

THE *FASTI* FOR THE REIGN OF CLAUDIUS

The following abbreviations have been used throughout:

- Barbieri 1967 = G. Barbieri, 'Nota sui consoli del 40, 44 e 45 d. C.', *Epigraphica* 39 (1967), 3 ff.
- Barbieri 1975 = G. Barbieri, 'I consoli dell'anno 43 d. C.', *RAL* 30 (1975), 153 ff.
- Degrassi = A. Degrassi, *I fasti consolari dell'impero romano*.
- De Laet = S. J. De Laet, *De Samenstelling van den Romeinschen Senaat*.
- Eck 1975 = W. Eck, 'Ergänzungen zu den Fasti consulare des 1. und 2 Jh. n. Chr.', *Historia* 24 (1975), 324 ff.
- Gallivan 1974 = P. A. Gallivan, 'Some Comments on the *Fasti* for the Reign of Nero', *CQ* NS. 24 (1974), 290 ff.
- Giordano 1971 = C. Giordano, 'Nuove tavolette cerate Pompeiane', *Rend. acc. arch. Nap.* 46 (1971), 182 ff.
- Magie = D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*.
- Smallwood = E. M. Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero*.

Recent years have brought to light much new evidence which has sometimes compelled considerable revision of the consular *fasti* of the early Empire. Of especial importance have been the large number of *tabulae ceratae* forthcoming from the area around the Bay of Naples and the new fragments or reinterpretations of known fragments of municipal *fasti*.¹ The aim of the present paper is to examine the effect which recent discoveries have had on knowledge of the *fasti* for the reign of Claudius and in the light of the interpretation of this new evidence to produce a revised list of consuls for the period 41-54.²

The method of approach will be to present the state of the evidence as given in the most recent compilation of the *fasti* for the reign³ and then to add the new material as it becomes relevant. I begin with an examination of the evidence for the duration of consulships during 41-54.

I. THE DURATION OF ORDINARY AND SUFFECT CONSULSHIPS UNDER CLAUDIUS

A. Ordinary and suffect consuls of known year

41. C. Caesar Augustus IV; Cn. Sentius Saturninus

Gaius left office after only one week (Suet. *Calig.* 17.1) and was replaced by Q. Pomponius Secundus who was still in office with Saturninus on 25 June. (*FFL* = II xiii. 1. 151)

42. Ti. Claudius Caesar Augustus II; C. Caecina Largus

The pair is attested in office on 1 February (*RE* xvii. 2. 1432 no. 125) but Claudius resigned at the end of February (Dio 60.10.1) and was replaced by

¹ For a survey see J. Reynolds, 'Roman Inscriptions, 1971-5', *JRS* 66 (1976), 184, esp. n.129.

² All dates are A.D. unless otherwise specified.

³ Smallwood, pp.2. ff.

C. Cestius Gallus who was still in office at the end of March or the beginning of April (*AE* (1969/70), 98). He in turn was replaced by Cornelius Lupus (*Gai. Inst.* 3.63) but we have no indication as to which months he held office. Largus remained in office for the whole year. (*Dio*, loc. cit.).

43. *Ti Claudius Caesar Augustus III; L. Vitellius II*

Both Claudius and Vitellius left office at the end of February as the suffecti Sex. Palpellius Hister and L. Pedanius Secundus are attested in office from early March. (*Suet. Claud.* 14; *Pliny N.H.* 10. 16, 35; for the new order of names, see Giordano 1971, 194 = *AE* (1973), 166). The same wax tablet places the pair in office on 20 July (*AE* (1973), 166 but see below for further discussion of this date.).

44. *T. Statilius Taurus; C. (Sallustius) Passienus Crispus II*

The order of these consuls as given by Smallwood (following Degrassi, 12), is distinctly odd as I can find no other example in the official *fasti* (see *II* xiii. 1.) of the name of a *cos. II* coming after an ordinary consul who is holding office for the first time. That Passienus Crispus⁴ was *cos II* cannot be doubted. (*Suet. Vit. Pass. Crisp.*; *Pliny N.H.* 16. 242; *Dio* 60. 23. 1; *ILS* 7061 reads — C. Passieni Crispi II T. Statilio Tauro *cos*). However he must have been replaced in office (as a result of his death? — see *Suet. Vit. Pass. Crisp.*) very early in January because the *Fasti Antiates* (*CIL* x. 6638; see also *II* xiii. 1. 151, 157) list P. Pomponius Secundus as *cos. ord.* with T. Statilius Taurus.⁵ The pair was still in office on 4 May (*CIL* xi. 3806).

45. *M. Vinicius II; T. Statilius Taurus Corvinus*

Vinicius was replaced by Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus on 1 March (*Bull. Comm.* lviii (1940), 201; *RE* xvii. 2. 1431 no. 128). Corvinus and Plautius Silvanus were still in office together on 20 June (*AE* (1973), 148) which means that Josephus' date of 28 June (*Ant. Iud.* 20. 14) for the suffecti A. Antonius Rufus⁶ and M. Pompeius Silvanus Staberius Flavinus⁷ should be emended to 29 July.⁸ This latter pair was still in office on 3 October. (Barbieri 1967, 5f citing an unedited wax tablet from Pompeii).

*46. *D. Valerius Asiaticus II; M. Iunius Silanus*

C. Antistius Vetus was suffect consul for Asiaticus from 1 March (*FT* = *II* xiii. 1. 264) but was replaced soon afterwards by Q. Sulpicius Camerinus (Pythicus or Peticus?) who is known in office on 15 March with Silanus (*ILS* 206 = Smallwood, no. 368). D. Laelius Balbus replaced Camerinus from 1 July (*FT* = *II* loc. cit.) and was in turn replaced by C. Terentius Tullius Geminus as colleague for Silanus. This pair is attested in office on 1 October (*FT* = *II* loc. cit.) and 7 December

⁴ For the most recent discussion of whom see B. E. Thomasson, *Senatores Procuratoresque Romani*, pp. 53 f.

⁵ See further on this list from Antium P. R. C. Weaver, 'Dated Inscriptions of Imperial Freedmen and Slaves', *ES* 11 (1976), 215 f.

⁶ For the full name see Barbieri 1967,

6; W. Eck, *RE* Suppl. xiv. 51.

⁷ For the full name see now *AE* (1968), 549; W. Eck 'M. Pompeius Silvanus, consul designatus tertium — ein Vertrauter Vespasianus und Domitians', *ZPE* 9 (1972), 259 ff; *RE* Suppl. xiv. 437.

⁸ So also W. Eck, *ZPE* op.cit. 264 n.15.

(CIL vi. 36850). According to Dio (60. 27. 1), Silanus resigned before the end of December.

47. *Ti. Claudius Caesar Augustus IV; L. Vitellius III*

Claudius resigned after two months (Suet. *Claud.* 14) but it is not known whether Vitellius also resigned nor indeed who the other consuls were in this year.

48. *A. Vitellius; L. Vipstanus Poplicola Messalla*

A. Vitellius left office at the end of June and was replaced by L. Vitellius who also held office for six months (Suet. *Vit.* 3). Messalla was still in office on 3 July with L. Vitellius (AE (1973), 164).

49. *Q. Veranius; C. (or A.) Pompeius Longinus Gallus*

Veranius and Gallus are known to have been in office on 1 February (A.E. (1969/70), 103).⁹ The suffect pair of L. Mammius Pollio and Q. Allius Maximus is attested in office on 23 May (ILS 5540).

50. *C. Antistius Vetus II; M. Suillius Nerullinus*

There is no evidence to indicate the number of months during which either *ordinarius* held office nor do we know of any *suffecti* belonging to this year.

51. *Ti. Claudius Caesar Augustus V; Ser. Cornelius (Scipio) Salvidienus Orfitus*

Orfitus is attested in office with Claudius on 3 May (AE (1973), 157) and 26 June (AE (1964), 154). He was replaced by L. Calventius Vetus Carminius who was in office with Claudius on 6 September (AE (1973), 40), 27 September (ILS 5161g = RE xvii. 2. 1432 no. 129) and 5 October (AE (1973), 139). Vespasianus became the final colleague on 1 November.¹⁰ (Suet. *Vesp.* 4.2; Suet. *Claud.* 14 wrongly says that Claudius went out of office after six months.)

52. *Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix; L. Salvius Otho Titianus*

The pair is attested in office on 7 March (AE (1973), 147), 31 March (CIL iv. 3340 tab. iv.), 10 April (CIL iv. 5512), and 6 May (AE (1973), 149). Marcus Barea Soranus who was suffect for Otho is known as the colleague of Sulla on 10 August (Giordano 1971, 187 no. 6 = AE (1973), 155; Degraasi 14 citing an unedited inscription from Rome.). L. Salvidienus Rufus Salvianus was in office with Sulla on 11 December (CIL xvi. 1 = Smallwood no. 295).

53. *D. Iunius Silanus Torquatus; Q. Haterius Antoninus*

Both *ordinarii* are still in office on 14 March (CIL iv 3340 tab. cxxxviii).

54. *M'. Acilius Aviola; M. Asinius Marcellus*

Both are attested in office on 18 June (CIL xvi. 3.) M. Aefulanus is to be allocated to this year as well but no months are known for his tenure of office. (see Gallivan 1974, 299 f., 309).

⁹ See also G. Barbieri, 'Ancora sui consoli dell'anno 40', *Epigraphica* 30 (1968), 185 correcting his earlier attribution of this tablet to A.D. 40 in Barbieri 1967, 3.

¹⁰ Barbieri's report of a tablet which

places Vespasianus in office on 30 October (Barbieri 1967, 9 f.) is clearly erroneous. The error has also been noted by Eck 1975, 339 n.94.

B. *Suffect consuls of uncertain year*¹¹

T. (or. L.) Mussidius Pollianus	} No months known.
C. Vibius Rufinus	
M. Cocceius Nerva	} In office 5 August (<i>ILS</i> 795).
Q. Lutetius Lusius Saturninus	
M. Seius Veranus	} No months known. ¹²
C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus	
Pompeius Pedito	No months known
L. Tampilus Flavianus	In office 5 August (<i>AE</i> (1973), 162 with Eck 1975, 339).
C. Suetonius Paullinus	No months known.
P. Ostorius Scapula	} In office 10 November (<i>AE</i> (1973), 152)
P. Suillius Rufus	
	and early December (<i>AE</i> (1949), 250 with Barbieri 1975, 157).
C. Calpetanus Rantius Sedatus (Metronius?)	No months known.
A. Gabinius Secundus	In office on 3 September (<i>ILS</i> 8530).
Cn. Hosidius Geta	} In office on 1 August (<i>AE</i> (1953), 24).
T. Flavius Sabinus	
L. Vagellius	In office with Cn. Hosidius Geta on 22 September (<i>ILS</i> 6043) and 25 October (Barbieri 1967, 5; <i>AE</i> (1968), 5c; <i>ibid.</i> (1969/70), 94 a.c.).
Q. Curtius Rufus	} In office 8 and 14 October (<i>PP</i> vi (1951), 226 nos. 5, 6; for the new order, Barbieri 1975, 153). ¹³
L. Oppius	
Cn. Domitius Corbulo	No months known.
C. Fuufius? (Fufius?)	} In office early September (<i>AE</i> (1919), 51; (1920), 42.)
Cn. Minicius	
L. Popillius Balbus	No months known.
P. Anteius Rufus	No months known.
P. Volasenna	No months known.
Q. Futius	} No months known.
P. Calvisius	
Pompeius Paulinus	No months known.
Lurius Varus	No months known.
C. Calpurnius Piso	No months known.
P. Sulpicius Scribonius Proculus	No months known.
Sulpicius Scribonius Rufus	No months known.
Caesennius (or Caesonius)	No months known.
Maximus	
Cluvius Rufus	No months known.

¹¹ For more detailed discussions of each of the following see § II.

¹² Barbieri 1967, 3, 7 wrongly attributed a wax tablet to this pair which he thought placed them in office during January and February of 40. A revised reading attributed

the tablet to the *ordinarii* of 49 — see now G. Barbieri, *Epigraphica* 30 (1968), *op.cit.* 185.

¹³ M. Della Corte, 'Tabelle cerate Ercolanesi', *PP* 6 (1951), 226.

Hordeonius Flaccus	No months known.
Rubrius Gallus	No months known.

The following two individuals should be deleted from the *fasti* on the grounds that the previously held assumption that they were proconsuls of Asia has been disproved:¹⁴

Marius Cordus
M. Vettius Niger

Recent discoveries have added the following to the *fasti* for the Claudian period:

L. S -----	No months known.
C. Volasenna Severus	In office with Cn. Hosidius Geta 31 December (AE (1973), 151).
P. Trebonius	} No months known.
Q. Caecina Primus	
P. Calvisius Ruso	No months known.
P. Fabius Firmianus	In office with L. Tampius Flavianus 5 August (AE (1973), 162 with Eck 1975, 339).

The suffect consulship was instituted by Augustus in 5 B.C. and a practice can be seen to have evolved (with minor variations) whereby the regular number of consuls per year was either two, three, or four. That is to say, either the *ordinarii* remained in office for the whole year or one was replaced by a *suffectus* or both were replaced by *suffecti*. The *ordinarii* usually held office for the first six months of the year and the *suffecti* took over from them on 1 July.¹⁵ In this matter Tiberius, as with many other policies, made no change to the Augustan practice.¹⁶ In an earlier study I demonstrated that under Nero as well, ordinary consuls usually held office for the first six months of the year or if one or both *ordinarii* continued in office, it was for the full twelve months of the year.¹⁷ Therefore given the fact that both in the period before and the period after that which is presently under investigation *ordinarii* usually held office for six months or for the full twelve months, it can reasonably be assumed that the *fasti* of the Claudian period will show a similar pattern. Indeed a contemporary document, the *Apocolocyntosis* of Seneca, mocking contemporary practice specifically attests a July suffectation.¹⁸

At first impression the evidence does not appear as straightforward as that for the periods before and after 41–54. However a closer examination does

¹⁴ I wish to thank Professor G. W. Houston for pointing out to me that these individuals known only from coins of Apamea (*BMC Phrygia*, 94 nos. 143, 147) were not governors of Asia (as assumed in Gallivan 1974, 300 following Magie 1582) but were in fact either real or honorary local officials at Apamea. See further G. W. Houston, 'M. Plancius Varus and the Events of A.D. 69–70', *TAPhA*. 103 (1972), 173 f. and S. Jameson, 'Cornutus Tertullus and the Plancii of Perge', *JRS* 55 (1965), 58.

¹⁵ See Degraasi, pp.5 ff., V. Ehrenberg

and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, pp.38 ff.

¹⁶ Degraasi, pp.7 ff., V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, op.cit., pp.40 ff.

¹⁷ Gallivan 1974, 294 f.

¹⁸ Ianus Pater is described as — . . . is *designatus erat in kal. Iulias postmeridianus consul* . . . (Sen. *Apoc.* 9). I accept the Senecan authorship of this work and a date for its publication of November or December 54; see further now, the discussion by M. T. Griffin, *Seneca. A Philosopher in Politics*, pp.129 f.

support the hypothesis with which the discussion began. There is considerable evidence to indicate suffectus taking up office in July [D. Laelius Balbus (46); L. Vitellius (47); A. Antonius Rufus and M. Pompeius Silvanus Staberius Flavinus (45).] and in August [C. Vibius Rufinus and M. Cocceius Nerva; L. Tampius Flavianus and P. Fabius Firmianus; Cn. Hosidius Geta and T. Flavius Sabinus; Marcius Barea Soranus (52)]. Further with one apparent exception which can be satisfactorily explained,¹⁹ there is no evidence to suggest that an *ordinarius* who did not hold office for twelve months, remained in office later than the end of June. The innovation of a two-month consulship in some years is a major departure from previous practice and is somewhat misleading until it is realized that in those years in which this occurred (i.e. 42, 43, 45, 46, ?47, 49, ?50), the first pair of suffectus seems to have held office for four months only. Together with the *ordinarii*, then, they made up the usual six months tenure for the term of an ordinary consulship.²⁰

In tabular form, the evidence yields the following:

Year	<i>Ordinarii</i> ²¹	Length of tenure (months)
41	C. Caesar Augustus IV. C. Sentius Saturninus <i>Q. Pomponius Secundus</i>	(1 week) 6 6
42	Ti Claudius Caesar Augustus II C. Caecina Largus <i>C. Cestius Gallus</i>	2 12 ?4
43	Ti Claudius Caesar Augustus III L. Vitellius II <i>Sex. Palpellius Hister</i> <i>L. Pedanius Secundus</i>	2 2 ?4 ?4
44	C. (Sallustius) Passienus Crispus II T. Statilius Taurus	(? 1–2 weeks) 6

¹⁹ *AE* (1973), 166 = Giordano 1971, 194 tablet 17 reads in part — | (Actum) (Puteol) is XIII K[alendas] Aug[ustas] | (Sex. Palpellio Histr)o, L. Pediano Secundo co(n)s(ulibus), i.e. 20 July. Barbieri 1975, 155 placing the consular pair in 43 accepts the date without hesitation. Misreadings of these tablets are not unknown (see e.g. A. Degrassi, 'Epigraphica IV', *RAL* 14 (1969), 138) but the *Aug.* of the tablet cannot be questioned (see Giordano 1971, loc.cit.). However, recently discovered fragments of the *Fasti Potentini* (see Barbieri 1975, 153) show that the *fasti* for 43 contained ten consuls (see § III). It is impossible to accommodate all of these in 43 if Hister and Secundus were still in office during July since no consul can be shown to have held office for less than two months during the Claudian and Neronian periods. (see § III.

The two (?) week consulship of C. Antistius Vetus in 46 is clearly unique.). The tablet must therefore be in error. In all probability the consular pair in question will have left office at the end of June thus leaving six months to accommodate the three pairs of suffectus still to be fitted into this year. For a further complication about the year 43 see below.

²⁰ The individuals involved, with two exceptions (the favoured Q. Veranius and C. (or A.) Pompeius Longinus Gallus), were holding the consulship for either the second time or the third time in the case of L. Vitellius or the third and fourth time in the case of Claudius himself.

²¹ I give in italics the suffectus whose terms of office need to be added to those of the *ordinarii* to make up the six-month period of office.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Ordinarii</i> ²¹	<i>Length of tenure</i> (months)
	<i>P. Calvisius Sabinus P. Pomponius Secundus</i>	6
45	<i>M. Vinicius II</i>	2
	<i>T. Statilius Taurus Corvinus</i>	6
	<i>Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus</i>	4
46	<i>D. Valerius Asiaticus II</i>	2
	<i>M. Iunius Silanus</i>	12
	<i>C. Antistius Vetus</i>	(? 2 weeks)
	<i>Q. Sulpicius Camerinus (Pythicus or Peticus?)</i>	4
47	<i>Ti. Claudius Caesar Augustus IV</i>	2
	<i>L. Vitellius III</i>	?2
48	<i>A. Vitellius</i>	6
	<i>L. Vipstanus Poplicola Messalla</i>	12
49	<i>Q. Veranius</i>	?2
	<i>C. (or A.) Pompeius Longinus Gallus</i>	?2
	<i>L. Mammius Pollio</i>	?4
	<i>Q. Allius Maximus</i>	?4
50	<i>C. Antistius Vetus II</i>	? (2)
	<i>M. Suillius Nerullinus</i>	?
51	<i>Ti. Claudius Caesar Augustus V</i>	12
	<i>Ser. Cornelius Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus</i>	6
52	<i>Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix</i>	12
	<i>L. Salvius Otho Titianus</i>	6
53	<i>D. Iunius Silanus Torquatus</i>	6
	<i>Q. Haterius Antoninus</i>	6
54	<i>M'. Acilius Aviola</i>	6
	<i>M. Asinius Marcellus</i>	6

Thus for the fourteen years (I include 41 although it mostly belongs to the previous reign), five of the *ordinarii* held office for twelve months, twelve held office for six months, and six (most probably eleven) held office for two months and it can be shown that the incoming *suffecti* completed the usual term of six months by retaining office for the following four months.

Turning to the *suffect* consuls, it has become clear from the above that a July *suffectio* was regular when either one or both of the *ordinarii* did not remain in office for the whole year. There is also literary evidence attesting that a November/December *suffectio* was usual towards the end of the reign.²² Certainly it can be shown that for the reign of Nero *suffect* consulships were normally of two, four, or six months' duration, i.e. July/August, September/October, and November/December or any combination of these which will add up to four or six-monthly

²² Suet. *Claud.* 46; *Vesp.* 4.2.

period, e.g. July/October, September/December etc.²³ When this same system is applied to the Claudian evidence the results are most enlightening.

From list A, it can be seen that for 41 no suffectors are allocated for certain; in 42 C. Cestius Gallus was suffect for March/June; in 43 Sex. Palpellius Hister and L. Pedanius Secundus were presumably March/June suffectors; in 44 no suffectors were known to Smallwood; in 45 Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus was suffect for March/June and the pair A. Antonius Rufus/M. Pompeius Silvanus Staberius Flavinus was in office for at least July/October; in 46 Q. Sulpicius Camerinus (Pythicus or Peticus?) was a March/June suffect,²⁴ D. Laelius Balbus a July/August suffect and C. Terentius Tullius Geminus a September/December office-holder; for 47 no suffectors are known; in 48 L. Vitellius was a July/December suffect; in 49 the pair L. Mammius Pollio/Q. Allius Maximus held the March/June suffectation; for 50 no suffectors are known; in 51 L. Calventius Vetus Carminius was in office for September/October and T. Flavius Vespasianus held the November/December suffectation; in 52 Marcius Barea Soranus was in office for at least July/August and L. Salvidienus Rufus Salvianus held at least the November/December suffectation; for 53 no suffectors are known and in 54 M. Aefulanus can be allocated to no specific months.

List B shows that the pair C. Vibius Rufinus/M. Cocceius Nerva held office during July/August; the pair P. Fabius Firmianus/L. Tampius Flavianus held a July/August suffectation; the pair P. Ostorius Scapula/P. Suillius Rufus was in office for November/December; A. Gabinius Secundus apparently held the September/October suffectation;²⁵ the pair Cn. Hosidius Geta/T. Flavius Sabinus were July/August suffectors; Cn. Hosidius Geta and L. Vagellius held the September/October suffectation; Cn. Hosidius Geta and C. Volasenna Severus were in office during November/December; the pair Q. Curtius Rufus/L. Oppius held office during September/October and C. Fuufius? (Fufius?) and Cn. Minicius were September/October suffectors.

The existence of a consul (other than the emperor) or a pair of consuls who held office for a period of only one month or of three months would be a major objection to the consular system proposed above. In particular, if it could be demonstrated that different consuls were in office during September and October for the years 41–54, then the proposed system would be proven to be groundless. One possible case, that of T. Flavius Vespasianus in 51, has already been disproved.²⁶ More difficult is the case presented by the year 43. The possibility cannot be completely dismissed that this year was irregular, however I do not think so and have already argued above that L. Pedanius Secundus and Sex. Palpellius Hister must have left office at the end of June. A fragment of the *Fasti Potentini* (Barbieri 1975, 153) reveals the existence of three consular pairs in office for the remaining months of the year. They are: A. Gabinius Secundus/*Ignotus* I, Q. Curtius Rufus/L. Oppius and L. S----/*Ignotus* II. If the proposed system is correct, the first pair ought to have filled the July/August suffectation, the second the September/October one, and the third should have been in office during November and December. Now Q. Curtius Rufus and L. Oppius are attested in office on 8 and 14 October.²⁷ However a private sepulchral inscription places

²³ Gallivan 1974, 295 f.

²⁴ The unique case of C. Antistius Vetus consul for a maximum period of two weeks, need not be taken into account here.

²⁵ See below for further discussion of this date.

²⁶ See n.10.

²⁷ See n.13.

A. Gabinius Secundus in office on 3 September.²⁸ The inscription comes from Venafrum. So too, it would appear,²⁹ do the Gabinii of the Empire, which fact might well explain what must be an error of dating. I would suggest, therefore, that the person setting up the inscription either did not realize (or perhaps had not heard) that Gabinius had vacated office just three days before the death of C. Herennius Mela, or, and I think this less likely, simply wanted to date the year by the name of a consular who was well known locally. For the pattern of consular appointments in both preceding and succeeding years (see § III) can produce no parallel for a consul holding office for one month or three months nor for ten consuls holding office in a single year as was the case in 43.

The other objection to the above system of consular appointments is whether or not it can accommodate all known Claudian *suffecti*. Again I resort to a method of approach employed in an earlier study. I take as a basic unit the *vacancy* which can be defined as the tenure of one suffect consulship for a period of two months with the exception of those suffects who were making up the usual six months' tenure of an *ordinarius* who left office after only two months.³⁰

An examination of List A above yields the following results:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of vacancies</i>
41	6
42	2 (?3)
43	6
44	6
45	2
46	0
47	8
48	0 (?2)
49	6
50	8
51	1
52	1
53	6
54	5
Total	57 (?60)

For the fifty-seven (or perhaps sixty) vacancies, therefore, there are forty-one possible Claudian suffects to be fitted into the *fasti* (see List B). The proposed system clearly can accommodate all possible *suffecti*. When the revisions of §II as set out in § III are analysed, the results are equally as encouraging:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of vacancies</i>
41	0
42	1 (?2)
43	2
44	0

²⁸ CIL x. 4881 = ILS 8530 reads:
C. Herennio C.F. | Ter. Melai | aedili 11 vir |
L. Nonio Asprenate cos. | 111 non. Sept. h.
X natus est | A. Gabinio Secundo cos. | 111

non. Sept. h. X moritu[r] . | Melanta filio.

²⁹ PIR² G. 4 ff.; L. R. Taylor, *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic*, p.217.

³⁰ Gallivan 1974, 296 f.

(Cont.)	Year	Number of vacancies
	45	2
	46	0
	47	?8
	48	0
	49	6
	50	8 (?9)
	51	1
	52	1
	53	2
	54	5
	Total	36 (?38)

The number of vacancies has now been reduced to thirty-six (or perhaps thirty-eight) for which there are twenty-one³¹ or twenty³² suffects. There is, therefore, no impediment on this score to acceptance of the system for the allocation of consulships under Claudius as proposed above.

II. THE DATES OF KNOWN CLAUDIAN SUFFECTS

'After 38' T. (or L.) Mussidius Pollianus

CIL vi. 1466 = *ILS* 913 records the career of Pollianus as follows — *T. Mussidio Polliano* | *cos., pr., procos. provinc.* | *Gall. Narbon., tr. pl. q., | Xvir. stl. iudic., cur. viarum, | praef. frumenti dandi ex s.c.* The office of *curator viarum* was instituted by Augustus and the other two known holders of the post belong to the Augustan period.³³ As a result Mommsen³⁴ placed the consulship of Mussidius Pollianus at the beginning of Tiberius' reign on the grounds that the office did not occur under Claudius. He was followed by later scholars³⁵ until Degrassi³⁶ correctly pointed out that there was no opening in the *fasti* for him until after 38. The problem is further compounded by the fact that his governorship of Narbonensis cannot be dated.³⁷ According to Hirschfeld,³⁸ *curatores* of individual roads do not appear until the reign of Nero so that it may well be the case that Claudius 'resurrected' a defunct office³⁹ which would be consistent with his

³¹ T. (or L.) Mussidius Pollianus; C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus; Pompeius Peto; C. Suetonius Paullinus; C. Calpetanus Rantius Sedatus (Metronius?); C. Fuufius? (Fufius?); Cn. Minicius; L. Popillius Balbus; P. Anteius Rufus; P. Volasenna; Pompeius Paulinus; Lurius Varus; C. Calpurnius Piso; *Ignotus* I; *Ignotus* II; P. Sulpicius Scribonius Proculus; Sulpicius Scribonius Rufus; Caesennius (or Caesonius) Maximus; Cluvius Rufus; Hordeonius Flaccus and Rubrius Gallus. The last six consuls are just as likely to have been Neronian consuls but it is not possible on the present evidence to dismiss them from the Claudian *fasti*.

³² This would be the number if C. Suetonius Paullinus were the same person

as either *Ignotus* I or *Ignotus* II.

³³ *DE* ii. 1331 f.; O. Hirschfeld, *Die Kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, p. 205.

³⁴ Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, ii³. 669 n.5.

³⁵ e.g. Groag, *RE* xvi. 901; De Laet no. 255.

³⁶ A. Degrassi, 'Osservazioni su alcuni consoli suffetti dell'età di Augusto e Tiberio', *Epigraphica* 8 (1946), 38 f.

³⁷ See e.g. the *fasti* in De Laet 231 f.

³⁸ *Op.cit.* (n.33), pp.206 f.

³⁹ These extraordinary *curatores* were allocated the task of looking after roads close to Rome. See further Hirschfeld *op.cit.* 206 following Mommsen *op.cit.* ii³. 668 ff.

liking for Republican and particularly Augustan precedents.⁴⁰ Whatever may be the case, Mussidius Pollianus' date must remain as 'after 38'.

'Between 39 and 42' { C. Vibius Rufinus
M. Cocceius Nerva

Vibius Rufinus was governor of Upper Germany certainly in 43 (*CIL* xiii. 6797) and most probably took up this post in 42.⁴¹ He was still there in 45 (*ILS* 2283). His successor Q. Curtius Rufus (see below) took up the governorship of Germany three years after his consulship but it would be dangerous to posit any pattern of promotion to the Upper German command at this time.⁴² Rufinus must have assumed the consulship between 39 and 42. Since the year 39 will not admit a consular pair in July/August (see below on Domitius Corbulo), we are left with the years of either 40 or 41.

'Between 39 and 44' { Q. Lutetius Lusius Saturninus
M. Seius Veranus

The pair is attested in office on a veteran dedication found at Salona which should most probably be dated to between 41 and 44. (*CIL* iii. 2028 = 8753)⁴³ Saturninus can be identified for certain with the consular Lusius Saturninus who was killed by Claudius in 43 (*Sen. Apoc.* 13; *Tac. Ann.* 13. 43.2).⁴⁴ An unpublished inscription from the reign of Claudius⁴⁵ confirms the date 'between 41 and 43'. This date can be further narrowed down since there is no vacancy for a consular pair in either 42 or 43. Thus we are left with 41 as the year of office of the above pair.

'Between 39 and 48' C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus

The well-documented career of Quadratus is known from *CIL* x. 5182 = *ILS* 972 = Smallwood no. 229.⁴⁶ He was *quaestor divi Aug. et Ti. Caesaris Aug.* in 14, *aedilis curulis* in 16 or 17 and held the praetorship in 18 (for the date, *CIL* vi. 1496 = *II* xiii. 1. 306). After holding the proconsulship of Cyprus in some unknown year, he is next attested as governor of Lusitania in 37 (*ILS* 190).⁴⁷ He is next discovered as *leg. Divi Claudii in Illyrico* (*I.L.S.* 972)⁴⁸ and in 50/1 was sent to Syria as legate where he remained until his death in 59/60 (*Tac. Ann.* xiv. 26). The exact date of his consulship is nowhere attested but there are a number of indications that it fell *c.* 40. Firstly, governors of Lusitania regularly

⁴⁰ Cf. his handling of the Aerarium (*Tac. Ann.* 13. 29).

⁴¹ E. Ritterling, *Fasti des römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat*, p.14.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp.12 ff.

⁴³ For this date see J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, p.114.

⁴⁴ So also, *PIR*² L. 449.

⁴⁵ Cited by G. Alföldy in the *Addenda et Corrigenda* to *PIR*² L. 449.

⁴⁶ Add now the recently discovered inscription from Aquinum, *AE* (1973), 188 = A. Gianetti, 'Epigrafi Latine della Campania e del Latium Adiectum (REGIO 1)', *RAL* 28 (1973), 476.

⁴⁷ He was perhaps in charge there from 31 to 37. So R. Syme, 'The Ummidii', *Historia*, 17 (1968), 74. G. Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses*, 136 dates his governorship 'etwa 31-39'.

⁴⁸ Whether this means that he was governor of Pannonia or Dalmatia is uncertain. See further, J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, p.443; A. Jagenteufel *op.cit.* (n.60), pp.32 ff. A military diploma of 61 (*CIL* xvi. 4 = *ILS* 1987 = Smallwood no. 296) calls Pannonia Illyricum which might suggest that Quadratus was governor of that province rather than Dalmatia.

acceded to the consulship soon after their period in the province;⁴⁹ secondly, Quadratus can be placed among a group of consulars whose consulships were retarded by Tiberius and who were eventually rewarded in the reign of Gaius or shortly after;⁵⁰ finally, the connection of the Ummidii with the Sallustii which perhaps explains the early rapid advancement of the Ummidii under Tiberius, ended in 44 with the death of C. Sallustius Crispus Passienus *cos. II* 44.⁵¹ Thus Quadratus could have held the consulship in any one of the years 39, 40, 42, or 43. While I incline to favour either 39 or 40, for safety let his consular date be registered as *c.* 40.⁵²

‘Under Gaius or Claudius’ Pompeius Pedo

There is no new evidence for this consular (*PIR* P. 481).

‘Under Gaius or Claudius’ L. Tampus Flavianus

A recently discovered wax tablet (Giordano 1971, 191 f. = *AE* (1973), 162 with the revised reading of Eck 1975, 339) attests him in office on 5 August with the previously unknown P. Fabius Firmianus (on whom, see below). Eck (*ibid.*, 339 f.) has conclusively demonstrated that the first consulship of Flavianus must have been assumed before 45. Further he has correctly pointed out that the years 42, 43, and 44 already have July suffecti (see § III), and assuming that the *fasti* for 41 are also complete, he would assign Flavianus and Firmianus to 40. However there is no evidence for anyone in office during July and August of 41 (see § I above) and so this possibility should remain open as well. Indeed it must be vacant as it has been shown above that C. Vibius Rufinus and M. Cocceius Nerva are also attested in office during August of either 40 or 41. Thus either pair must have filled the July/August suffectio in 40 or 41 respectively.

‘Shortly after 41’ C. Suetonius Paullinus

The above date is deduced from the fact that Paullinus campaigned successfully as a praetorian legate in Mauretania. The date of his campaign is given as 42 by the literary sources (Dio 60.9.1; cf. Pliny, (*NH* 5.14).⁵³ Since Paullinus’ successor Cn. Hosidius Geta was consul in 44 (see below), there can be no doubt that the consulship of Paullinus preceded this date. Further, since Paullinus could not have returned to Rome for a consulship in 41 (which in any case seems to be complete — see § III), he must have been consul in either 42 or 43.⁵⁴ As both years have vacancies — only one suffect is known for the three possible

⁴⁹ See further, R. Syme, ‘Consulates in Absence’, *JRS* 48 (1958), 1 ff.

⁵⁰ See n.58.

⁵¹ On this connection see further R. Syme, *Historia*, 17 (1968), 78 f.

⁵² For acceptance of this date, *ibid.*, 74; J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, p.443 and G. Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses*, p.136

⁵³ This date is accepted by B. E. Thomasson, *Die Statthalter der römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas von Augustus bis Diocletianus*, ii. 242 but Miltner (*RE* iv A. 591 ff.) has argued that Dio has combined

the campaigns of Paullinus which, he argues, ought to be assigned to the autumn of 41 and those of Paullinus’ successor Cn. Hosidius Geta which ought to be assigned to the summer of 42, in his view. I can find no evidence in favour of Miltner’s view against the date given by Dio.

⁵⁴ 42 is preferred by A. R. Birley, ‘The Roman Governors of Britain’, *ES* 4 (1967), 66; 43 by R. Syme, *Tacitus*, p.387 n.2 and R. M. Ogilvie and I. A. Richmond, *Cornelii Taciti de vita Agricolae*, p.145.

vacancies in 42 and there are two vacancies in 43 (see § III) — let his new date be '42 or 43'.⁵⁵

'Between 41 and 45' $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{P. Ostorius Scapula} \\ \text{P. Suillius Rufus} \end{array} \right.$

This pair is known to have been in office during November and December of an unknown year. (*AE* (1973), 152; *ibid.* (1949), 250 with Barbieri 1975, 157). The years 42, 43, and 44 will not admit a consular pair for November/December (see § III) and so we are left with 41⁵⁶ or 45.⁵⁷ The former year is preferable for the following reasons. Firstly, because Suillius can be placed among a group of consulars promoted by Gaius whose careers had been retarded by Tiberius⁵⁸ and secondly, because it seems unlikely that Scapula would have been allocated the important new military province of Britain which he held in 47 (*Tac. Agric.* 14) so soon after his consulship if it had been held at the end of 45.⁵⁹

'Before 45?' C. Calpetanus Rantius Sedatus (Metronius?)

Calpetanus is attested as a *curator tabulariorum publicorum* in 45 (*CIL* vi. 31201 = 916) and was legate in Dalmatia during the last years of Claudius or more probably during the early years of Nero.⁶⁰ The consular date given by Smallwood is the one that is generally accepted⁶¹ but I can find no evidence that the post of *curator tabulariorum publicorum* is consular. Indeed Mommsen⁶² thought it was praetorian and two known holders of the position of this same period were definitely not of consular status, namely C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus (*ILS* 972; see further above) and M. Petronius Lurco who is attested as holding the post in 46 (*CIL* vi. 31201 = 916).⁶³ Since all of the consuls for 46 are known, let Calpetanus' new date be 'after 46'. His consulship most probably fell in 47, 49, or 50.

'Shortly before 45' A. Gabinius Secundus

An inscription (*CIL* iii. 6983 = *ILS* 5883 = *IGRR* iii. 83) places the consulship

⁵⁵ It would be tempting to identify Paullinus with the L.S.— of the fragment of the *Fasti Potentini* for 43 but according to Barbieri 1975, 153 f, the *praenomen* L. seems certain. Paullinus could of course be one of the two *Ignoti* on the same fragment.

⁵⁶ Supporting this year see Eck 1975, 342 n.120 who unfortunately overlooks the fact that the November/December suffeccion in 45 is unfilled. So also Barbieri 1975, 156 f.

⁵⁷ Favoured by R. Syme, 'Domitius Corbulo', *JRS* 66 (1970), 28.

⁵⁸ e.g. A. Didius Gallus *cos.* 39 (not 36 as previously believed — see now G. Barbieri, 'A. Didius Gallus e Ti. Iulius Iulianus', *RAL* 29 (1974), 259); Cn. Domitius Afer *cos. suff.* 39, praetor in 25 *Tac. Ann.* 4. 52) and C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus *cos. suff.* c.40 (see above), praetor in 18 (*ILS* 972). Others were clearly in the pipeline and are duly recorded in the *fasti* for the early years of Claudius, e.g. Sex. Palpellius Hister

cos. suff. 43 (see § I) who was given as a *comes* to Tiberius by Augustus (*ILS* 946) and Q. Curtius Rufus *cos. suff.* 43 (see below) who was elderly when he held the governorship of Upper Germany in 47 (*Tac. Ann.* 11. 21. 3).

⁵⁹ For the intervals between holding the consulship and receiving the governorship of Britain under Claudius see A. R. Birley, *ES* 4 (1967), 64 f.

⁶⁰ A. Jagenteufel, *Die Statthalter der römischen Provinz Dalmatia von Augustus bis Diokletian*, p.39; J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, pp.83, 444.

⁶¹ e.g. by J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, p.536.

⁶² *Römisches Staatsrecht*, ii³. 588, 642.

⁶³ The case would be strengthened further if Groag (*RE* xix. 1216) is correct in identifying this Petronius Lurco with the A. Petronius Lurco *cos. suff.* 58. However M. Petronius may be a younger brother.

of Gabinius in a year prior to that of Taurus Statilius Corvinus *cos.* 45. Dobson⁶⁴ rightly argued that the fact that the two consuls followed each other on the inscription did not necessarily mean that Gabinius was consul in the year before Corvinus, i.e. 44⁶⁵ and this has recently been proved correct by a fragment of the *Fasti Potentini* (Barbieri 1975, 153 f.) which conclusively places Gabinius as suffect in 43.

'45?' { Cn. Hosidius Geta
T. Flavius Sabinus

The pair was previously known to have been in office on 1 August (*AE* (1953), 24). Geta has now been definitely placed in 44 by a number of wax tablets which belong to this year. (Barbieri 1967, 5 f.). He has a new colleague attested on 25 October (L. Vagellius, on whom see below) and a further colleague on 31 December (C. Volasenna Severus, on whom see below). Geta and Sabinus therefore will have filled the July/August suffectio for 44.

'45?' L. Vagellius

Since Vagellius is attested in office on 22 September (*ILS* 6043) and 25 October (Barbieri 1967, 5; *AE* (1968), 5c; *AE* (1969/70), 94a, c) with Cn. Hosidius Geta, his consulship too must fall in 44. He held the September/October suffectio with Geta.

'Before 46' { Q. Curtius Rufus⁶⁶
L. Oppius

The order of the above pair was reversed on the wax tablets from Herculaneum which attested them in office between 8 and 14 October (*PP* 6 (1951), 226). Q. Curtius Rufus has been discovered as suffect on a recently published fragment of the *Fasti Potentini* (Barbieri 1975, 153) which has been conclusively shown to belong to the year 43 (*ibid.*).

'Shortly before 46' Cn. Domitius Corbulo

I fully agree with the arguments of Syme⁶⁷ in favour of identifying this Corbulo with the *cos. suff.* of 39. The name therefore should be removed from the Claudian *fasti*. Corbulo was presumably *suffectus* during July/August with an unknown colleague since the pair A. Didius Gallus and Cn. Domitius Afer assumed office on 2 September (Dio 59. 20. 1; attested also on 15 September by *AE* (1973), 138)⁶⁸ and held office for the remainder of the year. (For such is the implication of Dio's statement *loc. cit.*).

'Between 47 and 58' { C. Fuufius? (Fufius?)
Cn. Minicius

The pair is attested in office on *V id. S(ept.)* by *AE* (1920), 42. I have previously narrowed the above date to 'Between 47 and 55' (Gallivan 1974, 298 f.).

⁶⁴ B. Dobson, 'The Praefectus Fabrum in the Early Principate', in *Britain and Rome*, 65.

⁶⁵ Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, i³. 300 n.5; ii³. 98 n.4.

⁶⁶ The new order of names has been

occasioned by the recently discovered fragment of the *Fasti Potentini* (Barbieri 1975, 153).

⁶⁷ R. Syme, *JRS* 60 (1970), 38.

⁶⁸ See also G. Barbieri, *RAL* 29 (1974), 259.

From § III it can be seen that the years 48, 51, 52, 53 will not admit a suffect pair in September/October. It is also extremely unlikely that the pair belongs in 55.⁶⁹ Therefore the above pair must have been in office in 47, 49, 50, or 54.

'Before 49' L. Popillius Balbus

Balbus is attested as legate of Syria in 49/50. (*CIG* 4697 b = 4529 with *Add.* 1175).⁷⁰ Nothing further is known about his career (*PIR* P. 622). As it was not usual to appoint legates to Syria immediately after the consulship,⁷¹ Balbus' consulship might even go back to the reign of Gaius. Whatever the case, the above date can be emended to 'before 48' since that year is now filled as too are the years 39, 41, 44, and 46. Thus we are left with one of the years 40, 42, 45, and 47 for his tenure.

'Before 51' P. Anteius Rufus

Rufus was governor of Dalmatia, definitely in 51/2 (*PIR*² A. 731) and most probably from 50 to perhaps 54.⁷² He was destined to be legate of Syria in 55 but by various devices he was retained in Rome (*Tac. Ann.* 13. 22). At the very least the above date should be changed to 'before 50'. To judge from the Dalmatian *fasti*,⁷³ he is unlikely to have gone out to his province immediately after his consulship, but the possible years for his consulship are 40, 42, 43, 45, 47, and 49. The later years are more likely.

'53 or 54' P. Volasenna

Volasenna is attested as proconsul of Asia in a year which is usually said to have been 62/3.⁷⁴ This is perhaps a year too late as Marcius Barea Soranus *cos. suff.* 52 needs to be fitted into the Asian *fasti* before L. Salvius Otho Titianus (see below). Since the governors for the years 63/4–66 are known⁷⁵ Volasenna must be allocated to 61/2. Now his successors in Asia were Marcius Barea Soranus and L. Salvius Otho Titianus, both of whom assumed the consulship in 52. Therefore Volasenna must have been consul before 52.⁷⁶ With the removal of M. Vettius Niger from the Asian list (see above, List B), Volasenna's immediate predecessor was C. (or A.) Pompeius Longinus Gallus⁷⁷ who was *cos. ord.* in 49. Volasenna must have been consul, therefore, in either the second half of 49, in

⁶⁹ See Gallivan 1974, 300 where it is argued that the vacant September/October suffectation in 55 should be filled by M. Iunius Silanus and A. Ducenius Geminus.

⁷⁰ See also G. A. Harrer, *Studies in the History of the Roman Province of Syria*, pp. 64 f.

⁷¹ See the lists *ibid.* 63 f.; De Laet 241 f.

⁷² A. Jagenteufel, *op. cit.*, p. 34; J. Wilkes, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

⁷³ A. Jagenteufel, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 ff.; J. Wilkes, *op. cit.*, pp. 443 f.

⁷⁴ This date was deduced by W. H. Waddington, *Fastes des provinces asiatiques de l'Empire romain*, no. 90 (followed by Magie 1582 and Eck 1975, 339) on the grounds

that a coin with the name Volasenna bears a portrait of Poppaea Sabina whom Nero married in 62 (*Tac. Ann.* 14. 59 f.; *Suet. Nero* 35; *Dio* 62. 23) and who was killed by the emperor in 65 (*Tac. Ann.* 16. 6).

⁷⁵ L. Salvius Otho Titianus was proconsul for 63/4 (*Tac. Agric.* 6); L. Antistius Vetus for 64/5 (Magie 1582; 1422 n.78) and M'. Acilius for 65/6 (*ibid.* 1582). Since C. (or A.) Pompeius Longinus Gallus was proconsul in 59/60 (*ibid.* 1582; 1421 n.72), we are left with only two years, 60/1 and 61/2 for Volasenna and Marcius Barea Soranus (*ibid.* 1582; 1422 n.77).

⁷⁶ Cf. Gallivan 1974, 299.

⁷⁷ See n.75.

50, or perhaps in the one remaining vacancy in 51. Let his new date be '49-51'.⁷⁸

'Before 52 or between 53 and 55' $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Q. Futius} \\ \text{P. Calvisius} \end{array} \right.$

The pair is attested in office by *CIL* x. 827 = *ILS* 6384. The above date had to be left so vague because the list of known *duumviri* from Pompeii, on account of its fragmentary and incomplete section covering the late Claudian and early Neronian periods, could not yield a more specific date. However a recently published fragment of the *Fasti Ostienses*⁷⁹ for the year 53 lists a P. Calvisius Ruso who must be identical with the Calvisius under discussion. The dates of known *duumviri* at Pompeii excludes the period January – June 53 for their consulships (see *PIR*² C. 344) and the fragment of the Ostian *fasti* cited above places them later than the pair P. Trebonius/Q. Caecina Primus and in fact attests Calvisius Ruso as the last suffect for the year. The pair therefore held office for certain during the months of November and December and may have been in office during the September/October suffectation as well.⁸⁰

'Before 56' Pompeius Paulinus

No new evidence has appeared to change my previous emendation of the above date to '53 or 54'.⁸¹ If he was consul during 53, it would have been during July and August; if during 54, he will have been in office during the latter half of the year.

'Before 56' Lurius Varus

I have previously suggested that this date should be read as 'before 54',⁸² but it is not possible to improve further upon this.

'Under Claudius' C. Calpurnius Piso

Despite the fact that considerable ancient testimony survives for Piso,⁸³ it is not possible to give a more accurate date for his consulship.

'Before 56' P. Sulpicius Scribonius Proculus

While no new evidence has been forthcoming concerning Proculus,⁸⁴ the probability of a Neronian date for the consulship of both himself and his brother has perhaps been increased by the fact that the last few years of Claudius' reign which immediately precede their governorships in 56 appear almost complete (see § III). If they are Neronian consuls, it is most likely that they belong to the year 54.

⁷⁸ Cf. Eck's view (Eck 1975, 339) – 'bleibt mit grösserer Wahrscheinlichkeit nur noch das Jahr 54 übrig, in dem P. Volasenna die Fases geführt haben kann'. P. Volasenna (the *praenomen* is given by coins *BMC Phrygia*, 58 nos. 1 ff.) is perhaps the younger brother of C. Volasenna Severus *suff.* 44 (see below). It is highly unlikely that the two Volasennae should be one and the same person despite the confusion over the *praenomen* of the governor of Asia (see *PIR* V. 616), for an interval of almost twenty years between the consulship and the proconsul-

ship of Asia is unparalleled for these years (Magie 15181 f.; Eck 1975, 339).

⁷⁹ F. Zevi, 'Nuovi frammenti dei Fasti Ostienses', *Akten des VI internationalen Kongresses für griechische und lateinische Epigraphik München* 1972, p. 437.

⁸⁰ See the discussion under P. Trebonius /Q. Caecina Primus below.

⁸¹ Gallivan 1974, 301.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 300 f.

⁸³ See *PIR*² C. 284 and, most recently, J. Scheid, *Les Frères Arvales*, 206 ff.

⁸⁴ Gallivan 1974, 301.

'Before 56' Sulpicius Scribonius Rufus

See above on his brother Proculus.

'Before 65' Caesennius (or Caesonius) Maximus

No change can be made to the above date.⁸⁵

'Before 65' Cluvius Rufus

The first certain reference to Cluvius in the extant literary sources occurs at Suet. *Nero* 21.2 when he is reported to have acted as Nero's herald at a theatre performance in Rome. He was, it seems, a close friend of the emperor to the end. (Dio 63. 14. 3; Tac. *Hist.* 4. 43). He is surely too old to be the consular Κλούιος mentioned by Josephus (*Ant. Iud.* 19. 91 f.) under the year 41 and therefore consul in either 39 or 40.⁸⁶ In all probability Cluvius' consular date should be Neronian but given the state of the present evidence (*PIR*² C. 1206), let it remain as 'before 65'.

'Before 68' Hordeonius Flaccus

No change is possible to my earlier 'Claudian or Neronian'.⁸⁷

'Before 68' Rubrius Gallus

No more precise date can be given (*PIR* R. 94).

——— L.S.-----

This hitherto unknown consul was in office in 43 with an unknown colleague (Barbieri 1975), 153 ff.). Since at least five other suffectus are attested for this year, he must have been in office during November and December (see § III).

——— C. Volasenna Severus

He is attested in office in 44 with Cn. Hosidius Geta during November and December (Giordano 1971, 184 = *AE* (1973), 151). Previously unknown, he may have been the brother of P. Volasenna.⁸⁸

——— { P. Trebonius
Q. Caecina Primus

According to a recently published fragment of the *Fasti Ostienses*,⁸⁹ this pair belongs to 53. The order is confirmed by an unpublished fragment of the Acts of the Arval Brethren.⁹⁰ Given Claudian practice and the fact that their names immediately precede those of Q. Futius and P. Calvisius Ruso in the Ostian fragment, they may have been in office for either July/August or September/October or perhaps even for the four months July/October.

——— P. Fabius Firmianus

Another new Claudian consular, Firmianus was in office as the colleague of L. Tampius Flavianus in either 40 or 41 (see above).

⁸⁵ Ibid. 304.

⁸⁶ So also G. Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses*, pp.16 f. R. Syme, *Tacitus*, pp.293 f. suggested that Josephus may have added ὑπατικός anachronistically.

⁸⁷ Gallivan 1974, 305 f.

⁸⁸ See n.78.

⁸⁹ F. Zevi, op.cit. (n.79), p.437.

⁹⁰ *RE* Suppl. xiv. 810.

III. A REVISED FASTI FOR THE REIGN

As a result of the investigations carried out in the previous two sections, the following revised *fasti* for the reign of Claudius is suggested:⁹¹

- *41⁹² (Gaius IV. Claudius I)
- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| C. Caesar Augustus IV | (1 month) |
| Cn. Sentius Saturninus | (Jan./June) |
| Q. Pomponius Secundus | (Feb./June) |
| Q. <i>Lutetius Lusius Saturninus</i> | (Sept./Oct.) |
| M. <i>Seius Veranus</i> | |
| P. <i>Ostorius Scapula</i> | (Nov./Dec.) |
| P. <i>Suillius Rufus</i> | |
- 42 (Claudius I-II)
- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|
| Ti. Claudius Caesar Augustus II | (2 months) |
| C. Caecina Largus | (12 months) |
| C. Cestius Gallus | (Mar./?June) |
| Cornelius Lupus | ? |
- *43 (Claudius II-III)
- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------|
| Ti. Claudius Caesar Augustus III | (2 months) |
| L. Vitellius II | (2 months) |
| L. Pedanius Secundus | (Mar./June) |
| Sex. Palpellius Hister | |
| A. <i>Gabinus Secundus</i> | (July/Aug.) |
| <i>Ignotus I</i> | |
| Q. <i>Curtius Rufus</i> | (Sept./Oct.) |
| L. <i>Oppius</i> | |
| L.S----- | (Nov./Dec.) |
| <i>Ignotus II</i> | |
- *44 (Claudius III-IV)
- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| C. Sallustius Passienus Crispus II | (early Jan.) |
| T. Statilius Taurus | (Jan./June) |
| P. Calvisius Sabinus P. Pomponius Secundus | (early Jan./June) |
| Cn. <i>Hosidius Geta</i> | (July/Dec.) |
| T. <i>Flavius Sabinus</i> | (July/Aug.) |
| L. <i>Vagellius</i> | (Sept./Oct.) |
| C. <i>Volasenna Severus</i> | (Nov./Dec.) |
- 45 (Claudius IV-V)
- | | |
|---|--------------|
| M. Vinicius II | (2 months) |
| T. Statilius Taurus Corvinus | (Jan./June) |
| T. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus | (Mar./June) |
| A. Antonius Rufus | (July/?Oct.) |
| M. Pompeius Silvanus Staberius Flavinus | |

⁹¹ I follow Smallwood's practice of giving Claudius' years of tribunician power in brackets. My suggested revisions are italicized.

⁹² The year is complete because one of

the two pairs C. Vibius Rufinus/M. Cocceius Nerva and P. Fabius Firmianus/L. Tampilus Flavianus belong in July/August.

- *46 (Claudius V-VI)
 D. Valerius Asiaticus II (2 months)
 M. Iunius Silanus (12 months)
 C. Antistius Vetus (early Mar.)
 Q. Sulpicius Camerinus (early Mar./June)
 D. Laelius Balbus (July/Aug.)
 C. Terentius Tullius Geminus (Sept./Dec.)
- 47 (Claudius VI-VII)
 Ti. Claudius Caesar Augustus IV (2 months)
 L. Vitellius III (?2 months)
- *48 (Claudius VII-VIII)
 A. Vitellius (Jan./June)
 L. Vipstanus Poplicola Messalla (12 months)
 L. Vitellius (July/Dec.)
- 49 (Claudius VIII-IX)
 Q. Veranius (?2 months)
 C. (or A.) Pompeius Longinus Gallus (?2 months)
 { L. Mammius Pollio (?Mar./?June)
 Q. Allius Maximus
- 50 (Claudius IX-X)
 C. Antistius Vetus II (?2 months)
 M. Suillius Nerullinus
- 51 (Claudius X-XI)
 Ti. Claudius Caesar Augustus V (12 months)
 Ser. Cornelius Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus (Jan./June)
 L. Calventius Vetus Carminius (at least Sept./Oct.)
 T. Flavius Vespasianus (Nov./Dec.)
- 52 (Claudius XI-XII)
 Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix (12 months)
 L. Salvius Otho Titianus (Jan./June)
 Marcus Barea Soranus (July/?Aug.)
 L. Salvidienus Rufus Salvianus (?Nov./Dec.)
- 53 (Claudius XII-XIII)
 D. Iunius Silanus Torquatus (Jan./July)
 Q. Haterius Antoninus
 { P. Trebonius ?
 Q. Caecina Primus
 { Q. Futius (?Nov./Dec.)
 P. Calvisius Ruso
- 54 (Claudius XIII-XIV. Nero I)
 M'. Acilius Aviola (Jan./June)
 M. Asinius Marcellus
 M. Aefulanus⁹³ ?

⁹³ Gallivan 1974, 299 f.

The following men also either held or may have held the consulship under Claudius. The nearest ascertainable dates are given.

After 38	T. (or L.) Mussidius Pollianus
40 or 41	<i>C. Vibius Rufinus</i>
c. 40	<i>M. Cocceius Nerva</i>
Under Gaius or Claudius	<i>C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus</i>
	Pompeius Peto
40 or 41	<i>P. Fabius Firmianus</i>
42 or 43	<i>L. Tampius Flavianus</i>
After 46 (Probably 47, 49, or 50)	<i>C. Suetonius Paullinus</i>
	<i>C. Calpetanus Rantius Sedatus (Metronius?)</i>
47, 49, 50, or 54	<i>C. Fuufius? (Fufius?)</i>
	<i>Cn. Minicius</i>
40, 42, 43, 45, or 47	<i>L. Popillius Balbus</i>
40, 42, 43, 45, 47, or 49	<i>P. Anteius Rufus</i>
49 – 51	<i>P. Volasenna</i>
53 or 54	<i>Pompeius Paulinus</i>
Before 54	<i>Lurius Varus</i>
Under Claudius	<i>C. Calpurnius Piso</i>
Before 56	<i>P. Sulpicius Scribonius Proculus</i>
Before 56	<i>Sulpicius Scribonius Rufus</i>
Before 65	<i>Caesennius (or Caesonius) Maximus</i>
Before 65	<i>Cluvius Rufus</i>
Claudian or Neronian	<i>Hordeonius Flaccus</i>
Before 68	<i>Rubrius Gallus</i>

The following consul designate died before assuming office:

47 or 48	C. Silius
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