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des Lucilius haben die Einengung ihrer kritischen Beziehung auf Accius verloren (III, IX und X). Für IX und X ergeben sich damit neue Fragen. Das Testimonium hat, was Buch III betrifft, zunächst seine Konkretheit eingebüsst. Doch scheint die Berücksichtigung des zu diesem Fragenkreis gehörenden Materials die allgemeinere Bezeugung von Dichterkritik insbesondere auf Enniusparodie hin, ohne Ausschluss anderer Dichter, auch der Tragiker, zu spezifizieren. Damit ist der Lesegenuss, den das hexametrische Reisetagebuch des Lucilius dem antiken Leser bot, überzeugender und plastischer geworden. Nicht Kritik am Stil der Tragödien des Accius begleitete den Brief, sondern die Reiseerlebnisse waren häufig parodierend episch erzählt, und dem Enniusliebhaber klang als *cantus firmus* der Dichter Roms immer durch, als Gegenstand nun wie seiner Ehrfurcht so auch seines Gelächters.

Helvetian Aristocrats

By Sir Ronald Syme, Oxford

I. From the outset the 'Historiae' declare the skill of Tacitus in managing structure, narrative and transitions. A notable specimen is the proclamation of Vitellius and the march of the two armies from the Rhine to the Alps. Making for the pass of the Mont Genève, Fabius Valens had the longer route by far, and he benefits from a more generous exposition (I 62–66).

An eagle flying in front of the legions furnished an omen for the happy outcome of a great enterprise. Scenes of rapine, anger and violence ensue. Along with detail of the itinerary, full space is allotted to four episodes: the panic and massacre at Divodurum (*Mediomatricum id oppidum est*), a quarrel with the Batavian cohorts in the land of the Lingones, the murderous feud between Lugdunum and Vienna, the harsh treatment of the Vocontii, with the threat to set fire to the town of Lucus.

Sic ad Alpes perventum (66, 3). The narration now passes neatly to the other army, which was conducted by Caecina Alienus towards the Great St. Bernard, and introduces the dominant theme with the words *plus praedae ac sanguinis Caecina hausit* (67, 1). The account is confined to a single episode: what happened in the land of the Helvetii.

Their resistance was provoked by the *avaritia et festinatio* of the legion XXI Rapax. The soldiers seized money intended for a Helvetian garrison, and the Helvetii in reprisal detained a centurion and others who were taking a message

to the army in Pannonia. Not having heard of the death of Galba, they hesitated to acknowledge Vitellius.

Caecina was eager for any excuse. He summoned troops from Raetia, there was a battle with great loss to the Helvetii, and they surrendered when the Roman army was moving towards Aventicum, their capital (67f.). Envoys went to Vitellius, and in the upshot Aventicum was spared.

II. The episode has not failed to engage the zeal of local antiquaries and national historians, often with censure of Cornelius Tacitus, mild or harsh¹. First the unnamed *castellum* on the northern border of the Helvetian territory. Probably Tenedo. Next, the watering place which Caecina sacked at the start of his operations. Avoiding the name, Tacitus prefers an elegant periphrasis². Clearly Aquae Helveticae (the modern Baden), not far from Vindonissa, the camp of the legion. The site of the battle (rather perhaps battles) is left vague, and there is only one geographical term, the Mons Vocetius, to which many of the natives fled for refuge. Perhaps the Bözberg.

Caecina among the Helvetians may stimulate interest or enquiry of another order: the sources and technique of an author. Tacitus declines to furnish the names of two places; and Vindonissa is absent³. Nor does he bother to say where Vitellius was when he received the envoys. Vitellius might by then have reached Lugdunum. However, it hardly matters, so much else being beyond ascertainment. This ruthless writer refuses to describe or emphasize the passage of a large force across the St. Bernard in the month of March, the sole comment being *hibernis adhuc Alpibus* (70, 3).

For the historian's purposes, a number of facts and details were irrelevant. Tacitus did not wish to delay the action, dilute the drama, and annoy the reader. Certain local names meant little or nothing to the wider world, or to posterity.

He operates in like fashion elsewhere. The long account of a rebellion in Thrace supplies only Mount Haemus⁴. Again, narrating how Caesennius Paetus invaded Armenia in the year 62, Tacitus puts his base of operations in the vicinity of Arsamosata⁵. A historic name, and therefore to be commended. Another source has Rhandeia, which is nowhere else on record⁶. Even the permanent stations of legions can be left unspecified, as in the story of Boudicca's revolt (when all four legions of Britain earn a mention). The reason can be divined. The legionary camps were no longer the same in the historian's own time.

1 F. Staehelin, *Die Schweiz in röm. Zeit.* (ed. 3, 1948) 188ff.; G. Walser, *Schweiz. Zeitschr. f. Gesch.* 4 (1954) 260ff.

2 *Hist.* I 67, 2: *direptus longa pace in modum municipii exstructus locus, amoeno salubrium aquarum usu frequens.*

3 Vindonissa emerges later when relevant to the higher strategy (IV 61, 2; 70, 2).

4 *Ann.* IV 51, 3.

5 *Ann.* XV 10, 3.

6 Dio LXII 21, 1.

III. Not ignorance, therefore, but choice and design. The author is intent on rendering the behaviour of generals and troops in a civil war. Although he used in Book I the *Ignotus* whom Plutarch followed in the biographies of Galba and Otho, that may not obtain for this section, which goes back to the reports of eye-witnesses present with the two armies. The history of the elder Pliny has been an easy assumption⁷. Ferociously addicted to facts, Pliny derived a double advantage from his knowledge and experience.

First of all, service as an equestrian officer on the Rhine: three posts, held at different times during the period 46–58. Next, his career as a procurator in the reign of Vespasian. *Narbonensis* in 70 has appeared plausible, *Gallia Belgica* about 75⁸. The 'Naturalis Historia', completed in 77, carries various and valuable information about Gaul and Germany⁹.

A number of significant items in Books IV and V show that Tacitus exploited Pliny when narrating the Batavian revolt and the *imperium Galliarum*. Enough to mention certain obscure place names, not registered elsewhere save in itineraries or in writers of late Antiquity¹⁰.

IV. In recounting the actions of the two corps of invasion, Tacitus has recourse to a sharp contrast. For the first, a sequence of towns and communities is presented, from the Treveri to the *municipium* of the Vocontii. But none of the tribal notables occur, no citizen of Lugdunum or Vienna. Instead, the historian chooses to report the arguments served up by the hostile Lugdunenses (65, 2). The personages who had dealings with Fabius Valens remain anonymous, though many of them must have belonged to families known to Tacitus as well as to Pliny. Vienna indeed was the home of Roman senators long since – quite apart from the illustrious Valerius Asiaticus (*cos. II* 46). Only one person secures admission: Manlius Valens, commanding the legion I Italica, which Galba had posted to Lugdunum¹¹.

In the other piece the Roman side concentrates on the character and behaviour of the general. Nothing is said about the legate in charge of XXI Rapax, whose lax discipline (a reader might infer) was one cause of the trouble. His identity would be worth knowing: perhaps reserved for unfriendly comment

7 E. Norden, *Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania* (ed. 3, 1923) 253.

8 For Pliny's career see F. Münzer, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 104 (1899) 67ff.; followed largely in *Harvard Studies* 72 (1968) 204ff. = *R(oman) P(apers)* (1977) 745ff. For criticism of Münzer and some dissent, H. G. Gundel, *RE* XXI (1951) 273ff.; A. N. Sherwin-White in his *Commentary* (1966) 219ff., discussing the letter of the nephew (III 5).

9 Münzer, *op. cit.* 73ff.; Norden, *op. cit.* 211ff.

10 Cf. *Tacitus* (1958) 174. Not, however, from Pliny's *Bella Germaniae*, as some incautiously suppose, e.g. E. Paratore, *Tacito* (1951) 513. That work probably ended with the year 47, cf. Münzer, *op. cit.* 77.

11 I 74, 4. Valens was a recent and paradoxical consul: in 96, at the age of ninety (*Dio* LXVII 14, 5).

later in the work¹². At this point it would disperse the interest, which fastens on Caecina and on the rapacity of the legion.

By contrast, separate entrances are accorded to three notables of the Helvetians. First, *Iulius Alpinus e principibus* whom Caecina put to death *ut concitorem belli* (68, 2)¹³. Next, Claudius Cossus, among the envoys sent to Vitellius, *notae facundiae*. Speaking before soldiers, he artfully feigned trepidation, and carried conviction (69).

An orator of high renown before he discovered a superior vocation, Cornelius Tacitus evinces a keen interest in Gallic eloquence. It is not merely professional but personal. In the 'Dialogus', which was composed about the same time as the early books of the 'Historiae' (so it can be argued), he brings on, as two of the four interlocutors, Marcus Aper and Julius Secundus, *celeberrima tum ingenia fori nostri*¹⁴.

Secundus was the nephew of the famous Julius Florus¹⁵. Death cut short his full achievement. Which did not make things easy for his young son in the début of a senatorial career¹⁶. That son, it appears, is none other than Julius Naso whom Tacitus when absent from Rome commended to Pliny without being aware that Pliny already knew him very well¹⁷.

Pliny also numbered among his friends the advocate Julius Africanus, a grandson of the great Africanus¹⁸. That family comes into a valuable notice in the 'Annales'. Mentioning two men who were prosecuted and condemned, Tacitus avows of the one *originem non repperi*. But he knew about the other: *e Santonis, Gallica civitate*. The man was a Julius Africanus. The passage concerns the methods as well as the knowledge of the consular historian¹⁹.

V. Orators as well as knights and senators, the search for origins in the wide lands that Caesar had conquered, between the Pyrenees and the Rhine, is alluring and often baffled. Julius Secundus (it may be) came from Burdigala of the Bituriges²⁰. But M. Aper remains enigmatic, *natus in Gallia in civitate minime*

12 L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus (*cos.* 81) commanded the legion before he was *adlectus inter praetorios* in 73 (AE 1970, 183: Urbs Salvia): perhaps appointed in 70. The legates of the other six legions of the Rhine in 69 all find a mention somewhere in the *Historiae*.

13 Walser strangely calls him "einen der ansässigen Römer" (op. cit. 266).

14 *Dial.* 2, 1.

15 Quintilian X 3, 13: *Iulius Florus in eloquentia Galliarum, quoniam ibi demum eam exercuit, princeps*.

16 Pliny, *Epp.* VI 6, 3f.

17 *Epp.* VI 9, 1. For Naso as the son of Secundus, see C. P. Jones, *Harvard Studies* 72 (1968) 279ff. If so, Secundus had entered the Senate.

18 *Epp.* VII 6, 11f.

19 *Ann.* VI 7, 4. The passage has often been cited as proof that Tacitus was not using the *Acta Senatus*. Reflection will suggest the contrary conclusion.

20 CIL XIII 596 (C. Julius Secundus, a praetor of Burdigala).

*favorabili*²¹. Claudius Cossus is therefore welcome, for more reasons than one, showing that the Helvetii had produced a speaker of acknowledged talent.

Adequate reasons explain the introduction of Claudius Cossus and of Julius Alpinus, and their roles are defined. Not so the third Helvetian, who crops up early in the disturbances. He presents a problem that seems to have escaped the notice of commentators, and even of historians²².

The Helvetii at the outset displayed spirit, but they flagged on the approach of danger, although they had chosen Claudius Severus as their leader (*illi ante discrimen feroces, in periculo pavidī, quamquam primo tumultu Claudium Severum ducem legerant*, 68, 1). Claudius Severus thus stands as a bare name, as though a known character.

When Tacitus introduces Gallic officers in the army or leaders in the rebel cause, it is his habit to annotate their status or origin by various labels of identity. Thus Julius Briganticus, described as *praefectus alae in Batavis genitus* (II 22, 3); or Julius Calenus, a military tribune, and Alpinus Montanus, commander of a cohort, *quod hic Trevir, Calenus Aedui, uterque Vitelliani fuerant* (III 35, 2); or Claudius Labeo, *praefectus alae Batavorum*, the rival for power of Julius Civilis (IV 18, 4).

In some instances not much is said. Thus three *duces Galliarum* punished by Vitellius *quod pro Vindice bellassent* (II 94, 2); and it is enough that Julius Auspex, loyal to Rome and making a speech, should be styled *e primoribus Remorum* (IV 69, 1). One might wish to know more about Claudius Sanctus, it is true, who usurped charge of the remnants of the Sixteenth Legion at Novesium. But he is given shape and colour – *effosso oculo, dirus ore, ingenio debilior* (IV 62, 2)²³.

Now Claudius Severus, selected by the Helvetii to command their levy, is a person of some consequence. Yet not defined through rank and experience, by words he uttered, or by any action in the field; and he lapses from the narrative. The historian might have alluded to skill in warfare or long service in the imperial army, with some general formulation such as *strenuus militiae* or *longo militiae nostrae usu*.

Or better, a specific piece of annotation. Officers from the peoples of Tres Galliae had been with the army not so long ago in Caligula's abortive campaign or in the war against the Chatti conducted by Sulpicius Galba, the legate of Germania Superior²⁴. The Helvetian nobleman C. Julius Camillus was decorated for service twice, the second time in the invasion of Britain²⁵. Further, Mar-

21 *Dial.* 7, 1.

22 Not noticed in the Commentary of H. Heubner (Heidelberg 1963).

23 PIR², C 1007 carries a reference to E. Ritterling, RE XII, 1764. The notion there expressed that Sanctus might have been a *tribunus laticlavus* is not attractive.

24 Suetonius, *Galba* 6, 3, cf. 8, 1. Dio supplies the Chatti (LX 8, 7).

25 ILS 2697 (Aventicum).

cus Aper had met an elderly native of the island who asseverated that he had fought in battle against Julius Caesar²⁶.

Finally, why not merit acquired for loyalty the year before in the *bellum Neronis*? That is, the rebellion raised by Julius Vindex, the legate of Lugdunensis (which led to Galba's proclamation at Tarraco). Foremost among the peoples that sprang to arms at his call were the Aedui, the Arverni, the Sequani²⁷. For the Helvetii links with dynastic families of the Aedui might have persisted, recalling the ambitious epoch of Orgetorix and Dumnorix²⁸. But they had an ancient feud with the Sequani, their neighbours on the west.

No evidence incriminates the Helvetii²⁹. Of the great nations not far from the Rhine, Treveri and Lingones went eagerly along with the legions to fight against Julius Vindex. In consequence they were penalised by Galba – and they rallied with alacrity to Vitellius in January of 69³⁰. Wherever the sympathies of the Helvetii may have inclined when the challenge to liberty from the tyranny of Nero came to look like the assertion of Gallic freedom, the presence of the legion suitably named *Rapax* was a curb and a warning. If the Helvetii had in fact been active partisans of Julius Vindex, it was relevant, and worth a word or a hint from the historian when he brought in the conduct of that legion as the *initium bello*.

VI. Claudius Severus is only a name, not a person or an agent. Sparse with detail, Tacitus might have been content to observe in general terms that the Helvetii did not lack leaders of decision, prestige and experience. Yet he chose to name the man.

Inadvertence might be suspected. Tacitus took over the name from his excellent source. He did not perceive any need for annotation.

There may be something else. Arguments from silence are a known hazard, a common aberration. But distinctions can be drawn. When a writer likes names and facts, has a mass of them on call, and is scrupulous in selection, omissions invite scrutiny, and they may prove remunerative.

Certain characters in his narrative were so familiar to Cornelius Tacitus that he neglected to inform the reader, so it appears. In the 'Annales' the origin of Afranius Burrus, the Prefect of the Guard, is not stated at his entrance, or at his exit. Burrus came from Vasio of the Vocontii³¹. Tacitus also omits to specify

26 *Dial.* 17, 4.

27 *Hist.* I 51, 4; IV 17, 3.

28 Caesar, *BG* I 9, 5.

29 Cf., though a small item, C. Valerius Camillus, given a public funeral by Helvetii and Aedui in conjunction (ILS 7008: Aventicum).

30 However, they are assumed to have supported Vindex by F. Staehelin, *op. cit.* 187; G. Walser, *op. cit.* 269.

31 ILS 1348.

when introducing Cornelius Fuscus: *idem pro Galba dux coloniae suae*³². The city may have been the *vetus et inlustris colonia Foroiuliensium*³³.

The historian himself (it may be contended) slips in a hint of his own extraction when he makes a Roman emperor in address to the Senate adduce *nec minus illustres viri e Gallia Narbonensi*³⁴. There is no call in this place to adduce his knowledge of Narbonensis, of Tres Galliae, of the Rhineland. Certain items may derive, it is true, from Pliny. If so, Tacitus was in a position to select and discriminate.

Nor should the career of a Roman senator be left out of account. Perhaps tribune on the Rhine c. 76, or legate of a legion there, in the period 89–93/94. Furthermore, Cornelius Tacitus may have governed Germania Superior (c. 101–104)³⁵. That province was now peaceful, the garrison having fallen to two legions. Education and eloquence was anything but a bar to the high commands.

Not that conjecture of this kind (albeit legitimate, if taken for what it is) will need to be invoked to explain familiarity with Claudius Cossus or Claudius Severus. Social life and the service of the Caesars abolished distance and transcended various barriers. Links of amity or propinquity might be inherited, or acquired in the schools and salons of the capital. Pliny the procurator bequeathed friends to his nephew³⁶. Cornelius Tacitus had for parent a procurator of Belgica. It was a post of eminent rank, embracing the territories of the Rhine armies; and the Helvetian land belonged with it³⁷. Augusta Treverorum was the seat of the procurator.

VII. Abundant evidence illustrates the *principes* of Tres Galliae – or, as Tacitus with a deliberate archaism once styles them, *primores Galliae quae Comata vocatur*³⁸. Drusus in 12 B.C. mustered the *principes* to inaugurate the Altar of Rome and Augustus at Lugdunum, and they duly brought their levies to fight in his campaigns³⁹.

In contrast to municipal men from Narbonensis and from the two Spains, these chieftains are not normally permitted to go through the *militia equestris* and accede to financial posts. They are confined to native cavalry regiments.

Few Gauls can be discovered holding the military tribunate in a Roman legion. One of them is Julius Calenus, in the army of Vitellius in 69: an Aeduan

32 *Hist.* II 86, 3.

33 As it is styled in *Agr.* 4, 1.

34 *Ann.* XI 24, 3. Either Vasio or Forum Julii might be surmised his patria.

35 Cf. *Tacitus* (1958) 71f., drawing attention to Pliny, *Epp.* IV 13, 1: *salvum in urbem venisse gaudeo*.

36 *Harvard Studies* 72 (1968) 229ff. = *RP* (1977) 768ff.

37 That is, until the creation of the province Germania Superior, c. 85.

38 *Ann.* XI 23, 1. *Comata* occurs nowhere else in Tacitus; and only seven times in Pliny's *NH*.

39 *Livy*, Per. 141: *Chumstinctus et Aevectius, tribuni e civitate Nerviorum*.

nexus – and ancient nobility, if these people are descendants of a chieftain called Camilus, in the Caesarian period⁵⁰. Moreover, curiosity will be excited, but not assuaged, by the *gentilicia* of the local worthies Q. Cluvius Macer and Q. Otacilius Pollinus⁵¹.

Aventicum exhibits men of substance and repute, these *boni viri et locupletes* whom the Roman Senate would not reject, in most ages. Yet no effort avails, and no device to conjure up a Helvetian senator⁵². However, not one of Claudius' promotions from Gallia Comata can be certified.

There is no *tribunus militum* either, after Julius Camillus, no *procurator Augusti* on inscriptions of Aventicum; and Lugdunum has not so far disclosed a Helvetian delegate to the Altar. Epigraphic evidence can be deceptive as well as defective. The notion might be entertaining (and not wholly premature) that opulent local aristocrats, averse from ambition or display, and paying homage to *provincialis parsimonia* suitably combined with *honesta quies*, were happy to supervise their estates or bask and browse in the tranquil garden of municipal honours⁵³.

VIII. The *principes* of Tres Galliae are Julii with few exceptions, attesting citizenship from Caesar or from Caesar Augustus. The palmary specimens are Florus and Sacrovir, the Treveran dynast and the Aeduan⁵⁴.

Marcus Aper has sometimes been supposed a Julius⁵⁵. That he was a Flavius comes close to demonstration, as progenitor of an eminent family. In the year 105 Flavius Aper takes a stand in the Senate such as only the *auctoritas* of a consular would justify⁵⁶. In the next generation M. Flavius Aper is *ordinarius* in 130, which generally presupposes a *suffectus* for parent.

50 Appian, *BC* III 98, 405 (the man who killed D. Brutus in his long and devious flight from Grenoble in June of 43 B.C.). In Velleius *Camelus* (II 64, 1), in Livy *Capenus Sequanus* (Per. 120). See the elegant reconstruction of D. van Berchem, *Mélanges Carcopino* (1966) 941ff. He argues that the ancestor of Julius Camillus was Sequanian, not Helvetian, and established at Urba, near Eburodunum, cf. the inscription honouring Julia Festilla (CIL XIII 5064: Eburodunum).

51 CIL XIII 5089; II 480. For the magnificent club-rooms (*scholae*) constructed in honour of these men, also of C. Valerius Camillus (ILS 7009), see F. Staehelin, *op. cit.* 478ff.

52 An anonymous quaestor of Asia (CIL XIII 5091) may not be a native.

53 Compare C. Valerius Macedo of Vienna, who declined Hadrian's offer of the *latus clavus* and quaestorship (ILS 6998). Another Allobrogic family, that of D. Julius Capito (PIR², J 244), did not get into the procuratorial career until the time of Trajan. For their stemma, E. Howald and E. Meyer, *Die röm. Schweiz* (1941) 222.

54 *Ann.* III 40, 1.

55 *Tacitus* (1958) 799 (but not excluding a Flavius); PIR², J 157. But the 'Julius Aper' in the nomenclature of the polyonymous Q. Pompeius Sosius Priscus, the consul of 169 (ILS 1104), is now rendered dubious by 'Julius Acer' on a new inscription, cf. G. Susini, *Mélanges Pignaniol* (1966) 298ff.

56 Pliny, *Epp.* V 13, 5, as argued in JRS 58 (1968) 138f. = *RP* (1977) 701f. The *Fasti* of Ostia have disclosed a *suffectus* of 103 whose cognomen ends with 'jer' (AE 1954, 223).

Claudii come into the count. Along with the two Helvetians, Cossus and Severus, the 'Historiae' import some more of them, viz. Claudius Labeo (a chieftain of the Batavi), Claudius Victor, sister's son to Julius Civilis, and the dreadful Claudius Sanctus⁵⁷. A prime exhibit is the lady Claudia Sacrata, whose favours Petillius Cerialis enjoyed – while his admiral's vessel on the Rhine was captured by the rebels⁵⁸.

The name and the *civitas* of those persons is not a recent acquisition, from Claudius Caesar or from Nero. It goes back to the campaigns of Ti. Claudius Nero and his brother Drusus. Tiberius, it will be recalled, was governor of Gallia Comata, and he set out on his invasion of Raetia from bases in the Helvetian territory.

A brief word may go in passing to Claudius Restitutus, whom inspection should pronounce mysterious. When Pliny prosecuted Caecilius Classicus, a senator from Africa who had been proconsul of Baetica, Claudius Restitutus was counsel for the defence, a ready speaker who, so Pliny adds, was in the habit of complimenting his adversary on the conduct of that case⁵⁹. The cognomen *Restitutus* should have provoked curiosity. Not only very common, but distinctly low class⁶⁰. It is a surprise to find it carried by a senator. *Servatus* never became even remotely respectable⁶¹; but *Redditus*, which happens to be rare, shows an equestrian officer and procurator in the time of Hadrian, with a senator for son⁶². Claudius Restitutus may well be African⁶³. Gaul is not wholly excluded.

The earliest provincial Claudius to reach the *fasces* is Ti. Claudius Sacerdos Julianus (*suff.* 100). Probably from some city in Asia Minor, where Claudii Sacerdotes occur on coins and inscriptions⁶⁴. The cognomen is not alien to Gaul. Among the opulent noblemen whom Caligula mulcted during his sojourn at Lugdunum was a Julius Sacerdos⁶⁵. Descendants of sacerdotal families are a normal phenomenon in the upper order. The names of Julius Auspex and Julius Sacrovir are indicative.

As for consular Julii, one might wonder about three of them, *suffecti* in the reign of Domitian (in 81, 85, 92). First, C. Julius Juvenalis. The cognomen

57 *Hist.* IV 18, 4; 33, 1; 62, 2. One half of the known instances (about 30) occur in CIL XIII, cf. I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (1965) 252.

58 *Hist.* V 22, 3. *Sacratus* is not listed by Kajanto. But observe ILS 4764 (Colonia Claudia); 4542 (near Vasio), the sole example in CIL XII.

59 *Epp.* III 9, 16. He gets a letter (VI 17) and is mentioned as an advocate by Martial (X 87).

60 Kajanto, *op. cit.* 356 (about 760 instances).

61 Kajanto, *op. cit.* 356 (nearly 100: two thirds in CIL XII).

62 Kajanto, *op. cit.* 355 (10): add Q. Caecilius Redditus (PIR², C 71), and his son (AE 1957, 266).

63 Thus Sherwin-White in his *Commentary* (1966), adducing M. Claudius Restitutus, knight and procurator in the time of Pius (ILS 1437: Cirta).

64 PIR², C 1003.

65 Dio LIX 22, 4.

(relevant to the origin of the satirist) suggests either low-class Italian or the western provinces, notably Africa and Gaul⁶⁶. Second, Q. Julius Balbus. One of his slaves occurs at Lugdunum Convenarum, in the province Aquitania; and there is a high priest at the Altar called *Jus Balbus Biturix*⁶⁷. Third, C. Julius Silanus. No valid clue⁶⁸. But the cognomen when attached to a Julius may be native, in any event not deriving from the Junii Silani. It is a common habit in the Celtic lands to convert cognomina into nomina. Thus *Silanius*, and *Camillius*, and *Alpinus*, each on attestation at Aventicum⁶⁹. Palmary specimens are the Treveran nobleman Alpinus Montanus, and an obviously inferior person called Montanius Atticinus⁷⁰.

IX. Gallic senators are not easy to come by in the aftermath of Julius Vindex and the troubles of 69 and 70. These transactions seemed to prove that the policy of Claudius Caesar was premature and deleterious.

What impelled Vindex has been a topic of enduring and voluminous discussion. Extreme views were once promulgated, and an unreal antithesis: Roman Republican or Gallic nationalist⁷¹. Guidance might be sought from the attitude of Vienna; which accorded help as well as sympathy, so it is stated. How much, and for how long, that is a question; and fact must be segregated from hostile allegations.

Galba confiscated revenues belonging to Lugdunum, and he paid great honour to Vienna (65, 1). For the rest, there is only the accusation raised by the Lugdunenses and reported by Tacitus, *obsessam ab illis coloniam suam, adiutos Vindicis conatus, conscriptas nuper legiones in praesidium Galbae*. After which, they incite the legions, with hope of plunder, to take the alien city and destroy it, *excinderent sedem Gallici belli; cuncta illic externa et hostilia: se coloniam Romanam et partem exercitus* (65, 2).

Doubts may be conceived. The alert author allows the Lugdunenses to discredit their case through exaggeration⁷². In fact, a useful parallel concerning Vienna comes in the 'Annales'⁷³.

66 Tacitus (1958) 785f., noting *Iuvenalis e primoribus Tungrorum* (*Hist.* IV 66, 3).

67 CIL XIII 72; 1693. Pointed out by Groag in RE X, 175f. but not noted in PIR², J 199.

68 A slave *natione Biturix* of a C. Julius Silanus occurs at Augusta Vindelicum, the modern Augsburg (CIL III 5831). Duly registered by Groag in RE X, 823. But this place is not conceivable as the patria of the senator and consul.

69 CIL XIII 5056; 5097; 5130. And one should not omit the delightful Alpinia Alpinula (5236: *Aquae Helveticae*), who appealed to a forger of inscriptions in the Sixteenth Century (Staehelin, *op. cit.* 191). He wanted to prove that she was a daughter of Julius Alpinus.

70 *Hist.* III 35, 2 (Alpinus); Pliny, *Epp.* VI 22, 2 (Montanius). The cognomen of the latter is also revealing.

71 For a well balanced enquiry, P. A. Brunt, *Latomus* 18 (1959) 531ff.

72 For parallel, observe the violent and vulgar harangues which Tacitus puts into the mouths of Suillius Rufus and Cossutianus Capito (*Ann.* XIII 42; XVI 22).

73 *Ann.* XI 1: *didita per provincias fama parare iter ad Germanicos exercitus, quando genitus Vien-*

The Lugdunenses denounce Vienna as foreign, they twice asseverate their own rank as a *colonia*, as though denying it to Vienna. However, as Tacitus states the conclusion of the matter, *vetustas dignitasque coloniae valuit* (66, 1). His sympathies, it is clear, lie with Vienna. Moreover, he intensifies odium against Lugdunum by suppressing the fact that Lugdunum had cause for gratitude towards Nero, having received help after a fire ravaged the city a few years previously⁷⁴.

In an estimate of Vindex, it is hazardous to invoke intentions (who knows, who knew?) or start from a plan or a plot. Chance is a safer guide than design. The immediate cause may have been trivial or personal⁷⁵. But Fortuna takes charge, and men are carried further than they want, by their allies or by the force of events. Rising against Nero, Vindex challenged the Roman government. His situation was ambiguous: a Roman senator but also one of the barons of Gaul, and those dynasts joined him, bringing their hosts of clients, a hundred thousand⁷⁶. The movement soon began to assume the form of a Gallic insurrection, recalling Florus and Sacrovir in the days of Tiberius Caesar.

nae multisque et validis propinquitatibus subnixus turbare gentiles nationes promptum haberet.
The allegation against Valerius Asiaticus is made by the ignoble Sosibius. That one and the same man could hope to exploit Gallic tribes and Roman legions is not to be believed.

74 At the end of 65 Tacitus refers briefly (and even cryptically) to a *clades Lugdunensium* (XVI 13, 3). A conflagration, as stated by Seneca (*Epp.* 91, 1ff.), who died in April of 65.

75 As suggested in *Tacitus* (1958) 462.

76 Josephus, *BJ* IV 440.