

## Appendix 7: The decorated stands in the *Compilation 'notitia dignitatum' (Cnd)*

The *Cnd* was copied, either directly or indirectly, into several known and extant, mutually-independent and mutually-differing cognate documents none of which is entirely an exact copy of the *Cnd*. These derivative documents are identified as the primary copies of the *Cnd*. Among these primary copies, several contain pictures which include drawings of a **decorated stand** that is positioned either to the left or to the right of the drawing of a table. These pictures containing drawings of stands exist only in the primary copies **C-N, O, P, F, B, V, M, W** (listed in this sequence in the approximate chronological order of their production from **C** in 1426/7 to **W** in 1550/1 - with the exception of **N**, which was produced in 1849 as an intended facsimile of 3 folia from the codex of which the 5 folia **C** are a fragment).

Agreements between the primary copies indicate that each drawing of this decorated stand in the *Cnd* had a **shape** (comprising its outer edge and any internal horizontal lines attached to it which divided the stand into **panels**, and any vertical lines which divided the panels into **sections**) and **decoration** (the drawings representing entities, or delineating patterns, within the panels).

In this appendix it is intended, firstly, to state what is actually known about the shape and decoration of the drawings of these stands in the *Cnd* from the evidence in the primary copies of it; secondly, to indicate what is known about the shape and decoration of the object that was represented by the drawings of these stands; and, thirdly, to suggest whether there is sufficient evidence to conclude that the drawings of these stands in the *Cnd* were derived by its artist from an earlier source.

The shape of each decorated stand in the *Cnd* is substantially known from agreements between the primary copies of it. But the decoration of these stands in the *Cnd* is substantially unknown, since no two primary copies agree on the selection, arrangement and form of all the decorations on any one of these stands. And no primary copy repeats the same selection, arrangement and form of all the decorations in two or more of its drawings of these stands - except **B**, for the reasons described below.

Differences between the primary copies of the *Cnd* make it impossible to identify any one of their drawings of any decorated stand as an exact copy of the corresponding drawing in the *Cnd*, or to reconstruct such an exact copy. But, where there is sufficient agreement among the primary copies, it is sometimes possible to identify the entities that were represented in the decorations of the drawing that they copied, either directly or indirectly, from the *Cnd*, even though the exact shape or the details of those decorations remain unknown.

### *Evaluating pictures and their drawings in some primary copies of the Cnd*

In attempting to decide which, if any, of the different forms of any list item in the primary copies may be an exact copy of the corresponding item in the *Cnd*, or what entities in the *Cnd* are represented by their drawings, it is important to determine firstly, as far as possible, the relationship between these primary copies and the *Cnd*, which was the immediate common exemplar of them all: in particular, to attempt to determine whether each primary copy is a direct or an indirect copy of the *Cnd*; whether any indirect primary copies were derived from a common absent copy of the *Cnd*; and whether any primary copy was produced by someone with access to another such copy.

The conclusions about these relationships are stated elsewhere but, in considering the drawings of the decorated stands in primary copies of the *Cnd*, one of those conclusions needs to be repeated here: namely, that agreements between the drawings of the stands in **O** and **P**, or between those in **V** and **M** may not be entirely mutually-independent. This is because the pictures in **O** and **P** were produced in the same workshop, at or near Basel, while those in **V** and **M** were also almost certainly produced in the same workshop, either at Speyer or at Heidelberg. While no picture in either **O** or **P** was wholly derived from the corresponding picture in the other, since each has drawings or decorative details that are absent from the other but are present in all or most of the other primary copies, collaboration between the artists of **O** and **P** cannot be excluded. The same is probably also true of **V** and **M**. Such collaboration is

exemplified by the recurrent use in **OP**, in their drawings of the stands, of a half-mushroom decoration (a stem capped by a half dome) that does not occur in **C-N,BVMW**; or the recurrent foliage decorations in **VM** that do not exist in **C-N,OPBW**. A different relationship exists between **M** and **W**. The pictures on the vellum in **W** were produced by an artist who copied earlier tracings, made on paper, of the pictures in the *Cnd* itself. An examination of the vellum in **W** reveals no evidence that the paper tracings were retraced onto the vellum, or that the paper tracings, and the copies of them in **W**, were done by the same artist. But it is known that the artist who produced the pictures in **W** had simultaneous access to the pictures in **M** because he apparently copied several drawing captions and some drawing inscriptions from **M** into **W**.

In **B** there are no reliable copies of twelve of the drawings of the decorated stands in the *Cnd*. This is because **B** used only three different engravings to represent, either completely or partially, the drawings that existed in twelve of those pictures in the *Cnd*: one engraving was used to represent each of the complete pictures *Cnd.4, 87* and *90*; a second one to represent the complete pictures *Cnd.161* and *163*; and a third to represent the stand and its associated table, in *Cnd.41, 43, 45, 49, 120, 121* and *123*. Most of the decorations of the stands in these three engravings cannot be identified with those of any particular drawing in the *Cnd* and some decorations in **B** are not represented in any other primary copy as, for example, the drawing of a human bust holding a cornucopia in the engraving representing the stand in *Cnd.4, 87* and *90*, or the shields in the engraving representing the stand in *Cnd.41-45, 49, 120-123*. Consequently, only those drawings in **B** representing the stands in *Cnd.37, 39, 47, 81* and *118* are considered in most of the following descriptions.

#### *Distribution and arrangement of the decorated stands*

The consensus (used here and elsewhere to denote "complete agreement") among all the primary copies indicates that drawings of the decorated stands existed in 17 of the 20 pictures illustrating the agency lists associated with 21 of the following agency directors:

Table 1. Distribution of the drawings of the decorated stands in the pictures in the <i>Cnd</i>			
the symbols for the stand & table indicate the position of the decorated stand in relation to the table; (no picture) indicates that the agency list of this director was not illustrated with a picture; × × indicates that the picture does not contain the drawing of either a decorated stand or a table			
<i>Cnd/or</i>	<i>Agency director</i>	<i>Cnd/oc</i>	<i>Agency director</i>
4	Praefectus praetorio illyrici	87	Praefectus praetorio italiae
		90	Praefectus urbis romae
37	Proconsul asiae	118	Proconsul africae
39	Proconsul achaiae		
41	Comes orientis	119 (no picture)	Vicarius urbis romae
43	Praefectus augustalis	120	Vicarius africae
45	Vicarius asianae	121	Vicarius hispaniarum
47	Vicarius ponticae	123	Vicarius septem provinciarum
49	Vicarius thraciarum	125 × ×	Vicarius britanniarum
81	Consularis palaestinae	159	Consularis campaniae
		161	Corrector apuliae et calabriae
82	Praeses thebaidos	163	Praeses dalmatiae

No primary copy has added the drawing of a decorated stand to any picture other than these seventeen pictures; no primary copy has omitted the drawing of a stand from any of these pictures; and there is consensus among all the primary copies on the position of the drawing of the stand relative to the drawing of the associated table.

There was no necessary association between the table and the decorated stand. Within the 89 pictures in the *Cnd*, 38 pictures contained the drawing of a table<sup>1</sup> and 2 further pictures, which were each divided

<sup>1</sup> *Cnd.4, 7, 10, 13, 16, 19, 22, 24, 25, 27, 31, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 81, 82, 87, 90, 92, 100, 106, 108, 109, 112, 115, 118, 120, 121, 123, 159, 161, 163.*

into two parts, had the drawing of a table in each part.<sup>2</sup> Among these 42 drawings of a table, only the 17 listed above were accompanied by the drawing of a stand.

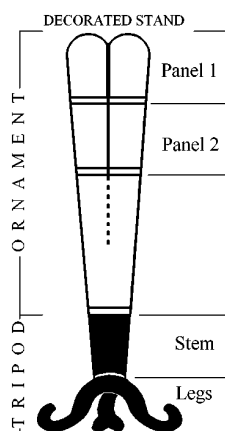
If it were not for the spatial relationship that existed between the two drawings in *Cnd.120*, it could be speculated that the position of the decorated stand in relation to the table may have been connected with the status or rank or position of the agency director.

The distribution of the drawings of these decorated stands in the *Cnd* was, demonstrably, not random because these drawings existed only in the pictures that were associated with the agencies whose directors had exclusively civil jurisdictional authority in a specific location, while the agencies of those directors who had a combined civil and military jurisdiction in a specific location were excluded (*comes isauriae, dux arabiae et praeses, dux et praeses mauritaniae caesariensis*), as were all other agencies.

As noted in the table above, there was no drawing of a decorated stand in the pictures *Cnd.82, 125, 159*. Picture *Cnd.125* was the only picture illustrating the list of a civil diocesan agency without including the drawing of either a table, or a decorated stand, or personifications of its provinces. The absence of all three may be related to the realized intention of the artist to represent an island and its surrounding sea in the picture. There is no known reason why the eastern *consularis* should be associated with a stand, but not the western one or, similarly, why the western *praeses* was associated with a stand, but not the eastern one. The absence of the drawing of a stand in the pictures *Cnd.82, 125, 159* does not affect the conclusion that the drawings of these stands existed in the *Cnd* only in the pictures associated with the aforementioned category of agency directors.

### *Shape of the stands in the Cnd*

The drawings in most primary copies represent the shape and colours of almost all the decorated stands in the *Cnd* with the following features.



#### (i) *Tapered stand*

The stand is an object whose width decreases gradually and evenly from its top to its base. Most copies represent the stand as either a curved or cylindrical object since the lines drawn across it are mostly slightly curved rather than straight.

#### (ii) *Twin-curved top*

The outer side edges of the stand are hooked inwards at the top, with their ends curving downwards to join at the centre of the upper outer edge of the stand. (☐)

#### (iii) *Panels*

The surface of the panel is divided into between two and four panels each with a base formed by a horizontal or slightly curved line (or lines) drawn across between its outer edges.

#### (iv) *Central vertical line*

The top panel (panel 1) is divided into two sections by a central vertical line (☐). This line can be extended downwards through some other panels.

#### (v) *Ornament and tripod*

The stand is divided into two parts by their decoration and by their colours: an ornament, which is decorated and coloured light brown or yellow, and a tripod (consisting of a stem and three legs) which is generally either undecorated, or coloured blue, or both.


















The aforementioned descriptions (i)-(v) are based on the following observations.

### *Ornament and tripod*

In the drawings in some primary copies, the stem and legs of the tripod<sup>3</sup> are coloured blue, differentiating them from the ornament, as indicated in the following table:

<sup>2</sup> *Cnd.29/29 and 114/114.*



<sup>3</sup> 3 legs **C-N,OPVMW** and 4 legs in all drawings in **B**, except 2 legs in its copy of *Cnd.47* and 3 legs in those from *Cnd.81, 161.*

Table 2. Colour differentiations between the ornament and tripod										
S = blue stem; L = blue legs;										
-   - denotes a drawing in which the stem, legs and ornament all have the same colour;										
? indicates uncertainty about the colour.										
Where <b>B</b> has represented two or more drawings by using one of the repeated three engravings referred to above, the notation is <i>italicised</i> and the three different engravings are identified as * = 1, ** = 2 or *** = 3										
<i>Cnd</i>	<i>Agency director</i>	<b>C</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>O</b>	<b>P</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>W</b>
4	 Praef. praet. illyr.			S   L	S   L	L*		S   L		-   -
37	 Proc. asiae			-   -	-   -	L		S   L		S   L
39	 Proc. achaiiae			S   L	-   -	?   L		S   L		-   -
41	 Com. orientis			S   L	S   L	L***		S   L		S   L
43	 Praef. august.			-   -	-   -	L***		S   L		S   L
45	 Vic. asianae		-   -	-   -	-   -	L***		S   L		-   -
47	 Vic. pontic.	-   -		-   -	-   -	S   L		S   L		S   L
49	 Vic. thrac.			-   -	-   -	L***		S   L		?   ?
81	 Cons. palaest.	S   L		-   -	-   -	L		S   L	-   -	-   -
87	 Praef. praet. ital.			S   L	-   -	L*		S   L		-   -
90	 Praef. urb. rom.			S   L	-   -	L*		S   L		-   -
118	 Proc. afric.	S   L		-   -	-   -	L		S   L	-   -	-   -
120	 Vic. afric.			-   -	-   -	L***		S   L		-   -
121	 Vic. hispan.			S   L	-   -	L***		S   L		-   -
123	 Vic. sept. prov.			S   L	-   -	L***		S   L		-   -
161	 Corr. ap. et cal.			S   L	-   -	L**		S   L		-   -
163	 Praes. dal.	-   -		S   L	-   -	L**		S   L		-   -

















**OPV** agree that the first stand, in *Cnd.4*, consisted of two differently-coloured parts: a light-brown or yellow ornament and a blue tripod, while **B**, although representing the stand with the same engraving used in two later pictures, distinguished its blue legs from the rest of the light-brown/yellow stand. Thereafter, all tripods in **V**, one tripod in **B**, and all other tripod legs<sup>4</sup> in **B**, are coloured blue. This apparent standardisation is absent from **C-N,OPMW** whose random use of the blue colour for the tripod indicates that, where two of these copies agree (other than agreements between only **OP** or only **VM** or only **MW**), this colour was probably used in the corresponding drawing in the *Cnd*. Such an agreement exists in 14 of the 17 drawings, but not those derived from *Cnd.45, 49, 120*. It is not known, therefore, whether the tripod in these three drawings was coloured blue in the *Cnd*.

### Panels

In the primary copies, the panels on each decorated stand are separated from each other by one or more horizontal or slightly curved lines drawn across the panel between its outer side edges. The number of these horizontal lines often varies between the panels on one stand, or between the same panel on different stands. As indicated above, most of the panels are decorated while the stem of the tripod is not. So, where that part of the stand that is immediately above the three legs is decorated, but is not coloured blue to identify it as a stem of the tripod, it is uncertain whether such a decorated part is to be identified as the stem of the tripod or as an additional panel of the ornament. These decorated parts immediately above the legs occur in the following primary copies:














Table 3. Decorations immediately above the tripod		
the word <i>blue</i> indicates where the background to such a decoration is coloured blue		
<i>Cnd</i>	<i>Agency director</i>	
4	 Praef. praet. illyr.	=
37	 Proc. asiae	<b>P</b> (a mirror-reverse (y)-shape over the whole surface) <b>B</b> (4 arches with supporting vertical lines)

<sup>4</sup> The three legs present in all drawings of the decorated stand in **C-N,OPVMW** are represented in **B** as four legs in all drawings except *Cnd.47* (2 legs) and *Cnd.81, 161* and *163* (3 legs).

<i>Cnd</i>		<i>Agency director</i>	
39		Proc. achaiae	<b>O</b> (a (×)-shaped cross across the middle) = <i>blue</i> <b>B</b> (5 oblique curved lines)
41		Com. orientis	<b>O</b> (a double line across the middle) = <i>blue</i>
43		Praef. august.	<b>P</b> (2 addorsed half-mushroom shapes) <b>W</b> (a central vertical line and a double line across the lower part)
45		Vic. asianae	<b>P</b> (a central vertical line on the stem dividing the stem into 2 sections)
47		Vic. pontic.	=
49		Vic. thrac.	<b>P</b> (2 addorsed half-mushroom shapes)
81		Cons. palaest.	<b>O</b> (2 vertical lines) <b>B</b> (5 oblique curved lines)
87		Praef. praet. ital.	<b>O</b> (2 vertical lines) = <i>blue</i> <b>F</b> (4 oblique curved lines bisected by a central vertical double line)
90		Praef. urb. rom.	<b>O</b> (2 vertical lines) = <i>blue</i>
118		Proc. afric.	<b>OP</b> (a central vertical double line) <b>W</b> (a double line across the upper part)
120		Vic. afric.	<b>W</b> (a double line across the upper part)
121		Vic. hispan.	<b>OP</b> (a horizontal double line across the middle) <b>O</b> = <i>blue</i>
123		Vic. sept. prov.	<b>O</b> (2 addorsed half-mushroom shapes) = <i>blue</i> <b>W</b> (a central vertical line)
161		Corr. ap. et cal.	<b>O</b> (2 horizontal lines across the lower part) = <i>blue</i>
163		Praes. dal.	<b>O</b> (a central (V)-shape with internal horizontal lines) = <i>blue</i>




Excluding the 8 drawings in **O**, where the decoration occurs on what is identified by its blue colour as the stem, there remain 7 drawings where it is uncertain whether the stem of the tripod in the *Cnd* was decorated, or undecorated, or whether there was no stem and the decorations existed on an extra panel of the ornament. The absence of agreement among the primary copies on the form of these decorations, other than between **OP**, means that, if any decorations existed in the *Cnd*, their form is unknown.

The number of panels in the drawings of the decorated stands in the *Cnd* is tabulated below, where the stated numbers assume that each of the 15 decorations in the previous table existed on the stem of the tripod and not on an extra panel of the ornament; if that assumption is incorrect, 1 additional panel must be added to the stated number of panels in the particular primary copy:

<i>Cnd</i>		<i>Agency director</i>	<i>Number of panels</i>
4		Praef. praet. illyr.	<b>OPV</b> (4) <b>MW</b> (3) <b>B</b> (3)*
37		Proc. asiae	<b>OPVW</b> (3) <b>M</b> (2) <b>B</b> (1)
39		Proc. achaiae	<b>V</b> (5) <b>OPM</b> (4) <b>W</b> (3) <b>B</b> (2)
41		Com. orientis	<b>OV</b> (4) <b>PM</b> (3) <b>W</b> (2) <b>B</b> (3)***
43		Praef. august.	<b>OVM</b> (4) <b>P</b> (3) <b>W</b> (2) <b>B</b> (3)***
45		Vic. asianae	<b>OPVM</b> (4) <b>NW</b> (3) <b>B</b> (3)***
47		Vic. pontic.	<b>OM</b> (4) =? <b>C</b> <b>PBV</b> (3) <b>W</b> (2)
49		Vic. thrac.	<b>O</b> (4) <b>VM</b> (3) <b>PW</b> (2) <b>B</b> (3)***
81		Cons. palaest.	<b>PM</b> (3) <b>COB</b> (2) =? <b>V</b> <b>W</b> (1)
87		Praef. praet. ital.	<b>M</b> (4?) <b>OPW</b> (3) =? <b>F</b> (indistinct) <b>V</b> (2?) <b>B</b> (3)*
90		Praef. urb. rom.	<b>W</b> (4) <b>OPVM</b> (3) <b>B</b> (3)*
118		Proc. afric.	<b>PBVW</b> (3) <b>COM</b> (2)
120		Vic. afric.	<b>OPVM</b> (3) <b>W</b> (2) <b>B</b> (3)***
121		Vic. hispan.	<b>OPW</b> (3) <b>VM</b> (2) <b>B</b> (3)***

<i>Cnd</i>	<i>Agency director</i>	<i>Number of panels</i>
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


























































































123		Vic. sept. prov.	<b>OPMW</b> (2) <b>V</b> (3) <b>B</b> (3)***
161		Corr. ap. et cal.	<b>O</b> (4) <b>PVMW</b> (3) <b>B</b> (3)**
163		Praes. dal.	<b>COPMW</b> (3) <b>V</b> (2) <b>B</b> (3)**



















Agreements between certain primary copies probably represent accurately the number of panels as 3 in *Cnd.37*, 163 and 2 in *Cnd.123*. The number of panels on the remaining stands in the *Cnd* is unknown.

The remaining two features of the shape of the decorated stands: namely, the *twin curved top* and the *central vertical line*, are considered together next, in connection with the decoration of the stands.

#### *The shape and decoration of panel 1 of the stands*

The greatest agreement among the primary copies of the stands in the *Cnd* is about the shape and decoration of panel 1, at the top of the stand. The agreements and disagreements are tabulated as follows:

Table 5. The shape and decoration of panel 1										
the shape of panel 1 is represented by the symbols:  (twin-curved top and a central vertical line),  (twin-curved top and no central vertical line),  (single curved top); the decoration of panel 1 comprises one or more human images, each of which is represented by a letter <b>p</b> (human portrait = head or head and shoulders), <b>b</b> (human bust = upper body to the waist), <b>f</b> (human figure = upper body and any part below the waist); and using the following symbols: # indicates a decoration other than a human image, × indicates the absence of any decoration.										
<i>Cnd</i>	<i>Agency director</i>	<b>C</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>O</b>	<b>P</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>W</b>
4	 Praef. praet. illyr.			 b b	 f f			 b b	 f f	 b b
37	 Proc. asiae			 f f	 f f		 f f	 f f	 f f	 f f
39	 Proc. achaiae			 ##	 b b		 f f	 ##	 b b	 b b ?
41	 Com. orientis			 b b	 b b			 b b	 b b ?	 f f
43	 Praef. august.			 b b	 f f			 f f	 b b	 f f
45	 Vic. asianae		 b b	 b b	 b b			 f f ?	 b b	 f f
47	 Vic. ponti.	 b b		 f f	 f f		 f f	 f f ?	 f f	 f f ?
49	 Vic. thrac.			 p	 p			 p	 b	 × ×
81	 Cons. palaest.	p p		 p p	 p p		 f f	 p p ?	 b b	 f f
87	 Praef. praet. ital.			 p	 p	 f f ?		 p ?	 p	 p p
90	 Praef. urb. rom.			 f f	 f f			 f f	 f f	 b b
118	 Proc. africae	 b b		 f f	 f f		 f f	 b b	 f f	 f f
120	 Vic. africae			 p	 f f			 p p	 p p	 f f
121	 Vic. hispan.			 f f	 f f			 f f	 f f	 f f

<i>Cnd</i>	<i>Agency director</i>	<b>C</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>O</b>	<b>P</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>V</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>W</b>
123	 Vic. sept. prov.			 ff	 ff			 ff	 ff	 pp
161	 Corr. ap. et cal.			 pp	 bb			 pp	 ? bb	 ff
163	 Praes. dal.	bb		 bb	 bb			 pp ?	 bb	 bb

In all primary copies, panel 1 is enclosed by a frame, except two panels in **C** from *Cnd.81, 163* and the one in **M** from *Cnd.118*. The fragmentary condition of **C**, whose five folia, or ten pages, contain a copy of only four of the seventeen stands in the *Cnd*, makes it impossible to know whether the two unframed panels represent an artistic preference. The unframed panel in **M** is its only panel of this type. Three observations suggest that these unframed panels in **CM** are inaccurate copies of three drawings in the *Cnd*: first, all other primary copies of *Cnd.81, 118, 163* have a framed panel 1; second, while the copy in **M** from *Cnd.118* is unframed, it is framed with a twin-curved top in **C**; third, while the copies in **C** from *Cnd.81, 163* are unframed, both are framed with a twin-curved top in **M**.

In all primary copies with a framed panel 1, the upper outer edge is drawn with a twin-curved top, except in **N** from *Cnd.45*, in **C** from *Cnd.47*, and in **M** from *Cnd.49, 87, 90*, which all have a single-curved top. Since the copies in **M** from *Cnd.49, 87* are each decorated with a single human image (as are those in **OPV** from *Cnd.49, 87*), the artist of **M** may have considered a single-curved top to be more appropriate than a twin-curved top which, elsewhere, is mostly associated with two human images. But the single-curved top in the copy in **N** from *Cnd.45*, in **C** from *Cnd.47*, and in **M** from *Cnd.90* exists in panels decorated with two human images. Consequently, since each of the single-curved tops in **C-N** and **M** do not exist any other primary copy of the corresponding drawing in the *Cnd*, the single-curved tops in **C-N,M** are probably inaccurate copies of those in the *Cnd*. It is probable, therefore, that the top of every stand in the *Cnd* was drawn with a twin-curved top.

In all primary copies, panel 1 is drawn with a twin-curved top and a central vertical line that divides the panel into two sections, with the exceptions noted in the preceding table, which are summarised as follows. **OP** have 17/17 twin-curved tops and a central vertical line in each one except the copies in **OP** for *Cnd.49, 87* and in **O** for *Cnd.120*. **W** has 17/17 twin-curved tops and a central vertical line in each one except the copy for *Cnd.4*. Copy **B**, in the only five drawings of stands that are not reprinted twice or more elsewhere, has 5/5 twin-curved tops and a central vertical line. Against the almost complete association of a twin-curved top with a central vertical line in panel 1 in **OPW** (and possibly **B**), there is an almost complete absence of such an association in **VM** (and possibly **C-N**). **V** has 17/17 twin-curved tops but only three with a central vertical line, while **M** has 13/17 twin-curved tops, but only four, and possibly two others, with a central vertical line. In **C**, its copy of *Cnd.118* is its only available drawing of a panel 1 with a twin-curved top, and this panel has no central vertical line.

Given the almost complete presence of a central vertical line in **OPW** (?**B**) and its almost complete absence in **VM** (-?**C-N**), it is possible that the agreements within these two groups of copies resulted from artistic preference, or artistic collaboration, or a workshop preference, especially between **OP** and **VM**. But differences within these two groups suggest that, if such an influence operated, there was no complete standardisation. For example: the copies in **VM** from *Cnd.4, 123* include a central vertical line for the two panels, and agree in excluding the line in their copies of *Cnd.37, 43, 45, 47, 81, 120, 123*, but they differ in their copies of seven or nine others (*Cnd. 39, 41?, 49, 87, 90, 118, 121, 161?, 163*) which include three copies (those from *Cnd. 49, 87, 90*) where **M**, but not **V**, has a single-curved top, and another (for *Cnd.118*) where **M** has an unframed panel. The only difference between **OP** in their association of a twin-curved top with a central vertical line exists in their copies of *Cnd.120*, where **P** has such a line which is absent from **O**. There is no instance where speculation about the presence or absence of a central vertical line in a drawing in the *Cnd* depends on the agreement only of **OP** or only of **VM** and, from the other agreements that exist, it is reasonable to conclude that, at least 14/17 drawings of the

stands in the *Cnd* probably had a central vertical line that divided panel 1 into two sections. It is uncertain, however, whether such a central vertical line existed in the three drawings in *Cnd.49, 87, 120*, which are mentioned again below.

In all primary copies where panel 1 is drawn with a twin-curved top, and with a central vertical line dividing the panel into two sections, the panel was decorated with a human image in each section, except in **OV** for the panel in *Cnd.39*, for which both copies have different abstract geometric patterns, and in **W** for *Cnd.49*, for which it has no decoration. The copy of the panel in *Cnd.39* is the only panel in both **O** and **V** that is not decorated with either one or two human images. This agreement between **OV** is significant, but there is insufficient evidence to explain why they have no human images; why they use a geometric pattern instead of human images; and why this pattern differs in these two copies.





In all primary copies where panel 1 is drawn with a twin-curved top, but without a central vertical line, the panel was also decorated with two human images, except in **OPVM** from *Cnd.49, 87*, and in **O** from *Cnd.120*, all of which represent the *Cnd* decoration with a single human image. **OPVM**, in their copies of *Cnd.49*, agree in drawing a single human image but, where **OPV** framed this panel with a twin-curved top, **M** has a single-curved top; **W** represents the same panel with a twin-curved top and a central vertical line, but has no decoration. **OPVM**, in their copies of *Cnd.87*, have the same frame and single human image as they do for *Cnd.49* but, while **W** again has a twin-curved top and a central vertical line, this drawing has two human images. The copies in **PVMW** from *Cnd.120* are decorated with two human images (portraits in **VM** and figures in **PW**) but only with a single human portrait in **O**.

There is insufficient evidence to explain the differences between the primary copies of these three panels but it is probable that the panel in *Cnd.120* was decorated with two human images and that the copy in **O**, with its single image, is inaccurate. But the type of human image or images in panel 1 in *Cnd.49, 87* are unknown. The differences between the copies in **OPVMW** from *Cnd.49, 87, 120* perhaps had their origin with the drawing in *Cnd.49* which, for some unknown reason, gave rise to the only undecorated panel in **W**; to the first panel in **OP** that had both a twin-curved top and a single human image; and to the first of three panels in **M** that had a single-curved top. And, as noted above, the stands in *Cnd.49, 120* were, together with *Cnd.45*, the only three whose stems and tripods may not have been coloured blue.

While the primary copies mostly agree about the shape of panel 1 on the stands in the *Cnd*, and agree almost completely about its decoration - both about the entity represented (human image) and their number (two, or, in one or two panels, only one) - there is no apparent agreement about the form of this human image in the *Cnd*: that is, about whether the images were human portraits or busts or figures, or about the exact details of each image.

It could be thought that the form of the human images in panel 1 may have varied according to the number of panels on the stand: that is, that the height of panel 1 may have decreased as the number of panels on the stand increased and, if so, that that the height of panel 1 may have determined whether its human image was a portrait (in a short panel), or bust (medium panel), or figure (tall panel). But there is no observed relationship between the height of panel 1 and the form of its human image; or between the form of the human image in panel 1 and the number of panels on the stand: two portraits exist on stands with either 2 or 3 panels; two busts on stands with between 2-4 panels; and two figures on stands with 1-4 panels. These observations are tabulated as follows:

Table 6. A comparison between the number of panels, and the form of the human image in panel 1  
the figure under each copy indicates the number of panels on the drawing of the stand in that copy

<i>Cnd</i>	<i>Agency director</i>	2 portraits	2 busts	2 figures	1 portrait	1 bust	1 figure	no human image
4	 Praef. praet. illyr.		OVW 4 4 3	PM 4 3				
37	 Proc. asiae			OPBVMW 3 3 1 3 2 3				
39	 Proc. achaiae		PM-?W 4 4 - 3	B 2				OV 4 5
41	 Com. orientis		OPVM 4 3 4 3	W 2				



<i>Cnd</i>	<i>Agency director</i>	2 portraits	2 busts	2 figures	1 portrait	1 bust	1 figure	no human image
43	Praef. august.		OM 4 4	PVW 3 4 2				
45	Vic. asianae		NOPM 3 4 4 4	W-?V 3 - 4				
47	Vic. pontic.		C 4 ?	OPBM -?VW 4 3 3 4 - 3 2				
49	Vic. thrac.				OPV 4 2 3	M 3		W 2
81	Cons. palaest.	COP-?V 2 2 3- 2?	M 3	BW 2 1				
87	Praef. praet. ital.	W 3?		?F? 3 ?	OPM -?V 3 3 4 - 2?			
90	Praef. urb. rom.		W 4	OPVM 3 3 3 3				
118	Proc. afric.		CV 2 3	OPBMW 2 3 3 2 3				
120	Vic. afric.	VM 3 3		PW 3 2	O 3			
121	Vic. hispan.			OPVM -?W 3 3 2 2 - 3				
123	Vic. sept. prov.	W 2		OPVM 2 2 3 2				
161	Corr. ap. et cal.	OV 4 3	PM 3 3	W 3				
163	Praes. dal.	?V 2	COPMW 3 3 3 3 3					

*The shape and decoration of panel 2 and of others below it*

Most primary copies of the drawings of the decorated panels in the *Cnd* agree on the shape of the panels below panel 1. The panels are separated from each other by between 1-3 horizontal or slightly curved lines, or a decorative form of them, drawn between the outer side edges of the panel. The shape of the two side edges of all panels is determined by their position on a tapering stand whose width decreases gradually and evenly from its top to its base.

The central vertical line that is present in most copies of panel 1 in the *Cnd* is sometimes extended downwards into one or more of the remaining panels, as indicated in the following table:

Table 7. The existence of a central vertical line in panels below panel 1 the numbers 2-4 identify the number of the panel in which such a line occurs; the symbols   and    indicate whether the line is a single or a double vertical line, × indicates where there is no line; and ? where the presence of a line is uncertain										
<i>Cnd</i>	<i>Agency director</i>	C	N	O	P	F	B	V	M	W
4	Praef. praet. illyr.			×	×			×	×	×
37	Proc. asiae			×	×		×	×	×	2 ?
39	Proc. achaiae			2  3	2  3		×	2 ?		2  3
41	Com. orientis			3	2  3			×	×	2
43	Praef. august.			3	3			×	×	2
45	Vic. asianae		×	×	2 ?			×	×	2 ? 3
47	Vic. pontic.	3		4	2  3		×	×	×	2
49	Vic. thrac.			×	×			×	×	2
81	Cons. palaest.	×		×	×		×	×	×	×
87	Praef. praet. ital.			2	2	3		×	×	2  3
90	Praef. urb. rom.			×	×			×	×	2  3  4
118	Proc. afric.	×		2	2  3		×			3 ?
120	Vic. afric.			2   3	2   3			×	×	×
121	Vic. hispan.			3	2			×	×	2 ?
123	Vic. sept. prov.			2	×			×	×	×
161	Corr. ap. et cal.			4	2   3			×	×	2  3
163	Praes. dal.	2		2   3	2 ?			×	×	2  3

Most primary copies of the drawings of the decorated panels in the *Cnd* disagree on the decorations of the panels below panel 1 and, sometimes, on the number of these panels. The different representations are described as follows:

*Panel 2*

*Cnd.4: Praefectus praetorio illyrici*

**O** (2 addorsed half-height birds)  $\neq$  **PM** (a human bust holding a bird)  $\neq$  **V** (bust of a creature holding a bird)  $\neq$  **W** (2 human figures);

*Cnd.37 Proconsul asiae*

**O** (3 arches with supporting vertical lines)  $\neq$  **P** (4 arches with supporting vertical lines)  $\neq$  **W** (3 vertical lines dividing the panel into 4 sections)  $\neq$  **V** (7 curved oblique lines)  $\neq$  **M** (5 curved oblique double lines)  $\neq$  **B** (no second panel);

*Cnd.39: Proconsul achaiae*

**OPVMW** (2 human figures)  $\neq$  **B** (a central flower flanked by a leaf on each side);

*Cnd.41: Comes orientis*

**O** (a (×)-shaped cross across the panel, over a central circle, with a half circle in the middle of the outer edge of each triangle of the cross)  $\neq$  **P** (2 half-mushroom shapes)  $\neq$  **V** (foliage decoration with a central circle and 4 main leaves arranged in a (×)-shape)  $\neq$  **M** (foliage decoration with a central circle of 4 leaves aligned in a (×) shape and a circle between the upper and lower leaves)  $\neq$  **W** (a central vertical line bisecting both a quadrilateral diamond and a (×)-shaped cross attached to the top and outer side edges of the panel);

*Cnd.43: Praefectus augustalis*

**O** (2 concentric circles in the centre and 1 smaller circle or dot in each corner of the panel)  $\neq$  **P** (2 addorsed half-mushroom shapes)  $\neq$  **V** (2 horizontally-connected crescents with their points facing down)  $\neq$  **M** (a circle enclosing a central dot or circle)  $\neq$  **W** (9 lines: arranged as 4 diagonally-crossing lines and a central vertical line);

*Cnd.45: Vicarius asianae*

**N** (4 arches with supporting vertical lines)  $\neq$  **OP** (2 addorsed half-mushroom shapes)  $\neq$  **W** (2 human figures)  $\neq$  **M** (5 vertical lines down part of the panel)  $\neq$  **V** (unrecognisable decoration);

*Cnd.47: Vicarius ponticae*

**C** (erased); **O** (2 vertical lines dividing the panel into 3 sections; 3 circles arranged vertically in the central section; equidistant oblique lines arranged vertically in both other sections)  $\neq$  **P** (2 addorsed half-mushroom shapes)  $\neq$  **B** (2 vertical lines dividing the panel into 3 sections; the central section has diagonally-crossing lines; the left and right sections have a straight line curved at the top towards the outer edge)  $\neq$  **V** (3? vertical lines down part of the panel)  $\neq$  **M** (5? vertical lines down part of the panel)  $\neq$  **W** (unrecognisable decoration incorporating a central vertical line);

*Cnd.49: Vicarius thraciarum*

**O** (an armless human figure wearing a band from the right shoulder to the left waist and standing on 3 arches with supporting vertical lines)  $\neq$  **P** (an armless human figure wearing a harness with several diagonally-crossing straps and standing on 2 arches with supporting vertical lines)  $\neq$  **V** (single-stemmed plant)  $\neq$  **M** (foliage decoration)  $\neq$  **W** (a central vertical line);

*Cnd.81: Consularis palaestinae*

**O** (2 vertical lines dividing the panel into 3 sections; the central section has 5 equidistant (u)-shapes arranged vertically, 3 half-mushroom shapes in both the left and right sections)  $\neq$  **P** (2 vertical lines dividing the panel into 3 undecorated sections)  $\neq$  **B** (3 arches with supporting vertical lines)  $\neq$  **M** (4 vertical lines down part of the panel)  $\neq$  **C** (gold background; no other decoration)  $\neq$  **W** (no second panel)  $\neq$  **V** (unrecognisable decoration in either a second panel or the bottom of the first);

*Cnd.87: Praefectus praetorio italiae*

**O** (2 human figures with both arms outstretched towards each other)  $\neq$  **M** (2 human figures holding hands)  $\neq$  **PW** (2 human figures without arms)  $\neq$  **V** (5-6 groups of decorations, possibly including a human bust)  $\neq$  **F** (undecorated);

*Cnd.90: Praefectus urbis romae*

**OVM** (1 human portrait, head turned to the left) ≠ **P** (1 human portrait, head facing the front) ≠ **W** (central vertical line between an unrecognisable decoration that could be interpreted as a torso to each of the busts in panel 1);

*Cnd.118: Proconsul africae*

**OP** (addorsed half-mushroom shapes) ≠ **B** (4 arches with supporting vertical lines) ≠ **V** (foliage decoration with 4 leaves aligned in a (×) shape) ≠ **M** (4 vertical lines down part of the panel) ≠ **W** (a (×)-shaped cross across the panel) ≠ **C** (gold background, no other decoration);

*Cnd.120: Vicarius africae*

**OP** (2 addorsed half-mushroom shapes) ≠ **M** (4 vertical lines down part of the panel) ≠ **W** (a (×)-shaped cross across the panel) ≠ **V** (unrecognisable decoration);

*Cnd.121: Vicarius hispaniarum*

**O** (2 vertical lines dividing the panel into 3 sections, each containing a half-mushroom shape) ≠ **P** (3 vertical lines dividing the panel into 4 undecorated sections) ≠ **V** (6 oblique curved lines) ≠ **M** (4 vertical lines down part of the panel) ≠ **W** (3 vertical lines dividing the panel into 4 sections, of which the second from the left has 2 vertical lines down part of the panel);

*Cnd.123: Vicarius septem provinciarum*

**V** (5 oblique curved lines) ≠ **M** (3 vertical lines down part of the panel);

**OPW** (2 horizontal lines divide the panel into 3 horizontal sections - s.1, s.2, s.3):

(s.1): **O** (3 vertical lines divide the section into 4 undecorated sub-sections) ≠ **P** (addorsed half-mushroom shapes) ≠ **W** (2 confronting human figures);

(s.2): **OP** (5 small circles arranged in the shape of a (+)-cross, which in **O** has a quadrilateral diamond frame) ≠ **W** (a (×)-cross across the section);

(s.3): **OPW** (undecorated);

*Cnd.161: Corrector apuliae et calabriae*

**OP** (addorsed double-stemmed half-mushroom shapes) ≠ **P** (addorsed single-stemmed half-mushroom shapes) ≠ **M** (foliage decoration with 4 main leaves aligned in a (×) shape) ≠ **V** (unrecognisable decoration) ≠ **W** (a central vertical line dividing the panel into 2 undecorated sections);

*Cnd.163: Praeses dalmatiae*

**C** (a (^)-shape across the panel bisected by a central vertical line) ≠ **O** (a central vertical double line, with horizontal lines between them, dividing the panel into 2 sections each containing half-mushroom shapes) ≠ **P** (2 half-mushroom shapes) ≠ **V** (4 oblique curved lines) ≠ **M** (foliage decoration) ≠ **W** (2 human figures).

### Panel 3

*Cnd.4: Praefectus praetorio illyrici*

**O** (bust of a creature) ≠ **P** (a half-height bird with wings stretched upwards) ≠ **V** (human bust) ≠ **M** (foliage decoration) ≠ **W** (a curved double line, bent for a short distance at the right edge of the panel, above 4 parallel vertical lines across the rest of the panel - together suggesting the representation of a cylinder);

*Cnd.37: Proconsul asiae*

**O** (a (M)-shaped decoration) ≠ **P** (a (×)-shaped cross across the panel) ≠ **V** (foliage decoration based on intersecting (×)- and (+)-shaped crosses) ≠ **W** (intersecting (×)- and (+)-shaped crosses across the panel and 3 other lines) ≠ **BM** (no third panel);

*Cnd.39: Proconsul achaiae*

**OP** (2 human figures separated by a central vertical line) ≠ **M** (a column) ≠ **W** (only a central vertical line) ≠ **V** (undecorated) ≠ **B** (no third panel);

*Cnd.41: Comes orientis*

**O** (3 vertical lines dividing the panel into 4 sections each containing a circle at the top) ≠ **P** (a central vertical line) ≠ **VM** (3 vertical lines down part of the panel) ≠ **W** (no third panel);

*Cnd.43: Praefectus augustalis*

**OP** (3 vertical lines dividing the panel into 4 sections) ≠ **VM** (3 vertical lines down part of the panel) ≠ **W** (a central vertical line) ≠ **W** (no third panel);

*Cnd.45: Vicarius asianae*

**N** (a (×)-shaped cross across the panel with a small circle in each triangle) ≠ **O** (2 vertical lines dividing the panel into 3 sections, with 4 equidistant horizontal lines arranged vertically in the central section) ≠ **P** (a (×)-shaped cross across the panel) ≠ **W** (3 (V)-shaped lines arranged vertically and bisected by a central vertical line; an additional oblique line in the lower right side) ≠ **V** (3? vertical lines down part of the panel) ≠ **M** (4 vertical lines down part of the panel);

*Cnd.47: Vicarius ponticae*

**C** (3? vertical lines dividing the panel into 4 sections) ≠ **O** (2 addorsed half-mushroom shapes) ≠ **P** (a central vertical line flanked on each side by another vertical line, together dividing the panel into 4 sections) ≠ **B** (3 arches with supporting vertical lines) ≠ **V** (foliage decoration in the top half of the panel) ≠ **M** (4 dots arranged horizontally) ≠ **W** (no third panel);

*Cnd.49: Vicarius thraciarum*

**O** (2 vertical lines dividing the panel into 3 sections) ≠ **M** (4 vertical lines down part of the panel) ≠ **V** (foliage decoration) ≠ **PW** (no third panel);

*Cnd.81: Consularis palaestinae*

**P** (addorsed half-mushroom shapes) ≠ **M** (foliage decoration) ≠ **COBW** = ?**V** (no third panel);

*Cnd.87: Praefectus praetorio italiae*

**OP** (1 human figure, facing left with both arms outstretched) ≠ **F** (2 vertical lines dividing the panel into 3 undecorated sections) ≠ **W** (2 human figures) ≠ **M** (3 vertical lines down part of the panel) ≠ **V** (no apparent third panel);

*Cnd.90: Praefectus urbis romae*

**O** (2 addorsed half-mushroom shapes whose lower ends are crossed by a double horizontal line) ≠ **P** (2 vertical lines dividing the panel into 3 sections) ≠ **V** (4 curved oblique lines) ≠ **W** (a central vertical line between an unrecognisable decoration that could be interpreted as the legs to what could be a torso to each of the busts in panel 1) ≠ **M** (3 vertical lines down part of the panel);

*Cnd.118: Proconsul africae*

**P** (2 addorsed half-mushroom shapes) ≠ **B** (4 oblique curved lines) ≠ **V** (unrecognisable decoration) ≠ **W** (a central vertical line dividing the panel into 2 sections with an unrecognisable and different decoration in each section) ≠ **COM** (no third panel);

*Cnd.120: Vicarius africae*

**O** (a central vertical double line dividing the panel into 2 sections each containing a horizontal double line across its middle) ≠ **P** (a central vertical line dividing the panel into 2 sections) ≠ **V** (2 vertical double lines dividing the panel into 3 sections) ≠ **M** (3 vertical lines down part of the panel) ≠ **W** (no third panel);

*Cnd.121: Vicarius hispaniarum*

**O** (a central vertical double line dividing the panel into 2 sections each of which has 3 equidistant oblique lines vertically arranged) ≠ **P** (7 lines: arranged as 4 diagonally-crossing lines) ≠ **W** (9 lines: arranged as 4 diagonally-crossing lines) ≠ **VM** (no third panel);

*Cnd.123 Vicarius septem provinciarum*

**V** ≠ (unrecognisable decoration) ≠ **OPMW** (no third panel);

*Cnd.161: Corrector apuliae et calabriae*

**O** (addorsed half-mushroom shapes) ≠ **P** (a central vertical double line dividing the panel into 2 sections, each containing 3 equidistant dots vertically arranged) ≠ **V** (4 oblique curved lines) ≠ **M** (4 vertical lines down part of the panel) ≠ **W** (a central vertical line dividing the panel into 2 undecorated sections);

*Cnd.163: Praeses dalmatiae*

**C** (a vertical line across half the panel height in both the left and right halves of the panel) ≠ **O** (a central vertical double line dividing the panel into 2 sections each containing half-mushroom shapes) ≠ **P** (a horizontal band, containing 3 horizontally-arranged dots at the top of the panel, below which there are 2 addorsed half-mushroom shapes) ≠ **M** (foliage decoration) ≠ **V** (no third panel).

*Panel 4:*

A fourth panel exists only in some copies of the following ten of the seventeen decorated stands in the *Cnd*: namely,

*Cnd.4: Praefectus praetorio illyrici*

**O** (double elliptical lines forming an oval shape above 4 parallel vertical lines across the rest of the panel height - together suggesting the representation of a cylinder)  $\neq$  **P** (4 parallel vertical lines dividing the panel into 5 sections)  $\neq$  **V** (3 vertical lines dividing the panel into 4 sections)  $\neq$  **MW** (no fourth panel);

*Cnd.39: Proconsul achaiae*

**O** (2 vertical lines dividing the panel into 3 sections)  $\neq$  **P** (a (×)-shaped cross with a round object in each triangle)  $\neq$  **M** (foliage decoration)  $\neq$  **V** (undecorated)  $\neq$  **BW** (no fourth panel);

*Cnd.41: Comes orientis*

**O** (2 vertical lines dividing the panel into 3 sections)  $\neq$  **V** (unrecognisable decoration)  $\neq$  **PMW** (no fourth panel);

*Cnd.43: Praefectus augustalis*

**OP** (3 vertical lines dividing the panel into 4 sections)  $\neq$  **VM** (3 vertical lines down part of the panel)  $\neq$  **W** (no fourth panel);

*Cnd.45: Vicarius asiana*

**O** (a (×)-shaped cross across the panel)  $\neq$  **P** (2 vertical lines dividing the panel into 3 sections)  $\neq$  **V** (a (×)-shaped cross across the panel with a dot in the left and right triangles)  $\neq$  **M** (4 curved oblique lines)  $\neq$  **NW** (no fourth panel);

*Cnd.47: Vicarius ponticae*

**C** (a (×)-shaped cross across the panel)  $\neq$  **O** (a central vertical line)  $\neq$  **M** (3 vertical lines down part of the panel)  $\neq$  **PBVW** (no fourth panel);

*Cnd.49: Vicarius thraciarum*

**O** (2 vertical lines dividing the panel into 3 sections with 4 equidistant horizontal lines vertically arranged in the central section)  $\neq$  **PVMW** (no fourth panel);

*Cnd.87: Praefectus praetorio italiae*

**M** (undecorated)  $\neq$  **OPFVW** (no fourth panel);

*Cnd.90: Praefectus urbis romae*

**W** (a central vertical line)  $\neq$  **OPVM** (no fourth panel);

*Cnd.161: Corrector apuliae et calabriae*

**O** (adorned half-mushroom shapes separated by a central vertical line)  $\neq$  **PVMW** (no fourth panel).

Copy **V** is the only copy with five panels on any of its decorated stands. These exist on its copy of *Cnd.39*, but this fifth panel in **V**, like its panels 3 and 4 in the same drawing, is undecorated.

Apparent agreements between some copies may indicate the entities that were depicted in a few panels of the decorated stands in the *Cnd*. For example, panel 2 in *Cnd.39* probably contained drawings of two human figures (**OPVMW**); and a human portrait in *Cnd.90* (**OPVM**); perhaps a (×)-shaped cross in *Cnd.41*, either as its only decoration (**O**) or as part of other decorations (**V**  $\neq$  **M**  $\neq$  **W**). But the precise form and details of any of the drawings in the *Cnd* are unknown.

*External evidence*

There are known to exist three pictures, created as carvings on ivory between c.400 and 449, that contain images of decorated objects that are similar in shape and decoration to the decorated stands in copies of the *Cnd*. Each of these three pictures was created as one of the two outer covers of a diptych (a pair of tablets - rectangular object of thin and inflexible material, usually of wood or ivory - joined along one side by a hinge, clasps or straps) whose inner surfaces were often waxed to be used as writing surfaces.

*Probianus diptych*

Two of these three pictures were created as the ivory outer covers of a diptych<sup>5</sup> celebrating Rufius Probianus, a *vicarius urbis romae*, probably around the year 400<sup>6</sup>. When these two covers are opened and

<sup>5</sup> Berlin, Staatsbibliothek - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Manuscript Department, Ms. theol. lat. fol. 323, Ivory Diptych (see Plate 1).

<sup>6</sup> Jones, A.H.M., Martindale, J.R. & Morris, J., *The prosopography of the later Roman empire* A.D. 260-641 (Cambridge, University Press, 1971-1992) (= *PLRE*), vol.2, p.909: *Rufius Probianus. V.C. vicarius urbis romae*

laid flat to display both outer sides beside each other, the left cover (*PL*) has the inscription VICARIVS VRBIS ROMAE and the right cover (*PR*) the inscription RVFIVS PROBIANVS *V(ir) C(larissimus)*.

In both *PL-PR* the upper half of the picture has a representation of Probianus and, to his right, level with the back of his chair, there is the image of a decorated object that is depicted almost identically on both covers as a flat (two-dimensional) object which has the following shape:

- the width of the object decreases gradually and evenly from its top to its lowest visible part, with beading along its entire outer edge;
- the top outer edge of the object has a twin-curved top;
- the surface of the object is divided into two panels separated by a double horizontal row of beading extending between its outer edges;
- each panel is divided into two sections by a central vertical line of beading which extends below the second panel.

These four features of the shape of the decorated object in both *PL-PR* are identical with the agreed shape of almost all the decorated stands in the primary copies of the *Cnd*, with the exception of the following differences:

- the beading along the outer edge, and between the panels, in both *PL-PR* is not represented in copies of the *Cnd*;
- while panel 2 in both *PL-PR* is divided into two sections by a central vertical line, this panel it is not similarly divided in every primary copy of the *Cnd* but, significantly, panel 2 is divided more often by such a line than is any other panel below it;
- The object in both *PL-PR* does not have the tripod that existed on the drawings of the decorated stands in the *Cnd*. The object in both *PL-PR* is shown in an upright position and is not supported by a person, so it is either standing or is fastened to the wall behind it. But the lower part of the object in both *PL-PR* is obscured by the image of the scribe in front of it so that, if the object was supported, the form of its support is unknown.

The decoration of panels 1-2 of the object in both *PL-PR* is almost identical:

- the left and right section of panel 1 each contains the image of a human bust; in *PL* the two face slightly toward each other, while in *PR* they both face forwards.
- the left and right section of panel 2 each contains the image of a human figure, turned completely sideways to face the central vertical line of beading; each figure has outstretched arms and, with forearms and hands covered by a cloth, holds a circular object such as a bowl or basket or similar container.
- the surface below panel 2 contains an extension of the central vertical line of beading down to its connection with the image of a cylindrical object depicted as a vessel apparently containing a liquid. Partly above and behind this cylinder, there is:
  - in *PL*, a quadrilateral diamond on each side of the central vertical line,
  - in *PR*, a foliage decoration on each side of the central vertical line.

The decoration of panel 1 in both *PL-PR* delineates the same entities (human images) and in the same number (two) that probably formed the decoration of every panel 1 in the *Cnd*, except possibly the ones in *Cnd.49* and *87* which may each have had a single human image. The decoration of panel 2 in both *PL-PR* (figures with covered forearms and hands holding an object resembling a bowl) delineates an image that is common in late Roman art and, where such images occur in a secular context, represent the tributary personifications of dioceses or provinces or cities. The same representation was also present in several drawings in the *Cnd*. Such personifications, including some in the *Cnd*, are sometimes depicted wearing a mural crown, which may be represented on the human figure in the right section of panel 2 in *PR*.

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[...] diptych, under two (unknown) emperors. Perhaps identical with Probianus I [the praefectus urbis romae who was the addressee of Cod.Theod.14.10.4, issued at Ravenna, 12 Dec 416]. If so, he was vicarius urbis early in the fifth century.

The cylindrical object below panel 2, depicted in both *PL-PR* as a vessel, apparently containing a liquid. This may also have been represented on the first drawing of a decorated stand in the *Cnd. W*, below panel 2 in its copy of *Cnd.4*, has a curved double line that is bent upwards and backwards for a short distance at the right edge of the panel, above four parallel vertical lines down the rest of the panel, which together may suggest the representation of a cylinder.<sup>7</sup> It may also have been represented in *O*, below panel 3 in its copy of *Cnd.4*, where there are double elliptical lines forming an oval shape above four parallel vertical lines down the rest of the panel.<sup>8</sup>

*Astyrius diptych fragment*

The third picture was created in the year 449 as part of one of the two outer ivory covers of a diptych<sup>9</sup> celebrating Flavius Astyrius, a *consul*.<sup>10</sup> This third ivory picture is part of the outer left cover (*AL*) and has the inscription *MAG(istro) VTRIVSQ(ue) MIL(itiae) CONS(ul) OE<=R>D(inarius)*. The ivory picture that formed the outer right cover is not now known to exist, but a drawing of it *<AR>* was made and printed in 1759,<sup>11</sup> which copied its inscription as: *FL(avius) ASTYRIVS V(ir) C(larissimus) ET INL(ustris) COM(es) EX*.

In both *AL-<AR>*, the picture has a representation of Astyrius and, to his right, behind his chair, there is the image of a decorated object which:

- in both *AL-<AR>* is tapered in a manner similar to the image of the object in both *PL-PR* and the drawings of the decorated stands in the copies of the *Cnd*;
- is probably divided into two panels by a horizontal line between its outer edges. Any base line to a second panel in *AL* is obscured by the attendant, but the drawing in *<AR>* has a horizontal base line marking the bottom of a second panel;
- is associated in *AL* with a conical vessel in its middle and, in the drawing *<AR>* with a bowl that appears to be attached to the middle of the object.

The object in both *AL-<AR>*, like the one in both *PL-PR*, does not have a tripod and for the same reason: namely, that the lower part of the object is obscured by the image of the person (a scribe in both *PL-PR*; an attendant in both *AL-<AR>*) depicted as standing in front of it.

The decorated objects in both *AL-<AR>* differ from the ones in both *PL-PR* in the following respects:

- the objects have no apparent beading along the outer edge or between the panels;
- the top outer edge of the objects has a single-curved top (which exists only in the copy in *N* from *Cnd.45*, in *C* of *Cnd.47* and in *M* of *Cnd.49, 87, 90* and as indicated above, probably did not exist in the *Cnd*);
- the objects have no central vertical line dividing each panel into two sections;
- the object in the drawing *<AR>* is shown in a vertical position and being carried by the attendant in front of it, whose right hand holds the object below the vessel that is attached to it; the drawing *<AL>*, which represents a copy of the picture in *AL*, also shows the object in a vertical position, but the right hand of the attendant holds a conical vessel whose relationship with the decorated object behind it is thus uncertain. But in *AL* itself, both the decorated object and the vessel held by the attendant are inclined at the same oblique angle to suggest either that the vessel was attached to the object, or that the attendant is separately carrying the vessel in his right hand and the decorated object in his other hand;

and differ in their decorations in that:

- in *AL* panel 1 has the images of three human busts (in *<AR>* only two human busts);

<sup>7</sup> See *Plate 2*.

<sup>8</sup> See *Plate 2*.

<sup>9</sup> Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, Inventar Nr. Kg.54:207a: ivory tablet See *Plate 3*

<sup>10</sup> PLRE vol.2, pp.174-175: *Fl. Astyrius* [on] *ivory diptych* [...] *commemorating his consulship* [...] (*Asturius*) *elsewhere*; [...] *consul (West) a. 449* [...].

<sup>11</sup> Gori, A.F., *Thesaurus veterum diptychorum consularium et ecclesiasticorum tum eiusdem auctoris cum aliorum lucubrationes illustratus ac in tres tomos divisus*. [...] (Florentiae, Ex Typographia Caietani Albizzini, 1759). Tab.III n.i-ii, pp. 58-59. See *Plate 3*

- in *AL* panel 2 is entirely decorated with a pattern of diagonally-crossing lines (4 in one direction, 6 in the other);  
This pattern exists in some primary copies of the *Cnd*: for example, diagonally-crossing lines exist in copies of *Cnd.121* (panel 3 in **PW**), *Cnd.43* (panel 2 in **W**) and part of *Cnd.47* (panel 2 in **B**).
- in *<AR>* panel 2 is decorated with a (×)-shaped cross across the panel  
This pattern exists in some primary copies of the *Cnd*: for example, a (×)-shaped cross exists as part of the decorations in copies of *Cnd.41* (panel 2 in **OV?M?W?**); a similar cross exists in copies of *Cnd.37* (panel 3 in **PVW**), *Cnd.45* (panel 3 in **NP**), and *Cnd.118* (panel 2 in **VW**).

While the images of these decorated objects in *PL-PR* differ from those in *AL-<AR>* in the shape of their tops, and the presence or absence of a central vertical line, they have sufficient in common to identify them as different representations of the same entity - that is, one that has a tapered shape; has a surface divided horizontally into at least two panels; is decorated with human images in panel 1; has a vessel attached to it; and is an entity considered important enough to require its depiction in a picture representing a ceremonial occasion associated with the director of an agency. The decorated stands in the *Cnd* also occurred in pictures representing aspects of an agency: namely, the agency list that followed each of those pictures. The reason for the significance of these decorated objects or stands in these agency contexts is unknown, but its importance is emphasised in the Probianus diptych in which, in both *PL-PR*, the object is shown as having almost twice the height of the scribe standing in front of it.

It will be apparent that the decorated objects in both *PL-PR* and, less precisely in both *AL-<AR>*, represent exactly the same type of entity as that represented by the drawings of the decorated stands in the primary copies of the *Cnd*. The features of the decorated object that are common to these diptychs and drawings have formed the part of the basis, apparently since 1929,<sup>12</sup> of the speculation that the decorated object represented in, especially, the Probianus diptych and the drawings in the primary copies of the *Cnd* represented the type of entity that was described by Ioannes Laurentius Lydus<sup>13</sup> as a *theca*. Ioannes, writing in c.550, stated that the agency of the *praefectus praetorio* included attendants or officers whom he named *thecophori* who carried the busts (*protomai*) of the agency.<sup>14</sup> The *thecophori* obviously carried a *theca*, but he did not state that the busts carried by the *thecophori* were represented on a *theca*. Referring elsewhere to *thecae* in the agency, he described a *theca* (a container or case) as made of beaten gold and commonly called a *kalamarion* and, in the following sentence, he distinguished this object from a *caliculus* which he described as a vessel made of silver and containing ink.<sup>15</sup> He did not state that the silver *caliculus* was attached to the golden *theca*. The word *theca* was used by other writers to refer to a case holding writing implements.<sup>16</sup> Hieronymus (Jerome), like Ioannes, also stated that the words *kalamarion* and *theca* were synonymous terms but, unlike Ioannes, he added that both words were also synonymous with *atramentarium* (ink well or ink stand).<sup>17</sup> If we concluded, from Hieronymus, that a container for writing implements (*theca calamarica*) could also be referred to as an ink stand or ink well (*atramentarium*), because the container for writing implements and the inkwell comprised a single object, it is not clear why Ioannes would not indicate this and, instead, draw attention to a second ink well. If his distinction is ignored and it is assumed that the *theca* which the *thecophori* carried (the decorated object in the Astyrius diptych is shown being carried) was an object which also contained the busts which Ioannes said the *thecophori* carried (busts exist on the decorated objects in the Probianus and Astyrius diptychs, while various human images existed at least in panel 1 of most of the decorated

<sup>12</sup> Delbrueck, R., *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler*. (Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte; im Auftrag des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. No.2) (Berlin & Leipzig, 1929), pp.254-255.

<sup>13</sup> Bandy, A.C., *Ioannes Lydus, On Powers or The Magistracies of the Roman State*, (text, translation and commentary), (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1983).

<sup>14</sup> Ioannes 3.21 (Bandy, pp.166-167).

<sup>15</sup> Ioannes 2.14 (Bandy, pp.104-105).

<sup>16</sup> For example, Suetonius, *Claudius*, 35: *calamariae et graphiariae thecae*; Ammianus Marcellinus, 28.4.13: *notarii [...] cum thecis et pugillaribus tabulis*.

<sup>17</sup> Commentary on Ezekiel, 3.9.2/3 = Glorie, F., (ed.), *S.Hieronymi Presbyteri opera: Pars I: Opera exegetica 4: Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri XIV*. (Corpus Christianorum - Series Latina 75) (Turnholt, Brepols, 1964), p.105: *kalamarion [...] nos atramentarium, ex eo quod atramentum habeat, dicimus; multi significantius thecas vocant, ab eo quod thecae sint scribentium calamarum*.



stands in the *Cnd*); that this object was made of gold (represented by yellow or light-brown colour in most primary copies of the decorated stands in the *Cnd* and with actual gilding used in *C* in its copies of *Cnd.81, 118*); and had an attached vessel (represented in the diptychs and, possibly, in two primary copies of the first decorated stand in the *Cnd*), then it may be possible to identify the decorated object in the diptychs and in primary copies of the *Cnd* with the *theca* mentioned by Ioannes. But such an identification, if it were made, would add nothing to what is known about the agreed shape and decoration of that object.

#### *The importance of the decorated stands*

The importance of these drawings of decorated stands in the primary copies of the *Cnd* is that they provide evidence about the date of the creation of the source from which the corresponding seventeen pictures in the *Cnd* were derived.

The *Cnd* was contained in a codex (**Σ**) that is known to have been in the library of the cathedral chapter at Speyer between 1426/7 and 1550/1. The primary copies of the *Cnd* indicate, by their agreement in the form of some words, that the form of the corresponding words in the *Cnd* represented a misreading of certain letters used in the Carolingian minuscule script that was used in the early 9thC. It is concluded, therefore, that the *Cnd*, which was written in a later form of the same script, was derived from an exemplar (**K** - representing the time of Karolus) written in the early 9thC.

The pictures which contained drawings of these decorated stands in the primary copies of the *Cnd* were each derived from an original picture: that is, from a picture whose unique selection, arrangement and form of drawings was not created as, or intended to represent, a copy or imitation or adaptation of that existing in any antecedent picture. The question is, whether these original pictures were created in the *Cnd*, or in **K**, or whether they were created earlier?

The creator of the original pictures had some specific knowledge, purpose and requirement in order to incorporate drawings of the decorated stands in those pictures.

First, the creator of the source pictures knew the shape and the decoration of the stand. The drawings of the decorated stands in the primary copies of the *Cnd* represent an object that existed when the Probianus diptych was created around the year 400. The images of this object on the Probianus diptych (in both *PL-PR*) represent it with a specific shape (tapered; twin-curved top; divided into panels; a central vertical line dividing its two panels into sections) and decoration (a human bust in each section of panel 1). The same shape, and either the same decoration (human busts), or similar decoration (human portraits or human figures) in panel 1, are common to most drawings of the stands in the primary copies of the *Cnd*. The number of these shared features is increased if, as indicated above, **OW** represent a vessel attached to the stand. An object with a similar shape is represented on the Astyrius diptych fragment carved in 449. This evidence indicates that the drawings of the decorated stands in the *Cnd* represented an object that definitely existed in the 5thC. There is no evidence that an object with these features was created, or existed for the first time, after the 5thC. If the identification of the aforementioned object with the *theca* is correct, this type of object probably still existed around the middle of the 6thC. The creator of the Probianus diptych represented the known shape and decoration of an object pertaining to a contemporary imperial agency in a picture celebrating its director. The same is probably true of the creator of the seventeen source pictures. But it is also possible that, if source pictures were created in the *Cnd*, or in **K**, the creator of the source pictures could have known the shape and decoration of the stand, either from one that survived beyond the 5thC or 6thC, or from any representation of it available later, such as those in the Probianus diptych.

Second, the creator of the source pictures knew why the drawing of a decorated stand should be included in pictures illustrating aspects of imperial agencies. Of the 89 pictures that existed in the *Cnd*, 87 contained drawings which mostly delineated entities mentioned in its list items - such as regions, military units and the place-names of forts - or entities or functions associated with those items. Almost every drawing representing an entity that was named in a list item was identified, in the picture, with a drawing caption which was derived from, or related to, the words in that list item. The drawings of the decorated

stands in the *Cnd* had no such caption to identify them as representing any list item, and there was no list item which would occasion or require the inclusion of the drawing of a stand. That is, the drawings of the decorated stands were added to the source pictures for a reason that is now unknown. But the reason was known to the creators of the two diptychs, who added images of the same type of entity to the prominent upper section of each ivory picture. The same is probably true of the creator of the seventeen source pictures. But it is also possible that, if source pictures were created in the *Cnd*, or in **K**, the creator of the source pictures could have had access, either to the available diptychs, or to artefacts or documents, now unavailable, but with images of similar stands represented in a context which suggested that the drawing of a decorated stand should be incorporated in any picture representing aspects of an imperial agency, even without knowing the reason.

Third, the creator of the source pictures knew exactly in which pictures the drawing of a decorated stand should be included. The *Cnd* contained pictures illustrating the lists associated with seventy agencies within the imperial civil and military service (not including the pictures associated with items related to the *comites domesticorum* and the *magistri scriniorum* whose lists did not comprise items pertaining to discrete agencies). As indicated above, the drawings of the decorated stands existed in the pictures illustrating the lists of only seventeen of these seventy agencies. The drawing was not, therefore, considered an appropriate or necessary part of every agency picture. Nor was it regarded as such by the artists of the primary copies of the *Cnd*: no artist added the drawing of a stand to the copy of a picture in which such a drawing did not exist in the *Cnd* and, conversely, no artist omitted such a drawing from the copy of any picture in the *Cnd* in which such a drawing existed. Moreover, the drawing of each decorated stand was not related to the drawing of a table with which the drawing of each stand was associated. It is certain, therefore, that the distribution of these drawings in the *Cnd* was not random. In fact, the drawing of each stand in the *Cnd* existed only in the pictures associated with the agencies of those directors who had exclusively civil jurisdictional authority in a specific location: this comprised the *proconsules*, the *praefectus urbis*, the *praefecti praetorio*, their diocesan deputies (*comes orientis*, *praefectus augustalis*, and *vicarii*) and provincial governors (*consulares*, *correctores*, *praesides*) and excluded those with a combined civil and military jurisdictional authority which, in the *Cnd*, comprised the *comes isauriae*, the *dux arabiae et praeses*, and the *dux et praeses mauritaniae caesariensis*. This exclusively civil jurisdictional authority, which distinguished this group of agency directors from the others, was not stated in the *Cnd*, nor did the *Cnd* describe these directors in a manner that would identify them as a group with that common authority, nor did these directors all have the same position title (*praefectus*, *comes*, *vicarius*, *consularis*, *corrector*, *praeses*). That is, the lists in the *Cnd* did not provide the evidence on which to base the observed distribution of the drawings of these stands among seventeen of its pictures. The aforementioned possible explanation for the distribution of the drawings of the decorated stands is deduced from the combined evidence of the pictures and lists in the *Cnd*, but could not be deduced from the lists alone. Thus the creator of the seventeen source pictures required knowledge that was not contained in the *Cnd*, and was not available in any other document that is known to have existed when the *Cnd* or **K** were produced, in order to identify or select the agencies which required the drawing of a decorated stand to be included in any picture illustrating aspects of those agencies.

If the aforementioned possible explanation for the distribution of the drawings of the decorated stands is correct, then one observation remains unexplained. We know from the consensus of the primary copies exactly which pictures in the *Cnd* each contained the drawing of a decorated stand. We also know that, while the picture *Cnd.81*, illustrating the agency of the *consularis palaestinae* contained the drawing of a decorated stand, the picture *Cnd.159*, illustrating the agency of the *consularis campaniae* did not; and, similarly, the drawing of a decorated stand existed in the picture *Cnd.163* for the *praeses dalmatiae*, but not the picture *Cnd.82* for the *praeses thebaidos*. As indicated above, all four directors belonged to the category of those directors whose agencies are associated with these decorated stands so that, if the possible explanation for the distribution of these drawings in the *Cnd* were correct, the drawing of a decorated stand ought to have existed in the pictures *Cnd.82* and *Cnd.159*. There is no available evidence that would explain why the agencies of the *consularis campaniae* and *praeses thebaidos* should be excluded from the category of agencies that are associated with the decorated stands. This means, either that there was no drawing of a decorated stand in the source picture illustrating the agency lists of each of those two directors, for a reason that is now unknown; or that there was such a drawing in each of those

two source pictures, but that these two drawings were omitted in some copy of them which was a direct or indirect exemplar of the *Cnd*.

Fourth, and finally, the creator of the source pictures knew that these pictures would be intelligible, or understood, by those who were likely to see them. The drawings of the decorated stands were included in the seventeen source pictures because they were appropriate in such pictures illustrating aspects of the agencies of a certain group of directors. They were included on the two available diptychs for the same reason. The creator of the source pictures assumed that the decorated stands would be recognised without an identifying caption; that the reason for their inclusion in the seventeen pictures would be understood; and that their absence from other pictures would be expected, because of knowledge that existed when those source pictures were created. The producers of the two available diptychs assumed the existence of the same knowledge. It must be concluded, therefore, that the seventeen source pictures were created when that knowledge existed. All the available evidence indicates that this knowledge existed in the 5thC when the two available diptychs were produced. How much longer such knowledge continued to exist is unknown. It may still have existed in the middle of the 6thC when Ioannes referred to a *theca* which may have been decorated with busts. But there is no available evidence that such knowledge still existed when **K** was produced around the early 9thC or when the *Cnd* was derived from the latter some time later. That knowledge demonstrably did not exist when the primary copies of the *Cnd* were produced and it certainly does not exist now when, even in possession of the primary copies of the *Cnd*, the two diptychs and the reference to a *theca*, there is much that remains unknown about the object in question.

It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, from the available evidence, that the pictures containing drawings of decorated stands in primary copies of the *Cnd* were derived from pictures which the *Cnd* derived, through **K**, from source pictures created not later than the 5th or 6thC.

**Plate 1**

**Sections of the ivory diptych of Rufius Probianus**

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Handschriftenabteilung, Ms. theol. lat. fol. 323, Ivory Diptych



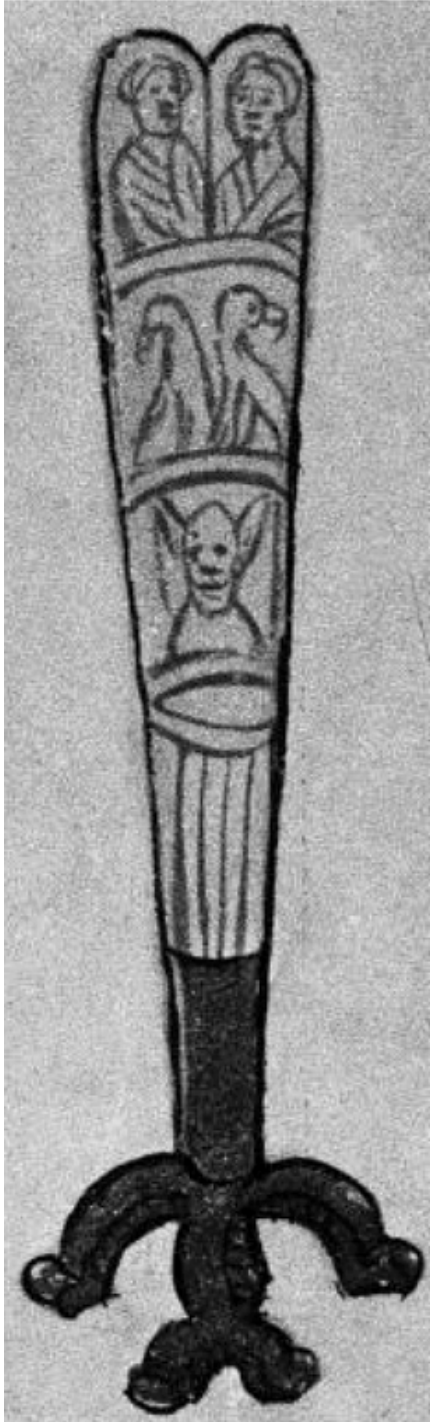
Section of the Left cover cover (**PL**) inscribed  
VICARIVS VRBIS ROMAE



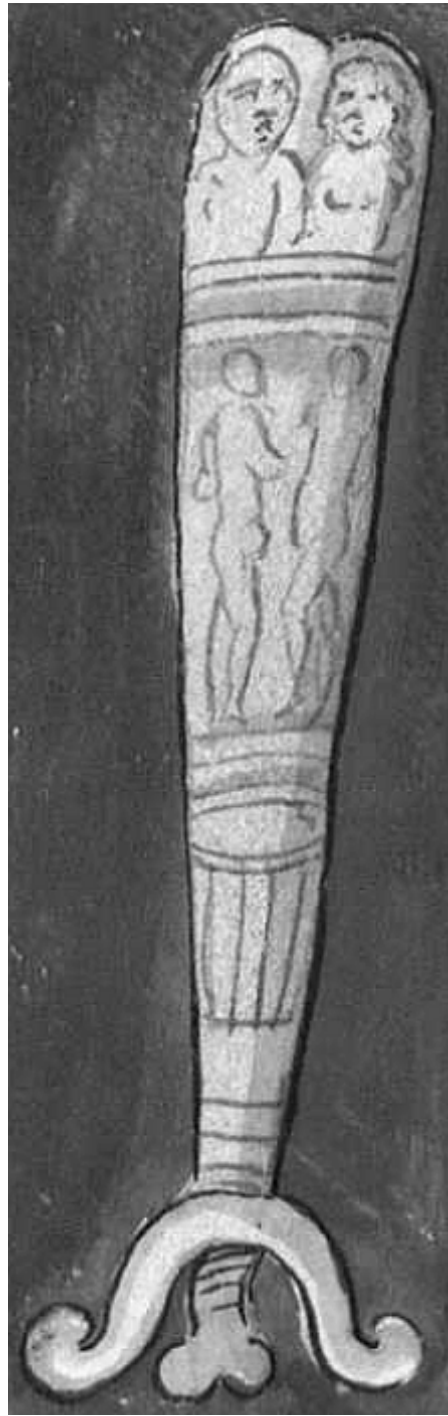
Section of the Right cover cover (**PR**) inscribed  
RVFIVS PROBIANVS V(ir) C(larissimus)

*Plate 2*

*The copies in O and W from Cnd.4 containing the first drawing of a decorated stand in the Cnd*



*From O (fol.90r)*  
Oxford Bodleian library, western ms. 19854 -  
Canonici ms. misc. lat. 378.



*From W in the codex M-W (fol.174r)*  
München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,  
CLM 10291.

**Plate 3**  
**Sections of the Astyrius diptych**

1. AL



2. AL



3. AR



**1. AL**

Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, Inventar Nr. Kg.54:207a. ivory tablet (photo: Wolfgang Fuhrmannck)

**2. AL**

The drawing representing AL printed in: Gori, A.F., *Thesaurus veterum diptychorum consularium et ecclesiasticorum tum eiusdem auctoris cum aliorum lucubrationes illustratus ac in tres tomos divisus. [...]* (Florentiae, Ex Typographia Caietani Albizzini, 1759). Tab.III n.i-ii, pp. 58-59.

**3. AR**

The drawing representing AR - the unavailable outer right cover of the diptych - as printed in Gori, *ibid.*