

A POEM OF ALL SEASONS:  
*AE* 1928.108

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IN 1926 GIUSEPPE LUGLI PUBLISHED among the remains of the purported Sabine villa of the poet Horace the sepulchral inscription and sculptures for a freedwoman buried at Roccagiovine (Arx Iunonis?) near the modern town of Licenza. In ancient times this land bordered on the territory of Tibur in Latium and, if we may trust Horace, lay in the Sabine country.<sup>1</sup>

Here follow the two fragments (*A*, *B*) which belong to the epitaph, a text arranged according to the metrical lines of the Latin and Greek poems, an apparatus showing restoration according to the epigraphic lines, and a translation.

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| <p><i>A.</i>    <i>C[l]odia P. l.</i><br/> <i>Compitalia tu totidem</i><br/> <i>hoc perfer ut aequa mihi</i><br/> <i>dum tempus et hora</i><br/> 5    <i>concordes animae duo vix</i><br/> <i>tempora cuncta vides hoc hos pe</i><br/> <i>quae tulit hoc aliquo te tempor</i><br/> <i>ευφροσ υνη ποθος οινος υπν</i><br/> <i>πλουτος ανε υ φραντων τανταλ</i><br/> <br/> <i>C[l]odia P(ubli) l(iberta) - - -</i></p> | <p><i>B.</i><br/> <br/> <i>ce t</i><br/> <i>quo</i><br/> <i>scas</i></p> |
|--|--|
- (1) *Compitalia tu totidem* [qui concelebrasti]/*hoc*  
(2) *perfer. ut aequa mihi* [i fuerint Fata aspi] *ce. t[um]/dum*  
(3) *tempus et hora* [mihi, dum suppeditat] *quo[que vita],*  
(4) *concordes animae duo vix* [imus anno] *s cas[us].*  
(5) *Tempora cuncta vides. hoc, hospe[s, te monet hora]*  
(6) *quae tulit hoc. aliquo te tempor[e terra tenebit].*  
(1) *ευφροσύνη, πόθος, οἶνος, ὕπν[ος ταῦτ' ἐστὶ βροτοῖσι]*  
(2) *πλούτος· ἀνευφράντων Ταντάλ[ου ἐστὶ βίος].*

<sup>1</sup>G. Lugli, "La villa sabina di Orazio," *Acc. Lincei Mon. Ant.* 31.2 (1926) 493-499 (hereafter "Lugli"). (R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* [Urbana, Ill., 1942 = 1962, Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 28], and A. Degraffi, *Inscr. Ital.* 13.2 will also be cited by author's name alone.) The tomb was found in the area of the church of S. Angelo, about 2 km. from the villa (*ibid.*, pl. 1). The inscription is also recorded as *AE* 1928.108 and *SEG* 4.104. Horace called his farm *Sabinum*, but Suetonius in his life of the poet says that it lay in the land of the Sabines or in the territory of Tibur.

## APPARATUS

2 *suppl.* Palmer *totide*—*et* Lugli *totide[m]* *te* SEG 3 *suppl.* Palmer *mihi quo* Lugli 4 *suppl.* Palmer -- *-gas* Lugli *hora[e- -]* *ga s* SEG 5 *vix[imus atque perimus]* Lugli *anno[s cas[os]* Palmer 6 *hospe[s te monet annus]* Lugli *hora* Palmer 7 *suppl.* Lugli 8 ὕπν[os Lugli ταῦτ' ἐστὶ βροτοῖσι Beazley μόνα ταῦτα βροτοῖσι Harrison τέρπει σε βιοῦντα De Sanctis 9 Ταντάλ[ου ἐστὶ βίος Beazley τανταλ[ίσει σε κόρω De Sanctis

“You who have shared in as many Compitalia, endure this (death of mine). Consider how fair the Fates have been to me. Yesteryear while I (still) had a season and some time, while life, too, was in me, we both lived together in harmony and fidelity.”<sup>2</sup> “You see all the Seasons (figured here). Time warns you of this, stranger,—Time who brought this. At some season the earth shall hold you. Mirth, love, wine, sleep, these are men’s riches; the mournful lead the life of Tantalus.”

On the same stone as the inscription a relief of one of the four Seasons (*Horae*) is sculptured.

Lugli recognized that the fragments were a part of a sepulchral poem in Latin hexameters and a Greek epigram. Although the stonemason marked with a straight line in the lefthand margin every two lines, he cut the last word of lines 1 and 2 of the poem at the beginning of lines 3 and 4 of the inscription. Lugli also recognized that the poem’s first word, *Compitalia*, had been forced into the hexameter despite the short quantity of its second syllable. He gave no explanation for this, save to reproach the poet with wrong metrics. One scrap of stone with a part of three lines (*B.*, above) Lugli attached directly to lines 1 and 2 of the poem, so that he read *mihi quo*. However, the second *i* of *mihi* is missing. Furthermore, he failed to remark an interpunct between E and T of the scrap’s first line. Nor did he note the part of the letter C before E. The third line of the scrap Lugli read as *GAS*. However, Lugli’s *GAS* seems to have been cut *CAS*, for the *C* differs little from the first letter of *concordes*. Before the *C* I detect the top curve of either *S* or *C*; the latter reading, either *CCAS* or *C CAS* is unlikely. In addition to these new readings there is another difficulty in Lugli’s attachment of the scrap to the poem’s first three lines. If indeed *quo* follows *mih[i]*, then in line 1 after *totidem* we would have to read a very short word ending in *-ce*. Therefore, I have rearranged this scrap according to the restoration given above and discussed below. Shortly after its publication J. D. Beazley, in consultation with E. Harrison, proposed the supplement of the Greek epigram accepted in my text. R. Lattimore accepted Beazley’s restorations and rendered it into the English quoted above while commenting on its “Epicurean” quality.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>*Duo* may modify *annos*. Hence, “We lived two years in harmony and fidelity.”

<sup>3</sup>J. D. Beazley, “A Greek Epigram,” *CR* 42 (1928) 58–59. Also see G. De Sanctis, *RFIC* 55 (1927) 557; Lattimore 260. The translation of the Latin is mine.

The figure sculptured to the left of this inscription is that of Autumn whom Lugli identified along with Summer sculptured in the same style on two fragments found in the area. Finally, Lugli brought these two figures together with a third sculptured relief, intact but badly weathered, which is still fixed to the façade of the Palazzo Baronale at Licenza and identified this last piece as the figure of Winter.

G. M. A. Hanfmann discussed these figures in great detail, amplified our appreciation of the inscription, and published photographs of the two reliefs recently uncovered that are finer than those Lugli published. According to Hanfmann the figures represent the Seasons mentioned in the sepulchral inscription (*Tempora*, line 6). He dates the pieces to the reign of Claudius. Finally, Hanfmann suggests that the husband is addressing his dead wife in the first part of the poem.<sup>4</sup>

As I have restored the text, the wife is addressing the surviving husband in lines 1-4 and the ubiquitous stranger in lines 5-6.<sup>5</sup> First of all, the celebration of the Compitalia, a word so important to the poem as to be forced into dactylic hexameter, seems more appropriate to a man in some official capacity than to a woman. As the wife is a freedwoman, the husband very likely enjoyed the same status, and was probably a *magister vici* whose major function would have been the arrangement and celebration of the Compitalia. The festival also sometimes coincided with the Roman New Year of 1 January and thus stands as a symbol of the passing of time and of the seasons. Also, the notion of the Seasons was employed in the propaganda and iconography of the imperial cult and rule.<sup>6</sup> To my mind the initial word of the poem emphasizes the husband's function or status, the passage of time, and the imperial cult (for the Compitalia came to play a new role in the ruler-cult after Augustus). In other poems the names of festivals are also modified for the sake of the

<sup>4</sup>G. M. A. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks* (Cambridge, Mass. 1951), 21, 125-127 and figs. 83, 84. Lugli, figs. 9-11, has all three reliefs, but that of Winter (fig. 11) has been retouched to give outlines.

<sup>5</sup>The words *tu*, *perfer*, and *concordes vix[im]us* surely belong to an intimate address to either husband or wife; *vides*, *hospes*], and hence *te* surely belong to a general address to a "stranger." In the following argument of comment or defense of my restorations I cite by the lines of the Latin poem, not of the inscription. I make no improvement on the text of the Greek epigram which, of course, is directed to one and all.

<sup>6</sup>Hanfmann (above, n. 4) 126-127, 163-184. H. Bloch, "A Monument of the *Lares Augusti* in the Forum of Ostia," *HTHR* 55 (1962) 211-223, publishes for the first time an important compital shrine of *magistri vici* of Ostia during Claudius' reign and gives a valuable summary of the character of these officials. Although mere freedmen, the three Ostian *magistri vici* (instead of the normal four freedmen at Rome) paid the costs of the compital structure out of pocket. S. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen During the Late Republic* (Oxford 1969) 198-200, summarizes the role of freedmen and slaves in the compital cult before Augustus. Also see M. Bulard, "La religion domestique dans la colonie italienne de Délos etc." *BEFAR* 131 (1926).

verse. Compare, for example, Ovid's *Fasti* 5.421 *Lemūria* for *Lēmūriā*. The man who could afford a poem and some handsomely carved reliefs for himself (see below on the scraps of his sepulchral inscription) and for his wife was not poor despite his freedman's status. He chose to set in bold relief both the freedmen's festival *par excellence* and his devotion to the ruler who nurtured seasons of peace and plenty (below, 171–173).

The following parallels on the subject of the passage of time are drawn from sepulchral poems and have the flavor of "Epicureanism" apparent in the Greek epigram:

*nam stultum est, tempore et omni/dunc (sic!) mortem  
metuas, amittere gaudia vitae;* (CLE 1567.5–6)

*Fortuna spondet multa multis, praestat nemini.  
vive in dies et horas, nam proprium est nihil* (CLE 185)

Similar sentiments are expressed in passages quoted below, just as there are more mentions of the seasons than this:

*Ver tibi contribuat sua munera florea grata  
Et tibi grata comis nutet aestiva voluptas  
Reddat et autumnus Bacchi tibi munera semper  
Ac leve hiberni tempus tellure dicetur.* (CLE 439)

This acrostic poem commemorates one Marcana Vera of Sarsina. Note the word play of *ver* and *Vera*.

Examples of the dead wife addressing her husband survive (cf. Lattimore 275–280). The following sentiments find analogies in our poem:

*coniugium inceptum dulce mihi tecum, Malchio, memento,  
quae fuerit nobis consociata fides.  
desin[e] iam flere. fatalis mihi hora manebat,  
quae coniugio dulci distulit illa tuo.  
tunc tu talis eris, qualem tua dextera nobis  
sollicitum praestes, si cepit illa fides.* (CLE 1295)

Another dead wife bemoans her fate to the stranger often addressed in sepulchral monuments:

*coniuge direpta meo direpta(ue) natis,  
ei mihi, fatales cur rapuere dei?  
nam ter denos egi natales dum vita remansit,  
nunc tumulus cineres ossa(ue) lecta tegit.  
vade, age, nunc hospes qua te via ducit euntem:  
hic omnis fatis turba relictā ruit.* (CLE 1310)

For similarities in sentiment and for like content this epitaph is noteworthy:

*Hospes] ad hoc tumulum dum perlegis [acta res]iste,  
aspice quam indi[gne sit data] vita mihi.  
XII ego [annoru]m vixi dulcissimae matri,  
[cui liqui fletu]m fato cito raptus iniquo,  
[cum Ianua]rias celebrarem forte kal(endas),  
[dum ducunt m]ater et germana soror [veneratum]  
[in]ter festa sacri templa [et comi]tantur amici.  
[Manes infer]ni, si quid mea carmina [possunt],  
[parcite quaeso meis, or]o precorque rogo,  
[mater et ad s]uperos vivas mul[tosque per annos]  
[s]is felix [semper . . .]* (CLE 502)

The religious element of the boy's story is reflected in our poem from Roccagiovine. His mother has erected this sepulchral monument and has made the son pray for a long life for his family and made him address her directly after the poem has begun with an address to the stranger. The change of address is remarkable in our poem. The woman who presumably composed this poem for her son buried on the Via Nomentana outside the Porta Collina of Rome was named Clodia Africana (CIL 6.14578 = 34083).

In the commentary I have selected for illustration passages from other Latin verse epitaphs comparable in the language or sentiment with the epitaph from Roccagiovine.

COMMENTARY, ACCORDING TO THE METRICAL LINES OF THE POEM.

Line 1. TOTIDEM. Cf. CLE 1515.1–2: *post septuagesimo numero tempus / postquae totidem transactos autumnos. Totidem* modifies *Compitalia*. CONCELEBRASTI. Tib. 1.7.49–50: *huc ades et Genium ludis Geniumque (choreis / concelebra et multo tempore funde mero*. By the force of *con-*, I believe, the versifier intended to convey the notion that the speaker and the addressee passed the same number of Compitalia in each other's company. In other words, husband and wife never lived in separation. L. W. Daly suggests to me the restoration [*quot ego celebrasti*]. For *celebrare* in another context see 502.5 quoted above. I offer the text printed here because of the frequent striving after alliteration in this kind of poem. Alliteration is met in several poems quoted elsewhere and also is met in our poem (*tu totidem, t[um] / dum tempus, te tempor[e] terra tenebit*). НОС. In lines 2, 5, and 6 *hoc* refers to the death of the wife, i.e., *letum*.

Line 2. PERFER. Cf. CLE 1001.1–2 (from the columbarium of the Statilii) *desinite, aequales, Plocami lugere sepulti / fata frequentatis funeris exsequiis*! 971.12–13 (cf. 970.11–12, 1544.5–6) *desine iam frustra, mater mea,*

*desine fletu / te miseram totos exagitare dies*; for *noli dolere* see *CLE* 145–150, 1886 with Buecheler's references at 145; and *CLE* 1295 quoted above. *AEQUA . . . FATA*. Naturally, examples of *Fata aequa* should be rare. However, the sentiment fits the "Epicurean" tone; cf. 185, 1295, and 1567, all quoted above. Unless *aequa Fata* are intended to be ironic, we have here a case either of resignation in the Fates' determination or acknowledgement of their peculiar sense of fairness: 495.10 *set celerat quo nos fata benigna vocant*; 964.1 *dextera fama mihi fuit et fortuna*; 1041.8 *fata animam dederant fata eademq(ue) negant* (and cf. Lattimore 153–157, 250–256). The circumstances of 964 supply us with a relatively early date and the reason for the dead man's "auspicious fame and fortune." He was the freedman and client of Julius Caesar's last wife "by whom he was well protected." In our poem the wife evidently draws attention to the felicity of their marriage. The *aequa Fata* stand in contrast with *iniquus* describing *Fatum*, *Fortuna*, *manus*, *mors*, *tempus* (cf. *CLE* 376.1–2, 425, 448.4, 496.3, 1116.3, 1138.3, 1219.3, 1610.1, 2048.2, 2179.4). I quote two fuller examples as representative of the type: 373.1–4 *vivite felices quibus est data vita fruend[a] / nam m[ih]i non fato datum est felice morari / hic ego nunc iac[eo] fatis compostus [i]niqu[is] / crudeles superi, nis[i] me fortuna iniqu[a] tulisset*; 447.4, 6 *venit iniqua dies et acerbae terminis hora / . . . / vivite felices superi quoum fortuna beatast*. Also compare 502 quoted above. *UT . . . ASPICE*. Cf. *CLE* 438.1–2 *aspice praeteriens mo[numentum et perlege versu]*, / *ut noscas fuerit quantus* - - -; 1083, 1084, 1539–1542 *aspice quam indigne sit data vita mihi*; 1489 *aspice quam subito marcet quod floruit ante, / aspice quam subito quod stetit ante cadit*. Also see 502, quoted above. For *aspicere* + *ut* see von Mess, *TLL* s.v. *aspicio* col. 832. *TUM*. Cf. Verg *Aen.* 6.171–172 *sed tum, forte cava dum personat aequora concha, / demens, et cantu vocat in certamina divos . . . DUM*, and its clause. Cf. *CLE* 371.3–5 (A.D. 16) *quis vera ut cupiant concorde vivere mens est, / hos animos spectent at(que) haec exempla sequantur, / haec loca, dum vivent, libeat bene cuncta tueri*; 392 *[p]er [a]nnos. / [nam] dum vita mihi, dum claram cernere lucem / contigerit, te, cara mihi, nomenque requiram*; 806 *vivite dum se [- - vi]ta[e] dat tempus honest[ae]*; 1067.3 *vixi dum fata sinebant*; 1082 *vivite felices quibus est data longior (h)ora; / vixi ego dum licuit dulciter ad superos. / dicite si merui: sit tibi ter(r)a levis*; 1165.6 *carpebat vitae tempora dum tenerae*; 1491 *discite: dum vivo, mors inimica venit*; 1563.6 *dum suppeditat vita, inter nos annos LX viximus concordēs*; 1823 *tu dum esses ad superos*; also see 1310 and 1567, quoted above.

Line 3. *TEMPUS*. Besides *CLE* 806, 1165 and 1515, all quoted above, cf. 1166.5 *quod si longa tuae mansissent tempora vitae*; 1552A.1–2 *sint licet exiguae fugientia tempora vitae / parvaq(ue) raptorum cito transeat hora dierum*. *HORA*. I have taken this Latin word to have done service

here for the Greek *ῥα* and to equal the Latin *tempus*. Cf. *CLE* 1069 *immatura tui properantur tempora fati / primaque praecipiti limine vita ruit / viginti tecum nam fers non amplius annos, / sed decuit talem longior hora virum*; *CIL* 5.5343 = *ILS* 8471 . . . *quod absente se ambae / eadem hora sint horis exemptae*; and *CLE* 1082 and 1552A, quoted above. See also Gundel in *TLL s.v. hora* col. 2964.

Line 4. *CONCORDES ANIMAE . . . VIXIMUS*. Cf. Vergil *Aen.* 6.827; *CLE* 461.3–4 *cum quo concordem vitam multosque per annos / vixit*; 1969.1 *concordes animae quondam* (with Lommatzsch's commentary); *Laudes Turiae* 2.35 (ed. Durry) *concordia nostra*; *CLE* 371 and 1563, both quoted above (and cf. Lattimore 275–280). *ANNOS CASTOS*. Many examples of the commonplace *viximus* plus adjective or adverb are followed by *annos* with either a number or adjective of quantity. Cf. *CLE* 392, 461, and 1563, all quoted above. I have found no example of *annos castos* or the like, although the sentiment is not altogether lacking (cf. *nobis consociata fides* in *CLE* 1295, fully quoted above). However, an analogous sentiment is expressed in *CLE* 1028.3–4 *vixisti mecum iuvenis carosq(ue) per annos / quos vita exegi dulciter ipse mea*. Also, sepulchral assertions of chastity, especially on the part of the wife, are often met. By way of parallel cf. Vergil *Georg.* 2.524 *casta . . . domus*; *CLE* 62.3 *casta veitae . . . ra[tio meae]*; 1831 *quod nomen hoc caste pariter cum corpore serves*; 1287 *opto meae caste contingat vivere natae, / ut nostro exemplo discat amare virum*.

Line 5. *TEMPORA CUNCTA VIDES*. Most probably, the dead woman's address has shifted to the stranger whose attention she draws to the representations in relief of the Seasons. Indication of the tomb reliefs are met in some sepulchral inscriptions (e.g., *ILS* 8151 and *CLE* 1106). A very interesting set of documents belonging to M. Ulpius Crotonensis, a freedman of Trajan, to his wife Claudia Semne, and to their son was carved on a marble architrave, an altar, and two plaques which were uncovered in their tomb on the Appian Way. Semne was sculptured as Fortuna, Spes, Venus, and Memoria, and these statues were each accorded a shrine. Bowers, vineyard, and well completed the sepulchral enclosure.<sup>7</sup> Autumn is carved in relief to the left of our poem; Summer's relief was found with the remains of this burial. The relief of Winter, for many years installed at Licenza, was evidently set to the right of the poem. The missing Spring once stood immediately to the right of Winter or to the right of another sepulchral inscription. Summer's position is discussed

<sup>7</sup>*CIL* 6.15592–15595. See H. Wrede, "Das Mausoleum der Claudia Semne und die bürgerliche Plastik der Kaiserzeit," *RömMitt* 78 (1971) 125–166, pls. 74–90, who contributes to our appreciation of personal sculpture of divinities.

below, 170–171. *HOSPES*. Such an address is older than Roman monuments, and of course examples abound in the Roman world (Lattimore 230–237). *MONET*. Advice on the inevitability of death and so forth is especially an “Epicurean” sentiment. For example, *CLE* 803 *florentes annos subito nox abstulit atra. / vivite felices, moneo, mors omnibus instat*. *HORA*. Here Lugli restored *annus* as if the yearly cycle of seasons issued the admonition. However, the missing noun must be fem. sg. (*hora quae*) and should be a commonplace subject of *ferre*. Lugli perhaps thought of Horace *Carm.* 4.7.7–8: *immortalia ne speres, monet annus et alnum / quae rapit hora diem*.

Line 6. *QUAE TULIT HOC*. Again, the *hoc* refers to death and inartistically repeats itself in the same sentence. Parallels are: *CLE* 400.3 *morte gravi raptus taetra defungeris (h)ora*; 1068.4 *hoc etiam multis regibus (h)ora tulit* (= *CIL* 6.5953, perhaps Julio-Claudian); cf. 382.2 *tulerat Fatus*. In addition we find: *CLE* 367.1 *miserabilis hora*; 389.2 *fatali[s me abstul]it hora*; and 447 and 1295, quoted above. *TERRA TENEBIT*. Cf. *CLE* 1207.1 *terra tenet corpus*.

Lugli also published two other fragments which he attributed to the same burial complex on the basis of the form and the size of the letters. Like Clodia’s inscription the first line contains a name or two carved in larger letters:

	<i>A</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>
first line	6.2 cm	6 cm	6.5 cm
other line(s)	2.5–2.8 cm	3 cm	2.8 cm

The discrepancy between letter heights in *C* and *D* suggests two other inscriptions, the content suggests one.

<i>C.</i> --- <i>ius N</i> ---	<i>D.</i> --- <i>-lus</i>
--- <i>sateum</i> ---	--- <i>-cum</i>
	--- <i>-/im</i>

In *C* 1 are met the end of a man’s gentilicial name and the first letter of his father’s or patron’s praenomen, or his patron’s cognomen to be followed by either *f(ilius)* or *l(ibertus)*, or his own cognomen with filiation omitted.<sup>8</sup> In *D* 1 the end of a man’s cognomen stands at the end of the incised line. In *C* 2 *TE* are carved in ligature and, given the cluster of

<sup>8</sup>In *ILLRP* 952 are attested Clodia *N(umeri) l(iberta) Stacte* and *N(umerius) Clodius N(umeri) l(ibertus)*. But this inscription was not found with the Roman burials of the freedmen of the *Publii* and *Appii Clodii*; see below, n. 34. Since Clodia gives her filiation, her husband probably did likewise. Fragment *C* might have belonged to a son of the couple whose cognomen began with *N* and whose filiation was omitted. Then, Fragment *D* belonged to the husband of Clodia.



letters, suggest either *et* or *te*. The latter would belong to another address. The letters *um-* - - may have belonged to a form of *umbra*, a very common word on sepulchral monuments. In *D* 2 *cum* comes at the end of the line and, if a verse was also carved for the man, it must be the end of a word and not the preposition or conjunction. In *D* 3 there is a trace of either *S* or *C* before *IM*. Although we can extract no significant text from these two fragments, we can infer from their male names and from the other sculptures of the Seasons that Clodia's husband was buried with her and that at least one other text accompanied the Seasons, perhaps the memorial of a son.

The key to the interpretation of the social aspect of this sepulchral complex and of the relation of the poem to the reliefs of the Seasons lies in the festival of the Compitalia. First, the Compitalia in poetry is discussed. Second, the festival's season and, third, its celebrants are treated.

The word Compitalia cannot be written in hexameter verse, although it is found once in iambic meter.<sup>9</sup> This intractability recalls two lines of Lucilius, quoted to illustrate Horace *Serm.* 1.5.87 (Book 6, 228–229 Marx):

*servorum est festus dies hic,  
quem plane hexametro versu non dicere possis.*

In comment on this fragment Marx observed that the suggestion of the Saturnalia and Sigillaria, the latter intractable in hexameter, did not conform wholly to the slavery of the participants. He also discarded a connection with the anniversary date of Servius Tullius' foundation of the temple of the Aventine Diana, although Festus does have Lucilius' words in mind.<sup>10</sup> Cichorius, however, saw that this Lucilian fragment should be combined with the aforementioned fragment from Book Six (1339 from Arnobius 5.18): *Ocrisiam prudentissimam feminam divos inseruisse genitali, explicuisse motus certos: tum sancta efferventia numina vim vomuisse Lucilii ac regem Servium natum esse Romanum*. Cichorius could not himself identify the *dies festus servorum*.<sup>11</sup>

This report of Arnobius indeed squares with that of the elder Pliny when he tells us that Servius Tullius founded the Compitalia: *Tarquinio Prisco regnante tradunt repente in foco eius comparuisse genitale e cinere masculi sexus eamque quae insederat ibi Tanaquilis reginae ancillam*

<sup>9</sup>[Vergil] *Cata.* 13.27. The word is needed in Vergil *Georg.* 2.371–396 (cf. Servius on 2.382–383) and Propertius 4.1.21–24.

<sup>10</sup>Festus 460L.: *servorum dies festus vulgo existimatur Idus Aug. quod eo die Ser. Tullius natus servus aedem Dianae dedicaverit* etc. See Marx 2, p. 92. The sense of *existimatur* strongly suggests that general opinion erred.

<sup>11</sup>C. Cichorius, *Untersuchungen zu Lucilius* (Berlin 1908) 286–287. In his edition of Lucilius Krenkel, fr. 234–235, does not offer any new comment and does not join 1339 Marx (1355 Krenkel) to 228 Marx.

*Ocresiam captivam consurrexisse gravidam; ita Servium Tullium natum regno successit; inde et in regia cubanti ei puero caput arsisse creditumque Laris Familiaris filium; ob id Compitalia ludos primum instituisse.*<sup>12</sup> The Compitalia had become a peculiarly servile festival before Cato's time (*Agr.* 5.57, cf. 143). Consequently the name of the annual festival of the compital Lares cannot fit into the hexameter and the festival itself was especially kept by slaves or men of slave extraction. Pliny's notice guarantees the relevance of the Lucilian fragment on Servius Tullius' birth proposed by Cichorius. The lexicographical attempt to identify the feast of slaves (see note 10) shows that Lucilius' words had acquired the force of proverb.

The violation of the hexameter by the anonymous poet of the inscription restored above indicates a special emphasis on the Compitalia and knowledge of the school-masters' list of non-hexametrical words from which we have indirectly received Lucilius 228–229. One must suppose that the epigrammatist for the tomb of Clodia had been properly educated and had intended to play a literary joke for the sake of his clients' modest claim to fame.<sup>13</sup>

Before Lucilius the Compitalia occur in Naevius' *Tunicularia*.<sup>14</sup> After Lucilius both Afranius and Laberius entitled comic dramas *Compitalia*. Unfortunately too few fragments survive to inform us of their plots.<sup>15</sup> It is not beyond the realm of possibility that some aspects of the merry-making at the Compitalia, or the *Ludi Compitalicii*, were woven into Lucilius' sixth book. Such material will also have attracted Afranius and Laberius, who may have been influenced by Lucilius' work.<sup>16</sup>

At the left of the inscription, whose poem begins with the word *Compitalia*, is sculptured the Season of Autumn. To the right must have been figured that Winter which is now at Licenza. Allusion to the Compitalia stood between Autumn and Winter.

The festival of Compitalia had no fixed date and was set each year (*feriae conceptivae*), according to its season. A Roman movable feast fell at a specified season, but had no fixed day. The formula which the urban praetor used in setting the feast of the Compitalia contained an archaic temporal locative *dienoni: dienoni populo Romano Quiritibus Compitalia*

<sup>12</sup>Pliny *HN* 36.204, confirmed by Dion. Hal. *AR* 4.14 (cf. 4.22.3–4, 4.24). Less supportive are Festus 247L. and *POxy* 2088.

<sup>13</sup>Porph. on Hor. *Serm.* 1.5.87; see Marx's commentary. Of course, my words would be unnecessary if the Horatian commentator had explicitly stated the *Compitalia*. Our sepulchral versifier could have composed in iambs!

<sup>14</sup>Fr. 35 Marmorale<sup>2</sup> from Festus 260L.

<sup>15</sup>See Ribbeck *CRF*<sup>3</sup> 198–199, 344–345. Laberius also wrote an *Anna Perenna*, *Saturnalia*, and *Parilicii* (sc. *Ludi* on the Parilia) and Afranius a *Megalensia*; Ribbeck, 229, 339, 352, 355. Pomponius wrote a farce entitled *Kalendae Martiae*; *ibid.*, 280.

<sup>16</sup>Cf. Cichorius (above, n. 11) 198–199.

*erunt; quando concepta fuerint, nefas.*<sup>17</sup> The ninth day, giving a *nundinae* or market week of eight days exclusive, was a common early Roman observance.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, the interval in this annual instance would have given all participants a market week to prepare a holiday which many are known to have kept. I shall now argue that the day of the Compitalia was set on the day when the winter solstice was observed.

In the first century before Christ a single day was given over to the Compitalia at the end of December or beginning of January. Under Augustus the festal games had been extended to three days. The elder Pliny advises the sowing of certain crops between the Saturnalia (fixed at 17 December) and the Compitalia, which the roughly contemporary *menologia* indefinitely set in January. So long as the Compitalia continued to be set anew each year, it fell after 17 December and no later than sometime in January. By the fourth century A.D. the Compitalia was definitely fixed in the calendar on January 3rd through 5th. This early January observance conforms with some actual celebrations in the first century B.C. (Degrassi 390–391). The Augustan Clodius Tuscus acknowledged the winter solstice at 23 December and other contemporary (Ovid) or slightly later sources (such as the agronomist Columella in the age of Claudius) set the winter solstice at 25 December. The latter day became the natal day of the Invincible Sun and then of the Anointed.<sup>19</sup> By the fourth century A.D. when the Compitalia had become fixed to begin on 3 January, it fell literally nine days (not the eight days of the classical *nundinae*) after the solstice of 25 December, birthday of the Invincible Sun. The computation began on 26 December and ended on 3 January. By this computation, the original Compitalia was a movable feast set on the presumed day of the solstice for the “ninth” day thereafter. As the new moon had once upon a time been observed and proclaimed,<sup>20</sup> so the praetor had announced the Compitalia for the “ninth” day after whatever day the winter solstice was observed each year. At the time of our sepulchral poem the solstice was thought to occur either on 23 or 25 December.

<sup>17</sup>Gell. *NA* 10.24.30, Macr. *Sat.* 1.4.27.

<sup>18</sup>A. K. Michels, *The Calendar of the Roman Republic* (Princeton 1967) 191 ff.; on the Compitalia, 39, 112, 205–206.

<sup>19</sup>Degrassi 532 (cf. 300), 538, 545; see below, n. 39. The winter solstice could stand for a limit in reckoning time in years. So Martial wrote (4.40.5): *tecum ter denas numeravi, Postume, brumas*. Cf. 10.103.7, 104.9–10, and Manil. *Astr.* 3.606–607. Considerable variation in dating the onset of all seasons prevailed among the Romans for three reasons: first, some reckoned by the equinox or solstice; second, others reckoned by the weather and weather-signs; third, peoples of different climes bequeathed to the Romans their seasons according to their own weather-signs. In this article, I am concerned only with the first group.

<sup>20</sup>Michels (above, n. 18) 19–22.

For a festival during the period of darkest days it was only natural that artificial light belonged to the cult of the compital Lares. In such fashion, for instance, Saturnalia was observed by the exchange of tapers because it regularly fell on 17 December.<sup>21</sup> Lights of every pagan source converged to form the popular observance of Christmas. In his broad and acute survey of this development Nilsson even introduced a few aspects of the Compitalia.<sup>22</sup> Other aspects escaped him.

Both the domestic Lares and the compital Lares were worshipped with waxen tapers (*cerei*) or other artificial lights (lamps, candles). Indeed, the oldest attestation tells of one of the first attempts at worshipping a living politician by means of offering incense and tapers in all the compital shrines.<sup>23</sup> The use of tapers for the Lares makes a relation between the solstice and the Compitalia plausible. The relation is strengthened by the determination of a fixed time for Compitalia subsequent to adoption of 25 December as the permanent birthday of the Sun. The Compitalia, partly a festival of artificial light appropriate to the year's shortest day, could be determined only at the time that the shortest day was observed, and it was determined to take place eight days thereafter according to the so-called nundinal week. Although the festival in fact was held after the solstice, its artificial lights compensated for the long darkness of the day on which it had been set. The long nights between the solstice and the celebration characterized the seasonal onset of winter.

Finally we return to the tomb of Clodia. The epitaph which mentioned the Compitalia stood between Autumn and, I propose, Winter. Thus Compitalia, set according to the solstice, divided the two Seasons.

Between Spring and Summer will have been carved the epitaph of Clodia's husband. The summer solstice was reckoned to fall on 24, 26, or 27 June. All of these dates were so acknowledged by the time of our poem.<sup>24</sup> If another verse alluded to an appropriate festival, two can be supplied. On 24 June was the anniversary of the temple(s) of Fors Fortuna which was founded by Servius Tullius.<sup>25</sup> This Fortune was just one of several the king dedicated to diverse Fortunes to promote plebeian religion.<sup>26</sup> On 27 June fell a feast for the Lares about which we know next to nothing. It will have been a more fitting pendant to Compitalia and

<sup>21</sup>Degrassi 538–540. See Varro *LL* 5.64, Festus 47L., Macr. *Sat.* 1.7.31–33, 11.48–49.

<sup>22</sup>M. P. Nilsson, "Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Weihnachtesfestes," *ArchReligW* 19 (1916–19) 50 ff. = *Opusc. Sel.* 1 (1951) 222 ff., who is at pains to emphasize the Compitalia as a form of New Year's worship.

<sup>23</sup>Cic. *Off.* 3.20.79–82; *CIL* 6.30972; Juv. 12.82–92; Jer. *In Esaiam* 16.57.7–8 (*CCL* 73 A, 646–647). Cf. *CIL* 11.1420; *FIRA* I<sup>2</sup> no. 21, ch. 62, lines 20–21; Maecenas in Sen. *Ep. mor.* 11.4.5; Gellius *NA* 4.1.20; *Dig.* 33.9.3.9.

<sup>24</sup>Degrassi 300, 473–474, and below, n. 39.

<sup>25</sup>Degrassi, 473; a plebeian and servile holiday.

<sup>26</sup>Wissowa, *RRK*<sup>2</sup> 256 ff.

apposite to the freedman's class especially if we can ascertain more about these Lares. Ovid reports that on 27 June the Lares are crowned with flowers. Such a ceremony was set by Augustus for the compital Lares in his month of August. This latterday rite may also have occurred on 27 June during the Republic and continued to take place without special reference to the Augustan cult.<sup>27</sup> The Republican calendar from Antium at 27 June reads *LARV*. Degrassi believed that the *V* began the name of another deity.<sup>28</sup> Instead I propose *Lar(ibus) V[icin(alibus)]*, which is one of the pre-Augustan epithets of the compital Lares.<sup>29</sup> Indeed *vicinia* was a term also applied to the Augustan settlement.<sup>30</sup> Since Lares Compitales and Lares Vicinales are identical (above, nn. 28, 29), their festivals would be appropriate to the man buried at Roccagiovine. On the *Fasti Antiates Maiores*, abbreviated epithets of the gods were written and in a few cases the places where the rites were held were also noted. I cite only *L[a]r(ibus) Perm(arinis)* on 21 December.<sup>31</sup> The absence of the rites from all imperial calendars can be explained by Augustus' formal transfer of the celebration to August. Ovid, however, records their popular observance on 27 June even under Augustus. His word *delubra* (*F.* 6.791) stands for the compital shrines (*compita*) just as Vergil had used the word *delubra* for compital shrines in his description of Aeneas' shield.<sup>32</sup>

The dead Clodia, freedwoman of Publius Clodius, reminds her husband of the Compitalia that they have kept together. To commemorate this festival especially entrusted mostly to freedmen<sup>33</sup> her poet has forced the word Compitalia into hexameter verse. Even though the satirist Lucilius had presumably remarked the word's intractability in hexameters, it gives striking, if unmetrical, emphasis to the public role of Clodia's husband at the very outset of the poem. Publius Clodius was the name of the man who once owned the freedwoman commemorated by our verse epitaph. That name at once recalls the notorious P. Clodius Pulcher, son of Appius Claudius and opponent of Cicero. By Fulvia he left an infant

<sup>27</sup>Degrassi 474. Suet. *Aug.* 31.4: . . . *restituit Compitalicios. . . . Compitales Lares ornari bis anno instituit vernis floribus et aestivis*; Ovid *F.* 5.129–148, 6.791–792.

<sup>28</sup>Degrassi, 28, 474, who rejected the *Vialibus* of Latte. Cf. *CIL* 6.36812; *Pl. Merc.* 864; Serv. on *Aen.* 3.168, 302; Varro *LL* 6.25: *Compitalia dies attributus Laribus Vialibus: id eo ubi viae competunt tum in competis sacrificatur.*

<sup>29</sup>*CIL* 14.4297; *AE* 1945.56.

<sup>30</sup>Suet. *Aug.* 30.1: *spatium urbis in regiones vicosque divisit instituitque ut illas annui magistratus sortito tuerentur, hos magistri e plebe cuiusque vicinae lecti.* Cf. Charisius 399 Barwick; Dion. Hal. *AR* 4.14, 4.43.2, 5.2.2; *CIL* 6.282, 759, 7578.

<sup>31</sup>See 1, 5 February, 5 March, 5, 11, 23 April, 24 May, 1 June, 23 August, 5 September, 7, 10 October, 13 November, 21, 23 December, in Degrassi, 4–25.

<sup>32</sup>*Aen.* 8.714–717 with Servius on 716, 717.

<sup>33</sup>See the modern works and ancient sources cited in notes 6, 18, 27, 29, 30, and Cato *Agr.* 5.57, cf. 143.

son of equally infamous memory. In the next generation this line of Appii and Publīi Claudii died out (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> 987, 985). But, of course, the freedmen lived on. A cluster of graves outside the Porta Capena held various Clodii of the late Republic and the early Empire: C. Cono; C. Dama, freedman of Aulus; and Ma, freedwoman of the same Aulus; P. Diaulus, freedman of Publius; P. Eros, freedman of Appius; M. Maro; and P. Philargyrus, freedman of Appius.<sup>34</sup> Since some of these inscriptions found their way into collections in northern Italy, the following epitaph found in Rome and later housed in Senagallia probably belongs to the same grave site of Clodii: *P. Clodi Pulchri l(iberti) Felicis semper qui fuit dulcis sueis. v(ivit) Clodia Pulch(hri) l(iberta) Athenais*.<sup>35</sup> Both Felix and Athenais had belonged to one of the last two Publīi Pulchri. Through such freedmen as these the name of Publius Clodius survived at Rome.

Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos. 54), the brother of Cicero's *bête-noire*, had a house on the edge of the Campus Martius near the Ovile where elections were held (Varro *RR* 3.2.5). Around 2 B.C. (?) the four *magistri* of the Vicus Aesclēti set up an altar to the Lares Augusti. This neighborhood would have lain *in campo Martio extremo* where Appius Pulcher had his house. One of the *magistri* was Publius Clodius freedman of Publius.<sup>36</sup> In the vicinity of the Theater of Marcellus which stood not too far from the site of the dedication to the Augustan Lares of Vicus Aesclēti was found an alabaster vase with the only document of the *cursus honorum* of *P. Claudius P.f.Ap. n. Ap. pron. Pulcher*, that is the last of the Publīi Pulchri.<sup>37</sup> The site of the house of Appius consul of 54, the situation of the freedman P. Clodius, and the approximate location of the alabaster vase suggest that the descendants of the freedmen of this house involved themselves in the compital cult of the Vicus Aesclēti because their lordly owners had once owned property in this sector of the city.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup>*CIL* 6.15717, 15721 (= 1<sup>2</sup> 1281), 15724, 15730 (= 1<sup>2</sup> 1282), 15751, 15759 (= 1<sup>2</sup> 1284). Note the intrusion of the non-noble praenomina Gaius, Aulus, and Marcus; see below, n. 37.

<sup>35</sup>*CIL* 6.15735 = 1<sup>2</sup> 1283 = *CLE* 210 = *ILLRP* 964.

<sup>36</sup>*CIL* 6.30957. His cognomen is lost. The altar is finely sculptured with reliefs.

<sup>37</sup>*CIL* 6.1282 "*prope theatrum Marcelli sub Tarpeio*." This vase, with its Egyptian writing, was very likely dedicated in the temple of Bellona which Ap. Claudius Caecus had vowed in 296 B.C. and erected on a site which conforms to the reported provenience of this vase. Its provenience reinforces the arguments of F. Coarelli, "Il tempio di Bellona," *BullComm* 1965–1967, 37 ff. Also see Pliny *HN* 35.12. Moreover, despite her patron's praenomen Aulus, the freedwoman Claudia Ma (above at n. 34) must be related to the Appii Claudii since Ma was the oriental Bellona. See S. Panciera, "Nuova documenti epigrafici per la topografia di Roma antica," *RendPontAcc* 43 (1970–1971) 121–125; R. E. A. Palmer, "The Neighborhood of Sullan Bellona at the Colline Gate," *MEFR* 1975, forthcoming.

<sup>38</sup>To demonstrate the validity of this inference I need point only to Cn. Pompeius Cn. l. Nicephorus, *magister* of the Vicus Sandaliarius in A.D. 12 (*CIL* 6.761). This neighbor-

Contemporary with these Augustan Clodii lived the minor writer Clodius Tuscus who composed a work on weather signs, offered glosses, and perhaps also produced poetry.<sup>39</sup> His literary activities converge in the sepulchral monument of Clodia at Roccagiovine. It is not too fanciful to suppose that Clodius Tuscus was somehow related to the noble Publii Clodii and that one of his descendants, natural or freed, practiced a like profession and designed the monument.

The designer of Clodia's tomb, whoever he was, took into account a pertinent holiday mostly kept by freedmen and slaves to mark the passage of time from Autumn to Winter, personified in relief on the sepulchral monument. He deliberately injected the name *Compitalia* into hexameter while every school master knew that it was not permitted. One of Horace's commentators has transmitted the words of Lucilius on the festival of slaves whose name "you clearly cannot speak in hexameter verse." This festival has been identified here as the Compitalia of the Lares Compitales. The forced name of the festival alludes to its season during the greatest darkness between Autumn and Winter and to the accomplishments of the dead freedwoman's husband. Probably his memorial was carved between Spring and Summer and recorded the rites of the Lares Vicinales on 27 June. The design of the monuments at Roccagiovine is attributed to a descendant of P. Clodius Tuscus, the Augustan author.

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hood led to the Carinae where Cn. Pompeius Magnus had had his house. Subsequent to his death Mark Antony possessed the property. In A.D. 12 Tiberius owned it (*TDAR* 187-188). Moreover, one of Pompey's freedmen taught school in the Carinae after the death of Pompey and his sons (Suet. *Gram.* 15.1). His name would have been Cn. Pompeius Cn. l. (or: Magni l.) Leneaeus. My choice of noble, grammarian, and *magister vici* is purposeful. To complete the picture in A.D. 4 M. Antonius - - - rionis l. Felix was *magister vici Compiti Acili*. The Compitum Acilium lay at the intersection of Vicus Sandaliarius and Vicus Cuprius. See *BullComm* 1961-1962, 147-163.

<sup>39</sup>Wissowa, "Clodius" no. 61, *RE* 4.1 (1900) 104, Funaioli, *GRF* 467; Schanz-Hosius, Pt. 2<sup>4</sup>, 380-381; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1190. His *ephemeris* of the whole year is preserved by Lydus *De Ostentis* 117-158 Wachsmuth. On 27 July occurred the shortest night (138); on 23 December fell the *bruma* (157).