

ANTÆUS

35-36

ANTÆUS

*Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico
Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*

35–36/2018

Sigel: Antaeus

ANTÆUS

35-36

*Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico
Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*

Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico
Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae

Distribution of exchange copies by
the Library of the Institute of Archaeology, Research Centre for the Humanities,
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
H-1097 Budapest, Tóth Kálmán u. 4.

General Editor:

FRIDERIKA HORVÁTH

Editorial Board:

VIKTÓRIA KISS, BÉLA MIKLÓS SZŐKE, LÁSZLÓ TÖRÖK, CSILLA ZATYKÓ,
MIHAEL BUDJA, CLAUDIUS VON CARNAP-BORNHEIM,
SIR DAVID WILSON

The publication of this volume was supported by a special grant of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

HU ISSN 0238-0218

Desktop editing and layout by Archaeolingua
Printed in Hungary by the Prime Rate Kft.
Cover by H&H Design

INHALT – CONTENTS

Abbreviations	9
<i>Transformation und Konfrontation mit der römischen Tradition in der Spätantike und im frühen Mittelalter – Romani und Barbaren in West- und Ost-Mitteleuropa / Facing and Transforming the Roman Tradition in the Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages – Roman-ness and the Barbarians in Western and Central Europe</i> <i>Budapest, 10th–11th November 2016</i>	
<i>Péter Kovács: Et semper habitatio imperatorum est – Notes on the imperial residences in Pannonia in the Late Roman period</i>	13
<i>Friderika Horváth – Anett Mihácz-Pálfi – Sándor Évinger – Zsolt Bernert: Barbarisierte Römer – Romanisierte Barbaren? Interpretationsmöglichkeiten der fremden Komponente am Beispiel des Gräberfeldes von Somogyszil</i>	39
<i>Anett Mihácz-Pálfi: Form- und herstellungstechnische Analyse der Bügelfibeln von Balatonszemes aus dem dritten Viertel des 5. Jahrhunderts</i>	67
<i>Vujadin Ivanišević – Ivan Bugarski: Transformation of burial space in the cities of Northern Illyricum during the Late Antiquity</i>	91
<i>Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáská – Roland Prien: Keszthely-Fenekpuszta in der Spätantike: Ein Vorbericht über die deutsch-ungarischen Ausgrabungen zwischen 2009 und 2017</i>	119
<i>Róbert Müller: Romani et Barbari in der Keszthely-Kultur</i>	147
<i>Adrienn Blay: Überlegungen zur Bedeutung und Gültigkeit des Begriffs „Keszthely-Kultur“ und weitere mögliche Ansätze</i>	167
<i>Hajnalka Herold: Settlements of the Avar Khaganate</i>	187
<i>Levente Samu – Falko Daim: Die Pseudoschnallen in der Awarenzeit und ihre Transformation</i>	205
<i>Sonngard Hartmann: Materialanalyse der Pseudoschnallen aus Dunapentele</i>	243
<i>Ádám Bollók: Mortuary display, associated artefacts, and the resurrection of the body in early Christian thought: Some considerations for archaeologist</i>	245
<i>Sebastian Brather: ‚Christianisierung‘ im archäologischen Vergleich: Merowinger- und Mährerreich</i>	271
<i>Béla Miklós Szőke: Spätantike Reminiszenzen im Karpatenbecken des 8.–9. Jahrhunderts?</i>	291

*How long was the ninth century A.D. in the Carpathian Basin? New Data –
New Approaches, Budapest, 8th–9th December 2015*

Szabina Merva: Methodological approaches to the archaeology on ninth–tenth-century sites in Hungary. The current state of research 311

Zbigniew Robak: Chronology and periodisation of imports of Carolingian military equipment in the Carpathian Basin between the eighth and the tenth centuries 327

Krešimir Filipec: Zwei Kirchen aus dem 9. Jahrhundert in Lobor und ihr Inventar 345

Miklós Takács: How long indeed was the ninth century AD in the Carpathian Basin and the adjacent territories? Conclusions of a conference 363

Reports

Elek Benkő – Gergely Csiky – Beatrix Darázszy – Gyöngyi Kovács – Gabriella Kulcsár – Balázs Gusztáv Mende – Krisztián Oross – László Sópajti-Tóth – Tivadar Vida:
The medium-term strategic plan of the Institute of Archaeology of the Research Centre for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and its scientific activity in 2016 and 2017 373

LIST OF AUTHORS

BENKŐ, ELEK

Institute of Archaeology
Research Centre for the Humanities
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
H–1097 Budapest, Tóth Kálmán utca 4.
benko.elek@btk.mta.hu

BERNERT, ZSOLT

Hungarian Natural History Museum
Department of Anthropology
H–1082 Budapest, Ludovika tér 2.
bernert.zsolt@nhmus.hu

BLAY, ADRIENN

Institute of Archaeology
Research Centre for the Humanities
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
H–1097 Budapest, Tóth Kálmán utca 4.
blay.adrienn@btk.mta.hu

BOLLÓK, ÁDÁM

Institute of Archaeology
Research Centre for the Humanities
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
H–1097 Budapest, Tóth Kálmán utca 4.
bollak.adam@btk.mta.hu

BRATHER, SEBASTIAN

Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg
Institut für Archäologische Wissenschaften
Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie und
Archäologie des Mittelalters
D–79085 Freiburg, Belfortstraße 22
sebastian.brather@ufg.uni-freiburg.de

BUGARSKI, IVAN

Institute of Archaeology
Serbian Academy of Sciences
Knez Mihailova 35/IV
SB–11000 Belgrade
ivan.bugarski@gmail.com

CSIKY, GERGELY

Institute of Archaeology
Research Centre for the Humanities
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
H–1097 Budapest, Tóth Kálmán utca 4.
csiky.gergely@btk.mta.hu

DAIM, FALKO

Archäologie der Universität Wien
Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und
Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt
Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte
D–55571 Odernheim am Glan,
Disibodenberger Hof 2
falko.daim@univie.ac.at

DARÁZSY, BEATRIX

Institute of Archaeology
Research Centre for the Humanities
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
H–1097 Budapest, Tóth Kálmán utca 4.
darazsy.beatrix@btk.mta.hu

ÉVINGER, SÁNDOR

Hungarian Natural History Museum
Department of Anthropology
H–1082 Budapest, Ludovika tér 2.
evinger.sandor@nhmus.hu

FILIPEC, KREŠIMIR

Department of Archaeology
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
University of Zagreb
HR–10000 Zagreb, Ivana Lučića 3
kfilipec@ffzg.hr

HARTMANN, SONNGARD

Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum
Leibniz-Forschungsinstitut für Archäologie
D–55116 Mainz, Ernst-Ludwig-Platz 2
hartmann@rgzm.de

HEINRICH-TAMÁSKA, ORSOLYA

Abt. „Mensch und Umwelt“
Leibniz-Institut für Geschichte und Kultur
des östlichen Europas (GWZO)
D–04109 Leipzig, Specks Hof (Eingang A),
Reichsstraße 4–6
orsolya.heinrich-tamaska@leibniz-gwzo.de

HEROLD, HAJNALKA

Department of Archaeology
University of Exeter
Laver Building, North Park Road
Exeter EX4 4QE, United Kingdom
h.herold@exeter.ac.uk

HORVÁTH, FRIDERIKA

Institute of Archaeology
Research Centre for the Humanities
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
H–1097 Budapest, Tóth Kálmán utca 4.
horvath.friderika@btk.mta.hu

IVANIŠEVIĆ, VUJADIN

Institute of Archaeology
Serbian Academy of Sciences
Knez Mihailova 35/IV
SB–11000 Belgrade
vujadin.ivanisevic@gmail.com

KOVÁCS, GYÖNGYI

Institute of Archaeology
Research Centre for the Humanities
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
H–1097 Budapest, Tóth Kálmán utca 4.
kovacs.gyongyi@btk.mta.hu

KOVÁCS, PÉTER

Pázmány Péter Catholic University
H 2081 Piliscsaba, Egyetem u. 1.
kovacs.peter@btk.ppke.hu

KULCSÁR, GABRIELLA

Institute of Archaeology
Research Centre for the Humanities
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
H–1097 Budapest, Tóth Kálmán utca 4.
kulcsar.gabriella@btk.mta.hu

MENDE, BALÁZS GUSZTÁV

Institute of Archaeology
Research Centre for the Humanities
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
H–1097 Budapest, Tóth Kálmán utca 4.
mende.balazs@btk.mta.hu

MERVA, SZABINA

Institute of Archaeology
Research Centre for the Humanities
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
H–1097 Budapest, Tóth Kálmán utca 4.
merva.szabina@btk.mta.hu

MIHÁCSI-PÁLFI, ANETT

Institute of Archaeology
Research Centre for the Humanities
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
H–1097 Budapest, Tóth Kálmán utca 4.
mihaczi-palfi.anett@btk.mta.hu

MÜLLER, RÓBERT

H–8360 Keszthely, Keringő utca 133/A
mullerrobi@gmail.com

OROSS, KRISZTIÁN

Institute of Archaeology
Research Centre for the Humanities
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
H–1097 Budapest, Tóth Kálmán utca 4.
oross.krisztian@btk.mta.hu

PRIEN, ROLAND

Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte
Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg
D–69117 Heidelberg, Sandgasse 7
roland.prien@zaw.uni-heidelberg.de

ROBAK, ZBIGNIEW

Institute of Archaeology
Slovak Academy of Sciences
SK–949 21 Nitra, ul. Akademicka 2
zbigniew.robak@savba.sk

SAMU, LEVENTE

Institute of Archaeology
Research Centre for the Humanities
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
H–1097 Budapest, Tóth Kálmán utca 4.
samu.levente@btk.mta.hu

SÓPAJTI-TÓTH, LÁSZLÓ

Institute of Archaeology
Research Centre for the Humanities
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
H–1097 Budapest, Tóth Kálmán utca 4.
sopajti.toth.laszlo@btk.mta.hu

SZÓKE, BÉLA MIKLÓS

Institute of Archaeology
Research Centre for the Humanities
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
H–1097 Budapest, Tóth Kálmán utca 4.
szoke.bela@btk.mta.hu

TAKÁCS, MIKLÓS

Institute of Archaeology
Research Centre for the Humanities
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
H–1097 Budapest, Tóth Kálmán utca 4.
takacs.miklos@btk.mta.hu

VIDA, TIVADAR

Institute of Archaeology
Research Centre for the Humanities
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
H–1097 Budapest, Tóth Kálmán utca 4.
vida.tivadar@btk.mta.hu

ABBREVIATIONS

AAC	Acta Archaeologica Carpathica (Kraków)
ActaAntHung	Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
ActaArchHung	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
ActaMusPapensis	Acta Musei Papensis. A Pápai Múzeum Értésítője (Pápa)
ActaOrientHung	Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
AFD	Arbeits- und Forschungsberichte zur Sächsischen Bodendenkmalpflege (Berlin)
Agria	Agria. Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve (Eger)
AHN	Acta Historica Neolosiensia (Banská)
AHSb	Archaeologia Historica. Sborník (Brno)
AiO	Archäologie in Ostwestfalen (Saerbeck)
AiWL	Archäologie in Westfalen-Lippe (Langenweißbach)
AKorr	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt (Mainz)
Alba Regia	Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis (Székesfehérvár)
ANBad	Archäologische Nachrichten aus Baden (Freiburg i. Br.)
AncSoc	Ancient Society (Louvain)
Annales	Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales (Cambridge)
Antaeus	Antaeus. Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
AntTard	Antiquité Tardive. Revue Internationale d'Histoire et d'Archéologie (IVe–VIIe siècle) (Paris)
AÖ	Archäologie Österreichs (Wien)
AP	Arheološki Pregled (Beograd)
APN	Arheologija i prirodne nauke (Beograd)
AR	Archeologické Rozhledy (Praha)
ArchA	Archaeologia Austriaca (Wien)
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értésítő (Budapest)
ArchHung	Archaeologia Hungarica (Budapest)
ArchKözl	Archaeologiai Közlemények (Budapest)
ArchLit	Archaeologia Lituana (Vilnius)
ArchSC	Archeologie ve středních Čechách (Praha)
ARG	Archiv für Religionsgeschichte (Berlin)
Arrabona	Arrabona. A Győri Xantus János Múzeum Évkönyve (Győr)
ASt	Augustinian Studies (Charlottesville)
AV	Arheološki Vestnik (Ljubljana)
BAR IS	British Archaeological Reports, International Series (Oxford)
BÁMÉ	A Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve (Szekszárd)

BBD	Bericht der Bayerischen Bodendenkmalpflege (München)
BBVF	Bonner Beiträge zur vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie (Bonn)
BHVg	Bonner Hefte zur Vorgeschichte (Bonn)
BMMK	A Békés Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei (Békéscsaba)
BRGK	Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission (Berlin)
BudRég	Budapest Régiségei (Budapest)
Carinthia	Carinthia I. Zeitschrift für geschichtliche Landeskunde von Kärnten (Klagenfurt)
CarnuntumJb	Carnuntum Jahrbuch. Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des Donauraumes (Wien)
CChSG	Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca (Turnhout 1977–)
CChSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (Turnhout 1953–)
CCRB	Corso di Cultura sull'arte Ravennate e Bizantina (Ravenna 1959–1989)
Chiron	Chiron (München)
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (Berlin 1863–)
CommArchHung	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae (Budapest)
CPh	Classical Philology (Chicago)
CPP	Castellum Pannonicum Pelsonense (Budapest – Leipzig – Keszthely – Rahden/Westf.)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinarum (Salzburg 1866–)
Cumania	Cumania. A Bács-Kiskun Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei (Kecskemét)
CurrAnt	Current Anthropology (Chicago)
Diadora	Diadora. Glasilo Arheoloskoga Muzeja u Zadru (Zadar)
DissPann	Dissertationes Pannonicae (Budapest)
DMÉ	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve (Debrecen)
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers (Washington)
EME	Early Medieval Europe (Oxford)
FBBW	Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg (Stuttgart)
FMS _t	Frühmittelalterliche Studien. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster (Berlin)
FolArch	Folia Archaeologica (Budapest)
FontArchHung	Fontes Archaeologici Hungariae (Budapest)
FR	Felix Ravenna (Faenza)
Germania	Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Mainz)
GGM	C. Müller (ed.): Geographici Graeci Minores (1855–1861)
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies (Durham)
GSAD	Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva (Belgrade)
HAM	Hortus Artium Medievalium (Zagreb)
Hermes	Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie (Wiesbaden)
HGM	Historici Graeci Minores (Lipsiae 1870)

HOMÉ	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve (Miskolc)
HZb	Historijski Zbornik (Zagreb)
ILS	H. Dessau (ed.): <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (1892–1916)
IMS	<i>Inscriptiones de la Mésie Supérieure I–VI</i> (1976–1982)
JAMÉ	A nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve (Nyíregyháza)
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society (Michigan)
JLA	Journal of Late Antiquity (Boulder)
JPMÉ	A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve (Pécs)
JRGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums (Mainz)
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies (London)
JThS	Journal of Theological Studies (Oxford)
KSIA	Краткие сообщения Института Археологии АН УССР (Киев)
MAA	Monumenta Avarorum Archaeologica (Budapest)
MBAH	Münstersche Beiträge zur Antiken Handelsgeschichte (Münster)
MBV	Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte (München)
MEFRA	Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquité (Rome)
FMFÉ	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve (Szeged)
FMFÉ MonArch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Monographia Archaeologica (Szeged)
FMFÉ StudArch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica (Szeged)
MGAH	Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae (Budapest)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica 1–15 (1877–1919; repr. 1961)
MhBV	Materialhefte zur Bayerischen Vorgeschichte (Kallmünz, München)
MIÖG	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung (Innsbruck – Graz)
MittArchInst	Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Budapest)
MPK	Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien)
NZ	Niški Zbornik (Niš)
PA	Památky Archeologické (Praha)
Phoenix	The Phoenix. The Journal of the Classical Association of Canada (Toronto)
PLRE	Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, 1: A. H. M. Jones et al. (eds) (1970); 2 and 3: J. R. Martindale (ed.) (1980–1992)
Pontica	Pontica. Studii și materiale de istorie, arheologie și muzeografie (Constanța)
PWRE	A. Pauly – G. Wissowa et al. (Hrsg.): <i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (1893–)
Radiocarbon	Radiocarbon. Published by the American Journal of Science (New Haven)
RdAm	Revue d'Archéométrie (Rennes)
RégFüz	Régészeti Füzetek (Budapest)
RGA	Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde (Berlin – New York)
RIC	H. Mattingly – E. A. Sydenham et al. (eds): <i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i> (1923–67)

RIU	Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns (Budapest)
RKM	Régészeti Kutatások Magyarországon. Archaeological Investigations in Hungary (Budapest)
RLÖ	Der römische Limes in Österreich (Wien)
RÖ	Römisches Österreich (Wien)
RVM	Rad Vojvođanskih Muzeja (Novi Sad)
SA	Советская Археология (Москва)
SAI	Археология СССР. Свод археологических источников (Москва)
Saopštenja	Saopštenja (Beograd)
Savaria	Savaria (Szombathely)
SC	Sources Chrétiennes (Lyon)
SCIVA	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (București)
SHP	Starohrvatska Prosvjeta (Zagreb)
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology (Cambridge)
SIA	Slovenská Archeológia (Bratislava)
SMK	Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei (Kaposvár)
SMP	Studia Mediaevalia Pragensia (Praha)
Spomenik	Spomenik Srpske kraljevske akademije (Beograd)
Starinar	Starinar (Beograd)
StudArch	Studia Archaeologica (Budapest)
ŠtZ	Študijné Zvesti Archeologického Ústavu SAV (Nitra)
SzMMÉ Tisicum	A Szolnok Megyei Múzeumok Évkönyve (Szolnok)
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians (Liverpool)
TVMK	A Tapolcai Városi Múzeum Közleményei (Tapolca)
VAH	Varia Archeologica Hungarica (Budapest)
Viminacium	Viminacium. Zbornik Radova Narodnog Muzeja (Požarevac)
VMMK	A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei (Veszprém)
WMMÉ	A Wosinsky Mór Múzeum Évkönyve (Szekszárd)
ZalaiMúz	Zalai Múzeum (Zalaegerszeg)
ZfA	Zeitschrift für Archäologie (Berlin)
ZfAM	Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters (Köln)
ZGy	Zalai Gyűjtemény (Zalaegerszeg)
Ziridava	Ziridava. Muzeul Judetean (Arad)
ZNMN	Zbornik Narodni muzej Niš (Niš)
ZRNM	Zbornik Radova Narodnog Muzeja (Beograd)
ŽAnt	Živa Antika (Skopje)

PÉTER KOVÁCS

ET SEMPER HABITATIO IMPERATORUM EST – NOTES ON THE IMPERIAL RESIDENCES IN PANNONIA IN THE LATE ROMAN PERIOD

Zusammenfassung: In seinem Beitrag untersucht der Autor die Angaben der schriftlichen Quellen über Pannonien, insbesondere über die Stadt Sirmium, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des pannonischen Abschnittes der *Expositio totius mundi* und eines der Briefe von Papst Gelasius, nach denen die Stadt als kaiserliche Residenz angesehen werden kann. In diesem Zusammenhang recherchiert der Verfasser alle spätkaiserzeitlichen Nachrichten über den Aufenthalt der Kaiser in Pannonien und kommt dabei zu dem Schluss, dass es in Pannonien außer in Sirmium keinen weiteren kaiserlichen Palast gab.

Keywords: Imperial palaces in Pannonia, Pope Gelasius, *Expositio totius mundi*, Pannonia, Sirmium

We know that there were several residences and palaces used by the Roman emperors in various towns such as Sirmium, Carnuntum, Savaria, Brigetio and Aquincum¹ during the late Roman period that are mentioned in the literary sources, particularly in Ammianus Marcellinus' work, and that some of them (such as Sirmium and Savaria) have been archaeologically documented as well (*Table 1*).² A clear distinction must be drawn between an imperial residence,³ a building complex with an imperial palace suitable for accommodating the entire court (*basileion, palatium*), juridical (*dikasterion, curia*) and representative buildings such as a hippodrome, baths and sanctuaries, and a palace suitable for a travelling emperor's short stay.⁴ Lactantius defined an imperial capital very precisely when speaking of Nicomedia under Diocletian: *Hic basilicae, hic circus, hic moneta, hic armorum fabrica, hic uxori domus, hic filiae*.⁵ Imperial palaces built for emperors when they retired such as Spalatum and Romuliana for Diocletian and Galerius can hardly be treated as genuine imperial residences.⁶ It is often assumed that one of the capitals of the late Roman Empire was located in Pannonia, namely in Sirmium, based on a similar building complex with a hippodrome and a palace in the town's south-eastern part.⁷ The springboard of my discussion is the well-known passage in the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* (c. 57). In

¹ For the history of the province in the late Roman period, see Mócsy 1962; Mócsy 1974; Kovács 2016a.

² For the history and topography of Sirmium, see Fluß 1927; Mirković 1971; Popović 1971 119–133, esp. 125–129; Duval 1979; Srejšević 1993; Sirmijum 2004; Popović 2004; Mirković 2008 and now Popović 2006; Jeremić 2009; Popović 2013; and for Savaria Tóth 1973; Tóth 2011; Isztin – Tárcezy – Tóth 2014.

³ Cf. *Pan. Lat.* XI(III).12.2 *sedes imperii*, referring to Mediolanum.

⁴ Millar 1992 33–53. cf. *Cassius Dio* LXXVII.9.5. On the debate launched by N. Duval, see Duval 1978; Duval 1979; Duval 1987; Duval 1997 but see also the studies in König 2003; Uytterhoeven 2007 33–38 (with further literature).

⁵ *Lact. De mort. pers.* 7.9.

⁶ Srejšević – Vasić 1994; von Bülow – Wulf 2008; Wilkes 1993; Cambi – Belamarić – Marasović 2009; Bülow 2011; Brandl – Vasić 2007.

⁷ See Seeck 1921 I, 454–456 for the hypothesis proposed concerning Galerius, but see also Stein 1959 68, 153; Syme 1971 194–195, 208–209; Mirković 1971 36–40; Mócsy 1974 268, 272, 277, 285–291; Duval 1979 59–61 (see below).

this paper, I shall study this passage in detail based on the *subscriptiones* of the Codes and other literary sources, with a special focus on the role of Sirmium.

The short *Expositio* or *Descriptio totius mundi et gentium* (of ca. 565 lines) was originally written in Greek by an unknown Syrian author, most probably in the 350s (see also below), but only two versions of its Latin translation have survived. The author offers a vivid geographical and commercial description of the various regions and towns of the Roman Empire, especially of the East.⁸ In a shorter section, the western part of the empire, including Pannonia, is described as follows:

*Deinde Pannoniae regio, terra dives in omnibus, fructibus quoque et iumentis, et negotiis ex parte mancipiis. Et semper habitatio imperatorum est. Habet autem et civitates maximas, Sirmium quoque et Noricum.*⁹

“The area of Pannonia is a land rich in everything, in crops and livestock and trade and partly in slaves. It is always the residence of the emperors. Sirmium and Noricum is among its great cities.”¹⁰

The passage dealing with Pannonia is interesting for us because the author emphasises that the province “is always the residence of the emperors”. A similar claim can only be found in the case of Antioch and Treveri in the entire work (Antioch: 23 *Est ergo Antiochia prima civitas regalis et bona in omnibus, ubi et dominus orbis terrarum sedet ...*, 32 *Quoniam ibi imperator sedet*; Treveri: 58 ... *ubi et habitare dominus dicitur*), justifying a detailed study of this assertion. In our case, it is striking that the province of Pannonia is mentioned rather than an actual town such as the capital. Some of the Roman emperors were born in the province (from Decius onward, between 190–200 AD; *Table 9*) or died there (from Marcus Aurelius onward, who passed away in 180; *Table 11*) or had been acclaimed as *augusti* (from Septimius Severus onward, from 193; *Table 10*).¹¹ The Roman emperors who were born here naturally had a residence, palace and estate in the province, as, for example, Decius¹² in Budalia near Sirmium, Probus,¹³ Maximianus¹⁴ in Sirmium, and Valentinian and Valens¹⁵ near Cibalae. However, this would hardly warrant the remark in the *Expositio*. The author apparently believed that one of the capitals of the Roman Empire lay in Pannonia. The only Pannonian town he knew about was Sirmium, calling for a separate discussion.

Based on the *Expositio* and Ammian’s description, Sirmium was a *civitas maxima* or *urbis populosa et celebris*¹⁶ and the most important administrative centre of Illyricum. The town was the seat of the separated *praefectura Illyrici* between 357–361 and 376–379 (and partly of the *praefectura Italiae Illyrici et Africae*,¹⁷ *caput Illyrici*¹⁸), the *comes/magister militum per Illyricum*,¹⁹

⁸ Rougé 1966 124; Várady 1972 264–270; Martelli 1982; Drexhage 1983; Marasco 1996; Mittag 2006.

⁹ *Expositio totius mundi* 57; GGM II, p. 525: *Deinde Pannoniae regio, terra dives in omnibus, non solum fructibus et iumentis, sed et negotiis et mancipiis, in qua semper imperatorum est habitatio delectabilis. Habet autem maximas civitates, Sirmium et Noricum.*

¹⁰ Translated by Caldwell 2012 95.

¹¹ Kienast 1996 passim.

¹² *Aur. Vict.* 29.1; *Eutr.* IX.4; *Hier. Chron.* 218c; *Epit. de Caes.* 29.1; *Jord. Rom.* 283.

¹³ *HA v. Probi* 3.1.

¹⁴ *Epit. de Caes.* 30.10.

¹⁵ *Ammianus* XXX.7.3.

¹⁶ *Ammianus* XXI.10.2: *ad exemplum urbium matris populosae et celebris.*

¹⁷ *Ammianus* XXIX.6.9; *Iust. Nov.* XI.1.

¹⁸ *Acta Concil. Aquil.* 16; see Demougeot 1981; Weiler 1996; Fitz 1993–1995 1175–1181; Ferjančić 1997.

¹⁹ *Ammianus* XXI.9.5, XXV.8.9 see also *Epiph. Panarion* LXXI.1.6; cf. *Not. Dig. Or.* IX,17.

later *comes Illyrici*,²⁰ the *consularis/corrector* of Pannonia secunda²¹ and the *diocese* of Illyricum.²² The town had a *fabrica*, a *gynaecium*,²³ an imperial mint²⁴ and permanent garrisons.²⁵ There can be no doubt that it was by far the most important town of western Illyricum and given its imperial palace, it was the most suitable place to stay in Pannonia (Marcus Aurelius,²⁶ Caracalla²⁷ and Maximinus Thrax²⁸). However, it is also instructive to look at the information contained in the Codes to determine when Roman emperors issued edicts in the town and how long they sojourned in this Pannonian town (or elsewhere in Pannonia). We should also examine the reason for their visit from the period of the tetrarchy onward.²⁹

The idea that Sirmium became an imperial capital under Galerius was proposed by Otto Seeck. However, this could hardly have been the case since, following his proclamation as *caesar* (probably in Sirmium on March 1, 293),³⁰ Galerius had to stay in the East, and after his return around 299, all of Illyricum, including Pannonia, came under his control, but he nonetheless chose Thessalonica as his permanent residence.³¹ His presence in the province is attested but sporadically (around 299–300 and 302 AD; *Table 3*).³² In the previous years, it was Diocletian who spent a longer period of time in Pannonia, especially in Sirmium (July–December 290, probably until May 291; January–February 293; September 293–August 294; *Table 2*) most likely because of his repeated campaigns against the Sarmatians (cf. his titles *Sarmaticus maximus*).³³

Licinius was acclaimed emperor on November 11, 308 AD, during the imperial conference held in Carnuntum in Pannonia.³⁴ Afterwards, he remained in Pannonia³⁵ and all of Illyricum came under his rule in the following years.³⁶ It is generally accepted that Licinius moved to Sirmium and he spent most of his time before 316 in the town (and in Naissus,³⁷ cf. the silver *largitio* plates made in Naissus and in Sirmium bearing the inscription *Licini Auguste semper vincas* for his *decennalia*).³⁸ Regrettably, his edicts are not included in the Codes, and thus his movements cannot be exactly traced.³⁹ We know that during the *bellum Cibalense* in 316, Licinius' family as well as the court and the treasury remained in Sirmium and that following his defeat, the emperor fled from Sirmium together with them.⁴⁰ Based on its imperial name *Liciniana*, the municipal baths of

²⁰ *Not. Dig. Occ.* VII,40; see *Fitz 1993–1995* 1190–1193.

²¹ *Ammianus* XV.2.7, XXI.10.6.

²² *Lat. Ver.* 6; *Fest.* VIII.3; *Not. Dig. Occ.* II,28–34; *Nom. prov.* 6; *Pol. Silv.* 5; see *Fitz 1993–1995* 1175–1181.

²³ *Not. Dig. Occ.* IX,18; XI,47.

²⁴ RIC VIII p. 382–383.

²⁵ *Not. Dig. Occ.* XXXII,49, 50, 54; *Ammianus* XXI.11.2.

²⁶ *Philostr. V. soph.* II.1.26–32.

²⁷ *IvEph* 802 = *AÉp* 1971, 455.

²⁸ *Her.* VII.2.8; cf. *Ammianus* XXI.10.1: *regia*, XXX.5.16: *palatium*, and *Zos.* IV.18.1: τὰ βασιλεία.

²⁹ I used *Mommsen 1905* 195–291, *Seeck 1919*; *Barnes 1982*; *Barnes 1993* and *Barnes 1999*, complementing and correcting their data with information drawn from other sources.

³⁰ *Pan. Lat.* VIII(V).3.1; *Lact. De mort. pers.* 35.4.

³¹ *Aur. Vict.* 39.30; *Lact. De mort. pers.* 18.6; *Praxagoras* FGh 219 F 1.

³² *Barnes 1982* 52–54; *Kienast 1996* 283; *Leadbetter 2009* 81–82; *Kovács 2016a* 1–6, 13–22.

³³ *Kovács 2016a* 6–13.

³⁴ *Chron. min.* I p. 231, 448; *Hier. Chron.* 229c; *Chron. Pasch.* p. 519; *Zos.* II.10.4; CIL III 4413.

³⁵ *Orig. Const.* III.8: *deinde illo* [sc. *Licinio*] *in Pannonia relicto*.

³⁶ *Aur. Vict.* 40.8; *Orig. Const.* III.8; *Zonaras* XII.34; see *Seeck 1926*; *Barnes 1982* 80–82; *Kienast 1996* 294; *Kovács 2016a* 30–37.

³⁷ Cf. *Iul. ad Ath.* 185 438D: ἡμᾶς μὲν ἐν Θράκῃ διάγειν μέσῃ and 439C; *Barnes 1978* 103.

³⁸ CIL III 145951 = ILS 8939 = IMS IV, 129; see *Kádár 1960*; *Baratte 1978* 99–109; *Popović 1997*; *Beyeler 2011* 50–51, 104–107, 258–264 Nr. 15–21, and 254–258 Nr. 10–11, 12–14; *Kovács 2014* 175–176.

³⁹ *Barnes 1982* 80–82.

⁴⁰ *Orig. Const.* V.16: *Sublata inde* [sc. *Sirmium*] *uxore ac filio et thesauris tetendit ad Daciam*; *Zos.* II.19.1.

Sirmium, the *thermae Liciniana*, were built in this period too.⁴¹ It seems quite obvious that other public building activity in Sirmium can also be linked to his reign. It is less known that Licinius had another winter residence in Pannonia because he travelled from Carnuntum to Mediolanum along the Amber Route to his wedding and to the meeting with Constantine in February 313.⁴² After the Battle of Cibalae on October 8, 316, Constantine I occupied Sirmium too⁴³ and following the peace treaty with Licinius, his co-emperor, Pannonia came under Constantine's rule.⁴⁴ During the period of the civil wars between 316 and 324, Constantine's presence in Sirmium is continuously attested: June 6–August 7, 317, first months of 318, October 24, 319, April 319, May 22–August 10, 320, April–September, 321, first half of 322, winter of 323–324 (*Table 4*).⁴⁵ From 320, a mint was active in Sirmium.⁴⁶ Thus, in the light of the above, we may conclude that Sirmium remained the permanent imperial residence of the empire's central part during this period (together with Serdica and Thessalonica in the Balkans),⁴⁷ while Constantine's Pannonian stay can be explained by his campaign against the Sarmatians in 322.⁴⁸ After Licinius' death in 324, Constantine became the sole ruler of the empire and his Pannonian visits became very sporadic (the last one was in April 332 because of the campaign against the Goths)⁴⁹ since he preferred Serdica ("his Rome"),⁵⁰ and his court was moved to Nicomedia and Constantinople after 330.⁵¹

Between 337 and 350, Pannonia was under Constans' control,⁵² but his residence before 340 was in Naissus.⁵³ After Constantine II's death in 340, his court moved to Mediolanum and/or Treveri.⁵⁴ Constantius' attested Pannonian visits were few and far between as nothing of importance happened in the province during his reign (except for the summit between Constantius II, Constantine II and Constans in Sirmium in September 337, when they divided the empire,⁵⁵ *Table 5*).⁵⁶ Following his brother's death, Constantius II stayed in the province twice for a longer period. First, he had to deal with the civil war against Vetranio and Magnentius (*Table 5*). After Magnentius succeeded in occupying Italy and Vetranio was acclaimed emperor in Mursa and/or Sirmium,⁵⁷ Constantius chose Sirmium as the most suitable place for his residence and stayed there between the winter of 350–351 and May 352.⁵⁸ During his stay, Constantius Gallus too was acclaimed *caesar* in the town on March 15.⁵⁹ The emperor left Sirmium only for his Pannonian campaign against

⁴¹ CIL III 10107; see *Mirković 1971* 37.

⁴² *Hipp. Ber.* XXXIV.12 cf. *Iul. ad Ath.* 181, 448D–450A, 184, 416D; see *Kovács 2016a* 30–37.

⁴³ *Zos.* II.19.1; date: *Chron. min.* I p. 231.

⁴⁴ *Eutr.* X.5; *Orig. Const.* V.18; *Zos.* II.20.1; *Soz.* I.6.6; *Socr.* I.3.3–4; see *Kovács 2016a* 37–40.

⁴⁵ *Barnes 1982* 73–75.

⁴⁶ *RIC VIII* p. 382–383.

⁴⁷ *Barnes 1982* 69.

⁴⁸ His presence in the Aquincum area is also attested: *Campona, Opt. Porf. Carm.* VI.18; see *Kovács 2016a* 44–50.

⁴⁹ *Chron. min.* I p. 231; *Orig. Const.* VI.31; see *Kovács 2016a* 50–53.

⁵⁰ *Anon. post Dionem frag.* 15.1: "Ὅτι Κωνσταντῖνος ἐβουλεύσατο πρῶτον ἐν Σαρδικῇ μεταγαγεῖν τὰ δημόσια· φιλῶν τε τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην συνεχῶς ἔλεγεν "ἢ ἐμὴ Πώμη Σαρδική ἐστι.

⁵¹ *Barnes 1982* 69.

⁵² *Orig. Const.* VI.35; *Zon XIII.5.1–4*; *Epit. de Caes.* 41.19–20; *Zos.* II.39.2; *Philost.* III.1.

⁵³ *Zonaras XIII.5.*

⁵⁴ *Barnes 1993* 224.

⁵⁵ *Iul. Or.* I.19a, 20B; *Chron. min.* I p. 235 (date) and a visit dated to autumn 344: *Lib. Or.* LIX.133.

⁵⁶ *Kovács 2016a* 69–77.

⁵⁷ Mursa: *Eutr.* X.12.1; *Epit. de Caes.* 41.25; *Hier. Chron.* 237c; *Chron. min.* I p. 454; *Zos.* II.45.3; *Theoph. Conf. Chron.* p. 44. Sirmium: *Chron. min.* I p. 237; *Socr.* II.25.9; *Soz.* IV.1.1. Naissus: *Chron. Pasch.* p. 539; see *Ensslin 1928*; *Bleckmann 1994*; *Drinkwater 2000*.

⁵⁸ *Kovács 2016a* 78–102.

⁵⁹ *Chron. min.* I, p. 238; *Chron. Pasch.* p. 540; *Philost.* III.26a.

Magnentius: his presence is attested in Siscia, Cibalae and Mursa.⁶⁰ The campaign ended with the Battle of Mursa in September, after which he launched his Italian and Gaulish campaign in 352.⁶¹

The second Council of Sirmium⁶² was held after the Battle of Mursa, most probably in late 351, who gives a consular dating;⁶³ however, a date before the Battle of Mursa seems highly improbable; Photinus was deposed and exiled in the emperor's presence. The bishops made an attempt to force Photinus to recant his views;⁶⁴ however, he successfully countered by requesting a tribunal before the emperor himself. Constantius appointed senatorial officials as well as high-ranking officials from the Sirmium office of the praetorian prefect, Vulcacius Rufus, as judges; Photinus' opponent in the polemic was Basil.⁶⁵

Constantius had to return to Sirmium again in August 357 to deal with the Sarmatians and he immediately left Pannonia and Sirmium after ending the war in May 359.⁶⁶ During his campaigns, Constantius' presence is attested in Mursa,⁶⁷ Acimincum⁶⁸ and Aquincum.⁶⁹ During his Pannonian stay, Constantius convened two synods, one in late 357 (the Third Council of Sirmium)⁷⁰ the other in mid-358 (the Fourth Council of Sirmium),⁷¹ which he personally attended.⁷²

Julian the Apostate spent only two days in Sirmium: he passed through Bononia⁷³ on his way to the East against Constantius in September–October 361.⁷⁴ During their reign, Valentinian (364–375) and Valens (364–378) stayed only once in Sirmium, in July–August 364,⁷⁵ where they divided the administrative personnel of the court and the jurisdiction of the empire. Valentinian never returned to the town.⁷⁶ During his campaign against the Quadi and Sarmatians in 375, the emperor stayed in northern Pannonian towns, choosing Carnuntum as his summer residence⁷⁷ and Savaria as the winter one⁷⁸ (*Table 7*). After his elevation in Aquincum on 22 November, 375, his son, Valentinian II, and his Arian mother, Iustina, moved to Sirmium⁷⁹ where they spent the winter of 375–376 since his elevation to the purple was not supported by his co-emperors, Valens and Gratian,⁸⁰ but they soon moved to Mediolanum.⁸¹ After the Battle of Hadrianople in

⁶⁰ *Zos.* II.45.3, II.49.2, II.49.3–50.1, 50.4–53.1; *Zonaras* VIII.40–42; *Iul. Or.* I.36B–D, II.57D, 59C–60C; *Chron. min.* I p. 237; *Sulp. Sev. Chron.* II.38.5–6.

⁶¹ *Seeck 1900; Ensslin 1958; Šašel 1971; Šašel 1992; Bleckmann 1999.*

⁶² *Ath. De syn.* 27.1; *Socr.* II.29.2; *Soz.* IV.6.4 (*Athanasius* No. 47.1); *Sulp. Sev. Chron.* II.37.5; and see *Nagy 1939* 127–130; *Zeiller 1918* 267–272; *Athanasius* 326.

⁶³ *Socr.* II.29.4; *Soz.* IV.6.6 (*Athanasius* No. 47.1), who gives a consular dating.

⁶⁴ *Socr.* II.30.42 (*Athanasius* No. 47.2); *Soz.* IV.6.14 (*Athanasius* No. 47.2).

⁶⁵ *Socr.* II.30.43–44 (*Athanasius* No. 47.2); *Soz.* IV.6.14–15 (*Athanasius* No. 47.2); *Epiph. Panarion* LXXI.1.4–8 (*Athanasius* No. 47.2).

⁶⁶ *Kovács 2016a* 103–130.

⁶⁷ *Cod. Theod.* XII.1.46.

⁶⁸ *Ammianus* XVII.13.19, based on the reception of the Amicenses.

⁶⁹ *Ammianus* XIX.11.8.

⁷⁰ *Hil. De syn.* 11 (*Athanasius* No. 51); *Ath. De syn.* 28; *Phoeb. C. Ar.* 3; *Socr.* II.30; *Soz.* IV.12.6–7; see *Zeiller 1918* 276–279; *Nagy 1939* 142–143; *Athanasius* 376.

⁷¹ *Soz.* IV.15.1–3 (*Athanasius* No. 56.1); *Hil. De syn.* 80–81 (*Athanasius* No. 56.2).

⁷² *Soz.* IV.15.2; see *Zeiller 1918* 279–281; *Nagy 1939* 146–148; *Athanasius* 409.

⁷³ *Ammianus* XXI.9.6.

⁷⁴ *Ammianus* XXI.9–10.2; *Zos.* III.10.2–11.1; *Soz.* V.1.4; see *Kovács 2016a* 131–135.

⁷⁵ *Symm. Or.* I.14; *Epit. de Caes.* 45.4; *Ammianus* XXVI.5.4, XXX.7.4; *Philost.* VIII.8; *Soz.* VI.6.9; *Theod.* IV.6.3; *Zos.* IV.3.1; *Zonaras* XIII.15.

⁷⁶ *Nagl 1948; Lenski 2002* 26; *Hughes 2013* 27–28, 135–136.

⁷⁷ *Cod. Theod.* IX.1.12; *Ammianus* XXX.5.2, 11.

⁷⁸ *Ammianus* XXX.5.14, 16–17.

⁷⁹ *Chron. min.* I p. 242; *Ammianus* XXX.10.5; *Socr.* IV.32.7; *Chron. Pasch.* 559.

⁸⁰ *Paul. Vita Ambr.* 11.

⁸¹ *Szidat 1989; Girardet 2004; Kelly 2013.*

378, Sirmium became Gratian's winter residence, where Theodosius was elevated to the throne in January 379;⁸² both emperors left the province after the short spring campaign of 379 since the problem of Alatheus and Saphrac's people had been dealt with (they also left the province but Gratian had to return in 380).⁸³ Later, Roman emperors visited the province because of civil wars as Theodosius did or when they travelled through the province (*Table 8*). In sum, Diocletian spent several years in Sirmium in the 290s, as did later Licinius and Constantine (between 308 and 324) and Constantius II in the 350s owing to strategic considerations, but apart from Licinius, all emperors had various imperial capitals besides the Pannonian town.

A brief discussion of the above-quoted other "imperial" palaces/residences in Pannonia seems in order. These are Carnuntum (308: imperial summit, 313: winter residence of Licinius, 375: summer residence of Valentinian), Savaria (375: designated winter residence of Valentinian), Aquincum (375: Valentinian's campaign, Valentinian II's elevation), and Brigetio (375: Valentinian's campaign, and place of death; *Table 1*). It seems more than obvious that in these cases, the *praetoria* of the provincial governors and *duces*⁸⁴ were chosen as the residence: in Carnuntum and Aquincum, these lay in the *canabae* (*ad legionem* or *castra/hiberna legionis*),⁸⁵ while in Brigetio, the *praetorium* of the legionary commander/*praefectus* or *dux* inside the fort (the presence of *duces* is also attested in Brigetio).⁸⁶ In these cases, a place was chosen that was convenient for a military commander as Ammian emphasised in the case of Carnuntum (*ductori exercitus perquam oportunitum*).⁸⁷ In Carnuntum, Valentinian's residence was quite certainly located outside the fort (most probably in the *canabae* because the civilian and military towns were gradually abandoned⁸⁸ following an earthquake⁸⁹) as Ammian's account clearly shows: *cumque exinde Carnuntum Illyriorum oppidum introisset*.⁹⁰ The emperor was unable to find a suitable place for his own and his entire court's winter residence in Aquincum or in the entire province, explaining why he intended to stay in Savaria: *Acincum moratus autumnno praecipiti, per tractus conglaciari frigoribus adsuetos commoda quaerebat hiberna, nullaque sedes idonea reperiri praeter Sabariam poterat*.⁹¹ It is assumed from Ammian's expression, *regium lavacrum* ("royal bath"),⁹² that the building complex unearthed in Savaria was initially the governor's palace and that it was rebuilt into an imperial one,⁹³ implying the presence of an imperial palace in Savaria too. However, the situation is not as clear-cut at all. According to Herodian's account, when Commodus intended to interrupt his campaign against the Germans in 180, Pompeianus told the young emperor, *ἐκεῖ τε ἡ Ρώμη, ὅπου ποτ' ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς ᾗ*, "Rome is where the emperor is".⁹⁴ In this sense, a house/palace/villa where the emperor stays also becomes a *basileion*.

⁸² *Chron. min.* I p. 243, 297, II p. 60; see *Ensslin 1948; Barnes 1999* 166–167.

⁸³ *Zos.* IV.34; see *Kovács 2016b*.

⁸⁴ *Fitz 1993–1995* 1189–1193.

⁸⁵ Cf. *AÉp* 1964, 118.

⁸⁶ *RIU* 699; see *Egger 1966* 4–10, esp. 4; *Jobst – Weber 1989; Piso 1993–1994* 205–209; *Piso 2005* 265–272; *Haensch 1997* 349–352; *Barkóczi 1951* 15; *Németh 2005; Németh 2011* 259–274, esp. 265–271; *Johnson 1987* 152–162. See also *Lavan 1999; Lavan 2001*.

⁸⁷ *Ammianus* XXX.5.2

⁸⁸ *Gugl 2011* 517–520. On the process, see *Kovács 1999* 166–169.

⁸⁹ *Kandler 1989; Humer – Maschek 2007*.

⁹⁰ *Ammianus* XXX.5.2.

⁹¹ *Ammianus* XXX.5.14: "He also lingered at Acincum, since the autumn was swiftly passing on, and being in lands where the cold weather always covered everything with ice, he looked about for suitable winter quarters; and he could find no convenient place except Savaria" (translated by J. C. Rolfe). For the passage, see also *Ammianus* XXX 130.

⁹² *Ammianus* XXX.5.16.

⁹³ *Tóth 2011*.

⁹⁴ *Her.* I.6.5. See *Mayer 2002* 1.

According to Herodian's account, Pescennius Niger's own house in Antioch became an imperial palace when he was elevated to the purple in 193.⁹⁵ In the light of the above, one can understand why Cassius Dio found it necessary to explain the usage of the word *palatium/basileion* in the imperial period, particularly in the province: "the royal residence is called Palatium not because it was ever decreed that this should be its name, but because Caesar dwelt on the Palatine and had his military headquarters there, though his residence gained a certain degree of fame from the mount as a whole also, because Romulus had once lived there. Hence, even if the emperor resides somewhere else, his dwelling retains the name of Palatium".⁹⁶ Ammian too used the adjective *regius* in this sense. Thus, we can hardly assume the existence of an imperial palace/*aula Palatina* in Savaria based solely on Ammian's expression. The *lavacrum*, the bath used by Valentinian, became *regium* because the emperor had used it. Similarly, Ammian used the word *regia* in the case of the usurper Silvanus' palace in Cologne where he was elected and killed in 355 (*agens apud Agrippinam*),⁹⁷ because he was elevated and killed there, and not because there was an imperial *regia* in Agrippina.⁹⁸

In sum, Pannonia and its army were among the most important provinces of the Roman Empire from a strategic point of view and several emperors had personal ties with the province. They were born or died here, or they were acclaimed *augusti* in the province. However, it must also be emphasised that whenever Sirmium or any other Pannonian town became a temporary imperial residence (even if for several years), but never a permanent one (*semper* as in the passage of the *Expositio*), there was always a military reason for it (civil war or Barbarian raid). Sirmium cannot be called a (tetrarchic) capital of the late Roman Empire, the only exception being the first part of Licinius' reign (308–314/316 AD) and, to some extent, Constantine's rule between 316 and 324.

It only remains to be discussed why the author of the *Expositio* claimed that Pannonia "is always the residence of the emperors". First, we should examine when the original work in Greek was written. There is a general consensus that it can be dated to the mid-4th century, to Constantius II's rule, as it contains the title *dominus orbis terrarum* used by the emperor⁹⁹ and because there is a reference to a Gaulish ruler/usurper, most probably Magnentius or Julian the Apostate (c. 58 ... *et imperatorem semper eget, et hunc ex se habet*).¹⁰⁰ Given that Pannonia (Sirmium) is described as an imperial residence, the passage probably refers to Constantius' stay in Pannonia between 350–352 or 357–359 (*Table 6*). Sirmium was in fact an imperial centre during this period, where the court was also located, as shown by the participation of senatorial officials in Photinus' trial¹⁰¹ and Libanius' letters from between 357 and 359 addressed to Anatolius, the Illyrican prefect in Sirmium dealing with court affairs.¹⁰²

It is also worth taking a look at the other sources concerning Sirmium. Similarly to Mediolanum and Treviri, Sirmium was also depicted in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, although only with the usual vignette of twin towers as in the case of 'normal' Roman municipalities.¹⁰³ In contrast, the most

⁹⁵ Her. II.8.6: ...καὶ ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκίαν καθιστᾶσιν, οὐκέτι αὐτὴν ἰδιωτικὴν ἀλλὰ βασιλείον αὐλὴν νομίζοντες, πᾶσι κοσμήσαντες ἔξωθεν βασιλικοῖς συμβόλοις, see Alföldi 2011.

⁹⁶ Cassius Dio LIII.16.5–6, translated by E. Cary; Cassius Dio LIII.16.5: ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐν τε τῷ Παλατίῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔκειτο καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ στρατήριον εἶχε, καὶ τινα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ρωμύλου προενοίκησιν φήμην ἢ οἰκία αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ παντὸς ὄρους ἔλαβε· 6 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κἂν ἄλλοθί που ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καταλύη, τὴν τοῦ παλατίου ἐπίκλησιν ἢ καταγωγὴ αὐτοῦ ἴσχει, see Millar 1992 20, 33, 41.

⁹⁷ Ammianus XV.5.5.

⁹⁸ Kienast 1996 322.

⁹⁹ C. 28. Cf. Ammianus XV.1.3.

¹⁰⁰ Rougé 1966 9–26; Várady 1972 268–270; Marasco 1996.

¹⁰¹ Epiph. Panarion LXXI.1.4–8 (Athanasius No. 47.2).

¹⁰² PLRE I; Anatolius 3; 357: Ep. 19, 314, 552, 563, 574, 583; 358: Ep. 338, 339, 348, 362, 363; 359: Ep. 80, 81; see Bradbury 2000; Bradbury 2004 97–98 Nr. 63.

¹⁰³ *Tabula Peutingeriana* Seg. VI/4.

important imperial towns, Rome, Constantinople and Antioch, were shown as enthroned female figures, while the towns of the next tier of hierarchy lying along the Rome–Constantinople–East (?) continental route such as Ravenna, Aquileia, Thessalonica, Nicomedia, Nicaea and Ancyra were depicted as miniature walled cities.¹⁰⁴ Given that the map was probably made during the tetrarchy using information from the early imperial period and that it was later revised in the earlier fifth century, Sirmium’s depiction is hardly surprising. It must be recalled that the Flavian colony was not even the provincial capital of Pannonia inferior since the seat of the legate and the legionary commander was in Aquincum and only during the tetrarchy did the town become the capital of Pannonia secunda.¹⁰⁵ The town’s period of prominence was in the 310s–320s and the 350s; later, Sirmium lost its importance and it was therefore unnecessary to change the original vignette. There is a striking contrast with the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, dated to 333, where various sections of the continental route between Burdigala and Constantinople were specified between larger centres.¹⁰⁶ Sirmium was the centre between Aquileia and Serdica and the total distance with the number of the *mansiones* and *mutationes* is listed (563,8–9 and 567,2–3).

During the Arian (and other) schisms of the fourth century, several emperors deposed and exiled bishops and clerics from their see to another town/province.¹⁰⁷ During Constantine’s and Constantius’ reign, these clerics were sent mostly “as far as possible”,¹⁰⁸ but in many cases, they were sent to the see of their opponents or imperial centres: for example, Athanasius was first exiled to Trier (335–337 AD) and later to Rome and Aquileia (338–346), while anti-Nicene Alexandrians to Nicomedia in 325.¹⁰⁹ After the Council of Nicaea in 325, Arius together with Secundus and Theonas was sent to Illyricum, most probably to Sirmium.¹¹⁰ Hosius, bishop of Corduba, was also detained in Sirmium for a whole year in 355.¹¹¹ In 360, Basil of Ancyra was exiled to Illyricum, to Sirmium.¹¹² The three dates cannot be accidental: Sirmium was an imperial town during these periods (310–320s and 350s). The role of Sirmium was not forgotten in Christian circles of the fifth century. In a letter addressed to the bishop of Dardania written in 495–496 (*Ep. ad episcopos Dardaniae*), Pope Gelasius dealt with the problem of Acacius and the primacy of Rome. Concerning the discussion with the patriarch of Acacius, Gelasius mentioned the following:

*Risimus autem, quod praerogativam volunt Acacium comparari, quia episcopus fuerit regiae civitatis. Nunquid apud Ravennam, apud Mediolanum, apud Sirmium, apud Treviros, multis temporibus non constitit imperator? Nunquidnam harum urbium sacerdotes ultra mensuram sibimet antiquitus deputatam, quidpiam suis dignitatibus usurparunt? ... Nam quod dicitis regiae civitatis, alia potestas est regni saecularis, alia ecclesiasticarum distributio dignitatum. Sicut enim quamvis parva civitas praerogativam praesentis regni non minuit, sic imperialis praesentia mensuram dispensationis religiosae non minuit.*¹¹³

“But we laughed at the fact that they wish Acacius to gain precedence as bishop of a royal city. But did not the emperor reside in many times at Ravenna, Milan, Sirmium, Trier? Did the bishops of those cities usurp to their dignities anything beyond the measure anciently inscribed to them?

¹⁰⁴ Levi – Levi 1967; Weber 1976 22–23; Weber 1989; Talbert 2010 117–122, 133–136. See also Salway 2005 119–135, esp. 124–127; Grig 2012 31–52, esp. 48–52.

¹⁰⁵ Mirković 1971 13–16.

¹⁰⁶ See Elsner 2000 187–189; Salway 2012 308–312.

¹⁰⁷ Hillner 2015 358–373; Washburn 2013; Stevenson 2014.

¹⁰⁸ Ath. De decr. Nic. syn. 41; Theod. H. E. II.12: καὶ τὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐσχατίας οἰκεῖν κατεκρίθησαν.

¹⁰⁹ See Barnes 1993.

¹¹⁰ Philost. I.10 p. 11,15 (Nicetas Thes. V.8); see Zeiller 1918 215; Nagy 1939 91; Barnes 2009.

¹¹¹ Ath. Hist. Ar. 45.4.

¹¹² Soz. IV.24.6; Philost. V.1; see Barnes 1996.

¹¹³ Gelasius Ep. 26.10 (Thiel = Coll. Avell. 95.53–54).

... The power of worldly rule is one thing, the allotment of ecclesiastical dignities, another; for, just as a small city does not diminish any prerogative of the government in it, neither does the imperial presence change the religious dispensation” (translation by K. F. Morrison).

In view of Gelasius’ passage,¹¹⁴ it was obvious to the pope that Sirmium had once been a royal town, a *civitas regia*, to which he added that even a small town, a *civitas parva*, could become an imperial centre by virtue of the emperor’s presence. This seems to be especially true in the case of Pannonian Sirmium and other ‘tetrarchic’ capitals.

REFERENCES

- Alföldi 2011* M. R.-Alföldi: Das „Palatium“ des Pecennius Niger. Berichte antiker Autoren über das Zeremoniell bei Thronantritt, in: *von Bülow – Zabehlicky 2011* 47–53.
- Baratte 1978* F. Baratte: Lingots d’or et d’argent en rapport avec l’atelier de Sirmium, in: N. Duval – V. Popović (eds): *Sirmium VIII. Études de numismatique Danubienne. Trésors, lingots, imitations, monnaies de fouilles. IV^e au XII^e siècle*. Rome – Belgrade 1978, 99–109.
- Barkóczi 1951* L. Barkóczi: *Brigetio*. DissPann II/22. Budapest 1951.
- Barnes 1978* T. D. Barnes: A correspondent of Iamblichus. *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 19 (1978) 99–106.
- Barnes 1982* T. D. Barnes: *The new empire of Diocletian and Constantine*. Cambridge – London 1982. <https://doi.org/10.4159/harvard.9780674280670>
- Barnes 1993* T. D. Barnes: *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*. Cambridge – London 1993.
- Barnes 1996* T. D. Barnes: The Crimes of Basil of Ancyra. *JThS* 47 (1996) 550–554. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jts/47.2.550>
- Barnes 1999* T. D. Barnes: Ambrose and Gratian. *AntTard* 7 (1999) 165–174. <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.AT.2.300809>
- Barnes 2009* T. D. Barnes: The Exile and Recalls of Arius. *JThS* 60 (2009) 109–129. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jts/flp003>
- Beyeler 2011* M. Beyeler: *Geschenke des Kaisers. Studien zur Chronologie, zu den Empfängern und zu den Gegenständen der kaiserlichen Vergabungen im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* KLIO-Beihefte, Neue Folge 18. Berlin 2011. <https://doi.org/10.1524/9783050057767>
- Blaudeau 2012* Ph. Blaudeau: Between Petrine Ideology and Realpolitik. The See of Constantinople in Roman Geo-Ecclesiology (449–536), in: *Grig – Kelly 2012* 364–384.
- Bleckmann 1994* B. Bleckmann: Constantina, Vetrano und Gallus Caesar. *Chiron* 24 (1994) 29–68.
- Bleckmann 1999* B. Bleckmann: Die Schlacht von Mursa und die zeitgenössische Deutung eines spätantiken Bürgerkrieges, in: H. Brandt (Hrsg.): *Gedeutete Realität*.

¹¹⁴ *Morrison 1969* 100–101; *Blaudeau 2012* 368–369; *Haarer 2006* 129.

- Krisen, Wirklichkeiten, Interpretationen (3.–6. Jh. n. Chr.). *Historia Einzelschriften* 134. Stuttgart 1999, 47–102.
- Bradbury 2000* S. Bradbury: A Sophistic Prefect: Anatolius of Berytus in the Letters of Libanius. *CPh* 95 (2000) 172–186. <https://doi.org/10.1086/449484>
- Bradbury 2004* S. Bradbury: Selected letters of Libanius from the Age of Constantius and Julian. Liverpool 2004.
- Brandl – Vasić 2007* U. Brandl – M. Vasić: Roms Erbe auf dem Balkan: pätantike Kaiservillen und Stadtanlagen in Serbien. Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie, Sonderbände der Antiken Welt. Mainz 2007.
- von Bülow 2011* G. von Bülow: Romuliana-Gamzigrad – Ort der Erinnerung oder Herrschaftsort?, in: *von Bülow – Zabehlicky 2011* 153–165.
- von Bülow – Wulf 2008* G. von Bülow – U. Wulf: Felix Romuliana: Der Palast des Kaisers Galerius und sein Umfeld; Eine serbisch-deutsche Kooperation. Berlin 2008.
- von Bülow – Zabehlicky 2011* G. von Bülow – H. Zabehlicky (Hrsg.): Bruckneudorf und Gamzigrad. Spätantike Paläste und Großvillen im Donau-Balkan-Raum. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums in Bruckneudorf vom 15. bis 18. Oktober 2008. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 15. Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Sonderschriften 45. Bonn 2011.
- Caldwall 2012* C. H. Caldwell: The Balkans, in: S. F. Johnson (ed.): *Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*. Oxford 2012, 92–114.
- Cambi – Belamarić – Marasović 2009* N. Cambi – J. Belamarić – T. Marasović (eds): Diocletian, Tetrarchy and Diocletian’s Palace on the 1700th Anniversary of Existence. Proceedings of the International Conference held in Split from September 18th to 22nd 2005. *Knjiga Mediterana* 54. Split 2009.
- Demougeot 1981* E. Demougeot: Le partage des provinces de l’Illyricum entre le pars Occidentis et la pars Orientis. De la tétrarchie au règne de Théoderic, in: T. Fahd (ed.): *La géographie administrative et politique d’Alexandre à Mahomet. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 14–16 juin 1979*. Leiden 1981, 229–253.
- Drexhage 1983* H.-J. Drexhage: Die ‘Expositio totius mundi et gentium.’ Eine Handelsgeographie aus dem 4. Jh. n. Chr. *MBAH* 2 (1983) 3–41.
- Drinkwater 2000* J. F. Drinkwater: The Revolt and Ethnic Origin of the Usurper Magnentius (350–353), and the Rebellion of Vetrano (350). *Chiron* 30 (2000) 131–159.
- Duval 1978* N. Duval: Comment reconnaître un palais impérial ou royal? Ravenne et Piazza Armerina. *FR* 108 (1978) 29–60.
- Duval 1979* N. Duval: Sirmium, “Ville impérial” ou “Capitale”? *CCRB* 26 (1979) 53–90.

- Duval 1987* N. Duval: Existe-t-il une ‘structure palatiale’ propre à l’Antiquité tardive? in: E. Lévy (ed.): Le système palatial en Orient, Grèce et à Rome. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 19–22 juin 1985. Leiden 1987, 463–490.
- Duval 1997* N. Duval: Les résidences impériales: leur rapport avec les problèmes de légitimité. Les partages de l’Empire et la chronologie des combinaisons dynastiques, in: F. Paschoud – J. Szidat (Hrsg.): Usurpationen in der Spätantike. Akten des Kolloquiums „Staatsstreich und Staatlichkeit“, 6.–10. März 1996, Solothurn/Bern. Historia Einzelschriften 111. Stuttgart 1997, 127–154.
- Egger 1966* R. Egger: Das Praetorium als Amtssitz und Quartier römischer Spitzenfunktionäre. ÖAW Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 250/4. Wien 1966.
- Elsner 2000* J. Elsner: The Itinerarium Burdigalense: Politics and Salvation in the Geography of Constantine’s Empire. JRS 90 (2000) 181–195.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0075435800031385>
- Ensslin 1928* W. Ensslin: Vetrano 1, in: PWRE VIIIA. Stuttgart 1928, col. 1838–1840.
- Ensslin 1948* W. Ensslin: Valentinianus II, in: PWRE VII. Stuttgart 1948, col. 2207–2208.
- Ensslin 1958* W. Ensslin: Magnentius, in: PWRE XIV. Stuttgart 1958, col. 445–452.
- Ferjančić 1997* S. Ferjančić: The Prefecture of Illyricum in the 4th Century: A Chronological Note, in: M. Mirković – S. Dušanić – M. Ričl – P. Petrović (eds): Mélanges d’histoire et d’épigraphie offerts à Fanoula Papazoglou par ses élèves à l’occasion de son quatre-vingtième anniversaire. Belgrade 1997, 231–239.
- Fitz 1993–1995* J. Fitz: Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit I–IV. Budapest 1993–1995.
- Fluß 1927* M. Fluß: Sirmium, in: PWRE III. Stuttgart 1927, col. 351–353.
- Girardet 2004* K. M. Girardet: Die Erhebung Kaiser Valentinians II. Politische Umstände und Folgen (375/76). Chiron 34 (2004) 109–144.
- Grig 2012* L. Grig: Competing capitals, competing representations. Late antique cityscapes in words and pictures, in: *Grig – Kelly 2012* 31–52.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199739400.003.0002>
- Grig – Kelly 2012* L. Grig – G. Kelly: Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity. Oxford Studies in Late Antiquity. Oxford 2012.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199739400.001.0001>
- Gugl 2011* Chr. Gugl: Carnuntum und sein Legionslager in Spätantike und Frühmittelalter. Von der Carnutensis scutaria zur frühmittelalterlichen Siedlung des 9./10. Jahrhunderts, in: M. Konrad – C. Witschel (Hrsg.): Römische Legionslager in den Rhein- und Donauprovinsen – Nuclei spätantik-frühmittelalterlichen Lebens? Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil.-Hist. Kl. Neue Folge 138. München 2011, 505–532.
- Haarer 2006* F. K. Haarer: Anastasius I: Politics and Empire in the Late Roman World. Cambridge 2006.

- Haensch 1997* R. Haensch: *Capita provinciarum. Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit.* Kölner Forschungen 7. Mainz 1997.
- Hillner 2015* J. Hillner: *Prison, Punishment and Penance in Late Antiquity.* Cambridge 2015. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139015172>
- Hughes 2013* I. Hughes: *Imperial brothers: Valentinian, Valens and the disaster of Adrianople.* Barnsley 2013.
- Humer – Maschek 2007* F. Humer – D. Maschek: Eine Erdbebenzerstörung des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. im sogenannten Peristylhaus der Zivilstadt Carnuntum. *AÖ* 18 (2007) 45–55.
- Isztin – Tárczy – Tóth 2014* Gy. Isztin – T. Tárczy – E. Tóth: Die Aula Palatina aus dem 4. Jahrhundert in Savaria (Revision und Aufgaben). *ArchÉrt* 139 (2014) 137–155. <https://doi.org/10.1556/ArchÉrt.139.2014.6>
- Jeremić 2009* M. Jeremić: The Sirmium Imperial Palace Complex, in Light of the Recent Archaeological Investigations, in: *Cambi – Belamarić – Marasović 2009* 471–499.
- Jobst – Weber 1989* W. Jobst – E. Weber: Ein Heiligtum der Pferdegöttin Epona in Carnuntum (?). *ActaArchHung* 41 (1989) 349–358.
- Johnson 1987* A. Johnson: Römische Kastelle des 1. und 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. in Britannien und in den germanischen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches. *Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt* 37. Mainz 1987.
- Kandler 1989* M. Kandler: Eine Erdbebenkatastrophe in Carnuntum? *ActaArchHung* 41 (1989) 313–336.
- Kádár 1960* Z. Kádár: Adatok a dunavidéki későantik ezüstedények problematikájához (Data illustrating the problems of late Roman silver vessels in the Danube region). *FolArch* 12 (1960) 133–143.
- Kelly 2013* G. Kelly: The political crisis of AD 375–376. *Chiron* 43 (2013) 357–409.
- Kienast 1996* D. Kienast: *Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie.* Darmstadt 1996².
- Kovács 1999* P. Kovács: *Vicus és castellum kapcsolata az alsó-pannoniai limes mentén [The relationship between vicus and castellum along the Pannonian limes].* *Studia classica Universitatis Catholicae de Petro Pázmány Nominatae Series historica* 1. Piliscsaba 1999.
- Kovács 2014* P. Kovács: *Die antiken Quellen zu Pannonien in der Spätantike I (284–337 n. Chr.).* Wien 2014.
- Kovács 2016a* P. Kovács: *A history of Pannonia during the late Roman period I (285–363 AD).* *Antiquitas Reihe* I/67. Bonn 2016.
- Kovács 2016b* P. Kovács: Notes on the Pannonian *foederati*, in: P. Faure – C. Wolff (eds): *Les auxiliaires de l’armée romaine. Des alliés aux fédérés. Actes du 6^e Congrès International de Lyon sur l’armée romaine, 23–25 octobre 2014.* Lyon 2016, 575–601.

- König 2003* M. König (Hrsg.): Palatia: Kaiserpaläste in Konstantinopel, Ravenna und Trier. Schriftenreihe des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Trier 27. Trier 2003.
- Lavan 1999* L. A. Lavan: Residence of Late Antique Governors: A Gazetteer. *AntTard* 7 (1999) 135–164. <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.AT.2.300808>
- Lavan 2001* L. A. Lavan: The Praetoria of Civil Governors in Late Antiquity, in: L. A. Lavan (ed.): *Recent Research in Late Antique Urbanism*. JRA Supplementary Series 42. Portsmouth 2001, 39–56.
- Leadbetter 2009* B. Leadbetter: Galerius and the Will of Diocletian. *Roman Imperial Biographies*. London – New York 2009. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203869284>
- Lenski 2002* N. Lenski: Failure of empire. Valens and the Roman state in the fourth century A.D. *Transformation of the Classical Heritage*. Berkeley 2002.
- Levi – Levi 1967* A. Levi – M. Levi: *Itineraria picta*. Contributo allo studio della Tabula Peutingeriana. Roma 1967.
<https://doi.org/10.1525/california/9780520233324.001.0001>
- Marasco 1996* G. Marasco: L'Expositio totius mundi et gentium – e la politica religiosa di Constanzo II. *AncSoc* 27 (1996) 183–203.
<https://doi.org/10.2143/AS.27.0.632403>
- Martelli 1982* F. Martelli: Introduzione alla “Expositio totius mundi”: analisi etnografica e tematiche politiche in un'opera anonima del IV secolo. Bologna 1982.
- Mayer 2002* E. Mayer: Rom ist dort, wo der Kaiser ist. Untersuchungen zu Staatsdenkmälern des dezentralisierten Reiches von Diocletian bis zu Theodosius II. *Monographien des RGZM* 53. Mainz 2002.
- Millar 1992* F. Millar: *The emperor in the Roman world*. London 1992².
- Mirković 1971* M. Mirković: Sirmium – its history from the first century A.D. to 582 A.D., in: V. Popović (ed.): *Sirmium I. Archaeological investigations in Sirmian Pannonia*. Beograd 1971, 5–60.
- Mirković 2008* M. Mirković: *Sirmijum: istorija rimskog grada od I do kraja VI veka*. Zemun 2008.
- Mittag 2006* P. F. Mittag: Zu den Quellen der „Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium“. Ein neuer Periplus? *Hermes* 134 (2006) 338–351.
<https://doi.org/10.25162/hermes-2006-0027>
- Mommsen 1905* Th. Mommsen: *Gesammelte Schriften II*. Berlin 1905.
- Morrison 1969* K. F. Morrison: *Tradition and Authority in the Western Church, 300–1140*. Princeton 1969. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400879359>
- Mócsy 1962* A. Mócsy: Pannonia, in: *PWRE IX. Supplementum*. Stuttgart 1962, col. 515–776.
- Mócsy 1974* A. Mócsy: *Pannonia and Upper Moesia. A history of the middle Danube provinces of the Roman Empire*. London – Boston 1974.
- Nagl 1948* A. Nagl: Valentinianus I., in: *PWRE VII*. Stuttgart 1948, col. 2168, 2185–2187.

- Nagy 1939* T. Nagy: A pannoniai kereszténység története a római véderendszer összeomlásáig. DissPann II/12. Budapest 1939.
- Németh 2005* M. Németh: Az aquincumi Thermae Maiores funkcióváltásához a 4. században (Zur Funktion der thermae maiores von Aquincum im 4. Jahrhundert). *BudRég* 39 (2005) 137–150.
- Németh 2011* M. Németh: Änderungen des Statthaltersitzes von Aquincum, in: *von Bülow – Zabehlicky 2011* 259–274.
- Piso 1993–1994* I. Piso: Eine Parallele zwischen den Praetoria der Statthalter in Carnuntum und in Apulum. *CarnuntumJb* (1993–1994) [1995] 203–209.
- Piso 2005* I. Piso: An der Nordgrenze des Römischen Reiches: ausgewählte Studien (1972–2003). *Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien* 41. Stuttgart 2005.
- Popović 1971* V. Popović : A survey of the topography and urban organization of Sirmium in the Late Empire, in: V. Popović (ed.): *Sirmium I. Archaeological investigations in Syrmian Pannonia*. Beograd 1971, 119–133.
- Popović 1997* I. Popović : Les productions officielles et privées des ateliers d’orfèvrerie de Naissus et de Sirmium (The activity of the Naissus workshop in the fourth century and the finds of the valuable objects from the western provinces of the empire). *AntTard* 5 (1997) 133–144.
- Popović 2004* V. Popović: Sirmium – grad careva i mučenika: Sabrani radovi o arheologiji i istoriji Sirmijuma. Beograd 2004.
<https://doi.org/10.1484/J.AT.2.300966>
- Popović 2006* I. Popović: Marble Sculptures from the Imperial Palace in Sirmium. *Starinar* 56 (2006) 153–166. <https://doi.org/10.2298/STA0656153P>
- Popović 2013* I. Popović : Sirmium – Imperial Residence, Pannonian Metropolis and Christian “Head of Illyricum”, in: I. Popović – B. Borić-Brešković (eds): *Constantine the Great and the Edict of Milan 313. The Birth of Christianity in the Roman Provinces on the Soil of Serbia*. *Archaeological Monographs* 22. Beograd 2013, 102–117.
- Rougé 1966* J. Rougé: *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*. Introduction, texte critique, traduction, notes et commentaire. SC 124. Paris 1966.
- Salway 2005* B. Salway: The Nature and Genesis of the Peutinger Map. *Imago mundi* 57 (2005) 119–135. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03085690500094867>
- Salway 2012* B. Salway: Constantinople in the Bordeaux itinerary, in: *Grig – Kelly 2012* 293–324.
- Šašel 1971* J. Šašel: The Struggle between Magnentius and Constantius II for Italy and Illyricum. *ŽAnt* 21 (1971) 205–216.
- Šašel 1992* J. Šašel: *Opera selecta*. Situla 30. Ljubljana 1992.
- Seeck 1900* O. Seeck: Constantius, in: *PWRE* IV. Stuttgart 1900, col. 1069–1071.

- Seeck 1906* O. Seeck: Zur Chronologie und Quellenkritik des Ammianus Marcellinus. *Hermes* 41 (1906) 483–539.
- Seeck 1919* O. Seeck: Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr. Stuttgart 1919.
- Seeck 1921* O. Seeck: Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt I–VI. Berlin 1921⁴.
- Seeck 1926* O. Seeck: Licinius, in: *PWRE* XIII. Stuttgart 1926, col. 222–231.
- Sirmijum 2004* D. Poznanović: Sirmijum u na nebu u na zemlju (1700 godina od stradanja hrišćanskih mučenika). Zbornik radova 2. Sremska Mitrovica 2004.
- Srejović 1993* D. Srejović (ed.): Roman Imperial towns and palaces in Serbia (Sirmium, Romuliana, Naissus: catalog). Belgrade 1993.
- Srejović – Vasić 1994* D. Srejović – Č. Vasić: Imperial Mausolea and Consecration Memorials in Felix Romuliana (Gamzigrad, East Serbia). Belgrade 1994.
- Stein 1959* E. Stein: Histoire du Bas-Empire I. Paris 1959.
- Stevenson 2014* W. Stevenson: Exiling Bishops: The Policy of Constantius II. *DOP* 68 (2014) 7–27.
- Syme 1971* R. Syme: Emperors and biography. Studies in the *Historia Augusta*. Oxford 1971.
- Szidat 1989* J. Szidat: Imperator legitime declaratus (Ammian 30, 10, 5), in: M. Piérart – O. Curty (eds): *Historia Testis. Mélanges d'épigraphie, d'histoire ancienne et de philologie offerts à Tadeusz Zawadzki*. Fribourg 1989, 175–188.
- Talbert 2010* R. J. Talbert: Rome's World. The Peutinger Map Reconsidered. Cambridge 2010. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511686863>
- Tóth 1973* E. Tóth: Late antique imperial palace in Savaria. *ActaArchHung* 25 (1973) 117–137.
- Tóth 2011* E. Tóth: Die spätrömische Palastanlage von Savaria (Pannonia superior), in: *von Bülow – Zabehlicky 2011* 275–284.
- Uytterhoeven 2007* I. Uytterhoeven: Housing in Late Antiquity: Thematic perspectives, in: L. A. Lavan – L. Özgenel – A. Sarantis (eds): *Housing in Late Antiquity. Late Antique Archaeology* 3/2. Leiden 2007, 23–66. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004162280.i-539.17>
- Várady 1972* L. Várady: Pannonica. Notizen zum letzten Jahrhundert Pannoniens. *ActaArchHung* 24 (1972) 261–276.
- Washburn 2013* D. A. Washburn: Banishment in the Later Roman Empire, 284–476 CE. *Routledge Studies in Ancient History* 5. London 2013. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203105566>
- Weber 1976* E. Weber: *Tabula Peutingeriana: Codex Vindobonensis 324*, mit Kommentarband. Graz 1976.
- Weber 1989* E. Weber: Zur Datierung der *Tabula Peutingeriana*, in: H. E. Herzig – R. Frei-Stolba (Hrsg.): *Labor omnibus unus. Gerold Walser zum 70. Geburtstag*. Stuttgart 1989, 113–117.

- Weiler 1996* I. Weiler: Zur Frage der Grenzziehung zwischen Ost- und Westteil des Römischen Reiches in der Spätantike, in: R. Bratož (Hrsg.): Westillyricum und Nordostitalien in der spätrömischen Zeit. Situla 34. Ljubljana 1996, 123–142.
- Wilkes 1993* J. J. Wilkes: Diocletian's Palace of Split. Residence of a Retired Roman Emperor. Oxford 1993.
- Zeiller 1918* J. Zeiller: Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces Danubiennes de l'Empire Romain. Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 112. Paris 1918.

APPENDIX

Place	Emperor	Source
Aquincum	Valentinian I, Valentinian II	<i>Ammianus</i> XXX.5.13–14; <i>Chron. min.</i> I p. 242; <i>Ammianus</i> XXX.10.5; <i>Socr.</i> IV.32.7; <i>Chron. Pasch.</i> 559
Brigetio	Valentinian I	<i>Chron. min.</i> I p. 242, 459, II p. 153, III p. 422; <i>Ammianus</i> XXX.5.14; <i>Oros.</i> VII.32.14; <i>Socr.</i> IV.31.6; <i>Jord. Rom.</i> 309; <i>Mal.</i> XIII.32
Carnuntum	Valentinian I	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> IX.1.12; <i>Ammianus</i> XXX.5.2, 11; <i>Hipp. Ber.</i> XXXIV.12
Savaria	Valentinian I	<i>Ammianus</i> XXX.5.14, 16–17

Table 1. Palaces in Pannonia used by emperors, with the exception of Sirmium, based on literary sources

Date	Place	Source
November 2, 285	Iovia	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.48.5 (Atubino); <i>Frag. Vat.</i> 297 (Suneata)
January 11, 290	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 10.3.4
July 17, 290	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 6.30.6
September 20, 290	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 8.54(55).3 = <i>Frag. Vat.</i> 286
November 19, 290	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.3.19
November 22, 290	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.28.1
November 30, 290	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 9.16.4(5)
December 18, 290	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 3.28.19
before March 1, 290–291	Aquincum	CIL III 10605
January–May 12, 291		no data
May 13, 291	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 9.41.12
292		no data
January 1, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 1.18.5, 2.3.20, 3.34.8, 5.74.2, 6.26.7
January 7, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.7.4; <i>Cons.</i> 6.15
February 7, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 6.2.9
February 8, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 3.38.5, 6.42.21
February 9, 293	Sirmium	<i>Frag. Vat.</i> 42
February 13, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 9.35.7
February 17, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.9.1
February 26, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 3.32.11, 4.34.6
September 11, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.12.8
September 17, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.2.6, 8.48(49).3, 8.53(54).13–14
September 18, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.4.19
September 19, 29	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.48.8, 8.38(39).5
September 24, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 5.71.18
September 25, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 5.21.2; <i>Herm.</i> 2.1
October 1, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.36.19
October 3, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.4.21, 8.41.3, 4.2.7, 4.19.12, 4.26.10
October 7, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 6.38.2, 7.16.21
October 8, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.65.21
October 15, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 6.2.12, 6.15.8
October 17, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.39(40).2, 4.25.4, 4.51.8, 5.87.17, 6.5.1, 6.24.9
October 18, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 3.35.5, 4.44.5, 8.42(43).16
October 21, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 6.17.1
November 5, 293	Lugio	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 9.20.10
November 7, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.34.9
November 11, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 3.44.18
November 13, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 3.32.16, 4.1.7
	Lugio	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 9.20.10 and 11
November 14, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.3.22, 5.7.14
November 16, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 8.27(28).14

Date	Place	Source
November 20, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 3.32.17
November 22, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.28(29).1, 4.16.4
November 24, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.3.28, 4.38.5, 5.11.5, 5.71.15
November 25, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 3.36.17
November 26, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 6.20.10
November 30, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.26.11
December 1, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 1.22.2, 2.4.22, 2.19(20).9, 2.20(21).6, 2.31(32).2, 3.33.9, 4.19.13–14, 5.46.3, 6.2.13, 6.42.24, 7.2.12, 8.9.2, 8.13(14).18, 8.25(26).10, 8.34(35).2, 8.42(43).17
December 15, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 3.36.18–19, 3.41.4, 4.29.15; <i>Cons.</i> 4.11
December 16, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.3.24, 4.2.8, 4.35.12, 4.49.10, 6.30.8, 8.13(14).19, 9.12.4
December 17, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.17(18).4, 6.27.3, 6.30.9–10, 6.58.5, 8.3.1, 6.19(20).2, 8.37(38).6
December 18, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.2.9, 4.44.9, 6.39.3, 8.50(51).11, 9.25.1
December 19, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 9.2.12
December 20, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.18(19).17, 3.33.10
December 22, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 6.15.4
December 24, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.18(19).18, 4.10.6
December 25, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.29(30).2, 3.32.18, 4.65.22–24, 5.3.9, 5.12.15, 6.2.14, 6.5.2
December 26, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 6.55.5, 8.43(44).2
December 27, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 3.13.3, 4.19.15, 8.15(16).7, 8.53(54).17, 9.22.18
December 28, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 3.34.9, 4.24.11, 6.20.11, 6.31.4, 8.1.3, 8.24(25).2, 8.50(51).12, 8.53(54).18
December 30, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.10.7, 4.44.10, 4.65.25, 5.17.4, 6.2.15, 7.19.6, 8.56(57).3, 9.22.14.
December 31, 293	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 5.37.18, 5.51.9, 6.31.5, 6.58.6, 7.33.7, 8.44(45).23
January 5, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 3.28.20, 5.12.16–17, 5.61.2
January 15, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 3.6.2, 5.12.18, 6.37.16, 8.13(14).20
January 16, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.29.16, 5.59.1 = 8.37(38).7
January 17, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 6.50.15–16, 8.53(54).19
January 19, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.12(13).18
January 20, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.10.8, 4.26.12, 5.12.19, 5.60.2, 9.22.15
January 22, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 3.34.10, 5.51.10, 6.20.12, 8.48.7
January 27, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.19(20).10, 6.46.5, 8.44(45).24
January 30, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 5.34.9
February 1, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.35.13
February 4, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 3.15.2, 4.2.10, 4.49.12, 4.50.8, 2.51.7
February 6, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 3.37.4, 9.22.16

Date	Place	Source
February 8, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.32(33).1, 3.28.21, 4.9.3, 5.3.10, 5.3.12, 6.20.13, 6.30.11, 6.55.6
February 9, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.10.9, 4.19.17, 5.18.7, 7.16.25, 7.26.7, 8.39(40).3(4), 8.47(48).8
February 11, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.25(26).1, 3.36.20, 4.6.8–9, 5.37.19, 5.56.4, 9.22.17
February 12, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.2.11, 7.52.5
February 13, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.18(19).19, 2.36(37).3, 3.38.22, 4.52.3, 8.42(43).18, 8.44(45).25
February 14, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 6.58.7, 7.32.8, 9.1.14
February 15, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 6.59.3
February 18, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.13.4, 6.15.5, 6.29.2, 8.37(38).8
February 20, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Herm.</i> 3.1
March 1, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 8.27(28).15
March 3, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.34(35).2, 4.50.9
March 6, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.16.5
March 7, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.38.6–7, 7.14.11
March 8, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.4.23, 4.51.5, 9.22.19
March 18, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.82(83).2, 3.11.1
March 20, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 5.18.8
March 25, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.38.9
March 26, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 6.57.2, 8.53(54).22
March 27, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.35.14, 8.2.2, 8.19(20).3; <i>Coll.</i> 10.4
March 28, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 3.38.6, 3.41.5
March 30, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 3.31.8, 6.59.4, 5.34.10, 5.36.5, 7.84.3; <i>Cons.</i> 6.18
March 31, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 8.44(45).26
April 2, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 6.22.3
April 3, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.4.24, 4.10.10, 7.32.9, 7.45.9, 7.51.1, 8.27(28).16, 9.45.5
April 5, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 5.28.6, 5.62.18
April 7, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.38.10; <i>Herm.</i> 1.1
April 8, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 5.71.16, 6.16.2
April 10, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 7.16.28, 8.4.4
April 11, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.13.5, 4.23.3
April 12, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.4.25, 6.42.26, 8.41(42).5
April 15, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.35.15, 4.23.8
April 16, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.20(21).7, 2.53(54).5, 6.55.7 = 8.46(47).8
April 18, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 8.1.7
April 19, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.28(29).2
April 20, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.1.8, 6.35.10, 6.59.5
April 24, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.18(19).20, 5.43.9

Date	Place	Source
April 26, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.8.1, 6.32.3, 7.4.12, 8.27(28).18
April 27, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 1.18.6, 2.21(22).6, 4.1.9, 4.17.1, 5.12.20, 6.49.5, 8.46(47).9; <i>Frag. Vat.</i> 270
April 28, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.3.25, 5.44.5, 6.9.6
April 30, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 5.31.10
May 1, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 2.35(36).1, 4.8.2, 4.22.8
May 3, 294	Aurris = Turris Ferrata	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 6.21.14
May 18, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 4.7.6, 6.59.1
July 7, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 6.5.8
August 1, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 5.16.22
August 5, 294	Agrippina (?)	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 5.12.21
August 17, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 6.24.10
August 20, 294	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> 9.18.2
Summer 303 (?)	Sirmium	<i>Passio sancti IV coronatorum</i> 21–22

Longer presence:

July–December 290 (probably until May 291) Sirmium

January–February 293 Sirmium

September 293–August 294 Sirmium

Table 2. Diocletian's documented presence in Pannonia (after *Mommsen 1905* 195–291 and *Barnes 1982* 47–87)

Date	Place	Source
March 1, 293	Sirmium (?)	<i>Pan. Lat.</i> VIII(V).3.1; <i>Lact. De mort. pers.</i> 35.4
299–300	against the Marcomanni	<i>Chron. min.</i> I p. 230
299–300	<i>Sarmaticus max. II</i>	<i>Eutr.</i> IX.25.2; <i>Oros.</i> VII.15.12
302	<i>Sarmaticus max. III</i>	<i>Lact. De mort. pers.</i> 13.2; RIC VI Thess. 10
299–305	Lacus Pelso	<i>Aur. Vict.</i> 40.9–10

Table 3. Galerius' documented presence in Pannonia (293–307 AD) (after *Mommsen 1905* 195–291 and *Barnes 1982* 47–87)

Emperor	Place	Year	Month/Day	Source
Diocletian, Maximian, Galerius, Licinius	Carnuntum	308	November 11	<i>Chron. min.</i> I p. 231
Licinius	Pannonia		after November 11	<i>Orig. Const.</i> III.8
Licinius	Victory against the Sarmatians	310	June 27	ILS 664
Licinius	Carnuntum	313	January	<i>Hipp. Ber.</i> XXXIV.12
Licinius	Illyricum (Sirmium)		February	<i>Orig. Const.</i> V.13
Licinius, Constantine	Cibalae	316	October 8	<i>Chron. min.</i> I p. 231
Licinius, Constantine	Sirmium		October 9	<i>Zos.</i> II.19.1
Constantine	Sirmium	317	June 5	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> XI.30.7
Constantine	Sirmium (?)		August 7	<i>Iul. Or.</i> I.5D
Constantine	Sirmium	318	February 4	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> II.4.1
Constantine	Sirmium		February 7	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> XI.29.2; <i>Iust.</i> III.11.3
Constantine	Sirmium		February 9	<i>Iust.</i> III.11.4
Constantine	Sirmium		May 19	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> XI.35.1
Constantine	Sirmium		October 24	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> I.16.3, II.6.2
Constantine	Sirmium		December 1	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> V.2.1
Constantine	Sirmium		December 12	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> XIV.25.1
Constantine	Sirmium		December 19	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> II.6.3, XI.35.1
Constantine	Sirmium	319	March 11	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> X.8.2
Constantine	Sirmium		April 13	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> II.19.1
Constantine	Sirmium		April 27	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> VI.35.3
Constantine	Sirmium	320	May 22	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> IX.1.5
Constantine	Sirmium		July 22	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> XV.1.4
Constantine	Sirmium		August 10	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> VII.21.1
Constantine	Sirmium	321	April 11	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> XV.1.2
Constantine	Sirmium		April 17	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> XI.19.1; <i>Iust.</i> XI.62.2
Constantine	Sirmium		June 12	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> II.18.1, XI.30.11
Constantine	Sirmium		August 1	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> XIII.13.1
Constantine	Sirmium		September 14	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> I.4.1, IX.43.1
Constantine	Sirmium	322	May 23	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> II.4.2, 18.2
Constantine	Sirmium		June 12	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> IV.8.4

Emperor	Place	Year	Month/Day	Source
Constantine	Campona		June	<i>Porf. Carm.</i> VI.18
Constantine	Bononia		July 6	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> XI.27.2; <i>Porf. Carm.</i> VI.26
Constantine	Sirmium		July 20	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> IV.8.5
Constantine	Savaria		July 26	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> I.1.1
Constantine	Sirmium	323	December 25	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> XVI.2.5
Constantine	Sirmium	324	January 19	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> XII.17.1
Constantine	Sirmium		January 23	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> VI.22.1
Constantine	Sirmium	326	December 31	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> III.32.2 = <i>Iust.</i> V.71.18, VII.62.17, X.1.7
Constantine	Sirmium	329	March 9	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> VI.4.1
Constantine	Sirmium		March 15	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> II.16.1, III.30.3; <i>Iust.</i> IV.32.25, V.72.4
Constantine	Sirmium		April 18	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> IX.12.2
Constantine Caesar	in terris Sarmatarum	332	April 20	<i>Chron. min.</i> I p. 231; <i>Orig. Const.</i> VI.31

Table 4. Attested presence of the emperors in Pannonia (308–337 AD) (after *Seeck 1919* and *Barnes 1982*)

Emperor	Date	Place	Source
Constantius II, Constans, Constantine II	September 9, 337	Sirmium	<i>Iul. Or.</i> I.19a, 20B; <i>Chron. min.</i> I p. 235
Constans	338 (?)	against the Sarmatians	title <i>Sarmaticus</i> CIL III 12483
Constans	July 27, 338	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> XV.1.5 (<i>Cod. Just.</i> X.48.7)
Constans	April 6, 339	Savaria	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> X.10.6
Constans	August 13, 339	Mursella	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> XVI.8.1, 6, 9.2
Constans	March/early April, 340		travelling through Pannonia, already in Aquileia on April 9: <i>Cod. Theod.</i> II.6.5, X.15.3
Constans	June 24, 342	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> VII.20.6
Constans	Autumn 344	Pannonia	<i>Lib. Or.</i> LIX.133
Constans	early 345	Poetovio	<i>Ath. Ap. ad Const.</i> 3.3
Constans	March 5, 346	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> X.10.8
Constans	May 27, 349	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> VII.1.2 + VIII.7.3

Table 5. Constans in Pannonia

Emperor	Date	Location	Source
Vetranio	March 1, 350	Mursa / Sirmium	Date: <i>Chron. min.</i> p. 237; <i>Chron. Pasch.</i> p. 539; Place: Mursa: <i>Eutr.</i> X.12.1; <i>Epit. de Caes.</i> 41.25; <i>Hier. Chron.</i> 237c; <i>Chron. min.</i> I p. 454; <i>Zos.</i> II.45.3; <i>Theoph. Conf. Chron.</i> p. 44; Sirmium: <i>Chron. min.</i> I p. 237; <i>Socr.</i> II.25.9; <i>Soz.</i> IV.1.1, Naissus: <i>Chron. Pasch.</i> p. 539
Constantius II	Winter 350–351	Sirmium	<i>Socr.</i> II.28.28; <i>Iul. Or.</i> I.48B, II.97.C
Constantius II, Gallus	March 15, 351	Sirmium	<i>Chron. min.</i> I p. 238; <i>Chron. Pasch.</i> p. 540; <i>Philost.</i> III.26a
Constantius II	Spring 351	Siscia	<i>Zos.</i> II.45.3
Constantius II	Summer 351	Cibalae	<i>Zos.</i> II.48.3–4
Magnentius	Summer 351	Siscia	<i>Zos.</i> II.49.2
Magnentius	Summer 351	Sirmium	<i>Zos.</i> II.49.2
Magnentius	Summer 351	Mursa	<i>Zos.</i> II.49.3–50.1
Magnentius	Summer–Sept. 351	Cibalae	<i>Ammianus</i> XXX.7.2
Constantius II, Magnentius	September 28, 351	Mursa	<i>Zos.</i> II.50.4–53.1; <i>Zonaras</i> VIII.40–42; <i>Iul. Or.</i> I.36B–D, II.57D, 59C–60C; <i>Chron. min.</i> I p. 237; <i>Sulp. Sev. Chron.</i> II.38.5–6
Constantius II	October 351	Sirmium	<i>Iul. Or.</i> I.38B, 42D, II.58B; <i>Socr.</i> II.29.4, <i>Soz.</i> IV.6.6 (Council of Sirmium)
Constantius II	February 26, 352	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Iust.</i> VI.22.5
Constantius II	May 12, 352	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> III.5.1
Constantius II	August 357	Pannonia	<i>Ammianus</i> XVI.10.20; <i>Zos.</i> III.2.2; <i>Iul. ad Ath.</i> 279d
Constantius II	October	Sirmium	<i>Ammianus</i> XVI.10.21; <i>Philost.</i> IV.3a
Constantius II	October 27	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> VIII.5.10
Constantius II	December 3	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> I.15.3
Constantius II	December 18	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> VII.4.3 (II.21.2)
Constantius II	January 4, 358	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> IX.42.4
Constantius II	March 3	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> III.26.8
Constantius II	April	Pannonia secunda, Sarmatia	<i>Ammianus</i> XVII.12.4, 6
Constantius II	April	Sirmium	<i>Ammianus</i> XVII.13.33
Constantius II	June 21	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> XII.1.44, 45
Constantius II	June 23	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> XI.36.13
Constantius II	June 27	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> VIII.13.4
Constantius II	June 28	Mursa	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> XII.1.46
Constantius II	December 19	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> II.21.1
Constantius II	Winter	Sirmium	<i>Ammianus</i> XVIII.4.1, XIX.11.1

Emperor	Date	Location	Source
Constantius II	April 359	Valeria	<i>Ammianus</i> XIX.11.4
Constantius II	April	Acimincum/ Aquincum	<i>Ammianus</i> XIX.11.8
Constantius II	April	Sirmium	<i>Ammianus</i> XIX.11.17
Constantius II	May 22	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> VI.4.14, 15; <i>Ath. De syn.</i> 8; <i>Socr.</i> II.37.18; <i>Epiph. Pan.</i> 73.22
Constantius II	May 28	Sirmium	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> I.7.1
Julian	September or early October, 361	Bononia, Sirmium	<i>Ammianus</i> XXI.9–10.2; <i>Zos.</i> III.10.2–11.1; <i>Soz.</i> V.1.4

Table 6. Constantius II and Julian in Pannonia (350–361 AD) (after *Seeck 1919*; *Kienast 1996* and *Barnes 1993*)

Date	Place	Emperor	Source
July 5, 364	Sirmium	Valentinian, Valens	<i>Cons.</i> 9.6
July 23	Sirmium	Valentinian, Valens	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> X.7.9
July 23	Sirmium	Valentinian, Valens	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> X.7.2
July 29	Sirmium	Valentinian, Valens	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> V.15.15
August 4	Sirmium	Valentinian, Valens	<i>Ammianus</i> XXVI.5.4; <i>Cod. Theod.</i> XII.6.4
August 25	Atrans	Valentinian	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> X.26.2
Summer 375 (three months)	Carnuntum	Valentinian	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> IX.1.12; <i>Ammianus</i> XXX.5.2, 11
September	Aquincum	Valentinian	<i>Ammianus</i> XXX.5.13
September	Barbaricum	Valentinian	<i>Ammianus</i> XXX.5.13
October	Aquincum	Valentinian	<i>Ammianus</i> XXX.5.14
first half of November	Savaria	Valentinian	<i>Ammianus</i> XXX.5.14, 16–17
November 17	Brigetio	Valentinian	<i>Chron. min.</i> I p. 242, 459, II p. 153, III p. 422; <i>Ammianus</i> XXX.5.14; <i>Oros.</i> VII.32.14; <i>Socr.</i> IV.31.6; <i>Jord. Rom.</i> 309; <i>Mal.</i> XIII.32
Summer–November	Murocineta	Valentinian II	<i>Ammianus</i> XXX.10.4
November 22	Aquincum	Valentinian II	<i>Chron. min.</i> I p. 242; <i>Ammianus</i> XXX.10.5; <i>Socr.</i> IV.32.7; <i>Chron. Pasch.</i> 559

Table 7. Imperial visits to Pannonia (364–375 AD) (after *Seeck 1906* and *Seeck 1919*)

Date	Place	Emperor	Source
Winter 375–376	Sirmium	Valentinian II, Iustina	<i>Paul. Vita Ambr.</i> 11
Summer 378	Bononia	Gratian	<i>Ammianus XXXI.11.6</i>
Summer 378 (4 days)	Sirmium	Gratian	<i>Ammianus XXXI.11.6</i>
August 378	Sirmium	Gratian	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> XVI.5.5; <i>Socr.</i> V.2.1; <i>Soz.</i> VII.1.3; <i>Theod.</i> V.2
August 378	Sirmium	Gratian	<i>Auson. Grat. act.</i> 9.42
Autumn 378	Pannonia	Gratian	Cf. <i>Barnes 1999</i> 167 n. 11
December 6, 378	Sirmium	Gratian	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> VI.30.4
January 19, 379	Sirmium	Gratian, Theodosius	<i>Chron. min.</i> I p. 243, 297, II p. 60
February 24, 379	Sirmium	Gratian	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> VI.30.1
April 5, 379	Tricciana	Gratian	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> XI.36.26
Spring 379	near Sirmium	Theodosius, Gratian (?)	<i>Philost.</i> IX.19.1
Spring 379	Aquincum	Theodosius, Gratian (?)	<i>Sid. Ap. Carm.</i> 5,107–115
August 2, 380	Sirmium	Gratian	<i>Gesta Conc. Aquil.</i> 10
September 8, 380	Sirmium	Theodosius	<i>Cod. Theod.</i> VII.22.12; <i>Iust.</i> XII.47.2
July–August 389	Siscia	Theodosius	<i>Ambr. Ep.</i> 40.23; <i>Pacat. Paneg. Lat.</i> II(XII).24.1
Autumn–Winter 424	Pannonia	Valentinian III, Placidia	<i>Philost.</i> XII.13 = <i>Olymp. Frag.</i> 43
October 455	Pannonia	Avitus	<i>Sid. Ap. Carm.</i> VII.589

Table 8. Imperial visits to Pannonia (375–455 AD) (after *Seeck 1906*; *Seeck 1919* and *Barnes 1999*)

Emperor	Place of birth	Date of birth
Decius	Sirmium, Budalia	190/200?
Herennius Decius	Sirmium	220/230?
Hostilianus	Sirmium (?)	after 230
Probus	Sirmium	232
Maximianus	Sirmium	ca. 250
Constantius II	Sirmium	317
Valentinian	Cibalae	321
Valens	Cibalae	ca. 328
Gratian	Sirmium	359

Table 9. Emperors born in Pannonia

Emperor	Place	Date
Septimius Severus	Carnuntum	193
Pacatianus	Pannonia (?)	248
Decius	Pannonia	249
Ingenuus	Sirmium	260
Regalianus	Sirmium	260
Aurelian	Sirmium	270
Licinius	Carnuntum	308
Vetranio	Mursa / Sirmium	350
Constantius Gallus (caesar)	Sirmium	351
Valentinian II	Aquincum	375
Theodosius I	Sirmium	379

Table 10. Emperors acclaimed in Pannonia

Emperor	Place	Date
Marcus Aurelius	Vindobona	180
Ingenuus	Mursa / Sirmium	260
Regalianus	Pannonia	260
Claudius II	Sirmium	270
Probus	Sirmium / Turris Ferrata	282
Carinus	Cornacum	285
Valentinian	Brigetio	375

Table 11. Emperors who died in Pannonia

