

5-14-2021

Towards a 'Political' Tibullus: Ceres and Grain in Elegies Books 1 and 2

Victoria Jansson

The Graduate Center, City University of New York, vjansson@gradcenter.cuny.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://crossworks.holycross.edu/necj>



Part of the [Classics Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Jansson, Victoria (2021) "Towards a 'Political' Tibullus: Ceres and Grain in Elegies Books 1 and 2," *New England Classical Journal*: Vol. 48 : Iss. 1 , 20-35.

<https://doi.org/10.52284/NECJ/48.1/article/jansson>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by CrossWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in New England Classical Journal by an authorized editor of CrossWorks.

Towards a ‘Political’ Tibullus: Ceres and Grain in Elegies Books 1 and 2

VICTORIA JANSSON

Abstract: This article argues that unfulfilled prayers to Ceres in Tibullus’ elegies are symptomatic of Rome’s grain crises at the end of the Republic and beginning of Empire. My approach includes philological, socioeconomic, and psychoanalytic analysis of the elegies, in which the poet examines the shifting definition of a ‘Roman’ in his day. I seek to demonstrate the ways in which the poet grapples with the political and economic forces at work during the most turbulent period of Roman history: a time when income inequality was roughly equivalent to that of the U.S. and E.U. today.¹

Keywords: Tibullus, elegy, literary theory, grain, Ceres, Lacan.

I argue that the elegies of Tibullus constitute a bold poetic program in which the author explores widespread social change. Though this article will demonstrate connections across the first two books of the *Corpus Tibullianum*, I focus on one aspect of the corpus evocative of a shifting political and economic landscape: the goddess Ceres. She is both representative of Tibullus’ desires and an obstacle to them. When the poet prays for divine guidance, he continually refers to her by attributes that seem designed to evoke contemporary crises in the production and distribution of grain. Tibullus yearns for the Ceres of Rome’s mythic agrarian past while making clear the impossibility of such desires. The depiction of her as “flaxen-haired” (*flava*, Tib. 1.1.15), adorned with the “wheat crown” (*corona spicea*, 1.1.15-16), and equated to both *Spes* and *Pax* are suggestive of late Republican grain crises and the rise of Augustus. During this time, the grain supply, traditionally the sole property of family farms, became increasingly politicized, alienated from its production, measured, and distributed to citizens favored by the ruling class.² The inherent tensions within Tibullus’ depiction of Ceres typify the anxieties of his day and are crucial to understanding the elegies.

My approach relies on an understanding of the political and economic events of the poet’s age, during which time the meaning of a ‘farmer’ or a ‘Roman’ changed dramatically. My methodology also draws on the tools of Lacanian psychoanalysis, a strategy developed by Paul Allen Miller.³ The stylistic ‘difficulties’ that have hindered modern appreciation of Tibullus may in fact be best interpreted as the emergence of what Lacan called the Real: that which falls outside the realms of the Imaginary (the image of ourselves we project to society) and the Symbolic (the semantic systems shared by a community).⁴ Thus, we may illuminate moments of *aporia* in Tibullus’ corpus, which occur when traditional modes of understanding the world begin to give way to new ideologies. My discussion of the poet’s description of Ceres as *flava* draws in particular on Lacan’s conceptualization of metonymy. A Lacanian framework reveals Tibullus to be a poet reckoning with a society that no longer recognizes his most cherished dream: that, in the words of Cato from nearly a century and a half earlier, that “when they praised a good man, thus they praised him, [as] a good farmer and a good husbandman” (*et virum bonum quom laudabant, ita laudabant, bonum agricolam bonumque colonum*, Cato, *Agr.* 2).

I first examine the poet’s programmatic opening reference to Ceres (1.1.11-16) and then trace her epithets and attributes thematically through the rest of the corpus (1.5.21-26;

I am most grateful to my advisor, Professor David Petrain, who has provided invaluable suggestions, kindness, and support not only on this article, but my ongoing dissertation as well.

¹ Milanović 2019.

² This article follows the text of Maltby 2002. Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

³ Fineberg 1991, Janan 1994, Miller 2004, and Oliensis 2009 have also fruitfully applied psychoanalytic theory to the study of Roman elegy.

⁴ Miller 2004, 5; Janan 2012, 377.

1.5.43-44; 1.10.45-52; 1.10.67-68; 2.1.1-8; 2.5.55-60; 2.5.83-88). Ultimately, prayers to Ceres serve to make clear that the old modes of exchange, production, and language, to which Tibullus' poetic voice aspires, are fast becoming obsolete in his day.

Ceres and the Domestic Farm in 1.1

The first appearance of Ceres occurs only fifteen lines into the corpus. Having presented the basis for his poetic program - that he does not care for wealth and prefers instead the simple country life - Tibullus describes these economic choices within the framework of traditional Roman religion. This first passage referencing Ceres is particularly important for understanding the poet's idealized conception of her. He worships her as the guardian of the domestic, self-sufficient, 'moral,' Roman farm. Yet she appears only in unfulfilled wishes, never explicitly appearing to or bestowing favors upon the poet. Thus, she is a symptom of the Real: representative of the independence and abundance that the poet hopes to achieve but can never reach due to the political and economic turmoil of contemporary Rome. Having rejected the pursuit of profit and military success as concerns for other men, he describes the quiet life he prefers (1.1.7-16):

ipse seram teneras maturo tempore uites
rusticus et facili grandia poma manu,
nec Spes destituat, sed frugum semper aceruos
praebeat et pleno pinguia musta lacu: 10
nam ueneror, seu stipes habet desertus in agris
seu uetus in triuio floridaserta lapis,
et quodcumque mihi pomum nouus educat annus
libatum agricolae ponitur ante deo.
flaua Ceres, tibi sit nostro de rure corona 15
spicea quae templi pendeat ante fores;

I myself, a countryman, may plant the pliant vines in due time,
and full-grown fruit trees with a ready hand,
and may Hope not desert (me), but may she always provide
heaps of the fruits of the earth and rich must in a full vat;
For I worship, whether a tree trunk deserted in the fields,
or an old stone where three roads meet, has flowery wreaths;
however much of my fruit the new season matures,
it is placed as an offering before the god of the country.
Flaxen-haired Ceres, may there be a wheat crown for you from my farm,
which may hang before the doors of your temple;

In this passage, Tibullus characterizes himself as "a countryman" (*rusticus*, 1.1.8). He first describes the simple toils of farm work, then the deities whom he imagines oversee such labor. "For" (*nam*, 1.1.11) both connects the previous lines and transitions into his religious subject. The poet hopes that his habitual piety (1.1.11-44) will ensure the success of his agricultural labor (7-10). He begins in the subjunctive mood: "I may plant" (*seram*, 1.1.7), "may she not desert me" (*destituat*, 1.1.9), and "may she provide" (*praebeat*, 1.1.10). When discussing his regular religious observance, he changes to the indicative mood: "I worship" (*ueneror*, 1.1.11). This sudden switch to the indicative is deceptive, as Tibullus' dream remains firmly out of grasp.⁵ He proceeds from this dream of rural piety (1.1.11-44) to imagining domestic bliss with Delia (1.1.45-52) and her eventual grief at his funeral (1.1.59-68). At no point

⁵ Wimmel 1976 terms this use of the indicative an "Art Überkonjunktive" (a sort of hyper-subjunctive) because the poet has progressed beyond mere desire into vividly imagining the realization of these desires (Wimmel 1976, 21-22). For further discussion of the subjunctive in 1.1, see Ripsati 1945, 99; Wimmel 1976, 17, 28-55; Bright 1978, 130.

does the poet indicate that these aforementioned hopes have or ever will come to fruition. Furthermore, the object of this worship remains unnamed; “the god of the country” (*agricolae ... deo*, 1.1.14) seems deliberately vague.⁶

Ceres, then, is the first deity explicitly named in the Tibullan corpus (1.1.15), and thus accorded a certain pride of place. When mentioning the goddess by name, Tibullus returns to the subjunctive mood: he writes “may there be for you” (*tibi sit*, 1.1.15) rather than “there is for you” (*tibi est*).⁶ These alternating uses of the subjunctive and indicative complicate the poet’s assertion that piety has its just rewards in the simple country life. We may understand this as the emergence of the Real, which in poetry often consists of *aporia* and occurs when “a supposedly ironclad logic confronts an element incompatible with itself but that the principles of its own rationale cannot refute” (Janan 2012, 377).⁷ Ritual and sacrifice to the gods ought to ensure reciprocal benefits for worshippers. Tibullus’ prayers, however, largely go unanswered. The grammatical ambivalence that characterizes Ceres’ first appearance echoes throughout the corpus, as many of her attributes (golden hair, wheat crown, and associations with other divinities) also call into question the feasibility of the poet’s dream world.

Flaua Ceres

In this section, I examine how the adjective *flaua* complicates Tibullus’ picture of Ceres by linking her to contemporary political conflicts, the pursuit of gold, and the poet’s fickle mistress. The goddess is “golden” or “flaxen-haired” (1.1.15), referring to the golden-yellow color of wheat.⁸ The association of Ceres with agricultural fertility is particularly Augustan. Germanicus, Manilius, Ovid, Tibullus, and Vergil refer to her by a variety of such epithets, including “fecund” (*fecunda*), “fertile” (*fertilis*), “flaxen-haired” (*flava*), “crop-bearing” (*frugifera*), “begetter of crops” (*genetrix frugum*), “powerful in crops” (*potens frugum*), and “ruddy, grain-colored” (*rubicunda*).⁹ Furthermore, her name is often metonymy for “grain” or “bread.”¹⁰ Cicero makes the elision plain: “Grain we call Ceres” (*fruges Cererem appellamus*, Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.60). The equation of Ceres to grain itself connects her not only to abstract agricultural fertility but also to the finished product of farm labor as an economic unit ready for consumption. Although Tibullus imagines Ceres as a symbol of the idealized past, his diction is suggestive of contemporary worship of the goddess for her ability to feed citizens within Rome’s growing borders.

In the opening of 1.1, Tibullus rejects the pursuit of large-scale agriculture for profit: “Let some other man collect riches in tawny gold for himself / and own many *iugera* of tilled soil” (*diuitias alius fuluo sibi congerat auro, / et teneat culti iugera multa soli*, 1.1.1). He prefers a small, self-sufficient farm protected by the goddess Ceres. Yet the phrase *flaua Ceres* echoes the *fuluo... auro* (tawny gold, 1.1.1) of his initial rejection (Maltyby 2002, 127). *Flaua* and *fuluo* are phonologically similar and both refer to a golden color deepened with brown or reddish tones. This may also chime with the first word of the poem, “riches”

⁶ Maltyby 2002 and Ramsay 1887 have *sit*, following the codices of Ambrosianus, Vaticanus, and Guelferbytanus. Murgatroyd 1991 has *fit*, following the conjecture of Lambinus.

⁷ Citing Žižek 1992, 72.

⁸ Spaeth 1996, 20. *Flaua Ceres* occurs first in Vergil’s *Georgics*, in which the goddess looks favorably from the heights of Olympus upon a farmer who tills the soil (*multum adeo, rastris glaebas qui frangit inertis/ uiminasque trahit cratis, iuuat arua, neque illum/ flaua Ceres alto nequiquam spectat Olympo*, Verg. *G.* 1.94-96). The epithet may be based on the Homeric ξανθή Δημήτηρ (golden-haired Demeter, *Il.* 5.500; see Maltyby 2002, 127). Recasting a Greek epithet for Roman Ceres is perhaps not surprising considering that Hellenization of the goddess’ cult proliferated throughout the Republic and was commonplace by Tibullus’ time (Scheid 1995).

⁹ Spaeth 1996, 20.

¹⁰ “Ceres = ‘grain’: Verg. *G.* 1.29-30, 2.227-9; *Aen.* 1.177-9; Hor. *Carm.* 3.24.11-13; *Sat.* 2.2.123-5; Ov. *Am.* 1.1.9-10, 2.16.7, 3.7.31; *Ars Am.* 1.401; *Met.* 8.290-2, 11.112-3; *Fast.* 4.645-6, 917-9, 931-2, 6.381-3, 389-92; Manil. *Astr.* 2.658, 3.152, 629, 664-6.

Ceres = ‘bread’: Verg. *Aen.* 1.701-2, 7.112-3; Ov. *Fast.* 2.537-40, 3.665-6; Manil. *Astr.* 4.250-1, 5.279-84; Grattius 397-8” (Spaeth 1996, 20, 190).

(*frugumque... custos*, 1.5.21), just as the goddess is among the guardians (*custode*, 1.1.20) in the opening poem of the corpus. Yet a “guardian” (*custos*) often appears in elegiac poetry as an obstacle to the realization of the poet’s dream.¹⁵ Although the poet dreams about her as a guardian of his farm, the ending of the poem reveals that a sturdy door separates the poet from his beloved: “Alas, I sing in vain and her door does not open” (*heu canimus frustra nec uerbis uicta patescit/ ianua*, 1.5.67-68). The description of Delia as a *custos* emphasizes that she is a figment of the poet’s imagination: “I was imagining wildly” (*fingebam demens*, 1.5.19). He writes of both Delia (*fuisses*, 1.5.19) and Ceres (*tibi sit*, 1.1.15) in the subjunctive, which reveals less about their actual presence than his own wishes.¹⁶

It is also important to note that Tibullus describes only the finished products of his farm. The “threshing floor” (*area*, 1.5.22) seems to magically separate wheat from chaff without the necessary human toil of pulling a *tribulum* or turning over crops. The grapes have already been piled into vats (*plenis in lintribus uuas*, 1.5.23), and a disembodied “swift foot” (*ueloci ... pede*, 1.5.24) has already pressed the skins, seeds, and stems of fruit into must (*pressaque ... candida musta*, 1.5.24). In Tibullus’ imagination, Delia and Ceres both transform harvest-ready crops into salable goods through their mere presence. Delia functions less as a romantic prospect than as an avatar within the poet’s larger socioeconomic landscape. Ironically, this also ties Tibullus’ fantasy of self-sufficiency closely to the attitudes of Roman aristocrats who relied on the labor of enslaved persons. A patrician farm owner considered the people who performed labor to be an extension of himself, though he of course performed little to no manual work on the estate.¹⁷

Later in the poem, Delia is likened to Ceres in her appearance: “She did not [obtain my affections] with words, but our girl bewitched [us] with her face and soft arms and flaxen hair” (*non facit hoc uerbis, facie tenerisque lacertis/ deuouet et flauis nostra puella comis*, 1.5.43-44). This is the first time Tibullus uses *flauis* since 1.1.15, and the adjective links the poet’s mistress, who has “flaxen hair” (*flauis... comis*, 1.5.44) to the goddess Ceres, who is similarly identified as *flaua* (1.1.15). Yet likening Delia to Ceres indicates that the poet’s dream is impossible. Since his love affair with Delia is so tumultuous, Ceres may be similarly fickle. Tibullus longs for a family farm where he may live with his beloved in effortless abundance. Yet while he evokes agrarian imagery, he only writes concretely of commoditized end products and ignores the actual effort required for farming, which calls the poem’s realism into question. These contradictions can be understood as the emergence of the Real; while Tibullus wishes to write about the idyllic life of love and nature, he finds himself unable to do so coherently in a world when such ideas no longer have meaning.

De rure... corona spicea

In this section, I explore the image of the wheat crown (*corona spicea*), first by explaining its cultural associations and contemporary relevance, then by tracing Tibullus’ usage of it throughout the corpus. Tibullus associates Ceres with the *corona spicea* from her first appearance: she is honored “with wheat-sheaths from the country” (*de rure corona/ spicea*, 1.1.15-16). Offering wheat-sheaths to Ceres’ temple may seem an uncomplicated image at first. The first sheaths of wheat in a harvest year (the *praemetium*) were a traditional sacrifice to the goddess: “They were accustomed to sacrifice the *praemetium* of grain ears, which they had harvested first, to Ceres” (*praemetium de spicis, quas primum messuissent, sacrificabant Cereri*, Fest. s.v. *sacrima*, 319 Müller). Other contemporary poets write of it as an offering

¹⁵ Papakosta 2012, 351.

¹⁶ He writes in a similar way about Delia’s supposed enthusiasm for the country life in the second poem of Book 1: “If only I might be able to yoke the oxen with you, my Delia, and graze the flocks on the customary mountain” (*ipse boues mea si tecum modo Delia possim / iungere et in solito pascere monte pecus*, 1.2.73-74).

¹⁷ Thibodeau 2011, 27-33.

in thanks for a good harvest.¹⁸ A closer examination, however, reveals that the *corona spicea* alludes not only to traditional Roman religion, but also to political propaganda of the Late Republican period and the emerging influence of Augustus on cult practice. Much like Ceres' depiction as *flaua*, this image suggests the rupture of Symbolic and Imaginary representation and calls into question the religious and political norms of Tibullus' day.

As Cairns 1999 rightly notes, Tibullus uses the terms *spica* or *spiceus* far more frequently than the other elegists. These terms appear in the Tibullan corpus six times,²⁰ while both Propertius¹⁹ and Ovid²⁰ use *spica* or *spiceus* only twice. This is particularly remarkable considering the relative sizes of Propertius' and Ovid's corpora compared to that of Tibullus.²¹ While Tibullus' rustic theme may account in part for his preference for the word, its repetition is best interpreted as another emergence of the Real in the corpus. The *corona spicea* is suggestive of political struggles over the grain supply during the Late Republic and early Empire, which we may observe on contemporary coin types and other iconographical forms. In an effort to consolidate power, prominent Romans sought to depict themselves as benefactors of the *annona* through visual representations of Ceres crowned with the *corona spicea*.²² The obverse of a denarius of Q. Cornificus dated to 44-42 BCE²³ and a similar denarius belonging to C. Vibius Pansa Caetronianus dated to 48 BCE²⁴ are two such examples.²⁵ Furthermore, representations of the *corona spicea* increased dramatically on propagandistic coin types of individual, charismatic leaders during the Civil Wars.²⁶ Both Caesar and Octavian, who wielded and legitimized their political power by reforming the grain supply at Rome, employed the image of Ceres on coins.²⁷ Upon becoming princeps, Augustus depicted himself with the *corona spicea*, as on a bust held today in the Vatican Museum.²⁸ One of the most popular coin types minted during this time depicts Augustus on one side of the coin and sheaths of wheat on the obverse.²⁹ The emperor also depicted members of the royal family (particularly Livia) as the goddess Ceres. Such widespread propagandistic efforts make it probable that the public perceived Augustus as responsible for the grain supply at Rome.

The *corona spicea* was also the symbol of the cult of the *Fratres Arvales*, an ancient convivial society composed of twelve priests who offered annual sacrifice to the gods to ensure a good harvest.³⁰ Pliny writes that farming was held in the greatest honor in the early days of Rome (*apud priscos*, Plin. Nat. 18.6).³¹ Accordingly, Romulus himself established the *Fratres Arvales* who secured the *pax deorum* necessary for agricultural activity. Importantly, the insignia of the cult was the *corona spicea* (Nat. 18.6):

¹⁸ The phrase first occurs in the *Georgics* (*spicea... messis*, 1.314), though the imagery is present in Roman material culture from the fourth century BCE (Spaeth 1996, 11). Ovid, for example, writes that during the annual festival of Ceres, matrons "[gave] wheat-sheath garlands, the first of their fruits" (*primitias frugum dant spicea serta suarum*, Met. 10.433). Cf. Hor. Carm. Saec. 30; Ov. Am. 3.10.36, Fast. 4.616, Met. 2.28; Prop. 4.2.14.

¹⁹ Prop. 4.2.14; 4.6.74.

²⁰ Ov. Am. 2.10.3; 2.10.36.

²¹ "Propertius would have had to use *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" (Cairns 1999, 220-1).

²² Spaeth 1996, 16.

²³ Spaeth 1996, 16. Bronze denarius, Africa: RRC 509.5; BMCRR Africa 27. See also Le Bonniec 1958, 376 and 576-7. For more representations of Ceres with *corona spicea* and stalks of wheat, see Spaeth 1996, 188.

²⁴ This denarius depicts Ceres in the wheat crown, standing in a chariot drawn by two serpents: seemingly a reference to the Eleusinian attributes she shared with Demeter. Augustus was initiated into the Mysteria twice (Cass. Dio 51.4.1, 54.9.10), perhaps as part of a coordinated attempt to depict himself as a pious leader.

²⁵ Spaeth 1996, 18.

²⁶ Rickman 1980a, 259-60.

²⁷ Spaeth 1996, 20-23.

²⁸ Hall of Busts, no. 274.

²⁹ Alföldi 1956, 93; Spaeth 1996, 23-25.

³⁰ Plin. Nat. 18.6; Gell. 7.7.8; Cairns 1999, 226ff.; Maltby 2002, 127.

³¹ Text is taken from Rackham 1959. All translations are my own.

Aruorum sacerdotes Romulus in primis instituit seque duodecimum fratrem appellauit inter illos Acca Larentia nutrice sua genitos, spicea corona, quae uitta alba colligaretur, sacerdotio ei pro religiosissimo insigni data; quae prima apud Romanos fuit corona, honosque is non nisi uita finitur et exules etiam captosque comitatur.

The priests of the fields [the Arval priesthood] were among the first Romulus established at Rome, and he appointed himself the twelfth brother among them, (the others being) the sons of Acca Placentia, his nurse; to this priesthood was bestowed the wreath of wheat-sheaths (*spicea corona*), which was tied together with a white fillet, as a most reverent distinction; which was the first *corona* at Rome, and this honor does not end unless with life, and is retained even in exile or captivity.

The story that Romulus himself founded the *Fratres Aruales* links the *corona spicea* to a mythical past, in which Romans were simple farmers. This emblem is “most reverent” (*religiosissimo*, *Nat.* 18.6): surely high praise from Romulus, the descendant of *pious Aeneas*. Pliny asserts that the *corona spicea* is the first crown among later military *coronae* awarded to distinguished members of the Roman army (*prima apud Romanos fuit corona*, *Nat.* 18.7). Nevertheless, the *corona spicea* seems to have been unique. The recipient would hold such an honor until death, regardless of any circumstance; receiving such a distinction in some way changed their very nature. This image of the *corona spicea* thus informs the Roman moral imagination. Men such as Pliny who likely never farmed their own fields claimed that their ancestors did as part of their ethical self-portraiture. In the following section, Pliny elaborates on the importance of small landholders in particular, while condemning the fact that his contemporaries practice conspicuous consumption above all else (*Nat.* 18.7):

bina tunc iugera p. R. satis erant, nullique maiorem modum adtribuit, quo seruorum paulo ante principis Neronis contento huius spatii uiridiariis?

In those days, two *iugera* of land were enough for a citizen of Rome, and he [Romulus] allotted a larger portion to no one; which citizens [today], who just a little time before were the slaves of Nero, would be content with tree-gardens in the same space?

Pliny contrasts the greed of his contemporaries with the simple honors pursued by early Romans. Refashioned into elegiac couplets, the sentiment would not feel out of place in Tibullus’ corpus. Two *iugera* of land is enough (*satis*, *Nat.* 18.7) for a Roman citizen; the phrase may be interpreted to mean either that a Roman citizen would be content with this size, or that the possession of two *iugera* qualified one for Roman citizenship. Pliny conveys both moral and economic authority on the topic, and accordingly relates that the highest honor one could earn in the ‘ideal’ Roman society was the *corona spicea*. The term in Tibullus may thus be considered to have a moral sense; it is the marker of a ‘good Roman’ who is content with a small farm. In keeping with his propagandistic representations of the *corona spicea* on coin types, Augustus is said to have revived the cult of the *Fratres Aruales* in 29/ 28 BCE (Scheid 1990, 690-9; Cairns 1999, 229) and to have designated many members of the imperial family as *sacerdotes*. Tibullus’ patron, Messalla, was also a founding member of the revived brotherhood under Augustus.³²

What should we make, then, of Tibullus’ references to the *corona spicea*? Cairns argues that Tibullus’ motif of the *spica* is intended “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.”³³ I offer a different interpretation: that the poet’s lexical fixation with *spica* is best interpreted as a symptom of

³² Cairns 1999, 225.

³³ Cairns 1999, 225

the Real. It is true that Tibullus draws upon much of the same iconography as Augustus. Messalla and the emperor may well be implicated in passages on the *corona spicea*, particularly considering the patron's entrance halfway through the very first poem (1.1.53) and continued references to him throughout the corpus. Yet, to assume that any overlap in imagery is a tacit endorsement of the princeps is too simplistic. Augustan iconography frequently borrows from and contradicts earlier political ideology. The identification of one man as *rusticus paterfamilias* for the whole of Rome goes against Republican values - both those of patrician agricultural supremacy and plebeian attempts to even the economic playing field. Tibullus incorporates these conflicting images into his poetic program again and again, always intertwined with allusions to the cult of Ceres. Cairns himself admits that the presence of Ceres is problematic for a pro-Augustan reading of *spica/spiceus*: "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."³⁴ I think that the best reading of Tibullus is one inclusive of his entire poetic program, rather than favoring the cult of the Arvals over that of Ceres. A highly educated, literate man, Tibullus could readily draw upon earlier Republican and contemporary history. These shifting ideologies emerge in the corpus as the inherently contradictory image of *flava Ceres* crowned with the *corona spicea*. She is depicted as both the patron goddess of Republican independence and a signifier of the emerging imperial regime.

The *corona spicea* reappears in 1.10, in which Tibullus is dragged off to war (*nunc ad bella trahor*, 1.10.13). The occasion provides the opportunity to revisit many of the same themes as 1.1: the rejection of military violence (1.10.1-4; cf. 1.1.3-4) and greed (1.10.7-8; cf. 1.1.1), praise for the simplicity of an idealized rustic life (1.10.11-12, 19-29; cf. 1.1.5-14, 21-50), and veneration of the Lares (1.10.15; cf. 1.1.20). Similarly, the *corona spicea* appears only in the first and last poems of Book 1. In this latter poem, it serves to make clear the poet's realization that he cannot simply opt out of society. Nevertheless, the poet expresses longing for a semi-mythic past when he might have appeased the Lares by offering a grape or *corona spicea* to them (*hic placatus erat, seu quis libauerat uam/ seu dederat sanctae spicea sarta comae*, 1.10.22). The aspiration for a "simpler" time of religious belief is in keeping with hopes expressed throughout the corpus. In this poem, however, Tibullus acknowledges that traditional offerings are useless. He is compelled into military service regardless of these desires; he laments "now I am dragged to war" (*nunc ad bella trahor*, 1.10.13). The repetition of the *corona spicea* draws the reader's attention to these incongruities, while making clear the impossibility of a life divinely protected from politically motivated violence.

In 2.1, the invocation of Ceres during the Ambarvalia, a celebration held in her honor in May, reminds the reader once more of the political meanings behind the *corona spicea*. As in the opening poem of Book 1, Augustus and Messalla haunt the margins of these lines. The *Fratres Aruales* performed a "lustration of the field" (*Iustratio agri*, Cato, *Agr.* 141), which both ancient and modern authors have associated with the Ambarvalia.³⁵ Tibullus entreats the goddess for her participation: "Encircle your temple with wheat-sheaths, Ceres" (*spicis tempora cinge, Ceres*, 2.1.4). Ceres here bears the attributes of the *Fratres Aruales*, who wear the *corona spicea* as a mark of their brotherhood. These contemporary political

³⁴ Cairns 1999, 228

³⁵ Le Bonniec 1958, 141-8; Pascal 1988; Maltby 2002, 359. Evidence that the *Fratres Aruales* celebrated the Ambarvalia includes the etymological similarity of *arualis* and *ambarualis*, Vergil's description of Ceres at the ceremony - perhaps as a valence of *Dea Dia* (Verg. *G.* 1.343-50) - and the probable celebration date in May. For a full explication of associations between the Ambarvalia and the *Fratres Aruales* in 2.1, see Pascal 1988. Although the evidence is ultimately circumstantial that the lustration ceremony to *Dea Dia* and the Ambarvalia were connected, I argue that the many poetic allusions throughout the corpus, culminating in 2.1, nevertheless suggest the presence of the *Fratres Aruales*. The elegies do not purport to be a factual, historical calendar of Roman festivals, so we should not hold them to that account, but instead read them as one artist's reckoning with the world around him.

associations, while implicit, build upon the poet's previous allusions to burgeoning Augustan influence. Furthermore, while a cursory reading of 2.1 might give the impression of an annual, rural festival, such lustrations were also frequently used to cope with political or religious emergencies, such as a series of terrible prodigies (Livy 21.62) or lightning striking the temples of Jupiter and Minerva (Tac. *Ann.* 13.24).³⁶ Setting the poem at a lustration festival raises the possibility that recent circumstances have demanded such an atonement. This further complicates the rustic ideal by hinting at disruptive incursions of the Real.

The poet's final reference to the *spica* occurs in 2.5, in which Tibullus celebrates the induction of Messalinus into the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*. This is one of Tibullus' more explicitly political poems; not only does it celebrate the son of the poet's patron, but also alludes to the assassination of Caesar (2.5.67-78) and to Rome's growing empire (2.5.51-64). The occasion at first appears celebratory: "When the laurel has given good signs, rejoice, cultivators" (*laurus ubi bona signa dedit, gaudete coloni*, 2.5.83). Close analysis, however, reveals its tone to be ambivalent, yearning for a lost age of domestic cultivation while witnessing the rise of a global empire that will make such dreams impossible. The poet offers these words of encouragement to *coloni*, which may refer either to farmers (the moral and economic foundation of Roman Italy) or colonists³⁷ (oftentimes retired soldiers sent to till the foreign lands they had conquered in the name of Rome). The provision of farm settlements for Roman soldiers was a motivating factor in many Late Republican grain crises. For example, after making an impassioned appeal on behalf of veterans and the lower classes,³⁸ Tiberius Gracchus was assassinated in 133 BCE following patrician outrage against his *Lex Sempronia agraria*. After the murder, a delegation travelled to the temple of Ceres at Henna after consulting the Sibylline Books, "from which it was found that it is necessary to placate most ancient Ceres" (*ex quibus inventum est Cererem antiquissimam placare oportere*, Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.108). Scholars have interpreted this delegation either as an apology to the plebs for the murder of their tribune³⁹ or as a patrician legal justification of the assassination under the law on attempted tyranny.⁴⁰ On either account, this appeal to Ceres was a religious act carried out for political purposes. One might also remember that Tiberius' brother Gaius was assassinated in 121 BCE for trying to pass similar legislation on the grain provision. The cult of Ceres served as the stage on which this ideological deadlock was enacted again and again throughout the Republic.

Ceres embodies this tension between foreign conquest and urban grain demand in 2.5. Her appearance may be read alternately as a goddess of cultivated crops and of imposing 'civilization' in far-off lands. The poet assures the farmers that Phoebus portends good things and that "Ceres will stuff your storehouses full of wheat-sheaths" (*distendet spicis horrea plena Ceres*, 2.5.83-88). *Horreum* is a technical term indicating a storehouse for the preservation of grain,⁴¹ which played an important role in the supply and distribution of cereals to the capitol throughout Rome's history.⁴² Some *horrea* were massive in size and labor force due to the tremendous undertaking of providing grain for Rome's citizens.⁴³ Many of these storehouses were consolidated under state apparatuses after Augustus' rise

³⁶ *OCD* 626.

³⁷ *OLD* s.v. *colonus*.

³⁸ Gracchus advocated for the passage of the *Lex Sempronia agraria* by depicting himself as the defender of Roman soldiers, who risked death in war but owned no land: "They fight and die to support others in wealth and luxury, and though they are styled masters of the world, they have not a single clod of earth that is their own" (ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἄλλοτρίας τρυφῆς καὶ πλοῦτου πολεμοῦσι καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι, κύριοι τῆς οἰκουμένης εἶναι λεγόμενοι, μίαν δὲ βῶλον ἴδιαν οὐκ ἔχοντες (but they, Plut. *Vit. Ti. Gracch.* 9.5; trans. Bernadotte Perrin, 1921).

³⁹ Le Bonniec 1958, 367-8; MacBain 1982, 38-39.

⁴⁰ Spaeth 1990.

⁴¹ *OLD* s.v. *horreum*. Attestations of *horrea* largely occur in technical prose works, rather than poetry; see Cic. *Agr.* 2.33.89; Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.8; Caes. *B.C.* 3.42.4.

⁴² Rickman 1980b, 267-8.

⁴³ The *Horrea Galbana*, for instance, began at the southern end of the Aventine Hill and occupied approximately 225,000 square feet, possibly as far east as the Porta Ostiensis and as far west as the Tiber River (Rickman 1980a, 23).

to power, despite having begun under private ownership in the second century BCE.⁴⁴ While taxation of the provinces provided for a portion of the *plebs frumentaria*, shortages in tributes owed by Roman provinces such as Egypt necessitated private donations. Augustus himself described providing grain *ex horreo et patrimonio meo* (from my own *horreo* and patrimony, Aug. *Res Gest.* 18) at great personal expense in the *Res Gestae*.⁴⁵ The emperor's private stores came in part from land confiscated in the proscriptions early in his reign, such as the one Tibullus himself may have undergone if we consider his reference to "fields, once prosperous, now impoverished" (*felicis quondam, nunc pauperis agri*, 1.1.19), as well as from later foreign conquest undertaken by the unwilling poet himself and his patron, Messalla.⁴⁶ Thus, Augustus acquired direct control of huge swathes of land and could manipulate agricultural production in order to maintain political support. The poetic persona professes to love a fantastical Rome of small farms overseen by Ceres, yet continually alludes to the expansionism and political upheavals of his day, fretfully urging: "Then go far from the stables, wolves!" (*a stabulis tunc procul este, lupi!*, 2.5.88). The poet clearly recognizes a threat to the old gods and ways of life. Despite his fixation on recovering the idyllic Ceres, Tibullus is only conversant in the realities of Late Republican economics - proscriptions, expansion, taxation, and assassination.

Ceres, Spes, and Pax

Throughout the corpus, Ceres is conflated with two other goddesses who were central to Augustan propaganda: Spes and Pax. These complicated images reveal anxiety over the grain supply, increasing Augustan influence in cult worship, and military expansionism. Tibullus links Ceres to "hope" (*spes*, 1.1.9) first through repeated references to the *spica*, which were thought to be etymologically related. Varro asserts "from 'hope' (*spes*) come 'sheaths of wheat' (*spicae*)" (*a spe spicae*, Varro *Ling.* V 37). The emperor was associated with the cult of Spes personified. The day on which he assumed the *toga virilis* was recorded as a "supplication of Hope and Youth" (*supplicatio Spei et Iuventuti*, *CIL* 10.8375). Furthermore, contemporary coin types suggest that Augustus sought to depict himself as the 'hope' of his people.⁴⁷ Cairns 1999 has argued that this constitutes further evidence of a pro-Augustan agenda tied to the poet's interest in the *Fratres Arvales*. This thesis again ignores the complex associations between Spes and agriculture, which begin in the opening of 1.1: "May Hope not abandon [me], but may she always provide heaps of crops and rich must in a full vat" (*nec Spes destituat, sed frugum semper aceruos / praebeat et pleno pinguia musta lacu*, 1.1.9- 10). These lines connect Spes not only to Augustan policy and propaganda, but also to Tibullus' rustic dreamworld, and prime the reader for the first appearance of Ceres only five lines later.

The last elegy in the corpus further stages the associations between Augustus, Ceres,

⁴⁴ Rickman 1980a, 22-24. "The family-built warehouses of the late Republic did not survive in private ownership for long after the establishment of the Principate. One by one they seem to have been absorbed into the property of the Emperors to be used for the public weal" (Rickman 1980a, 23).

⁴⁵ Augustus at first intended to do away with the *annona* (Suet. *Aug.* 42.3), having distributed vast amounts of grain during the Civil Wars to shore up power. After years of poor harvests (Suet. *Aug.* 42.3) and magisterial failures to distribute enough grain, however, the emperor reluctantly came to dispense the *annona* as an imperial duty (Suet. *Aug.* 41.2). From 18 BCE onwards, he personally subsidized the grain supply: "From the consulship of Gnaeus and Publius Lentulus onwards, whenever the taxes did not suffice, I made distributions of grain and money from my own granary and patrimony, sometimes to 100,000 persons, sometimes to many more" (*ab eo anno quo Cn. et P. Lentuli consules fuerunt, cum deficerent vectigalia, tum centum milibus hominum tum pluribus multo frumentarios et nummarios tributus ex horreo et patrimonio meo edidi*, Aug. *Res Gest.* 18; trans. Erdkamp 2005).

⁴⁶ Erdkamp 2005, 221; Thompson 1987, 558ff.

⁴⁷ Clark 1983, 83ff. This thesis is supported by coinage from the provinces, such as a coin of Augustus from 16 BCE bearing the legend "The Hope of the Colony of Pella" (*SPES COLONIAE PELLENSIS*). Pella consisted largely of Roman veterans, which suggests that Roman citizens, not just far-flung subjects of the empire, were familiar with iconographical associations between the princeps and the cult of Spes. Admittedly, much of the material evidence in the city of Rome for the *Spes Augusta* comes from after Augustus' death, such as her first appearance on a sestertius of Claudius in 41 CE (*RIC* 64). See also Grant 1946, 41.

and Spes. The poet begins by contrasting the themes of love and war, as is typical in Roman elegy, before praising Hope as the reason for his continued existence (2.6.19-28):

iā mala finissem leto, sed credula vitam
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 hirundine pisces
cum tenues hamos abdidit ante cibus.
Spes etiam ualida solatur compede uinctum: 25
cura sonant ferro, sed canit inter opus.
Spes facilem Nemesim spondet mihi, sed negat illa:
ei mihi, ne uincas, dura puella, deam.

I would have finished my troubles in death, but credulous Hope cherishes life
and always says that tomorrow will be better.
Hope nourishes farmers, Hope entrusts seeds to ploughed furrows,
which the field may return with great interest.
She captures birds in a snare, fish with a rod
when the bait in front conceals the slender hooks.
Hope even consoles one conquered by a mighty chain,
his legs cry out at iron, but he sings at his work.
Hope promises that Nemesis (will be) courteous to me, but she declines:
ah me, do not overcome the goddess, cruel girl.

The tone of this poem may seem at first “uneven.”⁴⁸ While in the rest of the poem Tibullus despairs of the love of his mistress, the appearance of Spes reads as almost sentimental. We may better understand Spes’ function, and the poem as a whole, by paying close attention to its economic diction. Spes is a patron goddess of farmers (*Spes alit agricolas*, 2.6.21). She is involved in the financial risks of planting seeds without any guarantee of a harvest (*Spes sulcis credit aratis / semina quae magno faenore reddat ager*, 2.6.21-22). These lines remind the reader of the economic instability of agriculture, perhaps made more turbulent by the rise of large state-controlled farms. Furthermore, Spes is favorable to conquered peoples (*Spes etiam ualida solatur compede uinctum*, 2.6.25). Although the prisoner is in shackles, he sings while working: a small consolation. These lines are in keeping with the *topos of seruitium amoris* common to Roman elegy but may also allude to military campaigns of Tibullus’ day. The final couplet, however, reveals the failure of Spes, calling into question the powers ascribed to her in the preceding lines. Her promises are ultimately in vain, as the power of the poet’s mistress in Book 2, Nemesis, supersedes that of the goddess (*Spes facilem Nemesim spondet mihi, sed negat illa*, 2.6.27). The poet’s depiction of Nemesis runs contrary to that of his idyllic farm; she is always far off in the city, clothed in foreign luxuries. Her name, too, is derived from Greek νέμω, meaning “to deal out, distribute, dispense... of herdsmen, to pasture or graze their flocks,”⁴⁹ which hints at economic and agricultural functions. Spes-Ceres, guardian of the small Roman farm, is no match for foreign imports made possible by military conquest.

Just as Ceres is associated with Spes in the last poem of Book 2, the goddess is also linked to Pax, the personification of Peace, in the last poem of Book 1. This conflation is not unheard of in the Roman poetic imagination since agricultural production usually flourished during peacetime.⁵⁰ Tibullus, however, alludes to a peace dependent upon widespread violence necessitated by provision of the *annona*. He prays “But come to us, nourishing

⁴⁸ Maltby 2002, 465.

⁴⁹ LSJ s.v. νέμω.

⁵⁰ Spaeth 1996, 20.

Peace, and grasp the wheat sheath, and may fruits flow forth from your shining bosom” (*at nobis, Pax alma, ueni spicamque teneto, / profluat et pomis candidus ante sinus*, 1.10.67-68). The reference to the *spica*, as well as the suggestion of both agricultural and female fertility, reminds the reader of Ceres. Furthermore, Pax is *alma*, a common epithet for Ceres in Augustan literature.⁵¹ *Alma* also recalls a fragment of Lucilius linking Ceres to the plebs and grain supply: “Nourishing Ceres is failing, and the plebs do not have bread” (*deficit alma Ceres, nec plebs pane potitur*, Lucilius 200 Marx).⁵²

Tibullus further expands upon the image of Pax-Ceres in such a way that recalls the tumultuous political struggles for the grain supply and Roman conquest (1.10.45-50):

| | |
|--|----|
| interea Pax arua colat. Pax candida primum | 45 |
| duxit araturos sub iuga curua boues. | |
| Pax aluit uites et sucos condidit uuae, | |
| funderet ut nato testa paterna merum. | |
| Pace bidens uomerque nitent, at tristia duri | |
| militis in tenebris occupat arma situs. | 50 |

Meanwhile let Peace cultivate the fields. Shining Peace first led oxen beneath the curved yoke to plow. Peace cherished the vines and established the juice of the grape, so that the father’s jar pours out wine for the son. The hoe and the ploughshare gleam in Peace, but rust occupies the sad weapons of the harsh soldier in the shadows.

Peace first established the agricultural customs carried out under Ceres’ auspices in 1.1: ploughing (*duxit araturos sub iuga curua boues*, 1.10.46; cf. *stimulo tardos increpuisse boues*, 1.1.30), viticulture (*Pax aluit uites*, 1.10.47; cf. *ipse seram teneras maturo tempore uites*, 1.1.7), wine making (*sucos condidit uuae*, 1.10.47; cf. *pleno pinguia musta lacu*, 1.1.10), and crop cultivation (*Pace bidens uomerque intent*, 1.10.50; cf. *nec tamen interdum pudeat tenuisse bidentem*, 1.1.29). At first, Rome seems to have recovered from war; sad weapons (*tristia... arma*, 1.10.49) now are rusted (*occupat... situs*, 1.10.50). These lines are suggestive of the Civil Wars from which Rome had only just emerged as Tibullus wrote his first book of elegies. The poet lives in a world of ceaseless war (*nunc ad bella trahor*, 1.10.13), dreaming of rustic peace. Indeed, following the Civil Wars, the empire became increasingly dependent upon foreign provinces for the grain dole, among other matters of fiscal policy, and turned to the acquisition of new lands through military conquest.

In a different poem, Tibullus describes the Sibyl’s vision of Rome’s idyllic prehistory. Although the Roman state was founded upon pastoralism, its growth is predicated upon conquest (2.5.55-60):

| | |
|--|----|
| carpite nunc, tauri, de septem montibus herbas | 55 |
| dum licet; hic magna iam locus urbis erit. | |
| Roma, tuum nomen terris fatale regendis, | |
| qua sua de caelo prospicit arua Ceres, | |
| quaque patent ortus et qua fluitantibus undis | |
| Solis anhelantes abluit amnis equos. | 60 |

⁵¹ In the *Georgics*, perhaps the closest contemporary parallel to Tibullus’ elegies, she is *alma Ceres* (nourishing Ceres, Verg. *G.* 1.7.) See also Ov. *Met.* 5.572, *Fast.* 4.547.

⁵² Some scholars (Giovenale 1927; Van Berchem 1935; Le Bonniec 1958; Nash 1968; Simon 1990) believe that the *annona* was administered from the temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera in the ancient Forum Boarium. Against this view are Merlin 1906; Platner-Ashby 1929; Coarelli 1988; Richardson 1992; Spaeth 1996.

Graze now, bulls, on the grass from the seven hills
while it is permitted; here soon this will be the place of a great city.
Rome, your name is fated to rule lands,
wherever Ceres looks from heaven upon her fields,
where dawn lies open, where in flowing waves
the river washes the heaving horses of the Sun.

The Sibyl provides a glimpse of Rome's utopian past before it vanishes forever. She encourages bulls to graze on the canonical seven hills of the city "while it is permitted" (*dum licet*, 2.5.56). This will soon be replaced by "the place of a great city" (*magnae ... locus urbis*, 2.5.56). Though Rome's beginnings were agricultural, this will not be the case for much longer. The poet then asserts that Rome's success reaches to the limits of arable land: "Rome, your name is fated to rule lands, wherever Ceres looks from heaven upon her fields" (*Roma, tuum nomen terris fatale regendis, / qua sua de caelo prospicit arva Ceres*, 2.5.57-58). This is a contradictory image. Tibullus has already established Ceres as the overseer of small, domestic farms, which are about to be supplanted by a great city. Yet as long as there is land to be cultivated, it seems, Romans will conquer it. Rome is fated to rule external territories (*terris*, 2.5.57).⁵³ In the following lines, the extent of Roman territory expands to reach the far east (*quaque patent ortus*, 2.5.59) and, finally, the ends of the earth (*anhelantes abluit amnis equos*, 2.5.60).⁵⁴ Although Tibullus begins Book 1 by appealing to Ceres to protect his modest farm, she appears in the end of the corpus as a signifier of military expansionism. Tibullus is unable to escape the political and economic conditions of contemporary Rome, which is indeed fated to rule more and more lands as long as political power depends upon the provision of grain for the Roman masses. This passage marks yet another emergence of the Real; unable to reconcile the mythical, agrarian Rome with contemporary political and economic conflict, the lines collapse into contradictions and double meanings.

Conclusion

Appearances of Ceres in the Tibullan corpus often consist of conflicting allusions and images. Though the poet worships her as the custodian of the small, self-sufficient, politically-independent family farm, he subconsciously admits that such fantasies are impossible. The poet creates for us a dreamlike world in the very moment when his dreams are subsumed by political ideology and violent economic transformations. This article argues for an entirely new interpretation of the poet: one who can fruitfully be read as engaged with the changing society around him. The corpus is in fact a valuable resource for our study of the most turbulent years in Roman history. While devoid of those dates and facts that characterize traditional historiography, Tibullus nevertheless offers a tangible account of what it meant to be a Roman at the end of the Republic and beginning of Empire.

The Graduate Center, City University of New York
vjansson@gradcenter.cuny.edu

⁵³ *OLD* s.v. *terra*. The word can mean 'earth' or 'soil', which are certainly in Ceres' sphere of influence. Yet in the plural, as here, it more probably refers to 'lands' or 'nations.'

⁵⁴ Maltby notes that *amnis* refers to Oceanus, "the river that was thought to encircle the earth" (Maltby 2002, 450). Cf. Hom. *Il.* 14.245, *Od.* 11.639; Verg. *G.* 4.233.

Works Cited

- Alföldi, Andreas. 1956. "The Main Aspects of Political Propaganda on the Coinage of the Roman Republic." In *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly*, eds. R. Carson and C. Sutherland, 63-95. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bright, David. 1978. *Haec mihi Fingebam: Tibullus and His World*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.
- Cairns, Francis. 1979. *Tibullus: A Hellenistic Poet at Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1999. "Tibullus, Messalla, and the *Spica*: I.1.16; I 5.28; I 10.22; II 1.4; II 5.84." *Emerita: Revista de Lingüística y Filología Clásica*. LXVII 2: 219-30. <https://doi.org/10.3989/emerita.1999.v67.i2.171>
- Chirassi-Columbo, Ileana. 1981. "Funzioni politiche ed implicazioni culturali nell'ideologia religiosa di Ceres nell'impero romano." *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.17.1: 403-23. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110844092-011>
- Christofori, Alessandro. 2002. "Grain Distribution in Late Republican Rome." In *The Welfare State. Past, Present and Future*, ed. by H. Jensen, 141-53. Pisa: Edizioni Plus.
- Clark, Mark Edward. 1983. "Spes in the Early Imperial Cult: 'The Hope of Augustus.'" *Numen* 30: 80-105. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156852783X00168>
- Coarelli, Filippo. 1988. *Il Foro Boario, dalle origini alle fine della repubblica*. Rome: Quasar.
- Erdkamp, Paul. 2005. *The Grain Market in the Roman Empire: A Social, Political, and Economic Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511482755>
- Fineberg, Brenda. 1991. *Configurations of Desire in the Elegies of Tibullus*. PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago.
- . 1999. "Repetition and the Poetics of Desire in Tibullus 1.4." *The Classical World* 92.5: 419-28. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4352312>
- Freud, Sigmund. 1966. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, eds. James Strachey, Anna Freud, and Angela Richards. London: Hogarth Press.
- Giovenale, Giovanni Battista. 1927. *La basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin*. Rome: Sansaini.
- Grant, Michael. 1946. *From Imperium to Auctoritas: A Historical Study of Aes Coinage in the Roman Empire, 49 B.C. - A.D. 14*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Habinek, Thomas. 2005. *The World of Roman Song: From Ritualized Speech to Social Order*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Jakobson, Roman, and Morris Halle. 2002. *Fundamentals of Language*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110894264>
- Janan, Micaela. 1994. *When the Lamp is Shattered: Desire and Narrative in Catullus*. Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.
- . 2012. "Lacanian Psychoanalytic Theory and Roman Love Elegy." *A Companion to Roman Love Elegy*, ed. B.K. Gold. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118241165.ch23>
- Lacan, Jacques. 2006. *Écrits: The First Complete Edition in English*, trans. Bruce Fink. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.
- Le Bonniec, Henri. 1958. *Le Culte de Cérés à Rome, des Origines à la Fin de la République*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Maltby, Robert. 2002. *Tibullus: Elegies. Text, Introduction, and Commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Merlin, Alfred. 1906. *L'Aventin dans l'Antiquité*. Paris: Fontemoing.

- Milanović, Branko. 2019. "Income Level and Income Inequality in the Euro-Mediterranean Region, c. 14- 700." *Review of Income and Wealth* 65.1: 1-20.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/roiw.12329>
- Miller, Paul Allen. 2004. *Subjecting Verses: Latin erotic elegy and the emergence of the real*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400825936>
- Murgatroyd, Paul. 1991. *Tibullus I*. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.
- Murgatroyd, Paul. 1994. *Tibullus: Elegies II*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/actrade/9780198149613.book.1>
- Nash, Ernest. 1968. *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Rev. 2nd ed, Vol. 2. New York: Frederick A. Praeger.
- Oliensis, Ellen. 2009. *Freud's Rome: Psychoanalysis and Latin Poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511806919>
- Papakosta, Panagiota. 2012. "The Role of the Lares in the 'Augustan' Theology of Tibullus." *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 52:4: 349-62.
<https://doi.org/10.1556/AAnt.52.2012.4.3>
- Pascal, C. Bennett. 1988. "Tibullus and the Ambarvalia." *The American Journal of Philology* 109: 523-36. <https://doi.org/10.2307/295078>
- Platner, Samuel Ball, and Thomas Ashby. 1929. *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Putnam, Michael C. J. 1973. *Tibullus: A Commentary*. Norman, OK.
- Rackham, Harris, ed. 1959. *Natural History of Gaius Plinius Secundus, Volume 5: Books 17-19. Loeb Classical Library*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
https://doi.org/10.4159/DLCL.pliny_elder-natural_history.1938
- Ramsay, George Gilbert. 1887. *Selections from Tibullus and Propertius*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Richardson, Lawrence. 1992. *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Rickman, Geoffrey. 1980a. *The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 1980b. "The Grain Trade Under the Roman Empire." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 36: 261-75. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4238709>
- Riposati, Benedetto. 1945. *Introduzione allo studio di Tibullo*. Como: Carlo Marzorati.
- Scheid, John. 1995. "Graeco Ritu: A Typically Roman Way of Honoring the Gods." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 97: 15-31. <https://doi.org/10.2307/311298>
- Simon, Erika. 1990. *Die Götter der Römer*. München: Hirmer.
- Sordi, Marta. 1983. "Il santuario di Cerere, Libero, e Libera e il tribunato della plebe." *Contributi dell'Istituto di storia antica IX*: 127-139.
- Spaeth, Barbette Stanley. 1990. "The Goddess Ceres and the Death of Tiberius Gracchus." *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*. 39: 182-195.
- . 1996. *The Roman Goddess Ceres*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Thibodeau, Philip. 2011. *Playing the Farmer: Representations of Rural Life in Vergil's Georgics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520950252>
- Thompson, Dorothy J. 1987. "Imperial Estates." In *The Roman World*, ed. J. Wachter, 555-67. New York: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203820186>
- Van Berchem, Denis. 1935. "Il tempio di Cerere e l'ufficio dell'annona a Roma." *BullComm* 63: 91-95.
- . 1939. *Les Distributions de blé et d'argent à la plèbe romaine sous l'empire*. PhD diss. Geneva: Université de Genève.

- Vidman, Ladislav. 1978. "Ieiunium Cereris quinquennale (en marge des Fasti Ostienses)." *ZPE* 28: 87-95.
- Vivenza, Gloria. 2013. "Roman Economic Thought." In *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Economy*, ed. Walter Scheidel, 25-44. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CCO9781139030199.003>
- Wimmel, Walter. 1976. *Tibull und Delia: Erster Teil, Tibulls Elegie 1,1*. Hermes: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie: Einzelschriften, Heft 37. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Wissowa, Georg. 1912. *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 2nd ed.
- Wray, David. 2003. "What Poets Do: Tibullus on 'Easy' Hands." *Classical Philology* 98.3: 217-50. <https://doi.org/10.1086/420718>
- Žižek, Slavoj. 1989. *The Sublime Object of Ideology*. London: Verso Books.