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CONSTANTIA*

Flavia Julia Constantia, Constantia for short, was the granddaughter, daughter, half-sister, and wife of Roman emperors. It will be the purpose of this paper to shed as much light on her life as the scattered references in the primary sources permit.

To the emperor Constantius I and his wife Theodora, the stepdaughter (or daughter) of the emperor Maximian, six children were born¹. These were Flavius Dalmatius, Julius Constantius, Hannibalianus, Constantia, Anastasia, and Eutropia, and something is known about the life of each of these². But if we wish to discover *when* Constantia (or any of her siblings) was born we at once encounter difficulties, since not even the relative ages of the six siblings are attested. A natural *terminus post quem*, of course, would be the year of her parents' marriage.

* Note the following abbreviations (journal sigla are those of *Année Philologique*): T.D. BARNES, *Constantine: Constantine and Eusebius*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1981.

T.D. BARNES, *Empire: The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1982.

A. DEMANDT, *Die Spätantike. Römische Geschichte von Diocletian bis Justinian*, 284-565 n.Chr. (HdA, III 6), Munich 1989.

H. FELD, *Licinius: Der Kaiser Licinius*, diss. Saarbrücken 1960.

A.H.M. JONES, *Constantine: Constantine and the Conversion of Europe*, London 1948.

D. KIENAST, *Kaisertabelle: Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie*, Darmstadt 1989.

I. KÖNIG, *Origo: Origo Constantini: Anonymus Valesianus. Teil I: Text und Kommentar*, Trier 1987.

R. MACMULLEN, *Constantine: Constantine*, New York 1969.

O. SEECK, *Geschichte: Geschichte des Untergangs der alten Welt*, Stuttgart 1921⁴ (repr. 1966).

L. VOELKL, *Konstantin: Der Kaiser Konstantin: Annalen einer Zeitenwende*, Munich 1957.

J. VOGT, *Constantin: Constantin der Grosse und sein Jahrhundert*, Munich 1960².

¹ Eutropius IX 22.1 (ed. Droysen [MGH, AA III], p. 164; ed. Santini, p. 62); Euseb.-Hieron., *Chron.*, Olymp. 267 (ed. Fotheringham, p. 307-308; ed. Helm² [GCS XLVII], p. 225-226). A similar reading is found in Prosper Tiro, *Epit. Chron.* 942 (MGH, AA IX = *Chron. Min.* I, p. 445); *Anon. Val.* 1.1 (ed. Mommsen [MGH, AA IX = *Chron. Min.* I], p. 7; ed. Moreau-Velkov, p. 1; ed. König, p. 34). Gelasius of Cyzicus (after 475), *Hist. Eccl. or Syntagma* III 7.13 (ed. Loeschke-Heinemann [GCS XXVIII], p. 147), erroneously calls Constantia the daughter of Helena.

² O. SEECK, art. *Constantia, Flavia Julia*, in *RE* IV 1 (1900), col. 958. Articles on Constantia's siblings also by Seeck in *RE* I 2 (1894), col. 2065, IV 1 (1900), col. 1043-1044, IV 2 (1901), col. 2455-2456, VI 1 (1907), col. 1519, and VII 2 (1912), col. 2352. See also A. H.M. JONES, *Constantine*, p. 24; L. VOELKL, *Konstantin*, p. 17; *PLRE* I, p. 58, 221, 226, 240-241, 316, and 407; T.D. BARNES, *Constantine*, p. 251; id., *Empire*, p. 37; I. KÖNIG, *Origo*, p. 63.

Unfortunately that is not without its attendant difficulties either. On March 1, 293, Constantius was appointed to the rank of Caesar.³ Several ancient sources record that *on this occasion* Constantius was required to separate from Helena, who had born him Constantine, and to marry Theodora, the stepdaughter (or daughter) of Maximian. In Eutropius⁴ we can read:

Diocletianus Maximianum Herculium ex Caesare fecit Augustum, Constantium et Maximianum Caesares ... Atque ut eos etiam adfinitate coniungeret, Constantius privignam Herculi Theodoram accepit ... Galerius filiam Diocletiani Valeriam, ambo uxores quas habuerant repudiare compulsi.

Jerome⁵, apparently following Eutropius, reports:

Constantius et Galerius Maximianus Caesares adsumuntur in regnum ... atque, ut eos Diocletianus etiam adfinitate coniungeret, Constantius privignam Herculi Theodoram accepit ... Galerius filiam Diocletiani Valeriam, ambo uxores quas habuerant repudiare compulsi.

Aurelius Victor⁶ makes an interesting comparison:

Prior [Constantius] Herculi privignam, alter [Galerius] Diocletiano editam sortiuntur diremptis prioribus coniugiis, ut in Nerone Tiberio ac Iulia filia Augustus quondam fecerat.

Yet another source, the so-called *Anonymus Valesianus*, or *Excerpta Valesiana*, or *Origo Constantini*⁷, has this to say:

Iste [Constantius] cum Galerio a Diocletiano Caesar factus est. Relicta enim Helena priore uxore, filiam Maximiani Theodoram duxit uxorem.

On the other hand a panegyric addressed to Maximian offers this passage⁸:

Tu quidem certe, imperator, tantum esse in concordia bonum statuis ut etiam eos qui circa te potissimo funguntur officio necessitudine tibi et

³ O. SIECK in *RE IV* 1 (1900), col. 1041; ID., *Geschichte* I, p. 31; Jean MOREAU, art. *Constantius I, Constantinus II, Constantius II, Constans*, in *JbAC* 2 (1959), p. 158-184, at p. 158; *PLRE* I, p. 228; T.D. BARNES, *Empire*, p. 4; S. WILLIAMS, *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery*, New York 1985, p. 64; D. KIENAST, *Kaisertabelle*, p. 276.

⁴ *Loc. cit.* (supra n. 1).

⁵ *Loc. cit.* (supra n. 1).

⁶ *Caes.* 39.25. *Epit.* 39.2 is less specific.

⁷ *Anon. Val.* 1.1 (supra n. 1).

⁸ *Pan. Lat.* X 11.4 (edd. Baehrens, Mynors) or II 11.4 (ed. Galletier).

affinitate devinxeris, id pulcherrimum arbitratu adhaerere lateri tuo non timoris obsequia, sed vota pietatis.

This panegyric can be dated to April 21, 289⁹; and numerous scholars have interpreted it as a reference to Constantius and have assumed that he was married to Theodora already by that date¹⁰, while a few have rejected this interpretation¹¹. The latter are, I believe, correct. The passage in the panegyric admits another interpretation¹². The testimony of the other sources cited is straightforward and not rendered invalid by Jerome's evident use of Eutropius. The *etiam* in Eutropius strongly suggests that Constantius' marriage to Theodora was a precondition of his appointment to the rank of Caesar at this time and not of some earlier preferment. And would we not expect to read, in Eutropius and Jerome, *acceperat* rather than *accepit* and, in the *Anonymus Valesianus*, *duxerat* rather than *duxit* if that marriage had taken place several years earlier? Furthermore, an alternate date for Galerius' marriage to Valeria will also have to be found if 293 is abandoned as the date of Constantius' marriage to Theodora. I am satisfied, therefore, that the marriage took place in 293 and not several years earlier and that 293 constitutes a *terminus post quem* for the birth of Constantia.

There is no direct evidence for Constantia's place of birth. But a good case can be made for Trier, since this city served as Constantius' principal residence during the years 293-306¹³. Constantius was, of course,

⁹ *Pan. Lat.*, ed. Galletier, vol. I, p. 7-9 and 21.

¹⁰ O. SIECK in *RE IV* 1 (1900), col. 1041; ID., *Geschichte* I, p. 29; Jean MOREAU, *loc. cit.* (supra n. 3); J. VOGT, *Constantin*, p. 102 and 141; H.-H. LAUER, *Kaiserin Helena: Leben und Legenden*, Munich 1967, p. 15 (erroneously referring to Theodora as the stepdaughter of Diocletian); I. KÖNIG, *Die Berufung des Constantius Chlorus und des Galerius zu Caesaren*, *Chiron* 4 (1974), p. 567-576, at p. 574; J. VOGT, *Helena Augusta, das Kreuz und die Juden: Fragen um die Mutter Constantins des Grossen*, *Saeculum* 27 (1976), p. 211-222, at p. 211; T.D. BARNES, *Empire*, p. 37 and 125-126; S. WILLIAMS, *op. cit.* (supra n. 3), p. 64; I. KÖNIG, *Origo*, p. 62; A. DEMANDT, *Spätantike*, p. 48; J.W. DRIVERS, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross*, Leiden 1992, p. 19.

¹¹ J. MAURICE, *Sainte Hélène*, Paris 1930, p. 6; *PLRE* I, p. 228. To F. KOLB, *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie*, Berlin 1987, p. 68 n. 181 and p. 70, Constantius' marriage at the earlier time is only a possibility.

¹² *PLRE* I, p. 407-408, suggests that it may refer to the marriage of Maximian to Eutropia, the future mother of Maxentius and Fausta.

¹³ H.-H. LAUER, *op. cit.* (supra n. 10), p. 16; Edith Mary WIGHTMAN, *Roman Trier and the Treveri*, London 1970, p. 58-59; T.D. BARNES, *Empire*, p. 60-61; H. HEINEN, in *Trier: Kaiserresidenz und Bischofssitz* (exhibition catalog), Mainz 1984, p. 19; ID., *Trier und das Trevererland in römischer Zeit* (Trier, 1), Trier 1985, p. 220; Edith Mary WIGHTMAN, *Gallia Belgica*, Berkeley 1985, p. 234-235; A. DEMANDT, *Spätantike*, p. 49.

frequently absent from Trier on military campaigns, but I cannot imagine that Theodora accompanied him, especially while she was pregnant. One of his campaigns, in 296, took Constantius to Britain, but this would not justify the suggestion that Constantia was born in Britain¹⁴. It is likely that Constantia spent her childhood years in Trier, at least while her father was alive. When Constantine established his residence at Trier he may have deemed it expedient to assign some other residence to his half-sister, as he is known to have done to two of his half-brothers¹⁵.

Late in 311 or early in 312 — after the death of Galerius but before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge — Constantia was betrothed by her half-brother Constantine to his fellow emperor Licinius¹⁶. If I am right about the date of her parents' marriage, Constantia was then eighteen years old at most, while Licinius was more than twice her age¹⁷. The political nature of this match is apparent. Constantine, it appears, needed a free hand against Maxentius, and Licinius needed a free hand against Maximinus Daia. On October 28 of 312 Constantine defeated Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge. A few months later, probably in February of 313, he met with Licinius at Milan¹⁸. And on this occasion, too, the marriage of Constantia to Licinius took place¹⁹.

¹⁴ H. COHEN, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain*, Paris 1880-1892 (repr. 1955), VII, p. 211.

¹⁵ Libanius, *Or.* 14.29-30; Ausonius, *Prof. Burd.* 17.8-11; O. SEECK in *RE* IV 1 (1900), col. 1044 and IV 2 (1901), col. 2455; *PLRE* I, p. 226; T.D. BARNES, *Constantine*, p. 251.

¹⁶ Lactantius, *Mort. Persec.* 43.2 (Migne, *PL* VII, col. 259; ed. Brandt-Laubmann [CSEL XXVII 2], p. 222; ed. Moreau [SC XXXIX] I, p. 125; ed. Creed [Oxford 1984], p. 62); Zosimus II 17.2. See O. SEECK in *RE* IV 1 (1900), col. 958; id., *Geschichte* I, p. 118; A.H.M. JONES, *Constantine*, p. 70 and 76; J. VOGT, *Constantin*, p. 157; H. FELD, *Licinius*, p. 85; R. MACMULLEN, *Constantine*, p. 64; T.D. BARNES, *Constantine*, p. 41 and 62; A. DEMANDT, *Spätantike*, p. 66.

¹⁷ Perhaps Constantia was so young that considerations of decency allowed only a betrothal but not a marriage at this time. Of Licinius we are told by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* X 8.13, that he was ἐσχάτως ἡνίοχος, but guilty of unbridled sexual passions. O. SEECK, art. *Licinius*, in *RE* XIII 1 (1926), col. 222-231, at col. 222, therefore holds that Licinius was born no later than 250. H. FELD, *Licinius*, p. 62, also opts for 250 or slightly later. But Aurelius Victor, *Epit.* 41.8, reports that Licinius was approximately sixty years old at the time of his death. This seems more reliable to me than Eusebius' tendentious remark, and I hold, with *PLRE* I, p. 509, and T.D. BARNES, *Empire*, p. 43, that Licinius was born ca. 265.

¹⁸ For the date of this important conference see especially S. CALDERONE, *Costantino e il cattolicesimo*, Florence 1962, p. 158-159. By April Licinius was already fighting Maximinus Daia in the Balkans.

¹⁹ The event is well attested by the primary sources. These are listed by O. SEECK in *RE* IV 1 (1900), col. 958, in *PLRE* I, p. 221 and 509, and by T.D. BARNES, *Empire*, p. 44 and 81.

In 312, 313, and 315 the two Augusti jointly held the consulship, each for the second, third, and fourth time respectively²⁰. In spite of this and in spite of Constantia's marriage to Licinius, the relationship between Constantine and Licinius was a strained one and at one point led to open hostilities. A battle was fought between the two Augusti on October 8, in 314 or 316, at Cibalae in Pannonia, and Constantine emerged victorious²¹. Licinius was required to cede most of his European territories to Constantine but retained his position as Augustus. Of Constantia's role in these events we know only that she was at her husband's side²². Her marriage to Licinius and the rivalries and jealousies between the latter and her half-brother must have put her in a most uncomfortable situation.

²⁰ In 312 Maxentius also claimed the consulship until his defeat and death on October 28. In 313 Licinius claimed the consulship only after the elimination of Maximinus Daia: O. SEECK, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n.Chr.*, Stuttgart 1919 (repr. 1964), p. 159-160 and 163; A. DEGRASSI, *I fasti consolari dell'Impero Romano dal 50 avanti Cristo al 613 dopo Cristo*, Rome 1952, p. 78; L. VOELKL, *Constantin*, p. 40, 53, and 65; T.D. BARNES, *Empire*, p. 95; R.S. BAGNALL et al., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*, Atlanta 1987, p. 158-161 and 164-165.

²¹ *Anon. Val.* 5.16-17 (ed. Mommsen [MGH, AA IX = *Chron. Min.* I], p. 8-9; ed. Moreau-Velkov, p. 5; ed. König, p. 40-42); *Cons. Const.* ad annum 314 (MGH, AA IX = *Chron. Min.* I, p. 231).

The conventional date of this battle is October 8, 314: O. SEECK, *Regesten* (supra n. 20), p. 163; id., art. *Licinius*, in *RE* XIII 1 (1926), col. 222-231, at col. 225; L. VOELKL, *Constantin*, p. 64-65; E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire I* (French ed. by J.-R. Palanque), Paris-Bruges 1959 (repr. 1968), p. 95. The date of 316 is found in some of the more recent scholarship: P.M. BRUUN, *The Constantinian Coinage of Arelate*, Helsinki 1953, p. 17-21; Chr. HABICHT, *Zur Geschichte des Kaisers Konstantin*, *Hermes* 86 (1958), p. 360-378, at p. 360-370; J. VOGT, *Constantin*, p. 172; P.M. BRUUN, *Studies in Constantinian Chronology*, New York 1961, p. 10-22; A. CHASTAGNOL, review of Bruun's *Studies*, in *RN*, 6th ser., 4 (1962), p. 323-333, at p. 326-330; P.M. BRUUN, in *RJC* VII (1966), p. 66 n. 1 and p. 76; T.D. BARNES, *Lactantius and Constantine*, in *JRS* 63 (1973), p. 29-46, at p. 36-38; id., *Constantine*, p. 14 and 67; id., *Empire*, p. 73 and 82. The conventional date of 314 is preferred, however, by others: H. FELD, *Licinius*, p. 95-100; Maria R. ALFÖLDI, *Die Niederemmer 'Kaiserfibel': zum Datum des ersten Krieges zwischen Konstantin und Licinius*, *BJ* 176 (1976), p. 183-200; I. KÖNIG, *Origo*, p. 119-123; D. KIENAST, *Das bellum Cibalense und die Morde des Licinius*, in M. WISSEMAN (ed.), *Roma renascens. Beiträge zur Spätantike und Rezeptionsgeschichte* (Festschrift Ilona Opelt), Frankfurt 1988, p. 149-171; id., *Kaiser-tabelle*, p. 290 and 295.

The question is too complex to be decided in the present context.

²² The *Anon. Val.* 5.16-17 reports that after the battle Licinius conveyed his wife, his son, and his treasury to safety. The son referred to would have to be the illegitimate son, not Constantia's son, if the battle took place in 314. On Licinius' two sons see following note.

We may, I think, safely deduce that, in about July of 315, Constantia bore to Licinius a son named Valerius Licinianus Licinius²³. Our sources do not report his birth as such, only that on March 1, 317, at Serdica, at the tender age of twenty months, he was appointed Caesar, together with Constantine's sons Crispus and Constantine II²⁴. In 319 he held the consulship together with Constantine and in 321 together with his father²⁵.

It is not recorded when, where, or how Constantia was converted to Christianity. One may reasonably assume that at the time of her marriage to Licinius she was well familiar with, and perhaps in some way committed to, Christianity²⁶. While she resided with Licinius at Nicomedia considerable influence is known to have been wielded at the court by Eusebius, formerly bishop of Berytus, but bishop of Nicomedia

²³ That Constantia did not give birth to a son of her own but adopted the son who was born to Licinius by a slave woman and later was harshly dealt with by Constantine is a theory advanced by O. SEECK, *Die Verwandtenmorde Constantins des Grossen*, *ZWTh* 33 (1890), p. 63-77, at p. 73-76, and art. *Valerius Licinianus Licinius*, in *RE* XIII I (1926), col. 231. While this theory was once accepted by numerous scholars, including J. VOGT, *Constantin*, p. 168 and 188, it is now generally and rightly ignored or rejected, as, e.g., by I. KÖNIG, *Origo*, p. 124-126; A. DEMANDT, *Spätantike*, p. 70 and 75 with n. 70, and D. KIENAST, *Kaisertabelle*, p. 292. The most decisive contribution to the discussion was made by A. CHASTAGNOL, *Propos sur Licinius le Jeune*, *BSFN* 27 (1972), p. 264-267.

²⁴ Aurelius Victor, *Epit.* 41.4; Zosimus II 20.2. For other sources see O. SEECK, *Regesten* (supra n. 20), p. 165, and *PLRE* I, p. 510. The *Chronicon Paschale*, ad annum 317 (ed. Dindorf, p. 523.8-10; *MGH*, AA IX = *Chron. Min.* I, p. 232), is obviously in error; it lists the three Caesars as Constans, Constantius, and Crispus, but Constans and Constantine had not even been born yet. Among modern authors L. VOELKL, *Constantin*, p. 80, transfers the appointment to March 1, 316, and to Trier; I know of no justification for this departure from the sources.

Pertinent inscriptions are: *CIL* III 5206; *CIL* V 8015b = *ILS* 714; *CIL* IX 5434 = *ILS* 712; *CIL* IX 5955 = *ILS* 713; and *Ephem. Epigr.* V 1095 = *ILS* 680.

²⁵ The consulship in 319 appears to have been by reciprocal agreement between the two ruling Augusti; for in 318 the consulship had been held by Licinius and Constantine's son Crispus. In 321 the two Licinii were recognized in the East only; in the West Constantine had appointed his sons Crispus and Constantine II: O. SEECK, *Regesten* (supra n. 20), p. 166-167 and 170; A. DEGRASSI, *op. cit.* (supra n. 20), p. 79; L. VOELKL, *Constantin*, p. 90, 95, and 112; T.D. BARNES, *Empire*, p. 95; R.S. BAGNALL, *op. cit.* (supra n. 20), p. 170-173 and 176-177.

²⁶ J. VOGT, *Heiden und Christen in der Familie Constantins des Grossen*, in *Eranion: Festschrift für Hildebrecht Hommel*, Tübingen 1961, p. 149-168, at p. 159-160 and 166, is inclined to think that all of Constantine's half-brothers and half-sisters were soon gained for the new faith. The same essay is available in English: *Pagans and Christians in the Family of Constantine the Great*, in A. MOMIGLIANO (ed.), *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, Oxford 1963, p. 38-55.

since ca. 317²⁷. Of significance is also that during these same years, namely in 319, Arius, the heretic presbyter of Alexandria, found a place of refuge at Nicomedia²⁸.

We also have, albeit in a very unsatisfactory text, a letter which was, at some time between 313 and 324, addressed to Constantia by the other Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea. Constantia had asked the bishop for an image of Christ, and the bishop replied, somewhat discourteously, that Christ could not be represented in pictorial form²⁹. Eusebius addressed Constantia as βασιλίσσα = *Augusta* — if we may trust our text as it has

²⁷ Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* I 6 (Migne, *PG* LXVII, col. 52; ed. Bright², p. 8); Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* I 15.9 (Migne, *PG* LXVII, col. 908; ed. Bidez-Hansen [*GCS* L], p. 34; ed. Bidez [*SC* CCCVI], p. 188). See G. BARDY, *Recherches sur Saint Lucien d'Antioche et son école*, Paris 1936, p. 189 and 298; L. VOELKL, *Constantin*, p. 89; H. FELD, *Licinius*, p. 111; J. VOGT, *Constantin*, p. 185; I. ORTIZ DE URBINA, *Histoire des Conclaves Oecuméniques I: Nicée et Constantinople*, Paris 1963, p. 44; R. MACMULLEN, *Constantine*, p. 167; É. BOULARAND, *L'hérésie d'Arius et la 'foi' de Nicée I*, Paris 1972, p. 12 and 30; T.D. BARNES, *Constantine*, p. 70; R.D. WILLIAMS, *Arius: Heresy and Tradition*, London 1987, p. 54; R.P.C. HANSON, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: The Arian Controversy 318-381*, Edinburgh 1988, p. 27-28.

²⁸ This is the conclusion of numerous scholars: O. SEECK, *Geschichte* III, p. 398-399; A.H.M. JONES, *Constantine*, p. 120-121; L. VOELKL, *Constantin*, p. 99; J. VOGT, *Constantin*, p. 193; I. ORTIZ DE URBINA, *op. cit.* (supra n. 27), p. 40-41; R. MACMULLEN, *Constantine*, p. 167; É. BOULARAND, *op. cit.* (supra n. 27) I, p. 35; M. SIMONETTI, *La crisi ariana nel IV secolo*, Rome 1975, p. 33; T.A. KOPECEK, *A History of Neoplatonism I*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1979, p. 18-19; W.H.C. FREND, *The Rise of Christianity*, Philadelphia 1984, p. 494-495; R.P.C. HANSON, *op. cit.* (supra n. 27), p. 133. That Arius actually visited Nicomedia is denied by W. TELFER, *Arius Takes Refuge in Nicomedia*, *JThS* 37 (1936), p. 60-63, and by R.D. WILLIAMS, *op. cit.* (supra n. 27), p. 54. But Eusebius' support of Arius cannot be put to question. It is not necessary in this context to consider where and when Arius wrote his *Thalia*.

²⁹ Migne, *PG* XX, col. 1545-1549; repr. in H.-J. GEISCHER, *Der byzantinische Bilderstreit*, Gütersloh 1968, p. 15-17; also in H. HENNEPHOF (ed.), *Textus Byzantini ad iconomachiam pertinentes*, Leiden 1969, p. 42-44 no. 110. See M.H. SHEPHERD, Jr., in K. WEITZMANN (ed.), *Age of Spirituality: A Symposium*, New York 1979, p. 110; W.H.C. FREND, *op. cit.* (supra n. 28), p. 502 with n. 153. Eusebius' response was quoted in 787, at the Second Council of Nicaea, where the thorny issue of iconoclasm was considered: G.D. MANSI, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* XIII, Paris 1901, p. 313; K.-J. HEFFELE-H. LECLERCQ, *Histoire des conciles* III 2, Paris 1910, p. 769; G. DUMEIGE, *Histoire des conciles oecuméniques* IV: *Nicée II*, Paris 1978, p. 26. For questions of the authorship, the date, the difficult textual history, and the theological arguments see the following: A. HARNACK, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius* II 2, Leipzig 1958², p. 127; G. FLORENSKY, *Origen, Eusebius, and the Iconoclastic Controversy*, *Church History* 19 (1950), p. 77-96 (reprinted as *The Iconoclastic Controversy in ID., Christianity and Culture* [Collected Works, II], Belmont [Mass.] 1977, p. 101-119); Sister Charles MURRAY, *Art and the Early Church*, *JThS* N.S. 28 (1977), p. 303-345, at p. 326-336; K. SCHAFERDIEK, *Zu Verfälschung und Situation der epistula ad Constantiam de imagine Christi*, *ZKG* 91 (1980), p. 177-186; St. GERO, *The True*

been reconstructed from fragments. There is no other record of Constantia's ever having attained this rank; after the death of Licinius her rank was that of *nobilissima femina*, as we shall see. Given the rivalry between Licinius and Constantine, it is inconceivable that Constantia should be an Augusta at this time, while Constantine's wife Fausta and his mother Helena did not attain that rank until 324.³⁰

Both personal religion and religious policy must eventually have become a source of friction and tension between Constantia and Licinius. Licinius had agreed to a policy of toleration towards the Christians at his meeting with Constantine in Milan in 313 and had implemented such a policy for a number of years. But he had never been converted and with the passing of time he again had recourse to repressive measures, notwithstanding the influence of Eusebius of Nicomedia.³¹ Consequently it was possible for Constantine to present his second war against Licinius as a

Image of Christ: Eusebius' Letter to Constantia Reconsidered, *JThS* n.s. 32 (1981), p. 460-470; H.-G. THÜMMEL, *Eusebios' Brief an Kaiserin Konstantia*, *Klio* 66 (1984), p. 210-222; J. PELIKAN, *Jesus through the Centuries*, New Haven 1985, p. 85-86; P.W.L. WALKER, *Holy City, Holy Places?*, Oxford 1990, p. 86; Elizabeth CLARK, *Eusebius on Women*, in H.W. ATTRIDGE-G. HATA (edd.), *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism*, Detroit 1992, p. 256-269, at p. 261.

³⁰ O. SEECK in *RE* IV 1 (1900), col. 958, L. VOELKL, *Konstantin*, p. 54, and H. FELD, *Licinius*, p. 87, all think that Constantia held the rank of Augusta but cite no evidence. K.G. HOLM, *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley 1982, p. 31 n. 90, expresses grave doubts. D. KIENAST, *Kaisertabelle*, p. 56, suggests that Licinius withheld the title of Augusta from Constantia for reasons of his own.

³¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* X 8; *Vita Const.* I 51-56 (Migne, *PG* XX, col. 965-972; ed. Winkelmann [GCS], p. 42-44); Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* II 33 (Migne, *PL* XX, col. 147; ed. Halm [CSEL I], p. 87); Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* I 3 (Migne, *PG* LXVII, col. 40; ed. Bright, p. 3-4); Orosius VII 28.18 (ed. Zangemeister [CSEL VI], p. 503). See O. SEECK, *Geschichte* I, p. 174-175; A.H.M. JONES, *Constantine*, p. 110-112; A. ALFÖLDI, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome*, Oxford 1948, p. 19, 37, and 82; E. HONIGMAN, *Patristic Studies (Studi e Testi)*, 173, Rome 1953, p. 1-27; L. VOELKL, *Konstantin*, p. 108-109; J. VOGT, *Constantinus der Grosse*, in *RAC* III (1957), col. 306-379, at col. 337; ID., *Constantin*, p. 185; H. FELD, *Licinius*, p. 108-112; Jacques MOREAU, *Die Christenverfolgung im römischen Reich*, Berlin 1961, p. 117-118; R. MACMULLEN, *Constantine, Le conflit entre Constantin et Licinius et les origines de l'Arianisme*, *ZAnt* 25 (1975), p. 247-258, at p. 252-255; T.D. BARNES, *Constantine*, p. 70-72; R. MACMULLEN, *Christianizing the Roman Empire (A.D. 100-400)*, New Haven 1984, p. 47; W.H.C. FRIED, *op. cit.* (supra n. 28), p. 483-484. H. GRÉGOIRE, *La 'conversion' de Constantin*, *RUB* 36 (1930-31), p. 231-272, esp. 258-59, and *Les persécutions dans l'empire romain*, Brussels 1964, p. 86-88, attempted to show that Licinius, not Constantine, was the champion of the Christian church. His views on this point have not found favor. The martyrdom of the famous Forty Martyrs of Sebaste took place under Licinius.

Christian crusade and to portray himself as the liberator of the oppressed Christians in the eastern provinces of the empire.³²

This second war between Constantine and Licinius took place in 324. Licinius was defeated twice, on July 3 at Adrianople and on September 18 at Chrysopolis, and soon thereafter surrendered to Constantine. Constantia interceded with her half-brother for the life of her husband, and Constantine spared Licinius' life, ordering him to live as a private citizen at Thessalonike.³³ A few months later, in the spring of 325, Constantine found it necessary, or at least saw fit, to order Licinius to be executed. Whether or not he was justified in so doing is not to be decided here. Not only Zosimus, who is consistently hostile to Constantine, but also Eutropius and, following Eutropius, Jerome, who are both more impartial observers, report that Constantine in so doing violated an oath which he had sworn to Constantia.³⁴

The younger Licinius reportedly survived his father's death, at least initially.³⁵ But eventually he also fell victim to Constantine's wrath or suspicions. Eutropius³⁶ does not assign his death to a specific year, but

³² Eusebius, *Vita Const.* II 1-3 and 24-42 (Migne, *PG* XX, col. 977-981 and 1001-1020; ed. Winkelmann [GCS], p. 47-49 and 58-66). See N.H. BAYNES, *Constantine the Great and the Christian Church* (Raleigh Lecture, British Academy 1929), London 1932), p. 14-16; A.H.M. JONES, *Constantine*, p. 112-113; J. VOGT, *Constantin*, p. 190; H. FELD, *Licinius*, p. 112.

³³ Aurelius Victor, *Epit.* 41.7; *Anon. Val.* 5.28 (ed. Mommsen [MGH, AA IX = *Chron. Min.* I], p. 10; ed. Moreau-Velkov, p. 8; ed. König, p. 46); Zosimus II 28.2. See O. SEECK, *Geschichte* I, p. 181-182; A.H.M. JONES, *Constantine*, p. 115; L. VOELKL, *Konstantin*, p. 132 (with some embellishment); J. VOGT, *Constantin*, p. 188; R. MACMULLEN, *Constantine*, p. 138; A. DIEMANDT, *Spätantike*, p. 70.

Zonaras, a Byzantine writer of the 12th century, *Ann.* 13.1 (Migne, *PG* CXXXIV, col. 1101-1102; ed. L. Dindorf [Leipzig 1868-75] III, p. 174), has Constantia pleading with Constantine first for Licinius' imperium, unsuccessfully, and then for his life, successfully. This is apparently accepted by SEECK and VOELKL (*loc. cit.* this note), but rightly rejected by I. KÖNIG, *Origo*, p. 163.

³⁴ Zosimus II 28.2: μετ' οὐ πολὺ τοὺς ὀρκούς πατήσους (ἦν γὰρ τοῦτο αὐτῷ σὺνθηθεῖς); Eutropius X 6.1 (ed. Droysen [MGH, AA II], p. 172-174; ed. Santini, p. 66-67); *contra religionem sacramenti*; Euseb.-Hieron., *Chron.*, Olymp. 275 (ed. Fotheringham, p. 313; ed. Helm² [GCS XLVII], p. 231); *contra ius sacramenti*.

³⁵ *Anon. Val.* 5.29 (ed. Mommsen [MGH, AA IX = *Chron. Min.* I], p. 10; ed. Moreau-Velkov, p. 8; ed. König, p. 48); *qui [Licinius] regnavit annos XIX filio et uxore superstite*. This seems more reliable than the garbled account of Polemius Silvius (5th century), who states that father and son were killed together at Thessalonike (MGH, AA IX = *Chron. Min.* I, p. 522 no. 62).

³⁶ X 6.3 (ed. Droysen [MGH, AA II], p. 174; ed. Santini, p. 67): *Primum necessitudines persecutus egregium virum filium et sororis filium commodae indolis iuvenem interfecit, mox uxorem, post numeros amicos*.

certainly implies that it occurred at about the same time as the death of Crispus and before the death of Fausta., i. e. in 326. Orosius³⁷ does not provide a date either; he, too, mentions the death of Crispus and that of the younger Licinius together. Jerome³⁸ only creates confusion when he erroneously assigns the death of both young princes to the year 325 and that of Fausta to 328. The *Chronica Gallica Anni DXI*³⁹ also reports the death of the younger Licinius and that of Crispus in the same entry, and in that order. Taken together, these reports leave little doubt that the younger Licinius met his death in 326⁴⁰.

The loss of her husband and even more so the loss of her son must have been a severe blow to Constantia. One wonders how Constantine justified the killing of an innocent young boy and how Constantia could fail to reproach him bitterly. Nevertheless Constantia occupied a position of honor and influence at Constantine's court⁴¹. An inscription found at Rome refers to her as the sister of Constantine and the aunt of the (two) Caesars, but omits reference to either of the Licinii, and thus must be dated after 324⁴². Theodoret reports expressly that "Constantine deemed her [Constantia] worthy of every kind of care and did not allow

³⁷ VII 28.26 (ed. Zangemeister [CSEL VI], p. 504): *Nam Crispum filium suum et Licinium, sororis filium, interfecit*.

³⁸ Euseb.-Hieron., *Chron.*, Olym. 276 XIX and XXII (ed. Fotheringham, p. 313-314; ed. Helm² [GCS XLVII], p. 231-232): *Crispus filius Constantini et Licinius iunior Constantiae Constantini sororis et Licinii filius crudelissime interfecit ... Constantinus uxorem suam Faustam interfecit*. A corresponding entry is found in Prosper Tiro, *Epit. Chron.* 1018 (MGH, AA IX = *Chron. Min.* I, p. 450).

³⁹ MGH, AA IX = *Chron. Min.* I, p. 643 no. 462.

⁴⁰ *PLRE* I, p. 510; A. CHASTAGNOL, *op. cit.* (supra n. 23), p. 265; I. KÖNIG, *Origo*, p. 167; A. DEMANDT, *Spätantike*, p. 75; and D. KIENAST, *Kaisertabelle*, p. 292, all hold that the son died in 326, and rightly so, I think. T.D. BARNES, *Constantine*, p. 214 and *Empire*, p. 45, and J.W. DRUVERS, *op. cit.* (supra n. 10), p. 55 n. 1, are mistaken, it seems to me, in thinking that the two Licinii were killed at the same time in 325.

⁴¹ L. VOELKL, *Constantin*, p. 161 and 180-181; J. VOGT, *art. cit.* (supra n. 26), p. 164; I. KÖNIG, *Origo*, p. 167.

⁴² *CIL* VI 1153 = *ILS* 711. At the beginning of the inscription at least one line has been erased, which would allow, of course, for the possibility that the name of Licinius had appeared there (so Mommsen). But the phrase *amitae dd. nn. beatissimorum C[ae]ss[ar]um* limits us to those years when there were two Caesars, not three, and Constantia was their aunt. In the years 317-324 there were three Caesars, namely the younger Licinius, Crispus, and Constantine II, and Constantia was the aunt of the latter two, but the mother of the former. In the years 324-326 there were again three Caesars, namely Crispus, Constantine II, and Constantius II, and Constantia was the aunt of all three. Only in the years 326-333, after the death of Crispus and before the appointment of Constans, would the formula be correct.

her to experience the trials of widowhood"⁴³. Rufinus says, somewhat differently, that, after the death of Helena, Constantia received Constantine's loving attention⁴⁴. Both authors add that Constantine was at Constantia's side when she died. Also a Greek *Vita Constantini*, which was written in the 10th century but draws upon earlier historical sources, including Philostorgius, tells us that, after the death of Licinius, Constantine τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀναλαβὼν διὰ τῆς περποῦσης ἤγε τμηῆς⁴⁵. In an interesting parallel Constantine seems to have held his mother-in-law Eutropia in high regard, calling her his ὁσιωτάτη κηδέστριά⁴⁶, although he was responsible, in one way or another, for the deaths of

⁴³ *Hist. Eccl.* II 2 in Migne, *PG* LXXXII, col. 993; II 3.2 in ed. Parmentier-Scheidweiler [GCS XLIV], p. 96.

⁴⁴ *Hist. Eccl.* I 11 in Migne, *PL* XXI, col. 482-483; X 12 in ed. Mommsen (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, ed. Schwartz [GCS IX]), p. 976.

⁴⁵ *BHG* ³, p. 365; Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, *Codex Angelicus gr.* 22;

Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccl.*, ed. Bidez-Winkelmann (GCS XXI), p. 178-183, at p. 182. See H.-G. OPITZ, *Die Vita Constantini des codex Angelicus* 22, *Byzantion* 9 (1934), p. 535-593, at p. 557; H.-G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Byzantinisches Handbuch, II 1 - Hda, XII 2.1), Munich 1959, p. 566; F. WINKELMANN, *Das hagiographische Bild Konstantins I. in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit*, in V. VAVRINEK (ed.), *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte im 9.-11. Jahrhundert*, Prague 1978, p. 179-203, at p. 182; A.P. KAZHDAN, *Constantin imaginaire*, *Byzantion* 57 (1987), p. 196-250, at p. 201-202.

⁴⁶ Eutropia, like Helena, traveled to the Holy Land. She reported to Constantine that the holy site of Mamre (*Genesis* 18) was polluted by pagan rites. Constantine at once ordered the site to be purified and a church to be erected there: Eusebius, *Vita Const.* III 51-53, esp. 52 (Migne, *PG* XX, col. 1112-1117; ed. Winkelmann [GCS], p. 105-107); Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* II 4.6-7 (Migne, *PG* LXVII, col. 944-945; ed. Bidez-Hansen [GCS L], p. 55-56; ed. Bidez [SC CCCVII], p. 248); Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* I 18 (Migne, *PG* LXVII, col. 124; ed. Bright², p. 38), without saying from whom Constantine received the report. See J.W. CROWFOOT, *Early Churches in Palestine*, London 1941 (repr. 1971), p. 35-36 (erroneously substituting Helena for Eutropia); B. KÖRTING, *Peregrinatio Religiosa: Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen der alten Kirche*, Münster 1950, p. 91 and 107-108; E. MADER, *Mambre: Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen im heiligen Bezirk Ramet el Halil in Südpalästina*, 1926-1928, Freiburg i. Br. 1957, I, p. 298-304; L. VOELKL, *Constantin*, p. 160-161 and ill. 60; M. AVI-YONAH, *Gazetteer of Roman Palestine*, Jerusalem 1976, p. 99-100, s.v. 'Terebinth'; E.D. HUNT, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire AD 312-460*, Oxford 1982, p. 15 and 34; G. STEMBERGER, *Juden und Christen im Heiligen Land: Palestina unter Konstantin und Theodosius*, Munich 1987, p. 61; R. LANE FOX, *Pagans and Christians*, New York 1987, p. 674. The exact time of Eutropia's visit is, unfortunately, not known; *PLRE* I, p. 316 dates it to 325, but VOELKL (*loc. cit.*) to 327. See the discussion in P.W.L. WALKER, *op. cit.* (supra n. 29), p. 276 n. 141, and in J.W. DRUVERS, *op. cit.* (supra n. 10), p. 71 n. 72.

The church erected on Constantine's orders was completed by 333, when the Pilgrim of Bordeaux saw it: *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 599 (Migne, *PL* VIII, col. 792; ed. Geyer [CSEL XXXIX], p. 25; ed. Cuntz, p. 98; CC, *Ser. Lat.* CLXXV, p. 20).

Maximian, Maxentius, and Fausta, i.e. the lady's husband, son, and daughter respectively.

Constantia attended the Council of Nicaea, where she counseled the members of the Arian party to accept the creed formulated by the council. This is reported by Philostorgius⁴⁷, himself an Arian. But the orthodox authors, too, testify to Constantia's support for Arianism. Thus Jerome, in his letter to a certain Ctesiphon, has occasion to compile a list of Christian heretics, from Simon Magus to Priscillian. Of Arius he says that, in order to capture the world, he first beguiled the emperor's sister⁴⁸. Rufinus reports more specifically that Constantia maintained in her household a presbyter who adhered to the doctrines of Arius, that on her deathbed she recommended this presbyter to Constantine, and that Constantine, in turn, was persuaded by this presbyter to recall Arius from exile⁴⁹. Similar accounts are given by Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret⁵⁰. The story of the deathbed request cannot be fully correct, because Arius had been recalled some time before Constantia's death⁵¹. Sozomen elsewhere repeats a story (λέγουσι) that Constantia had a dream or vision, in response to which Constantine recalled the Arian bishops Eusebius (of Nicomedia) and Theognis (of Nicaea)⁵². Socrates and Philostorgius both report the recall of the bishops without mentioning any involvement of Constantia⁵³. Thus we are left in doubt about some details, but not about Constantia's pro-Arian

stance⁵⁴. Furthermore it would appear that there were other supporters of the Arian cause in Constantine's family. Basilina, the wife of Constantine's half-brother Julius Constantius and the future mother of Julian the Apostate, is specifically mentioned as such by Athanasius⁵⁵. Constantine's mother Helena is implicated as well, especially in the context of the fall of Eustathius of Antioch⁵⁶, but the case against her is less certain⁵⁷.

Constantia's death cannot be dated precisely, but we know from Rufinus⁵⁸ that she outlived Helena, although not by much. Helena's death, in turn, is best dated to 329⁵⁹, and 330 has been suggested as the year of Constantia's death⁶⁰. We do not know where she died or where she was buried, only, as we have seen, that Constantine was by her side. She died before reaching the age of forty. Her life had been one of privilege, but also of personal tragedy and religious controversy.

After her death Constantia was honored by a commemorative coin, a bronze *foliis* minted only at Constantinople between May 11, 330 (the dedication of the city) and December 25, 333 (the elevation of Constantine to the rank of Caesar). On the obverse of this coin there is a bust of Constantia, facing right; her hair is arranged in a braid around her head and adorned with some pins. The legend reads CONSTANTIA N(obilis) sima) F(emina). The reverse legend reads SOROR CONSTANTINI AVG(usti) and, in a wreath, PIETAS PVBLICA; in the exergue the mint

⁵⁴ J.H. Cardinal NEWMAN, *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, London 1871³, p. 263-264; I. ORTIZ DE URBINA, *op. cit.* (supra n. 27), p. 121-122; F. MILLAR, *The Emperor in the Roman World, 31 BC - AD 337*, Ithaca 1977, p. 599-600; R.D. WILLIAMS, *op. cit.* (supra n. 27), p. 74-75; R. LEEB, *Konstantin und Christus*, Berlin 1992, p. 163.

⁵⁵ *Hist. Arian. ad mon.* 5.1 (Migne, PG XXV, col. 700; ed. Optiz II 1, p. 185); R.P.C. HANSON, *op. cit.* (supra n. 27), p. 209. On Basilina see further *PLRE* I, p. 148.

⁵⁶ Athanasius, *Hist. Arian. ad mon.* 4.1 (Migne, PG XXV, col. 697-700; ed. Optiz II 1, p. 184-185).

⁵⁷ J.W. DRUYERS, *op. cit.* (supra n. 10), p. 38, 62 n. 34, and 71; R. LEEB, *op. cit.* (supra n. 54), p. 162: "vielleicht".

⁵⁸ *Loc. cit.* (supra n. 44).

⁵⁹ P. BRUUN, in *RIC* VII, p. 72-73 with n. 6, p. 233, and 420, presents the numismatic evidence. 329 suggests itself on other considerations as well and has been accepted by others, most notably by J. VOGT, *Constantin*, p. 249, and *art. cit.* (supra n. 26), p. 159.

⁶⁰ H. COHEN, *loc. cit.* (supra n. 14); J. MAURICE, *Numismatique constantinienne* II, Paris 1908-1912 (repr. 1965), p. 520; R. DELBRUECK, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts von Constantinus Magnus bis zum Ende des Westreichs*, Berlin 1933 (repr. 1978), p. 48 (ca. 329), 86 (ca. 330), and 171 (329). A. CHASTAGNOL, *op. cit.* (supra n. 23), p. 264, gives no reason for holding that Constantia died ca. 335. I. KÖNIG, *Origo*, p. 167, mistakenly states that we have no reliable data for Constantia after 327. A. DEMANDT, *Spätantike*, p. 88, seems to think that Constantia was still alive in 337.

⁴⁷ *Hist. Eccl.* I 9 (Migne, PG LXV, col. 465; ed. Bidez-Winkelmann [GCS XXII], p. 10-11). See É. BOULARAND, *op. cit.* (supra n. 27) II, p. 242.

⁴⁸ *Epist.* 133.4.

⁴⁹ Rufinus, *loc. cit.* (supra n. 44); Gelasius of Cyzicus, *Hist. Eccl.* III 12.2 (ed. Loeschke-Heinemann [GCS XXVIII], p. 158), gives the name of the priest, Eutokios.

⁵⁰ Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* I 25 (Migne, PG LXVII, col. 148; ed. Bright², p. 48-49); Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* II 27.2-5 (Migne, PG LXVII, col. 1009; ed. Bidez-Hansen [GCS LI], p. 88-89; ed. Bidez [SC CCCVII], p. 348-350); Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* II 2 in Migne, PG LXXXII, col. 993; II 3.1-3 in ed. Parmentier-Scheidweiler [GCS XLIV], p. 96.

⁵¹ O. SEECK in *RE* IV 1 (1900), col. 958; H.-G. OPTIZ, *Die Zeitfolge des Arianischen Streites von den Anfängen bis zum Jahre 328*, ZNTW 33 (1934), p. 131-159, at p. 155; W. SCHNEEMELCHER, *Zur Chronologie des arianischen Streites*, TLZ 79 (1954), p. 393-400, at p. 396; T.D. BARNES, *Constantine*, p. 229 and 251; W.H.C. FREND, *op. cit.* (supra n. 28), p. 502-503; T.G. ELLIOTT, *Constantine and 'the Arian Reaction after Nicaea'*, *JEH* 43 (1992), p. 169-194, at p. 180-183.

⁵² *Hist. Eccl.* III 19.3 (Migne, PG LXVII, col. 1007; ed. Bidez-Hansen [GCS LI], p. 133).

⁵³ Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* I 14 (Migne, PG LXVII, col. 110-112; ed. Bright², p. 33); Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccl.* II 7 (ed. Bidez-Winkelmann [GCS XXII], p. 18-19).

mark CONSB. The coin is very rare; there are only two known specimens, one in Paris and one in St. Petersburg⁶¹.

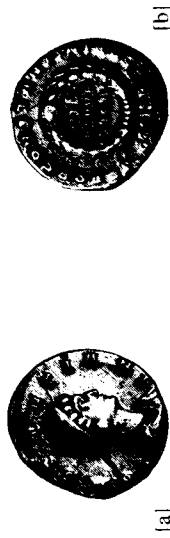
Another honor was also granted to Constantia posthumously, in 334: Maiuma, the port of Gaza in Palestine and populated mostly by Christians, was elevated to the rank of a city and renamed Constantia in honor of the deceased empress⁶². There were several other places by the name of Constantia in the Roman world, but they were not so named in honor of Constantia⁶³.

To bring this account to a close it remains to give brief mention, rather than full consideration, to some works of ancient art which, at one time or another, were believed to offer us portraits of Constantia.

⁶¹ H. COHEN, *op. cit.* (supra n. 14) VII, p. 211-212. J. MAURICE, *op. cit.* (supra n. 60) I, p. CXLIX; II, p. 519-520 no. IV and pl. XVI no. 2; E. PRIDIK, *Neuerwerbungen römischer Münzen im Münzkabinett der Ermitage*, ZN 40 (1930), p. 69-86, at p. 76 no. 12 and pl. III no. 12; R. DELBRUECK, *op. cit.* (supra n. 60), p. 48, 64, 86, and pl. 11; J. LAFAURIE, *Médailles constantiniennes*, RN 5th ser., 17 (1955), p. 227-250, at p. 233-236 with n. 19 and pl. IX no. 10 (erroneously 338); L. VOELKL, *Konstantin*, ill. 77; P. V. HULL - J.P.C. KENT - R.A.G. CARSON, *Late Roman Bronze Coinage*, AD. 324-498, London 1960 (repr. 1967), part I, no. 977; V. PICOZZI, *La monetazione imperiale romana*, Rome 1966 (repr. 1967), p. 96 (erroneously 325?); P.M. BRUUN, in *RIC* VII, p. 571 no. 15 and pl. 18 no. 15; RAÏSSA CALZA, *Iconografia romana imperiale de Carausio a Giuliano*, 287-363 d.C., Rome 1972, p. 264-265; M. WEGNER, in H.-P. L'ORANGE, *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen*: 284-361 n.Chr. (Das römische Herrscherbild, ed. Max Wegner, III.4), Berlin 1984, p. 148; I. KÖNIG, *Origo*, p. 167 (erroneously 326-327); D. VAN METER, *The Handbook of Roman Imperial Coins*, Nashua (New Hampshire) 1991, p. 286.

⁶² Euseb., *Vita Const.* IV 38 (Migne, PG XX, col. 1188; ed. Winkelmann [GCS], p. 135); Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* I 18 (Migne, PG LXVII, col. 124; ed. Bright², p. 39); Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* II 5.7-8 (Migne, PG LXVII, col. 948; ed. Bidez-Hansen [GCS L], p. 57; ed. Bidez [SC CCCVII], p. 254) and V 3.6 (Migne, PG LXVII, col. 1221; ed. Bidez-Hansen [GCS L], p. 196), somewhat differently. See A.H.M. JONES, *Constantine*, p. 180; L. VOELKL, *Konstantin*, p. 213; A.H.M. JONES, *The Holy Land from the Persian to the Arab Conquests* (536 B.C. to A.D. 640): *A Historical Geography*, Grand Rapids (Mich.) 1966, p. 150 and map 13; F.-M. ABEL, *Géographie de la Palestine* II, Paris 1967³, p. 172; R. MACMULLEN, *Constantine*, p. 190; A.H.M. JONES, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford 1971², p. 280; M. AVI-YONAH, *Gazetteer* (supra n. 46), p. 77; T.D. BARNES, *Constantine*, p. 386-387 n. 78; R. MACMULLEN, *Christianizing the Roman Empire* (supra n. 31), p. 56, 114, and 157 n. 43; I. KÖNIG, *Origo*, p. 167; F.R. TROMBLEY, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization*, c. 370-529, Leiden 1993, I, p. 188 and 192.

⁶³ The German city of Konstanz, on Lake Constance, was named Constantia after Constantius I; see M. IHM, art. *Constantia* (9), in *RE* IV 1 (1900), col. 957, and O. FIEGER, *Kleine Geschichte der Stadt Konstanz*, Konstanz 1972³, p. 15-18. Two Roman fortresses on the Danube frontier, one near Aquincum in Pannonia and the other near Margum in Moesia Superior, were both built by Constantine I and named Constantia in his own honor: see C. PATSCH, *Constantia* (6) and (7), in *RE* IV 1 (1900), col. 957, and L. VOELKL, *Konstantin*, p. 157. Salamis on Cyprus was renamed Constantia in honor of



Commemorative coin of Constantia, obverse and reverse. Photograph by courtesy of V.M. Brabich, Keeper of Roman Coins, The Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

In 1945-1946 and again in 1965-1968 archaeological excavations were conducted under the nave of the cathedral of Trier. These excavations revealed a roughly rectangular room which is now widely believed to have been part of the imperial residence of Constantinian times. The painted ceiling of this room was found in situ but in thousands of fragments. Expertly restored, the fifteen panels of this painted ceiling are now displayed in Trier's diocesan museum. Four of these panels portray ladies — imperial ladies, according to the excavator, Theodor Konrad Kempf, and others: Constantia (panel 2), the younger Helena, wife of Crispus (panel 4), the elder Helena, mother of Constantine (panel 8), and Fausta (panel 14)⁶⁴. Objections to this interpretation have been raised especially by Hugo Brandenburg⁶⁵, who understands the four female portraits as personifications of an abundant and cultivated lifestyle.

Constantius II, who had taken an interest in the rebuilding of the city after an earthquake; see the following: G. HILL, *A History of Cyprus* I, Cambridge 1940 (repr. 1949), p. 245 with n. 5; V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Salamis: Recent Discoveries in Cyprus*, London 1969, p. 190; A.H.M. JONES, *Cities* (supra n. 62), p. 372; V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Cyprus: From the Stone Age to the Romans*, London 1982, p. 189; S. RUNCIMAN, in D. HUNT (ed.), *Footprints in Cyprus*, rev. ed., London 1990, p. 139; Antoninopolis in Mesopotamia was re-founded and re-named twice, receiving the name of Maximianopolis the first time and the name of Constantia (or Constantinia), after Constantius II, the second time; see S. FRAENKEL, in *RE* I 2 (1894), col. 2571, and A.H.M. JONES, *Cities* (supra n. 62), p. 222; more cautiously F. MILLAR, *The Roman Near East, 31 BC - AD 337*, Cambridge (MA) 1993, p. 209. On the practice of giving dynastic names to cities see A.H.M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire* (supra n. 62) I, p. 719-720.

⁶⁴ Of Kempf's numerous articles on his find the most pertinent probably is his *Die konstantinischen Deckenmalereien aus dem Trierer Dom*, *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 7 (Mainz 1977), p. 147-159.

⁶⁵ Zur Deutung der Deckenbilder aus der Trierer Domgrabung, *Boreas* 8 (1985), p. 143-189.

Having had occasion to consider this complex problem more fully in another context, I think that Brandenburg, rather than Kempf, is right⁶⁶.

The cathedral of Aquileia was once the south church of a Constantinian double church. The cathedral's mosaic floor, which can be dated to ca. 325, is divided into ten compartments. One of these, the second from the west on the central west-to-east axis, contains portraits of Constantine, Helena, and three other female members of Constantine's family. (The compartment immediately adjacent to the north contains portraits of Fausta and Constantine's four sons.) These three female portraits have been identified as Constantine's three half-sisters Constantia, Anastasia, and Eutropia, or more plausibly as his daughters Constantina and Helena and his daughter-in-law Helena. There are no inscriptions, physiognomic details, or iconographic clues to guide us⁶⁷.

The Musée Dobrée in Nantes houses a copper (or bronze?) medallion which came to light in 1922 in the course of dredging operations in the Loire River. It features portrait busts of Constantine (left) and Helena (right) facing each other. The identification is assured by comparison with coin types and by a Chi-Rho monogram between and slightly above the two imperial personages. Three smaller effigies below them, badly corroded, were identified at one time as Constantia, Constantine II, and Constantius II (left to right)⁶⁸, but more recently and more convincingly as Constantine II flanked by his younger brothers Constantius II and Constans⁶⁹. The absence of Fausta and of Crispus allows us to date the medallion to 326 or later, while the presence of Helena demands a date before 330.

⁶⁶ Winfried Weber, the current director of Trier's diocesan museum, has provided a very useful summary in his *Constantinische Deckengemälde aus dem römischen Palast unter dem Trierer Dom*, Trier 1986². A more questionable interpretation is that of Erka SIMON, *Die konstantinischen Deckengemälde in Trier*, Mainz 1986.

⁶⁷ H. KÄHLER entertains both possibilities in *Die Stiftermosaiken in der konstantinischen Südkirche von Aquileia*, Cologne 1962, p. 14 and ill. 1 and 7-10, but only the latter possibility in *Die frühe Kirche: Kult und Kulturraum*, Berlin 1972, p. 52 pl. 22, and color pl. D, 1-4. Theodor KLAUSER in his review of Kähler's earlier book, *JbAC* 7 (1964), p. 158-161, at p. 160, prefers the latter. Another reviewer, Andrea CARANDINI, *ArchClass* 14 (1962), p. 310-313, rejects Kähler's entire interpretation, and several others have raised objections as well.

⁶⁸ J. LAFAURIE, *art. cit.* (supra n. 61), p. 227-250 with pls. IX-XI; id., *Un médaillon conservé au Musée Thomas Dobrée à Nantes*, BSAF 1956, p. 20-21 and pl. I; J. VOGT, *art. cit.* (supra n. 26), p. 163-164.

⁶⁹ Raissa CALZA, *op. cit.* (supra n. 61), p. 175 no. 87, 238-240 no. 151, 295 no. 205; pls. LVIII no. 181 and LXXXIII no. 293, H.-P. L'ORANGE, *op. cit.* (supra n. 61), p. 123, 132-133, and pl. 75a; M. WEGNER, in *ibid.*, p. 145 and 150.

⁷⁰ Good surveys of these are provided by Raissa CALZA, *op. cit.* (supra n. 61), p. 264-271, and by M. WEGNER, *art. cit.* (supra n. 61), p. 148-150.

Attempts to identify Constantia in several pieces of Roman portrait sculpture have yielded only very uncertain results⁷⁰ rather than a useable likeness of her.

Constantia's role in the important events of her lifetime would appear to have been a considerable one. She must be included among those imperial ladies of the Severan, Constantinian, and Theodosian dynasties who left their mark on history. She does not, however, emerge from our meager sources as a personality whose character we might more fully assess.

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