



King's College
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*Consular Dating and Consular Dissemination in Late
Antiquity*

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A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

July 2022

Abstract

This PhD dissertation aims to provide a comprehensive study of the use and role of consular dating formulas in Late Antiquity, focusing especially on the period from AD 476 to 541.

Its ultimate goal is to explore whether evidence for the dissemination and non-dissemination of consular dates can legitimately be used to address specific historical issues. Exhaustive investigation has established several strong correlations between political factors and the inclusion or exclusion of consular names within annual dating formulas employed in the eastern and western halves of the Empire. These suggest that consular dating potentially provides a new high-resolution and non-literature-based proxy variable that stands in both for official political stances of the Roman imperial government and expressions of provincial loyalty. This project argues that a full understanding of dissemination patterns and the factors affecting dissemination opens up new perspectives which offer new insight into the partially lost diplomatic history of Western Europe, north Africa and the Near East in the era before Justinian's wars of reconquest.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my deep gratitude to all those who have supported me during this long and challenging journey. Naturally, the first special thanks go to my two joint supervisors, Peter Heather and Nick Gonis, for the world-class expertise they shared with me, their pastoral care, relentless support, humanity and endless patience (especially in proofreading the draft version of this thesis and improving my English text considerably). Anything that is good about this dissertation does certainly come from them, while any other mistake is mine.

I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation to my three examiners, Simon Corcoran, Bernhard Palme and Pierfrancesco Porena, for their invaluable comments and suggestions on a manuscript of over 500 pages and 1350 notes. I will incorporate their feedback into the final publishable monograph. I also feel grateful for their contribution in making my PhD viva a remarkable and unforgettable experience, which I will always cherish.

I owe an incredible debt of gratitude to both the London Arts and Humanities Partnership (AHRC) and King's College, University of London, for funding my doctoral studies and enabling me to carry out research under optimal conditions. LAHP has also been enormously generous in financing an additional six-month research period abroad, which has allowed me to grow both personally and academically. In addition, the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at KCL has provided me with financial and logistical assistance for *DataCons*, a 'child project' of this doctoral work. Both institutions have been a source of unwavering support in the face of numerous challenges, from covid to other personal adventures.

Certainly, much of this thesis would not have been the same today had I not benefited from the collaboration at DataCons with Kieran Baker and Archie Licudi, whose professionalism and expertise were invaluable. In particular, Kieran was responsible for the statistical and computational analysis behind both DataCons and several sections of this dissertation, and Archie for developing the database and its web application. The same holds true for the valuable advice and insights which Alice Taylor, Daniel Hadas and Alice Rio offered during my upgrade examination, and equal gratitude goes to Michael Whitby, who supervised my M.Res thesis, *Rome after Rome: Imperial Ideology and Propaganda in the Reigns of Zeno and Anastasius* (2017 Birmingham), for continuing to offer counsel whenever requested.

I would also like to thank Julien Aliquot, Laura Clark, Mark Handley, Hannah Cotton, Leah Di Segni, Werner Eck, Denis Feissel, Antonio Enrico Felle, Basema Hamarneh, Jean-Baptiste Humbert, Lukas Lemcke, Orazio Licandro, Danilo Mazzoleni, Yannis Meimaris, Stephanie Novasio, Fabrizio Oppedisano, Silvia Orlandi, Dominic Rathbone, Nicola Reggiani, Mustafa Sayar, Ignazio Tantillo, Tulay Yesiltas, and many others, for all the materials, suggestions and availability they offered before and during the writing up of this work.

Furthermore, I would like to thank all the people of the British Institute at Ankara, and especially Nurdan Atalan Çayirezmez, Nihal Uzun and Burçak Delikan, for the invaluable support I received during my 2019 and 2021 survey campaigns, and no less for their friendship. I am equally grateful to all my friends from Antakya for welcoming me as one of them during my brief stay at Antakya Museum.

The Institute of Classical Studies has been my second home during these years, and the availability, kindness and professionalism of the ICS librarians saved me a lot of time and trouble when searching for publications. A special mention should also be given to Flo Cowen, Juliette Boyd and Fatima Begum from the admin team, for assisting me during my whole PhD, especially through periods of particular hardship.

Finally, there is a special thanks which, of course, I owe to my inner circle of family and friends. I would have never been able to accomplish anything without your love and support, and I am nothing without you. I thus dedicate this work to all of you and, especially, to my late grandparents, Dante Magnani, Rina Bonelli, Alfredo Dosi and Giancarla Busconi, and my late mentor Ruth Macrides. I miss you all dearly—you are always in my heart.

Table of Contents

<i>Abstract</i>	2
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	3
<i>List of Tables and Graphs</i>	8
<i>Maps and Images</i>	10
<i>Short List of Abbreviations</i>	11
<i>Preface</i>	16
Chapter 1. Introduction	20
<i>1.1. The Late Antique Consulship</i>	20
1.1.1. Brief History of the Late Antique Consulship	20
1.1.2. Appointing Authority	22
1.1.3. The Development of a Western and Eastern Consulship	27
1.1.4. The End of the Consulship	29
<i>1.2. Late Antique Consular Dating</i>	42
1.2.1. Consular Dating in Context	42
1.2.2. Morphology	45
1.2.3. Was Dating Mandatory?	49
1.2.4. Did an Official Formula Exist?	51
Chapter 2. The Body of the Evidence	59
<i>2.1. The Material</i>	59
2.1.1. Papyri	59
2.1.2. Inscriptions	67
2.1.3. Miscellaneous Material	75
<i>2.2. Distributions</i>	80
2.2.1. The West	81
2.2.1.1. Rome and Italy	81
2.2.1.2. Gallia	89
2.2.1.3. Western Illyricum	93
2.2.1.4. North Africa	97
2.2.1.5. Hispaniae	102
2.2.1.6. Britannia	106
2.2.2. The East	107

2.2.2.1. Egypt	107
2.2.2.2. Oriens	114
2.2.2.3. Asia Minor	118
2.2.2.4. Constantinople and Eastern Illyricum	123
Chapter 3. Announcement and Dissemination	129
<i>3.1. Introduction: The State Apparatus, the Announcement and the Dissemination of the Official Formula</i>	129
<i>3.2. Places of First Appearance of the New Consulates</i>	132
<i>3.3. Operational Changes in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries</i>	147
3.3.1. Early Notifications and Late Dissemination	147
3.3.1.1. The West	150
3.3.1.2. The East	159
3.3.1.3. The Cause of Late Dissemination	165
<i>3.4. From Joint to Unilateral Proclamations</i>	169
<i>3.5. The Break-Up of Consular Dissemination and its Regionalisation</i>	174
3.5.1. Non-Dissemination and Partial Dissemination	174
3.5.1.1. West	177
3.5.1.2. East	192
3.5.2. Regionalisation of Consular Fasti and Consular Dissemination after 476	199
3.5.2.1. Italy and the East	200
3.5.2.2. The Burgundian and Visigothic kingdoms	249
Chapter 4. Consular Dating and Politics	262
<i>4.1. Dating as a Political Practice</i>	263
<i>4.2. Shifting Meaning</i>	265
4.2.1. The Tetrarchy	265
4.2.2. Constans and Constantius II	273
4.2.3. Magnentius and Constantius II	274
4.2.4. Julian and Constantius II	275
4.2.5. Magnus Maximus' usurpation	276
4.2.6. Eugenius and Theodosius	277
4.2.7. Stilicho's Regency	279
4.2.8. Honorius and Theodosius II	285
4.2.9. Constantine III and the other Theodosian Emperors	286
4.2.10. Priscus Attalus and the Theodosian Emperors	286

4.2.11. John and Theodosius II	287
4.2.12. Theodosius II and Valentinian III	290
4.2.13. Valentinian III and Marcian	292
4.2.14. Marcian and Avitus	296
4.2.15. Marcian, Leo and Majorian	298
4.2.16. Leo and Severus	310
4.2.17. Leo and Anthemius	313
4.2.18. Leo and Olybrius	317
4.2.19. Leo, Leo II, Zeno and Glycerius	320
4.2.20. Zeno, Basiliscus and Julius Nepos	321
4.2.21. Basiliscus and Romulus Augustus	322
4.2.22. Odovacar and the East	323
4.2.23. Theoderic, His Successors and the East	331
<i>4.3. Correlation Analysis</i>	338
4.3.1. Introduction, Description and Aim of the Test	338
4.3.2. Data Lineage	340
4.3.3. Criteria Applied in Assessing Attestation and Non-Attestation	341
4.3.4. Missing and Uncertain Data	342
4.3.5. Temporal Correlation Analysis: Setting the Analysis	345
4.4. Results Summary	345
4.4.1. Correlations Between Factors	345
4.4.2. Temporal Correlation Analysis	346
<i>Conclusions</i>	353
<i>Appendix A. 'Variant' Formulas</i>	358
<i>Appendix B. Classification, Selection and Dating of the Evidence for Statistical Testing</i>	397
<i>Appendix C. Statistical Testing and Geospatial Modelling</i>	461
Bibliography	495
<i>Primary sources: literary sources</i>	495
<i>Primary sources: inscriptions</i>	500
<i>Secondary sources</i>	504

List of Tables and Graphs

Table 2.1.	Papyri. Number of documents reviewed vs. unreviewed by decades.	60
Graph 2.1.	Quantitative and chronological distributions of papyri and ostraca, 284-541.	62
Table 2.2.	Inscriptions. Number of documents reviewed vs. unreviewed by decades.	69
Graph 2.2.	Quantitative and chronological distributions of inscriptions, 284-541.	71
Graph 2.3.	Consular material by decade in Rome, 284-541.	84
Graph 2.4.	Consular material by decade in the Diocese of Italy (Rome excluded), 284-541.	84
Graph 2.5.	Distribution of N.N. + abl. & <i>consulatu</i> + gen. inscriptions in Rome.	85
Graph 2.6.	Distribution of N.N. + abl. & <i>consulatu</i> + gen. inscriptions in Italy.	85
Graph 2.7.	Volume of material by decade in Burgundy.	91
Graph 2.8.	Volume of material by decade in Illyricum.	94
Graph 2.9.	Frequency of findings in Africa, 1 st to 5 th century AD.	101
Graph 2.10.	Frequency of findings in Hispaniae, 1 st to 6 th century AD.	104
Graph 2.11	Frequency of regnal dates by decade in Egypt, 284-549.	112
Graph 2.12.	Frequency of consular dates by decade in Egypt, 284-549.	112
Graph 2.13.	Frequency of regnal dating and consular dating in Egyptian papyri, AD 290-320.	113
Graph 2.14.	Consular material by decade in the Balkans, 284-541.	125
Graph 3.1.	Ceremonies held in Rome with the consul in attendance, 284-541.	137
Graphs 3.2-5.	Western and Eastern office-holders and non-office-holders.	138
Table 3.6.	Prospect of late Roman consuls for whom prosopographical information are available.	140

Graph 4.1.	Dissemination of eastern consuls in the West in the reign of Theodosius II and Valentinian III, ad 425-450.	315
Graph 4.2.	Dissemination of western consuls in the East after the end of the Theodosian dynasty, AD 454-472.	315
Graph 4.3.	Earliest attestation of T1s, T2s and T3s in Egypt, AD 380-541.	326
Graphs 4.4.	Correlation Coefficients of the Co-Variates.	347
Table A.1-2.	List of attested polyonymous nomenclatures in western & eastern papyri.	359
Graph A.3.	Overall distribution of polyonymous nomenclatures in papyri, AD 284-541 (relevant years).	371
Graph A.4.	Overall distribution of polyonymous nomenclatures in inscriptions, AD 284-541 (relevant years).	372
Graph A.5.	Papyri dated by <i>e.q.f.n.</i> -formulas vs. all dated papyri.	382
Table A.6.	Attested iunior consuls and their preceding homonyms.	388
Table A.7-8.	Attested iunior and non-iunior material after 480.	395
Table B.1.	Attested iunior and non-iunior dated material.	395
Graphs C.1.	Travel-Time Ranges vs. Dissemination-Time Ranges (West & East).	477
Graphs C.2.	Overlap parameters estimates.	487

Maps and Images

Figure 1.	Overall geographical distribution of the late-antique findspots.	15
Figure 2.	Consular diptych of Magnus (518). Paris, Bibliothèque National, Cabinet des Médailles.	23
Figure 3.	Geographical distribution of the late-antique findspots in the Italian diocese.	82
Figure 4.	Geographical distribution of the late-antique findspots in Gallia.	90
Figure 5.	Geographical distribution of the late-antique findspots in western Illyricum.	95
Figure 6.	Geographical distribution of the findspots in North Africa (early and late-antique material).	99
Figure 7.	Geographical distribution of the findspots in the Iberian Peninsula (early and late-antique material).	103
Figure 8.	Geographical distribution of the late-antique findspots in Egypt.	108
Figure 9.	Geographical distribution of the late-antique findspots in Palaestina and Arabia.	116
Figure 10.	Geographical distribution of the late-antique findspots in Asia Minor.	119
Figure 11.	Places of publication and excavations.	122
Figure 12.	Geographical distribution of the findspots in the eastern Illyricum (early and late-antique material).	126
Figure 13-14.	Geographical distribution of polyonymous nomenclatures in AD 284-410 and 411-541.	369
Figure 15.	Geographical distribution of iunior material from 480 on.	387

Short List of Abbreviations

The following list does not include all the abbreviations being employed in this work but only a selection of the most cited ones. Papyri and ostraca are cited according to J.F. Oates et al., (eds.), *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri*, 5th ed. (Atlanta, 2001). An electronic version is available at: <https://papyri.info/docs/checklist>. All the abbreviations used for the inscriptions and many other literary sources, including especially the chronicles, are taken from *CLRE* to maintain some continuity with the latter's system of reference (for the chronicles, please refer especially to id., 47-5). To aid in identifying the materials, I have included additional bibliographic information in cases where a document has been published more than once. Additionally, when pertinent, I have provided supplementary details such as the text's date, place of origin, and potential errors.

ACO	<i>Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum</i> . Berlin.
AD	<i>Anno Domini</i>
AE	<i>Année épigraphique</i> , Paris.
Agnello	Agnello, S., <i>Sillage di iscrizioni paleocristiane della Sicilia</i> . Rome, 1953.
CAH XII	Bowman, E., Garnsey, P., Cameron, A. <i>The Cambridge Ancient History. Second Edition. Volume XII. The Crisis of Empire, A.D. 193-337</i> . Cambridge, 2007.
CIG	Boeckh A., et al. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . Berlin, 1828-1877.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Berlin, 1863-
CIL, Suppl.	Pais, E. <i>Supplementa Italica Corpora Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , fasc. I: <i>Additamenta ad volumen V, Italiae Cisalpinae</i> , Rome, 1888.
CILA	<i>Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía</i> . Sevilla, 1989-2001.
CLRE	Bagnall, R. S., Cameron, A., Schwartz, S. R., & Worp, K. A. <i>Consuls of the later Roman Empire</i> , Atlanta, 1987.
Forsch.Salona	<i>Forschungen in Salona veröffentlicht vom Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut/Archäologischen Institut des Deutschen Reiches</i> . Vienna, 1917-1939.

- Grégoire, Inscr. Grégoire, H. *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*. Paris, 1922.
- IAM Gascou, J., in collaboration with Euzennat, M. and Marion, J. *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc. 2, Inscriptions latines*. Paris, 1982.
- ICERV Vives, J. *Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda*. Barcelona, 1969.
- ICI *Inscriptiones Christianae Italiae VII s. antiquiores (nova serie)*. Bari, 1985-
- ICK Ennabli, L. *Inscriptions funéraires chrétiennes de Carthage*. Rome, 1975-2000.
- ICUR De Rossi G.B., *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, 2 vols. 1857-1861, 1886, Rome. *Supplementum to vol 1* by J. Gatti. Rome, 1915.
- ICUR n.s. Silvagni A. Ferrua, A., *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, nova series*. Rome, 1922-
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin, 1873-
- IGUR Moretti, L., *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*. Rome, 1968-1979.
- IK *Inchriften Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, 1972-
- ILCV Diehl, E. *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, 3 vols. Berlin, 1924-31; v.4 by Moreau, J. and Marrou, H J. Berlin, 1967.
- ILG Le Blant, E., & Blant, L. *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIIIe siècle, réunies et annotées (Vol. 2)*. Paris, 1856.
- ILGN Espérandieu E., *Inscriptions latines de Gaule (Narbonnaise)*. Paris, 1929.
- ILP Mello, M. and Voza, G., *Le iscrizioni latine di Paestum*. Naples, 1968.
- ILS Dessau, H., *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Berlin, 1892-1916.
- ILTunisie Merlin, A. *Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie*. Paris, 1944.
- I.Lat.3 Gaules Wuilleumier, P., *Inscriptions latines des Trois Gaules. Gallia Suppl. 17*. Paris, 1965.
- ILJ Šašel, A., Šašel, J. *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt*. Ljubljana, 1963-1986.

- IScM *Inscriptiile din Scythia Minor grecesti si latine (inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae)*. Bucuresti, 1980.
- MAMA *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, several volumes. Manchester, 1928-
- MGH Mommsen, Th. (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Berlin, 1892-1898.
- PLRE I Jones, A. H. M., Martindale, J. R., Morris, J.. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire: Volume 1, AD 260-395*. Cambridge, 1975.
- PLRE II Martindale, J.R. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. II. Cambridge, 1980.
- PLRE III Martindale, J. R. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire: Volume 3, AD 527-641 (Vol. 2)*. Cambridge, 1992.
- RECAM II Mitchell, S., French, D. H., & Greenhaigh, J. *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor II: The Ankara District, the Inscriptions of North Galatia. The Ankara District: Inscriptions of North Galatia*. BAR. Oxford, 1982.
- RECAM III Milner, N. P. *An epigraphical survey in the Kibyra-Olbasa region conducted by AS Hall (No. 24)*. Ankara, 1998.
- RECAM IV McLean, B. H. *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Konya Archaeological Museum (No. 29)*. Ankara, 2002.
- RECAM V Horsley, G. H. R. *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Burdur Archaeological Museum*, with contributions by R.A. Kearsley. Turkish translations by N. Alpey. Ankara, 2007.
- Reisen in Kilikien Heberdey, R., & Wilhelm, A.. *Reisen in Kilikien, ausgeführt 1891 und 1892 im auftrage der Kaiserlichen akademie der wissenschaften:(widmung seiner durchlaucht des regierenden fürsten Johann von und zu Liechtenstein)* (Vol. 44). 1896.
- RIC VI Sutherland, C. H. V. *The Roman Imperial Coinage. Volume VI. From Diocletian's reform (A.D. 294) to the death of Maximus (A.D. 313)*. London, 1967.
- RIC VII Bruun, P. M. *The Roman Imperial Coinage. Volume VII. Constantine and Licinius (313-337)*. London, 1966.

- RIC VIII Kent, J. P. C. *The Roman imperial coinage: Volume VIII. The Family of Constantine I, A.D. 337-364*. London, 1981.
- RIC IX Pearce, J. M. E. *The Roman imperial coinage: Volume IX. Valentinian I – Theodosius I*. London, 1951.
- RIC X Kent, J. P. C. *The Roman Imperial Coinage. Volume X. The divided empire and the fall of the western parts AD 395-491*. London, 1944.
- RICG XV Descombes, F., *Recueil des Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la Renaissance carolingienne XV: Viennoise du Nord*. Paris, 1985.
- Röm.Inschr.Tarraco Alföldy, G., *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco (Madriider Forschungen), 10*. Berlin, 1975.
- Röm.Inschr.Ung. Barkóczi, L. et al. *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns*. Amsterdam/Budapest, 1972-
- Salona IV Marin, E., Gauthier, N., Prévot, F. (eds.). *Salona IV, Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne, IVe-VIIe siècles/Salona IV, Natpisi starokršćanske Salone, IV.-VII. st.*(2 volumes). Rome – Split, 2010.
- SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden, 1923-
- Suppl.Ital. *Supplementa Italica*, published by the Unione Accademica Nazionale. Rome, 1981-



Figure 1. Overall geographical distribution of the late-antique findspots

Preface

The Roman and Post-Roman worlds of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries employed in some contexts the so-called consular dating system. This doctoral dissertation explores its general use and role in Late Antiquity with a specific focus on the years 476-541, to elucidate its potential application and limits as a tool for historical research.

The work began in 2017 as a research proposal to reassess west-east political relations in AD 476-541 through the prism of consular recognition. Since consular dates yield information independent of the literary sources, and virtually available on a yearly basis, it seemed to me that they provided a fascinating new way to explore a topic that lacks a detailed and unambiguous treatment in the historical materials. At that point, this was a particularly pressing task because some important recent treatments were arguing for the possible continuation of a ‘western Roman empire’ after the deposition of the last western emperors (e.g., Goetz – Jarnut – Pohl 2003; Licandro 2012; Arnold 2014.) As my studies progressed, however, it became clear that I could not start to use this methodology before first addressing more particular questions about the use of consular dating for the study of the relations between the two halves of the empire in the fifth and sixth centuries, especially the reservations expressed by Roger Bagnall, Alan Cameron, Seth Schwartz and Klaas Worp in their monumental work, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (1987). The evolution of this thesis into a full-scale study of the overall phenomenon of consular dating and dissemination addresses these preliminary requirements and aims to contribute to that particular debate.

Obviously, the reasons for producing a new study of consular dating are not limited just to the queries raised by the authors of *CLRE*. Several objections had been raised by Burgess to *CLRE*'s adopted methodologies on various matters of recognition and contemporary dissemination, so these objections also deserved to be addressed. Furthermore, the years that separate this book from *CLRE* and other relevant studies on consular dating have seen the discovery and publication of hundreds if not thousands of new papyri and inscriptions.

Accordingly, my research has not only taken the opportunity to update the known corpus of consular papyri and inscriptions collected in these earlier works down to the present (2022) but also reconsiders our known record of contemporary dissemination, as well as many of the previous conclusions on matters of consuls and proclamations, dissemination, recognition and dating by reference to their consulships in the light of the new evidence.

The central question driving this work remains the limits and potentialities of the use of consular dating as a proxy for broader research issues in late antiquity, but other important questions (which are also central to answering that issue) concern:

(1) The socio-cultural, financial and historical background of the consulship as both office and chronological system in late antiquity, together with its functioning as imperial and civilian institution, its origin and end. As a dating system, questions concern its relationship with other contemporary methods of computation; the legislative background regulating dating practices and more technical questions concerning the general morphology of consular dates, as well as whether an official dating formula existed.

(2) The nature and complexity of the material at the core of this study and, more particularly, of the bulk of the evidence that is used to recover contemporary dissemination (papyri and inscriptions); their chronological, regional and typological distributions; how dating formulas were written and what features and differences were developed by dating formulas on account of time, space and type of text.

(3) How announcement and dissemination occurred in both the West and the East, before and after 476; what can be recovered of the places of announcement; what changes affected the system over time and finally what are the reasons for the increasing slowdown and regionalisation of dissemination in the fifth and sixth centuries.

(4) How uniformly the formula was used by the local population; what (non-)dissemination meant for contemporaries and, especially, for west-east political relations and, ultimately, which political, religious, logistic (i.e. administrative) or ideological factors affected dissemination.

More generally, the problem of late Roman communications, as stemmed from issues of distance and travel, will be abundantly discussed—especially in appendix C. Likewise, the study of the sensitivity of consular dating to politics is something that necessarily required to deal with the problem of the legitimacy of many (often western) rulers in the eyes of their counterparts, as well as the problem of their (often evolving) relations. So large space is also devoted to these topics in this work.

In attempting to answer some of these questions I have combined conventional historical research with statistical analysis and geospatial modelling. This choice is partly the result of my own interests, partly of inescapable necessities resulting from the objectives of this research. The degree of correlation of the evidence for consular dating to possible explanatory variables is not something that can be established by means of qualitative research, and likewise reasonable predictions of dissemination times and how they varied over time and space cannot be made without complex statistical models and computational analysis. In doing this, I have been certainly blessed by a three-year collaboration at King's College with Kieran Baker (department of Mathematics), the fruits of which synergy we are proud to offer in the last part of chapter four and, more extensively, in appendix C.

A laborious work of classification and selection of material was necessary to prepare the training datasets for the statistical tests. Its results, too, are offered in an additional appendix (B). In addition, chapter three provides a new updated overview of contemporary dissemination in Italy, Burgundy and the East in the years 476-541.

As it would have been unfortunate not to make the survey conducted for this study accessible to the wider academic community, a portion of this material will be available in the upcoming release of *DataCons: the Digital Database of Late Roman Consular Dates*, currently accessible at <https://kaeos.net:7070/>. More results from research deriving from this project is also available online at DataCons.

This work was carried out within inevitable limits. The various limitations of a doctoral dissertation and the scope of this thesis have determined a stringent selection of material that could be systematically analysed and reviewed. As my main focus was the correlation between politics and contemporary dissemination, this choice was one that favoured broadly genuine dated documents (i.e. papyri and inscriptions) over all other material either potentially interpolated (such as, for instance, chronicles, laws, papal letters and other miscellaneous literary sources) or of secondary importance for matters of dissemination (e.g. coins and diptychs). Accordingly, I will not discuss the latter extensively and, when I do, I will heavily rely on existing secondary studies.

One additional limit is that, although the thesis incorporates the new papyri and inscriptions dating from 284-541, only the original text (or the last published edition) of the material dated from 476-541 has been systematically double-checked, their texts analysed and the finding context of the documents studied. This means that, for large segments of material dating to the earlier period (284-475), I rely on the information provided by other general studies on consular dating. Throughout, however, the proportions between the material reviewed and unreviewed

will always be given in each pertinent discussion of the evidence, so that the reader will always have a clear appreciation of the basis on which conclusions are offered. Also, my language skills are limited to Latin and Greek, so many potentially important chunks of documents written in other languages, which could have been dated by consuls, had to be excluded from this research

In general terms, this thesis sets out from a series of defined starting points: CLRE for consuls and consular material published until 1987, and other relevant studies on consular dating—most prominently, Meimaris, *Chronological Systems in Roman-Byzantine Palestine and Arabia. The Evidence of the Dated Greek Inscriptions*, for the consular epigraphy of Jordan and Palestine published until 1992, and Bagnall & Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt. Second edition*, for the Egyptian papyri until 2003. I would like from the outset to highlight the intellectual debt that I have to these works. As will become clear in the following chapters, not only do many of their thoughtful and learned conclusions remain valid, but their work has also inspired my research and approach. In all respects, this study is a tribute to them, and it could have never been written without the immense scholarship they offered, which remains irreplaceable.

Chapter 1.

Introduction

1.1. The Late Antique Consulship

1.1.1. Brief History of the Late Antique Consulship

In a world where mass media were reserved to the emperor, consular dissemination was unquestionably an anomaly. Alongside the sovereigns, citizen consuls were the only other privileged men who had their name disseminated through the whole of the empire. As personal status and reputation played a crucial role in shaping and controlling Roman society, the prestige of being the ordinary consul was immense. All would-be consuls were willing to spend a fortune to secure their position, and some may have even resorted to extreme measures.¹ Consuls were important voices in religious as much as secular matters, as shown by the fact that five out of nineteen commissioners presiding over the introductory session of the council of Chalcedon in 451 were former consuls, including their chairman.²

This obsession with the consulship has left deep marks on large parts of the early and later history of the Roman state. According to the traditional account, when the monarchy was overthrown in 509 BC, all the powers and prerogatives that had been of the exiled king were transferred to two elected magistrates, the consuls, who collegially exercised them for one year. Thereafter, a mix of expanded military and administrative needs, as well as fierce competition for honours, had plausibly prompted the creation of consular tribunes (military commanders with consular powers) and the *suffect consulship*; the conferment of ‘consular honours’ to individuals who had not served as consuls; and most importantly, the maintenance of the office, albeit in a very adulterated form, during the difficult transition between Republic and Empire.

¹ The importance of this prestigious office in the eyes of aspiring elites is illustrated by the rebellions led by generals Gainas in 399 and Anagastes in 470, which are likely to have been partly fuelled by their failure to attain the desired designation as consul. For Gainas, this is a point well demonstrated by Cameron & Long 1993: 323 f. esp 326-327. For Anagastes, see John of Antioch, *chron. fr.* 206 with *CLRE* 475 and *PLRE* II 75-76.

² Price & Gaddis 2005: 41-42.

From the establishment of the Augustan regime, the *imperium proconsulare maius et infinitum* (a derivative of the consular *potestas*) was absorbed permanently within the powers of the Princeps, while consuls were fundamentally deprived of real power, with the office conferring on the holder mainly the honour of naming the year, presiding over the senate and the burden of sponsoring games at its beginning.

Late-antique writers had a clear perception of the radical change occurred between the republican consulate and its later successor. Themistius calls it ‘honour’ and ‘measurement of time’ and still in Ostrogothic Italy, Cassiodorus would have King Theoderic tell the newly designated western consul that, ‘We rule with God’s favour, we deliberate and your name designates the year. You who exercise the highest honours and do not bear the toil of ruling...’³

Although fundamentally ceremonial and honorific, the office none the less remained politically strategic and highly coveted. Late-antique emperors continued, almost uninterruptedly, their early predecessors’ custom to enter in office on the first January after their accession, and then repeatedly throughout their reign on important occasions such as jubilees, accessions of junior colleague and other events.⁴ Not only did emperors continue to assume the ordinary consulship, but also to bestow it to both family members and high-ranking collaborators as a reward for their loyalty. Although in the eastern social hierarchy the patriciate had ultimately gained precedence over the consulship by the reign of Zeno (474-491), the

³ Themistius, *Or.* 16, 203c; Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 6.1,7 (trans. Bjornlie, 2019). Similarly, Hilary of Arles had written that the consulship was ‘what of most desirable and supreme exists in the worldly life’. *Sermo de vita Sancti honorati*, 4,2. Cf. Cecconi 2007: 110-5. See also, Ausonius, *Grat. Actio*, 9-10, criticising the chaotic electoral process of the republican period, and praising the superiority of the contemporary system of election, where the consul was elected by an emperor guided by God’s help. For more fourth- to sixth-century sources, see the evidence quoted in the introductory discussion of *CLRE*, esp. at pp. 1-12; 20, 21; Moorhead 1992: 152 n. 61.

⁴ See *CLRE* 23-4 and the comments at p. 20 on the lack of evidence of advanced designations of imperial consulates in late antiquity (though it is reasonable to assume that some consulates had been scheduled in—at least—some cases where these overlapped with *vota* years). Probably a mix of prestige, tradition and propaganda needs was what prompted emperors to take up the consulship on their accession. *CLRE* (p. 23) traces it back to Vespasian. But in fact, Julio-Claudian emperors were already assuming the consulship on their accession: see Claudius (cos. 42); Nero (cos. 55) while Tiberius was consul in 18 and Caligula in 39, four and two years after their elevation. Thereafter, the tradition was continued up till Diocletian by Galba, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan (cos. 98), Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (coss. 161), Commodus, Septimius Severus, Macrinus, Elagabalus, Severus Alexander (cos. 222), Maximinus Trax, Gordian III, Philippus, Decius, Trebonianus Gallus, Volusianus, Valerianus, Gallienus, Claudius Gothicus, Aurelian, Tacitus, Probus, Carus, Carinus and Numerianus.

demand for the consulship was so great that an ‘honorary consulship’ was established in the East.⁵

Over time, both ordinary and suffect consuls happened to remain in office for periods which lasted shorter than one year, and which could begin after 1 January. For most of our relevant period, however, the customary length of tenure for an ordinary consul was of twelve months, from 1 January to 31 December, in perfect synchrony with the start and end dates of the Roman (Julian) calendar.⁶ Although this did not always assure a smooth dissemination to the provinces, designations seem to have been normally made before the consuls took office, as both the ceremony and its large expenditures needed time for preparations.⁷

Matters to be arranged were the *gratiarum actio* (thanksgiving to the emperor for the appointment); the ceremonial procession for the investiture and entrance in office; the organisation of public games and spectacles; the delivery of gifts to family members, friends and important dignitaries⁸; and invitations to attend the ceremony.⁹ By the early sixth century, it was customary for the eastern consul to formally lay down the fasces in the senate house in Constantinople on 31 December and, very likely, his western counterpart would do the same in Rome.¹⁰

1.1.2. Appointing Authority

After the foundation of the empire, consuls continued to be formally elected by the comitia for some time, though needing in practice imperial approval. With the disappearance of the electoral process, designation and appointment became in full an imperial matter. As joint rule was common in late antiquity, previous scholarship has rightly touched upon the question of who was to award the consulship.

⁵ *CJ* 12.3.3. In the west, the consulship retained prominence over the patriciate, if we are to judge from the order of appearance and description of the two *formulae consulatus* and *patriciatus* in Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 6.1, 2.

⁶ On the later entrance in office of the republican consuls, see: *CLRE* 20-22 with Mosshammer 2008: 13; 34-36. This may have been partly due to the fact that Martius (March) was the first month of the Roman calendar prior to Caesar’s reform.

⁷ *CLRE* 18-20 and p. 166 n. 485 below.

⁸ Justinian regulated the consular procession in *NovIust.* 105 (end 537), ordering that celebrations were to last no more than seven days, and that these had to entail equestrian races, hunts, musical and theatrical performances. Games were usually chariot races, theatrical performances and *venationes* (fights between men and animals).

⁹ Symmachus, *Ep.* 9.113, excusing himself for not attending.

¹⁰ Procopius, *Wars*, 5.6.18-19.



Figure 2. Consular diptych of Magnus (518). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles.

The possible role of Caesars is relevant especially for the fourth century, when they were recurrently proclaimed by their senior colleagues and, nominally, their co-optation to the imperial college was marked by the inclusion of their names in the regnal formulas.¹¹ Also, it is demonstrable that some of them had some functions, including the right to appoint a number of officials, as well as issuing edicts, letters and possibly rescripts.¹² Although they would thus appear to have had a (limited) retinue and powers, it remains unclear whether designating consuls fell within such attributions. They might have had a say, especially in the case of Caesars who were adult males, but the evidence does not inform us conclusively.¹³

As far as Augusti are concerned, Palanque maintains that the senior one designated both consuls uninterruptedly until 383.¹⁴ And certainly, the senior Augustus actively did so on several occasions, both before and after 383.¹⁵ But as underlined by CLRE, and already seen by Mommsen, there is clear evidence that junior Augusti were likely to be allowed ample freedom.¹⁶ For example, to judge from their background and career, Maximian might have had a say over the appointment of the consular pairs in 288, 291, 295, 298 and 301 (all westerners), and from the joint rule of Constantius II and Constans, at least one of the consuls was almost invariably chosen from the ranks of the eastern aristocracy.¹⁷ Admittedly, in all these cases the senior emperor could (in principle) have chosen both nominees, but it is much more plausible that he cooperated with his colleague, allowing him to choose for his own candidate in return for equal freedom.¹⁸

¹¹ Cuneo 1997: xxvii f.

¹² Constantine II ordering Athanasius' return to Alexandria, cf. Cuneo 1997: intr. p. xxx, liv and n. 146; Corcoran 2000: 266-74 points to the limited entourage and to the lack of evidence about the appointment of PPO by Caesars; Barnes 2001: 30.

¹³ Caesars who ruled as adult males (e.g. Crispus, Constantine II, Gallus and Julian) were more likely to be able to designate or express preference for consular candidates. On the other hand, later emperors such as Honorius, Arcadius and Theodosius II were too young to exercise real power when they were proclaimed Caesars, and Valentinian III was Caesar for merely one year.

¹⁴ Palanque 1944: 47-64.

¹⁵ For the period before 383, see, e.g. Constantine (the effective senior Augustus) was certainly responsible for the nominations in 314, 316, 317 and 320. Conversely, no full pairs seem to have been entirely chosen by Licinius before his final rupture with Constantine in 321.

¹⁶ Mommsen 1910: 363-87; CLRE 13-18 and n. 4.

¹⁷ For the lives and careers of the consuls mentioned *ubicumque*, cf. Dosi 2022a, under each relevant consulship.

¹⁸ While Valentinian was alive, it does not seem that Gratian designated any consuls, and neither did Valentinian II while Gratian was alive.

The lack of a fixed and unchangeable procedure is evident throughout our period. During the joint rule of Valentinian and Valens, routinely taking turns in designating both consuls seems to have been normal, but less so under Gratian, Valentinian II and Theodosius, who preferred joint nominations. And indeed, by 376 it appears that this was the standard procedure, although occasionally one single emperor (again, not necessarily the senior one) kept designating both consuls.¹⁹ The most likely reason for this high variability is that, in the absence of a defined set of rules, designations were not determined uniquely by rank, but from a much wider set of major and minor factors, often incidental, such as rivalry between co-rulers, internal politics and need for support, as well as tradition. For instance, it is worth noting that until approximately the death of Constantine, most if not all the (citizen) consuls were recruited among the ranks of the senatorial aristocracy of Rome, and that both alternating and joint appointments became popular only after the establishment of a parallel power centre in the East.²⁰

As the state propaganda was always concerned in maintaining the fiction of a united empire, the one immutable element in an otherwise variable process was plausibly only its outcome. Indeed, regardless of the method used to appoint a consul, it is highly unlikely that its announcement was ever made anywhere in any name other than the entire imperial college, even if one or both nominees were solely chosen by a single emperor.

A consistent and prolonged departure from this principle occurred only in the period following the deposition of the last western emperors. Unfortunately, nothing tells us who exactly appointed the western consuls during the rule of Odovacar—whether this authority was the king, the senate of Rome or both. But certainly it was not the emperor in Constantinople, since no western nominee apart from Basilius (cos. 480) was ever disseminated and recognised in the East.²¹ Western nominations might well have been presented to the Italian audience as the result of a fictitious joint designation of both the emperor and the local authority (what this was), but the same gesture was clearly not duplicated for the eastern audience.

In all likelihood, a quasi-reverse situation occurred in Ostrogothic Italy. As for the designation process followed for the vast majority of western consuls in the years 493-534, we are graced by a relative abundance of evidence, albeit not without problems. Gothic sources, including official chancery documents, prove clearly and unquestionably that the king formally

¹⁹ Cf. Dosi 2022a, under the relevant years.

²⁰ Cf. p. 136 f. below.

²¹ Cf. Chapter 3, p. 200-219.

appointed consuls and notified his decisions both to the new appointees and the senate of Rome.²² Yet, Procopius, and later Malalas, maintain that the emperor conferred the consulship on western Romans.²³ That this is not an outright lie is proven by an extant official request made by Theoderic for imperial approval of Felix (cos. 511), and a second letter by Athalaric where he mentions Justin's conferment of the consulate on Eutharic (cos. 519).²⁴ According to Mommsen, the evidence—once combined—proves that Theoderic's consuls were appointed by the king but ratified by Constantinople for recognition and validity in the other half of the empire, exactly in the same way that imperial courts had operated at the time of Theodosius II and Valentinian III.²⁵ A slightly yet substantially different view was advanced by Chrysos, who maintained that the emperor's approval was requested for validating the king's appointment in his own direct domain.²⁶ If this was so, however, Theoderic made sure that no trace remained of this imperial approval in Italy, since the procedural documents in *Variae* prove that Theoderic claimed for himself full rights over western nominations (and did not just put forward candidates). In my view, it is most plausible that the emperor in fact did little more than endorse a decision already taken by the real appointing authority (the Ostrogothic king). Whoever the real appointing authority was, however, the most interesting point is that both Constantinople and Ravenna claimed to be the source of authority and legitimation for the western consul. But if Ostrogothic kings tended to gloss over any imperial involvement, relegating this to communications between the king and the emperor (the emperor is never mentioned in the official proclamations sent to both the newly appointed consuls and the senate), this also unquestionably proves Procopius and Malalas' statements that Constantinople

²² Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 2.2-3 (Felix); 6.1 (*formula consulatus*); 9.22-23 (Paulinus). Furthermore, Cassiodorus in, id., *Orationes*, 13 ff., thanks the king for conferring the consulate on him, and the Senate for their confirmation.

²³ Procopius, *Wars*, 6.20-21 claims that Gothic emissaries told Belisarius that the Goths had allowed Romans to receive the consulate from the emperor. This is not necessarily in contradiction with id., *Wars*, 6.3-4 mentioning Peter Patrician's request for Theodahad to relinquish his rights to appoint high officials. See also discussion below. Malalas (p. 384, 3-4) relates that Theoderic received the appointments of consuls and other high officials from Zeno's hands. Both statements are controversial but concordant in reporting imperial involvement in the process.

²⁴ Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 2.1; 8.1.3.

²⁵ Mommsen 1910: 378 ff. argues that the only exception was Eutharic, who, being a Gothic consul, needed full imperial approval. So, similarly, Jones 1962: 126-30; Moorhead 1992: 42 n. 37 and Haarer 2006: 84 n. 48.

²⁶ Chrysos 1981: 459.

was involved in the process on some level.²⁷ Consular nominations were a means of building support among important political constituencies, so it is easy to understand why both Gothic kings and Roman emperors wanted their subjects to believe it was them to whom they owed their appointments. This was resting on far more complex grounds than domestic politics between emperors, kings and aristocrats. As will be expanded on in Chapter Four, the old ideological significance surrounding joint nominations in the period before 476 simply no longer suited either Ostrogothic Ravenna or imperial Constantinople, where consular policy played a different role in contemporary propaganda. It is thus not an accident that no evidence exists, either from Italy or the East, that western appointments of 493-535 were presented to the local audience as a result of a joint decision of both the emperor and the Gothic king.

1.1.3. The Development of a Western and Eastern Consulship

Legally no western or eastern consuls ever existed, but only ‘*Consuln für das Gesamtreich*’ as Mommsen put it.²⁸ Nevertheless, a perception of two distinctively separated western and eastern consulships seem to have developed over time. The earliest possible evidence of this conception might be in Claudian, who in his panegyric to Stilicho’s first consulship (400) mentions a list of regions for which the general was asked to assume the consulate: Spain, Gaul, Britain, Africa and Italy—all western regions for a western consul.²⁹ Another sign of diversification is provided by the changing order of appearance of the names in the dating formulas. Seniority in assigning precedence to one name over another is a principle already established in fourth-century consular formulas, where precedence was dictated by rank and status. At this stage, none the less, there are no signs of variation on the basis of geography; in whichever order the formula was proclaimed, this recurred invariably throughout the empire. By at least 421, however, western regions fundamentally date by placing the name of the western consul first, while eastern regions favour the easterner. While yielding precedence to the local consul might well have been, at its inception at any rate, the practical consequence of the termination of joint proclamations in the 410s, after which local consuls were always announced first, broader ramifications must have ensued. For by

²⁷ *Contra*, Prostko-Prostinsky 1996: 38 n. 26; 194-202, argues that the emperor played a role only until 491, and that Anastasius waived all his rights to appoint officials, consuls included, from 498 on. Arnold 2014: 86 n. 106 argues that Theoderic nominates the consul, and contact the emperor after the appointment, hoping (but not requiring) acknowledgment.

²⁸ So, too: Mommsen 1910: 363.

²⁹ Claudian, *Stil.* II. 192; cf. Cameron 1970: 61.

approximately the mid-fifth century words such as ‘*consul orientalis*’, ‘*de oriente*’, ‘*de Italia*’ had entered the common jargon.³⁰

Although newcomers were by no means strangers to both the West and the East, the two governing classes had substantial differences. Broadly speaking, the western (especially Roman) senatorial class for part of the fourth century was wealthier and could boast a longer noble lineage than probably much of its eastern counterpart—in fact, an emerging aristocracy of service with a relatively lesser economic leverage and ‘pedigree’.³¹ Fundamental differences also marked the rationale by which appointments were assigned within the two groups. Across all our period, in the East often the consulate was conferred by the emperor upon victorious generals and officials ending their careers.³² Although western emperors too awarded office-holders with the consulship, in (especially) late fifth-century Rome the appointment was perceived more like a prerogative of the aristocracy, and not necessarily a reward for service.³³ It must be worth noting that, while after 480 eastern consuls often continued to be chosen from the ranks of the state apparatus, the vast majority if not virtually all their western counterparts were mere aristocrats, and many of them were even underage.³⁴ In all likelihood, these different backgrounds shaped class membership, identity and habits. An example for the latter is the use of Flavius as status-mark designator, extensive among the new aristocracy in the East and by the officers of barbarian origin in the West, but widely ignored by western aristocrats, except in dating contexts.³⁵ As for the populace of the empire, the perception of a clear western and

³⁰ Cf. p. 355.

³¹ Justinian is remembered by Marcellinus Comes (s.a.) for having spent 288,000 solidi (=4,000 lbs. of gold, cfr. *CLRE* 10 n. 62) in 521; yet Procopius (*Secret History*, 26.13) maintains that normally the eastern consulship costed 2,000 lbs. of gold, most of which was covered by the emperor. We do not know if western rulers offered to cover similar expenses, but westerners were expected to pay much more than easterners on the basis of the known figures: Olympiodorus records that the same expenditure (2,000 lbs.) was met by Q. Aurelius Symmachus for financing his son’s praetorian games, and Petronius Maximus spent twice the sum for his own games; see: Olympiodorus, fr. 41.2 (Blockley 1983, 206-7) with Cameron 1984: 193-96 and Hendy 1985: 192-93; Bury 1889: 335.

³² Cf. Dosi 2022a, s.a. 454.

³³ *CLRE* 4-6.

³⁴ Cf. Table 3.6 (p. 140 f.).

³⁵ See esp. Keenan 1973: 33-63; 1974: 283-304; *CLRE* 38-40. It might be worth noting that within the body of papyri and inscriptions dating 476-541 (currently 1170 records), the use of Flavius is attested in no less than 260 consular dates out of 366 within the eastern material (mostly dating Egyptian papyri) and only 60 out of ca. 740 western items pertaining to mostly epitaph. The figures are provisional and reflect usage for two different classes of material, but fundamentally underpin *CLRE*’s conclusions on effective imbalances in the use of the title in Egypt and Italy. For the use of Flavius among western barbarian officers of lower rank, cf. CIL V² 8750.

eastern membership of the consuls could be due to reasons much more practical but no less real. From the mid-fifth century on, dissemination of western and eastern consuls began to be restricted within the boundaries of each given half. Accordingly, it must have been self-evident to many individuals that the name that had been disseminated belonged to the local consul, chosen by the local ruler, and disseminated by the local administration. In turn, who had been missing was the ‘other’. Furthermore, it is worth noting that in the vast majority of the cases where omissions were demonstrably caused by anything other than non-dissemination, again who is targeted are non-local consuls. Whatever the reason, their omission was unquestionably a deliberate choice, for the dropped name is attested in the same place by some other piece of evidence.

1.1.4. The End of the Consulship

After the consulship of Paulinus in 534 the line of citizen consuls came to an end in the West. Three years later in Constantinople Justinian issued Novel 105, which limited celebrations to the first week of January and barred consuls from distributing the customary largess in gold during their ceremony. In implementing these measures, Justinian’s claim was that they would reduce expenditure, thereby making the consulship more accessible to the aristocracy of the Empire. This, he claimed in turn, would ensure for the Romans the eternal survival of the consulship, which was then in danger of disappearing.³⁶ Justinian's reform proved to be a complete failure, however, and just four years after its enactment regular appointments of consuls also terminated in the East. After the consulship of Basilius (cos. 541), his post-consulship continued to be used until 566 when Justin II resumed the imperial consulship to celebrate his accession. This habit was continued by subsequent emperors until at least 641 while the institution survived as a reminiscence of the past until Emperor Leo VI (866-912) formally abolished it.³⁷ Nevertheless, after 541, no more consuls were appointed yearly, and customary dissemination ceased. How did the institution arrive at this end and why?

Bury long ago fully accepted Justinian’s claims, concluding that the emperor failed to find candidates willing to pay, while his treasury was no longer able to cover large part of the expenditure (as was customary in this period).³⁸ Alternatively, Stein argued for a political motive, pointing to both the vanity of Justinian and the fall of his chief minister, John the

³⁶ *NovIust.* 105, pr.

³⁷ *NovLeo* 94 with Bagnall & Worp 2004: 5-6.

³⁸ Bury 1923: 346-48.

Cappadocian, whom Stein regarded as the real architect of the reform.³⁹ More recently, Cecconi has spoken for the East of a ‘disinterest toward the consular institution, which can be seen since Zeno’s reign’.⁴⁰ However, the best and more informative treatment undoubtedly remains CLRE's, which argued for multiple causes and whose conclusions are worth recapitulating.⁴¹

First, consular dating was certainly a cumbersome chronological system but it is unlikely that this was the reason why it was dismissed.

Second, neither in the west nor in the east were financial reasons behind the end of the consulship, if by ‘financial’ one means the unwillingness or incapacity of potential candidates to pay. In the West, aristocrats had both the desire and the financial capability to take up the office, and indeed the western consulship only disappeared in 535, when the war began and wiped out most of Italy’s senatorial class and their remaining wealth.

Third, the end of the eastern consulship requires to be treated separately, since the ending process was more complex there and, in a way, different. CLRE concedes that eastern nobles may not have been as wealthy as their western counterparts, and that who could afford to pay for the consulate might not have been interested in so doing due to other relevant factors (see below). Yet rich magnates that could afford the costs of the ordinary consulship still existed at the time of Justinian as proven by the fines he imposed on lawbreakers.⁴² So the problem was clearly not, or not just, the shortage of candidates wealthy enough. CLRE dismisses Stein's view that the drafting of the reform is connected to John (and its failure to his fall), arguing on the one hand that this was Justinian's and, on the other, that Novel 105 was not intended, or not solely, to preserve the consulship. At least, there were two more (and more important) objectives that Justinian was pursuing. First, preventing that potential opponents, in the pursuit of popular fame and favour, could sponsor lavish ceremonies that rivalled the emperor's. Second, assuring that private citizens could access the office without needing the treasury to step in with subsidies. Confirmation of this would be the textual evidence in Nov. 105. i.e. the fines above-mentioned, proving that there were people eager to break the limits of moderation instructed by the law; then there would be Justinian's own complaint that people in the past exploited the ceremony to show off their opulence (Nov.105 pr.); and the mere fact that the four consuls appointed between 538-541 were all enormously rich, so they could have

³⁹ Stein 1949: 461.

⁴⁰ Cecconi 2007: 120.

⁴¹ CLRE 7-12, revising conclusions in Cameron – Schauer 1982: 137-42.

⁴² CLRE 10 quoting the view of Av. Cameron in id., *Fl. Cresconius Corippus: In Laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris libri IV*, 1976: 175; 196.

doubtless afforded to pay for the office in the traditional way. Lastly, in curtailing the ceremony, Justinian would have tried to prevent potential rivals from exploiting the consulship at the expense of the current emperor by diverting loyalty away from him.

Justinian's judgment would have certainly been affected by various episodes of recent and less recent history where former consuls had challenged the imperial power. By 541, having grown suspicious of Belisarius and John (both of whom were former consuls), and facing a fall in popularity due to the costly wars that his generals were waging on multiple fronts, he must have been convinced that the safest course of action was to drop appointments for good. In conclusion, while in the West the end of the consulship was caused mainly by the war, in the East it was a totally different story. In Rome there was absolutely no chance that a (western) Roman consul could become king of the Ostrogoths. So the consulship was sustained by the authority and thrived. Yet in Constantinople the institution enjoyed much less favourable political conditions. For a (eastern) Roman consul could not only rival the Roman emperor in providing lavish games, but could also become one, if he dared to. Aware of the danger, the emperors regarded the institution with growing distrust. And not only did it become increasingly difficult to be chosen by the emperor, but aristocrats themselves also became more reluctant to advance their candidacies. Since the 480s in the East an 'honorary consulship' existed, which was economically cheaper and politically safer, as it did not expose candidates to the dangers resulting from holding popular games. Hence, whoever was not willing to take the gamble could well be satisfied with that option.

CLRE's overall explanation of the end of the consulship is sound. The lapse of the office was certainly the results of many contributing causes, some of which go back to trends and decisions taken well before the reign of Justinian, while others are clearly to be attributed to his own original thoughts and actions, which certainly and at least partly stemmed from forces originated and operating in his own times. There does not exist one single factor that can or should be held accountable, and deciding which particular one is the most important may be arbitrary. But among the relevant factors behind this phenomenon, it can be agreed with both Bury and the authors of CLRE that both contemporary politics and the Empire's financial decline were certainly major ones. Certainly, this was not the result of diffuse disinterest for the consulship. In the past, military crisis and new philosophical and religious ideas had produced significant transformations that affected the conception of Roman traditional institutions.⁴³ As pointed out above, however, Christian ideals of moderation and humility do

⁴³ The basic study still remains Dvornik 1966.

not seem to have exhausted the aristocratic appetite for the consulship, nor their bid for popularity, not at least in the way it prompted Christian emperors to avoid other traditional designations like the victory titles or the attribute of *pontifex maximus*.⁴⁴ Nor did the consulship lose validity as a dating system. Though there is substantial evidence for the progressive adoption of linear methods of reckoning time in the course of Late Antiquity, the popularity of the consulate as dating system does not seem to have been affected by this.⁴⁵ Indeed, in the East its usage rather seems to have increased in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries, especially after the publication of Novel 47, disciplining the dating of legal material, while in late-antique Italy it never faded.⁴⁶

There is more evidence substantiating CLRE's view that among Justinian's motives there must have been his fear for the opportunity for grandstanding that the institution could offer. Other than in the years following 541, the only other times Justinian did not award an (eastern) consulship was during his first Persian war (529, 530, 531 and 532) and in the first two years following the Ostrogothic campaign (536 and 537), that is, when major conflicts were on-going or on the horizon. We can see this pattern may be traced back half-a-century. Zeno did not appoint any easterners for 477 in the difficult aftermath of his return to power; nor for 480 and 481 at a time when he was dealing with Gothic insurgency in the Balkans and a second coup in the capital; nor for 483 after the publication of the (much criticised) *Henotikon* and the landing of an uneasy treaty with the Pannonian Goths; nor for 485, when Leontius and Illus had openly revolted in the previous year and the Samaritans were in revolt in Palestine; nor

⁴⁴ See p. 20-2 above and relevant literature in notes. On the dismissal of the victory titles, see: Themistius, *Or.* 15, 193d-194 with Heather – Moncur 2001: 247 and n. 132. On the (partial) repudiation of the title of *pontifex* after Gratian, see: Zosimus, 4.36 with Cameron 2007: 341-87. Later echoes of the prestige of the consulate can still be found in Pope Gregorius Magnus' laudatory epithet *Dei consul* within his epitaph (MGH, *Epist.* II, 470).

⁴⁵ See Handley 2003: 116-121 for the evidence supporting the view that the calendrical system was still the predominant system for numbering the days of the month (though the author stresses the crisis of the calendrical system). Linear conceptions of time in the course of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries are obviously provided by the development of Christian philosophical thinking (e.g. Augustine) and methods of counting the years from the Passion, the Incarnation and Creation of the World. It must be pointed out, however, that the view that the Judeo-Christian thinking ignored or had a conception of time different from the classical one no longer enjoys the same undisputed favour; see Momigliano 1969: 14, 17-20 and the less radical view of Mazzarino 2004: 416. More generally, provincial eras like the one in use in Spain and Arabia, used to number years from a fixed point in time, so neither continuous reckoning nor Christian Eras were a novelty in the Roman empire.

⁴⁶ Cf. Ch. 2.

again during Theoderic's new revolt in 487.⁴⁷ The same was true of Anastasius for 495 after he had suffered a crushing defeat in 493 (and after his rule had been contested by the Isaurians since 491); for 504, after he lost Amida to the Persians in the preceding year; during Vitalian's revolt in 514 and in its aftermath in 516.⁴⁸ If one looks through the evidence, then, it is common to find a major issue of internal or external security (be it a war, a revolt, a religious crisis and so on) in any one of the years immediately preceding each of these wanting appointments, and these conclusions do not change significantly if one brings the lens onto when consulates were awarded. Drawbacks of some sort or another are recorded in some of the years preceding Zeno's consulships for 478, 479, 482, 484 and 489; and more frequently in Anastasius' nominations for 492, 493, 496, 497, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 505, 506, 507, 508, 511, 512, 513, 515, 517 and 518. However, while some of them were only localised crises with a likely feeble echo in the capital, during other major events chances for exploitation were very limited, since in the vast majority of these cases the consul whom the emperor appointed was either himself, a relative or a close collaborator.⁴⁹ Just to give two examples, while suffering various defeats by Bulgars and Persians in 499-503, Anastasius had his chief of military staff and three grandnephews nominated as consuls in the same years; and similarly he placed relatives or

⁴⁷ For the Gothic revolts in the late 470s and 480s and, in general, the military and political crises in Zeno's empire, see: Heather 1994: 240 f.; 1996: esp. 154-65; 2013: 39-50; Elton 2018: 205-7 (Illus and Leontius' revolt; Samaritan revolt). For the religious crisis of the same years, Kosiński 2010.

⁴⁸ We know the situation in the Empire was difficult in 495: though the Isaurian rebellion had fundamentally lost momentum since the imperial victory at Cotiaem in 492, in 493 the Bulgars invaded Thrace, defeating the Roman army and killing its commander (Marcellinus Comes, s.a.). Religious upheaval in Constantinople and the crisis of the Arab phylarchies (491/2-502) may have also factored in Anastasius' motives. For the Anastasian Persian War, see Greatrex 1998: 73-119, esp. 83-94. In 515 Vitalian had been ultimately defeated and hopes of healing the schism with Rome were thwarted. Both the bishops of Constantinople and Alexandria had agreed that acceptance of the Henotikon entailed rejection of Chalcedon, too; cf. Elton 2018: 251-2; Heather 2018: 82. For the conditions of the empire in the years of Anastasius, see the literature cited at p. 38 n. 64 below.

⁴⁹ When appointments were made for the consulates of 478 and 479 (i.e. presumably late 477 and 478) the Pannonian and Thracian Goths were still in revolt in the Balkans. But the appointees were Illus (still Zeno's main sponsor) and Zeno himself. In 482, a treaty was landed with Theoderic Strabo, but after the proclamation of Trocundes (cos. 482), if not later in 483; Again, at that time Illus was still Zeno's partner in the empire, so it was politically sensible for Zeno to appoint Trocundes (Illus' brother), especially after the military situation had improved with the lifting of the Gothic siege of Constantinople in 481. In 484 Theoderic the Amal was *de facto* a collaborator of Zeno; cf. Heather 1996: 163-5; 2013: 47. Next, in 488 the Thracian Goths were still revolting, yet by the end of the year—when Eusebius' appointment (cos. 489) must have been made—an agreement was agreed between Zeno and Theoderic the Amal, so the emperor was able to claim it as an imperial success; in any case, it is possible Eusebius was a relative of Zeno; cf. Dosi 2022a: s.a. 489. No significant reversals are attested at the time of appointment for the consulship of Olybrius cos. 491 (a kid, in any case), nor for Longinus' two consulships in 486 and 490 (brother of Zeno). For the consuls appointed by Anastasius, see the following note.

close collaborators in 512, 513, 517 and 518, i.e. at a time when the emperor took important decisions against Chalcedon, which caused adverse reactions by Rome and the Christian-Chalcedonian masses of Constantinople.⁵⁰ Justin's failure to appoint easterners can also be explained in some similar ways at least for two (526 and 527) out of the three recorded occasions.⁵¹ Admittedly, all our evidence is circumstantial and, as we might expect when dealing with single events that have multiple causes, there might be instances open to debate or running contrary this scheme.⁵² But even after duly acknowledging the limits of our evidence, what is left suggests that from at least the last quarter of the fifth century onward, emperors were aware of the potential danger of the consulship and responded in much the same way to similar situations. One reason why emperors may have done so is precisely the fear that a potential rival could gain popular favour at a time when the emperor's leadership was vulnerable to criticism and hence to potential usurpers.

⁵⁰ 492: Anastasius' accession in 491 was marked by riots in Constantinople and the beginning of the Isaurian rebellion. However, late in the year or early in 492 the Isaurian army was crashed at Cotiaem. 493: Kim points to the loss of Singidunum in 492, which was given as a 'gift' by Anastasius to the Heruls; cf. Procopius, *Wars*, 7.33.13 with Kim 2013: 228 n. 358. For 496/497 and 499: patriarch Euphemius was deposed and sent into exile in 496 and the Arab phylarchies were in turmoil between 491/2-502. For 500: defeat of Aristus, MVM Illyricum, and destruction of 1/4 of Roman army (15,000) by Bulgars in 499 (Marcellinus Comes, s.a. 499,1). 501/502: possible Bulgar threats in 500 (the peace is signed only in 502) and first signs of war with Persian on horizon. 503: in 502 Persians invade Armenia, capture Theodosiopolis in August and besiege Amida in October; by end of the year, Theodosiopolis is recaptured. Bulgars invade Thrace (Marcellinus Comes, s.a.). 505: loss of Sirmium to the Ostrogoths in 504. 506: in 505 Sabinianus is defeated by Mundo and Ostrogoths, but Amida is recaptured early in the year and peace deal with Persia is made. 507: riots in Constantinople in 506. 511: recognition of Ostrogothic rule in Dalmatia, Savia and western part of Pannonia Secunda in 510. 512: Macedonius is deposed and replaced by Timothy (511-517) after refusing to reject Chalcedon in 511. 513: in 512 Heruls are settled at Singidunum; Flavianus of Antioch is deposed and replaced by Severus (Heather 2018: 81 places this in 511); riots in Constantinople over the addition of the Trisagion with attempted elevation of Areobindus, husband of Anicia Iuliana. 515: in 514 Vitalian's rebellion. 517: in 516 the Orthodox bishop of Jerusalem is replaced by a Monophysite one. 518: in 517 relations between the pope and the emperor deteriorated (*Coll. Avell.* 138. Cf. Heather 2013: 75; 2018: 7, 77-8, 82, 333; Elton 2018: 247-52; Prostko-Prostinsky 1996: 215 ff. More generally, for the relevant literature on Zeno's and Anastasius' reign, see p. 38 n. 64 below.

⁵¹ Cf. p. 39 below.

⁵² No easterners were appointed by Anastasius in 509-510 and 516, although a clear connection with contemporary events cannot be established securely. In the case of at least 509, a possible cause may be the naval attack in 508, which seems to have fuelled harsh criticism by contemporaries, if we are to believe to Marcellinus, *chron.* s.a. In 515 Anastasius quelled Vitalian's rebellion, but had also Anthemius appointed as consul, so it is difficult to link the missed appointment in 516 to the previous events. Similarly, Justin's failure to appoint an easterner in 523 might have been the result of his careful attitude in appointing consuls, especially after Vitalian (520).

The late empire was politically and culturally a system in which the emperor did not prove his right to rule by virtue of a constitution but by a mix of various other means, including prominently his claim to rule under God's favour. Obviously, military victory was the most effective way of proving this; but as imperial successes could show divine favour, inevitably anything contrary to a positive outcome could become a sign of disapproval and hence a possible issue of legitimacy. This is why throughout late antiquity imperial entourages worked relentlessly in maintaining the belief of the invincibility and orthodoxy of the emperor at all societal levels, especially in the face of grand military catastrophes such as Julian's Persian campaign, Adrianople and successive western and eastern disasters.⁵³ In the course of the fifth and sixth centuries, both enduring military reversals, natural disasters and increasing religious tension brought the emperor in Constantinople under the growing pressure of Christian power groups. Zeno was despised as non-Roman and non-Chalcedonian by the populace of Constantinople, and similarly his successor had to face increasing opposition by both Nicene-Chalcedonian hierarchies and urban masses for his pro-Monophysite policy. From Nestorius and Philostorgius down to Zosimus and the apocalyptic Oracle of Baalbek, dissident Christians and persecuted pagans had topped their arguments against the emperor with contemporary disasters, and it is reasonable to assume that important power groups would have exploited similar arguments when demanding change.⁵⁴ Although we have not sufficient evidence to speak for the usurpations of Marcian and Leontius, it is unquestionable that Basiliscus' mishandling of church affairs accelerated his fall. And similarly, Anastasius' later troubles with the pro-Chalcedonian hierarchies acquired a political dimension that brought his rule on the verge of collapse. Certainly, in his *Secret History* Procopius inverted Justinian's official image as Christomimetic and philanthropic emperor by presenting both him as the Devil reincarnated and his reign as hell on earth.⁵⁵ In the same way, albeit without a religious dimension, Malchus would assassinate Zeno's manliness and leadership of the Roman army, obliquely implying he was not emperor-material. Both social conventions and the prospect of violent removal upon

⁵³ The following discussion resumes some of the conclusions and the evidence discussed in my Master's dissertation, cf. Dosi 2017. The study of the ideological and cultural landscape in which both emperors and their subjects were living has a long scholarly tradition going back to Dvornik 1966; Paschoud 1967; Ahrweiler 1975; Kazhdan – Constable 1982; Kazhdan – Epstein 1985. But only more recently scholars have moved the lens on how this influenced their decisions. See: McCormick 1990 on the ideology of eternal victory; MacCormack 1981 on late-antique ceremonial; Dosi 2017 for the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius; Heather – Moncur 2001 and Heather 2018 for the fourth century and the reign of Justinian.

⁵⁴ Dosi 2017: 30-44.

⁵⁵ Brubaker 2004: 83-101.

failing to meet expectations created a dangerous interrelated nexus to which the political centre had customarily responded by creating, propagating and defending an upbeat portrayal of an essentially successful empire, even in the face of diffuse crisis. To this end, favourite and established procedures were the enhancement of ephemeral successes and the silencing of possible sources of criticism like unpopular treaties and territorial losses. From the reign of Anastasius, however, the need for political legitimation and other various reasons, including military and political crises, caused the court to revivify the imperial image by recovering disused bombastic titles, as well as propagating *laeta saecula* and *renovatio* ideologies through society.⁵⁶ As we may expect, then, the imperial establishment was eager to sing the ‘Everything It Takes’ cry to preserve the imperial image. And not only by recurring to established practices, but also by formulating new devices if the political agenda required it.

In the reigns of Zeno, Anastasius and Justinian, the popular belief in the invincibility of the emperor was questioned by the poor state of the empire. Accordingly, it should not be surprising if in this period governments intervened in some areas of domestic policy with the furtherance of safeguarding imperial prestige, especially if these areas entailed the appointment of high offices that could influence public opinion. Pausing consular nominations needs therefore to be understood within this ideological and political context and as a part of these measures. As argued, late Roman history has a respectable record of consuls that revolted against their emperors in their consular year, or soon after. Merobaudes turned against Gratian in 383, Heraclianus against Honorius in 413 and Armatus against Basiliscus in 476, to name but a few.⁵⁷ In other cases, former consuls became victims of widespread dissent and power games, and found themselves unwillingly proclaimed emperors.⁵⁸ Accordingly, it is no accident that the emperor himself actively tried to politically or physically eliminate his (ex) consul on several occasions. For example, Cyrus (cos. 441) and Zeno (cos. 448) were dismissed by Theodosius II, but things went much worse for Stilicho, Aetius and Vitalian, who came to be seen as a threat, and so were eliminated, even if they had never openly revolted against their appointing authority.⁵⁹ Similarly, Illus (cos. 478), Emperor Zeno’s kingmaker, survived several assassination attempts orchestrated by Zeno himself. Looking at the evidence against

⁵⁶ Dosi 2017: 53-58.

⁵⁷ See also, Ricimer (459) against Majorian; Basiliscus (465), Illus (478), Trocundes (482) and Theoderic (484) against Zeno.

⁵⁸ As in the case of Areobindus (506) and most probably Hypatius (500).

⁵⁹ Aspar (434) and Ardabur (447) were also eliminated by Emperor Leo.

this background, it becomes clearer why at some point very few citizens were allowed to become consuls.

The reigns of Zeno and Anastasius marked a particularly low point in imperial fortunes, with imperial propaganda making the best of a bad job to cover the inherent weakness of the emperor's leadership in these years.⁶⁰ It is no accident that in about fifteen years Zeno bestowed only seven consulates to private citizens, two of which were given to his brother, a third one to a possible second relative, one to a child, and only three to individuals who could actually threaten his position (which they did).⁶¹ Yet one of them was an Arian barbarian and the other two were Isaurians, so very unlikely they were to find any support among the urban masses.

Anastasius managed to appoint as many as twenty citizen consuls. Yet again at least ten of them (Eusebius, Paulus cos. 496, Sabinianus, Hypatius, Pompeius, Probus, Secundinus, Moschianus, Anastasius and Magnus) were close family members or very likely relatives. Of the remaining eleven, one was a barbarian (Iohannes Scytha) and one (Iohannes Gibbus) was physically unfit to rule according to contemporary ideals. Then, of Rufus we know nothing besides he had been chosen by the emperor as colleague for his accession consulate, so he must have been a close collaborator or relative. Unquestionably, four more were very close collaborators. The Life of Daniel reports that Dexicrates was implicated in Hypatius and Pompeius' 'rebellion', and was loyal to the family till the end, following their fate. Patricius was Anastasius' senior (both in age and rank) general at court; Celer (another senior general) was given supreme command in the Persian war and Clementinus was Anastasius' financial minister. So ultimately, potential rivals were three: Aerobindus, Paulus cos. 512 and Anthemius, and at least Aerobindus did not seem to care much about ruling, as he would prove in 512.

Accordingly, both Zeno and Anastasius seem to have favoured a policy based on two points: 1) nominating consuls if the opportunity allowed; 2) favouring candidates who posed only a minor threat. From when Justin acceded to the throne in 519 until his death in August 527, there happened to be only three more citizen consuls in the East, two of whom were harmless to the regime, while the third was assassinated when he clearly became a threat.⁶² As the difference with the previous reign could not be any more evident, both in terms of the number

⁶⁰ Dosi 2017: 46-61.

⁶¹ See p. 36 n. 57 above.

⁶² The emperor's nephew and presumptive heir, Justinian (cos. 521), a former fellow official of Justin named Philoxenus (cos. 525), and Vitalianus (cos. 520).

of consular appointments and the general state of the empire, it may seem at first that some other factors intervened. In fact, the humble origins of the new imperial family may have provided one more element in the exclusion of the aristocracy from the consulship. Yet new dynasties were no novelty for the empire, so this factor would have likely not sufficed in its own. There is indeed one very point where CLRE's analysis is weak, and this is in minimising the concurring economical factor that led to the demise of the office.

Zeno and Anastasius had faced both massive political instability, economic hardship and warfare, including a Persian war, but never did they have to face simultaneously war in the East and conquest in the West, and this on top of other huge domestic expenses. In 545 the Persian war ended in catastrophic defeat for the Romans, with much of Syria and Roman Mesopotamia plundered, and Antioch—the third largest and richest metropolis of the Empire—laying in ashes, whence Justinian found himself in a situation where he had to provide support for the reconstruction of the cities and territories pillaged by Khusro I, as well as a substantial building programme, which included repairing works in Constantinople (damaged by the riots in 532) and the construction of its largest church, Hagia Sophia. According to initial budgeting, this alone was expected to cost 4,000 lbs. of gold.⁶³ In the same years, Justinian was also to face the loss of revenues resulted from the devastating onset of the bubonic plague and other damage caused by natural disasters.⁶⁴ Various earthquakes hit Antioch in 527 and 528; the Aegean region in 551; and Constantinople itself in 557 and 558.⁶⁵ And huge tributes were to be paid to the Persians. In the peace treaty signed in 532 Justinian agreed to pay 11,000 lbs. of gold, while in 540 he ransomed Antioch by means of an immediate payment of 5,000 lbs.⁶⁶

⁶³ John Lydus, *On Powers*, 3.76. We have no figures for the repair work that Constantinople needed after the Nika Riot. But given the extent of the damage, this would have unlikely to be much lower than the 200 lbs. of gold that would be spent for rebuilding Antioch, Laodicea and Seleucia after the Persian invasion. The taxes of these cities were also condoned for three years. (Malalas, 444).

⁶⁴ For the state of affairs, and particularly, military unrest in the empire under Zeno and Anastasius, see Heather 1994: 272-308; Lee 2000: 49-52; Williams & Friell 1999: 184-99, 203-20; Blockley 1992: 79-96; Kaegi 1981: 29-40; Brooks 1893: 209-238; Meier 2009: 53-92, 121-130, 137-73, 174-222, 250-318; Haarer 2006: 29-72, 115-83, 190-206; Charanis 1974: 50-65 (for the revolt of Vitalian); Capizzi 1969: 89-137, 157-87. Also, Whitby 2021: 281-285 for a review of the elements of internal instability prior to 532. The effects of the plague are described by Procopius, *Wars*, 2.22-23 and John of Ephesus (preserved in Pseudo-Dionysius, trans. Witakowski, 77-87); Recently there has been a renewed focus on the topic, with some scholars maximising the effects and others minimising them, though recognising the 'devastating' impact of the disease on the demography of the empire and its ability to levy tax revenues. For a summary of the debate and literature, cf. Whitby 2021: 54.

⁶⁵ Whitby 2021: 53-54.

⁶⁶ Procopius, *Wars*, 1.22.3; 2.10.24.

This was more than, respectively, five and two times what was normally spent on financing a consulship. Thereafter he continued to be paying frequent and large tributes to the Persians.⁶⁷ When Justin was approached by Persian envoys, and later decided not to appoint any consuls for 526 and 527, he might well have in mind the tremendous costs Anastasius had sustained in the war. Justinian, too, might have had similar thoughts. The enormous costs that the imperial treasury had to sustain for large-scale operations is exemplified by the figures provided by Candidus for the African expedition in 468, which is said to have cost 130,000 lbs of gold.⁶⁸ Accordingly, something on the same lines might have been spent only for one of the Ostrogothic and Vandal overseas campaigns. Justinian had inherited 320,000 pounds of gold from Justin (and Anastasius), but by the end of his reign this sum had been spent, the emperor was probably indebted, and signs of the economic hardship can be seen in Justinian's repeated failure to pay his army on time during the Gothic war; the abolition of the quinquennial donative to soldiers; possible cuts in military personnel; a debasement of the coinage in 553; and finally, the participation of bankers in the 562 coup—a possible result of discontent about the financial situation.⁶⁹

While setbacks in the West, defeats in the East and poor financial conditions were raising difficult questions of legitimacy for Justinian, one can see why he did not want to give anyone a chance to increase their own reputation. Diverting money away from the army could also lead to defeat and security issues and hence to overt contest of his rule. Heather has shown how Justinian's external policy was driven by needs of internal policy in the same years.⁷⁰ So it would not be surprising if financial and military demands had generated in return decisions affecting areas of domestic policy. Fear for possible rivals exploiting the consulate must have gone hand in hand with strictly practical considerations, and in any possible spending review

⁶⁷ In the truce agreed in 545 he paid 2,000 lbs. of gold (Procopius, *Wars*, 2.28.10); then 2,600 lbs. in 551 (*Wars*, 8.15.3). In the final treaty in 561/2, it was agreed for a tribute of 400 lbs. of gold per 50 years with an initial payment of 2,800 lbs (Menander, fr. 6.1.314-93)

⁶⁸ Candidus, fr. 2 = Procopius, *Wars*, 3.6.2.

⁶⁹ Treasury at the onset: Procopius, *Secret History*, 19.7; sedition: Malalas, 18.141; Theophanes, *Chron.*, 2357, 15-238.18. Debts: Corippus, *Iust.*, 2.360-404; cf. Whitby 2021: 56. Failure to pay wages: Procopius, *Wars*, 7.11.13-16; 7.12.3-10; 8.26.6-7; abolition of the donatives: id. *Secret History*, 24.27-9, though see Whitby 2021: 101; debasement of the coinage: Malalas, 18.117, 121 (cf. Whitby 2021: 295) reductions in army sizes: see Whitby 2021: 102-3 for discussion.

⁷⁰ Heather 2018: esp. 69-121.

it would have been natural for prestigious but costly and politically dangerous reminiscences of the past, such as the consulship, to have fallen among the cuts.⁷¹

After 534, Justinian himself never again took a consulship. If this was because in Novel 105 he had openly clarified that he regarded the emperor as holding a perpetual consulship, then why had he held it four times previously? As expenditure must have been particularly demanding, it was reasonable for Justinian to ask his aristocracy to help sustain the costs rather than encouraging expensive consular games.⁷² Contributing to war expenses is what actually Justinian requested in his first Persian War (529-532), when urging a number of senators to leave Constantinople with their *bucellarii* and defend various cities threatened by Kavadh.⁷³ And later in or around 540, one of Justinian's financial ministers reassigned to troops in Greece funds that had been allocated to cultural events.⁷⁴ Facing an invasion and wartime economy, Ostrogothic kings must have yielded to similar considerations when opting for pausing consular appointments in 535-541.⁷⁵ Then, by the time the Empire had taken full control of the former Ostrogothic kingdom, no more consuls were elected in Constantinople, so obviously, no more consuls were proclaimed in Italy either.

Writing in 550s Constantinople, John Lydos asserted that the consulship was the embodiment of republican freedom and, hence, it could not co-exist with tyranny. Pointing out that Lydos was writing when ordinary consuls no longer existed, Kaldellis argues that his words necessarily imply that he regarded the end of the office as the ultimate act of a tyrant who had wished to overthrow the last reminiscence of republican freedom.⁷⁶ In some sense, *On the Magistracies of the Roman state* has anticipated modern views that the lapse of the consulship was political.⁷⁷ Apart from this passage, however, there is very little evidence that

⁷¹ Failure to appoint consuls as a result of crisis is something that very likely already happened (albeit only as a temporary measure). See, for instance, the failed appointment for 375, which *CLRE* (quoting Piganiol, *l'empire chrétien* 2, 216-7) rightly comments as follows: 'it was presumably the distraction of the Pannonian invasion of late 374... that was responsible for the failure to nominate consuls'; cf. *CLRE* 285.

⁷² In fact, increasing discontent over the depletion of the Empire's finances is overtly stated by, especially, Procopius, *Secret History*, 11.3 and more generally 26.

⁷³ Malalas, 18.26.

⁷⁴ Procopius, *Secret History*, 26.31-34 (about the logothetes Alexander the 'Scissors').

⁷⁵ Reports of starvation and cannibalism indicate the level of poverty reached in Italy, cf. Whitby 2021: 254.

⁷⁶ John Lydos, *On Powers*, 1.29; 2.8 with Kaldellis 2005: 1-16. For the dating of John's only extant work, see Treadgold 2007: 262.

⁷⁷ Stein 1949: 461 repeats (inadvertently as it seems) John Lydos' *j'accuse* that Justinian's vanity and malice towards the consulship (for it gave holders a standing equal to the emperor's in the exercise of their office) caused its abolishment.

contemporaries regarded Justinian as seeking actively to sink the consulship. In the *Secret History* (11.1-2.), Procopius charges Justinian with lust for having everything re-named after him.⁷⁸ But then on recounting the termination of consular appointments (26.12-15), he fails to relate this to the emperor's megalomania, nor does he advance any charge of premeditation. The passage is placed in a paragraph where Procopius slanders Justinian for having impoverished the Empire, in this specific case by cutting public funds to various groups and institutions, including subsidies associated with the consulship, which caused great distress among destitute and workers who were relying on them. But the wording Procopius employs suggests that he regarded the disappearance of the consulship as nothing more than the consequence of Justinian's financial cuts. There is no mention of politics, though it is possible that he did not grasp (or, more likely, he passed over) other factors as they did not serve the scope of his narrative. One more thing he does not tell is what is the cause-effect relationship between end of subsidies and end of consulship, i.e. whether the lapse of subsidies was either the cause or the result of the demise of the consulship. Since the statement follows a passage where the author recounts Justinian's failure to appoint new consuls, it might well be that he meant they were the result. Accordingly, whereas it is certain that Justinian cut subsidies, what is not at all clear is whether he withdrew them in 537-541, during the last reformed consulships. Similarly, there is no extant evidence for a formal decree of abolition issued by Justinian. And in fact for an emperor that was claiming to act in favour of the survival of the consulship, abolishing financial aids to candidates (or abolishing the institution tout court) was not merely unprecedented, but inconsistent with the declared aim of the whole reform. What is certain is that Justinian must have been aware of what his new reform would have entailed for the treasury. It is true that Justinian never claimed he was to withdraw funds. But he knew that by making the tossing of coins voluntary, and limiting it to silver, the treasury would have no longer needed to step in with huge contributions in gold. He also knew that ordinary people, who had been benefiting from the money tossed at the ceremonies, would not have appreciated the new restrictions. And indeed he justifies himself in the novel, clarifying that the ban was for their own sake, and that it was in line with a previous law of Marcian (450-457), an emperor who enjoyed an extremely positive reputation among Nicene-Chalcedonian Christians, and more generally, among those very Constantinopolitan masses who would have been affected the more by his new reform. Nonetheless, writing decades after the last appointed citizen

⁷⁸ Procopius, *Secret History*, 11.1-2.

consul, it may have been easy to look back in retrospective and see in the emperor's decision nothing but an evil and secret plan to abolish the mark of Roman freedom.

1.2. Late Antique Consular Dating

1.2.1. Consular Dating in Context

The Roman empire had no fixed or universal dating system and the basis of what the western world now uses (*anno domini*) was not yet the standard for historical chronology and contemporary dating in late antiquity.⁷⁹ To this end, several methods of reckoning could be used depending on place, time and purpose. In a region as broad as modern Palestine and Jordan there could be (in most cases simultaneously) no less than thirty-one chronological systems, including the era of the province, local city eras, pre-Roman and Roman dynastic eras, Christian and Jewish eras, as well as other systems of more general use.⁸⁰ As with dating by the regnal year (adopted at different points in time) and by indictions (introduced in Egypt by the end of the third century as fiscal tool and then more generally as a dating system from 312-3), consular dating was one of the few chronological systems that was employed widely across the empire.⁸¹ The distribution of the findings is discussed in more detail in the next chapter but there are some initial remarks that need to be clarified from the start. First, a full-scale study on consular dating in both the republican and early imperial periods does not yet exist, hence the story of its origins and initial expansion is still unclear to us. Crawford argues that consular dating was rare outside Rome until the Social War, after which it spread out across Italy, and from there subsequently to its overseas provinces.⁸² This broadly matches with an initial review of the early evidence, which shows a substantial distribution of consular dating in the second

⁷⁹ The early-sixth century monk and astronomer Dionysius Exiguus is traditionally regarded as the first compiler who numbered the years from the Incarnation of Christ (*ab anno Domini*). Although Dionysius' system was used by Cassiodorus, this was virtually unknown by contemporaries for everyday use. For an introduction, see: Mosshammer 2008.

⁸⁰ Meimaris 1992; see the Seleucid era (53-9), the eras of Tyre (60-65), Ascalon (66-71), Azotos (72-3), Acco-Ptolemais (136-9), Samaria-Sebaste (140-1), Caesarea-Philippi (142-5), Eleutheropolis (305-13), Philippopolis (319-320), Sheikh Miskin (320-1), Maximianopolis (321-3), Constantia (323-4), Khirbet Ma'on (324-329), regnal dating (357-80), Christian and Jewish eras from the Creation and the destruction of the temple (315), the indiction (32-4), the provincial era of Arabia (146-61) and thirteen 'Pompeian' eras (74-135), other than consular dating. Many of these cases are still attested in the sixth century, and some even later. By comparison, for Egypt we know only one city era: see Bagnall & Worp 2004: 55-62.

⁸¹ Bagnall & Worp 2004: 7-21.

⁸² Crawford 1996a: 415; 1996b: 979-81. For an introduction on consular dating (and the literature) in the earlier period, see: Salomies 1993: 103-112.

half of the first century BC and, more clearly, in the first century AD.⁸³ A second important point to be considered is that, although the spread of consular dating had acquired a trans-regional dimension already in the late republican period, the frequency of its usage varied greatly. In the early empire, dating by consuls would appear to have been widespread across society only in Italy and Rome, where it was used not just in official and public contexts, but also in dating goods, building construction and repairs, in the banking sector and, by the end of the third, in private (largely Christian funerary) inscriptions. By contrast, in overseas provinces, consular dating was much rarer (at least on inscriptions) and its scope markedly narrower, with it being predominantly limited to exceptional secular and religious occasions and or to material that was legally binding. Volume-wise, there is little doubt that by the start of the fourth century AD consular dating in Egypt gained the upper-hand over any other chronological system that was previously used to date legal documents.⁸⁴ Equally certainly, late antiquity witnessed some growth also in the use of the system in the private sphere outside of Italy—particularly in southern Gaul, Dalmatia and, by the early sixth century, even in the East.⁸⁵ The extent of the overall growth, however, is still difficult to assess in detail. Notoriously, consular dating remains poorly documented or not documented at all in large areas of the empire in the late antique period, not least because large classes of texts that were likely to be dated by consuls (particularly papyri) are lost outside of Egypt. But no doubt this absence of evidence cannot just be the result of preservation and publication issues. In the Iberian peninsula and, more clearly, in northern Gaul and north Africa, consular formulas became very rare or even disappeared in the course of the fifth century. Also, most of the major eastern centres, including Constantinople, have so far failed to return any significant number of dated inscriptions, despite the great amount of available material. While it can be agreed with Handley that the abandonment of consular dating can, in some regions at any rate, be explained by the collapse of Roman rule, in others the popularity of alternative dating habits had unquestionably played a role.⁸⁶ As stressed above, consular dating co-existed with other chronological systems, and this tendency persisted well into the late antique period, where local eras continued to be used for both administrative purposes and everyday life, both in the west and the east. More generally, certain classes of documents that were normally dated in some

⁸³ See Ch. 2.

⁸⁴ See p. 107-114.

⁸⁵ See p. 89-97 and p. 107 f.

⁸⁶ Handley 2003: 122-38.

regions, could easily not be so in others. For instance, this seems to have been the case of the tombstones of many Christian communities in Asia Minor, Greece, Palaestina and Arabia, which bear no dates.⁸⁷ And as it happens, an Italian bilingual funerary inscription that bears a date in the Latin text, will not necessarily do so in the Greek.⁸⁸ So the issue at stake was not only 'which' dating system, but also 'if' a dating system mattered at all.

One more factor was certainly the foreignness of the consular year to local timing. As mentioned above, a consular year was synchronous with the Roman (Julian) calendar, which lasted 365 days and began on 1 January, so it was easily understandable and applicable for both popular and official use in whatsoever region that employed the Julian calendar. However, in other regions using different calendars (like Egypt), the system created much confusion, for the start and end dates of the consular year were meaningless to the local civil calendars. Local antipathy to consular dating, as well as the impracticalities of the system, which required names to be disseminated over long distances and recorded constantly, were likely to be some of the reasons why lists of consuls were maintained locally.⁸⁹ No doubt at Rome and in Italy lists of various magistrates, including consuls, had been employed by the annalistic tradition, the originators of the *Fasti Capitolini* and the calendar of Antium, and later chroniclers.⁹⁰ Similar evidence survives for Constantinople and other provinces.⁹¹ This is hardly surprising, since lists of magistrates and rulers had already been maintained for chronological and astronomical purposes in Athens, Alexandria and elsewhere, so provincial practices (especially in the East) had also a very fertile pre-Roman background onto which they could graft.⁹² Time-keeping practices would go on well into early Medieval Rome, where a count of years since the Passion of Christ was maintained by the clergy in Santa Maria Maggiore.⁹³

⁸⁷ Cf., e.g., p. 117 (Arabia), 127 n. 367 (Greece).

⁸⁸ CIL V 6195 = IG XIV 2293 = ICI XVI 9 (Milan).

⁸⁹ So, too: Bagnall & Worp 2004: 88 and Salway 2008: 279-81. On consular lists and city chronicles more generally, see: Croke 1992: 165-203; Crook 2006: 72; and, obviously, *CLRE* 47-57; 89 and n. 18.

⁹⁰ For the *Fasti Capitolini* and the pre-Julian Calendar of Antium, see: Degrassi 1954; Hornblower, Spawforth & Eidinow 2012: 568-569. On late-antique consular lists, more generally, see: *CLRE* 47-57.

⁹¹ On the *Consularia Constantinopolitana*: Burgess 1993 and n. 90 above on the late-antique chroniclers. An exemplar of the many *fasti* that had been published publicly in the Italian municipalities are Calvi's *fasti*; cf. CIL X 4631 = I.Ital. XIII.1.16.

⁹² Mosshammer 2008: 17 ff.

⁹³ Mosshammer 2008: 29.

1.2.2. Morphology

Although the mention of the consulship within the titulary of the early Roman emperors had conscious chronological purposes, only consular dating fully expressed a proper method of computation that relied on the names of the two eponymous consuls. In general terms the system essentially rotated around the use of consular and post-consular formulas. Post-consular dating was normally employed when the consuls of the current consular year were unknown in the place of writing, whatever the reason could be (delay, failure to appoint, announce or disseminate new consuls, lack of knowledge etc.) Hence, many documents were dated by the last known ordinary consulship, both temporarily in any possible year where individuals were uninformed or ignorant of the current formula and permanently after the ultimate lapse of the consulship as active office.

The standard way of referring to the last known consulship was: *post consulatum* + N. *et* N. (gen.) in Latin and its Greek equivalent μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν + N. καὶ N. (gen.) or their abbreviations. There were two ways of reckoning subsequent post-consular years. The first and older one (sometimes known as 'Modus Marcellianus' in modern literature) was by numbering them from the first post-consulate. Over time, however, it developed a second method that counted onward from the consular year. So, for instance, the actual first post-consular year was styled as 'post consulship of N.; in the second year', with 'counting from the consulship of N.' having possibly to be understood. This 'Style Nouveau' or 'Modus Victorianus' (so-called after Victor of Tunnuna's work, which first attests it) shows similar features to regnal dating, which was widely used in north Africa (where Victor had resided), and in other western regions, predominantly Gaul and Spain, before becoming officially reinstated by Justinian for the whole of the Empire in 537.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, counting (backwards) from a fixed point regarded as number 1 was also how Romans had always used to number the days of the month in their calendrical system (i.e. the day before the Kalends was called *pridie Kal.* but the second day prior to the kalends was considered *III Kal.*) not to mention how Roman provincial eras worked.⁹⁵ So, while it is possible that this alternative system was influenced by the contemporary resurgence of regnal dating in both the West and the East, one cannot exclude

⁹⁴ For the 'Modus Victorianus' or 'Style Nouveau' as Stein had it in his famous article in opposition to the old system or 'Modus Marcellianus' (from Marcellinus Comes' work), see: Stein 1934: 869-912; Descombes 1985: 57; Meimaris 1992: 341. *Contra* Bagnall & Worp, *BASP* 18 (1981): 33-8 and Bagnall & Worp 2004: 95, who questioned its existence; but their conclusions have been invalidated by Gonis 2005b: 211-3.

⁹⁵ Mosshammer 2008: 35.

cultural differences in time-reckoning. In any event, the 'Modus Marcellianus' remained the predominant method of reckoning post-consulships throughout our period.

As opposed to post-consular formulas, consular ones referred to the names of the consuls in office at the time of writing and, when known, these were in use during the consular year. From the earliest republican examples to the years before Diocletian the standard Latin formula would appear to be N. (*et*) N. *consulibus* (or its abbreviations), with the names always rendered in ablative.⁹⁶ This also seems to have remained the most popular way of dating in Latin through most of our period, especially in the official practice, as shown by the law codes and the papyrus documentation in Latin from Egypt. The *consulibus*-formula was gradually but only partially replaced by the formula *consulatu* (or its abbreviated forms) + N. (gen.) *et* N. (gen.) during the fifth century. This alternative form first appears in Rome in the 360s and more widely in Italy in the 370s but, in overall terms, the evidence seems to underpin a provincial origin, for in fact its attestation can be traced back as early as 305 in Lycia, 338 in north Africa, 356 in Phrygia and 359 in Dalmatia.⁹⁷ This formula might have originated as a Latin calque of the Greek ὑπατ(ε)ρίας (CLRE 83); or, perhaps more likely, in connection with the variant form (ἐν) ὑπατεία, as suggested by, first, the form (*in*) *conss(ulatibus)* + N. (gen.) *et* N. (gen.), attested in Moesia and, second, by its apparent rarity in Egypt, where indeed the use of (ἐν) ὑπατεία seems to have been limited until the second half of the fifth century.⁹⁸ Whatever the origin, *consulatu* plus genitive remains a minor variant in all regional datasets, and even in the West large regions like Gaul only appear to have known the oldest ablative version.⁹⁹ Not only frequency, but also the typological distribution of the findings suggests that the latter was preferred over the novelty of the *consulatu*-formula in more formal and public contexts. The *consulatu*-formula is attested in at least one imperial decree from Tlos in Lycia (CIL III Suppl. 2 12134), two honorary inscriptions from Noricum and Pannonia, and one dedication (*ex voto*) from Novae dated 430-444 (AE 2005, 1328), but it is totally unattested in the official

⁹⁶ Both the Iberian and the African provinces have returned a considerable amount of early consular dates, which are almost invariably given in ablative. Cf. p. 98 f. and 104 f.

⁹⁷ CIL III Suppl. 2 12134 (Tlos, Lycia; AD 305); CIL VIII 796 = ILS 5413 (Avitta Bibba, Procons.; AD 338); AE 1977, 806 (N. Phrygia; Asia; AD 356); CIL III 9503 add. Bis = ILJ III 2381 1-2 = Salona IV 154 (Salona, AD 359).

⁹⁸ Cf. 107-09.

⁹⁹ Currently, the *consulibus*-formula is attested in Hispania, Gaul, Illyricum and Italy, as well in Asia Minor, Egypt and the Balkans. *Consulatu* is attested in Asia Minor, Balkans, North Africa, Hispania, Illyricum and Italy, but there are clear imbalances in the quantitative and chronological distributions between the two formulas. On this, cf. the next chapter.

documentation from Egypt, as well as from 156 imperial constitutions and Burgundian laws dated 411-541 that have been reviewed for the purposes of this study. These give either the names of the consuls in ablative or the latter with *conss(ulibus)*, *cons(ulibus)*, *cons(ule)*, *co(n)s(ule)* or *consule*.¹⁰⁰

The form N. καὶ N. (dat.) + ὑπάτοις was to the Greek-speaking world what the *consulibus*-formula represented for Latin speakers, save that the former rarely survived the early period. In fact, as time passed, the earlier format almost entirely disappears, mutating into (ἐν) ὑπατεία + N. καὶ N., with only the names generally given in genitive. But in two more variants, the use of genitive (the natural case for expressing time in Greek) entirely replaced the dative, thereby producing: 1) (ἐπὶ) ὑπάτων + N. καὶ N. (gen.) and 2) ὑπατείας + N. καὶ N. (gen.). Overall, the latter would remain the most common way of dating by consuls in Greek from the fourth to the sixth century.

Therefore, the passage from the early to the later Roman period was punctuated by several changes. As seen, one of these was that in various contexts, prominently unofficial ones, a growing number of people tended to date by reference to the consular year rather than the persons of the consuls. A second change was that dating became by reference to the ordinary consuls alone. The names of the suffect consuls are found in dating formulas from the early period and their office survived until at least the end of the fourth century, yet their names disappeared in dating formulas soon after Diocletian's accession and never resurfaced.¹⁰¹

Next, the Egyptian papyri record interesting shifts in imperial titularies, most prominently from κύριος to δεσπότης at the turn of the third and fourth centuries and from Σεβαστός to Αὔγουστος soon after.¹⁰² One more change affected the length and complexity of the formula. Again, the papyrological record from Egypt shows that for a period of time formulas included not only the honorific titles of emperors and their relatives, but also the ranks and offices of private consuls, as well as two or more names of their full nomenclatures. In the order of appearance of the names, rank and status mattered. So when one of the consuls was the emperor, his name obviously came first; if both were emperors, the junior one yielded seniority. Similarly, precedence was customarily granted to relatives of the emperor, and so too to consuls

¹⁰⁰ *CLRE* (63 n. 18; 83) argues that some *consulatu*-formulas could have been used in legal sources. True though this may be, direct evidence is lacking.

¹⁰¹ On dating by suffect consuls, see: Meimaris 1992: 341. Sufferect consuls still presided at the Roman celebrations for the *dies natalis*; cf: Symmachus, *Ep.* 6.40, 1 (p. 113 n. 12 and 13.)

¹⁰² For the increasing use of δεσπότης from about 299 to 308, and the nearly contemporary shift between Σεβαστός to Αὔγουστος (from about 311 on), see the material collected in Bagnall & Worp 2004: 174-83.

who had already been in office.¹⁰³ Finally, from the early fifth century, the western or eastern origin became a persistent factor in precedence, so a formula that appeared as X et Y in the West was published as Y et X in the East, and vice versa.

As formulas became lengthier and more complex, chances of variant formulas increased. A fair amount of material shows deviations from the standard in the order of the consuls' names, in the iteration of the numerals, in the length of the consular nomenclatures, ranks and offices, as well as in the spelling of names, and so on.¹⁰⁴ Quite naturally, this was the result of multiple factors. Meimaris was surely correct in singling out 'regionalism, variety of inscription types, differential education of the lapicide or the mosaicist, ignorance of writing conventions' as some of the elements that prevented total adherence to uniformity in the composition of dating formulas in inscriptions.¹⁰⁵ Yet, most if not all of these factors certainly applied to other classes of material, such as papyri, wooden tablets, and ostraca. If the space available for the drafting of the text was limited, elements unnecessary to the understanding of the formula could (or had to) be edited out. If none of these constraints applied, material and labour costs could be decisive. We do not know whether ancient stonecutters and notaries were paid by words as, e.g., modern copywriters and proof-readers are, but papyrus and stone were notoriously costly so the length of the text, which included a potentially lengthy dating formula, might well have been of some relevance, especially if the document did not need to be used in a tribunal or to be displayed publicly at a prestigious venue.¹⁰⁶

Finally, many of the phonetical variations that can be seen in papyri and inscriptions are certainly the result of local linguistic idiosyncrasies, as well as simple spelling mistakes. Hence, these would have easily found their way out into the text if the formula was not copied but written under dictation—as the evidence would seem to suggest in at least a few instances.¹⁰⁷

The dating clause can be found either at the beginning, in the middle of or at the end of the text, depending on the region, time or type of document. In the Salonitan inscriptions, for instance, it tends to appear at the end of the epitaph, and so too in a vast array of other Italian funerary inscriptions, as well as several sub-classes of documentary papyri.¹⁰⁸ Yet many other

¹⁰³ *CLRE* 22-24.

¹⁰⁴ Cf., e.g., 63-5; 68-73 below.

¹⁰⁵ Meimaris 1992: 382.

¹⁰⁶ This case is exemplified by the instances where the *iunior* or *alius* element of the consular titulary is dropped. For further discussion on this, see p. 383-96 below.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. p. 67 below.

¹⁰⁸ *Salona IV*: p. 104.

have it at the beginning. There is a relatively abundant number of Greek texts that have preserved a date in Latin, sometimes along with additional Latin words or Greek words in Latin script such as the notary signature in papyri.

1.2.3. Was Dating Mandatory?

The existence of multiple methods of reckoning time means that Roman authorities never tried to impose a single dating system on the whole of the empire as they never tried to impose a single calendar. Nevertheless, they did impose the use of specific dating systems for particular purposes. Dating by consuls was certainly a mandatory requirement for laws and edicts from at least the time of a Constantinian law dated 322, which denied validity to any imperial pronouncement (made by either an emperor or an imperial official) that was not dated by consuls, month and day.¹⁰⁹ This law was included in *CTh* (1.1.1) and then reiterated by *CJ* (1.23.4), though this mentions *beneficia* (personal privileges conferred by rescripts) rather than laws and edicts.¹¹⁰ As is widely known, eventually in 537 Justinian ordered all legal documents and court proceedings be dated mandatorily by regnal year, consular year, indiction, month and day.¹¹¹ According to the extant normative evidence, then, a legal obligation existed from at least 322 onward, but for most of this period, this only concerned a small fraction of the legally binding material circulating into the empire. It is only from 537 that this regulation was turned into a general provision applied to all legal documents. This conclusion is supported by the documentary evidence, which shows legal texts older than AD 322 as being dated by something other than consular dating, or not being dated at all.¹¹² What remains to clarify is why thousands of Egyptian papyri, whose texts have nothing to do with imperial pronouncements, use consular dating as a favourite system well before Justinian's novel (or even the Constantinian law!). As expanded on in the next chapter, the sudden surge of consular dates in Egypt, attested from 297-306/7 at the expense of regnal dating, suggests that an older directive, now lost, was almost

¹⁰⁹ The existence of a point of departure for the practice of dating decrees is supported by the constitutions incorporated within *CJ* with the subscript formula *sine die et consule*, which could originate from the Gregorian and Hermogenian Codes. The suggestion is Corcoran 2000: 196 letter no. 53, though it must be admitted that some laws may not have followed the Constantinian directive or have been found undated by Justinian's commissioners.

¹¹⁰ Frier 2016: 309 n. 2.

¹¹¹ *NovIust.* 47. The law instructed that reference to a local era could be made as long as this was not the sole dating system provided in the legal document. See: CSBE²: 45.

¹¹² Use of local eras to date legal documents is complained also by *NovIust.* 47.

certainly issued by either Diocletian, Galerius or both.¹¹³ Given the very general character of the documentation affected by the change, however, this pre-Constantinian law must have been more similar to *NovIust.* 47 than the law of Constantine.¹¹⁴ It is unclear why it did not leave any traces in the formal law codes, but two possible options are that it was a local provision or that the law was subsequently revoked, or modified, by the Constantinian law in 322, which limited the regulation on dating to the imperial pronouncements. That this is entirely possible is proven by the fact that Justinian himself modified *CTh* 1.1.1. shifting the object of the law from *edicta* and *leges* to *beneficia*. On the other hand, the existence of a local law is underpinned by the land census ordered by Diocletian in Egypt in 297, which the directive might well have served.¹¹⁵ In either case, if this reconstruction is correct a possible law issued by Diocletian/Galerius in 297-306/7 that ordered all legal documents to be dated by consuls (in Egypt?) was repurposed by Constantine in 322 for the whole of the empire but with a more limited scope. Albeit changing its object, the same law in the same format was reinstated by Justinian no later than the promulgation of his new code (529-34), before a more general regulation was finally issued with *NovIust.* 47 in 537.

In the post-Roman west, consular dating was widely employed only in Burgundy and in the Ostrogothic-ruled territories. The latter certainly maintained the provisions of the Theodosian Code, though it remains uncertain whether later imperial legislation was in use.¹¹⁶ On the other hand, the Burgundians would seem to have applied a slightly different policy. Two Christian epitaphs from north Viennensis record acts of manumission, i.e. a legal subject that was regulated by Burgundian law.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, some laws of the Code of Gundobad and Sigismund (*Liber Constitutionum*), which represents the only existing barbarian law code dating by consuls, appear to be dated by regnal years rather than consular dating.¹¹⁸ Hence as opposed to imperial law, which prescribed the use of consular dating for decrees and laws after 322 and for any legal documents after 537, no specific chronological system would seem to

¹¹³ See p. 111-14 below for a detailed discussion and the relevant literature.

¹¹⁴ So, too: Salway 2008: 281.

¹¹⁵ See: P.Cair.Isid. 3.1 = ChLA XLI 1199 (Arsin.)

¹¹⁶ Caesarius of Arles notes that he had appropriately added the consular date to his will; cf. *ibid.*, *Test.*, 2. On the authenticity of the testament, see Klingshirn 1994: 69 and literature cited in n. 8-9.

¹¹⁷ RICG XV 258 (11.ii.487) and RICG XV 261 (24.iv.501), from Briord, Lugdunens.; Burgundian law (*Lib. Const.* 88) prescribed that manumissions had to be addressed as documents legally binding, so that dating by Roman consuls was no coincidence in the epitaphs. So, too: Handley 2003: 132.

¹¹⁸ Handley 2003: 132.

have been required in Burgundy.¹¹⁹ What would seem to have been mandatory was only the act of dating a legislative document, and not how.

1.2.4. Did an Official Formula Exist?

Given the numerous attested variations, one may wonder whether there was an official formula; and if so, what was official within it, i.e. any elements of the formula, or just the names. In other words, did an official formula with a fixed and prescribed phrasing exist, or was the choice to include (and exclude) elements other than the names rather left to local administrations and personal whim? Moreover, was there a differentiation between west and east in the phrasings. And can this be generalised throughout our period?

At present, there is enough evidence to be relatively certain that, at times at least, an official formula was issued by some central office and transmitted by the latter to and through the state apparatus.¹²⁰ At what point in time during the year this happened precisely is discussed in Chapter Three but one can be quite certain that this did happen. This is evident from the fact that there are some elements of the wording that recur in formulas found in very distant places and, obviously, this would have been possible only if the formula had been copied verbatim from a common model.¹²¹ Second, some of these elements could not have been known locally unless disseminated there. This is particularly evident in all those cases where the formula includes additional elements of one consul's names (i.e. *duo, tria and quattuor nomina*) and career (his office as MVM, PPO, PVR etc.), which are unlikely to have been known in a faraway province (e.g. Egypt), where their knowledge was not obvious and indeed needed to be transmitted. Third, the relatively fast disappearance and or appearance of these elements within the formula points to the existence of central directives, suggesting that their knowledge in loco depended on their inclusion/exclusion in the official formula. As is discussed in Appendix A, this is particularly the case of the polyonymous consular nomenclatures, which were common in Egypt in the first half of the fourth century before becoming suddenly rare.¹²² Further evidence is provided by the later introduction (and eventual vanishing) of the formula

¹¹⁹ So too: Handley 2000: 96 n. 26.

¹²⁰ See, the discussion in: *CLRE* 67-8, Salway 2008: 281 and the following discussion for the relevant evidence.

¹²¹ *CLRE* 26 f.; Salway 2008: 280-285.

¹²² Cf p. 358-73 below.

et qui fuerit nuntiatus (or its Greek version), which is also discussed later.¹²³ A further indication of this is that there are signs of verbatim transcription into Greek and Latin of the same phrasing.¹²⁴ Since virtually the beginning of the principate, the imperial court and even its provincial administrative bodies could operate effectively in Latin and Greek when communicating with different provincial communities, and in the later period the bilingual activity of the state apparatus in the East even intensified.¹²⁵ Then if Latin and Greek were sufficiently diffused and used by both the court and the provincial administration, why should the competent authority not have published both Greek and Latin formulas from a common model? Indeed, this was the easiest way forward, as shown very clearly by the evidence below:

AD 335.

P.Oxy. XLIII 3129:¹²⁶

- *Iulio Constantio v(iro) c(larissimo) patricio fratre d(omini) n(ostri) [*

CPR I 247:¹²⁷

- ὑπατείας Ἰουλίου Κωνσταντίου πατρικίου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Ἀγούστ(ου) καὶ Ρουφίου Ἀλβίνου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων)

AD 344.

P.Abinn. 2:¹²⁸

- *Fl(avio) Leontio praef(ecto) praet(orio) et Fl(avio) Sallustio mag(istro) ped(itum) v(iris) c(larissimis) co(n)s(ulibus)*

¹²³ Cf p. 370 f. Given the more gradual passage between κύριος and Σεβαστός to, respectively, δεσπότης and Αὔγουστος, it is more uncertain whether this was caused by a top-down decision making. But the option is not to be entirely ruled out until waiting for further research.

¹²⁴ Salway 2008: 282 f. and the following discussion.

¹²⁵ The use of Greek became more common at court in the sixth century, as shown by the issuing of imperial proclamations in Greek by the reign of Zeno. Thus, it is not obvious that if an official fixed wording still existed, this was formally issued exclusively in Latin. For the shift from Latin to Greek as the main language of the eastern imperial chancery in the sixth century, see Miller – Sarris 2018: 15, dating this change to 535, and accepting older scholarly views that the adoption in the central administration of Greek was a practice already in use for a long time within the offices of the praetorian prefecture of the East (cf. *ibidem*, n. 52 for the literature).

¹²⁶ P.Oxy. XLIII 3129 (letter of a praefect).

¹²⁷ CPR I 247 (acknowledgment of receipt of a lease, Herakl.)

¹²⁸ P.Abinn. 2 (official letter, Arsin.)

P.Princ. II 81 = III 181:¹²⁹

- ύπατειας Φλαουίων Λεοντίου ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ Σαλουστίου κόμιτος [

AD 347.

ChLA XI 472:¹³⁰

- *Vulca(cio) Rufino praefecto praet(orio) et Fl(avio) Eusebio vi(ris) c(larissimis) co(n)s(ulibus)*

P.Ant. I 31:¹³¹

- ύπατειας Ὀουλκακίου Ῥουφίνου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ Φλαυίου Εὐσεβίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου κόμιτος

AD 357.

ChLA V 285:¹³²

- *d(ominis) n(ostris) Constantio Aug(usto) viiii et Cl(audio) Iulian[o]*

P.Lond. III 1245:¹³³

- ύπατειας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωσταντίου Αὐγούστου τὸ θ καὶ Κλαυδίου [Ἰουλιανοῦ

AD 375.

P.Oxy. LXIII 4381 (year 376):¹³⁴

- *post cons(ulatium) d(omini) n(ostris) Gratiani per(petui) Aug(usti) iii et Equitio v(iri) c(larissimi) com(itis)*

BGU XIII 2332:¹³⁵

- ύπατειας δεσποτ(ῶν) ἡμῶν Γρατιανοῦ τοῦ Αὐγούστου γ (καὶ) Φλ(αοῦ) Ἐκυθίου τοῦ (λαμ)προτάτου κόμιτος

¹²⁹ P.Princ. II 81 = III 181 (receipt of repayment of loan, Oxy.)

¹³⁰ ChLA XI 472 (uncert. doc., Arsin.)

¹³¹ P.Ant. I 31 (official letter).

¹³² ChLA V 285.13 (proclamation from unknown Egyptian province).

¹³³ P.Lond. III 1245.12 (receipt from Hermop., p.228).

¹³⁴ P.Oxy. LXIII 4381 (judicial proceedings in Alexandria).

¹³⁵ BGU XIII 2332 (contract of sale from the Arsinoite).

AD 398.

P.Giss. 104 (year 399):¹³⁶

- μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Ὀνωρίου τοῦ [αἰ]ωνί[ο]υ
Ἀγούστου τὸ δ καὶ Φλ(αοῦ) Εὐτυχιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου

CPLat. 199 = ChLA XLV 1328-1330 (1328 = SB XX 14675):¹³⁷

- *post cons(ulatum) [dom(ini) n(ostri)] H[on]orii p(erpetui) Aug(usti)
qua[ter] et Eytychiani v(iri) c(larissimi)*

True enough, in some cases the documentation comes from contiguous regions. But in other cases the distances are sizeable, and with the only exception of ChLA V 285 (whose provenience is unknown), there is little doubt that both Latin and their corresponding Greek formulas come from different places. The most striking example is perhaps provided by the evidence from AD 335. P.Oxy. XLIII 3129 and CPR I 247 come from, respectively, Oxyrhynchus and nearby Herakleopolis in Middle Egypt, but the identical Greek formula is given by ten more papyri dated to the same year, including a receipt from Maximianopolis (Qena) in Upper Egypt and a division of property from the oasis of Dakhla, each located more than 500 kilometres away from the other places.¹³⁸ Unquestionably, uniformity on this scale could be achieved only by the centralised dissemination of a single text. But what entity was responsible for the drafting of this text? - a central (palatine) office or a provincial one? Unfortunately, we only have ten documents (six ostraca, two wooden tablets and two papyri) from outside Egypt, which are dated to the relevant years where Egyptian formulas seem to have developed more elaborate formulas. Not only do we lack enough documentary material that could serve for comparison, therefore, but other sources are not much more useful. Numerous miscellaneous documents collected in CLRE demonstrate that literary authors often seem to have either edited out all the unnecessary elements or added in new ones, thereby altering the original wording.¹³⁹ For instance, Athanasius habitually erases names, titles and

¹³⁶ P.Giss. 104 (contract from Hermop.)

¹³⁷ CPLat. 199 = ChLA XLV 1328-1330 (1328 = SB XX 14675 (doc. Annona Militaris from unkn.prov.)

¹³⁸ P.Harrauer 47.7; P.Kell. I Gr. 13.12. Distances on a similar scale can be seen in ChLA XI 472 from the Arsinoite and P.Ant. I 31, an official letter from Antinoopolis (El-Sheikh Ibada).

¹³⁹ See the relevant entries in CLRE under the title 'Other' and under the years: e.g. 298 (W); 303 (W); 304 (W); 313 (W); 315 (W); 325 (E); 336 (E); 337 (E); 338 (E); 340 (E); 341 (E); 346 (E); 347 (E); 348 (E); 350 (E); 351 (E); 355 (E); 358 (W/E); 359 (W/E). This is only for the years up till 359, but the list is much longer.

ranks from civilian consuls.¹⁴⁰ Likewise, Socrates and Ammianus often simply give X et Y—not the least because they only mention the consular year (not a full consular formula).¹⁴¹ Conversely, a synodal judgment adds *amantissimus* and *piissimus* to the usual imperial epithets that accompany Arcadius' and Honorius' names in their joint third consulship, though they are found nowhere in the legal documentation.¹⁴² On the other hand, the evidence discussed in Appendix A about the use of polyonymous nomenclatures and the formula *e.q.f.n.*, clearly shows that the 'Egyptian formula' shared more than one element in common with other regions. Further to that, it is worth noting the following material. Most importantly:

(a) an honorary inscription from Miletus dated 538 has ὑπατίας Φλ. Ἰωάννου ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) ὑπάρχ(ου) τῶν ἱερῶν πρετορ(ίων) τὸ β' κ(αὶ) πατρικ(ίου) which echoes the formula given by P.Oxy. XVI 1974 (an acknowledgement of a debt): ὑπατία Φλαουίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἐπάρχ(ου) τῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων;¹⁴³

Secondly but less decisively:

(b) one more inscription from Sirmium is dated by Ὑπατεία τῶν δεσπότην ἡμῶν φλαυ(ίου) Ἰουλ(ίου) Κωνσταντίου ἀνικητοῦ σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε καὶ φλαυ(ίου) Κωνσταντίου ἐπιφανεστάτου κέσαρος (AD 352).¹⁴⁴ This resembles part of the wording given by four contemporary Egyptian papyri; see, for instance, P.Kell. I Gr. 24.9: ὑπατίας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου Αὐγούστου τὸ ε καὶ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ α;¹⁴⁵

(c) similarly, AE 1955, 51 (from Mactar, Tunisia) gives: *dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) Constanti m(aximi) a(ugusti) VIII et Iuliani n(obilissimi) c(aesaris) II*. Again, this reverberates the Egyptian formula in 357 as given by two proskynemata from Deir el-Bahari (omitting 'maximus' for Constantius) and six more papyri;¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁰ On Athanasius, see e.g.: *Index, Fest* 5, 10, 13, 19, 20; *De synodis*, 25; *Index*: AD 333, 18.iv.336, 3.iv.337, 338, 30.iii.340, 341, 27.iii.343, 15.iv.344, 347, 348, 350, 351, 358, 4.iv.359).

¹⁴¹ On Socrates, see e.g.: *HE*, 1.13, 40; 2.5, 8, 20, 26, 29, 39. So, too: Augustine, *Breviculus coll. cum Donatistis* (CSEL 53, p. 81; cf. *CLRE* 142). For Ammianus Marcellinus, see, e.g.: *id.*, 17.5.1; 18.1.1.; 29.2.9. Similarly, Sozomen, cf. e.g. : *HE*, 4.17.10.

¹⁴² Mansi III 852, cf. *CLRE* 323. See, too, the episcopal epistles and the other ecclesiastical documentation collected in *CLRE* at, e.g. p. 405 (Proclus' letter); 435 (Council of Ephesus). CIL VI 36967 = ILCV 25A also gives *Imp. domno n. Iustinia riessimus Augustus III*, with *riessimus* also to be read as *pi<e=I>ssimus*. The restoration remains, however, uncertain, and little is known on the inscription.

¹⁴³ Grégoire, *Inscr.* 219 = *Milet I 7* (1924) 303-04 no.206.

¹⁴⁴ *ICJI* 3021 = R. Noll, *Griechische u. latein. Inscr. der Wiener Antikensammlung* (1962) 410.

¹⁴⁵ P.Stras. I 9.6 (Arsin.); P.Oxy. LX 4090.1, 4091.1; P.Kell. I Gr. 24.9 (Mothite).

¹⁴⁶ P.Oxy. I 66.1; SPP XX 101.7 (prov.unkn.); P.Lond. III 1245.12 (Hermop.); P.Kell. I Gr. 15.17 (Mothite); ChLA V 285.13 (prov.unkn.); P.Ross.Georg. III 28.1 (Arsin.).

(d) finally, AE 1922, 42 = ILCV 3791C (from Salona) has *d(ominis) n(ostris) Thaeodosio co(n)s(ule) XI et Valentiniano viro nobelissimo Caes(are)*, and so too does the only extant papyrus from 425 from Egypt give: ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου <τοῦ> αἰωνίου Ἀγούστο(υ)[τὸ ια καὶ Οὐαλεν]τινιανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστά[του].¹⁴⁷

All this suggests that, while currently the evidence is inadequate to answer our initial question conclusively, in at least some cases the origin of the Egyptian phrasing should be traced back to some palatine office rather than the office of the provincial governor. The problem of identifying the former with the court is that neither the imperial constitutions nor the extant imperial letters employ the verbosity of the Egyptian formula (and not even in the years where this is attested in Egypt). Perhaps we might look at a level just below, i.e. the praetorian prefecture, which indeed acted as a conduit between the court and the remaining state apparatus; yet in the absence of new papyri from outside Egypt, any conclusion remains speculative.

More broadly, even though we accept with some caution that (at times at least) the office of the praefect of Egypt was not directly responsible for the drafting of the formula, one more question that remains open is whether we can generalise these conclusions to our entire period. In the fifth and sixth centuries the use of Latin decreases significantly within the Egyptian administration, so one is left with only a handful of documents to check for possible correspondences.¹⁴⁸ More importantly, however, what really hampers our understanding is that the habit of mentioning the office was generally discontinued for citizen consuls after 423 in Egypt.¹⁴⁹ Since formulas then become shorter and simpler, establishing whether there existed a common model becomes considerably more difficult. A Greek contract dating to the consulship of Vincentius and Fravitta (401) gives ὑπατείας Φλ(αίου) Βικεντίου καὶ Φραβιττα τῶν λαμ(προτάτων) Θῶθ κθ.¹⁵⁰ Save for the day, the month and the adaptation of ὑπατείας to the corresponding Latin form in ablative, the Greek formula corresponds to that of a military

¹⁴⁷ P.Stras. 639.1 (Hermop.)

¹⁴⁸ The only five documents dated to the fifth and sixth centuries: CEpist.Lat. 233.8 = ChLA XLIII 1248 (3) (Arsin.?, AD 401); P.Worp 27 (unkn.; AD 433); P.Oxy. XVI 1878.1 = ChLA XLVII 1408.1 (Herakleop.; AD 434); P.Oxy. XVI 1878.1 = ChLA XLVII 1408.1 (Herakl.; AD 461); P.Ryl. IV 609 = ChLA IV 246.8 (Hermop.; AD 505).

¹⁴⁹ Currently, the mention of the office resurfaces in our Egyptian documentation only for the cons. of 499 (cf. P.Oxy. XVI 1959.1); 500 (cf. P.Stras. IV 273 = V 471) and 538 (see n. 143 above). In Italy they can be seen only for the consulate of Belisarius (535) in, e.g. ICUR n.s. II 4283 = ILCV 3764.

¹⁵⁰ SPP XX 113.11.

diploma that shows *Vincentio et Fraovitho viris clarissimis consulibus*.¹⁵¹ Some likeness between Latin and Greek formulas can still be observed for, at least, the evidence in 433.¹⁵² But the phrasing is reduced to such a minimum that nobody can really tell whether the two texts still share a common model. Admittedly, adaptations from one language to the other could happen quite naturally, i.e. without needing an archetype, especially when dealing with relatively short and formulaic texts (such as consular dates were at this point) and in the presence of an established tradition. At this point one may justifiably wonder whether what was actually transmitted from the centre were simply names. If that were the case, it would be clear that individuals and local administrations might have given lesser importance to homogenisation and consistency of phrasing, especially in a context where many abbreviations were in place. Given that it is impossible to provide decisive answers, I would like to finish by offering two concluding recommendations for future research:

(1) In discussing the ‘distinctiveness’ of the Egyptian formula, Salway fundamentally argues for a mixture of local and ‘central’ elements, pointing on one hand to the likelihood of central dissemination for the consuls’ offices, while stressing on the other the peculiarity of the Egyptian formula, which favours the genitive versions (ἐπὶ ὑπάτων + N. καὶ N. (gen.) and ὑπατείας + N. καὶ N. (gen.), as opposed to near-contemporary practice in contiguous regions (such as Arabia and Palestine) where the dative plus genitive (ἐν ὑπατεία + N. καὶ N. is commonly attested in inscriptions. Another tell-tale sign of this uniqueness of the Egyptian formula would be the early onset of the practice of including epithets of rank, e.g. οἱ λαμπρότατοι / *virī clarissimi*, attested in other regions (both Latin and Greek-speaking ones) only at a later point in time.¹⁵³ As a whole, he maintains, this evidence is a strong indication that an original Latin formula was disseminated from the centre and translated by the local administrations into Greek, generating local nuances and variations.¹⁵⁴ Salway provides a sensible model by which harmonising our evidence. But he bases this model on a comparison between (Egyptian) papyri and (non-Egyptian) inscriptions, so one qualification has to be

¹⁵¹ CEpist.Lat. 233.8 = ChLA XLIII 1248 (3).

¹⁵² Cf. P.Worp 27 and P.Lond. V 1777.1. The evidence for 434 does not entirely match up. P.Oxy. XVI 1879.1 = ChLA XLVII 1409.1 gives *Fl(avius) Areobindo et Ardabure* but the Egyptian papyri from 434/5 give Ardabur’s cognomen, Aspar (see, e.g. P.Stras. I 1.1). So too the evidence for 505: P.Ryl. IV 609 = ChLA IV 246.8 (Hermop.) gives *v.c. cons.* to Sabinianus and Theodorus but other papyri style the consuls as ἐνδοξότατοι (see, for instance, P.Oxy. XVI 1994 = SB XXIV 15924). Unfortunately, the evidence for 461 is poorly preserved and does not allow for any comparison.

¹⁵³ Salway 2008: 278-310.

¹⁵⁴ Salway 2008: 282-3.

added. Due to the legal nature of their documents, scribes might have been emulating (if not copying verbatim) the formal official phrasing of the imperial chanceries. Nevertheless, such a level of formality was certainly not required in the vast majority of inscriptions that have survived, i.e. funerary inscriptions. And for the small corpus of remaining texts (mostly honorary and dedicatory inscriptions), an archaicising formula in ablative might have been seen as giving a good taste of antiquity to a public monument. Therefore, any search for any possible local idiosyncrasy—if by the word “local”, one means the formula emanated by the administration—should be carried out by having in mind that it might be risky establishing the above on the basis of a comparison with inscriptions.

(2) Regarding a possible mix of local and ‘central’ elements in consular phrasing and, more generally, about generalising centralised dissemination of a single text, Gonis has demonstrated that the honorific epithets (i.e. *λαμπρότατος* & *ἐνδοξότατος*) seem to have been added, excluded or interchanged more loosely in early-sixth-century consular dating formulas.¹⁵⁵ Obviously, this does not prove that these elements had never been part of the official wording; but it does prove that, at this point in time at least, individuals or administrations could choose in legal texts whether to include them, and how. A similar study on the epithets of the fourth- and fifth-century consular dates included in legal papyri will tell us whether this phenomenon is limited to the sixth century (and hence traceable back to the termination of the drafting of an unequivocal official text) or reflects a tendency already well-established in the previous centuries.

¹⁵⁵ Gonis 2005a: 183-186, concluding that ‘If the local authorities had any role in this, we cannot tell; if they had, it would probably have been a minor role.’ (quotation at p. 186).

Chapter 2.

The Body of the Evidence

In order to address our enquiry and its central questions it is necessary to understand our material and how to legitimately make use of it. In this chapter a number of complexities will be explored, including the nature of our body of material, its size and distribution, what has been privileged and why. To a large extent, papyri and inscriptions, especially those conveying legal texts, are fundamental to recover contemporary dissemination. The following discussion will therefore focus primarily on them, outlining the advantages and pitfalls of their use. As far as laws, chronicles and other miscellaneous material are concerned, the importance of these otherwise invaluable sources is relatively limited in relation to the main objective of this study. I shall therefore refer to *CLRE* for a detailed discussion on the complexity and nature of these sources, while limiting the following to a brief overlook of their (questionable) value in recovering contemporary dissemination.¹⁵⁶

2.1. The Material

2.1.1. Papyri

Papyri qualitatively represent the best class of material, not only as they are dated by what may be the closest imitation of the official formula, but also, and more importantly, as they provide genuine formulas that have escaped the risk of intervention, correction and manipulation. Due to this, papyri are capable of yielding information of invaluable importance on which name was known, where and when. Therefore, it is relatively certain that, whatever is the information, this corresponds to the scribe's knowledge of the known (post-)consular year by the date and place given in the text. Furthermore, for reasons to be explored in Appendix C it can be accepted that scribes were generally very diligent in using the most up-to-date formula and in sticking to it.¹⁵⁷ This is not to say that consular dates from papyri are free from errors,

¹⁵⁶ Cf. *CLRE* 47-57; 71-89.

¹⁵⁷ A case in point is P.Heid. IV 306 with *CLRE* 358.

nor that they do not pose problems of restoration and interpretation. In overall terms, however, neither their many quirks nor their general state of preservation are such as to undermine their usefulness in recovering contemporary dissemination. Undoubtedly, the precious insights into politics, movement and communications between the two halves of the empire, which they offer, are unmatched by any other material.

Overall, a little less than 50% of the total available quantity of material has been at least partially reviewed (cf. Graph & Table 2.1 below.) These formulas are mostly written in Greek (within a Greek text), though there also survive a small number in Latin, in bilingual script (Latin and Greek) and even in Hebrew.¹⁵⁸ Bilingual formulas are a phenomenon found in both papyri and inscriptions, with the bilingual element being the numeral of the consulship (occasionally combining Latin and Greek numbers)¹⁵⁹ or the Egyptian day/month given in Greek within a predominantly Latin formula.¹⁶⁰ Formulas written entirely in Latin can also be found within texts predominantly or entirely written in Greek, while Greek formulas can be found within bilingual documents written in Greek and Coptic.¹⁶¹

Table 2.1.

Decade	Total	Reviewed
284 - 289	3	1
290 - 299	63	5
300 - 309	127	7
310 - 319	238	8
320 - 329	182	5
330 - 339	125	20
340 - 349	129	99
350 - 359	52	32
360 - 369	64	39

¹⁵⁸ Thirty-three dates are written in Latin, one in Hebrew (with Aramaic characters) and a dozen are bilingual (Greek/Latin).

¹⁵⁹ Cf. P.Ital. 1.67 = ChLA XX 705 (Ravenna; AD 444).

¹⁶⁰ Cf. P.Abinn. 63 i.1,4 = ChLA XVIII 661 (Alexandria; AD 350).

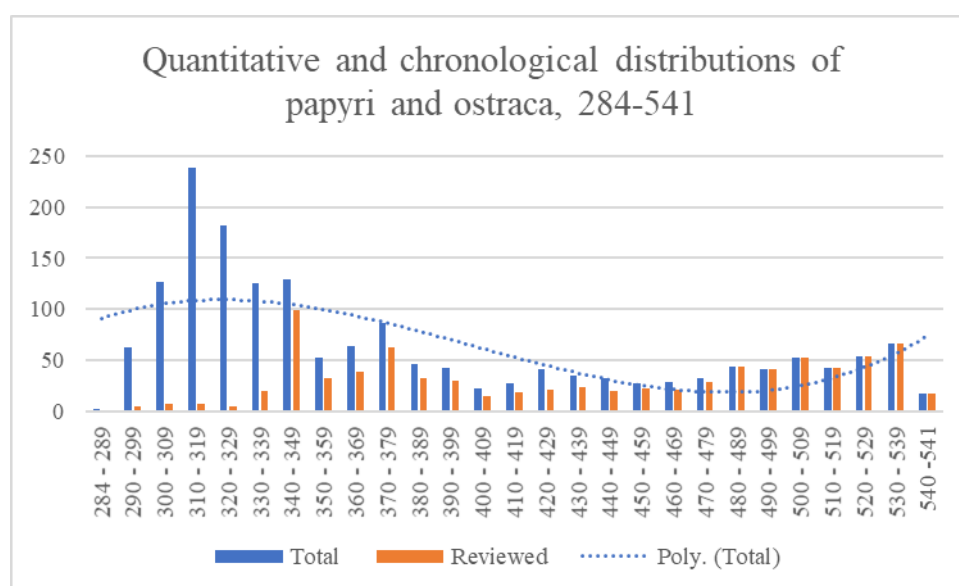
¹⁶¹ Cf. P.Worp 27 (unkn.; AD 433; report of judicial proceedings written predominantly in Greek); PSI I 112 = ChLA XXV 781.8 (Oxy.; AD 316; an imperial rescript in Latin written with Greek script); P.Oxy. XVI 1878.1 = ChLA XLVII 1408.1 (Herakleop., AD 461; proceedings of a court case written in Greek). Greek/Coptic: SB XXII 15322 (Hermop., 535); P.Athen.Xyla 5.1 (Hermop.; 539).

Decade	Total	Reviewed
370 - 379	86	63
380 - 389	46	33
390 - 399	42	30
	1157	342
400 - 409	23	15
410 - 419	27	19
420 - 429	41	21
430 - 439	35	24
440 - 449	33	20
450 - 459	28	22
460 - 469	29	21
470 - 479	32	29
480 - 489	44	44
490 - 499	41	41
500 - 509	52	52
510 - 519	43	43
520 - 529	54	54
530 - 539	66	66
540 - 541	17	17
	565	488

Broadly speaking, the texts can be divided into four main groups: 1) a largely fiscal and administrative one; 2) a largely legal one; 3) one pertaining to the military; and 4) a group that includes material of different kinds, mostly written by private citizens or officials on private business.

The nine survived ostraca are all from the fourth century, save for two dated 419 and 538. These are all mostly receipts and acknowledgments of deliveries, or sales; but there is also a contract and a declaration on oath. A fuller breakdown of the typology of texts is given in the sections dealing with each of the regional corpuses. Dating was part of the authentication process for legal documents, as prescribed by *NovIust.* 47 and probably already in force since the reign of Diocletian/Galerius (at least in Egypt), so it is no surprise that many legally binding texts provide dating clauses with the same recurring combination of elements.

Graph 2.1.



After the consular date, papyri almost invariably give the indication of the month and the day. A further element is the indiction, which is gradually (and unevenly) adopted in legal and financial documents dated by consuls across Egypt from no later than 338, and provided by virtually all Egyptian consular papyri dated 476-541.¹⁶² Three more additional elements that may be found, are: 1) the regnal year, reintroduced in 537 and attested in eastern papyri from 538 (preceding every other element in the clause); 2) the provincial and city eras (which generally follow the consular date) and, 3) invariably in final position after the dating elements, the place of writing. Although inscriptions, too, occasionally give all these elements, generally they do not.

An element that rarely appears on inscriptions is the place of writing. On papyri, this recurs in no less than 113 papyri and 1 ostrakon bearing texts that are mostly legal, judicial and fiscal in nature. When reporting the location, the phrasing often includes honorary epithets of the various cities of the empire, as well as the administrative units in which they were located.¹⁶³

Frequently, the formula begins with a Christian symbol such as a cross (†), a staurogram (⦿) or a chi-rho (Ϟ).¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² In my sample, the earliest examples of papyri providing an indiction are: P.Lips. I 97 i.7 (iv.338; Hermonthis); SB XII 10988.3 (342; from poss. Konstantine Polis); P.Stras. I 9.6 (Arsin., 27.iii.352). For an introduction, cf. Worp 1987: 91-6.

¹⁶³ The Egyptian papyri provide the nomes and the papyri from Arabia and Palestina provide the province.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. e.g. P.Ness. III 16; P.Lond. V 1699.

One more recurrent feature of Latin papyri is represented by the use of abbreviations. These occur frequently with the consular or post-consular elements of the formula, the titulary, the Roman month and day, and the place designation. However, such abbreviations are much rarer (though not impossible) to find with names.¹⁶⁵ In only a few instances are the latter entirely (and deliberately) omitted, with only the numbered consulships being given.¹⁶⁶ Instead, Greek papyri do not seem to employ abbreviations in consular titularies as often as Latin papyri do.¹⁶⁷

Both Greek and Latin formulas, whether on papyri or inscriptions, present the most common linguistic developments. Given the language employed by the overwhelming majority of the papyri, what can be seen more clearly in papyrus formulas are Greek vowel and consonant changes, especially the monophthongisation of ου in υ (e.g. Αὐγόστου/Αὐγούστου)¹⁶⁸ and ει in ι (e.g. ὑπατίας/ὑπατείας);¹⁶⁹ the inversion of ε/ι (e.g. Βελεσαρίου/Βελισάριου),¹⁷⁰ ω/ο (e.g. πρότης/πρώτης)¹⁷¹ and τ/θ (Βοητίου/Βοηθίου).¹⁷² But there are also instances of ει written hypercorrectly for ι (e.g. Μαειων/Μαιων);¹⁷³ rarer wrong declensions of cases, both in Latin and Greek (e.g. μετὰ τὴν ὑπατεία or μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείας and *Sergio et Nigriniani*).¹⁷⁴ In some cases, these are misspellings rather than standard local idiosyncrasies, and they occur everywhere regardless of the type of texts.

In general terms, formulas on papyrus texts were well-executed, although they occasionally present some of the errors occurring in inscriptions. As for non-linguistic and involuntary irregularities, minor ones were the inversion of elements of the titulary (e.g. *Fl.* given for *Fll.*

¹⁶⁵ Cf. e.g. P.Oxy. XVI 1878.1 = ChLA XLVII 1408.1: [*po*]st cons(ulatum) Apollonij [υ(iri)] c(larissimi) et qui n[unt(iatus)]uerit, die Kal(endarum) Septembr(ium) Heracl(eopoli). Abbreviated names are in, e.g. P.Mich. X 592 = ChLA V 298 ii.15 (unkn.).

¹⁶⁶ ChLA XI 499 ii.6 (AD 284).

¹⁶⁷ For some exceptions, see, e.g. SB XXII 15797.2 (δεσ.); P.Harr. II 238.4 (δεσπ.; Αὐγούστ. καὶ Αὐτοκράτορ.); P.Bodl. I 16.12 (Αὐγούσ.); CPR XXIV 1.13 (Αὐγο.); P.Rainer Cent. 89 (αἰων. αὐγ.); and so similarly: SB XXII 15797.2; SB XXII 15801.1; P.Petra I 1 (ὑπ.).

¹⁶⁸ Cf. e.g., P.Petra I 3.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. e.g., P.Köln. III 152 = 14 586.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. e.g., P.Petra I 1.

¹⁷¹ Cf. e.g., SPP XX 137.

¹⁷² Cf. e.g., P.Oxy. LXXII 4921.

¹⁷³ Cf. e.g., P.Petra I 2.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. e.g., P.Oxy. VIII 1130; P.Abinn. 63 i.1,4 = ChLA XVIII 661.

or vice versa);¹⁷⁵ omissions of titles (e.g. *d.n.*, *nob.*, *Caes.*, *perp.* and *Aug.* for emperors or the office for citizen consuls)¹⁷⁶ and other minor misspellings (e.g. *Venenatio* for *Venantio*; or *sostris* for *nostris*).¹⁷⁷ Major aberrations (major in that they did not simply alter the formula but compromise its comprehensibility and hence its ability to date correctly a document) were unquestionably: 1) omitted or wrong numerals; 2) omitted names; 3) wrong names, and 4) conflicting dates. The majority of these have already been discussed by CLRE, but it is worth briefly recapping them, particularly in light of the recent reevaluation of documentation dated from 476 to 541:¹⁷⁸

1. Omitted or wrong numerals: a wrong numeral is given only once within the papyri dated 476-541, i.e. in a papyrus dated 508, and does not represent an issue.¹⁷⁹ But a blatant omission of the iteration number is attested more commonly in 476, 496, 528, 533 (or 528), and in a few cases this hampers the identification of the consulship.¹⁸⁰

2. Omitted names: the frequent omission of one consul's name occurring after (and occasionally before) 476 was not the result of negligence or lack of space but of dissemination and politics. As such, it will be discussed later.¹⁸¹ Compared to the frequency of the same phenomenon in inscriptions, omitting one consular name out of any other reasons than dissemination would appear to have been rare in papyri. P.Rain.Unterricht 62.6 provides probably what is the only specimen within the years 476-541, and three more instances are attested in 308 (two dates) and 420.¹⁸² In half the cases, the text was either a writing exercise or a schoolbook.

¹⁷⁵ Under the years 476, 477, 478, 504, 505, 513, 520, 525 (or 526), 535 and 541 there is some material that omits or give a wrong element of the formula. Cf. e.g. BGU XII 2151 (omits Flavius); P.Worp 28 (gives *Divus* to *Armatus*); SB VIII 9776 (omits numeral); SB XX 14535 (cos. error for p.c.?).

¹⁷⁶ Cf. e.g., P.Sakaon 64.1 (omits *nobilissimus*); P.Oxy. LXIX 4750.1-2 (omits *nobilissimus Caesar*); P.Panop. 20.15 (omits. *vv.cc. praeff.*) P.Charite 7.22 (omits *comes*); BGU III 939.1 (omits *perp.*); P.Oxy. VIII 1116.1 (omits. *D.N.*, *perp. Aug.*)

¹⁷⁷ Cf. e.g., P.Ital. 47-48A.27 (Ravenna, 484; m.l.d.; register of *cautiones*); ZPE 56 (1984) 80.9 = CEpist.Lat. 232.9 = ChLA XLIII 1248 (1) (unkn.; AD 396; diploma).

¹⁷⁸ CLRE 68-70.

¹⁷⁹ CPR VI 8.2 (508). Three more are in 371, 392 and 426. Possibly another is SB XXVIII 17208.20-22 = ZPE 141 (2002) 191-98; 4th or 5th AD?);

¹⁸⁰ P.Oxy. XVI 1958 (476); SB VIII 9776 (496); P.Oxy. XVI 1900 (Oxy.; 24.x.528); P.Cair.Masp. I 67091.27 (528 or 533). For the earlier period, cf. CLRE 69.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Ch. 4.

¹⁸² P.Mich. X 593 iii.5, (6), iii.9; P.Rain.Unterricht 63.38.

3. Wrong names: in as many as sixty instances one or both consular names are slightly misspelled, and in two more instances (522 or 535) the consul's name is abbreviated or given in the wrong case.¹⁸³ In most of these cases, however, such aberrations do not affect the ability to identify a consulship or question what the scribe meant. Nevertheless, there are occasional instances where the consular pair does not match the information provided by the rest of the documentation. Of the seven cases attested across 284-541, some of the most striking are SB XXVIII 17208, which gives 'Arcadius II et Theodosius' and P.Jena 3 giving 'p.c. Zenonis et Armati' (both were never a pair).¹⁸⁴

4. Conflicting dates: a more serious hindrance occurs when two or more dating systems (including the consular date) supplied in the dating clause point to different dates. This occurs relatively often (at least 12 instances in papyri from 476-541), and was probably caused by negligence and or inexperience.¹⁸⁵

Overall, 17.6% of the total papyri surveyed show either a minor or major error, which is statistically significant. However, if we only consider the documents with major issues of dating, this figure drops sharply to less than 4%, with the majority of errors arising from conflicting dates. With regards to names and dates, this indicates the overall reliability of the corpus dated 476-541 particularly, and 284-541 more generally. While it is possible that newly discovered texts may contain errors, it is unlikely that these overall conclusions will change, as they have not been affected by the more than one-thousand new published papyri since 1987.

The individuals signing these documents were private professionals responsible for the drafting of official documents of one sort or another. Their trade was regulated by law and officially supervised (*CJ* 4.21; *NovIust.* 44). They operated in public squares or offices (*stationes*) with the assistance of scribes and secretaries (*scribae, notarii, νομικαριοί, νομικοί* and *αναγνώστες*) who were often responsible for the real drafting of the text.¹⁸⁶ In our

¹⁸³ Cf. e.g., P.Oxy. XLIX 3479.1 (Eusebius ex Florentius); P.Amst. I 45 (name mistaken for a title); P.Ross.Georg. V 31 (gives Ἀβηθοῦ for Ἀβητηνοῦ); P.Cair.Masp. III 67300.2 (Olymbrios ex Olybrios); P.Rainer Cent. 116 (Horius for Orestes);

¹⁸⁴ SB XXVIII 17208.20-22 = ZPE 141 (2002) 191-98 (Herakleopolis); SB III 7167 = P.Jena 3 = P.Jena II 6 (Hermop.). See also: P.Vind.Sijp. 9.19 (417?) gives, 'p.c. Theodosi VII (ex Honori XI?) et Constanti II'; P.Oxy. XLIX 3479.1 (ed. 361?; cf. p.69; Eusebius ex Florentius); P.Amst. I 45 (Hermop.; AD 501; upatos ex Hypatius); P.Rainer Cent. 116 (Herakleop.?.; AD 530; Horius for Orestes).

¹⁸⁵ I will deal with these dates in a forthcoming article.

¹⁸⁶ P.Oxy. LXIII 4394 (AD 494) has a συναλλαγματογράφος πεδατούρας οἴκου Καίσαρος, presumably a notary operating in Alexandria for the imperial administration. The writer of P.Oxy. LXIII 4394 is said to be συνπράττωντος (assistant) to his notary, and that there is no sign of the customary notary's countersignature, a

documentation these professionals are referred to as *συμβολαιογράφοι/tabularii* (or *tabelliones*) and *συναλλαγματογράφοι*, often translated in literature as ‘public notaries’.¹⁸⁷ Their signature is visible in the closing formula of many texts in the form of *δι’ ἐμοῦ [Name] ἐγράφη τὸ σωματίον*.¹⁸⁸

Some contractees claimed to have some literacy (e.g. BGU XVII 2683: *βραδέως ὑπογράφοντος*), and indeed there is evidence that the drafting of a document (*ιδιόγραφος*) was partially or totally executed by the contracting parties in the form of self-declarations. These were possibly but not necessarily countersigned by a notary.¹⁸⁹ P.Oxy. XIX 2237 was signed by a *νομικάριος*, and P.Lond. V 1797 by a *σχολαστικός*,¹⁹⁰ but we also have deacons and members of the local clergy,¹⁹¹ soldiers and officers.¹⁹² However, oftentimes interested parties

sign that perhaps he was acting in behalf of his notary. In P.Oxy. XVI 1891, there seems to be a professional scribe and a notary. The scribe signed himself as *ἀναγνώστης* (reader or slave trained to read). There is no title for the scribe in P.Lond. III 992, but his name differs from the notary’s. In BGU XVII 2682 the document is written by a person, but the signature of the contractee is made by another, and so too in many other documents, such as, for instance, P.Berl.Frisk 5. See also: P.Oxy. LXIII 4395 (Ale.; 499-500), where the main body of the text is written by a hand who is not mentioned in the contract. For the use of *νομικάριος/νομικός*, see P.Oxy. XIX 2237 (AD 498); P.Cair.Masp. I 67001 (Aphrodito, 514); III 67328 (521, Aphrodito); III 67300 (527, Aphrodito); III 67301 (530, Aphrodito); P.Ross.Georg. III 36 (537, Aphrodito).

¹⁸⁷ SB XVIII 13953 (AD 492; *συμβολαιογράφος*), P.Harr. II 238 (Oxy., 539; *ταβουλάριος*), P.Oxy. LXIII 4394 (Ale.; 492-500) and LXIII 4395 (Ale., 499-500, *συναλλαγματογράφος*), with Miller – Sarris 2018: 393 n. 3. For other examples in papyri and imperial laws, see: P.Sakaon 64.22 (Theadelphia, 307); P.Oxy. LVII 3914 (Oxy.; 519); SB XVI 13037 (Hermopolis, 522); *CJ* 4.21.16.1.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. e.g., BGU XII 2155; P. Rainer Cent. 123; More rarely, both the notary and the scribe were mentioned in the closing formula; cf. SB V 7758.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. SB XVIII 13953 (*ιδιογράφος*); P.Oxy. XIX 2237 provides another clear case of a contractee writing on his own, whereas only the countersignature is left to the notary. Any person writing on their own hand could also be said to be *υπογράφων* (see P.Lond. III 1313). In P.Rain.Cent. 124, the document is written and signed by the same person; and similarly, P.Hamb. IV 266 + BGU XVII 2688. It seems the same applies to P.Stras. V 472, a lease of land addressed to the church of Anastasia in Hermopolis (533) and P.Oxy. VI 914 (an acknowledgment of debt) and perhaps P.Oxy. XVI 1889, where one can read *γραφ(εῖσα) καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὁμολ(όγησα)* simply, with no signature on the part of the notary nor the writer (but a similar formula was used by a notary to sign P.Oxy. XVI 1982 where the signature of the notary is found.)

¹⁹⁰ See, too: P.Oxy. L 3600 (a member of the governorate of Arcadia).

¹⁹¹ Cf. BGU XII 2181.; P.Oxy. VIII 1130; P.Prag. I 46 has a *κληρικός*; BGU XIX 2818 (Hermopolis, 511); P.Lond. V 1689 (Aphrodito, 527); P.Vindob.Sal. 9 is a contract written by a sub-deacon.

¹⁹² Cf. P.Ness. III 15 the two contractees (two soldiers, brothers) write and sign the contract with the countersignature being absent (the lower-left corner of the pap. is missing though). In P.Cair.Masp. III 67296 the scribe is an *ἀποπραιπόσιτος* (an officer). Also, P.Lond. V 1722, a sale of an house written by Flavius Photios, son of Thalassios, *Ἀγουστάλιος λεγεῶνος Συήνης*, has the notary’s countersignature missing.

were illiterate, so they would have someone else writing for them. Sometimes, the intervention of this third part can be seen in formulas that are set out at the end of the documents.¹⁹³

Various misspellings suggest that some of the dating formulas found in these documents were not directly copied from the official formula published by the local authorities. For instance, P.Amst. I 45 gives μετὰ τὴν ὑπα[τεία]ν Φλ(αουί) Πατρικίου τοῦ μαικαλοπρεπεστάτου καὶ ἐντοξοτάτ[ου] [σ]τρατηκοῦ καὶ Ὑπάτ{i}ου καὶ τοῦ δηλ[ω]θησ[ο]μαίνου Ἐπειφ ιγ ι εἰν(δικτίονος). Obviously, errors of this sort can be explained more easily if the scribe in question had no access to a written copy of the official formula. Another possible option is that misspellings took place within the official formula or, more plausibly, when this was published locally. Any sort of error could of course occur more easily if scribes were operating under dictation, and especially if they were not Greek-native-speakers. Another possible option was when the document was *ιδιόγραφος* and, for whatever reason, did not undergo revision on the part of a competent notary.

In conclusion, the error was possibly to occur under dictation of the written version of the formula. However, it is difficult to establish with certainty when the dictation occurred. It is neither controversial that tachygraphy existed in the late Roman world, nor that tachygraphists were widely employed.¹⁹⁴

Papyri dated by consuls yield an invaluable treasure trove of information on the scribes' clients. Just in the papyri dating from 476 to 541 alone, more than 300 individuals are mentioned either as contracting parties, scribes, witnesses or litigants. Among these, one can find the powerful men belonging to the cream of the imperial aristocracy, local landowners and their assistants, bureaucrats, public advocates, doctors and churchmen, along with religious and lay institutions, but also farmers, herdsmen, wine- and oil-makers, bakers, green-grocers, garden-keepers and gardeners, potters, cumin-sellers and soldiers.

2.1.2. Inscriptions

Inscriptions potentially offer the same kind of genuine information as papyri, although they are relatively less reliable.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ Cf. e.g., P.Princ. II 82 the scribe is a local city councillor writing for a *deaconus* (illiterate) who had good links with the governorate of Egypt. And also: P.Oxy. XVI 1899; P.Köln. III 152; SB I 5174 and 5175.

¹⁹⁴ See, for instances, the acts of Chalcedon with Price & Gaddis 2005: 75-78.

¹⁹⁵ Obviously, a problem is represented by the forgeries, which (fortunately) have been dutifully signalled by scholars of any time. Cf., e.g. the list in CIL and the other epigraphical corpora.

Overall, approximately the 48% of the total corpus of inscriptions (ca. 2,800 items) has been reviewed, albeit with unavoidable imbalances (Graph & Table 2.2 below.) Given their overwhelmingly western origin, most of these formulas are written in Latin, but we also have a substantial corpus of little more than one hundred Greek formulas and a dozen formulas with a mix of Greek/Latin elements. Regarding the latter, what is almost invariably found is just the Roman numeral VI, rendered in Greek with ς to define the numeral of a consulship (or less commonly a diurnal date).¹⁹⁶ In my sample, there are only two inscriptions mixing elements other than the numerals; there might be more, but not many.¹⁹⁷

Save for four wooden tablets, all the material is written on stone. With regard to their typology, the dated texts include epitaphs on tombstones, graffiti and sarcophagi; honorary and dedicatory texts commemorating building works or other important civic occasions (i.e. a municipal constitution, a decree; the erection of a statue etc.); votive inscriptions and finally Roman wills, military diplomas and inscribed *dolia*. By far, the funerary inscriptions represent the vast majority of our dated texts, while in my sample only four Roman wills, one military diploma and one *dolium* survive for the period under consideration.

The dating protocol could change significantly depending on the typology of text, the region and time. Monumental texts would seem to have employed a structure similar to that used in legal texts, with a consular date complemented by details of the day, month and (more rarely) the place of writing. At times, the indiction and the local era were also supplied, although the former would appear to have been much rarer in the West.¹⁹⁸ Formulas on funerary texts are almost invariably introduced by various phrasings such as *depositus/a (est) (sub) die* + day +

¹⁹⁶ Cf. e.g. CIL XI 2583 = ILCV 3137D = ICI XI 4 (consulship's numeral; Chiusi, Reg. VII; AD 455); CIL V 6237 = ILCV 2738A = ICI XII 74a (diurnal date; Milan, Reg. XI; 485 m.l.d.).

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Ferrua, Kokalos 28/29 (1982-83) 21 no.73 = SEG 1986, 843 (Catania, Sicily; AD 455); AE 2008, 338 (Atripalda, Reg. I), the second of which provides the indiction and the day and (Egyptian) month designations in Greek.

¹⁹⁸ In the western documentation dated 476-541, the indiction is mentioned only in AE 2008, 524b (Tarquinia, Reg. VII; AD 504), commemorating building work in the baths of the *ordo decurionum* turned into public baths. In the eastern documentation, one can see the indiction being mentioned in at least: SB XX 14510.1 = SEG XLI (1991) 1614 (Thebes, AD 357); AE 2005, 1328 (Novae, Moesia inf.; AD 430, m.l.d.); AE 2005, 1329 (Novae, Moesia inf.; AD 431); AE 2005, 1330 (Novae, Moesia inf.; AD 432); AE 1911, 90 = SEG 1994, 1222 (Zenopolis or nr., Isauria; AD 488); A.Dumont-Th. Homolle, *Mélanges d'arch. et d'épigr.* (1892) 414 no. 86 (Panion; AD 519); SEG XXVII 1019 (Nebo, Arabia; AD 530?); IK 56, 61.6 (Anazarbus; ad 536); Gatier, *Jordanie 2: 105-6*, no. 100c = Meimaris 1992: 356 no. 47 (Nebo, Arabia, AD 535); Grégoire, *Inscr.* 219 = Milet I 7 (1924) 303-04 no.206 (Miletus, Asia, AD 538); I.Cret. IV 460 = Bandy, 31 (Gortyn; AD 539); Dumont-Homolle, *Mélanges d'arch. et d'épigr.* (1892) 415 no. 86z = Bull.épigr. 1951, 141 (Panion; AD 530/531 or 537-538).

Table 2.2.

Decade	Total	Reviewed
284 - 289	24	11
290 - 299	36	12
300 - 309	27	8
310 - 319	20	9
320 - 329	35	12
330 - 339	48	22
340 - 349	117	22
350 - 359	100	14
360 - 369	191	43
370 - 379	204	39
380 - 389	223	27
390 - 399	233	77
	1258	296
400 - 409	249	74
410 - 419	52	29
420 - 429	74	32
430 - 439	106	63
440 - 449	85	43
450 - 459	78	40
460 - 469	74	43
470 - 479	69	53
480 - 489	92	92
490 - 499	72	72
500 - 509	63	63
510 - 519	80	80
520 - 529	112	112
530 - 539	129	129
540 - 541	15	15
	1350	940

month + consular date; or *dep(ositio)* + Name + etc.¹⁹⁹ In some cases, one can find the dating clause followed by *dep(osito/a est)*.²⁰⁰ The Greek inscriptions use similar wording, i.e. ἐτελε(ύτησεν) τῆ πρὸ or ἐτελειώθη + dating clause.²⁰¹ As underlined, there is a great variety in the local use of these phrases. From about the mid-fourth century (in the East), and the early fifth century (in the West), the indiction starts, slowly but increasingly, to be more common also on epitaphs; where it can be found either before or after the consular date.²⁰² In our period, both in the West and in the East many epitaphs continue to be dated by local eras; but when a consular date is supplied, the local era occurs very rarely.²⁰³ As for the regnal year, the provisions of *NovIust* 47 did not apply to non-legal texts, so it is no accident that, save for one erratic Thracian epitaph, the long dating clause provided by papyri after 537 is to be found nowhere in our epigraphic documentation.²⁰⁴ In fact, inscriptions, and especially funerary ones, show that several elements of the dating formula could be omitted. For example, several tombstones from late-antique Corinth are dated by a month without a day; an indiction without a day and a month; or a day and an indiction without a month, and so on.²⁰⁵

As mentioned, local variants of minor elements of the dating clause are also attested. For instance, at the beginning of our period the Latin abbreviation *FFII*. was rendered in Greek as ΦΦλλ(αβίωv). Yet, by the reign of Justinian, this had become Φλ^ςΦλ^ς in Macedonia and other

¹⁹⁹ Cf., e.g., *depositus*: ICUR n.s. II 4172 = ILCV 2609A adn. (AD 412); *depositus est*: CIL XI 1540 = ILCV 2170 (Lucca; AD 536); *depositio*: ICUR n.s. VII 17523 = ILCV 3003B (AD 401); See, also: *recessit* + date: CIL V 7416 = ICI VII 23 (nr. Dertona, Reg. IX; AD 534); *obiit* + date: CIL XII 936 = ILCV 1808 (Arles; AD 530).

²⁰⁰ Cf., e.g., ICUR n.s. II 6051 (AD 391);

²⁰¹ Cf., e.g. Agnello, Sylloge 91 = IG XIV 112 (Syracuse; AD 360); L. Heuzey-H.Daumet, *Miss.arch.de Macéd.* (1876) 390 no. 177 (Kavaja [nr. Dyrrachium]; AD 531).

²⁰² For before the consular date, cf., e.g. CIL XII 2644 = ILCV 1910 adn. = RICG XV 291 (Geneva, AD 505); IG XIV add. 2310a (p.704)(Verona; AD 511); *Recherches à Salona I* (1928), 174 no.81 = ILJ III 2675 = Salona IV 217 (Salona; AD 517). After: CIL XII 1692 = ILCV 1432 adn. (Luc, Narb.; AD 514); Agnello, *Silloge* 98 (Syracuse; AD 517); CIL V 5219 = ILCV 1156 (nr. Lago di Como; AD 520).

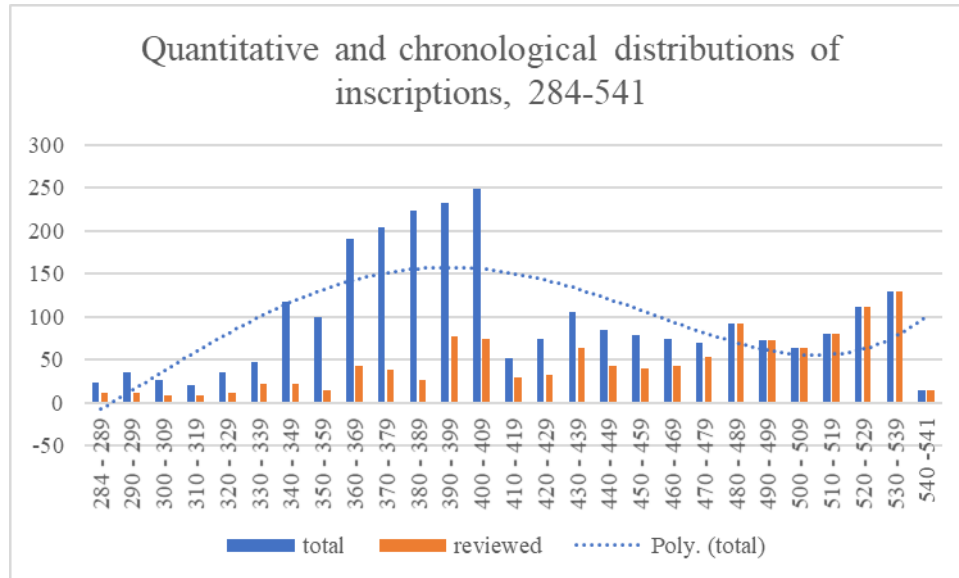
²⁰³ Within my sample, there is only a handful of surviving inscriptions providing for a local era. These are three inscriptions from north Africa: AE 1955, 139 (Kherba des Aouisset; AD 346); AE 1953,39 (Aïn El Kebira, Algeria; AD 409); CIL VIII 8630 = ILCV 2104 (Sitifis, Mauretania S.; AD 452); one from the Balearics: ICERV 268 (Manacor, AD 493); two from Arabia: *Princ.Arch.Exp.Syria* III 669 (Il-Kefr, Syria; AD 350); SEG XXVII 1019 (Nebo, Arabia; AD 530?); and finally one from Anazarbos (IK 56, 61.6; AD 536).

²⁰⁴ Beshevliev, *Spätgriech. u. Spätlat. Inschr. aus Bulg.* (1964) 231 (Elesnica [Eleshnitsa], Thracia; AD 538).

²⁰⁵ Cf. p. 127 n. 365 below.

Greek-speaking communities in Italy, Asia Minor and Palestine, while Φλαγς and ΦςΦς could also be used in, respectively, Arabia and Epirus.²⁰⁶

Graph 2.2.



Much like the papyri, the consular dates of the inscriptions (especially the epitaphs) are decorated by Christian symbols such as a cross (✝), a candlestick, a palm branch, doves, a figure at prayer, the chi-rho and so on.²⁰⁷ Also, in one of the three Jewish epitaphs, two menorahs appear at the end of the text.²⁰⁸

In Latin, vowel and consonant changes are very frequent, with inversion of *a/e* (e.g., *Euceni/Aucheni*, which shows the additional loss of *h*);²⁰⁹ *o/u* (e.g., *consolibus/consulibus*);²¹⁰ *e/i* (e.g. *Antimio/Anthemio*);²¹¹ *v/b* (e.g. *Vilisari/Belisari*, also changing *e/i*);²¹² *g/c* (e.g. in *p.c.*

²⁰⁶ Feissel, *Rec.Inscr.Chrét.Macéd.* 133 l. 3 p. 129; SEG XXVII 1019 = Bull. Ép. 1978, 534 (Nebo, Arabia); L. Heuzey-H.Daumet, *Miss.arch.de Macéd.* (1876) 390 no. 177 (Kavaja (nr. Dyrrachium); AD 531).

²⁰⁷ IK 56, 61 (cross); ICUR n.s. I 1446 = ILCV 2926 (candlestick); AE 1947 68 = 1993, 808 = ICI XII 26 (Milan; AD 433 or 523; palm branch); ICUR n.s. VIII 23412 = ILCV 2795B adn. (AD 372); CIL V 6278 = ILCV 4394B = ICI XVI 194 (Milan; AD 425; faithful in prayer); CIL V 6467 = ILCV 1238 (Ticinum; AD 539)

²⁰⁸ Cf. e.g., ICUR n.s. I 2804 = ILCV 4941 = CIJ 482.

²⁰⁹ Cf. e.g., CIL IX 1364.

²¹⁰ Cf. e.g., ICUR n.s. V 13409.

²¹¹ Cf. e.g., ICI VII 8.

²¹² Cf. e.g., ICUR n.s. II 4185 = ILCV 71.

Acapiti/Agapiti);²¹³ *n/m* (e.g. *Importuni/Inportuni*);²¹⁴ monophthongisation of *ae* in *e* (e.g. *Cesarius/Caesarius*);²¹⁵ haplography, as in e.g. *Her(menerico) et Ba(sil)l(isco)*;²¹⁶ loss of double consonants (e.g. *Baso* and *Paladi* for *Basso* and *Palladi*);²¹⁷ wrong declension of nouns and cases, e.g. CIL XI 4329 = ICI VI 18 gives *post consulato Arcadi et Bautoni*, as well as other general misspellings. For instance, *Todosio*, *Thudosio* and *Teudosio* are found for *Theodosio*; *Iuticiani* for *Euthychiani*; *Romudoro* for *Rumorido*; *Petiro* for *Petro* and so on.²¹⁸ The Greek language inscriptions show similar features. A most common one is the iotacism in ὑπατία (from ὑπατεία) and ὑπατίας (from ὑπατείας);²¹⁹ but aspiration of the dental τ in θ (e.g. ὑπαθεία), haplography and dittography also occur.²²⁰

There are two main reasons for the qualitative divide between papyri and inscriptions. The first and more worrying one is the uncertainty around the date of an inscription's production. De Rossi discussed this problem in relation to the possible time lag between death/deposition and erection of the tombstone, concluding that this could be significantly long.²²¹ In truth, it is not at all clear that such a time lag existed with epitaphs; for in fact there is evidence that the latter could be carved on the same day, or close to it (as it is still customarily done in Christian Catholic practice nowadays.)²²² But some leeway was certainly possible with other types of text. For instance, from Asia Minor we have two copies of an edict of Constantius and Galerius, which bear the same diurnal date.²²³ These copies are from distant regions, and it is impossible

²¹³ Cf. e.g., ICUR n.s. V 13413.

²¹⁴ Cf. e.g., ICUR n.s. II 5006.

²¹⁵ Cf. e.g., AE 1994, 163.

²¹⁶ Cf. e.g., CIL V 5720.

²¹⁷ Cf. e.g., ICUR n.s. II 4512; ICUR n.s. II 6081 = ILCV 2921.

²¹⁸ Cf. e.g., CIL XI 4040 = ICI IV 22; CIL XI 4044 = ICI IV 26; AE 2003, 222; AE 1999, 337; CIL XI 4045 = ICI IV 27; ICUR n.s. II 5019.

²¹⁹ The word ὑπατία is never written as it should: e.g. as early as 360, Agnello, Sylloge 91 = IG XIV 112 (Syracuse; AD 360), and as late as 453 (or poss. 523): ICUR n.s. II 5039. Similarly, for ὑπατίας I can only count one instance written with the full diphthong as ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπατείας in IG XIV 956B.23 = IGUR I 246.

²²⁰ Cf. e.g., IG XIV 2295 = ICI XVI 193; I.Smyrna 560 = Grégoire, Inscr. 69; IG XIV 956B.23 = IGUR I 246.

²²¹ De Rossi in ICUR n.s. I 3201, 384 (cf. *CLRE* 61).

²²² Cf. e.g., ICUR n.s. I 3191 = ILCV 2772, which gives *abso[lutus] de corpore idibus iul(iis) depos(itus) XVII k(alendas) aug(ustas) Ausonio et Olybrio cons(ulibu)s*. We do not have the date the tombstone was erected, but the inscription tells that the deceased died on the 15th of July and was deposited on the following day (17th day before the kalends of August = 16th July).

²²³ CIL III Suppl. 2 12134 (Tlos, Lycia; AD 305); D.Feissel, *AntTard* 4 (1996) 273-289 (Ephesus; AD 305), both copy of IG II/III 5 13249 = 1121 (Athens; AD 305).

that they were proclaimed locally on the same very day. This suggests (not surprisingly) that copies originated from an identical dated text were sent out by the court to the provinces, and that it was the date of this archetypal text what was carved on stone—not the date of proclamation of the decree. Whence it is clear that the dating of these texts provides no chronological significance for the announcement of the consuls' names in their respective provinces. Therefore, one may not want to dismiss every single dated inscription, but some caution needs certainly to be taken with some of them (as those pertaining to imperial proclamations). Fortunately, these are a minority within our corpus.

A second (but minor) problem is the potentially inaccurate execution of the formula. Inscriptions are subject to the whole array of misspellings, omissions and inversions one can possibly find in papyri, plus some of their own.²²⁴ Yet, an assessment of the material dated 476-541 has yielded the following results: about 25% of total corpus shows at least one of the aberrations that also occur in papyri, although the major ones (i.e. conflicting dates; omitted or wrong names; omitted or wrong numerals) can be found only in little more than the 2% of the data set. Hence one can certainly agree with CLRE that 'evidence from inscriptions can be used only with great caution in discussion of problems of recognition, proclamation, dissemination, or cancellation of consulates'— at least when these major flaws occur.²²⁵ Nevertheless, the low level of these kinds of important error does encourage a cautious use of the epigraphic material. As will be expanded later on, this approach is supported more generally by the results from the overlap analysis, which indicate that, as far as names were concerned, people generally stuck to what was officially announced.²²⁶

The cause of such flaws was multifaceted. Obviously, stonecutters could be less or more competent with, and acquainted to, consular dating, depending on their expertise, experience and care, and it is no accident that virtually all regions and times share the same errors. Another reason for the many minor misspellings and omissions found is that even after 537 stonecutters continued to have no legal obligations to write a perfectly executed and full dating formula if the text was private and unofficial (i.e. the majority of our inscriptions.)²²⁷ Moreover, although comprehensibility could be one of the main goals (cf. CLRE 60), the overall execution was

²²⁴ Frequent aberrations are the omissions of *DN*, *Aug.*, *Caes.*, *Fl.* or *v.c.* (often unnecessary for chronological purposes); the inversion of *Fl.* for *Fl.* or *v.c.* for *vv.cc.* (or vice versa); emperors called *v.c.* or non-imperial consuls called *DN*, and so on.

²²⁵ CLRE 61.

²²⁶ See Appendix C.

²²⁷ Quality of execution increases in the case of public inscriptions. Cf. CLRE 62.

also likely to have been subject to their clients' economic possibilities, their desires and other practical reasons. For example, in a few instances lack of space or need for harmony in the layout of the text may explain away the shortening or even total omission of a few elements of the formula, including names.²²⁸ But in many other instances where carelessness, ignorance, inexperience, confusion or other practical reasons (not to mention accidents of preservation) cannot be adduced to justify omissions of names, one has to seriously look into contemporary politics to find a satisfactory explanation for their absence.

Recent studies have elucidated how texts on epitaphs were produced.²²⁹ In late antiquity, there still existed workshops operating a three-stage process, where model books and written texts were employed to copy the text of the inscription. However, substantial evidence from Gaul, Spain and Italy indicates that one more method of producing epitaphs (and likely a very common one) must have been by means of pre-prepared artifacts.²³⁰ If epitaphs were pre-worked and then finalised by including personal details (like the date of death) only after the commission had been placed, then it would be easier to explain some of the anomalies we find in titularies, like the use of *vv.cc.* for *v.c.* and *Fll.* for *Fl.* (or vice versa). Given that gravestones needed to be set up quickly, workshops could have faced situations where they had to operate with what they had ready at hand.

Unfortunately, we are much less informed about stonecutters than what we are for scribes, as the former never sign off their texts on the inscriptions. From some comments made by Sidonius one could wonder whether engravers were (fully) literate or their task was limited to just copying the text.²³¹ Possibly the latter.

As to their clients, doubtless the professions and the ranks mentioned in our dated texts open a precious window on their identities. Here it may suffice to point out that 1) votive and pagan inscriptions were certainly erected by or for senators; 2) prominent citizens were behind dedicatory and honorary inscriptions commemorating building work; and that 3) the males and females (adults and minors alike) remembered in epitaphs were very rarely individuals of

²²⁸ Cf., e.g., ICUR n.s. II 5030 = ILCV 242 (AD 522); ILCV 2829 = ICI VII 5 (Dertona, Reg. IX; AD 447); Röm.Inschr.Tarraco 945 = CIL II2/14 2097 (Tarragona, Spain; AD 455). So, too *CLRE* 64.

²²⁹ See, Handley 2003: 23-34 and the following notes.

²³⁰ Evidence of batch production is provided by the cemeteries of Gaul (Trier, Vienne, Arles), Italy, Spain (Tarragona), where epitaphs employ formulaic phrasing filled in by personal data, the text goes out of grid lines and decorations, and so on. Also, some specimens have survived to us with unfilled gaps being left in lines. Cf. e.g. RICG XV, no. 270 from Briord with Handley 2003: 27-31.

²³¹ Sidonius, *ep.* 3.12, cf. Handley 2003: 24-6.

plausibly modest means. An *ortolanus*, an *horrearius* and a *tinctor* are mentioned; but more often than not whom we face are the wealthy and the well-off. An epitaph was not something that anyone could afford easily, so this does not surprise.²³²

Was the quality of the execution somehow dependent on the social class and rank of the deceased? The distinction does not seem so straightforward.²³³ There are certainly instances of well-executed epitaphs belonging to members of the senatorial aristocracy,²³⁴ but in other cases the quality was as bad as in the non-senatorial ones.²³⁵ Certainly, further research into this will yield more insights into the real quantitative relationships existing in our evidence.

2.1.3. Miscellaneous Material

A much larger amount of miscellaneous material dated by consuls is preserved. This includes: 1) laws; 2) coins; 3) diptychs; 4) chronicles, consular lists and other literary sources; 5) papal letters and conciliar acts. As many of these sources come from areas from where we have little or no evidence of consular dates, we are often tempted to make use of them. Nevertheless, there are several problems that require us to exercise caution:

1) Problems of interpolations and non-contemporaneity of the material.

A major problem we encounter with formulas gathered from imperial laws, papal letters, chronicles and other literary evidence is the great uncertainty around their genuineness and the risk of interpolations. In this regard, a case in point is provided by the laws. Over the years, scholars more or less continuously underlined the many anomalies (i.e. wrong consulates, wrong places of issue and or diurnal dates, addresses to officials who were not in office at the time, and so on) in both the *inscriptiones* and *subscriptiones* of the laws included in the Theodosian and Justinianic codes, which point to profound alterations of the original wording,

²³² Bultrighini 2017: 419-21.

²³³ So, similarly: *CLRE* 62.

²³⁴ Cf., e.g. CIL V 6814 = ILCV 1055 = ICI XVII 30 (Ivrea, Reg. XI; epitaph of bishop Innocentius; AD 486, m.l.d.); ICUR n.s. I 3250 = ILCV 168A (epitaph of Turtura, *clarissima femina*, wife of Petronius, *clarissimus*; AD 509).

²³⁵ Cf., e.g., AE 1911, 90 = SEG 1994, 1222 (Zenonopolis or nr., Isauria; AD 488; epitaph of Firminianus, bishop of Zenonopolis); ICUR n.s. II 4964 = ILCV 167, cf. AE 1969, 86 (epitaph of Gordianus, son of Paula, *clarissima femina*).

either in the course of assembling the code or in its subsequent transmission, or both.²³⁶ In many cases, this makes it very hard to understand what is the correct date and place of issue of a constitution, or what consuls were actually mentioned in it.²³⁷

As has been seen in the previous paragraphs, wrong consulates and names were errors that could easily occur in contemporary material, too. But unquestionably authorial intervention is certain whenever a name appears where it should not (or where it does not but it should have). For instance, a few laws preserve Constantine II's name; this should not have happened, since he underwent *damnatio memoriae* after 340 (and if he did not, then it should have appeared in all, for laws were always issued in the name of all the members of the imperial college).²³⁸ Conversely, Eutropius' consulate in 399 is totally missing in *CTh* 11.24.4, although the eastern evidence shows that it was disseminated at least in the eastern half of the empire; again, it is obvious that this is because the laws were corrected after Eutropius' consulate was annulled after his downfall.²³⁹ In a similar fashion, Constantius Gallus' name is often omitted by indicating simply *Constantius A. et Caes.* or changed with either Constantius' or Julian's names.²⁴⁰

Another scenario when authorial intervention is more or less certain is when consuls are styled emperors when they were private citizens, or are indicated as private citizens when they were emperors. *CTh* 5.7.1, 14.15.2 and 9.40.10 are dated by *Gratianus Aug. et Dagalaifus*

²³⁶ Cf. Corcoran 2000: 11; 13; 36 and n. 76 and 77; 37. For the legislation covering the years 337-361, there are only ca. 20 constitutions out of more than 230 which have preserved the presumably genuine wording *datum*, *praepositum* and *acceptum* with all the relevant information relating to them; cf. Cuneo 1997: p. lxxix and n. 2. For the legislation of the years 364-375, only one law out of more than four hundred (*CTh* 9.15.1); cf. Pergami 1993: p. xi and xiii. For the following discussion, see more generally, Mommsen – Meyer 1905: p. CLIV; Seeck 1919: 2 f; Pergami 1993: p. xiii f. and Cuneo 1997: p. lxxviii f.; Corcoran 2000: 11-13. For the laws that appear to be issued where and when we know the emperor (and his court) was not attested there, cf. Pergami 1993: p. xviii-xix (for examples about Valentinian and Valens).

²³⁷ This is a problem which affects particularly imperial consulates (where the iteration numerals is wrong or dropped) and emperors (both Augustuses and Caesars) bearing very similar names – such as in the case of Constantinus, Constantius and Constans. cf. Pergami 1993: p. xv.

²³⁸ Constantinus II's *damnatio memoriae* seems to be proven by the erasures of his name in inscriptions from throughout the empire (cf. Barnes 2001: 51 n. 18). On the use of the names of the whole imperial college in our documentation, see Barnes 1982: 19 f.

²³⁹ Eutropius' name was erased after his fall in August, cf. the evidence in *CLRE*: 333.

²⁴⁰ *CTh* 7.13.1, 16.10.5, Cf. Cuneo 1997: p. lxxi and n. 8. Other similar cases are those of Licinius and Crispus, whose names never appear in the headings of the Theodosian Code; cf. Corcoran 2000: 281 and n. 87. Another example is in the western laws for 313, where *Constantinus III et Licinius III* is used in place of the original *Constantinus III et Maximinus III*; cf. *CLRE* 160.

(coss. 366); but as Gratianus became emperor only in 367, the consular date must be interpolated. The same is true for nearly all the laws included in the Theodosian Code whereby the name of Licinius is preserved for dating purposes (only) but without the *A.* for ‘Augustus’.²⁴¹ Moreover, the Theodosian Code includes some laws issued in the name of Valentinian and Valens that are dated prior to the latter’s accession to the throne, so either the date or the name of the emperor who has reportedly issued the law is wrong.²⁴²

Furthermore, consulates which were not disseminated according to contemporary material appear to be mentioned in laws presumably as a result of retroactive intervention. For instance, fifteen laws in *CTh* bear *Honorius Aug VI et Aristaenetus* while the entirety of our western evidence for 404 consistently shows only ‘Honorius’. Another suspected case is in *CJ* 2.7.12 that gives the full pair *Basilus et Vivianus*, coss. 463. Not only does the pair never show up in contemporary material, but the interpolation is clear by the formula being given in a western order (with Basilus first).²⁴³ This western order is interesting, for another instance (*CJ* 6.23.22) dates the constitution in the year of *Basilus iun.* The use of the suffix *iunior* is very rare in eastern documents and, since the previous Basilus (cos. 463) appears not to have ever been disseminated in the East, styling the cos. 541 as ‘*iun.*’ was unnecessary. Perhaps the compilers of *CJ* were using a western consular list, where the cos. 463 was obviously recorded, and did not realise there was no need to distinguish this from the cos. 541.

The same risk of interpolations within Novels seems to be much lower. The regnal formulas give a good indication of it. For instance, Valentinian III, who used to name Theodosius II in his novels, did not name Marcian before recognising him in the course of 452.²⁴⁴

Interpolations occur in the subscriptions too. Sometimes *data* dates from copies of the same constitution in the *CTh* and *CJ*—or within the Latin/Greek transcription of the same law code—may diverge.²⁴⁵ We also know that all constitutions must have been published with a *data*, an *accepta* and/or a *proposita* date; but, as has been noted, in nearly all cases only one of them is preserved. Thus, divergences between copies of the same law might be on occasion the

²⁴¹ Corcoran 2000 (1996) 279 and n. 78. But note that the same does not occur in the Justinianic Code, whose laws, according to Corcoran, *ibid.* p. 280, are likely to derive from a later edition of the Hermogenian Code (revised before the fall of Licinius).

²⁴² Gratian was proclaimed Augustus on 24 August 367; cf. Pergami 1993: p. xx-xxi.

²⁴³ So, too: *CLRE* 461. For other similar examples, see *CLRE* 391 (corrected laws dated by Felix et Taurus, coss. 428).

²⁴⁴ Cf. e.g. *NovVal.* 29-34 while he did so in 36 and 2.4.

²⁴⁵ In part, this has been explained away with the tendency of the chancery to send out multiple copies of the same law to different officials on different days. Cf. Cuneo 1997: p. lxxiv.

consequence of different chronological elements being wrongly copied and mixed up.²⁴⁶ A puzzling case is *CTh* 15.7.13 preserving a date of issue and one of receipt pointing to, respectively, 414 and 413. Obviously, under no circumstances could a law have been received before it had been issued, so there must have been some sort of error.²⁴⁷

As will be expanded on in the next chapter when dealing with problems of dissemination, chronicles and other literary sources were exposed to the same retroactive corrections that laws experienced, not least because their authors' objective was not to reproduce the glitches of contemporary dissemination; on the contrary, it is much more likely that they aimed at providing their readers with as accurate a consular list as possible. Given that they were writing after contemporary dissemination had occurred, this could be an objective within their reach. As a result, as Burgess put it clearly, 'most fasti are of no value in establishing which consuls were accepted in any part of the empire since they are a result of *post factum* scholarship.'²⁴⁸

Although it is true that many papal letters would appear to have not been standardised, thereby retaining provisional formulas that were edited somewhere else, there remain important uncertainties around the reliability of their formulas in at least some years. For instance, some MSS of Innocentius' letters have 'Theodosius II et Stilicho II' which clearly could not be—Theodosius' second consulship falls in 407 and Stilicho's II in 405). Another case is provided by Pope Leo's letters in 454 which show usage of the eastern consul in January, while the epigraphic evidence shows that dissemination was late even for the western one (attested by May). A preferential channel must be excluded and it can be agreed that 'much if not all of the rest of his letters have been corrected'.²⁴⁹ Before further research into this is made, I have therefore preferred to give precedence to the information from papyri and inscriptions whenever they collide.

2) Problems of representativeness

Consular issues were often dated during the pre-Tetrarchic and Tetrarchic periods but not so in the later decades, when we are left at guessing the consulship by cross-examining vota

²⁴⁶ In the Theodosian Code, only 9.15.1 retains all its original chronological elements. Cf. Pergami 1993: p. xiii.

²⁴⁷ See, too, the use of the p.c. attested at court in September, 340 (*CTh* 6.4.5.6.) whereas evidence from Egypt shows dissemination of the official formula by March.

²⁴⁸ Burgess 1989: 153.

²⁴⁹ *CLRE* 443, though this is in spite of a statement at p. 88. I, however, agree with the more cautious judgment expressed at p. 443.

types on their reverses with the titulary of the legends.²⁵⁰ In the fifth century, the imperial mint struck for Theodosius II two consular series bearing COS XVIII (444) and COS XVII, but more issues did not follow and the mint continued to issue the latter well beyond Theodosius' actual seventeenth consulship.²⁵¹ Due to this, consular coins provide useful information as to where (some) consulships were recognised and known, through their mint-mark, but tell little about when precisely the consulship might have been known during the year of issue.

We are also hampered from reaching meaningful conclusions on matters of recognition and non-recognition on the basis of the number of consuls represented on consular imperial solidi, since the evidence shows that emperors made little or no attempt to represent themselves with a colleague (least of all a citizen consul), even when the latter was unquestionably recognised. The most striking case is probably that of Theodosius II and Valentinian III. In 425, both had a joint consular issue struck in the East, but later Valentinian III discontinued this habit on his three consular issues in 426, 430 and 435. Certainly, the effigy of a single emperor could suffice even when the consulship was shared with another imperial colleague (even a senior one). Moreover, when an imperial colleague was included, it is not entirely certain what we should infer. Kent notes that the type of the two consular holders was repeated by Anthemius in 468 with one unquestionable oddity: that he was sole consul.²⁵²

Late antiquity has returned as many as seventeen diptychs from consuls who were in office between 406 and 541. As they bear (when preserved) the full nomenclature and titles of the consul they commemorate, these unquestionably yield prosopographical information of invaluable importance for their lives and careers. However, no other meaningful conclusions on matters of recognition can be extracted from these inscriptions; consuls were absolute protagonists of their own diptychs and, as it can be expected, no mention of their colleagues was ever given there.

²⁵⁰ Dated consular issues of Diocletian: e.g. RIC VI 612.1, 614.13 (*consul VI p.p. procos*). Constantine: RIC VII 185.242,244 (*Cos. VI*); 375.104; 397.34; 467.1,4 (*Felix processus cos. VI Aug. N*); 683.39,41. Crispus: RIC VII 473.43,476.57 (*Felix processus cos. III*). Theodosius II: Grierson & Mays 1992: 137. The only survived coins struck for a citizen consul are the contorniate medallions for Petronius Maximus' first consulship in 433 (Kent) or, more likely, his second tenure in 443.

²⁵¹ For Theodosius II's delayed consular issue, see Grierson & Mays 1992: 137.

²⁵² RIC 10: 185. The dating of Majorian's consular issue has fuelled much debate. For this, see also Grierson & Mays 1992: 251.

2.2. Distributions

In March 2022, the combined body of papyrological and epigraphic material underlying this study provided for more than 4,600 consular dates spread over nine regions and more than 500 places (Figure 1).²⁵³ This reveals something of the scale of consular dissemination, with consular formulas being found in the smallest villages as well as in the biggest metropolitan cities of the empire.

Currently, there are approximately 1,800 texts that have been preserved on papyri or (in a much smaller percentage) ostraca, the overwhelming majority of which comes from Egypt. Other than this, there are twelve dates from the ancient provinces of Palaestina I, Palaestina III Salutaris and Arabia, and one from Constantinople. Conversely, the West has (as might be expected) yielded only thirty-three dates, of which twenty-seven are from Ravenna, four from Carthage and two more from south-eastern and north-western Tunisia. There is no doubt that the uneven geographical distribution mirrors, primarily, accidents of preservation, with Egypt being able to return most of our evidence thanks to its more favourable climate conditions. The extent of the material being lost in other regions is unknown but, as there is no reason to believe that consular dating was more widespread in Egypt than anywhere else, this must have been considerable. To have an appreciation of the size and complexity of the papyrological sub-dataset, in graph 2.1 above are given the quantitative and chronological distributions of the material, with information shown by decades. Roughly, more than $\frac{2}{3}$ of our corpus dates to the third and the fourth centuries, while the remaining part belongs to the fifth and sixth centuries. More considerations on the chronological and quantitative trends follow in the regional sections.

The epigraphical data set currently features more than 2800 inscriptions, of which approximately 1,750 come from Rome alone and another 600 from the rest of Italy. The remaining thousand or so are scattered over more than 370 places across the whole of the Mediterranean, although with considerable imbalances. For instance, from the whole East at present there are less than one hundred consular inscriptions dating after 284. While accidents of preservation are behind the erratic distribution of the papyri, however, it is less certain that the same phenomenon underlies the distribution of inscriptions. As mentioned above and discussed in the following sections, large regions of the empire have now returned abundant material; so while the uneven distribution of the papyri can certainly be explained away by

²⁵³ A full breakdown of the place of findings is given in Dosi 2022c.

accidents of preservation, that of the inscriptions is more likely to mirror primarily the varying regional frequency in the use of consular dating across different epigraphical contexts.

Two general observations are required before proceeding at reviewing the regional data sets. Broadly speaking, while almost invariably all eastern regions show an upwards trend from the early sixth century, with a further increase in the 530s, the quantitative distributions of the western material emphasise that very different regional trends applied there across the period 284-541. Both Italy and (some parts of) Gaul would appear to have seen a constant rise followed by rapid fall around 410s, with subsequent recovery following in the fifth until at least the 530s. However, this growth did not survive the 380s and the 450s in, respectively, north Africa and western Illyricum, and never seems to have occurred at all in Britain and the Iberian provinces, which are both almost invisible in our record.

A second point is the role that the army seems to have played in disseminating formulas. Sizeable numbers of consular dates have been found in regions where veterans were settled (south of Spain), troops were recruited (Mauretania) and the army stationed (Arabia and the whole Danubian region). It might not be an accident that in those regions (like north Africa and the Iberian peninsula) where the presence of active military personnel was very low, consular dating never seems to have significantly spread out beyond military and public contexts.

2.2.1. The West

2.2.1.1. Rome and Italy

What is meant by the term 'Italy' is its diocese, which comprised the Italian peninsula with all its island systems, the provinces of Raetia I and II and the city of Rome. As recalled in Chapter One, evidence of consular dating prior to 284 is extensive throughout Italy, where it can be found on literary texts, wax tablets, amphorae, brick stamps, lead pipes, tags attached to sacks of coin (*tesserae nummulariae*), the so-called *tesserae gladiatoriae* and, obviously, inscriptions set up in public, including dedicatory and honorary ones.²⁵⁴ This abundance continues uninterrupted in the late antique period, with the region providing the largest epigraphical data set for the empire as a whole, and the largest papyrological one for the West.

²⁵⁴ For the early consular evidence, see Crawford 1996b: 979-81 (esp. for the republican period) and, more generally, Salomies 1993: 103-112, esp. 104-5 and n. 12. For early epigraphic evidence, see, e.g. IGI III 132 (AD 59); IGI II 85 (AD 71); IGI II 44, 52, 84, 85; III 132 (all from Naples); CIL IX 687 and 338 (Canossa); CIL VI 414 (Rome); Frasson 2013 (for evidence from Luni); Inscriptiones Aquileiae, III v., p. 1330-1; Mello – Voza 1968-9 (evidence dated 148, 160 and 245 AD from Paestum); Zeri 1982, v. I 17, 227, 225 (from Mentana).



Figure 3. Geographical distribution of the late-antique findspots in the Italian diocese.

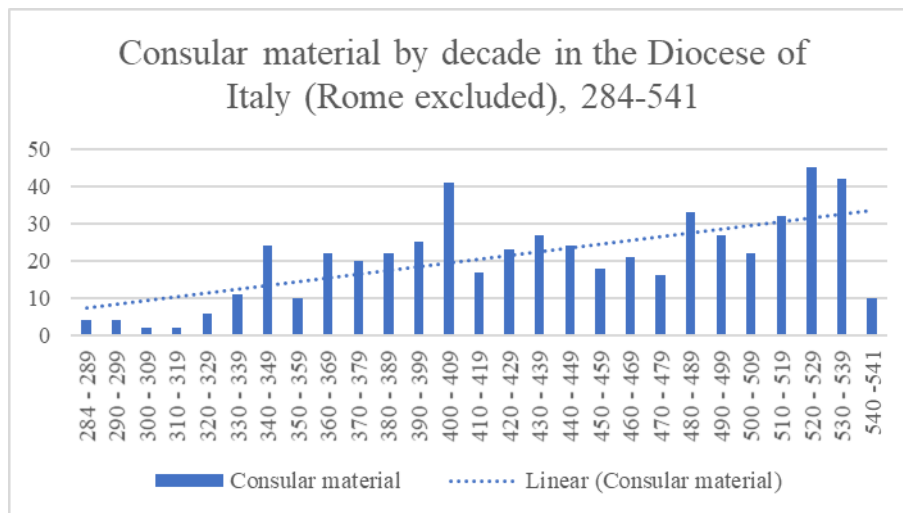
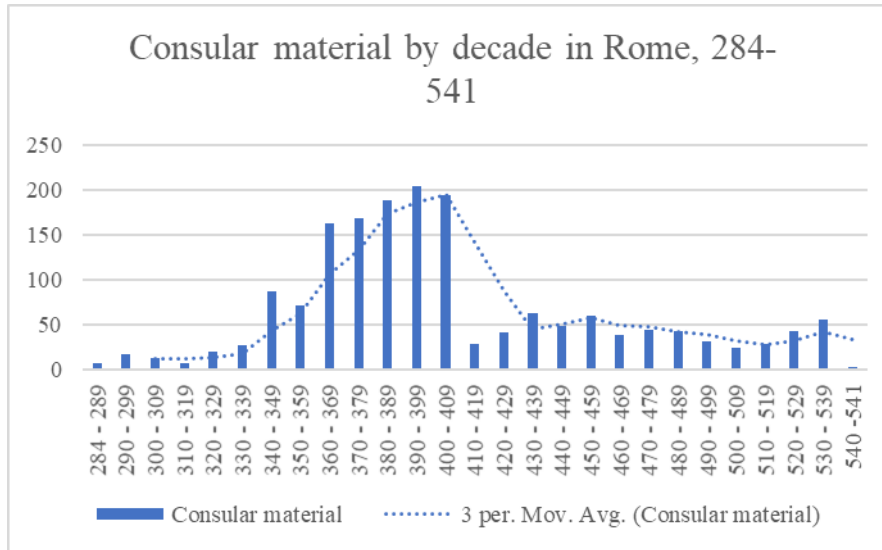
At present the combined datasets provide for about 2,400 dating formulas, of which 1,750 come from Rome itself. The remaining ones are scattered across nearly 190 places in Italy, and only two come from Raetia (II). Approximately, little more than the 40% of the total body of material dating 284-541 has been at least partially reviewed, while all the documents dated 476-541 have been fully reviewed. The dated inscriptions can be classified into two broad groups: a) private texts, by far the largest group with more than 600 epitaphs (in prose or verses; on gravestone or sarcophagus) and one *dolium*; and b) ‘official’ or ‘semi-official’ texts, meant to commemorate building works and or distinguished members of the community (frequently as benefactors), but also decrees, one *descriptio feriarum* and one fragmentary list of consuls. As expected, the vast majority of epitaphs are written in Latin, but a minority bear either a bilingual (Greek/Latin) or a Greek date.²⁵⁵ In addition, at least three Jewish epitaphs have survived, all giving a Latin date.²⁵⁶ The diversity of findspots, which include minor settlements and remote areas, along with the attestation of consular dating on material of unofficial and private characters, such as amphorae and epitaphs, and the use of consular dating by communities of non-Latin speakers, are all undoubtedly tell-tale signs of the spread of the system among the population living in this territory. The size of the Greek corpus is too scanty to support any generalisations, but it is worth noting that they are attested throughout Italy—at least until the 440s, after which the evidence suggests a steep drop outside of Rome.

As for the chronological distribution, the evidence records an upward trend from the start of our period until the early fifth century, when dated material experiences a steep fall in 410 then followed by a slow but steady recovery. The question of what this 410-fall represents is highly problematic; however, this might well have to do with the circumstances around the Gothic

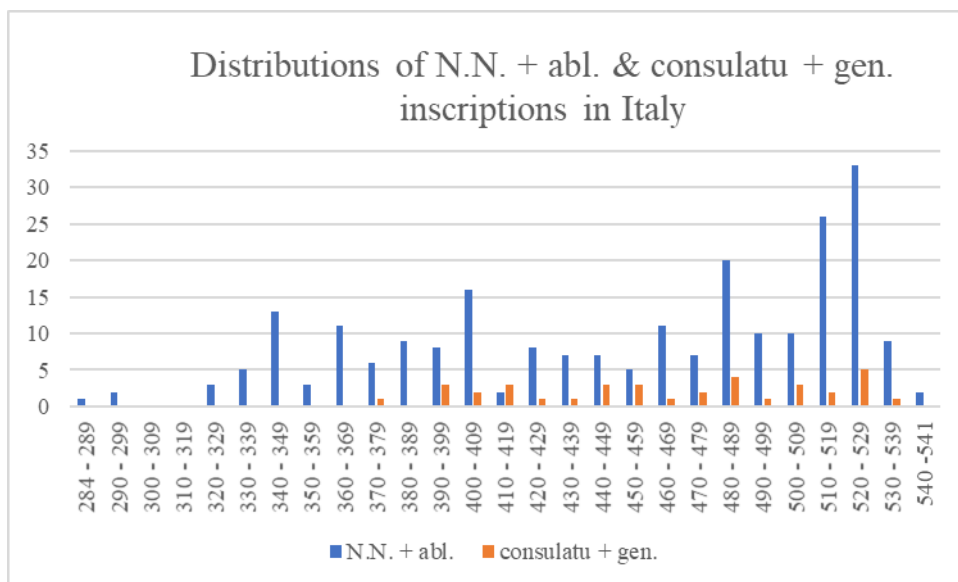
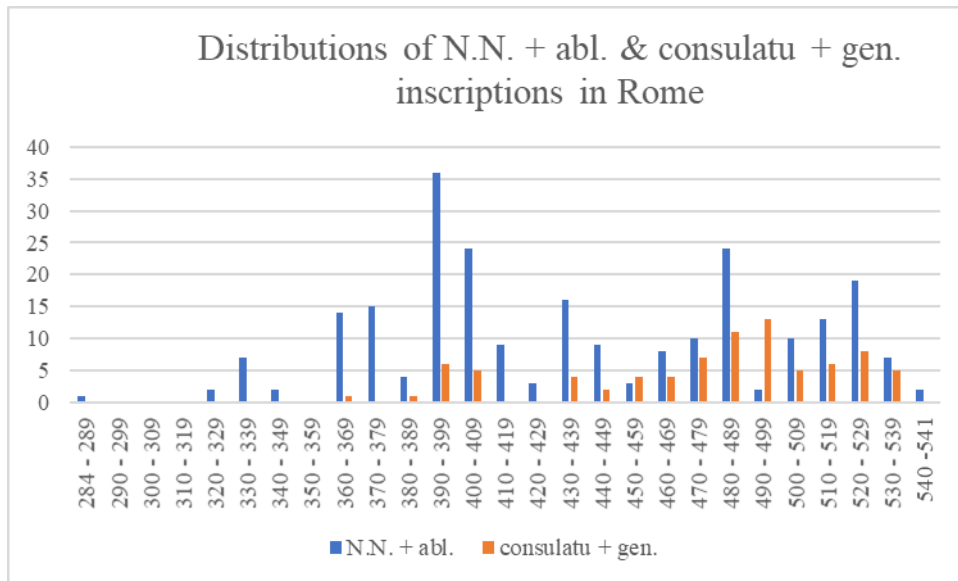
²⁵⁵ Bilingual epitaphs: CIL V 6237 = ILCV 2738A = ICI XII 74a (Milan; AD 485; m.l.d.); CIL XI 4335 = ILCV 3122 = ICI VI 24 (Terni, Reg. VI; AD 503); AE 2008, 335b (Atripalda, Reg. I; AD 399 or 505). Greek: Agnello, Sylloge 91 = IG XIV 112 (Syracuse; AD 360); IG XIV 2252 = ICI VI 152 (Pisauri, Reg. VI; AD 392; poss. forgery); IG XIV 2295 = ICI XVI 193 (Milan?; AD 393); IG XIV 246 = Agnello, Silloge, 92 (Modica; AD 398); CIL V p.1060 = IG XIV 2300 (Como; AD 401); CIL XI 7924 = ICI VI 49 (Spoleto; AD 403?); CIL XI 1689 = IG XIV 2265 (Florence; AD 417); IG XIV 239 = Agnello, Silloge 95 (Acrae, Sicily; AD 419); CIL XI 1690 = IG XIV 2266 (Florence; AD 424); ZPE 24 (1977) 222 - Agnello, Silloge 97 (Syracuse; AD 452); ICUR n.s. II 4943 (AD 458); IG XIV 2290 and add., p.704 (Ticinum; AD 471); IG XIV add. 2310a (p.704)(Verona; AD 511); ICUR n.s. II 5064 (AD 534); IG XIV 628 = ICI V 1 = Suppl.Ital. V 46/47 = SEG 1990, 861 (Reggio Calabria; 4th to 6th c.); ICUR n.s. I 87 (AD 388-444?); ICUR n.s. II 5039 (AD 453 or 524); IG XIV 2255a-d (Rimini; AD 500?);

²⁵⁶ ICUR n.s. I 2804 = ILCV 4941 = CIJ 482 (AD 330 dating a text predominantly in Latin with a few words in Greek); CIJ I 650 = AE 1984,439 (Catania; AD 383; epitaph predominantly in Latin with a few words in Hebrew); ILCV 4987 = CIJ 528 (Rome; AD 387? Latin epitaph).

Graphs 2.3-4.



Graphs 2.5-6.



sack and the resulting impoverishment of the city of Rome. This impression is further confirmed by the fact that the Italian body of material shows a similar downward trend in the same period. Why and what prompted the increase in dated epitaphs from the end of the third century and, more sharply, from the 340s, is no less problematic. Although there are no conclusive answers, Handley's view that this has to do with the rise of Christianity more generally, and the spread of a new Christian funerary practice more particularly, is still persuasive. The practice of dating epitaphs did not exist among pagans, while Christian epitaphs were dated for religious reasons, since in Christian ideology the date of death represented 'when' loved ones were resurrected in Christ, and this date was commemorated each year.²⁵⁷

Regarding the designation of the consulship on inscriptions, formulas fall into two categories: 1) those using the ablative N. et N. + *consulibus*, and 2) those using *consulatu* + N. et N. in genitive. As shown in Graphs 2.5 & 2.6 above, save for a brief period in Rome in the 490s, the full ablative variant would appear to have remained the dominant one throughout our period, both in Italy and Rome. There are about fifty different attested abbreviations of the *consulibus*-formula, with the following being the most common:

Formulas	No.
N. et N. (abl.) + cons(u)le	85
N. et N. (abl.) + conss(ulibus)	47
N. et N. (abl.) + consule	44
N. et N. (abl.) + cons(ulibus)	27
N. et N. (abl.) + c(onsule)	16
N. et N. (abl.) + co(n)s(ulibus)	15
N. et N. (abl.) + consul(e)	14
N. et N. (abl.) + consulibus	13
N. et N. (abl.) + cons(ulibu)s	13
N. et N. (abl.) + con(sule)	12

In seventeen instances the word 'consulibus' is omitted and only the names in ablative are given.

²⁵⁷ Handley 2003: 11-14.

Thirteen more different abbreviations are extant for the *consulatu* formula, with the following being the most common:

cons(ulatu) + N. et N. (gen.)	91
consulatu + N. et N. (gen.)	20
con(sulatu) + N. et N. (gen.)	11
conss(ulatibus) + N. et N. (gen.)	4

In a relatively small number of cases (at least 27 instances) the words *consule/consulibus* (or its abbreviations) are given before the name(s) in the ablative.²⁵⁸ All the principal Greek formulas (and several abbreviations) are attested in Roman and Italian inscriptions, including ὑπ(άτων), (ἐν) ὑπατ(εία) and (ἐπὶ τῆς) ὑπατείας.²⁵⁹ Moreover, a Milanese epitaph gives *consulis Romoridi*, possibly a calque of the Greek formula in genitive.²⁶⁰

Even though the use of the indiction on Italian consular inscriptions is attested from at least 412 (or earlier in other documents), its usage was still rare by the end of the century, with only one epitaph out of ten using it. However, from the end of the 510s this ratio slowly increases to 30% of the total, reaching the 60% in the years 540-1. In all likelihood, this is a consequence of the termination of western appointments after 534 and, more importantly, the outbreak of war. Neither are local dating systems, regnal dating or the place of writing currently attested anywhere on Italian and Roman consular epitaphs.²⁶¹

Most of the epigraphical corpus has been published in several volumes of CIL; CIG; CIMAH; IA (v. III); ICI; ICUR; IGUR (v. I); ICS; IGI; IEI; IG (v. XIV); IGI; I.Ital.; ILP;

²⁵⁸ Whenever possible, for each formula it is given the earliest and the latest in my sample. 1) *Cons(ulibus)*: CIL XI 4328 = ICI VI 17 (Terni, Reg. VI, 366); CIL V 6210 = ILCV 2737A = ICI XVI 14a (Milan, 467); 2) *Cons(ule)*: CIL V 1620 = IA III 2938 (Aquileia; 382); Rugo 1978 n. 55 = ICI VIII 7 (Beneventum; 527); 3) *Consule*: CIL XI 4969, cf. p.1375 add. = ILCV 4813 = ICI VI 73 (Spoleto; 420); ILCV II 2736A (Oriolo, Reg. IX; 453 or 524); 4) *Consul(e)*: CIL V 6730 = ILCV 3195 = ICI XVII 57 (Vercelli, Reg. XI; 479, m.l.d.); ICUR n.s. I. 744 (AD 487, m.l.d.); 5) *Con(sule)*: CIL V 5425 = ILCV 3170b (Como; AD 485, m.l.d.); CIL V 5426 = ILCV 1158A (Como; 13.xii; 519).

²⁵⁹ ὑπ(άτων): IGUR I 191 = IG XIV 1026 (AD 299); (ἐν) ὑπατ(εία): CIL XI 7924 = ICI VI 49 (Spoleto; AD 403?); IG XIV 2290 and add., p.704 (Ticinum; AD 471); (ἐπὶ τῆς) ὑπατείας: IG XIV 956B.23 = IGUR I 246 (retrosp. ref.; AD 313?; ἐπὶ τῆς); ICUR n.s. II 5039 (453 or 524).

²⁶⁰ CIL V 6196 = ILCV 2852 = ICI XII 56 (Milan, 403).

²⁶¹ ICI VII 7 (Dertona, Reg. IX) gives: [----?]/ANNO[---]/TERTI[---]/MAIO[RIANO AUG(USTO)]/[---]DI(E?)[---]/[----?]; this could well be a mention of the regnal rather than the consular year. However, the identification remains uncertain.

ILCV; ILS; ILV; Molise; Suppl.Ital. (n.s.); AE and SEG. Although some of the inscriptions edited in these collections are revisions of texts already published elsewhere, Handley's assessment in 2003 of 35,000 inscriptions for Rome alone, and 3,000 for the rest of Italy, is a reasonable estimate and can only have increased since.²⁶² Based on this and on the size of the dated material, one may infer a regional ratio between dated and undated inscriptions at about 1:20 for Rome and 1:4 for Italy. However, it cannot be emphasised enough that any prediction, especially within our period, remains highly volatile, since there is no way of knowing the actual distribution of undated items, and ratios could have changed substantially in different times and places. By way of illustration, Bolsena has returned only five inscriptions dated by late Roman consuls out of a corpus of eighty-six; but Centumcellae five out of twenty-two. Similar fluctuations can be observed in virtually all volumes of ICI.²⁶³

Of the twenty-seven consular dates written on a dozen of Ravenna papyri (all documenting legal transactions), the following are the forms attested:

Formulas	No.
N.N. (abl.) + consul(e)	10
N.N. (abl.) + consule	7
N.N. (abl.) + cons(ule)	1
N.N. (abl.)	1
conss(ulatibus) + N.N. (gen.)	2
consulatu + N.N. (gen.)	2

In practice, in fifth- and early sixth-century Ravenna the *consulatu*-formula was perfectly serviceable for dating legal documents, although the archaising form in ablative + cons. was by far the most common.²⁶⁴ With the only exception of the praenomen Flavius (generally omitted here but commonly found in Egyptian papyri), the extant dating clauses generally add in rather than omit elements of the formula as much as their eastern counterparts do. For

²⁶² The figures are only for the late antique and early medieval material; cf. Handley 2003: 14-16.

²⁶³ ICI I (5/86); II (5/22); III (4/43); IV (28/110); V (8/52); VI (37/136); VII (32/137); VIII (49/86); IX (35/101; 17 of these formulae are possible forgeries); X (7/49); XI (9/66; 1 of which is a forgery); XII (22/94); XIII (11/74); XIV (12/50); XV (1/52); XVI (34/212); XVII (40/125). Similarly, IG XIV has 50 Greek inscriptions dated by consuls out of a total of approx. 2,600. No consular dates are found among the Concordia inscriptions and other evidence scattered through the peninsula, including municipal decrees.

²⁶⁴ On the possible avoidance of the *consulatu*-formula to date imperial laws; cf. p. 47 above.

instance, one adds the full nomenclature;²⁶⁵ six more the place of writing;²⁶⁶ and as many as thirteen the junior chronological epithet.²⁶⁷ Moreover, one drops *cons.* after the name in the ablative, but the date pertains to an imperial consulship.²⁶⁸ Similarly, several of the sixteen dates given in P.Ital. 47-48a are devoid of some random element (e.g. v.c. or cons. etc.) but the text is a list of *cautiones* and none of them belongs to the *inscriptio* of the document. Overall, they appear to be better executed than the dates in inscriptions, with only one case of misspelling and one possible more of haplography. Given the extensive loss of material, there are no comments that can be offered regarding the possible estimate of undated papyri.

2.2.1.2. Gallia

The Diocletianic Gallic dioceses (the region encompassing modern France, Belgium, Luxembourg, as well as portions of Germany and Switzerland) have returned the second largest epigraphical data set. Currently, this includes 164 inscriptions unevenly distributed (both geographically and chronologically) across our period. No papyri have been preserved for the period of time under consideration. Although Aquitaine, Belgica and the two Germanies have returned a small amount of dated material, the bulk of our evidence comes from Narbonensis and Viennensis, with a major role played by five urban settlements, among which (in order of volume): Vienne, Lyon, Arles, Briord and Narbonne. The prominence of these southern centres is to be explained by the popularity of the dating system in the kingdom of Burgundy; proximity to Italy (where dating by consuls was unquestionably unchallenged, both before and after imperial rule), and the easy availability of numerous sea, land and river routes that facilitated dissemination (as shown by the distribution of the findings in the Alpine region and along the Rhône valley).²⁶⁹

²⁶⁵ P.Ital. 29.8 (AD 504).

²⁶⁶ P.Ital. 10-11 ii.5-6 (AD 489; m.l.d.); 12 ii.5 (AD 491; m.l.d.); 29.8 (AD 504); 4-5 B.iii.8 (AD 474, doc. 552-575); 4-5. B.iv.6 (AD 521, doc. 552-575); 33.10 (AD 541).

²⁶⁷ P.Ital. 12 ii.5 (AD 491; m.l.d.); 31 ii.11 (AD 540); 32.15 = ChLA XX 708 (AD 540); 33.10 (AD 541); 4-5 B.iii.8 (AD 474; doc. 552-575); 47-48a 24 (AD 507; doc. 510 or later); 47-48a 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 23, 25 (AD 510; doc. 510 or later).

²⁶⁸ P.Ital. 4-5 B.iii.8 (doc. 552-575).

²⁶⁹ Consular dating was used in other relevant material, including a law code and other legal documents, the chronicle of Marius Aventicensis and other conciliar and monastic files. For the monastic rules, see Caesarius of Arles, *Regula ad virgins* (p. 272); Aurelianus of Arles, *Regula ad monachos*, in PL 68 (Migne 1848) 385-398 (date at c. 395); cf. Handley 2003: 129; 132-133.

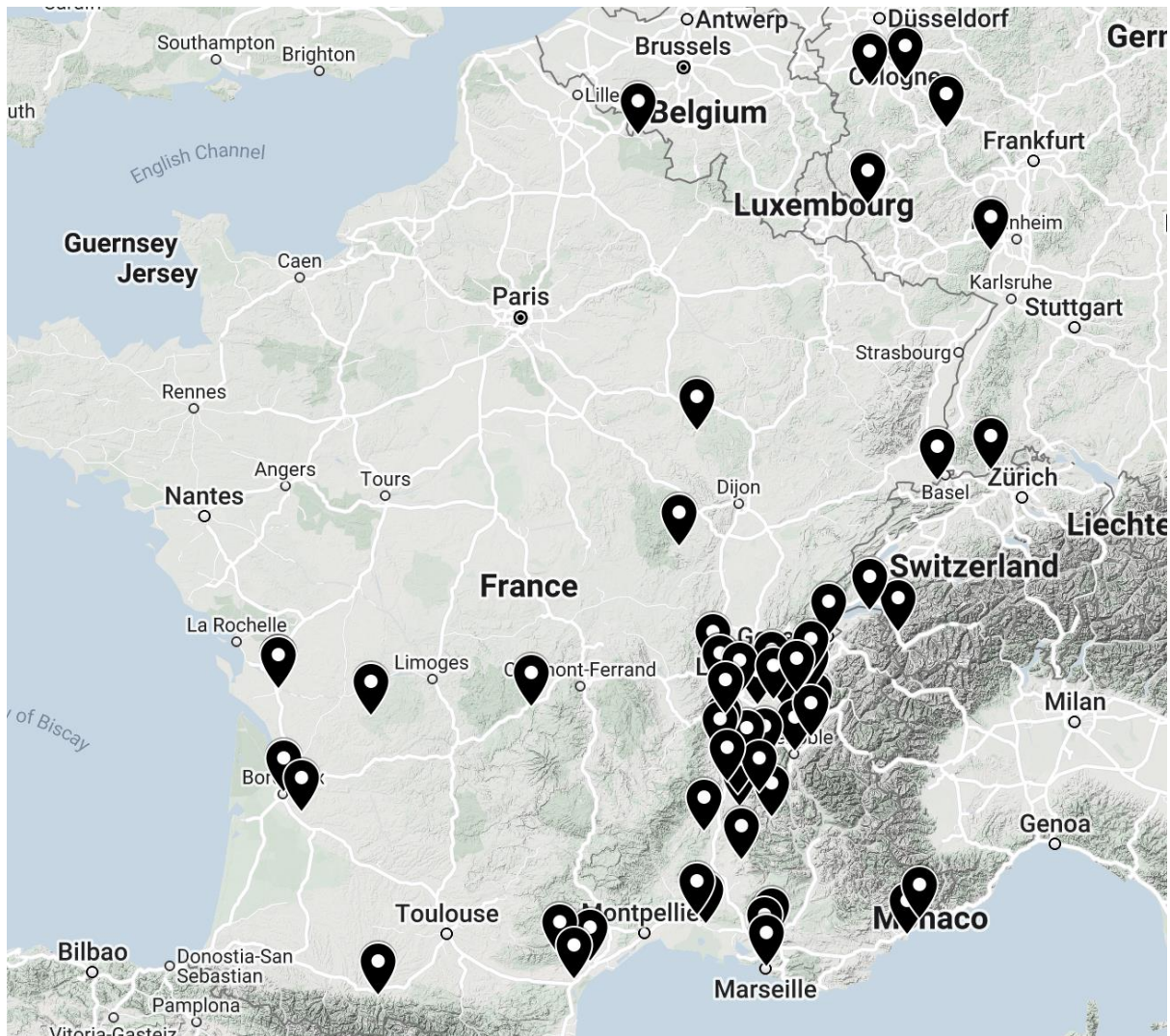
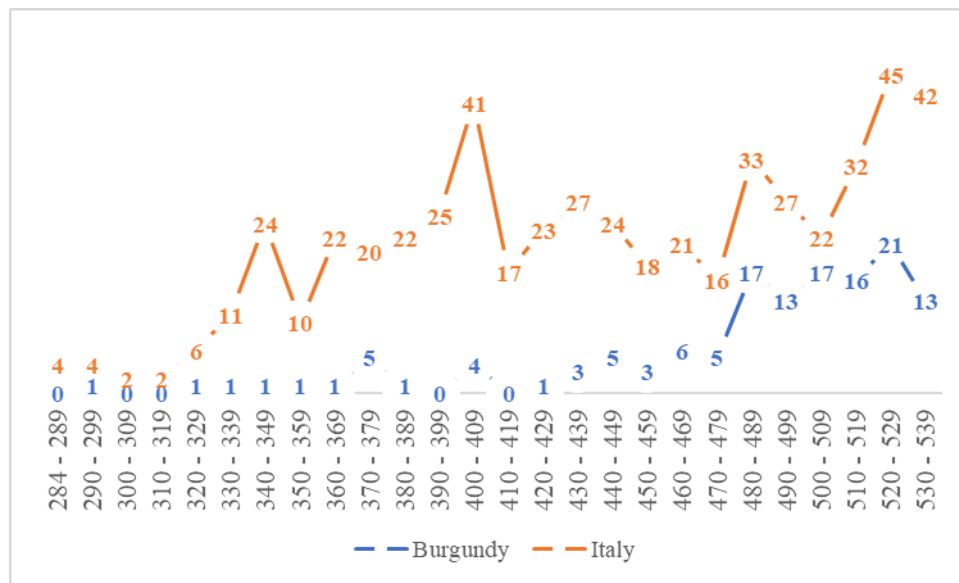


Figure 4. Geographical distribution of the late-antique findspots in Gallia.

As far as evidence tells us (Graph 2.7), the average volume of material in Burgundy across the years 470-540 is fourteen instances per decade, with a peak volume of twenty-one instances per decade in the 520s. To give an idea of what, volume-wise, this means: the Italian volume for the decade 470s (excluding Rome) is of sixteen instances, while in the period 284-339 this barely reaches eleven at its highest point. In other words, by the end of the fifth and the early sixth century, Burgundy appears to have dated inscriptions by consuls with a frequency comparable to, and at times even higher than, that existent in Italy at different point in time. The attachment of the region to consular dating is shown by ICG 175 and 252 dated respectively to a 102nd and 68th post-consulates of Basilius (i.e. in theory AD 644 and 609).²⁷⁰

²⁷⁰ Descombes dates ICG 175 to 642 (cf. Descombes 1985: 49)

Graph 2.7. Volume of material by decade in Burgundy.



All this being said, a concluding observation is in order. Although in comparison with other imperial regions consular dating was relatively abundant in Gaul and, unquestionably, diffuse in Burgundy, the nonetheless unavoidable conclusion shown by the overall volume of the findings is that consular dating would not appear to have been common (in our period at any rate) in most of the two Gallic dioceses. As shown by Figure 4 above, large regions of central and northern Gaul are bereft of consular dates, and many others are surprisingly poor in findings. For instance, in Germany dating by consuls was in use in the early empire, but in our period a major imperial centre like Trier only returns two consular dates (in Greek!). While the paucity of available material cannot be accounted for this, politics partly can. As known, regnal dating was a favourite method of computation among the Visigoths and Franks, and the dismissal of traditional (and centralised) Roman dating systems following the end of Roman rule is a tendency found elsewhere, too.²⁷¹ While the strengths of this suggestion are clear-cut for fifth-century Gaul (where central dissemination could have well collapsed amid protracted conflict), its limits are evidenced by the shortage of material from the fourth century, i.e. when Roman rule in Gaul was still fundamentally unchallenged, when the quantity of material recovered even from south of Gaul (where consular dating is most attested) is simply dwarfed by the contemporary volume of Italian findings.

²⁷¹ For regnal dating among Franks and Visigoths: cf. Descombes 1985: 66. Consular dates are not employed in the letters of Avitus of Vienne, Ruricius of Limogen, Sidonius and the *Epistulae Austrasiacae*; cf. Handley 2003: 133. For the abandonment of consular dating in former Roman regions such as, for instance, Vandalic Africa.

Below is given the full array of formulas and their abbreviations found in the Gallic evidence:

Formula	No.
N.N. (abl.) + cons(ule)	14
N.N. (abl.) + c(onsule)	11
N.N. (abl.) + consule	9
N.N. (abl.) + con(sule)	5
N.N. (abl.) + c(onsulibus)	3
N.N. (abl.) + c(o)ns(ule)	2
N.N. (abl.) + cons(ulibus)	2
N.N. (abl.) + consulibus	1
N.N. (abl.) + conss(ulibus)	1
N.N. (abl.) + con(ssulibus)	1
N.N. (abl.) + (con)s(ule)	1
N.N. (abl.) + co(n)s(ule)	1
N.N. (abl.) + con(su)l(e)	1
N.N. (abl.) + c(on)s(u)l(e)	1
consul(ibus) + N.N. (abl.)	1
co(n)s(ulibus) + N.N. (abl.)	1
Ἐπὶ ὑπάτων	1
ὑπατία (sic)	1

Interestingly, no consulatu formula is securely attested in Gaul, which would appear to have only used the archaicising formula in the ablative (+ *consulibus* and its no less than sixteen variants). The vast majority of the evidence is in Latin, and pertains to epitaphs, though three dedications also survive, two of which commemorated building works for a Mithraeum and a church. As mentioned, the only two Greek inscriptions are from Trier, a major urban centre at the time. From Burgundy, there are merely six consular epitaphs that have returned indictional dates.²⁷²

²⁷² CIL XII 2384 = ILCV 1734 = RICG XV 257 (Vézéronce; 28?); CIL XII 2644 = ILCV 1910 adn. = RICG XV 291 (Geneva); AE 2008, 882 (Grenoble); CIL XII 2078 = ILCV 3038 = RICG XV 90 (Vienne); CIL XII 1693 = ILCV 2909 adn. (St. Julien-Quint; Narb.); RICG XV 166 (Vienne; frg.) The indiction would seem to

Thirteen more come from Arles, its territory and other settlements in Narbonensis.²⁷³ No epitaph is earlier than 487, and one of them possibly gives a wrong indictional year.²⁷⁴

The body of material has been published in several volumes of CAGR; CAG; CIL XII and XIII; IG (v. XIV); ILGN; I.Lat.3 Gaules; KFIT; KIT, RICG, and estimates on the ratio between dated and undated material have been provided by Handley (2000; 2003). In northern Viennensis, dated epitaphs represent about 34% of the entire local body of material or the 60% if one counts only the epitaphs that belonged to people bearing a Germanic name. In Lugdunensis Prima, these figures decrease slightly at about 32% and 50%, respectively. This notwithstanding, Handley concludes that consular dating in Burgundy represents approximately one third of all the dated epigraphic material.²⁷⁵

2.2.1.3. Western Illyricum

Western Illyricum yields the third-largest epigraphical data set. At present, this consists of about 150 inscriptions, $\frac{1}{3}$ of which comes from Dalmatia and, more specifically, from Salona and its territory (Split, Trogir, Jesenice and Pučišća). Other than that, there is evidence from Pannonia II (Sirmium); Valeria (Tolna, Duna-Pentale, Aquincum, Szentendre, Visegrad and nr. Gran); Pannonia I (Szombathely, O-Szony/Brigetio and Carnuntum) and Noricum (Ybbs and Molzbichl). Currently, no evidence has been returned from Savia.

Consular dating was used continually in the region at least from AD 75.²⁷⁶ At its peak (440-9) the western Illyrian data set reached a volume that is comparable to that of other regions like

have appeared first in Provence, where most of the evidence from 530-539 comes from. In Burgundy, a significant increase only occurs in about the 540s-570s, possibly as a result of the decline of consular dating and concurrent regime change. This shift is evidenced by the fact that, while a significant number of Gallic councils after 511 used to be dated by the indiction, none does so before. Cf. Handley, 2003: 126-9.

²⁷³ CIL XII 2702 = ILCV 1118 (St. Thomé, Narb.); CIL XII 933 = ILCV 2889A (Arles, Narb.); CIL XII 932 = ILCV 4420 (Arles); CIL XII 1692 = ILCV 1432 adn. (Luc, Narb.); ILGN 135 = ILCV 2890 (Arles); CIL XII 5340 = ILCV 2891 (Narbonne); CIL XII 934 = ILCV 2891A (Arles); CIL XII 936 = ILCV 1808 (Arles); CIL XII 935 = ILCV 2891A adn. (Arles); CIL XII 938 = ILCV 2891a (Arles); CIL XII 1501 = ILCV 1213 (Vaison, Narb.); CIL XII 1530 (Narb.); CIL XII 939 (Arles).

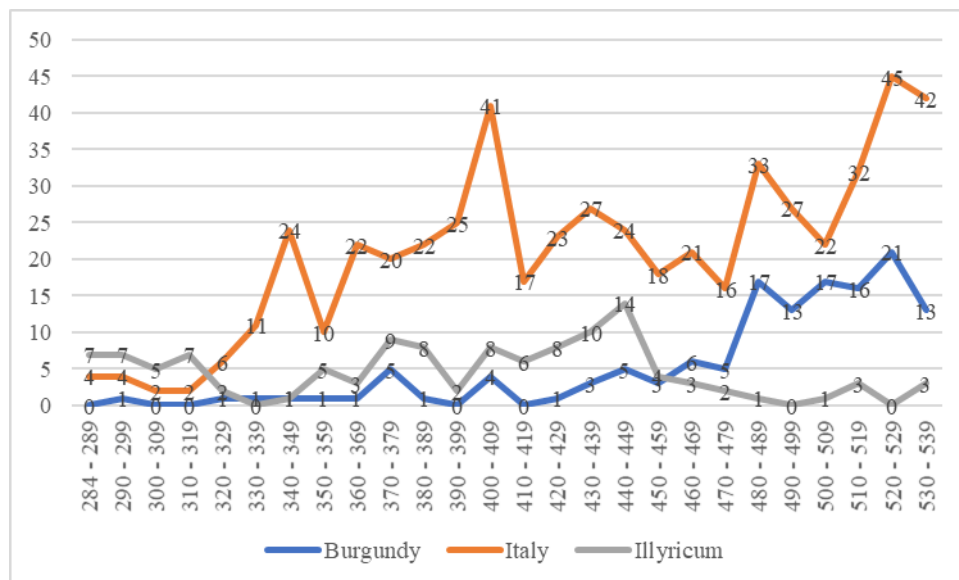
²⁷⁴ CIL XII 933 = ILCV 2889A (Arles, Narb.).

²⁷⁵ Handley 2003: 134.

²⁷⁶ From *Pannonia Sup.* there is another relatively large number of early consuls' formulae, see Hošek – Karlova 1985, which are no later than the second half of the third century. A larger bunch of inscriptions from Hungary are in *Röm.Inschr.Ung.* (4 vols. 1972-84) in which thirty-five early consuls (AD 134 to 269) and four later ones (AD 297 to 372) are attested; vols 1991-2005, too, contain a high number of early consuls, of which many seem to be unpublished. It is to be pointed out that in most cases altars and *vota* are dated by consuls. From

Burgundy and, curiously enough, for the period 284-319 there is more evidence from here than from anywhere else in the West (including Italy). From the mid of the fifth century, consular dating begins a descending line only partially interrupted by a slight recovery in production under Ostrogothic rule. Handley surveyed the totality of the evidence from Salona, Sirmium and Serdica, concluding that the first centre yields approx. 600 inscriptions; the second 55, and the third 29.²⁷⁷ If these figures have not changed significantly, the ratio between dated and undated inscriptions in some part of Illyricum reached 1:6. For, while Serdica has not yet returned any consular inscriptions within our period, as many as 103 have been preserved from Salona and environs.

Graph 2.8. Volume of material by decade in Illyricum.



In all likelihood, two important (but certainly non-exhaustive) factors may have contributed to this relatively high frequency. First, the role of the army in the region, as suggested by the distribution of the find-set along the military fortifications on the Danube River, especially in Carnuntum, which provides the second largest urban dataset of the region, but also in Aquincum and Sirmium. Aquincum returned a large number of inscriptions dated by consuls

Dalmatia, there is a high volume of early Roman consular dates, too; cf. ILJ I and II (consuls are attested for 75, 148, 158, 177, 201, 207, 209, 211, 222, 228, 229, 223, 231? 240, 243 and 247). For *Noricum*, cf. Wedenig 1997, attests early consular dates for 152, 153 vel 180 vel 217 vel 246, 184, 204, 205, 209, 217, 219, 225, 229, 237 and 241. *Narenta*, in Croatia, has three early consular dates: CIL III 1780 (209 AD); another 173 AD and CIL III 1805 (280 AD).

²⁷⁷ Handley 2003: 18-20. Most of the regional dataset has been published in CIL III; ILJ; Röm.Inschr.Ung.; Salona IV; Kovács – Szabó 2009-11.

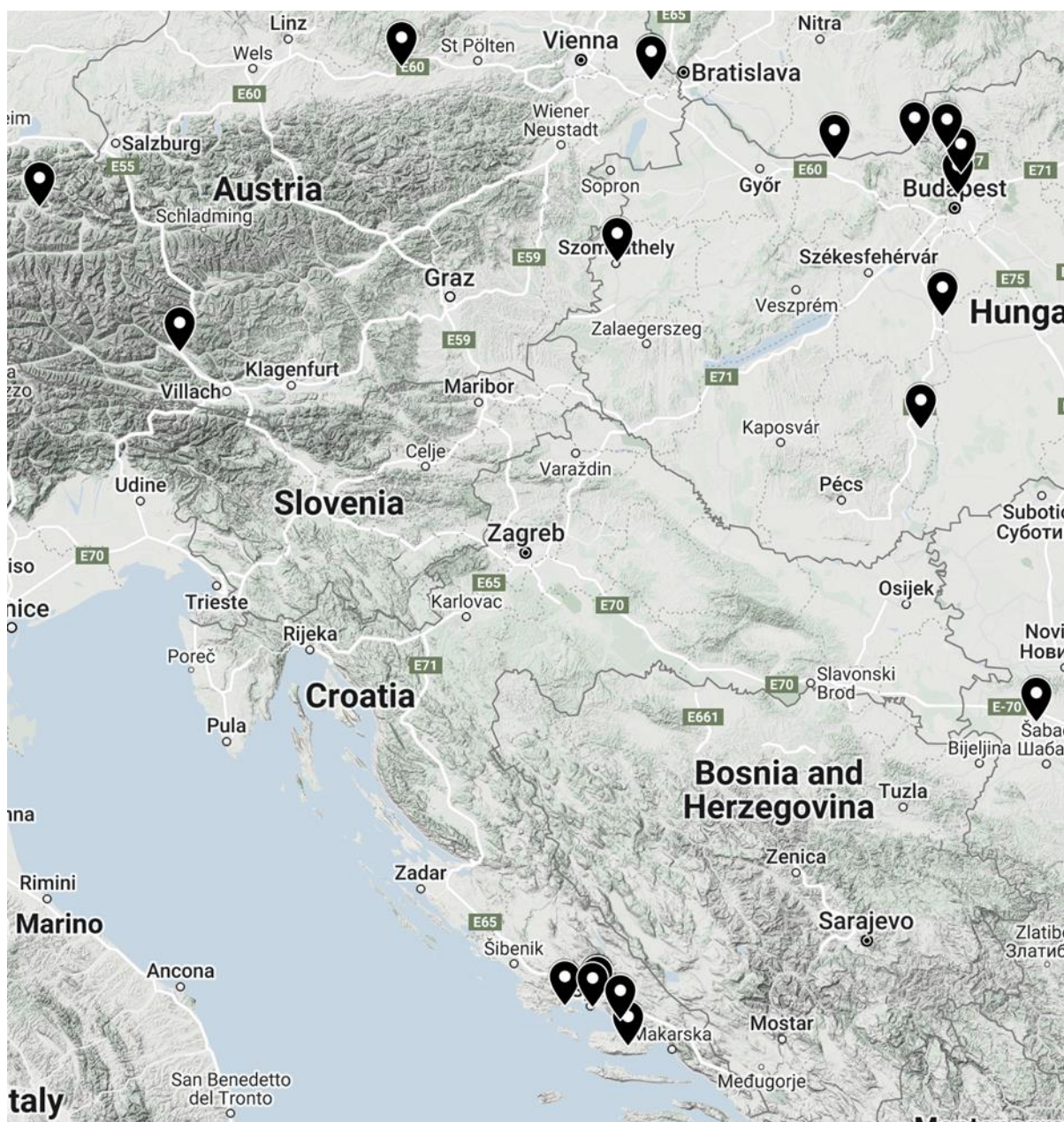


Figure 5. Geographical distribution of the late-antique findspots in western Illyricum.

from AD 146/7 to at least 292, and the two cities remained major administrative and military settlements in late antiquity. Another explanatory element may have been the cultural and geographical proximity of Salona to Italy (the core-region of consular dating), along with the role played by the city (and its aristocracy) within western imperial geo-politics and subsequent Ostrogothic renaissance.

Most of the Illyrian dataset has been analysed for this study. The *consulatu*-formula is used in six instances dating 359, 370, 371, 371, 372 and 428. Its first appearance in 359 matches the chronology of the specimens from Asia Minor and North Africa, thereby confirming the

apparent provincial origin of the formula.²⁷⁸ It is relevant that in Noricum and Pannonia Inferior. it appears as 'consulatus' (nom.), possibly an error (though repeated in CIL III 5670a, CIL III 3653 and Rom.Inschr.Ung. III 804).²⁷⁹ Interestingly, the formula is used to date two dedications for building works. The region has also yielded a rare case in dative (AD 475 or 479) and two in genitive, which pertain to Greek epitaphs dating, respectively, 486-492 and 539.²⁸⁰ Three more Greek inscriptions give (ἐν) ὑπατ(ε)ία, while the remaining sixty-five specimens have the archaicising form N.N. (abl.) (+ *consulibus/consule* or its no less than 14 abbreviations).²⁸¹ The items are distributed from 284 to at least 539 and belong predominantly to epitaphs, although some dedications are also attested in the earlier period.²⁸²

Variants attested for the Latin ablative formula:

Formula	No.
N.N. (abl.)	13
N.N. (abl.) + cons(ulibus)	8
N.N. (abl.) + co(n)s(ulibus)	7
N.N. (abl.) + conss(ulibus)	5
N.N. (abl.) + co(n)ss(ulibus)	4
N.N. (abl.) + cons(ule)	2
N.N. (abl.) + consulibus	2
N.N. (abl.) + co(n)s(ule)	2
N.N. (abl.) + (c)o(n)s(ulibus)	1
N.N. (abl.) + co(nsulibus)	1
N.N. (abl.) + con(sule)	1
N.N. (abl.) + c(onsulibus)	1
N.N. (abl.) + co(n)s(ulibus)	1

²⁷⁸ CIL III 9503 add. Bis = ILJ III 2381 1-2 = Salona IV 154.

²⁷⁹ CIL III 5670a = ILS 774 (Ibbs, Noricum; AD 370); CIL III 3653 = Röm.Inschr.Ung. III 771 (nr. Gran, Pannonia Inf.; AD 371); Röm.Inschr.Ung. III 804 (Visegrad, Pannonia Inf.; AD 372).

²⁸⁰ Forsch.Salona II 184 = ILJ III 2463 = Salona IV 214; Salona IV 776 and n. 283 below.

²⁸¹ Cf. e.g., CIG IV 9426 = Forsch.Salona II 175 = ILJ III 2454 = Salona IV 771 (ἐν ὑπατεία); AE 2003, 1395; CIL III 143062 et 14892 = ILJ III 2696 = Salona IV 93; CIL III 3104 = Salona IV 190 (all in abl.)

²⁸² AE 2003, 1420b; AE 2003, 1421b; AE 1995, 1262 from the sanctuary of Jupiter Optimus Maximus at Carnuntum. Forsch.Salona II 182 = ILJ III 2461 = Salona IV 212, from Salona and bearing [*Bas*]ilio v(iro) [is very likely to be dated to the cos. 463. See p. 415 f. below for the dating of the material bearing the consulate of Basilius.

conss(ulibus) + N.N. (abl.)	1
cons(ulibus) + N.N. (abl.)	1
con(sule) + N.N. (abl.)	1
Variants for the Latin <i>consulatu</i> formula:	
consulatu + N.N. (gen./abl.)	3
consulatus + N.N. (gen.)	3

The only Greek formula securely attested in the region (i.e. Salona) is the dative variant (ἐν) ὑπατεία, attested as early as 372 and as late as 440. A Greek epitaph dated by Apio's consulship (539) gives ὑπ. plus genitive. This could either be ὑπ(ατείας) or ὑπ(ατεία).²⁸³

The indiction appears for the first time on Salonitan epitaphs no later than 417, so relatively much earlier than in Spain (467-471) and in southern Gaul (487) but relatively later than in Italy (412) and in Moesia (368).²⁸⁴ The material from Salona comes predominantly (but not exclusively) from the northern extra-urban cemetery of Manastirine.²⁸⁵

2.2.1.4. North Africa

Presently, the African body of evidence features thirty-five late Roman consular dates. About half of the evidence comes from Proconsularis (Carthage, Avitta Bibba, Ksar-Koutine, El Ayīda, Mactar, Thala and Ammaedara), while the remaining is scattered across Byzacena (Leptis Minor), Tripolitania (Henchir-Bou-Gornine), Numidia (Calama and Cuicul), Mauretania Tabia (Aīn El Kebira, Sitifis, Ain-Naimia/Oued Naima/Moloukal), Mauretania Caesariensis (Kherba des Aouisset) and Mauretania Tingitana (Tingis and Ksar-el-Kebir). Some more material is or is believed to be from Africa, but its exact provenience is unknown.²⁸⁶

²⁸³ Forsch.Salona II 252 = ILJ III 2531 = Salona IV 755.

²⁸⁴ ILJ III 2767 = Salona IV 186 (12.xi.417); Salona, Intr. 107, pointing to ILC 1061a,b from Aquileia and dated in 423, but see IA III 2904 from the same place and dated 412. Also, Meimaris 1992: 32 n. 8 for the early appearance of the indiction in Italy in 380s in documents other than inscriptions; ICERV 68 (Toledo); ICG 481a (Arles); NR 169 (Viviers, Vienn.); Novae 178 (Moesia). The chronology for the introduction of the indiction in north Africa is discussed; see Handley 2003: 127 n. 120.

²⁸⁵ Salona IV: p. 104.

²⁸⁶ Of more uncertain provenience are: CIL VII 8332 (AD 290); AE 2016, 2031 (AD 294; m.l.d.); AE 2016, 2032 (AD 332); AE 2016, 2033 (AD 340); AE 2016, 2034 (AD 344); AE 2016, 2036 (AD 371); AE 2016, 2035 (4th-5th c. AD?);

As there is no evidence dating later than 476, it has not been possible to review the totality of the dataset. My sample, however, features ten epitaphs (mostly in Latin);²⁸⁷ eight texts of various legal/financial nature (including six receipts on ostraca and two wills on wooden tablets); six dedicatory inscriptions; two *ex vota* and one possible *horologium*. These all give the archaicising formula in ablative (+ *consulibus* or its five attested variants), save for two items, which give one *consulatu*-formula and one (unusual) form N. *et* N. (gen.) + *consulatus*.²⁸⁸ At present, anything rather than the ablative form would thus appear to be rare in Africa. No full formula in Greek has so far been found. Below are given the variant forms of the ablative formula:

Formula	No.
N.N. (abl.) + co(n)s(ulibus)	4
N.N. (abl.) + conss(ulibus)	2
N.N. (abl.) + cons(ulibus) 1	1
N.N. (abl.) + Consulibus	1
N.N. (abl.) + cons(ule)	1
N.N. (abl.)	1
cons(ulatu) + N.N. (gen.)	2/3
N.N. (gen.) + consulatus	1

In comparison with other regional data sets, the size of the African one is relatively limited. Looking back in perspective, however, the considerable amount of early consular dates that Africa has yielded makes the late-antique dataset distinctly smaller and, certainly, more problematic.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁷ An exception is: ILTunisie 1126 = ICK I 46 (AD 438/439) giving one number of Theodosius' numeral in Greek.

²⁸⁸ CIL VIII 8630 = ILCV 2104 (Sitifis; ad 452); CIL VIII 796 = ILS 5413 (Avitta Bibba, Proc.; AD 338). A second *consulatu*-formula could be CIL VIII 11129 = ILCV 3232 adn. (Leptis Minor; AD 429?), though the restoration is uncertain.

²⁸⁹ There are no less than 49 consular dates from the early period, including one of the earliest extant examples from an overseas province. See ILTunisie 1072 (Carthage; AD 198); 1072 (Carthage, AD 199); 58 (Bezereos; AD 201; honorary inscr.); 95 (Sousse; AD 232?; fun.inscr.), 1071 (Carthage; AD 196?; poss. military record on marble). Early consular dates from 193, 194, 201, 216, 228, 231, 277 and 280 are also attested in Tripolitania, Tunisia and Morocco, cf. Cagnat – Merlin 1923; IAM and the literature cited in the following notes.



Figure 6. Early (red) and late-antique (black) consular data points.

The paucity of available data cannot support any firm conclusions on the decade-by-decade distribution in the fourth and fifth centuries, but the overall picture leaves no doubt that the general volume shrank from the second to the fifth centuries. Moreover, if we are to believe to the data currently available to us for late antiquity, it seems that volume contraction took place by the end of the fourth century. By the mid-fifth century, this tendency had not reversed, and consular dating had by then died out (Graph 2.9). How should we explain this?

Admittedly, the possibility of some missing evidence is always an option, but a substantial amount of material has already been published, hence the paucity of consular dates further reinforces the impression that the system was no longer as common in Africa as it had used to be before (and certainly not as it was elsewhere in the same period). To give an idea, our corpus of just thirty-five dates needs to be put in relation to a total population of at least 4500 African inscriptions, of which over 2400 come from Carthage alone.²⁹⁰ Carthage was still a major imperial centre at the time and its epigraphical dataset is the biggest from anywhere in the west after Rome, so it is telling of the very limited spread of consular dating (at least in epigraphic and funerary contexts) that the city yielded very few late-antique consular dates.²⁹¹ This impression is further strengthened by the persistence of the more familiar provincial era on consular inscriptions of the same period—a feature to be found not only in Africa, but virtually anywhere in the empire where dating by consuls was uncommon.²⁹² Then, if issues of preservation cannot be adduced to explain the low levels of late antique findings, what can?

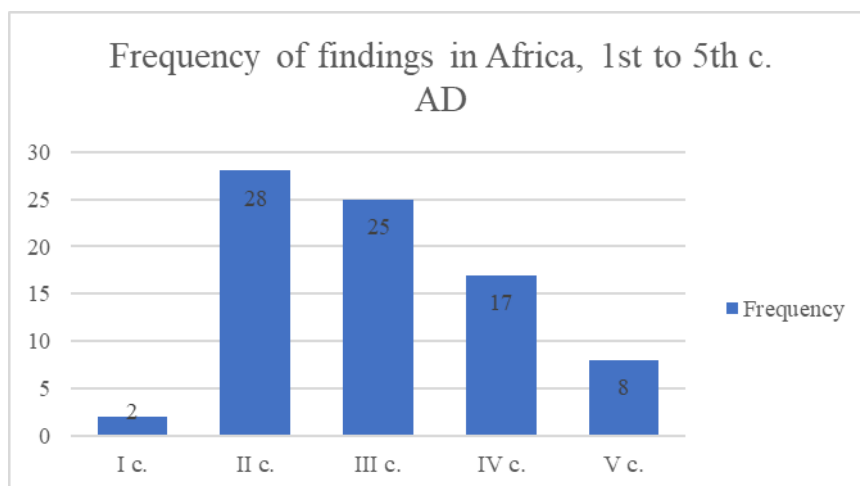
²⁹⁰ Most of the regional data set can be found in Reynolds – Ward-Perkins 1952; Benzina Ben Abdallah 1987; Benzina Ben Abdallah – Ladjimi Sebai 2011; CIL VIII; ICK; Terry 1998; Khanoussi – Maurin (1997; 2000; 2002); Gsell (1864-1932); Chatelain 1942; Prévot 1984. The figures for the Carthaginian and African data sets are Handley 2003: 17-8.

²⁹¹ Among the Carthaginian funerary inscriptions published by Ennabli there is only one consular formula. Cf. ILTunisie 1126 = ICK I 46 (438/439)

²⁹² For the three inscriptions dated by provincial era (*anno provinciae*), see: AE 1955, 139 (Kherba des Aouisset; AD 346; dedication for building work); AE 1953,39 (Aïn El Kebira; AD 409; epitaph) and CIL VIII 8630 = ILCV 2104 (Sitifis; AD 452; epitaph) with Handley 2003: 15 n. 65. On the use of consular dating + local era systems, cf. e.g. evidence and comments at p. 117, n. 335 and 127 n. 363. It could be added that in Africa some epitaphs were not dated at all, while some others used the indiction; cf. Duval 1975, nos. 3, 8, 9 (all epitaphs); 4, (epi.; only Roman calendar); 5 and 6 (epi.; only length of life); 7; (epi.; nothing). However, this is a feature that can be found even in other regions where consular dating was more common (as Burgundy), so I am not entirely sure what inference should be made from this.

One thing that should be noted is that the early evidence is, for the vast majority of the cases, associated with Roman institutions and, most prominently, the army.²⁹³

Graph 2.9.



For instance, from the first three centuries Mauretania produced thirteen military diplomas; two dedications to the emperor's genius; one monumental inscription; and six more *arae pacis*, all dated by consuls.²⁹⁴ So one possible explanation is that the quantity from this region began to shrink as soon as relevant practices (i.e. recruitment and or granting of diplomas to veterans;

²⁹³ Save for a few exceptions (see, e.g. the two Christian epitaphs in ILTunisie 195 [AD 232?]) and CIL VIII 8296 = ILCV 3631A (AD 212, El Ksaria, nr. Sitifis) the remaining material pertains to predominantly honorary inscriptions; see the one dated to AD 151 (or 180) and published in Benzina Ben Abdallah – Ladjimi Sebai 2011; also ILTunisie 58.

²⁹⁴ IAM II contains more than 800 items among which several consular formulas, mainly from Banasa and Volubilis. See the thirteen military diplomas in IAM II: 234 (Banasa; AD 88); 235 and 236 (Banasa; AD 109); 285 (Thamusida; AD 118); 239 (Banasa; AD 122); 806 (Volubilis; AD 123-9); 240 (Banasa; AD 124); 241 (Banasa; AD 129-32); IAM II Suppl. (IAM II Suppl. 909; Volubilis; AD 131); 243 (Banasa; AD 151-60); 810 (Volubilis; AD 151-60); II 82 (Souk-el-Arba-Du-Rharb; AD 154); II 94 (Banasa; AD 177) and the other documentations collected in IAM II 307/3 (Sala; AD 144; hon.inscr./decree); 125 (Banasa; AD 162; tab. Patronatus); 381 (Volubilis; AD 167?; monumental inscr.); 349 (Volubilis; AD 180; dedication to emperor's genius); 350 (Volubilis; AD 200; dedication to emperor's genius); 99 (Banasa; AD 215; imperial letter on bronze tabl.); 402 (Volubilis, AD 223-34? ara pacis); 356 (Volubilis, AD 226; ara pacis); 357 (Volubilis, AD 239; ara pacis); 359 (Volubilis, AD 245; ara pacis); 360 (Volubilis, AD 277, ara pacis); 361 (Volubilis; AD 280; ara pacis); Suppl. 348; Volubilis; AD 173); Suppl. 848; Tamuda (Tetouan; AD 210; dedication pro salute et incolunitate). IAM II Suppl. AD 131 (IAM II Suppl. 909; Volubilis; military diploma on bronze tabl.; abl.); AD 173 (IAM II Suppl. 348; Volubilis; other info not given); AD 210 (IAM II Suppl. 848; Tamuda (Tetouan); dedication pro salute et incolunitate; Roman calend. with abl.);

erections of *arae Pacis* and other public dedications of the same sort, and so on) were discontinued in the course of the fourth century.

As known, one visible effect of the Vandal conquest of North Africa in the fifth century is the restriction of consular dating to areas that remained under Roman rule, while it was completely replaced by regnal dating in the rest of Vandal Africa. When Vandal power eventually expanded over the whole of Africa, this also demonstrably put an end to consular dating in the entire region. True though it is, however, it would probably be an oversimplification to entirely explain away the disappearance of consular dating in terms solely of the Vandal conquest, since consular dating would seem to have been already declining by the fourth century. Subsequent Byzantine reconquest did not bring about the restoration of the system, and if it did, this did not find many adepts.

It is true, in late antiquity public and official texts employing consular dates are accompanied by more common funerary inscriptions. And indeed it is possible that local Christian communities in Africa as much as elsewhere became more familiar with consular dating in their private practices, especially funerary ones. But while the existence and increase of epitaphs point to an expansion of consular dating from the official to the unofficial sphere, their overall quantity is still too limited to support any meaningful conclusion on the size of this phenomenon in the region. Similarly, the findings from wooden tablets and ostraca attest the use of the system for legal and commercial uses in the region. But as Egypt constantly reminds us, the use of consular dating in legal and financial documents should never be taken to infer that the system was common. Ultimately, only new findings will clarify the overall situation in Africa.

2.2.1.5. Hispaniae

The Iberian provinces have returned only twelve late-antique consular dates, more than a half of which are from Tarragona. In addition to these, there are two more dates from Vilaes and Olisipo (Lusitania); one from an unknown place in Baetica; one from Oretum in Terraconensis and one more from Manacor, in the Balearics. They all pertain to Latin inscriptions and their dates range from 333 to 503.

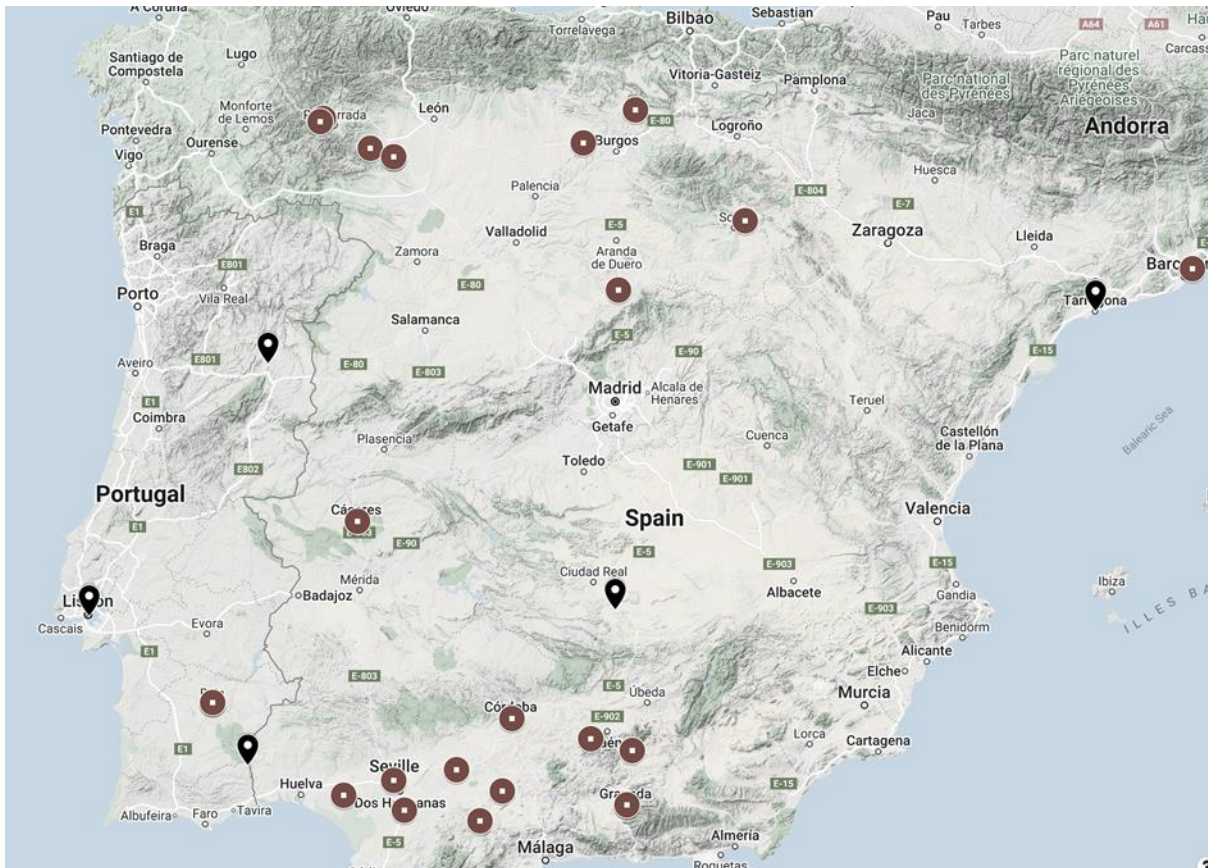


Figure 7. Early (red) and late-antique (black) consular data points.

I have been unable to consult CIL II 2211 (Baetica) but the remaining nine dates have been at least partially reviewed.²⁹⁵ Six give N.N. (abl.) + *consulibus* (or its abbreviations), while two give *consulatu* + gen. The latest attestation of the consulship in the region is dated to the western cos. Volusianus (503) and pertains to an epitaph.²⁹⁶ Below are given the variations attested for both the ablative and the genitive forms:

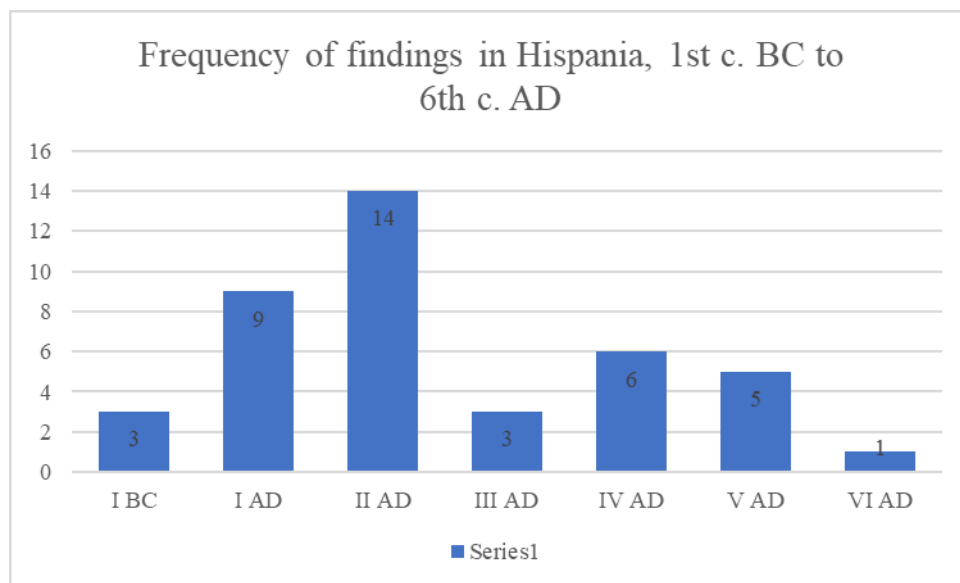
Formula	No.
Ablative:	
N.N. (abl.) + cons(ulibus)	2
N.N. (abl.) + co(n)s(ulibus)	1
N.N. (abl.) + consule	1
N.N. (abl.)	1

²⁹⁵ CIL II 2211 = ILS 7222.

²⁹⁶ Röm.Inshr.Tarraco 948 = CIL II/14 2100 (Tarragona).

co(n)s(ule) + N.N. (abl.)	1
Genitive:	
consulatu + N.N. (gen.) ²⁹⁷	1
cons(ulatu) + N.N. (gen.) ²⁹⁸	1

The Iberian provinces present a pattern very similar to that found in Africa, with early and substantial presence of consular dating from the late republican and early imperial periods then followed by a substantial contraction in volume in late antiquity (Graph 2.10). Furthermore, as with in Africa, so too in Spain early consular dating would appear to have been used predominantly in formal contexts. Out of the no less than twenty-nine early consular dates that have been preserved, only three private documents are left: one extraordinarily rare (and antique) funerary inscription from Cordoba (BC 19); one *tessera gladiatoria* (AD 64?) and one later brick (AD 134); all the remaining material pertains to texts linked to the military and to the civil authorities, and or to distinguished members of the local communities.



These include several commemorative and legal texts, including a *deditio* on a bronze tablet; four *vota*; one sacrificial altar; two legal agreements; thirteen dedications of different kinds; a

²⁹⁷ Röm.Inschr.Tarraco 944 = CIL II2/14 2095 (Tarragona) gives *consulatu<m> Eugeni Augusti primu*, with the accusative for cons. being an obvious error, as evidenced by the ablative of the numeral.

²⁹⁸ Röm.Inschr.Tarraco 946 = CIL II2/14 2098 (Tarragona, AD 28.xii.459)

municipal constitution and one imperial decree.²⁹⁹ Once again there is no obvious answer as to why dating declined in late antiquity before dying out by the early sixth century. However, the following should be noted:

1. As known, the Iberian peninsula did not have a large military presence, but it did host a legion in Leon and veterans were settled in the south of the country. Remarkably, this is where ¾ of the early evidence comes from. The role of the army is particularly evidenced by a group of dedications continually set up from 163 to 224 in honour of Jupiter and or the emperor's *salus*, from settlements located nearby the legionary fortress (Villalis, Luyego, Villadecanes and Castro de Ventosa).³⁰⁰ This looks very similar to contemporary practices in Mauretania;³⁰¹ and as with the latter, so too the Leonese dedications seem to have been discontinued in the course of the third. Therefore, their cessation must have been responsible, at least partly, for the drop recorded in the fourth century.

2. Scanty though it is, the fourth-century evidence is relatively evenly distributed in geographical terms. It is only in the fifth that it comes invariably from Tarragona. It is relatively uncontroversial both that imperial authority over the Iberian provinces started to falter after the invasion in 408, and that Tarragona remained a local Ravennate stronghold for both good part of the turbulent fifth century and again under Ostrogothic rule, when it enjoyed proximity to Barcelona (the seat of Theoderic's representative in the region).³⁰² Then, while the central government in Ravenna was able to retain some influence over Terraconensis until at least the early sixth century, only partial, if any, control was exerted over most of Lusitania, Baetica and Carthaginensis, and only until the 460s at the latest. Local Roman institutions and authorities

²⁹⁹ For the *deditio* on bronze table dated BC 104 from Norba, cf. Ortega 2007; CIL II²/5,37 (BC 54; Granada; votum); 7 (AD 91; Granada; honorary inscr.); 8 (AD 91; Granada; honorary inscr.); Pflaum 1978: 368 (Cordoba; BC 19; fun.inscr.); CILA I 77 (Almonte, AD 56, dedication for building work); 72 (Niebla; AD 64?; tessera gladiatoria); II.4 1122 (Ostippo, AD 46; dedication for public work); 1201 (El Saucejo, AD 91; *lex municipii*); 930, 933, 961 (Maribañez, AD 136; honorary dedications); 835 (Obulcula, AD 159; imperial decree); III.2 586 (Vergilia, AD 26; ara votiva); D'Encarnacao 1984: 479 (Beja, AD 31, *hospitium*); 647 (Beja, AD 37); 121 (Beja, AD 173, dedication to freeman); Fabre – Mayer – Roda 1984: 139 (Baetulo, AD 98; *hospitalitas*); de Zárata – Ávila 1999: 185 (AD 181; Luyego, Leon; dedication to Juppiter and *pro salute* by army); 184 (AD 184; Villalis, Leon; dedication to Juppiter and *pro salute* by army); 182 (AD 163, Villalis, Leon; dedication to Juppiter and *pro salute* by army); 181 (AD 167; Villalis, Leon; dedication to Juppiter and *pro salute* by army); 133 (AD 128; Sepulveda; dedication *pro salute*); ICLA II,2 582 (Sevilla, AD 134; brick); Zárata – Ávila 2000: 514 = CIL II 742 (AD 219; Poza de la Sal; votum?; abl.); 570 = CIL II 5812 (AD 239; Sasamón; votum; abl.); CILA III.1-2 420 (Tucci/Martos, before II c. AD.; votum to imperial pietas).

³⁰⁰ Cf. note above.

³⁰¹ Cf. p. 101 n. 294.

³⁰² Heather 2001: 1-32; Heather 2010: 255 f.; 297; Ripoll 2018: 211.

(including usurpers) are known to have existed in the fifth century, but they are not known to have ever nominated their own consuls. Accordingly, the ideological, if not political, importance of consular dating for these institutions would have remained minimal.

3. More generally, consular dating was never significantly widespread in Iberia, not even in the earlier period, as evidenced by the amount of published material.³⁰³ To provide an idea of the exceptional rarity of consular dating, one should consider that for the territory of *Terraconensis* there have been published (and republished) ca. 2,500 inscriptions.³⁰⁴ Of these, only twelve are dated by consuls. Similarly, in *Lusitania* and *Gallaecia* no less than ca. 3,160 have been published, of which only twelve have consuls;³⁰⁵ and in *Baetica* only thirteen dated inscriptions out of ca. 2,200.³⁰⁶ Several alternative local dating systems were much more commonly used, especially the provincial era, which from the 460s became one of the dominant dating systems in the region and the standard reference for dating conciliar acts.³⁰⁷

Looking at the whole, it might be concluded that, just like in Africa, the end of Roman rule in the Iberian peninsula struck the death blow to consular dating. When it happened, however, the system was uncommon in the region, and its (epigraphic) use had already been declining uninterruptedly since at least the beginning of our period.

2.2.1.6. Britain

Britain has returned only two consular dates, one from Chester and dated AD 286, the other from Wales but of more uncertain dating. As the name is abbreviated and reads only '*Iusti*', the consul being mentioned could be either a *Iustus* (c. 328), a *Iustinus* or *Iustinianus*. Furthermore, the date could either be a consular or post-consular formula, which makes the inscription datable within a time range of more than two hundred years, i.e. 328-541, at the least. Besides these, I am only aware of nine more consular dates, all of which coming from the early Roman period. Save for one specimen from *Vindolanda*, all the texts are from

³⁰³ CIL II; ICERV; Bonneville – Dardaine – Le Roux (1988); Sádaba – Cruz 2000; Albalá – Nevado 1998; Esteban Ortega (2007-2016); de Zárata – Ávila 2000a, 2000b; Ávila – de Zárata 1999; Reyes Hernando 2000; IMF; Pérez 2000; Martin et al. 1997; IRG; Corell i Vicent 1992, 1994, 1996, 1997, 1999; Guerra 1994; Röm.Inschr.Tarraco.

³⁰⁴ Cf. Abascal – Alföldy: 2015; Corell i Vicent 1992; de Zárata – Ávila 2000b; Fatás – Bueno 1977; Pazos 2012; Fabre – Mayer – Roda (1984-1991); Hernando Sobrino 2005; Iglesias – Alicia Ruiz 1998; Palazón 1990.

³⁰⁵ Esteban Ortega (2007-2016); Canto 1997; Albalá – Nevado 1998; Ávila – de Zárata 1999; de Zárata – Ávila; Dias – Gaspar 2006; D'Encarnacao 1984.

³⁰⁶ Martin et al. 1997; CILA I, II,1-4, III.1-2; IV; de Zárata – Ávila 2000a.

³⁰⁷ Handley 2003: 135 f.; Martin et al. 1997 (cf. index).

Londinium and date legal or commercial documents.³⁰⁸ Handley maintains that about 400 inscriptions (mostly in ogham script) have survived from late-antique Britain.³⁰⁹ If our consular evidence is representative, the local ratio should be estimated at around 1:200.

2.2.2. The East

2.2.2.1. Egypt

Egypt has yielded the biggest data set in the East. At present this features more than 1,700 consular dates from (mostly) papyri together with a small corpus of seven inscriptions and three ostraca. The most represented region is the area of Oxyrhynchus, which has so far returned about 600 papyri; there follows the Hermopolite nome and the region of Fayum with, respectively, ca. 330 and 300 papyri each. Whereas a few papyri have been returned from Alexandria and the eastern Delta, the system in Lower Egypt is poorly documented, no doubt as a result of accidents of preservation. The rest of the country from Hermopolis to Aswan has produced a relatively substantial number of consular papyri, including a few from the three oases of Bahariya, Dakhla and Kharga in the western desert. Currently, none has been returned from Siwa and Farafra, nor from the neighbouring province of Cyrenaica more generally. As far as the inscriptions are concerned, one comes from Alexandria, one from Koptos and the remaining ones from Thebes and its environs.

As argued previously, due to the nature of the documentation, some of the consular dates included in the papyrus documentation can reasonably be understood as closest to the official formula employed in tribunals and governmental offices. The documentation covers all the chronological span under consideration. It is largely written in Greek, but a small corpus of twenty-nine Latin dates and an additional formula in Hebrew (in Aramaic letters) also survive. As shown above (Graph 2.1) about 50% of the material has been thoroughly reviewed. Based on the sample, it can be concluded that there are no less than five Greek formulas that were employed in Egypt in 284-541: 1) N.N. (dat.); 2) ἐπὶ ὑπάτων + N.N.; 3) ἐπὶ ὑπατείας + N.N. (gen.); 4) ὑπατείας + N.N. (gen.) and 5) ὑπατεία + N.N. (gen.). The most common one appears to have been ὑπατείας + N.N. (gen.), ubiquitous throughout our period. The form ὑπατ(ε)ία also

³⁰⁸ T.Vind. II 186.13-14 with editor's note p. 145. For the other texts (eight wooden tablets found during the Bloomberg excavations, 2010-14), see the same volume, p. 152 ff.

³⁰⁹ Handley 2003: 20-21.



Figure 8. Geographical distribution of the late-antique findspots in Egypt.

appears to have been used. In our sample. This is attested for the first time at the end of the 360s and more frequently in the second half of the fifth century and the following one. Unfortunately, more precision is hampered by a significant number of fragmentary papyri whose lacunae could be filled with either ὑπατ(ε)ία or ὑπατείας followed by the names in genitive. Hence, even if ὑπατείας is more likely, in theory ὑπατεία could also be restored in lacuna.³¹⁰ One isolated papyrus from 354 still gives the very rare Greek calque of the Latin ablative, which provides the names in the dative plus ὑπάτοις (restored in the papyrus).³¹¹ After this, the variant ἐπὶ ὑπάτων is the oldest; its attestation ceased in the 340s.³¹² Finally, ἐπὶ (τῆς) ὑπατ(ε)ίας (a curious mix of the old and new forms, perhaps emulating the Latin *consulatu*) has also produced a few outliers throughout our period.³¹³ However, as noted by Gonis, in most cases these instances are referred to dates within the body of the text (where the dating clause is preceded by a verb).³¹⁴ Concerning the Latin dates, these give invariably the names in ablative + *consulibus* (or its abbreviations), and no *consulatu* form is ever found. This is probably no accident, for these Latin formulas date exclusively documents issued by the provincial authorities. The following represents the variations attested in Latin formulas:

Formula	No.
N.N. (abl.)	3
N.N. (abl.) + co(n)s(ulibus)	11
N.N. (abl.) + consulibus	4
N.N. (abl.) + co(n)ss(ulibus)	4
N.N. (abl.) + cons(ulibus)	2
N.N. (abl.) + co(n)s(ule)	1

³¹⁰ Salway (2008: 282-3) argues that the peculiarity of the Egyptian formula in ὑπατείας + N.N. (gen.) can be seen by the near-contemporary use of ὑπατεία + N.N. (gen.) in Arabian and Palestinian inscriptions, which was uncommon in Egypt. Albeit possible, there are some perils in basing this conclusion on evidence drawn by comparing inscriptions and papyri. For a discussion, cf. p. 57-8.

³¹¹ P.Laur. IV 169.4 (unkn.; rest.).

³¹² P.Col. VII 181.1 = P.Coll.Youtie II 78 and BGU IV 1049.1 (both from Arsin. And dated 342) are the last in my sample.

³¹³ P.Stras. I 9.6 (Arsin., 352; rest.); P.Panop. 22.5 (332; doc. 25.iii.336); P.Oxy. LXIII 4394 (Alexandria; 492; doc. 494); P.Gascou 21.10 (Herm.; 514); P.Bingen 132.4 (Antaiop.; 541); P.Stras. VI 597.2 (Herm.; 541); cf. IG XIV 956B.23 = IGUR I 246 for an equivalent Latin inscription from Rome, dated after 313.

³¹⁴ P.Gascou 21.10 (Herm.; 514) does come from a dating clause, but still gives verb + formula as ἐ[γ]ράφη [ἐπ]ὶ [ὑπ]ατείας; Gonis (communication 9 July 2022.)

Overall, the documentation include contracts of different kinds (i.e. of lease, rent, sale, purchase, loan, employment, transportation, partnership, inheritance, mortgage, fishing rights, division of property etc.); receipts (recording paid taxes and other financial transactions; deliveries of goods and animals); suretyships and similar declarations; judicial proceedings; donations; lists of tax payers; adoptions; wills; complaints and warranties; official depositions; annulments of purchases, and the list could go on.³¹⁵ Furthermore, we find documents pertaining to the administrative apparatus and the military, and more precisely: minutes of council meetings; proposals and nominations for tax collectors and other liturgies; official letters by lower and higher provincial officials; reports; declarations of *sitologoi* and official proclamations and *communiqués*; military certificates; various documents of the *Annona Militaris*; military orders and lists of recruits.³¹⁶ Finally, our texts feature petitions sent by private citizens to officials of various levels and ranks (e.g. *praepositi pagi*; tax collectors; public advocates; local chiefs of police and policemen; provincial governors etc.) and bodies (i.e. city councils); medical reports, school and writing exercises, and other written notes.

Up to the Tetrarchic period consular dating in Egypt was almost exclusively used in Roman wills or military records, where the dating protocol could include (at its full): place of writing + day and month designations of the Roman calendar + consular date + regnal year + day and month designations of the Egyptian calendar.³¹⁷ This protocol underwent three important changes in the course of late antiquity. First, from the 290s on, regnal dating in Egypt was gradually abandoned in favour of consular dating. Second, Roman day and month designations were always very rare in Egypt, save for a short period between the end of the third century to approximately 316, after which papyri generally mention the Egyptian designations.³¹⁸ Lastly, in the course of the fourth and, especially, fifth centuries, an ever-larger number of documents (most prominently fiscal and legal ones) complemented the consular date with an indictional year. After the adoption of the indiction in the region, documents that do not employ it are

³¹⁵ BGU IV 1094.17 (evidence of a crime);

³¹⁶ Cf., e.g. CEpist. Lat. 231.11 = ChLA XLIII 1248 (2) (military diploma);

³¹⁷ For a list of consular papyri before Diocletian, see: Calderini 1944: 184-195 with further bibliographical notes in Bagnall & Worp 2004: 3 n. 7. The full dating protocol is in P.Oxy. 2857.31-34; cf. Salway 2008: 280, who notes that the unpopularity of consular dating in Egypt is also evidenced by the awkward use of the dative in Greek for the Latin ablative.

³¹⁸ Bagnall & Worp 2004: 3, following Sijpesteijn 1979: 231-2 n. 13 and 16.

fundamentally petitions or other sort of unofficial texts.³¹⁹ Accordingly, from that point and until the reintroduction of regnal dating in 537, the standard outline of the Egyptian protocol in fiscal/legal texts would appear to remain as follows: consular dating + Egyptian month and day + indiction (+ place of writing occasionally).

What prompted these changes? The massive introduction of consular dating in Egypt must have been the result of a directive issued by Diocletian and Galerius around the end of the third or the start of the fourth century. No source informs us on this directive, let alone the reasons behind it. Salway sets the change in the context of the political turmoil and the financial/administrative re-organisation that Egypt underwent under Diocletian and Galerius.³²⁰ On considering that *NovIust.* 47 needed about 1-2 years to reflect in Egyptian practice, he suggests the lost directive may have been issued in 291-2, changing slightly the original view of Bagnall and Worp, who connected the introduction of consular dating to the establishment of the first Tetrarchy in March, 293.³²¹ While the historical background can be accepted, there are some qualifications that must be added.

The graphs in 2.11 & 2.12 show that the existence of this directive is strongly supported by both the rapid surge of consular formulas and the concurring fall of regnal dating. As to the date of this reform, however, Graph 2.13 would seem to suggest that a date as early as 291/2 or 293 might be too early. As things stand, the 290s witnessed a strong uptrend in consular material, but the number of papyri using regnal years remained equally significant.³²² The change-over in practice took far longer than 1-2 years, as it was only in 307 that regnal dating experienced a drastic drop in usage (with consular dating finally managing to overtake it) and only by the 310s that it died out.³²³ What is the correct date then? By analogy, i.e. considering the 1-2 year gap from the actual fall in frequency (307), one may surmise 305/6. As known, in 305 Galerius acceded to the throne as Augustus but it is not obvious why he would have had his first thoughts to Egypt back then. A second (more plausible) option is perhaps Diocletian's edict in 297, which ordered a general land census of Egypt. Given the bureaucratic effort that

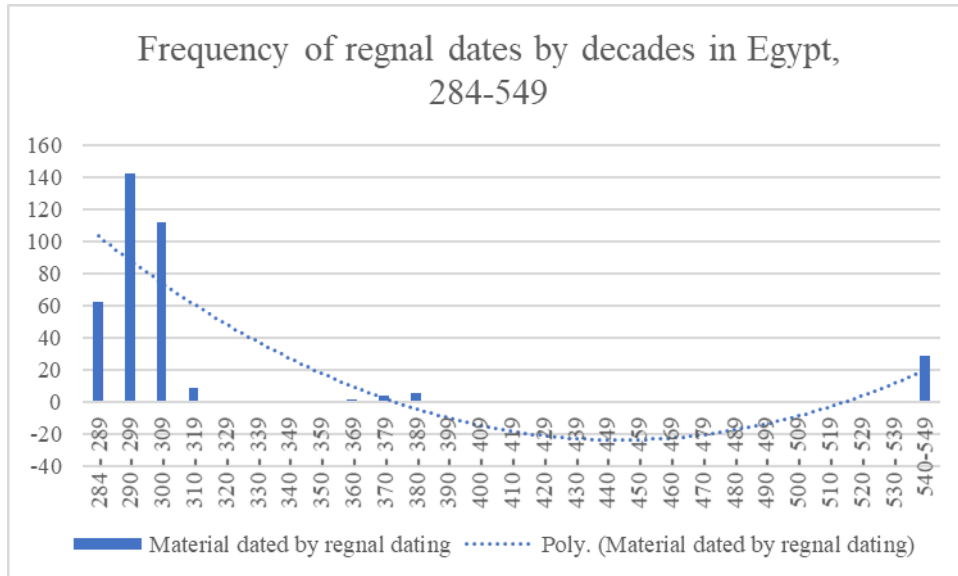
³¹⁹ Worp 1987: 94 f.

³²⁰ The sets of reform included: financial administration (AD 286); the introduction of the new taxation cycle (AD 287/8); the division of the province in two units (AD 292/3-296); the end of provincial coinage (AD 296) and the introduction of the new tax assessment (AD 297). This may have caused rebellions, which are attested in 293/4 and, more clearly, in 297/8. Cf. Salway 2008: 280-2. A similar analysis

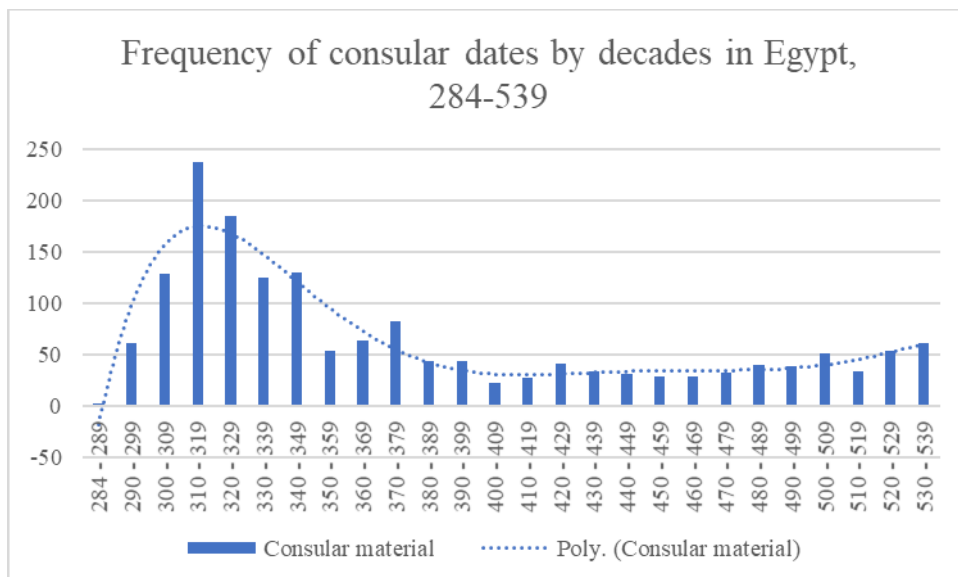
³²¹ Bagnall & Worp 1978: 50, 103; id., 2004: 3, 45, 88 elaborating on Sijpesteijn 1979: 229-240. So, too: Porena 2003: 189 and n. 3.

³²² For the papyri dated by regnal years, see: Bagnall & Worp 2004: 231-234; 241-243.

³²³ Bagnall & Worp 2004: 244-251.

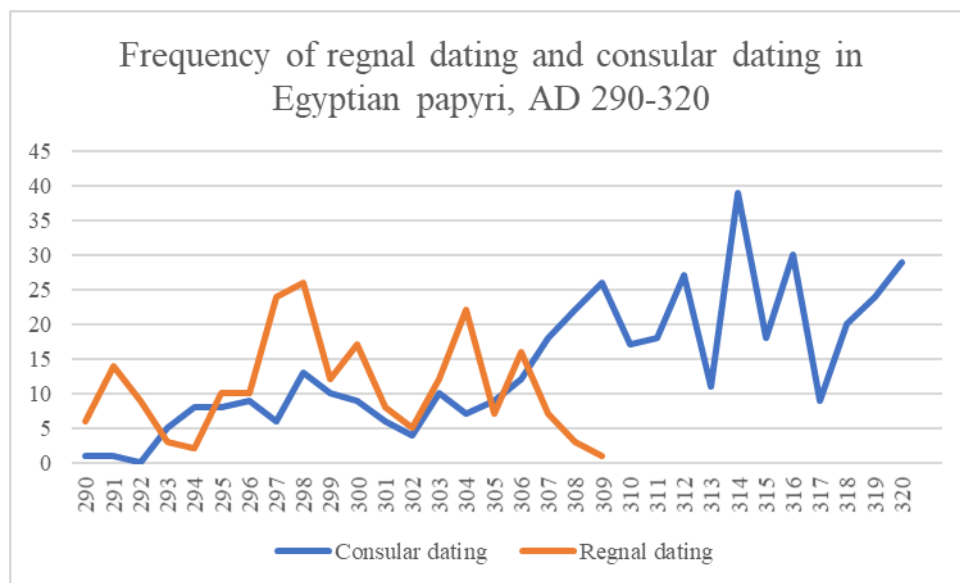


Graph 2.11. Representing inscriptions and papyri. Dataset from Bagnall & Worp 2004: 224-53



Graph 2.12. Representing ostraca, papyri and inscriptions.

this would have required, there would have certainly been very good reasons for a new provision that would have normalised the Egyptian dating practices with the rest of the empire. As Salway suggests, the designation of the Roman month and day, which was likely to be intended in the directive, may have been interpreted locally (and not necessarily promptly) as month and day of the Egyptian calendar.³²⁴



Whether consular dating became generally widespread through Egyptian society after this change is extremely uncertain. On the one hand, there are several elements that hint at it being relatively common. Obviously, the first is the size and, especially, heterogeneity of our dataset. As noted above, Egyptian papyri have not only returned texts of legal and financial nature, but also medical reports, school and writing exercises, letters and other private documents dated from 312 on.³²⁵ To this it ought to be added the evidence from inscriptions, i.e. the three proskynemata from Thebes from the mid-fourth century, and the Christian epitaph dated 409 from Alexandria. On the other hand, the overall quantity of these documents is negligible when compared to the amount of legal and fiscal material. This strongly indicates that the spread of consular dating remained limited and, ultimately, predominantly linked to formal and official contexts. Looking at the whole, then, the volume of consular dating returned from Egypt should not be taken—not necessarily at least—to imply that the system was common reference there. If dating by consuls was required for legal documents, obviously this could be found on writing

³²⁴ Salway 2008: 281.

³²⁵ Letters and private notes (others) are dated from 322 to 506.

exercises and schoolbooks. Moreover, some of the documentation that might be defined as ‘private’ could well be regarded as ‘official’ or ‘semi-official’. For instance, a medical report and a petition sent out to an official may be equated to a document written by or to an institution, which would certainly require a formal address. Similarly, while it can be agreed that an epitaph was meant to be a private document, it does not necessarily follow that the same applied to a *proskynema*—in fact, an act of public devotion by (in this case) a professional guild. Perhaps it might be, but again a formal protocol would have been seen as appropriate, exactly in the same way it was appropriate for a dedication to Jupiter in Carnuntum, an altar in Athens and so on.³²⁶

Hopefully, the new flow of discoveries will bring more insights onto the relationship of locals with dating in the private epigraphical sphere.

2.2.2.2. Oriens

Oriens refers to the homonymous diocese after its reorganisation in c. 370 (Not. Dig. or. XXII), minus Cilicia and Isauria, which are treated in the Anatolian evidence. This region has yielded only thirty-one consular dates, twenty-two of which come from Arabia (and more particularly around Bosra and Petra). Eight of these are also dated by provincial or city eras.³²⁷ Two more inscriptions are of uncertain attribution and should be excluded.³²⁸ Within the material, there are twelve papyri: four from Petra, three from Nessana and one each from Gaza, Rhinocorura (El-Arish), Askalon, Wakm (modern Syria) and Caesarea, all dated by civilian consuls (but using also other reckoning systems such as the indiction and the regnal year.) Therefore, in spite of the remarkable size of the diocese, and that it included some of the richest provinces of the empire, the documentation almost invariably comes from what once were the provinces of Palaestina I, II, III, and Arabia.

³²⁶ AE 1995, 1262 (Carnuntum; 286); IG II/III2 5 13253 = 4842 = Syll.3 907 (Athens; 387).

³²⁷ Princ.Arch.Exp.Syria III 669 (Il-Kefr, Arabia; 350); SEG XXVII 1019 = Bull. Ép. 1978, 534 (Nebo, Arabia; 530?); P.Petra I 1 (537); P.Ness. III 18 (537); P.Petra I 2 (Gaza; 538); P.Petra I 3 (538); P.Petra III 22 (540/541); P.Ness. III 17 (4th-6th c. AD?).

³²⁸ Di Segni, Workshop: Diversity and unity in ancient and medieval calendars, 18 February 2014, p. 7 n. 8 (534?; Kh. Batiya (nr. Kiryat Shmona), Upper Galilee; unpublished - now excluded by Di Segni); CIIP IV,1 3101 (IV.V.VI?; Emmaus Nicopolis, Pal. I; fun.inscr.)

The most common Greek form is certainly ὑπατεία, which is found in most dedications for building works and in legal/fiscal papyri.³²⁹ This form replaces ὑπατ(ε)ίας and ἐπὶ ὑπάτων (both also used in dedications) from the early fourth century on.³³⁰ The only Latin formula securely attested is the archaicising co(n)(s)s. + abl., which is also used in dedications and in one administrative document. Two dedications from Qasr al-Azraq, dated by the cons. 333 in genitive, might have had *consulatu* + gen.³³¹

The reference study for the chronological systems used in Arabia and Palestine is Meimaris (1992), which first attests dating by (ordinary) consuls in an *ex voto* to Caracalla from Zebîré, dated 213. Up till then, only the designation to the suffect consulship of the provincial governor of Arabia is attested epigraphically with the formula ἐπί + N. (gen.) + ὑπάτου ἀναδεδειγμένου, and the ordinary consulship is mentioned only as an office within the imperial titulary.³³² As with the inscriptions dated by suffects, so too the later ones dated by ordinary consuls invariably commemorate various building works.

From 213 until the end of the third century, there are five more inscriptions; four dated precisely by the cons. of 235, 236, 238, 296, and one more by an uncertain consulship dated 247-9. We then have no less than fifteen inscriptions for the fourth century, two for the sixth and one attributable to the 4th-6th c. AD. Meimaris includes a dedication to Anatolius, MM Orientis, dated to his consulship (440) within the consular material, though this is not in fact a consular formula.³³³ Even so, both the epigraphy and papyri make it clear that from the third to the fourth century, the region witnessed an expansion in dating by ordinary consuls in public epigraphic contexts. It does not seem, however, that this expansion was sustained in the fifth

³²⁹ IGRR III 1268 (Rîmet el Luhf, Arabia; 301); CIG III 4593 = LBW 2546a (Umm ez-Zeitun, Pal.; 331); Princ.Arch.Exp.Syria III 669 (Il-Kefr, Arabia; 350); Princ.Arch.Exp.Syria III 7991 (Djebil, Arabia; 352); AE 1905, 215 (Al-Sanamayn, Syria; 354); LBW III 2412k (Mahite, Arabia; 356); BGU I 316.1 (Askalon, Palest. I; 359); SEG VII 1164 (Dibin, Arabia; 356); P.Ness. III 16 (Nessana, Pal. III; 512); III 17 (Nessana; 517?; 4th-6th c. AD?); SEG XXVII 1019 = Bull. Ép. 1978, 534 (Nebo, Arabia; 530?); Gatier, Jordanie 2: 105-6, no. 100c = Meimaris 1992: 356 no. 47 (Nebo, Arabia; 535); P.Ness. III 18 (Nessana, Pal. III; 537); P.Petra I 16,18 (Petra?; 538); I 2 (Gaza; 538); I 3 (Petra; 538).

³³⁰ ἐπὶ ὑπάτων: OGIC II 619 = LBW III 2393 (Deir el-Lében; Arabia; AD 320); ὑπατείας: Meimaris 1992: 334 no. 18 (AD 213, Zebîré); 345 n. 20 (AD 236, Kefr-Lahâ); AE 2000, 1540 (AD 296, nr. Djebel al-Arab); LBW 2514 (Habiba, Syria?; AD 303); OGIC II 619 = LBW III 2393 (Deir el-Lében; Arabia; AD 320).

³³¹ *consulibus*: 51. SB XVIII 13851.12 = ChLA XLVI 1433 (Caesarea, Pal. I; AD 293); AE 2000, 1540 (Teyma, Syria; AD 296); AE 1948, 136 (Mafraq, Arabia; AD 334); AE 1996, 1612 (Umm al-Jimal, Arabia; AD 368); *consulatu*?: ZPE 65 (1986) 232 = AE 1987, 963 and AE 2016, 1791 (both Qasr al-Azraq, AD 333/334; p.c. poss.)

³³² Meimaris 1992: 348.

³³³ Meimaris 1992: 355 no. 45.

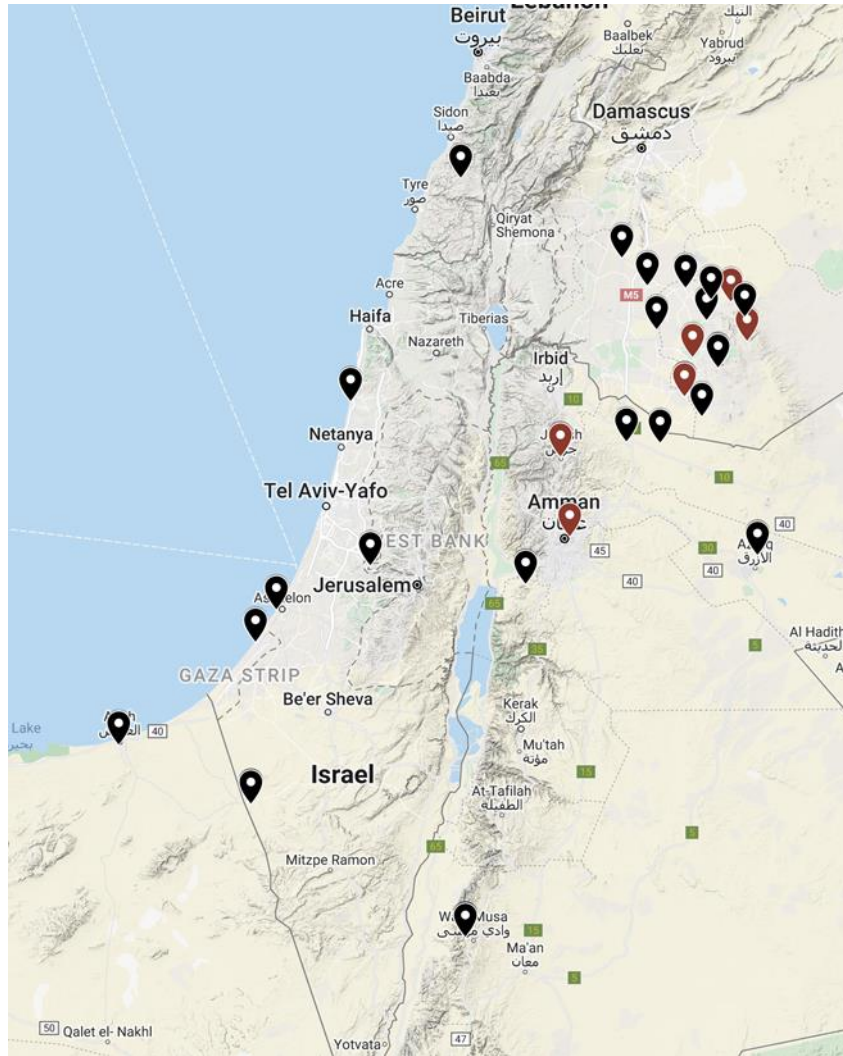


Figure 9. Early (red) and late-antique (black) consular data points.

century, and it remains uncertain whether it corresponded to a heightened more general popularity of consular dating in the region.

What is really striking is that most of the diocese, including its capital city—Antioch—and the other leading centres of Roman Mesopotamia, Euphrathensis, Osrhoene, Phoenicia Libanensis and Cyprus, has yielded no consular material at all. Arabia itself, which has returned most of the documentation, has yielded no inscriptions for the years 380-510. And although we have not as workable figures on the volume of available material (especially for Syria) as the ones we have from other regions, this phenomenon cannot be entirely explained away by preservation issues. For instance, none of the hundreds of inscriptions from Antakya (Antioch),

Şanlıurfa (Edessa), Gaziantep, Jerusalem, Caesarea and Scythopolis bears a single consular date, and Amman, Bosra and Jerash have returned only a few and only for the early period.³³⁴

Limits are clear-cut even once the focus is narrowed down to the only area of the diocese that has returned evidence. Whereas the three Palaestinae have returned legal papyri, only the province of Arabia has so far yielded uncontroversial consular inscriptions, and only for a very limited time period: save for the two dedications from Nebo from the early sixth century, no inscription is extant after 380. Of what has survived, none is an epitaph or any other sort of 'private' document. The region has produced funerary material, but when dated, a local dating system was chosen.³³⁵ Moreover, even if consular dating could and was certainly used independently in some cases, in others local dating systems (the provincial era, the indiction, or both) continued to be added to complement consular dating, which suggests that the population remained generally unfamiliar with it.³³⁶ All this being considered, one may conclude that the appearance of dating by ordinary consuls in the course of the third century and its expansion in the fourth remained geographically and contextually limited to some areas and very exceptional occasions.

As it occurred with other regions of the empire, the initial expansion of consular dating (by ordinary consuls) seems to be linked, at least partially, to the military. The majority of the early findings and a substantial portion of the late-antique ones is from an area (Hauran) that was part of the so-called *limes Arabicus*. This had been highly fortified since the Severan dynasty, and it is unlikely to be a coincidence that seven out of eleven early dates are precisely from that period or the one immediately following.³³⁷ The variant (ἐν) ὑπατεία looks like a calque of the Latin (*in*) *consulatu* and it might not be a coincidence, too, that it spread out in an area with a high level of military presence. After the early third-century emperors, Diocletian and Galerius continued to strengthen the fortifications in the region, which remained embroiled in the Roman-Persian wars (and hence a base for the military) until the 360s. Once again, the majority of the late-antique inscriptions is dated precisely to this period, distributed especially along the

³³⁴ Cf. Meimaris 1992: 101-2, 344-354, nos. 29, 32, 34-5, 37-8, 51-2 (suffect consulships in Amman, Jerash and Bosra). From Antioch, there is only one milestone mentioning the consulship of Vespasian within his titulary and a second mention of the office within imperial titulary published by Clement Prost after 1931 (communication by Nihal Kanbagli in July 2019).

³³⁵ This is also confirmed by the Concordia inscriptions; see IG XIV 2332 (AD 409/410); 2333 (AD 426/27) both dated by Seleucan era, with Lettich 1983, 1994.

³³⁶ Similarly, too: Meimaris 1992: 349.

³³⁷ Gichon 1991: 318-25; Graf 1997: 123-34.

line of defence extending from Damascus and Wadi al-Hasa (where Diocletian focused his fortification programme).³³⁸

In conclusion, it seems reasonable to assume that the Phoenician and Syrian tracts of the limes would have yielded a similar proportion of consular dates, had they been investigated (or preserved) as much as their corresponding Jordan segment. What might lie on the inland shoreline, however, is more blurred. As for legal papyri, one can be relatively certain that the use of consular dating was not limited to small villages like Nessana. Nevertheless, its use in the funerary and public epigraphy remains very uncertain. Perhaps the total disregard found in Palestine (historically hostile to Roman rule and traditionally entrenched in local dating systems) is not representative for most part of the diocese.³³⁹ Yet, if we are to talk about use, that was probably a limited one.

2.2.2.3. Asia Minor

Asia Minor encompasses the Anatolian Plateau as far east as the Armenian Highlands and the northern-most outskirts of the Mesopotamian plain. This region has yielded a late-antique data set of thirty-two consular dates. The entire body of material pertains to inscriptions and is geographically distributed as follows: eight formulas from Isauria-Cilicia, six from Phrygia, six from Asia, three from Caria, three from Bithynia, two from Lydia, and one each from Lycia, Galatia, Rhodes and Hellespontus. As it happens, the whole of the evidence is therefore from western and central Anatolia.

The size of the reviewed material only allows for initial observations. The variant *ὑπατεία* + N.N. (gen.) is attested in Cyzicus (nr. Nicomedia) in the early fourth (as in Arabia), antedated in the first and second centuries AD by *ἐπὶ ὑπάτων* + N.N. (gen.) and N.N. (dat.) + *ὑπάτοις*.³⁴⁰ In the early fourth, the genitive form continued to be used as N.N. (gen.) + *ὑπάτων*, and (as opposed to Arabia) as *(ἐπὶ) ὑπάτου* plus the name preceding or following in the fifth and sixth centuries.³⁴¹ In our period, also *ὑπατείας* + N.N. (gen.) is found for the Greek, and both

³³⁸ Parker 2006: 531 ff.

³³⁹ Meimaris 1992: 349 suggest the ‘flourishing’ existence of local city eras as a possible cause of the unpopularity of consular dating.

³⁴⁰ EpigrAnat 2 (1983) 99 = SEG XXXIII 1051 (Cyzicus; 314); IK 59, 144 (Appia, Phrygia, 79; *ἐπὶ ὑπάτων*); RECAM II, 165 (*ὑπάτοις*; AD 165). An earlier one dated to 129 is in Ritti 2008: no. 16.

³⁴¹ AE 2013, 1548 (nr. Hierapolis in Phryg.; 313); Reisen in Kilikien 89, no. 168 = AE 2013, 1673 adn. (Olba, Cilicia; 448); AE 1973, 542 (Silifke, Isauria; 521).

consulatus + N.N. (gen.) and N.N. (abl.) + *consulibus* for the Latin, with the latter being the favourite ones in laws and the former in epitaphs.³⁴²

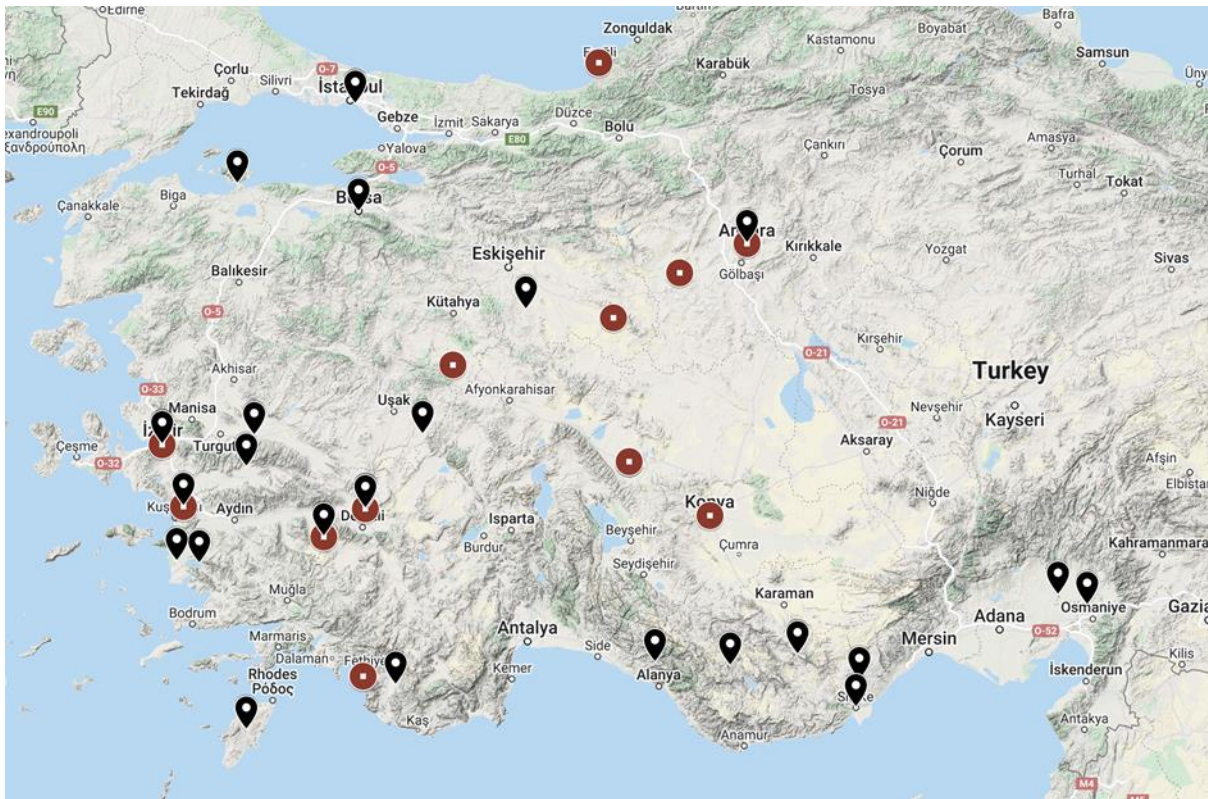


Figure 10. Early (red) and late-antique (black) consular data points.

Most of the documentation reviewed concerns dedicatory and honorary inscriptions commemorating public works (e.g. a church, an aqueduct, the maintenance of a road), however no less than six epitaphs and two dated copies of an imperial decree have also survived. One text gives the provincial and city eras, and another the regnal year, but in most cases the consular date stands on its own, with only the indiction (common in the East in the fifth and

³⁴² ὑπατείας: I.Smyrna I 560 = Grégoire, Inscr. 69 (Smyrna; 534); I 562 = Grégoire, Inscr. 70 (Smyrna; 541); I 561 = Grégoire, Inscr. 71 (Smyrna; 480 or 543?); Grégoire, Inscr. 255 (Aphrodisias; 520, doc. 551); I.Ancyra.II 334.7 (Ancyra; early 5th c. AD). *consulatus* + (gen.): CIL III Suppl. 2 12134 (Tlos, Lycia; 305); AE 1977, 806 (N. Phrygia; 356); AE 1984, 849 = AE 2012, 1499 (Sebaste, Phrygia; 390). *consulibus* + abl.: AE 1988, 1046 (Sardis; 312); *CTh* 11.28.11 (Heraclea, 416); 12.12.16 (Nicomedia, 426); 11.1.37;5.4 (Apamea, 436); NovTheod 23 (Aphrodisias, 443); *CJ* 1.4.24 (Chalcedon, 529); 1.4.26 (Chalcedon, 530). As mentioned, Asia Minor provides a few of the earliest examples of the *consulatu*-formula; cf. p. 46 above.

sixth centuries) occasionally accompanying it.³⁴³ One more inscription provides the place of writing in the dating clause.³⁴⁴

From the earlier Roman period the region has so far yielded only fourteen consular dates, all of which are from western and central-western Anatolia (Figure 10). Although this group features two early epitaphs dated to AD 165 and 263, the vast majority of the texts commemorate formal occasions.³⁴⁵ Both the small size and nature of the early body of evidence indicate that consular dating was used in Asia Minor no more than in neighbouring eastern regions, where in fact local eras and regional dating systems thrived and would continue to thrive well into late antiquity.³⁴⁶

As for the later period, whereas the relative abundance of epitaphs in especially the sixth century and the overall volume increase recorded from the earlier to the later periods, would

³⁴³ City/provincial era: cf. IK 56, 61.6 (Anazarbus; 536). Regnal dating: Grégoire, *Inscr.* 219 = Milet I 7 (1924) 303-04 no.206 (Miletus; 538). For the indiction, cf. e.g. AE 1911, 90 = SEG 1994, 1222 (Zenopolis or nr., Isauria; 488); AE 1993, 1441 (Prusa?, 508); I.Smyrna 560 = Grégoire, *Inscr.* 69 (Smyrna; 534).

³⁴⁴ Unsurprisingly, an imperial decree: AE 1988, 1046 (Sardis; 312).

³⁴⁵ RECAM II 223 (Hacitugrul, 165; epitaph); Kearsley 2001 = IK 59, 104, 7 (Smyrna, 263; epitaph). Besides what is mentioned in n. 338 above, early dates are: Reynolds 1982: no. 8.1 (Aphrodisias, 39); *MAMA* 7, 134 a (*Argithani*, 97 and poss. 105); *MAMA* 7, 134 b (*Argithani*, 97?); Roueche 1993: no. 88 (Aphrodisias, 127); Ritti 2008: no. 16 (Denizli-Hierapolis, 129); RECAM II 181 (Fethiye, 145); RECAM IV 66 (Iconium, 169); IK 66, 166 (Pessinou, 216).

³⁴⁶ For local eras, see IK 66, 170 (Pessinou; 2 half of 2nd c. AD; archon in honorary dedications); IK 56, 22 (Anazarbos; date by governorship); IK 61, 234-5 (Perge; local eras); IK 70, 45 (Sagalassos; local eponymous mag.); RECAM IV 47 (Iconium; AD 156/7; consular date + archon and date by governorship). In the 160 inscriptions from Kibyra (not far from Aphrodisias) and Olbasa is attested a large use of local eras (era of Kibyra, Sullan era and era of Lycia-Pamphylia) in funerary, honorary and dedicatory inscriptions (all 2nd/3rd c. AD): see RECAM III 15.13, 14, 19, 21, 22, 24, 27, 28, 30, 42, 48, 49, 50, 51; 30.5, 20, 21, 45; 38; 41; 64.12; 65; 66?; 69.1, 2; 73; 76; 80.5; 92; 94; 100.4, 8, 10; 102; 105; 114; 115.8?; 162. In North Galatia, era dating is used from the beginning of the Roman imperial period up to (at least) the mid fifth century, both in dedications to gods and funerary inscriptions: RECAM II 40 (Gokceayva), 49 (Asagi Dudas), 75 (Ikizafer), 113 (Nasreddin Hoca), 120 (Tutlu), 156 (Sariyar), 191 (Kizilcahamam), 195 (Bugduz), 197 (Akyurt) 201 (Hasayaz), 205 (Karahuyuk), 206 (Karahuyuk), 209 (Kalecik), 209a (Kalecik), 239 (Tol), 239a (Cukulca), 242 (Karahoca), 257 (Inler), 325 (Yurtbeyci). The Galatian era/era is used in Ankara in AD 131 (a possible votive text) and AD 484 (a dedication to the mother of God) along with the indiction, which appears 25 times (AD 384; 376; 387; 411; 408; 366; 404; 374; 447; 368; 502; 417; 392; 406; 363; 409; 414; 390; 372; 394; 500; 385; 373; 391; 395 (most, if not all, are funerary inscriptions); cf. the documentation collected under these years in Mitchell and French 2019. For era systems used in Central Pisidia, see IK 57. For the Burdur province: RECAM V 327 (Sullan era), 108 (the Galatian era), 350 (indiction) and the many attestations of the Kibyran era. For the latter (attested from the 1st to the 6th century AD), see, more generally, IK 60. For the use of dating by the priest of Rome in early Roman Sardis, cf. H. Malay 1994: 129 n. 438. In many cities of Phrygia, the common dating system was the Sullan era which was computed since BC 85/4; cf. Ritti 2008: 80.

appear to pinpoint an expansion of consular dating, ultimately one can speak of this only in relative terms. Generally speaking, the system was only rarely employed (epigraphically) in the region at all times, and one of the most remarkable tell-tale signs of this is that there are whole provinces where consular dating remains poorly documented or even unknown, the overall weight of the available evidence notwithstanding. To have a more accurate overview of this, the following are some approximate figures relating to the material reviewed in each sub-regional data set: Cilicia/Isauria (680); Pamphylia (920); Phrygia (410); Asia (1900); Caria (1800); Bithynia (450); Lydia (100); Lycia (480); Galatia (930); Rhodes (800); Hellespontus (220 in Sinope alone); Pisidia (1500); Honorias (90 in Heraclea Pontica alone); Lycaonia (800).³⁴⁷ Based on this and on the total number of early and later consular formulas, it is clear that the ratio is never lower than 1:50 and typically falls around 1:310. Remarkably, this picture does not change if one focuses solely on the epigraphical corpuses from the Roman provincial capitals and other major urban settlements. As a way of illustration, no dates have been returned among the ca. 240 inscriptions from Antioch of Pisidia, nor from the 830 from Perge, the 140 from Laodicea, the 220 from Sinope.³⁴⁸ Anazarbos yielded only one date out of a total of no less than 650 inscriptions; and so too Iconium (out of 240), Ankyra (out of 230); Pessinou (out of 200); Sardis (out of 560).³⁴⁹ Only Aphrodisias does better with three out of 390.³⁵⁰ True enough, much material does mention consuls or consulships, but in the vast majority of the cases what is mentioned is either the office or the individual and not a consular date.³⁵¹ More evidence from other miscellaneous literary sources underpins this conclusion.³⁵²

How do we explain the current distribution of the evidence? The map in Figure 11 gives a near to real overview of all the places of publications and excavations that have yielded inscriptions in the region. As is evident, over the years there has been a disproportionate focus

³⁴⁷ *Cilicia/Isauria*: Dagon – Feissel 1987; IK 56; Sayar – Siewert – Taeuber 1989. *Pamphylia*: IK 37, 43-44, 54, 61; Bean 1965. *Phrygia*: IK 49; Ritti 2008. *Asia* (partial for Ephesus): IK 69; IK 50-51, 53, 59-60, 63; RECAM III; İplikçiöğlü 1993. *Caria*: IK 34-35, 68, 71; Debord – Varinlioglu 2001; Reynolds 1982; Roueché 1989, Roueché - de Chaisemartin 1993. *Bithynia*: IK 32, 39-40. *Lydia*: Malay 1994. *Lycia*: Schindler 1972; Tomaschitz 1998. *Galatia*: RECAM II; Mitchell – French 2019; French 2003. *Rhodes*: IG XII 1; IK 38; Bresson 1991. *Hellespontus*: IK 64. *Pisidia*: IK 57, 62, 67, 70; RECAM V; İplikçiöğlü – Çelgin – Çelgin 1991, 1992, 1994. *Honorias*: IK 47. *Lycaonia*: RECAM IV.

³⁴⁸ IK 49, 54, 61, 64, 67.

³⁴⁹ IK 56, 66; RECAM II, IV; Mitchell and French 2019; French 2003; Malay 1994.

³⁵⁰ Reynolds 1982; Roueché 1989, Roueché - de Chaisemartin 1993.

³⁵¹ Cf. e.g. Ritti 2008: 21 (Denizli-Hierapolis); Bean 1965: 108 (Side); Reynolds 1982: 6.3; 16.4 (Aphrodisias); French 2003: 6, 14, 72 (Ankyra).

³⁵² Cf. *CLRE* 28-9.

by modern research on western-central Anatolia. Based on this, back in 2019 I spent a research period of three months at the British Institute at Ankara, during which I identified twenty-one collections deserving priority investigation. As it turned out, however, the survey of seven of these (Adana, Ankara, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa-Edessa, Mardin, Dara-Anastasiopolis and Amida-Diyarbakır) has only added one more consular date to our known dataset. In 2021 a second survey of six more collections in the Black Sea region, which included Amasea (Amasya), Sinope and Pompeiopolis, has added none. This outcome is all the more puzzling in that some



Figure 11. Places of publications and excavations (yellow).

of these centres, especially Anastasiopolis and Amida, were major garrisons in late antiquity, and hence their failure to produce consular material goes against the pattern seen in other regions. Doubtless, the poor state of preservation of some of the sites could be an explanatory factor. But at present, the prevailing pattern of the evidence suggests that, while further research on Asia Minor (and especially its eastern outskirts) may bring to light new findings, it looks unlikely that these would significantly affect the overall quantitative and geographical distributions of the evidence.

2.2.2.4. Constantinople and Eastern Illyricum

Eastern Illyricum designates the homonymous prefecture created after 437 (with the exclusion of Sirmium). The region has yielded forty-two formulas dating from 287 to the end of the period under consideration. Save for one papyrus from Constantinople dated 541, all our dates pertain to inscriptions, the majority of which (26) are from continental Greece and Macedonia, and within this, the area of Thessalonica and Corinth. The remainder are scattered over the other European provinces of Constantinople, including Europa (3), Moesia Secunda (2), Epirus Nova (1), Rhodope (1), Haemimontus (1), Creta (1) and Insulae (1).

What is most striking is certainly that, while there is no lack of texts set up in formal contexts, epitaphs are unusually common—in fact, three times more common than in Asia Minor and twenty more times than in Egypt. Overall, these are no less than twenty, with their distribution as follows: Macedonia (10), Peloponnese (5), Thrace (4) and Epirus (1). One instance is dated as early as AD 362, and two more to the end of the fifth century; all the others, however, fall invariably into the sixth century. This chronology explains the mention of the indiction (also common in contemporary western epitaphs) in no less than fourteen gravestones dating from 492 to 538, in the Constantinopolitan papyrus and, finally, four more texts commemorating some prestigious occasion (i.e. a building work, an imperial decree etc.) and dating to the first half of the sixth century. Less obviously, the indiction accompanies the consular dates on three dedications to bases of bronze statues dated 430, 431 and 432.³⁵³

The papyrus complements the indiction and the consular date by providing Justinian's regnal year in the following order: month + day + indiction + regnal year + consular date. Remarkably, the provision of *NovJust.* 47 is applied hypercorrectly by an epitaph from Elesnica (Eleshnitsa, Thrace) dated AD 538, which also gives the dating clause (minus some elements) in the same order.³⁵⁴

³⁵³ See p. 124 n. 358 below.

³⁵⁴ Cf. P.Cair.Masp. II 67126 (Constantinople, 541):

[μηνὶ] Ἰανουαρίῳ ἐβδόμη, ἰνδικτίωνι τετάρτη, ἐν βασιλείας [το(ῦ) θειοτάτο(υ)] καὶ εὐσεβεστάτο(υ) ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλ(αβίου) Ἰουστινιανο(ῦ) [το(ῦ) αἰωνίο(υ)] Ἀγούστου καὶ Ἀυτοκράτορος ἔτους τεσερασκαιδεκάτη, ὑπατείας Φλ(αβίου) Βασιλείο(υ) τοῦ λαμπροτάτο(υ).

Remarkably, this matches the phrasing of Beshevliev, *Spätgriech. u. Spätlat. Inschr. aus Bulg.* [1964] 231 [Elesnica, Thracia; AD 538], which gives:

μ(ηνὶ) Ἰουνίῳ βι' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνι) α' βα[σιλεί]ας τοῦ διοτ(άτου) κ(αὶ) εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡ[μῶν] δεσπό(του) Φλ(αβίου) Ἰουστινιαν[οῦ] τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀγ(ούστου) κ(αὶ) Ἀυτοκρ[ά]τορος ἔτους βι' ὑπατίας Φλ(αβίου) Ἰωάννου τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου).

Then, one more document from Athens provides the local city era.³⁵⁵ Apart from this, no other documents mention the local era within the sample.

Regarding the variant formulas being used, ὑπατ(ε)ία is securely attested only in the early sixth century, and possibly in other fragmentary material dated from 470-539 where the abbreviation (i.e. ὕτ.; ὕπ.; ὕπατ.; ὕπα.) is followed by the nouns in genitive.³⁵⁶ However, the evidence is not conclusive since the genitive is also used for ὑπατ(ε)ίας, which is also attested.³⁵⁷ Curiously enough, the region provides for the only two (likely three) attested instances of the formula *in cons(ulatibus)*, along with the standard form in ablative + *cons(ulibus)*, *consulibus* or *consule*.³⁵⁸

Currently, this study has not been able to survey the distributions of the early material thoroughly for anywhere other than in Greece, Macedonia and the Aegean region.³⁵⁹

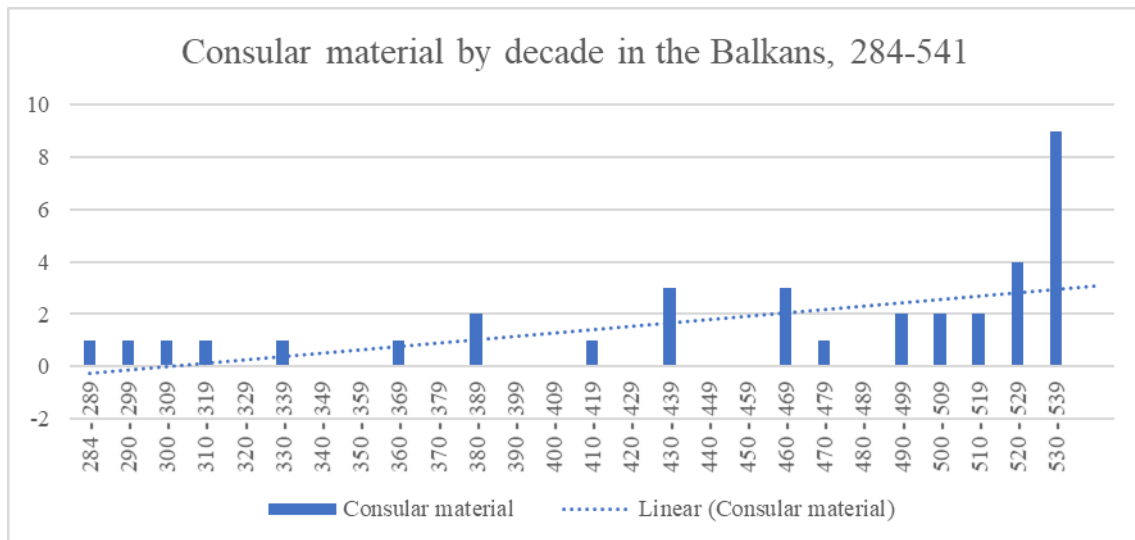
³⁵⁵ IG II/III2 5 13253 = 4842 = Syll.3 907 (Attica, 387).

³⁵⁶ τῆ ὕπ(ατεία): SEG XXIX 641 = Feissel, Rec.Inscr.Chrét.Macéd. 131 = IG X 2,1 1518 (Thess., 507). Uncertain material: IG X 2,1s 1495 (Thess., 470); Feissel, Rec.Inscr.Chrét.Macéd. 64 (Beroia, 492); AE 1994, 1550 = I.Ancyra.II G13 (Plotinopoulos, Thrace, 501); SEG XXIX 642 = D. Feissel, Rec.Inscr.Chrét.Macéd. 132 (Thess., 519); SEG XXVI 778 = Feissel, Rec.Inscr.Chrét.Macéd. 134 (Thess., 525); Arch.Eph. 1977, 67 n. 6 = SEG 1979, 310 = SEG 1987, 267 (Corinth, 533); IG X 21403 = Feissel, Rec.Inscr.Chrét.Macéd. 135 (Thess., 535); IG X 2 1 804 = Feissel, Rec.Inscr.Chrét.Macéd. 134 (Thess., 535); I.Cret. IV 460 = Bandy, 31 (Gortyn, 539); IG IV2 3 1688 (Corinth, 5th-6th c. AD). In total, seven epitaphs and one dedication.

³⁵⁷ ὑπατεία: IG2 II/III 5 13249 = 1121 (Athens, 305); SEG 1994, 607 = AE 1994, 1549 (Plotinopoulos, Thrace; 499); A.Dumont-Th. Homolle, Mélanges d'arch. et d'épigr. (1892) 414 no. 86 (Panion, 519); Beshevliev, Spätgriech. u. Spätlat. Inschr. aus Bulg. (1964) 231 (Elesnica, 538); P.Cair.Masp. II 67126 (Constantinople, 541). In total, two epitaphs, one dedicatory inscription and one contract.

³⁵⁸ 1) *In cons(ulatibus)*: AE 2005, 1328 (Novae, 430, m.l.d.); AE 2005, 1329 (Novae, 431); AE 2005, 1330 (Novae, 432; *cons(ulatibus)*). 2) *cons(ulibus)*: MAMA VII 305 = ILS 6091 (Constantinople; 331); Sayar 1998: 355 (Selymbria, Thrace; 362; *consulibus*); Grégoire, Inscr. 314.26 = ILCV 23.ii.9 (Constantinople; 527; *consule*).

³⁵⁹ For the amount of recovered early material, see the discussion below. Moreover, a substantial number of formulas dating from 99 to 235 AD is also given in Piso 2001. Early consular dates are also attested in Scythia Minor and reported in IScM I 68 (a decree) and, possibly, in the remaining volumes. None of these seems to go beyond the second half of the third century. Also, Daicoviciu – Aricescu 1964 give at least two early consular formulas. Novae in Moesia Inferior has also a few formulas from the second half of the second century and the first half of the third century AD; see, Božilova – Kolendo – Mrozewicz 1992 and Božilova et al. 1997. Other areas remain to be investigated further. For instance, there is no published late-antique material for Lesbos, Tesos and Temenos. Albania has returned a few early consuls (I did not check whether these pertain to consular dates or mere mentions of the office): see Ehmig – Haensch 2012; but there seems to be no late Roman consuls; this overview is confirmed by Anamali – Ceka – Deniaux 2009 (*Corpus des inscriptions latines d'Albanie*), which gives more than 280 inscriptions mentioning emperors from Augustus to Julian; in it, there are early consular dates but not later ones.



However, what is known for the latter suggests the same pattern we already encountered in Asia Minor. Although mentions of consuls and consulships are not absent in the epigraphy of the above-mentioned sub-region, consular dating was generally used very rarely and predominantly for official purposes.³⁶⁰ At present, there are eighteen formulas from this area, all dated from BC 66 to AD 260, and with the vast majority of the findings pertaining to dedicatory or honorary texts; imperial letters or decrees; and other public events.³⁶¹ However, it is worth noting that the devise was not used consistently even in imperial letters (as Constantine would later lament).³⁶² There is no doubt that the limitation of consular dating to

³⁶⁰ For the mention of the consulship as office, c.f., e.g., IG XII 641, 891, 900, 901, 1179 (Kos); IG XII 6,1 164 5, 367 A. B II, 367 B 1, 381, 387, 388, 397, 482 and 483 (Samo); IG IV² 779,2 (Aegina); IG XII 9 1179 (Euboea).

³⁶¹ E.g. IG II/III² 2, 1099, a letter sent by Empress Plotina to the Athenians (AD 121); IG IV 1534, from the temple of Apollo in Epidaurus, a letter by Marcus Aurelius carved into marble (AD 163); a third imperial letter dated by the coss. of 204 is in IG XII 5, 132 from Paros. The nature of the Greek/Macedonian early sample is not different than the evidence from the rest of eastern Illyricum. See n. 358 above, and the dedicatory inscriptions for an altar of Jupiter from Scythia Minor in Zahariade – Alexandrescu 2011: 31 n.8 (171 AD); Ivi, p. 31-2 n. 9 (200 AD); Ivi, p. 32-3 n. 10 (209AD). In Dacia: Marchi – Pál 2010: 272 (*horologiarum templum* from Dacia), 283 f. (one dedicatory inscription *pro salutis*; a second one to two unnamed *Augusti Iovii*, a third dated by the coss. 224 and one more for a signum Iovis dated by *M. Statio Prisco consule [designato]*), along with the military diploma from Moesia inf. In Mitchell – French 2019: L21 (AD 146).

³⁶² No consular formula (in fact, no dating formula at all) is preserved, for instance, in: the Athenian fragment of Diocletian's edict on prices (IG II/III 5 13248 = 1120); see also: IG IX 1², 4, 797 (in the name of Galerius and Maximinus.)



Figure 12. Early (red) and late-antique (black) consular data points.

extraordinary occasions coincided with the widespread use of the local era which is attested in various poleis to date everything from legal and political documents to raw bricks.³⁶³

A functional change can be observed by the mid-fourth century, when consular dates are increasingly and then largely found with funerary or other sort of religious inscriptions. Whereas this allows us to speak of an 'expansion' and or 'change of use' from the earlier to the later period in relative terms, quantitatively any expansion was limited and not remotely comparable to the remarkable growth witnessed elsewhere (like Burgundy).³⁶⁴ One can conclude that the system was uncommon even in regions where the biggest assemblies of formulas are found. For instance, in Corinth (the capital of Achaëa) local gravestones frequently drop several elements, but the most excluded of all is the consular date.³⁶⁵ Undoubtedly, this was not due to the time of erection of the tombstone, since a relatively large number of them was erected later in the year, i.e. when the names of the consul were most likely to be already announced.³⁶⁶ Many late-antique Macedonian and Greek epitaphs do not even bear a date; and if they do, this is likely to be the indictional year.³⁶⁷ It is telling of the depth of consular dating in the Attic region as a whole that an Athenian pagan altar dated by

³⁶³ For example, Thessalonica used the Actian era to date both proclamations and dedications, cf. IG X 2,1, 1072-4 (also dated by consuls and provincial era), 1045, 1056, 1058, as well as funerary contexts along with the provincial era (see note below). In Kos in the 1st c. BC dating by the local official extended beyond the political realm: see, for instance, IG XII 4,1 324, 326 and 365. Corcyrians, too, dated by prytanes in the Classical and Roman periods (see IG IX 1², 4, 856, a dedication ἐπὶ πρυτάνιος Κλεάνδρου dated to the 1st BC and 1071-1135, bricks written-in by the magistrate in office; 1196, a decree dated to BC 208, and possibly 1197, an earlier decree.) Similarly, prytanes are mentioned in Cephalonia and possibly Ithaca (see the decree in IG IX 1², 4, 1582; for Ithaca, the bricks in IG IX 12, 4 1630-35.). Roman Athens, too, still used local magistrates to date decrees: IG II/III² 2, 1072, 1077. IG IV² 1 collects 740 inscriptions pertaining to altars dedicated from the 1st to the 5th c. AD in Epidaurus, many of which being dated by the Olympics, the eras of Hadrian and Actium, and however rarely, Corinth (see p. 105.)

³⁶⁴ Cf. Graph 2.7 p. 91 above.

³⁶⁵ Cf. n. below.

³⁶⁶ Cf. IG IV², 3, 1448, 1463, 1479 in June; 1456 in July; 1466, 1485, 1487 in September; 1543 in possibly October; 1411, 1480, 1486, 1538 in November; and 1515, 1580 even in December. See indices of IG IV² 3 ('calendaria' p.177-8) for complete data about this.

³⁶⁷ For undated funerary inscriptions, see IG IX, 12, 5 (Locrian region); IG IX 12, 4 (Corcyra); IG IX 12, 4 (Leucas); IG IX 12, 4 (Cephalonia); IG IX 12, 4 (Ithaca). For this habit in Macedonia, see Tataki 1988: 61-6, esp. 66. The indiction is widely attested in, for instance, Corinth, cf. e.g., IG IV², 3, 1321, 1330, 1331, 1397, 1414, 1426, 1436, 1440, 1340 (*epinemesis*), 1370, 1377 (*epinemesis*), 1402, 1412 1420 1432, 1448, 1452, 1456, 1462, 1463, 1466, 1522 and 1540; Thessalonica IG X 2,1 Supp. 1500, 1521 and poss. 1526 and 1544.

p.c. Honori I et Evodi is also dated by the Athenian archon.³⁶⁸ It is true that in some cities that have yielded a substantial number of dates, like Thessalonica (the prefectorial capital), city and provincial eras ceased to complement consular dates in the later period.³⁶⁹ But elsewhere an increase of consular dates does not follow the visible decline in the use of local eras.³⁷⁰ Looking beyond these boundaries: it must mean something that only three inscriptions dated by consuls have been returned from Constantinople and surrounding villages. Considering a total of about 400 available inscriptions for the eastern capital alone this gives us a ratio of 1:200.³⁷¹ Probably, this is not what one would expect from a place where consuls were proclaimed every year, and certainly is nothing comparable to the ratio of 1:20 for its western counterpart, the city of Rome.

³⁶⁸ IG II/III² 5 13253 = 4842 = Syll.3 907 (Athens). The altar was consecrated by a man of *clarissimus* rank, Musonius, so probably one of the leading men of the city at the time of dedication (see *PLRE I* 'Musonius 3': 614 for the possible family links with the homonymous *vicarius Asiae* in 367/8.)

³⁶⁹ The last inscription dated by consuls and a local era is IG X 2,1,1075 dated AD 260, then the consular material never uses it, though mentioning the indiction. Previously local eras were used in different types of funerary inscriptions. For IG X 2,1, see: 1473 Actian or prov. era (AD 71/2 or 187/8); ; 1478 Actian era (AD 186/7); 1481 Actian era (AD 70/1 or 170/1.) *Tabulae*: 1215 Actian era (AD 167); 1271 (AD 253/4); 1319 (AD 220/1); 1320 (AD 233); 1321 (AD 236/7); 1322 (AD 248/59). *Stelae*: 1339 Actian and provincial eras (AD 117/8); 1354 (AD 90/1); 1366 (AD 125/6); 1368 Actian era (AD 159/60). *Arae*: 1394 Actian era (AD 215); 1400 either Actian or prov. eras (AD 269); 1403 Actian and prov. eras (AD 160); sarcophagi and *ossuaria*: 1415 Actian and prov. eras (AD 147/8); 1438 Actian era (AD 146); 1450 Actian and prov. eras (AD 139); 1467 Actian and prov. eras (AD 227/8). The material from northern Macedonia shows similar features.

³⁷⁰ Though the Athenian archon still appears in IG II/III² 5 13253 = 4842 = Syll.3 907 (Attica), none of the late-antique Attic inscriptions published in IG II/III² 5 is dated by the Athenian archons. This seems to suggest that the practice faded. Nos. 13362, 13435 (frg.) and 13527 only mention the month and the indiction. 13521 only month and day. 13604, 13610 month, indiction and day (in this order.) 13607 possibly the month (frg.). 13416, which could be from a burial too, bore the month(s) and the day. 13678 may have been dated by ἐπινέμησις but the text is too fragmentary to be conclusive.

³⁷¹ IK 58.

Chapter 3.

Announcement and Dissemination

Although no ancient account tells us how the Roman state apparatus operated in announcing and disseminating consular dates, a number of important aspects of the process can be recovered through the study of our sources, most importantly the extant consular and post-consular material. In this chapter I will outline the fundamental points that can be made about the possible starting locations, directories and means of dissemination, along with possible changes in time and space.

3.1. Introduction: The State Apparatus, the Announcement and the Dissemination of the Official Formula

Some individuals and even larger segments of the population could (and probably did) gain knowledge of the new consuls through unofficial mechanisms. However, the standard way by which the name of the new consular year was announced to the cities must have been inevitably by means of official channels.

As in the earlier period, so too in the later one, official communication between the centre and the periphery revolved around the dissemination of official proclamations, and as with other important news, this was unquestionably how the appointment of the new consuls was officially conveyed to the provinces.³⁷² We are informed about this process by the Theodosian Code, which preserves five laws terminating, for some classes of citizens (the poorest), the statutory obligation to contribute to payments demanded by state officials for the announcement (and, possibly, registration in the city records) of various news of public concern.³⁷³ Roman law calls these officials ‘*publicae laetitiae nuntii*’ or, later, ‘*consulum nuntiatores*’ and clearly mentions the proclamation of the new consuls at the start of the year

³⁷² Ando 2000: 109-17.

³⁷³ One of the laws (CTh. 8.11.4) proclaims ‘*fastis si honor datus fuerit regalium trabearum*’. It is more likely that the ‘royal vestments’ (*regalium trabearum*) refer to an emperor’s enthronement than the entrance in office of an ordinary consul. The consular robe (*trabea consularis*; cf. 12.3.1) hardly could be referred to as ‘royal’; *contra*: Pharr 1952: 121 n.9 and Frier 2016: 3045. It is true, however, that similar prescriptions were very likely in force for other relevant news such as the entrance in office of the new consuls and other dignitaries. Unquestionably, these events are recorded in many chronicles, which arguably reflected official practice; cf. Croke 1992: 165-203. In any event, Ammianus, 22.7, 1 mentions the adding of the consular names to the records at the beginning of each year.

among the news for which they are forbidden to request a payment.³⁷⁴ The first of such laws of which we have knowledge is *CTh* 8.11.1., issued by Valentinian and Valens on 16 December 364, then reiterated in 11.2 (11.i.365), 11.3 (13.ii.369) and 11.4 (2.ii.383).³⁷⁵ These were in turn incorporated, albeit in an abridged version, in the Code of Justinian to accompany a final directive enacted by Justinian in 530.³⁷⁶ Thus, from at least the mid-fourth century until a few years before the regular proclamations of consuls was finally discontinued, several laws were issued to regulate practices surrounding the announcement of new consuls. Although no evidence is extant earlier than 364, nor between 383 and 530, no one will be in much doubt that announcement and dissemination regularly occurred throughout the period under consideration. As argued, dating by consuls was clearly a mandatory requirement for certain documents from 322, and probably from the reigns of Diocletian and Galerius, so it might be no accident that consuls were regularly known virtually everywhere from the start of the year for much of the earlier part of our period. Moreover, even when earlier notifications were discontinued in the fifth and sixth centuries (as we shall see), the continuous release by local authorities of periodic updates of the annual formula in the course of the year presupposes that announcement and dissemination continued to be performed long after the laws of Valentinian and Valens were enacted. As noted, the latter were incorporated in the Theodosian Code so that they were certainly still valid under Theodosius II and Valentinian III.³⁷⁷

In highly a ceremonial society such as the late Roman one, it would not be surprising if an official document containing the names of the new consuls was created for broader dissemination. However, if not on their own, then certainly these names were conveyed by

³⁷⁴ On the ‘announcers of occasions of public rejoicing’ (*Publicae laetitiae nuntii*), cf. Title 11 in the Codex Theodosianus. *CJ* 63 calls them ‘*Publicae laetitiae vel consulum nuntiatores*’. Who these messengers were more precisely is not stated in the laws. Possibly they could be employees of the imperial administration. It is uncertain whether they are to be identified with standard messengers, whose category was not heterogeneous anyway; see: Kolb 2012: 98-101. P.Coles 28 (poss. dated 385) registers the nomination for a liturgy of letter-carrier or sailor of the *cursus velox*. Other similar documents are P.Oxy. LI 3623 (359), PSI X 1108 (381); see editor’s note on p. 147, who also points to P.Oxy. XXXIV 2715 (386/387). A *primicerius of the schola cursorum* is attested in an Alexandrian papyrus (P.Oxy. LXIII, 4395). Possibly, the *singulares* (in origin, military guards) could also have been employed in this period as messengers (see P.Oxy. LXIII 4395.13 p. 141, quoting LVIII 3932.3.)

³⁷⁵ *CTh*. 8.11.2 (365) proclaims “Whenever victories are announced, whenever occasions of public rejoicing, or when the names of the new consuls are conveyed throughout the Empire...” *CTh*. 8.11.1 (364), 8.11.3 (369), 8.11.4 (383), 8.11.5 (389) employ the same bombastic wording. Particularly, 8.11.4 prescribes that the bearers of the tidings be virtuous, and forbids that they be mercenaries (*Gerulum iubemus esse castissimum: indices nummarios esse prohibemus*).

³⁷⁶ *CJ* 12.63

³⁷⁷ *CLRE* 26, 68.

relevant documentation dispatched from the centre and displayed publicly in squares and other public places.³⁷⁸

As noted previously, laws and edicts were dated by consuls. Obviously, when not directly sent out by the emperor by means of letters addressed to interested parties, the bulk of the legislation was dispatched by the court to the central palatine offices and the offices of the PPOs, who were to circulate this to provincial governors, and these in turn to the cities and villages under their jurisdiction.³⁷⁹ At local level, disseminating knowledge must have also been the result of ordinary administration. For instance, in Arcadia, the court of the *praeses* journeyed in between Oxyrhynchus and Herakleopolis, and doubtless it dated by consuls when addressing local councils and petitioners, as shown by the extant documentation stemming from its chancery.³⁸⁰ Travelling officials, local liturgists and soldiers (especially those who were the object of petitions) must have also had a role.³⁸¹ As discussed in the previous chapter, the army used to date frequently by consuls and had a prominent role in disseminating knowledge in the region where it was garrisoned.³⁸²

As to triumphant processions and ceremonies held by senior officials, we know of only one PPO (Cynegius) who journeyed around the eastern provinces while consul, and we have no evidence that this was a standard practice; the evidence from Egypt is so poor that we cannot even infer whether official travel had a positive impact on dissemination.³⁸³ On the other hand,

³⁷⁸ *NovIust.* 137, 4 mentions the existence of public places where lists of tax-payers were publicly exposed. Other evidence is in SEG 53.1481, a list of fees for services that was posted in a public area outside the office of the governor of Palaestina Prima at Caesarea (Elton 2018: 199). Imperial laws and decrees were certainly exposed publicly: see *CTh.* III 30.2, *NovVal.* 23 (in the Trajan's Forum). A general reference to any written page seems to be what Claudian refers to in *Stil.* ii, 301-304, when he mentions the destruction of *quaecumque pagina* carrying from the East the name of Eutropius, but this does not prove the existence of letters sent out to the provinces with the sole intention to announce the designation and or proclamation of the new consul in office

³⁷⁹ This pattern is mirrored by the subscriptions of laws; cf. *CTh.* 6.28.8 (sent to the magister officiorum) whose *subscriptio* states copies were posted to (in order): the praetorian prefects of the East and Illyricum, the urban praefect of Constantinople, the count of Egypt, the count of the East, the praefect of Egypt, the proconsul of Achaia, the vicar of Asia and the vicar of Pontica. So, similarly: *CTh.* 11.28.9. Obviously, specific laws could be directed to a more selected group of imperial servants. For instance, *NovTheod.* 7.4 is addressed to the senior magister militum, and a copy is sent to the other magister militum; again, *NovTheod.* 26 is addressed to the PPO Or. with a copy being sent to the PPO Ill. only.

³⁸⁰ Cf. e.g., P.Sijp. 23.10 = ChLA XLV 1249 (Herakl., 396).

³⁸¹ On the travelling officials and the habit of the governor of Arcadia to reside in between Oxyrhynchus and Herakleopolis, cf. Palme 2007: 249 and n. 17-8.

³⁸² On the role of the army, cf. Ch. 2.

³⁸³ *PLRE* I 235-236 (Cynegius); John the Cappadocian, too, held a procession (John Lydus, *On Powers*, 3.62f.) but scholars tend to date this to 540/541: cf. esp. Stein 1949: 481 n.1; *CLRE* 12; *PLRE* III 631.

some role must have been played by the consular ceremony itself, wherever it was held, where local dignitaries were invited to attend, and diptychs distributed as gifts. Although the latter did not display a proper formula, the individuals carrying them unquestionably did know who had just entered in office; and that knowledge must have been conveyed to their homeland upon returning.³⁸⁴

Alongside official dissemination, there existed unofficial channels, whose trajectories are obviously more difficult to recover. It is plausible, however, that some of the ways by which news circulated was by means of bishops and churchmen, rural bishops (*chorepiskopoi*) and other individuals on the move such as preachers, pilgrims, peasants and merchants travelling to and from city markets, as well as more general travellers.³⁸⁵

Was the announcement fully centralised? The evidence clearly indicates that dating by any given consuls (at least in formal contexts) was not only affected by distance and times, but also by whether that particular formula had been officially recognised. Hence, throughout our period, knowledge of appointments made by anyone other than the local emperor needed to be formally approved before being disseminated to the provinces under local jurisdiction.

3.2. Places of First Appearance of the New Consulates

Although partially fragmentary, a general overview of the first places of appearance of the new formula (FPA) can be recovered.³⁸⁶ For reasons to be explained in the Statistical Appendix, recovering the network of FPAs is a necessary step for modelling the effect of distance as co-variant in predicting dissemination times. But it is important in itself, too, for it reveals that major changes occurred in consular dissemination throughout the relevant period.

As in late antiquity consular appointments were made by the emperor, one place where people knew the new consuls on 1 January was obviously the court. With regard to many years, the location of the court can be determined by the place of issue indicated in the subscriptions of the laws preserved in the Theodosian and Justinian's Codes. Moreover, the eastern court was permanently in Constantinople from approximately 380 onwards, so there is no doubt as to where the eastern FPA was located. The same generalisations can never be applied, however,

³⁸⁴ Cf. Sidonius' account of Astyrius' ceremony (*Ep.* VIII 6.5). During the ceremony, the consul gave diptychs to the representatives of the (Gallic) provinces.

³⁸⁵ Miller – Sarris 2018: 16.

³⁸⁶ For an appreciation of how this reconstruction has been carried out and a critical discussion of the evidence by year, see Dosi 2022a: 1-2.

to the contemporary West or to the fourth-century empire as a whole, when imperial courts experienced frequent relocations.

Second, although it is unquestionable that the consuls were always known at court on 1 January, it does not follow that similar knowledge could not have been simultaneously accessible in other places. As will be expanded on in the next paragraph, the evidence in fact shows that until approximately 310 (in the East) and 364 (in the West) consular appointments were normally known on 1 January not only at court but also in the provinces (and sometimes even in minor urban centres.) However, in the later period the evidence allows us to see three possible different scenarios: one in which this habit of notifying local authorities by 1 January continued sporadically; a second where only two places where the consuls were known on 1 January can be securely identified in the empire (one for each half), and a third one where only one single place in the empire appears to have known the consuls on 1 January. So one more thing to factor into the discussion is this constantly changing (and evolving) situation where at times we are to speak of multiple places of proclamation of the new formula on 1 January, while later on we can only speak of dissemination from two or even one single place. Keeping this in mind also helps us to avoid unwarranted inferences such as expecting that Rome was always a place where consuls were known on 1 January. Unquestionably, late-antique Rome continued to reverberate an unmatched ideological power as the old capital of the empire and its symbolic *caput*, and suffect consuls may have continued to be appointed in the period to stand-in for consuls absent from Rome, as in fact some evidence suggests.³⁸⁷ Nevertheless, it should not be taken for granted that they were designated in each and every year, nor that knowledge of the new consuls was always available. As will be expanded on in the next paragraph, the evidence shows that in many years the consuls were unknown in Rome on 1 January.

A third assumption that needs to be questioned is that consular ceremonies were always held wherever the court (the emperor) was based. In many cases this was certainly so, but generalising this in time and space would be surely mistaken.

Excluding the ceremonies performed in the reigns of Odovacar and subsequent Gothic kings, there are no less than thirty instances (all from the west) where at least one of the consuls was very unlikely to have been ceremonially installed at court (or before the emperor at any

³⁸⁷ Still the canons 17 and 28 of the Council of Chalcedon in 451 justified the ecclesiastical rights of Constantinople in the East on the grounds that the ecclesiastical organisation should mirror the secular one, and that was why Rome was given primacy in the West. See Price & Gaddis 2005: 144 n. 127.

rate).³⁸⁸ Apart from the instances in 331, 332 and 343, where one of the consuls of each pair was praetorian prefect of Italy, and hence might have chosen to enter his consulate in Milan (the then seat of his prefecture), in most of the years 286-345 the ceremony was likely held in Rome and with no emperor present. For on the one hand, we are informed by the laws that the *comitatus* was elsewhere on each occasion; and on the other, both consuls were almost invariably Roman aristocrats, or at least one of them was a Roman prefect, and no material dated by p.c. date is ever found in the dated Roman evidence under any one of these consulates. Next, in 361, both of Constantius II's consuls were in the West serving as praetorian prefects in Italy and Gaul, while the emperor was in the East. An identical situation (consul in the west, emperor in the east) recurred in 363 and possibly in 438. In 379 Ausonius did wait for Gratian to deliver his *gratiarum actio* but celebrated his entrance in office at Trier while Gratian was at Sirmium. Similarly, in 371, 374, 401, 406, 413, 434, 449 and 459 both emperors and consuls were in the west, but very likely or certainly not in the same place.

In the West, only the following forty-one ceremonies can be linked to various places where the court was located: 292, 308, 309, 310, 311, 314, 327, 341, 348, 355, 359, 367, 381, 382, 383, 385, 386, 389, 390, 391, 399, 400, 403, 405, 408, 410, 414, 416, 417, 420, 423, 424, 428, 443, 444, 446, 451, 452, 460, 470, 472. Conversely in the East there exists only one instance (Tatianus in 391) where the senior emperor (Theodosius) demonstrably did not attend; but even in that case the junior Augustus (Arcadius) was there. Therefore, although the context of many ceremonies (i.e. place and imperial attendance) certainly remains blurred to us³⁸⁹, the general

³⁸⁸ 286 (Iunius Maximus II et Vettio Aquilinus?), 288 (Ianuarianus), 289 (Bassus et Quintianus?), 291 (Iunius Tiberianus II et Cassius Dio?), 295 (Tuscius et Anullinus?), 298 (Faustus II et Virius Gallus?), 301 (Titianus II et Virius Nepotianus), 316 (Sabinus et Rufinus?), 322 (Petronius Probianus et Anicius Iulianus?), 323 (Acilius Severus et Vettius Rufinus?), 330 (Fl. Gallicanus et Tullianus Symmachus?), 331 (Iunius Bassus), 332 (Pacatianus et Hilarianus?), 334 (Paulinus), 335 (Rufius Albinus), 340 (Proculus), 343 (Placidus et Romulus?), 345 (Albinus), 361 (Taurus et Florentius), 363 (Sallustius), 371 (Petronius Probus), 374 (Equitius), 379 (Ausonius), 401 (Vincentius), 406 (A. Petronius Probus), 413 (Heraclianus), 434 (Aspar et Aerobindus), 438 (A. Glabrio Faustus), 449 (Astyrius), 459 (Ricimer.) For the evidence relating to all this and the discussion below, see Dosi 2022a under each relevant year.

³⁸⁹ In all the following instances, it is uncertain whether the emperor attended and or where exactly the ceremony took place (though Rome is likely to be the location in at least some of the earliest cases): 314 (Volusianus); 317; 325 (east/west?); 328; 333; 336; 337; 338; 347 (Rufinus); 349; 350; 352; 358; 394; 395; 397 (Nonius Atticus); 421 (Agricola); 431 (Bassus); 432 (Aetius); 433 (Petronius Maximus); 437; 439 (Festus); 442; 447; 448; 453; 461; 463 and 541. Moreover, location and attendance are unclear also for the following eastern ceremonies: 345; 387 (Eutropius); 408 (Philippus); 413 (Lucius); 414 (Constans); 424 (Victor); 440; 456; 459; 460; 463; 465; 470; 489; 498; 503; 505; 506; 512; 515; 525; 539. Obviously, most of these might have reasonably taken place in Constantinople. But see below for a more detailed discussion.

trend is clear and suggests that, whereas in the East ceremonies appear to have been customarily held before an emperor, in the West this might not have happened consistently.

What lies behind this disparity between the western-eastern evidence? Possibly a mix of incidental and more structural factors. In a few cases it is reasonable to assume the consuls were not at court because the emperor plausibly wanted or needed them to stay elsewhere. In fact, this is what seems to have happened with Taurus and Florentius, *cos.* 361 (appointed PPO in the west by Constantius II to oversee Julian), Sallustius, *cos.* 363 (appointed PPO Gall. by Julian to secure Gaul) and A. Glabrio Faustus, *cos.* 438 (appointed PPO It. and known to have travelled back to Rome to deliver a copy of the newly published Theodosian Code, while Valentinian III remained in Thessalonica for the winter); or with other inconvenient figures such as Ricimer, *cos.* 459 (effectively side-lined by Majorian and left in Italy during military operations in the West).³⁹⁰

Moreover, in a few more cases the consuls were plausibly or unquestionably unable to travel to court. In 371 (Petronius Probus) and 374 (Equitius) the consuls were busy with the administration or the defence of large territories far from the court, and hence were likely to have remained there. Certainly the consuls never set foot at court in 413 and 434; in the first case, the consul (Heraclianus) was busy gathering his forces in Africa to overthrow Honorius in Ravenna.³⁹¹ In 434 both consuls (Aspar and Areobindus) were on campaign (again in Africa) and never left the province during their consular year.

Next, Astyrius in 449 held his consular celebrations in Gaul.³⁹² As he had been MVM West 441-443 but did not hold any public or military office in 449, let alone in Gaul where the praetorian prefect was Sidonius' father, it is unclear why he entered in office there. But it seems unlikely that the emperor attended.³⁹³ It might be that some consuls, especially if not serving in any capacity, were freer to organise their ceremony wherever they wished, or that this was so in the West, at least. However, it is unclear to what extent Astyrius' ceremony can be generalised. For we have uniquely three more attested ceremonies of consuls in office as private

³⁹⁰ On Julian and Sallustius, cf. Bowersock 1978: 58.

³⁹¹ Orosius, 7.42,12.

³⁹² Sidonius, *Ep.* 8.6.5.

³⁹³ Oppedisano 2013: 43 and n. 67.

citizens (and not as state officials), and, as opposed to Astyrius', all were very plausibly held in the imperial presence.³⁹⁴

While chance very plausibly made all this happens in the West, a more elaborate explanation is required for both the large group of remaining instances from 286 to 345 and the absence of a similar phenomenon in the east. Overall, my view is that in these specific cases the difference found between western and eastern evidence is largely dependent on three key factors.

Doubtless, one element was the lasting importance of Rome in the Constantinian and post-Constantinian periods as a traditional stage for consular ceremonies, regardless of the relocation of the court (mainly eastward). As noted above and shown in Graph 3.1, whereas the emperors of the Tetrarchy moved (except for Maxentius) the court away from Rome, members of the Roman senatorial aristocracy and resident urban prefects regularly continued to receive the consulship. Under these circumstances in most of the years between 286 and 345 the consular ceremony in Rome was not attended by the emperor. This regular disjuncture, however, disappeared in or about the mid-fourth century, since the consulship began to be increasingly awarded to palatine officials and praesental officers serving at court (see the Graphs 3.4 & 3.5 below). Thereafter, ceremonies took place in Rome only because the emperor was very likely to be there (and, in many cases, as consul), or because the court (with its palatine officials) had been relocated more permanently there from the 450s on.³⁹⁵ The only true exception to this pattern can be identified in the period following 480, when Italy had no resident emperor and a large number of Roman aristocrats (rather than palatine officials) found themselves as the object of renewed imperial and royal favour.³⁹⁶ Nevertheless, any other previous ceremony held with the emperor vacant should not be regarded as no more than an outlier.

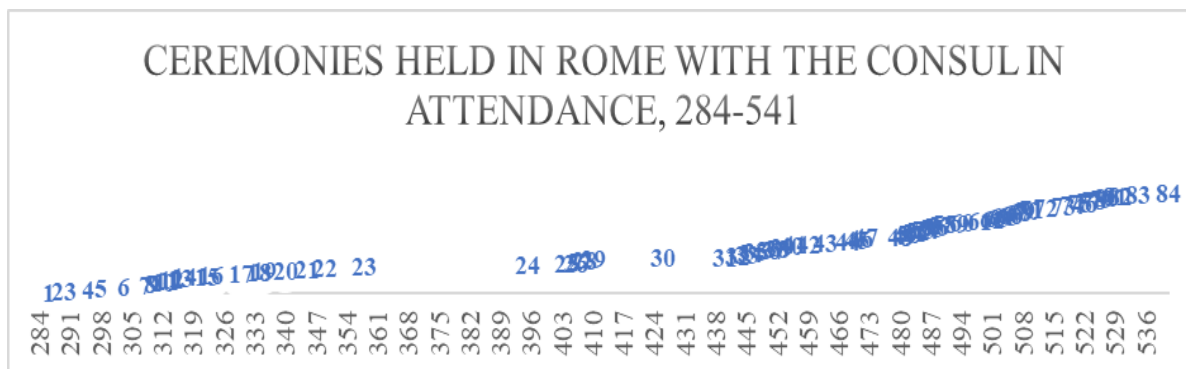
The second essential factor to help explain the absence of a similar phenomenon in the East, is that no eastern centre could rival the imperial residence in offering a more suitable ceremonial stage for a consular procession. Because of the links with its resident consuls, or more plausibly prestige, Rome in the West repeatedly found itself as an alternative option to

³⁹⁴ This is Varronianus in 364 (held in Ancyra with his father and colleague in the consulship, Jovian); Valentinianus Galata in 369 (again an infant consul, hence he very likely held his consulship at Marcianopolis, where his father was based) and Symmachus in 446 (we have fragments from a panegyric to Symmachus' colleague Aetius by Merobaudes, where Rome is mentioned. Rome was where Valentinian III was based from October 445 and again by October 446, and Symmachus was likely to be entering in office next to his colleague).

³⁹⁵ Gillet 2001: 131-67.

³⁹⁶ Cf. esp. 331-8 below.

Graph 3.1.



the court for holding a consular ceremony. This situation could not exist in the East where, first, a centre comparable to Rome (in terms of ideological and ceremonial grandeur) did not develop up till the fifth century; and second, where the ceremonial and ideological importance of major cities like Nicomedia, Antioch and Thessalonica was entirely dependent on them being the chosen residence of the emperor. If no emperor was in town, then, a state ceremony would have had little reason to be held there. One must not forget that the whole purpose of spending a fortune to be consul was the prestige and honour resulting from it. So unless some important business kept the consul away from the court (as in all cases of office-holders), the ideal place where one could achieve this was doubtless the imperial city, where the new consul could lead a consular procession in the presence of the emperor, his court and the creme of the imperial society; that is, everyone who mattered. As noted above, Astyrius' case is more likely to reflect an idiosyncrasy than more general trends in the west.

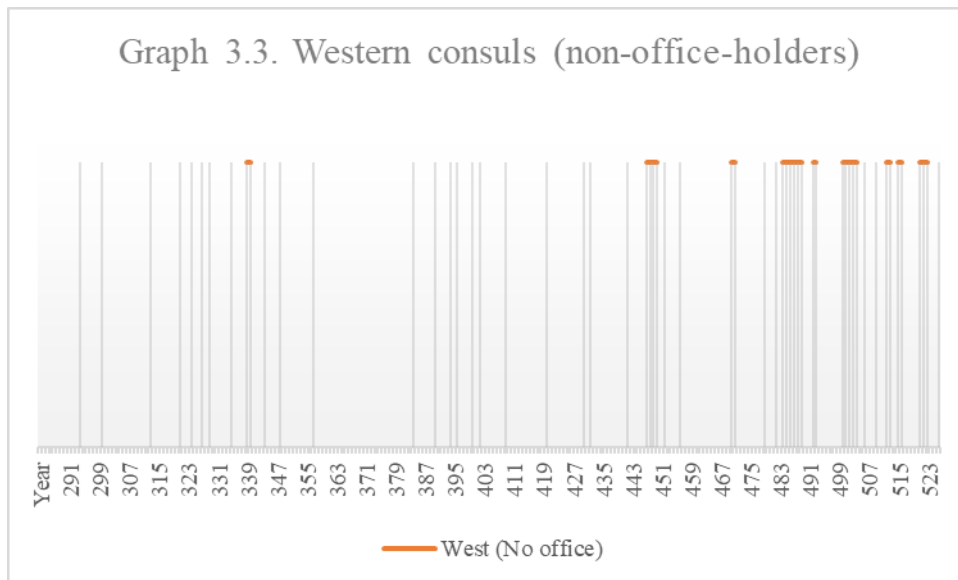
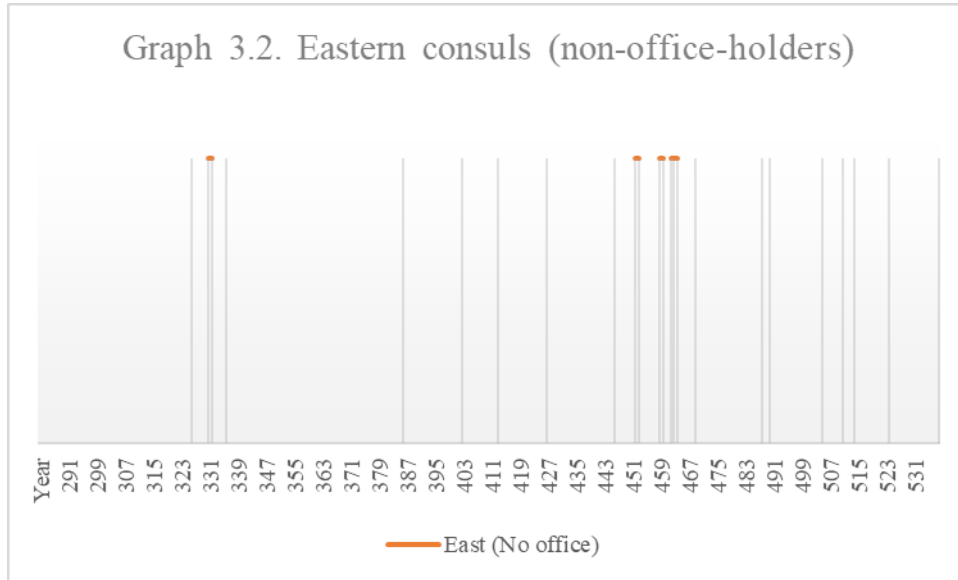
A possible third key factor to explain the eastern trend is the increasing tendency in the East to draw consular nominees from office-holders as opposed to the larger popularity of private citizens among western consuls. This divide can be appreciated more clearly by the data shown in graphs 3.2-5 and table 3.6 below.

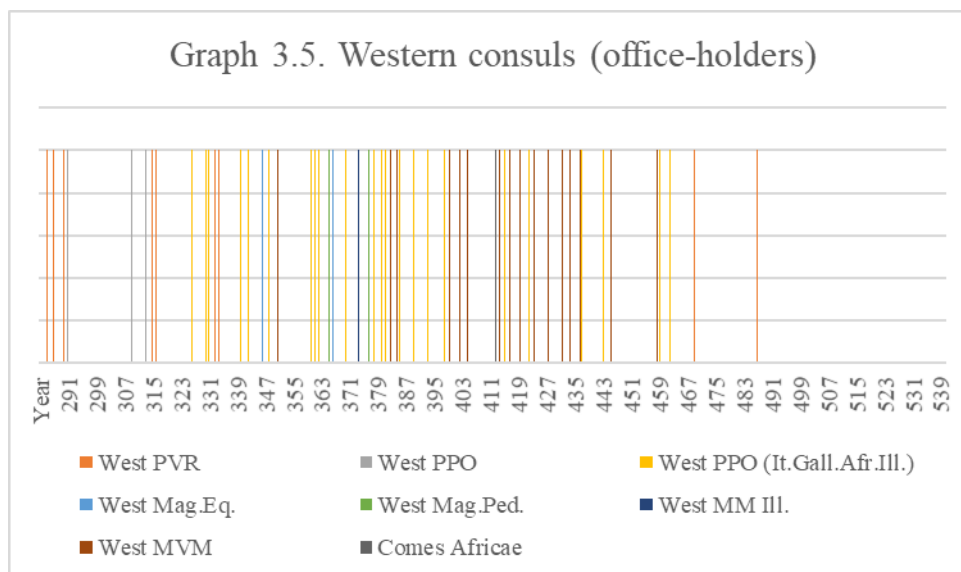
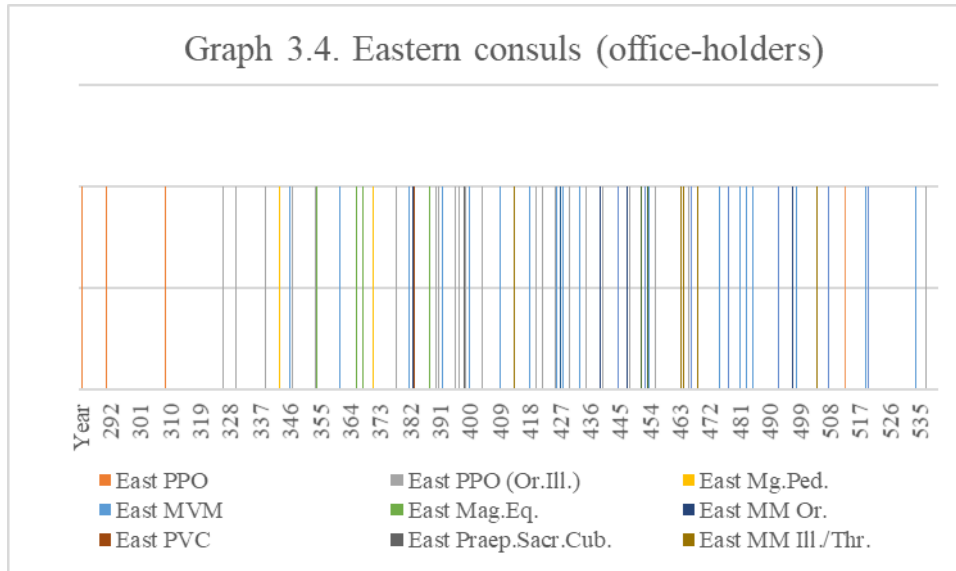
As eastern consulates were increasingly awarded to eastern palatine officials and praesental officers, then plausibly also the great majority of the resulting ceremonies was celebrated in the vicinity of the court if not before an emperor. As evidence is lacking, we cannot just assume that the same was true of all the other twenty-seven instances involving eastern *privati*.³⁹⁷ Yet

³⁹⁷ For the East, imperial attendance remains uncertain in 325; 328; 333; 336; 337; 338; 345; 350; 358; 387; 408; 413; 414; 442; 447; 453; 456; 460; 461; 465; 470; 489; 503; 506; 512; 515 and 525. Similarly for the West, there are about twenty-eight instances: 317; 325; 328; 333; 336; 337; 338; 347; 349; 350; 350; 352; 358; 394; 395; 397; 421; 431; 432; 433; 437; 439; 442; 447; 448; 453; 461; 463.

Graphs 3.2-5

Western and Eastern office-holders & non-office-holders





Graphs 3.4-5. Eastern consuls (total 72 office-holders): 3 PPO; 26 PPO (Or.Ill.); 2 Mag.Ped.; 4 Mag.Eq.; 19 MVM; 5 MM Ill./Thr.; 4 MM Or.; 7 Mag.Off.; 2 Com.Dom.Ped.; 1 PVC; 1 Praep.Sacr.Cub.; 1 CRP; 1 CSL; 25 non-office-holders (25 ceremonies). Western data (total 59 office-holders): 3 PPO; 25 PPO (It.Gall.Afr.Ill.); 9 PVR; 2 Mag.Eq.; 2 Mag.Ped.; 16 MVM; 1 MM Ill.; 1 Comes Africae; 65 non-office-holders (57 ceremonies).

we are informed by Libanius (Or. 1) that the incumbent magister militum per Orientem, Ricomer, travelled back to Constantinople in 384 in order to enter in office, and similarly Ammianus notes that Mamertinus was in Constantinople with his colleague Nevitta to preside over his ceremony. As Mamertinus was the incumbent praetorian prefect of Illyricum, Italy and Africa (then probably based at Sirmium), it is notable that he travelled back to the court for the occasion. Scanty though they are, all of the sources thus confirm that, as with eastern palatine officials and praesental officers, so too non-palatine and non-praesental ones travelled to court to take up office; and by way of analogy this gives some ideas about how *privati* might have behaved.

Table 3.6

WEST	EAST
PPO	PPO
292, Asclepiodotus (Maximian)	285, Aristobulus (Diocletian)
310, Pompeius Probus (Licinius)	292, Hannibalianus (Diocletian)
314, Annianus (Constantine I)	310, Tattius Andronicus (Galerius)
PPO (It.Gall.Afr.III.)	PPO (Or.III.)
327, Fl. Constantius (It.)	327, Valerius Maximus
331, Iunius Bassus (It.)	331, Fl. Ablabius
332, Pacatianus (It.)	340, Acindynus
341, Marcellinus (It.)	344, Domitius Leontius
343, Placidus (It.)	348, Philippus
347, Rufinus (It.)	355, Lollianus (Ill.)
349, Ulpian Limenius (It. also PVR)	372, Domitius Modestus
361, Taurus (It.Afr.); Florentius (Gall. then PPO Ill.)	379, Hermogenianus Olybrius
362, Mamertinus (It.Ill.Afr.)	391, Tatianus
363, Fl. Sallustius (Gall.)	392, Rufinus
371, Petronius Probus (It.Ill.Afr.)	397, Caesarius
	398, Eutychianus

WEST

379, Ausonius (It.Gall.Afr.)
 381, Syagrius (It.)
 382, Afranius Syagrius (It.)
 386, Evodius (Gall.)
 390, Neoterius (Gall.)
 394, Nicomachus Flavianus (It.)
 399, Fl. Mallius Theodorus (It.Ill.Afr.)
 416, Palladius (It.Afr.)
 423, Marinianus (It.)
 438, A. Glabrio Faustus (It. and PVR)
 444, Albinus (It.)
 460, Magnus (Gall., ex?)
 463, Basilius (It.)

PVR

286, Iunius Maximus
 288, Ianuarianus
 291, Iunius Tiberianus
 316, Vettius Rufinus
 317, Gallicanus
 334, Paulinus
 335, Rufius Albinus
 470, Severus
 488, Dynamius?

Mag.Eq.

347, Salia
 367, Iovinus

EAST

400, Aurelianus
 405, Anthemius
 419, Monaxius
 421, Eustathius
 423, Asclepiodotus
 427, Hierius
 429, Florentius
 431, Antiochus
 436, Isidorus
 441, Cyrus (also PVC)
 449, Protogenes
 457, Constantinus (ex?)
 467, Pusaesus
 538, Ioannes the Cappadocian

PVC

384, Clearchus

Praep.Sacr.Cub.

399, Eutropius

CRP

428, Taurus (ex?)

Mag.Eq.

355, Arbitio
 367, Lupicinus
 369, Victor
 389, Promotus

WEST**Mag.Ped.**

366, Dagalaiphus

377, Merobaudes

MM III.

374, Equitius

MVM

351, Gaiso (MVM?)

383, Saturninus

385, Bauto (ex.?)

400, Stilicho

403, Rumoridus (ex.?)

405, Stilicho II

414, Constantius

417, Constantius II

420, Constantius III

424, Castinus

428, Felix

432, Aetius

434, Aspar (East)

437, Aetius II and Sigisvuldus (MVM?)

446, Aetius III

459, Ricimer

EAST**Mag.Ped.**

344, Iulius Sallustius

372, Arintheus

MM Or.

384, Ricomer

440, Anatolius

448, Zeno

498, Ioannes Scytha (MM Or.?)

MVM

347, Eusebius

362, Nevitta

383, Saturninus

389, Timasius

393, Fl. Abundantius

401, Fravitta

410, Varanes

419, Plinta

427, Ardabur

429, Dionysius

434, Areobindus

455, Anthemius (MVM?)

476, Armatus

482, Trocundes

484, Theodoric

486, Longinus

499, Ioannes Gibbus

520, Vitalianus

535, Belisarius

WEST**Comes Africae**

413, Heraclianus

EAST**MM Thr./Ill.**

414, Constans (Thr., ex?)

464, Rusticius, (MM Thr.)

465, Basiliscus (MM Ill.)

469, Zeno (MM Ill.?)

505, Sabinianus (MM Ill.)

Comes dom. Peditum

452, Sporacius

454, Aetius

Mag.Off.

445, Nomus

453, Vincomalus

467, Ioannes

478, Illus

493, Eusebius II

508, Celer

Non-office-holders

Nominees who are not known to have held a post while being consul (excluding those who were relatives of the emperor) are numerous (counting only those for whom we have sufficient information):

295 (both);

301 (both);

314 (Volusianus);

322 (both);

325 (both);

328 (Ianuarinus);

330 (Fl. Gallicanus);

327 (Valerius Maximus);

332 (Hilarianus);

333 (Domitius Zenophilus);

337 (Fabius Titianus);

387 (Eutropius);

404 (Aristaenetus);

414? (Constans);

WEST

336 (Virus Nepotianus);
340 (Proculus);
341 (Probinus);
345 (Albinus);
349 (Catullinus);
358 (Cerealis);
385 (Bauto);
391 (Q. Aurelius Symmachus);
395 (both);
397 (Nonius Atticus);
401? (Vincentius);
403 (Rumoridus);
410 (Tertullus);
421 (Agricola);
431 (Bassus);
433 (Petronius Maximus);
443 (both);
448 (Postumianus);
449 (Astyrius);
450 (Avienus);
451 (Adelfius);
453 (Opilio);
457 (Constantinus);
471 (Probianus);
472 (Festus);
480 (Basilus);
483 (Faustus);
485 (Symmachus);
486 (Decius);
487 (Boethius);
488 (Sividius);
489 (Probinus);

EAST

428? (Taurus);
447 (Ardabur);
453 (Ioannes Vincomalus);
454 (both);
460 (Apollonius);
461 (Dagalaifus);
463 (Vivianus);
464 (Olybrius);
465 (Hermenericus);
470 (Iordanes);
489 (Eusebius);
491 (Olybrius);
506 (Areobindus);
512 (Moschianus);
515 (Anthemius);
525 (Philoxenus);
539 (Apion);
541 (Basilus iun.)

WEST**EAST**

490 (Faustus iun.);
493 (Albinus iun.);
494 (Asterius);
501 (Fl. Avienus);
502 (Avienus iun.);
503 (Volusianus);
504 (Cethegus);
505 (Theodorus);
507 (Venantius);
510 (Boethius);
513 (Probus);
514 (Senator);
516 (Petrus);
517 (Agapitus);
522 (both);
523 (Maximus);
524 (Opilio);
527 (Mavortius)

There is insufficient information on the life and career of the following (very likely all western) consuls, but some of these, too, might have not held a post:

289 (both);	286 (Vettio Aquilino);
291 (Cassius Dio);	333 (Domitius Zenophilus);
298 (both);	338 (both);
311 (both);	344 (Bonusus);
316 (Sabinus);	345 (Amantius?);
317 (Bassus);	350 (both);
323 (both);	408 (Philippus);
328 (Vettius Iustus);	413 (Lucius);
330 (Tullianus Symmachus);	424 (Victor);
336 (both);	457 (Rufus);

WEST

343 (Romulus);
352 (Paulus);
406 (A. Petronius Probus);
408 (A. Auchenius Bassus);
439 (Festus);
442 (Dioscorus);
446 (Symmachus);
447 (Calepius);
461 (Severinus);
481 (Placidus);
482 (Severinus);
494 (Praesidius);
495 (Viator);
498 (Paulinus);
506 (Messala);
508 (Venantius iun.);
509 (Inportunus);
511 (Felix);
515 (Florentius);
520 (Rusticius);
521 (Valerius);
525 (Probus);
526 (Olybrius);
529 (Decius);
530 (both);
534 (Paulinus iun.).

EAST

503 (Dexicrates);

3.3. Operational Changes in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries

3.3.1. Early Notifications and Late Dissemination

By reference to how fast and widely the Roman state apparatus was able to transmit knowledge of consular appointments to the provinces, the period from Diocletian's accession to 541 can be subdivided, at risk of inevitable simplification, into: 1) an Early Period; 2) a Transitional Period and lastly 3) a Later Period.

In the early period the evidence demonstrates that knowledge of the names of the new consuls on 1 January was widespread in both the west (until about 364) and the east (until ca. 310). Therefore, it would appear that in this phase the information reached the province well before the start of the year. In this era, a formula sent out to Milan, Aquileia and Rome by the court in Sirmium before the start of the consular year, was known throughout Italy by 1 January, and no post-consular dates would have been needed any time anywhere to fill-in the lack of information. The major development we see in the transitional period is the appearance of post-consular dating and its intermittent use. When this delay becomes customary and diffuse, and post-consular dates increase in frequency, sometimes being used throughout the year, it is possible to finally speak of the beginning of the later period. This general slowdown can be appreciated more clearly in the graphs given in appendix C (pp. 474-81). Each of these three periods developed asynchronously within the empire, with the major difference being an apparent much earlier end of the early period in the East (at approximately 310) and its continuation in the West up till 365.

It is doubtless true that the transition from the earlier to the later period is marked by a progressive slowdown of dissemination, but who or what is responsible for that, and why this happened, is open to debate. While at first previous scholarship maintained that the cause of the slowdown was the low priority given by the authorities to transmit the information, the prevailing opinion is now that failure in transmission must have caused the problem.³⁹⁸ Although I do agree that what is at stake is a transmission issue, there are some clarifications that may be advanced. Before exploring these, the available relevant evidence needs to be reviewed in detail. In doing this, two major problems should be mentioned. Our material allows us to determine whether a formula was known (or unknown) in the place of the evidence by the date specified. Nevertheless, it allows to establish neither when that proclamation happened precisely, nor at what earliest point in time knowledge of the new consuls arrived in the local

³⁹⁸ Cf. discussion p. 165 f.

provincial capital, unless some local piece of evidence informs us. As an example, during the years 366 and 367, the new formula was still unknown in Rome on 26 January and 16 February (at the earliest), respectively. In such cases, it is plausible to assume that the information was received from the local prefectorial capital in Milan, which in turn had been notified by the court in Paris. But if so, when did the court begin the process of notifying Milan? Presumably, some time before 1 January, but when precisely, and when was the information published at Milan? On 1 January or later? All this information is fundamentally unrecoverable, so in many years we are left uninformed as to whence and when a province received knowledge of the new consuls at the beginning of the year.

This brings up our second issue. The approach adopted to determine whether the provincial capital knew the consuls on 1 January and, more generally, where the information recorded by our evidence originated, has been to look at the earliest possible travel times. A predicting tool for travel time in the ancient world was the aim of a research group in Stanford, which developed ORBIS.³⁹⁹ ORBIS is a sophisticated geospatial model that simulates the complexity of travel by factoring in a broad range of environmental, climatic and geographical variables. As such, ORBIS is capable of predicting that, for instance, travelling to Rome from Milan could take not less than ca. 6 days (at the fastest speed) or more than ca. 16 (if travelling at the lowest possible speed), and ca. 5 or 10 days were needed from Ravenna. Alternatively, ca. 13 or 31 days were required to reach, for example, Oxyrhynchus from Antioch, while this interval would have increased to ca. 17 or (significantly more) 63 days if the journey had begun in Constantinople. Travel times never give realistic estimates for actual dissemination times; however, since they do provide a realistic minimum amount of time required for the information to reach destination, they do provide us with benchmarks. These benchmarks have then been adjusted by considering that a stonecutter would have needed some extra time to finalise the inscription with the personal details of the deceased, and finally these adjusted benchmarks have been exploited to reach the following set of conclusions:

(i) depending on the starting location, the lower and higher travel-times estimates to reach Rome are five (from Ravenna) and seven (Milan) days at the lower end and, similarly, ten and sixteen days for the higher. This means that any consular date attested at Rome before 5/7 January must have been the result of a local announcement rather than dissemination from Ravenna or Milan. However, an early notification in Rome from Milan still remains an option

³⁹⁹ Scheidel 2013: 1-27 and <http://orbis.stanford.edu>. For more information, see the 'Understanding' page on the site.

whenever the date of the evidence is as early as 10 January (for Ravenna) or 16 January (for Milan).

(ii) any consular date attested at Oxyrhynchus before 13/17 January must have been disseminated from Alexandria rather than Antioch or Constantinople; however, an early notification is still an option for a date as late as the end of February.

There is obviously no maximum time limit for an object to reach any particular point from another point, and this becomes very clear when one looks at the average dissemination times of the Later Period (normally 4/5 times longer than their corresponding travel times). But within certain limits some discretion can be applied to set reasonable time-travel boundaries. According to Bagnall, it was possible to travel across late-antique Egypt within one month.⁴⁰⁰ Based on this, it can be reasonably assumed that, if, in the Arsinoite, Oxyrhynchite and Hermopolite nomes, the new consuls were not yet attested by March (possibly April for the Panopolite and more southern nomes), then dissemination from Alexandria is likely to be a highly unlikely option. A similar model would also seem likely for regions as large as Italy.

While this approach is profitable if the evidence is dated before or within any given ORBIS time range, and more conservative boundaries can help us conclude when local announcement is unlikely, no worthwhile conclusion can be drawn when the earliest possible evidence is dated much later than these travel boundaries. For instance, in principle nothing allows us conclusively to exclude local dissemination for a consular formula dated on 11 July 353.⁴⁰¹ Yet nothing supports it either. In fact, no other earlier piece of information (consular or post-consular) has survived from 353, which means we are completely uninformed about what was disseminated in the first months of the year. Unfortunately, our dataset incorporates a significant amount of material dated too late in the year to yield any useful information. Wherefore, no conclusions can be drawn whenever this occurs.

The geospatial model developed at King's College is able to predict a time interval within which announcement of the new consuls should have occurred in a given place and year. While the model and its results are presented in this study (Appendix C), further research is needed to fully appreciate their complexity, especially in relation to the considerable disparity recorded between the dissemination times provided by our model and the ORBIS travel times.

⁴⁰⁰ Bagnall 1996: 18-19.

⁴⁰¹ P.Prag. I 15.17 (Cynop.)

For reasons of clarity, the following discussion will be organised by macro-regions and by relevant years. Fragmentary material and other documents of difficult attribution have not been factored in.

3.3.1.1. THE WEST

Early Period: 284-364 (Maximian to Jovian)

There are two major arguments in favour of the view that local centres were notified throughout the West during this period. The first point is the almost total absence of post-consular dating in our record. At present, post-consular dates can be observed only in the following instances:

1. At first, in two items from Africa dated February 332 and mid-April 340, that is, at a time when the admittedly limited contemporary and near-contemporary evidence shows that the new consuls were previously known in the region or were known by that month in the same period in other similarly-distant provincial regions, such as Spain, Gauls and Illyricum;⁴⁰²

2. Next, in all the evidence listed under 346, when no consuls were announced in the West;

3. And finally, in one Roman inscription from 350 dating to 10 July; yet another inscription from nearby Rome attests the new consuls as early as 6 March, so the above might well be an overlap rather than a genuine case.⁴⁰³

Second, not only is post-consular dating rare, but consular dates are attested very early. Indeed, whilst the evidence shows that in the fifth and sixth centuries knowledge of the new consuls became increasingly unavailable in the first months of the year, in this earlier phase it is relatively common to find documents dated by the new consuls even as early as January. For instance, a date in January can be found in Rome in 287, 290, 292, 330, 340, 345, 348, 349, 356, 359, 360 and 362;⁴⁰⁴ and even in smaller villages such as Capena (2-3.i.345), Grosseto (7.i.306) and Torre d'Agnazzo (7.i.298).⁴⁰⁵ In 330 Gallicanus and Tullianus Symmachus

⁴⁰² AE 2016, 2032 (p.c. 12.ii.332); AE 2016, 2033 (12.iv.340). For comparisons, see, e.g. CIL VIII 11532 = ILS 5649 (Ammaedara; 1.iv.299); CIL VIII 796 = ILS 5413 (Avitta Bibba, 11.iii.340); CIL III 1967 = Salona IV 16a (Salona; 14.i-1.ii.302; Salona); CIL XIII 2351 = ILCV 3039 (Lyons; 1.ii.334); CIL II 2211 = ILS 7222 (Baetica; 9.iv.349).

⁴⁰³ ICUR n.s. 12596 = ILCV 2940A; but CIL XI 7784 = ILCV 2827 (Capena, 6.iii).

⁴⁰⁴ CIL VI 1117 (1.i.287); 869 (7.i.290); ICUR n.s. VI 16964 = ILCV 3996 (18.i.292); n.s. I 1417 = ILCV 4667 (4.i.330) ICUR suppl. 1435 = ILCV 760 adn. (9.i.340); ICUR n.s. VII 17432 (23.i.345); n.s. 1318 = ILCV 3797A (5-13.i.348); ICUR n.s. IV 12524 = ILCV 2795B (11.i.348); ICUR n.s. VI 3906 = ILCV 3002 (7.i.356); ICUR n.s. V 13302 (6.i.359); ICUR n.s. V 13309 (21.i.360); ICUR n.s. IV 11758 = ILCV 3904 (28.i.362).

⁴⁰⁵ CIL XI 4033 = ICI IV 13 (Capena); AE 1961, 240 (Grosseto); CIL XVI 156 = IX 261 (Torre d'Agnazzo).

possibly held their ceremonies in Rome, and so too might Proculus, Limenius and Catullinus in 340 and 349.⁴⁰⁶ Yet, in other cases the consuls would appear or were likely to have been away from Rome (or the West more generally). For example, in 287 Diocletian and Maximian were campaigning on the eastern frontier and Gaul, respectively, and again in 290 Maximian was still likely to be there (in Lyon, more precisely), while a law attests Diocletian's court at Sirmium on 11 January.⁴⁰⁷ While in some cases an early date can therefore be explained away by the presence of the consul in Rome, in others it was highly unlikely, if not impossible, for the formula to have reached the place of its attestation from either the court, a major administrative centre or the place of the consular ceremony by the date shown in the evidence.

Moreover, if Capena is within an hour's drive from Rome and hence it might well have been a full day's hike, this is not the case for the other two villages. Grosseto lies more than 200 km from Rome, and Torre d'Agnazzo (a coastal Apulian village in between Bari and Brindisi) nearly 600 km. In both cases, dissemination from either Rome or other major centre (such as Aquileia in the case of Torre d'Agnazzo) might have been possible, in principle at least, had the news been dispatched via a fast ship or mounted messenger, but it is just as likely if not more likely that the formula was known locally on 1 January.

Transitional Period: 365-425

a. 365-375 (Valentinian I)

From about the accession of Valentinian I, the evidence records a surge of post-consular dates coinciding with both imperial and non-imperial consulates.

More specifically, the data show that new consuls were not announced in Rome on the 1 January on the following occasions: 366 (p.c. 26.i for Gratian and Dagalaifus); 367 (p.c. 16.ii for Lupicinus and Iovinus); 372 (p.c. 19.iii for Modestus and Arintheus) and perhaps 370 (undated p.c. while the new consuls were the emperors, but see below).⁴⁰⁸ However, there is some evidence that an early announcement could have been made in 368 and 371.⁴⁰⁹ Finally,

⁴⁰⁶ See Dosi 2022a s.a.

⁴⁰⁷ Also: In 348, Salia, Constans' magister equitum and consul in office, was likely to be in Milan with the emperor, and similarly the brothers of Constantius' wife Eusebia, Eusebius and Hypatius, were possibly at court in Sirmium in 359. Lastly, in 360 the consuls (Julian and Constans) are attested in Paris and Constantinople. For more details, see Dosi 2022a s.a.

⁴⁰⁸ ICUR n.s. II 4269 = ILCV 4606 (366); ICUR n.s. I 896 = ILCV 2943 (367); ICUR n.s. VIII 23412 = ILCV 2795B adn. (372); ICUR n.s. I 2087 = ILCV1478 (370).

⁴⁰⁹ ICUR n.s. 1725 = ILCV 2603 adn. (1.ii.368); ICUR n.s. VIII 23410 = ILCV 4456B (31.i.371).

in 365 (13.iv Capua), 369 (14.iv, Rome; 1.ii-4.x, Rome), 373 (18.iii, Rome) and 374 (5.v, Rome), the earliest observable evidence is too late in the year to yield any useful information.

A distinction between imperial and non-imperial consulates should perhaps be made. Only one (370) out of four cases of failed local announcement in Rome concerns an imperial consulate—and in that specific case, a possible overlap cannot be conclusively ruled out (a second inscription attests the new consuls by 27 January). At one level, this suggests that authorities in Rome continued to announce the new consuls on 1 January in most cases where one of the consuls was the emperor. On the other hand, however, one wonders how far the data can be relied upon. We know in 368 and 371 the new consuls were known at Rome by 1 February and 31 January, respectively. But in 365, 373 and 374 the earliest observable date is too late (13 May at Capua, 18 March and 5 May at Rome with a court being set at Milan and Trier, respectively). Accordingly, we are completely uninformed about what was disseminated in the first months of the year. The data from 366 shows that the names of citizen consuls could still be lacking at Rome on the 26 January; yet none of the imperial consulates is observable earlier than 27 January (370), hence it is that p.c. dates are still a possibility in any of the consulates above.

b. 375-392 (Gratian and Valentinian II)

Although a significant segment of the evidence is dated too late in the year to yield any meaningful information, what remains underpins the pattern already evidenced in the preceding reign of Gratian and Valentinian's father, with an increasing use of post-consular dating in the first months of the year, especially in years of non-imperial consulates.⁴¹⁰

In most cases, the context for these is provincial. While it is impossible to ascertain whether the joint imperial consulate of Gratian and Theodosius in 380 was announced in Rome on 1 January, we can be assured it was not in Salona, for a local epitaph uses a post-consular date of 379 as late as 1 April.⁴¹¹ Furthermore, post-consular dating is attested in Capua in the following year, in Samnium in 384, in Umbria in 386 and in other major Italian centres such as Aquileia in 392.⁴¹² It might be of some significance that the latter pertains to entirely eastern consular pair.

⁴¹⁰ Unsuitable evidence: 375 (no consuls); 376 (8.iv, Rome); 378 (23.v, Rome); 379 (3.vii, Rome); 380 (23.vii Rome); 382 (13.iv, Rome); 384 (16.iii-1.iv; Rome); 386 (7.v, Rome) and 389 (diss. later).

⁴¹¹ Salona IV 162.

⁴¹² AE 1927,138 (Capua; 5.iv.380); AE 1975, 367 (Piano Laroma, nr. Casoli, Reg. IV; 5.v.384); ICI VI 18 (Terni, 2.iii.386); CIL V 1622 (Aquileia, 16.iii-1.iv.392).

In Rome late dissemination seems not to have occurred as often as it did in the provinces. A Roman inscription bears a date on 5 January 390, so there is no doubt that an early announcement was given in Rome on the occasion of the consulate celebrated by Valentinian II after his restoration.⁴¹³ Furthermore, early notifications were possibly given in Rome in 377, 387, 391 and more likely in 381 and 383, with three out of five instances pertaining to imperial consulates.⁴¹⁴ To this it should be added Magnus Maximus' consulate in 388, which appears to have been announced in Rome (11.i), too.⁴¹⁵ The only attested case of post-consular dating in Rome is in fact ICUR n.s. I 1441 (10.iii) but it is uncertain whether it should be regarded as genuine, for the names of the new consuls are otherwise attested by 27 February.⁴¹⁶ All in all, the contrast with the diffuse use of post-consular dating in Rome during the rule of Valentinian I is neat.

In conclusion, the evidence indicates that more regular notifications to Rome were resumed, especially, during imperial consulships. However, post-consular dating increases in the provinces.

c. 396-423 (Honorius)

There is evidence of early notifications in 396 (3.i, Rome), 398 (8.i Rome and 11.i Modica) then in 414 but only in Rome (1.i; 23.xii, poss. overlap, Salona).⁴¹⁷ Two out of three are imperial. The court was in Milan in 396, 398 and in Ravenna in 414.⁴¹⁸ Other possible notifications were sent in 397 (14.i-13.ii, Rome), 399 (30.i, Rome), 400 (8.i, Rome), 401 (11.i, Rome), 402 (18.ii, Rome; p.c. 25.i, Catania), 403 (29.i, Rome; p.c. 24.i, Syracuse), 407 (i or xii, Capena, Reg. VII; 19.i, Rome), 416 (22.i, Rome) and 423 (14.i-13.ii, Rome; p.c. 3.iii, Syracuse).⁴¹⁹

⁴¹³ ICUR n.s. VIII 20806 (5.i).

⁴¹⁴ ICUR n.s. I 3188 (7.ii.377); suppl. 1690 (19.i.381); n.s. II 5996 (10.i.383); CIL VI 1778 (1.ii.387); ICUR n.s. II 6051 (1.ii.391).

⁴¹⁵ ICUR n.s. II 4820.

⁴¹⁶ ICUR n.s. VII 17489.

⁴¹⁷ ICUR n.s. VIII 20809 = ILCV 659 adn. (396); ICUR n.s. IV 9583 = ILCV 2946 adn. (398); IG XIV 246 = Agnello, Silloge, 92 (Modica); AE 1945, 133 (1.i.414).

⁴¹⁸ Cf. Dosi 2022a s.a.

⁴¹⁹ ICUR n.s. 1471 (397); AE 1998, 223 (399); ILCV 3347 (400); ICUR n.s. VII 17523 = ILCV 3003B (401); AE 2003, 221 (Rome; 18.ii.402) but AE 1933, 26 (Catania, p.c. 25.i.402); ICUR n.s. VIII 23434 = ILCV 732 (29.i.403); ICUR n.s. VII 17540 = ILCV 1526 (19.i.407); NotScav 1888, 450 = ILCV 3179 (22.i.416); ICUR n.s. II 4880 = ILCV 1559 (14.i-13.ii.423).

There is no clear pattern that can be identified in the announcement of consuls on the basis of provenance (until 411) and rank. Only three instances out of nine involve imperial consulships (Palladius was announced alone in 416 before Theodosius VII was added); and until both consuls were announced on 1 January, both were known simultaneously, regardless of whether they were western or eastern.

The evidence from Sicily and other minor centres in Italy suggests notifications were not given everywhere (possibly only in major centres like Rome, if not Rome alone). Until 402 undoubtedly these notifications were sent from Milan, and then from Ravenna and Rome, depending on the year (in 407 from Rome, in 416 and 423 from Ravenna.) This follows the same pattern existing under Gratian and Valentinian, with notifications being sent from the court to Rome (but not to other major and minor centres, as shown by p.c. dating in north Africa, Sicily, central Italy, Gaul and Salona).⁴²⁰ The move of the court from Trier to Milan and then from Milan to Ravenna did not affect dissemination. Moreover, after the system of proclamations was reformed in 411, there did not follow a significant improvement in the speed of dissemination and notifications could be made or not.

This state of affairs seems to have continued unaltered with the usurper John.⁴²¹

Later Period: 426-541

a. 426-455 (Valentinian III)

Possible early notifications are in 428 (5.ii, Syracuse), 430 (10.i, Rome), 447 (but only in Rome where the earliest attestation is on 25.ii; in Ravenna p.c. gives 16.vii-1.viii and Dertona, p.c. 12.iii. Interestingly, Valentinian is in Rome in March) and 450 (23.ii, Rome; but p.c. 17.ix,

⁴²⁰ For post-consular dating, see: AE 1953,39 (Aïn El Kebira, Algeria; 18.i.409); 1914, 31 (Ksar-Koutine, Tunisia; 17.vii.419); 1933, 26 (Catania, 25.i.402); NotScav 1893, 284 #22 (Syracuse, 24.i.403); RAC36 (1960) 21 no.2 (Syracuse; 30.vii.409); SEG 1986, 840 (Catania; 2.iii/2.v.418); Nuovo Didaskaleion 1956, 59 no.17 (Syracuse; undated); ILCV 2370 (Syracuse, Sicily; 3.iii.423); CIL IX 1365 = ILCV 4144C = ICI VIII 32 (Aeclanum, Reg. II; 11.vii.411); CIL XIII 1118 = ILCV 4387 (nr. Saintes, Aquitania; 22.i.405); CIL XIII 912 + add. p.7 = ILCV 3040 (Bordeaux, undated); CIL III 9513 = ILJ III 2444 = Salona IV 183 (Salona; 23.xii.414).

The earliest attestation from Capena (407) could be due to dissemination to nearby Rome. The only certain evidence of failed notification to Rome is from 408 (p.c. 2-5.i) and oddly enough, Honorius is known to have been there on 15 January. The evidence listed in 404, 405, 406, 409, 410, 411, 412, 415, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421 and 422 is unsuitable.

⁴²¹ The observable evidence is in 425 (424 being unsuitable), and this shows notification is an option: ICUR n.s. II 4885 = ILCV 4745 (27.i and 11.iii). The consulate was an imperial one and it seems the court was in Ravenna. Cf. Dosi 2022a s.a.

Salona).⁴²² In 447 and 450 the court is in Rome, but in 428 and 430 it is in Ravenna on 26 and 15 February, respectively.⁴²³ Two of these were pertaining to civilian consuls, including the one in 428 that required notification from the court in Ravenna.

Notifications were not given in Rome in 429 (p.c. 26.ii or 28.iv; court in Ravenna on 25.ii); 431 (p.c. 24.i); 435 (undated p.c. in Rome), and 441 (p.c. 17.iv, Rome) and poss. 454 (p.c. 1.vi; m.l.d.).⁴²⁴ The one in 435 was an imperial one.

Failure to notify provincials can be observed in:

- Italy, in 427 (p.c. 18.vii.427; Catania), 429 (undated p.c.; Spoleto), 431 (p.c. 19.ii; Lipari), 434 (p.c. 12.i, Aeclanum; undated p.c.; Catania), 435 (p.c. 16.i, Milan), 436 (undated; Terni), 439 (p.c. 24.v; Catania; but poss. overlap; undated p.c., Syracuse); 441 (p.c. 10.vii; Aeclanum), 445 (undated; Atripalda), 447 (p.c. 12.iii, Dertona; p.c. 16.vii, Ravenna), 450 (undated p.c., Milan) and 453 (p.c. 14.v, Como);⁴²⁵

- Gauls, in 441 (p.c. 7.ii; Vienne);⁴²⁶
- Dalmatia, in 435 and 441 (undated p.c., Salona), and 450 (17.ix; Salona);⁴²⁷
- North Africa, in 452 (2.iii; Cuicul, Numidia).

Valentinian's reign would appear to have represented a watershed, which is why it can be considered as the start of the later period in the West. In fact, not only does the p.c. evidence from the provinces indicate that the court failed to notify even major urban centres (e.g. Salona, Ravenna and Milan), but suggests that notifications were, from now on, mostly limited to where the court was located. This view is supported by the p.c. date in Ravenna in 447, i.e. in a year when Valentinian is attested at Rome on 13.iii.⁴²⁸ Knowledge of the consuls seems to be lacking

⁴²² NotScav 1893,289 = RendPontAccad 22 (1946-47) 227-28, no.1 (428); ICUR n.s. II 4890 = ILCV 1464 adn. (430); ICUR n.s. II 4921 = ILCV 3419 (447); ICUR n.s. I 739 = ILCV 490 (450). Most of the evidence is unsuitable in the following years: 426, 427, 432, 433, 434, 436-446, 448, 449, 451-455.

⁴²³ Cf. Dosi 2022a s.a.

⁴²⁴ ICUR n.s. II 4889 = ICUR 3504 adn. (429); ICUR n.s. I 3232 = ILCV 3505 (431); AE 1906, 136 (435); ICUR n.s. I 736 = ILCV 664 (441); ICUR n.s. I 1946 = ILCV 3058A (454).

⁴²⁵ AE 1933,27 = SEG XVII 441 (427); CIL XI 4971 = ICI VI 77 (429); SEG 2003, 1022 (431); CIL IX 1368 = ILCV 3027A = ICI VIII 35 (434); CIL V 6201 = ICI XII 73b (435); CIL XI 4330 = ICI VI 19 (436); IG XIV 130 (439); CIL IX 1366 = ICI VIII 33 (441); AE 2013, 271 (445); ILCV 2829 = ICI VII 5 (447); CIL V 6284 = ILCV 2735 adn. = ICI XVI 11 (450); CIL V 5414 = ILCV 147 (453).

⁴²⁶ IG XIV 2492 = RICG XV 64.

⁴²⁷ ILJ III 2250 = Salona IV 200 (435); Salona IV 205 (441); Farsch.Salona II 178 = ILJ III 2457 = Salona IV 772 (450).

⁴²⁸ CIL XI 334 (Ravenna, Reg. VIII; 16.vii-1.viii); Nov. Val. 23; 7.3; 24; 25 (13.iii-3.vi); Seeck 1919: 376;

sometimes even in Rome, and two out of three times (429 and 431) the court was in Ravenna when this happens.⁴²⁹ The evidence from 430 might look as going against this view (Valentinian III is attested in *CTh.* 12.6.33 issued in Ravenna by 15.ii).⁴³⁰ Yet, in fact Valentinian celebrated his quinquennalia in 430, and simultaneously proclaimed his consulship and Theodosius' (unusual for the time); so it is far from impossible that his consulate was announced in Rome, regardless of whether the emperor was actually there.

b. 455-476 (Majorian, Anthemius and the last western emperors)

Scanty though it is, the evidence suggests that dissemination under Valentinian's successors operated in the same way it did under Valentinian III, with the court being the (only) point of reference for dissemination.⁴³¹ There is relative abundance of this from the reign of Majorian to the last western emperors.

In 460 the court was in Arles and we find Magnus' consulship unknown in Aeclanum (p.c. i), but known in Tarragona, which was significantly closer to Provence than southern Italy.⁴³² Second, in 463 the court was in Rome and again the consul is attested there early (27.i).⁴³³ Next, a notification must also be behind the early date found in 467 in Milan, Ricimer's headquarters (16.i; but see the p.c. in Burgundy, 21.ii).⁴³⁴ When Anthemius arrived in Italy in the course of 467, he set his court at Rome. In 469 we happen to find the formula in Capena (not far from Rome) by 17.i, and by 14.i-13.ii in 472.⁴³⁵ Though the location of Glycerius' court at Rome is by no means certain, there is some evidence that the consulate of Leo II in 474 was announced in Rome (31.i).⁴³⁶ The use of p.c. on 25.ii for the consulate of Zeno in 475 may not be entirely inconsistent with this pattern—Zeno was overthrown by February.⁴³⁷

Post-consular dating is found in provincial contexts in:

⁴²⁹ While it is unknown where the court was in 435; cf. Dosi 2022a s.a.

⁴³⁰ *CTh.* XII 6.33 (15.ii); Seeck 1919: 356.

⁴³¹ Unfortunately, the evidence listed under the following years is unsuitable: 456, 457, 458, 459, 461, 462, 464. The evidence in 468, 470 and 471 is unsuitable for Rome.

⁴³² CIL IX 1372 = ILCV 3185A = ICI VIII 39 (Aeclanum; 31?.i); Röm.Inschr.Tarraco 946 = CIL II2/14 2098 (Tarragona, 28.xii.459). Cf. Dosi 2022a s.a. 460 for the location of Majorian's court.

⁴³³ ICUR n.s. IV 11160; cf. Dosi 2022a s.a. 463.

⁴³⁴ CIL V 6210 = ILCV 2737A = ICI XVI 14A.

⁴³⁵ CIL XI 4078 = ICI IV 104 (469); ICUR n.s. I 355 (472).

⁴³⁶ ICUR n.s. VI 16002 = ILCV 1138 adn. + add. II p.512 (474).

⁴³⁷ ICUR n.s. V 13958.

- Dalmatia, in 462 (p.c. 11.iii, Salona), where Severus was not recognised;⁴³⁸
- Italy, in 460 (p.c. I, Aeclanum), 465 (p.c. 11.ii, Atripalda);⁴³⁹
- Gaul, in 467 (p.c. 21.ii, St. Romain d'Albon);⁴⁴⁰
- Spain, in 471 (p.c. 30.vii, Tarragona).⁴⁴¹

c. 476-491 (Odovacar)

There is evidence that Illus' consulate in 478 was not announced in Rome (p.c. 1.iii in Tivoli).⁴⁴² However, there is evidence that Faustus' (483) was, his name being attested in Rome on 24.i.⁴⁴³

Other than 478 and 491, post-consular dating is also attested at Milan 14.iv-1.v in 484; 31.i (Milan) in 487 (pointing to dissemination from Rome) and in other imperfect material.⁴⁴⁴

Once the imperfect material is removed, the resulting picture appears to underline a situation where notifications were restored to Rome, with the exception of easterners or the years of war with the Ostrogoths.⁴⁴⁵ However, more accurate conclusions cannot be reached due to the uncertain material.

d. 492-541 (Ostrogothic rule)

There exists evidence of knowledge of consuls in Rome on 1 January in 495 (23.i), 503 (28.i, Venusia, Reg. II); and perhaps in 506 (2-5.ii); 516 (2-5.ii); 517 (18.i-15.xii, Nola, Reg. I); 519 (14.i-13.ii, Canosa, Reg. II).⁴⁴⁶ Early dates can be found in Rome in 527 (14-27.ii) and possibly in 538 (i-viii).⁴⁴⁷

⁴³⁸ CIL III 14623 = ILCV 1174.

⁴³⁹ AE 2008, 338.

⁴⁴⁰ CIL XII 1791 = ILCV 2830 = RICG XV 24.

⁴⁴¹ Röm.Inschr.Tarraco 947 = CIL II2/14 2099.

⁴⁴² I.Ital IV.1 544 = ILCV 251 (478).

⁴⁴³ ICUR n.s. II 4985 = ILCV 1347 (483).

⁴⁴⁴ Cf. e.g., RAC 26 (1950) 233-34 = ICI XIV 11a (484); CIL V 6286 = ILCV 4727 = ICI XVI 16 (487).

⁴⁴⁵ The evidence in 476 is unsuitable for Rome; so too in 477 (no consuls) and in the following consulates, for which it does not survive enough material that can be safely listed under the year / or it is dated too late: 479, 480, 481, 482, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489 and 490.

⁴⁴⁶ ICUR n.s. VII 17602 (495); AE 1981 266 = ICI XIII 38 (503); ICUR n.s. VII 17606 (506); n.s. II 5020 = ILCV 717 (516); CIL X 1347 = ILCV 1147A (517); CIL IX 410 = ILCV 4678 = ICI XIII 4 (519).

⁴⁴⁷ ICUR n.s. I 4074 (527); ICUR n.s. I 997 = ILCV 4645 adn. (538).

Also, there is some evidence of dissemination from Ravenna in 520, (nr. Lago di Como, 24.i). But in 525, the new consulship is attested on 28.i in Brescia, on 25.i in Salerno and on 10.i in Arles, which points to multiple early notifications sent both inside and outside Italy.⁴⁴⁸

It is unclear from where the inscription from Valcabrere (Ostrogothic Aquitania) dated 15.ii.521 received its formula, but ultimately this could be a centre in northern Italy (Ravenna).⁴⁴⁹

For Rome, lack of knowledge of the new consulship on 1 January can be found in 496 (p.c. 6.vi), 497 (undated (p.c. II), 499 (p.c. 5.ix), 500 (p.c. 17.iv), 502 or 503 (undated p.c.), 512 (p.c. 29.ix) and 518 (p.c. 1.v), 528 (p.c. 18.xi).⁴⁵⁰ It is worth noting that all these consuls were eastern (Paulus; Anastasius II, Paulus and Moschianus and finally Magnus) and no western consul was proclaimed during the year.

Post-consular dating is also attested in:

- Italy, in Dertona (492, presumably under Theoderic's control after Odoacer's defeat at Adda), Cales (492, uncertain attribution), Pavia (496), Passo Corese (502 or 503), Milan (512, p.c. 3.ix; and earlier in 492 but 491 is poss.), Beneventum (uncertain date but poss. 515), Lodi (p.c. 20.i?; 518), very likely in Aeclanum (p.c. 20.xii.533), Como (p.c. 10.viii.535),⁴⁵¹
- Ostrogothic Gaul, in Narbonne (uncertain date but poss. 503, 514), Vaison (Narb. in 519; then another evidence of uncertain attribution but poss. 508, 509), Arles (p.c. II 4.i.529; p.c. 19.i.530),⁴⁵²
- Dalmatia in Salona (p.c. xii.535).⁴⁵³

⁴⁴⁸ CIL V 5219 = ILCV 1156 (520); CIL V 4843 = ILCV 3168 (525); I.Ital. I 109 (Salerno); ILGN 135 = ILCV 2890 (Arles).

⁴⁴⁹ CIL XIII 300 = ILCV 3040 adn.

⁴⁵⁰ ICUR n.s. I 292 = ILCV 482 (496); ICUR n.s. II 4997 (497); ICUR n.s. VII 17604 (499; m.l.d.); ICUR n.s. II 5001 = ILCV 3783 (500; m.l.d.); ICUR n.s. I 2118 = ILCV 4370A (502-503); ICUR n.s. VII 17611 (512); ICUR n.s. V 13413 (518); ICUR n.s. I 752 = ILCV 119 (528).

The evidence is unsuitable for Rome in 529, 530, 531-2 (no consuls), 534, 535-537 (the evidence for the case of the consulate of Belisarius is uncertain), 539, 540 and 541.

⁴⁵¹ CIL V 7531 = ILCV 339 = ICI VII 15 (Dertona); *Civiltà Cattolica* 1953, III, p.392 (Cales); CIL V 6468 = ILCV 1162 (Ticinum); AE 2009, 300 (Passo Corese); CIL 6176 = ILCV 116 = ICI XVI 197 (Milan); CIL IX 2120 = ICI VIII 5 (Beneventum); CIL Suppl.Ital I 863 (Lodi); CIL IX 1384 = ILCV 3186b = ICI VIII 53.4-7 (533); CIL V 5419 = ILCV 1431 (535).

⁴⁵² Narbonne: I.Lat.Gaul.Narb. 607 (503); I.Lat.Gaul.Narb. 607 (514); Vaison: CIL XII 1500 = ILCV 1166 (519); CIL XII 5339 = ILCV 3555 (508); CIL XII 1498 = ILCV 2256 (509); Arles: CIL XII 934 = ILCV 2891a (529); CIL XII 936 = ILCV 1808 (530).

⁴⁵³ CIL III ad 2659 = Salona IV 777.

Again, most if not all of these are eastern consulates.

In conclusion, as with the reign of Odoacer, the uncertain chronological attribution of many items poses several problems in evaluating the evidence from the period of Ostrogothic rule. In overall terms, however, this suggests that dissemination remained fast, with p.c. dating mainly limited to (i) years when easterners were sole consuls or (ii) evidence from territories out of Italy, such as Ostrogothic Provence and Dalmatia.

3.3.1.2. THE EAST

Early Period: 284-310 (Diocletian to Galerius)

As with in the West, so too in the East the evidence reveals the total lack of post-consular dates and the early attestation of consular dates even in remote areas and villages. For example, the date of P.Grenf. II 75.19, (Hibite, 6 January) suggests the consuls were known there at the beginning of the year, since doubtless the place was not easily reachable. The date could be a scribal error, but still in 297 (Oxy., 8.i), 300 (Thead., 14.i), 304 (Oxy., 13.i) and 309 (Panop., 16.i) the evidence unquestionably points to dissemination from at least Alexandria.⁴⁵⁴

The same can perhaps be said for 298, though Antioch is also a possibility.⁴⁵⁵ As is known, except for the years 297-98, Egypt never hosted an emperor (the then imperial residences were at Sirmium, Romuliana, Thessaloniki, Nicomedia and Antioch). One is thus tempted to conclude that, similarly to contemporary western practice, eastern settlements were notified of the coming consulship prior to or by 1 January.

The absence of postconsular evidence for the whole period (the earliest comes from 311), suggests that the situation that one sees in the Hibite nome was much more common than what we are able to glimpse through the shortcomings of our material. It must not be forgotten that many of these consulates were imperial; as such, very probably their dissemination had full logistic support by both central and provincial authorities.

⁴⁵⁴ P.Oxy. XLIV 3184 b.1 (8.i.297; *CLRE* dating to 9.i is probably a typo. Text in TM 15949 confirms dating to 8.1.); P.Sakaon 2.1 (Arsin.; 14.i.300) but see also P.Sakaon. 3.1 (i.300) and P.Panop.Beatty 2.37, 58 (Panop.; 1.i.300; doc. 30.i); P.Oxy. XVIII 2187.1 (13.i.304; frag.) and also P. Oxy. XXXVI 2770.1 (26.i.304); P.Panop. 15.16 (16.i.309) and P.Stras. 577 (Arsin., 21.i.309). According to ORBIS, the Fayum could be reached from Caesarea (where Maximin's court could have been in January; cf. Barnes 1982: 65) in about 10 days but Panopolis needed more than 16 days.

⁴⁵⁵ The time interval in P.Oxy. XIV 1704.24 (1.i-29.viii.298) is too large for it to be conclusive.

Transitional Period: 311-378

a. 311-313 (Maximin Daia)

It is unfortunate that the brief reign of Maximin Daia is not properly covered by the evidence, since it is from 311 that post-consular evidence begins to appear in the East.⁴⁵⁶ That said, it should be noted that the authorities might have continued to notify the provincial capital in the old-fashioned way. In 312 a papyrus from Hermopolis Magna is dated on 22 February.⁴⁵⁷ However, unquestionable evidence of announcement on 1 January from small villages is no longer attested.

b. 314-324 (Licinius I and Licinius II)

Licinius seems to have been unable or unwilling to consistently appoint consuls and maintain a timely dissemination to Egypt.⁴⁵⁸ However, it cannot be argued that early notifications to the provincial capital (Alexandria) were abandoned completely, since there is evidence that these were maintained in at least 318 (15.i), 319 (19.i), and perhaps 316 (22.i) and 320 (i-ii).⁴⁵⁹

Conversely, although proclamation from Alexandria may be possible in 315 (12.ii) and 320 (10.iii), the dates are too late to be certain.⁴⁶⁰ These being excluded, in three cases out of four the consulate notified from Alexandria was an imperial one. Whilst the diffuse use of post-consular dating indicates that notifications were no longer sent out to the villages, on most occasions imperial consulates would appear to have been known in Alexandria.⁴⁶¹

c. 325-337 (Constantine I)

If early notifications to authorities in Alexandria were reserved by Licinius for imperial consulates alone, this changed when Constantine took up sole rulership. After 325, post-

⁴⁵⁶ P.Oxy. XLVI 3305.1 (16.iii) is unfortunately too late in the year.

⁴⁵⁷ P.Flor. 1 31.13 (Hermop., 22.ii). See also, P.Oxy. LIX 3981.21 (ii-iii).

⁴⁵⁸ Consuls were not proclaimed by Licinius in at least 322-324 during the second war with Constantine.

⁴⁵⁹ P.Oxy. XXXIII 2675.1 (15.i.318); P.Sakaon 20.11 (Arsin., 19.i.319); P.Princ.Roll ix.1 (Arsin., 22.i.316) and see also P.Cair.Isid. 59.7 (Arsin., 26.i.316) and P.Mert. II 91.4 (Arsin., 31.i.316); PSI V 454.1 (Oxy., i-ii.320).

⁴⁶⁰ P.Princ.Roll v.1 (Arsin., 12.ii.315); P.Got. 6.16 (Panop., 10.iii.321).

⁴⁶¹ If we exclude the years during which consuls were not announced, post-consular dating is genuinely attested in 314 (PSI VII 820.43; Arsin., 17.ii); 315 (P.Hamb. 1 21.15; Oxy., 30.i); 316 (P.Oxy. XVII 2113.27; i); 319 (P.Col. VII 185.17; Arsin., 21.i); 321 (P.Kell. I Gr. 21.23 (Mothite, 6.i). The dates mirror the latest observed attestation of p.c.

consular dates can be observed clearly only in 336 (26.iii) and 337 (4.iii).⁴⁶² But in at least two cases out of eleven citizen consuls (330, 331), early notifications were unquestionably or almost certainly given to Alexandria.⁴⁶³ It is unclear whether these instances are to be seen as an exceptional show of imperial favour. The consuls in office were men of the highest dignity (often PPOs), but their colleagues in the remaining years were men of no lesser rank. Perhaps, Alexandria was notified more often than what the evidence allows us to see. An early notification is clearly an option in 325 (i-ii), 327 (9.ii) and 332 (i-ii), as well as whenever post-consular dating is limited to January as in 325 (p.c. 13.i) and 328 (p.c. 22.i).⁴⁶⁴

d. 338-361 (Constantius II)

Unfortunately, the evidence is very poor.⁴⁶⁵ Indisputable or substantial evidence for early notifications for Alexandria survives only for 338 (13.i) and 342 (p.c. 12.i Panop. but cos. 28.i, Oxy.)⁴⁶⁶ But Alexandria could still be a possibility on the basis of the latest attested p.c. data points in 339 (p.c. 3.ii) and 350 (p.c. 5.ii).⁴⁶⁷ Two out of four consulates are imperial.

Conversely, Alexandria is much less likely to have been notified in 346 (p.c. 5.v, Hermop.) and 358 (p.c. 11.v, Oxy.) and with a lesser degree of certainty in 349 (p.c. 31.iii, Hermop.) and even lesser in 360 (p.c. 12.ii, Oxy.).⁴⁶⁸ Again, two out of four consulates are imperial.

⁴⁶² P.Oxy. X 1265.1 (26.iii.336) and PSI VII 804.14 (unkn., 4.iii.337). The evidence in the following years is too late in the year to yield useful information: SB XVIII 13260 (Herakleop., 4.iv.328); P.Oxy. XIV 1716.1 (9.iv.333); P.Lond. VI 1913.1 (Herakleop., 19.iii.334) and CPR I 247.20 (Herakl.; 7.iv.335).

⁴⁶³ SPP XX 86.26 (Hermop., 31.i.330) and P.Sakaon 69.26 (Arsin., 14.i.331).

⁴⁶⁴ P.Oxy. LIV 3756.26 (i-ii.325); P.Oxy. LX 4078.1 (9.ii.327) and SB XIV 11711.25 (Hermop., i-ii.332). For post-consular dating, see P.Oxy. X 1261.1 (13.i.325); P.Sakaon 62.12 (Arsin., 22.i.328).

⁴⁶⁵ The earliest data point is too late in the year to yield useful information in the following fifteen years: P.Col. VII 148.7,22 (Arsin., 21.iii.340); P.Cair.Goodsp. 13.16 (Hermop., 1.iv.341); P.Oxy. XLVIII 3389.1 (14.iii.343); P.Neph. 32.1 (Herakleop., 17.iv.344). P.Oxy. XLIII 3146.1 (10.v.347); BGU II 405.1 (Arsin., 6.iii.348); P.Stras. I 9.6 (Arsin., 27.iii.352); P.Prag. I 15.17 (Kynop., 11.vii.353); P.Stras. 329.4 (unkn., 12.v.354); P.Oxy. LI 3622.1 (29.viii.356); P.Oxy. I 66.1 (2.vii.357); P.Oxy. LXVII 4600.2 (14.vi.361). The interval between latest p.c. and earliest cos. is too large in P.Abinn. 59.19 (Arsin., p.c. 2.ii.345) and P.Wisc. I 12.1 (Oxy., 30.v.345); P.Oxy. IV, p.202.1 = M.Chr. 361 (Elephantine; 12.i.355) and P.Dubl. 31.21 (Panop., 3.ix.355); P.Oxy. LI 3624.18 (25.i.359) and BGU III 909.30 (Arsin., 24-29.viii.359);

⁴⁶⁶ P.Oxy. VI 892.13 (13.i.338); P.Panop. 19 xi.5 (p.c. 12.i.342) but P.Oxy. L 3577 = ChLA XLVII 1421.9 (28.i.342);

⁴⁶⁷ P.Panop. 19 vi.a.4 (3.ii.339); P.Abinn. 62.1 (Arsin., 5.ii.350).

⁴⁶⁸ P.Lond. III 1249.22 (p.227) (Hermop., p.c. 5.v.346); P.Oxy. LXI 4129.1 (p.c. 11.v.358); P.Sijp. 22.19 (Hermop., p.c. 31.iii.349); P.Oxy. VIII 1103.1 (p.c. 12.ii.360).

Based on the above, it is difficult to distinguish a clear pattern, nor does it seem reasonable to make any clear distinction between imperial or non-imperial consulates. Given the delays in 346 and 360, one is tempted to conclude that Constantius seems to have at least on some occasions broken away from the Tetrarchical fashion of notifying imperial consulates to Egypt prior to 1 January. But the positive evidence listed above (both for imperial and non-imperial consulates) warns against any generalisations.

e. 362-364 (Julian and Jovian)

There is insufficient data to analyse dissemination in the brief reigns of Julian and Jovian. A Latin inscription from Selymbria (Thrace) dated 23 January, 362 attests the name of the new consuls, but Julian's court was in Constantinople in January, hence both prior notification and dissemination from there are equally possible options.⁴⁶⁹ The Egyptian evidence does not yield useful information for 363 and 364.⁴⁷⁰

f. 365-378 (Valens)

As for the reign of Valens, evidence for the announcement of the new consuls on 1 January is even poorer. Of the nine imperial consulates from the accession of Valentinian I and Valens to the battle of Adrianople, only the one in 378 (15.i) had been notified to Egypt prior to 1 January.⁴⁷¹ Possible, but more uncertain, are the instances in 372 (4.ii) and 377 (a p.c. date is attested on 13.ii in Karanis but the new consuls were known in Oxy. by 21.iii).⁴⁷²

Evidence to the contrary is in 368 (p.c. 25.iii, Oxy.), 371 (p.c. 16.iii) and 374 (p.c. 15.iv).⁴⁷³ The remaining instances (365, 366, 367, 369, 370, 373 and 376) are dated too late in the year.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁶⁹ Sayar 1998: 355 (Selymbria, Thrace; 23.i.362). Julian's court, cf. Seeck 1919: 209.

⁴⁷⁰ The earliest observable data points are: P.Lond. V 1651.1 (Hermop., 20.iv.363) and PSI I 90.1 (Oxy., latest p.c. 17.x.364; poss. overlap); and see also P.Kell. I Gr. 42.28 (Mothite, p.c. 15.ii.364) and CPR X 107.9 (Herakleop.?, 26.vii.364).

⁴⁷¹ BGU XIII 2339.1 (Oxy., 15.i.378). Imperial consulates were proclaimed in 365, 368, 370, 371, 373, 374, 376, 377 and 378.

⁴⁷² P.Col. VII 182.21 (Arsin., 4.ii.372; cos. for p.c.?); SB XIV 12109.1 (Arsin., p.c. 13.ii.377) but SB XIV 12021.5 (Oxy. 21.iii.377).

⁴⁷³ P.Oxy. LXIII 4376.1 (p.c. 25.iii.368); P.Oxy. LXIII 4966.1-2 (p.c. 16.iii.371); SB XX 14378 z.21-40.9 (15.iv.374).

⁴⁷⁴ The following are the earliest observable data points: P.Oxy. XLVIII 3393.1 (8.vi.365); P.Hamb. IV 263.1 (Oxy., 27.viii.366); P.Oxy. LXIII 4377.1 (iii-iv.369); SB XXVIII 17188 = ZPE 140 (2002) 163.1 (Herakleop. 17.iv.370); 1702. P.Col. VII 168.11 (Arsin., 11.iv.373); SB XX 14378 z.21-40.35 (Arsin., 15.iv.376). P.Mich. XX 804.1 (Oxy. 367) and P.Mich. XX 805.1 = P.Wash.Univ. II 82 (Oxy. 367) have no date.

Again, a clear distinction between imperial/non-imperial consulates is difficult to draw. Of the three consulates that might have been notified to Alexandria, two (373 and 378) were imperial. But so too were three that might not have been notified in 368, 371 and 374.

In conclusion, it appears that only occasionally authorities announced the new consuls on the 1 January. Whenever it occurred, this practice was probably limited to the provincial capital (Alexandria), since there is no early evidence from any minor centres which permits to infer dissemination from the place of the evidence itself.

Later Period: 379 – 541

a. 379-395 (Theodosius I)

Four out of seventeen consular years do not yield sufficient data.⁴⁷⁵ However, a postconsular date is attested in Egypt later in the year in the following years: 380 (p.c. 6.v), 381 (p.c. 5.v), 382 (p.c. 12.vii in Egypt); 383 (p.c. 23.vii); 384 (p.c. 24.x); 385 (p.c. 26.xi); 386 (p.c. 26.vi); 387 (p.c. 28.v in Egypt); 389 (p.c. 5.v); 393 (p.c. 27.iv) and 395 (p.c. 17.iv).⁴⁷⁶ Moreover, Gortyn (Crete) and Athens yield material dated by p.c. on, respectively, 18 June 382 and 27 May 387.⁴⁷⁷

The only p.c. data points observed earlier in the year (in Egypt) are from 391 (p.c. 5.iii in Oxy. with the new consuls attested in the Hermopolite between 27.iii-25.iv) and 392 (25.i, Oxy.), and the consuls are known in the Arsinoite by 20 April, which hints at a faster dissemination.⁴⁷⁸

With perhaps the only exception being the one in 392, both imperial and non-imperial consulates were disseminated late, though one civilian consulate (379) and three imperial ones (388, 390, 394) are poorly documented.

⁴⁷⁵ The following are the earliest observable data points: P.Oxy. LXXII 4894.5-6 (2.viii.379); P.Lips. I 63.1 (Antinoop., 14.vi.388); P.Lips. I 38.1 = ChLA XII 520 (Hermop., 19.ix.390) but see also W.Chr. 434.1 = P.Münch. III 99 (Hermop.; prob. v-xii.390). There is no extant date for P.Herm. 22.1 and P.Oxy. XIV 1712.1 (394).

⁴⁷⁶ For the material dated by the latest attested post-consulate in the year, see: CPR VII 19.1 (Hermop., 6.v.380); P.Mich. XVIII 793.11 (unkn., 5.v.381); SB IV 7445.1 (Oxy., 12.vii.382); P.Oxy. LXIII 4382.1 (23.vii.383); P.Oxy. LXIII 4383.1 (24.x.384); P.Oxy. LXIII 4384.1 (26.xi.385); SB XVIII 13916.1 (26.vi; Oxy.386); IG II/III 2 13253 = 4842 = Syll.3 907 (Attica; 27.v.387); SB XIV 11285.1 (unknow., 28.v.387); P.Lips. I 37.1 (Hermop., 5.v.389); P.Oxy. LXXII 4899.1-2 (27.iv.393); CEpist. Lat. 231.11 = ChLA XLIII 1248 (2) (prov.unkn., 17.iv.395).

⁴⁷⁷ I.Cret. IV 285 (Gortyn, 18.vi.382); IG II/III 2 13253 = 4842 = Syll.3 907 (Athens, p.c. 27.v).

⁴⁷⁸ P.Oxy. LXXII 4897 (p.c. 5.iii.391) but see P.Lips. I 42.1 (Hermop., 27.iii-25.iv.391; much rest.); PSI VI 698.1 (Oxy., p.c. 25.i.392) but see P.Gron. 9.19 (Arsin., 20.iv.392).

The late dissemination in Greece (Attica) and Crete is particularly interesting. As the latter comes from a peripheral area (Crete), we may take it as evidence that information on the new consuls were not available on 1 January in villages and the countryside. But early knowledge of the new consuls seems to be lacking also in the proximity of main administrative hubs (e.g. Oxyrhynchus in Arcadia and Corinth for the Attic inscriptions in Achaea).

b. From Arcadius to Justinian (396 – 541)

After the reign of Theodosius, there is little or no sign that the practice of announcing the consuls on the 1 January was ever resumed anywhere other than Constantinople. Use of post-consular dating is attested in Egypt within the evidence listed in the following years: 396-399; 402-403; 406-408 (Arcadius); 409-410, 412-413, 415, 417-423, 426-430, 432, 434-439, 441-444, 456-450 (Theodosius II); 451-456 (Marcian); 457-468, 470-473 (Leo); 475-476, 478-491 (Leo II and Zeno; Basiliscus; Zeno); 493-496, 498-501, 503-506, 508-511, 513-514, 517 (Anastasius); 521, 523-524, 527, 535, 540-541 (Justinian). Most of the evidence is from provincial capitals (like Oxyrhynchus) or villages from the countryside, but it is worth noting that post-consular dating is also attested at Alexandria in (at least) 409 and 421, and probably in 500.⁴⁷⁹

Scanty though the evidence is, use of post-consular dating is also attested in Asia Minor in 450 (undated p.c.; Chalcedon) and on 13.ii.462 in Isauria (Alahan).⁴⁸⁰ Again, the evidence above points to failure to announce the consuls locally on 1 January.

The evidence listed under the remaining years is inconclusive, but it is unlikely that new findings will change the pattern underlined above.⁴⁸¹ The only difference that one can observe is in the slightly earlier attestation in Egypt of the following four consular years, all dating to

⁴⁷⁹ SB I 1540.8 (19.iii.409); SPP XX 114.1 (25.vii.421). Post-consular dating at Alexandria is also attested by P.Oxy. LXIII 4394.7-8 dated 494, but the full western pair appears to have not been disseminated.

P.Oxy. LXIII 4394.256 and 4395.130 give Φλ. Ἰωάννου as early as 15 and 24 February, which is significantly early for the period and would normally point to a local announcement. However, they also provide an eight indiction. Since the eight indiction began in September 499, dating to February 500 is impossible unless we restore *p.c. Iohannis* (the *cos.* were Patricius and Hypatius in 500). Therefore, either the indiction or the consular date must be wrong. On balance, given that mistaking *cos.* for *p.c.* was relatively a common error in Egypt, it is more likely that the wrong one is the consular date. Cf. the editor's comment at n. 132 v. 256.

⁴⁸⁰ I.Kalchedon 22 = BCH 108 (1984) 566-71 (v); SEG XIV 812 (Alahan, Isauria; 13.ii).

⁴⁸¹ The evidence listed in the following years do not provide for adequate information: 400, 401, 404, 405; 411, 414, 416, 424, 425, 431, 433, 440, 445; 459, 460 and 469; 479; 492, 497, 502, 507, 512, 515 and 518; 519, 520, 522, 528, 529 and 530.

the reigns of Justin and Justinian: in 525 (15.iv), 533 (29.iv), 538 (15.iv) and 539 (4.iv). To these can also be added one further example in 534 (attested in Smyrna? on 8.ii).

The attestation of the consulship of 525 (a civil consul) could be an outlier, as the consulate of Justin in the preceding year does not appear to have been disseminated equally fast (still p.c. in 5-14.iv in Oxy.) Instead, it might be relevant that the two remaining civilian consulships belonged to an Egyptian (Apion, cos. 539) and the incumbent praefect of the East (John, cos. 538). All this notwithstanding, there is clear evidence of late dissemination in the remaining consulships, some of which pertained to emperors or their relatives (i.e. 521, 524, 540), some to westerners (523, 527) and some others to easterners (535, 541). Thus, no clear distinctions can be noted between imperial/citizen consuls or eastern/western consuls. Lack of early notifications to the province is observed for the consulships in 519, 521, 525, 526 and 534.

3.3.1.3. The Cause of Late Dissemination

Why did dissemination slow down? Did the problem lie in the timing of the announcement made in the capital or in the transmission of news to the province, or both? In other words, does the problem rest with the court, the offices of the provincial governors or the lower tiers of the provincial administration? Back in 1987, the authors of *CLRE* concluded that, ‘It is difficult to believe that the emperors of the fifth and sixth centuries could not have exchanged consular nominations by January if they had considered it important enough. It seems clear that they did not consider it important enough. Taking their cue from above, those responsible for disseminating the information at successive stages gave their respective tasks correspondingly low priority’.⁴⁸²

It is certainly no news that consular dating was not as important everywhere as it was in some particular regions of the empire. However, one point that has been missed entirely is that in the process of dissemination, what was disseminated was not, or at least not only, the mere ‘date’ but the news of the entrance in office of the new consul(s), which was never an occasion of low importance. There were obvious political reasons why an emperor might not have wanted or bothered to advertise the consulship of a rival consul, whether this was a fellow emperor or a subject. But, whereas it can be seen why emperors had absolutely no interest in encouraging dissemination of rival or non-local consuls (and this does explain late dissemination in general), it is not obvious why they did not want their consulships accurately and timely announced—and if not everywhere, at least where it mattered, i.e. the great imperial

⁴⁸² *CLRE* 28.

metropoleis like Alexandria. Indeed, a second point that has been missed entirely, and which is underlined by the evidence, is that eventually the dissemination even of imperial consulships became just as haphazard as the dissemination of non-imperial consulships. Given the above, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that if a consulship was not announced on the 1 January, it was not because emperors did not want or bother to have it announced in a timely manner, but rather because they were unable to do so.

It may not be an accident that in 2004 two of the authors of *CLRE*, Bagnall and Worp, changed their conclusions, arguing that, ‘delay in dissemination was in many cases a problem of getting information from Constantinople to the Egyptian administration, not late proclamation in the capital. The combination of late dissemination, occasional discrepancies in the formulas in use inside Egypt, and the often unmarked use of postconsular eras all point to the extensive breakdown in the system by which the bureaucracy transmitted and disseminated the proclamation of new consuls.’⁴⁸³

As a consular designation was a political decision, this could be (and sometimes certainly was) a last-minute one.⁴⁸⁴ However, there is significant evidence that designations continued to be made before the start of the consular year throughout our period, both in the West and the East, hence it seems sensible to exempt the court from blame for late designations and announcements.⁴⁸⁵ While, then, I agree that this must be seen as a problem of transmission, it remains to be clarified where the problem lies in the transmission process and when it began.

Bagnall and Worp bring several instances of overlaps as evidence that the bureaucracy of Egypt 'broke down' in transmitting the formula evenly and speedily.⁴⁸⁶ However, the evidence

⁴⁸³ Bagnall & Worp 2004: 94.

⁴⁸⁴ See the case in 383; cf. p. 171 below.

⁴⁸⁵ Evidence of advanced designations exists for Fl. Eugenius, Avianus Symmachus and Praetextatus (all three died in 349, 376 and 384, respectively; that is, one year before entering in office); Lollianus (cos. 355 but possibly designated as early as 337); Ausonius (cos. 379, and already designated by September, 378); Constantius (cos. 414; exact date of des. unkn.); Cyrus (cos. 441; designated by 5 April, 440); Vincomalus (cos. 453; designated by 13.iii.452) and lastly the two Iohannes coss. 498 and 499 (designated in 496); cf. sources and discussion in *CLRE* 18-20. Also, the following consulates were known by Claudian before they entered in office: Arcadius IV and Honorius III (coss. 395), Honorius IV (cos. 398), Theodorus and Eutropius (coss. 399), Stilicho (cos. 400) and Honorius VI (cos. 404). Symmachus (cos. 391) is designated in advance by Theodosius, who reminds that the designation must be brought in *aures publicas* (Symm. II 62). Themistius (or. XVI) certainly alludes to Ricomeres (cos. 384; exact date of des. unkn.); and so similarly Zosimus (4.52; 5.17) to Rufinus' and Eutropius' early designations. In Ostrogothic Italy, designations were possibly made before the start of the indiction (September) preceding the consular year; cf. e.g. Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 6.1.5; 9.22.4.

⁴⁸⁶ Bagnall & Worp 2004: 92.

they bring is dated from 364 to 521 (with four overlaps out of six dating to the fifth and sixth centuries), and this does not match with our record, which unquestionably indicates that issues of dissemination in Egypt began much earlier, i.e. in 311. In other words, there might well be some sort of correlation between late dissemination and the overlaps they observe, but this is hardly a causal link. This conclusion is supported, more generally, by the fact that the use of post-consular dating from outside Egypt shows that late/slow transmission was not a phenomenon limited to Egypt and its administration. It would therefore appear that the transmission issue was systemic and not simply limited to Egypt; and that whatever its origin, this needs to be found in the fourth century. With regard to what caused the issue, I have no conclusive answers to offer, but it is undeniable that there is a suspicious chronological overlap between the appearance of post-consular dating and the increasingly restrictive legislation issued about the use of the *cursus publicus*. The first Constantinian law collected in the Theodosian Code (not necessarily the first that was issued) dates to the same decade that also witnessed the appearance of the first attested post-consular dates, i.e. 310s. Thereafter, fourth- and early fifth-century emperors continued steadily to limit resources and access to the imperial post, and concurrently post-consular dating increased.⁴⁸⁷ The *cursus* certainly benefited from

⁴⁸⁷ The Theodosian Code contains several laws on the post:

(a) Constantine: 8.5.1 (22.i.315) limits requisitions of oxen for the use of the post. Travellers must wait for oxen to become available if they want to use it (clearly, before they were free to seize animals); 8.5.3 (15.ii.326) limits the privilege of requisitioning animals that governors and other functionaries were previously given. The PPO is still allowed to use fully the post (but using moderation); 8.5.4 (22.vi.326) further implementation of restrictions on the use of the *cursus*.

The policy of limiting the use of the imperial post was continued by the legislative activity of the successors of Constantine as shown below:

(b) Constantius II: 8.5.6 (1.viii.354); 8.5.7 (3.viii.354 to the proconsul of Africa); 8.5.8. (24.vii.357 to the PPO Italy and Africa); 8.5.9 (6.xii.357 forbidding the PPO to provide warrants); 8.5.10. (27.x.358, to the proconsul of Africa); 8.5.11. (16.xi.360 to Helpidius, PPO limiting requisitions authority of soldiers); 8.5.5 (25.vii.354? by Constantius or Constantine, prohibits governors to issue warrants for the use of the post. This has to be issued by the PPO.)

(c) Julian: 8.5.16 (25.xi.363 abolishment of the imperial post in Sardinia).

(d) Valentinian, Valens and finally Gratian: 8.10.17 (14.iii.364); 8.5.19 (23.vi.364 to Symmachus PVR, limiting the issuing of warrants to public matters); 8.5.22 (18.ii.365?, to the PVR); 8.5.24 (24.iii.365, to the governor of Campania, prohibiting usurpations of animals); 8.5.25 (25.iii.365, to the governor of Lucania and Bruttium, prohibiting detours); 8.5.27 (28.v.365, to governor of Lower Pannonia); and other laws from 8.5.17 to 34.

substantial resources and manpower in some strategic areas of the empire until at least the early sixth century, as shown by the evidence from Egypt, Italy and Gaul; but what dissemination needed to run effectively was not a regional infrastructure, but a trans-regional one.⁴⁸⁸ At this

(e) Valens, Gratian and Valentinian II: 8.5.35 (20.iv.378, to the PPO Gratian, limitation to the number of post-horses and vehicles dispatched every day and harsh punishments for lawbreakers, unless the message is urgent).

(f) Gratian, Valentinian II and Theodosius: 8.5.38. (24.iv.382, to the PPO East, limiting the number of total vehicles and post-horses a vicar and his staff could use on a journey); 8.5.39 (16.vii.382, to the PPO East, prohibiting the use of the post by retired officials and officers, unless holding a royal warrant); 8.5.40. (23.vii.383, to the PPO East, withdrawing the right to issue warrants to any official/officer but the emperor and the PPO); 8.5.41 (20.ix.382, to the Count of the East, prohibiting the sale of warrants and assets of the post and establishment the capital punishment for lawbreakers); 8.5.43 (1.ii.384, to the PPO Valentinian, reiterating 8.5.40); 8.5.44 (2.iii.384, to the PPO East, reiterating 8.5.39 and setting some exceptions); 8.5.45 (10.iv.384, to the PPO East, limiting the use of post-wagons by soldiers).

(g) Valentinian II, Theodosius and Arcadius: 8.5.49 (3.ix.389, to Valentinian's magister officiorum, ordering the governors inspect everyone uses warrants); 8.5.50. (17.vi.390, to Valentinian's PPO, prohibiting depredations of the post).

(h) Theodosius et Arcadius: 8.5.52. (26.vii.393, to the PPO East, ordering the PPO to restrain the count of the Egyptian border to issue warrants).

(i) Arcadius and Honorius: 8.5.53 (18.iii.395, to Honorius' PPO, prohibiting usurpations of any assets of the public post); 8.5.54 (26.iv.395, to Honorius' PPO, reiterating old prohibitions to use the post by *privati*); 8.5.55. (19.ii.396, reiterating the prohibition to issue warrants to the PVR); 8.5.56. (18.xii.396, prohibiting the master of the soldiers of the East to issue warrants and threatening him with punishments if he persisted); 8.5.57. (24.ii.397, as 8.5.56 but directed to the duke of Armenia); 8.5.58 (18.ii.398, to Honorius' PPO, prohibiting mule-drivers to be employed in other activities other than the ones they had been assigned to); 8.5.59. (17.xi.400, to Honorius' PPO? prohibiting anyone to use assets of the post without a warrant); 8.5.61. (9.xii.400, to Honorius' PPO, reiterating that Vicars must abstain from issuing illicit warrants); 8.5.62. (3.ii.401, to PPO East, reiterating a general prohibition to use the post without warrants); 8.5.63 (31.iii.401, as 8.5.62 but directly addressed to the provincials of Africa Proconsularis).

(j) Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius: 8.5.64 (26.iii.403, addressing the governor of Africa so that the post may not be a burden for provincials); 8.5.66. (2.viii.407, addressed to the PPO East, general prohibiting the use of the post by any duke, any of his staff and any of the staff of the governor).

Supervisors for the post seem to have been lacking and a law was needed to assign them: 8.5.23 (10.iii.365, to Valentinian's PPO); 8.5.25 (25.iii.365, to Valentinian's PPO); 8.5.36 (27.ii.381, to Gratian's PPO); 8.5.46 (9.iv.385, to the PPO East?, assigning veterans of the office staffs to the supervision of the post); 8.5.51. (30.vii.392, to the prefect of Egypt, the supervision of the post is given to decurions); 8.5.65 (27.ii.404, addressed to the PPO Honorius). Further insights into the evolution of the *cursus* are offered by Lemcke 2016, although the title of this study is partially misleading.

⁴⁸⁸ For the survival of the *cursus* in Ostrogothic Italy and Burgundy, cf. Gillet 2003: 241 and bibliography cited. For Egypt, see Kolb 2012: 95-105. Egypt had a special delivery service and communication between Alexandria and the villages were plausibly intense (see, id. esp. p. 105 with n. 39.)

level, the *cursus* certainly suffered several cuts over the years, as the legislation from Constantine to Arcadius and Honorius reveals.

Also, it is worth noting that there is a second curious chronological overlap between the appearance of post-consular dating in the late 360s (now in the West) and the issuing of Valentinian and Valens' laws from 364 on. As we have seen, these laws terminated *de facto* a formal system of salaried heralds, which had been running until that point, and which very likely contributed to the speedy disseminations of the Tetrarchic period. There are no figures about the profit made by heralds from these practices, but the new laws unquestionably expected them no longer to receive the same lavish payments, so it is perhaps no accident that late fourth-century emperors had to reiterate the prohibitions five times in less than twenty years. We do not know what the direct consequences of this legislation were and, more specifically, if emperors were successful in their intent, but it is worth noting the following: (i) from the last reiteration issued in 383 and Justinian's directive in 530, we hear of no more laws; and (ii) it is in the 380s (in the reign of Theodosius) that our eastern record attests the second great slowdown of dissemination. This might well suggest that the legislation was successful, with the job being in fact debased to little more than a liturgy. Again, one can see that the original constitutions of the fourth-century emperors, which ordered the announcement *sine pretio*, had become in *CJ* 12.63.1, a sanction to announce news *sine immodico pretio*. A general ban on any levy had thus been turned into a prohibition to demand only excessive payments, and a contribution was reintroduced, with *CJ* 12.63.2 setting its limit at 6 solidi. It might be that this was an acknowledgment of the unsustainability of the original provisions, which had turned the announcement in something comparable to corvée labour.

3.4. From Joint to Unilateral Proclamations

In the earlier part of the period under consideration both consuls were customarily proclaimed simultaneously throughout the empire, regardless of how many emperors shared authority and who was responsible for the appointments. However, from the end of the fourth and the start of the fifth century, people began dating by a full pair only very late in the year and, generally, after the name of the local consul had been known and used for several months. This shift is well evidenced by contemporary inscriptions and papyri, which record the surge in dating by reference to a single consul (usually the local one), along with a second formula, attested predominantly in the East, bearing the name of the consul and the formula *et qui fuerit*

nuntiatus or its Greek equivalent.⁴⁸⁹ This shift can be clearly seen in the East from 411, while in the West this is more nuanced. Nevertheless, by 411 the change had more permanently occurred even there. It would thus appear that the western and eastern courts decided henceforth to terminate regular joint proclamations, and that the most immediate consequence of this development was that dating by reference to the full pair became impossible from the start of the year, unless both consuls were appointed by the same court. The development represented a major and unprecedented change in the history of consular dating, since dating by reference to one single consul had been applied until then only to suffect consulships or to other exceptional years where ordinary consuls had been unable, for various reasons, to share their office with another colleague.⁴⁹⁰

We have no certainty as to what led to this change, but it is reasonable to agree with CLRE that major failures and critical issues in disseminating might have prompted a revision of the system and how it operated. Unquestionably, a failure to announce the correct consular pair occurred in 411. The eastern evidence for the second half of 411 is dated by the formula *Honorius IX et Theodosius IV* though the western one shows that only *Theodosius IV* was announced. We must in fact wait for the following year to see western material dating *Honorius IX* (this time with Theodosius V), with the added oddity that the same formula is repeated in the East (where it should have been ‘Honorius X’). We are assured that the eastern formula is genuine since most of the documentation dating to 412 is consistent, and the eastern laws for 415 and the papyri for 417 (and its p.c. in 418) use a count of Honorius’ consulates that agrees with the numeral in 411 and 412. To explain this oddity, CLRE proposed that in 411 the eastern court must have announced a possibly scheduled consulate, which Honorius was expected to take but ultimately never assumed. The error was corrected with reiterating the ninth consulate in the eastern formula for 412 (when probably Honorius did enter in office), leaving visible signs of confusion.⁴⁹¹

Interestingly, the evidence suggests that the failure in 411 might have been only the last in a series of anomalous disseminations. The most obvious cases are those in 383 and 385.⁴⁹² In

⁴⁸⁹ A full list of attested T2-(one consul)-formulas is provided in Dosi 2022b. For a full discussion of *e.q.f.n.*-formulas (with a list of extant attestations), see p. 373-96.

⁴⁹⁰ Cf. the evidence of suffect consulships from Arabia in Ch. 2, p. 115 above.

⁴⁹¹ For all this, see: *CLRE* 17-8; 356-9.

⁴⁹² A third potential case to consider is the consulship of Bonosus and Domitius Leontius in 344. Bonosus’ name is attested only in Italy, Dalmatia and Africa until April 344, and it was subsequently consistently replaced

383 in Rome the year was dated for some time by the consulate of Theodosius II and Merobaudes II, although what was actually used in the East, according to our contemporary evidence, was *Merobaudes II et Saturninus*. As Theodosius was the reigning emperor in the East, then obviously the correct version must have been the one in circulation in the East. In 382, it was expected that Theodosius would take up one of the available consular slots in 383.⁴⁹³ However, it seems that he changed his plans during the year, and this change was not communicated in time to the western authorities. As a result, they went ahead in January with proclaiming the originally planned formula.⁴⁹⁴

Next, in 385 Arcadius assumed the consulship with Bauto, yet as late as 26 November this had not yet been announced in Egypt. As this was in fact Arcadius' accession consulate (Arcadius was proclaimed emperor by his father on 19 January 383) the delay recorded in the East is impressive, even if by 380s eastern dissemination to Egypt had become significantly slower than previously. However, there were indeed anomalous circumstances from which this consulate originated. Contemporary literary and epigraphic material is consistent in indicating that the consul originally designated for the West was not Bauto but Valentinian II's praetorian prefect, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus.⁴⁹⁵ Nevertheless, possibly after 2 December, and doubtless before entering office, Praetextatus would appear to have died, so Valentinian had another consul, Bauto, appointed to replace him. Though there is no conclusive evidence that the eastern delay is the result of Theodosius waiting to see whom Valentinian would appoint, it is certainly the case that Valentinian would not have had enough time to consult Theodosius; nor could news of the new appointment have reached Constantinople before 1

with Iulius Sallustius' name, following eastern practice (where Bonosus' name was never disseminated as far as the evidence tells). Unfortunately, we cannot tell conclusively whether Bonosus was a western or eastern appointment, hence it is difficult to explain why his name was replaced. See comments in CLRE s.a. 344.

⁴⁹³ Themistius, *Or.* 16.202D-203A; 205C-D, cf. *CLRE* 651.

⁴⁹⁴ I find more attractive the view of the authors of *CLRE* according to whom the items dated by this formula have to be listed under 383 and not under 388 (as opposed to what suggested by *PLRE* I 599 and other scholars). The Roman evidence shows that this formula did circulate for some time, perhaps concurrently with the amended '*Merobaudes II et Saturninus*' until early March (see the critical appendix in *CLRE* 650-51 for a detailed discussion). Although it must be acknowledged—as noted by Heather (communication on 19 June 2022)—that Gratian and Theodosius' relations in early 383 had been damaged by the latter's elevation of Arcadius (made without Gratian's approval) and by the downgrading of Gratian's role in Theodosius' accession in eastern court rhetoric (cf. Themistius, *Or.* 16 and the account given in *Or.* 15). Hence, this provides some grounds for questioning western dissemination of a possible consulship of Theodosius in 383.

⁴⁹⁵ CIL VI 1779, cfr. pp. 3174, 3814, 4757-4759 = ILS 1259 = CLE 111; also, Augustine wrote a panegyric for Bauto as we know from *Contra litt. Petiliani*, III 25,30.

January. It would thus not be surprising if Theodosius opted for confirming Arcadius but waited for Valentinian's new appointment rather than proclaiming Arcadius' consulship alone (i.e. opting to add in the western consul later in the year.) In the fifth century, the latter option would be the normal procedure, but not so in the early 380s, when the customary practice was for the courts to confirm each respective nominee before proceeding with a simultaneous proclamation of both consuls. In the light of the possible incidents of the previous years, the above may have been seen as the safest solution, even if it entailed an unwanted but unavoidable delay in disseminating Arcadius' first imperial consulate. Obviously, Valentinian's court had no reason to wait and proceeded with announcing both names (as the Italian evidence shows).

Joint proclamations could only take place after each court had communicated (and approved) each respective candidate. Given the vast distances that couriers were to face, and the time required to cover them, it was very likely that any given court would have had only one chance to discuss their nomination with the counterpart in between autumn (when designations were made) and the formal announcement in January. Most immediately, if changes of course (and regimes) had caused one court to appoint a new nominee (e.g. if a designated consul died before entering office or if he was disgraced and substituted), news of the new nomination could not have reached the other half, even if promptly communicated. More generally, no one will be in much doubt that the increasing slowdown of dissemination in the fourth century, as well as the unstable political context in which imperial administration (especially the western) was operating in the fifth, must have done nothing to alleviate this situation. Moreover, by the turn of the century, Stilicho's repeated non-recognition of the eastern consuls had shown to contemporaries that an alternative way of performing proclamations (i.e. unilaterally) could exist.⁴⁹⁶ In fact, looking at the whole picture, it becomes clearer why, after facing the latest administrative failure in 411, imperial authorities eventually decided to opt out of joint proclamations.

Were joint proclamations ever resumed after 411? Broadly speaking, the evidence supports the conclusion of CLRE's authors that simultaneous proclamations were never restored—at least, on a permanent basis.⁴⁹⁷ However, it is much more difficult to assess whether and when they were temporarily restored. If we narrow down our analysis to genuine material alone, it is possible to conclude with some certainty that joint proclamations were resumed in the West in at least the following occasions:

⁴⁹⁶ Mommsen 1910 (1889): 367.

⁴⁹⁷ *CLRE* 17.

(1) In 430, the western documentation invariably gives ‘*Theodosius XIII et Valentinianus III*’, with ICUR n.s. II 4890 attesting the pair in Rome as early as 10 January;

(2) In 467, a Christian epitaph attests the new cons. (two eastern *privati*) in Milan on 16 January;⁴⁹⁸

(3) In 474, the consulate of the new eastern emperor Leo II is attested in Rome on 31 January (significantly early for the period and presumably disseminated with the news of his coronation in 473),⁴⁹⁹

(4) In either 480 or 541, when two inscriptions from Dertona and Rome attest ‘*Basilius iun. v.c.*’ on, respectively, 13 and 22 January,⁵⁰⁰ and possibly, though more uncertainly, in 465, with another Milanese epitaph that gives the new consuls (once again, an eastern pair) and a relatively early date (14.ii-1.iii).⁵⁰¹ As for the East, substantial evidence only subsists in 524, with the Egyptian papyri attesting only ‘*Iustinus II et Opilio*’ and as early as 25.vi in Aphrodito (quite early for the period), and *CJ* 2.7.26 dated by the same pair on 13.ii.⁵⁰²

Nevertheless, the evidence from other years remains extremely problematic. Often the gap between the earliest attestation of the full pair and the latest attestation of the post-consular formula is such that we are unable to conclude what was disseminated in between without relying entirely on potentially non-genuine sources. For instance, *CTh* 16.2.43 attests the new consuls of 418 on 3 February in Constantinople and no provisional formula prior to that. But since in Egypt there is a nine month gap in the documentary evidence between the earliest attestation of the new consuls (Oxy.; 21.xii) and the latest p.c. (Oxy., 30.iii-9.iv), can we infer proclamation only on the basis of the evidence provided by a law?⁵⁰³ Considering the high number of provisional dates found after 411, and the challenge posed by laws, one always wonders whether *CTh* 16.2.43 could have been retroactively corrected.⁵⁰⁴ In addition, there are other cases where full pairs are attested by laws early in the year (like in 423, attested by *CTh* 7.4.35 on 14.ii), but we lack a sufficient amount of dated evidence from genuine material.

⁴⁹⁸ CIL V 6210 = ILCV 2737A = ICI XVI 14a.

⁴⁹⁹ ICUR n.s. VI 16002 = ILCV 1138 adn. + add. II p.512. For the news of the coronation, the insight is Gonis’ (communication 19 June, 2022).

⁵⁰⁰ CIL V 7414 = ILCV 2829B = ICI VII 10 (nr. Dertona, Reg. IX; 13.i); ICUR n.s. V 13406 (22.i).

⁵⁰¹ CIL V 5720.

⁵⁰² P.Cair.Masp. I 67117.27 (Antaiop.)

⁵⁰³ P.Köln II 102.1 (p.c.); P.Oxy. LXVIII 4679.1.

⁵⁰⁴ For laws and their problems, cf. p. 75 f. above.

As is clear, the problem of carrying out such analysis is: (i) that the nature and quality of the evidence is often inadequate to provide suitably precise statements and (ii) that the more we find such circumstances, the less we are able to reach meaningful conclusions as to the extent to which joint proclamations were *not* restored. Certainly, this does not constitute grounds for discarding CLRE's conclusions; but it does give grounds for caution. As will be expanded on in Appendix C, geospatial modelling and statistical analysis offer an alternative way to look into this; one which bypasses the (quantitative) limits of our evidence and yields interesting results.

3.5. The Break-Up of Consular Dissemination and its Regionalisation

3.5.1. Non-Dissemination and Partial Dissemination

One more distinctive feature of dissemination in the last period is its inconsistency. The evidence clearly indicates that in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries dissemination not only continued to slow down, but also became increasingly patchy, with vast provinces left in the dark—for their full consular and post-consular years or good part of them—as to how the current year was to be identified. As a result, many consulates are only partially when not entirely unattested within the jurisdiction of one court. Doubtless, after late dissemination and the end of joint proclamations, the increasing occurrence of partial dissemination and non-dissemination represents the last of the major developments of consular dissemination in late antiquity.

As with late dissemination, partial or non-dissemination was a rare phenomenon in the fourth century. Taking into account the instances of late dissemination as a result of late recognition (i.e. cases that were not disseminated as they were not recognised previously), non-dissemination occurred only twelve times in the West and seventeen in the East (most predominantly on the occasion of crises between the two halves of the empire). By the fifth, however, these figures had raised to more than fifty times for the West and thirty-one times for the East. Clearly, issues of dissemination intensified as time passed and more frequently in one half than the other. In the long run, non-dissemination led to processes of increasing regionalisation of dating practices, which in turn determined the end of a unitary consular tradition shared by western and eastern regions alike.

The causal factors lying behind the non-dissemination of these consulates are analysed in Chapter Four, but it might be useful to recap the most common causes of partial or non-dissemination in our record:

(i) Accidents of preservation: for the eastern data set, the evidence listed under as many as ten years (i.e. 285, 286, 289, 292, 387, 404, 432, 439, 506, 515) does not yield sufficient data to identify whether a known lemma was disseminated; in addition, twenty-six more consulates are attested only as *p.c.* dates but in many cases whether and when the consulate was announced in the course of the proper consular year is unknown. For the western data sets, the Italian set lacks entirely data for only twelve lemmas (under ten years: i.e. 293, 309, 312, 313, 315, 351, 452, 455, 521, 526) but other regional data sets are much more fragmentary;⁵⁰⁵

(ii) Annulment: a few consulships were annulled shortly after the consul entered in office and hence there was no time for them to be duly announced to the provinces (e.g. Heraclianus in 413; Zeno II in 475).

(iii) Failed dissemination: failed dissemination occurred when the central government announced a consulate but failed to disseminate it uniformly throughout the provinces. Most likely, administrative failure in disseminating occurred in the course of the fourth century; eventually, these failures propelled a change in the system around 411 and, demonstrably, continued to occur subsequently. A good example of this is the consulate of Patricius (459), attested in Sardis on 27.iv but never in Egypt, where locals were still dating by *p.c. (II) Leonis* (cos. 458) on 16.i.460.⁵⁰⁶

(iv) Non-recognition: when an emperor overtly refused to recognise a consular appointment, no announcement and dissemination ensued, with the result that knowledge of a consulate was only obtainable through unofficial means.

The table below gives the full list of consulates completely unattested in the western and eastern papyrological and epigraphical records. A short critical discussion year by year is also given whenever needed. Before exploring this material, some preliminary remarks are necessary. There are two major issues that must be considered when recovering contemporary dissemination.

1. Conflicting evidence: conflicting data between the main body of contemporary evidence and later historical sources might hamper an understanding of the correct formula disseminated in a given region and time. In most if not the vast majority of the cases what is conflicting derives from sources which likely yield non-genuine evidence. Often, this is the case with chronicles and consular lists whose authors aimed to provide a sequence of consuls as more accurate as possible, regardless of contemporary dissemination. This is particularly evident for

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. notes on the Burgundian section at p. 249-61 below.

⁵⁰⁶ P.Oxy. LXXXV 5519.

the period 480-490 with only Victor of Tunnuna and *Fasti Vindobonenses priores* rendering a relatively accurate picture of contemporary dissemination, while other western and eastern lists, such as e.g. Marcellinus Comes', *Fasti Heracliani* and Cassiodorus, do not. More generally, as discussed in chapter 2, interpolations and authorial interventions are always a risk in several official and unofficial documents that have been handed down through the manuscript tradition (laws, papal letters, conciliar acts, church histories and other historical accounts). As a rule, then, whenever formulas from inscriptions and papyri conflict with formulas from any other source mentioned above, preference shall always be given to the former.

2. To be misled by late-dissemination: there are consulates attested only very late in their consular year, or even solely as post-consular date. In these cases, should we conclude they were recognised during their actual consular year? If so, at what point precisely were they recognised? Furthermore, if at some point they had been recognised, does that mean they always were? These questions are particularly relevant to fifth- and sixth-century consulates, which were subject to late dissemination. The perils of concluding non-dissemination too hastily are well exemplified by the case of Valentinian and Anatolius' consulship in 440, unattested in our papyrological record in both consular and post-consular dating formulas until recently.⁵⁰⁷ So similarly, other cases of imperial consulates that are not yet attested in contemporary evidence, do show the right iteration numerals in successive consulates, thereby late dissemination (or recognition *post eventum*) is still a possibility.⁵⁰⁸ For instance, Honorius' sixth consulship in 404 is still unattested in the Egyptian record for 404/405; yet this is implicitly recognised in the numbering of his successive consulships (rightly indicated, for instance, as seventh by the papyri in 407).⁵⁰⁹ Nevertheless, in all other cases where a consulate fails to appear even as a post-consular date (and the consulate is not followed by an iteration), we cannot safely conclude the consulate was disseminated.

One need not to resort exclusively to political reasons to find an explanation for retroactive inclusions of consulates that were not disseminated during the actual consular (or post-consular) year. In many cases names were plausibly removed (or added) according to the taste of the winning side. But in many other cases a consulate simply might have been known too

⁵⁰⁷ Unknown to *CLRE*: 70 (which had already warned against concluding non-dissemination), but now published in P.Oxy. LXVIII 4687.1 (Oxy.; 26.v).

⁵⁰⁸ *CLRE* 70.

⁵⁰⁹ Cf. e.g., CPR X 110.1 (Arsin., 2.xii.407).

late in time for the announcement to make any sense. If information on the new consulate was already available, for instance, people might reasonably have dated by the new consuls. Yet for the purpose of maintaining regularly the fasti, a late consulate could still be inserted retroactively into the official record. This must have been a seriously possible scenario after 411, especially in the case of non-local consuls in far-away Egypt. However, whenever the names are attested only in chronicles (such as the western consulates between 480 and 493 in Marcellinus, Chronicon Paschale and Fasti Heracliani) one could reasonably disregard them as possible later additions.

3.5.1.1. West

a) There is no or only dubious contemporary dissemination of the following consular pairs. The consulship may be given in some other documents, such as chronicles or laws, which are possibly or clearly interpolated.

Year	Lemma	Notes
346	<i>Constantius IV et Constans III</i>	Later chronicles (Prosp., Aq., VindPost. and Cass.) have the full pair and so too a pair is shown by RIC VIII 341-42 (from Sciscia), but all the western inscriptions and the conciliar documents from Cologne show that <i>p.c. Amanti et Albini</i> was used throughout the year. Accordingly, the imperial pair must have been retroactively inserted into the fasti, though some uncertainty remains as to the meaning of the consular issue from Siscia.
399	<i>Theodorus et Eutropius</i>	The pair is found in Chr. 354 (pasch.) but we know the

Year	Lemma	Notes
		name of Eutropius was never recognised and disseminated in the West; cf. Claud. <i>Stil.</i> ii 291-311.
400	<i>Stilicho et Aurelianus</i>	There are several laws dated <i>Stilicho et Aureliano</i> . These were certainly retroactively corrected, as no western inscription or documents (save for a few later consular lists) is dated by the full pair; cf. CLRE 335.
404	<i>Honorius VI et Aristaenetus</i>	Laws, a few consular lists and one papal letter have the full pair but they are certainly interpolations; not a single inscription of 404/405 (p.c.) is dated by the eastern consul; cf. CLRE 343.
409 (Honorius' domain)	<i>Honorius VIII et Constantinus I</i>	The consulate was proclaimed in Gaul by Constantine III as shown by IG XIV 2559 but never recognised elsewhere, and in fact it does not appear in any consular list; for the latter, see CLRE 352.
410 (Honorius' domain)	<i>Tertullus</i>	Attalus' consul is accepted in some lists (Hyd., Aq [GLS], Cass.), sometimes in combination with Varanes,

Year	Lemma	Notes
		but he was never disseminated outside of the territories controlled by Attalus, and certainly not recognised by Honorius.
413	<i>Heraclianus et Lucius</i>	The name of Heraclianus underwent <i>damnatio memoriae</i> after his defeat and fall and is consistently absent within western and eastern consular lists, with the exception of Aug. which has ' <i>p.c. i.e. Teracliano et Lucio</i> '.
424	<i>Castinus et Victor</i>	The name of the eastern consul is accepted by some western lists, though it never appears in contemporary material; see CLRE 382 for the consular lists.
451	<i>Marcianus et Adelfius</i>	The pair is included by Hyd. and a few other western lists, including VindPost, Prosp. Veron. and Cass. but was never disseminated contemporarily, as shown by the inscriptions, the letters of Leo and the novels of Valentinian; see CLRE 436 for the literary material.
452	<i>Herculanus et Sporacius</i>	Included in a few later consular lists, but apparently

Year	Lemma	Notes
		never disseminated during the consular or post-consular year; cf. CLRE 438 for the consular lists.
453	<i>Opilio et Vincomalus</i>	As with 451 and 452, the pair is included in some consular lists (cf. CLRE 440), but not in contemporary material as either consular or post-consular date.
455	<i>Valentinianus VIII et Anthemius</i>	The full pair is included in most of the western lists (cf. CLRE 444), but poorly documented in contemporary sources. ⁵¹⁰
459	<i>Ricimer et Patricius</i>	<p>The pair is consistently included by most western lists (cf. CLRE 452) though it can only be found in Salona as p.c. date (while in Italy Ricimer was kept for post-consular dating until at least January).</p> <p>However, dissemination of Patricius was late even in the east, so it cannot be ruled out that the consulate was actually recognised in its</p>

⁵¹⁰ CIL XII 4311 = ILCV 1807 = AE 2010, 918 (Béziers, Narb.) reads *Valentiniano VI[II] et A[v]ie[no] cons(s)ulibus]* and dates to AD 450 while *CLRE* restores *VI[II]* and dates to the eight consulate of Valentinian and Anthemius, *coss.* 455.

Year	Lemma	Notes
		consular year, though not disseminated, and its inclusion in the official record occurred later. It could not be a chance that Hyd. uses the formula <i>Ricimer et qui de Oriente (fuerit nuntiatus)</i> . See p. 301 for other comments.
461	<i>Severinus et Dagalaifus</i>	The pair is attested by several western chronicles (AqS. Cass. Marius Veron. VindPr. Add. ad Prosp. ([1,493] Aug.) and Hyd. gives the usual <i>Severinus et qui de Oriente (fuerit nuntiatus)</i> (with the wrong spelling <i>Severianus</i>). But, unlike for 459, the pair is never attested either as consular or post-consular date in inscriptions, from inside or outside Italy, nor in conciliar documents or Sidonius' letter; cf. CLRE 456 for the literary documentation.
462	<i>Leo II et Severus</i>	Both consuls are mentioned consistently by the western chronicles (VindPr. Add. ad Prosp. [1,493] AqS. Cass. Caesaraugust. [2, 222]

Year	Lemma	Notes
		Marius Veron. Aug. Hyd.) but appear in no inscriptions or papal correspondence; cf. CLRE 458 for all this.
463	<i>Basilius et Vivianus</i>	As in 462, so too in 463 most of the western lists (VindPr. Add. ad Prosp. (1, 493) Aq. (GLS) Cass. Marius Veron. Caesaraugust [2, 222]) give the pair. Yet they do not appear in any contemporary document, including a letter of Hilary dated 10 October; cf. CLRE 460.
475	<i>Zeno Aug. II</i>	The consulate of Zeno is mentioned by a few chronicles (AqS. [N] Camp.; AqS. [L.S]) but never shows up in the majority of the western lists, which show simply p.c. 474, nor does it appear in the contemporary material; cf. CLRE 484.
484	<i>Venantius et Theodericus.</i>	Cf. 200-19.
486	<i>Decius et Longinus</i>	Cf. 200-19.
489	<i>Probinus et Eusebius</i>	Cf. 200-19.
490	<i>Longinus II et Faustus</i>	Cf. 200-19.
493	<i>Albinus et Eusebius</i>	The full pair is included in Camp. AqS. (Q [om. v.c. cons.] N) although most of the western lists, including

Year	Lemma	Notes
		Cass., FastiPr and Veron., and the contemporary material and a letter of Gelasius dated on 1 November, omit it; cf. CLRE 520.
496	<i>Paulus</i>	The consul is attested in only VindPost. post a.497 (om. v.c.) AqS. (L ad a.497) Cass. while other western lists and material omit it, cf. CLRE 526.
497	<i>Anastasius II</i>	Only in VindPost. Cass.; cf. CLRE 528.
498	<i>Paulinus et Iohannes Scytha</i>	Only in Cass.; cf. CLRE 530.
499	<i>Iohannes Gibbus</i>	Only in AqS (L) and Cass.; cf. CLRE 532.
500	<i>Patricius et Hypatius</i>	Only in AqS. (GSQ) Cass. Marius; cf. CLRE 534.
501	<i>Avienus et Pompeius</i>	Only in VindPost. ExcSang. Cass. Victor Marius, while only Haun. and Camp omit it among the chronicles; cf. CLRE 536.
502	<i>Avienus iun. et Probus</i>	The pair can be found in VindPost. ExcSang. Cass. Marius while other lists omit it; cf. CLRE 538.
505	<i>Theodorus et Sabinianus</i>	Only Cass. and Marius; cf. CLRE 544.
506	<i>Messala et Areobindus</i>	As in 505; cf. CLRE 546.

Year	Lemma	Notes
507	<i>Anastasius III et Venantius</i>	Only Cass.; cf. CLRE 548.
508	<i>Venantius iun. et Celer</i>	Only Cass., Marius and Victor; cf. CLRE 550.
511	<i>Felix et Secundinus</i>	Only Chr. Gall., Cass. and Marius; cf. CLRE 556.
512	<i>Paulus et Moschianus</i>	Only AqS. (G) Cass. Victor and Marius; cf. CLRE 558.
513	<i>Probus et Clementinus</i>	Only AqS. (G) Cass. and Marius; cf. CLRE 560.
515	<i>Florentius et Anthemius</i>	Only AqS. (G) Cass. and Marius; cf. CLRE 564.
518	<i>Magnus</i>	Only Victor, Cass. and Marius; cf. CLRE 570.
519	<i>Iustinus I et Eutharicus Cilliga</i>	Only Cass., Marius and perhaps Victor (giving Heraclius for Eutharicus); cf. CLRE 572.
520	<i>Rusticius et Vitalianus</i>	Only AqS. (GLX) and Marius; cf. CLRE 574.
521	<i>Iustinianus I et Valerius</i>	Only Victor, Marius (giving Iustinus II, the cos. 524, for Iustinianus I) and AqS (X); cf. CLRE 576.
524	<i>Iustinus II et Opilio</i>	Only AqS (X) and Marius (VindPost wrongly gives Filoxenus, the cos. 525) but see the conciliar documents from Arles dating by Opilio; cf. CLRE 582.

Year	Lemma	Notes
525	<i>Probus et Philoxenus</i>	Only AqS (X), Dionys. (1, 752) and VindPost (wrongly gives Iustinianus for Philoxenus); cf. CLRE 584.
528	<i>Iustinianus II</i>	Only AqS (X); VindPost (gives p.c. Mavorti et Iustiniani II) and Marius (gives Iustinus for Iustinianus).
534	<i>Iustinianus IV et Paulinus iun.</i>	Only in AqS (X) and in one papal letter but see p. 219-234 and n. 714.

b) Contemporary sources indicate that the following pairs were disseminated late as a result of delays in recognition:

Year	Lemma	Notes
351	<i>p.c. Sergii et Nigriniani</i>	Similar to 346, the original formula was <i>Magentius Aug. et Gaiso</i> , annulled after Magentius' defeat. Chr. 354 (fast., pasch.) is most likely to be retroactively corrected. See the praef.; so, too: CLRE 236.
352	<i>Constantius Aug. V et Constantius Caesar</i>	As in 351, the original formula <i>Decentius et Paulus</i> was changed with the eastern pair after (plausibly) Magentius' defeat. Chr. 354 (praef.) seems to retain the original pair as opposed to Chr. 354 (episc. p. 76, 13.19;

Year	Lemma	Notes
		fast. and pasch.), other later lists (see VindPr, Prosp., Aq., Cass., VindPost) and the laws; cf. CLRE 238.
388	<i>Theodosius II et Cynegius</i>	The original pair <i>Magnus Maximus II</i> , attested by the western inscriptions, is completely erased and substituted by the pair proclaimed by Theodosius in all the extant laws and the consular lists; cf. CLRE 310.
393	<i>Theodosius III et Fl. Abundantius</i>	None of the consular lists retain the original pair <i>Theodosius III et Eugenius</i> ; cf. CLRE 320.
394	<i>Arcadius III et Honorius III</i>	Similar to 393, the eastern pair replaces the original western one, <i>Nicomachus Flavianus</i> , in all the consular lists; cf. CLRE 322.
456	<i>Iohannes et Varanes</i>	The rival eastern pair is accepted by all the western lists except Hyd. which retains the original <i>Avitus Aug.</i> (cf. CLRE 446). The contemporary evidence shows that Iohannes and Varanes were disseminated only as p.c. in the course of 457 (after Avitus' fall).
458	<i>Leo et Maiorianus.</i>	Cf. 298-310 below.

Partial dissemination:

Year	Lemma	Notes
445	<i>Valentinianus VI et Nomus</i>	Though the pair appears as early as 14 August (and no later than 3 November) in Italy, the name of the eastern consul is omitted from a few inscriptions from Gaul and Rome in inscriptions dated later in the year. The inclusion of the pair in <i>NovVal. 20</i> rules out that the use of <i>Nomus</i> was the result of unofficial dissemination.
448	<i>Postumianus et Zeno</i>	It is a case similar to 445; cf. CLRE 430 for the evidence from laws.

c) In the following years, the consulate is poorly documented and unofficial rather than official dissemination is possible:

Year	Lemma	Notes
482	<i>Severinus et Trocundes</i>	Attested only by one out of twelve available inscriptions, and only AqS. (L) Haun. have the full pair, while the majority of the western lists (Cass. Marius AqS. (GSQN) Veron. Aug. Camp. VindPr.) have only Severinus. While it might be assumed that Trocundes' name was removed due to

		condemnation of his memory after the revolt of Leontius, in which he and his brother Illus played leading roles, there is no evidence of an actual <i>damnatio</i> ordered by Zeno. Therefore, late dissemination and unofficial dissemination remain equally possible.
517	<i>Agapitus et Anastasius</i>	Within fasti, it is accepted by Cass. and Marius but never used in other lists, nor in the conciliar documentation of Gerona and Epaone, and the letters sent by Hormisdas and Avitus of Vienne; cf. CLRE 568-9.
533	<i>Iustinianus III</i>	Cf. p. 230 n. 712 below.

No contemporary evidence of dissemination (either in both consular and post-consular years or in consular years only) has been found but there are sufficient grounds to argue for dissemination in the instances below:

Year	Lemma	Note
293	<i>Diocletianus V et Maximianus IV</i>	The full pair is attested in laws and chronicles but has not left contemporary traces besides one Pannonian inscription. ⁵¹¹ There is, however, no reason to question dissemination.

⁵¹¹ AE 2003, 1423 (Tolna, Pann.).

Year	Lemma	Note
309 (Maxentius' domain)	<i>Licinius Aug. et Constantinus Caesar</i>	No contemporary evidence, only chronicles and other miscellaneous material attesting the consulate of Maxentius II and Valerius Romulus II (and, therefore, non-recognition of the rivalling pair).
312	<i>Maxentius IV or Constantinus II et Licinius II</i>	Cf. CLRE 158.
313 (Constantine's domain)	<i>Maximinus III (after v)</i>	Formula was likely revised after iv (and Maximinus' consulship annulled after his attack on Licinius), but revision is exclusively based on chron. and laws.
315	<i>Constantinus IV et Licinius IV</i>	Consulate attested exclusively in laws and chronicles.

d) The consulate is unattested in contemporary material, but this could be the result of the shortcomings of the evidence in the following years:

Year	Lemma	Note
420	<i>Theodosius IX et Constantius III</i>	The full pair is attested consistently by the western and eastern consular lists, as well as the western laws. Yet it does not appear in contemporary documents, either as consular or post-

Year	Lemma	Note
		<p>consular evidence. There is no serious reason to question that it was disseminated; any shortcomings must be the result of accidents of preservation. Both the evidence for 420 and 421 is scanty. Constantius alone is attested by 27 June in Spoleto, and then the record is silent until 421, when an undated inscription from Salona gives the full pair.⁵¹² Accordingly, it is possible that Theodosius' name was announced in Italy and the remaining western provinces in the course of 421.</p> <p>However, the limited quantity and uneven distribution of the evidence make it impossible to draw a definitive conclusion.</p>
429	<i>Florentius et Dionysius.</i>	<p>The latest p.c. evidence (coss. 428) that can be attributed to 429 is a Roman inscription, datable between 26 February and 28 April.⁵¹³ If 'Florentius et Dionysius' were announced in Italy after</p>

⁵¹² CIL XI 4969, cf. p.1375 add. = ILCV 4813 = ICI VI 73 (Spoleto, 27.vi).

⁵¹³ ICUR n.s. II 4889 = ICUR 3504 adn.

Year	Lemma	Note
		<p>April, 429, however, we would be unable to identify this. For not only does our record cease after April, 429 (a relatively early time in the year for the announcement of two eastern consuls), but, the new consuls in 430 were (unusually) disseminated by 10 January and no prior evidence survives.⁵¹⁴ Reasonably, then, one cannot exclude conclusively that the lack of evidence is due to factors other than non-dissemination; in this case, accidents of preservation within our consular and post-consular records, combined with other factors, such as the (eastern) origin of the consular pair and the (unusual) early attestation of the new consuls in the following year. Cf. CLRE 392 for the miscellaneous evidence from documents other than inscriptions.</p>
442	<i>Dioscorus et Eudoxius</i>	The full pair is used by <i>NovVal.</i> 7.2 (Spoleto, 27.ix) but the name of Eudoxius is

⁵¹⁴ ICUR n.s. II 4890 = ILCV 1464 adn.

Year	Lemma	Note
		consistently dropped by the inscriptions. The western consul is attested alone until 5 November in Rome, then the record cuts off and resumes in Salona and Rome with material dated with the new consuls by 7 May and 19 September-13 October, respectively. Once again, the eastern consul could have been announced but the shortcoming of our evidence does not allow us to recover contemporary dissemination. Ultimately, it is likely that the appointee of Theodosius II was disseminated late, for there is no reason to believe it was not recognised by Valentinian III.

3.5.1.2. East

a) There is no or only dubious contemporary dissemination of the following consular pairs. However, the consulship may be given in some other documents, such as chronicles or laws, which are possibly or clearly interpolated.

Year	Lemma	Notes
321	<i>Crispus II et Constantinus II</i>	Only in Heracl., Pasch., Theo. and Scal., but contemporary formula was <i>Licinius VI et Licinius II</i> .

Year	Lemma	Notes
322	<i>Petronius Probianus et Anicius Iulianus</i>	Only in Pasch., Theo. and Scal., but contemporary formula has <i>p.c. II Licinii VI et Licinii II.</i>
323	<i>Acilius Severus et Vettius Rufinus</i>	Only in Heracl. Theo. Pasch. and Scal., but contemporary formula has <i>p.c. II Licinii VI et Licinii II.</i>
424	<i>Victor et Castinus</i>	Marcell. and Pasch. but 13 laws have only Victor and no contemporary evidence has survived of the dissemination of Castinus' consulate.
451	<i>Marcianus et Adelfius</i>	Marcell.; Heracl. and Pasch. have the full pair but this is not attested in <i>NovMarc.</i> 3 or any other law in the <i>CJ</i> , or other contemporary document.
452	<i>Sporacius et Herculanus</i>	Marcell.; Heracl. and Pasch. have the full pair. But <i>CJ</i> 1.1.4 (7.ii), <i>CJ</i> 1.3.23 (6.vii) are uncorrected and have <i>Sporacius e.q.f.n.</i> , while <i>CJ</i> 2.7.10 gives only 'Sporacius'. <i>Sporacius e.q.f.n.</i> still used as p.c. 453 in Egypt.
458	<i>Leo I et Maiorianus</i>	Marcell. Pasch. have the full pair but no law in <i>CJ</i> retains <i>Maiorianus</i> , no

Year	Lemma	Notes
		contemporary document is extant.
459	<i>Patricius et Ricimer</i>	Marcell. Pasch. Victor have the full pair (Pasch. in reverse order) but this is not attested in <i>CJ</i> 8.53.30, 1.3.26 or in contemporary documents.
462	<i>Leo II et Severus I</i>	Pasch. has ‘Serpentius’ (an evident error for Severus), but the name appears nowhere in eastern documents and must therefore be regarded as an aberration.
463	<i>Vivianus et Basilius</i>	
481	<i>Placidus</i>	Only in Marcell. Heracl. Pasch. Cf. 200-19.
482	<i>Severinus et Trocundes</i>	Only in Marcell. and Pasch. Cf. 200-19.
483	<i>Faustus</i>	Only in Marcell. and Pasch. Cf. 200-19.
484	<i>Theodericus et Venantius</i>	Only in Marcell. and Pasch. Cf. 200-19.
485	<i>Symmachus</i>	Only in Marcell., Heracl. and Pasch. Cf. 200-19.
486	<i>Longinus et Decius</i>	Cf. 198-218.
487	<i>Boethius</i>	Only in Marcell., Heracl. and Pasch. Cf. 200-19.
488	<i>Dynamius et Sividius</i>	Only in Marcell, Heracl. and Pasch. Cf. 200-19.

Year	Lemma	Notes
489	<i>Eusebius et Probinus</i>	Only in Marcell. and Pasch. (<i>CJ</i> 6.49.6 dated on 1.ix has only Eusebius); Cf. 200-19.
490	<i>Longinus et Faustus</i>	Only in Marcell. and Pasch, though it has Faustus II. Cf. 200-19.
493	<i>Eusebius II et Albinus</i>	Only in Marcell. and Pasch. Cf. 219-49.
494	<i>Asterius et Presidius</i>	Only in Marcell., Heracl., Pasch. and Victor.

b) More uncertain is contemporary dissemination of the western consul in the following years:

Year	Lemma	Notes
387	<i>Valentinianus III et Eutropius</i>	Attested by laws but not by consular or p.c. evidence. It must be an accident of preservation that the formula has not survived.
404	<i>Honorius VI et Aristaenetus</i>	As in 387.
430	<i>Theodosius XIII et Valentinianus III</i>	The laws are retroactively corrected as shown by <i>CTh</i> 10.10.34 (22.x) and 6.27.23 (16.iv), where the provisional 'Theodosio XIII e.q.f.n.' was left behind by the compilers of the code. Nevertheless, 'Valentinianus' was certainly added by the end of

Year	Lemma	Notes
		the post-consular year, as proven by p.c. evidence.
432	<i>Aetius et Valerius</i>	As in 387.
439	<i>Theodosius XVII et Festus</i>	As in 387.
447	<i>Ardabur et Calepius</i>	Marcell.; Heracl. and Pasch. (the latter have Alypius for Calepius) have 'Ardabur et Calepius' but the full pair might have not been disseminated in the consular year. As late as 1.x. even in Constantinople, the name of Calepius was not announced; cf. <i>NovTheod.</i> 2 dated by <i>Ardabur e.q.f.n.</i> In Egypt, the full pair appears as p.c. evidence (see 430 for a similar instance).
460	<i>Apollonius et Magnus</i>	P.c. evidence in Egypt in 461 still shows <i>Apolloni e.q.f.n.</i> , but Marcell. Heracl. Pasch. and <i>CJ</i> 2.7.11 have the full pair. The latter could be interpolated but the evidence is not conclusive.
468	<i>Anthemius II</i>	As in 387.
472	<i>Marcianus et Festus</i>	Attested in <i>CJ</i> 2.7.15 and Marcell. Heracl. and Pasch., though several other laws give just <i>Marcianus</i> .
495	<i>Viator</i>	Marcell., Heracl., Pasch. and Victor. have it listed; and

Year	Lemma	Notes
		p.c. is found in 496. Yet no easterner was proclaimed in 495 and 496, so the p.c. could be the result of recognition at the beginning or middle of 496. <i>p.c. Viatoris</i> only appears by 22 November (in Oxy.) and still on 15 January was used <i>p.c. III Eusebi II</i> (in Hermop.)
501	<i>Pompeius et Avienus</i>	Included in Marcell., Heracl. and Pasch. Cf. 218-47.
503	<i>Dexicrates et Volusianus</i>	Cf. 219-49
506	<i>Aerobindus et Messala</i>	Cf. 219-49.
510	<i>Boethius</i>	Consulate never attested in c. or p.c. evidence but Marcell. and Heracl. and <i>CJ</i> 1.5.11 are dated by <i>Boethius</i> , though it is possible that the law refers to 487. CLRE (555 n. 72) rejects a possible date in 487 on the basis of <i>CJ</i> 's use of <i>p.c. Longini</i> in that year; however, this argument is weak, since <i>CJ</i> 1.51.13 (the latest p.c. attested) is dated on 26 June while this constitution bears a later date (9 August). Frier 2016: 200 dates it to either 487 or 510.

Year	Lemma	Notes
515	<i>Anthemius et Florentius</i>	The full pair is never attested in Egypt but it is mentioned in Marcell., Heracl. and in one letter in Coll. Avell. (no. 107 to pope Hormisdas by Anastasius). There is some evidence that the dating clause of the latter was not genuine; cf. CLRE 565. Unfortunately, there are no extant laws and Egypt has not returned sufficient material from 516 so findings of p.c. 515 are still possible in the future. Plus, the full pair is attested in Burgundy, though this could be a result of combining separate western and eastern formulas.
516	<i>Petrus</i>	Dissemination certainly occurred by 517 as shown by p.c. evidence. But its use in the consular year is only attested by two letters from Coll.Avell. (nos. 111, 113). Also, Marcell. and Heracl. Include it.
517	<i>Anastasius et Agapitus</i>	The full pair is attested by Marcell., Heracl., several laws in CJ (see CLRE 569) and a letter of Anastasius to

Year	Lemma	Notes
		Hormisdas (Coll.Avell. 138) but no contemporary documents dated by c. or p.c. of the full pair survive. SPP XX 131 of 3.ii from Arsinoe is dated by <i>p.c. Anastasi</i> .
521	<i>Iustinianus I et Valerius</i>	Included in Marcell., Heracl., and Pasch. Cf. 219-49. ⁵¹⁵
526	<i>Olybrius</i>	Included in Marcell. Heracl. Pasch. and in a MS of Priscian, <i>instit.</i> It could be that the latter are genuine but there is a slight possibility that the consulate was retroactively recognised and disseminated. Cf. 219-49.

3.5.2. Regionalisation of Consular Fasti and Consular Dissemination after 476

At present, the dissemination to vast regions of the former Roman empire is lost due to the shortcomings of our sources. Yet what it survives allows us to substantially recover contemporary dissemination in Italy, Burgundy and the East, as well as how far it diverged locally.

Therefore, the following sections review the consular and post-consular pairs attested in papyri and inscriptions for the years 476-541 and for each regional cluster. When appropriate, dates from papal letters, the Theodosian Code, the Justinian's Code, the Novels and the *Liber Constitutionum* have been added to fill gaps in our record. Dates from *Concilia Galliae 511*, the *epistulae Arelatenses* and Caesarius of Arles' letters will be included in a future revision of the material. Wherever needed, the evidence for contemporary dissemination is divided by

⁵¹⁵ P.Prag. I 46.1.

region as follows: (i) Italy; (ii) Gauls (Narbonensis); (iii) Dalmatia; (iv) Egypt; (v) Rest of the East (except Egypt). Each relevant regional section is provided with a commentary of the evidence and a background to the scholarship.

NB: 1) names in bold are attested in papyri and inscriptions; 2) names not in bold are unattested (and or restored on the basis of p.c. evidence) or uncertain; 3) names in italic are attested in sources other than papyri and inscriptions (e.g. papal letters and or laws). No formula (either western or eastern) necessarily mirrors the official lemma and in no case the documentation listed under each year corresponds to all the available material.

3.5.2.1. Italy and the East.

Odovacar's western consuls and their eastern contemporaries.

Various differences attested within our consular lists have fuelled contrasting opinions as to whether and where the twenty-six western and eastern consuls proclaimed between 476 and 493 were recognised and disseminated. For instance, disagreements can be identified in Marcellinus Comes, *Fasti Vindobonenses priores* (Vienna's Fasti), *Paschale Campanum*, *Auctarium posterior*, Victor of Tunnuna, Cassiodorus' chronicle and Paschal Chronicle, especially from the 450s on. This variation becomes even clearer when one compares the chronicle of Victor of Tunnuna with Vienna's Fasti (*Fasti Vindobonenses priores*), which give two substantially different lists of consuls for the years 480-490.⁵¹⁶

As opposed to De Rossi's influential opinion, in 1888 Gaudenzi maintained that the reliability of Victor of Tunnuna's list was confirmed in substance by the dates of the imperial laws, where the Fasti's consuls were largely missing. According to Gaudenzi, this was a clear proof that Constantinople did not widely recognise Odovacar's consuls.⁵¹⁷ Cessi developed that theory, arguing that the break-up of the unity of the empire from the 450s had caused western and eastern governments to adopt two divergent consular traditions, which had become formalised by the reign of Odovacar. Moreover, these traditions would have partially survived in some segments of Victor's and Fasti's lists, probably as a consequence of the authors using official records (or sources that had used them).⁵¹⁸ As is well known, Mommsen rejected this

⁵¹⁶ The two texts are in *MGH, Auct. Ant., XI, Chron. Min. II* (Mommsen ed., 1894: 163) and *Auct. Ant., IX, Chron. Min. I* (id. 1892: 274 ff.)

⁵¹⁷ Gaudenzi 1888: 9-10 backed by Cipolla 1912: 56 ff.; Cessi 1916: 293-406; Degrassi 1952 53 ff.. For the opposing point of view, cf. De Rossi 1857: 380.

⁵¹⁸ Cessi 1916: 380 ff.

view by pointing to the name of Basilius (western cos. 480) in four laws of Zeno.⁵¹⁹ Nevertheless, in the following years Chastagnol noted that both western and eastern contemporary sources substantially matched up with the names provided by Victor and Fasti in their consular lists.⁵²⁰ In 1987 *CLRE* (albeit anticipated in some conclusions in an article by Cameron & Schauer) challenged this evidence by claiming to have identified the attestation in the West of eastern names in 482, 486, 489, 490 and in the following period.⁵²¹ The authors questioned that individual clusters of material (imperial laws, papyri and consular lists) really reflected a coherent policy of non-recognition in these years and argued that disagreement among sources was more likely the outcome of failure by the imperial administrative apparatus to disseminate a full formula. This line of reasoning was strengthened by a whole series of arguments, among which the supposed unlikelihood that the imperial court would have recognised or repudiated western consuls on a yearly basis.⁵²² This would be why formal recognition of the whole sequence of consuls appointed by Odovacar could be recovered by putting together the ‘indisputably authentic eastern consular lists’ (i.e. Marcellinus Comes, Paschal Chronicle and Fasti Heracliani), all of which include at least one western consul. Therefore, the reason why western consuls were underrepresented by Victor would be simply that his list was not a ‘real’ eastern list, but a hybrid one, as one could expect to find in late sixth-century Byzantine Africa. This, too, would explain why his list unexpectedly turns ‘western’ after the year 502, and why one can find consular pairs in western order (i.e. with the western consul first) both before and after Odovacar’s reign, while the other eastern chronicles clearly show an eastern standpoint.⁵²³ In short, this set of interrelated arguments was put together to support the view that Victor’s list should not be regarded as representative of contemporary dissemination.

Although one may see how the most recent research has come to these conclusions, the review carried out for this study maintains that Gaudenzi’s and Cessi’s complementing views were right in substance; that is: (i) that two separate eastern and Italian-based consular traditions did exist by approximately 450s, and more clearly, by the reign of Odovacar; (ii) that these were the results of non-dissemination (and non-recognition); and (iii) that these seem to

⁵¹⁹ Mommsen 1910: 334, 378-383 (see *CJ* 6.23.22; 2.21.9; 5.12.28; 5.75.6).

⁵²⁰ Chastagnol 1966: 55 n. 123.

⁵²¹ Cameron – Schauer 1982: 126-145 but the year 482 was already known by previous scholarship. See, e.g. Gaudenzi, 1888: 10.

⁵²² Cf. *CLRE* 34.

⁵²³ Cameron - Schauer 1982: 132.

have partially survived in some segments of Victor's and Fasti's consular lists (probably as a consequence of the use of official records or sources which had employed them.)

Before attempting any discussion of the evidence regarding western and eastern contemporary dissemination in the years 476-493 there are some preliminary remarks that need to be made. CLRE's point of view incorporates two major faults. A first significant flaw is methodological. CLRE constantly makes use of non-contemporary evidence (in particular chronicles) to attest the presence or absence of one or both consuls, even when this conflicts with contemporary data. For instance, Cassiodorus, Marius Aventicensis, *Auctarium*, the Chronicle of Verona and other western chronicles all give the consulates of Longinus (486) Eusebius (489) and Longinus II (490) even though no contemporary evidence in Italy is dated by their consulships.⁵²⁴ As Burgess noted, the problem is not represented by consular lists as such, but there are risks if one relies exclusively on them to determine what consul was accepted and where. A second significant flaw is CLRE's conclusion that Vienna's Fasti and Victor of Tunnuna are unreliable for recovering substantially different western and eastern disseminations. In fact, an analysis and comparison of both consular lists with contemporary sources prove the opposite is true.

Save for 459⁵²⁵, 463⁵²⁶, 468, 473 (but the last two may be clerical errors and the third to last is uncertain)⁵²⁷, the particular formulas cited by Victor for 456, 457, 458, 460, 461 (by p.c. in 462), 462 (by p.c. in 463), 464 (by p.c. in 465), 465, 466, 467 (by p.c. in 468), 469, 470, 471 are documented at least once in contemporary formulas disseminated in the East.⁵²⁸ To be clear, the corruption in Vienna's Fasti for the same years is higher than Victor: the formulas for 456, 458, 461, 462, 463 do not match those in use by contemporary texts in the West.⁵²⁹ Even so, the names shown in the lemmas for 457, 459 (by p.c. in 460), 460, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471 do appear within the contemporary body of evidence listed under each year.⁵³⁰ This disagreement decreases further in the segment 476-490.

⁵²⁴ See *CLRE* 506-507, 512-513, 514-515. Cf. Burgess 1989: 151.

⁵²⁵ Victor of Tunnuna, s.a. 459: *Patricio et Ricimero cons.*, which is not documented in Eastern contemporary evidence. See sources collected in *CLRE* 453.

⁵²⁶ Victor of Tunnuna, s.a. 463: *Viviano v.c. cons.*, but *CJ* 2.7.12 shows "*Basilius et Vibianus*"; cf. *CLRE* 461 and notes for the supposed law's emendation.

⁵²⁷ Victor of Tunnuna, s.a. 468: *Leone IV et Anthemio II cons.* but no other sources record the name of Leo both in East and West; cf. *CLRE* 470-471; the same error is given by Victor s.a. 473 (*Leone VI et Probino cons.*).

⁵²⁸ Cf. *Chron. Min.(II)*, 186-188 and *CLRE* 447, 449, 451, 455, 459, 461, 465, 467, 471, 473, 475, 477.

⁵²⁹ Cf. *Chron. Min.(I)*, 304-306 and *CLRE* 446, 450, 456, 458, 460.

⁵³⁰ Cf. *Chron. Min.(I)*, 304-316 and see the western evidence in *CLRE*, 446-514.

	Marc. Comes	Fast. Vind. Prior.	Pasch. Camp.	Auct. post.	Vittor. Tonn.	Cassiod.	Cron. Pasch.
476	Basilisco II et Armato	<i>Basilisco II et Armato</i>	Basilisco II et Armato	Basilisco II et Armato	<i>Basilisco tyranno et Armato</i>	Basilisco et Armato	Basilisco et Armato
477	sine consubibus	<i>p. c. Basilisci et Armati</i>	<i>p. c. Basilisci et Armati</i>	<i>p. c. Basilisci et Armati</i>	<i>p. c. Armati (sic)</i>	<i>p. c. Basilisci et Armati</i>	<i>p. c. Basilisci et Armati</i>
478	Hello	<i>Hello s.</i>	Illo s.	Ello	-	Elus s.	Illo s.
479	Zenone Aug. cons.	<i>Zenone Aug. s.</i>	Zenone Aug. III	Zenone p. p. Aug.	<i>Zenone A.</i>	Zenone A. II s.	Zenone III s. (sic)
480	Basilio iun.	<i>Basilio iun. s.</i>	-	Basilio iun.	<i>p. c. Zenonis III</i>	Basilio iun. s.	Basilio s.
481	Placido	<i>Placido s.</i>	Placido s.	Placido	-	Placidus iun. s.	Placito s.
482	Trocundi et Severini	<i>Severino s.</i>	Severino s.	Severino iun. et Trecundite	<i>Tricundio s.</i>	Severinus s.	Trocondo et Severino
483	Fausto iun.	<i>Faustone s.</i>	Fausto s.	Fausto (sic)	<i>p. c. Tricundii</i>	Faustus s.	Fausto s.
484	Theodonicus et Venantii	<i>Venantio s.</i>	Venantio et Theodonicus	Venantio et Theodonicus	<i>Theodorico s.</i>	Theodenco et Venantio	Theodenco et Venantio
485	Symmacho	-	Symmacho s.	Simacho (sic)	<i>p. c. Theodorici</i>	Symmaco s.	Symmaco s.
486	Longino	<i>Detio s.</i>	Decio s.	Decio et Longino	<i>Longino s.</i>	Decio et Longino	Longino et Decio
487	Boetio	<i>Vetio s.</i>	Boetio s.	Boetio	<i>p. c. Longini</i>	Boetio s.	Boetio s.
488	Dynamio et Sifidio	<i>Dinamio et Sifidio</i>	Dinamio et Sifidio	Dinamio et Sifidio	<i>p. c. II Longini</i>	Dinamio et Sifidio	Dinamio et Sifidio
489	Eusebio et Probino	<i>Probino et Eusebio</i>	Probino s.	Probino et Eusebio	<i>Eusebio s.</i>	Probino et Eusebio	Eusebio et Probino
490	Longino II et Fausto	<i>Fausto s.</i>	Fausto iun.	-	<i>p. c. Longini (sic)</i>	Fausto iun. s.	Longino II et Fausto II
491	Olybrio s.	-	Olybrio iun.	Olybrio iun.	<i>Olybrio s.</i>	Olybrio iun. s.	Olybrio s.
492	Anastasio et Rufo	<i>d. n. Anastasio perp. Aug. et Rufo</i>	Anastasio et Rufo	Anastasio et Rufo	<i>Anastasio et Rufo</i>	Anastasio et Rufo	Anastasio et Rufo
493	Eusebio II et Albino	<i>Albino s.</i>	Albino et Eusebio	Albino s.	-	Albino s.	Eusebio II et Albino
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
497	Anastasio II	-	p. c. II Viatore	p. c. II Viatore	<i>Anastasio II</i>	Anastasio II s.	Anastasio II s.

The only consulate that appears in Vienna's *Fasti* but is unrecorded in either Italian inscriptions or papyri is Eusebius' (489), while Victor's list replaces Basilius (480) with *p.c. Zenonis III*.⁵³¹ Based on this, one can conclude that Victor and Vienna's *Fasti* substantially agree with the picture of contemporary dissemination provided by papyri and inscriptions for 480-490s. This being so, should we base our conclusions on Marcellinus Comes, *Fasti Heracliani* and *Paschal Chronicle* just because they display a more complete list? The view that is defended here is that we should not.

The assumption in CLRE is that, since the rest of the documentation often shows late dissemination throughout the fifth century, then the same phenomenon must have operated in the years 480-490, with the result that western names continued to be regularly included in the official list of the East, even if they are not recorded by papyri and inscriptions. Now, it is true that dissemination to Egypt was constantly late in this period, and that some consulates were announced in Constantinople but never used in Egypt. But, while in principle it is possible that some compilers had access in Constantinople to information unavailable to contemporaries living in far provinces (such as Egypt), the weight of the evidence suggests that this was not the case and that, most plausibly, these consulates were never included in the official records as their dissemination was never supported. Generally, properly recognised consulates that were disseminated late (or that were never disseminated) are almost invariably attested in post-consular dates in provincial documents other than in laws issued at court. As we shall see, however, this never happens in the case of the vast majority of western and eastern consuls appointed between 480 and 490, for which the sole witnesses are precisely Marcellinus and the other consular lists.

Certainly, one reason why these were able to deploy a fuller list of combined western and eastern names is not only that they happened to be writing in Constantinople or Ravenna, but also that they were writing long after contemporary dissemination had occurred (Marcellinus in the reigns of the emperors Justin and Justinian; the authors of *Fasti Heracliani* and *Paschal Chronicle* under Emperor Heraclius; Cassiodorus under Ostrogothic rule, and so on). In all likelihood, this is why they knew consulates that were unknown to (or were not used by) contemporaries. Furthermore, it must never be underestimated that people could hear of non-recognised and non-disseminated consulships by means of unofficial dissemination. As time passed, seeking out names thorough unofficial sources might have remained an option (to say

⁵³¹ There are omitted consulates that I did not count, but they are few. As for the sequence from 476 to 493, Vienna's *Fasti* has two dropped consulates (485 and 491), while Victor three (478, 481 and 493). Cf. table below.

the least) had those names been included into unofficial lists. The latter are in fact what most if not all of our extant lists are, and educated compilers with good access to knowledge and sources, like Marcellinus Comes and Cassiodorus were, had certainly a chance to find names that were not disseminated and widely available in their own time.⁵³² In a sense, the failure of some chroniclers to present a full sequence of consular pairs is another indication of how hard getting such information could be. For example, Marcellinus' list fails to name Odovacar's consul for 486. Victor, who was Marcellinus' contemporary, misses them all. How could it be possible if these names were available publicly in the official records? The most plausible answer is simply that they were not. There is no serious reason to doubt that 'hybrid' consular lists, such as Marcellinus', drew elements, either directly or indirectly, from more than one consular tradition, and that this is why their lists are fuller than others. Unlike them, however, Victor (who was writing in the 560s) appears to have used either a contemporary official list of Constantinople or an obsolete one, possibly from the pre-Justinianic period, which had not yet re-legitimated the western consuls of the 480s.

The Constantinopolitan standpoint that dominates a large part of Victor's chronicle is evident not only in the consular list, but also in the fact that, from 444 onwards, only Eastern emperors are numbered (Marcian is the XLVII, Zeno the XLIX).⁵³³ As Mommsen already wrote, Victor is surely a composite work that shows a sudden change of perspective.⁵³⁴ This, however, does not mean that it is useless or less reliable than Marcellinus, *Chronicon Paschale* or any other eastern chronicle.⁵³⁵ If Victor changes his perspective in 502, it may just be that his access to sources changed, as one might expect, given his continuous relocations in exile.

The evidence

From the extant papyrus and epigraphic documentation (see p. 208-18 below) one can draw the following picture of contemporary dissemination in Italy. The consulate of the eastern emperor Basiliscus (alone) is attested in one papal letter dated January 476 while southern Gallic and Italian inscriptions give both Basiliscus and Armatus consistently.⁵³⁶ No extant inscriptions or western papyri can be safely attributed to 477 (years without consuls), but again

⁵³² For all this, Cf. Burgess 1989: 152-153.

⁵³³ Valentinian III, is the last emperor of the West to be called Augustus; so that he may well have been numbered with 'XLVI'.

⁵³⁴ Mommsen 1894: 180.

⁵³⁵ Harries – Whitby 1989: 91 noticed that *Chronicon Paschale* is no less hybrid than Victor.

⁵³⁶ Simplicius, *Ep.* 3 (10.i; Thiel 183 = *Coll. Avell.* 56, p.129).

the use of the full p.c. of 476 is attested in a papal epistle.⁵³⁷ In 478, both the iterated post-consular formula of Armatus alone (Basiliscus' consulate was stricken from the fasti after his overthrow in August 476) and the eastern consul (Illus solus) are used.⁵³⁸ In 479 Illus' post-consular date is attested in the papal chancery while the inscriptions give *D.N. Zeno / D.N. Zeno perp. Aug.* or just *Zeno*.⁵³⁹

Thereafter, eastern names occur securely only in the following years:

(i) In 482, one Roman epitaph gives *Severinus et Trocundes* (western order) but the papal correspondence only has *Severinus*.⁵⁴⁰

(ii) In 489, *Eusebius et Probinus* (in the eastern order) is attested in Salona;

(iii) In 490, *Longinus II et Faustus* (in the eastern order) is attested in Garlate and poss. Como and Novara;

(iv) In 491, *p.c. Longini II et Fausti* is attested in Garlate and poss. Milan.

(v) in 492, with as many as three formulas (all eastern):

a. *p.c. II Longini II et Fausti* is attested in Dertona;

b. *p.c. Olybri* (the eastern consul in office in 491);

c. *DN Anastasius et Rufus*, with Rufus being occasionally dropped.

Several western chronicles have *Venantius et Theodericus* but this appears neither in the papal correspondence nor in the inscriptions. It must thus be regarded as a later Gothic view of the consular year.⁵⁴¹

As for western names in the East, only Basilus' consulate in 480 is attested (in both the law codes and eastern papyri), although it is by no means certain when precisely it was announced. The earliest and latest possible dates are December 480 and October 481 (as *p.c. Basili*).⁵⁴² In the first case, its use would have overlapped with '*p.c. Zenonis III*' (p.c. 479), which was still used in Egypt until late March 481.⁵⁴³ This anomalous dissemination extends to 482, which witnesses the dissemination in Egypt of an iterated post-consular date of Basilus (nearly three

⁵³⁷ Simplicius, *Ep.* 6 (9.x; Thiel 189).

⁵³⁸ 478: Simplicius, *Epp.* 9-13 (*Coll. Avell.* 61-65).

⁵³⁹ 479: Simplicius, *Ep.* 15 (22.vi; Thiel 240 = *Coll. Avell.* 66). Zeno's consulate is given in ICUR n.s. II 6462 add. (14.ii-15.iii); CIL V 6730 = ILCV 3195 = ICI XVII 57 (Vercelli, 13.x) and CIL XI 2584 = ICI XI 5 (Chiusi, ix-xii; rest.)

⁵⁴⁰ Simplicius, *Epp.* 14, 17, 18, 20 (cf. *Coll. Avell.* 68-69).

⁵⁴¹ Cf. *CLRE* 484 for the full reference to the chronicles.

⁵⁴² Cf. s.a. 480-81.

⁵⁴³ Cf. s.a. 481-82.

years after its proclamation!). Throughout this period, neither Placidus (481) nor Severinus (482) are ever disseminated jointly with Basilus' post-consular date.

In 483, the consulate of Faustus was proclaimed in Italy, but in Egypt the eastern consulate for 482 (*Trocundes*) continued to be used alone until May 484.⁵⁴⁴ CLRE maintains that non-dissemination of Faustus' consulship in Egypt does not necessarily imply any failure to recognise or announce in Constantinople basing this view on Marcellinus' and the Paschal Chronicle's inclusion of 'Faustus solus' in their lists.⁵⁴⁵ Non-dissemination to Egypt of a consulship announced at Constantinople could occur but rarely (see the case of Patricius), and certainly this is not the case here (*p.c. Trocundi* is attested as late as 4.v.484).

In the following two years, Venantius (484) and Symmachus (485) were proclaimed in succession in Rome. Again, neither was incorporated into the chronological system of Egypt, which used the consulship of Theodoric (eastern appointee in 484) as late as September 486.⁵⁴⁶ CLRE argues that Procopius implies eastern recognition of Symmachus (485).⁵⁴⁷ But Procopius only says that 'Symmachus and his son-in-law Boethius were men of noble and ancient lineage and both had been leading men in the Roman senate and consuls'. He does not say a word on whether the government recognised them, nor did Procopius act in any official capacity when writing the wars.

Thereupon the ordinary eastern consul of the year, Longinus (486), began to be used as sole consul until May 489, with his western colleague Decius (486), and then Boethius (487), Dynamius and Sividius (488), and ultimately Probinus (489) being entirely absent from our records.⁵⁴⁸ Finally, the chronological dominance of Longinus was (temporarily) interrupted by Eusebius (489), one other easterner disseminated on its own.⁵⁴⁹ Lastly, Faustus (cos. 490) may have been the last consul designated by Odovacar; yet again his name was not disseminated in Egypt, where the post-consular date of Eusebius was still in use until September 490. Meanwhile in Constantinople, Longinus had once again entered office as ordinary consul of

⁵⁴⁴ Marcell. and Pasch. Give *Trocundus et Severinus* but this must be rejected as a later addition. Cf. discussion above p. 194.

⁵⁴⁵ CLRE 501.

⁵⁴⁶ Marcell. and Pasch. give *Theodericus et Venantius* but this must be rejected as a later addition; so, too: CLRE 503.

⁵⁴⁷ Cf. Procopius, *Wars*, 5.1.32 (CLRE wrongly gives 1.1.32) with CLRE 505.

⁵⁴⁸ The use of *Longinus et Decius* in Pasch. must be regarded as non-contemporary and so too is the inclusion of Boethius in Marcell., Heracl. and Pasch.

⁵⁴⁹ Marcell. and Pasch. give *Eusebius et Probinus* but this must be rejected as a later addition.

the year (490) and by the end of the summer, his second consulship was disseminated and used in Egypt. From 490 to 493 Odovacar was besieged in Ravenna with no authority or control over the appointment of the next western consul, Albinus (493).

The following set of conclusions must therefore be drawn from the evidence.

In the East, Basilius' iterated post-consular date in 482 represents the last attested western consul in eastern contemporary evidence prior to Ostrogothic nominees. None of the other consuls appointed in Italy in the years 481-490 seems to have ever been recognised and disseminated by Constantinople. By comparison, Italy has yielded a significantly larger number of eastern consular dates. However, only in five cases (476, 477, 478, 479 and 482) does the material derive from places controlled by Odovacar. In all other cases (489, 490, 491 and 492) the evidence is from regions unquestionably or putatively under Ostrogothic control at the time of dating (i.e. the evidence from: Salona in 489; north Italy in 490 and 491; the Italian peninsula in 492). Based on this, one must conclude that only the eastern consulates of 476, 478, 479 and (perhaps) 482 were announced and disseminated in Odovacar's Italy, while the dissemination of the remaining ones is to be attributed to the Ostrogothic presence.⁵⁵⁰

As will be explained in the next chapter, there is no good reason to suppose that the consulates that were not disseminated (either in Italy or in the East), were nonetheless recognised at court. The objection raised by the German school with regard to Basilius' dissemination in the East, partially accepted by Gaudenzi and Cessi, in fact makes minimal change to the whole picture.⁵⁵¹ The possible recognition of one consul does not prove in any way that the same recognition was granted to subsequent consulates, and in fact the analysis of both Victor of Tunnuna and Vienna's *Fasti*, and of the contemporary papyri and inscriptions, prove the opposite was true. One cannot avoid the impression that Mommsen's theory, too, was partly based on the a priori assumption that Odovacar had been somehow recognised by Zeno; yet, neither Odovacar's imperial sanction is proven, nor is his overall policy line with Constantinople very clear.⁵⁵² Gaudenzi's and Cessi's view of an eastern-western consular non-recognition was disregarded because Victor's and Vienna's *Fasti* were undervalued in the last century. Thereafter, scholars continued to remain undecided or to follow Mommsen's point of view. However, it is worth noting that Mommsen backed the thesis of his pupil Seeck, who

⁵⁵⁰ For a more detailed discussion on what the non-dissemination of easterners meant, cf. p. 323-31 below.

⁵⁵¹ Gaudenzi 1888: 10; Cessi 1916: 388 n. 3. Gaudenzi and Cessi are reluctant to admit the western origin of the consuls before 482 but do not question the non-recognition of successive ones.

⁵⁵² See Ch. 4 for a more detailed discussion.

judged chronicles as mere products of Byzantium’s booksellers, thereby denying the potential official nature of some of their sources.⁵⁵³

The theory of Gaudenzi and Cessi disappeared in subsequent research, which opted for either leave the matter open to question or accept the conclusions of the German school-of-thought.⁵⁵⁴ Jones himself, who contentiously started his essay by writing that, ‘The received view [i.e. on the constitutional position of Odoacar and Theoderic] is largely based on the fact that the consuls nominated by Odoacer... were acknowledged in the East’, pointed out they were recognised because on occasion the eastern emperor decided to bestow that favour.⁵⁵⁵ Yet Jones, too, missed the point entirely: for the most part, Odoacar’s consuls were never recognised.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
476	Basiliscus II Aug. et Armatus (Lodi, Reg. XI; 1.v) ⁵⁵⁶	Basiliscus II et Armatus (Antibes, nr. Cannes; 29.xii) ⁵⁵⁷		p.c. II Leonis iun. I (Hermop., latest p.c. 19.x) ⁵⁵⁸	<i>Basiliscus II et Armatus</i> (Chron.) ⁵⁵⁹
477	<i>p.c. Basilisci II et Armati</i>			p.c. Basilisci II et Armati	

⁵⁵³ Muhlberger 1990: 35 but his view concerning the inexistence of official chronicles must be rejected in favour of Croke 1992: 165-203.

⁵⁵⁴ The view of Mommsen was accepted by Stein 1949b: 47 and n.1.; Jones 1962: 126-7.; Wes 1967: 73; Demougeot 1978: 378; Zecchini 1981: 133; Krautschick 1986: 354 ff., partially also by *PLRE II*, which accepts the eastern non-recognition only on the years 483, 484, 486, 487 (see “Faustus4”, “Basiliscus13”, Decius2”, Boethius4”), and now by Arnold 2014: 63. On the contrary, Caliri 2010: 37-63; Id. 2010b: 565-577 remains uncertain. It must be noted that neither the work of Gaudenzi, nor Cessi and Cipolla are cited by *PLRE II* (see bibliography XXXII ff.) and *CLRE* (see 701 ff).

⁵⁵⁵ Jones 1962: 126.

⁵⁵⁶ CIL V 6404 = ILCV 1041. P. Tomasi (Cf. *SupplIt*, 27, 2013, p. 304 ad nr. 6404) has *p(ater) p(atriciae)*. Another (preferred) reading is *p(er)p(etuo)*, which is found throughout western and eastern contemporary coinages; cf. RIC 10 and Grierson - Mays 1992.

⁵⁵⁷ AE 1965, 332.

⁵⁵⁸ BGU XII 2151.

⁵⁵⁹ Marcell.; Pasch.; Heracl.; Victor s.a. 476.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
	(Simplicius, ep. 6, 9.x) ⁵⁶⁰			(Hermop., 17.ii) ⁵⁶¹ p.c. Armati (Arsin., 3.x) ⁵⁶² p.c. Zenonis et Armati (Hermop., latest yearly p.c. 4.x) ⁵⁶³	<i>p.c. Armati</i> (C'polis, latest, 23.xii) ⁵⁶⁴
478	p.c. II Armati (Tibur, Reg. I; 1.iii) ⁵⁶⁵			p.c. Armati (Herakleop.; latest p.c. 15-23.vi) ⁵⁶⁷	<i>Illus</i> (C'polis, 1.iii) ⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁰ Simplicius, *ep.* 6 (Thiel 189). Moreover, Basiliscus and Armatus' joint consulship or post-consulship dates the following four Roman fragmentary inscriptions: ICUR n.s. VI 16003; I 1164 (rest.); n.s. VII 17591 (much rest.; *CLRE*, EDB19862 and TM309475 list it in 476) and perhaps ICUR n.s. II 4974 (much rest.); in the latter, a p.c. formula cannot be conclusively ruled out, but from the preserved fragments it seems clear that there is not sufficient space in the gap between *depositus* and the name Basiliscus for restoring *post consulatum*. Accordingly, a consular formula is most likely to be restored. For the evidence from chronicles, see *CLRE* 488.

⁵⁶¹ CPR XIX 7 (rest.; p.c. rest.).

⁵⁶² P.Worp 28.

⁵⁶³ SB III 7167 = P.Jena 3 = II 6 (p.c. rest.). ⁵⁶³ The p.c. is a restoration but it seems to be the only possible option (for the dating to 477 and not to 478 see P.Jena II 6, p. 24; *contra*, Bagnall & Worp 2004: 200). Victor of Tunnuna relates that Armatus remained sole consul after Basiliscus' overthrow (s.a. 477: *Armatus praesenti anno consul remansit*) so Ast's conclusions that the replacement of Basiliscus' name with Zeno's is a scribal error (p. 25) are possible. Another (less likely) possibility is that Zeno's second consulate (475) was added to the public record in the course of 477 to make up for the annulment of Basiliscus' (whose usurpation caused Zeno's consulate to be withdrawn), but this hypothesis is weakened by both P.Worp 28 (3 October 477) and CPR V 15 = P. Rainer Cent. 123 (15-23 June 478), which give 'p.c. Armati' alone.

⁵⁶⁴ *CJ* 1.23.7; cf. *CLRE* 489; Lounghis et al. 2005: 59 no. 51; Frier 2016: 310.

⁵⁶⁵ I.Ital IV.1 544 = ILCV 251.

⁵⁶⁷ CPR V 15 = P. Rainer Cent. 123.

⁵⁶⁹ *CJ* 5.9.7; cf. *CLRE* 491; Lounghis et al. 2005: 60 no. 59; Frier 2016: 1156.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
	Illus (Beneventum, Reg. II; 7.x) ⁵⁶⁶			Illus (Oxy.; undated) ⁵⁶⁸	
479	<i>p.c. Illi</i> (Simplicius, ep. 15, 22.vi) ⁵⁷⁰ Zeno III (Rome, 14.ii-15.iii; m.l.d.) ⁵⁷¹		Zeno III (Salona, undated; m.l.d.) ⁵⁷²	p.c. Illi (Oxy.; latest p.c. 14.i) ⁵⁷³	<i>Zeno III</i> (unkn.prov., 1.v; 2) ⁵⁷⁴
480	Basilius iun. (nr. Dertona, 13.i; 541 poss.) ⁵⁷⁵			p.c. Zenonis III (Oxy.; latest p.c. 8.xii) ⁵⁷⁶	<i>Basilius iun.</i> (C'polis, 1.v; Smyrna,

⁵⁶⁶ CIL IX 2073 = ILCV 1029A = ICI VIII 3. Cf. *CLRE* 490 for additional miscellaneous western documents dated by Illus' consulate.

⁵⁶⁸ *BASP* 57 (2020) 349.

⁵⁷⁰ *Simplicius ep.* 15 (Thiel 240 = *Coll.Avell.* 66).

⁵⁷¹ *ICUR* n.s. II 6462 add. Cf. *EDB*34455 (TM625856).

⁵⁷² *Forsch.Salona* II 184 = *ILJ* III 2463 = *Salona* IV 214. For a discussion on the inscription, see *Salona* IV 214, 484-5 and *LSA-13* (<http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/detail-base.php?record=LSA-13>). For the more likely dating of this inscription to 479 rather than 475, see *Salona* IV 214 p. 485. On the other hand, Zeno's fall from power in Constantinople in early January 475 is not conclusive proof of the non-recognition of his consulate in Dalmatia (Nepos, ruling from Rome, could well decide to keep Zeno as legitimate colleague), nor of its consulate's non-dissemination in the West if Basiliscus was not recognised (Zeno's designation could be known already in 474 when Zeno decided to take up the consulship for the following year).

⁵⁷³ *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4392.

⁵⁷⁴ *CJ* 3.28.29 (num. II); cf. *CLRE* 493; *Lounghis et al.* 2005: 62 no. 68; *Frier* 2016: 688.

⁵⁷⁵ *CIL* V 7414 = *ILCV* 2829B = *ICI* VII 10 (*EDR*010863 dates either to 480 or 541; so too: *EDCS-05400664*). *Basilius* was obviously a western consul and his consulate is attested in western documents; cf. *CLRE* 494. However, distinguishing him from his homonymous successor in 541 is difficult. For a more detailed discussion, see p. 415-7.

⁵⁷⁶ *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5332.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
				Basilus? (after 8.xii; p.c. attested by 18.x.481) ⁵⁷⁷	Asia; 13.iv; 543 poss.) ⁵⁷⁸
481	Placidus (Rome, undated) ⁵⁷⁹			p.c. Basili (Hermop., earliest p.c. 18.x; 480 poss. but less likely) ⁵⁸⁰	

⁵⁷⁷ BGU XII 2155; a dating in 481 is more likely on the basis of the latest attestation of the post-consulate of Zeno III in P.Oxy. LXXXII 5332, dated 8 December 480. The consulate of Basilus is also attested in SB XX 14535 from Arsinoe and dated 19.x (the editor seems to be uncertain about whether dating to 19.x.541 or 481 and it is possible that the scribe wrote cos. for p.c. in this case, cf. Bagnall & Worp 2004: 200) and P.Lond. III 991 (Hermonthis; 22.vi). For the dating of the latter, cf. Gonis 1998: 197 suggesting 22.vi.482? as an alternative to 481 and Gonis 2000: 185 n. 10, mentioning 'a further possible, although perhaps less likely, dating, viz. 22.vi.483', and considering the 481 date difficult. In conclusion, one cannot be entirely sure about when precisely the consulate of Basilus was disseminated to Egypt, but it can be safely conceded that by October 481 this must have been known and used.

⁵⁷⁸ *CJ* 6.23.22; cf. *CLRE* 495; Lounghis et al. 2005: 65 no. 84; Frier 2016: 1514. See also: *CJ* 2.21.9 (unkn.prov., 1.i); cf. *CLRE* 495; Lounghis et al. 2005: 65 no. 86; Frier 2016: 534. The alternative date is due to the preservation of 'v k. ian.' in *CJ* 5.75.6 (combined with 2.21.9 and 5.12.28 which only have 'k. ian.'). The dating of I.Smyrna I 561 = Grégoire, Inscr. 71. is problematic. The text, which survives only as a copy in the Askew codex, renders an indiction that can be read as a ϸ or a γ. Grégoire read the former, suggesting the possibility that the indiction pointed to 542/43, and that the stonemason wrote cos. for p.c. (p.20). *CLRE* and the editor of I.Smyrna I dated to 541, accepting a 3rd indiction (539/40). Since the 13 April 541 should have fallen within a 4th indiction, they also accepted that the indiction was wrong. A third possible option, which has never been discussed, is that the Basilus mentioned is not the cos. 541 but the cos. 480. As far as the evidence from laws tells us, the western consul in 480 was recognised and disseminated in the East, hence the identification could be entirely possible. Moreover, this would not require postulating a wrong indiction, since a 3rd indiction perfectly fits with a date in 13 April 480. But in the light of the similarities between this inscription and I.Smyrna I 560 and esp. I.Smyrna I 562 (see the wording), and in the absence of other papyrological or epigraphic evidence dated by both the cos. 480 and a 3rd indiction, the identification with the cos. 480 remains dubious.

⁵⁷⁹ ICUR n.s. II 4982 and, similarly, n.s. VII 17592b (482 poss.). For the use of Placidus in chronicles, see *CLRE* 481.

⁵⁸⁰ A possible later p.c. is SB XX 14535 (19.x) but dating to 481 is uncertain. See n. 577 above.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
482	<p><i>Severinus</i> (Simplicius, ep. 14, 20.v)⁵⁸¹</p> <p>Severinus et Trocundes (Rome, 20.x)⁵⁸²</p>			<p>p.c. II Basili e.q.f.n. (Hermop.; p.c. 13?.x)⁵⁸³</p> <p>Trocundes? (after 13?.x; p.c. attested by 25.vi- 24.vii.483)</p>	<p><i>Trocundes</i> (unkn.prov., 16.xii; p.c. poss.)⁵⁸⁴</p>
483	<p>Faustus (Rome, 24.i)⁵⁸⁵</p>			<p>p.c. Trocundi e.q.f.n. (P.Lond. V 1896; Hermop.; earliest p.c. 25.vi- 24.vii)⁵⁸⁶</p>	

⁵⁸¹ Simplicius, *ep.* 14 (Thiel 202f = *Coll.Avell.* 68-69).

⁵⁸² CIL VI 32077 (p. 4810) = ICUR n.s. II 4983.

⁵⁸³ CPR X 118. The formula ‘Basilio e.q.f.n.’ is also attested in P.Lond. III 991 (Hermonthis). Presumably, the repeated use of e.q.f.n. in the papyri of 482 and 483 is made out of ‘force of habit’; cf. *CLRE* 501.

⁵⁸⁴ *CJ* 4.59.2. The MS Veronensis (6th/7th c.) has *D. XVII k. ian. aa. cons. Troconde*. As for the possible restoration of *aa.* (usually standing for *augustis*) in p.c., see Krueger 1877: 387 and *CLRE* 501. For the literature accepting Krueger emendation, cf. Lounghis et al. 2005: 69 no. 106. Marcell. and Pasch. give ‘Trocundus et Severinus’ but this must be rejected as a later addition.

⁵⁸⁵ ICUR n.s. II 4985 = ILCV 1347.

⁵⁸⁶ P.Lond. V 1896; for a similar formula, see P.Bastianini 24 (Oxy., 8.viii) and BGU XII 2156 (Hermop.; 27.viii). Besides the evidence securely dated to 484 (cf. note 585 below), the name of Trocundes is also attested in four more papyri:

1) P.Jena II 7 (Arsin.?.; p.c. poss., undated) a beginning of contract from possibly the Arsinoite, with fragmentary formula showing only the name of Trocundes, eastern cos. 482. Before this, there is a lacuna for at least 15 letters, which makes a postconsular formula more likely. Trocundes’ post-consulate dates as late as

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
484	Venantius (Gravedona, Reg.XI; 25.v/24.vi) ⁵⁸⁷	Venantius? (p.c. attested in Vaison by 1.vi.485)		p.c. II Trocundi (P.Oxy. VIII 1130; latest p.c. 4.v) ⁵⁸⁸ Theodericus (Oxy.; 2.ix) ⁵⁸⁹	<i>Theodericus</i> (C ³ polis, 28.iii) ⁵⁹⁰
485	Symmachus (iun.) (Rome, 9.ix) ⁵⁹¹	p.c. Venanti (Vaison, Narb.; 1.vi; m.l.d.) ⁵⁹²		p.c. Theoderici	Unkn. ⁵⁹⁴

4.v.484 (see Bagnall & Worp 2004: 200) and this is the current terminus ante quem for this papyrus. Indiction and other elements of the formula are lost and hence a more precise date cannot be given.

2) SB XXVI 16573 (prov.unkn.) and 3) BGU XIX 2826 (Hermopolis, p.c. poss.; frg.). The former cuts off immediately after the name of Trocundes, thereby preventing any possible (but unlikely) western name to be identified. ZPE 157 (2006) 164 assigns a date between 483 and 2 September 484 on the basis of P.Lond. V 1896 (vi-vii.483) and P.Oxy. LXVIII 4696 (2.ix.484), the earliest Egyptian attestation of Trocundes' consulate and the earliest attestation of Theoderic's consulate, respectively. A slightly broader range from 482 to 484 is thus preferred here for BGU XIX 2826 and SB XXVI 16573; cf. note in P.Jena II 7.

4) SB XXVI 16599 (unkn.; p.c. poss.; undated). Previous editors date the latter to 483-484. Based on the discussion above, a slightly broader range from 482 to 484 is assigned here, though p.c. is more likely.

⁵⁸⁷ CIL V 5241. Several western chronicles have 'Venantius et Theodericus' but this neither appears in the papal correspondence nor in the inscriptions. It must thus be regarded as a later Gothic view of the consular year. Cf. *CLRE* 484 for the full reference to the chronicles.

⁵⁸⁸ P.Oxy. VIII 1130 (for the dating, cf. BL 7.135 and 8.241); one more earlier text is P.Rain.Cent. 107 (prov.unkn.; 14.ii).

⁵⁸⁹ P.Oxy. LXVIII 4696. In addition, P.Rain.Cent. 108 (Herakl.) is also possibly dated to 484, but 485 and 486 are options, too. Cf. *CLRE* 503; Bagnall & Worp 2004: 200.

⁵⁹⁰ *CJ* 1.3.36; cf. *CLRE* 503; Lounghis et al. 2005: 70 no. 112; Frier 2016: 102. Marcell. and Pasch. give 'Theodericus et Venantius' but this must be rejected as a later addition.

⁵⁹¹ ICUR n.s. II 4964 = ILCV 167, cf. AE 1969, 86.

⁵⁹² CIL XII 1498 = ILCV 2256.

⁵⁹⁴ *CLRE* (505) views Symmachus, cos. 485 as recognised in the east on the basis of Procopius, *Wars*, 5.1.32 but this must be rejected. Cf. p. 207 above.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
		Symmachus? (p.c. II attested by vi.487)		(Hermop.; latest p.c. 4.xii) ⁵⁹³	
486	Decius (Como, Reg. XI; 24.iv) ⁵⁹⁵	p.c. I Symmachi? (p.c. II attested by vi.487) Decius et Longinus (Narbonne, 30.i; 487 poss.) ⁵⁹⁶	Longinus? (Salona, undated; 486/487 or 490/491/492?) ⁵⁹⁷	p.c. II Theoderici (Hermop.; latest p.c. 16.x) ⁵⁹⁸ Longinus (Arsin.; prob. after 16.ix) ⁵⁹⁹	<i>Longinus</i> (C'polis, 21.iv) ⁶⁰⁰
487	p.c. Deci	p.c. II Symmachi	See 486.	p.c. Longini	<i>p.c. Longini</i>

⁵⁹³ BGU XII 2159.

⁵⁹⁵ CIL V 5423 = ILCV 1445A adn. Haun, AqS. (GQ), Cass. and Marius (cf. *CLRE* 506) give 'Decius et Longinus', but this unlikely mirrors contemporary usage in Italy, as suggested by the unattested use of Longinus both in the consular evidence in 486 and the p.c. evidence from 487; for the latter, see the Milanese p.c. 487 of Decius, most likely the cos. 486 (CIL V 6286 = ILCV 4727 = ICI XVI 16, 31.i).

⁵⁹⁶ ILGN 606 (Narbonne; 30.i; cf. *CLRE* 506, cos. for p.c.?).

⁵⁹⁷ There is also Salona IV 776 (frg.) a Greek fragment of sarcophagus from the bishopric of Split which is dated by a formula that reads the name of Longinus, cos. in 486 and cos. II in 490 (with his p.c. formula being attested in Egypt as late as 492.) Because of the preservation of the text, it is impossible to ascertain whether the formula is consular or post-consular or which consulate it refers to. However, there is no certain attestation of Longinus' consulate in Dalmatia in either 486 or 487, so it is less likely that this formula should be assigned to these years.

⁵⁹⁸ CPR V 16.

⁵⁹⁹ SB XVIII 14001 (on the dating, cf. BL 9.310). The western cos. 486 Decius is not attested in p.c. evidence for 487 in Egypt, so dating of P.Rain.Cent 115 (prov.unkn.; no ind.) to Decius cos. 529 is most likely. Cf. *CLRE* 507 for the non-dissemination of Decius (though the authors' conclusions on recognition must be rejected).

⁶⁰⁰ *CJ* 4.20.14; cf. *CLRE* 507; Lounghis et al. 2005: 75 no. 138; Frier 2016: 862. The use of Longinus et Decius in Pasch. must be regarded as non-contemporary.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
	(Milan, 31.i; m.l.d.) ⁶⁰¹ Boethius (Rome, 14.vi-1.vii; m.l.d.) ⁶⁰²	(St. Thomé, Narb.; vi) ⁶⁰³		(Arsin.; latest p.c. 19.viii) ⁶⁰⁴	(unkn.prov., latest p.c. 26.vi) ⁶⁰⁵ <i>Boethius?</i> (unkn.prov., 9.viii; 510 more likely) ⁶⁰⁶
488	p.c. Boethi (nr. Fiorenzuola, Reg. VIII; 13.i; m.l.d.) ⁶⁰⁷ Dynamius et Sividius (Aquae Statiellae,			p.c. II Longini (Hermop.; latest p.c. 21.ix) ⁶⁰⁹	p.c. II Longini (Zenonopolis or nr., Isauria; ii.) ⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰¹ CIL V 6286 = ILCV 4727 = ICI XVI 16.

⁶⁰² ICUR n.s. VIII 20831 = ILCV 342. Both EDCS-23300734 and EDB9054 date to 487. See Appendix B, p. 417 for a more detailed discussion on the dating of the material dated by Boethius.

⁶⁰³ CIL XII 2702 = ILCV 1118.

⁶⁰⁴ P.Amh. II 148.

⁶⁰⁵ *CJ* 1.51.13; cf. *CLRE* 509 (Constantinople); Lounghis et al. 2005: 76 no. 145 (dating erroneously 9.vii); Frier 2016: 390.

⁶⁰⁶ *CLRE* rejects a possible date of *CJ* 1.5.11 in 487 on the basis of *CJ*'s use of p.c. Longini in that year (p. 555 n. 72). But *CJ* 1.51.13 (the latest p.c. attested) is dated on 26 June while this constitution bears a later date (9 August). Cf. Frier 2016: 200 (either 487 or 510). However, it is true that no papyrus dated by the consulate or post-consulate of Boethius is extant (in Egypt p.c. Longini was being used as late as 21 November, 488, cf. BGU XII 2160), hence Boethius' announcement at court is dubious, and the law is more likely to refer to the cos. 510. The inclusion of Boethius in Marcell., Heracl. and Pasch. must be regarded as a later addition by the chroniclers.

⁶⁰⁷ CIL XI 1142 = ILCV 324.

⁶⁰⁹ BGU XII 2160.

⁶¹⁰ AE 1911, 90 = SEG 1994, 1222.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
	Reg. IX; 26.i) ⁶⁰⁸				
489	Probinus (Revello, Reg. XI; 28.ii; m.l.d.) ⁶¹¹	Probinus et Eusebius (Marseille, undated) ⁶¹²	Eusebius et Probinus (Salona; m.l.d.) ⁶¹³	p.c. III Longini (Oxy.; latest p.c. 20.v) ⁶¹⁴ Eusebius (27-31.xii; cos for p.c. i.490?) ⁶¹⁵	<i>Eusebius</i> (C'polis, pp. 1.ix) ⁶¹⁶
490	Faustus iun. (Rome, 9.i, m.l.d.) ⁶¹⁷ Longinus II et Faustus (Como, Reg. XI, 4.viii) ⁶¹⁸		See 486.	p.c. Eusebi (Oxy.; latest p.c. 3.x) ⁶¹⁹ Longinus II (Herakleop.; 16.xii) ⁶²⁰	

⁶⁰⁸ CIL V 7528 = ILCV 1059 = ICI IX 6 (now lost).

⁶¹¹ AE 1989, 332 = ICI XVII 37.

⁶¹² CIL XII 487 = ILCV 446A adn.

⁶¹³ ILJ III 2569 (456) (much rest.)

⁶¹⁴ P.Flor. III 325 (cf. BL 7.53).

⁶¹⁵ P.Oxy. LXVIII 4697

⁶¹⁶ *CJ* 6.49.6; cf. *CLRE* 513; Lounghis et al. 2005: 79 no. 161; Frier 2016: 1674. Marcell. and Pasch. give 'Eusebius et Probinus' but this must be rejected as a later addition.

⁶¹⁷ ICUR n.s. VIII 20832 = ILCV 2971B. The name of Faustus, cos. 490, is also found in ICUR n.s. VIII 20833 = ILCV 3727D (1.ix; m.l.d.); CIL V 6742a = ICI XVII 58 (Vercelli, 14.viii-13.ix; rest.; lost; m.l.d.); CIL V 7742 = ILCV 2908 = ICI IX 25 (Genoa, 28.ix; m.l.d.); CIL V 1858 = ILCV 1060 (Zuglio, Reg. X; 16.x-13.xi; rest.; m.l.d.); CIL X 1345 = ILCV 1015 (Nola, 7.xii; m.l.d.); ICUR n.s. VII 17598 (p.c. poss., undated).

⁶¹⁸ CIL V 5417a. The full pair is also found in AE 1993, 803a (Garlate, Reg. XI; 11.viii; rest.) and poss. but uncert. In AE 2000, 633 = ICI XVII 38 (nr. Novara, frag.)

⁶¹⁹ P.Oxy. LXVIII 4698.

⁶²⁰ P.Rain.Cent. 110.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
491	<p>p.c. Faustus (Aeclanum, Reg. II, 14.iv)⁶²¹</p> <p>p.c. Longini II et Fausti (Garlate, Reg. XI, 14.i)⁶²²</p> <p>Olybrius iun.? (p.c. attested by 5.ii.492)⁶²³</p>		See 486.	<p>p.c. Longini II (Hermop.; latest p.c. 18.x)⁶²⁴</p>	<p><i>Olybrius</i> (C'polis, 29 or 30.vii)⁶²⁵</p>
492	<p>p.c. II Longini II et Fausti (Dertona, Reg. IX, 1.i)⁶²⁶</p> <p>p.c. Olybri iun. (Cales,</p>		See 486.	<p>p.c. II Longini II (Oxy.; latest p.c. 27.ii)⁶³⁰</p> <p>Anastasius Aug. et Rufus</p>	<p><i>Anastasius Aug. et Rufus</i> (C'polis, 1.i)⁶³²</p> <p>Anastasius Aug. et Rufus</p>

⁶²¹ CIL IX 1376 = ILCV 3028 Ba = ICI VIII 44 (lost). The p.c. of Faustus is also attested in P.Ital. 12 ii.5 (Ravenna; 2.i; lost; m.l.d.) and possibly ICUR n.s. VII 17598 (p.c. poss.).

⁶²² CIL V 5210. Similarly, CIL V 5656 (nr. Milan, iterum p.c. 492 also poss.; rest.). More uncertain, AE 2000, 633 = ICI XVII 38 (nr. Novara, frag.)

⁶²³ The cos. 491 is also attested in Burgundy by CIL XII 2384 = ILCV 1734 = RICG XV 257 (Vézéronce, Viennen.; 28?.xi) dated by indiction.

⁶²⁴ P.Flor. I 94.

⁶²⁵ *CJ* 7.39.4; cf. *CLRE* 517; Lounghis et al. 2005: 84 no. 180 (dating 30.vii and combining with *CJ* 10.27.1 and 11.62.14; so, too; Frier 2016: 1898).

⁶²⁶ CIL V 7531 = ILCV 339 = ICI VII 15.

⁶³⁰ P.Oxy. XLIX 3512.

⁶³² *CJ* 12.35.18; cf. *CLRE* 519; Lounghis et al. 2005: 93 no. 220; Frier 2016: 2940.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
	Reg. I, 5.ii; m.l.d.) ⁶²⁷ Anastasius Aug. (Barisciano, Reg. IV, 15.xi) ⁶²⁸ Anastasius Aug. et Rufus (Beneventum, Reg. II, 1.xii) ⁶²⁹			(Herakleop.; 17.vi) ⁶³¹	(Beroia, Macedon, 1.ix) ⁶³³

Dissemination of eastern consuls in Ostrogothic Italy, 493-541.

The Ostrogoths reintroduced into Italy and Dalmatia (since 489) the practice of dating by reference to the eastern consul after Odovacar had discontinued it for nearly ten years. This restoration, however, was short-lived. From 493 until the Byzantine invasion, our record shows that the dissemination of eastern consulships in these territories was generally halted, with eastern names occurring only rarely and very likely in predominantly unofficial circumstances, save for one (unclear) case.

First, Anastasius' consulship in 517 (not the emperor) is used in an inscription from Aix en Provence (then under Ostrogothic control), in one from Lodi dated by p.c and possibly in a

⁶²⁷ Civiltà Cattolica 1953, III, p.392.

⁶²⁸ CIL IX 3568 = ILCV 3162a = ICI III 23. The formula is also attested in CIL V 6221 = ILCV 4815 (Milan, Reg. I, undated).

⁶²⁹ P.Rugo, Le iscrizioni dei secoli VI-VII-VIII esistenti in Italia IV (1978) no.58 = ICI VIII 4; also attested in ICI VII 16 (Dertona, Reg. IX; rest.; p.c. poss.).

⁶³¹ SB XVIII 13953.

⁶³³ Feissel, Rec.Inscr.Chrét.Macéd. 64.

third one from Salona (possibly a p.c.).⁶³⁴ However, all the other inscriptions from Italy, Dalmatia and (Burgundian) Gaul give simply *Agapitus* or *p.c. Agapiti*. Given the shortage of findings, its absence in Burgundy and the many inscriptions where Anastasius' name is dropped, it is very uncertain whether its use occurred as a result of official dissemination.

Second, one erratic inscription from Rome attests *Imp. domno n. Iustinia riessimus Augustus III*, yet all the other epigraphic evidence from Italy and Dalmatia gives simply *p.c. III Lampadi et Orestis*. A letter of Pope John II to Justinian, contained in *CJ* 1.1.8.39 is dated by *D.N. Iustiniano perp. Aug. et Paulino iun. v.c.* on 25 March. But a second letter sent by the pope to Gaul on 6-7 April is dated only by *Fl. Paulino iun. v.c.*⁶³⁵ It is likely that the variation is due to the compilers of the Justinian's Code adding the name of Justinian to the original dating clause of John's letter, which must have contained only Paulinus' consulate, as shown by the papal letter to Gaul. And although the full pair for 534 is included by a MS of AqS, it remains doubtful whether the use of *Iustiniani III* and *IV* is the result of official (or contemporary) dissemination.

The last (and more puzzling) instance is provided by Belisarius' consulship (535). Our body of material has returned two inscriptions from Rome and one from Atripalda, which unquestionably give *cons. Belisari* or *Belisarius v.c.*⁶³⁶ Besides, seven more inscriptions give Belisarius' name (or part of it), with *cos.* being possibly restorable (though also a date as late as 538 is possible).⁶³⁷ If the dates are correct, then one should conclude that Belisarius was announced in 535 in Italy. The general opinion, however, is that what the stonecutters really meant was p.c., since it was unlikely that people in Italy were dating by Belisarius on the eve of a war with Constantinople.⁶³⁸ Nevertheless, this view rests on three assumptions: (i) that Gothic authorities were willing to neither disseminate Belisarius' consulship, nor tolerate its

⁶³⁴ After Hirschfeld and Diehl, the editors of Salona IV suggest it may stand for either a consular or post-consular formula bearing the names of both Anastasius and Agapitus, western and eastern consuls in 517, and restore, *[SI qui po[s]itus? est? --- Anastasio] / et Agapit[o vv(iris) cc(larissimis) co(n)ss(ulibus)]*.

A full formula (mentioning both consuls) would not be an unicum (see CIL Suppl.Ital I 863, dated 518, from Lodi, and ILCV 1552, dated 517 from Gaul, but bearing Anastasius' name alone). Rather, it would be yet another proof of the evidence of the dissemination of Anastasius' consulship in the territories under Ostrogothic rule in 517/518. But as Sinon suggests, the names could be the ones of the dedicants (cf. Salona IV 218, p. 490 l. 5.)

⁶³⁵ *Conc. Galliae, Corp.Christ.Lat.* 148A, pp. 86-87; cf. *CLRE* 602.

⁶³⁶ ICUR n.s. II 4185 = ILCV 713 (23.v); ICUR n.s. VII 20607; AE 2008, 340b = AE 2013, 270 (Atripalda, Reg. I).

⁶³⁷ ICUR n.s. II 5072 (14.x); I 754; VI 15683; II 5073; VII 17620b = VI 15684 (cos. for p.c.?); II 5074; CIL XIV 2766 (Tusculum, Reg. I).

⁶³⁸ Cf, e.g. H. Solin's comments in 2013, 270.

use, in the first months of 535 (i.e. before the start of the invasion); (ii) that they could prevent it from being used unofficially even if they were not willing to; and (iii) that the population had a hostile view towards Belisarius in the early 535 (after his African successes and before the start of the war). None of these is obvious. Peter Heather has noted that the Gothic monarchy had supported Belisarius' fleet against the Vandals in 533, and subsequently had tried to avoid war with Justinian in 534/5. Therefore, recognising Belisarius' consulship was not impossible in that specific political context.⁶³⁹ More generally, some of the evidence might well be the result of local admiration and or support of Belisarius, both before and after Amalasuetha's death in April, 535, which is not impossible, especially if one considers that the invasion broke down local loyalties to the Goths and might have encouraged individuals to express their partisanship. It is true that the epitaph from Atripalda has an indiction that points to 537; that dating *cos. for p.c.* is a well-documented error in Egyptian papyri (though not exclusively attested there) and one which Belisarius' eastern followers might have brought with them in Italy during the invasion; but how likely is it that all our consular material owes *cos.* to this error?

It must be noted that the evidence that has or could have *Belisarius v.c.* comes from Rome, nearby Tusculum and Atripalda, and that these were all controlled by the Byzantines in 536. But this only proves that what were imperial strongholds by 536, were already dating by (also) Belisarius' consulship one year earlier.

A more serious objection comes from the fact that the only two datable epitaphs from Rome are dated on 23 May and 14 October, i.e. close to or even later than Belisarius' invasion of Sicily in the summer and Mundus' advance towards Salona earlier in May, so one should conclude that Belisarius' consulate was used in Rome closed to or after these events. Again, this is not impossible (see above), especially if one considers the age of the two deceased, even though one must admit the oddity. In conclusion, one may want to wait for more (dated) material for a conclusive answer, but it cannot be ruled out that the recognition and dissemination of Belisarius' consulate was among the shows of good-will attempted by the Gothic government in the difficult months preceding the invasion. Even if this recognition was withdrawn after Belisarius' landing in Sicily, some people might have continued to date

⁶³⁹ Procopius, *Wars*, 5.3-4,31. The insight is Peter Heather's (meeting on 19 March 2021), whom I thank for pointing out to me Procopius' account of the outbreak of the war. More generally, for the political developments following Athalaric's death, see Heather 1996: 259 ff.

according to the consulship of the invading general, however dangerous a statement of allegiance to the enemy this could have been.

Thereafter, East Roman occupation brought about the return of dating by reference to eastern consuls as shown by the use of Iohannes (538), Apion (539), Iustinus (540) and Basilius (541) in Nola, Aeclanum, Sinuessa, Spoleto, Riva del Garda, Como, Salona, Ravenna and, obviously, Rome.⁶⁴⁰

Nevertheless, the record shows that the reintroduction of eastern consular dating did not wipe out the local practice of dating by reference to the western consul alone. The two practices, in fact, coexisted (in apparent conflict as we shall see), with some centres dating by the post-consular era of Paulinus, cos. 534, and others using the eastern consul. Still in 546, an epitaph from Aosta dates by *duodecies p.c. Paulini iun.*⁶⁴¹

As will be expanded on in the next chapter there is an obvious political meaning that was attached to the use of consular dating during the whole Ostrogothic period, although what precisely this was is more controversial. Nevertheless, with the exception of the years 489-492 and the possible short-lived recognition of Belisarius' consulship in 535, there is little reason to believe that eastern consulships were ever disseminated and recognised throughout the period of Gothic rule. Cassiodorus' chronicon was an unofficial composition produced as a gift when relations between Ravenna and Constantinople were particularly favourable, so the inclusion of eastern consuls in his list must be regarded as no more than a personal choice.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia
493	p.c. Anastasi et Rufi? (Dertona, Reg. IX) Albinus (Rome, 10.x) ⁶⁴²		
494	Asterius et Presidius		

⁶⁴⁰ On contemporary eastern consular policy, see Ch. 4 and esp. 331-7.

⁶⁴¹ CIL V 6858 = ILCV 1057 = ICI XVII 3 (Aosta, Reg. XI; 5.x).

⁶⁴² ICUR n.s. II 4987.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia
	(Rome, 20.iii) ⁶⁴³		
495	Viator (Rome, 23.i) ⁶⁴⁴	p.c. X Symmachi iun. (Arles; latest p.c. i- ii) ⁶⁴⁵ Viator (Arles; 21.x) ⁶⁴⁶	
496	p.c. Viatoris (Rome, latest p.c. 6.vi) ⁶⁴⁷	p.c. Viatoris (Aouste, Narb.; latest p.c. 25.xii) ⁶⁴⁸	
497	p.c. II Viatoris (Rome, undated) ⁶⁴⁹		
498	Paulinus (Rome, 21.iv) ⁶⁵⁰		
499	p.c. Paulini (Rome, latest p.c. 5.ix) ⁶⁵¹		

⁶⁴³ ICUR n.s. I 1473 = ILCV 246A, but the likely earliest appearance of the formula is in ICUR n.s. V 13408 (27.i; p.c. poss.; frg.). There is a possible [p.c.] Albini attested in ICUR n.s. II 4990 = ILCV 2766 (Rome; 14.ix-15.x?; p.c. poss.?), which could in principle be dated to 494, though this is unlikely and a date to 444/445 (or 493) must be preferred. No securely dated post-consular usage is in fact attested in Rome at this point in time.

⁶⁴⁴ ICUR n.s. VII 17602. It is unlikely that ICUR n.s. V 13408 (27.i; p.c. poss.; frg.) is to be dated to 495; cf. note 640 above.

⁶⁴⁵ CIL XII 932 = ILCV 4420 (rest.)

⁶⁴⁶ CIL XII 931 = ILCV 2888 adn.

⁶⁴⁷ ICUR n.s. I 292 = ILCV 482.

⁶⁴⁸ CIL XII 1724 = ILCV 2454 (rest).

⁶⁴⁹ ICUR n.s. I 2793.

⁶⁵⁰ ICUR n.s. IV 12428. A possible earlier date is in ICUR n.s. II 4998 = ILCV 1306 (1.iii, m.l.d.).

⁶⁵¹ ICUR n.s. VII 17604.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia
500	p.c. II Paulini (Rome, latest p.c. 17.iv) ⁶⁵²		
501	Avienus (Gravedona, Reg. XI; 30.iii) ⁶⁵³	Avienus (Arles; 2.ix) ⁶⁵⁴	
502	p.c. Avieni? (Rome, p.c. rest.) ⁶⁵⁵ Avienus iun. (Rome, 22?.iv; rest.) ⁶⁵⁶		
503	p.c. Avieni iun. (Passo Corese, Reg. IV, undated, m.l.d.) ⁶⁵⁷ Volusianus (Venusia, Reg. II; 28.i) ⁶⁵⁸		
504	Cethegus (Ravenna; 5.ii) ⁶⁵⁹		

⁶⁵² ICUR n.s. II 5001 = ILCV 3783.

⁶⁵³ CIL V 5241.

⁶⁵⁴ CIL XII 930 = ILCV 2888.

⁶⁵⁵ ICUR n.s. I 2118 = ILCV 4370a.

⁶⁵⁶ ICUR n.s. V 13959 = ILCV 4874.

⁶⁵⁷ AE 2009, 300.

⁶⁵⁸ AE 1981 266 = ICI XIII 38.

⁶⁵⁹ P.Ital. 29.8.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia
505	Theodorus (Rome, 23.vii) ⁶⁶⁰		Unkn. ⁶⁶¹
506	p.c. Theodori? (Aeclanum, Reg. II; 1?.ix; 400 poss.) ⁶⁶² Messala (Rome, 2-5.ii) ⁶⁶³	Messala (Cabriès, nr. Arles; 28.x) ⁶⁶⁴	
507	Venantius iun. (14.i-13.ii; m.l.d.) ⁶⁶⁵	Anastasius et Venantius? (p.c. attested in Narbonne by 1.vi.508)	
508	Venantius alius iun. (Rome, 11.iii) ⁶⁶⁶	p.c. Anastasi et Venanti (Narbonne; latest p.c. 1.vi) ⁶⁶⁷	
509	Inportunus (Rome, 18.iii) ⁶⁶⁸		
510	Boethius		

⁶⁶⁰ ICUR n.s. I 897 = ILCV 736 (rest.) One possible earlier attestation is in ICUR I 471 (Rome; 10.iv), although the epitaph could be dating 399.

⁶⁶¹ ILJ III 2569 (632) (Salona; frag.) gives *Theodoro et* [but it is uncertain whether this dates to 399 or 505.

⁶⁶² CIL IX 1363 = ILCV 3601 = ICI VIII 30.

⁶⁶³ ICUR n.s. VII 17606.

⁶⁶⁴ CIL XII 631 = ILCV 3438 = AE 2003, 1075.

⁶⁶⁵ ICUR n.s. II 4181

⁶⁶⁶ ICUR I 935 = n.s. II 4278.

⁶⁶⁷ CIL XII 5339 = ILCV 3555.

⁶⁶⁸ ICUR n.s. I 3250 = ILCV 168a.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia
	(Ivrea, Reg. XI; 22.iv) ⁶⁶⁹		
511	Felix (Verona, Reg. X; 10.viii) ⁶⁷⁰		Felix? (Salona 428 poss.) ⁶⁷¹
512	p.c. Felicis (Rome, latest p.c. 29.ix; m.l.d.) ⁶⁷²		p.c. Felicis? (Salona, 429 poss.) ⁶⁷³
513	Probus (Milan, Reg. XI; 11.i; m.l.d.) ⁶⁷⁴		
514	Senator (Terni, Reg. VI; 5.ii; m.l.d.) ⁶⁷⁵	p.c. Probi (Narbonne, undated; m.l.d.) ⁶⁷⁶ Senator (Luc, Narb.; 16.v- 13.vi; m.l.d.) ⁶⁷⁷	
515	p.c. Senatoris (Beneventum, Reg. II; latest p.c. 27.ix; m.l.d.) ⁶⁷⁸		

⁶⁶⁹ CIL V 6816 = I.Ital. XI.2 44 = ILCV 1669 = ICI XVII 31. A possible earlier date is in CIL V 7408 = ILC 4551 = ICI VII 19.1-3 (Dertona, Reg. IX; 14.iv-1.v; lost).

⁶⁷⁰ IG XIV add. 2310a (p.704). For a full list of material possibly dated to 511 (or 428).

⁶⁷¹ Forsch.Salona II 248 = CIL III 9525 + add. p. 2139 = ILJ III 2527.

⁶⁷² ICUR n.s. VII 17611.

⁶⁷³ Salona IV 680 (frg.)

⁶⁷⁴ CIL V 6266 = ILCV 1668.

⁶⁷⁵ CIL XI 4337 = ILCV 4681.

⁶⁷⁶ I.Lat.Gaul.Narb. 607.

⁶⁷⁷ CIL XII 1692 = ILCV 1432 adn.

⁶⁷⁸ CIL IX 2120 = ICI VIII 5.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia
	Florentius (Albenga, Reg. IX; 24.vi; m.l.d.) ⁶⁷⁹		
516	Petrus (Rome, 2-5.ii) ⁶⁸⁰		
517	Agapitus (Pieve del Finale, Reg. IX; 30.iv) ⁶⁸¹	Anastasius (Aix, Narb.; 24.xii) ⁶⁸²	Agapitus (Salona; 11.iii) ⁶⁸³ Anastasius et Agapitus (Salona, Dalmatia; undated; p.c. poss.) ⁶⁸⁴
518	p.c. Agapiti et Anastasi (Lodi, Reg. XI; latest p.c. 20.i?) ⁶⁸⁵ p.c. Agapiti (Rome, latest p.c. 16.x-13.xi) ⁶⁸⁶		
519	Eutharicus	p.c. II Agapiti	

⁶⁷⁹ AE 1975, 406 = AE 1961, 284 = ICI IX 41.

⁶⁸⁰ ICUR n.s. II 5020 = ILCV 717 (rest.)

⁶⁸¹ Riv.Stud.Luguri 22 (1956) 228, but see, too CIL X 1347 = ILCV 1147A (Nola, Reg. I; 18.i or 15.xii), which is possibly earlier.

⁶⁸² CIL XII 590 + add. p.815 = ILCV 1552.

⁶⁸³ Recherches à Salona I (1928), 174 no.81 = ILJ III 2675 = Salona IV 217 (rest.)

⁶⁸⁴ CIL III 9526 = ILCV 3842 adn.

⁶⁸⁵ CIL Suppl.Ital I 863 (Lodi, Reg. XI; 20.i?; much rest.; p.c. rest.).

⁶⁸⁶ ICUR n.s. II 5024 = ILCV 4559 adn.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia
	(Canosa, Reg. II; 14.i-13.ii) ⁶⁸⁷	(Vaison, Narb.; 25.i) ⁶⁸⁸	
520	Rusticius (nr. Lago di Como, Reg. XI;24.i) ⁶⁸⁹		
521	Valerius (Bergamo, Reg. XI; 17.iv) ⁶⁹⁰	Valerius (Valcabrere, Aquitania; 15.ii) ⁶⁹¹	
522	Symmachus et Boethius (Como, Reg. XI; 13.v) ⁶⁹²		
523	Maximus (Gropelli nr. Milan; 8.ii) ⁶⁹³		
524	Opilio (Gropelli nr. Milan, Reg. XI; 8.iv) ⁶⁹⁴		
525	Probus iun.	Probus iun.	

⁶⁸⁷ CIL IX 410 = ILCV 4678 = ICI XIII 4 (lost; Entarico).

⁶⁸⁸ CIL XII 1500 = ILCV 1166. The place is a bordering location in between the Ostrogothic territories and Burgundy.

⁶⁸⁹ CIL V 5219 = ILCV 1156.

⁶⁹⁰ CIL V 5192 = ILCV 3169A

⁶⁹¹ CIL XIII 300 = ILCV 3040 adn.

⁶⁹² CIL V 5430 = ILCV 2740 adn.

⁶⁹³ CIL V 5737 = ILCV 326a.

⁶⁹⁴ CIL V 5737 = ILCV 326b.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia
	(Salerno, Reg. I; 25.i) ⁶⁹⁵	(Arles; 10.i) ⁶⁹⁶	
526	Olybrius (Como, Reg. XI; 31.i) ⁶⁹⁷		
527	Mavortius (Rome, 14-27.ii) ⁶⁹⁸	Mavortius (Narbonne; 1.vii) ⁶⁹⁹	
528	p.c. Mavorti (Rome, 18.xi) ⁷⁰⁰	p.c. Mavorti? (p.c. II attested by 4.i.529)	
529	Decius iun. (nr. Aeclanum, Reg. II; 3.vi) ⁷⁰¹	p.c. II Mavorti (Arles; earliest/latest p.c. 4.i) ⁷⁰² Decius iun.? (p.c. attested by 19.i.530)	
530	Lampadius et Orestes (Milan, Reg. XI; 2.viii) ⁷⁰³	p.c. Deci iun. (Arles; latest p.c. 19.i) ⁷⁰⁴	Lampadius et Orestes?

⁶⁹⁵ I.Ital. I 109.

⁶⁹⁶ ILGN 135 = ILCV 2890.

⁶⁹⁷ CIL V 5405 add. extr. (p.1095) = ILCV 1157.

⁶⁹⁸ ICUR n.s. I 4074.

⁶⁹⁹ CIL XII 5340 = ILCV 2891.

⁷⁰⁰ ICUR n.s. I 752 = ILCV 119.

⁷⁰¹ CIL IX 1384 = ILCV 3186a = ICI VIII 53.8-12.

⁷⁰² CIL XII 934 = ILCV 2891A.

⁷⁰³ AE 2016, 591 = ICI XVI 184.

⁷⁰⁴ CIL XII 936 = ILCV 1808.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia
		Lampadius et Orestes (Arles; 23.x) ⁷⁰⁵	(p.c. III attested by 2-7.iii.533) ⁷⁰⁶
531	p.c. Lampadi et Orestis (nr. Verona, Reg. X; latest p.c. 11.x) ⁷⁰⁷	p.c. Lampadi et Orestis (Arles; latest p.c. 14.ii-15.iii) ⁷⁰⁸	p.c. Lampadi et Orestis? (See 530)
532	p.c. II Lampadi et Orestis (Rome, latest p.c. 17.x; lost.) ⁷⁰⁹	p.c. II Lampadi et Orestis (Arles; latest p.c. 30.xi) ⁷¹⁰	p.c. II Lampadi et Orestis? (See 530)
533	p.c. III Lampadi et Orestis (nr. Aeclanum, Reg. II; latest p.c. 20.xii) ⁷¹¹ Iustinianus III? (uncert.) ⁷¹²		p.c. III Lampadi et Orestis (Molzbichl, Noricum; latest p.c. 20.vii) ⁷¹³
534	Paulinus iun. (Rome, 28.v) ⁷¹⁴	Paulinus? (p.c. II attested by 11.i.536)	

⁷⁰⁵ CIL XII 935 = ILCV 2891A adn.

⁷⁰⁶ ICUR n.s. VII 17619 = CIL VI 32080 (2-7.iii; rest.).

⁷⁰⁷ CIL V 3897 = ILCV 223 = AE 2009, 399 (rest., seen).

⁷⁰⁸ CIL XII 937 = ILCV 2891A adn. (rest.)

⁷⁰⁹ ICUR I 1029 = ILCV 987.

⁷¹⁰ CIL XII 938 = ILCV 2891a.

⁷¹¹ CIL IX 1384 = ILCV 3186b = ICI VIII 53.4-7.

⁷¹² CIL VI 36967 = ILCV 25A (Rome). It is uncertain whether this is a consular date and background information on the inscription are lacking.

⁷¹³ AE 1992, 1361.

⁷¹⁴ ICUR n.s. I 3255 = ILCV 247.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia
535	<p>p.c. Paulini iun. (Nola, Reg. I; latest p.c. 19.ix)⁷¹⁵</p> <p>Belisarius? (uncert.; poss. disseminated by vi-vii.535 in Rome or 10.ii.535 in Atripalda)⁷¹⁶</p>	<p>p.c. Paulini? (p.c. II attested by 11.i.536)</p>	<p>p.c. Paulini iun. (Salona; latest p.c. xii)⁷¹⁷</p>
536	<p>p.c. II Paulini iun. (Teinum, Reg. I; 27.xii);⁷¹⁸</p> <p>p.c. Belisari (earliest p.c. Atripalda, 10.ii; latest p.c., Rome 14.x; 537 poss.)⁷¹⁹</p>	<p>p.c. II Paulini iun. (Vaison, Narb.; earliest/latest p.c. 11.i)⁷²⁰</p>	
537	<p>p.c. III Paulini iun. (Cremona, Reg. X; latest p.c. 12.xii)⁷²¹</p> <p>p.c. II Belisari</p>		

⁷¹⁵ Rend.Accad. di Arch. di Napol. 30 (1955) 201 Tav. II.1

⁷¹⁶ On Belisarius' consulate' dissemination, see p. 220-2 above.

⁷¹⁷ CIL III ad 2659 = Salona IV 777.

⁷¹⁸ (RAC 29 (1953) 230. The use of the post-consulate of Paulinus is also attested in, at least, CIL XI 1692 = ILCV 4459A (Florence, 16.iv.536); Arch.stor.Calabr.Luc. 24 (1955) 15 = ICI V 10 (Tropea, Reg. III; 8.ii; p.c. II or III poss.); ICI XVI 199 = AE 2016, 594 (Milan, ind. points to 537); ICUR I 1054 (rest. 536 or 537); CIL V 5692 = ILCV 1254 (nr. Milan, 15.x; uncert. date) and ILCV 1211 = AE 1992, 816 (Ticinum, frag.; uncert. date).

⁷¹⁹ AE 2008, 340b = AE 2013, 270 (ind. points to 537) and ICUR n.s. II 5072 (cos. for p.c.?).

⁷²⁰ CIL XII 1501 = ILCV 1213.

⁷²¹ CIL V 4118 = ILCV 1278. Paulinus' consulate is also attested in Dertona (NotScav 1897, 368 = ICI VII 25; 16.iii-13.iv; rest.; lost), and possibly in Ticinum, Milan and environs, Tropea and Rome.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia
	(Atripalda, Reg. I, 10.ii; 535-7 poss.) ⁷²²		
538	p.c. IV Paulini iun.? (p.c. V attested by 22.vii.539 in Ticinum) ⁷²³ p.c. III Belisari? (uncert.) ⁷²⁴ Iohannes (Aeclanum, Reg. II, 1.i) ⁷²⁵	Iohannes (Narbonensis, ix-xii; Visig.) ⁷²⁶	
539	p.c. V Paulini iun. (earliest p.c., Ticinum, Reg. XI; 22.vii; latest p.c., Domodossola, Reg. XI, ix-xii) ⁷²⁷ p.c. Iohannis		Apion (Salona; 18.viii; rest.) ⁷³⁰

⁷²² Other than Atripalda, the consulate of Belisarius is attested in Rome and Tusculum within documentation dated between 535-538.

⁷²³ Cf. n. 724 below; also, see CIL V 5692 = ILCV 1254 (nr. Milan; 15.x) and ILCV 1211 = AE 1992, 816 (Ticinum; frag.)

⁷²⁴ There is abundant material that could be dated to 538, especially CIL X 1350 = ILCV 260 (Nola, Reg. I, 18.i) and ICUR n.s. II 5731 (25.iv), both dated by indiction.

⁷²⁵ ICUR n.s. I 997 = ILCV 4645 adn. (i-viii [ind.; rest.]). But see, also: CIL IX 1386 = ILCV 3186A = ICI VIII 55 (Aeclanum, Reg. II; 1.i; lost; m.l.d.).

⁷²⁶ CIL XII 1530 (Narb.; ix-xii).

⁷²⁷ CIL V 6467 = ILCV 1238 (Ticinum); ICI XVII 41 = AE 2016, 598 (Domodossola, much rest.) The fifth iteration of the post-consulate of Paulinus iunior is also attested in CIL V 5211 = ILCV 2741 (Garlate, Reg. XI; 1.ix; rest.)

⁷³⁰ Forsch.Salona II 252 = ILJ III 2531 = Salona IV 755 (rest.)

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia
	(Riva del Garda, Reg. X; latest p.c. 24.xii) ⁷²⁸ Apion (Nola, Reg. I) ⁷²⁹		
540	p.c. VI Paulini iun. (Ravenna, latest p.c., 21.iii) ⁷³¹ Iustinus (Rome, 8.ix) ⁷³²		
541	Basilus iun. (Ravenna, Reg. VIII; 12.iii) ⁷³³ p.c. VII Paulini iun.? (p.c. X attested in Ticinum by 1.iii.544; p.c. XI attested in Ivrea, Reg. XI by 13.ix.545; p.c. XII attested in Aosta,		

⁷²⁸ CIL V 4998 = ILCV 848 = ICI XV 51. See, also: CIL V 5410 = ILCV 1040 (Como, Reg. XI; 5.vi; ind. points to 539), and AE 2013 284 (Nola, Reg. I; p.c. poss.), dated to either 538 or 539.

⁷²⁹ AE 2013, 285.

⁷³¹ P.Ital. 32.15 = ChLA XX 708. The sixth post-consulate of Paulinus iunior is also attested in CIL V 4084 = ILCV 673 (Mantua, Reg. X; 19.ii).

⁷³² ICUR n.s. II 5078 = ILCV 411 adn. See, too, CIL XI 4973 = ICI VI 51 (Spoleto, xi-xii; m.l.rest.), which very likely attests the consulate of Justin at Spoleto. Justinian's consulate in 521 is not attested in the western evidence. Hence, it is more likely this belongs to 540.

⁷³³ CIL XI 310 = ILCV 226.

Year	Italy	Gaul (Narb.)	Dalmatia
	Reg. XI by 5.x.546) ⁷³⁴		

Dissemination of western consuls in the East, 493-541.

While Ravenna chose to discontinue dissemination of eastern consulates from 493 onwards, Constantinople opted for a totally opposite policy. The evidence indicates that the proclamation and dissemination of western consuls was resumed in the East from no later than 496, after which the practice continued until the last western appointment in 535.⁷³⁵

Although contemporary eastern propaganda claimed that western nominees had been appointed by the emperor in Constantinople, there remains significant evidence of the joint proclamation of both consuls on 1 January for only one pair (coss. 524).⁷³⁶ Our statistical model has established that this was probably also the case for the pairs in 504, 508, 514, 516, 522, 523 and 530, too.⁷³⁷ Even if we include the latter, however, it remains unquestionable that the eastern consul was announced first in 519, 525, 527 and 534. So, either something in the pattern of proclamation changed from 519 onwards, or no consistent pattern was adopted by Constantinople in proclaiming Ostrogothic nominees. Obviously, the latter case would entail that no simultaneous proclamations were restored during this period of renewed (at least in pretence) good diplomatic relations between Rome and Constantinople. As things stand, however, the evidence does not yet allow for definite conclusions into this matter.

One clearer feature of eastern dissemination of western names is its geographical inconsistency. The western consuls in 501, 506, 510, 515, 516, 517, 519, 521, 525, 526, 527, 529 and 534 may have been announced at court during their consular year, as shown by several laws and imperial letters and relevant contemporary material from the East, but they are not found in the dated consular material from Egypt.⁷³⁸ In some cases accidents of preservation hamper our understanding. For instance, the consulate of Pompeius and Avienus (501) is

⁷³⁴ ILCV 2356 = AE 1992, 825 (Ticinum, 1.iii; ind. points to 544); CIL V 6813 = ILCV 2742 = ICI XVII 32 (Ivrea, Reg. XI; 13.ix); CIL V 6858 = ILCV 1057 = ICI XVII 3 (Aosta, Reg. XI; 5.x). See, also: CIL V 5692 = ILCV 1254 (nr. Milan, Reg. XI; 15.x) and ILCV 1211 = AE 1992, 816 (Ticinum, frag.) could be dated to 534 or later.

⁷³⁵ Cf. p. 337 below for a further discussion on the resumption of western names in the East.

⁷³⁶ Cf. p. 173 and n. 502.

⁷³⁷ Cf. Appendix C, p. 469-76.

⁷³⁸ Cf. table below under each relevant year.

attested by *CJ* 8.36.4, but only Pompeius has survived in the papyri, except one that gives] κοι Αβηνοῦ, hence it might be dating to either 501 or 502.⁷³⁹

In other cases (e.g. Petrus in 516, Olybrius in 526, Mavortius in 527, Decius in 529 and Paulinus in 534), they are plausibly missing from our consular record because of late dissemination, since they do show up in our evidence as post-consular date. Nevertheless, Eutharicus (519), Valerius (521) and Probus (525) are never found, which strongly suggests their dissemination in the East was partial and that they might have never been announced in Egypt for contemporary use.⁷⁴⁰

The consulate of Dexicrates and Volusianus (503) is only attested by one papyrus from the Hermonthite nome, datable to October-November of either 503 or 504.⁷⁴¹ If 503 is the correct year, then dissemination was patchy, as p.c. evidence from the Oxyrhynchite, Hermopolite and the Arsinoite from 504 shows invariably *p.c. Dexicratil*.

Late and partial dissemination can also be observed for the consulate of Olybrius (526), whose p.c. date was used in Aphrodito, while *p.c. Philoxeni* is found in the Fayum until possibly 527.⁷⁴² It is unclear if this is a problem of getting the information to Egypt. Western consuls are attested in 511 at Rhinocorura (El-Arish); in 519 at Panion; in 524 at Corinth; in 525 at Thessalonica; in 527 at Constantinople and in 530 at Nebo. Unfortunately, the only two years for which we have no evidence from Egypt are the ones for which we have evidence only from Constantinople and environs (519 and 527), so not much can be inferred from this.

Year	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
493	p.c. Anastasi Aug. et Rufi (Oxy., latest p.c. 10.vi) ⁷⁴³	

⁷³⁹ CPR XXIV 18 (Aphroditespolis).

⁷⁴⁰ Cf. below s.a. 519, 521 and 525 for attestation of Eutharicus at Panion, Valerius at Constantinople and Probus at Thessalonica.

⁷⁴¹ Cf. below s.a. 505.

⁷⁴² Cf. BGU XIX 2822. Editor dates to 31 August, 526, but the indiction points to 527. Thus, either the indiction is wrong or the numeral of the second post-consulate is omitted. Numerals are often omitted in papyri, so a date to 527 is perhaps more likely; see Bagnall & Worp 2004: 89 f. and Ast 2006: 163 and n. 6 (the author is unsure between 31 August 526 or 1 September 527, but he comments that the scribe refers to the indiction in l. 11 as the current one, so 'if he was mistaken, he was consistently so'). To be noted that a papyrus dated by Olybrius from the Hermopolite and Oxyrhynchite is still wanting; cf. Ast 2006: 163 n. 7.

⁷⁴³ P.Oxy. LXXXII 5337.

Year	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
	Eusebius II? (p.c. attested by 8.iii.494) ⁷⁴⁴	
494	p.c. Eusebi II (Hermop.; latest p.c., 13.xii; rest.) ⁷⁴⁵	
495	p.c. II Eusebi II (Oxy.; latest p.c., 29.xi) ⁷⁴⁶ Viator? (p.c. attested by 22.xi.495 in Oxy.) ⁷⁴⁷	
496	p.c. III Eusebi II (Hermop.; latest p.c., 15.i) ⁷⁴⁸ p.c. Viatoris (Oxy.; latest p.c., 30.xi) ⁷⁴⁹ Paulus? (p.c. attested in Herakleop. by 4.ii.497)	<i>Paulus</i> (C'polis, 13.ii) ⁷⁵⁰
497	p.c. Pauli (Herakleop.; earliest/latest p.c. 4.ii; rest.) ⁷⁵¹	<i>Anastasius Aug. II</i> (unkn.prov., 15.ii) ⁷⁵³

⁷⁴⁴ P.Oxy. LIX 3986.

⁷⁴⁵ BGU XII 2164.

⁷⁴⁶ P.Oxy. XVI 1891.1.

⁷⁴⁷ P.Oxy. XVI 1889. Unlikely Viator was disseminated in 495; see p. 196 above.

⁷⁴⁸ SB VIII 9776 (num. om.; cf. BL 7.214; ind. points to 496).

⁷⁴⁹ P.Oxy. XVI 1975.

⁷⁵⁰ CJ 6.21.16; cf. CLRE 527; Lounghis et al. 2005: 96 no. 234; Frier 2016: 1492.

⁷⁵¹ SPP XX 129.17.

⁷⁵³ CJ 5.17.9; cf. CLRE 529; Lounghis et al. 2005: 97 no. 241; Frier 2016: 1232.

Year	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
	Anastasius Aug. II (Hermop., 20.viii) ⁷⁵²	
498	p.c. Anastasi Aug. II (Hermop.; latest p.c., 27.iii-25.iv) ⁷⁵⁴ Iohannes et Paulinus (Hermop.; xi-xii?) ⁷⁵⁵	<i>Iohannes et Paulinus</i> (unkn.prov., 31.iii) ⁷⁵⁶
499	p.c. Iohannis et Paulini (Oxy.; latest p.c., vi-vii) ⁷⁵⁷ Iohannes (Gibbus) (Oxy.; 27.vii) ⁷⁵⁸	<i>Iohannes (Gibbus)</i> (unkn.prov., 1.i) ⁷⁵⁹
500	p.c. Iohannis (Gibbi) (Hermop.; latest p.c., 14.i) ⁷⁶⁰ Patricius et Hypatius (Oxy.; 15.ix) ⁷⁶¹	<i>Patricius et Hypatius</i> (unkn.prov., 17 or 20.xi) ⁷⁶²
501	p.c. Patrici et Hypatii (Hermop.; latest p.c., 7.vii) ⁷⁶³	

⁷⁵² SB V 7758.

⁷⁵⁴ BGU XII 2173.

⁷⁵⁵ SB XIV 12050.

⁷⁵⁶ CJ 10.19.10; cf. CLRE 531; Lounghis et al. 2005: 99 no. 250; Frier 2016: 2504.

⁷⁵⁷ P.Mich. XV 731.1

⁷⁵⁸ P.Oxy. LXIII 4395. See, also P.Oxy. LXIII 4394.256 (Alexandria; 15.ii; cos. for p.c.); LXIII 4395.130 (24.ii; cos. for p.c.), which should probably be dated to 500; cf. p. 164 n. 479.

⁷⁵⁹ CJ 5.62.25; cf. CLRE 533; Lounghis et al. 2005: 101 no. 260; Frier 2016: 1370.

⁷⁶⁰ P.Herm. 79.2 (cf. BL 5.46).

⁷⁶¹ SB XVI 12583.

⁷⁶² CJ 2.4.43; CLRE 535 (17 or 20.xi); Lounghis et al. 2005: 103 no. 267; Frier 2016: 446.

⁷⁶³ P.Amst. I 45.

Year	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
	<p>Pompeius (Oxy.; 10?.vii)⁷⁶⁴</p> <p>Pompeius et Avienus? (uncert.)⁷⁶⁵</p>	<p>Pompeius (Plotinopoulis, Thrace; ix)⁷⁶⁶</p> <p><i>Pompeius et Avienus</i> (C'polis, d.? 17 or 20.xii)⁷⁶⁷</p>
502	<p>Probus (prov.unkn.; v-viii)⁷⁶⁸</p> <p>Probus et Avienus (Panop., viii)⁷⁶⁹</p>	<p><i>Probus et Avienus</i> (C'polis, 15.ii)⁷⁷⁰</p>
503	<p>p.c. Probi et Avieni (Arsin.; latest p.c., 8.iii)⁷⁷¹</p> <p>[Dexicrates et] Volusianus (Hermop.; 28.x-27.xi; p.c. poss.)⁷⁷²</p>	
504	<p>p.c. Dexicratis (earliest p.c., Oxy., 20.viii; latest p.c., Oxy., 27.x)⁷⁷³</p> <p>Cethegus</p>	

⁷⁶⁴ P.Bingen 129 = P.Lond. V 1797.

⁷⁶⁵ CPR XXIV 18 (Aphroditopolis; frg. poss. 501 or 502).

⁷⁶⁶ AE 1994, 1550 = I.Ancyra.II G13.

⁷⁶⁷ *CJ* 8.36.4; cf. *CLRE* 537; Lounghis et al. 2005: 104 no. 270; Frier 2016: 2134-35 (see n. 108 for the new codex fragment dating to xvi k. ian = 17 Dec.)

⁷⁶⁸ SB XVI 12786 (rest.)

⁷⁶⁹ P.Stras. IV 229 (much rest.)

⁷⁷⁰ *CJ* 3.13.7; cf. *CLRE* 539; Lounghis et al. 2005: 104 no. 274; Frier 2016: 650.

⁷⁷¹ P.Ross.Georg. V 31.

⁷⁷² P.Herm. 28 (much rest.)

⁷⁷³ P.Oxy. LXII 4349 (earliest p.c.); P.Oxy. XVI 1884 (latest p.c.).

Year	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
	(Hermop.; 29.x) ⁷⁷⁴	
505	p.c. Cethegi (Hermop.; latest p.c., 25.viii) ⁷⁷⁵ Sabinianus et Theodorus (Oxy.; 17.vii) ⁷⁷⁶	<i>Sabinianus et Theodorus</i> (C'polis, 1.vii) ⁷⁷⁷
506	p.c. Sabiniani et Theodori (Hermop.; latest p.c., 30.viii) ⁷⁷⁸	<i>Aerobindus et Messala</i> (C'polis, 23.vii) ⁷⁷⁹
507	p.c. II Sabiniani et Theodori (Hermop.; earliest/latest p.c., 14.ii) ⁷⁸⁰ Anastasius Aug. III (Hermop.; vi-vii) ⁷⁸¹ Anastasius Aug. III et Venantius (Oxy.; 1.x) ⁷⁸²	
508	p.c. Anastasi Aug. III et Venanti	Celer (Prusa?, Bithynia; 27.iv) ⁷⁸⁵

⁷⁷⁴ P.David. 17 = SB X 10287.

⁷⁷⁵ P.Stras. VI 578.

⁷⁷⁶ P.Oxy. XVI 1994 = SB XXIV 15924.

⁷⁷⁷ *CJ* 2.7.22; cf. *CLRE* 545 (1.i or 1.vii); Lounghis et al. 2005: 108 no. 294; Frier 2016: 468.

⁷⁷⁸ P.Stras. VII 656 (p.c. rest; rest.)

⁷⁷⁹ *CJ* 4.35.22; cf. *CLRE* 547; Lounghis et al. 2005: 110 no. 304; Frier 2016: 972.

⁷⁸⁰ P.Heid. V 357.

⁷⁸¹ P.Lond. III 992 (p.253).

⁷⁸² SB XVIII 13947.

⁷⁸⁵ AE 1993, 1441 = Inscr.Prusa.II (rest.)

Year	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
	(Oxy.; latest p.c., 27.xi) ⁷⁸³ Celer et Venantius (Hermonthis?; 21.ix) ⁷⁸⁴	
509	p.c. Celeri et Venanti (Hermop.; latest p.c., 4?.v) ⁷⁸⁶ Inportunus (Hermop.; 25.ix) ⁷⁸⁷	
510	p.c. Inportuni (prov.unkn.; latest p.c., 21.ix) ⁷⁸⁸	<i>Boethius?</i> (unkn.prov., 9.viii; 487 poss. but less likely) ⁷⁸⁹
511	p.c. II Inportuni (Hermop.; latest p.c., 6.v) ⁷⁹⁰ Secundinus et Felix (Arsin.; 25.vii-23.viii) ⁷⁹¹	Secundinus et Felix (Rhinocorura; 30.v) ⁷⁹²
512	Paulus et Moschianus (Arsin.; 7.ix) ⁷⁹³	Paulus et Moschianus (Nessana, Pal. III; 11.vii) ⁷⁹⁴

⁷⁸³ P.Oxy. XVI 1890.

⁷⁸⁴ P.CrumST 405 = JJP 41 (2011) 36 (much rest.)

⁷⁸⁶ BGU XII 2181 (rest.)

⁷⁸⁷ P.Vindob.Sal. 9.2.

⁷⁸⁸ SB I 5941.

⁷⁸⁹ *CJ* 1.5.11. Cf. p. 196 s.a. 510 above.

⁷⁹⁰ BGU XIX 2818 (rest.)

⁷⁹¹ SB XVIII 13860 (rest.)

⁷⁹² P.Ness. III 15 (rest.; cf. BL 9.59).

⁷⁹³ P.Dubl. 32 = SB I 5174 ; but see SB IV 7369 (Hermop.; 29.viii-27.xi; rest.), possibly dated earlier.

⁷⁹⁴ P.Ness. III 16.

Year	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
513	p.c. Pauli et Moschiani (Arsin., latest p.c., 9.vii) ⁷⁹⁵ Clementinus et Probus (Hermop.; 4.ix) ⁷⁹⁶	
514	p.c. Clementini et Probi (Antaiop.; latest p.c., 15.x) ⁷⁹⁷ Senator (Antaiop.; 28.xii) ⁷⁹⁸	
515	Anthemius (Hermop.; 14.ix) ⁷⁹⁹	<i>Anthemius et Florentius</i> (C'polis; 13.i) ⁸⁰⁰
516	Petrus? (p.c. attested in Hermop. by 24.ii.517). ⁸⁰¹	<i>Petrus</i> (C'polis, 16.viii) ⁸⁰²
517	p.c. Petri (Oxy.; latest p.c., 25.iii) ⁸⁰³ Anastasius	<i>Anastasius et Agapitus</i> (unkn.prov., 1.iv) ⁸⁰⁵

⁷⁹⁵ P.Dubl. 33 = SB I 5175.

⁷⁹⁶ P.Coll.Youtie II 90

⁷⁹⁷ P.Flor. III 279.

⁷⁹⁸ P.Cair.Masp. I 67001

⁷⁹⁹ SPP XX 126.

⁸⁰⁰ *Coll. Avell.* No. 117.

⁸⁰¹ P.Lond. III 994 (p. 259) (Hermop.). See, also, P.Oxy. LXXI 4833 (17.x, rest.). Editor restores 'Petrus' (516), which is possible. Alternatively, the coss. in 486 (Longinus) and 501 (Pompeius) also match with the indiction, the space left in the lacuna and a name ending in genitive -ou.

⁸⁰² *Coll. Avell.* no. 111; 113.

⁸⁰³ SB XX 14964 (rest.)

⁸⁰⁵ *CJ* 4.29.21; cf. *CLRE* 569; Lounghis et al. 2005: 127 no. 386; Frier 2016: 922; *Coll. Avell.* no. 138 (C'polis; 11.vii).

Year	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
	(Antaiop.; 14.ix) ⁸⁰⁴	
518	p.c. Anastasi (Arsin.; latest p.c., 3.ii) ⁸⁰⁶ Magnus (Oxy.; ix-x) ⁸⁰⁷	<i>Magnus</i> (C'polis, 1.xii) ⁸⁰⁸
519	Iustinus Aug. I (Oxy.; 14.vi) ⁸⁰⁹	Iustinus Aug. I (Thess.; ix-xii) ⁸¹⁰ Iustinus Aug. I et Eutharicus (Panion; xi; C'polis, 9.xi) ⁸¹¹
520	p.c. Iustini Aug. I (Oxy.; latest p.c., 5.ii) ⁸¹² Vitalianus (Antaiop.; 11.viii) ⁸¹³ Rusticius (Hermop.; 3.x) ⁸¹⁴	Vitalianus? Vitalianus et Rusticius? Rusticius? (C'polis uncert.) ⁸¹⁵

⁸⁰⁴ P.Flor. III 281.

⁸⁰⁶ SPP XX 131.

⁸⁰⁷ PSI V 466.

⁸⁰⁸ *CJ* 7.63.3; cf. *CLRE* 570; Lounghis et al. 2005: 130 no. 402; Frier 2016: 1984.

⁸⁰⁹ P.Oxy. LVII 3914.

⁸¹⁰ SEG XXIX 642 = D. Feissel, *Rec.Inscr.Chrét.Macéd.* 132.

⁸¹¹ A.Dumont-Th. Homolle, *Mélanges d'arch. et d'épigr.* (1892) 414 no. 86; *CJ* 5.27.7 (C'polis, 9.xi); cf. *CLRE* 573; Lounghis et al. 2005: 133 no. 414; Frier 2016: 1260.

⁸¹² P.Oxy. LXVIII 4702.

⁸¹³ P.Lond. V 1699.

⁸¹⁴ BGU XII 2187 (rest.)

⁸¹⁵ Grégoire, *Inscr.* 255 from Aphrodisias is dated by the consulate of Rusticius on 5 April, but the date is a back reference, and the document actual date is 551. Also, *CJ* 7.63.4 (C'polis, 28.v; cf. *CLRE* 575; Lounghis et al. 2005: 134 no. 421; Frier 2016: 1984) is dated by Rusticius on 28 May, but it is uncertain whether that mirrors retroactive correction by the compilers of the Justinian's Code or the actual date by which Vitalianus' consulate

Year	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
521	Iustinianus (Hermop.; 24.v) ⁸¹⁶	<i>Iustinianus et Valerius</i> (C'polis, 1.v) ⁸¹⁷
522	p.c. Iustiniani (Antinoop.; latest p.c., 15.ii) ⁸¹⁸ Symmachus et Boethius (Herakleop.; 23.xi) ⁸¹⁹	p.c. Iustiniani (Thess., uncert.) ⁸²⁰
523	p.c. Symmachi et Boethi (Oxy, 14.vii) ⁸²¹ Maximus (Oxy.; 28.x) ⁸²²	
524	p.c. Maximi (Oxy.; 5-14.iv) ⁸²³	

had been annulled. P.Lond. V 1699 from the Antaiopolite nome shows that people in Egypt were still dating by Vitalianus as far as mid-August.

⁸¹⁶ P.Stras. 579 (rest.)

⁸¹⁷ *Coll. Avell.*, no. 241; *CJ* 6.22.8 (C'polis, 1.vi), cf. *CLRE* 577; Lounghis et al. 2005: 137 no. 438; Frier 2016: 1498.

⁸¹⁸ P.Prag. I 46.1; but see, also: CPR XIX 10 (Hermop., possibly dated as far as January). Prev. ed. reads *Rusticius* and restores [Mesor]e dating to 3.viii.521. Bagnall & Worp 2004: 204 accepts it. But now scholars tend to restore *Iustinianus* (Ioust. on the pap. with a diaeresis) leaving open the restoration of month. Gonis suggests 5.i or 4.ii or 6.iii or 5.iv 522; cf. Gonis 2007: 267.

⁸¹⁹ SPP XX 137.

⁸²⁰ IG X 2,1s. 1519.1-2. The formula reads μ(ε)τ(ᾶ) ὑ[π](ατεῖαν) Φλ(αβίου) Ἰουστίνυ— —. The name of the consul might be restored as Iustinus or Iustinianus, who were consuls in 519 and 524 (Iustinus) and 521, 528, 533 and 534 (Iustinianus). The absence of imperial titles may point to an identification of Iustin[with the consul of 521, Iustinianus, when he was a private citizen (cf. IG X 2,1 1518, dated by the third consulship of Anastasius, from Thessalonica, where τοῦ δεσπό(του) ἡμῶν precedes the name of the emperor). However, titles can be omitted within consular dating (see, for instance, Arch.Eph. 1977, 67 n. 6 from Corinth), hence the argument is not conclusive.

⁸²¹ P.Oxy. LXXII 4921.

⁸²² P.Oxy. XVI 1984 (much rest.)

⁸²³ SB V 8264 (rest., p.c. rest.)

Year	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
	Iustinus Aug. II et Opilio (Antaiop.; 25.vi-24.vii; rest.) ⁸²⁴	Iustinus Aug. II et Opilio (Corinth; ix-xii) ⁸²⁵
525	Philoxenus (Hermop.; 15.iv) ⁸²⁶	Philoxenus et Probus (Thess.; i-viii) ⁸²⁷
526	p.c. Philoxeni (Oxy.; 31.xii) ⁸²⁸	<i>Olybrius</i> (C'polis, 1.xii) ⁸²⁹
527	p.c. Olybri (Aphrod.; earliest p.c., 13.vi; Antaiop.; latest p.c., 30.viii) ⁸³⁰ p.c. II Philoxeni (Hermop.; latest p.c., 31.viii; 526 poss.) ⁸³¹	Mavortius (C'polis; 1.vi) ⁸³²
528	p.c. III Philoxeni?	<i>Iustinianus Aug. II</i> (C'polis, 13.ii) ⁸³⁵

⁸²⁴ P.Cair.Masp. I 67117.27 (rest.)

⁸²⁵ Travaux et Mémoires 9 (1985) 277 no. 14 (much rest.) For the full pair, see also, *CJ* 2.7.26 (C'polis, 13.ii; cf. *CLRE* 583; Lounghis et al. 2005: 141 no. 457; Frier 2016: 476).

⁸²⁶ P.Flor. III 323 (cf. BL 7.53).

⁸²⁷ SEG XXVI 778 = Feissel, Rec.Inscr.Chrét.Macéd. 134 (rest.) For the full pair, see also, *CJ* 7.39.7 (C'polis, 1.xii; cf. *CLRE* 585; Lounghis et al. 2005: 144 no. 467; Frier 2016: 1904).

⁸²⁸ P.Oxy. LXXXIII 5365 (p.c. rest.)

⁸²⁹ *CJ* 9.19.6; cf. *CLRE* 587; Lounghis et al. 2005: 145 no. 476; Frier 2016: 2344.

⁸³⁰ P.Lond. V 1689.1 (Aphrod.); P.Lond. V 1690.1. P.Cair.Masp. III 67300.2 from Aphrodito (Kom Ishgau) is dated by the consulate of Olybrius on 12 June 526, but the indiction does not match up, and in fact it is likely that the scribe wrote cos. for p.c. Papyri give only p.c. Philoxeni throughout 526.

⁸³¹ BGU XIX 2822 (ind. points to 527).

⁸³² Grégoire, Inscr. 314.26 = ILCV 23.ii.9. See, also: *CJ* 1.31.5 (Constantinople, 22.iv; cf. *CLRE* 589; Lounghis et al. 2005: 149 no. 491; Frier 2016: 350).

⁸³⁵ *CJ* C.haec, cf. *CLRE* 591; Lounghis et al. 2005: 159 no. 543; Frier 2016: 4.

Year	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
	(Arsin. 529 poss. but less lik.) ⁸³³ Iustinianus Aug. II (Hermop.; 27.ix) ⁸³⁴	
529	p.c. IV Philoxeni (see 528) Decius (iun.) (prov.unkn.; m.l.d. [e.app.]) ⁸³⁶	<i>Decius</i> (C'polis, 18.i) ⁸³⁷
530	p.c. Deci (iun.) (Oxy.; latest p.c. 25.iii) ⁸³⁸ Lampadius et Orestes (Antaiop.; 19.viii) ⁸³⁹	Lampadius et Orestes (Nebo, Arabia; viii; 531 poss.) ⁸⁴⁰
531	p.c. Orestis et Lampadi (Arsin.; latest p.c., 20.vi) ⁸⁴¹	p.c. Orestis et Lampadi

⁸³³ P.Rainer Cent. 114.1 (ind. points to 528/9). Cf. the notes made by Bagnall & Worp 2004: 89 f. and esp. n. 4 and Ast 2006: 163 and n. 6 and 7 for the suggestion that the papyrus is to be equated to the other attempts of 'era building' recorded during the reign of Zeno and later in the 530s. It is uncertain whether the indiction is correct, since a seventh indiction would imply a date (lost) later in the year. But the consulate of Justinian is attested at Hermopolis no later than 27 September and possibly as early as 1 May at Antaeopolis. The attribution to 528/9 should therefore remain possible albeit less likely.

⁸³⁴ BGU XIX 2808 (much rest.)

⁸³⁶ P.Rain.Cent 115. See, too, P.Lond. V 1722 (cf. BL 8.192; rest.) attesting the post-consulate of Decius in Syene on 6 March, 530.

⁸³⁷ *CJ* 1.4.22, cf. *CLRE* 593; Lounghis et al. 2005: 173 no. 610; Frier 2016: 162.

⁸³⁸ P.Wash.Univ. I 25.1.

⁸³⁹ P.Cair.Masp. I 67104.1. But see also BGU II 369.1 (Arsin.; 1.vii-31.xii; cf. 1.436), possibly dated earlier.

⁸⁴⁰ SEG XXVII 1019. See, also: *CJ* 1.2.23 (Constantinople, 18/27?.ii; cf. *CLRE* 595; Lounghis et al. 2005: 194 no. 709; Frier 2016: 62).

⁸⁴¹ SPP XX 139.1 (rest.)

Year	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
		(nr. Dyrrachium, Epirus; latest p.c., 17.ix) ⁸⁴²
532	p.c. II Orestis et Lampadi (Antaiop.; latest p.c., ix-x) ⁸⁴³	p.c. II Lampadi et Orestis (Thess.; i-viii, prob. 25.v or 15.vi) ⁸⁴⁴
533	p.c. III Orestis et Lampadi (Arsin.; latest p.c., 8.x) ⁸⁴⁵ Iustinianus Aug. III (Hermop.; 29.iv) ⁸⁴⁶	Iustinianus Aug. III (Corinth, 17.ix) ⁸⁴⁷
534	p.c. Iustiniani Aug. III (Oxy.; latest p.c., 17.ii) ⁸⁴⁸ Iustinianus Aug. IV (Herakleop.; 16.vii) ⁸⁴⁹ Iustinianus Aug. IV et Paulinus?	Iustinianus Aug. IV (Smyrna; 8.ii) ⁸⁵¹

⁸⁴² L. Heuzey-H.Daumet, *Miss.arch.de Macéd.* (1876) 390 no. 177. See also, Dumont-Homolle, *Mélanges d'arch. et d'épigr.* (1892) 415 no. 86z = *Bull.épigr.* 1951, 141 (Panion; frag.; 530 poss.). See, also: *CJ* 2.58.2 (Constantinople, p.c. 20.ii; cf. *CLRE* 597; Lounghis et al. 2005: 211 no. 792; Frier 2016: 600).

⁸⁴³ P.Cair.Masp. I 67105.2 (rest.); but see also CPR XIV 5.1 (Arsin.; 7-16.xii; much rest.) possibly dated to 532.

⁸⁴⁴ SEG XXIX 643 = Feissel, *Rec.Inscr.Chkrét.Macéd.* 133 = IG X 2,1 1519.3-5 (much rest.). See, also: *CJ* 1.44.2 (Constantinople, p.c. 8.iii).

⁸⁴⁵ SB I 4663.1 = CPR X 27.1

⁸⁴⁶ BGU XIX 2809.

⁸⁴⁷ *Arch.Eph.* 1977, 67 n. 6 = SEG 1979, 310 = SEG 1987, 267. See, also: *NovIust.* 155 (Constantinople, 1.ii; cf. Schoell - Kroll 1895: 732; *CLRE* 601; Lounghis et al. 2005: 248 no. 988).

⁸⁴⁸ PSI III 216.1, but see also BASP 18 (1981) 46-47 = SB XIV 11539.1 (Oxy.; i-vii; cf. BL 8.371; p.c. rest; much rest.)

⁸⁴⁹ SB VIII 9876.1 (see BASP 17 [1980] 31).

⁸⁵¹ I.Smyrna 560 = Grégoire, *Inscr.* 69. See, also: *CJ* 1.27.2 (Constantinople, 13.iv; cf. *CLRE* 603; Lounghis et al. 2005: 253 no. 1010; Frier 2016: 340).

Year	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
	(p.c. attested in Egypt [unkn.prov.] by 17.iii.535) ⁸⁵⁰	
535	p.c. Iustiniani Aug. IV et Paulini (Hermop.; latest p.c., 19.iii) ⁸⁵² Belisarius (Oxy. 18.vii) ⁸⁵³	Belisarius (Thess.; 21.xi) ⁸⁵⁴
536	p.c. Belisari (Antaiop.; latest p.c., 9.xii) ⁸⁵⁵	p.c. Belisari (Argos; latest p.c., 19.vi; Anazarbus, Cilicia; latest p.c., ix-xii) ⁸⁵⁶
537	p.c. II Belisari (Antaiop.; latest p.c., 30.x) ⁸⁵⁷	p.c. II Belisari (Petra, latest p.c., 23.v; Nessana, Pal. III; latest p.c. 21.v-19.vi) ⁸⁵⁸
538	p.c. III Belisari	

⁸⁵⁰ P.Giss. I 121.1 (prov. unkn. 17.iii; cf. BL 7.60; p.c. rest.) but see that the full pair is attested in the Hermopolite by 19 March; cf. note 849 below.

⁸⁵² SB XXII 15322.2 = P.Athen.Xyla 8.2 (p.c. rest.)

⁸⁵³ P.Oxy. XVI 1893.1.

⁸⁵⁴ IG X 21403 = Feissel, Rec.Inscr.Chrét.Macéd. 135; but see IG X 2 1 804 = Feissel, Rec.Inscr.Chrét.Macéd. 134 (Thess.) dated possibly as early as September. See, also: *NovIust.* 1.4 (Constantinople, 1.i; cf. Schoell - Kroll 1895: 10; *CLRE* 605; Lounghis et al. 2005: 259 no. 1042).

⁸⁵⁵ P.Flor. III 283.2.

⁸⁵⁶ SEG 2003, 315 = AE 2003, 1624 (Argos, Greece); IK 61.6. See, also: *NovIust.* 23.4 (Constantinople, 3.i; cf. Schoell - Kroll 1895: 188; *CLRE* 607).

⁸⁵⁷ P.Cair.Masp. I 67123.1 (p.c. rest.; rest.)

⁸⁵⁸ P.Petra I 1; P.Ness. III 18. See also the post-consulate in Constantinople, *NovIust.* 43 (17.v; 15 later novels; cf. Schoell - Kroll 1895: 273; *CLRE* 609; Lounghis et al. 2005: 281 no. 1125).

Year	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
	(Herakleop.; latest p.c., 26.ii) ⁸⁵⁹ Iohannes (Oxy.; 15.iv) ⁸⁶⁰	Iohannes (Gaza; 10.v; Elesnica, Thracia; 12.vi; Petra; 24.viii; Miletus, Asia; undated) ⁸⁶¹
539	p.c. Iohannis (Hermop.; latest p.c., 14.ii) ⁸⁶² Apion (Oxy.; 4.iv) ⁸⁶³	Apion (Gortyn; i-viii) ⁸⁶⁴
540	p.c. Apionis (Hermop.; latest p.c., 13.vii) ⁸⁶⁵ Iustinus (Antaiop.; 25.vii-23.viii) ⁸⁶⁶	<i>Iustinus</i> (C'polis, Greek v. 7.ix; Latin v. 9.ix) ⁸⁶⁷
541	p.c. Iustini (Hermop.; latest p.c., 29.viii- 27.ix) ⁸⁶⁸	Basilus iun.

⁸⁵⁹ P.Michael. 126.1.

⁸⁶⁰ P.Oxy. XVI 1887.1.

⁸⁶¹ P.Petra I 2 (Gaza); Beshevliev, Spätgriech. u. Spätlat. Inscr. aus Bulg. (1964) 231 (Elesnica); P.Petra I 3 (Petra); Grégoire, Inscr. 219 = Milet I 7 (1924) 303-04 no.206. See, also: *NovIust.* 64.2 (Constantinople, Greek v. 18.i; Latin v. 19.i; cf. Schoell - Kroll 1895: 339; *CLRE* 611 (19.i); Loungis et al. 2005: 289 no. 1160 [18.i]).

⁸⁶² P.Lond. III 1001.2 (p.270).

⁸⁶³ P.Harr. II 238.4.

⁸⁶⁴ I.Cret. IV 460 = Bandy, 31. See too *NovIust.* 78.5 (Constantinople, Greek v. 18.i; cf. Schoell - Kroll 1895: 387; *CLRE* 613; Loungis et al. 2005: 295 no. 1188).

⁸⁶⁵ SB XVI 12267.2 (p.c. rest.)

⁸⁶⁶ P.Michael 45.1.

⁸⁶⁷ *NovIust.* 106.1; cf. Schoell - Kroll 1895: 510; *CLRE* 615; Loungis et al. 2005: 304 no. 1228.

⁸⁶⁸ SB XIV 12051.1 (p.c. rest.)

Year	Egypt	East (Egypt excl.)
	Basilius iun. (Antaiop.; 8.x) ⁸⁶⁹	(C'polis; 7.i; Smyrna, Asia; 9.vi) ⁸⁷⁰

3.5.2.2. The Burgundian and Visigothic kingdoms

Unlike the Vandals (but similarly to the Empire), the Visigoths appear to have not imposed a unitary dating system across their domains, where dating by consuls, regnal years and the Spanish era are all attested, often in the same area.⁸⁷¹ This and the rarity of consular dates suggest that they not only left subjects free to choose whichever dating systems they wanted, but also that they discontinued centralised practices of dissemination. At present we are able to restore partially contemporary dissemination in only nine years, namely 485, 486, 487, 495, 496, 501, 506, 508 and 538. Only three of these mention an eastern consul (i.e. 486, 508 and 538).

Handley's view that 'consular dating was the 'official' means of reckoning within the kingdom of Burgundy is supported by the widespread finding of consular material dated from after the 480s, though the evidence presents several dating issues and one cannot exclude conclusively that consular dating was used relatively commonly already in the imperial period.⁸⁷² Burgundy and its upper class had been once an active and vital segment of the Roman state in the West. Members of the royal dynasty had been involved in the regimes of the last puppet western emperors, and Lyon had been both an imperial residence and a major administrative centre in Gaul since the time of Valentinian I. In all likelihood, the territory still benefited from both a functioning infrastructure and an administrative apparatus in the last quarter of the fifth century. Although a similar argument could be proposed, too, for the Visigothic kingdom, Burgundy predominantly maintained much closer political and religious ties with Rome and Constantinople after the end of direct imperial rule. As seen, both the quantitative and chronological distributions of the evidence show that consular dating thrived in independent Burgundy.

Nevertheless, dissemination in Provence and the Rhone Valley seems to have been very slow in the mid/late 480s and early 490s, as shown by the attempt at era building through the

⁸⁶⁹ P.Bingen 132.4.

⁸⁷⁰ P.Cair.Masp. II 67126 (Constantinople); L.Smyrna I 562 = Grégoire, Inscr. 70. See, also: *NovIust.* 107.3 (Constantinople, 1.ii; cf. Schoell - Kroll 1895: 513; *CLRE* 617; Lounghis et al. 2005: 305 no. 1237).

⁸⁷¹ Handley 2003: 124 ff.

⁸⁷² Cf. p. 88-92 above with Handley 2003: 133.

post-consulate of Symmachus, cos. 485, at Arles and St. Thomé in the lower-mid Rhone valley. In either 491 or 492 in Valence (the third major urban centre after Lyon and Vienne) the post-consular date of Symmachus was still being used.⁸⁷³ It might be that this was the result of the contemporary political situation in Burgundy, whereby multiple centres of power coexisted.⁸⁷⁴

According to the evidence, it would appear that Burgundian practice fundamentally followed that adopted in Italy, although easterners appear in Burgundy more often than in Italy, being attested in 491 (p.c. 490), 491, 492, 493 (p.c. 492), 515, 516 (p.c. 515), 516 (law), 520 (p.c. 519), 520, 521 (p.c. 520). Interestingly, Burgundian epitaphs attest not only the imperial consulship of Anastasius in 492 (as did the Ostrogoths), but also the post-consulship of Justin in 520, although no evidence has yet been returned for Justinian's consulships, nor for Anastasius' third consulship in 507. This was never announced, if we are to believe a Burgundian epitaph, which gives *p.c. II Messalae* as late as 1.x.508.⁸⁷⁵

The consular fasti of Burgundy, relatively abundant though they are, is overall very fragmentary in comparison with the known eastern and Italian fasti. For the period 476-541, evidence of dissemination is extant only for 481, 483, 484, 485 (p.c. 484), 486 (p.c. 485), 486, 487 (p.c. II 485), 488, 491 (p.c. VI 485), 491 (p.c. 490), 491, 492, 493 (p.c. 492), 495 (p.c. 494), 496 (p.c. 495), 498, 501, 502, 503 (p.c. 502), 503, 504, 505 (p.c. 504), 508 (p.c. II 506), 510 (509), 511, 512 (p.c. 511), 514, 515, 516 (p.c. 515), 517, 518 (p.c. 517), 519 (p.c. II 517), 520 (p.c. 519), 520, 521 (p.c. 520), 521, 522, 523 (p.c. 522), 523, 525 (p.c. 524), 525, 526, 527, 528 (p.c. 527), 536 (p.c. II 534), 537 (p.c. III 534), 538, 541 (p.c. 540), until at least the period under consideration here. From the above, one should conclude that Theodorus (cos. 505), Venantius (cos. 507) and Eutharicus (cos. 519) were never disseminated among the western consuls (at least where there is evidence of p.c. dates that do not mention their names); of the easterners the same was apparently true of: Trocundes (482), Theodericus (484), Longinus (486), Eusebius (489), Probus (502), Areobindus (506), Anastasius III (507), Secundinus (511), Magnus (518), Iustinianus (521), Iustinus II (524), Iustinianus IV (534) and Belisarius (535). A few (but not all) grey areas are the following:

⁸⁷³ CIL XII 2487 = RICG XV 5 (14.i-1.ii)

⁸⁷⁴ After Gundioch's death in 474, the kingdom was divided between his four sons: Gundobad, Chilperic II (Lyon and Geneva), Godegisel (d. 500 after being sole king for a short period) and Godomar. According to Gregory, the latter's base was in Vienne. The date is unknown but this must have been after 474 and before 508, when the kingdom was already unified under Gundobad. Sigismund reigned from 516 (Gundobad's death) to 523, then succeeded by his brother Godomar, who reigned until the annexation of the kingdom to the Franks in 534. Cf. Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*, 2.32-3 with Wood 2003: 243-69.

⁸⁷⁵ CIL XIII 2373 (cf. 2393) = ILCV 1553 (Lyons?).

(i) Use of post-consular dates can be tentatively recovered on the basis of consular material (or vice versa) and other fragmentary inscriptions for the following year: 480, 481, 485, 488, 489, 490, 492, 494, 495, 499, 500, 506, 507, 509, 513, 516, 519, 524, 529, 534, 535, 538, 539, 540 and 541; cf. relevant years and evidence in Table.

(ii) RICG XV 89 breaks off before a possible reference to 'iunior' and it is impossible to ascertain whether the Paulinus mentioned here is the cos. 498 or 534. This formula would thus date to either 500 or 536 if *iterum*, but [*et*] *iterum* is also possible in the case of the cos. 534, and this would result in 537. Descombes (RICG XV 89 p. 373) argues for the identification of Paulinus with the consul of 534 on account of the 'rareté, en Occident, des postconsulats de Paulinus l'Ancien' and 'les caractères paléographiques de l'építaphe' but none of this seems to me conclusive. As with RICG XV 162 (dated to 536, from Vienne), CLRE neither included this evidence nor discussed its exclusion, but see p. 697.

(iii) RICG XV 91 (Vienne; 11.vi) attests *p.c. iterum Iohannis*. In principle, Iohannes might be any one of the coss. 498, 499 or 538. But the evidence shows that in 498, Paulinus was disseminated and used at Anse (nr. Lyon), apparently alone, as late as 13 October. So, unless Paulinus' name was dropped in RICG XV 91, the formula used in Vienne in 500 should have been *p.c. II Iohannis et Paulini*. In Vienne the first observable attestation of the new consulate of 501 (Avienus) is on 16.x-13.xi (our *p.c.* formula is dated on 11 June), but Avienus was known in both Briord and Lyon by no later than 25 April. This means that attributing RICG XV 91 to 501 would entail postulating that in Vienne they dated as late as 11 June by *p.c. II Iohannis* while in nearby Briord and Lyon they used the new consuls from at least 25 April.⁸⁷⁶ This is possible but it is more likely the *p.c.* date belongs to a later year and the absence of early evidence for Vienne is only due to accidents of preservation. While there are serious problems for an early attribution to either 500 or 501, the evidence shows that dissemination in the late 530s and early 540s was discontinuous in Burgundy. After the consulate of Iohannes, cos. 538, the consulate of Apion (539) is entirely lacking from the record, and Justin's (540) is only attested as *p.c.* Therefore, the use of an iterated post-consular formula of Iohannes better fits into the context of the late 530s than that of the early 500s.

(iv) According to Descombes (p. 377, l.12-15 and § 92), there is no clear evidence of dating by the consulate of *Iustinus*, cos. 540, on any Gallic inscription in 540, although several inscriptions in the area of Vienne, and especially, Lyon date by his *p.c.* formula from 541 till 628/9.

⁸⁷⁶ ILGN 295 = RICG XV 155 (Vienne, Viennens.; 16.x-13.xi; frag.)

Year	Formula
476	Unkn.
477	
478	
479	
480	Basilus? (uncert.) ⁸⁷⁷
481	p.c. Basili? (See 480) Placidus (Vienne, m.l.d.) ⁸⁷⁸
482	
483	Faustus (Vienne, ix-x; m.l.d.) ⁸⁷⁹
484	Venantius (Lyons; 19.v; m.l.d.) ⁸⁸⁰
485	p.c. Venanti (Vienne, Gaul; latest p.c. 18.ix; m.l.d.) ⁸⁸¹ Symmachus (iun.)? (p.c. attested nr. Lyon by 22.iii.486) ⁸⁸²
486	p.c. Symmachi (iun.)

⁸⁷⁷ CIL XII 2083 = ILCV 2892 adn. = RICG XV 40 (Vienne); CIL XII 2080b = RICG XV 167 (Vienne); ILGN 336 = RICG XV 228 (Saint-Pierre-de-Cherennes) CIL XII 6034d = RICG XV 94 (Vienne) RICG XV 166 (Vienne), all fragmentary, could all be assigned a 480/481, 541 or later date.

⁸⁷⁸ CIL XII 2055 = RICG XV 143 om. v.c.)

⁸⁷⁹ CIL XII 2056 = ILCV 250 adn. = RICG XV 75.

⁸⁸⁰ I.Lat.3 Gaules 270.

⁸⁸¹ CIL XII 2062 = ILCV 1665 = RICG XV 157.

⁸⁸² See note below.

Year	Formula
	(Anse, nr. Lyons; earliest p.c. 22.iii; m.l.d.; latest p.c. Gresy-sur-Aix, nr. Vienne; 19.v; m.l.d.) ⁸⁸³ Decius (nr. Lyons; 17.iii) ⁸⁸⁴
487	p.c. II Symmachi (iun.) (St. Thomé; latest p.c., vi) ⁸⁸⁵ Boethius (Briord, Lugdunen.; 11.ii; m.l.d.) ⁸⁸⁶
488	p.c. III Symmachi? (p.c. VI or VII attested in Valence by 14.i-1.ii.491) Dynamius et Sividius? (Briord, Lugdunen.; 19.vi) ⁸⁸⁷
489	p.c. IV Symmachi (iun.)? (See 488)
490	p.c. V Symmachi (iun.)? (See 488) Longinus II et Faustus? (p.c. attested in Briord by 17.vii.491) ⁸⁸⁸

⁸⁸³ CIL XIII 1656 = ILCV 1340 (Anse, nr. Lyons; 22.iii; m.l.d.); CIL XII 2485 = ILCV 2765 = RICG XV 287 (m.l.d.)

⁸⁸⁴ CIL XIII 2454 = ILCV 3565A.

⁸⁸⁵ CIL XII 2702 = ILCV 1118; the territory could be actually under Visigothic jurisdiction. Boethius' consulate is attested at Briord (nr. Lyon) by 11 February; cf. note 883 below.

⁸⁸⁶ CIL XIII 2472 = ILCV 1749 = RICG XV 258.

⁸⁸⁷ CIL XIII 2473 = ILCV 306 = RICG XV 259 only shows the name of Dynamius, misspelled as Dedamius. The name of Sividius could have been omitted by accident.

⁸⁸⁸ IL3G 305 = AE 1965, 141 = RICG XV 260 (Briord, Lugdunen.; 17.vii; formula lost).

Year	Formula
491	<p data-bbox="826 293 1374 376">p.c. VI Symmachi (iun.) (Valence, latest p.c. 14.i-1.ii; 492 poss.)⁸⁸⁹</p> <p data-bbox="911 439 1289 521">p.c. Longini II et Fausti (Vienne, latest p.c. 12.viii)⁸⁹⁰</p> <p data-bbox="887 577 1310 660">Olybrius iun. (Vézéronce, Viennen.; 28?.xi)⁸⁹¹</p>
492	<p data-bbox="935 725 1262 808">p.c. VII Symmachi (iun.) (See 491)</p> <p data-bbox="962 869 1235 952">Anastasius et Rufus (Lyons; 22.xi)⁸⁹²</p>
493	<p data-bbox="962 1010 1235 1093">p.c. Anastasi et Rufi (Lyons; 6.iii)⁸⁹³</p>
494	<p data-bbox="826 1205 1370 1288">Asterius et Praesidius? (p.c. attested in Vienne by 16.iii-1.iv.495)</p>
495	<p data-bbox="884 1397 1316 1480">p.c. Asteri et Praesidi (Vienne, latest p.c., 16.iii-1.iv)⁸⁹⁴</p> <p data-bbox="857 1541 1343 1624">Viator? (p.c. attested in Aouste by 25.xii.496)</p>

⁸⁸⁹ (CIL XII 2487 = RICG XV 5 (rest.; p.c. poss.; lost).

⁸⁹⁰ CIL XII 2058 = ILCV 1587 = RICG XV 152 (lost).

⁸⁹¹ CIL XII 2384 = ILCV 1734 = RICG XV 257.

⁸⁹² CIL XIII 2364 = ILCV 3559.

⁸⁹³ CIL XIII 2365 = ILCV 3560.

⁸⁹⁴ CIL XII 2059 = ILCV 3471 adn. = RICG XV 153 (RICG: iii; *CLRE*: 16.iii-1.iv; frag.). See also: CIL XII 2060 = RICG XV 154 (Vienne, frg.)

Year	Formula
496	p.c. Viatoris (Aouste, Narb.; earliest/latest p.c., 25.xii) ⁸⁹⁵
497	
498	Paulinus (Anse, nr. Lyons; 13.x; m.l.d.) ⁸⁹⁶
499	p.c. Paulini? (uncert.) ⁸⁹⁷
500	p.c. II Paulini? (uncert.) ⁸⁹⁸
501	Avienus (Briord, Lugdunen.; 24.iv; m.l.d.) ⁸⁹⁹
502	Avienus iun. (Vienne, 3.i) ⁹⁰⁰
503	p.c. Avieni iun. (Lyons; 1.i) ⁹⁰¹ Volusianus (St.-Vallier, Viennen.; 19.i) ⁹⁰²

⁸⁹⁵ CIL XII 1724 = ILCV 2454 (rest.)

⁸⁹⁶ CIL XIII 1655 = ILCV 3488.

⁸⁹⁷ See CIL XII 2076 = RICG XV 88 (Vienne, frag.) dated by *p. consulatu]m Pau[lini*. RICG identifies him as the consul of 534, but there is no reason to rule out a possible identification with his homonymous in 498. So, similarly, CIL XII 2075 = ILCV 289 adn. = RICG XV 89 (Vienne, Viennen.; frag.) and p. 251 above.

⁸⁹⁸ CIL XII 2075 = ILCV 289 adn. = RICG XV 89 (Vienne, frag.)

⁸⁹⁹ CIL XIII 2474 = ILCV 1616 adn. = RICG XV 261 (lost). See, also: *LibConst.* 42 (Ambérieux, 3.ix) and *LibConst.* 45 (Lyon, 28.v); cf. Fischer Drew 1996: 51, 53 dates 501 and 502 respectively, but 501/502 is possible in both cases.

⁹⁰⁰ ILGN 296 = RICG XV 65.

⁹⁰¹ CIL XIII 2370 = ILCV 3561B.

⁹⁰² CIL XII 1787 = ILCV 2889 = RICG XV 22.

Year	Formula
504	Cethegus (Lyons; 12.vii) ⁹⁰³
505	p.c. Cethegi (Geneva, Viennen.; undated p.c.) ⁹⁰⁴
506	Messala? (p.c. II attested by 1.x.508)
507	p.c. Messalae? (p.c. II attested by 1.x.508)
508	p.c. II Messalae (Lyons?; earliest/latest p.c. 1.x) ⁹⁰⁵
509	Inportunus? (p.c. attested by 2.xii)
510	p.c. Inportuni (Lyons; earliest/latest p.c. 2.xii) ⁹⁰⁶
511	Felix (Vienne, 28.x; m.l.d.) ⁹⁰⁷
512	p.c. Felicis (Vienne; latest p.c. 14.viii-13.ix/16.x-13.xii; m.l.d.; 511 poss.) ⁹⁰⁸

⁹⁰³ AE 1976, 450b.

⁹⁰⁴ CIL XII 2644 = ILCV 1910 adn. = RICG XV 291 (*CLRE* dates to iii-iv; RICG refines to 19 March; rest.)

⁹⁰⁵ CIL XIII 2373 (cf. 2393) = ILCV 1553.

⁹⁰⁶ CIL XIII 2374 = ILCV 4823.

⁹⁰⁷ CIL XII 2063 = ILCV 3550 = RICG XV 66. The consulate of Felix, cos. 511, is also very likely mentioned in CIL XII 2066 = ILCV 3415 (Vienne; 14.viii-13.ix/16.x-13.xii; p.c. poss.; rest.). Instead, more uncertain is the dating of CIL XII 2064 = ILCV 1673 adn. = RICG XV 247 (frag.), AE 1976 397 = RICG XV 5 bis. (Valence, frag.) and AE 1976, 397 (Valence, 30.viii; rest.), which could fall in 428 or 511.

⁹⁰⁸ CIL XII 2066 = ILCV 3415 (p.c. poss.; rest.)

Year	Formula
513	<i>Probus</i> (unkn.prov., 27.vi) ⁹⁰⁹
514	Senator (Luc; 16.v-13.vi) ⁹¹⁰
515	Florentius et Anthemius (Vienne. 14.ii-15.iii) ⁹¹¹
516	p.c. Florenti et Anthemi (Saint-Romain-d'Albon, Viennen.; latest p.c. 22.ii) ⁹¹² <i>Petrus</i> (unkn.prov., 8.iii) ⁹¹³
517	Agapitus (Lyons; 28/29.vii) ⁹¹⁴
518	p.c. Agapiti (Lyons; latest p.c. 4.xii) ⁹¹⁵
519	p.c. II Agapiti (Vaison, Narb.; latest p.c. 25.i) ⁹¹⁶

⁹⁰⁹ *LibConst.* 76; cf. Fischer Drew 1996: 73.

⁹¹⁰ CIL XII 1692 = ILCV 1432 adn. See, too: *LibConst.* 79 (Lyon, 1.iii); cf. Fischer Drew 1996: 76 (dating erroneously to 515; Senator was cos. 514).

⁹¹¹ CIL XII 2067 = ILCV 3278 = RICG XV 79 (rest.)

⁹¹² CIL XII 1792 = ILCV 2779 = RICG XV 25. See, too CIL XII 2421 = ILCV 1434 = RICG XV 282 (Aoste [Vicinus Augusti], Viennen.; 14.i; rev. order);

⁹¹³ *LibConst. Const.extr.* 20; cf. Fischer Drew 1996: 92. The name of Petrus is also attested in ILCV 1648B (Agaunum [St. Maurice] in Switzerland) dated 31 January and from Agaunum, a border area between Ostrogothic and Burgundian territories.

⁹¹⁴ CIL XIII 2375 = ILCV 1255. See, too *LibConst.* 52 (Lyon, 29.iii). Agapitus' consulate is also attested in *LibConst.* 52 (Lyon, 29.iii), cf. Fischer Drew 1996: 60.

⁹¹⁵ CIL XIII 2376 = ILCV 3562.

⁹¹⁶ CIL XII 1500 = ILCV 1166.

Year	Formula
	Iustinus Aug.? (p.c. attested by 2.viii.520) ⁹¹⁷
520	p.c. Iustini Aug. (Baume-Cornillane, Viennen.; earliest/latest p.c. 2.viii) ⁹¹⁸ Rusticius et Vitalianus (Lyons; 19.ix) ⁹¹⁹
521	p.c. Rustici et Vitaliani (Grenoble, Viennen.; 22.iv) ⁹²⁰ Valerius (Yenne, Viennen.; 15.xi) ⁹²¹
522	Symmachus et Boethius (La Terrasse, Viennen.; 8.vii) ⁹²²
523	p.c. Symmachi et Boethi (Aosta, Viennen.; 3.ii) ⁹²³ Maximus (Bourg-les-Valence, Viennen.; 25.vii; m.l.d.) ⁹²⁴
524	Opilio?

⁹¹⁷ See, also: ILGN 293 = RICG XV 83 (Vienne, frg.)

⁹¹⁸ ILGN 260 = AE 1904 54 = ILCV 124 adn. = RICG XV 9 (2.viii).

⁹¹⁹ CIL XIII 2377 = ILCV 1674 (Rustianus ex Rusticius).

⁹²⁰ AE 2008, 882 (Rusticianus ex Rusticius).

⁹²¹ RICG XV 285.

⁹²² CIL XII 2309 = ILCV 2904 = RICG XV 243 (lost).

⁹²³ CIL XII 2404 = ILCV 3281 = RICG XV 276.

⁹²⁴ CIL XII 1781 = ILCV 2904 adn. = RICG XV 1 (lost). See, also: CIL XIII 2378 = ILCV 3563 (Lyons; 16.iv) possibly from either 433 or 523.

Year	Formula
	(p.c. attested in Lyon by 24.i.525) ⁹²⁵
525	p.c. Opilionis (Lyons; latest p.c. 16.vii) ⁹²⁶ Probus iun. (Vienne, 5.i or 5.ii) ⁹²⁷
526	Olybrius (Vienne, 19 or 20 xii; m.l.d.) ⁹²⁸
527	Mavortius (Lugrin, Viennen.; 23?.viii) ⁹²⁹
528	p.c. Mavorti (Vienne; latest p.c. 18.x) ⁹³⁰
529	p.c. II Mavorti? (uncert.) ⁹³¹
530	Unkn.
531	Unkn.
532	Unkn.
533	Unkn.
534	Paulinus iun.? (uncert.; disseminated by 8.vi.536) ⁹³²

⁹²⁵ CIL XIII 2359 = ILCV 3327 (Lyon, m.l.d.).

⁹²⁶ CIL XIII 2358 = ILCV 1588.

⁹²⁷ CIL XII 2072 = RICG XV 86.

⁹²⁸ CIL XII 2073 = ILCV 3471 = RICG XV 77.

⁹²⁹ CIL XII 2584 = ILCV 47 = RICG XV 290.

⁹³⁰ CIL XII 2061 = ILCV 3550A = RICG XV 160.

⁹³¹ CIL XII 2326 = ILCV 3542 = RICG XV 244 (Barraux, nr. Grenoble, Viennen.; 25.iv). Formula gives *Ma[---]t p c Mavu[rtii]*, so both *i(erum)* and *Ma[r]t(ias)* can be restored. Dating to both 528 and 529 is therefore possible.

⁹³² Paulinus' consulate was disseminated in Burgundy, as shown by, for instance, CIL XII 2077 = RICG XV 161 (Vienne, frg.). Yet the dating is very uncertain.

Year	Formula
535	p.c. Paulini iun. (p.c. II attested by 8.vi.536) ⁹³³
536	p.c. II Paulini iun. (Vienne, earliest/latest p.c. 8.vi) ⁹³⁴
537	p.c. III Paulini iun. (Aosta, Viennen.; latest p.c. 30.x) ⁹³⁵
538	p.c. IV Paulini iun. (uncert.) ⁹³⁶ Iohannes (Vienne, 16.vii-13.viii; 539 poss.) ⁹³⁷
539	p.c. Iohannis? (uncert.) ⁹³⁸
540	p.c. II Iohannis? (Vienne, 11.vi; m.l.d.[e.app.]) ⁹³⁹ Iustinus v.c.? (Vienne, p.c. poss.; p.c. attested in Lyon by 30.iv.541) ⁹⁴⁰

⁹³³ Cf. also CIL XII 2076 = RICG XV 88 (Vienne, frag.) and CIL XII 2077 = RICG XV 161 (Vienne, frag.), which could be dating 534 or later.

⁹³⁴ CIL XII 2078 = ILCV 3038 = RICG XV 90.

⁹³⁵ CIL XII 2405 = ILCV 3282 = RICG XV 277.

⁹³⁶ Cf. possibly, CIL XII 2076 = RICG XV 88 (Vienne, frag.) and CIL XII 2077 = RICG XV 161 (Vienne, frag.).

⁹³⁷ CIL XII 2080a = RICG XV 163 (p.c. poss.; lost).

⁹³⁸ Cf. RICG XV 164 (Vienne, p.c. poss.) and CIL XII 2080a = RICG XV 163 (Vienne. 16.vii-13.viii; p.c. poss.; lost) could both be attributed to either 538 or 539 (less likely to earlier date, i.e. 498 or 499). Doubtless, there are solid grounds for the attestation of p.c. II Iohannis in 540; cf. p. 251 above.

⁹³⁹ See CIL 2081 = ILCV 1672 = RICG XV 91; cf. p. 251 above.

⁹⁴⁰ See CIL XII 2082 = RICG XV 165 (Vienne, frag.; p.c. poss.). We do not know whether this was a consular or a post-consular date, and in the second case, which post-consular date from 540 to 628/9. Cf. p. 251 above.

Year	Formula
541	<p data-bbox="874 293 1326 376">p.c. Iustini (Lyons; earliest/latest p.c. 30.iv)⁹⁴¹</p> <p data-bbox="1027 439 1171 521">Basilus? (uncert.)⁹⁴²</p>

⁹⁴¹ CIL XIII 2380 = ILCV 3563a.

⁹⁴² Basilus, cos. 541, is attested in Arles by 4 September, see CIL XII 939 (Arles; 4.ix). For the possible Burgundian material dated by Basilus, cf. p. 252 n. 877 above.

Chapter 4.

Consular Dating and Politics

Previous scholarship questioned the idea that (especially) late fifth- and early sixth-century dissemination and non-dissemination reflect a coherent policy of recognition and non-recognition carried out by Ravenna and Constantinople, arguing that dating by the local consul alone was rather the result of the practice of the time, possible nationalism and, in some cases, administrative failure.⁹⁴³ This conclusion was supported by several observations. Firstly, partial, late or even failed dissemination was an endemic issue in the fifth and early sixth centuries. Secondly, the eastern court was unlikely to have recognised or repudiated western consuls on a yearly-basis. Thirdly, the main eastern chronicles (Marcellinus Comes, Paschal Chronicle and *Fasti Heracliani*), which do record western consuls and are unconnected one with the other, are unlikely to have been modified later to insert names that had not been disseminated in the East immediately.⁹⁴⁴ Lastly (but not less importantly), the reality of political relations was not always mirrored in the *fasti*.⁹⁴⁵ While I tried to explain the flimsiness of the third of these arguments in the previous chapters, I do agree that late dissemination was truly endemic in the later part of our period, that non-dissemination (or dissemination) occasionally does not mirror the political dynamics between West and East, and that dating by one local consul became the practice of the time. Nevertheless, in acknowledging this I will be arguing that (i) politics does explain most of our evidence, and that (ii) we should not mistake effects for causes when looking at what was the ‘practice of the time’. It is not that people dated by one consul because that was customary; rather, that became customary because people, for other reasons, began (increasingly) dating in that way. In the following discussion I will therefore explore how people arrived at this outcome by the end of the fifth century, whether court(s) did or did not have consistent policies of dissemination, whether and when it is possible to infer non-recognition and, ultimately, whether and to what extent we can use data from consular dissemination to analyse the nature and development of late antique politics. I will argue that courts did change policy of dissemination and that consulships, especially joint consulships, were not only a means of dating but symbols of imperial unity and hence of

⁹⁴³ *CLRE* 34.

⁹⁴⁴ Cf. p. 200-5 above.

⁹⁴⁵ Prostko-Prostinsky 1996: 199 n. 241; Arnold 2014: 86 and n. 940 above.

concord between reigning emperors. Accordingly, the rejection or acceptance of such symbols had far-reaching consequences for the political and diplomatic relations of the two halves of the empire, and that finally this very reason made consular dating a political practice (as much as other dating practices were). Ultimately, I will argue that over time and space the meaning of not disseminating a consulship changed (and even significantly). But this change is not likely to have happened overnight and, in any case, the ideological significance that the practice embodied continued to convey a sense of estrangement and even rupture existing between the two halves of the empire. In the last part of this chapter I support these conclusions with correlation test results on the degree of dependency of consular dating to several co-variates.

4.1. Dating as a Political Practice

In his study of late-antique inscriptions, Handley wondered about ‘How political an act was it to place the year of a king’s reign on a relative’s epitaph? To what extent can the use of these dating systems be linked to religious, regional, civic and community identities?’, and concluded that using one chronological system rather than another was often a statement of political allegiance.⁹⁴⁶ Indeed, many other medieval and ancient historians have addressed similar questions, pointing to abundant evidence that supports this view.⁹⁴⁷ The quick shift in the calendars of the newly created provinces of Asia and Arabia represents just one of the many possible examples of dating systems that were replaced in the aftermath of important political transformations.⁹⁴⁸ In pre-Roman and Roman Palestine and Arabia dynastic and provincial eras were used as a means of propagandising control by an authority, and the civic pride of individual urban centres (often linking back to the start of their autonomy and or their imperial refoundation) resulted in the use of local city eras.⁹⁴⁹ Tyre, Ascalon, Hippos, Tafas, Gadara,

⁹⁴⁶ Handley 2003: 111-138, esp. 124 (‘To date an inscription in 558 to the fifth year of Athanagild was to state that he had not been the legitimate king while Agila was alive, and it would have been a public statement of disloyalty to the king. On the other hand, to date an inscription in AD 555 to the fifth regnal year of Athanagild was to state that he had always been king and that Agila had not been the legitimate ruler.’)

⁹⁴⁷ See, e.g. Fichtenau 1973: 453-548; Deliyannis 2001: 5-22; Handley 2003: esp. 122-138 and the bibliography cited in the following notes.

⁹⁴⁸ For the replacement of the local habit of dating by the Attalid eponymous official with dating by reference to the newly introduced priest of Rome on the occasion of the establishment of the province of Asia, cf. Malay 1994: 129 no. 438 and note 180; also no. 449-52 and note 184. On the rapidity of this replacement, see Mellor 1975: 71 f. In a similar fashion, the era of the province of Arabia was introduced by local authorities to replace Nabataean regnal dating (the only system in use in the whole of the kingdom) and probably commemorated Roman annexation; cf. Meimaris 1992: 146.

⁹⁴⁹ Meimaris 1992.

Philoteria, Scythopolis, Pella (Tabaqat Fahl), Jerash, Philadelphia (Amman), Dora/Apollonia, Gaza, Gaba and Raphia all initiated freedom eras when they declared independence from either the empire of the Seleucids or the Jewish Hasmonaean kings.⁹⁵⁰ Similarly, in the years 66-70 and 132-5 eras of ‘Zion’s freedom’ and ‘Israel’s freedom’ were employed by the Jews who revolted in Palestine.⁹⁵¹ Although, there is no local era commemorating liberation from Roman rule in the former western provinces, Vandals and other Germanic-conquered territories similarly dropped local dating systems clearly identifiable with Roman rule and began to date by the regnal year of the new kings.⁹⁵² In the East, it is possible to observe a similar phenomenon with the vanishing of regnal dating of Roman emperors and consular dates during the Persian and Muslim conquests of Egypt.⁹⁵³ More generally, the introduction of the Hegira era in the East by the new Muslim conquerors had a similar political connotation.⁹⁵⁴

The use of a specific dating system in expressing identity and membership of a community is suggested by the use of regnal dating by Visigoths and Franks in bordering regions like southern Gaul, as well as its neglect in other regions where their rule was not contested and hence public manifestations of loyalty were not deemed necessary.⁹⁵⁵ Burgundy provides a further example of how consular dating played a role in building state and civic identity. The latter is shown by the use of different consuls to date epitaphs in Vienne and Lyon after 541, which would express the attested rivalry between the two cities; and by the predominant use of consular dating in Merovingian Burgundy as a means of asserting Burgundian identity.⁹⁵⁶

Although it was not comparable to regnal dating, consular dating was no less political than other dating systems. First and foremost, this was the result of consular pairs embodying not only the republican tradition of Rome but also, and perhaps in some moments even more importantly, the unity of the empire.⁹⁵⁷ The Roman imperial court made a clearly conscious use of the joint (especially imperial) consulship, which is plain to see in the years following the civil wars of the Tetrarchic period, and later in the reiterated use of the joint consulships as

⁹⁵⁰ Meimaris 1992: 50; 60; 66; 74-135.

⁹⁵¹ Meimaris 1992: 123-4 and n. 2.

⁹⁵² Cf. the evidence collected in Handley 2003: 122-138.

⁹⁵³ Bagnall & Worp 2004: 5.

⁹⁵⁴ Meimaris 1992: 382.

⁹⁵⁵ Handley 2003: 126.

⁹⁵⁶ Handley 2000: 83-102; 2003: 134-135.

⁹⁵⁷ On the equation of western and eastern officials and their formal submission to both emperors, see: Gillet 2003: 224.

made by the Valentinianic and Theodosian emperors.⁹⁵⁸ Likewise, ideologies of imperial unity (*unanimitas*) along with immediate political opportunism was what prompted local recognition (and dissemination) of consuls appointed by another emperor.⁹⁵⁹ As we shall see, this political exploitation becomes very clear to us when dissemination of western consuls might have been discontinued in early sixth-century Constantinople (just like contemporary Ravenna was discontinuing dissemination of easterners), yet that did not happen, and not for reasons of practicality or popularity. Consular dating was a very impractical dating system and had never been popular in the East, and certainly Constantinople did not need the western consul for practical dating purposes. In most cases, the eastern one was enough to avoid confusion or ambiguity, hence dating by easterners alone was not only possible but also more practical in the eastern case, where adding the western consul was, in fact, an inconvenient return to a more complicated practice both in terms of dating and dissemination.

More generally, consuls were chosen by emperors, so obviously dating by one consul rather than another could be even equal to a statement of loyalty, or disloyalty, to that very same emperor, by whichever level of authority this came from (i.e. central, provincial, municipal authorities, episcopal assemblies etc.) This becomes very clear to us once we look at the evidence from the years of the Ostrogothic and successive Byzantine invasions of Italy.

4.2. *Shifting meanings*

Not disseminating an emperor's consul as a result of non-recognition was a diplomatic gesture actively practiced throughout our period, although its precise meaning could vary, and greatly, especially by time and region, encompassing everything from displeasure and annoyance to overt hostility and readiness for war. Invariably, however, it was a sign of strain

⁹⁵⁸ Claudian prayed that both Arcadius and Honorius could take up the consulship together as a symbol of unity for the empire; cf. Claudian, *IV Cons.* 652 f.; cf. Cameron 1970: 51. For the Tetrarchy, see the use of the joint imperial consulships after the civil war between Constantine and Licinius, i.e. in 318 and 319.

⁹⁵⁹ Politicised use of *p.c.* and *e.q.f.n.* is also very clear in the case of the nonrecognition of *Constantius IV et Constans III* by Constans, who only authorised the use in the West of *p.c. Amanti et Albini*. For *e.q.f.n.* see, p. 373-83. An inscription dated 425 from near Brescia (CIL V 5206 = ILCV 2870.) gives *p.c.* of 424 as late as 18.iii out of possible fear of dating by reference to the consulship of John (the western usurper), who was fighting nearby. On the contrary, *CLRE* argues that the names of the eastern consuls (Theodosius II and Valentinian III) had not yet been announced (cf. *CLRE* 66). However, John's name is attested in a near-contemporary Roman inscription (11.iii). This suggests that it was a deliberate intention to omit his name in Brescia, where John's consulate formula should have been announced and disseminated first. John was proclaimed emperor in Ravenna on 20.xi.423 and his intention to assume the consulship in 425 should have been made known with adequate notice.

in relations between the two halves of the empire. As a result, it might not be improper to see it as an equivalent of some gestures in modern diplomatic relations such as the recalling an ambassador, i.e. a purely political signal to show the discontent of a government with a foreign counterpart.

Relations between the two halves of the empire were obviously more complex in the Roman empire than in any other modern Western state, since an emperor's government could by no means be regarded as a 'foreign' government in the political and institutional theory of the time, even if the latter never ruled directly beyond his own jurisdiction. But Valentinian II's reply to Symmachus is a tart reminder that questioning imperial appointments could well be interpreted as equivalent to challenging imperial rule.⁹⁶⁰ The question we are therefore to ask is: when was recognition or nonrecognition of the imperial authority at stake in the decision not to disseminate, and when was it not? Is there a pattern that can be identified to help us navigate through periods of more controversial, if not even unknown, political relations? In other words, can we use data concerning the dissemination and non-dissemination of consular appointments to infer recognition and non-recognition, and hence analyse the nature and development of the political relations between the two halves of the empire?

In the following discussion we will therefore review the evidence from consular dissemination by reference to the political relations between the two halves of the empire. For reasons of space and synthesis we will only be looking into the relevant years.

NB: Lemmas are underlined when they are attested in sources other than inscriptions and papyri; in italic when they are restored but unattested. It is not an objective of the present discussion to represent all the provisional and standard formulas attested by our provincial record, nor the official lemma being used. Therefore, only the formulas relevant to our discussion will be provided under each year.

4.2.1. The Tetrarchy

284.

a) **Numerianus**

1. Carinus Aug. II et Numerianus Aug.

b) **Diocletian**

1. Carinus Aug. II et Numerianus Aug.

⁹⁶⁰ Symmachus, *Relatio* 17 with Elton 2018: 140.

2. Diocletianus I et Bassus

Discussion:

Non-recognition of the usurper's consular pair (*Diocletianus I et Bassus*) in Carinus' domain. In 284 Numerianus is found dead and Diocletian is proclaimed Augustus at Nicomedia on 20 November.⁹⁶¹

307.

a) **Constantine**

1. Galerius Maximianus Aug. VII et Constantinus Caesar (I to ca. ix)
2. Maximianus Aug. IX et Constantinus Caesar (ca. ix to xii)

b) **Maxentius**

1. Galerius Maximianus Aug. VII et Maximinus Caesar (i-iv)
2. post sextum consulatum (iv-xii)

c) **Galerius, Severus and Maximinus**

1. Severus Aug. et Maximinus Caesar I
2. Maximinus Caesar I

Discussion:

On 25 July, 306 Constantius I had died at York and Constantine was acclaimed Augustus. By 28 October, 306, Maxentius, too, had claimed imperial power in Rome. According to Lactantius and Zosimus, Galerius recognised Constantine as Caesar, but in 307 the consular pair that he originally proclaimed was *Severus Aug. et Maximinus Caesar I*. Both Constantine and Maxentius rejected this pair, albeit holding different views. Constantine would appear to have at first replaced Severus' and Maximinus' names by adding his own name with Galerius (a.1), while Maxentius only replaced Severus with Galerius (b.1). However, no later than Severus (and Galerius') defeat, Galerius' consulship was annulled by Maxentius, who reverted to p.c. 306 by April (b.2), and by Constantine, who aligned himself with Maxentius and Maximianus through marriage, and replaced Galerius' name with Maximianus by November

⁹⁶¹ Barnes 1982: 195; Venning 2011: 625. For the (possibly suffect) consulate of 'Diocletianus I et Bassus' mentioned in Pasch., see *CLRE* 102-3.

(a.2).⁹⁶² The Egyptian evidence shows that, for some reasons, Severus' name was dropped from the officially accepted eastern formula after his death. Yet not even this new formula was accepted in Maxentius' domain, from where our epigraphic evidence derives.

308.

a) **Constantine**

1. Diocletianus Aug. X et Galerius Maximianus Aug. VII

b) **Maxentius**

1. consules quos iusserint DD.NN. Augusti (1.i-19.iv)
2. Maxentius (from 20.iv?)
3. Maxentius Aug. I et Valerius Romulus I (after 20.iv?)

c) **Galerius, Licinius and Maximinus**

1. Diocletianus Aug. X et Galerius Maximianus Aug. VII

Discussion:

On 11.xi.308, Galerius had Licinius proclaimed Augustus after the Conference of Carnuntum (where Diocletian was invited, too) and recognised Constantine and Maximinus as Caesars but rejected all of Maxentius' claims. Maxentius would seem to have stalled until April, when he took the final decision to proclaim himself and his son Romulus (or himself as sole consul first).⁹⁶³ Constantine would appear to have taken a more conciliatory stance toward Galerius, by recognising in full Galerius' proclaimed joint consulship with Diocletian.⁹⁶⁴

⁹⁶² For the year's lemmas and comments, cf. *CLRE* 148-149. For Constantine's sending of his imperial image to Galerius and his reception according to Lactantius, *Mort. Pers.* 25, 1-4; Zosimus, 2, 9, 2; cf. Becker 2020: 78 and n. 24 with Lenski 2006: 59-70, stressing Galerius recognised him only as Caesar. For this and the following revolt of Maxentius, cf., too: Barnes 1982: 197; CAH 12: 783. Corcoran 2000: 6 has the revolt of Maxentius in October; Venning 2011: 639. Porena (2003: 255) argues that Maxentius took up the title of princeps and refrained from naming himself Augustus, since he was waiting for Galerius' approval. On Severus and Galerius' attack on Maxentius and Maximianus, cf. Barnes 1982: 197-198. For Constantine's marriage alliance, cf. Porena 2003: 253.

⁹⁶³ Two Roman inscriptions give only 'Maxentius'; cf. ICUR n.s. V 13887 (5.v); ICUR n.s. VI 15767; but Consular issues have *Romulus bis cons* in 309, too; see RIC VI 382-257; and so Hydatius gives *item X et Maximianus quod est Maxentius et Romulus*.

⁹⁶⁴ Cf. *CLRE*: 150-53.

309.

a) **Constantine**

1. post consulatum X et VII

b) **Maxentius**

1. Maxentius Aug. II et Valerius Romulus II

c) **Galerius, Licinius and Maximinus**

1. Licinius Aug. et Constantinus Caesar filius Aug.

Discussion:

The p.c. formula found in several western fasti was likely to be used in Constantine's domain, where he did not recognise Licinius' proclaimed joint consulship with himself, implicitly refusing to ratify the decisions taken at Carnuntum in November 308. Maxentius would appear to have taken a similar stance by again proclaiming himself and his son as consuls.⁹⁶⁵

310.

a) **Constantine**

1. II post consulatum X et VII;

b) **Maxentius**

1. Maxentius Aug. III;

c) **Galerius, Licinius and Maximinus**

1. Tattius Andronicus et Pompeius Probus

Discussion:

Again, Maxentius and Constantine refused to recognise Licinius and Galerius' joint pair of consuls, by either reiterating the use of p.c. 308 (in the case of Constantine) or by proclaiming themselves consul (Maxentius).⁹⁶⁶

⁹⁶⁵ Cf. *CLRE* 152.

⁹⁶⁶ Cf. *CLRE* 154-5.

311.

a) **Constantine**

1. ?

b) **Maxentius**

1. Consules quos iusserint DD.NN. Augg. (i-ix)

2. Rufinus et Volusianus (ix-xii)

c) **Galerius, Licinius and Maximinus**

1. Galerius Maximianus Aug. VIII et Maximinus Aug. II

2. Maximinus Aug. II (only Maximinus)

Discussion:

Maximinus had forced Galerius to recognise him as Augustus in spring 310, and on 1 January their joint imperial consulship was proclaimed in the East.⁹⁶⁷ CLRE argues that Constantine would have recognised this arrangement, although there is no evidence for it.⁹⁶⁸ Instead, Chr. 354 supports the conclusion that Maxentius did wait at first, before proclaiming his own set of consuls. After Galerius' death, his consulship would appear to have been annulled by Maximinus, but certainly not so by Licinius.⁹⁶⁹

312.

a) **Constantine**

1. Constantinus Aug. II et Licinius Aug. II

b) **Maxentius**

1. Maxentius Aug. IV

c) **Licinius and Maximinus**

1. Constantinus Aug. II et Licinius Aug. II

⁹⁶⁷ Porena 2003: 281.

⁹⁶⁸ Cf. CLRE 156.

⁹⁶⁹ Cf. CLRE 156-7 with CIL III 4796 = ILS 4197 (from Licinius' domain in Noricum) giving *Divus Maximianus VIII et Maximinus II Augg.*; so, too: AE 1937, 158 and 232 = FIRA2 I 93 (Brigetio, Hungary; 10.vi; adds D.N. before Maximinus).

Discussion:

Maxentius, obviously, did not recognise the new arrangement, and proclaimed himself as consul for the last time before being defeated by the end of the year.⁹⁷⁰

313.

a) **Constantine**

1. Constantinus Aug. III et Maximinus Aug. III (i-v)
2. Constantinus Aug. III et Licinius Aug. III (ca viii-xii)

b) **Licinius**

1. *Constantinus Aug. III et Maximinus Aug. III?* (i-v)
2. Constantinus Aug. III
3. Constantinus Aug. III et Licinius Aug. III (ca. viii-xii)

c) **Maximinus**

1. Maximinus Aug. III et Constantinus Aug. III (i-iv)

Discussion:

In 313 the evidence from Italy dated by Constantine and Maximinus' consulate is earlier than the latter's attack on Licinius. Maximinus marches from Syria to Hellespont and takes Byzantium while Licinius is in Milan with Constantine. Then on 30 April, he meets Licinius in Adrianople and is defeated. He retreats through Asia and commits suicide in Tarsus in July. The two documents possibly dated by Constantinus solus have no diurnal date and could be later than Maximinus' *damnatio*.⁹⁷¹

Constantine and Licinius (321-324)

321	322	323	324
a) Constantine 1. Crispus II Caes. et	a) Constantine 1. Petronius Probianus et Anicius Iulianus	a) Constantine 1. Acilius Severus et Vettius Rufinus	a) Constantine 1. Crispus III et Constantinus III b) Licinius

⁹⁷⁰ For the historical background of Constantinus and Licinius' joint consulship, cf. *CLRE* 158.

⁹⁷¹ Cf. *CLRE* 160-1.

321	322	323	324
Constantinus II Caes. b) Licinius 1. Licinius VI Aug. et Licinius Caes. II	b) Licinius 1. p.c. Licinii VI et Licinii II q.f.n. II	b) Licinius 1. p.c. Licini VI et Licini Caesaris II q.f.n. III	1. e.q.f.n. IV

Discussion:

The start of the war between Constantine and Licinius can be traced back to fall 316. To strengthen the relationship with Licinius, one year earlier, Constantine was ready to offer the caesarship and transfer direct control of Italy to Bassianus, his brother-in-law (in turn close to Licinius through his own brother).⁹⁷² According to the vulgate tradition, Licinius refused and, after plotting against Constantine, he ordered his colleague's images to be overthrown at Emona.

Constantine's blitzkrieg between October 316 and January 317 had resulted in peace made by Licinius with the transfer of the dioceses of Pannonia and Moesia to Constantine and Crispus, and both Constantine II and Licinius II being proclaimed as Caesars (by Constantine) in March at Serdica. The use of Constantine's consular pair in Egypt in the first months of 317 can be explained away by the promptness through which everything was settled. Then, relations were officially good in the following two years, so there is no surprise in seeing the consulships of Licinius VI and Licinius I recognised in Italy in 318 and 319, respectively.

In 321 relations deteriorated and both emperors proclaimed their own set of consuls.⁹⁷³ In 321 Dalmatia was Constantine's domain, so the date *Licinius V et Licinius II* is puzzling (in the following year, Illyricum would date by the new Constantinian consuls, disassociating from the *p.c. Licini VI et Licinii II* used in the East.) There are several explanations that could be put forward: 1) Illyricum originally belonged to Licinus, so the date retains a political meaning and either the province or some local officials (or the dedicator of the inscription) was still loyal to Licinius' dynasty; 2) The dedicator was possibly unaware of the deterioration of the political situation and, if he was aware, he could have been unaware of the existence of two different sets of consuls; 3) Dating by Licinius' consuls rather than Constantine's was meaningless for

⁹⁷² Porena 2003: 308 n. 271; 320.

⁹⁷³ *CLRE* 177; Corcoran 2000: 7.

the dedicator. 4) Constantine's consuls were not proclaimed before 13 March (see CIL VI 1687), and the (undated) Dalmatian inscription reflects a stage in which Constantine had not yet made his decision to overrule Licinius in his (presumable) expectation to appoint the consuls. This last view might find some room in ICUR n.s. III 8416 = I 34, which bears *kal. mar. Licino VII*.⁹⁷⁴ CLRE rejected this, accepting De Rossi's emendation to *Licin(i)o V* (318), and noting that the date of the numismatic evidence points, too, to Licinius' readiness to recognise Constantine's consuls, and that this creates the paradox of each side recognising the other's nominees.⁹⁷⁵ But there is no sure ground to date the Antiochene issue to late 320, and the medallions could be part of a set of anachronistic issues minted in the East after Constantine's victory at Chrysopolis.⁹⁷⁶

4.2.2. Constans and Constantius II (346)

a) **Constans**

1. p.c. Amanti et Albini

b) **Constantius II**

1. Constantius IV et Constans III

Discussion:

CLRE, Barnes and Hunt attribute the non-dissemination of the joint imperial consulate in the West to the religious divide.⁹⁷⁷ On 21 October 346, Athanasius was restored to his bishopric and war was avoided, but it is telling of the situation that he later felt bound to defend himself from the accusation of having fomented the crisis between the two imperial brothers.⁹⁷⁸ By contrast, Burgess argued against this view, observing that the minting of consular issues at Siscia proves Constans' readiness in 345 to accept Constantius as colleague for the following

⁹⁷⁴ Cf. Barnes 1982: 96 n. 24.

⁹⁷⁵ ICUR I 34, cf. CLRE 177, 627.

⁹⁷⁶ RIC VII: 663-664.

⁹⁷⁷ CLRE 227, Barnes 2001: 91 and Hunt 2007: 9; the Nicene-Arian crisis in the 340s had exasperated the concordia between Constans and Constantius, with the latter threatening military intervention to restore the deposed bishops; cf. passages and letters by 5th-century church historians in Barnes 2001: 89 ff. and p. 265. The failure of the council of Serdica (343) results in a cooling of the relationship between West and East; see Barnes 2001 (1993): 87 f. and Hunt 2007: 8. This was followed by the council of Philippopolis in 343, 344 or 347.

⁹⁷⁸ See Apology to Constantius, cf. Hunt 2007: 9.

year.⁹⁷⁹ But we do not know when the multiples were issued and, although issues of this sort were expected to be distributed in January, minting of consular coins could have exceptionally occurred much later.⁹⁸⁰ The consular issue could be dated after the reinstalment of Athanasius in October, that is, when Constans eventually agreed to be associated with his own brother as consuls in office. As no contemporary document is preserved for the West after 15 November, this may just be invisible in the evidence.

4.2.3. Magnentius and Constantius II (351-352)

351	352
a) Magnentius 1. Magnentius Aug. et Gaiso b) Constantius II 2. p.c. Sergii et Nigriniani	a) Magnentius 1. Decentius Caes. et Paulus b) Constantius et Gallus 1. Constantius Aug. V et Constantius Caesar

Discussion:

At first (ca. 350), Magnentius seems to have recognised Constantius, as shown by both the coins and the African inscriptions.⁹⁸¹ But the situation must have changed soon. On 28 September 351, he was soundly defeated by Constantius at Mursa, and after withdrawing to Italy, he was defeated a second time in the following year. Italian inscriptions are dated by Magnentius' consuls until possibly mid-August, but this is consistent with the dates of Constantius' final conquest of Italy, which continued far into 352.⁹⁸² Constantius never recognised Magnentius and Socrates dates the synod of Sirmium 'after the consulship of Sergius and Nigrianus, in which year no consul celebrated the customary consular ceremonials due to the tumults of war'.⁹⁸³

⁹⁷⁹ Burgess 1989: 148; for the coins, cf. RIC VIII: 365, nos. 105-106. The issues could be either 342 or 346 but the latter date is more likely due to the mint-mark, see id., 341-2.

⁹⁸⁰ For a possible delayed issue, see RIC VII: 663-664.

⁹⁸¹ RIC VIII: 40; CIL VIII 22552; 22558.

⁹⁸² Constantius attacked Aquileia in summer and reached Milan by November; see *CTh.* 15.14.5: 3; cf. Hunt 2007: 21.

⁹⁸³ Socrates, *HE* 2.29 cf. *CLRE* 237.

4.2.4. Julian and Constantius II (360-361)

360	361
a) Julian and Constantius II	a) Julian and Constantius II
1. Constantius Aug. X et Iulianus III Caes.	1. Taurus et Florentius

Discussion:

De Rossi pointed out the omission of Julian's name from two (possibly three) Roman inscriptions explaining it as a result of the ongoing political crisis.⁹⁸⁴ CLRE rejected this view arguing that (i) the omission of Julian should not be regarded as more than an accidental mistake, and that (ii) the inclusion of Julian's name paired by the imperial title Caes. was totally acceptable for Constantius II throughout 360.⁹⁸⁵ CLRE's interpretation must be accepted since all our evidence clearly supports the view that throughout 360 Julian never ceased to recognise Constantius as Augustus, while Constantius continued to acknowledge Julian as Caesar.⁹⁸⁶

Ammianus reports that Julian, after being proclaimed, sent to Constantius a private letter where he addressed him harshly, but in a second public letter Julian did not question Constantius' rule and rather addressed him with deference.⁹⁸⁷ Constantius replied to these letters through his questor by ordering Julian to accept his subordinate rank as Caesar.⁹⁸⁸ Negotiations went on well into the second half of 360 and as late as November Julian was still eager to publicly recognise Constantius by issuing coins with the effigy of both emperors.⁹⁸⁹ It is only in summer 361 that Julian finally declared war on Constantius and began his march eastwards.⁹⁹⁰ By the end of summer, the praetorian prefect of Illyricum, Florentius, had fled to Constantius, and Sirmium was in Julian's hands; however, Aquileia was in open revolt against him, and his hold on the remaining part of Italy was far from firm.⁹⁹¹ This is clear from the fact

⁹⁸⁴ De Rossi, ICUR I 143.

⁹⁸⁵ CLRE 64.

⁹⁸⁶ So, too: Szidat 2010: 212; Bleckmann 2020: 97-123, and esp. 115-6.

⁹⁸⁷ Ammianus, 20.8, 2 ff.; 1 8 ff.

⁹⁸⁸ Ammianus, 20.9, 3 ff.;

⁹⁸⁹ Cf. the account of his quinquennalia at Vienne in Ammianus, 20.9, 6 ff. cf. Bidez 2004: 178-9.

⁹⁹⁰ Ammianus, 21.5, 8.

⁹⁹¹ Bidez (2004: 184) has 10 October as date for the capture of Sirmium, but there is no trace in Ammianus and Zosimus of this. Hunt 2007b gives middle of summer, p. 59 n. 32. See, also: Ammianus. 21.9. For similar issues encountered by Julian in Illyricum, Ammianus, 21.11.2; 12.20.

that in the summer the senate felt confident enough to write a hostile letter against Julian where he was blamed for his actions and denied him recognition as Augustus.⁹⁹² Hence, neither of Constantius' PPOs had fled before Julian's invasion in summer 361, nor was Julian in firm control of Italy before Constantius' death (the new prefect of Rome Maximus was appointed after Julian became sole ruler and the senate recognised him).⁹⁹³

One must therefore conclude that it was perfectly possible that in Italy people could date by Constantius' two loyalist consuls and praetorian prefects in office, Taurus and Florentius, throughout 361 (none of the Italian inscriptions comes from northern Italy, which was in fact the only portion of the province touched by Julian's forces.) The precise date of Julian's condemnation as *hostis publicus* is unknown, but as late as 18 May, 360 imperial proclamations were issued in the name of both emperors by Constantius, so it is likely that this happened after Julian decided on open war. The conciliatory stance that Constantius took towards Julian—whose subordinate rank was not revoked—explains why throughout 360 Constantius and Julian's joint imperial consulship consistently appears as the pair being used in the territory controlled by Constantius. Julian's failure to secure his hold on Italy is at the basis of the continuous usage of '*Taurus et Florentius*' at Rome through all 361. According to Zosimus, Julian's ordered that the two consuls be described as 'exiles' in all documents, but there are no traces left of this prescription.⁹⁹⁴

4.2.5. Magnus Maximus' usurpation (384/386)

384	386
<p>a) Valentinianus II, Theodosius and Arcadius</p> <p>1. Ricomer et Clearchus</p> <p>b) Magnus Maximus</p> <p>1. Magnus Maximus Aug.</p>	<p>a) Valentinianus II, Magnus Maximus, Theodosius and Arcadius</p> <p>1. Honorius nob. puer et Evodius</p>

⁹⁹² On the date of Julian's takeover of Sirmium, cf. Ammianus, 21.9, 6; reproach of the Senate: Ammianus, 21.10, 7; revolt of Aquileia and unrest in Italy: Ammianus, 21.11 and 12, 1-20.

⁹⁹³ Ammianus, 21.12, 24 and 10, 6. Hunt 2007b: 60 argues that Maximus was appointed immediately after the senate's reply to Julian. But Julian had little or no support at Rome back then, so it is very unlikely that he was in a position to appoint a new city praefect.

⁹⁹⁴ Zosimus, 3.10.4.

Discussion:

On 23 August 383 Gratian was assassinated and Maximus' hold on Gaul was secured. Curran maintains that by summer 384 Theodosius could only help but recognise him as a legitimate emperor, but a recognition as early as 384 is extremely unlikely and an official response must be post-dated, as Matthews suggests, to 386, i.e. when Theodosius recognised Maximus by accepting his praetorian prefect Evodius as consul.⁹⁹⁵ In the same year or soon later, Maternus Cynegius, Theodosius' PPO in the East, displayed Maximus' portrait at Alexandria while journeying in Egypt.⁹⁹⁶

It is not possible to establish whether at Milan, Aquileia, Siscia or Rome, coinage was minted for Maximus by Valentinian II (RIC 9), since the minting could be later than Maximus' takeover of Italy in 387.⁹⁹⁷ It is reasonable to assume, however, that Valentinian's court at some point minted for his rival when he was briefly recognised. This view is reinforced by an Aes series minted at Constantinople on behalf of Maximus. Gratian did not mint in the name of Arcadius but Arcadius' first consulate came after Gratian's death.⁹⁹⁸

It is unknown how Magnus Maximus formally regarded Valentinian II before Theodosius and (possibly) Valentinian II recognised him in 386, but it seems he was happy to accept Valentinian as iunior colleague.⁹⁹⁹

4.2.6. Eugenius and Theodosius (393-394)

393	394
a) Eugenius 1. Theodosius Aug. III et Eugenius Aug.	a) Eugenius 1. Nicomachus Flavianus
b) Theodosius, Arcadius and Honorius (after 23.i) 1. Theodosius Aug. III et Abundantius	b) Theodosius, Arcadius and Honorius 1. Arcadius Aug. III et Honorius Aug. II

⁹⁹⁵ Curran 2007: 104-108, esp. 105 and n. 84; Matthews 1975: 179 n.2 see the laws dated by Evodius *CTh.* 2.33.2; 3.4.1; 8.5.48; 9.44.1; 12.6.21.

⁹⁹⁶ Zosimus 4.37.3.

⁹⁹⁷ Matthews 1975: 181.

⁹⁹⁸ Grierson & Mays 1992: 102.

⁹⁹⁹ Matthews 1975: 176.

Discussion:

On 15 May 392 Valentinian II was found dead and Arbogastes had Eugenius proclaimed emperor at Lugdunum on 22 August. Eugenius actively sought eastern recognition, as evidenced by embassies sent to Constantinople, the coinage minted for Theodosius I and Arcadius and a dedication erected in the names of Theodosius, Arcadius and Eugenius by the latter's *praefectus annonae* in Ostia.¹⁰⁰⁰ Nevertheless, Theodosius was not persuaded, and rejected Eugenius' offer to share the consulship in 393, choosing his general Abundantius as colleague and finally elevating Honorius as Augustus for the West. As one would expect, there is no evidence that Eugenius accepted this arrangement.¹⁰⁰¹

Symmachus sent a diptych to Nicomachus Flavianus along with his congratulations for the consulship, where he made no mention of the non-recognition of his (and Eugenius') consulate and the political situation in the background.¹⁰⁰² Eugenius was defeated in battle at Frigidum and executed on 6 September 394. A Roman inscription still gives Nicomachus Flavianus on 17 September, but from 9 October on, the epigraphic evidence consistently shows the eastern pair, '*Arcadius III et Honorius II*'.¹⁰⁰³ This became the official formula recognised and disseminated in Italy after the collapse of Eugenius' regime.

CLRE sees no political significance in the omission of Theodosius' name in 393 in a few western inscriptions, as he 'obviously, wanted parity with the legitimate Augustus.'¹⁰⁰⁴ Since the only two datable consular dates dropping 'Theodosius' overlap with abundant later attestations of the full pair, it is likely that (in at least some cases) this has nothing to do with politics.¹⁰⁰⁵ However, it is still possible that some of the inscriptions bearing Eugenius' name alone reflect developments in western attitudes towards Theodosius.¹⁰⁰⁶ Honorius' proclamation as Augustus on 23 January 393 had made very clear what Theodosius thought of Eugenius' imperial claims, and this stance might have been received differently in the western

¹⁰⁰⁰ RIC X: 123; see, also RIC IX, 32 f.; 80 f with Matthews 1975: 238. Delmaire assigned to Eugenius a series minted at Lyon for Honorius but this is unlikely (cf. RIC X: 128 rejecting on numismatic basis). Kent assigns some issues minted in Arles for Arcadius to the interregnum between Valentinian II's death and the accession of Eugenius, and the smaller amount of coins in Theodosius' name to the reign of Eugenius, cf. RIC X: 128. For the dedication, see AE 1948, 127.

¹⁰⁰¹ Matthews 1975: 239.

¹⁰⁰² Symmachus, *Ep.* II 81, 84; cf. n. 2-3 with Matthews 1975: 244.

¹⁰⁰³ See ICUR suppl. 1855 = ILCV 1482.

¹⁰⁰⁴ CLRE 64.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Cf. CIL X 4492 (from Capua) dating 31 August and 25 October.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Cf. IG XIV 2295, ICI XVI 3 from Milan and Röm.Jnschr.Tarraco 944 from Terragona.

provinces. The existence of different attitudes is also suggested by the use of ‘*Arcadius III et Honorius II*’ in Porto Torre (Sardinia) in 394, which is not attested in Italy until after Eugenius’ defeat and execution.¹⁰⁰⁷ After Theodosius openly declared war against Eugenius, sending an army to overthrow him, the fiction of unity (Concordia) between the two emperors could no longer be held by Eugenius’ regime. Consequently, recognition of Theodosius’ authority very likely ceased in the western provinces that were still recognising Eugenius as legitimate emperor.

4.2.7. Stilicho’s Regency (395-408)

Below are given only the relevant years during which dissemination of eastern consuls in the West was halted.

399	400	404	405
a) Honorius 1. Theodorus b) Arcadius 1. Theodorus et Eutropius	a) Honorius 1. Stilicho b) Arcadius 1. Stilicho et Aurelianus	a) Honorius 1. Honorius Aug. VI b) Arcadius 1. Honorius Aug. VI et Aristaenetus	a) Honorius 1. Stilicho II 2. Stilicho II et Anthemius b) Arcadius 1. Stilicho II et Anthemius

Discussion:

The years of Stilicho’s regency witnessed the non-dissemination of the eastern consulships of 399, 400 and 404, plus another in 405 which was very likely disseminated only very late in the year. Most probably, in all of these cases the consulships were not only unannounced, but also formally unrecognised. The western non-dissemination of Eutropius’ consulate in 399 poses no serious problems of interpretation in this sense, since the extant legislation and several other sources, both contemporary and not, clearly state that Stilicho did not recognise it. After Eutropius’ downfall his consulship was annulled even in the East where the recognition of his western colleague, Theodorus, had never been questioned.¹⁰⁰⁸

¹⁰⁰⁷ AE 1992, 902

¹⁰⁰⁸ Claudian, *Theod.*, 265-69; *In Eutr.* I 8, 285-6; *Stil.* II, 301-304; Socrates, *HE* 6.5; *CTh.* 9.40.17 with *PLRE* II 442 (setting the fall in 'autumn') and *CLRE* 333 (that has 'August').

The consulates of 400, 404 and 405 have not left behind similarly unambiguous and direct statements, but this is probably the result of the revision that the fasti underwent after 408, i.e. after the fall of the government that repudiated them.

By August 399 Aurelianus was appointed the eastern PPO and designated consul for 400, thereby occupying (in some ways) the position that was Eutropius'.¹⁰⁰⁹ Save for the laws, no inscriptions show that his consulate was ever disseminated in the West, hence CLRE concluded that it was not recognised by Stilicho, and that the western laws, for the most part, underwent revision.¹⁰¹⁰

We know Aurelianus was exiled by Arcadius after Gainas' rebellion, and that he remained an exile until after Gainas' rebellion had been quelled. The date of the rebellion and of Aurelianus' exile has not yet been established on certain grounds. Liebeschuetz dates it to December 399, arguing that Aurelianus' consulate's non-dissemination was the consequence of his exile and hence his consulate was not inaugurated on 1 January. Cameron and Long rejected this view, maintaining that the rebellion did not occur until March 400, and that Aurelianus did take up office in January.¹⁰¹¹ Moreover, they observed that, (i) no other name is preserved on western inscriptions or papyri (i.e. material that could not be retroactively corrected); and that (ii) western non-dissemination of Aurelianus's consulate continued after Gainas' fall and the subsequent return of Aurelianus, that is, when he did certainly exercise his office as consul, as proven by the Egyptian papyri dated by consular and p.c. dates.¹⁰¹² As things stand, then, his consulship was announced in the East (where in fact it was disseminated as a pair with Stilicho). It is only in the West that it was never disseminated, both before and after his exile.

Hostility is the most likely reason of western non-dissemination. It is unquestionable that Aurelianus was Eudoxia's loyal servant, whose favour Stilicho had lost by trying to have her

¹⁰⁰⁹ CLRE 331; but see PLRE I 129-29 arguing he was succeeded by Eutychianus, identified as his brother, before 11 December, 399.

¹⁰¹⁰ CLRE 335.

¹⁰¹¹ Cameron & Long 1993: 161 f. noting that Aurelianus' master, Empress Eudoxia, was proclaimed Augusta a few days later and that Gainas would have never allowed this if he had been in power already (Eudoxia was no partisan of the Gothic general). Liebeschuetz has expressed his view a first time in 1990: 253-72 and then reaffirmed it in his review of Cameron & Long's book on Arcadius, id. 1994: 277-278.

¹⁰¹² BASP 56 (2019) 129 = SB VI 9359.1 = P.Lund. VI 10.1 (Arsin.); SB VIII 9774.1 (unkn.); Cameron & Long 1993: 165. In my view, however, it is uncertain that the western government would use the provisional formula '*X et qui de Oriente nuntiatus fuerit*' early in the 5th century, had Aurelianus' name not been disseminated but recognised. This was only used from 411 on.

divorced from Arcadius.¹⁰¹³ More generally, although it is true that a link between Gainas and Stilicho remains unproven, there is no doubt that Aurelianus and Eudoxia's political circle was as eager to prevent a regime of eastern generals as it was (and proved to be) willing to stave off Stilicho's ambitions for guardianship over Arcadius.¹⁰¹⁴ Understandably, then, Aurelianus must have been as unpopular in the West as Rufinus and Eutropius had been previously.¹⁰¹⁵

Next, the western laws, a papal letter and some chronicles give in 404 *Honorius VI et Aristaenetus* but some other chronicles, conciliar documents and all the western inscriptions drop consistently Honorius' eastern colleague. In 404 parts of Italy had been ravaged by Alaric's Goths, and possibly dissemination had been disrupted. Yet, the invasion had not affected dissemination of eastern names in 402 and 403, and by the end of 403 had lost momentum. Thus, whilst failed or late dissemination (post eventum) is a possibility, contemporary non-recognition is a more likely option. A possible reason for the crisis is John Chrysostom's deposition by Arcadius and Eudoxia, which began in the second half of 403 and escalated in the first part of 404. This resulted in a protracted schism between the western and eastern churches that lasted until the restoration of Chrysostom's name in the diptychs of the church of Constantinople in 416.

Liebeschuetz suggests that, as soon as Chrysostom's western links developed and were strengthened, his enemies might have seen the fight against him as part of the struggle to preserve Eastern independence from Stilicho.¹⁰¹⁶ However, while Chrysostom was involved in politics and had ties to influential women from the senatorial families that once governed the unified empire of Theodosius, there is no evidence that he actively sought to worsen the crisis between Stilicho and the eastern aristocracy. Therefore, if Aristaenetus' consulate was not disseminated in response to Chrysostom's deposition, this was likely an independent decision

¹⁰¹³ Cameron 1970: 53 ff. Cameron & Long 1993: 180.

¹⁰¹⁴ Eudoxia's circle can be traced back to the '*iners atque impia turba*' mentioned by Claudian in *Stil.* II 79, i.e. probably John, Caesarius, Eutychian and Anthemius; cf. Cameron 1970: 135; Cameron & Long 1993: 309. Gainas was the general to whom Stilicho entrusted the command of the eastern army in 395. But the only direct evidence of an existing partnership between them is in Eunapius, who relates that the general used the Goth to destroy Rufinus. Even so, nothing is known of their relationship afterwards; cf. Cameron 1970: 146 (strongly against the probability of a collaboration between the two after 395.)

¹⁰¹⁵ As Cameron and Long observed, this is why Claudian 'is at such pains, when celebrating Stilicho's own consulate in January 400, to distinguish between Arcadius, to whom Stilicho's loyalty was unshaken, and the "feeble and wicked cabal" of his ministers'. I follow the dating of the prefecture of Aurelianus in Cameron & Long 1993; see also *ibidem*: 167, noting that 'all the great ministers of this period, Tatianus, Rufinus, Caesarius, Eutychianus, and Anthemius, become consul during their tenure of the prefecture.'

¹⁰¹⁶ Liebeschuetz 1990: 222-27.

made by the western court to appear as if they were defending the interests of the Constantinopolitan church.

There is no sufficient evidence to allow us to recover eastern dissemination, but it is likely that Honorius' sixth consulate was disseminated, or at least recognised, by the eastern court, as shown by the iteration number of Honorius' consulate in 407 (unless it was retroactively accepted). Jerome is hardly evidence for the knowledge of Honorius' consulate in Bethlehem by the end of February or March, but Synesius' ignorance of the western consulate should not be generalised to the whole of the year.¹⁰¹⁷

Finally, in the west, the name of the eastern consul (Anthemius) is lacking for most of the year, which suggests a late dissemination (and one not necessarily as a result of official proclamation), while in the East the Egyptian papyri dated 405 and 406 make it clear that the full pair was announced. Anthemius had been a loyal servant of the late empress Eudoxia (who had died in October 404), and in 405 had not only entered in office as consul but also as newly appointed praetorian prefect of the East after serving as *magister officiorum*.¹⁰¹⁸ In 405 Radagaisus invaded Italy, yet this would seem to not have prevented the western consulship (Stilicho II) from being disseminated throughout the year. As with in the previous year, then, Stilicho very likely did not recognise Anthemius' name for most of the year, and some explanations should be sought once again in the crisis affecting West and East. One obvious option is the continuation of the unresolved issue with John Chrysostom's deposition, and the potential personal involvement of Anthemius, who had given orders to quell the unrest caused by the Joannites in the city the night before easter 404.¹⁰¹⁹ Other possible reasons, not necessarily mutually exclusive, could include the imprisonment of Honorius' legates in Constantinople in 405,¹⁰²⁰ alongside Stilicho's interdiction of the western ports over eastern shipments (in fact datable to as early as fall 405).¹⁰²¹ It is possible that Fravitta's accusation

¹⁰¹⁷ Cf. *CLRE*'s comments p. 343 and 664; *contra*, Seeck 1919: 307.

¹⁰¹⁸ *PLRE* II 93-5.

¹⁰¹⁹ Cf. Liebeschuetz 1990: 219. The non-recognition of Anthemius' consulship is also traced back to John's deposition by *CLRE* 345 and Demougeot 1951: 345 f.

¹⁰²⁰ The envoys were sent to protest against the deposition of John; cf. Letter sent by Honorius: *Ep.Imp.Pont.al.*, CSEL 35, ed. Guenther, 85, no. 38 with Liebeschuetz 1985: 28 f. suggests a dating of the embassy to no earlier than spring 405.

¹⁰²¹ *Contra*, Venning – Harris 2006: 42; Venning 2011: 711 dates the closure of the ports by Stilicho in early 406.

against John and subsequent execution has also to be placed in this context.¹⁰²² Furthermore, it must be remembered that, in or around 405, Jovius was appointed by Honorius (Stilicho) as praetorian prefect of Illyricum and ordered to collaborate with Alaric to prepare for the invasion of the contested eastern portion of the prefecture.¹⁰²³

Whereas it is clear that Stilicho's regency marked a low point in relations between the two halves of the empire, and that this took various forms, including the western (but not eastern) repudiation of consular appointees in 399, 400, 404 and 405, one may still wonder why some consulates were recognised, while others were not. Indeed, major quarrels of one kind or another can be found in most if not all the years in between 395-408. For instance, tensions had erupted already in 395 (when Arcadius ordered Stilicho to return the eastern regiments and withdraw to Italy), in 397 (when Arcadius declared Stilicho *hostis publicus* for having intervened uninvited in Greece against Alaric), in 398 (during the Gildonic war) and even later in 406-8 (when preparations for war in Illyricum continued, for a while, to be carried out, and ports remained closed to eastern ships until late 408).

To understand the apparent lack of any pattern, one must always keep in mind that contemporary western propaganda consistently (i) portrayed Stilicho as a faithful servant of Arcadius (and unsurprisingly none of the imperial consulates of Arcadius and Theodosius II was ever repudiated); and (ii) passed over in silence, whenever necessary, many of the tensions between Stilicho and Constantinople (undoubtedly to avoid weakening his internal position). One illustration is the silence on Stilicho's condemnation as *hostis publicus* (which was not even ratified by Honorius); or the discretion that was kept on Gildo's defection to Constantinople (never openly acknowledged in a presentation of Gildo as only a traditional usurper). Wherefore, immediate political opportunism can certainly explain why some eastern consulates continued to be recognised as much as why some were not. In fact, one more element to remember is that the unrecognised consulships belonged to personalities who had actively tried to hamper Stilicho's attempts to assert guardianship over Arcadius. Eutropius was unquestionably his archenemy, and his consulship provided Stilicho with the occasion to strike right on his greatest opponent. Aurelianus and Anthemius, both linked to Eudoxia (whom Stilicho tried to take down) were no less opponents to Stilicho than Eutropius. The only one

¹⁰²² John was accused by Fravitta and John Chrysostom of sowing division between the emperors. Due to these charges, Fravitta lost his life in or around 405, while Chrysostom's supporters ended up being persecuted. Cf. Zosimus, 5.26-27; Sozomen, 8.25 with Liebeschuetz 1990: 64 and n. 130-131 dating Fravitta's and John's quarrel to 403-4; contra Cameron & Long, arguing for 404/405. Both are just as likely.

¹⁰²³ On Jovius, Sozomen 8.25, cf. *PLRE* II 623 (dating to 407).

minister who escapes (and only partially) this pattern is Aristaenetus, but only because we are not informed about him as much as we are about the other three. Yet, the simple fact that he served as PVC (in 393 before being succeeded by Aurelianus) makes it very unlikely that Arcadius and Eudoxia were displeased by him (and hence that he advocated a western policy different from the one upheld by the other ministers). Be that as it may, denying recognition of his consulship was certainly instrumental in western exploitation of Chrysostom's deposition.

The truth is probably this, that a mix of several factors, including incidental ones, had very likely interplayed over the years. For instance, given that the western government was pursuing a de-escalating rhetoric in the African and Illyrian crises, it probably made no sense for them to take an overtly hostile stance toward the east in 397 or 398. Moreover, not disseminating an imperially-appointed consulship was a step that, until then, had been taken solely by adult emperors (i.e. the Tetrarchs and, more recently, Constans). Given the ideological and diplomatic implications that this gesture would have entailed, it is very unlikely that Stilicho would have taken this decision lightly. Western propaganda depicted the assumption of the consular fasces by a eunuch as an insult to Rome, and certainly it was much easier for Stilicho to convince his audience of the right to halt the recognition of a eunuch-consul than of any one of the Constantinopolitan ministers in office before then. At any rate, by 407 the overall situation had changed dramatically for the western government. The latter had not only abandoned any preparations to regain eastern Illyricum from Constantinople, but was in dire straits and needed full political, military and ideological support to resist invasions and usurpations in the West. Once again, then, political opportunity is perhaps what can be seen behind Stilicho's acceptance of an eastern (citizen) consul in 408.

The crisis of the years 395-408 certainly existed and was felt by contemporaries, as proven by both contemporary rhetoric and the celebrations held in 401-403 concerning the restoration of the imperial unity. But it remains highly unclear whether it entailed a formal break in imperial unity, and the evidence does not suggest that Honorius and Arcadius' authority was ever put into question. This seems also to be confirmed by the numismatic evidence, which shows legends addressed to both emperors.¹⁰²⁴ In conclusion, not only non-recognition of consuls occurred inconsistently during this crisis; but most importantly, it would also appear it was never meant to convey an unequivocal statement of repudiation of the imperial authority.

¹⁰²⁴ RIC X: 239 f.; 317 f.; Grierson & Mays 1992: 127 note that Honorius was 'reasonably punctilious' in minting for his brother despite the political tensions.

4.2.8. Honorius and Theodosius II (408-423)

Discussion:

Arcadius died on 1 May and Theodosius II succeeded as sole Augustus. After the consulship of Philippus (408) up to the death of Honorius in 423, Theodosius' authority was never questioned in Italy by his uncle, who had already recognised him on his proclamation in 402.¹⁰²⁵ The evidence records some tension only in the 410s (over the jurisdiction of the bishoprics in the Balkans) and, especially, in 421 on the occasion of Theodosius II's non-recognition of Constantius' proclamation.¹⁰²⁶ We know nothing of these events, except that Constantius was preparing a military expedition against Constantinople, and that only his death prevented it from being finalised.¹⁰²⁷ Nevertheless, how the government officially reacted to Theodosius' rejection is unknown, but it is interesting that the full west-east consular pair was used in Dalmatia in 421. Unfortunately, only one (undated) inscription is preserved for the whole body of available evidence for 421, and no post-consular date is extant. The inscription might well have been dated later than Constantius' elevation as Augustus (on 8 February), but the evidence available might well be too scanty to capture a possible change in western outlook. More generally, Stilicho's experience showed us how military expeditions could be prepared and even undertaken under the appearance of Concordia within the empire. Therefore, it should perhaps not surprise us that the recognition of the eastern consul was not withdrawn in the West during these developments.

Within this period, some instances of partial dissemination occurred while non-dissemination is not conclusively proven – see the evidence in 420 where the ninth consulate of Theodosius is not attested, but the consular evidence is scanty and no post-consular evidence survives.

Save for these exceptions, consular dissemination seems generally to mirror the good state of relations which the West (Honorius) and the East maintained for most of this period.

¹⁰²⁵ Sozomen, *HE* 9.8.6; Socrates, *HE* 7.10.6; Zosimus, 9.4. Coinage too pinpoints unity in the empire. Grierson & Mays add that Honorius was reluctant (as much as Valentinian III) in minting coins for Theodosius, and struck only two issues in his name. Some of these are to be dated 402-408 (AE 3 from Rome), while other are of more uncertain dating, cf. Grierson & Mays 1992: 149 and following notes.

¹⁰²⁶ For the religious tension, see Millar 2006: 53-54. There exists an AVGGG series from Thessalonica, although this is more likely to be an anomaly (still unexplained) than the result of official recognition of Constantius III from Constantinople; cf. RIC X: 87.

¹⁰²⁷ Olympiodorus, fr. 33.1; Blockley 2007: 135.

4.2.9. Constantine III and the other Theodosian Emperors (409)

409.

a) Constantine III and Constans

1. Honorius VIII et Constantinus I

b) Honorius and Theodosius II

1. Honorius VIII et Theodosius III Augg.

Discussion:

Olympiodorus and Zosimus report that Constantine III sent envoys to Honorius to assure him of his good will, and Honorius sent him back the imperial vestments as a sign of recognition.¹⁰²⁸ Seen in this light, the consular inscription from Trier assumes a different meaning, and it cannot be entirely ruled out that the substitution of Theodosius' consulship with Constantinus' is not an error of the stonecutter but how the consular year of 409 was actually known in Constantine's Gallic domain.¹⁰²⁹ Constantine's issues from Lyon have VICTORIA AAVGGG and CONCORDIA AAVGGGG, which may suggest he reciprocated recognition of not only Honorius, but also of Arcadius and Theodosius.¹⁰³⁰ Obviously, the inscription from Trier does not shed light on this issue, since no more than two consuls could be in office each year, and so too no more than two could be proclaimed.

4.2.10. Priscus Attalus and the Theodosian Emperors (410)

410.

a) Honorius and Theodosius II

1. p.c. Honori VIII et Theodosii III Augg.

¹⁰²⁸ Olympiodorus, fr. 12; Zosimus, 5.43.1-2, cf. *PLRE* II 316.

¹⁰²⁹ IG XIV 2559 = RICG I 93 (Trier, 12.vii).

¹⁰³⁰ RIC X: 143 f. noting that the CONCORDIA AUGGGG(ustorum) series might have been struck in occasion of the embassy sent to Honorius, when Constantine received short-lived recognition (p. 145). Grierson and Mays propose two phases of the coinage (407-8 and 408-11) by adapting Lafaurie's classification (1953), and suggest that Arcadius and Theodosius II were recognised in the first one, and a third emperor other than Constantinus III and Constans was recognised in the second. Even though the emperor recognised in this last phase was Honorius (and not Theodosius II), and the emperors in the first one were Arcadius, Honorius, Constantinus III and Constans (and not Theodosius II), one eastern emperor had been recognised in either phase one or two at least once; cf. Grierson & Mays 1992: 215.

2. Varanes

b) Priscus Attalus

1. Tertullus

Discussion:

Attalus' consul, Tertullus, is only attested in Rome and completely erased by all the western and eastern documentation. Doubtless this is the result of non-recognition, since Attalus was considered by Honorius and Theodosius as a usurper and Alaric's puppet.

4.2.11. John and Theodosius II (423-425)

423	424	425
a) Honorius (until viii) 1. Marinianus et Asclepiodotus	a) John 1. Castinus	a) John 1. John Aug.
b) John (from ix) 1. Marinianus (?) 2. Marinianus et Asclepiodotus (?)	b) Theodosius II 1. Victor	b) Theodosius II and Valentinian III 1. Theodosius XI et Valentinianus I Caes.
c) Theodosius II 1. Asclepiodotus et Marinianus		

Discussion:

Honorius died on 15 August 423 and John seized power on 20 November (about 3 months later). John's non-recognition by Constantinople is not in question. By late 424 Theodosius II had Valentinian III proclaimed Caesar in Thessalonica before ordering the army to invade western Illyricum and occupy Salona. After wintering in there, in spring 425 the eastern forces advanced further to Italy, where John was quickly overthrown and eventually executed by May.¹⁰³¹

Modern research lacks an extensive treatment of John's stance toward Theodosius, which is partly the result of the poor state of our sources.

¹⁰³¹ Matthews 1975: 380 f.

The epigraphic evidence for John's reign does not provide any relevant insights on the western outlook toward Constantinople. No inscription currently reveals whether John flanked his name with Theodosius II's in honorary and public contexts, as Eugenius did with Theodosius and Avitus did with Marcian.

Also the numismatic evidence is inconclusive. Both the mints of Rome and Milan struck gold and base metal coins in Theodosius II's and John's names, which are die-linked, while Gaul has returned solidi for John showing the reverse legend VICTORIA AVGGG. Based on this, Grierson and Mays agreed with Ulrich-Bansa that John minted for Theodosius II, although they acknowledge that this must have happened at the beginning of his reign, i.e. when he was still hoping for recognition.¹⁰³² RIC 10 dates the gold issues for Theodosius II to the interregal period but attributes the base metal coins minted at Rome for Theodosius II to John.¹⁰³³ The way I see it, the problem is the following: some legends in the 4th and early 5th century correctly indicate AVG or AVGG or AVGG depending on the number of emperors that were recognised by the issuing authority. This can be clearly seen in the coinages minted in the East for Arcadius and Theodosius II and in some western coinages struck by usurpers and legitimate emperors before the death of Honorius.¹⁰³⁴ As time passes, however, the legend undergoes immobilisation and stop being reflective of how many emperors were actually ruling. In the West, this phenomenon can be seen relatively early. Still Priscus Attalus had a solidus with VICTORIA AVGVSTI (unsurprisingly seen as a 'decisive rejection of any recognition of the emperor in Ravenna'.) But the reverse of two of his siliquae also read VICTORI-A AVGGG and VICTORI-A AVGG.¹⁰³⁵ Does this mean that he recognised Honorius' authority at some point? In fact, he is not known to have ever formally done so, and it is unlikely that he recognised Theodosius II; but even if he did, who is the third emperor? It might be Constantine, but the most likely option is that, as early as 410s, legends had already immobilised.¹⁰³⁶ As with Attalus, so too John's issue with VICTORIA AVGGG was immobilised. No one other than himself and Theodosius II were Augusti in this period (Valentinian III was only Caesar

¹⁰³² Ulrich-Bansa 1976: 281; cf. Grierson & Mays 1992: 228.

¹⁰³³ RIC X: 133, 157 f. Gold issues for Theodosius II alone are found with the Ravenna and Milan mint-marks. These issues must be earlier than 20 November.

¹⁰³⁴ RIC X: 63; 65.

¹⁰³⁵ See below. For Attalus' solidus, cf. RIC X: 134.

¹⁰³⁶ Other examples are some Gallic bronze issues for Honorius and Arcadius which show AVGGG, though these could perhaps be dated to Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius II; RIC X: 127.

and empresses like Galla Placidia were not traditionally counted).¹⁰³⁷ This process of immobilisation is also evident by the gold issues minted for Theodosius II before John's seizure of power on 20 November, which show VICTORIA AVGGG (exactly the same legend which will be taken on by John's coinage).¹⁰³⁸

In general, the challenge with die-linked coins minted in the names of two rulers whose reigns partially overlap is how to tell them apart. Specifically, how can we distinguish between a series of coins that might have been minted for Theodosius II during the interregnum and one that might have been minted during John's takeover? The matter is not so straightforward, for nothing prevented moneyers to use one die to serve two different rulers, particularly if their rule overlapped or were contiguous.¹⁰³⁹ In fact, the existence of solidi of Libius Severus that are die-linked with solidi of Leo I and Majorian suggests that this was common practice during the fifth century.¹⁰⁴⁰

In line with previous attempts to avoid military conflict through peaceful means, it is plausible that John recognised Theodosius II as co-Augustus, and maintained a positive attitude towards him until at least the end of 424, i.e. when the eastern invasion began.¹⁰⁴¹ It is conceivable that John may have formally or informally recognised Theodosius prior to this event, or at least wanted the people in Rome to believe so. The choice of western consular policy seems to support this notion, as John only appointed the western consul and left the other position to his eastern colleague, without issuing instructions to disseminate or recognise the eastern consuls in 424 (Victor) and, more obviously, the joint rivalling consulships for 425 (*Theodosius XI et Valentinianus I*). This decision by John indicated that while he maintained a conciliatory approach, he firmly rejected any claims of illegitimacy made by Theodosius and was prepared to use military force to resist him. In contrast, eastern consular policy was unambiguous and indicates a political crisis followed by open hostility. As a consequence of John's repudiation as Augustus and Theodosius' declaration of war, John's nominee for 424

¹⁰³⁷ RIC X: 359

¹⁰³⁸ RIC X: 356.

¹⁰³⁹ Although moneyers could be divided up in as many as ten divisions, they might have been given a common set of observe dies, for in most reigns die-linking between them can be observed. On this, see: Grierson & Mays 1992: 52-3; followed by RIC X: 25. According to Kent, Theodosius II's issues, which are die-linked to John's, are minted by the latter. They are interregnal; cf. RIC X: 133.

¹⁰⁴⁰ RIC X: 191.

¹⁰⁴¹ See, e.g. the case of Julian and Constantius, and Eugenius and Theodosius.

(Castinus) was rejected, and John himself was denied an imperial consulship in Constantinople in 425.

A totally different issue is the significant non-appearance of the eastern consul for 423 (Asclepiodotus) in Rome. Evidence from Rome shows that Marinianus and Asclepiodotus' names were announced by early February at the latest, whereas all Italian evidence bearing the same full formula are dated much later (from mid-July on.) Certainly, this may be due to accidents of preservation, but the inscription from Syracuse, which is dated by a p.c. formula, strongly suggests, at the least, that provincials in Italy could be using a provisional formula as late as March. Therefore, it may not be entirely wrong to wonder whether the overlap between the appearance, in Rome, of Marinianus alone and the continuous use of the full formula in Italy mirrors delay in disseminating a possibly 'new' official formula.

Asclepiodotus was the incumbent praetorian prefect of the East (in office from 423 to 425) and the uncle of Empress Eudocia, who was dismissed after ordering the restitution to the Jews of their synagogues.¹⁰⁴² The edict seems to have generated a significant waive of dissent among Christians, and he was allegedly dismissed in 425 as a result of this.¹⁰⁴³ Consequently, it is perhaps out of hostility that a few Roman Christian inscriptions omit his name. The authors of CLRE could not explain the reasons for this, but ruled out that the reason was political.¹⁰⁴⁴ This is, at least partially, right, since these inscriptions are dated from 23 June to 12 December, while Honorius died on 15 August 423 and John seized power on 20 September at the earliest. Therefore, the omission dated after 20 September may be due to politics, but the inscription dated on 23 June has certainly no connection to it.

4.2.12. Theodosius II and Valentinian III

Discussion:

Valentinian III's accession was sponsored and actively pursued by Theodosius II in 425. From then to the end of his reign in 450, the relation of Valentinian III to Theodosius II was that of a subordinate who could not but approve his creator's undertaking with 'the loyalty of a colleague and the affection of a son'.¹⁰⁴⁵ The principle of a united empire remained an essential feature of Theodosian policy and propaganda, with the Theodosian Code being an

¹⁰⁴² *CTh.* 16.8.25 dated on 15.ii.

¹⁰⁴³ *PLRE* II 160.

¹⁰⁴⁴ *CLRE* 381.

¹⁰⁴⁵ *Gesta Senatus* 2.

assertion of that very principle.¹⁰⁴⁶ Copies of imperial pronouncements published in one half of the empire were (at least in theory) to be transmitted to the other, and every single piece of legislation, whether regarding religious or secular matters, issued in the name of both emperors.¹⁰⁴⁷ There is evidence (especially for Valentinian) that each emperor had his own effigy struck on coins in the other half of the empire (consular and more regular issues with *vota* legends, on both Valentinian and his own family members, including the female ones, such as Placidia).¹⁰⁴⁸

During the period spanning from the beginning of Valentinian III's reign in 425 to the death of Theodosius II in 450, partial dissemination of the eastern consul's name is documented several times, namely in 431, 432, 433, 434, 445, 448 and 449. Nonetheless, more uncertainty can be attributed to the late or failed dissemination of the eastern consul's name in 442 (Eudoxius). While the latter appears in a western law by September, his name is notably absent from other sources in the West. This occurrence took place in the aftermath of a disastrous treaty with the Vandals, which resulted in the loss of North Africa's wealthiest provinces and their revenues after the withdrawal of eastern contingents in 441. It is reasonable to assume that the financial ramifications of the eastern withdrawal may have caused tensions between the governing classes of the western and eastern empires, potentially contributing to the non-dissemination of the eastern consul in 442.¹⁰⁴⁹

Another possible explanation for the lack of dissemination could be the disruption of the land route in the Balkans caused by the Hunnic invasion, although it is worth noting that the Gothic revolt in the 470s did not halt the dissemination of the eastern consul to Italy.¹⁰⁵⁰

Overall, it is difficult to draw definitive conclusions due to the paucity of evidence available. While it is possible that the non-dissemination of the eastern consul in 442 was a sign of a

¹⁰⁴⁶ Millar 2006: 51 f.

¹⁰⁴⁷ *CTh.* 1.1.5.

¹⁰⁴⁸ In particular, evidence remains for Valentinian in the East, cf. RIC X: 73 f. Kent argues that Valentinian struck no coinage in the name of his senior Augustus besides some *siliquae* at Trier (and some consular *solidi*), and none for Marcian, cf. RIC X: 160. Grierson & Mays add that he only struck a few coins after his accession, but he was 'as reluctant as Honorius' to issue for Theodosius II, cf. Grierson & Mays 1992: 149.

¹⁰⁴⁹ For the treaty, cf. Heather 2000: 11-12. Oppedisano 2020: 257 maintains that peaceful relations between east and west began faltering when Theodosius II supported the marriage between Honoria and Attila in 449. This view might be relevant once it is considered that the eastern consul's name is only found within our western record as p.c. evidence. However, I have not found sufficient evidence to support Oppedisano's claim, so as things stand there is not sufficient reasons to treat the evidence for 449 as no more than an ordinary case of late dissemination.

¹⁰⁵⁰ For the Hunnic invasion, cf. Lee 2000: 41.

wider crisis, it is equally plausible that it was simply a result of the lack of available evidence. It is important to note, however, that the consulship was recognised based on the Valentinianic novels.¹⁰⁵¹

4.2.13. Valentinian III and Marcian

451	452	453
<p>a) Valentinian III</p> <p>1. Adelfius</p> <p>b) Marcian</p> <p>1. Marcianus perp. Aug. e.q.f.n.</p>	<p>a) Valentinian III</p> <p>1. Herculanus</p> <p>b) Marcianus</p> <p>1. Sporacius e.q.f.n.</p>	<p>a) Valentinian III</p> <p>1. Opilio</p> <p>b) Marcianus</p> <p>1. Vincomalus et Opilio</p>

Discussion:

Theodosius died on 28 July 450 and was succeeded by Marcian on 25 August, who hurried to recognise Valentinian's seniority, as shown by the conciliar material of Chalcedon and the preceding letters sent by Marcian to Pope Leo.¹⁰⁵²

However, the failure of the eastern establishment to consult Valentinian III alienated him, and he retaliated by refusing to recognise Marcian as legitimate colleague and—if we are to trust John of Antioch—by considering further military actions.¹⁰⁵³ Eventually, Valentinian recognised Marcian's authority, albeit this recognition probably did not come earlier than 15 April, 452 (and possibly as late as 29 June).¹⁰⁵⁴

¹⁰⁵¹ *CLRE* 418; 432.

¹⁰⁵² See the material in Price & Gaddis 2005; for instance, Leo, *Ep.* 73 ACO 2.3 (after Marcian's accession in 450), and the letter sent by Marcian to the eastern bishops on 23 May 451, ACO 2.1 pp. 27–8 (ep. 13), cf. p. 92 and 98; Marcian to the Council, ACO 2.3 pp. 20–21 (ep. 32) being sent in the name of both emperors, cf. p. 107. *Contra*, the authors and F. Millar believe that the superscriptio of the first edict of Chalcedon mentioning both Valentinian and Marcian is not genuine but depends on Justinianic usage; cf. ib. 128 n. 83. This is possible though impossible to ascertain.

¹⁰⁵³ Lee 2000: 43 and relevant literature in n. 60.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Customarily, it is assumed that Marcian was not recognised by Valentinian until 30.iii.452. But the name of Marcian (and his consul) is omitted in *NovVal.* 35 (15.iv); hence either the dates of the novels are wrong or (as is more likely) recognition could have occurred at a later date. The first novel mentioning Marcian is *NovVal.* 36 (29.vi), which brings recognition sometime between 15 April and 29 June. There is a possibility that mai(us) has been confused for mar(tius), or vice versa, in the manuscript tradition of either work, although this cannot be ascertained. The numismatic evidence is controversial and scholars disagree about whether Valentinian

Valentinian's policy of non-dissemination of the eastern consuls only partially mirrors these developments. In fact, one would expect to see the eastern consul used in the western contemporary documentation after Marcian's recognition in 452, yet the only consular date mentioning the name of an eastern consul from the whole period 451-453 is from an African inscription dated by *p.c. Marciani et Adelfi* which likely mentioned Marcian's name as a result of unofficial dissemination (the diurnal date of the epitaph antedates the recognition of Marcian by Valentinian.) The eastern evidence is no less puzzling. As noted above, Marcian rushed to recognise Valentinian as his senior colleague, yet there is no evidence that neither of the western consuls in 451 and 452 was ever announced and disseminated, not even after he had been recognised (although the use of *e.q.f.n.* does not exclude formal recognition).¹⁰⁵⁵ This apparent contradiction is well exemplified by a letter that Marcian sent to Pope Leo in December 451: the letter mentions both Valentinian and Marcian in the regnal formula but it is dated by only *D.N. Marcianus perp. Aug. e.q.f.n.*¹⁰⁵⁶ How do we explain this?

What I believe to be the correct answer is that, while the consular policy of the years 451-453 was clearly influenced by the events of 450, this was not intended to express a formal and explicit repudiation of either Marcian (after iv-vi.452) or Valentinian (from the start of Marcian's reign). However, tensions existed between the two emperors since Marcian's recognition had been extracted from Valentinian. Although the latter renounced his formal claims to the eastern throne in 452, he still hoped to reassert them, much like Honorius and Valentinian II had hoped to keep control over Gaul in previous centuries. This created a clear and unresolved tension, which could not be resolved through direct military confrontation. As a result, this tension found an outlet in church affairs. Since the Second Council of Ephesus (449), there had been a schism between the West and East, and this tension between Rome and Constantinople grew even stronger after the Council of Chalcedon in 451, mainly because Marcian had supported Constantinople's ecclesiastical claim for primacy in the East, causing Pope Leo's firm opposition. Based on this context, it can be argued that Valentinian's consular

minted for Marcian. Kent (RIC X: 96, 160) argues that Marcian struck coins for Valentinian at the beginning of his reign, although Valentinian struck none for Marcian. Grierson and Mays (1992: 157) are of different opinion, and argue that Valentinian III did struck solidi and tremisses in Marcian's name at Ravenna and Rome, since all the solidi for Marcian have Valentinian's type showing the emperor standing with his right foot on a human-headed serpent. However, this is a standard type for other emperors before and after Valentinian, and it does not provide grounds for dating to the last years of Valentinian rather than to the interregna between Maximus' death and Avitus' accession.

¹⁰⁵⁵ The *p.c.* evidence from 452 and 453 shows that announcement and dissemination never took place.

¹⁰⁵⁶ ACO no. 1.2 (p.56.4; 18.xii.)

policy expressed his disapproval and possible condemnation of Marcian's perceived mishandling of the Council of Chalcedon, particularly with regards to Canon 28 on the Primacy of Constantinople. The policy expressed Valentinian's discontent with Marcian's actions at the Council of Chalcedon, which he saw as a departure from Petrine views on the leadership of the Christian Church.

Regarding Marcian, it is uncertain what his consular policy meant. It is possible that he responded to Valentinian's hostility by withholding the announcement of his appointees. However, unlike in the West where not disseminating a consulship was performed ambiguously, in the East, emperors only halted the dissemination of consulships in the case of rulers whose authority was openly questioned. The recent examples of Theodosius II's rejections of Attalus's and John's nominees illustrate this point. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that Marcian, who did not seem to seek an open confrontation with Valentinian, would have tried to handle the situation in a more subtle way. In fact, the use of *e.q.f.n.* suggests that the court had not yet been notified. This allowed Marcian to ignore Valentinian's appointments and gloss over his failure to notify him, without expressing formal displeasure.

I think there are two arguments in favour of my interpretation. First, it is only in March, 453 that Leo formally ratified the decisions of the council (save for canon 28), and it is remarkable that the first eastern consulship disseminated in Italy is precisely the pair of 454. CLRE notes, 'Even after recognizing Marcian as Augustus, it seems that Valentinian still refused to admit his right to designate a consul acceptable in the West. Marcian, on the other hand, recognized Valentinian's consul. But an understanding was evidently reached in the course of the year, since Marcian was allowed to designate both consuls for 454.'¹⁰⁵⁷ This was facilitated by Marcian and Leo's agreement over Chalcedon. If an agreement had been reached between them over this in the course of 453, as was seemingly the case, the timing was ideal for a renewed consular announcement in 454, which would have signalled this restoration of unity. Predictably, Marcian was eager to announce the success of his council at the earliest opportunity, and a joint consular pair would have been an effective way to publicly celebrate the restoration of communion between the East and West. It may not therefore be an accident that we find the western consulship recognised in the East as early as 453, as well as signs of Marcian's growing impatience at Leo's delay.¹⁰⁵⁸

¹⁰⁵⁷ CLRE 441.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Marcian wrote to Leo once again on 15 February 453 complaining that he had not yet confirmed the decisions of the council. Leo's reply stresses that Marcian confirmed the privileges (primacy) of Rome, passing

Second, the eastern consuls of 452 and 453 were heavily involved in the politics surrounding Chalcedon. Both Sporacius and Vincomalus were members of the commission of palatine officials appointed by Marcian to preside over the council, and Vincomalus chaired the session where Canon 28 was approved. These officials fully supported the resolution.¹⁰⁵⁹ However, the fact that Studius, another member of the commission, was proclaimed as one of the two eastern consuls in the West in 454 proves that there was nothing personal against the consuls of 452 and 453. As Studius became consul after Leo approved Chalcedon, then obviously there was no longer a serious objection to his consulship being proclaimed in Italy. This not only supports our first argument but also explains why his fellow commissioners' consulships were not recognised in the West while his was.

The first documented failure to recognise and disseminate a consular appointment as a result of a schism dates back to the Nicene-Arian controversy, which almost brought Constantius II and Constans in 346 to the verge of war. Thereafter, it occurred once again in 404 and perhaps in 405, when Stilicho, in the wake of the deposition of Chrysostom, refused to recognise the eastern consulates of Aristaenetus and Anthemius.

What happened is, to some extent, the recurrence of a situation similar to what had occurred during the regency of Stilicho, when at some point the western government railed against the Constantinopolitan governing class though refraining itself from questioning the emperor's authority. During the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius, there was no dynastic hostility and power struggle was limited to the two governing classes of Ravenna and Constantinople. In the last years of Valentinian's reign, by contrast, actual dynastic hostility existed, yet this was channelled by the western government against the members of Marcian's government by exploiting the religious divide. It was certainly fortunate that the new consuls of Marcian in 452 and 453 were the same officials who had taken parts in the deliberations that had so much displeased the Apostolic see. Pope Leo was categorical in claiming that disowning the Petrine supremacy was alike to rebelling against God and the Empire.¹⁰⁶⁰ Leo explicitly advocated for

over the privileges that were confirmed for Constantinople, which gave Leo an opportunity to compromise, cf. Price & Gaddis 2005: 150 f.; 151-2.

¹⁰⁵⁹ The papal representatives demanded their objections be put on record, condemning the resolution as a humiliation and an insult to the Apostolic. Cf. Price & Gaddis 2005: 67-73; 91 (declaration of the papal legates).

¹⁰⁶⁰ Leo, *epist.*, 44, 3: *defendite contra haereticos inconcussum ecclesiae statum, ut et vestrum Christi dextera defendatur imperium*; also: *ibi.*, 156, 3;

Valentinian’s intervention, and in backing Leo against his enemies, Valentinian could certainly uphold his claim to be the champion of the Apostolic See.¹⁰⁶¹

4.2.14. Marcian and Avitus

455	456
<p>a) Avitus (after 9.vii)</p> <p>1. Divus Valentinianus VIII Aug. (?)</p> <p>b) Marcian</p> <p>1. Divus Valentinianus VIII et Anthemius</p>	<p>a) Avitus (until 17.x)</p> <p>1. Avitus Aug.</p> <p>b) Marcian</p> <p>1. Varanes et Iohannes</p>

Discussion:

The eastern evidence shows that the only consulship announced by Avitus (his own accession consulship in 456) was never disseminated in the East. Baynes and Mathisen have objected that Avitus’ own designation as consul in 456 became known in Constantinople too late, and that this was the reason why it was not disseminated in Marcian’s domain.¹⁰⁶² As noted by Henning, however, the insistence of both sides on their respective nominees proves a continuous lack of intention to revise the consular pair throughout the year—even when knowledge of the appointments must have ultimately reached the court.¹⁰⁶³ More generally, there is neither contemporary nor later evidence for Avitus’ recognition in the East.¹⁰⁶⁴ Eastern chronicles refer to Avitus only as an usurper and, as opposed to the previous legislation, which customarily mentioned the western emperor, Avitus’ name is always missing.¹⁰⁶⁵ While it can therefore be concluded that Marcianus’ non-recognition of Avitus’ consulship was paralleled by the latter’s non-recognition as emperor, both Avitus’ attitude toward Marcian and the meaning attached to the non-dissemination of his consuls is less straightforward.

¹⁰⁶¹ Leo, *epist.*, 60.

¹⁰⁶² Baynes 1922: 222 f.; Mathisen 1981: 235.

¹⁰⁶³ Henning 1999: 194.

¹⁰⁶⁴ So, too, e.g., Henning 1999: 194 f. and, more recently, Becker 2020: 83.

¹⁰⁶⁵ On the hostility or disinterest of western and eastern sources to Avitus’ reign, see: Procopius, *Wars*, 1.7; Jordanes, *Getica*. 240 with Gusso 1995: 577 and *PLRE* II: 196-198. For the legislation, cf. *NovMar.* I-IV, mentioning Valentinian, and *CJ* 14.13 (iii.iv.456), 10.22.3 (18.vii.456) omitting Avitus.

As has demonstrated by Henning, there is extensive evidence that Avitus pretended to have gained Leo's recognition.¹⁰⁶⁶ The view is based on:

(i) Hydatius' passage on the sending of a legatio to Marcian *pro unanimitate imperii*, as a result of which '*Marcianus et Avitus concordēs principatu Romani utuntur imperii*';¹⁰⁶⁷

(ii) CIL VI.8.3 41405—a dedication by the PVR Junius Valentinus to (possibly) Marcian and Avitus.¹⁰⁶⁸

(iii) Although the names in the latter inscription are less than certain, Avitus' self-presentation as the recognised western colleague of Leo is confirmed by Prosp. Haun. s.a. 455, according to whom Avitus entered Italy in fall 455 feigning recognition by Marcian (s.a. 455: *Italiamque cum praesumpti honoris collegiis ingressus XI k. Oct.*).

It should be mentioned that there is little or no evidence that Avitus minted coins for Marcian.¹⁰⁶⁹ But minting coinage for the eastern colleague was no longer a customary practice in the West by that time, so this is by no means evidence of non-recognition.

Avitus' pretence of eastern imperial recognition, which he obviously implicitly reciprocated, is the reason why the evidence from 455 and 456 is the more puzzling. Anthemius' name (Valentinian's colleague for 455) is mentioned in a few of Leo's letters (not an unquestionable guide), but absent in all the Italian inscriptions.¹⁰⁷⁰ In 456 Avitus announced his own accession consulate, yet Marcian proclaimed his own rival set of consuls rather than indicating a colleague for Avitus. As three consuls could not be in office simultaneously, one of them had to go, but, as opposed to Constantine who in 409 had dropped Theodosius III to

¹⁰⁶⁶ Henning 1999: 194-196 and esp. p. 195 and n. 38 for the previous stances on the issue. See, too: Gillett 2003: 52 and n. 61; Szidat 2010: 284 and n. 1153.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Cf. Hydatius, cc 163, 166, 169, 173, 176-7 [156, 159 etc.].

¹⁰⁶⁸ Two consular pairs have been proposed for this fragmentary inscription, one of which is *Marciano et Avito*; cf. EDR 262890.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Henning 1999: 134-135 seeing Avitus' possible refusal to mint in Marcian's name as evidence of hostility between the two emperor (following RIC X's conclusions in 1994: 178 f.); *contra*, Grierson & Mays (1992: 157) argue that Avitus struck tremisses in Marcian's name at Milan. The coinage, however, might have been issued in the interregnum from Maximus to Avitus or Avitus to Majorian.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Cf. Ch. 2 p. 78 above for the unreliability of the papal letter. *AE* reads the inscription in CIL XII 4311 = ILCV 1807 = AE 2010, 918 (Béziers, Narb.; rest.; VI for VII) as *Valentiniano VI[I] et A[v]ie[no] cons(ulibus)* and dates to AD 450 while *CLRE* (p. 444-45) restores *VI[III]* and restores *Valentinianus VIII et Anthemius*. I could not verify through photography, but even if *CLRE*'s restoration is correct, this would remain the only extant specimen. It cannot be a coincidence that all the following Italian inscriptions omit Anthemius' name: ICUR n.s. I 1469 = ILCV 4412 (29.xi); Ferrua, Kokalos 28/29 (1982-83) 21 no.73 = SEG 1986, 843 (Catania, 2-15.x); CIL XI 2583 = ILCV 3137D = ICI XI 4 (Chiusi, 1.xii); CIL X 1341 = ILCV 3118A (Nola); CIL XI 6602 = ICI VI 136 (Sarsina, Reg. VI; frag.).

make space for his own name next to Honorius VIII, Avitus simply decided to disseminate neither of Marcian's consuls. As with Valentinian and Marcian, it would therefore appear that, once again, we are facing an apparent contradictory situation where one emperor (Avitus) recognised the other but decided not to disseminate (and probably recognise) his colleague's nominees. In all likelihood, the explanation for this is alike to what was suggested for Valentinian, i.e. non-dissemination of Varanes and Iohannes might have occurred in retaliation for Marcian's refusal to recognise Avitus' consulship, but it is unlikely that it entailed an overt statement against Marcian's authority, which in fact was publicly acknowledged elsewhere.

4.2.15. Marcian, Leo and Majorian

456	457	458
<p>a) Western provisional government (after 17.x)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Avitus (?) 2. <i>Varanes et Iohannes</i> (?)^{*unattested} <p>b) Marcian</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. p.c. Valentiniani VIII et Anthemi 2. Varanes et Iohannes 	<p>a) Western provisional government</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. p.c. Iohannis et Varanae 2. Constantinus et Rufus <p>b) Marcian (until 27.i) and Leo (from 7.ii)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Constantinus et Rufus 	<p>a) Majorian</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Maiorianus Aug. 2. <i>Leo et Maiorianus Augg. (?)</i> <p>b) Leo</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Leo Aug.

459	460	461
<p>a) Majorian</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ricimer <p>b) Leo</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. P.c. Leonis 2. Patricius e.q.f.n. 	<p>a) Majorian</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Magnus et Apollonius <p>b) Leo</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. p.c. (II) Leonis 2. Apollonius e.q.f.n. 	<p>a) Majorian</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Severinus <p>b) Leo</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dagalaifus 2. <i>Dagalaifus et Severinus?</i> (p.c. in 462)^{*unattested in 461}

Discussion:

Dissemination of the eastern consulship was inconsistent in Majorian's domain, while there is little evidence of contemporary dissemination of the western consulship in the East between 456-462. For a better appreciation of the challenges posed by the sources, the evidence for both the western and eastern dissemination is recapped below. At the end of this discussion the relevant western evidence is plotted by reference to each relevant year (456-461) and class of evidence (inscriptions; laws; papal letters and other relevant miscellaneous material). As it is nearly certain that most of the consular lists given by western chronicles are of little or no value for recovering contemporary dissemination, they have been excluded.

a. Eastern dissemination:

In 456, *p.c. Valentiani VIII et Anthemi* was used in Oxy. as late as 28.viii.¹⁰⁷¹ *Avitus* was never disseminated, as proven by P.Oxy. LXX 4780 attesting *Varanes et Iohannes* soon after (13.xi).

In 457, *p.c. (II) Valentiniani VIII et Anthemi* (and not *p.c. Varanae et Iohannis*) is attested in Egypt until 11.iii.¹⁰⁷² Then *Constantinus et Rufus* was announced by 29.ix.¹⁰⁷³

In 458, *Leo I* is attested in Egypt by 3.viii.¹⁰⁷⁴

In 459, *Patricius e.q.f.n.* used at Sardis by 27.iv.¹⁰⁷⁵ According to the evidence from 460, in Egypt only *p.c. Leonis* might have been used.¹⁰⁷⁶

In 460, *p.c. (II) Leonis* was used as late as 19.i at Oxy.¹⁰⁷⁷ Then *Apollonius* [---?, is attested at Oxy. by 9.xii.¹⁰⁷⁸ *CJ 2.7.11* also gives *Magnus et Apollonius* by 1.ii. Given the western order (not found in Egypt), the law might be interpolated.¹⁰⁷⁹ There is no trace of Majorian's western consul (Magnus) in the Egyptian *p.c.* evidence for 461.

¹⁰⁷¹ P.Yale I 71.1 (Oxy., 28.viii).

¹⁰⁷² P.Bodl. I 52.1 (unkn., 11.iii; ed. 15.iii.456) cf. Gonis 2002: 140.

¹⁰⁷³ P.Rainer Cent. 101.1 (Herakleop., 29.ix).

¹⁰⁷⁴ PSI IX 1075.14 (Oxy., 3.viii).

¹⁰⁷⁵ Sardis VII.1,18 = Grégoire, Inscr. 322 (Sardis; 27.iv).

¹⁰⁷⁶ P.Rainer Cent. 102.1 (Herakleop., ix-xii; *p.c.* rest.).

¹⁰⁷⁷ P.Oxy. LXXXV 5519.

¹⁰⁷⁸ P.Oxy. L 3599.1 (9.xii; uncert.; but see pap. 461).

¹⁰⁷⁹ *CJ 2.7.11* (Constantinople, 1.ii).

In 461, *Dagalaifus* is attested in Isauria in an inscription dated between i-viii, and in Thessalonica in an undated inscription.¹⁰⁸⁰ In Egypt only *p.c. Apolloni e.q.f.n.* was used in Herakl. as late as 1.ix.¹⁰⁸¹

In 462, *p.c. Dagalaifi et Severini* was used as late as 13.ii in Isauria and 20.ix in Egypt (Oxy.), then followed by Leo II (attested in Egypt).¹⁰⁸²

b. Western dissemination:

The latest attested formula for 456 is in a Roman inscription dated by the consulship of Avitus on 1 November.¹⁰⁸³ Then, in 457 our record shows invariably the use of *p.c.* of 456 (Iohannes and Varanes, both easterners) then followed by the new consuls (Constantinus and Rufus, also both easterners).¹⁰⁸⁴

In 458 the evidence becomes significantly inconsistent. Both regnal and consular formulas in Majorian's novels show Leo's name by 8 May, omitting it earlier, while the preserved consular issues minted for Majorian shows the silhouette of two emperors, one of whom was presumably Leo.¹⁰⁸⁵ A Roman inscription dating from 19 February or 21 April might have also accommodated the names of both emperors, but the stone is too fragmentary, and one can only be sure about the name of Majorian.¹⁰⁸⁶ Doubtless, Leo's name is dropped in a later inscription from Rome dating from 19 October.¹⁰⁸⁷ This is in spite of the last novel of the year (6.xi), which gives *Leo et Maiorianus*.¹⁰⁸⁸ One may postulate an accidental omission of the name of Leo in ICUR n.s. VIII 22977, and hence that official publication of Leo's name did not cease in Italy, yet the papal correspondence shows the same omission in October.¹⁰⁸⁹

Except for *NovMaior. 7*, which dates from autumn 458, there is a consistent non-dissemination of the eastern consul in Italy throughout 459, as demonstrated by the use of *p.c.*

¹⁰⁸⁰ CIG I, V 9259 = SEG XIV 813 (Alahan, Isauria; i-viii); IG X 2 1 776 = Feissel, Rec.Inscr.Chrét.Macéd. 128.

¹⁰⁸¹ P.Oxy. XVI 1878.1 = ChLA XLVII 1408.1 (Herakleop., 1.ix; Lat).

¹⁰⁸² Cf. e.g. M.Chr. 71.19 (Hermop., 7.x?) and P.Oxy. LXII 4913.1-2 (2.xii).

¹⁰⁸³ ICUR n.s. I 354 = ILCV 2974B adn. (1.xi).

¹⁰⁸⁴ Cf. e.g. ICUR n.s. VIII 20824 = ILCV 2974B (2.iv); ICUR n.s. VI 15895 = ILCV 1541 (4.iv). CIL V 5429 (Como, Reg. XI; i-viii) gives coss.'s names in reverse order.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Lacam 234-44, cf. *CLRE* 450.

¹⁰⁸⁶ ICUR n.s. VIII 22977 (19.x).

¹⁰⁸⁷ ICUR n.s. VIII 22977.

¹⁰⁸⁸ *NovMaior. 7* (6.xi).

¹⁰⁸⁹ ACO II.4, p.xxxiii, cf. *CLRE* 450.

Ricimeri in Italy as late as January 31, 460.¹⁰⁹⁰ However, it seems that by around February 20, 460, in Salona (which was formally under Majorian's empire), people were able to date using *p.c. Ricimeri et Patrici*.¹⁰⁹¹ Similarly, *NovMaior*. 11, dated 28 March 460 gives *Magnus et Apollonius*, and the pair continues to be used throughout the year, except for one single Roman inscription that drops Apollonius.¹⁰⁹² Then finally, dissemination of the eastern consul ceased throughout 461.

The significance of this information, particularly the western dissemination, is not immediately clear. Does contemporary consular dissemination reflect the ebb and flow of relations between the East and West during this period? What is our actual understanding of these relations?

Majorian's and Leo's respective stances towards their own imperial claims have been the object of much scholarly debate, so before attempting any explanation of the evidence, some points regarding their political relation need to be made clear.

Marcellinus and Jordanes, writing in the time of Justin and Justinian, have Majorian explicitly ordained by Leo (as Caesar). However, there is no trace of eastern recognition in contemporary eastern sources prior to the recognition of Majorian's western consul of 461, Severinus.¹⁰⁹³ Eastern recognition of Majorian can only be maintained on the basis of a western source (a passage in Sidonius, *Maior*. 385-388) that alludes to the role played by Leo (without naming him) in proclaiming Majorian. No other western source supports this view. This is important to stress, since most scholars have reposed in different versions Seeck's idea (1920: 338-340) that Leo at first raised Majorian to the rank of Caesar on 1 April 457 (following the early date in *Fasti Vindobonenses Priores*; Marcellinus s.a. 457, according to whom, *Maiorianus apud Ravennam Caesar est ordinatus*, and the passages in Sidonius and *Nov.Maior*. 1, which would support the idea that Majorian had at first rejected the elevation by

¹⁰⁹⁰ CIL IX 1372 = ILCV 3185A = ICI VIII 39 (Aeclanum).

¹⁰⁹¹ CIL III 9522 = Salona IV 775 (Salona; 20.ii; The indiction points to 459 but the postconsular formula dates in 460, and given (i) the early date, and that (ii) Patricius' consulship's dissemination would appear to have been late even in the East, this appears to be the most likely restoration).

¹⁰⁹² ICUR n.s. VII 17575a (19.viii; much rest.); VII 17576 = ILCV 134 (25.x); ICUR n.s. II 4276 (7.ix; Apoll., om.); cf., also the papal correspondence: Col.Avell. 51, 52 (17.vi); 53-55 (18.viii), cf. *CLRE* 454. Just 'Magnus' is given by Röm.Inschr.Tarraco 946 = CIL II/14 2098 (Tarragona) but the date of the inscription is 28.xii.459.

¹⁰⁹³ It is debated where Marcellinus (and Jordanes from him) took his information; cf. Szidat 2010: 283 and n. 1149-1150

the army to the rank of Augustus) before elevating him to Augustus on 28 December.¹⁰⁹⁴ A few scholars, however, have rejected this view, arguing that Majorian 1) was only elevated to the rank of Augustus (in December), and that 2) Leo had no role in it.¹⁰⁹⁵

The most important critical review of the alleged good relationship between Leo and Majorian is Oppedisano (2013), who makes three important points. Firstly, that Majorian was not proclaimed by Leo, maintaining that (i) the qualification of Majorian as ‘Caesar’ by both Marcellinus and the other Justinianic sources does not entail a specific rank but a hierarchical relationship between western and eastern rulers—present throughout Marcellinus—in which seniority is given to the rulers of Constantinople; (ii) Majorian’s rejection of the throne in Sidonius and in the first novel is a well-attested literary topos and not a real historical event (there is no trace of the designation by Leo to the rank of Caesar in contemporary sources, such as Sidonius); (iii) novel 1, issued on 11 January 458, is a formal letter of address to the senate by the new emperor, and it is best understood when a coronation on 28 December 457 is accepted rather than a much earlier date in April; (iv) the remaining legislative activity of the new government begins properly in January 458, which again stands for an accession date in December. Accordingly, Seeck’s view must be rejected.¹⁰⁹⁶

Secondly, Majorian probably never received a formal recognition by Leo, as evidenced by the absence of Majorian’s name in all contemporary eastern legislation. Thirdly, Majorian not only was never proclaimed or recognised by Leo, but he himself appears to have been at odds with Leo at first. This is demonstrated by his own failure to mention the eastern emperor in his initial legislation, both as a colleague in the empire and in the consulship, and especially in his first address to the Senate of Rome (Nov.Maior 1). This would not be in contradiction to the testimony of Sidonius (written at a later stage and for an audience less inclined to accept

¹⁰⁹⁴ Fast. Vind. Prior, p. 305 (1 April); Addit. Prosp. p. 492 (28 December). Marcellinus Comes, *Chron.* s.a. 457, p. 87; Sidonius, *Maior.* 9-12; *NovMaior.* 1. Following Seeck, this viewpoint was defended by e.g. Baynes 1922; Stein 1959: 374; *PLRE* II 702-703; Henning 1999: 196-98 and Szidat 2010: 393-395, though the latter envisages a proclamation to *imperator* (and not Caesar). More recently, also: Becker 2020: 74, arguing for recognition by Leo between March and May 458 on account of the regnal formulas in the novels of Majorian (to be rejected, though). For a fuller literature, see Oppedisano 2013: 108 n. 11 and 12. On the two dates: Barnes 1983: 268-69 suggested the compiler of Fasti confused the date of the proclamation of Majorian with the date of the celebrations of the recognition of Leo in Italy (according to the date of the western Novels, the name of Leo should have been included within official proclamations sometime between 11 March and 8 May 458). Siebigs 2010: 262 suggested a possible date for the proclamation of the eastern consuls in Italy; cf. Oppedisano 2013: 111 n. 19

¹⁰⁹⁵ Oppedisano 2013: 105-118, and 111 n. 18 (fuller literature) and Siebigs 2010: 790-801.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Oppedisano 2013: 110-18.

Majorian as lawful ruler) and the other Justinianic sources (mirroring later views of Majorian rather than the official position of the eastern government at the time of Leo), nor to Majorian's consular issues depicting the two emperors together, since Majorian aimed at recognition from and good relations with his colleague, and thus he was open to conciliatory gestures to signal his good intent. In the course of 458, when the western government was preparing a military expedition against internal (Gallic rebels) and external enemies (Vandals), and hence needed to display a stronger political and legal outlook, recognition of Leo was overtly stressed. This view is confirmed by a copper-and-silver tessera bearing the inscription *DD. nn. Leone et Iul(io) Maiorian(o) p(er)p(etuis) Aagg.* and signed on the back by Majorian's PPO Caecina Decius Basilius (cos. 463), which does not leave doubt as to whether Leo's authority was eventually recognised in Italy by Majorian's government.¹⁰⁹⁷

Oppedisano's view is sensible. The relation between the two emperors very likely developed in the course of Majorian's reign and there is no doubt that at some point Leo's authority was recognised in Italy by the western government. As with Avitus' and Valentinian's relations with Marcian, however, the evidence from consular dissemination only partially agrees with information from other sources about the official stance of the western government toward the emperor in Constantinople.

Avitus was deposed at Piacenza (in northern Italy) on 17 October and the late use of Avitus' consulship in Rome can be explained by the time that the news needed to circulate.¹⁰⁹⁸ Majorian and Ricimer plausibly acted in the name of Marcian when deposing Avitus, and later accepted that they were appointed to their commands by Leo, so the protracted use of eastern consuls in Italy until the end of 457 is consistent with this rhetoric. Nevertheless, the inconsistent usage of the eastern consul after 457 means that Majorian's policy of consular dissemination after 457 can hardly be recovered. At any rate, whatever this was, it is unlikely that it mirrors his official view of Leo's recognition. Maintaining the opposite would mean that in 459 and 461 he did not recognise Leo. Not only would this have been odd (Majorian was campaigning in the West to assert his authority in each of these years, hence one would expect to see his regime to show off or at least pretend—as, e.g. Avitus did—recognition by Leo) but the evidence suggests that eastern dissemination was actually very late in these years (even in the

¹⁰⁹⁷ CIL V 8119.02 = CIL XV 7107 = ILS 810 = EDR139597 = K.-L. Elvers 2011: 211, nr. 3:

(recto) *DD(ominis) nn(ostris) Leone / et Iul(io) Maiori(an)o p(er)p(etuis) AA(u)gg(ustis)*;

(verso) *Caecina Deci/us Basilius / p(raefectus) p(raetorio) fecit.*

¹⁰⁹⁸ ICUR n.s. I 354 = ILCV 2974B adn. (1.xi). See p. 276, n. 1000 above for a simile case after Eugenius' fall.

eastern provinces as proven by Patricius' consulship). In other words, it might well be that the absence of easterners in 459 and, perhaps, 461, in our western record has more to do with late dissemination than non-recognition. Given the significant delay that Constantinople was experiencing in disseminating even its own consul, it is not obvious what meaning one should attach to the non-dissemination of Leo's appointees in the West in these years.¹⁰⁹⁹ As to the eastern reception of Majorian's nominations for at least 459 and 460, some doubts may well persist, but it cannot be denied that Majorian was never considered by Leo as an emperor with equal standing, so perhaps the non-dissemination of westerners conveyed this significance. With only a few demonstrable exceptions, this was the standard meaning that eastern emperors had customarily attached to non-dissemination, including Marcian's recent rejection of Avitus' accession consulship.¹¹⁰⁰ Leo's actions were not particularly innovative in this regard. Although diplomatic overtures were possible during 460 that ultimately led to the dissemination of Majorian's consul in 461, it is important to remember that Majorian had disrupted Leo's sole rule. Therefore, it is likely that Leo regarded Majorian as a usurper throughout most of his reign.

(456)

Month	Inscriptions	Laws (Novels)	Papal.corr. (Leo)	Others
January				Avitus (Sidonius at Rome, 1.i)
February				
March				
April				
May	Avitus (Rome, 19.v)			
June	Avitus (Lyon, 10.vi)			

¹⁰⁹⁹ Cf. comments at p. 299 above on the use of Magnus by *CJ* 2.7.11.

¹¹⁰⁰ Cf. p. 292-6 for the use of non-dissemination in the relations between Valentinian and Marcian.

Month	Inscriptions	Laws (Novels)	Papal.corr. (Leo)	Others
July				
August				
September				
October				
November	Avitus (Rome, 1.xi)			
December				

(457)

Month	Inscriptions	Laws (Novels)	Papal. corr. (Leo)	Others
January		p.c. Varanis et Iohannis (Como, i-viii)		
February				
March	p.c. Iohannis et Varanae (Rome, 10.iii)			
April	p.c. Iohannis et Varanae (Rome, 2.iv) Constantinus et Rufus (Rome, 4.iv; 8.iv)			
May				
June				Constantinus et Rufus (1.vi)
July				Constantinus et Rufus

Month	Inscriptions	Laws (Novels)	Papal. corr. (Leo)	Others	
			(11.vii)		
August					
September	Constantinus et Rufus (Como, undated; after August?)		Constantinus et Rufus (1.ix)		
October			Constantinus et Rufus (11.x)		
November					
December				Constantinus et Rufus (1.xii)	

(458)

Month	Inscriptions	Laws (Novels)	Papal.corr.(Leo)	Others
January		Maorianus (Nov.Maior 1) (11.i)		
February				
March	<i>[Leo et?]</i> Maorianus (ICUR II 4943) (CLRE: 19.ii/21.iv?) (after 28.iii?)	Maorianus (Nov.Maior 2) (10.iii)	Leo et Maorianus (21.iii) Maorianus (21.iii) Maorianus (28.iii)	Leo et Maorianus (Consular issues)
April				
May			Leo et Maorianus	

Month	Inscriptions	Laws (Novels)	Papal.corr.(Leo)	Others
		(Nov.Maior 3) (8.v)		
June				
July		Leo et Maorianus (Nov.Maior 4) (11.vii)		
August			Leo et Maorianus (17.viii)	
September		Leo et Maorianus (Nov.Maior 5) (4.ix)		
October	Maorianus (ICUR VIII 22977; 19.x)	Leo et Maorianus (Nov.Maior 6) (26.x)	Maorianus (24.x)	Maorianus (Sidonius)
November		Leo et Maorianus (Nov.Maior 7) (6.xi)		
December				

(459)

Month	Inscriptions	Laws (Novels)	Papal.corr.(Leo)	Others
January	Ricimer (20.i)			
February				
March	Ricimer (Rome, 14.iii; Capua, 26.iii)		Ricimer (6.iii)	
April		Ricimer (Nov.Maior 9) (17.iv)		
May				
June				
July	Ricimer (11.vii)			
August				
September	Ricimer			
October	(Salona, 14.ix-15.x; vv.cc.)			
November				
December				

(460)

Month	Inscriptions	Laws (Novels)	Papal.corr.(Leo)	Others
January	p.c. Ricomeri (Mirabella; 31.i)			

Month	Inscriptions	Laws (Novels)	Papal.corr.(Leo)	Others
February	p.c. Ricomeri et Patrici (?) (Salona; 20.ii)			
March		Magnus et Apollonius (Nov.Maior. 11; 28.iii)		
April				
May				
June			Magnus et Apollonius (17.vi)	
July				
August	Magnus et Apollonius (Rome; 19.viii; certain?)		Magnus et Apollonius (18.viii)	
September	Magnus (Rome; 7.ix)			
October	Magnus et Apollonius (Rome; 25.x)			
November				
December				

(461)

Month	Inscriptions	Laws (Novels)	Papal.corr.(Leo)	Others
January	Severinus			

Month	Inscriptions	Laws (Novels)	Papal.corr.(Leo)	Others
	(Ivrea, 25.i)			
February				
March				
April	Severinus (nr. Como, 20.iv)			
May	Severinus (Rome, 3.v)			
June				
July	Severinus (Rome, 17.vii; 23.vii; 23.vii)			
August	Severinus (Fontanarosa, 28.viii?)			
September				
October				
November	Severinus (Nola, 9.xi)			Severinus (Conc.Galliae, 18.xi)
December				

4.2.16. Leo and Severus

462	463	464	465
a) Libius Severus 1. Severus Aug. b) Leo 1. Leo Aug. II	a) Libius Severus 1. Basilius b) Leo 1. Vivianus	a) Libius Severus and Leo 1. Rusticius et Olybrius	a) Libius Severus and Leo 1. Hermenericus et Basiliscus

465	466
<p>a) Libius Severus and Leo</p> <p>1. Hermenericus et Basiliscus</p>	<p>a) Western provisional government and Leo</p> <p>1. Leo III</p>

Discussion:

From 462 to 466 there is no evidence of westerners in the East. This is partly a consequence of western avoidance in appointing consuls for the years 464-466, and partly the result of Libius' very weak authority.

Majorian was deposed on 2 August 461 and executed a few days later. After an interregnum of three months, Libius Severus was raised on 19 November. Most of the top generals of Majorian in Dalmatia, Gaul and possibly Spain refused to recognise his accession and, as a result, his authority was limited to Italy and a few other territories nearby.¹¹⁰¹ As to Leo's stance, Cessi, Varady and Croke maintained that around 463 Severus was unofficially recognised by Leo.¹¹⁰² This would be evident from Jordanes' statement that Severus *sui tertio anno occubuit* when it is known that he reigned for at least four years (461-465).¹¹⁰³ Jordanes would therefore reveal the belated recognition of Constantinople, which would also be evident in Victor of Tunnuna's and Theophanes' passages of Severus' accession, which are given under 463 (and not 462).¹¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, this view must be rejected, since it is true that Jordanes reports a three-year-long reign for Severus, but he also emphasises that he was a usurper at Get. 236 (*cuius locum Seuerus inuasit. Qui tertio anno imperii sui Romae obiit*) and, more explicitly, at Rom. 336 (*sed et ipse tyrannidis sui tertio anno expleto Romae occubuit*). As to Victor, he reports Severus' accession in 463 (*Seuerus imperium non. Iul. sumit*), but fails to mention his accession consulship in 462. As opposed to Majorian, who is referred to as Caesar by Marcellinus Comes, Severus is treated with constant hostility by eastern sources. Henning argues for a more positive judgment of Severus by Marcellinus, in that the author, 'tituliert...den Kaiser... nicht als tyrannus.' But Marcellinus (and Jordanes with him) use the

¹¹⁰¹ On Libius Severus: Cessi 1919: 65-71; Stein 1959: 380-382, 386-387; Jones 1974: 303-304; Kaegi 1968: 35 and n. 72; Demougeot 1979: 588-591; Demandt 1998: 143-144; Heather 2007: 24; Roberto 2010: 205-207; 2020: 147 and n. 16 (for bibliography on the relationship of Dalmatia with Italy in this period).

¹¹⁰² Cessi 1922: 383-384; Varady 1976: 468; Croke 1992b: 101-102.

¹¹⁰³ Jordanes, *Rom.* 336.

¹¹⁰⁴ Victor Tunn., s.a. 463, 2; Theophanes, *Chron.*, A.M 5947.

verb *invasit* to describe the accession of Severus, which implies an usurpation.¹¹⁰⁵ So, too, a possible passage from Priscus of Panium, an eastern bureaucrat, makes it clear that the empire was divided.¹¹⁰⁶ Neither Severus' own consulship in 462, nor Basilus', Severus' PPO, are attested in the east. Also, there is no evidence that the eastern government minted for any western rulers after Marcian's issues for Valentinian III.¹¹⁰⁷ Moreover, no eastern laws from this period are found in any of the western compilations; and although issues of preservation could account for this, a more plausible explanation is that Leo voluntarily chose not to send out any copy of his novels to Italy—a clear indication that the local government was not regarded by Leo as legitimate. Further to this, it is unquestioned that Severus' name was not included in the *inscriptiones* of the laws of Leo inserted in the Code of Justinian. Although it is possible to maintain that this goes back to the compilers of the code (i.e. eastern views of Severus in the time of Justinian), the weight of the evidence collected above makes this possibility less likely.¹¹⁰⁸ As a matter of fact, then, although some limited diplomatic assistance was offered after a plea in 463, there is no substantial evidence of Leo's formal recognition of Severus, neither as equal nor as junior colleague.¹¹⁰⁹

As was customary by this period, the problem becomes much more controversial when the focus is shifted to the western evidence. Eastern consuls are not attested late in 461 and throughout 462 and 463, neither in Italian inscriptions nor papal correspondence, but there is some evidence that Severus' government recognised the authority of Leo. Kent maintained that Ricimer was acting in the name of Leo when he deposed Majorian in 461.¹¹¹⁰ Although it is impossible to prove it, this is plausible and, indeed, stylistic similarities between the western coinages of Leo and Severus strongly suggest that Leo had coins minted in Italy in the

¹¹⁰⁵ Marcellinus Comes, *chron.* s.a. 461, 2; Jordanes, *Rom.* 336; *Get.* 236. Henning 1999: 198 n. 53. Victor of Tunnuna's failure to use the specific verb to define usurpation (*inuado*) does not mean Victor regarded Severus as legitimate, since he never used it, not even for Petronius Maximus and Avitus, who were almost invariably regarded as usurpers (especially by the East).

¹¹⁰⁶ *Exc. De Leg. Rom.* 10 (plausibly from Priscus, fr. 38, Blockley 340-341).

¹¹⁰⁷ RIC X: 96 (noting that Marcian did not mint coins for Petronius Maximus and Avitus).

¹¹⁰⁸ *CJ* 2.7.12 (23 February 463); 1.36.1 and 10.44.3 (both 9. November 465).

¹¹⁰⁹ For the assistance offered by Leo in response to the embassy sent by Severus (Ricimer), see *Exc. De Leg. Rom.* 10 (plausibly from Priscus, fr. 38, Blockley 340-341). Scholars who judge unfavourably the relationship of Leo with Severus are, for instance: *CLRE* 459; Henning 1999: 198-199; Becker 2020: 83.

¹¹¹⁰ RIC X: 184

interregnum following Majorian's downfall.¹¹¹¹ Moreover, Leo's name was included in the regnal formulas of Severus' two surviving novels in a position of seniority (*NovSev.* 1, dated 20, Feb., 463 and 2, dated 25 Sept, 465). Next, in the course of 463, Severus pleaded with Leo for assistance against the threats of the Vandals and the Dalmatian separatists and, in the following two years, refrained from appointing his own consuls, accepting Leo's candidates for both 464 and 465, whose names are widely recorded in the dating formulas of our material.¹¹¹²

The weight of the evidence suggests that while the non-recognition of the eastern consuls may have conveyed a formal message of dissent and protest to Constantinople's refusal to recognise Severus, it does not appear to have directly implied non-recognition of the eastern emperor.

4.2.17. Leo and Anthemius

466	467	468	469
b) Western provisional government and Leo 1. Leo III	a) Western provisional government and Leo (until 25.iii) 1. Pusaeus et Iohannes	a) Anthemius and Leo 1. Anthemius Aug. II	a) Anthemius 1. Marcianus et Zeno b) Leo 1. Zeno et Marcianus

¹¹¹¹ John of Antioch, fr. 203 and *Exc. De Leg. Gent.* 13 (plausibly coming from Priscus, fr. 36, Blockley 338-39) describe the events failing to mention that Ricimer acted in the name of the eastern emperor, but this is not conclusive proof. Given the harsh condemnation that Ricimer faced in the East after overthrowing Anthemius, it was sensible to gloss over any possible involvement of Leo in anything associable to Ricimer. For the numismatic evidence, see Grierson & Mays (1992: 166-9; 172-173; 253; 264-65) who argue that Severus issued tremisses and half-siliquae for Leo, noting there is a Milanese tremisses that is die-linked with one Majorian's reverse. This too could be from the interregnum or Libius' reign. But for the problems of die-linked coins and their dating, see p. 289 above.

¹¹¹² The embassy sent by Severus (i.e. Ricimer, in fact, as remarked by our Greek source), was sent to the 'ruler of the Eastern Romans'; see *Exc. De Leg. Rom.* 10 and *Exc. De Leg. Gent.* 15. Assistance against Marcellinus in Dalmatia is attested by *Exc. De Leg. Gent.* 14 (all three fragments are plausibly from Priscus, fr. 38-39 and 41, Blockley, 340-43; 344-45). Further epigraphic material, which can be dated to the reign of Libius Severus, comes from a bronze-and-silver tablet (CIL X 8072 [4]) dedicated by the PVR Plotinus Eustathius and reciting *salvis dd. nn. et patricio Ricimere*. However, since we ignore when the named PVR was in office, this attribution is uncertain and the reigns of Majorian, Anthemius and Olybrius can be a further option.

466	467	468	469
	b) Anthemius and Leo (after 25.iii) 1. Pusaesus et Iohannes		

470	471	472
a) Anthemius 1. Severus et Iordanes b) Leo 1. Iordanes et Severus	a) Anthemius and Leo 1. Leo IV et Probianus	a) Anthemius (until 11.vii) 1. Festus et Marcianus b) Leo c) Marcianus et Festus

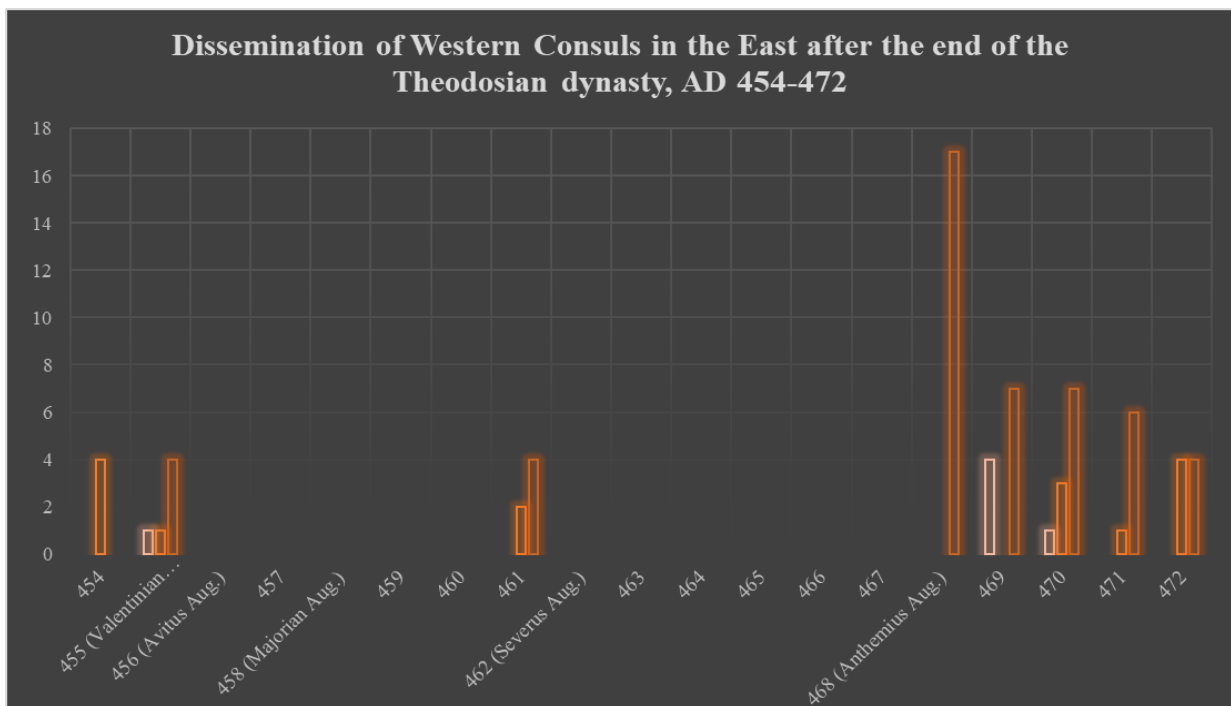
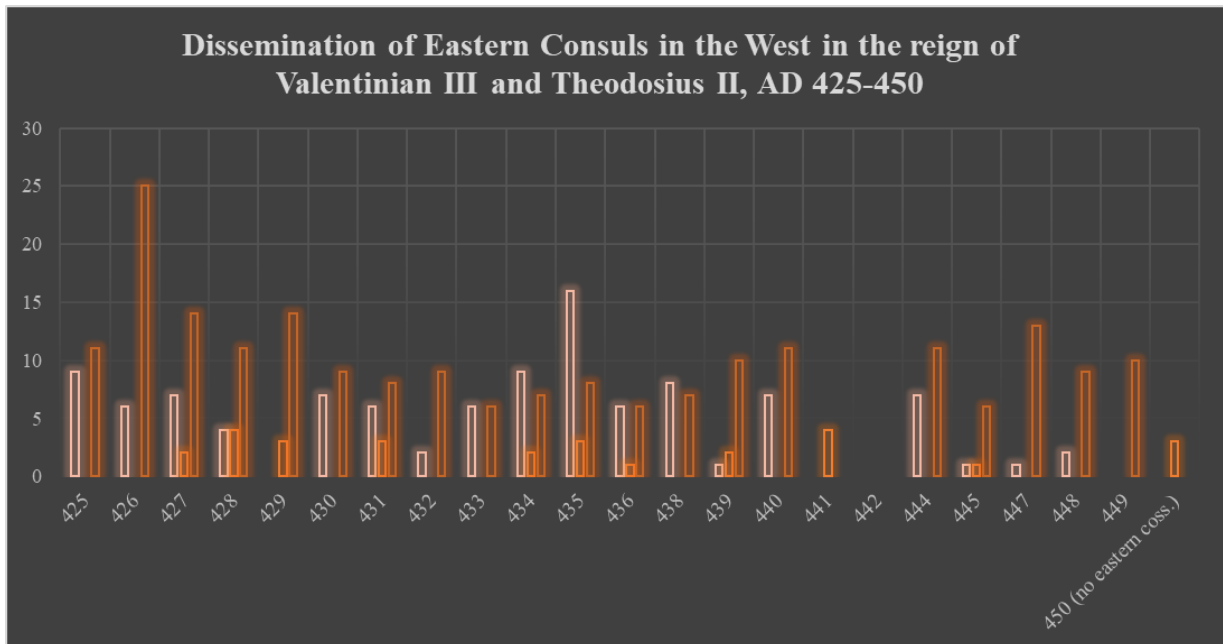
Discussion:

There is significant evidence pointing to formal eastern authority being recognised in Italy in the interregnum between Severus' death and Anthemius' accession, including the dissemination of the eastern consulates in Italy in 466 and 467, the western issues in the name of Leo and, more importantly, the testimony of Prosp. Add., according to whom, *Severo mortuo regnat Leo in monarchia anno uno*.¹¹¹³ After this interregnum, Leo proclaimed Anthemius 'Caesar' in Constantinople, then ratified his election in Rome as Augustus and continued to actively support him as junior colleague throughout his reign.¹¹¹⁴ Indeed, good relationships did not cease with the failure of the Vandal expedition in 467/468, and Leo sided with Anthemius during the civil war in 471/472 by marrying Anthemius' son Marcian to his

¹¹¹³ Prosp. Add. IV 2,8; coins: RIC X: 183 arguing against Ulrich-Bansa and Lacam who assigned the bulk of Leo's western coinages to Anthemius. Consular dissemination is seen as evidence by Henning 1999: 199 and n. 58.

¹¹¹⁴ Cf. Henning 1999: 201 and see also Kaegi 1968: 37. The renewed restoration of unity is celebrated in Sidonius, *Anthem.* 66 (*valeat divisio regni*); cf. Cameron 1993: 248 and nn. 206-207, quoting Kaegi 1968: 35 f. and Kent, *Roman Coins* (New York 1978), 762. Formally, the senate of Rome asked Constantinople to send an emperor, see: Sidonius, *Anthem.* 2, 13-22; Priscus, 44; Theophanes, *Chron.*, AM 5957; cf. Oppedisano 2020: 114. The same positive picture is in later eastern sources, such as Marcellinus, where Anthemius and Nepos are the only western rulers to be named *imperator* after 395; cf. Henning 1999: 202. There is also abundant epigraphic evidence of the collegiality of Anthemius and Leo; cf. Orlandi 2020: 177-197. The laws also provide abundant evidence of this collegiality; cf. Henning 1999: 202 and n. 72.

Graphs 4.1-2.



daughter Leontia and possibly designating him as consul for 472. Subsequently, Constantinople refused to recognise Olybrius after the assassination of Anthemius. The issues of Anthemius resume the Theodosian iconography of the unified empire (from the first issues of Theodosius II and Valentinian III, where the two emperors were represented as joint rulers

and joint consuls to new reverse types which express the restored pax between East and West and the military intent of Anthemius' enthronement).¹¹¹⁵ Cameron notes that there survives a SALVS REIPUBLICAE series minted at Rome (467-72) that shows Anthemius and Leo facing each other in military dress and holding a cross between them. This would reflect Anthemius' anxiety to stress eastern support in view of recent division.¹¹¹⁶

Henning points out that the circumstances and the modalities in which Anthemius was proclaimed emperor indicate a *modus operandi* similar to the proclamation of Valentinian III by Theodosius II, which suggests Leo could have done so intentionally.¹¹¹⁷ This similarity with the Theodosian period and the peace that characterised their dealings is well reflected by the consular evidence, which indicates a return of western names in the East similar to that experienced under Theodosius II and Valentinian III.

The only blemish on this picture is the fact that no eastern papyrus or inscription dated by Anthemius' consulship has so far been recovered.¹¹¹⁸ As it is unlikely that Constantinople did not disseminate it, there must be some good explanation for it. Obviously, one (very likely) explanation is the mere chance of preservation. A second possible option is that Anthemius' consulate was disseminated late (or was never disseminated but recognised *post eventum*) due to the time required for his election as Augustus to be officially confirmed in the East. Although Anthemius was chosen by Leo, and formally accepted by the western establishment through a grandiose ceremony of enthronement outside Rome, his accession (according to Peter Patrician's account) was formally ratified in the East only after the ceremonial arrival and reception of his image in Constantinople.¹¹¹⁹ On this occasion, it was sanctioned that Anthemius' image should always accompany Leo's, and the western legates were acknowledged and granted their respective positions within the imperial hierarchy in accordance with their rank, symbolising the restoration of unity (*Concordia*) between the two

¹¹¹⁵ Becker 2020: 79-82.

¹¹¹⁶ For a literary parallel in Severian of Gabala's homily in fall 402, see Cameron 1993: 248 and n. 211 (the passage is from C. Weyman, *Hermes* 29 [1894]: 626-27).

¹¹¹⁷ Henning 1999: 201 n. 67.

¹¹¹⁸ The only exception is P.Gen. IV 182.17 (Oxy.; frg.). The editor suggests a restoration of the name of Anthemius, accepted by TM 129804 and Papyri.info. But the dating cannot be sustained by any other elements within the text (Flavius Arion is not attested in *PLRE* II and is unknown to other consular documents listed in my database), and other imperial consulates such as Leo II (462), Anastasius II (497) and Justinian II (528 – though his numeral is not attested in our extant documentation) could be just as possible.

¹¹¹⁹ Peter Patrician's excerpts are preserved in *Const. Porph. Cer.* 1, 84-95; cf. Becker 2020: 75 f. On the ceremony outside Rome: cf. Hydatius, *chron.* 231; Cassiodorus, *chron.*, s.a. 467.

halves. Presumably, this was a customary process, but it might have required some time to be accomplished pro forma.¹¹²⁰

4.2.18. Leo and Olybrius

<p>472.</p> <p>a) Anthemius (until 11.vii)</p> <p>1. Festus et Marcianus</p> <p>b) Olybrius (from ?.iv to 2.xi)</p> <p>1. Festus (et Marcianus?)</p> <p>c) Leo</p> <p>1. Marcianus et Festus</p>
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Discussion:

Below is plotted the western and eastern evidence for a better appreciation of the chronological distribution.

West:

Month	Inscriptions	Laws (Novels)	Papal.corr. (Hilary)	Others
January	Festus			
February	(Mirabella, 2-5.i or p.c.? Rome, 14.i-13.ii?)			
March				
April				
May				
June				
July	Festus (Rome, 4.vii)			

¹¹²⁰ Becker 2020: 78.

Month	Inscriptions	Laws (Novels)	Papal.corr. (Hilary)	Others
August				
September				
October	Festus (Rome, 5.x; 9.x)			
November	Festus et Marcianus (Aouste nr. Avignon, 16.xi)			
December				

East:

Month	Papyri	Inscriptions	Laws (Novels and <i>CJ</i>)	Others
January	p.c. Leonis et Probiniani (sic) (i-ii)		Marcianus (19 <i>CJ</i> laws, earliest 1.i)	
February				
March	p.c. Leonis et Probiani (7.ii)			
April				
May				
June				
July	p.c. Leonis et Probiniani (sic) (24.vii)			
August	Marcianus e.q.f.n.			

Month	Papyri	Inscriptions	Laws (Novels and <i>CJ</i>)	Others
	(31.viii)			
September				
October				
November	Marcianus e.q.f.n. (8.xi)			
December			Marcianus et Festus (<i>CJ</i> 2.7.15, latest law: 23.xii)	

As will be clear, the name of the eastern consul (Marcianus) is dropped in Rome (it is unfortunate that the three inscriptions bearing *Marcianus* are undated), but there is no serious reason to believe the inscriptions are to be dated to Anthemius' reign rather than Olybrius'. An inscription from near Avignon (still under Roman rule in 472) suggests the eastern consul was retained by Olybrius' government. In fact, after destroying Anthemius, one would expect that Olybrius tried to placate Constantinople rather than send one more hostile message by withdrawing recognition of Leo's appointee.

Obviously, a possible withdrawal of the eastern recognition of Festus (Anthemius' nominee) would suggest Leo was open to reconsider Olybrius' position. But although Festus' name was never disseminated in Egypt, at Leo's court it was known by the end of the year as suggested by *CJ* 2.7.15. Since dissemination in Egypt appears to be late and partial even for the local consul, the date of the law could be genuine and the unattested use of Festus' consulship might actually be due to failed dissemination.¹¹²¹ This impression is strengthened by the fact that, although we know little about Leo's stance toward Olybrius, overall the evidence suggests that he was not recognised.

Becker sees in the sending of Olybrius to Italy a way to get rid of Anthemius at a time when his power was undermined and hence Leo needed to find a compromise with both the Vandals

¹¹²¹ Cf. 'eastern dissemination', p. 299-300 above.

and Anthemius' enemies in Italy to safeguard eastern interests in the West.¹¹²² Nevertheless, the extant evidence is strongly against this view. This is not only because the course of actions proved that Leo had no intention of recognising Olybrius (Leo committed promptly to Julius Nepos after Anthemius' fall), but also because there is no evidence of the name of Olybrius in the eastern laws for 472.¹¹²³ Furthermore, eastern authors generally give a very negative treatment of Olybrius and his reign. John of Antioch (probably based on Priscus) seems to have portrayed Olybrius' and Ricimer's deaths as 'heavenly retribution' for Anthemius' assassination. Malalas relates that Olybrius's connections with the Vandal royal family were regarded with suspicion by the East, and he was believed to be a collaborator of the enemy.¹¹²⁴ In conclusion, it can be agreed with Henning that Olybrius' authority was not recognised in the East, and Nagy's argument that Leo made him Caesar must be rejected.¹¹²⁵

4.2.19. Leo, Leo II, Zeno and Glycerius (473-474)

Discussion:

After 472, no more western consuls were proclaimed by any government until Odovacar resumed appointments in the 480s, so the consular evidence can only be analysed by reference to the stance of the western emperor towards Constantinople.

It is unknown what consular policy was carried out by the western provisional government in charge from Olybrius' death in November, 472 to Glycerius' accession in March, 473, but this must not have been different from the policy of acquiescence to Constantinople that Olybrius had probably initiated and that Glycerius carried on. Glycerius' only extant novella gives *domino Leone perpetuo Augusto V*, and so too two more Roman inscriptions.¹¹²⁶ ICUR n.s. VI 16002 attests *Leone iun. aug. primum [cons]* as early as 31 January, 474 in Rome, which

¹¹²² Becker 2020: 93. So, similarly, Oppedisano 2020: 260.

¹¹²³ Cf. Seeck 1919: 419 for the list of laws. However, the laws are all dated on 1 July, that is, when Anthemius was still alive; this means that, if Constantinople recognised Olybrius sometime between 2 July (or more plausibly, after Anthemius' death on 11 July) and 2 November, this cannot be observed in the laws. It is certain, however, that Olybrius was not recognised until at least 1 July. A similar view is expressed by Umberto 2020: 171 f., who rejects Olybrius' recognition by Leo bringing as evidence Malalas' version (14, 45) of the sending of Olybrius to Italy as an attempt by Leo to find a diplomatic solution to the crisis between Ricimer and Anthemius. The innocence of Olybrius would also be proven by Chron. Paschale (a. 464), according to which Olybrius was compelled by the Romans to become emperor.

¹¹²⁴ John of Antioch, fr. 209, 2; Malalas, XIV, s. 374; cf. Henning 1999: 203.

¹¹²⁵ Cf. Nagy 1990/1991: 91. Henning 1999: 202-203 and n. 80 for further bibliography.

¹¹²⁶ PL 56.898 (Ravenna, 11.iii); ICUR n.s. IV 11164; n.s. II 4967 = ILCV 697 adn.

strongly indicates that Glycerius' government may have resumed, for the occasion, a joint proclamation of Leo's accession consulship (celebrated in Constantinople). At any rate, Leo II's authority was formally recognised, as suggested by the use of DN and other honorary epithets in both informal and formal contexts.¹¹²⁷ As legends are normally immobilised by this period, it is uncertain whether the legends AVGG or AVGGG on solidi and half-siliquae issued in the name of Glycerius are an allusion to one or two eastern emperors (in the latter case, Leo II and Zeno who were co-ruling by 9 February 474).¹¹²⁸ But it is quite uncontroversial that Leo I, Leo II and plausibly Zeno were recognised, and the numismatic evidence further supports this view.¹¹²⁹

Nevertheless, there is no indication that Glycerius was ever recognised by Constantinople.¹¹³⁰

4.2.20. Zeno, Basiliscus and Julius Nepos (474-475)

Discussion:

Nepos was sent to Italy to overthrow Glycerius after being co-opted into the eastern imperial family by marriage (as it had been done previously with Anthemius), and indeed his coinage reprises Anthemius' leitmotif of the unified empire.¹¹³¹

Nepos was enthroned on 24 June 474, so he had abundant time to celebrate an accession consulship (as was customary) on 1 January 475 if he had wanted to. The fact that he did not, probably speaks more for the state of the western imperial finances than for Nepos' consular policy. As opposed to Severus, Olybrius and Glycerius, who had to abstain from appointing western consuls to avoid eastern hostility, Nepos was Leo's (and then Zeno's) protégé, so it is likely that he was permitted to make his own consular choices as Anthemius had been allowed before him.

¹¹²⁷ Cf., e.g., P.Ital. 4-5 B.iii.8 (Ravenna, 13.xi; doc. 552-575); ICUR n.s. I 738 = ILCV 511b; CIL V 7978 = ILCV 250 (Cimiez, Gaul; 25.v).

¹¹²⁸ Grierson & Mays 1992: 264; RIC X: 201-202.

¹¹²⁹ Henning 1999: 203 n. 82. Grierson & Mays 1992: 264-64 (attributing bronze coins); RIC X: 183.

¹¹³⁰ Eastern laws were not sent to Italy and did not have Glycerius' name, cf. Henning 1999: 203-204 with bibliography at n. 82, 86. According to John of Antioch (probably based on Priscus), Julius Nepos was sent to Italy to dethrone him, cf. Priscus, frg. 65 = John of Antioch, fr. 209.2. Marcellinus Comes regards him as *Caesar plus praesumptione quam electione* and Jordanes sees him as a tyrant; cf. Marcellinus Comes, s.a. 473; Jordanes, *Get.* 239 and *Rom.* 338 (*Glycerium, qui sibi tyrannico more regnum imposuisset*).

¹¹³¹ Henning 1999: 204 n. 88, 205 and n. 90; RIC X: 204-206.

Likewise, the unattested use of Zeno's accession consulship in 475 in Italy tells nothing of the relation of Nepos with Zeno, who, after entering in office, was forced by Basiliscus' coup to flee from Constantinople. When Basiliscus was in turn overthrown in 476, his consulship was publicly annulled and, although no sources inform us, it is very likely that Zeno inflicted on Basiliscus what the latter had done to him in 475.¹¹³² Coins were struck for Basiliscus in Italy; however, it is not only impossible to establish which authority precisely minted them (i.e. Romulus' or Nepos' government), but it is extremely unlikely that this authority was Nepos'.¹¹³³ A bronze tablet (*tessera monumentum*) erected by Nepos' urban praefect, Castalius Innocentius Audax, is dedicated to the *salus* of Nepos alone.¹¹³⁴ As Henning noted, the likely reason why Nepos' eastern colleagues were ignored is that the tablet was dedicated when Leo II was dead, Zeno had fallen and Basiliscus was not considered legitimate.¹¹³⁵

Kent attributes some coins for Zeno, which lack a mint-mark, to the activity of Julius Nepos in Salona.¹¹³⁶

4.2.21. Basiliscus and Romulus Augustus

Discussion:

Whereas Nepos did not recognise Basiliscus, Orestes did not hesitate to proclaim Basiliscus and Armatus' joint consulship in Italy, as proven by the inscriptions and the other consular material. The new western government needed allies so, in all likelihood, what Orestes hoped was to strengthen his internal position by re-establishing those contacts which Nepos had severed.¹¹³⁷ Basiliscus' authority was certainly recognised in Italy and Rome, as proven by the use of DN and other honorary imperial epithets in the consular titulary.¹¹³⁸

¹¹³² Victor of Tunnuna, s.a. 477 preserves the annulment of Basiliscus' consulship.

¹¹³³ Lacam attributes some of these to Nepos and some others to Romulus but Grierson and Mays observe that the distinction is open to doubt; cf. Grierson & Mays 1992: 178.

¹¹³⁴ CIL III 6335 = CIL XV 7110c = ILS 814 = Elvers 2011, p. 213-214, no. 6c:

(recto) *Salvo d(omino) n(ostro) Iulio Nepote p(er)p(etuo) Aug(usto);*

(verso) *Audax v(ir) c(larissimus) pr(a)efectus urbi fecit.*

For the dating, see Henning 1999: 101 n. 166, dating from January (fall of Zeno) to August (fall of Nepos), 475.

¹¹³⁵ Henning 1999: 206.

¹¹³⁶ RIC X: 36.

¹¹³⁷ Henning 1999: 208, pointing to a legation sent in January to Constantinople (see n. 109)

¹¹³⁸ Cf. e.g., CIL V 6404 = ILCV 1041 (Lodi, Reg. XI; 1.v), ICUR n.s. II 4975 = 5797 (15.v).

Recognition of Romulus by Basiliscus is uncertain and cannot be proven, but the appointment of two easterners by Basiliscus could be a sign that he was claiming seniority all over the empire.¹¹³⁹ After the western government pleaded for eastern military and political support in 463, no more western consuls were appointed, so it might have been agreed that Libius Severus relinquished his rights to nominate consuls.¹¹⁴⁰ Although military aid was not at stake and other internal factors might be the reasons behind the choice of not appointing western consuls, an attempt at not worsening the already severed relationship between West and East might be why designations were no longer made by the imperial governments after Anthemius' death in 472.

4.2.22. Odovacar and the East

Discussion:

As seen in Chapter Three, none of Odovacar's consular appointees, save for Basilius (cos. 480), was ever announced in the East, and many of Zeno's were never disseminated by Ravenna. What is the reason for this non-dissemination? As will be discussed, this is probably the result of both secular and ecclesiastical politics and, more particularly, of a development in the political relations between Odovacar and Zeno in the course of the 480s. Moreover, I will be arguing that the evidence from consular dissemination allows us to identify three stages in the relations between Ravenna and Constantinople: (i) a first one where the authority of the emperor was recognised in Rome; (ii) a second stage marked by the cooling of relations with the East and then (iii) a third phase of open war.

In the 470s and 480s the Roman Balkans were severely disrupted by political and military turmoil (with Constantinople itself being under siege in 477, 480 and 481), and even local consulships half of the time only appear as post-consular dates in our Egyptian record. While this may at first suggest that the non-dissemination of westerners (proven by their absence as post-consular dates) is correlated with a slowdown that resulted from the crisis, graph 323 indicates that there were no significant differences in dissemination to Egypt during this period compared to previous periods.

¹¹³⁹ Henning 1999: 207-208, though accepting, too, the possibility that the accession of Romulus was not yet known at the time of consular designations. This is very likely in that Basiliscus must have certainly designated himself (and probably Armatus) as consuls as soon as he took power.

¹¹⁴⁰ So, too, Henning 1999: 198. For the embassy, see *Exc. De Leg. Rom.* 10 and *Exc. De Leg. Gent.* 14 (both are plausibly from Priscus, fr. 38-39, Blockley, 340-43).

Accordingly, the data do not seem to support the conclusion that the crisis had any relevant effect on the general speed of dissemination, which in turn indicates that an increased slowdown cannot be held accountable for pausing dissemination of western names in the East. In fact, that this interruption was, as I believe, deliberate (on both sides) is evident once we shift the focus to the western evidence. Eastern consular dates (both consular and post-consular ones) were used in Italy in 476, 477, 478, 479, i.e. in the early years of Odovacar's rule and, save for a sporadic intrusion in 482, they are then completely lacking until they reappear during the Ostrogothic invasion (489 in Dalmatia, and 490, 491 and 492 in Italy). Also, the formulas for 476 and 479 are attested as early as, respectively, 1.v and 14.ii-15.iii, which points to fast dissemination.¹¹⁴¹ If so, why this frequent dropping of consular names subsequently? Sources inform us that, during the Balkan revolts of the 470s and 480s, one Gothic group occupied Dyrrachium in Epirus in or around 478-479, before being temporarily settled in Lower Moesia where it revolted again in 486. In this period, the Via Egnatia (which connected Constantinople to Dyrrachium, from where one could reach Brindisium by ship and reach Rome through the Appian Way) was one of the possible major routes between Italy and Constantinople. Given that land connections might well have been jeopardised by violent instability in the region, officials might have been forced to embark on a longer sea route along the Greek coastline. Reasonable as this may sound, however, it must be noted that political and military upheaval had in no way affected the dissemination of eastern names in Italy in 476 and 479, and two Gallic inscriptions give *Decius et Longinus* (coss. 486) in Narbonne and Probinus et Eusebius (coss. 489) in Marseille.¹¹⁴² If warfare and administrative failure had caused non-dissemination of easterners westward, why then are some eastern consulates known in Gaul but not in Italy?

As is clear, the imbalance in the chronological and geographical distributions of the evidence strongly indicate that the reason for non-dissemination can hardly be administrative failure or some similar transmission issue.

On the other hand, it has been justly noted that the places where eastern consular formulas are found is not random, since Gaul in the 480s was under a different political system (the Visigothic kingdom), and Dalmatia was no longer controlled by Odovacar in 489.¹¹⁴³ The distribution of the Italian evidence for the years 490-492 supports similar conclusions. Two

¹¹⁴¹ ICUR n.s. II 4975 = 5797 (15.v.476); 6462 add. (14.ii-15.iii.479).

¹¹⁴² ILGN 606 (Narbonne; 486); CIL XII 487 = ILCV 446A adn. (Marseille; 489).

¹¹⁴³ Burgess 1989: 150-51.

epitaphs from Garlate and Como give *Longinus II et Faustus* (490);¹¹⁴⁴ one more from Garlate gives *p.c. Longini II et Fausti* (491) and a second from Milan gives either a consular or post-consular date of the same consular pair;¹¹⁴⁵ finally six inscriptions from Dertona, Cales, Barisciano, Milan and Beneventum give invariably either *D.N. Anastasius et Festus* (492) or just Anastasius omitting Festus.¹¹⁴⁶ On the other hand, inscriptions dated by just western consuls (and safely datable) are found in Rome, Vercelli, Genoa, Zuglio, Nola in 490;¹¹⁴⁷ Aeclanum and Ravenna (papyrus) in 491 and no inscriptions dated in 492 mention any (II) p.c. date of a western consulship.¹¹⁴⁸ In other words, the evidence indicates that two distinctive methods of dating coexisted in northern Italy in 490, one of which was to date by the western consul and the other by both consuls. By 491, however, dating by the western consul was limited to Ravenna and the south of Italy, and by 492 this practice had vanished.

This contraction is interesting as it fundamentally matches with how our sources describe the course of the war between Odovacar and Theoderic, with intense fighting being limited to northern Italy for most of the 490, Odovacar's control shrinking to Ravenna and south of Italy in 491 and virtually to sole Ravenna in 492.¹¹⁴⁹

The evidence strongly suggests, therefore, that the dissemination of these formulas is responsive to politics rather than chance, and this impression finds more solid grounds once we broaden our analysis to the preceding period. As the political relations between Odovacar and Zeno are by no means certain and scholars have expressed very opposing views over time (i.e. with the king being seen as either an independent ruler or some sort of imperial representative), it is necessary to resume the key pieces of evidence before turning to the consular material. Among the evidence pointing to the existence of an official mandate, there stands out the well-known fr. 10/14 (Müller/Blockley) of Malchus of Philadelphia.¹¹⁵⁰

¹¹⁴⁴ AE 1993, 803a (Garlate); CIL V 5417a (Como).

¹¹⁴⁵ CIL V 5210 (Garlate); 5656 (nr. Milan; 492 poss.).

¹¹⁴⁶ CIL V 7531 = ILCV 339 = ICI VII 15 (Dertona); Civiltà Cattolica 1953, III, p.392 (Cales); CIL IX 3568 = ILCV 3162a = ICI III 23 (Barisciano); CIL V 6221 = ILCV 4815 (Milan); ICI VIII 4 (Beneventum); VII 16 (Dertona; 493 poss.)

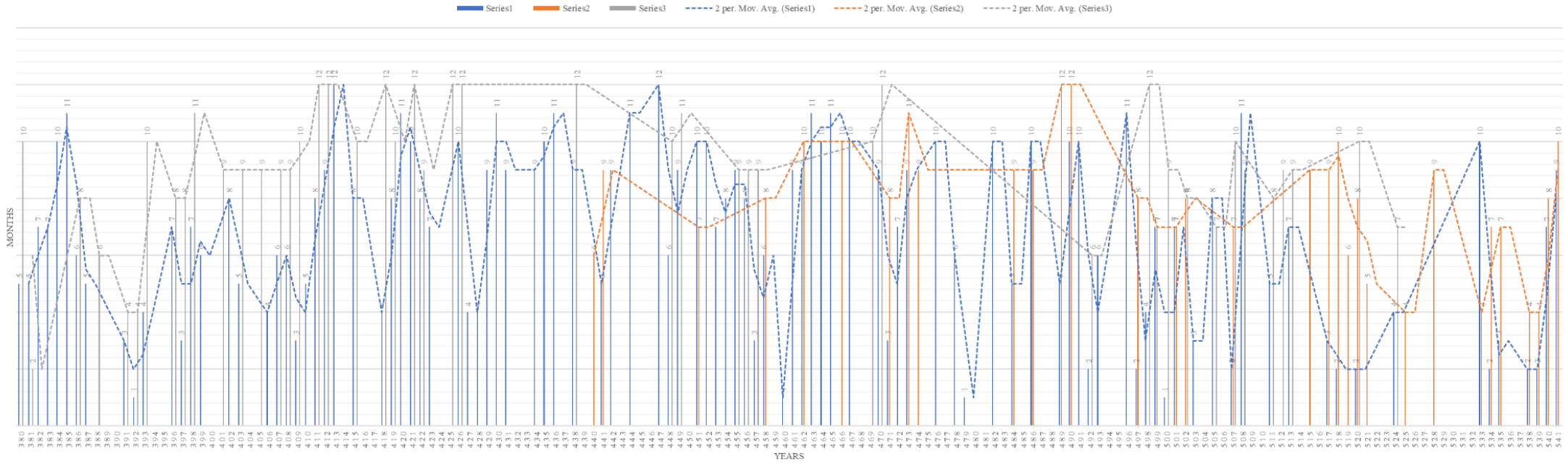
¹¹⁴⁷ ICUR n.s. VIII 20832 = ILCV 2971B; ICUR n.s. VIII 20833 = ILCV 3727D; CIL V 6742a = ICI XVII 58 (Vercelli); CIL V 7742 = ILCV 2908 = ICI IX 25 (Genoa); CIL V 1858 = ILCV 1060 (Zuglio) CIL X 1345 = ILCV 1015 (Nola); ICUR n.s. VII 17598 (491 poss.)

¹¹⁴⁸ CIL IX 1376 = ILCV 3028 Ba = ICI VIII 44 (Aeclanum); P.Ital. 12 ii.5.

¹¹⁴⁹ Anonymous Valesianus, 11.49-55.

¹¹⁵⁰ On Βυζαντιακά and its author see: Blockley 1983: 418-420; Müller 1851: 119 (frg. 10); Dindorf 1870: 397-8, De Boor 1903: 570-1; Cresci 1982: 21 ff.

GRAPH 4.3. EARLIEST ATTESTATION OF T1, T2 AND T3 IN EGYPT (380-541)



Malchus states that in 476-477 the senate of Rome proposed to Zeno to restore his authority in Italy and sole rulership in the Empire, asking him in return to recognise Odovacar as his representative in Italy.¹¹⁵¹ As the same fragment also reports that Zeno καὶ βασιλείον γράμμα περὶ ὧν ἠβούλετο πέμπων τῷ Ὀδοάχῳ πατρικίον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ γράμματι ἐπωνόμασε¹¹⁵², consequently since Bury and Mommsen many scholars have maintained that Odovacar received the patrician rank and/or a military office with which he ruled on behalf of Zeno or Julius Nepos.¹¹⁵³

On the one hand, there is substantial evidence supporting Malchus' account that Odovacar surrendered sovereignty to the East. Odovacar's regime would in fact appear to have minted a large quantity of coins with Zeno's effigy, and although these issues were accompanied by silver and bronze in Odovacar's name, he never appears to be titled as *DN* or *rex* therein.¹¹⁵⁴ Formal respect for eastern imperial authority is also shown in our extant epigraphic evidence from Rome (scanty though it is), which shows Odovacar was referred to as *vir* or *dominus* (and never as *rex* or *dominus noster*) and the use of the emperor's name flanking Odovacar's.¹¹⁵⁵ It could be added that a relatively discrete amount of literary sources points, too, to good political relationships between Odovacar and the emperor. The Anonymous Valesianus recounts that Zeno was remembered with 'love' by all the people and the senate of Rome, who dedicated

¹¹⁵¹ The fragment is known as fr. 10 Müller in the old continental scholarship and it has been handed down as fr. 3 of *Excerpta de legationibus Romanorum ad gentes* or Müller, fr. 10 (*FHG* 1851). Herein, we follow the recent edition by Blockley 1983 = Malch., fr. 14. See Picotti 1928: 3-6 for the uncertainties on the power, prerogatives and genesis of the πατρικίου ἀξίαν (patrician rank). In the previous century, scholars agreed that Odovacar aimed for the power held by the fifth-century western generalissimos more than a simple honorary post. Cf. Mommsen 1910: 362-387 (esp. 383); Cipolla 1912: 39; Cessi 1919: 141 ff.; Picotti 1928: 65-71; Stein 1949: 47-8, 116 ff.; Ostrogorsky 1968: 54; Thompson 1982: 65-71. Recently, the supposed request for an 'honorary' title has been proposed again by Cesa 1994: 314.

¹¹⁵² Malchus, fr. 14, 25-27, 'He [Zeno] sent to Odovacar a royal letter concerning what he wished and in the letter addressed him as patrician.' (Blockley 1983: 420-1)

¹¹⁵³ Bury 1889: 274 ff. It must be said, however, that before Bury that concept was already underlined by Balbo 1856: 30. Mommsen 1910: 362. According to Enßlin 1940: 381 f.; Stein 1949: 47 and Kaegi 1968: 48, Odovacar would be *magister militum praesentalis*. Only *magister militum per Italiam* is said by Ostrogorsky 1968: 54 and Criniti 2001: 348. Now, *patricius* is simply proposed by Wickham 2009: 86.

¹¹⁵⁴ On imperial coins see RIC X: n. 3501-2, 443; 213-214; Grierson – Blackburn 2007: 28; 422 n. 63-64; 443-449, plate 73-74 as well as Krause 1928 whose view is rejected by Hahn 1973: 77 n. 1 according to whom Odovacar's coins are all forgeries. As opposed to what has been argued by Caliri (2017: 122), there is no evidence of the use of *DN*, except for one silver fraction which is believed to be Cigois' forgery.

¹¹⁵⁵ CIL VI, 41423 = AE 1967, 0007 = EAOR-06, 00035 with Orlandi 2004: 536-539, n. 35. AE 1904, 148 = ILS 8955. Cf. Fiebiger – Schmidt 1917: 99 n. 194. [- - - Ze]none et v[iro - - -][- - - Od]oacre [- - -]. Cfr. Iacopi 2001: 79-87.

statues to him throughout the city, and the same source also reports that Odovacar returned the western imperial ornaments to Constantinople.¹¹⁵⁶ That this had to imply surrender of sovereignty, and may have caused the East to look favourably on Odovacar, at least for some time, seems to be supported by Candidus' report of Zeno's support for Odovacar on the occasion of the Gallic revolt against the latter.¹¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, one more fragment of John of Antioch's early seventh-century chronicle implies that Odovacar preserved his loyalty to Zeno at least until 486.¹¹⁵⁸ Likewise the late sixth-century Pseudo-Zachariah suggests that political relations could have been more formal than anyone would have liked to admit later, since he qualifies Odovacar and Theodoric as Ἀντικαίσαρες, i.e. the Emperor's deputies.¹¹⁵⁹ This conclusion is supported by the dissemination of eastern consuls in 476, 477, 478, 479 and (if official), 482 and, more particularly, by the use of *d(ominus) n(oster)* for the imperial consulates of Basiliscus and Zeno in, respectively, 476 and 479.¹¹⁶⁰

On the other hand, however, major objections were raised by Mazzarino and Jones, who stressed that there is no trace of any Roman military posts or titles attached to Odovacar in our extant documentation.¹¹⁶¹ It can be conceded that this sounds odd if one considers how Odovacar is called by the East Roman sources and, more generally, that all the western generalissimos of the west had borne the titles of patricius and or magister militum. That Odovacar did not have or use one is also proven by the extant documentation from his own chancery, which reveals he was referred to as *d.n. praecellentissimus rex* by his officials, and that he signed himself as *Odovacar rex*.¹¹⁶² In fact, not only does Odovacar appear to have

¹¹⁵⁶ Anonymous Valesianus 9.44 (MGHAA, IX, 314) « *Zeno recordatus est amorem senatus et populi , munificus omnibus se ostendit , ita ut omnes ei gratias agerent . senatum Romanum et populum tuitus est , ut etiam ei imagines per diversa loca in urbe Roma levarentur . cuius tempora pacifica fuerunt »*; Anonymous Valesianus, 64 (MGHAA, IX, 322).

¹¹⁵⁷ Photius, *Bibl. Cod.* 79, 86-88.

¹¹⁵⁸ John of Antioch, fr. 214, 2.

¹¹⁵⁹ We know that the compiler was using the *Church History* by Zachariah of Mytilene, who was prominent at Anastasius' court, so that the term may well come from the latter. In Greek the preposition ἀντί means either 'against' or 'in the place of'. In this text, that the word is not used to imply usurpation seems to be proven by the fact that Pseudo-Zachariah uses it to define Justinian when he exercised power in behalf of his uncle Emperor Justin. See Zacharia, *HE* VI, 15; VII, 56d; IX, 87-88a (Greatrex 2011: 225, n.79; 274 n. 211; 311 n.1). The possibility that 'Ἀντικαίσαρες' mirrors a positive pre-Justinianic Byzantine view was highlighted by Prostko-Prostyński 1993; 1994: 176 ff. and literature cited.

¹¹⁶⁰ CIL V 6404 = ILCV 1041 (Lodi, 476); CIL XI 2584 = ICI XI 5 (Chiusi, 479).

¹¹⁶¹ Jones 1962: 126-130; Mazzarino 1978: 169-180.

¹¹⁶² P.Ital. I 10-11; *Acta synodi a. CII* in Mommsen, *MGH(AA)*, XII, 1894, 445.

never held or used a military title, but a closer look at Malchus' fragment urges us to be wary as to whether Odovacar had ever received the appointment from Zeno. Malchus relates that Zeno sent a letter to Italy in which the emperor ἐπονομάζει Odovacar as patrician. The choice of ἐπονομάζω is very interesting in that it entails the more general meaning of 'to give a word as a name', that is 'to call someone in a certain way' and not 'to appoint' (for which other verbs such as, e.g., καθίστημι, δίδωμι and τάσσω, would have been more suitable). The nuance is important since it implies Zeno merely addressed Odovacar as patrician rather than appointing him formally. Malchus' ambiguity on this point is even clearer in the following passage:

Ζήνων δὲ ... ἀπεκρίνατο ταῦτα [...] τοῖς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβάρου ὅτι καλῶς πράξοι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Νέπωτος τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ πατρικίου δεξάμενος Ὀδόαχος. ἐκπέμψαν γὰρ αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ Νέπῳς ἐπεφθάκει.¹¹⁶³

The text is a cause for disagreement between scholars, who do not agree as to who sent the appointment, when it happened and whether this was actually done. This is plain to see in the last two editions of Malchus, where Blockley translates as follows: 'To the representatives of the barbarian he replied that it was better that Odoacer had received the patriciate from the Emperor Nepos, although he would have conferred it if Nepos had not done so first.'¹¹⁶⁴, while Cresci provides a translation with a different nuance: 'Ai messi del barbaro disse che Odoacre avrebbe fatto bene a ricevere dall'imperatore Nepote la dignità di patrizio: egli stesso gliel'avrebbe inviata, a meno di essere preceduto da Nepote.'¹¹⁶⁵ The first translation implies that Nepos appointed Odovacar and Zeno only adds the assurance he would have done it had Nepos not appointed him in advance. By contrast, in the second translation, both Nepos' appointment and Zeno's assurance are actions that remain hypothetical. It is plain to see that the issue does not rest with any one of the two translations, which are correct in principle, but in the fact that Malchus' Greek is unable to provide a clear statement. Indeed, the last conditional clause suggests following the first translation, but the use of an optative future (πράξοι) points to the second one.¹¹⁶⁶ The issue might appear pedantic, except Malchus is the only extant source to state that Odovacar was named patrician. Save for Pseudo-Zacharia,

¹¹⁶³ Malchus, fr. 14, 16-22 (Blockley 420).

¹¹⁶⁴ Blockley 1983: 421.

¹¹⁶⁵ Cresci 1982: 135.

¹¹⁶⁶ See, too Picotti 1928: 68 n. 3.

everywhere else Odovacar is always addressed as *τύραννος* or *rex* with a geographical or ethnic attribution.¹¹⁶⁷

Furthermore, it should be pointed out that modern historiography has probably overestimated the force of Malchus' account, since in a different fragment he contradictorily implies that Odovacar was already considered as usurper in 479.¹¹⁶⁸ Once again, other evidence is provided by John of Antioch, who reports that Zeno did not trust Odovacar, and on that fearing the latter could join Illus' revolt, stirred up the Rugians against him. Odovacar defeated them and then sent a legation carrying the booty and the news of the victory to Constantinople. McCormick carried out a new textual analysis that concluded that Zeno in fact did not 'refuse' but 'pretended to accept' (*ἀποπροσποιέομαι*) the booty.¹¹⁶⁹ Even so, it does not change the basic problem that nothing in John's account looks like Candidus' very favourable description of the relations between Zeno and Odovacar.

While none of the above is decisive evidence against the non-recognition of Zeno in Italy, it is clear that much conflict is recorded from the 484 on, both on the secular and ecclesiastical level. In fact, one important point that has so far been overlooked in analysing developments of consular policy, is that non-recognition of Zeno's appointees is not only consistent with an increasing cooling of relations between Odovacar and Zeno, which would culminate in the war of 489-493, but also, and perhaps more importantly, with the severe rupture of ecclesiastical communion caused by the publication of the Henotikon in 482 and the resulting Acacian Schism in 484. Consular non-recognition had already occurred, demonstrably, during other west-east religious crises in the fourth and fifth centuries, hence it should not be surprising that the Acacian Schism (possibly the greatest rupture the late antique Roman world experienced) had a similar outcome. As with previous cases, what this non-recognition means is less straightforward. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to assume that Odovacar wanted recognition from

¹¹⁶⁷ Victor of Vita, 1.4, 14 (*rex Italiae*). Later in the Justinianic reign, Marcellinus Comes and Jordanes would style him *rex Gothorum*, *rex Torcilingorum*, *rex Torcilingorum Rogorumque* and *rex gentium*; cf. Marcellinus Comes s.a. 476, 489; Jordanes, *Get.* 242 (*Torcilingorum rex habens secum Sciros, Herulos diuersarumque gentium auxiliaros*); 291; 243. See also: Anonymous Valesianus, 10, 45, 46, 47; Eugippius, *Vita Sev.* 44.4; Cassiodorus, *Variarum* II, 16, IV, 38, VII, 17; *Acta syn. habit. Romae* III, 4; Evagrius, *HE*, II, 16; John of Antioch, fr. 214, 2; Theophanes, *Chron.* AM 5965; John of Nikiu, 88.50; Cesa 2001: 41.

¹¹⁶⁸ Malchus, fr. 20 (ed. Blockley, 1983) 220-21, 'ἔτοιμος δέ, εἰ προστάξει βασιλεύς, καὶ εἰς Δαλματίαν ἀπελθεῖν ὡς Νέπωτα καταξῶν' referring to the offers made by Theodoric to Zeno for restoring Nepos; more generally see also 205-21.

¹¹⁶⁹ McCormick 1977: 212-222.

Constantinople no less than previous fifth-century western emperors, so his use of consular nonrecognition was unlikely to be dissimilar to theirs.

Whereas it is impossible to establish conclusively whether Zeno recognised Odovacar just like Anastasius later recognised Theodoric, certainly nonrecognition of Odovacar's appointees from 481 onward is consistent with a possible hostile stance of Constantinople. This conclusion is supported by the fact that (i) the only western consul to be disseminated in the East (Basilius, cos. 480) is appointed and proclaimed when Julius Nepos was still alive, and that (ii) overall, eastern consular policy through the fourth and most of the fifth centuries had been much more consistent in not disseminating consuls appointed by unrecognised rulers than western practice had been. If we limit ourselves to the latest examples, Marcian and Leo had consistently rejected Avitus' and most of Majorian's consuls, probably forced Severus to pause appointments, and only allowed Anthemius to resume them, before once again claiming sole and full rights to appoint consuls after the latter's overthrow. So obviously a refusal to recognise Odovacar's appointees not only tells us that Constantinople did not renounce to these rights, but also strongly indicates what was its stance towards the western government. It is plausible that Constantinople remained well-disposed towards Odovacar for as long as Nepos was alive, with some diplomatic overtures being the most important evidence for this. But it seems that when Nepos died, Odovacar's political position deteriorated rapidly in the eyes of Zeno. Doubtless, his aggressive policy of annexation in Dalmatia and, more importantly, his support to the pope in the Acacian Schism, were two key elements in this development.

4.2.23. Theodoric, His Successors and the East

Discussion:

Odovacar had disrupted the Constantinopolitan claim to be the sole rightful authority entitled to appoint consuls and it is no surprise that this right was one of the topics that the Gothic delegates had to discuss with Zeno's and Anastasius' officials on several occasions.¹¹⁷⁰ Eventually, Theodoric agreed to send his nominations to Anastasius for formal appointment and recognition. The latter claimed full rights in a way very much alike to what, for instance, Leo and other emperors had done previously, so what is most surprising is not that a reverse procedure was never performed by Constantinople but that Anastasius' appointees were almost never disseminated in the Ostrogothic-ruled territories after 492.

¹¹⁷⁰ According to Malalas (*Chron.* 15.9) Zeno demanded Theodoric to recognise eastern consuls and other high officials such as the praetorian prefects. Similarly, Procopius, *Wars*, 6.20-21.

The significance of this change is not straightforward. The Ostrogoths were the ones who reintroduced eastern consular dating in Italy and Dalmatia in the years of the war (489-492).¹¹⁷¹ This is important to remember when considering that, at the time of the invasion, Theoderic had been rewarded by Zeno with the patriciate, the consulship, the *magisterium militum praesentalis* and, finally, the adoption in arms, so he was in a position to present himself as (and most assuredly wanted locals to believe he was) a Roman general and Zeno's representative—no less than Belisarius was Justinian's in the 540s.¹¹⁷² This and the view that the Ostrogoths promoted the invasion as an imperial restoration is supported by the fact that all our consular material dated 492 shows Anastasius' consulship flanked by *d(ominus) n(oster)* and other imperial titles, which clearly implies recognition and promotion of imperial authority.¹¹⁷³ This is even clearer when one looks at the contemporary material from Burgundy, which shows Anastasius' consulship, but without the customary titles reserved to the sovereign.¹¹⁷⁴ Given these circumstances, then, the Ostrogoths may not only have used eastern dating out of political opportunism, but, for the same reason, they may well have been expected to continue to use it for the same purpose even after 492.¹¹⁷⁵ It is therefore not surprising that scholars have questioned (as with Odovacar's consuls) that this non-dissemination entailed actual non-recognition, suggesting that consuls were mutually recognised.¹¹⁷⁶ Admittedly, in the absence of an Ostrogothic counterpart to the Roman law codes, recovering official usage at court in Ravenna is more problematic than elsewhere, and clearly we cannot turn to the chronicles to answer this question (unless we want to be misled by possibly unofficial and

¹¹⁷¹ Cf. p. 205 f. above.

¹¹⁷² *PLRE* II 1077-84.

¹¹⁷³ CIL IX 3568 = ILCV 3162a = ICI III 23 (Barisciano, Reg. IV); CIL V 6221 = ILCV 4815 (Milan); ICI VIII 4 (Beneventum). See p. 328 n. 1160 above for similar evidence in the years 476-479.

¹¹⁷⁴ cf. CIL XIII 2364 = ILCV 3559 (Lyons), omitting *DN, p.p.* and *Aug.* So similarly, CIL XII 5339 = ILCV 3555 from Visigothic Narbonne and dated to Anastasius' third consulship (508), which omits *D.N.* and other imperial titles.

¹¹⁷⁵ We do not know how Ostrogoths used to date prior to their arrival in Italy. The Burgundian case certainly demonstrates that Germanic royal families could adopt consular dating as the primary dating system of their realm. But the evidence from the Balkans tells us that consular dating was not widespread there; and although the conferral of the office on Theoderic in 484 might have made the Goths more familiar with consular dating, it remains highly uncertain whether Goths dated by consuls. For the possible outlook of the invading Ostrogoths, see: Anonymus Valesianus, 11.49; Procopius, *Wars*, 5.1.9-12; Jordanes, *Get.* 290, clearly describes Theoderic as Zeno's envoy and son. Both Valentinian III and Anthemius were recognised as 'sons' (but not 'in arms') of the eastern emperor, cf. Gaudenzi 1888: 15 n. 2.

¹¹⁷⁶ De Rossi in ICUR: p. XLIII; *CLRE* 34 and more recently, Whitby 2021: 206; *contra*: Gaudenzi 1888: 37, according to whom the emperor did not bother to communicate the eastern appointment to Theoderic.

anachronistic usage). But the only eastern consular date in the Ravenna legal papyri (the only extant contemporary official documentation that has survived, and which we can then relatively safely use to recover official usage), belongs to Basilius cos. 541, i.e. in office when Ravenna was under Roman rule. Then, if throughout the Ostrogothic period, eastern consular dates were not even used in formal and legal contexts, can we speak of recognition? The evidence would appear to speak against it.

What non-recognition means, however, is not any more clear-cut. On reflection, one would be tempted to conclude that the end of the Ostrogothic early practice was directly connected to Theoderic's proclamation as 'king' in 493 and the resulting political tension in Gothic-imperial relations. However, the lack of any correlation between successive events and the dissemination (or non-dissemination) of easterners, strongly discourages us from believing that the Ostrogoths instrumentalised, consistently at any rate, consular proclamations to voice outright rejection of imperial authority. Unquestionably, the Empire never welcomed the creation of Theoderic's super-state and good relations as described by later Gothic war propaganda were not contemporary.¹¹⁷⁷ But if, on the one hand, an underlying and constant hostility existed, on the other this never resulted in warfare throughout 493-526 and, in fact, some periods were marked by a thawing of relations. As a way of illustration of the absence of a clear logic, Theoderic's imperial recognition in or around 497 did not have any visible effect on contemporary Gothic consular policy, as proven by the non-dissemination of the eastern consuls Paulus in 496, Anastasius II (the emperor) in 497 and Iohannes in 498, and finally by the iterated use of *p.c. Paulini* (western cos. 498) in 499 and 500. In 519 Theoderic requested Justin to adopt Eutharic, his presumptive heir as son at arms (a gesture intended to stress East Roman legitimation of the Gothic succession) and confer on him the consulship, which he did by taking the Gothic prince as colleague. Later in 526 Athalaric sent envoys requesting similar honours and the ratification of the Gothic succession. Nevertheless, neither event had any effect on the western (Italian) consular fasti.

More generally, abundant evidence, especially numismatic, speaks against any attempts at equating this non-dissemination with Gothic rejection of imperial authority between 493-535.¹¹⁷⁸ Indeed, Theoderic had no serious interest in questioning publicly the legal source (at

¹¹⁷⁷ The point of observation being the years of the destructive war of invasion initiated by Constantinople. This is a point well clarified by Heather 1996: 253-8.

¹¹⁷⁸ Grierson – Blackburn 2007: 25-38. Minting for the ruling eastern emperor ceased only with Totila, who minted for Anastasius and not Justinian; cf. Stein 1949: 571, 585. See also, Jordanes, *Getica*, 305; *Romana*, 368;

least in formal Roman view) of his own power.¹¹⁷⁹ It must not be forgotten that he succeeded where Odovacar had failed, i.e. in gaining formal recognition, and indeed he actively exploited this achievement both among his Roman subjects and other western kings.¹¹⁸⁰ Theoderic did usurp imperial rights and even challenged Anastasius on several occasions, but he would appear to have (at least formally) submitted to an ideal order in which the emperor in Constantinople occupied the first place.¹¹⁸¹ If a Gothic refusal to recognise imperial consuls implied a refusal to recognise imperial authority, Ostrogothic kings would have been extremely unlikely to allow that to happen (for the same reasons they never claimed parity with, or the title of, an emperor). That this was not how contemporary diplomatic language interpreted Gothic non-recognition would seem to be supported by the fact that we never hear of any formal grievance aired by Constantinople.

Then, if an overt challenge to imperial authority cannot explain the Gothic non-dissemination of easterners, what can? Across the period 284-541, partial dissemination due to the occasional omission of the eastern consul in the West is attested no less than 24 times, but even though people would appear to have dropped eastern names more frequently in the fifth century than in the fourth, their growth is not exponential and the volume remains statistically negligible until the surge of the 480s.¹¹⁸² As this omission was neither a constantly growing habit, nor a widespread phenomenon in the 470s, it would thus not appear that that surge was caused by any widespread local custom. That being so, one cannot avoid the conclusion that the Italian attachment to the practice of dating by the name of the western consul might have been an effect (and in turn a resulting agent) of the continuation of the practice over time, but not the causal factor at its inception. In other words, the Italian preference for dating by the name of the western consul was not the primary factor that led to its initial adoption. Preference

¹¹⁷⁹ There were different lines of thinking upheld in Italy on whom Theoderic owed his investiture as king; and often it was claimed that his authority did not stem from the emperor in Constantinople, but from God; see, e.g., Ennodius, *Life of Epiphanius*, 97.35. Yet, Theoderic did not claim (not overtly at least) this tenet when addressing the eastern emperor; cf. Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 1.1. where Theoderic does not state to be divinely appointed, but only that God's plan brought him to Constantinople so as to learn how to govern the Romans.

¹¹⁸⁰ Cf. e.g., Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 1.1.3. On writing that Odovacar wore neither the purple nor the royal ornament (Cass. *Chron.* s.a. 476: *cum tamen nec purpura nec regalibus uteretur insignibus*), it is likely that Cassiodorus wanted to underline that Theoderic had been given the honour of the imperial ornaments and hence he was a legitimate sovereign as opposed to Odovacar.

¹¹⁸¹ Cf. e.g. esp. Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 1.1; Procopius, *Wars*, 5.6.2-5 with Heather 1996: 220.

¹¹⁸² That is, in: 321, 393, 401, 403, 405, 407, 414, 423, 431, 432, 433, 434, 445, 448, 459, 470, 471, 472, 482, 490, 517, 518, 536 and 539.

developed later as a result of the practice's continued use, but initially other factors were at play. What were these factors?

In my opinion, there are at least three possible explanatory factors that may explain why the eastern consul was not disseminated in Ostrogothic Italy. The first factor is the political crisis that followed Theoderic's coronation in 493, which had a profound effect on the political situation in Italy. The second is the tendency to exclude the consuls of the 'heterodox' emperors in Constantinople, which originated during the Acacian schism, had found Odovacar's favour and could certainly continue to find Theoderic's.¹¹⁸³ The third and final factor is a shift in Ostrogothic propaganda. The use of eastern consular dating had been briefly functional to the war rhetoric of imperial reunification, but after Odovacar's elimination in 493, it was no longer needed to rule a conquered country whose greatest danger was then coming from the East. As noted by Haarer, the secular politics of Theoderic and the church politics of the Roman popes were mutually reinforcing (as they probably were already in the days of Odovacar), with the shared goal of freeing the Ostrogoth monarchy and the Roman clergy from imperial control. Both ceremonial practice and political discourse in Ostrogothic Italy indicate that the nominal recognition of imperial overlordship did not prevent Gothic rulers, particularly Theoderic, from emphasising their independence from Constantinople. For example, in a letter sent by Theoderic to Anastasius, Cassiodorus expressed the political idea that the Roman state was composed of two parts:

“We do not believe you will tolerate that any discord should stand between these *res publicae*, which are declared to have always formed one body under ancient princes” (Cass. *Variae*, 1.1.4)

The same idea was repeated by the Roman senate in a reply to Anastasius in 516.¹¹⁸⁴ Consular non-recognition was likely to be just another way by which Ostrogothic claims of political and ecclesiastical independence were channelled, along with a sign of how quick they adapted their propaganda to express political ideals appropriate to local needs.¹¹⁸⁵ By 484,

¹¹⁸³ See p. 323-31 above.

¹¹⁸⁴ *Coll. Avell.*, nos. 113.4, 114.7.

¹¹⁸⁵ Gaudenzi (1888: 37) rejected that Theoderic wanted to affirm his independence by refusing to publish the eastern appointees, arguing that Theoderic would have simply not sent his appointments to Constantinople for confirmation if he had wanted to stress his independency, and pointed to transmission issues within the

Odoacar had already understood the importance of keeping good relations with, and support for, the Apostolic See, to rule over the largely Nicene-Chalcedonian local population, and the Ostrogothic monarchy proved to be no less sensible (until at least the 520s.)

As is widely known, Gelasius (492-496) had been a staunch advocate of church autonomy and a fierce critic of Anastasius' Eusebian understanding of the imperial office as one governing the Church. Likewise, it is unquestionable that the premature death of Pope Anastasius II (496-498), and later the pontificate of Symmachus (498-514) had deferred the hopes of restoring unity between the western and eastern churches. In 514 Hormisdas became pope but the Acacian schism went on further, as the new bishop of Rome proved to be no less hostile to imperial interference on church affairs than his predecessors. Finally by when in 519 this rupture was healed, the western practice of dating by the name of the sole western consul had been carried out for so long that returning to the old practice might have seemed irreversible.¹¹⁸⁶ Athalaric's government, then, declared its intention to not change anything that had been arranged by Theoderic, as we can see it in the royal oath to the Senate and the People of Rome which Athalaric delivered upon acceding to the throne in 526.¹¹⁸⁷ As was the case in 490 when Zeno-backed Ostrogoths attacked Odoacar, eastern consulates would only reappear, and only sporadically, once Justinian's army entered Italy.

Whereas Ravenna and Rome were eager to stress their political and religious independence from the empire, the latter was as eager to remind them that they were not. Evidence that Constantinople did not consider Rome as an independent entity abounds, including artworks, panegyrics, ceremonial and other literary sources.¹¹⁸⁸ The letter sent by Anastasius in 516 to the senate did mention two *res publicae*, but also employs language underlying sovereignty of the emperor over Rome. This was not only entirely in line with traditional claims of universal imperial hegemony, but mirrored contemporary imperial propaganda permeating the language spoken at Anastasius' court, and which found visible effects in a renewed (after the inactivity of Zeno's reign) western political agenda, whose first acts had been the refusal of the Gothic

empire as root cause. However, easterners were known in Burgundy (as they were known in Provence in the days of Odoacar), so this argument is weak. More generally, Gaudenzy' view fails to take into account that western non-dissemination/recognition of easterners might have been agreed or tolerated as much as eastern confirmation of westerners.

¹¹⁸⁶ Moorhead 1978: 125-36; Haarer 2006: 100; Blaudeau 2012: 135-80; Van Nuffelen 2018: 649 (Gelasius); Arnold 2018b: 1436 (Symmachus); 2018: 741 (Hormisdas).

¹¹⁸⁷ Cassiodorus, *Variae*. 8.13.

¹¹⁸⁸ *NovIust.* 166 still mentions the praetorian prefect of Italy, Faustus Avienus, among the members of the collegium of prefects, cf. Prostko-Prostinsky 1996: 202.

claim in 493, and the subsequent sending of the western regalia to Ravenna in 497/8 to symbolise the return of an imperial ‘presence’ in Italy.¹¹⁸⁹

The only serious question mark is the apparent timing of when western nominations reappear in our eastern record. Since the first western consular date is *p.c. Viatoris* (cos. 495), it is difficult to link this to the recognition of Theoderic, which did not happen until one year later (in 497)¹¹⁹⁰. Neither can this be linked with the election of the philo-Byzantine pope Anastasius II in November 496, since by then *p.c. Viatoris* was already in use in Egypt.¹¹⁹¹ A plausible explanation is that in the years 492-496 Anastasius had delayed the negotiations hoping to convince Theoderic to put pressure on Gelasius to recognise the Henotikon and resolve the Acacian schism. When the ambassadors returned to Italy they were likely to be carrying no substantial privileges except for the emperor’s offer that Theoderic could nominate one of the two consuls.¹¹⁹² A western consul had not been entered in the eastern imperial fasti for sixteen years, so that might well have looked like a remarkable honour for a western aristocrat (possibly one that was capable of gaining him new allies amid the senatorial aristocracy of Rome—the same from whom popes came—by projecting the benefits of supporting a new deal with the Empire). It might not be an accident that the new treaty was reached one year later. In the following decades, Ostrogothic appointees would be consistently announced in the East, even when the two empires were at war. De Rossi was certainly right when arguing that this helped Constantinople maintain the ‘utopian’ claim of an imperial West and world hegemony—a supremacy which, as Jordanes says, sixth-century Romans could only sustain in their imagination.¹¹⁹³

¹¹⁸⁹ On the political significance of the return of the imperial ornaments, see: Prostko-Prostinsky 1996: 159. On the theme of the imperial restoration, more generally: Heather 2013 and Arnold 2014.

¹¹⁹⁰ The last embassy of Festus, which led to the final agreement, could not have departed from Rome before the election of the new pope Anastasius II, since one of the matters to be discussed was papal recognition of Zeno’s Henotikon. For the legation, see Prostko-Prostinsky 1996: 152 and the relevant literature therein.

¹¹⁹¹ P.Oxy. XVI 1889 (Oxy.; 22.xi).

¹¹⁹² Haarer 2006: 81-2 and n. 37.

¹¹⁹³ ICUR: p. XLIII, and so too: Gaudenzi 1888: 112 and *CLRE*: 34. Jordanes, *Romana*, 2, p.1, 1-2, ‘*coepit et tenuit totumque pene mundum subegit et hactenus vel imaginariae teneat*’. See, also: Malaspina 2012: 326 n. 7.

4.3. *Correlation Analysis*¹¹⁹⁴

4.3.1. Introduction, Description and Aim of the Test

Testing causation would have required us to know the full array of co-variates that either directly or indirectly affected dissemination in any possible year. Since no ancient account informs us sufficiently about how many and what possible factors were operating in the period under consideration, it has been possible to analyse only the potential correlation of a limited number of variables which potentially affected dissemination or non-dissemination in any given year.

The aim of this analysis is to understand if there is a ‘linear’ relationship (correlation) between different variables that we have observed and the attestation or non-attestation of consular names, and whether and how this correlation changes over time and space. The variables that were taken into account are the following:

- Whether in the place of finding the authority of the emperor appointing the consul(s) is disputed when non-dissemination or dissemination occurred (DIA Col);
- Whether in the place of finding the authority of the emperor recognising (or not) the appointed consul(s) is disputed by the emperor appointing the consul(s) when non-dissemination or dissemination occurred (DIA Own);
- Whether there existed a political crisis between West and East (not necessarily entailing non-recognition of an emperor’s authority) when dissemination or non-dissemination occurred (Political Crisis);
- Whether there existed a religious crisis between West and East (not necessarily entailing non-recognition of an emperor’s authority) when dissemination or non-dissemination occurred (Religious Crisis);

A logistic regression model was used to estimate the effects of each of the covariates of interest on non-attestation. Each of the variables included in the analysis has a binary “Yes” or “No” outcome. Akaike’s Information Criterion (AIC) was used to determine which variables should be maintained in the model, with stepwise variable elimination.¹¹⁹⁵ The full model

¹¹⁹⁴ This paragraph presents research carried out collaboratively by Kieran Baker and I. I am responsible for the data collection and the preparation process of the data sets, while Kieran is responsible for carrying out the mathematical and statistical testing. For more details on the background of this research, see p. 461.

¹¹⁹⁵ Akaike 1974: 716-723.

included each of the variables of interest, and all two-way interaction terms. Variable selection was done by comparing the empirical distribution of the AIC values across all imputed datasets and taking the model with the lower density. The final estimated model is as follows (included variation from the imputed values and the standard errors from the models):

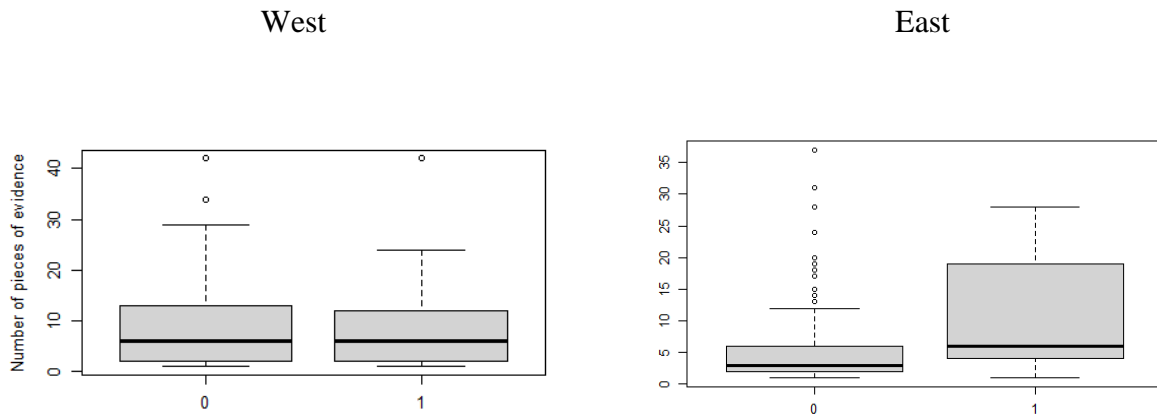
West

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error	<i>p</i> -Value
Intercept	-3.6292115	0.6454642	9.27e-08*
DIA (Col)	-1.6592173	1.5610201	0.2890
DIA (Own)	-0.6641005	0.8410181	0.4307
Religious	2.0796295	0.6065512	7.357e-04*
Political	3.4467445	0.7891897	2.625e-05*
DIA (Own) : DIA (Col)	11.2624429	829.0613985	0.9892

East

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error	<i>p</i> -Value
Intercept	-19.538	1570.83	0.9901
DIA (Col)	2.592	0.89	0.0042*
DIA (Own)	1.436	1.08	0.1850
Political	18.367	1570.83	0.9907

One might expect to find that, where there is limited evidence available, there are fewer instances of attestation simply because the sample size is smaller, and geo-spatially you are covering a smaller area. Hence it is important to look at the relationship between these two variables, and whether the number of pieces of evidence is predictive of the attestation. If that was the case, we could adjust for this covariate. However, the graphs below seem to suggest there is no evidence for this as, in the west, there is no significant difference and, in the East, the evidence supports the opposite claim which means the analysis is only more robust.



4.3.2. Data Lineage

All the information has been entered into two separate data sets, one used to perform the test on the dissemination of eastern names in the West, and the other on the dissemination of western names in the East.¹¹⁹⁶ The analysis covers the whole period under consideration (284-541).

As we were fundamentally looking at local dissemination of non-local consulships, we ruled out all instances of consulships that were proclaimed when one sole emperor was ruling over West and East. We believe this is the correct way forward as the consequence of taking such instances into account would have been similar to factoring in dissemination of local consulships.

The discussion in Ch. 4 above provides the basis of how it has been established whether each of the variables was operating within a given year.

The data used to establish whether attestation or non-attestation occurred have been taken from primarily contemporary material (papyri and inscriptions). There are some problems in testing on contemporary material, most prominently the risk of possibly skewing the results by including uncertain or wrong information. For instance, in all those cases where a formula was not attested locally due to chance of preservation or failed dissemination (but the consul was attested at court by a law), we would have needed to flag that formula as not attested, i.e. non-disseminated. As the number of such instances was too significant to be ignored, we decided to proceed qualitatively by including attested formulas from non-contemporary sources (laws) only when the latter can be relied upon sufficiently enough and are necessary. Otherwise, they were excluded or indicated as uncertain (?).

¹¹⁹⁶ Both data sets will be published online.

A second problem that we had to consider carefully was what to factor into the consular year when a consulship was only attested as post-consular evidence.

In a few rare cases it might be that the non-local consul was retroactively recognised in the course of his post-consular year and, consequently, disseminated only at that point. But in the vast majority of the cases the most plausible reason for why a name is only found as p.c. is that they were disseminated very late in the year and documents from those final months have not been preserved. So how to deal with this? There were at least two possible approaches that could be applied:

1. To classify these instances as 'attested' in their consular year, though they may have not been (in at least some cases);

2. To classify these instances as 'attested' only in their post-consular year, thereby classifying them as 'unattested' in their consular one. This would mirror the state of preservation of the evidence, but presents some problems. For instance, in a case where there were good relations in the consular year, having the name classified as 'unattested' would mean that in analysing the correlation link, that will have had an impact on the overall results. Obviously if the unattested nature of the evidence were only due to issues of dissemination or preservation (and not of recognition), the results would be skewed.

As it is plain to see, no option was completely without drawbacks, so we proceeded qualitatively in the same way described above for formulas attested only by non-contemporary sources.

4.3.3. Criteria Applied in Assessing Attestation or Non-Attestation

The general rules that have been taken into account in assessing 'attestation' or 'non-attestation' are the following:

1. The attestation is classified as following:
 - Y: attested;
 - N: unattested;
 - P: partially attested in contemporary evidence from some province. After 411, this is applied only when there is a substantial omission of the non-local consulate suggesting either the possibility of unofficial dissemination or withdrawn recognition in the course of the year;
 - ?: Attestation is uncertain;
 - Y (law/p.c.): if the consulate is attested only as p.c. in contemporary material but there is substantial evidence (laws) that it was disseminated in its consular year.

- Y (law): the consulate is attested only by dating clauses in laws (with no contemporary material in Egypt or somewhere else).

2. A name is categorised as attested only if it is listed in the perfect evidence. If it is attested only in the imperfect evidence, this is not considered as attested.

3. The number of total items per year refers to all the possible evidence bearing the relevant name, and which falls under ‘year assigned’, regardless of whether it is perfect or imperfect. For example, the year 444 has 17 of such pieces of evidence, 7 of which are perfect; and similarly, the body of material dated under 445 counts 6 pieces, 2 of which are perfect.

For the evidence after 411, the total is reflective of the evidence from the start of the year.

The irreconcilable dates (irrec.) are included only when relevant.

Within the fragmentary material (frag.), if the relevant name is lost but there is evidence that it could have been part of the formula, this is included as it is a possibility.

4. The numerical values in the categories ‘Perfect evidence’, ‘m.l.d.’, ‘2-year span’ and ‘other imperfect’, only refer to the material dated by the relevant formula.

5. It is very difficult to establish the provenience and dating of the evidence from 535 onwards, hence often it has been excluded. In 538, 540 and 541, only the perfect, m.l.d. and 2-year span evidence has been factored in.

4.3.4. Missing and Uncertain Data

One additional major problem we had to address when dealing with data throughout the period and, more frequently, in the chronological segment of 476-541, was how to assess the degree of correlation between co-variates if one of them is uncertain. A logistic regression multiple imputation method was used (with the *MICE* implementation in *R*) to simulate 1000 different scenarios preserving the correlation structure within the data.¹¹⁹⁷

In order to do so, we first explored the missing data to understand whether the data is missing and random, and hence decide whether we could drop the missing data or need imputation to fill the missing data. Below is given the breakdown of the missing data across the two data sets:

¹¹⁹⁷ van Buuren – Groothuis-Oudshoorn 2011: 1–67.

West

Full Dataset					Rows with some missing data				
Non-Attestation					Non-Attestation				
DI A (col)		Ye s	N o	N A	DI A (col)		Ye s	N o	N A
	Ye s	162	38	2		Ye s	15	26	2
	No	1	40	1		No	0	1	1
	NA	4	16	1		NA	4	16	1
Non-Attestation					Non-Attestation				
DI A (own)		Ye s	N o	N A	DI A (own)		Ye s	N o	N A
	Ye s	151	34	2		Ye s	8	24	2
	No	10	48	2		No	5	7	2
	NA	6	12	0		NA	6	12	0
Non-Attestation					Non-Attestation				
Rel . Crisis		Yes	No	NA	Rel . Crisis		Yes	No	NA
	Yes	133	54	2		Yes	10	17	2
	No	25	38	1		No	0	24	1
	NA	9	2	1		NA	9	2	1
Non-Attestation					Non-Attestation				
Pol. Crisis		Yes	No	NA	Pol. Crisis		Yes	No	NA
	Yes	138	3	2		Yes	5	0	2
	No	24	64	2		No	9	16	2
	NA	5	27	0		NA	5	27	0

East

Full Dataset					Rows with some missing data				
Non-Attestation					Non-Attestation				
DI A (col)		Ye s	N o	N A	DI A (col)		Ye s	N o	N A
	Ye s	159	6	8		Ye s	24	0	8
	No	3	38	2		No	2	7	2
	NA	8	8	3		NA	8	8	3
Non-Attestation					Non-Attestation				
DI A (own)		Ye s	N o	N A	DI A (own)		Ye s	N o	N A
	Ye s	156	11	10		Ye s	22	2	10
	No	2	28	1		No	0	0	1
	NA	12	13	2		NA	12	13	2
Non-Attestation					Non-Attestation				
Rel . Crisis		Yes	No	NA	Rel . Crisis		Yes	No	NA
	Yes	136	36	5		Yes	20	7	5
	No	31	14	8		No	11	6	8
	NA	3	2	0		NA	3	2	0
Non-Attestation					Non-Attestation				
Pol. Crisis		Yes	No	NA	Pol. Crisis		Yes	No	NA
	Yes	124	0	1		Yes	2	0	1
	No	21	51	3		No	7	14	3
	NA	25	1	9		NA	25	1	9

1. Disputed Imperial Authority (colleague) (DIA Col): Over-representation of negative non-attestation and where there is a DIA Col.

2. Disputed Imperial Authority (his own) (DIA Own): Over-representation of negative non-attestation examples, particularly where there is also a DIA Own.

3. Religious Crisis: Over-representation of negative non-attestation examples, particularly where there is also not a religious crisis.

4. Political Crisis: Over-representation of negative examples, particularly where there is no political crisis.

Given the vast over-representation of negative examples, and the impact that removing these examples would have on the results of the correlation analysis, we could not assume the data is Missing at Random, and hence imputation methods needed to be used.

4.3.5. Temporal Correlation Analysis: Setting the Analysis

With the information entered and assessed as outlined in the data lineage description and classification process, and after establishing whether the data is missing at random, and after using multiple imputation for missing data, a two-level analysis was carried out, making predictions for certain and uncertain instances as follows:

1. More certain data (values we are confident about). The test includes data classified as: Y, Y (law/p.c.), Y (pap. doc. late), N, which produces continuous lines.

2. Less certain data (values we are less or not confident about). The test includes data classified as: Y (law), Y (p.c.), Y (miscell.), N (miscell.), N (chron.), ? and P, which produces upper/lower grey bounds.

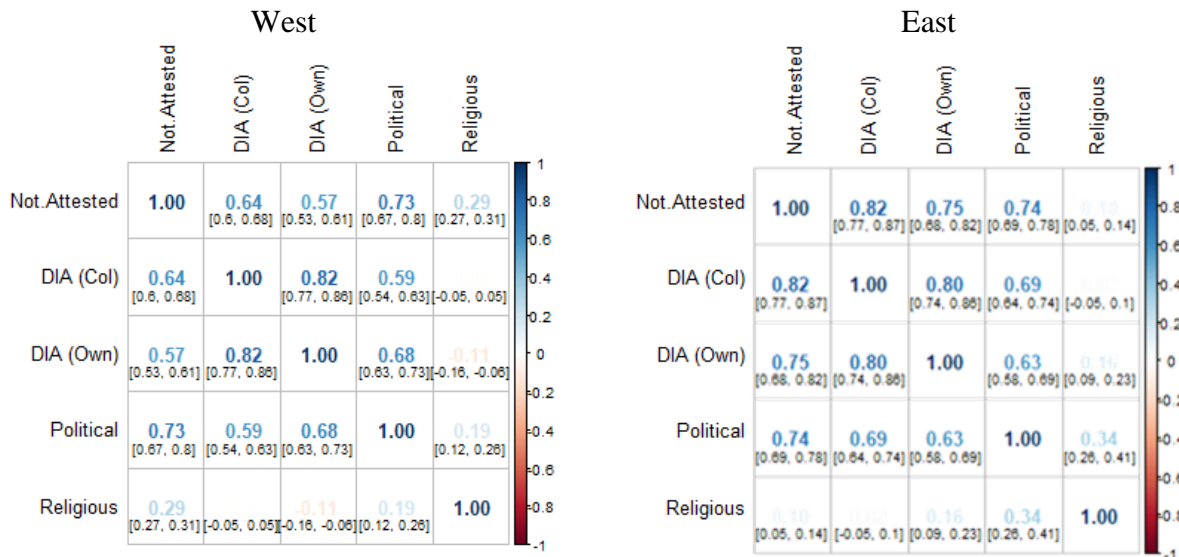
More uncertain instances (?) are concentrated in the last segment (476-541, both in west/east) but their distribution is spread out over several columns.

4.4. Results Summary

4.4.1. Correlations between factors

Below is given the direct relationships between each complete covariate and the response. The adjacent figure contains the average correlation coefficients between the different factors across the whole period, and the interval of two standard deviations from the mean where the standard deviation is calculated from the multiple imputation.¹¹⁹⁸

¹¹⁹⁸ There is a natural mapping from the two factor levels (Yes and No) into a numeric space by mapping Yes to 1 and No to 0 (i.e. the observations sit on the 5D cube $\{0,1\}^5 \subset \mathbb{R}^5$). This way, we can interpret a positive correlation coefficient as both factors appearing together, and a negative correlation coefficient as the two factors occurring at different times.



4.4.2. Temporal Correlation Analysis

In the temporal correlation analysis, we strategically impute the missing values to either minimise or maximise the correlation between the two variables to provide bounds of uncertainty. A 50-year sliding window is used, and the midpoint of the window plotted below.

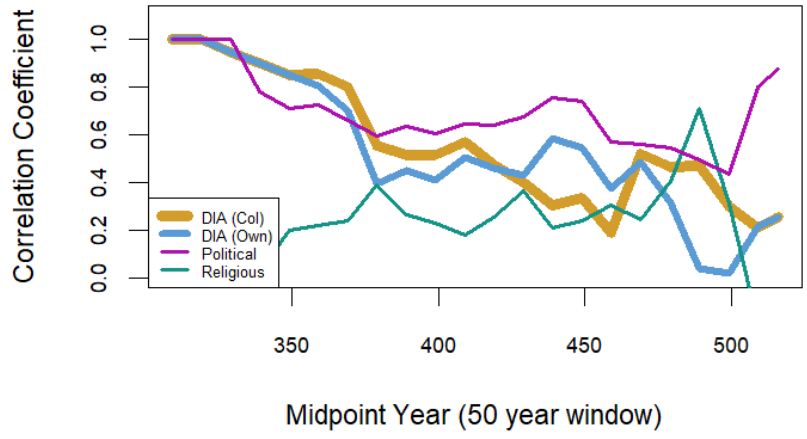
Correlation Coefficient Interpretation (based on De Vaus 2002):¹¹⁹⁹

Coefficient Range	Strength of Relationship
0.00	No association
0.01 – 0.09	Trivial relationship
0.10 – 0.29	Low to moderate relationship
0.30 – 0.49	Moderate to substantial relationship
0.50 – 0.69	Substantial to very strong relationship
0.70 – 0.89	Very strong relationship
0.90+	Near perfect

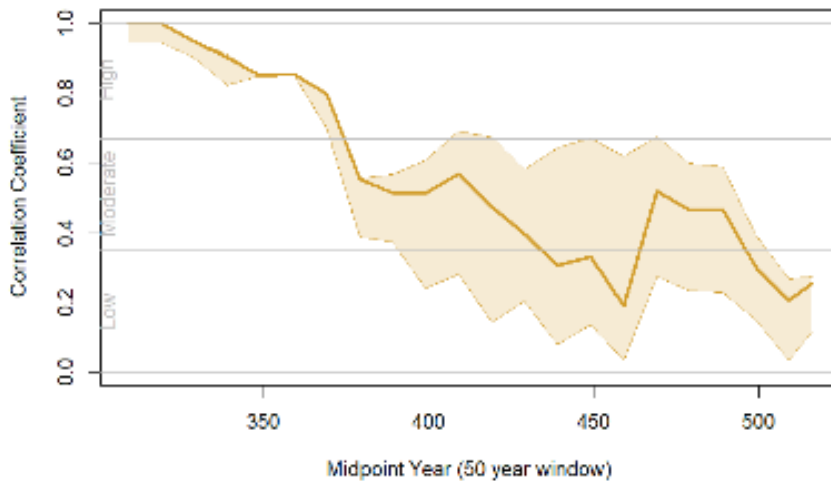
¹¹⁹⁹ De Vaus 2002: 259.

West

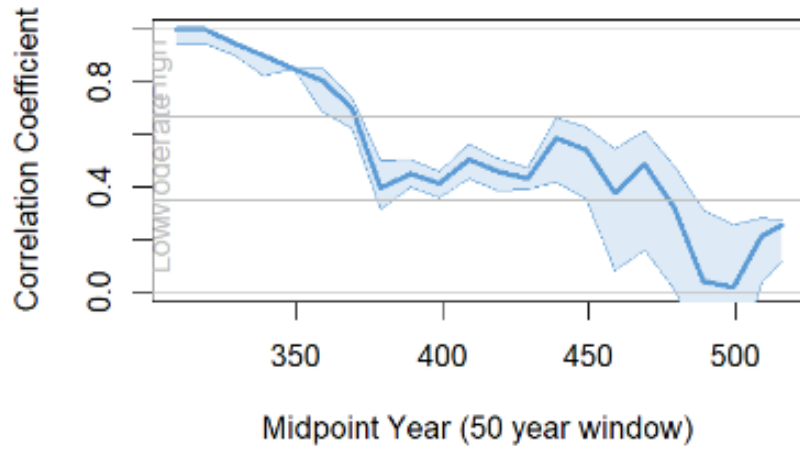
1. Overall



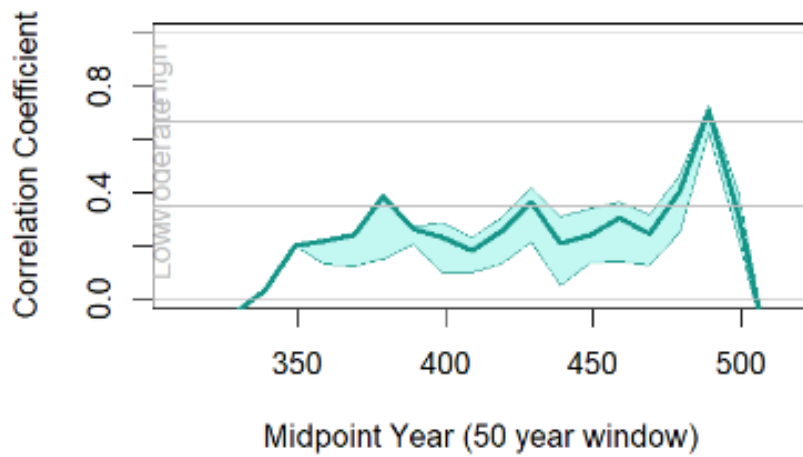
2. DIA (Col)



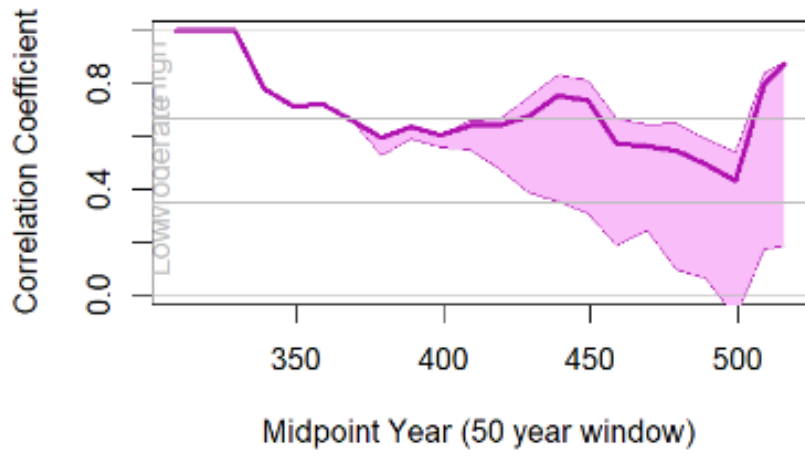
3. DIA (Own)



4. Religious Crisis

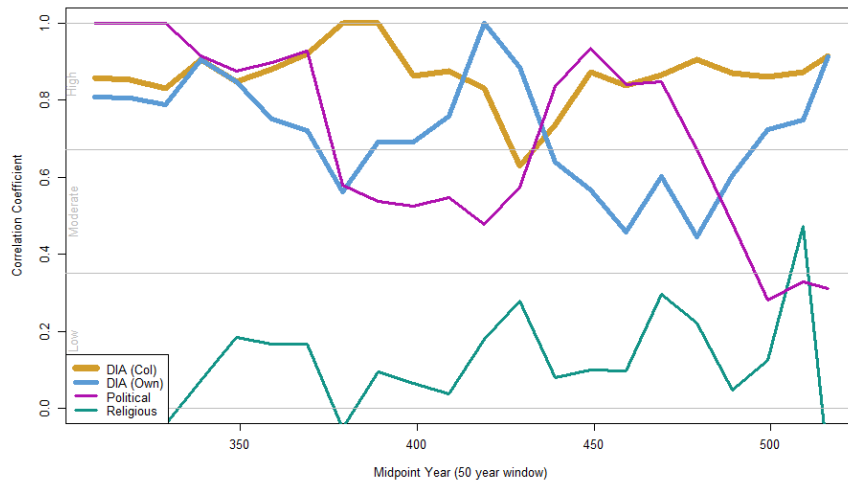


5. Political Crisis

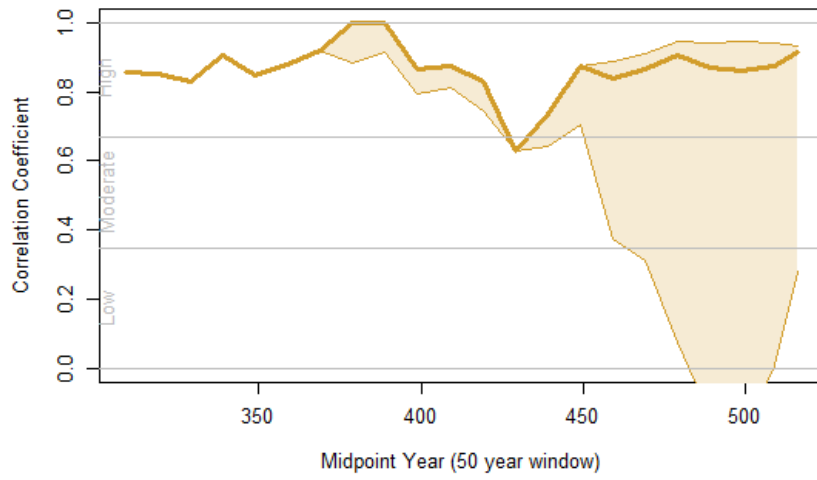


East

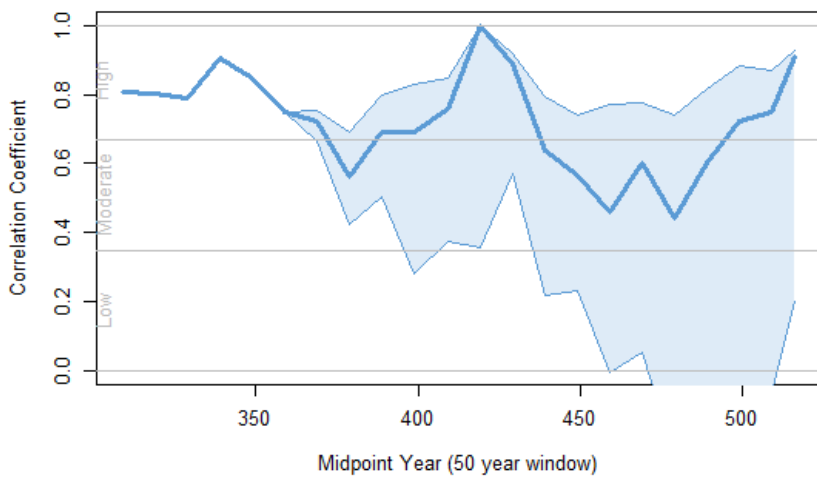
1. Overall



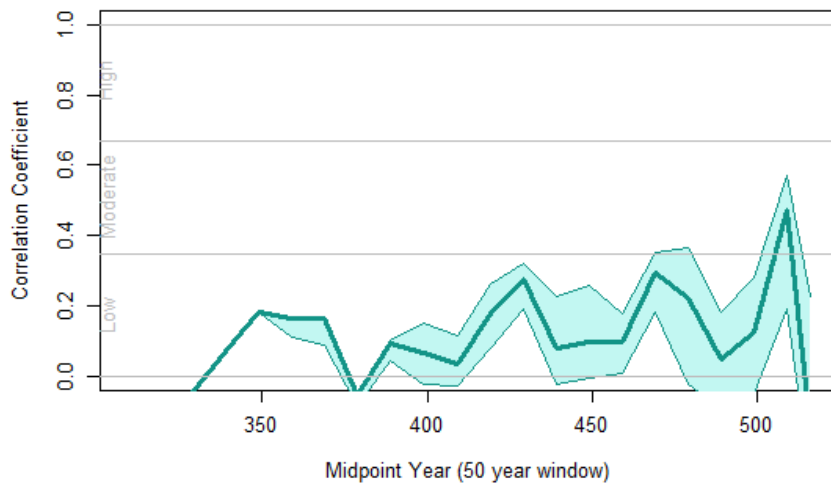
2. DIA (Col)



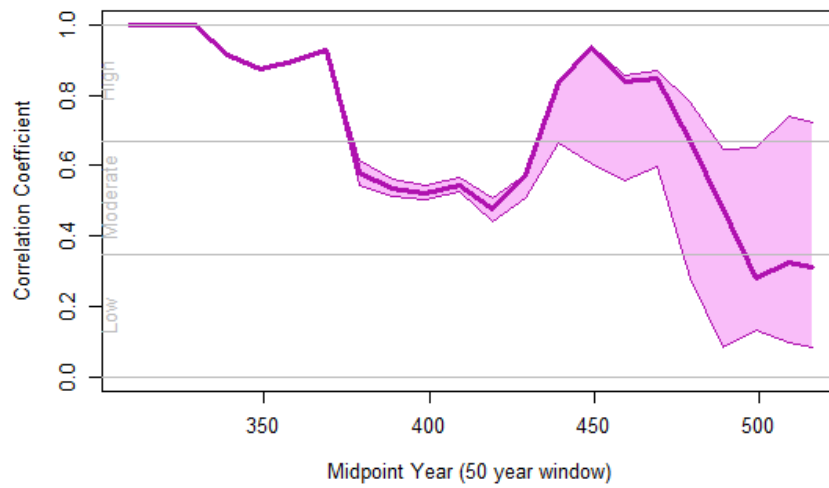
3. DIA (Own)



4. Religious Crisis



5. Political Crisis



General Conclusions

The evidence supports the following conclusions for the West: across the whole period, the highest degree of correlation is attested with 'Political Crisis', which records a Correlation Coefficient of 0.73 (very strong), followed by 'DIA (Col)' with 0.64 and 'DIA (Own)' with 0.57 (both are substantial to very strong). The lowest attested correlation is found with 'Religious Crisis', showing only a coefficient of 0.29 (low to medium). There are clear fluctuations of these parameters over time, with DIA (Col)'s and DIA (Own)'s respecting coefficients dropping from high (in the fourth century) to low (in the fifth and sixth centuries). Conversely, the Religious Crisis's coefficient, which remains consistently low throughout the fourth and the first half of the fifth, increases from low to moderate to high from approximately the middle of the fifth century until dropping from the early sixth. The only parameter that remains relatively constant throughout the period is the one related to Political Crisis.

In the East, across the whole period, the highest degree of correlation is attested with 'DIA (Col)', which records a Correlation Coefficient of 0.82 (very strong), followed by 'DIA (Own)' with 0.75 and 'Political Crisis' with 0.74 (both are very strong). The lowest attested correlation is found with 'Religious Crisis' showing only 0.10 (low to medium). As with the West, clear fluctuations of these parameters can be appreciated over time, especially for DIA (Own) and Political Crisis. The latter's coefficient swings from high to medium (and vice versa) across fourth and fifth, before dropping to low by the end of the fifth century. Conversely, the coefficient for Religious Crisis remains constantly low, save for a brief surge to moderate in the early sixth century. Likewise, DIA (Col) remains constantly high, save for a brief drop to moderate in the second quarter of the fifth century.

These results support the conclusion that there were two distinctively western and eastern usages that were made of consular proclamations and dissemination. Both were political, but only in the East did non-recognition and non-dissemination of an emperor's consul frequently occur with non-recognition of that emperor's authority. In the course of the fifth and sixth centuries, this correlation weakens in the West, although the dissemination of the non-local consul remains a valid proxy to measure the quality of relations between the two halves.

The eastern coefficient for Political Crisis would appear to be a clear indicator of the use that was made by Constantinople of western formulas from Anastasius reign, with the inclusion of western names no longer mirroring the actual nature of relations between Ostrogothic Italy and Constantinople.

Conclusions

1. Consuls, consular dating and consular dissemination

The paucity and difficulties of our sources mean that several aspects of consular dating and consular dissemination are uncertain, and will remain so, unless or until new relevant documents (i.e. papyri and inscriptions) become available. The more substantial uncertainties include (but are not limited to): (i) the restoration of some chronological and regional segments of contemporary dissemination; (ii) what authority was responsible for producing the Egyptian formula and to what extent a common model for the official formula (not limited to mere names) continued to be disseminated by the state apparatus after the first quarter of the fifth century; (iii) whether and to what extent joint proclamations were resumed, especially after 493 in the East and between 411-476 in the West. As discussed in appendix C, the model results on the starting locations support some of the conclusions outlined in chapters three and four on the extent of joint proclamations in the reigns of Anastasius, Justin and Justinian, but these results need to be confirmed by new contemporary sources; (iv) a basic understanding of the spread of consular dating across some regions, such as, for instance, most of the Balkans, large portions of eastern Anatolia and the Middle East, especially in the epigraphic documentation; (v) to what extent *e.q.f.n.*-formulas were employed after 411 in the East; that is, whether these were published regularly every year or solely on particular occasions; (vi) some details of consular recognition (or not) and what precise meaning was attached to it by central authorities and/or local users; (vii) the socio-cultural background surrounding late-antique stonecutters and, more generally, (viii) several aspects of the history of consular dating in the early period, especially its origin and spread before the first century BC.

These uncertainties aside, the current evidence allows us to build a reasonably convincing picture of many other important dimensions of the topic:

(a) The empire never had a single fixed procedure to appoint new consuls, with the only plausible exception of the period after 493. In all likelihood, this was the consequence of the fact that the appointment was a complex process of negotiation in which many factors, including rivalry between the emperors, were intersecting with one another (Chapter 1, Section 1.1.2).

(b) The lapse of the consulship in the West after 535, and its demise in the East after 541, occurred within a complex background in which specific financial, political, military and ideological factors played a major role (Chapter 1, Section 1.1.4).

(c) By its nature, consular dating had several potential problems, of which the most prominent was the possible homonymy of consular names. This risk brought contemporary users to develop and employ, albeit inconsistently, marks of differentiation such as, for instance, the suffixes *junior* and *alius* (Appendix B).

(d) Although several variations and regional nuances are attested throughout the geographical area that was the focus of our investigation, the Overlap Test results in Appendix C highlight an overall uniformity in the usage of the consular names disseminated across the Empire. They also support the conclusion that people omitted consular names in the fifth and sixth centuries more often than previously, but overall this error was not systemic and generally users stuck to the names that were disseminated.¹²⁰⁰

(e) The same results (and especially those drawn from data sets where material dated by identically-named years had been excluded) support the correctness of the assumptions adopted in assigning the relevant material to ‘most-likely dates’ (Appendix B, Section 2.2, 3 and Appendix C, Section 2).

(f) A substantial understanding of both the spread of consular dating and the marked oscillations in the frequency of its usage can be established for many regions. The connection of consular dating to the structures and institutions of the empire is shown by the spread of consular dating and ultimately by the fact that its existence depended on them (Chapter 2).

(g) The legislation surrounding the use of consular dating in the empire and some post-Roman states clarifies why so many legal texts are dated by this system (Chapter 1, Section 1.2.3 and Chapter 2 more generally).

(h) It is possible to recover many aspects of the detailed functioning of consular dissemination such as, e.g., where announcements were made in any particular period (and often in any particular year) and why they occurred there; how news circulated, that is, how the announcement and dissemination were carried out and what legal framework surrounded it; equally importantly, that this system witnessed three major operational changes across late antiquity (Chapter 3).

¹²⁰⁰ This, however, still does not go against what was argued by Bagnall and Worp (2004: 92-93), who treated the Egyptian instances of overlap as a tell-tale sign of a ‘general disorganization of dissemination’, with the blame being put on the local bureaucracy. An overlap test run on solely the Egyptian evidence will potentially yield useful results.

(i) Although the speed of dissemination in the early part of the period was the result of several different factors, including the administrative structures of the empire of the Tetrarchs, with its multiple and movable courts, its multiple ‘regional’ praetorian prefects and their vicars, two of the most important explanatory factors must be identified in its capacity to mobilise more resources for both its transportation and communication infrastructure (the *cursus publicus*) and its system of salaried public heralds. Obviously, the progressive dismantling of both systems in the course of the fourth century was not the only reason behind the increasing slowdown of dissemination, and other circumstantial factors, such as administrative failures, political and military turmoil, as well as other irrecoverable ones, probably also had some impact. However, the heavy toll of the financial and legislative reforms on consular dissemination should be acknowledged. Very likely, cuts were agents of the phenomenon at its inception and of its lasting consequences in fifth- and sixth-century dissemination—something that Justinian’s administration perhaps tried to fix, but to no avail. These conclusions are supported by the correlation seen in Chapter 3 between the slowdown of dissemination and the legislative activity limiting the *cursus* in the course of the fourth century, which culminated in the laws of the years 365-383 curtailing the profits of public heralds, which are in turn correlated chronologically with major surges of post-consular dating in the West (in the 360s) and a major slowdown of dissemination in the East (in the 380s).

2. Consular dating as a historical research tool

Very plausibly, then, the subsequent changes that affected dissemination in the course of the fifth century (unilateral proclamations and failed dissemination) are, partly, directly or indirectly consequential to this weakening of the relevant infrastructure. But the non-dissemination of a non-local consul is a phenomenon that must be distinguished from these occurrences. Here, the key concept that needs to be recognised is that consular dating was heavily politicised, because it was intimately connected with the office itself, which in turn was, and had always been, deeply entangled with imperial politics.

Late-antique imperial courts changed constantly consular policy, even annually, as shown by the years of the Tetrarchic wars and the crises that unfolded during the regency of Stilicho, the reigns of Valentinian III, Marcian, Majorian and Leo (to name but a few). So it should not be surprising that the approach of subsequent governments, especially those of the Germanic kings of Italy, show similar patterns. In the long run, the decision to permanently pause the dissemination of the eastern consul led to the birth of a new western practice: dating by

reference to the western consulship alone. The use of *iunior* and other devices are essentially a side-effect of that event. Instead, the eastern perpetuation of dating by reference to both consuls was the result of much more than mere ‘conservatism’ and ‘tradition’. In fact, this was contingent on the propagandistic effort sustained by Constantinople from the 490s up until Justinian’s reconquest to uphold the fiction that a Roman imperial West continued to exist.

Problems of dating, morphology, legislation and obviously dissemination help us understand how, when and why these formulas were disseminated and when and why they were not, along with how relevant this is in its specific context (chronological, regional and typological). For instance, the omission of a western consul’s name in a fourth-century Roman epitaph does not have the same historical significance as the omission of a western consular name in a late fifth-century legal papyrus from Oxyrhynchus.

Given the attention paid to political change and conflict that occurred during Late Antiquity in recent and less recent literature, tools that provide a proxy record of change are extremely valuable. The Correlation Test results support the conclusions that consular dating is capable of yielding precious information for the history of the Roman world in the Late Antique period and, more particularly, can function as a significant indicator of political tension between the two halves of the empire, which is all the more important because this material is completely independent from the information provided by the literary sources. Furthermore, given that at least one new formula was normally issued each year, the level of detail—a year by year measure of the state of relations between the different halves of the Empire—that is offered by this contemporary record is essentially unmatched by any other historical account. Consequently, political historians and historians of the history of the Church, and more broadly, any scholars operating in the field of late antiquity, can very profitably employ it to address questions that have not yet been successfully clarified.

In this dissertation, I have tried to outline the positive potential of the application of Consular Dating to historical research, as much as its pitfalls. In particular, one of the most important findings to emerge from the statistical analysis (in turn reflected in the discussion) is that, both in the West and the East, there are several occasions when consular non-recognition coincides with non-recognition of one emperor’s authority. From the fifth century onwards, however, a strong correlation of these two co-variates can only be found in the East. Clearly, the strong correlation between non-dissemination and political tension, which persists throughout the fifth-century in the West, entitles us to use consular dating as a reliable indicator of crisis. But the weaknesses in the parameters of the other co-variates also means that we are justified in

making more precise inferences about matters of recognition only when we look at eastern disseminations. On the other hand, the problem is the opposite for the East, where dissemination of western consulships closely matches with the overall recognition of, for instance, the Ostrogothic kings, and yet it fails to mirror the complexities of the difficult political tensions existing between the two powers. In other words, because the meaning of consular dating changed over time and space, it cannot be used universally as a proxy stand-in for the variables we have analysed. With the discussion and the analysis in Chapter Four, I have attempted to offer an outline guide as to where, when and by reference to which co-variate, dissemination and non-dissemination can be used profitably.

Appendix A.

‘Variant’ Formulas

The evidence record the use of as many as three different ‘variant’ forms, which include 1) polyonymous nomenclatures, 2) *e.q.f.n.* and 3) iunior consulships. As will be argued, the label ‘variant’ is suitable to only a limited extent to define their real nature in a more specific time and place.

In the following discussion, it is retained only because a more suitable term has not yet been found. Although genuine usage is attested as late as the end of the fifth-century for *e.q.f.n.*, and as late as the sixth for the remaining two formulas, in all cases their origin can be traced back to the fourth century.

1. Polyonymous nomenclatures

Polyonymy was common among early and late Roman consuls, with some of them having no less than five names (one *praenomen*, one or two *nomina*, and one or two *cognomina*) and possibly even more.¹²⁰¹ Although in late-antique dating contexts consular dates are predominantly limited to the consul’s *cognomen*, occasionally longer nomenclatures can also be found. This occurs throughout the whole period from 284 to 541, albeit with different frequency. Several factors, including taste, other unknown personal reasons and probably economic motivations—a longer formula meant a longer text, which in turn resolved in higher economic and labour demands—were likely to be behind individuals’ choice for one form of dating rather than another. As will be discussed below, however, differentiating one consul from a possible homonym was rarely the reason behind the use of a polyonymous nomenclature in dating contexts. Most often, the underlying factors were either the inclusion of the names in the official formula or proximity to the consular ceremony.

Within the period 284-411, the following are the years where lengthened forms are attested in inscriptions: 286, 289, 291, 298, 301, 313, 313, 322, 323, 330, 335, 337, 341, 345, 347, 349,

¹²⁰¹ Five names are attested for one of the consuls in AD 98 in CIL XVI 38, a military diploma dated by *III Idus Iulias M(arco) Lollio Paullino Valerio Asiatico Saturnino C(aio) Antio Iulio Quadrato co(n)s(ulibus)*; for this and other references to polyonymous nomenclatures, especially in the early empire, cf. Salomies 1993: 103-112 (esp. p. 107 and n. 25.) In the late sixth century, the full name of the former praetorian prefect of the East and governor of Egypt is still attested as Fl. Ioannes Theodorus Menas Narses Chnoubammon Horion Hephæstus; see *PLRE* III 582-3.

350, 358, 362, 363, 371, 372, 379, 388, 391, 394, 395, 397, 399, 406 and 408. In papyri, they are attested in: 295, 298, 301, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 313, 314, 316, 317, 325, 325, 327, 328, 330, 331, 332, 334, 335, 335, 336, 337, 340, 341, 343, 347, 357, 362, 372 and 379. From 411 down to the end of the period, the practice nearly dies out within papyri, with only two items from 465 (a p.c. date of 464) and 504 retaining a fuller nomenclature, whereas it remains very well-documented within inscriptions dated in 416, 423, 430, 431, 433, 435, 438, 440, 444, 445, 450, 452, 453, 456, 458, 462, 464, 472, 481, 483, 490, 519 and 524. At present, then, polyonymous nomenclatures are attested in no less than seventy-eight years across our relevant period (see tables 1 and 2 below for the full list of attestations.)

Table A.1. List of attested polyonymous nomenclatures in western & eastern papyri.

Year approx.	Fuller names	Papy. (tot.)	Formula (simplified)
295	3	8	(Nummius) Tuscus et (Annio) Anullinus
298	6	13	(Anicius) Faustus et (Virius) Gallus
301	5	6	(Postumius) Titianus et (Virius) Nepotianus
308	21	21	Diocletianus X et Galerius Valerius Maximianus VII
309	24	27	(Valerius) Licinianus Licinius et Fl. (Valerius) Constantinus
310	17	19	(Tatius) Andronicus et (Pompeius) Probus
311	11	12	(Galerius Valerius) Maximianus VIII et (Galerius Valerius) Maximinus II
312	14	33	Fl. (Valerius) Constantinus et (Licinianus) Licinius II
313	4	5	(Galerius Valerius) Maximinus et (Fl. Valerius) Constantinus III
313	3	5	Constantinus III et (Licinianus) Licinius III
314	32	36	(Rufius) Volusianus et (Petronius) Annianus
316	23	31	(Caecinius) Sabinus et (Vettius) Rufinus
317	6	9	(Ovinius) Gallicanus et (Caesonius) Bassus
325	1	5	(Valerius) Proculus et (Anicius) Paulinus
325	3	12	(Anicius) Paulinus et (Ionijs) Iulianus

Year approx.	Fuller names	Papy. (tot.)	Formula (simplified)
327	12	12	Fl. Constantius et Valerius Maximus
328	12	12	Ianuarinus et Vettius Iustus
330	4	8	Gallicanus et (Aurelius) (Valerius Tullianus) Symmachus
331	19	19	Iunius Bassus et Ablabius
332	9	10	(L. Papius) Pacatianus et (Mecilius) Hilarianus
334	7	7	Optatus et Anicius Paulinus
335	11	11	Iulius Constantius et (Rufius) Albinus
336	11	14	(Virius) Nepotianus et (Tettius) Facundus
337	7	7	Felicianus et Fabius Titianus
340	15	17	(Septimius) Acyndinus et (Populonium) Proculus
341	13	15	(Antonius) Marcellinus et (Petronius) Probinus
343	14	15	(Furius) Placidus et Romulus
347	8	8	Volcacius Rufinus et Eusebius
357	2	7	Constantius IX et (Claudius) Iulianus II
362	2	10	(Claudius) Mamertinus et Nevitta
372	12	20	(Domitius) Modestus et Arintheus
380	2	4	p.c. Ausonii et (Hermogeniani) Olybrii
465	1	3	p.c. Fl. Rustici (Nestorii) et Olybrii
504	1	1	Rufius Petronius Nicomagus Cethegus (Ravenna)

Note: Names in brackets are additional elements in the formula. When unspecified, the papyrus is meant to be eastern.

Table A.2 – List of attested polyonymous nomenclatures in western & eastern inscriptions.

Year approx.	Fuller names	Epi. (tot.)	Formula (simplified)
286	2	6	M. Iunius Maximus II et Vettius Aquilinus
289	2	3	(M. Magrio) Bassus
291	2	5	(Gaius Iunius) Tiberianus II et (Cassius) Dio
298	1	6	(Anicius) Faustus (II) et (Virius) Gallus

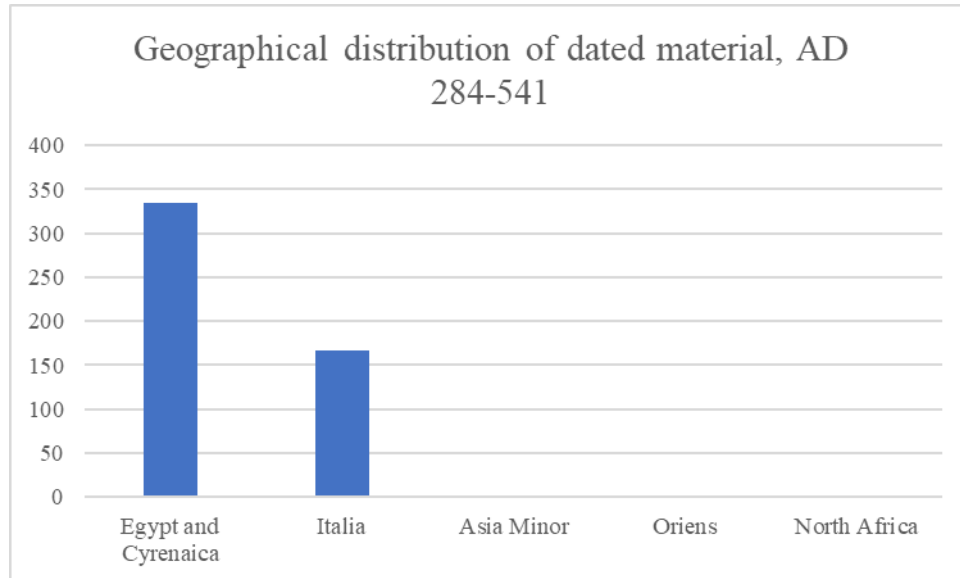
Year approx.	Fuller names	Epi. (tot.)	Formula (simplified)
301	2	3	(Postumius) Titianus et (Virius) Nepotianus (Syria and Hypaipa);
313	1	5	Fl. (Valerius) Constantinus et Maximinus III
313	1	1	Fl. Valerius Constantinus et Valerius Licinius III (nr. Hierapolis in Phryg.)
322	1	2	(Petronius) Probianus et (Anicius) Iulianus
323	1	6	(Acilius) Severus et (Vettius) Rufinus
330	1	2	Tullianus or Symmachus
335	3	3	Constantius et Rufius Albinus
337	1	5	Felicianus et (Fabius) Titianus
341	1	15	(Petronius) Probinus
345	1	19	(Nummius) Albinus
347	2	7	(Vulcacius) Rufinus et Eusebius
349	1	10	(Ulpus) Limenius et (Aconius) Catullinus
350	1	11	(Anicius?) Sergius et Nigrinianus
358	1	16	(Censorius) Datianus et (Neratius) Cerealis
362	4	22	(Claudius) Mamertinus et (Fl.) Nevitta
363	2	19	(Claudius) Iulianus IV et Sallustius
371	2	23	Gratianus II et (Petronius) Probus
372	3	21	(Domitius) Modestus et Arintheus
379	1	8	(Clodius) Olybrius
388	9	11	(Magnus) Maximus II
391	4	22	Tatianus et (Quintus) (Aurelius) Symmachus
394	8	8	Nicomachus Flavianus
395	18	35	Anicii (Hermogenianus) Olybrius et Probinus
397	10	34	Caesarius et (Nonius) Atticus
399	10	10	(L.) Mallius Theodorus
406	11	21	Arcadius VI et (Anicius) (Petronius) (Anicius) Probus
408	8	19	(Anicius) (Auchenius) Bassus

Year approx.	Fuller names	Epi. (tot.)	Formula (simplified)
416	1	8	(Iunius Quarto) Palladius
423	1	12	(Avitus) Marinianus
430	1	9	(Placidus) Valentinianus III
431	4	20	(Anicius) (Auchenius) Bassus
433	8	11	Petronius Maximus and Theodosius XIV et (Petronius) Maximus
435	8	18	(Placidus) Valentinianus III
438	1	10	Theodosius XVI et (Anicius) (Acilius) (Glabrio) Faustus
440	1	12	p.c. Placidi Valentiniani V
445	1	7	p.c. Deci Albini
445	1	6	(Placidus) Valentinianus VI
450	2	10	(Placidus) Valentinianus Aug. VII et Avienus
452	1	16	(Fl. Bassus) Herculanus
453	1	26	(Rufius) Opilio
456	1	4	(Eparchius) Avitus
458	1	2	(Iulius) Maiorianus
462	2	7	(Libius) Severus
465	1	6	p.c. Anici Olybri
472	2	9	(Rufius Postumius) Festus
481	2	9	(Rufius) Placidus and p.c. Rufi Placidi
483	1	4	(Aginantius) Faustus
490	2	10	Probus Faustus iun. and p.c. Probi Fausti
519	7	15	Eutharicus (Cillica)
524	1	5	(Venantius) Opilio

Note: Names in brackets are additional elements in the formula. When unspecified, the inscription is meant to be western.

The overall overview in the chart below shows that, while the evidence is dispersed over an area ranging from Mauretania to Asia Minor from west to east, and from Upper Egypt to the Po Valley in Italy from south to north, more than 99% of the entire body of material comes

from two regions: 1) Egypt with as many as 335 attestations, and 2) Italy, with a smaller dataset of 167 items. Of the totality of inscriptions, the vast majority are epitaphs belonging to men of senatorial standing, while the entirety of the papyri pertains to texts of various legal nature.



Why are some documents dated by lengthened forms and others by shortened ones? What is the reason that lies behind the use of this practice? What does this tell us about dissemination and contemporary usage and understanding of consular dating?

At one level, a fuller nomenclature could facilitate identifying identically-named years, so one may look at differentiation. Yet, within the 77 years where these forms recur, a real danger of homonymy could occur in only four occasions: firstly, in 472 (Festus et Marcianus);¹²⁰² possibly a second time in 483 (Faustus solus);¹²⁰³ in 490 (Faustus iun.)¹²⁰⁴ and finally in 524

¹²⁰² Before Marcian's name was announced in the West, the year in 472 was named after Festus alone, as shown by three Roman inscriptions securely dated, cf. ICUR n.s. I 355; II 4964; I 743 = ILCV 199. Similarly, in 439 (the consulate of Festus' homonymous predecessor) the year was also briefly known as 'Festus e.q.f.n.' (CIL V 6268 = ILCV 200b = ICI XIV 7b) and possibly 'Festus' solus, cf. CIL IX 1374 = ICI VIII 42 (472/473 poss.)

¹²⁰³ There is no safely dated evidence before the earliest attestation of the pair on 4 June, 438 (the consulate of Faustus' preceding homonym); but both the general practice after 410 and the evidence from 439 underpin the view that a disjoint proclamation was performed also in this case. In the West, Theodosius' consulate is attested in Dalmatia by 4 June, in Gaul by 5 September and in Rome by 7 October (ICUR n.s. II 4904 from Rome; CIL III 14929 from Trogir and CIL XIII 11207 from Lyon). If this was so, as seems likely, both years were known for some time as *Fausto v.c.*

¹²⁰⁴ See 425-29.

(Iustinus II et Opilius).¹²⁰⁵

In all four cases, the consular year could be mistaken for a previous one if the consular name was given following the standard practice, that is, using only the cognomen.

However, in none of the remaining seventy-four instances could homonymy in principle be an issue. In 328 (Fl. Ianuarius et Vettius Iustus), 332 (Pacatianus et Hilarianus), 349 (Limenius et Catullinus), 350 (Sergius et Nigrinianus), 358 (Datianus et Cerealis), 362 (Mamertinus et Nevitta), 372 (Modestus et Arintheus), 394 (Nicomachus Flavianus), 397 (Caesarius et Nonius Atticus), 416 (Palladius), 423 (Marinianus), 452 (Herculanus), 456 (Avitus), 458 (Maiorianus), 462 (Libius Severus), 504 (Cethegus) and 519 (Eutharicus) there was in fact no issue at all: the consuls have no attested homonyms in the consular lists of the region where they were disseminated.¹²⁰⁶ In 433 (Petronius Maximus), 453 (Opilio) and 464 (Rusticius) the problem did not yet exist, as the consuls were the first of their name to be in office.¹²⁰⁷ Next, the consulates in 286, 289, 291, 295, 298, 301, 310, 314, 316, 317, 322, 323, 325, 325, 327, 330, 331, 334, 335, 335, 336, 337, 340, 341, 343, 345, 347, 363, 371, 379, 391, 395, 399, 406, 408, were all disseminated as pairs from 1 January; then, if the formula was written correctly (i.e. without dropping the name of the second consul or omitting essential elements of the consular titulary, such as Aug., as in the case of homonymy between imperial and citizen consuls), the name of one consul was sufficient to identify the other amid multiple homonyms. Similarly, no possibility of confusion existed in 431 (Bassus), 438 (Faustus), 444 (Albinus), 464 (Olybrius) and 481 (Placidus) with their preceding homonyms, since the latter were

¹²⁰⁵ Neither eastern colleague of the two Opiliones in 453 and 524 was ever proclaimed and disseminated in Italy according to our evidence, so the years were virtually indistinguishable.

¹²⁰⁶ Libius Severus' name could be unlikely confused with the western tetrarch Severus, cos. 307, as the latter's consulate appears to have not been disseminated in the West, and if it had been, the formula would have been 'DD.NN. Severus et Maximinus' (see the eastern evidence); nor could it be confused with the citizen consulship of Acilius Severus, cos. 323 due to the imperial titulary; possibly, it follows fifth-century western imperial practice to add a fuller name (see Valentinian's and Avitus' consulates). Catullinus (cos. 349), Mamertinus (cos. 362), Nicomachus Flavianus (cos. 394), Nonius Atticus (cos. 397) and Marinianus (cos. 423) had a possible homonym in 130 (Q. Fabius Catullinus), 182 (M. Petronius Sura Mamertinus), 117 (P. Afranius Flavianus, a suffect consul), 185 (Ti. Claudius Regillus Atticus) and 268 (Publius Licinius Egnatius Marinianus), respectively. In any case, the time gap is considerable, and no similar explanation can be offered for the other instances.

¹²⁰⁷ It is uncertain whether the partial resemblance of Petronius' name to the western usurper Magnus Maximus' might have been a reason to distinguish them. Certainly, no confusion could be made in dating contexts between the two consulates even if Petronius' had been disseminated as simply 'Maximo': see, for instance, the evidence for 388, showing 'D.N. Magno Maximo Aug. II' (elements from titulary and nomenclature would have differentiated the two).

disseminated jointly with their colleagues from 1 January, while the former were proclaimed alone at the beginning of the year.¹²⁰⁸ As for the remainder in 308, 309, 311, 312, 313a (Constantinus III et Maximinus III), 313b (Constantinus III et Licinius III), 313c (Maximinus III et Constantinus III), 357, 388, 430, 435, 440, 445 and 450 (all imperial ones), the numeral makes it obvious which emperor the year referred to.¹²⁰⁹

Furthermore, while years that could not be confused did develop this variant, others that would have benefited from it did not. Theodorus in 505, Felix in 511, Maximus in 523, Olybrius in 526 and Basilius in 541 were all disseminated in Italy as sole consuls; since their preceding homonym was also circulating in Italy as sole consul for some time during the year, some marker would have been needed, yet this did not happen. In some cases, it might be that some reasons had made the use of a differentiation marker as redundant. For instance, there might have been no real danger of confusing Maximus cos. 523 with his homonym Petronius Maximus (cos. I in 433 and cos. II in 443), since in 433 the latter appears as ‘Maximo’ only when paired with his colleague Theodosius, and in 443 the numeral of his second consulate removed any ambiguity. Similarly, by the time Basilius cos. 541 was disseminated, imperial law required that the regnal year and the indiction be included within the dating clause, so adding one more element of the nomenclature to differentiate two identically-named years might have been regarded as superfluous. Nevertheless, no satisfactory explanation can be offered for the remaining instances of Theodorus (505), Felix (511) and Olybrius (526).¹²¹⁰

The analysis of the usage of nomenclatures offers further insights in this direction. Firstly, it must be noted that there is no geographical differentiation that can be observed in the use of the variant within the western provinces, nor can a distinctively western or eastern usage be

¹²⁰⁸ Preceding homonyms for Bassus (431): 289, 317, 331 and 408; for Faustus (438): 298; for Albinus (444): 335 and 345; for Olybrius (464): 379 and 395, and for Placidus (481): 343.

¹²⁰⁹ The evidence for ‘Placidus’ for the fifth consulate of Valentinian comes from a p.c. 441 and is very limited. All the consular evidence in 440 does not add Placidus to the emperor’s name. The same occurs for Albinus (cos. 444 with Theodosius), whose name is rendered as ‘Decius Albinus’ in a p.c. date from Italy, whereas the consular evidence omits it; and for Olybrius (cos. 464) for whom we have an inscription dating p.c. Anici Olybri. If the additional element of the name was used as a further mark of differentiation, this was certainly redundant in all three cases: Albinus’ name was flanked by that of his colleague; Valentinian’s name had his consular numeral, and Olybrius’ post-consular date was paired by an indiction unquestionably pointing to 465.

¹²¹⁰ It could be that knowledge of contemporary dissemination of their preceding homonyms in 399 and 428 was lost when Theodorus and Felix were disseminated in 505 and 511, respectively. The extent of the dissemination of Olybrius in 491 is uncertain, and the omission of iun. for his successor in 526 might be partially due to this. Yet in all cases what can be offered is purely a guess.

distinguished. Additionally, the four attested uses of the variant within years whose consul was a homonym show that the lengthened form was employed in formulas bearing only one consular name while formulas bearing a consular pair only give the cognomen. This is what we would expect to happen if practicality were behind the use of the variant, since a scribe may well have wanted to add an element of the name to distinguish an homonymous consul if the latter had been announced alone at the beginning of the year, while no need to do so persisted as soon as the full pair had been announced. The problem is that this pattern is not applied consistently everywhere. In most cases, polyonymy occurs within a full consular pair (i.e. where one would not expect it), or indiscriminately, before and after the name of the second consul was announced, that is, with no clear practical logic.¹²¹¹

It follows that the primary and original function of a polyonymous nomenclature cannot have been to serve consular dates with a mark of differentiation. In terms of differentiating two (or more) identically-named years, such a practice could add nothing meaningful if the consuls naming that very year did not need to be distinguished, or if they needed be, but polyonymy did not follow. The reasons behind this practice must therefore lie elsewhere.

To find where, we should return to the evidence. The multi-series line charts A.3 & 4 below represent the yearly quantitative distributions of papyri and inscriptions dated by polyonymous nomenclatures over the whole length of the late-antique consular period (AD 284-541) compared with the overall number of available dated material per year.¹²¹² Considering that any discrepancy between the two series reflects the amount of material dated by the cognomen only, it can be observed that inscriptions generally record low levels of frequency of polyonymy throughout the whole period. Instead, data from papyri show an almost opposite trend, since the two series run very closely until 380s and even overlap at times from about 290s to 340s. This tells us that there are a significant number of years where shortened forms

¹²¹¹ Polyonymy occurs only in T3 or in T2&T3 indiscriminately (inscriptions): M. Magrius Bassus (289; all t3); Anicius Faustus II (298; all t3); Tullianus or Symmachus (330; all t3); Petronius Probinus (341; all t3); Nummius Albinus (345; all t3); Petronius Probus (371; all t3); Clodius Olybrius (379; all t3); Quintus Aurelius Symmachus (391; all t3); Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius (395, all t3); Anicius Petronius Probus (406; all t3); Anicius Auchenius Bassus (408; all t3); Placidus Valentinianus III (430, 435; p.c. 440; 450; all t3); Petronius Maximus (433; t2&t3); Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus (438; t3); Decius Albinus (p.c. 444; t3). For papyri: Anicius Faustus (298; t3); Pompeius Probus (310; t3); Caesonius Bassus (317; t3); Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus (330; t3); Iunius Bassus (331; t3); Iulius Constantius (335; t3); Petronius Probinus (341); Hermogenianus Olybrius (p.c. 379; t3); Rusticius Nestorius (p.c. 464; t3). These were all potentially identically-named years only had the name of the colleague been dropped, which has been not in the case in object (with perhaps the only exception of Petronius Maximus' instances).

¹²¹² Figures are provided only for the years where fuller nomenclatures are attested.

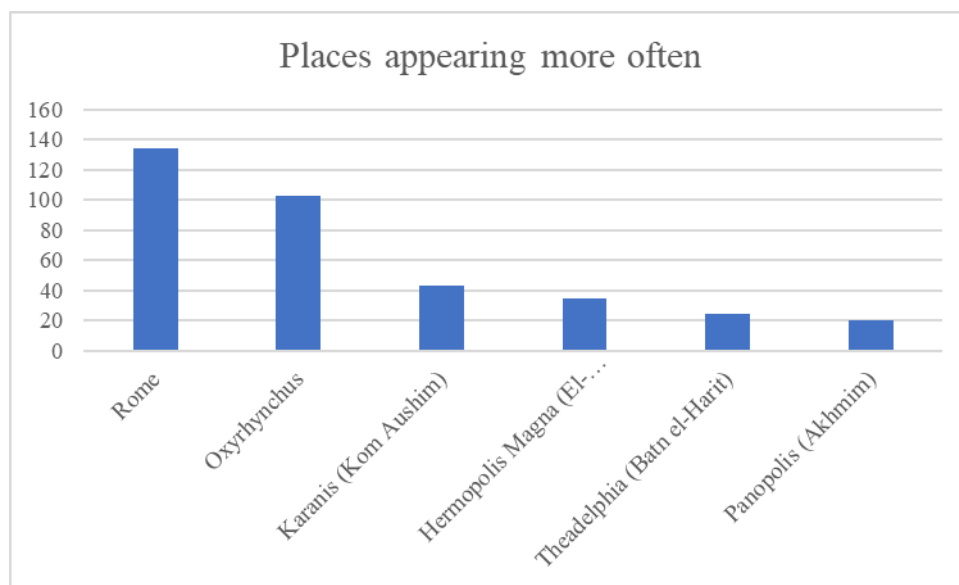
are (in papyri) lesser documented. In other words, it appears that there were periods during which dating by a consul's full name was a very frequent (possibly the standard) practice in legal texts. Transmitting to Egypt the full name of an official who had taken office thousands of kilometres away, and besides, using it extensively and consistently to date contemporary documents, is something that could have been done only if that full name had been an element of the formula proclaimed locally. Indeed, the overall weight of the evidence from Egypt strongly suggests that dating by lengthened forms was a popular practice in some formal documents (such as legal texts), since polyonymous nomenclatures were the actual form in which consular names were announced within the official dating formula, at least sometime in the fourth century. A major tell-tale sign of this is that our Egyptian evidence records a uniform disappearance of polyonymous dates throughout the province after the mid-fourth century. Relatively abrupt changes of this sort are recorded, too, for the sudden emergence of consular dating in Egypt at the onset of Diocletian's reign, as well as for the re-emergence of regnal dating after 537 and, undoubtedly, these were all the result of top-down decision-making.

The most obvious explanation of why polyonymous nomenclatures remained accessible in some regions (like Italy) even when they had ceased to be an active element of the official formula is simply that some people knew, and hence used, for whatever reason, the full name of the consul (or elements of it), thanks to their proximity to those centres where consular celebrations were held and, ultimately, consuls lived in.

The information available on the lives, careers and identities of the consuls for whom a fuller nomenclature is attested, reveal that the vast majority of them had a strong power base in Rome and in Italy more generally. At least thirty of these were members of very well-known and long-established Roman aristocratic families¹²¹³, and twelve more might just have newer links

¹²¹³ Cassius Dio (291); Anicius Faustus (298); Caesonius Bassus (317); Petronius Probianus and Anicius Iulianus (322); Anicius Paulinus (325); Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus (330); Anicius Paulinus (334); Ceionius Rufius Albinus (335); L. Aradius Valerius Proculus (340); Antonius Marcellinus and Petronius Probinus (341); M. Maecius Memmius Furius Baburius Caecilianus Placidus (343); Nummius Albinus (345; very likely, a relation of the cos. 263); Sex. Claudius Petronius Probus (371); Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius (379); Q. Aurelius Symmachus (391); Virius Nicomachus Flavianus (394); Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius and Anicius Probinus (395); Anicius Petronius Probus (406); Anicius Auchenius Bassus (408); Iunius Quarto Palladius (416, cos. and PPO It.); Anicius Auchenius Bassus (431); Petronius Maximus (433); Acilius Glabrius Faustus (cos., PVR III and PPO It. in 438); Caecina Decius Aginatius Albinus (444); Anicius Olybrius (464); Anicius Acilius Aginatius Faustus (483); Anicius Probus Faustus (490)

to Rome, yet they were undoubtedly very influential at the time of their consulship.¹²¹⁴ By 524, twelve consuls out of the total had also served as praefects (either PVR or PPO) while being consul or before entering office; in this capacity, they resided in Rome, Milan or Ravenna, and their name had likely to be known in the region they administered.¹²¹⁵ As shown in the clustered column chart below, the overall distribution of the western material is consistent with this picture by attesting a greater number of formulas in Rome. Partially, this is doubtless the result of the nature and composition of our dataset. But we must appreciate that not a single dated instance has been returned from other relatively large western regional datasets such as the Dalmatian and Gallic ones.



Therefore, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the shift from polyonymy to shortened dates, which can be observed through the fourth- to the fifth-century material, was determined by nothing but official intention to terminate the dissemination of the consuls' full nomenclature within the official formula. The reasons behind this decision cannot be recovered fully and conclusively, but some observations can be put forward.

¹²¹⁴ Junius Bassus (331); Mallius Theodorus (399) and Avitus Marinianus (423) were PPOs in Italy, while the western emperors Valentinianus III and Libius Severus, as well as the Ostrogothic putative heir Eutharicus Cillica (519), had also their powerbase in Italy. Instead, no office is attested for Herculianus (452); Rufius Opilio (453); Rufius Postumius Festus (472); Rufius Achilius Maecius Placidus (481); Rufius Petronius Nicomagus Cethegus (504); Venantius Opilio (524) but once again their influence in Rome cannot be questioned.

¹²¹⁵ 331 (PPO It. ?); 371 (PPO It.III.Afr.); 399 (PPO It.III.Afr.); 416 (PPO It.Afr.); 423 (PPO It. ?); 431 (ExPPO It.); 433 (ExPVR); 438 (PVRIII&PPOIt.); 444 (PPO It.); 453 (PVR); 483 (ExPVR) and 524 (ExPPO It.).



Figure 13 & 14 – Geographical distributions of polyonymous nomenclatures in AD 284-410 (figure 13) and 411-541 (figure 14). The maps show a clear contraction of material dated by polyonymous nomenclatures across the two periods, with findings coming mainly from the Italian diocese.

Firstly, throughout late antiquity it is observable a growing tendency to simplify the wording of dating formulas to an extent that, by the second quarter of the fifth century, most of the citizen consuls would see their consular date limited to fundamentally their *cognomen* and no mention of any office they held in the military or civil service. It might perhaps be sensible, then, to set this phenomenon in the same context.

Secondly, it can be agreed that dating by a consul's full name could enhance the standing or the outlook of a document if that were how the formula was published and if the content required a formal and polished style. A very high proportion of legal texts on papyrus documentation have in fact a fuller nomenclature for as long as these are attested, and it cannot be stressed enough that one of the rare inscriptions that has returned a legal text (a municipal decree) gives a polyonymous nomenclature.¹²¹⁶

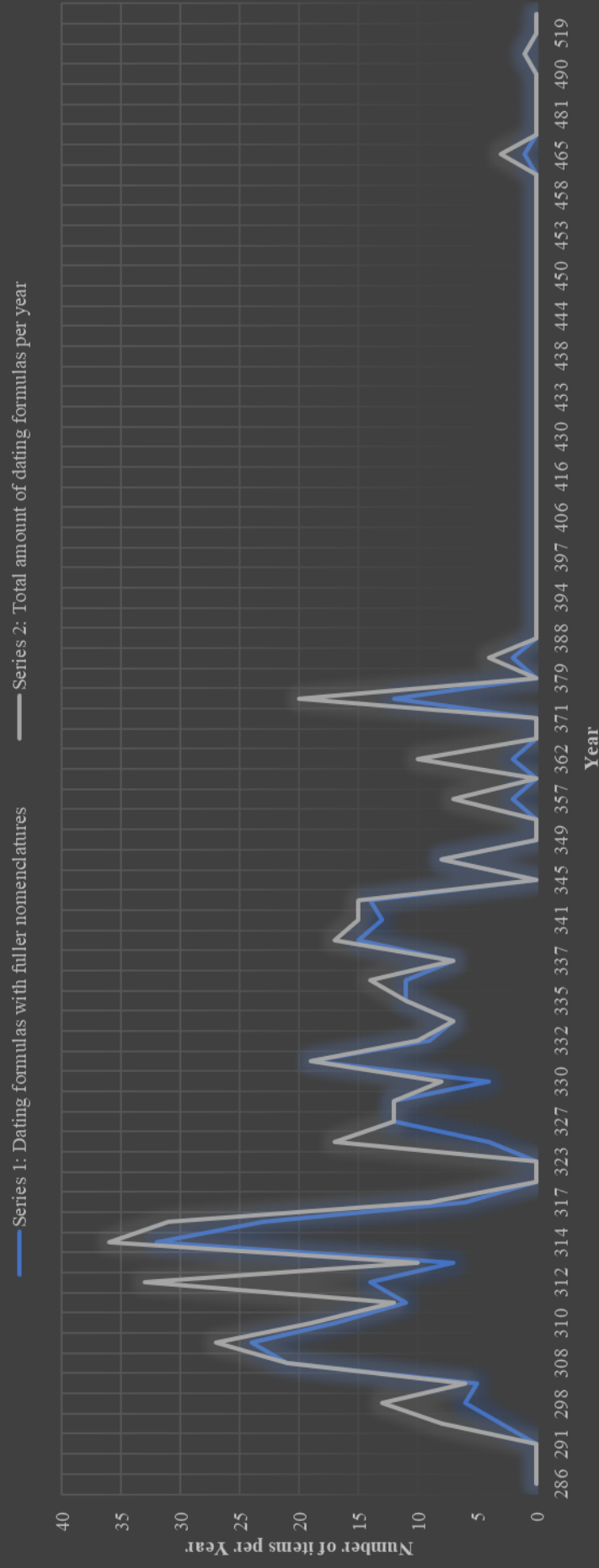
Nevertheless, such a level of formality was not required by other unofficial contexts, and not surprisingly many people may have wanted to opt out from employing longer and unavoidably more expensive dating formulas, if the nature of the text did not require adherence to the formal protocol. This is precisely what can be observed within inscriptions, which are mostly funerary, and which record an early tendency to simplify nomenclatures (see graph A.4 below). Our record allows us to see this phenomenon clearly only in Italy, but I suspect that the same trend would have been observable in other provinces if more evidence had been available. Scanty though it is, the evidence from Egypt confirms these conclusions. Egypt has return seven dated inscriptions, some of which pertain to important acts of obedience before the gods (*proskynemata*), yet not a single one of them shows a fuller nomenclature.¹²¹⁷

Doubtless, the centrality of Rome was paramount for the uninterrupted use of polyonymous consular dates in Italy. The usage of lengthened forms to date years that could be confused in the standard practice—such as 472, etc.—is a strong case in favour of general awareness of the pitfalls of a complex dating system. By the end of the fifth century, non-dissemination of eastern consuls and persistent homonymy of western appointees had made dating by consuls very uneasy in regions like Italy, where in fact other suffixes like *iunior* and *alius* were being developed for the same purpose. Although the evidence shows that ancient users did not recur, not primarily at any rate, to polyonymy to differentiate identically-named years, it should thus

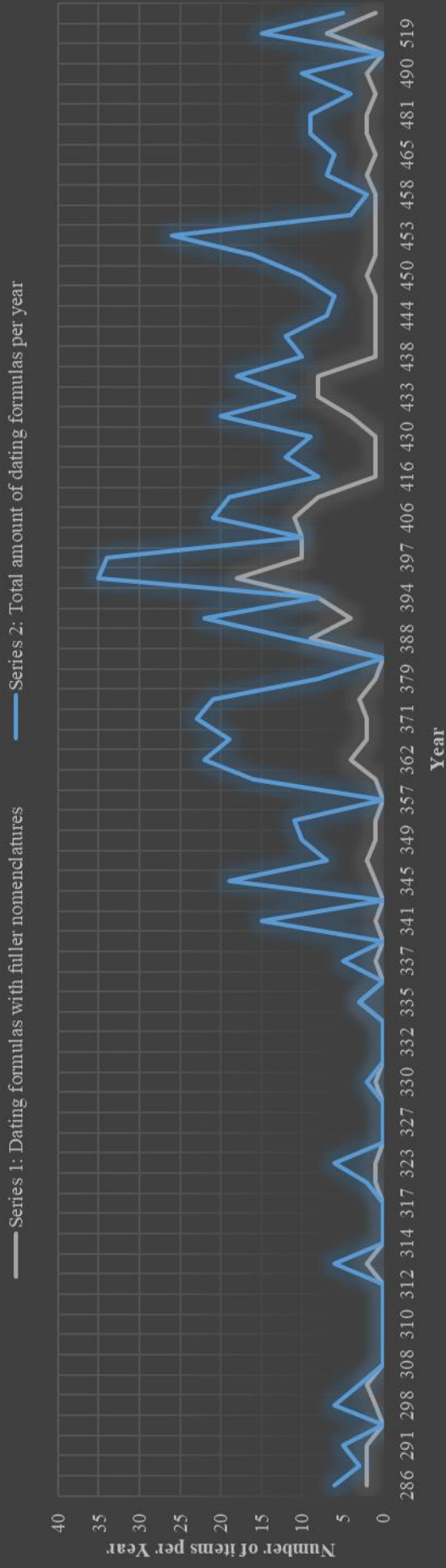
¹²¹⁶ CIL X 3698 (Cumae, 289).

¹²¹⁷ SB I 4223.11 (Koptite, 26.v.321); SEG 1991, 1612 (Deir el-Bahari, 27/28.xii.324); Baillet 1889 (Thebes, 326); SEG 1991, 1614 (Deir el-Bahari; 27/28.xii.357); SB XX 14510.1 = SEG XLI (1991) 1614 (Thebes, 27-28.xii.357); SB I 1540.8 (Alexandria; 19.iii.409); SEG XLI (1991) 1612 = SB XX 14508.1 (Thebes, 27/28.xii.324).

Graph A.3. Overall distribution of fuller nomenclatures in papyri, AD 284-541 (relevant years)



Graph A.4. Overall distribution of fuller nomenclatures in inscriptions, AD 284-541 (relevant years)



be of no surprise if at some point some use was made with this specific purpose, especially if the context was devoid of additional dating elements.

2. Et qui fuerat nuntiatus (*e.q.f.n.*)

One of the three provisional dating formulas is the one attested in our evidence as N. + *et qui fuerat nuntiatus* or N. + καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου/ ἀποδειχθησομένου. As will be seen, this was a more elaborated version of the formula bearing only one name, usually the local consul's, which was common after 411. Excluding the evidence from 308-324 (see below), only three variations are currently observable: CIL V 6268 a Milanese epitaph from 439 that adds *de oriente* to the standard Latin wording; P.Vindob.Sijp. 11.1 a contract from the Hermopolite from 453 that similarly adds ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας to the Greek equivalent, and lastly ZPE 24 (1977) 222 an epitaph from Syracuse dated 452 that has the slightly different καὶ ἥτις ἀπὸ Ἀνατολῆς μνησθήσεται. In any other case the provenience is omitted and the wording remains fixed.

Circulation and usage differed widely within the empire. There is no doubt that in Italy, and probably in all the Roman West, the formula never really spread out. In the surviving official documentation, the formula is completely unattested and in less formal contexts the simpler variant was almost invariably preferred to N. + *e.q.f.n.*, with the latter counting only two demonstrable cases, both of which dating to the fifth century.¹²¹⁸

While in all likelihood the West experienced the use of *e.q.f.n.*-formulas only as a result of unofficial dissemination, the East must be identified as the core region for their dissemination and use. Therein, *e.q.f.n.*-formulas are attested in a very heterogeneous group of documents that includes epitaphs and bases of statue, medical reports, court proceedings, petitions, contracts, minutes of council meetings, orders and letters of appointment sent to and by provincial officials, as well as imperial laws.¹²¹⁹ It can thus be inferred from this, and

¹²¹⁸ See above the Milanese epitaph ICI XIV 7b and the inscription from Syracuse, ZPE 24 (1977) 222.

¹²¹⁹ Cf. e.g., CIL V 6268 (epitaph of Saura, *inlustris femina* and wife of *vir inlustris* and former Comes Sacrarum Largitionum; 439); CPR XVIIA 23.1 (doctor's report, 322); SB XX 15026 (minutes of council meeting, 322); P.Harr. II 212.1 (document addressed to a *logistes*, 322 or 323); P.Herm. 18.2 (proceedings, 323); P.Sakaon 51.28 (nomination of *sitologoi* and *apaitetai*, 324); P.Oxy. XVI 1878.1 = ChLA XLVII 1408.1 (proceedings of court case, 461); P.Köln 14 588.1-3 (official letter from the office of the governor to an *agens in rebus*; 463); P.Oxy. LIX 3985 (nomination of a *nomikarios*, 473). Some examples of 1) petitions: P.Col. VII 171.21 (to a *praepositus pagi*; a. 324); SB XVIII 13596 (to a *riparius*; a. 464); P.Oxy. VI 902 (to a public advocate; 465); P.Lond. III 978.18 (p.232) (division of property, 331); SB XIV 12186.1 = P.Flor. I 84 (lease of vineyard, 366); SB XXIV 16284.2 = P.Bodl. I 82 (contract of employment, 533); SB XX 14535 (delivery, 480/481 or 541); P.Münch. III 102.2 (receipt of taxes, 455).

particularly from its distribution in legal, judicial and administrative documents (mostly from Egypt and Constantinople), that the formula was recognised at court and its dissemination widely supported, at least for some time, by the state apparatus. What follows is a complete list of extant attestations of e.q.f.n.-formulas, which shows when and where (both typologically and geographically) they are attested:

	Papyri	Inscriptions	Laws	Other
308				(1.i-19.iv., Rome)
311				(i-xi, Rome)
322	(28.ii-14.viii, Egypt); ¹²²⁰			
323	(18.i-xii, Egypt); ¹²²¹			
324	(31.i-8.ix, Egypt); ¹²²²			
411			(6-13.vi, C'polis); ¹²²³	

¹²²⁰ P.Panop. 26.15 (28.ii); P.Oxy. XLIII 3123.16 (29.iii); P.Oxy. LXI 4125 i.1 (29.iii); P.Oxy. LXI 4125 ii.1 (29.iii); SB XX 15026 (Hermop., 18.iv); P.Princ.Roll xii.17 (Arsin., 14.viii); P.Oxy. XLIII 3122.1; CPR XVIII 23.1 (Hermop.); SB XIV 11611.1 (Thebaid?). P.Col. VII 143.12 (Arsin., 2.vii; retr. date 28.ii.323). AnalPap (1998/9) 73.1 = SB XXVI 16434.1-4 (Oxy., or 323?); P.Harr. II 212.1 (or 323?).

¹²²¹ P.Oxy. I 42.8 (18.i); P.Col. VII 143.20 (Arsin., 28.ii); P.Oxy. XXXVI 2767.1 (29.iii); P.Oxy. XLIV 3194.1 (29.iv); P.Cair.Isid. 61.7 (Arsin., 17.v; doc. 27.vii); P.Cair.Isid. 61.22 (Arsin., 17.v; doc. 27.vii); P.Cair.Isid. 61.24 (Arsin.24.v; doc. 27.vii); P.Cair.Isid. 61.31 (Arsin. 24.v; doc. 27.vii); P.Cair.Isid. 61.36 (Arsin. 27.vii); P.Oxy. I 60.12 (17.viii); P.Oslo III 138.1 (Oxy. 17.xii); P.Oxy. XLV 3260.1 (30.viii-31.xii); P.Oxy. XLI 2969; P.Princ.Roll xiii.7 (Arsin.); SB XXII 15800.16 (Hermop.); P.Panop. 27.25 (iv-v); P.Oxy. XXXVI 2771.1 (24.vi); P.Neph. 48.1 (Herakleop., 15.ix); P.Herm. 18.2 (6.xii); P.Vindob.Sal. 8.23 (Hermop., 1.i); AnalPap 10-11 (1998/9) 72-73.1 (Oxy.; 322 poss.); PSI XII 1233.30 (Panop., 6/7.ix.323 or 324).

¹²²² P.Cair.Isid. 78.19 (Arsin., 30.i); P.Kell. I Gr. 22.2 (Mothite, 6-12.ii); P.Oxy.Hels. 44.1 (Oxy., ii-iii); P.Sakaon 51.28 (Arsin., 6.v); SB XX 14300 = PSI IV 300.1 (8.v); P.Mert. II 92.25 (Arsin., 31.v); P.Col. VII 171.21 (Arsin., 6.vi); P.Princ.Roll xiv.11 (Arsin., 29.vi); P.Oxy. XII 1430.1 (31.vii); P.Oxy. LXIII 4359.1-2 (16.viii); P.Sakaon 22.1 (Arsin., 5-8.ix); P.Sakaon 22.14 (Arsin., 5-8.ix); P.Sakaon 22.21 (Arsin., 5-8.ix); P.Sakaon 22.33 (Arsin., 5-8.ix); P.Sakaon 22.45 (Arsin., 5-8.ix); BGU II 586.29; P.Kell. I Gr. 56.3 (Mothite); P.Oxy. XLV 3261.1; P.Ant. I 39.1 (7.ii);

P.Panop. 16.6; P.Harr. II 214 i.1 (Oxy.)

¹²²³ CTh 5.16.33 (Constantinople, 6-13.vi).

	Papyri	Inscriptions	Laws	Other
412			(28.i, C'polis); ¹²²⁴	
416	(und., Egypt); ¹²²⁵		(8.ii; C'polis); ¹²²⁶	
420			(19.ix, C'polis); ¹²²⁷	
428			(20.ii, C'polis); ¹²²⁸	
430		(und., Moesia inf.); ¹²²⁹	(22.ii, C'polis); ¹²³⁰	
431			(23.iii, C'polis); ¹²³¹	
432			(28.iii, C'polis); ¹²³²	
435			(29.i-9.x, C'polis); ¹²³³	
438			(31.i-15.ii, C'polis); ¹²³⁴	
439		(28.ii, Milan)	(7.iv, C'polis); ¹²³⁵	

¹²²⁴ *CTh* 7.17.1 (Constantinople, 28.i).

¹²²⁵ SB XX 15137.1 (Oxy.)

¹²²⁶ *CTh* 6.32.1 (Constantinople, 8.ii).

¹²²⁷ *CTh* 7.16.3 (Constantinople, 19.ix; earlier law poss.)

¹²²⁸ *CTh* 5.1.9 (Constantinople, 20.ii).

¹²²⁹ AE 2005, 1328 (Novae, Moesia inf.; m.l.d.; numeral om.);

¹²³⁰ *CTh* 10.10.34 (Constantinople, 22.ii; 1 later law).

¹²³¹ *CTh* 9.45.4 (Constantinople, 23.iii).

¹²³² *CTh* 9.45.5 (Constantinople, 28.iii).

¹²³³ *CTh* 6.28.8 (Constantinople, 29.i; 3 later laws); *CTh* 10.8.5 (Constantinople, 9.x).

¹²³⁴ *NovTheod.* 3 (Constantinople, 31.i); *NovTheod.* 1 (Constantinople, 15.ii).

¹²³⁵ *NovTheod.* 9 (Constantinople, 7.iv).

	Papyri	Inscriptions	Laws	Other
447			(1.x, C'polis); ¹²³⁶	
451	(24.vii, Egypt); ¹²³⁷			
452	(9.x, Egypt); ¹²³⁸	(10.xi, Syracuse)	(7.ii, C'polis); ¹²³⁹	
453	(17.ii-31.vii, Egypt); ¹²⁴⁰			
459		(27.iv, Minor); ¹²⁴¹	Asia	
461	(1.ix, Egypt); ¹²⁴²			
463	(13.xi, Egypt); ¹²⁴³			
464	(17.iii-7.x, Egypt); ¹²⁴⁴			
465	(4.ii-20.xi, Egypt); ¹²⁴⁵			
466	(14.i-14.xii, Egypt); ¹²⁴⁶			
467	(10.x, Egypt); ¹²⁴⁷			
472	(31.viii-8.xi, Egypt); ¹²⁴⁸			

¹²³⁶ *NovTheod.* 2 (Constantinople, 1.x).

¹²³⁷ P.Rainer Cent. 99.1 (Hermop., 24.vii).

¹²³⁸ CPR XIX 5.1 (Hermop., 9.x; p.c. rest.).

¹²³⁹ *CJ* 1.1.4 (Constantinople, 7.ii; 1 later law).

¹²⁴⁰ P.Vindob.Sijp. 11.1 (Hermop., 17.ii); P.Oxy. LXVIII 4691.1 (16.iv); P.Oxy. LXVIII 4692.1 (31.vii);

¹²⁴¹ Sardis VII.1,18 = Grégoire, *Inscr.* 322 (Sardis; 27.iv).

¹²⁴² P.Oxy. XVI 1878.1 = ChLA XLVII 1408.1 (Herakleop., 1.ix).

¹²⁴³ P.Köln 14 588.1-3 (Arcadia, Oxy.?.; 13.xi); P.Rainer Cent. 103.1 (Hermop., p.c. poss.).

¹²⁴⁴ SB XVIII 13596.1 = JÖBG 36 (1986) 19.1 (Oxy., 17.iii); BGU XII 2147.1 (Hermop., 7.x).

¹²⁴⁵ P.Oxy. VI 902.19 (Cynop., 20.xi); P.Oxy. LXXII 4914.1-2 (4.ii).

¹²⁴⁶ P.Prag. I 37.1 (Arsin., 14.i); P.Oxy. LXVIII 4694.1 (14.xii); P.Rainer Cent. 104.2 (unkn.). P.Oxy. LXXXII 5329.1-2 (2.x). Also BGU XII. 2148.1 (Hermop., ix-xii, but possibly 375).

¹²⁴⁷ P.Oxy. LXII 4915.1-2 (10.x).

¹²⁴⁸ P.Oxy. LXVIII 4695.2 (Oxy.; 31.viii); BGU XII 2150.1 (Hermop.; 8.xi).

	Papyri	Inscriptions	Laws	Other
473	(9.v-14.ix, Egypt); ¹²⁴⁹			
480- 483	(22.vi, Egypt); ¹²⁵⁰			
482	(13?.x, Egypt); ¹²⁵¹			
483	(25.vi/24.vii- 27.viii, Egypt); ¹²⁵²			
501	(7.vii, Egypt); ¹²⁵³			

A formula similar (in essence if not in wording) to the one in use in the fifth century appears for the first time in the consular list of the Chronographer of 354, which gives *consules quos iusserint DD.NN. Augusti* under the years 308 and 311.¹²⁵⁴ Then a similar dating clause was issued (in Greek) by Licinius' court in 322-324. This shows the postconsulate of the Licinii + the phrase τοῖς ἀποδειχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ [numeral] or its regional variations μέλλουσιν ὑπάτοις [numeral] or τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ [numeral].¹²⁵⁵ Nothing of the like is shown until e.q.f.n. resurfaces in papyri and inscriptions from 416, 430 and more commonly, from 451 to 483. As will be expanded on shortly, this record can be safely integrated by the evidence from (eastern) laws, which attests it in 411, 412, 416, 420, 428, 430, 431, 432, 435, 438, 439, 447 and 452. Then, if we exclude the first outliers, the peak usage period is to be identified in the period from 411 to 483.

There must have been quite an occasion for the formula to reappear after nearly one hundred years of disuse, and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that that occasion was the termination of joint proclamations in 411. It was only after 411 that for the first time the administrative personnel of Theodosius II had to think about how to compensate for the (very rare) inability

¹²⁴⁹ P.Oxy. LIX 3985 (Oxy.; 9.v); SB XVIII 13620.1 (Hermop., 14.ix; rest.).

¹²⁵⁰ P.Lond. III 991 (Hermonthis; 22.vi; 480-3? Cf. Gonis 1998 and 2000).

¹²⁵¹ CPR X 118 (Hermop.; 13?.x).

¹²⁵² P.Lond. V 1896 (Hermop.; 25.vi-24.vii, rest.). BGU XII 2156 (Hermop.; 27.viii).

¹²⁵³ P.Amst. I 45 (Hermop.; 7.vii); cf. p. 375 n. 1255.

¹²⁵⁴ Barnes 1981: 32, argues that the formula was issued for the first time by Maxentius as a 'conciliatory posture' toward Galerius' proclamation of the new consuls *Diocletianus X et Galerius VII. Contra, CLRE* (p. 150-52), which sees it as an unofficial provisional formula used by the prefect list in the period of time during which Maxentius did not yet make up his mind about Galerius.

¹²⁵⁵ Bagnall & Worp 2004: 180.

to issue a full pair on 1 January and, apparently, it was chosen to employ the phrasing adopted by Licinius' court in 322-324. As things stand, the western court did not replicate the same practice in the West, where no contemporary development can be observed.

Similarly, there must have also been a reason for why *e.q.f.n.* disappeared in the early 480s for not resurfacing again. I would argue that this reflect the later developments in consular appointments. By the end of the fourth century, both courts had established practice to formally recognise each other's right to designate one consul within the consular pair, unless it was decided to temporarily grant that right to the counterpart. In the course of the fifth century, however, this status quo was increasingly challenged, and by the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius, the western right was in practice no longer recognised by Constantinople, which refused to acknowledge the western name, or claimed full rights for his appointment if it decided to use it.¹²⁵⁶ Obviously, *e.q.f.n.* was redundant if a court occasionally refused to recognise the other's nominee (or to consider the appointment as stemmed from the right of another court.) In fact, this was what happened amid west-east consular recognitions from the 480s.

When was the formula intended to be posted after its first publication in 411? On the 1 January or for a later moment? Regularly every year or only occasionally? The idea conveyed by the formula is that the court had not yet been notified about whether the other consul had entered in office.¹²⁵⁷ As that was the customary situation at the beginning of every year since 411, then one may assume what I believe to be the more likely explanation, that the name of the local consul + *e.q.f.n.* were in fact the standard elements of any consular formula that was posted on 1 January, until the court was able to proclaim the full pair. This was the rule in the East, at least in principle, and as long as the formula continued to be used until the early 480s.

Admittedly, the very existence of a second provisional formula that does not employ *e.q.f.n.*, as well as some inconsistencies in the chronological distributions of these formulas, pose some problems to the idea of a consistent and unchanged adoption of *e.q.f.n.*, both within the period

¹²⁵⁶ For this development, see p. 25-7.

¹²⁵⁷ So, too *CLRE* 151. In the vast majority of the examples the name mentioned within the formula is the local consul's, while the one replaced by *e.q.f.n.* is the other half's designation. There are only two exceptions for this, both of which are likely errors: 1) P.Lond. III 991, which attests [p.c., p.c. II, p.c. III/c.? Βασι]λείου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου καὶ τοῦ ἀποδιχθησομένου, which very likely refers to the cos. 480. Basilius was sole consul in office, so no more consuls should have been expected: cf. BGU XII 2155 and SB XX 14535, which date 480/481 and, indeed, omit *e.q.f.n.* 2) P.Amst. I 45 dated by μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλ. Πατρικίου τοῦ μαικαλοπρεπεστάτου καὶ ἐντοξοτάτου στρατηκοῦ καὶ Ὑπάτου καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομαίνου. Here the scribe seems to have mistaken the name of the second consul (Hypatius) for a wanting consular name and, out of confusion, added the phrase '*e.q.f.n.*'; cf. *CLRE* 30, n. 76.

411-483 and from the beginning of January in any given year. An uneven distribution within the evidence listed in a given consular year is observable in the dated subscriptions of the imperial constitutions, and even in all cases where the laws are handed down by some Novels. For example, from 438 there exist four laws that bear a provisional date, two of which give *Theodosius XVI e.q.f.n.* (*NovTheod.* 3 and 1, dated 31.i and 15.ii), while other two give only *Theodosius XVI* (*NovTheod.* 4 and 5.1 from 25.ii and 9.v). Conversely, in 439 four laws give only *Theodosius XVII* (*NovTheod.* 7.1; 8; 10.1,2; *CJ* 2.7.6 dated 20.i; 7.iv; 19.iv and 26.v, respectively), but *NovTheod.* 9 has returned *Theodosius XVII e.q.f.n.* (from 7.iv). Yet, what weight should be given to this is unclear, since within the evidence listed in other years, *e.q.f.n.*-formulas are correctly distributed as we would expect them to be if they were consistently disseminated throughout the year from the 1 January. As known, the contemporary copyists of this material, as well as their later colleagues, were liable of human errors, so one would not be blind in postulating that in some cases *e.q.f.n.* had been dropped inadvertently; even in the case where the omission goes back to the original version of the law, this would only prove *e.q.f.n.* had (at times) been dropped. We shall return on this.

A more serious objection is the inconsistency in the use of *e.q.f.n.* across 411-483. Was then this formula used by central authorities to flag unordinary rather than ordinary situations? For instance, situations where transmission from court to court had failed to occur timely? The main problem with this is that what ‘timely’ in practice means is very questionable. After 411 any consular appointment that had not been made locally was customarily announced after the proclamation of the local consul, and the evidence shows that in no case that happened at any fixed time.¹²⁵⁸

One may surmise that *e.q.f.n.* was used in situations where delay had little or nothing to do with transmission issues. There is some (limited) evidence of a possible political usage of *e.q.f.n.* formulas. As seen above, one is the use made in 322-24 by Licinius, whose court issued, as seen above, several iterations of the *e.q.f.n.*-like formula while relations with Constantine were rapidly deteriorating. Another case also falls in the context of a major crisis of relations, this time between Valentinian III and Marcian in 451 and 452, with the former questioning the latter’s right to rule. Conversely, in 459, 461, 463, 467 and 473, it was the eastern emperor who questioned his western counterparts’ claims, and lastly in 483, in addition to the unsettled political crisis resulting from the depositions of Anthemius and Nepos, Constantinople and

¹²⁵⁸ Proclamation could considerably vary in Italy and in the East. Cf. Bagnall & Worp 2004: 93 (and relevant tables therein).

Rome were on the verge of a schism.¹²⁵⁹ In each of these cases the party adopting *e.q.f.n.* was arguably prone to compromise, at least in some ways. Understandably, then, within the subtle diplomatic language, feigning that one court had not been informed about the counterparts' nominations was by far a more tactful gesture than not recognising them at all.¹²⁶⁰

Although politics could thus be accounted for the above instances, the argument is untenable for other cases. For example, what is the correlation between the formula *Marcianus v.c. e.q.f.n.* in 472, then reiterated verbatim as p.c. date in the following year, and the non-dissemination of the western consul, considering that the latter was the nominee of Leo's protegee, emperor Anthemius? Possibly none: in 472 the western court was in dire straits and might have genuinely failed to communicate his choice to Constantinople. Similarly, a link is hard to find for all those provisional formulas falling within the reigns of Theodosius II and Valentinian III, when indeed positive relations are generally very well-documented.¹²⁶¹ It might have been that simple transmission of appointments between courts was slower than usual in each of those years, however these conclusions are not supported by the evidence, which shows dissemination to be customarily late throughout the fifth century. More generally, why complicating further an already cumbersome system of dissemination by adding one more provisional formula, and this only to advise that dissemination was slower than normal? And especially, why doing so when 'normal' (i.e. timely) could in fact be blurred to contemporaries?

Unfortunately, the evidence proves to be frustratingly inconclusive regarding this entire matter, and the best explanation I can offer is that we cannot exclude that *e.q.f.n.* was used more frequently than what the evidence allows us to see. There are at least three possible reasons of why *e.q.f.n.* formulas are not extensively attested in the East in the first half of the fifth century, none of which is mutually exclusive.

First, accidents of preservation are an option that must be considered seriously.¹²⁶² Due to the very rare—nearly unique—nature of the two surviving western attestations of *e.q.f.n.*, one can be fairly confident that the main cause of western shortcomings are not preservation issues.

¹²⁵⁹ I excluded 472 as Festus' was in fact Anthemius' nominee and it is not clear what non-dissemination of his consulate means in terms of west-east relations in these critical times for Anthemius' reign and his eventual downfall.

¹²⁶⁰ Cf. Chapter 4 on the meaning of non-recognition, which was indeed a much clearer sign of hostility.

¹²⁶¹ An exemplary case is the attested use of *e.q.f.n.* at court at Constantinople in 438 and at Milan in 439 (cf. again, cf. CIL V 6268): given that these were the years of the renewed union between Theodosius and Valentinian—consecrated by the publication of the Theodosian Code and by the marriage with Theodosius' daughter, empress Licinia Eudoxia—there could have been no happier moment in west-east relations.

¹²⁶² So, too, *CLRE* 27 ff.

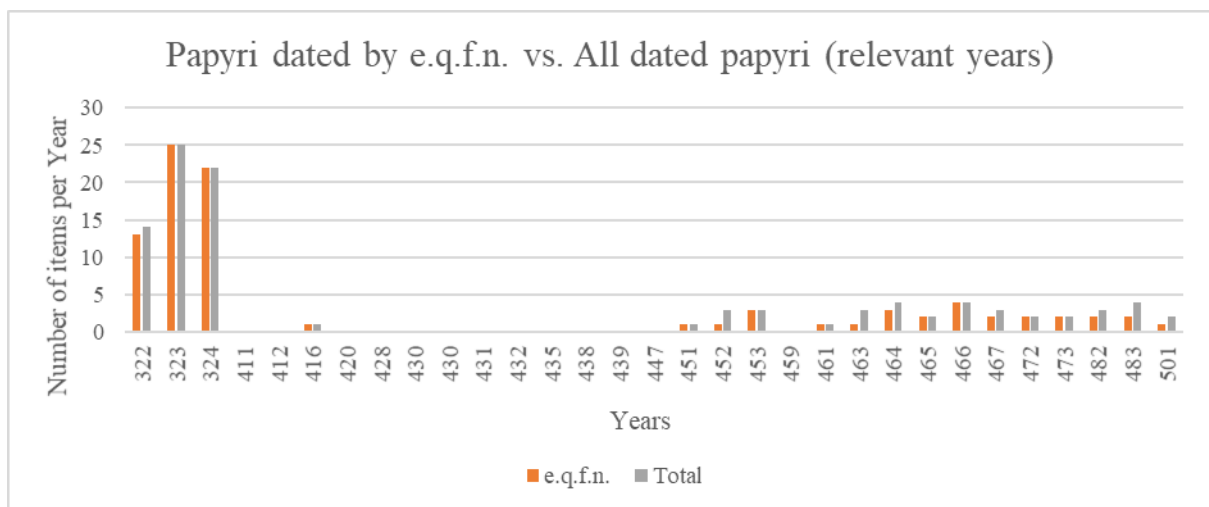
But a sure indication that our eastern record is likely to be wanting is strongly suggested by the fact that several *e.q.f.n.*, as seen above, can be found in (eastern) laws.¹²⁶³ Since *e.q.f.n.* formulas are provisional ones, and since the compilers of both *CTh* and *CJ* would seem to have normalised retroactively any dating formulas as best as they could, it appears quite certain that these are all genuine instances that have escaped correction. It should also be noted that dissemination is poorly documented in the years covered by laws: in nearly all cases the formula bearing one single name is missing from the evidence listed in the consular year, and so too the formula giving the full consular pair in 9 instances out of 13 (more than 2/3 of the total). Thus, many *e.q.f.n.* are possibly epigraphically and papyrologically invisible because they have not yet been found.

Furthermore, the analysis of the overall quantitative and chronological distributions of the eastern formulas without *e.q.f.n.* shows them to be numerically much less significant than what they appear to be at first glance. Within the relevant range of time (411-483), formulas that irrefutably and demonstrably did not have *e.q.f.n.* seem to be attested more often than *e.q.f.n.*-formulas. However, this needs to be put into perspective: in as many as twenty-four consular and post-consular instances there was no point in indicating *e.q.f.n.* since only one consul was in office in the course of the year. One more instance gives only 'Lucius' and, although one cannot be certain (since the diurnal date is lost) the omission of *e.q.f.n.* might well be the result of the inscription being carved after the condemnation of Heraclianus (who left Lucius as sole consul.) Moreover, P.Rain.Unterricht 63 has only 'p.c. Monaxi'. But, since the papyrus is a school text or writing exercise (and the learner has accidentally dropped the name of Monaxius' colleague) one wonders how meaningful the omission of *e.q.f.n.* is. Once the above instances are all excluded, we are left with only a handful of cases: four inscriptions (dated 448, 452 and probably 461) and three papyri from the Oxyrhynchite (440). In other words, the quantitative relationship between simpler variants and variants with *e.q.f.n.* is overturned.

The difference with the western distribution of formulas without *e.q.f.n.* could not be clearer. Therein, dates are attested consistently without *e.q.f.n.* and the only exceptions remain the two inscriptions from 439 and 452—both from informal contexts and belonging to people who had possible cultural and or political links with the East: one epitaph from Greek-speaking Syracuse and one epitaph belonging to the wife of a former Comes Sacrarum Largitionum.

¹²⁶³ Of the *e.q.f.n.*-formulas attested within the laws, only the one in 416 is also attested by a papyrus: see SB XX 15137, from Oxy.

A second major issue is represented by contemporary and non-contemporary omissions. On the one hand, a wide range of factors, including human errors and issues in the process of transcription, may have caused non-contemporary omissions of various elements, especially in the dating clauses within laws. On the other hand, the study of consular formulas in contemporary material shows a widespread tendency to simplify elements unnecessary for dating purposes (as the element *e.q.f.n.* was). This tendency is more pronounced in some classes of materials (such as inscriptions), but it does not spare even the most conservative ones, as shown by the chart below:



Graph A.5. A Wilcoxon signed rank test, which compares the population of *e.q.f.n.* data in relation to the total population of dated material per relevant year has returned a two-tailed P value of 0.0065 for the years 411-483. By conventional criteria, this difference is considered to be very statistically significant.¹²⁶⁴ Conversely, the P value increases to 0.4226 for the material dated 322-324, which means a much strict adherence to *e.q.f.n.*-like formulas in the period. In the graph, both the relative (*e.q.f.n.*) and the total amounts of evidence refer to T2 only. Consular or post-consular items are taken into account whenever *e.q.f.n.* is attested within the body of material.

Consequently, one should consider that, although in principle *e.q.f.n.* phrases might well have been part of the formal polished version of the annual formula, they could have been omitted very often in the daily practice, both in the province and at court.

Third, both possible dissemination issues and the location of our main body of evidence should also be factored in. As noted, entire sets of provisional and standard formulas are

¹²⁶⁴ I was unable to perform a paired t test for the same purpose in that a requirement was for the values to follow a Gaussian distribution. A non-parametric test, such as Wilcoxon signed rank test is, has therefore been preferred in that it does not require to make assumptions about the distribution of the data generating process. I thank Kieran Baker for this suggestion.

missing from our eastern record, and it is probably not a chance that in many cases where *e.q.f.n.* is attested by contemporary documents (i.e. 451, 453, 461, 463, 464, 466, 472, 473, 481, 482 and 483), the consuls in office had never been announced locally.¹²⁶⁵ If this had happened, would we have found the consular date with *e.q.f.n.*-formulas? Probably yes, in at least some instances. This is shown by the case of the dissemination of Patricius' consulate, which failed in Egypt in 459, with many locals dating by 'p.c. Leonis I' (cos. 458) throughout 459 and likely for a good part of 460.¹²⁶⁶ Had it ever reached Egypt, however, this might have had a good chance to be 'Patricius e.q.f.n.', as shown by an inscription from Sardis dated 27 April, 459.¹²⁶⁷

3. Junior consulships

From the end of the fifth century on, the suffix *iunior* is added to a significant number of consular names in (largely) western dating contexts. In discussing the meaning of this practice, and in noticing that in some cases these *iunior* consuls were kin to a homonymous predecessor in office, Mommsen concluded that the primary use of the suffix was to distinguish descendant consuls from direct (or less direct) ancestors sharing the same *cognomen*.¹²⁶⁸ This interpretation was well received by later scholars and works, including PLRE, which accepted *iunior* as a standing element of the consul's full name, but it was firmly objected in a detailed discussion by CLRE's authors, who maintained that, 'The suffix *iunior* was not used or intended to distinguish consuls as individuals but as consular dates.'¹²⁶⁹ As we proceed into the twenty-first century, the prosopographical information we have on the twenty attested *iunior* consuls, and their more numerous homonyms, still substantiate that a relation cannot always be proven.¹²⁷⁰ Furthermore, a review of the epigraphical material mentioning junior consuls' nomenclatures in social contexts (to which we shall return in the catalogue of potentially homonymous consulates), confirms that *iunior* appears nowhere. Accordingly, while there is

¹²⁶⁵ So, too: CLRE 30, mistakenly adding 460.

¹²⁶⁶ P.Rainer Cent. 102.

¹²⁶⁷ Sardis VII.1,18 (Grégoire, Inscr. 322).

¹²⁶⁸ Chron. Minor. III 497.

¹²⁶⁹ CLRE 45.

¹²⁷⁰ Kinship is certain in the following cases: 480/541; 483 (with cos. 438); 485 (with cos. 446); 486/529; 491 (with cos. 464); 493 (with cos. 444); 510 (with cos. 487); 523 (with cos. 443). More uncertainty exists in: 482 (with 461); 501/502; 507 (with coss. 484/508); 525 (with cos. 513); 526 (with cos. 491); 534 (with cos. 498). No relation can be established with certainty for 490 (with cos. 483); 508 (with cos. 507); 509 (Inportunus had no known preceding homonyms).

some room for agreeing with Mommsen that junior consuls were (occasionally) related to their homonyms, it appears that this kinship was never pointed out, not by using *iunior* at any rate, in contexts other than chronological. In other words: if some consuls were ‘*iunior*’, they were so only as a date, and even when no kinship existed between homonyms. It follows that the primary function of *iunior* had little or nothing to do with genealogy. Therefore, the following review of the evidence supports CLRE’s conclusion that, by when and where *iunior* became increasingly more common (mainly Italy and dependant western provinces across fifth and sixth centuries), people were predominantly using this suffix for a very practical reason, i.e. differentiating identically-named years.

A qualification, however, is in order: in all likelihood, this western use of *iunior* only gradually increased in frequency, and only after it coexisted simultaneously with an older practice which was intended to stress a genealogical relationship between homonymous consuls.

1.1 The origin and development of iunior for imperial consuls in the East

Dating by *iunior* consuls in the East appears to have been employed for the first time in 376 for Valentinian II’s accession consulate. As the suffix is being used on laws and Egyptian (legal) papyri from 376 and 377 (p.c.), we are assured that the suffix was a standing element of the official formula disseminated from the eastern court.¹²⁷¹ Likewise, we have no doubt that it did not have any practical meaning, since in 376/377 both the order of appearance and the numerals made it impossible for anyone to confuse Valentinian II’s consulate with any one of the consulates his father had previously shared with Valens. Thereafter, none of the consulates of Valentinian II in 378, 387 and 390—consistently announced within a pair—seem ever to have resumed *iunior*, and within the wording of Theodosius II’s eighteen consulates, it appears solely and only occasionally in non-contemporary material.¹²⁷² Again, a plausible reason is that there was no need of differentiating the year either in the West or in the East, where consular pairs were proclaimed jointly up till 411. Additionally, consular numerals made it possible to

¹²⁷¹ Cf. e.g., P.Flor. I 70,90; I 95.29 (receipts, 376); BGU XIX 2770.1-3 (surety, 376); SB XIV 12109.1 (contract, 377); *CTh* 6.4.24.

¹²⁷² Cf. *CLRE* 290-91 (378), 308-9 (387), 314-15 (390). There are only a few compilers styling Valentinian I ‘*iunior*’ in 376, all from literary sources; cf. the evidence in *CLRE* 286-87 under ‘Fasti’ and ‘Other’. As for Theodosius II, *iunior* appears only in the sixth-century chronicle of Marcellinus and in the later *Chronicon Paschale*, which use it inconsistently; cf. s.a. 407, 409, 412, 415, 430 and 435 (Pasch.); 407, 409 and 418 (Marcell.)

distinguish the consulates of Theodosius II from the ones held by his grandfather, so it is no accident that the suffix is never found in contemporary material.

For the practice to be resumed, one has to wait until the accession consulship of Leo II in 474, which also represents the first ever attested use of *iunior* due to chronological reasons. Sixteen years earlier, Emperor Leo had denied recognition of Emperor Majorian's consulate, assuming the *de facto* sole consulship in the East in 458; accordingly, when his grandson and namesake Leo II inaugurated his own sole consulship in 474, easterners were facing a situation where two years would have been virtually indistinguishable without the *iunior* element.¹²⁷³ As is known, Leo II died after a few months and no homonymous emperors are ever found in the East until the end of ordinary consular appointments in 541. Concurrently, *iunior* disappears almost entirely from the East, with only two very dubious cases in 480 and 502 (in laws) and doubtless this was due to homonymy not being an issue in eastern consular lists reckoning after 480.¹²⁷⁴ Consuls who were homonymous in the west could not be just as easily confused in the East if obviously, 1) they were never proclaimed and disseminated there (e.g. Severinus cos. 482; Faustus cos. 490 etc.); 2) if they were disseminated, but their homonymous predecessor had not been announced (as, for instance, Basilius cos. 480, who was generally known in western dating contexts as 'Basilius iun.' but normally as just 'Basilius' in the East where his homonym had not been disseminated in 463);¹²⁷⁵ or 3) if they were disseminated as pairs and hence easily identifiable (e.g. Avienus cos. 502 and Venantius cos. 508, disseminated as 'Probus et Avienus' and 'Celer et Venantius', and never as just 'Avienus' or 'Venantius' etc.). As risk of confusion was virtually inexistent and scribes were in no need of differentiating years, *iunior* came to be fundamentally dropped from consular wording. Nevertheless, it entered permanently western (mostly Italian) dating practices until the proclamation of the last western consul in 534 and his subsequent post-consulates.

¹²⁷³ PSI IX 1075.14 (Oxy., 458); ὑπατία τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Φλα(ουίου) Λέοντος αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου τὸ α, Μεσορῆ ι. P.Oxy. LXXXII 5331 (474): ὑπατείας τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Νέου Λέοντος τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου posted in Italy as *Leone iun(iore) aug(usto) primum cons(ule)* (ICUR n.s. VI 16002).

¹²⁷⁴ *CJ* 6.20.18 adds *iunior* to Avienus 502 (given in a full pair with Probus). It is the same kind of oddity that is found with Basilius (shown as Basilius iun. in *CJ*.6.23.22 but only as Basilius in other three laws: *CJ* 2.21.9; 5.12.28; 5.75.6). It is very unlikely that it mirrors contemporary usage at court, and in fact it never turns out in the legal papyri from Egypt. It must be said that it is true that most of the papyri use the indiction, so no *iunior* was needed. But most of the laws had a superscription that could provide for a dating context, and hence, could perform a function similar to the indiction. See the conclusions in 'Basilius' and 'Avienus' for a detailed discussion at p. 412-14 and 410-11.

¹²⁷⁵ With the only exception of *CJ*. 6.23.22 (a likely interpolated law).

1.2 *The development of the iunior consulship for citizen consuls in the West*

As with the East, so too in the West the first ever attested use of *iunior* is in Valentinian II's consulate in 376. However, while the East opted for including *iunior* in the official wording of the formula, the West experienced its use only as a result of unofficial dissemination. This is clear from the fact that, of the thirteen received western laws from 376, none gives more than just 'Valens V et Valentinianus I', while among the inscriptions, only five add '*iunior*' and a dozen more omit it.¹²⁷⁶ When the suffix was stripped out from the eastern wordings of Valentinian II's subsequent consulates in 378, 387 and 390, so too did *iunior* disappear from western dating contexts. Thereafter, *iunior* falls into oblivion until it resurfaces in western material dated by the accession consulate of Leo II in 474, where it seems to have been used officially, though its practical benefits in chronology once again remain dubious. For Leo II's homonym and predecessor's consulate in 458 was disseminated as just Leo somewhere in rebel Gaul, but not—as far as the evidence tells us—in Italy, where the year was known in the first months as '*D.N. Iulio Maioriano*', and possibly as '*Leone et Maioriano*' later in the year, but never as just Leo.¹²⁷⁷ Accordingly, there was (in theory) no risk in Italy to confuse the consulates of 458 and 474.

A turning point for the history of *iunior* in western (mostly Italian and Burgundian) dating contexts was the period spanning from 480 to 534, when the new practice of dating by *iunior* citizen consuls emerged. As expanded on in Chapter Three and Four, in the course of the fifth century, a wide range of factors, most prominently an irreversible political fragmentation of

¹²⁷⁶ western law: 376 (13 laws no *iun.*); 377 (1 law p.c. no *iun.*); 378 (11 laws no *iun.*); 387 (15 laws no *iun.*); 390 (about 23 laws no *iun.*); cf. *CLRE* 286, 288, 290, 308, 314.

Iunior inscriptions: CIL VI 751B = ILS 4268; ICUR n.s. VII 17469; CIL VI 510 = ILS 4152; ICUR n.s. IV 9568 = ILCV 1328; ICUR n.s. IV 11769 = ILCV 4219;

Non-*iunior* inscriptions: ICUR suppl. 1645 = ILCV 4333A; AE 1971,35; CIL VI 504 = ILS 4153; ICUR n.s. VIII 20794 = ILCV 657; ICUR n.s. V 13335; VI 15771; IV 9569; V 13110; V 13336; CIL VI 3118; CIL X 4489 = ILCV 2932 adn.; CIL XI 2834 = ICI I 2; CIL XIV 5238 = ILCV 4660; CIL IX 5284 = ILCV 4807 = ICI X 6 [78]; ICUR n.s. VIII 17457e.

¹²⁷⁷ CIL XIII 2363 from Lyon (where Majorian's authority was contested) is dated by the name of Leo alone. For the Italian dissemination of '*Maioriano*' for instance, see ICUR n.s. VIII 22977 and AE 1998, 521); '*Leo et Maioriano*' is attested by laws, as for instance *NovMaior.* 3 (Ravenna, 8.v; earliest of 5 novels) but not conclusively by the inscriptions. ICI VII 7 (Dertona, Reg. IX) and ICUR n.s. II 4943 can accommodate a second name, but Leo's has not preserved. ICUR n.s. I 738 = ILCV 511b bears *cons(ulatu) d(omini) n(ostru) Leonis* and may be dating to the consulate of Leo in 458. However, as we would need to postulate a drop of Majorian's name, which is consistently attested in Italy (see the evidence for 458), it is more likely that either the consulate being mentioned is another of Leo's or the name refers to his grandson.

the fourth-century Roman empire, led to the increasing regionalisation of consular *fasti*, with many regions developing separate (and only partially complete) lists used locally for dating

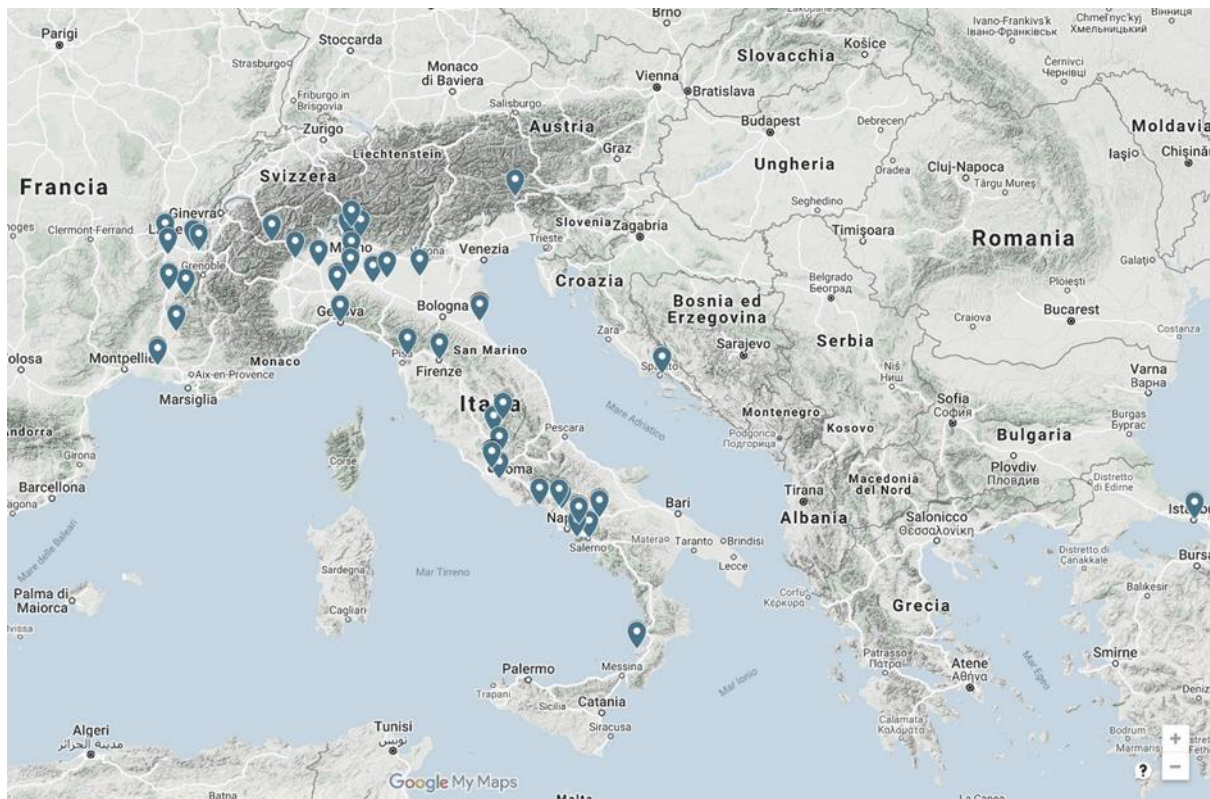


Figure 15. The map shows the geographical distribution of iunior documents from 480. It shows that the area of provenience for most of the findings overlap with the Italian diocese, portions of southern Gaul and Burgundy.

purposes (see tables in Ch. 3 for regional lists in Italy, Gaul, Dalmatia, North Africa and the East). One of these regional lists is the one from Italy, which shows how a period of sustained non-dissemination of the eastern consul after 480 had made it customary for locals to use solely the western (by then largely Italian) consul to name the year. It is against this background that the use of iunior for citizen consuls developed and spread out.¹²⁷⁸ Local proclamation of a sole consul was not inherently a problem as long as he had no previous homonyms and, in fact, sole western consuls were proclaimed repeatedly in the West well before 480 without being styled ‘iunior’. However, by the end of the fifth century, having no homonymous predecessor had become rare for a western appointee, so that mistaking one year for another was a very real possibility without the help of a marker. As a matter of fact, then, completely different

¹²⁷⁸ CLRE 41.

circumstances had required western regions to adapt their dating practices to needs that did not exist in the East.¹²⁷⁹

In many cases where in Italy a consul is styled *iunior* (or *alius*, to which we shall return, too), it is obvious that this happened out of necessity. This is very clear for Basilius cos. 480, Severinus cos. 482, Faustus cos. 490, Albinus cos. 493, Avienus cos. 502, Venantius cos. 507 and Venantius cos. 508, Boethius, cos. 510, Probus cos. 525, Decius cos. 529, Paulinus cos. 534 and Basilius cos. 541. There are two points that these eleven consuls share in common: they were either the only consul in office at the time of their consulship or the only one to be disseminated in the region of provenience of the document (mostly Italy and Gaul); and so too were their preceding homonyms, at least for some time during the year.¹²⁸⁰ Thus, an ancient user could face a situation where a consulate could name two very adjacent but yet different years (like the two Avienii in 501 and 502), as many as three (i.e. the three Venantii in 484, 507 and 508), or even more (as in the case of the two Paulinii who had numerous post-consulates.)

Table A.6. Attested *iunior* consuls and their preceding homonym

Iunior consul	Preceding homonym in western (Italy) formula on 1 Jan.	Time interval
Basilus cos. 480	Basilus cos. 463	17 years
Severinus cos. 482	Severinus cos. 461	21 years
Faustus cos. 483	[<i>Faustus</i>] or Theodosius XVI et Faustus coss. 438	45 years
Symmachus cos. 485	Aetius III et Symmachus coss. 446	39 years
Decius cos. 486		
Faustus cos. 490	Faustus cos. 483	7 years
Olybrius cos. 491	Rusticius et Olybrius coss. 464	27 years
Albinus cos. 493	[<i>Albinus</i>] or Theodosius XVIII et Albinus coss. 444	49 years
Avienus cos. 501	Valentinianus VII et Avienus coss. 450	51 years

¹²⁷⁹ Cf. *CLRE* 42. For imbalances between east and west in using the epithet, see also Cameron – Schauer 1982; Cameron 2012: 523.

¹²⁸⁰ The time interval between two homonyms had no weight in any decisions made on whether *iunior* should be included. This is used when more than sixty years divide two homonyms (Basilius 480 and 541) as much as one (Avienus in 501 and 502).

Avienus cos. 502	Avienus cos. 501	1 year
Venantius cos. 507	Venantius cos. 484	23 years
Venantius cos. 508	Venantius cos. 507	1 year
Inportunus cos. 509		
Boethius cos. 510	Boethius cos. 487	23 years
Maximus cos. 523	Maximus II et Paterius coss. 443	80 years
Probus cos. 525	Probus cos. 513	12 years
Olybrius cos. 526	Olybrius cos. 491	35 years
Decius cos. 529	Decius cos. 486	43 years
Paulinus cos. 534	Paulinus cos. 498	36 years
Basilus cos. 541	Basilus cos. 480	61 years

Not distinguishing them could have wider ramifications. Imagine a Roman taxpayer who was held responsible for paying their annual due. If their receipt was dated ‘Venantius’, rather than ‘Venantius iun.’, they could not be able to provide it as evidence of payment for the relevant year. The outcome? They could be required to pay their taxes once again (or face prosecution). Higher and lower officials, who were responsible for collecting provincial revenues, could face similar charges. P.Ital. 47-48a is believed to be a register of payments once in the archives of the treasures (*arcarii*) of the *comitiva sacrarum largitionum* of Ostrogothic Italy; very duly it distinguishes *Boethius consul* from *Boethius iun. v.c. consul* and a *Venenatius consul* (i.e. Venantius) from *Venantius iun. consul*. Regardless of whether you were a public servant or a private citizen, you obviously wanted to have your official document properly dated, leaving absolutely no space for ambiguity (and grievances). In doing so, the last thing you worried about was far from being any possible kinship between consuls. What you had in mind were the (legal and financial) obligations that could affect your life if you failed to clarify which consular year you wanted people to read.

The importance of being able to distinguish (and hence understand) identically-named years is evidenced by the parallel appearance and use of another (much rarer) suffix: *alius*. If two consuls bore the same name, the inclusion of *iunior* could distinguish the two. But if the consuls were more than two, how could readers identify them? It seems that *alius* was intended to rule out possibility of confusion in this sense. Indeed, this occurs within groups of three homonymous consuls where the last office-holder needed to be distinguished from a second-to-last one who had been styled *iunior*.

It is true, full consistency is not to be expected. As with other elements of the dating formula, so too adherence to *iunior* (or other marks of differentiation such as *alius*) in formal dating very likely depended on the dating context. In some documents, such as, for instance, epistles, it was simply obvious (and or perhaps unimportant) to contemporary correspondents which consul the date referred to; and if dates could be omitted within letters, as the evidence from Egypt reminds us, then *iunior* could be, too.¹²⁸¹ Similarly, although the date of death was important in the Christian ideology of resurrection, no compelling reasons existed in dating a funerary stone by adding a marker. Quite the opposite: as it required the stonecutter to chisel more letters, it was probably more costly. It thus tells very little that in epitaphs and other epigraphic texts of no legal standing dating formulas were occasionally stripped out of their *iunior/alius* element. In comparison, it is far more significant that, when this happens, the homonymous consul can be identified by means of other dating elements. In some of these cases the element is the name of the other colleague. For instance, one Italian epitaph gives]Probo Fausti Iun[ioris ---], undoubtedly to be identified with the cos. of 490, Fl. Anicius Probus Faustus (in no way a relation to the older Faustus, cos. 483). Likewise, ‘Faustus *iunior*’ is given by other six inscriptions from Italy and Burgundy, which are very possibly dated to the same consulate. When the full pair in 490 was announced, however, all Italian and Burgundian formulas only give ‘Longinus II et Faustus’ dropping *iunior*.¹²⁸² Similarly, *alius* never developed in certain groups of names, such as the Fausti and the Boethii, which did count three homonyms but one of them (at least) could be distinguished by the name of his (eastern) colleague. This is most certainly because there was no chance of confusion. Moreover, the presence of a polyonymous (and easily identifiable) nomenclature could be why the suffix was omitted in CIL IX 1376, that gives *p.c. Provi Fausti v.c.* echoed by the date in Pope Felix’

¹²⁸¹ Cf. *CLRE* 44.

¹²⁸² Probus Faustus *iun.*: ICUR n.s. VII 17598 (*p.c. poss.*). For Faustus *iun.*, see ICUR n.s. VIII 20832 = ILCV 2971B; ICUR n.s. VIII 20833 = ILCV 3727D; CIL V 6742a = ICI XVII 58 (Vercelli, rest.; lost); CIL V 7742 = ILCV 2908 = ICI IX 25 (Genoa, d.m.l.); CIL V 1858 = ILCV 1060 (Zuglio, Reg. X; rest.); CIL X 1345 = ILCV 1015 (Nola). As for Longinus II et Faustus (both *p.c.* and *c.*): AE 1993, 803a (Garlate, Reg. XI; rest.); CIL V 5417a (Como, 4.viii; much rest.);

CIL V 5210 (Garlate, Reg. XI); IL3G 305 = AE 1965, 141 = RICG XV 260 (Briord, Lugdunen.; 17.vii; formula lost); CIL XII 2058 = ILCV 1587 = RICG XV 152 (Vienne, lost); CIL V 7531 = ILCV 339 = ICI VII 15 (Dertona, Reg. IX; d.m.l.).

We do not know if *iunior* was added to Venantius (cos. 507) in what was then Visigothic Narbonne (I.Lat.3 Gaules 270 and AE 1978, 485 are likely to be dated in 484 and are from Burgundy), but CIL XII 5339 = ILCV 3555 only gives *p.c. Anastasi et Venanti*.

letter;¹²⁸³ and in CIL V 5214, an ambiguous (and rare) omission of *iunior* in *p.c. Paulini v.c. consu'* can be explained away by the indiction year within the formula, which removes any doubt as to which of the Paulini the epitaph referred to.¹²⁸⁴ In these (and other) cases, *iunior* was clearly redundant.¹²⁸⁵

There is almost invariably some plausible reason for why consulate styled *iunior* cannot be linked to practical chronological needs. In some isolated cases, such as that of Theodosius II, the likely explanation is that the source (in that case, the sixth-century chronicle of Marcellinus and the later *Chronicon Paschale*) retroactively moved *iunior* from social to dating contexts. Instead, with Decius cos. 486, Avienus cos. 501, Inportunus cos. 509 and Maximus cos. 523 we can be assured that *iunior* is the result of an error made by a rogue chronicle or consular list.¹²⁸⁶ The consul is so styled nowhere else in the received evidence (contemporary and not), and with good reasons: Inportunus had no known homonyms; Decius had one but in far 251 and the closest ones for Avienus and Maximus were undoubtedly disseminated with their colleagues since 1 January ('Valentinianus VII et Avienus' in 450 and 'Maximus II et Paterius' in 444). In two more cases, Faustus cos. 483 and Olybrius cos. 526, the evidence is slightly more abundant but still very suspicious.¹²⁸⁷ As known, possibility of error was very high in *fasti* where compilers were often unaware of (or uninterested in) contemporary dissemination, so it should not be surprising that a few consular lists add *iunior* to consuls who seem to have been known as such in no contexts. Other than clear oversights (such as adding *iunior* to consuls who had no homonyms or no known genealogical links to previous homonymous consuls), the most common mistake would appear to occur whenever the compiler breaks one of the preconditions for the assignment of a *iunior* consulate, that is, that the *iunior* consul must have been preceded by a homonym that had not been jointly proclaimed with his own colleague on 1 January. For example, the consular lists record three western consuls by the name of Avienus: the first in 450, the second in 501 and the third in 502. Since the cos. 450 was jointly proclaimed

¹²⁸³ Pope Felix *ep.* 16 (ed. Thiel, 274), gives *Probus et Faustus vv.cc.*, certainly an error for 'Probus Faustus v.c.'

¹²⁸⁴ CIL V 5214 = ILCV 1155 (Lecco).

¹²⁸⁵ See, too: ICUR n.s. VII 17604, giving *JPaulini v.;* CIL XII 939 (Arles) gives *Basilius v.c. Acta syn. habit. Romae* (ed. Mommsen 1894: 420.14; 422.15; 426.6) gives *Rufius Magnus Faustus Avienus v.c.*; a second if uncertain evidence is ICUR n.s. II 4985, bearing *Aginantius Faustus v.c.* (the polyonymous nomenclature could be one of the reasons for the omission of *iunior*).

¹²⁸⁶ Decius cos. 486 is styled *iun.* only by the *Fasti Veronenses*. Avienus cos. 501 by the Gallic AqS. Inportunus cos. 509 by Victor Tunnunensis and Maximus by the *Liber pontificalis*. Cf. *CLRE* 42 f.

¹²⁸⁷ See conclusions in 'Fausti' and 'Decii', p. 423-6 below.

with his colleague on 1 January, and never circulated alone as ‘Avienus’, then the following homonyms should have (at least in theory) been announced as just ‘Avienus’ in 501 and ‘Avienus iunior’ in 502. This is in fact how all lists call them, with the only exception of AqS, which adds ‘iunior’ to the cos. 501, and just ‘Avienus’ to his successor in 502. That AqS retained traces of how Avienus was actually proclaimed in 501 is to be rejected, since there are no reasons to believe that the list is of any more value than any other quasi-contemporary lists, such as that of Marius of Avenches and Cassiodorus (to cite but a few), which do style the cos. as just ‘Avienus’. Likewise, if the purpose of styling Avienus cos. 501 iunior was to mark his kinship with his ancestor in 450, then why this only in AqS? The far more plausible (and simpler) explanation is that, in assigning iunior, AqS wrongly began its reckoning from the cos. 450 rather than from cos. 501. This created a false iunior in 501, and no need of assigning the suffix in 502 (where a iunior would have otherwise been duplicated).

Only a group of entries cannot be explained away by simple errors occurred within fasti. Some of these entries refer to the instances of Valentinian II in 376/377 (both in the West and in the East) and Leo II in 474 (only in the West), which certainly have roots in contemporary usage. As for Valentinian II, one would assume that one of the reasons for the inclusion of iunior was the intention of underlining the genealogical relationship between the two Valentiniani.¹²⁸⁸ Similar considerations can be done for Leo II, also a child emperor, and emperor’s grandson. The remaining material pertains to the consulates of Symmachus in 485 and Olybrius in 491. In both cases, too, we have contemporary evidence, as well as some entries in the fasti, yet again no need for their consulship to be distinguished from any of their preceding homonyms, who were always jointly proclaimed on 1 January. As discussed by CLRE, in the case of Olybrius, there is compelling evidence for believing that this occurred because the consul was actually known as ‘the younger’ in his own time, the latter being (once again) a child.¹²⁸⁹ Child or not, Olybrius was certainly not just anyone’s offspring, but Anicia Juliana’s, which made him the grandson of the western emperor Anicius Olybrius (d. 472).¹²⁹⁰ So much so that, some contemporaries and later authors, mindful of both the two Valentiniani

¹²⁸⁸ As Valentinian is styled iunior in especially eastern material (and not western ones), it might also be that this was one of the ways through which the eastern court stressed the new acquired seniority of the eastern emperor. As noted, the suffix appears only for his first consulate in 376, and then it was stripped out for the successive ones, as pointed out above at p. 384-5. Curiously enough, iunior seems to have left no traces in other social contexts where Valentinian’s name appears; see the evidence collected in *PLRE* I 934-5.

¹²⁸⁹ *CLRE* 42.

¹²⁹⁰ *PLRE* II 795.

and the two Leos, might well have been tricked into using *iunior* to distinguish (unduly, for a time) one more royal pair of (grand)father and (grand)son. As for Symmachus, however, it is more difficult to find a similar explanation for many reasons—more prominently, the fact that the consul was neither a child nor the descendant of any homonymous emperor.¹²⁹¹ Whatever the reason, the undisputable fact is that, once errors of one sort or another are excluded, we are left with only four instances of non-standard use, with one of them representing the first ever attested use of *iunior* (Valentinian II) and the remainder being instances close or confined to the early years of the ‘new practice’, when dating by *iunior* citizen consuls was a relatively new phenomenon. Prior to this period, such dating had been applied only to emperors and was predominantly used in the East. This opens up the question of whether a uniform and widespread use of the suffix in western dating contexts existed from the very beginning, and whether this use was officially supported.

As seen, in all likelihood *iunior* entered official use in 376 (at least in the East), and some similar conclusions can be accepted for the West with the *iunior* consulate of Leo II in 474, which can be found in (western) legal texts.¹²⁹² Thereafter, five extant Ravenna papyri from likely 491, 507/508, 510, 540 and 541, all dated by *iunior* (post-)consulates, similarly show that (some) *iunior* consulates were used to date official documents in Italy. Unfortunately, however, we have no papyri from any other western province, and our knowledge of contemporary dissemination there entirely relies on inscriptions. Besides the epigraphic material coming from Italy, which counts more than eighty inscriptions, we have sixteen epitaphs from Gaul (all are approximately dated within 474-537), and two inscriptions from Salona (dating 474/5 and 535). In all but two cases (the consulates of Leo II cos. 474 and Olybrius cos. 491), knowledge of the formula reached Salona and the Gallic provinces from Italy through direct contacts or via other channels; for the contemporary eastern dating practice ignored the *iunior* consulate used locally at that point in time.¹²⁹³ For instance, the name of Symmachus (485), known as tenth and sixth (or seventh) p.c. date in Arles and Valence,

¹²⁹¹ Moreover, the abundant contemporary evidence shows that his full nomenclature did not seemingly include *iunior* in social contexts; nor it is certain the existence of a living homonym from whom the consul needed to be distinguished

¹²⁹² For the formula posted in Egypt, see for instance, P.Oxy. LXXXII 5331: ὑπατείας τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Νέου Λέοντος τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀυγούστου. Conversely, for its western (Italian) equivalent: P.Ital. 4-5: Leone *Iun(iore) p(er)p(etuo) Aug(usto)*.

¹²⁹³ CIL V 7978, dated by *Leone iun(i)ore* from 474 and CIL XII 2384, dated by *Olibrio iunior* *cons(ule)* from 491 (confirmed by indiction year). The eastern practice never used Symmachus (485), Avienus (501 or 502), and other western *iunior* consuls.

respectively (CIL XII 932; CIL XII 2487), was unknown in the East; and so too, the name of Probus, otherwise known in Arles by 10 January (ILGN 135) and Vienne soon later (CIL XII 2072).¹²⁹⁴ In addition, it is worth noting that the majority of these inscriptions comes from territories subjected either to the Ostrogoths (ruling in Italy), or to the Burgundian kings, who had strong political ties and clear regional contiguity with the latter.

As we ignore the extent of the lost documentation, we cannot tell whether the extent of survived iunior inscriptions is significant; we can only make comparisons between iunior and non-iunior documents in order to have an approximate idea of the predominant tendencies. These tendencies are shown in the two multi-column charts below (A.7 & A.8), which represent the distributions over the years 480-541. The picture supported by the evidence is currently one that suggests the practice underwent a progressive increase over time. It is worth noting that the linear trendlines—an uptrend for the iunior material and a downtrend for the non-iunior—are confirmed in the second graph (A.8), which shows uniquely the distribution of the dated material. Again, this is certainly what we would expect to see if there was a chronological need that became increasingly evident over time. But it tells about nothing about whether ancient users were adding iunior out of their convenience or in following an official practice. What is, for instance, the meaning of the p.c. era of Symmachus that is found in epitaphs from the Rhône Valley? If the stonecutters were following some sort of official practice, then this must have been a local one, since no iteration of the iunior consulate of Symmachus is attested in Italy among the eight different formulas possibly posted locally in 491/2 and 495.¹²⁹⁵

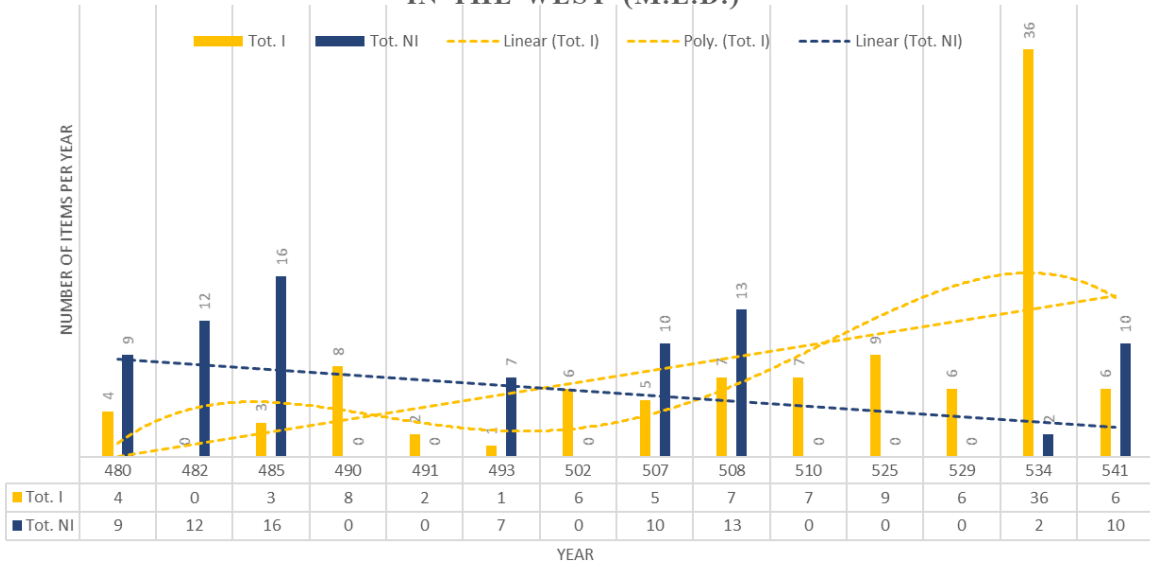
Moreover, the question of whether people dated by iunior consuls in the 480s remains fundamentally unanswerable for regions like Gaul and Dalmatia (where no inscriptions dating between 474/5 and 491 have survived) and inconclusive for even the best documented of the western regions.¹²⁹⁶

¹²⁹⁴ Conversely, Avienus was known only as *Fl. Probus et Avienus vv.cc.* (never as Avienus iun.); and so too, Decius, known in Arles as *p.c. Deci iun.* (CIL XII 936) but as *Fl. Decius v.c.* or *v. magnif.* in Egypt (e.g. P.Rain.Cent 115; P.Stras. V 317). The same observations are valid for the name of Paulinus, attested in Egypt by 535 as [*p.c.*] *D.N. Fl. Iustiniani Aet. [Aug.] Imp. IV et Fl. Paulini v. glor.* (SB XXII 15322.2) but in Gaul as just *p.c.* + [iteration number] *Paulini iun.*

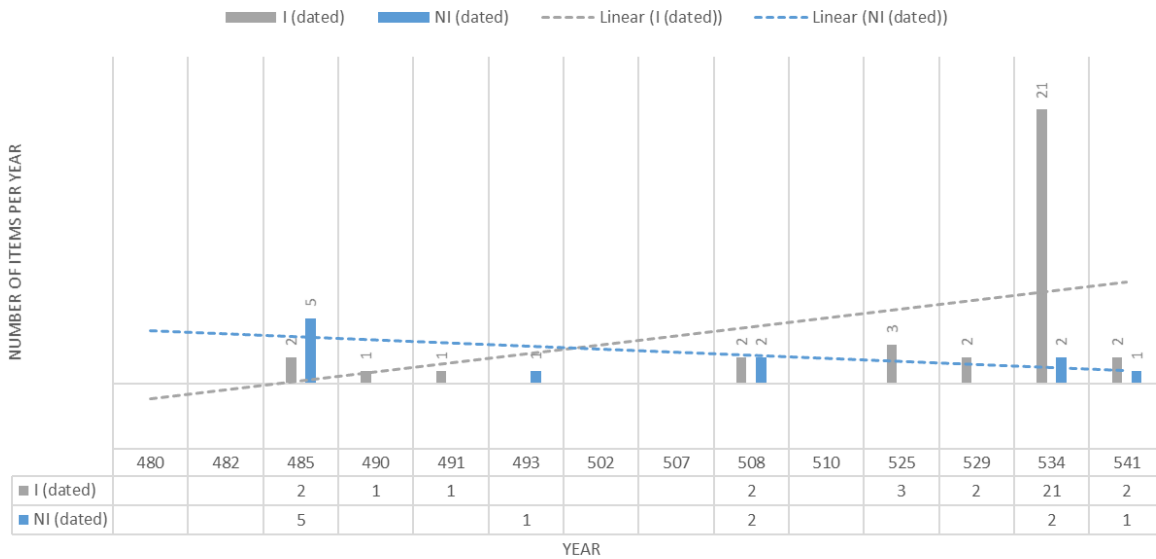
¹²⁹⁵ In 491/2, for instance: 1) *p.c. Provi Fausti v.c.* (CIL IX 1376); 2) *p.c. Flavi Fausti iunioris v.c. cons.* (P.Ital. 12 ii.5); 3) [*p.c./p.c. II?*] *Longini (II) et Fausti vv.cc.* (CIL V 5656; CIL V 7531); 4) *post cons. Olibri iunior(is)* (Civiltà Cattolica 1953, III, p.392); 5) *d(omino) n(ostro) Anastasio p(er)p(etuo) A(u)g(usto) cons(ul)l(e)* (CIL IX 3568); 6) *d(omino) n(ostro) Anastasio [Aug(usto)] et Rufo v(iro) c(larissimo) co[* (ICI VIII 4). In 495: 1) *cons(ulatu) Viatoris vv(iri) cc(larissimi)* (ICUR n.s. VII 17601) and possibly 2) [*p.c./c.?*] *Asteri et Praesidi* (ICUR n.s. VIII 20834).

¹²⁹⁶ None of these is dated in the 480s, the earliest being CIL XII 2384 dated by *Olibrio iuniore cons.*

GRAPH A.7. IJUNIOR MATERIAL VS. NON-IJUNIOR MATERIAL IN THE WEST (M.L.D.)



GRAPH A.8. IJUNIOR DATED MATERIAL VS. NON-IJUNIOR DATED MATERIAL IN THE WEST



In Italy between 480 and the end of 490, the following consulates were indisputably identically-named years had no mark been added to differentiate them: Basilius (480), Severinus (482), Faustus (490) and, very likely, Albinus (493). For reasons to be discussed more fully in the relevant discussion (see Appendix B, ‘Basilii’), although no dated inscriptions are preserved for Basilius cos. 480, it is very likely that people used *iunior* for his consulate (despite his homonymous consulate in 541 could also be known as such and not, as we would expect, Basilius + another mark of differentiation like *iunior alius* or *alius* or *ter*, as occurred with the three Venantii) and certainly they did so for Faustus (cos. 490). Whereas no less than twelve inscriptions are dated by the consulate of Severinus, none of this adds *iunior*, and it is unlikely that they all come from 461. Similarly, of at least eight inscriptions dating by the consulate of Albinus, only one adds *iunior*.¹²⁹⁷ Inconsistencies in the use of *iunior* are of no surprise in dated inscriptions, primarily since they were unlikely to be the primary recipient of this practice—for reasons that have been underlined above.¹²⁹⁸ Nevertheless, one thing is inconsistency, another is having whole consular years that are very poorly represented or even entirely missing from our *iunior* record. If we add this to the non-standard use of ‘Symmachus’ in 485, bearing in mind that westerners had been used to date by *iunior* for non-practical reasons up till 474, our overall picture becomes one leaning toward a gradual shift of the practice toward practically-oriented uses. In conclusions, while it is unquestionable that *iunior* came to be used predominantly for dating purposes in many western regions, whether this use was uniform since the appearance of the first citizen *iunior* consuls in the 480s remains an open question. In fact, it would not be surprising if some identically-named years remained such—identical—to many contemporaries. Perhaps, it was precisely the ensuing confusion what caused authorities to take the steps they would consider appropriate in order to address such a situation.

¹²⁹⁷ That is, ICI VI 13 (Narni, Reg. VI; 5.x). There is some (very little, indeed) uncertainty as to whether his preceding homonym in 444 was proclaimed with his eastern colleague at the beginning of the year but we have a significant number of inscriptions dating just ‘Albinus’ and it is improbable that all of them refer to 493. Further to this, the evidence shows that dissemination of Albinus’ colleague in 444, the emperor Theodosius, was very late both in the west and the east.

¹²⁹⁸ See p. 389 above.

Appendix B.

Classification, Selection and Dating of the Evidence for Statistical Testing

No one familiar with papyri and inscriptions will doubt that in many cases dating formulas are poorly preserved and hence provide for no certainty. Accordingly, for this study's purposes a thorough review has been carried out to establish what material can be used and with what degree of reliability. The ultimate aim has been to identify a reliable working dataset on which hypotheses can be built on and tested, while excluding the material that did not meet the required standards.

The last section of this paragraph offers a catalogue of potentially identically-named years, discussing how the material can be attributed to one particular homonymous consul rather than another, and when this attribution cannot be ascertained conclusively. Whenever needed, the evidence for the inclusion of iunior within a consul's nomenclature (outside dating contexts) has been discussed.

Inscriptions indicated by previous editors as forgeries will not be discussed here.¹²⁹⁹

1. The dataset and its database.

For the benefit of this study and future research on late Roman consular dates, Archie Licudi and I have developed collaboratively a digital database named DataCons.¹³⁰⁰ This contains almost the entirety of the evidence described in Chapter Two, though only the segment from 476-541 is currently accessible. This database includes the following information:

I. The full possible range of dates ('Possible Year') that in principle could be assigned to each piece of evidence or that have been proposed by other scholars to date the evidence. Whenever there is more than one possible date or the possible date is a date range (e.g. IV.V.VI.), these are all provided;

II. 'The Assigned Year': this can be either a confirmation of the 'Possible Year' date or a different date. On a more general level, the criteria and logic used to date and classify the evidence are discussed fully in the following pages. More specifically, however, every time a

¹²⁹⁹ None of the inscriptions mentioned as forgeries in ICI IX is listed in *CLRE* until 541.

¹³⁰⁰ Currently accessible at: <http://kaeos.net:7070/>

new date is proposed, this is discussed in a relevant annotated column relating to each piece of evidence;

III. Category and Accuracy: these columns provide information as to how each piece of evidence is classified (e.g. 'perfect'; 'p.c. poss.', 'm.l.d.', 'doc. later' etc.);

IV. Class of material: currently there are three classes: epigraphic (Epi.), papyrological (Papy.), and literary (Lit.);

V. Carrier: allows the user to search by the carrier of the text, such as, for instance, inscriptions, sarcophaguses, altars, wooden tablets, tiles, mosaics, papyri, ostraca and so on;

VI. Text, Type, People and Scribe: each of these columns provide more detailed information about the nature of the text (for instance, whether a papyrus is a will, dowry or receipt of payment and whether an inscription is about a funerary or honorary dedication or a legal text like a diploma, an edict and so forth) and the people mentioned in it (generally the dedicatee(s) and dedicants within inscriptions, or the contracting parties and scribes/notaries within papyri);

VII. Evidence: provides references to the most important editions of each entry;

VIII. Three columns provide different levels of detail within the formulas. 'Full titulature' provides a transcription of the original formula in its original language with its full titulature and other chronological elements (the day, month, indiction etc.); errors, lacunae and restorations are indicated by epigraphic conventions. 'Full titulature simplified' is a simplified version of the previous one preserving only names, elements of the titulature and possible errors (e.g. inversion of names, wrong names and numerals). It is given in Latin (so the Greek is translated in Latin) following the model of CLRE. 'Formula simplified' is only to serve computerised analysis and visual representations of data. It displays an even more simplified formula which does not show any of the errors above, and that restores names wherever it can be confidently concluded that this is what was actually meant (in the case the restoration is not certain, this will be underlined in some way);

IX. Day, month, indiction and other supporting dating elements: whenever possible, the diurnal date and other chronological elements are entered in separate columns. The indiction is listed when it was meant as part of the dating formula, and separately when it is found in the body of the text. Other possible elements that are used to help date the document are also provided (i.e. the archaeological context, whether the document is part of an archive, elements within the titulature or other textual evidence and possible local dating systems being mentioned by the document etc.);

X. Place, GPS, Region, Macro-Region allows the users to search by place of finding/provenance of each document on a regional (Italia, Illyricum, Egypt, Oriens, Gauls etc.) and macro-regional level (east and west) and give their GPS coordinates;

XI. A further section allows the user to search by errors and aberrations found in the text;

XII. Whenever possible, hyperlinks to other online repositories of material are provided.

2. *Classification of the dataset: perfect and imperfect material*

When this database was closed, there were approximately 3650 formulas 1) whose names could be easily recognised and dated; or 2) with some problems of spelling that did not undermine the identification of the name, so that a precise date could still be assigned on secure grounds (e.g. Rusticus ex Rusticius or Teodosius ex Theodosius).¹³⁰¹ All these entries were therefore classified as ‘Perfect’. However, dating the remaining formulas, which are numerous (about 25% of the dataset), can be very problematic. The major issues undermining the reliability of the body of evidence are:

- Damage: various environmental factors and human intervention have caused much material to be preserved in a fragmentary state. When the damage involves the consular names or any other fundamental element, a restoration is needed in order to assign a date;
- Other errors and retroactive corrections;
- Homonymy: Romans were naming the year after the consul(s) in office; so what may be for us ‘AD 385’ was known to the Romans as the ‘Year of the Consulship of Arcadius and Bauto’. But since Roman consuls often had similar names, when reduced to dating context, a non-numerical system of reckoning could potentially generate identically-named years. For example, while the full names of the two consuls in 480 and 541 were Caecina Decius Maximus Basilius and Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilius, respectively, their consular years could be known as just *Basilio v.c.* Therefore, as damage, omissions and other errors are a possibility that can never be ruled out conclusively, whenever the formula mentions an homonymous consulate, we are compelled to take into account (in assigning a date) a larger spectrum of possibilities. Accordingly, in distinguishing a document dated by any given consulate, more elements for dating are needed if we hope to identify which Basilius the document refers to. Our dataset presents a great deal of material like this, and in many cases dating turns out to be a major problem.

¹³⁰¹ ICUR n.s. II 5025 (Rusticus); CIL V 6278 (Teodosius).

Classifying the evidence while considering all these issues and their ramifications makes it possible to assign each piece of evidence to a label that corresponds to a precise degree of reliability. On filtering out pieces of evidence that are progressively less reliable, this procedure made it possible to obtain results from a smaller but unquestionably more reliable body of evidence while testing a larger amount of material whenever more hypothetical scenarios are explored. Because of time constraints, it was decided not to develop a classification algorithm. Thus, no automated classifier is used to evaluate the evidence and no underlying probability model informs the latter in making decisions as to which label is to be assigned to objects in the process of segmentation. This might have brought about some biased decisions that impact on the boundaries of each group. As such, it should be born in mind as a present limit and future desideratum.

2.1. Issues of damage

Restored formulas

By ‘restoration’ what is broadly meant is any attempt to restore a damaged formula to what ancient readers would have seen originally. As the degree of reliability of our material may vary depending on whether a restoration is needed, it has been felt necessary to indicating when the damage occurred and how extensive it was. Generally, a formula is flagged as:

1. ‘rest.’ (restored) if one or both names are damaged, whether moderately or extensively, but they are still legible. This may imply a small uncertainty but not necessarily overall unreliability and often it only stands as a note for the reader to be aware of a restoration. What is meant for ‘restored’ is the name and the possible numeral, and other elements of the dating clause relevant to dating, such as the consular or post-consular elements of the formula (the latter is indicated separately, see below). ‘Rest.’ is flagged with a certain discretion. For instance, in Νέου Λέοντο[ς] and Φλ(αουῖου) Ἰωά[νν]ου, the names of Leo *iunior* and Iohannes are perfectly understandable and hence no restoration is needed. In contrast, in Π[ατρικίου τοῦ λαμπρ]οτάτου σ[τ]ρατηγοῦ καὶ Ὑπατίου, a restoration would of course be mentioned. Other examples of more serious lacunae are in: P.Oxy. LXVIII 4701: [ᾤ ὑπατείας Φλαουῖων Σαβι]γνανοῦ καὶ Θεοδώ[ρου] τῶν λαμπροτάτων; CIL XII 2067: [---m]artias Floren[tio] et Anthe[mio] or CIL V 6742a: sept[embres Fl.(?) Faus]to iu[niore---]. Some instances present a formula with one name that had been misspelled and underwent damage, such as CIL XII 2644: pos[t cons(ulatam) Ce]tteç[i] γ(iri) ç(larissimi) and ICUR n.s. I 897: T[heodoro] v̄(iro) c̄(larissimo) where the restoration was possible on the basis of the indiction and other elements

of the titlature. Other restorations are made on the basis of texts that no longer exist but were seen by previous scholars. In all these cases, the evidence is indicated as ‘seen’.¹³⁰²

2. ‘much rest.’ (much restored) whenever the damage entails the loss of one or both names. In all these instances, a combination of elements (indiction, internal evidence, numerals and titlature, the archive, etc.) is used to confirm dating and consular names. A useful though not always reliable indication is the presence of elements that generally suggest the numbers of consular names mentioned within the formula, as the conjunction *et* and or the use of *v(iro) c(larissimo)* and *Fl(avio)* for the singular or *vv(iris) cc(larissimis)* and *Fll(aviis)* for the plural in the titlature.¹³⁰³ Some examples of this case can be found in ICI VII 1, [*Aerobindo*] *et Aspare* and AE 1914 78 [*Aetio III et Sim*] *mac<h>o vv(iris) cc(larissimis)*. In ICUR n.s. VIII 20834: *Fl(avi)s Asteri[o et Praesidio cons(ulibu)s ---]* the plural for *Fl(avi)s* allows the restoration of Praesidius’ name. Similarly, in SEG XXIX 643 δεις μετὰ τὴν ὑπ(ατεία)ν ΦλΦλ(αβίων) Λαμπαδίου [κ(αί) Ὀρέστου] τῶν μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτων), both ΦλΦλ(αβίων) and the plural form of the epithet allow for a full restoration of Orestes’ name. Sometimes extensively damaged formulas can be restored by reference to other elements within the text. For instance, P.Oxy. XVI 1984 has Φλ[αου]ί[ο]υ [------]υ that could be restored in more than one possible way, despite the preservation of the indiction. However, the document belongs to the archive of the Apion family, and mentions Flavius Strategius as honorary consul and MVM, and not as patricius.¹³⁰⁴ As we know he had possibly held the patriciate by AD 530 but could not be called MVM and honorary consuls before AD 518, then the possible options are narrowed down to a single name: [Μαξιμο]υ, cos. in 523. Similarly, in CPR XIX 9.1: [† μετὰ] τὴν ὑπατεί[αν Φλ(αοῦ)ιου] Εὐσεβίου τοῦ λα]μπρο(τάτου) τὸ β Ἀθῶρ ιε δ ινδικ(τίωνος) virtually the entire formula is lost but the surviving elements (the extent of the lacuna, the indiction, the titlature and the iteration number) allow for a safe restoration. In all these instances, there are always sufficient grounds for accepting one date, but the degree of uncertainty may (but not necessarily) be higher. The degree of damage can vary, but the original formula can usually be restored if at least one of the two names is sufficiently identifiable and or other elements of the titlature make the identification sufficiently reliable.

¹³⁰² CIL X 1348.

¹³⁰³ There are exceptions to the rule in, for instance, ICI VII 14; ICI XVI 14b; ICI XVI 15 where *vv.cc.* is used for *v.c.* or vice versa. So, too CLRE 451 and Cusciano (ICI XVI p. 29) arguing that *vv.cc.* for *v.c.* appears oftentimes. In papyri, see JJP XXXVIII (2008) 58. Flavii: see Cameron 2012: 523.

¹³⁰⁴ PLRE II 1033-36.

3. ‘p.c./c. rest.’ (post-consulate/consulate restored) whenever there is a lacuna or the fragment cuts off but either ‘post-consulate’ or ‘consulate’ can be restored safely on the basis of the indiction or other dating elements.

4. ‘p.c. poss.’ (post-consulate is possible) wherever the extent of the damage is such that the restoration of both a post-consular formula and consular one are equally possible. Since deciding which is correct was arbitrary, all these instances are flagged as dating to either Year X or Year Y (e.g. AD 476/477). From some time on, the standard wording for consular dates appears to have been *consulatu*, whereas *post consulatum* remained unaltered throughout the period. Iterations of the post-consular wording could be indicated as *iterum, et iterum, tertium* and so on until generating an era reckoning in some cases;

5. ‘M.l.rest.’ (most-likely restoration): whenever there are multiple possibilities but one particular name is the most likely one. A formula is identified as such only because a restoration cannot be conclusively proven.¹³⁰⁵

More complicated cases are always discussed in detail in the critical apparatus. Whenever a name is lost and its mention in the original formula cannot be ascertained conclusively, the formula is excluded if its inclusion questions the assessment of dissemination that is given by the certain evidence. All formulas that do not abide by these criteria are excluded and discussed, unless otherwise noted. With the only exception of the p.c.-poss. instances, all the above-mentioned cases can be resolved and assigned to a single date.

2.2. Issues of homonymy

Formulas assigned to a ‘Most-Likely Date’ (m.l.d.) and ‘Most-Likely Date (Early appearance)’ (m.l.d. [e.app.]).

A significant number of extant dating formulas bear a consular name that can be attributed to more than one consulship. Doubtless, this uncertainty is one of the most relevant if not the greatest issue one faces when either dating a document or testing assumptions based on dated material. For, whenever we are dealing with formulas that are entirely devoid of other dating elements such as, for instance, an indiction, two or more dates (often very distant from each other) could be assigned to the same document.

There are two main reasons of why this issue occurs. No doubt one is directly connected to the internal flaws of consular dating and goes back to the phenomena of simplification and

¹³⁰⁵ ICUR n.s. IV 12256c: *p(ost) c(onsulatum) Ma[vorti?]*; ICUR n.s. II 5077: *Iu[stino v.c.]* (see notes in the database).

non-dissemination, which caused more than one Roman consular year to be known by the same name. These consulates could have been truly indistinguishable—homonymous—to some contemporaries. Conversely, the second has to do with graphic flaws undermining the identifiability of a name written within a formula more than with problems triggered by genuine chronological homonymy. Years that were not identical—for example, because a homonymous consul was disseminated within a pair—could obviously turn into one if some important elements within the formula (a colleague's name or some other marks of differentiation such as *iunior*) were either incorrectly omitted by ancient users or lost due to preservation issues. That this occurred in at least a few occasions is proven by the fact that a discrete number of formulas of unquestionable attribution have one of the two names dropped. But then if a few omissions were possible, why not more? In fact, if not a certainty at least a possibility is that some of the many formulas bearing just one name are actually fourth-century formulas that omit one consul rather than later ones mentioning a sole consulship. Thus, whenever a document is dated by the name of only one homonymous consul, we are compelled to consider a spectrum of possibilities larger than those provided by the years in which homonymy would have normally developed.

Then, how do we assign a date to a document when this document cannot be dated by anything but names, which point to multiple years?

Scholars, including myself, have almost invariably applied some general assumptions when addressing this task, these being that (1) generally people stuck to the formula that was disseminated (i.e. that there is no frequent overlap before the end of the fifth century); that (2) provisional consular formulas bearing only one consul did not generally exist before AD 411, when joint proclamations were the rule; and lastly, that (3) people were aware of the pitfalls of consular dating, which is why suffixes such as *iunior*, and to a much lesser extent *alius*, were occasionally used to distinguish homonymous consuls. Although some if not all of these arguments might appear obvious, there is an inherent problem with them, this being the considerable bias they create, as well as the circularity on which they rest. On this account, I have decided to accept (1) and (2) only after testing them with both an algorithmic process and statistical models based on perfect material (material whose dating did not overlap with any one of the identically-named years). This has allowed me to test the correctness of these hypotheses over a smaller but firmer segment of data that was unquestionably the result of actual dissemination and usage – and not possibly biased decisions. As analysis and results will be discussed in detail in the next appendix, here it suffices to say that the results have confirmed

that in general our assumptions are true.¹³⁰⁶ No similar testing could be performed for the last of said assumptions (3); so this has been discussed in detail and tentatively accepted or refused on a case-by-case basis. As in no case have our assumptions proven to be absolutely certain, their application only reduces the risk of errors, but it does not provide an absolute degree of certainty. Accordingly, any date resting on such assumptions has been classified as most-likely, or more specifically, as m.l.d. or m.l.d. (e.app.).

The first label is employed whenever assumption (2) and (3) are applied; the second when one more assumption (1) is introduced. A major drawback of establishing a date by assuming that people normally adhered to the formula that was proclaimed is that overall results could lead to a misleading picture of dissemination. In fact, by excluding the possibility of overlap we may artificially cause a picture of dissemination more consistent than was actually the case. Admittedly, there are clear instances where results from unrefined most-likely dates would make more sense. For example, a m.l.d.(e.app.) changes an irreconcilable m.l.d. 408/431 to 431 (after 23 January); but it is equally likely (to say the least) that some items are to be listed under 408 even if this may cause overlap. During the fifth century, overlap was indeed a real possibility, especially in territories affected by unrest. To correct this flaw, I flagged all those years where overlap is attested or might be possible (i.e. 431).

In most cases a m.l.d. is sufficient to reconcile the evidence to one single most likely date, and we give a complete summary of the reconcilable and irreconcilable dates below. These dates are subdivided after assumptions resting on either m.l.d. or m.l.d. (e.app.) are applied.

Most-likely dates of iunior consulships

The dataset of this study contains more than a hundred pieces of iunior material, of which only a small part is dated. Assigning the remaining material to its relevant consulship is by no means a trivial task, especially if one considers that the dataset also includes a significant number of non-iunior documents, part of which might well (at least in theory) be dating to the same years. That is certainly the case for a few dated instances, as shown by the full prospect of dated and undated iunior and non-iunior material provided in Table B.1. In Appendix A, I have discussed the use of iunior, defending with some added qualifications CLRE's view that the suffix was predominantly used for dating purposes in fifth- and sixth-century western dating contexts. What follows is a general introduction to how I proceeded to date undated iunior material.

¹³⁰⁶ Cf. Appendix C, Section 2.

In assessing whether *iunior* was added to any particular consulship, I have considered the following: whether the inclusion was consistent and whether it mirrored contemporary usage; which material can be relied upon to reach this conclusion; and ultimately, whether and to what extent the inclusion or exclusion of *iunior* in any given consular wording offers a useful means of dating. A full discussion is provided in the catalogue of potentially identically-named years, where each case is dealt with individually. The general points that must be borne in mind are the following.

Inasmuch as the evidence is almost invariably inconsistent in applying *iunior*, the most inconsistent of all are the *fasti*. As mentioned in Appendix A, in some cases it might have been that the author/compiler, perhaps in attempting to distinguish (and making sense of the succession of two or more homonyms, ended up applying an ordering principle that altered the original wording of the formula. Inaccuracies in dating were obviously amplified by 1) the author being not a contemporary of the events he is describing; and by 2) a copyist's errors or later interpolations or 3) both. Whatever the reason, relying exclusively on consular lists to recover contemporary usage of *iunior* within a dating context, especially epigraphic, is risky and, in most cases at least, should be avoided.

That being said, there is some guidance that *fasti* (and other literary evidence) can provide. Once the 'false' attestations of *iunior* consulships within chronicles are excluded (e.g. *Inportunus* 509; *Maximus* 523), the remaining *iunior* instances can be divided into two major clusters. The first includes four groups of names (five *Symmachi*, three *Boethii*, six *Probi* and four *Paulini*) where only one consulate is so styled by some consular lists and or by other literary material. As a rule, then, whenever an extant *iunior* papyrus/inscription bears one of these four names, it could be logical that that piece of material is to be dated to the only *iunior* consul attested within that group. This is regardless of whether the *iunior* consul is consistently styled *iunior* by the literary evidence. On this account, any contemporary *iunior* document from any one of these four groups has been classified as perfect.

The inference that we must always avoid is that, because a *iunior* document can be dated to a specific consul, a non-*iunior* document must certainly refer to another homonym. In fact, several examples show that this does not follow. For instance, an inscription from Italy dated by *p.c. Paulini* has an indiction year that unmistakably points to 535 (the post-consulate of *Paulinus cos. 534*, widely known as '*iunior*' in our evidence).

Similarly, *Symmachus cos. 485* is the only one in his group to be known as *iunior* and the last one of his name to serve as consul, so one may expect inscriptions naming just *Symmachus*

Table B.1.

Attested iunior and non-iunior dated material

Year	Consulship	Iunior (undated west inscr.)	Iunior (dated west inscr.)	Non-iunior (dated west inscr.)	Non-iunior (undated west inscr.)
480	Basilius	4 (Italy)	Unattested	Unattested	9 (Italy, Dalmatia and Gaul)
482	Severinus	Unattested	Unattested	Unattested	12 (Italy and Gauls)
483	Faustus	See 490 (6)	Unattested	1 (Italy) + 1 (Italy with other marks)	5 (Italy and Burg.)
485	Symmachus	1 (Italy)	2 (Burg./Visig.; date is 491/2 and 495)	5 (Italy and Burg./Visig., date is 485 and 487)	11 (Italy and Burg.)
486	Decius	See 529 (4)	Unattested	2 (Italy)	10 (Italy and Burg.)
490	Faustus	6 (Italy)	1 (Italy)	Unattested (other marks)	See 483 (5)
491	Olybrius	1 (Italy)	1 (Burg.)	Unattested	See 526 (6)
493	Albinus	1 (Italy)	Unattested	1 (Italy)	6 (Italy)
501	Avienus	See 502 (6)	Unattested	Unattested (1 Italy but inconclusive)	11 (Italy, Burg. and Visig.)
502	Avienus	6 (Italy and Burg.)	Unattested	Unattested	See 501 (11)
507	Venantius	5 (Italy)	Unattested	Unattested	10 (Italy, Ostrog. Gaul/Visigot. and Burg.)
508	Venantius	See 507 (5)	2 (Italy)	2 (Italy and Visig.) + 1 (other mark)	See 507 and 484 (11)
509	Inportunus	Unattested	Unattested	NA	NA
510	Boethius	6 (Italy)	Unattested	Unattested	8 (Italy and Burg.)
523	Maximus	Unattested	Unattested	6 (Italy)	8 (Italy and Burg./Gaul.)
525	Probus	6 (Italy and Burg.)	3 (Italy and Ostrog. Gaul)	Unattested	8 (Italy and Narbonne/Visigoth?)
526	Olybrius	See 491 (1)	Unattested	3 (Italy)	6 (Italy and Burg.)
529	Decius	4 (Italy)	2 (Italy and Ostrog. Gaul)	Unattested	See 486 (10)
534	Paulinus	15 (Rome, Italy and Burg.)	21 (Italy, Burg. or Ostrog. Gaul and Dalmatia)	2 (Italy)	6 (Italy, Burg.) + 11 poss. (Italy Burg.)
541	Basilius	See 480 (4)	1 (Italy)	1 (Frankish Gaul)	See 480 (9)

to refer to his previous homonyms. Yet five inscriptions datable to 485 simply show Symmachus and not Symmachus iunior. Both dating by Paulinus cos. 534 without iunior and dating by Symmachus cos. 485 with iunior might have been exceptional practices for contemporaries (in one sense or the other), but clearly the absence of iunior cannot always be relied upon. This might also be true for many instances where dated non-iunior inscriptions are still unattested (as in the case of Probus, cos. 525). Therefore, although in some cases a most-likely date can be assigned to undated non-iunior instances, in no circumstances it has been classified as perfect.

Whereas we can be confident to have identified the correct iunior consulships in the first cluster of homonyms, more uncertainty stands for six more groups (three Basili, four Fausti, two Decii, three Avieni, five Olybrii and three Venantii) where more than one iunior consul is attested by the evidence. Although in the vast majority of the cases one can be fairly sure as to which consulate had (according to standard use) to be regarded as the iunior consulship, we cannot be equally certain that the source maintained that standard in the specific case. For instance, though among the Decii's the correct iunior consulship should have been in 529, the *Fasti Veronenses* (a folio dating as early as the late fifth century, and hence very likely to be contemporary to the list of consuls that it mentions) add iunior to Decius cos. 486. But then if a possible contemporary list could add improperly the suffix, why should not stonecutters

have? In fact, since styling citizen consuls ‘iunior’ was a new practice in the 480s and 490s (and it is not at all proven that it was entirely established in the mid- and late-Ostrogothic period), we have no assurance that contemporaries added iunior only when they were supposed to. Nevertheless, whenever we can be confident enough that iunior must refer to the correct consulship, a most likely date has been assigned.

Summary of Reconcilable and Irreconcilable m.l.d. and m.l.d. (e.app.)

Most Likely Dates

Reconcilable iunior dates as m.l.d.

Faustus iun. (490);
Olybrius iun. (491);
Avienus iun. (502);
Venantius iun. (507);
Venantius iun. alius (508);
Decius iun. (529);

Reconcilable dates (without iun.) as m.l.d.:

Symmachi (485);
Bassi (431 Bassus; Anicius Auchenius Bassus);
Proбини (489);
Placidii (481);
Probi (513)¹³⁰⁷;
Florentii (515);
Avieni (501);
Opiliones (524, only ‘Rufius Opilio’);
Basilii (463, if dating by ‘Basilius’ in Italy; 541 if dating by ‘Basilius’ in Gaul)
Venantii (484 if consular date; 485 if p.c. Venanti);
Boethii (487);
Paulini (498);

¹³⁰⁷ Note: the first attestation of the full formula in 406 is in April, so there still remains some room to argue that simply Probus was disseminated alone before then – especially given Stilicho’s contemporary prohibition of disseminating some eastern consuls.

Iohannes (538);
Rusticii (520);
Dagalaiphi (461);
Magni (460);
Severi (470 without imp. titulature; 462 with the titulature);
Constantii (414);
Senatores (514);

Irreconcilable dates (without iun.) as m.l.d.

Irreconcilable dates due to possible omission of iunior are flagged only if the omission is attested on a safely dated context. Otherwise, the set without iun. is simply given as reconcilable m.l.d. on the basis of the m.l.d. iunior inscriptions.

Albini (444/493, Albinus);
Syagrii (381/382, 'Syagrius');
Felices (428/511);
Maximi (433/523, 'Maximus');
Fausti (438/483, 'Faustus');
Opiliones (453/524);
Severini (461/482; 'Severinus');
Olybrii (491/526);
Theodori (399/505);
Festi (439/472);
Zenones (448/469);

Irreconcilable iunior dates as m.l.d.

Basilii iun. (480/541 in Italy)

Most-Likely Dates (e.app.)

Reconcilable dates (without iun.) as m.l.d. (e.app.):

Albini (493 if dating after 4 July);
Syagrii (482 if dating after 19 January);
Felices (511 if dating after 5 February);
Maximi (523 if dating after 9 May);
Fausti (483 if dating after 30 August);

Festi (472 after 11 Oct);
Zenones (448 if dating after 1 Sept);

Irreconcilable dates (without iun.) as m.l.d. (e.app.):

Albini (444/493 if dating before 4 July);
Syagrii (481/482 if dating before 19 January);
Felices (428/511 if dating before 5 February);
Maximi (433/523 if dating before 9 May);
Fausti (438/483 if dating before 30 August);
Opiliones (453/524; na);
Severini (461/482; na);
Basilii (480/541 Italy; na);
Theodori (399/505);
Festi (439/472 before 11 Oct);
Zenones (448/469 if dating before 1 Sept);

Perfect iunior dates

Symmachus iun. (485);
Boethius iun. (510);
Probus iun. (525);
Paulinus iun. (534);

3. Catalogue of homonymous consuls and critical discussion for the dating of the material

Once one of the names is dropped, some premisses have to be applied to date some or all of the evidence in both the West and the East, or either of them, in the following years:

289, 298, 301, 310, 316, 317, 322, 323, 325, 327, 330, 331, 334, 335, 337, 340, 341, 343, 344, 345, 347, 359, 361, 363, 366, 371, 379, 381, 382, 391, 392, 395, 399, 406, 408, 414, 428, 429, 431, 433, 436, 438, 439, 443, 444, 446, 448, 450, 453, 456, 460, 461, 463, 464, 467, 469, 471, 472, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 489, 490, 491, 493, 498, 499, 501, 502, 505, 507, 508, 510, 511, 513, 514, 515, 518, 520, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 529, 534, 538, 541

In the list above, the years are included regardless of whether uncertain evidence has survived. Imperial consulates are excluded (numerals were an integral part of any consulate after the first. Caesars, too, are always accompanied by their title, so that confusion with citizen consuls bearing the same name is impossible). Because excluding too many years would have undermined our ability to test statistically the dataset in a useful way, consulates which had an identically-named year before 284 and any p.c. dates of years included in the list, have been retained. It has been taken into account that after 476, years were named differently in the west and the east.

Legend:

Green: the simplest attested form of the name in literary sources (except papyri);

Red: the simplest attested form of the name in papyri and inscriptions;

Blue: variations in the nomenclature (e.g. fuller nomenclatures with or without the use of the epithet *iunior*).

Albini

335: **Ceionius Rufius Albinus** with Iulius Constantius.

Full name attested in CIL VI 1708 (honorary; Rome) and others, cf. PLRE I: 37; CLRE: 204-5.

- Western and eastern fasti¹³⁰⁸ and eastern laws have **Albinus**;
- Athanasius and other miscellaneous material have **Rufinus Albinus**;
- 1 Papyrus has **Rufinus Albinus v.c.** and others have **Rufius Albinus** (both full pairs);
- 3 Roman and Italian inscriptions have **Rufius Albinus** with his colleague;

345: **M. Nummius Albinus** with Fl. Amantius.

Full name attested in CIL VI 1748 (base of statue; Rome), cf. PLRE I: 37; CLRE: 2224-25.

- Western and eastern fasti¹³⁰⁹, western and eastern laws and Athanasius and other miscell. material have **Albinus**;
- Eastern papyri have **(Fl.) Albinus v.c.**;
- More than 30 Roman, Italian and African inscriptions have **Albinus** or **Nummius Albinus** with his colleague;

444: (**Caecina Decius Aginatus?**) **Albinus** with Theodosius XVIII.

Full name attested in CIL VI 1659 (base of statue, Rome) if he is to be identified with the dedicant; cf. PLRE II: 50 and 53; CLRE: 422-23.

- Western and eastern fasti, western and eastern laws, Leo's epistles have all **Albinus**;
- 1 Italian papyrus (with Theodosius) has **Albinus**;
- Roman inscriptions (some with Theodosius, some without) have **Albinus**;
- 6 Italian and Roman inscriptions have **Albinus** (full pair); 1 p.c. formula from Italy (with Theodosius) has **Decius Albinus**;

493: **Fl. Albinus** solus.

Name: cf. PLRE II: 51-2; CLRE: 520-21; iunior appears in one undated inscription from Narni (Italy), but it is missing in a second inscription from Rome, whose dating in 493 is supported by the archaeological context. This and the lack of any evidence of the usage within

¹³⁰⁸ Scal. has 'Savinus' – very likely, a typo for 'Albinus'

¹³⁰⁹ Heracl. Hyd. Pasch. Theo have Albanus; Scal. Has Savinianus; both are most probably errors for Albinus (see 335 for Scal, same error).

chronicles suggest the cos. 493 was unlikely known as iunior inside and outside social contexts, and that the iunior inscription from Narni is very likely to be regarded as a quirk.

- Most western fasti and Marcell. Pasch. and Gelasius' epistles have **Albinus**;
- Some other western fasti have **Albinus v.c. cons.** (with his colleague)
- 1 inscription from Rome has **Albinus** (archaeo. context);

Undated material:

- 6 inscriptions from Rome (5) and Italy (2) have **Albinus solus**;
- 1 inscription from Narni (Italy) has **cons. Albini iunioris**.

Conclusions:

m.l.d.:

Albinus iun. (493): only one inscription with iun. is attested. This is undated but Albinus cos. 493 was the last of his name to hold the consulship, hence any other option is less likely.

Albinus v.c. (444/493): all four Albini are named as 'Albinus' by at least one source each; in principle, then, it is possible that an inscription dated by 'Albinus' may refer to any one of the four attested consulates. However, circumstances of proclamation narrow a date down to 444 and 493. It must be noted that listing in 444 evidence belonging to 493 might have caused overlap for 444.

m.l.d.(e.app.): in 493 the eastern consul was never disseminated. In 444 the full pair is attested by 4 July in Milan. Therefore, m.l.d.(e.app) is either 444/493 (before 4 July) or 493 (after 4 July).

Avieni

450: Gennadius Avienus with Valentinianus VII

- Western [Hyd. VindPost. Prosp. cum Add. (L 487,489) Victor Aug. Aq. Cass. Veron.; Sidonius and Leo's epistles] and eastern fasti (with ACO III.1), western and eastern laws have **Avienus** or **Avienus v.c.**;

- Miscellaneous material from the east has **Abienus** or **Abinus v.c.**;
- 11 Roman, Italian and Gaulish inscriptions have **Avienus v.c.** (full pair);

501: Fl. Avienus with Fl. Pompeius.

Name: his name does not appear in the extant documentation from the Colosseum. The cos. does not seem to have been a relation of the cos. in 450 (cf. CLRE, 536-37; PLRE II, 193).

- Western fasti have **Avienus** (v.c.) (Haun. (v.c.) Camp.) or **Avienus iun. v.c.** (AqS.) or **Avienus** (VindPost. ExcSang. Cass. Victor Marius);
- Eastern fasti and laws have **Avienus**;
- 1 inscription from Italy has **Avienus v.c.** (archo. context and wrong indiction);

502: Rufius Magnus Faustus Avienus with Fl. Probus (east).

Name: his name does not appear in the extant doc. from the Colosseum. He was the grandson of Avienus, cos. 450 (cf. CLRE 538-39; PLRE II, 192-3).

- Western fasti have **Avienus iun. v.c.** [Camp. AqS. (G and N) Victor] or **Avienus alius iun. v.c.** (Haun), or **Avienus iun.** (VindPost. ExcSang. Cass. Marius) or **Avienus** [AqS (QS)]; Eastern fasti have **Avienus**;
- Conciliar material (Acta Synod.) have **Rufius Magnus Faustus Avienus v.c.** and **Fl. Avienus iunior v.c.** (with Ennodius);
- Eastern laws have **Avienus** or **Avienus iun.**;
- Eastern papyri have **Avienus v.c.** (full pair);

Undated material:

- 11 inscriptions from Rome and Burgundy have **Avienus v.c.**;
- 6 Roman, Italian and Burgundian inscriptions that have c./p.c. **Avienus iun. (v.c.)**;

Conclusions:

Perfect: see lemmas below.

m.l.d.:

'Avienus iun. v.c.' (502): western consular lists and other documents are consistent in adding *iunior* to the consul in 502, with only Aqs (QS) and Haun. adding simply 'Avienus' and *'Avienus alius iun. v.c.'*, respectively. In contrast, the consulate in 501 is consistently named just 'Avienus', and only Aqs. adds *'iunior'*. It is clear from the general uniformity of the evidence that Aqs (QS) and Haun. (for cos. 502) and Aqs. (for cos. 501) must be errors of some sort or another. In the case of AqS, the scribe likely confused the two homonyms in 501 and 502. The preceding homonym of the cos. 501 was Gennadius Avienus (450), who shared his consulate with the western emperor Valentinianus III, and their joint consulate was announced from 1 January; hence, no marker was needed by contemporaries to differentiate Avienus' consulate (501) from his grandfather's (450), for the latter was disseminated as full pair while the former as sole consulship. As CLRE notes, 'There can in fact be little doubt that the point [adding *iunior* to Avienus cos. 502] was to distinguish him from a cousin called Avienus, who had been consul the year before, 501' (p. 41). The m.l.d. for a *iunior* inscription is therefore 502.

'Avienus v.c.' (501 West): The simplified form *'Avienus (v.c.)'* is attested for all three Avienii but both the seemingly consistent use of *iunior* for the cos. in 502 and the circumstances of proclamation for the cos. in 450, make 501 the m.l.d. in the West. These conclusions are underpinned by a Roman inscription dated by 'Avienus', whose archaeological context points to 501.

Basilii

463: Caecina Decius Basilius with Fl. Vivianus.

• Western [(Aq. (Q) Hyd. VindPr. Add. ad Prosp. (I, 493) Aq. (GLS) Cass. Marius Veron. Caesaraugust. (2, 222)] and eastern fasti and laws have **Basilius**;

- Hilarius' epistles have **Basilius v.c.**;
- 3 inscriptions from Rome have **Fl. Basilius v.c.** (archo. context);

480: Caecina Decius Maximus Basilius solus.

Name: Basilius cos. 480 was son of the cos. 463. In a fragmentary inscription from the Colosseum (CIL VI 32164 + frag. n. 36), iunior may fit in lacuna. But the suffix does not appear on a lead pipe inscription found on the Aventine Hill (CIL XV 7420); see Orlandi 2004: 467 no. 36.

- Western fasti have **Basilius iun. v.c.** (VindPr. AqS. Cass. Veron. Haun.) and **Basilius iun.** (Marius Aug.); Eastern fasti have **Basilius solus**;
- Eastern laws have **Basilius iun.** or **Basilius v.c.** (prov.unkn.)
- 3 eastern papyri have **Basilius e.q.f.n.** and possibly **Basilius** (dated);
- 1 inscription from Smyrna (Asia) possibly dated to 480 (or 543) has **Basilius** (poss. wrong indiction);

541: Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilius solus.

Name: His name is not attested in honorary inscriptions from Rome.¹³¹⁰

- Western fasti have **Basilius iun.** [Camp and AqS (SQN)] or **Basilius** (Marius) or **Basilius v.c.** [AqS. (GX) with conciliar doc.];
- Eastern fasti and laws have **Basilius (v.c.)**;
- 3 eastern papyri from C'polis and Egypt have **Fl. Basilius v.c.** (indiction);
- 1 Ravenna papyrus has **Basilius iun. v.c.** (indiction);
- 1 Inscription from Italy has **Basilius iun. v.c.** (indiction);
- 1 Inscription in Gaul (Arles) has **Basilius v.c.** (indiction);
- 1 inscription from Smirne (Asia) has **Basilius** (indiction);

¹³¹⁰ Cf., too: Cameron – Shauer 1982: 143.

Undated material:

- 9 inscriptions from Rome, Italy and Dalmatia have **Fl. Basilius v.c.**;
- 4 inscriptions from Rome and Italy have **Basilius iun. v.c.**;
- 1 eastern papyrus has **Basilius**;

Conclusions:

All the eastern fasti, the contemporary material (see especially the two inscriptions from Smyrna and the dated Egyptian papyri) and the great majority of laws show that both the consulates in 480 and 541 were announced, disseminated and used as just ‘Basilius’ in the East. The one law in *CJ* that is dated by *Basilio iun.* is unlikely to mirror contemporary usage at court; rather, it ought to be due to some sort of error (perhaps one compiler of the Code used a western list).¹³¹¹

In the West the situation is more puzzling. One papyrus and one inscription from Ravenna, both dated by indiction number, unquestionably name the year in 541 as ‘Basilio iun. v.c. cons.’¹³¹² Yet, in Gaul another inscription, also dated by indiction, simply gives ‘Basilio v.c.’ (CIL XII 939, from Arles). The evidence from fasti and other literary sources somehow parallels this twofold division; while just ‘Basilio v.c.’ is shown by the Gallic chronicle of Marius of Avenches, a MS of AqS (also from Gaul) and the documents from the council of Orleans, the Vatican Paschale Campanum adds *iunior*. Hence, it might have been that Basilius’ consulship in 541 was known in Italy as ‘Basilio iun.’ while in Gaul (or elsewhere) the standard dating practice found the use of just ‘Basilius’ sufficiently clear for local needs. This regional variation can be explained away once one notes that no securely dated inscriptions bearing the consulates of Basilius’ previous homonyms, the two Basilio in 463 and 480, comes from Gaul, and in fact one of these consulates, or both, might have never been used or even disseminated there. Contemporary sources testify that both Libius Severus’ and Odoacer’s takeover of Italy caused upheaval in Gaul. Thus, it would not be surprising if locals refused to name the year after the consuls designated by Ravenna.

The contemporary dissemination of the *cos.* in 480 is very poorly documented everywhere in the West and the most difficult to recover. At present, our body of material has returned no dated western papyri attributable to 480, while thirteen undated inscriptions bear either ‘Basilio v.c.’ or ‘Basilio iun. v.c.’, and any of these might be attributed to any of the three Basilio in

¹³¹¹ *CJ* 6.23.22.

¹³¹² P.Ital. 33.10; CIL XI 310 = ILCV 226.

office in 463, 480 and 541. A possible dating to 541 of both sets of formulas is suggested by the evidence listed under that year. More generally, as we have seen, the Gallic and Italian usage suggest—and in some cases even show clearly—that contemporaries used to differentiate a second or a third homonymous consulate inconsistently, sometimes adding one suffix, sometimes a different one, and sometimes none at all.¹³¹³ One may therefore wonder whether *Basilius cos. 480* was an actual iunior consular year or whether the suffix was only retroactively added by the chronicles. In at least some cases, we can be assured that the evidence is contemporary or near-contemporary (*Vindobonensis priores*, Cassiodorus and Marius of Avenches). It is worth noting that the dating context of three Roman inscriptions indicates that the year was named ‘*Basilio v.c.*’ in 463 in Italy. Furthermore, by the time *Basilius cos. 541* held the consulship, the indiction system was widely used for dating purposes, rendering ‘iunior’ and ‘alius’ less significant. Consequently, their usage could be more flexible or they might not be used at all.

Then, although contemporary use of just ‘*Basilio iun.*’ cannot be entirely confirmed in 480 due to the lack of dated western papyri and inscriptions for this year, the weight of the evidence strongly supports the idea that ‘*Basilius v.c.*’ is more likely to be dated in 463 than 480. To sum up, I have proceeded with the following datings:

- The m.l.d. of Italian inscriptions dated by ‘*Basilius iunior*’ is 480 and 541.
- The m.l.d. of Italian inscriptions dated by ‘*Basilius*’ is 463;
- The m.l.d. of Gaulish inscriptions dated by ‘*Basilius*’ is 541.
- The m.l.d. of eastern papyri dated by ‘*Basilius*’ is 480 or 541.

m.l.d.(e.app.): both in 480 and 541 a second consul was never announced. Thus, the m.l.d.(e.app) cannot be determined.

¹³¹³ See p. 458-60 below.

Bassi

289: M. Magrius Bassus with L. Ragonius Quintianus

- All western fasti have **Bassus (II)**; the eastern have Bassus (Theo [B. **Bassus II**] or

Tiberius Bassus (Heracl.);

- Laws have **Bassus**;
- 1 inscription from Rome has **Bassus** (full pair) and 2 from Italy have **M(arco) Magrio**

Basso (full pair);

317: Ovinus Gallicanus with **Caesonius Bassus**.

- All western and eastern chronicles have **Bassus**;
- All (western) laws have **Bassus**;
- 9 eastern papyri have **(Caesonius) Bassus v.c. (full pair)**;

331: Iunius Bassus with Fl. Ablabius.

Name: cf. PLRE I: 154; CLRE 196-97.

- All fasti (Chr. 354 (fast., pasch., prae f.)); VindPr.; Prosp.; Aq.; Cass.; Heracl.; Hyd.; Pasch.; Theo Berol.; Scal.), eastern laws have **Bassus**.

- Athanasius has **Iunius Bassus**;
- 22 eastern papyri have **Iunius Bassus v.c. (prae f.)** (full pair);
- Inscriptions from Rome, Palestine and Constantinople have **Bassus (cons.)** (full pair)

408: Anicius Auchenius Bassus with Philippus.

Name: cf. PLRE II: 219-20; CLRE 350-51.

- All fasti (Chr. 354 (pasch.)); Hyd.; Haun; Prosp.; Cycl.; Aug.; Aq.; Cass.; Aq (Q); Marcell.; Heracl.) and laws, plus Socrates, Sozomen and Zosimus, and other western conciliar acts have **Bassus**;

- 9 Roman inscriptions have **(Anicius) Bassus v.c.** (full pair); 6 Italian inscriptions have **(Anicius) (Auchenius) Bassus (v.c.)(cons.)** (full pair);

431: Fl. (Anicius?) (Auchenius?) Bassus with Fl. Antiochus.

Name: cf. PLRE II: 220-21; CLRE 396-97.

- All western and eastern fasti and western laws have **Bassus**;
- Papal epistles and Socrates have **Bassus**;
- 9 inscriptions from Rome, Italy, Dalmatia and Moesia have **(Fl.) Bassus v.c.** (full pair);

Undated material: 14 inscriptions from Rome that have (Fl.) (Anicius) (Auchenius) Bassus (v.c. cons.) solus.

Conclusions:

m.l.d. (431/431): Two sets of conclusions can be drawn from the evidence:

(Fl.) Bassus (v.c. cons.) may refer to all five Bassi but circumstances of proclamation make 431 the m.l.d.

In principle, *Anicius Auchenius Bassus* could be attributed to both the cons. 408 and 431.¹³¹⁴ Again, Stilicho pursued a policy of non-recognition sometimes during his regency, but, as a rule, West and East continued to perform joint proclamations until at least 410. Accordingly, circumstances of proclamations would make 431 the m.l.d. The date of the earliest attestation of the full pair in 408 (23 January, as opposed to 19 May for 431) underpins this view. It must be remembered that some of the overlap in 431 may actually belong to 408 if a m.l.d. is not applied.¹³¹⁵

¹³¹⁴ See *CLRE* 350-51 and 396-97. Evidence for the nomenclature of the cos. 431 is collected by *PLRE* II 220-221, but this relies on inscriptions which possibly refer to the cos. 408; no extant literary source preserves the full nomenclature.

¹³¹⁵ So, too: *CLRE* 397.

Boethii

487: Fl. Nar. Manlius Boethius solus.

- Western fasti have **Boethius v.c.** (Haun. Camp. AqS. Cass. Veron. Aug.) or **Vetius v.c.** (VindPr.) or eastern fasti have **Boethius solus** (Marcell.; Heracl.; Pasch.);

- 1 western papyrus has **Boethius** (textual evidence);

510: Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius solus.

Name: The name is not found in the documentation from the Colosseum. He was the son of the cos. in 487 and the father of the two consuls in 522 (cf. CLRE 554-55; PLRE II 233-37).

- Western and eastern fasti have **Boethius iun.** (Haun. and Ennodius' letter with Marcell.) or **Boethius v.c.** (Camp. AqS. Cass. Victor Marius VindPost.) or **Boethius solus** (Heracl.);

- Eastern laws have **Boethius v.c.**;

- Western papyri have **Boethius iun.** (textual evidence);

522: Fl. Boethius with Fl. Symmachus (west).

- Western and eastern fasti have **Boethius** (VindPost. Camp. AqS. Marius Haun. With Liber pontificalis and Boethius' Cons.Phil. 2.3; Marcell.; Heracl.; Pasch.; Victor);

- 5 eastern papyri have p.c. or c. **(Fl.) Boethius (v.c.)(v.glor.)** (indiction and full pair);

- 16 Inscriptions from Rome, Italy and Burgundy have **(Fl.) Boethius v.c. (cons.)** (full pair);

Undated material:

- 8 inscriptions from Rome, Italy and Burgundy have p.c. or c. **Boethius (v.c.)(cons.)**;

- 6 Inscriptions from Rome and Italy have **Boethius iun. v.c.**;

Conclusions:

Perfect: *Boethius iun. v.c.* (510): the cos. 510 is the only one Boethius whose name is attested with iunior. Although chronicles and literary sources are inconsistent, contemporary and near-contemporary evidence (see Ennodius' letter and the papyri from Ravenna) suggests that contemporary usage preferred *iunior*.

m.l.d.: *Boethius v.c.* (487): circumstances of proclamation make a date in 522 less attractive (the young Boethius, son of Boethius the philosopher, was consul with his brother Symmachus, another westerner.) On balance, then, the most likely date for an inscription bearing 'Boethius v.c.' alone is 487.

Constantii

327: **Constantius** et Maximus

- Some western and eastern fasti render a wrong name (Constantius Caesar V [Aq]; Constantius Caesar VI [Pasch.]; Constantius IV [Berol.]; Constantinus [Theo and Heracl.] or Constantinus II [Prosp.]) or a wrong consular pair (Vind.Post) but some others have **Constantius** (Chr. 354, Hyd., Cass., VindPr. as pair);

- Eastern laws have **Constantius** (pair);
- 3 inscriptions from Rome and Italy have **Constantius (v.)(c.)**(full pair);
- 12 eastern papyri have **(Fl.) Constantius v.c. (praef.)**(full pair);

335: **Constantius** et Rufius Albinus

- Some western or eastern fasti render a wrong name (Constantius Caes. VI [Pasch.]) and or a wrong consular pair (Constantinus nob. Aug. I et Savinus [Scal.]; Constantius et Egeas [VindPost] or Constantius et Ablabius [Heracl.]); but Chr.354, VindPr., Prosp., Aq., Cass (all western) and Hyd., Theo and Berol. have **Constantius** (correctly paired with Albinus);

- Eastern laws have **Constantius**;
- Athan. has **Iulius Constantius Aug. frater et Rufinus Albinus** (Fest.7) or Constantius et Albinus (index); Athan., Apol.c.Arian. 76 in PG 25.385C and a letter of the Mareotic clergy to the prefect of Egypt has **Iulius Constantius v.c. patricius frater piiss. Imp. Constantini Aug. et Rufinus Albinus v.c.**;

- 9 eastern papyri have **Iulius Constantius patricius frater D.N. (Constantini Aug.) v.c.** (full pair);

414: **Constantius** et Constans (east);

- Western and eastern fasti have **Constantius** (v.c.) (cons.);
- Western and eastern laws have **Constantius** (v.c.);
- Innocentius' letter has **Fl. Constantius v.c.** (solus);
- 1 eastern papyrus has **Fl. Constantius** et Fl. Constans v.c. praef. praet.;
- 2 inscriptions from Rome have **Constantius cons.** (full pair);

Undated material:

- 3 inscriptions from Rome have **(Fl.) Constantius (comes et[---]) (v.c.)(cons.)**;

Conclusions:

m.l.d.: Circumstances of proclamation would suggest excluding 327 and 335, with **414** (a westerner) being the most likely date for an inscription bearing only 'Constantius'.

Dagalaiphi

366: Gratianus I et **Dagalaiphus (west)**;

461: **Fl. Dagalaiphus (east)** et Fl. Severinus

Conclusions:

Circumstances of proclamation make 461 m.l.d.

Decii

486: Caecina Mavortius Basilius Decius with Fl. Longinus I (east).

Name: there is only one chronicle adding iunior and this is possibly a scribal error (Veron.)
The consul was never styled iunior in the majority of western fasti, nor in other honorary and private contexts. Some uncertainty only remains for the fragments of the Colosseum, which could be attributed to him and whose lacuna could accommodate iunior. However, there is no doubt that the suffix was not mentioned in the honorary inscriptions from Terracina commemorating the drainage of the Pontine Marshes (CIL X 6850-6852).

- Western fasti have **Decius iun. v.c.** (Veron.) or **Decius (v.c.)** (VindPr.; Camp.; AqS; Hist.Britt.; Aug. with Pasch. east fasti);
- 3 inscriptions from Como (indiction), Rome (archaeo. context) and Gaul (full pair), have simply **Decius**.

529: Fl. Decius solus;

Name: his seat in the Colosseum has not been identified (cf. CLRE 592-93); hence, it is not possible to ascertain whether iunior was a standing element within his nomenclature in an official or quasi-official context. The kinship with the cos. 486 is by no means proven.

- Western fasti and other conciliar doc. have **Decius iun. (v.c.)**;
- Eastern fasti have **Decius** solus (Marcell.; Heracl.; Pasch.) or **Decius v.c.** (Victor);
- Eastern laws have **Decius (v.c.) cons.**;
- 1 eastern papyrus has **Fl. Decius v.magnif.** (indiction);
- 1 Inscription from Italy has **(Fl.) Decius iun. v.c.** and 1 from Ostrogothic Gaul (Arles) has **p.c. Deci iun.** (indiction);

Undated material:

- 10 inscriptions from Rome, Italy and Burgundy (nr. Lyon) have **(Fl.) Decius (v.c. cons.)**;
- 4 inscriptions from Rome and Italy have **(Fl.) Decius iun. (v.c.) (cons.)**;

Conclusions:

m.l.d.:

- *Decius iun. v.c.* (529);
- *Decius v.c.* (486);

Both coss. 486 and 529 are indicated as iunior, although a convergence of epigraphic and literary evidence is attested only for the latter. Indeed, all the western fasti and the conciliar documents agree in adding iunior to the cos. 529. Moreover, the indiction number of a funerary inscription from Arles dated by *p.c. Deci iun.* undoubtedly falls in 530, and the archaeological context of another inscription dated by *Fl. Decio iuniore cons.* from nr. Aeclanum (Italy) points to 529. In contrast, there are clear shortcomings for the preceding homonym. Two dated Italian inscriptions bearing just *Decius* clearly date to 486 (the date is confirmed by the indiction number and the archaeological context), while no iunior ones are attested. In addition, among the fasti, only the Veronese list adds the suffix to the cos. 486 (likely an error). In the east, there is no evidence of the use of iunior. Since the cos. 486 was never disseminated there, the use of iunior for the cos. 529 might well have been felt as unnecessary. Thus, 486 is the m.l.d. for a western inscription bearing only *Decius* and 529 for *Decius iun.*

Eusebii

347: Rufinus et **Eusebius (east)**;

359: **Eusebius (east)** et Hypatius (east);

489: Probinus et **Eusebius (east)**;

Conclusions:

Circumstances of proclamation make 489 the m.l.d. (no evidence found so far).

Fausti

298: Anicius Faustus II et Virius Gallus;

- Western fasti have **Faustus (II)** (paired); eastern fasti have **Faustus (II)** (Heracl.; Theo [II], both pairing it with his colleague) and **Anicius Faustus** et Severus Gallus (Pasch.), and **Faustus** et Tatianus cc. (Scal.);

- 11 eastern papyri have **(Anicius) Faustus** et (Virius) Gallus (full pair);
- 6 inscriptions from Rome, Italy and Raetia have p.c./c. **(Anicius) Faustus (II) et** (Virius) Gallus (**cos.**) (full pair);

438: Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus with Theodosius XVI.

- Western and eastern fasti, and Gesta Senatus have **Faustus**;
- Western and eastern laws have **Faustus v.c.**;
- 5 eastern papyri have **Fl. Faustus v.c.** (indiction and or full pair);
- 10 inscriptions from Rome, Italy, Dalmatia, Gaul and Africa have p.c./c. **(Anicius) (Acilius) (Glabrio) Faustus (v.c.) (cons.)** (full pair);

483: Anicius Acilius Aginantius Faustus solus;

Name: His full name appears in an honorary inscription (base of statue) dedicated to him when he was prefect of Rome (CIL VI 526). Perhaps he is also to be identified with the senator holding a seat in the Colosseum (see Orlandi 2004: 467 no. 60). The latter is fragmentary and hence it may have accommodated the suffix iunior. However, it is certain that iunior was not a standing element of the consul's nomenclature within the former. The mention in Veron. and Aug. might well be an error. It is significant that no dated inscriptions using iunior have been found.

- Western fasti have **Faustus v.c.** (VindPr.; Camp.; AqS; Cass.; Marius; Haun) or **Faustus iunior** v.c. (Veron.; Aug.); Eastern fasti have **Faustus solus**;
- 1 Roman inscription has **Aginantius Faustus v.c.** and 1 inscription from Italy has **Faustus** (archeo. context);

490: Anicius Probus Faustus Niger with Longinus II.

Name: little can be inferred from the Colosseum's fragment attributed to him, since the text cuts off just where iunior would have appeared (CIL VI 32195; cf. Orlandi 2004: 476 no. 62). He was sometimes referred to as *niger* (black-haired) to distinguish him from the 'other' elder

Faustus, the cos. in 483, named *albus* (white-haired) by Ennodius (cf. Orlandi 2004: 476, no. 60). No surprise, this opposition niger/albus is paired by the abundant attestation in inscriptions of other devices with similar scope such as iunior, alius or the inclusion of other elements of his name.

- Western fasti and other miscellaneous material have **Faustus iun.** (Haun; AqS (N and LS); Camp; Cass) or **Faustus Niger** (Aug) or **Faustus alius** (Veron) or **Faustus** (AqS (Q and G); Marius; Anon.Val.) or **Faustus v.c.** (VindPr.; Gelasius' epistle) or **Probus Faustus v.c.** (Felix' epistle);

- Eastern fasti have **Faustus** (Marcell.) or **Faustus II** (Pasch.);

- 2 Roman and Italian inscriptions have **Probus Faustus iun. v.c.**, (Rome) and **Probus Faustus** (Aeclanum);

Undated material:

- 5 inscriptions from Rome, Italy and Burgundy (Vienne) have **Faustus v.c. (con.)**;

- 6 inscriptions from Rome and Italy have **(Fl.) Faustus (v.c.) iun. v.c. (cons.)**;

- 1 western papyrus has **p.c. Fl. Fausti iun. v.c.**;

Conclusions:

Perfect: see datable lemmas.

m.l.d.: two sets of conclusions can be found:

- *'Faustus iunior'* (490): One must disagree with CLRE's view that there was no reason to style Faustus cos. 483 iunior, as both Fasti Veronenses and Augustani do. For if dissemination was performed as was customary after 411, that is, disjointly, his preceding homonym must have been disseminated alone before his colleague (Theodosius XVI) was added to the western formula. Doubtless, the East performed a separate proclamation in 438 and so did the West in the following year on the occasion of the seventeenth consulate that Theodosius celebrated with Festus.¹³¹⁶ Assuming Faustus cos. 438 had been proclaimed alone,

¹³¹⁶ There is no dated evidence before the earliest attestation of the pair on 4 June 438 (the year of Theodosius XVI and Faustus); but both the general practice after 410 and the evidence from 439 underpin the view that an unilateral proclamation was performed also in this case. In the West, Theodosius' consulate is attested in Dalmatia by 4 June, in Gaul by 5 September and in Rome by 7 October (ICUR n.s II 4904 from Rome; CIL III 14929 from Trogir and CIL XIII 11207 from Lyon). Eastern evidence, too, supports the view of unilateral proclamations: cf. the eastern laws that have *Theodosio a. XVI cons. (NovTheod. 4; dated 25 Febr.)* or *d n*

then, some marker would have been needed to distinguish the consulates of both Fausti in 483 and 490. Clearly, the simplest way to cope with this would have been to assign ‘iunior’ to 483 and ‘iunior alius’ (or similar marker) to 490. But while we have abundant iunior documents, not only none of them can be dated conclusively to the cos. 483, but the only one dated iunior inscription gives ‘Probus Faustus iun.’ (with no alius), which doubtless is the cos. 490.¹³¹⁷ To overcome this, we might surmise that exceptionally favourable circumstances in west-east relations in 437/438 (as they were indeed in place) caused an (exceptional) joint proclamation of the coss. 438 on 1 January.¹³¹⁸ Unfortunately, there is no unequivocal explanation that can untangle this, but some observations can be put forward.

First, that alius is not epigraphically attested for Faustus cos. 490 does not prove that his homonymous in 483 was not styled iunior, since there is no evidence that the addition of either iunior or alius was an established practice at this point in time (in fact, there is nowhere evidence that alius ever was).¹³¹⁹ The lack of an established way to differentiate between multiple homonymous consulates in the 480s and 490s may have led contemporaries to employ various methods to distinguish them. One of these could be the use of a polyonymous nomenclature, as suggested by an epitaph from Rome that gives ‘Aginantius Faustus v.c.’ (the cos. 483), and another from Aeclanum (Italy) that gives ‘p.c. Probi Fausti’ for the cos. 490.¹³²⁰ Furthermore, one more option would have been using iunior, which could be why the stonecutter of ICUR n.s. VII 17598 gives the combination ‘Probo Fausto iun.’ (unnecessary if Faustus cos. 490 was the only iunior consul, but not if both 483 and 490 were known as

Theodosio a. XVI. cons. et qui fuerit nuntiatius (*NovTheod.* 1, 3; dated 15 Feb and 31 Jan). Doubtless, a unilateral proclamation was performed in the following year (439), which saw the proclamation of the westerner ‘Festus e.q.f.n.’ until at least 28 February (CIL V 6268, from Milan), before the year became to be known as ‘Theodosius XV et Festus’ (e.g. ICUR n.s. II 4905).

¹³¹⁷ For the iunior material we have six inscriptions: ICUR n.s. VIII 20832; VIII 20833; ICI XVI (Vercelli); ICI IX 25 (Genoa); CIL V 1858 (Zuglio, Reg. X); X 1345 (Nola, Reg. I), and one Ravenna papyrus: P.Ital. 12 ii.5 (Ravenna; 2.i) For the iunior dated inscription: ICUR n.s. VII 17598.

¹³¹⁸ Valentinian III was in Constantinople for his wedding in October 437 (Marcellinus Comes; Evagrius). In that occasion the three-time PVR Acilius Glabius Faustus was likely to be appointed PPO Ital. and to receive in this capacity a copy of the Theodosian Code (cf. *PLRE* II 452-54), which was officially received at Rome by Christmas Day, 438, according to the *Gesta Urbis Romae*. Unity in the empire was widely advertised, as shown by Theodosius II’s series with FELICITER NUBTIIS issued in 437 to commemorate the marriage of Valentinian with Eudoxia; cf. Grierson & Mays 1992: n. 395 (Theodosius II).

¹³¹⁹ See the discussion in ‘Venantii’, p. 458-60 below.

¹³²⁰ By the end of the fourth century, polyonymous nomenclatures are rarely found outside Rome, so one cannot be certain that ‘Aginantius Faustus’ and ‘Probus Faustus’ were how the consulates in 483 and 490 were announced and disseminated. Cf. above for the use of polyonymous nomenclatures in this period.

such).¹³²¹ As with the three Venantii, someone might have chosen to give no epithet at all, and in fact we have six inscriptions that just give ‘Faustus v.c.’, one of which attributable to either 483 or 490.¹³²² It is interesting to note that one of the oldest consular lists (*Fasti Vindobonenses priores*) differentiate the two consulates as ‘Faustone v.c. cons.’ (483) and ‘Fausto v.c. cons.’ (490), that is, by using no *iunior* suffix.¹³²³ Unquestionably, the danger of homonymy between 483 and 490 was very well perceived by contemporary and near-contemporary writers, who added several suffixes to differentiate the two.¹³²⁴

Additionally, though it is true that both *Fasti Veronenses* and *Fasti Augustani* sometimes contain inaccuracies and hence that their indication of the cos. 483 might be dismissed as an error, the exclusion of *iunior* for the same consul by other western *fasti* is hardly more reliable.¹³²⁵ Regardless of whether Faustus cos. 438 was announced alone on 1 January 438, by the end of the year the formula was undoubtedly ‘Theodosius XVI et Faustus’; accordingly, Faustus’ homonym in 483 could be simply styled ‘Faustus’ (and Faustus cos. 490 as *iunior*) by any consular list covering at least 438-490; and indeed, Cassiodorus’ *chronica* does so style them.¹³²⁶ If a consular list set out after 438 (that is, cutting out the first 5th-century Faustus), then the cos. 438 could still appear as ‘Faustus’ and cos. 490 as ‘Faustus iun.’. Again, this no doubt happens in *Paschale Campanum*, AqS and Marius’ chronicle.¹³²⁷ Possible though this was in chronicles, a rigid division such as this was not necessarily to mirror contemporary dissemination. I therefore proceeded to assign *iunior* to cos. 490 because the only dated *iunior*

¹³²¹ For opposite conclusions, see *CLRE* 43.

¹³²² ICUR n.s. IV 11166; I 1105; RICG XV 75 (Vienne, Gaul); CIL X 1344 (Nola, Reg. I); ICI XIV 11a (Milan). There is a possible *terminum post quem* for ICI XVI 14b (Milan) as the preceding epitaph is dated by consular date to 467.

¹³²³ *Chron. Min. I* 1892: 312 and 316. For *Fasti Vindobonenses priores*, see Cessi 1916 and *CLRE* 48.

¹³²⁴ Ennodius, *ep.* 6.34 calls the cos. 483 ‘Faustus albus’ while Anonymous Valesianus, 12.57 has ‘Faustus niger’ for his homonym in 490. The reference to the ‘white- and black-haired men’ is an allusion to the seniority of the former and the younger age of the latter. Cf. *CLRE* 43. The chosen epithets distinguish them as individuals—and not as consuls—so the omission of *iunior* is of no significance here.

¹³²⁵ For *Fasti Veronenses*, a fifth-century list that the authors of *CLRE* describe as ‘weak on eastern consuls and inconsistent in its use of *iunior*’, cf p. 52; for a similar judgment on the *Fasti Augustani*, see p. 42.

¹³²⁶ Cassiodorus, *chron* s.a. 438 (*Chron. Min. II*: 1894: 156); Cassiodorus’ *chronicon* covers the years 284-519. *Continuatio Hauniensis* and *Fasti Vindobonenses priores* had to cover at least 388-523 and 44 BC - AD 493, respectively. But unfortunately, we do not know how the coss. 438 were to appear, as the surviving MSS (Haun. 454 and Vindobonensis 3416) preserve only fragments of the original lists; cf. *Chron. Min. I*: 263 f.; 266 f.

¹³²⁷ The *Paschale Campanum* covers the years 464-543; AqS’s consular list is from 458 to 541 and Marius covers 455-481; cf. *CLRE* 50-51.

inscription refers to him. But it must be always taken into account that some iunior document might well date to 483.

- *'Faustus (v.c.)'* (438/483) is used by literary sources to refer to all four Fausti.¹³²⁸ Yet circumstances of proclamation exclude 298; moreover, it must be noted that in datable contexts, 'Faustus' only appears in 483, whereas in 490 both 'Probus Faustus' and 'Probus Faustus iun.' occur. Accordingly, we cannot exclude conclusively that just 'Faustus' was circulating simultaneously with 'Acilius Glabrio Faustus' in 438 before the full pair was announced. Both 438 and 483 must therefore be regarded as m.l.d.

m.l.d.(e.app.):

- *'Faustus (v.c.)'*: in 483 Faustus was sole consul and a full pair was never announced. In 438, the full formula is attested by 30 August. The m.l.d.(e.app) is therefore 483 (after 30 August) and 438/483 (before 30 August).

- *'p.c. Fausti'* (484): in 484 the new consul is attested first on 25.v or 24.vi whereas in 439 on 28.ii; yet in the latter the p.c. must have been a full formula.¹³²⁹ Hence, 484 is m.l.d.

¹³²⁸ Contemporary or quasi-contemporary sources such as Popes Gelasius' and Felix' epistles, as well as VindPr., do not attest the use of the epithet for the cos. 490. If they were able to do so, then a stonecutter could do so, too, which means some inscriptions dated by 'Faustus' alone are possibly to be assigned to 490.

¹³²⁹ The evidence in 491 shows some p.c. where one consul's name is dropped. This has to be seen as an exception, and possibly as a result of disruptions due to the ongoing war.

Felices

428: Fl. Felix (west) with Fl. Taurus (east).

- Western and eastern fasti and laws and Socrates have **Felix**;
- Only the western fasti in Cycl. and Caelestinus' epistles have **Fl. Felix v.c.**;
- 4 Roman, Italian and Dalmatian inscriptions have **(Fl.) Felix (v.c.)** (full pair);

511: Fl. Felix (west) with Fl. Secundinus (east).

• Western and eastern fasti have **Felix** or **Felix v.c.** (with councillor documents and *Variae*);

- 4 eastern papyri have **(Fl.) Felix (v.c.)** or **(v.magnif.)** or **(v.glor.)** (full pair);
- 1 Italian inscription has **Felix**;

Undated material:

- 18 inscriptions from Rome, Italy and Burgundy have **(Fl.) Felix (v.c.) (consul)**;

Conclusions:

m.l.d. (428/511): A formula dated by 'Felix' alone may refer to either consul. These instances are thus to be listed under 428/511.

m.l.d.(e.app.): a possible choice between 428 or 511 can be made on the basis of the dating. In 428, the full pair was known in Sicily by 5th February; consequently, it is more likely than not that the rest of the peninsula had also received it by then (if we infer people stuck to the newest version of the formula). Under these circumstances, any possible dates by 'Felix' after 5th February would belong to 511, that is, when no eastern consul was announced in the West. This means the most likely date is 511 (after 5th February); 428/511 (before 5th February).

We are well informed by the extant evidence that in 512 in Italy people were dating by *p.c. Felicis*, cos. in 511, throughout the year (the eastern consuls, Paulus and Moschianus, are not as yet attested). Accordingly, any date bearing *p.c. Felicis* alone is assigned to 512.

Festi

439: Theodosius XVII et **Fl. Festus** (west).

- Western and eastern fasti have **Festus** (full pair);
- Western and eastern laws have **Festus (v.c.)** (full pair);
- Conciliar documents have **Festus v.c.** (full pair);
- 2 inscriptions from Rome have **Festus (v.c.)** (full pair) and 1 from Milan has **Festus v.c.**

cons. e.q.f.n. (archo.context; solus);

472: Rufius Postumius Festus et Fl. Marcianus (east).

- Western and eastern fasti have **Festus** (solus or pair);
- 1 eastern law has **Festus** (pair);
- 4 inscriptions from Rome and Gauls have p.c./c. **Festus**;
- 2 inscriptions from Rome have p.c./c. **Rufius Postumius Festus (v.c.)**(solus);
- 3 inscriptions from Rome have **Festus (v.c. cons.)**(solus; archaeol.context);

Undated material:

- 1 inscription from Italy has **Festus** (solus);

Conclusions:

M.l.d.: ‘Festus’ is attested in inscriptions from both 439 and 472, so both years are perfectly possible.

M.l.d.(e.app.): whereas there are no extant datable inscriptions referring to ‘Festus and Marcianus’, the full pair is attested in 439 by 11 October. The m.l.d.(e.app.) is thus 472 (after 11 October) and 439/472 before it.

Florentii

361: Fl. Florentius with Fl. Taurus.

- Western and eastern fasti and laws, as well as miscellaneous material have Florentius;
- 1 eastern papyrus has (Fl.?) Florentius v.c.;
- Roman inscriptions have Florentius;

429: Fl. Florentius with Fl. Dionysius (E-E).

- Western and eastern fasti, eastern fasti, Caelestinus' letter and other misc. material have Florentius;
- No papyri or inscriptions for this formula.

515: Fl. Florentius (west) with Procopius Anthemius (east).

- Western and eastern fasti, and other miscellaneous material have Florentius;
- Burgundian inscriptions have Florentius v.c. (full pair);

Undated material:

- Italian inscriptions have Florentius v.c.;

Conclusions:

m.l.d. (515): given the circumstances of proclamation, the m.l.d. is 515 (in 429 the pair is fully eastern and in 361 both consuls were announced together).

Iohannes

425: Iohannes solus;

456: Varanes et Iohannes (east);

467: Puseus (east) et Iohannes (east);

498: Iohannes Scythia (east) et Fl. Paulinus (west).

- Eastern and western fasti have **Iohannes** (Cass. with Theophanes that adds v.c.) and **Iohannes Scythia** (Victor.; Marcell.; Pasch.);

- Eastern laws have **Iohannes**;
- 3 eastern papyri have p.c./c. **Fl. Iohannes (v.c.)** (indiction and or full pair);

499: Iohannes qui et Gibbus solus (east).

- Western fasti have **Iohannes v.c.** [AqS (L); Cass.];
- Eastern fasti have **Iohannes Gibbus solus** (Marcell. Pasch.) and **Iohannes alius solus Gibbus** (Heracl.) and **Gibbus** (Victor);
- Eastern laws have **Iohannes**;
- 6 eastern papyri have p.c./c. **Fl. Iohannes v. (c.)** or (**glor. excell. Mag.**) or (**magnif. glor. mag. et cos.**) (indiction);

538: Fl. Iohannes solus.

- Western and eastern fasti have **Iohannes** [AqS (SQ); Camp; AqS (GNX); Marius; VindPost.] or **Iohannes solus** (MarcellS.; Pasch) or **Iohannes solus et praef. praet.** (Heracl.) or **Iohannes v.c.** (Victor);

- Eastern laws have **Iohannes v.c.**;
- 10 eastern papyri have p.c./c. **Fl. Iohannes v.glor. (excell.)(praef. sacr. praet.)** (indiction);

- Inscriptions from Bulgaria and Asia have **Fl. Iohannes v.c.** or **Fl. Iohannes v.c. praef. sacr. praet. II et patricius**;

- 1 inscription from Rome has (**Fl.?**) **Iohannes v.c. cons.** (indiction);
- 1 inscription from Gaul (Narbonensis) has **Iohannes v.c.** (indiction);

Undated material:

- 1 inscription from Rome that has **Fl. Iohannes orientalis v.cl. cons.**;
- 2 inscriptions from Rome that have **Ioh[annes---**] or **[--- Ioha]nnes v.c. c[---**];
- 2 inscriptions from Italy that have **Fl. Iohannes (v.c.) cons.**;
- 2 inscriptions from Vienne that have **[p.c./c.?] Iohann[is---**];

Conclusions:

The inscriptions referring to the western usurper can be distinguished by the elements of the imperial titulature. But all dates bearing ‘Iohannes’ or the latter and a reference to his eastern origin (e.g. ‘Orientalis v.c.’) might in principle refer to any of the five eastern consuls attested by this name, unless an indiction and or some other elements of the titulature favours a specific date. All that said, circumstances of proclamation, as well as the lack of dated material, make a dating to either 456 or 467 unlikely. Likewise, there is no evidence, either dated or not, that in the West the eastern consuls were ever disseminated in 498 and 499.¹³³⁰ Thus, the most-likely date for inscriptions is 538.

Magni

460: Fl. Magnus (west) et Fl. Apollonius.

518: Fl. Anastasius Paulus Probus Moschianus Probus Magnus (east).

Conclusions:

It appears the eastern consul Magnus (518) was not disseminated in Italy, though evidence of his post-consular date might be covered by the very early dissemination of the new consul Eutharicus, who enjoyed widespread celebrations in 519. Even so, 460 remains the m.l.d.

¹³³⁰ In 498 and 499, of all the chronicles and the other literary sources which record a date, Cassiodorus alone has Iohannes. This picture is rather confirmed by the inscriptions, which record only the name of Paulinus (or his post-consulate) in 498 and the following year. As to eastern evidence, after the publication of *NovIust.* 47 by Justinian on 31st August 537, any document had to be properly dated by the regnal year, the indiction and the consular date; consequently, in 538 any dates by Iohannes is most likely to be found with an indiction and or the regnal year, which makes dating easy.

Maximi

286: Iunius Maximus II et Vettio Aquilinus

433: Petronius Maximus with Theodosius XIV.

- Western and eastern fasti and laws, and Socrates and Xystus' epistles have **Maximus** – with the exception of Cycl (west. chron.) that has **Maximus II**;
- 6 Inscriptions from Rome have **Petronius Maximus v.c.** (3 full pair);
- 1 inscription from Italy has **p.c. Petroni Maximi v.c.** (nomencl.; solus);
- 1 inscription from Italy has **Maximus v.c.** (full pair);

443: Petronius Maximus II with Fl. Paterius (west).

- Western fasti, and western and eastern laws, and Leo's epistles have **Maximus II**;
- Eastern fasti have **Maximus II** (Pasch.) or **Maximus** (Marcell.; Heracl.);
- Eastern and western papyri have **Maximus II**;
- 13 inscriptions from Rome and Dalmatia have **Maximus (II) (v.c.) (cons.)** (full pair);

523: Fl. Maximus solus.

Name: his seat cannot be recognised among the fragments of the Colosseum. The use of the epithet in *Liber pontificalis* seems to be an anomaly rather than an alternative. The chronicles are surprisingly consistent in avoiding the use of iunior. This seems also to be true for the inscriptions, with four securely dated by the indiction, and other two by other dating elements, showing only 'Maximus'. He was a descendent of Petronius Maximus, the cos. in 433 and 443 and western emperor in 455.

- Western and eastern fasti and Cassiodorus have **Maximus v.c.** or **Maximus (v.c.) solus**;
- Eastern papyri have **(Fl.) Maximus v.c.**;
- Liber pontificalis has **Maximus iun.** or **Maximus**;
- 6 Inscriptions from Rome and Italy have **Maximus v.c.** (indiction, archeo. context and textual evidence);

Undated material:

- 8 Inscriptions from Rome, Italy and Gaul (Burgundy) have **Maximus v.c.** or **(Fl.) Maximus v.c.**;
- Papyrus from Ravenna has **Maximus v.c.**;

Conclusions:

Perfect: a) *Petronius Maximus v.c.* (433); b) *Maximus II* (443). A date in 433 and 443 can be established safely on the basis of 'Petronius' and of the iteration numeral, respectively.

m.l.d. (433/523), *Maximus v.c.*: there is uncertainty as to when assigning some material dated by 'Maximus v.c.' Both 433 and 523 are the m.l.d. for this, and evidence should thus be listed under both years. It is unlikely that the Roman inscriptions causing overlap in 433 are to be assigned to 523, as these are dated by 'Petronius Maximus'. If a shift of dating is to be made, this should be from 523 to 433, limited to the evidence bearing 'Maximus v.c.'. Since we have as many as six inscriptions bearing 'Maximus v.c.' whose dating context clearly points to 523, it is perhaps more likely that any similar formula is to be attributed to 523 than 433. The evidence, however, is not conclusive and the m.l.d. remains 433/523.

m.l.d.(e.app.): in 523, Maximus was sole consul and hence a full pair was never proclaimed; in 433 the full pair is attested by 9 May. The m.l.d.(e.app) is therefore 523 (after 9 May) and 433/523 (before 9 May).

Olybrii

379: Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius with D. Magnus Ausonius (W-W).

- Western and eastern fasti; Socrates and Ausonius have **Olybrius**;
- Western and eastern laws have **Olybrius (v.c.)**;
- Eastern papyri have **Olybrius v.c. praef.** (full pair) and **p.c. Hermogeniani (Olybri) (praef.) (sacr.)(praet.)** (full pair);
- 9 Inscriptions in Rome, Italy and Dalmatia have **(Clodius) Olybrius** (full pair);

395: Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius with Anicius Probinus.

- Western and eastern fasti and laws, Claudianus, Socrates, Sozomenos and other misc. material have all **Olybrius (v.c.)**;
- 35 inscriptions from Rome, Italy and Dalmatia have **(Fl.) (Anicius) (Hermogenianus) Olybrius (v.)(c.)(cons.)** (full pair); of these, 1 Inscription from Rome dated also by archeo. context;

464: Fl. Anicius Olybrius (east) with Fl. Rusticius (Nestorius) (east);

- Add. ad Prosp. (1,493) Camp. Aq. (GLS) Marius HydAq.(Q) VindPr. Cass. Veron. Aug. and eastern fasti have **Olybrius**;
- 5 Italian and Roman inscriptions have **Olybrius** (full pair);
- 1 formula from Italy has **p.c. Anici Olybri** (indiction);

491: Fl. Olybrius solus (east);

Name: his name is not attested among the inscriptions of the Colosseum.

- Western fasti have either **Olybrius iun. v.c.** (Haun; AqS.; Camp.; Cass.; Aug) or **Olybrius** (Marius Veron.; Anon. Val.);
- Eastern fasti have either **Olybrius solus** (Marcell. Pasch.), **Olybrius iunior solus** (Heracl.) or **Olybrius v.c.**;
- Eastern laws have **Olybrius v.c.**;
- 1 inscription from Burgundy has **Olybrius iun.** (indiction);

526: Fl Olybrius solus (west)

Name: see conclusions below.

- Western fasti have **Olybrius iun.** (AqS. (G); Camp.; Liber Pont. I 104-105 have) or **Olybrius** (VindPost; Dionys. 1, 752; Marius; Anon. Val. 94; Liber Pont. I 276 with Malalas);
- Eastern fasti have **Olybrius solus**;
- Eastern laws and Priscian have **Olybrius v.c.**;
- 2 inscriptions (indiction) and 1 (arch. context and indiction) from Italy have **Olybrius v.c.**;

Undated material:

- 1 Italian inscription has **p.c. Olybri iun.**;
- 6 inscriptions from Rome, Italy and Burgundy have **Olybrius v.c.**;

Conclusions:

m.l.d.:

Olybrius iun. (491): the consulates of 491 and 526 are both rendered, albeit inconsistently, with iunior by western and eastern literary sources. An explanation for the duplication of this iunior consulate might be that, as the year in 464 was known as ‘Rusticio et Olybrio’, some later authors (or copyists) thought the correct iunior was the cos. in 526 and not the one in 491.¹³³¹ Doubtless, this would have been the correct one according to the standard practice of styling iunior the second homonymous sole consul.¹³³² This would have been evident to anyone dealing with the time span covered by the MS of Victor of Aquitaine (458-541) and the list of Paschale Campanum (464-543)—both embracing the three consulates of the Olybrii, and both styling the cos. 526 iunior. The oddity of Liber Pontificalis, which gives ‘Olybrio v.c.’ in one passage and adds iunior in another, can perhaps be explained away in the same way or with some interpolation. As opposed to the inconsistency of the literary sources, the epigraphic evidence throws better light onto the matter. While no dated inscriptions exist for 526, and rather all the surviving dated material gives just ‘Olybrius’, a Burgundian epitaph dated by indiction to 491 has ‘Olibrio iuniore cons.’¹³³³ Accordingly, one must favour a date in 492 (p.c. 491) for the Italian epitaph dated by a post-consulate of Olybrius iunior.¹³³⁴

¹³³¹ AE 2008, 338 has p.c. Anici Olybri and a 3rd ind. but the name of Rusticius was surely dropped as most of the western evidence dated 464 has ‘Rusticius et Olybrius’ (or vice versa).

¹³³² See the full treatment at p. 383 f. above.

¹³³³ For the dated non-iunior inscriptions dated 526, see n. 1334 below. Iunior inscription: RICG XV 257 (Vézérone, Viennen.; 28?.xi).

¹³³⁴ Civiltà Cattolica 1953, III, p.392 (Cales, Reg. I).

'*Olybrius (v.c.)*' (491/526) is attested for all four Olybrii in consular lists and other literary sources. In some inscriptions, the presence of additional elements of the nomenclature (Anicius; Cl.), as well as circumstances of proclamation (chronology and full western or eastern pairs) allow ruling out 379, 395 and 464.¹³³⁵ As noted above, moreover, three inscriptions from Como and Reggio Emilia dated in 526 by the indiction and the archaeological context give only '*Olybrio v.c.*'.¹³³⁶ That being said, as with the case of the Venantii and other consuls, a twofold division of the extant Olybrius formulas on the line of '*Olybrius iun.*' (491) and '*Olybrius v.c.*' (526) is uncertain and hence it must be avoided.¹³³⁷

m.l.d.(e.app.): it cannot be provided (the two Olybrii in 491 and 526 have no colleagues.)

¹³³⁵ The consul and future western emperor, Anicius Olybrius, was most probably an eastern appointee at the time of his consulship with Rusticius (see *CLRE* 463 and *PLRE* II 796-99), thereby making the one in 464 a full eastern pair. Yet the name of Rusticius is dropped in one post-consular formula from Atripalda (the attribution to the cos. in 464 is confirmed by the indiction); this is likely to be a random error, as shown by the relatively abundant attestation of the full pair in Italy during the consular year. Consequently, I preferred considering the circulation of inscriptions bearing '*Olybrius*' alone in 464 as a less likely possibility, and hence exclude this year from among the m.l.d.

¹³³⁶ *CIL* V 5405 add. extr. (p.1095) (Como); 5428 (Como); *AE* 1996, 670 (Reggio Emilia). A fourth Roman inscription (*ICUR* n.s. II 5044) shows a date in January. Dissemination of an eastern consul could very unlikely occur in Italy by January unless the consul was a westerner proclaimed locally—as indeed Olybrius cos. 526 was. But in 491 the Ostrogoths were in Italy (fighting nominally for the eastern emperor since late 489, when they attacked Odoacer) with possible knowledge of the eastern consul, thence the evidence cannot be dated conclusively to 526.

¹³³⁷ See p. 458-60 below.

Opiliones

453 Fl. Opilio with Ioannes Vincomalus (east).

- Western fasti have **Opilio** [Hyd.; Prosp II cum Add (1, 490, 492), Aq. (L) Victor Veron. Aug.; VindPost. Rav. Cass. Aug. with eastern fasti] or **Fl. Opilio v.c.** [Add. Ad Prosp; Aq (Q) with Leo's epistles and conciliar doc.] or **Opilio v.c. cos** (Prosp I; Haun);
- 1 Eastern papyrus has **Opilio v.c.** (full pair);

524: Venantius Opilio with Iustinus II.

- Western fasti have **Opilio (v.c.)** [Camp.; AqS. (GQN) and conciliar doc. from Arles] or **Opilio** [VindPost.; AqS (X) with the eastern fasti and laws];
- 4 Eastern papyri have **Fl. Opilio (v.c.)** or **(v.glor.)** (indiction and or full pair);
- 1 Roman inscription has **Venantius Opilio**;
- 3 Inscriptions from Italy have **Opilio v.c. (cons.)** (indiction);
- 1 inscription from Greece has **Opilio** (full pair and indiction);

Undated material:

- 1 inscription from Rome that has **Rufius Opilio**;
- 26 Roman, Italian and Gaulish inscriptions have **Opilio (v.c.) (con.)**;

Conclusions:

m.l.d.: there are several sets of conclusions:

- *Opilio v.c. con.* (453/524): Besides the inscriptions bearing elements of the fullest nomenclature (e.g. Venantius Opilio; but Rufius Opilio is less certain), there is no way to distinguish those which are dated in 453 from 524 by simply 'Opilio (v.c.)(con.)'. In all these cases, 453 and 524 are the m.l.d. and evidence is to be listed under both years.

- '*Rufius Opilio*' (453): 'Rufius' could have been a standing element of the name of both Opiliones (see PLRE II: 807-808, 'Opilio 1' and 'Opilio 5'); thus, it does not allow for absolute certainty in dating. It is true that in differentiating the coss. 453 and 524—no marker was needed to differentiate the cos. 453 from a preceding homonym, as no Opilio is known prior to the cos. 453—some people might have decided to add a different element of the consul's nomenclature, and that this would have inevitably produced a deviation ('Rufius Opilio') from the formula officially announced ('Venantius Opilio'). Ultimately, however, this explanation does not fully convince, and it is equally likely (to say the least) that 'Venantius Opilio' and

‘Rufius Opilio’ simply refer to the coss. in 524 and 453, respectively. Occasionally, adding or omitting an element of the consular nomenclature (e.g. Rufius within ‘Rufius Venantius’) could depend on reasons other than comprehensibility, as shown by the date ‘Theodosio XVI et Anicio Acilio Glabrione Fausto’ in ICUR n.s. I 734, where Faustus’ full nomenclature did not serve any useful purpose (Theodosius’ name sufficed to this end). Thus, 453 is m.l.d.

- *P.c. Opilionis* (454): in 454, the formula was a full eastern one, and the evidence suggests that it was disseminated from Constantinople (it is attested first at Rome no earlier than mid-July). In 525, the western consul is attested at Salerno by late January. Thus, the m.l.d. is 454 for any p.c. date.

m.l.d.(e.app.): both in 453 and 524 a full pair was never announced in the west (Opiliones’ colleagues are never attested in consular or post-consular dates). Thus, the m.l.d.(e.app) cannot be determined.

Paulini

325: Paulinus with Iulianus;

334: Optatus with **Paulinus**;

498: Fl. Paulinus with Iohannes Scytha.

- Western and eastern fasti have **Paulinus (v.c.)** (Haun.; VindPost.; AqS.; Aug.; Camp.; Marius; Cass.; Victor; Marcell.; Pasch.; Heracl. With Pope Anastasius' letter, Liber pontificalis, Theophanes and other miscellaneous mat.);

- Eastern laws have **Paulinus**;
- 3 eastern papyri have p.c. or c. **Fl. Paulinus (v.c.)(v.glor.)** (full pair);
- 1 western papyrus has **p.c. Paulini (v.c.)** (textual evidence);

534: Fl. Paulinus with Iustinianus Aug. IV

Name: He does not seem to have been a relation to the cos. of 498 (cf. CLRE, 602-3 but Cameron – Schauer, 128 TBC.) There is no seat at the Colosseum that is identified with him (but it seems not be operating after the early 520s, see Orlandi).

- Western fasti have **Paulinus (v.c.)** [VindPost.; AqS (GSX)] or **Paulinus iun. (v.c.)** [Camp.; AqS (QN), Marius with Pope John's letters];

- Eastern fasti have **Paulinus** [Marcell.; Pasch. (V); Heracl.];
- Eastern laws have **Paulinus v.c.**;
- 3 **Paulinus iun.** (Italy, indiction)
- 2 [**p.c./c.?**] **Paulinus iun.** (Italy, indiction)
- 2 **p.c. Paulini iun.** (Italy, indiction; Dalmatia, wrong ind.)
- 4 **iterum p.c. Paulini iun.** (Italy, Burg. and Narb., indiction)
- 2 **et iterum p.c. Paulini iun.** (Italy, indiction)
- 1 **p.c. III Paulini iun.** (Burg., indiction)
- 1 **p.c. V Paulini iun.** (Italy, indiction)
- 1 **p.c. VI Paulini iun.** (Italy, indiction)
- 1 **p.c. (X) Paulini iun.** (Italy, indiction)
- 1 **p.c. XII Paulini iun.** (Italy, indiction)
- 1 **p.c. Paulini** (Italy, indiction)
- 1 **p.c. XI Paulini** (Italy, indiction)

Undated material:

- 2 **Paulinus** (Italy, Burg.)
- 1 [p.c./c.?] **Paulini** (Italy)
- 3 [p.c. or p.c. II, III etc./c.?] **Paulinus** (Italy)
- 4 p.c. **Paulini** (Italy)
- 1 **iterum p.c. Paulini** (Italy)
- 1 **Paulinus [iun.?)** (Italy)
- 2 **iterum p.c. Paulini [iun.?)** (Italy and Burg.)
- 2 [p.c. or p.c. II, III etc./c.?] **Paulinus [iun.?)** (Italy and Burg.)
- 2 [p.c. or p.c. II, III etc./c.?] **Paulinus iun.** (Burg., Italy)
- 1 [p.c. or p.c. II, III etc./c.?] **Paulinus iun. [et.. ?** (Italy)
- 3 **Paulinus iun.** (Italy)
- 5 p.c. **Paulini iun.** (Italy)
- 1 **iterum p.c. Paulini iun** (Burg.; Italy)
- 1 p.c. **III Paulini iun.** (Burg.)

Conclusions:

There is no doubt that in the east both consuls were known as simply ‘Paulinus’ with no reference to *iunior*. In the West, however, the suffix was added to consular, iterum post-consular or era dates, as shown by inscriptions and other literary sources. The consulate in 534 is the only attested iunior year within chronicles and other literary sources. It is quite telling that the only surviving contemporary literary documents (Pope John’s letters) always refer to the consul in 534 as Paulinus *iunior*. It can therefore be concluded with some degree of confidence that the m.l.d. for an inscription bearing only Paulinus is 498, though sporadically an inscription dated in 534 or later could drop ‘iunior’ (see, for instance, CIL V 5214 from Lecco).

m.l.d.: *Paulinus v.c.* (498)

Placidi

343: M. Maecius Memmius Furius Baburius Caecilianus Placidus PPO Ital. with Fl. Romulus.

- Western and eastern fasti, western and eastern laws and Athanasius have all **Placidus** (full pair);
- Eastern papyri have all **Placidus (v.c. praef. sacr. praet.)** (full pair);
- Roman and Italian inscriptions have **Placidus** (full pair);

481: Rufius Achilius Maecius Placidus solus.

- Western and eastern fasti have **Placidus**;
- 2 Roman inscriptions have **Rufius Placidus** and **p.c. Rufi Placidi** (solus);

Undated material:

- 8 inscriptions from Rome (3), Italy (4) and Gaul (1) have **Placidus** solus.

Conclusions:

Perfect (481), '*Rufius Placidus v.c.*': a date to 481 is confirmed by 'Rufius' (part of the full nomenclature of the consul), which is attested on two Roman inscriptions.

m.l.d. (481): The two Placidii are both named 'Placidus' in the body of literary evidence but the circumstances of proclamation in 343 (the chronology) make 481 the m.l.d.

Probiani

322: Petronius Probianus et Anicius Iulianus;

471: Leo Aug. IV et Probianus;

Probi

310: Pompeius Probus et Tadius Andronicus

- Eastern fasti (Theo Heracl.) have **Probus**;
- Eastern papyri have **(Pompeius) Probus (v.c. praeff.)**;
- 2 Inscriptions from Noricum and Retia have **Probus** (full pair);

371: Sex. Cl. Petronius Probus with Gratianus II.

- Western and eastern fasti; Athanasius and miscell. material have **Probus**;
- Western and eastern laws have **Probus (v.c.)**;
- Eastern papyri have **(Fl.) Probus v.c. praef. sacr. praet.**;
- 23 Inscriptions from Rome, Italy and Germania, Arabia and Pannonia have **(Petronius) Probus (v.c.)** (full pair);

406: Anicius Petronius Probus with Arcadius VI.

- Western and eastern fasti; Socrates and miscell. material have **Probus**;
- Western and eastern laws have **Probus (v.c.)**;
- 1 Eastern papyrus has **p.c. Probi** (full pair);
- 33 Roman and Italian inscriptions have **(Anicius) (Petronius) (Anicius) Probus** (full pair);

502: Fl. Probus (east) with Rufius Magnus Faustus Avienus (west).

- Marcell. Heracl. Pasch. (Av. H), and eastern laws have **Probus**;
- Eastern papyri have **Probus or p.c. Probi** (indiction and full pair);

513: Fl. Probus (west) with Fl. Taurus Clementinus Armonius Clementinus (east).

- (Haun. Camp. (om. v.c.) AqS. (LSQN) Victor VindPost (om. v.c.) AqS. (G) Cass. Marius and eastern fasti; eastern laws have **Probus v.c.**;
- Eastern papyri have **Probus v.c.** and **p.c. Probi v.c.** (indiction and full pair);

525: Fl. Probus (west) with Fl. Theodorus Philoxenus Soterichus Philoxenus.

Name: no data.

- Western [Dionys. (1, 756); Beda (3, 307 c. 512); VindPost; AqS (X); Dionys. (1, 752); Marius] and eastern (Marcell.; Victor; Heracl.; Pasch.) chronicles have **Probus**; but other western chronicles [Camp.; AqS (GSQN)] have **Probus iun. (v.c.)**;

- An eastern law and another date in Ps.-Dorotheos have **Probus**;
- 3 inscriptions from Rome, Italy (2) and Ostrogothic Gaul (Arles) have **Probus iun. v.c.** (indiction and archeo. context);

- 1 inscription from Thessaloniki has **Fl. Probus v.c.** (full pair);

Undated material:

- 8 Roman, Italian and Visigothic/Narbonne (p.c.-date) inscription have **Probus v.c.**;
- 6 from Rome and Italy having **Probus iun. v.c.**;

Conclusions:

Perfect (525), *Probus iun.*: Probus cos. 525 is the only consul to be named iunior within the sources and dating support for two inscriptions confirm a date to 525.

m.l.d. (513), *Probus v.c.*: In Italy, a formula dated by just *Probus* may refer to the coss. 371, 406, 513 and 526. Circumstances of proclamation, however, make a date in 371 less likely. The same is true for the cos. in 310, who is only attested within Noricum and other eastern sources. The name of the cos. in 502 (an easterner) is not yet attested in any datable inscriptions and it does not appear in any western literary source; thus, this, too, must be ruled out when dealing with evidence from at least Italy (where, in any case, it is unlikely that it was announced prior to the local nominee, Avienus iun.) From 396-408, Stilicho occasionally implemented a policy of non-dissemination of the eastern consul; but the consulate of 406 does not seem to be one of these cases, and in fact the evidence points to dissemination of the full formula since 1 January; so this, too, might be ruled out.¹³³⁸ A number of chronicles and other sources name the consul in 525 as just Probus. Even so, he was most likely to be known as Probus iun. in datable contexts, as shown by the literary and epigraphic evidence. Accordingly, we are left with 513.

¹³³⁸ See ICUR n.s. IV 11782 from Rome, which might be dated as early as February and, more importantly, the lack of p.c. dates of the previous consuls.

Proбини

341: Petronius Probinus PVR with Antonius Marcellinus PPO Ita.

Full name attested: cf. PLRE I: 735; CLRE 216-17.

- Chr. 354 (fast., pasch., praef.) VindPr. Prosp. Aq. Cass. VindPost. and eastern fasti; eastern and western laws; have all **Probinus**;
- Athanasius, Socrates and other misc. material have all **Probinus**;
- Inscriptions from Rome have **Probinus**;
- Inscriptions from Italy have **Probinus** (full pair) or **Petronius Probinus** (full pair);
- Eastern papyri have **Petronius Probinus** or **Probinus** (full pair);

395: Anicius Probinus with Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius (W-W).

Full name attested in CIL VI 1752 (Rome) and others, cf. PLRE I: 734-35; CLRE CLRE 324-25.

- Chr. 354 (pasch.) Hyd-VindPr. Prosp. CycL Aug. Aq. Cass. And eastern fasti; eastern and western laws; have all **Probinus**;
- Socrates, Claudian and other misc. material have all **Probinus**;
- Inscriptions from Rome have **Probinus**;
- Inscriptions from Italy and Dalmatia have **Probinus**;

489: (Petronius) Probinus (W) with Eusebius (E).

Name: cf. PLRE II: 909-10; CLRE 512-13.

- Camp. AqS. (GN [G om. v.CJ] Aug. VindPr. AqS. (LSQ) Cass. Haun. Marius Veron. and Marcel. And Pasch. have **Probinus**;
- 1 inscription from Gaul has **Probinus** (full pair);

Undated material:

- 12 inscriptions from Rome (7), Revello (1), Capua (1), Spoleto (1), Piacenza (1) and Ravenna (1) having **Probinus** (solus);
- 1 papyrus from Italy has **Probinus** (solus);

Conclusions:

m.l.d. (489): The nomenclature is the same in 341, 395 and 489, but the circumstances of proclamation in 341 and 395 (the chronology in 341 and two westerners for each year) makes 489 m.l.d

Proculi

325: **Valerius Proculus** et Anicius Paulinus (i-iv);

340: Septimius Acindynus et **L. Aradius Valerius Proculus signo Populonium;**

Rufini

316: Sabinus et **Rufinus;**

323: Acilius Severus et **Vettio Rufinus;**

347: **Vulcacius Rufinus** et Eusebius;

392: Arcadius Aug. II et **Rufinus;**

Rusticii

464: Fl. Rusticius Nestorius (east) and Fl. Olybrius (east).

- Western [Add. ad Prosp. (1, 493); Camp.; Aq. (GLS); Marius; VindPr.; Cass.; Veron.; Aug.] and eastern fasti (Marcell.; Heracl.; Pasch.; Victor) have **Rusticius**;

- Malalas has **Rusticius**;
- 5 inscriptions from Rome and Italy have **Rusticius (v.c.)** (full pair);

520: Fl. Rusticius et Fl. Vitalianus (east).

- Western [Haun (v.c.); Victor (v.c.); VindPost.; Camp.; AqS (QN); AqS. (GLX)] and eastern fasti (Marcell.; Heracl.; Pasch.) have **Rusticius (v.c.)**;

- Eastern laws (*CJ*) have **Rusticius**;
- Papal correspondence (Coll.Avell.) has **(Fl.) Rusticius v.c.** (the latter is also used in the correspondence of the bishops of Constantinople John and Epiphanius, of the emperor to the MVM Orientis, and finally Evagrius);

- 1 eastern papyrus has **Fl. Rusticius v.glor.** (indiction);
- 1 inscription from Italy has **Rusticius (v.c.) (cons.)** (indiction);
- 2 inscriptions from Burgundy have **Rustianus** or **p.c./c. Rusticianus (v.c.)** (full pair);

Undated material:

- 1 inscription from Asia (Aphrodisias) has **Rusticius**;
- 6 inscriptions from Rome and Italy have **Rusticius v.c. (cons.)**;

Conclusions:

m.l.d., *Rusticius (v.c.)* (520): The simplified form ‘Rusticius (v.c.)’ is attested for both the consuls in 464 and 520; however, the circumstances of proclamation (two easterners in 464), makes 520 the m.l.d.

Sallustii

344: Domitius Leontius et Fl. Sallustius;

363: Iulianus IV et Fl. Sallustius;

Senatores

436: Isidorus et Senator (EE);

- Western and eastern fasti have **Isidorus et Senator**;
- Eastern laws have **Isidorus et Senator**;
- Socrates and an imperial letter to the PPO and consul Isidorus have **Isidorus et Senator**;
- 3 eastern papyri have **p.c. Isidori et Senatoris** (tbc);
- 5 inscriptions from Rome and Italy have **(Fll.) Isidorus et Senator (vv.cc.)**;

514: Senator;

- Western fasti have **Senator (v.c.)**; eastern ones have **Senator solus**;
- Letter of Anastasius to Pope Hormisdas has **Senator v.c.**;
- Pope Symmachus to Caesarius of Arles and Liber Pontificalis I 269 have **(Fl.) Senator (v.c.)**;
- 1 inscription from Burgundy has **Senator [---]** (indiction);

Undated material:

- 9 inscriptions from Rome and Italy have p.c./c. **Senator (v.c.)(cons.)(solus)**;

Conclusions:

The cons. 436 were two easterners; circumstances of proclamation make **515** the m.l.d.

Severini

461: Fl. Severinus with Fl. Dagalaifus (east).

- Western and eastern fasti and Sidonius and conciliar doc. have **Severinus (v.c.)**;
- One inscription from Dalmatia (indiction) and one from Isauria (full pair) have **p.c. Severini (v.c.)**;

482: Severinus et Trocundes;

Name: the inclusion of *iunior* by some western sources is very likely to be an error. The suffix is not only omitted by all eastern sources, but also by many western fasti, the epistles of Simplicius and the fragmentary inscription from the Colosseum, which may refer to him (Orlandi 2004: 508 no. 153 admitting a possible date to 461). More broadly, it should be noted that, at present, no inscriptions dated by ‘Severinus *iunior*’ has survived. This does not exclude that one might be found in future; but the abundant attestation of just ‘Severinus’ makes it clear that his name was not normally flanked by *iunior* in social or other dating contexts. He was probably the son of cos. 461 Cf. CLRE 498-99 and PLRE II: 1001.

- Western fasti have **Severinus iunior (v.c.)** [Cass.; Marius; AqS (GSQN), Veron] or **Severinus (v.c.)** [AqS. (L); Aug.; Camp.; VindPr; with Simplicius’ epistles];
- Eastern fasti have **Severinus**;
- 1 inscription from Rome but Severinus’ name is lost (full pair);

Undated material:

- 12 inscriptions from Rome, Italy and Gauls have **(Fl.) Severinus (v.c.)(cons.)**;

Conclusions:

m.l.d. *Severinus v.c.* (461/482): given the unattested use of *iunior*, there is no way by which one can safely distinguish an inscription dating 461 from one naming the cos. in 482, without mentioning the indiction. 461 and 482 are thus the m.l.d.

m.l.d.(e.app.): we are in a situation where the epigraphic material for consular dates in 461 suggests that a full formula was never announced in the West, but post-consular evidence is not conclusive. On the other hand, in 482 the full pair is attested by 20 October, but it is unclear whether this is the result of unofficial dissemination; hence overlap is still possible. Normally, the m.l.d.(e.app.) would be 461/482 (before 20 October) and 461 (after 19 October), but considering the scanty nature of the evidence for these years, it is safer to stick to a m.l.d.

Syagrii

381: Fl. Syagrius with Fl. Eucherius

- Western and eastern fasti and laws and miscel. material have **Syagrius (v.c.)**;
- 6 eastern papyri have **Syagrius v.c.praef. (sacr.)(praet.)**(full pair);
- 15 Roman and Italian inscriptions have **(Fl.) Syagrius (v.c.)** (full pair);

382: Afranius Syagrius with Claudius Antonius.

- Western and eastern fasti have **Syagrius** (Chr. 345, VindPr., Aug., Prosp, Dion, Cycl, Ciz, Cas, Aq) or **Syagrius II** (VindPost and Heracl, Pasc);
- Western and eastern laws have **Syagrius (v.c.)**;
- 43 Roman, Italian and African inscriptions have **(Fl.) Syagrius (v.c.)** (full pair);

Undated material:

- At least 1 inscription from Rome has **Syagrius cons.**;

Conclusions:

m.l.d. (381/382): circumstances of proclamation would make both 381 and 382 the m.l.d.

m.l.d.(e.app.): the full pair in 381 is attested by 19 January, while some time later in 382 (13 April). Therefore, the m.l.d.(e.app) is 381 and 382 (before 19 January) or 382 (after 19 January).

Symmachi

330: Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus with Gallicanus (west? east?).

Name: cf. PLRE I: 871; CLRE 194-95.

• All fasti (Chr. 354; Vind.Pr.; Heracl.; Hyd.; Theo; Pasch.; Scal.; Prosp.; Aq.; Cass.), and western/eastern laws have **Symmachus**;

- Athanasius has **Valerius Symmachus**;
- Papyri have (Aurelius) **Valerius Tullianus Symmachus**;
- 2 Roman inscriptions have **Tullianus** or **Symmachus** (full pair);

391: Q. Aurelius Symmachus with Tatianus (east).

Full name attested in CIL VI 1699 = D 2946 = AE 2000, 136; cf. PLRE I: 865; CLRE 316-17.

• All fasti (Chr. 354 (pasch.); VindPr.; Hyd.; Prosp.; Cycl.; Aug.; Aq.; Cass.; Marcell.; Heracl.; Hyd.; Pasch.) and eastern/western laws have **Symmachus**;

- Symmachus and Libanius (epistles), and Socrates have **Symmachus**;
- Eastern papyri have: **Fl. Symmachus v.c. (ex-praef)**.
- 22 Roman and Italian inscriptions have **(Q.) (Aur.) Symmachus** (full pair to be checked throughout);

446: Q. Aurelius Symmachus with Aetius III.

Full name attested in CIL VI 1193, CIL VI 01719 and others; cf. PLRE II: 1042-43; CLRE 426-27.

• All fasti [VindPost.; Prosp. cum Add. (1,487,488); Victor; Veron.; Aug.; Aq.; Cass.; Heracl.; Pasch.] and eastern laws have **Symmachus**;

- Western laws and 1 papal letter have **Symmachus** or **(Q. Aurelius) Symmachus**;
- 10 Roman and Italian inscriptions have **Symmachus v.c.** (full pair).
- 1 eastern papyrus has **Fl. Symmachus v.c.** (full pair).

485: Q. Aurelius Memmius Symmachus solus.

Name: the cos. 485 had a seat in the Colosseum (CIL VI 32162) attesting Q(uinti) Aur(elii) Symmachi, v(iri) c(larissimi) [et inl(ustris)?, pr]aef(ecti) u[rb(i)] et con[s(ulis)] ord(inari); ‘Memmius’ is attested in similar honorary context, cf. PLRE II 1044-46; CLRE 504-5; but ‘junior’ is nowhere else besides limited dating contexts: in Gaulish funerary inscriptions dated

by his sixth and tenth post-consulate, a consular formula from Rome and other literary sources, but not in monumental context.

- Western and eastern fasti have **Symmachus** (Camp. AqS. Cass. Marius Aug.; Marcell. with western conciliar documents) and **Symmachus iun.** (Haun.; Veron.);
- 3 inscriptions (1 Italian, 1 Roman and 1 Gaulish) have **Symmachus v.c.** (indiction, arch. context and other internal evidence);
- 2 inscriptions from Gaul have **iterum p.c. Symmachi v.c.** (indiction);
- 1 from Arles (Arles) has **X p.c. Symmachi iun.** (indiction).
- 1 from Gaul (Valence) has **VI/VII p.c. Symmachi iun.**;

522: Fl. Symmachus with Boethius.

Name: cf. PLRE II: 1044; CLRE 578-79.

• all fasti (VindPost.; Camp.; AqS.; Marius; Haun.; Marcell.; Heracl.; Pasch.; Victor.) have **Symmachus**;

- Libera pontificalis has **Symmachus**;
- Eastern papyri have **Fl. Symmachus**;
- 16 Roman and Italian inscriptions have **Symmachus** or **Fl. Symmachus** (full pair).

Undated material:

- 11 inscriptions from Rome, Italy and Gaul (nr. Lyon,) that have either **Symmachus** or **p.c. Symmachi**;
- 1 inscription from Rome has **Symmachus iun.**;

Conclusions:

1. Perfect (485); *Symmachus iun.*: the majority of the western literary sources and a great number of inscriptions (some of which are dated by an indiction) give just ‘Symmachus v.c.’. But a fifth-century folio listing the consuls from 439-486 (Fasti Veronenses) and a later Italian chronicle handed down to us in three series of fragments (Prosperi Continuatio Hauniensis), style the cos. 485 as iunior. Likewise, an inscription from Rome and two epitaphs from Gaul are dated by a (post-)consulate of Symmachus iun. (the date of the two items from Gaul being an actual era). It is true, Fasti Veronenses also assign the suffix to inexistent iunior consuls, such as Decius cos. 486, and too little is known of what has been reworked and to what extent

this has been done in the consular list of *Continuatio Hauniensis* to accept it conclusively.¹³³⁹ Though their authority may be questioned, the cos. 485 is the only iunior consul being referred to as such among his homonyms, so the dates of the inscriptions must refer to him. Conversely, it is more difficult to explain why some users styled Symmachus cos. 485 iunior. For no significant dating need justified the inclusion of iunior in Symmachus' consular year (the consul did not have a previous homonym in office as sole consul), and indeed, five inscriptions (datable in some way or another) testify that people in Gaul and Italy understood the year as just 'Symmachus'.¹³⁴⁰ The use of iunior for cos. 485 can perhaps be explained away if we surmise that the name of Aetius (the colleague of the cos. 446) was dropped in Burgundy (where Burgundians had reasons to be resented by the patricius), hence locally the year was virtually known as just 'Symmachus'.¹³⁴¹ This, however, would not be suited the Italian evidence. Doubtless, Symmachus cos. 485 was neither a child nor the descendant of a homonymous emperor (as other iunior consuls like Valentinian II and Leo II had been previously).¹³⁴² Additionally, iunior was not part of his full nomenclature in social contexts and the existence of a living homonym—with whom he could be confused—remains to be proven.¹³⁴³ Nevertheless, other recent iunior consuls (including Leo II and perhaps Basilius cos. 480) had been *solii* like Symmachus.¹³⁴⁴ So arguably some people might have been tricked into using iunior as this simply seemed to them the correct way to be styling a consul that had no colleagues.¹³⁴⁵ If the addition in FV is due to the hand of the contemporary compiler, then he might have been under this impression.

2. m.l.d. (485): *Symmachus*: All five Symmachii are named as just 'Symmachus' by at least one literary source; thus, each of the eleven inscriptions dated by 'Symmachus' could at least

¹³³⁹ We lament the omission of the entry on Symmachus cos. 485 in the only extant pre-Gothic consular list that has been handed down to us, that incorporated by the *Fasti Vindobonenses priores* (completed in 493). *Continuatio Hauniensis* might have drawn from the same source used by FV for its consular list, though reworking it later on.

¹³⁴⁰ AE 2015 475 (Como, Reg. XI; 485; indiction)[184]; ICUR n.s. II 4964 (485; strong archeological context); CIL XII 2485 (Gresy-sur-Aix, nr. Vien.; 486; lacuna in the text not enough for second consul); CIL XII 2702 (St. Thomé, Narb.; 487; indiction); CIL XII 933 (Arles, Narb.; 487; indiction);

¹³⁴¹ Burgundians were soundly defeated by Aetius in the 430s. See Zecchini 1983: 215-18 and *PLRE* II 24.

¹³⁴² For a detailed discussion of Valentinianus II' and Olybrius cos. 491's iunior consulships, see p. 391-3.

¹³⁴³ *CLRE* 45.

¹³⁴⁴ For a more detailed discussion on Basilius cos. 480, see the conclusions in 'Basillii', 415-7.

¹³⁴⁵ Cf. *CLRE* 43 n. 36.

in theory be attributed to any one of the five consuls had some name been accidentally dropped. However, circumstances of proclamation make 485 the most-likely date.

Theodori

399 Fl. Mallius Theodorus (west) with Eutropius (till August, East).

- Western fasti have **Mallius Theodorus** (Prosp. CycL (om. v.c.) Dionys. (I, 755) (om. v.c.) Aug. Aq.) or **Theodorus** (Chr. 354 (pasch.) or **Theodorus v.c.** (Cass. Hyd.; with western and eastern laws);

- 12 Roman and Italian inscriptions have **(Fl.) (L.) Mallius Theodorus**;

505 Fl. Theodorus (west) with Fl. Sabinianus (east).

- Western fasti have **Theodorus v.c.** (Haun. Camp. AqS. Victor VindPost.) or **Theodorus** (Cass. Marius; with eastern fasti and laws);

- 3 eastern papyri have **(Fl.) Theodorus v.c.** or **v.gl.** (indiction and or full pair);

- 2 Roman and Italian inscriptions have **Theodorus v.c.** (archeological context) or **Fl. Theodorus v.c.** (indiction);

Undated material:

- 1 Eastern papyrus has **Theodorus v.c.**;

- 8 inscriptions from Rome, Italy and Dalmatia have **Theodorus v.c.** (plus other fragments);

Conclusions:

m.l.d. (399/505), ‘*Mallius Theodorus / Theodorus v.c.*’: although some inscriptions have ‘Mallius’ added to the nomenclature of the consul in 399, there are both inscriptions and (p.c.) papyri dated by just ‘Theodorus’, which might be attributed to the same year. Thus, the absence of ‘Mallius’ cannot be regarded as conclusive for dating to 505. In 399 and 505 the eastern colleagues of the two Theodorii (both westerners) were Eutropius and Sabinianus, respectively. But as is known, both consuls never had their names disseminated in the west¹³⁴⁶, so their omission in the following year provides no help in attributing a date. Accordingly, though there is no doubt that a formula dated by ‘Mallius Theodorus’ should be listed under 399, some uncertainty remains for ‘Theodorus (v.c.)’, which could be dated to either 399 or 505.

¹³⁴⁶ Stilicho refused to recognise Eutropius in 399. An exception for 505 is perhaps ILJ III 2569 (632) but the evidence is not conclusive.

m.l.d.(e.app.): according to consular and post-consular evidence, in 505 the eastern consul was never announced in Italy. Thus, the m.l.d.(e.app) cannot be determined for that region. Not enough evidence is available for Gaul.

Titiani

301: T. Flavius Postumius Titianus II et Virius Nepotianus;

337: Fl. Felicianus et **Fabius Titianus**;

Venantii

484: Decius Marius Venantius Basilius with Fl. Theodericus (east).

Name: see conclusions for cos. 508 below.

- Western and eastern fasti (Marcell.; Pasch.) and Felix's letters have **Venantius (v.c.) (cons.)**;
- 1 (perhaps 2) inscription from Rome (archeo. context and titulature), and 1 from Italy (indiction) have **Venantius v.c.**

507: Venantius with Anastasius III.

Name: his name does not appear in the extant documentation from the Colosseum. He is not believed to be a relative of the coss. of 484 and 508 (cf. PLRE II 1153 and CLRE 548-49).

- Western fasti have **Venantius iun.** (Victor), **Venantius** (Cass.; Camp.; Marius; Vind.Post with Heracl. and Pasch. from eastern fasti), **Venantius v.c.** (AqS and Theodoric's letter to the senate) and **Venantius iun. v.c.** (Haun.);
- 1 inscription from Gaul (Narbonne) has **p.c. Venanti** (full pair);
- 1 eastern papyrus has **Venantius v.c.** (indiction and full pair); 2 more have **p.c. (Fl.) Venanti (v.c.)** (indiction and or full pair);

508 Basilius Venantius with Fl. Celer;

Name: Iunior is not attested in an honorary inscription from the Colosseum that has been attributed to either the cos. 508 (CIL VI 1716 = 32094a) or his homonymous predecessor in 484; cf. CLRE 502-3 and PLRE II 218 and 1153-54; but see S. Orlandi, *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano*, VI. Roma 2004, pp. 51-56, no. 5 (4) for objections to the latter.

- Western fasti have **Basilius Venantius** (Camp.), **alius Venantius v.c.** (Haun.), **Venantius Basilius iun. v.c.** (AqS), **Venantius iun.** (Cass.; Marius and Victor); eastern fasti have **alius Venantius v.c.** (Heracl.) and **Venantius** (Marcell.);
- 1 eastern papyrus has **p.c. Fl. Venanti v.c.** (full pair);
- 2 Inscriptions from Rome and Italy have **Venantius alius iunior/iunior alius** and 1 has **Venantius iter**;

Undated material:

- 5 inscriptions from Rome and Italy have **Venantius (v.c.) iun. (v.c.) (cons.)**;

- 11 inscriptions from Rome, Italy and Ostrogothic Gaul/Visigothic Gaul and Burgundy have (Fl.) *Venantius (v.c.) (cons.)* and *p.c. (v.) Venanti (v.c.) (cons.)*;
- 1 western papyrus has **Venantius iun.**;
- 1 western papyrus has *Venantius*;

Conclusions:

The epigraphical material has returned one set of formulas attesting ‘*Venantio v.c.*’, a second set with ‘*Venantio iunior v.c.*’ and a third larger one in which ‘*Venantio alio iunior*’ (or ‘*iunior alio*’) and ‘*Venantio iter*’ can be broadly included. As we know of three *Venantii* that were in office in 484, 507 and 508, it is very likely that each of these sets was meant to be used in one single year (i.e. *Venantius* in 484, *Venantius iun.* in 507 and *Venantius iun. alius/iter* in 508). A dating to 507 of the *iunior* inscriptions might be justified by the epithets that have been found in inscriptions customarily listed in 508 (‘*iter*’ and ‘*alius iunior*’); adding these to *Venantius*’ name in 508 would have been necessary only if simply ‘*iunior*’ had not been enough. That was certainly so if the epithet was mentioned in the previous year. As the evidence shows, however, swaps were ultimately possible. For instance, the *fasti* and Cassiodorus show that the consuls in 507 and 508 could be named simultaneously *iunior* and *iunior alius* or even just ‘*Venantius*’. In many cases where this happens within the consular lists, these are in fact the effect of reduplications or retroactive anticipations made erroneously by the compilers.¹³⁴⁷ As for the inscriptions, although just ‘*Venantius*’ is never attested on material dating to 507 and 508, the phenomenon cannot be conclusively ruled out.¹³⁴⁸ In this respect, a possible case in point is a funerary inscription from Vienne (CIL XII 2062 = ILCV 1665 = RICG 157) dated by a ‘*p.c. Venantius*’, 18 September. The inscription might date to 485 and be an overlap (CLRE). But since we know that the name of the new consul in 485 (Symmachus) was known in Vienne by 18 May, the *p.c.* date might also point to either 508 or 509 (Descombes). Considering the above, I have proceeded (tentatively) with dating the material in the following way:

Perfect

- *Venantius (iun.) alius* or *iter* (508);

m.l.d.

- *Venantius (v.c.)* (484);

¹³⁴⁷ For all this, cf. *CLRE* 44.

¹³⁴⁸ Unlike the evidence for ‘*Olybrius v.c.*’ (see above).

- *Venantius iun.* (507);

An m.l.d. remembers that just Venantius could (in theory) be assigned to 507, and similarly Venantius iun. to 508.

m.l.d.(e.app.): according to consular and post-consular evidence, in 484, 507 and 508 the eastern consul was never announced in Italy. Thus, the m.l.d.(e.app) cannot be determined for that region. Not enough evidence is available for Gaul.

For *p.c. Venanti*: in 485, the new consul is attested in Italy only by 9.ix (perfect), or as early as 14.ii (m.l.d.), and in 508, the new consul is attested in Italy by 11.iii. The p.c. from Vienne is possibly to be dated as m.l.d.(e.app.) in 485, as the p.c. being used until at least October in 508 in Burgundy was p.c. iterum Messala, as shown by ILCV 1553 (if dissemination was still centralised)

Zenones

448: Postumianus et Zeno (**east**);

469: Marcianus et Zeno (**east**);

Conclusions:

m.l.d.: An inscription dated by 'Zeno' is attested in Cilicia (the context is datable). An inscription bearing simply 'Zeno' could therefore be either **448 or 469** in both east and west.

m.l.d.(e.app.): In Italy the full pair in 448 could have been known as early as 16 Jan but more likely after 26 July. As to 469, this is attested from Aug 14 – 1 Sept. Thus, any (unlikely) inscription dating from **after 1 September** is likely to be assigned to **448**.

Appendix C.

Statistical Testing and Geospatial Modelling

Research Background

This chapter stems from collaborative research carried out by Kieran Baker and me on the data set at the basis of this doctoral work. Our initial objective was to test the degree of correlation existing between politics and (non-)dissemination of consular names, but soon we came to realise that we would not have been able to perform this task before several issues of dating, classification and selection of the material being tested had been addressed formally. Accordingly, we carried out preliminary testing on two fundamental assumptions that were regulating our classification and selection process, these being that: (i) people normally adhered to the formula that was disseminated by local authorities, and that (ii) type-2 formulas (consular formulas bearing only one consular name) did not generally exist before the end of joint proclamations in AD 411. The major danger we were exposed to was to mistake earlier material where one of the names had been simply dropped for homonymous later consulships, thereby causing us: (a) to assign the evidence to the wrong year and hence (b) contribute to shaping a misleadingly even picture of both the usage of consular dating and its dissemination.

In order to test the afore-mentioned assumptions, we thus opted for performing preliminary tests on the whole body of material where homonymy demonstrably did not occur. In doing so we adopted an algorithmic process to identify anomalies in the expected order of dissemination both before and after 411. Since the algorithm needed to take into account distance, time and other explanatory variables to produce better quality results, we paired the algorithmic analysis with a geospatial model, to predict regional dissemination times (i.e. the lapse of time that could occur from when a formula was proclaimed and when it arrived in the place of the evidence), which could be factored in in the algorithmic process, if required. Such preliminary work makes an important contribution to knowledge regarding important aspects of dissemination and usage of consular dating by contemporaries.

I. More specifically, it yields estimates on how long consular dissemination required to take place from a point A to another point B and how this time varied over the years and space. Overall, these estimates are more realistic than other predictions of travel times, as given by ORBIS, as data from both dissemination and travel times, and not just travel time, is taken into account into our predictive model.

II. It also provides a new set of conclusions, often very challenging, on where and when simultaneous proclamations were resumed after 411;

III. Lastly, it allows a better appreciation of whether and to what extent people stuck to the formula disseminated within a province.

While the results from the Correlation Analysis are offered in Chapter Four, results from points I., II. and III. will be presented in the following discussion. To fully appreciate how these have been obtained, in the first part of this appendix an introduction of the working of the algorithm and the model is also provided.

1. Predicting the Regional Dissemination Times

1.1. Survival Models

A type of time-to-event statistical model used in Survival Analysis and called the Cox Proportional Hazards model is used for the prediction of dissemination times where the starting location is known alongside other explanatory variables.¹³⁴⁹ There are three models with differing effects of starting location on dissemination time, each of which estimates the effect of:

- The place in which the consul was announced,
- The corresponding region in which the consul was announced,
- The corresponding macro-region in which the consul was announced,

The first of these models works best where there is sufficient data for that starting location to estimate the effect. Unlike the latter, the other models are best suited when the data set of any given starting location (or any given region or macro-region, in the case of the regional and macro-regional approaches) is underrepresented and hence the effect of the starting location cannot be accurately estimated.

A key differentiator of time-to-event models from other statistical models is the ability to predict time before the occurrence of an event. This prediction is based on censored data, i.e. data where the exact time of the event is unknown, but we have some reference point where we know the event has not yet happened (right censoring), or happened previously (left censoring). This concept can be applied to the spatio-temporal data collected on consular

¹³⁴⁹ Cox 1972: 187-220.

dissemination, for which we have three types of information, namely, post-consular data where the new consul is not yet known (T1), consular data in which one of the consuls is known (T2) and consular data in which both of the new consuls are known (T3). Post-consular data is temporally the first type of data we would expect to see in a given year and an example of right censored data whereby we know the event happens after a certain date but we do not have the observation. On the other hand, data points in which both the local and non-local consuls are known are the result of a journey where the information of the consular appointment has travelled from the place of announcement to the place of the evidence. Each journey must have occurred within the time frame that the evidence is dated and hence each leg is an example of left censored data, whereby we know the event happened before a given date that can be used as observation *ante quem* of the occurred event.

In each of these statistical models a baseline hazard function (this has no practical interpretation for our use case) is fitted to the data, and the effects of the following explanatory variables:

(i) *Year*: the year in which the evidence is dated. This is included as a continuous random variable meant to capture the trend in changes of dissemination over time;

(ii) *Starting location/Region/Macro Region* from which the evidence received the information;

(iii) *Travel time*: a midpoint in between an upper and lower bounds of travel time from the starting location to the place in which the evidence is located, as given by ORBIS;

(iv) *The interaction* between the year and the travel time factors;

(v) *Single/two-legged journey*: whether the journey consisted of one leg (starting location 1 to place of the evidence) or two legs (i.e. starting location 1 to starting location 2 to place of the evidence. This event occurs in all cases where non-local consular appointments were sent out from one court to the other, and then from there to the place of the evidence);

(vi) *Sine of bearing* measured at the starting location (direction of travel);

(vii) Whether the location of the evidence is in the same Region;

(viii) Whether the location of the evidence is in the same Macro Region;

are then estimated and used to adjust the shape of the survival curve for each journey. The effect of each parameter is learnt across the dataset using the relevant data points to adjust for starting location, and consequently predictions are bespoke to each journey. To obtain an interval of time based on the upper and lower bounds of travel time, the midpoint of these is used for estimating the effect. Lastly, each bound for journey time is used to generate an upper and lower bound for dissemination time.

1.2. Data collection process and evaluation

Below are given fuller details on the key data attributes collected in the data collection process and the issues that have been addressed.

1.2.1. Starting locations

The primary way by which the model learns dissemination times is by means of a training data set including 490 pieces of evidence whose starting locations are relatively certain. The starting locations are established on the basis of the following: (a) contemporary data and accounts of historically recorded ceremonies, as been discussed in Chapter 3, par. 3.2. and relevant appendix;¹³⁵⁰ (b) dating subscriptions in Roman imperial pronouncements;¹³⁵¹ and (c) other prosopographical material.

As discussed in Chapter Three, the evidence indicates that in the western and eastern Earlier Periods the new consuls were known locally from 1 January. Accordingly, the vast majority of the evidence dated 284-364 (West) and 284-311 (East) has been stripped out from the training sets as meaningless in modelling terms. As for the evidence falling in the subsequent western and eastern Transitional Periods (whereby knowledge of the new consuls on 1 January was still achievable in the provincial capitals), the closest starting location is provided whenever appropriate. In the east, this is often the relevant provincial capital. For the western (Italian) sub-dataset, this is normally Rome or Milan. Since we do not have evidence of a regular announcement being made in Rome on the 1 January every year during the Transitional and Later Periods, but we do know that announcements were made in other cities (such as Aquileia, Milan or Ravenna), we refrained from treating Rome as a default starting location, unless the evidence pinpoints dissemination from there. In the Later Periods consulships cease to be known on 1 January anywhere but at court and or in the place of the ceremony (whenever the two do not overlap), hence only the latter are provided as starting locations for each macro-

¹³⁵⁰ Dosi 2022a.

¹³⁵¹ *Contra*, Cuneo 1997: p. lxxv according to whom we cannot assume the emperor's location on the basis of the *data* date. As a general principle, however, emperor and court were always in the same place, so that Cuneo's statement is to be rejected. However, I accept the more general concerns that were raised by Pergami 1993: p. xvi and all scholars dealing with the codes, and I follow or discuss the corrections made by Seeck 1919, Barnes 1982 and 2001, Pergami 1993, Corcoran 2000, Gillet 2001, Lounghis – Vlysidou – Lampakis 2005, Schmidt-Hofner 2008, who have sometimes restored a different date and place of issue.

region, save for those (rare) instances where the evidence was received from elsewhere.¹³⁵² For instance, from AD 476 on, it has been taken into account the possibility that dissemination in Italy could start from either Ravenna or Rome, or both. Similarly, there are some (rare) occasions where dissemination in Gaul began from Lyon or Arles.

In modelling terms, our certain data set was too small to yield meaningful results, so we had to compensate its shortfall by recurring to an auxiliary training set which includes 191 pieces of evidence whose starting location is much more uncertain. We limited the risk of producing skewed results by following the procedure discussed below at Section 1.2.5.

1.2.2. Ending locations

Ending locations are taken from the place of finding of the evidence. Whenever the place of finding was not included in the ORBIS database, the closest ORBIS location is provided.

1.2.3. Observations

The relevant data used to feed the model include: (i) the latest p.c. observation; (ii) the earliest T2; (iii) the earliest T3 and (iv) the earliest T2/T3 in p.c. evidence (whenever T2/T3 are attested only as p.c. evidence). Overlaps are not representative of standards of dissemination times, hence any formula that is unquestionably an overlap is excluded from both the certain and uncertain training data sets.

1.2.4. Setting ORBIS for travel-time predictions.

We used the ORBIS Stanford algorithm to pull travel-time estimates for our model.¹³⁵³ Travel times do not just provide the model with one more co-variate that is modelled to produce predictions of dissemination, but also provide it with information as to the earliest possible time by which any formula could be physically conveyed to a place from a given starting location. Since dissemination along the leg cannot have occurred faster than the values reported by the travel time parameters, then the latter are used to further refine the estimation for our predictions.

The assumption we adopted is that the fastest way by which formulas were likely to be reaching a province was (not necessarily always but plausibly in most cases) by means of dated

¹³⁵² Cf. the full treatment in Ch. 3, esp. 147-65.

¹³⁵³ <https://orbis.stanford.edu/>

imperial documents and other official mail. Hence, the model seeks at simulating the speed and complexity of travel of officials, messengers and bureaucrats travelling on official business. After addressing how we should capture the complexity of this voyage, it has been opted for providing the model with a time range of two constitutive lower and higher bounds. These are the results of a prediction that simulates:

1. A slower journey at 36 km/day as given by ORBIS. This mirrors the worst ideal scenario, namely a mounted messenger travelling slowly (ca. 25 miles/day) and overland only. Travelling overland was costly and presumably Roman travellers would have chosen to cover parts of their journey by navigation whenever possible. But Theophanes' trip from Antinoopolis to Antioch is a constant reminder that people travelling on official business could opt for the mere land route (Theophanes' speed is 24 to 33 Roman miles per day, so this somehow matches up with what can be simulated with ORBIS; a similar speed seems to have been the one recorded by the anonymous pilgrim of the Bordeaux itinerary]. Normally, the only water network included is the river one (sea transports are considered only when they are unavoidable).

2. A faster journey at 67 km/day as given by ORBIS. This mirrors the best ideal scenario, namely a mounted messenger travelling speedily (50 miles/day) and using the full network of land and water routes (especially the *cursus publicus* and the *cursus velox* in Egypt.) Considering that the great part of the journeys would have taken place in January (i.e. when weather conditions would have been unfavourable for navigation), we were at first unsure about whether we should have included open-water sealing as a possibility. Based on the evidence collected by Davis (2009) we are now persuaded that there seems to be a good chance that Romans did sail throughout the year.¹³⁵⁴ The speed we adopted is that provided by ORBIS for fast sailing vessels that may have been equipped with oars. The simulation is very generous in the sense that it entails sealing in optimal condition, that is, a fast vessel with the capacity to navigate both on coast and open waters, without limiting its navigation to day light.¹³⁵⁵

In both moods of travel, we added: (i) 0.5/day time costs the journey every time a change of transportation occurred; (ii) 0.1/day time cost per port (only for sealing), and (iii) 1 day of rest every 6 days of travel. We believe these conclusions are justified, since the ORBIS research team noted that a possible reason for the discrepancy between simulated and reported times

¹³⁵⁴ Davis 2009.

¹³⁵⁵ On travel time, see <https://orbis.stanford.edu/> and the 'Building ORBIS: Historical evidence' page on the site, with relevant literature cited.

relies in failure to factor into the simulations additional time costs which travellers presumably experienced during real journeys; for instance, the time costs spent by ships at any ports they incurred along their journey, or the time spent by travellers to change types of transportation. In fact, it is very unlikely that even the most diligent palace official travelling on official business was able to sustain an uninterrupted ride for seven days/week for a prolonged period of time. The ORBIS developers recommended excluding an added time cost on Mediterranean routes entailing more than 10 days of travel (such as the voyage Constantinople to Egypt) for statistics shows that simulations of faster ships at sea for such a length of time produce an estimated sailing time of ca. 10% longer than the time of recorded journeys. To avoid the risk of identifying wrong overlaps, we decided to adopt a more conservative approach by adding time costs for stops at ports to whichever journeys whatsoever.

In addition, we decided to take into account the effects on the communication between the two halves of the empire as a result of political change at regional level. For instance, ORBIS predictions always included a segment of fluvial navigation on the Danube into the simulations for the slower journeys from west to east and vice versa, but we were not convinced that Roman travellers were likely to use this route for journeying regularly in between Rome and Constantinople from the 420s on, as Roman authority in the region was lost.¹³⁵⁶ Accordingly, we opted for excluding this route from all the above-mentioned simulations from 420s on. This has been reincluded only for the simulations made from 506, i.e. when the reconquest of Sirmium and Pannonia by the Ostrogoths may have brought the restoration of the Danubian route for more regular communications with Constantinople.

A second exclusion is the sea route around Sicily from 456 to 476, affected by Vandal activity hence unlikely to be used for regular communications between the two halves.

1.2.5. Uncertain Starting Locations

The Uncertain Training Dataset includes 191 pieces of evidence for which it has not been possible to establish a starting location without including a high degree of uncertainty into our predictions. A specific cluster of such instances is the one concerning all those years during which consular appointments were made by one single court. As even after 411 people at court

¹³⁵⁶ Erosion of Roman power began with the rise of Hunnic might in the 410s, and consolidated from the 430s and 440s on, when Pannonia was transferred to the Huns and the Danube region was demilitarised from Roman presence. The collapse of the Hunnic empire in the 460s did not bring about any substantial change to this situation, since Ostrogoths and other warbands were settled in the region.

were accustomed to hearing of at least one consular appointment on 1 January (i.e. the local one), it did not seem obvious to us deciding whether we should have factor in a joint proclamation on 1 January both in the west and the east (i.e. two starting locations), or a single proclamation by the appointing court. (1 starting location for west and east). So for instance, in the case of the full western formula proclaimed in 443, the three possible options for the receiving Egyptian evidence are as follows:

- 1) A single journey from Constantinople to Oxyrhynchus;
- 2) A two-legged journey from Ravenna (the appointing court) to Oxyrhynchus via Constantinople (the local court);
- 3) A single journey from Ravenna to Oxyrhynchus via Constantinople.

In establishing the most likely option, the model fundamentally works by trial and error, i.e. by testing which possible starting location within a given set of candidates is most likely to be the one from which dissemination initiated. In establishing this the model takes into account: (i) the distance of the candidate starting location from the evidence; (ii) the date of the evidence; and (iii) the average observed dissemination time from that starting location to the place of the evidence in that given decade. Hence, we first trained the model on the certain data set in order to produce a reliable set of standard dissemination times—this is how all the parameters are calculated and set. Based on that certain parameters, the model makes predictions for the uncertain data set, which produce likelihood scores, which in turn are aggregated at starting location level to determine which location is more likely. In other words, if the model learns from the training data set that, say, normally a formula takes no longer than 6 months to disseminate to Egypt from Constantinople in the 510s, but the date of the observed evidence shows it took 10 months to arrive to the place of the evidence, then the model will conclude that Rome is the more likely one.

Results have then been reviewed qualitatively. One recurring gap was that, whenever a starting location and the place of the evidence match up, the model would inevitably return that location as most likely. As in many cases such an inference could very likely be wrong, and as the resulting possible errors would have skewed the entire results, we have systematically removed such records from the training dataset. We have then flagged any particular year that contains such items in its body of evidence, and after running the analysis on the remaining dataset, we have returned to these instances to revise the results by factoring in the excluded material. In doing this, two set of criteria have been adopted:

1. Whenever the geographical distance between the starting location selected by the model and the excluded one was not significant (for instance, Rome or Milan), it has been provided

the model's choice. This has allowed us to not exclude the piece of evidence from our dataset while retaining a location that does not represent a significant deviation from any other option.

2. Whenever the geographical distance between the model's chosen starting location and the overlapping location was significant (for instance, Constantinople or Ravenna), we have assessed the most likely location on account of the date of the evidence. In doing so, we have accepted as reasonable enough the assumption that a closer place would more likely be the place from which dissemination occurred if an early date (i.e. January-February) is attested. Whenever the evidence bears a later date, we assessed the available options on a case-by-case basis, factoring in evidence for the location of the consular ceremony, of the court, and of local dissemination. If still the evidence was insufficient to assess the case, we refrained from proposing a starting location (excluding the year from the dataset).

Doubtless, in at least some occasions consular proclamations could have also taken place in excluded locations, if not only in there. This is in fact very likely in, for instance, 368, 370, 371, 377, 381, 387 and 388, that is, in many cases where an imperial consulate was proclaimed. That an emperor ruling in Italy decided not to advertise his own consulship in Rome is in fact extremely unlikely (though not impossible). As explained above, for modelling reasons we have decided to provide Milan (the praetorian capital of Italy) in some cases. But Rome might have been just as likely in each of those cases.

As discussed in Chapter Three, the evidence indicates that dissemination was centralised throughout our period, hence a single starting location is provided for one given year and macro-region. However, the west tends to fragment politically at different moments, and especially from the early fifth century, with the result that multiple administrative apparatuses could be in charge of local dissemination. To simulate the effect of this, we grouped the evidence according to each respective political unit.

1.3. Results Summary

1.3.1. Most-likely Uncertain Starting Locations

Below are given: 1) a list of most-likely uncertain starting locations in the East and 2) in the West. Eastern and western starting locations are almost invariably referred to evidence from, respectively, Egypt and Italy. The global likelihood score is a measure of overall model confidence, so if the global likelihood score is low, this indicates one should favour other sources of evidence over the model's prediction. The maximum likelihood score is 1.

1) *Eastern results*

Year	Starting location	Global Likelihood
311	Antioch	0.943614
312	Alexandria	0.917659
314	Antioch	0.930461
315	Antioch	0.919406
316	Alexandria	0.972085
320	Alexandria	0.956621
321	Alexandria	0.921111
325	Alexandria	0.968897
326	Alexandria	0.965518
327	Alexandria	0.95257
329	Alexandria	0.91034
330	Alexandria	0.9705
332	Alexandria	0.968561
339	Alexandria	0.913233
341	Antioch	0.844467
342	Alexandria	0.972859
343	Antioch	0.805985
345	Antioch	0.972859
349	Rome	0.999914
349	Milan	0.999914
350	Alexandria	0.875646
355	Antioch	0.947255
356	Milan	0.918247
357	Antioch	0.973107
366	Chalcedon	0.878957
371	Sirmium	0.848578
372	Alexandria	0.97272
374	Antioch	0.746649
377	Alexandria	0.938985
389	Milan	1

Year	Starting location	Global Likelihood
389	Constantinople	1
390	Rome	0.790081
390	Milan	0.790081
391	Alexandria	0.939311
392	Alexandria	0.907711
395	Constantinople	0.721947
395	Rome	0.721947
417	Constantinople	0.984991
437	Rome + Constantinople	0.984424
443	Rome + Constantinople	0.922995
443	Ravenna + Constantinople	0.922995
446	Rome + Constantinople	1
446	Constantinople	1
450	Rome + Constantinople	0.999656
468	Constantinople	1
468	Rome + Constantinople	1
481	Ravenna + Constantinople	1
481	Constantinople	1
495	Ravenna + Constantinople	0.779757
504	Constantinople	0.97819
509	Constantinople	0.913031
514	Constantinople	0.98266
516	Constantinople	0.677933
522	Constantinople	0.996332
523	Constantinople	0.995788
526	Ravenna + Constantinople	1
527	Ravenna + Constantinople	1
527	Constantinople	1
530	Constantinople	0.858913
534	Ravenna + Constantinople	0.996518

2) *Western results*

Year	Starting location	Global Likelihood
350	Rome	0.905531
368	Trier	0.118167
369	Marcianople	0.913429
370	Trier	0.097849
371	Milan	0.993796
372	Antioch	0.973356
377	Milan	0.991268
381	Milan	0.950406
383	Milan	0.899845
384	Constantinople	0.910106
386	Constantinople	0.969382
387	Milan	0.95418
388	Milan	0.881974
391	Milan	0.939702
392	Constantinople	0.691037
397	Milan	0.912893
399	Milan	0.912893
400	Milan	0.409726
401	Milan	0.78524
402	Milan	0.850954
403	Rome	1
406	Ravenna	0.799408
411	Constantinople + Ravenna	0.998257
416	Ravenna	0.95143
419	Ravenna	0.85591
423	Ravenna	1
423	Rome	1
425	Ravenna	0.994802
427	Ravenna	0.406589
428	Constantinople + Ravenna	0.018497
429	Constantinople + Ravenna	1

Year	Starting location	Global Likelihood
430	Ravenna or Rome	0.877844 (Rav.)
433	Constantinople + Ravenna	0.990986
436	Constantinople + Ravenna	0.93659
439	Constantinople + Ravenna	0.991594
441	Constantinople + Ravenna	0.936933
448	Ravenna	0.971305
451	Constantinople + Rome	0.163651
453	Rome	0.83827
454	Constantinople	0.997892
457	Ravenna	0.990314
459	Ravenna	0.998924
464	Rome	0.948607
465	Rome	0.993427
466	Constantinople	0.998924
467	Milan	1
467	Constantinople + Milan	1
469	Arles	0.829823
476	Rome	0.691886
478	Constantinople + Rome	0.997398
478	Constantinople + Ravenna	0.997398
490	Constantinople + Verona	0.940734
491	Constantinople + Rome	1
491	Constantinople + Pavia	1
492	Constantinople	0.565751
492	Constantinople + Pavia	0.922995
511	Arles	0.88996
515	Constantinople + Lyon	0.241999
516	Ravenna	0.225361
517	Constantinople + Ravenna	0.146971
518	Constantinople + Ravenna	1
518	Constantinople	0.523971

Year	Starting location	Global Likelihood
520	Constantinople	0.802371
525	Arles	0.891611
525	Ravenna	0.124358
538	Constantinople	0.963212
538	Rome	0.804837
540	Constantinople	0.605096
541	Rome	0.985368
541	Rome	0.984991

General conclusions

As discussed in Chapter Three, there is uncontroversial evidence that, during the western and eastern Transitional Periods, on occasions the new consular year continued to be known in the provincial capitals since the 1 January. Interestingly, the model results partly support this picture, and partly suggest local announcement was more regular than what the aforementioned evidence suggests—especially for the first half of the fourth century. In 312, 316, 320, 321, 325, 326, 327, 329, 330, 332, 339, 342, 350, 372, 377, 391, 399, Alexandria hits a higher global likelihood score not only when distant western and eastern imperial capitals are provided as candidate starting locations (i.e. Nicomedia, Heraclea Pontica, Thessaloniki, Sirmium, Serdica, Constantinople, Milan, Trier and Rome) but, more importantly, also when nearby Antioch is provided. Nevertheless, Antioch is preferred to Alexandria in the years 311, 314, 315, 341, 343, 345, 355, 357, 374; in 349 Rome or Milan are given; Milan in 356; Chalcedon in 366 and Sirmium in 371. The same holds true for the western dataset, where Milan is returned as early as 371 (when it was the praefectorial capital).

As far as the East is concerned, the results also support the suggestion that no more announcements were customarily made locally in the Later Period (Alexandria is returned as late as 392 but no later than that.)¹³⁵⁷

A second set of observation can be made for the cluster of years in which a full western or eastern T2/3 was announced.

A pair of western consuls (or consuls appointed by an emperor residing in the West at the time of appointment) was proclaimed in thirty-four times across our period. Interestingly, the model results indicate that the Egyptian evidence had most likely received the formula from an

¹³⁵⁷ Cf. p. 163-5.

eastern centre in as many as 21 cases out of the total; that is, in 314, 316, 320, 329, 332, 341, 343, 355, 357, 366, 371, 374, 377, 417, 504, 509, 514, 516, 522, 523 and 530. In other five cases (i.e. 395, 446, 468, 480, 527) the model is unable to decide whether dissemination began in Constantinople or in the west (i.e. Constantinople via Rome or Ravenna). Instead, a western point of departure is given for 349, 356, 356, 390, 437, 443, 450, 495, 526. Therefore, there is no clear-cut pattern that can be observed. But the evidence seems to show a tendency for the fourth and early sixth centuries to favour local announcements, as opposed to the fifth century.

The west shows an almost reverse trend, with all the instances of local announcements occurring entirely in the fifth century, i.e. in 419, 427, 457, 464, 465, 476 and 541.¹³⁵⁸

	East			West	
Local Ann.	Non-local Ann.	Uncertain	Local Ann.	Non-local Ann.	Uncertain
314					
316					
320					
329					
332					
341					
343	349				
355	356				
357					
366					
371				369	
374				372	
377	390	395		384	
417				392	
	437		419	411	

¹³⁵⁸ Out of 26 years where a full eastern T2 or T3 was announced, the following 14 years are returned as most likely instances where dissemination originated from the east: 369, 372, 384, 392, 411, 429, 436, 441, 478, 491, 492, 518, 538 and 540. In one case (467) the model is unable to establish whether dissemination initiated in Milan or Constantinople.

	443	446	427	429	
				436	
	450			441	
		468	457	454	
	495	480	464	474	
504			465	478	467
509			476	491	
514				492	
516				518	
522					
523	526	527		538	
530				540	

If the results are to be trusted, after 411 the East resumed joint proclamations especially in the period of Ostrogothic regency, and the West in the years of uncertainty between 455 and 476. These results strongly support the conclusions that it was made a political use of the proclamations.

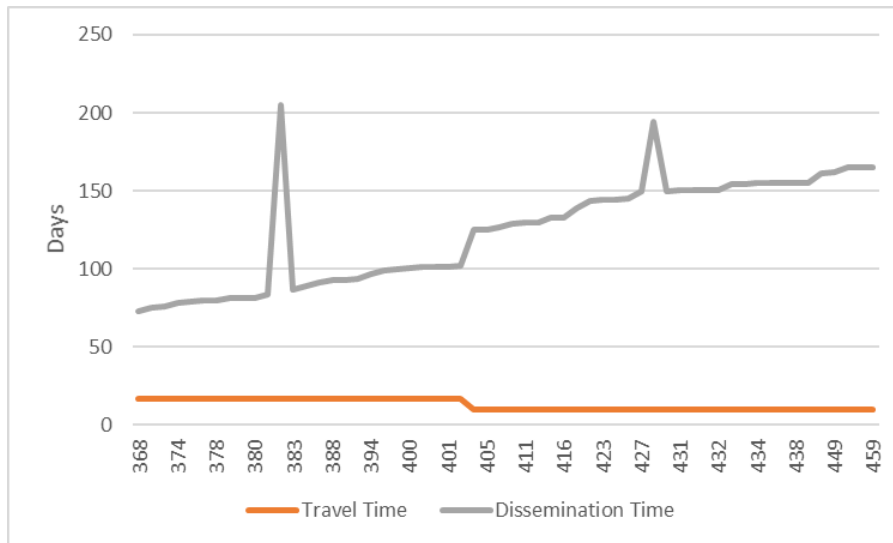
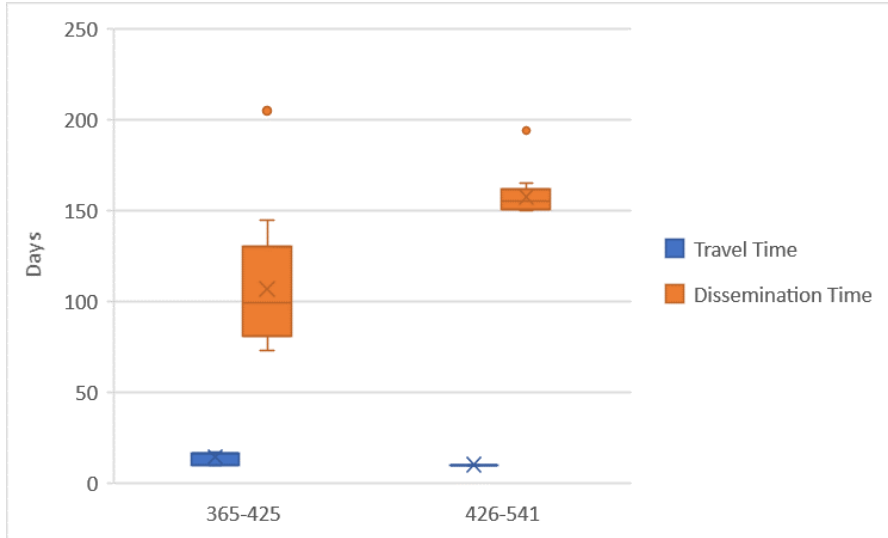
1.3.2. Dissemination Times

With the censoring structure as outlined in the description of the model and assuming that dissemination always begins on the 1 January each year, predictions of dissemination times have been obtained for 681 pieces of evidence over nine regions. The full set of predictions will be accessible online in due course. Below are given trends in changes of dissemination over time for trajectories for which the data provide enough evidence. Unfortunately, data for other trajectories is scanty, hence its usefulness is uncertain.

NB: the dissemination predictions are taken from the Starting-Location Model (average bound). Travel times refer to the slower journey.

1) *North Italy to Rome*

1.1. Travel-Time Range vs. Dissemination-Time Range, 365-541



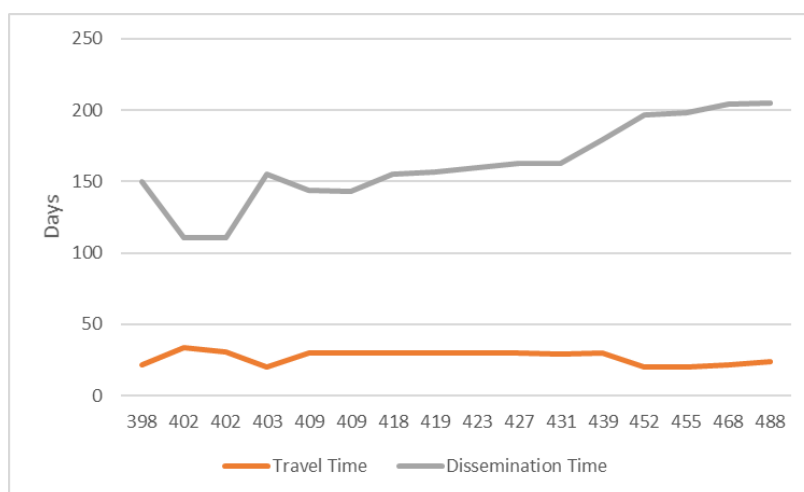
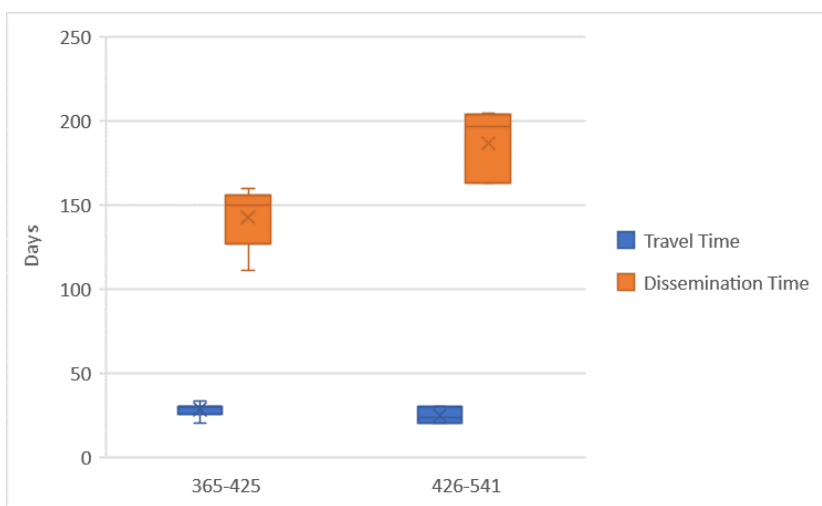
Observations are taken from Ravenna, Milan and Aquileia.

	365-425	426-541
minimum	4.424242	15.15152
median	6.030303	15.65657
maximum	14.64646	19.59596
mean	8.284452	15.93301

The mean ratio of dissemination time to travel time is 8.284452 [7.029193 - 9.53971 95% Confidence interval for the mean] for the period 365-425, and 15.93301 [14.364478 - 17.50155 95% CI] for 426-541. The evidence shows a marked and consistent slowdown from the late 360s to the mid-fifth century, with a surge in the 380s. The ratio of dissemination to travel time almost doubles across the two periods.

2) *North- and Central-Italy to Sicily*

2.1. Travel-Time Range vs. Dissemination-Time Range, 365-541



Observations are taken from Rome, Ravenna and Milan.

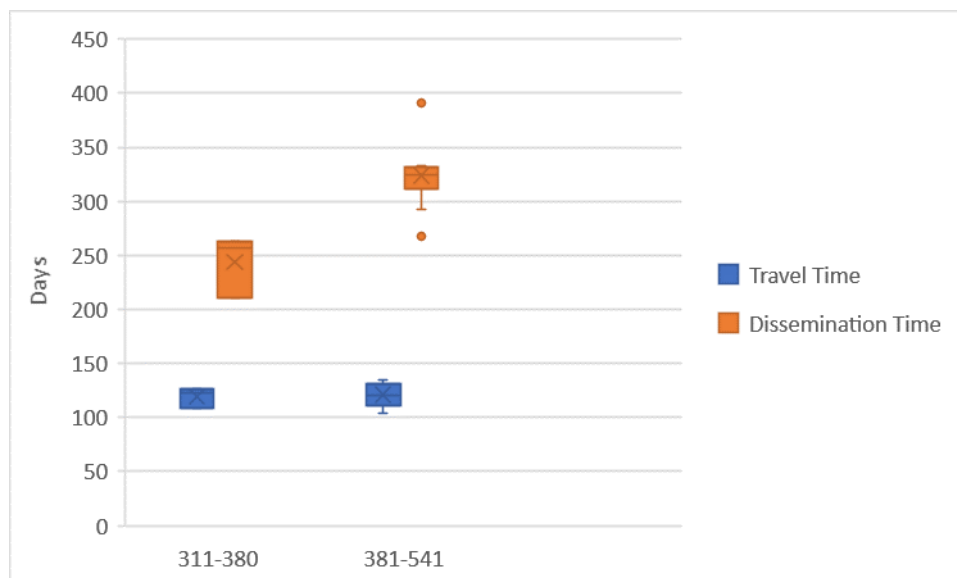
	365-425	426-541
minimum	3.323353	5.415282
median	5.149502	8.649789
maximum	7.673267	9.80198
mean	5.214977	7.835533

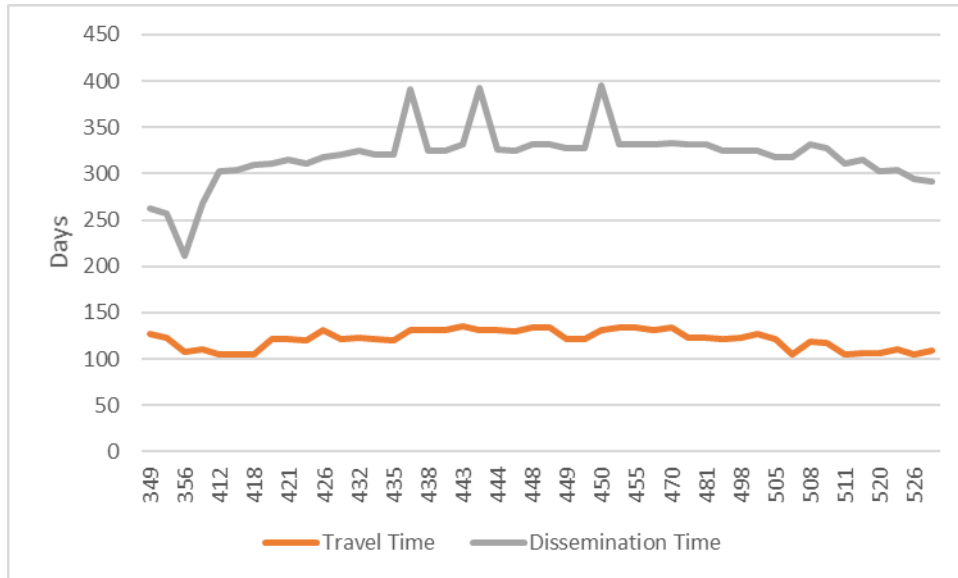
The mean ratio of dissemination time to travel time is 5.214977 [4.293322 - 6.136631 95% Confidence interval for the mean] for the period 365-425, and 7.835533 [6.3065 - 9.364467 95% CI] for 426-541.

The dataset allows to observe a consistent and increasing slowdown from the late fourth to the end of the fifth century, with the ratio of dissemination time to travel time increasing from ~ 5.2 to 7.8.

3) *Italy to Egypt*

3.1. Travel-Time Range vs. Dissemination-Time Range, 311-541





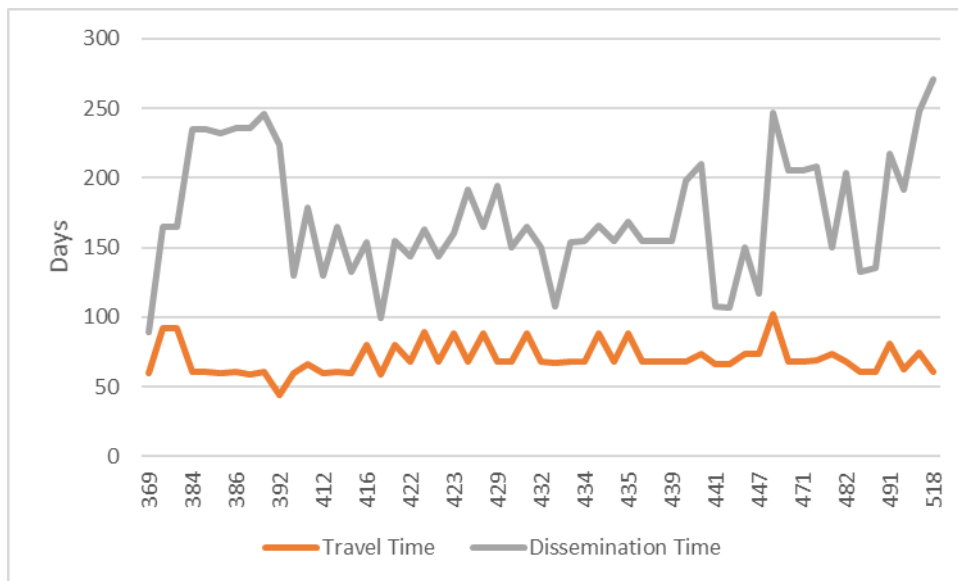
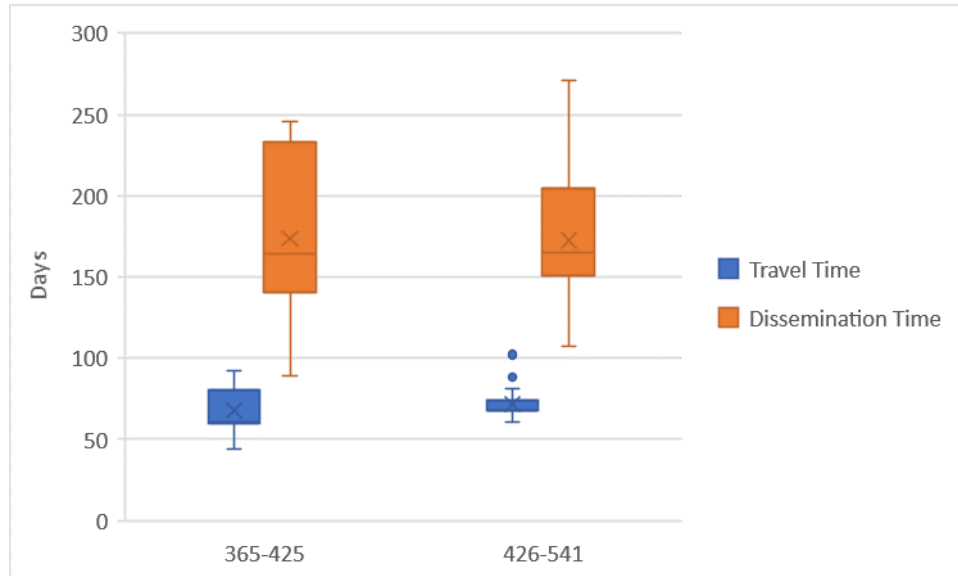
	311-380	381-541
minimum	1.950092	2.427591
median	2.077409	2.652893
maximum	2.091131	3.050766
mean	2.039544	2.681835

The mean ratio of dissemination time to travel time is 2.039544 [1.951538 - 2.127550 95% Confidence interval for the mean] for the period 311-380, and 2.681835 [2.626471 - 2.737198 95% CI] for 381-541.

The evidence records a slowdown from the fourth to the fifth and a slight reverse trend in the early sixth century. Within our dataset, the biggest visible slowdown occurs in the early 410s, but the paucity of data does not allow to observe satisfactorily the trend in the preceding period. Before 390, predictions are available for only 349 and 356, both of which already show very high values ranging from 211 days of travel to 263 (the mean for the years 412-535 is 325 days) or, in other words, a dissemination time of about two times slower than travel time.

4) *East to Italy*

4.1. Travel-Time Range vs. Dissemination-Time Range, 365-541



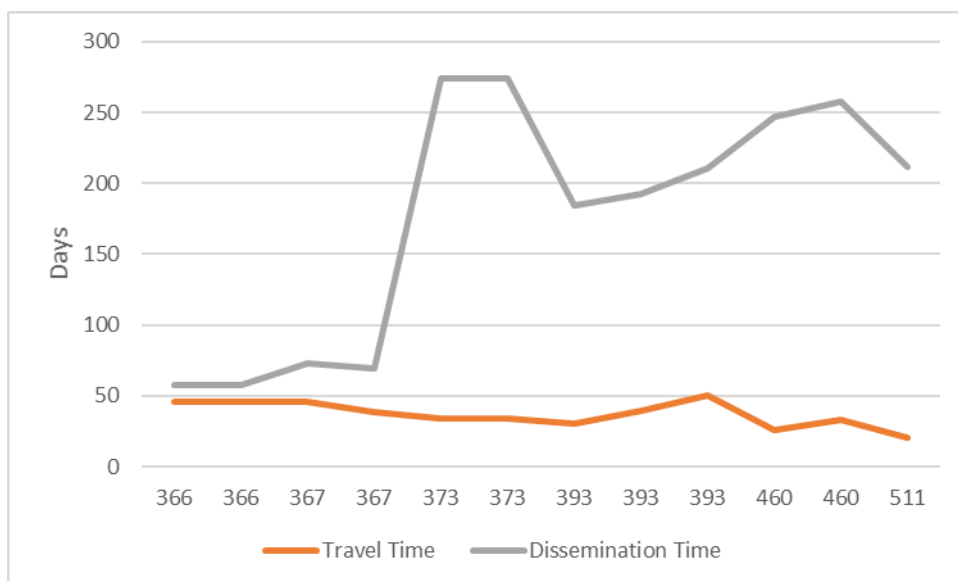
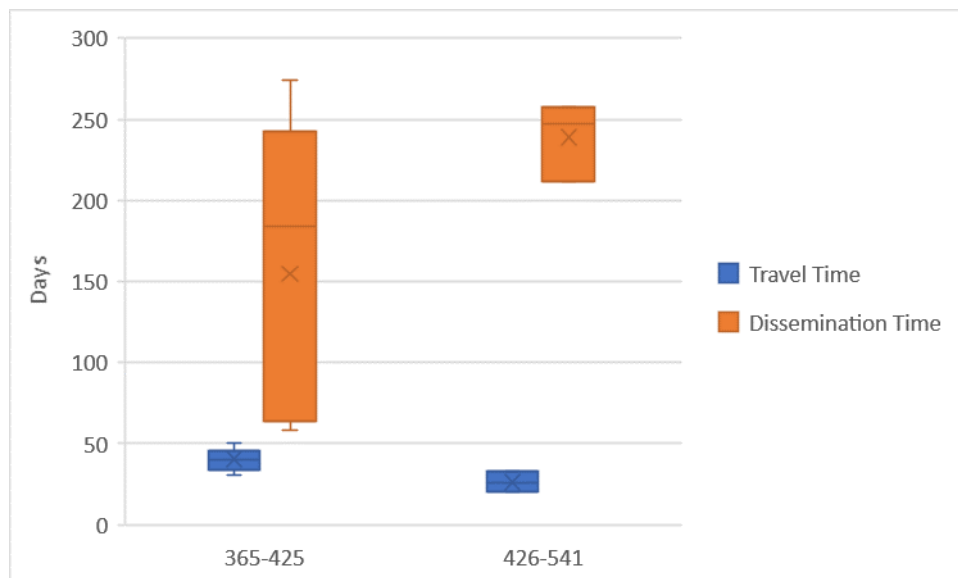
	365-425	426-541
minimum	1.48581	1.59618
median	2.159468	2.286136
maximum	5.079365	4.494196
mean	2.691905	2.427953

The mean ratio of dissemination time to travel time is 2.69190 [2.25026- 3.13354 95% Confidence interval for the mean] for the period 365-425, and 2.42795 [2.21801- 2.63789 95% CI] for 426-541.

The data show a progressive slowdown from the fourth to the fifth and sixth centuries, with a major surge being recorded from the late 360s to the 380s. The ratio of dissemination to travel time slightly shrinks from 365-425 to 426-541 (~ 2.69 to 2.42)

5) *Gaul to Italy*

5.1. Travel-Time Range vs. Dissemination-Time Range, 365-541



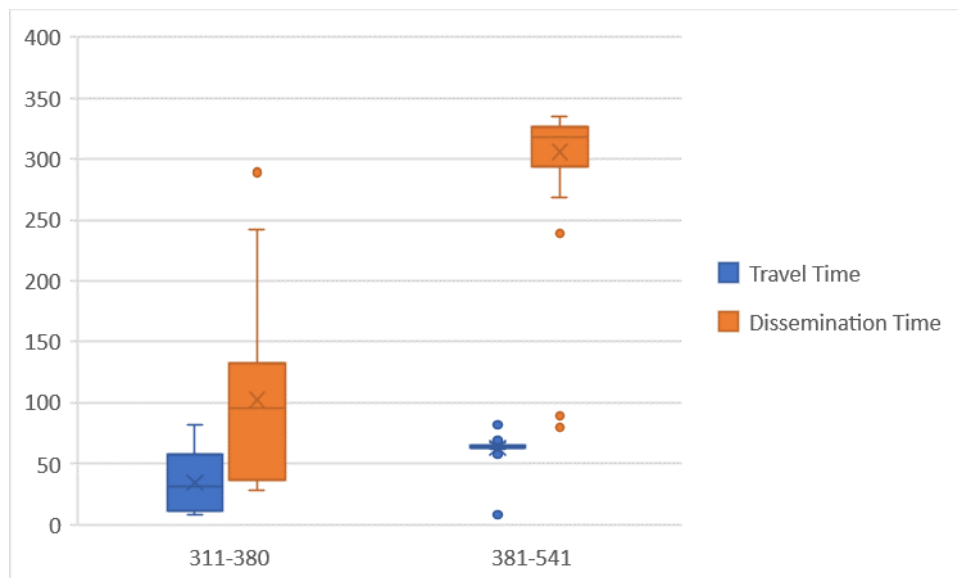
	365-425	426-541
minimum	1.269147	7.85061
median	4.203187	9.686275
maximum	8.058824	10.29126
mean	4.126678	9.276049

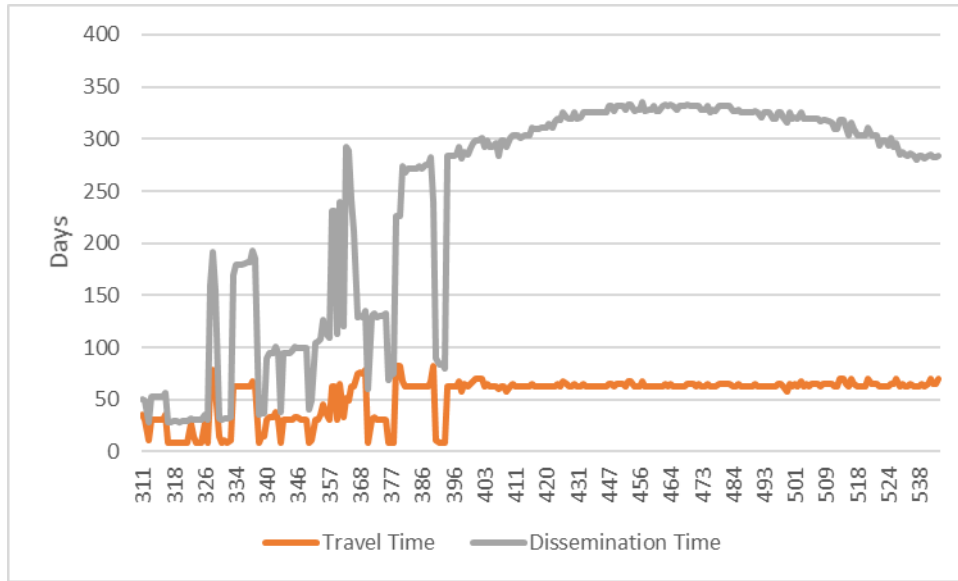
The mean ratio of dissemination time to travel time is 4.126677 [2.290078 - 5.963277 95% Confidence interval for the mean] for the period 365-425, and 9.276049 [7.837790 - 10.71430 95% CI] for 426-541.

The highlighted trend points to slowdown from the fourth to the fifth centuries (no enough data for the 6th). A major slowdown is recorded from the late 360s to the 370s. The ratio of dissemination to travel time more than doubles from 365-425 (~ 4.12) to 426-541 (~ 9.27).

6) *East to Egypt*

6.1. Travel-Time Range vs. Dissemination-Time Range, 311-541.





	311-380	381-541
minimum	1.203008	2.914634
median	3.076147	4.928685
maximum	8.764706	10
mean	3.280602	4.945633

The mean ratio of dissemination time to travel time is 3.280602 [2.99958 - 3.320895 95% Confidence interval for the mean] for the period 311-380 and 4.945633 [4.83950 - 5.051758 95% CI] for 381-541.

The evidence shows a progressive slowdown from the fourth to the fifth centuries, followed by a slight reverse trend from the late fifth to the sixth centuries. The slowdown's first point of departure is in the late 320s, then again in the late 370s it begins a second more consistent upward trend, which reaches a peak in 457. From this point on, the survival curve highlights a slight but consistent downward trend, which suggests a speed-up of dissemination. Overall, the ratio of dissemination to travel time increases from ~ 3.28 to 4.94.

General conclusions

In overall terms, all the directories of dissemination share a consistent and increasing slowdown of dissemination across the period under consideration. The only exceptions to this pattern are represented by the trajectories Italy to East and East to Egypt, where occurred a slight reverse trend in the early sixth century. A partial explanation for this may be due to the model factoring in local proclamations from Constantinople for fully western T2s/T3s in the

early sixth century, as shown above. In all cases dissemination took significantly longer than travel, with a minimum ratio of dissemination to travel times observed at 1.20 in the directory East to Egypt in 311-380 and a maximum ratio observed at 15.93 in the directory North Italy to Rome in 426-541. In several cases (i.e. East to Italy and Egypt, Gaul to Italy and North Italy to Rome) the evidence records a major surge from the 360s-370s, which confirms the hypothesis discussed in Ch. 3 about the correlation of slowdown with the Valentinianic laws directly affecting the public heralds.

2. Overlap Analysis

The objective of the overlap analysis is to determine whether the appearance of a formula defies the expected order within a given place, region, macro-region and year, e.g. post-consular dates appearing after the consular dates; formulas bearing only the name of the local consul being used after the full pair was already known, and so on. Accordingly, we have trained an algorithm to learn that there exist three types of evidence (i.e. T1, T2 and T3) and that their expected order of appearance must abide to the following if-statements:

- If T1 is found, this can only be followed by T2 or T3;
- If T1 is not found, but T2 is found, then T2 can only be followed by T3;
- If T1 and T2 are not found, but T3 is found, then T3 can only be followed by another T3.

There are two approaches that have been applied in using this algorithm. The first one entailed training the algorithm to factor in an interval of time occurring between the succession of T1 to T2 and T2 to T3 (or T1 to T3 in the chronological segment before 411). This allowed the algorithm to factor in time and distance between the different locations, thereby simulating the idea that updates of the formulas could still be on travel and hence conceding a leeway before recognising a piece of evidence as an actual overlap. In the second and less sophisticated approach the algorithmic analysis does not take into account this time-lag. Potentially we were able to adopt the first method to any possible year for which ORBIS data could be collected, but we limited this to years candidate to overlap due to time constraints. Each interval of time has been entirely pulled from our three statistical models as described above.¹³⁵⁹ As our dated evidence clearly indicates that the information needed longer than what ORBIS predicts to

¹³⁵⁹ Cf. p. 462 f. above.

travel from the likely starting location to the place of the evidence, providing dissemination times—rather than travel times—seemed to us the most logical way forward.

Three tests have been performed, with measurements being taken across

- (1) 284-395;
- (2) 284-410;
- (3) 284-541.

Test 3 assesses the number of anomalies made by users from all regions across the whole period under consideration, and tests 1 and 2 measure how often anomalies are attested before the termination of joint proclamations in 411. Test 1 excludes the anomalous years of Stilicho's regency, while test 2 includes them. For each test, the following four iterations of the analysis have been performed:

- a. Approach 1 (perfect years with certain locations only)
- b. Approach 1 (perfect years with all locations)
- c. Approach 1 + Approach 2 (perfect years with certain locations only)
- d. Approach 1 + Approach 2 (all years and all locations)

NB: for 'Perfect Years' are meant consular years that are not potentially homonymous once one of the consular names is omitted.

The rationale behind this multiple testing is to determine the degree of overlap over sub-sets where different levels of uncertainty with regard to issues of homonymy are likely to be present. Thus, as more evidence is progressively included from iteration a to d, more uncertainty is proportionally introduced into the data and their results.

2.1. Results summary.

Below we define as 'random error' whenever, in the place of the evidence, the new consul(s) were actually known but have been incorrectly documented. We denote the probability of a random error as p_0 . A Binomial Hypothesis test has been used, assuming that each piece of evidence is independent. We analyse the p -values for the test with a 5% level of significance.

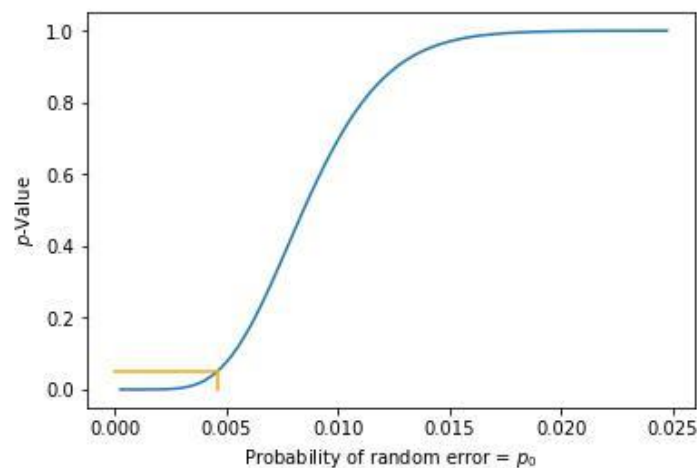
$$H_0:p=p_0 \text{ against } H_1:p>p_0$$

Let n be the total number of pieces of evidence within the analysis, and x be the number of overlaps found among that evidence. Then we consider $X \sim \text{Bin}(n, p_0)$ and can calculate at the corresponding $P(X > x)$ for different values of p_0 .

Test 1, (284-395)

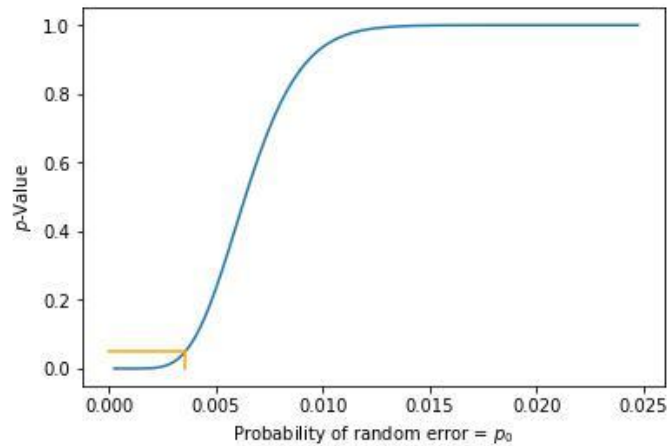
a. Approach 1 (perfect years with certain locations only)

If random errors were made 0.459% of the time or less (that is, the most recent formula was known in a location but not recorded), these results are statistically significant - that is, there is a less than 5% chance of observing 8 overlaps from a collection of 1025 documents if mistakes were occurring less than 0.459% of the time.



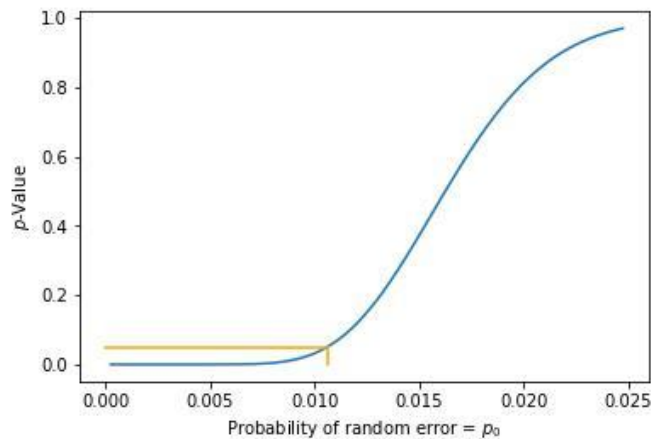
b. Approach 1 (perfect years with all locations)

If random errors were made 0.358% of the time or less (that is, the most recent formula was known in a location but not recorded), these results are statistically significant - that is, there is a less than 5% chance of observing 9 overlaps from a collection of 1516 documents if mistakes were occurring less than 0.358% of the time.



c. Approach 1 + Approach 2 (perfect years with certain locations only)

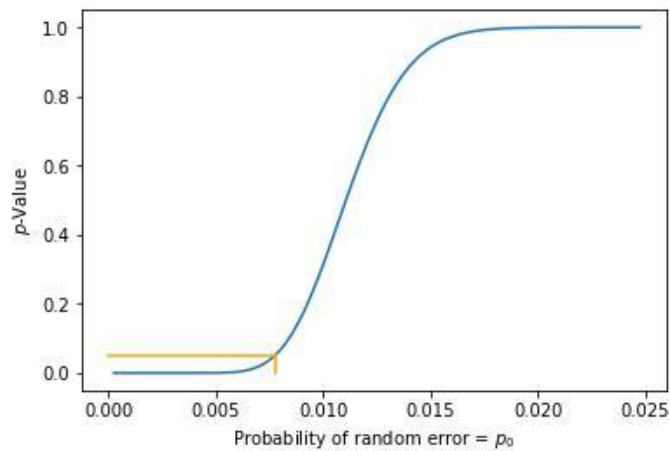
If random errors were made 1.059% of the time or less (that is, the most recent formula was known in a location but not recorded), these results are statistically significant - that is, there is a less than 5% chance of observing 16 overlaps from a collection of 1025 documents if mistakes were occurring less than 1.059% of the time.



d. Approach 1 + Approach 2 (all years and all locations)

If random errors were made 0.775% of the time or less (that is, the most recent formula was known in a location but not recorded), these results are statistically significant - that is, there is

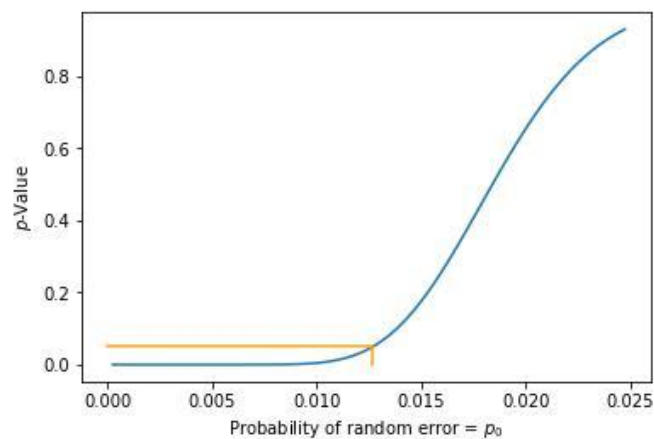
a less than 5% chance of observing 23 overlaps from a collection of 2139 documents if mistakes were occurring less than 0.775% of the time.



Test 2, (284-410)

a. Approach 1 (perfect years with certain locations only)

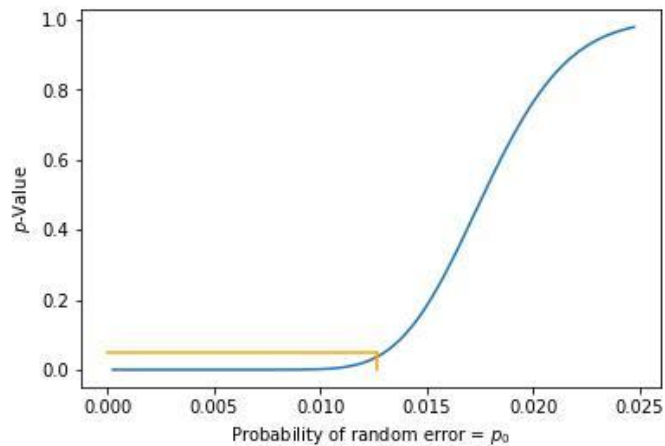
If random errors were made 1.270% of the time or less (that is, the most recent formula was known in a location but not recorded), these results are statistically significant - that is, there is a less than 5% chance of observing 21 overlaps from a collection of 1176 documents if mistakes were occurring less than 1.270% of the time.



a. Approach 1 (perfect years with all locations)

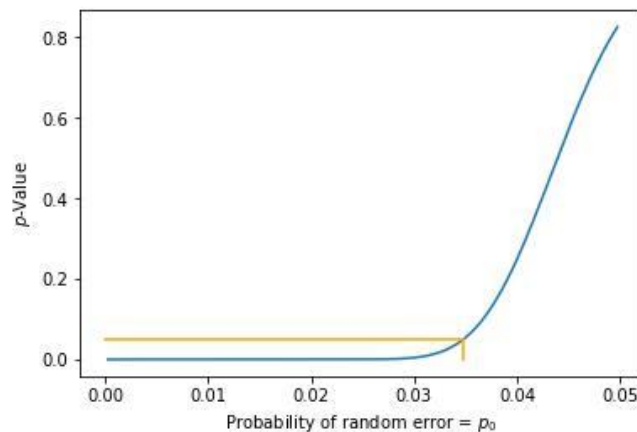
If random errors were made 1.303% of the time or less (that is, the most recent formula was known in a location but not recorded), these results are statistically significant - that is, there is

a less than 5% chance of observing 31 overlaps from a collection of 1792 documents if mistakes were occurring less than 1.303% of the time.



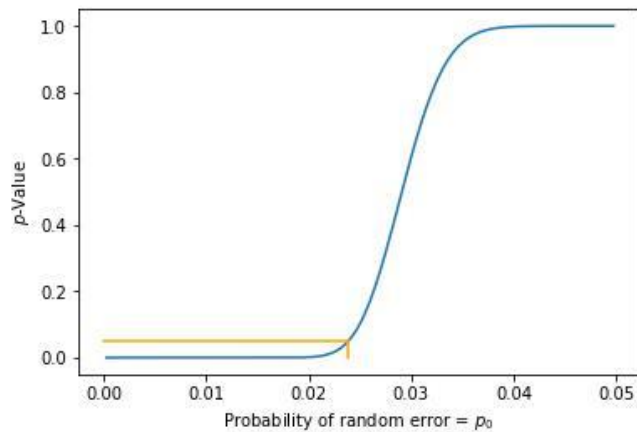
a. Approach 1 + Approach 2 (perfect years with certain locations only)

If random errors were made 3.479% of the time or less (that is, the most recent formula was known in a location but not recorded), these results are statistically significant - that is, there is a less than 5% chance of observing 51 overlaps from a collection of 1176 documents if mistakes were occurring less than 3.479% of the time.



a. Approach 1 + Approach 2 (all years and all locations)

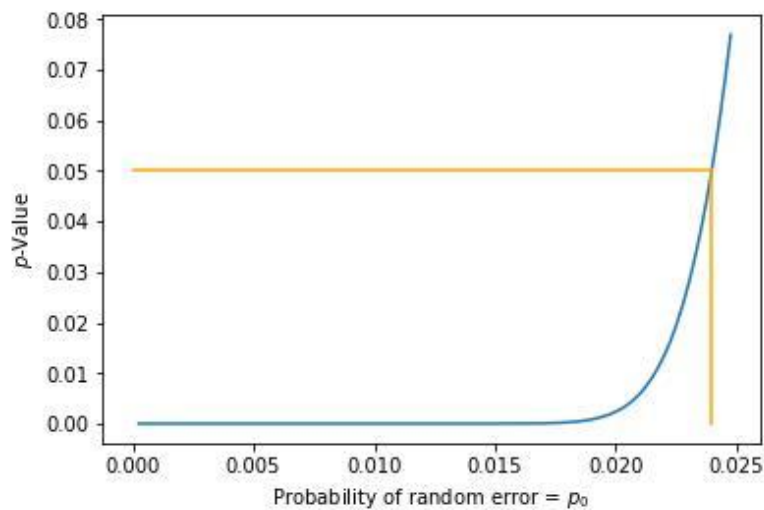
If random errors were made 2.386% of the time or less (that is, the most recent formula was known in a location but not recorded), these results are statistically significant - that is, there is a less than 5% chance of observing 71 overlaps from a collection of 2464 documents if mistakes were occurring less than 2.386% of the time.



Test 3, (284-541)

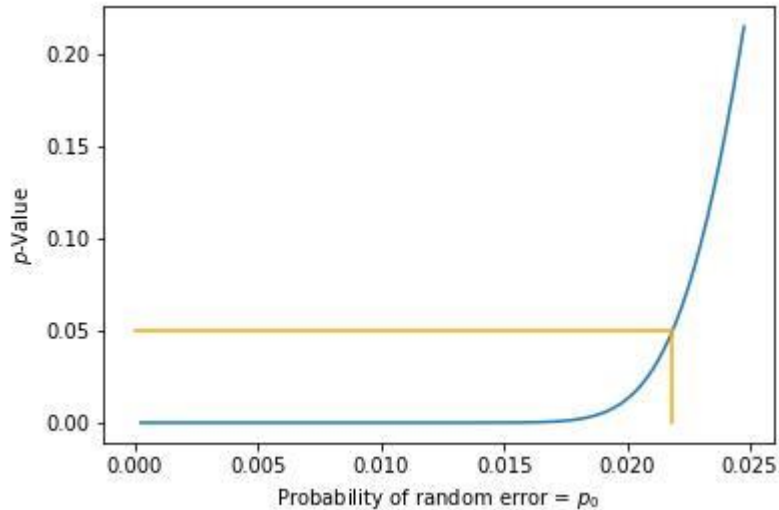
a. Approach 1 (perfect years with certain locations only)

If random errors were made $p_0=2.396\%$ of the time or less, these results are statistically significant - that is, there is a less than 5% chance of observing 51 overlaps from a collection of 1075 documents if mistakes were occurring less than 2.396% of the time.



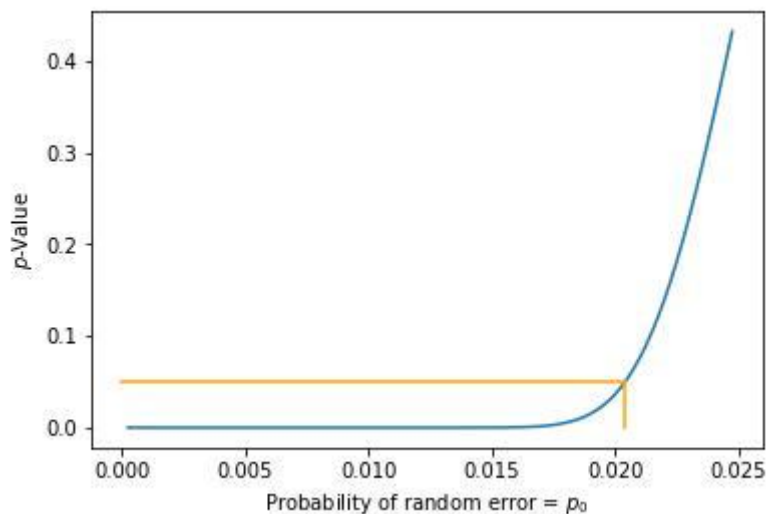
b. Approach 1 (perfect years with all locations)

If random errors were made $p_0=2.185\%$ of the time or less, these results are statistically significant - that is, there is a less than 5% chance of observing 51 overlaps from a collection of 1869 documents if mistakes were occurring less than 2.185% of the time.



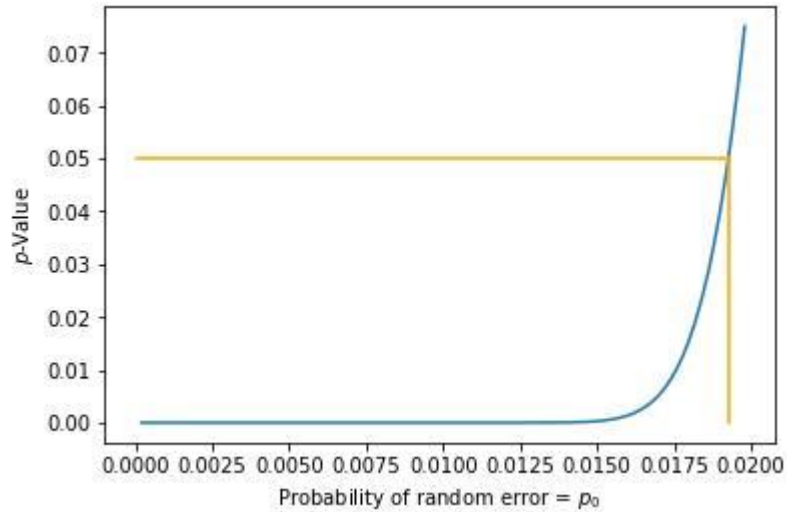
c. Approach 1 + Approach 2 (perfect years with certain locations only)

If random errors were made $p_0=2.041\%$ of the time or less, these results are statistically significant - that is, there is a less than 5% chance of observing 61 overlaps from a collection of 2438 documents if mistakes were occurring less than 2.041% of the time.



d. Approach 1 + Approach 2 (all years and all locations)

If random errors were made $p_0=1.927\%$ of the time or less, these results are statistically significant - that is, there is a less than 5% chance of observing 63 overlaps from a collection of 2675 documents if mistakes were occurring less than 1.927% of the time.



General Conclusions

We used the null hypothesis that overlaps were random errors (that is, due to the process of transmission of knowledge) presenting itself in a low percentage of overlaps (the value of which is unknown), with the alternative hypothesis being that they were systemic (i.e. the population did not use the dating system properly) for which a larger number of overlaps would be observed. Treating the writing of each piece of evidence in our data set as an event, a binomial distribution was used to model the appearance of random errors. We calculated that one would need to assume random errors (the only source of error) effect 2% of documents for the results to be statistically significant, the observed rate being:

	A	B	C	d
Test 1 (284-395)	0.459%;	0.358%	1.059%	0.775%;
Test 2 (284-410)	1.27%	1.303%;	3.479%;	2.386%
Test 3 (284-541)	2.396%	2.185%	2.041%	1.927%

The non-computerised process of transmission of knowledge in consular dissemination was completely reliant on human resources and subject to human error. In such a fragile system,

errors would be expected to occur more frequently than for 2% of the evidence meaning a hypothesis test would not be significant. Hence we have not observed a sufficient amount of overlap to convince us that overlap is systemic and conclude that it is due to random errors.

It is worth noting that the values reported for tests 2 and 3 are overall higher than the values reported by test 1, which indicates an increase of the occurrence of overlap over time. As things stand, then, it would appear that people were making more errors in using consular dating in the fifth and sixth centuries than in the course of the fourth.

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