

TIBULLUS, MESSALLA, AND THE *SPICA*:
I 1.16; I 5.28; I 10.22, 67; II 1.4; II 5.84 *

FRANCIS CAIRNS
University of Leeds

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 attention¹. One focus has been

* ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: An earlier, Spanish language version of this paper formed part of a presentation given at the University of Huelva, and subsequently at the University of Seville, in May 1998. My warmest thanks are due to my hosts on these occasions, Prof. Antonio Ramírez de Verger (Huelva) and Prof. Ana Pérez Vega (Seville), and to the British Council for their financial contribution. The audiences at Huelva and Seville contributed valuable observations on those occasions and thereafter; particular mention must be made of my hosts and of Profs Miguel Márquez, Fernando Navarro Antolín and Luis Rivero García (Huelva) and Prof. Francisco Socas (Seville). It is a great pleasure also to acknowledge personal debts to Luis Rivero for his patience and kindness over the entire period of my visit to Andalucía and to my old friends and former pupils, Jan and Catriona Zoltowski, for their pleasant and attentive company. Dr. Robert Maltby and Prof. John North kindly read an earlier draft of this paper and made valuable comments.

¹ The best known older work in this field is Axelson 1945. Adams and Mayer 1999

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.² 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 techniche'.³

The present paper further exemplifies Tibullus' exploitation of a 'technical language'. As in II 2⁴, 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 elegists⁵ Propertius uses *spica* twice only: at III 2.14 linked with the seasonal deity Vertumnus and in its normal meaning, and at III 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.⁶ 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*.⁷ Propertius would have had to use

contains a number of relevant papers, including Maltby 1999a.

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.

⁴ For this elegy's use of the technical language of augury, cf. 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.

elegy 7,368 (= *Ibis* 642; *Tristia* 3,532; *Epistulae ex Ponto* 3,194); all Ovidian elegy 16,946.

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 *specā* (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
spicea, quae templi pendeat ante fores (I 1.15-16)

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

42). 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), *uam* (21), *libauerat* (21, cf. *liba ... ferebat*, 23, followed by a *filia parua* offering honeycomb in 24, with yet more offerings following in 26) and *spicea sarta* (22), i.e. a *spicea 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 ceber Messalla triumphis
et magna intonsis gloria uictor auis,
huc 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 surprise to find grapes, corn, fruit, and so forth, as standard items on Roman farms or to discover *spica/spiceus* associated with Ceres⁸. 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

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 divine⁹. 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 Iuliae* of 18 BC¹⁰; 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 Augustus¹¹; 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 seque duodecimum fratrem appellauit inter illos Acca Larentia nutrice sua genitos, *spicea corona*, quae uitta alba colligatur, sacerdotio ei pro religiosissimo insigni data; quae prima apud Romanos fuit coro-

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.

¹⁰ On the ethos and purposes of Augustus' marriage legislation, cf. Galinsky 1996, pp. 128-40.

¹¹ Cf. Scheid 1990, pp. 679-732.

na, honosque is non nisi uita finitur et exules etiam captosque comitatur. (Plin., *Nat.* XVIII 6)

ex eo tempore [i.e. the time of Romulus] collegium mansit fratrum arualium numero duodecim, cuius sacerdotii insigne est *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 1.1-2¹⁵:

quisquis adest, faeat: 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

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.* 2.98), as does Tac. *Ann.* 11.4: *tamquam uidisset Claudium spicea corona euinctum 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.

¹⁴ For recent bibliography on this question and brief comment, cf. Cairns 1998, p. 230 n.116. To the works cited there add Schmitzer 1993, esp. pp. 117-8, 129.

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*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”:

iam mala finissem leto, sed credula uitam
spes fouet et fore cras semper ait melius. 20
spes alit agricolas, *spes sulcis credit aratis*
semina quae magno faenore reddat ager:
haec laqueo uolucres, haec captat harundine pisces,
cum tenues hamos abdidit ante cibus:
spes etiam ualida solatur compede uinctum: 25
crura sonant ferro, sed canit inter opus:
spes facilem Nemesim spondet mihi, sed negat illa.
ei mihi, ne uincas, dura puella, deam. (19-28)

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).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” (Ἐλπίδι τε πρώτῃ καὶ ἑσχάτῃ κούρω); 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 children¹⁸.

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

¹⁶ Cf. Scheid 1990, pp. 580-5, 587-99, 602, 619-25, 659-60.

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 5.79-83.¹⁹ 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 BC²⁰. Thus in Tibullus II 5 Messalla's augurate balances his son Messalinus' new priesthood as *quindecimuir 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,²¹ 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 2²².

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 *spicea corona* is dedicated to her; II 1.3-4, where she wears a *spicea corona*²³; 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' *spicea 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 Arvales* to have honoured. But the curious fact is there is no

¹⁹ On the importance of symmetrical composition for Tibullan elegies and their meaning, cf. Cairns 1979, pp. 204-13; Murgatroyd 1994, pp. 283-91.

²⁰ Dio XXXXVIII 16.1.

²¹ Cf. above, n.4.

²² Cf. Murgatroyd 1994, on Tib. II 2.14 (*arua*).

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 Arvals²⁴. Finally, the question of *Spes*: although an isolated tenuous link can be found later between *Spes* and the Arvals,²⁵ 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 BC²⁶.

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 refoundation²⁷. 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:

at nobis, Pax alma, ueni spicamque teneto,
profluat et pomis candidus ante sinus. (I 10.67-68)

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

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 *ab initio*.

²⁷ Cf. Scheid (1990) pp. 690-9.

goddess *Pax* at the end of the elegy may also point to a date of composition for I 10 in the year 29 BC²⁸. 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 BC²⁹, possibly in connection with Augustus' celebration of his triple triumph in that year, and with the closure of Janus.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, J. and Mayer, R., (edd.), 1999: *Aspects of the Language of Latin Poetry* (Proceedings of the British Academy 93), London.
- Axelsson, B., 1945: *Unpoetische Wörter. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der lateinischen Dichtersprache*, Lund.
- Cairns, F., 1979: *Tibullus: a Hellenistic poet at Rome*, Cambridge.
- Cairns, F., 1998: «Tibullus 2.2», *Papers of the Leeds International Latin Seminar* 10, pp. 203-34.
- Clark, M.E., 1983: «*Spes* in the early imperial cult: "The hope of Augustus"», *Numen* 30, pp. 80-105.
- Galinsky, K., 1996: *Augustan Culture: An Interpretative Introduction*, Princeton UP.
- Maltby, R., 1999a: «Tibullus and the Language of Latin Elegy», in Adams and Mayer 1999, pp. 377-98.
- Maltby, R., 1999b: «Tibullus' use of "technical languages"», *Emerita* 67, 1999, pp. 231-249.
- Murgatroyd, P. (ed.), 1994: *Tibullus, Elegies II: edited with introduction and commentary*, Oxford.
- Perassi, C., 1996: «Sulla presunta raffigurazione del tempio di *Spes Vetus* su un denario di Antonino Pio», *Aevum* 66, pp. 79-86.
- Scheid, J., 1975: *Les frères arvaies. Recrutement et origine sociale sous les empereurs julio-claudiens*, Paris.
- Scheid, J., 1990: *Romulus et ses frères. Le collège des frères arvaies, modèle du culte public dans la Rome des empereurs*, Rome.
- Schmitzer, U., 1993: «Satiren zu Ehre Messallas. Die literarkritische Bedeutung von Tibulls Elegie 2,1», *WS* 106, pp. 111-132.
- Solin, H., 1997: «*Spes*» in J. Vaahtera and R. Vainio (edd.), *Utriusque linguae peritus: Studia in honorem Toivo Viljamaa* pp. 1-9.

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.