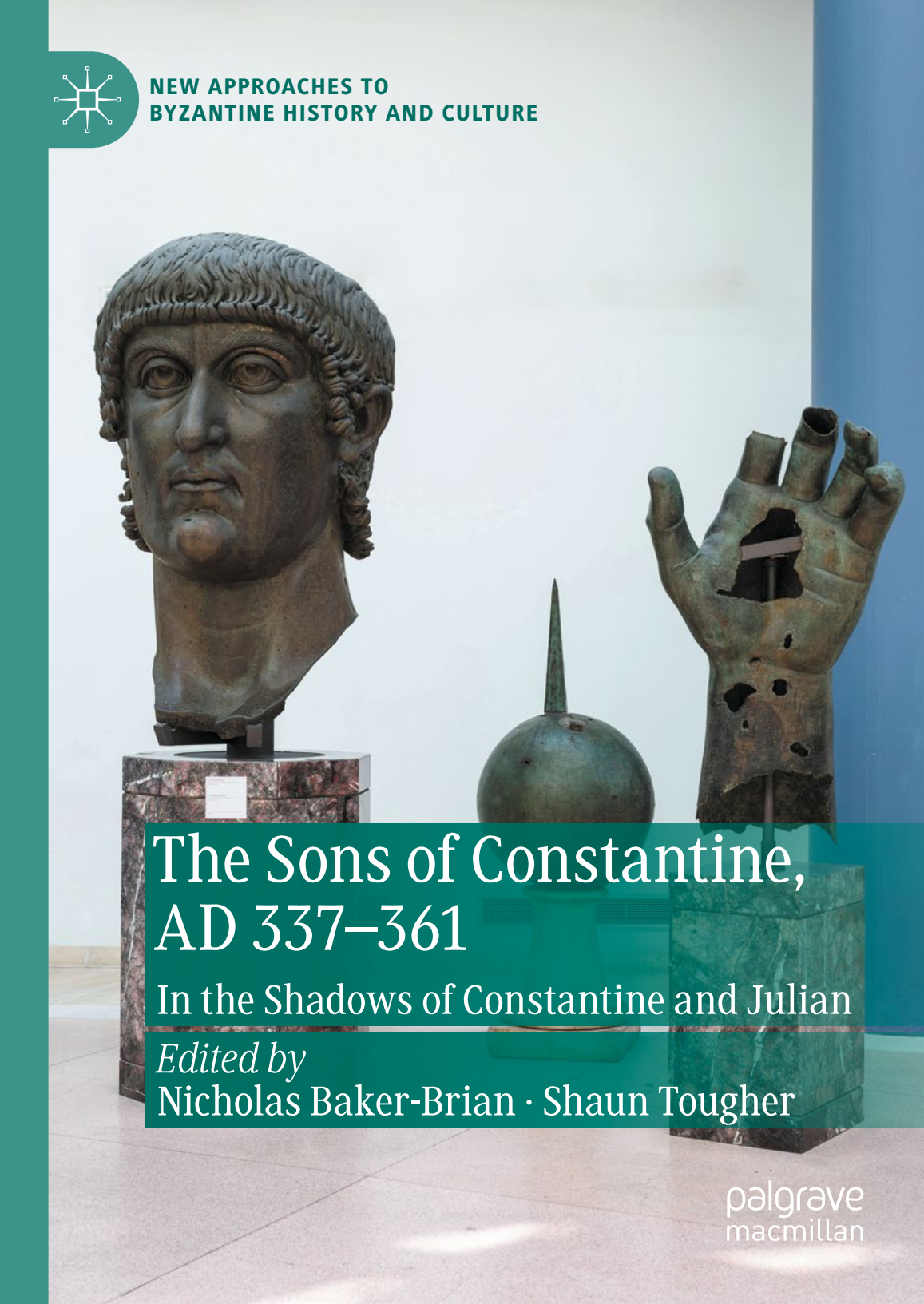

NEW APPROACHES TO
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The Sons of Constantine, AD 337–361

In the Shadows of Constantine and Julian

Edited by
Nicholas Baker-Brian · Shaun Tougher

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Colossal bronze statue head of a Constantinian emperor (both Constantine I and Constantius II have been suggested), together with left hand and spiked globe, Musei Capitolini, Rome.
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Cardiff, November 2019

Nicholas Baker-Brian
Shaun Tougher

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Abbreviations

AB	*Analecta Bollandiana*
AC	*L'Antiquité classique*
AClass	*Acta classica*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJPh	*American Journal of Philology*
AncW	*Ancient World*
AntTard	*Antiquité tardive*
BF	*Byzantinische Forschungen*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*
Blockley	R.C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, vol. 2, *Text, Translation and Historiographical Notes* (Liverpool, 1983)
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
Byz	*Byzantion*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CJ	*Classical Journal*
CPh	*Classical Philology*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
G&R	*Greece and Rome*

GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
HSPh	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
HThR	*Harvard Theological Review*
ILCV	*Inscriptiones latinae Christianae veteres*
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
JbAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JLA	*Journal of Late Antiquity*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JÖAI	*Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JThS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LSA	*Last Statues of Antiquity (http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/)*
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle*
P&P	*Past and Present*
PBSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome*
PCPhS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
PG	*Patrologia Graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne*
PL	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne
PLRE	*Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 1, *A.D. 260–395*, ed. A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale and J. Morris (Cambridge, 1971)
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
RIC	*Roman Imperial Coinage*
RPh	*Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*
RSA	*Rivista storica dell'Antichità*
TAPhA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TM	*Travaux et mémoires*
VChr	*Vigiliae Christianae*
ZAC	*Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

Chronology of Key Events

316 (Summer)	Birth of Constantine II
317 (March)	Crispus and Constantine II made Caesars (along with Licinianus)
317 (7th August)	Birth of Constantius II
320/323 (?)	Birth of Constans
324 (September)	Defeat of Licinius at Chrysopolis
324 (November)	Constantius II made Caesar. Founding of Constantinople
326 (May)	Crispus tried and executed at Pola. Death/disappearance (?) of Fausta
c. 328	Death of Helena, mother of Constantine I
333 (December)	Constans made Caesar
335	Constantina marries Hannibalianus
335 (September)	Dalmatius made Caesar
337 (May)	Death of Constantine I
337 (June)	Shapur II's first assault on Nisibis
337 (June/July)	Coup against relatives and associates of Constantine I in Constantinople
337 (September)	Meeting of the brothers Constantine, Constantius and Constans in Pannonia
340 (April)	Civil war between Constantine II and Constans in Aquileia. Death of Constantine II
341 (Autumn)	Dedication Council of Antioch
342–343 (Winter)	Constans in Britain
343 (Late Summer)	Council of Serdica
346	Second siege of Nisibis
348	1100th Anniversary of the foundation of Rome
350 (January)	Murder of Constans and the beginning of Magnentius' usurpation
350 (March)	Vetranio acclaimed Augustus in Illyria
350 (Summer)	Third siege of Nisibis
350 (June)	Nepotian acclaimed Augustus in Rome. Killed within a month along with his mother Eutropia, half-sister of Constantine I
350 (July/August)	Decentius made Caesar by Magnentius
350 (December)	Retirement of Vetranio
351 (March)	Gallus made Caesar; married to Constantina

351 (September)	Battle between troops of Constantius and Magnentius at Mursa
c. 353	Constantius II marries Eusebia
353 (August)	Death of Magnentius in Lyon
353 (July–August)	Revolt of Poemenius at Trier
353 (November)	Beginning of Constantius' *tricennalia*
354	Death of Constantina
354 (October)	Trial and execution of Gallus at Pola
355	Themistius adlected to the Senate of Constantinople
355 (August)	Rebellion of Silvanus in Cologne
355 (November)	Julian made Caesar; married to Helena, daughter of Constantine I
357 (April/May)	Constantius' visit to Rome
357 (Spring/Summer)	Julian's victory over Alamanni at Strasbourg
359 (Summer)	Siege and fall of Amida to the Sasanian army
359 (Summer–Autumn)	Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia
360 (Spring?)	Council of Constantinople
360 (Spring)	Julian proclaimed Augustus by troops in Paris
c. 361	Constantius II marries Faustina
361 (November)	Death of Constantius II in Mopsucrenae
361	Birth of Constantia, daughter of Constantius II and Faustina

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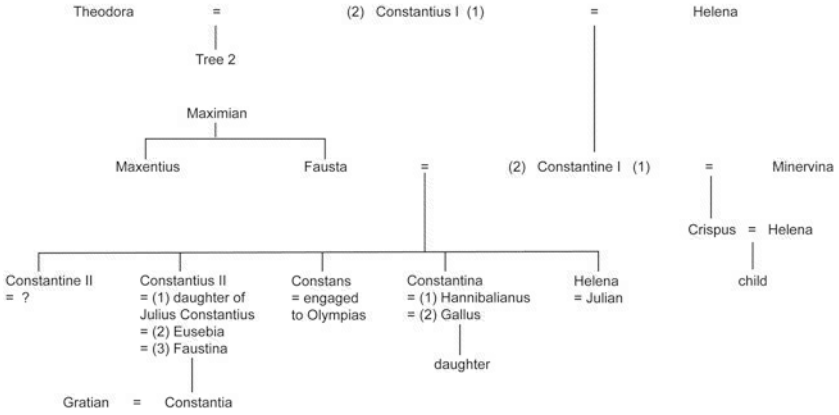
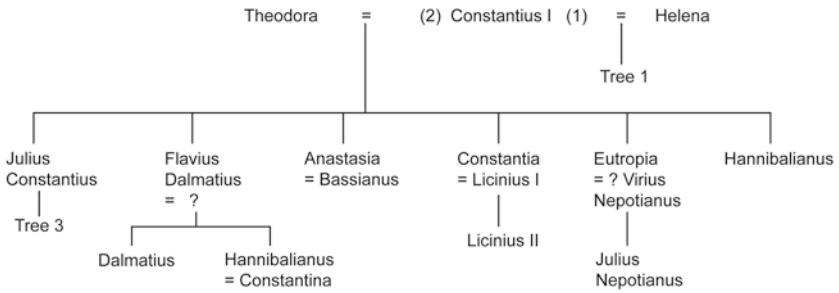
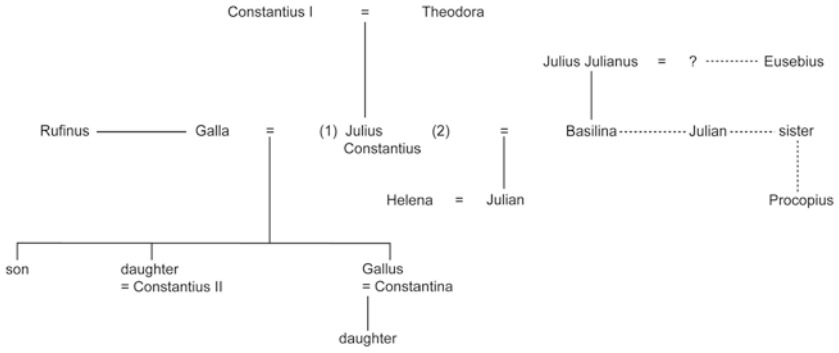


Tree 2: The descendants of Constantius I and Theodora



Tree 3: The family of Julius Constantius



CHAPTER 1

Introduction: In the Shadows of Constantine and Julian—The Sons of Constantine, AD 337–361

Nicholas Baker-Brian and Shaun Tougher

The voice of the dying emperor had recommended the care of his funeral to the piety of Constantius; and that prince, by the vicinity of his eastern station, could easily prevent the diligence of his brothers, who resided in their distant governments of Italy and Gaul. As soon as he had taken possession of the palace of Constantinople, his first care was to remove the apprehensions of his kinsmen, by a solemn oath which he pledged for their security. His next employment was to find some specious pretence which might release his conscience for the obligation of an imprudent promise. The arts of fraud were made subservient to the designs of cruelty; and a manifest forgery was attested by a person of the most sacred character. From the hands of the bishop of Nicomedia, Constantius received a fatal scroll, affirmed to be the genuine testament of his father; in which the emperor expressed his suspicions that he had been poisoned by his brothers; and conjured his sons to revenge his death, and to consult their own safety by the punishment of the guilty. Whatever reasons might have been alleged by

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> these unfortunate princes to defend their life and honour against so incredible an accusation, they were silenced by the furious clamours of the soldiers, who declared themselves, at once, their enemies, their judges, and their executioners. The spirit, and even the forms of legal proceedings were repeatedly violated in a promiscuous massacre; which involved the two uncles of Constantius, seven of his cousins, of whom Dalmatius and Hannibalianus were the most illustrious, the Patrician Optatus, who had married a sister of the late emperor, and the Praefect Ablavius, whose power and riches had inspired him with some hopes of obtaining the purple. If it were necessary to aggravate the horrors of this bloody scene, we might add, that Constantius himself had espoused the daughter of his uncle Julius, and that he had bestowed his sister in marriage on his cousin Hannibalianus. These alliances, which the policy of Constantine, regardless of public prejudice, had formed between the several branches of the imperial house, served only to convince mankind, that these princes were as cold to the endearments of conjugal affection, as they were insensible to the ties of consanguinity, and the moving entreaties of youth and innocence.[1]

Thus Edward Gibbon in his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* characterised the period during and immediately after the death of Constantine I, when the sons of the emperor rose to the rank of Augustus and acquired the empire as an inheritance from their father. As Gibbon had observed earlier in the work—as highlighted by John Pocock[2]—"in elective monarchies, the vacancy of the throne is a moment big with danger and mischief".[3] Gibbon's moralising historiography found fertile ground in the case of Constantine's succession: his creative fusion of his themes and sources, including his revisionist treatment of Philostorgius' account of Constantine's will,[4] impressed upon his readers the idea that the succession of Constantine's sons was a time of broken oaths, compromised bishops, gullible emperors, mutinous armies and internecine slaughter. However, the appeal of this brief period to both ancient and modern authors has lain not simply in its seemingly salacious details but also in its explanatory potential. The circumstances behind the succession of Constantine Caesar, Constantius Caesar and Constans Caesar to the most senior position in the imperial college have been regarded as supplying an

[1] Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. 2 (1781), chap. 18, ed. Womersley 1994, vol. 1: 662–663.

[2] Pocock 2015: 52.

[3] Vol. 1 (1776), chap. 3, ed. Womersley 1994, vol. 1: 98.

[4] Cf. Burgess 2008: 19–21.

explanation both for the dysfunctional nature of the House of Constantine and for the ultimate failure of the dynasty as an imperial enterprise. An early exponent of the family's dysfunctionality was one of its own members. Julian "the Apostate" (*r.* 361–363), Constantine's nephew and a cousin of Constantine II, Constantius II and Constans, offered an especially incisive portrait of his relatives' failings.[5] However, while the substance of the portrait was familial, the context was political. In the super-charged atmosphere following Julian's acclamation as Augustus by his troops in Paris in spring 360, Julian wrote letters to a number of city councils (including the Senate in Rome) in which he justified his rebellion against Constantius II. Central to Julian's strategy was the transformation of Constantius II, the reigning emperor, into a tyrant, the antithesis of a just and temperate ruler.[6] His role in the "great slaughter"—to quote Libanius' characterisation[7] of the dynastic cull that took place in the weeks following Constantine's death that removed a host of potential claimants from the lines of succession—was thus paramount in projecting the image of Constantius II as a ruler whose ruthlessness led him to sacrifice his own family: "Six of my cousins and his, and my father who was his own uncle and also another uncle of both of us on the father's side, and my eldest brother, he put to death without a trial; and as for me and my other brother, he intended to put us to death but finally inflicted exile upon us; and from that exile he released me, but him he stripped of the title Caesar just before he murdered him."[8] However, as Julian also noted, in his later years Constantius II was "stung by remorse"[9]: his failure to produce a male heir to the throne and his lack of success in his foreign campaigns against the Sasanian Persians on Rome's eastern frontier were, according to the gossip at court, to be explained by his earlier deeds.

This "dark side" of the Constantinian dynasty has tended to take precedence in attempts to write a history of the period following Constantine's reign and before Julian's—a period cast into shadow by these colossal historical figures. Repeating the words of Gibbon, it was an episode "big with danger and mischief", and much of its appeal lies in its potential to reaffirm the perception that Roman imperial politics was a deeply murky,

[5] See, for instance, Tougher 2012: 182–184, 186.
[6] See Humphries 2012.
[7] Lib., *Or.* 18.10.
[8] Julian., *Ep. ad Ath.* 270d.
[9] Julian., *Ep. ad Ath.* 271a.

not to say murderous, affair. However, recent studies on the immediate succession of Constantine's three sons by Fausta, his second wife, have taken a more sober direction,[10] and studies on ancestral rule in the Roman Empire[11] and comparative analyses of dynasties[12] have explored the workings of the process of dynastic succession in more objective terms. As one of the foremost scholars on dynasties has observed on the matter of succession: "A potential for conflict was always present, particularly among the males at the heart of any dynasty. Dynastic power carried within itself a permanent invitation to violence."[13]

In a study of the years 337–361, dynasty clearly matters. However, the focus on the dramatic events arising from the efforts of Constantine's sons to concentrate power in their hands alone—the prime mover was incontestably Constantius II[14]—has overshadowed attempts to develop a clear-sighted appreciation of the significance of the years between the reigns of Constantine I and Julian for the study of the later Roman Empire. The original ambition of the project that has resulted in this volume was to scrutinise these years more carefully, in order to evaluate with greater cogency their contribution to the political, administrative and cultural dynamics of the empire in the fourth century. This volume has taken inspiration from the industry of many scholars working on the Roman Empire of the fourth century in the period after Constantine's death. These include the noteworthy Fondation Hardt *Entretiens* volume from 1989, entitled *L'église et l'empire au IV^e siècle* and edited by Albrecht Dihle (although its focus is largely on Constantius II's reign as Augustus, as noted by the reviewers of the volume[15]). The contributions in this volume assessed a range of themes, including Constantine's dynastic arrangements (Friedrich Vittinghoff[16]), the activities of the church in the time of Constantius II (William Frend[17]), the imperial style and ecclesiastical policies of Constantius II (a near-monograph length article by Charles Pietri[18]), the social and economic impact of Constantius II's reign (Lellia

[10] Burgess 2008.
[11] Hekster 2015.
[12] Duindam 2016.
[13] Duindam 2016: 88.
[14] See esp. Burgess 2008.
[15] For example, McLynn 1990.
[16] Vittinghoff 1989.
[17] Frend 1989.
[18] Pietri 1989.

Cracco Ruggini[19]) and the relationship between Christians and pagans during Constantius' time (Timothy Barnes[20]). The overall contribution of the Dihle volume lies in its recognition that the period after Constantine's death is sufficiently important to warrant its own treatment separate from Constantine and Julian. The focus on Constantius II in Dihle's volume is understandable because he was the longest serving Augustus of Constantine's sons—having avoided the fate of both his brothers who died in civil wars—and because of the role he took in the debates and direction of the Christian church in the mid-fourth century. In terms of the modern study of Constantius II, Richard Klein's 1977 monograph *Constantius II. und die christliche kirche* established the parameters for the possibility of Constantius II's rehabilitation and his engagement with ecclesiastical affairs of the 340s and 350s. The work of Hanns Christof Brennecke from 1984 built on and expanded the lines of inquiry established by Klein in the previous decade.[21] Concerning matters of law and secular administration, Chantal Vogler's 1979 study *Constance II et l'administration imperiale* proved to be path-breaking in its presentation of Constantius as an active legislator and reformer of the empire. A compact volume by Mary Michaels Mudd from 1989 offered a selection of insightful essays on the activities of Constantius' government.[22] A detailed conspectus of the laws of the sons of Constantine was published by Paola Ombretta Cuneo in 1997 (*La legislazione di Costantino II, Costanzo II e Costante* (*337–361*)).[23] Discussion of Constantius' interest in the theological debates of the mid-fourth century and his policies towards the episcopate have been reinvigorated in recent years by the work of Timothy Barnes,[24] Steffen Diefenbach[25] and Walt Stevenson.[26] Pedro Barceló's monograph on Constantius II from 2004 offered a survey of historical research on the emperor, with a focus on his relationship to the Christian church.[27] Responses to the public image and policies of Constantius II with regard to his involvement in the church have been discussed in

[19] Cracco Ruggini 1989.
[20] Barnes 1989.
[21] Brennecke 1984.
[22] Mudd 1989. See Drinkwater 1991 for a review.
[23] Cuneo 1997.
[24] Barnes 1993.
[25] Diefenbach 2012, 2015.
[26] Stevenson 2014.
[27] Barceló 2004, with the subtitle, *Die Anfänge des Staatskirchentums.*

publications by Mark Humphries[28] and Richard Flower.[29] Largely as a result of the industrious activities of the Dutch project on Ammianus Marcellinus, the literary portrayal of Constantius II in the context of a pro-Julianic history is now better understood than ever before.[30] In addition to the series of commentaries on the books of Ammianus by the Dutch team of scholars, insightful pieces on the portrait of Constantius II in Ammianus have been produced by Hans Teitler[31] (himself a member of the Dutch Ammianus group), Timothy Barnes[32] and Gavin Kelly.[33]

Greater attention has been paid more recently to the imperial ideologies and institutional influence of the Constantinian dynasty. The ancestral construction of Constantine's family and its promotion across a wide variety of media (coins, inscriptions, art, literature and poetry) has been explored in monographs by François Chausson[34] and Olivier Hekster,[35] and in a number of articles by Johannes Wienand.[36] The internal tensions within the Constantinian dynasty—the clash between the sons of Fausta and Constantine and the offspring of Theodora and Constantius I—have been analysed in articles by Richard Burgess,[37] David Woods[38] and Moyses Marcos.[39] Constantius' engagement with the intellectual elites of the period was explored in detail by John Vanderspoel's monograph on Themistius, the Constantinopolitan rhetor, philosopher and senator.[40] Continuing this important topic, the considerable (but hitherto neglected) impact of Constantius II on the literature, culture and built environment of the empire in the fourth century forms the basis for a series of studies by Nick Henck.[41] Major advances in the rehabilitation of Constantius II's abilities as a military commander and of the conduct of the Persian campaigns during his reign have been made in the studies of both Christopher

[28] Humphries 1997, 1998.
[29] Flower 2013, 2016.
[30] For example on Book 21 of Ammianus, see Den Boeft et al. 1991.
[31] Teitler 1992.
[32] Barnes 1993: 132–138.
[33] Kelly 2005, 2008: 225–230.
[34] Chausson 2007.
[35] Hekster 2015.
[36] Wienand 2012, 2015; Hekster 2015: 225–237.
[37] Burgess 2008.
[38] Woods 2011.
[39] Marcos 2014.
[40] Vanderspoel 1995: 71–113.
[41] Henck 2001a, 2001b, 2007.

Lightfoot[42] and Roger Blockley.[43] This emperor's reforms of the imperial administration, in particular his management of relations between the senatorial aristocracies of Rome and Constantinople, has lately been analysed by Muriel Moser.[44] Regarding the civil wars fought during this period, a firmer appreciation of their circumstances and events has been reached in the works of John Drinkwater[45] and Bruno Bleckmann.[46] More recently, the brothers of Constantius—Constantine II and Constans—have in turn emerged from his shadow through the labours of *inter alia* Paola Ombretta Cuneo[47] and George Woudhuysen.[48] Around the turn of the 1700th anniversary of Constantine's victory over Maxentius at the battle of the Milvian Bridge in October 312, and amidst a plethora of scholarship on Constantine's reign,[49] Pierre Maraval published a monograph on the emperor's sons, *Les fils de Constantin*, which marked an important contribution in efforts to refocus attention on the years after 337.[50]

A number of accessible, historical surveys of the Constantinian dynasty, and the reigns of the sons, have also appeared over the years. Robert Frakes' chapter in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, edited by Noel Lenski, surveyed the Constantinian dynasty down to 363.[51] David Hunt's chapter in volume thirteen of *The Cambridge Ancient History* offers a valuable introduction to the themes and issues of the years 337–361.[52] Important discussions of the sons and their administrations can also be found in David Potter's *The Roman Empire at Bay AD 180–395*[53] and Jill Harries' *Imperial Rome AD 284 to 363*.[54]

A rich and diverse range of sources exist for the study of the period of the sons' reigns—far more than the all-too-dominating voices of Julian and Ammianus Marcellinus, so influential in modern impressions of Constantius II especially. In recent years a greater appreciation of this

[42] Lightfoot 1981, 1988.
[43] Blockley 1989, 1992.
[44] Moser 2018.
[45] Drinkwater 1994, 2000.
[46] Bleckmann 1994, 1999a, 1999b, 2003.
[47] Cuneo 2012.
[48] Woudhuysen 2018.
[49] Cf. Flower 2012.
[50] Maraval 2013.
[51] Frakes 2006. See also Tougher 2012.
[52] Hunt 1998.
[53] Potter 2004.
[54] Harries 2012.

range of sources has been facilitated by the publication of several editions and translations of key texts. These include Samuel Lieu's and Dominic Montserrat's volume *From Constantine to Julian*, which contains English translations of, *inter alia*, Libanius' panegyric for Constantius II and Constans (*Oration* 59), and the eighth-century *Artemii passio*, which borrowed extensively from the lost "Arian" (= non-Nicene) church history of Philostorgius.[55] A new edition and French translation of *Oration* 59 by Pierre-Louis Malosse appeared in 2003.[56] Important translations and commentaries of other imperial orations from this period also include Ignazio Tantillo's Italian translation and commentary of Julian's *Oration* 1,[57] and Peter Heather's and David Moncur's English translation of a selection of the orations of Themistius concerned with Constantius II.[58] An important point of contrast to these panegyrics and the imperial personae advertised in them is supplied by Richard Flower's English translations and commentaries of the invectives of Athanasius of Alexandria, Hilary of Poitiers and Lucifer of Cagliari, all composed towards the end of Constantius II's reign.[59] Moving from epideictic to historiography, Sextus Aurelius Victor's *De Caesaribus* and Eutropius' *Breviarium*, both translated by H.W. Bird, provide important perspectives from the mid-fourth century.[60] Valuable later Roman and Byzantine histories that in all likelihood drew on fourth-century sources for the reigns of Constantine's sons have also been translated either afresh or anew in recent years.[61] An English translation of books twelve and thirteen of John Zonaras' *Epitome of Histories* by Thomas Banchich and Eugene Lane appeared in 2009.[62] Ronald T. Ridley's English translation of Zosimus' *New History* was republished in 2017. A reconstruction of Philostorgius' *Ecclesiastical History* by Philip Amidon appeared in 2007,[63] followed in 2013 by a French translation with commentary of the Anomoian historian[64] by Édouard des Places, Bruno Bleckmann, Doris Meyer and Jean-Marc

[55] Lieu and Montserrat 1996.
[56] Malosse 2003.
[57] Tantillo 1997.
[58] Heather and Moncur 2001.
[59] Flower 2016.
[60] Bird 1993 and 1994.
[61] See Bleckmann 1999b; cf. Al. Cameron 2011: 626–690.
[62] Banchich and Lane 2009.
[63] Amidon 2007.
[64] Cf. Ferguson 2005: 129–163.

Prieur.[65] The revision of Hans-Georg Opitz's *Athanasius Werke* conducted by Brennecke, Uta Heil, Annette von Stockhausen et al., has resulted in a number of volumes of interest to students of Constantine's successors.[66] Also worth noting in the context of textual studies is the website curated by Glen L. Thompson (*Fourth Century Christianity*), which is a treasury of sources and essays relating to the ecclesiastical history of the period.[67]

As noted, the chapters in this volume aim to develop current understandings of the sons' reigns and to assess their influence on aspects of the imperial, administrative, cultural and religious facets of the empire in the fourth century. The volume is arranged into four parts. Part I, entitled "Creating a Dynasty", comprises two chapters whose role in the volume is not only to survey the early years of the sons' reigns but also to reappraise established ideas about the dynasty in its formative guise. Chapter 2 by John Vanderspoel presents a survey of the issues and controversies surrounding the history of the House of Constantine. Vanderspoel provides a narrative *Versuch* detailing Constantine I's emergence from the wreckage of the Tetrarchy and the consolidation of his power, which he realised in part through his efforts to fashion a dynasty, beginning with a number of hybridised collegiate-dynastic arrangements that ended in failure and which included his first-born (and ill-fated) son Crispus from his marriage to Minervina, followed by the dynasty fashioned around the children of the equally doomed Fausta. Constantine's elimination of Fausta in 326, Vanderspoel argues, may have forced the sons' hands in the summer of 337, since their legitimacy could now be called into question as a result of their mother's fate and the memory sanctions applied in the wake of her death. They were left with little choice but to eliminate their rivals to the throne, comprising in the main the male descendants of Constantius I by Theodora, his second wife. However, both Theodora and Helena, who was Constantius I's first wife and Constantine I's mother, were commemorated on coins minted in the early years of the reigns of the three brothers. Vanderspoel examines the complexities of imperial legitimacy that emerged during the sons' reigns, and he surveys the response of the Constantinian emperors to the challenges of rival imperial claimants. Chapter 3 in this part, by William Lewis, reappraises relations between Constantine II and his brothers, specifically the background to the conflict

[65] Des Places et al. 2013.
[66] For example Brennecke et al. 2006, 2007.
[67] http://www.fourthcentury.com/. Accessed October 2018.

between Constantine II and Constans in early spring 340 that resulted in the death of the eldest Augustus near Aquileia. Lewis examines the evidence for the workings of the empire's administration following the conference in Pannonia during September 337 when, in the wake of their dramatic paring down of the dynasty, the sons of Constantine met and revised the territorial divisions originally planned by Constantine I during his lifetime.[68] On the basis of particular legal rulings of the Constantinian monarchs in the early period of the dynasty preserved in the *Theodosian Code* (e.g. *Cod. Theod.* 12.1.27), Lewis argues that although regional autonomy was very much the daily reality of government under the three Augusti, Constantine II and his court sought to maintain a functional imperial hierarchy with himself as the senior peripatetic figure of authority in the Triarchy. Lewis argues that the received narrative of Constantine II as aggressor in the conflict of April 340 derived from the court of Constans, and was deployed in order to obfuscate what was in effect an act of rebellion by the youngest Augustus against Constantine II's attempt to realise his seniority across the empire.

Part II of the volume is entitled "Representations of Authority". Chapters by Eric R. Varner and Christine Greenlee examine the presentation of Constantine's sons in imperial portraiture and in panegyric respectively. Imperially derived representations of the emperors in art and rhetoric highlight the Augustus, in the words of Peter Stewart, "as an authoritative point of reference towards whom the communities of the empire willingly directed their devotion"[69] in both texts and images. Chapter 4 by Eric R. Varner examines the portraiture of Constantine and his successors. Varner notes the dual character of Constantinian art, evident in its highly individualised portrayal of the ruler and also in its conscious duplication of images and styles from earlier rulers (notably Augustus and Trajan). The result is "a carefully layered identity for the emperor", similar to Constantine and his dynasty's portrayal in literary works from his reign (principally, the poetry of Optatian). As the sons moved through their Caesarean roles as talismanic figures attending their father on coin legends, their uniformity of appearance as Augusti on solidi has made it very difficult to differentiate between the three of them. By dint of his longevity, Constantius II makes more of a mark in portraiture than his brothers and due consideration is given to his image in statuary

[68] See the pertinent remarks by Barnes 2011: 162–168.
[69] Stewart 2008: 112.

and coinage portraiture. Finally, Varner's analysis of the obelisk dedicated by Constantius II (together with the hexametric verse inscription on its base) to mark the emperor's visit to Rome in 357, offers a fresh reading of Constantius' contribution to the monumentality of the capital. Chapter 5 by Christine Greenlee assesses the ideology of unity in panegyrics for the sons from the 340s after the death of Constantine II. The historic importance of unity as a guiding principle in the governance of the empire was maintained during the sons' reigns in spite of the fact that the political and religious circumstances of the day often made it more of a pretence than a political reality. Greenlee reads the "strong promotion" in Themistius' *Oration* 1 of Constantius as sole ruler in the context of his feud with Constans during the first half of the decade. Improvement in the relations between the two brothers *c.* 346 is in evidence in Libanius' *Oration* 59, a *basilikos logos* delivered for both rulers (albeit in Nicomedia, where knowledge of details about Constans would have been hazy at best). The portrayal of the brothers' relationship is evidently idealised and, by extension, the unified empire over which they are presented as ruling by Libanius. Greenlee's analysis of this important text draws out "the new ideology" propagated by both rulers towards the close of the decade.

The two other chapters in "Representations of Authority" consider the flip-side of the portrayal of imperial power by examining pejorative presentations of the sons in literature, especially historiography. Chapter 6 by Mark Humphries examines the role of civil war memories in the legitimisation of Constantius II's reign. Humphries' chapter focuses on Constantius' initial defeat of Magnentius at the Battle of Mursa in September 351. As Humphries illustrates, Magnentius' usurpation of Constans' territory in the first third of the year 350 and the series of damaging campaigns conducted by Constantius that followed placed an enormous strain both on the resources of the state and on the loyalties of the populace, not least those of the senatorial class in Rome. Constantius' initial defeat of Magnentius was thus a costly war in many ways, and yet it was celebrated in a variety of pro-Constantinian sources as a victory over tyranny. These legitimising war memories were, however, soon eclipsed by reactions against Constantius in a number of pro-Julianic sources, notably in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus. The condemnation of Constantius II as victor in wars against other Romans, achieved at the expense of meaningful success in foreign campaigns, thus entered the historical record as one of the primary ways of evaluating Constantius' legacy. The final chapter (Chap. 7) in the part, by Shaun Tougher, examines two aspects of the