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‘NON DUO ANTONINI SED DUO AUGUSTI’

The Consuls of 161 and the Origins and Traditions of the Latin Consular *Fasti* of the Roman Empire

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I. The Veracity of the *Vita Helii*

The *Historia Augusta*'s life of L. Aelius Caesar, the *Vita Helii*, is unfortunately one of that work's so-called secondary lives, one of those early biographies of usurpers and lesser augusti or caesars usually tossed onto the scrap heap because apart from whatever derives from one of the more trustworthy primary lives their narratives were almost entirely fabricated by their late-fourth century author.¹ As far as the *VHelii* is concerned, no one has found much that is worthwhile in its seven chapters apart from 2.9; 3.1–3, 8, 9; 4.7–8; 5.1, 4–5; and 6.1–4, 9, which derive either from the *Vita Hadriani* (21.4, 23.2, 10–24.1) or its sources.² Unfortunately even the process of transferral from one biography to another has caused invention to creep in, as seemingly sound material has been augmented and corrupted. For instance, Hadrian's lament, *In caducum parietem nos inclinavimus et perdidimus quater milies sestertium, quod populo et militibus pro adoptione Commodi dedimus* (*VHadr.* 23.14) becomes *Ter milies perdidimus, quod exercitui populoque dependimus; si quidem satis in caducum parietem incubuimus et qui non ipsam rem publicam, sed nos ipsos sustentare uix possit* (*VHelii* 6.3). Little wonder that this life has been condemned by historians.

However, there is a passage, neglected by commentators, that does in fact contain comments that appear to be correct and accurate, and a comparison of these comments with *VHadriani* 24.2 and *VMarci* 7.5–6 suggests that they were made by the *scriptor* himself:

Nam ipsi sunt qui primi duo augusti appellati sunt, et quorum fastis consularibus sic nomina praescribuntur ut dicantur non duo Antonini sed duo augusti. Tantumque huius rei et nouitas et dignitas ualuit ut fasti consulares nonnulli ab his sumerent ordinem consulum (*V. Helii* 5.13–14).

For they [M. Aurelius and L. Verus] were the first to be called ‘the two augusti’³ and in consular lists their names are recorded not as ‘the two Antonini’ but as ‘the two augusti’. Both the novelty and dignity of this fact were so striking that a number of consular lists begin their enumeration of the consuls with these two.

Of the translators no one has made any comment on this passage, apart from Callu, who states, “On n’a pas conservé de *fasti consulares* confirmant l’existence de *terminus a quo* en 161.”⁴ Chastagnol makes no reference to it in his introductory section to this life, ‘Le contenu factuel’ (pp. 64–6). To my knowledge no other writer on the *HA* has made any comment on this passage, though Mommsen, at least, does quote it with reference to the consuls of 161 in his edition of the so-called *Consularia Italica*.⁵

¹ See, for example, T. D. Barnes, *The Sources of the Historia Augusta*, Brussels 1978, 48–9, and André Chastagnol, *Histoire Auguste. Les empereurs romains des II^e et III^e siècles*, Paris 1994, xxxix and 61–66.

² I do not wish to enter upon a discussion of the sources of the primary lives here. It is enough to say that I believe that there were two major sources, Marius Maximus and another biographer, *Ignotus* for convenience, though not exactly Syme's *Ignotus*. I do not entirely accept Syme's arguments for *Ignotus* (*Ignotus* was neither always good, nor was Maximus always bad) but base my own conclusions on a study of doublets in the primary lives and a comparison of the *HA* with witnesses to the *Kaisergeschichte* (*KG*), which also used Maximus.

³ Of the major translators – David Magie, *The Scriptores Historiae Augustae* 1, Cambridge, Mass. 1921; Anthony Birley, *Lives of the Later Caesars*, Harmondsworth 1976; Paolo Soverini, *Scrittori della storia Augusta*, Torino 1983; J.-P. Callu, *Histoire Auguste* 1, Paris 1992; and Chastagnol (cit. n. 1) – only Soverini and Chastagnol translate this clause correctly.

⁴ (Cit. n. 3), 144, n. 41.

⁵ *Chron. min.* 1 (= *MGH: AA* 9): 286 n. 1.

The first comment about Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus' being the first two *augusti* to rule at the same time is obviously true and this is the only part of the passage under discussion that would seem to derive from one of the *scriptor*'s written sources.⁶

The fact that the *fasti consulares* name the consuls of this year (AD 161) in the strange form of *duo augusti*, rather than by the names of the two emperors,⁷ is easily demonstrated by glancing at the surviving Latin lists and texts that used such lists, all of which record *duobus augustis* [*sc. consulibus*] for 161: the *Chronograph of 354*, a collection of documents containing the most accurate surviving consular *fasti* and one of only two lists surviving in Latin that extend from 509 BC down to the late empire (Chron. min. 1: 58); the Liberian catalogue of Roman bishops also contained in the *Chron. 354* (p. 74.22); the *Descriptio consulum* (Mommsen's so-called *Consularia Constantinopolitana*), our other extensive *fasti*, in the form of *consularia* from the end of the third century,⁸ and a document put into its final form in 389 in Constantinople and continued down to 468 in various locations in the West (Chron. min. 1: 225 and Burgess, p. 230); Prosper's *Epitoma Chronicon*, a chronicle originally compiled in 433 in Aquitaine with editions of 445 and 455 compiled in Rome, whose consular list begins in AD 29 (Chron. min. 1: 428); the Easter tables (*Cursus Paschalis*) of Victorius of Aquitania and the *Chronica* of Cassiodorus Senator, of which Victorius derives from Prosper and Cassiodorus from Victorius (Chron. min. 1: 696 and Chron. min. 2: 143); the *Fasti Vindobonenses priores* and *posteriores* (*FVpr/post*), two recensions of the same *fasti/consularia*, whose consular lists begin in 44 BC and conclude in AD 493 (*priores*) and 539 (*posteriores*) (Chron. min. 1: 286);⁹ the so-called *Liber Paschalis codicis Cizensis*, a fragmentary consular list originally compiled in 447 (Chron. min. 1: 508); and the *Prologus Paschae ad Vitalem*, a short compilation of Biblical and post-Biblical events compiled in 395 (Chron. min. 1: 738).

However, in spite of this unanimity among the written lists, there is but a single surviving Latin inscription that refers to the consuls of 161 in this fashion (CIL 6.126), *II Aug cos*. This divergence between the written and the epigraphical evidence is most peculiar and calls for elucidation.

The proof for the last item in the above-quoted passage might appear to be more difficult to obtain, though, for as Callu rightly points out there are no surviving lists that begin in 161. However, the author of the *Prologus Paschae ad Vitalem* (noted above) had at least two consular lists and he states that one of them began with the consuls of 161: *incipiunt consules iam a duobus augustis*.¹⁰ This is confirmed by the fact that the names of the consuls he reports before and after this notice derive from two quite separate traditions (see n. 50, below). The statements of the *HA* would thus seem to be confirmed by an exactly contemporary writer.

⁶ The comment certainly existed in Marius Maximus, at least, since it appears in three witnesses to the *KG*, which depended upon Maximus: Jerome 204^b (*Hi primum aequo iure imperium administraverunt, cum usque ad hoc tempus singuli Augusti fuerint*), Eutropius 8.9.2 (*tumque primum Romana res publica duobus aequo iure imperium administrantibus paruit, cum usque ad eum singulos semper habuisset Augustos*); and Festus 21.1 (*Antonini duo, Marcus et Verus, hoc est socer et gener, pariter Augusti, imperium orbis aequata primum potestate tenuerunt*).

⁷ Since L. Aurelius Verus never bore the name Antoninus (see Dietmar Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle*², Darmstadt 1996, 143), the *HA*'s comment about *duo Antonini* is incorrect (see also *VSeueri* 20.1), but as can be seen from Eutropius 8.9.1 (*L. Annius Antoninus Verus*) and Festus 21.1 (*Antonini duo*, quoted above, n. 6) Marius Maximus thought that they both were called Antoninus.

⁸ Although these terms have no ancient support I shall here use *fasti* to indicate a simple list of consuls and *consularia* to indicate a list of consuls that has been annotated with short historical notices of various kinds. For a short description of *consularia*, see R. W. Burgess, *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana*, Oxford 1993, 178–83.

⁹ The *Excerpta Latina barbara* (in Alfred Schoene (ed.), *Eusebi Chronicorum libri duo 1: Eusebi Chronicorum liber prior*, Berlin 1875, 177–239; Theodor Mommsen (ed.), *Chron. min. 1: 274–85 and 290–8*; and C. Frick, *Chronica minora 1*, Leipzig 1892, 183–371) contain *fasti/consularia* that are closely related to the *FVpost* but are extremely corrupt. They are missing the consuls of 101 to 295 and so have been omitted from my discussion here, but they will appear in the discussion below. I shall refer to them by the familiar title Mommsen gave them, the *Barbarus Scaligeri*.

¹⁰ Since he cites consular dates before this point as well, this must mean that he was using at least two lists, with the 'iam' referring to a new list.

But why would *fasti consulares nonnulli* begin in the year 161? There does not seem to have been anything particular about that year that would have prompted this. Dates such as 509 BC, 44 BC, 31 BC, or AD 29 (the birth of Christ) would have been more obvious starting points. Is there any further or better evidence for this unusual date as an inception point? Furthermore, why do the written lists differ from the contemporary epigraphical evidence and how can we account for the unanimity of the written evidence, since the inscriptions show that *duo augusti* was not the officially promulgated form? Are there any other years with a similar formula in either the written or epigraphical evidence that might explain this phenomenon? The pursuit of an answer to these questions is very complex and convoluted, requiring a number of detailed excursus and hypothetical suppositions, and though some conclusions must remain hypothetical the veracity of the *VHelii* will be conclusively confirmed and a very surprising picture of the nature of consular lists during the imperial period will be uncovered.

II. Excursus: The Past and Present Nature of the Surviving Lists

Before the analyses can begin, however, certain introductory material must be presented. The lists that will be fundamental to the discussion below have already been introduced above – the *Chron. 354*, the *Descriptio consulum*, the *Liber Paschalis*, the *FVpr/post*, and the chronicle of Prosper – and they must first be described and a short account of their past and present nature provided. Unfortunately it will be necessary to assume as proven certain interrelationships among and between these lists that will not be demonstrated until section III.2, below (see Tables 1 and 2); this cannot be avoided.

All lists as they now stand (for the most part) provide a single name – usually the *cognomen*, but the *nomen* if the individual had no *cognomen*¹¹ – from each of the two consuls appointed each year, connected with *et*, each pair in the ablative case, *consulibus* being understood (e.g. *Gaetulico et Sabino*). Each list is therefore not just a list of consuls but a list of dates, since each year was ‘named’ after the two ordinary consuls (*consules ordinarii*) who took office on 1 January and such consular dates were normally used in the form of ablative absolutes. Since Romans had no official method of identifying years using numbers, *fasti* were necessary to identify the consular pairs and hence the dates used in laws, decrees, contracts, letters, tombstones, pay records, military records, personal and private documents, histories, indeed any type of writing that required the use of dates.¹²

However, the names in most consular dates down into the second century that survive in inscriptions and literary works appear either in the full form of the name – *praenomen*, *nomen*, and *cognomina* – or in a shortened form of *praenomen* and *nomen*, or, starting in the last century of the Republic, *praenomen* and *cognomen*, *nomen* and *cognomen*, or *cognomen* and *nomen*. After these names was added the standard abbreviation for *consulibus*, *cos*. These names were (almost) always placed in apposition, thus *C. Laecanio Basso M. Licinio Crasso Frugi cos* (AD 64). When individuals held the consulship more than once, this was indicated with an iteration, thus *Cn. Pompeio II M. Licinio II cos* (55 BC) or *Cn. Pompeio III cos* (52 BC), where *II* and *III* represent *iterum* and *ter*. These numbers became particularly important for distinguishing the years when emperors held the consulship since a number of them did so many times in succession (e.g. Augustus thirteen times, thus *Imp Caes Aug XIII M. Silvano cos* [2 BC], and Domitian seventeen times, thus *Imp Domitiano XVII T. Clemente cos* [95]). Suffect consuls, ‘replacement’ consuls who took office at various dates throughout the year but whose names were rarely used for dating purposes outside Rome, were normally not recorded in *fasti*, except under special

¹¹ For convenience I shall only refer to *cognomina*, not *cognomina* and *agnomina*. By *nomen*, I mean the *nomen gentilicium*.

¹² Brian Croke (City Chronicles of Late Antiquity, in Graeme Clarke with Brian Croke, Raoul Mortley, and Alanna Emmett Nobbs (eds.), Reading the Past in Late Antiquity, Rushcutters Bay, NSW 1990, 181) states, “Consular lists were . . . a requirement of daily life, especially in legal and commercial work (dating laws and contracts) and public administration. They needed to be updated constantly too, and at any one point there must have been thousands (perhaps tens of thousands) of such lists in existence.” This is only true of contemporary lists, however, those covering the past 100 years or so. As we shall see, single lists stretching back to the Republic, let alone to Brutus and Collatinus, were probably rare.

circumstances. Nevertheless, these consulships were officially counted and so many ordinary consuls appear for the first time in the *fasti* as consul for the second time.

Beginning in the 90s, however, consular dates began to be recorded on public inscriptions in a form that used a single *cognomen* only, with *et* (and any iterations) – the form that we see in the existing lists – and this would seem to have become an officially disseminated form from the second quarter of the second century and the standard form for most consular dates within about one hundred years.¹³

However, in the *Descriptio* in particular we can see evidence of multiple name elements, including *praenomina* and in many cases two *cognomina*, which shows that the names must originally have contained at least three and in some cases four elements and were at some later date reduced to the form *A et B* (where *A* and *B* are *cognomina*). Once this is recognized, we can see that this was the case in all other *fasti* as well.

Praenomina were removed fairly consistently from the *Descriptio*, except where they had been expanded or where they had been erroneously combined with other names and thus hidden: *Appio* (307 BC), *Tito* (98), *Micotta* (= *M. Cotta*, 74), *Marco* (73), *Cn.* (72), *Plendulo* (= *P. Lentulo*, 71), *Lucio* (64), *Decio* (= *C. Iulio*, 59), *Lucio* (= *Gaio*, AD 1), *Sectis* (= *Sextis*, 14a), *Tito* (69), and *Tanfricano* (= *T. Africano*, 112).¹⁴ Although I shall count it below with the double-name forms, the original *praenomen* abbreviation *Ti.* (Tiberius) was expanded to *Tiberiano* at some stage in the tradition of the *Descriptio* and retained (AD 18, 21, 31). The *Liber Paschalis*, a half-way stage in the tradition between the *Descriptio* and the *FVpr/Prosper*, still retains the *praenomina* *G.* (sic)(AD 39–41), *Tib.* (42–3, 47, 51), and *Q.* (49). The *FVpr*, which shares its *fasti* precursor with the *Descriptio*, also provides a few examples of *praenomina*: *Gaio* (46 BC; § 15), *Gaio* and *M.* (44, § 10), *Marco* (twice) and *Gaio* (–, §§ 11–12), and *Lellio* (*Laelio* in Prosper; = *L. Aelio*, AD 137). The latter is the latest evidence for a *praenomen* in the written *fasti* tradition. A few famous and obvious *praenomina* remain in the *Chron. 354* as well, for Julius Caesar, Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, *C.* (= *Gaio*; 48 BC [= 706 AUC] and AD 39, 40, 41) and *Tito* (= *Tiberio*; AD 18, 21, 42, 43, 47, 51). *Ti.* was properly expanded to *Tiberio* in 31. The *Chron. 354* is related to the *Descriptio* and *FVpr/Prosper* between c. 10 BC and AD 78/92. The emperor Titus is referred to by his *praenomen* as well in all lists, but that was the standard diacritical form to distinguish him from his homonymous father, T. Flavius Vespasianus.

In addition, a large number of double names with *nomen* and *cognomen* or double *cognomina* still survive in the *Descriptio*. They are as follows, wherein p = *praenomen*, n = *nomen*, and c = *cognomen*: s.aa. 503 BC (np), 292 (cc), 268 (nc), 266 (nc), 260 (cc), 236 (cc), 228 (cc), 226 (cc), 221 (cc), 215 (nc), 214 (nc), 205 (cc), 194 (cc), 162 (cc), 159 (nc),¹⁵ 147 (cc), 145 (cc), 138 (cc), 137 (cc), 134 (cc), 118 (nc), 117 (cc), 111 (cc, cn), 109 (cc), 98 (cc), 80 (cc), 79 (cn, cn), 73 (nc), 68 (nc), 66 (nc), 61 (cc, cc), 60 (cc), 57 (cc), 52 (cc), 48 (nc), 41 (nc), 36 (cn), 16 (nc), 10 (pc), AD 14 (nc), 29 (cn, cn), 30 (cn), 31 (pn), 32 (nc; *Aruntillo* = *Arruntio Camillo*), 33 (cnc; *Galba Libolo* = *Livio Ocella Galba*), and 58 (cc).¹⁶

¹³ I hope to document these changes in a future paper on onomastic practice in Latin consular formulae.

¹⁴ Agrippa in 503 BC and Africanus in 10 BC are also surviving *praenomina*, but were not recognized as such by those who removed the *praenomina*. These will therefore be counted with *nomina* and *cognomina*, below.

¹⁵ The entries for 159–8 BC read, *Dolabella et Fuluino / Nobilius Lepido et Lenate II*. The *Nobilis* (scr. *Nobiliore*) belongs in 159 with *Fuluino* (scr. *Fuluio*), even though it is written with *Lepido*.

¹⁶ This list does not include *Sabino* in 269 BC, *Longo* in 243, *Seculiano* in 115, *Rufo* in 39, *Cinna* in 19, *Nonniano* in AD 3, and *Rufo* in 136, since they appear to be intrusive, or at least there is no other evidence for any consuls in the proximity of these names having been so named. In AD 25 *Galua* may be intrusive or more probably may have been created from *Cn* in the following consul's name. The repeated *Seuero* in 119 is a dittography for the *Seuero* in 120.

Nor does this list include a number of double forms that were added after the names had been reduced to the current *A et B* forms by an historically-minded reader or copyist. *Pompeio* was changed to *Pompeio Magno* in 35 BC and AD 14 (but not in 70, 55, or 52 BC, where the original source only had *Cn Pompeio* without the *Magno*) and an incorrect *Pompeio* was added after *Magno* in AD 5 (as if to provide Pompey's three consulships); *Augusto* was changed to *Octauiano* (*Octauiano Aug* in the first two instances and *Octauiano Augusto* in most of the Greek examples cited below) (33, 31, 30, 29–23, 5, 2 BC); Gaius Caesar has been turned into Lucius Caesar (AD 1); and Germanicus and Drusus have been conflated into a single

The *FVpr* has Caesar’s *nomen* and *cognomen* in 44 BC and the *Chron. 354* and *FVpr* have his *tria nomina* in 48 and 44 BC respectively. *Caes(are)* is often retained in the *Chron. 354*: in 15, 18 (both), 21 (both), 31, and 55 it is a name (of Tiberius, Germanicus, Drusus, and Nero), while in 140, 145, and 251 it appears as a title (M. Aurelius and Decius II).

The consul *posterior* of 121 BC in the *Descriptio*, *Maximo Aemilii* from Q. Fabius Q. Aemiliani f. Q. n. Maximus, suggests that filiations may also have originally appeared in some of the Republican *fasti* sections at least, but there is no other evidence of it.

Even some suffect consuls originally appeared in the precursor to surviving *fasti* and a number of these survive in the existing versions. In the *Descriptio* they appear s.aa. 478, 393 (both), 220 (both), 215, 108, 23, and AD 77.¹⁷ These all stand as the regular consuls of the year. On the other hand, the suffects of 256, 217, and 162 (both) are noted explicitly as suffects in separate entries beneath the original consuls of the year. The suffects of 12 BC are listed without notice after the original consuls of 12, as if the consuls of 11 BC, while the *Celso et Hiberno* after the consuls of 22 BC are probably suffects of that year. The *FVpr* and Prosper (only from AD 29), which derive from the same precursor as the *Descriptio*, also list the suffects of AD 42 (Gallus) and 69 (Otho) as regular consuls, and the *FVpr/post* also list a suffect in 35 BC (Cornelius). These do not now appear in the *Descriptio*, but would seem to have appeared at one time as alternatives in the common precursor (but see n. 19 for another possibility). The *Chron. 354* names the suffects of 68 (Vatia) and 34 BC (Atratinus) as regular consuls. They do not appear in the *Descriptio*, which at this point derives from a different list (as noted above).

It was probably after the mid third century, when the practice of using the single *cognomen* in the form *A et B* had fully developed for all uses of consular dates, that compilers began to reduce the republican and early imperial names in their *fasti* to single name elements – from, e.g., *C. Asinio Pollione C. Antistio Vetere cos* to *Pollione et Vetere* – if only for consistency’s sake, though for some reason in a very haphazard fashion in the tradition behind the *Descriptio*. The process used for onomastic reduction was the same for all compilers: the last name of the recorded form was taken as the diacritic, *Mario* in the case of *C. Mario*, or *Asprenate* in the case of *L. Nonio Calpurnio Torquato Asprenate*, though in the case of emperors the familiar diacritic was selected, regardless of what position that name appeared in, thus the *cognomen* for Vespasian and Trajan, for example, but the *praenomen* for Tiberius, Nero, and Titus, *nomen* for Caligula and Claudius, and the first of two *cognomina* for M. Aurelius as caesar (thus *Aurelio*, not *Vero*).

In some cases, however, later compilers could introduce error into the selection process. There are a number of differences in the names between those presented by the *Descriptio* and those by the *FVpr*, for example, which, as has been noted above, ultimately depend upon a common precursor. In each case, the compiler of the *Descriptio* has chosen the last available name, while the compiler of the tradition underlying the *FVpr*/Prosper has chosen the second last or originally allowed a multiple name to stand: 46 BC, Gaius Iulius Caesar: *FVpr* (§ 15) *Gaio Iulio*, *Descr. Caesare*; Aemilius Lepidus: *FVpr* (§ 17) *Aemilio*, *Descr. Lepido*; 42, Munatius Plancus: *FVpr* (§ 16) *Mimatium et Planco*, *Descr. Plano*; 41, Antonius Pietas: *FVpr* (§ 18) *Antonino*, *Descr. Antonino Pietate*; 41, Servilius Isauricus: *FVpr* (§ 18) *Serulio*, *Descr. Isaurico*; 31, Messalla Corvinus: *FVpr* (§ 37) *Messala*, *Descr. Corbilio*; 22, Marcellus Aeserninus: *FVpr* (§ 46) *Marcello*, *Descr. Aesernino*; 21, Aemilius Lepidus: *FVpr* (§ 48) *Emilio*, *Descr. Lepido*; 20 Silius Nerua: *FVpr* (§ 49) *Silo*, *Descr. Nerua*; AD 33, Sulpicius Galba: *FVpr*/Prosper

individual (AD 18 and 21). These alterations appear in the *Descriptio*, *Chron. Pasch.*, and Epiphanius (*CP*: Ludovicus Dindorf (ed.), *Chronicon Paschale*, CSHB, Bonn 1832, 361.11, 13, 18, 20; 363.2, 8, 10; 364.18; 365.9, 11–13; 367.16; 388.5 [it is missing the alterations of 35 BC and AD 5]; Epiphanius: Karl Holl and Jürgen Dummer (eds.), *Epiphanius II. Panarion haer.* 34–64², GCS, Berlin 1980, 290.5, 9, 12; 291.3, 7, 11), of which the latter shows that the alterations must pre-date 370.

¹⁷ In my edition of the *Descriptio* I also list the *consul posterior* of AD 85 as a suffect. Since the publication of Degrossi’s edition of the *Fasti Ostienses* in 1947 (Attilio Degrossi, *Inscriptiones Italiae* 13.1, Rome 1947, 192–3) it had been thought that the original consul was a *Valerius Messalla/Messalinus*. An inscription and a diploma since published and unknown to me in 1993 have shown that scholarly conjecture before the publication of the *Fasti Ostienses* was correct, and that this consul was in fact T. Aurelius Fulvus (see AE 1975.53 and 131, and 1993.1788).

Sulpicio, Descr. Galba; 42 and 47, Tiberius Claudius: *FVpr/Prosper Tiberio, Descr. Claudio*; 50, Suillius Nerullinus: *FVpr Silio, Descr. Neruiniano* (see n. 29); 60, Cornelius Lentulus: *FVpr/Prosper Cornelio, Descr. Lentulo*; 69, T. Vinius Rufinus: *FVpr Silviniano/Prosper Silvano, Descr. Tito Rufino*; and 137, L. Aelius Caesar: *FVpr Lellio/Prosper Laelio, Descr. Caesare*.

A comparison of the consular names in the *Chronicon Paschale*¹⁸ and the *Descriptio* in most of the years noted in the list of double names above shows what has probably happened here: in these years two names had originally been retained in the tradition behind the *Descriptio* and the *FVpr*, usually the penultimate and the last. A later copyist of the tradition behind the *FVpr* took the first and omitted the last, making it appear as though the original compiler had selected the second-last form. Two examples from 65 and 81 – where the *Chron. 354* and the *Descriptio*, which derive from the same tradition as the *FVpr* and Prosper, agree in selecting the first *cognomen*: A. Licinius Nerua Silianus: *Chron. 354* and *Descr.*, *Nerua*; *FVpr* and Prosper, *Silvano*, and L. Asinius Pollio Verrucosus: *Chron. 354* and *Descr.*, *Pollione*; *FVpr* and Prosper, *Vero* – are harder to explain, and may be later corrections in the tradition of the *FVpr* and Prosper.¹⁹

Overall, then, there is abundant evidence for multiple names existing in the common sources of existing Latin consular lists to the 60s AD. The latest evidence for the multiple name of a *privatus* is a *praenomen* in 112 (*Descriptio*). The last two suffectus appear in 69 and 77. The full name of L. Aelius Caesar, the heir apparent to Hadrian, originally appeared in 137 (*Descriptio/FVpr/Prosper*)²⁰ and, as we shall see, the full name of the emperor L. Verus (and of M. Aurelius) originally appeared in 161, though

¹⁸ The *Chronicon Paschale* is a Greek chronicle compiled in 630, whose imperial *fasti* to 384 are based upon an early, fourth century Greek version of the *Descriptio* (Michael and Mary Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale*, 284–628 AD, *Translated Texts for Historians* 7, Liverpool 1989, ix–xviii, and Hydatius [cit. n. 8], 197 and n. 31).

¹⁹ This type of ‘interpolation’ is usually difficult to spot and can make analysis extremely difficult and confusing. A number of examples of this type of correction are noted below in nn. 24, 57, 66, and 74). Other examples include the suffectus of 12 BC, which appear in the *Chron. Pasch.* (367.6), *Descriptio*, and *FVpr*, but have been removed from the *FVpost* and *Barb. Scal.* (§ 61, *Chron. min.* 1: 277), which are of the same tradition as the *FVpr* (see Tables 1 and 2); the consuls of AD 4, which are missing in the *Descriptio* and *FVpr*, but appear in the *FVpost* and *Barb. Scal.* (§ 79; the name of the first consul is different in both and both are incorrect); and between 226 and 227, and 344 and 345 the *FVpost* and Prosper exhibit an extra pair of consuls that do not appear in the *FVpr*, the former a spurious pair and the latter the Eastern consuls that should have replaced the Western post-consulate that all record in 346. Since *FVpr* and *FVpost* are so closely related, the most likely explanation is that an early scribe of the *FVpost* compared his list to *fasti* closely related to those used in Prosper and added the extra names to his list. This must have happened very early in the tradition of the *FVpost* since, first of all, it now suffers extreme corruption that would have prevented any such comparison later, and, second, the additional consul between 226 and 227 is almost lost in later corruption between 224 and 228. On the other hand, the *Barb. Scal.*, also closely related to *FVpr/post*, records the Eastern consuls of 346 in 346 with no trace of the Western post-consulate. Other instances of agreement between *FVpost* and Prosper against *FVpr* between 161 and 311 (164, 171, 173, 187, 188, 209, 242, 265, 268, and 270, and omissions of consuls by *FVpr* in 175, 191, 205, 255, 272–5, and 279) are more likely a result of corruption and scribal error in *FVpr*. The *Aurelio/Vero* discrepancy in 140 and 145 (*Descr.*, *Aurelio*; *FVpr*, *Vero*, for M. Aelius Aurelius Verus) also seem to be the result of later ‘correction’, since the agreement of the *Descriptio* with the *Liber Paschalis* and Prosper shows that Verus did not exist in the common tradition (see also n. 60, below, and Appendix 1). There is also the case of *Proculo* which appears in 238 in Prosper (for Pontius Proculus Pontianus), whereas the *Chron. 354*, *Descriptio*, and *FVpost* (it is corrupt in *FVpr*) have the correct *Pontiano*, yet Prosper is closely related to the other three (see Table 2). Numerous inscriptions also give *Proculo* (e.g. AE 1994.1552, and CIL 2.5521; 3.10428, 10487, 10820, 12455; 13.3162.I.29, 7844), which suggests a later change in Prosper’s list influenced by this disseminated form. For another such change in Prosper, see n. 47 and Appendix 1.2, below. It should be noted with regard to the inscriptional evidence that I cite in this paper that I am interested only providing examples to illustrate the points I am making. I have made no attempt to provide an exhaustive list of every relevant inscription and have for the most part restricted myself to a search of AE and CIL.

²⁰ This is paralleled on brick stamps, which normally record consular names at this date in the form *A et B* that we have seen above, but in this year record L. Aelius Caesar’s name in full on every surviving brick (see Herbert Bloch, *Indices to the Roman Brick Stamps*, HSCP 57–8, 1948, 82–7, esp. 85–6); on a marble quarry mark from Docimium in Phrygia, which records *L. Aelio Caes n(ostro) II et Balbino cos* (AE 1994.1671a), even though such marks usually record the year with only the abbreviated name of a single consul (e.g. *Verg(iliano) cos* [115]); and on two military inscriptions from Arabia and Moesia Inferior engraved in 162, which record 136 as *Commodo et Pompeiano*, but 137 as *L. Aelio Caes II cos* (AE 1973.554) and *L. Aelio II cos* (AE 1925.109), with no colleague.

this is a special case to which we shall return. In 222 the emperor's name Severus Alexander appeared in one of two surviving traditions,²¹ and the title *Caes*, apparently retained as a name (under the influence of L. Aelius Caesar in 137?), survived in the years 140, 145, 161, and 251.

It is certain, therefore, that the precursors of the above-mentioned documents that circulated in the early empire (with the exception of Prosper, which has always been as it now appears) originally included the full, official name of each consul, *praenomen*, *nomen*, and *cognomen* (-*mina*, if any), probably in apposition, e.g. *Cn. Cornelio Lentulo Gaetulico C. Caluisio Sabino*. Since evidence for multiple names becomes rarer after the 60s (81?, 112, 137, 140, 145, [161], 222, 251, the last six being imperial names), it is likely that three- and four-element names began to be abandoned by compilers from the last quarter of the first century and so from that date probably most if not all names were originally recorded in the *A et B* form that we now see.

III. The *Fasti* of 161 and Two post-161 Recensions

III.1. The Manner of the Analysis

The analysis with which we must now proceed is based chiefly upon a comparison of the consular names preserved in the surviving lists. This comparison will be based upon a compilation of conjunctive and disjunctive errors contained within these lists with reference to the established text of the *fasti consulares* as published by Degrassi.²² A conjunctive error is a common error in two or more texts that demonstrates a link between or among those texts. Conjunctive errors need to be distinct and generally unlikely to have resulted from simple copying mistakes or confusion between similar names, and there need to be a number of them within a particular section of text for a conclusion to be drawn. This generally discounts the random appearance or non-appearance of iteration numbers and changes in the order of names within a pair (*B et A* instead of *A et B*). Simple spelling errors, such as *Maximo* for *Maximino* or *Antonino* for *Antonio*, and vice versa, are normally likely enough to arise through copying errors that such similarities cannot normally be used to determine a common source. By their very nature, conjunctive errors can normally only arise when two or more texts derive from a common source. Chance or accident can explain individual common errors, but the more errors that two lists have in common within the same portion of text the more likely it is, simply on statistical grounds, that they must share a common source. As a result of this phenomenon, in general it is the case that conjunctive errors are more telling of relationships between and among texts than individual disjunctive errors.

Disjunctive errors are errors that serve to show that certain texts are not related. These are more difficult to evaluate than conjunctive errors since two texts can share a common source but apparent disjunctive errors can then be introduced at a later stage in the various manuscript traditions, either through correction or contamination. Texts with conjunctive errors can therefore also contain differences. However, comparisons of large sections of text can help to overcome such problems since any errors introduced during later copying are more likely to be randomly placed throughout a text and one can often get a sense of how frequent such 'single entry' errors are. Furthermore, they are less likely to appear in certain areas and be absent in others. Such 'single entry' errors can thus usually be described as 'background corruption' and a sense of that corruption can help to determine which errors are truly disjunctive.

As described above in n. 19, however, in all these lists there can be cross-contamination from other lists in individual years, though how this could happen in particular individual years and not in other years is unknown; indeed, corrections can be found even within the individual manuscripts of Prosper (see n. 47 and Appendix 1.2). It would seem most likely that changes were made individually or a few at a time by successive scribes within a particular tradition, rather than by a single comprehensive collation

²¹ *FVpr* (326) has *Alexandro et Seuero*, which has been reduced to *Imp Alexandro* in Prosper (790); see below.

²² Attilio Degrassi, *I fasti consolari dell'impero Romano dal 30 avanti Cristo al 613 dopo Cristo*, *Sussidi Eruditi* 3, Rome 1952).

by a single individual. Sometimes it is difficult to determine whether error has occurred in one tradition or collation has removed it from the comparison tradition. Such problems make the analysis and comparison of *fasti* extremely hazardous and uncertain.

III.2. The *Fasti* of 161 and the Interrelationships of the Surviving Lists

III.2.1. The pre-162 Material

Proof of the importance of the year 161 for surviving consular *fasti* arises from a detailed study of the *Descriptio*, *Liber Paschalis*, *FVpr/post*, and Prosper, which shows that all descend, in that order, from a common original that concluded in 161 and that the lists of *FVpr/post* and Prosper descend from a variety of later corrupting intermediaries since they share so many conjunctive errors not present in the *Descriptio*.²³ This common original I shall refer to as ‘The *Fasti* of 161’. There are fifteen major conjunctive errors that link all four lists: appearance of the suffects (?) of 22 BC (*Descriptio* 22/21, *FVpr* 47); appearance of the intrusive *Cinna* (*Descr.* 19, *FVpr* 50); gemination with *duobus* (*Descr.* 18a–b, *FVpr* 52–3); *Lentulo* for *Cornelio* (*Descr.* 18b, *FVpr* 53); one name as two (*Descr.* 16, *FVpr* 55), suffects of 12 (*Descr.* 12b, *FVpr* 61); one name as two (*Descr.* 10, *FVpr* 63); AD 4 missing (*FVpr* 79); *nomen Silio* appears as *Silano/Silvano* (*Descr.* 13, *FVpr* 88),²⁴ gemination with *duobus* (*Descr.* 14a–b, *FVpr* 89–90); gemination with *duobus* (*Descr.* 29a–b, *FVpr* 113); *Neruiliano* for *Nerullino* (*Descr.* 50, *Lib. Pasch.* 50, *Prosp.* 425);²⁵ *Silvano* for *Stloga* (*Descr.* 141, *FVpr* 238, *Prosp.* 624); *Glabrione* for *Gallicano* (*Descr.* 150, *FVpr* 249, *Prosp.* 647); and gemination with *duobus* (*Descr.* 161a–b, *Lib. Pasch.* 161, *FVpr* 260/2, *Prosp.* 661/6). Some of these errors are also shared by the *Chron. 354*, but they will be discussed below.

In addition, there are a number of years where the *Descriptio*, *FVpr/post*, and Prosper agree in failing to select a consul’s final name, as is normally the case. Most of the time such apparent discrepancies agree with the disseminated forms as can be determined from epigraphical evidence. In a number of cases they do not. The most important of these are the years 27 and 64 where the epigraphical evidence shows that the last name disseminated was usually Frugi,²⁶ whereas the *Descriptio*, *FVpr/post*, and Prosper have Crassus; and the years 33 and 52 where these lists have Sulla instead of the Felix that usually appears in the epigraphical evidence.²⁷ It would seem that in these four cases the original compilers had these names only in the *tria nomina* form, without the additional *cognomen* found in contemporary inscriptions, but we cannot be certain and so I have kept these examples separate from those given above.

Finally, there are almost sixty conjunctive errors linking Prosper and the *Fasti Vindobonenses* that demonstrate that they derive from a common precursor.²⁸ This precursor was a corrupted version of the

²³ See Hydatius (cit. n. 8), 189–190, which provides the basis for the present discussion. The *Liber Paschalis* is very fragmentary, covering only AD 41–52, 159–198, and 365–388, and so appears only sporadically in the following analysis. Since the *FVpr* and *post* are much the same, I cite the latter only when the former is lacking or the two differ.

²⁴ *Silvano* appears in the *FVpr* and *Barb. Scal.* but has been corrected to *Silio* in the *FVpost*. See n. 19, above, for this phenomenon.

²⁵ See n. 29, below.

²⁶ 27: Frugi, AE 1903.21, 1964.115 (= 1994.360), 1990.221, 1994.361; CIL 5.4919, 4920; Crassus, AE 1922.83, CIL 2.2633; 64: Frugi, CIL 14.2814, CIL 16.5; *Annali dell’Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 42, 1870, 180, nos. 138 and 139; Crassus, *ibid.*, 187, no. 220.

²⁷ 33: Felix, AE 1907.78, 1978.295; CIL 10.1233; Sulla, AE 1945.33; 52: Felix, AE 1973.147; 1984.222, 230, 237 (= AE 1973.149); CIL 16.1; Cornelius: CIL 4.5512.

²⁸ *VFpr* 121, 124, *FVpost* 125, 125/6 (AD 40 missing), 127, 128, 128/30 (AD 43 missing), *FVpost* 131 (= *FVpr* 131–2), 138–9, 147/8 (AD 59 missing), 149, 154, 155, 158, 159, 161, 163–73 (AD 77, 80, and 82 missing, 73 and 78 misplaced), 175, 176/8 (AD 87 missing), 180/1, 184, 185, 189–90, 193, 194, 195, *VFpost* 197, 198, 203–5, 208, 210, 213, 217, 220–1, 222, 230–2, 234, 238, 239, 241, 244, *FVpost* 249–50, 254, 260–2 = Prosper 397, 402, 404, 404/7 (AD 40 missing), 408, 409, 409/12 (AD 43 missing), 417, 431–2, 442/3 (AD 59 missing), 447, 450, 454, 458, 459, 461, 469–90 (AD 77, 80, and 82 missing, 73 and 78 misplaced), 495, 497/501 (AD 87 missing), 502, 510, 511, 519–20, 527, 531, 534, 544–5, 553–5, 563,

Fasti of 161 (see Table 1).

A number of the common errors among the *Descriptio*, *FVpr/post*, and *Prosper* noted above also appear in the *Chron. 354*. These are much fewer and are more restricted than those linking the other three lists, however. The lack of *duobus* forms, in particular, apart from that of AD 14, suggests that we are dealing with a common source between the *Chron. 354* and the *Fasti* of 161, and not the later traditions of the *Descriptio*, *FVpr/post*, and *Prosper*. Since the *Descriptio* is the earliest and most accurate witness to the *Fasti* of 161 I shall compare only the *Descriptio* and the *Chron. 354*, so that when the *Descriptio* is mentioned in this analysis it is understood that the *Fasti* of 161 is meant and thus the *FVpr/post* and *Prosper* are included as well, where those traditions exist. The conjunctive errors between the *Fasti* of 161 and the *Chron. 354* appear in 10 BC (two names made from one), AD 13 (*nomen Silio* appears as *Silano*), 14 (*duobus Sextis*), 50 (*Neruiliano* for *Nerullino*²⁹), 77 (Domitian as early suffect substituted for Titus³⁰), and 79–80 (Titus’ iteration reduced by one). In addition there is the apparently erroneous common selection of the names Sulla and Crassus in AD 27, 33, 52, 64 (just above), and Nerva and Pollio in 65 and 81 (section II).

There are no other conjunctive errors before 10 BC or between AD 80 and 161.³¹ Looking backwards as far as 130 BC (a randomly chosen stopping point) there is a large block of major disjunctive errors in the *Chron. 354* that starts in 12 BC (suffects in *Descriptio*), 18 (no *duobus* or gemination), 22 (suffects (?) in *Descriptio*), 34 (suffect in *Chron. 354*), 52 (Pompey as sole consul in *Chron. 354*), 65 (*Chron. 354* lists elected consuls; *Descriptio* has actual consuls), 68 (suffect in *Chron. 354*), and 108 (suffect in *Descriptio*), as well as the selection of different *nomina* or *cognomina* in 14, 22, 31, 49, 52, 55, 58, 61, 70, 72, 73, 83, 105, 112, 113, 116, 127³² and serious and strange corruptions in the *Chron. 354* from the 60s beyond 130,³³ even though the *Chron. 354* is normally more accurate

567, 573, 576, 589–90, 594, 606, 609–10, 613, 624, 628, 631, 638, 647–8, 652, 661/6.

²⁹ *Chron. 354*, the *Liber Paschalis*, and *Prosper* have *Nerulianus* for *Nerullinus*. The *Descriptio* has *Neruianus*, which results from the *L* being read as *N*. The same error appears in AD 61, for example (*Turpiniano* = *Turpiliano*). The *FVpr* and *Barb. Scal.* (*FVpost* is lacking here) mistakenly have *Silio* from the *nomen* Suillius (see n. 24, above).

³⁰ As one would expect, this form also appears, though only rarely, in contemporary inscriptions, see *Annali dell’Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 42, 1870, 182–3, nos. 153–6. Domitian seems to have been suffect from 13 January in 75, 76, 77, and 79: see T. V. Buttrey, *Documentary Evidence for the Chronology of the Flavian Titulature*, *Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 112, Meisenheim am Glan 1980, 28–9.

Domitian is missing from *FVpr* and *Prosper* (§§ 169 and 486; *FVpost* is lacking), apparently replaced by the correct *Tito* (though the iterations are wrong), but the consulships of this period are so corrupt – 80 and 82 are missing, Domitian’s consulship of 73 sits just before his consulship of 83 (numbered I and II instead of II and VIII), and *Vespasiano (I–VIII) et Tito (I–VIII)* are incorrectly scattered between 70 and 81 (*FVpr* = 3x(V et T), 71, 3x(V et T), 78, 2x(V et T), 81, 73, 83; *Prosper* = 2x(V et T), 71, 4x(V et T), 78, 2x(V et T), 81, 73, 83) – that the suffect consulship has probably just been lost, confused with all the *Vespasiano et Titos*.

The consular list used by the compiler of the *Liberian* catalogue in the *Chron. 354* also contained Domitian as suffect (*Chron. min.* 1: 74.6), which, along with the *duobus* forms in 29 (see n. 67, below) and 161, shows that it, too, descended from the *Fasti* of 161. For the post-161 *fasti* in this document, see n. 48.

³¹ Two other potential conjunctive errors cannot be considered here, the common selection of the first *cognomen* Vestinus in 65 and of the *nomen* Pedo in 115, since inscriptions show that there was widespread uncertainty as to the correct order of the names. Although some inscriptions identify the consul as M. (Iulius) Vestinus Atticus, CIL 3.7368 calls him M. Atticus Vestinus. In the second example while some inscriptions identify the consul as M. Vergilianus Pedo (e.g. CIL 6.43, 44, 791, and *Athenaeum* NS 26, 1948, 117) and brick stamps call him Pedo (CIL 15.20, 21, 22), others correctly identify him as M. Pedo Vergilianus (e.g. CIL 6.1984 [twice]) or simply as Vergilianus (e.g. CIL 6.31148, 32515, and 32637; AE 1994.1667b, 1668a, 1669). See PIR¹ P 160.

³² All these would seem to a result of the presence of only *duo* or *tria nomina* in the precursor of the *Descriptio*, except in 22 and 31 where it is the *Chron. 354* that misses the last *cognomen*.

³³ E.g. *Nepote* for *M. Perperna* (130); *Appellate* for *T. Quinctio Flaminio* (123); *Nepote* for *C. Mario* (107); *Viuio* from *Didio* (98); *Pompeio et Strauo* from *Cn Pompeio Strabone* (89); *Pulbo* for *C. Norbano* (83); *Gratilliano* for *C. Mario* (82); *Iuliano* from *D. Iunio Bruto* (77); *Licinio* from *L. Licinio Lucullo* in 74 (73); *Nepote* for *Q. Hortensio Hortalo* (69); *Turmo* for *C. Mario Figulo* (64); and *Calsonianus* from *Caesonino* (59), as well as the apparent nominatives *Balbo*, *Carpo*, and *Caruo* for *Carbone* (120, 113, 85, 84), *Cato* for *Catone* (114), *Ceplo* (= *Cepio*) for *Caepione* (106), *Strauo* for *Strabone*

than the the *Descriptio*.³⁴

None of these errors appears in the *Descriptio*, which clearly used a different source down to 12 BC, a source whose suffects in this year suggest contemporary compilation. The *Chron. 354* and the *Descriptio* (and hence the *Fasti* of 161) then share a common source to at least 77. Again, the suffect of this year suggests contemporary compilation after 13 January of 77.³⁵

Between 11 BC and AD 77 the *Chron. 534* and *Descriptio* never once vary in their choice of names. This is because down to AD 77 the common source provided them with the same names in each case to choose from. Between 130 and 12 BC they disagree in about forty years (noted above). Since the disseminated forms of consular names became shorter from the last decade of the first century,³⁶ we should not expect to find any further disagreements after 77, which would make the determination of the end of the common source extremely difficult. But in fact the opposite is true. Between AD 78 and 160 there are four disagreements (93, 128, 135, and 143).

In 93 the *nomen Pompeio* appears in the *Descriptio* instead of the *cognomen, Collega*.³⁷ The errors of 128, 135, and 143 involve three names, L. Nonius Calpurnius Asprenas Torquatus, L. Tutilius Luperus Pontianus, and Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes. In each case the *Descriptio* presents the correct name (i.e. *Torquato, Pontiano, and Herode*), while the *Chron. 354* selects the penultimate name (i.e. *Asprenate, Luperco, and Attico*). In the second case the *Descriptio*'s selection is supported by inscriptions.³⁸ In the other two years, however, inscriptions indicate that either name could be considered correct, and in the case of Torquatus there was wide-spread confusion as to the correct order of his last names.³⁹ There is no reason why the compilers of the *Descriptio* and *Chron. 354* should both start making errors after 77 when they had made none between 11 BC and AD 77, especially when there were fewer opportunities for making errors. The logical conclusion is that the compilers continued to select the final names correctly wherever multiple names appeared and that the sources of the *Descriptio* and *Chron. 354* presented different names in these four years as a result of mistakes made when the

(89), *Curio* for *Curione* (76), *Glabria* for *Glabrione* (67), and *Cruscello* for *Crure* (49), and the appearance of 'u' for 'b' (108, 89, 85, 84, 59, 58).

³⁴ An apparent common error, the naming of the consul of 77 BC, Mam. Aemilius Lepidus Livianus, as *Mamerco* (a *praenomen*), instead reflects contemporary and later usage that existed in the contemporary sources of the *Chron. 354* and *Fasti* of 161: this *praenomen* also appears as the diacritic in consular dates cited by Cicero and Sallust; see D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero's Treatises*, Stuttgart/Leipzig 1996, 11. On the use of unusual *praenomina* as *nomina* or *cognomina*, see Harold L. Axtell, *Men's Names in the Writings of Cicero*, CPh 10, 1915, 398–400; Ronald Syme, *Imperator Caesar: A Study in Nomenclature*, *Historia* 7, 1958, 173–4; J. N. Adams, *Conventions of Naming in Cicero*, CQ NS 28, 1978, 153 and 162; D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero's Speeches*, Norman, Oklahoma 1988, 6; *idem*, *Onomasticon to Cicero's Letters*, Stuttgart/Leipzig 1995, 9. For the common selection of the suffect Piso in 23 BC, see Degraffi (cit. n. 22), 3.

³⁵ The *Chron. 354* and the *Descriptio* also agree in the renumbering of Titus' iterations in 79 and 80 (*VI* and *VII* instead of *VII* and *VIII*), but that is because of the loss of Titus' ordinary consulship in 77 and need not have been in the common source. Each number could have been 'corrected' by the later compilers since it was obvious that Titus went from *V* to *VII*.

³⁶ See n. 13 and section II, above.

³⁷ A later corruption has turned *Pompeio* into *Pompeiano*, and this has been corrupted further in the *FVpr/post/Prosper* into *Silvano*.

³⁸ E.g. AE 1929.97.2, 1930.57, 1968.407^a, 1969–70.405^a; CIL 3.1078, 8110; 6.31125, 31143; 9.6078¹⁴; 15.245, 246, 251, 341, 461; 1053–4, 1229, 2032; 16.82; *Annali dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 42, 1870, 174, nos. 12 and 13, and 183, n. 182 all have only or end with *Pontiano*.

³⁹ For 128, (Torquatus) Asprenas, e.g. AE 1939.309; CIL 6.10048, 31139a and b; 15.830, 1433, and (Asprenas) Torquatus, e.g. AE 1889.101; 1900.34; 1945.36; 1994.1014; CIL 6.32517; 8.8369, 18066, 15.1434. For 143, Herodes, e.g. AE 1974.207; IGR 1.146; CIL 6.20217, 24162, 29335, 31151; 14.33; *Annali dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 40, 1868, 374; Margaret M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas 1985–93*, University College London Institute of Archaeology Occasional Publication no. 14, London 1994, no. 159 (an earlier consulship of 131/3) and Atticus, e.g. CIL 6.32520 (at least twenty examples); 14.3692. In addition, the Greek *fasti* of Theon reports Atticus (*Chron. min.* 3: 375.6). It starts in 138 and so does not include the other two years. See n. 31, above, for other examples of this type of confusion in the dissemination of consular names.

names were first disseminated or recorded (e.g. *L. Tutilio Luperco* or just *Luperco* in 135). The common source of the *Chron. 354* and the *Fasti* of 161 therefore probably ceased at some point between 78 and 92.

III.2.2. The Date of 161

That the early *fasti* from which the *Descriptio*, *FVpr/post*, and Prosper descend (the *Fasti* of 161) ended in the year 161 is demonstrated by two chief factors. First, there is a *supputatio*, or chronological reckoning, in both the *FVpr* and *FVpost* that marks out the total number of years from Julius Caesar to 161: *a Gaio Iulio Caesare usque ad duos augustos anni sunt CCXLIII (priors)* and *fiunt a Gaio Iulio Caesare usque ad duos augustos consules anni CCXLIII (posteriores; § 261, Chron. min. 1: 286)*.⁴⁰ The *FVpr* places this *supputatio* before the *duobus augustis* and the *FVpost* places it after. The latter is correct since both *supputationes* specifically include the *duo augusti* in their calculation. The only other such *supputatio* in the *FVpr* appears between a list of the seven kings and their regnal years (§ § 1–7) and a note that Julius Caesar was the first emperor, after which the list of consuls begins (the Republic is omitted completely): *fiunt omnes anni, ex quo terra condita est usque ad Gaium Iulium Caesarem anni V·XLIII* (§ 8; Chron. min. 1: 274). This calculation from Creation is nonsensical in the context since the chronology of the document starts with Romulus and it is therefore probably a later Christianization of the *supputatio*. The original, non-Christian document of 161 no doubt counted from the first consuls, as a way of summarizing the Republic. In the original *Fasti Vindobonenses* the consuls between 509 and 49 BC were ignored, leaving a large gap in Roman history that this *supputatio* was left to fill alone.⁴¹ We therefore have a *supputatio* marking the length of the Republic and then a *supputatio* marking the duration of the empire to 161.⁴² Surely this final *supputatio* must have marked the end of a recension in 161, a final tally as it were, since there is no other obvious reason why anyone should want to know the number of years from Julius Caesar, considered the first emperor, to the beginning of the reign of M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

Second, all three of the documents listed above and the *Chron 354* suddenly and dramatically shift after 161 to a quite different list. This list was much more accurate in reporting names than the pre-162 *fasti* – though there is confusion between 307 and 311 – and it continued to c. 311, after which an even more accurate list begins.

III.2.3. The post-161 Material

That a single list lies behind all these written *fasti* (and the *Liber Paschalis*) after 161 is demonstrated by conjunctive errors among the five lists. The most noticeable change is the loss of most (but not all) private iterations, especially in the *Chron. 354* and the *Descriptio*. Imperial iterations appear in both

⁴⁰ If we remove the obviously erroneous and corrupt consuls at the beginning of the *FVpr/post* the earliest consuls to appear are those of 46 BC (§§ 15 and 17). Since Caesar was normally considered to have become the first emperor after the defeat of Pompey in 48, the first consulship of the original *Fasti Vind.* was probably *C. Iulio Caesare II P. Seruilio Vatia Isaurico* (48), though it and those of 47 and 45 have been lost or replaced with spurious consulships. There are 209 calendar years between 48 BC and AD 161 inclusive. The original appears to have listed about 219 consular pairs so perhaps the original text read *CCXVIII* not *CCXLIII*. All consular pairs in consular lists were originally numbered to facilitate such counting; see the surviving numbers in the *Descriptio* (*passim*, only in my edition) and the corrupted numbering system of the *Excerpt. Lat. barb.* (cit. n. 9). See also my discussion at Hydatius (cit. n. 8), 177, n. 5, to which should be added Augustine, *de ciuitate dei* 18.54 (ed. Dombart-Kalb, pp. 344.21–3 and 344.31–345. 1).

⁴¹ A similar problem was faced by the compiler of the so-called *Chronica urbis Romae* (Chron. min. 1: 143–8), a work composed of short biographies of the kings of Italy, Alba Longa, and Rome, and Roman emperors. For the Republic, the compiler was forced to provide a list (no biographies) of various Republican dictators, and thus effectively jumps from Tarquinius Superbus to Julius Caesar.

⁴² There is also preserved in the *FVpost* a *supputatio* that marks eighty-four years from the Crucifixion (29) to 117, an unimportant date in Christian history (§ 212; it is actually eighty-nine years inclusive). This entry may be a Christianized *supputatio* that originally marked the end of a recension of 117 in the source used by the compiler of *Fasti* of 161, but one cannot be certain.

lists both before and after 161 with great accuracy and are rarely missed by either list (only AD 50 and 118 are missed, both by the *Descriptio*),⁴³ but after 161 private iterations are almost completely neglected. Between 30 BC and AD 161 (191 years) the *Chron. 354* and the *Descriptio*, either singly or together, note twenty-eight private iterations and only six are missed by both lists.⁴⁴ Conversely, from 162 to 311 (150 years) they miss thirty-nine and include only nine.⁴⁵ The same is true for the list behind the *Liber Paschalis*, *FVpr/post*, and Prosper, and they agree on four of the nine reported iterations (173, 234, 265, and 268), but the process has been extended by later copyists to involve not only the private consulships before 161 but all imperial consulships as well, and so this aspect of the lists will be discussed below with disjunctive errors.

Further evidence of a common list is provided by the spelling *Byrro* (*Descr.*, Prosper) or *Birro* (*Chron. 354*, *FVpr*)⁴⁶ for *Burro* in 181 and *Maximo* for *Maximino* in 236.⁴⁷ In 238 there is the name *Pontiano* in all lists but Prosper, when inscriptions show that the disseminated form was the *nomen Proculo* (see above, n. 19). In 307, the *Chron. 354* and *Descriptio* record *nouies et Constantino* (= *Maximiano IX et Constantino*), while *FVpr/FVpost* (418) and Prosper (978) incorrectly substitute *Diocletiano IX* for the *nouies*, which suggests that the name was originally missing from the source of these *fasti* as well. All these *fasti* also report *post cons. X et septimum/VII* and *anno II/item anno post cons. X et septimum/VII* for 309 and 310, with reference to the consulate *Diocletiano X et Maximiano VII* in 308. The omission of the emperors' names and the combination of a numeral and an adjective (*X* and *septimum*; cf. the use of the adverb in 307, above) is most unusual (though not without precedent; see n. 77, below), which suggests that the entries probably derive from a single source. In 311 the *Chron. 354* and *Descriptio* erroneously report that Maximian (Galerius) was sole consul, when his partner was actually Maximinus for the second time. The *FVpr/post* and Prosper obviously had the same omission in their source and each filled it in a different way, the former with Constantius/Constantinus and the latter with Licinius.⁴⁸

In spite of this common source behind all our *fasti*, it is obvious that the *Chron. 354* and the *Descriptio* fall into a separate group from the *Liber Paschalis*, *FVpr/post*, and Prosper. As noted above an early copyist of the *fasti* precursor of the latter three lists set about 'correcting' 'incorrect' iterations and this policy was pursued by later copyists of this tradition. In the *Liber Paschalis*, even though its list

⁴³ Carus' iteration in 283 is missing from both, however, but strangely it almost never appears in the extant *fasti* tradition, being absent even from the two Greek *fasti* of Theon and Heraclian. It does, however, appear in the Liberian Catalogue in the *Chron. 354* (*Chron. min. 1: 75.30 and 32*), so it must have appeared in the very earliest editions of the post-161 *fasti* that were later used by the compilers of the *Descriptio* and *Chron. 354* (see n. 48), but then been lost or removed in a later edition, perhaps because it appeared nowhere else.

⁴⁴ Included: 28, 27, 26, 7 BC, AD 43, 44, 46, 47, 83, 90, 97, 102 (both), 103, 104, 105 (one of two), 107 (both), 109, 113, 120, 121, 125, 126, 129 (both), 134, 139. Missed: AD 45, 50, 100, 105 (one of two), 128, 146.

⁴⁵ Missed: 162, 168 (both), 173 (one of two), 176 (both), 179, 180, 183, 186, 188 (both), 192, 194, 196, 199, 203 (one of two), 204, 212, 213, 215, 216, 217, 219, 224, 225, 226, 228, 229, 240, 249, 256, 260 (both), 263, 270, 271, 279, 291. Included: 173, 203, 223, 234, 265, 268, 286, 298, 301. In 194 Clodius Albinus has been treated as a *priuatus*. I can find no reason why these particular nine should have been preserved.

⁴⁶ The name is lost from the *Liber Paschalis*.

⁴⁷ Normally such a spelling variant would not occasion notice but it appears in all the lists, which is most unusual. Mommsen prints *Maximino* in his text of Prosper (819), but *Maximo* appears in two of the three manuscripts. All lists, Latin and Greek, spell the name of the consul of 288 as *Ianuarinus* or *Ianuarius*. CLRE gives this consul's name as *Ianuarianus* (while misquoting most evidence), which suggests a common error in the *fasti*, but there is no evidence from any inscription for CLRE's spelling, and in 328 where the sources again split between *Ianuarinus* and *Ianuarius*, CLRE gives the name as *Ianuarinus*.

⁴⁸ The Liberian Catalogue (*Chron. min. 1: 74–6*) reports the same consuls of 308, 309, and 311 as the *Descriptio* and *Chron. 354* (including the Roman consuls of 311 found in the *Descriptio*). It also follows them in 222 and 251 (on which, see below), and fails to record a single private iteration (some imperial iterations are missing or erroneous as well). On the other hand it avoids the errors of 223 and 283 (see below and n. 43), and so must represent an earlier and therefore originally less corrupt edition of the post-161 *fasti* than that found in the *Descriptio* and *Chron. 354*.

is fragmentary, the pattern is clear: three iterations appear and three are missed before 161 (thus still more like the *Descriptio/Chron. 354* than *FVpr/post/Prosper*), and fifteen are missed and one appears between 162 and 198. In the *fasti* precursor to the *FVpr/post* and Prosper, however, virtually every single iteration between 44 BC (and earlier?) and AD 311 was altered by means of three editing processes of 'correction': each consul begins as *cos (I)*, even if in reality he was *cos II* or *III* as a result of suffect consulships or holding office earlier under a different name (e.g. L. Aelius Caesar [cos. II in 137], held his first consulship as L. Ceionius Commodus in 136); the same names in close proximity were assumed to be the same person and the second or third appearance is assigned a *II* or *III*; and all iterations are rendered internally consistent as they advance, even if authentic names have dropped out, scribal errors have changed names, or fictitious names intrude. The 'Verus' error in Appendix 1 provides a clear example of these processes at work. After 161 the *FVpr/post/Prosper* only report four real iterations, all reported by the *Chron. 354* and *Descriptio* as well (173, 234, 265, and 268),⁴⁹ but this is only so because in each case the same name appears just a few years earlier (171, 233, 257, and 267), though in each case it is a different person.

But the copyists did not stop with private iterations. The consulships of Augustus, Tiberius, Germanicus, Drusus, Gaius, Claudius, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, Severus, Geta, Maximus (Pupienus), Maximinus, Decius, Gallus, Valerian, Diocletian,⁵⁰ and Licinius were all tampered with and altered in some way with no regard for the actual iterations, most by being reduced by one, though Claudius is confused with Tiberius and his consulships numbered in succession from Tiberius' last, and Domitian's iterations are reduced from seventeen to nine because of his many suffect consulships under his father that do not appear in the *fasti*. The final result is that it is as if these *fasti* had contained no iterations at all and the iterations had all been added by guesswork.

There are very few disjunctive errors in the consular names themselves, and this is a result of the new-found accuracy of the post-161 tradition in the *Liber Paschalis*, *FVpr/post*, and Prosper, but there are a few such errors, as follows: 180, *Condiano* (*Chron. 354, Descr.*), *Cordiano* (*Lib. Pasch.*), *Gordiano* (*FVpr* 281, Prosper 708); 222, *Antonino III et Alexandro* (*Chron. 354, Descr.*), *Alexandro et Severo* (= *Alexandro Seuero*; *FVpr* 326), *Imp Alexandro* (Prosper 790); 223, *Cheliano/Caeliano* (*Chron. 354, Descr.*), *Aeliano* (the correct form; *FVpr* 327, Prosper 792); 251, *Decio III et Decio Caes*⁵¹ (*Chron. 354, Descr.*), *Decio II et Rustico*⁵² (*FVpr* 357, Prosper 846); 308, *decies et Maximiano (VII)* (*Chron. 354, Descr.*), *Diocletiano X et Maximiano VII(I)* (*FVpr* 419, Prosper 981); and the differences in 307 and 311 noted in the previous paragraph. For 222 the *Chron. 354* and *Descriptio* report the consular date as it was from January-March of 222, up until the death of Elagabalus. After his accession Severus Alexander repealed his predecessor's consulship following his *damnatio memoriae* and from April onwards his name alone was used (see Degrassi [cit. n. 22], 62). In 251 both *fasti* again reflect the consuls as they were on 1 January, since Decius Caesar was promoted to augustus early in the year.⁵³ Both years are therefore indicative of contemporary compilation. The differences in 222 and 251, as well the loss of correct private iterations that appear in the *Chron. 354* and *Descriptio* alone (203, 223,

⁴⁹ The other correct iterations in the *Chron. 354* and *Descriptio* will be discussed below.

⁵⁰ The same iteration error in 303 in the *Prologus Paschae* (*Chron. min.* 1: 738.1, 25; incorrectly identified as 299 by Mommsen) shows that it derives from a tradition related to that in the *FVpr/post/Prosper*. However, the consuls in the *Prologus* for AD 33 and 72/3 report the consuls as they appear in the *Descriptio* and *Chron. 354*, not the *FVpr/post/Prosper*, confirming that two separate lists were used by the author.

⁵¹ Although other caesars were consul after 161 (194, 205, 208, 222, 283, 294, 296–7) this is the only one so identified, a point that further serves to link these two *fasti*.

⁵² The consular list used by Malalas contained this same error (Rusticius; 10.44; p. 260.4). The probable explanation of the error is that it is a corruption of *et Etrusco* (cf. CIL 15.4391, *Imp Traiano Aug III et Etrusco cos*) from Q. Herennius Etruscus Messius Decius (*ET ETRUSCO > ETRUSCO > ET RUS < TI > CO*).

⁵³ See Kienast (cit. n. 7), 206. Cf. CIL 13.6115, *D]ecio Aug [III et De]cio Caes cos*.

286, 298, and 301), would seem to be later ‘corrections’ made to the common source of the *FVpr* and Prosper.⁵⁴

This conclusion is suggested by another list that has so far not been mentioned, the *Fasti Berolinenses*, which survives on a single damaged piece of papyrus.⁵⁵ This is an odd document, since it is Greek *consularia* combining two distinct Latin traditions: fragmentary consular *fasti* covering the years 251–70, 306, 312–17, and 325–38 that are closely related to the precursor of the *fasti* in *FVpr/post* and Prosper, and many historical entries that derive from the Greek translation of the Constantinopolitan precursor of the *Descriptio* (s.aa. 306, 316, 325, 326, 330, 334, 336, and 338). Why and how such a hybrid document would be created is unknown. In two places, however, the consuls of the *Fasti Berol.* reflect the more accurate list of the *Descriptio/Chron. 354* instead of that of the *FVpr/post/Prosper*. In 251 the *Fasti Berol.* retains the original entry presented by the *Descriptio/Chron. 354* – Decio III et Decio Caes – in the damaged entry [Δεκίου β'] καὶ Κέσσα[ρος Δεκίου], instead of *FVpr/post/Prosper*’s Decio II et Rustico. In 268 it reports the name of Marinianus accurately, rather than the corrupted forms found in the *FVpr* (*Mariano*), and *FVpost* and Prosper (*Marino*). Both these appear before the first evidence of consultation of the precursor of the *Descriptio* (s.a. 306), which, even after 306, was only consulted for its historical entries, not its consuls, and so it therefore would seem to be a witness to an early recension of the post-161 continuation, before these entries were altered or became corrupted (see Table 2). Its relationship to the *Fasti* of 161 is unknown, since it only starts in 251.

III.2.4. Summary

We therefore have solid evidence that at least one set of *fasti* ended in 161 – the *Fasti* of 161, i.e. the common source of the *Descriptio/Liber Paschalis/FVpr/post/Prosper* – and that another, more accurate list began in 161, i.e. the *fasti* that missed many private iterations and that soon split into two distinct traditions represented by the *Chron. 354/Descriptio* recension and the *Fasti Berol./Liber Paschalis/Prosper/FVpr/post* recension. This latter list concluded around 311 or shortly thereafter and was continued throughout the fourth century even more accurately. These post-161 *fasti* would appear to be the *fasti* noted by the authors of the *VHelii* and the *Prologus Paschae ad Vitalem* at the end of the fourth century.

In addition to this, we can state with some confidence that the *Fasti* of 161 seem to have existed as a separate edition for many years. The corrupt nature of the pre-162 *FVpr/post/Prosper* tradition especially suggests many years of error, ‘correction’, and collation, perhaps even in lower quality (and hence less careful) editions than that represented by the *Descriptio*, which itself has many errors and is inferior to the list of the *Chron. 354*. That most of these errors cease in 161 demonstrates that they belong to the tradition of the *Fasti* of 161, not the surviving works themselves. Normally, however, *fasti* would have been kept up to date as they were copied and recopied, the consuls of the years between the end of the list and the date of composition being added each time it was recopied (as in Ausonius’ *Fasti*; see n. 97, below). Out of date *fasti* were for most people about as useful as ten year old calendars or phone books are today. Those in the civil service, business, administration, the military, and the law would probably have needed *fasti* stretching back many years for their work (even to 161), but for the most part out of date *fasti* held only an antiquarian interest. This break at 161 is particularly important for we have no evidence for any other such common breaks in the *fasti* tradition. How, then, is this

⁵⁴ The consular list used to record the prefects of Rome in the *Chron. 354*, which begins in 254 (*Chron. min.* 1: 65–9), derives from a different list that was collated with the *fasti* of the *Chron. 354* in 307 and 308 (the added *quod est . . .* clauses). It contains private iterations in nine out of fourteen years down to 311, including Bassus, the consul of 289, who is given an iteration only in this list, the *fasti* of the *Chron. 354*, and the *fasti* of Theon (see CLRE s.a.). It is not an independent error caused by the Bassus of 271, since this list is not given to fabricating iterations. It also incorrectly reports four imperial iterations (278, 283, 299, and 307). The corruption or loss of nine iterations is probably a result of normal scribal error.

⁵⁵ Hans Lietzmann, Ein Blatt aus einer antiken Weltchronik, Quantulacumque. Studies Presented to K. Lake, London 1937, 339–48, reprinted in Hans Lietzmann, Kleine Schriften 1, Berlin 1958, 420–9.

break in 161 to be explained? There is no proof, but some useful observations can be made and some suggestions can be offered.

IV. The Geminations⁵⁶

IV.1. The Original Promulgation of the Consuls of 161

First of all, there are a number peculiar errors that involve the consuls of 161 themselves. The strangest aspect of these consuls in the *Descriptio, Liber Paschalis, FVpr/post*, and Prosper is that there are two sets of consular designations for the same year: varying forms of *Antonino et Aurelio* as well as *duobus augustis*. Both entries refer to the same two men and the same calendar year. The first task is to determine the cause of the variation in the *Antonino et Aurelio* entry, the second to explain the gemination.

Any contemporary consular *fasti* would have originally recorded the names of the ordinary consuls of this year, M. Aelius Aurelius Verus Caesar and L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus, as they were on 1 January 161 and therefore in the form *M. Aelio Aurelio Vero Caes III et L. Aelio Aurelio Commodo II consulibus*, or in the more usual contracted form of this period, *(Aurelio) Vero Caes III et Commodo II*.⁵⁷ Then, upon the death of the emperor, Antoninus Pius, on 7 March 161, the two brothers became joint augusti, changing their names to M. Aurelius Antoninus and L. Aurelius Verus.⁵⁸ A decree immediately went out ordering a retroactive change to the names of the consuls for that year and so the names that had been recorded on 1 January in existing *fasti* were then changed to suit the new names of the new emperors: *M. Aurelio Antonino Aug III et L. Aurelio Vero Aug II*.⁵⁹ This is the formula that was originally recorded in the precursor of our *fasti*. Ordinarily, however, as was noted above, by this date all consular pairs were recorded in the form *A et B*. An error in the abbreviation of this formula, discussed just below in IV.2, shows that this was not true in 161 and a possible reason for this will be suggested in section VIII.

⁵⁶ For what follows, the reader should consult Appendix 1, below.

⁵⁷ Inscriptions from the early part of 161 still survive, e.g. *Aurelio Vero Caes III et Commodo II* (CIL 8.14585), *Vero et Comm(odo) Caes cos* (CIL 5.6573), *M. Aelio Aurelio Vero Caesare III/L. Aelio Aurelio Commodo II cos* (CIL 6.1984), *Aurel(io) Caes III et Comm(odo) II cos* (CIL 15.7319), and *M. Aur(elio) Vero III et L. Va[]l C(aes.) II c(os)* (AE 1989.130E.2). Dates for this year painted on amphorae found in Monte Testaccio are almost all some form of *Aurelio/Aurelio Caesare/Vero/Vero Caesare III et Commodo II cos* (CIL 15.3835, 3904, 3943, 3946–7, 4042, 4350–9, and perhaps 3721, 3944–5, 3994, 4349, since 3826 still calls Aurelius Caes after he had become emperor [see n. 59 below]).

The entry for 161 in the *Chronicon Paschale* (on which, see n. 18) still shows traces of this original pair, for it gives, Μάρκου Αύρηλίου Ούήρου καὶ Λουκίου Κομμόδου Αύγούστου and Μάρκου Αύρηλίου Ούήρου καὶ Λουκίου Κομμόδου Αύγούστου τὸ β' for 161 (p. 480.14–17). This entry shows that the *fasti* used by the compiler of the *Chron. Pasch.* had been compared with and altered from different *fasti*. One set of *fasti* retained the names of the consuls of 161 as they were promulgated on 1 January 161 (for further evidence of this secondary list, see n. 74, below). The gemination of the entry and the singular Αύγούστου (replacing the Latin *Caesare*), however, provide the evidence of collation with the *Descriptio*.

⁵⁸ See Kienast (cit. n. 7), 137 and 143.

⁵⁹ The earliest dated evidence for this change is 23 March from Puteoli: *Imp Caesare M. Aurelio Antonino Aug III et Imp Caesare L. Aurelio Vero Aug II cos* (CIL 10.1814). Other contemporary inscriptions follow suit, e.g. *Imp Caes M. Aurelio Antonino III Imp Vero Augusto cos II* (CIL 6.596, dated 13 April), *Imp Caes M. Aur(elio) Ant(onino) Aug III et Imp Caes L. Aur(elio) Ver(o) Aug II cos* (CIL 3.1171), *Imp Antonino n(ostro) III et Imp Vero n(ostro) II cos* (CIL 3.7030 and 7031 = 12233), *M. Ant(onino) III et L. Vero II cos* (CIL 3.13369), *Antonino III et Vero II cos* and *Antonino III et Vero III cos* (CIL 13.7943 and 7947), *Imp Antonino III et Imp Vero II cos* (CIL 3.356b), *Anto(nino) III et Vero II cos* (Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica 42, 1870, 188, nos. 222–3; CIL 15.1204), *Aurelio Caes III et Vero II cos* (CIL 15.3826; cf. 3869), *Augustis n(ostris) Antonino III et Vero II cos* (CIL 6.1119b, dated 15 Dec.), and *Imperatorib(us) Antonin(o) III et Vero II cos* (AE 1993.470 = 1994.426c), dated 27 Dec.).

The subscriptions of two surviving laws only present an abbreviated form: *ipsis III et II (AA) cons; the ipsis referring to the superscription, diui fratres* (CJ 2.12.2 and 5.25.2). The Greek *fasti* of Theon is alone of all written lists in giving the (almost) correct form, 'Αντώνιος τὸ γ' καὶ Οὐῆρος τὸ β' (Chron. min. 3: 375). Apart from the *Chron. Pasch.* (see n. 57, above), the *fasti* of Theon is the only Greek list to include the consuls of 161.

IV.2. Later Alterations

The problem of the gemination of the consuls for 161 must now be set aside while the other, later changes to the first entry are considered, though what is described in this section (IV.2) actually took place after the gemination (IV.4–5).

The first alteration to this entry involved the standard shortening of the names. This meant the reduction of the multiple names to a single name, that is the last name element. *M. Aurelio Antonino III et L. Aurelio Vero II* should, therefore, have been reduced to *Antonino III et Vero II* (see n. 59). However, Antoninus Pius had twice been consul with M. Aurelius, in 140 and 145, and these consulships had already been recorded in the abbreviated form common at this time, *Antonino III/III et Aurelio Caesare (I)/II*.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, a later copyist of this entry assumed that the *M. Aurelius Antoninus et L. Aurelius Verus* of 161 were the *Antoninus et Aurelius* of 140 and 145 and ‘corrected’ the entry while condensing it. Thus, under the influence of *Antonino III et Aurelio Caesare II* in 145, the *M. Aurelio Antonino III et L. Aurelio Vero II* of 161 became *Antonino V et Aurelio Caesare III*. At some later point in the tradition the entries for 140 and 145 lost their *Caes* and the *III* in 161 was lost.

The result of these changes can be seen in the *Descriptio: Antonino V et Aurelio Caes*. The *Liber Paschalis* also still records the *Caes* without the iteration. These *Antonino et Aurelio* entries of 140, 145, and 161 in the intermediary list that lies behind the *Liber Paschalis*, *FVpr/post*, and Prosper (but not the *Descriptio*) were later modified by someone else who saw that the *Antonino* consulships began in 139 with *Antonino II* – since Antoninus Pius was listed in 120 as Fulvus not Antoninus, the missing *Antonino (I)* made it look as though the iteration numbers were incorrect – and so he ‘corrected’ the list by reducing all the *Antonino* consulships by one (i.e. *Antonino II/III/III/V* became *Antonino (I)/II/III/III*), with the result that the iteration for 161 became *Antonino IIII*, as it appears in the *Liber Paschalis* and the *FVpr/post* (Prosper is seriously corrupt at this point; see Appendix 1). At some later point the *Caes* was lost, for it appears in the *Liber Paschalis*, but not the *FVpr/post* or Prosper. At a still later date (after the change of *Aurelio* to *Vero* in the *FVpr/post* in the years 140 and 145, but not 161; see n. 19 and Appendix 1) a copyist of the list that was used in the *FVpr* noticed a *Verus* in 134 (actually *Varo*) and so changed the iteration figures for the *Veri* in 140, 145, and 160 to *II*, *III*, and *IIII*. The *Veri* in 167 and 179 were then labelled *V* and *VI*. The copyist of the *FVpost* noticed two earlier *Veri* (in 121 and 126), and so renumbered them all from 121, thus making those of 140 and 145 *Vero IIII* and *Vero V*. The *Veri* of 160, 167, and 179 were probably originally *VI*, *VII*, and *VIII*, but the iterations for the first and last were lost. After that a later copyist ‘corrected’ the *Vero VII* in 167 to *Vero II*, counting anew from 160. Again, the results of this may be seen in Appendix 1, below.

IV.3. Earlier Geminations

So much for the first part of the entry. We must now turn to the *duobus augustis*. How could a single year have a double designation? Usually such doubled entries arise from changes to the consular pair made during the year – the first reflecting the original form, the second reflecting the later form, a

⁶⁰ This follows the standard pattern of contemporary inscriptions of 140 and 145, where Aurelius and not Verus is the diacritic and so he is referred to as *M. Aelius Aurelius Caesar* (e.g. CIL 6.159, 30889, 31152, 32379 (= 2085); 14.246, 2795; AE 1891.156, p. 52); *M. Aurelius Caesar* (e.g. CIL 8.10230; 14.4553; AE 1910.32, 1929.13; 1989.125), or *Aurelius Caesar* (e.g. CIL 3.7024; 6.31148; AE 1940.63; 1967.74). In dedicatory inscriptions, when his name is abbreviated, he is also identified as *M. Aurelius Caes* (e.g. CIL 6.1008–10; 8.1016, 2363, 4586, 14302, 17862–4, 19130, 20152; 9.234, 4957, 5354 (+ *Aelius*); 10.1562 (+ *Aelius*); 14.2461, 4366). At least two consular inscriptions call him by his *nomen* – *M. Aelius Caesar* (CIL 3.282 [Greek]; AE 1927.178) – and an inscription erected in 166 calls him *M. Aurelius Verus* (CIL 8.18067) in a consular date. Amphorae call him either *Aurelio* or *Caes* (CIL 15.3762, 4016, and 4146). Strangely enough, in both years stamps on bricks and tiles always refer to him simply as *Vero* (e.g. CIL 15.229, 1062, 1071, 1159, suppl. 184; AE 1907.88; cf. CIL 10.8046³) and in 161 *Vero* is more common in all epigraphic consular dates (see n. 57).

The appearance of *Caesare* in the *fasti* is most unusual. It was clearly retained because it was considered a name, as it was in the case of Lucius Caesar in 137. The name Caesar no longer appears in the witnesses to the *Fasti* of 161 but the appearance of *Aurelio Caesare* here (see below) proves that it once did exist in 140 and 145, as it still does in the *Chron. 354*, which is from an unrelated tradition at this point (see above).

change that often accounts for the erroneous appearance of suffects in these lists – but that is not the case here since both entries reflect the change that occurred when M. Aurelius and L. Verus became emperors.⁶¹ We must seek an answer that will explain the appearance of both the unusual formula and the duplicated entry. If we look back through the *Descriptio*, the *FVpr/post* (only to 44 BC), and Prosper (only to AD 29) we find five other examples of the gemination of ordinary consuls: 297 and 296, 79, 18 BC, AD 14, and 29. Part of the gemination of AD 14 also appears in the *Chron.* 354. There are no geminations after 161.

The first case is simply an example of a dittography that has been ‘corrected’ at some later date (see Appendix 1). *Rullo III et Musone III* and *Claudio et Violente*, the consuls of 297 and 296, were erroneously repeated between the consuls of 296 and 295 (the consuls of 295 were *Rullo III et Musone III*) and their iteration numbers were later ‘corrected’ by being bumped up by one in the duplicate entries and in 295.⁶² This will not account for the gemination in 161.

In 79 BC we have the perplexing situation of two pairs of names generated from a single pair: *P. Serulio Vatia et Appio Claudio Pulcro* has produced *Vitia et Pulcro* and *Claudio et Serulio*.⁶³ There are other examples in the *Descriptio* of individual *nomina* and *cognomina* being listed in the reverse order (e.g. *Herua Cocceio* in 36 BC, for *M. Cocceio Nerua*) and even one example of a correct *nomen* with reversed *cognomina* (*Domitio Scipione et Ahenobarbo* in 16 BC from *L. Domitio Ahenobarbo et P. Cornelio Scipione*). Similar sorts of jumbling are clearly responsible for the forms here, but this is clearly not the same phenomenon we have in 161.

In 18 BC a–b we have *duobus Lentulis* and *Lentulo et Cornelio*, in AD 14 a–b we have *duobus Sextis* and *Pompeio et Apuleio*, and in 29 a–b we have *duobus Geminis*⁶⁴ and *Rufo et Rubellione*.⁶⁵ The similarity to the situation in 161 is all too clear, except that *duobus augustis* is the second of the pair. In each case we have twinned *cognomina* (*praenomina* in the case of the *Sextis*⁶⁶), followed by the proper *nomina* (except for the *Lentulo*, which is explained below). It is impossible that they could have arisen from copying errors, as is the situation in the two examples first noted above. Many other texts and authors refer to AD 29 as *duobus Geminis consulibus*, which is the traditional date of the crucifixion.

⁶¹ My explanation for this phenomenon in Hydatius (cit. n. 8), 190, is incorrect since I failed to realize that the names Antoninus and Aurelius were only the names of the augusti and I failed to recognize the other geminations discussed below.

⁶² A similar error (homeoarchon) occurred in the years AD 52–3 in the *Fasti* of 161 (*Sulla et Othone Silano et Antonino* > *Sulla et Othone Silano et Othone Silano et Antonino*), though for some reason, someone later changed *Othone* in the *Descriptio* to *Catone* (in both places) and further corruptions have made a complete mess of the years 51–53 in the *FVpr/post/Prosper* (§§ 137–41 and 431–5).

⁶³ The error is very early in the tradition since it also appears in the *Chron. Pasch.* (348.7–8).

⁶⁴ In the *Descriptio*, instead of *Geminis* we find *Silanis*, which has been miscopied from *Silano et Nerua* in the previous year. Epiphanius retains the original τῶν δύο Γεμινῶν (292.11) as does the *Chron. Pasch.*, slightly modified to Γεμίνου καὶ Γεμίνου (p. 389.11). *FVpr* has just *duobus Geminis*, while *FVpost* has *Ruffio Gemino et Rebellio Gemino*, like Prosper (§ 391, *Fuffio Gemino et Rubellio Gemino*), through influence from other sources (because of the fame of this consular year as the date of the birth of Christ; see below n. 67).

⁶⁵ The *Chron. Pasch.* presents each of these in an expanded form Λεντούλου καὶ Λεντούλου (p. 366.3), Σέκστου καὶ Σέκστου (p. 388.3) and Γεμίνου καὶ Γεμίνου (p. 389.11), though the list of Epiphanius, which was written c. 375, extends from 2 BC to AD 29, and derives directly from an earlier translation of the *Descriptio* than that used by the author of the *Chron. Pasch.* (see Hydatius [cit. n. 8], 197), still preserves the τῶν δύο Σέξτων and τῶν δύο Γεμινῶν of the *Descriptio* (291.2 and 292.11). The *Chron. Pasch.* and Epiphanius still retain the geminations for each year as well (*CP* 366.5, 388.5, 391.20; Epiph. 291.3 and 292.11–13).

⁶⁶ Even the list used by Malalas in the sixth century had *duobus Sextis*, which he rendered as Σέξτου καὶ Σεκτικιανῶν (10.7, p. 232.11), exactly like the expanded *duobus* forms in the *Chron. Pasch.* (see nn. 64 and 65). This parallel, that noted above in n. 52 (*Rusticio* for *Etrusco*), and the common errors in AD 17 (‘Rufinus’ for ‘Rufus’, at 236.16) and 68 (‘Tolpillianus’ for Trachalus at 258.1 [cf. *FVpr*, ‘Turpilio’; Prosper, ‘Turpilianus’], where he has compared this list to another that had ‘Trochelus’) demonstrate that Malalas’ *fasti* also descended from the same precursor as *FVpr/post/Prosper*. On the other hand, Malalas repeats the bizarre error of the *Descriptio* in 2 BC of naming Octavian rather than Caesar or Augustus (227.7–8), and like the *Descriptio*, calls Vinicius ‘Vindicus’ in AD 2 (230.14). Perhaps the comparison *fasti* was related to the precursor of the *Descriptio* (which has ‘Trahalus’ in 68).

However, I have not found any instance of this form in a written source earlier than 161 – though Tacitus does describe this year as *Rubellio et Fufio consulibus, quorum utriusque Geminus cognomentum erat* (*Ann.* 5.1.1) – and it may be that all these unusual references to the year of Christ’s birth ultimately derive from the *Fasti* of 161.⁶⁷

As we have seen above in section III.2.1, the form *duobus Sextis* in AD 14 also appears in the *Chron.* 354, which has *Lentulo et Lentulo* and *Gemino et Gemino* in the other two instances. The key to understanding the gemination, however, is Suetonius, who gives the consuls of AD 14 as *duobus Sextis, Pompeio et Apuleio cons* (*Aug.* 100. 1), the peculiar treatment of the *praenomen* showing a clear link among Suetonius, the *Chron.* 354, and the *Fasti* of 161 (see Table 1).

IV.4. The *Duobus* Formula

The text of the *fasti* used by the compiler of the *Fasti* of 161 therefore already had one entry, that of AD 14, in the form *duobus Sextis, Pompeio et Appuleio*. This was part of a text that had at one point extended to some date between 78 and 92. I have found only one epigraphic and two painted consular dates that refer to contemporary or near contemporary consuls with this *duobus* formula.⁶⁸ All three are private records; none is what we could call ‘official’ or ‘public’. In a similar vein, Augustus referred to the year 18 BC in his *Res Gestae* as *Cn. et P. Lentuli* (6, Greek only/reverse order, and 18, Greek and Latin) and a formal inscription containing consular dates between 140 and 172 has *Quintiliis cos* (151) for Sex. Quintilius Condianus and Sex. Quintilius Valerius Maximus (CIL 14.246 II.8), the former example using *cognomina*, the latter using *nomina*. Finally, an exact parallel to *duobus Sextis, Pompeio et Appuleio* can be found on tombstones, where this formula was used when naming family members.⁶⁹ It is clear, therefore, that there existed an unofficial tendency to condense similar names in this fashion in the Roman world.

Finally and more pertinently, there is also evidence that M. Aurelius and L. Verus were in fact referred to during their reign as ‘the two augusti’: *Imp duor(um) Aug Antonini et Veri Armeniacorum* (CIL 7.1211 = AE 1952.88) and *Pro salute et reditu et uictoria Imp duorum Aug* (CIL 3.3432; a dedication of 164). Even more important, there are at least three examples of epigraphic consular dates from 161 with similar forms, *Augustis n(ostris) cos* (CIL 15.353 = 11.6684; a brick stamp), *Imp Augustis cos* (CIL 3.1295) and *Augustis cos* (CIL 12.5905), and one with exactly the form under consideration here, dating from 1 April, *II Aug cos* (CIL 6.126).⁷⁰ Clearly this identification began early

⁶⁷ Simply listing those in Mommsen’s *Chron. min.* volumes, we have the preface to the Liberian catalogue of Roman bishops contained in the *Chron.* 354 (1: 73.2), the *Computatio a. 452*, 69 (1: 153.13); Prosper § 388 (1: 409–10); Victorius of Aquitaine, *Cursus Paschalis* (1: 683.22, 686), and the *Prologus Paschae ad Vitalem* (1: 737.32). See also Lactantius, *de mortibus persecutorum* 2.1 and *Div. Inst.* 4.10.18; Augustine, *de ciuitate dei* 18.54 (ed. Dombart-Kalb, p. 344.3); and the *Anonymi Libellus de computo Paschali*, PL 59: 553A and D (of the mid-fifth century), as well a third century reference from Ulpian in *Mosaicarum et Romanorum legum collatio* 8.7.3, in Paul Krueger, Theodor Mommsen, and Wilhelm Studemund (eds.), *Collectio librorum iuris anteiustiniani* 3, Berlin 1890, 166.15. Certainly the Liberian catalogue (see n. 30, above), Prosper, Victorius, and Augustine (see n. 80, below) all ultimately derive from the *Fasti* of 161.

⁶⁸ There is a painted label on an amphora from 18 BC that records the consuls of that year as *duobus Lentulis cos* (CIL 15.4539). The tombstone of a soldier notes that he was discharged *duobus Geminis* (CIL 6.2489) and an amphora also has *Geminis II cos* (CIL 15.4573).

⁶⁹ E.g. *duobus Claudiis Moscho et Heliopo* (CIL 6.14105), *duobus Cl. Cl. Faustino et Hermogeni filis [sic] dulcissimis* (CIL 6.15053, where the *Cl. Cl.* is an abbreviation for *Claudiis*), *Tettio Hermeti seniori et Tettio Hermeti iuniori duobus Collibertis* (CIL 6.27303), and *duobus Terentis Baccho et Terentiano* (CIL 6.27167), though the common name here (except for *Collibertus*) is the *nomen* not the *praenomen* or *cognomen* as in the consular dates.

⁷⁰ The third example is an inscription celebrating M. Aurelius’ birthday (26 April) and thus clearly belongs to 161. The editors incorrectly think that the *II* of the last example is an iteration and Mommsen dates the inscription to AD 70. The others must date to 161 rather than 202 (see below), since by 202 each emperor was represented with a separate final letter in an abbreviation, so that IMPPP AVGGG, for example, refers to three emperors. After the *damnatio memoriae* of Geta in 211 even the extra letters that represented him were removed from inscriptions (for an example, see n. 75, below). However, this system only began to develop later in the reign of Marcus and Verus, first with IMPP and only later with AVGG (CIL 7.504, *optimorum maximorumque Imp n(ostrorum)*; 8.9698, *Imp Antonini et Veri Aug*; and 8.11173, *Imp Antonino et Vero*

in the reign since the fact that they were two equal augusti was the characterizing feature of their reign.

IV.5. The Gemination of 161

The loss of *Aug* after each consul's name would have been normal for an entry such as this in the written *fasti*,⁷¹ but because of the unique example of two augusti in this case it was retained. Under the influence of the pre-existing *duobus Sextis, Pompeio et Appuleio*, the tendency to refer to the new emperors as the *duo augusti*, and perhaps unofficial instances of the use of *II Augustis cos*, the officially promulgated *Imp Caesare M. Aurelio Antonino Aug III et Imp Caesare L. Aurelio Vero Aug II* became *M. Aurelio Antonino III et L. Aurelio Vero II, duobus augustis*. Thus inspired, the compiler of the *Fasti* of 161 undertook similar reductions in 18 BC and AD 29, though in these cases the basis was the *cognomina*, Lentuli and Gemini.

At a later date, when the names in a text descending from the *Fasti* of 161 were being reduced from three- and four-element names to single names, these forms were mistakenly treated as referring to separate consular pairs, *duobus Sextis* in one year and *Pompeio et Appuleio* in the next, though in the *Chron. 354* the *nomina* in AD 14 were properly removed. This error arose because in manuscripts the names were usually crammed in together one after the other in double columns, not one line per year as in modern editions. The same happened in 18 BC, AD 29 and AD 161. At some date the original *duobus Lentulis Cornelio et Cornelio* in 18 BC was miscopied as *duobus Lentulis Lentulo et Cornelio* (*Descr.* 18b, *FVpr* 53), in the same way that *duobus Geminis* became *duobus Silanis* in the *Descriptio* in AD 29a, the *Silanis* having been copied from the consul of the previous year. These four geminations thus serve to identify the tradition of the *Fasti* of 161.

V. The Later *Duobus* Forms

There are two later examples of the *duobus* form in the written *fasti*, *duobus Silanis* in AD 189 and *duobus Aspris* in 212. These appear in all Latin *fasti*, even the *Chron. 354*, but with no geminations.⁷² The reason for this is that by 189 the *duobus* form had become an officially promulgated form. I have not yet been able to discover any inscription that records the consuls as *duobus Lentulis* (18 BC) or *duobus Sextis* (AD 14), and only one each that records the consuls of 29 as *duobus Geminis* (CIL 6.2489 from Rome, noted above) and of 161 as *duobus augustis* (CIL 6.126 from Rome, noted above). However, of thirteen inscriptions for 189 that I have found, eleven give *duobus Silanis*, and of forty-seven inscriptions and papyri for 212 thirty-seven give *duobus Aspris*.⁷³ All thirty-nine laws dating from

Augg). An amphora dated *Ca]es n(ostris) cos* may also belong to this year (CIL 15.4397).

⁷¹ There are no examples of the retention of *Aug* before the 360s and even after that it is very sporadic.

⁷² The Greek *fasti* of Theon give Σιλανὸς καὶ Σιλανός and Ἄσπρος καὶ Ἄσπρος (*Chron. min.* 3: 376–7). The missing iteration for the consul *prior* in 212 shows that these entries were probably expanded from the same forms as presented by the Latin texts (see nn. 64 and 65). The *Chron. Pasch.* has a different entry for 212 (see n. 74, below) and misses the consuls for 189.

⁷³ E.g. *Sijlano et Q. Seruilio Silano*: CIL 14.460, and *Jio Silano Q. Seruilio Silano*: CIL 6.1980; and *duobus Silanis* (or variants): CIL 3.3494, 4036, 4789, 15188; 13.8166, 8640, 8809; AE 1957.50; 1974.496 (no *duobus*); 1990.807; 1994.1403. Cf. *HA Comm. 7.5: interemit Seruilium et Duliium Silanos*.

E.g. *Aspro II et Aspro* (or variants): CIL 6.1063 (no *II*), 2003; 13.11774 (no *II*); AE 1895.120; 1904.92; 1976.500 (no *II*); 1981.25; *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, p. 43 (*Fasti Palatini*); RMD 1954–1977 (see n. 39; London 1978), no. 74 (*Aspro II et Aspro cos* on interior, *C. Iulio Aspro II et C. Iulio Camilio Aspro cos* on exterior); *duobus Aspris* (or variants): CIL 3.3237 (no *duobus*), 4157 (= AE 1995.1250); 8.8296; 13.6618, 7409, 7587; 14.119; 16.136 (interior of diploma; no exterior preserved); AE 1890.131; 1899.194; 1930.28; 1972.444; 1978.525; 1992.368; PP 12 (1957), 303; and C. Bradford Welles, Robert O. Fink, and J. Frank Gilliam, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report 5.1*, New Haven 1959, nos. 98, 100, 101, and 102, pp. 305, 306, 308, 312, 319, 330, 331, 334, 336, 338, 346, 361, 364, 368, 369*bis*, and 370. At Dura-Europos the form *duobus cos* was also used (no. 101, pp. 351, 353, 357, 358, and 360), which is bizarre since there were always 'two consuls'! In inscriptions the *duobus* is sometimes just written *II* either before or after the names. The desire to note the iteration of *Asper père* probably accounts for the large number of non-*duobus* forms in this year.

212 in the *Codex Justinianus* are dated *duobus Aspris*.⁷⁴

However, there is no record in the written *fasti* of another imperial pair's being called simply *duobus augustis*. There are, however, four inscriptions and a graffito from 202, the next year in which there were two augusti as consuls, that adopt this form, a large enough number to suggest that this may have been a disseminated form as well. The four inscriptions read *Impp duobus Augg Seuero III et Antonino fil(io) cos, duob(us) Augg Seuero III et Antonino Pio cos, duob(us) Augg Severo III et Antonino cos*, and *duob(us) Aug cos*, and a graffito reads *duobus Augg cos Seuero et Anton(ino)*, exactly the same form, in reverse order, that has been postulated above for 161.⁷⁵ In spite of these epigraphic attestations, no written list identifies the consuls of 202 as *duobus augustis*; the emperors appear simply as *Seuero III et Antonino*. After 212 this form is encountered only once again in 247/8 in at least three inscriptions that give *duobus* forms for Philip and his son, though with their names, not *augustus*: *Impp II Philippis Augg cos* (CIL 3.3905 and 3909 on p. 2328²⁸) and *duobus Philip(pis)* (CIL 8.18840).⁷⁶ After this there are no further *duobus* forms in the *fasti* or in inscriptions, though only in the case of imperial consular pairs is there a repeated single name (i.e. Decii [251], Constantini [320, 329], and Constantii [352–4]).⁷⁷ The *nouitas et dignitas* of 161 ensured that the consulship of M. Aurelius and L.

⁷⁴ Paul Krüger (ed), *Codex Iustinianus*, Berlin 1877, *4, and *Codex Iustinianus, Corpus iuris ciuilis 2*, Berlin 1970 (1877), 490. This does not, of course, indicate that this was the exact formula used by the chancery when these laws were first promulgated, however. Consular dates were harmonized to existing lists at the time of compilation and most subscriptions in the *CJ* derive from a sixteenth-century edition in which the consular dates of the subscriptions could have been regularized as well. There is also an example in the *Epitome codicum Gregoriani et Hermogeniani Wisigothica* 5.1, in *Collectio librorum iuris antejustiniani* 3 (cit. n. 67), 227.9.

A question about dissemination in 189 and 212 arises. If the disseminated forms were *duobus Silanis* and *duobus Aspris*, as they must have been since these forms are very wide-spread, how is it that some people are still aware of the correct names and iteration numbers of the individuals? CLRE does not consider such problems in its discussions of dissemination (see pp. 26 and 67–8). In CIL 14.460 (from Ostia) and CIL 6.1980 (from Rome) people obviously knew all the names of each consul (see previous note) and in CIL 6.2003 someone in Rome knew that *duobus Aspris* was really *C. Iulio Aspro II C. Iulio Aspro cos*. Most such examples I have found come from Rome or its environs, and therefore can be attributed to proximity to the consuls themselves and their actions, but there is the example of *Iulio A[spro II et Iulio Asp]ro* from Moesia (AE 1904.92). It would seem that both forms were disseminated and people could use whichever one they wanted (which was usually the short form).

The entry for 212 in the *Chron. Pasch.*, which is otherwise following a Greek translation of the *Descriptio*, shows that the correct form was eventually known in the east as well. Though the *Descriptio* has only *duobus Aspris*, the *Chron. Pasch.* reports an accurate Ἄπρου τὸ β' καὶ Ἄπρου (p. 497.13; the names are slightly garbled). As we saw above, there is evidence in the consuls for 161 as well for the consultation of a separate consular list, probably interpolated by the Greek translator, not the author of the *Chron. Pasch.* Could this be evidence of another Latin list, compiled in the environs of Rome?

⁷⁵ Inscr. Ital. 3.1, no. 49 (Buccino in Regio III) (the transcription is incorrect: the inscription reads *III*, not *ter*); CIL 6.218a (Rome), 13.5970 (Strasbourg), AE 1994.1407 (Sirmium), and AE 1941.77 = AE 1980.60 (Rome). AE 1969–70.173, *Impp Augg Seuero III et Antonino III cos* (sic), surely also belongs to 202, as may CIL 13.7945, AVG . COS (= *duobus Augg cos*), which was assumed at a later date to refer to Geta, consul in 205 and 208 (Geta suffered *damnatio memoriae* in 211). There are also a number of inscriptions of the type *Seuero III et Antonino Augg cos* (AE 1984.657) and *Seuero III et Antonino Augg nn cos* (CIL 6.226). By this period repeated final letters of abbreviations told readers how many augusti were involved (see n. 70, above) and since AVGG took up much less space yet conveyed the same information as DVOBVS AVGVSTIS, the former convention eventually became widespread. The *Augg nn* of CIL 6.226, above, therefore means *duobus Augustis nostris*.

⁷⁶ There are a number of inscriptions that give (*Impp*) *DD NN Philippis Augg* either as a consular date or a title (thus often *Philipporum*): CIL 3.14149⁵, 6.1624, 7.315, 8.8780 (= 18016), 13.6552, 14.170, AE 1972.678, AE 1985.849 = AE 1992.1758, AE 1992.1862 (see also AE 1951.121). The doubled consonants indicate *duobus*. CIL 13.6552 adds the correct *III et iterum cos* (at the end) that all the others omit.

⁷⁷ The *Historia Augusta* provides a unique example, probably a creation by the author himself, under the influence of the *fasti* under discussion, turning the consuls of 251, *Decio III et Decio* into *duobus Decii cons* (*Val. II* 5.4). Socrates also refers to the ὑπατεία τῶν δύο Ἀγούστων Κωνσταντίου τὸ τρίτον καὶ Κόνσταντος τὸ δεύτερον (342; *HE* 2.13.4), which is not exactly the same formula, and is more like the instances in 161 and 202. By this date, of course, there was nothing odd or unusual about two augusti as consuls. The consuls of 251 were also noted on inscriptions and in papyri in the strange form, *III/ter et semel cos* (e.g. CIL 10.3699, 11.4086, and 14.352; The Excavations at Dura-Europos [cit. n. 73], nos. 29.2 and 97.4, 9, 14, 16, 17, and 22, pp. 151 and 299), a form for imperial consuls that reappears on Western inscriptions in the fourth century, usually prefaced by *DD NN*: see CLRE s.aa. 303, 305, 307, 342, 360, and 373.

Verus alone would be recorded in the written *fasti* simply as 'the two augusti'.

The question now arises, Who influenced whom? Did the presence of the *duobus* forms in the *Fasti* of 161 influence the disseminated form of the consular formulae in 189, 202, and 212, or did changes in the disseminated formula in 189, 202, and 212 prompt later changes to a copy or copies of the *Fasti* of 161? The evidence indicates the former. The form *duobus Sextis, Pompeio et Appuleio* clearly existed before 161, since it appears in the common source of Suetonius and the c. 11 BC to AD 78/92 portion of the *Chron. 354* and the *Fasti* of 161. The geminations, created from two name elements in each name (*praenomen* and *nomen* or *nomen* and *cognomen*) cannot have arisen from the strictly single-name, *duobus* forms of the consular designations for 189 and 212. Since the regular use of the single name form of consular names seems to have become more widespread from the second quarter of the second century, and there is no evidence for the regular appearance of multiple name elements in the written traditions after the end of the third quarter of the first century, anyone compiling or editing *fasti* after 189 or 212 (and thus influenced by them) would have been more likely to remove the *nomina* of the consuls of 18 BC, AD 14, 29, and 161 to match those of 189 and 212, rather than preserve them in this unusual way. The preservation of the *nomina* in these years, therefore, indicates that the geminations occurred at a date before the use of the single *cognomen* system became standard, thus before about the middle of the second century,⁷⁸ before any potential influence from the consuls of 189 or 212. Finally, the *duobus augustis* entry in 161 must antedate 202. The consular form *duo augusti* can be found in only one contemporary inscription of 161 (noted above), which shows that it was neither a well-known form nor an officially promulgated form. The examples of *duobus augustis* in 202 show at least that it was clearly a widely-known (see n. 75) if not officially promulgated form. If the *duobus* form for the consuls of 202 had come first, it most likely would have appeared as *duobus augustis* in the written *fasti* and the consuls of 161 would have remained as *Antonino III et Aurelio II* (there could not be two years so close chronologically that had the same designation). Since this is not the case, the *duobus augustis* of 161 must have come first, thus denying the form to the consuls of 202. This suggests that knowledge of the *duobus* forms in the *fasti* of 161 prompted the *duobus* forms in the officially disseminated names, since it contained a number of these forms and was issued in close chronological proximity to the later, officially promulgated *duobus* forms.

VI. The Origin of *duobus augustis*

Every single surviving Latin list records *duobus augustis* for 161 and many other literary and chronological references to this year use the same form. This was not the disseminated form, does not appear in contemporary laws, and appears in a single inscription from Rome. Its rarity elsewhere indicates that it must therefore belong almost entirely to the written *fasti* tradition. The *Descriptio, Liber Paschalis, FVpr/post*, and Prosper (with his follower Victorius and his follower Cassiodorus) all derive at various removes from the *Fasti* of 161. These *fasti* offered two different versions of the consuls of 161, as if two separate years, and ended with *duobus augustis*. The *Chron. 354* did not utilize the *Fasti* of 161 yet still shows evidence of the *duobus augustis* entry. The compiler of the *Prologus Paschae* and the author of the *HA* knew of lists, still in circulation in c. 395, that began with *duobus augustis*. The natural assumption is that the *Chron. 354* utilized one of these lists and that its knowledge of *duobus augustis* comes not from *fasti* that ended in 161 but from one that began in 161. This would be the *fasti* discussed above that began in 161 and ended in c. 311. Any consuls in the original list beyond 161 were omitted.

VII. Official or Unofficial *Fasti*?

Next we must somehow try to explain why the *Fasti* of 161 actually ended in 161, why they failed to continue beyond 161, and why they had such an impact both on the later lists, which one would expect

⁷⁸ For this date, see n. 13.

to derive from many different sources that ended in many different years, and on the promulgated forms of later consuls. There is the fact, mentioned above, that the *Fasti* of 161 appear to have circulated independently of any continuation for quite some time. Ordinarily, any *fasti* ending in 161 should have been extended to 162, 163, 165, 180, 200, and so on, leaving little if any internal trace of the original recension. Yet in this case we can actually trace the progress of the *Fasti* of 161 through the *Descriptio*, to the *Liber Paschalis*, to the *FVpr* (which gives rise to its own corrupted progeny in the *FVpost* and then the *Barb. Scal.*), to Prosper, each step containing slightly more corruptions and ‘corrections’ of perceived errors. There are a number of examples of limited collation with other lists on individual dates, but essentially what we have is a single list that circulated alone, never seriously compared to a more accurate list or systematically checked against better sources, including inscribed *fasti*. A close parallel to this situation of great influence from a single text is the exemplar of the *Descriptio* itself: the original Western recension appears to have been used by either the author of the *Kaisergeschichte* or Aurelius Victor in c. 358 or 361;⁷⁹ a recension that actively circulated in Constantinople in Latin and Greek between c. 370 and 390 was used by Jerome, Epiphanius, Achantia, Socrates, Marcellinus *comes*, and the authors of the *Fasti Berolinenses*, *Epitome de caesaribus*, and the *Chronicon Paschale*; and a Western version, deriving from Achantia’s personal copy, which was taken to Spain in 389, was used by Augustine, Orosius, Prosper, Hydatius, and the compiler of the *Descriptio* (a very close copy and continuation of Achantia’s text) between c. 395 and the early sixth century.⁸⁰ Thus a single copy of a wholly unofficial document could travel widely and produce many widely-dispersed progeny if placed in the proper environment. The difference between this situation and the problem confronting us with the *Fasti* of 161 is that all later editions of this work point to a recension that concluded in a single year, not one covering a period of twenty years with a further offshoot extending over one hundred years. The answers to the above questions can therefore only be tentative hypotheses, but some solutions appear more likely than others. But first we must deal with the question of origin and dissemination.

It has often been the assumption that since consuls were chosen by the emperors and that consular dates were the sole means of official dating used by the imperial administration and recognized as valid and legal throughout the empire some branch of the imperial bureaucracy must have been responsible for providing official copies of consular *fasti* and *consularia* for bureaucrats, civil servants, businessmen, administrators, military officials, lawyers, and indeed anyone who wanted or needed a list of consuls, annotated or not. Evidence of commonalities among different surviving *fasti* and *consularia* has been ascribed to access to ‘official’ versions of these works preserved in the archives of different cities. Differences in the names or order of the consuls that were created by differing proclamation and dissemination in the eastern and western parts of the empire would cause differences among *fasti*, and any historical entries added to *fasti* – thus creating *consularia* – were thus governed by strictly local concerns. As a result specific archives can be identified by the differences in consular names and historical addenda. Michael and Mary Whitby’s description of these ‘official’ *fasti*, with specific reference to Constantinople, sums up the theory very clearly:

It appears that some form of official record or register did exist at Constantinople, which probably comprised consular *fasti* dating back to the city’s foundation and beyond, together with notices of

⁷⁹ I missed this point in Hydatius (cit. n. 8), 193–4. The evidence comes from Aurelius Victor, and although this is not the place to present such evidence, a key passage is 41.7–8, which refers to an eclipse six years before the defeat of Licinius at Chalcedon (in 324). The *Descriptio* notes the same things (s.aa. 318 and 324 are six years apart) and indeed is the only other source to mention the eclipse, which would have been noticed only in northern Gaul. However, the eclipse is misdated in the *Descriptio*: it was in reality only five years before Chalcedon on 6 May 319 (see Hydatius, *loc. cit.*). Victor does not count inclusively. Further study is needed to determine which author used the *Descriptio*. I owe this observation to Jean-Luc Gauville.

⁸⁰ See Hydatius (cit. n. 8), 195. On that page I list the *Epitome de caesaribus* as deriving from Achantia’s version, but it was clearly dependent on a version similar to the one used by Jerome. At this point I also missed the parallel in Augustine, *de ciuitate dei* 18.54 (Dombart-Kalb, p. 344.24, 28–31) to the African recension of the *Descriptio* (s.a. 399).

imperial events. This record must have been preserved in some central archive, where it was regularly updated and was available for consultation or copying by interested individuals.⁸¹

Brian Croke has described them in this way,

[In the fourth century City Chronicles⁸²] were . . . the preserve of the local government, the prefect or the proconsul, and were kept up to date each year. A permanent record in stone or bronze was probably readily accessible and this formed the basis for popular transcripts, especially deluxe illustrated editions. Fuller information was always available in the city archives and could be used by those wishing to embellish or verify their account.⁸³

Elizabeth Jeffreys, too, has accepted the existence of and described the Antiochene and Constantinopolitan versions of these City Chronicles,

When Constantinople was founded in 330 as a Christian capital it began by adopting the traditional Roman calendar and ceremonial. A copy of the official list of consuls was brought from Rome and kept up to date. It formed part of the local *acta urbis* which now recorded the important events of the new capital – the accession and deposition of emperors, victories, arrival of relics and so on. Such a document was used by the so-called *Fasti Hydatiani* [i.e. the *Descriptio*] in the fifth century, by Marcellinus in the sixth and the *Chronicon Paschale* in the seventh. . . . The office responsible for maintaining this record (originally the *procurator ab actis urbis*) held its own materials, either separately or as part of the city archives (*tabularia*). These raw materials would possibly include copies of official reports of disasters (*relationes*) and of the 'announcements' emanating from the imperial court and elsewhere. . . . Although individual authors may not necessarily have consulted the *acta* at first hand there were in circulation highlights, summaries and extracts of the *acta* and these could be used in any combination by chroniclers and historians.⁸⁴

One would never know from reading any of these passages, however, that the above accounts are entirely hypothetical and depend upon no evidence apart from the very similarities among surviving *fasti* and *consularia* that the hypothesis is trying to explain.⁸⁵ More important, we have seen enough evidence above to demonstrate that this theory cannot, in fact, be true.⁸⁶ The evidence shows that every single example of written *fasti* in Latin was compiled privately from obviously unofficial sources and was never checked against more accurate documents or epigraphical evidence. Otherwise the differences that we have seen among the individual versions and often even from the officially promulgated

⁸¹ Whitby and Whitby (cit. n. 18), xxi.

⁸² This is the term Croke uses, along with *Stadtchronik* and *acta urbis*, to describe the 'official' version of consular *fasti* and *consularia*, which are the private copies of these official documents.

⁸³ Croke (cit. n. 12), 196. This entire article is devoted to the demonstration of the existence of officially produced and maintained *fasti* and *consularia* (the 'city chronicles') in every major city of the empire. See also *idem*, A.D. 476: The Manufacture of a Turning Point, *Chiron* 13, 1983, 87–8.

⁸⁴ Elizabeth Jeffreys, Malalas' Sources, in Elizabeth Jeffreys with Brian Croke and Roger Scott, *Studies in John Malalas*, Sydney 1990, 213 and 204. For some of the early development of the idea of 'city chronicles', see also Steven Muhlberger, *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers: Prosper, Hydatius, and the Gallic Chronicler of 452*, Leeds 1990, 32–3.

⁸⁵ Though at least on pp. 169, 248, 253, and 257 of the work cited in the last note, Jeffreys calls the Constantinopolitan city chronicle, at least, either 'putative' or 'hypothetical'. For the lack of evidence, see Hydatius (cit. n. 8), 184–5. Croke himself (without realizing it) undermined the entire hypothesis by admitting that "[i]t was probably the familiar heritage of the *Stadtchroniken* of the medieval German towns which led German scholars in the mid-nineteenth century to frame the idea of a detailed and all-embracing City Chronicle for Ravenna and other late Roman capitals" (p. 197).

⁸⁶ For further evidence against this theory that cannot be presented here, see Muhlberger's important discussion (cit. n. 84: 32–46), with reference to the studies and conclusions of Kaufmann in 1876, Seeck in 1889, and Mommsen in 1892; and Hydatius (cit. n. 8), 178–86.

consuls are inexplicable. Not a single example of existing *fasti* reflects the list of promulgated consuls as it can be reconstructed from surviving contemporary documents, such as inscriptions, papyri, and laws (not the codes, though, for the most part). The differences between the *fasti* that are mentioned by Jeffreys, for instance – those of Marcellinus *comes* and the *Chronicon Paschale* – and the surviving contemporary record between the years 399 and 515, for example, prove beyond any doubt that neither derives from ‘official’ Constantinopolitan *fasti*.⁸⁷ Certain versions of privately produced *fasti* became more numerous and commonly copied than others and so dominate the tradition (e.g. the *Fasti* of 161 and those of Achantia, best represented by the *Descriptio*). Once in circulation these lists were copied again and again and again, and copies were made of those copies, each generation of copying presenting the possibility for new errors and new ‘corrections’. Most later western readers and users of Achantia’s *consularia*, for example, chose to copy and continue her text rather than obtain any ‘official’ version. Prosper had both Achantia’s *consularia* and ‘straight’ *fasti* (those that have been discussed above): although the consular list of the former was far more accurate he used the latter for his consular dates and the former only for his fourth and fifth century historical entries.⁸⁸ And Prosper’s faulty version, through the intermediary of Victorius of Aquitaine, was chosen by Cassiodorus in the sixth century for his chronicle, along with lists compiled from Livy and Aufidius Bassus. In both cases these men were living in Rome and nothing should have been easier than popping down to the central archives (*tabularia publica*) to pick up an accurate and official consular list, or down to the Forum to consult official versions preserved on stone or bronze, especially when accurate chronology was of such concern for chroniclers. And why did Cassiodorus need a list copied from Livy when he had the *Fasti Capitolini*? And what about Jerome and Achantia? Both were in Constantinople and should have had easy access to any official city chronicle (especially the latter, as widow of that year’s consul and Praetorian Prefect of the East), yet both were content with the standard-issue, corrupted *consularia* that were available to everyone else. Finally, we have the *Chronograph of 354*, the most accurate literary *fasti* we possess. It was compiled in Rome by Philocalus, a man with obvious access (either direct or indirect) to the archives of the Prefect of the City, yet his *fasti* too betray extensive evidence of private compilation and serious corruption (as noted above). Indeed, if the dated list of the Prefects of the City contained in Philocalus’ collection does indeed derive from ‘official’ sources, such as the prefect’s archives, those who advocate ‘official’ city chronicles and *fasti* are then faced with the inexplicable problem of an ‘official’ list that contains consuls who officially suffered *damnatio memoriae*: Magnentius’ consuls of 351 and 352 (see CLRE *s.aa.*). And it is the only extant list to do so.

The evidence of the lists themselves demonstrates beyond any doubt that *fasti* were produced ‘unofficially’, in some cases compiled from dated documents on a year by year basis, but usually gathered in sections from the working lists of bureaucrats, administrators, lawyers, stonemasons, or businessmen, which themselves derived ultimately from the process of annual empire-wide proclamation and dissemination.⁸⁹ Even in 161 and after, when there were obviously still inscribed *fasti* in existence with extensive and detailed consular lists with full consular names, compilers of written *fasti* failed to consult them and instead used existing written lists. Inscribed documents like the *Fasti*

⁸⁷ See CLRE *s.aa.* 399, 412 (with p. 16 n. 24), 424, 432(?)*, 446, 451, 452, 458, 459, 460(?)*, 462, 463, 472(?)*, 481*, 482–90, 493, 494, 501(?)*, 503(?)*, 506(?)*, 510*, and 515 (for dates marked *, see R. W. Burgess, *Consuls and Consular Dating in the Later Roman Empire*, Phoenix 43, 1989, 156). In these years one or both of these chronicles show divergences from the consuls proclaimed officially in Constantinople. For this phenomenon, see *Consuls and Consular Dating*, pp. 152–3. The same is true (famously) for the period of the early and middle Republic, and the lists recorded by Livy, Diodorus, the *Chron. 354*, the *Descriptio*, the *Chronicon Paschale*, and the *Fasti Capitolini*; see e.g. Conrad Cichorius, *De fastis consularibus antiquissimis*, Leipziger Studien 9, 1886, 171–262; Theodor Mommsen, ‘Fasti consulares inter se collati’ in CIL 1.1², Berlin 1893, 81–97; Giovanni Costa, *I fasti consolari romani dalle origini alla morte di C. Giulio Cesare I.1*, Studia Juridica 40, Milan 1910 [reprinted Rome 1971]; and John Pinsent, *Military Tribunes and Plebeian Consuls: The Fasti from 444 V to 342 V*, *Historia Einzelschrift* 24, Wiesbaden 1975).

⁸⁸ For Prosper’s use an early version of the *Descriptio* like Hydatius, see Hydatius (cit. n. 8), 201–2.

⁸⁹ On which, see CLRE, 13–35 and Burgess (cit. n. 87), 151–4.

Ostienses had no influence on the written tradition at all.⁹⁰

The wide availability of the *fasti* that underlie the *Descriptio* in Constantinople between 370 and 390 suggests that certain booksellers were probably responsible for providing the public with copies of these lists. This hypothesis fits the evidence.⁹¹ Achantia or her heirs could have sold a copy of her *consularia* to a bookseller in Spain (such an unusual work would have had a ready market, one would suspect) and this would explain the wide circulation that her clearly private volume enjoyed in the West over the next 100 years, as copies travelled to Africa, Italy, Gaul, and back to Spain. The rôle of booksellers would also explain why single copies of such obviously unofficial documents could have had such an impact on the fate of these lists. If there was one reliable or trustworthy βιβλιοπώλης in Constantinople that catered to everyone's *fasti* needs, his version, updated at the time of sale and available in a variety of editions and recensions for every taste and budget, would soon produce many descendants.⁹²

However, private copying must have played a large role in the dissemination of these works as well, as individuals sought copies from their friends and correspondents, which they then updated on their own.⁹³ A bookseller's copies would all be relatively faithful to the original since all copies would be made from the master copy kept in the shop. The evidence for the *Fasti* of 161 shows a constant and uneven process of degradation. It may be that booksellers were not involved in the *fasti* trade before the end of the fourth century. But it could be that eventually the products of a particular shop would themselves produce offspring (like Achantia's text), especially as the basis for *fasti* offered for sale or loaned for copying by others within the same city and then in other cities further from the original source. The further these copies travelled, in time and space, the more corrupt they would become, since each copy would descend from an earlier copy, rather than the master copy in the original bookseller's shop. Along the way booksellers, owners, and copyists would attempt to 'correct' what they saw as errors in these lists, which would only serve to corrupt the texts further. In the case of the *Fasti* of 161, we would seem to have an example of a work that began as a single copy and was copied many, many

⁹⁰ Those who accept the official origins of *fasti* and *consularia* have never adequately explained why any branch of the government would compile *consularia*, with their lists of earthquakes, portents, battles, translation of relics, and dedications. On the other hand, these are exactly the sorts of things one would expect to find in unofficial, privately compiled documents. For the methods of obtaining what Croke believed was the 'official' information contained in these works, such as imperial anniversaries, accessions, and proclamations, see Hydatius (cit. n. 8), 181–3, 185–6, 193. It is worth stressing the particular relevance of Cicero, *Ad fam.* 8.1.1 and 2.8.1 to this argument of private compilation and to this end I have included a translation of the relevant passages in Appendix 2. The situation obtaining in the Late Empire was no different.

I am not stating, however, that *tabularia publica* or the *acta urbis* did not exist or that interested individuals could not consult state documents (cf. Croke, pp. 194–6, esp. the evidence of Malalas, *Chron.* 18.29, p. 443.20–1, and Ammianus Marcellinus 16.12.70 and 28.1.15, to which should be added *HA Comm.* 11.11 [*monumenta publica*], 15.4 [*acta urbis*], *Alex.* 6.2 [*acta urbis*], *Gall. II* 15.2 [*fasti publici*]), but I am stating that the sorts of information referred to by these texts (speeches, acclamations, detailed official accounts of imperial *res gestae*) bear no relation whatsoever to the sorts of information under discussion here. The *consularia* excerpt in the *HA Comm.* (11.13–12.9) is obviously intrusive (11.10–12 and 12.10–12 belong together) and makes no reference to *quotiens [ludum] ingrederetur* (11.11) or *omnia quae turpiter, quae impure, quae crudeliter, quae gladiatorie, quae lenonie faceret* (15.4) that Commodus supposedly included in the *acta urbis* (the point of both references to the *acta urbis* and *monumenta publica* in the life). The origin of these *consularia* is unknown, but the facts that they stop in 188 and use Commodus' months (long before he introduced them), suggest that they are contemporary and probably epigraphical in origin.

⁹¹ The role of booksellers in the promulgation of such works as *fasti* and *consularia* was originally propounded by Seeck in 1889 and has been accepted by Mommsen and Muhlberger (see Muhlberger [cit. n. 84], 34–37), as well as CLRE, 49 and 55. Croke describes it as an 'unusual explanation' (p. 188) and dismisses it.

⁹² It would therefore be the booksellers and their employees who were primarily responsible for gathering the names of the consuls and any other important news for the historical entries in the *consularia* at this time. It must be remembered that in spite of their spartan appearance in modern editions, many *consularia* were illustrated (this includes the *Barb. Scal.* and the *Fasti Berol.*; see Muhlberger [cit. n. 84], 38–40, and CLRE, 49 and 53), and this clearly would have necessitated professional scribes.

⁹³ Latin literature is full of examples of writers requesting copies of works from friends and correspondents. The acquisition of *fasti* should have been no different.

times in succession, versions of each copy ending up as the basis for new copies. With the *Descriptio*, the *Liber Paschalis*, the *FVpr/post*, and Prosper we have examples of copies each picked up further along the time line from that original compilation: the further one progresses, the more corrupt the tradition becomes. What began as a single copy soon spread throughout the Western empire, becoming more corrupted as it went. There is no evidence in any of this for access to ‘official’ documents that would have provided a corrective to the multiple and growing errors of the tradition. Whether we like it or not, there is no evidence whatsoever that anyone sought to correct written *fasti* from ‘official’ sources nor that any branch or level of the Roman government made any attempt to compile, make available, or disseminate accurate ‘official’ *fasti* for general use and, surprising as it may seem to us, they probably did not even have such *fasti* for their own use.

It must also be stressed that I do not believe that there were a great many copies of these ‘complete’ *fasti* in circulation at any one time. Booksellers had complete exemplars of simple *fasti* and of *consularia*, but most people would have wanted only practical lists covering the last fifty or seventy-five years. Complete lists were of interest only to the sorts of people who were interested in history and antiquarianism. While there may have been many hundreds or thousands of practical yet limited consular lists in a Late Roman city at a given time, there were probably only scores of complete *fasti*, if that. The reduced number of such documents in circulation would again limit the number and variety of the texts that could survive.⁹⁴ Let us now return to 161.

VIII. The Edition of 161

The terminal date of 161 seems to have arisen from the peculiar circumstances involving the *consules ordinarii* of that year. The two ordinary consuls from 1 January of 161 were, as we have seen, the Caesar M. Aurelius Verus and his brother, L. Aurelius Commodus, who, though a member of the imperial family, was no more than a *privatus*, being only an *augur* and *frater Arvalis*. On 7 March they were proclaimed *augusti* and changed their names to M. Aurelius Antoninus and L. Aurelius Verus. Under normal circumstances the consular names of the year would have remained the same, since the ordinary consuls were long since out of office, and the two *augusti* would have taken a double consulship in 162, to mark the beginning of their reign.⁹⁵ Instead Marcus and Lucius retroactively changed the consular designation of the year and did not take the consulship in 162. Indeed they did not hold a joint consulship again, though Lucius Verus was consul without Marcus in 167.

As the *Historia Augusta* states, there had never before been two *augusti* or two *augusti* as consuls. Perhaps, I would suggest, in order to mark the *nouitas et dignitas* of both two *augusti* and two *augusti* as joint consuls, someone (an entrepreneurial *bibliopola*?), probably in Rome, produced special consular *fasti* from 509 BC to AD 161 to mark the occasion and made them available to the public soon after the accession of the two *augusti* in March of 161, each roll ending with a rubricated consulship, some form of *M. Aurelio Antonino III et L. Aurelio Vero II, duobus augustis*, and a version of the *supputatio* that still survives in *FVpr*, a *Gaio Iulio Caesare usque ad duos augustos anni sunt CCXVIII*. This form was probably inspired by the existence of *duobus Sextis, Pompeio et Appuleio* in the *fasti* that had been used as a copy model and the fact that it may have been a popular way of referring to the two emperors (see section IV.4). The consuls of AD 14 and 161 provided the impetus to combine the earlier consulships of the *duo Lentuli* and the *duo Gemini* as well. The existence of fancy commemorative presentation copies

⁹⁴ In Hydatius (cit. n. 8), 180, I make the suggestion that consular *fasti* were produced to mark the occasion of someone’s consulship, like the later tradition of distributing diptychs. This was probably a later tradition than the period I am discussing here, and would naturally have increased the number of such *fasti* in circulation at any one time.

⁹⁵ Most emperors became consul on the first of January following their accession. The precedents were Caligula (from 1 July of 37), Claudius (42), Nero (55), Galba (69), Otho (69), Vespasian (70), Titus (80), Domitian (82), Nerva (97), Trajan (98; a situation not unlike the present one since Trajan became emperor on 28 Jan. 98), Hadrian (118), L. Aelius (137, as Caesar), Antoninus Pius (139), and Marcus Aurelius (140, as Caesar).

of *fasti* from 509 BC to AD 161, copied in a fine bookhand and concluding with a large rubricated *supputatio* and perhaps a painted icon of the two emperors would explain why individuals did not continue these *Fasti* of 161 as one would have expected, but kept them (and recopied them) only down to 161, treating them as special volumes unto themselves, as if they were works of history, not just lists. Perhaps, indeed, they formed part of a larger chronological work or history that stopped in this year. We know from Theophilus, *Ad Autolyicum* 3.27, for instance, that Chryseros the Nomenclator compiled a chronographic record of Roman history that included a list of consuls that went down to 180, it would seem.⁹⁶ Perhaps something similar is involved here. There is also the example of Ausonius, who included the *fasti* from 509 BC to AD 379 (and then to 382) as a special presentation piece framed by a few short poems.⁹⁷ This is pure speculation, but there can be no doubt that there was something about these *fasti ad duos augustos* that made them special, both in terms of their popularity and their terminal date, for they quickly became one of the most popular and wide-spread versions in circulation and were not continued for many, many years. And if my suggestion above is true, they were so popular that within twenty-eight years (189) they prompted the court to disseminate contemporary consuls in the *duobus* form. Perhaps they were even produced in Rome early enough to have influenced the unique example of an inscribed form of *duobus augustis* on 1 April of 161 (CIL 6.126).

But how to explain the lists beginning in 161? The popularity or historical importance of the *Fasti* of 161 insured that most copies that survived only went down to 161. Many years later, perhaps as early as the second decade of the fourth century,⁹⁸ somebody wishing to possess a complete copy of the *fasti consulares* simply had a new copy made *a duobus augustis*. He already had or had access to *fasti* ending in 161 and rather than have an entire list copied out going back to 509 this individual wanted an inexpensive addition to his *fasti* that began in 161. He put together this continuation from a variety of sources and to mark the link with the famous edition of 161, the new list began with the *duo augusti*. Since the Romans did not use continuous numerical dates like ours, without such an obvious link between the two lists, there would be no way to know whether they were actually continuous or not.⁹⁹ This new list must have become in some way itself special, perhaps simply because it was the first

⁹⁶ Robert M. Grant (ed.), Theophilus of Antioch. *Ad Autolyicum*, Oxford 1970, 140. Theophilus says Chryseros was the freedman of the emperor 'M. Aurelius Verus', which was M. Aurelius' name before his accession as emperor (see section IV.1, above), and continued his work 'down to the death of his patron'. This would imply a terminal date of 180, but the use of Aurelius' pre-accession name by someone writing after his death is most peculiar. 'Accession' would make more sense than 'death' in this context (which would imply a date of 161), or perhaps Chryseros said 'L. Aurelius Verus', referring to L. Verus, who died in 169.

⁹⁷ I refer to Ausonius' *Fasti* (no. 22 in the edition of R. P. H. Green, *The Works of Ausonius*, Oxford 1991, 160–1). In spite of Green's arguments (pp. 554–5, and Ausonius' *Fasti* and *Caesares* Revisited, CQ 49, 1999, 573–6) I still believe that Ausonius' *fasti* were just that: a list of consular names that continued down to 379, the year of Ausonius' consulship (see Hydatius [cit. n. 8], 180 and n. 9). Ausonius' use of the word 'titulus' to describe the location of his name in 3.3–4, implies he is talking about entries of names, not lines of verse. Lines 1.2 and 4.1–2 suggest that it also contained short notes on the seven kings as well, like those in the *FVpr*. This list was continued three years later (382) by adding the most recent consuls. Clearly only the verse portions of the list were preserved, not the tedious list of consuls, as one would expect.

⁹⁸ The earliest date at which Malalas shows signs of a different (Eastern) consular list is 307 (13.1, p. 316.4), the last common error in the *Descriptio/Chron. 354* and *FVpr/Prosper* is 311, and the year 314 may be the date of an early recension of the *Descriptio* (see Hydatius [cit. n. 8], 191).

⁹⁹ Two examples show the sorts of problems that can arise in this respect. The *Cyclus Paschalis* of the *Chron. 354* contains a consular list with associated dates of Easter (*Chron. min. 1: 62–4*). Two different lists were obviously joined together but the years from 359 to 367 were missing in the consular list and so the date of Easter for 359 is listed beside the consuls of 368 (and not without serious corruption between 361 and 362). The consular list ends with the consul of 410 opposite the date of Easter for 394 and the Easter list continues down to 411. Cassiodorus switched from Aufidius Bassus' list, which ended in AD 31 (listing consuls by *praenomen* and *nomen* in the last three years), over to the list of Victorius, which began in 29 and named consuls by *cognomen* (*Chron. min. 2: 136–7*). He omitted the consuls of 29 from Victorius, assigning the crucifixion to Bassus' consul of 31 and then continued with the consuls of 30, 33, 34, and so on missing the consuls of 31–2 (see *Chron. min. 1: 686*, where Mommsen's dates seem to refer to the years for the Easter dates not the consuls).

lengthy continuation of the *Fasti* of 161, for it prompted many later copies. These are the *fasti* in which most of the private iterations were removed or ignored. These post-161 *fasti* were added to the *Fasti* of 161 in the precursor to the *Descriptio*, but to a different list in the *Chron. 354* (which could have originally continued past 161, but any overlap was cut). A later recension of this continuation was at different times appended to the *Fasti* of 161 used by the compilers of the *Liber Paschalis*, *FVpr/post*, and Prosper, and later the Liberian catalogue, *Prologus Paschae*, and Malalas.

As a result of this situation as late as 395 these continuation *fasti* from 161 were still circulating separately. People wanting contemporary lists would have borrowed or purchased these continuation *fasti* that ran *a duobus augustis*. Those wanting a complete set from 509 BC would obtain both those *ad duos augustos* and those *a duobus augustis*, like those that eventually became the *Chron. 354* or *Descriptio*. Each version probably contained chronological calculations marking the time from the foundation of Rome, the beginning of the Republic, Julius Caesar, the *duo augusti*, and the last-mentioned consuls on the list. None of this can be proved, of course. But what I have outlined above describes the phenomena and accounts for the evidence.

IX. Summary

Given the complexity of this paper I should probably offer a summary: in (March?) 161 a special list of consuls extending from 509 BC to AD 161 was produced by a bookseller, probably in Rome. For some reason, be it prestige, novelty, importance, or its place in an larger work of history, a number of copies of these *fasti* survived without being updated. They were copied and recopied many times without being continued, a process that introduced a large number of serious errors and incorrect ‘corrections’ into the list. The compiler of this list introduced the *dubous* forms, prompted by the pre-existing *duobus* form in AD 14 and the special form he had created in 161. Later lists starting in 161 were created as a continuation of these *Fasti* of 161. To show the link between the two sets of *fasti*, the continuation began with *duobus augustis*, the last consular pair of the *Fasti* of 161. This continuation, in spite of its inaccurate iterations, became popular itself (though there seems no obvious reason for this, apart from its inception point), with the result that many contemporary *fasti* at the end of the fourth century began in 161. The document we know as the *Descriptio consulum* used both the *Fasti* of 161 and these continuation *fasti*; the *Chronograph of 354* used only the continuation *fasti*, which were added to an earlier list that was different, but related to the *Fasti* of 161 in the years *c.* 11 BC – AD 78/92; and the *Liber Paschalis*, the *FVpr/post*, and Prosper’s *Chronicon* utilized later versions of the *Fasti* of 161, each of which showing slightly more corruption than the previous one, and its continuation (see Tables 1 and 2). As a result, all surviving written consular *fasti* in Latin record the year 161 as *duobus augustis*, not as *Antonino III et Vero II*, whether they utilized the *Fasti* of 161 or not. Within twenty-eight years the imperial court adopted this *duobus* form and the consuls of 189 and 212 were officially promulgated, and therefore recorded on inscriptions, in this way.

Two other important conclusions also arise from this study. While modern scholars are quick to blame mediaeval scribes for the errors found in manuscripts of Classical authors, this analysis has shown that most errors found in the surviving *fasti* and *consularia* analysed above were made during the third to fifth centuries, a result of the high velocity of circulation and the sloppy copying practices of Roman scribes, not mediaeval monks. There is much to be learned about the copying and dissemination of books in the Roman period from a study of these works.

Second, there is the complete separation of the written and the the epigraphic evidence. There is no evidence for the systematic use of inscriptions by compilers of consular *fasti*, who remained completely within the written tradition when looking for sources and who made frequent and extensive changes to the written tradition with no regard for epigraphic sources or historical accuracy. Likewise, there is no evidence for the use of any other ‘official’ or documentary sources of information such as archives or the offices of public officials. Consular *fasti* were a genre that existed solely within a written tradition,

completely divorced from reality. New consuls seem to have been added from other written lists and from shorter lists compiled by others for practical day-to-day purposes. Compilers of *consularia* show a greater interest in documentary historical information, such as could be obtained from calendars and official proclamations, but *consularia* do not appear until about the mid-fourth century. And even then, the consular lists themselves were treated no differently from before. Given the importance of consular dates for so many aspects of Roman society, this cavalier attitude toward the compilation of consular names is most peculiar.

I began this paper with a seemingly innocuous comment by the author of the *HA* and set about attempting to show that he was telling the truth and speaking from personal experience. But this microscopic examination of the trees has in fact led to important conclusions about the forest as a whole and to the revelation of important aspects of the sources for the history and historiography of the Roman Empire.

Appendix 1

The relevant entries from the *fasti* discussed (all dates AD)

1. The Years 139–161

| | | |
|------------------|--|--|
| | <i>Chron. 354</i> | <i>Descriptio consulum</i> |
| 139 | Antonino II et Presente II | 139 Antonino II et Presente |
| 140 | Antonino III et Aureliano Caes. | 140 Antonino III et Aurelio |
| 145 | Antonino IIII et Aureliano Caes. II | 145 Antonino IIII et Aurelio II |
| 161 | duobus augustis | 161 ₁ Antonino V et Aurelio Caes. 161 ₂ duobus augustis |
| | <i>Liber Paschalis</i> | <i>Fasti Vindobonenses priores</i> |
| | [lacuna] | 139 Antonino et Presente |
| | [lacuna] | 140 Antonino II et Vero II |
| | [lacuna] | 145 Antonino III et Vero III |
| 161 ₁ | Antonino IIII et Aurelio Caesare | 161 ₁ Antonino IIII et Aurelio |
| 161 ₂ | duobus Augustis | 161 ₂ duobus augustis |
| | Prosper (Mss MALV) | |
| 139 | Antonino et Praesente | |
| 140 | Antonino II et Praesente II | |
| 145 | Antonino III et Aurelio | |
| 146 ₂ | Antonino IIII et Aurelio II | |
| 161 ₁ | Antonino III et Aurelio III (Ms A has 'Aureliano IIII') | |
| 161 ₂ | p.c. Antonini III et Aurelii III (Ms A has 'Aureliani IIII') | |
| 161 ₃ | duobus augustis | |
| | Prosper (Ms C/Victorius/Cassiodorus) | |
| 139 | Antonino et Praesente/Antonino et Praesente/Antoninus et Praesens | |
| 140 | ex Antonino et Praesente/Antonino II et Presente II/Antoninus II et Praesens II | |
| 145 | Antonino II et Aurelio/Antonino III et Aurelio/Antoninus III et Aurelius | |
| 146 ₂ | Antonino IIII et Aurelio II/Antonino III et Aurelio/Antoninus IIII et Aurelius II | |
| 161 ₁ | Antonino V et Aurelio III/Antonino V et Aurelio III/Antoninus V et Aurelius III | |
| 161 ₂ | post cons. V et Antonino III/p.c. Antonini V et Aureli III/p.c. Antonini V et Aureli III | |
| 161 ₃ | duobus augustis/duobus augustis/duo augusti | |

2. The Verus Error

| Year | <i>Chron. 354</i> | <i>Descriptio</i> | Prosper | <i>FVprior</i> | <i>FVpost</i> |
|------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| 121 | *Vero II | *Vero II | Vero | Severo | Vero |
| 126 | *Vero III | *Vero III | Vero | Vero | Vero II |
| 134 | *Varo | *Varo | Vero | Vero | Vero III |
| 140 | Aureliano Caes | *Aurelio | Praesente II | Vero II | Vero IIII |
| 145 | Aureliano Caes II | *Aurelio II | Aurelio | Vero III | Vero V |
| 160 | *Varo | Vero | Vero II | Vero IIII | Vero |
| 167 | *Vero III | *Vero III | Vero IIII | Vero V | Vero II |
| 179 | Vero | Vero | *Vero II | Vero VI | Vero |

* correct form of the name and iteration (that of 179 is a later correction in Mss MC; the earlier A has just 'Vero')

3. The Error of 297–6 BC

| <i>Original (297–5)</i> | <i>Dittography</i> | <i>'Corrected' form (Descriptio)</i> |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Rullo III et Musone III | Rullo III et Musone III | Rullo III et Musone III |
| Claudio et Violente | Claudio et Violente | Claudio et Violente |
| Rullo IIII et Musone IIII | Rullo III et Musone III | Rullo IIII et Musone IIII |
| | Claudio et Violente | Claudio II et Violente II |
| | Rullo IIII et Musone IIII | Rullo V et Musone V |

Appendix 2

Cicero, *Ad Familiares* 8.1.1 and 2.8.1 (Penguin trans. by D. R. Shackleton Bailey)

M. Caelius Rufus to Cicero (Rome, c. 26 May 51 BC)

Redeeming the promise I made as I took my leave of you to write you all the news of Rome in the fullest detail, I have been at pains to find a person to cover the whole ground so meticulously that I am afraid you may find the result too wordy. However, I know how curious you are and how much everybody likes to be told of even the most trifling happenings at home. But I do hope you won't find me guilty of uppishness in my performance of this office because I have delegated the work to someone else. (...) But I imagine the volume I am sending you makes my excuses easily enough. I don't know how anyone could have so much time on his hands to observe all these items, let alone record them. It's all here – the Senate's decrees, the edicts, the gossip, the rumours. (. . .) If there is any major political event which these hirelings could not cover satisfactorily, I shall be careful to write you a full account of the manner of it and of consequent views and expectations. (Vol. 1, pp. 161–2)

Cicero to M. Caelius Rufus (Athens, 6 July 51)

Really! Is this what you think I asked you to do – send me pairings of gladiators, court adjournments, Chrestus' pilferings, all the trivia which nobody would dare tell me when I am in Rome?. . . (Vol. 1, p. 167)

Cf. the detail of Caelius Rufus' next letters (8.4 and 8).

Table I
Pre-162 Recensions

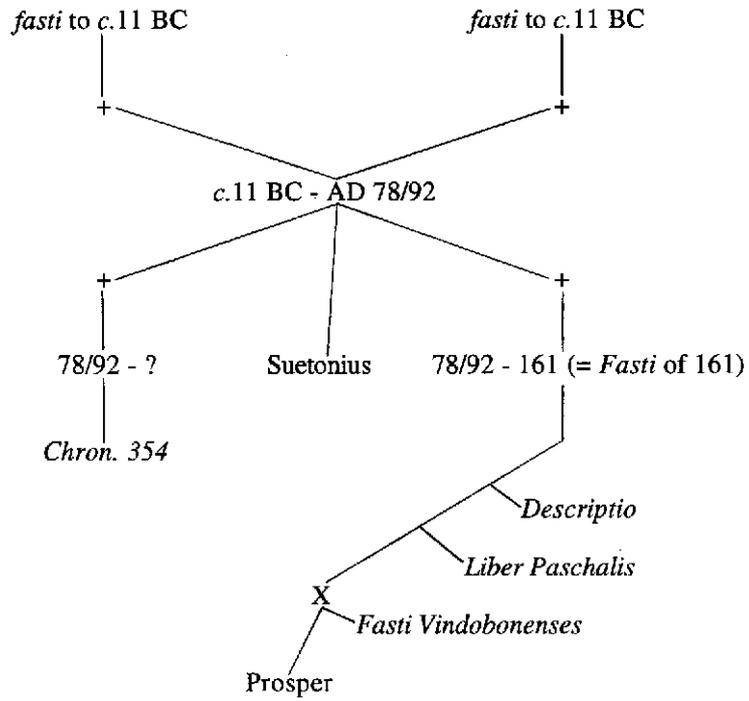


Table 2
Post-161 Recensions

