CONSTANTIUS HEROS – NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF PANNONIA IN THE 5TH CENTURY

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Abstract: In his paper the author deals with a lost late Roman funerary text, Constantius' epitaph. Based on the manuscript tradition, the epitaph was probably erected in Rome or more rather at Ravenna. Constantius was an important military commander of Western Rome in the 5th century and he had an important role in the fifth century history of Roman Pannonia as he fought against the Barbarians, most probably the Huns who settled down in Pannonia. The earlier identifications must be rejected but his person – unfortunately – cannot be identified with Flavius Constantius Felix. On the other hand, the events (fights against the Huns and the sea-going Vandals) mentioned in the funerary epigram fit perfectly into the period at the beginning of Valentinian III's reign.

Keywords: Carmina Latina Epigraphica, Late Roman Pannonia, Huns, Flavius Constantius Felix

Our data on the history of the Pannonian provinces afterwards 410 AD are extremely scarce, even the official abandonment and the cession of the province to the Huns are indirectly attested in the late antique written sources. Among them, there is a lost Latin verse funerary inscription having a special importance. Despite the other opinions, the funerary epigram can surely be dated to the 5th century and was erected to Constantius who *Pannoniis gentibus horror erat* (CLE 1335 = ILCV 66). In my paper I intend to deal with this inscription and Constantius' identification. I wish to examine the text from the point of view of the history of the province, too.

The text of the inscription as follows:

ICUR I p. 265–266 = ICUR II p. 284 Nr. 1 = CLE 1335 = ILCV 66 (add) = DOBÓ 1975, Nr. 605:

Manuscripts: Cod. Par. Lat. 528 f. 122 (9th c., P.), Cod. S. Gall. 899 p. 57–58 (10th c., G, Fig. 1–2).¹

EPITAPHIUM (ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΝ) CONSTANTII

*Hic decus Italiae tegitur Constantius heros
qui patriae tegumen murus et arma fuit
invictus bello non fictae pacis amator
confixus plagis victor ubique tamen
5 hic mare per medium gentem co<m>pressit euntem
et victis pariter terra negavit opem.*

¹ According to the edition of E. DÜMLER: Poetae Latinae aevi Carolini I the text is also mentioned in Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 421 ad marginem. It contains some folios of codex G. based on the digital

edition of the codex, the text is omitted: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSSReg.lat.421>.

Fig. 1–2. The text of the epigram in the Sankt Gallen codex (Cod. S. Gall. 899 p. 57–58; www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0899)

*sobrius armipotens castus moderamine pollens
 primus in ingenio primus in arma fuit
 Romanis blando quantum flagravat amore
 10 tantum Pannoniis gentibus horror erat
 iste sibi et natis bello mercavit honores
 munera principibus colla secata dedit
 natorum medio pictus pater anxia mater
 quem plangat nescit stat stupefacta dolens
 15 peius Roma gemit tanto spoliata senatu
 perdidit ornatum perdidit arma simul
 tristes stant acies magno ductore remoto
 cum quo Roma potens quo sine pressa iacet
 hunc tumulum dux magne tuum tibi condidit uxor
 20 quae tecum rursus consociata iacet
 istud nulla manus temptet violare sepulchrum
 at Theodora tuum te cupiente parens.*

Lectiones variae: Epitafion G, Constantis de Rossi, 7 armipoten P, 9 fraglavit P, 10 honor P, 13 media pictis P, medio pictus G, mediotus Buecheler, fixus Maenchen-Helfen, tristis? Dümmler, natorum medio Pictis pavet Traube, natorum medio pictus iacet Mommsen, 17 doct. P, 19 hoc tum P, 21 istum P, 22 Thedora P, Thedoratum Canisius.

Translation (the German and English translation is given by Otto Maenchen-Helfen):

*“Hier ist Italiens Zier, des Helden Constantius Grabstatt,
einst des Vaterlands Schild, Mauer und Waffen zugleich.
Ungeschlagen im Krieg, ein Freund des wirklichen Friedens,
nun von Wunden durchbohrt, Sieger doch überall,
unterwarf er in Volk, das die See inmitten durchquerte,
und den Besiegten zugleich wehrte die Hilfe das Land.
Nüchtern war er und rein, ein mächtiger Krieger und Feldherr,
hier ist der Erste im Rat, dort der erste im Kampf.
Hingebend liebte er Rom, jedoch Pannoniens Stämmen
hat er im selben Maß Furcht und Schrecken gebracht.
sich und seinem Geblüt erwarb im Kriege er Ehren,
gab den Führern des Feinds abgeschlagenes Haupt.
Mitten unter den Söhnen durchbohrt der Vater! Die Mutter
weiß nicht, wen sie beklagt, steht vom Schmerz wie betäubt.
Schwerer noch jammert nun Rom, beraubt eines solchen Senators,
denn es verlor eine Zier und seine Waffen zugleich.
Trauernd stehen die Heere, denen man den Feldherrn entrissen:
mit ihm war Rom eine Macht, ohne ihn liegt es zerstört.
Diesen Hügel, gewaltiger dux, errichtet dein Weib dir,
das die wieder vereint liegt hier in ewigem Bund.
Wage es nie eine Hand, dies Grabmal dir zu verletzen,
deins, Theodora zugleich, die als Nächste es wünscht.”*

Here the glory of Italy is buried, the hero Constantius,
who was the shield of his country, its walls and weapons.
Invincible in war, a lover of true peace,
though pierced with wounds, he was victorious everywhere.
He subdued the race that crossed the middle of the sea,
and likewise the land refused to give aid to the vanquished.
He was sober, mighty in battle, chaste, a powerful commander,
first in judgment, first in war.
He was as much burning in love and devotion to the Romans
as he was bringing terror to the Pannonian tribes.
In war he sought honors for himself and his sons,
to the nobles he gave as gifts the cut-off heads.
In the midst of his sons the father lies stabbed; the grievous mother
does not know whom to lament, overwhelmed by her sorrow.
Worse is the misfortune of Rome, robbed of so great a senator;
she has lost her ornament, she has lost her arms.
The saddened armies are standing still, after their great commander
has been taken away, with whom Rome was powerful, without whom
she is lying prostrate.
This tumulus, o great leader, has been erected for you by your wife,
who lies here, reunited with you.

The end of the inscription according to Th. Mommsen's interpretation:

*“Das Grabmal errichtet dem Gatten die Gattin, welche jetzt, wiederum mit ihm vereinigt, neben ihm ruht;
das Grab des Gatten soll keine Hand wagen je zu verletzen, das der Gattin dagegen auf deren Wunsch der Vater.”*

Editions: H. Canisius *Antiquae lectiones: seu antiqua monumenta ad historiam mediae aetatis illustrandam* numquam edita VI. Ingolstadt 1604, 505–506, M. de la Bigne, *Magna bibliotheca veterum patrum, et antiquorum scriptorum* 9. Köln 1618, 642, Nova bibliotheca veterum patrum et scriptorum ecclesiasticorum sive supplementum bibliothecae patrum 2. Paris 1639, 274, J. Basnage, *Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum et historicorum, sive Henrici Canisii lectiones antiquae* II/2. Antwerpen 1725, 73, ICUR I p. 265–266, 579–580 = ICUR II p. 280, 284 Nr. 1, CLE 1335, E. Dümmler, *Poetae Latinae aevi Carolini* I. MGH A Poet. Lat. I (1881) 32, 33, 78–79 Nr. L, ILCV 66, DOBÓ 1975, Nr. 605. Cf. M. Ziegelbauer-O. Legipontius, *Historia Rei Literariae Ordinis S. Benedicti* in IV. partes distributa IV. Augustae Vind. et Herbipoli 1754, 643, Bethmann 1849, 5–6, L. BETHMANN: *Paulus Diaconus. Leben und Schriften*. Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde 10, 1851, 320, DÜMMLER 1878, 105, 108, MOMMSEN 1893, SEECK 1900, A. POTTHAST: *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi: Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des europäischen Mittelalters bis 1500*. Vollständiges Inhaltsverzeichniss zu ‘Acta sanctorum’ Boll.-Bouquet-Migne-Monum. Germ. hist.-Muratori-Rerum Britann. scriptores etc.; Anhang: Quellenkunde für die Geschichte der europäischen Staaten während des Mittelalters. Berlin 1896, 417, B. SCHRÖDER: *Studien zu den Grabdenkmälern der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Bonn 1902, 2, Anm. 3, A. MASELLI: *Di alcune poesie dubbiamente attribuite a Paolo Diacono*. Montecassino 1905, 108–109, NEFF, 1908, XVI, 45, 107, 118, 147, 180, J. SUNDWALL: *Weströmische Studien*. Berlin 1915, 66, Nr. 110, FIEBIGER–SCHMIDT 1917, 29–30, Nr. 34, ALFÖLDI 1926, 86, BALOGH 1929, 482 (with a Hungarian translation of the first half of the text), MAENCHEN-HELFEN 1973, 102–103 = MAENCHEN-HELFEN 1978, 75–76 (with English and German translation), PLRE II, Constantius 9, R. ERNST–D. WOJTECKI: *Glossar zur frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte im östlichen Europa*. Serie A. Lateinische Namen bis 900 III/1. Carolus(Martellus)-Emnetzur. Stuttgart 1983, 198, *Régészeti kézikönyv*, 242, j. 50, THOMPSON 1999, 139 n. 9, KOVÁCS 2000, 142, D. A. BULLOUGH: *Alcuin. Achievement and Reputation*. (Being part of the Ford Lectures delivered in Oxford in Hilary Term 1980.) Education and society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 16. Leiden 2004, 344 n. 38, STICKLER 2007, 36, TREFFORT 2007, 91, 240; JONES 2010, 88.

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

The epitaph survived only in Carolingian *codices*. The codex from Paris can be dated to 9th c. (Cod. Par. Lat. 528 f. 122 = P), the one from Sankt Gallen to the 10th c. (Cod. S. Gall. 899 p. 57–58 = G). The earlier P contains verses attributed to Alcuin, Petrus Pisanus and Paulus Diaconus (f. 122–127). Among the latter ones (f. 123v, 125, 130 and 135v) the funerary inscriptions of Constantius and Toctron were edited (f. 122).² Th. Mommsen during his investigation concluded that the text in the earlier P codex is the more authentic one. Despite his view, the text in P holds more mistakes than G (cf. the *lectiones variae*). Codex G is few decades younger than P (9th–10th c.) and it also includes the works attributed to Petrus and Paulus (pp. 7–8, 13–15), several of them are also edited in P (4 or 5), among them Constantius’ epitaphium too (p. 57–58).³ The G also contains the epitaphium Geroldi comitis (p. 57) who died in 799 during the campaign against the Avars in Pannonia.⁴ Both codices were prepared for Carolingian monastery schools and most probably are going back to a common source written in Northern Italy, perhaps by the literary circle of Paulus Diaconus.⁵ It must have contained a collection of Carolingian verses together with the three funerary inscriptions. The editio princeps was prepared by the Dutch humanist, Canisius and his followers (Bigne, Basnage) who used codex G without any doubt. Later, de Rossi edited the text and also explained the reason of the reading THEDORA in the last line of both versions. According to him a small O was written between ED and the copier of the common source of the codices did not observe it (ICUR I p. 265). The first critical edition was prepared F. Dümmler in the *Poetae Latinae aevi Carolini* of the MGH. All the newer editions follow him (CLE, ILCV, Schmidt), the emendations were placed in the footnotes. Toctron’s funerary inscription is published in the CIL, too (CIL XI 319) but Constantius’ epitaph has not been edited in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* yet, most probably because of its uncertain provenance.

² DÜMMLER 1878, 104–106; NEFF 1908, XIX–XX.

³ DÜMMLER 1878, 106–108; NEFF 1908, XV–XVI.

⁴ J. B. ROSS: Two neglected Paladins of Charlemagne: Erich of Friuli and Gerold of Bavaria. *Speculum* 20 (1945) 212–235.

Cf. Einh. v. Car. 13, Ann. regni a. 799 p. 108, Ann. qui dicuntur Einhardi a. 799 p. 109., Visio Wettini 27, and lines 302–326 MGH Poet. Lat. II. p. 274, 329–330.

⁵ MOMMSEN 1893, 34.

PROVENANCE

The manuscripts did not mention the provenance of the inscription therefore several hypotheses has arisen:

1. *sed alicubi in Helvetia aut in Germania e veteri lapide exscriptum* de Rossi, *trans Alpes videtur obiisse* de Rossi, in *Helvetiae Germaniaeque confiniis alicubi* Buecheler. *Von einem germanischen oder helvetischen Grabstein herrührend* Schmidt.

2. Trier Mommsen.

3. *Locus ignoratur: sequitur in codice epitaphium Troctonis positum Ravennae, ibidem utrumque esse potuit* de Rossi.

De Rossi's latter remark can be accepted because of several elements of the epitaph were known and used later in Italy⁶ and nothing refers to a provenance outside Rome or Italy. His earlier identification followed by others is based only on the Sankt Gallen codex. Mommsen's opinion with Trier must be connected to his identification of Constantius with the emperor Inside Italy the most relevant cities are the imperial capitals, Rome, Mediolanum and Ravenna.

In our opinion, the next epitaph in codex P can confirm the provenance at Ravenna as it was surely erected in the basilica of San Vitale in Classe: Cod. S. Gall. 899, p. 58 Epitaphium Troctonis = CIL XI 319 = Paul. Hist. Lang. III.19 (591 AD). The inscription mentions Trocton who can surely be identified with the Suebian commander (*dux*) of the Byzantine army, Droctulf, who had an important role in the history of Italy at the end of the 6th century. He died and was buried around 591 AD in Ravenna. His epitaph was also edited by Paulus Diaconus and several other historians mention his activity: Drocton, Droctulf, Droc(t)ulfus dux (Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang. III.18), Δρόκτων ὑποστράτηγος: PLRE III Droctulfus 1, Theoph. Sym. II.17, Greg. Ep. 85, Paul. Hist. Lang. III.18–19⁷ *Huius sane Droctulf, de quo praemisimus, amminiculo saepe Ravennatium milites adversum Langobardos dimicarunt, extractaque classe, Langobardos, qui Classem urbem tenebant, hoc adiuvante pepulerunt. Cui, cum vitae explesset terminum, honorabile sepulchrum ante limina Beati Vitalis martyris tribuentes, tali eius laudes epitaphio extulerunt:*

...

10 *Hanc patriam reputans esse, Ravenna, suam.*

12 *Quo residens cunctis hostibus horror erat.*

19 *Rursus et in terris Avarem superavit eoīs*

Conquirens dominis maxima lucra suis.

Martyris auxilio Vitalis fultus, ad istos

Pervenit victor saepe triumphos ovans;

Cuius et in templis petiit sua membra iacere,

Haec loca post mortem bustis habere iubat.

Droctulf was also a *dux* (ὑποστράτηγος) as Constantius⁸ and line 12 almost agrees with line 10 of his epitaph:

10 *tantum Pannoniis gentibus horror erat*

12 ... *cunctis hostibus horror erat*

It seems the collection of these three epitaphia (erected to Constantius, Drocton and Geroldus) were part of the same Carolingian collection and all had mentioned Pannonian Barbarians, the Huns (in the case of Constantius) and Avars (Epitaphium Droctonis v. 19 *Rursus et in terris Avarem superavit eoīs*, MGH Poet. Lat. I p. 114 v. 3 *Pannoniis vera ecclesiae pro pace peremptus*) who were almost always identified with the Huns in the Carolingian historical works.⁹ As Drocton and Gerold were historical persons Constantius' epitaph cannot be called fictitious. We must also cite the fact that the epitaphs were edited in a sylloge of Carolingian verses attributed to Paulus Diaconus. Based on these facts we must come to the conclusion that Constantius' inscription was known in Ravenna, perhaps it was erected there.

⁶ MOMMSEN 1893, 35.

⁷ Codice diplomatico longobardo dal DLXVIII al DCCLXXIV con osservazioni di Carlo Troya I. Napoli 1845, 115–118, Nr. LXXIII–LXXIV.

⁸ M. ZERJADTKE: Das Amt ›Dux‹ in Spätantike und frühem Mittelalter. Der ›ducatus‹ im Spannungsfeld zwischen römischem

Einfluss und eigener Entwicklung. RGA Ergänzungsbände 110. Berlin–Boston 2019.

⁹ See the sources in footnote 4 and W. POHL: The Avars. A Steppe Empire in Central Europe, 567–822. Ithaca–London 2018, 5, 264–265, 389.

THE PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETATION

Most part of the inscription can easily be understood but there are few lines that can hardly be explained. That is why several emendations have been suggested.

a. reading

line 10: It is the generally accepted view that reading *horror* of G is the correct one and it is the metrical correct one. Despite this fact, Mommsen accepted the reading *honor* in P in order to confirm his view on Constantius' identification.¹⁰ The term *Pannoniae gentes* can hardly be connected to the provincial population of Pannonia as in most cases it refers to Barbarians inside and outside the Roman Empire, in this case Barbarian tribes who settled down in Pannonia.¹¹ The mistake *honor-horror* must be explained by the paleographical similarity and the fact that at the end of the next line the word *honores* can be found.

line 13: in this line the reading and the interpretation of the adjective connected to the word *pater* is problematical as even the form *pictus* in G can hardly be explained, therefore it was emended as follows: *mediost ictus* Buecheler, *fixus* Maenchen-Helfen, *tristis*? Dümmler. Mommsen (and Traube) used the variant *pictis* in P and they interpreted it as a locative in plural ablative or nominative of the tribe Pictus: *natorum medio Pictis pavet* Traube, *natorum medio Pictus iacet* (sc. beaten by Constantius) Mommsen.¹² On the other hand, there is a more simple explanation of the adjective. The participle *pictus* coming from the verb *pingo* (with the meaning to paint, colour, or decorate) can hardly be observed in inscriptions,¹³ mainly they are cognomina.¹⁴ In our case it would be useless to use the original meaning but the participle *depictus* (the preposition *de-* was omitted because of metrical reason) can be explained.¹⁵ In this case it would mean the figural depiction of the father (and the family) in the grave monument. The verb *depingere* can hardly be found in epigraphic material: e. g. 5th c. loculus grave from Rome: ICUR 15795 = CLE 758,5 *haec Decorosus amici depinxit in vertice tymbae* (instead of *descripsit*: cf. CLE 2029 *depinxit dolorem patris*). In this case the translation of line must be changed, the wife and the husband lament together over their sons. The wife could not have lamented his husband because she was buried into the grave, too (line 20).

line 22: According to Mommsen, Theodora mentioned in the last line was the *dux*'s wife, therefore he was identical with Emperor Constantius Chlorus, the *parens* of Theodora was Maximianus, and he interpreted the last line as follows: *das Grab des Gatten soll keine Handwagen je zu verletzen, das der Gattin dagegen auf deren Wunsch der Vater*.¹⁶ O. Maenchen-Helfen, who omitted the translation of the last two lines in the English version translated the part in question as follows: *deins* (sc. *Grab*), *Theodora zugleich, die als Nächste es wünscht*.¹⁷ Both interpretations must be refused as they are not in accordance with the Latin text. The clause beginning with the conjunction *at* concerns to a person who can be buried into the grave despite the prohibition. The ablative absolute *te cupiente* could grammatically concern to Theodora and Constantius too, but the vocative in line 19 (*magne dux*) and the possess adjective *tuum* (belongs to the word *sepulchrum*) in line 22 rule out the possibility of Theodora. Based on this fact, Theodora's name is in the nominative, the subject of the ablative absolute is Constantius therefore his *parens* (mother) was Theodora who can be buried into the grave at his son's desire. Already de Rossi interpreted the text in the same way: ICUR I p. 580: *Neque illud elogium est exercitationis gratia a poeta compositum, sed ipsius Constantii tumulo Theodora matris nomine inscriptum*.

b. date

The author of the epigram is not given in the manuscripts but based on the other poems in the collection L. Bethmann concluded that Constantius' epitaph is written by Paulus Diaconus himself.¹⁸ Latter opinion was not accepted by scholars dealing with the Carolingian author but Dümmler also edited in his corpus among the *dubia*.¹⁹

¹⁰ MOMMSEN 1893, 35–36.

¹¹ ThLL VI/2 (1975–1984) col. 1842–1865, esp. 1848–1850.

¹² MOMMSEN 1893, 37–38.

¹³ ThLL X/1 (2007–2010) col. 2159–2160.

¹⁴ I. KAJANTO: *The Latin Cognomina*. Helsinki 1965, 201.

¹⁵ ThLL V/1 (1909–1934) col. 572–573.

¹⁶ MOMMSEN 1893, 38.

¹⁷ MAENCHEN-HELFEN 1978, 75–76.

¹⁸ BETHMANN 1849, 5–6.

¹⁹ E. DÜMMLER: *Poetae Latinae aevi Carolini* I. MGH Poet. Lat. I (1881) 32, 33, 78–79, Nr. L; A. MASELLI: *Di alcune poesie dubbiamente attribuite a Paolo Diacono*. Montecassino 1905, 108–109; NEFF 1908, XVI, 45, 107, 118, 147, 180.

The same sentence is given later even by Bethmann.²⁰ Neff concluded that the epigram together with Tocrion's one was an antecedent of the Carolingian verses therefore it was edited in this collection. Already de Rossi and Mommsen could point out that funerary text clearly belongs to the late Roman world and it has to be identified with a late antique funerary verse inscription and its author is uncertain.²¹ Both of them dated the text based on Constantius' identification to the beginning of the 4th or 5th century. Now, the generally accepted date is given O. Seeck and L. Schmidt who date the inscription to a period when the Roman province Pannonia was abandoned (earliest 406 or 409) and Barbarians settled down there but the Western Roman Empire still firmly existed (cf. v. 17 *Roma potens*) (before 476),²² and there were at least two emperors (cf. the plural *principibus* in v. 11). Nothing suggests a later date.

c. name

In the title and line 1 the name is clearly given as Constantius (in the genitive and nominative). This fact was refuted by Bethmann and de Rossi who observed a genitive Constantis in the title in P therefore de Rossi identified him with Flavius Constans.²³ Latter opinion was heavily repelled by Mommsen as de Rossi omitted the name in line 1 and he interpreted correctly the title in P. Here, he clearly read the form *epitaphiū Constantii* and the transparent letter S belongs to the verso of the same folio.²⁴ According to de Rossi, the name Constantius in line 1 would cover Constans and it was used only because of metrical reason. This explanation must be rejected with Mommsen's remark: *eine derartige Namensvertauschung meines Wissens unerhört ist*.²⁵ Based on these, his name was clearly Constantius.

d. The possible grave monument

The grave monument from where the text was copied can hardly be a tombstone in the province Germania as Schmidt supposed.²⁶ It is also clear that the inscription cannot be erected by Constantius' wife as she was already buried (v. 20) but it is sure that she built the grave monument (v. 19): *hunc tumulum ... tuum tibi condidit uxor*. Unfortunately, the words *tumulus* and *sepulchrum* had a too general meaning (= tomb, grave monument),²⁷ and it was also used in Christian funerary verse inscriptions in the 5th c. in Rome: e. g. ICUR 534, 713, 4149, 4210, 4969, 11079, 17516b, 20815, 23394, 24833. Some of these is a simple loculus grave therefore the word designates the grave: e.g. ICUR 17516b, 20815. A similar use can be observed in Pope Damasus' epigrams (also in the ones attributed to him): Epig. Dam. 7.7, 11.1, 19.2, 25.1, 28.5, 32.1, 42.3, 44.1, 47.1, 50.7, 51.2.²⁸ The participle (*de*)*pictus* does not help as it can concern to the fresco decoration of a grave chapel but a painted carved monument (a sarcophagus) cannot be excluded either. The new interpretation of line 13 can mean that the whole family was depicted. In the middle the couple stood (*stat*) framed by their sons: that explains the form *in medio natorum*. There is no reason to suppose that the family was not Christian but there is no allusion to their religion in the text. A richly decorated grave chapel, similar to imperial mausolea, cannot be ruled out but the burial into sarcophagi from the 4th c. became the most frequent use even in the case of the members of the imperial family, mainly in early Christian churches.²⁹ Based on this fact Constantius and his wife could have been buried into marble sarcophagus decorated with the figures/busts of the family and other scenes or architectural elements. As a full figure scene is the more probable one, strigilated or arched sarcophagi can be taken into account as several similar sarcophagi of the same period from Rome and Italy show the deceased persons but a medallion with the bust of the couple in the middle cannot be excluded either.³⁰ The participle *pictus* does not rule out this possibility as the sarcophagi were also painted. On the other hand, among the sarcophagi of Ravenna there are very few similar scenes.³¹ Based on the text

²⁰ L. BETHMANN: Paulus Diaconus. Leben und Schriften. Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde 10 (1851) 320.

²¹ ICUR I p. 265–266, 579–580=ICUR II p. 280, 284, Nr. 1, MOMMSEN 1893, 38.

²² SEECK 1900, FIEBIGER–SCHMIDT 1917, 34.

²³ BETHMANN 1849, 5–6, ICUR I p. 265=ICUR II p. 284.

²⁴ P. F. Girard' observation *apud* MOMMSEN 1893, 33.

²⁵ MOMMSEN 1893, 35.

²⁶ FIEBIGER–SCHMIDT 1917, 34.

²⁷ P. G. W. GLARE: Oxford Latin Dictionary. Oxford 1968, 1740, 1989.

²⁸ D. E. TROUT: Damasus of Rome. The epigraphic poetry: introduction, texts, translations, and commentary. Oxford 2015, 223.

²⁹ JOHNSON 2009, 110–179, esp. 174, 177–179.

³⁰ KOCH 2000, 107–122.

³¹ G. BOVINI: Sarcophagi paleocristiani di Ravenna. Tentativo di classificazione cronologica. Città del Vaticano 1954; KOCH 2000, 118; A. L. B. FOX: Burial and resurrection: The sculpted sarcophagi of Ravenna and visions of perpetuity in an age of flux. Diss. 2013, 66–67, 69.

the burial place was bought by Constantius' wife but the inscription was erected later.³² The only person who survived them was Theodora.

e. Constantius' identification

Mommsen's plausible remark has to be our starting point: *allerdings ist es schwer zu glauben, dass der in so vollen Tönen in dem Epigramm gefeierte, 'Heros' aus unserer geschichtlichen Ueberlieferung gänzlich verschwunden sein soll.*³³ It cannot be supposed that such an important person characterised as *heros* would have totally been disappeared from the written sources. On the hand, the only available source for Constantius' life is his epitaph:

1. He had to be a senatorial person (v. 15–16) with high military rank. His position was mentioned as *magnus dux* (v. 19), *magnus ductor* (v. 17). An important Roman statesman, even if he was a Christian, could have been called *heros*.³⁴ He cannot be identified with a simple *dux*, military commander of a single province as he defended Rome during at least two campaigns in sea and Pannonia.³⁵ His rank can probably identified with the *magister militum*.³⁶ The identification with a Roman emperor can also be excluded as he brought the severed heads of the enemy for them as a gift (v. 12 *munera principibus colla secata dedit*).

2. his *res gestae* mentioned only his successful military campaigns (v. 4 *victor ubique tamen*) and he was wounded at least once (v. 4 *confixus plagis*). The list of the campaigns could not be very long as the text refers only two concrete campaigns (probably in chronological order):

- 1.) v. 6–7 naval success against a sea-going *gens* that was followed by an inland one.
- 2.) v. 10 his successful activity against the Pannonian tribes.

Based on the text his wife bought the grave, but she was also buried there, they had sons, but died earlier. They had already some kind of office (v. 11 *honores*). His mother, Theodora survived him and probably she erected the inscription.

Based on these data, several different opinions have been arisen for Constantius' identification (see list 1) but the generally accepted view is that his person cannot be exactly identified.

Mommsen's view³⁷ can clearly be rejected as even the text contradicts his hypothesis. Theodora could not be identified with his wife and an emperor did not have to bring severed heads as gift to his co-emperors. The provenance of the funerary inscription cannot be connected to Trier. The exact burial place of Constantius Chlorus who died in July 306 at Ebracum is unknown (Lact De mort. pers. 24.8, Eus. v. Const. I.21, Hier. Chron. (Helm) 228g, Chron. min. I p. 7, 231, 447, Aur. Vict. 40.4, Eutr. X.1.3, Epit. de Caes. 41.3, Oros. VII.25.16, Socr. I.2, Zos. II.9.1, Zon. XII.33), only Philostorgius mentions (H. E. I.5) that Constantine personally took part in the burial of his father.³⁸ Constantius could have been buried in Britain and Trier as well,³⁹ but the funerary inscription in question cannot solve the problem.

Constantius *dux* can hardly be identified with one of Attila secretaries (there were two Constantii) as O. Seeck suggested as his senatorial rank refutes this opinion.⁴⁰ The identification with Flavius Constans suggested by de Rossi must also be ruled out.⁴¹ This Constans (PLRE II Constans 3) AS *magister militum per Thracias* (412–14 AD, cos. 414) had in important role in the defence of the Lower Danubian provinces in the 410s and he must have had connections with the Huns as well. On the other hand, he had nothing to do with the Pannonian Huns or Pannonia as the province belong to the prefecture of Italy of Western Rome. It can also be repelled that Constans would have served in the eastern and western court, too.

³² KOCH 2000, 99–107.

³³ MOMMSEN 1893, 35.

³⁴ JONES 2010, 87–92. It cannot be excluded that *heros* was Constantius' other cognomen as P. Kruschwitz suggested as for instance a certain [---]tius heros is attested in an early Christian funerary verse inscription in Rome from the same period: ICUR 27632 ----- / [---] mortis acer ae / [---] a]etatis habend(a)e / [---]tius heros / [---] Aureliae ditant / [---] a]b aetas / [---]tis annos / [---]as / [---] qu(a)erens / [---] tibi / [---]t. See another "Christian" heros: [---]nius heros also from Rome (ICUR 3972=CLE 1955).

³⁵ ThLL V/1 (1909–1934) col. 2316–2329.

³⁶ A. DEMANDT: *Magister militum*. In: PWRE XII Suppl. Stuttgart 1970, col. 553–790.

³⁷ MOMMSEN 1893.

³⁸ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ... ΤΕΛΕΥΤΩΝΤΑ ΕΚΗΔΕΥΣΕ ... KIENAST 2017, 269; M. J. JOHNSON: Where were Constantius I and Helena buried? *Latomus* 51 (1992) 145–146; JOHNSON 2009, 207.

³⁹ O. SEECK: Constantius I. In: PWRE IV. Stuttgart 1900, col. 1043.

⁴⁰ SEECK 1900.

⁴¹ ICUR I p. 265–266.

The identification of the *gentes* caused less problem: the Pannonians were identified with the Huns first by de Rossi,⁴² and Seeck argued first that sea-going people were the Vandals.⁴³ Based on this, Maenchen-Helfen supposed that a successful campaign against the Vandals between 437–440 was commanded by Constantius. On the other hand, the Roman attempts in this period cannot be called successful: cp. the loss of Carthago in 439 and the fleet that freed Sicily in 441 was sent by East Rome.⁴⁴ Among the Roman commanders of the fleet there was no Constantius (cf. Nov. Valentin. III.9, Chron. min. I p. 478 Nr. 1342, 1344, Theoph. AM 5941: Sigisvult, and Ariobindus, Ansila, Germanus, Arintheus, Inobindus).⁴⁵

Constantius' identification has become more difficult as he cannot be connected to the other 17 known *Constantii* of the 5th c. (see the list below). On the other hand, Mommsen was probably right when he emphasized that some kind of trace of Constantius' activity must have remained in the relevant written sources. All these 17 *Constantii* can be excluded but the scholarly literature knows another Constantius and his activity can be associated to Pannonia. He was Flavius Constantius Felix who as Valentinian's *magister utriusque militiae* (further patricius, cos. 428⁴⁶) had a decisive role in West Rome between the years 425–430 (PLRE II, Felix 14).⁴⁷ His name is attested in several inscriptions too but the most important one was that he erected together with his wife, Padusia in the apse of the basilica San Giovanni in Laterano. Unfortunately, it has been destroyed in the 13th c. The inscriptions mention him only as Flavius Felix (ILCV 68 = ICUR II p. 149 Nr. 17 = p. 307 Nr. 5 = CIL VI 41393, ICUR 658, ILS 1298, AEp 1905, 88, Caelest. Ep. IV.10), in the written sources as Felix (Chron. min. I p. 471, 472, 473, II p. 22, 77, Ioann. Ant. Frag. 201). Based on the archives of the basilica, Panvinius edited his name in the text of the Lateran inscription as *Fl(avius) Constantius Felix*.⁴⁸ That is why it is generally accepted in scholarly literature that this would have been his official name. On the other hand, several doubts have been arisen already in de Rossi (however, first he accepted the name Constantius) and others.⁴⁹ According to them, the name Constantius must go back to the incorrect expansion of the abbreviation *v(ir) c(larissimus)*. This hypothesis is confirmed by the earliest copy (9th c.) of the Corpus Laureshamense that edited several early Christians from Rome and Italy after 823 (it can probably be connected to the legation of Adalung from Lorsch)⁵⁰ (Cod. Vat. Pal. 833 f. 31r). The codex edits the name as it was supposed (*Fl(avius) Felix v(ir) c(larissimus)*). A later (12th–13th c.) copy of the inscription (Cod. Sess. 290 f. 25v) described the name as *Flavius felix Victor constantinus*.⁵¹ This confirms that existed another, different copy of the inscription in the archive of the basilica that was used later by Panvinius. It contained no abbreviations. Based on these, the name Constantius should have been excluded but in Panvinius' copy the order of the names was changed as Constantius Felix. Earlier de Rossi deduced (ICUR II p. 149) that the abbreviation VC was expanded as *victor* by the humanist and the name Constantius is a genuine one. But it also can be supposed (as de Rossi later did) that Panvinius interpreted the cognomen Felix as adjective besides the noun *victor* and that is why he transferred Constantius. This solution is the more probable one and the copy of Lorsch seems to be most genuine one: Flavius Felix VC. Most probably, the cognomen Constantius did not belong to the *magister militum*'s name.

Despite this fact, it is noteworthy to examine Felix' activity and compare to the events mentioned in the inscription. Felix became Galla Placidia's confidant and *magister militum* in 425 through his wife (Padusia and Spadusa are highly probably identical (Olymp. Frag. 40 cp. PLRE II Spadusa). His person is widely known because of his conflicts with Bonifatius and Aetius,⁵² that is why he was killed together with Padusia in Ravenna in 430:

⁴² ICUR I p. 266.

⁴³ SEECK 1900.

⁴⁴ MAENCHEN-HELFEN 1973, 103. See also SCHMIDT 1942, 66–72; COURTOIS 1955, 166–175; VÖSSING 2014, 47–49.

⁴⁵ CLOVER 1966, 80–88, R. W. MATHISEN: Sigisvult the Patrician, Maximinus the Arian, and political strategems in the Western Roman Empire c. 425–40. Early Medieval Europe 8 (1999) 173–196, esp. 184–189.

⁴⁶ BAGNALL–CAMERON–SCHWARTZ–WÖRPF 1987, 390. His consular diptychon also survived: R. DELBRÜCK: Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler. Berlin 1929, 93, W 428.

⁴⁷ Earlier De Rossi refuted this possibility based on the interpretation of the text and the false (beyond the Alps) provenance: ICUR I p. 285.

⁴⁸ Cod. Vat. 6781 f. 298v; O. PANVINIUS: De praecipuis urbis Romae sanctiorisque basilicis, quas Septem ecclesias vulgo vocant liber. Roma 1570, 109.

⁴⁹ ICUR II p. 149 Nr. 17 = p. 307 Nr. 5, ILS 1293, ILCV 68; BAGNALL–CAMERON–SCHWARTZ–WÖRPF 1987, 390, CIL VI 41393.

⁵⁰ B. BISCHOFF: Die Abtei Lorsch im Spiegel ihrer Handschriften. Lorsch 1989, 77, 99.

⁵¹ Panvinius added the word *uxor* after the possess pronoun *eius*.

⁵² SEECK 1900; W. ENSSLIN: Zum Heermeisteramt des spätrömischen Reiches. Klio 23 (1930) 475–480; R. GENTILI: La rivalità fra Ezio, Felice e Bonifacio e l'invasione dei Vandali in Africa. Il Mondo Classico 5 (1935) 363–372; OOST 1968, 210–212, 221–223, 228–230; ZECCHINI 1983, 141–166; SIVAN 2011, 90, 109–110; STICKLER 2002, 40–44, 56–61; PAWLAK 2005; WIJNENDAELE 2015, 68–70, 72, 84, 97; WIJNENDAELE 2017.

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Chron. min. II p. 22, 77 *Ravenna tumultu occiditur militari, apud Ravennam occiditur* cf. Chron. min. I p. 473, Ioann. Ant. Frag. 201. Already Seeck and several other scholars connected his person to enigmatic data of Marcellinus Comes and Jordanes who mention concerning the year 427 AD Pannonia was re-occupied by the Romans after fifty years of Hun rule⁵³:

Marcellinus Comes Chron. Min. II p. 76 *Pannoniae, quae per quinquaginta annos ab Hunnis retinebantur, a Romanis receptae sunt.*

Jordanes Getica XXXII.166 *Nam duodecimo anno regni Valiae, quando et Hunni post pene quinquaginta annorum invasam Pannoniam a Romanis et Gothis expulsi sunt ...*

As few successes of Rome against the Huns are attested already de Rossi connected Constantius' epitaph to Marcellinus' data.⁵⁴ The exact interpretation, the common source of Marcellinus Comes' and Jordanes' passages⁵⁵ have heavily been discussed among the scholars dealing with late antique history of Pannonia. After Andreas Alföldi's monograph on the fifth c. history of the province, it is generally accepted in the Hungarian research that *Romani* of Marcellinus were Eastern Roman troops.⁵⁶ According to László Várady' widely known opinion, the re-occupation of Pannonia and the Huns can be connected to the Goth–Alan–Hun people of Alatheus and Saphrac (the mythical Drei-Völker-Koalition) who would have been settled down in the province in 380 as *foederati*.⁵⁷ Latter opinion cannot be accepted as no written source (Zos. IV.32.3–4) or archaeological data confirms this hypothesis, esp. that the Hun part of the coalition would have been survived in Pannonia for fifty years.⁵⁸ The loss of Pannonia (and Illyricum) in 376 or after Hadrianople in 378 became a widely used topos in the contemporary literature (Ambrosiaster 115.49, Ambr. Comm. in Luc. X.10, Paneg. Lat. II(XII).11.4, Hier. Ep. LX.16, CXXIII.17, Comm. in Soph. CSEL 76A p. 658, Comm. in Osee I.4.3, Claud. De bello Gothico 633–634, Prud. Contra Symm. II, 696–697). Illyricum and Pannonia have not been lost before Theodosius' death in 395 or under Stilicho's regency. Based on this fact, Marcellinus' passage must be understood as a part of Pannonia, highly likely province Valeria was re-occupied. This fact also supports Alföldi's opinion that in the territory of Valeria Huns were settled down probably based on a foedus in 406 (cf. the foedus of 406: AD Priscus Frag. 11.2, Zosimus V.26, Chron. Gall. 52 Chron. min. I p. 652, Orosius VII.37.3, Marcellinus Comes Chron. min. II p. 69.3) or rather in 409 (cf. the foedus of 409: Zosimus V.50, Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. II.8.1).⁵⁹ These Barbarian elements could have been expelled in 427. It is another question whether East or West Rome defeated the Huns in 427. Illyricum dioecesis and Pannonia belonged to the prefecture Italia even in the Not. Dig. (Not. Dig. Occ. I, 40–42, 51, 83, 87, II.7, 28–32, V.136–138, VII.40, IX.17–19, XI.4, 10–11, 24–25, 39, 46–48, XII.4, 21, XXXII–XXXIV), but SE Pannonia, i.e. Pannonia secunda latest from the 430s was controlled by Constantinople. Marcellinus Comes was born in Illyricum⁶⁰ and lived in the eastern capital identified the *Romani* with East Rome in many cases but not exclusively.⁶¹ This term cannot decide the problem. On the other hand, it is a fact that the Eastern Roman troops commanded by Ardabur and Aspar who followed Galla Placidia and his son reached Aquileia on the continental (It. Ant. 270.1–272.7) and marine route SE Pannonia–Salona–Aquileia (Philost. XII.13 = Olymp. Frag. 43). In Pannonia they obviously used the Sirmium–Salona road (It. Ant.

⁵³ SEECK 1876, 70, 81; GÜLDENPENNING 1885, 263–265; SEECK 1921, 106; BURY 1923, 225–226, 240, n. 1, 272; ALFÖLDI 1926, 86–88, 94–95; LOT 1936, 302–304; SCHMIDT 1941, 261–262, Ann. 1; LEPPER 1941, 60, 72, 99; MAZZARINO 1942, 141, n. 1; STEIN 1959, 318, 322; ALTHEIM 1962, 188; NAGY 1967; OOST 1968, 212, n. 8; VÁRADY 1969, 278–299; WILKES 1972, 386; MAENCHEN-HELFEN 1973, 77–81; MÓCSY 1974, 349–350; CROKE 1977, 354, n. 25, 360–361; WOLFRAM 1979, 318; DEMOUGEOT 1979, 516, 525; ZECCHINI 1983, 50, 145–146; O'FLYNN, 1983, 79 n. 21; SCHARF 1989, 145–146; WOLFRAM 1990, 257; BÓNA 1991, 50; CROKE 1995, 77, Nr. 427.1; GUSSO 1995, 572; THOMPSON 1999, 30, 71; WIRTH 1999, 43–44; CROKE 2001, 51; STICKLER 2002, 41–42, 106–107; LOTTER 2003, 33, 51, 98; PAWLAK 2005, 133–135; GRAČANIN 2006, 43–49; STICKLER 2007, 36; HUGHES 2012, 335–337; KOVÁCS 2019, 241–243.

⁵⁴ ICUR I p. 265–266.

⁵⁵ NAGY 1967.

⁵⁶ ALFÖLDI 1926, 86–88, 94–95, esp. 94, n. 2.

⁵⁷ VÁRADY 1969, 278–299.

⁵⁸ HEATHER 1991, 310–323; KOVÁCS 2000; KOVÁCS 2016a; KOVÁCS 2019, 241–243; V. BIERBRAUER: Zur archäologischen Nach-

weisbarkeit der Alatheus–Safrax-Gruppe in Pannonien. In: Römische Legionslager in den Rhein- und Donauprovinsen. Nuclei spätantik-frühmittelalterlichen Lebens? Publ. M. Konrad, Chr. Witschel. Abhandlungen/Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse N.F. 138. München 2011, 114–140.

⁵⁹ SEECK 1876, 70, 81; GÜLDENPENNING 1885, 311; MOMMSEN 1901, 519; SEECK 1921, 115; BURY 1923, 166, 272; ALFÖLDI 1926, 86–97; SCHMIDT 1941, 262; ALFÖLDI 1942, 729; NAGY 1946, 246, 256; STEIN 1959, 322; ALTHEIM 1962, 188; MÓCSY 1962, 582; OOST 1968, 212, 233; VÁRADY 1969, 303–314; MAENCHEN-HELFEN 1973, 68, 70, 87–90; MÓCSY 1974, 349–350; DEMOUGEOT 1979, 513–520; WOZNIK 1981, 352–353; ZECCHINI 1983, 145, 163, n. 84, 208; TÓTH 1989; Régészeti kézikönyv, 51; BÓNA 1991, 48, 52, 81, 200–201; FITZ 1993, 1324, 1328; THOMPSON 1999, 71; STICKLER 2002, 89, 103–108, 120; LOTTER 2003, 16, 51; GRAČANIN 2006, 49–58; TÓTH 2009, 159–196; HUGHES 2012, 437–438.

⁶⁰ CROKE 2001, 48–77, on Pannonia: 51.

⁶¹ See Maenchen-Helfen' collection where Marcellinus dealt only with events in Western Rome: MAENCHEN-HELFEN 1973, 78.

267,13–269,7).⁶² The latter fact clearly shows the uncertain circumstances in Pannonia and the presence of the Huns in the province. Ardabur and Aspar did not follow the shorter and quicker imperial road Sirmium–Emona–Aquileia (It. Ant. 128,7–131,4 or 259,11–261,3, It. Burd. 560,7–563,8) as several troops did during the civilian wars of the 4th c. Most probably, Illyricum was ceded by Gallia Placidia to Constantinople during Valentinian's and Theodosius' daughter engagement in 424 or their marriage in 437 (Cassiodorus Variae XI.1.9, Jord. Rom. 329). It has heavily been discussed which part of Illyricum was ceded, East or West Illyricum or a part of the western one,⁶³ but Cassiodorus' passage makes clear that Rome lost at least a part of West Illyricum (... *imperium, indecenter cognoscitur imminutum*). Jordanes dated the loss of whole Illyricum to 437, i.e. to the date of the marriage: Jord. Rom. 329 *datamque pro munere soceri sui totam Illyricum celebratis nuptiis ad sua regna cum uxore secessit*. It is noteworthy that whole Illyricum, esp. Pannonia could not have been ceded as a part of Pannonia was given to Attila by Aetius (Prisc. Frag. 11.1) and there was part of Pannonia in the 440s that did not belong to the Huns (Savia or Pannonia II: cf. Prisc. Frag. 11.2). Another fact is that in Dalmatia (where from this period much more epigraphic material had survived) in the case of the dated inscriptions before 454 always the consuls appointed by Ravenna were mentioned if they were not mutually accepted (e.g. Salona IV, 201, 206, 210, 770).⁶⁴ That surely means that Dalmatia did not belong to the Eastern Empire. At the same time, Sirmium was besieged and occupied by the Huns around 441 (Prisc. Frag. 11.1, 11.2).⁶⁵ This fact clearly shows that Sirmium and Pannonia II already belonged to Constantinople as there was peace between Rome and the Huns after 434. The Byzantine rule over Sirmium remained permanent, the seat of the prefecture was transferred to Thessalonica this time (Iust. Nov. XI.1, cf. Nov. Praef., XI.2, Synec. c. XIX, ed. Burckhardt 657,7–9) and the Ostrogoths concluded a foedus with Marcianus in order to settle down in Pannonia in 456 (Jord. Get. L.264, LII.270). Based on this fact it can be supposed that SE Pannonia as it was important in strategical point of view to Constantinople was permanently occupied by Ardaburus' troops but this event cannot be connected to the campaign in 427. All these data show that western Roman troops commanded by Felix freed Pannonia in 427. The campaign was successful but the province organisation was not rebuilt (cp. as the civilian administration of Valeria was erased in the Not. Dig. (Occ. I.42).

Following Olympiodore's account, Aetius brought 60.000 Huns to Italy in order to help Johannes by Aquileia in 425 but they arrived three days after his death (Philostorgius XII.14 (= Olymp. Frag. 43.2), Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. II.8, Chron. min. I p. 470, 658, II p. 155, Socr. VII.23.8, 43.1 Prisc. Frag. 30.1).⁶⁶ The Huns returned home only as they concluded a foedus and received a huge amount of gold (Aetius called them with this promise: *cum ingenti auro pondere*: Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. II.8). Olympiodore and Prosper Tiro remark καὶ οἱ Βάρβαροι χρυσίω καταθέμενοι τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ τὰ ὄπλα, ὁμήρους τε δόντες καὶ τὰ πιστὰ λαβόντες εἰς τὰ οἰκεία ἤθη ἀπεχώρησαν, and *ad propria reversi sunt* (Philostorgius XII.14 (= Olymp. Frag. 43.2), Chron. min. I. 470). Another question where these *propria* can exactly be localised, it cannot be excluded that they already owned Eastern Pannonia too.

The Pannonian *gentes* in plural can concern other smaller Iranian people as well who were subdued by the Huns. Jordanes mentions one of them, the Sadagis/Sadagari *qui interiorem Pannoniam possidebant* (Jord. Get. LIII.272 *Sadagis*).⁶⁷ Their archeological material has also been identified in Transdanubia (cf. the use of veils with golden glitters or brooches).⁶⁸ Jordanes explicitly describes other subdued people who were settled in the territory of the former provinces Pannonia and Dacia: XLIII.226 *Igitur ab Dacia et Pannonia provinciis, in quibus tunc Hunni cum diversis subditis nationibus insidebant, egrediens Attila in Alanos movit procinctum*. Jordanes added that besides the Romans, the Goths gained victory over the Huns. The historicity of this remark must be questioned as

⁶² NAGL 1908, 34–35; NAGL 1948, col. 2233; OOST 1968, 179, 188; SALISBURY 2015, 139–140.

⁶³ GÜLDENPENNING 1885, 310–311; NAGL 1908, 33–34; STEIN 1914; SEECK 1921, 121–122; BURY 1923, 225–226; STEIN 1925, 354–358; ALFÖLDI 1926, 93; SCHMIDT 1941, 261–262, 305–306; ENSSLIN 1948, col. 2236; STEIN 1959, 285, 322; SIRAGO 1961, 248, 264–266; MÓCSY 1962, 582; OOST 1968, 185; VÁRADY 1969, 308, 331–332; WILKES 1969, 419; MAENCHEN-HELFEN 1973, 78; MÓCSY 1974, 350; DEMOUGEOT 1979, 516; WOZNIAK 1981, 351–354; ZECCHINI 1983, 93–94; *Régészeti kézikönyv*, 51; FITZ 1993, 1319, 1324; SIRAGO 1996, 68; STICKLER 2002, 42–43; LOTTER 2003, 17; GRAČANIN 2006, 54–58; McEVoy 2014, 257.

⁶⁴ BASIĆ-ZEMAN 2019, esp. 119.

⁶⁵ MIRKOVIĆ 2017, 101.

⁶⁶ MAENCHEN-HELFEN 1973, 77; ZECCHINI 1983, 138–139; BÓNA 1991, 34; THOMPSON 1999, 40; WIRTH 1999, 41–42; STICKLER 2002, 32–33. It would be tempting to connect Socr. VII.43.1 to the events of 427 but it must be dated later as Ruga died around 434 (Chron. Gall. 116 Chron. min. I p. 660).

⁶⁷ J. HARMATTA: Das Volk der Sadagaren. In: *Analecta Orientalia memoriae Alexandri Csoma de Kőrös dicata*. Hrsg.: L. Ligeti. Budapest 1942 (1948) 17–28; J. HARMATTA: Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians. Szeged 1970, 56–57, 101, 107.

⁶⁸ BÓNA 1991, 158, 162; A. KISS: Stand der Bestimmung archäologischer Denkmäler der gens alanonum in Pannonien, Gallien, Hispanien und Afrika. *ActaAntHung* 35 (1994) 167–204.

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his (or his source, Cassiodorus cf. Chron. min. II p. 156) frequently used method was to ‘smuggle’ the Goths into the text,⁶⁹ however, in the Roman army (from Italy and Illyricum) against the Huns several Goths must have served. In this point of view, a passage of Theophanes Confessor became also interesting where the historian mentions that the Goths (Ostrogoths) left Pannonia in the 19th year of Theodosius’ reign (426–427) and moved to Thrace (i.e. before the foedus of 456 with Marcianus: Jord. Get. L.264, LII.270):⁷⁰

Theophanes Conf. AM 5931 p. 94. Γότθοι δὲ Παννονίαν ἔσχον πρῶτον ἔπειτα τῷ ἰδ’ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας Θεοδοσίου τοῦ νέου ἐπιτρέποντος τὰ τῆς Θράκης χωρία ᾤκησαν καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνους νη’ ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ διέτρεψαν. Cf. Prok. Bell. Vand. III.2.39.

Based on Alföldi’s observation, it is generally accepted that this remark is based on the combination of Marcellinus’ and Jordanes’ data (or rather of their common source) and Procopius Bell. Vand. III.2.39 where the Byzantine historian did not mention any date, but the enumeration of the Goths in chronological order after 456 (Pannonia, Thracia and Italy). On the other hand, B. Croke could correctly point it that the 19th regnal year of Constantius could have 427 and 421 too (as he was elevated in 402⁷¹) and Theophanes used both dates.⁷² Croke concluded that there was an Ostrogoth incursion into Thrace. This hypothesis must be excluded as from Pannonia one cannot reach Thrace and the Huns would have not allowed such an independent action of the Goths. This fact, naturally, does not rule out the possibility that the Goths participated in the Hun attack against the Lower Danubian provinces in 422. As there is no other available data on the settlement of the Ostrogoths under the Huns’ rule⁷³ Jordanes’ remarks must be accepted. (Jord. Get. XXIII.174). According to his remark concerning the Ostrogoth Beremud who fled to the Visigoths, the Ostrogoths lived in Scythia, i. e. in the territory of the Huns in the Barbaricum.⁷⁴ The short Ostrogoth period of Pannonia (456–473 AD is well known,⁷⁵ even their archaeological material has already been identified.⁷⁶ This typical post-Hun period material cannot be dated decades earlier.⁷⁷ Based on these, among the *gentes Pannoniae* could have been Goths as well but this assumption cannot be proven. According to the epitaph, Constantius personally commanded his in at least one campaign and he was wounded (v. 4). Perhaps this remark concerns rather this campaign than a naval battle.

Turning back to the epitaph, all commanders of the Roman, esp. Felix, the *magister militum* could have attributed the victory to himself. It is sure that the news reached Constantinople too, therefore Constantius correctly called himself as he brought *terror Pannoniis gentibus*. The other campaign against the sea-going mentioned in the epitaph can also be identified in this period. It is almost sure that the enemy was the Vandals (as Seeck already pointed out⁷⁸) because no other people can be taken into account in the Western Empire in the 5th century. Another question is if Felix could have achieved victory over the Vandals. There are relevant data concerning the Vandals’ activity in the Mediterranean before the invasion of Africa in 429. Hydatius mentions in his Chronicon that Vandals looted the Balearic Islands in 425, from there the Hispanian cities Hispalis and Carthago Spartaria, moreover, they invaded Mauretania too: Hyd. Chron. 86 Chron. min. II p. 21 *Vandali Balaricas insulas depraedantur deinde: Carthagine Spartaria et Hispali eversa et Hispaniis depraedatis Mauritaniam invadunt*. We have no data on a naval campaign against the Vandals in these years⁷⁹ but it cannot be excluded that the Romans achieved a smaller victory over them. A more probable possibility is that the troops sent by Felix to Africa against Boniface in 427–428 could have found Vandal allies in Boniface’s army. Prosper Tiro remarks that both parts invoked Barbarians who earlier

⁶⁹ SCHMIDT 1941, 262 Anm. 1; MAENCHEN-HELFEN 1973, 78.

⁷⁰ ALFÖLDI 1926, 95; MAENCHEN-HELFEN 1973, 78; CROKE 1977, 360–361; SCHARF 1989, 15–146; HEATHER 1991, 262, n. 53; SCHWARZ 1992, 55, Anm. 19, 56, Anm. 21; PAWLAK 2005, 134–135.

⁷¹ SEECK 1919, 305.

⁷² CROKE 1977, 360–361.

⁷³ SCHMIDT 1941, 262; WOLFRAM 1979, 315–317; HEATHER 1991, 242.

⁷⁴ Jord. Get. XXIII.174 *Beremud ... ab Ostrogothis, qui adhuc in Scythiae terras Hunnorum oppressionibus subiacebant, ad Vesegotharum regnum migravit*.

⁷⁵ ENNSLIN 1927–1928; SCHWARZ 1992.

⁷⁶ A. KISS: Ein Versuch, die Funde und das Siedlungsgebiet der Ostgoten in Pannonien zwischen 456–471 zu bestimmen. ActaArchHung 31 (1979) 329–339; A. KISS: Archeologia degli Ostrogothi in Pannonia (456–473). In: I goti. Ed.: V. Bierbrauer. Milano 1994, 164–169 = Die Ostthrogoten in Pannonien (456–73) aus archäologischer Sicht. ZalaiMúz 6 (1996) 87–91.

⁷⁷ Naturally, it cannot be excluded that Ostrogoths groups were settled down by the Huns in Pannonia in the 440s (HEATHER 1991, 242–243) but it is a fact that the main force of the Goths arrived in Pannonia in 456. The speculations that the Goths who served in the army of Bonifatius in Africa would have been identical with Goth foederati in Pannonia must also be rejected. Pannonian foederati (if they existed) could not have been called to Africa without Felix’s permission: SCHARF 1989, 143–146; PAWLAK 2005, 134–135.

⁷⁸ SEECK 1900, col. 1102–1103.

⁷⁹ LEPPER 1941, 79, 81; COURTOIS 1955, 56; VÖSSING 2014, 27; WIJNENDAELE 2015, 76, 77.

could not use ships: Prosp. Tiro 1294 Chron. min. I p. 472 *exinde gentibus, quae uti navibus nesciebant, dum a concertantibus in auxilium vocantur, mare pervium factum est bellicue contra Bonifatium coepti in Segisvultum comitem translata est.*⁸⁰ Tiro's remark confirms the possibility that the accusation against Boniface that he would called the Vandals to Africa was well founded as it was described by later Byzantine historians (Prok. Bell. Vand. III.3.25, Jord. Get. 167, Ioann. Ant. Frag. XXXIII.196, Theoph. AM 5934 p. 94, Paul. Diac. Hist. Rom. XIII.10) and Jordanes. Boniface in 428 needed allies against Sigisvult that is why he could have called Vandals as well. The memory of this event may have been distorted in later sources into inviting the Vandals to Africa. Based on these, the troops sent by Felix in 428 probably had to fight against Vandals too (besides Goths: cf. Aug. Ep. 185.1⁸¹) and Felix could attribute any success to himself.⁸² Vandals probably did not serve on the other side as Goth and Hun allies are attested in 428 in a letter attributed to Augustine (Pseudo-Augustinus Ep. IV PL 33 (1805) col. 1095).⁸³

Summarily, we can come to the conclusion that Constantius and his wife most probably died and buried at Ravenna in the first half of the 5th century. His mother, Theodora survived and probably she erected the inscription. The *heros* as high-ranking military commander had an important role in the point of view of the military defense of West Rome. He commanded at least two military campaigns against the Vandals and the Huns in Pannonia. Based on the funerary inscription, Marcellinus Comes' data on Pannonia in 427 must be interpreted as follows: West Rome campaigned successfully against the Huns who were settled down earlier as *foederati*.

Theoretically another period must be taken into consideration during the 5th century. At the beginning of his reign, in 458 AD Emperor Maiorian successfully expelled a Vandal–Moorish incursion into Campania (Sid. Ap. Carm. V,388–440),⁸⁴ and in the same year he suppressed on Italy the revolt led by the Hun (?) Tuldila (PLRE II, Tuldila) in his Barbarian (cf. Sid. Ap. Carm. V,472–479) army recruited with the aim to recapture Gallia, Hispania and Africa (Carm. V,483–510).⁸⁵ According to Sidonius Apollinaris' account these Barbarians came from the Danube region, i.e. from Pannonia too (Carm. V,485–488): *quae nuper ab Histrio / rettulit indomitum solito truculentior agmen / quod dominis per bella caret, populoque superbo / Tuldila plectendas in proelia suggerit iras*. It must also be added that in Sidonius Apollinaris' list the Pannonii (i.e. Barbarians who lived in Pannonia) were also enumerated (Carm. V,475).⁸⁶ The commander who defeated them could have been called "horror" of the Pannonian *gentes*. On the other hand, the campaign against the Vandals in Campania was not followed by naval battles, but Ricimer in 456 under Avitus' reign defeated the Vandals in Sicily (Agrigentum) and Corsica (Hydat. 176, 177 Chron. min. II p. 29, Sid. Apoll. Carm. II,353, 367; Prisk. Frag. 31.1). Several ships of the Vandals were captured, but as far as we know there were only land battles (cf. Sidonius Apollinaris' remark: *piratam per rura vagum*).⁸⁷ These events can agree with the ones mentioned in the epitaph (v. 5–6 victory over enemy who crossed the sea, refused landing). In view of these, it cannot be excluded that one of Ricimer's close subordinates could have been called Constantius who attributed these victories to himself.

⁸⁰ For the interpretation of the passage, see Prosper Tiro, Chronicon. Laterculus regum Vandalorum et Alanorum. Ediert, übersetzt und kommentiert von Maria Becker und Jan-Markus Kötter. Kleine und Fragmentarische Historiker der Spätantike (KfHist) G 5. Paderborn 2016, 240–243 Nr. 1293; L. SCHMIDT: Bonifatius und die Übergang der Wandalen nach Afrika. Historische Vierteljahrschrift 2 (1899) 449–462; LEPPER 1941, 77–79; COURTOIS 1955, 155–157; F. M. CLOVER: Geiseric the Statesman: A Study in Vandal Foreign Policy. Diss. Chicago 1966, 20–27; VOSSING 2014, 34–37; WIJNENDAELE 2015, 74–78.

⁸¹ See also Olymp. Frag. 42 where the story of a Barbarian *foederatus* is given, but his nationality is omitted.

⁸² Theoretically, a success against the Vandals in 429–May 430 would be possible too, but this is not attested and the relevant sources clearly refute it: the siege of Hippo, Bonifatius' defeat: Bell. Vand. III.3.31, Jord. Get. XXXIII.167, Ioann. Ant. Frag. 186, Theoph. AM 5931 p. 94.

⁸³ Pseudo-Augustinus Ep. IV PL 33 (1805) col. 1095 *Africae littus, ut audio, miles attingit transmarinus, sed huius militis dux (sc. Sigisvult) a catholica veritate dissentit ... non militem timebis, non Gothum, non Hunnum*: LEPPER 1941, 43; WIJNENDAELE 2015, 82.

⁸⁴ COURTOIS 1955, 196; LOYEN 1967, 76–77; VÖSSING 2008, 60; OPPEDISANO 2013, 213–217.

⁸⁵ LOYEN 1967, 78, n. 3; OPPEDISANO 2013, 262–263.

⁸⁶ LOYEN 1967, 78–79; R. W. MATHISEN: Catalogues of Barbarians in Late Antiquity. In: Romans, Barbarians, and the Transformation of the Roman World. Cultural interaction and the creation of identity in Late Antiquity. Eds: R. W. Mathisen, D. Shanzer. Farnham–Burlington 2011, 17–32, esp. 26–27.

⁸⁷ Cf. Sid. Apoll. Carm. II,353 *proprio solus vix Marte repellit* (sc. Geiseric) *piratam per rura vagum*, 367 *Agrigentini recoluit* (sc. Geiseric) *dispendia campi*, Chron. min. II p. 29 176 *Hisdem diebus Rechimeris comitis circumventionem magna multitudo Vandalorum, quae se de Carthagine cum LX navibus ad Gallias vel ad Italiam moverat, regi Theodorico nuntiatur occisa per Avitum*. 177 *Hesychius tribunus legatus ad Theodoricum cum sacris muneribus missus ad Gallaciam venit nuntians ei id quod supra, in Corsica caesam multitudinem Vandalorum et Avitum de Italia ad Gallias Arelate successisse*: LOYEN 1967, 93; F. ANDERS: Flavius Ricimer: Macht und Ohnmacht des weströmischen Heermeisters in der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts. Frankfurt 2010, 89–92.

It would be tempting to identify him with Flavius Felix but the cognomen Constantius most probably did not belong to Felix's name. If they would be identical and Felix would have been an ancestor of the senatorial families Ruricii or Ennodii as it is supposed,⁸⁸ his famous descendants (e. g. Ruricius, bishop of Limoges or Felix, cos. 511: cf. Cass. Var. II.3.2) could help to keep his memory and the text of his epitaph. On the other hand, the identification is probably not correct but the events mentioned in the inscription agree with the ones under Felix's magisterium therefore Constantius could also have been a high-ranking military commander of the *magister militum* (during the Pannonian campaign for instance comes Illyrici⁸⁹), who was later transferred to the Italian mobile army and served under Sigisvult.

List 1

The earlier identifications of Constantius and the gentes:

Th. Mommsen: Constantius Chlorus
 de Rossi, Buecheler, Mócsy: Flavius Constans
 Seeck: Constantius, Attila's secretary
 Thompson: first half of 5th c. but the name is too common
 PLRE I, Maenchen-Helfen: unknown between 437–440
 Seeck, Schmidt, Thompson, Maenchen-Helfen: the Pannonian gentes are the Huns (and Goths: Seeck), the sea-going people are the Vandals.

List 2

The attested Constantii from 5th century (based on PLRE II)

Constantius 1 comes sacrarum largitionum (East) 399
Constantius 2 in the office of PPO Italiae
Constantius 3 vicarius (West, 418)
Constantius 4 praefectus urbis Constantinopoleos 424–425
Constantius 5 architectus
Constantius 6 Attila secretary 1: 441
Constantius 7 Attila's secretary 2: 449–450
Constantius 8 advocatus Mediolanum
Constantius 9 Constantius dux
Constantius 10 priest at Lugdunum
Constantius 11 senator 476–483
Constantius 12 vir spectabilis 494 = Constantius 15?
Constantius 13 comes Orientis 494
Constantius 14 son of Ruricius
Constantius 15 Ennodius' friend from Liguria = Constantius 12?
Constantius 17 praeses Cariae
Constantius 17 Augustus
Constantius 18 senator

Sources

425 AD Philost. XII.13=Olymp. Frag. 43 οἱ δὲ καὶ συνεπαγόμενοι σξ. Ἀρδαβυρ ανδ Ἀσπαρ Πλακιδίαν τε καὶ Οὐλεντινιανὸν καὶ τοὺς τε Παίονας καὶ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς διελάσαντες, τὰς Σάλωνας, πόλιν τῆς Δαλματίας, ἀναιρούσιν κατὰ κράτος. Cf. Socr. VII.23.1.

⁸⁸ R. W. MATHISEN: Ruricius of Limoges and Friends: A Collection of Letters from Visigothic Gaul. Liverpool 1999, 21–23; CHR. SETTIPANI : Continuité gentilice et continuité familiale dans les familles sénatoriales romaines à l'époque imperiale, mythe et réalité. Oxford 2000, 431; CHR. SETTIPANI : Continuité gentilice et continuité
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familiale dans les familles sénatoriales romaines à l'époque imperiale, mythe et réalité. Addenda I – III (juillet 2000 – octobre 2002). Oxford 2002, 11–14, 48.

⁸⁹ FITZ 1993, 1390.

427 AD Marcellinus Comes Chron. Min. II p. 76 *Pannoniae, quae per quinqueingenta annos ab Hunnis retinebantur, a Romanis receptae sunt.*

Jordanes Getica XXXII.166 *Nam duodecimo anno regni Valiae, quando et Hunni post pene quinquaginta annorum invasam Pannoniam a Romanis et Gothis expulsi sunt ...*

Theophanes Conf. AM 5931 p. 94 Γότθοι δὲ Παννονίαν ἔσχον πρῶτον ἔπειτα τῷ ἰδ' ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας Θεοδοσίου τοῦ νέου ἐπιτρέποντος τὰ τῆς Θράκης χωρία ὥκησαν καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνους νη' ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ διέτρεψαν. Cf. Proc. Bell. Vand. III.2.39.

437 AD The cession of Illyricum to East Rome: Cassiodorus Variarum XI.1.9 *Placidiam mundi opinione celebratam, aliquorum principum prosapia gloriosam purpurato filio studuisse percepimus, cuius dum remisce administrat imperium, indecenter cognoscitur imminutum. Nurus denique sibi amissione Illyrici comparavit fac-taque est coniunctio regnantis divisio dolenda provinciarum.*

Jord. Romana 329 *Post haec III anno Valentinianus imperator a Roma Constantinopolim ob suscipiendam in matrimonio Eudoxiam Theodosii principis filiam venit datamque pro munere soceri sui totam Illyricum celebratis nuptiis ad sua regna cum uxore secessit.*

The Huns' rule over Pannonia

Priscus Frag. 11.1 "Ὅτι καὶ αὐτοῖς Ἐδέκων ἦκε πρέσβις, ἀνὴρ Σκύθης μέγιστα κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργα διαπραξάμενος σὺν Ὀρέστη, ὃς τοῦ Ρωμαικοῦ γένους ὧν ὥκει τὴν πρὸς τῷ Σάτῳ ποταμῷ Παιόνων χώραν τῷ Βαρβάρῳ κατὰ τὰς Αἰτίου στρατηγῶν τῶν ἐσπερίων Ρωμαίων συνθήκας ὑπακούουσιν.

...καὶ ἀφέξονται Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν δοριάλωτον ἀρῶντες. εἶναι δὲ μῆκος μὲν αὐτῆς κατὰ τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Παιόνων ἄχρι Νοβῶν τῶν Θρακίων, τὸ δὲ βάθος πέντε ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς μὴ πρὸς τῇ ὁχθῇ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ποταμοῦ γίνεσθαι, ὥσπερ καὶ πάλαι, ἀλλ' ἐν Ναϊσσῷ, ἣν ὄριον ὡς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δηλωθεῖσαν τῆς Σκυθῶν καὶ Ρωμαίων ἐτίθετο γῆς, πέντε ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἀπέχουσαν ποταμοῦ.

11.2 ...καὶ Κωνσταντίου, ἀνδρὸς ἐκ τῆς Παιόνων χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ Ἀττήλα ταπτομένης ἀπὸ τῶν Καρπιλεόνος χρόνων, ὃς ὠμήρευσεν παρ' αὐτῷ παῖς ὧν Ἀετίου τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐσπέρᾳ στρατηγῶν ...

... ἐν ᾧ ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν ἐν τῇ Παιόνων ἐπολιορκεῖτο τὸ Σιρμίον ...μετὰ τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἀνδραποδισμόν ...

... ὁ δὲ ἀρχιτέκτων τοῦ Βαλανείου ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιρμίου αἰχμάλωτος ἄχθεῖς, ...

Iust. Nov. XI.1 *Cum enim in antiquis temporibus Sirmii praefectura fuerat constituta, ibique omne fuerat Illyrici fastigium tam in civilibus quam in episcopalibus causis, postea autem Attilanis temporibus eiusdem locis devastatis Apraemius praefectus praetorio de Sirmiana civitate in Thessalonicam profugus venerat, tunc ipsam praefecturam et sacerdotalis honor secutus est, et Thessalonicensis episcopus non sua auctoritate, sed sub umbra praefecturae meruit aliquam praeogativam.*

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Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 71, 2020