Hrvoje Gračanin

THE ROLE OF ILLYRICUM IN THE TETRARCHIC WARS

INTRODUCTION

Illyricum was a vast region of different size and shape at different times in the Roman Empire. It stretched from the area of modern Austria, Hungary and Slovenia in the northwest, to the Aegean in the south and Black Sea in the east. In its greatest administrative extent, it encompassed all the provinces of what was to be known as the diocese of Illyricum (dioecesis Pannoniarum) or West Illyricum and the prefecture of Illyricum (dioecesis Macedonieae, dioecesis Daciae) or East Illyricum, respectively.¹ Geographically, the term Illyricum was also applied to the diocese of Thrace (dioecesis Thraciarum). Illyricum covered the greater part of the frontier along the river Danube, and keeping that line was vital for the safety of the provinces through which ran the most important roads that connected the eastern and western parts of the Empire.

Illyricum gained steadily on importance ever since the Marcomannic wars of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus in the second half of the 2nd century A.D. This was primarily due to two factors. First, there was the strategic significance of Illyricum because the security of Italy depended on the stability of the middle Danube frontier. This notion is still clearly echoed as late as the 6th century in the bishop Ennodius’ panegyric of Theodoric, written in 507, where it is stated that Sirmien-sium civitas olim limes Italiae fuit, »the town of Sirmium was once a frontier of Italy«.² Thus Illyricum, and especially its Pannonian provinces, was perceived as an integral part of the outer defenses of Italy.

Secondly, Illyricum was also perceived as the Empire’s most valuable and reliable recruiting ground. The 3rd century, with its almost continuous crisis, saw heavy internal and external fighting especially in Illyrian provinces. As a result, Illyrian troops and their commanders were advanced into position of not only

¹ Main sources for administrative division of the later Roman Empire are the Notitia Dignitatum and Laterculus Veronensis.
providing the decisive defence for the Empire, but also of deciding the holder of the imperial power. Many important military commanders of that time were of Illyrian origin or stationed in Illyricum, and a number of them rose to the throne or tried to do so. Diocletian, who himself was an Illyrian by birth, recognized the role of Illyricum in his attempts to restore the Empire. Virtually all of the Augusti and Caesars of the Diocletianic era were Illyrians. This was also to be true in later times. Many a Roman general and emperor of the West and East in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. came from Illyricum (both the diocese and prefecture) or the diocese of Thrace, and these areas continued to be used by eastern Romans as the best place for recruiting soldiers.

POSITION OF ILLYRICUM IN DIOCLETIAN'S GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM

Diocletian was quite aware of strategic and political importance of Illyricum. Undoubtedly, the fact that he secured his purple robe only after the assassination of Carinus, who actually defeated him in the battle at the river Margus in the vicinity of Viminacium, a town in the province of Moesia Superior, in late summer of 285, must have also played a role in this, for Illyricum was once more a place of decision. Furthermore, early that year, Carinus managed to eliminate the usurper Marcus Aurelius Iulianus who seemed to control northern Italy and Pannonia for a while and struck his coins at Siscia. This was a clear sign for Diocletian that something had to be done with Illyricum so as to prevent further political turmoil in the area which could undermine his own position in the future. This notion could only be additionally strengthened by past experience: Illyricum was a scene of a series of usurpation attempts during the 3rd century.

Diocletian was surely induced by yet another matter to pay special attention to Illyricum: the security of the Danube frontier against external invasions. This was of significant importance not only for the normal functioning of provincial administration and for the safety of rural and urban population as the backbone of tax collection and military recruitment systems, but also for overall political stability in the area. Often breaches of frontier defenses, as a result of barbarian

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3 This fact was also observed by a 4th century Latin historian Aurelius Victor in his Liber de Caesaribus, 39.26: 'His sane omnibus Illyricum patria fuit.' Indeed, Illyricum was the homeland of all of them.


incursions, could provide the local commanders, regardless of whether they would prove to be successful in stopping the invaders or not, with an opportunity to fish in troubled waters.

Diocletian was resolved to tackle these problems immediately and resolutely. There were definitely three major theaters of operation at that time: the Rhine frontier, the Danube frontier and the eastern, i.e. Roman-Persian frontier. Before the end of 285, that is, in the time span of about four months after Diocletian had become the sole ruler of the Empire, he had appointed his old comrade in arms and fellow countryman from the vicinity of Sirmium in Lower Pannonia (Pannonia Secunda), Maximian, first Caesar and then Augustus, entrusting him with control over the western parts of the Empire, which, in effect, meant primarily Gaul and the Rhine frontier. This enabled Diocletian to concentrate on the Danube frontier, where some Germanic and probably also Sarmatian tribes were repulsed in the autumn of 285. Diocletian was again militarily active in the area in 289 when he defeated Sarmatians, and he also spent six months in Sirmium in 291, probably occupied with measures for consolidation of the Danube frontier’s defenses. He stayed in Sirmium again in late 292, because there he entered his fifth consulate on January 1, 293 and remained in town to at least late February, presumably the beginning of March.

However, from the very start Diocletian was distracted from the endangered Danube area primarily due to the constantly changing situation on the Roman-Persian border. At the same time, Maximian proved to be unable to suppress the usurpers in Britain while having to maintain the Rhine frontier. There were also other troubled areas (Egypt, Africa). All that probably induced Diocletian to institute new governmental system by adding a Caesar as a subordinate ruler and presumptive heir to each of the two Augusti. Diocletian’s choice for his Caesar fell on Galerius, native of the region of Serdica in Dacia Ripensis. Galerius was soon to be dispatched to the East, which clearly shows that Diocletian preferred direct control over the Danube frontier, i.e. Illyricum and Thrace to the eastern affairs, at least for the time being. In 294, Diocletian won a victory over the Sarmatians on the Danube, while spending the whole of 293 and most of 294 in Illyricum and Thrace. He was back on the Danube frontier in the summer of 296, when he defeated the Carpi who were then settled in Pannonia.

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7 Kuhoff 2001: 35.
10 Kuhoff 2001: 105-106.
13 Barnes 1982: 52-54.
It seems that the victories over the Sarmatians and Carpi, and the activities of
the Emperor in fortifying the Danube frontier, brought some security to the region
and a brief respite from the external danger. This came in just the right moment,
because there arose a need for Diocletian’s presence on the eastern frontier where
hostilities with Persia broke out. The temporary security of the Danube frontier is
best attested to by the fact that Diocletian could take a part of the Danube army
from Illyricum and Thrace with him to the East.\(^{15}\)

After the completion of the Persian campaign, Galerius was sent by Diocletian
to Illyricum and Thrace in the summer of 299 at the earliest.\(^{16}\) The Caesar was
now entrusted with the defense of the Danube frontier, and he chose Thessalonica
for his residence, although he also resided in Serdica.\(^{17}\) This confirms certain sta-
bilitas loci. It seems that from that time on, we can assume that Galerius received
Danubian provinces as his permanent area of operation.\(^{18}\) However, this did not
exclude Diocletian as Augustus, i.e. Galerius’ superior, from intervening in the area
at his discretion. Thus he visited, on his way from Rome to Nicomedia, the Danube
frontier in the summer of 304, and probably inspected the newly built defensive
installations.\(^{19}\) Galerius proved to be a capable commander once again. From 299
to 305, he distinguished himself in many campaigns on the Danube, winning four
victories over the Carpi, and one over the Sarmatians.\(^{20}\)

From all these instances it can be deduced that the security of Illyricum and
Thrace had an important place in Diocletian’s governmental system. His decisions
were, to certain extent, inspired by a desire to bring stability to this region. This is
attested to by the fact that Diocletian, either himself or through his Caesar Galerius,
got to great length to defend the Danube frontier and strengthen it, so as to with-
stand new attacks from across the river.\(^{21}\) Diocletian’s constant care for the region
is additionally illustrated by his protracted stays and frequent visits to Illyricum
and Thrace, especially during the first part of his reign. Finally, Diocletian ordered

\(^{15}\) Eutrop. 9.25.1: per Illyricum Moesiamque contractis copiis, Fest., 25.2: reparato

year 298 for Galerius’ arrival in Illyricum, which is clearly a mistake.

\(^{17}\) Barnes 1982: 61-62. Galerius did not reside in Sirmium as Demandt 1989: 48 has
it.

\(^{18}\) Cf. Barnes 1982: 196, Kuhoff 2001: 222. However, Aur. Vict. 39.30 states that,
in 293, Galerius received Illyrici ora adusque Ponti fretum, which is erroneous because
Illyricum was apparently retained by Diocletian until 299. Demandt 1989: 48 incorrectly
maintains that Galerius received Illyricum and Greece as his portion of the Empire in 293,
while Diocletian kept adjacent area of Thrace for himself. He later corrected this notion

\(^{19}\) Barnes 1981: 25, 1982: 56, Kuhoff 2001: 299. It is not very likely that Diocletian
himself campaigned on the Danube in 304 as proposed by Barnes 1982: 197 since the aged
emperor was seriously ill at that time (cf. Lactant. Mort. Pers. 17.3-4).


Galerius to remain in Illyricum with the specific task of defending and fortifying the Danube frontier. All in all, one of the greatest achievements of Diocletian’s reign was that he pacified the Danubian provinces, which were exposed to significant internal and external threats in previous times.

ILLYRICUM DURING THE FIRST PERIOD
OF TETRARCHIC WARS (306-312)

Prior to Diocletian’s and Maximian’s planned abdication on May 1, 305, Galerius secured the positions of new Caesars for two of his nominees, Valerius Severus and Maximinus Daia, both natives of Illyricum.\(^{22}\) It may be that Severus received, in addition to Africa and Italy, the (future) diocese of Illyricum, i.e. Pannonia and Dalmatia as his portion, while Galerius would command the rest of Illyricum, as well as Thrace.\(^ {23}\) This arrangement made it quite clear that Galerius wanted to exert a firm control over the central regions of the Empire, and especially over the lower Danube frontier. This was the area where he campaigned against the Sarmatians and the Carpi.\(^ {24}\)

But this peaceful transition of power was not to last, for in 306 a civil war broke out. After the untimely death of Constantius I in July 306, Galerius promoted Severus to the rank of Augustus for the West, and simultaneously recognized Constantius’ son Constantine, native of Naissus in what was then Dardania, who had been proclaimed Emperor by his father’s troops in Britain, as a Caesar. This settlement was soon spoiled by Aurelius Valerius Maxentius, son of the former Augustus Maximian, who was himself raised to the throne in Rome in October of 306.\(^ {25}\)

Galerius refused to grant recognition to Maxentius who sought help from his father as a second time Augustus, and finally took the title of Augustus for himself


However, the cession of Pannonia to Severus is conceivable if we bear in mind that northern Italy and western Illyricum constituted a single defensive area. Licinius was also to receive Pannonia (and Raetia), i.e. the upper and middle Danube frontier (cf. later in the text).

\(^{24}\) Barnes 1981: 30, 32, Kuhoff 2001: 789, 859-860. These two campaigns presumably took place somewhere between the years 307 and 309.

\(^{25}\) For detailed account of these events cf. Kuhoff 2001: 796-807.
in the spring of 307. With Severus in control of northern Italy and western Illyricum, Galerius thought that the rebellion would be easily crushed. He summoned Severus and urged him to do away with Maxentius as quickly as possible.26 But Severus lost his army in Italy due to Maxentius’ machinations and was forced to seek refuge in Ravenna, where he was besieged by Maximian. He soon surrendered and laid down his purple robe for the promise of his life being spared (he was killed in September 307).27

Galerius did not recognize this change and prepared for a campaign himself. Galerius’ direct control, now over all of Illyricum, which he was able to affirm after Severus’ overthrow, was of considerable importance for his move against Maxentius in Italy. Maxentius and Maximian could not prevent Galerius from invading Italy, but tried to neutralize this threat by making an alliance with Constantine who was promoted to Augustus by Maximian in late summer of 307. At the same time, meeting no resistance, Galerius entered Italy and marched on Rome. But he could not force the decision and had to abandon Italy, retreating to Illyricum.28

Having failed to suppress Maxentius, Galerius turned to the authority of Diocletian. He persuaded him to accept the consulate for 308 and try to resolve the problems caused by civil war. In the autumn of 308, Diocletian, urged by Galerius, called a conference at Carnuntum in Upper Pannonia (Pannonia Prima).29 The place of the conference was deliberate: it was in the relative vicinity of Diocletian’s palace in Dalmatia, was under Galerius’ control, and was situated in the central part of the Empire, close to the main traffic routes connecting East and West.

The conference could not do much for the security of tetrarchic system, but it saw an advancement of a new nominee by Galerius, his trusted friend and comrade in arms, Licinius Licinius, native of Dacia Nova, who was made Augustus in place of Severus in November of 308, and put in charge of Raetia and the (future) diocese of Illyricum with prospects of getting Italy and Africa after Maxentius’ elimination (these regions went to Constantine in A.D. 312).30 Licinius chose Sirmium for his capital, while Galerius returned to Serdica, but presumably

30 Demandt 1989: 64, 2007: 79. For Licinius’ domains cf. Origo Constantini, 3.8 where it is stated that Galerius in Illyrico Licinium Caesarem (!) fecit, and illo (sc. Licinio) in Pannonia relictio, while Aur. Vict. 40.8 erroneously says that eo (sc. Licinio) ad munimentum Illyrici et Thraciae relictio. This is repeated by Zonar., 12.34, 168, 16-19 who records that Licinius remained in Illyricum to defend Thrace against the barbarians. Barnes 1982: 198 believes that Licinius and Galerius shared the defense of the whole Danube frontier and the administration of all the Danube provinces. Yet, the information about Licinius’ activity, however scarce, seems to point to conclusion that he operated in the middle Danubian area which is consistent with the assumption that he was put in charge primarily of western Illyricum. This does not exclude the possibility that, should the necessity arise, Licinius was to help Galerius in defending the lower Danube frontier.
soon organized his court in Thessalonica once again. Sirmium and Thessalonica retained their distinctive administrative role throughout the 4th and 5th centuries, as the most prominent urban centres of Illyricum, frequented by emperors and the capitals of the prefecture of Illyricum.

Licinius began his task of suppressing Maxentius in the campaigning season of 309. Relying primarily on Italy, with no control over the outlying Illyrian provinces, Maxentius had no choice but to make a stand in Italy itself, which was more or less easily accessible for Licinius’ forces. Maxentius recognized this by closing the northern Italian mints of Ticinum (Pavia) and Aquileia, probably because he feared that they might fall into the hands of the enemy. It appears that in 309 Licinius, carefully staging his moves, made an overture in a planned attack on Maxentius by seizing Histria. But he had to postpone any further action because his presence was needed on the endangered middle Danube frontier, where he presumably inflicted defeat on Sarmatians in late spring of 310. Furthermore, in the spring of 310, Galerius fell ill with a terminal disease, which rendered him quite incapable of strenuous action. This distracted Licinius and enabled Maxentius to strengthen the defenses of Italy against the invasion from Illyricum.

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**ILLYRICUM DURING THE SECOND PERIOD OF TETRARCHIC WARS**

(312-324)

Illyricum played even more important role in the events following Galerius’ death. After Galerius had died in early May 311, Licinius acquired all of Illyricum and Thrace, but was rendered incapable of military action in the West by an aggressive move of Maximinus Daia who seized Asia Minor. Nevertheless, Maxentius stationed an army in Verona, presumably to guard northern Italy against an expected attack from Pannonia. Maxentius was done away with by Constantine in October.

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32 Kuhoff 2001: 858 brings the inscription commemorating Licinius’ victory on June 27, 310 in connection with a military action on the border between the respective territories of Licinius and Maxentius, i.e. in Histria. Indeed, in 310, the town of Parentium (Poreč) honored Licinius as its sovereign, which is known from an erased inscription. However, Kuhoff nowhere accounts for Galerius’ victory title *Sarmaticus maximus V*, which appears in Galerius’ tolerance proclamation dated to April of 311 (cf. Barnes 1982: 22, Nr. 7). As the title *Sarmaticus maximus IV* belongs probably to the period between the years 307 and 309, one can conjecture that the new victory over the Sarmatians was won in 310. Since Galerius was taken seriously ill in the spring of the same year, the campaign must have been led by Licinius.
34 Barnes 1981: 41. *Zosim. 2.14.1* even says that Maxentius intended to go to Raetia, and was informed in a dream that he would acquire Dalmatia and Illyricum with the help
312, and Constantine and Licinius made an alliance in Milan in February 313. Licinius travelled there from Carnuntum. After securing his western flank, Licinius, the master of Illyricum and Thrace, moved through Pannonia, Moesia, Dardania and Thrace with a hastily assembled army to meet his opponent Maximinus Daia. The decisive battle was fought at Campus Ergenus, near Tzirallum in the vicinity of Adrianople in late April 313. Maximinus was defeated, and finally committed suicide in Tarsus in late summer of 313. Thus Licinius remained sole ruler of the East. This change did not make him neglect the Danube frontier, for we discover that he celebrated, probably in 315, a victory over the Goths.

But the peace was not to last. In 316, the civil war broke out once again, and the aggressor was Constantine. Both Constantine and Licinius would try to secure their positions in Illyricum in order to neutralize their respective opponent and win the upper hand. Licinius' control over Illyricum was something Constantine had to contend with in his advance, and Licinius decided to make a stand there, although it appears that he failed to concentrate his forces. The first battle was fought near Cibalae in Lower Pannonia (Pannonia Secunda) in October 316. Licinius suffered a defeat and retreated hastily to Sirmium and then probably to Serdica, while Constantine pursued him vigorously through Southeastern Pannonia, Moesia, Dardania, and Macedonia all the way to Thrace. The forces of Constantine and Licinius engaged again in the battle at Campus Ardiensis near Adrianople, fought probably in late October, and the latter gave in once again. However, Constantine could not inflict a decisive blow on his opponent and had to agree on peace later in the same year. In Europe, Licinius was left only in control of the (future) diocese of Thrace, while Constantine acquired all of Illyricum. Following this, the geographical term of Illyricum ceased to be applied to the diocese of Thrace. Licinius had to transfer his capital from Sirmium to Nicomedia. In March 317 at

of local commanders and Licinius' troops. Although this is quite improbable, it illustrates the fact that Maxentius was very much aware of the importance of western Illyricum for successful defense of Italy.


For detailed account of these events cf. Kuhoff 2001: 882-929.


Cf. Eutrop. 10.5: omnique Dardania, Moesia, Macedonia potitus (sc. Constantinus).


Barnes 1981: 68.
Serdica, Constantine invested his sons Crispus and Constantine II as Caesars for the West, and Licinius’ son Licinius Iunior as Caesar for the East.45

Aware of the strategic and political importance of Illyricum, Constantine remained there defending the Danube frontier mostly from Sirmium, Serdica and Thessalonica.46 This proved to be crucial, for in 324, after a renewal of hostilities between Constantine and Licinius, the former was able to use his strategic advantage and in a three-month campaign inflict two decisive defeats on his opponent. Starting his campaign from Thessalonica, Constantine vanquished Licinius first at Adrianople in July, and then, ultimately, at Chrysopolis outside Chalcedon in September.47 Licinius had to lay down his purple robe and was sent to confinement in Thessalonica, his life being spared for the time being. This was the last act of tetrarchic wars and it left Constantine the master of the entire Roman Empire.

CONCLUSION

The role of Illyricum in the tetrarchic wars, i.e. in political and military history of the early 4th century Roman Empire was a prominent one. The area of Illyricum and Thrace which stretched along the Danube was vital for the stability of the Empire, and that is why it had an important place in Diocletian’s governmental system. Diocletian’s measures succeeded in pacifying the region and reinforcing the frontier defenses. Strategic importance of Illyricum in ensuing civil war after Diocletian’s abdication is clearly showed by the manner Galerius and Licinius attempted to eliminate Maxentius. Namely, they both used Illyricum as an area that provided the quickest and easiest access to Italy. Strategic advantages of Illyricum were recognized and fully exploited by Constantine who managed to take Licinius by surprise with his rapid advance into South Pannonia in 316, and then to inflict on him the final defeat in 324 thanks to his control over the whole of Ill-

46 Constantine is attested in Sirmium from June to August 317, probably from January to February 318, from October 318 to April 319, from May to August 320, in April and from June to September 321, from May to July 322, and from December 323 to January 324; in Serdica from February to April 317, probably from August to September 319, from November 319 to May 320, probably from December 320 to February 321, and in December 322; in Thessalonica presumably in December 317, probably from February to May 323, and from March to April 324 (cf. Barnes 1982: 73-75). In the summer 323, Constantine defeated the Sarmatians who crossed the Danube and ravaged Thrace and Moesia (Barnes 1981: 76, 1982: 75).
yricum which he could use as a convenient starting point for a swift advancement into Licinius’ territory. Furthermore, Constantine’s particular interest in Illyricum is evident from the fact that he had stayed in the area for eight years (316-324), leaving it on rare occasions. It is also worth pointing out that the outcome of the first war between Constantine and Licinius resulted in separation of Illyricum from Thrace as a geographical and to certain extent administrative unity. Illyricum remained a regular battleground in the struggle between the legitimate emperors and pretenders for control over the Empire in subsequent times, too (Constantius II against Magnentius in 350’s, and Theodosius I against both Magnus Maximus in 380’s and Eugenius in 390’s).

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ABBREVIATIONS

CSHB = Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae, Bonn 1828-1897
MGH AA = Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctores Antiquissimi, Berlin 1877-1894

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Chron. Pasch. = Chronicon Paschale I-II, rec. L. Dindorf, [CSHB 9], Bonn 1832

48 Constantine visited Italy in 318 and stayed there from May to October (cf. Barnes 1982: 74).
Origo Constantini = Origo Constantini Imperatoris, ed. Th. Mommsen [MGH AA 9 = Chronica minora 1], Berlin 1892, pp. 7-11
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ULOGA ILIRIKA U TETRARHIJSKIM RATOVIMA

S a ž e t a k

Nakon markomanskih ratova Marka Aurelia Antonina u drugoj polovici 2. stoljeća, Ilirik je stekao stabilnost zbog svojega strateškog značenja: sigurnost Italije ovisila je o stabilnosti granice na srednjem Dunavu. Ilirik je također bio shvaćen kao najvrjednije i najpouzdanije područje za regutiranje u Rimskom Carstvu. Treće stoljeće, s gotovo stalnim krizama, bilo je doba teških unutarnjih i vanjskih borbi, posebice u ilirskim provincijama. Ilirske snage i njihovi zapovjednici bili su unaprijeđeni u poziciju ne samo presudnih branitelja Carstva nego i onih koji odlučuju o tome tko će posjedovati moć. Mnogi značajni vojni zapovjednici tog vremena bili su ilirskoga podrijetla ili stacionirani u Iliriku i mnogi od njih stigli su do prijestolja ili su to pokušali. Dioklecijan, i sam Ilir po rođenju, prepoznao je ulogu Ilirika u svojim pokušajima da preuredi Carstvo. Praktično svi augusti i cezari Dioklecijanove ere bili su Iliri. Galerije, koji je dobio Ilirik i Grčku od Dioklecijana 293. godine, kao svoj dio Carstva, zadržao je kontrolu nad srednjom dunavskom granicom tako što su dvojica njegovih kandidata dobila upravu nad zapadnim ilirskim provincijama. I Sever iLicinije dobili su panonsku dijecezu, 305., odnosno 308., dok je Galerije upravljao ostatkom Ilirika i Trakijom. Galerijeva izravna kontrola nad Ilirikom bila je od iznimne važnosti za njegov pokret protiv Maksencija u Italiji, iako Galerije nije uspio svladati uzurpatora. U jesen godine 308. Dioklecijan, pozvan od Galerije, saziva vijeće u Karnuntumu u Gornjoj Panoniji (Pannonia Prima) kako bi riješio probleme što ih je izazvao građanski rat. Karnun tum je izabran kao mjesto održavanja vijećanja jer se nalazio u relativnoj blizini Dioklecijanove palače u Dalmaciji, jer je bio pod Galerijevom kontrolom i jer je bio smješten u središnjem dijelu Carstva, u blizini glavnih prometnih pravaca koji su povezivali Istok i Zapad. Ilirik je još važniju ulogu odigrao u događajima koji su uslijedili nakon Galerijevse smrti godine 311. Ilirik i susjedna regija Trakija bili su bojna polja u sukobima između pretendenata za kontrolu nad Carstvom. Ondje su vođene odlučujući bitke između Licinija i Maksimina Daje (Campus Ergenus na Tziralumu pokraj Hadrijanopola 313. g.), te između Konstantina I. i Licinija (Cibalija kraj Sirmija i Mardi kraj Hadrijanopola godine 316./314.?, te Hadrijanopol 324.). I Licinije i Konstantin pokušali su osigurati svoje položaje u Iliriku kako bi neutralizirali protivnika i zadobili prednost. Godine 316. (314.?) Liciniju je ostala samo kontrola nad tračkom dijecezom, dok je Konstantin stekao cijeli Ilirik. To je bilo presudno jer je 324., u godini konačnog sukoba, Konstantin mogao upotrijebiti svoju stratešku prednost i u tromjesečnoj kampanji konačno poraziti Liciniju. Bio je to zadnji čin tetrarhijskih ratova, u kojima je Ilirik odigrao istaknutu ulogu.
DIOKLECIJAN, TETRARHIJA I DIOKLECIJANova PALAČA
O 1700. OBLJETNICI POSTOJANJA

DIOCLETIAN, TETRARCHY AND DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE
ON THE 1700TH ANNIVERSARY OF EXISTENCE

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KNJIŽEVNI KRUG SPLIT