

CALPURNIUS SICULUS AND THE CLAUDIAN CIVIL WAR

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I. THE PROPHECY OF FAUNUS

In the first *Eclogue* of Calpurnius Siculus, Corydon and Ornytus seek to escape from the heat of the sun in a grove sacred to Faunus. There, on a beech tree, they find a long prophecy (lines 33–88), freshly carved by the god himself. After an introductory announcement of joyful news, the inscription proceeds as follows :

Aurea secura cum pace renascitur aetas
et redit ad terras tandem squalore situque
alma Themis posito iuvenemque beata sequuntur
saecula, maternis causam qui vicit Iulis. 45
dum populos deus ipse reget, dabit impia victas
post tergum Bellona manus spoliataque telis
in sua vesanos torquebit viscera morsus
et, modo quae toto civilia distulit orbe,
secum bella geret : nullos iam Roma Philippos 50
deflebit, nullos ducet captiva triumphos ;
omnia Tartareo subigentur carcere bella
immergentque caput tenebris lucemque timebunt.

42–44 The *iuvenis* must be Nero. Edward Champlin in 1978 made a heroic attack on the traditional dating of Calpurnius, but his suggested third-century context (with Alexander Severus as the *iuvenis*) was refuted in 1980 by G. B. Townend on historical grounds—notably the *munus* and the amphitheatre of *Eclogue* 7—and by Roland Mayer on the grounds of prosody and literary reminiscence.¹ Although some of the questions raised by Champlin deserve better answers than they have yet had, nevertheless the traditional view is vindicated ; *Eclogue* 1 must have been written after the death of Claudius on 13 October 54, and its dramatic date must be late in the summer immediately before.²

45 *Causam vincere* (like νικᾶν τὴν δίκην) is not a common usage. *TLL* offers only two real parallels : Apuleius, *Florida* 18 (Helm p. 36. 20), where the *causa* is a real lawsuit, and Ovid (or pseudo-Ovid) *Heroides* 16. 76, where it is the judgement of Paris.³ In 53, Nero gave a speech in Greek on behalf of the city of Ilium, with the result that it was freed from tribute in perpetuity.⁴ It has always been assumed that the reference in Calpurnius is to that *causa Iliensium*, and with the use of the perfect tense, rather than the future or prophetic present as elsewhere in the passage, that seems to be a reasonable assumption : the young prince is being praised for his main achievement to date. But there is a serious objection.

As Champlin rightly observes, ‘nowhere in Latin literature does the word [*Iuli*] signify the people of Troy’. It is not enough to suppose, as Townend does, that ‘the word *Iulis* must be to some extent ambiguous, suggesting both *Iul(i)is* and “Iulus and his people”’; the whole point about Iulus is that he was the ancestor of Aeneas’ descendants in Italy, and not of the men of Ilium itself.⁵ What the phrase means is ‘... who has won the case (or cause) for his mother’s family, the Iulii’. As the parallel from the *Heroides* shows, even in this idiomatic phrase *causa* need not be literally a lawsuit ; it may be more general, as in Cicero’s *optimatum causa* or Lucan’s *victrix causa deis placuit*.

There was surely only one way the phrase could be understood in 54—as referring to Agrippina’s descent from Augustus and the consequent restoration, through Nero, of the

¹ E. Champlin, *JRS* 68 (1978), 95–110; G. B. Townend, *JRS* 70 (1980), 166–74; R. Mayer, *ibid.* 175–6.

² Townend, 168: the comet of lines 77–83 was visible in June and July; in lines 1–7 the sun is still fierce, and the grapes are being pressed. Townend sees in line 94 a deliberate blurring of the dates to include the actual accession of the *iuvenis*.

³ ‘Querebar | non omnes causam vincere posse suam’; Bentley’s ‘posse tenere suam’ is not necessary. (*TLL* cites also Cic., *Deiot.* 23, but that is not

the same: the *causa victa* is Pompey’s cause, as in Lucan’s famous line 1 128, and *vincere* has its usual sense; Pompey has not ‘won his cause’, but Caesar has defeated it.) Note that Calpurnius’ contemporary Seneca has a similar phrase in *Apocol.* 9. 6: ‘videbatur Claudius sententiam vincere’.

⁴ Tac., *Ann.* xii 58. 1 (A.D. 53), Suet., *Nero* 7. 2 (*Graece*; dating it to Claudius’ consulship, presumably in 51), *Claud.* 25. 3.

⁵ Champlin, 98 f., Townend, 168 f.; Virg., *Aen.* 1 267–71.

Julian line.⁶ Claudius was not a Caesar either by blood or by adoption; only now, with Agrippina's son, was the case for the Julian succession vindicated. That point was clearly made by Seneca in the *Apocolocyntosis*,⁷ and we might expect it to be made also in the exactly contemporary work of Calpurnius. Moreover, Faunus does not even have to prophesy the vindication of the Julian succession: it has already happened, with Claudius' adoption of Agrippina's son four years earlier. So the perfect tense is not, after all, a significant argument against Champlin's case.

46-48 This unique and vivid picture of Bellona, bound, disarmed, and insanelly gnawing at her own vitals, seems to me to demand an explanation. It is true that by the first century A.D. Bellona had come a long way from the beneficent goddess of victory she had been in the middle Republic.⁸ Association first with the Homeric *ptoliporthos Enyo*, the bringer of panic, and then with the goddess of Comana in Cappadocia, whose priests scourged themselves till the blood came, had turned her into the awesome figure familiar from Virgil and his successors, brandishing her bloody whip in the battle-fury.⁹ She was a dreadful goddess, but a goddess nevertheless; *atra*, *minax*, *sanguinea* are her predictable epithets, but nowhere else in Latin literature is she described as *impia*.¹⁰

One of the two passages Calpurnius alludes to is *Georgics* I 511, 'saevit toto Mars impius orbe'; but that, though startling enough, is a comparatively straightforward metonymy, *Mars impius* for *bellum impium* or *arma impia*, civil war.¹¹ Here too, *impia Bellona* signifies civil war, but the vividly portrayed humiliation of the goddess adds a quite new dimension. For that we must turn to the other parallel passage, *Aeneid* I 292-6, the culmination of Jupiter's prophecy:

'Cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis
claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus
saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aenis
post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.'

The quotation of *post tergum* makes the allusion, and the parallel, explicit. But Furor is a monster, a hellish demon: why does Calpurnius alone demote Bellona to the same rabid level?

The answer may lie in the associations of Bellona's temple at Rome. Its founder was Ap. Claudius Caecus, who had vowed it in the war against the Etruscans in 296 B.C.—a fact celebrated in Ovid's *Fasti*, in a purple passage of Livy, and in the Forum of Augustus itself, below Appius' statue in the portico.¹² Moreover, Ap. Claudius Pulcher, the consul of 79 B.C., had decorated the temple with shield-portraits of his ancestors, thus turning it into

⁶ *TLL* III 688-9 (s.v. *causa* B3). Cf. Townend, 169: 'the interpretation of *causam vicit* as 'prevailed in a contest of power' [as in Champlin 100], if it can be valid, makes much more sense in connection with Nero, for whom Julian blood in the proper sense was still an essential asset'. Quite so, though there is no need to doubt its validity; however, Townend goes on (groundlessly, in my view) 'but the primary reference of the phrase must still be to the speech for the contemporary Ilians'.

⁷ Sen., *Apocol.* 10. 4 (Augustus speaks): 'iste quem videtis, per tot annos sub meo nomine latens . . .'. Claudius' claim to be a Caesar at 5. 5-6. 1 (citing Hom., *Od.* IX 39, ἠλιόθεν) is dismissed by Febris as *mera mendacia*; the allegation of the venal Despiter at 9. 5, that Claudius was *sanguine cognatus* with the Divine Augustus, is clearly on a par with the following item, that he 'longe omnes mortales sapientia antecellat'. Apollo, on the other hand, prophesies at 4. 1 (line 30) 'talis Caesar adest, talem iam Roma Neronem|aspiciet'. For a different explanation of ἠλιόθεν, see D. C. Braund, *CQ* 30 (1980), 420-5.

Claudius' use of the name 'Caesar' was presumably based on the adoption of his grandmother Livia into the *gens Iulia* (Tac., *Ann.* I 8; cf. Suet., *Claud.* II. 2, Dio LX 5. 2, etc. for his deification of

Livia), but her adoption did not, of course, affect *his* position. For the flattering fiction that Augustus was Claudius' grandfather, see A. Cameron, *GRBS* 21 (1980), 49 f., on Thallus, *Anth. Pal.* VI 235.

⁸ Plautus (*Amph.* 42 f.) includes her with Neptune, Virtus, Victoria and Mars as one of the Romans' particular benefactors; Livy (X 19. 17-21) has Appius pray to her as a bringer of victory. The temple of Bellona was vowed in 296 B.C., the temple of Iuppiter Victor in 295, and the temple of Victoria was dedicated in 294: see S. Weinstock, *Harvard Theological Review* 50 (1957), 215 f.

⁹ See the article by Procksch in Roscher's *Lexikon* I (1884-6), 774-7. Enyo: Hom., *Il.* V 333, 592, etc. Comana goddess: Hor., *Sat.* II 3. 223, Tib. I 6. 45, Lucan I 565, Mart. XII 57. 11, Juv. IV 124, etc. Virgil: *Aen.* VIII 703, cf. Lucan VII 568, Sen., *de ira* II 35. 6, Sil. It., *Pun.* IV 439.

¹⁰ J. B. Carter, *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Latinos leguntur* (Roscher, Suppl., 1902), 18; *TLL* II 1820 f.

¹¹ *Arma impia*: Virg., *Aen.* VI 612 f., for which the standard parallels are Lucr. V 381 (*pio nequaquam bello*) and Lucan I 238 (*non pia classica*).

¹² Ovid, *Fasti* VI 199-208; Livy X 19. 17-22; *Inscr.* II. XIII. 3 nos. 12 (fragments in Forum Augustum) and 79 (Arretium copy).

a monument to the achievements of the patrician Claudii. It is likely that the family tombs were nearby, just outside the Porta Carmentalis beneath the Capitol.¹³ The temple was kept in the public eye by the Fetial ritual for the declaration of war (still kept up—or revived—by Augustus and his successors), which took place at the *columna bellica* immediately in front.¹⁴ There can be no doubt that Calpurnius and his readers were familiar with Bellona, and with the Claudian associations of her temple. Just as Ovid, in a work dedicated to Germanicus, emphasizes her beneficent nature,¹⁵ so Calpurnius, flattering Nero and his maternal Julii, turns her into a fiend of hell.

49–53 ‘Under no circumstances,’ writes Champlin, ‘is it possible to see the reign of Claudius as a period of civil war.’ In reply, Townend points to the conventions of imperial panegyric, and cites as parallel *Ecl. Einsiedeln* 2. 32 (also Neronian) ‘est procul a nobis infelix gloria Sullae’.¹⁶ But that does not answer Champlin’s objection, that *modo* in line 49 should refer to specific, and recent, civil war. It is one thing to say ‘Our prince has not come to power in the way that Sulla did’; it is quite another to say ‘Our prince has restored peace after the recent civil strife’. The *Einsiedeln* poet was making the former point, as Seneca did in Nero’s accession speech (and Pliny later in the panegyric for Trajan); but it is clearly the latter that Calpurnius is making here.¹⁷

It is true that *modo* is a very flexible word, taking its meaning from its context, and that if *Philippos* in line 50 is to be taken literally, Faunus could be applying it to the civil wars of the triumviral period, ‘recent’ in a divine time-scale measured only in *saecula*. But it seems to me that that would be an impossibly frigid argument for Calpurnius to put forward, claiming credit to the young prince for having brought about conditions that had applied under all four of his imperial predecessors. For the flattery to have any rhetorical validity, *Philippos* must be metonymic for civil war in general, and *modo* must have its natural meaning, ‘recently’ in terms of human experience. The difficulty remains.

Is it true, however, that the reign of Claudius could not be described in these portentous terms? Suetonius is quite explicit that there *was* a civil war under Claudius, namely the attempted rebellion of L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus in 42.¹⁸ Our understanding of that event is woefully incomplete, thanks to the loss of the eighth and ninth books of Tacitus’ *Annals*. Nevertheless, Josephus, Suetonius and Dio do provide enough information about the immediate aftermath of the assassination of Gaius to enable us to piece together the background against which this passage of Calpurnius should be read.

II. BELLUM CIVILE

It is all too easy to forget that Gaius was the last of the Iulii Caesares. He had named no heir, and the conspirators took care to kill his wife and child as well, for ‘if any of his family were left it would be disastrous for Rome, and for the laws’. The emphasis on the rule of law is important, for control of the state had reverted to the consuls.¹⁹ Accordingly Cn. Sentius Saturninus and Q. Pomponius Secundus, the consuls then in office, summoned the Senate to the Capitol, deliberately avoiding the Curia Iulia because of its name. Saturninus congratulated the *patres* on the return of liberty and law, which had been lost when Caesar the dictator came to power and never restored under the arbitrary despotism of his successors. The ninety-year rule of the Caesars was over; it was proposed that their memory be abolished and their temples pulled down.²⁰

Military power was the crux of the matter; as King Agrippa told the Senate, those who

¹³ Pliny, *NH* xxxv 12, cf. T. P. Wiseman, *Clio's Cosmetics* (1979), 59 f. on the Claudian tombs *sub Capitolio* (Suet., *Tib.* 1. 1). For the temple and its position, see F. Coarelli, *BCAR* 80 (1965–7), 37–72, esp. 54 ff.

¹⁴ Serv., *Aen.* ix 52, Festus (Paulus) 30L, Ovid, *Fasti* vi 205–8 (*solet*, present tense), Dio LXXI 33. 3 (M. Aurelius).

¹⁵ Ovid, *Fasti* 1. 3 (Germanicus), vi 202 (‘*Latio prospera semper adest*’).

¹⁶ Champlin, 98, Townend, 166 f.

¹⁷ *Ecl. Eins.* 2. 32–4, Tac., *Ann.* XIII 4. 1; Pliny, *Paneg.* 5. 1 (cited by Townend, 167).

¹⁸ Suet., *Claud.* 13, carefully distinguishing it from mere conspiracies like those of Asinius Gallus and Statilius Corvinus; also Tac., *Ann.* XIII 43. 3 (n. 68 below).

¹⁹ Jos., *AJ* XIX 190 (cf. n. 88 below); *ibid.* 160, 186 (consuls issue edicts, summon Senate, give watchword), Dio LIX 30. 3, LX 1. 1 (consuls move treasury to Capitol, station guards).

²⁰ Suet., *Gaius* 60, Jos., *AJ* XIX 167 ff., esp. 173 on Caesar the dictator and his successors, 187 on ‘100 years’; cf. also Dio LX 1. 1, Jos., *BJ* II 205.

lay claim to government need armed soldiers to protect them. The three *cohortes urbanae* were under the consuls' command, but the nine cohorts of the Praetorian Guard had Claudius at their barracks and wanted him to be emperor.²¹ Neither the Praetorians nor the Roman populace trusted the *principes civitatis* who would hold power in a restored Republic: suspicious of their avarice and arrogance, they were afraid of anarchy and civil war. So too, for different reasons, were the tribunes Veranius and Brocchus, sent by the Senate to Claudius at the Praetorian barracks; having delivered their message, they fell on their knees and besought him not to drag the state into a ruinous war.²² Even in A.D. 14, when there was an unquestioned heir whose succession had been carefully prepared, civil war had been a possibility.²³ Now, with the dynasty ended, it seemed more likely than not.

The first danger was conflict between the Praetorians and the urban cohorts. The latter, equally unenthusiastic about senatorial rule, wanted a rival candidate to Claudius. M. Vinicius was tempted, relying on his nobility (two previous generations of consuls) and his marriage to Gaius' sister Iulia. Valerius Asiaticus was tempted too; his qualifications were great wealth, and extensive influence in his native Gaul. But both men thought better of it, and the urban cohorts marched to the Praetorian barracks and gave their allegiance to Claudius.²⁴ Civil war in the streets of Rome itself was thus averted. But that had never been the most serious threat. The main danger, as in 14, lay with the legions.²⁵

Despite Tacitus' epigram on the *arcanum imperii*, it had been obvious long before 69 that frontier armies could make an emperor if they chose.²⁶ Before the extinction of the dynasty, it was only a Caesar—Agrippa Postumus, Germanicus, Nero Caesar or his brother Drusus—who could seem a realistic candidate for their support.²⁷ Even under Tiberius, however, a Cornelius Lentulus in charge of Upper Germany had felt strong enough to threaten the emperor with his legions if he were to be superseded,²⁸ and Gaius himself had taken care to detach the one legion in Africa from the control of the proconsul when a haughty Calpurnius Piso was given the post.²⁹ The men of the old *nobilitas*, peers and rivals of the Caesars, had to be taken seriously when they had armies to command. Now that the last of the Caesars was dead, some of them might well be tempted to think 'Sulla potuit, ego non potero?'

An informed observer in 41 could have picked out five aristocratic contenders with a realistic chance of being able to fill the place left empty by Gaius. In order of consular seniority, they were C. Appius Iunius Silanus (*cos. ord.* 28), A. Plautius (*cos. suff.* 29), L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus (*cos. ord.* 32), L. Livius Ocella Ser. Sulpicius Galba (*cos. ord.* 33), and Ti. Claudius Nero Germanicus (*cos. suff.* 37).

(i) Appius Silanus was legate of Hispania Citerior, with three legions: IV Macedonia, VI Victrix and X Gemina (site of bases unknown).³⁰ His name indicates descent from the patrician Claudii Pulchri; what the connection was is not certain, but it suggests that he was closely related to Gaius' first wife Iunia Claudilla.³¹ Other Claudii Pulchri had been close to the Caesars since the beginning of the dynasty—Octavian's first wife (though

²¹ Jos., *AJ* XIX 162–6, 221–5, Suet., *Claud.* 10, Dio LX 1 (Claudius); Jos., *AJ* XIX 188, *BJ* II 205, Suet., *Claud.* 10. 3 (urban cohorts). Agrippa: Jos., *AJ* XIX 241.

²² Populace: Jos., *AJ* XIX 228, cf. 115, 129 f., 158 f. Praetorians: *ibid.* 224. Tribunes: *ibid.* 234.

²³ Tac., *Ann.* I 4. 2 ('plures bellum pavescere, alii cupere'); *ibid.* 7. 6 f., 31. 1, 35. 3, Suet., *Gaius* I. 1, Dio LVII 3. 1, 5. 1 on the possibility of the Rhine legions installing Germanicus.

²⁴ Vinicius and Asiaticus: Jos., *AJ* XIX 251 f., with M. Swan, *AJP* 91 (1970), 149–55. Vinicius' ancestry: Tac., *Ann.* VI 15. 1; R. Syme, *Hist.* II (1962), 147–9 = *Roman Papers* (1979), 531–3. Asiaticus' wealth and contacts: Tac., *Ann.* XI 1. Cohorts: Jos., *AJ* XIX 249, 263.

²⁵ See n. 23 above, and Tac., *Ann.* IV 17. 2 on the boast of C. Silius, legate of Upper Germany ('neque mansurum Tiberii imperium, si iis quoque legionibus cupido novandi fuisset').

²⁶ Tac., *Hist.* I 4. 2: 'evulgato imperii arcano, posse principem alibi quam Romae fieri'.

²⁷ Tac., *Ann.* II 39. 2, Suet., *Aug.* 19. 2 (Agrippa Postumus and Rhine legions); n. 23 above (Germanicus and Rhine legions); Tac., *Ann.* IV 59. 5, 67. 6 (Nero Caesar and Rhine legions); Tac., *Ann.* V 10. 2, Dio LVIII 25. 1 (Drusus Caesar and Syria legions).

²⁸ Tac., *Ann.* VI 30. 5; for his planned revolt against Gaius, see Suet., *Claud.* 9. 1, Dio LX 22. 5, *Acta fr. Arv.* 27 Oct. 39 ('ob detecta nefaria con[silia in C. Germani]cum Cn. Lentuli Gaet[ulici]').

²⁹ Dio LX 20. 7. Piso was the son of the Cn. Piso who had been accused of the murder of Germanicus.

³⁰ On the disposition of the Spanish legions, see R. F. J. Jones, *JRS* 66 (1976), 49–51.

³¹ Suet., *Gaius* 12. 1, 'M. Silani [*cos.* 15] nobilissimi viri f.' (married in about 33, died in childbirth soon after). Cf. U. Weidemann, *Acta Classica* 6 (1963), 138 ff., whence also *PIR*² I 824, suggesting 'Appia [MSS alia] parente geniti' at Tac., *Ann.* III 68. 3, which would give Appius Silanus and Iunia Claudilla a Claudian grandmother in common.

the marriage was never consummated), a husband of Augustus' niece Claudia Marcella—and a renewed *adfinitas* with the family of Livia has recently been revealed as well.³² It may be more significant that an Ap. Claudius had been one of the lovers of Augustus' daughter who were executed for treason in 2 B.C.³³ As for the Iunii Silani themselves, they had been *nobiles* since at least 109 B.C., and probably much earlier, since they used the same *praenomina* (M. and D.) as the consular Iunii of the fourth and third centuries B.C. They had three Augustan consuls and two more in the early years of Tiberius, one of whom married Aemilia Lepida, daughter of Augustus' grand-daughter Iulia. And like the Claudii Pulchri, they too were involved in high dynastic politics: D. Silanus was banished after the downfall of the younger Iulia in A.D. 8.³⁴

(2) Aulus Plautius was legate of Pannonia, with three legions: VIII Augusta (Poetovio?), IX Hispana (Siscia?) and XV Apollinaris (Carnuntum?). His nobility was more recent, the Plautii who used the *praenomen* A. and—intermittently—the *cognomen* Silvanus being known as senators only from the late second century B.C.³⁵ Their first consul was in 2 B.C., *ordinarius* as colleague to Augustus himself. This was M. Plautius Silvanus, who as legate of Galatia brought desperately needed reinforcements to Pannonia in A.D. 6 and won *ornamenta triumphalia* in the ensuing war;³⁶ his mother Urgulania was a close friend of Livia, and his daughter Plautia Urgulanilla was Claudius' first wife, the mother of Octavia.³⁷ The Plautii were closely related to other patrician families as well, and are justly described as 'one of the greatest houses of the Julio-Claudian nobility'.³⁸ Moreover, Aulus was now in command at the very scene of the family's triumph.

(3) Camillus Scribonianus was legate of Dalmatia, with two legions: VII Macedonica at Tilurium and XI (no *cognomen*?) at Burnum. He was the heir of a quite remarkable threefold aristocratic lineage.³⁹ Firstly from his father, M. Furius Camillus *cos. ord.* A.D. 8, who claimed descent from the great Camillus, the *fatalis dux* of Livy's fifth book, and won renewed triumphal honours for the family against Tacfarinas in 17.⁴⁰ Secondly from his mother, who must have been a Scribonia (whence the *agnomen* Scribonianus); since his sister was Livia Medullina, who was betrothed to the young Claudius but died on the day fixed for the wedding, the combination of the two *gentes* (Scribonii Libones, Livii Drusi) suggests a kinship on his mother's side with M. Libo Drusus, who had thought to challenge Tiberius in the first years of his rule; the circumstances that had made that foolish young man formidable were direct descent from Pompeius Magnus, a house full of noble *imagines*, and a relationship with the Caesars through his aunt Scribonia, the mother of Augustus'

³² Suet., *Aug.* 62. 1 ('Claudiam Fulviae ex P. Clodio filiam'); Tac., *Ann.* iv 52. 1, *PIR*² C 1103 (Claudia Pulchra *sobrina* of Agrippina: i.e. daughter of Marcella *minor* and M. Messalla Appianus *cos.* 12 B.C.); *AE* 1969-70. 118 (Livia C. f. Pulchra); Suet., *Tib.* 3. 1, Vell. Pat. 1 75. 3 (Livius Drusus Claudianus). For the Claudii Pulchri in the early Empire—including a neglected consul of possibly Tiberian date (*CIL* xiv 4707)—see T. P. Wiseman, *HSCP* 74 (1970), 207-21.

³³ Vell. Pat. 11 100. 4; on the background, see B. M. Levick, *Latomus* 31 (1972), 795-801, and *Tiberius the Politician* (1976), 41 f., 55, 166.

³⁴ Aemilia Lepida (previously engaged to Claudius) and M. Iunius Silanus Torquatus *cos.* 19: Pliny, *NH* vii 58, *CIL* vi 27034, x 8041. 21. For the fall of the younger Iulia, see B. M. Levick, *Latomus* 35 (1976), 301-39. D. Silanus: Tac., *Ann.* iii 24. For the Silani and their relations with successive emperors, see D. McAlindon, *AJP* 77 (1956), 119-23.

³⁵ *REA* 44 (1942), 36 (Q. Plotius A. f., 113 B.C.); Livy, *per.* 74 (A. Plotius, legate 90 B.C.); Asc. 79C (M. Plautius Silvanus, *tr.* pl. 89 B.C.). For the family and its origin, see L. R. Taylor, *MAAR* 24 (1956), 7-30, esp. 23-9, and A. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain* (1981), 37-40.

³⁶ *CIL* xiv 3605-6, Vell. Pat. 11 112. 4, Dio LV 34. 6, LVI 12. 2, etc. (*PIR* P 361). He was the grandson of an Aulus: for the stemma, see Taylor, *op. cit.*

24, and U. Vogel-Weidemann, *Acta Classica* 19 (1976), 135-8; *contra* L. Berni Brizio, *Atti CeSDIR* 2 (1969-70), 146, whence *AE* 1972. 162.

³⁷ Tac., *Ann.* 11 34. 3, iv 22. 3; Suet., *Claud.* 26. 2, 27. 1; cf. Suet., *Claud.* 4. 3, *Nero* 35. 4 for the *adfinitas*. Note too the *praenomen* of Ti. Plautius M. f. Silvanus Aelianus (*cos.* 45 and 74), named probably in the last years of Augustus, and the celebration of Livia's birthday by M. Plautius as *Ilvir* at Trebula Suffenas in 23 (*CIL* vi 29681. 1. 18-22, with Taylor, *op. cit.* 17 and 26).

³⁸ *CIL* xiv 3607 on P. Plautius Pulcher *triumphalis filius*, adlected into the patricians by Claudius in 48, whose *cognomen* suggests descent from the Claudii Pulchri; Tac., *Ann.* iv 22. 4 (Silvanus' other son married Fabia Numantina); *CIL* xiv 2845 (Plautia Quinctilia A. f.). Quotation from Taylor, *op. cit.* (n. 35 above), 30.

³⁹ See E. Weinrib, *HSCP* 72 (1968), 247-78; J. Scheid, *MEFRA* 87 (1975), 349-75. Rival stemmata at pp. 274-5 and pp. 368-70 respectively.

⁴⁰ Tac., *Ann.* 11 52 (descent from *ille recipere urbis*, triumphal decorations); cf. Suet., *Claud.* 26. 1 on Livia Medullina (his daughter, *CIL* x 6561), 'cui et cognomen Camillae erat, e genere antiquo dictatoris Camilli'. Livy v 19. 2, etc.: M. Furius Camillus *dict.* 396, 390, 389, 368, 367, *tr. mil. cos. pot.* 401, 398, 394, 386, 384, 381 B.C.

only child.⁴¹ Scribonianus' third inheritance was from his adoptive father, L. Arruntius *cos. ord.* A.D. 6, a man of great wealth and ability, related to the patrician Aemilii Lepidi and Cornelii Sullae and descended (he too) from Pompeius Magnus; according to Tacitus, Augustus had reckoned him worthy of the principate and capable of taking it if the chance came, and Tiberius was nervous enough of him to keep him at Rome throughout his long tenure of the legateship of Hispania Citerior.⁴²

(4) Galba was the legate of Upper Germany, with either four or five legions: II Augusta (Argentorate), XIII Gemina (Vindonissa), XIV Gemina and XVI Gallica (both at Moguntiacum), and possibly also XV Primigenia, if that legion was raised by Gaius rather than Claudius.⁴³ His family was rich, patrician and very ancient, with consuls in practically every generation from the very beginning of the Republic and a legendary ancestry reaching back (no doubt via the kings of Alba Longa) to Jupiter himself.⁴⁴ On his mother's side he was descended from L. Mummius 'Achaicus', the destroyer of Corinth, and from Q. Catulus, whose name still stood proudly on the temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus; he took care to have 'Q. Catuli Capitolini pron.' included in his filiation on statue-bases.⁴⁵ His wife was an Aemilia Lepida; she died, and in 37 he could easily have become closely allied to the Caesares by accepting the advances of the newly-widowed Agrippina, but he preferred to remain single. Gaius gave him the difficult job of restoring discipline and loyalty to the *princeps* in the army of Upper Germany after the abortive rebellion of Gaetulicus, and he was now finishing off a campaign against the Chatti for which he later won triumphal decorations. As a young man he had been a protégé of Livia, and now, at 38, he was evidently already 'omnium consensu capax imperii'.⁴⁶

(5) Claudius had the support of all the forces in the city—the Praetorian Guard, the urban cohorts, the *vigiles*, and some detachments of the Misenum fleet who had rallied to the Praetorians' cause. He had no official position, and his only experience of senatorial office, civil or military, was the consulship Gaius had given him three years earlier.⁴⁷ But he was very closely related to the Iulii Caesares: his father had been Augustus' stepson, his sister had been married to C. Caesar, Augustus' grandson, adopted son and heir, and his brother Germanicus had been both married to Augustus' grand-daughter and adopted into the Caesares himself. The soldiers treated Claudius as if he were a Caesar: they knew he was Germanicus' brother and Gaius' uncle, and they urged him to seize 'the throne of his ancestors'.⁴⁸ In reality, however, he was a Claudius Nero, son of an Antonia and married to a Valeria Messallina—a man of very high patrician birth, but not a member of the Julian dynasty by either blood or adoption.

Of these five potential contenders, Claudius had the initial advantage of being the man on the spot. But the men who had led the Senate's attempt to assume responsibility for the Republic did not just give up after their humiliating failure. Even with our inadequate information, we happen to know that Galba and Camillus Scribonianus were both urged to claim the imperial power,⁴⁹ and we may be sure that messages went from Rome to Appius Silanus and Aulus Plautius too, in the hope that one or other of the imperial legates would challenge the shambling pedant whom the Praetorians had foisted on a resentful Senate.

⁴¹ Medullina: see n. 40. Libo Drusus: Tac., *Ann.* II 27, Sen., *Ep.* 70. 10 (Scribonia), Suet., *Tib.* 25. 3, Dio LVII 15. 4, Vell. Pat. II 129. 2, 130. 3, *Fasti Amiternini* for 13 Sept.; for the significance of his *nefaria consilia*, see now B. Levick, *Tiberius the Politician* (1976), 149–52.

⁴² Weinrib, *op. cit.* (n. 39 above), 265 ff.; Tac., *Ann.* III 31. 5 (Sullae), *CIL* VI 5942 (Faustus Arruntius), Jos., *AJ* XIX 102 (Paullus Arruntius), *ILS* 976 (L. Arruntius Scribonianus 'Pompei Magni a[dnepos]'); Tac., *Ann.* I 13, VI 7, XI 6–7 (wealth, *artes*); *ibid.* I 13 (Augustus' story); *Hist.* II 65. 11, cf. *Ann.* I 80, VI 27. 3 (Spain governorship, Tiberius' *metus*).

⁴³ As argued by J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *JRS* 24 (1934), 13–16.

⁴⁴ Tac., *Hist.* I 49 ('vetus in familia nobilitas, magnae opes'), Suet., *Galba* 2; cf. T. P. Wiseman, *GR* 21 (1974), 153 on the legendary genealogy. The first recorded Ser. Sulpicius was *cos.* 500 B.C. Wealth: Plut., *Galba* 3. 1, cf. Suet., *Galba* 3. 4,

4. 1 on his 'adoption' by his wealthy stepmother Livia Ocellina.

⁴⁵ Suet., *Galba* 2, 3, 4, Tac., *Hist.* I 15; for the Iuppiter temple inscription, see Cic., *Verr.* IV 69, Val. Max. VI 9. 5, Tac., *Hist.* III 72. 3 ('Lutati Catuli nomen inter tanta Caesarum opera usque ad Vitellium mansit'). For a possible explanation of his maternal descent from Pasiphae (Suet., *Galba* 2), see Wiseman, *op. cit.* (n. 44), 156 on Serv., *Aen.* VII 796.

⁴⁶ Suet., *Galba* 5. 1 (Lepida, Agrippina), 5. 2 (Livia), 6. 2–3, 8. 1 (Germany, on which see also Dio LX 8. 7, Tac., *Hist.* I 49); cf. n. 28 above on Gaetulicus.

⁴⁷ Jos., *AJ* XIX 253 (forces); Suet., *Claud.* 7–9 (consulship).

⁴⁸ Jos., *AJ* XIX 164 (uncle of Gaius), 217–9 (Germanicus), Dio LX 1. 3. For the reality, cf. n. 7 above.

⁴⁹ Galba: Suet., *Galba* 7. 1 ('multis ad occasionem stimulantibus'). Scribonianus: Dio LX 15. 2 (ὅτι ἐπιδοξος ἀνταρχήσειν ἐγγόνει, already before 42).

Galba (we are told) and Plautius (we may infer) did nothing, and thus earned Claudius' undying gratitude.⁵⁰ The other two were much less certain.

For the moment, Claudius had a breathing space. The Senate, once its forces had deserted, had no choice but to vote him the powers and honours of the principate; one of the honours he accepted was presumably the addition of 'Augustus Caesar' to his name.⁵¹ For a year or so, as we shall see, he succeeded by diplomacy and flattery in reconciling the *principes civitatis*—however reluctantly—to his rule. But it was only a temporary respite.

In 42 he recalled Appius Silanus from Spain, for the honour of marrying Domitia Lepida, Messallina's mother. But he then executed Appius for conspiracy, without trial and on the evidence of Messallina herself and his freedman Narcissus. That was the point at which the civil war proper began.⁵²

Scribonianus was already planning to march on Rome; now his enterprise was joined by L. Annius Vinicianus (one of the assassins of Gaius, who had been thought of as a possible successor), Q. Pomponius Secundus (one of the consuls who had summoned the Senate after Gaius' murder), and other senators and knights, including A. Caecina Paetus *cos. suff.* 37.⁵³ The legate of Dalmatia sent Claudius a haughty message ordering him to abdicate; Claudius, in terror, consulted his *consilium* whether to obey.⁵⁴ The seventh and eleventh legions were given marching orders, and the war was on. Would Galba and Plautius stay loyal, or would their armies join in on what might well be the winning side?

In fact, the war itself lasted only a few days. The two legions changed their minds—probably because of lack of support rather than for the reasons suggested by Suetonius and Dio⁵⁵—and Scribonianus and his allies were executed or forced to suicide.⁵⁶ But though it came to nothing in the end, it had been a very serious and widespread danger—certainly enough, allowing for the Virgilian allusion and the pardonable exaggeration of a panegyrist, to account for Calpurnius' reference to civil war *toto orbe*.⁵⁷

III. SIMULATA PAX

Faunus' prophecy continues:

Candida pax aderit; nec solum candida vultu, qualis saepe fuit quae libera Marte professo, quae domito procul hoste tamen grassantibus armis publica diffudit tacito discordia ferro:	55
omne procul vitium simulatae cedere pacis iussit et insanos Clementia contudit enses. nulla catenati feralis pompa senatus carnificum lassabit opus, nec carcere pleno infelix raros numerabit Curia patres.	60
plena quies aderit, quae stricti nescia ferri altera Saturni referet Latialia regna, altera regna Numae, qui primus ovantia caede agmina, Romuleis et adhuc ardentia castris pacis opus docuit iussitque silentibus armis inter sacra tubas, non inter bella, sonare.	65
iam nec adumbrati faciem mercatus honoris nec vacuos tacitus fasces et inane tribunal accipiet consul; sed legibus omne reductis ius aderit, moremque fori vultumque priorem reddet et afflictum melior deus auferet aevum.	70

⁵⁰ Galba: Suet., *Galba* 7. 1. Plautius: inferred from his command in the British campaign, and his unprecedented *ovatio* in 47 (Tac., *Ann.* XIII 32, Suet., *Claud.* 24. 3, Dio LX 30. 2, Eutropius VII 13. 4).

⁵¹ Dio LX 1. 4, 3. 2. On his coins, Claudius is 'Ti. Claudius Caesar Augustus' from the very beginning (cf. n. 7 above); but he refused the *praenomen imperatoris* (Suet., *Claud.* 12. 1).

⁵² Dio LX 14. 3-4, Suet., *Claud.* 37. 2, Sen., *Apocol.* 11. 5.

⁵³ Vinicianus: Jos., *AJ* XIX 252, Dio LX 15. 1-2. Pomponius: Tac., *Ann.* XIII 43. 3. Paetus: Dio LX 16. 5-6, Pliny, *Ep.* III 16. 7-9. Other senators and *equites*: Dio LX 15. 3. For this episode, see in general

C. Ehrhardt, *Antichthon* 12 (1978), 62-4.

⁵⁴ Suet., *Claud.* 35. 2, Dio LX 15. 4.

⁵⁵ Suet., *Claud.* 13. 2 (standards could not be raised), Dio LX 15. 3-4 (Scribonianus made the mistake of asking them to fight for a restored Republic).

⁵⁶ Dio LX 15. 3-4, 16. 6, Tac., *Hist.* II 75, Pliny, *Ep.* III 16. 9.

⁵⁷ Calp., *Ecl.* 1. 49 f., Virg., *Georg.* I 511 (p. 58 above). *Toto distulit orbe*, though not of course the literal truth or anything like it, was no doubt intelligible enough to those at Rome who had feared (or hoped) that Claudius would be challenged by legionary armies from Spain, Germany, or the Danube provinces.

54 f. The peace the new prince will bring is contrasted with a delusive peace, fair only in appearance. The latter made her first appearance in the uneasy lull (*libera Marte professo*) between the Praetorians' military coup and the challenge of Scribonianus.

Claudius went out of his way to placate the Senate, with an amnesty for the events following Gaius' murder,⁵⁸ exiles recalled, prisoners freed, incriminating papers burned,⁵⁹ constitutional courtesies ostentatiously observed,⁶⁰ new honours devised for the Senate as a body,⁶¹ and a return to Augustan standards diligently advertised.⁶² In particular, the *principes civitatis* who had—or thought they had—as much right to the principate as he had were flattered and promoted. M. Crassus Frugi (*cos. ord.* 27), for instance: he was the heir of the Crassi and the Pisones, and since his wife Scribonia was descended from the Pompeii Magni (and perhaps the Corneliae Sullae as well), his children had an even more brilliant aristocratic pedigree.⁶³ Claudius made Crassus Frugi legate of the newly-annexed territory of Mauretania in time to be given the triumphal *ornamenta* for a campaign that had already been won,⁶⁴ and gave his daughter Antonia in marriage to Crassus Frugi's eldest son, who bore the proud and dangerous name Cn. Pompeius Magnus.⁶⁵ His other daughter Octavia, still a small child, was betrothed to L. Iunius Silanus, a great-great-grandson of Augustus through the marriage of Aemilia Lepida (daughter of L. Paullus and the younger Iulia) to his father M. Silanus *cos. ord.* 19.⁶⁶ Ap. Silanus, as we have seen, was recalled to marry Claudius' mother-in-law Domitia Lepida.

That was the *vultus*: what of the reality? Claudius may have been sincere in forgiving the senators who had been involved in the plot against Gaius and the abortive restored Republic, and in promoting them (according to Dio) to honours and offices;⁶⁷ but there were others in his entourage who had different ideas. Q. Pomponius Secundus, one of the consuls who had summoned the fateful Senate, was hounded by fierce prosecutions in the courts brought by Claudius' close friend P. Suillius Rufus (once quaestor to Germanicus).⁶⁸ M. Vinicius, who had thought himself a possible successor thanks to his marriage to Gaius' sister (and Augustus' great-grand-daughter) Iulia Livilla, now lost his wife: she was recalled from exile by Claudius, but banished again—and shortly afterwards killed—by the intrigues of Messallina.⁶⁹ And Appius Silanus found his marriage to Domitia Lepida no protection from summary execution on the evidence of Messallina and Narcissus. To men who thought they might be the next victims, Claudius' parade of *civilis animus* and Augustan constitutional traditions could have seemed nothing but a sham.

56 f. *Domito procul hoste* is sometimes taken as a reference to the conquest of Britain.⁷⁰ But why should Calpurnius mention Claudius' greatest triumph, even in such neutral terms? ⁷¹ Besides, the logical sequence of the whole passage, from *impia Bellona* in 46 f. to *Clementia* in 59, would be broken by a reference to wars of foreign conquest; it should still be civil war he has in mind, and the *hostis* is more likely to be Scribonianus.⁷² Only thus does *tamen* make sense: the rebel in Dalmatia had been overcome, and yet the killings went on even after the military crisis was over.

⁵⁸ Dio LX 3. 5, Suet., *Claud.* 11. 1, Jos., *BJ* II 208.

⁵⁹ Dio LX 4. 1–2, 4. 5, 6. 3.

⁶⁰ Dio LX 6. 1, 11. 6–12. 5, Suet., *Claud.* 12. 1–2.

⁶¹ Dio LX 7. 3, Suet., *Claud.* 21. 3 (reserved seats in Circus).

⁶² Dio LX 10. 1, Suet., *Claud.* 11. 2; H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* I (1923), 164 no. 1, 165 no. 6, 185 no. 145 (CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI, PACI AVGVSTAE, LIBERTAS AVGVSTA S.C.); for the third type, see Swan, *op. cit.* (n. 24 above), 163 f.

⁶³ See R. Syme, *JRS* 50 (1960), 12–20, esp. 18 f. = *Roman Papers* (1979), 496–509, esp. 506 f.; Weinrib and Scheid, *opp. cit.* (n. 39 above) for the Scribonian connection; Ehrhardt, *op. cit.* (n. 53 above), 58.

⁶⁴ *CIL* VI 31721; Dio LX 8. 6, 9. 1–5 (Suetonius Paullinus and Hosidius Geta); triumphal *ornamenta* inferred from Suet., *Claud.* 17. 3.

⁶⁵ Dio XL 5. 7, Suet., *Claud.* 27. 2; Ehrhardt, *op. cit.* (n. 53 above), 59 f. For his dangerous name, cf. Suet., *Cal.* 35. 1, Sen., *Apocol.* 11. 2 (Gaius' jealousy).

⁶⁶ Dio XL 5. 7, Suet., *Claud.* 27. 2; cf. n. 34 above.

⁶⁷ See n. 58.

⁶⁸ Tac., *Ann.* XIII 43. 3: 'acerbitate accusationis Q. Pomponium ad necessitatem belli civilis detrusum'. Cf. *Ann.* IV 31. 3 on Suillius; R. Syme, *JRS* 60 (1970), 27 f. = *Roman Papers* (1979), 806 f.; for the date of his consulship (Nov.–Dec. 41?), see P. A. Gallivan, *CQ* 28 (1978), 419, 424.

⁶⁹ See n. 24 above. Livilla: Dio LX 4. 1, 8. 5, Suet., *Claud.* 29. 1, Sen., *Apocol.* 10. 4, cf. Tac., *Ann.* XIV 63. 2.

⁷⁰ e.g. J. W. and A. M. Duff, *Minor Latin Poets* (Loeb ed. 1934), 223 n. b.

⁷¹ Compare Suetonius' dismissive phrase (*Claud.* 17. 1): 'expeditionem unam omnino suscepit eamque modicam.'

⁷² cf. Sen., *de clem.* I 12. 3 for *cives* becoming *hostes*. From Calpurnius' Neronian point of view, of course, Scribonianus was no more qualified than Claudius to aspire to the position of the *materni Iuli*.

The phrase *grassantibus armis* recalls Nero's renunciation of 'palace trials' in his inauguration speech: ⁷³

non enim se negotiorum omnium iudicem fore, ut clausis unam intra domum accusatoribus et reis paucorum potentia *grassaretur*.

According to Dio, those who were accused of complicity with Scribonianus were tried by the Senate, with the consuls presiding—but we may be sure that the Senate met *in Palatio*. Certainly Claudius' freedmen were present, and Narcissus at least evidently took part in the cross-examinations. He and Messallina (and we may probably add Suillius) were regarded as the authors of the purge, in which many senators and knights were tortured and put to death.⁷⁴

The false smile of the 'Claudian peace' is presented by Calpurnius as an ever-recurring phenomenon (*saepe*, 55), effectively extending the conditions of civil strife throughout the reign. Conciliatory gestures masked secret assassinations (*tacito ferro*). In 43, for example, triumphal *ornamenta* were bestowed on all those senators who had accompanied Claudius on his victorious cavalcade into Colchester to receive the submission of the British kings.⁷⁵ Of the nine known *comites et legati* who received this accolade, five were further honoured and then destroyed: M. Vinicius *cos. ord.* 30, widower of Iulia Livilla, consul *ordinarius* for the second time in 45, poisoned at Messallina's orders in 46; ⁷⁶ M. Crassus Frugi *cos. ord.* 27, father of Claudius' son-in-law and already *triumphalis* as legate in Mauretania, granted the unique privilege of riding in a *tunica palmata* at Claudius' triumph in 44, killed with his wife Scribonia in 46 or 47; ⁷⁷ his son Cn. Pompeius Magnus, husband of Antonia, official messenger of Claudius' victory to the Senate in 43 and attendant of his father-in-law at the temple of Jupiter in the triumph in 44, stabbed in his bed—a perfect example of *grassantia arma*—in 46 or 47; ⁷⁸ D. Valerius Asiaticus *cos. suff.* 35, consul again (and *ordinarius*) in 46, denounced by Suillius and the imperial freedman Sosibius (both acting for Messallina), arrested in a large-scale military operation in 47 and forced to suicide after a trial *intra cubiculum*; ⁷⁹ L. Iunius Silanus, great-great-grandson of Augustus, fiancé of Octavia, recipient of the same special honours as Pompeius Magnus though still only in his teens, expelled from the Senate and forced to suicide in 49.⁸⁰ And there were others too for whom Claudius' favour was merely the prelude to untimely death.⁸¹ **58 f.** It is clear from the context that the *simulata pax* was peace from civil wars—or rather apparent peace, in that the same ends were being pursued by individual murders rather than open war. The *enses* most familiar to Calpurnius' readers were those of the Praetorian cohorts, always eager to protect 'their' emperor from potential rivals; the intimidating physical presence of the soldiers, and their readiness to use their weapons on civilians of even the

⁷³ Tac., *Ann.* XIII 4. 2.

⁷⁴ Dio LX 15. 4–16. 4; Ehrhardt, *op. cit.* (n. 53), 64. Senate meetings *in Palatio* (i.e. in the library of the Apollo complex): Jos., *AJ* XIX 266, Tac., *Ann.* XIII 5. 2, cf. D. L. Thompson, *AJA* 85 (1981), 335–9. See n. 56 above for the deaths of Scribonianus' three consular allies Pomponius Secundus, Annius Vinicianus and Caecina Pactus. For the torture, cf. P. A. Brunt, *ZSS* 97 (1980), 259 f.

⁷⁵ Dio LX 23. 2, Suet., *Claud.* 17. 3. Besides the five mentioned below, we know of Cn. Sentius Saturninus (Eutrop. VII 13. 2), Ser. Sulpicius Galba (Suet., *Galba* 7. 1), Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus (*CIL* XIV 3608), A. Didius Gallus (*Hesperia* 10 (1941), 239–41).

⁷⁶ *AE* 1929. 166; R. Syme, *CQ* 27 (1933), 142–4 = *Danubian Papers* (1971), 26–8 and 34; Dio LX 27. 4, cf. nn. 24 and 69 above.

⁷⁷ Sen., *Apocol.* II. 2 and 5; nn. 63–4 above.

⁷⁸ Dio LX 21. 5, 23. 1; Suet., *Claud.* 29. 2, Sen., *Apocol.* II. 2; n. 65 above.

⁷⁹ Tac., *Ann.* XI 1–3, esp. I. 3 ('tamquam opprimendo bello'), 2. 1 (*intra cubiculum*), 3. 1 (Britain); cf. n. 24 above.

⁸⁰ Dio LX 21. 5, 23. 1, Suet., *Claud.* 24. 3, *ILS* 957; Tac., *Ann.* XII 3. 2, 4. 4, 8. 1, Suet., *Claud.* 29. 2, Dio LX 31. 8; cf. n. 34 above.

⁸¹ e.g. C. Sallustius Crispus Passienus *cos. suff.* 27, married first to Domitia Lepida and then to Agrippina, *cos. II ord.* 44, poisoned in 46 or 47 (Schol. Juv. IV 81, cf. R. Syme, *Tacitus* (1958), 328 f.)—though Agrippina herself was supposedly responsible for that; his colleague T. Statilius Taurus *cos. ord.* 44, forced to suicide in 53 (Tac., *Ann.* XII 59. 1–3—Agrippina again); Taurus' brother Statilius Corvinus, Vinicius' colleague as *cos. ord.* 45, presumably executed after his conspiracy in 46 or 47 (Suet., *Claud.* 13. 2; cf. Dio LX 27. 5 on Asinius Gallus, who was merely banished); Lusius Saturninus *cos. suff.* 41? and Cornelius Lupus *cos. suff.* 42, executed before 47 (Sen., *Apocol.* 13. 5, q.v. also for Ser. Asinius Celer *cos. suff.* 38, and Pompeius Pedo, whose consulate may have been under Gaius; see P. A. Gallivan, *CQ* 28 (1978), 417, 424 on Saturninus); and of course C. Silius, executed as *cos. des.* in 48 (Tac., *Ann.* XI 5. 3, 12. 2–4, 26–35, Sen., *Apocol.* 13. 4).

highest rank, made it easy to portray the Rome of Claudius as in a permanent state of potential war.⁸² The *insani enses* of line 59 are the *vesani morsus* of Bellona in line 48.⁸³

59 The swords are blunted by Clementia. The clemency of Nero is of course familiar from Seneca's *de clementia* (practically contemporary with Calpurnius' poem), where it is contrasted with the *crudelitas* and *saevitia* of tyrants.⁸⁴ Seneca's readers would find it easy to detect hints about the previous reign, not least in the long exemplary story of Augustus' magnanimity towards Pompey's grandson Cinna (how should a true *princeps* deal with the sedition of envious young *nobiles*?).⁸⁵ Moreover, Seneca even shares the premise of Calpurnius' portentous imagery: 'principum saevitia bellum est' (I 5. 2).

60-62 The emphasis on the Senate is important. Chains too, like swords, were a familiar sight to the senators of Calpurnius' time,⁸⁶ and the prison, emptied of Gaius' victims in the first conciliatory days of Claudius' reign, was now full again with persons of the same sort—*maiestas* suspects, men of senatorial or equestrian rank.⁸⁷ Similarly in lines 69-71: the restoration of the laws under the new prince will give back to the consuls their proper dignity and authority.⁸⁸ Calpurnius seems to be writing for a high-ranking audience, men who valued the proprieties of constitutional behaviour and were exalted enough to be vulnerable to the arbitrary suspicions of a nervous despot.

63-68 Why Numa? Saturn alone would be more than adequate to symbolize the new peace. Numa forces on the poet a contrast he might well have wished to avoid, since Romulus—symbol of war in line 66—was himself a descendant, like the new prince, of *materni Iuli*. There must have been a strong reason to bring him in, and it is not hard to guess what it was—the family of the poet's patron, 'Meliboeus'.⁸⁹ From the late Republic, if not before, two noble houses had claimed descent from Numa, the Pomponii and the Calpurnii Pisones.⁹⁰ Since 'Meliboeus' was himself a poet, the cultured Piso of the *laus Pisonis* is an obvious candidate for the identification.⁹¹ But we should not forget the *consularis poeta* P. Pomponius Secundus (*cos. suff.* 44).⁹² He was famous for his tragedies, and it is with the ivy of Bacchus that the Muse rewards 'Meliboeus' in *Eclogue* 4.⁹³ Pomponius' brother had been consul at the attempted restoration of the Republic, and was later driven by Suillius into civil war.

IV. THE NEW RETURN

Nearly forty years ago, Momigliano wrote of the opening poem in Calpurnius' collection: 'it represents in verse Nero's programme for the first year . . . the *Eclogue* is an invaluable historical document'.⁹⁴ That programme appears in Tacitus' version of Nero's speech (*Ann.* XIII 4) and in Seneca's *de clementia*; by adding hints from this poem and

⁸² e.g. Jos., *AJ* XIX 263 (Q. Pomponius Secundus threatened in 41), Tac., *Ann.* XI 1. 3 (arrest of Valerius Asiaticus in 47), 35. 3-4 (Silius in 48); Dio LX 16. 7 (Homeric vengeance as watchword), LX 3. 3 and Suet., *Claud.* 35. 1 (escort of soldiers to dinner parties), etc.

⁸³ The parallel with the Praetorians may extend to 'in sua . . . torquebit viscera': cf. Tac., *Ann.* XII 42. 1-2 for the alleged internal strife within the cohorts (caused by the rivalry of the two Prefects), which was only ended by the appointment of Agrippina's nominee Burrus, the power behind Nero's accession (XII 69. 1).

⁸⁴ See in particular *de clem.* I 12-13, 25-26, II 4; cf. M. Griffin, *Seneca: a Philosopher in Politics* (1976), 141-8; *ibid.* 407-11 for the date of Seneca's essay.

⁸⁵ *De clem.* I 9, esp. 9. 3 (Pompey), 9. 5 (Augustus 'nobilibus adulescentulis expositum caput'), 9. 10 (other *nobiles*). Claudius is mentioned explicitly at I 23. 1 (on undue *severitas* in punishing parricides); for his proverbial *saevitia* see Suet., *Claud.* 15. 4, 34, *Nero* 33. 1, Sen., *Apocol.* 6. 2; possible hints at *de clem.* I 1. 8, 7. 3, 8. 7, etc.; cf. Griffin, *op. cit.* 150 f.

⁸⁶ e.g. Tac., *Ann.* XI 1. 3, 32. 3, Dio LX 16. 1.

⁸⁷ Dio LX 5. 2; cf. 5. 3-4, Sen., *Apocol.* 12. 3, Suet., *Claud.* 14-15 on Claudius' love of the judge's role.

⁸⁸ cf. Tac., *Ann.* XIII 4. 3, 'teneret antiqua munia

senatus', etc. For *mercatus* in line 69, cf. *ibid.* 4. 2 ('nihil in penetibus suis venale aut ambitioni pervium'), Dio LX 17. 8, Suet., *Claud.* 29. 1, Sen., *Ep.* 47. 9, Tac., *Hist.* v 12. 5. For the laws, cf. Griffin, *op. cit.* (n. 84) 138 f., and n. 19 above.

⁸⁹ See *Ecl.* I. 94, and 4 *passim*; at 4. 64-72 and 160-3, Corydon-Calpurnius aspires to a relationship with Meliboeus like that of Virgil with Maecenas.

⁹⁰ Plut., *Numa* 21. 1, cf. Dion. Hal. II 76. 5; M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (1974), 333 (Pomponii, c. 97 B.C.); Hor., *AP* 292, *laus Pisonis* 5, 15 (Pisones).

⁹¹ *Ecl.* 4. 55-7, *laus Pisonis* 163-8. The identification was first proposed by M. Haupt in his epoch-making work *De carminibus bucolicis Calpurnii et Nemesiani* (1854).

⁹² Pliny, *NH* VII 80, XIII 83, Tac., *Ann.* v 8, XII 28. 2 (*ornamenta triumphalia* in 50), *dial.* 13. 3. He was half-brother to Corbulo: R. Syme, *JRS* 60 (1970), 31 = *Roman Papers* (1979), 811 f., on Pliny, *NH* VII 39. Cf. R. Syme, *History in Ovid* (1978), 74 f., on Ovid's friend C. Pomponius Graecinus *cos. suff.* 16; it is hard to imagine two totally separate families of consular (and military) Pomponii.

⁹³ Pliny, *Ep.* VII 17. 11, Quintilian VIII 3. 31, X I. 98, Tac., *Ann.* XI 13. 1. Meliboeus: *Ecl.* 4. 56 f.

⁹⁴ A. Momigliano, *CQ* 38 (1944), 97.

Eclogue 4, from the *Apocolocyntosis*, and (with all due caution) from Curtius Rufus x 9,⁹⁵ we can see very clearly what image of his reign the new emperor wished to project to his subjects.

The main themes were justice and liberty, security and peace.⁹⁶ Justice means the return of the rule of law—no more corruption, no more ‘trials’ in the palace without opportunity for defence.⁹⁷ Not that the emperor is bound by the rule of law, but he acts as if he were; his *clementia* contrasts with Claudius’ *saevitia*, and the new Golden Age is one of *pietas*, *integritas* and *fides*.⁹⁸ Liberty means freedom from arbitrary rule and personal vendettas; ⁹⁹ in particular, constitutional government is maintained, with the Senate and magistrates performing their proper function.¹⁰⁰ Security means an emperor who controls the empire as the soul controls the body, or the head the limbs; ¹⁰¹ under his beneficent guidance peace and plenty return, like fine weather after the storm.¹⁰² He comes like the sun, or like Apollo: the comet that foretold his reign was a presage of peace, not war.¹⁰³

This emphasis on peace had a particular relevance. Nero himself dwelt on the *consensus militum* and his own innocence of civil war; Seneca celebrated a *civitas incruenta* in which Nero, unlike Augustus, had shed no blood on his way to the principate; Curtius’ new prince sheathed swords and extinguished firebrands after what had seemed to be the final darkness.¹⁰⁴ It has been the purpose of this article to suggest that Calpurnius’ first *Eclogue* not only belongs in that context (as Momigliano rightly observed), but actually explains its significance.

The prophecy of Faunus reveals a conception of Claudius’ reign as a usurpation, an anomalous interruption in the dynastic succession of Augustus’ family, precariously maintained by military force in what amounted to a continuous civil war. With the succession of Nero, the Caesars returned to their rightful place, and the rabid Claudian war-goddess was bound and caged.

There never was such a thing as ‘the Julio-Claudian dynasty’. Our modern phrase is a misleading anachronism.¹⁰⁵ It was the Julian dynasty, and Claudius did not belong to it. I imagine it was with that in mind that the consular P. Pomponius Secundus—whether or not he was Calpurnius’ Meliboeus—wrote his play *Aeneas*.¹⁰⁶ The *materni Iuli* were restored.

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⁹⁵ On the vexed question of the date and identity of the historian Curtius Rufus, see now J. E. Atkinson, *A Commentary on Q. Curtius Rufus’ Historiae Alexandri Magni Books 3 & 4* (London Studies in Classical Philology 4, Amsterdam 1980) 19–57, esp. 25–35 on the crucial passage x 9. 1–6; earlier bibliography is cited there. Atkinson argues convincingly for the identity of the historian with the first-century rhetor (Suet., *Rhet.*, index) and the *cos. suff.* 43, but I think he is wrong to prefer Claudius to Nero as the new *princeps* of x 9. 3. His arguments are (i) that the reference to the indivisibility of the monarchy at x 9. 1 is inappropriate to the ‘co-regency’ of Nero with Agrippina (pp. 25, 27), and (ii) that the menace of arson and bloodshed at x 9. 5 is inappropriate to the peaceful conditions of Nero’s accession (pp. 25, 33). But (i) Agrippina was never co-regent in the sense that Tiberius was for Augustus, or Titus for Vespasian, and the very phrase *regnum insociabile* is used by Tacitus of Nero’s early years, in the context of the death of Britannicus (*Ann.* XIII 17. 1); and (ii) the idea that civil strife had been ended or averted by Nero’s accession was evidently perfectly intelligible at the time, as Calpurnius shows: for the relevance of Calpurnius to the Curtius passage, see R. Verdère, *WS* 79 (1966), 460–509. On balance, therefore, I think it more likely than not that Curtius x 9. 1–6 belongs in the same early-Neronian context as Calpurnius, the *Apocolocyntosis* and the *de clementia*.

⁹⁶ Sen., *de clem.* I 1. 8: ‘*securitas alta, adfluens, ius supra omnem iniuriam positum; obversatur oculis laetissima forma rei publicae, cui ad summam libertatem nihil deest nisi pereundi licentia*’.

⁹⁷ Tac., *Ann.* XIII 4. 2, Sen., *Apocol.* 4. 1, 10. 4, 12. 2, 14. 2, Calp., *Ecl.* I. 43 f., 69, 71–3.

⁹⁸ Sen., *de clem.* I 1. 4, etc. (n. 85 above), II 1. 4; for the Golden Age, cf. Sen., *Apocol.* 4. 1, Calp., *Ecl.* I. 42, 4. 6 f.

⁹⁹ Tac., *Ann.* XIII 4. 1, Sen., *de clem.* I 7. 3–4 (*ultio*); Sen., *Apocol.* 12. 2 (cf. 4. 2, 5. 1 for the popularity of Nero’s accession), Calp., *Ecl.* I. 60 f.

¹⁰⁰ Tac., *Ann.* XIII 4. 3 (cf. 4. 1 *autoritas patrum*), Calp., *Ecl.* I. 69–71.

¹⁰¹ Sen., *de clem.* I 4. 1–3 (soul), Curt. x 9. 2–4 (head).

¹⁰² Calp., *Ecl.* I. 37–41, 84 f.; 4. 85, 97–100 (the same image at Curt. x 9. 5), 122–36.

¹⁰³ Sen., *de clem.* I 8. 4 (sun), *Apocol.* 4. 1 (Apollo); Curt. x 9. 3 (*novum sidus*), Calp., *Ecl.* I. 77–83; cf. Suet., *Claud.* 46, Dio LX 35. 1 on the comet as a *praesagium* of Claudius’ death.

¹⁰⁴ Tac., *Ann.* XIII 4. 1, Sen., *de clem.* I 11. 3, Curt. x 9. 3 and 5; cf. Calp., *Ecl.* 4. 8 on *pax togata*.

¹⁰⁵ It originates in Galba’s speech (Tac., *Hist.* I 16. 1), where ‘*unius familiae . . . Iuliorum Claudiorumque domo*’ is a rhetorical simplification. Contrast *Hist.* II 48. 2, ‘*post Iulios Claudios Servios . . .*’.

¹⁰⁶ Charisius I 132K, ‘*Pomponius Secundus in Aenea*’. It is the only one of Pomponius’ plays of which the title is preserved.

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