Spica/spiceus is disproportionately prominent in Tibullus in comparison with his contemporaries, appearing in no less than six passages; moreover it is conceptually and contextually significant in all of them. This paper suggests that the prominence of spica/spiceus is due to Tibullus' patron Messalla being an Arval Brother: the principal badge of office of the Fratres Aruales, which they wore at some of their ceremonies, was a spicea corona - cf. Tibullus' corona/ spicea (I 1.16). Some residual problems are noted and some conclusions offered.

1. spica/spiceus in Tibullus and Others

The lexical choices of Roman poets have long been a subject of scholarly interest and are currently receiving renewed attention. One focus has been...
the verbal predilections of different types of poetry; but divergences in vocabulary between poets working in a single literary area are no less prominent and significant. Although surviving Roman elegy deploys an extensive common stock of language and subject-matter, most of it is heavily stamped by the author's own voice. Thus Tibullus' linguistic texture is hard to confound with that of Propertius or the elegiac Ovid, and not, as some older critics perhaps imagined, because of any poverty of Tibullan vocabulary. In fact, as the latest studies have shown, Tibullan elegy is linguistically highly variegated; and it is characterised in part by its bold and imaginative use of 'lingue tecniche'.

The present paper further exemplifies Tibullus' exploitation of a 'technical language'. As in II 2, the technical language in question has high-level religious and political ramifications and is far removed from the trade technicalities of road-menders, cheese-makers, etc. affected by Tibullus elsewhere. But at first sight the key terms involved, spica ('ear of corn') and its cognate spiceus, have humble agricultural associations. They are, however, preternaturally popular with Tibullus. Among his surviving fellow elegists Propertius uses spica twice only: at IIII 2.14 linked with the seasonal deity Vertumnus and in its normal meaning, and at IIII 6.74 (spica Cilissa) with the extended sense 'saffron'. Ovid employs spica once and spiceus once in his amatory elegiac works, both in Amores II 10 (3, 36), which describes a festival in honour of the corn-goddess Ceres. In Ovid's other elegiac works spica occurs only once, in a proverbial context. In contrast to his fellow-elegists Tibullus uses spica and spiceus no less than six times (I 1.16; I 5.28; I 10.22, 67; II 1.4; 2.5.84). The contrast is all the more impressive given the sizes of the three elegiac corpora. Propertius would have had to use

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2 Cairns 1979, Ch.4 already opposed this verdict from a number of viewpoints.
3 Maltby 1999a and, more specifically, 1999b; Cairns 1998, esp. pp. 204-14.
5 spica/spiceus does not occur in Lygdamus or Sulpicia.
6 I.e. his qui contentus non est, in litus harenas,/ in segetem spicas, in mare fundat aquas (Tr. V 6.43-4).
7 The line totals are: Tibullus 1,241; Propertius 4,010; Ovid erotic elegy 9,578 (=Amores 2,460; Ars Amatoria 2,330; Remedia Amoris 814; Heroides 3,974); non-erotic
spica/spiceus 19 times and Ovid 46 times in his erotic elegy and 44 times in his non-erotic elegy to match Tibullus' relative frequency.

It can, then, be concluded, that Tibullus liked using spica/spiceus. This phenomenon, which commentators on Tibullus seem not to have noticed, requires explanation. One possible reason for the frequency of spica/spiceus suggests itself instantly, namely that Tibullan elegy has a higher rustic content than other Roman elegy. But this cannot be the whole story: Virgil devotes Georgics 1 to segetes (1), but spica/spiceus appears in that book only once (I 314) — and nowhere else in the Georgics, even though the terms are in no way alien to hexameter verse, being found once in Lucretius (III 198), four times in Ovid's Metamorphoses (II 28; VIII 292; VIII 689; X 433), and twice in his Fasti (I 76 — of saffron; III 616). A further reflection based on these observations is that the total for spica/spiceus in Ovid's entire massive output is nine, as against six for Tibullus' slender production — again an impressive statistic.

Additional factors confirm that Tibullus' liking for spica/spiceus must be conceptually meaningful:

The Tibullan instances of spica/spiceus are distributed over virtually his whole oeuvre, rather than being (as in Ovid's Amores) concentrated in a single elegy. This hints that spica/spiceus was on Tibullus' mind throughout his poetic career.

1. Tibullus' uses of spica/spiceus come within structurally significant parts of their respective books. Thus in the ten-elegy Book I spica/spiceus occurs in the first, fifth, and final poems, while in the six-elegy Book II it is found in the introductory poem and in II 5, Tibullus' longest (122 lines) piece, the celebration of his patron M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus and his patron's son Messalinus.

2. Tibullus' mentions of spica/spiceus are never casual or fleeting, as are such mentions in some other poets. Rather the terms always surface in Tibullan settings to which they are integral and in passages which are also mutually linked by other significant shared elements.

3. When spica/spiceus first appears in Tibullus (at 1.1.16), he alludes to the terms' "etymological" background.
Further analysis of the relevant passages is needed to clarify some of these points and, more importantly, to reveal the detailed complex of linked themes which accompanies spica/spiceus in Tibullus. The intention of this analysis is to demonstrate beyond doubt that spica/spiceus was a meaningful concept for Tibullus, and thus to pave the way for an explanation of its frequency in his elegies. Quotation must be restricted to essentials; hence access to a full text would be advantageous.

2. The Tibullan Occurrences

a) I 1.16

spica/spiceus first appears in a long rehearsal of pious connected themes (I 1.5-28). Line 9 (nec Spes destituat sed frugum semper aceruos), with its combination of Spes and frugum ... aceruos, would already have evoked for Tibullus' contemporaries the pseudo-etymology of spes from speca (the archaic form of spica) attested by Varro, De lingua Latina V 37 (a spe spicae) and De Re Rustica I 48.2 (spica autem quam rustici, ut acceperunt antiquitus, uocant specam, a spe uidetur nominata; eam enim quod sperant fore, serunt). Their suspicion that this derivation was in play would have been confirmed when Tibullus went on to mention at lines 15-16 the 'corona spicea' dedicated to Ceres, thus compounding his Varronian allusions:

flaua Ceres, tibi sit nostro de rure corona
spica, quae templi pendeat ante fores

I 1.5-28 and those succeeding lines of I 1 (35-44) which resume similar themes have a number of further noteworthy constituents, many of which will recur elsewhere in spica/spiceus contexts: vines and poma (8-9), cf. pomum (13) and pomosis (17), plentiful harvests (9, cf. 42) and musta (10) which Spes (9) will provide, the stipes (11) with its garlands of flowers (12), an offering (libatum, 14 – of quodcumque pomum) to the “farmer god” (agricolae ... deo, 14), lustration/purification (lustrabat, 21; cf. lustrare, 35), the Lares who are custodes of Tibullus' farm (19-20) and another custos, Priapus (17-18), and paupertas (5, cf. pauperis, 19 and paupere, 37) contrasted here (19-20) and later (diuitias patrum, 41; antiquo ... auo, 42) with ancestral wealth. In the resumptive passage, as well as the themes already indicated above, Pales is given an offering of milk (36), and there are “pure” vessels (38) and “farmers of old” (antiquus ... agrestis, 39, cf. 41 and
Subsequently Messalla enters the elegy (te bellare decet terra, Messalla, marique, 53) as a great soldier whose conquests and wealth contrast with the paupertas, country life and love of the poet.

b) I 5.28

In I.5 Tibullus fantasises that his beloved, Delia, will join him in his life in the countryside. Tibullus describes her as frugum custos at harvest time (21), as looking after his uvas (23) and musta (24) and as holding slave-children in her lap (25-6). Then in 27-8 Delia will make offerings (ferre, 28) to the 'farmer-god' (deo ... agricolae, 27), including grapes for Tibullus' vines (27) and pro segete spicas (28). Three lines later, Messalla enters Tibullus' fantasy: huc veniet Messalla meus (31); and Delia will give him poma (31-2).

c) I 10.22, 67

In I 10 Tibullus is being dragged off reluctantly to war (13). Messalla is not mentioned in this elegy; but he is implicitly present since no-one else had the authority to “drag off” the poet. Tibullus invokes his patrii ... Lares (15, cf. Lares, 25), even though they are only made of an ancient tree-trunk (prisco ... e stipite factos, 17, cf. ligneus ... deus, 20), since they had the same form in the days ueteris ... aui (18); and Tibullus remembers how, as a child, he played around their feet (16). Other familiar themes reappear in paupere cultu (19), uua (21), libauerat (21, cf. liba ... ferebat, 23, followed by a filia parua offering honeycomb in 24, with yet more offerings following in 26) and spica serta (22), i.e. a spica corona. Also worth observing is the emphasis on purification and purity in purum ... fauum (24) and pura cum ueste (27). spica reappears in 1.10 in the final couplet (67-8), where Pax is invoked to come holding a spica, and where her lap is to be full of poma (see below).

d) II 1.4

II 1 starts with fruges and lustration/purification (lustramus, 1). prisco ... avo (2) recalls not only the emphasis on ancestors etc. in the previous passages but also prisco ... stipite (I 10.17). uua appears in 3, this time as Bac-
chus' headgear, and in 4 Ceres is asked *spicis tempora cinge* (i.e. to put on a *spicea corona*). “Purity” resurfaces explicitly in *pura cum ueste* (13) – the same phrase as at I 10.27 – and in *manibus puris* (14), as it had already reappeared (conceptually) in 11-12 and as it will later feature in the purifications of 17-20. The “absent Messalla” nonetheless occupies lines 31-6:

> sed “bene Messallam” sua quisque ad pocula dicat,  
> nomen et absentis singula uerba sonent.  
> gentis Aquitanae celeber Messalla triumphis  
> et magna intonsis gloria uictor auis,  
> hue ades adspiraque mihi, dum carmine nostro 35  
> redditur agricolis gratia caelitibus.

Messalla is *inter alia* a credit to his unshorn (i.e. ancient) ancestors (34); and other familiar themes recur: the “farmer-gods” (*agricolis … caelitibus*, 36) and (later) the “ancestral Lares” (*antiquis … Laribus*), crowned with flowers by a *puer* (59-60).

e) II 5.84

In the last mention of the *spica* in Tibullus, Ceres is to swell the full granaries with ears of corn (*distendet spicis horrea plena Ceres* (84). Some other familiar motifs reappear in II 5: *musto and uuas* (85), the feast of Pales (87, cf. 28: Pales herself “made with a rustic sickle”), purification (89-90), and children (91-4. Cf. also, but in a different context, the *Lares* of 42.

3. The Explanation(s)

These five passages involve, then, a flexible package of linked motifs. In part there is a commonsense explanation: it is no suprise to find grapes, corn, fruit, and so forth, as standard items on Roman farms or to discover *spica/spiceus* associated with Ceres\(^8\). As noted, such concomitants simply confirm that Tibullus' references to *spica/spiceus* are not casual asides. Similarly other shared motifs – *Lares*, Pales, *stipites*, purification / lustration, offerings, and “farmer-gods” – which derive from that rustic religiosity characterising Tibullus' depictions of country life, further confirm the non-casualness of Tibullus' uses of *spica/spiceus*. But they also reveal something

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\(^8\) Cf. Murgatroyd on Tib. I 1.15-16, with parallels.
of a different order, i.e. Tibullus' intent (in common with most other Augustan poets) to provide support for Augustus' policy of “religious” revival, behind which lay echoes of a traditional concept of the ideal Roman citizen as a *rusticus paterfamilias* living in harmony with the divine. Yet others of the linked concepts underpin further aspects of Augustus 'moral programme': the emphases on children can be related to attempted marriage legislation of around 28 BC which eventually materialised in the *Leges Iulieae* of 18 BC; and Tibullus' piquant contrasts between primitive Roman self-sufficiency (*paupertas*) and contemporary wealth reflect another facet of the ideal *civis Romanus* stereotype — the notion that he conforms to the *mos maiorum*.

The appearances of *spica/spiceus* in these politico-religious contexts with an Augustan moral dimension help pave the way to a full explanation of Tibullus' marked interest in these terms; but the key pointer is the involvement in all of them of that strong ally of Augustus, Messalla. For the loci in question are not only pivotal within their books but all, as noted, include complimentary handling of Messalla, who is either present in person (I 1; II 5), or by implication (I 10), or is said to be about to appear (I 5), or is explicitly (and in ample measure) mentioned as absent (II 1). Tibullus' disproportionate interest in ears of corn can, I suggest, be explained by the fact that Messalla was one of the founder members of the restored Arval Brethren. The ancient college of the *Fratres Aruales*, on one tradition instituted by Romulus, was revived by Augustus; membership was limited to twelve and it clearly conveyed great prestige: the imperial family was always well represented among the Arvals, as were patricians and *nobiles*. The main badge of office of the *Fratres*, which they wore during some of their ceremonies, was a *spicea corona*! Cf.:

aruorum sacerdotes Romulus in primis instituit sequ duodecimun fratrem appellavit
inter illos Acca Larentia nutrice sua genitos, *spicea corona*, quae uitia alba colligatur, sacerdotio ei pro religiosisissimo insigni data; quae prima apud Romanos fuit coro-

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9 On Augustus' 'religious' revival *inter alia* in this connection, cf. Galinsky 1996, Ch.6, and esp. its opening section (pp. 288-94). Virgil's *Georgics* above all encapsulates this ideal.


It is reproduced as the frontispiece of Scheid 1975.

Pliny and Gellius both present *spicea corona* in the order adjective noun (cf. also Plin. *Nat.***XVIII 6*)

ex eo tempore [i.e. the time of Romulus] collegium mansit fratrum arualium numero duodecim, cutus sacerdotii insignis *spicea corona* et albae infulae. (Gell. VII 7.8 — quoting Masurius Sabinus)

A bust of Augustus, himself an Arval, wearing a *spicea corona* is preserved in the Vatican Museum (Hall of Busts no. 274)\(^{12}\).

Tibullus' first and most explicit reference to this, the *religiosissimum insigne* of the Arvals, is intended to be unmistakable, since it employs the *terminus technicus corona/spicea* (I 1.15-16)\(^{13}\). The pseudo-etymological association of *spicea* (16) with *Spes* (9) (see above) will have thrust the term further into the forefront of original readers' minds and forced them to recognise the link between the *corona* and Messalla. I 1.15-16 would, then, have sensitised those readers to recollect the Arval *spicea corona* and Messalla's Arval priesthood whenever they met *spica/spiceus* in subsequent Tibullan elegies, particularly in view of the mutually linked rustic settings in which *spica/spiceus* and Messalla are presented. It is also worth emphasising that Tibullus II 1.4, where Ceres is asked in effect to don a *spicea corona*, not only comes very near the beginning of an elegy honouring Messalla and describing a festival with a name something like *Ambarualia*\(^{14}\) but also comes in the couplet immediately after the pseudo-etymology of that name in II 1.1-2:\(^{15}\):

\[ quisquis adest, faueat: fruges *lustramus* et *agros*,
ritus ut a prisco traditus extat auo. \]

Two other relevant and supportive entities found in the Tibullan *spica/spiceus* passages also deserve mention: first, the Lares, prominent in some of them (i.e. in a) c) d) and e)) are not present by pure coincidence: the goddess worshipped by the Arval Brethren, Dea Dia, was closely associated

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\(^{12}\) It is reproduced as the frontispiece of Scheid 1975.

\(^{13}\) Pliny and Gellius both present *spicea corona* in the order adjective noun (cf. also Plin. *Nat.***XVIII 6*), as does Tac. *Ann.***XI 14: *tamquam uidisset Claudium spicea corona eunctum spicis retro conuersis *...*). This, then, will be the exact t.t., and Tibullus will be varying it by inversion and enjambement, Horace CS 30 (*spicea ... corona*) by Sperrung.


\(^{15}\) Cf. Cairns 1979, pp. 126-7.
with the mother of the Lares – also honoured by the Arvals – and the Lares are invoked in the *Carmen Aruale*\(^\text{16}\). The second supportive entity, *Spes*, is implied in all *spica/spiceus* manifestations in Tibullus, in view of her etymological appearance in his first elegy (9); and *Spes* cuts an even more prominent figure in Tibullus' last elegy (II 6), where she is contrasted with Tibullus' new mistress of Book II, named from the antithesis of *Spes* – “Nemesis”:

\[
\begin{align*}
\textit{spes fouet et fore cras semper ait melius.} & \quad 20 \\
\textit{spes alit agricolas, spes sulcis credit aratis} & \\
\textit{semina quae magno faenore reddat ager:} & \\
\textit{haec laqueo uolucre, haec captat harundine pisces,} & \\
\textit{cum tenues hamos abredit ante cibus:} & \\
\textit{spes etiam ualida solatur compede uinctum:} & 25 \\
\textit{crura sonant ferro, sed canit inter opus:} & \\
\textit{spes facilarem Nemesim spondet mihi, sed negat illa.} & \\
\textit{ei mihi, ne uincas, dura puella, deam.} (19-28)
\end{align*}
\]

The *spes/spica* etymology is visible here as in I 1, implicitly but unmistakably, in Tibullus' reference to the planting of wheat in the ploughed furrows (21-2).\(^\text{17}\) In stressing *Spes* in both locations Tibullus has, possibly consciously, obeyed the injunction of *Corpus Theognideum* 1146 to “Sacrifice to Hope first and last” (*Elpídi te prÓth7 kaì pumáth7 quétw*); and his emphases on *Spes* also seem appropriate to the children mentioned in several of the *spica/spiceus* passages discussed (b), (c), (d), (e)), since *Spes* was linked with the birth and protection of children\(^\text{18}\).

What this paper suggests about allusions on Tibullus' part to the Arval priesthood of Messalla is paralleled by his oblique references to Messalla's other priesthood, the augurate. They can be seen clearly in II 5, where 11-12 refer to Apollo's *augur* and to the augural *fati prouida .. auis* (*tu procul euentura uides, tibi deditus augur / scit bene, quid fati prouida cantet auis*) and thus implicitly evoke Messalla *augur*. The allusion is confirmed and

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\(^{17}\) Cf. Cairns 1979, pp. 94-5.

\(^{18}\) Cf. *RE* s.v. (K. Latte); Clark 1983, esp. pp. 82-3, who notes *inter alia* the sestertius of Claudius with the legend ‘Spes Augusta’, referring to the birth of Britannicus in AD 41, as a (later) example of the birth motif in the imperial sphere. Cf. also below, nn.25 and 26.
reinforced by the symmetrically placed ominology of II 5.79-83. As an augur publicus Messalla held one of the highest priesthoods, to which he had (as an additional honour) been adlected extra ordinem in 36 BC. Thus in Tibullus II 5 Messalla's augurate balances his son Messalinus' new priesthood as quindecemvir sacris faciundis, which is the main cause for celebration in that elegy. Another set of allusions to Messalla's augurate can, I have recently argued, be perceived in Tibullus II 2. There the honorand is Messalla's friend, protégé, and fellow Arval, M. Caecilius Cornutus; the elegy is full of augural material, especially relevant to Cornutus' marriage but also a reminder of the augural status of Messalla, addressee of II 1 and patronus of both Cornutus and Tibullus. Indeed, since the “speaker” of II 2 uses the tones of an augur and eschews any specific Tibullan notes, II 2 may have been written by Tibullus for Messalla to recite at Cornutus' birthday-cum-wedding. Cornutus' own role as Arval also features allusively in II 2.

4. Problems and Conclusions

Some of the hypotheses outlined above impinge upon or raise problems connected with the Arval Brotherhood. One is whether the Arvals carried out a lustratio at Rome in the first decade of their revival – a ritual for which no evidence is available. Another involves Ceres. This goddess is prominent in three of the passages discussed above: I 1.15-16, where a spica corona is dedicated to her; II 1.3-4, where she wears a spica corona; and II 5.84, where she is to swell the ears of corn. Indeed Ceres is so closely associated with the spica in Tibullus and elsewhere that, if we knew nothing about the Arvals' spica corona, we might have presumed that Tibullus' interest in spica/spiceus was linked with the cult of Ceres. Conversely, Ceres might seem, in the light of the Arval corona, to have been an obvious goddess for the Fratres Arvalis to have honoured. But the curious fact is there is no

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20 Dio XXXVIII 16.1.
21 Cf. above, n.4.
23 Cf. above, n.8. It is not, however, unique to Ceres; a ligneus deus gets one at Tib. I 10.19-22.
evidence that cult was ever paid to Ceres by the Arvals. Finally, the question of Spes: although an isolated tenuous link can be found later between Spes and the Arvals, it is insignificant and does not explain the level of Tibullus’ interest in the derivation of spes/Spes from speca/spica. The prominence of Spes/spes in Tibullus may rather indicate that Spes became an element in imperial ideology earlier than its first attestation as such of 16 BC.

If these arval problems are not illuminated by the train of thought pursued above, a more positive speculation also emerges from it. The exact date of the revival of the Arval Brotherhood is not known for certain, although the college was in full swing by the mid to late twenties BC; but the best authority regards 29/28 BC as the date of refoundation. The fact that the spicea corona surfaces in Tibullus’ first elegy and that the spica reappears in the final elegy of Book 1 — and indeed in its final lines — reinforces this conjecture:

\begin{quote}
\textit{at nobis, Pax alma, ueni spicamque teneto,}
\textit{profluat et pomis candidus ante sinus. (I 10.67-68)}
\end{quote}

Pax (not found elsewhere in Tibullus in the sense ‘peace’) is very prominent in elegy 1.10 from line 45 on, with explicit mentions in 45 (twice), 47, and 49, before Pax emerges as a fully-fledged deity in the last couplet. Of course part of the explanation for pax’s prominence in Tibullus I 10 is that ‘peace’ provides a piquant contrast with the image of Tibullus being “dragged off to <foreign> war” (13). But at the same time the (for Tibullus) uniquely high profile of pax in I 10 and especially the appearance of the

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24 She does not feature in Scheid 1990, except at 649 n.2, where Scheid rebuts an attempt to connect the lampadarum dies (sacred to Ceres) with the lampadibus accensis of Arval ritual.

25 I.e. the offering to Spes (among other divinities) by the Arvals in AD 63: cf. Scheid 1990, p. 409. Spes may have been in Tibullus’ mind when composing 1.10 because of the recent destruction (in 31 BC) by fire of the (second) Spes temple in the Forum Holitorium. Tibullus may have anticipated speedy restoration. Rebuilding did in fact start under Augustus, although rededication (by Germanicus) did not take place until AD 19: cf. Clark 1983, pp. 96-7 and nn.50-1. Further on Spes temples, cf. Perassi 1992. Solin 1997 discusses Spes (2-3) and other such terms only as personal names.

26 Cf. Clark (1983) p. 84. The implication of Clark’s detailed study of Spes as a political and imperial concept is that it and its associations antedate the political debut of Octavian and were seized on by him \textit{ab initio}.

goddess *Pax* at the end of the elegy may also point to a date of composition for I 10 in the year 29 BC
28. In January of 29 Octavian for the first time closed the gates of Janus as a symbol of universal peace. Hence the association which Tibullus creates between *Pax* and the symbol of the Arval Brotherhood, the *spica*, is yet another argument for a revival date for the Arvals in 29 BC
29, possibly in connection with Augustus' celebration of his triple triumph in that year, and with the closure of Janus.

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28 This would imply that Messalla's Aquitanian campaign took place in 28 BC. On the controversy over its date, cf. Scheid 1975, p. 54 n.2.

29 Scheid 1975, pp. 54 n.3 and 347 reaches a similar conclusion on different grounds. Cf. also Scheid 1990, pp. 690-9.