that armed forces are the most important factor.<sup>27</sup> Equally, the inclusion of capital city guards and regional armies under the military type umbrella allows this categorization system to acknowledge both Pfeilschifter-Flaig's position that regional armies lacked decision-making authority in the sixth century while accepting the importance of military force in general.<sup>28</sup>

## GEOGRAPHIC RANGE OF POLITICAL INTEREST POWER

Finally, we can examine the last piece of information from the accession appendix, that of the geographic range of power over the Late Roman period.

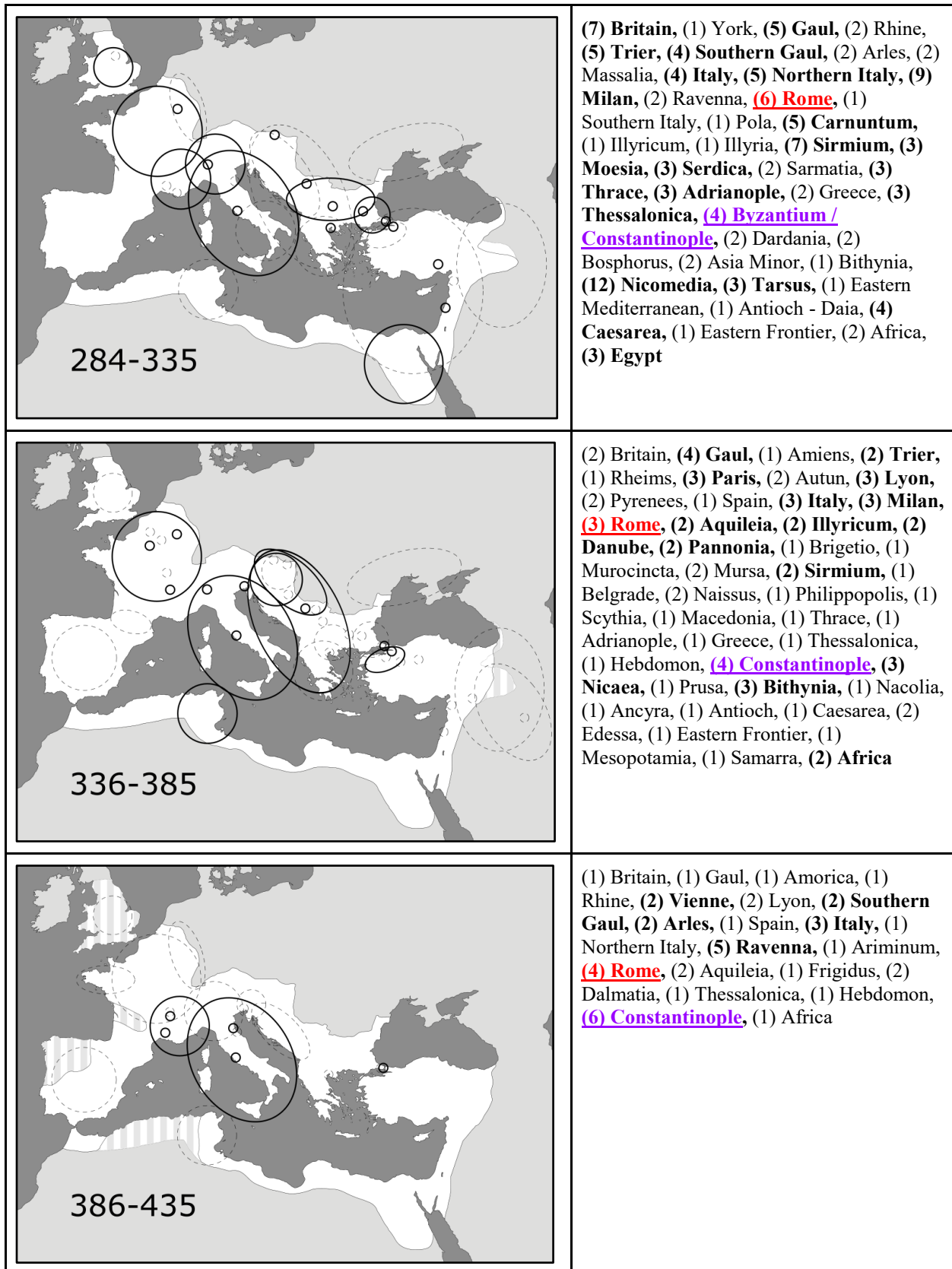
---

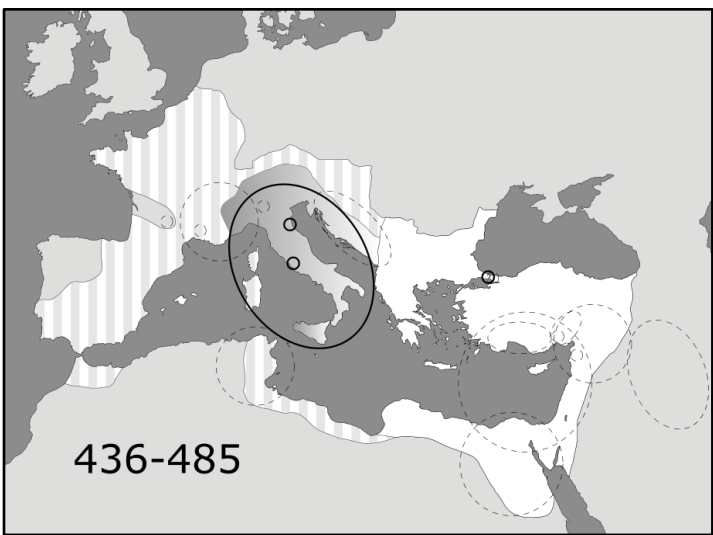
<sup>26</sup> Kaldellis (2015: 114).

<sup>27</sup> Bury (1923: 5) as an example, who says that in the event of a conflict over accession, it would be "decided by a struggle," a presumably military one.

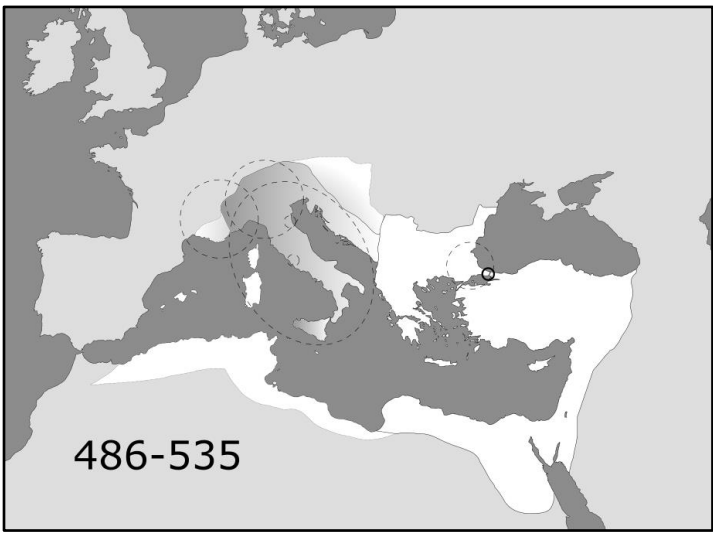
<sup>28</sup> Pfeilschifter (2013: 249-51).

(Figure 3)





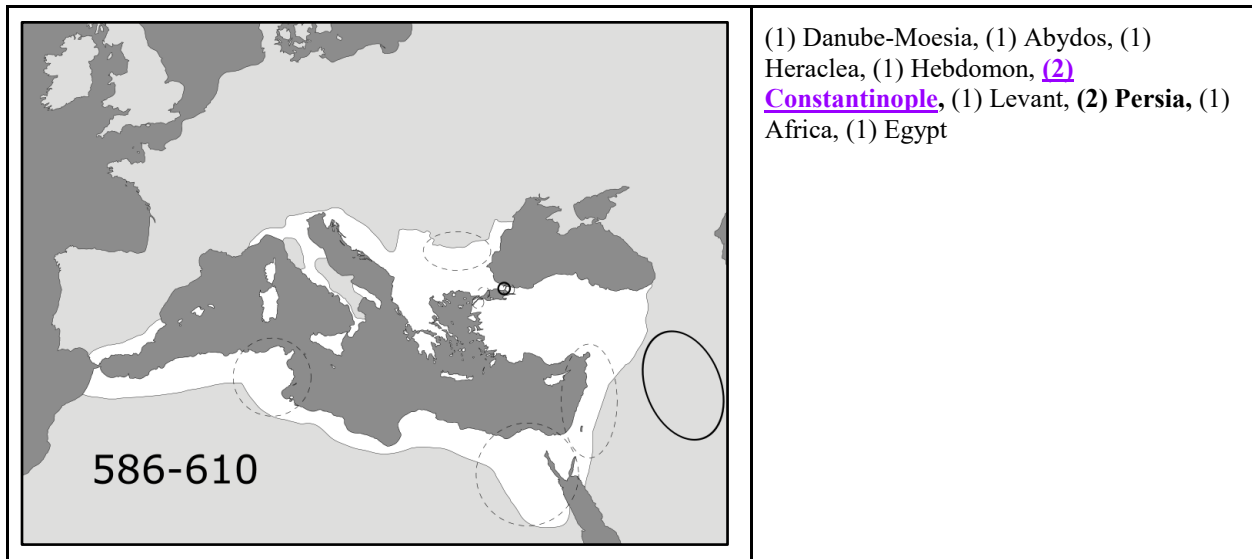
(1) Toulouse, (1) Southern Gaul, (1) Beaucaire, **(2) Italy**, (1) Placentia, **(4) Ravenna**, **(10) Rome**, (1) Dalmatia, **(15) Constantinople**, (1) Chalcedon, (1) Isauria, (1) Cilicia, (1) Tarsus, (1) Eastern Mediterranean, (1) Syria, (1) Antioch, (1) Persia, (1) Africa, (1) Egypt



(1) Southern Gaul, (1) Italy, (1) Northern Italy, (1) Ravenna, **(2) Rome**, (1) Thrace, **(5) Constantinople**



(1) Hebdomon, **(3) Constantinople**, (1) Dara, (1) Alexandria



### Explanation of Maps

On the left column are maps created by extracting the location information from accessions over a fifty year period. The locations are then plotted so as to highlight where political interest activity is most active. Small circles are the locations of major Roman cities and their environs. Larger circles indicate regions. Sometimes a political interest's location is deduced from the primary sources by secondary sources, at other times only a general area can be inferred. Dashed circles or ovals are locations mentioned in only one accession, or in only two accessions in the case of appendix overlaps within a time interval. Solid circles and ovals are locations mentioned in multiple accessions. I have used larger circles and ovals for broader locations because sources do not consistently identify the specific geographical locations of political interests. Striped areas indicate territory lost to Roman control within that interval. The gradient color over Italy for 436-535 CE indicates the unclear *de iure / de facto* Roman control of Italy with its barbarian viceroys. On the right column are a list of the locations in rough west to east order, with southern regions coming last. The number next to each location indicates the number of accessions for which a location has been a place of political activity. The cities of Rome and Constantinople are underlined for quick reference. Because the circles and ovals only illustrate the occurrence of a location once per accession, they cannot tell us about the overall volume of events at particular locations involving political interests occurring within an accession or within accessions overall. However, despite the broad possible ranges for political interest locations, especially when the

sources are lacking, we can still see a clear pattern of where interests are located for specific periods.

### Analysis

The Tetrarchic period of 284-335 CE shows a considerable geographic range of locations for accession events, with some places being accession event locations for multiple accessions. The cities or specific locations where the events take place are almost all military or civil command centers, or else they are the site of a major military clash. Almost all the regions of the empire are involved with the accessions in this era, with the exception of Spain. As one can see from the right hand column, although Rome and Constantinople are places of repeat accession events, they are not the places with the most numerous mentions.<sup>29</sup> The two mentioned the most are Milan and Nicomedia, both of which were imperial residences for Tetrarchic emperors.<sup>30</sup>

The period of 336-385 CE shows a reduction in the number of accession events east of Illyria. The main locations for repeat accession events are Constantinople, Nicomedia, and Bithynia. However, the geographic range of accession activity is still present in the east. By a cursory count of locations mentioned in the appendix from the right column of the above maps, there are twenty-one locations mentioned east/southeast of Naissus, twenty-three locations in the west including Naissus for 336-385 CE.<sup>31</sup> Political interest activity in the west, on the other hand, shows no drop in the number of accession events or their geographic range. In this period, only Gaul is mentioned more than Rome in the number of location of accession events, although it is tied with Paris, Lyon, Italy and Milan, whereas Constantinople is involved in more accessions than the next two locations, Nicaea and Bithynia.

In the 386-435 CE interval, the trends for the past interval continue. There is a wide geographic range for accession events in the west but not in the east. Only Constantinople exists as a site of repeated accession activity, excepting Dalmatia which is a location in the overlapping accessions of Johannes and Valentinian III. For the west, Rome is back in second place, mentioned in four accessions compared to Ravenna which is mentioned in five. The locations mentioned in

---

<sup>29</sup> Constantinople was not a city where the emperors regularly based their administration until Constantine I (Gregory, 2010: 60-3), and even then and until the late fourth century, it would only be considered one of the many administrative centers of the empire as opposed to a secondary capital to compete with Rome.

<sup>30</sup> *NEDC* 49, 56, 60-1, 65, 68-9, 80.

<sup>31</sup> I am not intending for Naissus to act as my defined border between the western and eastern empire. I am only using it “unofficially” as a location to indicate the balance of geographic activity for this specific fifty year interval of 336-385 CE.

the west begin to concentrate the locations of their political activity around southern Gaul and Italy, reflecting the reduction in territorial control for the western empire.

436-485 continues the patterns of the previous 100 years. In this period, Constantinople is almost the sole place for eastern accessions with its fifteen accessions outweighing the sum of all other locations, excepting the places mentioned in Leontius' usurpation.<sup>32</sup> Rome also now returns to the forefront of western mentions, in line with Gillett's article<sup>33</sup> demonstrating a return to prominence of the ancient capital during the last days of the western empire. Italy is shaded in this period because the western empire was considered to have "ended." However, as many would argue, there was no such *de iure* end since technically authority was returned to the eastern emperor as a sole executive authority for the empire, whereas the barbarian kings in Italy only ruled in his stead.<sup>34</sup> The question of *de facto* independent rule by those kings vs. the *de iure* authority of the emperor is where the argument lies, and why Italy is considered a grey area until its reconquest under the orders of Justinian.

486-535 CE is a quiet period, since there are few accessions overall. There is only one accession in the west, and although there are four accessions in the east, almost all of the geographic activity is focused around Constantinople. Most people consider the last western emperor to either be Romulus Augustulus, who abdicated in Ravenna in 476 CE, or Julius Nepos, who died in 480 CE in Dalmatia.<sup>35</sup> This is certainly the case if we consider only those with an *augustus* title as emperor. However, there was one more western emperor that was mentioned in the sources. Thela, also called Okla, was Odoacer's son and he was recorded as being made *caesar* by Odoacer.<sup>36</sup> John of Antioch seems to be the only source that mentions Thela's elevation, and there is little other information even in the other sources on his accession except that he had been designated by Odoacer, was given to Theoderic as a hostage to end the siege of Ravenna, was exiled to southern Gaul, escaped, return to Italy, but was then captured and killed.<sup>37</sup> Although descriptions of Thela's accession are brief, it is interesting that it still follows the geographic priorities of the last century of western accessions, namely a focus on southern Gaul and Italy. The

---

<sup>32</sup> Appendix A, Leontius: 4.3.

<sup>33</sup> Gillett (2001: 131).

<sup>34</sup> Bury (1923: 405-11), Jones (1964: 245).

<sup>35</sup> Heather (2000: 27) and Mitchell (2014: 125) say Romulus Augustulus. Gregory (2010: 117) acknowledges both Romulus Augustulus and Julius Nepos. Innes (2007: 122-3) acknowledges both but prioritizes Romulus Augustulus. Bury (1923: 408) acknowledges both but prioritizes Julius Nepos.

<sup>36</sup> Appendix A, Thela: 4.[6].

<sup>37</sup> Joh. Ant. Fr. 238, ed. Mariev.

appearance of Rome in one accession for the period is not from any western accession, but an eastern one, with Justin I's later "recrowning" by the Pope, who journeyed to Constantinople from Rome.<sup>38</sup> As for the east all accession events would focus on Constantinople not only for the 486-535 CE period, but straight through to 536-585 CE. Where other regions are mentioned, they would not be critical for important decisions or affirmations in imperial selections.

The last map, 586-610 CE, covers only a twenty-five year period and is the location map for only two accessions, those of Phocas and Heraclius. In these two cases, the only repeat locations are Constantinople and Persia. Although Persia counts as a repeat location according to the outlined methodology, we should not consider that location as a place of specific prominence. The repeat mention of Persia is the result of the curious relationship between Maurice and Khusro II, and Khusro II's reaction to his overthrow, which would set the stage for the eastern frontier's continued relevance in both Phocas' and Heraclius' accessions.<sup>39</sup> It should not be considered a place where deciding or affirming interests made critical decisions. For this last interval, the main takeaway is an increase in geographic range of accession activity when compared to the last two intervals in the east. The reason for this is that both accessions were contested military revolt elections. They began on the frontiers of the empire with an initial field army revolt. The revolts then snowballed with new supporters being gathered before while the rebellious forces marched on the capital. Although we end our geographic examination with these two accessions, Heraclius and Phocas, their seventh century march on the capital, combined with the previous century's Constantinople-based elections and designations, will be the models that set the pattern for Byzantine accessions to come.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> Appendix A, Justin I: 4.[6].

<sup>39</sup> Appendix A, Phocas: 4.[8], Heraclius: 4.[1]. Other primary sources on the relationship between Maurice and Khusro II are available in Greatrex and Lieu (2002: 172-5, 182-3).

<sup>40</sup> Kaldellis (2015: 125-38) gives examples of how later Byzantine rebellions that follow this "march on the capital" template. Dagron (2003: 59-70, 73, 78) examines the accessions in *De Ceremoniis* and then talks about how, barring a few changes, their character remained the same in the middle Byzantine era.

## Chapter Three: Theories

### IMPLICATIONS

Now that we have laid out and discussed the various results and themes from the accession appendix, we should consider what its overall implications are. From the synthesis of the appendix information, we can see that there was a diversification of political interests involved in the selection of a new emperor over time, and that there was a reduction in the geographic scope of the interests involved, a point highlighted by scholars like Pfeilschifter.<sup>1</sup> Although this conclusion may seem obvious, my categorization system was created precisely to test whether this assertion was true without presuming it. It sought only to record the persistence of particular political interests and their location. An opposite result could have been reached had the data said otherwise.

Although I have laid out exactly what the evidence shows, it remains to be explained from where the Late Roman accession patterns originated or the reason for their evolution. Below are some provisional theories as to why these changes occurred.

### ORIGINS

#### Inheritance

The Late Roman inheritance accession seems to derive from the templates of two very early imperial accessions, those of Tiberius and Caligula. As we will see, even these two early accessions are not very similar to what we would traditionally call dynastic inheritance. This was because even five hundred years after the overthrow of the semi-mythical Roman Kingdom, there was still a deep disdain in the Roman state for outright monarchy with strict inheritance rules. In order to avoid this, the Romans assembled together an *ad hoc* system, merging the *de facto* monarchy with the *de iure* elective state, but one that would still result in the passing of the executive office to a chosen family successor.

Although we typically begin the empire with Octavian / Augustus Caesar, Augustus was only posthumously adopted by Julius Caesar in his will.<sup>2</sup> He took his name and inherited his

---

<sup>1</sup> Pfeilschifter (2013: 21-2, 28-9).

<sup>2</sup> Although Julius Caesar's will indicating Octavian as his heir was obviously made while he was alive, it is important to note that the adoption did not occur during Caesar's lifetime, indicating some reluctance to make the adoption immediately public. See Rawson (1992: 465-7). The most obvious reason for this is that Caesar expected to father a

wealth, but he did not inherit Julius Caesar's official titles or his supreme political and military position. It is for this reason that we have to begin looking at the phenomenon of imperial inheritance with Tiberius and afterwards Caligula.

Tiberius was Augustus' stepson, and thus had no blood relationship to him. However, he was chosen by Augustus to be his inheritor after the death of Augustus' natural sons. His adoption into the imperial family, combined with his holding of other requisite offices was enough for him to become the new leader of the state.<sup>3</sup> It should be noted however, that the concept of the *princeps* as the chief executive of the *res publica* was not a fully established notion in Augustus' time, and so it was only with significant difficulty and careful preparations that he could pass his authority on.<sup>4</sup> This meant that for Tiberius, those other offices were a necessity rather than an option, if he was to inherit and later stabilize the principate.<sup>5</sup>

This is why the next emperor, Caligula in many ways is a better starting point from which to consider the formation of dynastic inheritance. Caligula did have a blood relationship, as he was the son of the beloved general Germanicus and was also Augustus' great-grandson through his mother Agrippina the Elder.<sup>6</sup> Caligula did not hold many offices before his accession. He was a quaestor under Tiberius, and may have been promoted to other positions,<sup>7</sup> but his suitability for becoming an emperor lay with his familial relationships. This meant that for Caligula, the offices which were so necessary for Tiberius, were optional. However, part of the reason why Caligula could sidestep the need to hold offices was because Tiberius had few alternatives for heirs aside from Caligula. Although earlier on, there were many potential successors, some of whom did hold

---

son (Suetonius *Julius* 83). Alternatively, in the event his *recusatio* of the crown offered by Mark Antony was real (Dio 44.1.2-3), he may have actually not wanted to give the appearance that he was creating a monarchical dynasty until he was on more solid political footing.

<sup>3</sup> Before Augustus' death, Tiberius was made a "colleague" of imperial power and given tribunician power (Gruen, 2005: 42-3), and "paraded through all the armies" (Tacitus *Annals* 1.3, 1.6). He held multiple offices including consulships and dictatorships (Suetonius *Tiberius* 1.1) and was also an field army commander (1.16). After Augustus' death, Tiberius unofficially "inherited" the former emperor's military authority (Suetonius *Tiberius* 1.24, Tacitus *Annals* 1.7), which was the basis of Augustus' power.

<sup>4</sup> See Gruen (2005: 33-5).

<sup>5</sup> See Levick (1976: 54-6). Another example of the instability of the principate in Tiberius' time is Tiberius and Livia discussing whether referring actions to the Senate sets a precedent for the weakening of the principate (Tacitus *Annals* 1.6). Arguably this is because at this early stage, both the *princeps* and the Senate shared or possessed executive authority, although only I interpret the *princeps* as the only one possessing ultimate military authority (1.7), the coercive force that was the practical power of the principate.

<sup>6</sup> See Galinsky (2005: xxiv-xxv) for a genealogical chart.

<sup>7</sup> Dio 58.23.1.

important offices, all of them met bad ends.<sup>8</sup> The willingness of the armies and the people, at least in the beginning, to acclaim Caligula was a direct result of their love for his father, Germanicus,<sup>9</sup> combined with his suitability as a descendant of Augustus.<sup>10</sup> Although the Romans were, to varying degrees, accepting of the idea of a leading family, their ingrained aversion to explicit dynastic succession meant there were never clear-cut rules as to who should succeed as the next *princeps*. Certainly Roman imperial succession did not follow strict primogeniture succession, like the first-born male preference of western medieval kingdoms.<sup>11</sup> In fact, the entire Julio-Claudian dynasty is an example of non-primogeniture succession, as new emperors could descend from either the paternal or maternal side.<sup>12</sup> During the later Flavian and Severan dynasties, there were lateral successions with Domitian succeeding his brother Titus and Alexander Severus succeeding his cousin Elagabalus. There also did not seem to be a problem of public acceptance of a successor being an adopted son.<sup>13</sup> The Antonine dynasty, widely regarded as the best dynasty of emperors, consisted of a string of adoptions, with the exception of its last member who was a “born-in-the-purple” son, Commodus.

However, despite the public propaganda which usually accompanied these *porphyrogeniti* and/or first-son emperors, natural sons could still be passed over, albeit with consequences.<sup>14</sup> This suggests limits to the power of kinship proximity, and that candidates chosen for their social as opposed to blood relationship to an emperor could be as valid an option for succession, if they had the firm backing of other key political interests. Thus in the end, it was either the adoption model of Tiberius or the loose blood relation model of Caligula that would set the precedent for inheriting the office of emperor.

---

<sup>8</sup> Germanicus, Drusus Julius Caesar, Sejanus, Drusus Caesar, Nero Caesar were all considered potential successors to Tiberius at some point, and all died under suspicious circumstances or were executed.

<sup>9</sup> Caligula’s popularity with the military was hinged upon him, as a youth, accompanying his father Germanicus while on campaign.

<sup>10</sup> Suetonius *Caligula* 4.1, 9.1, 14.1.

<sup>11</sup> Börm (2014: 241).

<sup>12</sup> Octavian/Augustus was Julius Caesar’s sister’s daughter’s son (great-nephew). Tiberius was the son of Augustus’ wife Livia from another marriage (son-in-law). Caligula was Tiberius’ brother’s son’s son (great-nephew) and Augustus’ daughter’s daughter’s son (great-grandson). Claudius was Caligula’s father’s brother (uncle). Nero was Claudius’ brother’s daughter’s son (great-nephew). See Galinsky (2005: xxiv-xxv) for a genealogical chart.

<sup>13</sup> Hekster (2002: 21-2) briefly discusses the scholarship over the opportunities and problems of adoption and family in Roman society.

<sup>14</sup> For example Nero was promoted over Claudius’ son Britannicus, and Severus and Maximinus Daia were promoted over Constantius I’s son Constantine I and Maximian I’s son Maxentius (Hekster, 2002: 20-1, 29).

## Election

Late Roman election appears to have emerged from three main templates of the earlier Roman periods. As mentioned before, election was the generalized selection process for a new emperor. In the republican era elections were closer to the common definition, as the *de iure* practice for selecting leaders. Regardless of the *de facto* monarchical situation as the *res publica* transitioned from the Late Republic to Early Empire, election would never be fully shaken from Roman succession options.<sup>15</sup>

The first of these templates arises from the elected chief executives, or consuls, of the Republican period itself, the practice a result, according to Roman tradition, of the overthrow of dynastic kings that preceded the Republic. These consuls would be replaced yearly, and there were always two so as to not centralize power with one person. The exception to this was in the case of the emergency and time-limited appointment of a dictator who had precedence over all other magistrates, including the consuls.<sup>16</sup> The position of dictator became an opportunity for the centralization of Roman power. Under Late Republican military strongmen, culminating with Julius Caesar, an uncodified supreme Roman executive position over the aristocracy emerged. Although this executive theoretically had the highest power, the person holding it, possessed it arguably with the support of the common Roman people and could theoretically still be vetoed by them.<sup>17</sup> This public wielding of authority over aristocratic interests was regarded as one of the main reasons for Caesar's assassination. Caesar's successor, Augustus, sought to have the same centralization of power, but without the appearance of an abuse of Republican offices,<sup>18</sup> so as to not meet the same end as his adoptive father.

The next template for elections comes in the early years of the empire. Although we have discussed inheritance as the deliberate transmission of the imperial office to a family member, it is actually within the Julio-Claudian dynasty that we see our first imperial election. After the assassination of Caligula, there was much debate as to who should succeed him. The Senate wanted to choose one of their own as a new emperor, but the Praetorian Guards acted instead to select Claudius, Caligula's uncle.<sup>19</sup> It might be easy to think of Claudius' accession as an inheritance rather than an election, since he was still a member of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, and that dynasty

---

<sup>15</sup> Jones (1964: 321-2), Bury (1923: 5-6).

<sup>16</sup> Brennan (2014: 25-7, 51-2).

<sup>17</sup> Brennan (2014: 52).

<sup>18</sup> Rawson (1992: 438-9), Eder (2005: 13-4), Gruen (2005: 38).

<sup>19</sup> Wiedemann (1996b: 230-2).

would continue after him. However, dynastic continuity is not the same thing as inheritance. None of Claudius' dynastic predecessors chose him for succession. The fact that the Senate did not agree upon an alternate successor does not take away from the fact that a deliberation process independent of the emperor had occurred. Claudius' belonging to a dynasty helped make him viable as a candidate, but ultimately it was interests other than the previous emperor that made him a new one, and thus according to my definitions, makes his accession an election. Claudius' accession would set the future patterns for the palace or capital city elections, where constrained urban geography, communication speed, group organization, and localized force projection would prove decisive in the selection process.<sup>20</sup>

The last template for Late Roman elections would come from Galba. Although I do not view usurpations as a separate accession type, his accession is still the standard example for how an empire-wide contested election would occur, be they from dynastic imperial candidates or not. The deliberation over replacing Nero essentially began, not with Galba, but with Julius Vindex's revolt. Julius Vindex apparently did not want to become emperor himself, calling for Galba, who was one of the richest and most esteemed people of senatorial rank and in charge of military forces in Spain, to take over imperial power from Nero.<sup>21</sup> As Nero began to lose support from other military leaders and governors, Galba accepted the now various requests for him to become emperor and began preparations to march on Rome.<sup>22</sup> With pressure mounting on Nero, he fled Rome and shortly after committed suicide. Galba then proceeded with his forces to Rome, and began the process of managing the political interests of the capital city, and eliminating any remaining competitors.<sup>23</sup> Although Galba ultimately was unsuccessful at either of those two things, the events after Galba reaches Rome are not the ones most important to us, if our purpose is to look at accession patterns. As mentioned previously, this process of launching a revolt against an unpopular emperor with the support of regional armies, marching on the capital city, and then securing the support of capital city institutions would be a pattern repeated in the contested

---

<sup>20</sup> See Levick (1990: 29-39). Levick (1990: 31) does think of Claudius' accession as an election. Wiedemann (1996b: 231) says the Praetorian Guards "acclaimed" Claudius and that he immediately adopted the name Caesar afterward so as to give the appearance his accession was an inheritance.

<sup>21</sup> Plutarch *Galba* 3.1, 4.3; Suetonius *Galba* 2.1, 9.2.

<sup>22</sup> Plutarch *Galba* 5.2, 7.1. At this point, apparently the army, the senate, and the people had already acclaimed him emperor, or αὐτοκράτωρ in the Greek.

<sup>23</sup> Wiedemann (1996a: 261-2).

elections of not only the Early Empire, but the Late Empire and even the Byzantine Empire.<sup>24</sup> It is only in the Tetrarchic period and fourth century that we see a respite from this pattern, as it was the intention of Diocletian and his successors to operate from multiple capital cities so as to address the many simultaneous threats being posed to the empire.<sup>25</sup> However, the return of capital city-based politics in the fifth century would mean an evention return to the Galba accession template, if an election was going to be militarily contested like it ended up being with the seventh century accessions of Phocas and Heraclius.

## LATE ROMAN EVOLUTION

### Child Emperors and the Capital

Now that we have discussed origins, we will examine possible reasons for changes to accession practices within the Late Roman period. One theory as to why there was a change in who was involved in selecting a new emperor was because of the impact in the late fourth century and the mid fifth century of emperors that came to power via the dynastic inheritance route were mostly children or young adults upon their accession.<sup>26</sup> Although there were adolescent emperors in the third century with Elagabalus, Alexander Severus, and Gordian III, there still seemed to be an expectation that the chief executive should also be the chief military officer.<sup>27</sup> That would begin to change in the late fourth century.

The frequent barbarian invasions and usurpations of the third and fourth centuries demanded that multiple emperors be elevated as safety nets for a new dynasty. With multiple emperors, a dynasty could react to threats in one part of the empire without leaving other parts of the empire undefended.<sup>28</sup> In the third century to the mid fourth century, the co-emperors were generally adult relatives, whether by blood or by marriage. Diocletian created his Tetrarchic system with an intention to bypass direct blood succession.<sup>29</sup> However, the resulting civil wars started by Maxentius and Constantine, the two sons of Tetrarchic emperors who were overlooked,

---

<sup>24</sup> Kaldellis (2015: 125-38) gives many Middle Byzantine examples of rebel forces marching on Constantinople, and attempting to take the city with the collaboration or the antagonism of the people of the city. I extrapolate “people of the city” to include capital city institutions.

<sup>25</sup> Lo Cascio (2005b: 170-3).

<sup>26</sup> McEvoy (2013).

<sup>27</sup> Lee (2015: 100-1).

<sup>28</sup> Lo Cascio (2005a: 156-8).

<sup>29</sup> Williams (1985: 68-9).

ultimately destroyed the Tetrarchic system.<sup>30</sup> With this option discarded, a desire was renewed for new co-emperors to at least be blood relations. Sometimes a young son would be raised instead of an adult relative or colleague. Unfortunately, if the senior adult emperor died, this left the young emperor officially “in charge,” but in actuality, he would be subject to the politics of the court.<sup>31</sup>

It is with these young emperors of the late fourth and early fifth centuries that we start seeing court and guard interests become more prominent, as the emperors rarely led armies in the field. This meant that other interests could arise and fill the power vacuum, whether out on campaign or centrally within the capital.<sup>32</sup> As we can see from the graph analysis of the appendix, the main difference between east and west was in the choice of which power types would become prominent. In the west, it would almost solely be the military, in the east, it would be with more diversified interests.<sup>33</sup> The fact that many of these military commanders were of barbarian descent is a point linked to the eventual demise of the western imperial office, but that point is less important when it comes to the selection of new candidates to the office.

However, young emperors feature into Late Roman politics for little more than a half century, between the late fourth century and the early fifth century. By the mid-fifth century, some of these young emperors were grown men. The power that these institutions held over an emperor in his youth could theoretically continue into their adulthood, as was the case with army masters like Arbogast and Aetius over their respective emperors, Valentinian II and Valentinian III.<sup>34</sup> However, the east also had a similar phenomenon, where court and military interests possessed a great deal of influence over the young Theodosius II. Yet Theodosius II grew to be a fully functioning adult emperor, unlike Valentinian II and Valentinian III.<sup>35</sup> The adult emperors who followed Theodosius II were not significantly more constrained in their power than he was as a mature emperor.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> Hekster (2002: 29). See also Appendix A, Maxentius and Constantine I.

<sup>31</sup> This was the case with the sixteen-year-old Gratian after the death of Valentinian I, seven-year-old Theodosius II after the death of Arcadius, and arguably six-year-old Leo II after the death of Leo I. For the ages, see Appendix A, Gratian, Valentinian II, Theodosius II, and Leo II.

<sup>32</sup> McEvoy (2013: 314-5).

<sup>33</sup> See Chapter Two, Fig. 2.

<sup>34</sup> O’Flynn (1983: 8-11, 100-1).

<sup>35</sup> Elton (2009: 133-42).

<sup>36</sup> Croke (2005: 147-9) discusses earlier opinions regarding the removal of Aspar as a key component of the survival of the east over the west. Although that earlier literature focuses on ethnic priorities, views Croke (2005: 203) sought to challenge, the removal of Aspar still illustrates a successful co-opting of a powerful army master. The important fact is that the successors to Theodosius II were able to eliminate dangerous political interests without immediate repercussions, unlike Valentinian III’s assassination of Aetius, suggesting a comparative greater freedom action for

One possible reason for this difference could be with the Theodosian Walls of Constantinople, which is Pfeilschifter's central thesis.<sup>37</sup> Certainly the Aurelian walls of Rome were formidable, but if there was ever one weakness, it was still the difficulty of supplying food to the city in times of emergency, as evidenced during Justinian's Gothic War.<sup>38</sup> Ravenna on the other hand, had excellent communication and supply options via its sea access, but neither its walls nor its swamp were as impregnable as claimed,<sup>39</sup> nor was the city large enough or prestigious enough to be the physical home of other capital city interests in periods where the emperor's executive power alone was insufficient to run the empire.<sup>40</sup> Constantinople thus had two advantages that Rome and Ravenna had separately, but not together. It had the defences of the Rome, with the sea communication and supply of Ravenna. The combination of these two factors meant that military forces outside Constantinople would have a difficulty in imposing a new emperor on other interests, whereas in the west, military forces could and would remain supreme. With the large armies kept out of the capital, other political interests could thrive.

#### Precedents and Political Interests

The addition of new interests to the imperial selection protocol was the result of attempts to solve political crises at a particular moment between existing interests. This theory is adapted from Bury's view that the collapse of the western empire occurred because of a series of unfortunate but not inevitable events.<sup>41</sup> My adaptation of Bury's theory, as applied to executive office selection, is that if the political crises or their outcomes were different, so too would be the political interests which were added. However, the political interests which were added would remain involved in the imperial selection process even after they were no longer needed, since their presence established a precedent. These interests' continued involvement created new conflicts and forced the inclusion of even more political interests in an ever-vicious cycle.

---

them than the level of action available to the young emperors of the late fourth and early-to-mid fifth century in the west.

<sup>37</sup> Pfeilschifter (2013: 211-23, 607).

<sup>38</sup> In Procopius (*DB* 5.24.13-16), Belisarius explicitly lays out the problem of defending Rome from a siege in his letter to Justinian, citing the difficulty of defending so large an area and the fact that it is cut off from sea-based supplies.

<sup>39</sup> Deliyannis (2010: 46-7).

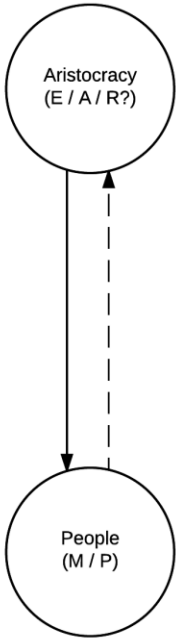
<sup>40</sup> Pfeilschifter (2013: 49).

<sup>41</sup> Bury (1923: 311-3). McEvoy (2013: 314) similarly believes the accessions of child emperors in the late fourth and early fifth century was the result of reactions to particular crises, but seems not to cite Bury or not to apply this concept beyond her specific time frame of examination of 367 to 455 CE.

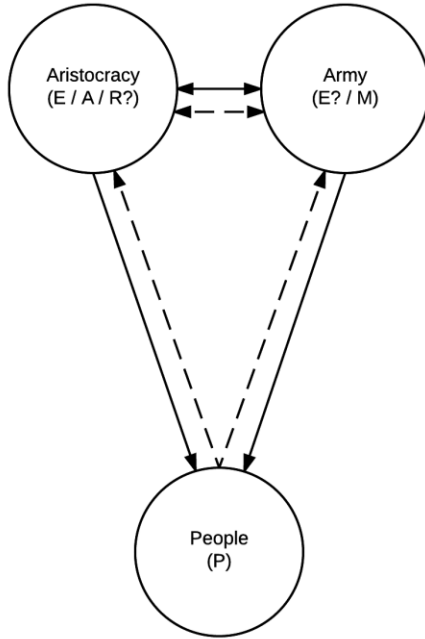
I have illustrated my ideas in the graph below.

(Fig. 4)

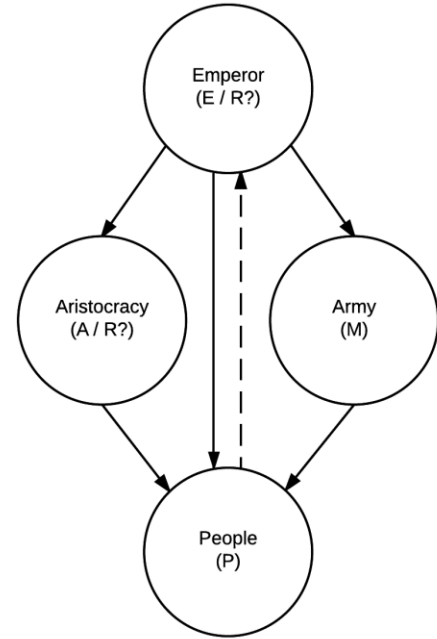
"Early" Republic  
509 BCE - 107 BCE



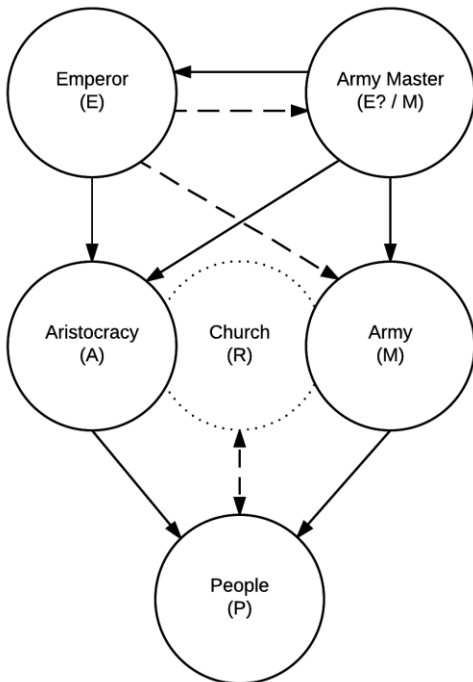
"Late" Republic  
107 BCE - 31 BCE



Early to "High" Empire  
31 BCE - 392 CE

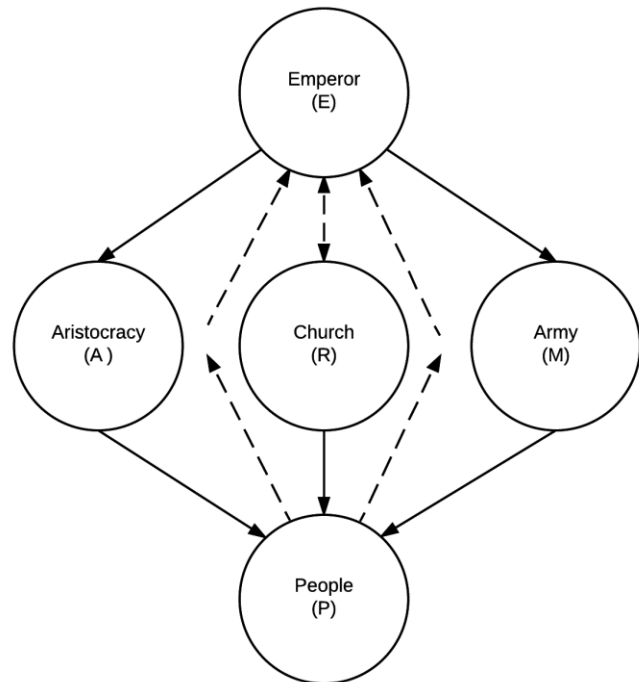


"Late" Western Empire  
392 CE - 493 CE



"Late" Eastern Empire  
392 CE - 457 CE

"Byzantine" Empire  
457 (471) CE - 1453 CE



These charts show my interpretation of the main political interests of these four Roman eras. The solid line represents the *de facto* power of one interest over the other. The broken line represents the direction of *de iure* authority. The dotted circle for Church in the “late” empire chart is because their place in the accession process was quite limited before the accession of the emperor Leo I in 457 CE. The date in parenthesis of 471 CE is the date of the death of Aspar, the last individual regarded as an army master in the east. The letters in parenthesis are the abbreviations of the different power types I have discussed in Chapter Two. I am choosing to illustrate the changes with political interests, rather than with power types in order to illustrate the aforementioned problem regarding the lack of distinction between the former and the latter in the scholarship.<sup>42</sup> In the above charts, I view the Senate and the bureaucracy as parts of the aristocracy. The quotation marks around early, high, and late are because my chart’s division of either the Roman Republic or the Empire does not necessarily match the most common periodizations for this era, or the ones I laid out earlier. I myself am not intending them as formal periodizations, nor I do use these dates outside of this illustration.<sup>43</sup> However, I believe this division of time is useful for my specific argument regarding the emergence of different interests from the Republican to the Byzantine era.

In the Early Roman Republic, there was a view that Roman society was divided between patricians and the plebians. I view these two perceived classes as synonymous with the political interests of aristocracy and people. I classify, in this early period, the patricians and by extension the Senate as seeming to hold executive, administrative, and religious authority.<sup>44</sup> The plebians seemed to possess popular and military power, given the levy/conscription based nature of the Early Republican army.<sup>45</sup> Although any functional differences between members of the patrician and plebian class, if they were that significant at all, would diminish over time, the representation of the economic and political inequality difference, as that of an elite aristocracy vs. the common people, would not. There were now rich plebians who could be considered Roman elites, if not patricians,<sup>46</sup> with the poor and common people being the same people as always.

---

<sup>42</sup> See the Chapter One subsection “Political Interests.”

<sup>43</sup> See footnote 4 in the Introduction.

<sup>44</sup> As a reminder, religious power is what I consider norm-setting power. See the Chapter One subsection “Power Types.”

<sup>45</sup> Oakley (2014: 4-7).

<sup>46</sup> Oakley (2014: 8).

As the Republic expanded, key political events, such as the Roman confrontation with Carthage or imperial expansion, required a separation of the military power of the people from their popular power in order to maximize the Roman community's offensive capabilities. This was what happened with Marius' reforms of 107 BCE.<sup>47</sup> This reform, however, created a crisis when there was a clash between factions of the aristocracy who could manipulate their influence over the *de iure* executive authority of their position in the Senate with their *de facto* authority in the control of their armies in order to oust their rivals.<sup>48</sup> I am also keeping in mind that the conflicts are not functionally a clash between the aristocracy and the army, as all the leaders in Late Republican civil wars were members of both.<sup>49</sup> This clash still posed the question of which of the two political interests, the aristocracy or the army, should be seen as the only one to hold executive authority. This question was only resolved with the emergence of Augustus and the position of emperor as the sole supreme executive.<sup>50</sup>

As the supreme executive office was passed down, from one emperor to the next, and then one dynasty to the next, the office of emperor as the one in charge of the military, aristocracy, and the people functioned very well into the late fourth century. However it began to strain under a brief period of child emperors, when the emperor himself was not functionally in charge of the military.<sup>51</sup> With functional military control left to army masters, whose first accession appearance is with Arbogast in 392 CE, it mattered whether or not those army masters would ultimately be committed to the Roman political system.

In my opinion, the office of emperor could survive either the demise of stable dynasties or the irrelevance of the institutions within a central capital city, but it could not survive both. The walls of Constantinople helped provide for the latter, the survival of capital institutions, when the former, stable dynasties, were lacking. In the west, with the splitting of capital city power into two cities, the imperial office could rely only on the former, stable dynasties, to survive, as the capital city interests of Rome were now too distant to make a direct impact on the the military and/or

---

<sup>47</sup> Potter (2014: 68-71).

<sup>48</sup> Potter (2014: 71-4).

<sup>49</sup> Rosenstein (2007: 132-3).

<sup>50</sup> The dotted *de iure* line of the people's power over the emperor is a reflection of the necessity for emperors to appear to be responsive to the public, a key component of imperial legitimacy which, according to Kaldellis (2015: ix), continued into the late empire.

<sup>51</sup> McEvoy (2013: 306).

executive interests in Ravenna.<sup>52</sup> However, if capital city institutions became irrelevant, as was the situation in the west, only the army would be left as a political interest other than the emperor. If only the army was left, should dynastic political crises like the kind that afflicted the western empire in the late fifth century arise, the army might opt for one last political interest solution, the elimination of the office of western emperor itself. It allowed them to become *de facto* leaders of what was left of the western Roman state without having to formally become *de iure* leaders of the state.<sup>53</sup> As the *de iure* authority of the empire in the west collapsed, for whatever reason,<sup>54</sup> barbarian army masters could look for new political systems to follow, ones free from the baggage of the Roman imperial system, free from the specific rules governing who could be emperor, and free from other interests such as the Senate or the eastern emperor.<sup>55</sup> Such a political system existed within the framework of the barbarian kingdom. Under it, army masters could merge the *de facto* and *de iure* as a new polity with themselves at its head, a *rex* instead of an *augustus*.

In the east, Constantinople and its walls would preserve those interests and the eastern office, in my opinion, because of the emergence of religious interests like the church as a participant in imperial accessions. As noted in my graphs from Chapter Two,<sup>56</sup> the functional decision or affirming power of religious interests was limited, although there was a steady increase of their mentions in the primary sources. Understanding the true power of religious interests in an accession requires one to understand the uniqueness of religious power over the other types. It would be wrong to think of religious power in terms of military power, executive, administrative, or popular power. Although monks could start city revolts, those monks could not take on an army. Although the church was in charge of large financial resources, they could not administer the entire state. Their power was in their control of the setting of norms.<sup>57</sup> Once a precedent existed for an accession ritual, religious interests like the church could limit or control changes to those

---

<sup>52</sup> I am aware that central to Gillett's position (2001: 131) that in the late fifth century, Rome returned as a prime capital city and a home to the emperors. However one of his other arguments is that Ravenna existed as an optional military-political second capital (2001: 137, 141). The existence of this second capital meant that Rome, even as a center of the most important non-military interests (2001: 163-4), would not be as necessary to the west, given the military focus of the late fifth century in the west. This is in contrast to Constantinople, which was the most important home to all political interests in the east.

<sup>53</sup> Bury (1923: 405-11), Jones (1964: 245), Innes (2007: 126), Wickham (2009: 86).

<sup>54</sup> See the Demandt's famous list of 210 reasons for the fall of Rome, translated in Galinsky (1992: 71-3).

<sup>55</sup> With this said, the Senate of Rome also survived the demise of the western imperial office, functioning in a more reduced capacity, but with its members still involved in their resource management roles. See Humphries (2000: 538-40).

<sup>56</sup> See Chapter Two, Figure 2.

<sup>57</sup> See the Chapter One subsection "Power Types."

precedents, so long as they themselves were relevant to the accession process.<sup>58</sup> The aforementioned advantages of Constantinople, namely its place as the home to all eastern political interests, allowed religious interests to stay relevant in ways that were not available to religious interests in the west. The lack of religious involvement in western accessions meant that they would never be as heavily ritualized, nor would they be dependent upon capital city interests as in the east.<sup>59</sup> By extension, the western imperial office would become vulnerable to a reduction to only military interest involvement. It is for this reason why the last separation of political interests is the church. Their power is not one through violent coercion, but clearly the power of moral coercion was enough to ensure the enshrinement of accession rituals, accession players, and by extension, the imperial office itself.

---

<sup>58</sup> MacCormack (1981: 161-2) has a similar opinion on the importance of ceremony to the stabilization of accession procedures between the conflicting forces of civilian and military power, although she does not attribute this stabilization of the ceremony directly to the church as a norm-setting institution.

<sup>59</sup> Although the most likely possibility as to why we do not have more information on western coronations is because sources on the west are generally bare in this period, we should reserve the possibility that the lack of more in-depth descriptions was because western coronations were more simplified in ritual procedure, or became more simplified with the collapse of stable western dynasties in the late fifth century.

## Conclusion

In this thesis, I have discussed the pre-existing literature on the imperial accession process and the lack of an organized system for its analysis (Introduction), outlined my methods for creating an organized system (Chapter One), collated the primary sources, formed unified narratives, identified the key political players, their locations and sorted them according to power types (Appendix). I synthesized and analyzed the broad implications of changes to these political players across the Late Roman period and used my methods to reconcile the positions of Pfeilfschifter and Kaldellis (Chapter Two). Finally, I discussed theories as to the origins of Roman accession patterns and why their configurations changed over time (Chapter Three). All these chapters combined show that the system I have created can handle a variety of accession patterns, is consistent with what is known from the primary sources as well as the secondary literature, and can offer an organized format for scholars to utilize in future analysis.

For this last section, I will move beyond the analysis and conclude by discussing the limits of my categorization system as well as offering future applications for examining subjects beyond Late Roman accessions.

### CAVEATS

The main problem of my categorization system is that the results of its analysis depend very much on the quality or arrangement of information being put into it. Utilizing different sources or categorizations could lead to different results.

For example, a change in the classification of interests can change the level of power type involvement. This phenomenon is most present with the classification of barbarians. This was discussed previously as a problem when dealing with fifth century army masters and barbarian kings in the west. As mentioned before, I chose to categorize Ricimer and Gundobad as Roman, but Alaric, Odoacer, and Theoderic as barbarian.<sup>1</sup> By following my classification system, where an interest can only be identified by their main power type, I am restricting the analysis of an interest's secondary power types. If I chose to consider them all as primarily barbarian interests, the associated graphs would significantly increase in the involvement of non-Roman power types.

---

<sup>1</sup> See the Chapter One subsection "Non-Roman."

Likewise, if I chose to categorize them all as Roman, we would see the disappearance of non-Roman power types, although not necessarily an increase in Military power types because the Military was already extremely powerful in this era. This problem of ignoring the secondary power types extends to all political interests, but is most prominent with non-Roman interests. “Barbarians” can also include states or nations with their own government, accession system, and power types, be they the Visigothic settlement around Toulouse, or the Sassanid Empire based in Ctesiphon. I have limited solutions outside of leaving space in my political interest classifications for multiple power types. A more permanent solution would have to come in the nuancing of my analysis to handle multi-power-type classification.

Another change to the analysis results would occur if we dropped my earlier rule on not counting tacit “assent” as an affirmation. If we did indeed decide to count the quiet support of an emperor’s army or every Senate acceptance of an emperor’s consul, the percentages of affirmer vs. mention involvement would change dramatically, as would our conclusions about their level of participation.<sup>2</sup>

Our results can also change if we restrict our sources. The accessions of the Byzantine late fifth century would look very different in configuration if we did not have the close detail provided by *De Ceremoniis*. For the eastern fifth and sixth centuries, we would otherwise have to rely upon far less detailed chronicle sources.<sup>3</sup> Although the main power types might be preserved from the alternate sources, the detailed listings of the political interests involved in Constantinopolitan coronations would not.

Alternate decisions as to where to place the start and end of each accession would also affect the database. For example, in my accession entries, I have attempted to record the widest range possible of political interest activity, frequently beyond where I believe the actual accession activity occurs. But even though I have a preference for where the actual accession lies, my record of which interests were involved are frequently drawn from this maximal list. The percentages on the involvement of affirmers and mentions would be different if interests were recorded only from my inner range. Aspects of this are seen in the accession of Leontius, where I have specifically chosen to record the earlier political narrative,<sup>4</sup> but I have also chosen to not categorize the political

---

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter One, note 150.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the difference in accession detail between Zeno (Appendix A: 4.[4A, 4B]) and the emperors in the *De Ceremoniis* before and after Zeno, Leo II (Appendix A: 4.[5]) and Anastasius (Appendix A: 4.[2-7]).

<sup>4</sup> Appendix A Leontius: 4.[1-10].

interests involved in the leadup to Leontius' proclamation,<sup>5</sup> viewing them as contextual political events mostly tangential to his specific accession. If I were to include the interests from the earlier events in my analysis, the percentages would also change.

These are all important questions and limitations to the categorization system I have set forth. Ultimately, this is why, although it is my intention to delve into the political workings of late Roman accessions, in the end, all I am able to determine is what the sources that have survived to our present day say about Late Roman accessions. Whether what they say has any bearing on the actual politics of the past is not a question that can be definitively answered.

## USES AND APPLICATIONS

Despite these limitations, I believe the system I have created can still be utilized successfully, not only within Late Roman accessions, but beyond that subject matter.

A main limitation of a descriptive approach is that it is not easily convertible to a more data-driven, or quantitative approach. For computerized analysis to work, one needs discrete data fields, and consistent markers of beginning and end. The reason for my creation of this categorization system is to address this lack of a basic data unit within Late Roman accession research.<sup>6</sup> Without it, we would only have qualitative options for our inquiries. This is the current state of the research, and as mentioned previously, it is limited in what conclusions it can draw.<sup>7</sup> It is thanks to the quantitative, or rather, the mixed-method approach that this paper is able to display visually the changes in power type configurations and geographic trends over the Late Roman period.<sup>8</sup>

Although this system was built with the Late Roman period in mind, as mentioned previously, the Late Roman period was chosen precisely because it encompasses such a variety of accession patterns, applicable both to the Early Empire and the Byzantine Empire. By incorporating data fields not only for power type categorization, but political affiliation and

---

<sup>5</sup> Appendix A Leontius: 2, 4.[11-14].

<sup>6</sup> The political interest as a basic data unit is illustrated in the Sample Entry (Appendix A: 2.a) as "Name or citation in text" (Power type / People type) - [Affiliation], Locations mentioned.

<sup>7</sup> See the Chapter One section "Previous Accession Analyses."

<sup>8</sup> See Creswell (2009) for an explanation of the difference between quantitative, qualitative, and mixed method research approaches. I consider this paper's methodology mixed-method because it begins with a qualitative grounded theory approach to the formation of its methodology, before using that methodology to quantitatively analyze the resulting data (Creswell, 2009: 13).

location, others have the capability to produce even more specialized analysis from the data I have collated in the appendix, beyond what I have done now within this thesis.

Options include applying this system to the Early Empire period or even the Republican period. If what I have proposed in the previous chapter is true, that power types emerged as attempts to solve problems resulting from political interest conflict, it might be useful for us to see from the narratives exactly how such a process unfolded.

The system could be expanded outward to look at later Byzantine periods. We know for instance that the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI, was crowned at Mistra instead of Constantinople, and that the legitimizing forces mentioned in the contemporary primary sources were “the empress, the brothers, right of birth, and the love and wisdom of nearly the whole population of the City.”<sup>9</sup> This is not quite the same formula as the Senate, the Army, the People, and the Church which was understood by the Middle Byzantines,<sup>10</sup> and the evolution from Middle to Late Byzantium might be worth a deeper examination using my categorization system. Equally, it might be interesting to see how the Byzantine accessions survived the Fourth Crusade and the rest of the thirteenth century without possession of Constantinople given this paper’s focus on the necessity of the capital city.

Alternatively, we could see how accessions were performed in the nascent post-Roman medieval kingdoms. As an example of this, there is a seventh century Visigothic king, Wamba, whose coronation had so many similarities to a late Roman accession that, according to one modern author, it could have been describing the accession of a fourth-century emperor.<sup>11</sup> Visigothic Spain would be ideal for such an examination given a conscious continuation of Roman ceremonies, but both similarities and differences in Merovingian Francia and Lombard Italy, which did not inherit as many Roman accession traditions might be other possibilities.

Finally, expanding outward even more, a possibility that might be worth examining is to see whether the system holds up in non-Roman systems such as the Chinese imperial system. As mentioned in the introduction, outside of the Roman Empire, the Chinese Empire was the only executive authority system that possessed both dynastic and elective accession options for

---

<sup>9</sup> Sphrantzes *Chronicle* 29.3.

<sup>10</sup> Nicol (1992: 37) surmises that “the army, the people, and the elders of Mistra” were involved in the accession, but this is only an inference from past precedents rather than what is said in the sources.

<sup>11</sup> Collins (1977: 45).

succession.<sup>12</sup> Although the two empires would constitute the pinnacle of governmental templates for westerners and easterners,<sup>13</sup> the longevity of these two states in combination with their dynastic/elective hybrid system for executive transition made the two states quite unusual in world history. A far more common governing model would be the western medieval or the “ancient” near eastern model, that of the dynastic monarchy. The difference between a pure dynastic monarchy model and the hybrid dynastic/elective model is that popular overthrows of the dynastic leadership of a monarchy were never allowed to be legitimized by the elites of the state, or if they succeeded, a change in state identity would be required.<sup>14</sup> This, according to Kaldellis, was not the case with the Romans/Byzantines,<sup>15</sup> and equally it was not the case for the Chinese. The Han and Ming dynasties were founded on a *post factum* legitimized revolt led by a commoner.<sup>16</sup> We should not take the dual accession options for the Roman and Chinese systems as simply coincidence. We should instead examine if there are deeper commonalities at work. However, if others opt to see how my categorization system operates with state systems not based on the Roman system, they should be aware that the power and interest types important to the Romans may not be quite the same ones as the types important to other cultures.

The point of the applying my categorization system to periods outside the Late Roman is that the system itself is designed to be flexible. Even if others disagree with my choice of power types, interest types, or political interests, these categories can be altered or rearranged as new types without disrupting the ability to perform the kinds of data-driven analysis I have already conducted. At the very least, even if the entire system of categorizing political interests is something with which one would disagree, the summation of the accessions of a significant number of Late Roman emperors from Diocletian to Heraclius, along with cited *dies imperii* and location information from a variety of primary and secondary sources would be useful to other

---

<sup>12</sup> As another example, compare the difference between Roman and Chinese non-dynastic revolts, which could be accepted as legitimate continuations of the pre-existing state if successful, with Persian non-dynastic revolts, which frequently required a complete replacement of state identity after a successful overthrow, e.g. the transition from Seleucid to Parthian, and Parthian to Sasanid. See Lukonin (1983: 696, 698) in the *Cambridge History of Iran*, which describes Parthian and Sasanid states as monarchies built around their royal lineages. This point thus illustrates that a replacement of lineage during an overthrow necessitates a replacement of the identity of the state.

<sup>13</sup> Mutschler and Mittag (2008: xiv).

<sup>14</sup> Flaig (1992: 205-7). Although peasant revolts occurred in the Early Medieval era, roughly from 400 to 1000 CE, all were small scale and none attempted to overthrow the existing leadership system (Wickham 2005: 578-9, 585). It would take the American and French revolutions for a dynastic monarchy to be replaced by an alternative governing system.

<sup>15</sup> Kaldellis (2015: 125-38).

<sup>16</sup> Ebrey (2010: 63-4, 190).

scholars in and of itself.<sup>17</sup> It is for this reason that my ultimate goal with the information contained within this paper is to convert the appendix into a database format so that it can be posted publicly, as a freely searchable and categorizeable tool for others to perform their own analysis.

In the end, given both the problems solved and the problems still remaining, we should consider this categorization system as a proof of concept for far more comprehensive future analyses of the Roman/Byzantine accession process. There are indeed some deficiencies in the conclusions it makes, as laid out in the caveats section. However, these deficiencies can be fixed with sufficient time and effort. The system and the results it produces will improve the more one can improve the historiographical basis of the texts from which it draws. The most important thing is that the system has the capacity to handle those improvements.

---

<sup>17</sup> Other books with date and location information of imperial accessions are Barnes (1982) for the Tetrarchy and Kienast (1990) for the period from Augustus to Theodosius. For only date information, there is the *PLRE* (1971-1992) which covers 260 CE to 641 CE, Burgess (1988) which covers from Constantius II to Anastasius, and Burgess (2014) which covers from Julius Caesar to the Tetrarchy.

## Appendix A (Late Roman Emperors, 284 CE – 610 CE)

### SAMPLE ENTRY

EMPEROR NAME / *PLRE* Entry, *PLRE* Volume

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. AUGUSTUS-A - Most likely accession type (Contested/unrecognized time frame)
    - i. Underline indicates accession type and calculations of imperial uncertainty according to my guidelines.
  - b. Augustus-B - Alternate accession type (Alternate time frame)
    - i. Alternate accession type or alternate contested/unrecognized time frame if different from main designation above.
2. Political interest type involved
  - a. **EXE-D** (Power type abbreviation – decision-making authority abbreviation): **Interest type** (with the highest decision-making authority)
    - i. “Name or citation in text” (Power type / People type) - [Affiliation], Locations mentioned
    - ii. **“Emperors”** - **Bold** for deciders.
    - iii. **“Senate”** - **Bold italics** font for affirmers.
    - iv. *“Army”* - *Italics* for mentions.
    - v. (*Military / Body*) - [*Attached to emperor*]. If there is not an explicit mention of military forces as a “deciding” or “affirming” political interest, but it is obvious that an emperor is settling a contest with the backing of an army, I will include the army into the types involved list as a “mention” attached to that emperor.
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Places are mentioned in the rough order of western empire to eastern empire north of the Mediterranean, then southern Mediterranean.
4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Other emperors whose accessions overlap this emperor)
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION - First deliberation indicates earliest conflict/consideration over whether the appendix individual should be an emperor, i.e. the start of an accession.
  - b. [2] PROCLAMATION - **Most important events are in bold. First bold indicates my interpretation of an accession’s start.**
  - c. [3] PROCLAMATION - Less important events are in regular font.
  - d. [4A] - “A” means what I think is the most likely narrative.
    - i. Purple regular font - indicates support was sought from or given by a political interest.
    - ii. Brown italics - indicates support was expressly refused by a political interest.
  - e. [4B] - “B” and letters onward mean what I think are less likely narratives.
    - i. [~ Date] “~” means about this date.
    - ii. [< Date] “<” means roughly before this date.
    - iii. [> Date] “>” means roughly after this date.
  - f. [5] Army? - “?” indicates that I am uncertain as to a categorization.
  - g. [6] ACCESSION - Indicates when another emperor is raised, thus increasing the competitor pool.
  - h. [7] **CO-OPT [Date]** - **Last bold indicates my interpretation of an accession’s end.**
  - i. [8] CO-OPT [Date] - Unbolded final entries are alternate interpretations of an accession’s end.

# TETRARCHY

## DIOCLETIAN / Diocletianus 2, *PLRE* 1

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. **AUGUSTUS-A: Election (4 to 6 months)**
    - i. Elected as Augustus by the Army in competition with another Augustus (Carinus).
    - ii. From raising of Diocletian as Augustus to the death of Carinus at the Battle of Margus.
  - b. Augustus-B: Election (7 to 9 months)
    - i. Elected as Augustus by the Senate.
    - ii. From proclamation to Senate approval.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. DIOCLETIAN - Illyria, Moesia, Rome
    - ii. **“Carinus” (Executive / Individual) - Southern Gaul, Northern Italy, Moesia**
    - iii. **“Sabinus Julianus” (Executive / Individual)**
    - iv. **“Numerian” (Executive / Individual) - Bithynia**
  - b. **MIL-D: Army**
    - i. **“Army Council” (Military / Body) - Nicomedia**
    - ii. **“Western Army” (Military / Body) - [Carinus], Moesia**
    - iii. **“Eastern Army” (Military / Body) - [Diocletian], Moesia**
    - iv. **“Praetorian Prefect Aper” (Military / Individual) - Bithynia**
    - v. **“Tribune” (Military / Individual)**
    - vi. **(Military / Body) - [Attached to Sabinus Julianus], Moesia**
  - c. **ADM-A: Senate**
    - i. **“Senate” (Administrative / Body) - Rome**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Southern Gaul, Northern Italy, Rome, Illyria, Moesia, Bithynia, Nicomedia
4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION (Death of Numerian) [< Nov. 20, 284] (*PLRE* 1 Numerianus).
    - i. **Numerian - Bithynia** (Williams, 1985: 35) murdered by **Praetorian Prefect Aper**, possibly with the tacit approval of **DIOCLETIAN** (Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 38, Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 38, Eutr. 9.18, Jer. *Chron.*, Oros. 7.24.4, Bird 1994: 164).
  - b. [2] DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Nov. 20, 284] (*P. Beatty Panop.* 2.162).
    - i. **Army Council - Nicomedia** (*NEDC* 49) elects **DIOCLETIAN** as Augustus (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39, Eutr. 9.20, Jer. *Chron.*, Oros. 7.25.1)
  - c. [3] **Carinus - Gaul/Northern Italy** (Eutr. 9.19, Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39) marches on **DIOCLETIAN - Illyria** (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39).
  - d. [4A] CO-OPT (Death of Carinus) [Spring 285] (*NEDC* 50).
    - i. **Carinus - Moesia** confronts **DIOCLETIAN - Moesia** at the Battle of Margus (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39, Eutr. 9.20, Jer. *Chron.*, Oros. 7.25.1).
    - ii. **Carinus** is killed by his own **Western Army - [Carinus]** because of his mistreatment of soldiers' wives (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39, Eutr. 9.19-20).
  - e. [4B] CO-OPT (Death of Carinus) - Death of **Carinus** by his **Tribune** (Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 38).
  - f. [4C] CO-OPT (Death of Carinus) - **Carinus** killed in battle against usurper **Sabinus Julianus**
    - i. Almost a merging of [4A] and [4B] but with **Carinus** battle being against **Sabinus**, i.e. **DIOCLETIAN** is on his way to battle **Carinus** but they never meet. (Joh. Ant. *Fr.* 189, ed. Mariev).
  - g. [5] **DIOCLETIAN** claims he had no part in **Numerian's** death, kills **Aper** and pardons everyone else in the **Eastern Army**. (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39), (Eutr. 9.20), (Jer. *Chron.*). May have happened after [2] (Eutr. 9.20).
  - h. [6] PROCLAMATION [Summer 285] (Williams, 1985: 241), (*NEDC* 50)
    - i. **DIOCLETIAN - Rome**, gets official recognition from the **Senate** (Zon. 12.31), (*NEDC* 50).

MAXIMIAN (1) / Maximianus 8, *PLRE* 1

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. CAESAR - Inheritance (None)
    - i. Designated as Caesar by an Augustus (Diocletian) without imperial contest.
  - b. AUGUSTUS - Inheritance (10 to 12 years)
    - i. Designated as Augustus by an Augustus (Diocletian) in competition with another emperor (Carausius).
    - ii. From Maximian's designation as Augustus until last competing emperor, Domitianus/Achilleus is co-opted.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. MAXIMIAN - Milan
    - ii. **"Diocletian" (Executive / Individual) - Milan, Byzantium, Sirmium**
    - iii. **"Achilleus" (Executive / Individual) - Egypt**
    - iv. **"Allectus" (Executive / Individual) - Britain**
    - v. **"Carausius" (Executive / Individual) - Britain, Gaul**
    - vi. **"Domitianus" (Executive / Individual) - Egypt**
    - vii. **"Constantius I" (Executive / Individual) - Milan, Britain**
  - b. **MIL-M: Army**
    - i. **"Diocletian's Army" (Military / Body) - Egypt**
    - ii. **(Military / Body) - [Attached to Carausius, Allectus], Britain, Gaul**
    - iii. **(Military / Body) - [Attached to Constantius I], Britain, Gaul**
    - iv. **(Military / Body) - [Attached to Domitianus, Achilleus], Egypt**
  - c. **ADM-M: Places**
    - i. **"Britain, Gaul" (Administrative / Body) - [Carausius, Allectus]**
    - ii. **"Egypt" (Administrative / Body) - [Domitianus, Achilleus]**
  - d. **POP-M: People**
    - i. **"Bagaudae" (Popular, Military / Body) - Gaul**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Britain, Gaul, Milan, Byzantium, Sirmium, South - Egypt
4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Constantius I, Galerius)
  - a. **[1] DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Caesar) [Dies Imperii: Jul. 21, 285] (NEDC 4 n.5)**
    - i. [MAXIMIAN - Milan](#) proclaimed Caesar/Imperator by [Diocletian - Milan](#) (NEDC 50) so he can deal with [Bagaudae - Gaul](#) revolts (Eutr. 9.20), (Aur. Vict. Caes. 39).
  - b. **[2] ACCESSION [~286] (NEDC 11) [Carausius](#) revolts, controlling [Britain](#) and [Gaul](#) [~286] (Eutr. 9.22).**
  - c. **[3] DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Apr. 1, 286] (Cons. Const. 286), (NEDC 4). Alternatively proclaimed [Mar. 1, 286] (PLRE 1 Maximianus 8).**
    - i. [Diocletian - Byzantium](#) [NEDC 50] appoints [MAXIMIAN - Milan](#) (NEDC 57) as Augustus (Eutr. 9.22), (Aur. Vict. Caes. 39), (Aur. Vict. Epit. 39).
  - d. **[4] ACCESSION [~292-3] (NEDC 11) [Allectus](#) takes over after he kills [Carausius](#), continues revolt in [Britain](#). [Domitianus](#) or [Achilleus](#) revolt in [Egypt](#). (NEDC 11-2)**
  - e. **[5] ACCESSION [Mar. 1, 293] (NEDC 60) [Diocletian - Sirmium](#) (NEDC 62) appoints [Constantius I - Milan](#) (NEDC 60) and [Galerius - Sirmium](#) as Caesar. (Anon. Val. 1.2), (Jul. Or. 1.7.A), (Aur. Vict. Epit. 39), (Eutr. 9.22), (Oros. 7.25.4-5)**
  - f. **[6] CO-OPT (Death of Allectus) [~296] (NEDC 11)**
    - i. [Constantius I - Britain](#) defeats and kills [Allectus](#) (NEDC 11).
  - g. **[7] CO-OPT (Defeat of Domitianus/Achilleus) [~296-8] (NEDC 11-2)**
    - i. Killed during a siege by [Diocletian's Army - Egypt](#) (PLRE 1 Domitianus 6)

CONSTANTIUS I / Constantius 12, *PLRE* 1

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. CAESAR - Inheritance (3 to 5 years)

- i. Designated as Caesar by an Augustus (Diocletian) in competition with other emperors (Carausius, Domitianus/Achilleus).
    - ii. From Constantius' appointment as Caesar until last competing emperor, Domitianus/Achilleus is co-opted.
  - b. AUGUSTUS - Inheritance (None)
    - i. Designated as Augustus by an Augustus (Diocletian) without imperial contest.
- 2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. CONSTANTIUS I - Milan, Gaul, Britain
    - ii. **"Diocletian" (Executive / Individual) - Sirmium, Nicomedia**
    - iii. **"Achilleus" (Executive / Individual) - Egypt**
    - iv. **"Allectus" (Executive / Individual) - Britain**
    - v. **"Carausius" (Executive / Individual) - Britain, Gaul**
    - vi. **"Domitianus" (Executive / Individual) - Egypt**
    - vii. **"Galerius" (Executive / Individual) - Sirmium, Nicomedia**
    - viii. **"Maximian" (Executive / Individual) - Milan**
    - ix. **"Maximinus Daia" (Executive / Individual) - Nicomedia**
    - x. **"Severus" (Executive / Individual) - Milan**
  - b. *EXE-M: Imperial Family*
    - i. **"Theodora" (Executive / Individual) - [Maximian's stepdaughter]**
  - c. *MIL-M: Army*
    - i. **(Military / Body) - [Attached to Carausius, Allectus], Britain, Gaul**
    - ii. **(Military / Body) - [Attached to Constantius I], Britain, Gaul**
    - iii. **(Military / Body) - [Attached to Diocletian], Egypt**
    - iv. **(Military / Body) - [Attached to Domitianus, Achilleus], Egypt**
  - d. *ADM-M: Places*
    - i. **"Britain, Gaul" (Administrative / Body) - [Carausius, Allectus]**
    - ii. **"Egypt" (Administrative / Body) - [Domitianus, Achilleus]**
- 3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Britain, Gaul, Milan, Sirmium, Nicomedia, South - Egypt
- 4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Maximian Augustus-1, Galerius, Severus, Maximinus Daia)
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION** (Ongoing civil wars) Britain, Gaul in revolt under Carausius and Egypt under Domitianus or Achilleus (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39), (Eutr. 9.22), (Jer. *Chron.* 289-92), (Oros. 7.25.4-5).
  - b. [2] **DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Caesar) [Dies Imperii: Mar. 1, 293]** (NEDC 60), (Pan. Lat. 8.3.1), (Nixon and Rodgers, 1994: 118 n.21). Alternatively [Mar. 1, 291] (Cons. Const. 291) or [May 21, 293] (CP 293).
    - i. Diocletian - Sirmium (NEDC 62) appoints CONSTANTIUS I - Milan (NEDC 60) and Galerius - Sirmium as Caesar. (Anon. Val. 1.2), (Jul. Or. 1.7.A), (Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 39), (Eutr. 9.22), (Oros. 7.25.4-5)
  - c. [3] CONSTANTIUS I divorces his first wife and marries Theodora, Maximian's stepdaughter. (PLRE 1 Theodora 1), (Anon. Val. 1.2), (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39), (Eutr. 9.22), (Jer. *Chron.* 289-292), (Oros. 7.25.4-5).
  - d. [4] CONSTANTIUS I defeats Carausius in Gaul, Carausius retreats to Britain where he is killed and replaced by Allectus (NEDC 11, 60)
  - e. [5] **CO-OPT (Death of Allectus) [~296]** CONSTANTIUS I defeats and kills Allectus (NEDC 11), (Pan. Lat. 8.6-8, 8.11).
  - f. [6] **CO-OPT (Defeat of Domitianus/Achilleus) [~296-8]** (NEDC 11-2), (PLRE 1 Domitianus 6)
  - g. [7] **DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [May 1, 305]** (NEDC 4-5), (Williams, 1985: 191), (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 17, 46). Alternatively [Apr. 1, 304] (Cons. Const. 304).
    - i. Diocletian - Nicomedia (NEDC 56), (Eutr. 9.27), (Jer. *Chron.* 305) promotes CONSTANTIUS I - Britain (NEDC 61) and Galerius - Nicomedia to Augustus, and Diocletian forces Maximian - Milan (NEDC 60) to resign along with himself (Eutr. 9.27), (Jer. *Chron.* 305). Severus - Milan and Maximinus Daia - Nicomedia are made Caesar (NEDC 60, 65).

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. CAESAR - Inheritance (3 to 5 years)
    - i. Designated as Caesar by an Augustus (Diocletian) in competition with other emperors (Carausius, Domitianus/Achilleus).
    - ii. From Galerius' appointment as Caesar until the last competing emperor, Domitianus/Achilleus, is co-opted.
  - b. AUGUSTUS - Inheritance (None)
    - i. Designated as Augustus by an Augustus (Diocletian) without imperial contest.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. GALERIUS - Sirmium, Nicomedia
    - ii. **"Diocletian" (Executive / Individual) - Sirmium, Nicomedia**
    - iii. **"Achilleus" (Executive / Individual) - Egypt**
    - iv. **"Allectus" (Executive / Individual) - Britain**
    - v. **"Carausius" (Executive / Individual) - Britain, Gaul**
    - vi. **"Domitianus" (Executive / Individual) - Egypt**
    - vii. **"Constantius I" (Executive / Individual) - Milan, Britain**
    - viii. **"Maximian" (Executive / Individual) - Milan**
    - ix. **"Maximinus Daia" (Executive / Individual) - Nicomedia**
    - x. **"Severus" (Executive / Individual) - Milan**
  - b. **EXE-M: Imperial Family**
    - i. **"Valeria" (Executive / Individual) - [Diocletian's daughter]**
  - c. **MIL-M: Army**
    - i. **(Military / Body) - [Attached to Carausius, Allectus], Britain, Gaul**
    - ii. **(Military / Body) - [Attached to Constantius I], Britain, Gaul**
    - iii. **(Military / Body) - [Attached to Diocletian], Egypt**
    - iv. **(Military / Body) - [Attached to Domitianus, Achilleus], Egypt**
    - v. **(Military / Body) - [Attached to Galerius], Eastern Frontier**
  - d. **ADM-M: Places**
    - i. **"Britain, Gaul" (Administrative / Body) - [Carausius, Allectus]**
    - ii. **"Egypt" (Administrative / Body) - [Domitianus, Achilleus]**
  - e. **REL-M: Devotees**
    - i. **"Christians" (Religious / Body)**
  - f. **NON-M: Barbarians**
    - i. **"Persian King Narses" (Non-Romans, Military / Body) - [Sasanids], Eastern Frontier**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Britain, Gaul, Milan, Sirmium, Nicomedia, Eastern Frontier, Egypt
4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Maximian Augustus-1, Constantius I, Severus, Maximinus Daia)
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION** (Ongoing civil wars) **Britain, Gaul** in revolt under **Carausius** and **Egypt** under **Domitianus** or **Achilleus** (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39), (Eutr. 9.22), (Jer. *Chron.* 289-92), (Oros. 7.25.4-5).
  - b. [2] **DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Caesar) - [Dies Imperii: Mar. 1, 293]** (NEDC 62). Alternatively [Mar. 1, 291] (*Cons. Const.* 291) or [May 21, 293] (*CP* 293).
    - i. **Diocletian - Sirmium** (NEDC 62) appoints **GALERIUS - Sirmium** (NEDC 62) and **Constantius I - Milan** as Caesar (*Anon. Val.* 1.2), (Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 39), (Eutr. 9.22), (Oros. 7.25.4-5).
  - c. [3] **GALERIUS** divorces his first wife and marries **Valeria, Diocletian's** daughter (*PLRE* 1 Maximianus 9), (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39), (Eutr. 9.22), (Jer. *Chron.* 289-92).
  - d. [4] **CO-OPT (Defeat of Carausius, Allectus, Domitianus/Achilleus) [~296-8]** (NEDC 11-2).
  - e. [5] **GALERIUS** defeats **Persian King Narses** (Lact *Mort. Pers.* 9).
  - f. [6] **DELIBERATION (Augustus)**
    - i. **GALERIUS** puts pressure on **Diocletian** to be promoted to Augustus (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 9, 18) and wants him to persecute **Christians** more (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 11)
  - g. [7] **PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [May 1, 305]** (NEDC 4-5). Alternatively [Apr. 1, 304] (*Cons. Const.* 304).

- i. [Diocletian - Nicomedia](#) (NEDC 56), (Eutr. 9.27) promotes [GALERIUS - Nicomedia](#) (NEDC 64) and [Constantius I - Britain](#) (NEDC 61) to Augustus, and [Diocletian](#) forces [Maximian - Milan](#) (NEDC 60) to resign along with himself (Eutr. 9.27), (Jer. Chron. 305). [Severus - Milan](#) and [Maximinus Daia - Nicomedia](#) are made Caesar (NEDC 60, 65).

#### SEVERUS 30, PLRE 1

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. CAESAR - Inheritance (None)
    - i. Designated as Caesar by a reigning Augustus (Diocletian) without imperial contest.
  - b. AUGUSTUS - Inheritance (None)
    - i. Designated as Augustus by a reigning Augustus (Galerius) and with the simultaneous recognition of a previous competing emperor, Constantine I.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. SEVERUS - Milan
    - ii. **“Diocletian” (Executive / Individual) - Nicomedia**
    - iii. **“Galerius” (Executive / Individual) - Nicomedia, Sarmatia**
    - iv. *“Constantine I” (Executive / Individual) - Britain*
    - v. *“Constantius I” (Executive / Individual) - Britain*
    - vi. *“Maximian” (Executive / Individual) - Milan*
    - vii. *“Maximinus Daia” (Executive / Individual) - Nicomedia*
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Britain, Milan, Nicomedia, Sarmatia
4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Constantius I, Galerius, Maximinus Daia, Maxentius, Maximian Augustus-2, Constantine I,)
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Caesar) [Dies Imperii: May 1, 305]** (NEDC 55). Alternatively [Apr. 1, 304] (Cons. Const. 304).
    - i. [Diocletian - Nicomedia](#) (NEDC 56), (Eutr. 9.27) promotes [SEVERUS - Milan](#) and [Maximinus Daia - Nicomedia](#) as Caesar (NEDC 65). [Galerius - Nicomedia](#) (NEDC 64) and [Constantius I - Britain](#) (NEDC 61) are promoted to Augustus, and [Diocletian](#) forces [Maximian - Milan](#) (NEDC 60) to resign along with himself (Eutr. 9.27), (Jer. Chron. 305).
  - b. [2] **ACCESSION** [Jul. 25, 306] (NEDC 69) [Constantius I](#) dies and [Constantine I - Britain](#) (NEDC 61, 69) is raised as an emperor claiming Augustus status without prior approval from other emperors (Cons. Const. 306), (Eutr. 10.2), (Aur. Vict. Caes. 40).
  - c. [3] **DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION / CO-OPT (Augustus) [~Aug. 306]** (PLRE 1 Severus 30), (ILS 657).
    - i. [Galerius - Sarmatia](#) (NEDC 64) promotes [SEVERUS - Milan](#) (NEDC 65) to Augustus and recognizes [Constantine I - Britain](#) (NEDC 69) as a Caesar, not an Augustus, at roughly the same time (Lact. Mort. Pers. 25).

#### MAXIMINUS DAIA / Maximinus 12, PLRE 1

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. CAESAR - Inheritance (None)
    - i. Designated as Caesar by Augusti (Diocletian/Galerius) without imperial contest.
  - b. AUGUSTUS-A - Election (~3 years, 2 months)
    - i. Raised as Augustus by himself and/or the army in initial competition with other emperors (Galerius, Maxentius).
    - ii. From Maximinus Daia’s elevation as Augustus to his death. Presuming the recognition by Maxentius, given Daia’s pre-recognition by Constantine I and Licinius, does not end the accession, given continuing albeit not yet open conflict with the other remaining emperors (Licinius, Constantine I).
  - c. Augustus-B - Election (~1.5 years)

- i. From Maximinus Daia's elevation as Augustus and mutual recognition with Maxentius, given Maximinus Daia's pre-recognition by Constantine I and Licinius.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. MAXIMINUS DAIA - Nicomedia, Caesarea, Antioch, Bosphorus, Asia Minor, Thrace, Adrianople, Tarsus
    - ii. **"Diocletian" (Executive / Individual) - Nicomedia, Carnuntum**
    - iii. **"Galerius" (Executive / Individual) - Nicomedia, Carnuntum**
    - iv. **"Maxentius" (Executive / Individual) - Rome**
    - v. **"Licinius" (Executive / Individual) - Carnuntum, Bosphorus, Adrianople**
    - vi. **"Constantine I" (Executive / Individual) - Britain, Trier, Rome**
    - vii. **"Constantius I" (Executive / Individual) - Britain**
    - viii. **"Maximian" (Executive / Individual) - Milan, Rome, Carnuntum**
    - ix. **"Severus" (Executive / Individual) - Milan, Rome**
  - b. **MIL-A: Army**
    - i. **"Army of Maximinus Daia" (Military / Body) - Antioch, Adrianople**
    - ii. **(Military / Body) - [Attached to Constantine I], Rome**
    - iii. **(Military / Body) - [Attached to Licinius], Adrianople, Tarsus**
    - iv. **(Military / Body) - [Attached to Maxentius], Rome**
  - c. **ADM-M: Places**
    - i. **"Asia Minor" (Administrative / Body)**
    - ii. **"Greece, Moesia, Thrace" (Administrative / Body)**
  - d. **REL-M: Devotees**
    - i. **"Christians" (Religious / Body) - Eastern Mediterranean**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Britain, Trier, Milan, Rome, Moesia, Carnuntum, Thrace, Adrianople, Bosphorus, Dardania, Greece, Asia Minor, Nicomedia, Tarsus, Eastern Mediterranean, Antioch
4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Constantius I, Galerius, Severus, Maxentius, Maximian Augustus-2, Licinius, Constantine I)
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Caesar) [Dies Imperii: May 1, 305]** (NEDC 4-5). Alternatively [Apr. 1, 304] (*Cons. Const.* 304).
    - i. [Diocletian - Nicomedia](#) (NEDC 56), (Eutr. 9.27) promotes [MAXIMINUS DAIA - Nicomedia](#) and [Severus - Milan](#) as Caesar (NEDC 65). [Galerius - Nicomedia](#) (NEDC 64) and [Constantius I - Britain](#) (NEDC 61) are promoted to Augustus, and [Diocletian](#) forces [Maximian - Milan](#) (NEDC 60) to resign along with himself (Eutr. 9.27), (*Jer. Chron.* 305).
      - ii. Alternatively, the decision of [Galerius](#) after he becomes the new Augustus. (Eutr. 10.2).
  - b. [2] **ACCESSION**. [Constantius I](#) dies, [Constantine I - Britain](#) (NEDC 69) is raised as an emperor and later [Galerius](#) decides to recognize [Constantine I](#) as a Caesar (*Lact. Mort. Pers.* 25). He also promotes [Severus - Milan](#) (NEDC 65) to Augustus.
  - c. [3] **ACCESSION** [Oct. 28, 306] (NEDC 12) [Maxentius - Rome](#) is proclaimed an emperor, with his father [Maximian - Rome](#) returning to power with him as a co-emperor (NEDC 12-3). [Severus - Rome](#) (NEDC 65) is defeated by [Maxentius](#) and [Maximian](#), and later dies or is killed (*Lact. Mort. Pers.* 26), (Eutr. 10.2), (NEDC 5 n.13).
  - d. [4] **ACCESSION** [Nov. 11, 308] (*Cons. Const.* 308) [Diocletian](#), [Galerius](#), and [Maximian](#) meet in Carnuntum to decide on a new Tetrarchy. [Maxentius](#) is again not recognized, [Maximian](#) is forced again into retirement, [Licinius](#) is raised as the new western Augustus, [Constantine I - Trier](#) (NEDC 68-9) is reconfirmed, but as a Caesar again. [MAXIMINUS DAIA - Caesarea](#) (NEDC 65-6) remains a Caesar (*Cons. Const.* 308), (*Lact. Pers. Mort.* 29), (*Aur. Vict. Epit.* 39), (Barnes, 1981: 30-2).
  - e. [5] **DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [May 1, 310?]** (Barnes, 1981: 33)
    - i. [MAXIMINUS DAIA - Antioch](#) (NEDC 65) proclaims himself or is proclaimed an Augustus by [Army of Maximinus Daia](#) (*Lact. Mort. Pers.* 32) without the approval of the other mutually recognized emperors of the new Tetrarchy.

- ii. Some time afterwards, [Galerius - Thessalonica](#) (NEDC 62) declares that all emperors in the new Tetrarchy, [Galerius](#), [Licinius](#), [Constantine I](#), and [Maximinus Daia](#) are now Augusti (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 32).
- f. [6] (Death of Galerius and seizure of his territory) [Apr.-May 311] (NEDC 64) [Galerius - Dardania](#) dies, [MAXIMINUS DAIA](#) invades [Asia Minor](#) (NEDC 66), which was formerly [Galerius](#) territory. [Licinius - Bosphorus](#) takes over the other remaining [Galerius](#) territory of [Greece](#), [Moesia](#) and [Thrace](#) and negotiates a peace treaty with [MAXIMINUS DAIA - Bosphorus](#) (NEDC 66), (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 36.1).
- g. [7] CO-OPT (Recognition from Maxentius) [Winter-Spring 311-2?] (Barnes, 2014: 81), (Odahl, 2004: 82-3)
  - i. [MAXIMINUS DAIA - Nicomedia](#) (NEDC 66) offers an alliance with [Maxentius](#), the only emperor never included in the Tetrarchy. [MAXIMINUS DAIA](#) does so after hearing of the alliance of [Constantine I](#) and [Licinius](#), possibly targeting him (Barnes, 2014: 81), (Odahl, 2004: 82-3), (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 43, 44), (Eus. *HE* 8.14).
- h. [8] Death of [Maxentius - Rome](#) in battle against [Constantine I - Rome](#) (NEDC 12-3, 71).
- i. [9] [MAXIMINUS DAIA](#) ends the persecution of [Christians](#) in his territory (Barnes, 1981: 62)
- j. [10] [MAXIMINUS DAIA - Thrace](#) invades (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 45) in anticipation of an eventual [Constantine I / Licinius](#) attack (Barnes, 2014: 97), (Eutr. 10.4). [MAXIMINUS DAIA - Adrianople](#) is defeated by [Licinius - Adrianople](#) (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 47).
- k. [11] CO-OPT (Death of MAXIMINUS DAIA) [Jul. 313] (NEDC 67)
  - i. [MAXIMINUS DAIA - Tarsus](#) flees after the Adrianople battle, and after losing another battle, kills himself (NEDC 67). (Eutr. 10.4) says his death was accidental.

#### MAXENTIUS 5, PLRE 1

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. [AUGUSTUS-A - Election \(6 years\)](#)
    - i. Raised as emperor by himself and/or various institutions in a capital city in initial competition with other emperors (Galerius, Severus, Maximinus Daia, Constantine I).
    - ii. From elevation of Maxentius as an emperor to his death. Maxentius was never recognized by all the others in the Tetrarchy at the same time.
  - b. Augustus-B - Inheritance (6 years)
    - i. Designated as emperor by a “former” Augustus who was also his father (Maximian).
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. MAXENTIUS - Italy, Rome
    - ii. “Constantine I” (Executive / Individual) - Britain, Trier, Northern Italy, Rome
    - iii. “Diocletian” (Executive / Individual) - Nicomedia, Carnuntum
    - iv. “Galerius” (Executive / Individual) - Nicomedia, Northern Italy, Carnuntum
    - v. “Maximian” (Executive / Individual) - Milan, Rome, Trier, Carnuntum
    - vi. “Maximinus Daia” (Executive / Individual) - Nicomedia, Caesarea
    - vii. “Severus” (Executive / Individual) - Milan, Ravenna
    - viii. “Valerius/Domitius Alexander” (Executive / Individual) - Africa
    - ix. “Constantius I” (Executive / Individual) - Britain
    - x. “Licinius” (Executive / Individual) - Carnuntum
  - b. **MIL-A: Army**
    - i. “African Army” (Military / Body) - Africa
    - ii. “Army of Galerius” (Military / Body) - Northern Italy
    - iii. “Army of Severus” (Military / Body) - Northern Italy
    - iv. “Army of Maxentius (Military / Body) - Rome, Italy, Southern Gaul
  - c. **MIL-A: Guards**
    - i. “Praetorian Guards” (Military / Body) - Rome
    - ii. “Soldiers” (Military / Body) - Rome
  - d. **ADM-A: Senate**
    - i. “Senate” (Administrative / Body) - Rome
  - e. **ADM-A: Court**



- [Maximian](#) (*Pan. Lat.* 7), and presumably between [Constantine I](#) and [MAXENTIUS](#) (*Pan. Lat.* 7.2.1).
- i. [9] [Galerius](#) does not recognize [MAXENTIUS](#) and attacks Rome [Sep. 307] (*NEDC* 64). Some of the [Army of Galerius](#) begin deserting to [MAXENTIUS](#)' side during the siege, so [Galerius](#) allows the [Army of Galerius](#) to retreat and pillage the [Italian countryside](#) on its return home (*Lact. Mort. Pers.* 27).
  - j. [10] [~Apr. 308] (*NEDC* 13) [Maximian](#) returns from Gaul, tries to depose [MAXENTIUS](#) by "tearing the purple" from his shoulders. The assembled [People of Rome](#) and [Soldiers - Rome](#) angrily disapprove. (*Lact. Mort. Pers.* 28), (*Eutr.* 10.3). [Maximian](#) flees to [Constantine I](#).
  - k. [11] [Summer 308 to Fall 309?] (*NEDC* 14) [Valerius/Domitius Alexander](#), in charge of [African Army](#), some of whose forces are loyal to [Galerius](#), revolt against [MAXENTIUS](#) - (Barnes, 1981: 33), (*Aur. Vict. Caes.* 40), (*Zos.* 2.12). There is famine in Rome and the [People of Rome](#) riot over food because of interruptions of grain from [Africa](#) (*Chron. 354, Chronica Minora I*: 148). The revolt is crushed and grain from [Africa](#) is restored to [MAXENTIUS](#)' control (*Aur. Vict. Caes.* 40), (*Zos.* 2.14), (*Pan. Lat.* 12.16). [MAXENTIUS](#) puts on a triumph in Rome. (*Zos.* 2.14).
  - l. [12] ACCESSION [Nov. 11, 308] (*Cons. Const.* 308) [Diocletian](#), [Galerius](#), and [Maximian](#) meet in Carnuntum to decide on a new Tetrarchy. [MAXENTIUS](#) is again not recognized, [Maximian](#) is forced again into retirement, [Licinius](#) is raised as the new western Augustus, [Constantine I - Trier](#) (*NEDC* 68-9) is reconfirmed, but as a Caesar again. [Maximinus Daia - Caesarea](#) (*NEDC* 65-6) remains a Caesar (*Cons. Const.* 308), (*Lact. Mort. Pers.* 29), (*Aur. Vict. Epit.* 39), (Barnes, 1981: 30-2).
  - m. [13] CO-OPT (Death of Maximian) [Jul. 310] (*NEDC* 13)
  - n. [14] CO-OPT (Death of Galerius) [Apr.-May 311] (*NEDC* 64)
  - o. [15] [< Jul. 25, 311] (Barnes, 1981: 40, 304-5 n.126), (*Eutr.* 10.4.3) [MAXENTIUS](#) invades [Constantine I's](#) territory, presumably [Southern Gaul](#) but fails to defeat him.
  - p. [16] CO-OPT (Recognition from Maximinus Daia) [Winter-Spring 311-2?] (Barnes, 2014: 81), (Odahl, 2004: 82-3)
    - i. [Maximinus Daia - Nicomedia](#) (*NEDC* 66) offers an alliance with [MAXENTIUS - Rome](#), after hearing of the alliance of [Constantine I](#) and [Licinius](#) (Barnes, 2014: 81), (Odahl, 2004: 82-3), (*Lact. Mort. Pers.* 43, 44), (*Eus. HE* 8.14).
  - q. [17] [MAXENTIUS](#) levies unpopular taxes on the [Senate](#) and the [People of Rome](#) - (*Aur. Vict. Caes.* 40), (*Chron. 354, Chronica Minora I*: 148), (*Soc.* 1.2)
  - r. [18] CO-OPT (Death of MAXENTIUS) [Oct. 28, 312] (*NEDC* 12)
    - i. [Constantine I](#) invades [Northern Italy](#) [Spring 312?] (Barnes, 1981: 41), (*NEDC* 70). [MAXENTIUS](#) loses much of [Northern Italy](#) and is killed after [Army of Maxentius](#) is defeated at the Milvian Bridge outside of Rome - (Barnes, 1981: 43).

## MAXIMIAN (2) / Maximianus 8, *PLRE* 1

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. [AUGUSTUS-A - Election](#) (~5 years, 2 months)
    - i. Raised himself as Augustus with the encouragement of an unrecognized emperor (Maxentius) in initial competition with other emperors (Galerius, Severus, Maximinus Daia, Constantine I).
    - ii. From Maximian's initial abdication to his death, since after his abdication and initial return he was only ever recognized as emperor by some of the other emperors in the Tetrarchy, but never all of them at the same time.
  - b. [Augustus-B - Inheritance](#) (~3 years, 9 months)
    - i. Resumed as Augustus presuming once he received imperial power, in this case continuing from that received from Diocletian, his power is never relinquished, even after his first public abdication ceremony.
    - ii. From Maximian's resumption of power to his death.
  - c. [Augustus-C - Inheritance](#) (~3 years, 9 months)
    - i. Resumed as Augustus with the encouragement/designation of an unrecognized emperor (Maxentius).
2. Political interest types involved

- a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. MAXIMIAM - Milan, Southern Italy, Rome, Trier, Gaul, Carnuntum, Arles, Massalia
    - ii. **“Maxentius” (Executive / Individual) - Italy, Rome**
    - iii. **“Constantine I” (Executive / Individual) - Nicomedia, Britain, Trier, Rhine**
    - iv. **“Diocletian” (Executive / Individual) - Nicomedia, Carnuntum**
    - v. **“Galerius” (Executive / Individual) - Nicomedia, Carnuntum**
    - vi. **“Constantius I” (Executive / Individual) - Britain**
    - vii. **“Licinius” (Executive / Individual) - Carnuntum**
    - viii. **“Maximinus Daia” (Executive / Individual) - Nicomedia, Caesarea**
    - ix. **“Severus” (Executive / Individual) - Milan, Ravenna**
  - b. **EXE-M: Imperial Family**
    - i. **“Fausta” (Executive / Individual) - [Maximian’s daughter]**
  - c. **MIL-A: Army**
    - i. **“Army of Constantine” (Military / Body) - Southern Gaul**
    - ii. **“Army of Severus” (Military / Body) - Northern Italy**
  - d. **MIL-A: Guards**
    - i. **“Soldiers” (Military / Body) - Rome**
  - e. **ADM-M: Court**
    - i. **“Treasury” (Administrative / Body) - Arles**
  - f. **POP-A: People**
    - i. **“People of Rome” (Popular / Body)**
3. Locations mentioned
    - a. Britain, Gaul, Trier, Rhine, Southern Gaul, Arles, Massalia, Italy, Northern Italy, Milan, Ravenna, Southern Italy, Rome, Carnuntum, Nicomedia, Caesarea
  4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Constantius I, Galerius, Severus, Maximinus Daia, Maxentius, Licinius, Constantine I)
    - a. [1] DELIBERATION / ACCESSION (First deposition of MAXIMIAN) [May 1, 305] (NEDC 4-5, 13)
      - i. Diocletian - Nicomedia (NEDC 56) forces MAXIMIAN - Milan (NEDC 60) to resign along with himself (Eutr. 9.27), (Jer. Chron. 305). Diocletian (Eutr. 9.27), (Jer. Chron. 305) promotes Constantius I - Britain (NEDC 61) and Galerius - Nicomedia to Augustus. Severus - Milan and Maximinus Daia - Nicomedia are made Caesar (NEDC 60, 65).
      - ii. Maxentius - Italy? (ILS 666) and Constantine I - Nicomedia (Lact. Mort. Pers. 19) are not promoted as emperors.
    - b. [2] ACCESSION. Constantius I dies, Constantine I - Britain (NEDC 69) is raised as an emperor and later Galerius decides to recognize Constantine I as a Caesar (Lact. Mort. Pers. 25). He also promotes Severus - Milan (NEDC 65) to Augustus.
    - c. [3] DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Resumption of Augustus) [> Oct. 28, 306] (NEDC 13)
      - i. Maxentius - Rome is raised as an emperor and he sends imperial regalia to MAXIMIAM - Southern Italy (NEDC 13) and Maxentius hails MAXIMIAM again as an Augustus (Lact. Mort. Pers. 26).
    - d. [4] CO-OPT (Defeat of Severus) [Spring 307] (NEDC 65)
      - i. Severus does not recognize Maxentius or MAXIMIAM - Rome and marches on Rome.
      - ii. Army of Severus abandons Severus as they approached Rome (Lact. Mort. Pers. 26), (Eus. V. Cons. 26, 27.3), (Eutr. 10.2), (Aur. Vict. Caes. 40), (Soc. 1.2) because they had previously served under MAXIMIAM.
      - iii. Severus - Ravenna retreats, then abdicates (Lact. Mort. Pers. 26), (Eutr. 10.2). A few months afterwards, Severus dies, possibly murdered or compelled to commit suicide (NEDC 5 n.13).
    - e. [5] CO-OPT [-Sep. 307] (NEDC 69) Maxentius sends MAXIMIAM to Constantine I - Trier (NEDC 68-9) to secure an alliance. Mutual recognition of emperorship between Constantine I and MAXIMIAM - Trier (Pan. Lat. 7). Fausta, MAXIMIAM’s daughter is married to Constantine I (NEDC 69).

- f. [6] [~Apr. 308] (NEDC 13) [MAXIMIAN](#) returns from Gaul, tries to depose [Maxentius](#) by “tearing the purple” from his shoulders. The assembled [People of Rome](#) and [Soldiers - Rome](#) angrily disapprove. (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 28), (Eutr. 10.3). [MAXIMIAN](#) flees to [Constantine I](#).
- g. [7] CO-OPT (Second deposition of MAXIMIAN) [Nov. 11, 308] (NEDC 13), (*Cons. Const.* 308)
  - i. [Diocletian](#), [Galerius](#), and [MAXIMIAN](#) meet in Carnuntum to decide on a new Tetrarchy. [Maxentius](#) is again not recognized, [MAXIMIAN - Gaul](#) is forced again into retirement and returns to Gaul (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 28) (Eutr. 10.3), [Licinius](#) is raised as the new, western Augustus. [Constantine I - Trier](#) (NEDC 68-9) is reconfirmed, but as a Caesar again. [Maximinus Daia - Caesarea](#) (NEDC 65-6) remains a Caesar (*Cons. Const.* 308), (Lact. *Pers. Mort.* 29), (Aur. *Vict. Epit.* 39), (Barnes, 1981: 30-2).
- h. [8] PROCLAMATION (Resumption of Augustus) [~Jul. 310] (NEDC 13, 70)
  - i. [MAXIMIAN - Arles](#) (Nixon and Rodgers, 1994: 242 n.75-7) proclaims himself emperor again while [Constantine I - Rhine](#) is away (NEDC 70). [MAXIMIAN](#) seizes the [Treasury - Arles](#) and offers donatives to the [Army of Constantine - Southern Gaul](#) (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 29).
- i. [9] CO-OPT (Defeat of MAXIMIAN) [~Jul. 310] (NEDC 13, 70)
  - i. [Constantine I](#) returns, the [Army of Constantine](#) returns their allegiance to him and [MAXIMIAN - Massalia](#) flees. (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 29), (*Pan. Lat.* 6.16)
- j. [10A] CO-OPT (Death of MAXIMIAN) [~Jul. 310] (NEDC 13, 70)
  - i. [MAXIMIAN](#) dies, either executed or committed suicide, shortly after [Constantine I](#) takes Massalia (Barnes, 2014: 72-3).
- k. [10B] CO-OPT (Death of MAXIMIAN)
  - i. [Constantine I](#) strips [MAXIMIAN](#) of imperial authority but spares his life. [MAXIMIAN](#) plots [Constantine I's](#) death and asks his daughter [Fausta](#), [Constantine I's](#) wife to betray him, but she refuses, and [MAXIMIAN](#) is allowed to commit suicide (Barnes, 2014: 73-4).
- l. [10C] CO-OPT (Death of MAXIMIAN)
  - i. Hybrid of [10A] and [10B]. [Fausta](#) exposes plot, but not the one after [MAXIMIAN](#) is pardoned, but the one of [MAXIMIAN](#) trying to proclaim himself emperor while [Constantine I](#) is away. He is later killed in Massalia (Eutr. 10.3) (Jer. *Chron.* 308).

### LICINIUS 3, PLRE 1

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. [AUGUSTUS-A - Inheritance \(4 years, 8 month\)](#)
    - i. Designated as Augustus by a former Augustus and a currently reigning Augustus of the Tetrarchy (Diocletian, Galerius) in competition with another emperor (Maxentius).
    - ii. From elevation at Carnuntum until the death of Maximinus Daia, given pre-recognition of the remaining other Augustus, Constantine I. The three year peace between Licinius and Constantine I suggests that the civil wars afterwards should not be considered part of the accession.
  - b. Augustus-B - Inheritance (~16 years)
    - i. From elevation at Carnuntum until his defeat by Constantine I, and his death shortly afterward, presuming that the three year peace should be ignored, and that later de-recognition means his entire reign should be viewed as a contested accession.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. LICINIUS - Carnuntum, Sirmium, Illyricum, Bosphorus, Milan, Adrianople, Thessalonica
    - ii. “Diocletian” (Executive / Individual) - Carnuntum
    - iii. “Galerius” (Executive / Individual) - Carnuntum, Dardania
    - iv. “Constantine I” (Executive / Individual) - Trier, Italy, Rome, Milan
    - v. “Maximinus Daia” (Executive / Individual) - Caesarea, Asia Minor, Bosphorus, Nicomedia, Thrace, Adrianople, Tarsus
    - vi. “Licinius II” (Executive / Individual)
    - vii. “Martianus” (Executive / Individual)

- viii. “Maxentius” (Executive / Individual) - Rome
- ix. “Maximian” (Executive / Individual) - Carnuntum, Gaul
- x. “Valens” (Executive / Individual)
- b. EXE-M: Imperial Family
  - i. “Candidianus” (Executive / Individual) - [Galerius’ son]
  - ii. “Constantia” (Executive / Individual) - [Constantine I’s sister], Milan
  - iii. “Maximinus Daia’s daughter” (Executive / Individual)
  - iv. “Maximinus Daia’s son Maximinus” (Executive / Individual)
  - v. “Maximinus Daia’s wife” (Executive / Individual)
  - vi. “Prisca” (Executive / Individual) - [Diocletian’s wife]
  - vii. “Severianus” (Executive / Individual) - [Severus’ son]
  - viii. “Valeria” (Executive / Individual) - [Diocletian’s daughter]
- c. MIL-M: Army
  - i. “Army of Maxentius” (Military / Body) - Italy
  - ii. (Military / Body) - [Attached to Constantine I], Italy
  - iii. (Military / Body) - [Attached to Licinius], Thrace, Adrianople
  - iv. (Military / Body) - [Attached to Maximinus Daia], Asia Minor, Adrianople, Tarsus
  - v.
- d. ADM-M: Places
  - i. “Greece, Moesia, and Thrace” (Administrative / Body)
  - ii. “Illyricum” (Administrative / Body)
  - iii. “Northern Italy” (Administrative / Body)
- e. REL-M: Devotees
  - i. “Christians” (Religious, Popular / Body)
- 3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Gaul, Trier, Milan, Italy, Northern Italy, Rome, Illyricum, Moesia, Carnuntum, Sirmium, Adrianople, Dardania, Bosphorus, Thrace, Greece, Asia Minor, Nicomedia, Tarsus, Caesarea
- 4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Constantius I, Galerius, Severus, Maximinus Daia, Maxentius, Maximian Augustus-2, Constantine I)
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Nov. 11, 308]** (NEDC 13), (*Cons. Const.* 308)
    - i. [Diocletian - Carnuntum](#), [Galerius - Carnuntum](#), and [Maximian - Carnuntum](#) meet in Carnuntum to decide on a new Tetrarchy. [LICINIUS - Carnuntum](#) is raised as the new western Augustus, [Maximian - Gaul](#) is forced again into retirement and returns to Gaul, [Maxentius - Rome](#) is not recognized, (*Lact. Mort. Pers.* 28) (*Eutr.* 10.3), [Constantine I - Trier](#) (NEDC 68-9) is reconfirmed, but as a Caesar again. [Maximinus Daia - Caesarea](#) (NEDC 65-6) remains a Caesar (*Cons. Const.* 308), (*Lact. Pers. Mort.* 29), (*Aur. Vict. Epit.* 39), (Barnes, 1981: 30-2).
  - b. [2] [LICINIUS - Sirmium](#) is given control of [Illyricum](#) in anticipation of an eventual assault on [Maxentius](#) (Anon. Val. 3.8).
  - c. [3] **CO-OPT (Death of Maximian) [~Jul. 310]** (NEDC 13, 70)
  - d. [4] [Apr.-May 311] (NEDC 64) [Galerius - Dardania](#) dies, [Maximinus Daia](#) invades [Asia Minor](#) (NEDC 66), which was formerly [Galerius](#) territory. [LICINIUS - Bosphorus](#) (NEDC 81) takes over the other remaining [Galerius](#) territory of [Greece](#), [Moesia](#) and [Thrace](#) and negotiates a peace treaty with [Maximinus Daia - Bosphorus](#) (*Lact. Mort. Pers.* 36.1).
  - e. [5] **CO-OPT (Recognition from Constantine I) [Winter 311-2]** (Odahl 82-3)
    - i. Alliance of [Constantine I](#) and [LICINIUS](#). Alliance of [Maximinus Daia - Nicomedia](#) (NEDC 66) and [Maxentius](#) in response (Barnes, 2014: 81), (Odahl, 2004: 82-3), (*Lact. Mort. Pers.* 43, 44), (*Eus. HE* 8.14).
  - f. [6] **CO-OPT (Death of Maxentius) [Oct. 28, 312]** (NEDC 12)
    - i. [Constantine I](#) invades [Northern Italy](#) [Spring 312?] (Barnes, 1981: 41), (NEDC 70). [Maxentius](#) loses much of [Northern Italy](#) and is killed after [Army of Maxentius](#) is defeated at the Milvian Bridge outside of Rome (Barnes, 1981: 43).
  - g. [7] [LICINIUS](#) accepts [Constantine I’s](#) proposal to extend the restoration of property seized during the persecution of 303 back to [Christians](#), i.e. the Edict of Milan (Barnes, 1981: 62, 318 n.4).

- h. [8] [Feb. 313] [LICINIUS - Milan](#) marries [Constantia - Milan](#), the sister of [Constantine I - Milan](#) (*NEDC* 71, 81) (*Lact. Mort. Pers.* 43, 45).
- i. [9] **CO-OPT (Defeat and death of Maximinus Daia) [Jul. 313]** (*NEDC* 67)
  - i. [Maximinus Daia - Thrace](#) invades [Winter Spring 312-3] (*NEDC* 67), (*Lact. Mort. Pers.* 45) in anticipation of an eventual [Constantine I / LICINIUS](#) attack (Barnes, 2014: 97), (*Eutr.* 10.4). [Maximinus Daia - Adrianople](#) is defeated by [LICINIUS - Adrianople](#) [Apr. 30, 313] (*NEDC* 67), (*Lact. Mort. Pers.* 47).
  - ii. [Maximinus Daia - Tarsus](#) flees after the Adrianople battle, and after losing another battle, kills himself [Jul. 313] (*NEDC* 67). (*Eutr.* 10.4) says his death was accidental.
- j. [10] CO-OPT (Constantine and Licinius recognize each other as legitimate in *consularia*) [Aug.-Dec. 313] (*NEDC* 95)
- k. [11] [LICINIUS](#) kills the remaining family members of [Maximinus Daia](#), [Galerius](#), and [Diocletian](#). [Candidianus](#), [Severianus](#), [Maximinus Daia's wife](#), [Maximinus Daia's son Maximinus](#), [Maximinus Daia's daughter](#), [Valeria](#), [Prisca](#) (*Lact. Mort. Pers.* 50-1).
- l. [12] ACCESSION. Later emperor appointments of [LICINIUS](#). [Valens](#), the Dux of Dacia, is made an emperor [316] (*PLRE* 1 Valens 13), (*Aur. Vict. Epit.* 40). [Licinius II](#), the son of [LICINIUS](#) is made a Caesar [317] (*PLRE* 1 Licinius 4), (*Aur. Vict. Epit.* 41). [Martianus](#), a *magister officiorum* is made an Augustus [324] (*PLRE* 1 Martianus 2), (*Aur. Vict. Epit.* 41).
- m. [13] After [Constantine I](#) defeats [LICINIUS](#) in their first civil war [Jan 317] (*NEDC* 82), [Constantine I](#) forces him to kill his Augustus [Valens](#) as part of the peace treaty [ $<$  Mar. 1, 317] (*NEDC* 67), (*Zos.* 2.20), (*Aur. Vict. Epit.* 40.9).
- n. [14] CO-OPT (Defeat of LICINIUS) [Sep. 19, 324] (*NEDC* 82)
  - i. After [Constantine I](#) defeats [LICINIUS](#) in their second civil war, he forces [LICINIUS - Thessalonica](#) to abdicate (*NEDC* 82). He has [LICINIUS'](#) co-Augustus [Martianus](#) killed (*Aur. Vict. Epit.* 41)
  - ii. A few months later [Constantine I](#) kills [LICINIUS](#) and [Licinius II](#) [ $\sim$ 325] (*Jer. Chron.* 325).

#### CONSTANTINE I / Constantinus 4, *PLRE* 1

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. CAESAR-A - Election ( $<$  1 month)
    - i. Raised himself as an Augustus in initial competition with another emperor (Galerius).
    - ii. From elevation as an Augustus until recognition by Galerius as a Caesar, given that there are no other competing emperors upon Constantine I's recognition by Galerius.
  - b. Caesar-B - Inheritance ( $<$  1 month)
    - i. Designated as an Augustus by his father, an Augustus (Constantius I).
    - ii. From elevation as an Augustus until recognition by Galerius as a Caesar, given that there are no other competing emperors upon Constantine I's recognition by Galerius.
  - c. AUGUSTUS-A - Election ( $\sim$ 7 years)
    - i. From elevation as an Augustus until the death of Maximinus Daia, given pre-recognition of the remaining other Augustus, Licinius. The three year peace between Licinius and Constantine I suggests that the civil wars afterwards should not be considered part of the accession. This Augustus elevation overlaps simultaneously with his Caesar elevations.
  - d. Augustus-B - Election ( $\sim$ 18 years)
    - i. From elevation as an Augustus until Licinius' defeat and death shortly afterward, presuming that the three year peace should be ignored, and that later de-recognition means his entire reign should be viewed as a contested accession. This Augustus elevation overlaps simultaneously with his Caesar elevations.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. CONSTANTINE I - Nicomedia, York, Britain, Trier, Rhine, Northern Italy, Rome, Milan
    - ii. "Diocletian" (Executive / Individual) - Nicomedia, Carnuntum
    - iii. "Galerius" (Executive / Individual) - Nicomedia, Sarmatia, Carnuntum
    - iv. "Licinius" (Executive / Individual) - Carnuntum, Milan, Adrianople, Thessalonica
    - v. "Maxentius" (Executive / Individual) - Italy, Rome

- vi. **“Maximian” (Executive / Individual) - Milan, Rome, Trier, Carnuntum, Gaul, Arles, Massalia**
  - vii. **“Maximinus Daia” (Executive / Individual) - Nicomedia, Caesaria, Adrianople, Tarsus**
  - viii. **“Constantine II” (Executive / Individual)**
  - ix. **“Constantius I” (Executive / Individual) - Britain, York**
  - x. **“Constantius II” (Executive / Individual)**
  - xi. **“Crispus” (Executive / Individual)**
  - xii. **“Licinius II” (Executive / Individual)**
  - xiii. **“Martianus” (Executive / Individual)**
  - xiv. **“Severus” (Executive / Individual) - Milan, Rome**
  - xv. **“Valens” (Executive / Individual)**
  - b. **EXE-M: Imperial Family**
    - i. **“Constantia” (Executive / Individual) - [Constantine I’s sister], Milan**
    - ii. **“Fausta” (Executive / Individual) - [Maximian’s daughter and Constantine I’s second wife]**
    - iii. **“Minerva” (Executive / Individual) - [Constantine I’s first wife]**
  - c. **MIL-A: Army**
    - i. **“Army of Constantine I” (Military / Body) - Southern Gaul, Northern Italy, Rome**
    - ii. **“Army of Constantius I” (Military / Body) - Britain**
    - iii. **“Army of Maxentius” (Military / Body) - Southern Gaul, Rome**
    - iv. **(Military / Body) - [Attached to Licinius], Thrace, Adrianople**
  - d. **MIL-M: Guards**
    - i. **“Praetorian Guard” (Military / Body) - Rome**
  - e. **ADM-A: Senate**
    - i. **“Senate” (Administrative / Body) - Rome**
  - f. **ADM-M: Court**
    - i. **“Treasury” (Administrative / Body) - Arles**
  - g. **ADM-A: Places**
    - i. **“Africa” (Administrative / Body)**
    - ii. **“Northern Italy” (Administrative / Body)**
    - iii. **“Southern Gaul” (Administrative / Body)**
  - h. **REL-M: Devotees**
    - i. **“Christians” (Religious / Body) - Britain, Italy, Empire**
  - i. **POP-A: People**
    - i. **“People of Rome” (Popular / Body)**
    - ii. **“People of York” (Popular / Body)**
  - j. **NON-M: Barbarians**
    - i. **“King Crocus” (Non-Roman / Individual) - [Alamanni], York**
3. Locations mentioned
- a. Britain, York, Rhine, Trier, Gaul, Southern Gaul, Arles, Massalia, Italy, Northern Italy, Milan, Rome, Carnuntum, Sarmatia, Thrace, Adrianople, Thessalonica, Nicomedia, Tarsus, Caesaria, Africa
4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Constantius I, Galerius, Severus, Maximinus Daia, Maxentius, Maximian Augustus-2, Licinius)
- a. [1] DELIBERATION / ACCESSION [May 1, 305] (NEDC 4-5)
    - i. [Diocletian - Nicomedia](#) (NEDC 56), (Eutr. 9.27), (Jer. Chron. 305) promotes [Constantius I - Britain](#) (NEDC 61) and [Galerius - Nicomedia](#) to Augustus, and [Diocletian](#) forces [Maximian - Milan](#) (NEDC 60) to resign along with himself (Eutr. 9.27), (Jer. Chron. 305). [Severus - Milan](#) and [Maximinus Daia - Nicomedia](#) are made Caesar (NEDC 60, 65).
    - ii. [Maxentius - Italy?](#) (ILS 666) and [CONSTANTINE I - Nicomedia](#) (Lact. Mort. Pers. 19) are not promoted as emperors.
  - b. [2A] DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Jul. 25, 306] (NEDC 69)
    - i. [Constantius I - York](#) dies. [CONSTANTINE I - York](#) emerges from the palace dressed in his father’s purple robe. The [People of York](#) and the [Army of Constantius I](#) (Pan. Lat.

- 6.8.2-3) acclaim him with unanimous consent, calling him an Augustus (Eus. *V. Const.* 1.21-2).
- c. [2B] DELIBERATION (Augustus) [Jul. 25, 306] (*NEDC* 69)
    - i. [Constantius I](#) on his deathbed recommends to the [Army of Constantius I](#) that [CONSTANTINE I](#) succeed him, and then dies. (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 24). [2A] then proceeds.
    - ii. After [2A], [CONSTANTINE I's](#) first order of business is to re-allow [Christians](#) to publicly worship again (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 24).
  - d. [2C] DELIBERATION (Augustus) [Jul. 25, 306] (*NEDC* 69)
    - i. [King Crocus](#) urges [CONSTANTINE I](#) to become emperor (Aur. *Vict. Epit.* 41). The rest proceeds as [2A].
  - e. [3] CO-OPT / PROCLAMATION (Caesar) [~Aug. 306] (*PLRE* 1 Severus 30), (*ILS* 657).
    - i. [Galerius - Sarmatia](#) (*NEDC* 64) recognizes [CONSTANTINE I - Britain](#) (*NEDC* 69) as a Caesar, not an Augustus and promotes [Severus - Milan](#) (*NEDC* 65) to Augustus at roughly the same time (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 25).
  - f. [4] [Oct. 28, 306] (*NEDC* 12) [Maxentius - Rome](#) is proclaimed an emperor, with his father [Maximian - Rome](#) returning to power with him as a co-emperor (*NEDC* 12-3). [Severus - Rome](#) (*NEDC* 65) is defeated by [Maxentius](#) and [Maximian](#), and later dies or is killed (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 26), (Eutr. 10.2), (*NEDC* 5 n.13).
  - g. [5] CO-OPT [~Sep. 307] (*NEDC* 69) [Maxentius](#) sends [Maximian](#) to [CONSTANTINE I - Trier](#) (*NEDC* 68-9) to secure an alliance. Mutual recognition of emperorship between [CONSTANTINE I](#) and [Maximian - Trier](#) (*Pan. Lat.* 7). [Fausta](#), [Maximian's](#) daughter is married to [CONSTANTINE I](#) (*NEDC* 69).
  - h. [6] [Galerius](#) ceases recognizing [CONSTANTINE I](#) as a legitimate co-emperor because of his alliance with [Maxentius](#) and [Maximian](#) (Barnes, 1981: 31).
  - i. [7] [~Apr. 308] (*NEDC* 13) [Maximian](#) returns from Gaul, tries to depose [Maxentius](#) but is unsuccessful. (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 28), (Eutr. 10.3). [Maximian](#) flees to [CONSTANTINE I](#).
  - j. [8] CO-OPT / PROCLAMATION (Caesar) [Nov. 11, 308] (*NEDC* 13), (*Cons. Const.* 308)
    - i. [Diocletian - Carnuntum](#), [Galerius - Carnuntum](#), and [Maximian - Carnuntum](#) meet in Carnuntum to decide on a new Tetrarchy. [CONSTANTINE I - Trier](#) (*NEDC* 68-9) is reconfirmed, but as a Caesar again. [Licinius - Carnuntum](#) is raised as the new western Augustus, [Maximian - Gaul](#) is forced again into retirement and returns to Gaul, [Maxentius - Rome](#) is not recognized, (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 28) (Eutr. 10.3), [Maximinus Daia - Caesarea](#) (*NEDC* 65-6) remains a Caesar (*Cons. Const.* 308), (Lact. *Pers. Mort.* 29), (Aur. *Vict. Epit.* 39), (Barnes, 1981: 30-2).
  - k. [9] CO-OPT (Maximian defeated and killed) [~Jul. 310] (*NEDC* 13, 70)
    - i. [Maximian - Arles](#) (Nixon and Rodgers, 1994: 242 n.75-7) proclaims himself emperor again while [CONSTANTINE I - Rhine](#) is away (*NEDC* 70). [Maximian](#) seizes the [Treasury - Arles](#) and offers donatives to the [Army of Constantine I - Southern Gaul](#) (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 29).
    - ii. [Constantine I](#) returns, the [Army of Constantine I](#) returns their allegiance to him and [Maximian - Massalia](#) flees. (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 29), (*Pan. Lat.* 6.16).
    - iii. [Maximian](#) dies, either by execution or by suicide, shortly after [CONSTANTINE I](#) takes Massalia (Barnes, 2014: 72-73).
  - l. [10] [Apr.-May 311] (*NEDC* 64) Death of [Galerius](#).
  - m. [11] [< Jul. 25, 311] (Barnes, 1981: 40, 304-5 n.126), (Eutr. 10.4.3) [Maxentius](#) invades [CONSTANTINE I's](#) territory, presumably [Southern Gaul](#) but fails to defeat him.
  - n. [12] CO-OPT (Recognition from Licinius) [Winter 311-2] (Odahl, 2004: 82-3)
    - i. Alliance of [CONSTANTINE I](#) and [Licinius](#). Alliance of [Maximinus Daia - Nicomedia](#) (*NEDC* 66) and [Maxentius](#) in response (Barnes, 2014: 81), (Odahl, 2004: 82-3), (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 43, 44), (Eus. *HE* 8.14).
  - o. [13A] CO-OPT (Death of Maxentius) [Oct. 28, 312] (*NEDC* 12)
    - i. [CONSTANTINE I](#) invades [Northern Italy](#) [Spring 312?] (Barnes, 1981: 41), (*NEDC* 70). [Maxentius](#) loses much of [Northern Italy](#) and is killed after [Army of Maxentius](#) is defeated at the Milvian Bridge outside of Rome - (Barnes, 1981: 43).
  - p. [13B] CO-OPT (Death of Maxentius) [Oct. 28, 312] (*NEDC* 12)

- i. [CONSTANTINE I](#) has a vision/dream, and the Chi-Rho is adopted as a symbol for the [Army of Constantine I](#), arguably meaning victory for [Christians](#) (Eus. *V. Const.* 1.28-31), (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 44). [13A] then proceeds.
- q. [14] PROCLAMATION (Approval of Senate and People of Rome) [Oct. 29, 312] (*NEDC* 71)
  - i. [CONSTANTINE I](#) enters Rome, and is cheered by the [Senate](#) and the [People of Rome](#) (Eus. *V. Const.* 1.39), (*Pan. Lat.* 4.32.6).
  - ii. A letter is sent restoring the confiscated property and status of [Christians](#) who had suffered under earlier persecutions (Eus. *V. Const.* 1.41)
  - iii. [Africa](#) accepts [CONSTANTINE I](#) (*Pan. Lat.* 4.32)
  - iv. [CONSTANTINE I](#) disbands the *Praetorian Guard* - (Aur. *Vict. Caes.* 40), (Zos. 2.17.2)
- r. [15] [Licinius](#) accepts [CONSTANTINE I's](#) proposal to extend the restoration of property seized during the persecution of 303 back to [Christians](#), i.e. the Edict of Milan (Barnes, 1981: 62, 318 n.4).
- s. [16] [Feb. 313] [Licinius - Milan](#) marries [Constantia - Milan](#), the sister of [CONSTANTINE I - Milan](#) (*NEDC* 71, 81) (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 43, 45).
- t. [17] CO-OPT (Defeat and death of Maximinus Daia) [Jul. 313] (*NEDC* 67)
  - i. *Maximinus Daia - Adrianople* is defeated by [Licinius - Adrianople](#) [Apr. 30, 313] (*NEDC* 67), (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 47). *Maximinus Daia - Tarsus* flees after the Adrianople battle, and after losing another battle, kills himself [Jul. 313] (*NEDC* 67). (Eutr. 10.4) says his death was accidental.
- u. [18] CO-OPT (Constantine and Licinius recognize each other as legitimate in *consularia*) [Aug.-Dec. 313] (*NEDC* 95)
- v. [19] After [CONSTANTINE I](#) defeats [Licinius](#) in their first civil war [Jan 317] (*NEDC* 82), [CONSTANTINE I](#) forces him to kill his Augustus [Valens](#) as part of the peace treaty [<Mar. 1, 317] (*NEDC* 67), (Zos. 2.20), (Aur. *Vict. Epit.* 40.9).
- w. [20] ACCESSION. Later emperor appointments of [CONSTANTINE I. Crispus](#), son through first wife [Minerva](#) is made a Caesar [Mar. 1, 317] (*Cons. Const.* 317). [Constantine II](#), son through second wife [Fausta](#) is made a Caesar [Mar. 1, 317] (*Cons. Const.* 317). [Constantius II](#), son through second wife [Fausta](#) is made a Caesar [Nov. 8, 324] (*Cons. Const.* 324).
- x. [21] CO-OPT (Defeat of LICINIUS) [Sep. 19, 324] (*NEDC* 82)
  - i. After [CONSTANTINE I](#) defeats [Licinius](#) in their second civil war, he forces [Licinius - Thessalonica](#) to abdicate (*NEDC* 82). He has [Licinius'](#) co-Augustus [Martianus](#) killed (Aur. *Vict. Epit.* 41)
  - ii. A few months later [CONSTANTINE I](#) kills [Licinius'](#) and [Licinius II](#) [~325] (Jer. Chron. 325).

## FOURTH CENTURY

### CONSTANTINE II / Constantinus 3, *PLRE* 1

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. CAESAR - Inheritance (None)
    - i. Designated as a Caesar by an Augustus (Constantine I) without imperial contest.
  - b. AUGUSTUS-A - Election (3 months, 18 days)
    - i. Raised as an Augustus by himself and other junior emperors, and/or the army in competition with another junior emperor (Dalmatius). There is no senior Augustus emperor in the interregnum.
    - ii. From death of Constantine I to elevation to Augustus.
  - c. Augustus-B - Inheritance (3 months, 18 days)
    - i. As a pre-designated emperor and a son of the former reigning Augustus, implicit inheritance customs suggest he should inherit his father's Augustus position.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. CONSTANTINE II - Serdica, Sirmium
    - ii. "Constans" (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople, Sirmium
    - iii. "Constantine I" (Executive / Individual) - Serdica, Constantinople, Nicomedia
    - iv. "Constantius II" (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople, Sirmium
    - v. "Dalmatius" (Executive / Individual)
    - vi. "Crispus" (Executive / Individual) - Serdica, Pola
    - vii. "Licinius" (Executive / Individual) - Thessalonica
  - b. **EXE-M: Imperial Family**
    - i. "Imperial relatives" (Executive / Body) - [Theodora branch]
  - c. **MIL-A: Army**
    - i. "Army" (Military / Body) - Constantinople
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Pola, Serdica, Sirmium, Constantinople, Thessalonica, Nicomedia
4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Constans, Constantius II)
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION (Birth of Constantine II) [~Feb. 317] (*PLRE* 1 Constantinus 3)
  - b. [2] DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Caesar) [Dies Imperii: Mar. 1, 317] (*Cons. Const.* 317)
    - i. Shortly after [CONSTANTINE II - Serdica](#) is born, he is made a Caesar by [Constantine I - Serdica](#). [Crispus - Serdica](#) is also made a Caesar at the same time (*NEDC* 73, 83).
  - c. [3] CO-OPT [Sep. 19, 324] (*NEDC* 82) [Licinius](#) is defeated and abdicates.
  - d. [4] ACCESSION [Nov. 8, 324] [Constantius II - Constantinople](#) is made a Caesar by [Constantine I - Constantinople](#) (*NEDC* 76, 85).
  - e. [5] CO-OPT [~325] (*Jer. Chron.* 325) [Licinius - Thessalonica](#) is executed by [Constantine I](#).
  - f. [6] CO-OPT [~325-6] (*NEDC* 84) [Crispus - Pola](#) is executed by [Constantine I](#) (*Jer. Chron.* 325), (*Cons. Const.* 326), (*Aur. Vict. Epit.* 41.11), (*Aur. Vict. Caes.* 41.11), (*Zos.* 2.29).
  - g. [7] ACCESSION [Dec. 25, 333] (*Cons. Const.* 333) [Constans - Constantinople](#) (*NEDC* 69, 86) is made a Caesar by [Constantine I - Constantinople](#) (*NEDC* 69).
  - h. [8] ACCESSION [Sep. 18, 335] (*Cons. Const.* 335) [Dalmatius](#) is made a Caesar by [Constantine I - Constantinople](#) (*NEDC* 79).
  - i. [9] DELIBERATION [May 22, 337] (*Cons. Const.* 337) Death of [Constantine I - Nicomedia](#) (*NEDC* 80).
  - j. [10A] DELIBERATION / CO-OPT (Plot against imperial relatives) [Jun. 337] (Burgess, 2008: 42-3)
    - i. [Constantius II - Constantinople](#) deploys the [Army](#) to kill [Dalmatius](#) and other [Imperial relatives](#) from the Theodora branch of the family [Early Jun. 337] (Burgess, 2008: 42)
    - ii. [CONSTANTINE II](#), [Constantius II](#), and [Constans](#) meet in Sirmium to decide on actions and partition of empire [ $<$  Sep. 9 337] (Burgess, 2008: 40-1).
  - k. [10B] DELIBERATION / CO-OPT (Army kills imperial relatives)

- i. [Army](#) declares that the empire is to be ruled by only the sons of [Constantine I](#) (Eus. *V. Const.* 4.68) and so they kill [Dalmatius](#) and other [Imperial relatives](#) in a mutiny (Eutr. 10.9), (Greg. Naz. *Or.* 4.21).
- 1. [11] **PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Sep. 9, 337]** (*Cons. Const.* 337)
  - i. [Army](#) promotes [CONSTANTINE II](#), [Constans](#), [Constantius II](#) to Augustus rank at Sirmium (Eus. *V. Const.* 4.68), (*Cons. Const.* 337).

#### CONSTANS / Constans 3, PLRE 1

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. CAESAR - Inheritance (None)
    - i. Designated as a Caesar by an Augustus (Constantine I) without imperial contest.
  - b. AUGUSTUS-A - Election (3 months, 18 days)
    - i. Raised as an Augustus by himself and other junior emperors, and/or the army in competition with another junior emperor (Dalmatius). There is no senior Augustus emperor in the interregnum.
    - ii. From death of Constantine I to elevation to Augustus.
  - c. Augustus-B - Inheritance (3 months, 18 days)
    - i. As a pre-designated emperor and a son of the former reigning Augustus, implicit inheritance customs suggest he should inherit his father's Augustus position.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. CONSTANS - Constantinople, Sirmium
    - ii. **"Constantine I" (Executive / Individual) - Serdica, Constantinople, Nicomedia**
    - iii. **"Constantine II" (Executive / Individual) - Serdica, Sirmium**
    - iv. **"Constantius II" (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople, Sirmium**
    - v. **"Dalmatius" (Executive / Individual)**
  - b. *EXE-M: Imperial Family*
    - i. *"Imperial relatives" (Executive / Body) - [Theodora branch]*
  - c. **MIL-A: Army**
    - i. **"Army" (Military / Body) - Constantinople**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Serdica, Sirmium, Constantinople, Nicomedia
4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Constantine II, Constantius II)
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION (Birth of Constans) [~320] (PLRE 1 Constans 3)
  - b. [2] DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Caesar) [Dies Imperii: Dec. 25, 333] (*Cons. Const.* 333), (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 41.14), (Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 41.19)
    - i. [CONSTANS - Constantinople](#) (NEDC 69, 86) is made a Caesar by [Constantine I - Constantinople](#) (NEDC 69).
  - c. [3] ACCESSION [Sep. 18, 335] (*Cons. Const.* 335) [Dalmatius](#) is made a Caesar by [Constantine I - Constantinople](#) (NEDC 79).
  - d. [4] DELIBERATION [May 22, 237] (*Cons. Const.* 337) Death of [Constantine I - Nicomedia](#) (NEDC 80).
  - e. [5A] DELIBERATION / CO-OPT (Plot against imperial relatives) [Jun. 337] (Burgess, 2008: 42-3)
    - i. [Constantius II - Constantinople](#) deploys the [Army](#) to kill [Dalmatius](#) and other [Imperial relatives](#) from the Theodora branch of the family [Early Jun. 337] (Burgess, 2008: 42)
    - ii. [Constantine II](#), [Constantius II](#), and [CONSTANS](#) meet in Sirmium to decide on actions and partition of empire [ $<$  Sep. 9 337] (Burgess, 2008: 40-1).
  - f. [5B] DELIBERATION / CO-OPT (Army kills imperial relatives)
    - i. [Army](#) declares that the empire is to be ruled by only the sons of [Constantine I](#) (Eus. *V. Const.* 4.68) and so they kill [Dalmatius](#) and other [Imperial relatives](#) in a mutiny (Eutr. 10.9), (Greg. Naz. *Or.* 4.21).
  - g. [6] PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Sep. 9, 337] (*Cons. Const.* 337)
    - i. [Army](#) promotes [Constantine II](#), [CONSTANS](#), [Constantius II](#) to Augustus rank at Sirmium (Eus. *V. Const.* 4.68), (*Cons. Const.* 337).

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. CAESAR - Inheritance (None)
    - i. Designated as a Caesar by an Augustus (Constantine I) without imperial contest.
  - b. AUGUSTUS-A - Election (3 months, 18 days)
    - i. Raised as an Augustus by himself and other junior emperors, and/or the army in competition with another junior emperor (Dalmatius). There is no senior Augustus emperor in the interregnum.
    - ii. From death of Constantine I to elevation to Augustus.
  - c. Augustus-B - Inheritance (3 months, 18 days)
    - i. As a pre-designated emperor and a son of the former reigning Augustus, implicit inheritance customs suggest he should inherit his father's Augustus position.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. CONSTANTIUS II - Constantinople, Sirmium
    - ii. "Constans" (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople, Sirmium
    - iii. "Constantine I" (Executive / Individual) - Serdica, Constantinople, Nicomedia
    - iv. "Constantine II" (Executive / Individual) - Serdica, Sirmium
    - v. "Dalmatius" (Executive / Individual)
    - vi. "Licinius" (Executive / Individual) - Thessalonica
  - b. **EXE-M: Imperial Family**
    - i. "Imperial relatives" (Executive / Body) - [Theodora branch]
  - c. **MO:-A: Army**
    - i. "Army" (Military / Body) - Constantinople
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Serdica, Sirmium, Constantinople, Thessalonica, Nicomedia
4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Constans, Constantius II)
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION (Birth of Constantius II) [Aug. 7, 317] (*PLRE* 1 Constantius 8)
  - b. [2] CO-OPT [Sep. 19, 324] (*NEDC* 82) *Licinius* is defeated and abdicates.
  - c. [3] DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Caesar) [Dies Imperii: Nov. 8, 324] (*Cons. Const.* 324)
    - i. [3] [CONSTANTIUS II - Constantinople](#) is made a Caesar by [Constantine I - Constantinople](#) (*NEDC* 76, 85).
  - d. [4] CO-OPT [~325] (*Jer. Chron.* 325) *Licinius - Thessalonica* is executed by [Constantine I](#).
  - e. [5] ACCESSION [Dec. 25, 333] (*Cons. Const.* 333) [Constans - Constantinople](#) (*NEDC* 69, 86) is made a Caesar by [Constantine I - Constantinople](#) (*NEDC* 69).
  - f. [6] ACCESSION [Sep. 18, 335] (*Cons. Const.* 335) [Dalmatius](#) is made a Caesar by [Constantine I - Constantinople](#) (*NEDC* 79).
  - g. [7] DELIBERATION [May 22, 237] (*Cons. Const.* 337) Death of [Constantine I - Nicomedia](#) (*NEDC* 80).
  - h. [8A] DELIBERATION / CO-OPT (Plot against imperial relatives) [Jun. 337] (Burgess, 2008: 42-3)
    - i. [CONSTANTIUS II - Constantinople](#) deploys the [Army](#) to kill *Dalmatius* and other *Imperial relatives* from the Theodora branch of the family [Early Jun. 337] (Burgess, 2008: 42)
    - ii. [Constantine II](#), [Constantius II](#), and [Constans](#) meet in Sirmium to decide on actions and partition of empire [< Sep. 9 337] (Burgess, 2008: 40-1).
  - i. [8B] DELIBERATION / CO-OPT (Army kills imperial relatives)
    - i. [Army](#) declares that the empire is to be ruled by only the sons of [Constantine I](#) (*Eus. V. Const.* 4.68) and so they kill *Dalmatius* and other *Imperial relatives* in a mutiny (*Eutr.* 10.9), (*Greg. Naz. Or.* 4.21).
  - j. [9] PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Sep. 9, 337] (*Cons. Const.* 337)
    - i. [Army](#) promotes [Constantine II](#), [Constans](#), [CONSTANTIUS II](#) to Augustus rank at Sirmium (*Eus. V. Const.* 4.68), (*Cons. Const.* 337).

MAGNENTIUS, *PLRE* 1

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. AUGUSTUS - Election (3 years, 6 months, 23 days)
    - i. Raised as Augustus by himself or the army in competition with other Augusti (Constans, Constantius II).
    - i. From elevation of Magnentius as Augustus until his death.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. MAGNENTIUS - Autun, Gaul, Mursa, Lyon
    - ii. “*Constans*” (Executive / Individual) - Pyrenees
    - iii. “*Constantius II*” (Executive / Individual) - Edessa, Naissus, Mursa
    - iv. “*Nepotian*” (Executive / Individual) - [Son of Eutropia], Rome
    - v. “*Vetranio*” (Executive / Individual) - Mursa, Naissus
    - vi. “*Decentius*” (Executive / Individual)
    - vii. “*Gallus*” (Executive / Individual) - Eastern Frontier
  - b. **EXE-M: Imperial Family**
    - i. “*Constantine I’s sister Eutropia*” (Executive / Individual)
  - c. **MIL-A: Army**
    - i. “*Army officers*” (Military / Body) - Autun
    - ii. “*Army*” (Military / Body) - West
    - iii. “*Army of Magnentius*” (Military / Body) - Rome, Mursa
    - iv. (Military / Body) - [Attached to Constantius II], Mursa
  - d. **ADM-M: Places**
    - i. “*Gaul, Italy, Africa*” (Administrative / Body)
  - e. **POP-D: People**
    - i. “*People of Autun*” (Popular / Body)
    - ii. “*Gladiators*” (Popular, Military / Body) - Rome
    - iii. “*People*” (Popular / Body) - West
    - iv. “*People of Rome*” (Popular / Body)
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Gaul, Autun, Lyon, Pyrenees, Italy, Rome, Mursa, Naissus, Edessa, Eastern Frontier, Africa
4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Vetranio)
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION (Unpopularity of Constans) *Constans* is disliked by the *Army - West* and the *People - West* under his control (Eutr. 10.9), (Zos. 2.42), (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 41.25).
  - b. [2] DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Jan. 18, 350] (*Cons. Const.* 350)
    - i. *MAGNENTIUS - Autun* proclaimed emperor at a banquet, where he’s acclaimed by the *Army officers - Autun* there. Shortly afterward, the *People of Autun* acclaim him (Zos. 2.42).
    - ii. *MAGNENTIUS* has control over *Gaul, Italy*, and *Africa* (Oros. 7.29.8), (Eutr. 10.10), (Jul. *Or.* 1.26c).
  - c. [3] CO-OPT (Death of Constans) [> Jan. 18, 350] (*Cons. Const.* 350)
    - i. *Constans - Pyrenees* flees to the Spanish border but is captured and killed (Eutr. 10.9), (Oros. 7.29.7), (Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 41.23)
  - d. [4] ACCESSION [Mar. 1, 350] (*Cons. Const.* 350) *Vetranio - Mursa* raised as an emperor against *MAGNENTIUS* (Eutr. 10.10), (Phil. 3.22), (Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 25). Both *MAGNENTIUS - Gaul* and *Constantius II - Edessa* (Phil. 3.22) try to negotiate with *Vetranio*. *Vetranio* sides with *Constantius II* (Zos. 2.44).
  - e. [5] ACCESSION. *MAGNENTIUS* appoints his relative *Decentius* as Caesar (Joh. Ant. *Fr.* 200, ed. Mariev), (Oros. 7.29.13)
  - f. [6] CO-OPT [Dec. 25, 350] (*Cons. Const.* 350) *Vetranio - Naissus* deposed by *Constantius II - Naissus* - (Oros. 7.29.10), (Jul. *Or.* 1.31d-32a), (Phil. 3.22), (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 41.25, 42)
  - g. [7] ACCESSION. *MAGNENTIUS* loses the support of the *People of Rome* (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 42). *Nepotian - Rome* the son of *Constantine I’s sister’s Eutropia* is made emperor by a force of *Gladiators - Rome* but both are defeated by an *Army of Magnentius - Rome* (Oros. 7.29.11), (*Cons. Const.* 350), (Eutr. 10.10-11), (Zos 2.43), (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 42)

- h. [8] ACCESSION [Mar. 15, 351] (*Cons. Const.* 351) [Gallus - Eastern Frontier](#) raised by [Constantius II](#) to be left as a Caesar in the east (Zos 2.45), (PLRE 1 Constantius 4).
- i. [9] [Sep. 28, 351] (*Cons. Const.* 351) [MAGNENTIUS](#) is defeated by [Constantius II](#) fight in a bloody battle near Mursa (Oros. 7.29.12), (Eutr. 10.12), (Phil. 3.26).
- j. [10] CO-OPT (Death of MAGNENTIUS) [Summer-Aug. 10, 353] (PLRE 1 Magnentius)
  - i. [MAGNENTIUS](#) is defeated again by [Constantius II](#) in southern Gaul (Oros. 7.29.13), (Eutr. 10.12), (Phil. 3.26).
  - ii. [MAGNENTIUS](#) retreats to Lyon and kills himself [Aug. 10, 353] (*Cons. Const.* 353).
  - iii. Around this time [Decentius](#) is killed (*Cons. Const.* 353).

#### VETRANIO 1, PLRE 1

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. [AUGUSTUS-A - Inheritance \(9 months, 24 days\)](#)
    - i. Raised as Augustus by an Augusta in initial competition with other Augusti (Constantius II, Magnentius).
    - ii. From elevation of Vetrano as Augustus until his abdication, presuming that his brief recognition should be ignored, and that later de-recognition means his entire reign should be viewed as a contested accession
  - b. Augustus-B - Election (9 months, 24 days)
    - i. Elected as Augustus by the army in initial competition with other Augusti (Constantius II, Magnentius).
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. VETRANIO - Pannonia, Prusa
    - ii. “[Constantius II](#)” (Executive / Individual) - Edessa, Pannonia
    - iii. “[Magnentius](#)” (Executive / Individual) - Autun, Gaul
    - iv. “[Constans](#)” (Executive / Individual) - Pyrenees
    - v. “[Constantine I](#)” (Executive / Individual)
  - b. **EXE-D: Augustae**
    - i. “[Constantina](#)” (Executive / Individual) - [[Constantius II](#)’s sister], Pannonia
  - c. **MIL-A: Army**
    - i. “[Army](#)” (Military / Body) - Pannonia
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Gaul, Autun, Pyrenees, Pannonia, Mursa, Naissus, Prusa, Edessa
4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Magnentius)
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION / ACCESSION [Jan. 350] (*Cons. Const.* 350) [Magnentius - Autun](#) is raised as an emperor. [Constans - Pyrenees](#) is killed (Oros. 7.29.7-8), (Eutr. 10.9-10).
  - b. [2A] DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Mar. 1, 350] (*Cons. Const.* 350)
    - i. [Constantius II](#)’s sister [Constantina - Pannonia](#) (PLRE 1 Constantina 2) raises [VETRANIO - Pannonia](#) as an emperor (Phil. 3.22). “She seemed to do this in her own right, because their father, while alive, had placed the imperial crown upon her head, and had named her Augusta.” [Constantina](#) was made Augusta by [Constantine I](#) (Phil. 3.22, 28). Philostorgius calls her Constantia (Phil. 3.22).
  - c. [2B] DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Mar. 1, 350] (*Cons. Const.* 350) [VETRANIO](#) “seizes imperium” for himself (Aur. Vict. Epit. 41.25, 28).
  - d. [2C] DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Mar. 1, 350] (*Cons. Const.* 350) [Army - Pannonia](#) elects/supports [VETRANIO](#) - (Oros. 7.29.9), (Eutr. 10.10), (Jul. Or. 1.26c). Not inconsistent with [2A] or [2B].
  - e. [3] Both [Magnentius - Gaul](#) and [Constantius II - Edessa](#) (Phil. 3.22) try to negotiate with [VETRANIO](#).
  - f. [4] CO-OPT (Recognition from Constantius II)
    - i. [VETRANIO](#) sides with [Constantius II](#) (Zos. 2.44). [Constantius II](#) confirms [VETRANIO](#) as a co-emperor - (Phil. 3.22), although military help is not forthcoming - (Jul. Or. 1.26c)
  - g. [5] CO-OPT (Deposition of VETRANIO) [Dec. 25, 350] (*Cons. Const.* 350)

- i. [Army - Pannonia](#) acclaims [Constantius II - Pannonia](#) as the sole emperor (Soz. 4.4), and [VETRANIO - Pannonia](#) reluctantly abdicates (Oros. 7.29.10), (Jul. *Or.* 1.31d-32a), (Phil. 3.22), (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 41.25, 42).
- h. [6] CO-OPT (Death of VETRANIO in Prusa) [356-7?] (Zon. 13.7), (Phil. 3.22)

JULIAN (1) / Iulianus 29, *PLRE* 1

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. CAESAR - Inheritance (None)
    - i. Designated as Caesar by an Augustus (Constantius II) without imperial contest.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. JULIAN - Milan
    - ii. **“Constantius II” (Executive / Individual) - Milan**
    - iii. *“Gallus” (Executive / Individual)*
  - b. **EXE-A: Imperial Family**
    - i. **“Eusebia” (Executive / Individual) - [Constantius II’s wife], Milan**
    - ii. **“Helena” (Executive / Individual) - [Constantius II’s sister]**
  - c. **MIL-A: Army**
    - i. **“Army” (Military / Body) - Milan**
  - d. **ADM-A: Court**
    - i. **“Court advisors” (Administrative / Body) - Milan**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Milan
4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION [354] (*PLRE* 1 Constantius 4) [Gallus](#) is executed (Amm. 14.11.23)
  - b. [2] DELIBERATION [*< Nov. 6, 355*]
    - i. [Constantius II - Milan](#) (Amm. 15.4.13, 15.8.1) needs a new deputy and begins considering [JULIAN](#), the last other male remaining in the Constantinian dynasty (Amm. 14.11.23), and summons him to Milan.
    - ii. [Court advisors - Milan](#) disagree with the choice of [JULIAN](#) (Amm. 15.8.2).
    - iii. [Constantius II’s wife Eusebia](#) “alone” aside from [Constantius II](#) supports the choice of [JULIAN](#) (Amm. 15.8.3).
    - iv. [Constantius II](#) makes up his mind and decides to make [JULIAN](#) a Caesar (Amm. 15.8.3).
  - c. [3] PROCLAMATION (Caesar) [*Dies Imperii: Nov. 6, 355*] (*Cons. Const.* 355)
    - i. [Constantius II](#) presents [JULIAN](#) in a ceremony in front of the [Army](#) (Amm. 15.8.4).
    - ii. [Army](#) acclaims [JULIAN](#) (Amm. 15.8.9-10).
    - iii. [Constantius II](#) invests [JULIAN](#) with imperial robes (Amm. 15.8.10-11).
    - iv. [Army](#) strikes their shields against their knees in approval (Amm. 15.8.15)
    - v. Shortly afterwards he marries [Constantius II’s](#) sister [Helena](#) (Amm. 15.8.18).

JULIAN (2) / Iulianus 29, *PLRE* 1

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. AUGUSTUS - Election (1 year, 9 months)
    - i. Raised as Augustus by himself or the army in competition with another emperor (Constantius II).
    - ii. From elevation of Julian as Augustus until the death of Constantius II.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. JULIAN - Paris, Constantinople
    - ii. **“Constantius II” (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople, Caesarea, Philoppopolis**
  - b. **MIL-A: Army**
    - i. **“Army of Julian” (Military / Body) - Gaul, Paris, Danube, Constantinople**
    - ii. **“Army officers” (Military / Body) - Paris**
    - iii. *(Military / Body) - Italy*
  - c. **ADM-A: Senate**

- i. *“Senate of Constantinople” (Administrative / Body)*
    - ii. *“Senate of Rome” (Administrative / Body)*
  - d. **ADM-A: Places**
    - i. *“Aquileia” (Administrative, Military / Body) - [Constantius III]*
    - ii. *“Sirmium” (Administrative / Body)*
    - iii. *“Senate/People of Athens/Greece” (Administrative / Body)*
  - e. **POP-A: People**
    - i. *“People of Constantinople” (Popular / Body)*
- 3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Gaul, Paris, Italy, Rome, Aquileia, Danube, Sirmium, Philippopolis, Greece, Constantinople, Caesarea
- 4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION [~Feb-Mar. 360]** (Bowersock 46)
    - i. [Constantius II - Constantinople](#) (Amm. 19.11.17), (Matthews, 1989: 102) requests soldiers from the [Army of Julian - Gaul](#) for use in a planned campaign in the east (Amm. 20.4.2), (Zos. 3.8). The [Army of Julian](#) disapproves of this plan to remove them from Gaul (Amm. 20.4.10), (Zos. 3.9).
    - ii. [JULIAN - Paris](#) (Amm. 20.1.1) discusses an Augustus accession with [Army officers - Paris](#) (Bowersock 51).
  - b. [2] **PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [~Feb-Mar. 360]** (Bowersock 46)
    - i. [Army of Julian - Paris](#) "forcibly" hails [JULIAN](#) as Augustus then raises him on shield, and put a torque as a diadem on [JULIAN's](#) head (Amm. 20.4.14, 17-18), (Zos. 3.9.2). [Army of Julian](#) - is promised 5 gold pieces and a pound of silver by [JULIAN](#) (Amm. 20.4.18)
  - c. [3] [JULIAN](#) sends a letter to [Constantius II](#) informing him of his acclamation for approval (Amm. 20.8.2-3). [Constantius II - Caesarea](#) sends a letter back telling him to be content with existing Caesar office (Amm. 20.9.3-4), (Zos. 3.9.4).
  - d. [4] Beginning of open civil war [Apr. 361] (Matthews, 1989: 102-3) [JULIAN](#) decides to march the [Army of Julian](#) against [Constantius II](#) (Amm. 21.5.13), (Zos. 3.9.5).
  - e. [5] [Army of Julian](#) goes down the Danube and take [Sirmium](#) by surprise (Amm. 21.10.5), (Zos. 3.10.2-3).
  - f. [6] Julian sends out letters pleading his case for civil war and elevation to Augustus to the [Senate of Rome](#), [Army - Italy](#), and the [Senate/People of Athens/Greece](#) (Amm. 21.10.7-8), (Zos. 3.10.3-4), (Julian, Letter to the Senate and People of Athens), (Bowersock, 1978: 60).
  - g. [7] [Aquileia](#) closes the gates of the city to Julian (Amm. 21.11).
  - h. [8] **CO-OPT (Death of Constantius II) [Nov. 3, 361]** (*Cons. Const.* 361)
    - i. [Constantius II - Philippopolis](#) (Amm. 22.2.2) dies (*Cons. Const.* 361)
  - i. [9] **PROCLAMATION (Julian enters Constantinople) [Dec. 11, 361]** (*Cons. Const.* 361)
    - i. [JULIAN - Constantinople](#) enters the city escorted by the [Army of Julian - Constantinople](#) with the “respectful attendance” of the [Senate of Constantinople](#), the “unanimous applause” and “joyful acclamations” of the [People of Constantinople](#) (Amm. 22.2.4), (Zos. 3.11.2).

#### JOVIAN / Iovianus 3, *PLRE* 1

- 1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. [AUGUSTUS - Election \(1 day\)](#)
    - i. Elected as Augustus by the army without imperial contest. There are no other emperors in the interregnum.
    - ii. From the death of Julian to the acclamation of Jovian.
- 2. Political interest types involved
  - a. *EXE-M: Emperors*
    - i. JOVIAN - Samarra, Ancyra, Bithynia
    - ii. “Julian” (*Executive / Individual*)
  - b. *EXE-M: Imperial Family*
    - i. “Varronianus” (*Executive / Individual*) - [Jovian’s son], Ancyra

- c. **MIL-D: Army**
    - i. “Army officers” (Military / Body) - [Ex-Constantius soldiers], [Gallic soldiers], [Junior officers] - Samarra
    - ii. “Army” (Military / Body) - Samarra
    - iii. “Arintheus”, “Victor”, “Nevitta”, “Dagalaihus” (Military / Individuals) - [Army officers]
  - d. MIL-M: Guards
    - i. “Emperor’s bodyguards” (Military / Body)
  - e. **ADM-A: Court**
    - i. “Praetorian Prefect Salutius” (Administrative / Individual)
  - f. REL-M: Devotees
    - i. “Christians” (Religious / Body)
3. Locations mentioned
    - a. Bithynia, Ancyra, Samarra
  4. Narrative stages
    - a. [1] DELIBERATION (Death of Julian) [Jun. 26, 363] (Cons. Const. 363)
    - b. [2] DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Jun. 27, 363] (Cons. Const. 363)
      - i. Army officers - Samarra assemble to decide the next emperor (Amm. 25.5.1)
      - ii. Two factions form: Army officers - [Ex-Constantius soldiers] led by Arintheus and Victor and Army officers - [Gallic soldiers] led by Nevitta and Dagalaihus (Amm. 25.5.2).
      - iii. Both factions agree on Praetorian Prefect Salutius as the one who should be the new emperor, but he declines the offer (Amm. 25.5.3)
      - iv. Army officers - [Junior officers?] choose JOVIAN, who is a member of the emperor’s bodyguards, and clothe him in imperial robes (Amm. 25.5.4-5).
      - v. JOVIAN is acclaimed “accidentally” by the remainder of the Army who mistake his name for Julian, whom they believe has recovered from his wounds.
    - c. [3] JOVIAN is regarded as favorable toward Christians (Amm. 25.10.15), (Soc. 3.22), (Cons. Const. 363).
    - d. [4] JOVIAN - Ancyra makes his infant son Varronianus a consul (Amm. 25.10.11).
    - e. [5] CO-OPT [Feb. 17, 364] (Amm. 26.1.5) JOVIAN dies near Bithynia (Amm. 25.10.12).

#### VALENTINIAN I / Valentinianus 7, PLRE 1

1. Accession types and imperial uncertainty
  - a. AUGUSTUS - Election (9 days)
    - i. Elected as Augustus by the army without imperial contest. There are no other emperors in the interregnum.
    - ii. From the death of Jovian to the elevation of Valentinian I.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. EXE-M: Emperors
    - i. VALENTINIAN I - Ancyra
    - ii. “Jovian” (Executive / Individual) - Bithynia
  - b. EXE-M: Imperial Family
    - i. “Januarius” (Executive, Administrative / Individual) - [Jovian’s relative], Illyricum
  - c. MIL-D: Army
    - i. “Army” (Military / Body) - Bithynia, Nicaea
    - ii. “Tribune Aequitius” (Military / Individual)
  - d. ADM-D: Places
    - i. “Civil leaders” (Administrative / Body) - Nicaea
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Illyricum, Bithynia, Nicaea
4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION (Death of Jovian) [Feb. 17, 364] (Amm. 26.1.5)
    - i. After the death of Jovian - Bithynia the Army marches to Nicaea (Amm. 26.1.3).

- b. [2] **DELIBERATION [Feb. 17-24, 364]** (Amm. 26.1.5), (*Cons. Const.* 364)
  - i. [Civil leaders - Nicaea](#) and the [Army - Nicaea](#) begin looking for a new ruler (Amm. 26.1.3), (Soz. 6.6).
  - ii. [Tribune Aequitius](#) is suggested but rejected for his demeanor. [Jovian's](#) relative [Januarius - Illyricum](#) is rejected for being too distant from their current location (Amm. 26.1.4-5)
  - iii. [VALENTINIAN I](#) is finally chosen, although he needs to be summoned from Ancyra (Amm. 26.1.5). [VALENTINIAN I - Nicaea](#) (Amm. 26.21) arrives but does not appear publicly for two days to avoid the unlucky bisextile day (Amm. 26.1.7).
- c. [3] **PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Feb. 26, 364]** (*Cons. Const.* 364)
  - i. The [Army - Nicaea](#) assembles on a plain with a tribunal, [VALENTINIAN I](#) mounts the tribunal and “after the custom of elections/*comitiorum*” he “was chosen by the favourable votes of all present” (Amm. 26.2.1-2)
  - ii. The [Army](#) hails him as an Augustus, with him wearing imperial robes and a crown/*corona* (Amm. 26.2.3).
  - iii. However, the [Army](#) makes threatening noises demanding that [VALENTINIAN I](#) name a second emperor (Amm. 26.2.3).
  - iv. [VALENTINIAN I](#) promises he will find an imperial colleague (Amm. 26.2.6-7) and “gains the favor” of the [Army](#) (Amm. 26.2.11).

#### VALENS 8, *PLRE* 1

- 1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. AUGUSTUS - Inheritance (None)
    - i. Designated as an Augustus by a reigning Augustus (Valentinian I) without imperial contest.
- 2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. VALENS - Hebdomon
    - ii. “Valentinian I” (Executive / Individual) - Nicaea, Hebdomon
  - b. **MIL-A: Army**
    - i. “Army” (Military / Body) - Nicaea, Hebdomon
- 3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Hebdomon, Nicaea
- 4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION [Feb. 26, 364] (*Cons. Const.* 364) [Valentinian I - Nicaea](#) promises the [Army](#) that he will find an imperial colleague (26.2.6-7).
  - b. [2] DELIBERATION/ PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Mar. 28, 364] (Amm. 26.4.3)
    - i. [Valentinian I](#) brings [VALENS](#) to the Hebdomon and proclaims him an Augustus “with the consent of all”, i.e. [Army?](#) (Amm. 26.4.3). [Valentinian I](#) then adorns [VALENS](#) with the imperial insignia and puts a diadem on his head (Amm. 26.4.3).

#### PROCOPIUS 4, *PLRE* 1

- 1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. AUGUSTUS-A - Election (7 months, 29 days)
    - i. Raised as Augustus by himself and/or various institutions in a capital city in competition with other Augusti (Valens and Valentinian I).
    - ii. From elevation of Procopius as Augustus until the death of Procopius.
  - b. Augustus-B - Inheritance (7 months, 29 days)
    - i. Designated as a successor by a previous Augustus (Julian).
- 2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. PROCOPIUS - Mesopotamia, Constantinople, Bithynia
    - ii. “Valens” (Executive / Individual) - Nicaea
    - iii. “Valentinian I (Executive / Individual) - Rheims
    - iv. “Constantius II” (Executive / Individual)

- v. “Jovian” (*Executive / Individual*)
  - vi. “Julian” (*Executive / Individual*) - Mesopotamia
  - b. **EXE-A: Imperial Family**
    - i. “Constantia” (*Executive / Individual*) - [Faustina’s daughter]
    - ii. “Faustina” (*Executive / Individual*) - [Constantius II’s wife]
  - c. **MIL-A: Army**
    - i. “Army of Illyricum” (*Military / Body*) - Illyricum
    - ii. “Army of Procopius” (*Military / Body*) - Nacolia
    - iii. “Former Magister Equitum Arbitio” (*Military / Individual*)
    - iv. “Jovii and Victores legions” (*Military / Body*) - Bithynia
    - v. “Magister Peditum Agilo” (*Military / Individual*) - Nacolia
    - vi. “Nicaean defenders” (*Military / Body*) - Nicaea
    - vii. “Two legions” (*Military / Body*) - Constantinople
    - viii. “Vitalianus” (*Military / Individual*) - Bithynia
    - ix. “Army officers” (*Military / Body*) - Constantinople
    - x. “Julius” (*Military / Individual*) - Constantinople
    - xi. “Thracian army” (*Military / Body*) - Thrace
  - d. **MIL-A: Guards**
    - i. “City guards” (*Military / Body*) - Constantinople
  - e. **ADM-M: Senate**
    - i. “Senate of Constantinople” (*Administrative / Body*)
  - f. **ADM-A: Court**
    - i. “Senator and former guard *Strategeius*” (*Administrative, Military / Individual*) - Constantinople
    - ii. “Administrative officials” (*Administrative / Body*) - Constantinople
    - iii. “Notarius” (*Administrative / Individual*) - Rheims, Africa
  - g. **ADM-A: Eunuchs**
    - i. “Eugenius” (*Administrative / Individual*) - Constantinople
  - h. **ADM-M: Places**
    - i. “Africa” (*Administrative / Body*)
    - ii. “Nicaea” (*Administrative / Body*)
  - i. **POP-A: People**
    - i. “Armed slaves” (*Popular / Body*) - Constantinople
    - ii. “Mob” (*Popular / Body*) - Constantinople
    - iii. “People of Constantinople” (*Popular / Body*)
  - j. **NON-A: Barbarians**
    - i. “Chief of the Scythians” (*Non-Roman, Military / Body*) - Scythia
    - ii. “Scythian soldiers” (*Non-Roman, Military / Body*) - Scythia
3. Locations mentioned
- a. Rheims, Illyricum, Scythia, Thrace, Constantinople, Bithynia, Nicaea, Nacolia, Mesopotamia, Africa
4. Narrative stages
- a. [1] DELIBERATION [Mar. 363-364]
    - i. [Mar. 363] (Bowersock, 1978: 108-10) During the Persian campaign [Julian - Mesopotamia](#) (Amm. 23.3) presents [PROCOPIUS](#) with an imperial robe (Amm. 23.3.1-2), (Zos. 4.4). There is a rumor that [Julian](#) had said [PROCOPIUS](#) should be the next emperor (Amm. 26.6.2).
    - ii. (Death of Julian) [Jun. 26, 363] (*Cons. Const.* 363)
    - iii. [363-364] After [Julian](#) dies, and with [Jovian’s](#) death following shortly afterward, [PROCOPIUS](#) goes into hiding from [Valens](#) and [Valentinian I](#) (Zos. 4.5), (Amm. 26.6.3).
  - b. [2] DELIBERATION [**Sep. 28, 365**] (*Cons. Const.* 365)
    - i. [PROCOPIUS](#) returns to Constantinople (Zos. 4.5), (Amm. 26.6.5-6).
    - ii. There is discontent among the [People of Constantinople](#) over [Valens](#) leadership (Amm. 26.6.6-9).
    - iii. [PROCOPIUS](#) secures the support of a [senator and former guard \*Strategeius\*](#) (Amm. 26.6.5) and/or [Eugenius](#), a eunuch who had been expelled from the palace (Zos. 4.5).

- iv. [PROCOPIUS](#) bribes the the [city guards](#) and/or [two legions](#) as well as [armed slaves](#) and [a mob](#) (Zos. 4.5), (Amm. 26.6.12-4).
- c. [3] **PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Sep. 28, 365]** (*Cons. Const.* 365)
  - i. [PROCOPIUS](#) dresses in imperial clothes (Amm. 26.6.15). There is a clashing of shields and he mounts the tribunal opposite the palace where there is an acclamation by his supporters (Amm. 26.6.16).
  - ii. [PROCOPIUS](#) goes to the [Senate of Constantinople](#) but only a few low ranking senators are there. He then heads to the palace (Amm. 26.6.16-7).
- d. [4] [Valentinian I - Rheims](#) (Amm. 26.5.14) sends a [notarius](#) to [Africa](#) to secure the region and its grain shipments against an attack by [PROCOPIUS](#) (Amm. 26.5.14).
- e. [5] [PROCOPIUS](#) replaces some [army officers](#) and [administrative officials](#) (Amm. 26.7.4, 7), (Zos. 4.6). He imprisons [Julius](#), commander of the [Thracian army](#) because of the threat that his forces could quash [PROCOPIUS'](#) rebellion - (Amm. 26.7.5). [Army of Illyricum](#) does not accept [PROCOPIUS](#) (Amm. 26.7.11-2).
- f. [6] [PROCOPIUS](#) has the support of [Constantius II's](#) wife [Faustina](#) and promotes his dynastic connection with his young relative [Constantia](#), [Faustina's](#) daughter. His association to [Faustina](#) apparently endears him to some of the [Army of Procopius](#). (Amm. 26.7.10), (Amm. 26.9.3). [Chief of the Scythians](#) gives [Scythian soldiers](#) as support to [PROCOPIUS](#) (Zos. 4.6).
- g. [7] [Jovii and Victores legions - Bithynia](#) turn from [Valens](#) to [PROCOPIUS - Bithynia](#) (Amm. 26.7.13-7). The commander of the legions, [Vitalianus](#), encourages them to follow the rightful dynasty (Amm. 26.7.17).
- h. [8] [Nicaea](#) is captured for [PROCOPIUS](#). [Valens - Nicaea](#) besieges the city, but the [Nicaean defenders](#) sally and defeat [Valens](#), with him barely escaping to Ancyra (Amm. 26.8.1-3).
- i. [9] [Winter 365-6] [PROCOPIUS](#) consolidates and is confident in his position. He strips the house of [former Magister Equitum Arbitio](#) of its contents, who switches his allegiance to [Valens](#) (Amm. 26.8.13, 9.4-5), (Zos. 4.7). [Former Magister Equitum Arbitio](#) uses his influence to prompt a defection of some of the [Army of Procopius](#) back to [Valens](#) (Amm. 26.9.4-5), (Zos. 4.7.4).
- j. [10] **CO-OPT (Defeat and death of PROCOPIUS) [May 27, 366]** (*Cons. Const.* 366)
  - i. [Magister Peditum Agilo - Nacolia](#) and a portion of the [Army of Procopius - Nacolia](#) switches side from [PROCOPIUS](#) to [Valens](#) during the battle (Amm. 26.9.7), (Zos. 4.8.3).
  - ii. [PROCOPIUS - Nacolia](#) is defeated, tries to hide, but is found and executed (Amm. 26.9.8-9), (Zos. 4.8.3).

#### GRATIAN / Gratianus 2, PLRE 1

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. [AUGUSTUS - Inheritance \(None\)](#)
    - i. Designated as Augustus by a reigning Augustus (Valentinian I) without imperial contest.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. GRATIAN - Amiens
    - ii. **“Valentinian I” (Executive / Individual) - Amiens**
    - iii. *“Constantius II” (Executive / Individual)*
  - b. *EXE-M: Imperial Family*
    - i. *“Constantia” (Executive / Individual) - [Constantius II's daughter]*
  - c. **MIL-A: Army**
    - i. **“Army officers” (Military / Body) - [Gallic]**
    - ii. **“Army officers” (Military / Body) - [Others]**
    - iii. **“Army” (Military / Body)**
    - iv. *“Magister Peditum Severus” (Military / Individual)*
  - d. *ADM-M: Court*
    - i. *“Magister Memoriae Eupraxius” (Administrative / Individual)*
    - ii. *“Magister Memoriae Rusticus Julianus” (Administrative / Individual)*
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Amiens
4. Narrative stages

- a. [1] DELIBERATION (Birth of Gratian) [Apr. 18, 359] (*Cons. Const.* 359)
- b. [2] DELIBERATION [**Aug. 367**] (*Cons. Const.* 367)
  - i. [Valentinian I - Amiens](#) (Amm. 27.8.1) is seriously ill.
  - ii. [Army officers - \[Gallic\]](#) (“*in commilitio*”) want [Magister Memoriae Rusticus Julianus](#) as emperor (Amm. 27.6.1).
  - iii. [Army officers - \[Others\]](#) want [Magister Peditum Severus](#) (Amm. 27.6.3).
  - iv. [Valentinian I](#) recovers (Amm 27.6.3) and decides on his son [GRATIAN](#) as the new emperor (Amm. 27.6.4). He eventually wins the [Army over](#) to his appointment (Amm. 27.6.5).
- c. [3] PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: **Aug. 24, 367**] (*Cons. Const.* 367)
  - i. [GRATIAN](#) appears and [Valentinian I](#) advances into the plain and mounts a tribunal (Amm. 27.6.5). [Valentinian I](#) commends [GRATIAN](#) to the [Army](#) (Amm. 27.6.5). Talks about [GRATIAN's](#) liberal education but promises he will administer fairly and will become more military minded. (Amm. 27.6.9)
  - ii. [Army](#) acclaims with a clash of arms (Amm. 27.6.10)
  - iii. [Valentinian I](#) “adorned his son with the crown and the robes of supreme rank, and kissed him” (Amm. 27.6.11), then exhorts his son to accustom himself with the [Army](#) (Amm. 27.6.12)
  - iv. [Magister Memoriae Eupraxius](#) is the first to acclaim after this, is promoted to quaestorship (Amm. 27.6.14)
  - v. Later [GRATIAN](#) marries [Constantius II's](#) daughter [Constantia](#) (Amm. 29.6.7).

#### VALENTINIAN II / Valentinianus 8, PLRE 1

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. [AUGUSTUS - Election \(> 4 days\)](#)
    - i. Raised as Augustus by the army in initial competition with other Augusti (Gratian, Valens).
    - ii. From the elevation of Valentinian II to recognition by Gratian.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. VALENTINIAN II - Murocincta
    - ii. **“Gratian” (Executive / Individual) - Trier**
    - iii. **“Valentinian I” (Executive / Individual) - Brigetio**
  - b. **MIL-D: Army**
    - i. **“Army” (Military / Body) - [Gallic]**
    - ii. **“Army officers” (Military / Body) - Brigetio**
    - iii. **“Magister Peditum Merobaudes” (Military / Individual)**
    - iv. **“Army” (Military / Body) - Brigetio**
    - v. **“Comes Sebastianus” (Military / Individual)**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Trier, Brigetio, Murocincta
4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION (Birth of Valentinian II) (~371) (Amm. 30.10.4)
  - b. [2] DELIBERATION (Death of Valentinian I) (**Nov. 17, 375**) (*Cons. Const.* 375)
    - i. [Valentinian I - Brigetio](#) dies suddenly (Amm. 30.6.3-6)
    - ii. [Army - \[Gallic\]](#) are rumored to be considering an overthrow of [Gratian - Trier](#) (Amm. 30.6.1)
    - iii. [Magister Peditum Merobaudes](#) is summoned. He sends away [Comes Sebastianus](#), a possible candidate for next emperor. (Amm. 30.10.3)
    - iv. [Army officers - Brigetio](#) decide on [Valentinian I's](#) son [VALENTINIAN II](#) who is currently residing in the town of Murocincta about 100 miles away and send for him. There is “unanimous consent” on the decision (Amm. 30.10.5)
  - c. [3] PROCLAMATION (Augustus) (Dies Imperii: **Nov. 22, 375**) (*Cons. Const.* 375)
    - i. After [VALENTINIAN II](#) is brought to the [Army - Brigetio](#) camp, he is hailed as Augustus in the “customary manner” (Amm. 30.10.5).

- d. **[4] CO-OPT (Recognition from Gratian)** (> Nov. 26, 375) (*Cons. Const. 375*)
  - i. [Gratian](#) recognizes [VALENTINIAN II](#) despite worries over him being chosen without his permission (Amm. 30.10.6).
  - ii. Presuming more than four days for a message to travel from Brigetio to Trier by the fastest imperial courier horse relay (orbis.stanford.edu).

#### THEODOSIUS I / Theodosius 4, *PLRE 1*

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. AUGUSTUS-A Election (None)
    - i. Elected as the next emperor by the court without imperial contest.
  - b. Augustus-B Inheritance (None)
    - i. Designated as Augustus by the reigning emperor (Gratian).
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. THEODOSIUS I - Danube, Spain, Sirmium
    - ii. **“Gratian” (Executive / Individual) - Sirmium, Pannonia**
    - iii. **“Valens” (Executive / Individual) - Adrianople**
  - b. **MIL-M: Army**
    - i. **“Army” (Military / Body) - [Theodosius I], Danube**
  - c. **ADM-D: Court**
    - i. **“Court” (Administrative, Military / Body) - Sirmium**
  - d. **REL-M: Bishops**
    - i. **“Bishop Meletius” (Religious / Individual) - Antioch**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Spain, Danube, Sirmium, Adrianople, Antioch
4. Narrative stages
  - a. **[1] DELIBERATION (Valens dies) [Aug. 9, 378]** (*Cons. Const. 378*)
  - b. [2A] [THEODOSIUS I](#) is already fighting in the Danube region (Errington, 1996: 449).
  - c. [2B] [Gratian - Pannonia](#) (Amm. 31.11.6), (Errington, 1996: 450) summons [THEODOSIUS I](#) from Spain and appoints him commander-in-chief of the [Army](#) (Theod. 5.5).
  - d. **[3] DELIBERATION [Fall-Winter 378-9]**
    - i. The [Court - Sirmium](#) decides that [THEODOSIUS I](#) should be the next emperor (Errington, 1996: 451).
  - e. [4] [THEODOSIUS I](#) dreams of being crowned by [Bishop Meletius - Antioch](#) (Theod. 5.6).
  - f. **[5] PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Jan. 19, 379]** (*Cons. Const. 379*)
    - i. [Gratian - Sirmium](#) crowns [THEODOSIUS I - Sirmium](#) as Augustus (Theod. 5.6), (*Cons. Const. 379*).

#### MAGNUS MAXIMUS / Maximus 39, *PLRE 1*

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. AUGUSTUS-A - Election (~5 years)
    - i. Raised as Augustus by himself or the army in initial competition with other Augusti (Gratian, Theodosius I, Valentinian II, Arcadius).
    - ii. From elevation of Magnus Maximus to his death, presuming that his brief recognition should be ignored, and that later de-recognition means his entire reign should be viewed as a contested accession.
  - b. Augustus-B - Election (~3 years)
    - i. From the elevation of Magnus Maximus to recognition by Theodosius I.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. MAGNUS MAXIMUS - Britain, Gaul, Italy, Milan, Aquileia
    - ii. **“Gratian” (Executive / Individual) - Gaul, Lyon, Belgrade**
    - iii. **“Theodosius I” (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople, Thessalonica, Pannonia, Aquileia**
    - iv. **“Valentinian II” (Executive / Individual) - Milan, Thessalonica, Rome**

- v. “Arcadius” (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople
  - vi. “Victor” (Executive / Individual) - [Magnus Maximus’ son]
  - b. EXE-M: Imperial Family
    - i. “Galla” (Executive / Individual) [Sister of Valentinian II, half-sister of Gratian, daughter of Justina], Milan, Thessalonica, Rome
    - ii. “Justina” (Executive / Individual) [Wife of Valentinian I], Milan, Thessalonica, Rome
  - c. MIL-A: Army
    - i. “Army of Gratian” (Military / Body) - Gaul
    - ii. “Army of Maximus” (Military / Body) - [Maximus], Britain, Gaul, Italy, Aquileia
    - iii. “Magister Militum Merobaudes” (Military / Individual) - Paris
    - iv. (Military / Body) - [Attached to Theodosius I], Pannonia, Aquileia
  - d. ADM-M: Senate
    - i. “Senate of Constantinople” (Administrative / Body) - Constantinople, Thessalonica
  - e. ADM-M: Places
    - i. “Italy” (Administrative / Body)
  - f. NON-A: Barbarians
    - i. “Barbarian soldiers” (Non-Roman, Military / Body) - Macedonia
    - ii. “Moorish cavalry” (Non-Roman, Military / Body) - Gaul
3. Locations mentioned
- a. Britain, Gaul, Paris, Lyon, Italy, Milan, Rome, Aquileia, Pannonia, Belgrade, Macedonia, Thessalonica, Constantinople
4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Arcadius)
- a. [1] DELIBERATION / ACCESSION (Arcadius is made emperor) [Jan. 19, 383] (*PLRE* 1 Arcadius 5)
  - b. [2] DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii? : Spring-Summer 383] (Nixon and Rodgers, 1994: 476 n.76)
    - i. [MAGNUS MAXIMUS - Britain](#) is acclaimed emperor by the [Army of Maximus - Britain](#) during a mutiny and they invest him with “the purple and the diadem” (Zos. 4.35.4)
  - c. [3] [MAGNUS MAXIMUS](#) marches on Gaul. [Magister Militum Merobaudes - Paris](#) switches over to [MAGNUS MAXIMUS](#) (Pros. 445: 384). [Army of Gratian](#) along with the [Moorish cavalry](#) of [Gratian](#) abandon him in battle and acclaim [MAGNUS MAXIMUS](#) as emperor (Zos 4.35.4).
  - d. [4] CO-OPT (Death of Gratian) [Aug. 25, 383] (*FV Prior.* 383)
    - i. [Gratian](#) is killed either in Lyon (Soc. 5.11) or in Belgrade (Zos. 4.36).
  - e. [5] CO-OPT (Recognition from Theodosius I and Valentinian II) [383-6] (Matthews, 1975: 176, 179)
    - i. [383] [MAGNUS MAXIMUS - Trier](#) sends ambassadors to [Theodosius I - Constantinople](#) (Matthews, 1975: 176) seeking recognition. [Theodosius I](#) accepts him as a co-emperor (Zos. 4.36-7).
    - ii. [386] [Valentinian II - Milan](#) (Ambrose *Ep.* 30.7) recognizes [MAGNUS MAXIMUS](#) (Soc. 5.11).
  - f. [6] ACCESSION. [MAGNUS MAXIMUS](#) elevations his son [Victor](#) as an emperor (Zos. 4.47), (*Aur. Vict. Epit.* 48.6).
  - g. [7] [Late Summer 387] (Matthews, 1975: 181) [MAGNUS MAXIMUS](#) invades [Italy](#) and [Valentinian II](#) flees to Thessalonica with his mother [Justina](#) and his sister [Galla](#) (Zos. 4.43.1). [MAGNUS MAXIMUS](#) settles down in Milan (Matthews, 1975: 223). [Theodosius I](#) goes to Thessalonica with some [members of the Senate - Constantinople](#) and they all agree that [MAGNUS MAXIMUS](#) should be “prosecuted for his crimes” (Zos. 4.43.3).
  - h. [8] At first [Theodosius I](#) considers a truce if [MAGNUS MAXIMUS](#) restores [Valentinian II](#) to his territory, but [Justina](#) uses her daughter [Galla](#) to convince [Theodosius I](#) to go to war against him (Zos. 4.44).
  - i. [9] [MAGNUS MAXIMUS](#) tries to bribe some of the [barbarian soldiers - Macedonia of Theodosius I](#), but this attempt fails (Zos. 4.45.3).
  - j. [10] CO-OPT (Defeat and death of MAGNUS MAXIMUS) [Summer - Aug. 28, 388] (*FV Prior.* 388). Alternatively Jul. 28, 388 (*Cons. Const.* 388) or Aug. 27, 388 (Soc. 5.14)
    - i. [Theodosius I](#) launches a surprise attack on [MAGNUS MAXIMUS](#) through Pannonia and Aquileia (Zos. 4.45.3).

- ii. [Justina](#), [Galla](#), and [Valentinian II](#) are sent by ship to Rome (Zos. 4.45.4).
- iii. [Theodosius I](#) besieges and captures Aquileia, [MAGNUS MAXIMUS - Aquileia](#) is stripped of his imperial dress and executed (Zos. 4.45.2). His son [Victor](#) is also killed shortly afterward (Zos 4.47.1).

#### ARCADIUS 5, *PLRE 1*

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. [AUGUSTUS-A- Inheritance \(None\)](#)
    - i. Designated as Augustus by an Augustus (Theodosius I) without imperial contest. Presuming lack of recognition on Gratian's coinage was for delay rather than non-recognition reasons.
  - b. Augustus-B - Inheritance (~3 years)
    - i. Designated as Augustus by a reigning Augustus (Theodosius I) in competition with another Augustus (Gratian).
    - ii. From the elevation of Arcadius to the recognition of Magnus Maximus.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. ARCADIUS - Constantinople
    - ii. **"Theodosius I" (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople, Milan**
    - iii. **"Magnus Maximus" (Executive / Individual) - Britain, Trier**
    - iv. **"Gratian" (Executive / Individual) - Paris, Lyon**
    - v. **"Valentinian II" (Executive / Individual) - Milan**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Britain, Trier, Paris, Lyon, Milan, Constantinople
4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Magnus Maximus)
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION (Birth of Arcadius) [~377] (Soc. 6.23.7)
  - b. [2] DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Jan. 19, 383] (*PLRE 1* Arcadius 5). Alternatively Jan. 16, 383 (*Cons. Const.* 383)
    - i. [Theodosius I - Constantinople](#) elevates [ARCADIUS - Constantinople](#) as an Augustus on a tribunal (*Cons. Const.* 383).
  - c. [3] [Gratian - Paris](#) (Prosp. 445: 384) does not recognize [ARCADIUS](#) on western coinage - (McLynn, 1994: 154)
  - d. [4] CO-OPT (Death of Gratian) [Aug. 25, 383] (*FV Prior.* 383) [Magnus Maximus - Britain](#) is raised as an emperor and [Gratian - Lyon](#) is killed (Zos. 4.35).
  - e. [5] CO-OPT (Recognition from Magnus Maximus) [386] (Matthews, 1975: 176, 179) [Magnus Maximus - Trier](#) seeks and receives mutual recognition from [Theodosius I](#) and by extension [ARCADIUS](#), as well as recognition from [Valentinian II - Milan](#). (Zos. 4.36-7), (Soc. 5.11)
  - f. [6] CO-OPT (Defeat and death of MAGNUS MAXIMUS) [Aug. 28, 388] (*FV Prior.* 388).
  - g. [7] CO-OPT (Death of Theodosius I) [Jan. 17, 395] (Soc. 5.26).

#### EUGENIUS 6, *PLRE 1*

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. [AUGUSTUS - Election \(2 years, 15 days\)](#)
    - i. Raised as Augustus by an army master in competition with other Augusti (Theodosius I, Arcadius).
    - ii. From the elevation of Eugenius to recognition to Eugenius' death.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. EUGENIUS - Lyon, Frigidus
    - ii. **"Valentinian II" (Executive / Individual) - Vienne**
    - iii. **"Theodosius I" - Constantinople, Frigidus**
    - iv. **"Honorius" - Constantinople**
  - b. **MIL-D: Army Masters**
    - i. **"Arbogast" (Military, Executive / Individual) - Vienne**
  - c. *MIL-A: Army*

- i. “Eastern Army” (Military / Body) - [Theodosius I], Frigidus
    - ii. “Western Army” (Military / Body) - [Arbogast, Eugenius], Frigidus
  - d. ADM-M: Senate
    - i. “Senate” (Administrative / Body) - Rome
  - e. ADM-A: Court
    - i. “Praetorian Prefect Flavianus” (Administrative / Individual) - Rome
  - f. ADM-A: Eunuchs
    - i. “Palace Eunuchs” (Administrative / Body) - Vienne
  - g. REL-M: Devotees
    - i. “Christian follower(s)” (Religious / Body)
    - ii. “Pagan’ follower(s)” (Religious / Body) - Rome
  - h. NON-M: Barbarians
    - i. “Barbarian soldiers” (Non-Roman, Military / Body) - Frigidus
    - ii. “Barbarian tribes” (Non-Roman, Military / Body) - Rhine
- 3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Rhine, Lyon, Vienne, Rome, Frigidus, Constantinople
- 4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Honorius)
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION (Death of Valentinian II) [May 15, 392] (Epiph. 20), (*Cons. Const.* 392)
    - i. [Valentinian II - Vienne](#) either committed suicide, or may have been killed by [Arbogast](#) with the assistance of [Palace Eunuchs - Vienne](#) (Soc. 5.25), (Soz. 7.22), (Zos. 4.54), (Joh. Ant. Fr. 212, ed. Mariev).
  - b. [2] [May - Aug. 392] For three months, [Theodosius I - Constantinople](#) (Soc. 5.25) does not appoint a new western emperor. However, [Theodosius I](#) removes [Arbogast’s](#) friend [Praetorian Prefect Flavianus - Rome](#) from the office, who, alongside [Arbogast](#), was considered a “pagan” follower. [Arbogast](#) may have raise his own imperial candidate to oppose [Theodosius I](#) who as a devout [Christian follower](#) who was persecuting “pagan” followers (O’Flynn 11-2).
  - c. [3] PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Aug. 22, 392] (*Cons. Const.* 392)
    - i. [Arbogast](#) collaborates with and elevates [EUGENIUS - Lyon](#) (Matthews, 1975: 239) as emperor (Soc. 5.25), (Oros. 7.35.11), (Zos. 4.54), (Joh. Ant. Fr. 212, ed. Mariev), (Phil. 11.2).
  - d. [4] [EUGENIUS](#) has the support of [Praetorian Prefect Flavianus](#) whom he restores to his position (Matthews, 1975: 241), (Soz. 7.22). [EUGENIUS](#) curries some favor with “pagan” followers - Rome and puts back the Altar of Victory into the house of the [Senate - Rome](#) (Matthews, 1975: 240). [EUGENIUS](#), possibly with [Arbogast](#), renews alliances with [Barbarian tribes - Rhine](#) (Greg. Tur. 2.9).
  - e. [5] Embassies are sent to [Theodosius I](#) for approval of [EUGENIUS’](#) status (Zos. 4.54), (Joh. Ant. Fr. 212, ed. Mariev). [Theodosius I](#) delays answering, stalling while preparing an invasion (Zos. 4.54-6), (Joh. Ant. Fr. 212, ed. Mariev).
  - f. [6] ACCESSION [Jan. 23, 393] [Theodosius I - Constantinople](#) elevates his son [Honorius](#) as an Augustus (*FV Prior.* 393), (Soz. 7.22).
  - g. [7] CO-OPT (Defeat and death of EUGENIUS and Arbogast) [Sep. 6, 394] (Soc. 5.25)
    - i. [Western Army - \[Arbogast, Eugenius\]](#) battles [Eastern Army - \[Theodosius II\]](#) at the Frigidus. The [Eastern Army](#) contains [barbarian soldiers](#) (Soc. 5.25), (Soz. 7.22), (Zos. 4.589).
    - ii. A violent wind helps the [Eastern Army](#) defeat the [Western Army](#) (Soc. 5.25.)
    - iii. [EUGENIUS](#) is captured then executed. [Arbogast](#) commits suicide. (Soc. 5.25), (Joh. Ant. Fr. 212, ed. Mariev).

### HONORIUS 3, PLRE 1

- 1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. AUGUSTUS-A - Inheritance (None)
    - i. Designated as Augustus by an Augustus (Theodosius I) without imperial contest, since Eugenius is seeking recognition from Theodosius I. Presuming recognition from Theodosius I toward Eugenius is not needed, or presuming recognition from Eugenius is not needed during the period before the start of military conflict.

- b. Augustus-B - Inheritance (1 year, 7 months, 14 days)
  - i. Designated as Augustus by an Augustus (Theodosius I) in competition with another Augustus (Eugenius).
  - ii. From the elevation of Honorius until the death of Eugenius.
- 2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. HONORIUS - Constantinople
    - ii. **“Theodosius I” (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople**
    - iii. **“Eugenius” (Executive / Individual) - Lyon**
  - b. *MIL-M: Army master*
    - i. *“Arbogast” (Military, Executive / Individual) - Lyon*
- 3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Lyon, Constantinople
- 4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Eugenius)
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION (Birth of Honorius) [Sep. 9, 384] (*Cons. Const.* 384)
  - b. [2] DELIBERATION / ACCESSION [Aug. 22, 392] (*Cons. Const.* 392). *Arbogast* collaborates with and elevates *Eugenius - Lyon* as emperor (Matthews, 1975: 239).
  - c. [3] Embassies are sent to [Theodosius I - Constantinople](#) for approval of *Eugenius*’ status (Zos. 4.54), (Joh. Ant. *Fr.* 212, ed. Mariev).
  - d. [4] PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Jan. 23, 393] (*FV Prior.* 393), (Soz. 7.22)
    - i. [Theodosius I - Constantinople](#) elevates his son [HONORIUS - Constantinople](#) as an Augustus (*FV Prior.* 393), (Soz. 7.22, 24).
  - e. [5] CO-OPT (Defeat and death of Eugenius) [Sep. 6, 394] (Soc. 5.25).
  - f. [6] CO-OPT (Death of Theodosius I) [Jan. 17, 395] (Soc. 5.26).

## FIFTH CENTURY

### Western

#### CONSTANTINE III / Constantinus 21, *PLRE 2*

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. AUGUSTUS - Election (~4 years)
    - i. Raised as Augustus by the army or himself in competition with other Augusti (Honorius, Arcadius, Theodosius II).
    - ii. From elevation of Constantine III to his death. This is presuming that his brief recognition by Honorius should be ignored, since Constantine III is still unrecognized by other emperors (Attalus and Maximus) during his reign, and is later de-recognized by Honorius.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. CONSTANTINE III - Britain, Gaul, Arles, Ravenna
    - ii. **“Honorius” (Executive / Individual) - Ravenna**
    - iii. **“Maximus” (Executive / Individual) - [Son/Friend of Gerontius]**
    - iv. **“Constans” (Executive / Individual) - [Son of Constantine III], Spain, Vienne**
    - v. **“Gratianus” (Executive / Individual) - Britain**
    - vi. **“Marcus” (Executive / Individual) - Britain**
  - b. **MIL-A: Army Masters**
    - i. **“Gerontius” (Military, Executive / Individual) - Gaul**
  - c. **MIL-D: Army**
    - i. **“Army of Britain” (Military / Body) - Britain**
    - ii. **“Army of Gaul (Military / Body) - Gaul**
    - iii. **“Army” (Military / Body) - [Gerontius], Gaul**
    - iv. **“Army” (Military / Body) - [Honorius], Arles**
    - v. **“Constantius III” (Military / Individual) - Gaul, Arles**
    - vi. **(Military / Body) - [Attached to Constantine III], Gaul, Arles**
  - d. **ADM-M: Places**
    - i. **“Arles” (Administrative / Body)**
    - ii. **“Britain, Amorica” (Administrative / Body)**
    - iii. **“Gaul” (Administrative / Body)**
    - iv. **“Spain” (Administrative / Body)**
  - e. **NON-M: Barbarians**
    - i. **“Alaric” (Non-Roman, Executive / Individual) - Italy**
    - ii. **“Barbarians” (Non-Roman, Military / Body) - Gaul**
    - iii. **“Vandals, Suevi, Alani” (Non-Roman, Military / Body) - Spain**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Britain, Gaul, Amorica, Vienne, Arles, Spain, Italy, Ravenna
4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION [406-7]** (*PLRE 2* Marcus 2) Marcus and Gratianus, emperors previously acclaimed by the Army of Britain are killed (Zos. 6.2-3).
  - b. [2] **PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: 407]** (Prosp. 445: 407)
    - i. Army of Britain proclaims CONSTANTINE III as Augustus (Olymp. *Fr.* 13.1), (Soz. 9.11)
  - c. [3] [407-8] (*PLRE 2* Constantinus 21) CONSTANTINE III crosses the channel and invades Gaul. Army of Gaul switches over to CONSTANTINE III and he makes his capital at Arles (Olymp. *Fr.* 13.1), (Soz. 9.4, 11).
  - d. [4] **ACCESSION [408]** (*PLRE 2* Constantinus 21) CONSTANTINE III crowns his son Constans as a Caesar and sends him to take Spain (Soz. 9.11) which he does successfully. Constans is later promoted to Augustus by CONSTANTINE III (Olymp. *Fr.* 17.1).

- e. [5] **CO-OPT [409]** (*PLRE 2* Constantinus 21) [CONSTANTINE III](#) sends an embassy to [Honorius - Ravenna](#) asking for recognition, which [Honorius](#) grants given his problems with [Alaric - Italy](#) (*Zos.* 5.42-3), (*Olymp. Fr.* 13.1).
- f. [6] [Vandals, Suevi, Alani](#) invade [Spain](#) (*Soz.* 9.12).
- g. [7] [Gerontius](#) revolts from [CONSTANTINE III](#), incites [Barbarians - Gaul](#) to revolt. [Britain](#) and [Amorica](#) revolt from the empire *Olymp. Fr.* 17.1, (*Soz.* 9.13).
- h. [8] **ACCESSION [409]** (*PLRE 2* Maximus 4) [Gerontius](#) promotes his son/friend [Maximus](#) as an emperor (*Olymp. Fr.* 17.1, (*Soz.* 9.13).
- i. [9] **ACCESSION** (Attalus made emperor then deposed) [Late 409-Summer 410] (*Prosp.* 445: 409), (*Zos.* 6.7.1-4), (*PLRE 2* Attalus 2)
- j. [10] [Gerontius](#) kills [Constans - Vienne](#), besieges [CONSTANTINE III - Arles](#) but is forced to withdraw when [Constantius III](#) arrives with his [Army - \[Honorius\]](#). [Gerontius](#) is killed by his own [Army - \[Gerontius\]](#) (*Soz.* 9.13).
- k. [11] **CO-OPT (Defeat and death of CONSTANTINE III) [Late Summer 411]** (*Cons. Const.* 411)
  - i. [CONSTANTINE III - Arles](#) surrenders and is killed shortly after somewhere near Ravenna (*Soz.* 9.15) (*Olymp. Fr.* 17.1).

#### ATTALUS 2, *PLRE 2*

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. [AUGUSTUS-1 - Election \(~5 to 8 months\)](#)
    - i. Raised as Augustus by non-Romans in competition with other Augusti (Honorius, Theodosius II).
    - ii. From first elevation of Attalus as Augustus until first deposition.
  - b. [AUGUSTUS-2 - Election \(~1 to 3 years\)](#)
    - i. Raised as Augustus by non-Romans in competition with other reigning Augusti (Honorius, Theodosius II).
    - ii. From second elevation of Attalus as Augustus until second deposition.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. ATTALUS - Ravenna, Ariminum, Southern Gaul, Rome
    - ii. **“Honorius” (Executive / Individual) - Ravenna**
  - b. **EXE-M: Imperial Family**
    - i. **“Galla Placidia” (Executive / Individual) - [Honorius’ half-sister], Rome, Southern Gaul**
  - c. **MIL-A: Army**
    - i. **“Comes Heraclianus” (Military, Administrative / Individual) - Africa**
    - ii. **“Army officers” (Military / Body)**
    - iii. **“Eastern Army” (Military / Body) - Ravenna**
    - iv. **“Magister Militum Constans” (Military / Individual) - Italy, Africa**
  - d. **MIL-M: Guards**
    - i. **“Imperial guards” (Military / Body) - Rome**
  - e. **ADM-A: Senate**
    - i. **“Senate” (Administrative / Body) - Rome, Ravenna**
  - f. **ADM-M: Places**
    - i. **“Africa” (Administrative / Body)**
    - ii. **“Northern Italy” (Administrative / Body)**
    - iii. **“Rome” (Administrative / Body)**
    - iv. **“Ravenna” (Administrative / Body)**
  - g. **NON-D: Barbarians**
    - i. **“Alaric” (Non-Roman, Executive, Military / Individual) - Rome**
    - ii. **“Visigoths” (Non-Roman / Body) - Southern Gaul**
    - iii. **“Athaulf” (Non-Roman / Individual) - Rome, Southern Gaul**
    - iv. **“Visigothic Army (Non-Roman, Military / Body) - Ravenna, Northern Italy, Southern Gaul**
3. Locations mentioned

- a. Southern Gaul, Italy, Northern Italy, Ravenna, Ariminum, Rome, Africa
- 4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION (Alaric's first siege of Rome) [Late 408] (Zos. 5.42)
  - b. [2] After [Alaric's](#) first siege of [Rome](#), members of the [Senate](#) including [ATTALUS](#) are sent to Ravenna to convince [Honorius](#) to secure a peace, but are unsuccessful. (Zos. 5.44). [Alaric](#) besieges [Rome](#) again, seizes its food supply, and enters the city after the [Senate](#) gives into his demands. (Zos. 6.6-7).
  - c. [3] DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (First time as Augustus) [Dies Imperii? : Late 409] (Prosp. 445: 409), (Zos. 6.7.1-4)
    - i. [Alaric - Rome](#) orders the [Senate](#) to invest [ATTALUS](#) as Augustus (Zos. 6.6-7), (Soz. 9.8).
  - d. [4] [ATTALUS](#) appoints [Alaric](#) and his brother [Athaulf](#) as [army officers](#). [ATTALUS](#) visits the palace accompanied by [imperial guards](#). The next day, he addresses the [Senate](#) and promises a return to traditional senatorial customs. (Zos. 6.7) (Soz. 9.8).
  - e. [5] [Alaric](#) urges [ATTALUS](#) to seize [Africa](#) which was under the control of [Comes Heraclianus](#) who is still loyal to [Honorius](#). [ATTALUS](#) only sends [Magister Militum Constans](#) with a small force in the hopes of winning [Africa](#) without a major battle. (Zos. 6.7).
  - f. [6] [ATTALUS](#) marches on [Ravenna](#) with a likely majority [Visigothic Army](#) (Olymp. Fr. 14). [Honorius - Ravenna](#) offers to recognize [ATTALUS](#) if they rule together, but [ATTALUS](#) declines the offer (Olymp. Fr. 14), (Zos. 6.8). An [Eastern Army](#) arrives by ship as reinforcements for [Honorius](#) (Zos. 6.8.2-3).
  - g. [7] [Magister Militum Constans](#) is killed in [Africa](#) and [Comes Heraclianus](#) cuts off African grain to [Rome](#) (Zos. 6.9, 11). [Alaric](#) withdraws the [Visigothic Army](#) from [Ravenna](#) due to disagreement with [ATTALUS'](#) decisions and attacks [Northern Italy](#) to force them to recognize [ATTALUS](#) (Zos. 6.9).
  - h. [8] CO-OPT (First deposition of ATTALUS) [Summer 410] (PLRE 2 Attalus 2)
    - i. [Senate](#) decides that a [Visigothic Army](#) should be sent to take [Africa](#) but [ATTALUS](#) disagrees (Zos. 6.12).
    - ii. [Alaric](#) deposes [ATTALUS - Ariminum](#) and sends the imperial regalia to [Honorius](#) (Zos. 6.12).
  - i. [9] [Alaric](#) besieges [Rome](#) a 3rd time, sacks it, dies a short while afterward. [Athaulf](#) succeeds him (Olymp. Fr. 11.4), and leads the [Visigothic Army](#) to southern Gaul (Prosp. 445: 412) with [Honorius'](#) half-sister [Galla Placidia](#) and [ATTALUS](#). Negotiations with Honorius over the supply of the Gothic army and the return of [Galla Placidia](#). (Phil. 12.4), (Olymp. Fr. 22.2).
  - j. [10] PROCLAMATION (Second time as Augustus) [414] (Prosp. 445: 414)
    - i. [ATTALUS](#) is raised as an emperor again by the [Visigoths](#) in southern Gaul (Prosp. 445: 414), (Olymp. Fr. 14, 22.2)
  - k. [11] CO-OPT (Second deposition as Augustus) [415-7] (Prosp. 445: 415, 417), (CP 416)
    - i. [Visigoths](#) abandon [ATTALUS](#), who is afterward taken to Rome to be displayed in a triumph. (Prosp. 445: Tiro 417), (Phil. 12.5), (Oros. 7.42.9)

#### CONSTANTIUS III / Constantius 17, PLRE 2

- 1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. [AUGUSTUS - Inheritance \(6 months 25 days\)](#)
    - i. Designated as an Augustus by an Augustus (Honorius) in competition with another Augustus (Theodosius II).
    - ii. From elevation of Constantius III as Augustus to his death.
- 2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. CONSTANTIUS III - Arles, Ravenna
    - ii. **"Honorius" (Executive / Individual) - Ravenna**
    - iii. **"Theodosius II" (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople**
    - iv. **"Constantine III" (Executive / Individual) - Arles**
    - v. **"Attalus" (Executive / Individual) - Southern Gaul**
  - b. **EXE-M: Imperial Family**

- i. “Galla Placidia” (Executive / Individual) - [Honorius’ half-sister], Southern Gaul, Ravenna
    - c. MIL-M: Army Masters
      - i. “Gerontius” (Military, Executive / Individual) - Arles
    - d. NON-M: Barbarians
      - i. “Visigoths” (Non-Roman, Military / Body) - Southern Gaul
- 3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Arles, Southern Gaul, Ravenna, Constantinople
- 4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION [411-5] CONSTANTIUS III - Arles** responsible for putting flight to *Gerontius* and defeating *Constantine III - Arles* (Soz. 9.13-4), (Oros. 7.42.1-3). He also was in charge of the campaign against the *Visigoths - Southern Gaul* and *Attalus - Southern Gaul* after he was raised as an emperor again (Oros. 7.42.9-15), (Prosp. 445: 415). He was given the title of *Patricius* (Prosp. 445: 415).
  - b. [2] [416-7] (Hyd. 54) The *Visigoths* return *Galla Placidia* (Oros. 7.42.12) and **CONSTANTIUS III** marries her (Olymp. Fr. 33.1).
  - c. [3] **PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Feb. 8, 421]** (Theoph. AM 5913)
    - i. *Honorius* elevates **CONSTANTIUS III** as an Augustus (Olymp. Fr. 33.1).
    - ii. Afterwards **CONSTANTIUS III** and *Honorius* jointly proclaim *Galla Placidia* an Augusta (Olymp. Fr. 33.1).
    - iii. Proclamation likely occurs in Ravenna, given *Honorius’* then permanent residence there. (Gillett, 2001: 141).
  - d. [4] *Theodosius II - Constantinople* does not recognize the accession and **CONSTANTIUS III** prepares an expedition against him (Olymp. Fr. 33.1).
  - e. [5] **CO-OPT (Death of Constantius III) [Sep. 2, 421]** (Theoph. AM 5913)

#### JOHANNES / Ioannes 6, PLRE 2

- 1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. AUGUSTUS - Election (~1 year, 10 months)
    - i. Raised as Augustus by himself and some army support in competition with another Augustus (Theodosius II).
    - ii. From elevation of Johannes as Augustus to his death.
- 2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. JOHANNES - Rome, Ravenna
    - ii. “*Theodosius II*” (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople
  - b. **MIL-A: Army**
    - i. “*Army of Johannes*” (Military / Body)
    - ii. “*Magister Militum Castinus*” (Military / Individual) - Rome
    - iii. “*Army officer Aspar*” (Military / Individual)
    - iv. “*Cura Palatii Aetius*” (Military / Individual) - Hunnic territory
    - v. “*Eastern Army*” (Military / Body)
    - vi. “*Magister Utriusque Ardabur*” (Military / Individual)
  - c. **ADM-A: Places**
    - i. “*Africa*” (Administrative / Body)
    - ii. “*Aquileia*” (Administrative / Body)
    - iii. “*Dalmatia*” (Administrative / Body)
- 3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Rome, Ravenna, Aquileia, Dalmatia, Constantinople, Africa
- 4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Valentinian III)
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION (Honorius dies) [Aug. 15, 423]** (Soc. 7.22.20)
  - b. [2] **PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Nov. 20, 423]** (Cons. Mars. 423)
    - i. *JOHANNES - Rome* takes power with the support of *Magister Militum Castinus*, but without *Theodosius II’s* approval (Prosp. 445: 423) (Greg. Tur. 2.8), (Phil. 12.13).
  - c. [3] *Africa* does not support *JOHANNES* (Prosp. 445: 424).

- d. [4] [Cura Palatii Aetius](#) is sent to bribe the [Huns](#) into attacking the [Eastern Army](#) (Greg. Tur. 2.8).
- e. [5] ACCESSION (Valentinian III made Caesar) [Oct. 23, 424] (*CIL* 1, 275), (*Olymp. Fr.* 43.1), (Phil. 12.13)
- f. [6] [Eastern Army](#) attacks and captures [Dalmatia](#). [Army officer Aspar](#) - [[Theodosius II](#)] captures [Aquileia](#) from [JOHANNES](#) (Phil. 12.13).
- g. [7] [Magister Utriusque Ardabur](#) (*Olymp.* 43.1) is captured by an [Army of Johannes](#) but is treated kindly because [JOHANNES](#) wants a peace treaty (Phil. 12.13).
- h. [8] **CO-OPT (Defeat and death of Johannes)** [**< Oct. 23, 425**] (*CIL* 1, 275), (*Olymp. Fr.* 43.1), (Phil. 12.13)
  - i. [JOHANNES](#) is captured by [Army officer Aspar](#), possibly in a trap by [Magister Utriusque Ardabur](#) and some of the [Army of Johannes](#) who switched sides (Phil. 12.13).
  - ii. [JOHANNES](#) is executed in Ravenna (*Hyd.* 75).

#### VALENTINIAN III / Valentinianus 4, *PLRE* 2

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. **CAESAR - Inheritance (< 1 year)**
    - i. Designated as a Caesar by an Augustus (Theodosius II) in competition with another emperor (Johannes).
    - ii. From elevation of Valentinian II as Caesar to the death of Johannes.
  - b. **AUGUSTUS - Inheritance (None)**
    - i. Designated as an Augustus by an Augustus (Theodosius II) without imperial contest. Johannes is dead before Valentinian III is elevated to Augustus.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. VALENTINIAN III - Constantinople, Thessalonica, Ravenna, Rome
    - ii. **“Theodosius II” (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople**
    - iii. **“Johannes” (Executive / Individual) - Rome, Ravenna**
  - b. *EXE-M: Augustae*
    - i. **“Galla Placidia” (Executive / Individual) - [Mother of Valentinian III], Constantinople, Thessalonica, Ravenna, Rome**
  - c. *MIL-M: Army*
    - i. **“Army of Johannes” (Military / Body)**
    - ii. **“Army officer Aspar” (Military / Individual) - Aquileia**
    - iii. **“Army officer Candidianus” (Military / Individual)**
    - iv. **“Eastern Army” (Military / Body) - Dalmatia**
    - v. **“Magister Utriusque Ardabur” (Military / Individual)**
  - d. **ADM-A: Court**
    - i. **“Magister Officiorum Helion” (Administrative / Individual) - Thessalonica, Rome**
  - e. *ADM-M: Places*
    - i. **“Aquileia” (Administrative / Body)**
    - ii. **“Italy” (Administrative / Body)**
  - f. *POP-M: People*
    - i. **“People of Rome (Popular / Body)**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Italy, Rome, Ravenna, Aquileia, Dalmatia, Thessalonica, Constantinople
4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Johannes)
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION (Honorius dies) [Aug. 15, 423] (*Soc.* 7.22.20)
  - b. [2] DELIBERATION [Nov. 20, 423] (*Cons. Mars.* 423) [Johannes - Rome](#) takes power in Rome (*Prosp.* 445: 423) (Greg. Tur. 2.8), (Phil. 12.13).
  - c. [3] [Theodosius II - Constantinople](#) decides to send [Galla Placidia](#) and her son [VALENTINIAN III](#) to take back power in [Italy](#) from [Johannes](#) for their dynasty. They are accompanied by an [Eastern Army](#) led by [Magister Utriusque Ardabur](#), his son [Army officer Aspar](#), and [Army officer Candidianus](#). [Magister Officiorum Helion](#) is sent ahead to Thessalonica to prepare for a Caesar coronation. (*Olymp. Fr.* 43.1)

- d. [4] **PROCLAMATION (Caesar) [Dies Imperii: Oct. 23, 424]** (*CIL* 1, 275), (*Olymp. Fr.* 43.1), (*Phil.* 12.13)
  - i. [Theodosius II - Constantinople](#) makes [VALENTINIAN III](#) a Caesar in Thessalonica (*Phil.* 12.13). He is betrothed to [Theodosius II's](#) daughter [Eudoxia](#) (*Marc. Comes* 424).
  - ii. [Magister Officiorum Helion - Thessalonica](#) places the Caesar robes on [VALENTINIAN III](#) (*Olymp. Fr.* 43.1).
- e. [5] [Eastern Army](#) attacks and captures [Dalmatia](#). [Army officer Aspar](#) captures [Aquileia](#) (*Phil.* 12.13).
- f. [6] [Magister Utriusque Ardabur](#) (*Olymp.* 43.1) is captured by an [Army of Johannes](#) but is treated kindly because [Johannes](#) wants a peace treaty (*Phil.* 12.13).
- g. [7] **CO-OPT (Defeat and death of Johannes) [< Oct. 23, 425]** (*CIL* 1, 275), (*Olymp. Fr.* 43.1), (*Phil.* 12.13)
  - i. [Johannes](#) is captured by [Army officer Aspar](#), possibly in a trap by [Magister Utriusque Ardabur](#) and some of the [Army of Johannes](#) who switched sides (*Phil.* 12.13).
  - ii. [Johannes](#) is executed in Ravenna (*Hyd.* 75).
  - iii. [VALENTINIAN III](#) and [Galla Placidia](#) enter Ravenna. [Magister Officiorum Helion](#) is sent ahead to Rome to prepare for an Augustus coronation.
- h. [8] **PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Oct. 23, 425]** (*CIL* 1, 275), (*Olymp. Fr.* 43.1), (*Phil.* 12.13)
  - i. Once the [People of Rome](#) have gathered (“when all had assembled there”), [Magister Officiorum Helion - Rome](#) places the Augustus robes on [VALENTINIAN III - Rome](#) (*Olymp. Fr.* 43.1).

PETRONIUS MAXIMUS / Maximus 22, *PLRE* 2

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. [AUGUSTUS - Election \(2 months, 14 days\)](#)
    - i. Raised as Augustus by himself and/or various institutions in a capital city in competition with another emperor (*Marcian*).
    - ii. From elevation of Petronius Maximus to his death.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. *EXE-M: Emperors*
    - i. PETRONIUS MAXIMUS - Rome
    - ii. “Valentinian III” (*Executive / Individual*) - Rome
  - b. **EXE-D: Augustae**
    - i. **“Eudoxia” (Executive / Individual) - [Valentinian III’s wife], Rome**
  - c. *MIL-M: Army masters*
    - i. “Aetius” (*Military, Executive / Individual*) - Rome
  - d. *MIL-M: Army*
    - i. “Army officer Majorian” (*Military / Individual*)
  - e. **MIL-D: Guards**
    - i. **“Soldiers” (Military / Body) - [Petronius Maximus], [Maximian], Rome**
    - ii. “Two imperial bodyguards” (*Military / Individuals*) - Rome
  - f. **ADM-A: Court**
    - i. **“Palace officials” (Administrative / Body) - Rome** “Maximian” (*Administrative / Individual*)
    - ii.
  - g. *ADM-M: Eunuchs*
    - i. “Primicerius Heraclius” (*Administrative / Individual*) - Rome
  - h. **POP-A: People**
    - i. **“Mob” (Popular / Body) - Rome**
  - i. *NON-M: Barbarians*
    - i. “Geiseric” (*Non-Roman, Executive / Individual*) - Africa, Rome
    - ii. “Vandal Army” (*Non-Roman, Military / Body*) - Africa, Rome
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Rome, Africa
4. Narrative stages

- a. [1] DELIBERATION (Assassination of Aetius) [~Sep. 21-2, 454] (*Add. ad Prosp. 445: Havn. 454*), (*Cons. Mars. 454*).
  - i. PETRONIUS MAXIMUS uses Primicerius Heraclius to convince Valentinian III to kill Aetius - Rome (*Add. ad Prosp. 445: Havn. 454*), (*Joh. Ant. Fr. 224*, ed. Mariev).
- b. [2] DELIBERATION (Assassination of Valentinian III) [Mar. 26, 455] (*Cont. Reich. Prosp. 445: 27 Chronica Minora I 490*)
  - i. Afterwards, Valentinian III does not want to make PETRONIUS MAXIMUS a consul or a patrician. Primicerius Heraclius concurs with Valentinian III's decision (*Joh. Ant. Fr. 224*, ed. Mariev).
  - ii. PETRONIUS MAXIMUS convinces two imperial bodyguards to kill Valentinian III and Primicerius Heraclius while they are both out in Rome's Campus Martius. The two imperial bodyguards take Valentinian III's diadem and ride to PETRONIUS MAXIMUS (*Joh. Ant. Fr. 224*, ed. Mariev).
- c. [3] DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Mar. 17, 455] (*FV Prior. 455*),
  - i. Some soldiers - [Petronius Maximus] want PETRONIUS MAXIMUS as emperor. (*Joh. Ant. Fr. 224*, ed. Mariev)
  - ii. Other soldiers - [Maximian] want Maximian, a domesticus to Aetius and the son of a wealthy businessman. Eudoxia wants Army officer Majorian. (*Joh. Ant. Fr. 224*, ed. Mariev)
  - iii. PETRONIUS MAXIMUS distributes money, presumably to palace officials and secures the imperial office. He threatens Eudoxia with death, and forces her to marry him. (*Joh. Ant. Fr. 224*, ed. Mariev)
- d. [4] CO-OPT (Death of PETRONIUS MAXIMUS) [May 31, 455] (*FV Prior. 455*).
  - i. Geiseric with a Vandal army prepares to besiege Rome (*Joh. Ant. Fr. 224*, ed. Mariev).
  - ii. PETRONIUS MAXIMUS tries to flee but is killed by a mob and mutinous soldiers (*Hyd. 155*), (*Joh. Ant. Fr. 224*, ed. Mariev)

#### AVITUS 5, PLRE 2

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. AUGUSTUS - Election (1 year, 3 months, 6 days)
    - i. Raised as Augustus by non-Romans and/or various institutions near a capital city in competition with another emperor (Marcian).
    - ii. From elevation of Avitus to his death.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. AVITUS - Toulouse, Beaucaire, Italy, Rome, Placentia
    - ii. "Marcian" (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople
    - iii. "Petronius Maximus" (Executive / Individual) - Rome
  - b. **MIL-A: Army**
    - i. "Comes Domesticorum Majorian" (Military / Individual - Placentia
    - ii. "Magister Militum Ricimer" (Military / Individual) - Placentia
    - iii. "Soldiers" (Military / Body) - Beaucaire
  - c. **ADM-A: Senate**
    - i. "Senate" (Administrative / Body) - Rome
  - d. **ADM-A: Places**
    - i. "Local nobles" (Administrative / Body) - Southern Gaul
  - e. **POP-A: People**
    - i. "People of Rome" (Popular / Body)
  - f. **NON-D: Barbarians**
    - i. "Visigothic king Theoderic" (Non-Roman, Executive / Individual) - Toulouse
    - ii. "Visigothic allies" (Non-Roman, Military / Body) - Italy, Rome
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Southern Gaul, Toulouse, Beaucaire, Italy, Placentia, Rome, Constantinople
4. Narrative stages

- a. [1] **DELIBERATION (Death of Petronius Maximus) [> May 31, 455]** (*FV Prior*. 455).
  - i. After the death of [Petronius Maximus - Rome](#) is reported, [Visigothic king Theodoric - Toulouse](#) urges [AVITUS](#), who was appointed as magister utriusque by [Petronius Maximus](#), to become emperor. (Hyd. 163), (Sid. Ap. *Carm.* 7.450, 508-9).
- b. [2] **PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Jul. 9, 455]** (Burgess, 1988: 93), (*PLRE 2* Avitus 5) Alternatively Jul. 10, 455 (*FV Prior*. 455)
  - i. [Local nobles - Southern Gaul](#) and [soldiers](#) surround [AVITUS](#) on a mound platform in Beaucaire, near Arles. They crown him with a torque and give him imperial insignia (Sid. Ap. *Carm.* 7.572-80).
- c. [3] CO-OPT [Sep. 21, 455] (*Auct. Prosp. Havn.* 445: 7, *Chronica Minora I*: 304) [AVITUS](#) marches to Italy and Rome with his presumably [Visigothic allies](#) and is acknowledged as emperor “by the Romans”, meaning presumably the [Senate](#) and the [People of Rome](#) (Hyd. 156, 159).
- d. [4] [AVITUS](#) sends an embassy to [Marcian - Constantinople](#) asking for recognition (Hyd. 159).
- e. [5A] [Marcian](#) does not recognize [AVITUS](#), given different consuls for 456 between east and west (*Cons. Const.* 456), (*FV Prior*. 456).
- f. [5B] [Marcian](#) recognizes [AVITUS](#) (Hyd. 162).
- g. [6] **CO-OPT (Deposition of Avitus) [Oct. 17, 456]** (*FV Prior*. 456)
  - i. [AVITUS - Placentia](#) is deposed and/or killed by [Magister Militum Ricimer](#) (*FV Prior*. 456) and [Comes Domesticorum Majorian](#) (*Chron. Gall.* 511: 68).

#### MAJORIAN / Maiorianus, *PLRE 2*

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. [AUGUSTUS-A - Inheritance \(None\)](#)
    - i. Designated as an Augustus by an Augustus (Leo I) without imperial contest on Dec. 28, 457.
  - b. Augustus-B - Election (8 months, 27 days)
    - i. Raised as an emperor by the army in initial competition with another Augustus (Leo I).
    - ii. From first elevation to second elevation, where Majorian is able to secure recognition from all necessary parties.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. MAJORIAN - Ravenna
    - ii. **“Leo I” (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople**
  - b. **MIL-A: Army**
    - i. **“Army” (Military / Body)**
  - c. **ADM-A: Senate**
    - i. **“Senate” (Military / Body) - Rome**
  - d. **POP-A: People**
    - i. **“People” (Popular / Body)**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Rome, Ravenna, Constantinople
4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION (Deposition of Avitus) [Oct. 17, 456]** (*FV Prior*. 456)
  - b. [2] **ACCESSION (Death of Marcian to Leo I’s coronation) [Jan. 27, 457 - Feb. 7, 457]** (Theod. Lect. *Epit.* 367), (*CP* 457)
  - c. [3] **DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION? (“Emperor”) [Dies Imperii? : Apr. 1, 457]** (*FV Prior*. 457)
    - i. [MAJORIAN](#) is elevated as an emperor. (*FV Prior*. 457)
    - ii. First proclamation might be because he declines the use of the imperial title and prefers to call himself a *magister militum* (Sid. Ap. *Carm.* 5.9-12).
    - iii. It might represent an [army](#) acclamation only, without the securing of other necessary political interests (Jones, 1964: 241).
    - iv. Alternatively, the first proclamation might only be a raising to the office of Caesar, but one designated by [Leo I](#) (Max, 1979: 234).

- d. [4] **DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii? : Dec. 28, 457]** (*Auct. Prosp. 445: 8, Chronica Minora I: 492*)
  - i. [MAJORIAN - Ravenna](#) is elevated as an emperor. (*Auct. Prosp. 445: 8, Chronica Minora I: 492*)
  - ii. Second proclamation might be official recognition by all the required parties. Sidonius confirms the securing of these parties - the [people](#), the [Senate](#), the [army](#), and [Leo I](#) himself - in [MAJORIAN's](#) accession but does not say when (*Sid. Ap. Carm. 5.387-8*).
  - iii. It might also be a raising to the office of Augustus (Max, 1979: 234).
  - iv. Finally, the first date might be wrong and only the second is real, or vice versa.
- e. [5] **CO-OPT (Death of Majorian in Tortona) [Aug. 7, 461]** (*FV Prior. 461*)

#### LIBIUS SEVERUS / Severus 18, *PLRE 2*

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. **AUGUSTUS - Election (3 years, 8 months, 27 days)**
    - i. Raised as an Augustus by an army master in competition with another Augustus (Leo I).
    - ii. From elevation of Libius Severus until his death.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. LIBIUS SEVERUS - Ravenna, Rome
    - ii. **“Leo I” (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople**
  - b. **MIL-D: Army Masters**
    - i. **“Ricimer” (Military, Executive / Individual)**
  - c. **ADN-A: Senate**
    - i. **“Senate of Rome” (Administrative / Body)**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Rome, Constantinople
4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION (Death of Majorian) [Aug. 7, 461]** (*FV Prior. 461*)
  - b. [2] **DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Nov. 19, 461]** (*FV Prior. 461*)
    - i. [LIBIUS SEVERUS - Ravenna](#) (*Cass. Chron. 461*) is raised as an emperor by [Ricimer](#) (*FV Prior. 461*).
    - ii. [LIBIUS SEVERUS](#) is also recognized by the [Senate of Rome](#) (*Hyd. 206*).
  - c. [3] [LIBIUS SEVERUS](#) is not recognized by [Leo I](#) (*Jord. Rom. 335*).
  - d. [4] **CO-OPT (Death of Libius Severus in Rome) [Aug. 15, 465]** (*FV Prior. 465*)

#### ANTHEMIUS 3, *PLRE 2*

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. **AUGUSTUS - Inheritance (None)**
    - i. Designated as an Augustus by an Augustus (Leo I) without imperial contest.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. ANTHEMIUS - Constantinople, Italy, Rome
    - ii. **“Leo I” (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople**
  - b. **EXE-M: Imperial Family**
    - i. **“Alypia” (Executive / Individual) - [Anthemius' daughter]**
  - c. **MIL-M: Army Masters**
    - i. **“Ricimer” (Military, Executive / Individual)**
  - d. **MIL-A: Army**
    - i. **“Army” (Military / Body) - Constantinople, Italy, Rome**
    - ii. **“Magister Militum Marcellinus” (Military / Individual) - Constantinople, Italy**
  - e. **ADM-M: Senate**
    - i. **“Senate” (Administrative / Body) - Rome**
  - f. **ADM-M: Places**
    - i. **“Italy” (Administrative / Body)**

3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Italy, Rome, Constantinople
4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION (Death of Libius Severus ) [Aug. 15, 465] (*FV Prior.* 465)
  - b. [2] DELIBERATION [**Apr. 12, 467**] (*FV Prior.* 467)
    - i. [Leo I - Constantinople](#) chooses [ANTHEMIUS](#) to become emperor (Marcell. Com. 467), (*Cass. Chron.* 467), (Hyd. 230).
    - ii. [ANTHEMIUS](#) is sent to [Italy](#) with an [Army](#) and [Magister Militum Marcellinus](#) (Hyd. 230)
  - c. [3] PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [**Dies Imperii: Apr. 12, 467**] (*FV Prior.* 467)
    - i. [ANTHEMIUS](#) is acclaimed as Augustus near Rome, presumably by his [Army](#) (Hyd. 231), (*Cass. Chron.* 467).
  - d. [4] CO-OPT [467] (*PLRE 2* Alypia) [ANTHEMIUS](#) marries his daughter [Alypia](#) to [Ricimer](#) (Sid. Ap. Carm. 2.484-6).
  - e. [5] CO-OPT. [ANTHEMIUS](#) is consul for 468, supposing some [Senate](#) recognition (*FV Prior.* 468).
  - f. [6] CO-OPT (Death of Anthemius in Rome) [Jul. 11, 472] (*FV Prior.* 472)

#### OLYBRIUS 6, *PLRE 2*

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. [AUGUSTUS - Election \(~7 months\)](#)
    - i. Raised as an Augustus by an army master in competition with other Augusti (Anthemius, Leo I).
    - ii. From elevation of Olybrius until his death.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. OLYBRIUS - Constantinople, Rome
    - ii. **“Leo I” (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople**
    - iii. **“Anthemius” (Executive / Individual) - Rome**
  - b. **MIL-D: Army Masters**
    - i. **“Ricimer” (Military, Executive / Individual) - Rome**
  - c. **MIL-M: Army**
    - i. (Military / Body) - [Attached to Anthemius]
    - ii. (Military / Body) - [Attached to Ricimer]
  - d. **ADM-A: Senate**
    - i. **“Senate” (Administrative / Body) - Rome**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Rome, Constantinople
4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION [Late 471 / Early 472] (Gillett 152) Civil war as [Ricimer](#) besieges [Anthemius](#) in Rome (Joh. Ant. Fr. 232, ed. Mariev).
  - b. [2] [OLYBRIUS - Constantinople](#) (Joh. Mal. 14.31) is tasked by [Leo I - Constantinople](#) to broker a peace between the two (Joh. Mal. 14.45).
  - c. [3] [Leo I](#) supposedly sends secret orders to [Anthemius](#) to have [OLYBRIUS](#) and [Ricimer](#) killed. [Ricimer](#) discovers the note and shares it with [OLYBRIUS](#) (Joh. Mal. 14.45)
  - d. [4] DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [**Dies Imperii: Apr. 472**] (Gillett, 2001: 153)
    - i. [Ricimer](#) promotes [OLYBRIUS](#) outside of Rome (Gillett, 2001: 153).
  - e. [5] CO-OPT (Death of Anthemius) [**Jul. 11, 472**] (*FV Prior.* 472)
    - i. [Anthemius](#) is killed in Rome after a siege by [Ricimer](#) and [OLYBRIUS](#) is “installed in the imperial palace (τὸν δὲ Ὀλύβριον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείον ἀνήγαγεν αὐλήν)” (Joh. Ant. Fr. 232, ed. Mariev).
    - ii. [OLYBRIUS](#) has [Senate](#) support (Joh. Mal. 14.45)
  - f. [6] [Leo I](#) never recognizes [OLYBRIUS](#) (Joh. Mal. 14.45).
  - g. [7] CO-OPT (Death of Ricimer) [Aug. 18, 472] (*FV Prior.* 472).

- h. [8] ACCESSION (Leo I makes Leo II a Caesar in Constantinople) [< Oct. 472] (Croke, 2008: 575).
- i. [9] CO-OPT (Death of OLYBRIUS in Rome) [Nov. 2, 472] (*FV Prior.* 472)

#### GLYCERIUS, *PLRE 2*

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. AUGUSTUS - Election (~1 year, 3 months)
    - i. Raised as an Augustus by an army master in competition with other emperors (Leo I, Leo II).
    - ii. From elevation of Glycerius until deposition.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. GLYCERIUS - Ravenna, Rome
    - ii. **“Julius Nepos” (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople, Ravenna, Rome**
    - iii. **“Leo I” (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople**
    - iv. **“Olybrius” (Executive / Individual)**
  - b. **MIL-D: Army Masters**
    - i. **“Gundobad” (Military, Executive / Individual)**
  - c. *MIL-M: Army*
    - i. *(Military / Body) - [Attached to Julius Nepos]*
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Ravenna, Rome, Constantinople
4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Julius Nepos)
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION [Aug. 18, 472] (Death of Ricimer) (*FV Prior.* 472). Gundobad succeeds him as army master (Joh. Ant. *Fr.* 232, ed. Mariev). Olybrius grants Gundobad the title of Patricius (*FV Prior.* 472).
  - b. [2] ACCESSION (Leo I makes Leo II a Caesar in Constantinople) [< Oct. 472] (Croke, 2008: 575).
  - c. [3] DELIBERATION (Death of Olybrius) [Nov. 2, 472] (*FV Prior.* 472)
  - d. [4] PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Mar. 5, 473] (*FV. Prior.* 473) Alternatively Mar. 3, 473 (*Pasch. Camp.* 473)
    - i. Gundobad selects GLYCERIUS - Ravenna (*FV Prior.* 473) as Augustus (Joh. Ant. *Fr.* 232, ed. Mariev).
  - e. [5] Leo I does not recognize GLYCERIUS and tasks Julius Nepos - Constantinople with deposing him (Joh. Ant. *Fr.* 232, ed. Mariev).
  - f. [6] ACCESSION (Leo I makes Leo II an Augustus in Constantinople) [Nov. 17, 473] (*De Cer.* 1.94.431).
  - g. [7] CO-OPT (Leo I dies) [Jan. 18, 474] (*Auct. Havn. Post.* 474)
  - h. [8] ACCESSION (Zeno is crowned by Leo II) [Jan. 29, 474] (*Auct. Havn. Post.* 474).
  - i. [9] ACCESSION [< Jun. 19, 474] (*Auct. Havn. Post.* 474) Julius Nepos - Ravenna is proclaimed a Caesar (Jord. *Rom.* 338)
  - j. [10] CO-OPT (Deposition of GLYCERIUS) [< Jun. 19, 474] (*Auct. Havn. Post.* 474).
    - i. Julius Nepos captures Rome, deposes GLYCERIUS and forces him to be a bishop (*Anon. Val.* 7.36).

#### JULIUS NEPOS 3, *PLRE 2*

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. AUGUSTUS - Inheritance (None)
    - i. Designated as an Augustus by an Augustus (Leo I) beforehand. Later elevated without imperial contest at the moment of Julius Nepos' Augustus accession.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. JULIUS NEPOS - Constantinople, Ravenna, Rome, Dalmatia
    - ii. **“Leo I” (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople**
    - iii. **“Glycerius” (Executive / Individual) - Rome**

- b. **MIL-A: Army**
  - i. **“Army” (Military / Body) - [Julius Nepos]**
- 3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Ravenna, Rome, Constantinople
- 4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Glycerius)
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION / ACCESSION (Elevation of Glycerius) [Mar. 3, 473]** (*Pasch. Camp.* 473)
  - b. [2] **Leo I - Constantinople** tasks **JULIUS NEPOS - Constantinople** with deposing **Glycerius - Rome** (*Joh. Ant. Fr.* 232, ed. Mariev).
  - c. [3] **ACCESSION (Leo I makes Leo II an Augustus in Constantinople) [Nov. 17, 473]** (*De Cer.* 1.94.431).
  - d. [4] **ACCESSION (Leo I dies) [Jan. 18, 474]** (*Auct. Havn. Post.* 474).
  - e. [5] **ACCESSION (Zeno is crowned by Leo II in Constantinople) [Jan. 29, 474]** (*Auct. Havn. Post.* 474).
  - f. [6?] **PROCLAMATION (Caesar) [< Jun. 19, 474]** (*Auct. Havn. Post.* 474)
    - i. **JULIUS NEPOS - Ravenna** is proclaimed a Caesar, presumably by his **Army** (*Jord. Rom.* 338). Jordanes seems to be the only source for this earlier promotion.
  - g. [7] **CO-OPT [< Jun. 19, 474] Deposition of Glycerius** (*Auct. Havn. Post.* 474).
    - i. **JULIUS NEPOS** captures Rome, deposes **Glycerius** and forces him to be a bishop (*Anon. Val.* 7.36).
  - h. [8] **PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Jun. 19 or 24, 474]** (*Auct. Havn. Post.* 474), (*FV Prior.* 474)
    - i. **JULIUS NEPOS** is made an Augustus in Rome (*Joh. Ant. Fr.* 232, ed. Mariev), (*Anon. Val.* 7.36)
  - i. [9] **ACCESSION (Basiliscus is made emperor, Zeno flees) [Jan. 9, 475]** (*Joh. Ant. Fr.* 233, ed. Mariev)
  - j. [10] **CO-OPT [Aug. 28, 475] JULIUS NEPOS** flees to Dalmatia (*FV Prior.* 475).
  - k. [11] **CO-OPT (Zeno returns, Basiliscus is deposed [~Aug. 476]** (*Theoph. AM* 5966)
  - l. [12] **CO-OPT (Deposition of Romulus Augustulus) [~Sep. 476]** (*FV Prior.* 476)
  - m. [13] **ACCESSION (Revolt of Marcianus) [479]**
  - n. [14] **CO-OPT [May 9, 480] Death of JULIUS NEPOS** (*FV Prior.* 480).

#### ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS 4, PLRE 2

- 1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. **AUGUSTUS - Election (~10 months)**
    - i. Raised as an Augustus by an army master (Orestes) who was his father in competition with other emperors (Julius Nepos, Zeno, Basiliscus).
    - ii. From elevation of Romulus Augustulus until his deposition.
- 2. Political interest type involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS - Ravenna
    - ii. **“Julius Nepos” (Executive / Individual) - Rome, Dalmatia**
  - b. **MIL-D: Army Masters**
    - i. **“Orestes” (Military, Executive / Individual) - Rome, Ravenna, Placentia**
  - c. **MIL-M: Army**
    - i. **“Army” (Military / Body) - [Orestes]**
  - d. **NON-A: Barbarians**
    - i. **“Odoacer” (Non-Roman, Executive, / Individual) - Placentia, Ravenna**
    - ii. **“Barbarian soldiers” (Non-Roman, Military / Body)**
- 3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Ravenna, Rome, Dalmatia, Constantinople
- 4. Narrative stages (Appendix overlaps: Basiliscus)
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION / ACCESSION (Julius Nepos made Augustus) [Jun. 19 or 24, 474]** (*Auct. Havn. Post.* 474), (*FV Prior.* 474)
  - b. [2] **CO-OPT (Leo II dies) [Nov. 474]** (Croke, 2008: 575).

- c. [3] ACCESSION (Zeno flees from Constantinople and Basiliscus takes power) [Jan. 475] (*PLRE* 2 Basiliscus 2)
- d. [4] **DELIBERATION** [**< Aug. 28, 475**] (*FV Prior.* 475)
  - i. [Julius Nepos](#) appoints [Orestes](#) as army master (*Jord. Get.* 241), (*Anon. Val.* 7.36).
- e. [5] **CO-OPT (Expulsion of Julius Nepos)** [**Aug. 28, 475**] (*FV Prior.* 475)
  - i. [Orestes](#) leads an [Army](#) revolt against [Julius Nepos](#) and he flees from Rome to Dalmatia (*Anon. Val.* 7.36).
- f. [6] **PROCLAMATION (Augustus)** [**Dies Imperii: Oct. 31, 475**] (*FV Prior.* 475)
  - i. [Orestes](#) makes his son [ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS](#) an Augustus at Ravenna (*FV Prior.* 475).
- g. [7] ACCESSION (Zeno returns and deposes Basiliscus) [Aug. 476] (*PLRE* 2 Basiliscus 2)
- h. [8] [Aug. 23, 476] (*FV Prior.* 476) [Barbarian soldiers](#) ask [Orestes](#) for land grants, but he refuses. [Odoacer](#) offers to make these land grants happen if the [barbarian soldiers](#) make him their king. (*Proc. DB* 5.1.1-8), (*Jord. Get.* 242).
- i. [9] [Odoacer](#) and his [barbarian soldiers](#) march on and kill [Orestes - Placentia](#) (*FV Prior.* 476), (*Anon. Val.* 8.37-8).
- j. [10] **CO-OPT (Deposition of ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS)** [**~Sep. 476**] (*FV Prior.* 476)
  - i. [Odoacer](#) deposes [ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS - Ravenna](#) (*Anon. Val.* 8.37-8).
- k. [11] [ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS](#) was never recognized by the eastern emperors, who still viewed [Julius Nepos - Dalmatia](#) as the rightful western emperor (*Malch. Fr.* 14).
- l. [12] ACCESSION (Revolt of Marcianus) [479]
- m. [13] **CO-OPT (Death of Julius Nepos)** [May 9, 480] (*FV Prior.* 480)

#### THELA, *PLRE* 2

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. **CAESAR - Election (~3 years?)**
    - i. Raised as an Augustus by a barbarian king (Odoacer), who was his father, in competition with another emperor(s) (Zeno/Anastasius).
    - ii. From elevation of Thela until his death.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. *EXE-M: Emperors*
    - i. THELA/OKLA - Southern Gaul, Italy
    - ii. “*Romulus Augustulus*” (*Executive / Individual*) - Ravenna
  - b. *ADM-M: Places*
    - i. “*Italy*” (*Administrative / Body*) - Italy
  - c. **NON-D: Barbarians**
    - i. “**Odoacer**” (**Non-Roman, Executive / Individual**) - Ravenna
    - ii. “**Theoderic**” (**Non-Roman, Executive / Individual**) - [**Ostrogoths**]
    - iii. “*Barbarian army*” (*Non-Roman, Military / Body*) - [*Odoacer*], Northern Italy
    - iv. “*Ostrogothic army*” (*Non-Roman, Military / Body*) - [*Theoderic*], Northern Italy
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Southern Gaul, Italy, Northern Italy, Ravenna, Constantinople
4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION** [476-7] (Romulus Augustulus’ deposition and Odoacer’s promotion)
    - i. [Odoacer](#) deposes [Romulus Augustulus - Ravenna](#) (*Anon. Val.* 8.37-8).
    - ii. [Odoacer](#) offers to govern Italy as a Patricius for [Zeno](#) (*Malch. Fr.* 14), (*Anon. Val.* 10.47), (*Cass. Chron.* 476).
  - b. [2] ACCESSION (Revolt of Marcianus) [479]
  - c. [3] ACCESSION (Revolt of Leontius) [484-8]
  - d. [4] [~488] (*Anon. Val.* 10.48) [Zeno](#) asks Ostrogothic king [Theoderic](#) to take [Italy](#) from [Odoacer](#), saying if he can do so, [Theoderic](#) can govern Italy until such time as? [Zeno](#) takes over for himself (*Anon. Val.* 11.49).
  - e. [5] **DELIBERATION** [489-90] [Theoderic](#) and his [Ostrogothic army](#) defeat [Odoacer](#) and his [barbarian army](#) in various battles in northern Italy (*Cass. Chron.* 489-90), (*Anon. Val.* 11.50-1). [Theoderic](#) begins a three year siege of [Odoacer - Ravenna](#) (*Cass. Chron.* 490-3).

- f. [6] **PROCLAMATION (Caesar) [Dies Imperii? : ~490-3]** (*PLRE 2* Thela)
  - i. [Odoacer](#) makes his son [THELA/OKLA](#) a Caesar (*Joh. Ant. Fr.* 238, ed. Mariev).
- g. [7] **ACCESSION** (Zeno dies and Anastasius is chosen as emperor) [491]
- h. [8] **CO-OPT** (Death of Odoacer) [493] (*PLRE 2* Thela) [THELA/OKLA](#) is given to [Theoderic](#) as a hostage by [Odoacer](#) so as to end the Ravenna siege (*Anon. Val.* 11.54-5). Shortly afterwards, [Odoacer - Ravenna](#) is killed by [Theoderic - Ravenna](#) (*Anon. Val.* 11.54). [Theoderic](#) exiles [THELA/OKLA](#) to southern Gaul (*Joh. Ant. Fr.* 238, ed. Mariev).
- i. [9] **CO-OPT (Death of THELA) [> 493]** (*PLRE 2* Thela)
  - i. [THELA/OKLA](#) escapes from southern Gaul and heads to Italy, but is captured. [Theoderic](#) then has him killed. (*Joh. Ant. Fr.* 238, ed. Mariev).

## Eastern

### THEODOSIUS II / Theodosius 6, *PLRE 2*

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. **AUGUSTUS - Inheritance (None)**
    - i. Designated as an Augustus by an Augustus (Arcadius) without imperial contest.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. THEODOSIUS II - Constantinople, Hebdomon
    - ii. **“Arcadius” (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople, Hebdomon**
  - b. *POP-M: People*
    - i. *“People of Constantinople” (Popular / Body)*
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Constantinople, Hebdomon
4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION (Birth of Theodosius II) [Apr. 10, 401]** (*CP* 401)
    - i. [THEODOSIUS II](#)'s birth is greeted with enthusiasm by the [People of Constantinople](#). “Even from his birth he was proclaimed Emperor. And there was much rejoicing in the city” (*Marc. Diac. V. Porph.* 44)
  - b. [2] **PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Jan. 11, 402]** (Burgess, 1988: 92) Alternatively Jan. 10, 402 (*CP* 402)
    - i. [THEODOSIUS II](#) is elevated as Augustus by [Arcadius](#) on the tribunal at the Hebdomon.
  - c. [3] **CO-OPT** (Death of Arcadius) [May 1, 408] (*Soc.* 6.23), (*Marc. Comes* 408)
    - i. Some sources consider [THEODOSIUS II](#)'s rule to not begin until after his father's death (*Soc.* 7.1), (*Phil.* 12.7), (*Oros.* 7.46.1).

### MARCIAN / Marcianus 8, *PLRE 2*

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. **AUGUSTUS - Election (~1.5 years)**
    - i. Raised as an Augustus by an army officer, Augusta, and/or the institutions of a capital city in competition with another emperor (Valentinian III).
    - ii. From elevation of Marcian as Augustus to recognition from Valentinian III.
  - b. Augustus-B - Inheritance (~1.5 years)
    - i. Designated as an Augustus by an Augustus (Theodosius II).
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. MARCIAN - Constantinople
    - ii. **“Valentinian III” (Executive / Individual) - Rome**
  - b. **EXE-D: Augustae**
    - i. **“Pulcheria” (Executive / Individual) - [Theodosius II's sister]**
  - c. **MIL-D: Army**
    - i. **“Army officer Aspar” (Military / Individual)**
    - ii. **“Army” (Military / Body)**
  - d. **ADM-A: Senate**



1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. AUGUSTUS - Election (11 days)
    - i. Elected as an Augustus by an army master and various institutions in a capital city without imperial contest. There are no other emperors in the interregnum.
    - ii. From the death of Marcian to Leo I's coronation.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. Emperors
    - i. LEO I - Constantinople
  - b. *EXE-M: Augustae*
    - i. "Augusta" (*Executive / Individual*)
  - c. **MIL-D: Army Masters**
    - i. "Aspar" (**Military, Executive / Individual**)
  - d. *MIL-M: Army*
    - i. "Army, soldiers" (*Military / Body*)
  - e. **MIL-A: Guards**
    - i. "Candidati" (*Military / Body*)
    - ii. "Drill instructors" (*Military / Individuals*)
    - iii. "Scholae, guards" (*Military / Body*)
  - f. *A-M: Senate*
    - i. "Senate, Senators" (*Administrative / Body*) - Constantinople
  - g. **A-A: Court**
    - i. "Archons" (*Administrative / Body*)
    - ii. "City prefects, Magister Officiorum, Comes Privatarum, ex-consuls" (*Administrative / Individuals*)
    - iii. "Palace, Patricians" (*Administrative / Body*)
  - h. *A-M: Eunuchs*
    - i. "Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi" (*Administrative / Individual*)
  - i. *R-M: Bishops*
    - i. "Clergy" (*Religious / Body*)
    - ii. "Patriarch" (*Religious / Individual*)
  - j. **P-A: People**
    - i. "People" (*Popular / Body*)
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Constantinople
4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION (Death of Marcian to LEO I's coronation) [Jan. 27, 457 - Feb. 7, 457]** (Theod. Lect. *Epit.* 367), (*CP* 457)
    - i. Aspar selects LEO I to be emperor (Cand. *Fr.* 1), (*Jord. Rom.* 335), (*Prisc. Fr.* 19)
  - b. [2] **PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Feb. 7, 457]** (*CP* 457)
    - i. Archons, scholae, other soldiers, and the Patriarch go to the Campus Martius of Constantinople. The People cry out for LEO I, saying that his election answers the prayers of the Palace, the Army, the Senate, and the People (*De Cer.* 1.91.410).
    - ii. LEO I is brought to the tribunal. Drill instructors place a torque on his head, another is put on his right hand. People acclaim him, labara are raised. Candidati protect LEO I in a testudo formation as he puts on the imperial dress. LEO I, wearing a diadem, appears to the People. Archons make obeisance and People acclaim him again (*De Cer.* 1.91.411).
    - iii. LEO I says he is a fellow soldier. People shout "the Army longs for you." He promises a donative to the Army. He also gives gifts/promissory notes to two city prefects and the magister officiorum (*De Cer.* 1.91.412).
  - c. [3] LEO I's ceremony continued or generalized coronation procedure (Moffatt and Tall, 2012: 412 n.2).
    - i. The emperor goes to the Church of St. Karpos and Papylos, but the Patriarch is not there because he is at the Hagia Sophia. He prays at the church, then orders Archons to escort him to the Church of St. John the Baptist. He removes his crown and gives it to the Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi who hands it back to him when he is at the altar. He places it

- at the altar then he gives the crown back to the [Praepositus](#), and he presents gifts with the assistance of the [Comes Privatarum](#). (*De Cer.* 1.91.413)
- ii. The emperor puts on the crown and goes to the palace of the Helenianai. A [guard](#) greets him. He changes clothes, sits in a carriage with the foremost [Patricians](#), with other [Archons](#) preceding him, and they go to the Forum of Constantine, where he receives the [city prefect](#) and the [Senate](#) who offer him a gold crown. Then he is escorted to the Hagia Sophia church (*De Cer.* 1.91.414).
  - iii. The emperor's crown is removed and given to the [Praepositus](#) again to be put by the emperor on the altar. "If he wishes" (ἐὰν δὲ θέλει, suggesting that this section may be generalized procedure rather than specific to Leo I), he also receives communion and retires after the [Patriarch](#) puts the crown on him. He then pays the [Clergy](#). He then goes to the palace, and [Senators](#) meet him within the Regia. [Guards](#) meet the emperor, because some soldiers need to guard the palace until the coronation is over. [Senators](#) and the [city prefect](#) are paid. (*De Cer.* 1.91.415).
  - iv. The emperor goes into the imperial apartment with the [Patricians](#). They leave, and some members of the [Palace](#) are dismissed. [Archons](#) offer an oath to emperor not to plot against him. "If there is an [Augusta](#)" (ἐὰν δὲ εἴη αὐγουστά, suggesting generalized procedure again), the emperor greets her in the Hall of the Augousteus (not the Augoustaion) (Moffatt and Tall, 2012: 408 n.2). [Praepositus](#), [Patricians](#), [City Prefect](#), [Magister Officiorum](#), [Soldiers](#) may be invited to dine. Two [guards](#) hold the carriages, as well as two [ex-consuls](#). After church, the emperor may hold an assembly of the consistory (*De Cer.* 1.91.416).
  - v. [Archons](#) are summoned, and the emperor promotes who he wants. The next day, chariot races are held for the [People](#). (*De Cer.* 1.91.417)

#### LEO II / Leo 7, PLRE 2

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. CAESAR - Inheritance (< 1 month)
    - i. Designated as a Caesar by an Augustus (Leo I) in competition with another emperor (Olybrius).
    - ii. From elevation of Leo II as Caesar to death of Olybrius.
  - b. AUGUSTUS-A - Inheritance (7 months and 2 or 7 days)
    - i. Designated as an Augustus by a reigning emperor (Leo I) in competition with another Augustus (Glycerius).
    - ii. From elevation of Leo II as Augustus to the deposition of Glycerius.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. LEO II - Constantinople
    - ii. "Leo I" (Executive / Individual)
  - b. **MIL-A: Guards**
    - i. "Soldiers" (Military / Body)
  - c. ADM-M: Senate
    - i. "Senate" (Administrative / Body) - Constantinople
  - d. ADM-M: Court
    - i. "Magister Officiorum" (Administrative / Individual)
    - ii. "Patricians" (Administrative / Body)
  - e. ADM-M: Eunuchs
    - i. "Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi" (Administrative / Individual)
  - f. RDM-M: Bishops
    - i. "Patriarch" (Religious / Individual)
  - g. **POP-A: People**
    - i. "People" (Popular / Body)
  - h. NON-M: Barbarians
    - i. "Ambassadors" (Non-Roman / Body)
3. Locations mentioned

- a. Constantinople
4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION (Birth of LEO II) [Aug/Sep. 467] (Croke, 2008: 575), (Joh. Mal. 14.47)
  - b. **[2] DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Caesar) [Dies Imperii: < Oct. 472]** (Croke, 2008: 575) Alternatively Oct. 473 (*PLRE 2* Leo 7)
    - i. **Leo I** proclaims his grandson **LEO II** a Caesar (Theod. Lect. *Epit.* 398), (Joh. Mal. 14.46)
  - c. [3] CO-OPT (Death of Olybrius) [Nov. 2, 472] (*FV Prior.* 472)
  - d. [4] ACCESSION (Glycerius is elevated by Gundobad) [Mar. 5, 473] (*FV. Prior.* 473)
  - e. **[5] DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Nov. 17, 473]** (*De Cer.* 1.94.431)
    - i. **Leo I - Constantinople** is severely sick and is asked to make **LEO II - Constantinople** a full emperor. **People** and **Ambassadors** gather in the Hippodrome. **People** cry out in Greek and the **soldiers** cry out in Latin for **Leo I** to go up into the imperial box and greet everyone. **Leo I** goes up, escorted by members of the **Senate**. **Patriarch** waits with **LEO II** at a nearby receiving hall (*De Cer.* 1.94.431)
    - ii. **People** in the Hippodrome call on **Leo I** to crown **LEO II** and to send the **Magister Officiorum** and the **Patricians** to bring **LEO II** forward. **Leo I** and **LEO II** emerge. **Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi** hands the crown to **Leo I** who places it on the head of the **LEO II**. The **Patriarch** withdraws and **Leo I** sits down. **LEO II** greets the **People** and they acclaim him. The **city prefect** and the **Senate** offer **LEO II** a gold crown. **LEO II** acknowledges the **soldiers**, promising the usual donatives (*De Cer.* 1.94.432).
  - f. [6] CO-OPT (Leo I dies) [Jan. 18, 474] (*Auct. Havn. Post.* 474)
  - g. [7] ACCESSION (Zeno is crowned by LEO II) [Jan. 29, 474] (*Auct. Havn. Post.* 474)
  - h. [8] CO-OPT (Glycerius is deposed and Julius Nepos is elevated) [Jun. 19 or 24, 474] (*Auct. Havn. Post.* 474), (*FV Prior.* 474)
  - i. [9] CO-OPT (Death of LEO II) [Nov. 474] (Croke, 2008: 575).

#### ZENO / Zenon 7, *PLRE 2*

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. **AUGUSTUS - Inheritance (4 months and 21 or 26 days)**
    - i. Designated as Augustus by an Augustus (Leo II) in competition with another emperor (Glycerius).
    - ii. From the elevation of Zeno as Augustus until the deposition of Glycerius
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. ZENO - Constantinople
    - ii. **“Leo II” (Executive / Individual)**
  - b. **EXE-M: Augustae**
    - i. **“Verina” (Executive / Individual) - [Leo I’s wife and Ariadne’s mother]**
  - c. **EXE-M: Imperial Family**
    - i. **“Ariadne” (Executive / Individual) - [Zeno’s wife and Leo II’s mother]**
  - d. **ADM-A: Senate**
    - i. **“Senate” (Administrative / Body) - Constantinople**
  - e. **POP-M: People**
    - i. **“People” (Popular / Body)**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Constantinople
4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION (Birth of Leo II) [Aug/Sep. 467] (Croke, 2008: 575), (Joh. Mal. 14.47)
  - b. [2] ACCESSION (Leo II is made Augustus by Leo I) [Nov. 17, 473] (*De Cer.* 1.94.431)
  - c. **[3] DELIBERATION (Death of Leo I) [Jan. 18, 474]** (*Auct. Havn. Post.* 474)
    - i. No adult emperor in the east. **Leo II** is only 6 years old.
  - d. **[4A] PROCLAMATION (Regular crowning of ZENO as Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Jan. 29, 474]** (Croke, 2008: 575), (*Auct. Havn. Post.* 474) Alternatively Feb. 9, 474 (*PLRE 2* Zenon 7).

- i. [Leo II](#) crowns his father [ZENO](#) in the Hippodrome, with presumably the acclamation of the [people](#), and a coronation procedure similar to [Leo I's](#) accession. [Leo II's](#) grandmother [Verina](#) and mother [Ariadne](#) are present during the ceremony. (Theoph. AM 5966)
- ii. The coronation of [ZENO](#) is done with the [Senate's](#) approval (Cand. Fr. 1).
- e. [4B] PROCLAMATION (Surreptitious/accidental crowning of ZENO as Augustus)
  - i. [Ariadne](#) induces [Leo II](#) to crown [ZENO](#) (CP 474).
  - ii. [Leo II](#) crowns [ZENO](#) when he is paying obeisance to him (John. Mal. 14.47), (CP 474).
- f. [5] ACCESSION (Glycerius is deposed and Julius Nepos is made western Augustus) [Jun. 19 or 24, 474] (*Auct. Havn. Post.* 474), (*FV Prior.* 474)
- g. [6] CO-OPT (Death of Leo II) [Nov. 474] (Croke, 2008: 575)

## BASILISCUS 2, PLRE 2

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. **AUGUSTUS - Election (~1 year, 8 months)**
    - i. Raised as an Augustus by various military and palace forces in competition with another Augustus (Zeno).
    - ii. From Basiliscus' elevation to his death.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. BASILISCUS - Constantinople
    - ii. **"Zeno" (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople, Isauria**
    - iii. **"Marcus" (Executive / Individual) - [Basiliscus' son]**
  - b. **EXE-D: Augustae**
    - i. **"Verina" (Executive / Individual) - [Basiliscus' sister], Constantinople**
    - ii. **"Zenonis" (Executive / Individual) - [Basiliscus' wife]**
  - c. **MIL-D: Army**
    - i. **"Army officers - Illus, Armatus" (Military / Individuals) - Constantinople, Isauria**
    - ii. **"Army officer Trocundes" (Military / Individual) - Isauria**
    - iii. **"Army" (Military / Body) - [Illus, Trocundes] - Isauria**
    - iv. **"Isaurian army" (Military / Body) - [Zeno], Isauria, Constantinople**
  - d. **ADM-A: Senate**
    - i. **"Senate" (Administrative / Body) - Constantinople**
  - e. **ADM-A: Court**
    - i. **"High officials" (Administrative, Military) - Constantinople**
    - ii. **"Magister Officiorum Patricius" (Administrative / Individual) - Constantinople**
  - f. **ADM-M: Places**
    - i. **"Isauria" (Administrative / Body)**
  - g. **REL-A: Bishops**
    - i. **"Patriarch Acacius" (Religious / Individual) - [Chalcedonian], Constantinople**
    - ii. **"Deposed Patriarch of Antioch Peter the Fuller" (Religious / Individual) - [Miaphysite], Constantinople**
  - h. **REL-A: Devotees**
    - i. **"Daniel the Stylite" (Religious / Individual)**
    - ii. **"Monks" (Religious / Body) - [Chalcedonian], Constantinople**
    - iii. **"Chalcedonians" (Religious / Body)**
    - iv. **"Miaphysites" (Religious / Body)**
  - i. **POP-A: People**
    - i. **"People of Constantinople (Popular / Body)**
  - j. **NON-A: Barbarians**
    - i. **"Theoderic" (Non-Roman, Military / Individual)**
    - ii. **"Barbarian army" (Non-Roman, Military / Body)**
    - iii. **"Gothic leader and army officer Theodoric Strabo" (Non-Roman, Military / Individual)**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Constantinople, Isauria
4. Narrative stages

- a. [1] DELIBERATION / ACCESSION (Zeno is made emperor) [Jan. 29, 474] (*Auct. Havn. Post.* 474)
- b. [2] CO-OPT (Death of Leo II) [Nov. 474] (Croke, 2008: 575).
- c. [3] DELIBERATION (Plot to overthrow Zeno) [< Jan. 9, 475] (Joh. Ant. *Fr.* 233, ed. Mariev)
  - i. General dissatisfaction with *Zeno* for his Isaurian background and Miaphysite leanings (Cand. *Fr.* 1), (Theoph. AM 5956).
  - ii. *Army officer Illus* and *Army officer Armatus* are a part of the conspiracy with *BASILISCUS* against *Zeno*. *Illus* is presumably is in charge of an *army* as he was sent out against a revolt by *Gothic leader and army officer Theodoric Strabo*. (Joh. Ant. *Fr.* 233, ed. Mariev)
  - iii. *Verina* is also a part of the conspiracy. She is the sister of *BASILISCUS* (CP 474). She is convinced to join by *Armatus*, although she does so to promote to Augustus her lover *Magister Officiorum Patricius* (Joh. Ant. *Fr.* 233, ed. Mariev)
  - iv. [Jan. 9, 475] *Verina* tricks *ZENO* into thinking an assassination plot is happening, and he flees to *Isauria* with his family (Joh. Ant. *Fr.* 233, ed. Mariev).
- d. [4A] PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Jan. 9, 475] (Joh. Ant. *Fr.* 233, ed. Mariev), (PLRE 2 Basiliscus 2)
  - i. *Verina* was hoping *Patricius* would be made emperor. (Cand. *Fr.* 1)
  - ii. Instead, “High officials” proclaim *BASILISCUS* emperor (Cand. *Fr.* 1, tr. Blockley). (In Greek it is a more amorphous “they” who do the proclaiming: τῶν ἐν τέλει Βασιλίσκων τὸν αὐτῆς ἀδελφὸν ἀνειπόντων βασιλεία).
- e. [4B] PROCLAMATION (Augustus)
  - i. *Verina* crowns *BASILISCUS* emperor (CP 477).
- f. [4C] PROCLAMATION (Augustus)
  - i. Deposed Patriarch of Antioch *Peter the Fuller - Constantinople - [Miaphysite]* crowns *BASILISCUS* (Joh. Nik. 88.43).
- g. [5] ACCESSION. *BASILISCUS* crowns his son *Marcus* as an emperor (Candidus *Fr.* 1), (Jord. *Rom.* 342) and his wife *Zenonis* as an Augusta (Theod. Lect. *Epit.* 402).
- h. [6] ACCESSION (After expulsion of Julius Nepos, Romulus Augustulus is made emperor) [Oct. 31, 475] (*FV Prior.* 475)
- i. [7] CO-OPT (BASILISCUS loses support) [< Aug. 476]
  - i. After *BASILISCUS* kills *Verina's* lover *Patricius*, she begins plotting to return *Zeno* to the throne - (Candidus *Fr.* 1)
  - ii. *BASILISCUS* tries to promote *Miaphysites* (Jord. *Rom.* 342) over *Chalcedonians* like *Patriarch Acacius - Constantinople* and the *People of Constantinople* (Theod. Lect. *Epit.* 407).
  - iii. *BASILISCUS* loses the support of *Theodoric Strabo* when *BASILISCUS* gives *Armatus* a promotion (Malch. *Fr.* 15).
- j. [8] CO-OPT (Defeat and death of BASILISCUS) [~Aug. 476] (Theoph. AM 5966)
  - i. In addition to his own *Isaurian army*, *Zeno* secures the *barbarian army* support of *Theoderic*, the future leader of the Ostrogothic kingdom (not the same person as *Theodoric Strabo*) (*Anon. Val.* 9.42).
  - ii. *Illus* and *Army officer Trocundes* are sent against *Zeno*, but they switch sides (Theoph. AM 5969). *Armatus* also switches sides (CP 478).
  - iii. *Zeno* then marches on Constantinople with his forces (*Anon. Val.* 9.42).
  - iv. *Patriarch Acacius*, *monks* and *Daniel the Stylite* incite a riot in Constantinople against *BASILISCUS* over his encyclical promoting *Miaphysites* (Zach. 5.5a).
  - v. When *Zeno* arrives at the walls of Constantinople, the *Senate* and the *People of Constantinople* throw open the gates of the city and abandon *BASILISCUS* (*Anon. Val.* 9.43), (CP 478).
  - vi. *BASILISCUS* seeks refuge in a church, is captured, and then he and his family, *Marcus* and *Zenonis*, are starved to death in a Cappadocian fortress along with his family (Cand. *Fr.* 1), (CP 478) (*Anon. Val.* 9.42-3).
- k. [9] CO-OPT (Deposition of Romulus Augustulus) [~Sep. 476] (*FV Prior.* 476)

MARCIANUS 17, PLRE 2

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. AUGUSTUS? - Election? (2 days)
    - i. Revolt against another emperor (Zeno). Marcianus was never acclaimed as emperor.
    - ii. From the start of Marcianus' revolt until its suppression.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. MARCIANUS - Constantinople
    - ii. **"Zeno" (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople**
    - iii. "Anthemius" (Executive / Individual)
    - iv. "Leo I" (Executive / Individual)
    - v. "Marcian" (Executive / Individual)
  - b. **EXE-M: Augustae**
    - i. "Aelia" (Executive / Individual) - [Marcian's wife]
    - ii. "Ariadne" (Executive / Individual) - [Leo I's daughter, Zeno's wife]
  - c. **EXE-M: Imperial Family**
    - i. "Leontia" (Executive / Individual) - [Leo I's daughter, Marcianus' wife]
  - d. **MIL-M: Army**
    - i. "Isaurian soldiers" (Military / Body) - Chalcedon, Constantinople
  - e. **MIL-M: Guards**
    - i. "Guards" (Military / Body)
  - f. **ADM-M: Court**
    - i. "Magister Officiorum Illus" (Administrative, Military / Individual)
    - ii. "Magistrates" (Administrative / Body)
  - g. **POP-M: People**
    - i. "Armed citizens" (Popular, Military / Body)
  - h. **N-M: Barbarians**
    - i. "Barbarian soldiers" (Non-Roman, Military / Body)
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Constantinople, Chalcedon
4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION / ACCESSION (Death of Leo I, Zeno is made emperor) [Jan. 18-29, 474] (*Auct. Havn. Post.* 474)
    - i. MARCIANUS believes he has a better claim to the imperial office than Zeno. MARCIANUS was the son of Aelia, the only daughter of the eastern emperor Marcian (*Sid. Ap. Carm.* 2.194-7), and Anthemius, a western emperor recognized by Leo I (*Theoph. AM* 5971). His wife Leontia was a "born in the purple" daughter of Leo I, whereas Zeno's wife Ariadne was born to Leo I while he was not an emperor (*Theoph. AM* 5971).
  - b. [2] ACCESSION (Glycerius is deposed and Julius Nepos made emperor) [Jun. 19 or 24, 474] (*Auct. Havn. Post.* 474), (*FV Prior.* 474)
  - c. [3] ACCESSION (Basiliscus is made emperor, Zeno flees) [Jan. 9, 475] (*Joh. Ant. Fr.* 233, ed. Mariev)
  - d. [4] ACCESSION (Julius Nepos flees to Dalmatia and Romulus Augustulus is made emperor) [Aug. 28, 475] (*FV Prior.* 475).
  - e. [5] ACCESSION (Zeno returns, Basiliscus is deposed [~Aug. 476] (*Theoph. AM* 5966)
  - f. [6] CO-OPT (Deposition of Romulus Augustulus) [~Sep. 476] (*FV Prior.* 476)
  - g. [7] DELIBERATION (**MARCIANUS launches a revolt**) [**Late 479**] (*PLRE* 2 Marcianus 17)
    - i. MARCIANUS gathers barbarian soldiers and armed citizens in a house in Constantinople. They launch an attack on the palace and overwhelm the guards. MARCIANUS almost captures Zeno but he escapes deeper into the palace just in time (*Joh. Ant. Fr.* 234, ed. Mariev), (*Theoph. AM* 5971).
    - ii. MARCIANUS pauses just before completely seizing the palace, but then loses the initiative (*Eva.* 3.26), (*Theoph. AM* 5971).
  - h. [8] CO-OPT (**MARCIANUS is defeated and exiled**) [**Late 479**] (*PLRE* 2 Marcianus 17)

- i. Early the next day, *Magister Officiorum Illus* brings in *Isaurian soldiers* from Chalcedon as reinforcements (Joh. Ant. Fr. 234, ed. Mariev) and bribes some of the *barbarian soldiers* and *armed citizens* of **MARCIANUS** to switch sides (Theoph. AM 5971).
- ii. *Zeno* waits in the palace with all the *magistrates*, then sends out his *guards*, defeating **MARCIANUS** (Joh. Ant. Fr. 234, ed. Mariev).
- iii. **MARCIANUS** is exiled as a priest (Joh. Ant. Fr. 234, ed. Mariev).

## LEONTIUS 17, PLRE 2

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. **AUGUSTUS - Election (~4 years)**
    - i. Raised as an emperor by an army master or an Augusta in competition with another Augustus (Zeno).
    - ii. From elevation of Leontius until his death.
2. Political interest types mentioned
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. LEONTIUS - Tarsus, Antioch, Cilicia
    - ii. **“Zeno” (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople**
  - b. **EXE-D: Augustae**
    - i. **“Verina” (Executive / Individual) - Tarsus, Cilicia**
  - c. **MIL-D: Army Masters**
    - i. **“Illus” (Military, Executive / Individual) - Tarsus, Cilicia**
  - d. **MIL-M: Army**
    - i. **“Armies” (Military / Body) - Eastern Mediterranean**
    - ii. **“Army of Zeno” (Military / Body) - Cilicia**
    - iii. **(Military / Body) - [Attached to Illus and Leontius], Cilicia**
  - e. **ADM-M: Places**
    - i. **“Antiochene Syrians” (Administrative, Popular / Body) - Syria**
    - ii. **“Egyptian diocese” (Administrative, Popular / Body) - Egypt**
    - iii. **“Governors” (Administrative / Body) - Eastern Mediterranean**
  - f. **REL-M: Devotees**
    - i. **“Christian” (Religious)**
  - g. **POP-A: People**
    - i. **“People of Tarsus” (Administrative / Body)**
  - h. **NON-M: Barbarians**
    - i. **“Persia” (Non-Romans / Body) - Persia**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Eastern Mediterranean, Constantinople, Cilicia, Tarsus, Syria, Antioch, Egypt, Persia
4. Narrative stages (For an explanation of why the early events are not categorized, see the Chapter 3 section “Caveats.”)
  - a. [1] DELIBERATION / ACCESSION (Zeno is made emperor) [Jan. 29, 474] (*Auct. Havn. Post.* 474)
  - b. [2] ACCESSION (Glycerius is deposed and Julius Nepos made emperor) [Jun. 19 or 24, 474] (*Auct. Havn. Post.* 474), (*FV Prior.* 474)
  - c. [3] ACCESSION (Basiliscus is made emperor, Zeno flees) [Jan. 9, 475] (Joh. Ant. Fr. 233, ed. Mariev)
  - d. [4] ACCESSION (Julius Nepos flees to Dalmatia and Romulus Augustulus is made emperor) [Aug. 28, 475] (*FV Prior.* 475).
  - e. [5] ACCESSION (Zeno returns, Basiliscus is deposed [~Aug. 476] (Theoph. AM 5966)
  - f. [6] CO-OPT (Deposition of Romulus Augustulus) [~Sep. 476] (*FV Prior.* 476)
  - g. [7] (Illus-Verina conflict) [478] (*PLRE 2 Illus 1*) Verina attempts to assassinate Illus. Illus demands that Zeno hand over Verina, which he does. Verina is imprisoned. (Joh. Ant. Fr. 234, ed. Mariev), (Eva. 3.27).
  - h. [8] ACCESSION (Revolt of Marcianus) [Late 479] (*PLRE 2 Marcianus 17*)
  - i. [9] (Illus-Zeno conflict) [481-3] (*PLRE 2 Illus 1*) Verina’s daughter, Ariadne, asks Illus to release Verina, but he refuses. Ariadne arranges an assassination attempt on Illus with Zeno’s tacit

- support (Joh. Mal. 387). Illus survives the assassination attempt, suspects Zeno, and arranges to leave Constantinople and take a military post in the east (Joh. Mal. 388). Zeno demands that Illus free Zeno's brother Longinus, who had been imprisoned by Illus back when he was supporting Basiliscus against Zeno (Mango, Scott, and Greatrex, 1997: 199 n.1). When Illus refuses, Zeno dismisses Illus from office, and expels his relatives and confiscates their property.
- j. [10] (Revolt of Illus) [Early 484] (*PLRE 2* Illus 1) Illus openly rebels, releases Marcianus and asks Odoacer for help (Joh. Ant. *Fr.* 237, ed. Mariev). Bury (397) thinks Illus reinstated Marcianus as emperor, but John of Antioch (*Fr.* 237) does not specify to what position Marcianus was reinstated.
- k. [11] **DELIBERATION** [**< Jul. 19, 484**] (*PLRE 2* Leontius 17)
- i. **LEONTIUS** is sent by **Zeno** against **Illus**. **Illus** convinces **LEONTIUS** to switch sides (Josh. Styl. 14), (Jord. Rom. 352).
  - ii. **Illus** proposes that **LEONTIUS** be made emperor. **Illus** says he is ineligible because he is Isaurian (Josh. Styl. 14), (Marc. Comes 484) whereas **LEONTIUS** is Syrian (Theoph. AM 5972), although it is possible that **LEONTIUS** is also Isaurian (Mango, Scott, and Greatrex 1997: 197 n.7). John of Antioch (*Fr.* 237) says he was "of obscure parentage." **Illus** releases **Verina** from prison and convinces her to proclaim **LEONTIUS** emperor. (Joh. Mal. 388-9).
- l. [12] **PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii? : Jul. 19, 484]** (*PLRE 2* Leontius 17)
- i. **Illus** brings **Verina** to Tarsus and, with her wearing an imperial robe, has her proclaim **LEONTIUS** emperor while he stands on a dais (Joh. Ant. *Fr.* 237, ed. Mariev). The *De Insidiis* excerpt of John Malalas (35, p.165-6) says they are in Antioch, but this is likely a confusion as they were in Antioch before and would be in Antioch after the coronation (Joh. Mal. 15.13), (Joh. Ant. *Fr.* 237, ed. Mariev).
  - ii. **Verina** issues imperial edicts to **Antiochene Syrians**, to all the **governors - Eastern Mediterranean**, the **armies - Eastern Mediterranean**, and to the **Egyptian diocese** to accept **LEONTIUS** as emperor (*De Insid. Mal.* 35 p.165-6; tr. in Jeffreys, 1986: 217)
  - iii. **Verina** says in her rescripts, "know that imperial rule (τὸ βασιλείον) is ours (ἡμέτερόν ἐστίν) and that after the death of Leo of pious memory, we chose (προεχειρισάμεθα) as emperor Stratokodisseos, later renamed Zeno..." (*De Insid. Mal.* 13-31, ed. Thurn: 314; tr. in Jeffreys, 1986: 217). She continues, saying that because the empire and its subjects are being ruined by the greed of **Zeno**, it is now necessary to crown a new **Christian** emperor, and she has chosen **Leontius** as that emperor.
  - iv. After her speech, the **People of Tarsus** acclaim the new emperor. - (*De Insid. Mal.* 13-31, ed. Thurn: 314), (Theoph. AM 5974).
  - v. **LEONTIUS** then distributes money and heads to Antioch (Joh. Ant. *Fr.* 237, ed. Mariev), (Josh. Styl. 15). Ambassadors are sent to **Persia** to conclude a treaty of friendship, as well as a possible military alliance (Josh. Styl. 15).
- m. [13] **CO-OPT (Defeat of LEONTIUS) [Sep. 484]** (*PLRE 2* Leontius 17)
- i. **Army of Zeno** defeats **Illus** and **LEONTIUS** in battle. (Josh. Styl. 17), (Theoph. AM 5976)
  - ii. **Illus**, **LEONTIUS**, and **Verina** retreat to the fortress of Papyrion in Cilicia (Joh. Mal. 15.14).
  - iii. **Verina** dies in the fortress nine days after their retreat (Joh. Ant. *Fr.* 237, ed. Mariev).
- n. [14] **CO-OPT (Death of LEONTIUS) [488]** (Theod. Lect. *Epit.* 438) **Illus** and **LEONTIUS** are besieged for four years before they are captured and killed. (Josh. Styl. 17), (Joh. Ant. *Fr.* 237, ed. Mariev), (Theoph. AM 5976), (Joh. Mal. 389)

#### ANASTASIUS 4, *PLRE 2*

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. **AUGUSTUS-A - Inheritance (2 days)**
    - i. Designated as Augustus by a female imperial family member with an Augusta title without imperial contest. There are no other Augusti during the interregnum. Thela may or may not have been a Caesar during Anastasius' elevation.
    - ii. From the death of Zeno until the elevation of Anastasius.

- b. Augustus-B - Election (2 days)
  - i. Elected as Augustus by the court.
- 2. Political interest types involved
  - a. *EXE-M: Emperors*
    - i. ANASTASIUS - Constantinople
    - ii. “Marcian” (*Executive / Individual*)
    - iii. “Zeno” (*Executive / Individual*)
  - b. **EXE-D: Augustae**
    - i. **“Ariadne” (*Executive / Individual*)**
  - c. *MIL-M: Army*
    - i. “Armies” (*Military / Body*)
  - d. **MIL-A: Guards**
    - i. **“Drill instructor” (*Military / Individual*)**
    - ii. **“Soldiers” (*Military / Body*)**
    - iii. “Guards” (*Military / Body*)
  - e. *ADM-M: Senate*
    - i. “Senate, senators” (*Administrative / Body*)
  - f. **ADM-D: Court**
    - i. **“Archons” (*Administrative, Military / Body*)**
    - ii. “Magister Officiorum, City Prefect” (*Administrative / Individual*)
    - iii. “Officials, nobles, vestry officials” (*Administrative / Body*)
  - g. *ADM-M: Eunuchs*
    - i. “Eunuchs” (*Administrative / Body*)
    - ii. “Praepositi Sacri Cubiculi, Urbicius” (*Administrative / Individuals*)
  - h. **REL-A: Bishops**
    - i. **“Patriarch Euphemius” (*Religious / Individual*)**
  - i. *REL-M: Devotees*
    - i. “Christian, Chalcedonian” (*Religious / Body*)
  - j. **POP-A: People**
    - i. **“People” (*Popular / Body*)**
  - k. **POP-A: Factions**
    - i. **“Factions” (*Popular / Body*)**
- 3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Constantinople
- 4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION (Death of Zeno) [Apr. 9, 491]** (Joh. Mal. 15.16)
  - b. [2] **DELIBERATION [Apr. 10, 491]** (*De Cer.* 1.92.417)
    - i. [Archons](#), [Senators](#), and the [Patriarch](#) are brought together in front of the Great Palace. The [people](#) and [factions](#) gather in the Hippodrome, with the [soldiers](#) below the imperial box (*De Cer.* 1.92.417-8).
    - ii. The [people](#) start clamoring, and the [archons](#) decide that [Ariadne](#) should address the crowd. She goes up, accompanied by two [praepositi](#), the [magister officiorum](#), the [Patriarch Euphemios](#) and other [officials](#) and [eunuchs](#). Other [archons](#) stand in front of [Ariadne](#), with the civil [archons](#) on the right, and the military [archons](#) on the left. (*De Cer.* 1.92.417-8).
    - iii. The [people](#) begin acclaiming [Ariadne](#), asking for a new emperor. [Ariadne](#) responds, “we gave a command (ἐκελεύσαμεν) to the highly esteemed [archons](#) and the sacred [senate](#), with the common consent of the most [noble](#), to choose a man who is [Christian](#), Roman and endowed with every imperial virtue, so that he is subject neither to avarice nor to any other human weakness insofar as is possible for humankind.” (*De Cer.* 1.92.419 tr. Moffatt and Tall).
    - iv. The [people](#) acclaim [Ariadne](#) again. She responds “with the concurrent support of the most noble [armies](#), and with the holy Gospels set before us and in the presence of the most holy and saintly [patrarich](#) of this imperial city, we have given orders to the highly esteemed [archons](#) and the sacred [senate](#)...” (*De Cer.* 1.92.419 tr. Moffatt and Tall).

- v. The [people](#) ask [Ariadne](#) to replace the current [city prefect](#). [Ariadne](#) grants the request and appoints Julian as the new [city prefect](#). The [people](#) acclaim her again, and [Ariadne](#) repeats to them that the [archons](#) and the [senate](#), with the consent of the [armies](#), will appoint an orthodox [Christian](#) man as emperor. Then [Ariadne](#) is led back inside to the Hall of the Augousteus (*De Cer.* 1.92.421)
- vi. The [archons](#) argue without agreement over who should be the new emperor. [Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi Urbicius](#) suggests to them that [Ariadne](#) should make the selection. The [Senate](#) agrees and asks the [Patriarch](#) to ask her whom she selects (*De Cer.* 1.92.421-2)
- c. [3A] **DELIBERATION (Ariadne chooses the new emperor)**
  - i. [Ariadne](#) selects [ANASTASIUS](#), a silentiary. All the [archons](#) agree (*De Cer.* 1.92.422).
- d. [3B] **DELIBERATION (Archons choose the new emperor)**
  - i. Lillie (1995: 5-6) argues, based on her earlier announcements to the people where [Ariadne](#) only repeats statements on behalf of the [archons](#), she likely only makes a selection reflecting the pre-existing wishes of the [archons](#), rather than making an independent selection. Even if [ANASTASIUS](#) himself was involved in the decision process, his selection would look more legitimate if it appeared to come from [Ariadne](#).
- e. [4] The [Magister Officiorum](#) sends [guards](#) to the house of [ANASTASIUS](#) to escort him to the palace. Afterwards, the funeral of [Zeno](#) takes place. [Vestry officials](#) work on the imperial clothes and various other workers prepare for the coronation ceremony the next day (*De Cer.* 1.92.422)
- f. [5] **PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Apr. 11, 491]** (*De Cer.* 1.92.422).
  - i. [ANASTASIUS](#) receives [archons](#) and [senators](#) in the portico of the great hall. They ask him to swear an oath that he would not harbor a grudge with anyone he had dealt with. He then goes to the Hippodrome, puts on some of his imperial regalia, then heads up into the imperial box bare-headed. (*De Cer.* 1.92.422-3)
  - ii. [ANASTASIUS](#) is then raised on a shield, presumably by [soldiers](#). A [drill instructor](#) places his own torque on [ANASTASIUS'](#) head. The [soldiers](#) and [factions](#) cheer him. He gets down off shield and goes back into the hall. The [Patriarch](#) says a prayer, and then puts the imperial garb and crown on [ANASTASIUS](#). (*De Cer.* 1.92.423)
  - iii. [ANASTASIUS](#) goes back up into the imperial box, and greets the [soldiers](#) and the [people](#). They acclaim him as Augustus. He promises inaugural gifts of five nomismata and a pound of silver for the [soldiers](#). (*De Cer.* 1.92.423, 425)
- g. [6] [ANASTASIUS](#) gives a speech praising [Ariadne](#), the [Senate](#), the [armies](#), the [people](#), and the Holy Trinity. The [people](#) acclaim him and ask that he “rule as [Marcian](#) did,” presumably asking that he uphold [Chalcedonian](#) beliefs (*De Cer.* 1.92.424-5).
- h. [7] [ANASTASIUS](#) then leaves the imperial box and heads to the Hagia Sophia. He removes his crown before going into the narthex. The [praepositus sacri cubiculi](#) takes the crown, hands it to [ANASTASIUS](#) who then puts it in the sanctuary. Then [ANASTASIUS](#) presents some gifts, goes into the robing room where he puts back on his crown and then heads to the palace. He performs the appointment ceremony for the new [city prefect](#), dismisses some palace [officials](#), and has a meal with the [archons](#). (*De Cer.* 1.92.425)
- i. [8] CO-OPT (ANASTASIUS marries Ariadne) [May 20, 491] (Zon. 14.3.33, *Patrologia Graeca* 134: 1214)

## SIXTH AND SEVENTH CENTURIES

### JUSTIN I / Iustinus 4, *PLRE 2*

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. AUGUSTUS - Election (1 day)
    - i. Elected as Augustus by the various institutions in a capital city without imperial contest. There are no other emperors during the interregnum.
    - ii. From the death of Anastasius to Justin I's elevation.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. *EXE-M: Emperors*
    - i. JUSTIN I - Constantinople
    - ii. "Anastasius" (*Executive / Individual*)
  - b. **MIL-D: Guards**
    - i. "Excubitores" (*Military / Body*) - [Justin I]
    - ii. "Scholares" (*Military / Body*) - [Celer]
    - iii. "Soldiers" (*Military / Body*)
    - iv. "Drill instructor Godilas" (*Military / Individual*)
    - v. "Tribune John, Stratelates Patricius, Candidatus Justinian" (*Military / Individual*)
    - vi. "Candidati" (*Military / Body*) - [Celer]
  - c. **ADM-D: Senate**
    - i. "Senate, Senators" (*Administrative / Body*) - Constantinople
  - d. **ADM-D: Court**
    - i. "Archons" (*Administrative / Body*)
    - ii. "Magister Officiorum Celer, Domesticus Theocritus" (*Administrative / Individual*)
    - iii. "Silentiaries" (*Administrative / Body*)
  - e. **ADM-D: Eunuchs**
    - i. "Cubicularii" (*Administrative / Body*)
    - ii. "Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi Amantius" (*Administrative / Individual*)
  - f. **REL-D: Bishops**
    - i. "Patriarch" (*Religious / Individual*) - Constantinople
    - ii. "Pope" (*Religious / Individual*) - Rome
  - g. *POP-A: People*
    - i. "People" (*Popular / Body*)
  - h. **POP-D: Factions**
    - i. "Blues" (*Popular / Body*)
    - ii. "Greens" (*Popular / Body*)
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Rome, Constantinople
4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION (Death of Anastasius) [Jul. 8, 518]** (Joh. Mal. 14.1), (*De Cer.* 1.93.426), (Greatrex, 2007: 99)
    - i. Silentiaries announce to Magister Officiorum Celer and Comes Excubitorum JUSTIN I in the palace that Anastasius had died. Afterwards, Celer announces the emperor's death to the candidati and scholares under his authority, while JUSTIN I announces to the soldiers and excubitores under his authority. (*De Cer.* 1.93.426)
  - b. [2A] JUSTIN I distributes his own money to secure support in his bid for the throne (Greatrex, 2007: 102)
  - c. [2B] JUSTIN I distributes Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi Amantius's money to secure support for his preferred imperial candidate, Domesticus Theocritus. However, those to whom he distributed money favor JUSTIN I instead (Ps.Zach. 8.1b), (Eva. 4.2), (Joh. Mal. 17.2). Greatrex (2007: 102-5) disputes that this ever happened, surmising instead that this story of Amantius' attempted promotion of Theocritus was a cover story created so that Justin I could have a reason to execute them. However, their later executions occurred not because they opposed Justin I's accession, but because they opposed his new religious policies, after his accession.

- d. [3] **DELIBERATION [Jul. 9, 518]** (Joh. Mal. 14.1), (*De Cer.* 1.93.426), (Greatrex, 2007: 99)
  - i. People gather in the Hippodrome and cheer the Senate. (*De Cer.* 1.93.426-7)
  - ii. Archons and the patriarch gather in the portico in front of the great hall, then begin the debate over who should be the next emperor. Celer warns everyone that if they do not decide quickly, they will have to “follow the rest” (*De Cer.* 1.93.427).
  - iii. Excubitores in the Hippodrome attempt to proclaim Tribune John as emperor, and try to raise him on a shield. The Blues disapprove, and pelt him with stones. The excubitores return arrow fire and kill a few Blues. (*De Cer.* 1.93.427).
  - iv. Scholares in the Hall of the 19 Couches try to raise Stratelates Patricius on the middle couch so as to crown him. The excubitores in the same hall disagree, and pull him down. The excubitores are about to kill Patricius, but Candidatus Justinian rescues him and sends him away to be kept safe. (*De Cer.* 1.93.427-8).
  - v. Excubitores then try to convince Justinian to be emperor, but he declines.
  - vi. Various other emperor nominations are read to the cubicularii who, behind locked doors, are in charge of the imperial apparel. They reject all the names read to them at that point. (*De Cer.* 1.93.428)
  - vii. Finally, all the senators decide on JUSTIN I. Some scholares disagree, and one even punches JUSTIN I in the mouth. However, everyone else - the senate, the other soldiers, the Blues and the Greens, and the cubicularii - agree on the choice. He is then taken into the imperial box, along with the Patriarch and other archons. (*De Cer.* 1.93.428-9)
- e. [4] **PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Jul. 9, 518]** (Joh. Mal. 14.1), (*De Cer.* 1.93.426)
  - i. Drill instructor Godilas puts a torque on JUSTIN I who is afterwards raised on a shield, presumably by soldiers. Instead of going into the hall to change, the soldiers form a testudo and he dresses inside the formation. The patriarch then puts a crown on JUSTIN I's head. (*De Cer.* 1.93.429)
  - ii. JUSTIN I enters the imperial box, and the people acclaim him Augustus. Celer can not be found to read out an imperial declaration. JUSTIN I promises five nomismata and a pound of silver for each soldier. Then he gives a speech thanking God and the people for his selection. (*De Cer.* 1.93.429)
  - iii. Events afterwards unfolded as they did in Anastasius' coronation (*De Cer.* 1.93.430).
- f. [5] CO-OPT (Amantius and Theocritus are killed) [Jul. 18, 518] (*Proc. Anec.* 6.26).
- g. [6] PROCLAMATION [Apr. 526] JUSTIN I is re-crowned by the Pope during his visit to Constantinople (*Lib. Pont.* 55.4).

#### JUSTINIAN / Iustinianus 7, PLRE 2

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. **AUGUSTUS - Inheritance (None)**
    - i. Designated as an Augustus by an Augustus (Justin I) without imperial contest.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. JUSTINIAN - Constantinople
    - ii. **“Justin I” (Executive / Individual)**
  - b. *MIL-M: Guards*
    - i. “Scholae” (Military / Body)
    - ii. “Soldiers” (Military / Body)
  - c. *ADM-M: Senate*
    - i. “Senate” (Administrative / Body) - Constantinople
  - d. *ADM-M: Court*
    - i. “Court” (Administrative / Body)
  - e. **REL-A: Bishops**
    - i. **“Patriarch” (Religious / Individual)**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Constantinople
4. Narrative stages

- a. [1] **DELIBERATION (Justin I is seriously ill)** [**Apr. 4, 527**] (*De Cer.* 1.96.433)
- b. [2] **DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Augustus)** [**Dies Imperii: Apr. 4, 527**] (*De Cer.* 1.96.433) Alternatively Apr. 1, 527 (*Marc. Comes.* 527)
  - i. **Justin I**, being seriously ill, is asked by the **Senate** to make **JUSTINIAN** an emperor. (*De Cer.* 1.96.433)
  - ii. **Justin I** asks for an audience and assembly, presumably of the **Court**, and for the **scholae** and all the **soldiers** to be present in the Delphax, near the palace. (*De Cer.* 1.96.433)
  - iii. The **Patriarch** says a prayer and crowns **JUSTINIAN**. (*De Cer.* 1.96.433)
  - iv. Events afterwards unfold as prescribed in other coronations, but taking place in the Delphax instead of the Hippodrome. (*De Cer.* 1.96.433)
- c. [3] **CO-OPT (Justin I dies)** [Aug. 1, 527] (*Joh. Mal.* 18.1)

## HYPATIUS 6, *PLRE* 2

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. **AUGUSTUS - Election (1 day)**
    - i. Raised as an emperor by Hippodrome factions in competition with another Augustus (Justinian).
    - ii. From Hypatius' elevation to his death.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. HYPATIUS - Constantinople
    - ii. **"Justinian" (Executive / Individual)**
  - b. **EXE-M: Augustae**
    - i. **"Theodora" (Executive / Individual)**
  - c. **EXE-M: Imperial Family**
    - i. **"Pompey" (Executive / Individual) - [Hypatius' brother]**
  - d. **MIL-M: Army**
    - i. **"Belisarius" (Military / Individual)**
    - ii. **"Gothic soldiers" (Military, Non-Roman / Body)**
    - iii. **"Thracian army" (Military / Body)**
  - e. **ADM-M: Court**
    - i. **"Former Praetorian Prefect Julian" (Administrative / Individual)**
    - ii. **"Probus" (Administrative / Individual)**
    - iii. **"Officials" (Administrative/ Individuals)**
  - f. **ADM-M: Eunuchs**
    - i. **"Narses" (Administrative, Military / Individual)**
  - g. **POP-D: People**
    - i. **"People" (Popular / Body)**
  - h. **POP-A: Factions**
    - i. **"Greens" (Popular, Military / Body)**
    - ii. **"Blues" (Popular, Military / Body)**
    - iii. **"Faction rioters" (Popular, Military / Body)**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Constantinople, Thrace
4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION** [Jan. 10, 532] Two prisoners from the **Blues** and **Greens** escape execution (*Joh. Mal.* 18.71.473), (*Proc. DB* 1.24.7-8).
  - b. [2] [Jan. 13, 532] **Blues** and **Greens** plead for their release. **Justinian** refuses. **Blues** and **Greens** begin riot during **Justinian's** attendance of a race in the Hippodrome. (*Joh. Mal.* 18.474).
  - c. [3] [Jan. 14, 532] **Faction rioters** demand dismissal of certain **officials**. **Justinian** accepts the demands. After failure to calm the **Faction rioters**, **Belisarius and his Gothic Soldiers** begin a counterattack. (*CP* 532.621), (*Joh. Mal.* 18.71.475), (*Proc. DB* 1.24.17-8).
  - d. [4] [Jan. 15, 532] The Senate-House and the Hagia Sophia are burnt down. **Faction rioters** try to acclaim **Probus** but he is not present. They then decide to burn down his house, but the arson fails. (*CP* 532.622).

- e. [5] [Jan. 16, 532] [Faction rioters](#) burn down the praetorium, where the archives are held (*CP* 532.622), (Joh. Mal. 18.71.474).
- f. [6] [Jan. 17, 532] [Thracian army](#) arrives to fight with the [Faction rioters](#) (*CP* 532.622). In the evening, [HYPATIUS](#) and [Pompey](#) are dismissed from the palace (Greatrex, 1997: 76), (*CP* 532.624), (Proc. *DB* 24.1.19-21).
- g. [7] **DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii? : Jan. 18, 532]** (*CP* 532.623), (Joh. Mal. 18.71.475)
  - i. [Justinian](#) reappears in the Hippodrome to appeal to [Faction rioters](#) to no effect. [Justinian](#) withdraws from the Hippodrome. (*CP* 532.623-4).
  - ii. [HYPATIUS](#) is greeted as an Augustus. This is done first in the Forum of Constantine where the [people](#) cloak him with some imperial clothes taken from the palace of Placilliana. They crown him with a golden torque. Afterward he is led to the imperial box in the Hippodrome, where the [People](#) acclaim him. He is accompanied by his brother [Pompey](#) and [former Praetorian Prefect Julian](#). (*CP* 532.624), (Joh. Mal. 18.71.475), (Proc. *DB* 1.24.22-5, 42).
  - iii. [Theodora's](#) speech (Proc. *DB* 1.24.34-9).
  - iv. [HYPATIUS](#) sends a message to [Justinian](#) saying, "I have assembled together all your enemies in the Hippodrome; do what you command" (*CP* 532.625 tr. Whitby and Whitby). However, after he hears an errant message that [Justinian](#) has fled, [HYPATIUS](#) accepts his acclamation as emperor. [Greens](#) arrive to help force [HYPATIUS](#) into the palace. (*CP* 532.625), (Joh. Mal. 18.71.476).
- h. [8] **CO-OPT (Defeat of Faction rioters) [Jan. 18, 532]** (*CP* 532.623), (Joh. Mal. 18.71.475)
  - i. [Narses](#) sent to attempt to gather support for [Justinian](#) among the [Blues](#). [Belisarius](#) begins an attack on the [People](#) in the hippodrome. A massacre ensues. [HYPATIUS](#) and [Pompey](#) are arrested. (*CP* 532.626), (Joh. Mal. 18.71.476), (Proc. *DB* 1.24.50-56)
- i. [9] **CO-OPT (Execution of HYPATIUS and Pompey) [Jan. 19, 532]** (*CP* 532.627), (Joh. Mal. 18.71.476), (Proc. *DB* 1.24.56-7).

#### JUSTIN II / Iustinus 5, *PLRE* 3A

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. **AUGUSTUS-A - Election (None)**
    - i. Elected as Augustus with the support of court eunuchs without imperial contest. Justin II is elevated on the same day as Justinian's death.
  - b. Augustus-B - Inheritance (None)
    - i. Designated as Augustus by a reigning emperor (Justinian) without imperial contest.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. *EXE-M: Emperors*
    - i. JUSTIN II - Constantinople
    - ii. "Justinian" (Executive / Individual)
  - b. *EXE-M: Augustae*
    - i. "Sophia" (Executive / Individual)
  - c. *EXE-M: Imperial Family*
    - i. "Justin" (Executive, Military / Individual) - [Son of Germanus], Constantinople, Alexandria
  - d. **MIL-A: Guards**
    - i. "Armatus" (Military / Individual)
    - ii. "Comes Excubitorum Tiberius" (Military / Individual)
    - iii. "Excubitores" (Military / Body)
    - iv. "Soldiers" (Military / Individuals)
  - e. **ADM-A: Senate**
    - i. "Senators, Senate" (Administrative / Body) - Constantinople
  - f. *ADM-M: Court*
    - i. "Archons" (Administrative / Body)
    - ii. "Treasury" (Administrative / Body)
    - iii. "Vestry officials" (Administrative / Body)

- g. **ADM-D: Eunuchs**
    - i. **“Praepositus Callinicus” (Administrative / Individual)**
  - h. **REL-A: Bishops**
    - i. **“Patriarch John” (Religious / Individual)**
  - i. **REL-M: Devotees**
    - i. **“Christians” (Religious / Body)**
  - j. **POP-A: People**
    - i. **“People” (Popular / Body)**
    - ii. **“Farmers” (Popular / Body)**
  - k. **POP-A: Factions**
    - i. **“Factions” (Popular / Body)**
3. Locations mentioned
    - a. Constantinople, Alexandria
  4. Narrative stages
    - a. [1A] **DELIBERATION [Nov. 14, 565]** (Theoph. AM 6058)
      - i. **JUSTIN II** secures the support of **Praepositus Callinicus**, who will claim that **Justinian** on his deathbed had designated **JUSTIN II** as the next emperor (Jones 1964: 304), (Eva. 5.1).
    - b. [1B] **DELIBERATION [Nov. 14, 565]** (Theoph. AM 6058)
      - i. **Justinian**, while on his deathbed, designates **JUSTIN II** as the next emperor (Coripp. 4.330-45).
    - c. [2] **PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Nov. 14, 565]** (Theoph. AM 6058)
      - i. **Justinian** dies and **Callinicus** announces to **JUSTIN II** that he is the emperor (Coripp. 1.140-150). **Senators** are in attendance during the announcement and they affirm the announcement (Coripp. 1.155-60). Afterwards, they escort him to the palace (Coripp. 1.185-90).
      - ii. **Excubitores** guard all the entrances to the palace. **Comes Excubitorum Tiberius** greets **JUSTIN II** and the **Senators** and welcomes them into the palace (Coripp. 1.200-15).
      - iii. **JUSTIN II** and **Sophia** pay homage to **Justinian’s** body (Coripp. 1.225-95).
      - iv. **People** throughout the city and in the Hippodrome begin to spontaneously cheer for and acclaim **JUSTIN II** (Coripp. 1.290-305, 340-67).
    - d. [3] **PROCLAMATION (Coronation ceremony) [Nov. 15, 565]** (Coripp. 2.1)
      - i. **JUSTIN II** shows his piety as a **Christian** by not accepting the insignia of rule before he prays at the holy shrines (Coripp. 2.1-10)
      - ii. Then he proceeds to the palace, and **vestry officials** bring out the imperial robes and the diadem (Coripp. 2.85-90).
      - iii. **Armatus**, likely a drill instructor, puts a “circlet of consecrated gold”, likely a torque, on **JUSTIN II**. He ritually does this three times and proclaims him an emperor. Afterwards, the emperor makes him a Tribune. (Coripp. 2.125-35).
      - iv. Four men, possibly **soldiers**, raise **JUSTIN II** on a shield (Coripp. 2.135-40).
      - v. Afterwards, **Patriarch John** places a diadem on **JUSTIN II’s** head. The **Senate** then acclaims **JUSTIN II** as Augustus and **Sophia** as Augusta. (Coripp. 2.159-74).
      - vi. **JUSTIN II** ascends the throne and makes a speech, calling the **Senate**, the **Farmers**, the **Treasury**, and himself as all essential parts of a functioning body (Coripp. 2.175, 195-255). The **Senate** then pays obeisance (Coripp. 2.275-7)
      - vii. **JUSTIN II** heads to the Hippodrome in a long procession of **senators** and **archons** (Coripp. 2.277-85). He emerges from the imperial box to cheers from the **People** in the Hippodrome, who also cheer for **Sophia**. The **factions** cheer together in a display of ritual rivalry. (Coripp. 2.295-330).
      - viii. **JUSTIN II** makes a speech, and promises to pay the debts of **people** out of his own private account, and to free people from prison (Coripp. 2.380-420).
      - ix. Afterwards, **JUSTIN II** retires from the Hippodrome and heads to the palace (Coripp. 2.429-30).
    - e. [4] **CO-OPT (Elimination of the other Justin) [568-571]** (Joh. Bicl. 568), (Theoph. AM 6063).
      - i. **Justin - [son of Germanus]** was **JUSTIN II’s** second cousin and may have been an alternate and superior successor to **Justinian** (Jones 304). He was considered the more prominent of the two Justins, serving as a senior army commander under **Justinian**. There

was supposedly an arrangement between the two that whoever became emperor first would grant the other a subordinate emperor position (Eva. 5.1). However, after his accession, [JUSTIN II](#) had [Justin](#) banished to Alexandria and he was later killed (Eva. 5.2), (Theoph. AM 6063) (Joh. Bicl. 568).

#### TIBERIUS II (1) / Tiberius 1, *PLRE 3B*

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. **CAESAR - Inheritance (None)**
    - i. Designated as Caesar by an Augustus (Justin II) without imperial contest.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. TIBERIUS II - Constantinople
    - ii. **“Justin II” (Executive / Individual)**
  - b. **EXE-D: Augustae**
    - i. **“Sophia” (Executive / Individual)**
  - c. *MIL-M: Army*
    - i. *“Army” (Military / Body)*
  - d. *MIL-M: Guards*
    - i. *“Soldiers” (Military / Body)*
  - e. **ADM-D: Senate**
    - i. **“Senate” (Administrative / Body) - Constantinople**
  - f. *ADM-M: Court*
    - i. *“Palace officials” (Administrative / Body)*
  - g. *ADM-M: Places*
    - i. *“Dara” (Administrative, Military / Body)*
  - h. *REL-M: Bishops*
    - i. *“Patriarch John” (Religious / Individual)*
  - i. *REL-M: Devotees*
    - i. *“Christians” (Religious / Body)*
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Constantinople, Dara
4. Narrative stages
  - a. **[1] DELIBERATION (Dara is captured, Justin II goes mad as a result) [Nov. 573] (*PLRE 3B* Tiberius 1), (Theoph. AM 6066)**
    - i. [TIBERIUS II](#), even before becoming an emperor, begins to manage the empire along with [Sophia](#) (Men. Prot. Fr. 18.1), (Eva. 5.11)
  - b. **[2] DELIBERATION [*< Dec. 7, 574*] (Joh. Eph. 3.3.5), (Theophy. Sim. 11.13)**
    - i. [Sophia](#) prompts [Justin II](#) to proclaim [TIBERIUS II](#) a Caesar (Eva. 5.13). This was done in consultation with the [Senate](#) (Joh. Eph. 3.3.5).
  - c. **[3] PROCLAMATION (Caesar) [*Dies Imperii: Dec. 7, 574*] (Joh. Eph. 3.3.5), (Theophy. Sim. 11.13)**
    - i. In a moment of lucidity from his madness, [Justin II](#) consents to making [TIBERIUS II](#) a Caesar (Joh. Eph. 3.3.5).
    - ii. [Justin II](#) gives an abdication speech in the presence of [Patriarch John](#), [palace officials](#), the [Senate](#), and [soldiers](#) to [TIBERIUS II](#) (Eva. 5.13), (Theophy. Sim. 3.11.7). He tells him to fix his mistakes and restore the state to prosperity. He names specific *palace officials* to not trust. (Eva. 5.13). He begs the *army’s* forgiveness (Joh. Eph. 3.3.5) and tells the audience to also pay good attention to them (Theophy. Sim. 3.11.11). He says his fall is due to not keeping God’s commandments, and thus not being a good [Christian](#) (Joh. Eph. 3.3.5).
    - iii. Afterwards, everyone is crying, and [TIBERIUS II](#) “throws off his robe” and cries at [Justin II’s](#) feet (Joh. Eph. 3.3.5), (Theophy. Sim. 3.11.12).
    - iv. [Justin II](#) invests [TIBERIUS II](#) with imperial insignia (Joh. Eph. 3.3.5) and adopts him as his son (Theophy. Sim. 3.11.10).

- v. John of Ephesus seems to think that [TIBERIUS II's](#) Caesar coronation is when [Justin II](#) gives up imperial power, calling [Justin II](#) “him who was giving up the kingdom” and [TIBERIUS II](#) “him who was summoned to receive it” (Joh. Eph. 3.3.5 tr. Smith).
- d. [4] PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Sep. 26, 578] (*CP* 578)
- e. [5] CO-OPT (Death of Justin II) [Oct. 4 or 5, 578] (Joh. Eph. 3.3.6), (*CP* 578)

#### TIBERIUS II (2) / Tiberius 1, *PLRE* 3B

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. AUGUSTUS - Inheritance (None)
    - i. Designated as Augustus by an Augustus (Justin II) without imperial contest.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. TIBERIUS II - Constantinople
    - ii. **“Justin II” (Executive / Individual)**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Constantinople
4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION (Justin II's illness/madness grows worse)** [**< Sep. 26, 578**] (*CP* 578)
  - b. [2] **PROCLAMATION (Augustus)** [**Sep. 26, 578**] (*CP* 578)
    - i. [Justin II](#) makes [TIBERIUS II](#) an Augustus (Joh. Eph. 3.3.6), (Theophy. Sim. 3.16.4).
  - c. [3] CO-OPT (Death of Justin II) [Oct. 4 or 5, 578] (Joh. Eph. 3.3.6), (*CP* 578).
  - d. [4?] PROCLAMATION (Augustus)
    - i. [TIBERIUS II](#) might have been made emperor after the death of [Justin II](#). “Tiberius, who had now been invested with the crown following the death of Justin...” (Eva. 5.19 tr. Whitby and Whitby).

#### MAURICE / Mauricius 4, *PLRE* 3B

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. CAESAR - Inheritance (None)
    - i. Designated as Caesar by an Augustus (Tiberius II) without imperial contest.
  - b. AUGUSTUS - Inheritance (None)
    - i. Designated as Augustus by an Augustus (Tiberius II) without imperial contest.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-D: Emperors**
    - i. MAURICE - Constantinople, Hebdomon
    - ii. **“Tiberius II” (Executive / Individual)**
  - b. *EXE-M: Imperial Family*
    - i. “Constantina” (Executive / Individual) - [Tiberius II's daughter]
  - c. *MIL-A: Army*
    - i. **“Army” (Military / Body) - Hebdomon**
  - d. *ADM-A: Senate*
    - i. **“Senate” (Administrative / Body)**
  - e. *REL-A: Bishops*
    - i. **“Patriarch John” (Religious / Individual)**
  - f. *POP-A: People*
    - i. **“People” (Popular / Body)**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Constantinople, Hebdomon
4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION / PROCLAMATION (Caesar)** [**Dies Imperii: Aug. 5, 582**] (Joh. Eph. 3.5.13), (*CP* 582)
    - i. [Tiberius II](#) is gravely ill and he decides to make [MAURICE - Constantinople](#) (Theoph. AM 6074) a Caesar (Joh. Eph. 3.5.13), (*CP* 582). Theophanes (AM 6074) says his illness is due to eating spoiled mulberries.
  - b. [2] **PROCLAMATION (Augustus)** [**Aug. 13, 582**] (*CP* 582)

- i. [Tiberius II's](#) illness worsens, so he summons [Patriarch John](#) and the [Senate](#) to the tribunal at the Hebdomon (Mango, Scott, and Greatrex, 1997: 374 n.5), along with the [army](#). He is brought out on a litter and announces to the [people](#) via a prepared statement that he is proclaiming [MAURICE](#) an emperor. (Theoph. AM 6074).
  - ii. [Tiberius II](#) betroths his daughter [Constantina](#) to [MAURICE](#) (CP 582).
  - iii. Everyone acclaims the new emperor. [Tiberius II](#) returns to his litter. (Theoph. AM 6074)
- c. [3] CO-OPT (Tiberius II dies at the Hebdomon) [Aug. 14, 582] (CP 582)

#### PHOCAS 7, PLRE 3B

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. **AUGUSTUS - Election (4 days)**
    - i. Raised as an Augustus by the army and other institutions of a capital city in competition with an Augustus (Maurice).
    - ii. From the elevation of Phocas to the death of Maurice.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperor**
    - i. PHOCAS - Danube-Moesia, Hebdomon, Constantinople
    - ii. **"Maurice" (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople, Hebdomon**
    - iii. **"Theodosius" (Executive / Individual) - [Maurice's son]**
  - b. **EXE-M: Augustae**
    - i. **"Leontia" (Executive / Individual) - [Phocas' wife]**
  - c. **EXE-M: Imperial Family**
    - i. **"Germanus" (Executive / Individual) - [Theodosius' father-in-law]**
  - d. **MIL-D: Army**
    - i. **"Danube Army" (Military / Body) - Danube-Moesia, Constantinople**
  - e. **ADM-A: Senate**
    - i. **"Senate" (Administrative / Body) - Constantinople, Hebdomon**
  - f. **REL-A: Bishops**
    - i. **"Patriarch" (Religious / Individual) - Constantinople, Hebdomon**
  - g. **POP-A: People**
    - i. **"People" (Popular / Body) - Constantinople**
  - h. **POP-A: Factions**
    - i. **"Factions" (Popular, Military / Body) - Constantinople, Hebdomon**
  - i. **NON-M: Barbarians**
    - i. **"Khusro II" (Non-Roman, Executive / Individual) - Persia**
3. Locations mentioned
  - a. Danube-Moesia, Hebdomon, Constantinople, Persia
4. Narrative stages
  - a. [1] **DELIBERATION (Beginning of revolt) [Early-Mid Nov. 602] (CP 602)**
    - i. The [Danube Army - Moesia](#) is upset at [Maurice](#) for forcing them to stay in winter quarters near the Danube. They revolt, acclaiming [PHOCAS](#) as a new army commander, but not yet an emperor (Theoph. Sim. 8.7.7), (Theoph. AM 6094).
  - b. [2] The [Danube Army](#) marches on Constantinople (Theoph. Sim. 8.8.1, 8.9.1). [Maurice](#) orders the [Factions](#) to man the walls and defend the city (Theoph. Sim. 8.8.2).
  - c. [3] The [Danube Army](#) demands [Maurice's](#) resignation and suggests alternate emperors such as Maurice's son [Theodosius](#) or Theodosius' father-in-law [Germanus](#) (Theoph. Sim. 8.8.4-5).
  - d. [4] The [People](#) and [Factions](#) riot against [Maurice](#) (Theoph. Sim. 8.8.3-5).
  - e. [5] [Nov. 22, 602] (CP 602) [Maurice](#) flees the city, and tells [Theodosius](#) to seek out [Khusro II](#) for help. (Theoph. Sim. 8.9.7, 11).
  - f. [6] **PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Nov. 23, 602] (CP 602)**
    - i. [Factions](#), [Patriarch](#), and [Senate](#) crown/acclaim [PHOCAS](#) at the Hebdomon. (Theoph. Sim. 8.10.1-7), (Theoph. AM 6094)
  - g. [7] [Nov. 25, 602] (CP 602) [PHOCAS](#) enters Constantinople and entertains the [People](#) with chariot-races. [PHOCAS'](#) wife [Leontia](#) is crowned an Augusta. (Theoph. Sim. 8.10.1-7).
  - h. [8] **CO-OPT (Death of Maurice) [Nov. 27, 602] (CP 602)**

- i. *Maurice* and his sons including *Theodosius* are captured at Chalcedon and killed (Theoph. Sim. 8.11.2-4).

#### HERACLIUS 4, PLRE 3A

1. Accession type and imperial uncertainty
  - a. **AUGUSTUS-A - Election (None)**
    - i. Elected as an Augustus by various institutions of a capital city. Heraclius was not acclaimed as emperor until after the defeat and death of the previous emperor, Phocas.
  - b. **Augustus-B - Election (1 day)**
    - i. Initial coronation by a bishop.
    - ii. From initial coronation of Heraclius to the death of Phocas and more formal coronation in the capital city the day after.
  - c. **Augustus-C - Election (1 to 2 months?)**
    - i. From being hailed as an Augustus in Egypt until the death of Phocas and more formal coronation in the capital city.
2. Political interest types involved
  - a. **EXE-A: Emperors**
    - i. HERACLIUS - Africa, Egypt, Abydos, Heraclea, Constantinople
    - ii. **“Phocas” (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople**
    - iii. **“Maurice” (Executive / Individual) - Constantinople**
  - b. **EXE-D: Imperial Family**
    - i. **“Heraclius the Elder” (Executive / Individual) - Africa**
    - ii. **“Constantina” (Executive / Individual) - [Maurice’s wife]**
    - iii. **“Relatives of Maurice” (Executive / Individual)**
  - c. **MIL-M: Army**
    - i. **“Army officer Bonosus” (Military / Individual) - Constantinople**
    - ii. **“Army officer Nicetas” (Military / Individual) - Egypt**
    - iii. **“Eastern Army” (Military / Body) - Eastern frontier**
    - iv. **“Invasion fleet” (Military / Body) - Africa, Egypt, Constantinople**
    - v. **“Soldiers (Military / Body)**
  - d. **MIL-D: Guards**
    - i. **“Comes Excubitorum Priscus” (Military / Individual) - Constantinople**
    - ii. **“Excubitores” (Military / Body) - Constantinople**
  - e. **ADM-A: Senate**
    - i. **“Senate, Senators” (Administrative / Body) - Africa? Constantinople?**
  - f. **ADM-M: Court**
    - i. **“Exiles” (Administrative / Body) - Abydos**
    - ii. **“Photius, Probus” (Administrative / Individuals) - Constantinople**
  - g. **ADM-M: Places**
    - i. **“Levant, Egypt, Africa” (Administrative / Body)**
  - h. **REL-A: Bishops**
    - i. **“Patriarch” (Religious / Individual) - Constantinople**
    - ii. **“Bishop Stephen of Cyzicus” (Religious / Individual) - Heraclea**
  - i. **REL-M: Devotees**
    - i. **“Miaphysites” (Religious / Body) - Levant**
  - j. **POP-A: People**
    - i. **“People” (Popular / Body) - Constantinople**
    - ii. **“People of Egypt” (Popular / Body) - Egypt**
  - k. **POP-A: Factions**
    - i. **“Factions” (Popular, Military / Body) - Constantinople**
    - ii. **“Greens” (Popular, Military / Body) - Constantinople**
    - iii. **“Blues” (Popular, Military / Body) - Constantinople**
  - l. **NON-M: Barbarians**
    - i. **Persians (Non-Roman / Body)**
3. Locations mentioned

- a. Abydos, Heraclea, Constantinople, Levant, Persia, Africa, Egypt
4. Narrative stages
- a. [1] DELIBERATION (Increasing unpopularity of and instability under Phocas) [603-8]
- i. There are [Eastern army](#) revolts and territorial losses to the [Persians](#) (Theoph. AM 6095-9).
  - ii. There are attempted or perceived coups from [palace officials](#) and [relatives of Maurice](#). [Phocas](#) executes alleged plotters, as well as [Maurice's](#) wife [Constantina](#). (*CP* 605), (Theoph. AM 6099, 6101)
  - iii. Religious conflict in the [Levant](#), with a persecution of [Miaphysites](#) (Joh. Nik. 104), (Olster, 1993: 105-6).
- b. [2] DELIBERATION (African revolt of the Heraclii begins) [Early 608] (Olster, 1993: 121), (Theoph. AM 6100)
- i. Letter from [Comes Excubitorum Priscus - Constantinople](#) telling [Heraclius the Elder - Africa](#) to rebel against [Phocas](#), and for him to send his son [HERACLIUS](#) and [army officer Nicetas](#) against [Phocas](#) (Theoph. AM 6100). They rebel and take control of [Africa](#).
  - ii. [Heraclius the Elder](#) proclaims himself and [HERACLIUS](#) consuls, suggesting imperial intentions (Kaegi, 2003: 40-1).
- c. [3] [Spring 608 - Summer 610] [Heraclius the Elder](#) sends [Nicetas](#) to capture [Egypt](#), which is taken after a long and difficult campaign (*CP* 609), (Joh. Nik. 109.14).
- d. [4] [Spring 610] (Olster, 1993: 128) [Heraclius the Elder](#) is pressed by the [Senate - Africa? Constantinople?](#) to attack [Phocas](#), so he sends [HERACLIUS](#) with an [invasion fleet](#) to Constantinople (Joh. Nik. 109.25), while [Nicetas](#) is to attack by land. There is an arrangement that whichever of the two reaches Constantinople first, would be made emperor. (Theoph. AM 6101)
- e. [5?] PROCLAMATION? (“Emperor”) [Late Summer 610] (Kaegi, 2003: 45)
- i. After [Egypt](#) is successfully conquered, at some point on his voyage to Constantinople, [HERACLIUS](#) is acclaimed as an emperor by the [People of Egypt](#) (Joh. Nik. 110.1). His “emperor” acclamation may have been localized propaganda for the Egyptians, with some epigraphic evidence suggesting he may have only taken the title “despotes” as opposed to “Augustus” at this point (Olster, 1993: 131 n.79).
- f. [6] [Oct. 3, 610 - Saturday] (*CP* 610) [HERACLIUS'](#) fleet appears at a fort near the Hebdomon palace within sight of Constantinople.
- g. [7?] PROCLAMATION? (“Emperor”) [Oct. 4, 610 - Sunday] (*CP* 610), (Theoph. AM 6102)
- i. [HERACLIUS](#) either receives [exiles](#) while he is at Abydos (Theoph. AM 6102), or he receives [exiles](#) who are currently residing at Abydos (Olster, 1993: 131). He then goes to Heraclea.
  - ii. When the [Bishop Stephen of Cyzicus](#) hears [HERACLIUS](#) is nearby, he takes a crown from a nearby church and brings it to [HERACLIUS](#) (μαθὼν οὖν Στέφανος ὁ Κυζικηνός, λαβὼν ἐκ τῆς Θεοτόκου Ἀρτάκης στέμμα ἀπήγαγεν αὐτὸ τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ) (Joh. Ant. Fr. 231, ed. Roberto). Olster (1993: 131) and Kaegi (2003: 48) consider this moment a coronation.
  - iii. The [invasion fleet](#) of [HERACLIUS](#) sails into and launches its attack on Constantinople (Joh. Ant. Fr. 231, ed. Roberto). [Priscus](#), his [excubitores](#) and the [Greens](#) are assigned to defend the city but betray [Phocas](#). [Blues](#) are not aware of the plot and are attacked afterward (Niceph. 1.1), (John of Nikiu 110), (Joh. Ant. Fr. 231, ed. Roberto). [Army officer Bonosus - \[Phocas\]](#) kills himself, and the defense of the city collapses (*CP* 610), (Olster, 1993: 132).
- h. [8] CO-OPT (Capture of Phocas) [Oct. 5, 610 - Monday] (*CP* 610, if you go by the day of the week), (Kaegi, 2003: 51, 324). Alternatively Oct. 6, 610 (*CP* 610, if you go by numbered date), (Olster, 1993: 134). *CP* 610 gives the date as Monday, October 6. *PLRE* (3A Heraclius 4) has a coronation date of Oct. 7, 610 for Heraclius, which is strange since it has a correct death date of Oct. 5, 610 for Phocas (*PLRE* 3B Phocas 7), and *CP* (610) indicates Phocas' execution and Heraclius' elevation were on the same day.
- i. [Phocas](#) is captured by either [Photius](#), whose wife was seduced by [Phocas](#) (Niceph. 1.1), [Photius](#) and [Probus](#) (*CP* 610), [Senators](#) and [soldiers](#) (Joh. Nik. 110.5), or the [factions](#)

- (Theoph. AM 6102). Theophanes believes the [factions](#) kill [Phocas](#) right away, rather than have him taken to [HERACLIUS](#) as in the other accounts.
- ii. [Phocas](#) is thrown into a boat and brought before [HERACLIUS](#), who presumably is still with the [invasion fleet](#) (*CP* 610), (Joh. Ant. *Fr.* 231, ed. Roberto), (Niceph. 1.1). [HERACLIUS](#) asks [Phocas](#) if this is how he has governed. [Phocas](#) inquires whether [HERACLIUS](#) will do any better (Joh. Ant. *Fr.* 231, ed. Roberto), (Niceph. 1.1). [Phocas](#) is then killed (*CP* 610), (Joh. Ant. *Fr.* 231, ed. Roberto), (Niceph. 1.1).
  - iii. [HERACLIUS](#) comes ashore (Niceph. 1.2)
- i. **[9] PROCLAMATION (Augustus) [Dies Imperii: Oct. 5, 610 - Monday]** (*CP* 610)
    - i. [HERACLIUS](#) is proclaimed emperor by the [Senate](#) and the [people](#) and is crowned by the [Patriarch](#) (Niceph. 1.2). This is done either in the Hagia Sophia (*CP* 610), at the Church of St. Stephen in the palace (Theoph. AM 6102), or St. Thomas the Apostle church (Joh. Nik. 110.8-9).
  - j. [10] CO-OPT (Death of Heraclius the Elder) [> Oct. 5, 610] (*CP* 610), (Joh. Nik. 110.13)
    - i. [HERACLIUS](#) sends a letter to [Heraclius the Elder](#) telling him about his accession. [Heraclius the Elder](#) receives the letter joyfully. He dies shortly thereafter. (Joh. Nik. 110.13).

## Appendix B (Emperor Lists)

### KEY TO SYMBOLS

- e - Source regards individual as an emperor
- u - Source regards individual as a usurper
- “ ” - Source seems to imply individual as either an emperor or usurper
- ? - Source seems to identify an individual, but unclear if they directly identify him as an emperor or usurper, or is a possible scribal error if an ancient source.
- / - Either/or

Emperors are in rough chronological order up to the fourth century split. Black is the color for emperors up to the late fourth century of a “unified” Roman Empire. Red is for emperors of the western empire. Purple is for the emperors of the eastern empire.

### CONSULARIA AND CHRONICLES

	Cons. Const.	FV Prior.	FV Post.	Prosp. 445	Marc Com.	Theoph.
Diocletian	e	e	e			e
Maximian	e	e	e			e
Constantius I	e	e	e			e
Galerius	e	e	e			e
Maximinus Daia	e					e
Severus	e	e	e			e
Maxentius	e					u
Licinius	e					e
Constantine I	e	e	e			e
Constantine II	e	e	e			e
Constans I	e	e?	e?			e
Constantius II	e	e	e			e
Magnentius	e					u
Julian	e	e	e			e
Jovian	e	e				e
Valentinian I	e	e	e		"e"	e
Valens	e	e	e	e	e	e
Procopius	"u"?					u?
Gratian	e	e	e	e	e	e
Valentinian II	e	e	e	e	e	e
Theodosius I	e	e		e	e	e
Magnus Maximus	u	u		e	u	u
Eugenius	u	e		e	u	u
Honorius	e	e		e	e	e
Constantine III	u			u	u	"u"?

Attalus				e	"u"?	
Constantius III				e		e
Johannes				u	u	u
Valentinian III	e		e	e	e	e
Petronius		e	e		u	u
Avitus	e	e	e			e
Majorian	e	e			e	e
Libius Severus	e	e			u	e
Anthemius	e	e			e	e
Olybrius		e			e	e
Glycerius		e			e	e
Julius Nepos		e			e	e
Augustulus		e			e	e
Thela						
Arcadius	e	e		e	e	e
Theodosius II	e	e		e	e	e
Marcian			e		e	e
Leo I	e	e			e	e
Leo II		e			e	e
Zeno		e			e	e
Basiliscus		e			u	u
Marcianus						u?
Leontius					"u"?	e
Anastasius		e			e	e
Justin I			e		e	e
Justinian			e		e	e
Hypatius					u	e
Justin II						e
Tiberius II						e
Maurice						e
Phocas						u
Heraclius						e

## MODERN EMPEROR LISTS

	<i>CAH 12-14 / CHB</i>	Goldsworthy	Gregory	Mitchell	<i>Wikipedia</i>	Weigel
Diocletian	e	e	e	e	e	e
Maximian	e	e	e	e	e	e
Constantius I	e	e	e	e	e	e
Galerius	e	e	e	e	e	e
Maximinus Daia	e	e?/u?	e	e	e	e
Severus	e	e	e	e	e	e
Maxentius	u	u		u	"u"/e	e
Licinius	e	e	e	e	e	e
Constantine I	e	u/e	e	e	e	e
Constantine II	e	e	e	e	e	e
Constans	e	e	e	e	e	e
Constantius II	e	e	e	e	e	e
Magnentius	e	u		u	u	u
Julian	e	e	e	e	e	e
Jovian	e	e	e	e	e	e
Valentinian I	e	e	e	e	e	e
Valens	e	e	e	e	e	e
Procopius	e?	u			u	u
Gratian	e	e	e	e	e	e
Valentinian II	e	e	e	e	e	e
Theodosius I	e	e	e	e	e	e
Magnus Maximus	e	u/e			"u"/e	u
Eugenius	e	u			u	u
Honorius	e	e	e	e	e	e
Constantine III		u/e		u	"u"/e	u
Attalus		e			u	u
Constantius III	e	e			e	u
Johannes	e	u	e	u	"u"/e	u
Valentinian III	e	e	e	e	e	e
Petronius		u	e		"u"/e	e
Avitus	e	u	e	e	"u"/e	e
Majorian	e	e	e	e	e	e
Libius Severus	e	e	e	e	"u"/e	e
Anthemius	e	e	e	e	e	e
Olybrius		u	e	e	"u"/e	e
Glycerius	e	u	e		"u"/e	e
Julius Nepos	e	e	e	e	e	e
Augustulus	e	e	e	e	"u"/e	e
Thela						
Arcadius	e	e	e	e	e	e
Theodosius II	e	e	e	e	e	e
Marcian	e	e	e	e	e	e

<i>Leo I</i>	e	e	e	e	e	e
<i>Leo II</i>			e		e	e
<i>Zeno</i>	e	e	e	e	e	e
<i>Basiliscus</i>	u/e?	u			u/e	u
<i>Marcianus</i>		u			u	
<i>Leontius</i>					u	u
<i>Anastasius</i>	e	e	e	e	e	e
<i>Justin I</i>	e	e	e	e	e	e
<i>Justinian</i>	e	e	e	e	e	e
<i>Hypatius</i>					u	
<i>Justin II</i>	e	e	e	e	e	e
<i>Tiberius</i>	e	e	e	e	e	e
<i>Maurice</i>	e	e	e	e	e	e
<i>Phocas</i>	e	u	e	e	u/e	e
<i>Heraclius</i>	e	e	e	e	u/e	e

## PLRE EMPERORS, USURPERS, AND REBELS

This is a list of the individuals in the *PLRE* I have identified as those who were acclaimed emperors, usurpers/rebels with imperial intentions, or rebels with unknown imperial intentions. The last group also includes usurpers/rebels outside the *de facto* control of the empire who may not be rebelling against the empire, but against regional kingdoms. The acclaimed emperors list is fairly comprehensive because they are easily identifiable by their *PLRE* title. I am uncertain as to the comprehensiveness of the imperial/regional rebels because of the difficulty of distinguishing intentions between the two.

Emperors in bold and capital letters are included in the appendix. Emperors not in the appendix are in a regular font and are listed by their names in their respective *PLRE* volume alongside a title description from the *PLRE*. Usurpers and rebels are in an italic font and are also given extra information from the *PLRE* describing the nature of their revolt. Individuals are sorted according to the year of the theorized start of their reign, meaning their accession as Caesar if they were designated as one before becoming an Augustus, or the start of their revolt if they were never acclaimed.

Name	Reign start	PLRE Vol.	PLRE Title	PLRE Description
Numerianus	283	1	Augustus	
Carinus	283	1	Augustus	
Iulianus 24	283	1	Augustus	
<b>DIOCLETIAN</b>	<b>284</b>			
<b>MAXIMIAN</b>	<b>285</b>			
Carausius 1	286	1	Augustus (in Britain)	
Allectus	293	1	Augustus (in Britain)	
<b>CONSTANTIUS I</b>	<b>293</b>			
<b>GALERIUS</b>	<b>293</b>		Augustus (in Egypt)	
Domitianus 6	297	1		
Iulianus 2	297	1	Rebel (in Africa?)	
Eugenius 1	303	1	Usurper (East)	
<b>MAXIMINUS DAIA</b>	<b>305</b>			
<b>SEVERUS</b>	<b>305</b>			
<b>CONSTANTINE I</b>	<b>306</b>			
<b>MAXENTIUS</b>	<b>306</b>			
Alexander 17	308	1	Augustus (in Africa)	
<b>LICINIUS</b>	<b>308</b>			
Valens 13	316	1	Augustus	
<b>CONSTANTINE II</b>	<b>317</b>			
Crispus 4	317	1	Caesar	
Licinius 4	317	1	Caesar	
Martinianus 2	324	1	Caesar	
<b>CONSTANTIUS II</b>	<b>324</b>			
<b>CONSTANS</b>	<b>333</b>			
<i>Calocaerus</i>	<i>334</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Rebel (in Cyprus)</i>	<i>led a revolt</i>
Dalmatius 7	335	1	Caesar	

<b>MAGNENTIUS</b>	<b>350</b>			
Decentius 3	350	1	Caesar	
<b>VETRANIO</b>	<b>350</b>			
Nepotianus 5	350	1	Augustus	
Constantius 4	351	1	Caesar	
<i>Patricius 2</i>	352	1	<i>Rebel (East)</i>	<i>sedition</i>
Silvanus 2	355	1	Augustus	
<b>JULIAN</b>	<b>355</b>			
<b>JOVIAN</b>	<b>363</b>			
<b>VALENTINIAN I</b>	<b>364</b>			
<b>VALENS</b>	<b>364</b>			
<b>PROCOPIUS</b>	<b>365</b>			
<b>GRATIAN</b>	<b>367</b>			
<i>Valentinus 5</i>	368	1	<i>Rebel in Britain</i>	<i>planned a rebellion</i>
Firmus 3	372	1	Augustus (in Africa)	
<b>VALENTINIAN II</b>	<b>375</b>			
<b>THEODOSIUS I</b>	<b>379</b>			
<i>Balbinus</i>	379?	2	<i>Rebel (in Cilicia)</i>	<i>rebel</i>
<b>ARCADIUS</b>	<b>383</b>			
<b>MAGNUS MAXIMUS</b>	<b>383</b>			
Victor 14	383	1	Augustus	
<b>EUGENIUS</b>	<b>392</b>			
<b>HONORIUS</b>	<b>393</b>			
<i>Servatus 1</i>	395	2	<i>Rebel under Honorius</i>	<i>among the tyranni</i>
<b>THEODOSIUS II</b>	<b>402</b>			
<i>Danielus 2</i>	402	2	<i>Rebel (under Theodosius II)</i>	<i>exiled... for rebellion</i>
<i>Baudo</i>	402	2	<i>Rebel (under Theodosius II)</i>	<i>exiled... for rebellion</i>
Marcus 2	406	2	Augustus (in Britain)	
<b>CONSTANTINE III</b>	<b>407</b>			
Gratianus 3	407	2	Augustus (in Britain)	
Constans 1	408	2	Caesar; Augustus	
<b>ATTALUS</b>	<b>409</b>			
Maximus 4	409	2	Usurper (in Spain)	
Iovinus 2	411	2	Usurper (in Gaul)	
Heraclianus 3	413	2	Usurper (in Africa)	
<b>CONSTANTIUS III</b>	<b>421</b>			
<b>JOHANNES</b>	<b>423</b>			
<b>VALENTINIAN III</b>	<b>423</b>			
<b>MARCIAN</b>	<b>450</b>			
<b>AVITUS</b>	<b>455</b>			
Palladius 10	455	2	Caesar	
<b>PETRONIUS MAXIMUS</b>	<b>455</b>			
<b>LEO I</b>	<b>457</b>			
<b>MAJORIAN</b>	<b>457</b>			
<b>LIBIUS SEVERUS</b>	<b>461</b>			
<b>ANTHEMIUS</b>	<b>467</b>			

<i>Ullibos</i>	469	2	<i>Gothic? Rebel</i>	<i>tyrannus Gothus</i>
Patricius 15	470	2	Caesar (East)	
<b>OLYBRIUS</b>	<b>472</b>			
<b>LEO II</b>	<b>472</b>			
<b>GLYCERIUS</b>	<b>473</b>			
<b>JULIUS NEPOS</b>	<b>474</b>			
<b>ZENO</b>	<b>474</b>			
<b>BASILISCUS</b>	<b>475</b>			
<b>ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS</b>	<b>475</b>			
Marcus 4	476	2	Augustus	
Basiliscus 1	476	2	Caesar	
<i>Adaric</i>	478	2	<i>Rebel against Odovacer</i>	<i>Vir Nobilis, rebelled</i>
<b>MARCIANUS (Not acclaimed)</b>	<b>479</b>			
<b>LEONTIUS</b>	<b>484</b>			
<i>Iustasas</i>	484?	2	<i>Samaritan rebel</i>	<i>crowned king</i>
<b>THELA (Caesar)</b>	<b>490</b>			
<b>ANASTASIUS</b>	<b>491</b>			
<i>Athenodorus 2</i>	492	2	<i>Isaurian rebel</i>	<i>commander of the rebel army</i>
<i>Longinus of Selinus 4</i>	494	2	<i>Isaurian rebel</i>	<i>one of the leaders of the... revolt</i>
<i>Burdunelus</i>	496	2	<i>Usurper (in Spain)</i>	<i>assumed power</i>
<i>Indes</i>	498	2	<i>Isaurian rebel</i>	<i>rebel leader</i>
<i>Petrus 25</i>	506	2	<i>Rebel (against Visigoths)</i>	<i>Roman descent, tyrannus</i>
<i>Vitalianus 2</i>	513	2	<i>MVM; cos.</i>	<i>Rebelled</i>
<b>JUSTIN I</b>	<b>518</b>			
<b>JUSTINIAN</b>	<b>527</b>			
<i>Iulianus 3</i>	529	3A	<i>Samaritan rebel</i>	<i>proclaimed their ruler</i>
<b>HYPATIUS</b>	<b>532</b>			
<i>Stotzas</i>	536	3B	<i>rebel (in Africa)</i>	<i>assumed style of king, if not emperor</i>
<i>Ioannes 35</i>	545	3A	<i>rebel leader (in Africa)</i>	<i>elected by rebels as leader</i>
<i>Guntharis 2</i>	546	3A	<i>rebel in Africa</i>	<i>plotted rebellion... tyrannus</i>
<b>JUSTIN II</b>	<b>565</b>			
<b>TIBERIUS</b>	<b>574</b>			
Germanus 5	582	3A	Caesar	
<i>Malaricus</i>	585	3B	<i>usurper in Gallaccia</i>	<i>tried to seize power in Gallaccia</i>
<b>MAURICE</b>	<b>582</b>			
<i>Segga</i>	587	3B	<i>Visigothic rebel</i>	<i>rebellion... to place him on the throne</i>
Theodosius 13	590	3B	Augustus	
<b>PHOCAS</b>	<b>602</b>			
<i>Heraclius 3</i>	608	3A	<i>patricius... (?exarchus)</i>	<i>rebelled against the emperor</i>
<b>HERACLIUS</b>	<b>608</b>			

# Bibliography

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CHB</i>	<i>Cambridge History of Byzantium</i>
<i>NEDC</i>	<i>New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine</i>
<i>PLRE</i>	<i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i>

## PRIMARY SOURCES

- Add. ad Prosp. Havn. Additamentum ad Prosperum Havniensis in Chronica Minora Vol. 1* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi 9), ed. T. Mommsen. Berlin 1892. 298-304.
- Ambrose *Ep. Epistulae et Acta* (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 82.1-4), ed. O. Faller. Vienna 1968-1996; “Translation of Epistula 30 (Maur. 24),” tr. J. Liebeschuetz in *Ambrose of Milan: Political Letters and Speeches*. Liverpool 2005. 352-7.
- Amm. Ammianus Marcellinus. *Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt* (Teubner), ed. W. Seyfarth. Leipzig 1978; *Ammianus Marcellinus History*, 3 vols. (Loeb Classical Library 300, 315, 331), tr. J. Rolfe. Cambridge, MA 1939-1950.
- Anon. *Val. Anonymous Valesiana* (Teubner), ed. J. Moreau rev. V. Velkov. Leipzig 1968; *Ammianus Marcellinus, History, Vol. 3: Books 27-31, Excerpta Valesiana* (Loeb Classical Library 331), tr. J. Rolfe. Cambridge 1939. 506-69.
- Auct. Havn. Post. Auctarii Havniensis Ordo Posterior in Chronica Minora Vol. 1* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi 9), ed. T. Mommsen. Berlin 1892. 307-13.
- Auct. Prosp. 455. Auctarium Prosperi ad editionem anni 455 in Chronica Minora Vol. 1* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi 9), ed. T. Mommsen. Berlin 1892. 492-3.
- Auct. Prosp. Havn. Auctarium Prosperi Havniensis in Chronica Minora Vol. 1* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi 9), ed. T. Mommsen. Berlin 1892. 304-5.
- Aur. Vict. *Epit. Pseudo-Aurelius Victor. Epitome de Caesaribus* (Teubner), eds. F. Pichlmayr and R. Gruendel. Leipzig 1970; *Epitome de Caesaribus*, tr. T. Banchich. Buffalo 2009. Web. <http://www.roman-emperors.org/epitome.htm>
- . *Caes. Aurelius Victor. De Caesaribus; Die römischen Kaiser. Liber de Caesaribus*, eds. K. Groß-Albenhausen and M. Fuhrmann. Darmstadt 1997; *Aurelius Victor: De Caesaribus*, eds. F. Pichlmayr and R. Gruendel (Teubner, 1966) and tr. H. Bird. Liverpool 1994.

- Cand. Candidus. *Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus, Vol. 2*, ed. and tr. R. Blockley. Liverpool 1983. 464-71.
- Cass. *Chron.* “Cassiodorus’ *Chronica*, Text, Chronography and Sources,” ed. and tr. M. Klaassen. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Pennsylvania 2010.
- Chron. 354. Chronicle of 354, Item Imperia Caesarum in Chronica Minora Vol. 1* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi 9), ed. T. Mommsen. Berlin 1892. 145-8.
- Chron. Gall. 511.* “The Gallic Chronicle of 511: A New Critical Edition with a Brief Introduction,” ed. R. Burgess in *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul: Revisiting the Sources*, ed. R. Mathisen and D. Shanzer. Burlington, VT 2001. 85-100.
- CIL. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Vol. 1: Latinae Antiquissimae*, eds. G. Henzen, C. Huelsen, and T. Mommsen. Berlin 1893.
- Cons. Const. Consularia Constantinopolitana in The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana*, ed. and tr. R. Burgess. Oxford 1993. 215-45.
- Cons. Mars. Consularia Marsiburgensia (Annals of Ravenna)* in “Eine illustrierte Ausgabe der spätantiken Ravennater Annalen,” ed. B. Bischoff and W. Koehler in *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter Vol. 1*. Freeport, NY 1939. 125-38.
- Coripp. Corippus. *In Lauden Iustini Augusti Minoris*, ed. and tr. Averil Cameron. London 1976.
- CP. Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf in *Ad Exemplar Vaticanum*, 2 vols. (Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae). Bonn 1832; *Chronicon Paschale: 284-628 AD*, trs. Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby. Liverpool 1989.
- Cont. Prosp. Reich. Continuato Prosperi Codicis Reichenaviensis in Chronica Minora Vol. 1* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi 9), ed. T. Mommsen. Berlin 1892. 490.
- De Cer. De Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae Libri Duo Graece et Latine*, 2 vols. (Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae), ed. J. Reiske. Bonn 1829-1830; *The Book of Ceremonies Vol. 1-2*, trs. A. Moffatt and M. Tall. Canberra 2012.
- De Insid. Mal. Excerpta de Insidiis ex Ioanne Malala; Chronographia Ioannis Malalae* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 35), ed. J. Thurn. Berlin 2000. 313-8; *Excerpta De Insidiis, Excerpta Historica Iussu Imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti Confecta, Vol. 3*, ed. C. de Boor. Berlin 1905. 151-76; *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, ed. L. Dindorf (1831) and trs. E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, and R. Scott. Melbourne 1986. 216-7.
- Dio Cassius. *History; Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt*, ed. U. Boissevain. Berlin 1955-1969; *Roman History*, 9 vols. (Loeb Classical Library 32, 37, 53, 66, 82-3, 175-7), tr. E. Cary and H. Foster. Cambridge, MA 1914-1927.

- Epiph. *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures*, ed. and tr. J. Dean. Chicago 1935.
- Eus. *HE*. Eusebius. *Historia Ecclesiastica; Eusebius Werke 2.1-2: Die Kirchengeschichte* (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 9.1-2), ed. E. Schwartz. Leipzig: 1903-1908; *Eusebius. Ecclesiastical History*, 2 vols. (Loeb Classical Library 153, 265), tr. K. Lake and J. Oulton. Cambridge, MA 1926, 1932.
- . *V. Cons.* Eusebius. *Vita Constantini; Eusebius Werke 1.1: Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin* (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 1.1), ed. F. Winkelmann. Berlin 1991; *Eusebius: Life of Constantine*, tr. Averil Cameron and S. Hall. Oxford 1999.
- Eutr. Eutropius. *Breviarium ab Urbe Condita* (Teubner), ed. C. Santini. Leipzig 1979; *The Breviarium ab Urbe Condita of Eutropius*, tr. H. Bird. Liverpool 1993.
- Eva. Evagrius Scholasticus. *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius with the Scholia*, ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier. London 1898; *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius*, tr. Michael Whitby. Liverpool 2000.
- FV Prior.* *Fasti Vindobonenses Priores in Chronica Minora Vol. 1* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi 9), ed. T. Mommsen. Berlin 1892. 274-320.
- FV Post.* *Fasti Vindobonenses Posteriores in Chronica Minora Vol. 1* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi 9), ed. T. Mommsen. Berlin 1892. 274-334.
- Greg. Naz. *Or.* Gregory Nazianzenus. *Orations; Discours 4-5, Contre Julien* (Sources Chrétiennes 309), ed. and Fr. tr. J. Bernardi. Paris 1983; *Julian the Emperor, Containing Gregory Nazianzen's Two Invectives and Libanius' Monody with Julian's Extant Theosophical Works*, tr. C. King. London 1888.
- Greg. Tur. Gregory of Tours. *Libri Historiarum X* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum 1.1), ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison. Hannover 1951; *The History of the Franks*, ed. H. Omont and G. Collon (1886-1893) and tr. L. Thorpe. London 1974.
- Hyd. Hydatius. *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana*, ed. and tr. R. Burgess. Oxford 1993.
- ILS.* *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, Vol. 1*, ed. H. Dessau. Berlin 1892.
- Jer. *Chron.* Jerome. *Chronicle; Eusebius Werke 7.1: Die Chronik des Hieronymus; Hieronymi Chronicon* (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 24), ed. R. Helm. Leipzig 1913; *The Bodleian Manuscript of Jerome's Version of the Chronicle of Eusebius Reproduced in Collotype*, ed. J. Fotheringham. Oxford 1905; "The Chronicle of St. Jerome," tr. R. Pearse. 2005. Web. [http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome\\_chronicle\\_02\\_part1.htm](http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle_02_part1.htm)

- Joh. Ant. John of Antioch. *Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta Quae Supersunt*, ed. and tr. S. Mariev. Berlin 2008; *Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta Ex Historia Chronica*, ed. and Ital. tr. U. Roberto. Berlin 2005.
- Joh. Bicl. John of Biclaro. *Chronicle; Victoris Tunnunensis Chronicon cum reliquiis ex Consularibus Caesaraugustanis et Iohannis Biclarensis Chronicon* (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 173A), ed. C. de Hartmann. Turnhout 2001; *Iohannis abbatis Biclarensis chronica* in *Chronica Minora Vol. 2* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi 11), ed. T. Mommsen. Berlin 1894; “John of Biclaro, Chronicle,” in *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, ed. J. Campos (1960) and tr. K. Wolf. Liverpool 2011. 51-66.
- Joh. Eph. John of Ephesus. *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Pars Tertia, Textus* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Syri 54), ed. E. Brooks. Paris 1935; *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Pars Tertia, Versio* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Syri 55), Lat. tr. E. Brooks. Louvain 1936; *Ecclesiastical History, Third Part*, tr. R. Smith. Oxford 1860.
- Joh. Mal. John Malalas. *Chronicle; Chronographia Ioannis Malalae* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 35), ed. J. Thurn. Berlin 2000; *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, ed. L. Dindorf (1831) and trs. E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, and R. Scott. Melbourne 1986.
- Joh. Nik. John of Nikiu. *Chronicle; Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou*, ed. H. Zotenberg. Paris 1883; *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu: Translated from Zotenberg’s Ethiopic Text*, tr. R. Charles. London 1916.
- Jord. Get. Jordanes. *Getica; Romana et Getica* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi 5.1), ed. T. Mommsen. Berlin 1882; *The Gothic History of Jordanes*, tr. C. Mierow. Princeton 1915.
- . Rom. Jordanes. *Romana; Romana et Getica* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi 5.1), ed. T. Mommsen. Berlin 1882;
- Josh. Styl. Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite. *Chronicle; Incerti Auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum Vulgo Dictum* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Syri 43), ed. J. Chabot. Paris 1927. 235-317; *Incerti Auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum Vulgo Dictum* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Syri 66), Lat. tr. J. Chabot. Louvain 1949. 174-233; *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite*, tr. F. Trombley and J. Watt. Liverpool 2000.
- Jul. Or. Julian. *Orations; L’Empereur Julien, Oeuvres complètes*, 4 vols., ed. J. Bidez, G. Rochefort, and C. Lacombrade. Paris 1924-1965; *Orations 1-5* (Loeb Classical Library 13), tr. W. Wright.. Cambridge, MA 1913.
- Lact. Mort. Pers. Lactantius. *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, ed. and tr. J. Creed. Oxford 1984; *Of the Manner in Which the Persecutors Died*, tr. W. Fletcher in *Fathers of the Third and Fourth Centuries*, ed. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson. Edinburgh 1885. 691-750.

- Lib. Pont. Liber Pontificalis*, 3 vols., ed. L. Duchesne. Paris 1955-1957; *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715*, tr. R. Davis. Liverpool 2010.
- Malch. Malchus. *Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus, Vol. 2*, ed. and tr. R. Blockley. Liverpool 1983. 402-55.
- Marc. Comes. Marcellinus Comes. *Chronicle; Chronica Minora Vol. 2* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi 11), ed. T. Mommsen. Berlin 1894. 60-108; *The Chronicle of Marcellinus: A Translation and Commentary*, tr. Br. Croke. Sydney 1995.
- Marc. Diac. *V. Porph.* Mark the Deacon. *Vita Porphyrii; Marc le Diacre, Vie de Porphyre*, ed. H. Grégoire and M. Kugener. Paris 1930; *The Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza*. ed. Societatis Philologiae Bonnensis (1895) and tr. G. Hill. Oxford 1913.
- Men. Prot. Menander the Guardsman. *The History of Menander the Guardsman. Introductory Essay, Text, Translation and Historiographical Notes*, ed. and trans. R. C. Blockley. Liverpool 1985.
- Nestorius. *Le livre d'Héraclide de Damas*, ed. P. Bedjan. Paris 1910; *The Bazaar of Heracleides*, tr. G. Driver and L. Hodgson. Oxford 1925.
- Niceph. Nikephoros, *Patriarch of Constantinople: Short History*, ed. and tr. Cyril Mango. Washington, DC 1990.
- Pan. Lat. Panegyrici Latini XII*, ed. R. Mynors. Oxford 1974; *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini*, tr. C. Nixon and B. Rodgers. Berkeley 1994.
- Pasch. Camp. Paschale Campanum in Chronica Minora Vol. 1* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi 9), ed. T. Mommsen. Berlin 1892. 305-34.
- P. Beatty Panop. Papyri from Panopolis in the Chester Beatty Library*, ed. T. Skeat. Dublin 1964.
- Phil. Philostorgius. *Historia Ecclesiastica; Kirchengeschichte*, ed. J. Bidez rev. G. Winkelmann. Berlin 1981; *Philostorgius, Church History*, tr. P. Amidon. Leiden 2007; *Epitome of the Ecclesiastical History of Philostorgius*, tr. Walford. London 1855.
- Plutarch. *Vies, Vol. 15: Artaxerxès, Aratos, Galba, Othon*, ed. R. Flacelière and É. Chambry. Paris 1979; *Lives, Vol. 11: Aratus. Artaxerxes. Galba. Otho*. (Loeb Classical Library 103), tr. B. Perrin. Cambridge, MA 1926.
- Prisc. Priscus. *Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus, Vol. 2*, ed. and tr. R. Blockley. Liverpool 1983. 222-377.

- Proc. *Anec.* Procopius. *Anecdota* (Teubner), ed. J. Haury rev. G. Wirth. Leipzig 1963; *The Anecdota or Secret History* (Loeb Classical Library 290), tr. H. Dewing. Cambridge, MA 1935.
- . *DB.* Procopius. *De Bellis; Bella*, ed. J. Haury rev. G. Wirth. Leipzig 1963; *History of the Wars*, 5 vols. (Loeb Classical Library 48, 81, 107, 173, 217), tr. H. Dewing. Cambridge, MA 1914-1928.
- Prosp. 445. "Prosper's Chronicle: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Edition of 445," ed. and tr. Deanna Brook's. M.A. thesis. University of Ottawa 2014.
- . 455. Prosper. *Epitoma Chronicon Prosperi Tironis continuata ad anni 455 in Chronica Minora Vol. 1* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi 9), ed. T. Mommsen. Berlin 1892. 387-485.
- Olymp. Olympiodorus. *Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus, Vol. 2*, ed. and tr. R. Blockley. Liverpool 1983. 152-209.
- Oros. Orosius. *Histoires: contre les païens*, ed. M. Arnaud-Lindet. Paris 1990-1991; *Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, tr. A. Fear. Liverpool 2010.
- Psellus, Michael. *Chronographia*, 2 vols., ed. E. Renaud. Paris 1926-1928; tr. E. R. A. Sewter. New Haven 1953.
- Sid. Ap. *Carm.* Sidonius Apollinaris. *Carmen; Poèmes*, ed. A. Loyen. Paris 1960; *Sidonius Apollinaris. Poems. Letters: Books 1-2* (Loeb Classical Library 296), tr. W. Anderson. Cambridge, MA 1936.
- Soc. Socrates. *Historia Ecclesiastica; Kirchengeschichte* (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte NF 1), ed. G. Hansen. Berlin 1995; *Socrates and Sozomenus: Ecclesiastical Histories*, tr. A. Zenos and C. Hartranft. Edinburgh 1890.
- Soz. Sozomen. *Historia Ecclesiastica; Kirchengeschichte* (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte NF 4), ed. J. Bidez. Berlin 1995; *Socrates and Sozomenus: Ecclesiastical Histories*, tr. A. Zenos and C. Hartranft. Edinburgh 1890.
- Sphrantzes, George. *Chronicle; Georgios Sphrantzes, Memorii 1401-1477*, ed. V. Grecu. Bucharest 1966; *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire: A Chronicle by George Sphrantzes 1401-1477*, tr. M. Philippides. Amherst 1980.
- Suetonius. *Lives of the Caesars; Suétone, vies des douze césars*, 3 vols, ed. and Fr. tr. H. Ailloud. Paris 1954-1957; *Lives of the Caesars*, 2 vols. (Loeb Classical Library 31, 38), tr. J. Rolfe. Cambridge, MA 1914.
- Tacitus. *Annales*, 4 vols., ed. H. Goelzer and P. Wuilleumer. Paris 1953-1989; *Annals*, 3 vols. (Loeb Classical Library 249, 312, 322), tr. J. Jackson. Cambridge, MA 1931-1937.

- Theod. Theodoret. *Historia Ecclesiastica; Kirchengeschichte* (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte NF 5), ed. L. Parmentier rev. G. Hansen. Berlin 1998; “The Ecclesiastical History of Theodoret,” tr. B. Jackson in *Theodoret, Jerome, Gennadius, and Rufinus: Historical Writings*. Edinburgh 1892. 71-370.
- Theod. Lect. *Epit.* Theodorus Lector. *Epitome; Theodorus Anagnostes Kirchengeschichte* (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte NF 3), ed. G. Hansen. Berlin 1995.
- . *HE.* Theodorus Lector. *Historia Ecclesiastica* in “Excerpta ex Ecclesiastica Historia Theodori Lectoris,” *Patrologia Graeca Vol. 86a*, ed. J. Migne. Paris 1865. 165-216.
- Theoph. Theophanes. *Chronicle; Chronographia*, 2 vols., ed. C. de Boor. Leipzig 1883; *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, tr. C. Mango, R. Scott, and G. Greatrex. Oxford 1997.
- Theophy. Sim. Theophylact Simocatta. *Historiae* (Teubner), ed. C. de Boor rev. P. Wirth. Stuttgart 1972; *The History of Theophylact Simocatta*, tr. Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby. Oxford 1986.
- Zach. Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor. *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptorum Syri 38-9, 2 vols., ed. E. Brooks. Paris 1919-1921; *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor: Church and War in Late Antiquity*, tr. G. Greatrex, R. Phenix, and C. Horn. Liverpool 2011.
- Zon. Zonaras. *Epitome Historiarum* (Teubner), 6 vols., ed. L. Dindorf. Leipzig 1868-1875; “Annales Joannis Zonarae,” *Patrologia Graeca Vol. 134*, ed. J. Migne. Paris 1864; *The History of Zonaras: From Alexander Severus to the Death of Theodosius the Great*, ed. M. Pinder and T. Büttner-Wobst (1841-97) and tr. T. Banchich and E. New York 2009.
- Zos. Zosimus. *Histoire Nouvelle*, 6 vols. ed. and Fr. tr. F. Paschoud. Paris 1979-1989; *New History*, ed. L. Mendelssohn (1887) and tr. R. Ridley. Canberra 1982.

## SECONDARY SOURCES

- Barnes, Timothy D. *Constantine and Eusebius*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981.
- . *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- . *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire*. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014.
- Barnish, Sam, A. D. Lee, and Michael Whitby. "Government and Administration." *The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 14, Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, AD 425-600*. Ed. Averil Cameron, Bryan Ward-Perkins, and Michael Whitby. Cambridge University Press, 2000. 164-206.
- Bauman, Richard A. *Women and Politics in Ancient Rome*. Routledge, 1992.
- Beihammer, Alexander. "Comnenian Imperial Succession and the Ritual World of Niketas Choniates' Chronike Diegesis." *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean*. Ed. Alexander Beihammer et als. Leiden: Brill, 2013. 160-202.
- Beneš, Carrie E. "Whose SPQR?: Sovereignty and Semiotics in Medieval Rome." *Speculum* 84.4 (2009): 874-904.
- Bingham, Sandra. *The Praetorian Guard: A History of Rome's Elite Special Forces*. Waco: Baylor University Press, 2013.
- Bird, H. W., trans. *Aurelius Victor: De Caesaribus*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994.
- Boak, A. E. R. "Imperial Coronation Ceremonies of the Fifth and Sixth Centuries." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 30 (1919): 37-47.
- Börm, Henning. "Born to Be Emperor: The Principle of Succession and the Roman Monarchy." *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*. Ed. Johannes Wienand. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. 239-64.
- Bowersock, G. W. *Julian the Apostate*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Brennan, T. Corey. "Power and Process under the Republican 'Constitution.'" *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*. Ed. Harriet I. Flower. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. 19-48.
- Brightman, F. E. "Byzantine Imperial Coronations." *The Journal of Theological Studies* 2.7 (1901): 359-92.
- Brunt, P. A. "Lex de Imperio Vespasiani." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 67 (1977): 95-116.

- Burgess, Richard W. "Quinquennial Vota and the Imperial Consulship in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries, 337-511." *The Numismatic Chronicle* 148 (1988): 77-96.
- . "The Accession of Marcian in the Light of Chalcedonian Apologetic and Monophysite Polemic." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 86-87.1 (1994): 47-68.
- . "The Summer of Blood: The 'Great Massacre' of 337 and the Promotion of the Sons of Constantine." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 62 (2008): 5-51.
- . *Roman Imperial Chronology and Early-Fourth-Century Historiography*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014.
- Bury, J. B. *History of the Later Roman Empire: From the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian, Vol. 1*. New York: Dover Publications, 1923.
- Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 12, The Crisis of Empire, AD 193-337*. Eds. Alan Bowman, Averil Cameron, and Peter Garnsey. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 13, The Late Empire, AD 337-425*. Eds. Averil Cameron and Peter Garnsey. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 14, Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, AD 425-600*. Eds. Averil Cameron, Bryan Ward-Perkins, and Michael Whitby. Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Cameron, Averil ed. *In Laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris*. London: The Athlone Press, 1976.
- Campbell, Brian. *The Emperor and the Roman Army: 31 BC - AD 235*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.
- . "The Army." *The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 12, The Crisis of Empire, AD 193-337*. Ed. Alan Bowman, Averil Cameron, and Peter Garnsey. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. 110-30.
- Christophilopoulou, Aikaterinē Anastasiou. *Ἐκλογή, ἀναγόμενοι καὶ στέμμις τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ αὐτοκράτορος*. Athens: Office of Publications of the Athenian Academy, 1956.
- Collins, Roger. "Julian of Toledo and the Royal Succession in Late Seventh-Century Spain." *Early Medieval Kingship*. Ed. P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood. Leeds: University of Leeds, 1977. 30-49.
- Creswell, John W. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Method Approaches*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2009.
- Croke, Brian. "Dynasty and Ethnicity: Emperor Leo I and the Eclipse of Aspar." *Chiron* 35 (2005): 147-203.
- . "The Imperial Reigns of Leo II." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 96.2 (2008): 559-75.

- Crook, J. A. "Political History, 30 B. C. to A. D. 14." *The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 10, The Augustan Empire, 43 BC-AD 69*. Ed. Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin, and Andrew Lintott. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. 70-112.
- Dagron, Gilbert. *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974.
- . *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Deliyannis, Deborah Mauskopf. *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Dmitriev, S. "Review: Kaldellis, Anthony The Byzantine Republic: People and Power in New Rome." *History: Reviews of New Books* 44.4 (2016): 112-113.
- Drinkwater, John F. "The Revolt and Ethnic Origin of the Usurper Magnentius (350-353) and the Rebellion of Vetricius (350)." *Chiron* 30 (2000): 131-59.
- Ebrey, Patricia. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of China*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Eder, Walter. "Augustus and the Power of Tradition." *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*. Ed. Karl Galinsky. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. 13-32.
- Elbern, Stephan. *Usurpation im spätrömischen Reich*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, 1984.
- Elton, Hugh. "Fravitta and Barbarian Career Opportunities in Constantinople." *Medieval Prosopography* 17.1 (1996): 95-106.
- . "Imperial Politics at the Court of Theodosius II." *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity*. Ed. Andrew Cain and Noel Lenski. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009. 133-42.
- Errington, R. Malcolm. "The Accession of Theodosius I." *Klio* 78.2 (1996): 438-53.
- Ewald, Björn C., and Carlos F. Noreña, eds. *The Emperor and Rome: Space, Representation, and Ritual*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Feissel, Denis. "L'empereur et l'administration impériale." *Le Monde byzantin I: L'Empire romain d'Orient 330-641*. Ed. Cécile Morrisson. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2004. 79-90.
- Flaig, Egon. *Den Kaiser herausfordern: Die Usurpation im Römischen Reich*. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1992.
- . "The Transition from Republic to Principate: Loss of Legitimacy, Revolution, and Acceptance." *The Roman Empire in Context: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*. Ed. Johann P. Arnason and Kurt A. Raaflaub. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011. 67-84.

- Fontana, Benedetto. "Ancient Roman Historians and Early Modern Political Theory." *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Historians*. Ed. Andrew Feldherr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 362-79.
- Galinsky, Karl, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Galinsky, Karl. *Classical and Modern Interactions*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992.
- Gibbon, Edward. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Vol. 1*. Ed. J. B. Bury. London: Methuen & Co., 1909.
- Gillett, Andrew. "Rome, Ravenna and the Last Western Emperors." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 69 (2001): 131-67.
- Glanville, Luke. "Retaining the Mandate of Heaven: Sovereign Accountability in Ancient China." *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 39.2 (2010): 323-43.
- Goldsworthy, Adrian. *How Rome Fell: Death of a Superpower*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Greatrex, Geoffrey. "The Nika Riot: A Reappraisal." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 117 (1997): 60-86.
- . "The Early Years of Justin I's Reign in the Sources." *Electrum* 12 (2007): 99-113.
- Greatrex, Geoffrey, and Samuel N. C. Lieu, eds. *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars. Part II AD 363-630*. Routledge, 2002.
- Gregory, Timothy E. *A History of Byzantium*. 2nd ed. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- Grig, Lucy, and Gavin Kelly, eds. *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*. Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Gruen, Erich S. "Augustus and the Making of the Principate." *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*. Ed. Karl Galinsky. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. 33-51.
- Harries, Jill. *Imperial Rome AD 284 to 363: The New Empire*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012.
- Heather, Peter. "Senators and Senates." *The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 13, The Late Empire, AD 337-425*. Ed. Averil Cameron and Peter Garnsey. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. 184-210.
- . "The Western Empire, 425-76." *The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 14, Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, AD 425-600*. Ed. Averil Cameron, Bryan Ward-Perkins, and Michael Whitby. Cambridge University Press, 2000. 1-32.

- Hekster, Olivier. *Commodus: An Emperor at the Crossroads*. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 2002.
- Holum, Kenneth G. *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- Humphries, Mark. "From Usurper to Emperor: The Politics of Legitimation in the Age of Constantine." *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1.1 (2008): 82-100.
- . "Italy, A.D. 425-605." *The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 14, Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, AD 425-600*. Ed. Averil Cameron, Bryan Ward-Perkins, and Michael Whitby. Cambridge University Press, 2000. 525-51.
- . "Emperors, Usurpers, and the City of Rome: Performing Power from Diocletian to Theodosius." *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*. Ed. Johannes Wienand. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. 151-68.
- Innes, Matthew. *An Introduction to Early Medieval Western Europe, 300-900: The Sword, the Plough and the Book*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Jeffreys, Elizabeth, Michael Jeffreys, and Roger Scott, trans. *The Chronicle of John Malalas*. Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986.
- Jones, A. H. M. *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964.
- Kaegi, Walter E. *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- . "Review: Anthony Kaldellis. *The Byzantine Republic: People and Power in New Rome*." *The American Historical Review* 121.4 (2016): 1347-8.
- Kaldellis, Anthony. *The Byzantine Republic: People and Power in New Rome*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015.
- Kienast, Dietmar. *Römische Kaisertabelle*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990.
- Klosko, George. *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Political Philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Kovács, Péter. "The Battle of Margum or Where Emperor Carinus Died?" *Acta Musei Napocensis, 45-46/I, 2008-2009*. Cluj-Napoca, Romania: National History Museum of Transylvania, 2011. 241-52.
- Kurtz, Donald. *Political Anthropology: Power And Paradigms*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2001.
- Lee, A. D. "The Army." *The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 13, The Late Empire, AD 337-425*. Ed. Averil Cameron and Peter Garnsey. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. 211-37.

- . "Emperors and Generals in the Fourth Century." *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*. Ed. Johannes Wienand. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. 100-18.
- Levick, Barbara. *Tiberius the Politician*. London: Routledge, 1976.
- . *Claudius*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Lilie, Ralph-Johannes. "Die Krönung des Kaisers Anastasios I. (491)." *Byzantinoslavica* 56 (1995): 3-12.
- Lo Cascio, Elio. "The Emperor and His Administration. The Government and Administration of the Empire in the Central Decades of the Third Century." *The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 12, The Crisis of Empire, AD 193-337*. Ed. Alan Bowman, Averil Cameron, and Peter Garnsey. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005a. 156-69.
- . "The Emperor and His Administration. The New State of Diocletian and Constantine: From the Tetrarchy to the Reunification of the Empire." *The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 12, The Crisis of Empire, AD 193-337*. Ed. Alan Bowman, Averil Cameron, and Peter Garnsey. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005b. 170-83.
- Loewe, Michael. "The Concept of Sovereignty." *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 1: The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 BC-AD 220*. Ed. Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. 726-46.
- Lukonin, V. G. "Political, Social and Administrative Institutions: Taxes and Trade." *The Cambridge History of Iran, Volume 3: The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanid Periods, Part 2 of 2*. Ed. E. Yarshater. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. 681-746.
- MacCormack, Sabine. *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.
- Main, Robert. "Mob Politics: The Political Influence of the Circus Factions in the Eastern Empire from the Reign of Leo I to Heraclius (457-641)." M.A. thesis. University of Ottawa, 2013.
- Mango, Cyril, Roger Scott, and Geoffrey Greatrex, trans. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284-813*. New York: Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Mann, Michael. *The Sources of Social Power: Volume 1, A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Mathisen, Ralph W. "Avitus, Italy and the East in A.D. 455-456," *Byzantion* 51 (1981): 232-47.
- Matthews, John Frederick. *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court: A.D. 364-425*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.

- . *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.
- Max, Gerald E. "Political Intrigue during the Reigns of the Western Roman Emperors Avitus and Majorian." *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 28.2 (1979): 225-37.
- McClelland, J. S. *A History of Western Political Thought*. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- McEvoy, Meaghan. *Child Emperor Rule in the Late Roman West, AD 367-455*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- McLynn, Neil B. *Ambrose of Milan: Church and Court in a Christian Capital*. University of California Press, 1994.
- Mitchell, Stephen. *A History of the Later Roman Empire, AD 284-641*. 2nd ed. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015.
- Moffatt, Ann. and Maxeme Tall, trans. *The Book of Ceremonies*, 2 vols. Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2012.
- Mommsen, Theodor. *Römisches Staatsrecht*, 2.2. Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1877.
- Mutschler, Fritz-Heiner, and Achim Mittag, eds. *Conceiving the Empire: China and Rome Compared*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Nicol, Donald M. *The Immortal Emperor: The Life and Legend of Constantine Palaiologos, Last Emperor of the Romans*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Nixon, C. E. V., and Barbara Saylor Rodgers, trans. *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Nelson, Janet L. *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe*. London: Hambledon Press, 1986.
- Oakley, S. P. "The Early Republic." *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*. Ed. Harriet I. Flower. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. 3-18.
- Odahl, Charles Matson. *Constantine and the Christian Empire*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- O'Flynn, John Michael. *Generalissimos of the Western Roman Empire*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1983.
- Olster, David M. *The Politics of Usurpation in the Seventh Century: Rhetoric and Revolution in Byzantium*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1993.
- Onwuegbuzie, Anthony, and Kathleen Collins. "A Typology of Mixed Methods Sampling Designs in Social Science Research." *The Qualitative Report* 12.2 (2007): 281-316.
- Paschoud, Francois, and Joachim Szidat, eds. *Usurpationen in der Spätantike: Akten des Kolloquiums Staatsstreich und Staatlichkeit 6.-10. März 1996 Solothurn/Bern*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997.

- Pfeilschifter, Rene. *Der Kaiser und Konstantinopel: Kommunikation und Konfliktaustrag in Einer Spatantiken Metropole*. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter Inc, 2013.
- Pizarro, Joaquin Martinez, trans. *The Story of Wamba: Julian of Toledo's Historia Wambae Regis*. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005.
- Pohl, Walter. "Migrations, Ethnic Groups, and State Building." *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Attila*. Ed. Michael Maas. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. 247-63.
- Pollard, Nigel. "The Roman Army." *A Companion to the Roman Empire*. Ed. David S. Potter. Malden: Blackwell, 2006. 206-27.
- Potter, David. "The Roman Army and Navy." *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*. Ed. Harriet I. Flower. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. 54-77.
- The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, Vol. 1, AD 260-395*. By A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.
- The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, Vol. 2, AD 395-527*. By J. R. Martindale. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, Vol. 3A, AD 527-641*. By J. R. Martindale. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, Vol. 3B, AD 527-641*. By J. R. Martindale. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Rawson, Elizabeth. "Caesar: Civil War and Dictatorship." *The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 9, The Last Age of the Roman Republic, 146-43 BC*. 2nd ed. Eds. J. A. Crook, Andrew Lintott, and Elizabeth Rawson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. 424-67.
- Rosenstein, Nathan. "Military Command, Political Power, and the Republican Elite." *A Companion to the Roman Army*. Ed. Paul Erdkamp. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007. 132-47.
- Rowe, Greg. *Princes and Political Cultures: The New Tiberian Senatorial Decrees*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002.
- . "The Emergence of Monarchy: 44 BCE-96 CE." *A Companion to the Roman Empire*. Ed. David S. Potter. Malden: Blackwell, 2006. 115-25.
- Salway, Benet. "Constantine Augustos (Not Sebastos)." *Wolf Liebeschuetz Reflected*. Ed. John Drinkwater and Benet Salway. London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2007. 37-50.
- Sarris, Peter. *Empires of Faith: The Fall of Rome to the Rise of Islam, 500-700*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

- Scarre, Chris. *Chronicle of the Roman Emperors*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1995.
- Shepard, Jonathan, ed. *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c.500-1492*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Syme, Ronald. *The Roman Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939.
- Szidat, Joachim. *Usurpator tanti nominis. Kaiser und Usurpator in der Spätantike (337-476 n. Chr.)*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010.
- Tougher, Shaun. *The Eunuch in Byzantine History and Society*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Treadgold, Warren. *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.
- . "Review: The Byzantine Republic: People and Power in New Rome." *Journal of Late Antiquity* 8.2 (2015): 447-50.
- Tyler, Patrick E. "Deng Xiaoping: A Political Wizard Who Put China on the Capitalist Road." *The New York Times* 20 Feb. 1997.
- Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew. "Civilis Princeps: Between Citizen and King." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 72 (1982): 32-48.
- Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. Trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- . "Politics as Vocation." *Weber's Rationalism and Modern Society*. Trans. Tony Waters and Dagmar Waters. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. 129-98.
- Weigel, Richard D. "The Imperial Index: The Rulers of the Roman Empire from Augustus to Constantine XI Palaeologus." *An Online Encyclopedia of Roman Rulers and their Families*. 2 Nov. 2013. Web. <http://www.roman-emperors.org/impindex.htm>
- Whitby, Michael and Mary Whitby, trans. *The History of Theophylact Simocatta: An English Translation with Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- . *Chronicon Paschale: 284-628 AD*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989.
- Wickham, Chris. *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- . *The Inheritance of Rome*. London: Penguin Books, 2009.
- Wiedemann, T. "Nero to Vespasian." *The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 10, The Augustan Empire, 43 BC-AD 69*. Ed. Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin, and Andrew Lintott. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996a. 256-82.

---. "Tiberius to Nero." *The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 10, The Augustan Empire, 43 BC-AD 69*. Ed. Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin, and Andrew Lintott. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996b. 198-255.

Wienand, Johannes, ed. *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

---. "The Cloak of Power: Dressing and Undressing the King." *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*. Ed. Johannes Wienand. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. 3-14.

*Wikipedia*. "List of Roman emperors." 20 Jul. 2017. Web.  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_Roman\\_emperors](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Roman_emperors)

Williams, Stephen. *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery*. New York: Routledge, 1985.

Yannopoulos, Panayotis. "Le couronnement de l'empereur à Byzance: rituel et fond institutionnel à Byzance." *Byzantion* 61 (1991): 71-92.

Zhu Weizheng. "Interlude: Kingship and Empire." *Conceiving the Empire: China and Rome Compared*. Ed. Fritz-Heiner Mutschler and Achim Mittag. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009. 29-37.