



Saturn, Saturninus, and the Socii

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of a greater marvel, human passion; this passion is then illustrated by concrete examples, the last of which represents *to deînon* best.

11. Cf. 256–58 and the scene between the chorus and the nurse.

12. Orestes' words provide a point of departure for interpreting 622–23, a strophe that Murray calls "locus paene desperatus," on which remark Groeneboom remarks that the description would be more accurate if "paene" were omitted. This strophe follows the first two paradigms and introduces the third which forms the subject of the antistrophe:

ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπεμνησάμην ἀμειλίχων πόνων—† ἀκαίρως / δὲ δυσφίλεις γαμήλευμ' ἀπέχετον ὁμοῖς / γυναικοβόλους τε μήτιδας φρενῶν. . . H. W. Smyth, *Aeschylus*² (London, 1958), II, reverses the meaning entirely by emending *akairōs* to *ho kairos*: "But since I have called to mind tales of pitiless afflictions, 'tis the fitting time to tell of a marriage void of love, an abomination to the house. . . ." Mazon, *op. cit.*, preserves the MS reading and translates the line as a question expecting a negative answer: "Et puisque j'ai ici rappelé ces tristes forfaits, n'est-ce pas l'heure pour ce palais de honnir aussi l'épouse abominable . . . ?" A. W. Verrall, *Choephoroi* (London, 1893), punctuates after *akairōs de*: "But since the ungentle feats here cited fit not the present theme—it is from a fell wedlock that this house prays to be delivered. . . ."

Only F. H. Paley's interpretation, *Tragedies of Aeschylus*⁴ (London, 1879), reveals the connection between use of paradigm and reluctance to speak openly of Clytemnestra, between *akairōs* in the lyric and Orestes' parting reminder to speak *ta kairia* and leave the rest in silence. (Paley himself does not mention this connection. He understands *akairōs* to mean, "It is inconsistent with the position of a slave and captive.") An aposiopesis follows *ponōn* in 622; a verb of saying, understood from *epemnesamen*, is to be supplied with

akairōs de. (If desired, one might follow Paley in smoothing the syntactical irregularity of *akairōs* to *akairon* [*esti*].) The scholiast's note, λέγει, μῆσομαι Κλυταιμῆστρας, suggests that he understood the line in a similar way.

This then is the train of thought: after the exempla of Althaea and Scylla, the chorus are on the verge of turning from exemplum to thing exemplified. But they break off, and by means of *praeteritio*, bring out what should be passed over: "And since I speak of cruel acts—but this is not the time for that unlovely marriage and the wiles of woman's will." Instead they turn again to myth, that of the Lemnian women, closest parallel of all.

Several scholars, following the suggestion of Preuss, reverse the order of strophe and antistrophe. In his *Commentary on the Surviving Plays of Aeschylus* (*Verhand. Kon. Ned. Ak. Wet.*, XLIV [1958]), II, 180, H. J. Rose maintains that the manuscript order is not "a rhetorically intelligible structure" because the "case in question, Klytaimnestra's, is suddenly thrust into the middle of examples illustrating it." In support of the manuscript order, Holtsmark, *loc. cit.*, points out a structural parallel between the gnomic introduction (585–601) and its paradeigmatic corroboration (602–38). When the third strophic pair are considered in connection with Orestes' command to speak *ta kairia*, one finds added reason for retaining the traditional order.

13. Hdt. 6. 138.

14. The fullest account of the first crime is given by Apoll. Rhod. 1. 609 ff. Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 252.

15. A. D. Godley, *Herodotus* (London, 1928), III, 295. Commentaries on *Choephoroi* call attention only to the earlier deed and not to the sequence of crime following crime nor the reversal, both of which are relevant.

SATURN, SATURNINUS, AND THE *SOCII*

The representation of Saturn on a coin of the Roman Republic should not, it would seem, be an occasion for discussion. That divinity appears regularly on the obverse of the *semis* of the bronze "Prow-Aes" series,¹ which Mattingly is inclined to interpret in the light of the old mythological history of Latium:² "Janus (of the *As*) is the old god-king of Latium; Saturn of the *semis* had been welcomed by Janus to Latium when he fled there, escaping from the wrath of Jupiter."³ To this myth, which is one of the foundations of this paper's thesis, we shall revert below. With the introduction of the denarius about 213/211 B.C.,⁴ Saturn disappears from the coinage to reappear again only about 108/107.⁵ It is with this reappearance that we are here concerned.⁶

About 108,⁷ Cn. Domitius Cn. f. Cn. n.

Ahenobarbus issued *semisses* with the head of Saturn on the obverse and with Saturn's special symbol, the *harpa*, on the reverse.⁸ This coin was probably a military issue, struck in North Italy (where the Domitii had extensive *clientela*⁹). This particular Domitius¹⁰ was a well-known *popularis*: he may have been one of the *duoviri* who founded the colony of Narbo;¹¹ while tribune of the plebs in 104 (a turbulent year),¹² he initiated several prosecutions against members of the optimate faction¹³ and carried a law which provided for popular election to fill vacant posts in the major colleges of priests. Gnaeus and his brother Lucius supported the recall of Metellus Numidicus while the latter was in exile;¹⁴ this seems to have been a personal affair, however, since Lucius was a Marian in the year of his consulate (94).¹⁵ As

censor in 92, Gnaeus continued (it may be inferred) his Marian policies, bitterly attacking his optimate colleague L. Licinius Crassus, leading ultimately to the abdication of both.¹⁶ His son (Cinna's son-in-law) lost his life at the head of the Marian government's army in Sicily (82).¹⁷

A certain M. Cippius, M. f., issued a series of coins at an Italian mint *ca.* 107.¹⁸ The *semis* of this series (*CRR*, No. 547) portrays Saturn on the obverse and a prow on the reverse. Nothing is known about Cippius; the only other entry under this name in *RE*¹⁹ is the man renowned as an observant cuckold. An inscription dated to 105 exhibits among some twenty-three *magistri Campani* P. Cippius Cn. l. and C. Cippius C. l. Pera.²⁰ In the imperial age, the name Cippius (most commonly Marcus) is frequent at Ostia.²¹ The name is clearly either Latin or Campanian: our moneyer may be either a new citizen or one generation removed from this status; in any event, he is probably to be associated with the popular faction.²²

P. Licinius Nerva, *ca.* 106, issued *semisses* with the head of Saturn on the obverse and with a prow and a standing female figure on the reverse.²³ The denarius of this series (*CRR*, No. 548) portrays a voting scene on the reverse (voting in progress, a *pons*, and a *tabella* inscribed P). Carney²⁴ suggests that "this type refers back to a measure of enfranchisement carried by an ancestor of the moneyer's and, with contemporary reference by emphasizing the *pons*, to the Marian law of 119 which narrowed the *pons*.²⁵ . . . This coinage identifies Nerva as a Marian as early as 106." The scene may refer to the more contemporary *lex Coelia tabellaria*, which extended the secret ballot to trials for *perduellio*,²⁶ on which charge C. Popillius Laenas was tried in 106.²⁷

About 105/4, L. Marcus Philippus issued *unciae* with the head of Saturn on the obverse.²⁸ The reverse of one type portrays a dog; that of the other, a dog on a prow. While tribune of the plebs, *ca.* 104,²⁹ Philippus proposed a demagogic *lex agraria* and perhaps a "democratic" *lex de fenore*.³⁰ In 91³¹ and in 78/77³² he was the leader of the senatorial oligarchy; but, as the very fact of his censorship in 86 clearly shows, he was co-operating with the (legal) government of Cinna at that time.³³

Cn. Cornelius Blasio, *ca.* 105, struck *semisses* with the head of Saturn on the obverse and with a prow on the reverse.³⁴ Nothing can be said about this Blasio; the only connection between him and the factions of his day is almost too tenuous to mention—an ancestor had served with a certain Appuleius Saturninus on a quinquennial commission in 168.³⁵

The next series of coins portraying Saturn (on the obverse) is a set of serrate *denarii*, *asses*, *semisses*, and *quadrantes* issued by L. Memmius of the tribe *Galeria ca.* 103/102.³⁶ The sons of this Memmius, C. and L. Memmius, issued a repetition of this type *ca.* 86/85.³⁷ This is neither the time nor the place to restudy the family tree of the Memmii;³⁸ Professor Taylor feels³⁹—with good reason: note the spelling *Memies* (*CRR*, No. 712)—that the Memmii of the tribe *Galeria* were, at least in the eighties, pro-Marian in sympathy. They may have changed allegiance in the nearly two decades intervening between the two series of coins, or the sons may have been of different political persuasion from that of the father; but the exact repetition of the coin type (both obverse and reverse) seems a sufficiently strong argument that this is not the case.

A certain L. Appuleius Saturninus struck *denarii*, *asses*, and *unciae* in Rome with the head of Saturn on the reverse⁴⁰ and, in some cases, on both sides.⁴¹ Sydenham⁴² and Broughton,⁴³ by suggesting the possibility that these coins might have been struck after 10 December, 100, are (apparently) distinguishing this Saturninus from the tribune of the plebs.⁴⁴ It seems incredible that, at a time of violent reaction from Saturninus,⁴⁵ a man with this name would have been chosen to fill an office (either as *IIIvir monetalis* or as quaestor) that gave the ample scope for publicity and propaganda which the moneyer Saturninus clearly took advantage of. It is better to assign these coins to the famous Saturninus and to his quaestorship, that is, to 105 (or earlier).⁴⁶ The representation of Saturn is emphasized by the abbreviated form of the moneyer's name L. SATURN.⁴⁷

The last issue of coins in this Saturn series—*denarii* struck at an auxiliary Italian mint by L. Calpurnius Piso and Q. Servilius Caepio⁴⁸—is difficult to interpret.⁴⁹ The obverse portrays

Saturn, with PISO above and CAEPIO Q below the god's head. The reverse depicts two figures seated on *subsellia*. The one on the left is looking back; the other extends his right hand (as a gesture of harmony?). There is an ear of grain on each side and AD FRU. EMU. / EX S. C. in exergue. The traditional date for these coins has been 103 (or 100) when Caepio, the *quaestor urbanus*, opposed a frumentary proposal of the tribune L. Appuleius Saturninus.⁵⁰ Sydenham has cast serious doubts on this dating; his main thesis,⁵¹ based on the evidence of finds, is that this coinage was not issued during the quaestorship of Piso and Caepio (which he dates to 100), but is to be dated to the middle of the next decade (*ca.* 96–94), and was issued commemoratively.

Badian⁵² has unraveled the complexities of Caepio's "astonishing *volte-face*" from staunch defender of the optimate position in 103 to bitter enemy of the optimates (and defender of the Marians) in 92. The middle of the decade "when he had not yet openly embraced the cause of his former enemies (*sc.* the Marians) and deserted his friends"⁵³ is the very period "about which we would like to know more."⁵⁴ This is precisely the period to which we may now with confidence date the issue of the Piso-Caepio coins. Piso's political position appears less difficult to divine (despite his father's career): he was engaged in manufacturing weapons during the Social War;⁵⁵ his father-in-law, Calventius, was a wealthy merchant from Placentia;⁵⁶ his son, the consul of 58, was an adherent of Caesar. We may assign Piso to the Marian faction.

All of the coins so far discussed portray Saturn on the obverse, the reverse, or both. Some are part of a series that repeats the archaic "Prow-Aes" series. Five of the moneyers (Domitius Ahenobarbus, Licinius Nerva, Marcus Philippus, L. Memmius, and Saturninus) were, at the time the coins were minted, Marians or *populares*. One (Cipius) was a non-Roman or of non-Roman extraction; one (Blasio) is uncertain. Piso was a Marian; Caepio was coming around to that position. Here is the link that binds all of these issues together.

Agitation against the ruling oligarchy had been relatively quiet for the greater part of the decade after the death of C. Gracchus. The

populares had no appealing *cause célèbre* with which to attack the faction, while the *equites* seem to have established a *modus vivendi* with the optimates.⁵⁷ The aspirations of the Italians had been (temporarily) swept out of sight. But the Jugurthine War saw the beginning of a sustained attack on the optimates, "apud plebem gravis invidia, patres solliciti erant."⁵⁸ This decade (plus one year), which culminated with fighting on the Capitoline and slaughter in the *Curia*, saw, for example, the *quaestio Mamilia*, the *leges iudicariae* of Caepio and of Glaucia, the *seditio Norbani*, numerous political prosecutions, and so on, and the rise to unprecedented power of C. Marius, the one man who, more than anyone else, assiduously fostered Italian support which he unscrupulously utilized for political capital.⁵⁹

Saturn as a coin type for Saturninus was a fairly obvious choice, even without reference to political ideograms. But if, as we have seen, these Saturn coins are linked together, we might find another, more meaningful reason for selecting Saturn as a coin type at this time. The reintroduction of the archaic prow series may have been intended to recall an earlier, happier period of *concordia*—in fact, a veritable Golden Age, an age of Saturn⁶⁰—with the implicit promise of a return to the conditions of this period under the aegis of Saturninus and his legislative program. Posidonius' description of the age of Saturn as a "welfare state"⁶¹ may have appeared in an early work, or in an earlier author, and may (or may not) have had some bearing on this program. Furthermore, Saturn was closely associated in the public mind with the goddess of abundance, Ops, his consort.⁶²

Perhaps most important for understanding why Saturn appears on these coins is the story of his reception into Italy by Janus. Although the tale has (inevitably) survived in its fullest form in writers later than our period, it was known in the middle of the second century to Cassius Hemina⁶³ and even earlier to Ennius.⁶⁴ Janus, king of the Janiculum,⁶⁵ after hospitably receiving the exiled Saturn, was taught *peritia ruris* by that divinity and repaid him by *societas regni*.⁶⁶ The two reigned thereafter in harmony and founded *vicina oppida communi opera*,⁶⁷ Saturn inhabiting the

Capitoline Hill.⁶⁸ Saturn came to be considered the progenitor of the rustic Italians, for whom, precisely, the question of Roman citizenship was a burning issue in the decades after Fulvius Flaccus and C. Gracchus: Saturn is *pater Sabinus*,⁶⁹ he is the father of Picus⁷⁰ (Picus also received strangers);⁷¹ and is the founder of the Latins.⁷² Italy was *Saturnia tellus*,⁷³ and the old Italian verse was the *versus Saturnius*.⁷⁴ All of this information, of course, is according to the *mythici*, not the *physici* (ancient or modern).

The mere relating of all this makes the conclusion obvious and inescapable: the head of

Saturn provided the pro-Italian element in Rome with an ideogram suitable for the fostering of support for the granting of citizenship to the Italians (especially to the Latins). Saturn served as a reminder to both sides of the struggle not only of the close ethnic ties that originally existed between Rome and her neighbors but even more of the hospitable manner in which Janus had acted toward Saturn and of the intimate association that the Italian divinity Saturn had with the very heart of Rome.

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NOTES

1. E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (London, 1952) (hereafter cited as *CRR*), Nos. 73, 79, 79a, 90, 102, 123, 124, 143.

2. Cf. Macr. *Sat.* 1. 7. 22.

3. H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*² (London, 1960), pp. 50 f., perhaps reading too much into these early coins. A. Alföldi, "Main Aspects of Political Propaganda on the Coinage of the Roman Republic," *Studies . . . Mattingly* (Oxford, 1956), p. 68, notes that the deities appear on the prow series "in the order in which we find them in archaic formulae of prayers beginning with Janus." This interpretation would give added emphasis to Saturn, who appears on the second coin in the order of value. But cf. Lucil. *Sat. Frag.* 1. 24–27 (*ap. Lact. Div. inst.* 4. 3. 12) for whatever it is worth; it certainly looks formulaic.

4. R. Thomsen, *Early Roman Coinage*, II (Copenhagen, 1962), *passim*, e.g., 384–89.

5. *CRR*, No. 538.

6. *Ibid.*, Nos. 538, 547, 549, 552a, b, 562, 574 f., 580 f., 603.

7. For variant datings, see Broughton, *MRR*, II, 439; K. Pink, *The "triumviri monetales" and the Structure of the Coinage of the Roman Republic* (New York, 1952; "Numismatic Studies," No. 7), p. 24. An earlier dating than the one given in the text (Sydenham's) will not seriously affect the thesis which I hope to demonstrate, provided that date is later than 125 when M. Fulvius Flaccus aroused the allies to hope for citizenship. For Flaccus' proposal, see E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae (264–70 B.C.)* (Oxford, 1958) (hereafter cited as *FC*), pp. 176–79.

8. *CRR*, No. 538.

9. Cf. Badian, *FC*, pp. 264 f., 309, 313.

10. Münzer in *RE*, V (1905), 1324 ff., s.v. "Domitius" (21).

11. *MRR*, II, 644. The known *duovir* was L. Licinius Crassus, at this time a demagogue in the popular cause. Cicero calls the founding of this colony a *causa popularis* (*Brut.* 160; cf. *Cluent.* 140).

12. Sources in *MRR*, I, 559.

13. One of whom, M. Iunius Silanus, was the father of the Silanus whose name appears on the reverse of Domitius' coins. Sources in A. H. J. Greenidge and A. M. Clay, *Sources for Roman History 133–70 B.C.*² (Oxford, 1960), p. 86.

14. Gell. *NA* 15. 13. 6.

15. E. Badian, "Notes on Provincial Governors," *PACA*, I (1958), 14.

16. Sources in *MRR*, II, 17.

17. *MRR*, II, 69.

18. *CRR*, No. 546 f. For variant datings, see *MRR*, II, 435; Pink, *op. cit.* (n. 7 above), p. 23.

19. Münzer in *RE*, III (1899), 2563, s.v. "Clippus" (1).

20. *ILLRP*, II, 712: "antiqua Capua."

21. R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (Oxford, 1960), p. 323. Cf. *ILS*, 6174–76 (Ostia), 8211 (Rome), 8621–21a ("vasa facta in Campania").

22. For Campanian sympathies, see D. R. Dudley, "Blossius of Cumae," *JRS*, XXXI (1941), 94–99.

23. *CRR*, No. 549. For variant datings, see *MRR*, II, 443; Pink, *op. cit.* (n. 7 above), p. 26.

24. "Coins Bearing on the Age and Career of Marius," *NC*, Ser. 6, XIX (1959), 87.

25. *MRR*, I, 526.

26. *Ibid.*, I, 551.

27. Greenidge-Clay, *Sources*², pp. 77, 79, 282. The charge was technically *perduellio* (Cic. *Leg.* 3. 36). Cf. F. W. Robinson, *Marius, Saturninus und Glaucia* (Diss.; Bonn, 1912), p. 25; Volkmann in *RE*, XXII: 1 (1953), 58 f., s.v. "Popillius" (19). Nerva is probably the son of the praetor of 105 (Carney, *loc. cit.* [n. 24 above]); Münzer in *RE*, XIII (1927), 454, s.v. "Licinius" (136).

28. *CRR*, Nos. 552a, b. For variant datings, see *MRR*, II, 445; Pink, *op. cit.* (n. 7 above), p. 27.

29. *MRR*, I, 560.

30. *Lex agraria*: Cic. *Off.* 2. 73; *lex de fenore*: G. Rotondi, *Leges publicae populi Romani* (Milan, 1912), p. 326—this is very uncertain.

31. Badian, *FC*, pp. 217 f. His candidacy in 92 seems to have been supported by the *factio* (Münzer, *RA*, pp. 95 f.). He and his colleague Perperna were closely associated with the Claudii, whose position in these days needs closer study. He (like so many others) was quick to see which side would be victorious; as legate, he recovered Sardinia for Sulla in 82 (*Liv. Per.* 78). See also n. 33.

32. Sall. *Hist.* 1. 75M.

33. L. R. Taylor, *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic* (Rome, 1960; "Am. Acad. Rome, Pap. and Monogr.," XX), p. 311. Even though Philippus was instrumental in having Drusus' laws invalidated (Cic.

Leg. 2. 31), he was opposed principally to the agrarian law (*Vir. ill.* 66. 4), which many Italians opposed (cf. Badian, *FC*, pp. 217 f.). The choice of Philippus and Perperna as censors ostensibly to enrol the Italians may have been a prudent move on the part of the government, which did not really want the Italians to be enfranchised. The one man's proximity to *novitas* is attested by his name; the other's past career should have attested that the Italians' hopes were merely being delayed rather than deceived. For a different interpretation, see E. Badian, "Waiting for Sulla," *JRS*, LII (1962), 56.

34. *CRR*, No. 562a. For variant datings, see *MRR*, II, 436; Pink, *op. cit.* (n. 7 above), p. 31.

35. *MRR*, I, 431 f.

36. *CRR*, No. 574 f. For variant datings, see *MRR*, II, 446 (cf. *MRR*, Supplement, p. 41); Pink, *op. cit.* (n. 7 above), p. 31.

37. *CRR*, No. 712.

38. See Taylor, *op. cit.* (n. 33 above), p. 234.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 233 f.

40. *CRR*, Nos. 578 f.

41. *Ibid.*, Nos. 580 f.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *MRR*, II, 532.

44. Cf. Pink, *op. cit.* (n. 7 above), p. 31.

45. For the feeling against Saturninus, see T. F. Carney, *A Biography of C. Marius* (Assen, 1962; "Proc. Afr. Class. Assoc.," Suppl. I), pp. 46 f., with notes. Basic sources in Greenidge-Clay, *Sources*², pp. 115 f.

46. The generally accepted date is 104 (cf. *MRR*, I, 560); but H. Last, *CAH*, IX, 165 ("in some year which cannot now be ascertained"), is rightly cautious. Robinson, *op. cit.* (n. 27 above), p. 48, dates the quaestorship between 108 and 104. Cf. F. von der Muehl, *De L. Appuleio Saturnino tribuno plebis* (Diss.; Basle, 1906), p. 56 ("am wahrscheinlichsten 105"). Diod. 36. 12 seems to imply that some time elapsed between his removal from office and his election to the tribunate for 103. To allow time for the correction of his alleged extravagance before July 104, we should date his quaestorship to 105 at the latest.

47. It may be noted that about this time Marius began to pose as a *Neos Dionysos* (Val. Max. 3. 6. 6; Plin. *HN* 33. 150). One of our moneyers (Blasio) minted, in addition to the Saturn type, coins depicting the "man of the people," Scipio Africanus as Jupiter (cf. Alföldi, *op. cit.* [n. 3 above], p. 81). Perhaps Blasio was not solely glorifying a national hero nor was Marius indulging in megalomania. The coincidences would seem to indicate the implication of divine approval for their plans.

48. *CRR*, No. 603.

49. Alföldi, *op. cit.* (n. 3 above), p. 93, thinks this coinage refers to the purchase of grain by the quaes-

tors Piso and Caepio. Cf. Grueber, *CRRBM* (London, 1910), I, 170 f., n. 2, who adds that the type "is an allusion to the *aerarium Saturni*," i.e., to fiscal integrity (advocated by the optimates).

50. *MRR*, I, 576, with n. 5 (on p. 578). The date of Saturninus' proposal is surely 103; see R. J. Rowland, *Roman Grain Legislation, 133-50 B.C.* (Diss.; Philadelphia, 1964), pp. 115-30.

51. "The Date of Piso-Caepio," *NC*, XX (1940), 164-78, esp. 167-74; cf. *CRR ad* 603. Sydenham's argument is ignored by Mattingly, "Roman Numismatics: Further Miscellaneous Notes," *PBA*, XLVI (1960), 251; *Roman Coins*², p. 75; cf. his note in *CRR*, p. 255. Pink, *op. cit.* (n. 7 above), pp. 10, 34, is convinced by Sydenham's arguments.

52. "Caepio and Norbanus," *Historia*, VI (1957), 318-46, esp. 325-28.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 328.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 327.

55. Cic. *Pis.*; cf. Münzer in *RE*, III (1899), 1387, s.v. "Calpurnius" (89).

56. See R. G. M. Nisbet (ed.), Cic. *Pis.* (Oxford, 1961), pp. v, 53 f. See further, L. R. Taylor, *op. cit.* (n. 33 above), p. 311; R. Syme, "Missing Senators," *Historia*, IV (1955), 57 f.

57. The lull, however, is deceptive. I hope to present a paper on this topic in the near future.

58. Sall. *Iug.* 30. 1.

59. *Ibid.* 58. 5, 84. 2; Badian, "Caepio and Norbanus" (n. 52 above), p. 343, and *FC*, pp. 206-25, *passim*.

60. For Apollo as a coin type alluding to the *aurea aetas* at the end of the second century, see Alföldi, *op. cit.* (n. 3 above), p. 88. For a description of the Golden Age in Latium, see esp. Verg. *Aen.* 8. 319-25.

61. Sen. *Epist.* 90. 5.

62. G. Wissowa, *RK* (Munich, 1902), p. 168.

63. Frag. 1 Peter.

64. Varr. *LL* 5. 42.

65. Cf. L. A. Holland, *Janus and the Bridge* (Rome, 1961; "Am. Acad. Rome, Pap. and Monogr.," XXI), pp. 230 f. On Saturn, see Wissowa, *Ausf. Lex. d. griech. u. röm. Mythol.*, hrsg. W. H. Roscher, IV (Leipzig, 1915), 433-36.

66. Macr. *Sat.* 1. 7. 21.

67. *Ibid.* 23.

68. Varr. *LL* 5. 42.

69. Verg. *Aen.* 7. 178-80.

70. *Ibid.* 7. 48 f.; Ov. *Met.* 14. 320; Sil. Ital. 8. 439 f.; Arnob. 2. 71; Augustin. *CD* 18. 5.

71. *Origo* 4. 3.

72. Verg. *Aen.* 7. 203; Ov. *Fast.* 1. 237; Sil. Ital. 3. 11.

73. Wissowa, *Roschers Lexikon* (n. 65 above), 435. 20-35.

74. *Ibid.*, 435. 35-54.

HORACE *CARM.* 1. 32 AND THE DEDICATION OF THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO PALATINUS

The temple of Apollo on the Palatine was one of Augustus' great buildings.¹ In citing his subject's public works Suetonius (*Aug.* 29. 1-3) names it with the forum and temple of Mars Ultor and the temple of Iuppiter Tonans on

the Capitol as those that can be called *vel praecipua*. Associated with the crucial victories over Sextus Pompeius off Sicily and over Cleopatra and Antony at Actium, presiding over one of the earliest and greatest of the pub-