TELA MONUMENTALIA: OVID, AUGUSTUS, AND THE ROMAN CITYSCAPE IN *ARS AMATORIA* I.67-176

by

STEVEN ROBERT TURNER, JR.

(Under the Direction of JAMES C. ANDERSON, JR.)

ABSTRACT

The *Ars Amatoria* stood in direct contradiction to Augustan moral legislation; Ovid discussed how to pursue the very sorts of liaisons that Augustus sought to ban with the *lex Iulia de Adulteriis Coercendis* and the *lex Iulia de Maritandis Ordinibus* of 18 B.C.E. In one section of the poem's first book, Ovid more subtly employed various buildings associated with the Julian *gens* in providing the settings for the pursuit of such relationships. Thus, he used these symbols of Augustan authority as weapons, as it were, in an *ad hominem* attack against the *princeps*, suggesting each of them as a place where only the authority of love prevailed. This study will identify the Augustan structures Ovid named (and one he seemingly omitted) as *loci amoris* and will analyze the literary, political, and erotic reasons for their inclusion or apparent omission in his didactic poem.

INDEX WORDS: Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, Augustus, *Lex Iulia de Adulteriis Coercendis*, *Lex Iulia de Maritandis Ordinibus*, Rome, Portico of Livia, Portico of Octavia, Theatre of Marcellus, Temple of Venus Genetrix, Forum of Julius Caesar, Temple of Apollo Palatinus, Circus Maximus, Rape of the Sabine Women, Portico of Pompey, Theatre of Pompey, Temple of Venus Victrix, Temple of Isis, Horologium of Augustus, Naumachia, Temple of Mars Ultor, Forum of Augustus

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DEDICATION

For my parents, Steven R. Turner, Sr., and Joanne Turner, without whose support and love this thesis would have never been written, *cum amore gratiisque*.

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

Late in the first century B.C.E., two forces, embodied by two men, were on a collision course. The first was a force of moral rectitude, sexual purity, and what might be termed "family values," while the other was a force of liberation and freedom in the private life of the individual, especially in one's romantic interactions. One man sought to bolster the family and the state through his legislation, while the other questioned the involvement of the state in the life of the individual through his poetry. Augustus was the chief player behind what could be termed the "moralizing force," at least insofar as his *leges Iuliae* seemed to make one's erotic interactions the business of the state. At the same time, the poet Ovid questioned the sexual propriety of the *princeps* and his family and cast doubt upon the suitability and success of this newly codified morality.[1] The collision of these two men and their ideals, as it turned out, earned one man exile from the city whose citizens he seemed to attempt to empower with the didactic *Ars Amatoria* by causing them to reflect upon this new moral legislation and its creator.[2]

While Augustus sought to restore the republic along with its supposed morals and customs, the personal freedoms and privacy of life associated with this hallowed

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[1] While on the surface Augustus fought for moral rectitude, there were elements of his own personal life that call his own morality into question, as will be addressed later. Further, the only evidence for Ovid's own love life is his poetry, which is of course subject to artful exaggeration, a topic addressed below. More important than the actual practices of either man, however, are the ideas that they broadcast to society—one by means of promulgated laws, the other in his poetry.

[2] The very nature of the *Ars Amatoria* as a didactic work seems to suggest that at a minimum, Ovid was attempting to *present* himself as empowering the would-be lovers of Rome. Whether Ovid actually saw himself in this role or, as is perhaps more likely, his presentation of himself as an empowerer played into his *persona* in the *Ars Amatoria* is not able to be ascertained and for the purpose of this thesis is largely irrelevant.

institution, in the opinion of Ovid, were on the wane. While once upon a time the decision of some men to remain unmarried or to engage in extramarital liaisons once married had been a matter to be discussed within families (if discussed at all), it now became a matter to be discussed in the law courts.[3]

The *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus*, passed prior to the *Ludi Saeculares* in 17 B.C.E., made marriage a requirement for men between the ages of 25 and 60, and the *Lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis*, passed at the same time, provided steep penalties for engagement in erotic activity outside one's marriage.[4] Augustus' decision to pass these laws at the outset of a new *saeculum* exemplified his attempt to create a new order despite his claim in the *Res Gestae* that in the passage of new laws, "*legibus novis latis complura exempla maiorum exolescentia iam ex nostro usu revocavi…*"[5]

How long ago had these customs mentioned in the *Res Gestae* started "falling out of common usage"? As far as they concerned the sanctity of Roman marriage and the sexual purity of Roman citizens, it seems that the tradition of pursuing liaisons outside of marriage was in itself "ancestral." Livy informed his readers that when the army of the general Vulso returned from Asia Minor in 187 B.C.E., Roman banquets began to feature girls playing the harp and cithara.[6] From this point onward, a Hellenistic tendency towards luxury and decadence apparently led otherwise moral Romans astray into erotic

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[3] G. Karl Galinsky, *Augustan Culture* (Princeton: Princeton, 1996), 128-129.
[4] Ibid., 130. See also, for a very complete description, Robert Villers, "Le Mariage Envisage comme Institution d'Etat dans le Droit Classique de Rome," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1982): 294-300. Galinsky discusses many of the details of chronology in "Augustus' Legislation on Morals and Marriage," *Philologus* 125: 126-144.
[5] *RG* 8. "With new laws having been brought forth, I restored many ancestral traditions which were falling out of common usage." For the sake of maintaining a fluid text, any direct quotes from ancient sources will be given in the original language within the text and translated in footnotes. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.
[6] Livy 39.6; Andrew Dalby, *Empire of Pleasures: Luxury and Indulgence in the Roman World* (London: Routledge, 2000), 120.

pleasure outside of legitimate marriages.[7] That the seeking of such pleasures was seemingly institutionalized by the time when Ovid wrote the *Ars Amatoria* is suggested by Horace's mention of such activities in the *Odes*.[8] He went so far as to note that women no longer even attempted to escape the eyes of their husbands as they flirted with dinner guests and retired to other rooms with newfound lovers. Propertius mentioned that he wished to write the sort of poetry that could be read by a woman waiting for a lover.[9] Beyond the realm of elegiac poetry, illicit sexual liaisons are seen as being frequent amongst the aristocracy. Cicero presented Clodia as the lover of Caelius in the *Pro Caelio*, and if one believes that Catullus' "Lesbia" was in fact Clodia Metelli, she was also the lover of Catullus.[10] As important as Clodia's apparent availability and willingness to participate in erotic unions outside of wedlock were the desires and actions of her lovers, whose behavior suggests that the average Roman male had an equal propensity to engage in such relationships. One might also look to the example of Clodius, who was involved in an intrigue with Caesar's wife Pompeia, leading to the famous desecration of the festival of the Bona Dea in 62 B.C.E.[11] Plutarch seems to have suggested that both Clodius and Pompeia were willing participants in the affair, even employing a maid as a go-between.[12] Considering these examples, it is clear that

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[7] For Hellenistic decadence and eroticism, see James Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Pleasures of Classical Athens* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), especially chapters 3-6. Davidson wades through Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* in an effort to reveal the nature of the ancient *hetaira* and the sexual culture of Athens in general. The connection between the foreign and the immoral will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 2.

[8] Hor. *Odes* 3.6.21-32; Dalby, 257-258.

[9] Prop. 3.3.18-20; Dalby, 258. Dalby suggests that at the heart of such illicit unions is a relative "freedom of choice" for women in Rome at this time. This is made clear from the poetry of Propertius in that Cynthia must be available in order to meet the poet's advances. Similarly, we may compare Catullus' Lesbia.

[10] Cic. *Cael.* 13-16; Mary R. Lefkowitz and Maureen B. Fant, *Women's Life in Greece and Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 147-149; T. P. Wiseman, *Catullan Questions* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1969), 42-60.

[11] Plut. *Caes.* 9-10; Lefkowitz and Fant, 253-254.

[12] Ibid.

extramarital affairs were certainly a part of Roman aristocratic culture in the late first century B.C.E. Further, it is clear from such poems that there was no shortage of men willing to take part in such relationships. Augustus was seemingly more interested in old-time morality than the average Roman of his time period.

While Horace, Propertius, and Ovid himself seem to have written autobiographically regarding the sexual climate of Rome in the late first century B.C.E., their poetry was, of course, subject to exaggeration. Exactly *who* was engaging in the practices noted by each poet? Was it the poet himself, or was it the persona of the poet within his work? In referring to Ovid's *Amores*, John Davis suggests that Ovid thoughtfully employed the use of a persona in "the shamelessly promiscuous behavior of the Don Juan [that made] a mockery of…Augustus' legislative attempts to reform Roman society."[13] Ovid himself noted in the *Tristia* that he employed a persona:

> *Crede mihi, distant mores a carmine nostro…*
> *magnaque pars mendax operum est et fictum meorum:*
> *plus sibi permisit compositore suo.*[14]

Whether the idea of the persona or the poet himself, it made its way onto the page.[15]

While artful exaggeration could certainly have been a factor in the work of Horace, Propertius, and Ovid, the fact that there were a number of poets who similarly characterized the erotic state of affairs at Rome—and a number of prose authors confirming such a characterization—suggests that having lovers outside of one's marriage was not considered socially unacceptable. The very fact that such illicit unions

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[13] John T. Davis, *Fictus Adulter* (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1989), 37.
[14] Ovid *Trist.* 2.353-356. "Believe me, my character differs from my song… / and the great part of my works is false and made-up: / it has allowed more for itself than for its author."
[15] For a discussion of persona, see R.O.A.M. Lyne, *The Latin Love Poets* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), viii. Lyne refers to the concept of *persona* as a "rather dated relic of fashionable criticism [which] strikes [him] as making sometimes a quibbling distinction, sometimes an insensitive one."

appeared in the poetry of the time, whether the stuff of reality or fantasy, suggests a societal attitude that did not impugn such improprieties (or at least fantasizing about them). Within the construct of poetry, the ideas or attitudes represented are of greater importance than the actions of the poets themselves.[16] As all poets write in the hopes that their poetry is read, there must have been an audience that would have been receptive to the practice of adultery or that found such a practice perfectly normal. The fact that such an audience existed in Augustus' Rome likely would have made it seem necessary to the *princeps* to pass laws to quell such appetites.

Augustus presumably did not attempt to pass such legislation without a great deal of care and forethought.[17] It is likely that legislation as bold as the Julian laws would have been received poorly by a large sector of society considering the prevalence of extramarital activity and apparent reluctance on the part of younger men to settle down and marry suggested in the poetry of the time. Galinsky suggests that there may have been preliminary steps in the direction of this legislation as early as 27 B.C.E., when Propertius wrote:

> *Gavisa est certe sublatam Cynthia legem,*
> *qua quondam edicta flemus uterque diu,*
> *ni [nos] divideret….*"[18]

[16] Cf. note 1.

[17] Leo Ferrero Radista cites scholarly debate over whether Augustus attempted to pass such legislation as early as 28 or 27 B.C.E. Joers, citing Dio 54.16, and Mommsen seem to go back and forth on the issue. Mommsen suggests that such legislation may have been proposed, but it was withdrawn due to a less-than-favorable reception, a view which Radista says has won "wide but cautious acceptance." See Leo Ferrero Radista, "Augustus' Legislation Concerning Marriage," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt II*, 13 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980): 295-296; Cf. P. Joers. "Die Ehegesetze des Augustus," in *Festschrift für Th. Mommsen* (Marburg: Elwert, 1894): 3-28; Theodor Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* (Leipzig: Duncker und Humbolt, 1899): 691.

[18] Prop. 2.7.1-3. "Cynthia was happy indeed that a law has been taken away, / which once it was passed caused each of us to weep for a long time, / for fear that it would tear us apart.…" Cf. Galinsky (1996), 131; he notes, however, that the enactment of such a law is not mentioned by any of the historians.

In general, then, it can be reasonably stated that the Julian laws, while their aim was apparently in keeping with ancestral morality, stood in direct contradiction to the customs of Ovid's upper class society. The very writing of the *Ars Amatoria* seems to have stood in direct defiance of such imperial mandates and in strong support of the social norms that Augustus sought to change with the Julian laws. Further, because traditionally the state had not had any jurisdiction over one's erotic affairs, Augustus himself seems to have been acting in a manner contrary to ancestral custom. In this sense, Ovid seems to have been refuting not only Augustus' interpretation of tradition as it applied to erotic relationships, but also his somewhat radical idea that this was somehow the business of the state.

More important, however, than the specifics of these laws is the general sense of sexual purity that they were supposed to encourage. While the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* seems to have been designed only to stop married women from dishonoring their marriages, the desired impact of the law was likely a wide-ranging increase in sexual morality in general. In support of this fact, Leo Ferrero Radista cites one of the surviving phrases from the law itself, found in the *Digest* of Justinian, recorded by Ulpian: "*Ne quis posthac stuprum adulterium facito sciens dolo malo.*"[19] He points to the fact that "*stuprum*" is referred to before "*adulterium,*" noting that "*stuprum*" is a term applied to love affairs in general.[20] Further, by placing most women off-limits, men were compelled not to engage in activity outside of their marriages. This is reinforced in that relationships between men and virgins, widows, respectable divorcees, and other men

[19] Ulp. *D.* 48.5.3. "Nor should anyone after this point knowingly engage in an affair or adultery through a wicked trick." Cf. Radista, 310.
[20] Radista, 310.

were also noted in the law.[21] P.J. Davis contends that the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* considered any extramarital sex with any woman outside of a few categories as adulterous behavior.[22] Thomas McGinn notes that these exempted women included prostitutes, slaves, convicted adulteresses, and foreigners who were not married to Roman citizens.[23] Notably, most women of Ovid's own class would have been rendered sexually unavailable.

While the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* sought to limit the possibility for extramarital (or even premarital) unions, the *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* rewarded marriage and procreation within marriage and upheld these two items as the appropriate aim of all Roman men.[24] That procreation was an aim of the *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* is made clear in the provision that women with three or more children be awarded special privileges, especially with respect to taxation—the so called *ius trium liberorum*.[25] The later *lex Papia Poppea* increased these benefits, suggesting the importance that Augustus placed on raising legitimate citizen children.[26] Though the were provisions of the *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* did not necessarily prevent men from "sowing their wild oats," the general idea was to present "settling down" as the

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[21] Beth Severy, *Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire* (London: Routledge, 2003), 54n.
[22] P.J. Davis *Ovid and Augustus: A Political Reading of Ovid's Erotic Poems* (London: Duckworth, 2006), 88.
[23] Thomas A. McGinn *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 144.
[24] This created somewhat of a two-pronged assault on illicit liaisons; one law reduced the possibility for illicit unions while the other rewarded the alternative, namely legitimate marriage.
[25] Galinsky (1996), 130.
[26] Ibid. Although the *lex Papia Poppea* was passed in 9 C.E., well after the publication of the *Ars Amatoria*, its very passage suggests a continued desire on the part of the *princeps* to encourage a high birth-rate within legitimate marriages between citizens. Cf. Villers, 294. Though this seems more an issue of social stratification than of sexual purity, legitimate marriages between monogamous partners would seemingly have been essential to a successful increase in the birth-rate. Thus, whether Augustus' motive was purely moral, purely social, or both, the resulting legislation discouraged adultery and encouraged marriage amongst citizens.

appropriate course of action for any man of marriageable age. Thus, both laws, while they penalized or rewarded specific behaviors or actions, seem at their heart designed to enforce a more general and far-reaching sexual morality and "family values" agenda in the society they governed.

As Augustus embodied the force of supposed old-fashioned morality and sexual purity in his *leges Iuliae*, Ovid embodied the force of love in his *Ars Amatoria*.[27] Ronald Syme dates the poem to the late months of 1 C.E. or the early months of 2 C.E., based on a reference to the war with the Parthians in the first book.[28] By this time, the *leges Iuliae* had already been on the books for roughly twenty years, but clearly, at least according to Ovid, adulterous love was alive and well in the city of Rome. Whereas Augustus might have been called the *praeceptor morum*, Ovid was the "*praeceptor amoris*," the "*Tiphys et Automedon…Amoris*."[29] Ovid wrote that he would instruct his reader on how to find a lover, be a lover, and keep a lover.[30] The poet explained that "*usus opus movet hoc*," suggesting that the reader was getting a glimpse into Ovid's book of tricks.[31]

It is especially worthy of note that Ovid planned to instruct his reader on finding safe liaisons, stating: "[*in*] *meo nullum carmine crimen erit*."[32] Ovid seems to have been walking a fine line here. Was he being careful to instruct his readers to pursue only legal rendezvous? More likely, as Thomas Habinek points out, he was challenging the entire

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[27] Although Augustus is responsible for the promulgation of such significant moral legislation, Suetonius suggests that Augustus himself was involved in numerous affairs, often sleeping with the wives of his political adversaries in an effort to determine what the plans of these men might be. Further, Antony accused Augustus of taking an ex-consul's wife from the dinner table into another room and bringing her back in a disheveled state. In another letter, Antony points to possible extramarital affairs with Tertulla, Terentilla, Rufilla, and Salvia Titisenia during his marriage to Livia. In general, Suetonius tells his readers: "that he took part in acts of adultery not even his friends deny…" See Suet. *Div. Aug.* 69.1.
[28] Ronald Syme, *History in Ovid* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 1.
[29] Ovid *AA* 1.17, 1.7-8. "the teacher of love…the Tiphys and Automedon of love."
[30] Ibid. 1.35-38.
[31] Ibid. 1.29. "Experience inspires this work."
[32] Ibid. 1.33-34. "In my verse there will be no crime."

concept that the *princeps* had any jurisdiction in the sphere of love and private relationships.[33] Habinek notes that Ovid's suggestion that there could be any crime in the matter threatened the presentation of these laws as rooted in "inevitability."[34] In other words, the fact that any crime could have possibly resulted from a reader's decision to follow Ovid's advice relied upon Augustus' radical decision to give the state any authority over personal relationships. If the poet had chosen to write the poem before the promulgation of the *leges Iuliae*, his reader would not have had the potential to find himself in the courts. Thus, the usefulness of Ovid's instruction on the pursuit of extramarital unions was in its careful avoidance of recently codified illegalities.

Before his readers believed that Ovid was encouraging them to pursue only those sorts of unions allowed by law, they ought to have considered the fact that Ovid told them that the poem was "motivated by experience."[35] If one were to have looked into Ovid's "experience," or rather that of his poetic *persona*, one would have found a number of less than honorable unions and shortcuts around the Julian laws. For instance, in *Amores* 1.10, Ovid told a girl that their liaison would be legal if only she were willing to accept a gift, in the manner of a prostitute.[36] In general, however, Ovid scorned the asking of a price and the practice of prostitution in this poem. This first suggests that the types of women Ovid encouraged would-be lovers to seek in his *Ars Amatoria* were not prostitutes and second indicates that it was not wrong for women to accept gifts from wealthy lovers, exploiting a loophole in the law. Receiving gifts in exchange for services

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[33] Thomas Habinek, "The Invention of Sexuality in the World-city of Rome," in *The Roman Cultural Revolution*, ed. Thomas Habinek and Alessandro Schiesaro (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1997), 28.
[34] Ibid.
[35] While Ovid surely had access to any number of earlier handbooks on love, such as the famous handbook of Philaenis, Ovid and/or his *persona* added credibility by indicating that the *praeceptor amoris* was also an *amator* in his own right. Katharina Volk, *The Poetics of Latin Didactic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 157-173.
[36] Ovid *Am*. 1.10.53-64. Cf. Habinek, 28.

rendered could have qualified as prostitution, which was not illegal and so eliminated the possibility of a charge of adultery. Thus, the "safe love" and "permitted thefts" in which Ovid promised to instruct his readers should have immediately seemed shifty and unsavory.[37]

That Ovid was not advising his reader to consort with prostitutes is further suggested in the early stages of the *Ars Amatoria*. Ovid told his reader: "*elige cui dicas 'tu mihi sola places.'*"[38] This seems to suggest that the girl on whom the reader should have focused his attention should not have been simply the girl of the moment. This is confirmed a few lines later, when Ovid wrote: "*Tu quoque, materiam longo qui quaeris amori….*"[39] The poet went on to suggest that women of all ages were available for this lasting love, mentioning young girls, slightly older maidens, and older, wiser women.[40] Included in this group might have been virgins, divorcees, and widows, all of whom were placed off-limits to the roving Roman male by the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis.*

Ovid did note that every romantic dalliance must have two willing participants, and indeed he suggested that in Rome there were as many women as men, if not more women than men, who would have been agreeable to such illicit unions. He commanded: "*Este procul, vittae tenues, insigne pudoris, / quaeque tegis medios instita longa pedes….*"[41] Thus, neither modesty nor prostitution had a place in Ovid's poem. Rather, the poet instructed would-be lovers to break laws or find loopholes to get around them with otherwise respectable women who were looking for an illicit relationship with an unsavory man.

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[37] Ovid *AA* 1.33.
[38] Ibid. 1.42. "Choose the one to whom you will say, 'You alone are pleasing to me.'"
[39] Ibid. 1.49. "You also, who seek the material for a lasting love…."
[40] Ibid. 1.61-65.
[41] Ibid. 1.31-32. "Be far off, tender fillets, symbol of modesty, / and the long skirt that covers the calves…."

The sexual state of affairs at Rome which emerges from the text of Ovid, roughly twenty years after the passage of the Julian laws, is one in which the power of love was alive and well. Although Augustus may have attempted to transform the business of the family into the business of the state and to tame the sexual appetites of decadent Romans, Ovid's text gives the impression that the opportunity for extramarital affairs and sexual improprieties with respectable women still existed in Rome. The very writing of the *Ars Amatoria* would seem to indicate that one of two scenarios must have been true; either the opportunities for engaging in "forbidden loves" had become so difficult to pursue under the Julian laws that an experienced individual like Ovid needed to write a didactic poem on the subject, or such opportunities were quite widely available, and the poet was pointing out to his readers (the *princeps* included) the failure of Augustan legislation in a tongue-in-cheek way.[42] Either way, love—even love out of wedlock and without citizen-children—could be found and enjoyed in Rome, if only the reader should follow the advice of the *praeceptor amoris*. Thus, the poem could have easily been seen an overt attack on the legislation passed by the *princeps*, either as an attempt to undermine it or as a sort of victorious song proclaiming the power of love.

It seems, however, that while the poem itself may have been to some extent an arrow aimed at the *leges Iuliae* and, as will be suggested, at Augustus himself, it was an arrow with numerous barbs attached. These barbs came largely in the form of the settings Ovid noted for his readers as *loci amoris*. Ovid made sure to list for his readers a number of places where they might go in search of forbidden romances. These included the Portico of Pompey, the Portico of Octavia, the Theater of Marcellus, the Portico of Livia,

[42] Of course, a rationale that exists behind all of these motivations is Ovid's desire to continue in the elegiac tradition of writing on the subject of love.

the Temple of Apollo Palatinus, the Temple of Isis, the Forum of Julius Caesar, the Temple of Venus Genetrix, the Theater of Pompey, the Circus Maximus, and the Naumachia.[43] On the most superficial of levels, the poet's reference to so many locations within the city as places where illicit unions could be pursued seems to have been a commentary on the failure of the *leges Iuliae* to prevent such relationships from forming or being carried out. On a slightly more subtle level, the fact that Augustus claimed so much personal responsibility for renovation of old structures and construction of new ones in the capital city allowed Ovid to suggest that Augustus himself was responsible for providing numerous locations for the pursuit of the very immorality he sought to discourage with the *leges Iuliae*.

However, it will be the suggestion of this thesis that Ovid employed the topography of Rome on a level that went far beyond simply providing settings for erotic liaisons as a means of attacking legislation. Rather, as Ovid surely knew the historical details involved in the construction of these structures along with their artistic features and propagandistic functions (and could have reasonably expected that his readers would also have been familiar with such details), the poet seems to have carefully chosen those monuments which could be most poignantly employed in an attack against both Augustus and his legislation. Each of these structures had a connection to Augustus directly or genealogically, on an actual or divine level. The poet carefully exploited such Augustan connections to these *loci amoris* in an effort not only to undermine the legislation passed by the *princeps*, but also to shake the very foundations upon which Augustan *auctoritas* were built.

[43] The order in which these monuments are listed corresponds to the order in which they will be addressed in this thesis, along thematic lines.

This study seeks to illuminate the structures Ovid mentioned as *loci amoris* in the first book of the *Ars Amatoria*, lines 67 through 176, in an effort to determine the poet's rationale for their inclusion in his artful assault on both the emperor and his legislation. The second chapter will examine the more direct references to Augustus, while the third will examine the more oblique Augustan references and a possible omission. The final chapter will offer some conclusions and consider the monuments of the poem outside the context of the thematic groupings present in the second and third chapters. Thus, in looking at the places in *Roma* in which *Amor* apparently resided, this thesis will "forensically examine," so to speak, the harsh weapon of Ovid's didactic elegy, one barb at a time.

Chapter Two

OVERT OVIDIAN ATTACKS

A. Ovid's Attack on Augustus' Mortal Family

Introduction

The first prong of Ovid's attack on Augustan moral legislation—and indeed on Augustus himself—came in the form of his mention of various structures built by the *princeps* himself in honor of members of his immediate family. The primary structures utilized by the poet in this artful assault on Augustan morality include the Porticus Liviae, the Porticus Octaviae, and the Theatrum Marcelli. Suetonius noted the construction of each of these structures by Augustus, citing an interest in building in the name of others.[44] Each of these structures was built in honor of the family members of the *princeps*, specifically his wife, his sister, and his nephew/son-in-law. The *Res Gestae* mentioned only the construction of the Theatrum Marcelli, perhaps in an uncharacteristic display of modesty.[45] For Ovid, the nature of these structures made them perfect for an attack on Augustus; they were not only built by the *princeps* himself, but were also dedicated either in memory or in honor of members of the imperial family. Through their employment in the poem, then, the poet could attack the legislation and the *princeps* at the same time, only adding fuel to the fire by involving the emperor's family in this very

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[44] Suet. *Div. Aug*. 29.

[45] *RG* 21. The only mentions of porticoes in the *Res Gestae* refer to the porticoes attached to the temple of Apollo Palatinus and the Porticus Octavia, which is not to be confused with the Porticus Octaviae referred to by Ovid. Platner and Ashby, citing Festus (188L), note that the Porticus Octavia was "built by Gnaeus Octavius in 168 B.C.E. to commemorate a small naval victory over Perseus of Macedonia." See Samuel Ball Platner and Thomas Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Rome* (London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1929), 426.

ad hominem assault. The historical and architectural details of these structures will be dealt with at length in this chapter along with the probable reasons for their inclusion in the poem.

I. The Porticus Liviae

Ovid instructed his readers that: "*nec…vitetur quae priscis sparsa tabellis / porticus auctoris Livia nomen habet,*" citing the portico as one place in which they might find a willing partner.[46] Platner and Ashby note that the Porticus Liviae was built on the site of the house of Vedius Pollio on the north side of the Oppius in 15 B.C.E., finished and dedicated to Livia in 7 B.C.E.[47] Lawrence Richardson and Clementina Panella both add that the portico was dedicated in conjunction with the triumph of Tiberius in 7 B.C.E.[48]

An item of primary importance, of course, is the fact that this was a structure dedicated to the wife of the *princeps*. It seems that Ovid may have been deliberate in choosing this monument as a place to seek illicit pleasures for a variety of reasons. First, as the wife of the creator of the *leges Iuliae*, Livia should have appeared to the Roman public as a sophisticated and noble lady who did not appear as a figure associated with scandal. The fact that a Roman could go to a colonnade dedicated to her in search of scandalous liaisons is ironic. However, this view considers only Livia as the wife of the

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[46] Ovid *AA* 1.71-72. "the porticus which has Livia as the name of its creator / scattered with old paintings, should not be avoided…"

[47] Platner and Ashby, 423; Clementina Panella, "Porticus Liviae," in *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (hereafter *LTUR*) Vol. 4, ed. Eva Margareta Steinby (Rome: Quasar, 1999): 127-128. For more information on the house of Vedius Pollio, see Clementina Panella, "Domus: P. Vedius Pollio," in *LTUR* vol. 2, ed. Eva Margareta Steinby (Rome: Quasar, 1995): 211-212. After a brief description, Panella refers her reader to her entry on the Porticus Liviae. Cf. Amanda Claridge, *Rome: an Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998): 303-304. For more on the family connections of Vedius Pollio, see the extraordinary detail in Ronald Syme, "Who Was Vedius Pollio?" *Journal of Roman Studies* 51 (1961): 23-30.

[48] Lawrence Richardson, jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1992), 314; Panella (*LTUR* 4): 127.

princeps, and for that matter, only between 15 B.C.E. and the publication date of the *Ars Amatoria* in the late months of 1 C.E. or the early months of the following year. However, if one looks into the details of Livia's earlier life, she had been the wife of Tiberius Claudius Nero prior to her involvement with Augustus, who was still married to Scribonia at the time when he met his future wife. Suetonius wrote that Augustus "*statim Liviam Drusillam matrimonio Tiberi Neronis et quidem praegnantem abduxit dilexitque et probavit unice ac perseveranter.*"[49] The fact that Augustus took Livia from her first husband suggests that there might have been some involvement between the two prior to the divorce of either. Cassius Dio wrote that prior to their marriage, Augustus took a liking to Livia, and as a result, he divorced Scribonia on the very day when she bore him a daughter.[50] The next year, Augustus married Livia after she divorced Tiberius Nero.[51] The fact that both were technically divorced when they married one another would not have constituted an act of adultery, but the fact that Augustus fell in love with Livia the year before he married her, when she was still married to her first husband, suggests that perhaps their relationship began as an illicit affair.[52] Thus, Ovid may have been attempting to recall the morally questionable pasts of both Livia and Augustus in mentioning the Porticus Liviae. In a way, there could be no better place to look for an illicit union than at a monument dedicated to a woman who probably engaged in one with the very man who later created laws to abolish such relationships.

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[49] Suet. *Div. Aug*. 62.2. "[Augustus] immediately took Livia Drusilla, indeed pregnant, from her husband Tiberius Claudius Nero and delighted in her and esteemed her only until the end." This passage does seem to contradict Suetonius' slightly later mention of Augustus' tendencies towards adultery. See Suet. *Div. Aug.* 69.1.

[50] Dio 48.34.

[51] Ibid. 48.43

[52] See Anthony A. Barrett, *Livia* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002): 20-21.Barrett goes so far as to refer to the initial involvement between "Octavian" and Livia as an "affair." He further suggests that their introduction may have been facilitated by Scribonia herself, who was at that point Livia's "aunt by adoption."

Another item of significance in Ovid's mention of the Porticus Liviae is the fact that the colonnade was built on the site of the house of Vedius Pollio. That Ovid knew what was previously on the site is not hard to believe. After all, the house had been demolished only sixteen or seventeen years prior to the publication of the *Ars Amatoria*. The proof that Ovid utilized these symbolic connections lies in the *Fasti*. The poet wrote:

> *Te quoque magnifica, Concordia, dedicat aede*
> *Livia, quam caro praestitit ipsa viro.*
> *Disce tamen, veniens aetas, ubi Livia nunc est*
> *porticus, immensae tecta fuisse domus…*
> *Haec aequata solo est…*
> *…quia luxuria visa nocere sua.*
> *…sic agitur censura, et sic exempla parantur,*
> *cum iudex, alios quod monet, ipse facit.*[53]

Ovid took the opportunity here to suggest that the *princeps* was required to practice what he preached. As Syme dates the publication of the *Fasti* to between 1 and 4 C.E., after the *Ars Amatoria*, perhaps Ovid is covering his tracks slightly here.[54] The passage seems to suggest that Ovid realized the motivations for the demolition of the house of Pollio and the construction of the Porticus Liviae. Beneath the surface, however, Ovid was still making note of a transition in Augustus' own attitude towards luxury as well as noting a prior level of association between the decadent homeowner and the moralistic *princeps*, both topics which will be addressed below. In using the verb

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[53] Ovid *Fas*. 6.637-648. "To you as well, Concord, Livia dedicated a magnificent building / which she herself presented to her dear husband. / Learn however, posterity, that where the Porticus of Livia is now, / there had been a massive house /…This was leveled to the ground… / because its luxury was seen to do harm… / …thus is the censorship undertaken, and thus are examples set, / when the judge himself does that which he orders others to do." Panella takes this passage to suggest that Livia and Augustus were married near the *Aedes Concordiae* which adjoined the Porticus Liviae, though no other ancient evidence is given to suggest that this was the case. See Panella (*LTUR* 4), 127. This makes Ovid's presentation of the site as one at which to pursue illicit unions all the more ironic.

[54] Syme (1978), 21. Notably, this dating suggests that Ovid may have been working on the *Ars Amatoria* and the *Fasti* somewhat simultaneously. Though the *Ars Amatoria* did not specifically mention the destruction of the house of Vedius Pollio to accommodate the Porticus Liviae, his presentation of this fact in the *Fasti* suggests that he may have had this in mind in including the structure in the earlier published poem.

sustinere, "to endure," when describing Augustus' decision to destroy the house of Pollio, the poet indicated that this was a decision which likely vexed the *princeps*—a decision that Augustus may not have made before he came to condemn such luxuries.[55] Thus, even in clarifying the reasons for the destruction of the house and the construction of the portico, Ovid was suggesting that this new morality was difficult for Augustus himself to endure and that Augustus himself had previously been connected with the very decadence he now sought to eradicate.

Exactly how closely were Augustus and Pollio associated? Ovid noted that Pollio had willed his house and its contents to the *princeps*. To suggest that Augustus was heir to all of Pollio's property and possessions indicates a prior close association between the newly moralistic Augustus and the morally bankrupt Pollio.[56] A. J. Boyle, following Cassius Dio, suggests that Pollio was "an intimate of Augustus," and Panella takes Boyle's description of Pollio as an "intimate" even further, referring to him as an "amico e consigliere di Augusto," or "friend and advisor."[57] If Pollio truly served as a "consigliere" for Augustus, the moral scruples of the *princeps* himself would have come into immediate question as a result.

Considering the apparent close connection between Augustus and Pollio, it makes sense to attempt to ascertain exactly how depraved Pollio was and also in what manner his depravity manifested itself. Ovid seems to have suggested that Vedius Pollio was, to say the least, a decadent individual who was generally associated with an Eastern variety

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[55] Ovid *Fas*. 6.645.
[56] Ibid. 6.645-646.
[57] Dio 54.23.; A. J. Boyle, *Ovid and the Monuments*, Ramus Monographs (Bendigo, Australia: Aureal, 2003), 247; Panella (*LTUR* 2), 211. It is noteworthy, however, that Panella does not cite an ancient source that identified Pollio as an advisor.

of luxury.[58] There had been a connection between decadence and the East since at least the time of Vulso's campaigns, as noted above.[59] Catharine Edwards notes that Roman literature commonly associates "foreign" goods and practices with the decline of Roman morality.[60] Specifically, she notes that both Tacitus and Livy associated the theater's foreign associations and its negative effects on Roman purity.[61] With an established literary tradition linking the foreign and the immoral, Augustus' ties to the Eastern-influenced Pollio are noteworthy.

Interestingly, there are no mentions of sexual impurity on the part of Pollio in ancient sources, though his general moral depravity is indicated by his taste for elaborate banquets and luxurious items as well as his cruel treatment of his slaves.[62] The fact that Vedius Pollio lived in the manner of a decadent foreigner could have been of great significance to Ovid, but only if there was a general sentiment that luxury and lust were connected. Catharine Edwards draws such a connection, stating that luxury and lust were "cognate vices" for the Romans and that those who were regarded as decadent in their consumption of goods were often prone to sexual improprieties.[63] She cites the close literary connection between *licentia* and *luxuria* in the writings of Sallust and similarly *luxus* and *libido* in those of Livy.[64] There were, then, by the time Ovid wrote the *Ars Amatoria*, established connections between luxury and lust, Pollio and luxury, and Pollio and the *princeps*.

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[58] Boyle, 247. Boyle notes that Pollio was involved both officially and privately in business in Asia Minor during the early years of the principate.
[59] Livy 39.6.
[60] Catharine Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1993), 102.
[61] Livy 7.2.13; Tac. *Ann*. 14.20. Cf. Edwards, 102.
[62] Boyle, 247. Boyle relates the famous story of Pollio condemning a slave to be fed to lampreys in the presence of Augustus.
[63] Edwards, 5.
[64] Sallust *Cat.* 11-13; Livy 1.pr.12. Cf. Edwards, 5.

The fact that Augustus chose to build the Porticus Liviae atop the razed house of Pollio, then, replaces this structure connected to Asian depravity with one the *princeps* hoped to associate with the moral purity of himself and his wife. Paul Zanker notes that one motivation for the destruction of the house of Pollio and the subsequent placement of the Porticus Liviae on this site must have been to condemn luxury because the very concept of luxury did not help the *princeps*' public image.[65] He goes on to suggest that the destruction of the house helped to contrast the ideas of sumptuousness and moral rectitude, an idea Ovid himself presented in the *Fasti*.[66] Symbolically, then, this action achieved the same ends as the promulgation of the *leges Iuliae*: an abolition of decadence that could lead to Roman moral decay.

This is an important connection. If the replacement of the house of Pollio with the Porticus Liviae can be taken symbolically to represent the replacement of customary Roman debauchery with the *leges Iuliae,* Ovid's representation of the Porticus Liviae as a place to pursue illicit unions then could have served as a direct condemnation of the new laws.

Also significant to Ovid's inclusion of the Porticus Liviae in his poem is that this enclosure was home to a shrine of Concord, the poet himself noted in the *Fasti*.[67] Boyle suggests that this is ironic in that the portico was dedicated "supposedly as a symbol of [the imperial family's] commitment to family concord," an "irony [which] was difficult to disguise, given the notorious dynastic rivalries plaguing the imperial family and the recent retirement of the humiliated Tiberius to Rhodes," a retirement which stemmed at

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[65] Paul Zanker *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1988), 137. Consider as well Augustus' relatively modest house on the Palatine.
[66] Ovid *Fas*. 6.637-648; Zanker (1988), 137.
[67] Ibid. 6.637

least in part from the mandate that Tiberius marry the adulterous Julia.[68] As the *leges Iuliae* dealt with issues of adultery and the sanctity of marriage and thus family values and the closeness of families, Ovid's presentation of a monument dedicated to the embodiment of familial concord by a dysfunctional family served as a challenge to the legislation as a whole. Further, as the *Ars Amatoria* was published after the exile of Tiberius' adulterous wife Julia in 2 B.C.E., mention of a monument dedicated to the sanctity of family is especially poignant.[69]

As far as the reality involved in seeking willing companions at the Porticus Liviae is concerned, Platner and Ashby assert that the portico was a very popular site to visit and was known for its magnificence, and Richardson adds that it was something of a "resort."[70] Richardson further describes the structure as a rectangle that was surrounded by a double colonnade with various niches and adjacent shops that opened away from its interior. He also notes that there was probably a fountain in the middle, and citing Pliny, he notes that a "single prodigious vine stock" was present around all of the walkways, leading one to believe that the whole complex was gardened.[71] Aside from Ovid's mention of the colonnade in the *Ars Amatoria* and Pliny the Elder's mention of vines,

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[68] Boyle, 177.

[69] Julia will be discussed below, especially in connection with the Porticus Octaviae and Theatrum Marcelli, linked by Ovid in the poem.

[70] Platner and Ashby, 423; Richardson (1992), 314. Though it appears that the evidence for the suggestions of these modern scholars draws heavily on Ovid, Strabo also noted the structure as one characterized by a pleasant grandeur. See Strabo, *Geog*. 5.3.8.

[71] Pliny *NH* 14.11; Strabo 5.3.8. Cf. Richardson (1992), 314 and Panella (*LTUR* 4): 127. Richardson draws heavily on his own work in "Concordia and Concordia Augusta: Rome and Pompeii," *La Parola del Passato* 33 (1978): 265-272. It seems that Richardson supports his assertion that the entire complex was gardened on Pliny's statement regarding vines (*NH* 14.11). Both Richardson and Panella both make great use of M. Boudreau Flory, "Sic exempla parantur: Livia's Shrine to Concordia and the Porticus Liviae," *Historia* 33 (1984): 309-333.

Pliny the Younger noted it as a meeting place.[72] For Ovid's purposes, the portico would have been a near-perfect place to pursue romantic dalliances in relative privacy; the various niches within the structure, coupled with the fact that the shops faced away from the open space at its center, would have allowed a number of places for relatively clandestine rendezvous. Further, the charm of the space as described by Richardson gives the idea that the setting could have been viewed as at least pleasant if not rather romantic. Lastly, that this and other porticoes were known as places to meet women who were seeking such liaisons is confirmed by Ovid himself in the *Tristia*: "*Cum quaedam spatientur in hoc, ut amator eodem / conveniat, quare porticus ulla patet?*"[73]

Thus, Ovid's inclusion of the Porticus Liviae on his list of places to seek less-than-savory unions was a stroke of sheer brilliance. It was an implied condemnation of the moral fiber of Livia, Augustus, and the imperial family as a unit, and it stood as a statement of the hypocrisy behind Augustus' promulgation of the *leges Iuliae*. Further, the fact that the site was known as a meeting place in antiquity and had a plan that would have suited the needs of a would-be-lover suggests that Ovid's ingenious metaphorical utilization of the monument as a *locus amoris* could have had a basis in reality.

II. The Porticus Octaviae and the Theatrum Marcelli

Ovid also advised his readers that they might do well to go to that place "*ubi muneribus nati sua munera mater / addidit, externo marmore dives opus*," referring

[72] Pliny *Epist*. 1.5.9. Notably, Pliny did not suggest the site as a place to find willing ladies, but rather met a friend at the portico. However, Pliny did at least suggest that the site was convenient for meetings of *some* kind, lending some credibility to Ovid's suggestion that men might meet available women here.
[73] Ovid *Trist*. 2.285-286. "Since certain women wander about in them, so that they might meet a lover in such a place, / why does any portico lie open?"

simultaneously to the Porticus Octaviae and the Theatrum Marcelli.[74] The phrasing employed by Ovid here could have been read in two different ways. The "gifts of a mother added to those of her son" seems to indicate the fact that, as Richardson confirms, while Marcellus began work on the porticus dedicated to his mother, it was Octavia herself who actually completed the work.[75] Suetonius suggested that it was Augustus who built the structure, writing: "*Quaedam etiam opera sub nomine alieno, nepotum scilicet et uxoris sororisque fecit…item porticus Liviae et Octaviae theatrumque Marcelli.*"[76] Richardson and Boyle both reject this view, suggesting that Octavia actually built the structure herself.[77] No matter who was actually responsible for the construction of the portico, that there was an Augustan connection was a certainty. As Boyle suggests, the phrase could also be taken to mean that the gifts of the mother, referring strictly to the porticus, were added to those in memory of her son, perhaps referring to the Theatrum

[74] Ovid *AA* 67-70. "that place where a mother added her own gifts to the gifts of her son, / a work rich with external marble." The phrase "*externo marmore*" seems intended to be a play on words; while in an architectural sense it could refer to a marble veneer (a subject to be addressed below), more figuratively it could refer to it as foreign. See below for more on the "foreign" nature of the marble and its negative connotations.

[75] Richardson (1992), 317; See also L. Richardson, Jr., "The Evolution of the Porticus Octaviae," *American Journal of Archaeology* 80 (1976): 61-63. Richardson notes that while Ovid's lines must refer to the Porticus Octaviae and the Theater of Marcellus, Marcellus himself was not involved in the construction of the theater. See also Claudia Lega, "Porticus Octaviae," in *LTUR* 4, 141. Notably, Lega refers primarily to Richardson and Platner and Ashby in her bibliography. See also M. J. Boyd, "The Porticoes of Metellus and Octavia," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 21 n.s. 8 (1953): 152-159.

[76] Suet. *Div. Aug*. 29.4. "He also built some works under the names of others, that is, under those of his grandsons, his wife, and his sister…the colonnades of Livia and Octavia and the Theater of Marcellus." (Cf. Dio 49.43.8.) Richardson notes that the idea that Octavia did not construct the portico herself relies primarily on this passage, which refers to Augustus' construction of buildings in the names of others. He argues that Octavia surely had the wealth to accomplish such a project on her own, and he also points to the fact that while Augustus claims to have rebuilt the Porticus Octavia (originally built by Cn. Octavius after 186 B.C.E., see *RG* 4.19), he makes no claim on the Porticus Octaviae.

[77] Richardson (1992), 317; Boyle, 177.

Marcelli.[78] The deliberately vague phrase "*muneribus nati*" at least allowed Ovid's readers to think of both monuments at the same time.[79]

Whether or not Ovid intended to encourage his readers to think of the Theatrum Marcelli, his *discipuli amoris* would have thought first of the Porticus Octaviae. The monument was built in place of the Porticus Metelli, built by Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus sometime after his triumph in 146 B.C.E. to enclose the temples of Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina.[80] Richardson notes that the construction of the Porticus Octaviae followed the same general lines as the former Porticus Metelli and enclosed the same two temples, both of which were rebuilt.[81]

For Ovid's purposes, the details behind these earlier structures were incredibly significant, as was the case with the structures preceding the Porticus Liviae. Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, elected consul in 143 B.C.E. and censor in 131 B.C.E., had tried during his censorship to make marriage compulsory for all Romans.[82] His attempt to do so failed, but such an attempt resembles what Augustus himself sought to do when he instituted the *leges Iuliae* just over a century later. There is an irony in that a structure built by a man with values similar to those represented in imperial legislation

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[78] *RG* 21.1. Augustus claimed to have built the Theater of Marcellus. Cf. Richardson (1976), as cited above. The nearby Porticus of Octavia has been taken by Boyle to be the "gifts of the mother" and the theater itself the "gifts of her son," though Marcellus himself was not involved with the construction of the theater. Cf. Boyle, 176. Another theory is that the "gifts of the son" referred to the library attached to the complex and dedicated by Octavia in honor of Marcellus. See Richardson (1978), 63.
[79] Ovid *AA* 69.
[80] Vell. Pater. 1.11.3-4. Cf. Richardson (1976), 61; Richardson (1992), 314; Lega (*LTUR* 4), 141; Filippo Coarelli, *Roma*, Guide Archeologiche Laterza 6 (Rome: Editori Laterza, 2001): 327-329. See also Boyd's argument (Boyd, 154) that the Temple of Jupiter, assumed to have been built by Metellus at the same time as the Temple of Juno, is likely older because of its proximity to the city. Boyd notes what Richardson calls the "flimsy evidence" for Metellus' actual construction of the Temple of Jupiter on this site.
[81] Vell. Pater. 1.11.3; Richardson (1976), 61; Richardson (1992), 317.
[82] Suet. *Div. Aug*. 89.2; Zanker (1988), 157; T. Robert S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* Vol. I (New York: The American Philological Association, 1951), 500; Villers, 294, 296.

was torn down to accommodate a new structure.[83] In effect, Octavia—or Augustus himself, if Suetonius is to be believed—tore down earlier foundations for the *leges Iuliae*. As was the case with the Porticus Liviae and its predecessor, Ovid probably knew that the Porticus Metelli stood previously on this site; it had only been replaced by the Porticus Octaviae at most 29 years prior to the publication of the *Ars Amatoria*. Thus, it is quite possible that Ovid was exploiting this connection in his mention of the Porticus Octaviae, potentially leading his reader to note the hypocrisy of the destruction of a complex built by a man with the same family-values agenda.

Of course, another interpretation of these same facts would point to the idea that the Porticus Octaviae followed the same general plan as the earlier Porticus Metelli in the same way that the legislation of Augustus followed the same general plan of the earlier attempted legislation of Metellus Macedonicus. Important to note is that the legislation of Metellus failed, in the same way that Ovid may have believed the legislation of Augustus was bound to fail. Once again, there was a clear connection between porticoes and moral legislation; the very fact that the legislation of Metellus failed required Augustus to attempt to recreate it. Similarly, the Porticus Metelli and the associated temples were effectively replaced or rebuilt by the *princeps*. Further, the fact that the legislation of Augustus was failing in Ovid's time is indicated by his question in the *Tristia* cited above: "*Cum quaedam spatientur in hoc, ut amator eodem / conveniat, quare*

[83] While Augustus referred to the restoration of some structures which had fallen into disrepair (*RG* 20), he made no mention of this or any portico. Further, while the evidence suggests that the Porticus Octaviae followed much the same plan as the earlier Porticus Metelli, if Augustus had intended this to be a mere restoration (as he did with the Theater of Pompey or the Via Flaminia), the name "Porticus Metelli" would have surely remained. This suggests that the Porticus Octaviae would have been numbered among Augustus' new constructions rather than his restorations of existent structures.

porticus ulla patet?"[84] Just as the legislation of Metellus failed and his structure came to be replaced, for Ovid, this was bound to be the case with both the Julian laws and the Porticus Octaviae.

Also important to Ovid's mention of the Porticus Octaviae as a *locus amoris* is the fact that the portico enclosed the temples of Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina. What better exemplar of adultery existed than Jupiter himself? Ovid noted this connection in the *Tristia* as well: "*Cum steterit Iovis aede, Iovis succurret in aede / quam multas matres fecerit ille deus.*"[85] The poet made similar reference to Juno: "*Proxima adoranti Iunonis templa subibit, / paelicibus multis hanc doluisse deam.*"[86] It is probable, then, that as Ovid mentioned a portico along with neighboring temples of Jupiter and Juno in the *Tristia*, he was thinking of the Porticus Octaviae in this defense of the *Ars Amatoria* and thus in the *Ars* itself. Further, the details of this defense, citing the infidelity of Jupiter and the resulting grief of Juno, serve as proof of the fact that the poet thought of the Porticus Octaviae and its incorporated temples in mythological terms.

The fact that the porticus was either ostensibly or actually built by Octavia was likely even more directly significant to Ovid's mention of the structure in his poem. Ovid noted the structure in connection with the gifts of her son, Marcellus. Here, a direct link to Julia, the adulterous daughter of Augustus, is formed. Julia's illict affairs, described by Werner Eck as involving a number of young senators from influential families and involving "political intrigue and sex," were of course a direct threat to Augustan moral

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[84] Ovid *Trist*. 2.285-286. "Since certain women wander about in them, so that they might meet a lover, / why does any portico lie open?"
[85] Ibid. 2.289-290. "When she stands in the Temple of Jupiter, it will come to her in Jupiter's temple / how many mothers that god himself made."
[86] Ibid. 2.291-292. "It will come to her worshipping in the nearby Temple of Juno / that this goddess grieved due to her many rivals."

legislation.[87] Radista following Velleius Paterculus, identifies one of the culprits, namely Iullus Antonius, the son of Antony and Fulvia.[88] Velleius Paterculus himself names four more of Julia's lovers, namely Sempronius Gracchus, T. Quinctius Crispinus, Appius Claudius Pulcher, and Cornelius Scipio.[89] Even more damning is the fact that Julia was at the time married to Tiberius, who was compelled to divorce Vipsania in order to marry his stepsister.[90] The unwilling Tiberius consented, though Julia's repeated affairs and the general failure of the two to get along resulted in Tiberius' seclusion on Rhodes.[91] The complicated mess surrounding these imperial marriages and the adulterous acts of Julia were perhaps among the most compelling pieces of evidence that Augustan moral legislation was failing. Ovid was perhaps only too willing to dredge up these shady details regarding the imperial family in an effort to add yet another barb to the arrow of his elegiac attack on the *princeps* and his laws, and this was carefully done through the employment of the Porticus Octavia and its association with her son's theater.

The Theatrum Marcelli, which Ovid perhaps wanted his readers to think of secondarily, was significant in the poet's condemnation of the *leges Iuliae* for one of the same reasons that the Porticus Octaviae was. Marcellus was, of course, married to Julia, a fact that recalls the aforementioned issue of Julia's adultery as well as the same complications and artificiality associated with imperial marriages. Marcellus was married to Julia prior to his death in 23 B.C.E., after which Julia was required to marry Agrippa,

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[87] Vell. Pat. 2.100; Werner Eck, *The Age of Augustus*, trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell, 2003): 74.
[88] Vell. Pat. 2.100; Radista, 292. Interestingly, Radista also connects the murder of Iullus Antonius to the affair. Further, he points out that the connection of Julia to Antony's son recreated the "spectrum…of Antony and Cleopatra, of the war of Italian righteousness against the seductive license of the East." For more on Julia's life in general, see Elaine Fantham, *Julia Augusti* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 56ff.
[89] Vell. Pat. 2.100; Fantham (2006), 85.
[90] Eck, 116-117.
[91] Ibid.

who was forced to divorce his wife.[92] Ovid clearly intended for his readers to think of the two monuments together; the result of the fact that both the Porticus Octaviae and the Theatrum Marcelli could be linked to Julia is that the connection between adultery and Augustan monuments was reinforced in the poem.

In more physical terms, Ovid's description of the Theatrum Marcelli involves a very conscious double entendre. The poet described the structure as "*externo marmore dives opus,*" a "work rich with external marble."[93] However, "*externo*" could (and might better) be translated as "foreign."[94] The relationship between the foreign and the lascivious has already been noted.[95] Boyle suggests also that Ovid was likely playing with Augustus' own reputation as one who was able to leave the city "*marmoream quam latericiam accepisset.*"[96] Taking these two ideas together with respect to the Theatrum Marcelli, Augustus found Rome a city of brick and left it a city of *foreign* marble. In using the word "*externo*" to refer to the marble of the theater, the poet symbolically accused the *princeps* himself of the importation of foreign decadence.

As was the case with the monuments previously discussed, at least one existing structure required demolition in order to accommodate this theater adorned with symbolically immoral foreign stone. According to Cassius Dio, the theater was built at

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[92] Ibid., 54, 114-115.
[93] Ovid *AA* 1.70. For the translation of "*externo marmore*" as "external marble," see Mozley's translation in the Loeb text: Ovid, *The Art of Love, and Other Poems*, trans. J. H. Mozley (London: Heinemann, 1929), 17.
[94] Pierre Gros, in commenting upon Mozley's translation of "*externo*" as referring to marble revetment, points to the use of the term as a double entendre. He suggests that while "*externo*" could refer to a marble veneer, as this was a norm in Roman construction, and while the translation of "foreign" is more likely correct, the two interpretations are not mutually exclusive. See Gros, *Aurea Templa:Recherches sur l'Architecture Réligieuse de Rome à l'Époque d'Auguste* (Rome: l'École Française de Rome, 1976), 73.
[95] See the above description related to the house of Vedius Pollio and Edwards' discussion of the connection between foreign and decadent.
[96] Suet. *Div. Aug.* 28.3. "[left as] marble what he inherited as brick." Cf. Boyle 177.

the expense of the Temple of Pietas.[97] The structure was begun by Julius Caesar, who according to Cassius Dio, demolished more than one shrine to accommodate it and as burning the statues located within, although the theater was eventually finished by Augustus.[98] That a monument dedicated to the embodiment of piety was demolished in the process, and that Augustus endorsed the continuation of such a project, is a condemnation of his own *pietas*.

One need only look to the iconography of the Forum of Augustus to see the importance the *princeps* placed on the concept of piety. The forum was adorned with a sculptural program described by Ovid in the *Fasti*:

> *Ultor ad ipse suos caelo descendit honores*
> *templaque in Augusto conspicienda foro.*
> *Et deus et ingens et opus: debebat in urbe*
> *non aliter nati Mars habitare sui…*
> *Hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere caro*
> *et tot Iuleae nobilitatis avos:*
> *hinc videt Iliaden humeris ducis arma ferentem*
> *claraque dispositis acta subesse viris.*[99]

The portrayal of Aeneas carrying Anchises on his shoulder and surrounded by other members of the *gens Iulia* was intended to evoke the concept of filial piety.[100] Aeneas' central position in the sculptural program sought to associate this figure

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[97] Dio 43.49.3; Richardson (1992), 382; Paola Ciancio Rossetto, "Theatrum Marcelli," in *LTUR* vol. 5, ed. Eva Margareta Steinby (Rome: Quasar, 1999), 31; Dio 43.49.3. John Arthur Hanson notes that there may have been a connection between this theater and the Temple of Apollo Sosianus (in the fashion of the Theater of Pompey and the Temple of Venus Victrix). See John Arthur Hanson, *Roman Theater-Temples* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1959): 22-23. Further discussion of the connection between the Theater of Pompey and Venus Victrix as well as further discussion of theater-temples in general will appear in the discussion of the Portico of Pompey in the first half of the third chapter.

[98] Dio 43.49.3; Richardson (1992), 382; Rossetto (*LTUR* 5), 31. For additional general information on the Theater of Marcellus, see Claridge, 243-245 and Coarelli (2001), 323-325.

[99] Ovid *Fast.* 5.551-554, 5.563-566. "The Avenger himself comes down from the sky to see his honors / and his temple in the Forum of Augustus. / Both the god and the shrine are huge; / Mars ought not live otherwise in the city of his son… / On this side he sees Aeneas, weighed down by his dear burden, / and so many noble Julian ancestors: / on the other side he sees Romulus bearing the arms of a conquered leader on his shoulders, / and the noble acts are present beneath the men placed in arrangement."

[100] See James C. Anderson, jr. *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora*. Collection Latomus Vol. 182. Brussels: Latomus, 1984: 80-81; Zanker (1988), 202-203.

renowned for his *pietas* with the forum's creator. Further, the portrayals of another twenty-seven figures identified by inscriptions, seven of whom were connected with the Julian *gens*, expressed in stone the piety of the Roman tradition of displaying wax *imagines* of deceased family members in an effort to keep the memory of these men alive.[101] That Augustus sought to connect himself with the idea of piety is clear, making it all the more ironic that he was the beneficiary of the destruction of a temple dedicated to the embodiment of this very concept.

Ovid's readers would have known well the displays of Augustan piety adorning the Forum of Augustus, dedicated in 2 B.C.E., and they also would have likely been aware that the Temple of Pietas once occupied the present site of the theater. The poet and his readers, then, would have been able to make the ironic connection that piety was being sacrificed for entertainment. This of course stood in direct contradiction to the thrust of the *princeps*' moral legislation, which was designed to enforce the concept of "family values" at the expense of personal "entertainment" in the form of pursuing relationships outside one's marriage. Again, the hypocrisy of the *princeps* was put on display for the audience of the *Ars Amatoria*.

While Augustus was not responsible for the decision to build the Theatrum Marcelli at the cost of the Temple of Pietas, he was responsible for continuing this work. Ironically, his own sense of filial piety to his adoptive father and a sense of familial obligation to his nephew/son-in-law led to his continuation of a work that destroyed a monumental structure dedicated to the this same concept of piety. While Augustus could have decided to abandon the project in favor of restoring the Temple of Pietas, he instead

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[101] Anderson (1984), 83, 85. See also A. DeGrassi, "Elogia," in *Inscriptiones Italiae*, Vol. 13, no. 3 (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1937): 8-9.

completed an entertainment structure, figuratively covered in foreign vice, in the name of the very piety Caesar had destroyed.

In summing up both Ovid's primary mention of the Porticus Octaviae and his secondary reference to the Theatrum Marcelli, it is also worth noting that the direct connections to Marcellus and indirect connections to Julia also subtly direct the reader to four of Augustus' intended heirs, namely Marcellus, Agrippa, Lucius Caesar, and Gaius Caesar. Marcellus and Agrippa were Julia's first and second husbands, respectively, while Lucius and Gaius Caesar were the sons of Julia and Agrippa. Ovid certainly would have expected his readers to be aware of the death of Marcellus in 23 B.C.E. and that of Agrippa in 12 B.C.E.[102] The fact that Ovid allowed his readers to think of these two heirs-apparent via his mention of the monuments also allowed his readers to contemplate that half of the heirs of Augustus, half of the heirs who would see the continued enforcement of the *leges Iuliae*, were dead. Given the dating of the *Ars Amatoria* to 1 or 2 C.E., it is possible that Lucius Caesar was already dead as well.[103] The seemingly subliminal reference to the dead heirs of Augustus perhaps served to cast some doubt on the longevity of the *leges Iuliae* as it cast doubt on the ability of Augustus to create a dynasty.

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[102] Eck, 115-116.

[103] Cf. note 22. Syme puts the publication of the *Ars* in the late months of 1 or the early months of 2 B.C.E. Cf. Syme (1978), 1. According to Eck, Lucius Caesar died on August 20th, 2 C.E. If the timeline of the publication, which is by no means exact, were to be advanced by even a few months, Lucius would have already been dead. See Eck, 129. As Ovid does not work the death of any of the heirs into his poem directly, it is unclear whether he knew of Lucius' death at the time of the writing of or final revisions to the *Ars*. However, the death of Lucius, even if it took place after the publication of the poem, would have been recognized by readers who took note of the mention of four of the five Augustan heirs. While a connection between Tiberius and the Porticus Liviae also exists, it is unlikely that Ovid could have known that Tiberius might have been considered an heir at the time of the poem's publication.

Conclusions

Ovid seems to have deliberately selected monuments built by Augustus or his relatives, in honor of members of the imperial family and even heirs, presenting them as places where one could engage in illicit unions which violated the legislation of the *princeps* himself. Though it would be easy to see nothing more than a cavalier poet mocking the legislation of the *princeps* by mocking his family, but there are clearly additional levels of meaning that were intended to be grasped by the contemporary reader. Each of the structures chosen by the poet was the site of a previous monument, and the consideration of what came before the Porticus Liviae, the Porticus Octaviae, and the Theatrum Marcelli reveals a thoughtful mastermind who knew how to exploit the topography of Rome in a quest to reveal the hypocrisy of Augustus, his family, and his legislation. The quest employed references to shady associations of the *princeps*, adultery and marital complications within his family, mythological symbolism, current events, and recent history, all quite cunningly framed in an association among influential individuals, ideas, laws, and stone.

B. Ovid's Attack on Augustus' Divine Family

Introduction

Just as Ovid made considerable use of monuments associated with the mortal family of Augustus in his challenge to the moral legislation and indeed the very morality of the *princeps*, he chose to present monuments connected with the divine and legendary ancestors of Augustus as *loci amoris*.

Before proceeding any further, it will be necessary to clarify what is meant by "the divine and legendary ancestors of Augustus." As Augustus was the adopted son of Julius Caesar, who claimed descent from Aeneas and thus from Venus, he too claimed a familial connection to the goddess of love.[104] The result of the familial connection to Aeneas is one to Romulus as well, since Romulus was a descendant of Aeneas through Rhea Silvia, though he was fathered by Mars.[105] These three connections are all adoptive ones, although a blood connection, legendary though it may be, exists as Augustus was the great-nephew of Julius Caesar.[106]

That Augustus sought to connect himself with Venus, Mars, and Romulus is clear from the sculptural program of the pediment of the Temple of Mars Ultor.[107] Mars stood in the center of the composition, flanked by Venus and Amor on his right and Fortuna, standing next to a seated Romulus, on his left.[108] Further, a statue of Romulus stands in the center of one of the two hemicycles of the forum, opposite Aeneas and the *gens Iulia*.[109] Thus, in both the sculptural program of the temple's pediment and of the forum's colonnaded enclosure, Augustus' divine associations were put on public display.

The last of his divine connections is one to Apollo, and it was Augustus himself who put this connection on display. Citing the *Theolegomena* of Ascelpias of Mendes, Suetonius connected the *princeps* and Apollo in the following way, noting that he read that:

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[104] Eck, 109. Cf. Suet. *Div. Iul*. 5.1. Of course, one more important divine connection is a mortal connection as well: Augustus' connection to the deified Julius Caesar. After Caesar's deification, Augustus himself was considered the son of a god.
[105] Eck, 109. For Rhea Silvia's connection to Aeneas, see Livy 1.3-4.
[106] Eck, 6-7. Caesar's niece, Atia, was the mother of the future *princeps*.
[107] Though the pediment is not preserved intact, J. Anderson notes that an image of the temple's façade is preserved on the Ara Pietatis Augustae. See J. Anderson, 72. Cf. Ernest Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Vol. 1 (New York and Washington: Praeger Books, 1968), 76.
[108] J. Anderson, 72.
[109] Ovid, *Fast*. 5.563-565. Cf. J. Anderson, 80-83.

> "*Lego Atiam, cum ad solemne Apollonis sacrum media nocte venisset, posita in templo lectica, dum ceterae matronae domirent, obdormisse; draconem repente irrepisse ad eam pauloque post egressum; illam expergefactam quasi a concubitu mariti purificasse se; et statim in corpore eius exstitisse maculam velut picti draconis nec potuisse umquam exigi, adeo mox publicis balineis perpetuo abstinuerit; Augustum natum mense decimo et ob hoc Apollinis filium existimatum. Eadem Atia, prius quam pareret, somniavit intestina sua ferri ad sidera explicarique per omnem terrarum et caeli ambitum. Somniavit et pater Octavius utero Atiae iubar solis exortum.*"[110]

Although James Clauss views the story of Atia and the serpent as a later creation, it is clear from this story that Augustus felt a special connection with Apollo.[111] Another such story, also related by Suetonius, has Augustus hosting a private dinner party of the twelve gods, in which he himself played the role of Apollo.[112] Zanker adds that Julius Caesar had increased the magnificence of the *ludi Apollinares*.[113] Both he and Robert Gurval suggest that the connection between the Julian *gens* and Apollo went back as far as the 5th century B.C.E., when Gnaeus Julius, consul of 431 B.C.E., dedicated a temple of Apollo in the Campus Martius.[114] Following Valerius Maximus, Olivier Hekster and John Rich also note that during the Battle of Philippi, "Apollo" was apparently used as a

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[110] Suet. *Div. Aug.* 94.4. "I read that Atia, when she had come to the sacred service of Apollo in the middle of the night, fell asleep on a couch placed in the temple, while the other matrons were sleeping; suddenly, a serpent slithered up to her and went away a little while later. Having woken up, she purified herself as if coming from the embrace of her husband. And immediately a mark appeared on her body just as one of a colored serpent, and she was never able to erase it, with the result that soon she abstained from the public baths forever; in the tenth month after this, Augustus was born, and on account of this is believed to be the son of Apollo. This same Atia, before she gave birth, dreamed that her innards were carried up to the stars and spread through the whole expanse of lands and the sky. And the father, Octavius, dreamed that the beaming light of the sun rose from Atia's womb."

[111] James Clauss, review of Actium and Augustus: the Politics and Emotions of Civil War, by Robert Alan Gurval, Bryn Mawr Classical Review 7 (1996): 582-588.

[112] Suet. *Div. Aug.* 70.1.

[113] Zanker (1988), 49.

[114] Livy 4.29.7; Zanker (1988), 49; Robert Alan Gurval, *Actium and Augustus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1995), 111.

battlefield password.[115] Zanker, citing Suetonius, suggests that the future *princeps* began to use the sphinx, a symbol associated with Apollo, as his seal.[116]

Hekster and Rich, following Gurval, note that only weak evidence exists for "Octavian's" association with Apollo before his victory over Sextus Pompey in 36 B.C.E., on which occasion he vowed the Temple of Apollo Palatinus.[117] Although a familial connection existed for Julius Caesar as well, Caesar chose to ignore this in favor of his connection with Venus.[118] It was Augustus, then, who revived the Julian connection to the divinity. Suffice it to say that Augustus identified both himself and his family with the god Apollo, either as patron, relative, incarnation, or any combination of the three.

Gurval suggests that the Augustan connection with Apollo went beyond mere ancestry or reference to the campaigns of 36 B.C.E. He contends that while the Temple of Apollo Palatinus was vowed during the campaign against Sextus Pompey, the association with the god became a political ideology of the *princeps* following the battle of Actium.[119] The Temple of Apollo on the Palatine later became a monument which very publicly declared "Octavian's" victory at the battle of Actium.[120] What began as the statement of a personal link to the god was transformed into a metaphor for Actium, and thus also served as a link to those defeated in the battle. Thus, Augustus made considerable use of his connection with Apollo as a statement of his attachment to the

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[115] Val. Max. 1.5.7. Cf. Zanker (1988), 49; Olivier Hekster and John Rich, "Octavian and the Thunderbolt: The Temple of Apollo Palatinus and Roman Traditions of Temple Building," *Classical Quarterly* 56, (2006): 160-161; Zanker, 111.
[116] Zanker (1988), 49; Suet. *Div. Aug.* 50.1. Cf. Pliny *NH* 37.1.10.
[117] Hekster and Rich, 160. Cf. Gurval, 91-113.
[118] Gurval, 112.
[119] Gurval, 87.
[120] Ibid.

Julian *gens*, a statement of his success at the battle of Philippi, and most importantly as a statement of his victory over Egypt, Antony, and Cleopatra.

As was noted earlier, Ovid exploited each of these divine connections in his identification for his readers of places where they might find romance. The poet made a specific reference to Venus in noting the "*foro… / qua Veneris facto de marmore templo*" and a more cloaked reference to Apollo in his mention of "*[qua] parare necem miseris patruelibus ausae / Belides et stricto stat ferus ense pater*."[121] Augustus' connection to Romulus figured in Ovid's lengthy discussion of the Circus Maximus and the rape of the Sabine women. This Romulean relationship also referred more subtly to the link between the emperor and Mars. On all counts, Ovid succeeded in turning the divine and legendary ancestry of the *princeps* against him and his moral legislation.

I. The Forum of Julius Caesar and the Temple of Venus Genetrix

Ovid, referring to the Forum of Julius Caesar and his Temple of Venus Genetrix, noted to his readers:

> *Et fora convenient (quis credere possit?) amori:*
> *flammaque in arguto saepe reperta foro:*
> *subdita qua Veneris facto de marmore templo*
> *Appias expressis aëra pulsat aquis….*[122]

The poet also took it upon himself to inform the reader of the possible result of a visit to this site:

> *Illo saepe loco capitur consultus Amori,*
> *quique aliis cavit, non cavet ipse sibi:*
> *Illo saepe loco desunt verba diserto,*

[121] Ovid *AA* 1.80-81, 1.73-74: "…forum… / where the temple of Venus made of marble [is]," and "where the daughters of Belus dared to plot death for their poor cousins / and where their fierce father stands with sword drawn."
[122] Ovid *AA* 1.79-82: "Even the fora are convenient for love (who can believe it?): / often has its flame been discovered in the shrill forum: / in which located beneath the temple of Venus made from marble / the Appian nymph strikes the air with waters springing forth."

resque novae veniunt, causaque agenda sua est.
Hunc Venus e templis, quae sunt confinia, ridet:
qui modo patronus, nunc cupit esse cliens.[123]

Ovid's presentation of the Forum of Julius Caesar and the Temple of Venus Genetrix as places to pursue illicit unions is at the same time entirely appropriate and wildly inappropriate. What better place to find romance than a forum whose centerpiece was the Temple of Venus, goddess of love? Even more to the point, what better place to find adulterous love than near a temple of Venus, famed for her relationships outside of her own marriage with Vulcan? First Homer and later Ovid made famous a sexual encounter between Venus and Mars, two divinities who notably appear on Augustus' family tree, in the *Metamorphoses* as well as on the pediment of his Temple of Mars Ultor.[124] The poet took full advantage of Venus' role as an ancestor of the *princeps* and the goddess of love, and he took even further advantage of her reputation as an adulteress.

Further, Ovid wrote directly to Augustus in the *Tristia* that temples ought to be considered unsafe places for virtuous maidens: "*Quis locus est templis augustior? Haec quoque vitet, / in culpam siqua est ingeniosa suam.*"[125] Ovid's warning suggests that temples were common sites for illicit rendezvous. He also made more explicit reference to Venus Genetrix in commenting on reading the *Annales*, most likely of Ennius:

Sumpserit Annales…
facta sit unde parens Ilia, nempe leget.

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[123] Ibid. 1.83-88: "In that place often is a lawyer seized by Love, / and the one who looks out for others does not look out for himself. / In that place often are his own words missing for the eloquent one, / new cases come up, and his own case must be undertaken. / Venus laughs at this one from her temple, which is adjacent: / he who was once the patron now wishes to be a client."
[124] Hom. *Od.* 8.266-360; Ovid *Met.* 4.167-189; Anderson (1984), 72.
[125] Ovid *Trist.* 2.287-288. "What place is more revered than the temples? She should avoid these too, / she whose nature leads her to fault."

Sumpserit Aeneadum genetrix ubi prima, requiret,
Aeneadum genetrix unde sit alma Venus.[126]

Clearly, then, if temples were notorious places to find romance or those looking for romance, temples of Venus would have been especially dangerous. The location of the temple in the middle of a forum, a designated public meeting space, would have only enhanced the role of the structure as a meeting place for would-be lovers.

The function of the Forum of Julius Caesar as a law court which made Ovid's statement a truly scandalous one. It is possible that the cases of violators of the *leges Iuliae* would have been heard here. Appian compared the site to Persian public squares, used for the administration of justice and the passing of new laws.[127] Both Richardson and Roger Ulrich cite the proximity of the Curia Julia as evidence of Caesar's intent that the new Forum Iulium handle the public business that had previously taken place in the Forum Romanum.[128] There is an apparent irony in that people could have been searching for romantic dalliances at a venue whose purpose was to accommodate the eventual and seemingly inevitable trials of such searchers and may have been involved in the promulgation of the laws that ultimately brought them to trial.

It seems that Ovid was not as concerned with the fate of the random visitor to the Forum, of course, as he was with the fate of the lawyers themselves. These men, presumably citizens and of elite social class, entrusted with the enforcement of imperial legislation, were, according to Ovid, at risk of falling prey to the power of love at their

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[126] Ibid., 2.259-262. "Let her read through the *Annals*… /surely she will read how Ilia became a mother. / When she has first read the *Aeneadum Genetrix* she will ask / how nourishing Venus became the mother of the sons of Aeneas."
[127] Appian *BC* 2.102. See also J. Anderson, 52. A connection to the Curia Julia reinforced this role of the Forum Iulium. The site had been used by Caesar as a meeting place for the Senate, as noted in Suet. *Div. Iul.* 78.1, Livy *Per.* 116, and Dio 44.8.1.
[128] L. Richardson, jr., "The Curia Julia and the Temple of Janus Geminus," *Römische Mitteilungen* 85 (1978), 360-362; Roger B. Ulrich, "Julius Caesar and the Creation of the Forum Iulium," *American Journal of Archaeology* 97 (1993): 49-80, esp. 51-53.

place of employment. This could have been due to their proximity to the Temple of Venus, or perhaps due to the nature of their work. After hearing the details of the scandalous relationships of their clients, perhaps the lawyers themselves were prone to acquire a taste for forbidden loves.[129] On the surface, then, Ovid's inclusion of the Forum of Julius Caesar and the Temple of Venus Genetrix was intended to highlight the irony of holding court in a precinct sacred to Venus and thus to suggest that the power of love is greater than the force of law.

On a more metaphorical level, as has been the case with each of the monuments Ovid identified as a *locus amoris*, there are more subtle details lurking behind the obvious ironies noted above. An examination of the historical and artistic details of the Temple of Venus Genetrix reveals these subleties. Julius Caesar vowed the temple just before the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 B.C.E., but originally intended it as a Temple of Venus Victrix.[130] Caesar changed his mind prior to the construction of the temple, choosing instead to honor his ancestress Venus Genetrix. In contemplating Caesar's structure, especially with respect to its dedicatee, one might recall that Pompey had tried to present his theater, dedicated in 52 B.C.E., as a shrine to Venus Victrix.[131] Thus, a reference to Caesar's temple could have prompted the reader to think of Pompey as well.

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[129] Notably, no ancient evidence suggests that trials concerning adultery took place in the Forum of Caesar. More likely, Ovid was employing the forum's general function as a law court to highlight the irony in the fact that those who worked to uphold the law were also at risk of violating it in the very same place.

[130] Appian *BC* 2.68. Cf. Richardson (1992), 166; Platner and Ashby, 226. The thrust of what follows is less concerned with the historical and topographical details of the Forum Iulium and the Temple of Venus Genetrix and rather more concerned with the political overtones associated with the complex's inclusion in the poem. For additional information on the topography and evolution of the Forum Iulium, see Ulrich, 49-80; Chiara Morselli, "Forum Iulium," in *LTUR* 2, 299-306; Pierre Gros, "Forum Iulium: Venus Genetrix, Aedes," in *LTUR* 2, 306-307; Gros (1976), 122-134; Carla Maria Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare* (Florence: Olschki, 1991), 1-167; Giuseppe Lugli, *Roma Antica: Il Centro Monumentale* (Rome: G. Bardi, 1968), 243-258; Gabriella Fiorani, "Problemi Architettonici del Foro di Cesare," in *Studi di Topografia Romana*, Quaderni dell'Instituto di Topografia Antica della Università di Roma 5 (Rome: De Luca, 1968), 91-103; Claridge, 148-152; Coarelli (2001), 124-129.

[131] Platner and Ashby, 428; Richardson (1992), 318; J. Anderson, 47. The theater, of course, was dedicated three years earlier in 55 B.C.E.

Thinking of both men at the same time would possibly have resulted in a reader's recollection of the civil wars following the dissolution of the "First Triumvirate." The implications of this will be more completely addressed in a discussion of the Portico of Pompey in the next chapter, but suffice it to say that a reader who connected the current head of state with civil war might have been inclined to look less favorably upon his legislation.

Ovid seems to have included the features of both Venus Genetrix and Venus Victrix in his reference to the temple. In playing upon this duality, he seems to have stressed the role of Venus as a conquerer—at least in the sphere of love—rather than her more maternal characteristics, although there is no evidence that Ovid knew that Caesar's original plan was for a temple dedicated to Venus Victrix. Nevertheless, this was certainly the incarnation of Venus that would have been more familiar to the poet—the goddess of love as a generally triumphant figure and as a victor over the hearts of men. Ovid, then, seems to have chosen to conflate these two incarnations, empowering Caesar's maternal Venus with the love-inspiring abilities of Pompey's conquering goddess.

In highlighting the duality of Venus as she operated in the Forum of Julius Caesar, Ovid also seems to have highlighted the duality of Roman women. While Ovid clearly stated at the start of the poem that he was not encouraging the pursuit of relationships with married women, this very pursuit was here presented as an option.[132] After all, if Venus is capable of being both honorable mother and lascivious temptress, the same should be possible for an average Roman wife. Ovid pointed to the Forum of Caesar as a place where one should proceed with caution. In his mention of the other

[132] Ovid *AA* 1.31-34.

monuments, he spoke of opportunity. Clearly, then, Ovid saw this place not as one in which a man might pursue a married woman on the prowl, but rather as one in which a prowling married woman might pursue a vulnerable man. That Ovid presented men and married women as equally prone to violate the Julian laws underscored for his readers the overall failure of such legislation and the triumph of love.

Further, in pointing out the duality of Venus in the Forum of Caesar, Ovid symbolically suggested a duality (or perhaps hypocrisy) within the Julian *gens*. Just as Venus could appear as both family-oriented and licentious, so could the Caesars themselves. Julius Caesar was quite openly involved with Cleopatra during his marriage to Calpurnia and her marriage to Ptolemy XIII.[133] More important, as Suetonius wrote of Augustus: "*Adulteria quidem exercuisse ne amici quidem negant.*"[134] Thus, the *princeps* was both moral family man and lustful lover, following in the footsteps of his ancestress Venus. Ovid was only too pleased to point out these similarities in his presentation of the Forum of Julius Caesar.

Equally important to Ovid's reference to the Temple of Venus Genetrix were the decorative elements of the temple. A major decorative element of the stucture was a large, golden statue of Cleopatra, placed in the temple by Julius Caesar.[135] The placement of the statue inside the Temple of Venus associated Cleopatra with Venus herself. This is ironic in that Cleopatra represented adultery amongst the *gens Iulia*. As noted above, Julius Caesar had an affair with Cleopatra while both were still married, and Antony was

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[133] Although Caesar's actions could be considered morally reprehensible, they were not hypocritical. There was no legislation in Caesar's time explicitly prohibiting such a liaison.
[134] Suet. *Div. Aug.* 69.1: "That he took part in acts of adultery not even his friends deny…"
[135] Dio 51.22.3; Appian *BC* 2.102; Aicher, 191-193; J. Anderson, 47; Lugli (1968), 255. The statue remained in the temple until at least the 3rd century C.E. For more on Cleopatra, see Diana E. E. Kleiner, *Cleopatra and Rome* (Cambridge, MA and London: Belknap Press, 2005).

involved with her while still married to Octavia.[136] Both figures were directly connected to the man who later passed legislation which would have made these affairs illegal. Again, Ovid subliminally pointed to the hypocrisy of the imperial family, who supported legislation in favor of the sanctity of marriage and wholesome family life but at the same time had some adulterous skeletons in their closet.

To Augustus, Cleopatra was the embodiment of the very sort of foreign luxury and vice that the *leges Iuliae* sought to eradicate. As noted earlier in reference to the connection between Augustus and Vedius Pollio, there was an association between the decadent or debauched and the foreign.[137] For Ovid, it was even better that Cleopatra was known as an adulteress, and better still that her adulterous actions involved the family of the *princeps* in two generations. Cleopatra further represented a general failure of marriage, a failure echoed in other decorative elements of the temple. J. Anderson adds that the complex was generally similar to Persian public squares, which would have added even more to the foreign element of the site.[138]

Pliny the Elder wrote that the temple was decorated with paintings by Timomachus, one of which was a painting of Medea.[139] The story of Medea was not one which would have prompted a Roman to think of strong family values—rather, it might prompt one to think of reckless marriage. Love and marriage in Medea's case led to the betrayal of her father, her own abandonment by her husband in favor of another, and the

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[136] Eck, 29-30.
[137] See notes 5, 6, 47-50. Further, as will be discussed in connection with the Temple of Isis, there was also a more specific link between the Egyptian and the unsavory. See Ovid *Ars Amatoria: Book I*, ed. A.S. Hollis (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 48n. Cf. Juv. 9.22ff; Mart. 11.47.4.
[138] Appian *BC* 2.102; J. Anderson, 51-52. Appian's thoughts on Persian public squares are unconfirmed by archaeological evidence, and it is far from certain that the average Roman would have recognized that which was Persian.
[139] Pliny *NH* 35.26; Peter J. Aicher, *Rome Alive* Vol. I (Wauconda, Ill.: Bolchazy-Carducci, 2004), 191-193.

resulting murder of her sons and rivals. Medea did not know a stable marriage, and her two marriages ended in tragedy for herself and others. While Medea loved Jason, it was not her love for him that led to tragedy, but her marriage to him. In presenting the Temple of Venus Genetrix with its painting of Medea as a place to go looking for romance, Ovid may have been pointing to Medea's story as a condemnation of the Augustan espousal of marriage and disapproval of love outside of marriage.[140]

Again, as was the case with the Theatrum Marcelli, the Forum of Julius Caesar and the associated Temple of Venus Genetrix were works undertaken by Julius Caesar but only completed by Augustus. To Ovid, however, this was inconsequential. In this case, it is Augustus' family, both mortal and divine, that was under attack. Ovid portrayed Venus, ancestress of the Julian *gens*, not as the mother figure to whom Caesar had vowed a temple, but rather as an adulteress. Working under the assumption that his readers would have been familiar with the decoration of the temple, Ovid delved further into a commentary on the adulterous acts and failed marriages that had plagued the Julian *gens* in recent years.[141] The poet associated the temple's statue of Cleopatra, a foreign adulteress connected to the imperial family, with this same dualistic Venus. He also likely led his readers to recall the painting of Medea as a final commentary on the lack of success in Octavia's marriage to Antony. Ovid's exploitation of the Forum of Julius Caesar and the Temple of Venus Genetrix brilliantly guided his readers to think of

[140] Of course, all of this assumes that Ovid himself was familiar with the paintings.
[141] This is truly an assumption. Aside from Pliny's reference, no ancient evidence suggests that average Roman would have or would have been able to view the paintings within the temple. However, if Julius Caesar and/or Augustus went so far as to have elaborate paintings decorating the interior of the temple, it is unrealistic to think that the public would have had no knowledge of these. After all, there would have been little reason to include these decorative features described by Pliny unless they were intended to be seen, or at least heard about.

Augustus, his family, and the hypocrisy of his legislation in both historical and mythological terms.

II. The Temple of Apollo Palatinus

The Temple of Venus Genetrix was not the only sacred site on Ovid's tour of romantic *loci* in the city of Rome. He instructed his *discipuli amoris* not to avoid "*quaque parare necem miseris patruelibus ausae / Belides et stricto stat ferus ense pater*," referring to the Portico of the Danaids at the Temple of Apollo Palatinus.[142] Augustus had vowed to construct a temple to Apollo in 36 B.C.E. during the campaign against Sextus Pompey, and he dedicated the temple on the ninth of October in 28 B.C.E.[143] The complex boasted not only a Temple of Apollo, but also a grand portico and two libraries, one for works in Latin and one for works in Greek.[144] According to Propertius, one door of the temple depicted the fate of the children of Niobe, and like Ovid, he said that the portico was decorated with statues of the Danaids.[145] Both Cassius Dio and Suetonius added that this portico was large enough to accommodate frequent meetings of the

[142] Ovid *AA* 1.73-74: "or where the daughters of Belus dared to plot death for their poor cousins / and where their fierce father stands with sword drawn." Ovid also referred to the Portico of the Danaids at *Am*. 2.2, specifically as a site a which a woman caught his eye.
[143] *RG* 19; Platner and Ashby, 17; Richardson (1992), 14.
[144] Ovid *Trist.* 3.1.59-68 (Cf. Platner and Ashby, 17; Richardson (1992) 14.). Ovid notes that his own works could not be found in the library, most likely after his publication of the *Ars Amatoria*. Ovid seems to condemn this censorship in stating that the works there are "free for inspection." The use of *inspicienda* rather than *legenda* suggests that the reader was free to judge the merits of the works in the library for himself. To simply read a work suggests that it has been approved for such a reading whereas the inspection of such a work seems to involve a consideration of it merits and a judgement on the appropriateness of its placement in a library.
[145] Prop. 2.31.3-14; Caroline Quenemoen, "The Portico of the Danaids: A New Reconstruction," *American Journal of Archaeology* 110 (2006), 229. Quenemoen cites recent archaeological work, published in M. A. Tomei, "Le Tre Danaidi in nero antico dal Palatino," *Bulletino de Archeologia* 5/6 (1990): 35-48. Tomei has identified the Danaid statues with herms about 1.2 meters in height, found by Rosa in 1869. It is also entirely possible that the statues were placed on the second story of the portico. See Quenemoen, 229, 243. See also Eckard LeFèvre, *Das Bild-programm des Apollo-Temples auf dem Palatin*, Xenia Heft 24. (Konstanz: Universitaetsverlag Konstanz, 1989), 12-19, esp. 12-17.

senate.[146] That Augustus viewed the temple and portico as among his most important works is clear from his decision to construct them entirely in Luna marble and giallo antico, respectively.[147] The complex was viewed as one of Augustus' finest works, described by Velleius Paterculus as a work "*quod ab eo* [*Augusto*] *singulari exstructum munificentia est.*"[148]

Velleius also noted the proximity of the Temple of Apollo to Augustus' own house, a detail taken by Zanker to even more closely connect the *princeps* and the god. Zanker asserts that the short distance between Augustus' house and the Temple of Apollo Palatinus bespoke more than anything else the close relationship between the *princeps* and the god and notes that recent excavations have indicated a ramp that connected the house and the temple precinct. Thus, "the bond between the god and his protégé could

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[146] Dio 53.1.3; Suet. *Div. Aug.* 29.3.; Richardson (1992), 14. See also David L. Thompson, "The Meetings of the Roman Senate on the Palatine," *American Journal of Archaeology* 85 (July 1981), 335-339.

[147] Prop. 2.31.9, 2.31.3. Cf. Platner and Ashby, 17. While the giallo antico marble type is suggested by Platner and Ashby, more recent marble typing has been done by Tomei (1990), as cited by Quenemoen (229).

[148] Vell. 2.81.3: "which was constructed by [Augustus] with singular largesse." For additional topographical information, see Quenemoen, 229-250; Pierre Gros, "Apollo Palatinus," in *LTUR* Vol. 1, ed. Eva Margareta Steinby (Rome: Quasar, 1993): 54-57; Paul Zanker, "Der Apollontempel auf dem Palatin: 'Ausstattung un Politische Sinnbezüge' nach der Schlacht von Actium," in *Città e Architettura nella Roma Imperiale* (Copenhagen: Odense University Press, 1983), 21-40; Claridge, 131; Coarelli (2001), 168-170.

not have been more explicitly conveyed."[149] Zanker, along with Hekster and Rich, adds that Augustus was following a tradition established by Hellenistic kings.[150]

While the very decision to defame a structure to which Augustus was closely connected and of which he was quite proud would have surely been enough to indicate his ill feelings towards the *princeps*, as usual Ovid's condemnation did not stop at the superficial. Knowing that his readers were familiar with the details of the structure, he invited them to recall these as they pondered the possibility of seeking romance there.[151] After all, in the *Amores*, Ovid himself was captivated by a woman walking around the complex.[152] Most notably, the poet referred to the structure not simply as the Temple of Apollo, but rather as the Portico of the Danaids. The reader's attention was thus directed to the story of the daughters of Danaus and their forced marriages to their cousins, the sons of Aegyptus. The story is known from Apollodorus in the *Library*, in which he related how Danaus, after being forced to give his daughters to his brother's sons in

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[149] Zanker (1988), 51; Galinsky (1996), 215; Richardson (1992), 118. For information on the excavation, see Gianfilippo Carettoni, "Die Bauten des Augustus auf dem Palatin," in *Kaiser Augustus und die Verlorene Republik* (Berlin: Kulturstadt Europas, 1988), 265, and also G. Carettoni, *Das Haus des Augustus auf dem Palatin* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1983). For more recent excavation and analysis, see Quenemoen and Tomei as cited above, and Mireille Corbier, "De la Maison d'Hortensius à la Curia sur le Palatin," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 104 (1992), 871-916. Consider also the statements of Ovid himself regarding Augustus' house, first in the *Fasti*: "*Phoebus habet partem, Vestae pars altera cessit; / quod superest illis, tertius ipse tenet*" ("Phoebus has one part, another part has been yielded to Vesta: / what remains of these, the third part, Caesar himself holds") Ovid, *Fast.* 4.951-952. Second, consider the poet's comments in the *Tristia*: "*Quandocumque, precor, nostro placere parenti / isdem et sub dominis aspiciare domus! / Inde tenore pari gradibus sublimia celsis / ducor ad intonsi candida templa dei, / signa peregrines ubi sunt alterna columnis, / Belides et stricto barbarus ense pater*" ("Sometime, O house, I pray that my father will be pleasing to you / and that it is his to see you under the same masters. / From there with an even pace I was led up the lofty steps to the gleaming temple of the unshaved god, / where there are statues alternating with the foreign columns, / the daughters of Belus and the barbarian father with drawn sword") Ovid, *Trist.* 3.1.57-62. Both passages clearly referred to a stairway of sorts that led between the house of Augustus and the Temple of Apollo Palatinus.

[150] Zanker (1988), 51; Hekster and Rich, 149.

[151] In *Trist.* 3.1.59-68, Ovid noted that the area, especially the portico and libraries, were open to all, especially the literati.

[152] Ovid *Am.* 2.2. Notably, the woman who caught Ovid's interest was, unfortunately for him, guarded by a eunuch. The fact that such guardianship was necessary can be taken as indicative of the fact that the complex was known as a site at which to pursue erotic liaisons.

marriage, encouraged each of them to slaughter their new husbands on their wedding night, giving each of them a knife. All but one daughter killed their new husbands; Hypermestra chose to spare Lynceus because he respected her wish to remain a virgin.[153] Vergil also noted the story of the sons of Aegyptus and their wives in his description of Pallas' swordbelt in the *Aeneid*.[154] Ovid's decision to refer to entire precinct as the Portico of the Danaids was clearly a conscious one. The *leges Iuliae* sought to make marriage compulsory, following in the footsteps of the sons of Belus. The result of forced marriage in the story of the Danaids was the death of 49 men.[155] Arguably, the motive behind these 49 murders was not forced marriages, but the forced production of children within these marriages. The Julian laws sought to achieve the same ends, especially in their provision of the *ius trium liberorum*; the reality of this goal is only reinforced by the later *lex Papia Poppea* of 9 C.E.[156]

Given the temple's features, the story of the Danaids is not the only damning mythological portrayal open to Ovid's scrutiny. One of the temple's doors was adorned with a depiction of the story of Niobe and children. The poet himself related the story of Niobe's offense in his *Metamorphoses*:

> [*Niobe*] *constitit, utque oculos circumtulit alta superbos,*
> *'quis furor auditos' inquit 'praeponere visis*
> *caelestes? Aut cur colitur Latona per aras,*
> *numen adhuc sine ture meum est…*
> *…illa duorum…*
> *facta parens: uteri pars haec est septima nostri…*
> *…Fingite demi…*
> *huic aliquid populo natorum posse meorum:*

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[153] Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.5.
[154] Verg. *Aen.*10.495-499. Here, notably, the focus is on the sons of Aegyptus whereas the focus of the portico's sculptural program and of Ovid's text is the on the daughters of Danaus. See Sarah Spence, "Clinching the Text: The Danaids and the End of the Aeneid," *Vergilius* 37 (1991), 12-17.
[155] Boyle, 176.
[156] Galinsky (1996), 130.

non tamen ad numerum redigar spoliata duorum,
Latonae turbam, qua quantum distat ab orba?[157]

Ovid followed this description of Niobe's offense with that of her punishment; each of her children was killed by the arrows of Apollo and Diana.[158] Considering the importance the *leges Iuliae* placed on having larger numbers of children, with benefits available to parents of more than three, the story of Niobe was likely also not a fitting one for the *princeps* to employ in bolstering his connection to Apollo. In inviting his readers to consider the Temple of Apollo, Ovid might have expected that they would have been familiar with the door of the building and that they would thus have thought of the story of Niobe.[159] Although it was Niobe's pride in her number of children that was being punished, one might suspect also that she was punished for having more children than Latona. Ovid seems to have been only too willing to lead his readers to the thought that having even three children, in accordance with the desire of the *princeps*, was asking for punishment. The poet thus seems to have subtly attacked the importance the laws placed on procreation, and thus also attacked the laws and their author.[160]

Ten years after the dedication of the Temple of Apollo Palatinus and the attached Portico of the Danaids, Ovid saw the aforementioned ironies in the complex's decorative motifs and exploited them. He chose to do so at a time when the only way the *princeps*

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[157] Ovid *Met.* 6.169-200. "[Niobe] stood tall and cast her arrogant eyes around / and said: 'What madness is it, to place on high gods heard about rather than those seen? / Or why is Latona praised at her altars, / and my divinity is still without incense… / She was made the mother of two children; this is only the seventh part of my womb… / Even imagine / that any part of this crowd of my children could be taken from me: / not even with these taken would I be reduced to the number of two, / the whole crowd of Latona, with which how far does she stand from being childless?"

[158] Ibid. 214-312.

[159] This assumes, as it seems reasonable to assume, that Ovid was aware of the subject of the decoration of the temple doors. Seeing as Propertius noted the presence of the Niobids (Prop. 2.31.3-14), it is reasonable to suggest that if Ovid or his readers had not seen this first hand, they would have likely been familiar with Propertius' description of the temple's features.

[160] To extend this line of reasoning, if having a number of children was to be seen as an affront against Latona, Apollo, and Diana, and if having children was the desired result of marriage, then Ovid was also advising against marriage.

could have avoided the public perception of these ironies would have involved the removal of a sculptural program and door that had been on public view for a decade. Such backpedaling would have made this irony even more visible to the people of Rome than Ovid's poem might have done. The poet, then, seems to have pointed to a *princeps* who had not always felt so strongly about compulsory marriage and production of children; if Augustus had in fact had strong feelings on the issue in 28 B.C.E., he might wisely have chosen another symbol of expiation for the colonnade and another myth of Apollo as a subject for the decoration of the temple door.[161] The extension of this line of reasoning is that while Augustus touted his revival of old-time customs, he either did not know what these were or did not espouse them a decade before the passage of the *leges Iuliae*. In the employment of this monument as a site to look for relationships more free than those of the Danaids, Ovid pointed a finger at a leader who wavered in his opinions on civic matters and thus created laws tainted with irony, likely with the help of a senate that met in this very spot.

Ovid may have also been attacking the very connection of Augustus to Apollo. After all, Apollo certainly took part in his share of adulterous activity, as has been noted of Venus in the preceding pages. Looking to the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid's readers would have seen Apollo involved in attempted virginal rape in the case of Daphne and in a relationship with a man in the case of Hyacinthus.[162] Both of these actions would have been violations of the *leges Iuliae,* and committed by a god closely connected to the *princeps,* who promulgated these laws. Considering that Ovid and his readers were likely

[161] This assumes that Augustus himself would in fact have chosen the decorative elements of the complex. At a minimum, one can assume that even if he did not *choose* each element of the complex's decoration, he must at least have had to give his approval.
[162] Ovid *Met.* 1.452-567, 10.162-219.

aware that Augustus thought of himself as an Apollo figure, or at least a close associate of the god, the fact that Apollo's own activities stood in violation of the Julian laws is ironic.[163] The implication becomes that Augustus himself would not have been able to follow these laws, a reality noted by Suetonius.[164]

Beyond these mythological associations, Ovid exploited other aspects of the Temple of Apollo and its associated portico in his presentation. There are certain foreign connections, and as noted above, the foreign was also immoral. First, the connection between Augustus' residence and the precinct of Apollo followed a fashion embraced by Hellenistic kings.[165] Second, the portrayal of the Danaids and the sons of Aegyptus of course would have called to mind Egypt, another notorious center of immoral behavior. Third, as Sarah Spence connects Vergil's reference to the sons of Aegyptus to Antony's status as an Egyptian, the reference to the Danaids in Ovid's poem could just as easily be taken to evoke a thought of Antony and his acts of adultery committed against Octavia.[166] As any connection to Antony bespeaks the civil war resulting from the collapse of the Second Triumvirate, Ovid's readers may have picked up on such a theme.

Further, though the temple itself was built of Italian Luna marble, the attached portico was constructed of marble from Africa.[167] Although one might argue that the white Italian Luna marble represented purity and wholesomeness while the portico represented foreign depravity, there are several issues with such an argument. First, regardless of what sort of marble was used, Augustus was the builder of the entire

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[163] For Augustus' close connection with Apollo, see Suet. *Div. Aug.* 50.1 and 70.1.
[164] Suet. *Div. Aug* 69.1-2.
[165] Zanker (1988), 51; Hekster and Rich, 149.
[166] Spence, 15.
[167] Prop. 2.31.9, 2.31.3. Cf. Platner and Ashby, 17; Galinsky (1996), 220. Recall, however, Quenemoen's synthesis of the work of Tomei and Rosa, who determined that the marble (at least of the statues) was nero antico and rosso antico (Quenemoen, 229). In any case, the marble employed in the portico is foreign. Cf. "externo marmore" with reference to the Temple of Venus Genetrix at *AA* 1.70.

complex, including the "foreign" portico. Second, the "wholesome" temple was not untainted; the fate of the Niobids, punished for their mother's pride in her offspring, was displayed on its door. Third, the ramp leading from Augustus' residence to the complex led to the "foreign" forecourt, not directly to the "wholesome" temple.[168] Considering these factors, it is unlikely that Augustus intended such a separation, symbolized by the origins of the marble used in the structures.

As was the case in his presentation of the Temple of Venus Genetrix and the Forum of Caesar, Ovid's careful employment of the Temple of Apollo Palatinus and the Portico of the Danaids struck a blow at Augustus and his moral legislation on symbolic and mythological levels. The structure, associated with foreign elegance, was also associated with stories of marriages-gone-bad and the slaughter of excessive children. Further, the entire structure was dedicated to a god with whom the *princeps* was closely connected and who would himself have been a violator of the *leges Iuliae*. Augustus could not have helped the fact that he chose for the complex materials and subject matter not in keeping with the principles of a morality free from foreign influence and those of compulsory marriage and childbearing; he built the structure a decade before these ideals came to the fore. This was yet another barb of the poet's attack—the symbolic display of an irresolute autocrat who had created moral legislation that could have been viewed as a "flash in the pan" of the political kitchen.

III. The Circus Maximus

Ovid went to great lengths in describing the Circus Maximus as a venue for romance, effectively for 63 lines of poetry. First, Ovid related the story of the rape of the

[168] Zanker (1988), 51. Cf. Carettoni (1988), 265. There is no mention of the ramp in Quenemoen's reconstruction.

Sabine women, an event that Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Cicero, Varro, and Plutarch suggested took place in the Circus Maximus.[169] The poet followed his excursus on the rape of the Sabine women with a lengthy description of methods for attracting women at the horse races in the contemporary Circus Maximus.[170]

Augustus' improvements to the Circus Maximus were relatively few, but the *princeps* was involved in some additions to the structure. The *princeps* indicated in the *Res Gestae* that he was responsible for the construction of the *pulvinar,* or imperial box.[171] Ammianus Marcellinus added: "*Octavianus Augustus obeliscos duos ab Heliopolitana civitate transtulisset Aegyptia, quorum unus in Circo maximo, alter in Campo locatus est Martio.*"[172] Aside from these two improvements to the structure, the only involvement Augustus had with the circus came in the form of giving games there.

Considering Augustus' apparent lack of extensive involvement with the Circus Maximus, one might question why Ovid devoted so many lines to his presentation of this structure while spending only a line or two on the others. While one can only speculate, several theories emerge. First, Ovid really might have seen the Circus as the best possible venue for romance. After all, the circus was the one entertainment structure in Ovid's

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[169] Livy 1.9.6; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. 2.30ff; Cic. *Rep.* 2.7.12; Varr. *LL* 6.20; Plut. *Rom.* 14-15. Cf. A. E. Wardman, "The Rape of the Sabines" *Classical Quarterly* 15 (1965): 101. Ovid noted that the event took place in a "*theatr*[*um*] *curv*[*um*]" or "curved theater," perhaps invoking the early role of the Circus Maximus as a site for theatrical performances, games, or hunts. His mention of the Palatine in the background suggests strongly that he is referring to the Circus. Cf. Wardman, 101 n.6. Notably, Ovid used the verb "*venare*," "to hunt" in his advice to would-be-lovers. Events such as performances, games, and hunts would likely have been moved to theaters or amphitheaters after their creation, although the first permanent theater in Rome was that of Pompey, dedicated in 55 B.C.E. (Cic. *Ad. Fam.* 7.1.3), and the first permanent amphitheater was that of Statilius Taurus, built in 29 B.C.E. (Dio 51.23.1). Ovid would surely not have advised his *discipuli* on looking for love at temporary constructions.

[170] The placement of a description of the modern Circus directly after his mention of "curved theaters" connects the two, solidifying the argument that Ovid knew the Circus Maximus to be the site of the rape of the Sabine women.

[171] *RG* 19.

[172] Amm. Marc. 17.4.12: "Augustus transported two obelisks from the Egyptian city of Heliopolis, of which one was located in the Circus Maximus and the other in the Campus Martius." The second of these obelisks, the one placed in the Campus Martius, will be discussed in reference to the Horologium Augusti.

Rome in which men and women were not segregated.[173] The opportunities presented by the Circus Maximus, then, might have given Ovid's *discipuli* their best chance. Second, the Circus Maximus was among the oldest monuments in the city, thus deserving special treatment in the poem. Romulus had used the site for his "*ludos…Neptuno equestri sollemnis: vocat*[*os*] *Consualia.*"[174] Lucius Tarquinius Priscus is credited with allowing the construction of the first stands and marking out a definite track in the late 7th or early 6th century B.C.E.[175] With a seating capacity estimated to be as high as 250,000, nearly every Roman had probably been in the Circus Maximus at some point.[176] Third, Ovid may have been playing upon the connection between Augustus and Romulus, and the circus gave him the best opportunity to do so. It is likely, however, that it was a combination of these three reasons which led Ovid to dedicate so much poetic space to the structure.[177]

Ovid presented the Circus Maximus in the poem in two distinct but connected segments. The first, Ovid's excursus on the rape of the Sabine women, was was more

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[173] Ovid *AA* 1.139; John Henderson, "A Doo-Dah-Doo-Dah-Dey at the Races: Ovid Amores 3.2 and the Personal Politics of the Circus Maximus," *Classical Antiquity* 21, (2002): 47; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), 321; John H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing* (New York and Berkeley: University of California, 1986), 76.

[174] Livy 1.9.6: "games in honor of Equestrian Neptune, called the Consualia." Consus was the equivalent of the Greek Poseidon Hippios and had an altar at the *primae metae* of the later Circus Maximus. See Paola Ciancio Rossetto, "Circus Maximus," in *LTUR* 1, 272; Richardson (1992), 84, 100.

[175] Livy 1.35.8.

[176] Pliny (*NH* 36.102) gives the seating capacity as 250,000. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Rom. Ant.* 3.68) suggests 150,000. Either way, the Circus Maximus was capable of holding a huge number of people, more than any other entertainment structure. For further treatments, see Humphrey, 56-294 (his work is especially thorough); Kathleen Coleman, "Entertaining Rome," in *Ancient Rome: the Archaeology of the Eternal City*, eds. Jon Coulston and Hazel Dodge, Oxford University School of Archaeology Monographs, 54 (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2000): 210-217; Rossetto (*LTUR* 1), 272-277; Rossetto, "Circo Massimo I: Scavi e Indagini," *Bullettino della Commissione Archaeologica del Comune di Roma* 91/92 (1986), 542-545; Rossetto, "Il Circo Massimo: L'Origine dei Ludi e della Struttura Circense," in *Lo Sport nel Mondo Antico*, eds. Anna Mura Sommella, Emilia Talamo, and Maddalena Cima (Rome: Franco Maria Ricci, 1987), 93-102; Coarelli (2001), 387-391; Claridge, 264-265.

[177] For the identification of Augustus with Romulus, see especially Kenneth Scott, "The Identification of Augustus with Romulus-Quirinus," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 56 (1925), 82-105.

significant in Ovid's attack on the *princeps* and his legislation.[178] Ovid began his tale in the following manner:

> *Primus sollicitos fecisti, Romule, ludos,*
> *cum iuvit viduos rapta Sabina viros…*
> *Illic quas tolerant nemorosa Palatia, frondes*
> *simpliciter positae, scaena sine arte fuit;*
> *in gradibus sedit populus de caespite factis*
> *qualibet hirsutas fronde tegente comas.*[179]

The image evoked is uncivilized and savage. None of the marble construction on which Augustus prided himself is present, and the people display no sign of culture. Ovid next described an organized mass-rape, in which maidens were carried off by men against their will. The implication here is profound. If Augustus sought to proclaim himself the next Romulus in the eyes of the public, a new founder of Rome, then the *leges Iuliae* became his form of institutionalized rape.[180] The men of Romulus, on the other hand, were willing participants, who, at the given signal "*Protinus exiliunt, animum clamore fatentes, / virginibus cupidas iniciuntque manus.*"[181] Considering that Ovid saw the poem as having an audience seeking less forced relationships, certainly men of his own time

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[178] For a good treatment of this excursus, see Mario Labate, "Erotic Aetiology: Romulus, Augustus, and the Rape of the Sabine Women," in *The Art of Love: Bimillenial Essays on Ovid's Ars Amatoria and Remedia Amoris*, eds. Roy Gibson, Steven Green, and Allison Sharrock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006): 193-215.

[179] Ovid *AA* 1.101-108: "You, Romulus, first caused a disturbance of the games, / when the seized Sabine women consoled wifeless men… / there fronds which the Palatine had borne / were simply placed, and the stage was without art. / The people sat on steps made from earth, / with a stray frond covering their uncombed hair."

[180] Notably, the opinion of the public suggested that the *princeps* be called "Romulus," though a motion of Munatius Plancus offered "Augustus" as an alternative. Even this name, according to Suetonius, referred to the augury involved in Romulus' foundation of Rome. See Suet. *Div. Aug.* 7. Thus, even the name "Augustus" connected the *princeps* with the mythical foundation of Rome by Romulus. Cf. Eck, 49.

[181] Ovid *AA* 1.115-116: "they straightaway leapt forth, making clear their zeal by their shouting, / and placed lustful hands upon the maidens." The passage involving the given signal is also of importance: "*Rex populo praedae signa petita dedit.*" ("The king gave to the people the awaited signal." William T. Avery suggests that the signal was not "*petenda*," as originally appears in the MSS, or "*petita*," as it has been emended in the Teubner and Loeb texts, saying that the verb "*peto* has no meaning so pale and passive as 'to expect' or 'wait for,' but rather signifies 'to go after' and the like with a definite degree of purpose and determination." He offers as an alternative *pudenda*, something of which those awaiting such a signal ought to be ashamed. This fits Ovid's purpose well enough and seems to make good sense. See William T. Avery, "Ovid *Ars Amatoria* 1.114: An Emendation," *Classical Philology* 69 (1974): 279-280.

would have been less willing to participate in an organized seizure of women. Further, the women themselves, by virtue of their noted presence at various public sites in Rome, were as unwilling as their Sabine forbears to be placed in marriages without their input. To Ovid, then, Romulus' institutionalized rape was the same as Augustus' institutionalized marriage, although the latter seemed to have had even fewer willing participants.

Even the general purpose for both Romulus' rape of the Sabine women and the *leges Iuliae* was the same—the production of children. As Romulus was aware that his all-male Rome would disappear after a generation if no children were produced, Augustus saw in his own family as well as in the state at large that the number of children being born, especially into influential families, was on the decline. Citing the need for "material encouragement" for marriage and the resulting production of children, Syme notes that a number of the old aristocratic families had died out due to a lack of heirs, and the ability of others to survive was in doubt.[182] To Augustus, then, while Rome itself would not fall due to a lack of citizens, the Rome important to him, the Rome of the aristocracy, was in danger of doing so. The *princeps* needed to look no further than his own family to see the problem. He had only one biological daughter, and by the time he promulgated the *leges Iuliae,* found it necessary to adopt Gaius and Lucius, his grandsons by Julia, in order to ensure that he had heirs.[183] Thus, while Augustus sought to portray himself publicly as the new Romulus, in the sense that he was the second founder of Rome, Ovid seems to have called him to task on the gruesome details of this association with Romulus. The poet in effect accused the *princeps* of legalizing, institutionalizing,

[182] Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), 445.
[183] Eck, 116.

and even compelling a form of rape—a union between two people, at least one of whom was unwilling.

In closing his excursus on the rape of the Sabine women, Ovid sarcastically added: "*Romule, militibus scisti dare commoda solus. / Haec mihi si dederis commoda, miles ero.*"[184] Ironically, Ovid made this statement in the middle of a didactic poem on the subject of how to eschew such compulsory unions. There was also an important implication in Ovid's presentation of those under Romulus as "soldiers," rather than "subjects" or "fellow Romans." The poet's following two similes used to describe the Sabine women fleeing from their soon-to-be captors also employed militaristic vocabulary: "*Ut fugiunt aquilas, timidissima turba, columbae, / utque fugit visos agna novella lupos.*"[185] J. S. C. Eidinow rightly suggests the importance of both eagles and wolves in the iconography of the Roman military.[186] The eagle was associated with the military standards, which the Parthians returned to Augustus in 20 B.C.E. and which were eventually housed in the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augsutus.[187] The wolf was closely associated with the upbringing of Romulus and was an animal sacred to Mars, god of war.[188]

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[184] Ovid *AA* 1.131-132: "Romulus, you alone knew how to give prizes to your soldiers. / If you were to give me such prizes, I too would be a soldier."
[185] Ibid. 1.117-118: "Just as doves, a most timid flock, flee from eagles, / and just as young lambs flee from wolves they have spotted."
[186] J. S. C. Eidinow, "A Note on Ovid *Ars Amatoria* 1.117-19," *American Journal of Philology* 114 (1993): 413-417.
[187] Ibid., 414. The original location of the standards, while the Temple of Mars Ultor and its attached Forum Augustum were still under construction, was likely on the Capitoline. They seem to have been originally dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius and placed in his Capitoline temple (Cf. Hor. *Carm*. 4.15.6; Prop. 3.4.6), although they were likely moved to a small, somewhat temporary Temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitoline prior to the completion of the Forum Augustum. Dio (54.8.3) suggested that the standards were moved from the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius to a new Temple of Mars Ultor, and to suggest a temporary Capitoline location would bring the statements of all three authors into agreement. See J. Anderson, 67-68.
[188] Ibid.

The use of militaristic vocabulary in a poem on the subject of love seems odd. Such vocabulary clearly falls into the domain of epic poetry. Horace clearly saw a distinction between epic and lighter poetry, which would have included his own lyric and Ovid's elegy.[189] Characteristic of his *recusatio* of the epic genre is his purposeful employment of military vocabulary.[190] Of course, there is the possibility that Ovid intended to display love as a battle, playing upon the common trope of the lover as a soldier, but the opening of his poem does not suggest this. He made perfectly clear that he was a "*praeceptor*," not a "*miles*," and he refused to invoke the assistance of a muse, earlier poet, or god in the prologue, stating that "*usus opus movet hoc*."[191] Further, while there was certainly a convention in elegiac poetry that presented the lover as a soldier, surely rape would not have been in keeping with this trope. The lover's fight is not one that should end in violence, but rather in happiness; the lover's fight is in the service of his mistress, not against her.[192] Ovid's employment of military vocabulary in reference to the rape of the Sabine women and his sarcastic desire to be a "soldier" of Romulus, then, seem to have made a point: Augustan moral legislation, like Romulus' rape of the Sabine women, made war, not love. He also clearly placed the importance of love over that of war and so mocked the Roman military machine and thus Augustus himself.[193]

Along with any reference to Romulus comes a reference, not only to combat in general, but more specifically to combat within families. In the *Fasti*, Ovid presented

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[189] Cf. Hor. *Odes* 1.6 and *Sat.*1.9.
[190] See William S. Anderson "Horace, the Unwilling Warrior: Satire 1.9," *American Journal of Philology* 77, (1956): 148-156.
[191] Ovid *AA* 1.17-29: "Experience moves this work" (line 29).
[192] Elaine Fantham, *Roman Literary Culture: From Cicero to Apuleius* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 108. Cf. Ovid *Am.* 1.9.
[193] Eidinow, 413.

Romulus as the first to engage in civil war.[194] With the rape of the Sabine women, Romulus created the first instance of "*generis intul*[*ens*] *arma socer*."[195] Within the *gens Iulia*, even, this example had been followed more than once. Caesar turned against his (former) son-in-law in his fight against Pompey. "Octavian" himself turned against Antony, who was married to his sister. Further, any reference to Romulus recalls the death of Remus, an instance of brother-against-brother combat. The poet clearly presented Augustus, as Rome's "second founder" as following the poor examples set by the legendary founder of the city.

Ovid's presentation of the Circus Maximus was continued in a second segment that contained much more practical advice on how to woo women at the races. In so doing it suggested that the Circus Maximus was the venue at which his reader may have had the best chance to meet a willing partner. While this segment did not dwell on any of the connections between Augustus and his legendary ancestors discussed above, it did extend his narrative on the circus, thus emphasizing its importance. By keeping the Circus Maximus in the mind of his readers throughout the "how-to" section, the poet allowed them to dwell on the Romulean and thus Martian connections for a longer period of time.

In his excursus on the Circus Maximus, then, Ovid carefully drew the attention of his readers to the similarities between Augustus and Romulus, but probably not the similarities Augustus himself would have liked to emphasize. As he was portrayed in the Forum of Augustus, Romulus was a strong military leader as well as a religious figure.

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[194] Ovid *Fast.* 3.202

[195] Ibid. "a father [bearing] arms against his sons-in-law [or brothers-in-law]." The term "*gener*" is used here and can refer to either a son-in-law or a brother-in-law; Caesar had fought his son-in-law, "Octavian" his brother-in-law.

His statue was placed among a group of nineteen *summi viri*, fourteen of whom had held some position of exceptional political or military power after which Augustus himself had modeled his own accumulation of powers.[196] Romulus was dressed as an augur on the pediment of the Temple of Mars Ultor, stressing his observance of religion and his respect for the gods.[197] That Augustus wanted himself to be seen as a new Romulus by his subjects is probable, although not as the Romulus Ovid chose to present in his poem.

The poet was only too willing to view the *princeps* in such a light. By connecting the *princeps* and Rome's first king, he also connected the policies of the two. To the poet, the moral legislation of Augustus was no more than rape, although it involved twice as many unwilling participants; neither the men nor the women seemed keen on the idea. The policies even had the same general aim, namely the production of citizen children. In employing militaristic vocabulary, Ovid not only denigrated Augustus' own career and the Roman military machine, but also suggested that the *princeps* should not allow war to cross over into the territory of love. The length of the poet's treatment of the Circus Maximus and the rape that took place on the site served to make these negative aspects of Augustus' public image as the "new Romulus" all the more visible to his readers.

Conclusions

Ovid's treatment of the Temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum of Julius Caesar, the Temple of Apollo Palatinus and the attached Portico of the Danaids, and the Circus Maximus shook the mythological foundations on which the principate of Augustus stood.

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[196] J. Anderson, 84. Recall that at *RG* 6, Augustus claims to have held only offices that were in keeping with republican tradition, and at *RG* 34, he notes that he never held any more power than any individual magistracy had to offer.

[197] J. Anderson, 72. Further, Anderson points out that a large number of men commemorated in the collection of *summi viri* had also been augurs, placing Romulus, and thus Augustus, in good company. For Augustus' fondness for his role as augur, see *RG* 7.

He presented the *princeps* as divinely connected to adultery, unstable marriages, murder, war, and rape. In his presentation of the temples, he connected Augustus with foreign luxury and decadence. While Augustus was clearly proud of certain aspects of each of his divine associations, Ovid was all too willing to exploit those less desirable aspects of Venus, Apollo, Mars, and Romulus, the sort which did not, for the most part, make it into imperial iconography.

The attack on the *princeps* in Ovid's treatment of the Porticus Liviae, the Porticus Octaviae, and the Theatrum Marcelli, the monuments connected to Augustus' real-world family, stood on factual and historical grounds. He invited the reader to contemplate monuments that had previously stood in the same locations as each of these Augustan projects. In contrast, the attack present in his treatment of the monuments connected to the divine lineage of the *princeps* invited the reader to think in mythological terms. This prong of the attack was rooted in mythological literature rather than in stone, although clearly some attention to the physical nature of the buildings was encouraged.

Through his poetry Ovid led his readers to consider these structures quite directly related to the *princeps* and his family, both mortal and divine, as statements of imperial hypocrisy. His careful exploitation of the physical, symbolic, and mythological details of each edifice served as a condemnation of Augustus and his legislation. If Ovid was not the "Tiphys and Automedon of Love," he certainly had his hand firmly on the rudder and reins of eloquent yet abrasive elegiac attack.[198]

[198] Ovid *AA* 1.8.

Chapter Three

OBLIQUE OVIDIAN ATTACKS, AND AN OVIDIAN OMISSION?

A. Oblique Ovidian Attacks

Introduction

The previous chapter explored the more overt references to the imperial family, both mortal and divine, in Ovid's presentation of the monuments. The focus of this chapter is an examination of those references that are less direct. Before proceeding any further, it makes sense to describe what is meant by an "oblique reference." The monuments analyzed in this chapter either do not have direct connections to the Augustan lineage or are associated with it in less direct ways. Whereas the structures described above were quite explicitly connected both to Augustus and a family member or divinity, those that will be examined in this chapter will require a greater degree of explication in order to reveal their potential significance to the poem's attack on Augustus and his legislation.

Specifically, the Portico of Pompey, the Temple of Isis, and the Horologium of Augustus will be discussed. Each of these monuments, while seemingly connected to the *princeps* on less significant levels than the monuments treated above, will be revealed to be of tantamount significance to those aforementioned structures. Themes of civil war, foreign luxury, and divine connection, on levels both spatial and temporal, will emerge.

I. The Portico of Pompey

The first of the sites Ovid suggested as a place to seek illicit unions was the Portico of Pompey: "*Tu modo Pompeia lentus spatiare sub umbra, / cum sol Herculei terga leonis adit.*"[199] This reference was both quick and loaded. The "Pompeian shade" was intended to refer to the Portico of Pompey, built by the *triumvir* in connection with his theater, and probably dedicated either in conjunction with the theater in 55 B.C.E. or along with the Temple of Venus Victrix 52 B.C.E.[200] Augustus restored the Theater of Pompey and presumably the attached portico without any inscription of his own name and apparently at a great price.[201] Thus, there is an immediate connection to Augustus not as the builder of the structure, but as its rebuilder. That he was proud of this renovation is clear from his recording of the enormity of its cost.

The other immediate reference in Ovid's presentation is to the time at which it would have been most beneficial for his readers to stroll in the portico. The mention of the "*sol Herculei terga leonis ad*[*ens*]" suggests of the rising of the constellation Leo, that is, the Nemean lion killed by Hercules.[202] Hollis points out that the sun entered the sign of Leo on approximately July 23rd, making the time mentioned by Ovid the hottest time

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[199] Ovid *AA* 1.67-68. "Only wander in a leisurely fashion beneath the Pompeian shade, / when the sun comes to the mane of the Herculean lion."
[200] Asc. *Pis.* 1 (Cf. Cic. *Ad Fam.* 15.1); Tac. *Ann.* 14.20; Dio 39.38.1-6. Cf. Richardson (1992), 318, 384. Richardson notes that "according to the common version," Pompey dedicated the theater in 55 B.C.E., in his 2nd consulship. Though Richardson places the dedication of the Porticus of Pompey in 52 B.C.E., he cites no evidence for this whatsoever. Most likely, he connects its dedication with that of the Temple of Venus Victrix, citing Gell. *NA* 10.1.7. For additional treatments of the complex, see Pierre Gros, "Porticus Pompei," in *LTUR* 4, 148-149; Gros, "Venus Victrix, Aedes," in *LTUR* 5, 120-121; Gros, "Theatrum Pompei," in *LTUR* 5, 35-38; Richardson, "A Note on the Architecture of the Theatrum Pompeii in Rome," *American Journal of Archaeology* 91 (1987), 123-126; Coarelli (2001), 342-345; Claridge, 214; Maria C. Gagliardo and James E. Packer, "A New Look at Pompey's Theater: History, Documentation, and Recent Excavation," *American Journal of Archaeology* 110 (2006), 93-122; James E. Packer, John Burge, and Maria C. Gagliardo, "Looking Again at Pompey's Theater: The 2005 Excavation Season," *American Journal of Archaeology* 111 (2007), 505-522.
[201] *RG* 20. Gros "Theatrum Pompei," *LTUR* 5, 36. Gros puts this restoration in 32 B.C.E.
[202] Ovid *AA* 1.68. "…the sun [coming] to the mane of the Herculean lion." See Hollis, 45.

of the year, when a walk in the shade might have been a good idea.[203] Citing Propertius, Richardson suggests that the area was planted with plane trees and was home to a number of fountains, features that would have made the portico a pleasant place to walk during the heat of the summer.[204] That the portico was a fashionable place to stroll is evident also from Cicero and Catullus, suggesting a continued popularity through half a century.[205] Martial suggested that this popularity was due to the availability of immoral women there: "*Cur* [*Lattara*] *nec Pompeia lentus spatiatur in umbra / …ne futuat.*"[206] Thus, literature spanning both genre and time attest both the general appeal of the place and its status as a *locus amoris*.

Such are the superficial details in Ovid's presentation of the portico. A monument restored by Augustus was a pleasant and fashionable place to walk during the heat of the summer and to meet women. While its portrayal as a *locus amoris* alone stood in defiance of the Julian laws, this attack is not of the same caliber as those seen in the previously discussed structures; however, a great deal more lies beneath the surface.

As the Portico of Pompey was connected with the Theater of Pompey and its Temple of Venus Victrix, there is an underlying connection to Venus. Because there had long been Senatorial opposition to the construction of a permanent theater in Rome, Pompey ingeniously placed a shrine at the top of the cavea and touted the structure as a temple dedicated to Venus Victrix with steps leading up to the shrine, steps that happened

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[203] Hollis, 45. The reference to the sun entering the constellation Leo will be further explored in reference to the Horologium Augusti later in this chapter.
[204] Prop. 2.32.11-16. Cf. Richardson (1992), 318.
[205] Cic. *Fat.* 8; Catull. 55.8; Prop. 4.8.75. Cf. Richardson (1992), 318.
[206] Mart. 11.47.3-4: "Why does Lattara not take a leisurely stroll in the Pompeian shade / …he does not want to have sex." Martial directly imitated Ovid here. His use of "spatiatur" and "Pompeia…umbra" are clearly quotations from *AA* 1.67.

to double as seats for a theater.[207] Thus, the portico attached to the theater was also attached to the Temple of Venus Victrix, although with the *cavea* and the *scaena* interposed between the two.[208] Of course, the association between Venus and Augustus has already been discussed in reference to the Temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum of Caesar. It is noteworthy that Caesar's original intention was to build a temple dedicated to Venus Victrix.[209] Thus, in presenting the Forum of Caesar (and indirectly its Temple of Venus Gentrix) and the Portico of Pompey (and indirectly its shrine to Venus Victix), Ovid provided his readers with references that allowed them to recall the rivalry between Caesar and Pompey.

The implications of this connection likely would have led Ovid's readers to the theme of civil war, a theme present in two structures discussed earlier. The conflict between the daughters of Danaus and the sons of Aegyptus implied in the poet's reference to the Portico of the Danaids and the conflict between the soldiers of Romulus and the fathers of their Sabine victims have already been explored and noted as references to wars between Caesar and Pompey as well as those between "Octavian" and Antony. Ovid's presentation of the Portico of Pompey and its attached temple in conjunction with that of Caesar's Temple of Venus Genetrix recalled and highlighted the theme of civil war between the two men. Such a reference also served to point to the more recent civil wars between "Octavian" and Antony.

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[207] Tert. *De Spect.* 10; Gell. *NA* 10.1.7. Cf. Platner and Ashby, 516; Richardson (1992), 384; Richardson (1987), 123. Gros notes the error of Gellius in referring to the temple as one dedicated to Victoria; further, he cites a grand tradition of such theater-temples ("Theatrum Pompei," *LTUR* 5, 120). See also Hanson, 43-55 (esp. 53-55). Hanson notes a possible parallel in design to the theater of Herculaneum. He also suggests that Plutarch's assertion (Plut. *Pomp.* 42) that the theater at Mytilene was a possible model must be left without validation.

[208] For porticoes attached to temples, cf. the Portico of the Danaids and the Temple of Apollo Palatinus. For porticoes attached to theaters, cf. the Porticus Octaviae and the Theatrum Marcelli. Note that these comparanda are also addressed in *Ars Amatoria* 1.

[209] Appian, *BC* 2.68.281. Cf. Hanson, 51; Ulrich, 67.

Of course, every civil war has a loser, and that person most frequently ends up dead. In his presentation of the Portico of Pompey, Ovid also urged his readers to recall the death of Caesar, an event that took place in the Curia attached to this very complex.[210] The intended purpose of such a recollection was twofold; first, it was a cutting comment in reference to the death of Augustus' adoptive father, and second, it was a statement on the mortality of the *princeps* and thus of his legislation. With respect to the first of these purposes, Boyle suggests that "under Pompey's shade" may have been an intentional jibe considering that Caesar was assassinated beneath a statue of the deceased Pompey.[211] That this was a double entendre is probable, considering Ovid's continual references to civil war—it was only fitting that he also address the outcome. As for the second of these purposes, the allusion to the murder of Caesar served as a grim reminder of the frequent fate of autocrats. Like father, like son. Just as Caesar and Pompey had engaged in civil war and both paid with their lives, so too had "Octavian" and Antony engaged in civil war, although, at least so far, only one was dead. Ovid took this opportunity to remind his readers, and probably the *princeps* himself, that even autocrats are mortal.

Thus, in mentioning the "Pompeian shade" as a place to look for love, Ovid not only assaulted Augustan moral legislation, but also exploited the portico's association with Venus. This not only made reference to the divine lineage of the *princeps*, but also recalled the rivalry between Caesar and Pompey, a rivalry that led to civil war. As the recollection of an earlier civil war surely served as a reminder of the more recent conflict between "Octavian" and Antony, the parallel between Caesar and Augustus was extended. The final result was a commentary on the mortality of leaders and thus their

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[210] Cic. *De Div.* 2.23; Plut. *Caes.* 66.1-2; Plut. *Brut.* 14.1-2. Cf. Richardson (1992), 104. With the number of sources confirming Caesar's death in this location, it seems beyond doubt.
[211] Suet. *Div. Iul*. 88; Dio 47.19; Plut. *Brut.* 14. Cf. Boyle, 177; Ulrich, 54.

legislation. Ovid was able to weave together all of these themes into a beautiful, tongue-in-cheek tapestry.

II. The Temple of Isis

The connection between the Temple of Isis and Augustus, although slightly more direct, is every bit as complicated. The poet advised his *discipulus amoris*: "*Nec fuge linigerae Memphitica templa iuvencae: / multas illa facit, quod fuit ipsa Iovi.*"[212] The "Memphitic temple" is one of Isis, whom the Romans often connected with Io.[213]

Ovid's mention of this structure raises two issues which do not pertain to Augustus himself. First, there is an Egyptian connection, and thsu the familiar association between the foreign and the depraved. Specifically, Hollis points to the less-than-wholesome reputation of Isis and her cult had in Rome, citing both Juvenal and Marital.[214] Juvenal wrote that he recalled one who "*fanum Isidis…celebrare soleba*[*t*]" where a woman frequently "*prostat.*"[215] Martial wrote in reference to the same Lattara mentioned above: "*Cur…/ nec petit Inachidos limina? Ne futuat.*"[216] Further, Catullus

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[212] Ovid *AA* 1.77-78. "Do not flee the Memphitic temple of the heifer clad in linen: / she herself makes many women what she herself was to Jove."

[213] Hollis, 47-48. Hollis notes that while "Herodotus (ii.59) had equated Isis with Demeter," "he recognized (ii.41) that Isis and Io had similar iconography…the identification with Io was established by the time of Callimachus."

[214] Hollis, 48.

[215] Juv. *Sat.* 9.22-24: "was accustomed to frequent the temple of Isis," "stood in front of," or "prostituted herself." The use of the verb "*prostat*" in this passage does not indicate that the women were actually involved in the practice of prostitution. Taken at its most basic level, the verb would simply mean "to stand in front of." Using such a loaded verb, however, seems to convey the relatively loose morals of the women who "stood in front of" the Temple of Isis. Though initiation into the cult of Isis required a period of sexual abstinence, the cult was rather popular with *hetairai*. See Walter Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 107. Burkert suggests that the attraction of *hetairai* to the cult bespeaks a "center that is veiled." See Burkert (1987) , 107. Perhaps the greatest connection between Isis and adultery was visible in the person of Cleopatra, who as will be noted below, associated herself with the goddess.

[216] Mart. 11.47.4. "Why… / does he not seek the threshold of the daughter of Inachus? He does not want to have sex." Just as Martial's presentation of the Portico of Pompey quotes Ovid, so too he may have had Ovid in mind in his presentation of the Temple of Isis be borrowed. He does, however, make use of entirely different vocabulary.

pointed to the neighboring Temple of Serapis as a place to seek lovers.[217] Clearly, then, there was in the Roman mind a connection between the worship of Isis and fairly loose morals.

The second major issue is adultery. If Isis and Io were linked in iconography and literature, then Ovid's audience would have recalled the story of Io, a story which the poet himself presented in his *Metamorphoses*.[218] Engaging in one of his many extramarital liaisons, Jupiter was nearly caught *in flagrante delicto* with Io, whom, as a result, he turned into a heifer and presented as a gift to Juno. Ovid's advice to pursue adulterous relationships at a temple dedicated to the subject of one of Jupiter's adulterous acts would have made a great deal of sense to his readers.

No indication of Augustan involvement has yet appeared on the radar; in fact, both Augustus and Agrippa took measures against the worship of Isis between 20 and 18 B.C.E., as Tiberius did later.[219] In 43 B.C.E., according to Cassius Dio, the *triumviri* had vowed a temple of Isis and Serapis in the Campus Martius.[220] Thus, Augustus was as responsible for the construction of Isis' temple as he was for the eventual repression of her cult. As was the case in his decision to display statues of the Danaids a decade before introducing legislation on strong, near-compulsory, marriages, a wavering *princeps* is implied here. By the time Ovid wrote the *Ars Amatoria*, Augustus had already taken

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[217] Cat. 10.26. Cf. Mart. 2.14.7. Cf. Richardson (1992), 211. Catullus' reference to the area as one frequented by those seeking romantic dalliances indicates the erotic status of the site before Ovid's time.
[218] Ovid *Met.* 1.588-750.
[219] On Augustus' attempts to repress the cult of Isis, see Dio 53.2.4. On Agrippa's attempts, see Dio 54.6.6. On Tiberius' efforts, see Tac. *Ann*. 2.85 and Suet. *Tib*. 36.1. Cf. Hollis, 48; Galinsky (1996), 190.
[220] Dio 47.15.4. For the historical topography of the Temple of Isis, see Richardson (1992), 211-212; Platner and Ashby, 283-285; Filippo Coarelli, "Iseum et Serapeum in Campo Martio; Isis Campensis," in *LTUR*, vol. 3, ed. Eva Margareta Steinby (Rome: Quasar, 1996), 107-109; R. A. Wild, "The Known Isis-Serapis Sanctuaries from the Roman Period," in *Aufstieg und Niedgergang der Römischen Welt II*, vol. 17, no. 4 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), 1811-1813; Anne Roulett, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 23-35; Coarelli (2001), 315; Claridge, 179-180, 207.

measures to repress a cult in whose institution he had been involved. Again, for the savvy reader who would have recalled that Augustus had in fact brought the cult of Isis to Rome, the poet managed to present the man responsible for moral legislation as once having been tied to immoral activity. In addition, the poet managed to portray the emperor as a shape-shifter. Finally, the poet managed to suggest the possibility that moral legislation might be a fad.

Further, as with any reference, subliminal or direct, to the activities of Augustus during the triumviral period, there was also the hint of civil war. After all, "Octavian" voted for the temple's construction in conjunction with his subsequent rival, Antony. Such a hint is only bolstered by Ovid's decision to present a temple devoted to an Egyptian goddess, possibly invoking a memory of Cleopatra, who had associated herself with the goddess. If readers had made the connection between Isis and Cleopatra, a link to Antony would have immediately followed.[221]

Once again, Ovid put on public display all the skeletons in the imperial closet. He seems to have encouraged his readers to connect the creator of moral legislation to a site presented repeatedly in literature as among the least wholesome sites in the city of Rome. This was a very real association in the sense that Augustus was involved with the construction of the temple and that the temple was a known *locus amoris*. It is also a more figurative and mythological association in that Isis was connected with Io, a famous participant in an adulterous act. The presentation of the monument also played upon the repeated theme of foreign luxury and alluded to the civil war brought on after the

[221] For the association between Cleopatra and Isis, see Kleiner, 10, 27. Kleiner suggests that Cleopatra appeared in public dressed as Isis. See Kleiner, 38. Plut. *Ant.* 54.6 suggests that "when she appeared publicly, she wore a robe sacred to Isis, and was addressed as the New Isis." After this moment (the so-called "Donations of Alexandria" in 34 B.C.E.), Cleopatra apparently refused to appear publicly without her Isis garb.

dissolution of the Second Triumvirate. The hint of civil war in the reference would have also called to the reader's mind Cleopatra and Antony, and thus the act of adultery committed against Octavia. All told, Ovid's presentation of the Temple of Isis, although rather oblique, is among the most complex and systematic assaults on the *princeps* and the *leges Iuliae*.

III. The Horologium Augusti

Among the most obscure but most significant portrayals of Augustan monuments in the first book of the *Ars Amatoria* is that of the Horologium Augusti. Ovid did not refer directly to the monument, but the Horologium was tied to expressions of time present in the poem. Ovid instructed his reader: "*Nec te praetereat Veneri ploratus Adonis, / cultaque Iudaeo septima sacra Syro.*"[222] The first phrase suggests an annual event. Apollodorus related that the year was divided into parts in connection with Adonis' descent to the arms of Proserpina and his return to Venus.[223] The association of Adonis, Venus, and Proserpina, then, connected him to fertility and the cycle of the seasons. His link to Proserpina would place the time for his festival, at which women mourned his departure, in the late summer, before the arrival of autumn and the death of vegetation.[224] In connection with the Portico of Pompey, the poet noted the entrance of the sun into the sign of Leo, pointing to the time around or after July 23rd, a date not far from the celebration of the Adonea.[225] The second of the temporal references, to the seventh day, was obviously suggestive of a weekly event.

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[222] Ovid *AA* 1.75-76. "Let Adonis mourning for Venus not pass you by, / nor the seventh day held sacred by the Syrian Jew."
[223] Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.4.
[224] Lucian *Syr. D.* 6. Cf. Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion,* trans. John Raffan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 177.
[225] Ovid *AA* 68.

Thus, these lines seem to have been indications of time. Regarding the rising of Leo, C. J. Simpson notes that the Horologium of Augustus, dedicated in 10 B.C.E. had placed around its *gnomon* the signs of the Zodiac.[226] It would make sense that the vast open area occupied by the sundial, just to the west of the Ara Pacis, "was familiar to every contemporary denizen of Rome, including the quite observant Ovid."[227] With reference to the festival of Adonis and the "*cultaque Iudaeo septima sacro Syro*," however, Simpson suggests the concept of place rather than of time, citing lines on either side that refer strictly to location.[228] Notably, however, there are also allusions to the concept of place surrounding the apparently temporal mention of the rising of Leo. Simpson seems to treat the concepts of time and space as mutually exclusive at lines 75-76. However, cross-applying the same analysis he provided in reference to line 68, both concepts may be brought together at one site: the Horologium Augusti. Thus, the concepts of time and space as they apply to the Horologium need not be taken seperately; rather, Ovid's inclusion of temporal references bespoke also the site at which time was measured.

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[226] According to Pliny (*NH* 36.72), the work of a Greek mathematician named Novius Facundus. See also C. J. Simpson, "'Unexpected' References to the *Horologium Augusti* at Ovid *Ars Amatoria* 1, 68 and 3, 388," *Athenaeum* 80 (1992), 478. Simpson is drawing largely on the work of Edmund Buchner, who began his analysis of the site in 1976. Buchner's work revealed a part of the western strip of the sundial inlaid in the pavement. The names of the constellations *parth*[*enos*], [*kri*]*os*, [*le*]*on*, and *taur*[*os*] were found, along with indications of the months of September, April, August, and May. See Edmund Buchner, "Solarium Augusti und Ara Pacis," *Römische Mitteilungen* 83 (1976), 319-365; Buchner, "Horologium Solarium Augusti: Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen 1979/80," *Römische Mitteilungen* 87 (1980), 355-373; Buchner, *Die Sonnenuhr des Augustus* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1982). In all of these works, Buchner goes into considerable detail, producing a number of maps and diagrams which suggest a relationship between the Horologium and the Ara Pacis. His most recent publication on the Horologium is "Horologium Augusti," in *LTUR* 3, 35-37. See also M. Schütz, "Zur Sonnenuhr des Augustus af dem Marsfeld," *Gymnasium* 97 (1990), 432-457. For a more concise technical treatment with added emphasis on the cosmic nature of the monument, see Paul Rehak, *Imperium and Cosmos: Augustus and the Northern Campus Martius*, ed. John G. Younger (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 62-95.

[227] Simpson (1992), 478.

[228] Ovid *AA* 1.76: "the seventh day held sacred by the Syrian Jew," C. J. Simpson, "The *Adonea* on the Palatine in the Age of Augustus: Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 1. 75-76," *Athenaeum* 75 (1987), 245.

That Augustus likely meant the public to see the dimensions of time and space brought together at the Horologium Augusti is perhaps suggested by the fact that this feat was only possible during the reign of the *princeps*. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill suggests that the correlation of the solar and civil calendars only became possible after Caesar had altered the civil calendar by removing control of it from "priestly politicians."[229] However, due to an error on the part of Caesar's scientists, only after Augustus introduced the leap year in 8 B.C.E. was the synchronization of the solar and civil years possible. Further, according to Buchner's research, which Wallace-Hadrill accepts, Augustus had designed the complex in such a way that the shadow cast by the *gnomon* on his birthday darkened the entrance to the enclosure of the Ara Pacis.[230] That the *princeps* intended the monument to draw together the concepts of time and space is clear, and if Augustus meant for this to be noted by the public, Ovid was likely only too willing to exploit it.

Further, the times indicated at lines 75-76 refer to foreign concepts. Adonis was, according to Apollodorus and Lucian, an Eastern figure.[231] The mention of the "Syrian Jew" is surely another reference to the East. These foreign holy days, characterized by Eastern depravity, could have been taken by the reader as being indicated by a monumental timepiece of Augustus. Further, the poet regarded these days as times of opportunity for the pursuit of illicit unions. The extension of this line of reasoning is that a sundial provided for the public by the emperor himself could be used as a sort of "erotic

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[229] Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "Time for Augustus: Ovid, Augustus, and the Fasti," in *Homo Viator: Classical Essays for John Bramble*, eds. Michael Whitby, Philip Hardie, and Mary Whitby (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1987), 224.
[230] Ibid., 224-225.
[231] Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.4; Lucian *Syr. D.* 6. Cf. Burkert (1985), 177.

clock" in the amorous Roman's efforts to determine the best times for the pursuit of such rendezvous as well as perhaps a suitable place to pursue them.

Beyond the ability of this Augustan monument to indicate dates associated with foreign immorality, the monument itself contained one important foreign element: the obelisk. Augustus brought the obelisk that served as the *gnomon* for the Horologium to Rome at the same time as that which was placed on the *spina* of the Circus Maximus. According to Pliny and Ammianus Marcellinus, the obelisk was brought from Heliopolis in Egypt.[232] As noted earlier, Egyptian connections for Roman readers would have connoted impropriety and would have recalled for the reader Cleopatra, Antony, their acts of adultery, and civil war.

Because obelisks were associated with the sun, there was also a link to Apollo. Tertullian noted that "*obelisci enormitas…Soli prostitu*[*it*]."[233] Because Apollo was also connected with Sol, and sometimes even conflated with him, the obelisk of the Horologium bespoke the connection between Augustus, who set up the obelisk, and Apollo, to whom it was sacred. Thus, Ovid's subtle reference to the Horologium again suggests the connection between the *princeps* and Apollo.

The presence of the obelisk's—and thus Augustus'—aforementioned associations with Egypt, Antony, Cleopatra, and Apollo is confirmed by the inscription on the obelisk's base, presumably written or at least approved by the *princeps* himself. The inscription noted that Augustus "*Aegypto in potestatem populi Romani Redacta Soli*

[232] Pliny *NH* 36.71; Amm. Marc. 17.4.12. Immediately after his note on the origins of the obelisk, Pliny (*NH* 36.73) notes that it had not worked for thirty years prior to his writing of the *Natural Histories*.
[233] Tert. *De spect.* 8: "the enormity of an obelisk…is exposed for Sol."

donum dedit."[234] The people of Rome certainly would have been able to view the *gnomon* of the Horologium as symbolic of Augustus' victory over Antony, which was the outcome of civil war, and also of the connection between the *princeps* and the sun god Apollo, an association reinforced in the connection between the emperor's Palatine residence and the Temple of Apollo Palatinus.

Once more Ovid seems to have subtly linked Augustus with foreign depravity and referred to the desire of the *princeps* to associate himself with Apollo. Further, by means of the connections between obelisks and Egypt, the poet included subliminal references to the treacherous and immoral events from the time of Caesar's death through the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra at Actium. All of this is accomplished in the presentation of a place by the employment of the concept of time. Thus, the poet also suggested that "free love" not only triumphed against moral legislation in the public spaces of Rome, but also did so at various times. The temporal imagery employed by Ovid presented the power of love as continuous and elevated the poem from a static work to "poetry in motion."

Conclusions

In his more subtle assaults on Augustus and his moral legislation, Ovid has proven himself every bit as savvy as in those that could be classified as more overt. In presenting the Portico of Pompey, he again played upon the Julian connection to Venus, although in this case, he brought to the attention of his reader the themes of civil war and its outcomes to a greater degree than in his presentation of the Temple of Venus Genetrix. In presenting the Temple of Isis, the poet again took the opportunity to expose Augustus as subject to foreign degeneracy and a lack of resolution that ultimately served to

[234] *CIL* 6.702=*ILS* 91: "gave [it] as a gift to the Sun with Egypt having been brought under the power of the Roman people." Claridge, 192; Richardson (1992), 272; Ernest Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Vol. 2 (New York and Washington: Praeger Books, 1968), 134-136.

condemn the *leges Iuliae* as impermanent. In his most oblique reference to the Horologium Augusti, he accomplished many of the same ends while at the same time pointing back to the Augustan-Apolline link and presenting the force of love as one which transcended boundaries of both space and time.

Clearly, however, his more indirect condemnations of the *princeps* depended entirely upon the associations he encouraged his readers to make in his more direct references. After all, his indirect reference to Venus via the Portico of Pompey would not have been complete without the more obvious reference to the Temple of Venus Genetrix. His presentation of the Temple of Isis, while it stood reasonably well on its own, was bolstered by his other suggestions of the impurity of Egypt. Similarly, the picture Ovid painted of the Horologium Augusti would not have been complete without the poem's other Egyptian evocations and his earlier references to Apollo. Likewise, each of these more oblique allusions supported those which were quite clearly linked to the mortal and divine lineages of Augustus, making Ovid's overall condemnation of the *princeps* and his legislation all the more robust and intense.

B. An Ovidian Omission?

Introduction

Considering the scrutiny to which Ovid has subjected the Augustan building program thus far, it is apparent that he has omitted a great many structures in the *Ars Amatoria*. Augustus claims to have simply restored 82 temples in addition to those he built himself; all told, Ovid has presented only four temples, leaving 78 without mention. Not all of the structures built or restored by Augustus are of sufficient importance or

characterized by a notable presence of individuals in the pursuit of romance to earn mention in the poem. Has Ovid neglected to mention some structures of great significance? On the surface, it seems that he has. Several monuments of which Augustus was most proud seem not to have made it into the text of the first book of the *Ars Amatoria*. Most notably, Ovid did not mention the Forum of Augustus and its Temple of Mars Ultor—at least not explicitly.[235] Considering the subtlety characteristic of his reference to some monuments, did he in fact fail to present even a trace of this monument? In the pages that follow, the apparent omission of the complex will be addressed. Ultimately, the poet did include reference to the forum and its temple, although in a way unlike his presentations of other monuments in the poem. The means by which he did so will be examined.

Further, the possible motives for the seemingly obvious omission of the *princeps*' most pride-inspiring monument will be addressed. Ovid must have had some reason for apparently failing to mention a monument of tantamount or even paramount importance to those discussed earlier in this chapter. The analysis of this seemingly massive omission will yield a picture of a poet who knew how to offend the emperor most gravely and who had a very clear vision when he wrote these lines.[236]

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[235] Arguably, at least in the opinion of modern readers of the poem, the Ara Pacis Augustae seems a major omission. However, the significance of this monument to readers of Ovid's time was likely minimal. Further, the fragmentary nature of its remaining iconographical features (which has led to enormous speculation and debate amongst scholars) makes it uncomfortable to address the monument in these pages.

[236] What follows primarily draws on both the historical and topographical data available as well as on my interpretation of the *Ars Amatoria* and other works. While there is a great deal of information available on each of these, no studies have been conducted regarding what Ovid might have omitted or intended to be seen as omitted in the *Ars Amatoria* and the reasons behind such possible oversights. For a parallel study on possible omissions in the *Tristia*, see Samuel J. Huskey, "Ovid's (Mis)guided Tour of Rome: Some Purposeful Omissions in Tr. 3.1," *Classical Journal* 102, (October-November, 2006), 17-39.

I. The Temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum of Augustus

One of the structures most associated with Augustus' public image was the complex of the Temple of Mars Ultor. Ovid's description in the *Fasti* of the temple and the Forum of Augustus in which it was situated suggest that this was a complex of great significance and repute within the city of Rome from the last decade of the 1st century B.C.E. onward.[237] While the Temple of Apollo Palatinus may have been one of his most awe-inspiring constructions, the Temple of Mars Ultor more directly put on display the image the *princeps* wanted to convey to his subjects. The structure, vowed on the eve of the Battle of Philippi in 42 B.C.E. but not dedicated until 2 B.C.E., represented nearly the entire span of Augustus' career—indeed his transformation from "Octavian," member of a ruling body of three, into Augustus, the sole ruler of the Roman world.[238] The temple became the home of the Parthian standards lost by Crassus and recovered by Augustus, drawing particular attention to the structure as one of Roman pride.[239]

The Forum of Augustus was home to a sculptural program which, as noted above, included not only depictions of Aeneas fleeing Troy with Anchises on his shoulder and Ascanius at his side, but also images of Venus, Julius Caesar, and of course, Mars.[240] J. Anderson, citing Ovid and corroborating the poet's description with archaeological evidence, suggests that the Julian connection to Aeneas and Venus was present in one hemicycle of the forum while the Romulean connection stood in the opposite hemicycle:

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[237] Ovid *Fast.* 551-568.
[238] Suet. *Div. Aug.* 29.2; Ovid *Fast.* 5.569-578. Cf. Richardson (1992), 160; Platner and Ashby, 220.
[239] As noted above, it is likely that the standards were first placed in the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitoline and then housed in a smaller Temple of Mars Ultor dedicated on the Capitoline on May 12 of 20 B.C.E. prior to being placed in the Forum of Augustus. For the early placement of the standards, see J. Anderson, 67-68. For the dedication of the smaller Temple of Mars on the Capitolone, see Richardson (1992), 160. For the transfer to the Forum of Augustus, see J. Anderson, 68 and Frederick Shipley's note to *RG* 29 in the Loeb edition.
[240] Richardson (1992), 161-162; J. Anderson, 80-81.

Ultor ad ipse suos caelo descendit honores
templaque in Augusto conspicienda foro.
Et deus et ingens et opus: debebat in urbe
non aliter nati Mars habitare sui…
Hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere caro
et tot Iuleae nobilitatis avos:
hinc videt Iliaden humeris ducis arma ferentem
claraque dispositis acta subesse viris.[241]

The sculptural program of the Forum Augustum and the divine associations depicted therein must have been widely known in Ovid's time. Further, the dedication of the temple in 2 B.C.E. puts its completion before that of the *Ars Amatoria*, giving the poet an opportunity to exploit the associations present in its iconography in his elegiac attack. The poet exploited each of these connections in his presentation of the other monuments in the poem.

Why, then, is the Temple of Mars Ultor seemingly omitted? The answer: it is not omitted. The last reference in Ovid's tour of the monuments of Rome is to the Naumachia, located at the base of the Janiculum.[242] The structure was built in connection with the dedication ceremony of the Temple of Mars Ultor in 2 B.C.E.[243] The spectacle presented there was a reenactment of the Battle of Salamis and involved, according to the *Res Gestae*, thirty ships, a figure which included triremes, biremes, and smaller vessels

[241] Ovid *Fast.* 5.551-554, 5.563-566: "The Avenger himself comes down from the sky to see his own honors / and his temple in the Forum of Augustus. / Both the god and the shrine are huge; / Mars ought not live otherwise in the city of his son… / On this side he sees Aeneas, weighed down by his dear burden, / and so many noble Julian ancestors: / on the other side he sees Romulus bearing the arms of a conquered leader on his shoulders, / and the noble acts are present beneath the men placed in arrangement." Cf. J. Anderson, 80-81. For additional topographical treatments of the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum Augustum, see J. Anderson, 65-100, Valentin Kockel, "Forum Augustum," in *LTUR* 2, 289-295; Lugli (1966), 258-269; Paul Zanker, *Forum Augustum: das Bildprogram* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1968), 1-36; Coarelli (2001), 128-134; Claridge, 158-160.
[242] Ovid *AA* 1.171-176; Richardson (1992), 265; Platner and Ashby, 357.
[243] Vell. Pater. 2.100.1. Cf. Richardson (1992), 265; Platner and Ashby, 357. Though admittedly not much scholarly ink has been spilled on the subject, for additional information on the historical topography of the Naumachia, see Anna Maria Liberati, "Naumachia Augusti," in *LTUR* 3, 337; Coarelli (2001), 430-431.

containing over 3,000 men.[244] Notably, the *Res Gestae* devoted more space to the description of this event than even to the construction of the Temple of Apollo Palatinus and the Temple of Mars Ultor.[245] Augustus was clearly quite impressed with his achievement in the construction of the Naumachia, perhaps in part due to the impressive nature of the events which took place within the structure.

Still, the Temple of Mars Ultor was surely a structure that was more important to Augustus than an arena designed to host sea-battles and constructed, almost as an afterthought, solely to be used in the dedication of the temple. Further, this temple so closely connected with Augustus' iconography and self-image was dedicated at a date so close to Ovid's publication of the poem that it begged to be addressed by a crafty poet willing to rock the imperial boat and was writing for an audience with the dedication of the temple fresh in their minds. Why, then, did Ovid mention the Naumachia rather than the more important temple and forum to which it was connected? That he did so in the *Tristia* is suggested by Huskey; in Ovid's tour of the Forum Romanum, not a single structure built by Caesar or Augustus is mentioned, though their omission seems to leave obvious gaps for the reader.[246] Ovid seems to do the same in his earlier *Ars Amatoria* in choosing to mention the Naumachia rather than the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum of Augustus. There are several possible motivations for this.

Beginning with the most obvious interpretation, perhaps the Naumachia was simply a better place for lusty Roman males to go in search of female accompaniment. Considering their prominence in lines 67 through 176 of the poem, entertainment structures seem to have been popular *loci amoris.* However, the role of the Naumachia

[244] Hollis, 63; *RG* 23.
[245] Cf. *RG* 19 and *RG* 21.
[246] Huskey, 18.

specifically as an erotic venue is attested nowhere.[247] Considering the depth with which the poet encouraged his readers to consider the other monuments in the poem, such a simplistic motivation cannot have been the only one.

A second possibility: Ovid was employing another entertainment structure for the sake of *variatio*. Up until his reference to the Naumachia, the poet had mentioned four porticoes (those of Livia, Octavia, Pompey, and the Danaids), four temples (those of Venus Genetrix, Apollo Palatinus, Venus Victrix, and Isis), and only three entertainment complexes (the Theater of Marcellus, the Circus Maximus, and the Theater of Pompey). While these three types of structures in the poem presented in a relatively well-balanced fashion seem to have indicated a seemingly ubiquitous presence of available Roman women, could Ovid have been so concerned with adding the Naumachia in order to have a fourth entertainment structure as to omit the Temple of Mars Ultor? While the addition of the Temple itself may have made Ovid's tour of the monuments a bit temple-heavy, it seems unlikely that the Temple of Mars Ultor, that structure of which Augustus was so proud, would have been the monument on the proverbial chopping block. Ovid surely would not have passed up an opportunity to strike such a significant blow at the *princeps* merely for the sake of variety.

The remaining three possibilities seem more convincing. First, to go into the amount of detail necessary to treat a monument so important to Augustus and so recently constructed would have required a great deal more poetic space than the reference to the Naumachia. The result would have been the marginalization of the closely preceding reference to Romulus and the rape of the Sabine women. Even with the statue and

[247] Indeed, as noted, practically no details regarding the Naumachia or the events which took place within are attested anywhere.

pedimental sculpture of Romulus in the complex of the Forum of Augustus, the connection to the famous rape would have been secondary; in his lengthy account of the events that took place in the Circus Maximus, on the other hand, the poet brought this condemnable event to the fore. The symbolic significance of the presentation of the rape has been discussed, but one point bears repeating. If Ovid was in fact writing a poetic assault on the *leges Iuliae*, the most powerful weapon in his arsenal was the connection between rape and marriage that stemmed from the link between Augustus and Romulus via the Circus Maximus.

Thus, had Ovid chosen to present the figure of Romulus in the Forum of Augustus rather than—or even in conjunction with—the story of his rape of the Sabine women in the Circus Maximus, the positive nature of the forum's iconography would have eliminated or obscured the negative association between Romulus and Augustus he sought to present. Notable as well is the fact that Romulus was among statues of *summi viri*, many of whom, as J. Anderson has noted, were figures not only associated with the virtue of strength, but also those of piety and religious observance.[248] Similarly, the presentation of Venus on the temple's pediment was not associated with the concept of civil war to the same degree as in Ovid's presentation of both Caesar's Temple of Venus Genetrix and the Portico of Pompey, connected to the latter's shrine to Venus Victrix. While Ovid allowed his readers to juxtapose the negative implications of Augustan genealogical associations in all of the other monuments with the positive iconography of the Forum of Augustus and its temple, he did so in a fashion indirect enough that he allowed these readers to have some ownership over such a consideration. He did so by encouraging the reader to take the extra step of considering the Forum of Augustus

[248] J. Anderson, 83-84.

secondarily through his presentation of the Naumachia. He also removed the possibility that he could be seen as reinforcing the positive iconography, something he did later in the *Fasti*, perhaps in an effort to placate the *princeps*.

Throughout his tour of the monuments, Ovid presented a series of phases that Augustus seems to have gone through in public displays of his divine and legendary ancestry. The *princeps* associated himself with different aspects of this ancestry at different times. Before the rise of "Octavian," the Julian *gens* had chosen to emphasize their connection to Venus over that to Apollo. After the battle of Philippi, Augustus chose to associate himself more with Apollo and Mars. Closer to the time of the publication of the poem, however, Augustus sought more to connect himself to Romulus, who of course also evoked connections to both Venus and Mars. The presentation of Romulus in lines 101 through 163 makes up the bulk of Ovid's tour. To allot as much space as would have been necessary to describe the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum of Augustus could have jeopardized the emphasis Ovid wished to place on Augustus' more recent affiliation, and the one which proved most useful to his assault on the Julian laws. Further, even if he had noted the presence of the statue of Romulus within the Forum Augustum, he would have run the risk of reinforcing positive imperial propaganda and the role of Romulus amongst the *summi viri*, models of Roman virtue.

Though this possibility is a good one, the last is as likely a reason for the poet's substitution of the Naumachia for the Temple of Mars Ultor, though not to the exclusion of those possible reasons already mentioned. Considering that the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum of Augustus had been a project that spanned nearly the entire career of the *princeps* and one designed to display his qualities to the public iconographically, perhaps

Ovid's mention of a lesser monument was intended as a blow to the imperial ego. Here one must assume that Augustus himself had a knowledge of Ovid's tour of the monuments in the *Ars Amatoria*, an assumption backed by Ovid's own description in the *Tristia* of his having paid the "*quas meruit poenas*" for it and his reference to the "*principis ira*," and an emperor potentially soothed by his present work.[249] If Augustus did in fact have such a knowledge, enraged though he may have been at the poet's depiction of the monuments mentioned in lines 67 through 170 of the first book, one can imagine him waiting for Ovid's reference to that temple of which the *princeps* was most proud. Ovid's decision to forego an elaborate description of the Temple of Mars Ultor and its associated forum would have been a disappointment for Augustus in that even the use of the monument towards a politically subversive end would have acknowledged its significance in the Roman cityscape and thus in the Roman mind.[250] While Augustus may have been relieved that his most significant architectural accomplishment avoided treatment in Ovid's poem, its omission—and thus lack of acknowledgement—may have served to wound the *princeps*' ego.

Even an oblique reference to the Temple of Mars, through mention of the Naumachia, came only at the very end of the poet's erotic tour of the monuments of Rome. Ovid kept his readers, including Augustus, waiting for a mention of the temple and the Forum of Augustus, and thus all readers would have read the substitution of the

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[249] Ovid *Trist*. 1.68, 1.33, and 1.30: "the deserved penalty," and "the anger of the *princeps*." All of these expressions of the Augustus' anger and the penalties paid by Ovid deal explicitly with the *carmen* rather than the poet's *error*.

[250] In contrast, the poet's considerable reference to the Forum Augustum and the Temple of Mars Ultor in the *Tristia*, written in exile and intended to soothe the *princeps*, both very clearly pointed to Ovid's recognition of the complex as important and also emphasize the positive associations of Augustus. See again Ovid *Trist.* 5.551-568. Huskey notes that increased references to monuments positively connected to Augustus are countered by the omission of more Caesarian monuments in *Tristia* 3, monuments which would have pointed more to Caesar (and thus would have made visible the theme of civil war presented above) and possibly overshadowed Augustan accomplishment. See Huskey, 20-25.

Naumachia for the temple at this late point in the tour as sarcastic, and the emperor himself would have found it a grave disappointment. In delaying even an oblique reference to the Forum of Augustus and its Temple of Mars Ultor, the poet perhaps allowed his readers to make the connection between the positive iconography in this complex and the negative connotations of the other referenced monuments at the conclusion of his tour, adding emphasis to his overall attack on the *princeps* and his legislation.

Thus, the poet did not in fact omit the Temple of Mars Ultor, but rather referred to it in an extraordinarily muted fashion. Although the poet certainly could have drawn more attention to this monument, he most likely saw this as exactly what the *princeps* would have anticipated and wanted, even in a state of rage. Instead, he chose to make his excursus on the rape of the Sabine women all the more powerful by his quasi-omission of a magnificent work, the completion of which coincided with the greater part of Augustus' public life and also associated him with Romulus in all of the positive ways depicted in the complex's iconography.

Conclusions

Thus, the apparent omission of the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum Augustum may not have been omissions at all. To explicitly mention the complex would have required a great deal of poetic space and might have weakened the rest of the poet's attack. Further, such an explicit reference would have repeated Augustan connections already exploited by Ovid. Last, the poet's substitution of the Naumachia for the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum of Augustus could have been intended as a blow against the imperial ego. Lastly, Ovid's apparent omission of the Temple of Mars Ultor perhaps

allowed the reader to focus clearly on his presentation of Romulus and the rape of the Sabine women in the Circus Maximus, whereas the inclusion of the temple and its forum would have allowed the reader to consider the virtues of Rome's first king present in the complex's decoration. Clearly, then, what Ovid seems to have left out of the poem is every bit as important as what he put into the work.

Chapter Four

CONCLUSIONS

In his presentation of monuments in the first book of the *Ars Amatoria*, Ovid always looked to what came before. In the case of monuments connected with Augustus' mortal family, what came before were very tangible, real-world structures that served to highlight in the poem the hypocrisy of the *princeps* and his *leges Iuliae*. The destruction of the house of Vedius Pollio, the Portico of Metellus, and the Temple of Pietas connected Augustus with the ideologies embedded in the stones of these edifices. In the case of monuments connected with Augustus' divine or legendary lineage, what came before were stories of gods and mortals that bespoke adultery, civil war, and murder. Although Augustus sought to associate himself only with the positive aspects of those mythical figures to whom he was connected, Ovid encouraged his readers to associate Augustus with the negative aspects as well, or even instead. As for those monuments to which Ovid referred more obliquely, the complexity of their associations with Augustus and his regime served to underscore the same hypocrisy illuminated in his more overt treatments. Finally, Ovid creatively employed one monument seemingly omitted in his elegiac attack. This omission was an assault on the imperial ego and also eliminated any possibility that a positive aspect of Augustus might sneak into Ovid's poem.

Ovid managed to draw the reader's attention to the complexities of Augustan monumental connections and the official iconography associated with the *princeps*. This surely led his audience to focus on Augustus' lineage, a genealogy that the emperor

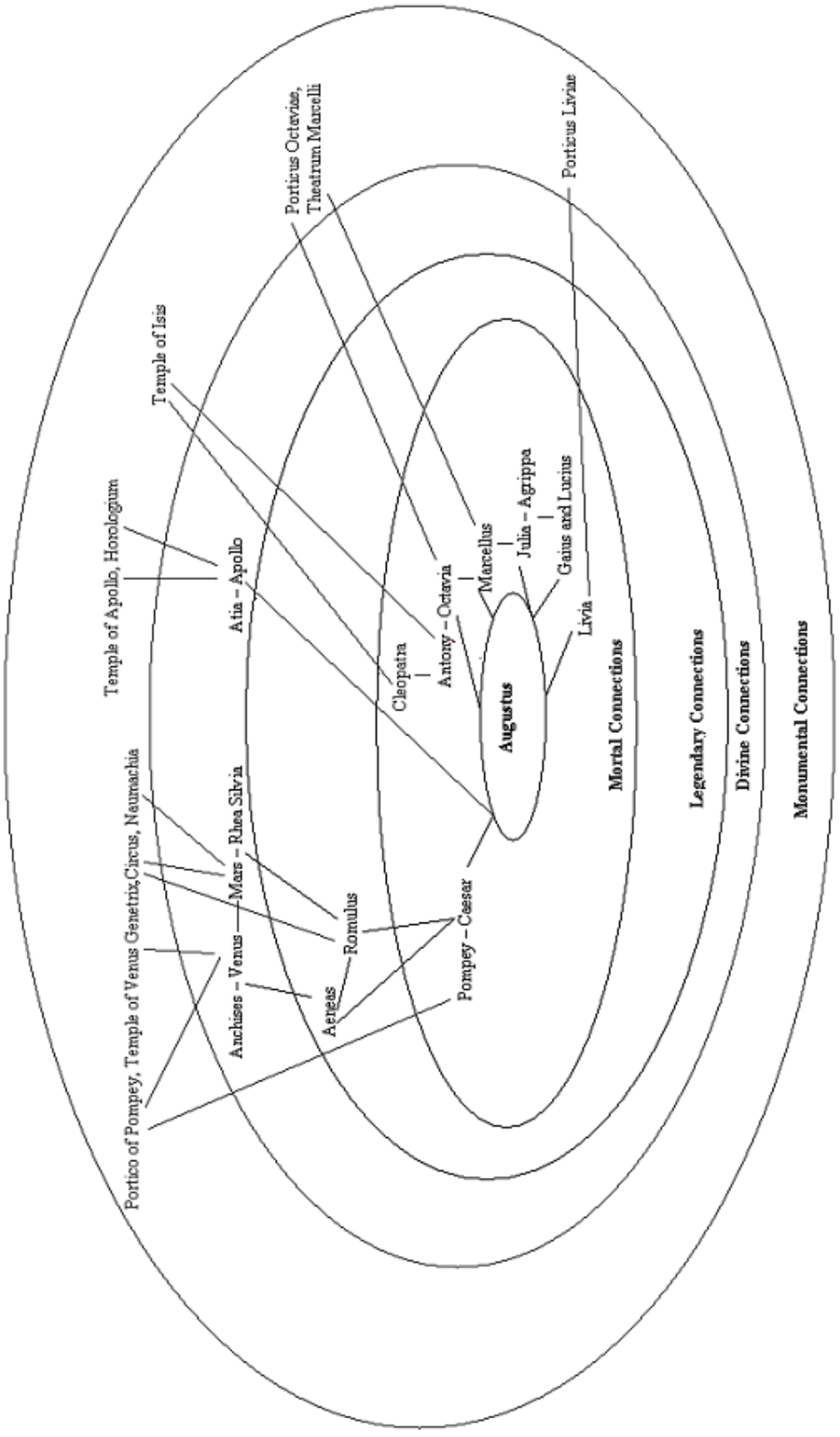
expressed in stone. Of course, Ovid did not invent such intricacies; Augustus himself had already done so at various times throughout his career and most prominently in the building of the Temples of Apollo and Mars. What Ovid did invent was a poetic rendering of Augustan associations that conveyed to his audience their complexities and their negative and hypocritical implications. The result was an erotic tour of the monuments of Augustan Rome that displayed to all the tangled web that Augustus had woven in an effort to make his subjects believe that his moral legislation was divinely guided and was practiced within his own family.

Ovid's tour of the monuments revealed the instability of marriages within the imperial family as well as the numerous acts of adultery that had plagued it. On the mythological level, each of Augustus' divine connections was adulterous, and Romulus equated rape and marriage. Many of the figures associated with the monuments were connected to the very sort of foreign depravity the *princeps* purportedly sought to eradicate in his "re-founding" of Rome.

A graphical representation of the *princeps*' convoluted family connections, mortal and divine, and their links to Augustan building will lend assistance in unraveling the web of deceit woven by Augustus and brilliantly exposed in the first book of Ovid's poem.[251] The *Ars Amatoria* itself may be taken as evidence that Augustus was not able to successfully fool his subjects into recognizing only the positive elements of his genealogical connections. This graphical representation, working from Augustus outward, traces the mortal, legendary, and divine associations of the *princeps* to their portrayal in Augustan structures on Ovid's tour.

[251] See Figure 1 on the next page.

Figure 1


Portico of Pompey, Temple of Venus Genetrix, Circus, Naumachia
Temple of Apollo, Horologum
Temple of Isis
Portico Octaviae, Theatrum Marcelli
Portico Liviae
Anchises – Venus
Mars – Rhea Silvia
Atia – Apollo
Aeneas
Romulus
Pompey – Caesar
Cleopatra
Antony – Octavia
Marcellus
Julia – Agrippa
Gaius and Lucius
Livia
Augustus
Mortal Connections
Legendary Connections
Divine Connections
Monumental Connections

Ovid may have intended the reader's task of decoding the complexities of Augustus' genealogical connections—and indeed his own presentation of these associations—to be a difficult one. This difficulty served to reinforce the poet's aim of compelling his readers to view the *princeps* in a less than positive light. The decoding of such complexities ultimately would have led the reader to see Augustus as impossible and false, attempting to present an image of himself as superhuman in an effort to portray his legislation as unquestionable. Ovid saw all of this as transparent and inspired his diligent readers to do the same.

The task of unraveling this web was only possible by considering lines 67 though 176 as a whole. The reader's initial experience would have been quite different. The thematic grouping of monuments in this study does not follow the order of their mention in the poem. Now that the web of connections has been explored in a thematic study of the monuments, a consideration of how the readers of the poem would have encountered them should be considered. Why did Ovid not group the monuments thematically? As has been argued in the analysis of Ovid's poetry so far in this study, the poet did nothing without purpose. What will emerge from the following analysis is an insight into the imperial psyche which is not readily apparent when taking the monuments out of order.

The following table presents the monuments in the order in which they appear in the poem and highlights their most important connections to Augustus as well as the number of lines dedicated to each.[252] All of this information will lead to an even more meaningful synthesis in the pages that follow.

[252] See Figure 2 on the next page.

Figure 2

Monument	Augustan Connections	Dates of Augustan Involvement	Number of Lines
Portico of Pompey	Caesar (and thus Pompey), Venus (and thus Mars)	32 B.C.E.	1
Horologium of Augustus	Apollo, Egypt (and thus Cleopatra and Antony)	10 B.C.E.	1
Porticus of Octavia	Octavia (and thus Antony and Cleopatra), Metellus Macedonicus	after 27 B.C.E.	1
Theater of Marcellus	Marcellus (and thus Julia), Octavia (and thus Antony and Cleopatra), Pietas (and thus Aeneas)	13 B.C.E. (dedication)	1
Porticus of Livia	Livia, Vedius Pollio	15 B.C.E. – 7 B.C.E.	2
Temple of Apollo Palatinus	Apollo (and thus Antony and Cleopatra)	36 B.C.E. – 28 B.C.E.	2
Horologium of Augustus	Apollo, Egypt (and thus Cleopatra and Antony)	10 B.C.E.	2
Temple of Isis	Egypt (and thus Cleopatra and Antony)	43 B.C.E.	2
Forum Iulium/Temple of Venus Genetrix	Caesar (and thus Pompey), Venus (and thus Mars)	after 43 B.C.E.	10
Circus Maximus	Romulus (and thus Mars)	ca. 31 B.C.E. – 10 B.C.E.	63
Naumachia	Mars	2 B.C.E.	6

The table above points to two major issues; the first is sequence, and the second is emphasis. What becomes immediately apparent is that the order in which the monuments are mentioned in the poem does not match the chronology of their construction. Although the first monument mentioned was completed by Pompey before Augustus' rise to power and the last was associated with the dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor in 2 B.C.E., the other monuments do not follow in chronological order.[253] While the Portico of Pompey was built before the Horologium, the Theater of Marcellus did not predate the

[253] While the Naumachia was built in connection with the dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor, notably, the temple itself was vowed in 42 B.C.E.

Temple of Apollo Palatinus, and none of the monuments mentioned predated the Circus Maximus.[254]

Rather, the chronology employed by Ovid is a "chronology" of the emphasis that the *princeps* placed upon various aspects of his lineage over the course of his career. Just after the death of Caesar, as previously noted, "Octavian" followed in the footsteps of his adoptive father in associating himself primarily with Venus. At about the same time, he began to associate himself with Apollo. This Apolline connection, which dates to as early as the Battle of Philippi in 42 B.C.E., did not take root in Augustan building until "Octavian" vowed the Temple of Apollo Palatinus in 36 B.C.E. and eventually came to symbolize the victory over Antony and Cleopatra at Actium in 31 B.C.E. Thus, the earliest monumental references in the poem, the Portico of Pompey and the attached Temple of Venus Victrix, the Horologium of Augustus, and even the Porticus Octaviae with its references to Antony all point directly or indirectly to Venus or Apollo. The Porticus of Livia appeared at this point in the poem because Augustus married her in 38 B.C.E., during this period of association with Apollo.[255] Ovid concluded this period of Apolline-Venusian connection with his reference to the Forum Iulium and the Temple of Venus Genetrix.

At this point in the tour, Ovid seems to have shown a shift in imperial association. The remaining two monuments relied more heavily on connections to Mars and Romulus, connections that Augustus seems to have emphasized later in his reign in the dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor and the construction of the associated Naumachia in 2

[254] Though some of the structures predate Augustan improvements to the Circus.
[255] Syme (1939), 229.

B.C.E.[256] Considering the imperial connection to Mars and Romulus at the time of the writing of the poem, Ovid concluded his monumental tour with references to each.[257]

What emerges in Ovid's erotic tour of the monuments of Augustan Rome is a presentation of two distinct phases in imperial genealogical emphasis that corresponded to two distinct phases in construction and iconography. In this sense, Ovid did work along temporal lines, but temporal lines of ideology rather than of construction. The Venusian-Apolline period begins and ends with temples of Venus. This poetic maneuver served to frame this phase. One of the temples was built by Pompey while the other was built by Caesar, which served to frame the entire phase as one haunted by the civil wars caused by the dissolution of the "First Triumvirate."

Between these two temples, Ovid employed monuments related to the imperial family, many of which could be indirectly linked to Antony, as well as the Temple of Isis, which was a joint project of the *princeps* and Antony. References to Actium via Apollo are also present. Thus, between the two references to the conflict between Caesar and Pompey, Ovid inserted references to the conflict between "Octavian" and Antony. The end result, then, is that all of these references are tied to themes of civil war and political unrest caused by autocrats vying for absolute control of the Roman state. The connection between each of these monuments and Augustus would have helped the

[256] Although Augustus vowed the Temple of Mars Ultor in 42 B.C.E., the temple remained unfinished until four decades later. This could be due to a closer connection with Apollo in the earlier years of Augustus' career, though this is not certain. Richardson notes that work just before the dedication was quite hurried, indicating that construction may not have begun anywhere near the time at which the temple was vowed. See Richardson (1992), 160.

[257] That Augustus sought to connect himself with Romulus to a greater degree only in the later years of his reign is suggested not only by the fact that he took the name "Augustus" instead of "Romulus" in 27 B.C.E., but also by the more frequent associations between the two in literature roughly contemporary with Ovid's poem. Cf. Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.4-5; Verg. *Aen.* 6.781-784. For a more detailed look at the association between Augustus and Romulus, see Kenneth Scott, "The Identification of Augustus with Romulus-Quirinus," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 56 (1925), 82-105 (esp. 96-97).

reader to see the *princeps* as one of these autocrats, and one who took his lust for control so far as to interfere with the personal relationships of his subjects through his *leges Iuliae*.

The remaining two monuments drew the reader's attention to the more recent Romulean-Martian associations emphasized by Augustus. Ovid's references to these monuments were conveyed the negative aspects of such connections. In a lengthy excursus, Ovid presented Romulus as institutionalizing rape, a decision that led to civil war. Mars himself was the embodiment of war, and Ovid's choice of the Naumachia, a monument used as an artificial battleground, to refer to the god certainly displayed him in this role. In that sense, Ovid connected this later phase of imperial genealogical emphasis to civil war as well. The result: no matter who Augustus chose to depict himself as in the public eye, he was still a despot who rose to his current position by following in the bellicose footsteps of his forbears—mortal, legendary, and divine.

On a more figurative level, Ovid pointed to the degeneration of the *princeps*. His earlier associations to Venus and Apollo, tainted by adultery though they may have been, were certainly more peaceful than his later connections to Romulus and Mars. At least the links between Venus, Apollo, and civil war were indirect. In the case of Romulus and Mars, ties to civil war and violence were much more straightforward.

The second major issue to be considered in Ovid's arrangement of the monuments in the poem is one of emphasis. Ovid clearly chose to emphasize Augustus' later connections to a greater degree. The poet devoted 22 lines to references to the *princeps'* Apolline-Venusian, while he dedicated 69 lines to his later Romulean-Martian connections. The fact that Ovid dedicated over three times as many lines to these later

relationships can be taken as indicative of his desire to focus his readers' attention on these.

Although Ovid emphasized one set of connections to a greater degree than the other, this does not erase the presence of Augustus' earlier associations. References to Mars can be united with those to Venus in the person of Romulus himself, and the theme of civil war can be detected in all references. One must also recall that while Augustus may have shifted his emphasis, all of his connections, both early and late, were brought together in the iconography of the Forum of Augustus and its Temple of Mars Ultor, which was cunningly "omitted" in an effort to avoid any possibly positive presentation of the *princeps*.

Thus, beyond offering advice to his readers on where to find romance, Ovid offered them some insight into the imperial psyche. The complicated nature of the connections Augustus sought to promote served to point to a figure who could not have been real. Further, they pointed to a figure who wavered in respect to who he was. If Augustus could not be stable in his own self-image, how could he be relied upon to create lasting legislation that he and his heirs would continue to enforce?

The *Ars Amatoria*, then, while at its surface an attack on moral legislation was actually a very *ad hominem* attack on the *princeps* himself. If Ovid simply wished to challenge the legislation, there were other *loci amoris* to which he could have pointed. Rather, in selecting in a very calculated fashion the monuments to be included on his erotic tour of Rome, he employed structures that offered his readers a unique tour of Augustus' convoluted self-image. Had Ovid limited his attack to one on legislation, he might have been spared the exile his role as *praeceptor amoris* earned him. While he

certainly did attack the legislation, this was far from the limit of his vision. More significantly, he assaulted the creator of that legislation on a much more personal level, challenging the very foundations upon which Augustus had built his *auctoritas*. If the *princeps* had suspected that a poet as savvy as Ovid would have come along, perhaps he would have exercised more caution in his choice of genealogical connections emphasized in his construction or restoration of monuments. Rather, he left the door wide open for Ovid to utilize these structures of imperial pride and largesse in a masterful elegiac effort to expose him as a fraudulent tyrant, fraught with negative and convoluted associations and guiding the Roman people with a hand stained by the blood of civil war. The *Ars Amatoria* went much further than to challenge legislation; rather it sought to undo all that Augustus had accomplished or would ever accomplish in law or in stone, all the while proclaiming loudly that *Amor* was in his own time and would always be alive and well in *Roma*.

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