

# GENIO AUGUSTI AND GENIO CAESARIS TYPES IN THE SISCIA MINT

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*The bronze coinage of Genio Augusti and Genio Caesaris types follows the reopening of the Siscia mint after its temporary closure during the difficult historical events of years 307 and 308. These coin types reflect numerous dynastic conflicts and clashes common in the period after the conference in Carnuntum in November 308 and Galerius's death in May 311. Alongside some written sources, in the first place Lactantius and Eusebius, the best sources for these times can be found in coins, inscriptions and papyri. They reveal the background of those complicated political fights among various members of the tetrarchic collegium. This article presents the results of the*

*analysis of material found in two large tetrarchic hoards – from Trijebanj in Bosnia and Hercegovina, and Bjelovar in Croatia – in which Genio Augusti and Caesaris are abundantly presented, with 667 pieces in total. New conclusions regarding the typology, circumstances and time of minting of these two types in the Siscia mint are also brought forward.*

**Keywords:**

*nummus, Roman Imperial bronze coinage, Genio Augusti, Genio Caesaris, Trijebanj, Bjelovar, hoard, tetrarchy, Siscia, Roman mint*

## Introduction

The bronze tetrarchic coinage of *Genio Augusti* and *Genio Caesaris* types, issued by the Roman mint in Siscia in the early 4th century, approximately from 308 till 311, has long been the interest of numerous numismatists who have dedicated their works to its analysis, dating and minting circumstances.<sup>1</sup> This paper presents new knowledge of these emissions, provides new variants of types, as yet unconfirmed, which are not known in the previous literature, and discusses the issue of differentiation and dating of these two emissions in the Siscian mint. For the analysis of these two issues, two hoards of complementary composition and burial times will be used, in which the *Genio Augusti* and *Genio Caesaris* types are represented with a total of 667 specimens.

The first hoard is the one from Trijebanj in Bosnia and Herzegovina, fortuitously discovered in 1936. It consisted of about 20,000 bronze coins, of which 11,072 have been preserved.<sup>2</sup> The hoard consists mostly of nummi and some pre-reform antoniniani. The second hoard is the one from Bjelovar, discovered in 2006 during construction works, and it is preserved entirely and archaeologically documented. It also consists of 3959 nummi with a few pre-reform antoniniani.<sup>3</sup> In both hoards, the same types of nummi prevail, which makes the hoards a coherent whole, suitable for the analysis of the individual types that make up their composition. One such type, *Iovi Conservatori Augg Nn* of the Trijebanj hoard, has already been analysed and published,<sup>4</sup> and here we review the *Genio Augusti* and *Genio Caesaris* types,

<sup>1</sup> Voetter 1920, 101–110; Sutherland 1967, 450–454, 479–481; Jeločnik 1973, 67–70, 152–155; Bruun 1988, 115–140; Kos 1995, 89–96.

<sup>2</sup> In numismatic literature, the locality is usually referred to either as Trijebanj or as Stolac (Horvat 1936, 134; Petrović 1957, 173–183; Meixner 1959, 3–4; Vasić 1967, 186–193; Meixner 1969, 16–18; Meixner 1973, 34–35; Mirnik 1981, 82, no. 310; Callu 1981, 51, no. 2–4; Kunisz 1987, 63, T. 15; Duncan 1993, 61; Bendžarević 2005, 567, no. 72). This name, due to tradition, has been retained in this text as well, although the correct reference should be the locality of Crkvina (Marjanović 1988, 171). About the circumstances of the find, the history of the discovery and the fate of the hoard, see Pavlović 2013, 7–37.

<sup>3</sup> See Jakovljević 2006, 96; Pavlović 2013, 38–57 about the circumstances of the find and details of the composition of the hoard.

represented by a total of 667 specimens in Bjelovar and Trijebanj.<sup>5</sup> By the similarity of their composition, the hoards represent a complementary, analytically comparable whole. In both hoards, the most-represented types were issued in the period from 308 to 313: in the time of turbulent dynastic conflicts and the struggle for power after Diocletian's abdication in 305 and the collapse of the second tetrarchy with the death of Severus in the spring of AD 307.<sup>6</sup>

## Historical background

The *Genio Augusti* and *Genio Caesaris* types marked the reopening of the Siscian mint after its minting had been temporarily suspended as a result of tumultuous historical events in 307 and 308: the revolt of Maxentius in October 306,<sup>7</sup> and Severus's failed campaign in Italy at the beginning of 307 and later defeat in March or April of the same year.<sup>8</sup> The last coins minted before the closing of the mint can be dated to the spring of 307, when the last unreduced nummi weighing 1/96 Roman pound are minted with Severus as Augustus and propaganda messages against Maxentius.<sup>9</sup> After the closure, there followed a period of temporary inactivity of the Siscian mint, which was long thought to have been interrupted precisely by the appearance of the *Genio Augusti* and *Caesaris* types.<sup>10</sup> But today it is known that they were preceded by short-lived celebratory types minted in honour of Galerius (see below),<sup>11</sup> which marked the reopening of the mint and the settlement of the conflicts in the empire. Although, therefore, the *Genio Augusti* and *Caesaris* types do not represent the very beginning of the re-issuance of coinage, they can still be linked to the renewal of the work of the mint, because they were minted in the name

of the Augustus Galerius and the new Augustus Licinius, who was proclaimed Augustus at the conference in Carnuntum (11 November 308). There, under Diocletian's patronage, the then tense situation among the individual members of the tetrarchic collegium was resolved, all of whom believed (whether justified or not) that more belonged to them than had been assigned or recognized to them until then. In Carnuntum, Licinius replaced the fallen Severus and became the second Augustus, directly behind Galerius in honour, skipping, in fact, Maximinus II, who, instead of the title of *Augustus*, had to settle for that of *Caesar*. The same title was awarded to Constantine I. Maximianus Herculeus had to withdraw from the political scene again, and the usurper Maxentius was given the label of a temporary nuisance that does not deserve any greater consideration and whose elimination the new Augustus, Licinius, took upon himself. With this new distribution of power, Galerius reconciled (more or less) the tensions between the pretenders to the position of Augustus, which was left vacant after Severus's unfortunate end, and managed to preserve the tetrarchy's order for some time.<sup>12</sup>

Why 'more or less'? As is usually the case, whenever it comes to the division of power among so many interested candidates, complete agreement and satisfaction with the division cannot be achieved. Neither Constantine nor Maximinus II was satisfied with the resulting situation, and their opposition to, and defiance of, Galerius's decision would be reflected in their further decisions and following events. It would lead to new, intense turmoil and conflict among the tetrarchs. This conflict would not initially result in war, but would find its expression in subtle political skirmishes and backstage games, as evidenced by coins, inscriptions and papyri.<sup>13</sup> In them, by using certain imperial titles, the holders of power in the tetrarchic four-party system tried to show which place within it belonged to them and to express their stance with regard to their political opponents. The time of the emergence of certain titles, and their manner of use and dating, reveal certain stages of this political struggle, which ended, or rather, calmed down again, only with the death of Galerius in May 311. From the conference at Carnuntum until May 311, coins,<sup>14</sup> inscriptions<sup>15</sup> and papyri<sup>16</sup> (along with a few historical sources, primarily Lactantius, *De Mort.* 32.1–5 and Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, 8.13–14)<sup>17</sup> are our main sources for the disagreements among Galerius, Licinius, Maximinus and

4 Pavlović 2015, 69–90.

5 The *Genio Augusti* type is represented in Trijebanj by 132 specimens (51 minted for Galerius, Pavlović 2013, cat. nos. 11–61; 19 for Licinius, Pavlović 2013, cat. nos. 65–83; 51 specimens for Maximinus, Pavlović 2013, cat. nos. 3135–3185 and 11 for Constantine, Pavlović 2013, cat. nos. 5232–5242), and in Bjelovar by 530 specimens (186 specimens for Galerius, Pavlović 2013, cat. nos. 8–193; 101 specimens for Licinius, Pavlović 2013, cat. nos. 196–296; 172 specimens for Maximinus, Pavlović 2013, cat. nos. 2025–2056, 2058–2207 and 65 specimens for Constantine, Pavlović 2013, cat. nos. 2734–2760, 2762–2799). The *Genio Caesaris* type is present only in the Bjelovar hoard, with a total of 5 specimens (2 specimens minted for Galerius, Pavlović 2013, cat. nos. 194–195, 1 for Licinius, Pavlović 2013, cat. no. 297, 1 for Maximinus, Pavlović 2013, cat. no. 2057 and 1 for Constantine, Pavlović 2013, cat. no. 2761). If we combine the specimens from Trijebanj and Bjelovar, we have a total of 662 specimens of the *Genio Augusti* type and 5 specimens of the *Genio Caesaris* type.

6 Pavlović 2013, 59–73; the *tpq* of the Trijebanj hoard, according to the current state of research, was AD 321 – 324, and of the Bjelovar hoard AD 316 (Pavlović 2013, 18, 57). On Diocletian's abdication and second tetrarchy see Barnes 1981, 25; Nixon, Rodgers 1994, 188–190; Potter 2004, 340–341; Barnes 2011, 58–59; FitzGerald 2017, 114–118; Waldron 2018, 89–130; Arce 2023, 298.

7 Lact., *Mort. Pers.* 26.1; 44.4; Aur. Vict., *Caes.* 39, 47; Ps. Aur. Vict., *Epit.* 40.2; Zos., *H. N.* 2.9.2–3; Chastagnol 1962, 46–47; Barnes 1982, 12–13, 197; Cullhed 1994, 68–69; Potter 2004, 51, 346; Drost 2013; Hunsucker 2018, 83–112; Betjes, Heijnen 2018, 5–23.

8 Lact., *Mort. Pers.* 26.8 ff.; Eutrop., *Brev.* 10.2.4; Zos., *H. N.* 2.10.1; Chr. Min. 1.66–67; Sutherland 1967, 29; Barnes 1982, 65; for more details, see Pavlović 2013, 117–132.

9 Sutherland 1967, 451; Bruun 1988, 116; Kos 1995, 91.

10 Sutherland 1967, 451; Bruun 1988, 130; Kos 1995, 89–96.

11 Kos 1995, 89–96.

12 Chr. Min. 1.231; Lact., *Mort. Pers.* 29.1–2; Zos., *H. N.* 2.10; Ps. Aur. Vict., *Epit.* 39.6; Eutrop., *Brev.* 10.4; Bruun 1961, 3, n. 1; Moreau 1960, 62–71; Sutherland 1967, 14–15; Jeločnik 1973, 153; Arnaldi 1975, 119; Bruun 1979, 133; Barnes 1981, 32; Barnes 1982, 5–6; Chantraine 1982, 477–487; Demandt 1989, 64; Bleckmann 1996; Christol 1997, 219; Brandt 1998; Marccone 2000, 20; Southern 2001, 171; San Vicente 2002, 96–97; Odahl 2004, 77; Potter 2004, 349–350; Lenski 2006, 65; Cameron 2008, 92; Leadbetter 2009, 200–201; Barnes 2011, 70; Heckster 2014, 18; FitzGerald 2017, 140; Waldron 2018, 90; Kremer 2022, 201–202.

13 For information on some important inscriptions, papyri and coins, see below n. 14–16.

14 On coins see Sutherland 1967; Jeločnik 1973; Bruun 1988; Kos 1995; FitzGerald 2017.

15 On inscriptions see Corcoran 1996; Kuhoff 2001, 634–643; Stefan 2005; Stefan 2005a.

16 On papyri see Bagnall et al. 1987; Stefan 2005; Stefan 2005a.

17 For analyses of historical sources see the chapter „Historical sources“ below.

Constantine. We will examine the titles that appear on the *Genio Augusti* and *Caesaris* coin types in Siscia, primarily the title *filius Augustorum*. We will also analyze the appearance of this new title in other media (ancient sources, inscriptions, papyri, etc.) in which traces of tetrarchic political struggles and dynastic conflicts can be observed and studied, with a special emphasis on the way in which the tetrarchic ideology was transmitted through different communication forms, especially on coins.

### Tetrarchic ideology and its representation

The most obvious change Diocletian's system brought about was that there was no longer one single ruler, but collegium of co-rulers, first two, then four, whose appointment was put in the hands of the senior emperors themselves.<sup>18</sup> The system with two Augusti and two Caesares highlighted imperial hierarchies and intended succession, even though it was not an entirely new concept. What was new was the idea of a corporate rule of four men.<sup>19</sup> This new tetrarchic ideology of joint rule was transmitted through various media, among which coinage, portraiture, monuments, inscriptions and panegyrics should be highlighted.<sup>20</sup> Scientific analysis of individual media forms in the recent decades has yielded a series of new insights that have fundamentally changed the previous view of the tetrarchic ideology and the message that was sought to be conveyed by the establishment of a new system of government.<sup>21</sup> While earlier research focused on the novelty of the new political system, emphasizing the idea of creating a governing collegium of four, with equal division of power, and the concepts of harmony (*concordia*) and similarity (*similitudo*),<sup>22</sup> recent research has dealt more with the study of the ways in which the new tetrarchic order was presented, propagated and legitimized in the eyes of the public, through the formation of imperial messages in different communication media.<sup>23</sup> The result is the realization that tetrarchic iconography and the communication messages related to tetrarchic order were very often not intrinsically coherent, and that the devised and expected group identity of the college of rulers was frequently lost in complex and intricate forms of messages that confirmed and emphasized the imperial authority of individual tetrarchs. The tetrarchy created a network of adoptive and marital relationships that effectively bound the four emperors together into both a college and a family, and these new imperial relations had to be disseminated to the audience by various means. Among different media disseminating contemporary messages of this new imperial ideology (coinage, portraiture, inscriptions, local monuments, and panegyrics), coins are especially suitable for analysis, be-

cause it is safe to assume that imperial coinage was controlled by the imperial centre, and that messages on coins can therefore be seen as expressions of how the emperors wanted to present themselves,<sup>24</sup> while this cannot be said for other sources.<sup>25</sup>

### Tetrarchic coinage and minting practices

Coins were an important medium in the Roman world. This study uses coins on the notion that coinage was used by the emperor to convey messages to his subjects. When analyzing coins as a means of communication, one should take into account the concerns about the role of coins as a medium. Who is the intended audience and can the audience correctly recognize the message that the coins convey?<sup>26</sup> To what extent is coinage primarily a means of payment and to what extent it is a communication medium?<sup>27</sup> How much does the public actually pay attention to coins and notices what is reproduced on them?<sup>28</sup> Most modern scholars agree with Zanker and Hölischer's views<sup>29</sup> that coins, like other material objects, are important carriers of messages<sup>30</sup> and much more than just mere material objects. One can argue about the limitations of understanding the message they convey, and the extent to which imperial authority was involved in the selection of types and the process of minting, but it seems logical and understandable that coins were a particularly convenient, portable, commercial and easily accessible medium, of small dimensions, which the emperor could use to quickly and easily proclaim his authority or a certain decision.<sup>31</sup> Even if notion of coins as means of 'propaganda' can be criticized,<sup>32</sup> the coins are still official documents who fulfill their official role as a medium suited to disseminate particular representations of the emperor's public image. In this view the ideologies expressed on coins are not necessarily dependent on how directly involved the emperor was in the minting process. The focal point becomes the question of accessibility and utility that coins provide as a medium of propaganda, through the regulated minting process of late antiquity.<sup>33</sup>

This aspect of coins as a particularly useful source of information about imperial politics is particularly noticeable in the tetrarchic period, when monetary production was centralized after Diocletian's reforms of 294 BC<sup>34</sup> and when the centralization of mints is reflected in the types of coins, mint marks, and even in the titles and legends on the coins issued by individual mints,

18 Hekster 2000, 718.

19 Hekster *et al.* 2019, 610–611.

20 For relevant literature on each medium, see Hekster *et al.* 2019, 612, n. 6.

21 Pollini 2012, 69–115; Hekster *et al.* 2015; Hekster *et al.* 2019, 612.

22 Seston 1946; L'Orange 1965; Kolb 1987; Kolb 2004; Rees 1993; Kuhoff 2001; Kuhoff 2002; Rees 2002; Boschung, Eck (eds.) 2006; Weiser 2006, 211; Leadbetter 2009; Demandt, Goltz, Schlange-Schöningen (eds.) 2012; Hekster *et al.* 2019, 612, n. 4.

23 Hekster 2015, 277–314; FitzGerald 2017, 22–28; Hekster *et al.* 2019; Manders 2020.

24 Howgego 1995, 70; Noreña 2001, 147; Rowan 2012, 19–23; Hekster *et al.* 2019, 612.

25 On this problem see Hekster *et al.* 2019, 612.

26 Jones 1956, 13–34.

27 Levick 1982.

28 Crawford 1983, 47–64.

29 Hölischer 1987; Zanker 1987.

30 Cheung 1998; Hedlund 2008; Manders 2012.

31 Ando 2000, 221; Waldron 2018, 18. On coins as an official document under emperor's authority, see Wallace-Hadrill 1986, 67; Noreña 2001, 147; Manders 2012, 32–33; Rowan 2012, 19–23; FitzGerald 2017, 36–39; Waldron 2018, 18–19.

32 Jones 1956, 15; Levick 1982, 104–116; FitzGerald 2017, 38.

33 Odahl 2004, 13; Hekster 2000, 719–720; FitzGerald 2017, 39.

34 Sutherland 1967, 1–2.

which are now under the direct authority of certain tetrarchs. Therefore, it is now easier to determine the basic types and/or variants that deviate from them in specified emissions. At the same time, the monetary production of individual mints can help determine the geographical or chronological extent of the power of individual emperor, as different imperial ideologies and messages, indicated on the coins in the form of a title or type that a particular emperor propagates, can be clearly and easily discerned.<sup>35</sup> The practice of shared minting made sure that tetrarchic emissions bring across an idea of an imperial college of four,<sup>36</sup> but increasingly centralized control of mints following the coinage reform of 294 BC, which roughly standardized the numismatic output, especially in lower denominations, and also ensured that all mints were under imperial control, made it possible for individual rulers of specific mint to express their political views, fights and skirmishes, more or less subtly, on coins in the mints that now came under their control.<sup>37</sup>

## Historical sources

Before we move on to the analysis of the *Genio Augusti* and *Caesaris* types in the Siscia mint, we must shortly reflect on historical sources, relevant for our topic (Lactantius, *De Mort.* 32.1–5 and Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, 8.13–14). The historical sources for the later third century and the tetrarchic period are generally uneven and problematic in their coverage, and it is necessary to briefly provide an analysis of Lactantius *De Mortibus Persecutorum* (DMP) and Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica* (HE). DMP is a polemical pro-Christian pamphlet written in c. 314/5.<sup>38</sup> The text's purpose is to describe the fates of the emperors who persecuted the Christians. It is the fullest surviving account of political events from the beginning of the persecution in 303 until its end with the death of Maximinus in 313. But Lactantius himself is primarily a propagator of divine power and retribution against the persecutors of Christianity, and his history is permeated with immoderate contempt for the tetrarchs, primarily Galerius and Maximinus II, who become the main villains of his historical narrative. Although his descriptions of certain historical events, which he often approaches as if he were a direct witness to them and which abound in vivid pictures of evil tetrarchs, must be taken with a healthy dose of suspicion, Lactantius is, as a source, consistent in the chronology of the historical data itself, although he tends to bypass facts that are inconvenient for his story and to fit certain events into a narrative that he has already constructed in advance.<sup>39</sup>

Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea during the reign of Constantine, wrote works that are mostly concerned with church matters, such as his most famous work, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (HE). Similar to Lactantius, Eusebius also displays a strong bias against

the tetrarchs and his works are limited in their treatment of political and dynastic matters. He interprets the actions of emperors in a Christian manner and very often celebrates Constantine and the services he rendered for the church. As Waldron says: „Eusebius' claims about political history are still relevant, since they reveal a perception of events that existed relatively soon after the events concerned happened“<sup>40</sup> even though it is necessary to be aware that many of his claims probably reflect the Constantinian representation of history.<sup>41</sup> Taking these remarks into account, we will approach these historical sources as a mere source of information on the introduction of certain new coin types or new types of titles on coins, especially if the information provided by the historical sources can be supported by analysis of numismatic material, without following their often false and murky interpretations of why they appeared, especially when they are explained by divine intervention or when they emphasize the impiety of one tetrarch or propagate the politics of another.

## New title – *filius Augustorum* on coins

An analysis of the *Genio Augusti* and *Caesaris* types in the Siscia mint cannot be carried out without the analysis of the imperial titles appearing alongside the obverse portraiture of tetrarchs for whom these types were minted. Three types of titles appear in Siscia: IMP for the Augusti, NOB CAES for the Caesares, and the new title FIL AVG(G), also for Maximinus and Constantine.<sup>42</sup> This new title *filius Augustorum*<sup>43</sup> also appears on the obverse of coins in other mints always as FIL AVG(G) in lieu of 'Caesar' or 'Augustus'. FIL AVG and FIL AVGG appear only on coins of Constantine and Maximinus II, and, because both rejected the title, only on coins issued in their names in mints they did not control. Galerius struck FIL AVGG coins (with two G's) for both Constantine and Maximinus II at Siscia and Thessalonica. In addition, FIL AVG coins (with one G) were struck by Galerius for Constantine at Nicomedia and by Maximinus for Constantine at Antioch and Alexandria. It is not clear why some mints struck coins with one G and others with two. It could be due to the record as it survives, or it was a choice by the mints, or there was some deeper ideology to it. One solution could be that at mints controlled by

35 Rowan 2012, 4; Noreña 2001, 147; Hekster 2015, 31; FitzGerald 2017, 37; Hekster *et al.* 2019, 617–618.

36 Sutherland 1967, 88; Weiser 2006, 209; Betjes, Heijnen 2018, 6; Hekster *et al.* 2019, 618.

37 Weiser 2006, 206–209, 211; FitzGerald 2017, 37.

38 On the date see Barnes 1973, 31–39; Creed 1984, xxxiii–xxxv.

39 Kolb 1987, 131–139; Rougé 1992; Cambi 2005, 13; Waldron 2018, 13–15; Zangenberg 2018, 39–62; Cook 2019, 385–403; Corke-Webster 2022, 333–366.

40 Waldron 2018, 16.

41 Oulton 1932; Barnes 1981, 81–188; Attridge, Hata 1992; Grafton, Williams 2006; Inowlocki, Zamagni 2011; Singh 2015, 129–154; Waldron 2018, 16–17.

42 *Imperator Augustus* = 'venerable emperor', borne by the Augusti, the most important members of the collegium; *Caesar*, which is given to their younger colleagues, the two Caesares, each of whom is subordinate to an Augustus; and *filius Augustorum* = 'son of the two Augusti', a new title that Caesares get at one point, and the appearance of which deserves more detailed analysis.

43 On inscriptions new title appears in the forms *filius Augustorum*, υἱὸς αὐγουστων, υἱὸς τῶν βασιλέων and υἱὸς Αὐγουστων. The title appears in full, as *filius Augustorum* for Daza and Constantine together, and it has been found in various places, usually from the regions of the empire under Galerius' and Daza's control (Stefan 2004; Stefan 2005a, 170; Stefan 2006; FitzGerald 2017, 142). For example: AE (1979) 303 = AE (2005), 690 (Sardinia); CIL 5, no. 8081 (Italy); AE (2004) 1641a (Egypt); AE (1929) 94 = AE (1991) 1405 (Thrace); CIL 3, no. 6174 = ILS 683 & CIL 3, no. 14215, 2 (Moesia Inf.); AE (1986) 660 (Pontus & Bithynia); AE (1986) 656b (Cappadocia). Stefan (2004; 2005a) discusses these inscriptions and the title of *filius Augusti* further, including its appearance in papyri, literature, etc. (FitzGerald 2017, 142, n. 143).

Galerius (Siscia and Thessalonica), Galerius, who was the proponent of the new title, minted coins for two such rulers (for Constantine and Maximinus II), and with GG legends, designating double bearers. However, Maximinus II rejected the title and continued to strike as Caesar at his own mints so at mints he influenced there was only one FIL AVG (for Constantine). Sutherland mentions that, after Carnuntum, mints as far west as Heraclaea showed uncertainty, “sharpened by some knowledge of Maximinus’ feelings,” about just how to title everyone.<sup>44</sup> This would explain why Nicomedia, a Galerian mint, used the one-G style for Maximinus.<sup>45</sup> There were a few examples of the title incorporated into the reverse as well: for example, *Genio fil Augg* for Constantine, Antiochia, RIC 6, nos. 105, 111.<sup>46</sup>

The origin and use of the title *filius Augustorum* is interpreted in various ways. Some experts believe that it was created to replace the title *Caesar*.<sup>47</sup> Others maintain that it was only added to the ancient title *Caesar* as a decoration, without significantly changing its function.<sup>48</sup> Along with those two prevailing currents, we also have the opinion advocated by Mommsen<sup>49</sup> and later Bruun,<sup>50</sup> according to which the title *filius Augustorum* marks the transition to a higher level of imperial honour, from the rank of Caesar to the rank of ‘son(s) of the two Augusti’. It should be emphasized that both Mommsen and Bruun understand the greater significance behind the title *filius Augustorum* only as a reclassification within the tetrarchy’s circle of rulers, a mere promotion of words, which in reality did not bring any greater authority to the two Caesars. Leadbetter proposes that the title was “intended to reassure Daza of his dynastic role”; Barnes calls the title a “compromise” and Hekster suggests that it was a way of combating Constantine’s and Maxentius’ claims.<sup>51</sup> What is remarkable is that this title is new and that it was not used at any point during the third century, as FitzGerald emphasizes in her analysis of this titulature. For FitzGerald kinship remained a useful way to envision the relationships between the tetrarchs, who were after all bound to one another through ties of marriage and adoption, and this metaphorical filiation was enabled by the fact that Caesars were usually the sons of Augusti,<sup>52</sup> and served to clarify the symbolic and hierarchical relationships that joined the tetrarchs to one another. Calling Maximinus and Constantine *fili Augustorum*, therefore, acknowledged their dynastic legitimacy claims but also established their statuses within Galerius’ imperial college as Caesars, not as Augusti, reminding Constantine and Maximinus on their ‘rightful’ place in Galerius’ regime.<sup>53</sup>

How and when did this title come about? Its origin is placed in the period between the conference in Carnuntum on 11 November 308 and the autumn of 309. Some authors believe that the title *filius Augustorum* was created at the conference in Carnuntum as an addition to the existing title *Caesar*, in order to create the illusion of prestige and greater significance for Maximinus and Constantine.<sup>54</sup> Others, on the other hand, shy away from any particular dating.<sup>55</sup> More specific dates based on the analysis of coins and sources were offered by Bruun, who dates the creation of the title towards the end of 308,<sup>56</sup> and Kent in 309,<sup>57</sup> while Barnes dates the application of the title to the beginning of 309.<sup>58</sup> The most complete research on this topic was conducted by Alexandra Stefan, who, through the analysis of inscriptions, coins and papyri, arrived at an absolute chronology according to which the title *filius Augustorum* can be dated from January 309 onwards.<sup>59</sup> Her chronology is mostly followed in later works dealing with this subject.<sup>60</sup>

The title served Galerius as a means of calming the agitated passions of the two Caesars, especially Maximinus, whose dissatisfaction with the events at the conference in Carnuntum is mentioned by Lactantius.<sup>61</sup> Lactantius says that Galerius introduced the title *filius Augustorum* in order to appease Maximinus’s anger at the decisions of the conference in Carnuntum, abolishing the title of *Caesar*, titling himself and Licinius as Augusti, and Constantine and Maximinus as sons of the two

44 Sutherland 1967, 525.

45 Esty 1997, 12, 14.

46 FitzGerald 2017, 141–142, n. 140.

47 Seeck 1910, 104; Sutherland 1967, 15; Barnes 1982, 6; Bruun 1989, 7–31; Grünewald 1990, 41; Christol, Drew-Bear 1999, 54, n. 33; Stefan 2005, 330; Stefan 2005a, 170.

48 Bagnall *et al.* 1987, 152; Kolb 1987, 94–95; Chastagnol 1991, 16; Baroni 1993, 11027; Chastagnol 1994, 112.

49 Mommsen 1897, 542 = 1910, 328.

50 Bruun 1979, 257, 277–278; 1989, 8, 21.

51 Barnes 1981, 33; Leadbetter 2009, 220; Hekster 2015, 294–296.

52 Seston 1946, 216–217; Kolb 1987, 94–95; Stefan 2005a; FitzGerald 2017, *passim*; Waldron 2018, 61, 237.

53 Corcoran 2012, 12; Hekster 2015, 294; FitzGerald 2017, 143–146; Waldron 2018, 237; Carlà-Uhink 2023, 37.

54 Sydenham 1934, 159, 167; Arnaldi 1975, 235–236, n. 25; Kolb 1987, 46, n. 122; Grünewald 1990, 41–43, n. 179; Chastagnol 1991, 16; Stefan 2004, 274.

55 Seeck 1910, 102–104; Andreotti 1958–1959, 985; Vogt 1960, 149; Bagnall *et al.* 1987, 152; Demandt 1989, 64; Kuhoff 2001, 837–838.

56 Bruun 1979, 257, 277–278; Bruun 1988a, 192–193, 198; Bruun 1989, 10, 24–25.

57 Kent 1957, 28.

58 Barnes 1982, 6.

59 Stefan 2004, 278–279, *passim*; Stefan 2005a, 183–186; Stefan 2006.

60 E.g. Hekster 2015, 279; FitzGerald 2017, 143–146; Waldron 2018, 237; Hekster *et al.* 2019, 18–19; Carlà-Uhink 2023, 37.

61 Lact., *De mort.* 32.1–5: “Nuncupato igitur Licinio imperatore Maximinus iratus nec Caesarem se nec tertio loco nominari volebat. Mittit ergo ad eum [Galerium] saepe legatos, orat sibi pareat, dispositionem suam servet; cedat aetati et honorem deferat canis. At ille tollit audacius cornua et praescriptione temporis pugnat: sese priorem esse debere, qui prior sumpserit purpuram; preces eius et mandata contempsit. Dolet bestia et mugit, quod cum ideo ignobilem fecisset Caesarem, ut sibi obsequens esset, is tamen tanti beneficii sui oblitus voluntati ac precibus suis impie repugnaret. Victus contumacia tollit Caesarum nomen et se Liciniumque Augustos appellat, Maximinum et Constantinum filios Augustorum”. Lactantius’ description of the circumstances in which the new title was created must of course be taken with a certain amount of reservation. Lactantius, as a historical source (see n. 39), tends to emphasize the impiety but also the incompetence of the tetrarchs, hence this vivid description in which the powerless Galerius is harassed by the furious Maximinus, a man of humble origin, whom Galerius himself had chosen as Caesar, thinking that he would be submissive to him, and who now ungratefully raises his horns against his benefactor and demands the imperial purple. But when Lactantius’ theatrical remarks are removed, what remains is the clear fact that the younger tetrarchs were not satisfied with the Carnuntian solution and that Galerius created a new title with the aim of calming the heated situation (Barnes 1973, 42; Cambi 2005, 171; Stefan 2005a, 172, 175; Corcoran 2006, 240; Leadbetter 2009, 220; FitzGerald 2017, 42; Waldron 2018, 61; on Lactantius as historical source see Mackay 1999; Cambi 2005; Zangeberg 2018; Cook 2019; Waldron 2021; Zipp 2021; Hanaghan 2024, 48–49).

Augusti. Lactantius's statement is confirmed by Eusebius of Caesarea: after mentioning the proclamation of Constantine as Augustus, he evokes the meeting in Carnuntum at which Licinius was proclaimed emperor and Augustus, and at the end also mentions Maximinus's dissatisfaction, because until then everyone had called him only Caesar.<sup>62</sup> Lactantius's and Eusebius's claims that the title *filii Augustorum* was created is confirmed by epigraphic and numismatic sources, as well as titulature recorded on papyri. On gold coins minted in Thessalonica in 309 with the reverse legend *Consul Dd Nn*, on the obverse we have either Licinius with the title *Licinius P F Aug* or Constantine with the title *Constantinus Fil Augg* (Thessalonica, RIC 6, nos. 27–28; Sutherland 1967, 513). And on other types of coins minted in the East, in the area governed by Galerius (in Thessalonica,<sup>63</sup> Heraclea,<sup>64</sup> Nicomedia<sup>65</sup> and Cyzicus<sup>66</sup>) and Licinius's mint in Siscia,<sup>67</sup> as well as in Maximinus's mints in Antioch<sup>68</sup> and Alexandria,<sup>69</sup> coins are minted with the titles *Caesar* and *filii Augustorum* (see Tab. 1 for an overview of FIL AVG(G) titulature on coins). The reverses of the coins on which they appear bear the messages *Consul Dd Nn*, *Genio Fil Augg*, *Virtuti Exercitus*, *Virtus Exercitus*, *Genio Augusti* (only in Siscia!)<sup>70</sup> and *Genio Caesaris*. Mints in the west, under the administration of Constantine, ignore the title *filii Augustorum*.<sup>71</sup> Constantine, in his territory, had been styling himself *Augustus* since 307, not recognizing either Galerius's or Licinius's attempts to return him 'to his rightful place'.<sup>72</sup> In this fact we can discern Constantine's arbitrary 'exclusion' from these political games, evident already from the fact that Constantine in the West, in his part of the Empire, completely ignored the conclusions of the Carnuntian conference and the titles that Galerius had brought in and used in his territory.<sup>73</sup> It

was Maximinus who, ruling near Galerius's and Licinius's interest zones and politically closer to their faction, had to express his dissatisfaction in a subtler way.

Ruler	Reverse Legend	Mint	RIC no.
Constantine	GENIO AVG-VSTI	Siscia	200b
"	GENIO CAESARIS	Siscia	203
"	GENIO CAESARIS	Thessalonica	32b
"	GENIO CAESARIS	Antioch	104
"	GENIO CAESARIS	Alexandria	99b, 100b
"	GENIO CAESARIS CMH *	Nicomedia	56
"	GENIO FIL AVGG	Antioch	105, 111
"	VIRTVTI EXERCITVS	Thessalonica	39b
"	VIRTVTI EXERCITVS CMH	Nicomedia	61
"	VIRTVS EXERCITVS	Alexandria	113, 117
Maximinus II	GENIO AVG-VSTI	Siscia	200a
"	GENIO CAESARIS	Thessalonica	32a
"	VIRTVTI EXERCITVS	Thessalonica	39a

TABLE 1. FIL AVG(G) types of Constantine and Maximinus II (made by A. Pavlović).<sup>74</sup>

62 Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.* 8.13–14: „Λικίνιος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπὸ κοινῆς ψήφου τῶν κρατουμένων αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ Σεβαστὸς ἀναπέφηνεν. [15] ταῦτα Μαξιμίνου δεινῶς ἐλύπει, μόνον Καίσαρα παρὰ πάντας εἰς ἔτι τότε χρηματίζοντα;“. Lactantius and Eusebius thus jointly confirm that at the meeting at Carnuntum and Licinius' investiture, the official title granted to Maximinus was that of *Caesar*, and that the title *filii Augustorum* appeared later (Stefan 2005a, 182).

63 Sutherland 1967, 513–515; *Thessalonica*, 31a–b, 38a–b (nummi, Maximinus and Constantine, *Nob C*), 32a–b, 39a–b (nummi, Maximinus and Constantine, *Fil Augg*).

64 Sutherland 1967, 534–536; *Heraclea*, RIC 6, nos. 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 45 (nummi, only coins of Maximinus with the title *Nob Caes*; none of Constantine).

65 Sutherland 1967, 562–563; *Nicomedia*, RIC 6, nos. 55, 60 (nummi, Maximinus, *Nob Caes*), 56, 61 (nummi, Constantine, *Fil Aug*).

66 Sutherland 1967, 586–588; *Cyzicus*, RIC 6, nos. 43, 49, 52, 55, 61 (nummi, Maximinus with the title *Nob Caes*; no coin of Constantine).

67 Sutherland 1967, 477–480; *Siscia*, RIC 6, nos. 192 (aureus, Maximinus, title *Nob Caes*), 193 (aureus, Maximinus, title *Nob C*), 199, 202 (nummi, Maximinus with title *Nob Caes*), 200a (nummus, Maximinus with title *Fil Augg*), 200b, 203 (nummi, Constantine with title *Fil Augg*); see n. 112.

68 Sutherland 1967, 629–634; *Antiochia*, RIC 6, nos. 103, 109–110, 117, 118a, 120, 123–125 (nummi, Maximinus, *Nob Caes*), 104–105, 111 (nummi, Constantine, *Fil Aug*), 118b (nummus, Constantine, *Fil Aug*).

69 Sutherland 1967, 676–680; *Alexandria*, RIC 6, nos. 94, 96–97 (aureus, Maximinus, *Nob Caes*), 99a, 100a, 112, 115 (nummi, Maximinus, *Nob Caes*), 103, 1105c, 107c, 116, 119b (nummi, Maximinus, *P F Aug*), 99b, 100b, 113, 117 (nummi, Constantine, *Fil Aug*), 104, 106, 108, 118, 120 (nummi, Constantine, *P F Aug*).

70 Bruun 1988, 121, 131; FitzGerald 2017, 143

71 Stefan 2005a, 189–193; Leadbetter 2009, 219; FitzGerald 2017, 154.

72 Barnes 1982, 5; Stefan 2006; Humphries 2008, 91.

73 Ando 2000, 246–248; Stefan 2005a, 192–193; FitzGerald 2017, 254.

\* The meaning of the elided CMH at Nicomedia and Cyzicus is not known. RIC (Sutherland 1967, 561–565) sees it as numerical, but cannot make out its meaning. Crawford (1975, 588) sees no way of interpreting the mark as one of value. Hendy supposes that the C is the Latin numeral for one hundred (sestertii); the MH, assuming it to be numerical, can only be the Greek for forty-eight. If the Diocletianic nummus of about 10 g was struck at a theoretical figure of thirty-two to the pound, a coin of between 6 and 7 g (the first reduction) would be appropriate to a figure of forty-eight to the pound (Hendy 1985, 463). A similar interpretation is also given by Abdy (2012, 586–587): „CI HS (1 nummus = 100 sestertii) occurs at Lyon, A.D. 308–309; CMH (ligatured) is found at Nicomedia, A.D. 308–311, and Cyzicus, A.D. 311–312. The latter could be a fuller expression of a 100-sestertius coin (C) struck at 48 to the pound (the ligatured Greek numerals MH), a noticeably lower weight than had been the case at the time of Diocletian“.

74 The three *Genio* legends are all associated with the same design: Genius standing left holding patera and cornucopia. This is the same design as on the common *Genio Populi Romani* type. The *Virtus Exercitus* type shows a helmeted Virtus advancing right in military dress, holding transverse spear in his right hand and a trophy over his shoulder with his left. It was new with the first issue of Licinius. At Siscia and Thessalonica, obverses have FIL AVGG with two Gs. At Nicomedia, Antioch, and Alexandria, obverses have FIL AVG with only one G (Esty 1997, 12).

## *Filius Augustorum* on inscriptions

The inscriptions show various combinations of implementing this new title into the existing imperial titulature. Of the 18 inscriptions presented and analysed by Alexandra Stefan in her seminal publications about the title *filius Augustorum*,<sup>75</sup> which originate from the east and central parts of the empire (from the area under the administration of Galerius, Maximinus and Licinius), most of them have the titles *Caesar* and *filius Augustorum* separated. But there are also those that combine them. In 6 inscriptions, Constantine and Maximinus bear the title *Caesar*,<sup>76</sup> in nine they bear the title *filius Augustorum* attributed to Maximinus and/or Constantine,<sup>77</sup> and only two inscriptions

75 Stefan 2004, 273–291; Stefan 2005a, 199–204.

76 1) Stefan 2004, 274–277, no. 1 is a milestone from Daldis in Lydia dedicated to Augusti Diocletianus and Galerius and to noble Caesars Constantine and Maximinus. Date: end of 308 (IGRR 4, 1346b; Stefan 2005a, 200, no. 2). 2) The second inscription is a dedicatory inscription in honour of Maximinus, erected by Aurelius Maximinus, *vir perfectissimus*, military commander of Egypt, the Thebais, and the two Libyas, carved on the base of the second column of a tetrastyle building in a military camp built in the early 4th century in the pharaonic sanctuary in Luxor. Date: December 308 – January 309 (Barnes 1982, 211; Stefan 2004, 276–277, no. 2; Stefan 2005a, 200, no. 5). 3) The third inscription is part of the same group of inscriptions on the pillars of the building in Luxor, but the dedication is addressed to Constantine. Date: December 308 – January 309 (Stefan 2005a, 200, no. 6). 4) A milestone dedicated to the Augusti Galerius and Licinius and the Caesars Maximinus and Constantine comes from Halicarnassus. Date: end of 308 – beginning of 309 (AE 1999, 1539b; SEG 49, 1426B; Stefan 2005a, 200, no. 3). 5) The fifth inscription, dedicated by the people of Samos in the honour of the goddess Hera Archegetis and the Augusti Galerius and Licinius, and the Caesars Maximinus and Constantine, originates from the island of Samos. Date: end of 308 – beginning of 309 (IG 12, 6, 2, 610; Stefan 2005a, 200, no. 5). 6) The last sixth inscription comes from Carnuntum from an altar dedicated to the god Mithras and members of the tetrarchic college, dated November 11th 308 (CIL 3, no. 4413; ILS 659; Stefan 2005a, 199, no. 1).

77 1) Milestone from Vama Veche in Scythia dedicated to the Augustus Licinius and Constantine, son of Augustus, dated to early 309 (CIL 3, no. 142152; Stefan 2004, 277–279, no. 3; Stefan 2005a, 201, no. 7). 2) The lost inscription embedded in the wall of the eastern palisade of the city Troesmis in Scythia, which was dedicated to Augustus Licinius and Constantine, son of Augustus, and also Augustus, by the legion *Iovia Scythica*. Interesting because of the double title attributed to Constantine (Augustus, but also the son of Augustus), which points to the variability and doubts that prevailed in this time regarding titles. Date: the middle of 310 (CIL 3, no. 6174; Stefan 2004, 279–280, no. 4; Stefan 2005a, 201–202, no. 8). 3) Dedicatory inscription put during the construction of the baths in Diocletianopolis in Thrace, dedicated to Augusti Galerius and Licinius and sons of Augusti Maximinus and Constantine, dated in 309 or 310 (AE 1929, 94; AE 1991, 1405; Stefan 2004, 280–282, no. 5; Stefan 2005a, 202, no. 9; FitzGerald 2017, 144; <https://edh.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD023579>, accessed 23.07.2025). 4) A poorly preserved milestone from Çizmetaria near Heraclea Pontica erected in honour of the tetrarchs, dated January 309 – May 310 (AE 1998, 1180; SEG 913; Stefan 2004, 282–283, no. 6; Stefan 2005a, 202, no. 10). 5) An inscription from Lemnos in the province of Achaia, dedicated to Augusti Galerius and Licinius and sons of Augusti Maximinus and Constantine and Galeria Valeria, dated January 309 – May 310 (Stefan 2004, 283–284, no. 7; Stefan 2005a, 202, no. 11; Carlà-Uhink 2020; Waldron 2022, 214). 6) Milestone from Hermokapēleia in Lydia, dated January 309 – May 310, dedicated to the senior Augustus Diocletian, the Augusti Galerius and Lycius, the sacred Augusta Galeria Valeria, and the sons of Augusti Maximinus and Constantine (AE 1979.602a; SEG 1979, 1165; Stefan 2004, 284–285, no. 8; Stefan 2005a, 203, no. 15; Waldron 2022, 214). 7) Milestone from Boğazkay of Pontus, erected in honour of Augusti Galerius and Licinius and the sons of Augusti Maximinus and Constantine, dated to the first half of 309. Dedicated by one Flavius Severus, a *vir perfectissimus*, one of the equestrian ranks (ZPE 43, 1981, 152; AE 1986, 656; Stefan 2005a, 202, no. 12; FitzGerald 2017, 145). 8) The lost milestone from Çalibogaz of Pontus dedicated to Augusti Galerius and Licinius and the sons of Augusti Maximinus and Constantine, dated at the end of 309. (Stefan 2005a, 202, no. 13). 9) Another lost milestone from Tingir of Pontus dedicated to Augusti Galerius and Licinius and the sons of Augusti Maximinus and Constantine, dated to the beginning of 309 (Stefan 2005a, 203, no. 14).

show Maximinus with a title in which *filius Augustorum* is added to the title *Caesar*.<sup>78</sup> The inscriptions were presented with a revised transcription and interpretation, and their dating was carefully commented on and, when necessary, corrected. It was the analysis of the inscriptions that helped date the title *filius Augustorum* to January 309.<sup>79</sup> The inscriptions confirm that the tetrarchic rulers, presenting the new order, were careful to emphasize the collegium of four, as a new form of government, therefore unknown in the Roman world, however, they used traditional forms of legitimization of power and paid specific attention to their status and order within the particular collegium, using appropriate titles to promote their own individual position within the group. The inscriptions follow a strict hierarchical order determined by seniority in the collegium and list first the two Augusti and then the two Caesars, especially if they are placed by administrative authorities in a public context. This practice can be clearly seen on the inscriptions that announce imperial edicts,<sup>80</sup> but also on the dedicatory inscriptions, which are placed by the local authorities. The same can be observed on milestones, although they show a more diverse practice, so we have examples of the so-called milestone grouping where a single member of the college is highlighted in a single milestone, which then forms a four-part whole.<sup>81</sup> We do not have the dedicators for most of these inscriptions, but when we do have them (e.g. n. 76, no. 2; n. 77, no. 7) they should be seen as an expression of a choice that reflects some of the rhetoric and language of legitimacy in the east during this period.<sup>82</sup>

## *Filius Augustorum* on papyri

The dating of the title *filius Augustorum* to early 309, specifically January, is further supported by papyrus findings with the help of which we can reconstruct the approximate moment when the title *filius Augustorum* came into use, as well as the fact that, in the east, the consuls for 309 were Licinius and Constantine, and that as consul Constantine was designated by that very title.<sup>83</sup> We know of more than twenty papyri dated by the consulship of Licinius and Constantine of 309, and all of them have Constantine's title *υἱὸς σεβαστῶν, υἱὸς (τῶν) Βασιλέων* or *υἱὸς Αγοῦστων* [sic] without the addition of the title *Caesar*.<sup>84</sup> These papyri confirm that Galerius appointed Constantine consul in 309 and that his old title, *nobilissimus Caesar*, was replaced by the new one, *filius Augustorum*. The names of the two Caesars, Maximinus II and Constantine, were attested with this title for the first time

78 1) Stefan 2004, 285–288, no. 9 is a public building inscription from Kabyle in Thrace (SEG 42.646 AE 1999, 1374b; Stefan 2005a, 203, no. 16; Waldron 2022, 214); 2) A milestone from Torralba in Sardinia (AE 1979, 303; Grünewald 1990, 236–237, no. 374; Stefan 2005a, 203, no. 17). See the analysis of these two inscriptions below and n. 99–100.

79 Stefan 2004, 279.

80 Corcoran 1996; Hekster 2015, 108; Hekster *et al.* 2019, 619.

81 Kolb 2004, 149; Hekster *et al.* 2019, 619. For comparison see inscriptions 2) and 3) from Luxor in n. 76. although these are not milestones but dedicatory inscriptions.

82 FitzGerald 2017, 145.

83 Degrassi 1952, 78; Barnes 1982, 94; Bagnall *et al.* 1987, 27.

84 Bagnall, Worp 1979, 76; Bagnall *et al.* 1987, 153; Bagnall, Worp 2004, 176; Stefan 2005a, 174.

in Egypt on a papyrus from Panopolis (*P. Panop.* 15.1.16) dated 16 January 309<sup>85</sup> and a little later on a papyrus from Theadelphia (*P. Strasb.* 6.577.1.14 = *P. Sakaon* 89) dated 21 January 309.<sup>86</sup> This would mean that the title *filius Augustorum* was created, publicized and reported to Egypt in the period between 11 November 308 and 16 January 309. Stefan, taking into account the time needed for the decision on the new title brought in by Galerius, prompted by Maximinus's displeasure, to be conveyed to Egypt, suggests a date between 19 and 22 December 308, more precisely, 20 December 308.<sup>87</sup> The title created at that time remained in use throughout 309 and part of 310. We have it attested for the last time on a papyrus from Theadelphia dated 27 February 310 (*P. Strasb.* 1.42.1.4 = *W. Chr.* 210.1.4 = *P. Sakaon* 1.1.4).<sup>88</sup>

### *Filius Augustorum* – reception and dissolution of the new title

Therefore, before Galerius proclaimed Maximinus and Constantine as Augusti and thus ended this period of disagreement, there was a relatively long period of intricate turmoil and opposition among the tetrarchs, traces of which can be seen in certain historical sources: first of all, in the aforementioned statement of Lactantius (see n. 61), and also in the double titlature on papyri and inscriptions. All these sources originate from the area governed by Maximinus and testify to the continuation of his discontent, which could not be extinguished or appeased by the new title of *filius Augustorum* granted to him by Galerius. Certain stages of Maximinus's dissatisfaction can be reconstructed, during which he used the titles *Caesar* and *filius Augustorum* to express his opposition to Galerius's decisions. When necessary, he added them to his name or Constantine's and combined them in various ways to show (primarily to Galerius, the Augustus who was his superior, but also to everyone else) his attitude towards the new distribution of power that occurred after the Carnuntum conference.

Thus, the image of Maximian Herculius suddenly appears on the coins of Maximinus's mints of Antioch and Alexandria<sup>89</sup> on the *Genio Imperatoris* type towards the end of 308, which points to a different tetrarchy that Maximinus created in his territory, which consisted of Maximian, Galerius, Maximinus and Constantine.<sup>90</sup> Maximian Herculius takes first place in the tetrarchic collegium on a papyrus from Karanis, dated 14 June 309 (*P. Cair. Isid.* 8.1.5).<sup>91</sup> All of these are evidence of the earliest traces of resistance offered by Maximinus in eliminating Licinius from the imperial collegium. Thus, on the one hand, we have inscriptions, coins and papyri from the area under Galerius's administration, which promote the new order established at the conference in Carnuntum (Galerius and Licinius Augusti, Maximinus and Constantine Caesars),<sup>92</sup> and, on the other hand, Maximinus's resistance, which takes place in several phases. Galerius's first response was the establishment of the new title, *filius Augustorum*. This new title was established to succeed the previous title, *Caesar*, and to indicate a new rulership rank, higher than that belonging to Caesar and closer to that corresponding to Augustus.<sup>93</sup> That it was a conscious and thought-out decision by Galerius is evidenced by a series of inscriptions on which Constantine and Maximinus are addressed only by the title *filius Augustorum*, all of which originate from the area under Galerius's direct authority.<sup>94</sup> These inscriptions propagate Galerius's idea of a new tetrarchic order. But Maximinus's resistance would not be stayed. In his mints in Antioch and Alexandria, he minted coins bearing his name exclusively with the title *Nob Caes*, while leaving the title *Fil Augg* to Constantine.<sup>95</sup>

Maximinus's further resistance is visible in the titlature brought to us by three papyri on which Maximinus combines the titles *Caesar* and *filius Augustorum* and adds them to Constantine's and his own names. A papyrus from Karanis (*P. Cair. Isid.* 8.1.5, dated 14 June, 309)<sup>96</sup> has the titlature *υἱῶν σεβαστῶν τῶν ἐπιφανεστῶν Καισάρων* for Maximinus and Constantine;

85 ...ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλερίου Λικινιανοῦ Λικινίου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Φλαυίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίνου υἱοῦ Ἄγουστων; Cologne, Papyrussammlung P. 1700; <https://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.panop;15?rows=3&start=41445&fl=id,title&fq=collection:ddbdp&sort=series+asc,volume+asc,item+asc&p=41446&t=61187> (accessed 22.07.2025); tax receipt dated AD 309 Jan 16 (*Diocletianus and Galerius cos 10 and Licinius and Constantinus I cos 7*, 17 days before the Kalendae of Feb); publication: *P.Panop.* 15; SB 12.10992; commentary: Mitthof, *Annona Militaris*, S. 432, Anm. 645 und S. 578; Bagnall et al. 1987, 153; Stefan 2005a, 183.

86 [ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλερίου Λικινιανοῦ Λικ[ινίου Σεβαστοῦ] [καὶ Φλ[αυίου] Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίνου] υἱοῦ Σεβαστῶν πρὸ ιβ Καλ[ανδῶν] Φ[εβρουαρίων]; Heidelberg; <https://papyri-prod.lib.duke.edu/ddbdp/p.strasb;6;577> (accessed 22.07.2025); receipt for copper dated 21. Jan. 309; publication: *P.Sakaon* 89; *P.Strasb.* VI 577; commentary: Bagnall et al. 1987, 153; Stefan 2005a, 183.

87 Stefan 2005a, 184–186.

88 ...τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ Οὐαλερίου Λικινιανοῦ Λικινίου Σεβαστῶν καὶ Γαλερίου[ου] Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμίνου καὶ Φλαουίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίνου υἱῶν Σεβαστῶν τῶν ἐπιφανεστῶν Καισάρων...; Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale P. gr. 1592; <https://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.sakaon;1> (accessed 22.07.2025); declaration of persons dated 27. Febr. 310 (*Tatius Andronicus and Pompeius Probus cos*, Phamenoth 03 = 3 days before the Kalendae of Mar); publication: *P. Sakaon* 1; *P. Strasb.* I 42; *W. Chr.* 210; ChLA 19.685; commentary: Parassoglou 1978, 1–5; Bagnall 1980, 103; Bagnall et al. 1987, 154; Stefan 2005a, 186–187; 189.

89 Sutherland 1967, 632; *Antiochia*, RIC 6, no. 112c; 678, *Alexandria*, RIC 6, no. 102; see 607, 665.

90 Sydenham, 1934, 162, 167; Kent 1957, 27–28; Moreau 1960, 70–71; Sutherland 1967, 607; Stefan 2004, 287, n. 92; Waldron 2022, 214.

91 ...ἀκολουθῶς θείῳ προστάγματι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Γαλερίου(?) Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ Οὐαλερίου Λικινιανοῦ Λικινίου Σεβαστῶν καὶ Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμίνου καὶ Φλαυίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίνου υἱῶν Σεβαστῶν τῶν ἐπιφανεστῶν Καισάρων...; <https://papyri.info/hgv/10410> (accessed 22.07.2025); a report of persons, addressed to Ulpian Alexander, censor of the Heptanomia, dated AD 309 Jun 14 (*Valerius Licinianus Licinius Augustus and Flavius Valerius Constantinus cos*, 18 days before the Kalendae of Jul); publication: *P.Cair. Isid.* 8; SB V 7673; ChLA 41.1201; commentary: Youtie 1977, 296–300; Bagnall et al. 1987, 154; Stefan 2005a, 189.

92 Grünwald 1990, 41–45.

93 Stefan 2004, 290–291; Stefan 2005, 330, 347.

94 Grünwald 1990, 42; Stefan 2004, 277–285, nos. 3–8; Stefan 2005a, 201–203, nos. 7–15; see n. 77.

95 Jelocnik 1973, 154; Davies 1989, 73 wrongly states that “the Alexandria mint (within Maximin's provinces, but not his place of residence), perhaps playing safe, employed both titles (*Caesar* and *filius Augustorum*) for Maximin on the same coins”. There aren't known coins from Alexandria with title FIL AVG for Maximinus II. See FitzGerald 2017, 144–145.

96 See n. 91

the Oxyrhynchus papyrus (*P. Oxy.* 46.3270, 1.24, dated 14 September – 15 October 309)<sup>97</sup> bears the title τῶν ἐπιφαν[εστᾶτων] Καισάρων υἱῶν τῶν Βασ[ιλ]έων, while the papyrus from Theadelphia (*P. Stras.* 1.42, 1.4 = *W. Chr.* 210.1.4 = *P. Sakaon* 1.1.4, dated 27 February 310)<sup>98</sup> repeats the title arrangement of the papyrus from Karanis: υἱῶν σεβαστῶν τῶν ἐπιφανεστᾶτων Καισάρων. All of them originate from Maximinus's territory and show his dissatisfaction with the new title, which he merely added to the old title of *Caesar*, considering it apparently only an insubstantial substitute, and not an adequate new confirmation of the higher degree of honour which, according to Galerius's original intention, it should have shown. He did not want to give up the old title, but merely added the new one.

An interesting inscription at Kabylē in Thrace was erected in honour of the Augusti, Galerius and Licinius, and in honour of the sons of the two Augusti: Maximinus *Caesar* and Constantine. The inscription shows that here only Maximinus is the bearer of the double title, and that for Constantine the new title of *filius Augustorum* is preserved: "...τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Γαλ[ερίου] Οὐαλ[ερίου] Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ Λικ[ινιανοῦ] Λικ[ινίου] [Σεβ[αστῶν] καὶ Γαλ[ερίου] Μαξιμ[ίνου] Καίσαρος [καὶ Φλαουίου] Οὐαλ[ερίου][Κωνσ]ταντίνου υἱῶ[ν] βασιλ[έων]..."<sup>99</sup> The inscription is a public monument commemorating the restoration of a building in Kabyla at the initiative of the provincial governor under the guidance of the local authorities. Another inscription with the same dual title only for Maximinus is on a milestone in Torralba, in Sardinia, dedicated to Constantine, Galerius and Maximinus: "Imp[er]atoribus Caes[ar]ibus / d[omi]ni n[ost]ri Flauio Val[er]io / Const[ant]ino, Aurelio Gal[er]io / [Maxim]iano] π[ri]m[is] feliciss[im]is Aug[ust]is / Caes[ar]i d[omi]ni n[ost]ri Gal[er]io Val[er]io / Maximiano / [Aug]ustorum] filio..."<sup>100</sup> There, in the west, Constantine is *Augustus* together with Galerius, but Maximinus is *Caesar filius Augustorum*. At that moment, Sardinia was under the rule of the usurper Domitius Alexander, who tried, in his conflict with Maxentius, to connect with Constantine in the west and Maximinus in the east.<sup>101</sup> Hence the recognition of Constantine as *Augustus* ahead of Galerius, while in Maximinus's double title we can perhaps discern echoes of Maximinus's resistance to Galerius's new title, preserved in Alexander's attempt to curry favour with Maximinus. The inscription of Kabylē, an area under Galerius's administration, is a proof that Galerius responded to Maximinus's provocations and left the new title to Constantine, and he designated a double title for his oldest associate in the tetrarchic collegium in order to gratify him.

97 ἐπὶ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Γα[λ]ερίου Οὐαλ[ερίου] Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ Οὐαλ[ερίου] Λικινιανοῦ Λικ[ινίου] τῶν ἀνικήτων Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῶν δε[σ]π[ο]τῶν ἡμῶν Μαξιμίνου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν ἐπιφαν[εστᾶτων] Καισάρων υἱῶν τῶν βασ[ιλ]έων; <https://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.oxy;46;3270> (accessed 22.07.2025); lease of fishing rights dated AD 309 Sep 14 - Oct 15; publication: *P. Oxy.* 46 3270; commentary: Rea 1978; Bagnall, Worp 1979, 33; Nielsen ZPE 106, 1995; Stefan 2005a, 189–190.

98 See n. 86.

99 AE 1999, 1374b; Stefan 2004, 285–288, no. 9; Stefan 2005a, 203, no. 16; see n. 78.

100 AE 1979, 303; Campus, 1977, 414–416, no. 2; Grünwald 1990, 236–237, no. 374; Stefan 2005a, 203, no. 17; see n. 78.

101 Barnes 1982, 33–34; Grünwald 1990, 44, 202; Malingue 2018.

Likewise, the coinage minted in Alexandria and Antioch, in the mints of Maximinus (see above, n. 68–69), bears only the title *filius Augustorum* for Constantine, and *Nob Caesar* for Maximinus. The coinage from the mint of Galerius in Nicomedia repeats the same pattern: Constantine is *fil Aug*, and Maximinus is *Nob Caesar* (see above, n. 65). Maximinus here loses his double titulature, which is evidence of his deep dissatisfaction and persistent resistance, and another failure of Galerius to appease him by using the double titulature. He completely rejects the new title and returns to the old title, *Caesar*. All this shows us that Maximinus's struggle was constant and that it manifested itself in various forms, from the double titulature that we could see on the Kabylē inscription to the complete rejection of the new title in his mints.

The title *filius Augustorum* was finally discarded by Maximinus II when he proclaimed himself *Augustus*, i.e. he allowed himself to be elected *Augustus* by the army, in the same way that Constantine had seized power a few years earlier. Lactantius testifies to this.<sup>102</sup> The year 310 as the year in which Maximinus took the title of *Augustus* is also confirmed by sources stating that Maximinus held the consulship for the second time in 311,<sup>103</sup> which would mean that he first gained it a year earlier, as well as the information provided by Aurelius Victor that Maximinus was *Augustus* for 3 years.<sup>104</sup> For the date of the proclamation of Maximinus and Constantine as *Augustus*, Sutherland proposed 1 May 310 as a parallel to the date when Maximinus became *Caesar* (1 May 305) and which represented his *dies imperii*.<sup>105</sup> Sutherland's date is generally accepted: if not exactly 1 May, then the month of May in general.<sup>106</sup>

It should be noted that different media used recognizable terms to announce the new tetrarchic order to the subjects: or through the so-called "double duality" i.e. presentation of the tetrarchs in pairs, two Augusti and two Caesars, although a four-member collegium is in question, or by highlighting one ruler again within a collegium of four.<sup>107</sup> The same practice can be observed in tetrarchic coinage, which, on the wings of the gradual decentralization of the Empire during the third century, as part of the great innovations in the coinage system after Dio-

102 Lact., *De Mort.* 32.5: "Maximinus postmodum scribit quasi nuntians in campo Martio proxime celebrato Augustum se ab exercitu nuncupatum. Receipt ille maestus ac dolens et universos quattuor imperatores iubet nominari"; Andreotti 1964, 543; Barnes 1973, 36; Davies 1989, 73; Waldron 2021, 34. Lactantius often equates the titles of *Augustus* and *Imperator* (e.g. *De Mort.* 26.5), but never equates *Caesar* with *Imperator*. *Imperator* refers to *imperium*, i.e., the supreme executive power in war that includes complete control over the life and death of all military participants (Cambi 2005, 166, 171).

103 *Galerius cos. VIII, Maximinus cos. II*; Degraffi 1957, 78; Barnes 1982, 94; Bagnall et al. 1987, 156.

104 We know that he died in the summer of AD 313; Ps. Aur. Vict., *Epit.* 40.18: "Galerius Maximinus ... Caesar quadriennio dehinc per Orientem Augustus triennio fuit, ..."; Bird 1984; 1994; Christ 2005; Stover, Woudhuysen 2023, 404.

105 Sutherland 1967, 15–16, 32; Corcoran 2012, 12; Christensen 2012, 68; Kienast et al. 2017, 276, 287.

106 Barnes 1982, 6; Grünwald 1990, 23; Kienast et al. 2017, 276, 287; Stefan 2005a, 187 offers a date of 14 May 310.

107 Sutherland 1967, 88; Kuhoff 2001, 41; Weiser 2006, 209; Steinbock 2014, 54; see Hekster et al. 2019, 611, 615 for specific examples of the concept of *double duality*.

cletian's monetary reform, began to be minted in new centers of power, in the new capitals of the Empire and in numerous newly opened or reopened mints.<sup>108</sup> The mints struck the same types<sup>109</sup> for all members of the collegium, in the name of all the tetrarchs, emphasizing the divided four-member government through the practice of the so-called shared minting, which nevertheless forms a universal whole. The same reverse messages alternate with different obverse portraits and legends, emphasizing the benefits of tetrarchic rule, which is at once divided and shared. At the same time, one can also notice a subtle emphasis on one or other Augustus or Caesar on coins, depending on his interests, especially in the portraits and titles applied in the mints under his management.<sup>110</sup> This is especially reflected in the use of the title *filius Augustorum*. This new title of *fili Augustorum* seems to have been one which both Constantine and Maximinus II were uninterested in promoting for themselves. The title as it survives in the numismatic record is found in eastern mints, only for Constantine and Maximinus II, while there are no examples of title from western mints controlled by Maxentius or Constantine. Even in the east the issues for Maximinus II survive only from mints in areas near to where Galerius was based: Siscia and Thessalonica. None of the mints under Maximinus's control struck for him under this title, but they did for Constantine. The *fili Augustorum* title was an experiment, instigated by Galerius, that was unsuccessful; a means for controlling Maximinus as well as Constantine, or an honorific offer that neither of them was willing to promote, because it offered no increase in status or independence from the Augusti. But, as can be inferred from inscriptions, papyri and coins, the innovation of the new title was welcomed by provincial officials and elite, who then used it to honour their Caesars.<sup>111</sup>

### Siscian mint and *Genio Augusti/Caesaris* type

All these political conflicts are reflected in the coinage of the Siscian mint, which, as mentioned above, *de facto* renews its work precisely by minting the *Genio Augusti* type, which becomes the basic type; after a period of inactivity caused by Maxentius's rebellion and the chaos in the empire caused by Severus's death, it is minted in large quantities. With the proclamation of Licinius as the second Augustus in November 308, Siscia comes under his administration and, as the central mint of the province of Pannonia, falls under Licinius's authority.<sup>112</sup>

Until then, the selection of reverse types that prevailed in Siscia during the first and second tetrarchies linked this mint with those from the western circle, more precisely with the mints that we can include in Sutherland's 'central circle' (Rome, Ticinum, Aquileia and Siscia).<sup>113</sup> The reverse legends *Genio Populi Romani* alternated with *Sacra Monet Augg Et Caesss Nostr* during the first tetrarchy, emphasizing the universality of Diocletian's monetary reform and the concept and idea of community that that founder of the tetrarchic order had propagated.<sup>114</sup> During the period of the second tetrarchy, new types appear with the reverse legends *Herculi Victori, Concordia Imperii, Iovi Conservat* and *Perpetuitas Augg. Providentia Deorum Quies Augg* was intended only for the two senior Augusti. The coinage of the second tetrarchy clearly shows the personalities of individual members of the tetrarchic collegium, but also reflects the appearance of tension and disagreements between them.<sup>115</sup>

In the period of the first tetrarchy, the Siscian mint was under the administration of Herculus; after the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian in 305, it fell into the hands of Severus, as part of the inheritance he received from Herculus.<sup>116</sup> After the defeat and death of Severus, the Siscian mint was closed until the conference in Carnuntum, when it came under the administration of Licinius. Among the first types he struck were the reduced nummi of 1/48 Roman pound, with the reverse legends *Genio Augusti* and *Genio Caesaris*. The appearance of these types indicates that Siscia now fell under the sphere of mints in the Balkans (Heracleia, Thessalonica, Serdica) and Asia Minor (Nicomedia and Cyzicus). The reopening of Siscia coincides with the closing of the Serdica mint and the reopening of the Thessalonica mint. This makes Siscia the most important mint of Licinius.<sup>117</sup> In Galerius's mint in Thessalonica – which closed down in 303 with the type *Genio Populi Romani* and now reopened with the choice of Licinius for the new Augustus – the first types to be minted are precisely *Genio Augusti* and *Genio Caesaris*. In Serdica, Galerius's main mint before and during the Carnuntum conference,<sup>118</sup> the *Genio Augusti* type was succeeded by the *Genio Populi Romani* type. But in Siscia these types are preceded by a short-lived emission that can be interpreted as a reflection of the gratitude of the newly-elected Augustus Licinius to his patron, Galerius, who brought him to power in Carnuntum.<sup>119</sup>

These are two unique specimens, one of which is in the possession of the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum in Ljubljana, and the other in a private numismatic collection in Sisak. (It was seen and copied by Peter Kos and published together

108 Weiser 2006, 209; Abdy 2012, 588; Hekster *et al.* 2019, 617.

109 Van Heesch 1993, 69; Manders 2019, 51–57; Manders 2020, 208–212 provides an overview and analysis of messages spread by the reverses of tetrarchic coins.

110 Hekster *et al.* 2019, 618.

111 Corcoran 2012, 12; Hekster 2014, 18; FitzGerald 2017, 145–146.

112 The prevailing opinion among most authors is that Licinius became the ruler of Pannonia after Carnuntum, and this information regularly appears in all historical books (Sutherland 1967, 30, 451; Demandt 1989, 64; Mirković 2012, 11; Doležal 2022, 274). Barnes believes that Galerius held official authority over Pannonia from 299 to 311, and that from 308 he merely shared it with Licinius (Barnes 1982, 199). Licinius gained independent rule over the diocese of Pannonia only with Galerius's death in 311 and held it until 316. But it is the coin of the Siscian mint that testifies that Licinius appears on the new type of coin *Genio Augusti* and *Genio Caesaris* with the title *Augustus*, together with Galerius, which allows the dating of this type to 308 and confirms that, after Carnuntum,

he either gained or shared power over Pannonia. In any case, whether he ruled independently or not after Carnuntum, we have Licinius confirmed in Pannonia, very likely as its (in)formal but, in reality, actual ruler.

113 Sutherland 1967, 43; Kos 1995, 90; Heesch 2012, 175.

114 Jeločnik 1973a, 315–326; Weiser 2006, 211–216; Manders 2020, 210–212.

115 Sutherland 1967, 447–450; Kos 1995, 90; Corcoran 2012, 4; Găzdac 2017, 149; FitzGerald 2017, 124–132.

116 Sutherland 1967, 436, 448.

117 Bruun 1988, 116; Böhneke 2004, 71.

118 Bruun 1988, 131.

119 Kos 1995, 94.



FIGURE 1A–C. Earliest issues of nummi after the reopening of the mint; a left, b centre, c right (according to Kos 1995, Pl. 10: 1–3).

with the specimen from the National Museum in Ljubljana).<sup>120</sup> One is a nummus of Galerius with the obverse legend *Imp Maximianus P F Aug* (bust right) and with a unique reverse showing Victory walking and facing right with a trophy slung over her left shoulder and a palm wreath in her right hand (Figure 1a). The legend surrounding her reads *Victoria Augg et Caess*. The mint-mark *Sis* is written in the exergue. The specimen weighs 7.07 g, and the diameter of the pearl border is 24 mm.<sup>121</sup> The nummus from the private collection was also minted in the name of Galerius (Figure 1b). It shows the obverse with a similar portrait of Galerius and the legend *Imp Maximianus P F Aug*, while the reverse shows a trophy with two captives sitting next to it with the legend *Virtus Augg et Caess*, also marked *Sis* in the exergue.<sup>122</sup>

These nummi with the legends *Victoria Augg et Caess* and *Virtus Augg et Caess* are exceptions to the tetrarchic system of bronze coinage. Other mints are not familiar with these types. They are characterized by a simple mint issue mark, and their diameter and weight place them at the very beginning of the re-minting in Siscia, when the first weight reduction of the nummus takes place, which drops it to 1/48 of a Roman pound.<sup>123</sup> The legend *Virtus Augg et Caess* is confirmed on the gold coins of Severus and Maximinus from the period 306 – 307 in the Siscian mint,<sup>124</sup> while the legend *Victoria Augg et Caess* has no parallel. The appearance of these two unique types of nummi can only be

explained satisfactorily if we connect them with the events of Carnuntum.<sup>125</sup> They celebrate the diplomatic victory of Galerius, who managed to preserve the tetrarchic order and push his claimant, Licinius, to the position of Augustus (without the latter having previously been Caesar), thus bypassing Maximinus and Constantine, who were granted the rank of Caesar. It is not surprising that these festive types, minted by Licinius in honour of his patron Galerius, came precisely from the Siscian mint. Siscia, as the administrative centre of Savia, was assigned to Licinius and became his main mint.<sup>126</sup> They were minted to celebrate the reopening of the mint.

When it comes to the reopening of Siscian mint, there are differing opinions on when it occurred. According to Sutherland, the mint opened after Licinius's proclamation as Augustus in November 308, probably at the beginning of 309.<sup>127</sup> Jeločnik takes November 308 as the latest possible date for the reopening of the mint, but leaves open the possibility that the mint could have started minting the first unreduced nummi a few months earlier, drawing parallels with the mintings in Antioch and Alexandria.<sup>128</sup> Bruun dates the opening of the mint to the very end of 308.<sup>129</sup> The appearance of these two unique types of bronze coin would solidify November 308 as the date before which the mint in Siscia could not have started operating. Their minting must be placed at the beginning of the process of minting of the reduced nummi: this is indicated by their weight; by

120 Kos 1995, 89–96.

121 Kos 1995, 90; T. 10: 1.

122 Kos 1995, 90; T. 10: 2.

123 Kos 1995, 93.

124 Sutherland 1967, 472; RIC 6, nos. 153–155.

125 FitzGerald 2017, 140 sees Kos 1995, 93–94 suggestion that coins from Siscia with the legend *VICTORIA AVGG ET CAESS* are meant to commemorate the “diplomatic victory” at Carnuntum as an extremely far-fetched assumption, but does not provide any additional arguments for her claim.

126 Kos 1995, 94.

127 Sutherland 1967, 53, 451.

128 Jeločnik 1973, 154.

129 Bruun 1988, 131.

the fact that their legends end with *Augg et Caess*, which means that they must have been minted at the time when the empire was governed by the two Augusti (so, after the conference in Carnuntum); there is also a simple mint-mark in the section which is characteristic of the start of minting of a type when usually only one officina is operating.<sup>130</sup> All of these are indirect evidence that the mint was opened after more than twenty months of rest and that the first issues were precisely of these celebratory types, after which the mint became active and began more intensive minting of the *Genio Augusti* and *Caesaris* types.

These two types were minted in Siscia in the period from November 308 to May 311. They depict a naked Genius standing left, with a modius on his head, a cornucopia in his left hand and a patera in his right. In the left field is the sign of the crescent, and in the right field is the mark of the workshop. In the exergue on the reverse comes the mint mark *Sis*. Of the portraits on the obverse, the bare bust facing right predominates, while only for Maximinus is there also a bare bust facing left (*Siscia*, RIC 6, no. 208). They are minted for Galerius, Licinius, Constantine and Maximinus. The *Veneri Victrici* type is minted for Galeria Valeria, Galerius's wife (*Siscia*, RIC 6, nos. 204, 210–211). The earliest phase is the titulature *Imp* for Galerius and Licinius, and *Nob Caes* for Maximinus, followed by the phase with the title *Fil Augg* for Constantine and Maximinus, and, finally, the last phase with the title *Imp* for all four members of the imperial collegium.

In Siscia, the arrangement of these legends is distinctive and characterized by a certain level of uniqueness. While the mints in Serdica and Thessalonica mint certain types for younger members of the ruling collegium and certain types for older ones, in Siscia there is a deviation from this logical pattern, and the emperors are not divided in the way they are divided in Serdica and Thessalonica. There, in fact, the *Genio Caesaris* type is minted only for Caesars: in Serdica for Maximinus (*Serdica*, RIC 6, no. 37), and in Thessalonica for Maximinus and Constantine (*Thessalonica*, RIC 6, no. 31a–b), in both cases with the title of *Nob Caes*. In Thessalonica the *Genio Caesaris* type continues to be struck for Constantine and Maximinus, and with the title *Fil Augg*. Parallel to the *Genio Caesaris* type, the *Genio Augusti* type was minted for Augusti Galerius and Licinius in Thessalonica (*Thessalonica*, RIC 6, nos. 30a–b and 40a–b) and earlier in Serdica (*Serdica*, RIC 6, nos. 35–36). The division is clear: *Genio Caesaris* for Caesars, *Genio Augusti* for Augusti. In Siscia, we have Augusti on the *Genio Augusti* type, but also on the *Genio Caesaris*, and vice versa: Caesars on the *Genio Caesaris* type, but also on the *Genio Augusti* type. Not only that, but Siscia is-

Emperor	Title	GENIO CAESARIS	GENIO AVGVSTI
Galerius	IMP MAXIMI-ANVS P F AVG	RIC 6, no. 201a	RIC 6, no. 198a
Licinius	IMP LIC LICINIVS P F AVG	RIC 6, no. 201b	RIC 6, no. 198b
Maximinus II	MAXIMINVS NOB CAES	RIC 6, no. 202	RIC 6, no. 199
Maximinus II	MAXIMINVS FIL AVGG		RIC 6, no. 200a
Constantine	CONSTANTINVS FIL AVGG	RIC 6, no. 203	RIC 6, no. 200b
Maximinus II	IMP MAXIMINVS P F AVG		RIC 6, nos. 207c, 208
Constantine	IMP CONSTANTINVS P F AVG		RIC 6, no. 209

TABLE 2. Distribution of titles in the *Genio Augusti* and *Genio Caesaris* types of individual emperors; title *Imp* marked in red, *Fil Augg* in blue, and *Nob Caes* in green (made by A. Pavlović).

sued the *Genio Caesaris* type for both Augusti (*Siscia*, RIC 6, no. 201a–b), for Maximinus with the title *Nob Caes* (RIC 6, no. 202) and for Constantine with *fil Augg* (RIC 6, no. 203), and the *Genio Augusti* type for both Augusti (RIC 6, no. 198a–b), for Maximinus with *Nob Caes* (RIC 6, no. 199) and for Constantine and Maximinus with the title *filii Augustorum* (RIC 6, no. 200a–b). Unlike in Thessalonica and Serdica, there are no coins of Constantine with the title *Nob Caes*. Its absence is interpreted as a Siscian curiosity or anomaly.<sup>131</sup> But it can also be explained by the animosity that Licinius, implementing Galerius's policy, expressed towards Constantine. He, in fact, distanced himself from the conclusions of the Carnuntum conference and proclaimed himself Augustus on his territory. This would also fit in with a unique specimen published online and on which we have Constantine with the title *Constantinus P F Aug*.<sup>132</sup> Later, along with the type *Genio Augusti*, the title *Imperator* also appears with Maximinus and Licinius (RIC 6, nos. 207c, 208–209; see Tab. 2).

130 Bruun 1988, 116; Kos 1995, 94–95; Böhneke 2004, 71.

131 See for example Bruun 1988, 121, n. 11. The latest comment on this issue is in FitzGerald 2017, 143, n. 150: „The only exceptions to this are from Sisak (nos. 200a–b for Daza and Constantine respectively), and it may be explained by the equally unsuitable reverse type of GENIO CAESARIS for Galerius and Licinius: both types were minted for both emperors. If GENIO CAESARIS for Galerius and Licinius cannot be taken as lessening their power, then neither can GENIO AVGVSTI be taken as augmenting Daza and Constantine's.”

132 <https://www.forumancientcoins.com/notinric/6sis-209.html> (accessed 04/02/2025). Siscia. Obv. CONSTANTINVS P F AVG, bare bust with laurel wreath r.; Rev. GENIOA-VGVSTI; officina r; weight 5.70 g; diameter 25 mm.

	GENIO CAESARIS	GENIO AVGVSTI a)	GENIO AVGVSTI b)
GALERIUS	IMP	IMP	IMP
LICINIUS	IMP	IMP	IMP
MAXIMINUS II	NOB CAES	NOB CAES; FIL AVGG	IMP
CONSTANTINE	FIL AVGG	FIL AVGG	IMP
	309–310		310 – after May 311
	α, β, γ		α, β, γ, δ, ε, ζ

TABLE 3. Sutherland's interpretation of the *Genio Augusti* and *Genio Caesaris* types in the Siscian mint (made by A. Pavlović).

	GENIO CAESARIS	GENIO AVGVSTI a)	GENIO AVGVSTI b)
GALERIUS	IMP	IMP	IMP
LICINIUS	IMP	IMP	IMP
MAXIMINUS II	NOB CAES	NOB CAES; FIL AVGG	FIL AVGG; IMP
CONSTANTINE	FIL AVGG	FIL AVGG	FIL AVGG; IMP
	24 mm		22 mm
	α, β, γ		α, β, γ
			α, β, γ, δ, ε, ζ

TABLE 4. Jeločnik's interpretation of the *Genio Augusti* and *Genio Caesaris* types in the Siscian mint (made by A. Pavlović).

### The chronology and the pattern of the emissions

Voetter was the first to divide these reduced nummi into two parallel series with respect to their larger or smaller overall diameters and the different weights within the two groups.<sup>333</sup> However, the division solely according to these criteria was not satisfactory, and Sutherland ignored it in his classification of the first Siscian reduced types. He divided the *Genio Caesaris* and *Augusti* types into two successive series, with the same mint marks, with the first series being minted in three officinae and the second in six (Tab. 3).<sup>334</sup> In view of the arrangement of the legends on individual specimens, the *Genio Caesaris* type belongs to the first series, minted in officinae α, β and γ (309–310), and the *Genio Augusti* type can belong to either the first or second series, depending on the titulature of the emperor for whom it was minted, and on the officina (officinae δ, ε and ζ are a sign that it belongs to the second series, dated from 310 to after May 31).<sup>335</sup> The beginning of the second series is marked by Galerius's decision to grant Constantine and Maximinus the rank of Augustus, and the *Genio Augusti* coins with the imperial titulature for Constantine and Maximinus date to the second group. The *Genio Augusti* type of Constantine and Maximinus with the titles *Nob Caes* and/or *Fil Avgg* would belong to the first group. This division leaves open the question of determining whether the nummi of type *Genio Augusti* of Galerius and Licinius, were minted in officina α, β or γ, because they can belong to either the first or second group.<sup>336</sup>

By analysing the tetrarchic nummi from the Čentur hoard, Jeločnik made another breakthrough in understanding the Siscian production of these types (Tab. 4).<sup>337</sup> His study clearly showed that the reduced nummi in Siscia did indeed appear in

two consecutive series, which he divided according to the diameter of the pearl circle marking the field of the obverse and reverse displays. The nummi of the first series were minted in the first three officinae and had a diameter of 24 mm, while the nummi of the second series were minted within six officinae with a diameter of 22 mm. He noticed that Maximinus and Constantine appear with the title *Fil Avgg* in both series, but only within the first three officinae (α, β and γ), and with the title *Imp P F Avg* within all six officinae. He concluded that the mint expanded from three officinae to six after Galerius proclaimed Constantine and Maximinus Augusti, during the issuance of the nummi of the second series. Simply put, a diameter of 24 mm means an earlier series, and a diameter of 22 mm means a later series. Siscia, as Licinius's mint, reflects his political views and his personal interests.<sup>338</sup> After a short period of minting Maximinus's coins with the title *Nob Caes*, Siscia issued nummi for both Caesares with the title *Fil Avgg*. After Galerius awarded them the title of *Augustus*, this change was also recorded on the Siscian types.

The material from Trijebanj and Bjelovar conforms to Jeločnik's observations in that it also clearly shows a division into two

133 Voetter 1920, 106–107.

134 Sutherland 1967, *Siscia*, RIC 6, nos. 479–481.

135 Sutherland 1967, 452.

136 Sutherland 1967, 479.

137 Jeločnik 1973, 67–70, 152–155.

138 It is difficult to give a definite answer whether emperor or mint masters were responsible for the minting of coins. What we can say with certainty is that decisions about images and legends were made at the top; imperial coins show the emperor as he wanted to be seen. Coins were issued by the central authorities which means they can be considered official documents (Manders 2020, 207). The idea of coins as messages of imperial ideology is at present widely accepted (Hekster 2003, 15; Rowan 2012, 2; Hekster *et al.* 2019, 612; FitzGerald 2017, 38). Coins can be used as representative of imperial ideology or even 'propaganda', or at least as a purposeful imperial message to disseminate particular representations, without focusing on the question of precise authorship. Coinage presents an image constructed in order to represent the emperor in a particular light, and it is not a reflection of emperor's personal beliefs or feelings, especially in the period of tetrarchy, when the basic output of different mints changes drastically, depending on who is in control, because of the practise of shared minting (Noreña 2001, 160; Wolters 2003; Heesch 2012, 173; FitzGerald 2017, 39; Manders 2020, 207).

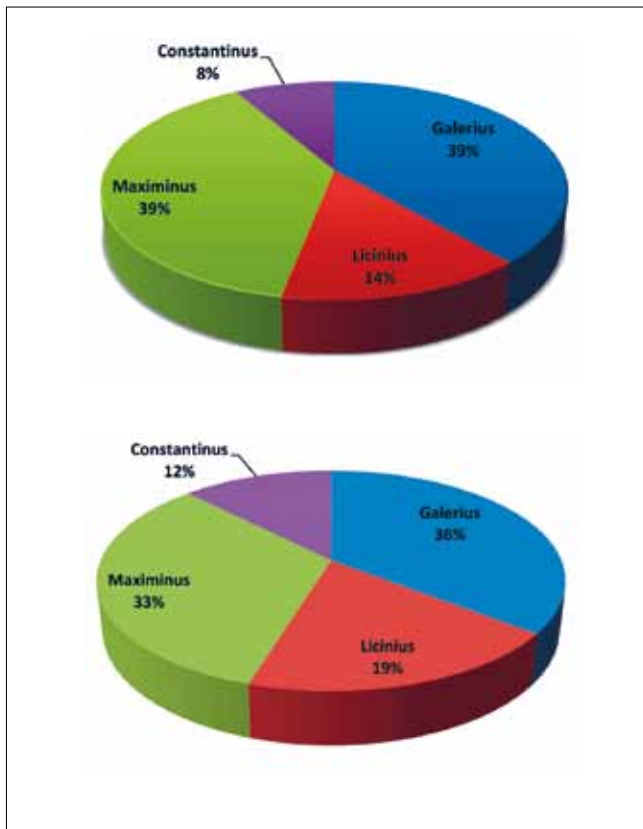


DIAGRAM 1. Representation of emperors in the hoards of Trijebanj (upper), Bjelovar (made by A. Pavlović).

separate groups depending on the diameter of the circle framing the image (24 and 22 mm), but there are also some specimens that deviate from Jeločnik's scheme. Some similar pieces have already been presented in Bruun's analysis of this type,<sup>339</sup> and now we can add our new variants to them. We have a total of 662 specimens of the *Genio Augusti* type and only five of the *Genio Caesaris* type. Such a ratio of the types' representation coincides with the historical situation explained above.

### *Genio Augusti/Caesaris* types from Trijebanj and Bjelovar

Galerius and Maximinus are equally represented in the Trijebanj hoard, with 51 specimens each (Diagram 1). Licinius has 19 specimens, and Constantine only 11. In Bjelovar, Galerius is the most numerous ruler, with 186 specimens. He is followed by Maximinus, with a slight difference, at 172 specimens, while Licinius's representation is almost twice as large as Constantine's (101 : 65). Both hoards have a similar composition when we consider the representation of emperors. In both Bjelovar and Trijebanj, Galerius is in first place, then Maximinus, followed by Licinius and Constantine.

When we look at the compositions of both hoards with regard to the type of legend (Diagrams 2–3), in the *Genio Augusti* type, the legend *Imp P F Aug* predominates in both hoards. The legend

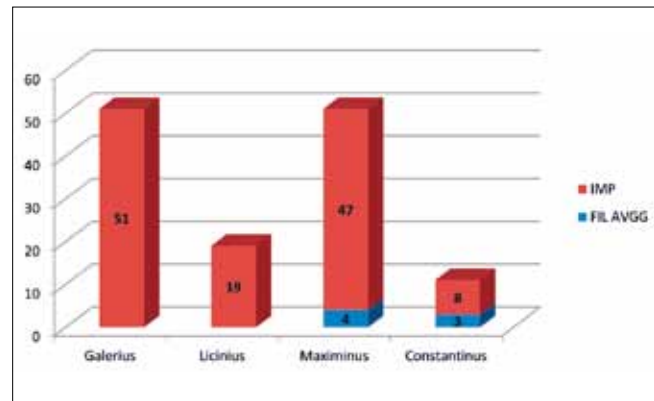


DIAGRAM 2. Imperial obverse titles in the *Genio Augusti* type; Trijebanj, 132 specimens (made by A. Pavlović).

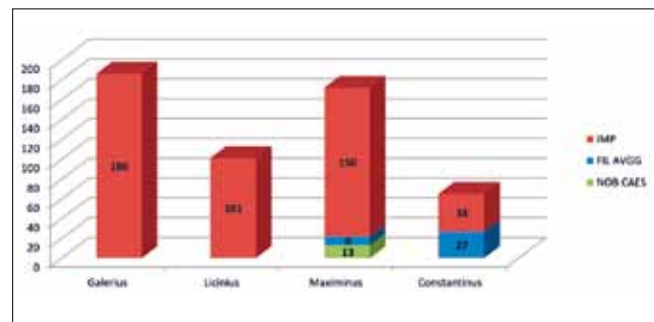


DIAGRAM 3. Imperial obverse titles in the *Genio Augusti* type; Bjelovar, 524 specimens (made by A. Pavlović).

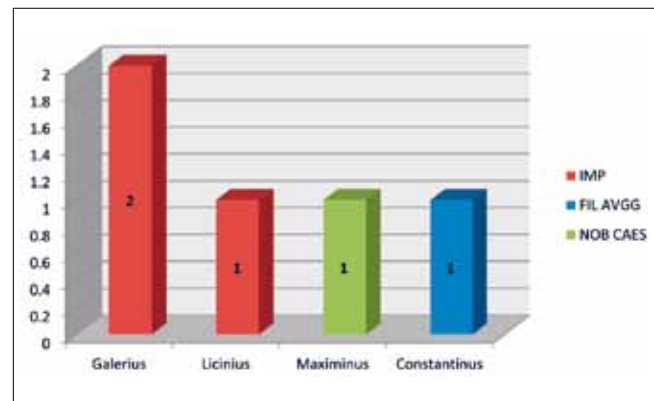


DIAGRAM 4. Imperial obverse titles in the *Genio Caesaris* type; Bjelovar, 5 specimens (made by A. Pavlović).

*Nob Caes* is the rarest and occurs only with Maximinus, while *Fil Augg* is present for both Maximinus and Constantine, with Constantine having a greater number of specimens with that title. In the *Genio Caesaris* type, there are not enough specimens for an adequate statistical analysis (Diagram 4).

If we look at the distribution of work in individual officinae (Tab. 5–7), we see that officinae  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  can be connected to one group, and officinae  $\delta$ ,  $\epsilon$  and  $\zeta$  to another. To officina  $\alpha$  there belong 104 specimens (15.85%), to officina  $\beta$  120 specimens (18.29%), and to officina  $\gamma$  166 specimens (25.30%). Their ratio is fairly even, with officina  $\gamma$  standing out as the most active work-

	Galerius	Licinius	Maximinus	Constantinus
A	15	1	2+4	2+2
B	8	5	1+15	1
Γ	12	2	1+8+[1]	1+3
Δ	5	4	8	
E	5	4	4	
ς	6	2	7	2
?		1		
	51	19	4+46+[1] = 51	3+8 = 11

TABLE 5. Distribution of legends in the *Genio Augusti* type by officina; Trijebanj (made by A. Pavlović).

	Galerius	Licinius	Maximinus	Constantinus
A	30	11	1+1+23	6+6
B	39	20	3+2+27	3+3
Γ	43	28	9+6+25	18+9
Δ	18	16	23	6
E	23	17	23	1
ς	24	8	24	11
?	9	1	5	2
	186	101	13+9+150 = 172	27+38 = 65

TABLE 6. Distribution of legends in the *Genio Augusti* type by officina; Bjelovar (made by A. Pavlović).

shop, only due to the number of specimens. On the other hand, officinae δ, ε and ζ have lesser production, but again equal to each other: δ 80 specimens (12.19%), ε 77 specimens (11.73%), and ζ 84 specimens (12.80%). Among the emperors, officinae α, β and γ minted a larger number of pieces for Galerius than officinae δ, ε and ζ. For Licinius, officinae β, γ, δ and ε minted equal quantities of nummi, while in officinae α and ζ a significantly smaller number of specimens struck for this emperor is noticeable. The most even distribution is obtained for Maximinus. For him, all officinae minted in more or less the same quantities. For Constantine, the two mints that minted least for Licinius minted more intensively: α and ζ. The difference is that officina γ also minted for him, producing the largest number of specimens. Compared to those three officinae of Constantine, the number of specimens in officinae β, δ and ε is noticeably smaller. If we compare the production of the officinae by emperor, all six officinae struck equal amounts for emperors Galerius and Maximinus, and slightly fewer for Licinius. Only Constantine stands out: for him, the β, δ and ε officinae issued a significantly smaller percentage. We see that some officinae specialized in minting coins of individual emperors. This pattern points to a

high level of specialization in certain officinae within the mint, which coincides with similar observations already noticed during the analysis of the *Iovi Conservatori Augg Nn* type from the Trijebanj hoard.<sup>140</sup>

The material also presents us with a number of specimens that do not fit into Jeločnik's scheme of the *Genio Augusti* type:

1) a nummus of Galerius with a diameter of 24 mm minted in officina δ (Fig. 2);<sup>141</sup>

140 Pavlović 2015. On the organization of mints after Diocletian's reform and their centralization see also Heesch 2012, 164. Heesch has analysed mintmarks as signs meant to identify the minters who made the coins and offer some guarantee against fraud, which were introduced as part of the administrative regulations. His analysis shows that mintmarks changed frequently during the tetrarchic period. It looks as if each mark changed every 16 months or so, with the exception of Siscia, where the marks changed apparently twice as quickly as anywhere else. With the advent of tetrarchy, autonomous, city and provincial mints disappeared and imperial mints became factories, which in times of increased inflation had to demonstrate a high level of industrialization and control of the minting process (Heesch 2012, 167).

141 Pavlović 2013, Trijebanj, cat. no. 47, C47583, 5,92 g; 6 h.

	Galerius	Licinius	Maximinus	Constantinus	
A	45	12	$1+3+27 = 31$	$8+8 = 16$	104
B	47	25	$3+3+42 = 48$	$3+4 = 7$	120
Γ	55	30	$9+7+33+[1] = 50$	$19+12 = 31$	166
Δ	23	20	31	6	80
E	28	21	27	1	77
ς	30	10	31	13	84
?	9	2	5	2	18
	237	120	$13+13+197 = 223$	$30+46 = 76$	

TABLE 7. Distribution of legends in the *Genio Augusti* type by officina; Trijebanj + Bjelovar (made by A. Pavlović).



FIGURE 2. Nummus of Galerius (photo by A. Pavlović).



FIGURE 3. Nummus of Maximinus II (photo by A. Pavlović).



FIGURE 4. Nummus of Maximinus II (photo by A. Pavlović).



FIGURE 5. Nummus of Maximinus II (photo by A. Pavlović).



FIGURE 6. Nummus of Constantine I (photo by A. Pavlović).



FIGURE 7. Nummus of Maximinus II (photo by A. Pavlović).

2) two nummi of Maximinus II with a diameter of 24 mm, one minted in officina ε (Fig. 3);<sup>142</sup> the other in officina ζ (Fig. 4);<sup>143</sup> both with the obverse title *Imp P F Aug*;

3) a nummus of Maximinus II, diameter 22 mm, with obverse title *Fil Augg*, minted in officina β (Fig. 5);<sup>144</sup>

4) a nummus of Constantine I, diameter 22 mm, with obverse title *Fil Augg*, minted in officina γ (Fig. 6);<sup>145</sup>

5) a nummus of Maximinus II with an obverse diameter of 24 mm and a reverse diameter of 22 mm, with the obverse title *Imp P F Aug*, minted in officina β (Fig. 7).<sup>146</sup>

To these we can also add the specimens published by Bruun (1988, 122):

6) nummi of Galerius and Licinius with a diameter of 24 mm: Galerius from officina ζ, Licinius from ε<sup>147</sup> = corresponding to our specimen number 1 above;

7) nummi of Maximinus II diameter 22 mm with the obverse legend *Fil Augg*<sup>148</sup> = corresponding to the specimen number 3 above;

8) nummi of Constantine I, diameter 22 mm with obverse title *Fil Augg*<sup>149</sup> = corresponding to the specimen number 4 above;

9) nummi of Maximinus II diameter 24 mm, with obverse title *Imp P F Aug*<sup>150</sup> = corresponding to the specimen number 2 above;

10) nummus of Constantine I diameter 24 mm, with obverse title *Imp P F Aug*.<sup>151</sup>

These examples show that the division of diameters into 24 mm and 22 mm cannot be limited to the fact that the 24 mm diameter was minted only in officinae α, β and γ (see (1) = (6), (2) = (9) and (10)), and that the legend *Fil Augg* cannot be linked only to the α, β and γ officinae (see (3) = (7)). The situation is further complicated if we take into account the fact that certain legends have a dot that marks the space between the words, namely in the case of Licinius, in the cases of Constantine and Maximinus with the title *Fil Augg*, and in the case of Galeria Valeria. The material shows us that, during the minting of these two series of coins, a larger-diameter die was again used and that the number of officinae increased after Constantine and Maximinus were proclaimed Augusti. The new picture of the sequence of individual emissions during the minting of this type indicates the uniqueness of the Siscian mint: after the first phase with a diameter of 24 mm and the second phase with a diameter of 22 mm, we again have coins with a diameter of 24 mm. Thus, the diameter of the circle that frames the image on the coin does

not appear to be a decisive factor when dividing the *Genio Augusti* and *Caesaris* types. Proof of this is a nummus of Maximinus with the title *Imp*, obverse diameter 24 mm, and reverse diameter 22 mm (Fig. 7). Even if we set aside the (real!) possibility that it was a simple mistake by a worker, this specimen still testifies that dies of different diameters were used in parallel at one point in time in the Siscian mint. The solution to the differentiation of individual emissions is offered by Bruun in his exhaustive analysis of this type,<sup>152</sup> pointing out that the only possible solution for distinguishing whether individual issues with the *Imp* legend belong to the first or second series is to be found in a careful study of the combination of an individual legend, with and/or without a dot and changes in the portraiture of the emperors on the obverse. Through detailed analysis and comparison of portraits on previous and new emissions of *Genio Augusti/Caesaris*, he proved that, after the reopening of the mint, cyclical minting was applied in Siscia, combining minting plates of various diameters with subtle changes in portraits and legends.<sup>153</sup>

## Conclusion

*Genio Augusti* and *Genio Caesaris* types mark the first major monetary issue after the reopening of the Siscia mint. That opening can be dated to the time after the conference in Carnuntum, that is, after November 308. The first types struck by the mint are celebratory reduced nummi, unique in the tetrarchic monetary system of the time, with the reverse legend *Victoria Augg et Caess* and *Virtvs Augg et Caess*. They are minted for a very short time, probably in the single officina that was active at the time. The next emission is *Genio Augusti* and *Caesaris* types. Their first phase is recorded on the unique Galerius nummus found in the Čentur C hoard with the crescent mark in the left field and the *Sis* mint mark in the exergue, but without the officina mark in the right field of the display on the reverse (Fig. 1c; Kos 1995, Pl. 10: 3).<sup>154</sup> This nummus would indicate a pre-phase of the *Genio Augusti* and *Caesaris* type with an elaborate mint-mark, but without additional emission marks, which indicates that only one officina was still active in the Siscian mint. After that, the production of the standard types of *Augusti* and *Caesaris* begins, visible also in other mints of the territories of Licinius, Galerius and Maximinus. They are minted in two successive series, the first in three officinae, the second in six. Apart from the differences in the diameter of individual emissions and in the portraiture of the emperors, a more reliable criterion would be the obverse titles. In the earliest phase, the

142 Pavlović 2013, Trijebanj, cat. no. 3175, C41988, 6.33 g; 12 h.

143 Pavlović 2013, Trijebanj, cat. no. 3182, C41995, 5.66 g; 6 h.

144 Pavlović 2013, Trijebanj, cat. no. 3137, C41958, 6.44 g; 6 h.

145 Pavlović 2013, Trijebanj, cat. no. 5234, C46495, 6.18 g; 6 h.

146 Pavlović 2013, Trijebanj, cat. no. 3154, C41970, 5.82 g; 12 h.

147 Bruun 1998, 122; for Galerius Fig. 12, J 4332; for Licinius Fig. 13, J 4335.

148 Bruun 1988, 122, Č 369 minted in officina β, Č 374 in officina γ.

149 Bruun 1988, 122, Č 364, Fig. 11, minted in officina α; Č 376 in officina γ, J 4343 in officina ?.

150 Bruun 1988, 122, J 4342, Fig. 14, from officina ζ; ANS 760082 from officina ε.

151 Bruun 1988, 122, ANS 760074, Fig. 15, from officina ζ.

152 Bruun 1988, 123–132.

153 On this see Bruun 1988, 131–132. Bruun also provides a schematic representation of individual emissions.

154 Jeločnik, Kos 1983, 76, 449; Bruun 1988, 130; Kos 1995, 92.

VICTORIA AVGG ET CAESS	SIS	November 308	
VIRTVS AVGG ET CAESS	SIS	November 308	
GENIO AVGVSTI	crescent / SIS	November 308	
GENIO AVGVSTI GENIO CAESARIS VENERI VICTRICI	crescent / α, β, Γ SIS	to January 309	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG IMP LIC (●) LICINIVS P F AVG MAXIMINVS NOB CAES ??
GENIO AVGVSTI GENIO CAESARIS VENERI VICTRICI	crescent / α, β, Γ SIS	to May 310	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG IMP LIC (●) LICINIVS P F AVG MAXIMINVS FIL (●) AVGG CONSTANTINVS FIL (●) AVGG
GENIO AVGVSTI VENERI VICTRICI	crescent / α, β, Γ, Δ, ε, ζ SIS	to May 311	IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG IMP LIC (●) LICINIVS P F AVG IMP MAXIMINVS P F AVG IMP CONSTANTINVS P F AVG

TABLE 8. Emissions of bronze coins in the Siscian mint from 308 until the death of Galerius (made by A. Pavlović).

short-lived title *Nob Caes* is used, only for Maximinus (November 308 – January 309), which is replaced by the title *Fil Augg* under Maximinus and Constantine (from January 309 to May 310) and finally by the title *Imp* for all four emperors (from May 310 until Galerius's death in the spring of 311). Of course, Galerius and Licinius were marked with the title of *Imp* from the beginning. It should also be noted that the legends *Nob Caes* and *Fil Augg* originate exclusively from the first three officinae (α, β and γ), which points to the specialization of monetary produc-

tion within the mint. The legends of its imperial titulature bear witness to the intense historical period during which these types were issued. They record all the stages of the political clash between Maximinus and Galerius in the foreground, and, indirectly, Constantine, expressed through the prism of Licinius's interests. The sequence of emissions at the Siscian mint in this phase, which is characterized by the *Genio Augusti* type, would look like this (Tab. 8).

## SAŽETAK

### NUMI TIPA GENIO AUGUSTI I GENIO CAESARIS U SISIJSKOJ KOVNICI

Brončana novčana emisija tipova *Genio Augusti* i *Genio Caesaris* povezana je s ponovnim otvaranjem siscijske kovnice nakon njezina privremenog prestanka rada tijekom nestabilnih povijesnih zbivanja 307. i 308. godine. Navedeni novčani tipovi odražavaju složene dinastičke sukobe i borbe za vlast, karakteristične za razdoblje nakon konferencije u Karnuntu u studenome 308. godine te smrti cara Galerija u svibnju 311. godine. Uz malobrojne pisane izvore, ponajprije djela Laktancija i Euzebija, temeljni izvori za proučavanje ovoga razdoblja nalaze

se u numizmatičkoj, epigrafskoj i papirološkoj građi, koja omogućuje dublji uvid u pozadinu složenih političkih odnosa među pripadnicima tetarhijskog kolegija. U radu se iznose rezultati analize materijala iz dviju velikih ostava tetarhijskog novca – iz Trijebnja u Bosni i Hercegovini te iz Bjelovara u Hrvatskoj – u kojima su tipovi *Genio Augusti* i *Genio Caesaris* izrazito brojno zastupljeni, s ukupno 667 primjeraka. Ujedno se iznose novi zaključci o tipologiji, okolnostima emisije i vremenu kovanja navedenih tipova u siscijskoj kovnici.

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