

PORTRAIT-BEARING CODICILS IN THE ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE *NOTITIA DIGNITATUM*?

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(Plates I–III)

I. INTRODUCTION

To judge from written sources, by about the year 300 imperial portraits painted on wooden panels must have been common.¹ Yet only one example has survived to represent them.² Portraits of emperors and empresses painted on wooden panels are not the only underrepresented imperial portraits. Imperial portraits were used to decorate an unexpected variety of objects, including consular sceptres, curule chairs, gabled pediments, triumphal *togae*, reed cases, and shields.³ That these portrait-bearing objects, many of which served as insignia, are known at all is largely because they are represented in images that decorate

* I should like to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Regents of the University of California for a generous fellowship that made possible travel to Oxford, Paris and Munich in the summer of 1978, facilitating my study of the major illustrated MSS of the *Not. Dig.* I should also like to express my gratitude to the staffs of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, for their co-operation in allowing me access to those MSS.

¹ As far as I am aware, no one has ever collected the written references to painted portraits of the emperors. I include some of those known to me only to demonstrate that probably a significant proportion of imperial portraits were painted. Early references to painted portraits of emperors, however, appear to be rare. Pliny, *NH* xxxv, 51 f., refers to a colossal portrait of Nero, painted on linen. Herodian v, 5, 6 f., informs us that Elagabalus had a 'large full-length portrait painted', which he sent to Rome to hang in the middle of the Senate house. Both of these painted portraits were designed for extraordinary ends and therefore cannot be used as evidence that painted portraits of the emperors were regarded as commonplace. Herodian vii, 5, 8 and 7, 2, however, also refers to paintings of Maximinus and Gordian I in 238 as if they were routinely expected, and clearly by c. 300 they had become so. Lactantius, *Mort. Pers.* 5, 3, relates that the Persian King Shapur I taunted Valerian by saying that 'what the Romans depicted on their tablets and walls was not true', which could only have been intended as a reference to paintings showing Roman emperors triumphing over their enemies; *ibid.* 25, 1, narrates the reaction of Galerius to the arrival of the *laureata imago* of Constantine. Galerius considered burning it, so it is reasonable to infer that it was probably a painted wood panel. *Pan. Lat.* vi, 6 (Galletier, 20 f.) concerns a painting of Constantine and Fausta in the imperial palace at Aquileia. *Pan. Lat.* x, 22, 2 f. (Galletier, 175 f.), reports that Maxentius destroyed Constantine's images, some of which were painted with wax pigments. Eusebius, *HE* ix, 11, 2, refers to the destruction of painted portraits of Maximin. *VC* iii, 3; iv, 16, 69, contains several references to painted portraits of Constantine. In addition, there are further references to painted portraits in Ausonius, *Epigr.* 30; Libanius, *Or.* i, 252; John Chrysostom, *PG* xxxii, col. 149; *PG* xlix, col. 233; and a brief consideration of the evidence for painted imperial portraits by H. Kruse, *Studien zur offiziellen Geltung des Kaiserbildes im römischen Reiche* (1934), 49 f.

Though not specifically concerned with imperial portraits, H. Blanck, *Bonn. Jahrb.* clxviii (1968), 1–12, contains a useful discussion of early painted portraits among the Greeks and Romans.

² This is the circular wooden panel in W. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, measuring 0.305 m in diameter. Painted in tempera on the panel are portraits of Septimius Severus, Julia Domna and their two sons, though the face of Geta was erased after his murder in A.D. 211, K. A. Neugebauer, *Die Antike* xii (1936), 156–72, and G. Hanfmann, *Roman Art* (1964), pl. XLVIII. C. Vermeule, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* cix (1965), 379, calls this panel 'the only major painted representation of an imperial family to survive'.

³ Both emperors and consuls used the sceptre as an insigne, A. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.* l (1935), 112. The decoration of sceptres, however, differed. That of the emperor was crowned by the traditional eagle, that of the consul (often represented on consular diptychs) was frequently crowned by the imperial portrait, R. Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* (1929), 61 f., 66.

On some consular diptychs (*ibid.*, nos. 9–12, 17, 19–25), the curule chair on which the consul sits is decorated with Victories who stand on globes and hold overhead *imagines clipeatae* that likely represented imperial portraits. T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana* (1967), 98–135, discusses the ancestry of this image. Consular diptychs also provide useful evidence that gabled pediments were decorated with *imagines clipeatae* of the imperial family, Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, nos. 17, 19–21. Earlier examples are discussed by Vermeule, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 376 f.

Ausonius xx, 11, describes a consular toga with the image of Divus Constantius. Malalas, *Chron.* 17, records that the emperor Justin I sent gifts to Tzatos, among which were two garments that bore an image of the emperor. Cf. O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniel* (1938), 204, and K. Wessel, *Byz. Zeitschr.* LVII (1964), 374–9.

Specific examples of the 'Bildnisständer' thought by Kruse, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 103, to be identical with the *kalamarion* ('reed case') referred to by John the Lydian, *De Mag.* ii, 14, 1, will be discussed below.

Imperial portraits on shields are evident on the ivory diptych at Monza, which is thought to represent Stilicho and his family, W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*² (1952), no. 63, pl. 19, and apparently in some of the illustrations of the *Not. Dig.* (Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, 247).

official ivory diptychs, mostly consular diptychs, and in some of the surviving copies of the *Notitia Dignitatum*.⁴

In spite of the proliferation of studies concerning imperial portraits, little interest has been shown in such portrait-bearing insignia.⁵ The evidence concerning them is sparse and, in so far as the illustrations of the *Not. Dig.* are concerned, problematic. In these illustrations, one object stands out. Found among the insignia of the highest officials, it is rectangular in shape and it nearly always bears a bust that may originally have been intended as a portrait (Pl. I. 1).⁶ In every case it rests upon a draped table. Its importance seems undeniable, but its identity is not clear. Traditionally this object has been identified as a codicil, an insigne of office. But recently the suggestion has been advanced that it was simply a portrait of an emperor, either a painted panel or a tablet carved in relief. This suggestion was largely based on evidence that the presence of an imperial portrait in offices of later Roman bureaucrats was obligatory.⁷ We are thus faced with two strikingly different identifications of this object. It is my intention in this paper to review the evidence that bears on the problem of deciding between the two.

II. THE ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE *NOTITIA DIGNITATUM*

Many of the basic facts concerning the *Not. Dig.* are unknown or in dispute. It is of course widely recognized to be either an official document or a book based upon official documents, giving it a unique value as evidence of late Roman administration.⁸ Today most scholars also agree that the lists of offices in the *Not. Dig.* reflect an initial composition in the late fourth century, with subsequent revisions, some arguing for a final revision as late as about 430.⁹ Beyond that, the *Not. Dig.* presents many difficult problems. Its illustrations are no exception. They have received comparatively little attention as evidence of the objects they purport to represent. Whether they have any worth in this regard depends on three circumstances: (1) the degree to which the illustrations of the extant manuscripts reflect the original illustrations of the early fifth century, (2) the accuracy of the original illustrations, and (3) the present state of our knowledge regarding the insignia represented in the illustrations (conceivably other sources provide better evidence).

The manuscript tradition of the illustrations requires serious attention, involving a comparison of all the known illustrated copies of the *Not. Dig.* Even so, it is reasonably

⁴ A few very small imperial busts have survived that may once have been attached to larger objects, some of which possibly functioned as insignia, R. Calza, *Iconografia romana imperale* (1972), nos. 150, 255, 266.

⁵ Kruse, op. cit. (n. 1), of necessity deals with the topic, but mostly from the standpoint of the written sources.

⁶ For the distribution of this object in the *Not. Dig.*, see Appendix II.

⁷ A. Chastagnol, *La Préfecture urbaine* (1960), 199 f. Chastagnol's reasons for this identification are varied in nature and cogency. (1) The portrait-bearing rectangles appear to have no thickness and they bear no inscription identifying the office represented by the insignia. (2) One rectangle (*Not. Or.* viii) carries an inscription which Chastagnol reads as *Dei vexillata*, translates as 'portraits du dieu', and interprets as a reference to the 'prince régnant'. (The extant manuscripts in fact read *Dea vexillata*, as will be pointed out below.) (3) The presence of imperial portraits among the insignia of high officials was obligatory, as we know from several sources: (A) Ambrose, *Comm. in Ep. ad Coloss.* II, 16-17 (*PL* XVII, col. 432); (B) Severianus of Gabala, *De Mundi Creatione* (*PG* LVI, col. 489); cf. Kruse, op. cit. (n. 1), 79 f.; (C) Anonymous author whose *Opus Imperf. in Matth.* (*PG* LVI, col. 941) has been mistakenly attributed to John Chrysostom and has survived only in a Latin version. (D) *Acta Pilati* (*Patr. Orient.* IX, 71-4; cf. Delbrück, *Consular-*

diptychen, xxxiv). The imperial portrait was not always placed on a table, as in the *Not. Dig.* It was 'peinte ou gravée sur des tablettes que portaient des lecteurs, les *signiferi*, au bout de longues hampes dressés derrière le juge: ...' (Chastagnol, *Préfecture*, 200 f.). As evidence of this practice, Chastagnol refers to the miniatures of the Trial of Christ in the Rossano Gospels (dated in the sixth century), for which see W. Loerke, *Art Bull.* XLIII (1961), 171-96.

⁸ A full bibliography on the *Not. Dig.* would be out of place here; but important studies are J. B. Bury, *JRS* X (1920), 131-54; E. Polaschek, *RE* XVIII, 1077-1116; A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* II (1964), 1417-50 (hereafter *LRE*); and the many contributions in R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew, eds., *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum* (1976) (*BAR*, Supp. Ser. 15).

Important discussions of the manuscript tradition of the *Not. Dig.* are found in O. Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum* (1876), the edition referred to in this paper, and the two studies of I. G. Maier, *Latomus* XXVII (1968), 96-141; XXVIII (1969), 960-1035.

For the illustrations, see A. W. Byvanck, *Mnemosyne* VIII (1939-40), 177-98; P. Berger, *The Notitia Dignitatum* (Diss., 1974); and J. J. G. Alexander, in *Aspects of the Not. Dig.* (1976), 11-25.

⁹ E. Demougeot, *Latomus* XXXIV (1975), 1081 f., provides a very useful résumé of opinions expressed about the date of the *Not. Dig.*

evident that the illustrations of the extant copies preserve certain details of the original illustrations. Some features of the extant illustrations, for example, can only be paralleled in late Roman art. In this category are several of the shield emblems. In addition to the emblems of the *Tertii Theodosiani* (*Not. Or.* v, 24) and the *Cornuti*, which are both paralleled on the Arch of Constantine (compare Fig. 1),¹⁰ six shields in the *Not. Or.* are decorated with

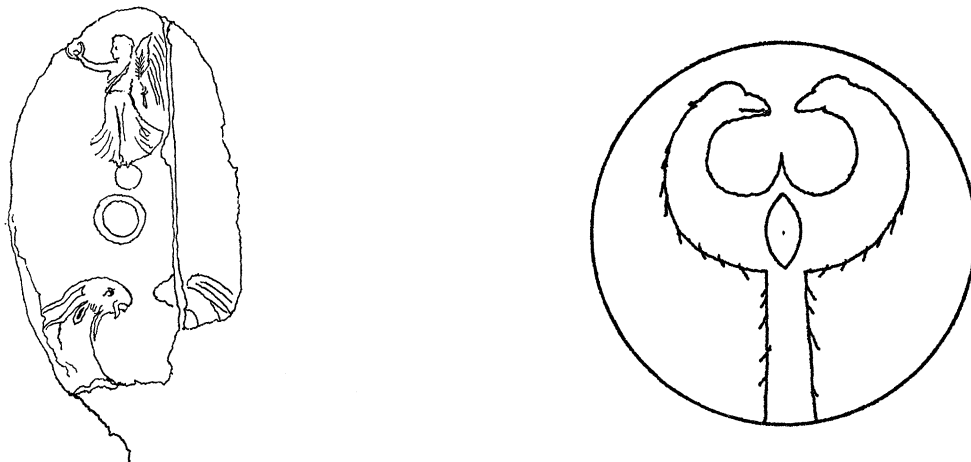


FIG. 1. (a) DECORATED SHIELD HELD BY A ROMAN SOLDIER, PEDESTAL OF ARCH OF CONSTANTINE, ROME, 312-15. (Drawn from A. Alföldi, *Germania* XIX (1935), 324, fig. 1 and pl. 45). (b) SHIELD EMBLEM OF THE *CORNUTI*, *Not. Or.* VI, 9. Copyright reserved

an image that comprises two confronted Victories, between whom is elevated a rectangular tablet or circle containing one or two frontal effigies, either busts or full-length figures (Pl. II. 1).¹¹ Singular as this image is, it had a close parallel on the base of the Column of Arcadius in Constantinople (401-2, Pl. II. 2).¹² On the eastern side of the base, two confronted Victories, hovering in the air, supported a tablet; inside the tablet, two standing figures mutually flanked and supported a cross. These two figures probably represented the two reigning emperors, Arcadius and Honorius, who appeared side by side elsewhere on the same monument and in other images.¹³ Contemporary evidence indicates that portraits of emperors were placed upon shields. The diptych of Stilicho in Monza (c. 400) shows attached to Stilicho's shield a circular badge that contains two diademed busts, apparently portraits of the co-Emperors Arcadius and Honorius.¹⁴ Another significant feature of the illustrations of the extant copies of the *Not. Dig.* that can only be paralleled in late Roman official art is the recurring object that has been called a 'picture stand' (*Bildnisstand*),¹⁵ though it was probably intended to function as a reed or stylus case, if the object may be identified with the *thēkai* referred to in John the Lydian, *De Magistratibus* II, 14, 1.¹⁶ This object stands upon a tripod and widens at the top. Its crown is formed of two arches,

¹⁰ A. Alföldi, *Germania* XIX (1935), 325 f.; idem, *Dumb. Oaks Pap.* XIII (1959), 171-9; for the emblem of the *Cornuti*, see *Not. Or.* vi, 9; *Not. Occ.* v, 14, 25 (if one accepts the view that this was the shield originally intended for the preceding *titulus*). The *Cornuti Seniores-Juniores* emblems in *Not. Occ.* vi, 6-7, are completely different.

¹¹ *Not. Or.* v, 13, 14; vi, 14, 15; xv (two examples).

¹² E. H. Freshfield, *Archaeologia* LXXII (1922), pl. XXXIII, and G. Becatti, *La colonna coelide istoriata* (1960), 258.

¹³ R. Grigg, *Art Bull.* LIX (1977), 469-81. Paired equestrian statues of Arcadius and Honorius were erected in Rome in celebration of the defeat of Gildo (398), *CIL* VI, 1187. Cf. A. Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (1970), 52, and E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*² II (1968), 262 f. Their images are

joined on the ivory diptychs of Probianus and Stilicho which are discussed below.

¹⁴ Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 63, pl. 19. Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, 247, was the first to suggest a parallel between the badge on the diptych of Stilicho and those in the *Not. Dig.* Cf. Kruse, op. cit. (n. 1), 109 f.

¹⁵ The term used by Kruse, op. cit., 101 f.

¹⁶ Ed. Wünsch, 70: Τοιαύτη μὲν... ἡ παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένη παρατοῦρα, ἀντι τοῦ στολή, ... καὶ θῆκαι. οὕτω δὲ τὸ λεγόμενον τῷ πλήθει καλαμάριον ἐκείνοι λέγουσιν, ὅπερ ὄγκου καὶ μόνου χάριν εἰς τύπον τοιοῦτον χρυσήλατον κατσκευάσαστο· ἑκατὸν (γὰρ) ἔχειν χρυσοῦ λίτρας ὑπείληπται. That John knew these ostentatiously shaped objects to be decorated with imperial portraits is implicit in another passage in which he refers to officials known as 'case bearers' (θηκοφόροι) who 'bear the busts of authority' (τὰς προτομὰς τῆς ἀρχῆς φέρουσι) (III, 31, 23-6).

resembling an uncial M, and its vertical extent is divided into several fields, the uppermost of which in almost every case contains two figures that were probably intended as emperors.¹⁷ The unusual design of the object is perplexing, but there is no doubt about its use by late Roman officials. The same object is represented on two ivory diptychs that were roughly contemporary with the original illustrations of the *Not. Dig.* (compare Pls. I. 1 and III. 1).¹⁸

One other parallel is of interest. The illustrated manuscripts of the *Not. Dig.* include two full-page miniatures that are not associated with any particular official title listed in the *Not. Dig.* (Pl. I. 2 and 3).¹⁹ Yet these two miniatures are related to the illustrations of the *Not. Dig.* by virtue of the insignia they represent. In both the insignia are lined up in four rows within a gable-crowned rectangular frame.²⁰ Punctuating the four corners of the rectangle and the peak of the gable in each miniature are roundels, five in all, each one containing a single bust. All of these busts are identified by means of inscriptions, but two—one in each miniature—stand out by virtue of their locations over the peaks of the gables. These two busts personify *Divina Providentia* and *Divina Electio*.²¹

The insignia within the frames are uniformly tilted towards the left, as if they were placed upon the shelves of an *armarium*, leading to the tempting identification of the ensembles as filing shelves in the offices of the *primicerii notariorum*.²² Of course no one need believe that the insignia intended for future officials were in actuality arrayed and filed in this fashion. Their arrangement is surely an artifice, analogous to a literary topos. The closest parallels known to me are the frontispieces of the comedies of Terence, which, though they have survived only in medieval copies, probably reflect fifth-century originals (Pl. II. 3).²³ Those frontispieces feature similar architectural frames, and within the frames are arranged the dramatic masks that were presumably to be used in the plays of Terence. The resemblance is quite close, suggesting that the two full-page miniatures in the *Not. Dig.* were originally intended as frontispieces, one—now misplaced—as a frontispiece to the *Not. Or.*, the other as a frontispiece to the *Not. Occ.* This seems a more probable arrangement than the present one, which leaves the *Not. Or.* without a frontispiece. And it seems preferable to Byvanck's suggestion that two similar illuminations, both terminating the *Not. Occ.*, have been lost.²⁴ Whereas it is easy to understand how these pages could function as frontispieces, it is a mystery what their function would be at the end of the respective *Notitiae*.

In view of these parallels, the illustrations of the extant manuscripts probably do provide a useful reflection of the original illustrations of the *Not. Dig.* But whether they provide useful evidence of the insignia they purport to represent is another matter, depending in large part upon the accuracy of the original illustrations. The question of accuracy in turn hinges upon the degree to which the original manuscript was an official document, based upon sources that contained pictures of officially prescribed insignia.²⁵

¹⁷ Kruse, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 101 f.

¹⁸ The diptych of Probianus, Vicar of Rome (c. 400) and the diptych of the consul Asturius (449), Vollbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 62, pl. 18, and no. 3, pl. 2, respectively.

¹⁹ Seeck's ed. of the *Not. Dig.* combines the two illustrations in a separate chapter—*Not. Or.* xlv, p. 101 f.

²⁰ See H. Stern, *Le Calendrier de 354* (1953), 307–10, for bibliography and discussion of architectural enframing in late Roman art.

²¹ cf. Loerke, *op. cit.* (n. 7), 178. At first it may seem a fair question whether the *Divina Providentia* referred to is that of the emperor or that of the gods. In isolation from its proper context, it could be either. Numismatic inscriptions refer to both *Providentia Deorum* and *Providentia Augusti*—for which see A. D. Nock, *HThR* xxiii (1930), 266–8 = *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* 1, 264–6. These inscriptions most often celebrate the peaceful succession of power from one ruler to another, assigning responsibility either to the foresight of the gods or the foresight of the previous ruler. In the case of our illustrations, it is probably the foresight of the

emperor that is being signalled, since the ultimate authority for the appointment of the officials listed in the *Not. Dig.* was the emperor. Thus the joint occurrence of *Divina Providentia* and *Divina Electio* was probably no coincidence. *Divina Electio* is present as the proper expression of the emperor's providence.

²² cf. E. Böcking, *Not. Dig. et Administrationum Omnium tam Civilium quam Militarum in Partibus Orientis et Occidentis* I (1839–53), 527, for Panciroli's identification of them as *armaria*.

²³ K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*² (1970), 109 f.; idem, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illustration* (1977), 13, 30. For the MS. tradition of the Terence miniatures, see L. W. Jones and C. R. Morey, *The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence prior to the Thirteenth Century* (1930–1).

²⁴ *op. cit.* (n. 8), 194.

²⁵ The *Not. Dig.* is normally regarded as an official document, probably associated with one of the *primicerii notariorum*, of which there were two, one for each part of the divided empire: J. B. Bury, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 133; E. Polaschek, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 1077–81;

The question is a difficult one to deal with for want of good comparative material. But if one takes the shield emblems as a test case, some important internal evidence is available that bears on the question.²⁶

Although the shield emblems may initially appear to have been based upon official sources, a second look raises serious doubts about their accuracy.²⁷ I shall limit myself to two observations. First, the eastern chapters feature juxtapositions of forms that are apparently without parallel in contemporary Roman art and that strike one as wilfully and awkwardly concocted by an artist who was working out the combinations of a limited repertory (Fig. 2).²⁸ Second, the western chapters show a striking increase in the proportion of shields that are blank or decorated merely with concentric circles (Table 1).²⁹ The only explanation I have of this discrepancy is the radical thesis that the artist's sources were so impoverished that he was reduced to relying upon his powers of invention, which evidently flagged in the course of illustrating the *Not. Occ. v* and still more so in *Not. Occ. vi*. This does not mean that the shield emblems are utterly worthless as evidence. Some may be accurate. The shield emblems of better-known units were probably common knowledge. Others could be guessed. The *Iovii* and *Ioviani*, for example, would be appropriately represented by some form of an eagle, just as the *Leones* would be appropriately represented

A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* II, 1414; J. H. Ward, *Latomus* xxxiii (1974), 397 f.; and J. C. Mann, in *Aspects of the Not. Dig.* (1976), 5 f., who thinks that the *Not. Dig.* may be a copy which had been acquired by the officium of the *magister peditum praesentalis*.

However, although some of the illustrations of the *Not. Dig.* may reflect pictorial models needed by a *primicerius notariorum* to aid him in distributing the appropriate insignia of office, this is hardly true of the many representations of personifications found in the illustrations or in the highly schematic maps, which would have been inadequate for any serious official use, Byvanck, op. cit. (n. 8), 195 f. This and the possible incorporation in the original MS. of the *Notitia Urbis Romae* and the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* have led to speculation that the manuscript was not created as a routine office manual, but as a de luxe presentation handbook, possibly intended for a young emperor like Valentinian III. See Byvanck, op. cit., 188, 195, and J. J. G. Alexander, in *Aspects of the Not. Dig.* (1976), 18. I. G. Maier, *Latomus* xxvii (1968), 97, n. 3, strongly challenges the idea that the *Not. Dig.* was an official document 'or, worse still, . . . the official working copy of the *primicerius*'.

²⁶ The shield emblems are distributed throughout the *Not. Dig.* in the following numbers: *Not. Or. v* (24 shields), vi (24, of which the last two were left unpainted), vii (21), viii (21), ix (15)—a total of 105 shield emblems in the *Not. Or.*, including the two unpainted shields. *Not. Occ.* contains a total of 162 shield emblems: *Not. Occ. v* (123) and vi (39).

Several Roman writers were apparently familiar with the use of distinctive shield emblems in the Roman army: Tacitus, *Hist.* III, 23; Vegetius II, 18; Ammianus Marcellinus xvi, 12, 6; Claudian, *Bell. Gild.* 423. A brief discussion of the practice is found in R. MacMullen, *Art Bull.* XLVI (1964), 441 f. E. Böcking, *Über die Not. Dig.* (1834), 93 f., had earlier discussed much of the same evidence.

The decorations of the five painted wooden shields discovered at Dura Europos, though interesting in many ways, are probably not to be regarded as shield emblems; for these decorations, see J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Art of the Romans* (1965), 144 f.; A. Perkins, *The Art of Dura Europos* (1973), 33 f.; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Romans and Barbarians* (1977), 48 f.

One of the richest sources of evidence for Roman shield emblems under the early empire is the Column of Trajan, for which see L. Rossi, *Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars* (1971), 108-14.

²⁷ D. Hoffmann, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Not. Dig.* I (1969), 7 f., does not rate the shield emblems in the *Not. Dig.* as useful evidence; but, in spite of his disclaimer, he does make use of them: ' . . . stellen gleichermaßen die Constantiani und Constantiniani einen früheren Doppelverband dar, was durch die Ähnlichkeit der Schildzeichen bestätigt wird, und dasselbe gilt zweifellos für die Tertii sagittarii Valentis und Sagittarii dominici ' (op. cit. I, 14). Cf. also I, 163.

²⁸ I list five unexpectedly awkward juxtapositions: (1) pelta, intersecting cross, addorsed trunks of quadrupeds (*Not. Or. vii*, 11, 12); (2) combined circle and shaft (resembling a keyhole), addorsed quadrupeds (*Not. Or. v*, 7; vi, 2); (3) mask, shaft, addorsed trunks of quadrupeds (*Not. Or. v*, 20); (4) pelta, shaft, addorsed trunks of quadrupeds (*Not. Or. vi*, 13); (5) crescent, shaft, addorsed trunks of quadrupeds (*Not. Or. viii*, 21).

²⁹ The shields that may be so classified are: *Not. Or. viii*, 12, 30; ix, 7, 12, 13, 15, 16; *Not. Occ. v*, 4, 5, 9, 11, 12, 18, 23, 26, 44, 47, 48, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 62, 66, 67, 70, 71, 72, 73, 76, 77, 84, 85, 87, 88, 99, 101, 104, 105, 106, 108, 111, 119, 120, 123; vi, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 37, 38, 39, 40.

In order to demonstrate the artist's increasing reliance upon these essentially blank shields, some sort of statistical comparison is required. I choose to group the last two chapters of the *Not. Or.* (viii and ix, yielding 36 shields in all) and compare that group with *Not. Occ. v* (123 shields) and *Not. Occ. vi* (39 shields). The disparity in the size of these groups is not an obstacle, since the purpose is to compare the ratios of shields that are essentially blank to those that are not. If there is progressive stereotyping, then the proportion of blank shields should increase in the two western chapters. How much it must increase in order to be counted as significant can be determined by means of a statistical test based on the Chi-Square statistic and by the degree of confidence desired in our conclusions. The Chi-Square statistic measures the disparity between the actual distribution shown in Table 1 and the most probable random distribution. The greater the disparity, the greater one's confidence that the actual distribution was not random (W. J. Conover, *Practical Nonparametric Statistics* (1971), 140 f.). In this particular case, the disparity is so great that the hypothesis attributing the uneven distribution merely to chance can be rejected at a 99 per cent level of confidence, which is normally regarded as a very high level of confidence indeed.



FIG. 2. UNUSUAL JUXTAPOSITIONS FOUND ON THE SHIELD EMBLEMS OF THE *NOT. OR.* Copyright reserved

by a lion.³⁰ Beyond that, the shield emblems may reflect widely-held beliefs about the kind of ornamentation that was appropriate for a shield.³¹ But the shield emblems could hardly be accurate in the straightforward sense that they purport to be, namely, as the distinctive emblems of the units whose names accompany them. This is an important qualification that serves as a warning not to expect from the illustrations of the *Not. Dig.* much more than a general idea of how late Roman insignia looked. But our ignorance of those insignia is so great that perhaps even that knowledge may be of value.

TABLE I. CROSS-CLASSIFICATION TABLE ILLUSTRATING THE INCREASINGLY DISPROPORTIONATE OCCURRENCE OF ESSENTIALLY BLANK SHIELDS IN *NOT. OCC. V* AND *VI*.

Shield Type	<i>Not. Or.</i> viii, ix	<i>Not. Occ.</i> v	<i>Not. Occ.</i> vi	Row Totals
Blank & concentric ring	7 (19%)	40 (33%)	21 (54%)	68
Other	29 (81%)	83 (67%)	18 (46%)	130
Column Totals	36 (100%)	123 (100%)	39 (100%)	198

III. THE PORTRAIT-BEARING RECTANGLES

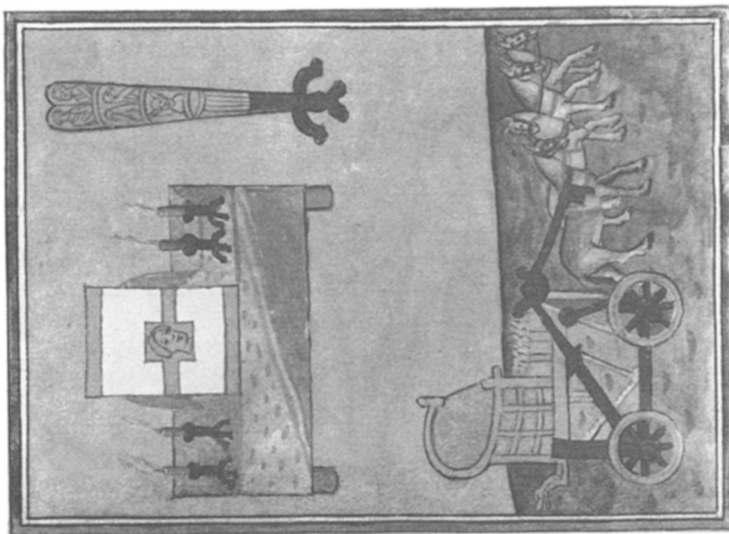
The present illustrations then may yet constitute important evidence of the object decorated with a bust that stands out among the insignia of the highest officials. This rectangular object always rests upon a draped table in front of an apse-like hood (Pl. I. 1). Its proportions are markedly elongated, its height being on the average about double its width. It is usually represented as white, but it is ornamented with gold trim that falls into

³⁰ Surprisingly, though, in *Not. Or.* v, 4, the *Herculiani Iuniores* are represented by an eagle, as are the *Herculiani* in *Not. Occ.* v, 3. Since one would normally expect these two units to be represented by Hercules, it would appear prima facie that their emblems in the *Not. Dig.* are in error. It is similarly surprising that the shield of the *Victores* (*Not. Or.* v, 22) lacks a Victory. But, in this case, the embarrassment can be circumvented if one posits a shift among the shields, for the preceding shield, now associated with the *Felices Honoriani Iuniores* (*Not. Or.* v, 21), does feature a Victory. Unfortunately, the emblem of the *Herculiani* cannot be rectified in the same way.

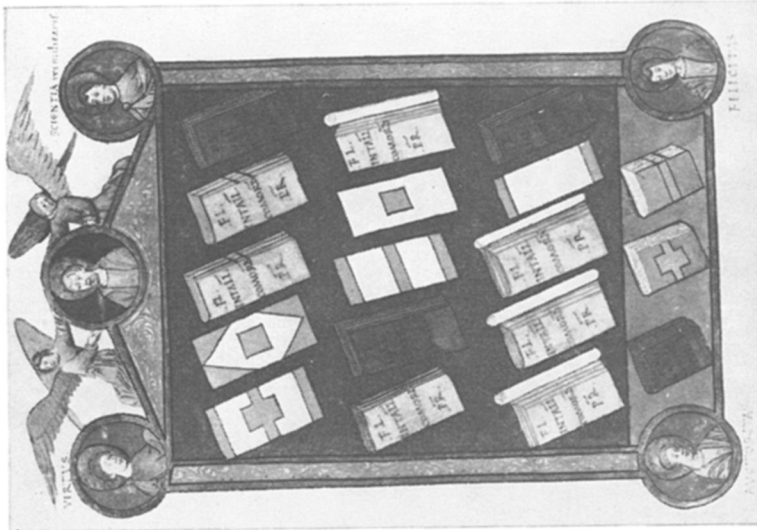
³¹ I count at least seven types of shield emblems in the *Not. Dig.* which feature symbols and decorative devices that are paralleled in representations of shields in contemporary Roman art. Some recur so frequently in the *Not. Dig.* that I see no need to enumerate their occurrences: (1) Pinwheel (*Not. Or.* vii, 5; viii, 4, 13; ix, 3 (?)); cf. *missorium* of Valentinian I in Geneva: R. Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts von Konstantin Magnus bis zum Ende des Westreiches* (1926), pl. 79. (2) Rampant lion (*Not. Or.* v, 19; vi, 29); cf. Arch of Galerius, H. P. Laubscher, *Der Reliefschmuck des Galerius-Bogens in Thessaloniki* (1975), pl. 35. (3) Sunburst pattern; cf. *missorium* of Theodosius I in Madrid

(388): W. F. Volbach, *Early Christian Art* (1963), no. 53, p. 322. (4) Eagle with thunderbolt in its talons (probably intended in *Not. Or.* v, 4): Arch of Galerius, Laubscher, *Reliefschmuck*, pls. 32, no. 2; 43, no. 2. (5) Standing Victory (*Not. Or.* v, 23, 24, 25; vi, 23); cf. the shield held by the Roman soldier on the pedestal of the Arch of Constantine, Alföldi, *Germania* xix (1935), pl. 45. (6) Badges with portraits of the emperors (discussed above). (7) Pelta with zoomorphic terminals; cf. lower half of the shield on the pedestal of the Arch of Constantine, as noted above; also possibly exhibited on the *missorium* of Valentinian I, as above.

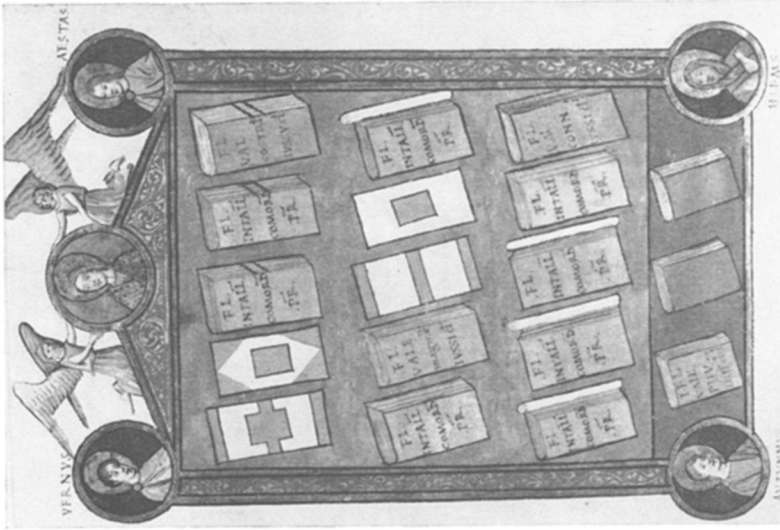
There is one surprising omission. The thunderbolt-and-lightning pattern was extremely popular as a shield emblem on the Column of Trajan (Rossi, op. cit. (n. 26), 108); yet it is completely absent from the shields of the *Not. Dig.* Wreaths, such familiar signs of victory, are also unaccountably rare in the *Not. Dig.* Possibly they have been excessively stylized to the point where they now appear as circular bands. Lending support to this suggestion is *Not. Or.* vi, 10, in MS. O: a circular band retains a texture that might suggest a wreath; the trailing ribbons were perhaps interpreted with straight lines, yielding what now resembles a shaft.



(1)

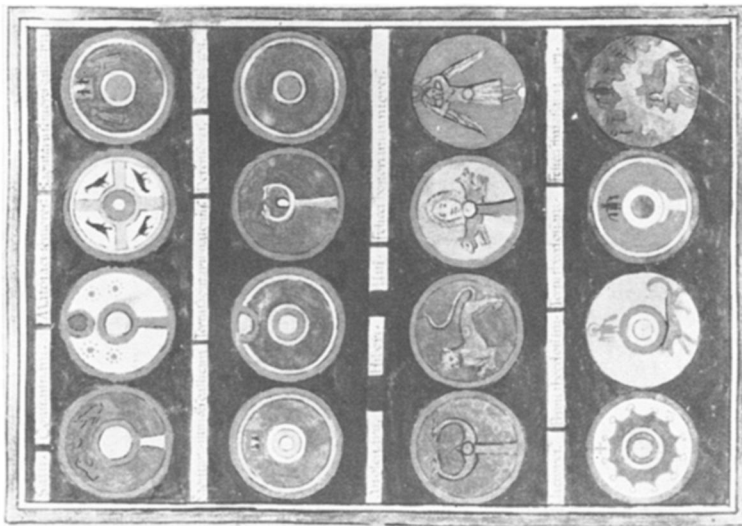


(2)

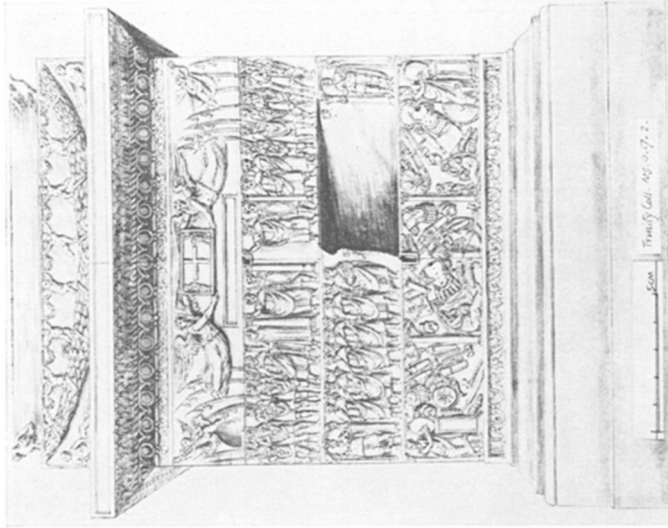


(3)

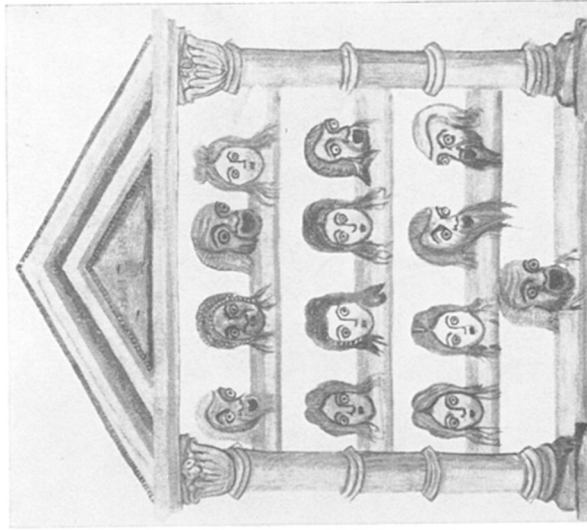
NOTITIA DIGNITATUM: (1) INSIGNIA OF THE PRAETORIAN PREFECT FOR ILLYRICUM, *Not. Or. iii.* Oxford, Bodleian Library (Ms. Canon. Misc. 378, fol. 90r). (2) *ARMARIUM* WITH PERSONIFICATIONS (*Digna Proxidentia, et al.*). Oxford, Bodleian Library (Ms. Canon. Misc. 378, fol. 129v). (3) *ARMARIUM* WITH PERSONIFICATIONS (*Digna Electio, et al.*). Oxford, Bodleian Library (Ms. Canon. Misc. 378, fol. 130r). *Copyrights reserved*



(1)

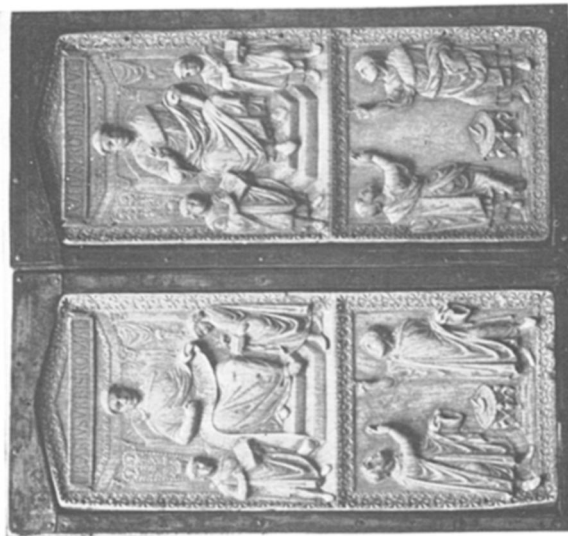


(2)

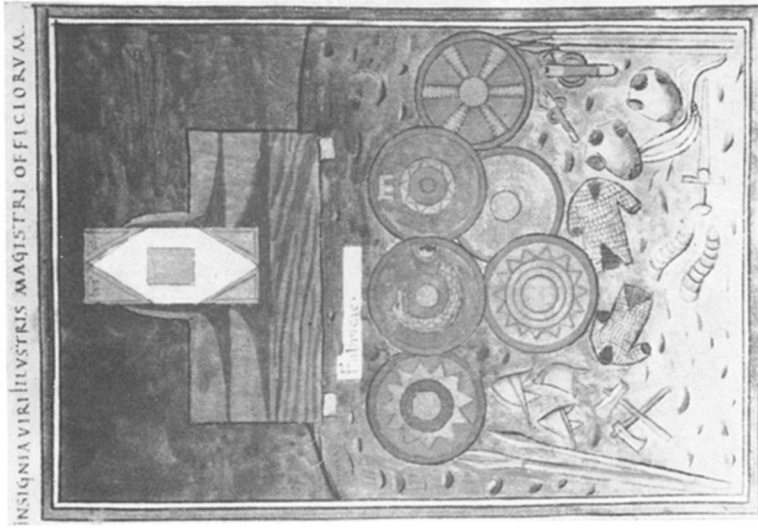


(3)

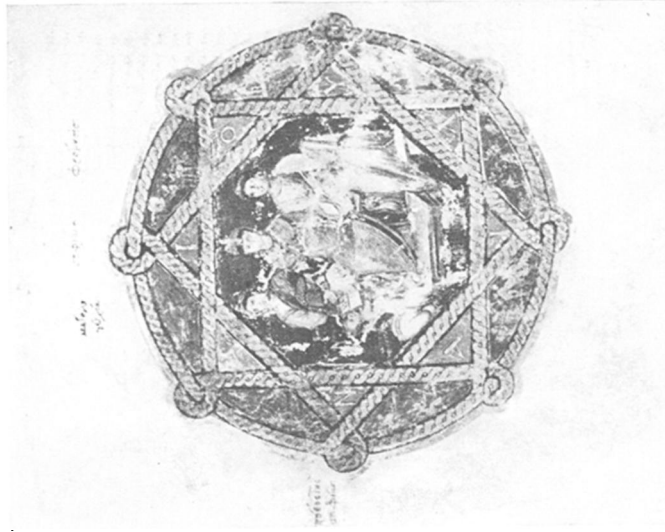
(1) SHIELD EMBLEMS, *Not. Or.* v. Oxford, Bodleian Library (Ms. Canon. Misc. 378, fol. 95r). (2) DRAWING (DATED 1574) OF THE EASTERN SIDE OF THE COLUMN OF ARCADIUS, CONSTANTINOPE. Cambridge, Trinity College Library (Ms. o.17.2). (3) FRONTISPICE OF TERENCE'S *ANDRIA*. Rome, Vatican Library (Ms. lat. 3868, fol. 3r). *Copyright reserved*



(1)



(2)



(3)

(1) **IVORY DIPTYCH OF PROBIANUS, VICAR OF ROME, c. 400.** Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Stiftung Preussischen Kulturbesitz. (2) **INSIGNIA OF THE MASTER OF OFFICES, Not. Or. xi.** Oxford, Bodleian Library (Ms. Canon. Misc. 378, fol. 101r). (3) **ANICIA JULIANA.** Vienna Dioscurides, Vienna, Nationalbibliothek (cod. med. gr. 1, fol. 6v). *Copyrights reserved*

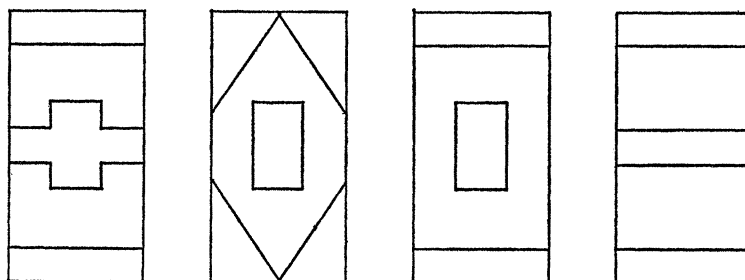


FIG. 3. PATTERNS OF GOLD TRIM DECORATING THE RECTANGULAR INSIGNIA OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE *NOT. DIG.* (The rectangular fields in the centre of Styles 1-3 usually contain a portrait bust). *Copyright reserved*

several distinct patterns (Fig. 3). A related pattern of gold trim is found on another rectangular object that differs only in that it lacks a bust and was apparently never intended to bear one, to judge from the trim. These patterns of trim may be briefly described as follows :

Style 1 features three broad horizontal stripes ; two of them trim the top and bottom of the rectangle, while the third one, spanning the middle, intersects with a nearly square rectangle that serves as a field for a bust.³²

Style 2 features triangular panels of trim on the corners of the rectangle, creating the impression of a lozenge-shaped field. Within this field is found a small rectangle that usually contains a bust.³³

Style 3 resembles style 1 in that the top and bottom are trimmed with horizontal bands. The portrait field, however, comprises a simple, nearly square rectangle, without the intersecting horizontal band.³⁴

Style 4, which never occurs with a portrait, features three parallel horizontal bands, two of which trim the top and bottom of the rectangle.³⁵

When these gold-trimmed rectangular objects are decorated with busts, the busts are always restricted to a relatively small field marked off in the centre of the rectangle. Judging from the extant illustrations, the busts were originally in either three-quarters or frontal view. It is noteworthy that one never encounters on these rectangular objects a full-length figure. Such figures are represented on the picture stands.³⁶ It is also curious that, with merely two exceptions, only one bust decorates the rectangular objects.³⁷ In the uppermost compartments of the picture stands, where the imperial portraits were originally placed, there are usually two figures, which in the original manuscript were very probably intended as the emperors of the eastern and western parts of the empire.³⁸

The identification of these busts decorating the rectangles as imperial portraits has seldom been disputed. Panciroli, Böcking and Seeck (followed by most modern writers) thought that these busts were originally intended as imperial portraits.³⁹ Bury, too, was inclined to accept that identification.⁴⁰ The only notable dissenting voice that I am aware of is that of Richard Delbrück, who suggested, without argument, that the busts were more likely to be personifications than imperial portraits.⁴¹ Delbrück, unfortunately, did not provide a further specification of the personification. Therefore his suggestion is hard to test. A single personifying figure of *Roma* or *Constantinopolis* would be plausible, but not for the busts lacking attributes that appear on the rectangular objects in question. It might be suggested that whatever the specific identification of the personification the purpose was

³² *Not. Or.* iii, v-ix, xxiii; *Not. Occ.* ii, iv—nine examples of which seven are from the *Not. Or.*, only two from the *Not. Occ.*

³³ *Not. Or.* xi-xv; *Not. Occ.* v-vi, ix, xii: ten examples of which six are from the *Not. Or.*, four from the *Not. Occ.* (*Not. Or.* xv actually features two examples.)

³⁴ *Not. Or.* xxii.

³⁵ *Not. Or.* xx, xxi; *Not. Occ.* ii, iv, xx-xxii.

³⁶ In MS. O, *Not. Or.* xxvi; *Not. Occ.* ii, iv, xviii, xxi, xxii.

³⁷ *Not. Or.* v and *Not. Occ.* ix are the only two exceptions.

³⁸ Of the seventeen picture stands, only two in MS. P (*Not. Or.* xxiv and *Not. Occ.* ii) feature a single effigy that was perhaps intended as an imperial effigy.

³⁹ Böcking, *Über die Not. Dig.*, 98, 100; O. Seeck, *RE* iv, 180; Kruse, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 99 f.; Byvanck, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 190; Loerke, *op. cit.* (n. 7), 177; and Stern, *op. cit.* (n. 20), 128, n. 3.

⁴⁰ *op. cit.* (n. 8), 142 f.

⁴¹ *Consulardiptychen*, 5.

to exalt the emperors. However, one personification would likely have been considered grossly inadequate for that purpose. Rather, one would then expect to find a constellation of personifications, as seen in the full-page illumination joining *Divina Providentia, Virtus, Scientia Rei Militaris, Auctoritas* and *Felicitas*. In addition, the personifications represented in the *Not. Dig.* are, with rare exception, nimbed. The busts decorating the rectangular objects in question are not. Furthermore, the personifications in the *Not. Dig.* are accompanied by inscriptions, without which they could not be identified. In this important detail also, the busts decorating the rectangles are not analogous to the personifications represented in the *Not. Dig.* If, on the other hand, one supposes that the busts were originally intended as imperial portraits, then one can easily account for the absence of inscriptions. The presence of imperial portraits on insignia and in government offices was so taken for granted that identifying inscriptions were not regarded as necessary and therefore were frequently not added.⁴² The identification of the busts on these rectangular objects as imperial portraits therefore appears plausible for the time being. But what of the rectangular objects themselves?

IV. CODICILLI

Otto Seeck and Richard Delbrück both regarded these portrait-bearing rectangular objects as codicils (*codicilli*).⁴³ Seeck was not the first to identify them as such.⁴⁴ But he and Delbrück both made thorough reviews of the evidence concerning the form and function of *codicilli*. Not surprisingly, then, subsequent writers have tended to regard their identifications as authoritative.

There are many references to codicils in the written sources, providing ample information about their uses,⁴⁵ one of which was to confirm the appointment of individuals to high offices.⁴⁶ But very little written evidence concerns their form. Since the Latin 'codicillus' is a diminutive of 'codex,' one might assume that all documents referred to as 'codicilli' shared the same basic form of the codex.⁴⁷ As Delbrück warns, this may not be a safe assumption, since, to judge from the images on official ivory diptychs, the codicils of the consulate and patriciate may have been scrolls.⁴⁸ Still, the few written references to codicils that provide information about their form do support the conclusion that *codicilli* (in the sense of appointive documents) were characteristically made of tablets or leaves, like a codex. Claudian, for example, refers to the appointive documents distributed by the *primicerius notariorum* as *tabulae*,⁴⁹ so the codicils issued by this official would seem to have been similar in form to writing tablets. Themistius, Libanius, and John Chrysostom all used the Greek *deltoi* to refer to codicils, reinforcing this inference.⁵⁰ Some support for it is also given by one of Constantine's laws (*CTh* VI, 22, 1) which refers to 'either the outer imprint or the inner writing of the codicils' ('vel superna codicillorum impressio vel scriptura adstipuletur interior'). As Seeck noted, the reference to the 'outer imprint' in this law calls to mind military diplomas, which assumed a form similar to that of the writing tablet.⁵¹ The material out of which these codicil-diptychs were made, according to Themistius (*Or.* XVIII, 224b), was ivory and gold.⁵² It is perhaps not unreasonable to suppose, given the law of 384 (*CTh* XV, 9, 1) restricting to consuls ordinary the right to

⁴² Perhaps the best evidence of this is found on consular diptychs where consuls are frequently accompanied by imperial images; Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, nos. 3, 15, 16, 21, 31, and 33 constitute some of the obvious examples. Though the consuls are identified by means of inscription, this is not the case with the imperial portraits.

⁴³ Seeck, *RE* IV, 179 f., and Delbrück, *Consular-diptychen*, 5. Seeck, *Not. Dig.*, 23, 31, regarded them earlier as *libri mandatorum*.

⁴⁴ Böcking, *op. cit.* (n. 39), 96 f. identified them as codicils. However, he also thought that they contained the emperor's *mandata*, justifying the term *libri mandatorum* that he additionally used to refer to them, *ibid.* 101.

⁴⁵ *Thes. Ling. Lat.* III, 1408 f.

⁴⁶ *CTh* VI, 22 (*De Hon. Cod.*) and Seeck, *RE* IV, 179 f. For a recent discussion of *codicilli*, see F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (1977), 126, 288–90, 305–11.

⁴⁷ *Thes. Ling. Lat.* III, 1408.

⁴⁸ Delbrück, *Consular-diptychen*, 5 f.: for consuls, nos. 3, 45; for *patricii*, nos. 3, 47, 64. On the appointment of consuls, see Millar, *Emperor*, 307 f.

⁴⁹ *Carm. Min.* xxv, 85: 'Cunctorum tabulas assignat honorum'.

⁵⁰ Themistius, *Or.* xviii, 224b; xxiii, 292b, 293b; Libanius, *Epist.* 84; John Chrysostom, *PG* LVI, col. 110.

⁵¹ Seeck, *RE* IV, 179 f.

⁵² Ed. Dindorf, 273: ἐκείνη τῆ δέλτω. . . ἦν οὐκ ἐποίησαν ἑλεφαντουργοὶ οὐδὲ χρυσοῦδοι.

distribute ivory diptychs as gifts, that codicils sent to lower officials were made of baser materials, such as bronze, wood, or parchment.⁵³

In his discussion of *codicilli*, Seeck provides one of the few extended discussions of the insignia of the *Not. Dig.* He notes that the 'superna codicillorum impressio' was not always formed of written characters, but for the higher officials was an imperial portrait.⁵⁴ Though Seeck fails to elaborate this point, it would not be unexpected to find imperial portraits decorating codicils: codicils were ultimately issued on the emperor's authority and sometimes even contained messages of a personal nature.⁵⁵ Seeck notes that the imperial portrait was lacking in some of the codicils represented in the *Not. Dig.*, but probably only through the fault of the copyists.⁵⁶ On others the outer imprint consists of an inscription beginning with 'FL', perhaps, as Seeck suggests, short for 'feliciter'. Though now corrupt, some of the inscriptions were probably meant to continue *Vale consularis* (or *corrector*, *praeses*, *magister epistularum*, *magister memoriae*) *iussu domini* or *dominorum*.⁵⁷ Seeck fails to inform the reader at this point that the objects he is discussing under the rubric 'codicilli' are represented in very different ways in the *Not. Dig.* It is not simply that some are decorated with imperial portraits and others with inscriptions. Rather, the majority of those decorated with inscriptions are represented as codices in form,⁵⁸ while those decorated with portraits never are. To put it more precisely, those with inscriptions are normally represented as having the perceptible thickness one would expect for a codex. Those bearing images never bear a trace of perceptible thickness. As we shall soon see, other curious facts emerge from a study of the distribution of these objects in the illustrations of the *Not. Dig.* Seeck, however, apparently saw no problem with the identification of these formally disparate objects as *codicilli*.

Kruse, Polaschek, Byvanck, and Loerke, who have subsequently dealt with the illustrations of the *Not. Dig.*, accepted Seeck's identification.⁵⁹ Kruse, in fact, claims to have found written verification for the placement of imperial portraits on *codicilli* in a law published in 321 (*CTh* XI, 30, 11): 'Sane etiam ex eo queremoniae litigantium oriuntur, quod a vobis, qui imaginem principalis disceptationis accipitis, appellationum adminicula respuuntur'.⁶⁰ Kruse believes that the phrase 'imaginem principalis disceptationis,' which he translates 'Bild der kaiserlichen Entscheidung', refers to a portrait-bearing codicil.⁶¹ He argues that the phrase refers to the image presumably found on the exterior of the codicil and that the reference to this image served, in his words, as a *pars pro toto* reference to the codicil.⁶²

Kruse's interpretation strikes me as somewhat problematic. It seems virtually certain that the author of the law could have used the word 'imago' to stand for 'codicillus' in a *pars pro toto* relationship in this context only on the condition that the two were very strongly associated. Unfortunately, the numerous direct references to codicils that one finds in the *Codex Theodosianus* make no mention of an image.⁶³ Kruse evidently regarded the portrait-bearing panels in the *Not. Dig.* as evidence of the close relationship between the codicil and the imperial portrait. However, this rests upon an assumption that they are codicils, which is in question, and furthermore his argument is contradicted by the fact that many of the codicils in the *Not. Dig.*—identified as such by Seeck—are not decorated with imperial portraits (they bear inscriptions instead).⁶⁴ Therefore it would appear to me that Kruse's interpretation deserves to be received with scepticism. Perhaps the author of the law was using the word 'imago' as a *pars pro toto* reference for 'seal' (rather than for 'codicil'), implicitly referring to a sealed document conferring authority to act as a representative of

⁵³ Seeck, *RE* IV, 179.

⁵⁴ *ibid.* 180.

⁵⁵ Millar, *Emperor*, 126, 288, 311.

⁵⁶ Seeck, *RE* IV, 179.

⁵⁷ *ibid.* Other discussions of the inscriptions are found in Polaschek, *RE* XVIII, 1108, and Bury, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 142, n. 1.

⁵⁸ See Appendix II.

⁵⁹ Kruse, *op. cit.* (no. 1), 99 f.; Polaschek, *RE* XVIII, 1106; Byvanck, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 187, 194; and Loerke, *op. cit.* (n. 7), 178.

⁶⁰ *op. cit.* (n. 1), 101.

⁶¹ *ibid.* The translation 'by you who have received

the right to act as a representative of the Emperor in trials' provided by C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions* (1952), 324, seems to be unresponsive to the peculiar Latin construction 'qui imaginem principalis disceptationis accipitis'.

⁶² Kruse, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 101.

⁶³ For references to codicils in the *CTh* I have relied upon O. Gradenwitz, *Heidelberger Index zum Theodosianus* (1925), 36, and Pharr's index (*Theodosian Code*, 624).

⁶⁴ See Appendix II and Seeck, *RE* IV, 180.

the sacred imperial judgment.⁶⁵ The passage then does not necessarily prove that codicils were decorated with portraits of emperors. It probably means no more than that codicils bore seals that in turn bore images.

There are difficulties with the identification of the portrait-bearing rectangles in the *Not. Dig.* as *codicilli*. Not only do they lack inscriptions, which one would normally expect on the cover of a codicil, they also lack an indication that they possess appreciable thickness, such as would be caused by additional leaves or a back cover. Seeck and those who accepted his identification did not explicitly anticipate challenges based upon these circumstances. But they may have felt that there were solutions to these difficulties. There is the possibility, for example, that the original illustrations of the *Not. Dig.* were not accurately transmitted. Specifically, since some of the codices represented in the *Not. Dig.* were reduced to mere rectangles,⁶⁶ is it not possible that a similar flattening occurred in the case of the portrait-bearing rectangles? To answer this question and others raised by Seeck's identification, we must now consider the illustrations in greater detail.

There are at least three clues that, considered together, might be useful in helping to distinguish a representation of a portrait-bearing codicil from a representation of a painted panel. (1) Since the codicils distributed to the highest officials were made of ivory (and probably gilded), since also they contained a 'scriptura . . . interior' (*CTh* VI, 22, 1), they must have taken the form of diptychs.⁶⁷ Therefore, even in a representation of a closed codicil, we should normally expect an indication of thickness, reflecting the presence of more than one ivory tablet. (2) Although this expectation is less certain, on the analogy of surviving official diptychs, most notably consular diptychs,⁶⁸ and military diplomas,⁶⁹ one would expect to find an inscription, however brief, on the exterior. (3) The context may provide clues. For example, the context may make it clear that the portrait-bearing rectangles are equated with other objects whose identity as codicils is clear. The following discussion regarding these three possible differentiating clues will be limited to the objects that serve as insignia in the *Not. Or.* and *Not. Occ.* and will be based on Appendix II, an abstract of the distribution of the insignia in the *Not. Dig.*

For those who want to defend Seeck's identification of the portrait-bearing rectangles as codicils, it may seem embarrassing that of the twenty rectangular insignia bearing a portrait, not one is rendered with an indication of thickness. One might have argued that the flatness of these rectangles was the result of a tendency of the copyists to interpret volumes in terms of patterns, as often occurred in medieval art. But the argument cannot be made in the case of the *Not. Dig.* Only a comparatively few of the codices—identified as such through the presence of inscriptions, of thickness, or context—in the *Not. Dig.* have been flattened: of the forty-four codices represented as insignia, only eight have been represented without an indication of thickness.⁷⁰ As a result, the absence of an edge for the portrait-bearing insignia must be regarded as deliberate. Of course the question might arise whether perhaps the copyists misunderstood all of the portrait-bearing insignia as painted panels and thus systematically flattened them. Aside from being intuitively improbable, this auxiliary hypothesis encounters equally great obstacles.

What makes this auxiliary hypothesis unlikely is the presence in the illustrations of the *Not. Dig.* of a closely related form. As noted above, the rectangular insignia bearing imperial portraits were ornamented with gold trim. Curiously, some of the rectangular insignia possessing identical or similar trim lack imperial portraits. In some cases, this is probably the result of carelessness.⁷¹ But that is clearly not the case with the gold-trimmed rectangular insignia in *Not. Or.* xx, xxi, and *Not. Occ.* xviii. The pattern of the trim makes it unthinkable

⁶⁵ Of course there is no question about the existence in the minds of Romans of a connection between seals and images. Not only is the connection verifiable in the sense that we know that Roman documents bore seals with portraits of the emperors, there are several recognized passages in Roman literature where the word 'imago' is used to refer to the image in a seal or signet ring: *Thes. Ling. Lat.* VII, 405, 407; and *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 831. I should like to thank David Traill for his suggestion that 'imago' probably means 'seal' in this context. For use of

seals by Augustus, see Millar, *Emperor*, 213, and H. U. Instinsky, *Die Siegel des Kaisers Augustus* (1962).

⁶⁶ *Not. Or.* xxxi–xxxviii, eight examples.

⁶⁷ Themistius, *Or.* xviii, 224b; Seeck, *RE* IV, 179 f. Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, 3–6.

⁶⁸ Delbrück, *op. cit.*, 16–18.

⁶⁹ Seeck, *RE* IV, 180.

⁷⁰ See above, n. 66.

⁷¹ *Not. Occ.* x, xi, xiii (two examples).

that portraits were ever intended for these three insignia. Yet they, too, lack inscriptions and an indication of thickness. Are they merely codices that have been flattened in the process of copying? Was the absence of an inscription merely due to the mistakes of copyists? It is impossible to accept an affirmative answer to either question when it is realized that, of the forty-four clearly identifiable codices represented in the insignia of the *Not. Dig.*, not one shares the gold trim found either on the portrait-bearing insignia or on these three rectangular insignia. Apparently the artist was emphatic in distinguishing between these two different classes of objects. In his effort to make this distinction, he may have been tempted to oversimplify and distort the objects. Since diptychs are normally thinner than codices, he may have been specifically tempted to exaggerate their relative thinness.⁷² Thus the flatness of the gold-trimmed rectangular object is not necessarily decisive evidence against the identification of these objects as codicil-diptychs.

The presence of an inscription is the second clue that might prove helpful in distinguishing between a codicil and a painted panel. Most of the forty-four codices serving as insignia can be identified, if not by the presence of an edge, then by the presence of an inscription, analogous to that which appears on the codices that do have an edge. Of the thirty-six codices having an edge, thirty-four also bear an inscription. Of the eight examples lacking the edge, all bear analogous inscriptions. But, of the twenty-seven gold-trimmed rectangular insignia—with or without portraits—only two bear inscriptions. And these inscriptions differ from those on the codices. They are also extremely problematic. The first (*Not. Or.* viii) is witnessed in M¹, P, and γ (the text and illustrations published by Gelenius): M¹ and γ read *Dea vexillata*; ⁷³ P reads *Deanexillata*.⁷⁴ In my opinion, its location on the gold trim indicates that it was probably a later insertion. The impression of an awkward insertion is even more apparent in *Not. Or.* xi (Pl. III. 2).⁷⁵ Painted into the triangle of gold trim in the upper left-hand corner is *bos*; painted over the upper right-hand corner and even extending slightly beyond the corner is *capfi*. Like the former in *Not. Or.* viii, not only is the inscription enigmatic, the design of the gold trim is completely at variance with its presence.

The simple patterns of gold trim characteristic of the rectangular insignia of the *Not. Dig.* are also at variance with the ornament of consular diptychs, which often feature full-length portraits of the consuls in elaborate settings, accompanied by identifying inscriptions.⁷⁶ One might have expected otherwise. Yet this does not constitute sufficient reason to reject the identification of this insigne as a codicil-diptych. That codicil-diptychs did in fact lack inscriptions and the rich ornamental repertory of consular diptychs receives some confirmation from the Stilicho Diptych (c. 400) and the frontispiece of the Vienna Dioscurides (Pl. III. 3, c. 512).⁷⁷ In the former, Stilicho's son Eucherius holds a tablet that has been identified as a codicil of rank.⁷⁸ The correctness of this identification would seem assured by the chlamys Eucherius wears, his pose of authority, and the knowledge that he was at the time a *tribunus* and *notarius*.⁷⁹ His tablet is represented by a simple rectangle, presumably a diptych, the front cover of which is decorated solely with a simple pattern of abstract trim, not very unlike that featured on the rectangular objects associated with the proconsuls in the *Not. Dig.*⁸⁰ The frontispiece of the Vienna Dioscurides features a portrait of Anicia Juliana enthroned as a patroness of the arts and religion. In her left hand she holds

⁷² The codicil-diptych held by Anicia Juliana in the frontispiece of the Vienna Dioscurides has been similarly flattened, see Weitzmann, *Book Illumination*, pl. 15, and below, n. 77.

⁷³ Maier, *Latomus* xxviii (1969), 1032. Cf. Seeck, *Not. Dig.*, 23.

⁷⁴ From my own examination of the MS.

⁷⁵ In B, O, and P, see Maier, loc. cit. (n. 73). Cf. Seeck, *Not. Dig.*, 31. For other inscriptions that were almost certainly later interpolations see H. Omont, *Mem. Soc. nat. des antiq. de France*, Ser. 6, 1 (1890), 232 f.

⁷⁶ For the official ivories that are securely dated in the fifth century, see Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 35, 62, 63. No. 4 is too badly

preserved to be considered. Of the nine remaining examples, eight feature full-length figures, seven feature inscriptions on the exterior.

⁷⁷ For the diptych of Stilicho, see Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 63, p. 55, pl. 35. For the Vienna Dioscurides (Nationalbibliothek, cod. med. gr. 1) see A. von Premerstein, et al., *Dioscurides, Codex Aniciae Juliane* (1906). A convenient colour reproduction is found in K. Weitzmann, *Book Illumination*, pl. 15.

⁷⁸ Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, 5, 7.

⁷⁹ For the *chlamys* as an official cloak, see Delbrück, op. cit., 38 f.; Zosimus v, 34, 7, informs us of Eucherius's office: cf. O. Seeck, *RE* vi, 882.

⁸⁰ *Not. Or.* xx, xxi; *Not. Occ* xviii.

a tablet that was decorated solely with gold trim that conforms to Style 2, except that it lacks a rectangular field for a bust. This tablet has been identified as a codicil, of rank distinguishing her as a member of the patriciate or perhaps as a *femina consularis*.⁸¹ The patterns of gold trim then may well have been an important feature of codicil-diptychs. On the other hand, there is no evidence whatever that portraits painted or engraved on panels were ever trimmed in this fashion. On the contrary, the formats used for such panels seem to have been either a simple rectangular frame or circular frame.⁸²

From the standpoint of the first two clues, the presence of an edge and the presence of an inscription, the gold-trimmed rectangular insignia—with or without portraits—were sharply distinguished from the inscribed codices in the other illustrations. Seeck, however, regarded all of them as *codicilli*. Yet his view would seem to be compromised by the sharp distinction made in the *Not. Dig.* On the other hand, the view that the portrait-bearing rectangles were merely portraits of emperors is equally problematic, since this provides no explanation for the gold-trimmed rectangles that lack portraits and were clearly never intended to bear them.

The third clue is context. Narrowly conceived, the context is not very helpful. The gold-trimmed rectangles always rest upon a draped table. Codices and rolled scrolls occasionally do also. At other times they appear against a blank ground, whereas the gold-trimmed rectangles never do. The two full-page illuminations headed by the personifications *Divina Providentia* and *Divina Electio*, however, offer a solid contextual clue. Grouped together in these illuminations are gold-trimmed rectangles, combined codices and scrolls, and isolated codices. Interestingly, in these two miniatures, the gold-trimmed rectangles uniformly lack the busts they normally carry when they appear among the offices listed in the *Not. Dig.* Whether this was just an oversight or was intended to mean that the portraits were added just prior to distribution we do not know. But this circumstance makes it difficult to accept the idea that the gold-trimmed rectangles were intended simply as painted portraits for the obvious reason that they lack portraits. Additionally, in these two miniatures, the gold-trimmed rectangles are likened to objects that were clearly intended as appointive documents. And this favours identifying them as codicil-diptychs.

V. RANK AND INSIGNIA IN THE *NOTITIA DIGNITATUM*

Another important contextual clue is provided by the distribution of these objects in the *Not. Dig.* More than one scholar has noted that the distribution of the insignia in the *Not. Dig.* seems to be correlated with the ranks of the officials represented by the insignia.⁸³ William Loerke tries to illuminate the distinctions observed in the form of the insignia in the *Not. Dig.* by means of a law published in 381 (*CTh* VI, 22, 5), which concerns the appointive documents issued by the *primicerius notariorum*.⁸⁴ According to this law, officials of proconsular rank were to receive 'codicilli', those of the rank of vicar were to receive 'epistulae', and those of consular rank were to receive 'insignia'. From this tripartite division, Loerke concludes that there were three grades of appointive documents. Expecting to find these distinctions observed in the *Not. Dig.*, he proposes to regard as 'codicilli proper' the flat gold-trimmed rectangles—diptychs to Loerke—with or without portraits, as 'epistulae' the rolled scrolls represented among the insignia of some officials, and as 'insignia' the codices that he elsewhere regards as *libri mandatorum*.⁸⁵ He believes that perhaps an appointive letter was bound inside the codex.⁸⁶

Loerke is probably right in so far as he means that *codicilli* were issued in different forms, depending upon the rank of the office they pertain to. But the terminology of *CTh* VI, 22, 5, hardly entitles one to restrict the term 'codicillus' to a diptych, the term 'epistula' to a scroll and the term 'insigne' to a codex. For one thing, other laws regarding appointive

⁸¹ Premerstein, *Dioscurides*, 115; Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, 3, 5, 55.

⁸² On the format of the earliest portraits painted on panels see H. Blanck, *Bonn. Jahrb.* CLXVIII (1968), 3 f.; K. Weitzmann, *The Icon* (1978), 9.

⁸³ e.g. Bury, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 142, and Loerke, *op. cit.* (n. 7), 177, n. 23.

⁸⁴ *loc. cit.* (n. 83).

⁸⁵ *op. cit.*, 178.

⁸⁶ *ibid.* 177, n. 23.

documents fail to observe the tripartite division implied by *CTh* VI, 22, 5. In *CTh* VI, 22, 4 (372), we find the phrase 'insignia of the proconsulate'. Not only does this fail to conform to the language of *CTh* VI, 22, 5, the occurrence of the term 'insignia' is hardly meant to exclude the proconsular 'codicilli' mentioned in *CTh* VI, 22, 5. That there was overlapping in terminology is also evident in *CTh* VI, 22, 8 (425), where the occurrence of the term 'insignia' is similarly not meant to exclude *codicilli*. Furthermore, the appointive documents issued to those below proconsular rank were also termed 'codicilli'. *CTh* XII, 1, 42 (354); XII, 1, 180 (417); and XII, 1, 183 (418) concern 'codicilli' that entitle persons to the rank of the *clarissimi*. *CTh* VI, 6, 25, 5 (386) concerns 'codicilli' granted in order to establish consular rank. *CTh* VII, 3, 2 (409), finally, links the very concept of promotion in rank (no particular rank is specified) to the reception of 'codicilli'.

Nor do the illustrations of the *Not. Dig.* altogether conform to the hierarchy Loerke proposes. Loerke was tempted to identify the *epistulae* referred to in *CTh* VI, 22, 5, as rolled scrolls because in the illustrations of the *Not. Dig.* scrolls are used among the insignia of those offices associated with the rank of vicar. According to *CTh* VI, 22, 5, those promoted to the rank of vicar were to receive *epistulae*.⁸⁷ Although it is true that a rolled scroll is consistently used for those with the rank of vicar, what Loerke fails to mention is that in all but one case (*Not. Or.* xxvii) the scroll accompanies a codex, the front cover of which bears the kind of inscription Seeck and others regarded as appropriate for *codicilli*.⁸⁸ That the codex, in and of itself, could be regarded as a codicil by the artists of the *Not. Dig.* is implicit in other of its illustrations (*Not. Or.* xliii, xlv; *Not. Occ.* xliii, xlv, xlv). Therefore it is not clear in the illustrations of the *Not. Dig.* that the rolled scroll was even intended as the main appointive document for the offices associated with the rank of vicar. A related problem arises concerning Loerke's identification of the codices as *libri mandatorum*.⁸⁹ Contemporary laws do not accord *libri mandatorum* the role of insignia, which some of the codices represented in the *Not. Dig.* clearly are.⁹⁰ So, even if these codices contained *mandata*, they must have been regarded as codicils. The inscriptions on their front cover would seem to confirm that they were. Loerke's suggestion that the appointive document was bound inside is plausible. But this gives one even more reason to assume that, as far as the intent of the laws was concerned, the word 'codicillus' had more to do with the legal role played by the appointive document than with the document's form. It appears that Loerke's account of the hierarchy among the insignia of the *Not. Dig.* is in need of revision.

The order of precedence in the later Roman empire was not left to chance. Contemporary laws reflect the desire to maintain a rational order of precedence.⁹¹ Because of grants of honorary rank and the overlapping of different orders of precedence (senatorial, equestrian, and comital), this desire was not easy to fulfil.⁹² But there is a standard that may be used to test the belief that the insignia of the *Not. Dig.* are correlated with rank. The *Not. Dig.* divides all of the high offices it lists into the following three grades: *illustres* (the highest), *spectabiles*, and *clarissimi* (the lowest).⁹³ To see if the insignia were divided into three corresponding grades, we may examine Table 2. Table 2 shows the distribution of the objects that serve as insignia throughout these three different grades. If the distribution of these objects is not correlated with rank, then one would expect them to occur in all three categories and to do so in roughly equal proportions. On the other hand, if their distribution is correlated with rank, then just the opposite will be true. They will not occur in all three categories; and where they occur in two categories, their occurrence will be in markedly different proportions.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*

⁸⁸ Seeck, *RE* IV, 180; Polaschek, *RE* XVIII, 1108; and Bury, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 142, n. 1.

⁸⁹ Loerke, *op. cit.* (n. 7), 178.

⁹⁰ Many of these laws deal with attempts to gain privileges and rank by means of codicils, not with actual service, see *CTh* VI, 22, 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8. The importance of insignia, among which the codicil of office was supremely important, to judge from the laws, is of course an expression of the importance of rank and privilege in the later Roman Empire, see

Jones, *LRE* I, 543 f. Whatever the actual benefits of gaining it, precedence was so valued that elaborate laws were passed to regulate it. In addition to the laws cited above, other laws deal with those who attempted to evade public service by obtaining codicils of rank; Jones, *LRE* II, 1222 f., is replete with references to these laws.

⁹¹ *CTh* VI (*De Dignitatibus*).

⁹² Jones, *LRE* I, 378 f., 525 f.

⁹³ Polaschek, *RE* XVIII, 1108; Jones, *LRE* I, 378 f. for these grades.

TABLE 2. CROSS-CLASSIFICATION TABLE COMPARING THE DISTRIBUTION OF INSIGNIA WITH THE DISTRIBUTION OF RANK. (Numbers in parentheses reflect my estimation of the intended distribution.)

Insignia	<i>Illustres</i>	<i>Spectabiles</i>	<i>Clarissimi</i>
Gold-trimmed rectangle bearing portrait	18 (22)	2	0
Gold-trimmed rectangle without portrait	4 (0)	3	0
Rolled scroll and codex	0	37	0
Codex	0	2	5
Picture stand	3	11	3
Column totals	25	55	8

1. Gold-trimmed portrait-bearing rectangles. The distribution of these objects is clearly correlated with rank. Of the twenty-two *illustres* represented by insignia, eighteen are represented by this object (and, as I shall presently argue, probably all twenty-two were intended to be represented by it).⁹⁴ Among the forty-nine *spectabiles* represented by insignia, only two are represented by it—*Not. Or.* xxii (*comes orientis*) and xxiii (*praefectus augustalis*). Why these two important officials should be represented by the insigne of the *illustres* is an interesting question in its own right.⁹⁵ But the distribution of these objects leaves no doubt that they functioned as a distinctive sign of rank. None are found among the insignia of the *clarissimi*.

2. Gold-trimmed rectangles without portraits. Among those titles represented by insignia, these objects are divided between the two highest grades, the *illustres* and the *spectabiles*, with four examples among the former and three among the latter.⁹⁶ None of the officials among the *clarissimi* are represented by objects of this type. And I suspect that in the original manuscript none of the officials among the *illustres* were either. At present the four examples representing officials among the *illustres* are all restricted to the western list. All four of these officials are represented by rectangles that are trimmed with gold in the manner of their counterparts in the eastern list.⁹⁷ All four of the rectangles have marked off in the centre a small square field that remains empty. Since these square fields in their eastern counterparts contain portraits, I think it is very probable that the western examples also were originally intended to contain portrait busts. If that is true, then the gold-trimmed rectangles without portrait busts would be limited to the proconsuls of both the eastern and western lists.⁹⁸ The gold-trimmed rectangles representing the proconsuls were clearly never designed to bear portrait busts. Their trim, conforming to Style 4 in Fig. 3, lacks the tiny square field that frames the portrait in the other gold-trimmed rectangles. It would therefore appear that the proconsuls were set off as a distinct grade, for the other *spectabiles* are represented by a quite different insigne.

3. The combination of the codex and rolled scroll. Most of the *spectabiles* are represented by the juxtaposition of an inscribed codex and a scroll, although there are some exceptions.⁹⁹ One official, the *comes limitis Aegyptiae* (*Not. Or.* xxviii), appears to be represented solely by a partly unrolled scroll. But it is hard to say whether this is intentional or due to a scribal mistake. In spite of these exceptions, the combination of the rolled scroll and the codex must be regarded as a mark of rank. It is never used for officials among either the *illustres* or the *clarissimi*.

4. The codex. With the exception of the *primicerii notariorum* (*Not. Or.* xviii, *Not. Occ.*

⁹⁴ *Not. Or.* iii, v–ix, xi–xiv, xv (two examples); *Not. Occ.* ii, iv–vi, ix, xii.

⁹⁵ In a law of 381 (*CTh* vi, 10, 3) the *comes orientis* and the *praefectus augustalis* are explicitly equated in rank. Their *officia* were much larger than the normal *officia* of vicars, Jones, *LRE* 1, 592 f.

⁹⁶ The four examples among the *illustres*: *Not. Occ.* x, xi, xiii (two examples). The three examples among the *spectabiles*: *Not. Or.* xx, xxi; *Not. Occ.* xviii.

⁹⁷ *Not. Or.* xii, xiii, xv.

⁹⁸ *Not. Or.* xx, xxi; *Not. Occ.* xviii.

⁹⁹ *Not. Or.* xvii (*castrensis*, whose insigne appears to have been bungled beyond recognition); xix (*magister scriniorum*, who appears to be represented by his office equipment, not by an insigne); xx–xxi (both proconsuls); xii (*comes orientis*); xxiii (*praefectus augustalis*); *Not. Occ.* xv–xviii.

xvi), and possibly the *castrenses* (*Not. Or.* xvii, *Not. Occ.* xv), the isolated codex is limited to the insignia of the *clarissimi*. None of the offices among the *illustres* is represented solely by a codex. It therefore appears that, as used in the illustrations of the *Not. Dig.*, the codex was regarded as a mark of rank.

5. Picture stands. Are the picture stands bearing imperial effigies to be counted among the insignia of rank? Their distribution among the illustrations of the *Not. Dig.* is not correlated with rank. To appreciate this fact, one may begin by noting that, unlike all of the other objects listed in Table 2, only the picture stand occurs among all three ranks, and it does so in roughly equivalent proportions for the first two ranks (the *clarissimi* are too few in number to see significance in the fact that three of its five representatives are accompanied by a picture stand). Intuitively, then, one can recognize that the distribution of the picture stands is unrelated to rank. It was evidently determined by other considerations. Polaschek, who seems to have realized this, felt that the stands were intended as a symbol of 'richterliche Kompetenz'.¹⁰⁰

These considerations concerning the distinctive marks of rank in the *Not. Dig.* have important implications with regard to the identification of the gold-trimmed portrait-bearing rectangles. Like the picture stands, they bore an imperial effigy. Yet it would seem that they must have been more than just another imperial portrait. There are two reasons for saying this. First, they alone—not the picture stands—were insignia of rank. Their distribution in the illustrations of the *Not. Dig.*, as we have seen, provides strong evidence of that. What was it that entitled them, not picture stands, to function as insignia of rank? Since both the picture stands and the gold-trimmed rectangles bore imperial portraits, something other than the presence of the imperial portrait is required to answer this question. Second, there is a very closely related form, a gold-trimmed rectangle without the imperial portrait. This form also serves as a distinctive mark of rank, specifically as the insigne of the proconsuls listed in the *Not. Dig.*¹⁰¹ It is even evident from a closer examination of the portrait-bearing rectangles that the style of the gold trim implies either a high or a low status among the *illustres*. The gold trim on the rectangles of the prefects and *magistri militum* conforms to Style 1 (Fig. 3);¹⁰² whereas the gold trim on the portrait-bearing rectangles of the *magistri officiorum* and the other *illustres* conforms to Style 2.¹⁰³

The realization that these portrait-bearing rectangles were correlated with rank and that, in fact, the presence of the imperial portrait was one attribute helping to distinguish a higher from a lower rank provides the key to their identification. As noted before, among all the insignia of office specified in the laws regarding rank and precedence, none was more important than the *codicillus*. Simply put, it was the pre-eminent mark of office, the very σύμβολον τῆς ἀρχῆς according to John Chrysostom (*PG* LVI, col. 110). That circumstance alone would lead one to expect to find among the illustrations, which the accompanying inscriptions proclaim to be insignia of office, a representation of a codicil. The most prominent object among the insignia of the *illustres* and the only object consistently present for them is the gold-trimmed rectangle. For this reason one might expect that it was intended as an appointive document, a counterpart to the codex and rolled scroll that constitute the insignia for most of the *spectabiles* and the *clarissimi*. If it were, then there would be no need for an additional appointive document among the insignia of the *illustres*. Alternatively, if it were not, then one would expect to find in addition to its presence the presence of some other object that could plausibly be construed as an appointive document. Yet, when one applies this test by re-examining the illustrations of the *illustres* and the proconsuls, one fails to find a single instance in which another such object is found. In addition to these circumstances, which favour Seeck's identification, one circumstance weighs strongly against the alternative view that the portrait-bearing rectangle was intended as a portrait panel, namely, the uniform use for the proconsuls of a gold-trimmed rectangle that differs in form only in that it was never intended to bear a portrait. The presence of this object can apparently only be explained if one assumes that all of the gold-trimmed rectangles (with or without portraits) were intended as codicil-diptychs.

¹⁰⁰ *RE* xviii, 1107; cf. Berger, *Not. Dig.*, 57.

¹⁰¹ *Not. Or.* xx, xxi; *Not. Occ.* xviii.

¹⁰² *Not. Or.* iii, v, vi, vii, viii, ix; *Not. Occ.* ii, iv.

¹⁰³ *Not. Or.* xi–xv; *Not. Occ.* v–vi, ix–xiii.

VI. CONCLUSION

The findings of this study may now be summarized. Although we seem to have useful evidence of the illustrations of the original *Not. Dig.*, this evidence may be less reliable in providing information about the appearance of the particular insignia represented in those illustrations. It is not simply that the illustrations have been debased in the course of their transmission. Rather, if the shield emblems are any indication, it appears probable that the original illustrations of the insignia—contrary to what has sometimes been assumed—were not based upon a pattern book containing pictures of officially prescribed insignia. This is a clear warning not to expect more from the extant illustrations than a general idea of the appearance of late Roman insignia. But, in view of our ignorance of their form and appearance, even this much is welcome. This is especially so in the case of the gold-trimmed rectangle which is usually decorated with a single portrait bust. I have argued that this object was more likely to be a codicil-diptych decorated with an imperial portrait than a simple portrait panel. By context it is equated with other appointive documents. By inscription it is identified as an insigne of office (contemporary laws identify the codicil as the pre-eminent insigne of office). And by distribution its occurrence, like the occurrence of other forms of appointive documents in the *Not. Dig.*, is correlated with rank. The presence of the portrait, in fact, may have been partly a means of distinguishing the codicil-diptych of the *illustres* from that of the proconsuls. Moreover, even among the *illustres*, a higher or lower status is expressed by the use of two different patterns of gold trim. The extent to which these pictorial distinctions reflect an actual differentiation of the codicils issued by the *primicerii notariorum* cannot be determined without reliable comparative evidence, which is so far not available. Possibly the artist's concern to make clear distinctions between the codicils issued to the various grades led him to exaggerate, coarsen, and misrepresent their form and appearance, especially so in the case of the *spectabiles* and *clarissimi*, whose codicils were generally rendered in a highly abbreviated and perfunctory manner. The codicil-diptychs of the *illustres*, on the other hand, were understandably treated with greater respect. They are more elaborate and more highly differentiated than the codicils of the two lower grades, and this increases the probability that they reflect to a greater extent the general form and appearance of the codicils issued by the *primicerii notariorum*.

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APPENDIX I. THE PRINCIPAL ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *NOTITIA DIGNITATUM*

In referring to the following MSS, I employ the *sigla* used by I. G. Maier, *Latomus* xxvii (1968), 96-141, xxviii (1969), 960-1035; and J. J. G. Alexander in *Aspects of the Not. Dig.*, 11-25.

B (Vatican, Bibl. Apost., Vaticanus-Barberinianus 157): Maier, *Latomus* xxvii (1969), 961-85.

L (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 86.72): H. Omont, *Mem. Soc. nat. des antiq. de France*, Ser. 6, 8 (1890), 225-44; Maier, *Latomus* xxvii (1968), 99, n. 1; and Alexander, *Aspects*, 12 f., pls. iv, viii.

M (Codex Monacensis, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS clm. 10291), which contains two sets of illustrations, referred to as M¹ and M² respectively: K. Preisendanz, *Zeitschrift für Buchkunde* (1924), 15 f.; Maier, *Latomus* xxviii (1969), 990, n. 1, 995 f.; P. Berger, *The Notitia Dignitatum* (Diss., 1974), 42-9.

O (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS canon. Misc. 378): O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* 1 (1966), No. 666.

P (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 9661): H. Omont, ed., *Notitia Dignitatum Imperii Romani, reproduction réduite des 105 miniatures du Manuscrit Latin 9661 de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (1911).

APPENDIX II. ABSTRACT OF THE INSIGNIA OF THE NOTITIA DIGNITATUM



<i>Not. Or.</i>	iii	X															X	X
	v	X															X	
	vi	X															X	
	vii	X															X	
	viii	X															X	
	ix	X															X	
	xi		X														X	
	xii		X														X	
	xiii		X														X	
	xiv		X														X	
	xv(a)		X														X	
	xv(b)		X														X	
	xvii ¹																	
	xviii												X					
	xix ²																	
	xx						X										X	X
	xxi						X										X	X
	xxii					X											X	X
	xxiii	X															X	X
	xxiv								X								X	X
	xxv								X								X	X
	xxvi								X								X	X
	xxviii												X				X	
	xxix								X								X	
	xxxi												X					
	xxxii												X					
	xxxiii												X					
	xxxiv												X					
	xxxv												X					
	xxxvi												X					
	xxxvii												X					
	xxxviii												X					
	xxxix								X									
	xl								X									
	xli								X									
	xlii								X									
	xliii																X	X
	xliv												X		X		X	

