

Notes on Valentinian I's Death, Valentinian II's Elevation, and the Localization of Murocincta

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Abstract: *In his paper, the author studies the problem of the identification of the late Roman imperial villa in Pannonia called Murocincta that has been several times identified with villa unearthed in Bruckneudorf, Austria. According to Ammianus Marcellinus' account the future emperor, Valentinian II and his mother stayed in this villa when Valentinian I died in Brigetio in November, 375. According to the historian, the villa lied in a distance of 100 Roman miles from the place where the council was held about the elevation. As the young Valentinian II was proclaimed in Aquincum, the author came to the conclusion the council was held here that is why the identification of Murocincta is uncertain and all fenced (muro cincta) imperial villae in Valeria and Pannonia prima must be considered. The author examines the events of the year 375 as well, with a special regard to the places where Valentinian I stayed (in chronological order: Carnuntum, Aquincum, Savaria and Brigetio).*

Rezumat. În studiul său, autorul analizează problema identificării vilei imperiale romane târzii din Pannonia, denumită Murocincta, care a fost de mai multe ori asociată cu vila descoperită la Bruckneudorf, Austria. Conform relatării lui Ammianus Marcellinus, viitorul împărat Valentinian al II-lea și mama sa au locuit în această vilă în momentul în care Valentinian I a murit la Brigetio, în noiembrie 375. Potrivit istoricului, vila se afla la o distanță de 100 de mile romane de locul unde a avut loc consiliul privind succesiunea imperială. Întrucât tânărul Valentinian al II-lea a fost proclamat la Aquincum, autorul ajunge la concluzia că aici s-a desfășurat consiliul, motiv pentru care identificarea vilei Murocincta rămâne incertă, fiind necesar a se lua în considerare toate vilele imperiale fortificate (muro cincta) din Valeria și Pannonia Prima. Totodată, autorul examinează și evenimentele anului 375, cu o atenție specială acordată locurilor în care a poposit Valentinian I (în ordine cronologică: Carnuntum, Aquincum, Savaria și Brigetio).

Keywords: Classics, History of Late Antiquity, Valentinian I, History of Roman Pannonia, Roman villas

In the research of the late Roman history of Pannonia, based on A. Mócsy's study published decades ago², it has become a generally accepted view that Valentinian I and his family, who wanted to punish the incursion of the Sarmatians and Quadi in 374, would have stayed in the Roman villa of Bruckneudorf near Carnuntum in the summer and autumn of 375. Following the death of the emperor in November, his son, the future Valentinian II, would have been taken from here to Brigetio to be proclaimed emperor as well. The story and the name of the villa are recorded in Ammian's detailed account³, according to which the villa was called Murocincta. This criterium is fulfilled by the villa in Bruckneudorf too as it is surrounded by a wall (Figure1). In the present study, I intend to gather the arguments for and, above all, against this view, mainly on the basis of written sources. I deal in detail with the death of Valentinian and the circumstances and place of his son's election too.

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² MÓCSY 1970. I wish to thank András Bödöcs for his help.

³ AMM. XXX.10.4

Valentinian I, seeking to avenge the Sarmatian-Quadian incursion of 374, left Treveri for Pannonia in the early spring of 375 in a fast march⁴. He was certainly still in the city in early April⁵, and Zosimus⁶ could not have been much mistaken, who says that Valentinian stayed in Pannonia for nine months. On his way, he met with a delegation of the Sarmatians, but he wanted to investigate their affairs on the spot⁷. If there was no available imperial palace in the near, the rulers had to stay mainly in the *praetoria* of governors and duces⁸: as in the case of Carnuntum and Aquincum (in the late Roman period, the *dux*), which were located near the legionary fort (*ad legionem* or *castra/hiberna legionis*⁹), while in the case of Brigetio the place of residence of the commander of the legion (*praefectus*) within the fort is the most plausible choice¹⁰. In these cases, the ruler, as commander-in-chief of the army, sought accommodation close to the troops, as Ammianus clearly emphasised in the case of Carnuntum¹¹. Here, Valentinian's accommodation was most likely in the area of the *canabae*, as the civilian town (and the *canabae*) was gradually abandoned following an earthquake¹², the text is clear: *cumque exinde Carnuntum Illyriorum oppidum* (i.e. not in the camp) *introisset*¹³. He found his summer lodging in Carnuntum¹⁴, which was considered deserted and neglected (*desertum quidem nunc et squalens, sed ductori exercitus perquam opportunum*). His residence, according to Ammianus' text, can be localized clearly in the military town (*canabae*, or rather in the legionary fort, which already housed civilians, and was therefore already *oppidum* (as he names it twice)¹⁵, and not in a nearby imperial villa, especially not 15 km away (like Bruckneudorf)¹⁶. This villa can hardly have been suitable to house the whole court or to deal with the affairs cited below. The *praetorium* identified in Carnuntum, east of the legionary fort, was indeed an office building and did not serve the governor's residence¹⁷. On the other hand, the recently identified building complex with a central courtyard to the south of *praetorium* and the *castra singularium* could have been¹⁸. The emperor held the aforementioned inquiry into Pannonian affairs in Carnuntum, which was feared by local officials, and not without reason¹⁹. Despite these fears, even Maxentianus dux (Maximianus' son), who was responsible for the outbreak of the war, got

⁴ AMM. XXX.5.1: *Pubescente iam vere Valentinianus a Treveris motus*.

⁵ COD. THEOD. XII.6.16.

⁶ Zosimus IV.17.2.

⁷ AMM. XXX.5.1

⁸ FITZ 1993, 1189–1193.

⁹ AÉP 1964, 118.

¹⁰ Summarily see KOVÁCS 2018. See also EGGER 1966, 5–10, esp. 44; PISO 1993–1994; HAENSCH 1997, 349–352; NÉMETH 2011; SCHÄFER 2014. See also LAVAN 1999; LAVAN 2001.

¹¹ AMM. XXX.5.2: *ductori exercitus perquam opportunum*

¹² HUMER, MASCHEK 2007, 45–55.

¹³ AMM. XXX.5.2; see DEN BOEFT, DRIJVERS, DEN HENGST, TEITLER 2015, 105–107.

¹⁴ COD. THEOD. IX.1.12, AMM. XXX.5.2, 11.

¹⁵ AMM. XXX.5.2, 11; see GUGL 2011, 517–520.

¹⁶ The preposition *apud* together with a placename must be translated as 'in' in Ammianus' historical work (and in other late Latin works): GLARE 1968, 155–156.

¹⁷ EGGER 1966, 44.

¹⁸ GUGL, WALLNER, HINTERLEITNER, NEUBAUER 2021, 3009–3031.

¹⁹ AMM. XXX.5.3: *Et quamquam terrori cunctis erat ...*

away with it²⁰, and even Equitius²¹ and Probus PPO²² did not escape the attack. Together with the emperor, the court moved to Carnuntum only for the summer months, where he received various delegations, such as the Epirus²³, and where it also enacted laws, e.g. Faustinus notary, a relative of Viventius, was sentenced to death²⁴, and even issued decrees here²⁵. During this time (the three summer months: *per continuos tres menses aestivos*), he collected provisions for the army and he himself intended to march against the Quadi, who, he held responsible for the invasions of the previous year²⁶. At the end of the summer, Valentinian's two experienced generals, Merobaudes (magister peditum: PLRE I, Merobaudes 2 cf. Zos. IV.17.1) and Sebastianus (comes rei militaris: PLRE I, Sebastianus 2, who had already been given a similar mission by Julian the Apostate: Amm. XXIII.3.5, XXV.8.7, 16) were sent forward with the infantry to the Barbaricum, while Valentinian himself marched to Aquincum²⁷. His campaign having been unsuccessful because the enemy had fled, the emperor intended to winter in the province.

The emperor had a pontoon bridge built near the legionary fort²⁸, yet not here, but he crossed the Danube north of Aquincum, via Szentendre island²⁹. Nowhere did open battle take place, as the Quadi fled to the mountains, and the campaign turned into a virtually fruitless show of force³⁰, so Valentinian soon returned to Aquincum and stayed (*moratus*) here for a while. As autumn progressed (*autumno praecipiti*), his men could find no suitable winter quarters (*commoda hiberna*) in the near, so he had to choose the centre of Pannonia prima, Savaria. Here, the governor's palace was in relatively good condition, although Ammianus described the city itself as similar to Carnuntum³¹. The constant plagues hardly fit the barbarian invasion of 374, so the observation of L. Balla, who associated the bad situation of Savaria with the strict fiscal activities of Petronius Probus in Illyricum, is probably correct³². There is a break in Ammianus' account here, as the ruler, who was moving rapidly along the Danube, and who had in the meantime fortified the *castra* and *castella* along the river, arrived at Brigetio³³, then the historian began to list the portents of Valentinian's death³⁴: 1. comet, 2. lightning in the centre of Sirmium (burning of the *palatium*, the *curia* and the *forum*: the latter also appears in Zosimus, who in turn mentions an earthquake³⁵), 3. owl at the baths of Savaria, 4. obstacle at the city gate on his departure from Savaria, 5. in his dream his wife appears in mourning. 6. the mounting of his horse. The last events clearly show that Valentinian visited the city of Savaria, but the chronology is uncertain (or the question word *unde*, which city it refers to). First,

²⁰ AMM. XXX.5.3: *neque in Gabinii regis inquireret necem neque inusta rei publicae vulnera, quo sinente vel agente segnius evenissent, accuratius vestigaret.*

²¹ AMM. XXX.6.2, EPIT. DE CAES. 45.10, ZOS. IV.19.1; Marcellianus belonged to the *potiores duces* mentioned in AMM. XXX.9.1, that is why Illyricum is mentioned too: *potiorum ducum flagitia progredi sinebat in maius, ad querelas in eos motas aliquotiens obsurdens: unde Brittannici strepitus et Africanæ clades et vastitas emersit Illyrici.*

²² AMM. XXX.5.4-7.

²³ AMM. XXX.5.8.

²⁴ AMM. XXX.5.11-12.

²⁵ COD. THEOD. IX.1.12; see CLAUS 1985.

²⁶ AMM. XXX.5.11.

²⁷ AMM. XXX.5.13.

²⁸ This suggests that the archaeologically attested bridge at Aquincum was already not in use: NÉMETH 1999, 141-159.

²⁹ AMM. XXX.5.13.

³⁰ AMM. XXX.5.13-14.

³¹ AMM. XXX.5.14: *invalida tempore adsiduisque malis adflicta.*

³² HIER. 246f, AMM. XXX.5.6; see BALLA 1963.

³³ AMM. XXX.5.15.

³⁴ AMM. XXX.5.16-19.

³⁵ Zosimus IV.18.1.

Valentinian travelled along the limes road (It. Ant. 266,8-13, or on the Aquincum-Brigetio diagonal road (It. Ant. 245,7-246,4)) to Brigetio³⁶, and from there to the centre of Pannonia I on the Brigetio-Savaria road (It. Ant. 262,9-263,2) (as the fortification of the forts would suggest), or on the Aquincum-Savaria road (It. Ant. 26,3-9), first to Savaria and from there to Brigetio again, as it seems more likely³⁷. It is not clear either which way Valentinian departed from Savaria: the northern gate, i.e. the Amber Road to Carnuntum, or the eastern one to Brigetio. The latter is the more likely, since the historian says that he also arrived by this route, but the fact is that he had to use the another because of the fallen gate leaf³⁸. Ammianus himself mentions that he set out on the campaign (*procinctus*), i.e. to Brigetio, from the city mentioned above³⁹, i.e. from Savaria⁴⁰. The historian's account also provides valuable topographical data on the topography of Sirmium (forum, imperial palace, curia)⁴¹ and Savaria (ruined northern or eastern city gate, palace with baths)⁴². Several scholars speculate that Ammianus' expression *regium lavacrum* (royal baths)⁴³ should prove the existence of an imperial palace in the city. According to this hypothesis, it should be identified with the unearthed building complex that was initially a governor's palace, but later, it would have been converted into an imperial palace⁴⁴. However, the situation is not so clear. According to Herodian's account, when the young Commodus intended to return from Pannonia to Rome and wanted to abandon the war against the Marcomanni and Quadi in 180 A.D., Pompeianus told him, ἐκεῖ τε ἡ Ῥώμη, ὅπου ποτ' ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς ᾖ, Rome is where the emperor is'⁴⁵. In this sense, any house/palace/villa where the ruler stays becomes a *basileion*. According to Herodian's account⁴⁶ Pescennius Niger's own house in Antioch became the imperial palace following his elevation in 193⁴⁷. In the light of these sources, it becomes clear why Cassius Dio found it necessary to explain the meaning of the word Palatium/basileion: 'The royal residence is called Palatium, not because it was ever decreed that this should be its name, but because Caesar dwelt on the Palatine and had his military headquarters there, though his residence gained a certain degree of fame from the mount as a whole also, because Romulus had once lived there. Hence, even if the emperor resides somewhere else, his dwelling retains the name of Palatium' (LIII.16.5-6 translation by E. Cary)⁴⁸. Ammianus must have used the adjective *regius* in this sense. Based on the adjective used by the historian, we can hardly assume the existence of an imperial palace/palatium in Savaria. The bath, *lavacrum*, used by Valentinian, became *regium* because of the latter fact. Similarly, the same historian used the word *regia* in the context of the palace of the usurper Silvanus (earlier

³⁶ The mere mention of the fortifications along the limes does not confirm a Savaria-Carnuntum-Brigetio route, as a much longer route would have been illogical for the ruler in a hurry to negotiate with the Quadi.

³⁷ SEECK 1919, 246, DITTRICH, 1984, 115 Anm. 120 DEN BOEFT, DRIJVERS, DEN HENGST, TEITLER 2015, 131.

³⁸ AMM. XXX.5.17.

³⁹ AMM. XXX.5.16.

⁴⁰ AMM. 5.17: *cum ab urbe praedicta tenderet ad procinctum*.

⁴¹ POPOVIĆ, 1971, 119-133, esp. 125-129.

⁴² TÓTH 2008, 672-673.

⁴³ AMM. XXX.5.16.

⁴⁴ TÓTH 2011, 66; 2012, 259-265; ISZTIN, TÁRCZY, TÓTH 2014, 137-155.

⁴⁵ HER. I.6.5; See MAYER 2002, 1.

⁴⁶ HER. II.8.6.

⁴⁷ HER. II.8.6 ... καὶ ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκίαν καθιστᾶσιν, οὐκ ἐστὶν αὐτὴν ἰδιωτικὴν ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖον αὐλὴν νομίζοντες, πᾶσι κοσμήσαντες ἔξωθεν βασιλικοῖς συμβόλοις: ALFÖLDI 2011, 47-53.

⁴⁸ LIII.16.5 καλεῖται δὲ τὰ βασιλεία παλάτιον, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἔδοξε ποτε οὕτως αὐτὰ ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὤκει καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ στρατῆγιον εἶχε, καὶ τίνα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμύλου προενοίκησιν φήμην ἢ οἰκία αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ παντὸς ὄρους ἔλαβε· 6 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶν ἄλλοθι· που ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καταλύη, τὴν τοῦ παλατίου ἐπὶ κλησιν ἢ καταγωγὴ αὐτοῦ ἴσχει: Millar 1992, 20, 33, 41.

MP) in Agrippina (obviously identical with the *praetorium*⁴⁹ (cp. Greg. Tur. V, patr. 6, 2 used the term *aula regia*)), where he was elected and then killed (XV.5.15 (*agens apud Agrippinam*), 31 *caesis custodibus regia penetrata Silvanum extractum aedicula*), so we need not to assume the existence of an imperial palace in Cologne either⁵⁰. Indeed, the richly decorated palace of the governor in Savaria, was apparently also the occasional residence of PPO Probus⁵¹. Apart from Sirmium, it may indeed have been the only residence worthy of an emperor in the province, but it is difficult to accept that this would have been its sole function.

Ammianus does not seem to answer the question of why he left in such a hurry for Brigetio after taking up his winter quarters. The reason can most probably be found in the following chapter: he had hardly planned to launch a campaign in the second half of November, but he received the envoys of the Quadi in Brigetio⁵², with whom he intended to conclude a truce for the winter, i.e. the sudden arrival of the envoys may have been the reason for his sudden journey. His residence in Brigetio must certainly be located within the camp, and not in the civilian town, which had been abandoned long before. Ammianus added that the building had a reception hall (*consistorium*⁵³) (obviously with an apse) and several internal living quarters with beds (*lectus*) (based on the term *conclave intimum*⁵⁴), since the dying emperor was taken there. This building can hardly be identified with the recently unearthed one⁵⁵, which had indeed an apsed room, but it was too small, therefore the emperor was obviously accommodated in the much larger (yet unexplored) building of the legionary prefect.

Ammianus does not mention, but it is clear from the context that Merobaudes and his infantry troops remained in the Barbaricum following the autumn campaign (they obviously planned to winter there), and he had to be recalled quickly after the emperor's death⁵⁶. The mission of Sebastianus further afield (*longius*) from the feint (with an unknown reason⁵⁷) also shows that the fighting did not cease. Merobaudes's troops clearly stationed in the available Roman forts in the Barbaricum. Nor can it be ruled out that during their stay, the troops began to build new fortifications. Nor can we completely rule out such an interpretation in the case of unfinished fort at Göd, but its construction was probably the *casus belli* of 374⁵⁸. As for the whereabouts of Merobaudes, we can draw conclusions from Ammianus' earlier description⁵⁹ and from the Quadian envoys who apologized to Valentinian⁶⁰. The Roman troops crossed the land of the Quadi north of Aquincum, while the enemy fled to the nearby mountains (obviously to the Mátra and Börzsöny). According to the Quadian envoys, 'unlawful acts were committed by some robbers who were far away and near the river' (*per extimos quosdam latrones amnique confines evenisse*). The *latrones*, i.e. the enemy who invaded in peacetime (i.e. not yet as *hostes*), were most likely the mixed German tribe *Transiugitani*, who lived between the Quadi and

⁴⁹ SCHÄFER 2014.

⁵⁰ ECK, HEIL, KIENAST 2017, 307–308.

⁵¹ cf. COD. THEOD. XII.6.15

⁵² AMM. XXX.6.2.

⁵³ AMM. XXX.6.2.

⁵⁴ AMM. XXX.6.3.

⁵⁵ BARTUS, BORHY, JOHÁCZI, SZÁMADÓ 2018, 542–544.

⁵⁶ AMM. XXX.10.2: see the ablative absolute *reverso Merobaude*.

⁵⁷ AMM. XXX.10.3.

⁵⁸ see Ammianus' detailed account XXIX.6.2; see MRÁV 2003.

⁵⁹ AMM. XXX.5.13.

⁶⁰ AMM. XXX.6.2.

Sarmatians⁶¹. The whereabouts of the commander-in-chief will play a decisive role in determining the location of the council preceding the election of the new ruler (see below).

We have no information whether Valentinian planned some sort of campaign against the Sarmatians in the following year, but, as the incursion of the *Sarmatae liberi* into Moesia shows, the defence of the Sarmatian envoys (especially that they were not even aware of it) can hardly have been entirely true. Moreover, one could not enter Pannonia secunda without their support. According to Ammianus (because of the approaching winter and the lack of food), the emperor himself probably wanted to make a truce (*indutiae*) with the Quadi for winter⁶². The continuation of the campaign could be taken for granted, since the emperor set out *ad procinctum*⁶³, Roman troops were stationed in the territory of the Quadi⁶⁴. The campaign itself, as Ammianus and other sources emphatically mention, was interrupted, i.e. unsuccessful⁶⁵. It is not by chance that *Sarmaticus* is not mentioned among the *cognomina* of the ruler(s)⁶⁶.

The ancient sources also record precisely the date of Valentinian's death (and his age and the regnal years), 17 November 375⁶⁷. Besides Ammianus⁶⁸, others give the circumstances and reason of his death as well, i.e. he died of apoplexy during receiving the Quadian delegation (Hier. Chron. 247h, Ep. 60.15.3, Epit. de Caes. 45.8, Ruf. H. E. XI.12, Oros. VII.32.14, Socr. IV.31.6 (the Byzantine sources regularly mention Sarmatians instead of the Quadi, which can be traced back to this passage, while Sozomenus placed the location in Gaul⁶⁹), Soz. VI.36.4, Zos. IV.17.2-18.1, Jord. Rom. 209, Malalas XIII.32, Theoph. Conf. Chron. p. 61 AM 5867 (wrongly placing the site in Gaul), Symeon Logothetes Chron. 92.6, Georg. Cedr. Compend. hist. p. 547.1-10, Georg. Mon. Chron. breve 688.11 (the latter three also mention the place as Gaulish))⁷⁰. Valentinian's body of the emperor was embalmed for transport to Constantinople⁷¹, a journey which, according to the Consularia Constantinopolitana, lasted nearly a year (28 December 376⁷²), where he was buried in the Apostoleion similarly to other emperors⁷³, though only years later (21 February 382⁷⁴).

As was customary at this time (at least in Ammianus' work), the most important men at the court of Brigetio were assembled and, fearing a mutiny of the Western army staying in Pannonia⁷⁵, in the absence of Gratian who stayed at Treveri, Valentinian's youngest son,

⁶¹ AMM. XVII.12.12; see DITTRICH 1984, 131 Anm. 6; KOVÁCS 2016, 106.

⁶² AMM. XXX.6.2.

⁶³ AMM. XXX.5.17.

⁶⁴ AMM. XXX.10.2.

⁶⁵ AMM. XXX.7.10 (*res seria imperfecta*); HIER. EP.60.15.3 (*inulta patria*); OROS. VII.32.14; RUF. H. E. XI.12.

⁶⁶ ARNALDI 1980.

⁶⁷ AMM. XXX.6.6, SOCR. IV.31.6, PHILOST. IX.16, CHRON. MIN. I p. 242, 292, 459, II p. 153, THEOPH. CONF. CHRON. p. 61 AM 5867; see SEECK 1919, 246; ECK, HEIL, KIENAST 2017, 313.

⁶⁸ AMM. XXX.10.6.3-5.

⁶⁹ As usually, Sozomenos misinterprets the text of Socrates, in this case the phrase ἐν φρουρίῳ ᾧ προσωνημία Βεργιτίων as Gaulish.

⁷⁰ HEERING 1927, 56-57; NAGL 1948, 2187; HUGHES 2013, 137; DEN BOEFT, DRIJVERS, DEN HENGST, TEITLER 2015, 141-147.

⁷¹ AMM. XXX.10.1; see JOHNSON 1991, 501-502.

⁷² CHRON. MIN. I p. 242.

⁷³ CHRON. MIN. I p. 61.

⁷⁴ CHRON. MIN. I p. 243.

⁷⁵ AMM. XXX.10.1, 3 (also Merobaudes); The latter is much more likely than the barbarian incursion reported by Zosimus (IV.19.1).

Valentinian, who was nearby with his mother, was nominated as emperor⁷⁶. According to the written sources, Equitius, Probus, Cerealis (*tribunus stabuli*: PLRE I, Cerealis 1) and above all the recalled Merobaudes⁷⁷, and Philostorgius even emphasizes the role of his mother, Iustina as well⁷⁸. It was Merobaudes' ruse to send Sebastianus to far away from the army with a special mission as he was a good military commander and suitable for the throne (that is why he was asked by Valens before Hadrianople in 378: Amm. XXXI.11.1 cf. Eun. Frag. 34, 47⁷⁹) (XXX.10.3)⁸⁰.

Ammianus only reports us that the future emperor was taken into the legionary fort by his uncle Cerealis on the 6th day after Valentinian's reign, i.e. 23 November, on his litter⁸¹, where the troops proclaimed him by legitimate ruler (*legitime*⁸²): XXX.10.5 *Cerealis avunculus eius ocus missus eundem puerum lectica inpositum duxit in castra sextoque die post parentis obitum imperator legitime declaratus Augustus nuncupatur more sollemni*

. From the context, we should obviously think of the legionary fort at Brigetio⁸³, but according to the official court tradition of Constantinople, Aquincum was the place and exact date of the proclamation⁸⁴, Socrates. IV.31.7 (on the other hand, Aquincum was placed in Italy)⁸⁵, which could give rise to much unnecessary discussion⁸⁶. The bulk of the army must have wintered in the vicinity of Aquincum, which is probably why the proclamation took place there. There was also a legionary fort in Aquincum, with a palace of the legionary prefect and tribunal, suitable for the proclamation of a ruler. Emperors Valens and Gratian, who did not know of the appointment and Valentinian's death for weeks, and especially in the case of Gratian, who was only 16, the court chiefs, especially the rival PPO Galliarum Maximinus, also from Pannonia, were clearly resentful at the beginning (which could have lasted for months⁸⁷) of the appointment of a co-emperor without their permission. Merobaudes kept his position, but two

⁷⁶ AMM. XXX.10.1-6, AMBR. DE OBITU VAL. 59, EPIT. DE CAES. 45.10, CHRON. MIN. I p. 242, 459, II p. 153, RUFINUS XI.12, SOCRATES. IV.31.7, SOS. VI.36.5, PHILOST. IX.16, CHRONICON PASCHALE p. 559, ZOS. IV.19.1, THEOPH CONF. CHRON p. 61 AM 5867, THEODORUS LECTOR EPIT. III.211, ZON. XIII.17 83, GEORG. MON. CHRON. BREVE 689.1; see PLRE I, Valentinianus 8; SEECK 1919, 246; SEECK 1921, V, 38-39; ENSSLIN 1948, 2207-2208; STEIN 1959, 183; PASCHOUD 1979, 369-370 n. 139; SZIDAT 1989; GIRARDET 2004; RAIMONDI 2001, 171-173; LENSKI 2002, 357; HUGHES 2013, 137; KELLY 2013; DEN BOEFT, DRIJVERS, DEN HENGST, TEITLER 2015, 193-207.

⁷⁷ AMM. XXX.10.2-3, 5, EPIT. DE CAES. 45.10, RUFINUS XI.12, GEORG. MON. CHRON. BREVE 689.1.

⁷⁸ Philost. IX.16, Theoph. Conf, Chron. p. 61 AM 5867.

⁷⁹ LENSKI 2002, 336, DEN BOEFT, DRIJVERS, DEN HENGST, TEITLER 2015, 127.

⁸⁰ DEN BOEFT, DRIJVERS, DEN HENGST, TEITLER 2015, 201.

⁸¹ εἰς τὰ βασιλεία according to Zosimus IV.19.1.

⁸² SZIDAT 1989.

⁸³ See DEN BOEFT, DRIJVERS, DEN HENGST, TEITLER 2015, 204. Among the ancient sources, only Theophanes Confessor places it at the place of Valentinian's death, without a specific place name (and following Sozomenus, he places it in Gaul): Chron. p. 61 AM 5867: ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἐτελεύτησεν.

⁸⁴ CHRON. MIN. I p. 242; see BECKER, BLECKMANN, GROSS, NICHBAKHT 2016, 124.

⁸⁵ Chronicon Paschale p. 559; see WHITBY, WHITBY 1989, 49 n. 149. The latter one gives exactly the date and place Valentinian's death, but he transfers the date to the year of 378 when Valens died: *ibid.*, n. 152.

⁸⁶ SEECK 1919, 246; SEECK 1921, V, 39, 439; PATSCH 1929, 28; ENSSLIN 1948, 2207; STEIN 1959, 183, NAGY 1962, 62 n. 443; MÓCSY 1962, 577; PASCHOUD 1979, 369 n. 139; GIRARDET 2004, 121; RAIMONDI 2001, 171; KELLY 2013, 362; DEN BOEFT, DRIJVERS, DEN HENGST, TEITLER 2015, 204; ECK, HEIL, KIENAST 2017, 321. If the date of the elevation given in the Cons. Const. that used official documents is correct, the place must also be accepted.

⁸⁷ Following GIRARDET 2004 and KELLY 2013. Cf. ILS 777, 5592; Αἴρ 1965, 15b (?); RIC IX p. 276 Nr. 17 (Antiochia), Cod. Theod. IX.1.13 (11 February) where only two emperors are mentioned instead of three and Valens is the sole consul (Valentinian II is omitted). In his speech called *Eroticus* (Or. XIII) held before senate in Rome at the beginning of 376, Themistius does not mention Valentinian II either (e.g. 169b, 177b). He was acknowledged earliest 8 April 37: ILS 4268. Valentinian was the consul of 376 together with Valens: The final reconciliation is probably linked to the deposition and execution of Maximinus PPO in the spring of 376: KELLY 2013, 374-377 (Amm. XXVIII.1.57; Symm. Or. IV.10-11; Ep. 10.2.2; Them. Or. XIII.15 174a).

other powerful men, Petronius Probus and Equitius, lost their long-held offices at this time⁸⁸. The division of power was apparently quite simple, as in previous cases Valentinian II "inherited" the central praefectura with Italy, Africa and Illyricum⁸⁹ under the supervision of the senior augustus, Gratian⁹⁰.

Further examination of Ammianus' account may further help to identify the site. They suggest that not one, but two councils were held after emperor's death. The first was certainly still in Brigetio without Merobaudes. It was here that the following decisions were taken:

1. to postpone the military campaign (XXX.10.1)⁹¹,
2. the demolition of the bridge at Aquincum (XXX.10.2)⁹²,
3. the secret recall of Merobaudes (XXX.10.2)⁹³.

The latter one was to be followed a few days later by a second one in the presence of Merobaudes. This could have taken place in Brigetio, but then it would be incomprehensible why the proclamation of Valentinian II happened in Aquincum. It is more likely, therefore, that the members of the council went to Merobaudes at Aquincum and that the council was held here in the presence of the majority of the troops. It was at this time that the decision to elect the infant Valentinian was taken⁹⁴. Earlier interpretations had suggested that this would have taken place at Brigetio⁹⁵, but this is not mentioned explicitly by Ammianus himself, but the location has been argued for mainly on the grounds that the ruler died here, but the proximity of Quadi has also suggested this. This, however, as we have seen, is wrong. The site is of crucial importance for the localisation of Murocincta.

The question of Murocincta and the Roman villa at Bruckneudorf (Figure 1)

Ammianus Marcellinus XXX.10.4 *Reverso itaque Merobaude, altiore cura prospectum, expedito consilio Valentinianus puer defuncti filius tum quadrimus, vocaretur in imperium cooptandus, centesimo lapide disparatus degensque cum Iustina matre in villa, quam Murocinctam appellant. 5 hocque concinenti omnium sententia confirmato Cerealis avunculus eius ocus missus eundem puerum lectica inpositum duxit in castra sextoque die post parentis obitum imperator legitime declaratus Augustus nuncupatur more sollemni.*

XXX.10.4 Accordingly, after Merobaudes turned back, the matter of succession was carefully considered and the plan was unfolded that the boy Valentinianus, son of the deceased emperor and then four years old, should be summoned and given a share in the rule. He was at the time a hundred miles distant, living with his mother Justina at the country house called Murocincta (translation by J. C. Rolfe).

Ammianus' account of the four-year-old (future) Valentinian II and his mother Iustina being called from the imperial villa of Murocincta, 100 MP from Brigetio, or as we have seen,

⁸⁸ AMM. XXX.10.6, SOCRATES. IV.31.8-9, SOS. VI.36.5, EUN. FRAG. 42, PHILOST. IX.16, ZON. XIII.17 (only the last two mention the punishment of Gratian; see SEECK 1921, V, 39-40; ENSSLIN 1948, 2207; PASCHOUD 1979 370-371 n. 140; GIRARDET 2004; LENSKI 2002, 358-359; KELLY 2013; DEN BOEFT, DRIJVERS, DEN HENGST, TEITLER 2015, 205-207.

⁸⁹ ZOS. IV.19.2, EUN. FRAG. 42, Valens resented precisely this division.

⁹⁰ AMM. XXX.10.6.

⁹¹ DEN BOEFT, DRIJVERS, DEN HENGST, TEITLER 2015, 197.

⁹² The building of a bridge at Brigetio would have been illogical, as the emperor intended to conclude a truce with the Quadi, the previous fighting took place much further east, and Ammianus himself mentions only one bridge at Aquincum (XXX.5.13).

⁹³ DEN BOEFT, DRIJVERS, DEN HENGST, TEITLER 2015, 200.

⁹⁴ AMM. XXX.10.4.

⁹⁵ DEN BOEFT, DRIJVERS, DEN HENGST, TEITLER 2015, 201-203.

rather from Aquincum (the distance is of course to be calculated along the roads and not as the crow flies)⁹⁶, might have been too bold in its identification. The villa, which by its name may have been a villa complex surrounded by a fence wall (and ditch), known in many places in the province⁹⁷, was attempted to be identified with the villa complex at Bruckneudorf⁹⁸, as the distance roughly corresponds to the distance given (It. Ant. 246.4-247.4, Tab. Peut. Seg. IV.3-4: Mócsy calculated with a distance 85 MP between Brigetio and Carnuntum, plus 13 MP to the villa in Bruckneudorf: the total would be 98 MP, but the exact length of the route between Bruckneudorf and Carnuntum is 13 km, 9 MP, therefore one must calculate with a distance around 94 MP), and Valentinian's summer residence at Carnuntum is sought here too. Besides Bruckneudorf, there is a number of richly decorated fenced *villae* in Northern Pannonia (such as Baláca, Donnerskirchen, Deutschkreutz, Šmarje-Grobelce, Szabadbattyán⁹⁹, Szakcs¹⁰⁰, Tokod¹⁰¹) which are at a reasonable distance from Brigetio or Aquincum¹⁰². Before the Mócsy's identification, it was also suggested that the villa of Bruckneudorf could have been the site of the imperial summit at Carnuntum in 308¹⁰³, but this is refuted by the mid-4th century reconstruction of the building. More recently, it has been emerged that the late Roman governor's office building might replace the abandoned praetorium of Carnuntum¹⁰⁴.

In favour of identifying the villa of Bruckneudorf with Murocincta, besides the distance¹⁰⁵, it has attempted to confirm the identification with the following arguments¹⁰⁶:

1. the existence of an enclosure wall and a ditch with access roads and gates.
2. the existence of a central building with an apsed aula.
3. the later insertion of a Bellerophon inscription in the mosaic of one of the halls (the reception hall, according to this theory). The mythological figure would personify the ruler Valentinian himself.
4. at the northern gate, two rows of buildings defined as barracks along the access road.

However, there are several counterarguments against this identification:

1. If my hypothesis is correct, then the distance from Aquincum should be measured at 100 MP.
2. The excavator H. Zabehliczky has already noted the low percentage of Valentinian coins in the circulation of the villa and the complete absence of stamped bricks made under the reign of the emperor¹⁰⁷.
3. The central building itself, with its 40x45 m dimensions with its towers and the large apse-shaped reception hall, does not stand out at all among the Pannonian villas, and only acquired its final form after the mid-4th century rebuilding of the early imperial villa. Its dimensions are not reminiscent of imperial villa. Apart from the mosaics, there is no evidence for other

⁹⁶ AMM. XXX.10.4.

⁹⁷ THOMAS 1964, 389–390; SZABÓ 2020, 219–224.

⁹⁸ MÓCSY 1970, DEN BOEFT, DRIJVERS, DEN HENGST, TEITLER 2015, 123. For the villa see ZAHBELICKY 2009; ZAHBELICKY 2011, 89–99; GROH, SEDLMAYER 2022.

⁹⁹ NÁDORFI 2012, 112–138. On the other hand, the building was destroyed in 374.

¹⁰⁰ The site cannot be interpreted as a Roman municipium anymore because it looks like a late Roman villa complex with a huge palatium with a wall/fence: BERTÓK 2000, 101–112. Our hypothesis is confirmed by the recent archaeological excavations too: BERTÓK 2021.

¹⁰¹ KELEMEN 2010 (2012), 69–93.

¹⁰² DITTRICH 1984, 110 Anm. 100.

¹⁰³ SARIA 1966.

¹⁰⁴ ZABEHLICZKY 2011.

¹⁰⁵ see MÓCSY 1970.

¹⁰⁶ GROH, SEDLMAYER 2022.

¹⁰⁷ ZABEHLICZKY 2011, 94–95.

imperial luxury (e.g. the use of marble or porphyry). Their use was almost obligatory for a royal villa, even in the Danubian provinces¹⁰⁸.

4. The newly reconstructed plan of the building complex is based mainly on aerial photographs, esp. the reconstructed triple gate system, but it is questionable how these relate to each other chronologically, e.g. whether they were used at the same time. The function of the roadside buildings, which resemble military barracks excavated near the northern gate, is, however, noteworthy¹⁰⁹.

5. The depiction of Bellerophon sitting on Pegasus and stabbing Chimaera became particularly popular in the Empire¹¹⁰, and in Pannonia, from the reign of Constantine onwards, it appeared on mosaics, on a medallion of Constantius II, on contorniates, on casket covers, on belt buckles and belt plates and on disc brooches¹¹¹. The figure of the Greek mythological hero was of course depicted with royal attributes (e.g. purple), since Bellerophon, the son of Poseidon, was a Herod and royal offspring (himself a Lycian king). Only one of possible explanations of the scene is that it may indeed refer to the ruler triumph over the enemy (in the case of Constantius II DEBELLATORI HOSTIVM's circular gold medallion of 354, the reigning Magnentius) in general¹¹², but its pagan (Bellerophon symbolizing the sun, Chimaera the winter) and Christian interpretations (symbolising Christ's victory over the evil) were also popular. On this basis, the theory that the mosaic of the villa of Bruckneudorf would surely refer to Emperor Valentinian and his campaign against the barbarians is hardly plausible, as is the case for other emperors. This assumption has not been seriously considered in relation to any mosaic depiction of Bellerophon before (total number is below 30, but they were very popular in Britain)¹¹³, including the two mosaics of the *villae* of Bruckneudorf and Poetovio in Pannonia¹¹⁴. For all these reasons, this kind of interpretation of the mosaic and what goes beyond (i.e. the room as a reception hall) can hardly be accepted as an argument for identifying the villa at Bruckneudorf with Murocincta.

For these reasons, the distance of the Pannonian walled villas from Aquincum, mentioned earlier, should be taken into serious consideration. First of all, we cannot exclude the possibility that Murocincta may be identical with Caesariana, certainly a large imperial estate, which lay on the Savaria-Aquincum road 84 MP from Aquincum (It. Ant. 263,6-9), whether or not it is identical with the villa of Balácsa¹¹⁵. A much more serious possibility is the walled villa farm of the Late Roman village of Szakcs (Figure 2), whose large building with a central courtyard and lobby strongly resembles the villa in Szabadbattyán. The latter can indeed be defined as a palace. The presence of a porticoed access road, clearly visible on aerial photographs, may also confirm the site's presence. The villa must have been well protected by the unit stationed in the inner fortress of Alsóhetény, which probably received its large circular towers during the rebuilding after 374¹¹⁶. The importance of the site of Szakcs is increased by the fact that it is

¹⁰⁸ See for instance BÜLOW, ZABEHLICZKY 2011.

¹⁰⁹ See also KARWOWSKI 2023, 24–45.

¹¹⁰ LOCHIN 1994, 214–230, 7,2, 142–171; HILLER 1970, 66–92.

¹¹¹ According to this theory, all the silver (and bronze) belt plates (and buckle) with Bellerophon, known mainly from the Danubian provinces but also in the West and Asia, would have belonged to Valentinian's inner court officers, which is clearly an untenable or unprovable hypothesis. See OLIVÉR, VADAY 2021.

¹¹² GNECCHI 1912, 29 Tav. 10/9.

¹¹³ HENIG M 2012, 137–152; BEESON, NICHOL, MASSEY 2022, 185–225.

¹¹⁴ VERZÁR-BASS 2011, 1389–1394.

¹¹⁵ *Balácsai Közlemények* 1–10, 1989–2008.

¹¹⁶ TÓTH 2009, 67–71.

probably located near the Iovia road station (former municipium?) on the Sopianae-Brigetio road (It. Ant. 264,8)¹¹⁷. According to this information, the distance of the site from Aquincum can be easily calculated from the Itinerarium Antonini, which indicates that there were two routes to Aquincum. The town was 90 MP from the villa on the Iovia-Floriana-Aquincum route and 95 MP on the Iovia-Herculua-Aquincum route (Figure 3):

It. Ant.	Station	Distance (MP)	It. Ant.	Station	Distance (MP)
264,9	Fortiana	XXV	264, 9	Fortiana	XXV
265,1	Herculua	XX	265,1	Herculua	XX
265,2	Floriana	XV	264,5	Iasulonibus	XXV
263,9	Aquincum	XXX	264,6	Aquincum	XXV
Total		XC			XCV

It is also noteworthy to study the distance of the site from Brigetio, but the last station after Floriana, probably *Mogiones* is certainly omitted (its estimated distance is 32 MP¹¹⁸):

It. Ant.	Station	Distance (MP)
264, 9	Fortiana	XXV
265,1	Herculua	XX
265,2	Floriana	XV
lacuna	Mogiones? ¹¹⁹	XXXII
265,3	Brigetio	VIII
Total		C

as well as the one in Bruckneudorf are serious possibilities.

Summarily, we can come to the conclusion that the events in Pannonia in 375, such as the death of the emperor and the circumstances of his son's proclamation, can clearly be reconstructed on the basis of the written sources. However, the identification of Murocincta with the villa at Bruckneudorf is much less certain. The current paper intended to argue against this hypothesis, especially if the second council was indeed held at Aquincum. Based on my argumentation, other possibilities, in particular the late Roman villa of Szakcs that lies in a similar distance (nearly 100 MP) from Brigetio and Aquincum too, must be considered as well.

Appendix – The relevant antique sources Sources for Valentinian's death

Hieronymus Chronicon 247h *Valentinianus subita sanguinis eruptione quod Graece 'apoplexis' vocatur Brigitione moritur, post quem Gratianus adsumpto in imperium Valentiniano fratre cum patruo Valente regnat.*

¹¹⁷ TÓTH 1987-1988, 56-57.

¹¹⁸ TÓTH 2006, 91–93.

¹¹⁹ Based on the Roman milestone AÉp 2020, 992 the early principate municipium *Mogiones* was *caput viarum* and it can be localized in the area of the late Roman inner fortifications in Környe. The missing road station can obviously be placed here. On the other hand, in this case the distance between *Mogiones* and Brigetio given as MP VIII must be corrected to XVIII based on the distance between Környe and Brigetio. In this case, the correct distance between Iovia and Brigetio is MP CX.

Ep. 60.15.3 *Valentinianus vastato genitali solo et inultam patriam derelinquens vomitu sanguinis extinctus est.*

Epit. de Caes. 45.8 *Valentinianus apud Bergentionem legationi Quadorum respondens, anno aevi quinto et quinquagesimo impetu sanguinis voce amissa, sensu integer, exspiravit. 9 Quod quidem intemperantia cibi ac saturitate, qua artus diffuderat, accidisse plures retulere.*

Rufinus H.E. XI.12 ... *ibi vixdum coepto bello, aegritudine suo ita oppressus diem obiit ...*

Ammianus XXX.6.3 *ad haec imperator ira vehementi percussus, et inter exordia respondendi tumidor, increpabat verborum obiurgatorio sonu nationem omnem ut beneficiorum inmemorem et ingratam. paulatimque lenitus et ad molliora propensior, tamquam ictus e caelo vitalique via voceque simul obstructa, suffectus igneo lamine cernebatur; et repente cohibito sanguine, letali sudore perfusus, ne laboretur spectantibus et vilibus, concursu ministrorum vitae secretioris ad conclave ductus est intimum. 4 ubi locatus in lecto, exiguas spiritus reliquias trahens, nondum intellegendi minuto vigore, cunctos agnoscebat adstantes, quos cubicularii, nequis eum necatum suspicaretur, celeritate maxima conrogarant. et quoniam viscerum flagrante conpage laxanda erat necessario vena, nullus inveniri potuit medicus hanc ob causam, quod eos per varia sparserat, curaturos militem pestilentiae morbo temptatum. 5 unus tamen repertus, venam eius iterum saepiusque pungendo, ne guttam quidem cruoris elicere potuit, internis nimietate calorum ambustis, vel, ut quidam existimabant, arefactis ideo membris, quod meatus aliqui, quos haemorrhoidas nunc appellamus, obserati sunt gelidis frigoribus con crustati. 6 sensit immensa vi quadam urgente morborum, ultimae necessitatis adesse praescripta, dicereque conatus aliqua vel mandare, ut singultus ilia crebrius pulsans, stridorque dentium et brachiorum motus velut caestibus dimicantium indicabat, iam superatus liventibusque maculis interfusus, animam diu conluctatam efflavit, aetatis quinquagesimo anno et quinto, imperii, minus centum dies, secundo et decimo.*

Orosius VII.32.14 *bellum in eos parans apud Brigitionem oppidum subita effusione sanguinis, quod Graece apoplexis vocatur, suffocatus et mortuus est.*

Socrates H. E. IV.31.6 *Καὶ οὕτως αἵματος ἐκδοθέντος τελευτᾷ ἐν φρουρίῳ ᾧ προσωνομία Βεργιτίων, μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Γρατιανοῦ τὸ τρίτον καὶ Ἐκυτίου περὶ τὴν ἑπτακαίδεκάτην τοῦ Νοεμβρίου μηνός, ζήσας ἔτη νδ', βασιλεύσας ἔτη ια'.*

Philostorgius H. R. IX.16 *Ὅτι Οὐαλεντινιανὸς τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας ἔτη δυοκαίδεκα ...*

Sozomenus H. E. VI.36.4 *ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ χαλεπαίνοντος καὶ τοιάδε βοῶντος, ὑπὸ ἀμέτρου διατάσεως παραχθέντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἔνδον, φλέψ ἅμα καὶ ἀρτηρία ἐρράγη, καὶ ἀναδοθέντος αἵματος ἐν φρουρίῳ τινὶ τῆς Γαλλίας ἐτελεύτησε τὸν βίον, ἔτη μὲν ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντήκοντα τέσσαρα γεγονώς, τρισκαίδεκα δὲ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ εὖ μάλα καὶ λίαν ἐπισήμως διαγενόμενος.*

Chronica Gallica Chron. min. I p. 644 494 *Valentinianus cum fratre Valente ann. XIII mens. V. hic ex Pannonia Cibali fuit.*

Laterculus imperatorum ad Iustinum I Chron. min. III p. 422

Obiit in castello Vergione.

Consularia Constantinopolitana Chron. min. I p. 242 *post cons. Gratiani et Aequitii Et ipso anno diem functus Valentinianus senior XV kal. Dec. in castello Virgitione.*

Consularia Italica Chron. Min. I p. 296 (Barbarus Scaligeri)

292 et eo anno Valentinianus in bello mortuus est VII Idos Octobris.

Prosper Tiro Chron. min. I p. 459

1155 *Valentinianus subita sanguinis eruptione quod Graece 'apoplexis' vocatur Brigitione moritur...*

Cassiodorus Chronica Chron. min. II p. 153

1124 *His cons. Valentinianus apoplexi Brigitione moritur*

Zosimus IV.17.2 *Τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἐκταθέντος, ἔστελλον πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ Κουάδοι πρέσβεις λόγους ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον φέροντας, ἐφ' οἷς Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ἀγανακτήσας, καὶ*

ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν ὀργῆς παραφορᾶς οὐ πόρρω γενόμενος, αἵματος κάτωθεν ἀναχθέντος ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα συσχόντος τε τὰς τῆς φωνῆς ἀρτηρίας ἐξέλιπεν, ἐν μὲν Ἰλλυριοῖς ἐννέα μῆνας, ἔλλειπουσῶν ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν, διατρίψας, εἰς δωδέκατον δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς βασιλείας προελθὼν.

18.1 Τούτου τελευτήσαντος ἐμπεσὼν τῷ Σιρμίῳ σκηπτὸς τὰ βασιλεία κατέφλεξε καὶ τὴν ἀγοράν, ἔδοξε τε τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα κρίνειν δεινοῖς οὐκ αἷσιον τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασιν εἶναι τὸ τέρας· καὶ σεισμοὶ δὲ ἔν τισι συνηνέχθησαν τόποις.

Jordanes Romana 309 *sed apoplexia subito et sanguinis eruptione Bregitione defunctus est.*

Ioannes Malalas XIII.32 Ὁ δὲ θειότατος Βαλεντινιανὸς νόσω βληθεὶς μετὰ χρόνον ἐτελεύτα ἐν καστελλίῳ Βιργιτινῶν, ὧν ἐνιαυτῶν νέ'.

Theophanes Confessor Chronographia p. 61 AM 5867 Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ὁ μέγας ἐτελεύτησεν ἐτῶν πδ', βασιλεύσας ἔτη ια', τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ... ἐκ δὲ τῆς διατάσεως καὶ τοῦ κρότου 62 τῶν χειρῶν φλεβὸς ῥαγείσης καὶ πλείστου ἀναδοθέντος αἵματος, ἔν τινι φρουρίῳ Γαλλίας θνήσκει μηνὶ Δίῳ ιζ' ἰνδικτιῶνος γ'.

Fredegarius II.46 *Valentinianus subito a sanguine eruptione, qui Graecia eproploxia vocatur, Brivione moritur.*

Theodorus Lector Epit. III.210 Σαυρομάται Οὐαλεντινιανῷ ἐπανάστησαν. ἡττηθέντες δὲ πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν ἐξαιτοῦντες εἰρήνην· οὓς Οὐαλεντινιανὸς θεασάμενος ἤρετο εἰ πάντες Σαυρομάται τοιοῦτοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες τὰ σώματα· τῶν δὲ εἰπόντων ὅτι τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀρίστους ἀπέστειλαν, ἀνακράζας μέγα, δεινὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείαν εἶπεν ὑπομένειν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλθοῦσαν, εἰ Σαυρομάται, ὧν οἱ ἄριστοι τοιοῦτοι, Ῥωμαίοις τολμῶσι πολεμεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς διατάσεως φλεβὸς ῥαγείσης καὶ πλείστου ἀναδοθέντος αἵματος ἔν τινι φρουρίῳ Γαλλίας ἐτελειώθη, ἐτῶν ὑπάρχων πεντήκοντα τεσσάρων, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἔτη ιγ'.

Symeon Logothetes Chron. 92.6 καταπολεμήσας δὲ τοὺς Σαυρομάτας, πρέσβεις ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἰδὼν ἐλθόντας, ἠρώτησεν εἰ τοιοῦτοι εἶεν Σαυρομάται· καὶ μαθὼν ὡς οἱ ἄριστοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦκασι, πλησθεὶς θυμοῦ καὶ πρηνεῖ τῇ χειρὶ τὸν μηρὸν πλήξας ἔφη “δεινὰ Ῥωμαίοις, εἰ τοιοῦτοι ὄντες πρεσβεύειν ἀξιοῦσιν.” ἐκ δὲ τοῦ θυμοῦ φασὶ ἀναστομωθῆναι φλέβα καὶ ἀρτηρίαν διαρραγῆναι, καὶ αἵματος πολλοῦ ἐκχυθέντος τελευτῆσαι τὸν αὐτὸν βασιλέα Οὐαλεντινιανόν.

Georgius Cedrenus Compend. hist. p. 547.1–10 Τῷ ια' ἔτει Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ὁ μέγας ἐτελεύτησε, βασιλεύσας ἔτη ια', τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. οἱ Σαυρομάται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἡττηθέντες πρέσβεις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔπεμψαν αἰτοῦντες εἰρήνην. αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτους ἐρωτῶντος εἰ πάντες οἱ Σαυρομάται τοιοῦτοὶ εἰσιν ἀκρότατοι, καὶ αὐτῶν εἰπόντων ὅτι τοὺς κρείττους πάντων ὧδε ἔχεις καὶ ὀρᾷς, ἀνακράζας βιαίως ἔφη “δεινὰ Ῥωμαίων ἡ βασιλεία ὑπομένει εἰς Οὐαλεντινιανὸν λήξασα, εἰ Σαυρομάται τοιοῦτοι ὄντες οἰκτρότατοι Ῥωμαίοις κατεξανίστανται.” ἐκ δὲ τῆς τάσεως καὶ τοῦ κρότου τῶν χειρῶν φλεβὸς ῥαγείσης καὶ πλείστου ἀναδοθέντος αἵματος, ἔν τινι φρουρίῳ Γαλλίας θνήσκει.

Georgios Monachos Chron. breve 688.11 Ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ, ἐπὶ τῶν πολέμων τῶν Σαυρομάτων, Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ὁ μέγας ἐκ τῶν μερῶν τῆς Γαλλίας εἰς τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν ἐλθεῖν βουλόμενος καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἀρχὴν λαβόντος, ἀρρώστια αἰφνιδίῳ συσχεθεὶς ἐτελεύτησε. πρέσβεις γὰρ Σαυρομάται ἐξαπέστειλαν ἐξαιτούμενοι εἰρήνην· οὓς Οὐαλεντινιανὸς θεασάμενος ἤρετο εἰ πάντες Σαυρομάται τοιοῦτοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες τὰ σώματα· τῶν δὲ εἰπόντων, ὅτι τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀρίστους ἀπέστειλαν, ἀνακράζας μέγα, δεινὰ τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥωμαίων ὑπομένειν, εἰ Σαυρομάτων οἱ ἄριστοι τοιοῦτοι Ῥωμαίοις τολμᾶσθαι πολεμεῖν. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς διατάσεως τοῦ θυμοῦ φλεβὸς ῥαγείσης καὶ αἵματος πολλοῦ ἐκχυθέντος, τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἔν τινι φρουρίῳ Γαλλίας.

Sources for Valentinian II's elevation

Ambrosius De obitu Valentiniani 59 *Electus est filius meus, cum post mortem patris parvulus adsisceretur imperio.*

Epitome de Caesaribus 45.10 *Itaque eo mortuo Valentinianus adhuc quadriennis auctore Equitio ac Merobaude e propinquo, ubi cum matre fuerat, allatus creatur imperator.*

Consularia Constantinopolitana Chron. min. I p. 242 post cons. Gratiani et Aequitii et levatus est Valentinianus iunior Aug. filius Aug. Valentiniani ab exercitu in tribunali die X kal. Dec. **in civitate Acinco.**

Rufinus H. E. XI.12 ... relictis haeredibus in imperio filiis, Gratiano Augusto, Valentinianoque admodum parvulo, et nondum regiis insignibus initiato. Quem tamen necessitas eorum, qui tanquam vacuum imperii locum conabantur invadere, compulit, etiam absente fratre, purpura indui, Probo tunc praefecto fideliter rem gerente.

Ammianus XXX.10.1 Post conclamata imperatoris suprema corpusque curatum ad sepulturam, ut missum Constantinopolim inter divorum reliquias humaretur ... 2 cum negotium in his esset angustiis et tamquam in eadem navi futuri periculorum, si accidissent, participes, omnes eadem formidarent: sedit summatum consilio, avulso ponte, quem compaginarat ante necessitas, invadens terras hostilis, ut superstitis Valentiniani mandato Merobaudes protinus acciretur. 3 hocque ille ut erat sollertis ingenii, quod evenerat ratus, aut forte doctus ab eo, per quem vocabatur, rupturum concordiae iura Gallicanum militem suspicatus, missam ad se tesseram finxit redeundi cum eo ad observandas Rheni ripas quasi furore barbarico crudescente: utque erat secrete mandatum, Sebastianum principis adhuc ignorantem excessum longius amendavit, quietum quidem virum et placidum sed militari favore sublatum, ideo maxime tunc cavendum. 4 Reverso itaque Merobaude, altiore cura prospectum, expedito consilio Valentinianus puer defuncti filius tum quadrimus, vocaretur in imperium cooptandus, centesimo lapide disparatus degensque cum Iustina matre in villa, quam Murocinctam appellant. 5 hocque concincenti omnium sententia confirmato Cerealis avunculus eius ocius missus eundem puerum lectica inpositum duxit in castra sextoque die post parentis obitum imperator legitime declaratus Augustus nuncupatur more sollemni.

Eunapios Frag. 42 (Excerpta de leg. 6) Καὶ γὰρ ὑπὴν τι ζηλοτυπίας αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς συμβασιλεύοντας, οἱ παῖδες μὲν ἦσαν ἀδελφοῦ (καὶ γέγραπται οὕτω πρότερον), τὴν βασιλείαν δὲ διηρῆσθαι κατὰ σφᾶς ἐδόκουν, τὴν διανομὴν οὐκ ἀνενεγκόντες ἐπὶ τὸν θεῖον.

Socrates H. E. IV.31.7 Τελευτήσαντος οὖν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν στρατιῶται ἕκτη ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τὸν ὁμώνυμον τῷ πατρὶ Οὐαλεντινιανόν, νέαν ἄγοντα κομιδῇ τὴν ἡλικίαν, βασιλέα ἀνηγόρευσαν **ἐν Ἀκίγκῳ πόλει τῆς Ἰταλίας.**

Sozomenus H. E. VI.36.5 ἕκτη δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς ἀναγορεύεται βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁ νεώτερος καὶ ὁμώνυμος αὐτοῦ παῖς.

Philostorgius H. E. IX.16 κατέλιπεν δὲ καὶ ἐτέρους δύο παῖδας, Γάλλαν τε θυγατέρα καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανόν, τέτταρά που γεγονότα ἔτη ὃν αὐτίκα ἢ τε μήτηρ Ἰουστῖνα καὶ ὁ κατὰ Παιονίαν στρατὸς βασιλέα ποιεῖ.

Chronicon Paschale p. 559 Ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὑπάτων ἐπήρθη Οὐαλεντινιανὸς νέος Αὐγουστος μηνὶ δίῳ πρὸ ε' καλανδῶν δεκεμβρίων **εἰς πόλιν Ἀκυγκον.**

Prosper Tiro Chron. min. I p. 459 1155 post quem Gratianus adsumpto in imperium Valentiniano fratre cum patruo Valente regnat.

Cassiodorus Chronica Chron. min. II p. 153 1124 post quem Gratianus adsumpto imperio Valentiniano fratre cum patruo Valente regnat.

Zosimus IV.19.1 Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ δὲ τελευτήσαντος ὁρῶντες οἱ ταξίαρχοι Μεροβαύδης καὶ Ἐκτίος Οὐάλεντα καὶ Γρατιανὸν πόρρω που διατρίβοντας (ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ἐφῶν ἦν, ὁ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐσπερίοις Γαλάταις παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολελειμμένος), ὑφορώμενοι μὴ ποτε συμβῇ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰστρον βαρβάρους ἀνάρχους ἐπιπεσεῖν τοῖς πράγμασι, παῖδα Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ νέον, ἐκ γαμετῆς αὐτῷ τεχθέντα τῆς πρότερον Μαγνηντίῳ συνοικησάσης, **οὐ πόρρω που μετὰ τῆς**

μητρός ὄντα μεταπεμψάμενοι παράγουσι μετὰ τῆς ἀλουργίδος εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, πέμπτον ἄγοντα μόλις ἐνιαυτόν. 2 Διελομένων δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς Γρατιανοῦ καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τοῦ νέου τὴν βασιλείαν, ὡς ἐδόκει τοῖς περὶ αὐτοὺς τὰ πράγματα κρίνουσιν (αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς οὐκ ἦσαν κύριοι διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν), Γρατιανῷ μὲν τὰ Κελτικά φύλα καὶ Ἰβηρία πᾶσα καὶ ἡ Βρεττανικὴ νήσος ἀπεκληροῦτο, Οὐαλεντινιανὸν δὲ ἐδόκει τὴν Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ τὴν ὅλην ἔχειν Λιβύην.

Theophanes Confessor Chronographia p. 61 AM 5867 Γρατιανοῦ δέ, τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, μὴ εὐρεθέντος ἐκεῖσε, καὶ Οὐάλεντος ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ διάγοντος, τὸ εὐρεθὲν στρατόπεδον **ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἐτελεύτησεν** Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ὁ μέγας, Οὐαλεντινιανόν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐτῶν δ' ἀνηγόρευσαν Αὐγουστον, συμπαρούσης καὶ Ἰουστίνης, τῆς μητρός αὐτοῦ, ἐν τῇ Πανονίᾳ.

Theodorus Lector Epit. III.211 Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τελευτήσαντος οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ στρατιῶται ἔκτη μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἡμέρᾳ βασιλέα ἀναγορεύουσιν Οὐαλεντινιανόν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. Zonaras XIII.17.83 ὅτε δὲ ὁ Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐ παρῆν οὗτος ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τῷ τοῦ πατρός. ἡ γοῦν στρατιὰ τηνικαῦτα τὸν νέον Οὐαλεντινιανόν βασιλέα ἀνείπε τετραετὴ τότε τυγχάνοντα. ἐπανελθὼν δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀποδημίας Γρατιανὸς τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας ἐκάκισε καὶ τινας αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκάκωσε, κολάσας τοὺς τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πρωτουργοὺς ἀναρρήσεως, ὡς ἄτερ γνώμης αὐτοῦ βασιλέως ὄντος ἄλλον ἀναγορεύσαντας. τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν αὐτὸν συνάρχειν οὐ παρητήσατο, ἀλλὰ κοινῶν τῆς βασιλείας προσείλετο.

Georgius Monachus Chron. breve 689.1 Ὁρθοδοξότατος ὦν καὶ δοῦλος Κυρίου κληρονόμους καταλείπει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ Γρατιανόν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, Αὐγουστον ὄντα, καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανόν, νέον κομιδῇ τυγχάνοντα καὶ μήπω τῶν βασιλικῶν συμβόλων καταξιωθέντα, ὃν ἡ ἀνάγκη τῶν ἐπιχειρούντων τὸν τόπον τῆς βασιλείας ἀφαρπάζειν, ὡς σχολάζοντα, παρεσκεύασεν αὐτὸν καὶ, ἀπόντος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, τὴν πορφύραν ἐνδύσασθαι, Πρόβου τῷ τηνικαῦτα πιστῶς τὸ πρᾶγμα μεταχειρισμένου.

Cf. Orosius VII.32.15, Chron. Min. I p. 647, II p. 14, 153, 469.

Aquincum as place of Valentinian II's elevation

Chron. min. I p. 242 *post cons. Gratiani et Aequitii*
et levatus est Valentinianus iunior Aug. filius Aug. Valentiniani ab exercitu in tribunali die X kal. Dec. in civitate Acinco

Chronicon Paschale p. 559

Ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὑπάτων ἐπήρθη Οὐαλεντινιανὸς νέος Αὐγουστος μηνὶ δίῳ πρὸ ε' καλανδῶν δεκεμβρίων εἰς πόλιν Ἀκυγκον.

Socrates IV.31.7 Τελευτήσαντος οὖν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν στρατιῶται ἔκτη ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τὸν ὁμώνυμον τῷ πατρὶ Οὐαλεντινιανόν, νέαν ἄγοντα κομιδῇ τὴν ἡλικίαν, βασιλέα ἀνηγόρευσαν ἐν Ἀκίνκῳ πόλει τῆς Ἰταλίας.

Abbreviations

Αἒρ. L'Année Épigraphique. Paris.

RIC. Roman Imperial Coinag., London.

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Figures

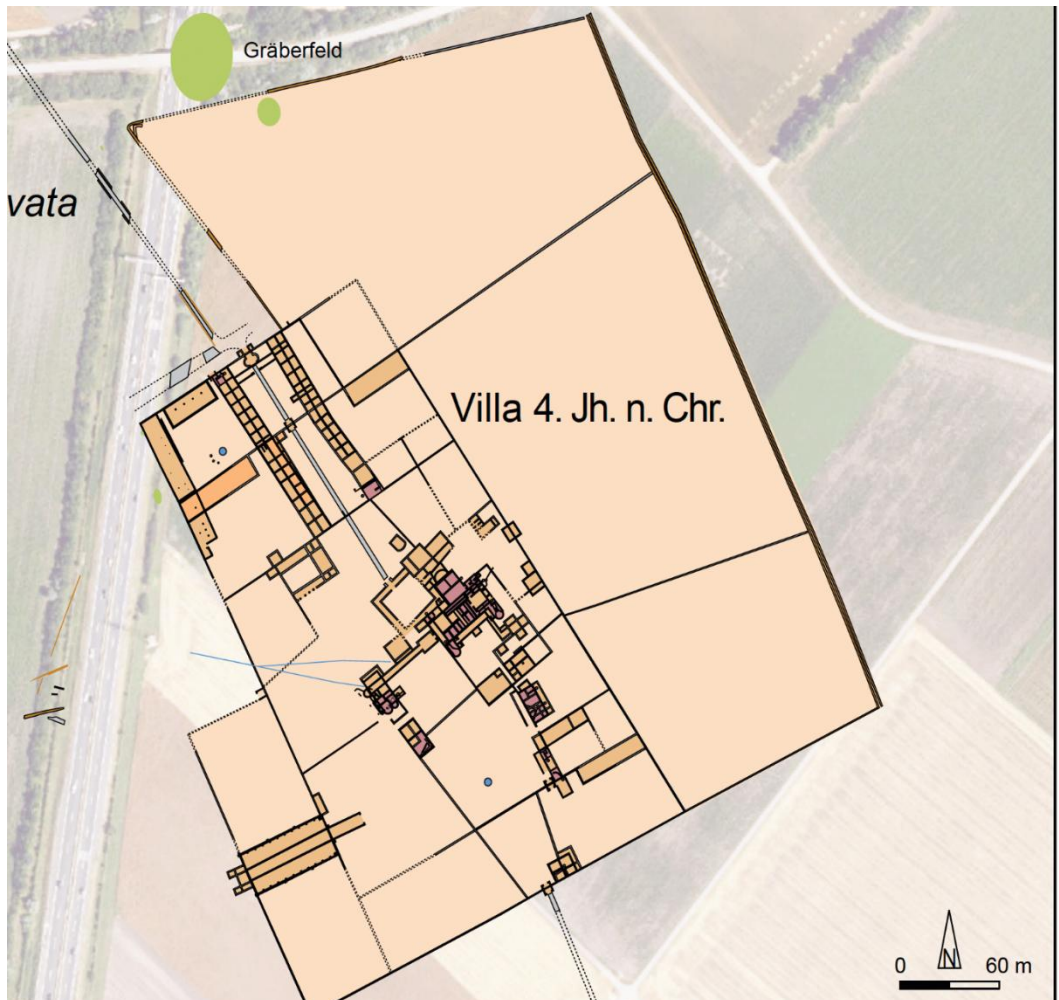


Figure 1. The Roman villa in Bruckneudorf in the 4th century (by S. Groh)



Figure 2. Aerial photo of the villa of Szakcs (by G. Bertók)

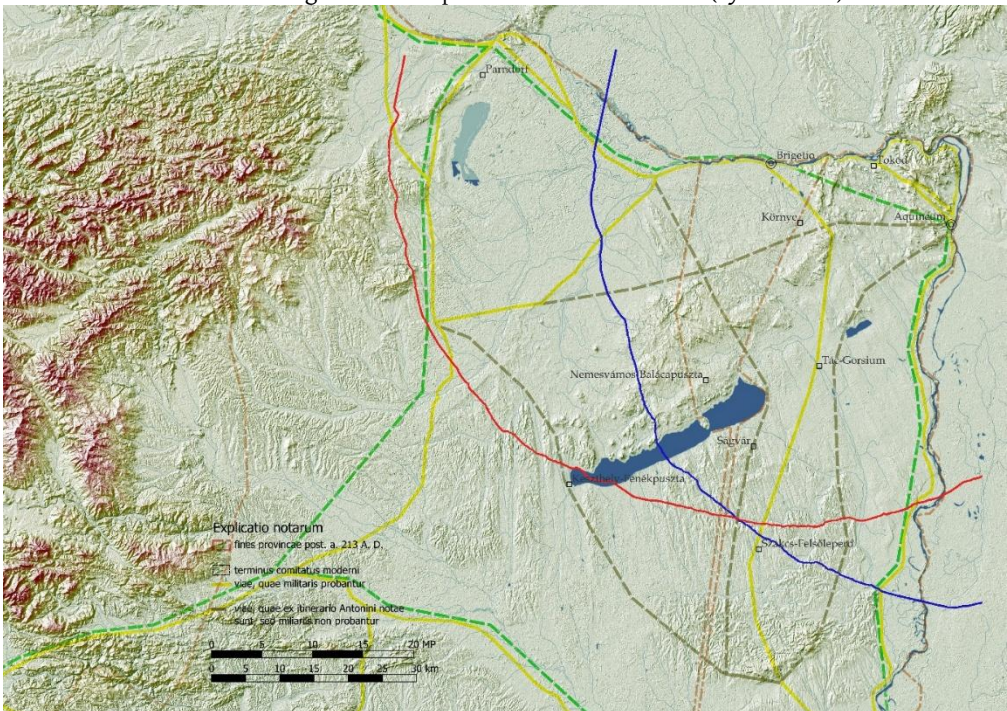


Figure 3. Roman villas in Northern Pannonia near the 100 MP distance from Brigetio and Aquincum (by A. Bődöcs and P. Kovács)

