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## POLYONYMOUS NOMENCLATURE IN CONSULAR DATING\*

OLLI SALOMIES

In this article, my aim is to make some observations on polyonymous nomenclatures of consuls as attested in consular dates. The article has been inspired by some recently published military diplomas containing interesting information on the names of some consuls; I am here thinking, e.g., of a diploma published in 2005 showing that T. Sextius Africanus cos. 112 was also called *Cornelius*, this possibly indicating that his mother was a Cornelia;<sup>1</sup> and of a diploma disclosing that M. Laelius Maximus cos. 227 also had the nomen *Fulvius*, confirming that this man belongs to the vicinity of the Laelii Fulvii *PIR*<sup>2</sup> L 52 and 53.<sup>2</sup>

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\* Military diplomas are indicated with an asterisk (\*), suffect consulates with "†". – Note: *FO* = *Fasti Ostienses* (ed. L. Vidman, 1982); *FSept.* = *Fasti Septempedani* (*AE* 1988, 419); *Adoptive Nomenclature* (see n. 3); *Festschrift E. Weber* (2005) = F. Beutler & W. Hameter (eds.), *"Eine ganz normale Inschrift" ... und Ähnliches zum Geburtstag von Ekkehard Weber* (Althistorisch-Epigraphische Studien 5, Wien 2005); *Pferdehirt* = B. Pferdehirt, *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums* (2004); *Scheid* = J. Scheid, *Commentarii Fratrum Arvalium* (1998).

<sup>1</sup> W. Eck & A. Pangerl, in *Festschrift E. Weber* (2005) 247–54.

<sup>2</sup> \**RMD* 313. On the connections of this man, see C. Settiani, *Continuité gentilice et continuité familiale dans les familles sénatoriales romaines à l'époque impériale* (2000) 152. – Note also the diploma at last disclosing the *nomen* of Urbanus cos. 234, called *M. Munatius Urbanus* in \**Pferdehirt* 63 (for the suggestion that this man might be a Munatius, see *Arctos* 17 [1983] 72–4); and the diplomas of AD 231, which call the consul Pompeianus *L. Ti. Claudio Pompeiano* (\**RMD* 315; \**Pferdehirt* 61; the same constitution), this nomenclature with two praenomina bringing this consul close to the consul of 235, called *L. Ti. Claudius Aurelius Quintianus* in an honorific inscription (*ILS* 1181; unfortunately there are no military diplomas from 235). – For Pompeianus' cognomen *Commodus* see below at n. 90.

By the term "polyonymy", I mean (a) nomenclatures including, in addition to the normal *tria nomina* (praenomen, nomen, cognomen), one or more extra cognomina, this being a type already attested during the Republic (*Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio*, etc.); and (b) nomenclatures including two or more nomina (accompanied by one or more cognomina), a type attested only from the time of Augustus onwards. There are many variations of this type but the two most common subtypes are no doubt *T. Rustius Nummius Gallus* (a consul of AD 34) and *L. Livius Ocella Sulpicius Galba* (consul in 33). The latter type (b) has been studied by me in a short monograph.<sup>3</sup> In the book, my point was to classify and analyze nomenclatures as attested in the sources, whatever their nature. In this article, my point of view is different as I now start from a certain type of source (i.e., consular dates) and aim to make observations on certain kinds of nomenclatures in documents representing this source category. As I am especially interested in polyonymous nomenclatures consisting of two (or more) nomina (as contrasted with cognomina), I shall deal with the period between the Julio-Claudians and the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century. This period coinciding with the period from which there are traces of polyonymous nomenclatures of this type in consular dates. Nomenclatures consisting of one nomen and two or more cognomina are occasionally attested in consular dates even before the period studied here,<sup>4</sup> but this is understandable as the name type *P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura* was already in use during the Republic. In any case this type, also wellknown during the Empire, is not quite as interesting from my point of view and I shall relegate some of the material to footnotes (cf. n. 59).

As mentioned above, my aim is to make observations on polyonymous nomenclatures which appear in consular dates, and I am doing this in order to find out in which situations and in which documents a polyonymous nomenclature could be used of consuls in dates. However, my aim is not only to illustrate the formal part of consular dating in practice, but

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<sup>3</sup> O. Salomies, *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature in the Roman Empire* (1992); referred to in the following as "*Adoptive Nomenclature*").

<sup>4</sup> E.g., *Corvino Messala* (3 BC) *CIL* VI 10243; *Cn. Cinna Magno* (AD 5) *CIL* VI 851; 10294 = *ILS* 7341. In consular lists compiled in Rome, such as the *Fasti Capitolini*, consuls could already be given several cognomina in the archaic period (e.g., *Ap. Claudius A. f. M. n. Crass(us) Inr[i]gill(ensis) Sabin(us)*, 451 BC; from the time of Augustus note *Q. Caecilius Q. f. M. n. Metellus Creticus Silanus* [AD 7]).

also aspects of the establishment in Rome of consular lists meant for practical use in the Empire, my question here being in which form the names of consuls were communicated to the public in order to be used for dating, etc.

Before entering into details, let us have a very quick look at what the sources seem to say about the particulars of the dissemination of consuls' names. First of all, it appears that the consuls' full names were, even in the case of extreme polyonymy, taken down in the senate, and at least occasionally used in documents issued there.<sup>5</sup> As for the dissemination of the consuls' names from the capital to the outside world, it does not seem to have been a problem to send out the information on the consuls about to enter into office in time to all provinces until the later third century; it is only from this time onwards that one starts to find consular datings of the type in which the consuls of the preceding year are used.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, at least up until the middle of the second century, also the names of the suffect consuls were disseminated at least to major centres of the Empire; the latest provincial inscription using suffect consuls seems to be a text from Spain from AD 153.<sup>7</sup> In Italy outside Rome, the latest inscriptions using suffect consuls seem to date from around AD 175.<sup>8</sup> Whether this should be interpreted as pointing to the conclusion that the dissemination of the names of suffect consuls simply stopped at some point in the second century, I would prefer not to decide. As for the nomenclature of consuls, although it became more and more common with time to use only the cognomina of the

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<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., *dig.* 5.3.20.6 *Q. Iulius Balbus et P. Iuventius Celsus Tit{f}us Aufidius Oen{f}us Severianus consules (...)* (AD 129); *CIL* VIII 23246, A, 10 *P. Cassius Secundus, P. Delphius Peregrinus Alfius Alennius Maximus Curtius Valerianus Proculus M. Nonius Mucianus co(n)s(ules) (...)* (later referred to in the date as *M. Nonio Muciano*; AD 138).

<sup>6</sup> *PSI* X 1101 of AD 271 may be the earliest date using the previous year's consuls. Of course, if a consul died just before taking up his office, the news, and the name of the replacing him, may not have reached all the corners of the Empire in due time; cf. N. Lewis & al., *The Documents of the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters* (1989) no. 28–30, indicating that P. Metilius Nepos was to be cos. II in AD 128 (cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 545); *P. Dura* 25, indicating the same for Cn. Iulius Verus in AD 180.

<sup>7</sup> *CIL* II 2008 = *ILS* 5423 (cf. W. Eck, in *Epigrafia. Actes du Colloque en mémoire de A. Degrassi* [1991] 40; on the interpretation of the consular date in *CIL* VII 802 = *RIB* 1956 = *ILS* 4722, cited there, see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> R 132). The latest document using suffect consuls produced in Rome seems to be the military diploma *RMD* 189 of AD 206.

<sup>8</sup> Eck, *op. cit.* (see preceding note) 39, referring to *AE* 1987, 348 from Forum Flaminii.

consuls in dates (e.g., *Mamertino et Rufo* in the case of those of AD 182),<sup>9</sup> the sources seem to imply that it was still possible in the third century and even later to find information on the *tria nomina* (and not simply on the cognomina) of the consuls in office also outside Rome.<sup>10</sup>

Concerning the routes of the dissemination of the consul's names, in some cases one can observe features in consular dating which appear only in one city or only in one province; this seems to point to the conclusion that the names of consuls about to enter office were at least normally first sent out to provincial (or in Italy, to regional) centres and only from these to minor cities, these being responsible for dissemination in their territories.<sup>11</sup>

But let us now turn to the names of consuls themselves and see what can be concluded on the basis of this material. As I observed above, I shall take into account the following cases:

(a) Consular dates in which a consul has more names than just the *tria nomina* (e.g., *C. Iulio Serio Augurino* *AE* 1972, 282 [AD 132]; or *L. Tutilio Lupercio Pontiano* *AE* 1969/70, 405 [AD 135]). Obviously, I shall also consider nomenclatures in which the praenomen and the nomen have been omitted but which include two cognomina (e.g., *Civica Pompeiano* *CIL* VI 10242 [AD 136]; sometimes only the nomen is omitted: e.g., *Sex. Civica Pompeiano* *CIL* VI 31144).

(b) Years in which a consul is called by one cognomen in some cases,

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<sup>9</sup> Note that, from at least AD 135 (*RMD* 251; cf., from AD 138–9, *CIL* XVI 83; 87; *RMD* 38) onwards, inner sides of military diplomas used this form of dating not constantly but with increasing frequency (cf. *CIL* XVI p. 187).

<sup>10</sup> Cf., e.g., *CIL* XI 6335 = *ILS* 7218 (Pisaurum, AD 256); *CIL* XI 5748 (*ILS* 7220) and 5750 (Sentinum); *CIL* X 3698 = *ILS* 4175 (Cumae, with the *tria nomina* of the consuls of AD 289). Note also the *fasti* of Cales, covering (as preserved) the same year 289 (*Inscr. It.* 13, 1, 269). In Egyptian papyri, one finds remarkably late instances of the consuls being referred to with both nomina and cognomina; cf. R. S. Bagnall & K. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (2004) 173ff. (many instances between AD 295 and 372, not counting the Flavii).

<sup>11</sup> Note, e.g., that the second consul of AD 196, normally called *Priscus*, is by mistake twice called *Fuscus* – but only in inscriptions from the territory of Novaria (*CIL* V 6596; 6649; for the significance of this, see H. Lieb, in *Festschrift E. Weber* 299–301); or that the consuls of AD 191, Pedo Apronianus and Bradua Mauricus, of whose nomenclature and order of appearance there are about 5 variants (see below at n. 82) appear as *Pedo* and *Bradua* (in this order) only in inscriptions from Pannonia Inferior (see *ZPE* 110 [1996] 279f.; a new text confirming my earlier observation: *Bölcske. Inschriften und Funde* [2003] 128f. no. 19).

by another in others (below, (f); e.g., a consul of AD 200 being sometimes called *Severus*, sometimes *Proculus*); I take this to mean that the consul had two cognomina in the consular list as published in Rome.

I shall now proceed to a presentation of the material. At this point I must, however, note some cases of apparent polyonymy in consular lists which I think are based on a misunderstanding or on an error of sorts.

AD 125. In his second consulate in AD 125, Valerius Asiaticus may possibly have been referred to as *Paullinus*, this cognomen belonging to Asiaticus' full nomenclature *M. Lollius Paullinus Valerius Asiaticus Saturninus*,<sup>12</sup> in the Latin papyrus CPL 117 of AD 150. However, only the letters *PA* can be read (only the letter *P* in the other possible reference to this year), and this being a papyrus, the reading and the interpretation of it do not seem to be certain enough.

AD 135. Some scholars assume that P. Calpurnius Atilianus, consul in 135, also had the cognomina *Atticus* and *Rufus* (see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 250, using questionmarks; A. Degrassi, *Fasti consolari dell'Impero romano* [1952] 39; referred to in the following as Degrassi, *Fasti*). This assumption is based on the fact that some ms. consular lists use these names of the consul (*Attico* the "Chronographus anni 354"; *Aquilino Rufo* the "Consularia Constantinopolitana", 'Ακυλίνου the Chronicon Paschale). But the ms. *fasti* are often extremely corrupt (cf., e.g., *Gallicano et Tumulo* for *Glabrione et Homullo* in 152 in the "fasti Vindobonenses priores"), and it seems clear to me that *Atticus* and *Aquilinus* are simply corrupt forms of *Atilianus*; *Rufus* may be a reflection of the cognomen of a consul of 131 (similar confusions and misunderstandings are often attested in the ms. *fasti*).

AD 178. This year, in which D. Velius Rufus is always named in the second place, is normally referred to as *Orfito et Rufo*; but in the praetorian *laterculus* CIL VI 32638, this year is called *Orfito et Iuliano*, the result being that the consul is normally called *D. Velius Rufus Iulianus*. However, although it cannot be ruled out that the consul did have the additional cognomen *Iulianus*, for there are parallels for an alternative cognomen being attested only in one source,<sup>13</sup> one wonders whether we might not be dealing with a mistake of sorts; cf. *PIR*<sup>1</sup> V 229, where it is suspected that Rufus may have been erroneously furnished with a cognomen belonging to the second consul of 175.<sup>14</sup>

AD 206. A case similar to that of Valerius Asiaticus (cf. above) seems to be that of CPL 197 (*P. Mich.* VII 451), where *Prim[o]* (following on III *Id. Decembres*) is interpreted as being the beginning of the consular date which, again, is said to refer to AD 206. Now this year is normally referred to as *Albino* (sometimes *Senecione*; cf.

<sup>12</sup> *Adoptive Nomenclature* (n. 3) 34f.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. some cases below, type (f) (AD 146, 147 etc.).

<sup>14</sup> Strange, and clearly not altogether correct, things are being said on this matter by R. Hanslik, *RE* viiiA 631 no. 8 (the diploma *AE* 1939, 125 = *CIL* XVI 188 certainly does not seem to illustrate this question at all).

below) *et Aemiliano*, but the full nomenclature of the consul Albinus did in fact include the cognomen *Primus* (*M. Nummius Umbrius Primus Senecio Albinus*; see *Adoptive Nomenclature* 110f.). But I very much doubt whether the complete name of the consul could have been known in Egypt and the interpretation of the papyrus seems quite uncertain.<sup>15</sup>

AD 214. There is some trouble regarding the names of the consuls of AD 214, L. Valerius Messalla (always named first) and C. Suetrius Sabinus. The amphora *CIL XV 4097* with the date *Sabino et Apoll[inare]* is thought by some scholars to belong to AD 214, thus furnishing an extra cognomen for Messalla (see R. Hanslik, *RE* viiiA 129 no. 258; Degrassi, *Fasti* 60, equipping *Apollinaris* with a questionmark). But the order of the consuls is wrong; on the other hand, a certain Sabinus, always named first, was consul with a certain Anullinus in 216 and it seems much better to refer the date to AD 216 and to assume that *Apollinaris* is a mistake for *Anullinus* (thus E. Rodríguez Almeida, *Los tituli picti de las ánforas olearias de Bética* [1989] 54 no. 26; but in J.M. Blásquez Martínez & al., *Excavaciones arqueológicas en el Monte Testaccio* [1994] 57 no. 53, the date is again given as 214). As for the other consul C. Octavius Appius Suetrius Sabinus (to give him his full name), he seems to have been called *Aemilianus* in *ILAlg. II 4506* (*Mesalla et Aemilian.*), a votive inscription from the "Grotte du Taya". As this is certainly not an situation where one would expect consuls to have been called by a name belonging only to the full nomenclature and as, furthermore, *Aemilianus* in any case does not appear in the full nomenclature of this consul, I cannot help assuming that the date in this inscription is based on a misunderstanding of sorts.

AD 227. The consul M. Laelius Fulvius Maximus (for the item *Fulvius*, see n. 2) is called *Maximus* in the *Codex Iustinianus* in most of the references to this year;<sup>16</sup> but in two dates he is called *Aemilianus* (*Albino et Aemiliano* 2, 4, 5; 9, 6, 4). In view of this, he is equipped with the cognomen *Aemilianus* in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> L 56 and Degrassi, *Fasti* 63. But considering, on the one hand, the fact that it would be striking to find the consul Maximus called *Aemilianus* not in the whole of the *Codex Iustinianus* but only in two passages (and in no other source),<sup>17</sup> and on the other hand, the fact that *Albino et Aemiliano* is the normal way of referring to AD 206, I would very much prefer to assume that the two dates in the *CJ* are based on a confusion with the names of the consuls of AD 206.

AD 229. In J. M. Blásquez Martínez & al., *op. cit.* (see above) 67 no. 75, a date belonging to the early 3rd century is read as *[--- et Coccei]ano II cos.* and this is assumed to refer to Cassius Dio's second consulate in AD 229. But Dio may not have been called *Cocceianus* at all (cf. A. M. Gowing, *CPh* 85 [1990] 49–54), and the date might belong to any year in which a man with a cognomen ending in *-anus* held the consulate for the second time. Now it is true that there does not seem to be any year in which the consul

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the doubts of J. F. Gilliam, *AJPh* 71 (1950) 436 = Id., *Roman Army Papers* (1986) 57.

<sup>16</sup> See the edition by P. Krüger (1954<sup>11</sup>) p. 492.

<sup>17</sup> *[--- et Ae]miliano cos.* in Rodríguez Almeida, *op. cit.* (above at AD 214) 75 no. 54bis should not, I think, be attributed to AD 227.

named in the second place would fit the requirements, but there is no problem in assuming that, in this case, the date was expressed with the name of only the first consul, a phenomenon widely attested in this period (thus, e.g., *[Iuli]ano II* indicating 224). To continue with Cassius Dio, there is also the question of whether he also had the nomen *Claudius* (and whether it could have been known by people living in Beroea in Macedonia). In the inscription from Beroea, *AE* 1971, 430 = *Ἐπιγραφές κάτω Μακεδονίας* (1998) no. 68, Dio is referred to as *Κλ. Κασσίω Δίωνι*, and combining this with a fairly recently published diploma at last disclosing Dio's praenomen (*RMD* 133: *L. Cassio Dione*), one could arrive at the conclusion that Dio's full name was "L. Claudius Cassius Dio". But although I would not rule out this possibility, I cannot help thinking that the abbreviation *Κλ.* in the inscription from Beroea could be a mistake of sorts, and that the intended reading was *Λ(ουκίω)*.<sup>18</sup>

AD 235. The consul Quintianus (cf. n. 2) is called Πομπηϊανός in the ms. *fasti* of Theo (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auct. ant.* XIII p. 377). As Theo preserves some good information, this might mean that the consul, probably a brother of the Pompeianus cos. 231, did in fact also have the cognomen *Pompeianus* (thus *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 992). However, in view of the fact that there is quite a lot of confusion in Theo's consular list in these years,<sup>19</sup> it seems clear to me that there is something wrong with Theo's information.

These cases having been dealt with, let us move on to the source material to be used in this article. I shall present the source material on the following pages, the names being presented according to different types. I shall use the same abbreviations as in my *Adoptive Nomenclature* (P = praenomen, N = nomen, C = cognomen) and shall begin with nomenclatures that include two nomina. In this category, we find the types (a) PNNC and (b) PNCNC. These types are attested as follows. (Note that the names are normally given in the ablative although some attestations – i.e., dates in consular *fasti* – use the nominative; obviously, I use the nominative in cases where the only attestation comes from the *fasti*.)

(a) PNNC. This type is attested for several consuls named in wax tablets from the Pompeii area<sup>20</sup> and otherwise for consuls in the following years:

<sup>18</sup> The nomen *Claudius* is accepted by Settapani (n. 2) 360 n. 2 and by H.-L. Fernoux, *Notables et élites des cités de Bithynie aux époques hellénistique et romaine* (2004) 466–9 no. 37 (but these scholars do not seem to mention the diploma with the praenomen *L.*).

<sup>19</sup> Note the consuls of two different years being combined in AD 236, 237 (Πίος καὶ Κορνηλιανός – 238 + 237), 239.

<sup>20</sup> AD 47: the consul C. Calpetanus Rantius Sedatus is called both *C. Calpetanus Sedatus* and *C. Rantius Sedatus* in a wax tablet from Herculaneum (n. 95). - AD 61: *L. Iunio*

- AD †34: *T. Rustio Nummio Gallo* CIL VI 244 = ILS 7358; AE 1985, 564a (*hospitium* agreement from Spain).<sup>21</sup>
- AD 37: *C. Petronio Pontio Nigrino* CIL II 172 = ILS 190; IGR IV 251 = *I. Assos* 26<sup>22</sup> (oaths of the *Aritienses* in Lusitania and of the Assians in Asia to Caligula; for the normal nomenclature of the consul in dates, see n. 94).
- AD †41: *Q. Futio Lusio Saturnino* CIL III 8753 (Salona, inscription in honour of a *praefectus castrorum* set up by veterans, the date being that of the *honesta missio*; the names have been transmitted in a corrupt form); *TPSulp.* 70.<sup>23</sup>
- AD †46: (*C.*) *Terentio Tullio Gemino* CIL VI 36850; *FO*.
- AD 68: *Ti. Catio Silio Ital(ico)* CIL VI 1984 = ILS 5025 (*fasti* of the *sodales Aug.*).<sup>24</sup>
- AD †69: *Cn. Aruleno Caelio Sabino* CIL VI 2051 = Scheid 40.
- AD †70 (?): *Cn. Pinaro Aemilio Cicatricula* \*CIL XVI 25.
- AD †74: *L. Iunius Vibius Crispus* (*FO*); *T. Clodio Eprio Marcello* \*CIL XVI 20.
- AD †77: *C. Arruntio Catellio Celere* CIL X 8038 (letter of the emperor Vespasian).
- AD 78: the consul otherwise called *D. Novius Priscus* is referred to as Δέκμω Ἰουνίω Πρείσκω in IG V 1, 1431 (Messene).<sup>25</sup> As the consul must

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*Caesennio Paeto* *TPSulp.* 90; 91 (one also finds the variant *L. Iunio Caesennio*). - AD 62: *T. Clodio Eprio Marcello* tablets from Herculaneum (*PP* 8 [1953] 458; 9 [1954] 69). - AD 62 (?): *Q. Manlio Tarquutio Saturnino* tablets from Herculaneum (*PP* 1 [1946] 381; 8 [1953] 460). - AD 64 (?): *Q. Fabio Antonio Macro* tablet from Herculaneum (*PP* 8 [1953] 456f.; this seems to be an "abbreviated" nomenclature, for the same man has the additional cognomen *Barbarus* in another tablet from Herculaneum (see below at n. 42). - AD 79: *L. Iunio Caesennio Paeto* CIL IV 3340, 154; 155. (L. Calventius Vetus Carminius is mistakenly called *L. [A]ntistio Carminio Vetere* in *TPSulp.* 83.)

<sup>21</sup> But in the Ostian *fasti*, the man is called *T. Rustius Gallus* (n. 94; 109).

<sup>22</sup> In this inscription, the nomina are given in a reversed order (Γαίου Ποντίου Πετρωνίου Νιγρίνου).

<sup>23</sup> For *Lusius* being omitted in a tablet from Herculaneum, see n. 94.

<sup>24</sup> Note that *Asconius* is here dropped from the full nomenclature attested in *MAMA* VIII 411. In other dates, Silius Italicus is called either *Ti. Cadius* in the Republican fashion (see *Adoptive Nomenclature* 92; add *Atti Acc. Pontaniana* 39 [1990] 339 no. 305: amphora in Pompeii) or *Silius* (*Frontin. aq.* 102) or *Italicus* (ms. *fasti* and some late sources).

<sup>25</sup> Decision by a χωρομέτρης, a freedman of Vespasian, concerning the borders of Messene and Sparta, drawn up in Patrae.

have also had the nomen *Iunius*,<sup>26</sup> this must mean that the consul had two nomina in at least some consular lists.

- AD †79: *T. Rubrio Aelio Nepote* \*CIL XVI 24; \*Pferdehirt (n. 2) no. 3 (diplomas pertaining to different constitutions).
- AD †80: *M. Vinicius Iulius Rufus* FSept.<sup>27</sup>
- AD †81: *L. Iulius Vett(ius) Paullus* FSept.<sup>28</sup>
- AD †85: *M. Annio Herennio Pollione* AE 1975, 21 (Rome).
- AD †90: *Albio Pullaieno Pollione* \*CIL XVI 36; \*ZPE 143 (2003) 216ff. no. 3 (diplomas pertaining to the same constitution).
- AD 94 *T. Sextio Magio Laterano* CIL VI 25527 = ILS 7869; FO (*T. Sextius Ma[--]*); CPL 104 = ILS 9059.
- AD †94 *C. Antio Iulio Quadrato* \*CIL XVI 38; \*Pferdehirt (n. 2) no. 7 (diplomas pertaining to different constitutions); the same nomenclature is used of the man in diplomas belonging to his second consulate in 105: \*CIL XVI 49 (perhaps also \*AE 1999, 1258). Note that the diplomas omit the second praenomen *A(ulus)*, normally present (combined with *Iulius*) in inscriptions referring to this man (cf. n. 29).
- AD †96 *Ti. Catio [Caesio Fron]tone* \*CIL XVI 40; *Ti Catio C[---]* \*ZPE 152 (2005) 229-31.
- AD †97: *Q. Glitio A[tilio Agricola]* \*AE 2002, 1775 cf. ZPE 151 (2005) 186, 191; [*Q. Glitio A]tilio Agricola* \*ZPE 152 (2005) 186–92 (probably also \*RMD 140). The same nomenclature is used of the man in diplomas from his second consulate in 103 (*Q. Glitio Atilio Agricola* \*CIL XVI 48) and also in one referring to him as legate of Pannonia in 102 (\*CIL XVI 47).
- AD †99: [*S]ulpicio Lucretio Barba Fasti fer. Lat. (Inscr. It. 13, 1,152–3).*
- AD 103: see AD 97.
- AD 105: [*C. A]ntio A. Iulio Quadrato* CIL VI 2075 = Scheid 64.<sup>29</sup> (For diplomas cf. AD 95).

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<sup>26</sup> Otherwise the presence of the praenomen *Decimus* (typical of Iunii) would be hard to explain; cf. *Adoptive Nomenclature* 94. It must, however, be admitted that it would not be too hard to correct IOYNIΩ to NOYIΩ.

<sup>27</sup> The same consul is referred to as *T. Vinicio Iuliano* in the Arval acts (CIL VI 2059 = Scheid 48).

<sup>28</sup> Called *L. Vettio Paullo* in CIL VI 328 = ILS 3434; CIL VI 2059. 2060 = Scheid 48, 49.

<sup>29</sup> Note that the same nomenclature is used of Iulius Quadratus many times in the Arval acts also in references to him as a member of the college.

- AD 108: *Appio Annio Trebonio Gallo, M. Atilio Metilio Bradua* CIL VI 680; [*Ap.] Annio Tr[ebonio Gallo ---]* \*RMD 146.
- AD 112: *T. Sextio Cornelio Afric[ano]* \*Festschrift E. Weber (2005) 247–54 (that this consul also had the nomen *Cornelius*, possibly referring to the maternal family, is new information).
- AD †121: [*M. --- Here]* *nnio Fausto* \*RMD 19 (the consul probably had two nomina in this diploma, cf. W. Eck, *RE* Suppl. XIV 47 no. 41a).<sup>30</sup>
- AD 122: [*L. Corellio Ner]atio Pansa* \*AE 2002, 1767, this diploma at last producing evidence for the use of the nomen *Neratius* by the consul known previously as *Corellius Pansa*.<sup>31</sup>
- AD 125: Λουκίῳ Ἐπιδίῳ Τιτίῳ Ἀκυλείῳ IGR I 1019 = *I. Cret.* II 3, 7 (Hierapytna, a decree concerning an association; note that this is the only document mentioning the nomen *Epidius*).
- AD †128: *M. Iunio Mettio Rufo* CIL VI 30901 = *ILS* 1622 (a votive inscription).<sup>32</sup>
- AD 132: *C. Iulio (Iunio) Serio Augurino* AE 1972, 282 (*hospitium* agreement from Spain; *Iulio*); *ILTun.* 1281 = *Catalogue ... Bardo* 411 (votive inscription). The first nomen was probably also used in *CIL* XI 3221.
- AD 148: [*L. Octavi]us Salvius Iulianus (FO)*;<sup>33</sup> *C. Bellicio Calpurnio Torquato* CPL 156.
- AD 151: [*Sex. Quintiliis?*] *Valerio [Maximo et Cond]iano* AE 1979, 156 (Teaunum, a building inscription).
- AD †154: *C. Iulio Statio Severo* \*CIL XVI 104.
- AD †156: *A. Avillio Urinatio Quadrato* CIL VI 2086 = Scheid 80.<sup>34</sup>
- AD 160: *App. (Appio) Annio Atilio Bradua* \*RMD 105; \*277; \*AE 1997,

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<sup>30</sup> But in *AE* 1996, 518 he is only *M. Her[---]*.

<sup>31</sup> For the assumption that the consul may have been called also *Neratius*, see *Adoptive Nomenclature* 64 n. 11, where the nomenclature "*L. Neratius Corellius Pansa*" is suggested. The diploma shows that the order of the nomina was in fact reversed; if the consul was the son of a *Neratius* and of a *Corellia*, this means that his nomenclature represents those cases in which the maternal nomen precedes the paternal (*Adoptive Nomenclature* 67ff.).

<sup>32</sup> As consul, the man is otherwise called (*M.*) *Mettius Rufus* (FO; *CIL* XV 69).

<sup>33</sup> Note that, although consisting of two nomina, this is an abbreviation of the full nomenclature *L. Octavius Cornelius (P.) Salvius Iulianus Aemilianus* (*Adoptive Nomenclature* 41).

<sup>34</sup> The same nomenclature is sometimes used of this man in the Arval acts also in references to him as a member of the college (but one also finds *Avillius Quadratus*).

1767; \*Pferdehirt (n. 2) 39 (diplomas belonging to the same constitution); *CIL VI* 2896 = *ILS* 2109 (all these documents calling Bradua's colleague *T. Vibius Varus*); *CIL XIII* 1751 = *ILS* 4131 (Lugdunum, recording a *taurobolium*).

- 160: *T. Clod(io) Vibio Varo CIL XIII* 1751 = *ILS* 4131; [*T. Clo*]dus *Vibius Varus FO*.<sup>35</sup>

- AD 162: *L. Titio Plautio Aquilino IAM II* 125 (*hospitium* agreement). This document is the only one giving the consul the additional nomen *Titius*.<sup>36</sup>

- AD 169: the consul otherwise known as *P. Coelius Apollinaris* seems to have been called *ΜΑΚΟΥ Κοι[λί]ω Ἀπουλλιναρίω* in a funerary inscription from Iconium (*AE* 1912, 269 = B.H. MacLean, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Konya Archaeological Museum* [2002] 66). This is normally interpreted as meaning that the full nomenclature of the consul was *M. Aquilius(?) Coelius Apollinaris*,<sup>37</sup> and perhaps there is no other solution, although it seems more than striking that the full name of the consul should appear only in a context such as this.

- AD 170: the consul normally known as *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, the son of a Gavius, is called [*M.*] *Gavius Ceth[egus]* in the date of an honorific inscription from Tarquinii (M. Torelli, *Elogia Tarquiniensia* [1975] 163 no. 13). This must mean that there existed consular lists in which the consul had both nomina (and that the people in Tarquinii chose the wrong one).<sup>38</sup>

- AD 184: *L. Cossonio Eggio Marullo CIL VI* 2099 = Scheid 94, iii.

- AD 193: *C. Iulio Erucio Claro CIL X* 4760 = *ILS* 6296 (decree of the decurions of Suessa); *CIL II* 4125 = *RIT* 143 (*sententia* of the governor of *Tarraconensis* in a dispute over land).

- AD 201: the consul normally known as *M. Nonius Mucianus* is called [*M. Nonio Ar*]rio *Muciano* in *CIL VI* 1982/3 (*fasti* of the Palatine *salii*), *M. Arrio Muciano* in *ILAfr.* 26 (building inscription from Bezereos); it seems

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<sup>35</sup> The nomenclature of Bradua in the Ostian *fasti* is not preserved.

<sup>36</sup> Note that in *Adoptive Nomenclature* 100 (no. 22), "(L.) *Titius Aquilinus*" should be corrected to (L.) *Plautius Aquilinus*.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Settapani, op. cit. (n. 2) 225. For the omission of the praenomen *P.* from the nomenclature including the item *M. Aquilius(?)* cf., e.g., Q. Vibius Crispus = L. Iunius Vibius Crispus (*Adoptive Nomenclature* 91).

<sup>38</sup> Though note the commentary of Torelli where it is said that *Cornelio* should perhaps be restored between *Gavio* et *Ceth[ego]*. For this man's nomenclature, cf. *Adoptive Nomenclature* 101f.

that the wrong nomen was chosen out of two (cf. AD 170 and 204).

- AD 204: the consul normally referred to as (*M.*) *Annius Libo*, but who may well be identical with a certain *M. Annius Flavius Libo* attested in AD 178 (see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 648), is called *Flabio Libone* in *CIL* VI 2003 (*fasti* of some *collegium*; for the incorrect abbreviation cf. AD 201) and Φλαβίου Ἀννίου Λίβωνος in *P. Dura* 31, l. 22f.
- AD 212: *C. Iulio Camilio Aspro* \**RMD* 74; \**AE* 2002, 1754 (diplomas pertaining to different constitutions).<sup>39</sup>
- AD 225: [Σερουίου Καλπουρ]νίου Δομιτίου Δέξτρον *P. Lond.* 1286 (vol. p. iii LXXI and 336); possibly also *CIL* VI 1984 (*fasti* of the *sodales Augustales*).<sup>40</sup> The nomenclature (*Ser.*) *Domitio Dextro* is attested in many diplomas (e.g., \**RMD* 309–312) and in *AE* 1906, 124 (Africa).
- AD 227: *M. Laelio Fulvio Maximo* \**RMD* 313 (cf. above n. 2).
- AD 231: *T. Fl. Sallustio Peligniano* \**RMD* 315; \*Pferdehirt 61 (copies of the same constitution); possibly also *CIL* VI 2108 = Scheid 106.<sup>41</sup>
- AD 234: [*M. Cl*]odio Puppienio Maximo *CIL* XIV 4562, 7 (*fasti* of the *Augustales* in Ostia). As far as I can see, this is the latest consular date using two nomina of a consul.

(b) The type PNCNC.

- AD 33: *L. Livio Ocella Sulpicio Galba* *AE* 1978, 295 (statue base from the forum in Lucus Feroniae set up *in honorem domus divinae*); *FO* (this seems to be the only attestation of this name type used of a consul in the Ostian *fasti*).<sup>42</sup>
- AD ?†64: *Q. Fabio Barbaro Antonio Macro* (*PP* 1 [1946] 381, wax tablet

<sup>39</sup> The nomen *Camilius* (which is not maternal, the mother being called Cassia Paterna) is attested for this man (in the consulate colleague of his own father *C. Iulius Asper*) also in *CIL* VI 31716 and *CIL* XI 7729; more often he is called *C. Iulius Asper*. (The nomen *Galerius* [thus in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 334] should not be attributed to him.) For the nomenclature of the man, see K. Dietz, *Chiron* 27 (1997) 504–8.

<sup>40</sup> In *CIL* VI 1984 (an inscription known only from old transcriptions), the restoration is *Ser. Calpurnio [Dextro]*; but it seems possible, and perhaps preferable, to add the second nomen and to restore [*Domitio Dextro*].

<sup>41</sup> The reading of the editions is *T. Fl[avio P(a)eligniano]*; but because of the date *Sall(ustio) Paeligniano* *CIL* XIV 2267 (indicating that *Sallustius* was the main nomen), I think it might be a good idea to supply *Sallustius* (perhaps abbreviated) in the lacuna.

<sup>42</sup> But a well-known Ostian personality and patron of Ostia is referred to in other contexts as *M. Acilius Priscus Egrilius Plarianus* (AD 105; perhaps 106).

from Herculaneum).<sup>43</sup>

- AD †74: *Q. Petillio Ceriale Caesio Rufo* \*CIL XVI 20.

- AD †80: *A. Didio Gallo Fa[bricio] Veientone* \*CIL XVI 158; \*Pferdehirt 4 (a bit more fragmentary; the same constitution).

- AD †80: *[C. Marius Marcellus Oc?]tavius Rufus*. This reading is plausibly suggested by the editor S.M. Marengo for the nomenclature of the consul in the *fasti Septempedani*. For a fuller nomenclature which adds *Publius Cluvius* before *Rufus*, see below.

- AD 81: *L. Flavio Silva Nonio Basso* CIL VI 2059 (lines 17 & 35) = Scheid 48.

- AD ?†83: *M. Larcio Magno Pompeio Silone* \*CIL XVI 28.

- AD †83: *Terentio* (sic) *Strabone Erucio Homullo* \*CIL XVI 29; probably also \*RMD 210 (diplomas pertaining to different constitutions).

- AD †86: *Ti. Iulio Candido Mario Celso* \*CIL XVI 33. Cf. Candidus' second consulate in AD 105.

- AD †101: *C. Sertorio Broccho Servaeo In[nocente]* \*RMD 143. With this diploma, the consul otherwise known as *Q. Servaeus Innocens* (CIL VI 2074 = Scheid 62; *FO*) interestingly acquires a new prefix, probably indicating that he was a Q. Servaeus adopted by a C. Sertorius.<sup>44</sup>

- AD 105: *Ti. Iulio Candido Mario Celso* CIL VI 2075 = Scheid 64; \*CIL XVI 49; ?\*AE 1999, 1258. (Cf. the first consulate in AD 86.) The same nomenclature is used of the man as an *Arvalis* many times in the Arval acts.

- AD †108: *[Q. Ro]scio Murena Pompeio Falcone* \*REMA 1 (2004) 103ff. This diploma most interestingly introduces a new item to the colourful palette of variants of the nomenclature of Pompeius Falco.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> But in another tablet *Barbaro* is omitted, this resulting in a nomenclature of the type PNNC (see n. 20).

<sup>44</sup> Cf. for this man *PIR* S 401. (But there was perhaps another Q. Servaeus Innocens, see *RE* iiA 1755 no. 6.) As military diplomas seem to omit second praenomina (cf. *C. Antio Iulio Quadrato* in AD 94 and 105, cf. above, omitting the second praenomen *A. (Iulio)* used in many inscriptions), it seems possible that the full nomenclature of the consul, used, e.g., in honorific inscriptions, was "C. Sertorius Brocchus Q. Servaeus Innocens". But there are parallels for the paternal praenomen being omitted when an adoptive name (including a different praenomen) was prefixed to the paternal items (cf., e.g., L. Livius Ocella Sulpicius Galba = Ser. Sulpicius Galba; M. Lollius Paullinus Valerius Asiaticus Saturninus = D. Valerius Asiaticus; Q. Planius Sardus Varius Ambibulus = L. Varius Ambibulus (*Adoptive Nomenclature* pp. 33, 34, 36).

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *Adoptive Nomenclature* 121f. Besides the long nomenclature attested in *ILS* 1035

- AD 120: [*T. Aύ]ρηλίου Φούλβου Βοι[ων(ίου) Ἄντ]ωνείνου I. Cret. I 29, 1 (Rhytion, document concerning apparently the territory of a temple of Zeus Σκύλιος); *Tito Aurelio F[ulvo Boioni]o Antonino CIL VIII 8239 = ILLAlg II 8359 (votive inscription). It is most striking that the later emperor Pius is given his complete nomenclature *T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Antoninus* (for this nomenclature, see now also *AE* 1994, 1645 from the time of the proconsulate of Asia) in these two inscriptions. (Note that in both cases Pius' colleague, then consul for the second time and thus always named first, is referred to simply as *L. Catilius Severus*, although he did have further names [*Adoptive Nomenclature* 138].)**

- AD †123: *T. Salvio Rufino Minicio Opimiano \*RMD 21; ?\*RMD 233* (probably copies of the same constitution).<sup>46</sup> These diplomas are probably (but cf. below on AD 167) the latest to use a nomenclature of this type for consuls.

- AD 137: *P. Coelio Balbino Vibullio Pio CILIII 1933 = ILS 4907 (lex pertaining to an ara in Salona).*<sup>47</sup>

- AD 149: *Q. Pompeio [---- Sosio P]risco AE 1971, 33* (Rome, an *aedicula* being renovated and dedicated by the *magistri* of a *vicus*). One name has to be supplied between *Pompeio* and *Sosio* (see the facsimile in the original publication by S. Panciera, *Arch. Class.* 22 [1970] 138ff., tav. lix), most probably a cognomen. Panciera (p. 146) opts for either *Falcone* or *Senecione*.<sup>48</sup>

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(not of any great interest) and the short one, there is the "middle" one consisting of the praenomen and four to five nomina and cognomina. In this category, we had the variants *Q. Roscius Coelius Pompeius Falco* (*ILS* 1036) and *Q. Roscius Murena Coelius Pompeius Falco* (inscriptions from Ephesus and Moesia Inferior; see *op. cit.*). A new variant was added by the honorific inscription from Caunus, *SEG* LI 1514, with *Q. Roscius Coelius Murena Pompeius Falco* (this variant reproducing the long nomenclature in *ILS* 1035 with the omission of the secondary items between *Murena* and *Pompeius*). And now we have a new variant which omits *Coelius*, otherwise present in the "middle" nomenclatures.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. also the fragmentary diploma edited by W. Eck & A. Pangerl, *ZPE* 152 (2005) 241f. no. 6.

<sup>47</sup> Note that the consul (normally referred to as *P. Coelius Balbinus*) originated from Salona, this possibly being an explanation for the use of the full form in this inscription from the same city. – In the *fasti* of the *sodales Augustales* (*Inscr. It.* 13, 1, 313), the consul's name is read by A. Deggrasi as [*P. Coelio Vibu]llio Balbino*, but this is quite unacceptable and the facsimile in fact suggests the reading [*P. Coe]llio Balbino*.

<sup>48</sup> *Falco* is the main cognomen of this man's father *Q. Pompeius Falco*, *Senecio* that of

(?) - *c.* AD 167. A diploma, *RMD* 67, on the basis of some indications to be dated *c.* 167, is dated by consuls of whom the first has a cognomen ending in [---]*Juilinus*. As Q. Antistius Adventus Postumius Aquilinus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 754) must have been consul in about this year, some scholars think that he should (or at least could) be identified with the consul.<sup>49</sup> To me this does not seem very probable.<sup>50</sup>

(c) Other types which include or presuppose two (or more) nomina.

- AD †80: *C. Mario Marcello Octavio Publio Cluvio Rufo* (PNCNPNC) \**CIL* XVI 26.<sup>51</sup>

- AD †84: *C. Tullio Capitone Pomponiano Plotio Firmo* (PNCCNC) \**CIL* XVI 30.

- AD 94: *L. Nonio Calpurnio Torquato Asprenate* (PNNCC) *CPL* 104 = *ILS* 9059.

- AD †94: *M. Lollio Paulino Valerio Asiatico Saturnino* (PNCNCC) \**CIL* XVI 38; \*Pferdehirt (n. 2) no. 7 (diplomas pertaining to different constitutions).

- AD 110: *Ser. Scipione Salvidieno Orfito* (PCNC apparently representing PNCNC) \**CIL* XVI 57; ?\**RMD* 220 (fragmentary; probably copies of the same constitution).<sup>52</sup>

The nomenclature used of a consul of AD 80 in diplomas, *L. Lamia*

his grandfather Q. Sosius Senecio and that of his son, the consul of 169 (for his use of *Senecio*, see below at n. 81). Only parts of the full nomenclature (which clearly must have included very many items) of Sosius Priscus are attested (*CIL* VI 31753 = 41129; *AE* 1966, 115; cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 656).

<sup>49</sup> G. Molisani, *RFIC* 105 (1977) 166–8 (a firm statement); W. Eck, *ZPE* 25 (1977) 234f. (not with much enthusiasm); A. R. Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain* (2005) 159 n. 100 (with "perhaps").

<sup>50</sup> Note that, assuming that Antistius Adventus was mentioned here, one would have to assume that his name was given in the form [*Q. Antistio Advento Postumio Aq*]juilino (a combination of the first nomen and the second cognomen of the type [*Q. Antistio Aq*]juilino – thus Molisani – is out of the question), from which it would follow that this diploma would be by far the latest one to use a nomenclature of the type PNCNC. I also wonder whether there is room in the diploma for a nomenclature of this length.

<sup>51</sup> For a somewhat abbreviated version of the name, see above (b).

<sup>52</sup> The same nomenclature was possibly also used in *CPL* 165. In other dates using more than just the cognomen, this consul is called *Ser. Scipio Orfitus* (FO) or *Ser. Salvidienus Orfitus* (*CIL* VI 10243; *Documents ... in the Cave of Letters* [n. 6] no. 19, the praenomen being incorrectly *M.*).

*Plautio Aeliano* (\*CIL XVI 26; \*158; \*Pferdehirt 4), represents the same structure PCNC; however, things are made extremely complicated by the fact that the same consul is called *L. Aelio Plautio Lamia* in the *Acta Arvalium* (CIL VI 2059, 26 = Scheid 48) and (probably) [*L. Aelius Plautius La]mia Aelianus* (thus the reconstruction of the original editor S.M. Marengo) in the *fasti Septempedani*.

I shall now move on to the types consisting of two or more cognomina. I shall begin by presenting briefly the material on consuls registered as such with three cognomina.

(d) The type PNCCC.<sup>53</sup>

In the case of two consuls, we find consular dates using three cognomina:

- AD 196: *L. Valerio Messalla Thrasia Prisco* CIL X 1786 (decree of the *ordo* of Puteoli). Normally this consul is called *Priscus*; there are also some instances of *Thrasea Priscus* (cf. below, [e]), but none of *Messalla*.

- AD 242: [*C.] Vettio Grato Attico Sabino* CIL VI 37110 (only the date has been preserved). Normally the consul is called *Atticus*, but there are also traces of the use of *Sabinus*.<sup>54</sup>

Furthermore, there are two cases in which a consul seems to be called by three different cognomina in different sources:

- AD 124: the consul normally known as (*C. Bellicius*) *Torquatus* is called *Torquatus Tebanianus*<sup>55</sup> or *Tebanianus*<sup>56</sup> in some sources; moreover, he seems to be called *Fla[ccus Torquatus (?)]* in a fragmentary inscription from Antipolis in Gallia Narbonensis.<sup>57</sup>

- AD 195: the consul most often referred to as *Tertullus* is called *P. Iul. Scapu[la]* in Ostia (CIL XIV 4560 ay), *P. Iulio Scapula Tertullo* in Casinum

<sup>53</sup> Cf. above n. 4 for instances from the period not under consideration here.

<sup>54</sup> The year 242 is indicated as *Sabi[ni]ano et Praetextato* in CIL VIII 18836.

<sup>55</sup> *Documents ... in the Cave of Letters* (n. 6) no. 11; *I. Smyrna* 594 (document pertaining to the second neocory).

<sup>56</sup> *AnnInst* 1870, 183 no. 181; 190 no. 257 (quarry inscriptions from Africa and Synnada); *P. Hever* 60 (*ZPE* 100 [1994] 550).

<sup>57</sup> CIL XII 169. This inscription cannot apparently be assigned to AD 143, when the consul Bellicius certainly had the cognomen *Flaccus*. Note that the Bellicii were Narbonensian (Y. Burnand, *Tituli* 5 [1982] 415); their nomenclature may have been better known there than in other places.

(*CIL* X 652\*),<sup>58</sup> *Scapula Tertullo* in another inscription from Ostia (*CIL* XIV 169 = *ILS* 6172) and in a text from Pannonia Superior (*CIL* III 4407); but in an inscription from Moesia Inferior he is referred to as *Scapu[la] Prisco* (*CIL* III 12802), and he is *Priscus* in Moesia Superior (*CIL* III 8184 = *ILS* 4076; *CIL* III 14507 = *IMS* II 53). Clearly the consul must have had all three cognomina; it seems, however, that the element *Priscus* was used mainly in consular lists disseminated in Moesia.

(e) The type PNCC with the variants PCC ("*M. Messalla Corvino*", etc.) and CC ("*Messalla Corvino*"). As this is a fairly common type in the earlier period, in this period being favoured by nobles, I do not feel the need to dwell on the first-century material which I will relegate to a footnote. Here it will be enough to observe that, as in the later periods, it is quite common to find – in addition to dates using both cognomina – dates using only one of them, either always choosing the "main" cognomen (thus *Sulla* for (*Fausto Cornelio*) *Sulla Felice* in AD 52) or choosing one of the two (thus one can find, in addition to (*M. Licinio*) *Crasso Frugi*, the consul of AD 64 referred to as either *Crasso* or *Frugi*).<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Cf. *Arctos* 23 (1989) 176–7.

<sup>59</sup> Consuls being referred to with two cognomina in the first century after Augustus: AD 20: M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus (*AE* 1983, 515 [*tabula Siarensis*]; otherwise called *Cotta*). - AD 26: Cn. (Cornelius) Lentulus Gaetulicus (short form: *Gaetulicus* [not *Lentulus*]). - AD 27: M. (Licinius) Crassus Frugi (short form: *Crasso*); †*L. Lentulo Scipione* (*SB* XVI 12609). - AD 33: L. Cornelius Sulla Felix (short form: *Sulla*). - AD 34: †*Q. Marc. Barea Sor[anus]* (*FO*). - AD 38: M. Aquila Iulianus. - AD †45: *Ti. Plautio Silvano Aeliano* (*CPL* 170; short form: *Aeliano*). - †AD 51: *L. Calventio [Vet]ere C. Car[mi]nio* (the "C." is, in my view, an error; *TPSulp.* 84). - AD 52: Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix (short form: *Sulla*); L. Salvius Otho Titianus (short form normally *Otho*; *Titianus* in *Frontin. aq.* 13, 2); †*Q. Marcio Barea Sorano* (*AE* 1980, 57; *TPSulp.* 4; 31); †*L. Salvidieno Rufo Salviano* (\**CIL* XVI 1). - AD 53: D. Iunius Silanus Torquatus (called *Silanus* in ms. *fasti*, *Torquatus* in *CIL* XV 4614). - AD †55: Cn. (Cornelius) Lentulus Gaetulicus (*Cn. Lentulo* in *CIL* IX 3340, 17). - AD 58: M. (Valerius) Messalla Corvinus (short form: *Messalla*). - AD 64: M. Licinius Crassus Frugi (short form normally *Crassus*, but *Frugi* in *AnnInst.* 1870, nos. 138 and 139; Ps. Seneca *ad Paulum* 11). - AD 65: A. Licinius Nerva Silianus (called sometimes either *Nerva* or *Silianus*: *Arctos* 26 [1992] 111); M. Vestinus Atticus (or *Atticus Vestinus*; short form *Vestinus*). - AD †68: P. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus (attestations of this form including \**CIL* XVI 9 and \**RMD* 136; but it is notable that two other diplomas representing the same constitution, \**CIL* XVI 7 and 8, use only the first cognomen). - AD †69: *L. Salvio Othone Titiano* *CIL* VI 2051 = *Scheid* 40 (both cognomina are used of this man in the

Let us now go on to the instances from the second century onwards. I shall first enumerate those years for which dates using two cognomina are known; I shall then continue with those years from which only dates survive which use different cognomina for the same consul.

- AD 102: *L. Iulio Urso Serviano* CIL VI 10244; AE 1993, 468 (Misenum, decree of the *Augustales*); [*U*]rso Serviano CIL VI 2191 = ILS 4695. Short form: *Serviano*.

- AD 106: *Sex. Vettulénus Civica Cerialis* FO. Short form: *Ceriale*.

- AD †106: *Q. Licinio Silvano Graniano* \*CIL XVI 52; *Inscr. It.* 13, 1, 154f. (*fasti fer. Lat.*); *Q. Silvano Graniano* \*CIL XVI 160 (the diplomas are copies of different constitutions). (In CIL X 5670 we have *Q. Licinio Graniano*.)

- AD †108: [---] *Jtuo Lustrico Bruttiano* \*REMA 1 (2004) 103ff.<sup>60</sup>

- AD 109: *A. Cornelio Palma Frontoniano* (*Frontiano* AE 1989, 420) CPL 150; AE 1989, 420 = CIL II<sup>2</sup> 5, 789 (decree attached to an honorific inscription from Singili(a) in Baetica). Short form: *Palma*.

- AD 110: *Ser. Scipio Orfitus* FO. Short form: *Orfito*. (For other variants of the name see n. 52).

- AD †114: *L. Lolliano Avito* \*CIL XVI 61; \*RMD 152; \*Pferdehirt 17/18; \*AE 2002, 1727; *fasti Potentini* (*Picus* 23 [2003] 70). Cf. below under AD 144.

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Arval acts also as an *Arvalis*). - AD 73: *L. Valerio Catullo M[essalino]* CIL V 7239 (short form: *Messalino*). - AD †74: *Ti. Plautius Silvan. Aelianus* (FO). - AD 81: *M. (FSept.) Asinius Pollio Verrucosus*; †*C. Scoedius Natta Pinarianus* (CIL VI 163; *C. Natta Pinarianus FSept.*). - AD †82: *L. Sal]vius Otho Coc[ceianus]* (FSept.). - AD 86: *Sex. (sic) Cornelio Dolabella Petroniano* (\*CIL XVI 32; other dates: *Dolabella*). - AD †87: *C. Bellico Natale Tebaniano* (CIL VI 2065 = Scheid 55, ii); *Calpurnius (sic) Piso Licinian.* (*Picus* 23 [2003] 68, *fasti* of Potentia). - AD 92: †*Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus* (\*CIL XVI 37; \*ZPE 148 [2004] 269–73). - AD 94: *L. Nonio Torquato Asprenate* CIL VI 25520 = ILS 7869 (short form: *Asprenas*; an additional nomen *Calpurnio* is added in CPL 104, cf. above, [c]). - AD †98: *Cn. Pompeio Feroce Liciniano* CIL VI 468 = ILS 3395. - Note in this context the paper of P. Tansey, 'The Consuls of 22 B.C. and the *fasti* of the Late Empire', *Tyche* 19 (2004) 213–221; the author suggests that *Celso et Hilario*, a consular pair mentioned in ms. *fasti* between the consuls of 22 and 21, should in fact be interpreted as reproducing the cognomina of the consuls of 22, *Hiberus* being an additional cognomen of M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus and *Celsus* that of L. Arruntius. This is, however, not plausible.

<sup>60</sup> The man, mentioned in Pliny the Younger, was previously known as "Lustricius Bruttianus" (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> L 446); it now appears that *Lustricus* was his first cognomen; cf. W. Eck - A. Pangerl, *REMA* 1 (2004) 108f.

- AD 115: *M. Vergiliano Pedone* CIL VI 43/44 = ILS 1634/5; CIL VI 791; *fasti Potentini* (Picus 23 [2003] 70: *M. Vergilianu[s Pedo]*). The variant *M. Pedone Vergilian(o)*: CIL VI 1984). In other dates, the consul is called either *Vergilianus* or *Pedo*.<sup>61</sup>
- AD 116: *L. Fundanio Lamia Aeliano Samothrace* 2 ,1, 51 (initiation into mysteries).<sup>62</sup> In other sources, the consul is called *L. Lamia Aelianus*<sup>63</sup> or either *Lamia* or *Aelianus*.
- AD 117: *M. Rebilo Aproniano* CIL VI 2076 = Scheid 67; CIL XV 25; CIL XIV 4235 = ILS 318. Short form: *Apronianus*.
- AD 118: *Cn. Pedanio Fusco Salinatore* CIL VI 2078 = Scheid 68; IG IX<sup>1</sup> 1, 61.<sup>64</sup> *Cn. Fusco Salinatore* CIL VI 30881 = ILS 5462; RIB 2443. 19 (wooden tablet).<sup>65</sup> Short form: *Salinator*.
- AD 127: *M. Gavio* (*Claudio* erroneously CPL 151) *Squilla Gallicano* FO; CPL 151; AE 1969/70, 587 (Corinth, list of victors at the Isthmia). *M. Squil(la) Gal(licano)* CIL XV 1430–32.<sup>66</sup> Short form normally *Gallicanus*, but sometimes *Squilla*.<sup>67</sup> – Cf. the nomenclature of this man's son, cos. 150.
- AD 127: *T. Atilio Rufo Titiano* CPL 151; AE 1969/70, 587 (cf. above); Le Bas-Waddington III 1619 (Aphrodisias, decree in honour of a poet); *Documents ... in the Cave of Letters* (n. 6) 16. Short form: *Titianus*.
- AD †127: *M. Licinio Celere Nepote* \*RMD 239–241 (copies of different constitutions). Main cognomen: *Nepos*.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> *Vergilianus*: CIL VI 31148; 32637; quarry inscriptions from Docimium (CIL III 7005a. 7015–7; AE 1994, 1667b; 1668a; 1669; etc.). *Pedo*: CIL XV 20–22 (brick stamps from the *figlinae Brutianae*); ms. *fasti*. – As for the fragmentary inscription from Lanuvium, AE 1911, 95 (*[L. Vips]tano Messalla [T. Stat]ilio Severo [Hadria]no cos.*), which used to be attributed to 115, see W. Eck, *Picus* 23 (2003) 104f.

<sup>62</sup> This nomenclature was no doubt also used in the *fasti* of Potentia (*Picus* 23 [2003] 70), where only the letters *L. Fun[-]* survive.

<sup>63</sup> FO (*[L. Lami]a Aelianus*); CIL VI 31149 = ILS 4833; Phlego, *FGrHist* 257 F 36, IX.

<sup>64</sup> Daulis, date of the ἀπόφασις of a κριτής in a dispute concerning land and borders.

<sup>65</sup> In *RIB*, the praenomen is given as *G.*, but in the original publication the reading was *Gn.*

<sup>66</sup> Brick stamps from the *praedia* of Q. Servilius Pudens (P. Setälä, *Private Domini in Roman brick stamps of the Empire* [1977] 183–5).

<sup>67</sup> CIL XIV 3679 = ILS 6245; CIL XV 40. 77. 1045. 1210 and many other brick stamps.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. *[M.] Licinius Nepos* (FO) and \*Pferdehirt 23 (same constitution as *RMD* 241, but with errors). This nomenclature is used of this man also as a *frater Arvalis* (see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> L 222).

- AD 128: *L. Nonio Torquato Asprenate* CPL 151; AE 1926, 73 = SEG VI 59 (Ancyra, decree of an association); *L. Nonius Asprenas Torquatus* (FO); *Torquato Asprenate* CIL VI 10048 = ILS 5287; CIL XV 1433. *A[sp]renate Torquato* CIL II 5095 = AE 1994, 1014 (votive). In other dates, the consul is called either *Asprenas* or *Torquatus*.
- AD 131: *Ser. Octavio Laenate Pontiano* CIL VI 157; \*RMD 157; CPL 160. 220; *Documents ... in the Cave of Letters*(n. 6) 37. *Ser. Laena Pontianu[s]* *Inscr. It.* 13, 1, 335 (*fasti* of some urban *collegium*); *Samothrace* 2,1,54.<sup>69</sup> *Laenate Pontiano* CIL VI 10048 = ILS 5287; *Documents ... in the Cave of Letters* (n. 6) 25. 26. In other dates, the consul is called *Pontianus* (but *S. Octavio Lenat[e]* CIL XIV 2636 = ILS 6209).
- AD †132: *Ti. Claudi(o) Attico Herodi* (sic) \*RMD 247.
- AD 134: *L. Iulio Urso Serviano* CIL VI 31142; AE 1988, 764 (*hospitium* agreement from Spain); *P. Oxy.* 2851 (will). Probably also CIL X 1596 = ILS 4271 (*taurobolium* in Puteoli). Short form: *Servianus*.
- AD 135: *L. Tutilio Luperco Pontiano* CIL VI 31125; AE 1969/70, 405 (decree of the *civitas Riedonum* [Rennes] in Gaul). In other dates, the consul is called (*L. Tutilius*) *Pontianus* (thus \*CIL XVI 82), less often *Lupercus*.<sup>70</sup>
- AD 136: *Sex. Vettuleno Civica Pompeiano* CIL VI 975 = ILS 6073; CIL XIV 2112 = ILS 7212; CIL XIV 2852 = ILS 3696; CIL III 720 (Samothrace, initiation); probably also *Inscr. It.* 13, 1, 312f. (*fasti* of the *sodales Aug.*); CIL VIII 24616.<sup>71</sup> *Sex. Civica Pompeiano* CIL VI 31144. ?38185; ?CIL XI 3900a. *Civica Pompeiano* CIL VI 10242 = ILS 7861. Otherwise, the consul is called *Pompeianus* or (less often) *Civica*.<sup>72</sup>
- AD 141: *M. Peducaeo Stloga Priscino* CIL VI 161; cf. "*Priscino et Stloga*" CIL VI 31149 = ILS 4833. In other dates, the consul is called either *Stloga* or *Priscinus*.<sup>73</sup>
- AD 143: *C. Bellicio Flacco Torquato* IGUR 741 (funerary); AE 1940, 62 (Ostia). In other dates, the consul is normally called *Torquatus*, sometimes

<sup>69</sup> Initiation into mysteries. Here the reading is *M.* (= ?) *S. Le[na] Ponti[ano]*.

<sup>70</sup> *Lupercus*: Arctos 23 (1989) 171 n. 11 (add *IGBulg.* 2057).

<sup>71</sup> Military *laterculus* from Carthage.

<sup>72</sup> CIL XV 1056 (*L. Ceionius Commodus* being strikingly called *Ceionio*); quarry inscriptions from Docimium (*Varia Anatolica* I [1987] 83 no. 1, etc.).

<sup>73</sup> In this year, there is also much variation in the order of the consuls, but there does not seem to be a clear relation between *Peducaeus'* nomenclature and rank.

*Flaccus*.<sup>74</sup>

- AD 143: *Ti. Claudio Attico Herode* *CIL* VI 20217. 24162. 29335; *IGUR* 741 (cf. above; fragmentary); *AE* 1940, 62 (Ostia). Otherwise, the consul is called *Herode*, less often *Attico* (*Arctos* 26 [1992] 112).

- AD 144: (*L.*) *Lolliano Avito* many sources (cf. this man's father in AD 114). The full name of both the consuls of 114 and 144 was *L. Hedijs Rufus Lollianus Avitus* (see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> H 40; for the father see *Altertümer von Pergamon* VIII 3, no. 22), but these senators are normally referred to as (*L.*) *Lollianus Avitus* both as consuls and in other mentions and it seems clear that, as consuls, their names were published in this form. The case of these Lolliani is thus not really comparable to the type *M. Squilla Gallicanus*, as *Lollianus* seems to come close to a nomen (cf. *L. Lollianus Nicarchus*, *CIL* VI 21493; and below *C. Annianus Verus*).

- AD †145: *L. Lamia Silvano* \**RMD* 165; \**AE* 2001, 98 (the same constitution).

- AD †145: *L. Poplicola Prisco* \**AE* 2001, 98.<sup>75</sup>

- AD †146: *C. Annianus Ver[us]* (*FO*).<sup>76</sup> Cf. *L. Lollianus Avitus* (above).

- AD 149: *Σαλβιδιήνου Σκιπίωνος Ὀρφίτου* *IGR* III 705 (extracts from the municipal archives at Cyaneae); *Ser. Scipione Orfito* *CIL* VI 327 = *ILS* 3446; *AE* 2000, 344 (c) (Puteoli); *IG* XII, 3, 325 (Thera);<sup>77</sup> *IGR* III 1275 (letter of an ?emperor). *Scipione Orfito* *CIL* VI 644 = *ILS* 3537.<sup>78</sup> Short form: *Orfitus* (never *Scipio*).

- AD 150: *M. Gavio Squilla Gallicano* \**CIL* XVI 98; *CIL* II 5992 *CIL* II 5992 = *C. Veny, Corpus de las inscr. Balearicas* (1965) 142 (inscription of a tourist in a cave). *M. Squill(a) Gallikano* *AE* 1940, 71 (Rome); *Squilla Gallicano* *CPL* 117; *Σκ[ύ]λλα Γ[αλλικανοῦ]* *Proceedings of the XIV Int. Congress of Papyrologists* (1975) 304 (consular list from Tebtunis).

<sup>74</sup> *AE* 1974, 207 (funerary); quarry inscriptions from Docimium (*Varia Anatolica* I [1987] 84 nos. 7–9, etc.).

<sup>75</sup> On the possible full name of this man, cf. P. Weiß, *ZPE* 143 (2001) 261f.

<sup>76</sup> For thoughts about this man's identity, see R. Syme, *Roman Papers* II 685f.

<sup>77</sup> Date of the εἰσαγγελία of T. Flavius Clitosthenes Claudianus pertaining to some ἔργα. The consul seems to be called *Λ. Σεργίῳ Σκειπίωνι Ὀρφίτῳ*, but I am not prepared to believe that he had two praenomina. (What J. H. Oliver, *GRBS* 13 [1972] 103ff., says on this consul is not acceptable.)

<sup>78</sup> There also seem to be traces of this nomenclature in *Schriften der römischen Feldmesser* (ed. Lachmann) pp. 244, 253.

Otherwise called *Gallicanus* (but *Squilla* in *CIL XV 3928* [amphora]).

- AD 155: *M. Iunio Rufino Sabiniano* *CIL X 1208* (decree of the decurions of Abella). In other dates the nomenclature is (*M. Iunio*) *Sabiniano* (thus, e.g., \**REMA* 1 [2004] 91–6), but *M. Iunio Rufino* in the Arval acts and in a quarry inscription from Africa.<sup>79</sup>

- AD †156: *Straboni* (sic) *Aemiliano* *CIL VI 2086* = Scheid 80. The same nomenclature is also used of this man in Apuleius (*Flor.* p. 27; *Aemilianus Strabo* p. 28; 29 H.).

- AD 157: *M. Civica Barbaro* *CIL VI 376* = *ILS 3670*; *CIL XIV 2410* = *ILS 6190*; \**RMD* 102. 103.<sup>80</sup> In other dates, the consul is called *Barbarus*. The consul's nomen *Vettulenus* does not appear in consular dates and was disclosed only by the publication of *AE 1958, 15* (an honorific inscription from Argos).

- AD †166: [---] *Celso Planciano* \**CIL XVI 124*.

- AD 169: *Q. Sossio Prisco Senecione* *CIL XI 405* (honorific inscription from Ariminum). Otherwise, the consul is normally referred to as (*Q. Sosio*) *Prisco*, only occasionally as (*Q. Sosio*) *Senecione*.<sup>81</sup>

- AD 174: *Φλάκκω Κορνηλιανῶ* *IG XIV 830* = *IGR I 421* (date of a letter written by people from Tyros settled in Puteoli). In other cases the consul is called (*Q. Volusius*) *Flaccus* (but *Cornelianus* in *CIL XV 4362* [amphora]).

- AD 178: *Ser. Scipione Orfito* \**CIL XVI 128*; \**RMD* 184; \**RMD* 293–4; \**REMA* 1 (2004) 68–72 (the first diploma being a copy of a different constitution). In all other dates, the consul is called *Orfitus*.

- AD 182: [*M. Petron*]io *Sura Mam[ertino]* *AE 1903, 154* (Rome, *fasti* of the Palatine *salii*). Otherwise, the consul is referred to as (*M. Petronius*) *Mamertinus*.

- AD †183: *L. Tutilio Pontiano Gentiano* *CIL VI 2099* = Scheid 94, i.

- AD 190: *M. Pe[tronio Sura Se]ptimian[o]* *CIL XIV 4561,1* (*fasti* of the

<sup>79</sup> *CIL VI 2086* = Scheid 80; *NSA 1883, 44* ("masso di marmo Africano"). One also wonders about *AE 1969/70, 657* from Vaga in Africa, with *Rufino et Severo cos.*; this is attributed to AD 323, but AD 155 can perhaps not be ruled out altogether (although the order of the consuls differs from the normal one).

<sup>80</sup> This nomenclature is probably also to be restored in *Suppl. It.* 16 Aletrium 9. For the nomenclature *Civica Barbarus*, see *SEG XVI 16*, cf. *XVII 76* (honorific inscription from Athens).

<sup>81</sup> *CIL III 14120* = *ILS 4052* (Gortyn); *AE 1912, 269* = B.H. MacLean, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Konya Archaeological Museum* (2002) 66. For *AE 1923, 106* ("*Sen(ecione)*") cf. *AE 1994, 1269*.

Ostian *Augustales*); *Marco Sura Septimiano* *CIL* XIII 1752 = *ILS* 4132 (Lugdunum, recording a *taurobolium*). Other dates use the nomenclature (*M. Petronius*) *Septimianus*.

- AD 191: [*Popil]io Pedone Aproniano* *CIL* VI 1980 (*fasti* of the Palatine *Salii*, the colleague being called *M. Valerio Bradua*); [*B]radua Mauri(co)* *AE* 1966, 188 (the colleague being called *Popilio Pedone*).<sup>82</sup> Otherwise, the consular pair is called either *Aproniano et Maurico* or *Aproniano et Bradua* or *Pedone et Bradua*, the nomenclature depending on the province where these consular names are used for dating (cf. *ZPE* 110 [1996] 279f.; above n. 11).

- AD †192: *P. Iulio Scapula Prisco* \**CIL* XVI 133.

- AD †192 or 193: *L. Iulio Messalla Rutiliano et C. Aemilio Severo Cantabrino* \**CIL* XVI 132; \*Pferdehirt 44; \**AKB* 33 (2003) 259ff. (copies of the same constitution).

- AD 196: the consul L. Valerius Messalla Thrasea Priscus (cf. above, (d) for this name being used in *CIL* X 1786) is called *T(h)rasea Prisco* *CIL* XIV 71 (Ostia, votive); *EE* IX 722 (Labici, only the date being preserved) and in *AE* 1980, 813 = *ISM* V 93 (Ulmetum, votive inscription).

- AD 207: *C. Septimio Severo Apro* \*Pferdehirt 48. This consul is normally called *Aper*; the cognomen *Severus*, of great interest, is known only from this diploma.

- AD 209: [*L. Au]rellio Commodo Pompeiano* \**RMD* 73 (+ *add.*). The cognomen *Commodus*, taking this consul close to the Antonine dynasty and the consul of 231 (cf. below, [f]), is attested only in this document.

- AD 209: Λολλίω (for Λολλιανῶ) Γεντιανῶ Ἀβείτω (and Λολί(ω) Ἀπείτω [sic]) *SEG* XXX 1149 (Magnesia ad Maeandrum, document concerning *nundinae*, an edict of the proconsul also being cited). In other dates, the consul is referred to as (*Lollianus*) *Avitus* (cf. L. Lollianus Avitus cos. 144, above).

- AD 216: *Sulla Cerialis* *Suppl. It.* 4 Trebula 33; *CIL* IX 4972 (Cures);<sup>83</sup> *IGBulg* 47 (ephebic list; in all three cases, the colleague is called not simply *Laetus* but *Maecius Laetus*).<sup>84</sup> Short form: *Cerialis* (not *Sulla*, except in Dio,

<sup>82</sup> Cf. G. Alföldy, *ZPE* 27 (1977) 226 n. 15 (a votive inscription from Legio in Spain).

<sup>83</sup> In both cases, only the dates have been preserved but one can see that they both belong to the sphere of municipal administration.

<sup>84</sup> The form *Sulla Cerialis* is also used in *AE* 1960, 36 (as legate of Cappadocia). In Dio 79,4,5, he is called Σύλλας.

cf. n. 84). The full name *M. Munatius Sulla Cerialis* (*CIL* III 11743 *add.*) is not attested in consular dates. (For this man's son, see below, AD 234.)

- AD 221: Γ. Βέττιος Γρᾶτος Σαβινιανός Dio, ind. 80 (transmitted in a corrupt form; Γρᾶτος Σαβινιανός Syncell. p. 406,7). In other dates, the consul is generally called *Gratus*, but occasionally *Sabinianus* (*Arctos* 26 [1992] 113).

- AD 227: *M. Nummio Senecione Albino* \**RMD* 313; *Inscr. It.* X 1, 84 (decree of the decurions of Pola). Otherwise called (*Nummius*) *Albinus*.

- AD 234: [*M. Su]lla Urbano* *CIL* XIV 4562, 7 (*fasti* of the Ostian *Augustales*). Otherwise called *Urbanus*. For the consul's nomen *Munatius*, see n. 2.<sup>85</sup>

- AD 238: [*. Pontio Pro]culo Pontiano* *CIL* VI 2009 = *ILS* 466 (*fasti* of a sacerdotal college). In all other dates, the consul is called either *Proculus* or *Pontianus*, depending on the province from where the date comes (see *Arctos* 26 [1992] 115).

- AD 242: *C. Asinio Lepido Praetextato* *CIL* VI 37110. The form *Lepidus Praetextatus* seems to have been used in a document written in Syriac (J. Teixidor, *ZPE* 76 [1989] 220, B). Other dates use the form (*C. Asinio*) *Praetextato*.

(f) The type PNCC is also illustrated by those cases in which two cognomina are not attested for a consul simultaneously, but where a consul is sometimes referred to with one cognomen, sometimes with another (cf. already many of the cases in group [e]). Such cases are attested in the following years:

- AD 146: The consul called normally (*Cn. Claudius*) *Severus* is called *Arabianus* in *CIL* XV 3863 (*Claro II et Arabiano*; amphora from Monte Testaccio). Although it would at first sight seem incredible that an otherwise

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<sup>85</sup> Note that only with the publication of the diploma disclosing Urbanus's nomen has it become clear that he is the son of Sulla Cerialis cos. 215, and that the cognomen to be restored in the inscription from Ostia must be *Sulla*. One wonders, by the way, whether Urbanus might not also have been called *Agricola*, for in the inscription *CIL* III 5460 (P. Leber, *Die in Kärnten seit 1902 gefundenen römischen Steininschriften* [1972] 11, with photo), which is certainly from the time of Severus Alexander, one finds the date *Maximo II et Agricola* cos. *Maximo II* points definitely to 234, and as *Agricola* cannot be the name of a suffect consul, one might feel entitled to conclude that Urbanus was in fact also called *Agricola*. However, I personally think that we are dealing with a mistake of sorts (note the consulate of a certain *Agricola* in 230).

unattested cognomen could be attested in a context such as this, there is reason to believe that the name could be correct, for the consul was the son of the first governor of Arabia (see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1023), making the cognomen *Arabianus* thus plausible (cf. L. Carminius Lusitanicus, the son of a legate of Lusitania: *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 434).

- AD 147: The consul known otherwise as (*C. Prastina*) *Messallinus* is called *C. Prast(in)a Pacat(o)* in *CIL* XV 960 (brick stamp). As it cannot possibly be assumed that this Pacatus is a suffect consul in office with the ordinary consul L. Annius Largus, and as it seems most unlikely that we could be dealing with a mistake, it follows that it is hard to avoid assuming that the consul did have the two cognomina.<sup>86</sup>

- AD 158: The consul otherwise referred to as (*Q. Tineius*) *Sacerdos* is called Κλημινος in the ms. *fasti* of Theo (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auct. ant.* XIII p. 375). As the consul's sons were called *Sacerdos* and *Clemens*, it seems clear that Κλημινος is a version of *Clemens* and that the consul did have the two cognomina *Sacerdos* and *Clemens*, for which there is in fact some evidence, although not of an impressive kind, from other sources (*Arctos* 26 [1992] 112f.).<sup>87</sup>

- AD 185: The consul normally referred to as *Bradua* is called *Atticus* in inscriptions from Germania Inferior and Africa.<sup>88</sup> He is in fact known to have had both cognomina: *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 785.

- AD 200: The colleague of C. Aufidius Victorinus is called sometimes (*Ti. Claudius*) *Severus*, sometimes, but less often, (*Ti. Claudius*) *Proculus*. In dates using *Proculus*, the order of the consuls is always Victorinus, Proculus, and this nomenclature is attested only in provinces in which the consul is never called *Severus* (for details, see *Ktéma* 18 [1993] 110f.).

- AD 206: The consul appearing normally as (*M. Nummius*) *Albinus* is called *Senecio* in inscriptions from Moesia Superior and Africa.<sup>89</sup> He did in fact

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<sup>86</sup> J. Fitz, *Alba Regia* 24 (1990) 51, thinks that *Pacat(o)* is a mistake for *Messalino* (note that a C. Prastina Pacatus is known, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 929, cf. 930). But people in charge of the dating of bricks at brickworks do not make mistakes such as this; a name may be misspelt, but a genuine name is not replaced by another. In *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 926 Messalinus is, however, not accorded the cognomen *Pacatus*.

<sup>87</sup> But inscriptions with the date *Tertullo et Clemente* belong to AD 195, not (as some scholars would have it) to AD 158 (*Arctos* 26 [1992] 112 n. 20).

<sup>88</sup> *CIL* XIII 8719; *CIL* VIII 14683 = *ILS* 6824.

<sup>89</sup> *IMS* IV 104; *ILAlg.* II 663. As for the use of *Senecio*, observe also this man being called [*M. (?) Nu*]mmius *Senecio* in *CIL* VI 1982 (being elected *pontifex* in 199). – Cf.

have the two cognomina (*Adoptive Nomenclature* 110f.).

- AD 230: The colleague of Virius Agricola is normally called (*Sex. Catus*) *Clementinus*, but *Priscillianus* in an inscription from Germania inferior and in two ms. consular lists of eastern origin (see *Arctos* 26 [1992] 113; *Ktéma* 18 [1993] 111f.).

- AD 231: The consul normally called (*Claudius*) *Pompeianus*, who is equipped with two praenomina in recently published diplomas (see above n. 2), is called Κόμοδος in the "fasti Heracliani", this showing that he was actually the son of Commodus Pompeianus cos. 209 (see above, (e); cf. *Arctos* 26 [1992] 114f.; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 568).

- AD 253: The consul otherwise known as *Maximus* seems to be called *Publicola* in a votive inscription from Bremenium in Britain, *RIB* 1273 cf. A.R. Birley, *ZPE* 43 (1983) 13–23 (*AE* 1982, 654). This is clearly based on good information, as it is more than probable that this consul is identical with L. Valerius Poplicola Balbinus Maximus (*CIL* VI 1531f. = *ILS* 1190f.; cf. G. Alföldy, *CIL* VI 8, 3 p. 4709f.), a consular senator of this period who did have both cognomina.<sup>90</sup>

- AD 264: In the few dates surviving from this year, the colleague of Albinus is sometimes called *Maximus*, sometimes *Dexter*; cf. *Arctos* 26 (1992) 116.

## Conclusions

After this presentation of the material, it is time to move on to some conclusions based on the same material. I shall first have a look at the nature of the documents which use polyonymous nomenclature; then I shall have a look at the geographical distribution of the same documents. I shall then have a word to say on the nature of polyonymy in consular dates as compared with other documents and conclude with a look at two kinds of sources, military diplomas and the *fasti* of Ostia. In what follows, I shall concentrate on polyonymous nomenclatures in the strict sense, that is on those consisting of two or more nomina (types [a], [b], [c]); nomenclatures

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also above at n. 15.

<sup>90</sup> The nomen *Valerius* seems to be attested by *CIL* XI 4999. – The suggestion of S. Dusanic, *ZPE* 144 (2003) 254–60, that the consul Maximus should be identified with a certain Asinius Maximus is not acceptable.

with two or more cognomina will be dealt with in a more cursory fashion. This is based on the fact that, at least after the Flavians, consuls are given two or more nomina only in very special circumstances, whereas it is not that rare to find two cognomina. It thus seems proper to keep types (a), (b), (c) separated from types (d) and (e).

We find nomenclatures consisting of two or more nomina used of consuls in the following types of documents:

(1) Military diplomas (cf. below).

(2) Municipal or other consular *fasti*. Polyonymous names of consuls are found above all in the *fasti* of Ostia (on which cf. below) and in the *fasti Septempedani* recently published (*AE* 1998, 419);<sup>91</sup> on the other hand, other municipal *fasti*, especially those of Potentia use almost exclusively the *tria nomina*.<sup>92</sup>

(3) Documents pertaining to priesthoods operating in Rome and Ostia and containing references to dates (e.g., the acts of the *Arvales*, the *fasti* of the *salii Palatini* and the *sodales Augustales*, and the acts of the *Augustales* in Ostia).<sup>93</sup>

(4) Various documents surviving on wax tablets found in Pompeii and in the area. This material ends with the eruption of the Vesuvius in AD 79. Looking at the dates on the wax tablets, one gets the impression that the consuls would have been furnished with the full nomenclature in all cases if they had more names than just the *tria nomina* (e.g., *Q. Fabio Barbaro Antonio Macro* in possibly AD 64),<sup>94</sup> and certainly these documents show

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<sup>91</sup> Type (a) (PNNC) in the *fasti* of Septempeda: cf. above, AD 80 and 81 (these *fasti* in both cases supplying information not found elsewhere). Type (b) (PNCNC): no doubt in AD 80 (Marius Marcellus). In other cases, extra names have been plausibly restored by the editor S.M. Marengo.

<sup>92</sup> See now the new edition by G. Paci in *Picus* 23 (2003) 68–74 (and the observations of W. Eck p. 74ff.). "*Calpurnius Piso Licinian(us)*" (cos. 87) seems to be the only consul who manages to have an extra name registered in these *fasti*. One must note, however, that many of the consuls in the years covered by the *fasti Potentini* (i.e., AD 86–93, 113–116) may in fact not have had more than the *tria nomina*. But cf., e.g., "*Marrius Celsus*" for *Ti. Iulius Candidus Marius Celsus* in 86, *L. Pullaienus Pollio* for *L. Albius Pullaienus Pollio* in 90.

<sup>93</sup> Note consuls being given two nomina in these documents still in the third century (see AD 201, 225, 234, 231).

<sup>94</sup> *PP* 1 (1946) 381 no. ii (Herculaneum). Note also *ibid.* 8 (1953) 456f. no. xxxv (where, however, *Barbaro* is omitted).

that the full names of all consuls were available for those drawing up documents at such a distance from Rome as Pompeii up to the early Flavian period. But it is important to note that the wax tablets belong to the early period of imperial polyonymy and do not necessarily illustrate later developments. On the one hand, one must observe that, before the Flavians, polyonymy was not very widespread; and on the other, that it was only with time that the habit of abbreviating polyonymous nomenclatures in a systematic and consistent way (*C. Quinctius Certus Publicius Marcellus* = *C. Publicius Marcellus*, etc.) developed. There are some faint signs of the tendency to abbreviate already with the wax tablets (and also in some other documents of the early period),<sup>95</sup> but clearly this material can be used mainly to show that, in documents such as those preserved on wax tablets, it was normal to use the full nomenclature of the consuls up to the early Flavian period.

(5) Various documents drawn up in the provinces and normally preserved on papyri. These documents are of especial interest inasmuch as they usually come from smaller centres and as they show that at least those people who were responsible for drawing up documents could dispose of quite detailed information on the nomenclature of the consuls in office even as far away as Egypt. One finds consuls being given two nomina in papyri as late as AD 225, in Dura as late as AD 204.<sup>96</sup> Note that, except for an instance from AD 94 (see n. 96), one never finds in this material more than four names (either two nomina or two cognomina).

(6) Other types of inscriptions. Normally these would be inscriptions from Rome or from neighbouring cities, where full information on the

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<sup>95</sup> See n. 20; cf. [*Q.*] *Futio Sat[ur]nino* (cos. ?41) on a wax tablet from Herculaneum, to be contrasted with *Q. Futio Lusio Saturnino* on a tablet from Puteoli and in an inscription (see *Adoptive Nomenclature* 90). In another tablet from Herculaneum, the consul (in 47) C. Calpetanus Rantius Sedatus is called both *C. Calpetanus Sedatus* and *C. Rantius [Sedatus]* (*AE* 1988, 325; G. Camodeca, in *Epigrafia. Actes ... Degrassi* [n. 7] 49; Id., in *XI congresso internazionale de epigrafia Greca e Latina. Atti* [1999] 530f.). As for other types of documents, observe *T. Rustius Gallu[s]* in the *Fasti Ostienses* for a man otherwise called *T. Rustius Nummius Gallus* (n. 109). C. Petronius Pontius Nigrinus (cos. 37) has both nomina in two inscriptions (cf. at n. 22) but is otherwise called (*C.*) *Pontius Nigrinus* or simply *C. Pontius*.

<sup>96</sup> See above, (a). Cf. also, e.g., AD 94 (above, [c]), the consul Torquatus Asprenas being given two nomina and two cognomina in *CPL* 104. Consuls are also given two cognomina in Egyptian papyri in AD 127, 128, 131, 134 and 150, in Judaea in AD 127 and 131, in Britain in AD 118.

nomenclature of the consuls would be readily obtainable.<sup>97</sup> But there are also inscriptions from other places. Let us have a quick look at them. We find consuls designated with two nomina in inscriptions belonging to the following categories:

(a) Documents issued by Roman magistrates or other officials.<sup>98</sup>

(b) Documents pertaining to municipal affairs and institutions (in a broad sense) or referring to decrees of such bodies.<sup>99</sup>

(c) Documents pertaining to the establishment of the relationship of *hospitium* and patronage.<sup>100</sup>

(d) Other inscriptions not necessarily of a more important nature; consuls are designated with two nomina also in building inscriptions,<sup>101</sup> in votive inscriptions,<sup>102</sup> in an inscription of AD 160 from Lugdunum

<sup>97</sup> For various inscriptions from Rome and Ostia using two nomina of consuls after the first century, see above (a) under AD 128 and 160. Dates with two cognomina above (e), under AD 102, 115, 134, 135, 136, 141, 143, 196 (Ostia); three cognomina in *CIL* VI 37110 of AD 242.

<sup>98</sup> Consuls with two nomina in *CIL* II 4125 = *RIT* 143 (AD 193, the governor of Tarraconensis pronouncing a *sententia*). Cf., from the first century, the letter of Vespasian *CIL* X 8038 (AD 77; above, [a]). Two cognomina are used in 118 in a judgement concerning land and borders in Daulis (above, [e]).

<sup>99</sup> Consuls with two nomina in *I. Cret.* II 3, 7 from AD 125 and *CIL* X 4760 = *ILS* 6296 from Suessa from AD 193 (see above, [a]). Cf. a document of AD 120 from Crete concerning the territory of a temple and a *lex* of AD 137 concerning an *ara* in Salona, the consuls being referred to with a nomenclature of the type PNCNC (above, [b]). Decrees (etc.) using two cognomina: see above, (e), under AD 102 (Misenum), 109 (in Baetica), 124 (n. 55, Smyrna), 127 (Aphrodisias), 128 (Ancyra), 135 (in Gaul), 149 (in Lycia), 155 (Abella), 227 (Pola). Three cognomina in a decree from Puteoli from AD 196 (above, [d]). Note also two cognomina being used of a consul in AD 169 in *CIL* XI 405 (honorific inscription set up in Ariminum by the *coll[egium] fab[rum]*), in *IG* XIV 830 = *IGR* I 421 (AD 174, date of a letter written by people from Tyros settled in Puteoli) and in *SEG* XXXII 1149 (AD 209, from Magnesia ad Maeandrum, document concerning *nundinae*). In *CIL* X 652\* from Casinum of AD 195 (above, [d]) and in two inscriptions from AD 215 (also above, [d]) only the dates have been preserved.

<sup>100</sup> Two nomina in documents from AD 34, 132 (these two from Spain), 162 (Mauretania; see above, [a]). Two cognomina in a document of 134 from Spain (above, [e]).

<sup>101</sup> Above, (a), under AD 151 (Teaunum) and 201 (Africa).

<sup>102</sup> The type PNCNC most strikingly found in an African inscription of AD 120 (above, [b]). Two nomina in an inscription of AD 132 also from Africa (above, [a]). Two cognomina in a text from Spain of AD 191 (above, [e]).

recording a *taurobolium* (above, [a])<sup>103</sup> and, strikingly, in a funerary inscription from Iconium of AD 169 (above, [a]). For some instances of the use of two cognomina in consular dates attached to inscriptions of a less usual nature cf. also, e.g., above, (e), under AD 116, 131, 136 (Samothrace) and AD 127 (Corinth), 149 (Thera), 150 (tourist on the Balearic Islands).

As for the geographic distribution of consular dates with two nomina, in the material presented above one finds dates of this type in all parts of the Empire. If we look at the instances from the time after AD 150, we find (above, [a]) instances from Italy (AD 193, Suessa), Africa (AD 162, 201), Gallia Lugdunensis (AD 160), Asia Minor (AD 169), Syria (AD 204) and Egypt (AD 225). Instances of consuls being given two cognomina also appear all around the Empire. It appears, then, that even in the Antonine period and later, one could, if one wished, obtain quite detailed information on the nomenclature of consuls well outside the capital in faraway places around the Roman Empire.

Concerning the nature of polyonymy in consular dates, from the material presented above it appears that the main types are either PNNC (above, [a]) or PNCC (above, [e] and [f]). The other types, (b) (PNCNC) and (c) (the rare instances of [d] [PNCCC] can be left out of the discussion at this point) appear only in some documents of the first century, when (as observed above) the habit of abbreviating polyonymous nomenclatures had not yet developed, in military diplomas, and in a few special cases (above, [b], AD 120, 137, 149). In any case, it must be noted that, even in document types which have a tendency to use polyonymous nomenclatures (one thinks especially of military diplomas), one finds in consular dates only polyonymous nomenclatures within certain limits, i.e., one does not find the very long strings of names (e.g., the 38 names of the consul of AD 169) attested for many senators from the late first century onwards.<sup>104</sup> This is illustrated by the diploma mentioning Pompeius Falco as consul in AD 108 (above, [b]); as in many other documents (referring to Falco in other roles), Falco is here given neither the short name (*Q. Pompeius Falco*) nor the long nomenclature attested in *ILS* 1035 but the "middle" variant (cf. n. 45). There is also the case of *[L. Octavi]us Salvius Iulianus* in the Ostian *fasti* in AD 148 (cf. n. 33). The last word, however, cannot be said on this matter as it must be admitted that there are many polyonymous consuls whose consular

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<sup>103</sup> The type PCC in a similar inscription of AD 190 (above, [e]).

<sup>104</sup> Cf., e.g., above n. 5.

dates are not covered by diplomas (one does thus not know how diplomas would have handled men such as P. Manilius Vopiscus Vicinillianus L. Elufrius Severus Iulius Quadratus Bassus cos. 114), and in any case, after AD 123 (or c. AD 167?)<sup>105</sup> diplomas are not attested as using more than four names (PNNC or PNCC).

There is one more point which I would like to touch upon in this context. The name type PCC (*P. Scipio Nasica*, etc.), familiar during the Republic in references to nobles with two cognomina, is extremely rare both in literary and in epigraphic sources during the Empire, at least in mentions of contemporary persons (as contrasted with historical ones). In consular dates, however, this type is attested surprisingly often (even excluding first-century nobles of the type *Cn. Lentulus Gaetulicus*, for whom cf. n. 59); in fact, there are many consuls for whom only this nomenclature is attested (this probably, in most cases, implying that their names were published as such). This begins with M. Aquila Iulianus cos. 48 and goes on with M. Vestinus Atticus cos. 65. Then there are L. Lollianus Avitus cos. †114 (cf. this man's son in AD 144), M. Vergilianus Pedo cos. 115, M. Rebilus Apronianus cos. 117, L. Lamia Silvanus and L. Poplicola Priscus in AD †145, C. Annianus Verus cos. †146, M. Civica Barbarus cos. 157. Of consuls for whom only the nomenclature CC is attested, note Strabo Aemilianus cos. †156 and Sulla Cerialis cos. 216. Moreover, there are consuls for whom a nomenclature of the type (P)CC is attested in addition to the type including the nomen (*Cn. Pedanio Fusco Salinatore* = *Cn. Fusco Salinatore*) at least (to consider only instances after the first century) in AD 102, †106, 110, 116, 127, 128, 131, 136, 149. 150, 174, 191, 234.

The explanation for this most striking phenomenon must, I think, be sought, on the one hand, in the fact that there were several senators and consuls who had two cognomina which they liked to see used in references to themselves; with this I mean men such as Pliny's *Cornutus Tertullus*;<sup>106</sup> and note, e.g., the contrast between the consuls of AD 127, T. Atilius Rufus Titianus and M. Gavius Squilla Gallicanus: we have dates using the form *M.*

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<sup>105</sup> See above n. 50.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. also, e.g., *CIL* VI 1119, *locus adsignatus ab Iallio Basso et Commodo Orfitiano* (...), and military diplomas referring to governors with *sub Curione Navo* (*RMD* 161, AD 138), *sub Aquila Fido* (*RMD* 39, AD 140), *sub Sisenna Rutiliano* (Pferdehirt 31, AD 151), *sub Maximo Luciliano* (*RMD* 173; Pferdehirt 41; *SCI* 24 [2005] 101ff., AD 160; cf. *AE* 1994, 104).

*Squilla Gallicanus*, but *Squilla*'s colleague, if three names are used of him, is called *T. Atilius Titianus*,<sup>107</sup> not *T. Rufus Titianus*.

On the other hand, three names were, so to speak, the norm in formal mentions of consuls in dates. Combining this with the observation on consuls keen on being referred to with two cognomina, one arrives at the conclusion that the type PCC might be a good solution, and the proliferation of this type is exactly what we find in consular dates.

I shall finish with a few words on polyonymous nomenclatures in the *fasti* of Ostia and in military diplomas. The normal form one finds used of consuls in the Ostian *fasti* is the *tria nomina*. However, in addition to *L. Livius Ocella Sulpicius Galb[a]* (AD 33), there are also a few instances of the types PNNC, PNCC, and PCC.<sup>108</sup> However, except for the tendency of already abbreviating polyonymous nomenclatures in the earlier first century when other types of documents had not yet developed the habit,<sup>109</sup> one can discern no logic at all in the use of polyonymy in the *fasti* (note, e.g., that Lateranus cos. 94 is accorded the extra nomen *Ma[gius]*, whereas his polyonymous colleagues Asprenas, Valerius Asiaticus and Iulius Quadratus have just the *tria nomina*). Military diplomas seem to use the full nomenclature of consuls (and also of governors, etc.) regularly until the time of Domitian. But in AD 90, the man called in diplomas (when governor of Moesia Superior in 93–96 and of Pannonia in 98) *Cn. (Pinarius) Aemilius Cicatricula Pompeius Longinus* is when consul called *Cn. Pompeius Longinus* (*CIL* XVI 36; *ZPE* 143 [2003] 216ff.). From this time on, one observes some names of consuls being presented in an abbreviated, others in a fuller (but at least in the case of Pompeius Falco not in the fullest, cf. n. 45) version. The abbreviated versions are normally abbreviations of lengthy nomenclatures (thus in AD 100, *T. Pomponio Mamiliano*, this standing for *T. Pomponio Mamiliano Rufo Antistiano Funisulano Vettoniano*),<sup>110</sup> but one

<sup>107</sup> *CIL* XV 1430–32.

<sup>108</sup> PNNC: *L. Iúnius Víbius Crispus* (AD 74); *T. Sextius Ma[gius Lateranus]* (AD 94); [*L. Octavius*] *Salvius Iulianus* (cf. n. 33); [*T. Clo*] *dius Víbius Varus* (AD 160). – PNCC: *Q. Marc. Barea Sor[anus]* (AD 34); *Ti. Plautius Silván. Aéliánus* (AD 74); [*M. G*] *avius Sq[uilla G]allicanus* (AD 127); *L. Nonius Asprenas Torquatus* (AD 128). – PCC: *Ser. Scipio Orfitus* (AD 110); [*L. Lami*] *a Aelianus* (AD 116). There is also *M. Aquila Iulian(us)* in AD 38, but this is the normal nomenclature used of this consul (cf. above).

<sup>109</sup> Cf. *Sex. Tedi* *us [Cat]ullu[s]* and *T. Rustius Gallu[s]* in AD 34, a extra nomen being omitted in both cases.

<sup>110</sup> *CIL* XVI 46; *RMD* 142 (for the full name see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 734). Similarly *L. Catilio Severo*

also observes only one name being omitted (thus *Cn. Cornelio Severo* in AD 112 and *L. Tutilio Pontiano* in AD 135).<sup>111</sup> As for polyonymous names, after AD 90 one finds several instances of both type PNNC ([a]) and PNCNC ([b]) until AD 123.<sup>112</sup> After this date, there are no certain instances of PNCNC (cf. n. 50), and the instances of PNNC dry out for about 30 years, to reemerge in AD 154 and 160. After this, there is again nothing until we observe three instances in AD 212, 227 and 231. Now what one can see is that there is, in military diplomas, a general tendency to substitute abbreviated nomenclatures for polyonymous ones, this evolution beginning in the time of Domitian and reaching its end in the early years of Hadrian, after which there are only scattered, but interesting, instances of the type PNNC. To find a logic in these later instances is, however, beyond my powers.<sup>113</sup>

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*CIL* XVI 163f. (AD 110); *T. Iulio [Maximo]* *RMD* 85 (AD 112); *C. Publicio Marcello* *CIL* XVI 67f., *RMD* 17 (AD 120); *P. Iuventio Celso* *CIL* XVI 74f., *RMD* 34 (AD 129); *L. (sic) Nonio Marcello* *RMD* 260 = Pferdehirt 28 (for the full nomenclatures of these consuls, see *PIR*).

<sup>111</sup> Severus: *RMD* 223 = Pferdehirt 15 (the full name being *Cn. Pinarius Cornelius Severus*); Pontianus: *CIL* XVI 82 (full name: *L. Tutilius Lupercus Pontianus*). Observe also *Optatus* being omitted from the nomenclature of *L. Burbuleius Optatus Ligarianus* in *RMD* 251 = Pferdehirt 27.

<sup>112</sup> PNNC: in AD 90, 94, 96, 97, 108, 112, 121, 122 (see above, [a]). – PNCNC: in AD 101, 105, 108, 123 (see above, [b]). Even after this time, nomenclatures which include two cognomina are quite common (see above, [e]) and are attested until AD 227 (*M. Nummio Senecione Albino* *RMD* 313). – The last governor referred to in a diploma with a nomenclature consisting of two nomina seems to be *Q. Glitius Atilius [Agricola]*, governor of Pannonia in 102 (*CIL* XVI 47).

<sup>113</sup> Note, e.g., that whereas other sources use two nomina of both the ordinary consuls of AD 160, *Ap. Annius Atilius Bradua* and *T. Clodius Vibius Varus*, diplomas consistently refer to Bradua by using both nomina but at the same time call Varus simply *T. Vibius Varus* (see above, [a]).