

JOHN BODEL

CHRONOLOGY AND SUCCESSION 1: *FASTI CAPITOLINI* FR. XXXIID,
THE SICILIAN *FASTI*, AND THE SUFFECT CONSULS OF 36 BC

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 96 (1993) 259–266

© Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn

**Chronology and Succession 1:
Fasti Capitolini Fr. XXXIId, the Sicilian Fasti,
and the Suffect Consuls of 36 BC**

In what order did the Capitoline Fasti record the suffect consuls of 36 BC? Degrassi in his standard edition printed the following transcription of the relevant lines (fr. XXXIId):¹

<i>L. G[elliu]s L. f. L. n. [Poplicola]</i> <i>[ab]d(icavit). In e[ius] loc(um) factus est]</i> <i>[L. Nonius] L. [f. T. n. Asprenas]</i>	<i>[M. Cocceius - f. - n. Nerva]</i> <i>[abd(icavit). In eius loc(um) factus est]</i> <i>[- Marcius - f. - n. - - - -]</i>
---	--

A new fragment of the consular *fasti* from Tauromenium now reveals the *praenomen* of Marcius to have been *Q.* and dates the start of his consulship to 1 July; L. Nonius is recorded in the next line as having entered office on 1 September.² On the strength of this new evidence O. Salomies proposes to reverse the order of the *suffecti* in the Capitoline list as reconstructed by Degrassi by restoring the last line of fragment XXXIId as follows:³

<i>[Q. Marcius] L. [f. - n. - - - -]</i>	<i>[L. Nonius L. f. T. n. Asprenas]</i>
--	---

Thanks to the courtesy of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, in August of 1991 I was able to check this interesting new proposal against Degrassi's reconstruction by examining and measuring relevant fragments of the *Fasti Capitolini* in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome. The results of a brief investigation suggest that neither Degrassi's transcription nor Salomies' emendation is the most plausible interpretation of the evidence.

I

All that survives of the final line of fragment XXXIId recording the suffects of 36 is the top of a vertical *hasta*, 0.3 cm. in length, beneath the fragmentary *D* of *[ab]d(icavit)* and the *I* of *In* in the preceding line.⁴ The small diagonal stroke visible c. 0.6 cm. to the right of the *hasta* in

¹ *Inscriptiones Italiae* XIII i (Rome 1947) 59. Where not otherwise indicated, dates are BC. The inspiration for this note belongs entirely to my colleague, E. Badian, who first drew my attention to Salomies' article (below, n. 3) and pointed out to me the consequences of accounting for the indentation of suffect consuls in tablet IV of the Capitoline Fasti. It is owing to his encouragement, and with the benefit of his comments on an earlier draft, that I have undertaken to pursue some of the lines of investigation suggested by this important observation here.

² G. M. Bacci, *Kokalos* 30-31 (1984-85) [1988] II 2, 724f., with a photograph, pl. CLVIII, fig. 4. The new fragment (aa. 36-34) combines with the earlier of two fragments of the same list discovered in 1962 and preserving a record of the years 39-36 (*AE* 1988, 626a) and 30-28 (*AE* 1988, 626b).

³ *ZPE* 86 (1991) 187-92 at 189. In placing the name of L. Nonius before that of Marcius, Degrassi followed the order preserved in the *F(asti) magistrorum vici* and the *F. Biondiani*: cf. *Inscr. It.* XIII i, 283, 291 and Degrassi's remarks *ad ann.* on pp. 135f.

⁴ The reading "LN" of the last line reported by Henzen in *CIL* 1, p. 440 and "confirmed" by Hülsen in *CIL* 1², p. 28 is corrected by Degrassi in his critical apparatus, p. 58 *ad loc.* Contrary to the impression given

Degrassi's drawing (p. 58) and his photograph of a squeeze (pl. XLV) is not part of a letter but an accidental nick in the surface of the stone. Beginning c. 0.1 cm. below the top of the *hasta* and extending c. 1.1 cm. to the right edge of the fragment the surface of the stone is slightly worn away, and no trace of whatever letter followed the *hasta* survives. Whether the extant stroke represents the top of the *praenomen* *L.*, as Degrassi and Salomies suppose, or the *I* of the ending of a *gentilicium* (*-ius*) and whether it formed part of the name of L. Nonius or of Q. Marcius must be determined through a consideration of the space required by the various possible supplements in filling the lacuna at the beginning of the line.⁵ Between the surviving *hasta* and an imaginary left margin derived by dropping a vertical from the initial *L* of *L. G[elliu]s* two lines above is a gap 8.6 cm. wide. This is the space we have to work with, for nowhere in the Capitoline Fasti does a line recording a suffect consul obtrude to the left of one listing the *ordinarii* of the same year.

Degrassi's transcription shows the entry naming the first suffect of 36 slightly indented with respect to the line recording the ordinary consulship of L. Gellius (the *praenomen* *L.* is aligned under the *G* of *Gellius*). That is appropriate if the surviving *hasta* represents the *praenomen* in the filiation of Nonius' name. The spacing between letters on this fragment varies considerably, from a minimum of 0.2-0.3 cm. at mid-letter height (between *I* and *N* in the preceding line) to an anomalous maximum of 1.5 cm. (between the second *A* of *Agrippa* and the following *L* three lines above), but most letters are separated from each other by a distance of between 0.5 cm. (*D* and *I* in the preceding line) and 0.8 cm. (*L* and *N* of the filiation formula two lines above) when a triangular mark of punctuation intervenes and between 0.3 cm. and 0.4 cm. when the letters are not divided by an interpunct. If we assume an average spacing between letters (allowing for interpuncts between words) and take as a point of comparison the 7.8 cm. occupied by the letters *NTONIVS* (and the following interpunct) of *Antonius* five lines above,⁶ the letters *L. NONIVS* (with interpuncts after the *praenomen* and *gentilicium*), requiring between c. 7.9 and 8.2 cm. of the space of 8.6 cm., would allow for an indentation at the beginning of the line of between c. 0.4 and 0.7 cm.

by Degrassi's drawing, the left vertical of the *D* of [*ab*]*d(icavit)* in line 2 does not survive but has been crudely painted in red on the broken surface of the stone.

⁵ Salomies (above, n. 3) 189 n. 12 maintains that the *hasta* cannot have represented an *I* at the end of a *gentilicium* on the grounds that the top left part of a following *V* would be visible, since consecutive *Is* and *Vs* elsewhere in the same fragment are nearly contiguous. Comparison of the next preserved fragment (XLII, aa. 25-23), which was evidently carved in the same hand, shows that this was not always so (cf. the sequence *IV* in *divi* (twice) and in *M. Iun[ius...]* in pl. XLVI). In fact, *Is* and *Ls* c. 0.3-0.4 cm. taller than the letters adjacent to them are common throughout the right column of tablet IV: compare, e.g., the first and last *Ls* of *L. G[elliu]s L. f. L. n.* in fr. XXXIId and note Degrassi's comment (p. 58) on the "tall" *I* in *Silenu[s]* in the second line of fr. XLIII (a. 25). Since the extant part of the *hasta* in the last line of fr. XXXIId is only 0.3 cm. long, it is possible that the surviving fragment never preserved any part of the following letter; on the other hand, erosion of the surface of the stone may have effaced whatever traces of the letter originally appeared on the fragment that survives.

⁶ Though Antony's name is carved *in rasura*, and thus postdates the *damnatio memoriae* of his son Iullus in 2 (cf. L. R. Taylor, *CP* 41 (1946) 1-11; 45 (1950) 92-95), the letters are not appreciably narrower or more crowded than others on the same fragment.

By a similar approximation⁷ Salomies' supplement Q. MARCIVS, requiring between c. 9.7 and 10.2 cm. of space, would obtrude some 1.1 to 1.6 cm. to the left of the line recording the *ordinarii* of the year, a situation unparalleled in the Capitoline consular lists. If we suppose the letters to have been unusually narrow and closely crowded, Q. MARCIVS could perhaps be imagined as aligning flush with the entry recording the *ordinarius* L. Gellius, but this arrangement too seems highly unlikely, for reasons that neither Degrassi nor Salomies took into account.

If we compare the layout of the consular list elsewhere in the right column of tablet IV, we can see that the names of suffect consuls were normally indented some 3.3 to 3.6 cm. to the right of the entries recording the *ordinarii* of the year. So, for example, at the year 44 the name of P. Cornelius Dolabella appears below and 3.4 cm. to the right of the entry naming the first *ordinarius* of the year (C. Iulius Caesar) and 3.5 cm. to the right of the name of the first *ordinarius* of the following year (C. Vibius Pansa) carved in the line immediately below.⁸ The entry naming the first suffect of 43, C. Iulius Caesar (Octavianus), likewise begins c. 3.5 cm. to the right of that recording Pansa as *ordinarius* (fr. XLI), and indentations of similar width can be calculated from Degrassi's drawings and photographs for the suffect of 45, C. Caninius Rebilus (c. 3.3 cm.), and, with less certainty, for the suffects of 12, C. Valgius Rufus and C. Caninius Rebilus, son of the suffect of 45 (c. 3.5-3.6 cm. each).⁹

It is clear from the layout of the text that these indentations were not measured precisely but were calculated optically, to a width of approximately three letters, and that a similar procedure of indenting the names of suffect consuls, as well as those of dictators, *magistri equitum* and censors, was employed in carving the texts of tablets I-III.¹⁰ The consistency of the

⁷ Calculated in part on the basis of measurements of the letters MARC of *Marcellus* (a. 49) and Q...IVS of *Q. Fabius* (a. 45) in Degrassi's photograph of a squeeze of fragment XXIII d (pl. XXXVIII).

⁸ Cf. *Inscr. It.* XIII i, 58, fr. XLI, pls. XXXVIII and XLIV. Degrassi's transcription (p. 59) could mislead the unwary into supposing that a line recording the assassination of Caesar and the appointment of his successor intervened between those naming him as *ordinarius* and Dolabella as his suffect. Here, as frequently elsewhere in his transcriptions of the Capitoline consular lists (e.g., at a. 43), Degrassi's aim of representing the columnar arrangement of the original and his practice of expanding abbreviations produces a division of lines on the printed page that does not correspond to the layout of the text on the stone.

⁹ Cf. *Inscr. It.* XIII i, 56, 58, frs. XXIII d and XLIV, pl. XXXVIII.

¹⁰ The names of suffect consuls listed under the first *ordinarius* of the year seem normally to have been indented the space of approximately 3 or 4 letters (cf. aa. 460 [tab. Is]; 176, 162 [tab. III d]), those listed under the second *ordinarius* somewhat less (the space of c. 1-2 letters) (cf. aa. 458 [tab. Is]; 393 [tab. Id]; 305 [tab. IId]; 256 [tab. IIIs], 217, 215, 180, 162, 154 [tab. III d]). In tablets II-IVs the names of censors are generally indented the space of a single letter (cf. aa. 319, 318, 312, 307 [tab. IId]; 275, 258, 253, 252, 247, 241, 236, 234, 230, 225 [tab. IIIs]; 214, 194, 189, 184, 179, 174 (2 letters), 169, 164, 159, 154 [tab. III d]; 147, 142, 131, 97, 92, 89, 86 [tab. IVs]), the names of dictators and *magistri equitum* slightly more (the space of 1-2 letters; cf. aa. 380 [tab. IIs]; 331, 320, 316, 315, 314, 313, 312 [tab. IId]; 263, 257, 249, 246, 231, 224 [tab. IIIs]; 216, 213 [tab. III d]; 82 [tab. IVs]). In tablet I (aa. 458, 418), at a. 231 (tab. IIIs), and from 210 down to the middle of the second century (esp. aa. 210-199; tab. III d) the lines recording the censors seem to be aligned virtually flush with those naming the dictators and masters of the horse. In the years when *decemviri consulari imperio* or *tribuni militum* replaced the normal consuls, they appear as eponymous magistrates, that is, with their names aligned flush with those of the *ordinarii* of the preceding and following years (see below). With the right column of tablet IV (which starts, perhaps significantly, with the year 49) the pattern changes, so that

presentation throughout tablets I-IV of the Capitoline consular *fasti* reflects the uniformity of purpose with which the Republican lists were designed in order to serve two distinct, though related, aims: to mark the eponymous magistrates of each year and to indicate by a hierarchical sequence of indentation the subordinate status of any substitute officials serving during the same year.

Fragment XIId (aa. 319-307) of tablet II is instructive on both counts. At 315 the line naming the substitute *magister equitum* C. Fabius Ambustus appears c. 3 spaces to the right of that recording the original master of the horse, C. Aulius Cerretanus, who died in battle; the name of Cerretanus, in turn, like that of the dictator Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, is indented c. 2 spaces to the right of the line recording the *ordinarii* of the year. This is the normal pattern, in which a suffect office is graphically subordinated to an ordinary appointment and both are subsumed beneath a primary heading recording the eponymous magistrates of the year. With this hierarchical arrangement we may compare the entry at a. 249 (fr. XXIIs, tab. III), where the line recording the suffect dictatorship of A. Atilius Caiatinus appears flush with that naming his predecessor, the scribe M. Claudius Glicia, who was compelled to abdicate before naming a master of the horse.¹¹ The appointment of Glicia, though capricious, was considered valid¹² and so was duly recorded as an eponymous office; the placement of the name of his successor flush beneath his, on the other hand, fully accords with the irregularity of Glicia's tenure, as specified in the text: *M. Claudius C. f. Glicia, qui scriba fuerat, dictator coact(us) abd(icavit) sine mag(istro) eq(uitum)*.¹³ We find a similar situation in the listing for 309 (fr. XIId), where the names of the dictator L. Papirius Cursor and his master of the horse C. Iunius Bubulcus Brutus appear in consecutive lines carved flush with those recording the *ordinarii* of the preceding and following years: below their names a third line indented c. 3 spaces to the right explains the irregular alignment: *hoc anno dictator et magister eq(uitum) sine co(n)s(ulibus) fuerunt*. In the absence of normally elected consuls, the dictator and his master of the horse appear as eponymous magistrates.¹⁴

Recognizing the principles on which the text of tablets I-IV was organized helps to elucidate the complicated picture of the year 45 represented on fr. XXIIIId (tab. IV), where the consulships of Q. Fabius Maximus and C. Trebonius are accorded equal status with the sole consulship of Caesar. The record begins with a listing, in consecutive lines indented c. 3 spaces, of Caesar as dictator and Lepidus as master of the horse; next follows a line disposed flush with those indicating the *ordinarii* of previous years recording Caesar's sole consulship; the entries recording Caesar as dictator and his various masters of the horse align flush with those recording *suffecti* and are thus indented some 3-4 spaces to the right of those naming the *ordinarii* of each year.

¹¹ So Mommsen, *Staatsr.* II³159 n. 2.

¹² Cf. Livy, *Per.* 19 and Suet., *Tib.* 2.2 with Broughton, *MRR* 1.215 and E. Badian, *Klio* 71 (1989) 583f., 586.

¹³ *Inscr. It.* XIII i, 42f. Degrassi, p. 116 *ad ann.*, remarks the uncharacteristic omission of any mention of the purpose of Glicia's dictatorship (*rei ger(undae) caussa*)--perhaps another indication of the peculiar circumstances of his appointment.

¹⁴ So too, apparently, at a. 301 (fr. XV), where only the middle letters of the names and the words *an]no dictat(or)* are preserved.

aligned beneath this is the entry recording the consulships of Fabius and Trebonius, who entered office when Caesar abdicated his consulship around October 1. Finally, the suffect C. Caninius Rebilus, hastily elected when Fabius died on the last day of the year, appears in the traditional manner of suffect consuls, with his name indented c. 3 spaces to the right of that of his predecessor in office. From this arrangement we deduce that Fabius and Trebonius were the duly elected *ordinarii* and that when Caesar resigned his extraordinary sole consulship (to which, according to Cassius Dio, he was appointed late in the preceding year at the instigation of Lepidus) they assumed their rightful position as eponymous magistrates.¹⁵ Caesar's third dictatorship, entered (probably) in late April of 46 and numbered annually, assumes chronological precedence over his sole consulship but appears in the consular list as a subordinate post, since it did not constitute an eponymous office.¹⁶

With tablet V, of which the first surviving fragment (XLV) begins with the suffect of AD 1, the whole system changes.¹⁷ Henceforth each year is identified first by the year of the *tribunicia potestas* of Augustus, followed, from AD 5 on, by a line recording the year of the tribunician power of Tiberius. The *ordinarii* of the year appear in the next line side by side, with the name of the first *ordinarius* of each year aligned flush beneath that of Augustus (or, after AD 5, Tiberius) in the line immediately above. The one or two *suffecti* of each year are then listed in a single column approximately positioned under the name of the second *ordinarius* of the year (at AD 1-10) or, in the last two entries (at AD 11 and 12), under the first *ordinarius*, to the right of a formula indicating the date of entry into office (*ex k(alendis) Iul(iis)*) which brackets the list on the left.¹⁸

¹⁵ Dio 43.33.1; cf. App., *B.C.* 2.107. The *F. Amerini*, which come down to us only through a faulty manuscript tradition, here seem to follow the arrangement and, in one place, the wording (*eodem anno*) of the Capitoline Fasti (*Inscr. It.* XIII i, 242; cf. Degrassi *ad ann.* 47-44), and the *F. Ostienses*, which omit all record of Caesar's sole consulship, likewise acknowledge Fabius as *ordinarius* (*Inscr. It.* XIII i, 182f., pl. LXVI). Modern authorities (e.g., Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* XIII i, 500; Broughton, *MRR* 2.304f.) nonetheless persist in following the *F. Colotiani* (*Inscr. It.* XIII i, 272) in recognizing Caesar as *ordinarius* and treating Fabius and Trebonius as *suffecti*.

¹⁶ The entries recording Caesar's dictatorships in 47 and 44 are similarly indented in the Capitoline Fasti, as they are (apparently) in the *F. Amerini* at all three years and in the *F. Colotiani* at aa. 45 and 44. The painted *F. Pompeiani* (aa. 47-46, *Inscr. It.* XIII i, 271f.), which belong to the final years of the Republic and may have been drawn up annually as the magistrates changed, record Caesar's second dictatorship (with Antony as *magister equitum*) in 47 as an eponymous magistracy, probably because the consuls entered office only late in the year (Dio 42.55.4; cf. *Inscr. It.* XIII i, 133 *ad ann.* 47).

¹⁷ Cf. *Inscr. It.* XIII i, 60-63, tabb. XL-XLII and note Degrassi's remarks on p. 20 concerning the carving of tablet V (which, according to his calculations, began with the year 10): "Qui fasti...et scriptura et ratione versuum a ceteris longe differunt, ita ut eos aliquanto temporis post a. 11 propositos esse cogites."

¹⁸ Superficial changes in recording practice are not uncommon in our surviving consular *fasti* and do not always reflect a change in the date at which the various entries were inscribed. Especially common is a change from listing the *suffecti* of each year in consecutive lines to recording them in a single line, as, e.g., in the *F. Ostienses*; between frs. X (AD 37-38) and XIId (AD 91-92; and probably already in fr. XIIIa, AD 84-86: *Inscr. It.* XIII i, 190-93, pls. LXIX, LXX); the *F. magistrorum vici*, pag. V, between aa. 2 and 1 (the bottom line of the tablet; cf. pag. VI at AD 2: *Inscr. It.* XIII i, 284, pl. LXXXVIII); the *F. Arvalium*, pag. V, between AD 29 and 30 (*Inscr. It.* XIII i, 299, pl. XCII); and the *F. sodalium Augustalium Claudialium*, between frs. II (AD 64-66) and III (AD 68-69: *Inscr. It.* XIII i, 312, pl. XCIV). The *F. feriarum Latinarum* show a similar change in the recording of *ordinarii* between frs. IV (aa. 203-200) and V (aa. 27-22: *Inscr. It.* XIII i, 148-51, pl. LVIII). We find the reverse in the *F. scribarum quaestorium*, between frs. III (AD 26-28) and IV (AD 79-81: *Inscr. It.* XIII

This system of marking the *suffecti* of each year as a group by listing them in a single column beneath the names of one of the *ordinarii* must be clearly distinguished from the method employed in the first four tablets of the Capitoline Fasti, where different principles of organization and arrangement obtained. Since the fragment preserving the record of 36 comes from this earlier, Republican section of the list, it is to its pattern of arrangement that the entry recording the *suffecti* of the year will have conformed. We must therefore assume that the name of the first *suffect* of the year was indented the space of approximately three letters with respect to the name of the first *ordinarius*, in which case the surviving *hasta* at the bottom of the fragment cannot be the top of an *L* in a filiation formula but must instead form part of the *I* of the ending of a *gentilicium*. Whether the *gentilicium* is more likely to have been that of L. Nonius or of Q. Marcius will again depend upon a consideration of the space required by the two names in filling out the beginning of the line.

If we assume the same range of possibilities employed above in calculating the space required by the supplements Q. MARCIVS and L. NONIVS, the letters Q. MARC would have occupied between c. 6.7 and 7.2 cm. of space before the *hasta* and thus would have allowed an improbably slight indentation of only c. 1.4-1.9 cm. By contrast the letters L. NON, occupying between c. 4.9 and 5.2 cm. of space, could easily have accommodated an indentation of c. 3.4-3.7 cm. at the start of the line--a range very close to that (c. 3.3-3.6 cm.) which the layout of *suffect* consuls elsewhere in the right column of tablet IV has led us to expect.

The conclusion seems inescapable that the last line of fragment XXXIId recorded the name of L. Nonius before that of Q. Marcius and that the entry registering his office was indented the space of some three or four letters with respect to the line recording the *ordinarii* of the year, roughly as follows:¹⁹

L·G[ELLIV]S·L·F·L·N[·	POPLICOLA	M·COCCEIVS· - ·F· - ·N·	NERVA]
[AB]D·IN·E[IVS·L·F·EST		ABD·IN·EIVS·L·F·EST]	
[L·NON]I[VS·L·F·T·N·	ASPRENAS	Q·MARCIVS· - ·F· - ·N·	- - -]

This is, in fact, very close to the arrangement shown in Degrassi's plate XXVI, which reproduces a photograph of the plaster display of tablets IV and V of the Capitoline Fasti mounted at the exhibit of Roman antiquities organized by G. Giglioli in Rome in 1937 for Mussolini's bimillenary celebration of the birth of Augustus, a display which Degrassi himself supervised.²⁰ With the upper portions of tablet IV in place and fragment XXXII correctly (if approximately) positioned so that the names of the first *ordinarii* of 37 and 36 aligned beneath those of the years 47-43 above, the width of the indentation required in the restoration of its final line must have seemed obvious. What moved Degrassi to abandon his original, more

i, 307, pl. XCIII), and possibly also the *F. Cuprenses*, between frs. III (aa. 33-31) and IV (aa. 12-11: *Inscr. It.* XIII i, 244f., pl. LXXXII; cf. G.V. Gentili, *Epigraphica* 10 (1948) 133-36 [= *AE* 1950, 93], a. 2).

¹⁹ Speculation about the identity of Marcius based upon a presumed filiation *L.f.* (Salomies (above, n. 3) 188-90) is thus premature.

²⁰ Cf. *Inscr. It.* XIII i, 19: "cuius exemplaris [sc. plastici expositioni Augusteae Romanitatis destinati] imagines photographicas ... etsi uno alterove loco supplementa proposita a textu infra edito differant, publici iuris faciendas censui."

plausible, reconstruction when he published his authoritative edition a decade later remains a mystery.²¹

II

It remains to determine the source of the discrepancy between the order of the *suffecti* of 36 as recorded in the Capitoline Fasti (and the *Fasti magistrorum vici* and the *Fasti Biondiani*) and that attested in the new Sicilian Fasti. We may safely assume that the Capitoline lists, which the emperor Augustus undoubtedly saw installed in the triple Janus arch built into the Porticus Julia north of the Temple of Divus Julius in 18/17 in order to commemorate his Parthian victories, were not mistaken in their record of the year 36.²² The same cannot be said of the Sicilian Fasti, which were carved sometime during the early Empire in a provincial context far removed from the capital.²³ We need not, however, resort to an hypothesis of error in order to account for the variation. Recognizing the different principles of organization on which the two lists were based will allow the apparent discrepancy to be reconciled.

The Sicilian Fasti alone of those preserving a record of the consuls of 36 purport to indicate the day on which each suffect entered office, with the natural consequence that the *suffecti* of the year, like the *ordinarii* of the various years, appear in chronological order. The list presents a detailed record of dates, and we may reasonably suppose that it was originally intended to provide the colonists of Tauromenium with an official register of chronology for legal and commercial purposes. The first four tablets of the Capitoline Fasti, on the other hand, where the *ordinarii* of each year are recorded side by side and the various *suffecti* are ranged beneath the names of either or both of the *ordinarii*, were evidently compiled on different principles and were designed to convey rather different information. As the arrangement in parallel columns suggests and the text of the document in numerous places confirms, the Capitoline lists aimed to indicate who replaced whom in office, regardless of the date at which any particular consulship passed from one man to the next.²⁴ That is to say, the Republican consular

²¹ It is possible that Degrassi allowed himself to be seduced by the earlier exchange of views regarding the suffects of 36, based on the (then) newly discovered *F. Biondiani* and the mistaken reading "LN" of the last line of fr. XXXIId of the Capitoline Fasti (above, n. 4), between A. Biondi (*Diss. pontif. acad. rom. archeol.* 6 (1835) 344-51, esp. 349) and Borghesi (*Œuvres complètes* 7 [= *Lettres* 2] (Paris 1870) 94-102 [6/29/1835], esp. 98-101). But Degrassi's own comment on fr. XXXIId, a. 36, line 3 init. (p. 58) shows that he was not oblivious to considerations of space when he reconstructed the suffects of 36 for *Inscr. It. XIII* i, and several years later he reproduced the same transcription in his *editio minor*, *Fasti Capitolini* (Turin 1954) 80.

²² For the site of Augustus' Parthian arch and the attribution of the Capitoline Fasti to it (rather than, as Degrassi and others have argued, to the Actian arch erected south of the Temple of Divus Julius), see F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano II: Periodo repubblicano e augusteo* (Rome 1985) 269-308.

²³ Inscribed on a slab of grey-veined marble and discovered together with similar marble fragments of a calendar now dated to the Tiberian period, the *F. Tauromenitani* were evidently affixed to a wall facing the forum and adjacent to an early imperial bath complex that underwent several stages of construction during the first and second centuries AD: cf. Bacci (above, n. 2) 722-24, R.J.A. Wilson, *Sicily under the Roman Empire* (Warminster 1990) 45, 173; and, for the calendar (*AE* 1988, 625), G. Manganaro, *ANRW* II.11.1 (1988) 43, revising his earlier arguments (*Arch. Class.* 15 [1963] 15-19) for assigning the text to between 36/5 and 19.

²⁴ The phrase *In eius locum factus est* (variously abbreviated) above the names of suffect consuls (at aa. 460, 458 [tab. Is], 256 [tab. IIIs], 217, 215, 180, 176, 162, 154 [tab. IIIId], 108 [tab. IVs], 45, 23 (bis), 12 [tab. IVd] and plausibly restored elsewhere) leaves no doubt about the system of organization.

fasti displayed by Augustus on his Parthian arch were arranged on the principle of succession rather than date.

The same principle of marking individual substitutions informs the organization of our oldest consular list, the painted *fasti (maiores)* of Antium (compiled, probably, sometime during the second quarter of the first century BC), where the names of consuls who died in office are preceded by a theta,²⁵ and it is likely that most lists drawn up under the free Republic, when suffect consulships were few and irregular, were likewise designed to indicate the lines of succession to office. The existence of municipal and provincial *fasti* such as those discovered at Venosa (aa. 35-28) and Tauromenium (aa. 39-34, 30-28), on the other hand, shows that already during the final years of the Republic (if not before) there was a public record of suffect consuls arranged by date, no doubt on display somewhere in Rome.²⁶

Since the order of precedence in which the *ordinarii* of each year were traditionally recorded (according to popularity at the polls²⁷) did not necessarily, nor even perhaps normally, coincide with the order in which they resigned from (or died in) office, discrepancies in sequence between a chronological list and one composed on the basis of individual substitutions were bound to occur.²⁸ Such is the case with the record of the year 36 as reported in the Capitoline Fasti and the new *fasti* from Tauromenium.

Recognizing the different principles on which the two lists were compiled thus allows their apparently conflicting testimony to be reconciled and furthermore sheds some small light on the chronology of the turbulent year 36: Q. Marcius replaced the *ordinarius* M. Cocceius Nerva in office on 1 July; for something less than two months he served with the other *ordinarius* L. Gellius Poplicola before the latter resigned in favor of L. Nonius Asprenas, who entered office on 1 September.

Harvard University

John Bodel

²⁵ The designation *suffectus* precedes the names of individual suffects who succeeded deceased *ordinarii* in 154 and 130, and deaths are marked also at aa. 103, 90, and 89: cf. *Inscr. It.* XIII i, 160-165 (159 for the date).

²⁶ The *F. Venusini*, which recorded Roman magistrates from the end of the Social War, were probably inscribed sometime after 16 (*Inscr. It.* XIII i, 249-56, 250 for the date) and must therefore have derived their information concerning dates from an earlier model. Since the published fragments of the *F. Tauromenitani* were evidently carved in a single hand, they too are unlikely to have been inscribed contemporaneously with the events they record (that is, as the annual magistrates changed). An apparent discrepancy in the recorded date of accession of the last suffect of 34, M. Herennius, between the *F. Venusini* (1 Nov.) and the *F. Tauromenitani* (1 Sept.; here, however, no trace of the name survives), suggests that the two lists do not go back to the same source.

²⁷ See L. R. Taylor and T. R. S. Broughton, *MAAR* 19 (1949) 1-14 and *Historia* 17 (1968) 166-72.

²⁸ Only once do we find an explicit attempt to reconcile the two systems of organization in a single list, in the *F. Teanenses* at AD 46, where the name of the first suffect, "Vetus Antistius" (C. Antistius Vetus) is preceded by the notation *k. Mart. loc(o) Valer(ii)*; that is, Vetus replaced D. Valerius Asiaticus, the first *ordinarius* of the year, on 1 March (*Inscr. It.* XIII i, 264, pl. LXXXIV).