

not only for male audiences but in the presence of women too, though naturally it was not the women they aimed to arouse.<sup>47</sup>

Cultured Rome was full of erotic images, from Priapus' grotesque erection in the ornamental garden<sup>48</sup> to old-master paintings of mythological copulation on the walls inside.<sup>49</sup> Out in the streets, prostitutes plied for hire practically naked,<sup>50</sup> and every April at the Floralia the girls who played the mimes were stripped for the audience's enjoyment, to a flourish of trumpets.<sup>51</sup> Of course old-fashioned moralists disapproved, but what they had to shut their eyes to was ubiquitous at every level of society.

What makes one person blush may make another laugh. The world of Catullus was made up of individuals, and there is a limit to how far one can generalise about it. Male or female, slave or free, rich or poor, straight-laced or luxurious, cultured or ignorant – the permutations of those categories and others naturally resulted in a kaleidoscopic variety of values and attitudes. It is time to consider two or three of those individuals, in so far as we can get to know them. This introductory chapter has been merely a reminder not to imagine them in too familiar a world.

<sup>47</sup> Mart. xi 16.5-8; for *uda* in line 8, cf. Juv. x 318. Saturnalia: xi 2.5, 15.12. *Gaditanae*: xi 16.4, cf. v 78.26-8, vi 71.1f, xiv 203, Juv. xi 162-76 (wives watching at line 165), *Priapea* 27.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *Priapea* 47, evidently an outdoor triclinium (cf. Varro *RR* iii 13.2).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 44.2, Parrhasius' painting 'in qua Meleagro Aralanta ore morigeratur'; no doubt she obliged him in this way (a very special favour, cf. Mart. ix 40) because he gave her the spoils of the Calydonian hunt (Ovid *Met.* viii 425ff).

<sup>50</sup> Prop. ii 2.2.8; Ovid *Trist.* ii 309-12, Tac. *Ann.* xv 37.3; cf. Cat. 55.11f, an unsolicited display.

<sup>51</sup> Val. Max. ii 10.8, Sen. *ep.* 97.8; cf. Mart. i pref., 35.8f etc. Trumpets: Juv. vi 250, cf. Pliny *ep.* ii 7.1.

## CLODIA: PLEASURE AND SWAY

In Men, we various Ruling Passions find,  
In Women, two almost divide the kind;  
Those, only fix'd, they first or last obey,  
The Love of Pleasure, or the Love of Sway.

ALEXANDER POPE, *Epistle to a Lady*:  
*Of the Characters of Women* (1735) 207-10

## I. MULIER NOBILIS

In *I, Claudius* Robert Graves imagined a secret autobiography written by the emperor. If only we had an *I, Clodia* like that! The trouble with Clodia Metelli is that we see her only through the eyes of the man who detested her, and whose purpose in the speech for Caelius was deliberately to blacken her character so that the jury would not believe her evidence.<sup>1</sup> A proper firsthand account of her would indeed require the imagination of a novelist. In fact, several fictional portraits of her have been attempted, all more or less unsuccessful; despite the conspicuous excellence of women in this branch of fiction, the authors have all been men.<sup>2</sup> I have no intention of competing with them. But I shall try as far as possible to look at Clodia in her own terms, using the evidence of Cicero with the greatest circumspection.

*Mulier nobilis*, he calls her,<sup>3</sup> and it is from her nobility that we must start. Six generations of consuls back to Ap. Claudius Caecus, and another six before that to the first known Appius

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Att.* ii 1.5 ('sed ego illam odi'); *Caet.* 47-50, cf. i, 38, 57 (pp. 85f below).

<sup>2</sup> See Wiseman 1975, and chapter vii below.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *Caet.* 31, 36; cf. 33f on her family ('amplissimum genus'), 68 on her *cognati* ('nobilissimi et clarissimi').

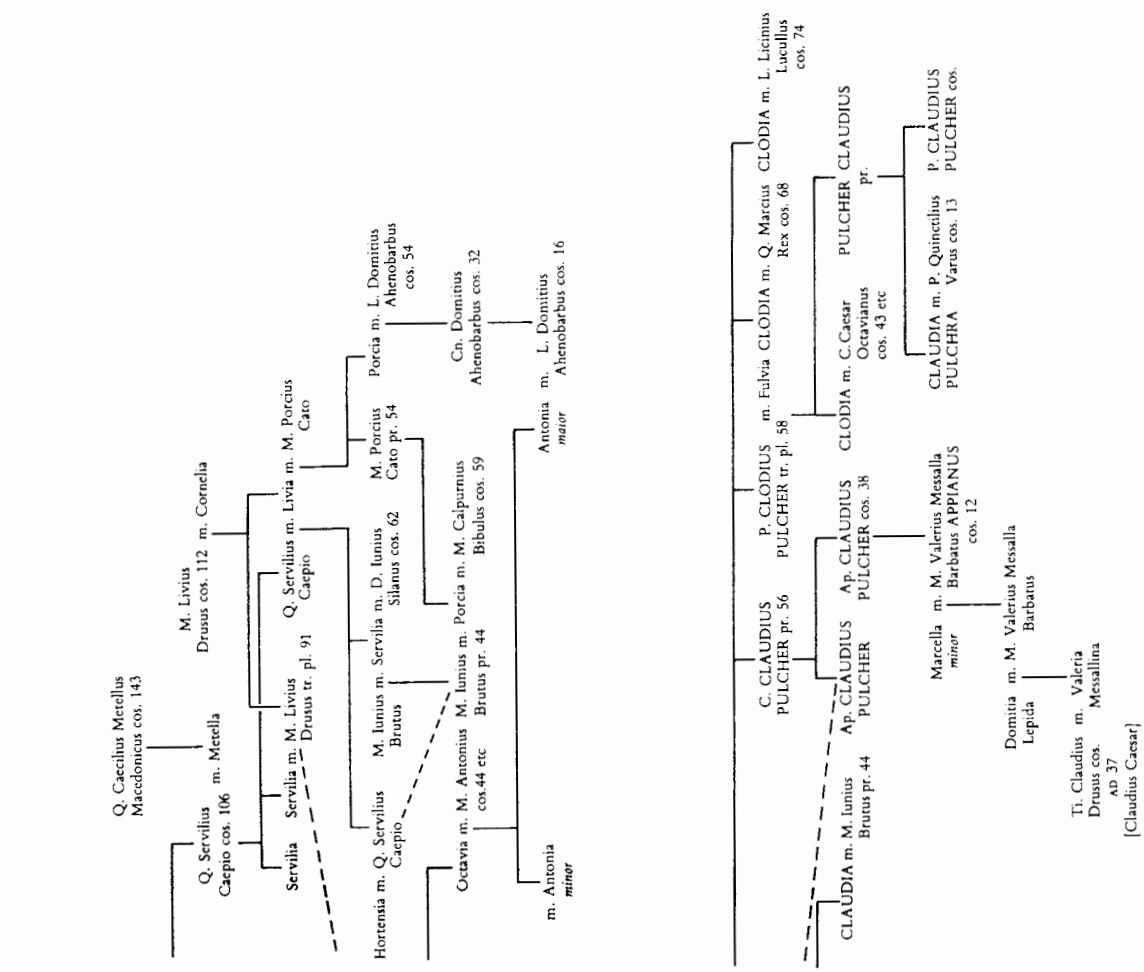


FIGURE I

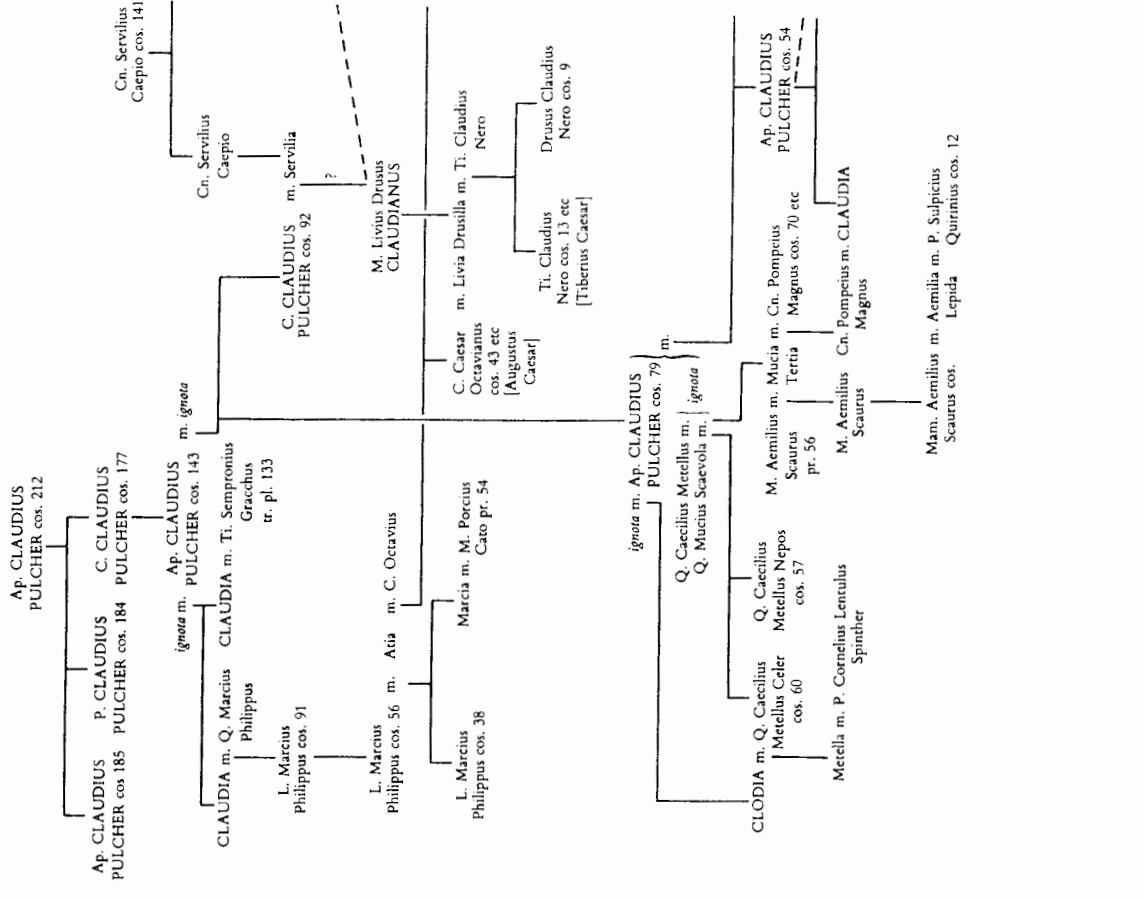


FIGURE I

Claudius, consul in the fifteenth year of the Republic – her father's *atrium* must have been crowded like a museum with the portrait busts of consuls, censors, dictators and *triumphatores*. And beside the 'vertical' stemma of the great *maiores* there were also the 'horizontal' affinities that the patrician Claudii, like any other noble house, established with their peers. Since recent prosopographical research has revolutionised our knowledge of the Claudii and their *adfines*, it may be helpful to offer a diagram – inevitably speculative in places – illustrating the remarkable ramifications of Clodia's relatives (Fig. 1).

The main credit must go to Professor Shackleton Bailey, who in two misleadingly modest pages established the probable nature of the relationship between Clodia, her brothers and sisters, the Metelli Celer and Nepos, and Mucia.<sup>4</sup> Professor Sumner attached the Claudii to the Servilii, through Clodia's uncle (a powerful personage of whom we know too little),<sup>5</sup> and thus brought in the great complex of relationships established by Münzer and made familiar to English readers by the 'kinsmen of Cato' stemma in Syme's *Roman Revolution*.<sup>6</sup> My own contribution has been an attempt to sort out the Claudii of the triumphal, Augustan and Tiberian periods.<sup>7</sup>

Complex as it is, the stemma could easily have been extended. At several points it overlaps with two much more familiar family

<sup>4</sup> Shackleton Bailey 1977, 148–50, expanding on – and correcting – my note in CQ 21 (1971) 180–2. However, Dr T. W. Hillard points out to me that a different reconstruction would equally account for the data, if the father of Celer and Nepos had been by birth a Claudius – brother of Gaius *cos.* 92 and Appius *cos.* 79 – subsequently adopted as a Metellus.

<sup>5</sup> Sumner 1973, 162f on 'Cn. Caepio Serviliae Claudii pater' at Cic. *Att.* XII 22.2; for C. Claudius *cos.* 92 see especially Cic. *Brut.* 166 ('propter summam nobilitatem et singularem potentiam magnus erat'), *Verr.* IV 133 ('potentissimus homo').

<sup>6</sup> See Münzer 1920, 328–47, Syme 1939, stemma II; cf. Wiseman 1974, 181–7 on the Caepiones and the Metelli; I am not convinced by J. Geiger's reconstruction in *Antient Society* 4 (1973), 143–56.

<sup>7</sup> Wiseman 1970; on pp. 219f, add the evidence of PCol 4701.6 (Augustus' funeral oration for Agrippa), which shows that in 13 B.C. Quinctilius Varus was still married to the daughter of Agrippa; his marriage to Claudia Pulchra took place before A.D. 2 (L. Koenen, *ZPE* 5 (1970) 266).

trees, those of the Metelli<sup>8</sup> and of the Julii and Claudii Neronēs.<sup>9</sup> We should never forget that scholars draw up stemmata by using a *selection* of the available evidence. The neatness and comparative unity of the Metellan and Julio-Claudian family trees should not deceive us: their limits are essentially artificial, imposed to illustrate a particular historical point. The point I want to make is precisely the *absence* of realistic boundaries, the number and variety of families with whom the Claudii were connected. In particular, the danger of making stemmata look too self-contained is that they then give rise to loose talk about 'family groups' and 'factions'. There are no political conclusions to be drawn from this diagram. Clodia herself exemplifies the point perfectly. We might, in the absence of other evidence, be tempted to interpret her marriage as forming a political bond between her family and the Metelli; but Cicero's correspondence reveals her 'waging civil war' with her husband over Clodius' attempt to transfer himself to the *plebs*, which Metellus Celer was persistently opposing.<sup>10</sup> She was on Clodius' side: when the chips are down, it's the success of your *own* family that matters.

It is infuriating that we do not know the identity of Clodia's mother, nor of her stepmother, the thrice-married lady whose eight children included three consuls, P. Clodius, and the wives of Pompey and Lucullus. Ten years ago I thought I knew who Mucia's mother was, but Shackleton Bailey has made me think again.<sup>11</sup> One thing we *can* say: it is very likely that she was

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Syme 1939, stemma I; revised and extended version in Wiseman 1974, 182f, where the sister and suggested wife of Q. Metellus Celer *tr. pl.* 90 should be deleted as a result of Shackleton Bailey's arguments.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Syme 1939, stemma III; see now B. Levick, *Tiberius the Politician* (London 1976) stemmata A, B, and C.

<sup>10</sup> Cic. *Att.* II 1.4–5, *Caef.* 60 (but cf. *Att.* I 18.5).

<sup>11</sup> CQ 21 (1971) 182: one of the daughters of Q. Caepio *cos.* 100? Shackleton Bailey (1977, 149) politely regards it as still possible, but I don't think it is: if Servilia Q.f. was married to Ap. Claudius, as his reconstruction would require, and Servilia Cn.f. was married to C. Claudius (n.5 above), Cicero's description of the latter lady as 'Servilia Claudi' would be impossibly ambiguous. However, this objection does not apply if Dr Hillard is right (n.4 above).

closely related to Cato.<sup>12</sup> What the stemma demonstrates above all is the closeness of Ap. Claudius and his children to many of the most powerful and influential Romans of the first century B.C., from Livius Drusus through Lucullus and Pompey to Cato, Brutus and Octavian. No less important, though it is not registered on the stemma, was the proximity of Sulla (via the Metellan connection)<sup>13</sup> and of Hortensius and Catulus (via the Servilii).<sup>14</sup> So *mulier nobilis* is putting it mildly: this daughter of the patrician Claudii was not merely a member of an ornamental social élite, but at the heart of the ruling class of the Roman Republic.

Let us leave the diagrammatic abstractions of the family tree, and take a walk in the streets of Rome. Throughout the city there were 'sermons in stone' reminding the passer-by of the great men of the past, and their achievements: temples, basilicas, arches, porticoes, each preserving (as Cicero put it) the *nominis aeterna memoria* of the man who built it, whether he were a consul or censor acting on the Senate's authority, or – more characteristically – a triumphant proconsul disposing of his booty in such a way as to make the glory of his triumph last as long as the inscription on the building.<sup>15</sup> The *monumenta* of the patrician Claudii were the Appian Way and the Appian Aqueduct<sup>16</sup> – but also, in the city itself, the temple of Bellona vowed by Ap. Claudius in his Etruscan campaign of 296 B.C. and dedicated by

<sup>12</sup> Plut. *Cato min.* 14.3 (Cato's *οὐγγυέμετα* with Mucia); was she a Porcia, or a Livia? It is natural to think of the Claudian connections of the Livii Drusi: Vell. Pat. II 75.3, 94.1, cf. Suet. *Tib.* 3.1 (M. Livius Drusus Claudianus); *AE* 1969–70 118 (Livia C.f. Pulchra).

<sup>13</sup> Plut. *Pomp.* 9.2, *Sulla* 33.4, cf. Cic. *Sest.* 101, Asc. 27C: Metella married first to M. Seaurus (father of Mucia's second husband), then to Sulla.

<sup>14</sup> Cic. *Verr.* II 24, *de or.* III 228 on Hortensius, son-in-law of Servilia and Q. Catulus *cos.* 102. (Hortensius' daughter evidently married a Q. Caepio: Münzer 1920, 342–5 on *Inscr. de Délos* 1622.) Sulla's fifth wife Valeria was the niece of Hortensius (Plut. *Sulla* 35.4); cf. Val. Max. v 9.2 for the connection with the Valerii Messallae, who show a link with the Claudii two generations later (Messalla Appianus, *cos.* 12).

<sup>15</sup> Festus (Paulus) 123L: 'monumentum est . . . quicquid ob memoriam alicuius factum est, ut fana, porticus . . .'; Cic. *Verr.* IV 69 (Catulus' *nominis aeterna gloria*), cf. *leg. agr.* II 61, *fam.* I 9.15, *Verr.* I 154, *dom.* 102 on the connection with *manubiae*; D. E. Strong, *BICS* 15 (1968) 99f, M. G. Morgan, *Klio* 55 (1973) 222–4.

<sup>16</sup> Cic. *Cael.* 34, *Mil.* 17 ('in monumentis maiorum suorum interfectus').

him a few years later (evidently at his own expense, since he did not hold a triumph).<sup>17</sup>

To be exact, it was not in the city but just outside, in the *prata flaminia* outside the Porta Carmentalis.<sup>18</sup> That was no accident: the Claudian burial-ground below the Capitol, supposedly granted to the first Appius by a grateful people when the Claudii migrated to Rome, was evidently at that very spot, just outside the gate.<sup>19</sup> The podium of the temple survives, but of the tomb only the alabaster urn, now in the Louvre, that had held the ashes of one of Clodia's nephews, and was discovered in the ruins in 1615.<sup>20</sup>

In the two centuries after its foundation, the Bellona temple acquired some very impressive neighbours, the magnificent temples and porticoes put up round the Circus Flaminius (a piazza, I think, rather than a race track) by M. Fulvius Nobilior, Q. Metellus Macedonicus, D. Brutus Callaicus and other *triumphatores*.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps it was a little overshadowed; at any rate, Clodia's father in his consulship in 79 B.C. decorated the temple with shield-portraits of all his ancestors, thus turning it explicitly into a *monumentum* of the family as a whole.<sup>22</sup> Of all the public places in Rome, it was there that his fellow-citizens, in pride or envy, could see visibly displayed the history and *res gestae* of the patrician Claudii.

<sup>17</sup> Livy X 19.17–21, Ovid *Fastii* VI 199–208.

<sup>18</sup> Site identified by Coarelli, 1965–7, 37–72 (cf. *PBSR* 42 (1974) 14–17); next to the temple of Apollo in *circo Flaminio*. For the *prata flaminia* that preceded the *circus*, cf. Livy III 54.15, 63.7.

<sup>19</sup> Suet. *Tib.* I.1; Wiseman 1979, 59, cf. R. E. A. Palmer, *MEFR* 87 (1975) 653 nn. 3 and 5 on *CIL* VI 1282. For the connection of temple and tomb, see F. Coarelli, *Dial. arch.* 6 (1972) 71f on the Marcelli and the temple of Honos and Virtus outside the Porta Capena (Asc. 12C).

<sup>20</sup> *CIL* VI 1282, 'prope theatrum Marcelli sub Tarpeio'.

<sup>21</sup> Evidence summarised in *PBSR* 42 (1974) 5–7, with notes at 21f. For D. Brutus' Mars temple, see now F. Zevi in *L'Italie préromaine et la Rome républicaine* (Coll. de l'école fr. de Rome 27, 1978) II 1052–62.

<sup>22</sup> Pliny *NH* xxxv 12, cf. Wiseman 1979, 60. The Aemilii did the same with the Basilica Aemilia (Pliny *NH* xxxv 13, 78 B.C.), and the Fabii with the *formix Fabianus* (*ILLRP* 392, 57 B.C.); perhaps the Scipiones had led the way with the statues on their Capitoline arch (Livy xxxvii 3.7, with Coarelli, n. 19 above).

He hoped to add to the glory of his house with a triumph from his proconsular province of Macedonia. But it was not to be: he died there in 76, and it was his successor who won the triumph.<sup>23</sup> His successor also collected the tribute Appius had demanded from the Thracian tribes;<sup>24</sup> there would be no spoils of empire coming back with Appius' ashes.

That must be the context of the first piece of specific evidence we have about Appius' children. His eldest son (also Appius), who became consul in 54 and censor in 50, appears as a character in Varro's third dialogue *de re rustica*. The discussion on bees is introduced by Q. Axius challenging him: What about honey? Just because Appius in his youth was too economical ever to drink honey-wine, is that any reason for not discussing it?

'He's right,' Appius told us; 'for I was left in poverty with two brothers and two sisters. I gave one of the sisters to Lucullus without a dowry; he relinquished a legacy in my favour, and it was only then for the very first time that I began to drink honey-wine at home myself – though it was served to all the dinner guests practically every night.'

The dialogue dates from the mid-thirties B.C., when there were Claudii alive and influential who could challenge any inaccuracy; in substance, the story must be true.<sup>25</sup> The poverty, of course, was only relative, and there were dinner parties nearly every night, even if the host himself had to drink cheap wine. Young Appius was nineteen when his father died, his brothers Gaius and Publius respectively eighteen and sixteen.<sup>26</sup> They had expensive political careers to finance, and husbands to find for their sisters. I think we should see those dinner-parties as an investment, with the young aristocrats using what assets they had – youth,

<sup>23</sup> Oros. v 23.19; Eutrop. vi 2.1–2.

<sup>24</sup> Sall. *Hist.* ii 80M; cf. *Livy per.* 91, Florus i 39.6 on Appius' successful first campaigns.

<sup>25</sup> Varro *RR* iii 16.1–2 ('cum pauper . . . essem relictus'), cf. i 1.1 for the date of *RR* (Varro's eightieth year); Wiseman 1970, 207ff on Ap. Claudius *cos.* 38 and his brother and cousins.

<sup>26</sup> Inferred from their senatorial careers: I accept the argument of Badian 1964, 140–56 = *JRS* 49 (1959) 81–9, that 'patricians had an advantage of two years over plebeians in the minimum ages required for the senior magistracies'; see also, however, Sumner 1973, 7–10, 134–7.

promise, and no doubt plenty of patrician glamour – to make up for the disadvantages of their father's untimely death.

It was later said of the youngest boy, Publius, that he sold himself for the sexual pleasure of 'wealthy playboys'.<sup>27</sup> We must remember the slanderous norms of Roman political invective; but it is likely enough that all five of the siblings made themselves agreeable to guests who could be of future value to their careers.

Five, not six. We know from Plutarch (*Cic.* 29.4) that there were three sisters, but young Appius, *paterfamilias* at nineteen, had to provide for only two of them. One was already married, and Shackleton Bailey's reconstruction makes it practically certain that that one was our Clodia. It is not at all surprising that the first thing we know about her is her marriage, and even that is attested only indirectly. Children – even male children – are almost totally absent from our evidence on the Roman aristocracy of this period. A few implausibly hagiographical stories about the young M. Cato; Catullus' vision of a baby Torquatus in the wedding poem for Manlius and Vibia;<sup>28</sup> beyond that, nothing. Girls especially, in this as in so many historical periods, are wholly invisible between birth and betrothal. It is a reasonable guess that Clodia was born about 97 B.C., but we have no idea at all where, how, with whom or by whom she was brought up. Did her mother die in childbirth? Was that why Appius married again to get his sons?

Even without invoking the aid of psychohistory and the stepmother *topos*,<sup>29</sup> we can be sure that Clodia had a less than tranquil adolescence. Her father, praetor in 88, was left in charge of the siege of Nola by the departing Sulla. Summoned by a hostile tribune, he refused to obey; his command was legally terminated, and he went into voluntary exile. For the next four years, when Appius under normal circumstances would have held a consulship and governed a great province, the family had

<sup>27</sup> *Cic. har. resp.* 42, *Sest.* 39 ('scurrae locupletes'); cf. *dom.* 139, *har. resp.* 59, and p. 130 n.4 below.

<sup>28</sup> *Plut. Cato min.* 1–3, *Cat.* 61.216–30.

<sup>29</sup> See (e.g.) *Sen. contr.* iv 6, vi 7, ix 5; *Quint.* ii 10.5, *Virg. Georg.* ii 128, *Jer. ep.* 54.15.

to lie low, deprived of his support.<sup>30</sup> Clodia was probably in her early teens. Her father no doubt returned when Sulla did. It would be reasonable to date her betrothal to young Q. Metellus Celer in or about 82 B.C., when he was twenty and she was about fifteen, and their marriage, perhaps, to Appius' delayed consularship in 79.

A fragment of the first book of Sallust's *Histories*, which covered the years 78 and 77, reveals Metellus Celer in a position of military responsibility.<sup>31</sup> It would be natural to expect Appius to take his new son-in-law with him to Macedonia as a *praefectus* or military tribune. We know from the case of Caesar and Trebatius how profitable such service could be for a young man, and since Appius' first campaigns were evidently successful, it is likely that Metellus did well out of the province, despite the death of his father-in-law.<sup>32</sup>

Twenty years later, when Clodia, now widowed, was prosecution witness in the trial of M. Caelius, Cicero's closing speech for the defence included a superb passage prompted by the allegation that Caelius had tried out the efficacy of a quick-acting poison on a slave bought for the purpose.<sup>33</sup>

Ye immortal gods! Why do you sometimes close your eyes to the worst crimes of men, or put off until tomorrow the punishment of today's wrong-doing?

I imagine the court was puzzled: why all this thunderous indignation over a slave? But the real point was immediately revealed:

For I saw it—I saw it, and drained the bitterest sorrow of my whole life—when Quintus Metellus was being snatched away from the bosom and embrace of his native land . . .

After describing the deathbed scene and Metellus Celer's patriotic virtues in three long and magnificent periods, Cicero concludes:

<sup>30</sup> Cic. *dom.* 83–4, Livy *per.* 79.

<sup>31</sup> Sall. *Hist.* 1135M (Maurenbrecher suggests a context in the Macedonian campaigns).

<sup>32</sup> Caesar and Trebatius: Cic. *fam.* VII 5–18 (54–53 B.C.); Appius' successes: n.24 above.

<sup>33</sup> Cic. *Cael.* 63f; cf. *Pis.* 8 (on Celer), *Cael. ap. Quint.* VIII 6.52 (on the suggestion of Clodia's responsibility for Celer's death), p. 89 below.

And will that woman, coming from *this* house, dare to speak of quick-acting poison? Will she not be terrified that the house itself will find a voice, will she not shudder at the walls that know her secret, and tremble at the memory of that night of grief and death?

*Ex hac domo progressa . . .* It must have been common knowledge where Clodia lived, and from which house she had come down to the Forum that day; we can hardly dismiss this as 'mere rhetoric'. Clodia was evidently still living in touse where Metellus had died three years before. The conclusion is inevitable: it was her property, not his.

The house was on the Palatine, as were two others belonging to Clodia's youngest brother — one that he tried in 58 B.C. to extend into a palatial mansion with a 300-foot portico, and one evidently let as flats in which M. Caelius rented an apartment for an allegedly astronomical sum.<sup>34</sup> Clodia's house shared a party-wall with that of Q. Catulus (a point made much of in Cicero's purple passage); since Catulus' house had become part of the Augustan complex by about 10 B.C., and Augustus' property can be placed by its proximity to the temple of Apollo, we may assume that it was towards the western side of the hill.<sup>35</sup> Clodius' house, on the other hand, was next to Cicero's, which was close to the *domus publica*, which adjoined the house of the Vestals; the *domus publica* was large and rambling, but even so, it should mean that Clodius' house was towards the northern side of the hill.<sup>36</sup> It must have been a different sister whose house was next door to his, and whose access was cut off (according to Cicero's allegation in the *pro Milone*) when he extended a wall through her *vestibulum*.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Clodia: Cic. *Cael.* 18 ('Palatina Medea', pp. 80f below), Plut. *Cic.* 29.3 (neighbour of Cicero). Clodius: Cic. *dom.* 115f etc.

<sup>35</sup> Catulus' house: Cic. *Cael.* 59, cf. Pliny *NH* XVII 2 for its splendour. Augustan compl; *suet. gramm.* 17.2 (*domus Catulina*); *Suet. Aug.* 29.3, Dio *XLIX* 15.5. Vell. *Pat.* II 81.3 (Apollo temple); F. Castagnoli, *Arch. Class.* 16 (1964) 173–90, esp. 186f.

<sup>36</sup> Cic. *har. resp.* 33 (Cicero); Cic. *Att.* II 24.3 (end), *Suet. Caes.* 46, cf. Plut. *Cic.* 28.2 and *Caes.* 10.2 on the *domus publica* and its size; Dio *LIIV* 27.3 (Vestals).

<sup>37</sup> Cic. *Mil.* 75, possibly referring to the 'house of Scaurus' bought by Clodius in 53 (Asc. 32C), though it would be an odd coincidence if his new house was next to his sister's

It is clear that the Claudii had several properties on the Palatine, one of which no doubt went with Clodia as part of her dowry, and stayed with her when her husband died.

2. *NOBILIUM LUDI*

Topographical detail can often be a help to social history, especially in the case of those ambiguous areas where different sorts of neighbourhood overlap. There was a famous Busby Berkeley musical, of which the title song celebrated a place in New York 'where the underworld can meet the élite - Forty-Second Street',<sup>38</sup> in late-Republican Rome, we can find the equivalent of a 42nd-Street speakeasy in the *salax taberna* of Catullus poem 37, frequented equally by the *boni ac beati* and by *omnes pusilli et semitarii moechi*. Tenney Frank even thought that the *salax taberna* was Clodia's house - an absurd idea, since the address Catullus carefully gives places it among the 'old shops' on the south-west side of the Forum, soon to be swept away by the building of the Basilica Julia.<sup>39</sup> In another sense, however, the property of Clodia and her family does show an intriguing juxtaposition, not with the underworld but with 'show business'.

Bellona's temple, the *monimentum* of the Claudian house, was next to the temple of Apollo, facing the south-eastern end of the Circus Flaminius where the *ludi Apollinares* were held each July, and where (no doubt for that very reason) the theatre of Marcellus was later built.<sup>40</sup> Clodia's house, if we may trust our inference from the house of Catullus and Augustus' property,

property. For the position of Scaurus' house, see Asc. 27C, with F. Coarelli, *Il foro romano: periodo arcaico* (Rome 1983) 24f.

<sup>38</sup> Harry Warren and Al Dubin, '42nd Street' (1932).

<sup>39</sup> T. Frank, *Catullus and Horace: Two Poets in their Environment* (Oxford 1928) 281. *Tabernae veteres*: Livy XLIV 16. 10; cf. Prop. IV 2.6, Ovid *Fasti* VI 410, *CIL* VI 804 for the *signum Vortumni*. Basilica: Aug. *RG* 20.3. For the *plae* of Cat. 37.2, cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.71, Mart. VII 61.5.

<sup>40</sup> Plut. *Cic.* 13, with Coarelli 1965-7, 67f; cf. also *PBSR* 42 (1974) 14-17, and J. A. Hanson, *Roman Theater-Temples* (Princeton 1959) 18-24.

must have been close to the temple of the Magna Mater in the precinct of Victoria, where the *ludi Megalenses* were held every April, and probably also Sulla's *ludi Victoriae* every October.<sup>41</sup> An appropriate proximity, even if fortuitous; for it is quite clear that in the minds of Cicero and his audience, at least, Clodia was naturally associated with the stage.

'Veniamus ad ludos.' In the *pro Sestio*, eager to prove the unpopularity of Clodius among the citizen body as a whole (as opposed to his own hired claque), Cicero makes much of his absence from the magnificent theatrical shows given by M. Scaurus as aedile in 58.<sup>42</sup>

*Ipsē ille maxime ludius, non solum spectator sed actor et acroama, qui omnia sororis embolia novit, qui in coetum mulierum pro psaltria adducitur, nec tuos ludos asperit in illo ardenti tribunatu suo . . .*

That arch-buffoon himself, not just a spectator but a performer and an entertainer, who knows all his sister's interludes, who is brought into a women's gathering in the guise of a lute-girl, he never saw your shows in that fiery tribunate of his . . .

*Embolia* were balletic interludes, performed between the acts or while the next play was being prepared, by dancing girls whose soft limbs haunted Lucretius' dreams.<sup>43</sup> Clodius is clearly imagined as a performer, but are we meant to think of his sister as dancer, or librettist? The scholiast assumes the former, citing unnamed early authors to the effect that Clodia was 'given to

<sup>41</sup> See n.35 above. For the site of the temple of Victoria, see *AJ* 61 (1981) 35-52 on Dion. Hal. 132.3-33.1, *CIL* VI 3733, 31060, etc. For *ludi* in this precinct, see *Cic. har. resp.* 24 (with P. Pensabene, *Quaderni del centro di studio per l'arch. etrusco-italica* 4 (1980) 67-71) and Jos. *AJ* XIX 75f (with *LCM* 5.10 (Dec. 1980) 231-8), on the *ludi Megalenses* and *Palatini* respectively; the site of the *ludi Victoriae* is inferred from that of the temple.

<sup>42</sup> *Cic. Sest.* 116; the passage 106-27 is subdivided into *contiones* (106-8), *comitia* (legislative 109-12, electoral 113-14), *ludi* (115-23) and gladiatorial *munera* (124-7).

<sup>43</sup> Schol. Bob. 136St ('pertinent ad gestus saltatorios'); Pliny *NH* VII 158 (Galeria Copiola, *emboliaria*), cf. *CIL* VI 10128 (Sophie, *arbitrix imboliarum*); Lucr. IV 788-93, 978-83. '[Mimi] olim non in suggestu scaenae sed in plano orchestrae positus instrumentis mimiciis actabant' (Diomedes *Gramm. Lat.* I 490K); 'solebant enim saltare in orchestra, dum an scaena actus fabulae componerentur, cum gestibus obscaenis' (Festus 436L, suppl. Mommsen, on *sallationes*). See Giancotti 1967, 23f on *embolia* and *exodia*.



dancing more extravagantly and immoderately than befitted a *matrona*. But Cicero probably meant the latter: a month or so later, attacking Clodia herself in the defence of Caelius, he calls her 'vetus et plurimarum fabularum poetria' – an experienced writer for the stage.<sup>44</sup>

In fact, the *pro Caelio* is full of theatrical references. We have the quotation from Ennius' *Medea* when Clodia is first referred to, the theatrical *protopoëia* of Appius Caecus when she is introduced as the power behind the prosecution, the trochaic septenarius put into her brother's mouth as Cicero ironically imagines him advising her, the stern and indulgent fathers quoted respectively from Caecilius and Terence when Caelius' involvement with her is being assessed, the Terentian 'hinc illae lacrimae nimirum' as Cicero attributes to her wounded vanity the origin of all the charges brought against his client.<sup>45</sup> Most explicit of all is the long and brilliant passage in the second half of the speech, in which Cicero tries to make nonsense of the prosecution's account of the attempt by Clodia's friends to catch Caelius' agent in the act of handing over poison to Clodia's slaves at an agreed meeting place. It is in that context that Cicero calls her *poetria*; the rendezvous at the Senian Baths, he suggests, is a mere *fabella*, just another scenario from her fertile imagination, but one with no coherent plot, no satisfying *dénouement*. The ending is so arbitrary it must be a mime, not even a straight play: someone gets away – the clappers sound – curtain!<sup>46</sup>

Mention of the mime, of course, reduces the lady librettist's dignity still further. Moreover, a moment later Cicero drops a malicious allusion to the most popular of all mime plots, the

<sup>44</sup> Schol. Bob. 135St, where Stangl suggests a confused recollection of Sall. *Cat.* 25.2 (on Sempronius); but the report may be accurate (p. 47 below). Cic. *Cael.* 64.

<sup>45</sup> Cic. *Cael.* 19, 33-4, 36, 37, 38 (Ter. *Adelphi* 120f), 61 (Ter. *Andria* 126).

<sup>46</sup> Cic. *Cael.* 64-5: 'velut haec tota fabella veteris et plurimarum fabularum poetriae quam est sine argumento, quam nullum invenire exitum potest! . . . Mimi ergo iam exitus, non fabulae; in quo cum clausula non invenitur, fugit aliquis e manibus, dein scabilla concrepant, auleam tollitur.' Cf. Wiseman 1974, 133 and plate 2a for mime, *scabilla* and a dancing girl.

concealed adulterer. He is anticipating the evidence to be given by Clodia's friends:

Ex quibus requiram, quem ad modum latuerint aut ubi, alveusne ille an equus Troianus fuerit qui tot invictos viros muliebre bellum gerentes tulerit ac texerit.

I'm going to ask them how they were hidden, and where – whether it was the famous tub, or the Trojan horse that concealed all those heroes waging a woman's war . . .

'Alveus ille' must be an allusion, and I take it to be the same as *cista Latini* in Juvenal's sixth satire.<sup>47</sup> The lover Latinus played hid in a chest; amorous Falstaff hid in a laundry-basket; the hero of the Adultery Mime on the late-Republican stage must have hidden in a tub, like the lover of the baker's wife in Apuleius.<sup>48</sup> With that sort of plot in their minds, the jury and the audience were ready for the *obscaenissima fabula* about Clodia (whatever it was) with which Cicero closed his argument, satisfied that Clodia's reputation was in tatters and her lovers' testimony no longer to be feared.

Cicero's speech was given on the first day of the *ludi Megalenses*, and he may have felt that theatrical allusions would be appropriate for a holiday crowd. But it is at Clodia in particular that they are aimed. His brilliant and shameless innuendo leads his audience to think of her not just as a writer of mimes but as a character in one. The picture he builds up of her – the wealthy matron with the morals of a whore – was a familiar one in contemporary mime, as we know from the fragments of Laberius and Pubilius Syrus.<sup>49</sup> The smooth young dandies he

<sup>47</sup> Cic. *Cael.* 67, cf. Juv. vi. 44. Not recognising the allusion, C. M. Francken (*Mnem.* 8 (1880) 228) proposed to delete *an* in the Cicero passage; this suggestion has been rightly ignored, but commentators still do not explain *ille*.

<sup>48</sup> Apul. *Met.* ix. 23, 26f, cf. 5 (*dolium*), Hor. *Sat.* ii. 7. 59 (*arca*). For the 'adultery mime', see Reynolds 1946 and McKeown 1979, 74-6.

<sup>49</sup> Laberius *Comptialia* fr. 33R (Nonius 89L): 'quo quidem | me a matronali pudore probulum meretricie | progressi coegit.' Petr. *Sat.* 55 (attributed to Pubilius): 'quo margarita cara tibi, bacam Indicam, | an ut matrona ornata phaleris pelagus | tollat pedes indomita in strato extraneo?'; see Giancotti 1967, 235-66. For the social background, cf. Lyne 1980, 13-17.



imagined hiding in the famous tub – Clodia's devoted lackeys – are equally recognisable in the *cultus adulter* of the mimic stage.<sup>50</sup> Not all mimes were crude, vulgar and subliterary; on the contrary, at this very period there is plentiful evidence for mime as sophisticated entertainment, appealing to the same audience and exploiting the same subject matter as elegiac love poetry.<sup>51</sup> It is no accident that Gallus' Lycoris was a mime actress: we now know that he called her his *domina*, and the languishing attitude attributed to him in the tenth *Eclogue* is what Cicero, in his different mode, contemptuously attributes to the sophisticated young men who made themselves Clodia's slaves.<sup>52</sup> The world of mime is also the world of the *barbatuli iuvenes*.

It is a relief for the historian to turn from self-dramatising poets and disingenuous barristers to the comparative security of epigraphic evidence. The real background to all this – the common ground of Roman high society and the popular stage – may be elicited from a late-Republican funerary inscription from Rome (Fig. 2).<sup>53</sup>

Eucharis, freedwoman of Licinia.

She lived fourteen years, a maid skilled and learned in all the arts.

Ah, you who with casual eye look on the house of death,

halt your step and read my epitaph to the end.

My father's love gave it to his daughter

where the remains of my body were to be laid down.

Here, when my fresh youth was flowering in the arts

and attaining glory as my age increased,

the gloomy day of my fate came in haste

and denied any further breath to my life.

Skilled and taught almost by the Muses' hand,

<sup>50</sup> Cic. *Cael.* 67: 'lauti iuvenes . . . in conviviis faceti, dicaces, non numquam etiam ad vinum disertī . . . vigeant apud istam mulierem venustate, dominantur sumptibus, haerent, iaceant, deserviant.' Ovid *Trist.* II 499, 505, with Reynolds 1946, 82; cf. *Apul. Met.* IX 27f (*venustus, mollis*).

<sup>51</sup> McKeown 1979, 71f.

<sup>52</sup> *Domina*: P. J. Parsons and R. G. M. Nisbet, *JRS* 69 (1979) 140, 144; Cic. *Cael.* 67 (n. 50 above, *deserviant*). For the *servitium amoris* theme in general, see Lyne 1979.

<sup>53</sup> *CIL* VI 10096 = I<sup>2</sup> 1214 = *ILLRP* 803. On dance in the late Republic, see E. J. Jory, *BICS* 28 (1981) 154f, 157; for the visual evidence for mimes, clowns, etc., see H. Goldmann, *AJA* 47 (1943) 22–34.

EVC HARIS LICINIAE  
DOCTA ERODITA OMNES ARTES VIRGONIA  
HEVS OC VI QERR ANTE QVEI ASPICIT LETE DOMA  
MORARE GRES SVM ET ITIVLVN NOSTRVM PERLICE  
A MOR PARENTEIS QVEM DEDI NAJAE SVAE  
VBE SE RELINVAE CONLOCA RENT CORPORS  
HE IC VIRIDIS AETAS CVM FLORERET ARTIBVS  
CRESCENTE ETAEVO GLOHAM CONSCENDER ET  
PROPIRAVII HORA TRISTIS FATALIS MEA  
EIDENECAVIT VTRA VEITAE SPIRITVM  
DOCTA ERODITA PAENE MV SARVM MANV  
QVA EMODO NOBILIVM LVDSI DECORAVI CHORO  
ET GRAECA INSCAENA PRIMA POPVLO PPARVI  
EN HOC INTVMVIO CINEREM NOSTRI CORPORS  
INFLSTAE PARCAE DEPOSERUNT CARMINE  
STVIVM PATRONAE CVRA AMOR LAVDVS DECV  
SILENT AMBUSTO CORPORE EMLETO TACEAT  
RELIOVI FLEIVM NAJAE GENTIORI MEO  
ET ANTECESSI CENITA POSTLETTI DIEM  
BIS HIC SEPTENI MECVM NATALES DIES  
TENEBRIS TENENT VRDITIS AETERNA DV  
ROGQVT DISCEDEN S IERRAM MIHI DIS

FIGURE 2

I who recently graced with my dancing the games of the nobles, who was first to appear to the people on the Greek stage – see how in the tomb the ashes of my body the cruel Fates have laid down with a dirge. The encouragement of my patroness, care, love, applause and honour are mute at the body's cremation, are silent in death. A daughter, I left grief to my father; born later, I went before him to the day of death. Twice seven birthdays are with me here, held fast in the darkness in the eternal house of Dis. As you leave, please pray that the earth may be light on me.

In death, as no doubt in life, Eucharis speaks in iambic senarii. A freed slave, like most mime-actresses, she quickly achieved the *gloria*, *laudes* and *decus* of popular applause, and but for her untimely death might have become a wealthy woman like Dionysia, a senator's mistress like Nicopolis or Tertia, a poet's inspiration like Volumnia Cytheris.<sup>54</sup> What she did do, even before her fifteenth birthday, was to dance in the *nobilium ludi*, and be the first to appear before the public on the *Græca scaena*. Both those phrases need some explanation.

The great dramatic festivals of the Roman year were a show-piece for the magistrates who presided over them. For the curule aediles the *ludi Megalenses* and *Romani*, for the plebeian aediles the *ludi Florales* and *plebei*, for the urban praetor the *ludi Apollinares* – all offered an unparalleled opportunity for conspicuous expenditure and the attraction of that popular approval and applause which was the life-blood of the Roman politician.<sup>55</sup> Those magistrates were prominent senators, often *nobiles*, but the regular public festivals cannot, I think, be the *ludi nobilium* referred to by the Eucharis inscription: on the contrary, they were *ludi deorum immortalium*.<sup>56</sup> We must think rather of two other sorts of *ludi* – funeral games and votive games – where the greatness of the presiding aristocrat and his family was even more directly advertised.

For *ludi funebres*, Polybius' famous description of a Roman aristocratic funeral provides a clear context: the ancestors were thought of as being physically present, the next generation was

<sup>54</sup> Dionysia: Cic. *Rosc. com.* 23, Hortensius *ap. Gell. NA* 15.3, Nicopolis: Plut. *Mor.* 318c, Sull. 2.4; C. Garton, *Phoenix* 18 (1964) 137–56 = *Personal Aspects of the Roman Theatre* (Toronto 1972) 141–67, on Sulla's theatrical interests. Tertia: Cic. *Verr.* III 77–83, v 31. Cytheris: *Serv. ecl.* 10.1, cf. *vir. ill.* 82.2, Cic. *Phil.* II 58, 69 etc.

<sup>55</sup> Expense: Pliny *NH* XIX 23, XXXVI 114–20, and passages cited in n. 71 below. Applause: Cic. *Sest.* 115, *Att.* 116.11, II 19.3, IV 15.6, *Phil.* 137, etc. For Clodius at the Megalesia, on the second day of the Caelius trial, see Wiseman 1974, 159–69.

<sup>56</sup> *Vitr. Arch.* v 3.1, Cic. *Verr.* v 36, Livy VI 42.12f, Aug. *CD* VI 5, etc.; see J. A. Hanson, *Roman Theater-Temples* (Princeton 1959), *passim*.

expected to imitate their greatness, and in general the whole aim and purpose of the celebration was the glory of the *gens*.<sup>57</sup> As for *ludi votivi*, they were often given in association with triumphs – either directly, to give thanks for the victory, or indirectly, at the dedication of temples or other public buildings put up as *munimenta* from the spoils of war.<sup>58</sup> In either case, it was the triumphant general who paid for them, and his own *res gestae* that were being celebrated. Moreover, such games could be put on at any time, by anyone who could afford them. Remember Caelius, who borrowed money from Clodia to pay for staging *ludi* (or so he said); he was of very junior senatorial rank, with no reason to give games except mere self-advertisement.<sup>59</sup> Remember Milo, who spent three patrimonies on the most extravagant *ludi* Rome had ever seen; Cicero thought he was crazy, but Milo was preparing for a consular candidature the following year, and had powerful enemies.<sup>60</sup> As it happens, neither Caelius nor Milo was technically a *nobilis*, but if Eucharis performed for either, as she may well have done, she would hardly have let that worry her. The shows they put on were surely the sort of thing she meant by *nobilium ludi*.

What sort of plays were shown? We know of comedies by Terence being played at funerary *ludi*, and tragedies by Accius and Naevius at votive games. *Fabulae praetextae*, with Roman plots that could glorify the giver of the games directly, would also be particularly appropriate; the view expressed in the standard history of the Roman theatre, that the *praetexta* had become obsolete by the late Republic, is not only unlikely *a priori* (why ignore such a popular way of celebrating your ancestors' great

<sup>57</sup> Pol. VI 53f, cf. *didascaliae* to Ter. *Heccyra* and *Adelphi* for L. Paullus' funeral *ludi*.

<sup>58</sup> E.g. Pol. XXX 22, Livy XXXVI 36, XL 52.1–3, XLII 10.5. Pompey illustrates both types: the first in 70 (Cic. *Verr. act.* I 31), the second in 55 (Cic. *Pis.* 65, Asc. 1C, Dio XXXIX 38: dedication of the theatre). For *munimenta* see n. 15 above.

<sup>59</sup> Cic. *Cael.* 53 (pp. 73f below); whether he gave them or not, Clodia evidently believed he was going to. For Caelius' career (quaestor in 58?), see Sumner 1971, 247–9.

<sup>60</sup> Cic. *QF* III 6.6, Asc. 31C ('impensas ludorum scaenicorum ac gladiatorii muneris maximas'); cf. Cic. *fam.* II 6.3, Mil. 95 for the *munera*.

deeds?), it is also inconsistent with the evidence.<sup>61</sup> But comedies, tragedies and *praetextae* – in which the actors were all male – offered no role to Eucharis. She was a dancer, her medium was the mime. We know that *mimae* performed at votive games and in the regular annual festivals, and it is likely that they performed in the *ludi funebres* as well.<sup>62</sup>

That brings us, indirectly, to the *Graeca scaena*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us that at wealthy funerals in the Augustan period, the dancers were dressed as satyrs and imitated the Greek dance called *sikinnis*. He takes it as an archaic Roman custom, evidence for his perpetual theme that the Romans were really Greek in origin themselves.<sup>63</sup> It is much more likely to be an innovation of the late-Republican period, one more aspect of that hellenisation of Roman culture that followed the disappearance of the courts of the Hellenistic kings. Rome became the centre of patronage for Greek artists and intellectuals,<sup>64</sup> and with them, ill-documented but no less important, came the theatre people. Our sources tell us about the scholars and the literary men – Archias, Parthenius, Philodemus, Athenodorus, Timagenes – but for every Roman aristocrat who appreciated *their* talents, there must have been ten who could find work for actors and dancing girls from the Greek East.

Already in the late second century B.C., Antipater of Sidon bade farewell to 'Aphrodite's chick', the dancer Antiodemis,

<sup>61</sup> Comedies: n. 57 above. Tragedies: Cic. *fam.* vii 1.2. *Praetextae*: W. Beare, *The Roman Stage* (3rd ed. London 1964) 42–4. See Cic. *fam.* x 32.3 (Pollio) for L. Balbus' *praetexta* on his own deeds, performed in *ludi* at Gades; Beare is surely wrong to try to explain this away as untypical (p. 42) or a literary exercise (p. 44). See Shackleton Bailey 1977a, 1 325 on Cic. *fam.* vii 1.2: Aesopus acting a *praetexta* at Pompey's games?  
<sup>62</sup> Pliny *NH* vii 158 (*votivi*), Cic. *Att.* iv 15.6 (*Apollinares*), Val. Max. ii 10.8 (*Floralis*).  
*Mimi* at funeral processions: Dion. Hal vii 72.12 (referring to his own time), Suet. *Vesp.* 19.2.

<sup>63</sup> Dion. Hal. vii 72.10–12, cf. 70.2, 1 90.2; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *JRS* 61 (1971) 24f.

<sup>64</sup> Wiseman 1979, 154–61. Cf. also *History* 217 (1981) 380f; Griffin 1976, 89–96; G. Williams, *Change and Decline: Roman Literature in the Early Empire* (Berkeley 1978) ch. 3, esp. 112–16; Horsfall 1979, esp. 84–6.

setting out to captivate Rome with her melting eyes and her arms that flowed like water. Perhaps she performed at Marius' triumph in 101, when we know there were 'Greek shows' in the theatre.<sup>65</sup> By the fifties B.C., Greek influence on the mimic stage was all-pervading. 'We've heard about Alexandria before,' said Cicero to the jury at Rabirius Postumus' trial in 54; 'now we know about it – the source of all trickery and deceit, where the plots of all the mimes come from.' Presumably it was Alexandrian performers that had brought the plots with them, and Cicero's implication that they were a novelty fits in well with the claim on Eucharis' gravestone that she was the first to act on the 'Greek stage' at Rome.<sup>66</sup>

The final point to notice in the Eucharis inscription is the name of her patroness, Licinia. Was she related to the philhellene L. Licinius Crassus? or to the Atticising orator C. Licinius Calvus? or to L. Licinius Lucullus, patron of Archias and a Greek historian in his own right? or to L. Licinius Murena, who transformed the archaic temple of Juno in his native Lanuvium with splendid Hellenistic sculptures?<sup>67</sup> Whichever of the branches of the *gens Licinia* she belonged to, she was probably a lady whose tastes and background were very much like those of Clodia herself.

The patrician Claudii enjoyed widespread and long-standing *clientelae* in the Hellenistic world. Clodia's brothers Appius and

<sup>65</sup> Antipater of Sidon 61 G–P (*Anth. Pal.* ix 567), Plut. *Mar.* 2.1. Antipater's description *Ἀσιδοῦς ὀλακρονίς* suggests some connection with the *lysioidoi*, evidently female impersonators (Athen. xiv 620e, 621c–d, Strabo xiv 648); Sulla loved the lysiode Metrobios (Plut. *Sulla* 36.2).

<sup>66</sup> Cic. *Rab. Post.* 35; he cannot mean that all mime-plots had always been Alexandrian, since *mimi* had been performing at Roman *ludi* since the third century B.C. (Festus 438L, a veteran *mimus* in 211). Cf. Adams 1982, 31f, 93 on Greek sexual terms in mime (Festus 410L, Laberius fr. 25, 139), and Helly 1983, 373 for a Roman organising mime performances in Thessaly in the first century B.C.

<sup>67</sup> L. Crassus: Cic. *de or.* ii 365, iii 75, 194. C. Calvus: Cic. *Brut.* 284–91. L. Lucullus (Clodia's sister's husband): Cic. *Arch.* 5, *Att.* i 16.15, 19.10, Plut. *Luc.* i. L. Murena (stepfather of Clodius' wife, Cic. *dom.* 118, 134): F. Coarelli in *L'art décoratif à Rome à la fin de la république et au début du principat* (Coll. de l'école fr. de Rome 55, 1981) 229–84, esp. 251f.

Publius had had long experience in the Greek East, and their households were full of *Graeculi comites*.<sup>68</sup> The third brother, Gaius, as proconsul of Asia from 55 to 53 B.C., was honoured at Pergamum for his ancestors' sake as well as his own, perhaps with reference to the transfer of the Magna Mater from Pergamum to Rome in 204; Quinta Claudia was the *matronarum castissima* chosen to receive her, and C. Claudius Nero one of theensors who let the contract for her temple.<sup>69</sup> The story of Q. Claudia was elaborated in a stage version known to Propertius and Ovid – perhaps a mime, perhaps a *fabula praetexta*<sup>70</sup> – and we may be sure that when Claudian aediles held the *ludi* of the Magna Mater, as Clodia's uncle Gaius and her brother Publius did on two memorably spectacular occasions,<sup>71</sup> that piece would have a prominent place in the programme.

Clodia's brother was, notoriously, a demagogue. In that context one is curious to know whether he exploited the theatre claque, those hired professionals whose applause and rhythmic chanting were brilliantly documented by Alan Cameron in his book on 'circus factions', and whose recorded history begins in the Ciceronian age. (They are, in fact, first attested in the *pro Sestio* passage we have already considered.<sup>72</sup>) Percennius, the leader of the mutineers in Pannonia in A.D. 14, had been prominent among the *operae theatrales*; Tacitus' description of him as 'proca lingua et miscere coetus doctus' is reminiscent of those other *operae* who worked for Clodius in the fifties B.C.: Certainly the

<sup>68</sup> *Clientelae*: evidence collected by Rawson 1973 and 1977. Clodius' *Graeculi comites*: Cic. *Mil.* 28, 55. Appian: Cic. *QF* II 11.4; cf. *Jam.* III 1.1f and Treggiari 1969, 179f and 220 on his confidential agents Cilix and Phania.

<sup>69</sup> *Inscr. von Perg.* II 409, with Rawson 1973, 230 and 1977, 353; Cic. *har. resp.* 27, *Cael.* 34, with Wiseman 1979, 95–9 on the development of her legend; *Livy xxix 37.2*; *xxxvi 36.4*.

<sup>70</sup> Ovid *Fasti* IV 326 ('mira sed et scaena testificata loquor'), cf. Prop. IV 11.51f. Mime suggested by McKeown 1979, 76.

<sup>71</sup> C. Claudius: Cic. *har. resp.* 26, Val. Max. II 4.6, Pliny *NH* XXI 6, xxxv 23; for other events in his *aedilias magnificentissima*, see Cic. *Verr.* IV 6, 133, *de off.* II 57, Pliny *NH* VIII 19, Gran. Lic. 32F. P. Clodius: Cic. *har. resp.* 22–9, with Wiseman 1974, 161f, 166–8.

<sup>72</sup> Cameron 1976, 234f, cf. 158f on Cic. *Sest.* 115: 'theatrales gladiatorique consensus dicuntur omnino solere levitate non nullorum emptros plausus exiles et raros excitare' (minimising their effect? cf. n.75 below); see also Tuplin 1979, 359f on *Sest.* 118.

skills of such *claqueurs* could be applied on any crowd, and not just theatre audiences. Professor Cameron cites examples from fourth-century Antioch and twentieth-century Vienna, and we can add Pliny's famous letter on the hired applause at the centumviral court, 'indecent even in the theatre'.<sup>73</sup>

I think we can see Percennius' predecessors in action in the scene in the Forum in February 56, when Clodius prosecuted Milo before the people. The chanting of Clodius' *operae*, irresistibly reminiscent to the modern reader of the chanting of football fans, was surely the work of theatre *factiones*, whose antiphonal technique is amply attested.<sup>74</sup> Not that all of them were on Clodius' side: Milo's supporters chanted obscene verses about Clodius and Clodia, though naturally Cicero is not so indignant about that.<sup>75</sup> It's worth noticing as well that among the insults chanted at Pompey were two that appear also in an epigram of Calvus<sup>76</sup> – further evidence for the common ground between the theatrical world and the literary élite, and for the association of both with Clodius and his sister.

This picture of the patrician Claudii, as hellenised aristocrats with a more than just aesthetic interest in the theatre, is heavily

Rhythmic applause was evidently an Alexandrian speciality (Suet. *Nero* 20.3); cf. n.66 above.

<sup>73</sup> Tac. *Ann.* I 16.3 on Percennius, cf. 177.5 ('lascivia fautorum'), Pliny *ep.* VII 24.7 ('opera theatralis'), Suet. *Nero* 20.3 ('divisi in factiones'), 26.2 (*signifer*), *Tib.* 37.2 ('capita factionum'); Cameron 1976, 259f on *demarchoi* as cheer-leaders. Pliny *ep.* II 14.4–13; Cameron 1976, 240 and n.1.

<sup>74</sup> Cic. *QF* II 3.2, Dio xxxix 19.1–2, Plut. *Pomp.* 48.7 (ὄρχηρον χορὸς εἰς ἀμοιβαία συγχορηγιμένους); Cameron 1976, 246f on antiphony. In the spring of 1984, the Yorkshire miners' chants of support for the President of the N.U.M. at their strike rallies were the same as those of the football crowd at (for example) Elland Road: 'Arthur Scargill' and 'Leeds United' are metrically equivalent.

<sup>75</sup> Cic. *QF* II 3.2; the demonstrations recorded at *Sest.* 115–23 may have been the work of an anti-Clodian claque, interpreted by Cicero (of course) as the authentic voice of the people. For *populi versus*, see also Plut. *Sulla* 6.10, Cic. *Verr.* v 81, *Phil.* I 36; H. D. Jocelyn, *LCSM* 7.10 (1981) 145f.

<sup>76</sup> Plut. *Pomp.* 48.7, with Calvus *ap.* Sen. *cont.* VII 4.7 and Schol. Luc. VII 726 (fr. 18M): 'Magnus, quem metuunt omnes, digito caput uno scalpit; quid credas hunc sibi velleturum.' For obscene libel at a literary level, see Adams 1982, I 1 n.3 on Suet. *Jul.* 49.1, *Maecr. Sat.* II 4.21, Mart. XI 20.

dependent on arguments from probability. That is inevitable, given the fragmentary nature of our evidence. But there is at least one piece of direct testimony. Macrobius tells us that the mimeographer D. Laberius turned down a request from Clodius that he should write a mime for him. What made the story worth telling was not that Clodius asked, but that Laberius dared to refuse.<sup>77</sup>

3. MULIER POTENS

The concept of *potentia* offers another approach to understanding Clodia. Laberius was a bold man to defy a Claudius. People who did that were likely to have disagreeable things happen to them.<sup>78</sup> Cicero begins his defence of Caelius with ironical sympathy for the prosecutor Atratinus: he has his orders, Clodia's *libido* and *odium* give him no choice. And when he hints at the Claudii behind the scenes, supplying the ammunition for the prosecutors to use, Cicero's formulation sums up the Roman aristocracy in general and the patrician Claudii in particular: 'they are doing what gallant gentlemen habitually do – when injured they resent it, when angered they lash out, when provoked they give battle'.<sup>79</sup>

'Periculosa potentia', he calls it – and Clodia herself is *mulier potens*, the *imperatrix* of those elegant and sophisticated young men, a *domina* who liked to have her lovers bound to her by her wealth and social position.<sup>80</sup> A young man called Vettius had offended her (probably by sending the purseful of coppers that

<sup>77</sup> Macr. Sat. II 6.6: 'cum iratus esse P. Clodius D. Laberio diceretur quod ei mimum petenti non dedisset, "quid amplius" inquit "mihi facturus es nisi ut Dyrachium eam et redeam?", ludens ad Ciceronis exilium.'

<sup>78</sup> Cic. Att. IV 3.2–3 (attacks on Cicero, Quintus' house burnt down), Cael. 50 (Clodia's crudelitas); Cic. dom. 115, Mil. 74f for techniques of intimidation attributed to Clodius.

<sup>79</sup> Cic. Cael. 2 (Atratinus' necessitas), 21. For the latter passage as referring to the Claudii, see Heinze 1925, 215 and Wiseman 1979, 122f.

<sup>80</sup> Cic. Cael. 22 (*potentiae*), 62f (*mulier potens*), 67 (*imperatrix, deserviant*: nn. 50 and 52 above). 'Vis nobilis mulier illum filium familias patre parco ac tenaci habere tuis copiis devinctum' (Cael. 36, cf. 38, 67 for her wealth).

gave rise to her nickname 'Quadrantaria'); she soothed her wounded pride, according to Cicero, by getting two of her hangers-on to assault him homosexually.<sup>81</sup> The picture is brilliantly built up of a wilful, domineering and impetuous character impatient of any restriction to her least desire, a character motivated, in Cicero's memorable phrase, by a headstrong and unbridled mentality – 'mente nescioqua effrenata atque praecipiti'.<sup>82</sup>

In general terms, I see no reason to doubt the essential accuracy of this portrait of Clodia. It fits in perfectly with the behaviour of her brothers in the fifties B.C., the arrogant assumption that they could do what they liked, however outrageous, and get away with it – behaviour for which the evidence is much more than just Ciceronian forensic allegation, and which I think may well have given rise to the recurring theme of *superbia Claudiana* in the pseudo-history of the early and middle Republic.<sup>83</sup> They were evidently a close-knit family, and we know that Clodia identified herself with Publius' career, at least.<sup>84</sup> But are we to consider her *potentia* in the same light as that of her brothers? Was she, in any sense, politically significant?

At first sight it might seem that she was. Cicero could allege, to an audience familiar with the events of only a few days before, that the trial of Clodius' right-hand man Sex. Cloelius had ended in an acquittal thanks to the influence (*gratia*) of Clodia.<sup>85</sup> In one sense, as the drafter of Clodius' legislation and

<sup>81</sup> Cic. Cael. 71; Plut. Cic. 29.4 (cf. Cael. ap. Quint. VIII 6.52) for 'Quadrantaria'.

<sup>82</sup> Cic. Cael. 35, cf. 2, 70, 78 (*libido*); 49, 55 (*temeraria, prociac, irata*); 53 ('o immoderata mulier!').

<sup>83</sup> Wiseman 1979, part II (esp. 121–5). The theme is first detectable in the early forties B.C. (pp. 104–11); so is the work of Valerius Antias (pp. 117–21).

<sup>84</sup> Cic. Att. II 12.2, cf. 1, 5; Cic. Sest. 81, QF II 12.2 for the *gens Clodia* considered as a political unit. Clodia and Publius: Cic. Cael. 32, 36, 78, *har. resp.* 9, 38f etc. Publius and Appius: Schol. Bob. 127St.

<sup>85</sup> Cic. Cael. 78, cf. QF II 5.4. See D. R. Shackleton Bailey, CQ 10 (1960) 41–3 for the name as Cloelius, not Clodius; there has been some resistance to this idea (see J.-M. Flambard, MEFRA 90 (1978) 235–45, and bibliography cited there), but it seems to me that Shackleton Bailey's main arguments have not been refuted.

the administrator of the *lex frumentaria*,<sup>86</sup> Cloelius was a person of political importance – but his politics were those of the street, not of the Forum or the Senate House; his importance was simply as Clodius' agent, handling the arson, intimidation and grievous bodily harm which Clodius disdained to carry out in person.<sup>87</sup> He was a *scriba*, and a man of no social position – a dependant of Clodius, or as he would no doubt have put it himself, one of his *amici tenuiores*. The Claudii looked after their own: he expected protection, and he got it.<sup>88</sup> But why was it Clodia's influence in particular that got him off?

We must be very careful here, for our only evidence is Cicero's hostile rhetoric, with no corroboration from the letters or any other more objective source. In all the invective Cicero devotes to Cloelius, one item recurs constantly: the uncleanness of Cloelius' mouth and tongue.<sup>89</sup> Ironically commenting in the *de domo* on Cloelius' powers of logic, Cicero remarks 'You have a taste for that *too*' – and the word he uses is *ligurire*, 'to lick', which, like its synonyms *ingere* and *lambere*, was also used in an

obscene sense.<sup>90</sup> Cicero's audience understood the innuendo perfectly well, since only a few minutes earlier, addressing Clodius, Cicero had described Cloelius as *praegustator libidinum tuarum* and as *socius tui sanguinis*. 'Go and look for him,' he urges Clodius later in the speech; 'you'll find him hiding at your sister's house – with his head down.'<sup>91</sup> What Cicero alleges – though not, of course, in so many words – is that Cloelius too was Clodia's lover, or at least the instrument of her pleasure. We cannot know what truth there was in the allegation, but the type of intercourse to which Cicero alludes would indeed be appropriate to their respective statuses – she the wilful and imperious mistress, he the dependant who must gratify her wish, whatever the humiliation to himself.<sup>92</sup>

It may be, then, that the story of her *gratia* getting Cloelius acquitted in 56 means no more than that the Claudii successfully protected a loyal servant, and that Cicero, for his own forensic purposes in the Caelius case, attributed it in particular to the influence of Clodia. Even if he was right (and I repeat that we cannot know), it hardly indicates *political* influence, in the true sense of the phrase. To see the nature – and the limits – of Clodia's political importance, we need to go back three years and look at Cicero's correspondence with Atticus in the spring of 59 B.C.

The dramatic first months of Caesar's consulship had already seen the agrarian law forced through (with uproar in the Forum) despite the furious opposition of Bibulus and Cato, and Pompey's settlement of the East at last ratified, to the public humiliation of Lucullus. Cicero had unsuccessfully defended his

<sup>90</sup> Cic. *dom.* 47; cf. *Verr.* III 177, *fam.* XI 21. 5 for *ligurire* as 'to be keen on'. Obscene sense: *Suet. Tib.* 45 (from a *fabula Atellanæ*), *Mart.* III 96. 1 (*ingere*), *Juv.* II 49 (*lambere*), etc.; see Adams 1982, 140f. For the extent of obscenity permitted in oratory, cf. Adams 1982, 222f.

<sup>91</sup> Cic. *dom.* 25, 83, cf. *Cat.* 88. 8 (*capite demisso*). Is the implication of *dom.* 25 that Clodius too was a *cunnilingus*? Cf. *Cat.* 79. 4, with Cic. *Pis.* 8, *Suet. gramm.* 23, *Mart.* XII 59. 10, 85. 3.

<sup>92</sup> For the humiliation involved, see for instance *Juv.* IX 3–5, *Sen. quaest. nat.* I 16. 4–7, *Mart.* VII 67. 13–17, IX 67. 5–8 (*mala confictio*), *Anth. Pal.* XI 219–21.

<sup>86</sup> *Scriptor legum*: Cic. *dom.* 47f, 83, 129, *Sest.* 133, *har. resp.* 11, cf. *Mil.* 33, *dom.* 50 (*auctor*), *Asc.* 33C (*scriba*). *Res frumentaria*: Cic. *dom.* 25f; cf. *JRS* 59 (1969) 64 n. 48 for the probable relevance of the burning of the temple of the Nymphs (Cic. *Cael.* 78, *Mil.* 73).

<sup>87</sup> *Asc.* 7C, 'familiarissimus Clodii et operarum Clodianarum dux'; cf. Cic. *Pis.* 23, *har. resp.* 59 (*amis*), *Cael.* 78 ('minister aut dux seditiosis'), *Mil.* 90 (*satelles*). See in particular *Cael.* 78: 'qui aedis sacras . . . incendit (cf. *Mil.* 73), qui Catuli monumentum adflixit (cf. *dom.* 102f, 114), meam domum diruit, mei fratris incendit (cf. *Att.* IV 3. 2), qui in Palatio et in urbis oculis servitia ad caedem et ad inflammandam urbem incitavit'. Intimidation: *Mil.* 33. Violence: *Asc.* 47C (cf. *Mil.* 18, 37) on the death of M. Papirius. For each outrage Cicero blames either Sex. Cloelius or Clodius himself, according to the requirements of his argument at the time.

<sup>88</sup> 'Homo egentissimus' (Cic. *dom.* 25); 'sine re, sine spe, sine sede, sine fortunis' (*Cael.* 78); 'iis dignissimus quibuscum vivit' (*Sest.* 133); *Asc.* 33C (*scriba*), cf. 7C (not a freedman, *pare* Flambard, n. 85 above). Cic. *Cael.* 21: 'funguntur officio, defendunt suos'. *Tenuiores amici*: Cic. *Mur.* 70, with P. White, *JRS* 68 (1978) 80f.

<sup>89</sup> Cic. *dom.* 26 ('ore impurissimo'), 47 ('spurca lingua'), *har. resp.* 11 ('impuro ore'), *Cael.* 78 ('ore, lingua inquinatus'); cf. *dom.* 25 ('helluo spurcatissimus'), 48 ('omnium impurissimus'), *Pis.* 8 ('homo impurus . . . osculo tuo dignissimus').

consular colleague C. Antonius, in a trial which had two unexpected consequences: the victorious prosecutor, young M. Caelius, moved to the Pale and made Clodia's acquaintance, and a rash remark by Cicero caused Caesar and Pompey to agree to Clodius' transfer to the *plebs*. Metellus Celer had died suddenly, leaving the consular province of Transalpine Gaul without a governor; Pompey, equally suddenly, had married Caesar's daughter Julia, to the chagrin of the Servilii Caepiones; and Ptolemy Auletes had bought his title to the throne of Alexandria for 144 million sesterces.<sup>93</sup> By the time of the senatorial recess in April, while *principes civitatis* habitually retired for a month or so to their villas and estates, the political atmosphere was electric. Who would get Metellus Celer's place in the college of augurs? Who would get the fat embassy to Alexandria? Who would be picked for the new agrarian commission? What was Clodius going to do now that he could look forward to being tribune?<sup>94</sup>

It was the last question that mattered most to Cicero, as he left on a tour of his country houses. His first stay was at Antium, on the coast some forty miles south of Rome, where he discontentedly counted the waves and tried not to think about politics.<sup>95</sup> Clodia herself was only a few miles to the north, at her villa at Solonium, where a family council was evidently taking place. She and Cicero, of course, were not on visiting terms, but she had promised to report to Atticus when she got back to Rome, and Cicero looks forward to hearing all about it in Atticus' letters.<sup>96</sup> That was on the 16th or 17th of April; a couple of days later, en route to Formiae, Cicero's party came up from Antium

<sup>93</sup> Bibulus and Cato: Dio xxxviii 6.1-3, Plut. *Cato min.* 32, etc. Lucullus: Suet. *Jul.* 20.4, cf. Plut. *Luc.* 42.6. Caelius: Cic. *Cael.* 18, 74f. Clodius: Cic. *dom.* 41. Metellus Celer: Cic. *Att.* 1.20.5, II 1.11 (60 B.C.), *Vat.* 19, *Caef.* 59, Julia: Cic. *Att.* II 17.1, VIII 3.3; Plut. *Caes.* 14.4; *Pomp.* 47.6 etc.; see Wiseman 1974, 185. Ptolemy: Suet. *I.* 54.3, *Caes.* BC III 107.2 etc. (pp. 55-8 below).

<sup>94</sup> Cic. *Att.* II 4.2, 5.1-3, 7.2f, 12.1f etc.

<sup>95</sup> Cic. *Att.* II 4.4, 5.2, 6.1f, 8.4 and 10 for his itinerary.

<sup>96</sup> Cic. *Att.* II 9.1; for the site of Solonium see Cic. *de div.* 1.79 (*ager Lanuvinius*), Festus 296L (off the Via Ostiensis), Livy VIII 12.2.

on to the Via Appia at the staging post of Tres Tabernae. There they ran into young Curio, full of hot news about Clodius' plans, and a letter-carrier from Atticus. Cicero eagerly read the letters, and dashed off an immediate reply (*Att.* II 12.2):

So much for *viva voce!* I got a far better idea of what's going on from your letters than from talking to Curio - all about the daily rumours, Publius' plans, Lady Ox-Eyes sounding the charge, Atheno carrying the standard, the letter to Gnaeus [Pompey], what Theophanes and Memmius said. How you've whetted my appetite about that licentious party! I'm ravenous with curiosity, but I don't mind your not writing to me about that particular *symposion*: I'd rather hear it in person.

'Lady Ox-Eyes' is Clodia, the Homeric epithet  $\beta\omicron\omega\pi\iota\varsigma$  referring to Hera, who was both sister and wife to Zeus. She had evidently returned from Solonium; Atticus, it seems, had been present at one of her sophisticated dinner-parties, but was saving up his account of it until he came to Formiae himself. Cicero looks forward to it eagerly: 'I'm all agog,' he writes a few days later, 'about your talk with Lady Ox-Eyes, and about that *delicatum convivium!*'<sup>97</sup>

Atticus was easy company - like Harold Nicolson at the dinner table of Sybil Colefax or Lady Cunard. Society hostesses provide an opportunity for political gossip to be disseminated, but they are not themselves political figures of any importance. Nor was Clodia, except as the sister and confidante of a politician momentarily at the very centre of the stage. In any case, it is clear enough from Cicero's language that what he was dying to hear was not so much the political outlook as what went on at the sort of party he never got invited to himself. Remember his letter to Paetus thirteen years later, written from the dining-room of Volumnius Eutrapelus, where Cytheris was reclining on the couch of the host. 'What?' he imagines Paetus saying: 'the exemplary Cicero at that sort of *convivium*?'<sup>98</sup> Cicero reassures him: 'even as a

<sup>97</sup> Cic. *Att.* II 14.1; for Atticus' contacts, and his familiarity with Clodia, cf. *Att.* II 22.5 and Shackleton Bailey 1965-8, I 6-9.

<sup>98</sup> Cic. *fam.* IX 26.2, cf. Suet. *Catius* 24.1 for the significance of *infra calbare*.



young man I wasn't interested in all that, and much less now I'm old'. But the correspondence in 59 shows that he was at least curious about the habits of the *beau monde*.

Inevitably, our investigation has brought us back from the Forum to the Palatine, and into the dining-room of Clodia's house. 'In triclinio Coa', Caelius called her, apparently alluding both to the transparency of her dress and to her sexually encouraging manner.<sup>99</sup> Cicero, in a different style, preferred to speak darkly of *inuitatae libidines* and *omnia inaudita vitia*.<sup>100</sup> In non-forensic contexts, fortunately, he was less portentous, and more helpful to the social historian.

Here he is in the *de finibus* (II 23), arguing against the Epicurean position:

Mundos, elegantes, optimis cocis, pistoribus, piscatu, aucupio, venatione, his omnibus exquisitis, vitantes cruditatem, quibus 'vinum defusum e pleno sit thirison (ut ait Lucilius) cui nihil dum sit vis et sacculus abstulerit', adhibentes ludos et quae sequuntur, illa quibus detractis clamat Epicurus se nescire quid sit bonum; adsint etiam formosi pueri qui ministrent; respondeat his vestis, argentum, Corinthium, locus ipse, aedificium; hos ergo asotos bene quidem vivere aut beate numquam dixerim.

Look at the smart and fashionable – people with the best chefs and confectioners, the choicest of fish, fowl, game and all that. They avoid overeating, they have their wine, as Lucilius puts it, 'decanted from a full cask, with nothing caught in the strainer'. They go in for shows, and what follows shows, the things without which Epicurus announces he doesn't know what the Good is. Throw in beautiful boys to wait on them, and clothes, silver, Corinthian bronzes, the dining place itself and the house, all in keeping. Well, I would never admit that profligates like that live a good or happy life.

'Shows, and what follows shows' – here we are back with the stage-folk again, and in an explicitly erotic context. For what Epicurus declared inseparable from the Good was *obscenae*

<sup>99</sup> Cael. *ap.* Quint. VIII 6.52: 'in triclinio coam, in cubiculo nolam' (p. 76 below), for *Coae vestes* (Hor. *Sat.* I 2.101 etc.), see J.-M. Poinssotte, *MEFR* 91 (1979) 455f. See Lyne 1980, 192–8 for the social background.

<sup>100</sup> Cic. *Cael.* 57, emphasising the participation of Clodia's servants.

*voluptates*, to use Cicero's own unlovely translation of αἱ δὲ ἄφροδισίων ἡδοναί.<sup>101</sup>

Perhaps the best commentary on Cicero's *ludi et quae sequuntur*, in the context of banqueting, is the last scene of Xenophon's *Symposion*. At the end of Callias' dinner-party in honour of Autolyclus, a mime-scene of Dionysus and Ariadne is performed to music; so convincingly do the young dancers mime their love, that as the party breaks up the unmarried guests swear to marry, and the married ones gallop off to enjoy their wives.<sup>102</sup> At a less decorous Greek *symposion*, there would probably be *hetairae* or complainant flute-girls ready to hand.<sup>103</sup> More significant for our purposes, the Roman tradition was for wives to dine with their husbands; and though they were supposed to sit up rather than recline, in fashionable circles that distinction was already being ignored in the late Republic.<sup>104</sup> It is the combination of Roman dining customs with Greek theatrical entertainments<sup>105</sup> – often, of course, erotic – that lies behind Cicero's phrase and the lifestyle of ladies like Clodia.

Whether or not they should be included among the *nobilium ludi* at which young Eucharis starred, such 'private engagements' must have been an important part of the mime-actor's work.

The first regular stage entertainments of the year were at the *ludi compitalicii* on or about 1 January, reintroduced by Clodius in

<sup>101</sup> Epicurus περὶ τέλους 67 Usener (Athen. VII 278f, 280a, XII 546c, Diog. Laert. x 6): οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼγε δύναιμαι νοῦσαι τέρασθόν ἀφαιρών μὲν τὰς διὰ χυλῶν ἡδονάς, ἀφαιρών δὲ τὰς δι' ἀφροδισίων, ἀφαιρών δὲ τὰς δι' ἀκροματάων, ἀφαιρών δὲ καὶ τὰς διὰ μορφῆς κατ' ὄψιν ἡβέτας κινήσεις. The last phrases show that the *ludi* themselves are included, as well as *quae sequuntur*. Cicero's version: *ND* I 111, *de fin.* II 7, *Pis.* 69, cf. *Tusc.* III 41, 46.

<sup>102</sup> Xen. *Symp.* 9.2–7, cf. 3.1 (erotic effect of dancers), 7.5 (θεάματα).

<sup>103</sup> See (e.g.) Aristoph. *Wasps* 1346, Athen. XIII 607d–e, Machon 233 Gow, Alciphron IV 13.14–16; cf. K. J. Dover, *Arethusa* 6 (1973) 63.

<sup>104</sup> Val. Max. II 1.2; n.98 above.

<sup>105</sup> See Livy XXXIX 6.8 on the Hellenistic luxury brought back by Manlius Vulso's army in 187 ('psaltriae sambucistriaeque et convivalia alia ludorum oblectamenta addita epulis'); Sall. *Hist.* II 70M on the dinner for Q. Metellus Pius in 74 ('scenais ad ostentationem histrionum fabricatis'); Vitruv. *Arch.* VI 7.3f on *oeci* for *virilia convivia* in Greek mansions ('ministrationum ludorumque operis locus'); Sall. *BJ* 85.39 on *histriones* in the context of aristocratic dinner parties.

58 after a period of suspension and presided over with suitable pomp in that year by Sex. Cloelius himself as one of the *magistri vicorum*.<sup>106</sup> Although these *ludi* lasted only one day in the late Republic, performances were evidently held simultaneously at crossroad stages throughout the city,<sup>107</sup> offering plenty of work for actors and actresses. The main theatrical festivals provided six 'theatre days' at the Megalesia (4-9 April), seven at the Cerealia (12-18 April), five at the Floralia (28 April-2 May), seven at the *ludi Apollinares* (6-12 July), nine at the *ludi Romani* (4-12 September), six at the *ludi Victoriae* (26-31 October), and nine at the *ludi plebei* (4-12 November). With the Compitalia, that amounts to a total of fifty days in the year. Some of the minor annual *feriae*, such as the Liberalia and the Quinquatrus, may have involved stage performances; trade-guilds and religious associations may also have provided regular engagements; but it is hard to imagine that more than about one third of the actor's year was booked up, and one-off public shows for triumphs and funerals would certainly not fill the rest.<sup>108</sup> It is clear that if they were not reduced to competing with the cheapjacks and fortune-tellers in the booths of the Circus Maximus,<sup>109</sup> what actors did most of the time was perform for private parties.

We see Pylades performing at Augustus' dinner-parties, and Paris at Nero's; Trimalchio had bought a troupe of *comoedi*, while Ummidia Quadratilla had her own *phantomimi*, who were also to be seen in the theatre when they were not entertaining their mistress and her guests.<sup>110</sup> Cicero's casual reference to *ludi et quae*

<sup>106</sup> Cic. *Pis.* 8, Asc. 7C; Livy xxxiv 7.2, Dion. Hal. iv 14.3-4, *ILLRP* 702-4 on *magistri vicorum*; cf. Wiseman 1979, 127. Date: Cic. *Pis.* 8, cf. *Att.* vii 7.3, Varro *LL* vi 25. *Macr. Sat.* i 7.34, cf. Suet. *Aug.* 43.1; Prop. ii 22.3-6, with W. A. Camps, *Propertius Elegies Book II* (Cambridge 1967) 151f.

<sup>108</sup> Major *ludi*: evidence summarised in A. Degraffi, *Inscr. Ital.* xiii.2 (Rome 1963). Liberalia: Ovid *Fasti* iii 783, Tert. *de specul.* 5.4. Quinquatrus: Tac. *Ann.* xiv 12.1, cf. Suet. *Dom.* 4.4. *Colligia*: Asc. 7C, with Treggiari 1969, 170 n.8, 198f. Religious associations: *ILLRP* 701, cf. Wiseman 1974, 131-4. Triumphs and funerals: p. 33 above.

<sup>109</sup> Suet. *Aug.* 74 ('triviales ex circo ludii'), with *PBSR* 48 (1980) 13.

<sup>110</sup> *Macr. Sat.* ii 17.6, Tac. *Ann.* xiii 20.1; Petr. *Sat.* 53.13, cf. G. N. Sandy, *TAPA* 104 (1974) 329-46; Pliny *ep.* vii 24.4-6, cf. Syme 1979, 662 = *Historia* 17 (1968) 75f. *Dig.*

*sequuntur* makes it clear that much the same applied to the sybaritic banquets of his own contemporaries.

Moreover, the guests themselves might choose to perform. Cicero paints a splendid picture of Gabinus' house echoing with music and song as the consul himself dances naked *in convivio*; the exquisitely sophisticated young men who hung about Catiline in 63 did that too, and it is no surprise to find it recorded of M. Caelius, who like Gabinus had been one of that number, that he was proud of his dancing skill.<sup>111</sup> Velleius shows us the sort of performance that was involved: L. Plancus, he reports, danced the role of the sea-god Glaucus at a banquet, naked except for a fish-tail, with reeds around his head and his body painted blue.<sup>112</sup> When admiration of the professional's art came to mean more than the dignity of his own status, at a private party the sophisticated Roman could let his hair down and act as a *mimus* himself.

Similarly, the Roman lady could act as a *mima*. Transpose Xenophon's scene to Clodia's dining-room, and imagine the impact if the Ariadne role were danced by the hostess herself. Our only evidence for Clodia as a dancer comes from a scholiast who may have misunderstood Cicero's reference to her *embolia*; but it seems more likely than not that we may say of her what Sallust said of D. Brutus' wife Sempronia:<sup>113</sup>

Litteris Graecis et Latinis docta, psallere saltare elegantius quam necesse est probae, multa alia quae instrumenta luxuriae sunt.

Well read in Greek and Latin literature, she could play the lyre and dance more elegantly than an honest woman needs to; and she had many other gifts which are the stock-in-trade of *luxuria*.

xxxviii 1.27 (Julian): a freedman *phantomimus* must offer his services free to his patron's friends. Cf. also Tac. *Ann.* 1.77.5 (a ban on private engagements in A.D. 15): 'ne alibi quam in theatro spectarentur'.

<sup>111</sup> Cic. *Pis.* 22, cf. 19, *red. sen.* 13, *dom.* 60, *Planc.* 87 (*saltator*); Cat. ii 23, *Macr. Sat.* iii 14.15; Cic. *Mur.* 13, with Endnote 1 below (Murena and Gabinus were probably two of a kind, though Cicero's treatment of each disguises the likeness).

<sup>112</sup> Vell. Pat. ii 83.2; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 70.1, on the 'banquet of the twelve gods' with Octavian as *choragos*.

<sup>113</sup> Schol. Bob. 135St on Cic. *Sest.* 116 (p. 27 above); Sall. *Cat.* 25.2. For *matronae* being taught to dance by Greek professionals, see Hor. *Odes* iii 6.21f, Juv. vi O. 19; for boys and girls, already in the second century B.C., Scipio Aemilianus *ap. Macr. Sat.* iii 14.6

Remembering 'what follows' in Cicero's phrase, and the association in the Roman mind of *mimae* with *meretrices*,<sup>114</sup> we can see how easy it was for Cicero to blacken Clodia's moral reputation in the eyes of the jury in Caelius' trial.

*Horti, domus, Baiae* – those are the scenes of Clodia's *vita meretricia*.<sup>115</sup> Baiae, of course, with its beach parties and boat parties, was notorious for luxurious living;<sup>116</sup> the Palatine house we have looked at already; but what of the *horti*, Clodia's park on the Tiber bank? There if anywhere her lifestyle is likely to have been on more or less public view.

The site, Cicero maliciously suggests, was carefully chosen as a pick-up place, where the young men went to swim. We may recall another phrase Sallust used of Sempronia: 'so ardent were her appetites that she sought men out more often than they sought her'.<sup>117</sup> An episode in Petronius offers a commentary on these allegations. Circe, a wealthy lady of the city of Croton, takes a fancy to Encolpius, the anti-hero of the *Satyricon*, who is pretending to be a slave. She sends her fastidious servant-girl Chrysis to bring him to her park. Beneath the shade of the plane trees, on the grass among the flowers, she invites him to take her, if he wishes. But the anger of Priapus renders Encolpius impotent. Summoned again, this time by contemptuous letter, and with his manhood apparently restored, he is brought back to the same idyllic spot. Circe, reclining on a golden cushion, dismisses her servants and calls him to her embrace. But when it comes to the point, he fails again.

Stung by this public insult, bent on revenge she ran off calling for her grooms and ordered them to flog me. Not content even with this

(fr. 30 Maic.); for the social problem caused by well-born amateurs (of both sexes) appearing on the stage, see *AE* 1978 145, with B. Levick, *JRS* 73 (1983) 105–10.

<sup>114</sup> E.g. Cic. *Verr.* III 83 (Tertia), *Hor. Sat.* I 2.38 (Origo).

<sup>115</sup> Cic. *Cael.* 38, 49.

<sup>116</sup> Varro *Men.* 44B (Non. 226L), Cic. *Att.* I 16.10, II 8.2, *Jam.* IX 12.1, Sen. *ep.* 51; D'Arms 1970, 39–72, esp. 42f. *Attae, navigationes*: Cic. *Cael.* 35, 49, *Verr.* V 31, 40, 63, 94, Sen. *ep.* 51.4, Suet. *Gaius* 37.2, *Nero* 27.3, Alciphron I 15, etc.

<sup>117</sup> Cic. *Cael.* 36, cf. *Hor. Sat.* II 1.8, *Odes* I 8.8, III 7.28, 12.7; Sall. *Cat.* 25.3.

savage punishment, she sent for her spinning-women and the very dregs of her household, and told them to spit on me . . .

And then he is thrown out bodily through the gates. That, it seems to me, is the true Clodia style, the real meaning of her *potentia*, as she exercised it, for instance, on the unfortunate Vettius.<sup>118</sup>

If a fictional parallel is thought unsatisfactory, sober history may redress the balance. Another patrician lady (great-great-niece of Clodia herself) held a party in another park in the year A.D. 48, dressed as a Maenad, with a *procaax chorus* of guests revelling in Bacchic guise, and her bigamous husband – the consul designate – wearing buskins and crowned with ivy. She was Valeria Messalina, another *mulier potens* whose fancies it was dangerous to refuse. One of her lovers was an actor, Mnester, who like Encolpius had suffered flogging at the order of his imperious mistress.<sup>119</sup>

Tacitus was afraid his readers would find the episode of Messalina and Silius incredible. Carrying on so openly, how did she think she could get away with it? He himself knew the answer: she just didn't care. Marrying Silius, as he points out with a fine psychological insight, appealed to her because of its very enormity; she took active pleasure in her reputation for outrageous behaviour.<sup>120</sup> Clodia didn't care either. Recklessly determined to pay back Caelius, with that 'headstrong and unbridled mentality' of which Cicero speaks, she laid herself wide open to the character-assassination so effectively carried out by Caelius and by Cicero himself.<sup>121</sup>

#### 4. IMMODERATA MULIER

Before taking leave of Clodia, we ought to remember the man she was married to for twenty years, Q. Metellus Celer. In at

<sup>118</sup> Petr. *Sat.* 126–32 (trans. from 132); Cic. *Cael.* 71 (p. 39 above).

<sup>119</sup> Tac. *Ann.* XI 31, cf. 12.2 for the danger, 36.1 on Mnester; Dio LXI 31.4, συμφορούν τε περιβόητον καὶ κόπον ἀσελγέστατον (cf. Cicero on Clodia at *Att.* II 12.2).

<sup>120</sup> Tac. *Ann.* XI 26.3: 'ob magnitudinem infamiae, cuius apud prodigos novissima voluptas est'. Cf. 12.3 ('non futurum sed multo comitatu'); 27 for the reader's incredulity.

<sup>121</sup> Cic. *Cael.* 35; n. 82 above.

least one respect – his arrogance – Metellus was worthy of her. His surviving letter to Cicero in 62 is a cold and high-handed rebuke; and as consul two years later he is said to have told Clodius in the Senate that he would kill him with his own hands if he didn't behave.<sup>122</sup> He could probably have done it, too, for he knew how to handle arms. As his whole career reveals, Metellus was a *vir militaris*.

We have seen that his first appearance is as a junior officer in the early seventies, perhaps serving under his new father-in-law in Macedonia.<sup>123</sup> How long he was away we do not know, nor whether he fought in his quaestorship against Spartacus or Mithridates or the Sertorians; there was plenty of opportunity for an ambitious young soldier to see some action. The year after his tribunate he was away again, as legate, perhaps with his brother-in-law Pompey in the campaign against the pirates.<sup>124</sup> He certainly served in the Mithridatic War; late in 66 he fought off a dangerous attack on his winter camp near the Caspian Sea, and he probably saw through the rest of Pompey's campaign in the lands of the Caucasus before returning to stand for the praetorship in the summer of 64. Before his year of office as praetor was over he was in arms again, leaving early for his province of Cisalpine Gaul to counter the forces of Catiline; as he pointedly remarked to Cicero in January 62, he was in charge of an army and waging a war.<sup>125</sup> Back again to stand for the consulship in 61, he was duly elected, and given Transalpine Gaul by senatorial decree when the news of the migration of the Helvetii reached Rome in March 60. He had high hopes of a triumph, and might even have cheated Caesar of his fame if he had not died so suddenly in 59.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>122</sup> Cic. *fam.* v. 1, *Cael.* 60; cf. Dio xxxvii 50.3 for his notorious φρόνημα.

<sup>123</sup> Sall. *Hist.* I 135M, p. 24 above.

<sup>124</sup> Cic. *leg. Man.* 58, with Syme 1979, 557–65 = *JRS* 53 (1963) 55–60; cf. also Summer 1973, 132f and Gruen 1974, 182 n.72, against the suggestion made in *CQ* 14 (1964) 122f. Of Celer could have been *legatus* to his cousin Q. Creticus in Crete.

<sup>125</sup> Dio xxxvi 54.2–3; Cic. *Cat.* II 5, 26, *fam.* v. 1.2 ('qui exercitui praesum, qui bellum gero'), Sall. *Cat.* 30.5, 42.3, 57.2 (three legions); E. Badian, *Mélanges André Piganiol* (Paris 1966) 914–16.

<sup>126</sup> Cic. *Att.* I 19.2 (Helvetii), 20.5 (triumph).

No doubt it suited Clodia that her husband was away so long with the legions, though we have no way of telling whether all his periods at home were marked by the state of civil war between the two of them that Cicero reveals in the year 60. She bore him one child, so far as we know – a daughter, who grew up like her mother.<sup>127</sup> Roman marriage was explicitly 'for the begetting of children' (the wedding formula), and we can be sure that Metellus wanted a son. Two generations earlier, his family had been proverbially prolific: two generations later, it was extinct.<sup>128</sup> One of the reasons, no doubt, was the lifestyle of ladies like Clodia. Somebody once asked an heiress of the noble Popillii Laenates why it is that animals have sexual intercourse only when they want to conceive: 'because they're animals', said Popillia – and her family too is not heard of in subsequent generations.<sup>129</sup>

With marriage *sine manu*, a woman did not come under the legal control of her husband. She remained her father's responsibility, or, if her father was dead (as Clodia's was), the responsibility of her relatives; if they did not choose to exert their authority, she could do pretty much as she liked.<sup>130</sup> It is unlikely that Clodia's brothers Appius, Gaius and Publius, whose own behaviour was extravagant enough, would have bothered to do anything serious to control Clodia's. The Claudian 'family council' approved Clodia's manumission of the slaves who had betrayed Caelius' poison plot to her: 'At last!' says Cicero ironically, 'we've found something she's done which her relatives approve of.'<sup>131</sup> Whether as wife or widow, it is clear that Clodia went her own way.

<sup>127</sup> Civil war: Cic. *Att.* II 1.5. Daughter Metella: Shackleton Bailey 1965–8, v 412f on *Att.* XII 40.4, 52.2, XIII 7; Wiseman 1974, 111f, 188–90 on Ovid *Trist.* II 437f, *Hor. Sat.* II 2.239, etc.

<sup>128</sup> Cic. *de fin.* v 82, Pliny *NH* VII 59; Vell. Pat. II 11.3; Wiseman 1974, 176–91. Wedding formula: Tac. *Ann.* XI 27.1 and p. 113 n.73 below.

<sup>129</sup> Macr. *Sat.* II 5.10 ('Populia' M.f.). On contraception and abortion, see S. B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves* (London 1975) 166–8, and Hopkins 1983, 94–7.

<sup>130</sup> S. B. Pomeroy, *Ancient Society* 7 (1976) 215–27; on the obsolescence of *manus*, see A. Watson, *Law-Making in the Later Roman Republic* (Oxford 1974) 99, 115, and in *ANRW* I.2 (1972) 219f.

<sup>131</sup> Cic. *Cael.* 68. For the brothers and their habits, see Wiseman 1979, 124f and 134f.

But independence has its price. To do without restrictions is also to do without protection. Clodia was vulnerable – to rude songs chanted about her in the Forum,<sup>132</sup> to well-publicised gifts like the purseful of coppers or the perfume-jar filled with something unmentionable,<sup>133</sup> and above all to the sort of treatment meted out to her at the trial of Caelius.<sup>134</sup> She could fight back, of course, using her bully-boys to pay out the impudent Vettius and to keep on hounding Caelius even after his acquittal.<sup>135</sup> But that must have been little consolation for the public ridicule to which the brilliant oratory of Caelius and Cicero had exposed her in April 56. Maybe she didn't care, *praeceps* and *effrenata* to the last. But her brothers were coming up to their praetorships and consulships, and were perhaps more sensitive about bad publicity. At any rate, for whatever reason, she drops completely out of the limelight, reappearing in our sources only eleven years later, when Cicero was actually thinking of buying the once notorious *horti* himself.<sup>136</sup>

Where was Clodia, for instance, when her brother Publius was murdered on the Appian Way in 52? The tears of bereaved noblewomen made a great impact at his killer's trial, but they were those of his wife and his mother-in-law, not his beloved sister.<sup>137</sup> My guess is that after 56 she spent much more of her time not in her town house but at Baiae or Solonium or in her

<sup>132</sup> Cic. *QF* II 3.2 (Feb. 56); cf. n.75 above, and Tac. *Ann.* XI 13.1 on *populi lascivia* at the theatre (prominent ladies insulted).

<sup>133</sup> *Quadrantes*: Plut. *Cic.* 29.4, cf. Cic. *Cael.* 62, *Cael. ap. Quint.* VIII 6.52 ('*Quadrantaria*'). *Pyxis*: Cic. *Cael.* 69 ('*audita et percelebrata sermonibus*'), Quint. VI 3.25 ('*quod neque oratori neque ulli viro gravi conveniat*'); cf. Wiseman 1974, 170–5.

<sup>134</sup> See esp. Cic. *Cael.* 31f (explanation to the presiding magistrate); p. 83 below.

<sup>135</sup> Cic. *Cael.* 71 (Camurcius and Caesernius), *QF* II 12.2, cf. *Jam.* VIII 12.2f (Servius Pola).

<sup>136</sup> Cic. *Att.* XII 38a.2–XIII 29.2 (May 45); Shackleton Bailey 1965–8, v 412f for the identification. The Clodia of *Att.* IX 6.3 (49 B.C.) was probably the ex-wife of Lucullus; see Wiseman 1974, 113f on *IG* III<sup>2</sup> 4233.

<sup>137</sup> Asc. 40C, cf. also 32C for Fulvia. Was Clodia in Asia or Cilicia with Gaius or Appius? Unlikely: in the Republic, proconsuls' women-folk did not accompany them to the province as they did later under the Principate (A. J. Marshall, *Ancient Society* 6 (1975) 118f).

riverside *horti*, enjoying the life of luxury as always, but away from her eloquent ill-wishers in the city.<sup>138</sup>

In May 45 B.C., when Clodia was about fifty-two and the limelight of notoriety was now on her daughter Metella,<sup>139</sup> she received an approach from her old acquaintance Atticus about the possibility of her selling her riverside gardens.<sup>140</sup> Cicero was looking for somewhere to live in retirement, at Rome but not in the centre of things – and he wanted a place where he could build a shrine to his beloved daughter. What Clodia thought of that proposal we are not told. At any rate, she didn't want to sell. Why should she? 'She likes the place, and she's not short of money.'<sup>141</sup>

And that is where we leave her, pleasing herself to the last, sumptuous in her park like a dowager duchess. To our age, with its egalitarian and essentially puritanical preconceptions, she is a figure fascinating but scarcely comprehensible. It takes the eighteenth century to do her justice. Alexander Pope would have understood her perfectly, for she exemplified both the ruling passions by which he maliciously defined 'the characters of women'. Everything we know about Clodia suggests a woman motivated by the love of pleasure and the love of sway.

<sup>138</sup> She was out of Rome in May 45 (Cic. *Att.* XII 42.1, 47.2, 52.2), though that need not be significant. For the comparative seclusion of *horti*, cf. Cic. *Att.* XII 29.2 ('*nec enim esse in urbe possum nec a vobis abesse*').

<sup>139</sup> See n. 127 above.

<sup>140</sup> See n. 136 above. Atticus: n.97 above, with Cic. *Att.* X 8.3 (Sex. Cloelius his *diens*, 49 B.C.), XIV 8.1 (will know what Clodia is doing, April 44).

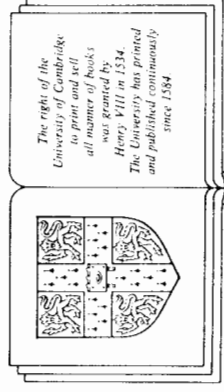
<sup>141</sup> Cic. *Att.* XII 42.2, '*delectatur enim et copiosa est*' (n.80 above for her wealth).

# CATULLUS AND HIS WORLD

A REAPPRAISAL

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