CALPURNIUS SICULUS’ ‘NEW’ AUREA AETAS
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ABSTRACT
The two most basic problems concerning the work of Calpurnius Siculus are the question of dating the poems and the almost complete lack of a full and detailed literary analysis and interpretation of the poems. Although he is chronologically probably the next pastoral poet after Vergil, his work is almost unknown today. Despite this, he is generally regarded as a most unoriginal artist. However, a close study of his poems will reveal a fair measure of experimentation. A case in point is his treatment of the Golden Age myth in Eclogues 1 and 4. His own contribution has, however, been largely overshadowed by the many echoes, especially from Vergil.

The purpose of this article is therefore to determine if he applied the traditional elements of the myth creatively and whether he made any original contributions. Since Eclogue 1 is by far the more interesting, this will be dealt with in greater detail.

Chronologically Calpurnius Siculus is the next pastoral poet after Vergil. Yet strangely enough his work is almost unknown today. Several factors have probably contributed to this. It is inevitable that his work will be compared to that of his two illustrious predecessors, Theocritus and Vergil, and clearly it lacks the depth and complexity of their work. Yet this does not mean that his own work has no merit whatsoever, for the poetry is indeed technically quite skilled and the poems charming on the whole. But this very comparison could be one of the reasons why his poems attract so little attention. In addition, his excessive praise of the ruler in Eclogues 1 and 4, although perfectly in tune with the precepts of ancient panegyric, is offensive to our modern taste, notwithstanding the fact that it must have suited the spirit of his time.

Schenkl in his 1885 edition of the text moreover strongly criticised Calpurnius as a ‘malus poeta’ with no talent — ‘is enim ut erat ingenii sterilis atque aridi’ — and no skill, who simply patched together his poems ‘pongui Minerva’ with words and ideas from other works.¹ This condemnation seems to have had a lasting influence, for although there have been very few attempts to determine the literary value of his work,² opinions about Calpurnius as author abound and he is generally branded as unoriginal or even insipid.

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But his fairly copious use of themes and ideas from his predecessors, especially from Vergil and Ovid, is one of the more serious complaints against Calpurnius. Yet this too must be viewed against the proper background, for not only was *imitatio* a perfectly acceptable and even commendable practice in antiquity, but it was particularly popular under the early empire. The question should rather be in what way he applied these echoes.

Taken individually, not one of the above can really account for the lack of interest in his work, but all together they perhaps give sufficient reason.

Add to this that the two most basic problems concerning the work of Calpurnius Siculus are the question of dating the poems on the one hand and the almost complete lack of a full and detailed literary analysis and interpretation of the poems on the other. As far as dating the poems is concerned, many theories have been advanced. Although the debate is still re-opened from time to time, the consensus of opinion seems to be for a Neronian date. Since at present the arguments for the Neronian date seem rather more convincing than those against it, this is the date which I regard as probable. Moreover, although the very fact that Calpurnius makes such extensive use of the Golden Age myth in two of his poems seems rather to strengthen the claim for a Neronian date, since this was such an important theme in Neronian panegyric, for the purposes of a discussion of his application of that theme his date is really not that relevant, for much of the contents could equally well be applied to other rulers.

Yet this question of dating the poems actually seems to have been a major obstacle in the literary evaluation of the poems, since almost everything that has been written about Calpurnius centres around the interpretation of a few key passages containing extremely vague historical allusions. In this search for historical ‘facts’ the very basic assumption that poetry is not meant to give a perfect reflection of historical reality, but that a poem possesses and reflects its own reality within the world of that poem, is often forgotten.

The fairly general assumption that the work of Calpurnius lacks any trace of originality does not appear to be completely true. His treatment of the Golden Age myth in Eclogues 1 and 4 is a good example of how his own contribution has been overlooked. The purpose of the present article therefore is to investigate his use of this rather popular theme and to determine in how far he applied it creatively. In this respect Eclogue 1 is by far the more interesting, and this poem will therefore be discussed in greater detail than Eclogue 4.

Three of Calpurnius’ seven eclogues are strongly political in tone and deal with the new young ruler, who in all probability was the young Nero. Like Vergil’s *Eclogue*, Calpurnius’ collection of seven poems reveals a careful arrangement as a unified whole. But in his case, unlike that of Vergil’s poems, the pattern is very clear. The three political eclogues — 1, 4 and
7 --- stand in the key-positions of beginning, middle and end. Eclogue 4 is flanked on either side by two purely pastoral poems. Eclogues 1 and 4 deal directly with the theme of the new Golden Age, although each one touches on different aspects of the myth. Eclogue 1 contains a prophecy of the new Golden Age which will come into being with the rule of the new young emperor. Eclogue 4 celebrates that Golden Age as if it were already in existence.

Eclogue 1 is a neat and well-constructed poem-within-a-poem. By means of the dramatic discovery of a divine prophecy written on a tree, the poem combines pastoral and panegyric. The poem can be divided into three main parts, each with subdivisions. Lines 1-19 form the introduction, with line 19, which is the first of the only two one-sentence lines in the poem, actually forming a transition between the first two parts. Lines 20-88 contain the prophecy and lines 89-94 the conclusion.

The first four lines are very important in the scheme of the poem. While opening with a description of the intense heat --- a stock theme in pastoral --- Calpurnius yet manages to convey some hint that he is going to move outside the traditional realm of pastoral:

Nondum Solis equos declinis mitigat aestas,
quamvis et madidis incumbant prela racemis et spument rauco ferventia musta susurro.

He not only stresses the heat, but also the fact that it is unseasonable, for the vintage has already been in progress long enough for the wine to be fermenting. The fact that this information is given in so much detail right at the beginning of the poem tends to suggest that this will have special significance in the whole scheme of the poem. Such precise indications of time or season do not traditionally belong in pastoral which, except for the natural progression of day into night, is usually noted for its timelessness.

Calpurnius not only narrows down his precise indication of the exact season in lines 2 and 3, but also immediately signals his intention of moving outside the traditional scope of pastoral by introducing a very natural rural, but totally unpastoral activity namely wine-making.

Calpurnius gives the opening two lines exactly the same metrical pattern (SDSS), which emphasises them slightly. This also happens to be a favourite device of Calpurnius for ‘marking’ the beginning of a new passage or idea. Korzeniewski sees this opening as an introduction into an unhurried world of peace and calm, but to my mind the lines actually contain a hint of restlessness or even impatience. The very first word, emphasised by its position, is a negative which is qualified or explained by ‘quamvis’ in the same position in the next line, indicating a weariness of the apparently undiminished heat and a resulting restlessness longing for change. This feeling of restlessness is perhaps enhanced metrically by the fact that both lines
start with a dissyllable, creating a diaeresis at the end of the first foot which in turn gives slightly greater emphasis to these two words.

Something of this spirit of restlessness is perhaps also to be felt in the vivid description of the fermentation of the new wine. This fermentation is almost audible in the very sound of lines 2 and 3 with the many s-sounds contrasted with the deeper a, u, au and o. At the same time the metrical rhythm of line 3 — SSSD — seems to echo the movement of this fermenting wine. Although much has been written about the technical aspects of Calpurnius' use of metre, since it forms an important argument in the dating of his poems, I did not find any specific discussion of his use of metre as related to the structure and contents of the individual poems.

Leach also feels this restlessness in the first line, but goes further to see in it a symbolical meaning and an indication of the political change to come. Yet, unlike Vergil's famous lines at the beginning of Eclogue 1, there is absolutely no indication here of political unrest or oppression.

For Calpurnius' prophecy to ring true, however, it was necessary for him to link the world of the poem to events in the real world, in this case the accession of the new young princeps (see line 44ff.). This he does not only do with his fairly precise indication of the season, but also with his reference to a comet later in the poem (lines 77 to 83).

The rest of this first part of the poem introduces the main characters, Corydon and Ornytus. Several traditional elements of pastoral are touched on. The brothers have an extremely amiable relationship, but the more normal acrimony and quarrelling of pastoral, as well as the usual theme of unrequited love, are hinted at in the reference to Ornytus' problems with his girlfriend, Leuce (lines 13 to 15). One therefore expects this to be the content of the songs they are now preparing to sing (lines 16 to 18), but this theme is not resumed. The herdsmen's special relationship with Faunus is stressed, since the chosen locus amoenus (lines 8 to 12) is a grove of pines sacred to Faunus and they refer to him as 'pater Faunus'. This title could well be mere convention, but it assumes greater significance in the light of the rest of the poem.\(^{10}\)

Calpurnius now comes to the main part of the poem, Faunus' prophecy. Retiring to the shade of the locus amoenus to sing their songs, the two herdsmen find on a tall beech a prophecy written by the god Faunus. This is something completely outside their experience — a fact which Calpurnius emphasizes by stressing that it was not written by a 'pastor' or even a 'visitor' (line 8). In content, too, the prophecy is totally unpastoral, for 'nilo armentale resultat/ nec montana sacros distinguens iubila versus' (lines 9 and 10).

At the very beginning of the prophecy Faunus is explicitly identified as its author and his right to deliver this particular prophecy is made clear by the indication of his descent. The phrase 'saves Aethere' (line 33)\(^{11}\)
clearly asserts his right to tell of a new Golden Age. For traditionally
Aeth0r was regarded as the grandfather of Saturn-Kronos (Cic. N.D. 2, 23,
63), and Hesiod’s golden race lived when Kronos ruled in heaven (Op.109–
111). On the other hand, the mention of his traditional sphere of influence
— he guards and protects both the ‘iuga’ and the ‘silvae’ (line 33) —
emphasises his place in the pastoral world. He was, in fact, the traditional
deity of shepherds and pastoral. From the earliest times, too, Faunus was
connected to prophecy. Whereas in Vergil (Aen. 7, 81ff.) and in Ovid
(F. 4, 649) Faunus speaks to the king — Latinus and Numa respectively —
alone in a dream and in answer to an earnest request, here Faunus speaks
directly to his own people through his unsolicited prophecy.

The poet also stresses the aptness of Faunus in the god’s exhortation to
the people to rejoice over the good news of the prophecy. The people for
whom the prophecy is meant are specifically indicated (lines 36 and 37):

vos o praecipue nemorum gaudete coloni,
vos populi gaudete mei.

In the first place, these are obviously the denizens of the woods (line 36).
They, of course, are the herdsmen, who not only use the woodland pas-
tures for their flocks in the hot, dry summers, but also live in these glades
temporarily when they have to move the herds far from home in search of
seasonal pasture. But the intended recipients of the prophecy are also to
be found beyond these boundaries, for it is meant for all Faunus’ people
(line 37). That the whole world — north, south, east and west — is meant,
only becomes clear much later in the prophecy with the second injunction
to rejoice (lines 74 to 76).

Faunus’ prophecy in Eclogue 1 is much clearer and more direct than
that found in Vergil’s Eclogue 4. Calpurnius’ ‘juvenis’, unlike Vergil’s ‘puer
nascens’, who symbolises the birth of a new era, is a real person — even
though he is not identified explicitly — and not symbolic in any way. The
prophecy, like that of Jupiter concerning Augustus in the Aeneid (1, 286–
296), is given by a god himself. In this case, though, it is written on a tree
to fit it into the bucolic tradition.

The reason why the rural population, and especially the herdsmen,
should rejoice is the unknown security and safety which they and their
animals will now enjoy (lines 37 to 41):

licet omne vagetur
securo custode pecus nocturnaque pastor
claudere fraxinea nolit prae saepia crate,
non tamen insidias praedator ovilibus uillas
afferet aut laxis abiget iumenta capistris.

That this will take place under the new young ruler is only mentioned
in lines 42 to 45. With his strong allusion here to Vergil’s ‘nec lupus
insidias pecori, nec retia cervis/ulla dolum meditatur . . .’ (Ecl. 5, 60–61) Calpurnius invokes the optimistic tone in that part of Vergil’s poem which describes the positive effect of Daphnis’ apotheosis on all of nature. This verbal allusion here also seems to indicate a similar interrelation between an important event and its effect on nature. Calpurnius, however, has clearly made his ‘praedator’ human—perhaps to show that a general lawlessness, which even extended to the usually peaceful pastoral world, had prevailed before. Now, as mentioned before, there will be unknown security and peace in the pastoral world. Unlike Vergil’s Eclogue 4, though, where the pastoral Golden Age is described at far greater length, with specific reference to the earth’s spontaneously and exuberantly bringing forth good things and even the natural enemies of man and beast, like the snake and poisonous plants, ceasing to exist (lines 24, 25), these six lines comprise the entire scope of the effects of the Golden Age on the pastoral world of Calpurnius’ poem.

Yet Calpurnius indicates the importance of this passage in the structure of the poem in several ways. These six lines (36 to 41) form one sentence, enclotted in line 41—the longest in the poem so far. He also makes use of anaphora and repetitio, as well as a more elaborate and prolonged alternative scheme than we have had in the poem so far. All these stylistic effects tend to highlight the passage as it were.  

Nothing is said of what this rural population had to suffer previously and it would appear that, besides a possible lawlessness only hinted at, the only hardship which will be taken from them is their normal daily toil. This is, of course, perfectly in line with the Hesiodic tradition of the metallic races of man where the golden race knew no toil. By contrast, Vergil’s Eclogues 1 and 9 clearly describe the terrible effects of civil disorder on the rural population—they are the ones who have to leave their flocks and farms behind and go into exile (Ecl. 1, 3–11; Ecl. 9, 3–6).

Then at last, in four lines which once again form one sentence, Calpurnius gives the reasons for this happy state of affairs:

aurea secura cum pace renascitur aetas
et redit ad terras tandem squa lore situque
alma Themis posito iuvencenque beata sequuntur
saecula, maternis causam qui vicit Iutus. (lines 42–45)

This will be a new Golden Age which will bring security and peace to all. Calpurnius emphasises this by framing the important concept of security and peace with the phrase ‘aurea aetas’. The words ‘securo custode’ echo the phrase ‘securo custode’ and immediately call to mind the unknown security of the herdsmen described four lines earlier. He then starts the next line with the statement that someone or something is returning to earth after a long absence (‘tandem’), but that this is the goddess of justice
only becomes clear in the next line, with the words 'alma Themis' enclosed by the ablative absolute describing the laying aside of mourning, after putting aside the dust of neglect (= 'situs') as well as the filthy garments of mourning (= 'squallor'). The 'juvenis', who is obviously the moving force behind this happy return, is then first mentioned at the exact centre of line 44, for the word is both preceded and followed by seven syllables. The importance of the 'juvenis' in all these great events is stressed not only by this position in the line, but also because he is mentioned immediately after the return of the 'aurea aetas' and the goddess Themis. Line 45 gives an important, albeit rather vague, clue to the identity of this very special young man — he has already been successfully involved in a lawsuit on behalf of his mother's family and through the maternal line he is connected to the gens Iulia. This line has been generally taken as referring to a lawsuit on behalf of the people of Ilium, which had been successfully pleaded by the young Nero. The phrase 'maternis causam quae vicit' has been much discussed, since the various interpretations form key-arguments in the question of dating Calpurnius. This is also the first instance in the poem where the young ruler is implicitly juxtaposed to Augustus. The reference to the mother's great lineage is also an indirect compliment to her. If this was indeed the strong and domineering Agrippina, Nero's mother, this would have been an important bonus for an ambitious young poet.

Significantly, the verb 'vicit' is past tense in contrast to the other three verbs in the present tense, emphasising that this action has already been completed and is therefore the implied cause of the rest. Especially since these words are part of a prophecy, the present tense of the verbs has a direct impact. Calpurnius clearly links this new 'aurea aetas', with its concomitant peace and security, not only to the return of justice per se, as personified by Themis, but to the dispensation of justice as exemplified by this young man who has already been successfully involved in the defence of his mother's family. The fact that the poet has also just mentioned that the long neglect of justice is over and that Themis can stop her mourning gives a strong indication of what the young man's function will be in this new era.

Lines 46 to 73 form the most important part of the prophecy and here there is absolutely no mention of the pastoral world. The emphasis is not only on peace, but on the return of law and order and a just and constitutional rule. This will at last be a very real peace under the new young ruler and not just the semblance of peace which existed before, when violence and intrigue ruled the day — 'tamen grassantibus armis/publica diffudit tacito discordia ferro' (lines 56, 57). Now, under this new 'deus', there will be no more war, civil or otherwise, for all wars will be locked up in the dark prison of Tartarus (lines 52–53). One sentence over eight lines describes the surrender of 'impia Bellona':

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dum populos dens ipse reget, dabit impia victas
post tergum Bellona manus spoliaque telis
in suu vesanos torquebit viscera morsus
et modo quae toto civilia distulit orbis,
secum bella geret: nullus iam Roma Philippus
deflebit, nullus duces captiva triumphos;
onnia Tartaro subitarecere bella
immergentque caput tenebris lucemque timebunt. (lines 46-53)

The importance of the passage is highlighted not only by the length of the
sentence and the sustained pattern of alliteration, but also by the clear
vertical allusions to Vergil's description of the imprisoned 'impius Furor' in
Jupiter's prophecy about the 'pax Augusta'. Although he is ostensibly
writing a pastoral poem, yet again Calpurnius imparts an epic tone to his
prophecy. At the same time he again implicitly compares his 'dens' to
Augustus, who might have ended the 'impius bella', but at the same time
came into power as a direct result of that same civil war. In this particular
case these allusions create a frame of reference which allows Calpurnius not
only to juxtapose his ruler to Augustus, but to show this ruler as superior
to Augustus. It is clearly important to state that in Nero's reign there
will be no civil war, but even more important to remind the reader that
he did not succeed to power through civil war. This Calpurnius does by
implication with the description of Bellona which so strongly calls to mind
Vergil's description of Furor. This connection with Augustus is further
emphasised by the reference to Philippi. Although for the Romans this was
often undoubtedly a symbol of all civil war, the reference seems to be much
more specific here. It follows very closely on the phrase 'maternis causam
qui vicit Iulius' in line 45, where the 'iuvens' was first implicitly juxtaposed
to Augustus. This implicit reference to Nero's peaceful succession becomes
quite explicit in the final lines of the prophecy with the rather extravagant
description of the smooth transition of power (lines 84 to 88).

Another interesting aspect of Calpurnius' description of Bellona is that
she is not rendered powerless and only able to turn her terrible frenzy on
herself by armed might. Once stripped of her weapons or, in other words,
denied any provocation for instigating civil war, she will allow her hands to
be tied behind her back and so will be powerless. Coming so soon after
the reference to Themis and Nero's lawsuit, this sounds very much like a
pacifist statement --- solve problems with 'ius', not 'vis'.

Previously there had been peace which was 'solum candida vultu' --- now
the peace will be 'candida pax' indeed (line 54). Here, in this new Golden
Age, there will be bright, radiant peace, emphasised by the repetition of
the word 'candida' in the same line. Not only will there be a complete
absence of war, but law and order will be fully restored and justice will

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once again be part of the political life of Rome. Only now does the emphasis on Themis in lines 43 and 44 become clear. Calpurnius contrasts his 'candida pax' not only with the violence of the previous reign, but with its corruption. After the introduction of the theme of 'candida pax' in line 54, the next three lines describe the violence and intrigues of the previous reign. In the phrase 'tacito ... ferro' (line 57) the word 'tacito' is used with a negative connotation. Nothing could be done about this violence, nor dared anything be said against it. But through 'clementia' this has changed (lines 58 and 59). The next three lines then refer to the political corruption of the previous reign. No longer will even senators be persecuted and put to death to such a degree that the curia itself was half empty (lines 60 to 62).

Calpurnius highlights the 'clementia' reference by framing it as it were by two very similar phrases describing the peace. The construction of the line 'candida pax aderit' is echoed by the identical construction and even the same verb in the phrase 'plena quies aderit' in line 63. Line 54 with its 'candida pax' is followed by three lines describing the violence and intrigue, then the two lines on 'clementia' and then another three lines describing the persecution and murder of the senators. This in turn is followed directly by line 63 and 'plena quies aderit'. In this way the poem once again moves on two levels at once. Nero's reign is directly contrasted with the previous one and at the same time the two concepts of 'pax' and 'clementia', so important to Augustus, are transferred in their totality to Nero's reign.\(^{23}\)

What makes this poem of Calpurnius rather difficult to interpret is his comparison of the new reign both with that of Augustus and with the corrupt one which has just ended. He does not, however, make any clear distinctions and his references to Augustus are often implicit. For example, immediately after mentioning that Rome will not have to mourn over another Philippi, because there will be no civil war in this reign, he starts describing conditions during the false peace under Claudius — conditions, however, which could be equally applicable to most of Augustus' successors. This twofold comparison of Nero with others also explains the mention of the 'melior deus' who will take the afflicted era away (line 73). On the primary level the 'juvenes' is better than the corrupt ruler who preceded him, but on the secondary level he is a better 'deus' than even Augustus, because he did not succeed through civil war and armed might.

Many of the problems presented by this poem, such as the reference to world-wide civil war in line 49,\(^{24}\) simply disappear when the poem is viewed in the light of Neronian panegyric and Nero's programme for his first year as emperor.\(^{25}\) The word 'modo', especially, seems to be a great stumbling block, for most people want the line to refer to a recent civil war.\(^{26}\) But as Küppers points out on good authority, 'modo' can even refer to events seventy or more years ago if they are dramatically represented as happening.
in the recent past for the sake of contrast. This would then clearly make
the line an implicit reference to the civil wars through which Augustus came
to power. Calpurnius’ contemporaries, too, would obviously not have had
the same problems with understanding the various comparisons, since it
was absolutely essential in Neronian panegyric to not only compare Nero
to Augustus, but also to try and prove him superior.

This new reign, however, will indeed be like that of another Saturn (line
64) or even like that of another Numa (lines 65 to 68). The reference to
Saturn in this context is natural, for he became identified with Kronos, the
ruler of Hesiod’s golden race. According to Vergil (Aen. 8, 319ff.), he found
sanctuary in Latium after his expulsion from heaven. There he not only
taught the uncivilised people agriculture, but gave them laws as well. This
then was a completely Roman version of the Golden Age myth.

But why Numa? The Romans ascribed the institution of their military
system to Romulus, the first king. Numa, his successor, however, they cre­
dited with the institution of the entire religious, and therefore also the legal,
system as well as their civil institutions. Even more importantly, tradition
represented all the kings — with the sole exception of Numa — as engaged
in frequent warfare. Saturn was a figure from the remote, mythical past,
and therefore even more remote to the people of Neronian Rome where
myth and religion were no longer regarded with the respect accorded them
by earlier generations. Numa and Romulus, on the other hand, were re­
garded as real, historical figures — their ancestors. Calpurnius is therefore
implying that Nero, like Numa, will once again teach the Romans the ‘pacs
opus’ (line 67) and how to avoid war, even though they still delighted in the
military achievements of Augustus, just as their ancestors had delighted in
those of Romulus. Under Nero they will learn just and constitutional rule
and the full observance of justice.

The structure of the poem around this reference to Numa also clearly
shows that this reference is of pivotal importance in the interpretation of
the whole prophecy. It is preceded by the lines describing the imprisonment
and execution of prominent citizens. Lines 69 to 73, immediately following
this reference to Numa, describe the political effects of the new rule —
again in terms of the previous corruption. No longer will even the highest
office be ineffectual because it can be bought (line 69 to 71). The result
will be law and order restored and a ‘melior deus’ who will take away the
afflicted age (line 73).

There is one more important comparison of Nero and Numa, contrasted
with Augustus, in the poem. Once again it is implicit:

scilicet ipse deus Romanae pondera molis
fortibus excipiet sic inconcussa lacertis,
ut neque translati sonitu fragor intonet orbis

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nec prius ex meritis defunctos Roma penates
censeat, occasus nisi cum respexerit ortus. (lines 84–88)

In these final lines of the prophecy, where the smooth transition of power is described rather obscurely, there are clear verbal echoes of three passages from Ovid.29 The passage from the Fasti describes Hercules supporting the sky and the implicit comparison between the hero and the new young ruler is obvious. In the lines from the Metamorphoses, however, Ovid is discussing Numa’s succession to Romulus. Not only is the theme of Calpurnius’ lines also succession, but the two kings concerned in Ovid are again Romulus and Numa. This of course again highlights Calpurnius’ implicit comparison of Nero and Augustus, as in lines 64 to 68. This comparison is further strengthened by the third passage called to mind by these lines, that from the Tristia. Here the whole context is one of praise for Augustus and his rule. He is explicitly compared to Jupiter who watches over the heavens and over the gods. Once again with these verbal allusions Calpurnius therefore effectively creates a frame of reference which gives additional meaning to his own words.

At the end of the prophecy one can now determine the main features of Calpurnius’ Golden Age. Although the first effects of the peace and security promised by the prophecy will be felt in the pastoral world (36–41), the real implication will be political and civic, with no more venality in public life, with a just government and no more persecution of powerful citizens (lines 60–62; 69–73). For Calpurnius therefore the ‘scelus’ responsible for all the evil seems to be bad government and the perversion of justice, whereas for most other Latin authors, especially the Augustan ones, this ‘scelus’ often equalled ‘impia bella’.30

One very important and interesting feature of Calpurnius’ Golden Age which has still to be discussed is his treatment of the goddess Themis. This seems to be unique and yet it has apparently been generally overlooked. Naturally his reference to her state of neglect and mourning (lines 42–45) calls to mind Aratus’ story of Dike leaving the earth because of the wickedness of the bronze race, to take up a place among the stars as the constellation Virgo. This is indeed how some scholars interpret this reference, without apparently realising that the myth refers not to Themis, but to Dike and the two goddesses seem to be confused with each other.31

According to myth, Themis was the daughter of Uranos and Gaia (Hes. Theog. 135) and the mother of Dike. Themis was obviously seen as a real goddess, for she had several sanctuaries throughout northern and central Greece. She was the goddess in charge of the traditional order of life as laid down by convention, like the justice administered by kings or by the gods, or of that order determined by nature. In this way she not only protected the basic relationships of the whole family, but she kept watch
over civic and political order — in Homeric epic she not only calls the gods to assembly at the command of Zeus (Il. 20, 4), but she opens and dismisses the assemblies of the people (Od. 2, 68). This aspect of Themis seems to be based on the same concept which later found expression in the cults of Athena and Zeus Polias. Under the empire her cult, like that of many other deities, became part of the mystery religions.

Themis, however, was never associated with the Golden Age. Dike, on the other hand, was the goddess traditionally associated with the Golden Age, as also in Vergil’s fourth Eclogue. Unlike Themis, she was not so much a real goddess as a literary personification of justice, just like her Roman counterpart, Justitia. Regarded as one of the Horae, she was also responsible for order in nature, but more specifically she was responsible for jurisdiction.

Significantly, we already find in Homer a connection between a ruler’s attitude to justice and nature. Thus, under the fair and just administration of justice by the king, all nature flourishes and provides in abundance everything man needs (Hom. Od. 19,108ff.) If, on the other hand, the king corrupts justice, Zeus punishes man with natural catastrophes like floods (Hom., Il. 16, 384ff.). In the case of corrupt justice Hesiod tells us that Dike herself will either bring mischief to those who drove her out (Op. 217–224) or she reports man’s wickedness to her father, Zeus, until they pay for the mad folly of their princes (Hes. Op. 256ff.). In Aratus, of course, Dike has a leading role among the golden race, not only caring for their physical needs, but assembling the elders in the market place or in the streets to give them kind decrees (Phaen. 105, 106).

Calpurnius, however, lets Themis, not Dike, return with the new Golden Age and he gives her the epithet ‘alma’ (lines 43, 44). In the light of the deities to whom it is usually applied, e.g. Ceres (Verg. G. 1, 7), Venus (Lucr. 1, 2) and other patron deities of the earth, of light, day, wine, and others (LS, s.v.), this is a most unusual epithet for this particular goddess. For Aratus’ Dike, however, in her role as the provider for mankind, this epithet would be perfectly natural. Dike, of course, would have been better suited to the new-found peace, security and prosperity of the rural and pastoral world. Furthermore, the image of Dike’s mourning after she had left the earth during the time of the bronze age would have suited Calpurnius’ portrayal of the neglect and perversion of justice during the reign of Claudius. Calpurnius therefore retains this image.

But why did Calpurnius choose Themis and not Dike? With his combined goddess Themis-Dike Calpurnius either made a mistake — which is highly unlikely in this case as he clearly knew his Vergil, whose reference to Dike as the Virgo in Eclogue 4 is quite explicit — or he changed his goddess for a very specific reason. Themis obviously not only had an important function in the political life of the city, but for Calpurnius she
clearly had a much stronger connection with justice. This fits very well when we think of Themis’ role in the political life of the city in Homer and it is exactly this return of justice and straight dealing in the political and legal administration of the new reign that Calpurnius wishes to stress. But Calpurnius does more than merely replace Dike with Themis. In order to incorporate Themis into his version of the new Golden Age, he combines elements of Dike and Themis, and this combined Themis-Dike then fits in with both the pastoral prosperity, where Themis alone has no place, and with his political Golden Age. By choosing Themis, Calpurnius shows quite clearly that the world of his poem lies far beyond the realm of pastoral — a fact already hinted at by the herdsman’s discovery of a prophecy quite outside their normal experience.

With his goddess Themis-Dike Calpurnius has therefore added a new dimension to his interpretation of the Golden Age and this is his own, unique contribution. His political Golden Age is also new in the sense that this interpretation is completely incompatible with the Hesiodic version of the life of the golden race. The primitive life of Hesiod’s golden race (Op. 109-181), and in those versions of the myth which follow this tradition, not only does not allow the advance of civilisation, but is actually in direct contrast to civilisation. To a large measure this is the case, too, in Vergil’s Golden Age in Eclogue 4, for in its final development it does not include typical trappings of civilisation such as sailing, commerce or even agriculture. On the other hand, some measure of civilisation in the form of civic and social order — in other words, the organisation of the people in a city, just rule and agriculture — is an integral part of the other main tradition of the myth as portrayed in the life of Hesiod’s city of the just (Op. 212-237) and Aratus’ golden race (Phaen. 96-136). One feature which most of these various interpretations of the Golden Age myth do seem to have in common is that the higher the value placed on the advantages of civilisation and progress, the lower will be the estimate of the benefits of the Golden Age.

Calpurnius’ interpretation of the Golden Age myth in his Eclogue 4 varies very little from the Hesiodic tradition of the golden race, but there are some interesting features. The poem is emphasised not only by its central position, but by its exceptional length (168 lines). In this poem Calpurnius elaborates further on his description of the Golden Age and the effect of the ruler’s presence on everything around him. The form chosen for the poem lends itself to this quite well, for almost half of the poem, lines 82 to 167, is an amoebean song between Corydon and Amyntas, in which the emperor’s praises are sung extravagantly and in considerable detail.

In effect, his presence is like that of a benevolent god — his ‘numen’ affects everything in a beneficial way:

Aspicis, ut virides audito Caesare silvae

29
conticeant? memini, quamvis urge nte procella
sic nemus immotis subito requiescere ramis,
et dixi: 'deus hinc, certe deus expulit Euros.' (lines 97-100)

and:

Aspicis, ut teneros subitus vigor excitet agnos?
utque superfuso magis ubera lacte graventur 
et nuper tonsis exundent vellera fetic? (lines 102-104).
The very sound of his name causes the earth to bring forth flowers and
fragrant foliage (lines 109-111) and at the merest hint of his divine power
crops grow abundantly:

Illius ut primum senserunt numina terrae,
coepit et uberior, sulcis fallentibus olim,
luxuriare seges tandemque legumina plenis
vix resonant siliquis ... (lines 112-115).

Here then we have the same prolific nature as in Hesiod — not, however, as
a gift from the gods, but as the direct result of a god-like ruler’s presence.
But as in Eclogue 1, the effects go beyond the boundaries of pastoral.
Not only the herdsmen and their flocks, but the farmers with their crops
share this abundance, with the result that they can joyfully celebrate their
religious festivals in honour of the gods (lines 122-126). Honouring the
gods was also a very important element in the life of Hesiod’s golden race,
as is implied by the fact that part of the silver race’s wickedness was their
unwillingness to honour the gods (Op. 135, 136). In some measure, this
rural prosperity recalls that of the farmers in Vergil’s Georgica, but without
the latter’s emphasis on morality.
But with typical panegyric exuberance Calpurnius goes even further.
The gods themselves benefit from the ruler’s ‘numen’:

Numine Caesareo securior ipse Lycaeus
Pan recolit silvas et amoena Faunus in umbra
securus recubat placidoque in fonte lavatur
Nais et humanum non calcatura cruorem
per iuga siccato velox pede currit Oreas. (lines 132-136)

From the above it is also clear that the peace and absence of war brought
by the new emperor is once again an important motif — ‘ille meis pacem
dat montibus’ (line 127).
A significant new element is the fact that poets, too, now share in this
new spirit of hope. Amyntas states quite clearly that he is now free not only
to indulge in song, but even to choose what type of song he will perform
(127-131). But this hopefulness goes beyond even this freedom, for there is
some promise of and emphatic demands for material reward. Corydon says
that he used to advise his brother against the writing of poetry for it held no reward: ‘frange, puer, calamos et inanes desere Musas’ (line 23). But now everything is different, for ‘non eadem nobis sunt tempora, non deus idem, spes magis arridet ...’ (lines 30–31). The introduction of poetry as a motif is nothing new in the pastoral genre, for the nature, function and value of poetry is an important theme in Vergil’s *Eclogae*. But nowhere else is there any mention of the material rewards poetry should bring.

In *Eclogue 1* the emperor is portrayed as a ‘deus ipse’ (*Ecl. 1*, 46) or even as a ‘melior deus’ (*Ecl. 1*, 73), and described at the climax of the prophecy in extravagant terms slightly reminiscent of Jupiter (*Ecl. 1*, 84–86). But in *Eclogue 4* Calpurnius goes much further. The emperor is now openly placed in the company of some of the greatest gods. Not only is eloquent Apollo seen as his companion (lines 87–88) and the emperor himself is portrayed as standing right next to father Jupiter (lines 93–94), but Calpurnius even calls him a god in human disguise:

\[
\text {Tu quoque mutata seu Iuppiter ipse figura,}
\]
\[
\text {Caesar, ades, seu quis superum sub imagine falsa}
\]
\[
\text {mortalique lates (es enim deus) ... (lines 142–144).}
\]

And again Calpurnius makes it plain that this divine influence of the ruler goes beyond the boundaries of the rural world, for he says that the emperor is loved not only by all on earth and by every nation, but by the very gods themselves (lines 107–108). Yet it is striking that there is now no more mention of the just and fair ruler who featured so strongly in *Eclogue 1*.

**Conclusion**

The intended purpose of this article, as stated at the beginning, was to try and establish just how creatively Calpurnius applied the Golden Age myth. In order to evaluate Calpurnius’ version of the myth properly one should also have a fairly clear idea not only of the main elements of the Golden Age myth, but also of the various interpretations it acquired during its long development. The idea of a long lost Golden Age, during which man knew only prosperity and happiness, has held a strong appeal through the ages. In Roman literature, this theme was extremely popular with the Augustan poets, where it became one of the key-motifs in the panegyric of Augustus and then of later rulers, especially again the Neronian panegyric. It would seem that this myth was especially popular during times of political and social unrest, times when the awareness of the negative impact of civilisation would have been felt most strongly.

The version of the Golden Age which Calpurnius presents in his *Eclogue 4* is clearly much nearer the traditional myth than that of his *Eclogue 1*. For although Calpurnius incorporates some elements of the traditional Golden Age in *Eclogue 1*, for instance the absence of war and the promise
of security for the rural population, the main theme is a political Golden Age. This is not only juxtaposed to that of the traditional pastoral Golden Age, but clearly takes precedence over it. A very important aspect of this political Golden Age, which seems to have been generally overlooked, is the fact that it is completely contrary to the traditional concept, which represents the Golden Age versus civilisation, since it was generally agreed that only civilisation had made social and political development possible.

Although he incorporates important elements of the traditional rural myth into his version of the Golden Age, such as the total security of the people as well as of the animals, and the abundant fertility of the earth, for Calpurnius such an ideal state of affairs is completely dependent on a just and fair rule, in other words, on the fullest development of the social and political order. For that reason Themis-Dike is the central figure in the Golden Age of his Eclogue 1. This combined goddess not only has the role of agricultural provider, but is the personification of justice and a just and fair rule.

Because Calpurnius' Golden Age can only come into existence in a civilised and ordered world, there was also no need for him to do away with those things which of necessity form part of such a world. Unlike other Roman poets, Calpurnius therefore did not have to argue against travel by sea or commerce, for example. Furthermore, his vision of a political Golden Age removes the main objections against a Golden Age which could only flourish in a world without civilisation. With his interpretation of this myth, Calpurnius seems to join the ranks of those philosophers who felt that the traditional Golden Age myth was an anomaly since man can only realise his full potential in a fully civilised world where the social and political order clearly define the parameters of his life.

Calpurnius' very different interpretation of the Golden Age myth might, of course, be seen as another example of the so-called misunderstanding of Vergil of which he has frequently been accused. Yet the difference in approach between the two poets is much more likely the result of the vast differences in the political circumstances of the respective times of the two poets. The civil wars of Vergil's time were caused not by the unconstitutional rule of one person, but by an outdated form of government which could no longer meet the demands made on it and by political ambition on the part of certain individuals. For Vergil, therefore, the idea of just rule and fair judgement on the part of the ruler was really not an issue in his praise of Augustus. It obviously was something which he took more or less for granted as a natural characteristic. But for Calpurnius, who had probably just lived through the dark days of Claudius' unjust persecution and execution of many a prominent person, it was very important that the new ruler should be just and fair in his administration of justice, hence the importance of Themis in his prophecy in Eclogue 1. The same warning
note and plea for fairness and self-control also sounds again and again in Seneca's *De Clementia* (i.a. 1, 5, 1–2; 1, 7, 2f.; 1, 19, 9). For by now the fifth emperor was already in power and there had been ample time for the weaknesses inherent in the principate to surface. It was becoming progressively clearer that de facto the ruler was above the law and the way he used or abused justice depended entirely on his own strength of character. For Calpurnius therefore the absence of war and, especially civil war, is important, but even more important is the fair administration of justice, a reign in which law and order could be seen to be honoured. As far as the issue of war was concerned, the Augustan poets were very careful not to link Augustus too directly with the civil war except as saviour — the blame for the war was placed squarely on some ancient 'scelus' or 'culpa'.

Calpurnius' complete break with tradition clearly fits into what constituted a new upsurge of generic experimentation at the beginning of Nero's reign and this same departure from the style and forms of earlier works in a particular genre can be seen in the work of authors like Persius, Seneca and Lucan. A closer study of the other six eclogues of Calpurnius reveals a similar experimentation and variation of the accepted tradition, but in varying degrees.

This new approach to the Golden Age theme reveals at least a measure of originality on the part of Calpurnius — a characteristic which most scholars have denied him, though they might have granted the charm and technical skill of his work. The great care with which the poet worked out this theme of a political Golden Age in Elegy 1 and the resulting neat and balanced structure argue most strongly for a deliberate interpretation, not an accidental misrepresentation of the myth.

While Calpurnius probably intended the many echoes from Vergil's treatment of the myth to draw attention to his own very different approach, these very echoes have in fact served to obscure his own contribution. In order to appreciate fully his departure from the tradition and to realise that his version is not merely a misrepresentation of the myth by an in­­ept minor poet, one should keep in mind that this was a very well-known myth which was remarkably popular in Latin literature. Undeniably, too, Calpurnius was extremely well-read and he knew the works of his predecessors very well, as the many verbal and thematic echoes in his work show quite clearly. The very fact that Calpurnius was so well-read argues against an accidental misreading of the myth and suggests that his treatment was deliberate.

**Notes**


Quotations are from the text of Korzeniewski, but in Eclogue 4 the transposed verses, 132–136, have been returned to their normal sequence in the manuscripts.


3. These predecessors are mainly Vergil, Ovid, Tibullus and in some instances Propertius. Obviously he was much indebted to Vergil and there are strong reminiscences not only of the *Eclogae*, but also many echoes of the *Georgica* and the *Aeneid*, the latter especially in the panegyric poems 1, 4 and 7. Surprisingly, his imitation of the *Eclogae* is not so much verbal as of ideas, for example Calpurnius’ Eclogue 5 and Georgicon 3. His style is strongly reminiscent of Ovid and there are many verbal echoes. Both Schenkl (above, n.1) and Korzeniewski (above, n.1) give very complete lists of parallels as well as of Calpurnian echoes in later authors, for Calpurnius himself was extensively imitated by, among others, the third century Nemesianus and later by the bishop Modoinus who called himself Naso.

4. In the nineteenth century there were various theories as to the date of Calpurnius, for example that he was a contemporary of, inter alios, Domitian, Commodus or Carus. In 1854 M. Haupt published an essay titled *De carminibus bucolicis Calpurnii et Nemesiani* of which the main purpose was to prove on stylistic grounds that two different authors were responsible for the eleven poems assigned to Calpurnius by the majority of the manuscripts — an error which can probably be traced back to the *Florilegium Gallicum* of the twelfth century. Many of Haupt’s arguments also afford strong proof for a Neronian date for Calpurnius. This work is difficult to obtain, but both Keene (above n.1) 2–14 and H.J. Williams, *The Eclogues and Cynegetica of Nemesianus*, Leiden 1986, 5ff., give an excellent survey and discussion of his arguments. E. Champlin re-opened the debate in 'The Life and Times of Calpurnius Siculus', *JRS* 68 (1978) 95–110, where he argues for a date under Alexander Severus — a theory first propounded in 1883 by H. Krafft, *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung latänischer Autoren*, 3, Zurich, 151. There then followed a spate of counter-arguments, all in favour of the Neronian date: G.B. Townend,

A most useful survey and discussion of most of these theories is to be found in R. Verdière, 'Caipurnius, en fin d'analyse ... ', *Helmantica* 44 (1993) 349-398, and he ends his article with the following: 'Je crois sincèrement que l'heure est venue de clore "le dossier Caipurnius" et de s'en tenir raisonnablement à l'opinion de Moriz Haupt.' Wishful thinking indeed, since it would seem that there will always be some new theory about Caipurnius' date.

One might do well also to remember Keene's words of caution in the previous century (above, n.1, 35): 'whatever date is assigned to Caipurnius, his most important claim to our attention must be the intrinsic merit of his work' — and merit there certainly is.

5. The closest Vergil comes to this precise indication of time, and then only in the middle of the poem and not right at the beginning, is in Eclogue 3, lines 56, 57:

> et nunc omnis ager, nunc omnis parturit arbor,
nunc frondent silvae, nunc formosissimus annus.

6. Theocritus mentions vineyards several times: Idyll 1, 45-54; 5, 108; 7, 147-49; 11, lines 9, 11, 21, and 46. Vergil mentions vines or the care of them at Eclogue 1, 56 and 73; 2, 70; 3, 11; 4, 40; 5, 32; 7, 48 and 61 and 10, 36 and wine at 5, 69 and 71 but the actual making of wine only once at *Georgica* 2, 68.

7. Compare, for instance, lines 8 and 9 — the beginning of his description of the *locus amoenus*; lines 21 and 22, immediately preceded by a golden line — the beginning of the description of the prophecy; lines 33 and 34 — the beginning of the prophecy.

8. Korzeniewski 1971 (above, n.1) 86.

9. 1973 (above, n.2) 57.

10. Both Schenkl (above, n.1) 3 and Korzeniewski (above, n.1) 11 give as parallel Vergil's 'patris Fauni' (*Aen.* 7, 102), but there the relationship is a biological one, for Faunus is depicted as the father of Latinus.

11. The phrase 'satus aethere' is variously interpreted, but this one of Aether personified as the grandfather of Saturn-Kronos seems to fit the poem best. Amai (above, n.1) 101 sees him as 'né de l'éther', that is, evidence of Faunus' primitive origin combined with the Stoic idea that the upper air was the divine domain; so, too, Korzeniewski (above, n. 1) 87 as the son of Aether as the highest god of the Stoics; Duff (above, n. 1) 221 simply translates 'of celestial birth'.

35

13. In fact one ancient etymological derivation for his name was from ‘fari’ (A.S. Pease, *M. Tulli Ciceronis De Natu Deorum*, Darmstadt 1968, 560).

14. Sometimes they travelled quite long distances, for example wintering in Apulia and going to Samnium for summer grazing. (See Varro, *R.R.* 2, 1, 16; 2, 5, 11; 2, 10, 6).

15. The alliterative scheme is the following: line 36 *pnc*; line 37 *p*; line 38 *cpp*; line 39 *cpp*; line 40 *c*. Interestingly, the word ‘praecipue’ contains the letters *p-c-p*, ‘pee us’ and ‘populi’ *pp*. Although only repeated sounds at the beginning of an accented syllable in a word enhance the alliterative pattern, these words might well be indicative of some measure of verbal playfulness on the part of Calpurnius.

16. The idea of the ‘aurea aetas’ instead of an ‘aurea gens’ only started much later. Ovid was apparently the first to use the term.

17. For this meaning of ‘situs’, cf. ‘Pace bidem vomerque nitent, at tristia duri militis in tenebris occupat arma situs’ (*Tib.* 1, 10, 49–50) and ‘aranecus situs’ (*Cat.* 23, 3). This meaning of ‘squalor’ is frequent in Cicero, (i.a. *Sext.* 31, 68; *Chl.* 6, 18; 67, 192; *Mar.* 40, 86; *Att.* 3, 10, 2); used with ‘maestitia’, *Tac.* 2, 1, 54.

As the above parallels show, the emphasis here is clearly on neglect and mourning.

18. ‘Iulius’, for ‘Iulius’ through synizesis, is a reference to Aeneas’ son Iulus, whom the gens *Iulia* regarded as their ancestor, cf. *nascetur pulchra Troianus Ol’igine Caesar*, *imperium Oceano famam qui terminet astris, Iulius, a magno demisum nomen Iulo.* (*Verg.* *Aen.* 1, 1–4)

Wiseman’s argument (above, n. 4) 57 that Calpurnius cannot here be referring to the people of Troy, since they were not the descendants of Iulus does not apply, for Iulus was related to the people of Troy, so that his descendants would also share this remote relationship. ‘Maternis’ simply means ‘related on mother’s side’ and not ‘descended from’ as such.

19. This lawsuit on behalf of the people of Ilium (‘causam Iliensium’, *Tac.* *Ann.* 12, 58, 1) the young Nero successfully pleaded in Greek before Claudius and the senate. It gained them freedom from tribute in perpetuity: *Tac.* *Ann.* 12, 58, 1; *Suet.* *Nero* 7, 2; cf. *Suet.* *Claud.* 25, 3; Korzeniewski (above, n. 1) 88; Leach 1973 (above, n. 2) 92 n.24; Townend (above, n. 4) 168; Wiseman (above, n. 4) 57; Küppers (above, n. 4) 357; Amat (above, n. 1) 100.

For this meaning of ‘dare ... manus’, see LS s.v. II, A, 2.

20. For instance by Champlin 1978 (above, n. 4) 98–100; Townend (above, n. 4) 168–169; Wiseman (above, n. 4) 57–58; Küppers (above, n. 4) 355–357.

21. For Nero’s speech delivered before the senate, see *Suetonius Nero* 10 and *Tacitus Ann.* 13, 4.

22. Especially Champlin 1978 (above, n. 4) 98; Wiseman (above, n. 4) 59.


24. The various theories are discussed in Champlin 1978 (above, n. 4) 98–100; Wiseman (above, n. 4) 59–63; Townend (above, n. 4) 166–168; Küppers (above, n. 4) 353–355.

25. Cf. also Küppers (above, n. 4) 357.

26. Cf. also Küppers (above, n. 4) 357.
28. Cf. for example Lucan's direct connection between Nero and the civil wars which preceded the reign of Augustus (1, 33–45).

29. The relevant passages are:

   i) nititur hic humeris (caelum quoque sederat illis)
      et vastum motu conlabefactat onus.
      quod simul eversum est, fragor aethera terruit ipsum
      ictaque subsedit pondere molis humus  (F. 1, 565–568).
   ii) Quae siturn interea quis tantae pondera molis
       sustineat tantoque quest succeedere regi. (Met. 15, 1–2)
   iii) non ea te moles Romani nomini urguet,
       inque tuis umeris tam leve fertur onus. (P. 2, 221–222)

30. In his Eclogue 4 Vergil does not say what the 'prisca fraus' is. In Vergil's Eclogue 6 it is Prometheus' theft of fire which undermines the 'Saturnia regna'. For Catullus the very soil carried a stain from one generation to the next and it would appear that for him the original crime was civil war (64, 397 and 399). Horace felt that the Romans were cursed because of the murder of Remus and this curse is manifested in repeated civil wars (Epod. 16, 1–2).

31. So Amat (above, n. 1) 100 n. 11 says that Themis had been banned from earth after the Golden Age by the wickedness of mankind and that the reference to mourning evokes the sorrow of the goddess after her banishment. She gives no references.

   Korzeniewski (above, n. 1) 88 says that Themis = Dike, who left the earth as the last of the gods because of the wickedness of man and that she returns with the new Golden Age. His reference to Hesiod, however, names Aidos and Nemesis, not Themis and his reference to Verg. Ecl. 4, 6 is also incorrect for there it is clearly Virgo = Dike who returns.

32. RE 5 (1934) 1630.

33. Cf. 'aurea... regeret cum saecula... Iustitia' (Germ. Arat. 103f). Augustus, however, dedicated a temple to Iustitia on 8 January, A.D. 13. Iustitia was also one of the four cardinal virtues depicted on the golden shield which was presented to Augustus by the senate and people in 27 B.C.

34. Ovid has exactly the same combination of 'alma Themis' (Met. 7, 762), but the line is probably spurious, as several manuscripts either omit it completely, or have it inserted in the margin or between lines in a different hand: W.S. Anderson, Ovid's Metamorphoses, books 6–10, Norman (1972) 322. Ovid, however, also refers to her as 'mitissima' (Met. 1, 379). Although this is in connection with her prophetic powers it might well be an indication that the idea of an 'alma Themis' would not have been that strange to him.

35. Even if Calpurnius had not read the original Phaenomena — and we have no means of ascertaining whether he did or not — there existed Latin versions, especially Cicero's Aratus. This epithet might actually have originated there — thus also explaining the note in the manuscripts of Ovid's Metamorphoses (see above, note 34). But of the part concerning Dike in this work of Cicero's we unfortunately possess only a few fragmentary lines, so that this solution to the problem will have to remain conjectural, like so much else concerning Calpurnius. Another Latin version of Aratus' work, sometimes ascribed to Germanicus — and therefore probably much closer in time to Calpurnius — unfortunately does not stress Dike's agricultural role.

36. The following offer interesting discussions of the Golden Age myth: H.C. Baldry 'Who invented the Golden Age?', CQ 46 (1952) 83–92; J. Dillon, 'Plato and the
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