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THE HALMYRIS TETRARCHIC INSCRIPTION

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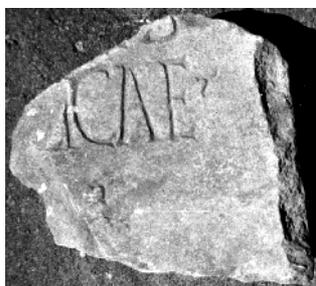
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THE HALMYRIS TETRARCHIC INSCRIPTION

The Site. Since 1981 large-scale archaeological excavations have been carried out at the fort located 2.5 km east of the today Murighiol commune, where the ancient *Halmyris* (gr. Ἀλμυρίς; lat. *Salmorus / Halmyris, Thalamonium*) has been identified. Three main periods in the existence of the site have been evidenced: Getic (4th – 1st centuries B. C.); early Roman (1st – 3rd centuries A. D.) and late Roman (4th – 7th centuries A. D.) spanning from the 4th century B. C. to the 7th century A. D.¹

The Finds.* Among other epigraphical finds two fragmentary marble plaques were uncovered during the 1986 and 1987 excavations.

Fragment *a*: a light grey marble plaque (0.24 m x 0.28 m x 0.08 m) with six letters, found during the 1986 excavations in [] U 2 in the debris of a second half of the 6th century building. The text reads:



§
L·I·C·A·E

Fragment *b*: light grey marble plaque (0.75 m x 0.52 m x 0.08 m) found during the 1987 excavations in [] H 1. The text has six lines. It reads:



5
MAXIMIA
HICISMAX
MAXPERSICIS
VMGENTES
MREIPVBL
R

* We are glad to express our gratitude to Dr. Alexandru Suceveanu who kindly offered fragment *b* to us for publication, and who contributed in tracking down new ways in the work of restitution, to Dr. Alexandru Barnea for his valuable remarks, to Dr. C. C. Petolescu for his pertinent observations, to Dr. Everett L. Wheeler, for his competence with which he discussed many aspects involved in the inscription, to Dr. Maria Barbulescu and Dr. Octavian Bounegru for their valuable remarks concerning the text. We also thank Cornel Draghia for much competence and work in processing the text of the inscription

¹ Al. Suceveanu, M. Zahariade, Un nouveau vicus sur le territoire de la Dobroudja romaine, *Dacia* NS XXXIX 1986, 1–2, 109–120; Al. Suceveanu, M. Zahariade, Du nom antique de la cité romaine et romaine tardive d'Independenta (départ. Tulcea), *Dacia* NS XXXI 1987, 1–2, 87–96; M. Zahariade, Al. Suceveanu, A. Opait, C. Opait, Fl. Topoleanu, The early and late Roman Fortification at Independenta Tulcea county, *Dacia* NS XXXI 1987, 1–2, 97–106; M. Zahariade, An Early and Late Roman Fort on the Lower Danube: Halmyris, Tulcea county, Romania, *Roman Frontier Studies* 1989. Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, University of Exeter Press 1991, 311–317.

Both fragments were found in upper layers, at a distance of about 40 m from one another (Fig. 1) in a secondary position, suggesting that the initial inscription was broken into pieces which were later re-used within the structure of the stone and clay walls.



Fig. 1. The Halmyris Inscription Restored.

General description. The height of the letters on both fragments is 0.07–0.08 m. The identical thickness, colour and structure of the marble as well as the almost perfect joining of the edges of the fragments, from which the reading *reipublicae* appears clearly, show that the two pieces belong to the same inscription.

In l. 2 of fragment *b* before *icis* there is the lower part of a letter proceeding rather from an N, H or I, than a P, R or T which seem unlikely because of the limited space to the next letter; the reading should therefore be *nicis* or rather *hicis*.

l. 6: the top of a loop of a letter proceeding from an *R*.

Joining the two fragments gives the following text:

	maximīa
	hicis max
	max persicis
	um gentes
5	m reipublicae
	‡

A major aspect of the restoration of the text is that the two joined fragments represent the right lower part of a monumental inscription. This view is supported by the absence of any traces of other letters after the words *gentes* (l. 4) and *reipublicae* (l. 5). The asymmetrical position of a *hedera* under the word *reipublicae* of the previous line suggests that it belongs to the last line of the inscription.

There is a series of four Tetrarchic inscriptions along the Lower Danube containing basically the same text as the Halmyris piece. They serve as good comparison items to our inscription.

Donje Butorke, Moesia Prima (A. Cermanović – Kuzmanović, *Starinar* NS 28–29, 1979, 134–135):
 IMPP CAESS C VAL AVR DIOCLETIANVS / ET M AVR VAL MAXIMIANVS PP FF / INVICTI
 AVGG ET FL VAL CONSTANTIVS / ET GALERIVS VAL MAXIMIANVS / NOBILISSIMI
 CAESARES GERMANICI / MAXIMI SARMATICI MAXIMI PRO / FVTVRVM IN AETERNVM
 REIPUBLICAE / PRAESIDIVM CONSTITVERVNT (299–300).

Sexaginta Prista (Ruse), Moesia Secunda (J. Kolendo, *Eirene* 5, 1966, 139–154): IMPERATORES CAES[S] GAIVS AVR VAL DIOCLETIANVS ET M A[V]R VAL / MAXIMIANVS PII FEL INVICTI AVG[G ET FL] / VAL CONSTANTIVS ET GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS [NOBB] CAES[S] / GERMANICI MAXIMI [V] SARMAT MAXIM[I IIII] PERSICI M[AX II] / BRITTANNICI [MAX] POST DEBELLAT HOSTIVM GENT / CONFIRMATA [OR]BI S[V]O TRANQVILLITATE PRO FVTVRVM IN AETERNVM REIPVBLICAE / PRAESIDIVM CONSTITVERVNT (298–299).

Transmarisca (Tutrakan), Moesia Secunda (CIL III 6151): IMPERATORES CAESS GAIVS AVR VAL DIOCLETIANVS / ET M AVR VAL MAXIMIANVS PII FELICES INVICTI AVGG ET FL VAL / CONSTANTIVS ET GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOBB CAESS GERMANICI / CI MAXIMI V SARMAT MAX IIII PERSICI MAX II BRITANNICI MAXIMI / POST DEBELLATIS HOST[IVM] GENTIS (sic!) CONFIRMATA ORBI SVO / [TRANQVILLITATE PRO FVTVRVM IN AETERNVM REIPVBLI]CAE PRAESIDIV / M CONSTITVERVNT (294–299).

Durostorum (Silistra), Moesia Secunda (AE 1936, no. 10): [IMPP CAESS C AVR VAL D]IOCLETIANVS / [ET M AVR VAL MAXIMIANV]S PP FF INVICT[I] / [AVGG ET FL VAL CONSTANTI]VS ET GAL VAL / [MAXIMIANVS NOBILISSIMI] CAESS GERMAN / [MAX V SARMAT MAX III]I GOTHICI MAX / [BRITTAN MAX POST DEBELLA]TAS HOSTIM (sic!) / [GENTES CONFIRMATA ORBI SV]O TR[ANQVIL] / [LITATE PRO FVTVRVM IN AETERNVM REIPVBLICAE PRAESI] / [DIVM CONSTITVERVNT] (292–299)²

Unlike the other four Tetrarchic inscriptions the Halmyris text is written up in the Dative case as clearly shown by the imperial victory titles *hicis* (l. 2) and *Persicis* (l. 3) respectively.

Restitution. The wording on the Halmyris fragments evidences that they were part of a dedicatory inscription set during the Tetrarchic period just like in the other Danubian cases cited above.

L. 4 contains the word *gentes* preceded by the letters *um* coming from a most likely [*hosti*]um according to the known wording in the case of *Sexaginta Prista*, *Transmarisca* and *Durostorum*; in the Donje Butorke inscription such a word is missing. The complete and correct reading of l. 4 should therefore be [*post debellatas hosti*]um *gentes*.

In l. 5 before *reipublicae* there is the lower left part of an *m* and the reading [*aeternu*]m appears to be the only solution. The *Sexaginta Prista*, *Transmarisca* and *Durostorum* inscriptions bear: *post debellatas hostium gentes confirmata orbi suo tranquillitate pro futurum in aeternum reipublicae praesidium constituerunt*³ referring to the building efforts after the victories won over the enemies. The Donje Butorke inscription has a more simple and direct wording following the imperial salutations: *pro futurum in aeternum reipublicae praesidium constituerunt*.⁴ The spacing of the words on the Halmyris fragments shows that after the wording [*post debellatas hosti*]um *gentes* in l. 4 a continuation of the text with the 34 letters of *confirmata orbi suo tranquillitate* including the interstices at the beginning of l. 5. is not possible, as long as there is no room for these words before [*in aeternu*]m. The complete wording in the Halmyris inscription appears therefore to have had a shortened variant such as: [*post debellatas hosti*]um *gentes* / [*pro futurum in aeternu*]m *reipublicae* . . .

As to the succession *reipublicae* [*praesidium*], after *hedera* following the letter *e* (from *reipublicae*) the space is apparently too wide to accept the continuation of the line. Or, if l. 5 does not continue with [*praesidium*], which is very likely, this word would be obligatorily placed in l. 6 of the fragment before the most possible and probable [*constitue*]runt of which only the upper part of the loop of an R is

² The final three lines of the *Durostorum* inscription are restored by Russu as: [*gentes confirmata orbi suo*] tr[anqil] / [*litate in aeternum Durostori praesi*] / [*dium constituerunt*] which definitely does not fit the known Tetrarchic pattern of the other three inscriptions along the Danube.

³ It is significant that this particular expression seems to be unique in the Tetrarchic epigraphy and it is characteristic only of the Lower Danubian region for this kind of building activities.

⁴ Cermanović – Kuzmanović 130 1.6–8 (Donje Butorke).

preserved. The two words placed in the same line appear as such in the case of Donje Butorke and Sexaginta Prista while at Transmarisca the last line has *constituerunt* only.⁵

Thus, lines 4–6 of the text in the Halmyris inscription must have been:

5 *[post debellatas hosti]um gentes*
 [pro futurum in aeternu]m reipublicae
 [praesidium constitue]r[unt]

This would represent a third variant of wording in the Sexaginta Prista, Transmarisca and Durostorum series of inscriptions on the one hand and the Donje Butorke on the other.

The restitution of the Tetrarchic imperial titulature in the Halmyris inscription raises apparently no major difficulty as compared to the other four Tetrarchic inscriptions. A general remark is that on the Halmyris fragment the imperial victory titles are not followed by the usual iterations. Table I shows the Emperors' titles and iterations recording victories between 284–305 and Table II compares the imperial victory titles in the five Danubian inscriptions and other sources.

The first common title of the Tetrarchs to be supposed in the Halmyris inscription is *Germanicis maximis* and is to be placed in l. 2.⁶ There are two variants of reading in this line both with some implications as to the text of the inscription. On the lower left side of I there are traces of a letter proceeding from an N or H. If l. 2 had had *Nobilissimis Caess*, as in the Donje Butorke inscription, the reading *[Germa]nicis max* would have been possible and therefore the lower part of the letter could have belonged to an N. In the abbreviated variant, *Nobb Caes* the title *Germanicis max.* would fall much to the left.

Another solution in this case is an H which necessarily brings about an almost certain and previous T, therefore *[t]hicus max.* What would this imply? Such a restoration could produce but the title *[Got]hicus max.* The title is rarely attested in inscriptions, papyri and literary sources. In a recent study,⁷ P. Brennan tried to present the relations of the Tetrarchic regime with the Goths as peaceful enough, except for the conflict between 292–294, for Diocletian not to assume officially the Gothic title.⁸

A list of *P. Thead.* 2, 2 dated 11-03-303 which contains an imperial letter of 300 clearly records the title *Gothicus*. *P. Oxy.* 889 with the titulature *[Ge]rmanikos megistos, Gounthik[os megistos]* initially dated 12-12-300 has been recently ascribed to Constantine.⁹ In accordance with G. M. Parassoglu, the

⁵ Cermanović – Kuzmanović 130 l. 8 (Donje Butorke); Kolendo 1966, 148 l. 6–7. (Sexaginta Prista); CIL III 6151 l. 6–7 (Transmarisca); AE 1936, 10 l. 8–9 (Durostorum). It is noticeable, however, that in the Donje Butorke inscription the lapidary left some space between the letters P and R of the word praesidium large enough to obtain a symmetry of the text.

⁶ On this title see W. Seston, *Diocletien et la Tétrarchie. Guerres et réformes (284–300)*, Paris, passim; J. Kolendo 1966, 147–148. *Les guerres contre les Carpes pendant les dernières guerres de la Tétrarchie*, *Hommage à Marcel Renard* 2 Col. Latomus, vol. 102 Bruxelles 1969, 380; idem, *La chronologie des guerres contre les Germains au cours des dernières années de la Tétrarchie*, *Klio* 52, 1970, 197–203; T. D. Barnes, *The imperial campaigns A. D. 285–311*, *Phoenix* 30, 1976, 2, 176–180; 188; 190; 192–193; J. Lukanć, *Diocletianus. Der römische Kaiser aus Dalmatien*, Wetteren 1991, 32.

⁷ P. Brennan, *Diocletian and the Goths*, *Phoenix* 38, 1984, 2, 142–146; cf. Barnes 1976, 187 note 53; CIL VIII 7003. The CIL authors restore *[Par]thicus, Persicis Sarmati [cis]*; cf. W. Ensslin, *Valerius (Diocletianus)*, RE XIV 2, 1948, 2430; see Brennan's commentary, 143; *[Par]thicus* by this time appears as an anachronism used not only in the literary sources and *[Go]thicus* seems the only reasonable restitution; cf. CIL VIII 21 447; 21 448 = Eph. Ep. VII no. 523–524. In CIL VIII 21 450 = Eph. Ep. V no. 1038 *[Gothico]* is conjecturally restored, the full title falling into the break of the inscription. It is true that *Gothicus Maximus* does not appear in the preamble of the *Edictum de Pretiis* of November–December 301 considered as the most complete Tetrarchic titulature. On the other hand, the equivalence of the titles *Carpicus* with *Gothicus* (Kolendo 1966, 148) cannot be accepted; cf. Barnes 1976; 187 note 53; Brennan, 142 note 3.

⁸ Brennan, 143–144; Ensslin 1948, 1430 accepts the title for the Tetrarchic team; as a consequence he restores the Circa and Gunugu inscriptions with the salutation *Gothicus Maximus*.

⁹ Ensslin 1948, 1520; T. D. Barnes, *The new Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1982, 234–236; Brennan l. c.

last editor of the document, P. Brennan suggests *Armenicus* instead of *Gothicus* admitting, however, that the variant *Armenicus* would be a unique titlature in the period 301–306.¹⁰

The titles *Gothicus* in the Durostorum inscription and *P. Thead. 2, 2* are doubtless and in the Cirta and Gunugu restitutions very likely (Tab II). On the other hand, Lactantius alludes to a conflict with the Goths: *cum irridens diceret victorias Gothorum et Sarmatarum propositus*.¹¹ If the panegyrist of 291 speaks only of the war with the Sarmatians¹², that of 01-03-297 stresses *submittente se Gotho pace poscenda* which means a previous conflict with the Goths.¹³

The title *Gothicus* although not much used in the official Tetrarchic epigraphy and missing particularly in the standardized *Edictum de Pretiis* is, however, a constitutive imperial part of titlature and its record in the Halmyris inscription seems very likely.¹⁴

The second Tetrarchic victory title is *Sarmatici Maximi*¹⁵ which in the Halmyris inscription could be accommodated at the beginning of l. 5.

In both inscriptions and papyri, *Persici Maximi* stands before *Britannici Maximi* which ends the series of imperial titles and iterations in the Sexaginta Prista, Transmarisca and Durostorum inscriptions. On the Halmyris fragment the spacing in l. 5 after the possible and very probable [*Sarmaticis max*] requires another victory title before *Persici[max]*, for the space between [*Sarmaticis max*] and *Persici[max]* would have been too large. On the other hand, if after *Persici[max]* one accepted [*Britannici] max* the length of the wording [*post debellatas hosti]um* would not fit before *hosti]um gentes*.

The estimation of the width of the letters in the Halmyris inscription imposes a variant of restitution different from the usual succession of the imperial titles but perfectly possible. We propose, therefore, [*Sarmaticis max*], [*Britannici*, or perhaps, *Britannici] max*, *Persici[max]*.¹⁶ As far as we know, the succession *Britannici Maximi*, before *Persici Maximi* has not yet been recorded in the imperial titlatures.¹⁷ The Halmyris inscription seems to have, quite contrary to other examples, a chronological rather than a cumulative Tetrarchic titlature in which the title *Persici[max]* of 298 is subsequent to [*Britannici] max* of 296 and must, therefore, be placed after it.

Another major point in restoring the Halmyris inscription is the use of the dative case which is not in accordance with [*constitue]r[unt]* at the end of the text. The only solution required in this case would be the relative pronoun *qui* which matches perfectly [*post debellatas hosti]um gentes* with [*constitue]r[unt]* which ends the text. The final reading of the Halmyris inscription seems very likely to have been (Fig. 1):

¹⁰ Brennan 145

¹¹ Lactantius, *Mort. Pers.* 13. 2.

¹² Pan. Lat. XI [3] 5, 4, 7, 1; 16, 1; for a war with the Sarmatians see A. Alföldy, *Der Pannonien-Aufenthalt Diokletians im Jahre 294 und die Sarmatischen Kriege der Tetrarchie*, *Arch Ert.* 1941, 49–58; cf. Kolendo 1966, 152; Barnes 1976, 175, 177–178; 186–188.

¹³ Pan. Lat. VIII [5] 10,4; cf. Brennan: 146. The assignment of the title after this year would result of the date of the Gunugu inscription and of the fact that papyri in which it is recorded are later than A. D. 300, although, if we accept as valuable the Cirta restitution that would mean an early inclusion of the title within the general titlature, even if temporary.

¹⁴ Besides the epigraphical sources mentioned above see also: CIL XIII 5249 (a. 294) at Vitudurum (Germania Superior) where the restitution [*Ger. max II*] before *Sar. max.*, *Pers. max.* for Diocletian's and Maximian's titlatures seems more probable than *Gothicus max*. It is true, on the other hand, that the salutation *Gothicus Maximus* seems to have been scarcely used in the Tetrarchic epigraphy as a result of some local victories, but its existence is doubtless; cf. Brennan: 146.

¹⁵ For *Sarmaticus Maximus* see Pan. Lat. VIII [5] 5, 1; Chron. Min. 1, 2 cf. Barnes 1976; 178; 187.

¹⁶ What is noticeable is the variation *Britannici* at Sexaginta Prista and *Britannici* at Transmarisca.

¹⁷ S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt*, Berlin 1971, 90; K. T. Erim, J. M. Reynolds, *The Aphrodisias copy of Diocletian's edict on maximum prices*, *JRS LXII* 1973, 99–100; Barnes 1982, 18–19 (*Edictum de Pretiis*); K. T. Erim, J. M. Reynolds, M. Crawford, *Diocletian's currency reform: a new inscription*, *JRS XLI* 1952, 171–177; Barnes 1982, 17–18 no. 1 (*edict on currency reform*); CIL XVI 157 = AE 1958 no. 190; Barnes 1982, 19–30 no. 3 (*the military diploma of 7-01-305*); AE 1961 no. 240 (*the military diploma of 7-01-306*); CIL III 6979 = ILS 660 (a. 311); in general: Barnes 1982, 255–257.

- [IMPP(eratoribus) CAESS(aribus) C(aio) AVRELIO VALERIO DIOCLETIANO]
 [ET M(arco) AVR(elio) MAXIMIANO PIIS FEL(icibus) INVICTIS AVG(ustis)]
 [ET FL(avio) VAL(erio) CONSTANTIO ET GAL(erio) VAL(erio)] MAXIMIA[NO]
 [NOBB(ilissimis) CAESS(aribus) GERMANICIS MAX(imis) GOT]HICIS MAX(imis)
 5 [SARMATICIS MAX(irnis) BRITANNICIS] MAX(imis) PERSICIS
 [MAX(imis) QVI POST DEBELLATAS HOSTI]VM GENTES
 [PROFVTVRVM IN AETERNV]M REIPVBLICAE
 [PRAESIDIVM CONSTITVE]R[VNT]

The Date. The Halmyris inscription is the fifth piece in the Tetrarchic series (Donje Butorke, Sexaginta Prista, Transmarisca, Durostorum) documented along the Danube with a text and wording basically identical. This must be the result of a previously standard model received by each provincial authority from the central government although it seems that there was a local drafting and interpretation of the text. It attests, however, the intense work of rebuilding and consolidation of the Lower Danubian sector of the limes and particularly the rebuilding of the Halmyris fort.

The history of the Halmyris fort is well reflected in the literary sources and has been more accurately evidenced by the archaeological investigations within the site. The second half of the 3rd century layers revealed a Vth level in the chronology of the site dated between 270–285 with coins from Probus and Aurelian. It is marked by the beginning of massive constructive interventions to the defence wall, gates, towers and other buildings. The VIth level has been dated, with Licinius's and Constantius's II coins to the first half of the 4th century.¹⁸

The Halmyris inscription makes these initial stratigraphical observations more specific and gives a coherent picture of the history of the fort in the late 3rd and early 4th centuries. The building interventions initiated under Aurelian and Probus and continued under the Tetrarchy seem to have been interrupted by a conflict with the Goths sometime between 292–294 when their inroads were stimulated by the massive withdrawals of troops from the Danube frontier dispatched to the Egyptian front.¹⁹

Although this conflict was merely reflected in the literary sources it seemed to have gained a certain scope; it could even have developed as inroads to the south of the Danube. The imperial visits along the Danube when Transmarisca was inspected on 18 October and Durostorum on 21 and 22 October 294,²⁰ seem to have envisaged rebuilding work. It is very likely that they were the first to be affected by the Gothic inroads. If Brennan's assumption²¹ proves to be correct that the local authorities involved directly in the conflict assumed the title *Gothicus* for the Tetrarchic team for "morale-boosting" purposes, one can suppose that Durostorum and Halmyris – just to give two known cases on the Danube – must have been the main resistance points against the Goths. On the other hand, the banishment from Asia Minor to Halmyris of Epictet and Astion, the two Christian martyrs, in 290²² must have taken place before the moment the fort was affected by the Goths' invasion. The unexpected visit to Halmyris of Latronianus, the duke of the province, recorded in detail in the *Passio Epicteti et Astyoni*, had as a main purpose not expressly the martyrdom of the two Christians but the inspection of the state of the reconstruction work.

As can be seen from the stratigraphical evidence, level V coincides with a massive rearrangement of the fortified area and building interventions to the gates, towers and the defence wall. The previous 2nd–3rd centuries plan of the fort seems now to have been mostly abandoned although some elements of the planimetry were re-used.

¹⁸ Zahariade, Suceveanu, Opaït, Opaït, Topoleanu 1987, 99–103.

¹⁹ Barnes 1976, 181; A. K. Bowman, The military occupation of Upper Egypt in the reign of Diocletian, *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 15, 1–2, 1978, 27.

²⁰ Ensslin 1948, 2439.

²¹ Brennan 1984, 146.

²² *Acta SS*, 547, 32; 544, 19–20.

The Halmyris inscription points out two distinct phases of the Vth level within the late 3rd and early 4th centuries' fort: phase *a*, starting with the Aurelian-Probus reigns when general rebuilding work of the fort was initiated. This seems to have been interrupted by the 292–294 conflict with the Goths; phase *b*, during the Tetrarchy when the building interventions were largely resumed.

The numbers of the victory titles were omitted in both the Halmyris and Donje Butorke inscriptions. If the rendering of the victory titles without the iterations means a final but local record of the imperial titulature, then the Halmyris inscription seems to date between c. 301 and 305. The Tetrarchic series of the Danubian inscriptions is generally dated before 300 and the Halmyris piece seems, therefore, the latest of the series, suggesting a prolongation of the building efforts in these regions until the first five years of the 4th century. Diocletian's journey upstream the Danube in 303 on his way from Nicomedia to Rome²³ and the circuit of the *Ripa Thraciae* in 304²⁴, combined with the victories over the Sarmatians and Carpi in 302 and over the Carpi in 303²⁵, which Lactantius alludes to, as well as the finishing of the building work in the Halmyris fortress could have been a good opportunity for the setting of the dedicatory inscription through the disposition of the duke of Scythia. The position of fragment *b* close to the western gate suggests, on the other hand, that the inscription was exhibited above it.

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²³ Lactantius, *Mort. Pers.* 13. 2; 38. 6; Barnes 1976, 191–192.

²⁴ *C. Iust.* 5. 73. 4 (8 June 302 in Durostorum).

²⁵ Lactantius, *Mort. Pers.* 17. 4.

IMPERIAL VICTORY TITLES	YEARS AND ITERATIONS																				
	DIARCHY								TETRARCHY												
	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305
Germanicus Max	I	II	III	IV					V (I*)							VI (II*)		VII (III*)	IV*	V*	
Gothicus Max										I											
Sarmaticus Max		I			II					III (I*)					?IV (II*)			III*			
Persicus Max										I (I*)				II (II*)							
Britannicus Max												I (I*)									II*
Carpicus Max												I (I*)						II*	III*	IV*	V*
Armenicus Max														I (I*)							
Medicus Max														I							
Adiabenicus Max														I (I*)							
Aegyptiacus Max																					
Thebaicus Max									I*												

Note: * Victory titles and iterations borne also by Galerius as reflected in the titles of April 311.

Table 1. The victory titles borne by the Emperors between 285–305

GUNUGU CIL VIII 21450	DONJE BUTORKE Starinar 29/30, 134-5	SEXAGINTA PRISTA Eirene 5, 139-54	TRANSMARISCA CIL III 6157	DUROSTORUM AE 1936, 10	HALMYRIS	EDICTUM DE PRETHIS CIL 3. 802-3	MISENE CIL X 3343
297	299-300	298-299	294-299	292-299	c. 301-305	301	302
Germanicus Max	Germanicus Max	Germanicus Max V	Germanicus Max V	Germanicus Max V	Germanicus Max	Germanicus Max VI	Germanicus Max
Gothicus Max					Gothicus Max		
Sarmaticus Max	Sarmaticus Max	Sarmaticus Max III	Sarmaticus Max III	Sarmaticus Max III	Sarmaticus Max	Sarmaticus Max III	
		Persicus Max II	Persicus Max II			Persicus Max II	
Britannicus Max				Gothicux Max			
						Britannicus Max	Britannicus Max
						Carpicus Max	Carpicus Max
						Armenicus Max	
						Medicus Max	Medicus Max
						Adiabenicus Max	Adiabenicus Max

Table 2. The victory titles as reflected in inscriptions