

GENDER, RHETORIC, AUTHORITY: OVID'S *FASTI* AND AUGUSTAN THOUGHT ON
WOMEN

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ABSTRACT

Jessica Wise: Gender, Rhetoric, Authority: Ovid's *Fasti* and Augustan Thought on Women
(Under the direction of Sharon James)

This dissertation studies Ovid's *Fasti* and contemporary Augustan Rome. In this poem, Ovid provides explanations for Rome's religious festivals, featuring numerous stories of Rome's mythic foundations. These tales were newly prominent in Ovid's time: Augustus used foundational legends to showcase his relationship to Rome's founders and to assert divine authority for his rule. In art, architecture, law, and his public calendar, he promoted a narrative of Rome's origins in which men supervised state and religion, while women acted chiefly in the domestic sphere. In the *Fasti*, by contrast, Ovid examines the female experience: multiple voices and perspectives offer a complex picture that challenges the imperial vision. By allowing women to articulate the sexual violence beneath many of Rome's rituals (e.g., the Matronalia and the Compitalia), Ovid highlights female experience as foundational to Roman religion and identity. He vividly illustrates the agency of women in bringing peace and prosperity to the state by depicting women such as Lucretia, the Sabine women, and Claudia Quinta as speaking or acting decisively and taking control of their circumstances. Where male behavior is often impulsive (e.g., Mars) or ineffectual (e.g., Numa), women (e.g., Carmentis, Rhea Silvia) predict the future, behave rationally, and even redeem male disorder.

Chapter 1 provides a background of Augustan thought on women. Chapter 2 reviews Ovid's works from the *Heroides* to the *Fasti*, tracing his representation of the female voice and experience of sexual violence. Chapter 3 treats *Fasti* 2: studying two themes male *vis* and the silencing of women. Women's voices, ultimately stolen, represent contradictory or alternative

accounts of Roman ritual erased by powerful male figures. Chapter 4 studies *Fasti* 3, highlighting the persistent juxtaposition between the foolish or destructive male figures (Mars, Romulus, Bacchus, Aeneas) and the rational, productive female characters (Rhea Silvia, Sabine Women, Ariadne, Anna Perenna). Chapter 5 examines *Fasti* 4, which features numerous festivals of production (Fordacidia, Parilia, Vinalia) with special emphasis on the role of mothers in the Megalensia and the Cerealia. Ovid consistently obscures distinguishing markers between *matronae* and *meretrices*, suggesting that the state necessarily incorporates and relies upon women of all classes.

To my parents, everything I am and everything I have done is owed to you.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION: AUGUSTAN THOUGHT ON WOMEN

Introduction

From his earliest elegies to the *Fasti*, Ovid consistently explores the dynamics of gender and authority, a subject I discuss more fully in Chapter Two. When he brings this thematic program to the *Fasti*, a poem that engages popular Roman culture, tradition, and institutions, Ovid's provocative representations of gender and authority directly interact with the publicly pervasive Augustan representations of gender and power in the state. To grasp the full effect of Ovid's *Fasti* and its playful representation of gender requires first an understanding of the contemporary predominant ideologies about gender and authority that Ovid engages in his poem.¹ The main goal of this chapter, then, is to explore the role prescribed for citizen women in the Augustan principate, in order to provide a backdrop for Ovid's explorations. In particular, I will consider the representation of women in Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*. Livy provides an advantageous angle for analyzing Augustan representations of gender and authority, both because he was a contemporary, and because his history is pervasively concerned with exemplarity. As he famously states in the preface, he aims to present his readers with "good examples to follow" and "bad examples, rotten through and through, to avoid." Because Livy's program applies to men and women alike, he offers a fairly thorough understanding of what it meant to be a "good" and a "bad" woman. I will argue that the main values that inform Livy's exemplarity directly

¹ By predominant ideology, I mean the ideology that is most prevalent and circulating visibly around Rome either in texts, on monuments, through laws, or in religious practices or public entertainment, in venues heavily influenced by Augustus.

participate in the broader Augustan discourses on women and that *Ab Urbe Condita* betrays the same set of anxieties that prompted Augustus' legislation on women.² I concentrate on the narratives about the origins of Rome—a matter of particular interest for Augustus. Following this discussion, I conclude by examining other sources in Augustan Rome that reiterate Livy's ideologies and thereby manifest a particular public ideology about women that was promulgated as part of a project of the restoration of morals and values in Augustan Rome.

Because Rome was uniquely concerned with women, and the role of women in the state, from its very inception, Livy—in alignment with Augustus' early programs of reform—features critical civic and social issues relating to women. Female *pudicitia* is a theme that begins with Rome's origins: multiple foundational tales (e.g., Rhea Silvia, the Sabine women, Tarpeia, and Lucretia), and historical women such as Verginia, Claudia Quinta and many others, dramatize the importance of female chastity to the safety and stability of the state. Often stories about Roman peril or decline e.g. Tullia, wife of Tarquin, the Bacchanalian affair, sumptuary laws, the Bona Dea scandal cite the autonomy of Roman women—sexual, political, mercantile, or religious—as a source of chaos and disorder.

These tales were newly treated in the principate by Livy in his history of Rome. Livy, who published his 142-book tome in varying groups of three to five books a year, likely began composition before Actium, published the first two pentads by 23 BCE and continued to write

² Numerous scholars of Livy have debated the extent to which Livy aligns with or departs from Augustan virtues, but their scholarship focuses chiefly on Livy's treatment of male leaders for points of comparison to Augustus. A general overall consensus is that Livy's attitude toward Augustus is difficult to discern particularly since we do not have the books that treat the end of the Republic and beginnings of the principate. (For discussion of Livy and Augustus see Syme (1959), Walsh (1961), Peterson (1961) Luce (1990), Badian (1993), Rich (1996), Chaplin (2000), Mineo (2015a,b) and a more extensive list in Burton (2000: 430 n 4)). But Livy's attitude toward Augustus is not a matter of concern for this project. Whatever his representation of male leaders, Livy consistently represents women in ways that align with Augustan attitudes towards women (see discussion below).

throughout the principate until his death in 17 CE.³ In analyzing the role of citizen women in Roman society, I draw frequently on patterns of ideology set out in Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*, which provides our most complete narrative of Rome's early history—particularly for the mythic foundation stories that are fragmentary or abbreviated in other sources. It is predominantly the foundational stories that Ovid takes up in the *Fasti*. His readers would know these tales in Livy's history, published well before composition of the *Fasti*, and thus would be alert to Ovidian innovations. But *Ab Urbe Condita* also offers an invaluable insight into the elite male perspective on what it means to be Roman—history, tradition, virtues, rituals—in this period of transition from republic to principate. Ovid, I argue, playfully engages Livy's representation of gender roles, often inverting his models and thereby undermining the dominant, androcentric account of Roman foundations.

Livy's history is to a degree shaped by his authorial objectives, historical time period, and exemplary style, especially in the early mythic narratives. As scholars have noted, Livy employs a stylistic structure of exempla, positive and negative, for his history.⁴ Many stories are framed with commentary or editorializing that highlight exceptional characters or actions, a semi-didactic program established in the preface⁵:

What chiefly makes the study of history wholesome and profitable is this, that you behold the lessons of every kind of experience set forth as on a conspicuous monument; from these you may choose for yourself and for your own state what to imitate, from these mark for avoidance what is shameful in the conception and shameful in the result. (1.10-11)

³ On the publication dates of Livy's history see Burton (2000: 429-38) and more recently Scheidel (2009). Also see Miles (1986) on Livy's first pentad.

⁴ See in particular Walsh (1961), Luce (1977), Santoro L'hoir (1990), Feldherr (1998), Chaplin (2000, 2015), Vasaly (2015).

⁵ For the *Fasti*, I use the translation of Wiseman (2011); all other translations in the dissertation are my own.

His history provides exempla of Roman virtues and of conspicuous vices that contributed to Rome's decline in his own time. This structure yields both advantages and disadvantages for analysis. Livy emphasizes behaviors or acts that he deems either particularly honorable or appalling so as to highlight and differentiate the virtuous founders and the corrupt detractors. He thus inculcates in his readers a set of Roman *mores*: representations of virtuous and immoral characters illustrate a general ideology of the qualities considered necessary for the strength and success of the state (*virtus, pietas, pudicitia*) and those that should be controlled and contained (*libido, avaritia, luxuria*). Livy draws on these historical *mores* to instruct and guide his fellow citizens in this new period of Roman history.

Bernard Mineo has shown the way Livy inculcates values through his political philosophy. Livy, he argues, subscribes to two political principles: the need for a dualistic distribution of political and social roles and the necessity of *concordia* to ensure the good health of the civic body (125). In this dualism, the Senate or central ruling body, principate, is the rational organizing body, and the masses execute the authority of the ruling power. Mineo (2015b: 131-32) outlines the virtues that Roman leaders are capable of displaying to achieve *concordia* in the state as illustrated in a number of historical exempla of Livy: *temperantia, prudentia, clementia, moderatio, iustitia, fides, pietas, dignitas, gravitas*. The oversight of these political and moral qualities, on the other hand, leads to discord, and Livy illustrates the disastrous effects of such negative qualities as *superbia, invidia, avaritia, and libido* (133). The leaders' virtues, necessary to control the *licentia* of the masses, lead them to embody *modestia* and *disciplina*. As Mineo argues, Livy provides a cyclical pattern of Roman foundation in his history.⁶ This pattern encourages

⁶ The first cycle begins with Romulus and concludes with the Gallic sack of Rome. The second cycle begins with Camillus' "re-foundation" of the city and concludes with the disastrous civil wars during Livy's lifetime. Livy, according to Mineo, thus suggests the possible re-foundation of Rome and the beginning of a new cycle with the reign of Augustus (139-141). See also Kraus (1994).

analogies between the various leaders responsible for determining the fate of Rome, e.g., Evander, Romulus, Camillus, Servius Tullius, Scipio Africanus, and, by implication, Augustus (Mineo 144-49). Thus, Livy continually points to the political virtues that have contributed to Rome's success in the past and that could, if embraced, aid Rome's recovery from its current state of moral decline and he simultaneously underscores the vices that led to the nadirs of Roman history in order to warn his contemporary Romans against those vices.⁷

While Mineo and others focus on the depiction of political leaders and members of the male civic body, little historical scholarship has examined Livy's exemplary representations of female characters, especially at crucial turning points of Roman history.⁸ However, just as Livy outlines a set of virtuous behaviors for Roman men, so he does as well for Roman women. The model of exempla highlights historical patterns and trends that are particularly useful for analyzing attitudes toward gender roles in Roman society.⁹ In particular, Livy uses certain lexical formula repeatedly in his descriptions of woman's nature (e.g. *muliebris animus*, *audacia*, *iracundia*; *femina inbellis*, *inermis*). In her study of gender terms, specifically *mulier* and *femina*, Francesca Santoro L'Hoir shows that Livy's choice of terminology is imbued with

⁷ Livy's philosophy is in great part indebted to Republican authors before him, especially Cicero. For a full discussion of Livy's political philosophy see Vasaly (2015).

⁸ Significant scholarship on women in Livy includes Smethurst (1959), Joshel (1987), Joplin (1990), Claassen (1998), Beard (1999), Vandiver (1999), Milnor (2009).

⁹ Livy provides the fullest accounts of these stories (e.g., Rhea Silvia, Sabine Women, Tarpeia, Lucretia, et. al.), but they are recorded in numerous other sources, e.g. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch, Cicero, etc.

judgment: a *femina* is an upper-class or exemplary woman, and a *mulier* is a lower-class or “bad” woman.¹⁰ Female characters, she argues, are often one-dimensional.

Livy’s systematic use of feminine nouns and adjectives illustrate clear patterns in the representation of female characters and these patterns are intended to manifest proper female behavior, to call attention and caution to dangerous female behavior, and to point to instances in which women are productive for or destructive to the state.¹¹ In the first five books in particular, Livy frequently displays several important roles that women played in the Roman state from its foundations. His descriptions of foundational women (Lavinia, Rhea Silvia, the Sabine women, Lucretia, etc), women’s influential relationships with their male relatives (Tanaquil, Tullia, Veturia, etc.), and also notable women of virtue (Cloelia) or vice (Bacchanalia, poisoning wives such as Cornelia and Sergia) outline both female virtues that make women essential to the success of Rome, and also natural feminine qualities that endanger the male body politic. The characteristics deemed essential for the foundational women of Rome are continuously applied to women throughout the history of the Republic. This patterned representation manifests the historical indoctrination of qualities for the Roman citizen woman to uphold. I review below the prominent feminine qualities in Livy which Ovid particularly engages in the *Fasti: concordia, pudicitia*, and display of the female body.

¹⁰ In the first decade, Santoro L’hoir notes that *femina* is used to suggest the status of a woman. If she is good, she is often accorded the noun *femina*, but in derogatory descriptions of women, Livy shifts to the noun *mulier* or the adjectival form *muliebris*. On this point see also Adams (1972).

¹¹ For example, Tullia, wife of Tarquin, is first introduced as a *femina* in accordance with her social class, but as her wicked nature is revealed, Livy claims she is a *mulier* driven *ab scelere* (1.47.1) and her crimes are prompted by *muliebri audacia* (1.46.7). On the other hand, Livy calls attention to the virtuous actions of Cloelia, a lower class *virgo*, by elevating her to the title of *femina*, encouraging aristocratic women to take note. The Romans dedicated an equestrian statue to Cloelia in order to reward *novam in femina virtutem* (2.13.11). Lavinia is an exemplary *femina* for her efforts in maintaining Alba Longa after Aeneas’ death. But Livy plants doubt about the ruling potential of a woman by noting twice that Alba Longa flourished in spite of the *tutela muliebris* of Lavinia (1.3.1, 4).

1. Lucretia

Before examining these individual concepts, I begin with Lucretia, a Roman woman who epitomizes, nearly completely, Livy's ideological Roman woman: dutiful in the domestic sphere (*lanificium*), loyal to her husband (*obsequium, fides, morigera*), modest in behavior (*pudicitia*), and ready to sacrifice herself for the integrity of her male kin.¹² In the tale of her suicide, Livy models the exemplary Roman wife, the perceived vulnerability of the Roman woman, and the relationship between the body of the citizen woman and the safety of the Roman state. At the beginning of the tale, Lucretia, dutifully spinning wool, is deemed the most virtuous of the Etruscan wives. The declaration of her victory proves that the Romans valued women attentive to domestic work, a behavior that suggests her devotion to her husband and matronly duties. The Etruscan princesses, on the other hand, were consumed in activities associated with excessive sexual license, disloyalty, and depravity.

Livy's Lucretia tale also shows a male concern with the vulnerability of Roman women. Throughout his history, Livy provides examples of the mental and physical inferiorities of women. I will consider the natural psychological inferiority, i.e., the womanly mind, in later stories (Sabine women, Tarpeia). Lucretia's tale exposes the Roman male concern with the vulnerability of the female body, which can be corrupted by outsiders and enemies. Lucretia's virtues do not protect her from danger—in fact, they make her more vulnerable. Sextus, a corrupt Etruscan tyrant, desires Lucretia because of her chastity. She is too weak to fight back against her powerful aggressor, who is armed with a knife. She also cannot defend herself against his threats of defamation. When her vulnerable body falls victim to Tarquin, he rapes her and thereby attacks the property (Lucretia's body) of his kinsman.

¹² Lucretia is a central subject of my argument in Chapter 3, where I delve more deeply into the details of her story.

Thus the tale of Lucretia also showcases the principle that the sexual status of a female citizen reflects the honor of her male kin and, in turn, embodies the safety of the state. When Sextus Tarquin rapes Lucretia, he violates the property of his fellow Roman, his cousin Collatinus, and infringes upon his rights. In the Roman view, moreover, when her body is violated, the rights of all Roman men are violated. Indeed, it is Brutus, not Collatinus or Lucretius, who incites the Roman men to overthrow the kings, and according to Livy, the Roman men are moved by Brutus' public gesture. He swears by Lucretia's blood, chaste until wronged by the prince (*castissimum ante regiam iniuriam sanguinem* 1.59.1), that he will no longer suffer kings in Rome. Thus, the rape of a citizen woman symbolizes the infringement of citizen rights and therefore illustrates the danger in which the state is placed by the Etruscan monarchy. The Roman rebellion against the Etruscan kings, in defense of Roman citizen women, is a formative moment in republican history, and it makes the concept of *pudicitia* an essential principle for the safety and stability of Rome. Livy has Lucretia mark her own exemplarity with her dying words: she must kill herself so that no woman will use her as justification for unchastity (*nec ulla deinde impudica Lucretiae exemplo vivet* 1.58.10). By dying she rids the city of the miasma of her polluted body and becomes a monument to Roman female virtue.¹³

As has been noted by many scholars, the pattern of foundations upon the bodies of women continues throughout Rome's early development (Joshel, Joplin, Feldherr, Langlands). Verginia in Book 3, in particular, nearly replicates the story of Lucretia: the (potential) sexual violation of a woman leads to political revolution. I will examine in depth several of the essential female virtues on display in Livy's tales, showing his consistent patterns of female exemplarity.

¹³ Joplin (1990) points out that following the use of Lucretia's dead body to rally the Roman men, Lucretia slips entirely out of the story. Sexual violence yields to political violence. The female body is sacrificed as a means for political revolution to occur (63).

2. *Concordia*

Concordia, or harmony, ensured an ideal marriage. The term and other related concepts, e.g., *societas*, express the ideal of a partnership based on affection and co-operation, often considered discernable from outward signs of strong affection and agreement between a couple.¹⁴ Once a couple achieves *concordia*, they are thought to be more strongly bound so that others cannot come between them. Augustus and Livia promoted a renewed celebration of *concordia* in marriage with the construction of the Temple of Concord.¹⁵ In Livy, as exemplified by the tale of the Sabine women, the peaceful spousal relationship entailed in the concept of *concordia* relies primarily on two things: the production of children (*spes liberorum*) and a woman's compliance with her husband's will, showing loyalty and dutifulness. The importance of mutual affection and equality, frequently referenced on epitaphs, is subordinated to the necessity that women are under the control of their husbands and support the state by performing their domestic tasks.¹⁶

First and foremost, women are essential to the state because the body of a citizen woman is necessary for the production of Roman citizens. The story of the Sabine women, the first Roman women, proves the point. The women were abducted in order to produce more Roman citizens:

Iam res Romana adeo erat valida ut cuilibet finitimarum civitatum bello par esset;
sed **penuria mulierum** hominis aetatem duratura magnitudo erat, quippe quibus
nec domi spes prolis nec cum finitimis conubia essent. (1.9.1)

¹⁴ On *concordia* as a virtue in Roman marriage see Treggiari (1991: 249-53).

¹⁵ On the Temple of Concord see Flory (1984). On Livia's construction of a shrine to Concordia see Ov. *F.* 1.650: *sola toro magni digna reperta Iovi*.

¹⁶ Treggiari (1991: 245) shows that epitaphs associate *Concordia* with equality, as in, '*concordes pari viximus ingenio*,' ('we lived harmonious with equal character'). For further epigraphic evidence see Treggiari (246: n. 131, 132).

Rome was now strong enough that it could hold her own in war with any of the bordering states; but because of the poverty of women the greatness of the city would only last for a single generation, since there was no hope of offspring at home nor right of intermarriage with their neighbors.

It is important to note the differences between Livy's account and those of other historians. Livy specifically points to the need for children as the reason for the abduction of the women. Dionysius, on the other hand, attributes Romulus' insistence upon intermarriage as a means of forming alliances with the neighboring towns (2.31.1).¹⁷ Plutarch mentions the narrative tradition of ascribing the abduction of the Sabine women to Romulus' desire for warfare, but states that the abduction was a means of increasing the social status of Romans by mixing their blood with that of the Sabines (*Rom.* 14).¹⁸ But Livy uses the story to define specific roles for male and female citizens in Rome. In other words, gender and the proper behavior of women are a fundamental concern for Livy's view of Roman history and his hopes for its future.¹⁹

In addition to the reproduction of children, Livy's tale shows that women must be obedient to husbands, as in the crucial Roman value, the *morigera* wife. Although the Sabine women

¹⁷ τῆς δὲ ἀρπαγῆς τὴν αἰτίαν οἱ μὲν εἰς σπάνιν γυναικῶν ἀναφέρουσιν, οἱ δ' εἰς ἀφορμὴν πολέμου, οἱ δὲ τὰ πιθανώτατα γράφοντες, οἷς καὶ γὰρ συγκατεθέμην, εἰς τὸ συνάψαι φιλότητα πρὸς τὰς πλησιοχώρους πόλεις ἀναγκαίαν. He continues to trace this motive throughout the narrative. For example, in the scene in which Romulus and the Roman men coax the abducted women into acquiescing to their new husbands, Romulus addresses the women as political agents through whose help he intends to forge and solidify alliances between the Romans and their people (2.35.2-6).

¹⁸ Plutarch focuses on the benefits of intermarriage, with some attention to the importance of wives, and also alliance. His version thus has similarities to the accounts of both Dionysius and Livy.

¹⁹ Miles (1997) and Brown (1995) interpret the story of the Sabine women as one about both reproduction and *concordia* in marriage. They argue that Livy's version emphasizes the women's consent to their new marriages and families, thereby confirming the transfer of authority from a woman's father to her husband, a necessary step for a peaceful forging of the first Roman families. While Miles argues that Livy's narrative exposes the limitations of basing ideal social and political unions on a relationship of inequality between men and women (189), Brown argues that Livy underscores the importance of *concordia* as not only a marital ideal but a social and political ideal as well (292).

were violently attacked and abducted, Livy explains away the potentially problematic violence by having the victimized women yield to the men's charm. By expounding the great fortune awaiting the Sabine women, Livy's Romulus persuades them to allay their fear and resentment: they will be legally wedded, they will be partners in the possessions of all Romans, namely citizenship, and they will have legitimate children.²⁰ Livy states that Romulus and his men won over the women by appealing to passion and love (*cupiditas* and *amor*), which are, in his view, the most effective arguments for persuading a woman (*quae maxime ad muliebre ingenium efficaces preces sunt*, "which are the most moving of all pleas to a woman's heart" 1.9.16). As Santoro L'Hoir (1992: 80-85) has noted, the adjective *muliebre* is used in Livy in a derogatory sense to denote the womanly nature of something as other than, and often inferior to, a man's nature.²¹ Here, he refers to a woman's weaker constitution, which is easily swayed by sweet words.²² The passage clearly displays Livy's unique version of the idea of marital *concordia*. Men, the active founders of city, craft an essential role for the women as their partners in marriage and producers of children. Livy presents this dynamic, in part, as a necessity. Because women have a weaker nature, they are easily swayed by men to establish this peaceful alliance. But because women are weaker, they are also necessarily controlled by their stronger, intellectually and rationally superior male partners to establish order.

But the concept of *concordia* in Livy, while immediately pertinent to marital harmony, is also essential for the harmony and order of the state. The story of the Sabine women manifests

²⁰ *Sed ipse Romulus circumibat docebatque...illas tamen in matrimonio, in societate fortunarum omnium civitatisque, et quo nihil carius humano generi sit, liberum fore.* 1.9.14-15.

²¹ See also Adams (1972: 243-44).

²² Note that when the Sabine women intercede into the battle, Livy, impressed by their bravery, states that they put aside their womanly nature in order to take such action (*victo malis muliebri pavore* 1.13.1).

another Livian theme in the representation of women: the sexual status of the citizen female body signifies the status and safety of the Roman state. When marriage alliance is denied by the men of the neighboring towns, the Roman abduction of these virginal female bodies symbolizes an attack upon the surrounding Latin peoples. The transference of power from one group of men to another is solidified by marriage, and in this instance, the transference of the bodies of the Sabine women from the guardianship of their fathers to their Roman husbands through *confarreatio* marriage. Possession of the chaste female body is thus the means by which Romans acquire land and local dominance and in this way, the female body is further integrated into the foundation of state. The *concordia* forcefully established between Roman men and their Sabine wives represents the *concordia* amongst the new integration of communities under Roman rule. In this instance, martial *concordia* through the submission of the women assures the political *concordia* of the Roman state.

The Sabine women and Lucretia are the two exemplary models for Roman wives. As Treggiari (1991: 229-61) shows, Roman women were most commonly praised on epitaphs for the virtues of *societas*, *caritas*, *pietas*, *obsequium*, *comitas*, *fides*, and *lanificium*, among others. These Livian women embody many of these qualities and do so as they live in compliance with the needs of their male kin, either by submitting to their will (the Sabines) or sacrificing themselves for their men (Lucretia). Livy provides other exempla of the opposite type of woman, a wife who incites disorder and chaos. The most notable example is Tullia, wife of Tarquinius Superbus, an innately bad woman. Her sexual license indicates her abuse of power as she steps dangerously outside of proper gender roles. She matches her husband in wicked nature, but it is her ambition that encourages their string of transgressions: *contrahit celeriter similitudine eos, ut fere fit: malum malo aptissimum; sed initium turbandi omnia a femina ortum est* ("Their

similarity soon brought them together, as is generally the case, for evil is strongly drawn to evil; but it was the woman who took the lead in all mischief” 1.46.7). Tullia’s wicked influence on her husband vividly depicts the extreme to which governance by kings had deteriorated under the Etruscan line (1.47.7).²³ Livy exploits her sexual freedom and autonomy to underscore social, political and moral decline embodied by the Etruscan rulers and the need for restoration of Roman *mores*.

But the importance of establishing martial *concordia* based on a wife’s fidelity, obedience, and loyalty is best exemplified by Livy’s juxtaposition of the tale of Tarpeia with the Sabine women. Tarpeia’s story establishes the Roman male fear about young citizen women who are not yet married and thus sexually available to outsiders. The young woman’s sexual vulnerability creates a potential danger to the Roman state, as the woman could transfer her allegiance to a non-Roman. As Welch (2012: 192) notes, Livy identifies Tarpeia as *filia virgo*, simultaneously identified by first her “Roman-ness” and then by her sexual status as virgin, which makes her available to suitors. The otherness of the young virgin—unmarried, she has the potential to become non-Roman through marriage or attack—creates a vulnerability for the Roman state.²⁴ The complexity of and anxiety about the young woman’s status is captured in Tarpeia’s story.

²³ “**his muliebribus instinctus furiis Tarquinius** circumire et prensare minorum maxime gentium patres; admonere paterni beneficii ac pro eo gratiam repetere; allicere donis iuvenes; cum de se ingentia pollicendo tum regis criminibus omnibus locis crescere.” (1.47.7.)

²⁴ Welch (2012) aligns Tarpeia’s tale with Horatia’s, another example of the danger of the uncertain status of a young, unmarried citizen woman. Horatia, a young Roman woman, is betrothed to an Alban man. Her marriage could forge an alliance, but since the two peoples are enemies, Horatia’s liminal position between Roman and non-Roman is threatening. When she weeps for her dead fiancé, her triumphant brother Horatius claims that her tears show disloyalty to her male kin and thus undermines the Roman victory (AUC.1.26). Presenting a woman who allows her engagement with a non-Roman to interfere with her loyalty and responsibility as a citizen woman, her tale reveals the vulnerable potential of the Roman *virgo* to become un-Roman and treacherous to Roman men.

Livy emphasizes Tarpeia's virginal, and thus vulnerable, status, which makes her easy prey for corruption by Tatius who bribed her to let the Sabines through the city walls (*huius filiam virginem auro corrumpit Tatius*, 1.11.6). Implicit in this statement is the suggestion that women are easily persuaded to forego their national loyalties for luxuries such as gold. Notably in the Sabine women's story, their weaker feminine nature is an asset when they are prevailed upon by Roman men. Here that same weak feminine constitution creates potential danger.

Tarpeia's story, however, is not simply a cautionary tale of woman's greed. When the Sabines enter the city, they bury her in shields. Livy provides two reasons for their actions: *seu ut vi capta potius arx videretur, seu prodendi exempli causa, ne quid usquam fidum proditori esset* ("whether to make it appear that the citadel had been taken by assault, or to set an example, that no one ever might keep faith with a traitor" 1.11.7). In a single sentence, Livy offers the two alternatives: either Tarpeia was killed as an example of what happens to traitors, or she was suspected of attempting to deceive the Sabines and was killed in her failed act of patriotism. Other ancient authors follow one or other alternative.²⁵ It is unclear which version Livy supports. Regardless, Livy makes it explicit that it was Tarpeia's fault as he represents Tarpeia as deserving of her own punishment (*dicant et fraude visam agere sua ipsam peremptam mercede*, "some say that with her treachery perceived she forfeited her life to the bargain she herself struck" 1.11.9). Her innocence and her potentially honorable motivations are reduced to one brief clause.²⁶ The story of Tarpeia, however, comes directly after Hersilia's conversation with

²⁵ Some depict Tarpeia explicitly as a betrayer of Rome overcome by her desire for the Sabine goods (e.g., Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus), or in some versions (e.g., Simylus and Propertius), by love for Tatius. In others, Lucius Piso and Dionysius, Tarpeia is an honorable and loyal Roman who is the victim of misfortune.

²⁶ Propertius offers an elegiac representation of Tarpeia in poem 4.4. Propertius' Tarpeia, depicted as the elegiac lover, is motivated by love rather than gold and jewelry. She is seduced by the beauty of deceitful Tatius and falls deeply in love with him. Tarpeia recognizes that her love for Tatius means betraying

Romulus, convincing him not to engage in war, and just before the brave intercession of the Sabine women. This placement encourages comparison between the two different types of women and their actions in relation to the state.²⁷ This comparison highlights the point that while a woman's body is essential for building the state (e.g., Hersilia and Sabine women), woman is also a weakness (e.g. Tarpeia). In placing the blame for the treachery of the Sabines upon the character of Tarpeia, Livy underscores the danger of a girl whose virginal status threatens the *concordia* of the state.

Livy's history consistently offers examples throughout the Republican period of times of danger in the Roman state attributed to women's licentiousness—sexual freedom, greed, or disloyalty. Several examples are worth noting here: the poisoning wives (331 BCE), the Lex Oppia, and demonstrations against it (215-195 BCE).²⁸ Although Livy states that the incident was attributed to a portentous strike of madness and not deliberate wickedness (*prodigii ea res loco habita captisque magis mentibus quam consceleratis similis visa*, “their act was regarded as a prodigy, and seemed more like madness rather than criminal intent” 8.18.12), the story of wives poisoning their husbands is emblematic of the type of fear that Roman men possessed about their wives' capacity for treachery since the actions of Tarpeia and Tullia. It highlights a

Rome, and laments this dilemma, but her love surmounts her civic duty. After her betrayal of Rome, however, she is still buried with shields by Tatius as a fitting “dowry.” Tarpeia is the sympathetic victim of masculine warfare.

²⁷ Livy's literary contrivance to compare these different female exempla is evident in a logical flaw of the story. If the abduction of the women was on account of the absence of citizen women in the city, who is this virginal daughter of a Roman general? She appears conveniently placed in order to draw comparison between the different behaviors and actions citizen women could display, virtuous or dishonorable. See Henry and James (2012: 90).

²⁸ The story of the poisoning wives, in Book 8, Livy is reluctant to believe, but reports it in deference to authorities on the matter (8.18.3). Accordingly, he tells how a terrible malady struck a number of the male citizens, the foremost men in the state (*primores civitatis*), and it was reported that the wives had concocted a poison for their husbands (8.18.4-5). Twenty matrons were caught making poisonous concoctions, seized, and forced to drink their own potions in order to prove their innocence. The women died.

consistent concern in the Roman subconscious that women, while essential for the growth of the state, could threaten the stability of the male body politic, if struck by madness or corrupted. The Lex Oppia controversy exemplifies the problem with female greed and luxury in the Roman male consciousness. The debate over the repeal, as presented by Livy, consists of male politicians debating about women's nature and illustrates concern about women's display of luxury.²⁹ Cato, arguing against the repeal of the law, offers the strictest moral perspective. He sees the women's actions—demonstrating in the streets, interfering in political affairs, speaking to other women's husbands—as immodest and improper. Repeal, he argues, would let loose female license and set a precedence for female involvement in political affairs which could have disastrous effects upon the male body politic (34.4.1-2). Valerius, on the other hand, though he grants women the right to fineries, contends that revocation requires that women be subject again to strict oversight by men, properly under the surveillance of their male kin as before.³⁰ Notably, while both parties disagree on the purpose and importance of the law, Cato and Valerius do agree upon the nature of women: their rapacious desire for luxury. Both speakers assert that this female vice must be controlled by male citizens, whether by law or by family.

Each of these stories shows the danger that results from women who act openly against their male kin, displaying a fracture in *concordia* and causing disorder in the Roman state. I shall argue that in the *Fasti* Ovid takes up this pattern in which the state is consistently endangered by women and inverts it. From Books 1-4, Ovid emphasizes women's role in the state. He first picks up on Livy's dualistic representation of women as potentially harmful and

²⁹ On the Lex Oppia debates see Mastroianni (2006).

³⁰ “Minus filiae, uxores sorores etiam quibusdam in manu erunt;—numquam salvis suis exuitur servitus muliebris; et ipsae libertatem, quam viduitas et orbitas facit, destituantur. in vestro arbitrio suum ornatum quam in legis malunt esse; et vos in manu et tutela, non in servitio debetis habere eas et malle patres vos aut viros quam dominos dici.” (34.7.12-13)

potentially helpful, best encapsulated in the juxtaposition of Tarpeia and the Sabine women, and exposes men as aggressors responsible for women's violation and thus for disorder in the state. He then, particularly in Book 4, showcases women of various sexual statuses and social classes as beneficial for the state, in spite of, and even because of, their uniquely feminine desires.

3. *Pudicitia*

In the ancient Mediterranean, sexual status plays a critical role in defining woman's role in society. In Augustan Rome, citizen women enjoyed more freedom than in Greece. This greater freedom, however, generated greater (male) anxieties, lest women threaten the safety of the state through their sexual licentiousness. Indeed, as the following explication of Roman foundational myths will argue, the *pudicitia* of female citizens is essential not only for the transmission of a blood line or property, but for the *concordia* and stability of the male civic body.

Two different conceptions of *pudicitia* run consistently throughout Roman history, both essential for understanding the relationship of woman to the state.³¹ The first is that *pudicitia* is an innate quality, a sexual purity that virtuous women possess and display naturally, as with Lucretia. She proves the importance of *pudicitia* by taking her own life after her rape. Verginia, too, possesses innate *pudicitia*. In Livy's stories of Verginia and Lucretia their innate *pudicitia* is what attracts the lustful and immoral (e.g., Sextus Tarquin and Appius Claudius). The opposite example is Tullia, wife of Tarquin, innately wicked and subject to her weak, womanly nature, which indulges in numerous vices.

As shown in Lucretia's tale, female bodies are vulnerable to violation, corruption, or attack; therefore, Roman men must protect and control them. In Rome, the violation of a woman's *pudicitia* entails not only a dishonor to herself but to the honor and integrity of her family and

³¹ Langlands (2006), Beard (1980, 1995), Hallett (1984, 2012), Edwards (1993), Milnor (2005), Welch (2012), James (2003), Henry and James (2012).

also, importantly, the civic rights of her male kin. To maintain *pudicitia*, it may be necessary, as in the case of Horatia, to remove the woman who is not unchaste but weak and potentially threatening to Roman loyalty.³² Such foundational myths repeatedly demonstrate that women's bodies and the sexual status of their bodies are an essential component of Roman political structures.

Livy's Sabine women assert not only that women are essential for the survival and propagation of the Roman people, but also, as he goes on to show, that only a certain type of female body is considered fitting to produce citizens: a chaste, citizen woman.³³ The Romans solicited virgin daughters from surrounding towns in order to represent and increase their own honor and status. When the men of these towns rebuffed them and suggested that only prostitutes were suitable partners for the Romans, Romulus' men, believing that they deserved respectable citizen wives, were greatly insulted (1.9.3-6). This passage establishes that a low-rank woman of dubious sexual status is an insult to the Roman man and implies, in turn, that women of high social rank, displaying chastity are suitable wives for men looking to increase their population and social status.³⁴ When the Romans abduct and marry them, the status of the Sabine women augments the power of the Roman men and their position as a race amongst the Latin peoples.³⁵ As Miles (1997: 186) asserts, in Livy's account, women or wives are not objects of value in

³² On Horatia see Welch (2012) and note 24 above. See also Livy, *AUC*.1.26.

³³ The tale of Rhea Silvia is the first to manifest the importance of *pudicitia* for Roman citizen women. Her sudden pregnancy suggested that she had violated her vow of chastity as a Vestal. Livy explains that whether or not Mars was actually the father of her twins, Rhea Silvia was obligated to assert his parentage in order to save herself from social shame and disgrace: *Vi compressa Vestalis, cum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata, seu quia deus auctor culpae honestior erat, Martem incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat* (1.4.2-3). The myth teaches the social stigma associated with impure women.

³⁴ See Henry and James (2012: 89) and Miles (1997: 186).

³⁵ This perspective is supported by Plutarch's account in which the noble Sabine blood is considered necessary to augment the social status of the Roman men, especially since, as he states, there was a dearth of noble families in Rome at the time (*Rom* 14.2).

themselves for the Romans but serve as means to other necessities: offspring, alliance, acknowledgment of Roman worth. In the *Fasti*, by contrast, Ovid challenges this depiction of women by showcasing women's autonomy. He highlights women's victimization, endows them with voices that allow them to articulate their own rational perspectives, and shows them navigating and resolving the dangerous situations inflicted upon them by men.

Women occupied contradictory positions in Roman society: they were essential for the growth of the state, but their sexual vulnerability posed a potential threat. Rome was considered safe as long as its citizen women, particularly the Vestal Virgins protecting Rome's hearth, were guarded, chaste, and dutiful. Livy cites numerous instances when the state in danger or disorder expiates that danger by killing an unchaste Vestal virgin, blaming the vulnerability of the city on her sexual license.³⁶ Livy inculcates the importance and value of women's *pudicitia* by weaving, throughout his history, cautionary tales that call attention to the problems caused by sexually free women. Just as a woman's chastity reflects well upon her husband, her sexual impurity is considered a treacherous vice, one that could not only dishonor her family, but, as seen above, could damage the Roman state itself. The Bacchanalian affair (186 BCE) dramatizes the dangers of the *inpudica*, highlighting the risk posed to the Republic by female licentiousness.

The suppression of the cult of Bacchus is recorded on a *Senatus Consultum* found in Tirol. The inscription describes the manner in which cult worship was restricted—number and sex of participants allowed at a gathering, number and sex of priests and magistrates, etc. Investigation of the *Senatus Consultum de bacchanalibus* illustrates that the Senate had no intention of eradicating Bacchic worship but only to restrict it. Scholars have suggested that the purpose of such restrictions on cult worship were meant to prevent the alliance and growth of factions of

³⁶ See for example Postumia (*AUC.* 4.44), Minucia (*AUC.* 8.15). On the role of the Vestal Virgins in Rome see Beard (1980, 1995), Wildfang (2006), Takacs (2010), and Staples (2013).

other Latin peoples outside Rome.³⁷ Livy's story (39.8-19) offers another explanation. Consistent with his thematic representation of the way women's unchaste behavior can affect male citizens and endanger the state, Livy describes the cult as an all-female organization that spread into Italy and began recruiting young men (39.13).³⁸ Once young men were involved with women in illicit evening activities, the cult became dangerous. The consul Postumius' speech, as Livy presents it, expressly states that the problem with cult ritual is the mixing of men, women, and wine in the dark of the night, something that Livy reiterates throughout the story (39.8.5-8, 39.13.10-12, 39.15.9). Postumius suppresses the cult because women's illicit actions can corrupt young men and prevent them from becoming the strong soldiers and promising citizens that Rome needs. (39.15.12-14). But while in Livy the improper behavior of unguarded women corrupts male citizens and leads to a crisis for the state, Ovid will show, in the *Fasti*, that male lust causes crucial civic problems, while women's sexuality turns out to be salutary for the state.

4. Display of the female body

The story of the plebeian girl Verginia repeats the point that maintaining a woman's *pudicitia* is first and foremost important ideologically to the male body politic and the Roman state. But in Verginia's story, like Lucretia's, female sexuality functions publicly as a symbol of the status of the male civic body. Once again, a tyrant's violation of a citizen woman constitutes a

³⁷ See Tierney (1947), Toynbee (1964), Rousselle (1979), Gruen (1990), Bauman (1992), North (2003), Pagan (2004), Langlands (2006: 115-22).

³⁸ Several scholars (Langlands (2006), Feldherr (1998), Jaeger (1997), Walsh (1961)) have noted Livy's theatrical presentation of the story. He frames it dramatically with language of disease and contagion, telling of the Greek man who brought the cult to Etruria like a disease (*huius mali labes ex Etruria Romam veluti contagione morbi penetravit* 39.9), exaggerates a number of the details (e.g., thousands of people gathering outside the city at night unnoticed), presents many of those involved as stock characters from Roman comedy, and concludes with the emphatic speech of Postumius ordering the suppression of the cult in order to save Roman men from destruction.

gross abuse of power by broaching an essential citizen right, namely the right to a chaste wife. Appius Claudius, a decemvir, desires Verginia, a young plebeian and betrothed *virgo*. In his desire to possess her legally, in order to rape her, Appius had one of his clients claim her as his slave and he then forbade her family or friends to reclaim her until a trial could determine her status.³⁹ Verginia's fiancé Icilius asserts the right of every citizen man to a chaste wife:

Even if you have deprived us of the two bulwarks of our liberty—the aid of our tribunes and the right of appeal to the Roman plebs—that has given you no right to our wives and children, the victims of your lust. Vent your cruelty upon our backs and necks; let female honor at least be safe. (3.45.8-9)

Like Lucretia's death, the death of Verginia triggers political rebellion. In Icilius' words, Appius and the decemvirs have already infringed upon the rights of Roman men by removing two political rights of the plebs: the office of the tribune and the right of the plebs to appeal. Equating a Roman man's right to a chaste wife to his right to political representation, Icilius argues that Appius' action is an act of political oppression. As with the story of Lucretia, the struggle for control of the body politic is enacted dramatically over the struggle for possession of the female body.

In this tale, another Roman institution, the Twelve Tables, is founded upon the body of a woman sacrificed in order to protect her honor, the dignity of her male relatives and, by extension, the entire male citizen body.⁴⁰ Langlands (2006: 108-114) points out that Livy makes

³⁹ Though the Latin text does not explicitly identify Appius' intentions as rape, this term is most fitting for understanding the passage. It is clear that Appius intended to have sex with the girl once he possessed her, and her extreme terror upon her seizure by his men (3.44.7) indicates that his sexual advances would have not been welcome. As his slave, she would could neither consent to nor protest against sex. In modern terms, this enforced sex would qualify as a rape. Icilius' speech shows that the Roman men, and the women who protest on her behalf, would consider Appius' sexual violation of Verginia a rape.

⁴⁰ Joplin (1990: 62) notes that the story of Verginia occurs between the posting of the first ten Tables and a call for two more, and that this narrative is a well-orchestrated set of exempla to demonstrate the rightful demand of the plebs to know the letter of the law. The situation drastically expands to include a large number of plebeians, men and women, rallying for the overthrow of the decemvirs.

several comparisons between the episodes of Lucretia and Verginia, including signposting the story of Verginia with an explicit reference to Lucretia.⁴¹ He thus underscores a pattern within his work in which women's sexual status, and the defense of that sexual status, is tied to the preservation and protection of Roman citizens,' male by definition, rights. Further connections between the two tales also emphasize the public symbolic use of the female body. Langlands (2006: 109) shows that the figures aligned in these episodes for their exemplary behavior are not Lucretia and Verginia, but rather Lucretia and Verginius. Verginia is almost entirely silent throughout the episode. Verginius sacrifices his daughter in a public setting to protect her and their family, just as Lucretia bravely sacrifices her own body to remove her violated, polluted body from society. Verginius and Icilius then, like Brutus, carry Verginia's body through the city as a visual symbol of the result of Appius' gross abuse of power. In these tales, Livy praises the bold, public actions of those who police and protect female citizen sexuality in order to guarantee the safety and stability of the Roman state.⁴²

It is also important to note—because it will be a theme in Roman religion, a matter for Augustan ideology, and a topic in Ovid's *Fasti* as well—that *pudicitia* and its importance to the state traverse class boundaries in Livy. While Lucretia is an upper-class woman, related to the Tarquins through her husband Collatinus, Verginia belongs to a plebeian family. Regardless, her sexual purity is essential to her own honor and the honor of her family. As another example, Cloelia, in book 2, a girl noted for her courage, led a group of young female hostages across the Tiber to escape Porsenna. Livy refers to her three times as a *virgo* (2.13.6, 9, 11). When Cloelia

⁴¹ *AUC*. 3.44.

⁴² On Livy's depiction of the relationship between the chaste female body and Roman foundations see Joplin (1990) and Joshel (1992). As Joplin states, Livy insists upon a causal link between female chastity and its destruction and the founding and preservation of Rome (51-52).

is recaptured and given the opportunity to free another group of hostages, she chooses the group of young men (*inpubes* 2.13.10). Livy attributes her wise decision to ask for the young Roman as hostages as befitting her maidenly modesty (*virginitati decorum* 2.13.10). Her sexual modesty, virginal status in particular, is uniquely tied to her virtuous character and actions.

5. *Pudicitia*, Religion, and the State in Augustus' Rome

Livy often connects female sexuality to state religion, further stressing that *pudicitia* must be preserved by citizen women of all classes. In 296 BCE, he reports, a patrician woman named Verginia married a plebeian man and was excluded from a ritual at the shrine of *Pudicitia Patricia*. In response, she dedicated a shrine to *Pudicitia Plebeia* to showcase her enduring modesty and to extend the cult worship to women of all classes who pursue the virtue of modesty:

‘hanc ego aram’ inquit ‘Pudicitiae Plebeiae dedico; uosque hortor ut, quod certamen uirtutis uiros in hac ciuitate tenet, hoc pudicitiae inter matronas sit detisque operam ut haec ara quam illa, si quid potest, sanctius et a castioribus coli dicatur.’ (AUC.10.23.7-8)

‘I dedicate this altar,’ she said, ‘to Plebeian Pudicitia; and I urge you as matrons to show the same spirit of emulation with regard to chastity that the men in this state display for courage so that this altar may have the reputation, if possible, as more sacred and with more pure worshippers than that of the patricians.’

Notably, she compares men striving for virtue to women striving for *pudicitia* and thereby casts *pudicitia* as a woman’s most important civic responsibility, regardless of her class rank. Verginia speaks for another female character type in Livy: the lower-class woman who exemplifies Roman morality. As with Cloelia (book 2) and Verginia (book 3), these women are singled out for their sexual modesty as a defining virtue.⁴³

⁴³ Other lower-class women who are noted for their sexual modesty are the slave women in the case of the poisoning wives, who gave testimony against the elite wives, and the *meretrix* Hispala in the tale of the Bacchanalia who gave testimony against the cult.

Many key emergencies in Roman history are marked by the intersection of female sexuality and state religious practice (Langlands 2006: 57). Female sexuality is often guarded, at least symbolically, by various religious cults and rituals (e.g., Vesta, Venus Verticordia). In 295 BCE, a year after the foundation of the cult to *Pudicitia Plebeia*, the temple of Venus Obsequens was built with the fines charged to a number of women charged with adultery (*stuprum*).⁴⁴ According to Livy, the temple was commissioned when the city suffered plagues and bad prodigies (10.31.8-9). It was built with fines charged upon adulterous women. The implication is that chaos in the city was the result, at least in part, of excessive female sexual license.⁴⁵

The tumultuous period of the Punic wars features several similar incidents in which a religious cult that particularly concerns the sexual purity of citizen women is brought into Rome in time of crisis. For example, we may consider the construction of a statue to Venus Verticordia in 220 BCE, dedicated by the most virtuous Sulpicia, and the import of the cult of Magna Mater in 205-4 BCE, led to Rome, in part, by Claudia Quinta.⁴⁶ According to Livy, Claudia merits lasting fame on account of her sexual purity and her solemn duty.⁴⁷ These episodes illustrate the importance of *pudicitia* in securing victory and safety for the state. In each case, public demonstrations of *pudicitia* accompany the successful installment of religious cult. Both

⁴⁴ *Stuprum* refers to a sexual crime and since married women were charged we can infer that the crime was adultery (See *AUC*.10.31.9).

⁴⁵ “Felix annus bellicis rebus, pestilentia gravis prodigiisque sollicitus; nam et terra multifariam pluvisse et in exercitu Ap. Claudii plerosque fulminibus ictos nuntiatum est, librique ob haec aditi. eo anno Q. Fabius Gurgis, consulis filius, aliquot matronas ad populum stupri damnatas pecunia multavit, ex quo multatio aere Veneris aedem, quae prope Circum est, faciendam curavit.” (10.31.8-9).

⁴⁶ On Venus Verticordia see Pliny (*Nat.* 7.120-121) and Valerius Maximus (8.15.12).

⁴⁷ “Matronae primores ciuitatis, inter quas unius Claudiae Quintae insigne est nomen, acceperunt; cui dubia, ut traditur, antea fama clariorem ad posterum tam religioso ministerio pudicitiam fecit” (29.14.12).

Sulpicia and Claudia are memorialized for their civic duty: the public performance of *pudicitia* in religious activity.⁴⁸ This subject will be a primary focus in Chapter 5.

These tales provide insight into the ideologies about women's civic role in circulation in the age of Augustus, the most recent material with which Ovid is engaging when he embarks on the calendar. I turn now to the efforts of Augustus to promote sexual morals concerning gender roles through legislation and through reviving foundational myths that supported his vision of Rome. I hope to show how numerous of his efforts align with the morals for female behavior promoted in Livy's exemplary history.

Augustus' Social and Moral Reforms

In order to create a stable Rome after the civil wars, under control by his new government, Augustus enacted number of complex propagandistic strategies to confirm and legitimate the principate. Two important and overlapping ideas that his endeavors, both domestic and foreign, aimed to project were the *Pax Romana* and the divine authority of the Julian family. With these objectives in mind, Augustus transformed the landscape of the city as well as many aspects of Roman social discourse—what it was to be a Roman, which festivals were celebrated, virtues for men and women, etc.—to reflect the restoration of Rome from disorder, civil conflict, and decline to peace and prosperity. Rome under Augustus was to be a peaceful, flourishing city, one that, as some Augustan literature affirms (see, e.g., *Aeneid* 6.756-853, 8.626-728; Horace *Odes* 3.14, 4.2, 4.4, 4.5), was divinely fated to rule the world. Thus in many ways, Augustus presents this new period in Roman history as the return of the Golden Age (*aurea aetas*), yet a Golden Age that only someone of the Julian family, himself in particular, could restore.⁴⁹ Efforts

⁴⁸ See in particular Langlands (2006: 58-61) and Staples (2013: 103-104).

⁴⁹ For a discussion of Augustus' ideological restoration of the Golden Age, see Zanker (1988: 167-192), Wallace-Hadrill (1998: 43-62). See Milnor (2006: 47-93) for a discussion of Augustus' transformation of

to create Golden Age imagery in Rome occur through different media. The *princeps* himself constructed a number of parks and green spaces throughout the city to promote visions of the idyllic countryside—an idealizing place represented in the *Odes* of Horace, the *Eclogues* of Vergil (e.g. 4). Architectural projects such as the Ara Pacis and the restoration of the Temple of Concordia, along with the ceremonial closing of the doors of Janus strongly reinforced the image of restored peace.⁵⁰ Coins as well were minted with Augustus' bust and the inscription *Pax Romana*.⁵¹

Closely tied to these projects were propagandistic efforts that not only asserted Roman values and the restoration of order, but also the legitimacy of the author of the restoration of order, namely Augustus. Following on a project begun by Julius Caesar, he asserted the divine lineage of the Julian family, in order to elevate his lineage and legitimize his authority. Therefore, he expands upon Caesar's efforts by dedicating the Temple of Mars Ultor in his forum, reinforcing the roles of Mars and Venus as the parent gods of the Roman city and specifically of the Julian line.⁵² Mars and Venus serve as the divine authority for the principate. In order to reinforce the divine lineage of the Julian family, Augustus relied upon a recirculation of Roman foundational myths. In the Augustan telling of the myths, however, foundational stories were reappropriated in order to show the connections between Rome's earliest foundations and the

the domestic space and the description of gender roles in the imperial household as a model for the new Roman state.

⁵⁰ Zanker (1988: 103-104, 172-183); Eck (2003: 105-112). On the Ara Pacis see Spaeth (1996), Galinsky (1992: 457-75), Zanker (1990), Wilhelm (1988), Weinstock (1960), Toynbee (1953), Momigliano (1942). On the Temple of Concordia see Flory (1984).

⁵¹ Zanker (1990: 111).

⁵² Zanker (1988) 195-201. See also Zanker (1990), J. Ganzert and V. Kockel (1988), Stamper (2005: 130-82), *LTUR* 2.289ff.

current regime (e.g., Livy 1.15-16, 1.19.3; *Aeneid* 6.756-853, 8.626-728; Horace 4.15, *Carmen Saeculare*). Through his relative Venus and her relationship to Mars, Augustus was directly connected to Aeneas and Romulus; as a result, his reign could be represented as a teleological narrative beginning with the foundation of the city and concluding with his golden age rule. In addition to reappropriating Roman myths for authority, Augustus also used foundational myths for circulating ideas of Roman morality: the moral precepts established by Rome's most exemplary leaders (Romulus, Numa, et al) return with the reign of their descendant and the founding of a new Golden Age.⁵³ Thus, the renewed prevalence of Roman foundational myths is intended to bolster both the supremacy of the principate and the sacred, ancient precedents that legitimize Augustus' moral agenda.

Part of this moral agenda entailed endeavors by Augustus to redefine the role of citizen women in Rome. As made explicit in his moral legislation, Augustus intended to promote marriage and increase childbirth rates amongst Roman citizens. In particular, he designed laws to encourage citizen marriages, promote increased childbirth, and curb adultery. Both the *lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus* and the *lex Julia de adulteriis coercendis* passed successfully in 18 and 17 BCE respectively.⁵⁴ It is impossible to know how much the laws changed the social behavior of Roman citizens. A century later, Juvenal lamented the lapse of the enforcement of the *lex de adulteriis* and its failure to police women's immoral sexual behavior (*Sat.* 6). Imperial

⁵³ Milnor (2006: 145-8), and Feeney (1988: 47-75; 2008: 131-7). See also Hardie (1986), Scheid (1993), Fox (1996).

⁵⁴ The first version of these laws, produced around 27 BCE, was not well-received by the elite, as we gather from Horace (*Odes* 3.6), Propertius 2.7, and Suetonius, *DA* 34. Scholars disagree about the dating of the legislation: see Badian (1985), Williams (1993) against Badian, and James (2003). I proceed here under the conviction that the legislative attempts recorded in Suetonius for the year 27 BCE include early versions of the moral legislation known as the Julian Laws.

satire, however, cannot be taken at face value. Suetonius states that Augustus was not able to get his strict marriage laws passed except by abolishing or minimizing part of the penalty for not marrying and by conceding a three-year grace period (after divorce or death of a spouse) before remarriage and increasing the rewards for children (DA 34). This alteration was made in the *lex Papia Poppaea* in 9 CE, an addendum that suggests the continuing unpopularity of the laws.⁵⁵

To consider the ideology implicit in the Augustan legislation requires an explication of what the laws entailed. The details of *lex de maritandis ordinibus* are somewhat unclear, but it seems that the law sought to repopulate the Roman upper classes. While Roman citizens of all classes were forbidden to marry women of *infamia*, a category that included prostitutes, actors, adulteresses, and criminals, the law specifically forbade senators and their descendants from marrying freedwomen and also the children of performers, thereby emphasizing the purity of particular blood lines; *equites* might still marry freedwomen, who were required to produce four children instead of three, if they were to receive privileges under the *lex de maritandis ordinibus*. The law made marriage a civic duty for elite citizens. It listed a number of penalties for those who did not marry or who remained celibate, and offered benefits to those who reproduced. Thus, people had a strong financial incentive to marry and have children, while failure to do so could result in heavy penalties.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Cassius Dio (56.1-10) reports a public protest of a group of *equites* in this year, who demanded the revocation of the law. He records the alleged speech of Augustus in response to the protestors in which Augustus explained that marriage and the production of children was the duty of a Roman citizen, and had been so since the origins of the city. According to Dio, Augustus made amendments to the law, but later in the year, two consuls, both childless bachelors, themselves demonstrating the necessity for Augustus' marriage legislation, framed a further amendment, the *lex Papia Poppaea*.

⁵⁶ For a thorough description of particularities of the Julian laws see Csillag (1976).

The stipulations of the adultery law are more distinct. First and foremost, it aimed to promote legal, lasting citizen marriages by making adultery a civic crime. Previously, adultery had been punished privately within the family, handled by fathers or husbands. Under the *lex de adulteriis*, the power of a husband to punish a wife caught *in flagrante* belonged to the state. Fathers with *patria potestas* over their daughters were still allowed to kill their daughters and their lovers, but if they killed the lovers without killing their own daughters, they could be charged with murder. Mommsen (1899), Csillag (1976), and Cantarella (1991) note the revolutionary impact of this law: it was a major intervention of the state into the private lives of citizens.⁵⁷ What for centuries had been a private crime became, under Augustus, a matter of state. Augustus as *curator morum* acts now, through this legislation, as the father of all Romans, legally policing sexual behavior of citizens.⁵⁸

Together, the marriage laws show a keen insistence on the restoration of marriage among the citizen classes. Csillag (1976: 43-45) asserts that prior to the Augustan principate, there was a crisis of Roman society marked by the rapid accumulation of wealth and the preservation of the family estate under a single hand. The increase in individual wealth led to a demographic crisis because some Roman men sought to limit their family size in order to maintain their fortunes, having only one legitimate child (a large number of children of the *nobiles* were born out of wedlock, the children of upper class men having affairs with non-citizen women), and others may have prevented the marriage of their daughters to avoid paying a dowry (62-66). Additionally,

⁵⁷ See also the discussion in Treggiari (1991: 277-98).

⁵⁸ The ironies of this role, given both his own scandalous elopement with the pregnant, married Livia and, later, the scandals of his daughter Julia the Elder and granddaughter Julia the Younger, both well-known, if probably little discussed in public, by the time of Ovid's exile, lie outside the scope of this dissertation. In any case, Ovid does not particularly point to these ironies in the *Fasti*.

through the period of the civil wars, the slave population of Rome increased, but the free population decreased. Each of these factors contributed to the diminished population of the senatorial order. Augustus' marriage laws specifically targeted *orbitas* by penalizing those who did not have children by forbidding inheritance to pass to young men without children (45). The legislation also shows his explicit interest in increasing the progeny of the senatorial class by restricting the classes into which a person of the senatorial classes could legitimately marry (72).

The adultery legislation, however, points to a more specific agenda of the Augustan social legislation. Csillag, Cohen, and Cantarella each note that the adultery legislation, while making a private transgression a public crime, actually reduced the severest penalties for adultery. The stipulations of the law limited the ability of the *paterfamilias* to execute his adulterous daughter and her adulterer. He had to catch them *in flagrante* and could only execute the male adulterer if he executed his daughter as well, and both had to be executed immediately in an act of passion.⁵⁹ The husband, in addition, could no longer kill his wife for adultery. Cantarella (1991) suggests that the limitations on the private prosecution of adulterers reflects an effort by Augustus to limit the number of male citizens killing each other and using adultery as an excuse (233).⁶⁰

Cantarella offers one possible objective of the adultery legislation, but I contend that the criminalization of adultery with an overt focus on women illustrates a goal not of revitalizing the institution of marriage, but of restoring Roman morality through marriage. Together, the two laws make clear that marriage was not sufficient in itself. Rather, citizens had to maintain a loyal and productive marriage with a person of the correct social class and standing. Yet the

⁵⁹ A husband could kill his wife's lover only if he surprised him in his own (the husband's) house and if the lover was a slave, an *infamis*, or a freedman of the husband or wife (Cantarella 232-33).

⁶⁰ On this point see in particular Treggiari (2002).

adultery law punished citizen women more stringently.⁶¹ While certain sexual liaisons were permitted for men, an elite *inpudica* was never to be tolerated. The laws thereby imply that morality was chiefly dependent upon policing the sexuality of Roman citizen women. These laws articulate the same concerns about women's sexual freedom and its potential corrupting effects on Roman social mores that we see in Livy. In his *Res Gestae*, Augustus claims that in legislation by his own sponsorship, he restored many of the traditions of ancestors which had fallen into disuse in his age (*Res Gestae* 8.5).⁶² By making adultery a state issue, Augustus directly connected the health of the civic body to the sexual behaviors of its citizens. This legislation asserts the need for the state to control the sexual behavior of citizen women and to rid the state of those unchaste women who pollute society. The marriage laws are only a few of

⁶¹ A man convicted of adultery was to be exiled for life and sentenced to confiscation of one half of his property, but *adultera* was banned for life, one third of her property and one half of her dowry was confiscated, and she was not allowed to remarry a freeborn Roman citizen. Husbands were penalized, under charges of pimping (*lenocinium*) for tolerating adultery by their wives. A male citizen could engage in affairs with non-citizen women, under the formula *stuprum non committitur*, while a citizen woman could not. No woman could bring a charge of adultery against her husband. If husbands were caught in the act with a married woman or having casual sexual relations with free women not registered as prostitutes, they were liable to charges. Spies were rewarded for reporting. Augustus also restricted codicils in the wills of the elites that allowed their heirs property not to remarry. On this see Csillag (1976), Rawson (1987), and Cantarella (1991).

⁶² Augustus' interest in revitalizing the two most elite social orders through moral reform is evident in other Julian laws such as those on the regulation of various offices (*Lex Julia de Magistratibus*, *de Magistratibus et Equitibus*) and electoral bribery (*lex Julia de ambitu*). But, in addition to laws on marriage and adultery, his law on seating in the theater also sought to reinforce the distinction between social orders and to reduce the possibility for improper interactions in public settings. Suetonius claims that Augustus ended the informal, confused audience of shows and introduced order (*DA* 44). Under the *Lex Julia Theatralis*, part of this order appears to have been more extensive segregation of the *matronae* from men. Propertius (4.8.77) and Ovid (*Am.* 2.7.3) offer supporting evidence that women were relegated to the uppermost seating area, the *summa cavea*. Rawson (1987) suggests that this new legislation, in addition to separating the different orders of men, likely also extended the segregation of *matronae*, previously only in effect in the theater, to gladiatorial shows. The Circus seems to have been the only place in which men and women could intermingle as spectators.

the Julian laws sponsored by the emperor himself, but they incorporate efforts to restore old traditions and old *mores* by way of marriage.⁶³

Whether or not Augustus' legislation was effective,⁶⁴ visual symbols of fertility and abundance were common on many of his public monuments. As Zanker states, images of fertility, such as in the Pax/Tellus/Venus panel on the Ara Pacis, unite the ideas of the joy of motherhood and the blessing of offspring with other golden age imagery—agricultural plenty, reproduction in the animal kingdom, rustic life, *pietas*. The result of such visual representation is that childbearing transcends the *princeps*' political program and is incorporated into a more general vision of happiness.⁶⁵ Fertility thus becomes a standard image associated with the *aurea aetas* of Augustus. Visually, women were reminded frequently of the role of reproduction in the success of the state.

This imagery is echoed in the representation of women and female goddesses around Rome. Venus Genetrix offers a prominent example of Augustan ideals for women. Displayed on the Temple of Mars Ultor in his forum, she stands as the wife of Mars (rather than adulterous lover) and the mother of the Julian line. In granting fertility and prosperity, Venus Genetrix is

⁶³ I do not have space in this project to discuss the women of the Late Republic. Through the later years of the Republic an increasing number of elite women became publicly visible, most often in association with their spouses, fathers, or brothers. High marriage and divorce rates also contributed to a great increase in a number of powerful, independent women. The rising presence of these influential, autonomous women (e.g. Terentia, Servilia, Clodia, Fulvia) was likely another factor that contributed to Augustus' efforts to return women to the domestic sphere and keep them under control through marriage. For a full discussion of women of the Late Republic see Brennan (2012). See also Treggiari (2007) and Skinner (2011).

⁶⁴ The poetry of Propertius, Tibullus and Ovid demonstrate that these laws received some criticism, while Horace's Roman Odes and *Carmen Saeculare* align with Augustus' call moral exhortation for chastity, marriage, and reproduction.

⁶⁵ Zanker (1988: 174-177). See also n. 50 above.

linked with Ceres and Juno as a protectress of marriage and childbirth.⁶⁶ Statues of the women of the imperial family—the only women with public images in Augustan Rome—visually reflect the images of these goddesses. Representations of Livia depict her in modest dress, wearing the long, heavy garments of a *matrona*, and often with her hair covered by a mantle. While portraits of Livia in family groups clearly illustrate her role as mother and wife, other statues depict her with other stylistic details that communicate the values promulgated by Augustus by means of association with female divinities. For example, depictions of Livia wearing the diadem of Ceres or holding the cornucopia merges her maternal role with symbols of fertility and abundance.⁶⁷ In the Augustan age, public images of women were limited and restricted primarily to the imperial family, predominantly Livia and Octavia (Flory 1993: 304-306). Thus imagery of the *princeps*' family communicated to all Roman women values to imitate and aspire to as proper citizen women.

Augustus' reorganization of the Roman calendar plays an important role in reshaping Roman identity. The Fasti Capitolini, one of two fasti erected by Augustus, stood somewhere near the Temple of Divus Julius in the Roman Forum—a prominent viewing place. Denis Feeney identifies the structural changes that Augustus made to the Republican fasti and examines the manner in which the differences in calendrical organization highlight an ideological shift from Republican time to Augustan time. First, though both calendars were consular fasti, delineating each year by the reigning consuls, the Republican calendar counted years from the founding of

⁶⁶ For the appropriation and rebranding of Venus Genetrix by the Julian family, see Weinstock (1971: 80-91), Schilling (1982), Amici (1991), Beard, North & Price (1998), Warrior (2006).

⁶⁷ Fantham (1994: 307-308). See also Wilhelm (1988), Kampen (1991), Kellum (1990), Flory (1984, 1993), Purcell (1986), Boatwright (2011), Milnor (2005).

the Republic, when the first consuls were elected. Augustus maintains dating from the foundation of the republic but also includes in the left margin the number of years from the foundation of the city (ca. 753 BCE) for every ten years.⁶⁸ As Feeney (2007: 175-7) points out, this new dating system generates a clash between two concepts of time: the foundation of the city and the foundation of the republic. By doing so, Augustus subverted the traditional conception of time and forms a new timeline through which he could draw a straight line from the foundation of the city by Romulus directly to his reign.

Augustus changed the listing of suffect consuls: they appear no longer by name but instead by the date in which they entered office. With the addition of dates to a previously eponymous list, individual recognition of each consul was diminished—the office now functions as a means of charting a chronology, a timeline leading to the present day (Feeney 177-82). On the eponymous list of consuls, Augustus' name begins to appear more prominently than any other. By 23 BCE, his name was listed on top as consul for the 11th time.⁶⁹ In 22 BCE, Augustus relinquished the consulship and gains *tribunicia potestas*. He then added this office to the calendar and listed his name directly below that of the consuls. By 12 BCE he was listed with tribunician power for the 11th time and had appeared with Agrippa's name below his as a co-holder of tribunician power. From 1 CE until Augustus' death, a new form of imperial dating is in place, in which his name is listed first every year along with the number of years he had held *tribunicia potestas*.⁷⁰ The reorganization of the *fasti* thus offers a visual document of the way Augustus shifted the balance of political power in the Roman state from republic to principate: although he

⁶⁸ Feeney (2007: 174), Pasco-Pranger (2006: 32-3).

⁶⁹ Feeney (2007: 180), Eck (2003: 56-63).

⁷⁰ Feeney (2007: 180), Wallace-Hadrill (1987: 221-230).

no longer held the position of consul, he maintained power, and the favor of the plebs, through his *tribunicia potestas* and control of the military through his unique proconsular *imperium*.

Finally, while the Republican calendar listed no names of individuals aside from the consuls and specified only two historical events, the Augustan calendar was filled with imperial anniversaries and various commemorations of the *princeps* and his family. As Feeney notes, the great impact of having one's name on the calendar eventually became obvious to people around Rome: it meant lasting recognition and fame.⁷¹ The intrusion of the imperial family into the calendar had the cumulative effect of recasting what it means to be Roman (Feeney 185). The reconfiguration of the *fasti*—both the diminished recognition of consuls as well as the overwhelming focus on Augustus' own person and heirs—marks the shift from Republic to Empire and reifies the new trajectory of Roman history from its mythological foundation by Romulus to the rule of Augustus.

This dissertation argues that Ovid, in crafting his own poetic version of the Roman *fasti*, offered a unique version of this Roman cultural document in which he specifically engaged the Augustan revisions of time and manipulations of ritual, history, and mythology. In the next chapter, I will examine Ovid's consistent interest in the relationship between gender, power, and speech from the *Heroides* to the *Fasti*, where he uses these themes to engage contemporary Roman ideology. In the following chapters, I focus on Ovid's use of gender in the *Fasti* as a means of exploring the dynamics of power and authority at play in the Roman calendar. Ovid exposes a variety of voices and traditions at the heart of Roman culture. By displaying men's use of force and repeated attempts to silence and control women and showcasing, in turn, women's funda-

⁷¹ See Feeney 184-89 and Horace *Odes* 4.14.3-4: *tuas, Auguste, virtutes in aevum/ per titulus memoresque fastus*.

mental role in Roman ritual, Ovid interrogates the power and legitimacy of authoritative narratives. Specifically, he challenges contemporary Augustan ideology that casts women into the background and constrains them to particular domestic roles.

CHAPTER 2: OVID, GENDER, POWER, AND SPEECH

Throughout his elegiac verse, Ovid shows consistent interest in the gendered dynamics of power and authority within relationships.⁷² From the *Heroides* to the *Ars*, he explores the imbalance of power between partners, from dramatizing the attempts of lovers to control or persuade one another with words, to vividly portraying the ability of the stronger party to control and exploit another by force. Ovid addresses gender and power in his poetry in two prominent ways. First, he offers a multiplicity of voices and perspectives that speak either against each other (e.g., the *lena* against the *amator*) or against a more traditional narrative (e.g., the female perspectives of *Heroides*). With insight into different sides of a relationship, he invites his readers to question the dominant male authority (the male speaker in the *Amores* and *Ars*, and the male partners of the female letter writers in the *Heroides*) and to sympathize with the female perspective. Thus Ovid undermines the male speakers and exposes men's violent or destructive attempts to control, exploit, or conquer women. Second, he frequently incorporates sexual violence into his portrayal of elegiac relationships (e.g. *Amores* 1.7; *Ars* 1.99-132, 672-704). Through scenes of intimate violence, Ovid dramatizes the negative extremes of desire: women are victimized at the hands of male clients, against whom they have little power. His poetry highlights the dangers of male impulse and the destructive potential of a man's desire to control and possess a woman's body. Finally, in the depiction of women's speech (or silence), Ovid further underscores the disparity in power between genders. Often when women are assaulted, they are silenced and incapable of

⁷² The same interests can be seen in Ovid's exile poems, also composed in elegiacs, and his *Metamorphoses*, as discussed below, but they both fall outside my scope here.

asserting themselves against their aggressors (e.g. Sabine women in *Ars* 1). In some instances, however, Ovid showcases female speech as woman's only means of agency (e.g., Corinna in *Amores* 1.11, Philomela in *Metamorphoses* Book 6) and portrays women, through their rhetoric, as more thoughtful than or, at least, as the equals of men in reason and rhetoric.

In the *Fasti*, Ovid takes up these same themes when writing about the Roman calendar. From Book 1, which features the competing authority of the voices of Janus and Carmentis, the festivals of the *Fasti* depict the contributions of both men and women to Roman foundations and the maintenance of the state. The tales of foundational men and women depict men as violent and chaotic, while women are the agents of peace and prosperity, repeatedly working against male force and attempts to control historical narratives. At times, a female voice is silenced or a female body is exploited by a powerful male (e.g. Lara, Lucretia, Rhea Silvia); at other times, Ovid highlights the important role of women and women's festivals in holding the state together (e.g. Sabine women, the Megalensia, Ceralia, Vestal Virgins). Through Books 1-4, Ovid progressively exposes men's attempts to control Roman narratives in the calendar by asserting their voices over the voices of others, often with disastrous consequences for the suppressed. He simultaneously highlights the essential role of women and female sexuality in Roman foundations, both in the origins of the city itself and in many of its most important religious rituals. Women, first exploited by men, become significant actors in Roman ritual. By exploring questions of authority and the exploitation of power between genders and classes in a document that engages Roman religion, culture, tradition, and politics, Ovid interrogates the authority of the new order (see discussion in Chapter One on Augustan ideology).

Heroides

In the *Heroides*, Ovid first experiments with the female voice as he entertains the perspectives of various mythic women. In these letters, Ovid voices women's laments to their distant or lost partners and, in doing so, illustrates what he imagines to be a woman's lot in a relationship in which she is subjected to a man's actions: for example, Penelope (*Her.* 1) vulnerable in Odysseus' absence, Briseis (*Her.* 3) trafficked as a war prize, Ariadne (*Her.* 10), Dido (*Her.* 7), and Phyllis (*Her.* 2)—all abandoned by their lovers. The epistolary format offers a unique avenue for the expression of female subjectivity. As letters written in the first person, each contains the self-presentation of the fictive female author, that is, her own characterization of life events that had been previously limited to the perspective of her famous male partner (Achilles, Aeneas, Jason, etc). Although the mythological tradition, as instantiated in epic and vase painting, depicts these heroes as virtuous, admirable, and heroic, the women's voices show them in a darker light. The female rhetoric of the *Heroides* challenges the men's reputations by portraying them as deceptive, exploitive, negligent—as abandoning women who have, often, helped them to their heroic achievements. In accusing the heroes of impiety, deception, and even cowardice, the heroines voice their own beliefs and virtues. In these letters, the women engage in contested speech: their accounts challenge prior literary traditions that favor their heroic partners and silence female voices. They thus attempt to gain authority for their feelings and experiences and, in some cases, to convince the men to return.

Scholars offer differing interpretations of the women's rhetoric. Sara Lindheim (2003: 13-77) argues that the heroines often portray themselves playing different roles designed to stimulate the desire of their male partner. A woman such as Briseis underscores her passive, object-

ified position as war prize in order to speak to the military prowess and *kleos* of Achilles and remind him why she is valuable and desirable. While the *Iliad* focuses on Achilles' rage and the slight to his pride when Briseis was taken from him, her letter describes her sadness in being traded to Agamemnon and her love for Achilles whom she hopes will take her back, if she can find a suitable approach to win him over. Considering Briseis and others, Lindheim (2003: 53-62) suggests that by highlighting the intricate arguments of these women, Ovid does not merely illustrate the point of view of the "other," but also explores the manner in which women can and often must barter for power with men.⁷³ The mythical female writers of the *Heroides* employ a similar set of tactics, portraying themselves alternately as helpless and powerful in attempts to recall their faithless lovers. Their rhetoric, however, mostly underscores their tragedy: the audience knows that despite their words, many of the heroines will not recapture their love or will suffer cruel fates (e.g., Ariadne, Hypsipyle, Phaedra, Canace, Deianeira). Penelope is the only woman who is reunited with her lover.⁷⁴ Because men are physically and socially superior to women, words are often women's only means of influence but, as many of these letters show, their words have limited power.

Carole Newlands (2015: 47-69) argues that the *Heroides* highlight the dangers love poses for women, a theme often obscured or passed over in the male-centered traditional narratives. In highlighting the dangers faced by women, a number of the letters cast a controversial light on traditional epic values. For example, Dido in *Heroides* 7 shows Aeneas to be at fault in their re-

⁷³ See also Scodel (1998).

⁷⁴ Briseis will be returned to Achilles, though not on account of her own efforts, but rather because of a transaction of goods and respect between men. Unfortunately, their reunion will be short-lived because of Achilles' imminent death.

lationship. She writes as an injured lover, morally superior, critiquing the epic deeds and the patriarchal, Roman values lauded in the *Aeneid* and interrogates the virtue of a leader who could abandon and destroy such a woman.⁷⁵ Similarly, considering epistle 14, Newlands (2015: 61-65) contends that the *Heroides* grant authority to the female voice, not particularly for its persuasive powers, but because it offers a fresh examination of the literary tradition of mythology. In some letters Ovid introduces new information absent from previous versions that enhance the women's tragedy, such as Dido's pregnancy or the mutuality of feelings between Canace and her brother Macareus.⁷⁶ In others, such as Hypsipyle's letter to Jason, he endows women with awareness of events that are logically outside of the scope of their knowledge (e.g., Hypsipyle speaks of Medea's violence, a characteristic not yet seen from Medea at the time of Hypsipyle's letter). A commonality of these women is their utter devotion to their husbands. They assert their loyalty to their husbands and challenge the disloyalty and infidelity of their spouses; and in so doing, they challenge the heroic virtues of the men. Deianira, for example, depicts Hercules' affairs as shameful acts and as a testament to his ethical weakness. She states: "What a thousand wild beasts, Sthenelus your enemy,/ and Juno, could not conquer, Love has conquered" (*quem non mille ferae, quem non Stheneleius hostis,/ non potuit Iuno vincere, vincit Amor* 9.25-26). Similarly, when describing his affair, she claims that he was conquered by Omphale's wishes and disgracefully donned the womanly luxuries and dainties instead of the rugged attire of a real warrior such as Diomedes (53-72). Deianira challenges his masculinity to prompt his return, but

⁷⁵ On Dido see Newlands (2015: 55-58). Dido alleges that he lied about his feelings for her and about his *pietas*, his duty to bring his ancestral *penates* to a new Troy. Because of his deception, Dido will die, just as Creusa before her, but now also with her unborn child. Notably, Dido's pregnancy is an Ovidian innovation. This embellishment of Vergil's tale encourages further sympathy with the abandoned woman.

⁷⁶ On Canace and Macareus in *Heroides* 11 see Fulkerson (2005: 68).

his arrival with Iole proves her words will not be successful. Her rhetoric is not able to change her fate. She resorts to the cloak of Nessus to win back Hercules through magic and when this attempt fails, she kills herself in guilt. In Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, Deianira shows no knowledge of the prior affairs of Hercules with Omphale and others.⁷⁷ By inspiring Deianira with a more pervasive knowledge of and tolerance for her husband's actions, Ovid more emphatically asserts Hercules' responsibility—his repeated infidelity—for her despair. Hercules may be her accidental victim, but she depicts herself as a virtuous, loyal partner, harmed by his neglect.⁷⁸

Finally, Ovid often draws upon multiple literary traditions to compile his own representation of a heroine (e.g. Euripides and Apollonius as sources for different depictions of Medea). Such conscious construction of the letters creates particular themes in patterns of representation. As one prominent example, Ovid systematically portrays women as victims of men's desires. The women reveal their isolation from their families, their desperation, and their helpless situations. They attempt to advocate for themselves in their letters, but their unanswered words mark their inability to control their own fates, underscoring their vulnerability (e.g., Oenone, Hypsipyle, Dido, Ariadne, and Medea are all abandoned by their husbands; Phyllis, Oenone and Dido commit suicide).⁷⁹

⁷⁷ On *Heroides* 9 see Fulkerson (2005: 107-09), Casali (1995a and b), and Jacobson (1974: 228-31).

⁷⁸ Oenone and Hypsipyle both also accuse their husbands of a shameful disregard for the bonds of marriage. Oenone chastises Paris for abandoning her for Helen. She suggests that in choosing Helen, Paris undermines his own virtue, as he forsakes a dutiful, well-reputed wife for one who causes war and social disgrace. Hypsipyle too attacks Jason for failure to fulfill his marital promises. She both charges him for abandoning his children and also attacks Medea's character to shame him. Notably, Hypsipyle reveals a violent, vengeful spirit at the end of the letter that, as Verducci has suggested, shifts the sympathy of the readers away from her (62-65). Regardless, she consistently depicts Jason's actions, his lack of reverence for marriage and family and his desire for alluring foreign woman, as responsible for her madness.

⁷⁹ Oenone does not decide to commit suicide at the conclusion of the letter like Dido and Phyllis, but that is her fate in the mythological tradition. Deianira also commits suicide upon learning of her fatal mistake in killing her husband. Her tragic gift is sent as a final, desperate attempt to regain his affection.

With the female voices in the *Heroides*, Ovid infuses well-known narratives with new viewpoints. He explores the perspective of women who are silenced, marginalized, or viewed only from the male perspective in prior literary traditions. Ovid's mythological heroines are allowed to play an active, innovative role.⁸⁰ The rhetoric of wives in the *Heroides* showcases the vulnerability of these mythological women, forced to suffer the consequences of men's actions. Their letters are a testament to the power dynamics between lovers, between husbands and wives, and between fathers and daughters, dynamics in which women are consistently the victims of love, masculine impulse, and desire.⁸¹

Amores

Unlike the *Heroides*, the three books of the *Amores* have a single male narrator, the *amator*. In the tradition of Roman love elegy, the *Amores* present a tumultuous relationship between two characters: the *amator* and the *puella*. From his perspective, the *puella* occupies the position of power. He fights to win the affection of a fickle mistress who, he claims, is at times loyal and loving, and at other times cold, greedy, and fickle (his *militia amoris*). The *amator* attempts to use poetry to win the affection of the woman, who, in his imagination, must be a *docta puella*, that is, one who is educated and appreciative of his verses.⁸²

⁸⁰ See in particular Fulkerson (2005) who asserts that though the women's letters do not persuade their intended male recipients, they do persuade generations of readers as they create intricate *personae* and lasting poetry.

⁸¹ This is not intended to be an exhaustive study of the *Heroides*. Many of the letters, as Verducci (1985), Fulkerson (2005), and others have shown, feature many comedic elements which I have omitted here as outside the realm of my discussion. Some letters, such as *Heroides* 4 (Phaedra to Hippolytus) and also 11 (Canace to Macareus), explore the potential destructive effects of abnormal female desire (on Canace, see in particular Jacobson 1974). Nevertheless, throughout the collection, the women consistently expose chaos inflicted by men.

⁸² See James (2003) for a thorough explication of the elegiac characters and the social dynamics of the elegiac relationship.

On the surface, each elegist, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid, depicts the *amator* as subservient to the whims of a mistress. But elegy is much more complex: the genre entails a contest of speech between two characters who each allege the infidelity, jealousy, and injury of the other. But this is not a relationship between social equals: rather, as several scholars have shown (James, Gibson), the elegiac *puella* is not a wife or a girlfriend: she is not a citizen but a *meretrix*. This social reality adds a level of complexity to the dynamics of the relationship and undermines a number of the *amator*'s claims. Elegies such as Propertius 4.5 and *Amores* 1.8, featuring the speeches of the *lenae* Acanthis and Dipsas, reveal the mercantile basis of the relationship. The *puella*, guided by her *lena*, chooses whom to admit, accepting various gifts and payments offered by the men who compete for her time. Often, what the *amator* condemns as an act of infidelity is simply a matter of the *puella*'s financial needs (e.g. Cynthia's choosing the wealthy *praetor* over the *amator* in Prop. 2.16). After all, choosing the poet who offers poetry rather than money is not the wisest business option, as the *lena* Acanthis instructs: *aurum spectato, non quae manus afferat aurum!// uersibus auditis quid nisi uerba feres?* ("Look for the gold, not the hand which bears it! Once you've heard the verses, what do you have left but words?" 4.5.53-54; cf. *Am.* 1.8.57-62).

Elegy then, offers a contest of wits and words between two characters who seek to profit from their relationship. The *amator* looks to gratify his sexual desire as well as find companionship and attention, but at the scantiest price possible. The *puella*, seeking economic stability, must strike a balance in her allurements, giving clients/suitors enough time, attention, and gratification to keep them coming back, but also using various tactics to keep them at a distance so that they are willing to pay to assure their re-admittance. The social realities of elegy further illuminate the power dynamics of the relationship. As a *meretrix*, the *puella* had no legal rights.

The *amator* could physically harm a courtesan, rob her, and impregnate her. She would have no recourse against him, and he would face no responsibility for his actions. Although she does not have to admit the *amator*, the *meretrix* depends on his business and the business of other clients like him. Since men provide her economic stability, she is dependent upon them and is therefore limited in her freedom to turn away clients. The *amator*, then, exploits her inferior social and economic position to satisfy his own desires.⁸³

Speech has, therefore, particular relevance in elegy because it is the *puella*'s only means to challenge and manipulate. Propertius, in particular, shows the *puella*'s crafty, calculated speech as varying between seduction and chastisement to get what she wants (e.g. 1.9, 1.15, 2.15, 2.26). She uses *blanditiae* to entice a man or scolds him to keep him on the defensive.⁸⁴ In accordance with the instruction of the *lenae*, these acts of speech are cleverly crafted strategies intended to tame the impulsive and passionate *amator* so that the *puella* can get the greatest benefit possible from their sexual transactions. Her words, in addition to her beauty, are the means by which she thrives.⁸⁵ Unique to the *Amores* is that early in Book 1 Ovid pulls back the curtain and unveils the underbelly of elegy. Ovid introduces the *lena* Dipsas in poem 1.8, quite early in his book, whereas in Propertius and Tibullus the *lenae* do not appear until much later. Ovid thus

⁸³ On the socio-economic dynamics of the elegiac relationship see in particular James (2003: 35-68), Janan (2001: 85-99), and Gutzwiller (1985).

⁸⁴ On female speech in Roman elegy see James (2003, 2010), Janan (2001), Wyke (1994, 2002), Flaschenriem (1998).

⁸⁵ In Propertius, however, the *amator* is more subtle in revealing that the *puella* is a *meretrix* in the first three books. He makes brief allusions to the fact: at 1.2.2, he accuses her of putting herself up for sale (*te...vendere*), and in 1.8, he speaks of her potential *avaritia*, when the praetor wants to take her away, but he does not introduce the *lena* and fully pull back the curtain until Book 4. In 4.7 Cynthia exposes sordid details, such as their having sex in the crossroads late in the night. She also challenges the *amator*'s sincerity when she claims that he cared so little for her that not only did he not offer money for her funeral, but that he did not even attend. Rather, adding insult to injury, he was taking up with a new woman to whom he gave Cynthia's image to melt down for gold. Similarly, in 4.8, catching the *amator* with two other women, she directly confronts his prior claims of unwavering fidelity.

allows insight into the *amator*'s calculations and reveals the economic and social contexts of the relationship. With the *amator* partially unmasked and the social dynamics of the elegiac relationship established, Ovid moves past the generic limitations necessary to maintain the façade of the devoted lover and pushes the tropes of the elegiac genre to their furthest extremes. As he pushes the limits of the genre, Ovid highlights the competitive, exploitive, and at times harmful aspects of *amor*.⁸⁶

The early revelation of the *amator*'s social status in relation to the *puella* allows Ovid thereafter to explore, and for his readers to consider, the consequences of the *amator*'s actions and his superior social power in subsequent elegies. By introducing the perspective of the *lena*, notably, immediately following poem 1.7 in which the *amator* abuses his mistress, Ovid underscores the imbalance of power between lover and beloved. He reveals that the *amator*'s actions are not crimes of grand passion, as the *amator* frequently proclaims, but the physical and sexual abuse of a man asserting his dominance over this subaltern woman. Following the appearance of Dipsas and her insights into the social reality of the relationship, Ovid's readers may perhaps laugh at the *amator*'s grand and ridiculous gestures, promises, and oaths, but they should witness a lusty male citizen exploiting the bodies of disenfranchised women.

As Alison Keith (2012: 297-98) has pointed out, Ovid's elegies present the most dramatic extremes of elegiac themes. The *Amores* feature a carnal physicality that is absent from Tibullus's poetry and Propertius's elegies until poem 4.7. Elegy 1.1 entails a sexual double entendre

⁸⁶ James (2003) demonstrates that Ovid's *Amores* expand upon themes and conceits already present in a subtler manner in the works of Tibullus and Propertius. Often this poetic endeavor entails focusing on the degraded, unattractive, and unpoetic topics that seem unrelated to love. These topics have frequently received critical disapproval or even critical oversight for their assumed crassness and distance from other elegiac poetry; however, each of these topics is derived from an elegiac origin. James asserts that Ovid uses such expansions not to add hypocrisy, exploitation, or pretense, but rather to lay bare the conventions of elegy and offer some reality in exposing and analyzing the consequences of those elegiac conventions. On the boundaries of genre in Ovid see also Conte (1994).

that introduces the sexual objective of the relationship (*cum bene surrexit versu nova pagina primo, / attenuat nervos proximus ille meos*, “When my new page has risen up well with its first verse, the next verse diminishes my bow strings/strength” 17-18).⁸⁷ Elegies such as 1.5 and 2.15 feature the *amator*’s voyeuristic gaze upon Corinna’s body, vividly illustrating the objectification and sexual exploitation of the woman.⁸⁸ The *amator* also writes about his stamina in bed (2.10, 2.15) and his experience with impotence (3.7). Though the *amator* exposes his insincerity, he articulates clearly the lover’s commitment to *militia amoris* and *servitium amoris* (1.9) and passionately denounces the venality of the elegiac mistress (1.10).⁸⁹ He expands upon and alters other common elegiac themes as well. For example, his encounter with the *lena*, early in poem 1.8, is a longer, more detailed version of the speech of Acanthis in Propertius’s fourth book. The paraclausithyron of 1.6 adds a new twist to the typical elegiac formulation in that the *amator* pleads with and threatens the *ianitor* and fails in a dramatic and comedic manner. In 1.4, the *amator* teaches his girl tricks to flirt with him at a dinner party, similar to the tactics discussed in Tibullus 1.6, tactics of a man who believes his girl loves no one but him. However, in *Amores* 2.5, he learns that the tactics he hoped to use to his advantage could just as easily be used against him. For Ovid’s *amator*, love often seems more a game than a battle.

Notably, as Ovid explores the extremes of the elegiac tropes with his *amator*, he also illuminates aspects of the *amator*’s personality that are only alluded to in Propertius and Tibullus.

⁸⁷ McKeown (1989) disagrees, arguing that *attenuare*, as used elsewhere, refers to the weakening effects of love. But Kennedy (1993: 59-60) has settled the discussion by explaining the sexual metaphor and its relation to the rest of the elegy.

⁸⁸ On the *amator*’s voyeuristic gaze see Greene (1999).

⁸⁹ On *militia amoris* in Ovid Murgatroyd (1975) and see Cahoon (1988), who argues that Ovid’s exaggerated use of the elegiac trope suggests “that the love of the *Amores* is inherently violent and linked with the Roman *libido dominandi*” (294).

Ovid's *amator* possesses a more intense carnal fascination than others. He shows an insatiable appetite for sex in his affair with Corinna, (1.5, 2.12, 2.15), her *ornatrix* (2.7, 2.8), and his admissions that he often has a hard time choosing between women (2.4, 2.10). His desire for Corinna's *ornatrix*, in particular, exhibits his ability to use his superior social position to manipulate both women. He tries to exonerate himself with Corinna by trusting she will believe a man of his stature would not stoop low enough to sleep with a slave (*quis Veneris famulae conubia liber inire / tergaque conplecti verbere secta velit?* "What free man would want to sleep with a slave and to embrace the scars on her whipped back?" 2.7.21-22), and threatens Cypassis, knowing he, as a citizen man, will face no punishment (2.8.21-28).⁹⁰

Another prominent characteristic of the *amator* is his violent temper. While the *amatores* of Propertius and Tibullus' elegies profess emotions to extreme degrees (e.g., sadness, jealousy, joy, love, anger), they limit their expression primarily to words.⁹¹ Tibullus 1.10 touches upon the violence that could result from a tumultuous amatory relationship (51-64). In 2.5, the Propertian speaker affirms that, as angry as he is, he will not take advantage of his physical power over her by ripping her clothes, breaking her doors, tearing her hair, or bruising her with his hard fists. Leaving such brutal actions to an uneducated man, he chooses to seek revenge by slandering her with poetry.⁹² In 2.8, he threatens to kill himself and her, but no action is taken. Unique to Ovid's *amator* is that he does not restrain his emotions and they often manifest themselves in violence.

In *Amores* 1.7, the *amator* curses the hands that beat his mistress. He describes her weeping after being struck by him (*flet mea vesana laesa puella manu*, "My girl wounded by my

⁹⁰ See James (1997) Armstrong (2005: 59-62).

⁹¹ On the emotion of jealousy in particular, see Caston (2012).

⁹² Solmsen 1961 notes that this is a joking reference to Tibullus 1.10.

mad hand is weeping” 4). She is silent in her fear, unable to reproach him with words (*ipsa nihil; pavidum est lingua recta metu*, “She says nothing; her tongue restrained by a trembling fear” 20). Yet, while in condemning his own behavior, he compares himself to great Greek heroes, Ajax and Orestes, to pardon his crime of passion.⁹³ Ovid reveals several important dynamics of the elegiac relationship in this poem. First, the *amator* will face no recourse for his deeds. Though he vacillates about his remorse and about whether or not he deserves punishment, it is clear that he will not suffer. He states himself: “If I had struck the lowest Roman of the plebs I would be tortured, will there be a greater right to me over my mistress?” (*an, si pulsassem minimum de plebe Quiritem, / plecterer—in dominam ius mihi maius erit?* 29-30). If he hit a Roman citizen he would be punished, but there are no consequences for striking a *meretrix*. The *amator* can abuse Corinna, just as she can abuse her slave Cypassis (2.8). Social status, of course, determines power. In the *amator*’s descriptions of his interactions with Corinna, Ovid depicts the violent manifestations of that power and the manner in which one can abuse that power and victimize those below them.

Second, despite his crime, the *amator* demonstrates explicitly and grotesquely that the girl is an object for his sexual pleasure. Ovid emphasizes this point by repeatedly returning to the male gaze throughout the poem. The *amator* looks upon the *puella*’s brutalized body with his sexual gaze. He describes her bloodless face like Parian marble, her lifeless limbs and body like leaves of the poplar blown by a gentle breeze (1.7.51-56). Guilty though he may feel, the

⁹³ Propertius makes similar analogies in 2.8 when he threatens to kill himself and his *puella*. The Ovidian *amator*, while comparing himself to mythological aggressors, compares his mistress to their defenseless female victims, e.g., Ariadne, Cassandra. Greene (1999: 414) argues that the *amator* uses these exempla to justify violence toward his mistress by creating beautiful images of helpless women who are rescued and then subjugated by men.

puella is first and foremost the object of his desire.⁹⁴ He wavers back and forth between alleging remorse and lusting after her. He thrives upon her vulnerability: she is desirable when she is beaten and submissive. Her subjectivity and power are limited. At the conclusion, he permits her to seek revenge by marring his face—on the surface, an attempt to level the power between them. But he quickly commands her to recompose her hair and remove the signs of his crime, presumably so that she will be attractive to him again.⁹⁵ The *puella*'s body is not her own but is subject to the use and pleasure of the citizen *amator*.

Ovid continuously depicts the various manners in which the *amator* exploits his power over the *puella*. In poems 2.13 and 2.14, the *amator* debates the rights that Corinna should have over her own body when he chastises her for her abortion. In 2.13, he prays for her safety, while in 2.14, he expresses concern for the potential child she has aborted. Both poems feature the perspective and anxieties of the male speaker, with no attention for the concerns of the imperiled woman (Gamel 1989). In 2.14, he verbalizes his belief that it is his right to dictate what she does with her body. Reading this elegy with the knowledge that Corinna is a *meretrix* highlights the *amator*'s self-centered desire to possess and control his beloved. Childbearing is not an option for Corinna: pregnancy would put her out of the sex business for several months and children would deplete her resources (James 2003: 173-83). Yet the *amator* imagines the unborn child as

⁹⁴ Greene (1999) offers a “female reading” of *Amores* 1.7 in which she shows that the depiction of the elegiac mistress as the object of the desirous male gaze is offered by Ovid as a critique of elegiac rhetoric and of conventional attitudes toward power relations between the sexes. She argues that in this poem the *amator* not only sanctions violence in amatory affairs but shows the pleasure derived from subjugating his mistress, a position Ovid's audience would condemn. See also Cahoon (1988: 296) who points out that the *amator* finds the sight of his mistress distraught and helpless titillating.

⁹⁵ Some scholars read 1.7 as a poem of sincere remorse (Wilkinson 1955, Luck 1959). I align with Parker (1969) and Greene (1999) who read 1.7 as the poet duping his audience and showing a moral indifference towards his violent actions.

a great Roman leader, Aeneas or one of the Caesars (15-18). Such visions are of course impossible for the child of a *meretrix*. The speaker's desires benefit only himself, and he shows no regard for the damaging repercussions and realities that his *puella* must face. Even in these set pieces, the *amator* continues to place the appeal of the *puella*'s body over all else. At the conclusion of 2.14, he prays that the gods forgive this crime and punish her the second time around (*di faciles, peccasse semel concedite tuto, / et satis est; poenam culpa secunda ferat!* "Favorable gods, allow her to have sinned once in safety, and may this be enough; let her second crime carry a punishment!" 43-44). In this final couplet, he implies that the girl will be impregnated again, possibly even by himself. As in 2.13, his immediate concern is not her health or safety but that she be able to sleep with him again.⁹⁶

It is imperative to note that the elegiac genre possesses certain political undertones. Each elegist, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, and presumably Gallus as well, issues a formal *recusatio* in which he states that he will not write about the heavy topics such as war, triumph, or long heroic journeys—the sort of subjects reserved for the dactylic hexameter of epic. Rather, these poets put down weapons of war and pick up the arms of love, soldiering in *militia amoris*. By such proclamations, they reject, at least in their poetic personas, the objectives of Augustus' social agenda to encourage marriage and procreation amongst the upper-classes to which they belong. The elegiac poet renounces his civic duty both as citizen and father in favor of leisure time spent in devotion to an unmarriageable courtesan. In writing elegy, then, Tibullus, Propertius, and especially

⁹⁶ Scholars are divided in their interpretations of Ovid's depiction of sexual violence. Richlin (1992) and Cahoon (1988) condemn Ovid for his dark visions of *amor*. Richlin calls many scenes "pornographic" and finds horror in the representation of female as the site of violence. Gamel (1989), on the other hand, argues that the sexual violence in the poems and the *amator*'s logical gaps, mistakes, and silences encourage the reader to question his male vision of love. The abortion poems demonstrate the narcissistic fantasies of a single man and depict gender relations rife with inequality, oppression, and deception. Ovid uses this violence, she suggests, to condemn problems in the political and social system.

Ovid, subtly undercut Augustus' social legislation.⁹⁷ With the character of the *amator* who not only shirks his civic duty, but also is deceptive, manipulative, and at times controlling of a disenfranchised woman, the elegists show how one party can use its power to exploit an inferior party. In Tibullus and Propertius, the contest for power between romantic partners is depicted more evenly.⁹⁸ While the social realities of the elegiac relationship establish that the *amator* holds superior status and therefore social power, the male lover in these poems almost never abuses his power to destructive ends. He accepts the passionate back-and-forth of a relationship with a courtesan who cannot completely fulfill his wishes. Ovid, however, illustrates in numerous elegies the extremes to which a man can abuse his power.

Within the political subtext of the elegiac genre, Ovid's demonstration of uncontrollable male desire, of volatile emotions, and imbalance of power offers a commentary on political power that overreaches as well. Ovid's inconsistent *amator*, often undermining himself, reveals that matters of love and sex cannot be rationalized, and that at times efforts to assert control result in the victimization of others. In this way, his commentary on the elegiac relationship speaks in particular to the Augustan laws that reach into the private lives of its citizens, forcibly converting

⁹⁷ Most of Propertian and Tibullan elegy predates the formal passage of the Julian laws, though Propertius Book 4 and the extant text of Ovid's *Amores* come after them. (Here I follow the traditional dating: Propertius Book 1 was published first, followed by Tibullus Book 1; Propertius Book 2 postdates 27 BCE, and Tibullus Book 2 follows it). I agree with the school of thought that sees Propertius 2.7 as responding to Augustus' failed attempt at passing moral legislation in the year 27, and sees elegy as recognizing and resisting the princeps' interest in controlling the sex lives of the elite. See James (2003: 228-31) and McKeown (1984). For an opposing argument, see Badian (1985).

⁹⁸ This is especially true in Propertius. Books 1-3 offer only the perspective of the *amator*, but in Book 4 Propertius gives Cynthia's perspective in elegies 4.7 and 4.8. In these elegies, Cynthia gets to speak back to the *amator*, refute his previous claims about their relationship, and regain some authority.

private social matters into subjects of public discourse, censorship, and law, and seeking to put legal controls on human sexual passion.⁹⁹

Ars Amatoria

In the *Ars Amatoria*, Ovid moves beyond the mythical realm of the *Heroides* and outside the intimate domestic spaces of the elegiac relationship and brings his verse to the streets of Rome. The *praeceptor amoris* instructs his fellow Roman men in how to find a girlfriend. In the first two books, he teaches where to find available women in Rome, how to attract or “catch” them, and then how to keep them. In the third book, the *praeceptor* informs women about the measures they ought to take to be sought out by men. His primary subject is still *amor*, but now *amor*, as Ovid presents it in the *Ars*, is a subject worthy of public instruction and thus a topic weighty enough to warrant the didactic genre of Hesiod, Lucretius, and Vergil.

In the *Ars*, Ovid continues to explore male desire to control women and the destructiveness of that masculine desire on a larger, more public scale. As in the *Amores*, he presents a fictional speaker for the *Ars*: the *praeceptor amoris*, a man who has experienced a life of love affairs and now seeks to share his knowledge (1.17-40). The elegiac work is thus stylized as a fictive didactic. Many scholars have written on the generic complexities of the *Ars*.¹⁰⁰ Considerations of genre are beyond the scope of this chapter, but for purposes of examining certain themes, it suffices to state that in creating the *praeceptor amoris*, Ovid creates the illusion of a

⁹⁹ Though outside of the scope of my argument here, it is worth noting that in poem 2.14, the second poem on abortion, Ovid compares Corinna’s aborted child to Aeneas and the line of the Caesars. Such references to Roman mythic founders in his elegiacs in passages about the control and abuse of non-citizen female bodies (see also Romulus and the Sabine women in *Ars* 1) can be read as an Ovidian commentary on the increased surveillance of relationships and sexuality of citizens under the Augustan principate.

¹⁰⁰ For a few generic studies of the *Ars* see Kenney (1958), Leach (1964), Kuppers (1981), Labate (1984), Dalzell (1996), Gibson (1997, 2003), Volk (2002).

man crafting a handbook on love intended to instruct and aid his fellow Romans. Thus, while the *Ars Amatoria* is not a serious didactic work itself—as readers note, its instruction is self-contradictory and ultimately fails—the fictive *praeceptor* is making a genuine attempt at erotodidaxis. From the outset, then, by nature of the literary conceit, one major theme in the *Ars* is man’s attempt to assert control over the messy, irrational concept of *amor*. He states: love is a skill that can be mastered, like charioteering or steering a ship (1.3-8). The *praeceptor* sets forth rules, guidelines, and steps in order to make the pursuit of *amor* a straightforward, rational activity, one that can be performed with success by all men.

The *praeceptor*, however, is far from a perfect instructor, as he periodically admits. He often undercuts his own authority by offering contradictory advice: he first advises men that a bronzed body is most appealing (*fuscento corpora Campo*, 1.513), but shortly after he asserts that it is fitting for a lover to be pale, lean, and obviously weak, as if he has wasted away: *palleat omnis amans*, “May every lover become pale” 1.739). Such inconsistencies show the frivolity of the topic, but also underscore the difficulty in assigning hard and fast guidelines for *amor*. His contradictions show that desire manifests itself differently amongst different persons, times, and settings. *Amor* is unpredictable. The *praeceptor* admits himself that at times he has trouble following his own advice. In Book 2 in a passage about the importance of allowing a woman some freedom, he confesses his inadequacies in this task: *hac ego, confiteor, non sum perfectus in arte; / quid faciam? Monitis sum minor ipse meis* (“I confess, I am not perfect in this art. What can I do? I am less than my own instructions” 547-48). In this passage, he reveals that he is too possessive to watch the woman of his interest flirt with or send notes to others, so he complains, thus hurting his chances with the *puella*. Emotions, he reminds his readers, are not easily mastered and manipulated (543-554).

The *praeceptor*'s objective is not only to master *amor*, but also to control woman as the object of male desire. Throughout the *Ars*, the male is depicted as the active pursuer of *amor* and the female is the passive object of pursuit.¹⁰¹ At the outset of Book 1, the *praeceptor* claims that he wants to teach men to love (*amare* 35) and to maintain an enduring love (*ut longo tempore duret amor*, "so that his love may last for a long time" 38), but reveals throughout that *amor* is not romantic love but sex; and it is specifically sex that satisfies the man. In Book 1, for example, when advising on the importance of becoming familiar with the woman's *ancilla*, he warns that having sex with the *ancilla* could bring complications to the pursuit of her mistress, but suggests that men may pursue her if they desire as long as the mistress is first priority and her slave comes later (1.375-398). His focus upon the *ancilla*'s physical attractiveness underscores male sexual desire for the female body as the driving force of his instruction. An *ancilla*, slave of the *meretrix*, as depicted in the *Amores*, is a target both appealing and potentially useful (1.375-86).¹⁰²

Sex with the *meretrix*, however, is the primary object of the work. Having sex with her, he states, presents a novelty and at times a challenge, whereas wives are available any time (3.585-86). The majority of the *praeceptor*'s instructions are intended to help men attain this sexual objective (e.g. inciting a woman's jealousy with a rival is a strategy that leads to mollifying her jealousy with sex 2.459-64), but his goal is stated most explicitly in the final instructions of Books 2 and 3. In Book 2, he asserts that sex is best when both partners reach a climax at the same time; however, there is not always time. Thus, in the fashion of a typical Ovidian coda, in

¹⁰¹ Notably except in Book 1, under the principle *cunctas posse capi* where he cites numerous mythical women who pursued men to disastrous results.

¹⁰² See James (1997).

which the narrator ceases his rhetorical façade and reveals his true desires, the *praeceptor* states that sometimes men must dig in their spurs and get to the finish (*cum mora non tuta est, totis incumbere remis/ utile, et admisso subdere calcar equo*, “When delay is not safe, lean usefully on the oars and drive your spur into the galloping horse” 731-2).¹⁰³ Similarly, rather than instruct women in how to get pleasure from sex, he advises them on how to be most appealing to their male partners (3.771-86). He even includes special instructions for those women who do not feel sexual pleasure as to how best to fake orgasms for their partners’ benefit (797-8). From the text’s male perspective, the pursuit is not for a mutual relationship but for the control and use of a woman’s body for sexual gratification.¹⁰⁴

The *praeceptor*’s game of *amor* subscribes to particular gender roles. Since the work is intended to satisfy men sexually, women are consistently portrayed as objects and victims. As Myerowitz Levine (1985: 127) has noted, the *praeceptor*’s skill involves the taming and handling of women for a man. For a woman, his *ars* involves the taming and handling of herself.¹⁰⁵ He instructs men to actively pursue women and women to be objects. Man is predator, woman is prey. Farcical though it may be, through repetitive metaphors that assimilate the masculine pursuit of love to male conquest in hunting and war, the *Ars* shows how much women are overtly sexualized and victimized by the male gaze as well as by a man’s whim, desire, and power. Through these elegiacs, then, Ovid addresses gender, sex and power in a public, contemporary urban setting.

¹⁰³ On the Ovidian coda see Parker (1969).

¹⁰⁴ On the sexual power dynamics of *Ars* 2 and 3 see James (2003: 207) and Henderson (2006).

¹⁰⁵ See also Gibson (2013) and Downing (1990).

The *praeceptor* teaches men to hunt through the most public spaces of Roman civic life in order to track down a woman. He makes explicit in these directives that the pursuit of *amor* is the right of a man who earns whatever he can capture. Women, according to the teacher, are easily sought out under Pompey's colonnade (1.67), Livia's portico (1.71-2), the theater (1.89-90), or the Circus, to name just a few. Numerous directives in book 1 compare a young man's search for a woman to a hunt or a contest in which the man is the active predator, the city of Rome is his hunting ground, and women on the streets, *meretrices* (and perhaps others), are his prey or prize (e.g. lines 45-50, 391-394, 403-404, 761-766).¹⁰⁶

In addition to such metaphors, the *praeceptor* includes several inset narratives in his erotodidaxis that lend mythical or historical support for his assertions.¹⁰⁷ These tales often underscore the gendered roles in the pursuit of *amor*. By depicting the vulnerability of women who are objects of masculine desire, these exempla illustrate the harmful and destructive aspects of love. The first narrative digression, the story of the Sabine women, offers an ecphrastic illustration of the subjective experience of a woman being hunted down. Significantly, this version of the foundational tale highlights the women's fear and sadness. The *praeceptor* directs men to the Roman theater to find women, the very place, he claims, where Romulus once led the first Roman men in the abduction of the Sabine women. For the *praeceptor*, the theater and the hunting that takes place in the theater have sexual connotations. For example, the theater, he states, is the most fertile place for a man to fulfill his desire: *Sed tu praecipue curvis venare theatris,/ haec loca sunt voto fertiliora tuo* ("But you should especially hunt in the curved theater, this place is fertile for your desires" 89-90). Whereas Romulus used the place to seize wives for the Roman

¹⁰⁶ On hunting in the *Ars*, see Leach (1964) and C.M.C. Green (1996).

¹⁰⁷ On the *praeceptor*'s narrative digressions see Sharrock (2006).

men, the *praeceptor* uses the example of Romulus to teach men where and how to find a casual engagement (*illic invenies quod ames, quod ludere possis, / quodque semel tangas, quodque tenere velis*, “There you will find one to love, one you can play with, one you can be with just once, or one you want to hold onto” 91-2). As he describes Romulus’ use of the theater for abducting the Sabine women, he assimilates a young man’s pursuit of sex to the capturing and conquering of the young Sabine girls as they were torn, helplessly, from their families.

Notably, the *praeceptor*’s version of the foundational tale focuses solely on the abduction of the women and the pleasure that it brings the men. He provides a brief description of the historical event: Romulus founded the games when raped women pleased men without wives (*primus sollicitos fecisti, Romule, ludos, / cum iuivit viduos rapta Sabina viros*, “Romulus, you first made these troublesome games, when the raped Sabine woman pleased unmarried men” 101-2). Woman is explicitly identified as sexually conquered, *rapta*, and it is in that state that she pleases (*iuivit*) the men. The *praeceptor* offers no description of the marriages that follow the attack or the alliance between the Sabines and the Romans. His narrative, having quite a different agenda from Livy’s tale, highlights the victimization of the Sabine women as their feelings and wishes are sacrificed to the sexual needs of men. The Roman men are shown as predators as they stalk and select the women they desire (*respiciunt, oculisque notant sibi quisque puellam / quam velit, et tacito pectore multa movent*, 109-110). Conversely, the women are prey: they run from the men as doves flee eagles and lambs run from wolves:

protinus exiliunt animum clamore fatentes,
virginibus cupidas iniciuntque manus.
ut fugiunt aquilas, timidissima turba, columbae,
utque fugit visos agna novella lupos:
sic illae timere viros sine lege ruentes;
constitit in nulla qui fuit ante color.
nam timor unus erat, facies non una timoris:
pars laniat crines, pars sine mente sedet;

altera maesta silet, frustra vocat altera matrem:
haec queritur, stupet haec; haec manet, illa fugit; (115-124)

They sprang up immediately, showing their intent by shouting,
and they seize the virgins with their desirous hands.
As doves, in a most frightened crowd, flee eagles,
as a newborn lamb flees the wolf she has sighted:
so the girls feared the men rushing at them lawlessly;
not one girl showed the color she had before.
The fear was the same for all, but not the expression of fear:
some tear at their hair, others sit in shock;
one mourns silently, another calls for her mother in vain:
one laments, one is dumbfounded; one sits, while that one flees.

The *praeceptor* emphasizes the fragility of the victims with the superlative *timidissima* to describe the crowd of doves and the diminutive *novella* to identify the very young lamb. He dwells upon the women's subjective experiences of the abduction by individualizing their terror as victims. Fear, he says, manifested itself differently in each woman: some women cry for their mothers, some rend their hair, others are silent, and others flee.

In this scene, the plight of the Sabine women in turn underscores the vulnerability of the *meretrices* whom the *praeceptor* instructs his fellow Roman men to pursue. Woman may resist a man's advances, but her struggle is in vain. Just as the Sabine women, the *meretrix* will also be conquered. Ovid further depicts the vulnerability of the women through the male gaze. Like scenes in the *Amores* that depict the voyeuristic gaze of the *amator*, the *praeceptor*'s exemplum is focalized through the male gaze. He describes the victimization of the women in their flight and fear, but as he imagines the individual experience of numerous women, the entirety of the scene is viewed with a sexual gaze. He views the fearful women as sexual bodies and as objects pleasing to a man rather than as true subjects. Their fear, he states, was becoming: *ducuntur raptae, genialis praeda, puellae, et potuit multas ipse decere timor* ("The captured girls are lead away as a joyful prize, and even fear itself made many of them seem pleasing" 125-126).

Whether or not women are complicit in these relationships and flirtations, the presence of the male gaze is constant and stifling.¹⁰⁸ In this narrative and in other similar scenes in which women are preyed upon by men, Ovid underscores women's vulnerability.¹⁰⁹ But in the *Ars*, male desire and sexual gratification is the primary concern of the *praeceptor*. The individualized perspective and experience of a woman is subordinate to a man's sexual desire.

In addition to the sexual exploitation of women's bodies, Ovid uses the *praeceptor*'s didactic digressions to dramatize the power dynamics between a *meretrix* and her male pursuers. In Book 2, the *praeceptor* offers a second mythological exemplum of rape. When explaining that a woman saying no really means "yes," he offers the tale of Achilles who disguised himself as a woman and raped Deidamia. Because, he asserts, she enjoyed the sexual experience, it was not rape. Rather, it is proof that women like to be passive sexually: *viribus illa quidem victa est, ita credere oportet:/ sed voluit vinci viribus illa tamen* (Indeed she was conquered by force, we must believe it, but nevertheless that same woman wanted to be taken by force 699-700). This

¹⁰⁸ For other studies of this passage see Hemker (1985), Richlin (1992), Labate (2006). Hemker argues as well that Ovid's deliberate emphasis on the suffering caused to the victims by the narrator's program of erotic deception and conquest "exposes the tragedy inherent in a philosophy which espouses domination as a means of gratifying one's own desires." Richlin (167-68) argues against Hemker that the women's fear is intended to make them more attractive. The poet, she states, is not making a statement against this violence but rather intends the passage to be amusing, to palm off the violence. Labate (212-15) reads this passage as the *praeceptor*'s use of *ars* to civilize the forceful pursuit of love. The words describing the brutality of the Sabine rape, he argues, gain, through *ars*, a certain refinement, so that violence, from the masculine perspective, is redeemed as a kind of ritual of the sexes.

¹⁰⁹ The male gaze persists throughout all three books. In another episode in Book 1, the *praeceptor* describes the vulnerability of Ariadne abandoned by Theseus. She is fearful both when she awakens and realizes Theseus has left her and again when Bacchus arrives with a thundering clamor. Ever-present in the description of Ariadne's fear and weakness, however, is the male gaze that objectifies her body and thereby detracts from her individual subjectivity. The *praeceptor* describes her attractiveness and makes her an object for the visual consumption of masculine desire (1.529-34). Sharrock (2006: 27) argues that each of these narrative digressions, while serving purposes unique to each book, reinforce the same underlying message of the *Ars*. She terms that message the "romanticization of force."

passage reflects the same sexual objectification of women that we saw in the stories of the Sabine women and Ariadne. Both this exemplum and the didactic lesson to which it belongs show the way women's voices are erased from the work. As Richlin points out, this passage asserts that a woman's emotions and desires are unreal.¹¹⁰ According to the *praeceptor*, what a *meretrix* says is not what she truly intends and what she claims to want is not what actually pleases her.

Throughout the *Ars*, the metaphors, inset narratives, and mythical allusions highlight the sexual exploitation and vulnerability of women in the city of Rome. Numerous scenes in which women are hunted, trapped, and caught underscore the gendered and class inequities of the relationship between male *amator* and *meretrix*. Ovid draws attention to the objectification of women by focalizing these scenes through the *praeceptor*. The sexual male gaze overshadows the distraught emotional state of women and eliminates their perspectives and voices. The *meretrix* has no subjectivity.

I note finally the scale of the *praeceptor*'s instruction in the *Ars*. His tricks for obtaining a woman often echo the tactics of the *amator* in the *Amores*, showing the same thematic representation of a man's desire to possess and control a woman's body, but these desires exist on a larger, more public scale: Rome. The *praeceptor* encourages the entire Roman male population to pursue their needs actively and openly in the light of day and in the most public places in the city. In the theater, forum, under the porticoes of basilicas, in alleys, and in the marketplace, young women everywhere are subject to the male gaze and are prey to men's desires. In Rome, especially under Augustus, it would be a grave offense to discuss the sexuality of citizen women, particularly young girls. Therefore, Ovid, aware of his audience, has the *praeceptor* offer several

¹¹⁰ Richlin (1992: 168-69). See also James (2016b: 97-99, 106).

explicit disclaimers to assure his readers that he is not instructing men to pursue not modest citizen women, but only sexually available women, that is, *meretrices* (1.31-32, 2.599-600, 3.613-14). Nevertheless, the public nature of his instruction suggests the widespread presence of male desire.

Erika Zimmermann Damer (2016) has demonstrated that the *praeceptor*'s route for the pursuit of *amor* in Book 1 is illogical. It makes little sense for pedestrians in the city. But, as Damer shows, the itinerary draws attention to the urban landscape of Rome while skirting any explicit reference to Augustus. The *praeceptor* creates an urban landscape in which men, if taught properly, can roam about the city from place to place and actively hunt down women. The itinerary is repeated in Book 3 with specific changes.¹¹¹ In his instructions to the women, the *praeceptor* emphasizes aspects of the *Domus Augusta*, monuments and names. Women's movements are highly restricted and the presence of the emperor, nearly absent from the first two books is suddenly abundant. Thus, pulling back on his suggestion in the first two books that sex could be sought in any place in the city, the *praeceptor* limits the sexual availability of women. But, despite a more conservative itinerary, the sexual male gaze persists throughout the work. Significantly, women remain the objects of male desire. Ovid thus depicts the male gaze as a force that persists throughout the city, defying boundaries, rejecting women's subjective wishes, and silencing their voices. He prompts the question of whether or not there are limits to the male sexual impulse.

The *praeceptor* has no answer to this question. In exposing the folly in his attempt to apply order and rules to *amor*, Ovid shows that *amor* is not subject to rational control. Men's

¹¹¹ Myerowitz-Levine (1985: 97) demonstrates that the women of *Ars* 3 in fact do a circle from bedroom to city back to bedroom.

sexual desires are depicted as continuously victimizing women throughout the *Ars*. In such scenes, Ovid underscores the dangers of the exploitation of power. The work implicitly suggests that just as *amor* often spins out of one's control, so too can other passions and desires. By highlighting the vulnerability of women and the lack of sexual control of men, the *Ars* warns against masculine desire for control, power and authority.¹¹²

Metamorphoses

Finally, I want to note briefly that Ovid's epic verse explores the same issues. Through violent rapes committed by the gods in the *Metamorphoses*, often highlighting the victim's perspective, Ovid dramatizes the trauma caused by an overextension of masculine power and authority.¹¹³ But the *Metamorphoses*, while containing a number of elegiac themes and elements, is not concerned with love. Rather, in his epic as well as in the *Fasti*, Ovid brings his elegiac themes and subject matter to forms typically reserved for "state" topics. The *Metamorphoses* is composed in hexameters, and though it experiments with a number of genres (elegy, rhetoric, comedy), its scope is one of epic grandeur: a continuous story of bodies changed into new forms from the origins of the world until Ovid's time. Despite employing a meter reserved for epic and didactic, the very title and subject of the *Metamorphoses* allows, even calls for, a melding and play with genre, tone, and style.

¹¹² See also Gibson (2006) who suggests that in *Ars* 3, Ovid pulls back and shows his teaching as the "middle path" for men navigating between *matronae* and *meretrices* and consequently exposes the Julian laws, in comparison, as an 'extreme' act that reinforces ethical categories rejected in the moderate *Ars*.

¹¹³ On sexual violence in the *Metamorphoses*, see Richlin (1992), Johnson (1995), Curran (1978), Johnson (2008), James (2016a).

In the programmatic opening, Ovid invokes the gods as his epic muses, alleging that they initiated the transformation of forms into new bodies that will be his subject. He begins with chaos, when all the world was a confused mass, before the elements were separated and organized by the gods. As the poem progresses and new things are created, the world appears to move from chaos toward order. New cultures, states, and civic institutions are created and this progression of order culminates in the foundation of Rome in book 14 and the restoration of the golden age under the reign of Augustus in book 15. Scholars have argued for both pro-Augustan and anti-Augustan interpretations of this poetic structure.¹¹⁴ Political interpretations aside, I focus on the chaotic aspects of the *Metamorphoses*; for, while numerous aetiological tales and the chronological development of the world from chaos to civilization provide a sense of creation and progress, the *Metamorphoses* simultaneously explores the ever-present disorder and chaos in the world. Through their destructive actions, Ovid's gods constantly change the bodies of mortals. They act in accordance with human emotions, pursuing desires and thereby wreaking havoc upon the mortals in whose lives they entangle themselves. One consistent theme that begins with the gods and continues with mortals is the male desire to possess a woman's body, a theme familiar from Ovid's elegiac works. Through a variety of narrators and the depictions of different viewpoints, he offers the perspectives of both male aggressors and female victims, highlighting the suffering and destruction that result from abuse of power, irrational impulse, and desire to control. I will

¹¹⁴ Some scholars have maintained that the *Metamorphoses* offers a pro-Augustan reading, arguing that the ever-changing and developing world concludes with Augustus, thus suggesting that the world has evolved to its final, most complete form under the Roman principate (Otis (1970), Galinsky (1975), Habinek (2002), et al). Other scholars have argued for an anti-Augustan reading of the epic that focuses on the metamorphoses of the work rather than the product (W.R. Johnson (1970), Wheeler (2000), Williams (2009)). Such arguments often point to Pythagoras' statements that everything changes and nothing perishes: Rome, and specifically the reign of Augustus, like civilizations before, will not be an empire without end. See also Barchiesi (1997) and Feeney (1999).

consider here only Books 1 and 15, with a brief discussion of several female speeches, but I believe that the patterns and themes that I identify in those books are present throughout.

In Book 1, Ovid introduces the gods that create order for the mortal world. These gods, Jupiter, Apollo, and others who are revered as the divine guardians of ancient Rome, are depicted in various lights and with numerous tones, from comedic to tragic to elegiac. But from the beginning, the gods are also consistently shown as destructive figures who abuse their power over mortals. The first metamorphosis, that of Lycaon, offers the initial characterization of the gods and sets the tone for the rest of the work. When Jupiter calls a council of the gods to decide how to punish Lycaon, he acts as a supreme dictator. He does not rely upon the advice of his fellow gods but acts alone and commands the respect and obedience of the others. After transforming Lycaon into a wolf, Jupiter is still angry with the disrespect of the mortal race who challenged and undermined his power and so proceeds to destroy the entire race of men in a flood. Ovid notes the exceptional severity of this dictatorial action when he states that the other gods themselves thought it too harsh (244-52). As depicted by Ovid, Jupiter acts not rationally or objectively, but emotionally: his anger drives him, and his punishment of the human race is vengeful and self-gratifying.

In this passage, as well as in others in the poem, Ovid compares Jupiter to Augustus, e.g., the decision to avenge Caesar's death is equated to Jupiter's decision to annihilate the human race (199-206). In such comparisons, he implicitly compares Jupiter's tyrannical actions to the new reign of the principate. Putting aside the potential commentary on contemporary Roman politics in these lines, the council of the gods depicts the detrimental effects of excessive power.

Comparisons between Jupiter, Caesar, and Augustus draw a parallel between leaders both immortal and mortal and suggest that gods and mortals alike are capable of exploiting their authority over their inferiors.

As in his other works, Ovid employs gender to explore issues of power dynamics. Throughout, gods and men victimize young, virginal women who are the objects of their sexual desire. The gods suffer no consequences for raping women and nymphs, while the women are violated, transformed, and often lose a crucial aspect of their identity.¹¹⁵ Book 1 features three rape scenes: two attempted rapes—Apollo and Daphne, Pan and Syrinx—and one completed rape, Jupiter and Io. The stories are loosely connected to each other and the content of Book 1, yet because they are included in the first book, they warrant special consideration.¹¹⁶ As two of the opening stories, about gods particularly important to Augustus, they offer programmatic themes for the epic. Apollo and Jupiter pursue unwilling mortal women. Ovid highlights the women's helplessness and accentuates the male gaze in each story, to underscore the violent results of the male gods' exploitation of their power over mortal women.

Apollo's pursuit of Daphne portrays a woman victimized by a god against whom she is powerless. Daphne wished to remain a chaste virgin, and her father had promised to honor her wish. Ovid captures the dark realities that Daphne faces. In a foreshadowing clause, he offers a cynical statement about the inevitable fate of attractive women: *ille quidem obsequitur, sed te decor iste quod optas/ esse vetat, votoque tuo tua forma repugnat* ("Indeed he grants her prayer,

¹¹⁵ Jupiter is sometimes scolded by Juno but he never faces serious consequences for his actions.

¹¹⁶ After the repopulation of the earth, Ovid tells the story of Apollo's victory over the serpent, which requires an explanation of how laurel leaves became the crown for victors, leading to the tale of Daphne. The story of Io is even more loosely connected. Ovid explains that the river Inachus was absent from Pe-neus' mourning for Daphne because he was mourning his own daughter. See Anderson (1997) who demonstrates that Ovid constructs the two stories to reflect upon each other.

but that beauty of yours forbids you to be what you desire, your beautiful figure refuses your wish” 488-89). Beautiful Daphne cannot escape male desire. Struck by Cupid’s arrow, Apollo chases Daphne relentlessly. As in his depiction of the Sabine women in *Ars* 1, Ovid uses hunting metaphors to underscore the victimization of Daphne and the predatory nature of Apollo’s desires. She flees him like a hare trying to escape the outstretched jaws of a hound (532-39). In the midst of the description of her fear, the narrator describes Daphne’s fleeing body through the lens of the male sexual gaze. As with the Sabine women and Ariadne in the *Ars*, or the elegiac *puella* in the *Amores*, the narrator draws attention to the appeal of Daphne’s fearful body:

tum quoque visa decens; nudabant corpora venti,
obviaque adversas vibrabant flamina vestes,
et levis impulsos retro dabat aura capillos,
auctaque forma fuga est...(527-530)

Then too she seemed beautiful; the winds
bared her limbs, and the opposing breezes
in her way fluttered her clothes, and the light
wind tossed her streaming hair behind her and
her beauty was enhanced by her flight.

With this voyeuristic description, Ovid draws attention to the oppressive male gaze, highlighting the vulnerability of the female body, which remains an object of male desire.¹¹⁷

Throughout the episode, Apollo shows a persistent urge to possess Daphne. When she flees, he first attempts a rhetorical approach that comically and ironically reveals his true intention, to catch and sexually conquer her. Comparing himself to a wolf chasing a deer, a mountain lion chasing a deer, and an eagle pursuing a dove (504-507), he marks Daphne’s helplessness. When his predatory words fail to convince her, he takes up the chase, without concern for her fear or unwillingness. Even her transformation into a tree causes him no remorse: Although she

¹¹⁷ On this passage see also Richlin (1992: 162) who argues that the purpose of the passage is to look at Daphne. The disarray of flight and fear make her a more attractive victim.

has lost her human form, he still insists on possessing her: *cui deus 'at, quoniam coniunx mea non potes esse,/ arbor eris certe' dixit 'mea!'* ("The god said to her, 'But, since you cannot be my wife, you will then be my tree!' 557-8). Saved from rape, Daphne becomes his victim forever: she loses her humanity and her free will on account of his desires.¹¹⁸

Jupiter, driven—like Apollo—by lust, victimizes the young Io. He sees her, wants her, and assaults her. Ovid is explicit in his description of the scene as a rape. When Jupiter appears, Io flees. He then covers the land in fog, captures her, and rapes her:

'ne fuge me!' fugiebat enim. iam pascua Lerna
consitaque arboribus Lyrcea reliquerat arva,
cum deus inducta latas caligine terras
occultuit tenuitque fugam rapuitque pudorem. (597-600)

'Don't run from me!' But she was running. Now she
left behind the Lernaean meadows and the Lyrcean fields
sown with trees, when the god covered the wide earth with
a dense, dark mist and he stopped her in flight and raped her.

With the phrase *rapuitque pudorem*, Ovid underscores the god's sexual violence as he emphasizes the fact that Io's virginity was forcefully stolen. Io continues to suffer the repercussions of Jupiter's actions. In an attempt to hide the rape from Juno, he transforms Io into a heifer, but Juno is not fooled. Since Juno cannot punish Jupiter directly for his actions, Io, now imprisoned by Argus, suffers in his place. Io thus becomes the victim of both gods. In the description of her imprisonment and the subsequent recognition of her fate that it brings about, Ovid depicts Io as a victim of rape and abduction, unable to comprehend the trauma she has just experienced:

illa etiam supplex Argo cum bracchia vellet

635

¹¹⁸ Feldherr (2010: 41) has noted Daphne's metamorphosis is open to several interpretations. Her transformation protects her virginity and her wish and she becomes what she wished to be before, that is, unappealing to the male gaze and thus able to maintain her virginity. But, as a laurel, she is no longer human, is unable to express her will or her thoughts. She is then transformed into the token of Apollo.

tendere, non habuit, quae brachia tenderet Argo,
conatoque queri mugitus edidit ore
pertimuitque sonos propriaque exterrita voce est.
venit et ad ripas, ubi ludere saepe solebat,
Inachidas: rictus novaque ut conspexit in unda
cornua, pertimuit seque exsternata refugit.

Even if she wanted to stretch her arms out to Argus in supplication, she did not have arms which she could extend to him, and when she tried to issue a complaint, she put forth only a moo, a sound which terrified her as she was now terrified by her own voice.

She is bound with chains, having only pitiful food and grass as a bed. She reaches out for help, but her arms fail; she tries to shout, but her voice fails. She is terrified by the sight of her new form and condition. As with Daphne, Ovid depicts her helplessness in her voicelessness. Daphne, as a tree, loses her ability to resist or speak out against Apollo and can only shrink from his kisses (*oscula dat ligno; refugit tamen oscula lignum*, “He gives kisses to the wood; but her bark shrinks from his kisses” 556). Io wanders the earth, following her family but unable to tell them of her fate. Voiceless, she must trace her story in the sand:

illa manus lambit patriisque dat oscula palmis
nec retinet lacrimas et, si modo verba sequantur,
oret opem nomenque suum casusque loquatur;
littera pro verbis, quam pes in pulvere duxit,
corporis indicium mutati triste peregit.
'me miserum!' exclamat pater Inachus inque gementis
cornibus et nivea pendens cervice iuvencae
'me miserum!' ingeminat... (646-653)

She licks her father's hand and gives kisses on his palm and cannot restrain her tears and, if words would just now follow, she would plead for help and tell them her name and what happened; but she using letters in place of words, which she drew in the dust with her foot, and she tells the sad story of her transformed body. 'Oh, wretched me!' her father Inachus cries and clings to horns and snowy white neck of the groaning calf, and he cries again, 'Oh, wretched me!'...

As Feldherr (2010: 19-20) notes, the Greek letters of her name, Io, are transformed into a Latin expression of her utter grief, *me miserum*. Even once Inachus recognizes his daughter, he still cannot save her. After Jupiter restores Io to her original form, she is worshipped as a goddess and bestowed with a son, yet she is never returned to her family and community. She is forever separated from them by the actions of Jupiter.

This episode is the first of many rapes in the *Metamorphoses* in which a god comes down to earth, rapes a mortal, and then disappears. In each such tale, the mortal woman or nymph endures the burden or consequences. In some instances, the rape yields miraculous offspring whose birth is construed as recompense for her suffering. Other times, as with Io, the victim is punished by a third party, or, as in the case of Daphne, the unsuccessful rape results in the transformation of the woman into an inanimate object associated with her rapist. Sharon James (2016a) has cataloged the vast number of rapes in the epic and noted that thirty-five of the forty-six rapes in the epic occur in this manner. She asserts that such a rape tale serves a double function: “it dramatizes cultural values and attitudes toward the female body, and it also provides explanations for both natural and ktistic phenomena” (156). These tales and others throughout the epic frequently highlight the suffering of oppressed women and underscore the violent power of the gods. A consistent pattern depicts masculine impulse and desire to control as ever-present throughout Ovid’s conception of the development of the world in which the gods, in particular male gods, are figures of chaos and destruction.

Notably, although the overwhelming majority of rapes are committed by gods, the poem’s most shocking rape is performed by a mortal, namely Tereus’ rape of Philomela. This story features the most powerful, and vivid depiction of the violation and victimization of the raped woman. Philomela is torn from her family, raped by her sister’s husband, and then locked away

with her tongue cut out so that she cannot speak a word of the crime. Tereus returns repeatedly to violate her against her will.

The predatory metaphors of this scene are gruesome.¹¹⁹ They not only depict the vulnerability of the woman, but also allude to the brutalization of Philomela's body. She is compared to a lamb, still trembling after it has been dropped wounded from the mouth of a wolf, and to a dove still fearful, released from an eagle's talons, with wings soaked with its own blood:

illa tremit velut agna pavens, quae saucia cani
ore excussa lupi nondum sibi tuta videtur,
utque columba suo madefactis sanguine plumis
horret adhuc avidosque timet, quibus haeserat, ungues. (527-530)

She shuddered like a fearful lamb, injured by wolf
that cast her out from his mouth, unable to believe she is safe,
or like a dove who trembles when her plumage is soaked with its
own blood and fears the eager claws which clung to her.

Philomela uses her only weapon, her voice. She cries out against Tereus, declares her grief and shame, names his crime, and threatens to expose him by screaming as loudly as she can. Her words, however, cannot protect her. Tereus, superior in physical power, binds her up and cuts out her tongue. Although Ovid does not describe Tereus' rape of Philomela, the grotesque description of her writhing tongue is a more powerful depiction of her complete loss of power. The removal of her tongue exemplifies the manner in which a rapist steals not only sex from a victim, but takes an aspect of her identity with him as well—a phenomenon that recurs in the *Fasti*, as I will argue in the following chapters. Her severed tongue strives in vain to call out her father's name (*ille indignantem et nomen patris usque vocantem/ luctantemque loqui conprehensam forcipe linguam/ abstulit ense fero*, "He severed her tongue, restrained with forceps,

¹¹⁹ See Feldherr (2010: 199-239) who demonstrates the objectification of Tereus' scopophilic gaze and asserts that Tereus' 'seeing' of Philomela grants him a Roman identity as he looks upon her Greek body as something to be seized and captured.

with a savage blade as it was struggling to speak her indignation and was calling out the name of her father repeatedly,” 6.555-57). By removing Philomela’s tongue, Tereus removes her ability to speak her own will and to identify herself. As a result of her rape, she loses the ability to claim her own identity just as Daphne and Io in Book 1.¹²⁰

Philomela’s speech is similar to that of a number of women in the *Metamorphoses* who use a colossal amount of rhetoric to fight their sexual urges. Philomela has no desire for Tereus and she uses her words to combat his violent attacks. But in her speech, she manifests a particular consciousness of her virtue, being critically aware of the shame Tereus’ actions bring upon her and her family (539-48). Numerous women show a similar awareness of the importance of protecting their virtue, often those who possess a loving or sexual desire for a man. Medea, Canace, Myrra, and Byblis each engage in a rhetorical debate with themselves to fight their urges and to prevent immoral decisions driven by desire. It is important to note that this is not characteristic of Ovid’s men, who rarely stop to consider the consequences, either for themselves or their female victims, before acting. In the depiction of female rhetoric, Ovid underscores a particular female consciousness, thoughtfulness, and attention to virtue that is absent from the male characters. Women possess a rational conception of virtue, even if desire overwhelms them and they end up committing an act that they know is wrong.

When the epic reaches the Roman mythical and historic past, the number of rapes decreases drastically to none. Book 14 features the story of Pomona, a story that has the makings

¹²⁰ In this story the power of the written word surmounts Tereus’ destructive force, as Philomela gets a message to her sister. But the story has no happy ending. Tereus displays repulsive abuse of power, while the women’s violence shows both the extent of their despair and their trauma as they commit a gross violation of maternal duties and kinship in order to seek vengeance. For further scholarship on this episode see Jacobson (1984) on parallels between the tales of Daphne and Apollo and Tereus and Procne. Oliensis (2009: 77-88) in particular on Philomela’s speech, the loss of *libertas*, and the perversion of maternity. Larmour (1990) reveals the overlapping themes between Philomela and other tragic stories in the *Met.* Also Segal, (1994), Richlin (1992), James (2016a).

of a standard divine rape tale but, in a surprise twist, Pomona, overwhelmed by Vertumnus' beauty, accepts his advances. The narrator then comes to the Sabine women. Notably, their abduction is absent from the account of the Sabine war.¹²¹ Similarly, in Book 15, instead of continuing a chronological narrative from the deification of Romulus that concluded Book 14 to the deification of Caesar and Augustus at the conclusion of Book 15, Ovid elects to introduce Pythagoras and his teachings and a tale of Cipus and of Aesculapius. He omits the story of the foundation of the Roman Republic and the rape of Lucretia or the establishment of the Twelve Tables and the rape of Verginia. Ovid removes sexual violence against women from the Roman section of his tale. The great Roman male figures—Aeneas, Romulus, Caesar, and Augustus, each deified in the epic—appear separated from men's impulsive, destructive actions which belong to a previous age, a non-Roman age. But men, divine and mortal, are chaotic figures throughout the epic and the gods who continually abuse their power over mortal women are repeatedly compared to Rome's leaders. Though Ovid represents the Roman men in only eulogistic terms, his work consistently portrays a skeptical depiction of male authority that implicitly undermines the authority of Rome's new leaders.¹²² But Ovid does not conclude his discourse about gender, power, and speech in Rome with the *Metamorphoses*. In the *Fasti*, Ovid continues to engage these issues when he takes up foundational tales involving women. In particular, he addresses the sexual violence in Roman foundations, which he omitted in the *Metamorphoses*, and interrogates the role of female sexuality in the state.

¹²¹ See James (2016a).

¹²² Pythagoras' words have been taken to suggest that nothing is eternal, no empire is without end, and thus neither will the power of Rome be eternal. Perhaps the persistence of male desire to control women's bodies throughout the epic and the dramatization of the disastrous effects of this desire prompt readers to consider how Rome's leader handles his authority and whether or not he exploits his power over Roman citizens.

Fasti

The *Fasti* also addresses these issues of gender, power, and speech but in a new format. Ovid writes in the elegiac meter, but not about the private world of elegiac love. Instead he unites his elegiac style and themes (*militia amoris*, turbulent passions and desires, conflicting discourse of lovers) with the Roman calendar—a document that both chronicles Roman political history and, by outlining religious, political, and military rituals, also defines Roman cultural identity.¹²³ While in the *Metamorphoses* he avoids depictions of Roman women, he now embellishes upon Roman myth, history, and ritual with long tales of male violence and female victimization, highlighting female speech and showcasing the important role of women in ritual. I propose that by uniting elegy with this Roman cultural medium, Ovid embarks upon a project of treating Roman foundational myths in an elegiac style that introduces a plurality of voices and perspectives into what is becoming, under the reign of Augustus, a unified, male, authoritative narrative of Roman history (see discussion in Chapter One).

Indeed, throughout his works, Ovid consistently explores several intertwined themes: chaos and its resistance to order, uncontrollable passions, overzealous power and authority, the disastrous effects of these forces, and the victims of those effects. Though other poets touch upon similar ideas (e.g., Vergil), what distinguishes Ovid's work is that his engagement with these concepts frequently manifests itself in mutually contradictory gendered discourses and perspectives. As argued above, the progression of Ovid's verse shows his consistent interest in

¹²³ Some scholars suggest that Ovid's focus on rape victims in the *Fasti* is "Ovid being Ovid"—that is, a poet who plays with a plurality of voices and perspectives in order to enliven, vary, and add complexity to his poetics (see, e.g., Murgatroyd 2005). Others have noted that these civic topics and aetiologies were already present in love elegy, particularly with Propertius Book 4 (see Fantham 1998: 4-24, Newlands 1995: 5-6).

the disparity in power between men and women in the mythical world as well as in the elegiac world. Men are lustful, rash, and forceful: they take what they want from women, at will. Women, on the other hand, are taught to be modest and loyal—yet somehow, they must also be available at the whim of a lustful man. Women are physically inferior to men, but every category of woman has a limited form of autonomy, depending on her situation. Mythical women, often the victims of the lust of a male deity, have no recourse against divine predators. A *meretrix* has no legal recourse against her citizen-*amator*. Finally, the “historic” citizen woman of Roman myth is carefully guarded and her behavior constantly monitored and judged. Her *pudicitia* is integral to the honor of her family, so she is punished and shamed when it is lost. In Ovid’s works, this gendered imbalance of power provocatively joins contemporary political ideology and discourse.

In the *Fasti*, Ovid takes his program of examining sexual power and politics to the realms of Roman politics, religion, and history, insistently exploring the manner in which that dynamic operates in Roman foundational myths, a high number of which entail violent rape of women, who resist without success. Newlands persuasively argues that Ovid expands the elegiac form in the *Fasti* in a manner that infuses the ritual stories of the calendar with new perspectives which challenge, contradict, and interrogate traditional Roman tales. Ovid’s provocative elegiac tales put into question any authoritarian view of the past as a source of values crucial in shaping Roman identity.¹²⁴ He offers a chaotic view of the past with his varied style and tone and his pointed compilation of the calendar (1995: 16). By intertwining the stories of such mytho-historic

¹²⁴ For similar perspectives to Newlands, see Hinds (1992 a and b), Feeney (1992) and Barchiesi (1997). For different perspectives on Ovid’s engagement with Augustan discourse see Wallace-Hadrill (1987), Herbert-Brown (1994) and Littlewood (2002). On Ovid’s *Fasti* as a commentary on Roman religion, see Fantham (2002) and Scheid (1992).

women as Lucretia, Rhea Silvia, and the Sabines with contemporary women (Livia), political ideology, and religious and cultural institutions, Ovid intertwines the chaotic world of myth with his contemporary society. The gendered imbalance of power in the foundational myths of Rome thus becomes a medium for exploring the imbalances and inconsistencies in Roman ideology.

In the *Fasti*, Ovid incorporates women's voices more intricately than in his prior works. The *Heroides* features numerous female voices that articulate the suffering and struggles of women. Their voices, however, effect no change on their circumstances. The *Metamorphoses* also features the speeches of many women—both victims of male desire and women who struggle to navigate their own sexual or emotional urges. A majority of the female speakers lament their suffering, the loss of their virginity, or their plight following the attack of a god. Their speech highlights their victimization and their perpetrators' abuse, but women's speech has no power. Only the story of Philomela hints at the potential power of female speech against her aggressor, but she is silenced.¹²⁵ The *Fasti*, by contrast, highlights the power and importance of women's voices in Roman society and culture.

In Ovid's versions of Roman foundational tales, men are often chaotic figures and ineffective leaders. Mars and Romulus create disorder with their insistent reliance on *arma* and *vis*. Aeneas and Numa are ineffective leaders without women's support. Women, on the other hand, feature in increasingly important roles—taking initiative, working collaboratively, and supporting their male relatives and producing children to maintain peace and stability amidst chaos. By the end of the *Fasti* women's voices and bodies become, through the volume of female-centered rituals, a vibrant and regular part of the Roman calendar. The *Fasti* exposes a tension between Roman tradition and imperial innovations by frequently juxtaposing tales of old

¹²⁵ On this point see Oliensis (2009) and Joplin (1984).

Republican festivals with new imperial dates. In these often discordant pairings, Roman founders are implicitly compared to the new authority of the principate. The tension between old traditions and imperial innovations is more thoroughly accentuated in tales of power inequity between men and women. Men with overreaching, harmful power (e.g. Jupiter, Mars, Tarquin), suppress female characters (e.g. Lara, Rhea Silvia, Lucretia), as perhaps the new imperial celebrations re-appropriate Roman traditions. A new authoritative voice suppresses voices of the past. Considered alongside Augustan social legislation that sought to limit women's activity to the domestic sphere, the *Fasti* highlights the central role of women in Roman society and culture and explores the tension between women's undeniable importance and the new, singular male authority figure in Rome who tries to restrict them.

The tales of women in Book 2, Callisto, Lara, and Lucretia, manifest the same themes present in Ovid's other works; namely, that women are victimized and silenced by men exploiting their power as they pursue their desires. The Roman tales of Lara and Lucretia, however, hint at the powerful potential of women's voices against male figures of authority (see Chapter Three). In Book 3, the female figures are agents of action. They dramatize the multiple ways in which Roman society requires women to thrive, despite men's attempts to control and confine them. The Sabine women, in particular, articulate women's potential route to autonomy in Rome as they use their initiative and cleverness to manipulate their male kin and preserve the city of Rome (see Chapter Four). In Book 4, women's festivals monopolize the month of April. Women's voices and actions underscore the important role of their bodies and their unrestricted sexuality in maintaining a prosperous and productive state.

The tension between the voices and actions of men and women begins in *Fasti* 1 with two divine interlocutors, Janus and Carmentis. On the first of January, the speaker interrogates Janus

and asks him to explain his month. The lengthy explanation includes a description of his history and his peculiar rituals. In many ways this section sets the tone for the entire work: Janus, a god who looks two ways, introduces a line of sight into the tensions within the poem. His presence is venerable yet comic, like the tales of the calendar that vary from religious solemnity to ludic tones. He is a uniquely Roman deity with ties to the origins of the city, but also a deity with new imperial associations: his gates guard the Augustan establishment of peace (1.279-82). By offering contrasting perspectives on the past and present, he provides options for interpreting Roman traditions and the changes to those traditions. For example, he asserts that wealth was a priority for men even in the time of Saturn and is thus not a fault only of present-day Rome. Yet, in a Livian description, he also acknowledges that greed and riches have increased with time, and that with wealth comes the indulgence of vices. Janus, however, does not depict wealth as purely corruptive. Rather, wealth is associated with the proper worship of the gods. When he describes the Rome of Romulus, he conjures a humorous image of Jupiter in a small shrine in which he cannot stand erect, holding a clay lightning bolt (201-202). While the simplicity of the past should be honored, present-day wealth, when used to cultivate temples, is a worthy pursuit as well:

‘nos quoque templa iuvant, quamvis antiqua probemus,
aurea: maiestas convenit ipsa deo.
laudamus veteres, sed nostris utimur annis:
mos tamen est aequè dignus uterque coli.’ (223-226)

‘We too delight in golden temples, even though we approve of the
old ones; grandeur itself is fitting for a god. We praise past years
but enjoy our own—and yet each custom is equally worth keeping.’

As the first authoritative voice in the work, Janus, true to his two-faced form, introduces the possibility of different interpretations of past and present and the complexities of different viewpoints. As Miller (1980) suggests, Janus provides a didactic model for Ovid himself. Indeed, as Janus with his two gates reveals the different ways of approaching past and present, so Ovid in

the *Fasti* explores the manner in which Roman traditions have changed and been manipulated over time. Janus is the first of a number of interlocutors and narrators throughout the work who offer various perspectives on historical events (e.g., Mars, Erato Calliope, Urania). These voices challenge the authority of any singular account of Roman religion, culture, and tradition. Although he is somewhat restricted by the calendrical format, Ovid takes liberties with the depiction of certain events so as to draw out certain tensions between the old and the new and to highlight certain themes in Roman cultural tradition.¹²⁶ Throughout the work, he acts like Janus, as he selectively crafts depictions of the origins or rituals of religious holidays and celestial events that juxtapose past and present, sometimes to question old traditions, other times to undercut the present, and often interrogate figures of authority.

Later in Book 1, the divine narrator Carmentis offers another perspective on Rome. On the day of the Carmentalia, Ovid reports her speech as she leads her son, the Latin founder Evander, in reclaiming his ancestral land. In contrast to the account of the *Aeneid*, where Carmentis plays a small role, here she drives her son to action with words of love and encouragement and with passionate initiative (480-496). After his exile, Evander was encumbered by despair as he lamented his fate. Carmentis takes control of his future and the future of Latium as well. She issues a prophecy not only of the future of Evander and his men, but of Rome, beginning with Evander and concluding in Ovid's contemporary time. Notably, she offers a version of Roman foundation and development that uniquely incorporates women and the family. The Rome that Carmentis envisions both begins and ends with the depiction of women as actors. First, she asserts that Lavinia will cause a war (519-520). Rome will find safety, she claims, under the house of Augustus, and his family will reign over an empire. But in addition to incorporating Augustus

¹²⁶ See Newlands (1995: 51-86) and Green (2004: 2-14).

and Tiberius, she concludes by stating that Livia will be worshipped, much like herself, as the deified Julia Augusta (535-536).

et iam Dardaniae tangent haec litora pinus:
hic quoque causa novi femina Martis erit. 520
care nepos Palla, funesta quid induis arma?
indue: non humili vindice caesus eris.
victa tamen vinces eversaue, Troia, resurges:
obruit hostiles ista ruina domos.
urite victrices Neptunia Pergama flammae: 525
num minus hic toto est altior orbe cinis?
iam pius Aeneas sacra et, sacra altera, patrem
adferet: Iliacos accipe, Vesta, deos.
tempus erit cum vos orbemque tuebitur idem,
et fient ipso sacra colente deo, 530
et penes Augustos patriae tutela manebit:
hanc fas imperii frena tenere domum.
inde nepos natusque dei, licet ipse recuset,
pondera caelesti mente paterna feret,
utque ego perpetuis olim sacrabor in aris, 535
sic Augusta novum Iulia numen erit.'

‘And now Dardanian pines will touch these shores; here too a woman will be the cause of a new Mars. Dear grandson, Pallas, why do you put on deadly armor? Put it on! You’ll be cut down with no lowly avenger. Conquered, Troy, yet you will conquer! Overthrown, you will rise again! That ruin of your buries the homes of your enemies. Burn Neptune’s Pergamum, victorious flames! Are not these ashes still loftier than all the world? Now pious Aeneas will bring the sacred things and, sacred too, his father. Vesta, receive the gods of Ilium! The time will come when you and the world have the same guardian, and your rites will be carried out with a god himself officiating, and the protection of the homeland will rest in Augustan hands. It is proper that this house should hold the reins of power. Then the son and grandson of a god, though he himself may demur, will bear with godlike mind his father’s burden. And just as I shall one day be consecrated at eternal altars, so shall Julia Augusta be a new divine power.’

Unlike the prophecies of the *Aeneid* that underscore the historical trajectory from Aeneas and Evander to Augustus and emphasize the initiative of male actors, Carmentis highlights an ancestry from herself and Lavinia to Livia. Through her words of encouragement, her action in

guiding Evander down the Tiber, and her prophecy, Carmentis asserts her own influential role in guiding Evander to his future. She is the first of many women in the *Fasti* who use speech to articulate their place in Roman history. Her words mark the important role of women as co-operative figures in Rome, helping to create a productive future empire. Hers are also the first words that undermine a purely masculine account of Roman tradition and foundation. Opening Book 1 with Janus, Ovid opens the doors of Roman culture to various interpretations and perspectives. With Carmentis' speech, Ovid displays women as figures of authority able to shape Roman identity.

Indeed, this dissertation will argue that Ovid's *Fasti* shows women as essential figures in the creation of the Roman state, its history, religion, and politics and thereby challenges the Augustan narrative of Roman history that resigns women to roles in the domestic sphere. I consider first *Fasti* Book 2 in which Ovid reveals the exploitation of women's bodies at the heart of numerous Roman rituals. I turn then to *Fasti* Book 3 where, I argue, Ovid shows women as both essential to the foundation and growth of the Roman state as bodies but also as voices necessary for maintaining Roman stability and safety. Then finally I examine *Fasti* Book 4, which reveals the central role of women in Roman religion and argues that the comprehensive participation of women and unrestricted celebration of female sexuality yields prosperity and production. Progressively throughout the *Fasti*, Ovid shows women overcoming the disorder inflicted upon them by chaotic male figures. Although male leaders repeatedly attempt to control women's bodies and suppress their voices, as the women's rational voices eventually gain authority in the work, they become the champions of the religious calendar.

CHAPTER 3: LUCRETIA, LARA, CALLISTO: MALE VIS AND FEMALE LOSS OF VOICE IN *FASTI* 2

Introduction

From the programmatic opening in Book 1, the *Fasti* presents itself as a work on the religious calendar, one that incorporates traditional Roman ritual days and new imperial celebrations with descriptions of the stars and seasons interspersed amongst the civic holidays. And indeed, most of Book 1 follows this poetic program: it features eight religious celebrations (Janus, Agonalia, Carmentalia twice, the Temple of Concord, Sementiva, the Temple of Castor and Pollux, and the dedication of the Ara Pacis) and seven descriptions of constellations and seasonal changes. Two of the religious celebrations are specifically Augustan: the dedication of an altar at the Temple of Concord by Livia (January 16th) and the dedication of the Ara Pacis (January 30th). There is one honorific celebration for the principate: on the Ides of the month, Octavian's acceptance of the title Augustus, a name that reflects his holy and divine status and solidifies his supreme authority over the *ara* that this work entails. The rest of the days are occupied by ancient festivals. Absent are any mention of love, any elegiac style or flourish. *Amor* appears to have been left behind. The speaker also states explicitly in his preface that *arma* have no place in this work: *Caesaris arma canant alii: nos Caesaris aras, / et quoscumque sacris addidit ille dies* ("Let others sing of Caesar's wars: we sing of Caesar's altars, and all the days he added to the sacred list," 13-14). Though the poem tackles state topics, *arma* remain unfitting for elegiac meter. Thus the *Fasti* incorporate numerous topics—aetiological, historical, and didactic—but are neither elegiac nor epic.

The programmatic statement of Book 1 becomes complicated with the opening of Book 2. With a new month comes a new poetic agenda. Though the themes of Book 1 will continue throughout the work, in Book 2 the speaker expands on his project as he embraces the elegiac meter as a suitable tool for taking on the Roman calendar. Addressing his elegiacs, he claims that his once slender verses (*exiguum*), which aided him in love (*amore*) in his youth (*iuventa*), are now allowed to proceed on fuller sails and take up the subjects of the *fasti* (2.3-6).

haec mea militia est; ferimus quae possumus arma,
dextraque non omni munere nostra vacat.
si mihi non valido torquentur pila lacerto,
nec bellatoris terga premuntur equi,
nec galea tegimur nec acuto cingimur ense,
(his habilis telis quilibet esse potest).
at tua prosequimur studioso pectore, Caesar,
nomina, per titulos ingredimurque tuos. (9-16)

This is my military service; we bear what arms we can,
and our right hand is not exempt from every duty. If I don't
hurl javelins with powerful arm, or put my weight on the
back of a warrior horse, or cover my head with a helmet,
or belt on a sharp sword (anyone can be handy with
weapons like these)—yet, Caesar, with zealous heart I
follow up your names and advance through your titles.

The elegiac bard now takes up a different soldiery. Instead of *militia amoris*, he will use his greatest poetic tool, namely elegy, to engage in a new *militia*: writing the calendar as well as the titles and deeds of Augustus. Lines 15-16 echo his poetic claims in Book 1, namely, to include the deeds of Augustus in his calendar. This statement, however, is embedded in an elegiac passage. With this new elegiac beginning, the speaker makes way for amatory topics to enter his calendrical tales. And indeed, this is the most elegiac book of the work, featuring elegiac charac-

ters such as Arion (elegiac poet), Venus (elegiac deity), and Lucretia (depicted as an elegiac woman), as well as tales involving *amor* and its destructive effects.¹²⁷ As I will argue, Ovid's use of elegiac style and tropes introduces new perspectives on Roman cultural and historical events, perspectives that challenge the unitary, masculine narrative promulgated in Augustan Rome. Elegy is the speaker's *militia* for writing about the *fasti* but it is also his tool for giving his own spin to the *fasti*: a version of the calendar infused with a variety of voices, with conflicts between old and new, and with numerous innovations.

In this opening, *arma* and *amor* are inextricably linked in metaphorical elegiac *militia*.¹²⁸ With three tales of raped women, Book 2 showcases a conflict between *arma* and *amor* as a prominent theme. In Ovid's amatory elegy, the combination of *arma* with *amor* often leads to violence and destruction (see, e.g., *Am* 1.7, *Ars* 1.101-132), and such is the result in *Fasti* 2. With the interplay of *arma* and *amor*, the speaker highlights masculine desire and abuse of *vis*. As in elegy, abuse of male power often results in the sexual violation of a woman.¹²⁹ Military prowess, physical prowess, or divine authority, when driven by physical lust, lead to the exploitation of the female body.¹³⁰ The speaker emphasizes the experiences of female victims, their

¹²⁷ In her analysis of the constellations in Book 2, Newlands (1995: 156) points out that Arion, as a renowned bard, can be read as a representation of the elegiac poet, and further as a poet who is threatened with silence. Venus, the goddess of elegy, also appears in another constellation description. She and her child, like Arion, are also threatened by force, this time by Typhon. Newlands interprets these passages, along with the story of Lucretia and others, as a discourse about the vitality of elegy. Elegiacs are threatened and often conquered by the stronger forces of epic.

¹²⁸ Further, as the speaker hints with his mention of a *militia*, albeit an elegiac one, this book also incorporates stories of force and arms. The phrase *per titulos ingredimurque tuos*, as Green *ad loc* comments, draws on triumphal imagery that conjures images of walking amongst the *tituli* that identified captured cities and defeated armies. From this point on, *arma* are implicit in the poem's treatment of Augustus' religious deeds and his titles.

¹²⁹ See discussion in Chapter 2 for this pattern in Ovid's poetry. On violence and male desire in elegy see also Cahoon (1988), Fredrick (1997), James (1997, 2003a & b), Greene (2012).

¹³⁰ Here one may also call to mind the depiction of Daphne pursued by Apollo and other female victims of male deities in the *Metamorphoses*.

pain, their loss of speech, and their loss of identity following the trauma of rape or other types of violation by men. By offering a new lens on Roman history—that is, the perspective of the victim—Ovid interrogates religious and political traditions by pointing to the sexual violence underlying Rome’s foundations. By highlighting that violence and, in particular, the female sacrifices necessary for the establishment of several Roman institutions, he critiques the erasure of voices and perspectives that occurs in the creation of history and state when the more powerful voices (i.e. male citizens, rulers) are the ones to create historical narratives. Throughout the *Fasti*, a consistent theme is the juxtaposition of old and new, past and present, Republican and Augustan. The conflict on display in Book 2 between *arma* and *amor* that leads to the silencing of women by powerful men is, I believe, another way in which the poem explores contrasting voices and addresses the historical authority of those voices. The poem asks such questions as: who gets to speak and when, whose voices carry authority, and whose voices carry enough authority to shape Roman culture and society.¹³¹

Through the depictions of male and female characters in this book, I will argue, the speaker consistently portrays masculine *vis* as a damaging force. When *vis* is combined with *amor*, women, the objects of male desire, become victims. The tales of Callisto, Lara, and Lucretia reveal that speech is one’s means of self-identification, of establishing one’s human rights (in the case of Lara and Callisto), and also of establishing one’s place within the community (in the case of

¹³¹ Feeney (1992: 12) asserts that the question of what may be said, when, and by whom is one of the poem’s key thematic preoccupations. He argues, however, that the poem is robbed of its *licentia*, silenced by the authority of an emperor whose rule brought with it the limitation of *libertas* and freedom of speech. The *Fasti* then represents “an actualisation of one of its main thematic preoccupations, becoming a mute reproach to the constraints set upon the poet’s speech.”

Lucretia). Men use force to render these women speechless. As they are transformed from individuals to victims, the women lose their ability to speak and, hence, their ability to assert their own will, to claim their rights and place in society, and to express their identity.

I. *Iniusta Vis*: Male leadership, power, and force

The speaker claims that Augustus' *nomina* and *tituli* are a primary subject, but in the first entry in Book 2 that recognizes one of these *nomina*, the title *pater patriae*, the question of masculine leadership is immediately called into question. In this entry, the speaker sets up a lengthy comparison between Augustus, the new *pater patriae*, and Romulus, the first *pater patriae*. The comparison between the actions, deeds, and character of the men encourages consideration of the differences between the leaders, and also between the quality of their leadership. Romulus is portrayed as preferring *vis* over laws (*vis tibi grata fuit, florent sub Caesare leges*, "To you violence was welcome; under Caesar the laws flourish," 141). Moreover, his *vis* is distinctly negative: this Romulus is a rapist (*tu rapis*, 139), a *dominus* (142)—a tyrannical title that Caesar and Augustus both shunned—and a perpetrator of fratricide (*te Remus incusat*, 143). The Romulus of the *Fasti* secured only a small empire by force, while Augustus, with his preference for laws, built Rome into an empire that encompasses all the land under the sun (*hoc duce Romanum est solis utrumque latus*, "Whatever there is beneath high Jupiter, Caesar has," 136).

The passage appears to honor Augustus and his leadership. Indeed Augustus himself originally wanted the title of Romulus before accepting Augustus.¹³² The comparison of the men,

¹³² Suet. *Aug.* 7.2. On Augustus' decision to pass on the title of Romulus see Herbert-Brown (1994: 60-2) and Syme (1939: 313), who suggest that both Romulus' associations with Julius Caesar the dictator and also less edifying versions of the Romulus legends influenced this decision. Herbert-Brown interprets the *pater patriae* passage as proof that Ovid was an Augustan panegyrist since the poet juxtaposes the two and thus asserts that Augustus did not follow the exempla of Romulus. In such a way, Ovid is "thus relieving Augustus of any anxiety" about comparisons with a dictatorial Romulus (62). As I argue below, I do not believe the passage can be interpreted as panegyric when considered in context with the rest of the book.

however, functions more as an evaluation that assesses the qualities of a good leader. Romulus' reign is disparaged for excessive *vis*, and the speaker highlights the destruction caused by his abuse of force. Augustus, in contrast, is depicted as a leader characterized by a greater variety of abilities. Formally, the speaker's words draw lines between the men: Augustus is a *princeps* and Romulus a *dominus*, Augustus favors *leges* and *clementia* while Romulus employs *vis* and bloodshed. Juxtaposing the actions of the men within the same couplet or line, however, the speaker aligns their actions as much as he distinguishes between them, encouraging readers to read Romulus into Augustus. For example, the passage compares the number of peoples and the amount of land that each man conquered:

Romule, concedes: facit hic tua magna tuendo
 moenia, tu dederas transilienda Remo.
 te Tatius parvique Cures Caeninaque sensit:
 hoc duce Romanum est solis utrumque latas
 tu breve nescio quid victae telluris habebas:
 quodcumque est alto sub Iove, Caesar habet. (133-138)

Romulus, you will give way. This man makes your walls great
 by defending them; you had given them to Remus to leap across.
 Tati and little Cures and Caecina were aware of you;
 under this man's leadership both sides of the sun are Roman.
 You had some small area of conquered ground;
 whatever there is beneath high Jupiter, Caesar has.

Augustus far outshines Romulus, ostensibly a point in his favor. This distinction, however, may remind readers of the *princeps*' military deeds and of the great battles fought in order to expand Roman dominance. Romulus is increasingly criticized for his *vis*, but such comparisons remind readers that force was characteristic of the beginning of Augustus' reign as well.¹³³

¹³³ On the overall effect of this passage, scholars differ. McKeown (1984:187) finds it one of the most earnest in the *Fasti*. Littlewood (2006: xvi-xvii) interprets the comparison as "a witty, elegiac contrast which exposes nothing more sinister than his [Ovid's] delight in devising ingenious points of comparison." Hinds (1992b: 132-4), on the other hand, argues that Romulus held extreme significance in Augustan ideology and any criticism of Romulus does not reflect positively on Augustus. Finally, Boyle

Such double reading recurs throughout the passage. For example, Romulus is criticized for his mercilessness, but Augustus is lauded for his clemency. The speaker alleges that Romulus was accused by his brother Remus, while Augustus gave pardon even to his enemies: *te Remus incusat, veniam dedit hostibus ille* (“Remus accuses you; he has given pardon to enemies,” 143). *Clementia* was an important facet of Augustus’ legacy (a quality on which Julius Caesar prided himself) and a virtue for which he memorialized himself in the *Res Gestae* (e.g. 1.3, 6.3).¹³⁴ But, as Robinson (2011: *ad loc.*) and Frazer (1929: *ad loc.*) note, even the *clementia* of his later years was not enough to erase popular memory of the excessively bloody route he took to become Princeps.¹³⁵ Similarly, in the couplet above, the contrast between Romulus’ preference for *vis* and Augustus’ for *leges* offers, upon closer consideration, an oversimplified distinction between the two. Readers would be aware that although Augustus’ legislation was prolific, many of the laws, including the laws about marriage and adultery invoked in line 139, were very unpopular. As with mention of his clemency, readers may note that his laws came only after great wars and the use of force to obtain control of Rome.¹³⁶

(2003: 200) sees this passage as Ovid’s attempt to expose Augustus’ self-defined virtues for their rhetorical and political fiction. Herbert-Brown (1994: 43-63) argues that it is an encomium of the emperor who rejects the poor leadership examples of Romulus.

¹³⁴ The last couplet of *Am.* 1.2 invokes this *clementia* (*adspice cognati felicia Caesaris arma— | qua vicit, victos protegit ille manu*). On *clementia* as one of Caesar’s primary virtues see Weinstock (1971: 233-59), Varhelyi (2011: 115-21), Stevenson (2015: 139-52). See also Cicero, *Pro Ligario* 27.21, *Pro Marcello* 1.1; Suet. *Caes.* 75.

¹³⁵ Robinson (2011: 156) further suggests Seneca’s *de clementia* (1.9) as relevant to this point: “where the mature Augustus is held up as a model for clemency, though Seneca notes his inclement youth.”

¹³⁶ Robinson (2011: *ad loc.*) proposes that readers, considering the haste of Augustus’ marriage to Livia, may interpret the accusative and infinitive construction of this lines differently: “Augustus, rather than encouraging *maritas* to be *castas*, seems to be behaving more like Romulus and encouraging *castas* to be *maritas*, setting the example himself (*se duce*).

Thus, rather than distinguishing clearly between the two Roman leaders, this comparison implicitly suggests that they may not be so distinct. Augustus' reign cannot be reduced to a list of solely positive attributes; rather, his reign was a complex and dynamic process. *Arma* and *vis* underlie *pax* and *ara*. In constructing the Augustan forum and, in particular, the Temple of Mars Ultor (which appears in Book 5), Augustus asserted a direct lineage from Aeneas and Romulus to Caesar and himself so as to trace his ancestry to the origins of Rome and further justify his claim to be destined to rule. In so doing, he aligned himself with the strong, militaristic qualities of Mars and Romulus.¹³⁷ But he also regarded it as equally important to project himself as a peacetime ruler, patron of religion, builder and restorer of temples, and author of the *Pax Augusta*.¹³⁸ But as Hinds notes, the systematic comparison drawn between the *princeps* and his Romulean prototype indirectly calls Augustus' own values into question.¹³⁹ By drawing out Romulus' negative attributes and juxtaposing the characteristics of Augustus and Romulus, the *Fasti* complicates the Augustan narrative of Roman history. The statues that line the exedrae of the Temple of Mars Ultor depict a history of Rome that consists of great men performing great deeds for the state with Augustan order as the culmination of that glorious past. The *Fasti* offers a more

¹³⁷ For discussions of Mars and Augustus in the *Fasti* see Herbert-Brown (1994) and Barchiesi (2002: 1-22). On the iconography of the Forum Augustum see Zanker (1968 and 1989), Kellum (1996), La Rocca (2001), Beard and Henderson (2001). Augustus also rebuilt the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius, first dedicated by Romulus (*AUC* 1.10), which held inside the *spolia opima* of Romulus and Marcellus, see Zanker (1990: 187). On efforts of Julius Caesar and Augustus to align themselves with Romulus see Weinstock (1971) and Gage (1930).

¹³⁸ An effort made most evident in his construction of the Ara Pacis. The *Res Gestae* also shows that Augustus regarded it as important that he be remembered as a patron of religion, a builder of temples, renewer of the Roman calendar, and author of the *pax Augusta* (*Res Gestae* 10-11, 19-22, 24). He boasts, in particular, of shutting the doors of Janus three times (*Res Gestae* 13), a custom traced to Numa.

¹³⁹ Hinds (1992b: 132).

complicated narrative.¹⁴⁰ Whereas in his *Res Gestae* (8.5), Augustus claims that ancestral practices lend authority to his legal program, the passage in the *Fasti*, “threatens to deconstruct it,” by complicating an Augustan representation of Romulus and highlighting the destructive *vis* underlying foundations of an empire.¹⁴¹ Beginning in this passage, Book 2 highlights the violence beneath many Roman traditions. These alternative perspectives on Roman foundations raise questions about the ideological narrative of the Roman state—its leaders, power, and development—that are promoted in the Augustan regime.

Book 2 goes on to feature a number of tales in which men abuse power by committing unjustified acts of violence.¹⁴² Most prominently, the exploitation of power repeatedly results in the forceful subjugation of women. Three tales present brutal rapes: Callisto (February 11th), Lara (February 18-21st), and Lucretia (February 24th). In the first two, a god inflicts himself upon an unwilling girl. Jupiter rapes Callisto, disregarding her oath to Diana to remain a virgin. His rape results in her expulsion from Diana’s coterie, the shame of her loss of virginity, and eventually the loss of her entire form and identity when the vengeful Juno transforms her into a bear. With Lara, Jupiter is again an aggressor. When she foils his attempt to rape her sister

¹⁴⁰ Newlands (1995: 87-123) discusses the way in which Augustus changes the public perception of Mars in his construction of the Temple of Mars Ultor. He makes the god both a warrior and a dignified father figure, as the father of Romulus and therefore the Roman race. While in Book 5, Mars, as narrator, gives a description of his temple that foregrounds the ideological importance of the monument as a symbol of new Augustan order, elsewhere the *Fasti* presents different accounts of Mars. Also in Book 5, the speaker suggests his autochthonous birth: from a flower given to Juno. And in Book 3, he is portrayed twice as an elegiac lover and, of the festivals in the month, he narrates the Matronalia.

¹⁴¹ Hinds (1992b: 133). *Res Gestae* 8.5: “legibus novis me auctore latis multa exempla maiorum exolecentia iam ex nostro saeculo reduxi.”

¹⁴² In my use of the term “unjustified violence,” I want to call attention to an abusive use of force driven by self-serving motives. I distinguish between force used to conquer an enemy in fair battle, arguably a more justified use of force, and the use of force to gratify one’s desires, such as acts of sexual violence, killing without reason, or seeking illegitimate and excessive vengeance.

Juturna, he punishes her with eternal silence by snatching out her tongue.¹⁴³ Lara then suffers the unjust *vis* of yet another male deity: Mercury rapes her as he escorts her to the underworld. Finally, there is Lucretia's rape by Sextus Tarquin, son of the Roman king Tarquinius Priscus. Wife of Sextus' cousin Collatinus, Lucretia is the victim of Tarquin's uncontrolled lust. The speaker uses nearly the same formulation, *vim parat*, to describe both Mercury's rape of Lara (613) and Tarquin's rape of Lucretia (780).¹⁴⁴ *Vis*, portrayed initially as a negative characteristic of Romulus, appears consistently as a negative characteristic of male figures in Book 2.

In addition to stories of sexual violence, masculine *vis* appears elsewhere. Romulus' preference for war and force appears for a second time on the Quirinalia, the celebration of his deification. A deified Romulus, addressing Julius Proculus, asserts that he wants his legacy to be the strength of the military: *tura ferant placentque novum pia turba Quirinum, / et patrias artes militiamque colant* ("Let them bring incense, let the pious crowd appease the new Quirinus, and let them cultivate my father's military arts," 507-8). While the Quirinalia honors Romulus, it is paired with another festival on the same day, the *Festa Stultorum*, which undercuts the values of Rome's military prowess. The celebrations seem unrelated—the deification of a leader and a ludicrous tale of the failure of Romans to bake grain. But the speaker maneuvers the narrative digression in the second festival to make comparison between the two inevitable. According to the tale, the Romans, led by Romulus, spent so much time in warfare that they failed to learn the

¹⁴³ Allusions to Philomela and Tereus in this tale cannot be overlooked. Jupiter is implicitly compared to the violent barbarian king who raped his own sister-in-law. See Feldherr (2010), Newlands (1995), Robinson (2011).

¹⁴⁴ This phrase is used as a formulation for rape consistently throughout the *Metamorphoses*, cf. 2.576, 3.344, 4.233, 239, 5.288, 6.525 and especially in two instances in the story of Pomona and Vertumnus, 14.635, 770. Similar phrasing also appears in Livy as in the episode of the Sabines, when the Romans are rejected as sons-in-law by their neighbors: *aegre id Romana pubes passa et haud dubie ad vim spectare res coepit* (AUC 1.9).

agricultural arts (515-18). As a solution, they deified the oven, worshipping it as a god in hopes that it would help them roast wheat. So, the speaker states, the Fornicalia originated. Both stories entail a deification. In the first instance, deification is an honor. In the latter tale, the deification of the oven and the subsequent failure of the Romans to know the particular date of worship, is, according to the speaker, the crowning moment of their foolishness (531-32). The epic grandeur of Romulus' deification is undercut by the folly of the second passage. Not only is Romulus' deification compared to the silly deification of an oven, but the sequence of the two tales suggests a causal relationship. Because Romulus was focused on war, the Romans failed to develop agricultural skills. His military legacy, for which he was originally praised, causes problems for later generations. These consecutive celebrations conjure a picture of war as destroying agriculture. Because men cannot simultaneously fight and farm, the land suffers.¹⁴⁵ The juxtaposition of the festivals is open to several interpretations.¹⁴⁶ I argue that this passage contributes to a progressive representation of men's actions throughout the book that exposes the destructive results of force taken to any extreme.

The most frequent type of violence in Book 2 is sexual violence, perpetrated by powerful males—gods or mortals—who take advantage of the class and gender of their victims. Notably,

¹⁴⁵ Robinson (2011: 321) notes that while in Republican times, farmers were thought to produce the bravest and best soldiers (cf. Cato *Agr. pr.* 4; Verg. *Aen.* 9.598-613; Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.33-9), after the civil wars, farming often symbolizes peace and is presented as an antithesis to war (cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.493-97, *Aen.* 7.635f; Tib. 1.10-45-54). In particular, see *Georgics* 1.505-8 where farming implements are converted into weapons: “quippe ubi fas uersum atque nefas: tot bella per orbem, | tam multae scelerum facies, non ullus aratro | dignus honos, squalent abductis arua colonis, | et curuae rigidum falces conflantur in ensem.”

¹⁴⁶ As Robinson *ad loc.* notes, this passage could be read in two different lights. One reading might interpret this passage as supportive of the peace restored by Augustus and the manner in which Rome flourished in the later years of his reign. But an alternate reading might interpret Romulus as reflecting on Augustus and think of the famine during and after the civil wars and thus yield a more negative approach.

Jupiter, who rapes two women, is the god to whom Augustus is assimilated as *pater patriae*: *hoc tu per terras, quod in aethere Juppiter alto,/ nomen habes: hominum tu pater, ille deum* (“This name which Jupiter has in high heaven, you have throughout the earth. You are the father of men, he of the gods,” 131-132). The aggrandizement of Augustus as *pater patriae* to the level of Jupiter appears quite laudatory here; however, the comparison is undercut by Jupiter’s subsequent violence.¹⁴⁷ The speaker emphasizes the violence of Jupiter’s actions and the destructive results of his actions in detailed accounts of the trauma that both Callisto and Lara experience. Rather than eliding the rapes, he forces readers to witness the god’s unjust use of force by foregrounding the experience of the female victims. As Jupiter’s character is revealed in these tales, it becomes clear that he, like Romulus, is distinguished by unrestrained *vis*. While Augustus’ comparison to him seemed encomiastic at first, now the allusion carries negative connotations. The disparities drawn out in comparisons of Augustus to both Romulus and Jupiter show the complexities in the representation and characterization of authority figures. With these comparisons, Ovid questions the means by which a leader acquires and maintains authority and challenges the legitimacy of that authority.

Further episodes also feature unjustified violence. As Newlands observes, four constellations in Book 2 feature this theme. Violence is either enacted, as in the tale of Callisto, or threatened, as in the stories of Arion and Venus (Arion apprehended by pirates and nearly murdered

¹⁴⁷ Harries 1989:166-67 argues that two other representations of Jupiter immediately undercut the laudatory aspects of the *comparatio* between Jupiter and Augustus on the 5th. First, the introduction of Ganymede in the rising of Aquarius at the conclusion of the entry on the 5th, Harries argues, is discreditable to Jupiter and, since the date of the constellation was arbitrary, the inclusion here appears an intentional effort by Ovid to undercut the previous honorary title. Second, the rape of Callisto follows just two entries later and illustrates the moral degeneracy of Jupiter, a Jupiter who acts more in accordance with the *vis* of Romulus than the *leges* of Augustus.

before a fortunate escape on the back of a dolphin; Venus fleeing an attack by Typhon). Constellations were not a part of the standard Roman *fasti*, and so by incorporating the astral calendar, Ovid introduces some flexibility in the organization of his work.¹⁴⁸ Because the dates of many constellations were flexible, Ovid can choose at what point he wants to incorporate a constellation, which constellations he wants to include, as well as which myths he will provide to explain their origin.¹⁴⁹ In the story of the Dolphin constellation, for example, he elects the story of Arion rather than the Eratosthenic tale of Poseidon and Amphitrite more often associated with the constellation.¹⁵⁰ Though both tales resonate with elegiac themes, the story of Arion is thematically connected to Book 2. „Arion, like Venus, is associated with poetry—a bard renowned for his talent with song, a metapoetic reference to poetry. His tale involves violence that threatens both physical harm and silencing: murder by pirates would silence his voice. Interspersed between the religious festivals and imperial celebrations, the constellations thematically connect other tales and unify the entire book. Thus Ovid’s construction of Book 2 produces an escalation of unjustified violence, from the first hints of *vis* in the description of Romulus’ rule to the brutal rape of Lucretia.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Robinson (2011: 103-104).

¹⁴⁹ That is, numerous constellations appeared in a general time of the year rather than on a fixed date. Robinson *ad loc* notes that Ovid chooses to note the rising of the Arctophylax earlier than other sources do (162).

¹⁵⁰ Robinson (112-13) lays out the various tales associated with the Dolphin. Ovid alludes briefly to the common tale of Amphitrite in a brief line before proceeding with the tale of Arion: *seu fuit occultis felix in amoribus index* (2.81). As Robinson points out, this reference to Amphitrite is problematic because the Latin does not accurately describe the deed of the Dolphin: finding and returning Amphitrite to Poseidon. But the combination of *index* with *occultis amoribus* strongly evokes the *leges Juliae* that rewarded informants on adulterers, adding a political undertone to the passage. Newlands (1995:179) suggests that in recalling and rejecting Amphitrite and the “hidden loves” in the first star myth, Ovid shows that he is turning away from his earlier elegy and exploring new directions.

¹⁵¹ Two other tales in Book 2 feature a problematic use of force or impetuosity, namely the death of the Fabii and the Lupercalia. Harries (1991) notes the similarities between Ovid’s and Livy’s versions of the

II. Gender, Speech, Authority: Women Silenced

Despite the prominent pattern of masculine *vis*, in the three rape tales of Book 2 the speaker highlights not male violence but the devastation of its female victims. Masculine *vis* permanently alters a woman's identity, stripping her of voice, subjectivity, and autonomy. Silence renders the women powerless and helps men retain an unjust power. The *Fasti* shows male power as requiring the suppression of the voices, desires, and wills of others. The stories of Callisto, Lara, and Lucretia provide a progressive narrative on the consequences of male force, culminating with a radical version of the story of Lucretia that underscores the individual perspectives and experiences that are elided in the generally unified foundation stories of Roman history.¹⁵²

Fabii and the battle of Cremera, but argues that Ovid makes certain adaptations, including changing the date from July to February 13th, to link this tale to certain themes of Book 2. First, the tale aligns with the Lupercalia, another ritual date involving the Fabii. Second, the Ovidian tale, with metaphors that associate the Fabii to Euryalus of the *Aeneid*, emphasizes the impetuosity and overconfidence of the Fabii. Both characteristics contribute to their unfortunate demise (156-57). Thus, Harries concludes that "the cumulative force of Ovid's allusion to the similes of the *Aeneid* suggests some considerable qualification of what has been seen as the unrestrained enthusiasm shown in the *Fasti* for the Fabii and their heroism at the Cremera. It is Ovid's way of suggesting the same incautious lack of self-restraint to which, as we have seen, Livy draws attention as a contributory factor to the house's almost total ruin" (157). The tale of the Lupercalia offers another depiction of Romulus' hasty reliance upon force. Romulus asserts that he seized the Sabine women in order to increase the number of Roman children, but it appears that his violent actions did not succeed, as the women are not producing children. He recounts his actions with militaristic language, underscoring his faulty abuse of power: "*quid mihi, clamabat, 'prodest rapuisse Sabinas,'/ Romulus (hoc illo sceptrum tenente fuit)/ 'si mea non vires, sed bellum iniuria fecit?/ utilius fuerat non habuisse nurus.'*" 431-434.

¹⁵² See also Dolansky (2016: 39-58) who argues that the rape narratives of Book 2 offer a critique of the family unit. She asserts that each tale "tells the story of a personal violation that originates with a powerful outsider who seeks to control another's intimate affairs, and culminates in both individual ruin and collective despair as rape and its aftermath disrupt and destabilize the family unit." Dolansky further suggests that the rape narratives function in part as a social commentary in response to Augustus' legislation of 17-18 BCE. The tales "expose the family's vulnerability and compromised self-sovereignty as a result of the Julian laws."

Callisto

Following the celebration of the *pater patriae*, the speaker designates February 11th as the appearance of the constellation of the bear, an occasion that calls for the story of Callisto's transformation. Comparison of this tale to the version in *Metamorphoses* 2 highlights the aspects of the *Fasti*'s tale that fit it to the other stories of female victimization in this book. Just as tales of male *vis* are portrayed similarly throughout the book, so too the three rape tales share overarching themes. Their overlapping narratives suggest a conscious poetic design by Ovid by which he intends the stories to be read together rather than in isolation. Johnson (1996: 9-22) shows that the *Metamorphoses* gives a longer account and incorporates a more detailed account of the rape, as well as more descriptive details of Callisto's transformation into a bear. These narrative differences shift the emphasis. Both versions underscore the victimization of the woman, but where the *Metamorphoses* emphasizes a transformation story (the cause, process, and results), the *Fasti* focuses on Callisto herself—what she was before the rape, what she endures, and what she loses because of it. The story focuses less upon the physical rape and the brutal actions of the gods, Jupiter and Juno, showcasing instead the long-lasting effects of violence upon the victim.

The speaker places Callisto and her relationship with Diana at the head of the narrative, beginning with Callisto's vow of virginity: *illa deae tangens arcus "quos tangimus arcus, / este meae testes virginitatis" ait* ("Touching the goddess' bow, 'Bow that I touch,' says she, 'be the witness of my virginity,'" *F.* 2.157-58). Diana accepts this vow and promises to make Callisto the leader of her company, on condition that she preserve her chastity. This scene is an innovation from the tale in the *Metamorphoses*, where Callisto does not articulate a vow. Readers understand her zealous devotion to Diana when she rushes to meet Jupiter disguised as Diana, but she never verbally asserts it. The *Metamorphoses* devotes more space in the beginning of the

tale to describing Jupiter's deceit, seduction, and attack on Callisto. The *Fasti*, on the other hand, focuses on the character of Callisto, and on her desires and values.

Jupiter's presence is significantly reduced in the *Fasti*. He is the perpetrator of the crime, the one male from whom Callisto could not protect herself and her chastity vow, and then he disappears afterwards. The rape, in the following couplet, is compressed into a half line: *foedera servasset, si non formosa fuisset: / cavit mortales, de Iove crimen habet* ("She would have kept her pledge if she'd not been beautiful. She was wary of mortals; she gets her guilt from Jupiter," 161-62). Callisto was raped against her wishes because she was a beautiful woman desired by a god. His violent action, briefly expressed as it may be, breaks her vow and causes the loss of her identity: because of his force, Callisto is no longer a virgin. After this minor appearance, Jupiter disappears as an actor in the tale. The story jumps ahead several months to a point in which Callisto's pregnancy is visible. Summoned by Diana to bathe, she is forced to reveal her belly and her broken vow. Newlands (1995:157) points out that Diana uses similar phrases in her expulsion of Callisto in both versions—with one significant difference: in the *Metamorphoses*, she expels the pregnant girl from *sacras aquas* (*M.* 2.464) and here she orders her not to pollute *castas aquas* (*F.* 2.173-74). The lines emphasize not merely her lost chastity but specifically the violation of her vow. Because she failed in her promise, she is expelled both from the divine waters and the company of virgins but also from the number of all chaste women. Whereas the *Metamorphoses* elaborates upon Jupiter's actions, the *Fasti*'s brief account gives more attention to Callisto.¹⁵³ By limiting Jupiter's role and highlighting her vow of chastity in this account,

¹⁵³ Of course, there are many poetic reasons for the difference in the two accounts, but I do not have space for them here. The *Metamorphoses*, for example, elaborates upon the number of times a figure changes shape (Jupiter) or is forcibly changed (Callisto). For further comparison see Johnson (1996), Newlands (1995: 157-58), O'Bryhim (1990).

Ovid focuses not on Callisto's physical violation but on who Callisto was before the rape and what it cost her: the seizure of her will and her ability to choose chastity.¹⁵⁴

Callisto endures several transformations in this story. First, following her rape, she is transformed from a virgin to a mother (*quae fuerat virgo credita, mater erat*, "She who had been thought a virgin was a mother," 176). Then her motherhood incurs the anger of Juno who transforms her again, this time into a bear. The speaker points out to his readers that Callisto is the innocent victim of this crime. He shows sympathy for Callisto when he asks Juno rhetorically: *quid facis? invito est pectore passa Iovem* ("Why do that? Her breast was unwilling when she suffered Jupiter," 178). With the rapid description of Callisto's multiple punishments, the speaker underscores her helplessness and victimization as she suffers the unjust violence of not one but two gods.¹⁵⁵ The rapidity of her misfortune continues, as the speaker then jumps quickly from Callisto's transformation into a bear to her encounter with her son in the woods. Her suffering and estrangement are powerfully encapsulated in these lines, as she is unrecognizable to her son and cannot announce herself to him:

iam tria lustra puer furto conceptus agebat,
cum mater nato est obvia facto suo.
illa quidem, tamquam cognosceret, adstitit amens
et gemit: gemitus verba parentis erant. (183-186)

And now the boy conceived in secret was completing
thrice-five years, when his mother encountered her son.
As for her, she stood distraught as if she recognized him
and she growled. Growls were a mother's words.

¹⁵⁴ Dolansky (2016) points out that Callisto's situation exists not because of her own or Diana's actions but because of those of the *pater deum*. Further, Ovid repeatedly insists upon this point throughout the passage and emphasizes it further through the frequent use of family terminology.

¹⁵⁵ Johnson calls this an accusation of divine injustice (16).

These lines dramatize the proximity of the two, with mother and son juxtaposed in line 184, only to underscore their failure to communicate and their extreme separation in the next couplet. Callisto's powerlessness as a bear is manifested in the absence of speech. She can utter only beastly growls, *gemitus*. The phrase *gemitus verba parentis erant*, juxtaposing *gemitus* and *verba parentis*, highlights Callisto's estrangement from her former human self and further demonstrates her helplessness. She cannot name herself as his parent, or save herself or her son from the violent crime he is about to commit. Only the belated pity of a divinity saves her from imminent destruction by means of the catasterism of both mother and son.¹⁵⁶ Callisto's inability to speak underscores her victimization by the gods. She has been robbed of her sexual identity, her physical identity, and finally, her ability to express herself, her will and desires.

Callisto's catasterism, her final transformation, is not necessarily a positive ending for her tale. Though saved from being killed by her son, she is punished yet again by Juno, who denies her the ability to touch the waters of the sea, and, thus, the inability ever to bathe and purge her polluted body.¹⁵⁷ Like the story in the *Metamorphoses*, this tale shows how Callisto loses her physical form because of divine whim. But metaphorically the story shows how Callisto loses her identity because of the force used against her. The *Fasti*'s compressed narrative, unlike that

¹⁵⁶ Notably, the *Metamorphoses* asserts that Jupiter saved Callisto. In the *Fasti*, readers familiar with other versions may assume it is Jupiter who saves Callisto, but his name is not explicitly stated. The text says only: *hanc puer ignarus iaculo fixisset acuto, / ni foret in superas raptus uterque domos* (F. 2.187-88). Johnson notes this discrepancy. He concedes that the logical assumption is that Jupiter is the agent of the *raptus*. But, without explicit designation of an agent, Johnson suggests, Juno could well be the agent of the snatching up and that the catasterism is a final punishment inflicted by the goddess. He argues that the way that the constellation is depicted, with Callisto turning her back to her son, traps the pair in that terrifying moment when mother and son are vulnerable to attack from each other (17-18).

¹⁵⁷ Johnson, as above, suggests that Juno eternally punishes Callisto with her catasterism. Newlands (1995:58) argues that the banishment from waters functions as yet another punishment: she is memorialized in ambiguity, not freed from her pollution or suffering. Sexually violated, Callisto was first turned away from bathing with Diana, but now with her banishment from the water will never be able to cleanse herself of her sexual pollution. See also O'Bryhim (1990) who argues that in the *Metamorphoses* Callisto's pollution is tied specifically to her pregnancy and necessitates her exile from society.

of the *Metamorphoses*, offers only a few lines to depict the alienation from self and community that Callisto suffers as a bear. Perhaps, as Johnson suggests, the abbreviated account of her transformation evokes less pathos and sympathy. The accelerated crescendo of events, however, highlights the enormity of the changes she endures and shows a direct link between Jupiter's actions and her destruction. As Johnson (1996: 19) concludes: "In this version of the tale, with its compressions and abrupt transitions and, above all, its startling omissions, the innocence of Callisto is as unforgettable as her suffering or as the sustained injustice that strips her, layer by layer, of her identity." The tale is about the loss of Callisto's one desire, her chastity, and her ability to protect it. Her silence underscores her loss. The complete absence of her human voice vividly demonstrates that she will never regain her former identity, for she has lost the ability to articulate who she is and what she wants.

Lara

The speaker of the *Fasti* devotes the days of February 18th-21st to the rites of the Parentalia, the Feralia, and the magical rites of Tacita. Each of the festivals united over these three days entails its own complexities. The Parentalia, for one, features several elements that invite comparison with the Lemuria in Book 5. The unique tangling of the two festivals and the role of Romulus and Remus with each has attracted much scholarly attention.¹⁵⁸ Similarly, there is

¹⁵⁸ See Robinson (331-333) who argues that Ovid encourages his audience to read this passage closely with the *Feriae Stultorum* and the Quirinalia, producing a continuous reading of divine honors paid to Romulus, divine honors to an oven, and divine honors to the dead. As the *Feriae Stultorum* showcased how war led to the neglect of agriculture, here war has led to the neglect of *pietas* and *religio* offering another negative characterization of Romulus' leadership. Miller (1991: 105-7), Phillips (1992), and Littlewood (2001) have examined the numerous parallels between Ovid's Parentalia and Lemuria. In trying to explain the relationship between the festivals, Phillips (66-69) argues that Ovid presents them as interrelated, showing two sides of the spirits, both hostile and benign, helping to assuage Romulus' impious fratricide. Littlewood similarly interprets Romulus' commemoration of Remus in the Lemuria as assuaging Romulus' crime by showing his *pietas*. Barchiesi (1997:119-23) argues that the scene between the brothers on the Lemuria was more appropriate for the Parentalia, but Ovid's readers would know that the Le-

much debate about the presentation of the Feralia: was it celebrated on the final day of the *dies Parentales*, as depicted in the *Fasti*, or were the rites performed after the conclusion of the Parentalia as recorded in other sources (Robinson, 351)? But the more mystifying inclusion in this passage is the magical rites of Tacita. The deictic phrase *ecce anus* in line 571 draws readers' attention abruptly to the magical performance of rituals, *sacra*, by the old woman (*ecce anus in mediis residens annosa puellis / sacra facit Tacitae (nec tamen ipsa tacet)*), "Here sits an old lady, full of years, with girls all round her. She's performing the rites of the Silent Goddess (though she herself is hardly silent), 571-72). Though the speaker calls them *sacra*, her rites are far from the types of ritual recorded in the Roman calendar: she conducts dark, seamy rituals in order to ensure the silencing of hostile tongues.¹⁵⁹ Following her appearance, the speaker jumps to Muta and the story of Lara, mother of the Lares. The connection between Tacita and Muta is unclear, but the two stories continue a theme that first appears with Callisto, namely that silence is powerlessness.¹⁶⁰ Tacita and Muta build upon the theme by implicitly suggesting that

muria was a festival for warding off vengeful spirits. Thus, the Lemuria revives the notion that the fratricide must be expiated and a tension arise between the overlapping festivals centered on Remus "and his ever-conflictual relationship with the father of the nation" (123).

¹⁵⁹ Regarding Tacita's *sacra*, Miller (1991:105) comments: "the rite described here has nothing...to do with Roman state religion or sanctioned private cults. Ovid here stretches the inclusiveness of his poetic calendar...It is as if Ovid wishes to present as a permanent feature of the day's activities what else is apt to occur during February's festival of the dead." Rose (1933:60-61) describes them as "a very ordinary bit of magic, private and none too reputable." Others, such as Ogden (1999:15-25, 63), interpret this as an instance of a curse tablet and propose that perhaps the old woman teaches magic to the group of girls. Luck (2000: 219) suggests that the *puellae* gather around the old woman who is a *saga* employed to protect their reputation. Finally, Dickie (2001:185-9) believes that the drinking of wine suggests that the old woman is a procuress surrounded by prostitutes, passing along magical knowledge.

¹⁶⁰ The identity of Tacita is unclear. Robinson ad loc notes that her name is mentioned by Plutarch, who claims that Numa introduced her worship, and identified her as one of the Muses (*Num* 8.6). Beyond that reference, MUTAE TACITAE has been discovered on a curse tablet found in Germany, but either of those words could be an adjective. Robinson states that the possibility of her identity on a curse tablet suggests that she was a chthonic deity, and given possible associations with the underworld, the Feralia would be a suitable place for her ritual. For the theme of silence as related to power and gender, see both

outspoken voices can be dangerous and may need to be silenced. While the silencing of Callisto occurred by happenstance, the silencing of Lara is intentional, retributive, and designed to deprive her of any power.

I will first analyze the story of Lara, considering both the themes as presented by the speaker in the *Fasti* as well as the intertextual allusions that shape understanding of the tale. I will then examine the story within its context, and in particular in intratextual allusions to Callisto and Lucretia. I aim to show that this tale builds upon, by adding a uniquely Roman angle, the overarching theme of male force that eliminates female speech and identity. When Lara is stripped of her voice and identity, her body is co-opted for nationalist purposes: she gives birth, by rape, to the Lares, a Roman institution that was restored and gained new significance under Augustus. Her story, then, advances the plot of Callisto's. A Roman institution is founded upon the body of a woman who does not consent. By foregrounding Lara's resistance and suffering, the *Fasti* offers a different perspective on the creation of state institutions and critiques the silencing of voices that keeps recurring in Roman foundations.

The tale of Lara develops a number of themes from Callisto's story: masculine *vis*, sexual violation, silence as powerlessness. But it expands on those themes by incorporating a larger discussion of power, in particular, the manner in which the maintenance of one man's power may entail the oppression of others. Silence is, in this tale, a symptom of powerlessness. An authority figure maintains power by silencing the voices of those who oppose him. Lara's story

Feeney (1992) and Newlands (1995), both of which I will discuss in my argument below. C.M. McDonough (2004) argues that Ovid toys with the meaning of *tacita* as "quiet" and employs the synonym *muta*. By exploiting the imprecision of her name in such a way, Ovid robs the goddess of the power to enforce silence, rendering her powerless and silent herself—a pertinent connection to the theme of the power of words and the powerlessness of silence persistent throughout the tale.

unites, for the first time in the *Fasti*, the themes of sexual violence and the victimization of women that recur in tales of Roman foundations. Where Callisto's story critiques masculine power by highlighting its destructive potential, the tale of Lara interrogates not only masculine power and force in general, but Roman power as well.

The tale begins abruptly: following the description of Tacita and her mysterious rituals, the speaker turns to a different goddess, Dea Muta.¹⁶¹ He offers a tale that he has heard from older men, a story with a number of surprising turns. He begins with Jupiter's pursuit of the nymph Juturna:

Iuppiter immodico Iuturnae victus amore
multa tulit tanto non patienda deo:
illa modo in silvis inter coryleta latebat
nunc in cognatas desiliebat aquas. (2.585-588)

Jupiter, overcome by excessive love for Juturna, put up with many things that so great a god shouldn't have to endure. At one moment she'd be hiding in the woods among the hazel thickets, at another she'd be leaping down into her sister's waters.

Jupiter appears as a Hellenistic or elegiac lover as he chases the nymph: "conquered by an exceeding love" and willing to endure any obstacles to his desire. Readers familiar with the *Aeneid*, however, would know of Jupiter's rape of Juturna (Book 12). For Vergil's Juturna, both rape and deification, which prevents her from dying with her brother, were forms of misery.¹⁶² Jutur-

¹⁶¹ It is unclear whether Dea Muta is a new goddess or another name for Tacita. Robinson *ad loc* notes that the reading depends on whether or not *muta* is capitalized. Otherwise, the evidence is too sparse to decipher the exact difference between them.

¹⁶² Hejduk (2009: 309-10) includes this scene in the *Aeneid* amongst a number of depictions of Jupiter that illustrate various aspects of Jupiter's character and challenge a simple reading in which Jupiter represents order (masculinity, rationality, good) against Juno's chaos (femininity, irrationality, evil). Juturna speaks about her rape and deification: "haec pro uirginitate reponit? / quo uitam dedit aeternam? cur mortis adempta est / condicio? possem tantos finire dolores / nunc certe, et misero fratri comes ire per umbras!" (*Aen.* 12.878-81).

na of the *Fasti* is not the sister of Turnus, but belongs to a group of sister water nymphs. Nevertheless, allusions to Vergil shape the reading of Jupiter and his actions throughout the story, evoking the danger threatening Juturna. The allusions carry foreboding undertones concerning the fate of the young nymph.¹⁶³ Indeed, the next couplets reveal that the story is akin to a number of rape narratives in the *Metamorphoses* in which a male deity plots to have sex with a mortal woman (e.g., Daphne, Io, Medusa, Proserpina). The result is almost always the suffering and transformation of the female, as with Vergil's Juturna, who becomes immortal against her will. Consequently, when Jupiter plots to get Juturna by convincing her sisters to turn her over to him, his rhetoric is easily recognizable as self-serving manipulation. He asserts that his great pleasure (*mea magna voluptas*, *F.* 2.593) will be an advantage to her (*utilitas vestrae magna sororis*, 594), but readers are aware that Jupiter's sexual conquest of Juturna, or any nymph, entails only the fulfillment of his desire, at great cost to her. As in the story of Callisto, Jupiter's destructive sexual desires are conspicuously displayed.

In yet further differentiation from the *Aeneid*, the speaker introduces Lara and takes a turn away from the rape narrative that readers expect. Juturna escapes her rapist, at least for the moment, but the story of Lara reveals a darker, more dangerous display of Jupiter's violent force.¹⁶⁴ Jupiter's punishment shows the ruthless extremes to which he will abuse his power. To maintain his right to sexual gratification, he is ready to suppress anyone who stands in his way. Lara's

¹⁶³ Murgatroyd (2005: 77) finds this part of the tale, Jupiter's pursuit of Juturna before Lara's introduction, to be rather comical. While there are other allusions to Jupiter in the *Aeneid* that encourage such a reading, namely, his summoning of a council of nymphs is a sort of comic inversion of the council of the gods, I find it difficult to read Juturna's flight from a rapist as a comic scene, especially in the context of the other crucial tales of rape in *Fasti* 2.

¹⁶⁴ Juturna's fate is left unclear. The speaker does not return to her story after digressing with Lara. If the story is a precedent of sorts to the tale in the *Aeneid*, then we can expect that Jupiter catches up with her. It is also possible that after dealing with Lara he returns to his pursuit. For at least a short time, however, Lara distracts him.

former name was “Lala,” a repetition of the same syllable intended to mark her failing (*vitium*), which, according to her father, was her talkative nature: ‘*nata, tene linguam, ’ nec tamen illa tenet*’ (“‘Daughter, hold your tongue,’ and yet she didn’t,” 602). Lara uses her uncontrollable tongue in this story to warn Juturna to flee and to expose Jupiter’s plot both to Juturna and also to Juno. The woman named for her loquacity speaks only a line and a half, and her motive is unselfish: to save her sister from sexual assault. She uses the only means she can to help Juturna, by speaking to Juturna herself and informing Juno, who has been known to interfere in such events. In response, Jupiter rips out her tongue because, the speaker states, she used it indiscreetly:

Iuppiter intumuit, quaque est non usa modeste,
eripit huic linguam Mercuriumque vocat:
‘duc hanc ad manes; locus ille silentibus aptus.
nympha, sed infernae nympha paludis erit.’ (607-610)

Jupiter swelled in rage. He tears out her tongue, that she used indiscreetly, and summons Mercury: ‘Take her to the *manes*. That’s the proper place for silent ones. She’ll be a nymph, but a nymph of the infernal lake.’

According to Jupiter, her crime is speaking out against him by telling a story other than the one he asked the nymphs to tell Juturna. What Jupiter considers immodest use of the tongue is merely speaking in the wrong place, at the wrong time, and against a powerful figure of authority. For having tried to protect her sister, Lara is permanently silenced.

Lara’s speech is a vice, *vitium*, only from the perspective of the male characters: her father worries about it and Jupiter punishes it, but her speech saves Juturna, or attempts to do so. Male voices condemn her, but the tale evokes sympathy for Lara by underscoring her victimization and her good intentions. Through numerous intertextual allusions, Jupiter’s actions are portrayed as irrational and unjust. First, he is a rapist in the *Aeneid*, in numerous narratives of the

Metamorphoses, and in the preceding story of Callisto. Second, the ripping out of Lara's tongue inevitably connects Jupiter to Tereus, the most wicked rapist of the *Metamorphoses*: in brutally depriving their victims of tongues, the two males show fear of the power of female speech. Tereus silenced Philomela to retain control of both her and her sister (*Met* 6.519-562); Jupiter silences Lara to maintain his control, as her speech to her sister impedes his plot.¹⁶⁵

Once silenced, Lara is completely powerless: she can neither express herself nor assert her will. She is therefore helpless against Mercury's attack. As he walks Lara to the underworld, Mercury, overcome by desire, rapes her. Unable to protest verbally, Lara struggles to protest with her expressions but to no avail. Ovid metrically highlights her defenselessness: his actions are speedy, as he prepares rape, while her mute attempts to save herself slow down the middle of the hexameter in spondees and the first half of the pentameter:

vim parat hic, voltu pro verbis illa precatur,
et frustra muto nititur ore loqui. (613-614)

He gets ready to use force, she pleads with her expression instead
of words, and struggles in vain to speak with her silent mouth.

Just as Callisto, left with only animal growling, could not protect herself from the spear of her son, Lara cannot protect herself from Mercury. In short order, she falls victim to violence by two male deities. She too is deprived of both speech and identity. In order to assert his will, Jupiter robs her of the ability to assert hers. She is reduced to a shadow of herself, a silent shade in the underworld. Lara's titular identity, the chatterbox, is altered when she loses her tongue and becomes Lara. But Lara too is erased: giving birth to her twins, the Lares, she fades into the background, the historically insignificant mother whose suffering is ignored in favor of what it produces. Indeed, the final line of the tale underscores her removal from the historical narrative: *et*

¹⁶⁵ On numerous references to the tale of Philomela, Procne, and Tereus (*Metamorphoses* Book 6) in *Fasti* 2 see Newlands (1995), Chiu (2016), and Feldherr (2010).

vigilant nostra semper in urbe, Lares (“Lares, who are always on watch in our city,” 616).

Lara’s identity is erased through this masculine appropriation of her name (Keegan 2002: 145).

Robinson (331-32) suggests that the progression from the Quirinalia to the Ferae Stultorum to the Parentalia—that is, honors for Romulus, to honors for the ovens, to honors for the dead—invites comparison between the three. The rites of the dead, in the Parentalia, further underscore the destructive consequences of Romulus’ martial agenda: the rites, according to the speaker, were long neglected by years of war.¹⁶⁶ So war is responsible not only for agricultural failure but also for the neglect of *pietas* and *religio*. It is possible, therefore, to interpret this progression, from celebration of warfare to depiction of its failures, as a criticism of Romulus’ martial characteristics. As with the celebration of the *pater patriae*, however, this passage is open to various interpretations. Romulus’ actions may be read as reflecting poorly upon Augustus, in the association of Romulus’ initiation of numerous wars with Augustus’ engagement in years of civil war. The passage might also be interpreted as celebrating Augustus’ religious revival following the years of civil war, for, as Littlewood (2001: 921) suggests, Augustus could be linked with Aeneas to whom Ovid attributes the institution of these *pios ritus* (F.2.543-46).

The Parentalia, however, is not the final festival on this day: the tales of Lara and Tacita add further perspective. Both tales suggest the danger of speech. Tacita, in particular, warns against outspoken tongues, specifically hostile tongues (*‘hostiles linguas inimicaque vinximus ora,’* “We’ve bound up hostile tongues and unfriendly mouths,” 581). This line is ambiguous and leaves open to question: what tongues are hostile and from whose perspective are they judged hostile? Are hostile tongues those that speak against the Roman state or religion? Tacita is a chthonic goddess, her rites belong more to the realm of magic, and her cult is rather mysterious.

¹⁶⁶ *at quondam, dum longa gerunt pugnacibus armis/ bella, Parentales deseruere dies* (547-548).

Because her relationship to the state is unclear, the purpose of her cult is harder to interpret. The characterization of the old woman builds on a number of poetic tropes, as she resembles the *lenae* and witches of Horace and love elegy. She sits amongst a group of young girls (*puellis*, 571) as she performs the rites, quite similar to the elegiac *lena* detested by the *amatores* for teaching girls to fool their lovers (Tibullus 1.5, Propertius 4.5, *Amores* 1.8). Tacita concocts magical spells with suspicious, unconventional materials and drinks wine all the while, both negative attributes of old women depicted by love poets as antithetical to the beautiful *puella* (Horace *Sat* 1.8, *Ode* 4.13; Propertius 4.5). With such allusions, Tacita's rituals perhaps reference the ludic, masculine depictions of female speech used for curses and dark magic or for teaching *meretrices*. If she is a *lena* figure, her binding of hostile tongues may be interpreted in an elegiac context as the silencing of the elegiac poet—her loquacious rival for the *puella*'s ear. Tacita may then be an example of the dangerous female speech that obstructs the desires of men. But if her rites align with state cult, her claim to bind hostile tongues may be interpreted as a caution against speaking out against authority, a lesson dramatized subsequently with Lara. I argue that the mystery surrounding the ritual allows both interpretations. The ambiguity of interpretive possibilities endows the passage with a complex depiction of conflicting voices and authorities.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ Dolansky (2016: 43) and McDonough (2004) examine the story in context with the two tales that bracket it, the Feralia (on the final day of the Parentalia) and the Caristia. Dolansky states that the nymph's story stands in stark contrast to these two wholesome family festivals. The Feralia commemorates deceased kin while the Caristia focuses on the living family, a celebration disruptive relatives were forbidden to attend. Thus, the double-rape tale, laden with the description of broken familial bonds, stands apart. Dolansky suggests that this contrast "offers an opportunity to contemplate the disruption and potential destruction powerful outsiders posed to the family." McDonough similarly points out that Lara's tale is one of familial disruption. In the Caristia, he claims, Ovid resolves the unsettled issues of familial impiety with words honoring the family and the *pater patriae*. But since the themes of infringement upon speech and family morality will arise again shortly in the tale of Lucretia, McDonough suggests, similarly to Dolansky, that the poet reminds us that family ruptures and malicious gossip were recurrent events not easily contained or reformed by the Princeps.

Like Callisto's story, the tale of Lara illustrates the destruction of a young woman through the violence of male gods. Her silence manifests her powerlessness and loss of identity. Uniquely, however, she is first injured *because* of her speech, which is dangerous because it threatens Jupiter's power. In highlighting the injustice of Lara's silencing, the speaker shows her perspective as a contrary voice. She offers a potential counter-narrative to the dominant authority that Jupiter enforces. Feeney (1992:6) argues that the Augustan age witnessed a decline in *libertas* and the freedom to speak. Stories such as those of Lara and Juturna warn against using one's tongue without restraint and serve as part of the poem's protest against restraints set upon the poet's speech (12). But, Feeney suggests, in these tales where speaking out of turn is fatal, the *Fasti* was designed to "read like a poem whose *licentia* has been suppressed, which has not been allowed to keep speaking, which has become *nefas*" (15). These warnings against free speech illustrate the dominance of Augustan ideology through the silence of female victims. Male, Jupiter, suppresses female, Lara, much as a powerful authority, Augustus, perhaps suppresses historical narratives contrary to his own.¹⁶⁸

The conflicting voices of Jupiter and Lara and the suppression of the weaker voice by the stronger are best illustrated in the creation of the Lares. This Roman institution is founded upon Lara's brutalized body. After she is raped by Mercury, Lara gives birth to the Lares and is replaced by her children:

vim parat hic, voltu pro verbis illa precatur,
et frustra muto nititur ore loqui,
fitque gravis geminosque parit, qui compita servant
et vigilant nostra semper in urbe Lares. (613-616)

¹⁶⁸ McDonough (2004) points out that Jupiter's power "has been figured in terms of speech: to make his demands, *convocat hic nymphas* ("he calls together the nymphs," 589), asserting his supremacy by his summons as he will again with Mercury (608)." Further, after Jupiter speaks to the nymphs, the Latin reads: *dixerat: adnuerant* ("He had spoken; they had nodded," 597). As McDonough argues, the wordlessness of the women's assent is emphasized by juxtaposition with Jupiter's verbal command.

He gets ready to use force, she pleads with her expression instead
of words, and struggles in vain to speak with her silent mouth.
She becomes pregnant and gives birth to twins, the Lares who
guard the crossroads and are always on watch in our city.

With the abrupt transition from Lara's rape to the foundation of the Lares, the speaker illustrates the manner in which foundations of state or of historical/cultural narratives are built upon the silenced bodies of women. Had she not been silenced by Jupiter, the narrative would have been vastly different.

The introduction of the Lares into this tale further complicates the passage. The Lares Compitales received a significant renovation under Augustus. The gods protected each Roman *vicus*, placed at the crossroads of each neighborhood. When Augustus reorganized the *regiones* and *vici* in Rome, he took it upon himself to rename the Lares as the Lares Augusti and at least one *vicus*, if not more, received new statues of the Lares as a gift from the emperor.¹⁶⁹ Whatever the specifics of the action, Augustus endowed the Lares with a new political significance. He restored ancient ritual tradition and inserted himself into it in the process. The silencing of Lara vividly describes this process of re-description. Upon her body, a male civic institution is founded, erasing her voice and identity.¹⁷⁰ In a less dramatic manner, Augustus similarly appropriates an older tradition for his own political agenda. The voice of the principate overcomes older traditions.

As Callisto's tale follows the *pater patriae*, so the tale of Lara, included within these three festival days, follows the Quirinalia. For a second time in the *Fasti*, the celebration of masculine

¹⁶⁹ Sources are conflicted on this point. See Robinson 370-372.

¹⁷⁰ Newlands (1995: 160-61), in reading this passage, illustrates that the issues of speech and silence in the poem are related to gender. She argues that Lara's loss of speech corresponds to her absence of power, and in adjoining her story to the Lares, Ovid "subtly suggests the emperor's authority over freedom of speech." On the Lares Augusti see Wissowa (1902: 153), for a correction to Wissowa see Frascchetti (1990) and Lott (2004: 106-108). Also see Barchiesi (1997: 106-110).

triumph is juxtaposed with a story of a man's abuse of *vis* and the resulting destruction of an innocent, female victim.¹⁷¹ It is, then, perhaps the story of Lara that most directly undercuts the encomium of the Quirinalia, even more than the Parentalia does. Her tale looks not only backwards to Callisto but also forward to Lucretia and the regifugium. Thus, Lara is a linchpin, reminding readers of the continual abuse of force by powerful male characters in order to maintain their control.

Lucretia

Lucretia's tale is told on the final festival day of Book 2, the regifugium, and as the climactic tale, it builds on a number of themes. First, it features the clash of elegiac love and epic warfare that has been developing throughout the book. The speaker uses elegy to highlight voices of dissent—that is, the voice of Lucretia—and epic to describe the forceful silencing of that voice. At the beginning of Book 2, the elegiac introduction, as I stated above, proposes the insertion of *amor* and *arma* back into the speaker's elegiacs. Indeed, *amor*, absent from Book 1, appears prominently in the tales of Callisto, Faunus, Juturna, and Lara. While the tale of Faunus offers a more comical depiction of desire gone awry, the stories of the raped women showcase the destruction that results when *amor* is combined with *vis*.¹⁷²

These tales of *amor* alternate with days celebrating the accomplishments of Augustus and Romulus. Where Romulus and, at times Augustus, is present, so too are *arma*. Thus the book weaves *amor* and *arma* into the discussion of *ara*. At times *amor* and *arma* are opposed, and at times they are combined to destructive effect. The conflict of elegiac love and epic warfare,

¹⁷¹ Though it is Jupiter, not a mortal man, who commits violence against Callisto and Lara, he is the leader of the gods, associated often with Roman leaders and compared to Augustus a few lines earlier.

¹⁷² The tale of Faunus is outside of the scope of this project but for discussions see Fantham (1983), Feeney (1992), Parker (1993), Newlands (1995), and Richlin (2014: 150-54).

however, arises most powerfully in the story of Lucretia. In his representation of Tarquin's rape of Lucretia, the poem's speaker portrays an elegiac Lucretia attacked and conquered by a war-like, epic Tarquin. Newlands (1995:146-74) has suggested that as Tarquin overcomes Lucretia, metaphorically the epic *arma* conquer the elegiac poetics and suggest the principate's silencing of poetic voices. While I find Newland's argument compelling, I do not have space to explore the complexities of Ovid's metrical choices and the meaning behind them. Rather, I focus on Ovid's persistent exposé of male force as oppressing and silencing women. When women are forcefully silenced by men, their voices and perspectives are suppressed so that the powerful man who overcomes them can retain control. Stronger voices prevail and the weaker are silenced. In the stories of Lara and Lucretia, a community composed of a variety of voices, perspectives, and identities, is reduced to a community organized around the desires of the man or deity in power.¹⁷³

The depiction of Lucretia introduces several new elements to the rape narrative: she is a married Roman woman, raped by a kinsman; she commits suicide; and her death creates the impetus for a political revolution. Lucretia's rape, like Lara's, stands at the heart of a Roman civic institution. Lara, however, is a mythic figure raped by a deity. Lucretia is a historical Roman woman violated by a Roman potential leader. Her story thus holds weighty political implications. The progression from Callisto to Lucretia escalates from a discussion of the destructiveness of male *vis* and the oppression of others to a discourse on Roman *vis* and the suppression of voices in the creation of a nation. Indeed, as Newlands argues, these women show that issues of speech and silence in the *Fasti* are related to gender. I argue that Ovid's exposé of

¹⁷³ This is more complicated in the story of Lucretia, as I will discuss further below. She is silenced for Tarquin's desires, but unlike the male deities in the other tales, he is overthrown. Lucretia's silenced body, however, is appropriated by Brutus for a political purpose.

violence against women in Book 2 also offers a subtle challenge against the exploitation of women and gender roles in Augustan ideology and the princeps' abuse of power in the social realm.¹⁷⁴

The elegiac depiction of Lucretia is one of Ovid's most significant innovations to this well-known story. Ovid joins elegiac style with the themes of male force and female silence to present a new perspective, namely Lucretia's point of view, on a Roman tradition. Although she is silenced at the end of the story, the expanded account that focuses on Lucretia's subjectivity inserts a contrary, female voice into a political narrative. To draw out the unique presentation of Lucretia in this version, I will compare the tale in the *Fasti* with the other most well-known contemporary version: Livy's narrative of the fall of the kings at the conclusion of Book 1 of his *Ab Urbe Condita*.

Lucretia in *Fasti* 2 differs starkly from Livy's better-known version: where Livy narrates the rape briefly, focusing on male actors, the Ovidian speaker highlights her personal and physical experience, allowing her to articulate her helplessness, her lack of agency, her lack of choice. Her story serves an important role in Livy's didactic, moral objective in writing a history of Rome.¹⁷⁵ Lucretia's rape and the revolution that it inspired, namely the expulsion of the

¹⁷⁴ See also Dolansky (2016) who argues a similar point. Dolansky asserts that the tale of Lucretia, like the tales of Callisto and Lara, dramatizes the dysfunction of the family, perhaps more so since Sextus violates boundaries of kinship, morality, and space in the course of his rape. Ovid employs these tales of compromised chastity, conjugal and sororal betrayal, all set in motion by powerful outside forces (men), to propose concerns about Augustus' moral legislation and to suggest to his readers that families were not stronger as a result of such legislative efforts.

¹⁷⁵ See discussion of Livy's Lucretia in Chapter 1. In his preface Livy asserts that the most profitable reason for writing history is to provide exempla of past actions as lessons for readers who can choose what to imitate, what to avoid, and recognize what is shameful (*AUC* 1.1.10). Lucretia's story offers an example of tyrannical male behavior by Sextus Tarquin and the most virtuous female character in Lucretia. For studies of Livy's Lucretia see Freund (2008), Koptev (2003), Vandiver (1999), Calhoun (1997), Brown (1995), Bauman (1993), Joshel (1991), Joplin (1990), Wiseman (1988), Donaldson (1982), Galinsky (1932).

Etruscan kings, define the role of woman to the Roman state: the sexual status of the citizen female represents the civic status of male body politic (a principle already begun with Rhea Silvia and the Sabine women).¹⁷⁶ A citizen woman's body is not her private concern, but a container of the honor of her male relatives (father and/or husband) and, by extension, all citizen males. Lucretia models the uniquely Roman principle that *pudicitia* is required for the stability and safety of the state. Her politically necessary death marks the way that the high Roman value on *pudicitia* places women in a permanently precarious relation not only to family but to Rome itself.

Although Lucretia's rape incites a Roman revolution, Livy portrays her as a passive, physical object rather than an active subject. His narrative focuses on male actions and motives: Lucretia's body, her violated sexual status, is a tangible representation of citizen rights abused by the tyrannical Etruscan line of the Tarquins. From the beginning of the narrative, Lucretia is to be seen and not heard. The men arrive in Collatia to judge which of their wives is the most chaste.¹⁷⁷ As they come upon Lucretia, Livy states that she welcomes them graciously, but he gives her no words of her own. Rather, her *pudicitia* is an outwardly visible quality that she performs: her greeting and, particularly, her diligent attendance to her woolwork.¹⁷⁸ The mere sight of her suffices to confirm her as most chaste. Indeed, it is her visible purity that attracts

Tarquin's lust:

Quo cum primis se intendentibus tenebris pervenissent, pergunt inde
Collatiam, ubi Lucretiam haudquaquam ut regias nurus, quas in convivio luxuque

¹⁷⁶ See James and Henry 2012: 90-92, Langlands (2006) Joshel (1992), Joplin (1990).

¹⁷⁷ Notably, only the extant versions of the tale by Roman authors (Livy and Ovid) include the competition for wifely virtue. This detail is not present in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (4.64-85) or Diodorus Siculus (10.20-22).

¹⁷⁸ Chiu (2016: 52-53) notes that Lucretia has little semblance of a personality in Livy's text. She is an idealized image, presented in the abstract with few personal, unique details describing her.

cum aequalibus viderant tempus terentes **sed nocte sera deditam lanae inter lucubrantēs ancillas in medio aedium sedentem inveniunt. Muliebris certaminis laus penes Lucretiam fuit.** Adveniēns vir Tarquiniūque excepti benigne; victor maritus comiter invitat regios iuvenes. Ibi Sex. Tarquiniū mala libido Lucretiae per vim stuprandae capit; cum **forma tum spectata castitas incitat.** (1.57.8-11)

Having arrived at early dusk, they then proceed to Collatia where they find Lucretia not acting at all as the royal daughters-in-law, whom they saw wasting time in an extravagant feast with their friends, but rather sitting in the middle of the house amongst toiling slave-girls engaged in her wool work in the late evening. Lucretia won praise in the competition of the womanly virtues. As Collatinus and the Tarquins were approaching, they were received kindly; her victorious husband courteously welcomes the royal young men to his home. It is there that a wicked desire to defile Lucretia by force seizes Sextus Tarquin.

Writing some thirty years later, Ovid alters Livy's masculinist, Roman view of Lucretia, adding new perspectives and changing its central focus. Ovid's version retains the political context of Livy's narrative, with many identical historical details. The story is featured during the celebration of the *regifugium* on February 24th. The speaker begins with Sextus Tarquin's underhanded seizure of Gabii and concludes with Brutus' revenge and revolution. But he adopts a very different tone and style, creating a new perspective on the rape.

First, descriptions of the male characters are pared down and the majority of the narrative focuses on the rape of Lucretia. Although the *regifugium* was in the calendar, mention of the date does not necessitate a description of Lucretia's story. The speaker not only focuses on her tale, but reverses the proportions of Livy's story. He greatly abbreviates the description of Sextus' actions at Gabii and tailors his representation of the events to highlight certain aspects of Sextus' character. The poem highlights Sextus' unjust violence and deceptive plotting, establishing the inherently wicked traits that will resurface later, as well as tying his actions to the unjust force so prolific in the book. The Gabii, the speaker states, were taken by foul play (*turpi ...arte*, 690). He omits the numerous previous stratagems and efforts of Tarquin to defeat the

Gabii, and also the valiant efforts of the Gabii to hold off Tarquin, and jumps immediately to Sextus' trick. As a result, the passage emphasizes Sextus' backhanded actions and reduces the Gabii to helpless victims of his force and deceit. Elegiac attributes emphasize the victimization of the Gabii. When Sextus reveals his back, allegedly whipped by his father, they weep and beg him for protection (*fleat quoque et, ut secum tueatur bella, precantur*, "They even weep, and beg him to join them in guarding against war," 699). Tarquin's message to his son is delivered through the metaphorical treatment of lilies: he chops down lilies as a sign that Sextus should murder the leaders of the Gabii. This innovation further highlights the vulnerability of the Gabii and, in turn, the brutality of the Tarquins: they are the pretty flowers mowed down by unjust force. Tarquinius Priscus is introduced as a man who was unjust but strong with respect to arms (...*vir iniustus, fortis ad arma tamen*, "a man unjust but powerful in warfare," 688). Unjust violence characterizes his reign and the actions of his son against the Gabii.

After the rape of Lucretia, the speaker reduces the actual political revolution and the flight of the king to two brief couplets:

volnus inane patet. Brutus clamore Quirites
 concitat et regis facta nefanda refert.
 Tarquinius cum prole fugit, capit annua consul
 iura: dies regnis illa suprema fuit. (849-852)

The gaping wound is exposed. Brutus rouses the Quirites
 with a cry, and reports the king's abominable deeds.
 Tarquinius flees with his sons. A consul takes the judgement
 seat for a year. That was the final day of the rule of kings.

Whereas Livy gives a detailed account of what was said and done to bring about and then execute the expulsion of the Tarquins, the *Fasti* reduces Brutus' rousing words to the people to *con-*
citat and *refert*, and the rout of Tarquinius to a mere four words. Thus, the poem's focus is upon the events surrounding Lucretia and his novel depiction of Lucretia's perspective.

Rather than focus on Lucretia's relation to and function within the Roman male political economy, the narrator highlights her subjectivity—first, her personality, voice, and values, and then her vulnerability, helplessness, and inability to speak and to fight back against her brutal attacker. As in Livy's tale, when the group of men approach the women, they are struck by the differences between the royal, Etruscan daughters-in-law, drinking and carousing, and Lucretia spinning wool. The speaker calls attention to this sight with the deictic *ecce* in line 739 and the word order of the next four lines underscores the vivid contrast between the women:

ecce nurum regis fuis per colla coronis
inveniunt posito pervigilare mero.
inde cito passu petitur Lucretia, cuius
ante torum calathi lanaque mollis erat.
lumen ad exiguum famulae data pensa trahebant;
inter quas tenui sic ait illa sono: (739-744)

And look! They find the king's daughter-in-law up late,
garlands draped all round her neck, with wine served neat.
From there, at full speed, Lucretia is their goal. Before
her couch were baskets and soft wool. By a small light the
maids were spinning their allotted tasks. Amongst them
their mistress is saying softly:...

Lines 739 and 740 end in *coronis* and *mero*, emphasizing the luxury and debauchery of the royal wives, while lines 741 and 742, describing Lucretia's modesty, conclude with *nebat* and the elegiac adjective *mollis*. Livy's description of Lucretia concludes here, but the Ovidian speaker continues to develop a portrait of a dutiful wife, lamenting her husband's absence. The passage is laden with elegiac terms. Lucretia is spinning in the bedroom before the bed (*ante torum* 742), the innermost domestic space of the house. The setting emphasizes her role as wife, but is also the location of numerous elegiac fantasies (Propertius 1.3, 2.15, Tibullus 1.3, Ovid *Am.* 1.5, 2.12). Elegiac descriptions continue: the wool she produces is *mollis* (742), the light by which

she works is *exiguus* (743), and the tone of her voice is *tenuis* (744). Such descriptions portray her as a delicate elegiac woman.

As the men approach, while she is still alone, Lucretia speaks. In her ten-line speech before what she believes is the privacy of her attendants, she expresses her concerns and reveals her mental state. With her speech, she becomes more than a body that represents Roman women's chastity. Lucretia is a subject and an agent: a loyal, beautiful lamenting wife, and the type of poetic female character with whom readers would be well familiar:

‘mittenda est domino (nunc, nunc properate, puellae)
quamprimum nostra facta lacerna manu.
quid tamen auditis (nam plura audire potestis)?
quantum de bello dicitur esse super?
postmodo victa cades: melioribus, Ardea, restas,
improba, quae nostros cogis abesse viros.
sint tantum reduces. sed enim temerarius ille
est meus, et stricto qualibet ense ruit.
mens abit et morior, quotiens pugnantis imago
me subit, et gelidum pectora frigus habet.’
desinit in lacrimas inceptaque fila remisit,
in gremio vultum deposuitque suum.
hoc ipsum decuit: lacrimae decuere pudicam,
et facies animo dignaque parque fuit. (745-758)

‘A cloak made by our own hands must be sent to your master as soon as may be. Now, girls, hurry now! But what do you hear, for you can hear more than I can? How much of the war do they say is left? Presently, Ardea, you will be conquered and fall; shamelessly you resist your betters, you who force our menfolk to be away. May they only come back! But of course that man of mine is reckless, and rushes with drawn sword anywhere he chooses. Whenever the image of him fighting comes to me, my mind is gone and I die; an icy cold takes hold of my breast.’
She ends in tears. She let go the threads she had started and put her face in her lap. That itself was proper; her tears were proper for a modest woman and her face was worthy of her spirit, and matched it.

Lucretia's self-representation recalls Arethusa of Propertius 4.3 or one of the heroines in the *Heroides*, Penelope in particular, as both women anxiously await the return of their beloved at war.¹⁷⁹ Lucretia works on a cloak to send Collatinus. In the meantime, fearful visions of her husband on the battlefield occupy her mind, making her sick with concern. In elegiac fashion she laments the war that has taken Collatinus away and she desires only to see his safe return.¹⁸⁰ Just as the elegiac lovers imagine Delia or Cynthia weeping on their behalf, so Lucretia weeps beautifully into her lap.¹⁸¹ Her tears manifest her chastity, as her grief displays her undying affection for and loyalty to her husband.

The speaker continues to focus on Lucretia's subjective expressions and actions when Collatinus reappears and addresses her. He shows her sincere joy at seeing her husband in a final picture of the two entangled in a sweet elegiac embrace: *deque viri collo dulce pependit onus* (761).¹⁸² Such innovations provide a more compelling description of Lucretia's alluring virtue. Her words and actions illustrate her sincere feelings and genuinely loving character. Moreover, the portrayal of her elegiac characteristics, as well as intertextual allusions to other female victims, intensify her vulnerability. She is the beautiful, weeping Delia, the distraught, devoted

¹⁷⁹ James (2012) argues that Arethusa is not a wife but a concubine and I agree. She does, however, in her laments, portray herself as a wife, a point that makes her relevant to my argument here, and she weaves a cloak for the absent Lycotas. Chiu (2016: 55) compares Lucretia to Propertius' Arethusa and Laodamia of *Heroides* 13.

¹⁸⁰ Newlands (1995: 150) asserts that Lucretia's hatred of war encourages critical scrutiny of her symbolic importance as a woman who sacrifices her life for the state.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Prop. 1.6, 3.12; Tib. 1.3. See also Chiu (2016: 57).

¹⁸² Newlands and Feldherr point out that this line is an allusion to the story of Philomela—one of a number of allusions that encourage an intertextual comparison between the stories. Tereus first burns with passion for Philomela when he sees her sweetly embrace her father. Similarly, this passage shifts immediately from Lucretia's embrace of Collatinus to the sexual gaze of Sextus, for he is most attracted to her dutiful devotion to her husband.

Arethusa, and the innocent Philomela about to be deceived and raped by a wicked man overcome by passion.¹⁸³ Livy, in contrast, offers spinning wool as the primary indicator of Lucretia's virtue. It matters to the historian that Lucretia is a modest woman because her sexual status serves as a means of explaining men's motivations. The Ovidian speaker provides his readers insight into her personality. He allows Lucretia to articulate the desires, feelings, and motives that drive and define her chaste sexual status. This is an important change, for when the speaker encourages readers to understand Lucretia before her rape, he allows them to see more clearly what is lost when she experiences such trauma, what Tarquin's *vis* destroys.

In the description of the rape, Livy omits Lucretia's subjective experience. By force and extortion, Tarquin rapes Lucretia. Livy underscores Tarquin's violent actions, his manipulation, threats and force; but as for Lucretia, he mentions only that she was fearful, resisted, and eventually succumbed to the threat of social disgrace.¹⁸⁴ The *Fasti*, by contrast, showcases her victimization in two ways. First, the speaker encourages the reader to focalize through the sexual gaze of Sextus. In line 761, when he shifts abruptly from Lucretia to Tarquin, Lucretia is transformed from a speaking subject to the passive object of Tarquin's lust. The vivid description of Lucretia's body encourages the readers to see her through Tarquin's predatory gaze.¹⁸⁵ He points to her *forma*, her *niveus color*, and her *flavi capilli* (763), all of which entice his desire. As Tarquin

¹⁸³ Note that both Philomela and Lucretia are kin to their rapists by marriage.

¹⁸⁴ "Cum pavida ex somno mulier nullam opem, prope mortem imminentem videret, tum Tarquinius fateri amorem, orare, miscere precibus minas, versare in omnes partes muliebrem animum. Ubi obstinatum videbat et ne mortis quidem metu inclinari, addit ad metum dedecus: cum mortua iugulatum servum nudum positurum ait, ut in sordido adulterio necata dicatur" (*AUC* 1.58).

¹⁸⁵ Chiu (2016: 57) points out that Lucretia's beauty, at first a praiseworthy attribute, has become a liability attracting negative attention.

travels away from Collatia and back again, the narrator details his thoughts and desires, further focalizing the narrative through Tarquin:

sic sedit, sic culta fuit, sic stamina nevit
neglectae collo sic iacuere comae,
hos habuit voltus, haec illi verba fuerunt,
hic color, haec facies, hic decor oris erat. (771-774)

That's how she sat, that's how she was dressed, that's how
she spun the yarn, that's how her hair fell and lay about her
neck. These were the looks she had, these were her words,
this her complexion, this her appearance, this the charm of her face.

Tarquin's sexual gaze, however, is not that of a lusting elegiac lover. The narrator continuously reminds readers of the inappropriate nature of his desire. Tarquin is most attracted to what he is not supposed to corrupt and what he cannot have (*verba placent et vox, et quod corrumpere non est, / quoque minor spes est, hoc magis ille cupit*, "Her words delight him, and her voice and her uncorruptibility. The smaller his hope, the more he desires," 765-6). He is goaded by an unjust *amor* (*iniusti stimulis agitatus amoris*, "driven by the goads of wicked desire," 779). With such descriptions, the speaker encourages his readers to experience, vividly, the manner in which Tarquin's desires are forced upon Lucretia, as she becomes the victim of first his gaze and then his uncontrollable sexual urges.¹⁸⁶

Second, the speaker describes Lucretia's mental state and struggle during the rape scene. As several scholars have noted, the scene features a conflict between epic and elegy.¹⁸⁷ Tarquin's warlike force conquers the weak, elegiac Lucretia, and this conflict further emphasizes her vulnerability while also pointing again to the destructive nature of force. Tarquin attacks Lucretia like an enemy armed for battle. In a phrase almost identical to Mercury's attack upon Lara, the

¹⁸⁶ For a different interpretation of the male gaze in this passage see Richlin (2014: 152-54).

¹⁸⁷ See Robinson (2011), Newlands (1995), Feldherr (2010), Hejduk (2011).

narrator states that Tarquin prepares force for an unworthy bed: *comparat indigno vimque dolumque toro* ("He plans violence for a bed that does not deserve it," 780). He asserts that he will capture Lucretia just as he took the Gabii. Thus, readers see how the prior depiction of Sextus leads to this very moment. Tarquin places his sword at his side as he jumps on his horse and rides to Collatia (784) where he is an enemy received as a guest (*hostis ut hospes init*, "An enemy as a guest, he enters," 787). Lucretia stands no chance against the enemy in her home, just as the Gabii were helpless against Sextus. Both are victims of his deception and violence.

As Tarquin enters Lucretia's bedroom with his sword drawn, he boldly announces two things: the presence of his sword, indicating his superior force, and his name. Ovid's Latin underscores the harsh contrast of Tarquin's militaristic approach, and her gentle, elegiac character:

surgit et aurata vagina liberat ensem
et venit in thalamos, nupta pudica, tuos.
utque torum pressit, 'ferrum, Lucretia, mecum est.
natus,' ait 'regis Tarquiniusque loquor!' (793-796)

He gets up, frees his sword from its gilded sheath, and comes, chaste wife, into your chamber. And when he's mounted the bed, the king's son says: 'Lucretia, I have my sword with me, and I who speak am Tarquinius.'

In 793-94, Tarquin, the conquering warrior, is in the hexameter line, and the chaste bride in her bed chambers is placed below him in the pentameter.¹⁸⁸ The juxtaposition of war and the intimacy of the household continues in the following couplet. The epic force of his sword (*ferrum*) forcefully presses down upon the elegiac bed (*torum*).

¹⁸⁸ I do not have enough space for a full formal analysis, but I note here the sexual innuendo of this couplet. Tarquin is armed with more than his sword. He penetrates Lucretia's bedroom to seize her chastity by raping her. This emphasizes the masculine character of *vis* that is overwhelmingly destructive throughout the book.

Speech, or rather silence, is the means by which the speaker most powerfully depicts Tarquin's oppressive force and Lucretia's powerlessness. As for Callisto and Lara, silence signifies helplessness, a person stripped of power and autonomy. As noted above, Tarquin boldly vocalizes his presence as he empowers himself with his sword. Overcome by his force, Lucretia cannot speak:

illa nihil: neque enim vocem viresque loquendi
aut aliquid toto pectore mentis habet,
sed tremit, ut quondam stabulis deprensa relictis
parva sub infesto cum iacet agna lupo.
quid faciat? pugnet? vincetur femina pugnans.
clamet? at in dextra, qui vetat, ensis erat.
effugiat? positus urgentur pectora palmis,
tunc primum externa pectora tacta manu. (797-804)

Nothing from her, for she has no voice, no power to speak and no thought in all her heart. But she trembles, as sometimes a little lamb that has strayed from the fold and been seized trembles as it lies under a savage wolf. What is she to do? Fight? If a woman fights she'll be overpowered. Cry out? But in his right hand the sword was there to stop that. Run away? Her breasts are forced down by the pressure of his hands—breasts then for the first time touched by the hand of a stranger.

In line 796, Tarquin uses the verb *loquor* to identify himself. In the following line, the speaker states that Lucretia lacks a voice and the power to speak. The juxtaposition of speech and silence emphasizes the oppressive effect of Tarquin overcoming Lucretia. His speech signifies his strength, while Lucretia's inability to speak manifests her powerlessness. The syntax of this line, with the alliterative placement of *vocem viresque*, visually represents the association between power and speech.

The following lines elaborate upon Lucretia's mental strife. Not only does she lose her speech but, in her comparison to a fearful lamb facing a wolf, she is reduced to an animal. The metaphor evokes the depiction of the Sabine women in the *Ars Amatoria* hunted down in the

theater, Daphne fleeing Apollo, and other vulnerable rape victims attacked by men in the poetry of Ovid. It also evokes Callisto: though Lucretia is not transformed into an animal, she too loses any ability to speak or defend herself. Indeed, she has no escape. The speaker narrates her desperate thoughts: fighting him will be vain, shouting will be silenced, flight is impossible because his strength is superior. Lucretia's helplessness underscores the brutality of his sexual violence.¹⁸⁹

The description of events after Lucretia's rape offers the most significant difference in the narratives of Livy and Ovid. The Ovidian narrator focuses on the manner in which Tarquin's force destroys Lucretia. As with Callisto and Lara, rape robs Lucretia of her identity. Unable to bear this loss of self, she commits suicide. Livy's Lucretia, on the other hand, commits suicide out of civic duty. Notably, she gains a voice only after the rape. Previously silent, she articulates the trauma that she has just endured, but from a masculine perspective. First, she details her shame in relation to her male kin. The dishonor she has endured is a dishonor specifically to Collatinus' bed. Thus Tarquin's actions are a disgrace to Collatinus' name as well as Lucretia's. She goes on to make her rape a public crime that warrants revenge:

'quid enim salvi est mulieri amissa pudicitia? Vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in lecto sunt tuo; ceterum corpus est tantum violatum, animus insons; mors testis erit. Sed date dexteras fidemque haud impune adultero fore. Sex. est Tarquinius qui hostis pro hospite priore nocte vi armatus mihi sibique, si vos viri estis, pestiferum hinc abstulit gaudium' (1.58).

What can be well with a woman when she has lost her honor? The traces of a strange man, Collatinus, are in your bed. Yet only my body has been violated, my mind is innocent; death will be my witness. But pledge your right hands and your words that the adulterer will not go unpunished. It is Sextus Tarquin who last night returned hostility for hospitality, and brought ruin on me and on himself—if you are men—when armed with force he worked his pleasure with me.

¹⁸⁹ While Ovid's Tarquin is consistently calculating and cruel, Livy's Tarquin acts like an elegiac lover in his first encounter with Lucretia, trying to win her with sweet words. Ovid's account in comparison, emphasizes Tarquin's inescapable force and strength and removes any comic, or lighter, elements that might be present in an elegiac depiction of Tarquin.

Lucretia's speech challenges her male kin: if they are proper Roman citizen men, they are duty-bound to punish the illegitimate Etruscan tyrant Tarquin. Then, with her suicide, she transforms her rape from a personal trauma to a call to action.¹⁹⁰ Lucretia removes herself, leaving the men with the responsibility for righting the imbalance in power created by Tarquin's violence. She reduces herself to a symbolic model for Roman women: she refuses the pardon of her male kin on the grounds that she will not allow her violated, forcibly polluted unchaste body to serve as an example for other women: "ego me etsi peccato absolvo, supplicio non libero; nec ulla deinde inpudica Lucretiae exemplo vivet" ("For my own part, though I acquit myself of the sin, I do not absolve myself from punishment; nor in time to come will ever an unchaste woman live through the example of Lucretia," 1.58.10-11). Brutus and the Roman men take their cue from Lucretia, making her a symbol around which they rally to ignite a revolution, just as she had implicitly sought in her request for revenge.

The post-trauma mental state of the *Fasti*'s Lucretia is markedly different. She does not make herself a public symbol.¹⁹¹ Whereas before her *pudicitia* was visible, as if radiating off her, now, when her male relatives approach, they first see the physical manifestations of her grief (813-818). She sits silently and cries, hiding her face in her garment. Her tears, which were once *pudicae*, are now an expression of her shame (*illa diu reticet pudibundaque celat amictu / ora: fluunt lacrimae more perennis aquae*, "For a long time she is silent, and full of shame hides

¹⁹⁰ Chiu (2016: 53) points out that Livy's Lucretia is acutely aware of her personal agency in crafting her reputation: she calls for a particular audience, delivers a grand speech, and makes her suicide the irrevocable mark of her exemplary chastity. Matthes (2000: 35) also suggests that Livy's Lucretia understands how her sexual violation will be understood and thus orchestrates her death in such a way to ensure that her violation is interpreted that way she wants. Matthes states, "What women symbolize is more important than what they are; their *seeming* replaces their *being*. Hence, Lucretia kills herself so that she will be perceived as innocent."

¹⁹¹ Newlands (1995: 151-153).

her face with her robe. Her tears flow like a never-ending stream,” 819-820). But it is her sudden inability to speak—as opposed to her loquaciousness in Livy—that illustrates the trauma she has suffered. While before her rape Lucretia eloquently spoke her mind, now, speech is nearly impossible:

ter conata loqui ter destitit, ausaque quarto
 non oculos ideo sustulit illa suos.
 ‘hoc quoque Tarquinio debebimus? eloquar,’ inquit,
 ‘eloquar infelix dedecus ipsa meum?’
 quaeque potest, narrat. restabant ultima: flevit,
 matronales erubuere genae. (823-828)

Three times she tried to speak, three times she stopped.
 She summoned her courage a fourth time, but even so
 she did not raise her eyes. ‘Shall we owe this too to
 Tarquinius?’ she says. ‘Shall I speak it aloud—myself,
 unhappy woman, speak aloud my own disgrace?’
 What she can, she tells. The last part stayed untold.
 She wept, and the cheeks of a married lady blushed.

The spondaic meter of line 823 underscores Lucretia’s struggle to speak. The *vires loquendi* of which Tarquin robbed her have not returned. Lucretia manifests the pain and shame of speaking: to narrate her crime is a further suffering caused by Tarquin. To speak of the crime is to relive it, but it also means announcing and accepting the altered sexual status of which she is ashamed. She does not want to announce publicly how her body has been disgraced. The pain of vocalizing her disgrace is captured in the repetition of the rhetorical *eloquar*. Her blushing cheeks also betray her shame and embarrassment. The adjective *matronales* draws attention to the precise status and identity that has been violated.¹⁹²

¹⁹² Both Newlands (1995) and Feldherr (2010) suggest that the adjective *matronales* is perhaps an Ovidian suggestion that Lucretia was pregnant. For Feldherr, the possibility that Lucretia is pregnant offers another connection to Philomela. Robinson (2011), on the other hand, suggests that the adjective underscores Lucretia’s elegiac qualities. Chiu (2016: 59) convincingly argues that after the rape, Lucretia is described as a *matrona*, rather than the beautiful elegiac woman. She is de-eroticized, compared to a grieving mother, and called a woman of masculine courage (*animi matrona virilis* 847). Lucretia is transformed by the violation: the *puella* is gone.

In comparing Lucretia to Callisto and Lara, the *Fasti* dramatizes the way rape permanently alters her identity. Callisto, a mythological figure, is expelled from her fellow chaste women, physically transformed, and never allowed to purge her body of the impurities that drove her out of Diana's favor. After Lara's tongue is brutally cut out, she is forcibly sent to the Underworld. Her changed name and the mutilation of her body indicate her permanently altered identity. Lucretia, an elite Roman woman, will not be physically metamorphosed, but her silence indicates a distinct change in her character: having endured the violation of her body, Lucretia is no longer a *pudica*. Tarquin not only penetrated Lucretia's body but robbed her of her identity, her self-worth. So traumatic is the change to her body that she cannot bring herself to speak into words the indignity that she suffered. Lucretia, in addition to losing her voice, has lost her innermost self.

Like Livy's Lucretia, the Lucretia of the *Fasti* also refuses the pardon of her male kin but that is all she says before taking her own life: '*quam, 'dixit, 'veniam vos datis, ipsa nego*' ("The pardon you give,' she said, 'I myself refuse,'" 2.830). Ovid's heroine issues no call to action. In omitting the places in which Lucretia makes her body a moral exemplum, the speaker changes the tone and meaning of her story. Livy's Lucretia makes the direct connection between the violation of a woman's chastity and the immediate need for political action. Through the sacrifice of her body, she exemplifies the principle that a woman's violated *pudicitia* is a violation of the Roman male civic body and, in this case, the reason for a revolution. She dies to make herself a symbol of female virtue and courage for the state in posterity. The *Fasti*'s Lucretia, by contrast, finds herself completely isolated after her rape. Tarquin has rendered her helpless. She has no way to overcome her tragedy and she is unable to articulate her feelings or her position. Stripped of voice and agency, she suffers her injustice alone. Her final words,

though brief, are powerful. With *ipsa nego*, Lucretia asserts that she herself refuses to continue to live in her violated body. It is her decision alone to end her life.¹⁹³ The only way to escape the trauma is death. The speaker leaves his readers with the picture of a helpless victim destroyed by male force, rather than a call to arms.

Finally, Tarquin is not the only male who takes advantage of Lucretia's silence. Following her suicide, Brutus takes it upon himself to pull the knife from her body and declare the need for revenge. Unlike Livy's version, in which Lucretia gives the men this directive, this tale shows Brutus conjuring the incentive for revolution on his own. Farcically, the speaker states that Lucretia seemed to move her lifeless eyes to approve Brutus' words (*illa iacens ad verba oculos sine lumina movit, / visaque concussa dicta probare coma*, "The woman lying there moved her sightless eyes at his words, and seemed by her shaken hair to approve what he said," 2.845-46). Newlands (1995: 153) and Feeney (1992: 10-11) argue that this passage shows how men appropriate Lucretia's body as a means for manufacturing a masculine narrative of Roman history: her death is their call to arms. Indeed, in the following line, Lucretia is transformed yet again. Raped by Tarquin, Lucretia was changed from a *nupta* to a *femina* to a *puella*.¹⁹⁴ Now, the men carry her body forth as the body of an *animi matrona virilis* ("a wife with the courage of a man")—that is, their new rallying symbol. With her eternal silence, Lucretia's body can become whatever the men in power want it to be.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ See also Chiu (2016: 60) who states similarly that Lucretia dies for personal reasons: "Modesty even in death is Lucretia's immediate concern, not any desire to shape her public reputation postmortem, much less a wish to be an example to others."

¹⁹⁴ I must note again that after Lucretia speaks, the speaker describes her with the adjective *matronales* (see above).

¹⁹⁵ See also Chiu (2016: 61): "This version of the narrative suggests that while some become exemplars, others have exemplarity thrust upon them."

By foregrounding and highlighting the experience of the silenced, victimized female through three consecutive rapes, the speaker of Book 2 demonstrates the central role a woman's body plays in Roman foundations and showcases her utter lack of agency to control that body against the whims of a powerful man. The Greek story of Callisto dramatizes the loss of identity experienced by a rape victim, that is, the terrifying estrangement from one's body that follows such an assault and the inability to regain the sense of self that was forcefully snatched away. The story of Lara shows how men use force to silence women in order to maintain their power to obtain their own will and satisfy their desires. Lara's suffering leads to the establishment of a Roman institution, the Lares. Her tale illustrates that Roman political foundations were built on gendered violence and violation. The story of Lucretia combines all these elements. A woman, raped by her kinsman, loses her sense of self. Not only can she not verbalize the frightening and shameful damage to her body, but she cannot live with it. She chooses to kill herself rather than live in a violated body. She is silenced by the act of Sextus Tarquin, but Brutus and the Roman leaders take advantage of her silence to their own ends. They transform her lifeless body into an emblem of the state and the civil liberties of Roman citizens. In underscoring Lucretia's victimization, the *Fasti* underscores not only the violence that underlies a number of Roman foundations, but the way Roman history entails a redescription of events that silences various voices and perspectives.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁶ Chiu (2016: 62) suggests that the tale of Lucretia is one of numerous tales in the *Fasti* that tackle the concept of Roman identity. While authors like Livy posit the exemplary Lucretia (and others) as unifying, defining, and prescriptive models of being Roman, Ovid "fractures that approach into other possibilities: he offers alternate approaches and perspectives that expose exemplars' flexibility and also something of the artifice in their creation."

III. Conclusion

The *Fasti*, from its beginning, thematically displays conflicting views on Roman culture and religion by juxtaposing the traditional origins of ritual with various new imperial commemorative dates. The women of Book 2, their experiences and points of view, offer new ways of both viewing the past but also of viewing the tension between past and present and the force entailed in the redescription of traditions. They display a community that stands in opposition to masculine *vis*. Each woman represents a viewpoint or a resolve that contests male desire, a potential counter-narrative that remains to be told. Their voices, however, are forcefully suppressed by powerful men. By highlighting the victimization of women as part of the pursuit of male desire, the poem underscores the gendered violence underlying a number of Roman political and religious traditions. But further, by emphasizing the destructiveness of masculine *vis* and *arma*, the poem also interrogates the means by which cultural narratives are created. Book 2 encourages readers to consider what voices are authoritative and who is able to create cultural and ritual narrative, as well as to ask which voices are silenced, and in what way, in order to produce a dominant ideology. The disparity between the empowered and the powerless is enhanced through Ovidian elegiac style. The elegiac women are repeatedly contrasted with, and in the case of Lucretia, are conquered by, epic *arma*. The generic dissonance between the genders underscores the distance between perspectives and further highlights the violent force entailed by such redescription. *Fasti* 2 challenges Roman conceptions of power and authority by taking foundation stories and highlighting the ways in which women are victimized and erased from the narratives by male force.

CHAPTER 4: RHEA SILVIA, THE SABINE WOMEN, AND ANNA PERENNA: FEMALE SPEECH AND AUTHORITY IN *FASTI* 3

Introduction

Fasti Book 2 offers female perspectives that reveal violence beneath a number of state traditions and institutions. These voices, however, are suppressed by dominant masculine desires. Book 3 displays a competition between male and female voices, as characters of both sexes assert authority in the creation of Roman traditions. Throughout the book the speaker underlines a distinct difference between the men and women. The women are productive supporters of the state and their festivals serve important beneficial functions: Rhea Silvia and the Sabine women are essential for the growth of the state, the Sabine women bring peace and stability by ending the Sabine war, and Anna Perenna's festival is one of joviality and feasting, celebrating free speech and social equality. Notably, two prominent ritual festivals (of five), and the two longest narratives in the book, are celebrated by women: the Matronalia, feast of Anna Perenna.

By contrast, the men of Book 3 often cause disorder and discord. The book, dedicated to Mars, focuses in part on Mars' legacy to Rome, repeatedly emphasizing the city's militaristic foundations and the principate's patrilineal ancestry, from Mars to Romulus and from Numa to Caesar and Augustus. The themes of *Roma* and *arma* are more prominently intertwined with *arae* here than in any other book (e.g., two depictions of Augustus, first as Pontifex Maximus and then as the avenger of Caesar).¹⁹⁷ The use of *arma*, however, is destructive, causes disorder,

¹⁹⁷ Consider also the ritual of the Salii on March 1st in which Numa worships at an *ara* to gain Roman *arma*.

and threatens to suppress other narratives. Moreover, the founders—Mars, Romulus, Aeneas, and even Numa—are depicted as ineffective leaders. Most significantly, in Mars' month, the god who gained renewed prominence under the reign of Augustus is portrayed as impetuous, ignorant, and foolish. Mars first rapes Rhea Silvia, then initiates the Sabine war. Next, acting as a foolish lover in the festival of Anna Perenna, he is duped by Anna and Minerva, and finally, by the end of the book, is replaced in his own festival, the *Tubilustrium*, by Minerva. But Mars is not the only chaotic male leader in the book. Frequently men inflict force, while women are left to manage the consequences of their men's actions, endeavoring, when possible, to resolve them. In an act of impetuous *amor*, Mars violates Rhea Silvia; Romulus, with the aid of Mars, initiates war and endangers the Sabine women; Theseus and Bacchus both abandon Ariadne; Aeneas endangers Anna Perenna. But in each of these tales, the Ovidian speaker highlights the productive role that women play in the foundation of state. Their community-making choices stand out in strong relief against the disorder caused by men. Each woman articulates her situation and relies upon her own ingenuity or bravery to resolve the chaos inflicted upon her. In a month that honors Mars as the deity responsible for the acquisition and cultivation of Rome, Ovid pointedly highlights the role of women in forming the Roman state.

In this chapter, I will focus on the representation of women in Book 3, analyzing their words, actions, and their role in Roman ritual. Comparing women's actions and words to those of the male characters in the same episodes, I will argue that the month of Mars, rather than honoring a prominent god of the *pater patriae*, highlights the essential role of women in the state. As in Book 2, men's and women's voices and perspectives conflict. Ovid repeatedly shows men's attempts to control women and historical narratives: Mars attempts to assert his perspective over the tales of Rhea Silvia and the Sabine women; Bacchus rewrites Ariadne's tale; and the

imperial commemoration of the assassination of Caesar threatens the free speech of the festival of Anna Perenna. But in each of the tales, it is the men who sow the seeds of violence and disorder and the women who maintain stability and control. Men's efforts to suppress women's voices underscore the disparity in gendered power dynamics and demonstrate the way in which cultural narratives are appropriated by the more powerful authority. In Book 3, however, women exert some control over Roman cultural narratives and make a place for themselves in ritual with their speech.

Rhea Silvia

The speaker begins the third book with an address to Mars. He asks the god to put down his spear and shield, let loose his hair, and find something to do unarmed:

Bellice, depositis clipeo paulisper et hasta,
Mars, ades et nitidias casside solve comas.
fortisan ipse roges, quid sit cum Marte poetae:
a te, qui canitur, nomina mensis habet.
ipse vides manibus peragi fera bella Minervae:
num minus ingenuis artibus illa vacat?
Palladis exemplo ponendae tempora sume
cuspidis: invenies et quod inermis agas. (3.1-8)

Warlike Mars, put aside for a while your shield and your spear. Be present, and release your shining hair from the helmet. Perhaps you may do the asking: what has a poet to do with Mars? The month that's being sung has its name from you. You see yourself that fierce wars are carried out by Minerva's hands; surely she has no less time to devote to the liberal arts? Follow Pallas' example, take times to put your lance aside. You'll find something to do unarmed, as well.

With this proem, he implies that Mars' *arma* are unfitting for the elegiac meter of the *Fasti* and the topics of the Roman calendar.¹⁹⁸ It appears that the book will not celebrate the warrior god,

¹⁹⁸ Hinds (1992a: 89-90) explicates the generic reading of this opening proem. The word *bellice* strikes a threatening epic, unelegiac tone that is at odds with both the elegiac meter and the opening programmatic statement of the poem which promises to discuss *ara* not *arma*. But the poet, Hinds states, offers a simple solution by asking the martial god to disarm and take up artistic pursuits. With the tale of Rhea Silvia, the poet finds a way to incorporate Mars into his elegy, distancing his poem from the epic nature

but rather a Mars who is more like Minerva, with a variety of interests, perhaps even an interest in poetry (5-6).¹⁹⁹ But in fact, the book does not celebrate Mars at all. Mars, particularly in his association with masculine Roman values of warfare, revenge, and strength, is undermined throughout the book by his interactions with women.

The first action of the *inermis* god is the foundational rape of Rhea Silvia, who becomes pregnant with the famous twins. Like other versions of the tale (e.g., Ennius, Livy), the Ovidian speaker asserts the positive result of the rape. He even has Silvia herself articulate the greatness that will come from her womb (30-33). But as with the rape tales of Book 2, the speaker highlights the experience of the woman victimized by a deity. In the production of Rome's founders, Mars has only a brief and violent role. The speaker instead focuses on Rhea Silvia before, during, and after the rape and showcases her as primarily responsible for the twins. I will first examine Rhea Silvia's tale in the *Fasti* in comparison with the versions of Livy and Ennius in order to elucidate Ovid's novel, full portrayal of her. Then I will analyze her role within the text and delineate the beginning of a pattern in Book 3 in which women play salvific roles in Roman foundations.

A comparison of the stories of Rhea Silvia/Ilia in Livy and Ovid not only demonstrates the different representation of the experiences of women, as told by each author, but also reveals the dissimilar objectives for which the authors feature the founding women of Rome. Livy's Ilia

of the god and also from the epic genre of Ennius. Nevertheless, the martial nature of the god does return in the Matronalia. I suggest that though the god may physically disarm, he does not forsake his violent nature. The poet presents his tale in such a way that elegiac women are brought to the forefront and their presence further underscores the problematic actions of epic men and gods.

¹⁹⁹ Barchiesi (1997: 62) points out that the disarming of Mars is already familiar from Tibullus 2.5.51-54:
te quoque iam video, Marti placitura sacerdos,
Ilia, Vestales deseruisse focus
concubitusque tuos furtim vittasques iacentes
et cupidi ad ripas arma relictæ dei.

does not speak at all: she is mentioned solely for her role as the fitting mother/producer of Rome's founder, Romulus. She is of regal blood, the daughter of Numitor, religious, dutiful, chaste, and acutely aware of the importance of her *pudicitia*. Livy states that she was a Vestal Virgin who became pregnant by an unknown man whom *she* claimed was Mars. In his opinion, either Silvia is correct or she invented the story of divine rape so that she would not be punished for her lost chastity, a crime punishable by death (1.4.2-3). At the time of Ilia's story, the cult of Vesta, of utmost importance to the safety of the Roman state, was not yet established. To rape a Vestal was a criminal and shameful act that endangered the state and called for the death of the priestess. Livy retroactively characterizes Ilia as a Vestal likely to explain to his audience the severity of her rape.²⁰⁰ Had Ilia been raped by anyone other than a god, she would have been put to death to cleanse the city of her sin. Indeed, Livy refers to her pregnancy as her *culpa*. He makes it clear that he believes she should have been ashamed of her pregnancy had Mars not been the father and had her sons not become essential to the future of Rome: "...seu ita rata, seu quia deus auctor culpa honestior erat, Martem incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat" ("She named Mars as the father of her doubtful offspring, whether actually believing so, or because it seemed less wrong if a god were the author of her fault," 1.4.2).²⁰¹ Ilia bears the burden of her sexual

²⁰⁰ On Livy's characterization of Rhea Silvia see Miles (1995: 141-42).

²⁰¹ This sentence is characteristic of Livy's presentation of mythical information. He gives two options for the tale, a divine explanation and a human one, and shows preference for neither. Regardless of which version he might prefer, what is clear in this passage is that the loss of one's *pudicitia* is a shame upon the woman. See also Miles (1995) and Welch (2012) who both point out that Livy leaves the parentage of the twins uncertain, stating that they were *incertae stirpis* (1.4.2). Miles argues that Romulus' divine parentage fits neatly with other supernatural elements in his story. More importantly, though, Mars as father is the only way to legitimize the pregnancy of a Vestal Virgin and also "explains and justifies Rome's unique success in war" (140).

violation.²⁰² Mars, as a deity, will not face any retribution for raping the young girl and instead will be lauded as the divine father of Rome. Livy gives no attention to Ilia's personal experience: her rape is treated by a single ablative absolute: *vi compressa Vestalis* (1.4.2). She is imprisoned after the birth of the twins, and the rest of the story focuses on Romulus and Remus, who wreak vengeance upon Amulius and then restore the proper king.²⁰³ Ilia, in Livy's account, is merely a vessel. Her rape and her body are necessary for the production of the founders of Rome. Livy adds the important warning that had she not been impregnated by a deity, she would have been condemned for the shameful violation of her chastity. Impregnated by Mars, however, she plays an essential role in the foundation narrative by which Romans claim Mars as their ancestor.²⁰⁴ Her body aids the creation of the male civic body.

Ovid's tale in the *Fasti* offers a more subjective description of Rhea Silvia which accomplishes two narrative objectives. First, the poem aligns this rape with the pattern in Book 2, in which male deities abuse their *vis* by sexually violating women, by highlighting simultaneously Mars' violence and Silvia's victimization. As in the tales of Lara and Lucretia, the rape of a chaste woman catalyzes a revolution and subsequent Roman foundation. In this tale, Amulius is

²⁰² As Hallett (2012: 379) states, Livy depicts Silvia as "desperate to render her pregnancy respectable, without help from men in her family." Thus, Silvia's tale demonstrates the burden placed upon women to maintain their *pudicitia* especially when "women, even those from elite families, cannot rely on supportive male kin for exoneration when forced to accede to the sexual demands of physically and socially powerful men."

²⁰³ Livy also disparages Larentia and her role in nursing the twins. First, he attributes her role to the possibility of a she-wolf; as an alternative, he suggests that Larentia herself was likely called a "she-wolf" for her promiscuous behavior in the town (Livy 1.4.7).

²⁰⁴ Livy's account of Ilia, as with Lucretia, overlooks the essential role of women in the reproduction of the state and focuses on men as active agents. Women, as Tara Welch (2012, 2015) has argued, are often morally ambiguous characters who have the potential to bring shame upon men either by being unchaste, or, in the case of Rhea Silvia or Tarpeia, by allowing a possible foreigner into the city through their sexual vulnerability. Rome's foundations, in Livy's narrative, require women, but with the important condition that women's bodies must be controlled by Roman men.

overthrown by Romulus and Remus seeking vengeance for their mother. Numitor is re-instated as king and Romulus and Remus found a new city, Rome. Second, the episode highlights Silvia's speech and thereby pointedly articulates her particular role in the foundation of Rome. As a result, the story leaves readers both with a negative initial characterization of Mars and with an example of the reproductive potential of woman's role in the state.

The story offers the first depiction of Mars in his month. He is not a warrior but *inermis*, sitting at leisure with his hair let loose (1-2). When the speaker instructs him to find an unarmed pursuit, his first action is to rape Rhea Silvia. He sees her sleeping, is impressed by her beauty, and impulsively impregnates the defenseless woman. The scene is depicted much like an elegiac encounter, with Mars as a lustful *amator*. Rhea Silvia lies on the river bank with her dress loosened and composes her ruffled hair, the object of male sexual gaze and desire. Mars, overpowered by the sight of her, becomes prisoner to his desire and approaches the sleeping girl, much as the *amator* of Propertius 1.3 does to his beloved Cynthia.²⁰⁵

The similarities between this scene and the violent rapes of Book 2 strongly color the actions of Mars and emphasize that he is not simply an *amator* but a predator.²⁰⁶ Like Lucretia in Book 2, Rhea Silvia is described with gentle elegiac adjectives that underscore her vulnerability. In lines 19-22, Silvia's little eyes (*ocellis*) are conquered by sweet (*blanda*) sleep, and her languid (*languida*) hand falls from her face. She sits in a *locus amoenus*: she takes a path that goes down a gently sloping bank (*ventum erat ad molli declivem tramite ripam*, "She had come to a sloping bank, with an easy way down," 13), and sits on the ground below shady

²⁰⁵ See Propertius 1.3.1-12.

²⁰⁶ As discussed in Chapter Two, Ovid's own amatory verse, both the *Amores* and the *Ars Amatoria*, is filled with this language that sexualizes the female body and underscores women's vulnerability to the male gaze.

willows that resound with the songs of birds and near a stream whose gentle murmur induces sleep (17-18). As in a number of stories in the *Metamorphoses*, a young woman in such a setting is often surprised by the sudden, violent rape or attack of a god (e.g., Daphne, Io, Syrinx, Callisto, Proserpina, Pomona). Indeed, Mars does just that. His actions are compressed into a single line: *Mars videt hanc visamque cupit potiturque cupita* (“Mars sees her, desires what he’s seen, and takes possession of what he’s desired,” 3.21).²⁰⁷ His sudden rape of Silvia echoes Jupiter’s rape of Callisto and Mercury’s attack upon Lara, both of which, as I argued in Chapter Three, caused irreparable destruction to the women. His lust and uncontrollable need to possess what he lusts after are strikingly similar to both Jupiter’s pursuit of Juturna (2.585-596) and Sextus Tarquin’s desire for Lucretia (2.761-780). In stating that Mars concealed his sexual acts, the speaker suggests deceptiveness—similar again to Sextus and Jupiter: *et sua divina furta fefellit ope* (“and with his divine power he concealed his stealthy deeds,” 22). Mars, initially depicted as the passionate elegiac lover, here acts as another deity unable to control his desires and abusing his *vis* over a vulnerable woman.

Not only does the speaker emphasize the violence of Mars through allusions to other rapists, but he also draws attention to the potentially harmful effects of the rape for Rhea Silvia after her sexual violation. After Silvia gives birth, the speaker personifies Vesta as he describes the reaction of the goddess’ image and of her altar to Silvia, a Vestal Virgin, giving birth:

Silvia fit mater. Vestae simulacra feruntur
virgineas oculis opposuisse manus;
ara deae certe tremuit pariente ministra,
et subiit cineres territa flamma suos. (3.45-48)

Silvia becomes a mother. The images of Vesta are said to have

²⁰⁷ These lines in particular recall Apollo’s desire for Daphne in the *Metamorphoses*: *Phoebus amat visaeque cupit conubia Daphnes* (1.490). On the swift description of Mars’ actions and comparisons with similar rape scenes in Ovid’s poetry see Ursini (vv. 21-22). See also Merli (2000: 37-38) and Murgatroyd (2005: 70).

put their virginal hands before their eyes. Certainly the goddess's altar shook as her priestess was giving birth, and its flame sank in terror beneath its own ashes.

This dramatic description follows Rhea Silvia's speech, which (as I will discuss below) offers a premonition of the future of her children that is cautious but celebratory. Directly after, however, Vesta reacts fearfully to the childbirth, and Silvia disappears from the tale, as the focus shifts to the fate of her twins. The last impression of her is ambiguous. The shame of the Vestals, covering their eyes and shuddering as the twins are born, manifests the vulnerable position Rhea Silvia is put in by bearing this burden.²⁰⁸ The incompatibility of motherhood with the Vestals is explicitly distinguished in the construction of line 45 with *mater* and *Vestae* placed in juxtaposition. The scene recalls Callisto's pregnancy and subsequent expulsion from the worship of Diana in *Fasti* 2. Just as Callisto was cast out of her group of female companions, so too will Rhea Silvia be expelled from service as a Vestal. The fear and trembling of the temple represent the fear of Rhea Silvia, first raped and impregnated by a deity, then left pregnant, alienated from her companions, and facing the punishment of her uncle Amulius.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ See Ursini vv.45-46. These lines invite comparison with *Am.* 3.6.73-78 in which Ilia, distraught after giving birth, responds to the sexual approaches of the Anio with a mournful cry about her state of disgrace:

 'o utinam mea lecta forent patrioque sepulcro
 condita, cum poterant virginis ossa legi!
cur, modo Vestalis, taedas invitor ad ullas
 turpis et Iliacis infitianda focus?
quid moror et digitis designor adultera vulgi?
 desint famosus quae notet ora pudor!

²⁰⁹ Nita Krevans (1993) argues that Silvia's speech, recalling her dream, follows a standard pattern in ancient literature of the "pregnancy dream" in which a woman may articulate anxiety that foreshadows the difficulties she will face but that ultimately the pregnancy produces a positive outcome: in this case, the founders of Rome. She compares Ennius and Ovid's accounts to that of Dido and Vergil and suggests that while the first two dreams forecast new life, Dido's dream forecasts death and consequently denies to Dido the role of city-founder (indirectly granted to Ilia by Ennius).

Like Lara, Rhea Silvia is supplanted by her offspring: after giving birth, Silvia fades away and her child becomes the founder of Rome. Such similarities to Lara color the end of Silvia's tale with an equal discordance of tone between the celebration of a Roman foundation and mourning for a violated woman. Livy suggests that Mars' parentage eliminates the crime, exonerating both Silvia and Mars and doing away with any shame or misdeed—abuse of male power, woman's loss of *pudicitia*—in the parentage of Romulus and Remus. In contrast, by concluding with Rhea Silvia's vulnerability, the *Fasti* invites readers to be unsettled by the association of reproduction and violence. The poem depicts Rhea Silvia as playing an essential role in the foundation of Rome, but suffering injury through violation by Rome's primary male deity.

The *Fasti*'s account of Rhea Silvia incorporates Ennius' by including Silvia's dream (dreamt while violated by Mars). But innovations to the Ennian tale reveal the particular objectives of Ovid's representation of Silvia and Mars: to display Silvia's agency against Mars' disorder.²¹⁰ In her recollection of the dream, the *Fasti*'s Silvia shows composure and wisdom against the god's rash force. While Ennius' Ilia dreams of the god sweeping her away, Ovid's Silvia has a symbolic premonition of what is to come for the twin boys growing inside her. Ennius stresses Ilia's experience of her rape.²¹¹ She remembers the shape of a man, the landscape, wandering around with uncertain steps:

²¹⁰ Barchiesi (1997: 64) asserts that Ovid, while inheriting the Ennian epic version of the story, also plays with its generic conventions. He argues that Ovid tells the story in such a way that it amounts to nothing more than the open-air rape of a virgin, made scarcely redeemable by her dream. As opposed to Ennius' delicate, dreamy account Ilia that likens her to Nausicaa, Ovid "shows that if this myth is required reading...the reader must also accept its transgressive and anti-epic nature." On further comparisons between Ennius and Ovid, see Ursini (vv. 27-38) who also compares her monologue to Ariadne in Book 3.

²¹¹ Catherine Connors (1994: 108) argues that Ennius, by having Ilia articulate her experience through a dream, allows his reader insight into her personal experience of the rape. On the other hand, Connors argues that Ovid in his depiction of the dream cuts off Silvia's point of view and demonstrates "only her

Nam me visus homo pulcher per amoena salicta
et ripas raptare locosque novos: ita sola
postilla germana soror, errare videbar
tardaque vestigare et quaerere te, neque posse
corde capessere: semita nulla pedem stabilibat. (*Annales* 1.36-40)

For a beautiful man seemed to snatch me away through
pleasant willow-groves and river banks and strange places:
so, my sister, after that I seemed to wander alone, and slow-
footed to track you and search for you, but I was unable to
lay hold of you in my heart: no path provided sure footing.

Ilia then sees her father before her eyes who offers a brief, prophetic vision. He attempts to calm
his daughter by assuring her that, though she will suffer some difficult times, fortune will rise
from the Tiber:

exin compellare pater me voce videtur
his verbis: 'O gnata, tibi sunt ante gerendae
aerumnae, post ex fluvio fortuna resistet.' (*Annales* 1.41-43)

Then father with his great voice seemed to address me with
these words: 'O child, first hardships must be endured by you,
but after that your fortune will rise up from a river.'

While Ennius' tale highlights Ilia's traumatic experience of the assault, the *Fasti*, by contrast, emphasizes the role that Rhea Silvia, her body in particular, will play in the foundation of Rome. Silvia prays that what she sees will be useful and lucky: "utile sit faustumque, precor, quod imagine somni / vidimus. an somno clarius illud erat?" ("I pray it may be propitious and fortunate, what I saw in the vision of sleep. Or was that too vivid for sleep?" 27-28).²¹² She

ignorance of what happened to her, while the audience can easily interpret the dream's symbolism." I argue, contra, that while Ovid may not depict Silvia's experience of the rape as Ennius does, he depicts her experience of the burden of pregnancy, and in doing so dramatizes the importance of her role in creating the Roman race while navigating the difficulties of the violence inflicted upon her body. See also Merli (2000: 49 n. 22) who argues that violence does occur during the dream and Silvia's questioning of the clarity of her dream in line 28 (*an somno clarius illud erat?*) indicates the real violence she suffered while sleeping.

forecasts the danger coming to her twins from their uncle Amulius as well as their respective fates, namely that the fame of one will reach much farther than the other:

‘ignibus Iliacis aderam, cum lapsa capillis
decidit ante sacros lanea vitta focos.
inde duae pariter, visu mirabile, palmae
surgunt: ex illis altera maior erat,
et gravibus ramis totum protexerat orbem
contigeratque sua sidera summa coma.
ecce meus ferrum patruus molitur in illas:
terreor admonitu, corque timore micat.
Martia picus avis gemino pro stipite pugnant
et lupa: tuta per hos utraque palma fuit.’ (3.29-38)

‘I pray it may be propitious and fortunate, what I saw in the vision of sleep. Or was that too vivid for sleep? I was on duty at the Ilian fires, when the woolen headband slipped from my hair and fell down in front of the sacred hearth. From there, amazing to behold, two palm trees rise up together. One of them was bigger, and with its heavy branches had covered the whole world, and with its foliage had touched the highest stars. Look! My uncle wields a blade against them. I am terrified at the recollection, my heart quivers in fear. A woodpecker, bird of Mars, and a she-wolf fight for the twin trunks. By their doing both palm trees were safe.’

While Mars is rash and acts on impulse, Rhea Silvia, though initially confused and unsure what has happened to her, displays wisdom and caution. She has been the victim of assault. Her pregnancy, though it portends good things for Rome, could bring her terrible shame and dishonor.²¹³ Yet she expresses concern not for herself, as in Ennius’ version, but rather for her sons. Notably, as well, it is *her* speech that offers a prediction of the Roman future that will come from her offspring. In Book 1, as discussed in Chapter Two, Carmentis, the poem’s first female voice,

²¹² This line lightly plays with the Ennius. In Ennius’ version, Ilia is utterly bewildered and unable to recall what happened to her. Here Ovid has her call attention to the vividness of the dream as she predicts the exact future of Rome rather than recalling hazy events.

²¹³ See Ursini vv. 29-30 who notes that the headband is a symbol of Vesta, of the state and of Silvia’s priestess duties; but here, after her rape, she is suddenly robbed of that symbolic status as the fillet falls to the ground.

drives Evander to found a new community. As she spurs on her son, she proclaims the future greatness of Rome. Her prophetic voice asserts her authority. Similarly, here, Silvia articulates a prophesy of her sons that readers know to be accurate. The poem thus endows Silvia, like Carmentis, with prophetic authority over a Roman foundation. Ovid's Silvia is neither Ennius' victim of Mars nor Livy's reproductive vessel for the founder of Rome. Rather she is an important, active agent in Rome's foundation.

Ennius' tale gives more focus to Ilia's experience, portraying the violence of her assault and representing her perspective through the dream. The *Fasti*, however, underscores her central importance in this episode. The poem calls attention to Rhea Silvia's role as mother and producer of Rome's founder as it both describes the twins growing inside her (*interea crescente Remo, crescente Quirino,/ caelesti tumidus pondere venter erat*, "Meanwhile, as Remus grew and Quirinus grew, her belly was swollen with a heavenly weight," 41-42) and also details the circumstances of their birth, with little attention given to Romulus' divine parentage (43-46). The passage also articulates the danger that will come to the twins and possibly Silvia herself. In her dream, Silvia's subconscious reveals a concern for the safety and future success of her children and, therefore, implicitly for the future success of Rome. In showcasing the accidental actions of Mars in juxtaposition with the weighty experience of Silvia, the speaker presents, in the opening of the book, a contrast between the role of women and men in the Roman state that will remain a consistent theme throughout the month.

Sabine Women

Following Rhea Silvia, the first day of the month features the Matronalia, a festival celebrating *matronae* and, in particular, two important roles of Roman women as wives and mothers.²¹⁴ The description of this festival offers a second negative characterization of Mars and a second representation of the contrast between the chaotic actions of men and the productive actions of women in Roman foundations. In this particular incident, the *arma* of Romulus and Mars cause disorder, but the women restore peace. As with Rhea Silvia, the *Fasti* emphasizes the women's experience and action in the Sabine war, while downplaying the actions of the men.²¹⁵ I argue here that Mars' description of the Sabine war highlights the agency of the women and acknowledges their importance in forging stability in the Roman state, while also showcasing the way men forcefully attempt to assert their control and authority over these women.

One significant innovation in the *Fasti*'s tale of the Sabine women is that it is told by Mars himself, the first divine narrator in the poem since Book 1.²¹⁶ The speaker addresses Mars and asks him to explain why, when he is fitted to so many "manly" activities, women celebrate

²¹⁴ On the rites of the Matronalia see Dolansky (2011), Lopez (2007), Schultz (2006), Prescendi (2000), Scheid (1992), Frazer (1929), Bömer (1958: 167), Wissowa (1912: 116). For a study on the developing role of the *matrona* in civic life from Rome's origins (the *ordo matronarum*), including the rites of the Matronalia, see Gagé 1963, although several critics contend that the sources of many of his hypotheses on the *matrona* are derived only from historicized myth and thus unsatisfactory (e.g. Momigliano (1963), Dumézil (1995)). Ancient sources on the ritual include: Serv. *Aen.* 8.638, Horace *Odes* 3.8, Plutarch *Rom.* 21, Juvenal 9.51-52, Martial 5.84, Macrobius *Saturn.* 6.4.13.

²¹⁵ Ovid's distinct innovations in the tale of the Sabine women appear most vividly when this tale is contrasted with other accounts, in particular that of Livy, which focus instead on the initiative and actions of the men. In Chapter One I outlined some of the main narrative differences between Livy's version and that of Dionysius, Plutarch, and Cassius Dio, namely that Livy presents reproduction as the singular driving force in the Sabine abduction and subsequent war whereas others assert that Romulus was motivated to form an alliance with neighboring cities in order to augment the power of Rome. In each of these historical accounts, the authors focus on the male actors. Ovid is unique, as I will argue, in focusing on the experience of the women and, in particular, in showcasing their rationale and initiative in ending the war.

²¹⁶ On the diverse narrators in the *Fasti* see Newlands (1995: 51-86) and (2002: 31-40); also J. F. Miller (1992: 11-31), Harries (1989).

the first day of his month: *cum sis officiis, Gravidus, virilibus aptus,/ dic mihi matronae cur tua festa colant* (“Tell me, Gravidus, since you are suited to men’s occupations, why do married ladies keep your festivals?” 169-170). But rather than offer a straightforward explanation for the Matronalia and his relationship to the ritual, Mars tells the story of the Sabine women raped by Roman men, in a forceful attack, in order to produce offspring. The story, according to Mars, offers one reason for the celebration of marriage, childbirth, and the worship of Juno Lucina (his mother) on the first of March:

‘inde diem quae prima meas celebrare Kalendas
Oebaliae matres non leve munus habent,
aut quia committi strictis mucronibus ausae
finierant lacrimis Martia bella suis;
vel quod erat de me feliciter Ilia mater,
rite colunt matres sacra diemque meum.’ (3.229-34)

‘Hence the Oebalian mothers hold it as no light duty to celebrate the day which is first, my Kalends. Either because by daring to risk themselves before drawn sword-points they had put an end with their tears to the war of Mars, or because Ilia was happily a mother by me, mother duly observe the rites and my day.’

But this is only one of several explanations that he offers to explain the women’s ritual and, by the end of his speech, he concedes that it is not the best explanation. Instead, he states, the Matronalia occurs in his month because his mother loves brides:

quid moror et variis onero tua pectora causis?
eminet ante oculos, quod petis, ecce tuos.
mater amat nuptas: matrum me turba frequentat
haec nos praecipue tam pia causa decet. (3.249-252)

‘Why do I linger, and burden your mind with various reasons? See, what you seek stands out before your eyes. My mother loves brides; my mother’s crowd frequents me. This reason, so dutiful, is especially fitting for us.’

As the first Roman brides, the Sabine women thematically align with the celebration of brides and worship of Juno Lucina. Historically, however, the Sabine women were not associated with the Matronalia. In fact, the rape of the Sabine women was part of a different festival, namely the Consualia, which occurred in August (a month that the *Fasti* does not reach).²¹⁷ Fantham also points out the inconsistent chronology of Mars' tale: he claims that the Sabine women founded the temple of Juno on the Esquiline on the day they ended the war, but they were said to have gathered in the temple before the battle as well.²¹⁸ The incorporation of the women into the Matronalia is a distinctly Ovidian innovation. Intriguingly then, as presented by the *Fasti*, the

²¹⁷ See Fantham (2002: 30-31). The relationship between the story of the Sabine women and the Matronalia is a subject of scholarly debate. The earliest primary source to associate the Sabine women with the Matronalia is Ovid's *Fasti*, later followed by Plutarch (*Rom.* 21). Scholars who have argued for connection between these two rely on Ovid's account as evidence of that fact (see Miles 1992, Dolansky 2012, Wissowa 1912). The *Fasti Praenestini* states that the Matronalia honors the foundation of the temple of Juno Lucina: *Iun[o]ni Lucinae Esquiliis, quod eo die aedis ei d[edica]ta est per matronas / quam voverat Albin[i] filia vel uxor, si puerum / [parientem]que ipsa[m] fovisset* (in A. Deggrassi 1963: 121). Festus confirms the account of the *Fasti Praenestini* ("Martias kalendas," p. 131 ed. Lindsay). Miller (1992: 25-26) and Newlands (1995: 68), considering the *variae causae* that Mars offers for the festival, suggest that the final option is the correct one. Miller, trusting in the third option that follows the *Fasti Praenestini*, compares this listing of *aetia* to others in Ovid, e.g. the Agonium, where the third option is also correct. Newlands suggests that Mars himself shows favor to the final option (in particular, when he states just prior to the final *causa*: *quid moror et variis onero tua pectore causis?* 3.249). Mars' multiple tales demonstrate that he is "characterized as slow-witted, a warrior ill at ease in an elegiac poem" and "his treatment of various *causae* thus reflects his gaucherie, his discomfiture with the ambience of an elegiac poem, as well as his desire to appear in a favorable light" (Newlands, 68). Merli (2006: 106-117) makes arguments similar to Miller and Newlands, and questions the authorial intentionality of the passage. She considers the passage in context with similar episodes in the *Fasti* in which divine narrators offer competing causes, e.g. Janus and Flora, and finds that the numerous causes are not intended to challenge the authority or credibility of the divinity but rather to characterize their particular personalities. Merli, however, notes certain ambiguities in the passage, places where it is unclear whether Mars or the narrator is speaking. She considers whether the passage should be read solely as a characterization of Mars, or whether the narrator's interrogation of Mars is a means through which Ovid exposes his own point of view and critique of the Augustan deity. See Ursini (2008: vv.231-252) for a full description of the scholarly debate. For further information on the temple of Juno Lucina and the Matronalia see Dolansky (2011) who argues that the festival was not exclusively for *matronae* but rather was a more inclusive ritual that celebrated the diverse members of the household and had the potential to promote unity. On the legend of the Sabine women and the Consualia see Varro *L.L.* 6.20, Serv. *Aen.* 8.636, Dionys. 2.31, Cic. *Rep.* 2.12.

²¹⁸ Fantham, 31. See also Palmer, Ziolkowski, Muccigrosso, and Dolansky for the history of the temple. Pliny (*NH* 16.235) reports that the temple was dedicated by *matronae* in 375 B.C.E.

war god himself chooses to incorporate the unnecessary tale of rape of the Sabine women and war with the Sabines, typically reserved for the Consualia, into the first ritual celebration of his month. In analyzing the structure and content of Mars' speech, I will show that the god seems to be attempting to control the narrative of his month by introducing a tale in which he has a role and with which he is familiar. He was, as he tells us, involved in the war and he highlights the martial aspects of the story. Instead of asserting his authority over the festival day in this way, Mars undercuts himself in his own narrative. He depicts the women as the primary heroic actors in the tale, while showing himself and Romulus as out of control and unheroic. Although he tries to assert his influence over the Matronalia, he reveals, through his naïve speech, that he has no authority in the women's ritual.

When Mars begins the tale, he is not the *inermis* deity of the opening but is now half-armed: he lays aside his helmet but continues to hold his spear in his right hand (171-72) (Hinds 1992a: 99). I draw attention to this fact because when he begins speaking, Mars claims that he will for the first time promote the pursuits of peace (173-74). Taking up the challenge of the invocation to be versatile like Minerva, he marches into new camps (*gressus in nova castra fero* 174)—though, notably, not abandoning his military jargon. And soon indeed he depicts himself back in his traditional militaristic role, with the tale of the Sabine women. He claims that the Roman men had no wives and the neighboring peoples refused to have Romans as their sons-in-law, not believing they were descended from Mars. Annoyed, Mars commands Romulus to take up arms (197-98). Thus, with his rigid reliance upon *arma*, Mars is responsible for the abduction of the women and the subsequent war. From this point forward, the story depicts men, led by Mars and Romulus, causing disorder with *arma* and force.

To recognize the unique agency that Mars bestows on the women, it is useful to compare the differences between this tale and that of Livy. As with the tale of Lucretia, the comparison between the two accounts highlights the different objectives of each text. In the case of the Sabine women, as with both Lucretia and Rhea Silvia, the *Fasti* shows interest in the female experience, while the historical account focuses on the male actors. Specifically, Ovid endows his Sabine women with speech by which they assert their autonomy as actors within their relationships, becoming agents in the creation of the Roman populace, similar to the way that Rhea Silvia uses her speech to assert her autonomy.

Both accounts state that the Sabine women are abducted because of a lack of wives in the city. Livy emphasizes the importance of wives for producing children (*AUC* 1.9.1). Mars, however, states only that the Romans had neither wives nor fathers-in-law: *nec coniunx illi nec socer ullus erat* ("But the Roman had neither wife nor any father-in-law," 188). In the next line, he explains that the neighboring men rejected the Romans as potential sons-in-law (*generos* 189). For Livy, the Roman men have a problem—no offspring and a dwindling population—for which they must find a practical solution. Mars, however, bypasses the issue of reproduction and frames the story as a conflict between two groups of men related by marriage, framing the battle as a civil war. While Livy shows the women as a necessary means to an end, the *Fasti* presents a conflict of masculine desires and needs, with women trapped in the middle.

Throughout the passage, Mars develops a juxtaposition between the martial actions of the Sabine war and the intended marital outcome of the war, the forging of family and a flourishing Roman race. He shows that the men initiate violence and discord, while the women restore peace and unite the family unit. First, it is Mars' insistence upon arms that incites the abduction of the

women. Angry at the rejection from other cities, he orders his son to take up arms: “indolui ‘pat-
 riamque dedi tibi, Romule, mentem: / tolle preces,’ dixi ‘quod petis arma dabunt’” (“I felt the
 pain and I gave you, Romulus, your father’s mind. ‘Be done with prayers,’ I said, ‘arms will give
 what you seek.’” 3.197-198). In this command, Mars underscores the relationship of arms to the
 foundation of the Roman state and overtly characterizes the abduction of wives as an act of force
 by Rome’s militaristic founders. He endows Romulus with his mind, that is, a warlike mind that
 devalues peace and religion in favor of violence.²¹⁹

As Hinds (1992a: 103) notes, Mars abandons his previous elegiac renunciation of war
 and now embarks on a story of very epic-sounding *arma* in which the military dimension is firm-
 ly stressed. This generic conflict, epic versus elegiac, highlights the schism between the mascu-
 line and feminine realms in the tale. Lines 201-204 again underscore the conflict between the
 war and the intended outcome of the war—family.

intumuere Cures et quos dolor attigit idem:
 tum primum **generis intulit arma socer**
 iamque fere **raptae matrum** quoque nomen habebant,
 tractaque erant longa bella propinqua mora.

‘Cures swelled with rage, and those whom the same pain afflicted.
 That was the first time a father-in-law made war on sons-in-law. And
 now the women who had been more or less abducted were bearing
 also the name of mothers, and the war between neighbours dragged
 on and on.

Line 202 asserts that both the war and its resulting disruption of family (sons-in-law against fa-
 thers-in-law) arose from male actions. The familial terminology, as above in 188-89, evokes

²¹⁹ Livy, on the other hand, gives more agency to Romulus. He describes Romulus’ clever, well-devised
 plan, the strategy of his attack, and his success in persuading the maidens to favor the Romans, depicting
 Romulus more as an assertive, yet aggressive, leader rather than the dutiful son of Mars (*AUC* 1.9).

Rome's own civil wars between Caesar and Pompey.²²⁰ This allusion further underscores the destruction and division suffered by a people in civil conflict and implicitly compares Romulus and the fathers of the abducted women to Pompey and Caesar. Mars, attempts in some ways, to craft an account of the event similar to Livy's. He conceals some violent aspects of the rape by choosing not to describe the actual abduction. He also states that the young women were *fere raptae*, "virtually" or "nearly raped," downplaying the men's violence.²²¹ But Ovid, through the construction of Mars' speech with both militaristic language and descriptors of the women, underscores the manner in which the women are victimized by the men. By placing *raptae* next to *matrum* in line 203, Ovid dramatize the rapidity of the women's transition from stolen virgins to young mothers and depicts their unique position—once stolen from their fathers, they become mothers and thus have allegiance to both parties in the war.

One of the most significant differences in the accounts is the depiction of the women's intercession into the war. In their speech during the battle, Livy's Sabine women assume responsibility and blame for the conflict. Like Lucretia, they show through speech and actions the relationship between the body of a citizen woman and the Roman state. The women's bodies are the medium through which, and upon which, the Roman state is forged. First, according to Livy, the

²²⁰ The poetic tradition of referring to Caesar and Pompey as *gener* and *socer* begins with Catullus (29.24) and is known most famously from *Aeneid* 6.826-31. See Nelis (2012) 22-26, Thomson (1998) 280-81. For reference in Ovid, see Hinds (1992b) 136-37.

²²¹ Livy depicts the actual abduction of the women, which Mars reserves for telling on the day of the Consualia, but he does not depict the women's experience of the abduction. He briefly grants that the women were unhappy, but Romulus and the men easily assuaged them with sweet words (*AUC* 1.9.14-16). For further analysis of the differences between Ovid's version of the tale and that in Livy, Plutarch, and Dionysius see Ursini (2008: 29-32). For *fere*, "virtually, almost, nearly, pretty well," cf., *OLD* p. 685 s.v. *fere*, 2. Most commentators interpret the adverb as "for the most part," cf., Le Bonniec "la plupart" and Schilling "quasi tutte." N.B., While Mars says *fere raptae* here, Hersilia, speaking to the women, addresses them as *pariter raptae*, demonstrating a distinct difference of perspective between the male aggressors and the female victims.

women are forcibly taken by the Romans in order to produce the Roman race (*AUC* 1.9.1-7).

Second, the women end the war by throwing themselves between the Romans and the Sabines.

Livy depicts their actions as sudden and emotional, yet brave. They sacrifice their own bodies for the sake of their male kin, claiming it is better to be dead than without a husband or a father.

Though Roman men perpetrated the rape and caused the war, the Sabine women assume responsibility for the conflict:

Si adfinitatis inter vos, si conubii piget, in nos vertite iras; nos causa belli, nos
volnerum ac caedium viris ac parentibus sumus; melius peribimus quam sine
alteris vestrum viduae aut orbae vivemus (1.13.3).

If you regret the alliance among you, if you regret the marriage-tie, turn your
angers on us: we are the cause of the war, we are the cause of the wounds and
deaths to husbands and parents; it will be better that we die than that we live
without either of you as widows or orphans.

Consequently, when peace is made by means of the women's intervening bodies—the same bodies that gave birth to a new race that unites Sabine and Roman blood—the female body becomes the vehicle through which the Roman state is unified, expanded, and fortified. Additionally, the Sabine women are models of womanly virtue: fertile, loyal to their male kin, dutiful, and self-sacrificing.²²² Because they place the lives of their male kin and children before their own lives, Livy's Sabine women function as exemplars of morality for all Roman women to follow.

The *Fasti* emphasizes the ingenuity and agency of the Sabine women. The women act for themselves, their children, and their families, but do not accept responsibility for the war or

²²² Livy places an inset narrative, the story of Tarpeia, amidst this episode to offer a counterpoint to the Sabine women and further underscore their moral superiority. Tarpeia is not self-sacrificing or faithful to her male kin. Driven by selfish motives, namely the lust for gold, she foolishly allows the Sabines into the Roman walls and endangers the city (*AUC* 1.11.5-9). See also Welch (2012, 2015) and Hallett (2012) on the symbolism of women in Livy's early history. For a different reading of Livy's tale, see R. Brown (1995) who argues that Livy's account emphasizes and develops the role of the Sabine women more than any other and promotes the concept of *concordia* as not only a marital ideal, but a social and political one as well.

offer to sacrifice themselves for their kin. Because of the violent abduction of the Roman men, as Mars explains, the women must contrive a plan to save themselves and their male relatives.²²³

Hersilia addresses the women gathered in the temple of Juno:

“o pariter raptae (quoniam hoc commune tenemus)
non ultra lente possumus esse piae.
stant acies, sed utra di sint pro parte rogandi,
eligite: hinc coniunx, hinc pater arma tenet.
quaerendum est, viduae fieri malitis an orbae:
consilium vobis forte piumque dabo.” (3.207-212)

“Women who were snatched like me, since we have this in common, no longer can we be slow to our duty. There stand the battle lines—but choose which side we should ask the gods to favour! The weapons are held by a husband here, a father there. The question is whether you’d rather be widows or orphans. I shall give you a plan which is brave and dutiful.”

As Angeline Chiu (2016: 103) has noted, Hersilia delivers her speech with rhetorical power as though before a female senate. She articulates the women’s precarious position and singles out their commonality—all were raped and are thus all faced with loyalty divided between husband and father.²²⁴ Finally, she exhorts the women to action amidst the military crisis. While Livy describes the women as helpless victims, willing to stake their lives on behalf of their male kin, Ovid’s Hersilia suggests that the women have a choice: to pray for their husbands or their fa-

²²³ Mars forgoes telling the details of the abduction and skips to the war. He claims that the Consualia, the day on which the abduction occurred, will be postponed until its proper time in August. It could perhaps be a narrative choice, for why would the deity want to depict the violent rape of the women? But, as Hinds notes, even though Mars does not tell the story, the rape was bluntly mentioned in Book 2, when the speaker claimed Romulus raped wives (*tu rapis* 2.139). This previous statement looms over the absence of the account in this passage and further colors a description of the forceful nature of Mars and Romulus.

²²⁴ I call attention again to the linguistic differences between Hersilia and Mars. While he says that the women were nearly raped (*fere raptae*), Hersilia addresses the women and acknowledges their shared identity as rape victims (*pariter raptae*).

thers. Implicit in this choice is the women's agency in determining the outcome of the war. Hersilia, like Rhea Silvia, legitimizes the female experience by articulating a perspective distinct to the women. She asserts the women's power by proclaiming their relationship to the conflict and their ability to affect the outcome. And, indeed, it is the women, through the contrivance of Hersilia, who end the conflict:

'consilium dederat: parent, crinesque resolvunt
 maestaque funerea corpora veste tegunt.
 iam steterant acies ferro mortique paratae, 215
 iam lituus pugnae signa daturus erat,
 cum raptae veniunt inter patresque virosque,
 inque sinu natos, pignora cara, tenent.
 ut medium campi scissis tetigere capillis,
 in terram posito procubuere genu; 220
 et, quasi sentirent, blando clamore nepotes
 tendebant ad avos bracchia parva suos.
 qui poterat, clamabat avum tum denique visum,
 et, qui vix poterat, posse coactus erat.
 tela viris animique cadunt, gladiisque remotis 225
 dant soceri generis accipiuntque manus,
 laudatasque tenent natas, scutoque nepotem
 fert avus: hic scuti dulcior usus erat.'

'She had given them the plan. They obey, and loosen their hair and cover their sorrowful bodies in mourning-clothes. Already the battle lines had stood prepared for death by the sword, already the trumpet was about to give the battle signal, when the abducted women come between their fathers and their husbands, and hold in their arms their children, pledges of love. When they reached the middle of the plain, their hair torn about, they went down on the ground on bended knee, and the grandchildren, as if they realized, with engaging cries began to stretch out their little arms to their grandfathers. The child who could began calling his grandfather, seen at long last. The child who hardly could was forced to be able to. The men's weapons and anger fall, and putting aside their swords, fathers-in-law give their hands to sons-in-law and receive theirs in return. They praise their daughters, and hold them, and on his shield the grandfather carries his grandson. That was a sweeter use for a shield.'

Notably, Ovid's Sabine women do not contemplate offering up their own lives to end the war and they do not claim responsibility for the conflict. Rather, they evaluate their situation and enact a clever plan.²²⁵ Woman's power in this situation, as with that of Rhea Silvia, lies in their bodies: they provide the connection between past and future generations. They exploit their integral roles as producers of the next generation in order to restore peace. Desperately foisting their children into the air, they remind the men of the reason that Romulus first took up arms: offspring. In ring composition, the war begun by fathers-in-law attacking sons-in-law now, because of the Sabine women and their children, is reconciled by the same parties: *dant soceri generis accipiuntque manus* ("fathers-in-law give their hands to sons-in-law and receive theirs in return," 3.226). Miles argues that the women play a more significant role in Livy than in the *Fasti*. He asserts that in Livy the women accept their role as mothers and fully integrate themselves into Roman society, a necessary step for the creation of a full, flourishing society. In the *Fasti*, he argues, the women are virtually silent. They do not adequately, vocally assert themselves into the war and demand peace, as they do in Livy. Rather, by not outspokenly requesting a truce, the *Fasti*'s Sabine women never assent to their new marriages and thus leave the fate of the city ambiguously incomplete. Indeed, the Sabine women of the *Fasti* do not speak in the actual intercession. I argue, however, that through the women's plotting and bold, yet quiet, demonstration, the *Fasti* does not downplay their role but underscores their independence.²²⁶ The

²²⁵ Scodel (1998) discusses the analogous dilemma of the captive women in Greek literature, e.g., Cassandra and the Trojan women, Briseis, etc. Looking in particular at Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Troades*, she demonstrates the difficult position of a captive woman who must sacrifice ties with her natal family and acquiesce to her new family in order to survive. Scodel argues that Hecuba gives advice to the young Trojan women—similar to that of Hersilia in this passage—on how to use their resources, their sexuality, to their advantage in this transition.

²²⁶ On this point see also Chiu (2016: 103) who asserts that Hersilia "embodies the steady, thoughtful leadership that her impulsive husband seems to lack." For a contrary reading see Heinze (1960: 335-36)

women do not articulate responsibility to their husbands or willingness to accept the blame for the war. Their silence on the battlefield calls attention to their premeditated plan and shows the women as an authority independent from the men. They formulate a plan and use their bodies to speak for them, to signify their unique feminine perspective, one that stands in opposition to masculine language and violent actions. By highlighting the disparity between the forceful and rash actions of men and the cautious, strategic actions of the women, the *Fasti* showcases the chaos inflicted by the men and the essential role of women in establishing a peaceful, productive Roman state—a role that Livy attributes primarily to the agency of Roman men. Ovid underscores the female agency residing in the shadows, at the center of Roman foundations.

In one final similarity to the tale of Lucretia in Book 2, Mars concludes his narrative with the women, downplaying both Romulus' actions and the Roman foundation through integration of the two peoples. While Livy includes the intervention of the women as an important factor in establishing peace, he attributes the formation of a new, greater state to Romulus' generous actions: "Ex bello tam tristi laeta repente pax cariores Sabinas viris ac parentibus et ante omnes Romulo ipsi fecit" ("The sudden exchange of so unhappy a war for a joyful peace endeared the Sabine women even more to their husbands and parents, and above all to Romulus himself," *AUC* 1.13). The *Fasti*, however, excludes Romulus' actions and concludes instead with the women's successful initiative. By omitting Romulus' reassembly of the city, Mars' tale presents men as destructive figures and women as agents of peace and restoration.

As with the story of Lucretia, Ovid's narratives of Rhea Silvia and the Sabine women differ in several ways from Livy's versions, but particularly in regard to the women's speech. In Livy's rendering, the rapes of Rhea Silvia and the Sabine women have two didactic objectives:

who argues that Ovid gives more agency to the women, absent from the tradition of Livy and Plutarch, but does not feature effective female speech. Rather he finds only the speech of the children to be moving.

they exemplify the relationship of the female body to the foundation of Rome and they inculcate appropriate moral values for citizen women. If we understand Livy's point of view to be generally representative of Augustan thought on women, as I argued in Chapter One, then the resurgence of these myths under the principate, both in Livy's writing as well as in other aspects of civic culture (e.g. law, art, propaganda), highlights an insistent effort to circumscribe the role of women in society, as part of the Augustan program to restore order and morality to the state.²²⁷ In *Fasti* 3, Ovid introduces a new perspective on Roman foundational myths by showcasing the experience and speech of these famous women, whose view undermines the authoritative male Augustan narrative. Rather than being martyrs for the male civic body, the women act independently, on behalf of themselves and their children. Unlike the women of Book 2, who are silenced, Rhea Silvia and the Sabine women articulate a significant role for themselves within the Roman community. But the poem also displays the attempts of powerful figures to monopolize and control the actions of others. As with Brutus and the Roman men who appropriate Lucretia's body for a nationalistic purpose, Mars puts his own spin on the stories of the Sabine women and Silvia and attempts to assert his authority over their narratives. In this way, the *Fasti* continues to reveal tension between competing narratives by highlighting the male desire to control others.

²²⁷ Mineo 2015b and Vasaly 2015 discuss the moral and the political philosophy of Livy under the reign of Augustus and the ways in which his objectives align in numerous ways with the moral ideology of the principate. As discussed in Chapter 1, I do not argue that Livy is a mouthpiece of the moral program of Augustus. As Vasaly and others before have noted, to assign Livy the descriptor of either "pro- or anti-Augustan" would be to oversimplify his complex presentation of Roman history. However, in the first pentad of *AUC* and elsewhere in the extant books, Livy repeats the same themes in his depiction of citizen women (the importance of *pudicitia* to the safety of the state, the relationship of woman's body to the male body politic, the proper role of a citizen woman—producer, dutiful wife, etc.) that are similar to the sentiments of Augustan social legislation, specifically its attempt to promote the production of children, and to encourage the re-stabilization of the institution of marriage.

Mars offers a brief summary of the Sabine war. In two couplets he provides his own assessment of how the story of the Sabine women ties the Matronalia to March 1st. This account is a distinctly more masculine analysis of the narrative he has just told:

inde diem, quae prima, meas celebrare Kalendas
Oebaliae matres non leve munus habent,
aut quia committi strictis mucronibus ausae
finierant lacrimis Martia bella suis. (3.229-232)

‘Hence the Oebalian mothers hold it as no light duty to celebrate the day which is first, my Kalends. Either because by daring to risk themselves before drawn sword-points they had put an end with their tears to the war of Mars...’

First, Mars asserts that mothers have the great burden of celebrating on his Kalends because they ended the wars by boldly bearing their breasts to drawn swords.²²⁸ Oddly he celebrates the women’s efforts to end *Martia bella*—that is, wars caused by him—and thereby draws further attention to his antagonistic role.²²⁹ Rather than explain women’s celebration on his day, he adds irony: lines 231-32 assert that the women celebrate for cleaning up his mess. But Mars appears unaware of the irony as he displays pride in their martial actions.²³⁰ Notably, his summary is not a reiteration of their rational, peaceful demonstration with the children, but rather is an approximation of events closer to Livy’s story. Livy states:

²²⁸ Note the metapoetic comment in line 230: Mars places the mothers and their heavy (*non leve*) duty in the pentameter, as opposed to the more epic hexameter. I suggest that this blunder contributes to the depiction of Mars’ foolishness as he tries to assert an understanding of the women’s festivals.

²²⁹ Hinds (1992a: 103) observes that, “When Mars describes the Sabine conflict...as *Martia bella* (3.232), he not only emphasises the metaphorical link between the war and himself (as god of war), but also reminds us of his quite literal role in goading Romulus to action (3.195-98).”

²³⁰ Chiu (2016: 97-98) points to a humorous depiction of Mars here, stating that, “Mars’ merry-go-round of possible causes hints instead at his own lack of authoritative grip on the situation.” She further suggests that Mars seems uncomfortably out of place among the large groups of women gathering for worship.

Tum Sabinae mulieres, quarum ex iniuria bellum ortum erat, crinibus passis
scissaque veste, victo malis muliebri pavore, ausae se inter tela volantia inferre,
ex transverso impetu facto dirimere infestas acies, dirimere iras (1.13.1).

Then the Sabine women, from whose injury the war arose, with hair in disarray
and garments torn and with their womanly timidity overcome by concern for their
misfortunes, dared to bring themselves amongst the flying missiles, and with an
attack from the side they divided the hostile battle lines and disarmed the men
from their anger.

In line with Livy's account, Mars states that the women dared (*ausae*) to throw themselves
amidst the weapons (similarly Hersilia dared (*ausa*, 206) to speak). The similarities illustrate
how Mars briefly rewrites the women's actions, now portraying them more like warriors (like
Livy's women who overcome their womanly fear) than the rational, thoughtful women he
depicted previously.

After assessing the actions of the Sabine women, Mars adds extraneously that mothers
may also celebrate on his Kalends because Ilia successfully became a mother by him: *vel quod
erat de me feliciter Ilia mater,/ rite colunt matres sacra diemque meum* ("or because Ilia was
happily a mother by me, mothers duly observe the rites and my day," 233-34). The adjective
feliciter illustrates a second attempt by Mars to rewrite a previous tale. At the beginning of the
book, Mars raped Silvia and disappeared. She was left to give birth to the twins alone, alienating
herself from her Vestal community and fearful of what her uncle might do to her and her child-
ren. Here, as with the Sabine women, Mars takes pride and ownership of two events in which he
acted chaotically, asserting only a positive retrospective on the events.²³¹ There is a distinct
difference between the way Mars talks about the events and the poem's depictions of the
women's experiences. Mars is speaking, but Ovid shows the god, through his own words, as a

²³¹ Translators have interpreted the adverb *feliciter* in various ways. Frazer translates it as "happily," Bömer as "unter glücklichen Vorzeichen," Le Bonniec as "son heureuse maternité," Schilling as "eut le bonheur d'être mère," and Stok as "felicemente." Ursini ad loc asserts that and translation of "happily" means here without a doubt "successfully, under good auspices" rather than with joy.

self-interested, naïve speaker. The deity struggles to explain why women celebrate on his day, conjuring up two tales that explain his relationship to *matronae* in the city: the Sabine women and Rhea Silvia. His final explanation, however, is the true aetiology of the festival: his mother, Juno, loves brides, and this day commemorates the women's foundation of the Temple of Juno Lucina. The Matronalia has nothing to do with the god himself, yet he attempts, unsuccessfully, to assert himself into it with his story. When Mars redescribes the previous narratives and omits his violent actions, his attempt to establish authority over the women's tales is transparent and futile: he interprets his role positively, but has actually proven that his actions were destructive. By highlighting the experience of the women in these tales and showing their agency in creating a flourishing Roman community, the *Fasti* demonstrates the essentially peaceful and salvific role of women in Roman foundation narratives. The poem emphasizes the significance of women's actions by illustrating that they must cautiously navigate the chaos and obstacles created by rash and forceful men. Both Rhea Silvia and the Sabine women must manage the difficult situations caused by Mars' actions. While Mars attempts to assert authority over the Matronalia, women are the central leaders, particularly in their unique initiative in the temple dedication.

The first two narratives of the book dedicated to Mars entail stories of Roman foundation created from the intersection of *amor* and *arma*. As in the stories of Lucretia and Lara, Ovid foregrounds the female experience of sexual violence. He focuses not on men's actions but on the consequences of those actions for women, and on the way women react to and deal with their respective situations. While in Book 2 women's silence underscores the brutality of sexual violence, in Book 3, Rhea Silvia and the Sabine women use speech to articulate their circumstances and attempt to control the outcome of their stolen virginity. The prominence of productive, female voices undermines the authority of the male actors, Mars and Romulus.

Ariadne

The next prominent female character in Book 3 is Ariadne whose story is told in association with the constellation of the crown on March 8th. Like Callisto's metamorphosis in Book 2, Ariadne's transformation thematically echoes the stories of other women in Book 3. Abandoned first by Theseus and then neglected by Bacchus, Ariadne addresses her divine husband, expresses her suffering, and demands that he acknowledge his behavior.

‘quid me desertis morituram, Liber, harenis
servabas? potui dedoluisse semel...’

‘...heu ubi pacta fides? ubi, quae iurare solebas?
me miseram, quotiens haec ego verba loquor?
Thesea culpabas fallacemque ipse vocabas:
iudicio peccas turpius ipse tuo.’ (3.479-480, 485-488)

‘When I was about to die on the lonely sands, why did you save me, Liber?
I could have given over grieving once and for all.’

‘...Alas, where is pledged faithfulness? Where are the oaths you used to
swear? Wretched me! How often am I to say these words? It was
Theseus you used to blame, you yourself used to call him deceitful.
By your own judgement you're sinning more shamefully yourself.’

Newlands argues that the constellations in Book 3, like those of Book 2, are linked, as they all engage the generic play of the book. The myths of Ampelus, Pegasus, Ariadne's crown, the Kite, and Aries emphasize traditional elegiac themes—love, lament, and the avoidance of martial subjects—and thereby deliberately distance themselves from the epic *arma* of Mars, in whose month they are featured.²³²

²³² Newlands (1995), 48: Ampelus is a boy beloved by Bacchus. He is transformed into a constellation following a fatal fall from the vine gifted to him by the god (403-14). Pegasus creates the fountain of the Muses with the stamp of his hoof (449-58). The Kite prevents war against the Olympian gods (793-808). Aries is the ram who attempted to rescue Helle and Phrixus from their stepmother, Ino (851-76).

Indeed, as I will argue here, Ariadne articulates her grief at having been deceived by another husband, and her laments (embedded with numerous references to Catullus 64, *Heroides* 10, and *Ars Amatoria* 1) are highly elegiac. Her tale is far from the traditional arena of Mars.²³³ But, I propose, the *Fasti*'s depiction of Ariadne is more complex. Although she is not a figure in Roman history, her story continues the themes of female vulnerability and victimization that are present in the stories of Rhea Silvia and the Sabine women. Like these women, she relies on speech as her only means of attaining safety and honor amidst the harmful actions of men. She describes the harm that Bacchus inflicted upon her and asserts that he destroyed not only her brief happiness but also her hopes for the future. Bacchus responds by taking command of the situation and applying a forceful remedy to his error: deifying Ariadne as Libera to be eternally alongside him. She becomes a Roman goddess, but the speaker leaves it unclear whether this event is a manifestation of her wish or Bacchus' desire. She loses both her name and thereby her identity to become no more than a female appendage—in name as well as fact—to Bacchus.²³⁴ While he remains mobile and powerful, she is fixed in the sky (cf. Callisto). As in previous stories, Ariadne's tale exposes a tension between conflicting voices: the articulation of the female experience and the male who attempts to assert authority over her.

²³³ Propertius 1.3 offers another elegiac portrait of Ariadne. The speaker compares a sleeping Cynthia to Ariadne, as he comes upon her like Bacchus (drunk and covered in garlands) and voyeuristically gazes upon her body. The scene of Ariadne's abandonment and Bacchus' arrival is also a common theme of Roman wall paintings (see in particular Valladares 2012 and Elsner 2007).

²³⁴ Ariadne has a very distinctive tale. She is daughter of Minos, sister of the Minotaur, rescuer of Theseus from the labyrinth with her clever trick of the thread, and woman abandoned by faithless Theseus. In robbing Ariadne of her name, Bacchus robs her of her identity and all of the famous tales associated with it. For mention of Ariadne in Roman literature see most famously Catullus 64, also Propertius 1.3, 3.17; Ov. *Met.* 8.173ff, *Ars.* 1.525-64, *Her.* 10.

Three other Ovidian works (*Heroides* 10, *Ars Amatoria*, *Metamorphoses*) incorporate the tale of Ariadne, each portraying a different part of her story.²³⁵ In the *Fasti*, the speaker provides details not recorded elsewhere: first, Bacchus returns from the east with an attractive young woman, and second, Ariadne is deified as Libera (511-12). She laments that for a second time now she has been abandoned by a man. In her speech, she compares Bacchus' desertion to the desertion of Theseus and thereby emphasizes her despair. She echoes Catullus' Ariadne on the shore, abandoned by Theseus.²³⁶ Murgatroyd shows the similarities between the texts: *audite querellas* (3.471) occurs, in the same line position, in Cat. 64.195; *desertis...harenis* (3.479) recalls Cat. 64.133, *deserto in litore*; and *amoribus... / coniugis* (3.497-98) occurs also in Cat. 64.182 (Murgatroyd 2005: 265). These intertextual lines intensify the depiction of her suffering, for Bacchus, who previously saved her from her plight, has left her to endure abandonment for a second time. As she states, the man who condemned Theseus now commits the same action, so that his betrayal becomes even more intolerable: *Thesea culpabas fallacemque ipse vocabas: / iudicio peccas turpius ipse tuo* ("It was Theseus you used to blame, you yourself used to call him deceitful. By your own judgment you're sinning more shamefully yourself," 487-88).

Ariadne also echoes herself in *Heroides* 10, as well as Deianira in 9 and Hypsipyle in 6, as she manifests pain, sadness, and shame upon hearing of Bacchus' disloyalty. She indignantly asks Bacchus at line 483: *ausus es ante oculos adducta paelice nostros* (Have you dared to bring

²³⁵ In *Heroides* 10, Ariadne speaks to Theseus, standing isolated on the shore where he left her. Bacchus is absent from this tale. Various *Heroides* also briefly mention aspects of Ariadne's tale (2.75ff, 4.57ff, 4.113ff, 6.114ff, 15.23ff, 16.349ff, 18.151ff). In the *Ars Amatoria*, the speaker, offering a lesson to young men to be bold with young women at dinner parties, tells the story of Bacchus and Ariadne. He depicts Bacchus as unexpectedly approaching the terrified Ariadne, sweeping her up in his chariot and forcefully taking her away to become his bride (1.525-564). In a brief 30 lines, Book 8 of the *Metamorphoses* tells the story of the Minotaur, Ariadne's help to Theseus, his abandonment of her, Bacchus's comforting of Ariadne, and his catasterism of her crown (8.152-182).

²³⁶ See Murgatroyd (2005) and Armstrong (2001) for a list of intertextual references with Catullus 64.

your harlot before my eyes?))? The line is close to Deianira's attack upon Hercules: *ante meos oculos adducitur advena paelex* (*Her* 9.121). Next, when she questions Bacchus' fidelity (*heu ubi pacta fides? ubi quae iurare solebas?*, "Alas, where is pledged faithlessness? Where are the oaths you used to swear?" *F.* 3.485), she echoes Hypsipyle upon having learned that Jason was with Medea: *heu ubi pacta fides? ubi conubalia iura* (*Her*.6.41).²³⁷ Such intertextual allusions both amplify the emotional register of Ariadne's lament and also help to legitimate her feelings of shame and betrayal, as she aligns herself with a number of other women abandoned by their husbands or lovers.

Amongst her laments of sadness, isolation, and betrayal, Ariadne makes a hopeful request of Bacchus: to keep his faith and not prefer another woman to his wife (497-98). To a woman who has been deceived before, marital fidelity is essential. Again her intertextual allusions emphasize the importance of fidelity. She asserts that she is faithful to one man and hoped that he would be the same, but that hope was lost when he arrived with a foreign woman (499-500). As her laments show, Bacchus has hurt her emotionally by breaking an important vow and, in doing so, has begrudged her the future that she wanted—to be with him in heaven:

‘nec, quod nos uris, mirum facis: ortus in igne
diceris et patria raptus ab igne manu.
illa ego sum, cui tu solitus promittere caelum.
ei mihi, pro caelo qualia dona fero!’ (3.503-506)

‘And you’re not performing a miracle by making me burn:
you’re said to have been born in fire, and snatched from fire
by your father’s hand. I am the woman to whom you used to
promise heaven. Alas, in place of heaven what kind of gifts do I get?’

²³⁷ Murgatroyd (267) notes these similarities. He argues, however, that Ariadne's story, unlike that of the other women, is amusing because her story has an "upbeat ending."

In another innovative twist to her tale, the speaker reveals that Bacchus, standing by, overheard Ariadne's speech. In response, he takes her up in an embrace and dries her tears with kisses (*occupant amplexu lacrimasque per oscula siccant*, "He holds her in his arms and dries her tears with kisses," 509). He then proclaims a solution: he will join them together in heaven, yoked in eternity as deities. In her deified form, Ariadne will be changed into Libera, the female counterpart of Liber. And finally, at last reaching the aetiological purpose of this tale, he will make her crown a constellation so that she will always have a memorial of her prized possession (513-16).

At first glance, Bacchus' actions appear to offer a happy resolution. He reassures Ariadne with affection and gives her a place in heaven with him as she requested. Indeed, many scholars have interpreted Bacchus' actions as gestures of loving reconciliation.²³⁸ Murgatroyd, for one, argues that the dense intertextuality of the passage is humorous as Ariadne's laments foreshadow a happy ending. Despite her previous experiences, she comically fails to remember how Bacchus set things right in the past, as he is likely to do again (Murgatroyd 2005: 266). Careful study of the juxtaposition of his words and actions with her lament, however, shows Ariadne's deification as ambiguous. First, a purely positive interpretation overlooks intertextual allusions to the depiction of her in the *Ars Amatoria* where Bacchus is a terrifying and forceful figure. Second, the similarities between her tale and those of other female victims in the *Fasti* highlight Bacchus' force and suggest that Ariadne's tale does not end happily: as the examples of Callisto and Lara show, Bacchus' action is one of impulsive coercion, rather than love.

dixerat: audibat iam dudum verba querentis
 Liber, ut a tergo forte secutus erat.
 occupant amplexu lacrimasque per oscula siccant
 et 'pariter caeli summa petamus!' ait:

²³⁸ See Ursini ad loc for an exhaustive list of positive interpretations of this passage.

'tu mihi iuncta toro mihi iuncta vocabula sumes,
 nam tibi mutatae Libera nomen erit;
 sintque tuae tecum faciam monumenta coronae,
 Volcanus Veneri quam dedit, illa tibi.'
 dicta facit gemmasque novem transformat in ignes:
 aurea per stellas nunc micat illa novem. (3.507-516)

She had spoken. For a long time Liber had been listening to her words of complaint, as by chance he had been following behind her. He holds her in his arms and dries her tears with kisses. 'Together,' he says, 'let us seek the heights of heaven. Joined to me by the marriage-bed, you will take a title joined to me, for when you are changed your name will be Libera. And I shall bring it about that there is a memorial of you and of your crown, which Vulcan gave to Venus, she to you.' He does as he says, and transforms the nine jewels into fires. Golden now it sparkles with its nine stars.

The gesture of embrace, perhaps one of love, is also a maneuver of Jupiter when he rapes young women (e.g. Callisto at *Met.* 2.433). Bacchus could be reassuring his wife, or he could be asserting his physical force over her. Readers may think of the *Ars*, where Bacchus leaps down from his chariot and forcefully snatches up a fearful Ariadne, who had previously fled from him and who, the speaker emphatically states, could not fight back: *implicitamque sinu (neque enim pugnare valebat) / abstulit*; ("clasped in his arms (for she had no power to struggle) he carried her away," *Ars* 1.561-62) If Bacchus's previous "reconciliation" of events in Catullus and others looms in the background of this passage, so too does his previous, unwanted use of force.

Second, though Ariadne is deified with her husband, it is not exactly the eternal commemoration she had desired. It is Bacchus' infidelity that she bemoans:

'Bacche levis leviorque tuis, quae tempora cingunt,
 frondibus, in lacrimas cognite Bacche meas,
 ausus es ante oculos adducta paelice nostros
 tam bene compositum sollicitare torum?
 heu ubi pacta fides? ubi, quae iurare solebas?
 me miseram, quotiens haec ego verba loquor?' (3.483-86)

'Inconstant Bacchus, less constant than the leaves that bind your

brow, Bacchus, known only for my tears, have you dared to bring your harlot before my eyes, and disturb a marriage-bed so well composed? Alas, where is pledged faithfulness? Where are the oaths you used to swear? Wretched me! How often am I to say these words?

In her accusations, Ariadne focuses on the physical manifestations of his disloyalty. She mentions specifically the marriage bed (*torum* 384) that he has sullied and later asserts that the embrace (*amplexus*) of the foreign woman defiles him: ...*amplexus inquinat illa tuos* (“she pollutes your embraces,” 496). She commands Bacchus not to prefer other women, reminding him of her enduring fidelity (*Bacche, fidem praesta nec praefer amoribus ullam / coniugis. adsuevi semper amare virum*, “Keep your faith, Bacchus, and do not put any woman before the love of your wife. It has been my custom to love a man for ever.” 497-98). Since he has been disloyal, however, he can no longer provide her the future she imagined, as she acknowledges in her final exclamation (*illa ego sum, cui tu solitus promittere caelum / ei mihi, pro caelo qualia dona fero*, “I am the woman to whom you used to promise heaven. Alas, in place of heaven what kind of gifts do I get?” 505-506). When the god yokes them together, he forcibly unites her to a disloyal husband in perpetuity. Ariadne has neither choice nor a voice in this future. The repetition of *mihi* in line 510 shows the superior position of Bacchus and his power over Ariadne as he forces her to be joined to him: the double first person, *tu mihi iuncta toro mihi iuncta*, overwhelms the single second person pronoun at the beginning of the line.²³⁹

In describing Bacchus’ actions and words, the speaker uses language similar to Ariadne’s own accusations. The god takes her up in an embrace (*amplexu* 509), wrapping her in the very arms she considers polluted by another woman. When Bacchus proclaims their future together, he too references the marriage bed which they have shared (*tu mihi iuncta toro* 511), but makes

²³⁹ See also Ursini ad loc on the effective syntactical construction of the line.

no mention of his disloyalty. Rather, Bacchus supplants Ariadne's words with his own narrative of their relationship. Notably, it is his account that will be immortalized.

As another sign of Ariadne's discontent with her fate, the speaker states that her crown, which Bacchus transforms into a constellation, was a gift from Vulcan to Venus, a new addition to the story from other versions.²⁴⁰ In his *Phaenomena*, Aratus states that the catasterism of the crown was a memorial for Ariadne made by the god after her death (71-73). Emma Gee has argued that in the *Fasti* the catasterism is downgraded from a sign of a husband's devotion in the Aratean account to a token solution for their dispute (Gee 2000: 200). Certainly, in the *Fasti*, the constellation is only a minor part of the tale, almost an afterthought by Bacchus. But the divine heritage of the crown, in context with the passage, holds a symbolic function. As Armstrong asserts, the crown marks Bacchus' insensitivity (Armstrong 2001: 258). She states that Ariadne's final statement ("Ah me! What gifts will I reap in place of heaven?" 506):

...when read (or, in Bacchus' case, heard) against the preceding lines detailing Ariadne's grief and anger, the exclamation seems rather to be one of recognition of the bitter contrast between the things a man will promise to get his way in love, and the misery he actually delivers. The point Ariadne makes is not so much that she wants to be a goddess, but that she wants to have a man who repays her with love, not betrayal. (258)

I would venture further to say that Ariadne's catasterism is an example not merely of Bacchus' insensitivity, but also of his inability or even unwillingness to recognize his wife's wishes: not only does he force Ariadne to be united with her disloyal husband in perpetuity, but he also

²⁴⁰ In describing the catasterism of Ariadne's crown, other accounts (Aratus, the *Metamorphoses*) do not mention its heritage (Armstrong 258, Gee 200). See Ursini ad loc on the novel inclusion of this detail. Ursini does not believe the mention of Vulcan and Venus is intended to allude to adultery, however, but rather is simply a sign of marriage.

makes a *monumentum* for her that represents another famously failed marriage. Among the stars, then, the crown memorializes two adulterous marriages.

Finally, Ariadne's story shares elements with other tales within the poem, namely Lara and Callisto. Like them, Ariadne suffers alteration of her identity forced by a male god. Bacchus transforms her into Libera, thereby erasing her identity and forcing upon her a new, Roman identity that further unites her with him. Notably, the speaker uniquely and erroneously associates Ariadne and Libera. Nowhere else in literature, cult, or myth is Ariadne associated with Libera.²⁴¹ This is another Ovidian innovation. Liber and Libera were Italian gods, acquired by the Romans from neighboring Latin peoples.²⁴² In Rome, they were honored most prominently in the temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera on the Aventine hill.²⁴³ The three gods were worshipped in a triadic cult by the plebs, and, as Spaeth and others have proposed, this cult served as a counterpart to the patrician Capitoline cult of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva (Spaeth 1996: 91-92). The temple, dated originally to 494/3 BCE, served first as a treasury of the plebs, later as an asylum, and it stored the *senatus consulta* and the decrees of the Council of the plebs.²⁴⁴ Ceres, the primary deity of the triad, is most familiar for her association with agricultural production, fertility,

²⁴¹ See Ursini ad loc for a detailed account of opinions on the point. Scholars agree that this was an Ovidian innovation and propose different reasons for Ovid's decision. Bömer ad loc suggests that Liber and Libera were associated with Dionysos and Kore, but while Liber grew in popularity, Libera became obscure enough that Ovid could identify her with Ariadne. See also Armstrong 259.

²⁴² For information on the origins of these deities see Orlin (2010), Miller (2002), Wissowa (1912), and Scheid (2016).

²⁴³ No archaeological evidence of the temple remains. Spaeth (1996: 135-36) has conjectured the likely location of the temple from Vitruvius (3.3.5), Pliny (*NH* 35.154), Tacitus (*Ann.* 2.49), Livy (40.2.1-2), and Dionysius (6.94.3).

²⁴⁴ Spaeth 85-86 cites evidence from Livy (3.55.13) for the use of the temple as a place to store archived documents.

and as a goddess of Roman marriage (wedding torch and bridal procession). Liber, often associated with Bacchus, is a god of wine and masculine sexuality, associated as well with a young man's coming of age (boys acquired the toga praetexta on the Liberalia). The identity and domain of Libera is less clear. Dionysius asserts (6.17.2) that a temple to Demeter, Dionysius, and Kore was dedicated in Rome in 493 BCE, suggesting that Libera is the Roman equivalent of the daughter of Demeter, that is, Proserpina. Based primarily on this textual evidence, scholars have proposed that Libera and Proserpina were associated in Roman cult. Recently Orlin (2010: 35) and Scheid (2016: 93) have argued that the dyad of Liber and Libera was Italic in origin. The Ceres-Demeter and Proserpina-Persephone association was adopted for other aspects of Ceres' cult, independent of the triad.²⁴⁵ Any associations of Libera with Kore or Persephone were a later Roman association more prominent in the time of Dionysius, with which Ovid would be familiar. Conflation with Kore, even if contemporary to Ovid's time, still does not explain a connection between Libera and Ariadne.

Ceres and Proserpina are often represented as embodying the two roles for women in society, married matron (*matrona*) and unmarried maiden (*virgo*) (Spaeth 1996: 160-63). Seeking to connect Ceres' associations with marriage and *matronae* to Liber and Libera, Ariadne Staples points out that Liber and Libera represented masculinity and femininity respectively (Libera being the female counterpart to Liber), including the sexual organs of each group. Ceres, she argues, mediates the sexual intercourse between the two so that the triad represents intercourse regulated by marriage (Staples 1998:84-90). If Ceres mediates the relations of Liber and Libera in marriage, the poet's conflation of Ariadne and Libera is perhaps more understandable. If Bacchus and Liber are interchangeable, then Ariadne, as wife of Bacchus, is interchangeable with

²⁴⁵ See Orlin (2010: 105) and Scheid (2016: 93).

Libera. An older suggestion by Bailey is that Ovid was “carried away by the inspiration of the moment,” mixing up the identities while portraying the divine reunion.²⁴⁶ I argue, however, that the poet intentionally associates Bacchus and Ariadne with Liber and Libera—an unnecessary innovation—in order to draw attention to the way in which Bacchus forcefully silences Ariadne by transforming her into his counterpart.

With this new eponymous association, the *Fasti* aligns the tale of Ariadne with previous women whose voices and desires were replaced by the will of a superior male. In Book 2, both Calisto and Lara suffered the force of a male deity and were transformed, losing both their voices and their former identities. Bacchus, looming in the background while Ariadne speaks, takes control of her narrative and suppresses her point of view, forcing her to become a Roman deity in his image. The speaker first highlights the articulation of Ariadne’s perspective and then dramatizes the suppression of her point of view. Her tale, then, shares striking similarities with both Rhea Silvia and the Sabine women. In continuation of the themes of Book 3, again, a woman must attempt to navigate the chaos forced upon her by a man (or male deity). The man, in turn, tries to assert his point of view over the female perspective. Bacchus succeeds, and in the *Fasti*, the crown constellation, like the Bear constellation or the Lares, signifies another tradition that stands upon a forcefully silenced female. With this unique telling of Ariadne’s tale, the poem continues to expose the tension between different voices vying for authority and legitimacy.

Anna Perenna

Anna Perenna, like the Sabines, is another woman whose actions inspire an important Roman ritual: the feast of Anna Perenna on March 15th, the longest ritual description in the book. Her tale climactically builds upon the themes of gender and authority. Anna is associated with

²⁴⁶ Bailey ad loc.

the jovial, restorative ritual feast that is an old Roman tradition, but her festival shares a date with the assassination of Caesar. In the juxtaposition of the two tales, the speaker provocatively illustrates the difference between old Republican and new Imperial Roman traditions. In particular, the differences in these two festivals highlight a divide between egalitarian freedom of speech and the imperial modes of controlling voices and silencing the opposition. But as with other tales, the ideological conflicts are rendered most vivid through the tale's gendered dynamics. On the Ides of March, the speaker devotes 174 lines to the festival of Anna Perenna and 14 to the assassination of Caesar. He offers three tales to explain the festival that celebrates fecundity, each involving a different woman as lead character. In turn, he addresses the death of Caesar only briefly, and only because Vesta commanded him to do so (*praeteriturus eram gladios in principe fixos, / cum sic a castis Vesta locuta focis*, "I was going to pass over the swords fixed in the *princeps*, when Vesta spoke thus from her chaste hearths," 697-98). In these few lines, the speaker highlights the death that results from civil war and depicts Augustus as responsible for vengeance. A rich festival of female productivity is curtailed by one of male violence and discord.

The poem offers three different *aitia* for the origins of the feast of Anna Perenna: one literary, one historical, and one mythical. Each tale reinforces the productive role of women in the state while depicting men as weak or insufficient leaders. First, the speaker describes the feast as one for all the common folk (*plebs venit* 525), a time when the people gather outside, relax in a natural setting, and drink wine while singing and celebrating openly (523-42). The speaker himself encounters the participants and notes that those who meet them on their return from the fes-

tivities call the revelers “blessed” (*fortunatos* 540). As John Miller states, the speaker’s description of the participants makes it appear as though he too considers them *fortunati*.²⁴⁷ From here, he proclaims the need to explain the goddess’ origins, as rumors abound about her (543-44). Each explanatory tale, readers may then assume, is related to the freedom of speech and joyous celebration that defines her festival.

First, the poem associates Anna with the sister of Dido from the *Aeneid*, a connection proposed for the first time in this passage. Anna’s tale, as scholars have noted, is similar to the wanderings of Aeneas.²⁴⁸ She is exiled from three different lands until finding a resting place in the river Numicius, the site of Aeneas’ deification. As Chiu demonstrates, the *Fasti*’s tale picks up from the conclusion of the most elegiac tale of the *Aeneid*: Dido’s death in Book 4. Anna’s epyllion, as Chiu terms it (72), traces her journey to Italy which is both similar to and an inversion of Aeneas’ journey. Along the way, epic valor is consistently distanced and rejected, as elegiac subjects and themes come to the forefront. Anna first appears lamenting her sister’s death (545-50). Driven from her home by the *arma* of Iarbas and the Numidians (551-54), she sails to another land, wandering over the sea and looking back mournfully at what was destroyed (555-66). Anna first finds refuge on the island of Melite for a couple of years before King Battus, fearing Pygmalion, forces her into exile a second time. She is then chased over the seas by her brother, finding the dangerous seas to be her most threatening opponent (579-98). She despairs and curses her lot before eventually a shipwreck drives her ship and herself, sole survivor, onto Latin

²⁴⁷ See Miller (1991: 136-139) for a detailed reading of the ritual description in the *Fasti*. See also Fowler (1899) 50-54. For archaeological and epigraphical evidence on the cult of Anna Perenna, see Pieranomonte (2010) and Blänsdorf (2010).

²⁴⁸ For analysis of intertextual references to the *Aeneid* see Littlewood (1980), McKeown (1984), Porte (1985), Newlands (1995), Barchiesi (1997), Murgatroyd (2005), Lee-Stecum (2008), Viarre (2009), and most recently Chiu (2016).

shores (599-600). At this point, her tale rejoins that of Aeneas, living in Italy after defeating Turnus, when he and Achates spot her on the shore (601-04). Aeneas is at first hesitant, unsure of Anna's purpose, but seeing her distress welcomes her kindly, expressing sorrow for his involvement in Dido's death (605-24). He brings her into his home as a guest (625-32). His new wife Lavinia, however, develops a jealous rage and devises a plot against Anna (633-38). Warned in a dream by Dido, Anna thus flees once more (639-646). In this final instance, a vulnerable Anna is swept up by the river Numicius and is transformed into a river nymph.²⁴⁹

The *Fasti*'s elegiac tale highlights the experience of Anna, a woman continually cast into dangerous situations by men: Iarbas, the king of Melite, Pygmalion, and Aeneas. Iarbas and Pygmalion are violent figures. Aeneas and the king of Melite are dangerous to her through not violence but weak leadership. The king would rather exile Anna than face threats from her brother; Aeneas is consistently depicted as a weak leader whose decisions cause enmity and calamity amongst women. He illustrates, as Newlands suggests, an inversion of heroic values.²⁵⁰ First, in the description of Dido's death, the speaker describes the epitaph on her tombstone: *PRAEBUIT AENEAS ET CAUSAM MORTIS ET ENSEM. / IPSA SUA DIDO CONCIDIT USA MANU* ("Aeneas gave both reason for death and a sword, Dido herself fell using her own hand," 549-550). The couplet unequivocally ties Aeneas to Dido's death. But whereas the *Aeneid* leaves off with Dido's death and the fate of Carthage hanging in the balance, the rapid account of the *Fasti*, from Dido's death to Iarbas' invasion, directly connects Dido's death to the collapse of the city, and to Anna's exile and sufferings. Aeneas is responsible not only for Dido's suicide but for the

²⁴⁹ See Chiu (2016) for a thorough comparison of the journeys of Aeneas and Anna, both the similarities and differences between their tales.

²⁵⁰ Newlands (1996). See also Chiu 74-86.

destruction of Carthage and its people as well. Rather than a story of his heroic foundations, this is a tale of his destructive effects.²⁵¹

When Aeneas meets Anna on the beach, he is hesitant. The heroic man is suddenly fearful to address a young woman (*aspicit errantem nec credere sustinet Annam/ esse: 'quid in Latios illa venire agros?'* “He catches sight of a wanderer and cannot bring himself to believe that it is Anna: ‘Why would she be coming to the lands of Latium?’” 605-606). He is bereft of weapons, even barefoot, as he strolls down the shore with Achates (*litore dotali solo comitatus Achate/ secretum nudo dum pede carpi titer*, “On the shore that had come as a dowry, accompanied only by Achates, while he treads barefoot a secluded path,” 603-604). The hero appears quite differently from *Aeneid* 1.312-13 when he walked the shores of Carthage with Achates armed with iron tipped spears. When he speaks, he emphatically alleges his sympathy for Dido’s fate and receives Anna as a gesture of kindness for her lost sister. In doing so, he reminds readers once again of the destruction he caused in Carthage and in the lives of the two sisters, particularly in the final couplet in which he indebts himself to both women and addresses them both twice within the two lines:

sensit et adloquitur trepidam Cythereius heros
flet tamen admonitu motus, Elissa, tui:
‘Anna, per hanc iuro, quam quondam audire solebas
tellurem fato prosperiore dari,
perque deos comites, hac nuper sede locatos,
saepe meas illos increpuisse moras.
nec timui de morte tamen, metus abfuit iste.
ei mihi! credibili fortiori illa fuit.
ne refer: aspexi non illo corpore digna
volnera Tartareas ausus adire domos.
at tu, seu ratio te nostris appulit oris

²⁵¹ Of course, the Roman readers may approve of this destruction, as Carthage is their enemy. But the speaker endeavors to make Anna a sympathetic character. In addition, with her deification, she becomes a Roman goddess.

sive deus, regni commode carpe mei.
multa tibi memores, nil non debemus Elissae:
nomine grata tuo, grata sororis, eris.’ (3.611-624)

The Cytherean hero speaks to her in agitation (but he weeps, moved, Elissa, by being reminded of you):

‘Anna, I swear by this land, which you once used to hear was given by a more favourable destiny, and by the gods who came with me, newly settled in this place, that they often reproached me for my delay. And yet I was not afraid about her death; that fear was absent. Alas, she was more courageous than could have been believed. Don’t tell me. I saw the wounds, unworthy of that body, when I dared to approach the dwellings of Tartarus. But you, whether purpose or some god has driven you to our shores, enjoy the benefits of my kingdom. We remember that we owe much to you, and everything to Elissa. You will be welcome in your own name, welcome in your sister’s.’

Aeneas is depicted in this story and, in his own words, he defines himself only in relation to the women in his life: first pitying Dido and Anna, and then obeying his wife Lavinia. When he encounters Lavinia, gender roles and power relations of the palace are reversed.²⁵² She is in command of the household, and even, it appears of the land. When Aeneas first comes upon Anna, the speaker states that he was walking on the land he obtained from his wife’s dowry (*litore dotati solo comitatus Achate* 603), a first note indicating her authority in the relationship.²⁵³ And when he comes to the house with Anna, he must explain to his wife the reason for Anna’s presence and ask her permission to allow her to stay as a guest:

‘hanc tibi cur tradam, pia causa, Lavinia coniunx,
est mihi: consumpsi naufragus huius opes.
orta Tyro est, regnum Libyca possedit in ora;
quam precor ut carae more sororis ames.’ (3.629-632)

‘I have a reason of duty, Lavinia my wife, for entrusting this lady to you: when I was shipwrecked I lived on her resources. She was

²⁵² See Newlands (1996) and Chiu (2016).

²⁵³ Chiu (2016) and Barchiesi (1997) suggest that Lavinia represents the *uxor dotata* of Roman comedy. In the first scene, Aeneas is then the “henpecked” (Chiu, 80) husband who avoids the domestic sphere and escapes to other locations.

born in Tyre, and possessed a kingdom on the coast of Libya. I pray
that you may love her like a dear sister.’

Pious Aeneas now addresses Lavinia as *pia* as he begs her favor in assisting their guest. Far from the silent, blushing character of the *Aeneid*,²⁵⁴ Lavinia has a say in the management of the household, largely, perhaps, because of her dowry. Whereas in the prior epic Lavinia’s consent was immaterial, here her husband explicitly requests it. Aeneas’ naïve actions, bringing a foreign woman into the house (an action proven by Agamemnon, Hercules, and other epic heroes to be a grave mistake), inspire jealous passion in his wife.²⁵⁵

omnia promittit falsumque Lavinia volnus
mente permit tacita dissimulatque fremens;
donaque cum videat praeter sua lumina ferri
multa palam, mitti clam quoque multa putat.
non habet exactum, quid agat; furialiter odit
et parat insidias et cupit ultra mori. (3.633-38)

Lavinia promises everything, buries a false wound in her silent mind, and conceals her fears. Although she sees many gifts being carried before her sight, still she thinks many are being sent secretly too. She hasn’t got it quite worked out what she should do. She hates like a Fury, prepares a trap, and longs to die avenged.

While Aeneas speaks emotionally and stumbles through ill-conceived actions, Lavinia privately and thoughtfully plots as she hides her rage from her husband. Notably, the threat of her actions

²⁵⁴ See *Aeneid* 12.64-71 for blushing Lavinia.

²⁵⁵ Barchiesi (1997) 165-66, while remarking on her notable dissimulation, suggests that Lavinia shows a capacity for self-control that makes her a worthy wife for Aeneas. Ovid’s Lavinia shares similarities with Livy’s Lavinia, one woman whom he uniquely praises for her character and strength as interim ruler between her husband and son: *tamen id imperium ei ad puberem aetatem incolume mansit; tantisper tutela muliebri—tanta indoles in Lavinia erat—res Latina et regnum avitum paternumque puero stetit* (AUC 1.3). Chiu (2016) 83 asserts that Lavinia’s savvy is a further demonstration of her ability to “outflank [Aeneas] with his own psychological gambit.”

drives Anna away (641-42). It is clear that Aeneas has no control over the women. Rather than an epic founder, he is a lover, trying and failing to navigate relationships with various women.

Newlands argues, and I agree, that the depiction of an impotent Aeneas here is, firstly, comical. This story of Anna mocks Aeneas as an embodiment of Roman male virtues. But second, Aeneas, like Romulus, was glorified by Caesar and Augustus as an emblem of Roman leadership and another ancestral founder of Rome.²⁵⁶ Just as the stories of Rhea Silvia and the Sabine women undermine the leadership and characters of Mars and Romulus in *Fasti* Book 3, so this story of Anna undermines Aeneas as a model of Roman virtue for Caesar and Augustus to emulate. This story builds upon a pattern in the book in which male founders are undermined through a depiction of their inadequacy in their interactions with women.²⁵⁷

The speaker's second origin tale for Anna Perenna offers a historical background tying her to a woman who heroically aided the plebs in their secession in 494 B.C.E. According to the speaker, when the plebs revolted, they began to run out of resources. A certain poor old woman named Anna, from Bovillae, industrious in baking cakes, distributed food to the people every morning. When the rebellion ended, they set up a statue to Perenna because she helped them when they were in need: *pace domi facta signum posuere Perennae, / quod sibi defectis illa ferebat opem* ("When civil peace was made they set up a statue to Perenna, because she brought them help when they were weak," 673-74). This aetiological tale further associates the festival with its Republican origins and also with its particular relevance to the common people, a feast for people of all classes. As the woman aiding the secession of the plebs, Anna represents a

²⁵⁶ Newlands (1996). See also Hinds (1992) on the absence of *arma* and the elegiac depiction of Mars in Book 3.

²⁵⁷ See McKeown (1984) for a different reading of this passage. He argues that the imperial encomia of the *Fasti* are meant to be taken seriously and passages such as the festival of Anna Perenna are not incompatible with such an Augustan reading.

celebration of the people's rights and their success (establishment of the office of Tribunes of the Plebs) against the elite who tried to suppress them. But finally, it is also a tale of a woman boldly supporting and aiding her community in the midst of political turmoil initiated by men. The story of Anna of Bovillae is reported only here.²⁵⁸ The speaker thus elects to associate the deified woman with populist, Republican sympathies (Newlands 2015: 116). Roman woman again in *Fasti* 3 represents the growth and prosperity of the common Roman people.

After Anna is deified, the speaker explains the second part of her festival, namely lewd songs sung by girls. In this tale, for the second time in March, his own month, Mars is depicted as a foolish lover. He desperately begs Anna to unite him with Minerva. Anna devises a trick. She pretends that Minerva is going to marry Mars, but instead she disguises herself in bridal attire. When Mars discovers the deceit, he is ashamed and embarrassed:

oscula sumpturus subito Mars aspicit Annam:
 nunc pudor elusum, nunc subit ira deum.
 ridet amatorem carae nova diva Minervae,
 nec res hac Veneri gratior ulla fuit. (3.691-694)

Mars, all ready to take kisses, suddenly sees Anna! Now shame at having been fooled, now anger comes over the god. The new goddess laughs at the lover of dear Minerva, and to Venus no event was more pleasing than this.

Notably, the story does not really offer an explanation for the lewd songs. What it does provide is another story of the foolishness of a Roman male leader acting like an elegiac lover.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ Harrison (1993). Wiseman (1998) 72-74 suggests that Ovid's representation of Anna of Bovillae is derived from the mime *Anna Peranna* by D. Laberius. In this passage of the *Fasti*, Anna appears similar to the *lena* in the mime.

²⁵⁹ See Hinds (1992) on the characterization of Mars in Book 3.

Masculine Roman virtues are absent from each of these stories. Women are the founders of a festival that celebrates free speech, community, and social inversion.

This is the last mention of Mars in the month. Ovid has transformed the god from the warrior, for whom Romulus named the month, into a fully disarmed elegiac lover. After this festival, Mars further disappears from his book. The *Equirria*, an important festival of the deity, is reduced to six lines.²⁶⁰ And by the conclusion of the book, Mars is replaced by Minerva. The celebration of Minerva on the Quinquatrus concludes with the *Tubilustrium*. This day is a festival of Mars, but the speaker presents it as a final day of worship to Minerva (Fowler: 62). The speaker encouraged Mars to behave more like Minerva in the invocation (5-8). Then, when describing the origins of the Matronalia, Mars directly challenged Minerva's versatility and attempted to prove his own diverse powers (173-76). Now, the female deity displaces the war god from his own post. The festival of Anna Perenna and the triumph of Minerva over Mars suggest the triumph of peace and free speech over Mars and his *arma*.

The reversal of gender and power roles that is presented in the festival of Anna Perenna is further underscored by its juxtaposition with the commemoration of the death of Caesar, appended to the calendrical date. The speaker claims that he was going to pass over the memorial of this event, but Vesta stopped him and ordered him to tell of her priest, Caesar, who was cut down sacrilegiously (699-702). Commemoration of Caesar's death comes, then, not from the speaker himself, but from Vesta. The words of the speaker are less laudatory. He states that Caesar was deified with a temple in his forum (703-704), inviting comparison with Anna deified in the passage above.²⁶¹ But while Anna's tale triumphs over the *arma* of Mars, the speaker highlights the destruction and death associated with Caesar and Augustus:

²⁶⁰ On the *Equirria* see Fowler (1899: 44-50).

at quicumque nefas ausi, prohibente deorum
numine, polluerant pontificale caput,
morte iacent merita. testes estote Philippi,
et quorum sparsis ossibus albet humus.
hoc opus, haec pietas, haec prima elementa fuerunt
Caesaris, ulcisci iusta per arma patrem. (3.705-710)

But all those who had defiled the head of the *pontifex*, daring sacrilege when the power of the gods forbade it, are lying dead as they deserve. Be witness, Philippi, and those whose scattered bones make the ground white. This was the task, this the duty, this the first lesson of Caesar, to avenge his father through just warfare.

This passage features the second depiction of revenge in the book (the first being Mars' retribution against the Sabines who refused to accept the Roman men as sons-in-law), but the first depiction of the imperial ideology of just revenge promoted by Augustus. The epithet Mars Ultor was publicly ascribed to the deity by Augustus to represent this purpose: avenging the unjust death of Caesar.²⁶² But here the depiction of that action is far from an encomium. The speaker lingers on death, painting a vivid picture of all of the bones scattered on the ground at Philippi. He highlights the tragedy of war, not the triumph.

But Augustus' actions are undermined by the festival of Anna Perenna, namely the celebration of life and prosperity under the goddess, the freedom of speech offered at her feast, and the recognition of all voices and classes. Newlands argues that the curtailed treatment of the assassination of Julius Caesar in favor of the carnivalesque aspects of the day shows a tension between the old Roman festivals and the imperial events newly inserted into the calendar: "The

²⁶¹ The *Fasti* has previously juxtaposed the deification of a Roman leader to a less reverential deification, for example, the deification of Romulus followed by the deification of the *formax* in Book 2. I argued that in that passage the comparison undercuts the grandeur of the Roman leader's deification.

²⁶² Zanker (1988) 105-15, 194-96, 213-15; Hinds (1992); Newlands (1995) 87-123; Wallace-Hadrill (2008).

playful narrator...seems to prefer the populist strain in Roman religion to the new moral and political decorum promulgated by the Julio-Claudian family..." (61). Indeed, the *Fasti* creates a distinct juxtaposition between the joviality of the Republican festival and the deadly silencing associated with the imperial commemoration. Augustus, one individual, dictates the terms of justice following Caesar's death, cutting down those who opposed him. In the context of Book 3, this appears another destructive act of a Roman leader doggedly dependent upon *arma*. The *arma* of Mars and Romulus produce only disorder. Augustus' use of *arma* appears ambiguous as well. I think, as Hinds (1992b: 148-49) suggests, the *Fasti* leaves it to the reader to judge how much the stories of myth and foundation shape the way the imperial dates are interpreted.

But as in the tales of Rhea Silvia, the Sabine women, and Ariadne, the masculine commemoration of Caesar proves another example of a powerful male voice vying to assert authority over the actions and authority of other voices and perspectives. And as in the other tales, the female voices and actions are productive for the state while the superior male exerting force is destructive. In this particular tension between Anna Perenna and Augustus' revenge, the *Fasti* escalates the conflict between genders to a larger political discussion. The poem calls attention to the manner in which new imperial dates appropriate Republican calendrical days. Augustus' prominent honor of Mars Ultor provides a new, public purpose to this day, potentially displacing the feast of Anna Perenna, which it seems, was already a less prominent ritual by this time (Johnson 1978: 7-18). Appending this imperial date to Anna's festival marks the intrusion of the Augustan *domus* into Roman republican time. In the tale of Lara, the poet exposes the violence underlying Augustus' appropriation of the Lares and highlights the voices that are silenced in the process of developing a new imperial cultural narrative. In this tale, the poet shows the stark contrast between the old Republican values and the force of Augustus, two seemingly

incompatible ideologies. As Newlands states, the poem's depiction of the Ides "offers an implied critique of the process by which power was wielded to reshape history and Roman identity" (Newlands 1996: 321).

Indeed, Book 3 explores, in numerous tales, the forceful redescription of Roman religious and historical narratives. It begins with two significant examples of the manipulation of time and ritual by Roman men. First, the speaker claims that when Romulus decided to make Mars the primary deity of the city, naming the first month of the calendar after him, Mars was already the deity of other Latin cities:

vox rata fit, patrioque vocat de nomine mensem.
dicitur haec pietas grata fuisse deo.
et tamen ante omnes Martem coluere priores
hoc dederat studiis bellica turba suis. (3.77-80)

His word is fulfilled; he calls the month from his father's name.
This act of devotion is said to have pleased the god.
Yet earlier people too worshipped Mars above all; this worship a war-
like crowd had given with their zealous attention.

Romulus appropriated the god and gave him a new purpose specific to Rome. The act evokes Augustus' own redefinition of the deity as both Ultor and Pater. The speaker describes the multiple reorganizations of the calendar. First Romulus arranged the calendar, but his knowledge was limited to the military (116-33). Thus his calendar, organized by martial numbers and associations, was inaccurate. Numa first corrected it (151-54) and at long last Caesar took it under his charge and straightened it out (155-66).²⁶³ From the outset, then, the book explores the redescription of time and culture by the various Roman leaders. But the male figures are not

²⁶³ See in particular Feeney (2007) 187-89, 202-06.

stable leaders.²⁶⁴ As their interactions with Rhea Silvia, the Sabine women, Ariadne, Anna Perenna, and Minerva show, the men are chaotic, destructive, or impotent. Their attempts to assert authority, particularly over women who play such essential, productive and peaceful roles in the state appear foolish. Just as the speaker dramatizes Romulus' failure to force the Roman calendar into a military structure, these alternative female accounts interrogate Augustan authority over the contemporary religious calendar.

The women of Book 3 both dramatize the essential role of the female body in Roman foundations (e.g. Rhea Silvia and Sabine women) and manifest the authority of the female voice, speaking for the marginalized and advocating for peace in the face of male violence and disorder. Having demonstrated the legitimacy of the female perspective in Book 3, in Book 4, Ovid highlights the numerous roles of women of all classes in Roman religion. No longer silenced or oppressed, as in other accounts, the women of Book 3 display the abundant potential of unrestrained female sexuality in producing a flourishing Roman state.

²⁶⁴ Given the space, I would give a detailed analysis of the character of Numa in Book 3, particularly in consideration with the other imperial date, the day on which Augustus received the title of Pontifex Maximus. I would draw upon a suggestion of Hinds' (1992b) that Book 3 showcases an incompatibility between the personages and leadership of Romulus and Numa, the two Roman leaders Augustus attempted to embody in his role as princeps. I suggest that the representation of Numa in this episode, similar to Aeneas in Book 3 and Evander in Book 1, is that of a leader who relies upon a woman, Egeria, for help with assuaging the anger of Jupiter. I would suggest that Numa (like Romulus and Aeneas), in the *Fasti*, is an imperfect model for Augustus. Unfortunately, this subject is outside of the scope of my current project.

CHAPTER 5: *FASTI* BOOK 4: VENUS, FEMALE SEXUALITY, AND WOMEN'S RELIGIOUS ROLES IN ROME

Introduction

Following the chaotic month of March, in which Mars, in particular, but also other Roman male leaders both mythical and historical (Aeneas, Romulus, even Augustus), instigate disorder and violence, Ovid embarks on the month of Venus. Quite the opposite of March, April is a month of fertility and peace dominated by female rituals. Nearly every religious festival celebrates a goddess who protects and promotes safety and prosperity (Venus Verticordia, Megalensia, Cerialia, Venus Erycina, Vesta, Floralia). I consider these festivals via several approaches, arguing that April completes the progression of gender reversal developed throughout the first three books. Book 1 introduces conflicting voices and the question of gender and authority with the first two embedded speakers, Janus and Carmentis. Book 2 showcases male violence and the forceful suppression of the female voice, as with Callisto, Lara, and Lucretia. Book 3 further explores the differences between male and female perspectives, highlighting the important, stabilizing role of women in Roman culture (Rhea Silvia, Sabine women, Anna Perenna), as well as the attempts of men to appropriate female actions for their own purposes and to create their own

narratives. In Book 4, an overwhelming number of female festivals show the essential role of women in Roman culture and ritual as the instigators and guardians of harmony and prosperity. The rituals for women in this book differ qualitatively from previous festivals: women are not victims (i.e., no raped female as a foundational tale) but leaders. Their rituals focus not on reproduction but on peace, development, and celebration of women and their sexuality. Finally, the rituals are demographically different and feature a wide range of social classes contributing to the city.

Ovid's arrangement of the festivals in April gains significance in counterpoint to the rituals of March. Mars and Venus are both ancestors of the Julian family and foundational gods of Rome, but their roles within the state differ significantly. The speaker emphasizes certain aspects of each deity's characteristics and domains in Roman religion, as related to the theme of each month. In March, Mars dramatizes the chaos that results from a stubborn insistence on the use of *arma* and *vis*. April, by contrast, highlights the importance of women and women's rituals and investigates, in several tales, the interrelatedness of female sexuality and the Roman state. The female figures of Book 4 strongly contrast with the ineffective male leaders, namely founders such as Romulus, Aeneas, and even Augustus of Book 3. With bold initiative, the women of Book 4 undermine the attempts of the men in Book 3 to assert control over women and Roman narratives and instead offer a vision of a productive Rome that incorporates and celebrates a wide variety of persons. Ovid intentionally obscures distinctions between *matrona* and *meretrix* in religious rituals to suggest, as I argue, the significance of women in ritual practice and in the community, despite class, sexual status, and strictly prescribed gender roles.

Venus

The opening passage demarcates the importance of Venus' month, which marks the start of a new quarter of the year, with a new invocation. In this invocation, the speaker calls upon his old muse, the Venus of elegy, the goddess who knows intimately the wounds of his heart. But, as the narrator explains to her, he is now embarking on a larger endeavor. Because she assures him that she can assist with this weightier project, she appears at first to be not the elegiac Venus but a different goddess. In comparison with both the programmatic opening of Book 1 as well as with the invocation to Mars in the previous month, the invocation of Venus introduces numerous generic and thematic questions.

'Alma fave,' dixi 'geminorum mater Amorum!'	1
ad vatem voltus rettulit illa suos:	
'quid tibi' ait 'mecum? certe maiora canebas.	
num vetus in molli pectore volnus habes?'	
'scis, dea' respondi 'de volnere.' risit, et aether	5
protinus ex illa parte serenus erat.	
'saucius an sanus numquid tua signa reliqui?	
tu mihi propositum, tu mihi semper opus.	
quae decuit, primis sine crimine lusimus annis,	
nunc teritur nostris area maior equis:	10
tempora cum causis annalibus eruta priscis	
lapsaque sub terras ortaque signa cano.	
venimus ad quartum, quo tu celeberrima mense:	
et vatem et mensem scis, Venus, esse tuos.'	
mota Cytheriaca leviter mea tempora myrto	15
contigit et 'coeptum perfice' dixit 'opus.'	
sensimus, et causae subito patuere dierum:	
dum licet et spirant flamina, navis eat. (1-18)	

'Show favor,' I said, 'gracious mother of the twin Loves.'
She turned her face back to the bard. 'What do you
want with me?' she says. 'You were certainly singing
greater things. Surely you don't have an old wound in
your soft heart?'
'Goddess,' I replied, 'you know about the wound.'
She laughed, and immediately the sky in that part was cloudless.
'Wounded or well, have I ever abandoned your

standards? You are my subject, you my work, always. In my early years I played without offense at what was proper; now a greater space is trodden by my horses. Times and their reasons, dug out of ancient records, and constellations sunk beneath the earth and risen, I sing. We have come to the fourth month, the one in which you are honored most, Venus, you know both bard and month are yours.’ Moved, she lightly touched my brow with Cytherean myrtle, and said: ‘Complete the work you have begun.’ I felt it, and suddenly the reasons for the days became clear. While it’s allowed and the breezes are blowing, let the ship sail.

In lines 11-12, the speaker closely echoes the programmatic statement of Book 1 with three changes.²⁶⁵ First, *canam* of Book 1 becomes *cano* (12), marking that the speaker is now in mid-song, rather than at the beginning. Second, he states that *tempora* will be dug up from ancient times (11). The word *tempora* replaces the *sacra* used in this same formulation in Book 1 (*sacra recognoscet annalibus eruta priscis*, “You will rediscover rituals dug out of ancient records,” 1.7).²⁶⁶ Finally, in comparison with Book 1, the most significant difference is in the addressee. Whereas in Book 1 the speaker addresses Germanicus (1.3), in Book 4, he calls for divine inspiration, namely his elegiac muse, to aid his poetic project.²⁶⁷

This new invocation to Venus calls forth the question of genre. Ovid’s Roman calendar is formally an elegiac work, though it differs greatly in content and scope from Ovid’s other elegiacs. Numerous scholars have pointed out the other literary influences prominent in various

²⁶⁵ For reference, Book 1.1-2: *tempora cum causis Latium digesta per annum / lapsaque sub terras ortaue signa canam*. On this point see also Chiu (2016: 149-52) who argues that in the proem the poet persona of the *Fasti* is nearly entirely subsumed into the persona of the *Amores*.

²⁶⁶ See Fantham ad loc.

²⁶⁷ In Book 3 the speaker also addresses a divinity, Mars, as he begins the month of the war god, but does not address Mars as a muse or request his inspiration.

sections of the *Fasti*: namely, Hellenistic poetry, specifically the *Aitia* of Callimachus and the *Phaenomena* of Aratus.²⁶⁸ Barchiesi, and Hinds, among others, have shown the epic influence on much of the *Fasti*'s subject matter (e.g. Book 3, Augustan dates, military commemorations).²⁶⁹ The invocation of the muse is a particular hallmark of both Hellenistic didactic as well as epic: as Knox argues, the muse, bestowing knowledge and authority, serves as a surety that the poet is trustworthy.

The *Fasti*, however, does not begin by invoking a muse in Book 1. Rather, the speaker asserts his poetic objectives and asks Germanicus' favor. He offers no authority for his materials aside from his own knowledge of the Roman calendar. Throughout the poem he calls on numerous muses to assist in the description of particular rituals (e.g. Janus, Mars, Erato, Urania, Juno), but they are accessory authorities with knowledge limited to a specific day or ritual.²⁷⁰ The request for divine aid in Book 4 is therefore significant for its generic implications within the poem. Hinds (1992a, 1992b) interprets the invocation of Mars in Book 3 and Venus in Book 4 as showing the poet's awareness of the generic tensions within the work.²⁷¹ In Book 3 the god of war must be tempered to be treated in elegiac verse: the speaker asks him to disarm (3.1-2). In

²⁶⁸ Knox, Gee (2000), Miller (1992), Schiesaro (2002). Newlands (2002) highlights the abundance of genre play in the *Fasti* and argues that the art of the poem derives from a juxtaposition of styles rather than fluid narrative development.

²⁶⁹ Barchiesi (1997), Hinds (1992a, 1992b), Mckeown (1984), Newlands (1995), Harrison (2002). Each of these studies has contradicted early arguments by Heinze (1919) that the *Fasti* is a paradigmatic elegiac text.

²⁷⁰ The reliability of these narrators is a larger question and the subject for another discussion. In the previous chapter I illustrated the unreliability of Mars as narrator by analyzing his description of the Matronalia. In this chapter I will briefly consider Erato's authority as well. For a full study on narrators in the *Fasti*, see Newlands (1992) and Miller (1983).

²⁷¹ See also Barchiesi (1997).

Book 4 the speaker calls on his old muse of elegy, asking her to assist him with an *area maior*.²⁷² Epic and elegy are both altered to fit this particular poetic undertaking. Though his elegiacs take on a loftier subject matter, the speaker continues to resist epic. He continues to write as though he is a love elegist. With the invocation of Venus as muse of his earlier elegies, the speaker directs his readers' attention to her elegiac influence. In line 8 the speaker states that Venus is always his literary task (*tu mihi semper opus*, "you are my work always"). Harrison (2002: 86) argues, correctly I believe, that *semper opus* suggests the continuation of elegiac poetry: once and always, elegiac Venus inspires his verses. The poet reassures Venus of her influence on his work and thus suggests that her interests will not be far from the *Fasti*.

I venture further to suggest that with this unique invocation to the muse in his reiteration of the proem, Ovid reintroduces the elegiac Venus into the work. The speaker prominently recalls both the subject of love and the commanding, independent female character (that is, both Venus, divine muse, but also the *docta puella*, corporeal muse of the *amator*). Aspects of the elegiac female are present in each of the festivals of Book 4, connecting the rituals through the consistent representation of female interests and perspectives. These women create a nexus of female subjectivity, interconnected throughout the book, that overwhelms the masculine imperial holidays that stand between them. Through the women, elegy overcomes epic.²⁷³ Venus'

²⁷² In *Amores* 3.15, the poet bids farewell to his elegiac muse and announces that he is compelled to begin on a greater subject (*area maior*, 18). He now recalls the goddess to assist with the work for which he bid her farewell.

corniger increpuit thyrsos gravior Lyaeus:
pulsanda est magnis area maior equis.
inbelles elegi, genialis Musa, valet,
post mea mansurum fata superstes opus. (17-20)

²⁷³ Chiu (2016: 149-58) argues similarly that the proem of Book 4 with invocation of Venus unveils the overwhelming elegiac influences in the work manifest in numerous tales about *amor*. She proposes that *amor* and *aetia* are not mutually exclusive elements in the *Fasti*, that the poet encourages readers to

presence not only shapes Book 4 but persists throughout the rest of the work, particularly evident in the abundance of female narrators in Books 5 and 6.²⁷⁴

In what Fantham describes as a rather intimate verbal exchange (Fantham 1998: 87-88), Venus responds brusquely to the poet's request to aid his poetic endeavor (*quid tibi mecum?*). As Roman readers would likely notice, the poet's opening invocation of Venus (4.1-2) strongly recalls *Amores* 3.15 in which the *amator* bade farewell to elegy and his muse, presumably to move to the larger project of the *Ars Amatoria*: *quaere novum vatem, tenerorum mater Amorum* ("Find a new poet, mother of tender love!" *Am* 3.15.1). He now requests her help again in a larger arena, *area maior*, and she consents. With his recall of the goddess of elegy, however, as well as allusions to his elegiac poems (5-10), the speaker brings elegy again to the forefront of his poetic calendar. He calls on a muse who knows his own wounds, who inspired him in his early years. Notably, in lines 9-10, the speaker places mention of his prior elegiac poetry in the hexameter and the new *area maior* in the pentameter.²⁷⁵ The placement of the *area maior* in the pentameter is significant as it suggests that this new subject matter, though greater, will not be epic, but rather still belongs to the elegiac realm. Venus gives divine authorization to the poet by touching his temples (*tempora*) with myrtle, but in so doing, she perhaps does more. *Tempora* in line 11 is also the word the speaker chooses to describe his project (one of the two emendations

consider "what role 'amatory aetiology' plays in the *Fasti* and how it affects the idea and depiction of what it means to be Roman" (154).

²⁷⁴ Following Book 4, an overwhelming number of tales in the final two books are told by divine muses. Book 5 features four female narrators (Polyhymnia, Urania, Calliope, Flora) and only one male (Mars). Book 6 features five divine female narrators/interlocutors (Juno, Hebe, Concordia, Minerva, Clio) and two mortal female interlocutors (wife of Flamen Dialis, old woman about festival of Vesta), but no divine male narrators/interlocutors and only one brief mortal (Sancus).

²⁷⁵ N.B. That *area maior* is placed in pentameter in *Am* 3.15.18 as well.

from Book 1). One possible reading of Venus' touching of his *tempora* is that the goddess also shapes his poetic *tempora* from here forward. To consider the influence of the elegiac muse on the poet's completion of this larger (*maior*) work requires an examination of the characterization of Venus and her qualities present in Book 4.²⁷⁶

Throughout the proem, the speaker highlights a number of Venus' characteristics: those familiar from contemporary culture and literature, those known from Greek associations with the goddess, and a few new attributes. Each of her qualities here identified reappears throughout the book, embodied by various female goddesses and different ritual celebrations. The first line underscores her role as mother and nourisher: *alma* and *mater*. Both qualities align with the contemporary identification of the goddess as Venus Genetrix, progenitor of Rome and the Julian family.²⁷⁷ As wife of Mars and mother of Aeneas, Venus is redefined by the Julian line as the mother of their family—a relationship portrayed prominently by the Temple of Venus Genetrix constructed by Julius Caesar in the forum. This Venus, ancestor of Augustus, is explicitly invoked just a few lines later:

Si qua tamen pars te de fastis tangere debet,
 Caesar, in Aprili, quo tenearis, habes.
 hic ad te magna descendit imagine mensis
 et fit adoptive nobilitate tuus. (19-22)

If any part of the calendar ought to touch you, Caesar, in
 April you have something you should look to. This month
 descends to you from a great image, and is made your

²⁷⁶ On the use of *tempora* here and the resonance with the opening lines of the poem, see also Chiu (2016: 153-54). One cannot overlook possible associations with the proem of the *Metamorphoses* in which the poet states that he will sing a continuous song from the the origin of the world to his times (*ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen* 1.4). On this point see Barchiesi (1989; 1991), Hardie (1991), and Feeney (2006).

²⁷⁷ For the appropriation and rebranding of Venus Genetrix by the Julian family, see Weinstock (1971: 80-91), Schilling (1982), Amici (1991), Beard, North & Price (1998), Warrior (2006). For Caesar's use of Venus Genetrix outside of Rome, see Rives (1994).

own by adopted nobility.

Thus, the non-elegiac Venus, the goddess whom the speaker has called upon to inspire an *area maior* rather than a playful love elegy, is first identified as the Venus of the principate (as she is first identified in the invocation of Book 1, lines 39-40). This descriptor, however, is only one of several characteristics of the goddess identified by the speaker. As he does with origins for names or other festivals, he offers several possible accounts for significance and meaning in the goddess' month (e.g. two possible origins for the name April, one Greek and one Latin, 61-90). Although the speaker does not explicitly favor one particular account, he exposes an inconsistency in the Julian narrative for Venus, one that suggests his discontent with Venus Genetrix as a singular descriptor of the goddess.

In his account of Venus' relation to Augustus, the speaker produces a hereditary timeline from Anchises and Aeneas to Romulus, familiar to the Augustan audience from Vergil and Livy among others.²⁷⁸ When the speaker reaches Romulus, however, he introduces a minor stumbling block in the ancestral logic. He states that Romulus, son of Ilia, always claimed that his parents were Venus and Mars. To assure that later generations believed his words, he named the two successive months (the first two months of his calendar) after each progenitor:

ille suos semper Venerem Martemque parentes
dixit et emeruit vocis habere fidem;

²⁷⁸ The divine lineage of the Julian line, traced back to Aeneas, features as a topic in the poetry of numerous Augustan authors, e.g. *Aeneid* (Book 8), Horace (*Odes* Book 4), Ovid *Metamorphoses* (Books 14 and 15). Livy too begins his history with Aeneas, the end of one city (Troy) leading to the beginning of another (Rome). His work follows a similar trajectory to that in the *Aeneid*, affirming the same tradition of Roman foundation myths. But in the surviving books he makes no explicit connections between the Julians, Venus and Aeneas. Even though each of these authors discusses the ancestral claims of the Julian family, the political motivations of each work vary vastly and are the topic of numerous scholarly debates. For a general discussion of politics in Augustan poetry, see Griffin (2005), Powell (1998), and Woodman and West (1984). On Vergil, see Weeda (2015), Putnam (1995) and Hardie (1989); on Horace see Lowrie (2007); on Ovid see Galinsky (1975), Wheeler (2000), Miller (2009), Feldherr (2010).

neve secuturi possent nescire nepotes,
tempora dis generis continuata dedit. (4.57-60)

He always said that Venus and Mars were his parents,
and he deserved to have his words believed. And so that
his coming descendants could not be in ignorance, he
gave successive times to the gods of his birth.

Venus, he points out, was not Romulus' mother. Rather, Romulus shaped the calendar so that it reflected the image of Roman lineage that he desired. Romulus' corrective effort is underscored by the ring composition of this narrative section. The speaker begins describing Romulus' designation of Venus' month in lines 23-24: *hoc pater Iliades, cum longum scriberet annum, / vidit et auctores rettulit ipse suos* ("The father, Ilia's son, saw this when he was writing the long year, and himself traced back the founders of your line."). He notably calls Romulus by the matronymic *Iliades*, calling to mind his mother Ilia. This epithet strongly contrasts with Romulus' assertion of parentage in lines 57-58. Such an action is consistent with Romulus' behavior in other books. In Book 2, Romulus is characterized by his destructive *vis*, a distinctly negative quality (2.139-44). In Book 3, he is again characterized by *vis*, but also by his dogmatic reliance upon *arma*, a narrowminded perspective that led to calendrical miscalculations (3.116-34). Here, too, Romulus makes a miscalculation about Venus' role in his ancestry. In exposing Romulus' attempts to shape the Roman calendar, as I will argue, Ovid implicitly critiques similar endeavors by Julius Caesar and Augustus, particularly, in this passage, the Julian family's redescription of the role of Venus in the state.

In dedicating the Temple of Venus Genetrix in his Forum, Julius Caesar prominently announced his ancestral ties to the goddess and the founders of the city, Aeneas and Romulus, and thereby his divine and predestined right to rule. Augustus expanded upon this public narrative to

assert the divine ancestry of his principate by building his own Temple to Mars Ultor, which reinforced this message. In the process of acquiring power, the Julian family appropriated the ancient goddess, long connected to Roman origins, as a symbol of their authority and through her, helped to establish their place as leaders.²⁷⁹ In undercutting Romulus' estimation of his relationship to the goddess (4.57-60), Ovid subtly points as well to the fabricated calculations of the Julians and their attempts to claim Venus as their own.²⁸⁰

In the final and longest characterization of the goddess, the speaker describes her role as *genetrix* not simply of the Julian line, but of the world. In lines 91-132, he ascribes a unique set of powers to her, portraying her much like the Lucretian goddess, divine guide of the cosmos, a generative and peaceful power.²⁸¹ The Venus of the *Fasti*, however, features other notable aspects. She is the mother and creator of all the world (*illa deos omnes (longum est numerare) creavit: / illa satis causas arboribusque dedit*, "She created all the gods (it's a long task to number them), she gave the crops and the trees their causes," 95-96) and represents not only procreative sex but also desire and amorous love:

illa rudes animos hominum contraxit in unum
et docuit iungi cum pare quemque sua.
quid genus omne creat volucrum, nisi blanda voluptas?
nec coeant pecudes, sit levis absit amor. (4.97-100)

...she brought together the crude hearts of human
beings and taught them to be joined each with his mate.
What creates the whole race of birds, if not enticing pleasure?

²⁷⁹ See Suet. *Caesar* 78. Also Weinstock (1971: 376-7), Galinsky (1996: 321), and Stamper (2005: 92-102).

²⁸⁰ For discussions of the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Augustan forum see Zanker (1990), Beard, North & Price (1998), Warrior (2006), Lamp (2013). On visual representations of Augustan ideology, see also Wallace-Hadrill (1993), Galinsky (1996), Habinek and Schiesaro (1997). Finally, Kellum (1997) offers a useful discussion of the conception of gender in Augustan art and architecture.

²⁸¹ E.g. Lucretius 1.1-23. On Lucretian Venus see Harrison (2015), Fratantuono (2015), Gale (2004 and 1994), Asmis (1997).

Nor would cattle mate in the absence of gentle love.

Lines 99-100 feature elegiac language, *blanda voluptas* and *levis amor*, to describe the type of unions that the goddess inspires. The elegiac Venus resurfaces here, shaping the world by giving men and animals alike *amor* that guides them. *Amor* brings peace that distracts men from force and *arma* and prevents violence.

cum mare trux aries cornu decertat; at idem
frontem dilectae laedere parcit ovis.
deposita sequitur taurus feritate iuvencam,
quem toti saltus, quem nemus omne tremit.
vis eadem, lato quodcumque sub aequore vivit,
servat et innumeris piscibus implet aquas.
prima feros habitus homini detraxit: ab illa
venerunt cultus mundaque cura sui.
primus amans carmen vigilatum nocte negata
dicitur ad clausas concinuisse fores,
eloquiumque fuit duram exorare puellam,
proque sua causa quisque disertus erat. (4.101-112)

The fierce ram uses his horn to fight it out with a rival, but still holds back from hurting the brow of a loved ewe. The bull, who makes all the heathland and woodland tremble, puts off his fierceness and follows the heifer. The same force preserves whatever lives under the broad ocean, and fills the waters with countless fish. She was the first to strip man of his savage habits. From her came civilized living and clean care of oneself. It is said that a lover was the first to have sung a wakeful song, before the closed doors when a night was denied him; eloquence consisted of winning over an obstinate girl, and each man was fluent for his own cause.

Not only are harsh animals tamed by love, but men too are refined from crude, savage men to elegant, well-dressed ones.²⁸² Moreover, these men inspired by Venus are elegiac lovers, staying

²⁸² In lines 107-08, men who are described as *feros* in the hexameter, an epic word of war and violence, are transformed, in the pentameter, into *cultos*, a word that describes elegiac attire and sophistication. A few lines above in 101-102, the animals transformed from violent beasts to peaceful lovers are the ram and the bull, the first a constellation that ranges from March to April, and the second an April-May constellation. Symbolically, the warring constellation with which March ends, the ram, is, in April,

up all night singing outside the barred door of a *dura puella*, the elegiac woman who resists the pleadings of an *amator*. As stated in lines 111-12, the elegiac Venus created eloquence with the introduction of *amor*, but she also inspired the creation of all species and the turn from ferocity to peace. Elegiac Venus represents a turn away from the *arma* and *vis* of Mars.

While the speaker highlights Venus' generative aspects, reifying her role as both a creator and a mother, he also conflates the *genetrix* with the elegiac muse. He concludes with a final mention of Venus' role in the creation of Rome by offering three links between the goddess and Troy: she bore arms for Troy, she defeated Athena and Juno in the judgment of Paris, and she was called the wife of Anchises, hence ancestor of Julius Caesar (119-124). Notably, the speaker addresses his Roman leader and demarcates this Venus as strictly Roman: *pro Troia, Romane, tua Venus arma ferebat* ("Roman, for your Troy Venus bore arms," 119). With the possessive adjective *tua*, the speaker distances himself from this Venus and also creates a subtle separation between her, Vergilian Venus, and his elegiac Venus from above. In interweaving the numerous roles of Venus, shifting back and forth between the epic Venus who is mother of the Julians and the elegiac Venus who inspires love, creation, and peace, the speaker introduces a Venus who is more complex and more inclusive than Venus Genetrix. She represents not only marital love and the procreation of citizens, but also illegitimate love, the sexual affairs between citizens and prostitutes. The Venus of the *Fasti*, in all of her elements, represents peace and rebirth embodied in the fruitful season of spring. Her divine character defies boundaries, fusing epic and elegiac, as she brings fertility and safety in numerous contexts and through various means. Like the goddess, the female ritual participants of Book 4 also defy categorization. Women of various classes and possessing different sexual statuses participate together in ritual and take their own

peacefully subdued. The force of Mars and the month of March is appropriated and replaced in line 105. Venus' *amor* is called a *vis*. Venus and *amor* thus supplant the physical *vis* of Mars.

initiative in state religion. The thematic representation of productive female participation unites the festivals of Book 4, creating a powerful impression of the productive role of women at the heart of Roman religion.

As Molly Pasco-Pranger has noted, the terms *genetrix* and *mater* connect many of the goddesses and their festivals throughout the month. The interconnectedness of mother goddesses underscores the important role of women, as producers, in maintaining the Roman state. Thus, by underscoring the motherly, generative aspects of each of the goddesses in April, the speaker emphasizes the *genetrix* aspect of Venus' Roman identity even when Venus herself is not present (Pasco-Pranger 2006: 131-32). But as in the proem, *genetrix* is not limited to a singular definition, that is a certain type of woman of a particular class or sexual status. Numerous festivals feature tales of rituals in which the sexual status of women is ambiguous, along with tales that include all groups of women. As I will argue here, these festivals demonstrate that, contrary to Augustan ideology, which sought to use religious cult to divide and define the class and status of Roman women, all types of women—regardless of their sexual status or class—are important to the peace and prosperity of the Roman state.

Venus: Matronae et Meretrices

The first festival day of the month, honoring Venus, draws a contrast between the Augustan Venus and other aspects of her divinity. Augustus endeavored in various ways to impose strict guidelines on the behavior and dress of upper-class Roman women. He presented the women of his family as emblems of *pudicitia*, thereby publicly proclaiming the importance of the chastity of patrician women. Livia and Octavia were displayed in statuary throughout the city, draped in heavy clothing and modeling religious and civic piety.²⁸³ The women depicted on the

²⁸³ Kampen (1991), Kellum (1990), Flory (1984, 1993), Purcell (1986), Boatwright (2011), Milnor (2005).

Ara Pacis match this same modest standard.²⁸⁴ The Temple of Vesta, adjacent to Augustus' Palatine home, and the new shrine to Vesta incorporated in his palace, marked Augustus' protection and cultivation of her cult. The priestesses of the cult served as symbolic emblems of the safety of the city, acting as defenders of the Roman hearth by means of their chastity.²⁸⁵ Augustus also used legislation to enforce his gendered moral program. The Julian laws on adultery and marriage focus on the sexual behavior of elite women. Augustan public policies and representations of women emphatically reinsert the *pudicitia* of citizen women into civic and political discourse and suggest that a woman's sexual status was outwardly discernible.²⁸⁶ The sexual status of elite women, their marriages, their behaviors and actions both inside and outside the home, all represent the morality and safety of the Roman state.

In delineating the various aspects of Venus and the similarities of her cults to other cults in April, the Ovidian speaker both marks the importance of the sexual status of Roman *matronae* to Roman civic life and simultaneously undermines the strict guidelines for the public appearance and behavior of upper-class women prescribed by Augustus. In each women's festival, he explicitly underscores the relationship between female sexual status and religious ritual. The description of the cult of Venus Verticordia on April 1st offers the first example of this relationship. The cult was initiated so that Venus would turn the hearts of wives to keep them faithful to their husbands, thereby protecting the *pudicitia* of the *matrona* and restoring Roman morals and stability:²⁸⁷

²⁸⁴ Kleiner (1978), Kampen (1991), Spaeth (1996), Lamp (2013).

²⁸⁵ Beard (1980), Wildfang (2006), Takacs (2010), Staples (2013), Linder (2015).

²⁸⁶ See discussion in Chapter 1, but also Langlands (2009), James (2003), Edwards (2002), Csillag (1976).

²⁸⁷ Valerius Maximus reports that a statue was dedicated to Venus Verticordia by Sulpicia, daughter of Servius Sulpicius, when the Sibylline Books prescribed the dedication as a solution for the prevailing

Roma pudicitia proavorum tempore lapsa est:
Cymaeam, veteres, consulistis anum.
templa iubet fieri Veneri, quibus ordine factis
inde Venus verso nomina corde tenet.
semper ad Aeneadas placido, pulcherrima, voltu
respice totque tuas, diva, tuere nurus. (4.157-62)

Rome slipped from chastity in our great-grandfathers' time;
you, men of old, consulted the old woman of Cumae. She
orders a temple to be built for Venus, and it was duly done;
since then Venus has a name from the turning of the heart.
Goddess most fair, look always with a kindly face on the
descendants of Aeneas, and protect your young wives, so numerous.

Amidst his description of this cult ritual, however, the speaker obscures the division between the ritual for Roman *matronae* and the ritual activities of lower class women, perhaps prostitutes, for Fortuna Virilis. By muddling the distinction between the classes of women celebrating different cult rituals, Ovid intentionally undermines the importance placed upon the chastity of upper-class women in cults such as Venus Verticordia.

In his description of April 1st, the narrator shifts seamlessly in 30 lines among three different religious rituals. He begins by addressing all women—mothers, brides, and courtesans—in the worship of Venus, instructing them to cleanse the goddess in an act of purification. He then moves to a description of the rituals for Fortuna Virilis in the baths and finally concludes

licentiousness of women: “Merito virorum commemorationi Sulpicia Servi Paterni filia, Q. Fulvi Flacci uxor, adicitur. quae, cum senatus libris Sibyllinis per decemviros inspectis censuisset ut Veneris Verticordiae simulacrum consecraretur, quo facilius virginum mulierumque mens a libidine ad pudicitiam converteretur, et ex omnibus matronis centum, ex centum autem decem sorte ductae de sanctissima femina iudicium facerent, cunctis castitate praelata est” (8.15.12). Dio Cassius reports a different story for the construction of the temple. He states that the temple was built to expiate the *crimen incesti*, three Vestals who had broken their vows of chastity (26.87). Staples (1998: 102-113) conciliates the two accounts by demonstrating that while one features matrons and the other Vestals both accounts display women who commit sexual transgressions and act more like prostitutes than matrons or Vestals. Thus both tales present a blurring of distinct sexual categories, a blurring of ritual boundaries that is dangerous and must be expiated. According to Staples, Venus could integrate disparate categories without compromising the ritual boundaries that defined them. Arguing against Schilling (1982) and Kramer (1992), she asserts that Ovid’s presentation of the festivals on April 1st demonstrates this integrative power of Venus’ cult, absent in the cults of other divinities.

with a description of the origins of Venus Verticordia. The passage entails three different rituals for different classes of women, presented in a way that obscures distinction between ritual celebrants:

Rite deam colitis Latiae matresque nurusque et vos, quis vittae longaue vestis abest.	
aurea marmoreo redimicula demite collo,	135
demite divitias: tota lavanda dea est.	
aurea siccato redimicula reddite collo:	
nunc alii flores, nunc nova danda rosa est.	
vos quoque sub viridi myrto iubet ipsa lavari:	
causaque, cur iubeat (discite!), certa subset	140
litore siccat rorantes nuda capillos:	
viderunt satyri, turba proterva, deam.	
sensit et opposita textit sua corpora myrto:	
tuta fuit facto vosque referre iubet.	
discite nunc, quare Fortunae tura Virili	145
detis eo, calida qui locus umet aqua.	
accipit ille locus posito velamine cunctas	
et vitium nudi corporis omne videt;	
ut tegat hoc celetque viros, Fortuna Virilis	
praestat et hoc parvo ture rogata facit.	150
nec pigeat tritum niveo cum lacte papaver	
sumere et expressis mella liquata favis;	
cum primum cupido Venus est deducta marito,	
hoc bibit: ex illo tempore nupta fuit.	
supplicibus verbis illam placate: sub illa	155
et forma et mores et bona fama manet.	
Roma pudicitia proavorum tempore lapsa est:	
Cymaeam, veteres, consuluistis anum.	
templa iubet fieri Veneri, quibus ordine factis	
inde Venus verso nomina corde tenet.	160
semper ad Aeneadas placido, pulcherrima, voltu	
respice totque tuas, diva, tuere nurus.	

You pay the goddess proper respect, matrons and young wives of Latium, and you who don't wear headbands and the long robe. Take off from her marble neck the golden necklaces, take off her wealth; the goddess must be washed all over. Put back on her new-dried neck the golden necklaces; fresh flowers, a new rose must be given her now. The goddess orders you too to be washed, under green myrtle, and there is a sure reason why she does so. Learn it! She was naked on the shore, drying her dripping hair. A lecherous gang of satyrs

saw the goddess. She realized, and put myrtle in the way to screen her body. By doing so she was safe, and she bids you repeat it. Now learn why you give incense to Fortuna Virilis at the place which is wet with cold water. That place receives all women without their clothes, and sees every blemish of the naked body. Fortuna Virilis undertakes to hide this and conceal it from men, and she does so when asked with a little incense. And don't be reluctant to take ground poppy in white milk, and liquid honey squeezed from the honeycombs. When Venus was first brought to her eager husband, this is what she drank, and from that moment she was a wife. Appease her with words of supplication; in her control beauty and character and good reputation stay fixed. Rome slipped from chastity in our great-grandfather's time; you, men of old, consulted the old woman of Cumae. She orders a temple to be built for Venus, and it was duly done; since then Venus has a name from the turning of the heart. Goddess most fair, look always with a kindly face on the descendants of Aeneas, and protect your young wives, so numerous.

I include the entire passage to capture the fluidity of the calendrical entry, specifically the nearly seamless shift from Venus to Fortuna and back to Venus at lines 133, 145, and 151. The heavily ritualistic language, with hymnic repetition of verbs and nouns, aids the poetic flow, guiding readers through each ritual with little interruption. Lines 135-38 feature the melodic repetition of *aurea, redimicula, demite*. Most notably, the speaker consistently uses a second-person pronoun throughout the passage to address the female ritual participants. Whether he is addressing the broadly inclusive group of women in lines 133-134, the *meretrices* who typically worship Fortuna Virilis, or the *matronae* who worship Venus Verticordia, he does not differentiate or single out certain types of women. In the first description, he addresses mothers, brides, and women who do not wear fillets or long robes, women who are presumably prostitutes (*Latiae matresque nurusque / et vos, quis vittae longaue vestis abest*, 133-34). He invites all these women to join in a ritual bathing of Venus, repeatedly enjoining the group with numerous imperatives (*demite, reddite, discite*). This ritual description concludes with a description of

Venus' sexual modesty. The goddess, he says, when spied upon by satyrs while she was bathing, covered herself with the myrtle for protection (141-44).

With another second-person plural imperative, the speaker turns to the rites for Fortuna Virilis. The *Fasti Praenestini*, among other sources, assert that the rites of Fortuna Virilis were for lower-class women and prostitutes.²⁸⁸ The speaker of the *Fasti*, however, makes no such distinction. His use of the second-person plural imperative, with no designated subject, presumes that he is addressing the same inclusive group of women to whom he prescribed the ritual bathing of Venus. *Discite* in line 145, repeated from just five lines above, aligns both the rituals and the female audience, signaling a continuation of women's worship as much as it does a new festival. In this ritual, however, rather than cleansing and then protecting their sexual modesty, the women now bathe so that Fortuna Virilis will cleanse their bodies, making them appear pristine to men (145-50). Thus the ritual celebrates women as objects for the sexual gaze and gratification of men.

Finally, the speaker shifts back to a discussion of Venus' rituals, in particular Venus, bride of Mars, who protects beauty, virtue, and good reputation (*forma, mores, bona fama*). But he offers no signpost to separate this ritual description from that of Fortuna Virilis.²⁸⁹ In line

²⁸⁸ Mommsen's reconstruction of the entry in the *Fasti Praenestini*: *Frequenter mulieres supplicant [honestiores Veneri Verticordiae] fortunae virili, humiliores etiam in balneis, quod in iis ea parte corpor[is] utique viri nudantur, qua feminarum gratia desideratur*. See Degraffi (1963) Table 40 for the calendar. If we ignore Mommsen's interpolation, we can see that the *Fasti Praenestini* suggests that the festival on original April 1st was solely for Fortuna Virilis. To the contrary, later authors—Plutarch (*Num.* 19.2), Macrobius (*Sat.* 1.12.15), and Lydus (*de Mens* 4.65)—attribute the rituals on April 1st solely to Venus. Ovid alone, of remaining accounts, unites the two.

²⁸⁹ Schilling (1982: 389 *et seq.*) argues that the description of the ritual of Fortuna Virilis is an interpolation of a description of a second cult into the rituals of Venus. Staples (1998: 110) argues to the contrary for the unity of the ritual descriptions and suggests that Fortuna Virilis is a cult title of Venus. The ritual practices of Venus Verticordia, she argues, work within the same ideological framework as the cults of Bona Dea, Ceres, and Flora which all use the device of sexual categorization to distinguish wives from prostitutes. Venus Verticordia's cult, however, worked on the principal of inclusion, rather than exclusions in displaying the various ritual categories. My argument aligns more closely with Kramer, based on

150, he concludes the ritual bathing associated with Fortuna and in lines 151-2 states: *nec pigeat tritum niveo cum lacte papaver / sumere et expressis mella liquata favis* (“And don’t be reluctant to take ground poppy in white milk, and liquid honey squeezed from the honeycombs.”). The *nec* functions as a connective between the two rituals, intimately intertwining Fortuna and Venus in ritual celebration. Notably, these rituals are for women of different social classes. While Fortuna is a goddess for prostitutes, Venus Verticordia protects the sexual modesty of citizen women. The speaker tells us that when Rome had fallen from chastity (*pudicitia*, 157), the Cumaean Sibyl was consulted and it was decided that a temple should be built to Venus Verticordia who would guard wives, keeping them faithful to their husbands and, by doing so, presumably maintain peace and prosperity in the city (157-62).

Thus, Venus begins as a symbol of sexual modesty, is associated with a cult that celebrates the sexual enticement of men, and finally is called upon as a bride to protect marital loyalty. The lines between different classes of women and their standards for sexual behavior are intentionally obscured. In this muddling of sexual modesty and overt sexuality, Ovid seems to subtly mock the role of Venus in restoring *pudicitia* to marriages. The irony is more pronounced in that Venus Verticordia is recognized as the wife of Mars, her desirous husband (*cupido marito*, 153), a fact that recalls her famously adulterous marriage to Vulcan. Even the cult expressly limited to *matronae* offers a subversive view of women’s sexuality: as Venus is subject to the desirous gaze of Mars, so are *matronae* available to the public gaze of men, not differently from the

the style and context of the passage (1992: 60-61). He reads Ovid’s conflation of the two rituals as intentionally subversive and as a “suggestion, perhaps, that the distinctions between chaste married matrons and sexually indiscriminate *humiliores* were not, in fact, nearly as clear as they seemed.” Chiu (2016: 158) also argues that Ovid’s intentional blurring of identities in this passage is a literary ploy: “The cheerful images stand in counterpoint to Augustan social measures; the play of literary genres takes on a particular edge: love elegy is not only an intertextual and self-referential game, but it is also an oblique observation on the cultural milieu under Augustus.”

prostitutes who worship Fortuna Virilis.²⁹⁰ The first constellation of the book on the following day (April 2nd) features the Pleiades, another story that provides a questionable view of marriage. The speaker states that only six of the seven sisters are visible because six of them slept with gods, but one, Merope, married a mortal, Sisyphus. Ashamed of this deed, she hides: *septima mortali Merope tibi, Sisyphoe, nupsit; / paenitet, et facti sola pudore latet* (“and the seventh, Merope, married you, Sisyphus, a mortal, and regrets it and hides alone in shame for what she did,” 175-76). Bömer and Fantham offer reasons for Merope’s shame, namely the crimes of Sisyphus. Regardless, in context with the rituals of Venus Verticorida, it is significant that the mortal marriage is singled out as shameful and regrettable.²⁹¹ Throughout these passages, the speaker persistently conflates the upper-class woman and the *meretrix* and takes an ambiguous position on the virtue of sexual fidelity in marriage. Despite a woman’s particular class or sexual status, all women throughout this passage, divine and mortal, married and unmarried, are subject to the desires and sexual gaze of men. But regardless of their status or relationship to men, each group of women performs a ritual for the state and through these rituals asserts a place for the general female body in Roman religion.

²⁹⁰ On the public scrutiny of elite *matronae* under the Julian laws, see James (2003: 41-51).

²⁹¹ Newlands (2002: 66) examines this astral entry in comparison with the Magna Mater which follows it. She suggests that this excursus, “allows the poet to provide an unconventional transvaluation of chastity” in which *pudor* is defined as the shame that attends marriage. Thus the Pleiades offer the perspective of chastity as a contingent, not absolute value, that is subject to ideological appropriation (important, as Newlands argues, to the subsequent tales of Magna Mater). Fantham ad loc. proposes that *paenitat* suggests “only regret at a missed opportunity.” And argues that since Merope was the only sister to conform to “traditional (and Augustan) morality, this *pudor* at correct behaviour is revealed as snobbery, rating an important lover over a lesser husband.” I agree with Newlands that this passage offers a critique on the mutability (and even arbitrary nature) of the concepts of *pudicitia* and *pudor*.

Strikingly, of the two festivals to Venus in the book, both involve the rites of courtesans. April 23rd features the Vinalia, a ritual for Jupiter. Ovid, however, delays the Vinalia in preference for the cult of Venus Erycina, ritually honored by prostitutes. He urges common ladies (*vulgares puellae*) to celebrate Venus by offering incense, praying for certain favors, and offering the goddess myrtle and roses:

numina vulgares Veneris celebrate puellae:
 multa professorum quaestibus apta Venus.
 poscite ture dato formam populi que favorem,
 poscite blanditias dignaque verba ioco,
 cumque sua dominae date grata sisymbria myrto
 tectaque composita iuncea vincla rosa. (4.865-870)

Celebrate the power of Venus, girls of the street; Venus is appropriate for the earnings of women who promise a lot. With an offering of incense ask for beauty and popular favour, ask for seductiveness and words that are fit for fun. And give your mistress pleasing mint along with her own myrtle, and bonds of reed covered with well-arranged roses.

The adjective *vulgares* and the phrase *professorum quaestibus* denote a lower class of women, the latter phrase specifically referring to women who make a profit, a common euphemism for prostitutes.²⁹² The rites described in this passage feature a connection to each of the three rituals described on April 1st and align these women and their rites with the diverse group of women addressed in the rites of Venus Verticordia and Fortuna Virilis. First, the use of roses (870) and myrtle (864) echo the description of the ritual bathing of Venus (138-39, 143), a rite performed by women of all statuses. Next, the giving of incense (*iure dato*, 867) is a ritual that belongs as well to the celebration of Fortuna Virilis (*discite nunc, quare Fortunae tura Virili / detis eo*,

²⁹² See Fantham ad loc. For *vulgares*, “Common to or shared by all, sexually promiscuous,” cf., *OLD* p. 2121, s.v. *vulgaris*, 5. For *professorum quaestibus*, “to submit one’s name, enroll, register as a prostitute,” cf., *OLD* p. 1476, s.v. *profiteor*, 2b. See also Flemming (1999).

“Now learn why you give incense to Fortuna Virilis,” 145-46). Finally, the prostitutes worshipping Venus Erycina pray for *forma*, *blanditiae*, and *verba digna ioco* (867-68), an altered, very elegiac variation of the *bona fama*, *forma*, and *mores* that Venus Verticordia grants to *matronae*. Both the cult of Venus Verticordia and of Venus Erycina were also brought into Rome by dictate of the Sibyl. The speaker states of Venus Verticordia:

Roma pudicitia proavorum tempore lapsa est:
Cymaem, veteres, consuluistis anum. (157-58)

Rome slipped from chastity in our great-grandfathers’
time; you, men of old, consulted the old woman of Cumae.

And later of Venus Erycina:

templa frequentari Collinae proxima portae
nunc decet, a Siculo nomina colle tenent;
utque Syracusas Arethusidas abstulit armis
Claudius et bello te quoque cepit, Eryx,
carmine vivacis Venus est translata Sibyllae,
inque suae stirpis maluit urbe coli. (4.871-76)

Now it is proper for the temple next to the Porta Collina to be thronged. It takes its name from a Sicilian hill, and when Claudius by force of arms took Arethusian Syracuse and captured you too, Eryx, in war, thanks to the song of the long-lived Sibyl, Venus was brought across and preferred to be worshipped in the city of her own descendants.

It is significant that the speaker gives a ritual for non-citizen, lower-class women primacy over the celebration of Jupiter. Particularly of note is that the date of the ritual is not exact. There were two temples to Venus Erycina in Rome. Ovid refers to the second built by the Colline gate,

but the date of erection of that temple is unclear.²⁹³ Livy reports a temple to Venus Erycina dedicated in 184 BCE, but Ovid mentions a different temple built in 212, after the capture of Syracuse. The *Fasti Praenestini* record the anniversary of the Temple of Venus Erycina built at the Colline gate on October 24th.²⁹⁴ Perhaps the speaker has confused the temples and the dates. I argue, however, that with the inclusion of these rites in April and the unique association of these rites to prior rites for Venus, he pointedly inserts this celebration of lower-class women into the month of April to give continual primacy to female rituals and rituals representative of all classes. Thus Ovid again foregrounds the role of women in Roman religious ritual, a role that defies sexual status and social mores.

Venus Erycina is, in fact, the third goddess in the book imported into Rome by dictate of a Sibyl during the Punic wars. Venus Verticordia is the first, and Magna Mater, whose ritual I discuss below, follows after. All three goddesses are brought into the city during a time of crisis and their cults are intended to bring the Romans aid and protection. As Pasco-Pranger (2006: 158-59) argues, the cult depictions, featuring similar and overlapping features, encourage the reader to look back and forth between them. The design of the rituals' descriptions thus foregrounds the importance of female cults for the safety and strength of the state—the important characteristics of protective female deities interweaving numerous days. But notably conflated is the sexual status of female participants. The division of the two groups of women for different cults of Venus (*matronae* for Verticordia and *meretrices* for Erycina) might reflect an Augustan

²⁹³ One temple, vowed by Q. Fabius Maximus after the disastrous defeat at Lake Trasimene in 217 B.C.E., was built on the Capitoline (cf. Livy 22.9.7-11 and 23.31.9). The better known temple of Venus Erycina was dedicated 34 years later by L. Porcius Licinius, who vowed to construct it during the Ligurian war (cf. Livy 40.34.4 and 30.38.10). The latter is likely the temple to which Ovid refers above.

²⁹⁴ See Fantham ad loc. and Koch (1995: 28, 38).

ideology that divided classes of women by their sexual status. I argue, however, that the festivals of Book 4 emphasize the importance of women's role in religion across classes, a role that defies the divisions of sexual status. The poet immediately obscures the sexual status of female ritual participants on the first of the month and undermines the men's call for the protection of chastity in the cult of Verticordia by the conflation between *meretrices* and *matronae*. Linguistic parallels between Erycina and Verticordia undermine any strict division between the role of *matronae* and *meretrices*. A second association of Venus with *meretrices* shows the speaker's inclination toward an elegiac Venus, a Venus who represents the *docta puella* (famously known for *forma* and *blanditiae*) rather than the Venus *genetrix* of the Augustan family.

Indeed, as Pasco-Pranger notes, there are important historical similarities between the tales about Venus Verticordia and the Magna Mater as well. The details of Venus Verticordia's importation entail two different traditional stories, neither of which the speaker opts to tell: that her temple was built to atone for a triple case of Vestal incest in 114 BCE, or that Sulpicia, a hundred years prior, was chosen as an exemplary matron to dedicate a statue of the goddess.²⁹⁵ Rather, he offers an ambiguous explanation that could refer to either incident (*Roma pudicitia proavorum tempore lapsa est; / Cumaeam, veteres, consuluistis anum*, 157-58). The traditional stories of the cult overlap significantly with the tale of Claudia Quinta and Magna Mater, which I will discuss next. Pasco-Pranger argues that in the depiction of the rituals of Verticordia and Magna Mater, "we can see a clear case of Ovid's awareness of the compositional whole of his book affecting his choice of detail within his treatment of these two cults" (159). But in this crafting of stories, she argues, Ovid "...asserts the place of the cult of Magna Mater among the cults of April concerned with the regulation of female chastity" (159). I would argue that Ovid

²⁹⁵ See Pasco-Pranger (2006: 145) and Staples (1998: 103-06).

crafts the depiction of these cults to explore the role of all female sexuality in Roman religion and to challenge the limitations imposed on women when their level of participation is defined by their social position and chastity. Ovid pointedly omits details of the cult of Venus Verticordia that align with Augustan sympathies (i.e., atonement for Vestal crimes, the role of Sulpicia), offering instead a subversive reading of the importance of marriage and the regulation of women's sexuality. In the tale of the Magna Mater, which I will explore next, Ovid takes a well-known tale of female chastity and offers a new version in which woman independently defines the relationship of her sexual status to her religious role, free of social judgment. In Book 4, Ovid connects tales not about the regulation of female chastity but that critique the regulation of female chastity across class lines.

Magna Mater: Female Sexual Status and The Roman State

In April's high concentration of female festivals, Ovid vividly displays the importance of female sexual status—virginity, *pudicitia*, marital fidelity, fertility—to the prosperity of Rome. Throughout, he also plays with and undermines the weighty civic importance placed on the *pudicitia* of Roman citizen women by Augustan ideology. The next major religious ritual, the Megalensia, provides the origins of Magna Mater in Rome. In 3 BCE, the temple of Magna Mater was consumed in fire and then reconstructed by Augustus. Sitting at the base of the Palatine hill, below his home, the newly restored temple figured into the Palatine complex.²⁹⁶ With the numerous temples adjoined to or in close proximity to his house, Augustus constructed a visual representation of both the power and divine right to rule of the principate and the moral values promoted under his reign (e.g. Temple of Apollo, house of Romulus, Temple of Vesta, Temple of Victoria). Magna Mater, considered a mother goddess of the Roman people, fit well into this

²⁹⁶ See Fantham, Wiseman (1984), On the different phases of temple construction on the Palatine see Coarelli (2012: 258-82), Mattern (2000), and Pensabene (2006).

ideological program. Associated with Rome's Trojan origins, she aided Aeneas in his journey to Italy, so her reconstructed temple offers a visual reminder of the connection of the Julian family to Rome's origins.²⁹⁷ As Wiseman (1984: 119-128) has shown, the *Aeneid* depicts the new Augustan conception of the goddess: no longer the strange, foreign deity of Catullus 63, but now the protectress of the Roman people. Though not explicitly a goddess of chastity, in her role as protectress, Magna Mater is a guardian of the virtue of Roman citizen women, particularly since, ideologically, the safety of the Roman state depended upon the *pudicitia* of women (see Chapter 1 on this point).²⁹⁸ Magna Mater was associated with female virtue from the time of her importation, dramatized by the myth of her arrival into Rome: she was received by the best man in the city accompanied by a group of chaste *matronae*.²⁹⁹ Some accounts single out a particular woman, Claudia Quinta, for her role in the goddess' importation and her exemplary chastity (a

²⁹⁷ Bomer (1964), Wiseman (1984), Takacs (1996: 372-75).

²⁹⁸ On the Augustan image of the goddess in the *Aeneid* see Wilhelm (1988) who also argues that Magna Mater is the goddess on the Ara Pacis panel (contra Spaeth (1996) and discussion in n.332 below). Wilhelm suggests that Cybele's image on the altar reflects how fully her historical and political contributions to Rome have been incorporated into the legendary origins of Rome (97). On the "Romanization" of the goddess see Roller (1999), Parker (1997: 125-47), Bremmer (1987). For Bremmer, Claudia Quinta's tale is a key component in making the cult of the goddess, in particular the strange *galli*, more acceptable to Romans. Pasco-Pranger (2006: 134-138) demonstrates the numerous connections between Venus of the proem, Magna Mater, and Venus Erycina in *Fasti* 4. Ovid, she argues, intentionally overlaps different aspects of their cults to emphasize the similarities between the goddesses, in particular their shared role as mother of the Romans, as *genetrix*, and as *creatrix*. Such cult similarities to Venus Genetrix suggest that Magna Mater, a second mother of Rome, also represented female virtue.

²⁹⁹ See Cicero *De Haruspicio* 27, *Pro Caelio* 34; Livy 29.10-14; Propertius 4.11.51-2. Historians debate the veracity of these different literary accounts. P.J. Burton (1996) summarizes and addresses the conflicting opinions of three primary schools of thought: Graillet (1909), Vermaseren (1977), and Gruen (1990). On the evolving cult characteristics of Magna Mater from Anatolian to Roman goddess see Roller (1999), especially (315-19) for a discussion of Augustus' appropriation of the cult and the goddess' uniquely Roman associations with fertility. For discussions of Ovid's tale see Littlewood (1981: 381-95) and Jope (1988: 13-22).

statue of Claudia Quinta is alleged to have stood in her temple).³⁰⁰ Magna Mater thus served as a divine mother goddess, protectress of state and emblem of fertility, production, and female virtue in the Augustan age, and even continuing throughout the Roman empire.³⁰¹

In the *Fasti*'s account of the Megalensia, the relationship between the goddess and the sexual status of her worshippers is the primary focus of the ritual descriptions. This subject is first presented in the story of Attis to explain the Galli priests and their castration, and second in the story of Claudia Quinta. In conversation with the muse Erato, the speaker seeks explanation for a number of ritual practices associated with the goddess. Erato's longest description is of the goddess' arrival to Rome, featuring the story of Claudia Quinta and her role in bringing Magna Mater into the city. The *Fasti*'s tale features numerous differences from other prior literary accounts. Most significantly, in this version, Erato features Claudia Quinta as the heroine of her own story. She takes the initiative to bring Magna Mater to Rome single-handedly and, in doing so, to prove her *pudicitia* and establish its importance not only to the city but to herself. In the *Fasti*'s tale, Claudia Quinta defines for herself the importance of her sexual status, free from public judgment. Her actions challenge contemporary ideology in which women are judged by the public perception of their sexual status and are limited to strictly defined ritual roles based on

³⁰⁰ On the statue see Val. Max. 1.8.11, Tac. *Ann.* 4.64, also Staples (1998: 119 n. 49), Flory (1993) and Rehak (1990).

³⁰¹ Further evidence of this point comes from cameo's of emperor's wives represented as Magna Mater: first a cameo of Livia portrayed as the Mother Goddess, and later other prominent women such as Julia Domna. See Zanker (1990: 234), Wilhem (1988: 93-96). There are numerous representations of Livia with the attributes of Magna Mater both cameos—e.g. the *gemma Augustea* (see Getty 1939) and the Vienna sarondyx (see Bieber 1968)—and also statuary, (see Wilhelm (1988: 93-95) , Bieber (1968), and Vermule (1957) on the seated statue of Livia in the Getty Museum).

that status. Augustus' incorporation of the Temple of Magna Mater represents the public importance of the virtue of citizen women, particularly as it pertains to the state.³⁰² Ovid's Claudia Quinta, taking on a perceptibly more masculine social initiative, instead acts against public opinion and boldly asserts her own role in religious ritual.

I examine here the presentation of the Megalensia, taking into consideration the narrator of the rituals of Cybele, the particular ritual stories told, and the similarities and differences between the *Fasti*'s account of the religious traditions of the Megalensia and other literary and historical accounts. I focus in particular on the tradition given the most detailed treatment in this passage: Claudia Quinta. I hope to show that in this central story the *Fasti* pointedly highlights the importance of female sexuality in Roman religious ritual and once again presents woman at the forefront of religious cult. Claudia's story shows thematic continuity with the rituals to Venus in which the distinction between social class and sexual status of participants is obscured.

The first notable aspect of this festival passage is the narrator, Erato. On April 4th, the speaker announces the beginning of the Megalensia. He describes watching the goddess Cybele as she is carried in a procession through the city on the backs of her priests, the Galli, accompanied by the shrill sound of cymbals clashing and the call for the games to begin (179-90). The speaker asks the goddess to grant him someone whom he might question to learn about the rituals, and she sends the muse Erato. It is then Erato, not the Ovidian speaker, who explains the origins, rites, and traditions associated with Magna Mater. As Newlands states, Erato is quite an appropriate muse for the occasion as she embodies the conflicting erotic and nationalistic agendas of the *Fasti* (Newlands 2002: 209).³⁰³ She is authorized to speak as the granddaughter of

³⁰² On this point see n. 301 above and also Staples (1998: 116-20).

³⁰³ See also Barchiesi (1997: 195-97).

Magna Mater, a goddess whose cult was refurbished under Augustus and was made an institution under the principate. As her name implies, however, she is associated with love, specifically, as the speaker states, with tender love (*teneri nomen amoris habet*, “she has the name of tender love,” 196), fitting for this elegiac poet in the month of Venus. But she also represents the complex nature of Venus of the proem, possessing the same dichotomous character that incorporates both elegiac love and procreative love. In her description of the goddess’ festival rite, Erato presents the cult of Magna Mater in a way that highlights a similar tension, depicting the goddess first and foremost as *creatrix*, but featuring two tales that imbue the depiction of her cult ritual with numerous elegiac qualities.

The speaker begins with a series of questions about various rituals which Erato, in turn, addresses: why the cymbals, why yoked lions attend her, why she wears the turreted crown, why her priests are eunuchs, and how long she has been in Rome (193-248). In her brief responses to the first four questions, Erato’s description of Magna Mater shares some similarities with the speaker’s description of Venus in the proem, consistently emphasizing her role as a nourishing mother with modifiers such as *alma* and *genetrix*. First, Magna Mater is depicted as mother of the gods, a common association for her in Roman religion.³⁰⁴ In Book 4, however, such a description also connects Magna Mater with Venus of the proem (cf Venus in lines 1, 27-60, 85-113). To explain the din of cymbals at the festival, Erato states that they originated when Rhea gave birth to Jupiter in secret. The cymbals disguised the sounds of her labor. Ever since, the symbols of the Curetes accompany Magna Mater and thus serve as a symbol of the association of

³⁰⁴ For descriptions of the Roman cult of Magna Mater see Roller (1999), Summers (1996). Takacs (1996) explores the similarities and differences between the Cybele and Magna Mater.

Magna Mater and Rhea as mother goddesses.³⁰⁵ A few lines later, Erato explicitly states that Magna Mater gave birth to the gods (*'illa deos' inquit ' peperit: cessere parenti, / principiumque dati Mater honoris habet,'* “‘She gave birth to the gods,’ she says. ‘They deferred to their parent, and the Mother has precedence in the honor bestowed,’” 359-60). References to Magna Mater as a nourishing, helpful mother to the Romans extend throughout the passage. For instance, in the story of the goddess’ importation, when the priest consults the Sibyl to ask what to do to help the struggling Roman city, the Sibyl states: *'Mater abest: Matrem iubeo, Romane, requiras'* (“‘The Mother is absent. Roman, I bid you seek the Mother,’” 259). Later, in a direct echo of the poem’s opening address to Venus, Claudia Quinta addresses Magna Mater as *alma genetrix: 'supplicis alma, tuae, genetrix, fecunda deorum, / accipe sub certa condicione preces'* (“‘Gracious one, fruitful Mother of the gods, receive your suppliant’s prayers with a fixed condition’” 319-20).

Another shared characteristic of Venus and Cybele is their governance of the natural world. Erato explains that Cybele’s lion-drawn chariot symbolizes her power to tame their wild nature (*... 'feritas mollita per illam / creditur: id curru testificata suo est,'* “‘It is believed that wildness was tamed by her; she has borne witness to that with her chariot’” 217-18).³⁰⁶ Similarly, Venus in the proem is said to have tamed wild beasts by providing them with *amor* (99-106). Providing a final connection between the two deities, Erato confirms that Cybele wears the turreted crown because she gave towers to the first cities (*'at cut turrifēs caput est onerata*

³⁰⁵ See Takacs (1996) and Beard (1994). This connection is also mentioned in Callimachus (*H.* 1.45, 51), Aratus (*Phaen.* 35), Lucretius (2.629, 633) and Vergil (*Geor.* 4.151).

³⁰⁶ In *Metamorphoses* Book 10, Venus explains that the lions are Hippomenes and Atalanta. They were punished for having intercourse in Cybele’s temple and thereby defiling the goddess’ sacred space. Cybele’s punishment of the couple demonstrates the goddess’ association with *castitas*. This scene features similarities with the tale of Attis (also punished for sexual relations) told later in this passage of the *Fasti*.

corona? / an primis turres urbibus illa dedit? / adnuit..., (“But why is her head burdened by a tower-bearing crown? Is it because she gave towers to the first cities?” She nodded agreement” 219-21). Thus Cybele, like Venus, is a goddess both of the natural world and of cultivation and civilization. Each goddess, depicted as *genetrix* and *creatrix*, brings development to Rome.³⁰⁷

The speaker’s final two questions about the Megalensia entail, first, Magna Mater’s unique priests, the Galli; and, second, the importation of the goddess to Rome. To answer the first, Erato offers the story of Attis’s castration. For the second question, she provides the tale of Claudia Quinta. Each of these tales, which occupy the majority of Erato’s speech, feature the stories of devoted worshippers of Cybele who define their relationship to the goddess by means of their sexual status. Both tales are familiar to Latin literature: the story of Attis is known prominently from Catullus 63 and Claudia Quinta was treated by Cicero, Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and others. Erato makes several changes to the prior, familiar tales in her version. In each tale, she underscores the relationship between goddess and the sexual status of a disciple; however, in her descriptions of Attis’ and Claudia’s actions, Erato inverts the standard gender roles of the two characters. She produces a sequence of tales that features, on the one hand, a male (Attis) who is insufficient in his initiative and devotion, weakened by his own sexual desire, and, on the other hand, a woman (Claudia Quinta) who actively asserts her fidelity to the goddess, stepping forth in spite of public judgment to declare her independent relationship to the goddess and to aid the city of Rome in the process.

First, in the tale of Attis, Erato reverses numerous events from the narrative of Catullus 63, most significantly the chronology of Attis’ castration. While in Catullus’ version Attis, taken

³⁰⁷ See Pasco-Pranger for other similarities between Venus and Cybele as *matres* in Book 4 (135-38) as well as the similarities between the *lavationes* of Venus Verticordia on April 1st and Cybele on April 4th (152-59).

over by a devoted frenzy, castrates himself in the beginning of the poem, in the *Fasti*, his castration is the climax of the story. In Catullus, Attis sails to Phrygia to worship Cybele and castrates himself in a fit of madness (*stimulates ibi fuerenti rabie, vagus animis, / devolsit ibi acuto sibi pondera silice*, “there, goaded by raging madness, bewildered in mind, he cast down from him with sharp flint-stone the burden of his member” Cat. 63.4-5). He elects to take this action on his own. Sexual abstinence is never defined as a requirement of the goddess for participation in her cult.³⁰⁸ Later Attis is punished because he laments the separation from his home and family, which he inflicted upon himself through self-castration, and questions his devotion to the goddess. In the *Fasti*, on the other hand, from the outset, Cybele demands a particular sexual status for members of her cult. She requests that Attis, as guardian of her temple, remain a virgin (*hunc sibi servari voluit, sua templa tueri, / et dixit ‘semper fac puer esse velis,’* “She wanted him to be kept for her and guard her temples, and she said: ‘See to it that you want always to be a boy.’” 4.225-26). While Attis pledges his devotion, he soon breaks the vow upon meeting the Naiad Sagaritis. To punish his disloyalty, Cybele viciously kills Sagaritis. Attis, driven mad by this sight and feeling responsible, punishes himself with castration, removing the body part that led to this destruction:

voxque fuit ‘merui: meritas do sanguine poenas:
a, pereant partes quae nocuere mihi!
a, pereant!’ dicebat adhuc: onus inguinis aufert,
nullaque sunt subito signa relictia viri. (4.239-42)

‘His cry was: “I have deserved it! I pay in blood the penalty
I’ve deserved. Ah, let them perish, the parts that have ruined me!
Ah, let them perish,” he still kept on saying. He takes away the
burden of his groin, and suddenly there are no signs of manhood left.’

³⁰⁸ On Attis, the *galli*, and questions of masculinity in relation to the cult of Magna Mater in Rome see Beard (1994) and Latham (2012: 84-122).

In this version, Attis fails the goddess because of natural masculine desire, which he cannot restrain. In order to atone for his error and restore his relationship with the goddess, he must remove his masculine sexual organ, the very thing that polluted his relationship with the divine, and cease to be a man (*nullaque sunt subito signa relictā viri* 242). As Erato explains, the Galli, following the example of Attis, castrate themselves when they enter the service of Cybele.

The story is a reversal of the Catullan tale, as the *Fasti* depicts Attis' transformation from clarity to madness rather than from madness to clarity.³⁰⁹ The climactic castration of the *Fasti* looks forward to the tale of Claudia Quinta in that both tales dramatize an individual who defines their relationship to the divine cult by means of their sexual status. Littlewood argues that both of these final stories about the Megalensia share "thematic unity in a celebration of *castitas* and *pietas* which reaches an apt and artistic culmination in the legend of Claudia Quinta."³¹⁰ Through the tales of Attis and Claudia, she interprets the representation of the cult of Magna Mater in the poem as an effort by the poet to extend overt compliments to the emperor for his recent handling of matters both dynastic and religious. I argue, however, that in bringing the sexual status of an individual to the forefront of the Magna Mater cult, the speaker does not compliment Augustan moral policy but rather highlights tensions in contemporary ideology regarding the relationship of one's sexual status to religion and the state. In the story of Attis, Erato depicts a

³⁰⁹ See Fantham (1998: vv. 231-44). Murgatroyd (2005: 42-3) compares Catullus and Ovid, arguing that the *Fasti*'s version shows a Cybele who is loving and entirely justified. Newlands (2002: 56-58) similarly argues that Ovid's reversal of the events of Catullus 63 offers a justification for Cybele's actions, absent from Catullus. Newlands interprets the paired tales of Attis and Claudia as offering two different views on Erato's perspective on chastity. Attis' story demonstrates Erato's Augustan sympathies: Cybele punishes Attis for a broken oath.

³¹⁰ Littlewood (1981: 382). Jope (1988) suggests that Ovid's tale offers an unique interweaving of personal sentiment and Augustan propaganda in which Ovid shows a sympathy for the more modern woman and undermines strict Republican morality renewed in the social legislation of Augustus. At the same time, however, Jope believes Ovid's creative presentation of Claudia does not distract from his nationalistic agenda that promotes the Roman cult. For a contrary point of view see Barchiesi (1997) and n. 312 below.

man who cannot control his sexual urges in order to stay loyal to the goddess. He can maintain a proper, prosperous relationship to the divine only by removing his natural, physical masculinity. As I will argue, the story of Claudia Quinta illustrates another inversion of gender roles in religious cult: Claudia Quinta acts against public opinion to assert her chaste sexual status. While both characters display *castitas* and *pietas*, they perform these qualities by acting against the social norms for their genders.

The tale of Claudia Quinta is one familiar to Roman history, cited in Cicero and briefly mentioned in Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The *Fasti*'s version features certain novelties. It picks up on the elegiac version of the story present in Propertius (*vel tu, quae tardam movisti fune Cybelen, / Claudia, turritae rara ministra deae*, "not you, Claudia, rare servant of the turret-crowned Goddess, who hauled sluggish image of Cybele with a rope" Prop. 4.11.51-52).³¹¹ But in its particular elegiac stylings, Erato's tale showcases Claudia Quinta's autonomy, bold actions, and resolution to assert and claim her own personal relationship to the goddess.³¹² Claudia is unflappable in the face of public resistance. As portrayed by Erato, Rome relied on the actions of this singular women to assure the safety of the state by ushering in the goddess.

³¹¹ Propertius is one of the first sources to single out Claudia Quinta for her effort in pulling the goddess to shore with a rope. The *Fasti*'s Claudia has much in common with the female characters of Propertius' fourth book who speak out and take authoritative control over the elegiac relationship (e.g. Acanthis in 4.5, Cynthia in 4.7, 4.8; similarly, Arethusa in 4.3, Tarpeia in 4.4, and Cornelia in 4.11, though the last three speak about not the elegiac relationship but their own relationships/affairs).

³¹² As I demonstrate later, Ovid describes Claudia's physical appearance to be much like the *docta puella* of elegy. Here too the poet praises the feminine initiative, much as the *amator* of elegy praises (and curses) his beloved's independence and authority. As Barchiesi (1997: 196-97) notes, the story persistently foregrounds the uncertainty of Claudia's sexual status. One significant contributing factor to the confusion is Claudia's elegiac appearance, which Erato, the elegiac muse, defends.

Erato begins by explaining Magna Mater's relationship to Troy and Aeneas, her home being the Idaean Mount.³¹³ To explain the goddess' more recent importation into the city from Phrygia, Erato states that she did not follow Aeneas because she did not yet believe there was a need for her in Latium (249-54). Yet five centuries later, when Rome was a great city, a Cumaean priest prophesied that the Mother had to be brought to the city and received by a chaste hand: '*mater abest: matrem iubeo, Romane, requiras. / cum veniet, casta est accipienda manu*' ("The Mother is absent: I bid you seek the Mother. When she comes, she must be received by a chaste hand") 259-60). The senators, confused by the oracle (who the *mater* was and where she could be found), consulted Delphic Apollo who directed them to the Great Mother on Ida (261-64). Attalus, king of Phrygia, was reluctant to allow the transfer of the goddess, until, according to Erato, Magna Mater herself spoke out and asserted her desire to travel to Rome (267-70). Attalus then sent the goddess with the Romans and she traveled by ship to Rome. The description of her journey features a number of references to the *Aeneid*. For example in the construction of the ship, the timbers are those used to build the *Phryx pius* (274), an allusion to Aeneas. The goddess journeys through a number of places allusive of Aeneas' journey to Rome.³¹⁴ Continual Vergilian references remind readers of Cybele's epic characteristics and her importance as a mother goddess of the Roman state. But when the goddess arrives at the mouth

³¹³ Description of Magna Mater's Trojan background aligns this cult description with the contemporary, Vergilian description of her as mother goddess of Rome and the Julian line via Aeneas (e.g. *Aen.* 6.781-787, 2.692-704, 9.77-91). For discussions of Phrygian influence on Rome in the *Aeneid* see Wiseman (1984), Nauta (2007), and Hardie (2007).

³¹⁴ According to Fantham ad loc, the route is through the Propontis, along the coast of Troy to Tenedos, Lesbos and the Cyclades, passing along the north coast of Crete to Cytherea, and then along the coast of Sicily to Drepanum, and through the Tyrrhenian sea to Ostia. Places such as the Hellespont and Tenedos, Crete and Sicily overlap with Aeneas' journey. Line 289 mentions the African seas: *aequoraque Afra legit*. Fantham suggests that the African seas, though not a standard geographical term, might make Ovid's readers think of the waters in which Aeneas was shipwrecked when blown off course towards Carthage.

of the Tiber, Erato's tale takes a different, more elegiac tack, one that places a woman at the center of this Roman religious tradition.

The newly Roman goddess is met in Ostia by a mixed group of Romans: *equites*, senators, and plebs, mothers, daughters, brides, and Vestals (293-96). Erato describes in detail how the men labored to try to draw in the goddess, pulling the ship by a rope, but could make no headway:

‘serule fune viri contento brachia lassant:
vix subit adversas hospita navis aquas...
quisquis adest operi, plus quam pro parte laborat,
adiuvat et fortis voce sonante manus.
illa velut medio stabilis sedet insula ponto:
attoniti monstro stantque paventque viri.’ (4.297-98, 301-04)

‘Men weary their willing arms as the rope is pulled tight. The guest ship barely moves upstream against the waters...
Whoever is there to work gives more than his share of effort, and helps strong hands with a resounding voice. She sits immovable, like an island in mid-ocean. Thunderstruck by the portent, the men stand and quake.’

Deliberate emphasis on the failed attempts of the men is an Ovidian innovation.³¹⁵ While other literary accounts represent the dual efforts of men and women in bringing the goddess to Rome, no other account reports such failure by the men.³¹⁶ Juxtaposed with the subsequent successful efforts of Claudia, the men's repeated failure to guide the goddess's ship up the river further underscores the accomplishment of the individual woman.

³¹⁵ Wiseman (1979: 94-99) suggests, quite plausibly, that Ovid's account is likely inspired by a theatrical reenactment of this scene during the festival games; however, the details about Claudia's triumph following the failure of the men is not mentioned elsewhere in literature.

³¹⁶ As I will discuss, Cicero's account highlights the dual participation of Scipio and Claudia. Livy's account underscores the role of the men and offers only a cursory comment to the women's involvement.

Claudia Quinta steps forth from the line of chaste matrons, eager to contribute her help. She stands alone, apart from the crowd of people who wrongly condemn her as unchaste. Notably, the erroneous opinion of the crowd relies upon superficial judgment. *Pudicitia* was considered an outwardly manifest trait and Claudia's physical appearance elicited suspicion:

‘Claudia Quinta genus Clauso referebat ab alto,
nec facies impar nobilitate fuit:
casta quidem, sed non et credita: rumor iniquus
laeserat, et falsi criminis acta rea est;
cultus et ornatis varie prodisse capillis
obfuit, ad rigidos promptaque lingua senes.
conscia mens recti famae mendacia risit,
sed nos in vitium credula turba sumus.’ (4.305-12)

‘Claudia Quinta traced her descent from lofty Clausus, and her face did not fail to match her noble birth. She was chaste, yes, but had no credit for it; malicious talk had harmed her, and her having appeared in public with her hair in different styles, and her ready tongue towards the strict old men. Her mind knew her honour and laughed a rumour's lies, but we're a crowd who like to believe in wrong.’

In lines 309-10, Erato claims that Claudia was condemned by public opinion because of her fancy dress, her adorned hair, and her ability to speak to any man, even the most rigid. In the description, Claudia appears much like an elegiac *puella*, known for adornment that allures the eyes of numerous men and her speech which can bewitch them.³¹⁷ *Pudicitia* was considered a quality publicly performed by those who possessed it, that is, it was displayed outwardly in the dress, behavior, and attitude of a woman. It was thus subject to public judgment. In this description, Erato draws forth a contrast between the facility of public condemnation based on superficial assessments and the private conscience of Claudia. Claudia is a victim of the credulous crowd, despite her own confidence in her innocence. The tale is worth considering in relation to a

³¹⁷ For the *cultus* of the elegiac *puella*, see for example Propertius 1.2.1, *quid iuvat ornatis procedere, vita, capillis?* For a few mentions of the *puella*'s seductive speech see Propertius 1.9, 2.3, and 2.15.

certain convention in the narratives of Vestal Virgins in the early history of Livy. Livy, notably in the tales of Postumia (*AUC.* 4.44) and Minucia (*AUC.* 8.15), repeats a narrative about the sexual status of Vestal Virgins and the relationship of their sexual status to the safety of the Roman state. In each of these historical narratives, the Republic is in a state of danger, and one possible explanation for that danger is that a Vestal Virgin has been unchaste. She is identified and punished, often killed, in order to expiate the danger and restore the state to safety and peace. The Vestal is accused not by facts but rather by public perception, charged with speaking, dressing, or behaving inappropriately for a chaste woman. Livy never entertains the possibility of a Vestal's innocence. Rather, it is assumed that if she dies, she was indeed guilty as charged. We do not have Livy's history on contemporary Rome, and his descriptions of Vestal punishments are Republican. Notably, however, the speaker of the *Fasti* uses the pronoun *nos* in line 312, implicating himself and other contemporaries in the group of those guilty of trusting in vice. With such pronoun usage, the speaker vividly brings the story of Claudia Quinta to present-day Rome, suggesting that public opinion on standards of *pudicitia* has not changed. In this scene that starkly contrasts the tone of Livy's passages, Erato highlights the error of public judgment and underscores the importance and value of the individual.

Other remaining versions of the tale—found in Cicero, Livy, and Propertius—note that Claudia's participation in this event marked her publicly as a woman of exemplary chastity. The *Fasti* is the only account to offer an excursus on her dubious reputation. Wiseman (1979: 94-99), following Bömer (1964: 146-51), has suggested that Ovid's story developed after several shifts from history to legend, including some allegations that her poor reputation gave rise to the popular legend and drama of her vindication as represented here. As Wiseman suggests, Ovid was likely drawing from a popular dramatization of the events at the festival games. Regardless

of its exact source or tradition, Erato's description of Claudia foregrounds the relationship of her sexual status to Roman ritual. While the other versions emblemize Claudia explicitly for her *pudicitia*, Erato emphasizes the ambiguity of her sexual status and undermines the judgment of public opinion.

In her speech to Cybele, Claudia Quinta rejects popular opinion and makes her sexual status a personal matter to be determined between herself and the goddess she worships. Rather than allow citizen men to assign her an incorrect status based on assumptions, Claudia addresses the goddess directly:

‘ “supplicis, alma, tuae, genetrix fecunda deorum,
accipe sub certa condicione preces.
casta negor. si tu damnas, meruisse fatebor;
morte luam poenas iudice victa dea.
sed si crimen abest, tu nostrae pignora vitae
re dabis et castas casta sequere manus.”’ (4.319-24)

‘ “Gracious one, fruitful Mother of the Gods, receive your suppliant's prayers with a fixed condition. They say I am not chaste. If you condemn me, I shall confess I have deserved it: convicted by a goddess as judge, I shall pay the penalty with death. But if there is no wrongdoing, you will guarantee my life by what happens, and chaste, you will follow chaste hands.”’

In her initiative and her bold public gesture, Claudia Quinta is explicit that only the Mother Goddess can determine the value of her chastity and her life. Earlier, Erato had stated that Claudia was confident in her chastity, so much so that she could laugh at the rumors (*conscia mens recti famae mendacia risit*, “Her mind knew her honor and laughed at rumor's lies” 311). Erato thus displays Claudia here seeking not public pardon and vindication, but divine judgment.

Claudia Quinta proves her chastity by leading the goddess to shore, an act more impressive after a number of men had attempted and failed. Her *pudicitia* shines forth as a value of particular importance, as it is the singular virtue that succeeds in bringing the goddess to Rome at

last. The importance of her chastity is emphasized in the passage with the triple anaphora *casta* within four lines (notably reduplicated in line 324), describing the relationship between Claudia and Cybele: a chaste goddess will yield to chaste hands (*re dabis et castas casta sequere manus*). In that Claudia's exemplary chastity brings the goddess up the Tiber, Erato's tale features the same major theme as the other versions: in Livy, Cicero, and Propertius, it is Claudia's *pudicitia* that allowed her to participate in this religious ceremony. In Livy in particular, but also Cicero, this tale reinforces a theme that runs throughout Roman civic history: the *pudicitia* of Roman upper-class women signifies the safety of the state and, conversely, the sexual impropriety of elite women is blamed when the state is in a period of danger or decline. Indeed, in this passage as well, the unblemished, honorable *pudicitia* of Quinta is the only means strong enough to secure the entrance of Magna Mater, whose cult will protect Rome. Littlewood (1981) and Knox (2002) argue that the vindication of Claudia's chastity in the *Fasti*'s tale aligns with predominant Augustan ideology on women. But significant differences between Erato's portrayal of Claudia and other prior narratives of the event, I argue, manifest an alternate point of view in the *Fasti*'s tale, one that challenges rather than supports Augustan ideology.

I focus primarily on comparison with Livy's description, the most comprehensive of the historical accounts, of the importation of Magna Mater. In Livy, whose history consistently links the sexual status of citizen women to the safety of the Roman state, Claudia Quinta receives only a brief mention.³¹⁸ She is noted as one of a number of chaste matrons who receives the goddess at the mouth of the Tiber. But the women are merely one part of the ritual, featured only at the conclusion of the events. Livy focuses on the various efforts and actions of the male citizens

³¹⁸ I refer here to my discussion of Livy in Chapter 1, particularly his systematic depiction of women in Books 1-5 in which he continually demonstrates that women's *pudicitia* is a value essential for the safety and stability of the male civic body.

involved. He describes the embassy of Romans who visited the Sibyl on multiple occasions as they struggled to interpret the prophecy calling for the installation of Magna Mater in Rome (AUC 29.10-11). Livy then reports that in preparation for the goddess' arrival, the Senate chose the best man (*vir optimus*) to meet the goddess at the mouth of the Tiber. Publius Scipio was awarded the honor:

P. Scipionem Cn. f. eius, qui in Hispania ceciderat, adulescentem nondum quaestorium, iudicaverunt in tota civitate virum bonorum optimum esse...P. Cornelius cum omnibus matronis Ostiam obviam ire deae iussus, isque eam de nave accipere et in terram elatam tradere ferendam matronis. postquam navis ad ostium amnis Tiberini accessit, sicut erat iussus, in salum nave evectus ab sacerdotibus deam accepit extulitque in terram. matronae primores civitatis, inter quas unius Claudiae Quintae insigne est nomen, acceperunt; cui dubia, ut traditur, antea fama clariorem ad posterum tam religioso ministerio pudicitiam fecit. (AUC 29.14.8, 10-12)

Of all the virtuous men in the whole city, they judged Publius Scipio, son of Cnaeus Scipio who had fallen in Spain and a youth not yet old enough to be a quaestor, to be the best ...Publius Cornelius was ordered to go to Ostia with all the matrons to meet the goddess. He was instructed to receive her from the ship and, once she was lifted onto the land, to hand her over to the matrons to bear her to her destination. After the ship arrived at the mouth of the Tiber river, just as had been ordered he sailed out into the sea and received the goddess safely from her priests and brought her to land. The leading matrons of the city, amongst whom Claudia Quinta has the most well-known name, received the goddess from him. As the story goes, Claudia, who previously had a dubious reputation, proved her eminent virtue to posterity by such a sacred duty.

Livy highlights the effort of an exemplary man, Scipio, and his reception of the goddess. In his text the women are, in a sense, the final piece of the puzzle. The men initiate and carry out the transfer of the goddess. The women are included as a minor, yet essential, part of the religious ritual: as a protector of the city, guarding, in part, female chastity, Magna Mater must be accompanied into Rome by chaste matrons who worship her. As discussed in Chapter One and above with regard to the Vestal Virgins, Livy, especially in the early books, but continuing

throughout his history, depicts the *pudicitia* of female citizens as essential to the safety and stability of Rome. Claudia Quinta, by helping to bring in the goddess, proves both the goddess's association with female chastity and also the role of female chastity in protecting and assuring the safety of Rome. The brief inclusion of Claudia Quinta, exonerated by her ritual participation, demonstrates that *pudicitia* is a public characteristic. The public conduct of a chaste elite woman is observed by all and serves as a model for posterity, a point clearly explicated in the story of Lucretia when her act of *pudicitia* is made a public symbol by the men. The importance of Magna Mater to Rome in this time of crisis reminds female citizens of their duty to support the city through their morally upright behavior. Men are responsible for taking action to ensure the safety of the Roman state, while chaste women support them by proving their *pudicitia*.³¹⁹

In the *Fasti*, however, the gender roles are reversed. Erato's account features Claudia as the primary figure responsible for the reception of Magna Mater while the male characters fail in their attempts. In her version, it is Scipio who receives secondary mention, much like Claudia in Livy. Once the Great Mother had come into Rome through the Capene Gate, then Scipio receives her. His role is confined to two words in line 347. The words, *Nasica accepit*, and the entire line are, however, metrically heavy and significant, having only the one requisite dactyl in the fifth foot. The metrical slowing draws attention to the final couplet of Erato's story, which strongly contrasts with the subject matter and tone of the extended elegiac tale of Claudia Quinta:

‘ipsa sedens plaustro porta est invecta Capena:
sparguntur iunctae flore recente boves.
Nasica accepit. templi non perstitit auctor:

³¹⁹ When Cicero mentions the reception of Cybele at the mouth of the Tiber in *De Haruspicum Responsis*, he states that she was received by Scipio and Claudia jointly, Scipio as the most virtuous man and Claudia outstanding in chastity: “defessa Italia Punico bello atque ab Hannibale vexata, sacra ista nostri maiores adscita ex Phrygia Romae conlocarunt; quae vir is accepit qui est optimus populi Romani iudicatus, P. Scipio, femina autem quae matronarum castissima putabatur, Q. Claudia, cuius priscam illam severitatem sacrifici mirifice tua soror existimatur imitata” (27). He acknowledges both characters for their role in the successful import of the Phrygian goddess, and does not mention Claudia's dubious reputation.

Augustus nunc est, ante Metellus erat.’ (4.345-348)

‘The goddess herself, seated on a wagon, was brought in by the Porta Capena. The yoked oxen are sprinkled with fresh flowers. Nasica received her. Who founded her temple had not survived; it is Augustus now, it was Metellus before.’

Following Nasica’s reception of the goddess, Erato abruptly transitions to the contemporary context of the temple of Magna Mater. Originally built by Metellus, the temple was reconstructed by Augustus. The slow, heavy meter of the couplet emphasizes a stark contrast with the preceding material, between the older, female-centered tale, and the actions of men with an emphasis on the present. As in the tale of the Lares in Book 2 which juxtaposes the tale of Lara and the Augustan Lares, or the Ides of March in Book 3 which contrasts the lengthy explanation of Anna Perenna with the assassination of Caesar, in this final couplet, Erato highlights a difference between Republican tradition and Augustan innovation. In the *Fasti* Claudia Quinta is not a passive figure but a primary actor. Her independent actions—her initiative, the assumption of responsibility for her sexual status, forming a pact between the goddess and herself—provocatively counter older Roman narratives in which the sexual status of the female body is merely an instrument for male civic action.

When the story of Claudia Quinta is considered alongside the tales of festivals featuring mytho-historical Roman women (namely, Lucretia, Rhea Silvia, and the Sabine women), clear thematic links are evident, along with significant similarities in the manner in which the women are portrayed through their speech and actions. In the *Fasti*’s versions of these stories, the women know the power and importance of their bodies, as well as the unique relationship of their sexual status to the male civic body. They do not allow the general public, men in particular, to confine their bodies to the service of the state. Rather, they claim control of their own bodies

and dictate their own roles in society, specifically through participation in religious ritual. This distinction may seem small, but it is important: the representation of women in the *Fasti* points to a contradiction in woman's place in Roman civic life. Woman occupies the unique position of both insider and outsider. In one way, she is the ultimate insider—the female body is essential not only to the production of Rome, but also to its growth, prosperity, and safety. It is through women's bodies that the Roman state is made and maintained. At the same time, women have no political voice and only a limited public presence. Tales such as those of Lucretia, the Sabine women, and Claudia Quinta demonstrate the importance of women's *pudicitia* as viewed through a Roman male perspective, across centuries of Roman history. More specifically, these tales reveal men's repeated attempts to control women's bodies.

In the *Fasti*, female characters, whose voices and actions are highlighted in elegiac portrayals, both contradict and challenge dominant male narratives of Roman foundations, culture, and ritual recorded in literature, art, and architecture and institutionalized by law in the Augustan period. The tale of Claudia Quinta asks such questions as: who is judging a woman's sexual status, and who determines a woman's relationship to religious ritual and the state? Erato's portrayal of Claudia shows that public opinion is not always accurate and that women are not only an important part of religious ritual, but can assert their own religious importance and claim for themselves a relationship to Rome's religious culture—a critical function of the state itself.

The Cerealia

Following the Megalensia, the remainder of April features a number of festivals pertaining to agricultural growth and production, events of the spring season. Unique, however, are the consistent connections between each of the festivals through the representation of woman as creator and producer. Significantly, the ritual descriptions of numerous festivals and deities share

affinities with the description of Venus in the proem. Though Venus is absent in the Megalensia, Cerealia, Parilia, and Fordicidia, her role as *creatrix* and *genetrix* persists throughout the month, represented by these various goddesses and rituals. In the next festival, the Cerealia, the female perspective is prominently featured in the heavily elegiac tale of mother and daughter, Ceres and Proserpina.

April 12th marks the beginning of the Cerealia. Molly Pasco-Pranger (2006: 159-67) has identified numerous similarities between the description of the rites of Ceres and of Magna Mater: the poem includes the opening and closing days of both festivals; each ritual description is interrupted by the dedication of a temple, commemoration of a military victory, and a weather notice; and both goddesses travel by similar places and end their journeys at the Tiber. Both goddesses, like Venus, possess civilizing characteristics. Magna Mater, a pre-agricultural goddess, is both goddess of the natural world and also, according to the *Fasti*, a goddess associated with the civilization and urbanization of the city. Ceres is the goddess of agriculture and cultivation:

prima Ceres homine ad meliora alimenta vocato
mutavit glandes utiliore cibo.
illa iugo tauros collum praebere coegit:
tunc primum soles eruta vidit humus.
aes erat in pretio, chalybeia massa latebat:
eheu! perpetuo debuit illa tegi.
pace Ceres laeta est; et vos orate, coloni,
perpetuam pacem pacificumque ducem. (4.401-08)

Having called man to better nourishment, Ceres was first to change acorns for more beneficial food. She compelled bulls to offer their neck to the yoke; then for the first time the upturned soil saw the sun. Bronze was valued; the Chalybean ore lay hidden. Alas, it should have been concealed for ever! Ceres delights in peace—and you farmers, pray for perpetual peace and a leader who brings it!

In taming bulls under the yoke, Ceres, like Cybele and Venus, enacts her role as a civilizing force in society. She tames the land and nature to be more productive. A quality of all of the

deities honored in April, Ceres is specifically identified for her role in providing peace, a point emphasized by the alliteration in line 408. Like Venus' actions in the proem, Ceres' agricultural gifts bring an end to arms and violence by offering men something else to busy their hands.³²⁰ The speaker curses the discovery of iron, that is the forging of weapons (405-06), then asks farmers to maintain the peace favored by Ceres.³²¹ Thus like both Venus and Magna Mater, Ceres is a female deity who aids the growth of Roman civilization by promoting a peaceful and fertile state. These goddesses each contribute to the Augustan conception of Pax Romana, a state that is not at war, but at leisure to allow citizens to work at their jobs, increase production of the land, grow their families, and increase Roman wealth.³²² As Pasco-Pranger (2006:138-42) has shown, Ovid crafts his depictions of many goddesses of Book 4 (Venus, Magna Mater, Tellus, Pales, Ceres) so that the rites and causes of the mother goddesses are intimately connected and contribute to the prominent theme of motherhood and generative power established in the proem. But while Book 4 displays an Augustan idea of agricultural fertility and social growth, each festival shows a distinct focus on the role of women as creators, while men remain ineffective or chaotic actors. The speaker's narration of the origins of the rites of Ceres demonstrates this point with an explicit distinction between the fostering mother goddess and the impediment of family and production by male intervention.

The Cerealia is the third consecutive festival in Book 4 that features a tale about women's relationships with each other and to certain civic institutions. The speaker first describes the

³²⁰ Agriculture as opposing martial force is a common theme in ancient literature. In this passage, Ceres' ushering in of peace with agricultural production is significant for its ties to the other goddesses and rituals in the month.

³²¹ Fantham (1998) ad loc, "the wish that iron might have remained hidden recalls Callimachus' curse on the inventors of forging at *Aitia* fr. 110.13."

³²² See Spaeth (1996: 125-51) and her description of the goddesses on the Ara Pacis.

powers and divine sphere of Ceres, then tells the story of the rape of her daughter, Proserpina. Ovid also treats the story of Proserpina in Book 5 of the *Metamorphoses*, offering his version of the tale best known from the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*. As with other tales in the *Fasti* that overlap with stories of the *Metamorphoses* (as well as other works), specific narrative differences demonstrate the pointed tailoring of a story to fit Ovid's themes (e.g. Callisto 2.153-92, Ariadne 3.459-516). In this instance, examined in comparison with the *Metamorphoses*, the *Fasti*'s tale emphasizes the relationship between mother and daughter, underscoring the women's separation, grief, and reconciliation and highlighting their relationships within a religious context.³²³

In *The Metamorphosis of Persephone*, Stephen Hinds offers a rigorous and comprehensive study of the intertextual relationship between the *Hymn to Demeter* and the versions in the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti*. I would like here to highlight a few differences between Ovid's two versions, to point out the deliberate changes the speaker of the *Fasti* makes, as they relate to the rest of the poem. The *Fasti*'s compressed version expands on different aspects of the tale, omitting many details and introducing new ones, variations that the speaker himself directs his audience to consider: *exigit ipse locus, raptus ut virginis edam: / plura recognosces, pauca docendus eris* ("The place itself demands that I tell of the virgin's abduction. You will recognize quite a lot, but a few things you will have to be taught" 417-18). There are significant narrative differences in three sections of the two accounts: the abduction of Proserpina, Ceres's journey, and Ceres' interactions with Jupiter. While women's relationships are the prominent topic of the story, beginning with the Homeric Hymn, the narrative changes in the *Fasti* foreground women's relationships and perspectives on family, especially in comparison with Ovid's version in the *Metamorphoses*, which is concerned primarily with the concept of divine justice.

³²³ On this point see also Pasco-Pranger (2006: 142), who notes repeated references to motherhood in the *Fasti* narrative.

First, the opening description of Proserpina and her rape by Dis. The *Metamorphoses* highlights the violence of the abduction while the *Fasti* focuses on the women's actions prior to the event and their reactions afterwards. In the *Metamorphoses*, Dis seizes Proserpina after he has been struck by Cupid's arrow. He sees, desires, and takes her. The rape is caused by a jealous Venus who begrudges Proserpina the ability to remain a virgin. When Dis sees Proserpina, she is in a glade picking flowers (*M.*5.391-95). He forcefully seizes her and drags her down to the underworld as she cries out in fear, her dress torn, tears streaming down her face (*M.* 5.395-402). The internal narrator (Calliope) continues to emphasize Dis' force. She states that the nymph Cyane tried to intervene and stop him, but failed to block the god as he pressed on to the underworld (*M.*5.409-21).

The *Fasti* features no mention of Venus' role in this event. Divine vengeance and jealousy, consistent themes of the *Metamorphoses*, feature much less prominently in the tales of the calendar.³²⁴ But in Book 4 in particular, Venus is a goddess consistently associated with peace and prosperity, and *amor* that brings about peace, not with destructive lust. The Venus of the *Metamorphoses* would be out of place here. In place of Venus, the *Fasti*'s account provides a fuller, more detailed description of Proserpina and her group of female friends before the rape occurs. In fact, Dis' forceful seizure of the girl occurs in a single couplet: *hanc videt et visam patruus velociter aufert / regnaque caerulis in sua portat equis* ("Her uncle sees her, and having seen her swiftly bears her away, and with dark-blue horses carries her into his kingdom" *F.* 445-46). Instead of describing Dis' attack in detail, the *Fasti* emphasizes the female characters and their relationships. Twenty lines (*F.* 4.425-444) describe Proserpina and her retinue of girls, the shadowy valley brightened by a variety of colored flowers in which the girls competed to gather

³²⁴ Two notable instances of violent divine vengeance are in Book 2: Juno's punishment of Callisto and Jupiter's punishment of Lara.

as many flowers as they could. The speaker offers individualized descriptions of the flowers each girl picked: one gathers marigolds, one violets, one hyacinth, one thyme, and so on (*F.* 4.435-42). After Dis takes her, Proserpina shouts to her mother, as in the *Metamorphoses* (*M.* 5.396-98). But rather than turn directly to Ceres' grief, the *Fasti* pauses to describe the reaction of Proserpina's friends. The girls cry for her, look for her, then shout and beat their breasts in grief when they realize she is gone (*ut clamata silet, montes ululatibus implent / et feriunt maesta pectora nuda manu*, "When she doesn't answer their call, they fill the mountains with their wailings and strike their bare breasts with grieving hand" *F.* 453-54). With these early narrative changes the *Fasti* shifts focus away from the gods (Venus and Dis) and their motivations and actions, highlighting instead women's relationships.³²⁵ The opening of this tale emphasizes the girlish status of Proserpina by underscoring her playful, lighthearted activities with her friends. And with an extended description of their flower gathering, the passage highlights the girls' peaceful relationship with nature.

Just as the opening passage in the *Fasti* develops the character of young Proserpina, the description of Ceres, in turn, emphasizes her role as mother. While the *Metamorphoses* also underscores Ceres as mother, the tale told by Calliope of Ceres' journey highlights divine rage, depicting a mournful but angry goddess who enacts violence on others on account of her loss. After she finds her daughter missing, a grief-stricken Ceres, exhausted from searching, finds a straw hut in which she hopes to satisfy her thirst. While she drinks a sweet drink offered to her by the

³²⁵ Fantham notes at line 445 that the *Fasti* fails to provide a motive for Dis' action and, instead, the line describing the rape puts more stress on Proserpina's family connections. Labeling Dis *patruus* calls to mind her father Jupiter and uncle Dis. Hinds (1987: 61), in comparing the similarities between the Homeric *Hymn* and the *Fasti* notes that in the *Fasti* Persephone cries out to her mother instead of her father: "...in Ovid the affecting use of direct speech and the replacement of all the stately epithets by the intimate *carissima* relegate divine power-relations to the background and scale Persephone down to a mere frightened girl who wants her mother."

old woman in the hut, a young boy taunts her and calls her greedy. The insulted goddess throws the drink on the boy and turns him into a lizard (M.5.451-61). The narrator of the *Metamorphoses* then passes over Ceres' travels and jumps quickly to her interaction with Cyane, who, unable to speak, points Ceres to the evidence of Proserpina's rape: her ribbon in the sacred pool. Ceres' grief again manifests in violent anger as she wreaks destruction on the land:

...ergo illic saeva vertentia glaebas
fregit aratra manu, pariliq; irata colonos
ruricolasq; boves leto dedit arvaq; iussit
fallere depositum vitiataq; semina fecit.
fertilitas terrae latum vulgata per orbem
falsa iacet: primis segetes moriuntur in herbis,
et modo sol nimius, nimius modo corripit imber;
sideraq; ventiq; nocent, avidaeq; volucres
semina iacta legunt; lolium tribulique fatigant
triticeas messes et inexpugnabile gramen. (M.5.477-86)

...She cursed the land,
breaking the ploughs that turned the earth, and killing
cattle and men in anger, making fields
lie sterile, blighting seed and crop: the land
had a good name, but you would never know it
to see it now, corn withering in the blade,
excessive sun, excessive rain, and stars
and winds both evil, and the greedy birds
eating the planted seeds, thistle and darnel
and crab-grass taking over.

Informed by Arethusa about the fate of her daughter, Ceres then turns to Jupiter for assistance in retrieving her.

Notably, Ceres' journey, from discovering the absence of her daughter to her beseeching of Jupiter, is entirely different in the *Fasti*. Specifically, the goddess' anger is absent. Her acts of rage are replaced with details about her journey adapted from the Homeric *Hymn*, details that underscore the relationship between mother and child. This journey spans all of Sicily (whereas in the *Met* she is mostly delayed in the southeastern part of the island). She passes Cyane and the

rivers of Anapus, traverses the island, even passing the place from which Venus Erycina was adopted (*F.* 477-78).³²⁶ Throughout the journey, her motherly grief persists. She is compared to Philomela weeping for her lost son (*F.* 481-82). She cries out repeatedly for her daughter. In two couplets that formally and metrically correspond, the speaker captures the mother's despair by highlighting the hollow echoes of her prayers that receive no response as well as highlighting the void created in Proserpina's absence when mother and daughter are separated:

perque vices modo 'Persephone!' modo 'filia!' clamat,
clamat et alternis nomen utrumque ciet.
sed neque Persephone Cererem nec filia matrem
audit, et alternis nomen utrumque perit. (*F.* 4.483-86)

By turns she cries now, 'Persephone!', now 'Daughter!', she cries,
and summons up each name in turn. But Persephone doesn't hear Ceres,
daughter does not hear mother, and each name dies in turn.

The repetition of the construction *alternis nomen utrumque* in lines 484 and 486, first followed by the verb *ciet* and then *perit*, underscores the severance of the women's relationship. Juxtaposed with line 485 in which Persephone and Ceres are intertwined in word order, the final verb (*perit*) of 486 reveals the distance that now lies between them.

Ceres continues to wander in her search and ends up at Eleusis, at the farm of an old man named Celeus. Her interactions there, not told in the *Metamorphoses*, are drawn from the *Hymn to Demeter*, but with several changes.³²⁷ The most significant changes involve the children of Celeus. Rather than four daughters, he has only one, who addresses Ceres as mother, points out that the goddess is alone, and thus elicits her grief:

³²⁶ See Fantham ad loc. Given the cult of Venus Erycina is also featured in Book 4, this can be no accidental inclusion.

³²⁷ For a comprehensive examination of the intertextual references to the Hymn to Demeter, see Hinds (1987:63-69) who notes several narrative characteristics of the *Fasti* adapted from the Hymn which emphasize Ceres' position as mother.

‘mater!’ ait virgo (mota est dea nomine matris)
 ‘quid facis in solis incommitata locis?’
 restitit et senior, quamvis onus urget, et orat,
 tecta suae subeat quantulacumque casae.
 illa negat. simularat anum mitraque capillos
 presserat. instanti talia dicta refert
 ‘sospes eas semperque parens! mihi filia rapta est.
 heu, melior quanto sors tua sorte mea est!’
 dixit, et ut lacrimae (neque enim lacrimae deorum est)
 decidit in tepidos lucida gutta sinus.
 flent pariter molles animis virgoque senexque.
 e quibus haec iusti verba fuere senis (*F.* 4.513-524)

‘Mother,’ says the girl (the goddess was moved by the name of mother), ‘what are you doing in lonely places unattended?’
 The old man too has stopped, though his load weighs him down, and begs her to come under the shelter, however small, of his cottage. She says no. (She had taken on the likeness of an old woman and confined her hair in a turban.) As he presses her, she gives him this reply: ‘May you go safe, and always a parent. My daughter has been seized from me. Alas, how much better is your lot than mine!’
 She spoke, and like tears (for gods do not weep) a shining drop falls into her warm lap. Soft hearted, they weep just as much, the maiden and the old man; of the two of them, the righteous old man’s words were these...

In another significant alteration, Celeus’ son, Triptolemus, is a sickly baby (*F.* 512, 529-530). This detail invokes pathos and invites more sympathy for Ceres as a bereaved mother. Because of her loss, she can empathize with Celeus and his family, and she hopes to help them by making the child immortal (*F.* 4.531-554). When Metanira disrupts the goddess’ rituals, Ceres abruptly departs (*F.* 4.555-562). But while in the *Hymn*, she demands from Triptolemus a temple and altar and provides instructions for her cult at Eleusis, here she promises that Triptolemus will be the first to plough and sow the land (*F.* 4.559-60). Agriculture is her gift to the family with whom she found solace. In the *Fasti* she is, like Venus and Magna Mater, a mother goddess who generates production and cultivation. Unlike the narratives of the *Metamorphoses* and the *Hymn*

(in which Demeter's anger also plays a significant role), *Fasti* 4 does not display the destructive effects of divine anger and grief. Rather the *Fasti* presents a tale about the universal importance of family. Ceres' encounters on her journey showcase her focus on familial relationships and the depiction of agricultural production stems directly from the goddess' celebration of family. The speaker thus highlights in the Cerealia the role of religion in Roman family and society.

Finally, I turn to a comparison of Ceres' interaction with Jupiter and the subsequent recovery of Proserpina in each account. The two Ovidian narratives, though mostly similar, have a few important variations. First, the *Fasti* provides a few more details about Ceres' complaint to Jupiter. In both texts she charges Jupiter with the responsibility for his daughter's safety, describes her long search, voices frustration with her inability to solve the situation, and complains that Dis is an unworthy husband for their daughter. In the *Fasti*, Ceres adds that Dis' method of abducting Proserpina makes him both an unworthy husband and son-in-law, charging him with a civil crime, an *iniuria*.³²⁸ But the goddess claims she will be content to allow Dis to go unpunished for his crime if he makes amends by restoring her daughter (*F.* 595-96).

Jupiter dismisses Ceres' concerns, first claiming that the act was one of love and then alleging that Dis, as his brother, is indeed a worthy husband for Proserpina and son-in-law. But if Proserpina has kept a fast, he will release her from the marriage. Significantly, while Jupiter's response is virtually the same in content, his language is different in each text. In the *Metamorphoses*, he speaks of Ceres desiring a separation of the two. In the *Fasti*, he describes Ceres as asking for a rupturing of the bonds of the marriage bed (*statque semel iuncti rumpere vincla tori*, "[your heart] is set to break the bonds of a marriage once joined" *F.* 602). If Proserpina has broken her fast, Jupiter states, she will remain wife of the infernal spouse (*si minus, inferni*

³²⁸ Fantham ad loc asserts that the crime is *stuprum*, rape.

coniugis uxor erit, “If not, she will be the wife of an underworld husband” *F.604*). The language of Ceres and Jupiter in the *Fasti* speaks directly to Roman society, specifically a society under Augustus in which the wife was penalized for adultery. Here Proserpina suffers consequences for the action of a male god whose violent action, his crime of *stuprum*, goes unpunished. Marriage, in the eyes of Jupiter, is deemed suitable for the young girl. Ceres, however, wants her daughter restored to her home. Even though her daughter has been raped, Ceres does not agree to marriage as the proper way to resolve her daughter’s defiled *pudicitia*: the connection of mother and child is set in opposition to a father’s legalistic concern for his daughter’s *pudicitia*.³²⁹ The *Metamorphoses*, however, maintaining its mythic tone and content, does not highlight the dynamics of the Roman family. In the tale of Proserpina’s fate, the epic features not a description of Ceres’ protest and grief but tales of divine vengeance and transformations (i.e., Ascalaphus, Sirens, Arethusa).

The *Fasti* features several narrative changes as well in explaining Ceres’ relationship to agricultural production, that is, how and when the land resumes productivity. These differences underscore the *Fasti*’s representation of a divide between the roles of men and women both in religious ritual and in bringing peace and prosperity to the Roman state. In the *Metamorphoses* the restoration of agricultural fertility is delayed by the tale of Arethusa, then mediated through Triptolemus. In the *Fasti*, however, as soon as Proserpina is recovered, Ceres produces a plentiful harvest. The tale illustrates an immediate connection between the restoration of the original family unit, mother and daughter, and the restoration of peace and replenishment of the land, restored to the bountiful condition that Proserpina enjoyed prior to her abduction. The

³²⁹ Ceres continues to grieve the loss of her daughter and vows to give up her home in the sky for one in the underworld, underscoring her devotion to her daughter, until Jupiter strikes a deal to split Proserpina’s time between the two realms: *atque ita ‘nec nobis caelum est habitabile’ dixit; / ‘Taenaria recipi me quoque valle iube’* (611-12).

actions of male gods—Dis through abduction and Jupiter by condoning Dis' violent action—cause the devastation of the land. In the Cerealia, ritual worship of Ceres, and representations of the goddess and her cult, women are featured at the center of religious practice.³³⁰ Through their worship of the goddess, women aid in the maintenance of family, production, and growth.³³¹ Yet in the *Fasti*'s tale, women's rituals to Ceres do not merely guarantee fertility and peace: they do so in the face of opposition from the male deities who impede stability of the household and consequently of the land as well. By omitting the tales of Ceres' divine anger, displayed in the *Metamorphoses*, and by highlighting her devoted role as mother, fighting for the restoration and safety of family, the *Fasti* underscores the role of women in the production and prosperity of society, even against the challenges of destructive, forceful male characters.³³²

³³⁰ See Spaeth (1996: 103-12) on female priesthoods and participants in the cult and Spaeth (113-18) on the relationship of the cult to the female virtues of chastity and motherhood. On the Roman cult of Ceres, see also Le Bonniec (1958). On female priestesses in cult of Ceres, see Schultz (2006: 75-79).

³³¹ See Spaeth (33-49), who shows that the concept of fertility, both agricultural (vegetation and cultivation) and human (reproduction), was essential and original to the cult of Ceres. In the imperial period, Ceres was identified with female members of the imperial household, beginning with Livia who is depicted wearing the *corona spicea* of Ceres in a cameo dated to early first century CE (Florence, Mus. Arch. 26: De Angeli (1988) nr. 172.). Male figures of the imperial family were associated with Ceres as well. Augustus himself is shown wearing the *corona spicea* in a marble portrait bust dated to the late first century BCE or early first century CE (Vat. Mus. inv. 715). Though Spaeth (47) states that there is some debate about the interpretation of the *corona spicea* on the bust of Augustus, she convincingly demonstrates the use of Ceres as part of Roman imperial symbolism: the goddess' characteristics symbolized human fertility in women and agricultural fertility in men.

³³² Spaeth (125-51) offers arguments for the depiction of Ceres on the Ara Pacis, specifically on the restored relief panel on the southeast corner of the monument (See Pasco-Pranger (142-43) and Galinsky (1992: 457-75) who argue that the image is Venus, and for other perspectives also Zanker (1990), Wilhelm (1988), Weinstock (1960), Toynbee (1953), Momigliano (1942)). The center of the relief features a veiled female figure, crowned with a wreath of wheat and poppies. She sits in a throne and holds two children in her lap with several types of fruit and nuts. At her feet are grazing sheep and a cow. Scholars have identified the image as Tellus, Italia, Venus, Rhea Silvia, Pax, or a combination of these. Spaeth argues that the identification of this figure as Ceres shows the importances of her ideological associations for the propagandistic message of the monument. A goddess of fertility and liminality and a patroness of women and the plebs, Ceres, Spaeth argues, aligns with the themes of the sculptural program of the rest of the monument. In contrast to Romulus and Aeneas on the Western side of the altar, who represent the patrician role in the origins of the city, Ceres represents the plebeian contributions. In contrast to the female warrior Roma, Ceres is a nurturer of plants, children and animals who symbolizes the peace established

In the *Fasti Praenestini*, following the entry for the Cerealia (April 12th), the *Ludi Ceriales* continued through April 14th (Fantham ad loc). Rather than offering a continuous description of the games, the speaker of the *Fasti* adapts April 14th to a weather notice (625-26) and to note Octavian's first victory at Mutina (627-28). He picks up with the *Ludi Ceriales* again on April 19th, providing an explanation for the ritual in which foxes are let loose with burning torches on their backs.³³³ This structure parallels the entry for the *Ludi Megalenses*, the first entry for which on April 4th is followed by a weather notice on April 5th and mention of Julius Caesar's victory at Thapsus on April 6th. Thus two lengthy, traditional tales of women's role in peace and prosperity are directly contrasted with brief mentions of epic, imperial military actions. While the speaker maintains a balance of Republican festivals and imperial dates, his longer, elegiac versions of Republican festivals overwhelm the imperial material. In Book 4, these Republican festivals highlight the place of women at the heart of Roman culture, showing them to have greater influence than imperial men in the shaping of the Roman calendar.

Following the Cerealia are two additional festivals relating to the production and prosperity of the Roman city. First is the Fordicidia on April 15th, a festival in which a pregnant cow is sacrificed to protect the harvest. Second is the Parilia on April 21st, in honor of the goddess Palles, involving primarily rustic rites celebrated by shepherds and husbandmen to protect their flocks and herds. This date is also observed as the birthday of Rome. In the *Fasti*, each of the

by the princeps. Concerning the political message of the Ara pacis, Ceres, Spaeth argues, is a divinity of fertility essential to an Augustan depiction of the golden Age of peace, growth and abundant fertility. Her associations with liminality makes her an appropriate goddess to usher in and protect this new age of peace established after years of war. A passage from Book 4 marks the associations between Ceres, peace, and leadership: *pace Ceres laeta est; et vos orate, coloni, / perpetuam pacem pacificumque ducem* (407-8).

³³³ As Fantham ad loc notes, this day marks the true Cerialia, the day concluding the festival sequence that began on the 12th.

tales of these festivals features a Roman founder: Numa has a large role in the Fordicidia and Romulus in the Parilia. Lacking the space here to elaborate upon the details of each in the *Fasti*, I note that the role of the Roman founders in these rites are rather lackluster and even, to an extent, troublesome. The role of the male Roman founders in the origins of religious ritual pale in comparison to the strong female characters in the book. In the tale of the Fordicidia, the speaker reports that while Numa was king, the city suffered from a failed harvest. In order to restore the land, Numa prayed to Faunus who then offered him a solution: to offer two cows to the land, one that would yield two lives in sacrifice. Numa, mystified by the prophetic proposition, relies upon Egeria to explain Faunus' instructions (667-70). With Egeria's help, the bountiful land was restored.³³⁴

This passage depicts a male leader, trying to restore the reproduction and growth of the land, who requires female assistance to accomplish his objective. His reliance upon Egeria is particularly significant in Book 4, which features numerous tales of women at the center of religious rituals that promote fertility and abundance in Roman society. Notably, the passage recalls Romulus' call upon Lucina for assistance in Book 2 when the new Roman wives were not producing children. Romulus cries in frustration:

‘quid mihi’ clamabat ‘prodest rapuisse Sabinas,’
 Romulus (hoc illo sceptrā tenente fuit)
 ‘si mea non vires, sed bellum iniuria fecit?’
 utilius fuerat non habuisse nurus.’ (2.431-34)

‘What good does it do me,’ he used to cry, ‘to have carried off
 the Sabine women, if my act of wrong has produced not strength
 but war? It would have been more useful to have done without
 daughters-in-law!’

³³⁴ On the *aitton* of the Fordicidia in the *Fasti* see Fantham (1998: n. 614-72) who asserts that the tale of Faunus is partly based on Latinus' consultation of Faunus in *Aen.* 7.85-95. See Green (2008: 52-54) on animal sacrifice in the Fordicidia and the political potential in Ovid's representation of sacrifice in the *Fasti*. On Faunus in the *Fasti* see Parker (1993: 199-216). Fowler (1908: 66) establishes the vegetal associations of the cult.

Romulus reveals that his use of force to obtain wives and children was not a successful tactic. He must call for divine aid from the goddess of childbirth to help spur reproduction. Mention of Romulus' problem with birth rates falls on the same calendrical entry in the *Fasti* as the Lupercalia. The name for the festival, the speaker explains, comes from the she-wolf that nurtured the abandoned twins Romulus and Remus. Concluding with the description of the she-wolf and then Romulus' prayer to Lucina, the speaker highlights the essential role of women in the production of the Roman state, underscoring (as throughout depictions of Romulus in Book 2) the inability of Romulus to build a city by means of only his military force. So too in the Fordicidia, the speaker, through the tale of Numa and Egeria, demonstrates the dual role of male *and* female in guiding and protecting the Roman state.

Finally, in the description of the Parilia, the speaker offers several different ritual descriptions that create an interesting juxtaposition: first the rituals for shepherds praying to the goddess, and second a story about the foundation of the city, since the Parilia celebrates the birthday of Rome. Traditionally, the Parilia was noted as a day that celebrated Romulus' successful auspices. The speaker briefly describes Romulus' victory over his brother, but then proceeds with the tale of Remus' death with new innovations. Having won the augury contest, Romulus began construction of the new city walls on the first day of the Parilia. He instructed Celer, his foreman, to let no man cross the walls. Remus mocked the inchoate walls, leapt over them, and was struck down by Celer (841-44). In a significant addition to the story, Romulus grieves heavily over the death of his brother, giving him a mournful send-off at his funeral (845-56). The tale is particularly notable because the speaker of the *Fasti* exculpates Romulus by depicting Celer as the perpetrator of the deathly blow and highlighting Romulus' feelings of guilt.

Some scholars, namely Harries (1991), argue that this passage is pro-Romulean, another example of Ovid's attempt to ingratiate himself with the Augustan family, one possible reading. Barchiesi (1997) argues, and I agree, however, that in context with other depictions of him throughout the poem this passage cannot be read as genuinely praising Romulus. Repeatedly in Books 2 and 3, Romulus is characterized negatively by his destructive *vis* (particularly in Book 2 when the speaker claims that Remus blamed Romulus for his death, *tu dederas transilienda Remo*, "you had given them to Remus to leap across" 2.134). Therefore, here in Book 4, Romulus' grief at his brother's death, though moving, is unconvincing as evidence of Romulus' genuine character. Rather the speaker offers another example of Romulus' dogged use of force in founding Rome when his brother becomes his victim. Indeed, following the funeral for Remus, the speaker offers a prayer for Rome and its leaders that portrays the city as a conquering power, subduing others: *urbs oritur (quis tunc hoc ulli credere posset?) / victorem terris impositura pedem* ("A city rises, destined to tread victorious on the lands (Who at that time could believe this from anyone?" 857-58). He prays that the world will always be subject to Caesar, who stands sublime in a conquered world (*et quotiens steteris domito sublimis in orbe* 861). The lines could be panegyric, but they specifically underscore Romulus' victory over his brother, rather than his mourning.³³⁵ The final image on the Parilia is not an elegiac scene of sympathy for family but an unchecked force that battles down any obstacle to ruling power.

³³⁵ The lines are also similar to the passage on the Ides of March in Book 3 that recall Augustus' victory at Philippi: *at quicumque nefas ausi, prohibente deorum / numine, polluerant pontificale caput, / morte iacent merita. testes estote Philippi, / et quorum sparsis ossibus albet humus. / hoc opus, haec pietas, haec prima elementa fuerunt / Caesaris, ulcisci iusta per arma patrem* (3.705-710). Both passages appear laudatory on the surface, but in context with the destructive male characters that have come before (Romulus and Mars in this case), the praise of war and conquering is perhaps more ingenuine.

As Mary Beard (1987) demonstrates, the Parilia offers an example of the malleability of the Roman calendar; that is, throughout time the festivals took on new meanings shaped by contemporary times and events. Originally a festival for shepherds to protect their flocks, by the Augustan period, the Parilia was primarily associated with the foundation of Rome. For Augustus, this festival provided another prominent celebration of his ancestral ties to Rome's origins (associating himself with Romulus) and the Golden Age in Italy. Thus Augustan ideology was woven into, and even perhaps supplanted, the pastoral rites of the early Republic. In the *Fasti*, the inclusion of Romulus' foundation of Rome provides the prevailing Augustan meaning for the festival day. This tale features once again a depiction of masculine *vis* used to gain power and build the state. Romulus' actions and the presence of violent force in this passage strongly contrast with the peaceful and productive actions of both the pastoral rituals for Pales and of the women throughout the book. In this context, the inclusion of Remus' funeral does not offer a praiseworthy, sympathetic view of Romulus, but rather highlights the destruction that results from the militaristic, masculine view of Rome as a city of conquerors. Leadership by means of the authority of the male leaders stands in opposition to the bountiful Rome created by women's collaborative rituals.

Vesta and The Floralia

Book 4 both opens and closes with festivals for female deities. More specifically, the two calendrical entries that bookend the month each incorporate rites for two different goddesses in a single day whose participants and rituals objectives strongly contrast with one another. Each of these days features a ritual for two different classes of women. April 1st includes both the rituals of Fortuna Virilis for *meretrices* and Venus Verticordia for citizen women. April 28th presents both the Floralia, a ritual for all citizens but that includes the participation of *meretrices* and

lower-class women, and the Augustan cult of Vesta (a recognition of her shrine incorporated into his Palatine home). The juxtaposition of the speaker's depiction of the rites on these two days shows a thematic tension consistent throughout the book: the conflict between strictly defined roles for women in religion promoted in Augustan ideology and the *Fasti*'s unique portrayal of the autonomous, essential role of women in religion at every level of society. While on the 1st of the month, the speaker intentionally obscures distinction between the activities and the participants of the two rituals, on April 28th, Augustan Vesta displaces Flora and delays a full description of the Floralia to May. Scholars have debated the political implications of the delay of Flora. Newlands and Barchiesi, for example, interpret the deferral of Flora as the *Fasti*'s representation of the Augustan usurpation of the religious calendar for purposes of promoting his ideological agenda.³³⁶ Others, such as Fantham (1998), disagree with the political reading of this day, pointing to the fact that the *Floralia* typically had a moving date, not even recorded on the Roman fasti until the *Fasti Praenestini*. Whether or not the entry for April 28th carries an implicit political statement (i.e., the Augustan displacement of Republican celebrations), the differences between the entries on the first and last of the month illustrate a stark contrast in ideology on the role of women in religious ritual. While the opening of *Fasti* Book 4 foregrounds the religious role of women despite sexual status or social class, Augustan Vesta's displacement of Flora showcases a conflict between women of different classes and demonstrates the possible use of the calendar for reinforcing the social categorization of women. Contrasted with the comprehensive, all-inclusive female rituals that dominate the book, Vesta's appearance on the 28th represents the strict social divisions that Ovid endeavors to challenge and undermine in his fluid, elegiac calendar.

³³⁶ Newlands (1995: 140-45), Barchiesi (1997: 135-37).

The poet prepares to discuss the Floralia, a festival that begins on April 28th and lasts until May 2nd. He introduces the goddess decked with flowers ready to celebrate with bawdy mimes (*scaena ioci morem liberioris habet*, “the stage has the custom of freer fun” 946). Abruptly, however, he announces that Flora will have to wait until May because a loftier matter demands his attention: Augustus’ inclusion of Vesta in his Palatine home (947-950). Both Newlands and Pasco-Pranger have noted that the entry serves as sort of a *recusatio*-in-reverse, for the speaker delays Flora and her lighter *mos ioci liberioris* in favor of Vesta’s *grandius opus*.³³⁷ Similarly in *Amores* 3.1 the *amator* makes a generic choice between two mistresses, Elegia and Tragoedia. The poet chooses Elegia and embarks on his final book of poetry but promises to get to Tragoedia soon, tragedy being a grander subject: *Mota dedit veniam—teneri properentur Amores, / dum vacat; a tergo grandius urguet opus!* (“With a gesture she gave permission—while there’s time, quick, tender Amores: a greater work is pushing on behind!” *Am.* 3.1.69-70). Here the loftier work is not tragedy but an imperial religious observation—a topic the speaker promised to take on in the proem to Book 1 (1.9-10). In the proem of Book 2, he confirmed that his elegiac verses, previously employed for the games of love elegy, would sail on greater sails in order to suitably address these grand subjects (2.3-16). But despite these programmatic statements, elegiac tales far surpass the Augustan dates (*grandius* or *maior* material) in number of lines and are markedly different in style, in particular the lengthy tales of old Republican religious traditions (e.g. Lucretia, Anna Perenna, Claudia Quinta).³³⁸

Stylistic distinction between these two subjects is evident in the juxtaposition of Flora and Vesta. The speaker’s brief introduction of Flora calls to mind Venus on April 1st: a female

³³⁷ Newlands (1995: 141), Pasco-Pranger (2006: 170-1).

³³⁸ Book 4 features only three imperial dates, the 6th, 14th, and 28th (four including the mention of Augustus in Parilia entry).

deity covered in garlands of various flowers (4.137-38, 4.945). Her floral adornment associates her with the numerous deities promoting agricultural production throughout April (and as she states on May 3rd, she was the first to bring a variety of color to the land through floral production 5.213-24). On May 3rd, when the speaker resumes his description of the Floralia, Flora herself tells her origins. In her tale, she describes herself much like one of the nymphs of the *Metamorphoses*: a young girl, outstanding in beauty, chased down and raped by a lusty divinity (Zephyr). Uniquely, however, she happily marries her attacker. She, like Venus of April's proem, is a goddess who unites lovers. And like Elegia of *Amores* 3.1, she is an alluring, refined goddess who inspires tales of love. The speaker even makes her similarity to Elegia explicit, stating that her games are fit for a lighter stage production, not for tragedy: *scaena levis decet hanc: non est, mihi credite, non est / illa coturnatas inter habenda deas* ("A lightweight stage is proper for this goddess. She isn't, believe me she isn't, to be counted among the goddesses in tragic boots" 5.347-48).

Flora's rituals reveal other similarities with Venus and other deities of April. Like Venus or Ceres, she shows herself to be a goddess who aids female prosperity, even in the face of male opposition. Juno, she says, asked for her assistance in conceiving a child (5.229-246). Full of grief and feeling powerless after learning that Jupiter gave birth to Minerva without the help of a woman, Juno wished to give birth independently as well. Flora, despite fearing Jupiter's wrath, helped Juno conceive Mars (5.247-258) and for her efforts, Mars rewarded Flora with a place in Romulus' city (5.259-60). Like the deities of April, Flora promotes a variety of agricultural growth: flowers, vines, olive-trees, and honey among others (5.261-274). Like Venus she has a hand in numerous types of creation and like Ceres, she reminds her audience that she has the power to deprive the land of that production if she is not satisfactorily worshipped and respected

(5.311-330). And lastly, Flora's rituals represent a variety of social classes. Her games originated as a celebration for the public aediles who defended the rights of common farmers when they were being cheated of their land and resources (5.279-94). These ritual activities are noted for their social license: drinking, games, and sexual encounters. Significantly, she is a goddess for the common folk, including *meretrices*:

turba quidem cur hos celebret meretricia ludos,
non ex difficili causa petita subest.
non est de tetricis, non est de magna professis,
vult sua plebeio sacra patere choro,
et monet aetatis specie, dum floreat, uti;
contemni spinam, cum cecidere rosae. (5.349-54)

As for why a troupe of prostitutes performs these games, the reason behind it isn't hard to find. She's not one of the frowners, she's not one of those who make big claims. She wants her rites to be open to a plebian chorus, and she advises using the beauty of youth while it's in flower. 'The thorn,' she says, 'is despised once the roses have fallen.'

Flora, a deity of pre-Roman origins, promotes the growth of the entire populace, but in particular, her games provide a ritual space for the lower classes and for restorative licentiousness, similar to the festival of Anna Perenna.³³⁹

In stark contrast to Flora and the Floralia, Vesta is described solely in terms of her relationship to Augustus and the imperial house. The speaker addresses the goddess with a formal, ceremonial prayer:

aufer Vesta diem! cognati Vesta recepta est
limine: sic iusti constituere patres.
Phoebus habet patrem, Vestae pars altera cessit;
quod superest illis, tertius ipse tenet.
state Palatinae laurus, praetextaque quercu
stet domus; aeternos tres habet una deos. (4.949-54)

³³⁹ N.B. Her festival, like that of Anna Perenna, also includes a free license for jokes: *scaena ioci morem liberoris habet*, 4.946.

Take the day, Vesta! Vesta has been received at her kinsman's threshold. So the just Fathers have decreed. Phoebus has one part, a second has gone to Vesta, he himself as the third occupies what is left from them. Stand, you Palatine laurels! May the house stand, wreathed with oak! One house, it holds three eternal gods.

He claims that by judgment of the senate Vesta was received into the home of her kinsmen (*cognatus* 950). Like Venus, ancestral deity of the Julio-Claudians, Vesta is acknowledged for her new importance to the imperial family. It is even suggested that Augustus is related to Vesta, a tradition prevalent in Augustan writers who state that Aeneas carried the fire of Vesta from Troy to Italy and Romulus transferred the cult from Alba Longa to Rome.³⁴⁰ Previously a goddess who protected the hearth of Rome in the forum, she now protects Rome from the home of Augustus, the new center of the city. Incorporating Vesta into his Palatine complex, he moved the office of *pontifex maximus* into his home. By moving the public hearth of Rome into this private home, Augustus redefined the role of high priest, making himself the state's primary guardian and his Palatine home the city center. With Apollo and Augustus, Vesta completes a divine triad on the Palatine Hill: a visual marker of the principate's influence. By means of association with these two deities, Augustus communicated to the Roman people the values he wished to promote. But by emphasizing his association with Vesta in particular, he asserted his commitment to the importance of female *pudicitia* amongst citizen women. Vesta embodies the relationship of female

³⁴⁰ On Aeneas: Virg. *Aen.* 11.296, 567; Ov. *Met.* 15. 730-1; Prop. 4.4.69; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 11.65.2. On Romulus: Plut. *Rom.* 22; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 11.64-69 argues that Numa, rather than Romulus established the cult.

sexuality to the Roman state: just as a chaste woman ensures the safety and stability of her family, so the chaste bodies of the Vestal Virgins guard the Roman hearth.³⁴¹ By moving the hearth of the city to his Palatine complex, Augustus assumes responsibility for protecting the hearth and reinforces the value of female *pudicitia* and domesticity.

This Augustan Vesta stands in contrast to Flora and the other female deities of Book 4. She is imperial, an old divinity now repurposed under the principate. She represents Augustus' rigid moral agenda and she protects the sexuality of citizen women. She is like the Julian Venus of the proem, important for her role in promoting the ideology of the Augustan family line. But the imperial aspect of Venus is only one minor part of her characterization. Venus' domain extends far beyond the Julian family, to women of all classes, promoting love affairs and reproduction amongst all echelons of society. Her divinity is most consistently manifest throughout April in rituals that encompass women of all social classes and sexual statuses, acting in opposition to men or rigid social definitions to promote growth and production in the city.

Vesta, to the contrary, illustrates the new Augustan idea of woman. She embodies virtues and behaviors for upper-class women, chiefly *pudicitia*, *pietas*, *fides* and domestic responsibilities. Augustus' promulgation of her image was intended to enforce rigid social roles, encouraging women to return to the home, and to discourage the fluidity of classes, separating the *matronae* of senatorial and equestrian classes from *meretrices* and other lower-class women. On the final day of the month, Vesta infringes upon older, Republican traditions as she pushes aside the

³⁴¹ On the role of the Vestal Virgins in Rome see Beard (1980, 1995), Takacs (2010), and Staples (2013). On the virginity of the Vestals in particular and the relationship of their chastity to the safety of the Roman state see Parker (2004) and Wildfang (2006).

celebration of lower-class women and prostitutes. As with the tale of the Lares in Book 2 or Anna Perenna in Book 3, the speaker uses the intrusion of Vesta to underscore the way in which the Augustan reformation of the calendar yielded an overlapping of old and new traditions. Imperial definitions of religion clash with the older, elegiac tales. One category is rigidly defined and the other is fluid. At the end of Book 4, the clash is specifically between strict Augustan limitations for women's behavior and women's roles in the state and Ovid's depiction of women at the heart of Roman religion, unbound by class, sexual status, or public opinion. Augustan Venus and Vesta are fixed and limited by their imperial context, as Augustan ideology sought to confine women to the domestic sphere. The elegiac Venus and the other female deities of the book exceed these limitations. Their rituals incorporate various peoples and promote widespread growth. Through the elegiac descriptions of their rites, Ovid shows a fluidity of the overwhelming female dominance in the month of April.

With the postponement of Flora to Book 5, this female dominance extends into the next month as well. Vesta then represents an imperial road block to the prior Roman cultural calendar, a forced imposition and a disruption of civic life. Ovid's depiction of the other female rituals show the overwhelming prosperity that derives from a comprehensive, unconstrained celebration of civic rituals. By setting up Augustan Vesta as an obstacle to that prosperity, Ovid undermines Augustan ideology that limits women's role in civic life. With the continuation of Flora in Book 5, Ovid's elegiac goddesses triumph over boundaries and demonstrate the far-reaching influence of women in Roman ritual and society.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Ovid's *Fasti* is, first and foremost, poetry. Through his poetic calendar, Ovid offers colorful, dramatized, and playful representations of the daily events and rituals of contemporary Rome. He enlivens this important cultural document with tales of love, comedy, and myth, interweaving the supernatural and historical. With his elegiac styling, he crafts unique versions of Roman foundational tales to show distinct patterns recurring throughout the ritual calendar. Often distinct from other versions, the *Fasti*'s tales present a view of Roman culture quite different from the predominant narratives—those of Livy and Vergil, for instance—by offering different perspectives, introducing new details, or farcically inverting them, and by focusing, as I have argued in this dissertation, on issues of gender, power, and speech. He thus engages in a discourse with contemporary ideologies, highlighting conflicts and tensions within the ideologies of the principate. The result is a more complex and comprehensive view of Roman society, suffused with different viewpoints, showcasing a variety of voices, and providing a place for people at every level of Roman society.

In this dissertation, I have focused specifically on the way Ovid deploys gender and speech to explore issues of power and authority. He employs the same themes of the exploitation of power and control of the female body that appear throughout his other poetry, applying them now to the public religious calendar. He thus extends his exploration of sexual politics to a consideration of Roman social politics in general. When, in the *Fasti*, Ovid expands his characteristic exploration of gender and power to the Roman calendar, he takes up issues of gender that

are particular to Rome and, more specifically, to Augustan Rome.³⁴² Engaging Roman foundation narratives, he highlights female perspectives, providing different viewpoints on well-known tales and challenging his readers to reconsider traditional ideas about the role of women in the state.

Ovid offers a new perspective on the role of women in Roman ritual and society, one that undermines traditional Roman male narratives, which typically reduced women's importance to the state to their bodies (reproduction and *pudicitia*). As in his previous poetry, he reveals the violated bodies of women at the heart of Roman foundations and rituals. He also repeatedly underscores the numerous times the success and advancement of a man or group of men entails suppression of a female voice (e.g., Lara and Lucretia, as discussed in Chapter Three). But unique to the *Fasti* is this fundamental pattern: after exposing the violation of women, Ovid demonstrates that women have an essential role in creating Roman foundations and assuring the safety and stability of the state by efforts and endeavors of strength outside of the tasks of the domestic sphere (e.g., Rhea Silvia, Sabine women, Anna Perenna, as discussed in Chapter Four). The *Fasti*'s women are not simply victims. Ovid progressively establishes women's significance—despite their victimization—in securing a future for Rome as actors and leaders in the community (e.g., the female festivals of April discussed in Chapter Five).

The *Fasti* thus builds on Ovid's previous poetry in that it displays gendered power dynamics to gruesome extremes, then turns them on their head by bringing women to the forefront. His previous poetry shows female victims remaining victims and female speech exercising little authority, but in the *Fasti* Roman women become triumphant, salvific characters. Throughout, men are often chaotic and disruptive, while the women become increasingly powerful figures

³⁴² He pointedly avoids this task in the final books of the *Metamorphoses*, where he omits many Roman foundation myths involving women, i.e., Rhea Silvia, Lucretia.

and rational voices, reining in male disorder, establishing peace, and promoting prosperity. In its juxtaposition of men's and women's actions, the *Fasti* shows that the men who strive to maintain control of the calendar, of ritual, of society (primarily Mars and Romulus) have, in the end, no real authority: rather, they are undercut by the women they seek to control. Representation of gender in the *Fasti*, then, creates an avenue for considering and interrogating the legitimacy of authority, asking questions such as: who is an authority, whose needs does that authority represent, and what voices are suppressed in order for that authority to maintain power. Undermining authoritative voices that attempt to control and restrict others, the poem celebrates the diversity of persons, voices, and perspectives that suffuse Roman rituals.

A key component to understanding the *Fasti*, and the politics of gender therein, is the time of its composition. As discussed in Chapter One, Ovid wrote the *Fasti* under an established, peaceful principate. Imperial power was solidified, but in establishing the power of the principate, Augustus made numerous endeavors to change social *mores*, aiming to re-stabilize the Roman upper-classes. Many of these efforts were aimed at controlling citizen women. He also promulgated a new narrative about the history of Rome in which he established his destined authority to rule over a new *Pax Romana*. His reformation of the Roman religious calendar, in which he re-appropriated Republican rituals and adapted them to suit his own imperial agenda, was one such effort.

When Ovid takes up issues of gender, speech, and authority in the *Fasti*, he engages in a discourse about the authority of the principate to create history and tradition and to legislate the behavior of its (female) citizens. By demonstrating the forceful suppression of women in ritual narratives and the wide-ranging flaws of male authority, Ovid employs a discussion of gendered power dynamics in order to explore the dynamics of power and authority in the principate.

Through its representation of gendered speech and the disparity between men's and women's actions, the *Fasti* explores the way narratives are formed and transformed. Ovid considers whose voices are powerful and when they are powerful in the creation of history. But further, by highlighting women at the center of Roman foundation and ritual, Ovid persistently challenges the Augustan view of women and provides a more diverse, comprehensive representation of Roman religion and society.

By provocatively countering Augustan ideology of women, Ovid's *Fasti* takes the political implications of Roman elegy to their extreme. He uses his elegiac tales of love, desire, violence, and bold initiative to reconsider the mythological and historical tales that resurfaced in the Augustan age as tales of exemplarity—i.e., what it is to be Roman. In doing so, Ovid not only counters the Augustan narrative but offers his own version of what it is to be Roman. While his love elegy interrogates the principate's efforts to police the personal lives of Roman citizens by dictating matters of love and sex, the *Fasti* challenges the principate's moral agenda, specifically the attempt to restore morality through strict gender roles that, in the view dramatized throughout the *Fasti*, inhibit the flourishing potential of the Roman state. He provides a complex, diverse view of Roman society, composed of a variety of perspectives and voices.

The *Fasti* does not aim to advocate for women's rights. What it does is expose a significant Roman reality that women are intimately tied to the success and strength of the city and its society. Through their voices and their bodies, women exercise influence in numerous, public avenues (reproduction, motherhood, intervention, conciliation promotion of peace, piety). In revealing the essential role of women in the state—contra Augustus—Ovid encourages comparison with women at all levels of society, and in particular, those most intimately tied to Augustan ideology: the women of the Augustan household. In Ovid's version of the Matronalia,

for example, Mars foolishly exposes the difference between *his* interpretation of the Sabine women and the women's own experience. This interpretive discrepancy reveals that Mars was disillusioned in his representation. Similarly, through the *Fasti*'s various mythological tales, Ovid urges his audience to interrogate the disconnect between the image of imperial women that Augustus aimed to present and the actual dynamics of his own household.³⁴³ Livia, as I will discuss below, features prominently at the beginning and end of the *Fasti*, and in his representation of the imperial woman, Ovid subtly suggests the general instability of Augustus' unyielding ideology by further dramatizing the hypocrisies that arise from such strict principles for human behavior.

When Ovid was composing the *Fasti*, he witnessed the rise in importance of imperial women, beginning long before with the role of Octavia in Augustan politics and developing with the increasing influence of Livia. Both women were to a great extent under the control of Augustus, that is, they projected the image which he wanted them to project: an image of domesticity and female chastity. Livia continued to gain influence throughout his reign, ultimately playing a determining role in the trajectory of the empire as it was handed over to her son Tiberius. Augustus also faced the behavior of his daughter and granddaughter, Julia the elder and Julia the younger. He was forced to exile both for adultery, in accordance with the legislation that he himself had enacted. That Augustus could not control the women of his own household was certainly not lost on Ovid, or any other Roman. Augustus and Livia began their marriage in scandalous elopement: he ran away with her while she was married and pregnant with

³⁴³ As I have mentioned throughout, the poem features numerous moments in which a description can be reflected back upon Augustus and thereby encourages readers to consider and question the actions and values of the principate. For example, the *pater patriae* in February, though it features a dichotomous comparison of Romulus' and Augustus' reign, urges consideration of the similarities and differences in the character and actions of the two men.

her second child. In a further irony, she failed to bear any surviving children by him. Thus in their marriage they failed to live up to both Julian laws on sex and marriage. Augustus' own family demonstrates that women cannot be so easily controlled and confined, that their bodies cannot be commanded by legislation, and that women remained tremendously influential in Roman society.

Livia looms large in the *Fasti*, mentioned explicitly on three separate occasions, significantly as the equal of Augustus (1.650) and in affiliation with Concordia (1.649, 6.637). Ovid's representation of women, I believe, is much concerned with Livia and, through her, the problems with the ideal Augustan woman. He offers two depictions of Livia. On the surface is a vision of Livia that operates in accordance with Augustan ideology. In the first mention of the dedication of the altar of Concordia, the speaker states: *hanc tua constituit genetrix et rebus et ara, / solaturo magni digna reperta Iovis* ("This goddess your mother has established, both in deeds and with an altar—she who alone was found worthy of the couch of great Jupiter" 1.649-50). Livia is depicted as Augustus' perfect wife, a pious woman, and a *genetrix*. But he also offers a depiction of an independent Livia, who has power and influence. A re-reading of this passage, after study of women in the *Fasti*, provides a new perspective. The description of the establishment of the Temple of Concordia features several tensions that appear throughout the poem. The temple has a history of, first, a republican foundation by M. Furius Camillus (367 BCE), and then by Tiberius (10 CE). Tiberius, the speaker states, rebuilt the temple with the spoils from conquering the Germans (1.645-48). Accompanying Tiberius' efforts is the independent initiative of Livia to establish an altar. The title *genetrix* calls to mind both the Julian Venus Genetrix and also, in the more immediate context, the numerous goddesses of Book 4 and the women who lead their rituals. Livia is also identified as the worthy wife of Jove, elevating her to the status of Juno.

Such association with Juno paired with her initiative in establishing the altar recalls the women of the Matronalia who dedicated a temple to Juno Lucina (3.245-48). In these subtle similarities to other women who show initiative in Roman ritual (e.g., Claudia Quinta, Sabine women), Livia's actions stand out prominently. In accordance with Ovid's female-centered Roman view, she is as much an actor in Roman civic life as Tiberius and Augustus.

The second mention of Livia and Concordia comes at the end of Book 6. June 11th provides a long entry for the Temples of Mater Matuta and Fortuna, which Servius Tullius dedicated on the same day and in the same place. The tales are complex. One features the story of Ino, harassed by the gods and fate until she is welcomed into Italy by Hercules and Carmentis and becomes Mater Matuta (6.481-550). The second offers a brief mention of Athamas' infidelity to Ino (551-68). And finally, for the Temple of Fortuna, the speaker describes a statue of Servius Tullius clothed in robes, showing shame for his daughter Tullia's wicked actions (585-636). Immediately following Tullia's murder of her father, the speaker states: *te quoque magnifica, Concordia, dedicate aede / Livia, quam caro praestiti ipsa viro* ("You too, Concord, Livia dedicates in a magnificent shrine, which she herself has bestowed on her own husband" 6.637-38). The placement of this reference is peculiar. I suggest that it encourages readers to look back to the first mention of Livia and Concordia in Book 1 and to consider the representation of gender dynamics throughout the work.

The episodes on June 11th capture an aspect of the numerous concepts about women that I have highlighted. Carmentis' reappearance conjures up the authoritative female voice. Ino's warm embrace into Italy reinforces the unique role of women in Roman society, where woman is protected and honored as a mother. She suffers Juno's wrath for fostering Bacchus, witnesses her husband murder their son in a fit of madness, and strives to save herself and her second son.

She at last finds safety and honor in Rome as she becomes associated with Mater Matuta, a goddess whose festival is associated with women and the birth and care for children. Her tale demonstrates the bold, daring initiative of mothers celebrated at numerous points in the poem. Finally, the tale of Tullia demonstrates the opposite of the Augustan ideal. Her actions are a manifestation of the principate's concerns about both unchaste women and women's powerful potential. Ovid explicitly and cheekily juxtaposes Tullia with Livia and Augustus. He follows up with a bold statement when he explains that Augustus tore down the gaudy house of Vedius Pollio in order to build a public colonnade, named after Livia, that could be enjoyed by all the people. The speaker says about Augustus' exemplary destruction of wealth: *sic agitur censura et sic exempla parantur, / cum iudex, alios quod monet, ipse facit* ("That is how a censor's duty is fulfilled; that is how examples are provided, when the punisher himself does what he warns others to do" 6.647-48).

Ovid provides in these three tales a concentrated depiction of women's influence in Rome (two positive and one negative) and then immediately shifts to a reiteration of the opposing Augustan ideal: husband, wife, and *Concordia*. The couplet offers a commentary on the Augustan household. In juxtaposing his thematic representation of women with the Augustan model, Ovid subtly challenges the legitimacy of Augustan *mores*. Can Augustus censure the women in his household as he warns others to do? He certainly upheld his policies concerning his daughter and granddaughter. But to what extent did he control Livia and to what extent was she his equal?

The *Fasti*, I believe, bookended with these two references to *Concordia* in the marriage between Augustus and Livia, encourages readers to consider the gender ideology throughout Roman society. In these passages Ovid alludes to the Augustan idea of harmony: a wife subservient

to her husband, a woman who embodies chastity and modesty, a woman who is first and foremost a mother. But throughout the poem he shows the great potential of women outside this mold. Ovid dramatizes the violence and destruction that results when women are subjected to controlling male desires. He highlights women's autonomous actions often in opposition to, or in spite of, men's actions. He shows women of all levels of society and of different types of sexuality as positively influencing the Roman state.

In a period in which elite women were sent back into the house, told to be modest, fertile, passive counterparts to their active husbands, Ovid shows the importance of woman in Rome not just as a body (valued for reproduction or chastity) but as primary actors in Roman society and Livia is one such actor. Augustus is not the religious champion of the *Fasti*. In the beginning and end of the poem (as we have it), Augustus is accompanied by Livia. Beginning with Janus and Carmentis in Book 1, two Roman narratives, male and female, run side-by-side in the work. Janus gives an Augustan picture of Rome, and Carmentis offers a vision of Rome that concludes not with Augustus but with Livia.³⁴⁴ From the outset, then, Ovid interrogates the Augustan narrative of Rome by challenging gender roles in the principate. In the female-centered narrative, Ovid displays how women affect Roman society demonstrating their potential influence in the growth and development of the state, through their relationships, their sexuality, their voices, and their initiative. This narrative, consistently juxtaposed with the contemporary Augustan view of society, exposes problems and inconsistencies in the inflexible male conception of Rome and thereby undermines a moral ideology so unyielding it cannot be upheld by its own creator.

³⁴⁴ The date of the composition of the *Fasti* is important here. If the work was revised while Ovid was in exile as many have suggested, then it is possible that references to Livia (as those to Germanicus and Tiberius) are Ovid's attempts to garner the favor of those around Augustus (and those who would take power after him) in hopes of being recalled from exile.

Ovid's *Fasti*, then, is a poem on the religious calendar. But it is a poem that demonstrates the fluidity of society and culture. In his representation of gender, Ovid displays a conflict between two groups: authoritative, powerful men and suppressed, victimized women. As he makes a path for the suppressed to sound their voices and become prominent actors in society, Ovid reveals the complexities of subjectivity in the development of culture. That is, Ovid reveals that beneath the narrow imperial vision of Rome is a society filled with diverse voices and perspectives, celebrating different traditions and values. Ovid's poem depicts the way Roman culture, composed of persons of various sexes and classes, shifts over time, taking on different meanings in different times to suit its diverse population. As he dramatizes, time and again throughout the *Fasti*, Rome—a hybrid society from the beginning—is not, and never can be, monolithic in either its demographic make-up or its distinctive nature. Issues of class and gender, particularly as they relate to women, are constitutive to the city from its origins, in ways not seen elsewhere. In his unfinished poetic religious calendar, Ovid recurs to Rome's unusual origins and showcases the past and future centrality of women to Rome.

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