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Written on Running Water: Ovidian Poetics in the Roman Waterscape

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A dissertation

submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2016

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Classics

University of Washington

**Abstract**

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*Written on Running Water: Ovidian Poetics in the Roman Waterscape* analyzes the symbolic value of water in Ovid's poetry and considers how this was affected by the reorganization of the Roman water supply under Augustus. Agrippa and Augustus gained enormous political capital by restructuring and coordinating the city's hydraulic infrastructure, and they altered the Roman landscape and the cultural significance of water in ways that would profoundly influence the building programmes and self-promotion of later emperors. I show that the abundance and beauty of the city's new waterscape also affected Ovid's use of images such as the fountain of inspiration and the *locus amoenus*, and came to represent the ideal aquatic environment. Taking a broad view of Ovid's water poetics, I examine his depictions of Roman hydraulic infrastructure, his representations of water systems outside of the city, and the

transformative waters of the *Metamorphoses* which challenge human attempts to control nature.

Throughout his oeuvre, Ovid harnesses the power of water to figure his life and his poetic

activity. I show that the basis for these images can be found in the newly transformed waterscape

of the city of Rome.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe thanks to many people for their guidance and support in the writing of this dissertation. I would like, first of all, to thank Stephen Hinds, my dissertation advisor, for all of his insight, advice and patience which have helped to bring this project to fruition. I am not alone in appreciating the generosity of his readings and the insightfulness of his criticisms. Catherine Connors has always offered me a perspective on literature which nobody else does, and encouraged me to push my readings further. I would also like to thank Kathryn Topper and Alain Gowing for their thoughtful comments and enthusiastic support of my work. My thanks go out to the entire Classics faculty at the University of Washington, who have all shared their wisdom, advice and hospitality with me during my years here.

This project would not have been fully realized without the fellowships which have supported all aspects of my research. The Nesholm family sponsored my trip to Rome with the Classics department in 2012, which sowed the first seeds for this project. The DeLacy family endowment has enabled me to travel around the world for conferences, and to return to Rome for some serious aqueduct hunting which has greatly enriched my work. I received generous financial support from the Elizabeth Kerr Macfarlane Endowed Scholarship in the Humanities. The Graduate School Presidential Dissertation Fellowship and three Jim Greenfield Dissertation Fellowships have given me the priceless gift of uninterrupted writing time. My thanks to all of these institutions and family endowments for their continued support of humanities research.

The friendship and good advice of my fellow graduate students has been of no small importance in completing this project. I thank all of them for the collaboration of reading and writing groups, as well as sports teams and hiking trips. I owe a great debt of thanks to my family, for their tireless support of my lengthy education. Thanks to my mum for her unwavering enthusiasm and faith in me, and to my dad for his unconditional support and barrage of bizarre animal photos from across the ocean. Thanks to Deb Allitt for her constant kindness and interest in my work, and to Jack Langley for keeping me grounded and offering to proof read (some day I'll take him up on it!). Finally, I thank Colin Shelton for guiding me through all the anxieties of dissertation writing, for all the reading and editing, and for his belief in me and in my work. I could not have done this without him.

## **DEDICATION**

To the mischievous memory of Hannah Francesca Allum

*soror flexibilis*

## INTRODUCTION

In 1940 the folk singer Woody Guthrie was commissioned by the US Department of the Interior to write songs celebrating the construction of the Grand Coulee Dam. Spanning the Columbia river, which traverses Washington State and forms its southern border, the dam is the largest electric power generator in the United States, and has flooded 79 000 acres of sage brush desert. When the dam was built, it was WWII, and its purpose was first and foremost to supply Boeing and other Puget Sound warplane manufacturers with cheap electricity. Some lyrics in Guthrie songs like “Roll On, Columbia” narrate the fight against fascism as the next chapter in America’s manifest destiny. Having wrested the Columbia River from indigenous people, now America can continue the fight for freedom, conquering nature herself along the way. Many Guthrie lyrics mystify the martial purpose of the dam, imagining instead a pastoral swords-to-ploughshares future, irrigated by the waters trapped behind the dam: “Green pastures of plenty from dry desert ground From the Grand Coulee Dam where the waters run down” (from *Pastures of Plenty*, 1941). Here the conquest of nature -- wasteland changed to useful ground -- becomes the victory that stands in for all the others. Guthrie’s Columbia River songs are brilliant propaganda, and not least because of Guthrie’s archaizing ‘folk revival’ style; these songs of the 30s and 40s sound just enough like songs of the 1860s that listeners can imagine the Grand Coulee Dam, and the factory farms it supports, are as old as the hills, a natural part of the order of things. “Roll on, Columbia” has been the State Folk Song of Washington since 1987, reaffirming the claim that the Grand Coulee is “the mightiest thing ever built by a man” (from *Roll on, Columbia*, 1941).

In the Age of Augustus, Rome roiled with social upheaval and strained at vast imperial ambitions. Romans wrote poetry like they had not before, and thus reshaped their own literary

canon. And this was an era of grand water projects. Much as such themes converge in Woody Guthrie's songs, my work tests how they come together in the poetry of Ovid. I developed an interest in the ways that hydraulic innovation is bound up with cultural attitudes and output during a trip to Rome in spring 2012. Visiting the ancient forum, I met Juturna. I had known her as one of Aeneas' enemies from Virgil's *Aeneid*, but now I got to see her as deity of a marble-lined fountain basin. And then there was Venus -- goddess of beauty and sex -- acting as the presiding deity of the sewer. I was struck by the importance of water management to the existence and the urban image of Rome. The forum itself could only exist after the sewer was built to drain the marshy valley between the Palatine and Capitoline hills. When the long sweep of the aqueduct arcades appear over the hills, travellers know Rome is approaching, and this remains so even for those travelling today by air. The aqueducts supply the impressive display fountains and ever-flowing drinking fountains that are such a defining part of living in Rome. In addition to these material benefits, I kept seeing connections between this important aspect of urban infrastructure, and the poetry I had been reading in classrooms for over a decade. Seeing a character from epic like Juturna in a spring in the Roman forum affected how I thought about her role in the *Aeneid*, and about how Aeneas' victory over her was confirmed in the city's water supply. Then the metaphors with which I was so familiar -- the fountain of inspiration, the river of poetry, the ship of song -- seemed reconfigured in a city where water flows constantly from aqueduct-fed fountains.

The development of Rome's sophisticated hydraulic infrastructure was gradual, and at first rather piecemeal. The ascendance of Augustus marked a new epoch for the city's water supply, with a systemization and overhaul of the existing system, and the introduction of three new aqueducts. Experience of water for Romans changed dramatically, and one might hypothesize this affected how poets talk about water. Duncan Keenan-Jones recently expanded studies of Roman

aqueducts, examining the environmental impact of aqueduct construction, and the concern elite Romans felt over this kind of environmental disruption (Keenan-Jones 2013). Francesca Martelli's seminal "Plumbing Helicon" (*Materiali e Discussioni* 2009) has considered Statius' water poetics as a site where literary history -- the waters of poetic imagery -- and social history -- the waters of elite display -- interact. My dissertation considers the full implications of Martelli's work for the epochal hydraulic infrastructural changes of the Augustan period, and focuses on the work of Ovid.

I chose to focus on Ovid in this study for three main reasons: first, he lived through all of the Augustan-era changes to Rome's water infrastructure, so he saw the city's hydraulics change and got to enjoy the resulting water abundance. Second, his poetry is centrally interested in the city, and he writes explicitly about using urban space and resources, and about interacting with the urban hydraulic infrastructure. Third, Ovid moved from being an urban poet creating an urban poetics to being an exiled poet, looking back on Rome from the outside and reflecting on its unique and characteristic water infrastructure; with these shifting perspectives and the shifting genres of his poetry, he showcases a range of different ways of writing with water for different registers. So, Ovid's own biography and the size and nature of his oeuvre help to showcase the complexity of hydraulic poetics.

My driving concern has been to get a well-rounded view of the way that water seeps into poetry and figurative thinking. In drawing this map of hydraulic poetics, I have used a process of triangulation: each chapter has adopted a different viewpoint upon Ovid's interactions with water. Taken all together, these viewpoints reveal both the common ground of water imagery, and the variations in its appearance and affect at different places. In surveying the waters represented by Ovid's poetry, I take into account the different perspectives afforded, on the one hand, from the pinnacle of the high genres inhabited by the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti*, and on the other, from

the valley of the low genres inhabited by the amatory works. Lastly, the dimension of time is crucial to understanding all of these waterscapes: I chart the temporal relationship between different poems; I register the historical periods in which Ovid's waters are situated.

I open my study in Chapter 1 by outlining the changes to the Roman water supply carried out by Agrippa and Augustus, from 33 BCE until around 6 CE. This provides the crucial background for my consideration of Ovid's hydraulic poetics: I give a survey of the changes Ovid would have seen and lived with throughout his time in Rome, which included river dredging, aqueduct construction, and the proliferation of fountains and bath houses. I assess what the motivation for each project seems to have been, which demographics benefited from or were otherwise affected by it, and how the way people interacted with the city and with water might have been altered by its construction.

The overall picture is of the development of a co-ordinated water supply system, with even distribution throughout the city. The emphasis is on public supply: not only was drinking and bathing water made widely available to the whole populace, but water luxuries such as large display fountains were for the first time built in public spaces, instead of being reserved for the private dwellings of the elite. Such public-minded lavishness was of course politically expedient for Agrippa and Octavian/Augustus. In the 30s BCE, this helped to distinguish Octavian in comparison with the absentee Mark Antony. As time went on, this beneficence contributed to the notion of Augustus as *pater patriae*. Overall, this chapter shows how the Rome in which Ovid was writing was, thanks to water, a very different place to that known to his older contemporaries Virgil and Tibullus.

After presenting the archaeological remains, I turn to consider Ovid's poetic accounts of the waters of the city. In Chapter 2, I analyse Ovid's references to the aqueducts, fountains, bridges

and waterside temples of Rome. The chapter's three sections focus on the two different views of these hydraulic structures that emerge, and then on the loss of this hydraulic landscape during exile. The first of these waterscapes, which I have dubbed "Holy Waters", is that of the *Fasti*. The hydraulic structures which appear there are predominantly ancient ones, associated with the earliest days of Rome's habitation. Not only are these structures ancient in themselves, the poem uses religious ritual to resituate them in their ancient historical context, making them conduits which transport the reader back in time. In describing these ancient water monuments, the emphasis is usually on the threat which water, and particularly the river Tiber, can pose. In the *Fasti*, then, Rome's water structures represent control over the dangers of water, and act as a reminder of the city's earliest days, when no such protections existed.

The second urban waterscape presented by Ovid is a modern one. Outside of the *Fasti*, almost every hydraulic structure mentioned by Ovid had been newly built by Agrippa or Augustus. The most frequently mentioned such structure in Ovid is the aqueduct known as the Aqua Virgo, which was built by Agrippa in 19 BCE in order to supply his leisure complex in the Campus Martius. For Ovid, this new aqueduct is representative of the Campus Martius, and from exile becomes representative of the city as a whole. I argue that in Ovid's amatory works he emphasizes the alluring affect of these new water features. Combined with the shady porticoes of the Campus Martius and the Imperial Fora, they create an atmosphere related to that of the *locus amoenus*. By creating a naturalized atmosphere in a definitively urban setting out of man-made shade and imported water, Ovid highlights the artificiality of the poetic tradition in regard to natural landscape and at the same time deftly co-opts key features of the city to create a similarly rhetoricized landscape within the urban setting. The secluded, controlled nature of the porticoes of the Augustan building program helps to keep the danger associated with the *locus amoenus* at bay.

As a whole, this chapter outlines a persistent contrast between the two waterscapes of Rome. The new Augustan water structures represent a civilized allure: this is the perfect setting for the amatory poet's lessons on urbane love, and the object of the exiled poet's nostalgic desire. In the *Fasti*, we see the city's native waters, which are linked to a violent and unpredictable past, now appropriately tamed by the growth of the Roman state.

After focusing on the city and its hydraulic structures in this way, in Chapter 3 I step back to take a broader view of water poetics, examining natural water sources and their use and valuation in Ovid's poetry. I subdivide fresh waters into springs, rivers, and lakes. I consider what each type of water is used for, both in practical and figurative terms, evaluating whether the use to which each water-type is put relates to its symbolic value, and what kinds of literary topoi get associated with each type of water. I am particularly interested in the waters which Ovid specifically names: I map out the geographical areas which featured in his different works, and where appropriate consider whether there is an attempt to situate the text within a hydrological reality. Finally, I note the types of human interaction with waters upon which Ovid focuses and the value judgements associated with human water management.

Each of Ovid's works has a very specific geographical focus for its waterscapes, and this, I argue, alters the way that aquatic literary topoi are deployed. So, springs and fountains are the rarest sources of water in Ovid's poetry. The specific springs which feature in the amatory poetry are all located in Greece, meaning that the only Italian fountains in the amatory works are the newly constructed, man-made fountains piped in by Agrippa and Augustus, while natural fountains are the Greek springs of inspiration, pure and refined sources of water. In the *Fasti*, the springs of Rome are more prominent, and appear at important moments in the city's history to mark out sacred areas in the pre-urban landscape. From exile, the springs of Rome disappear once more

from view; Greek springs of inspiration become a point of nostalgia again; while the local springs of Pontus offer up a different model of fountain water which, rather than being pure and refined, is salty and undrinkable. Ovid here develops the topos of the clogged fountain of inspiration, which links his immediate environment with his poetic abilities in a new way.

A comparable pattern emerges for rivers and streams which are the most prominent source of water in Ovid's poetry. Rivers are generally portrayed as unpredictable -- prone to either dry up or to flood -- and difficult to control and live with. The geographical foci are fairly similar to the springs: in the amatory works, Greece is most prominent, and Italy surprisingly rare, meaning that the troubling behaviour of rivers is located outside the city. In the *Fasti*, though, Rome is the dominant location of rivers, with the Tiber appearing frequently as a marker of proto-Rome, the one landmark of the city that existed before the city did. From exile, despite the nostalgic gaze back to Rome, the Tiber appears very rarely; instead, the local river the Hister dominates and the rivers of the underworld become a frequent point of comparison for the Tomitian waterscape. Prominent in the Tomitian waterscape is also the least popular, generically unappealing source of water, the marsh. This is a dominant motif of the local landscape of Pontus, and marks the area as uninhabitable and unimprovable. Standing waters appear only rarely in Ovid's other works, and those Roman standing waters which appear in the *Fasti* tend to be seen as much less repellent sites, inhabited by ancient local deities and representing the undeveloped landscape before the encroachment of the city. Overall, I argue that these natural waterscapes, especially when compared with the urban waterscapes discussed in Chapter 2, reveal an impulse to control and tame water. They are described in ways which anticipate and promote the development of the contemporary, managed Roman waterscape represented by the Augustan hydraulic. Throughout his oeuvre, Ovid figures his life and his poetic activity as ways to harness the power of water.

Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 show that the basis for these images can be found in the managed waterscape of Rome.

In Chapter 4 I focus on the *Metamorphoses*, and consider how it explores and complicates the perceived struggle between humans and water that was such a dominant theme in Chapter 3. I begin at Chapter 4.1 by examining the complexity of Ovid's depiction of water divinities in the *Metamorphoses*. Literary depictions of the power and dominance of natural elements over humans paradoxically depend upon anthropomorphizing those natural elements. Throughout the poem, Ovid plays upon this tension between the anthropomorphic and aquatic forms of water deities, and thereby gives distinctive characters to the different types of fresh water portrayed in the *Metamorphoses*. A strongly gendered waterscape emerges, with rivers presented as male, violent and sexually aggressive, while fountains are female, useful, beautiful and alluring. This provides an illuminating comparison with the gendered urban waterscape I discussed in Chapter 2.2. I unpack the implications of these gendered waterscapes in Chapter 4.2, where I focus upon the female narrators and feminized waters of the poem. Their account of water serves both as a metanarrative highlighting the dominant ideology of the poem, and as a counter-narrative which hints at an alternative way of speaking about water. Finally, in Chapter 4.3 I consider the highly stylized and formally similar scenes of the *locus amoneus* and the Roman *hortus*, as representing different views of human valuation of water. These different images of lushness created by water, either within or beyond human boundaries, complement one another. I trace the ways in which the perceived divinity of water and the gendering of the waterscape, discussed in the previous two sections, contribute to these two different versions of an ideal water-scene. The *hortus* is more self-contained and (ostensibly) protected from external dangers, and is watered to allow for the growth of fruits and vegetables as well as of flowers. As the poem shifts from Greece into Italy,

garden spaces take over from the *loca amoena* of the first half of the poem. These Italian gardens are presented as useful, restorative, managed spaces which offer both a blueprint for and an alternative to the appeal of “wild” nature.

My dissertation reveals a system of valuation for water based upon usefulness, beauty, and controllability, which tends to value the manmade water-supply of Rome over all other waterscapes. I also show that these valuations of water are closely entwined with a gendering of water that fits both unmanaged and managed waters into a patriarchal structure of control and exploitation. I trace out the ways that Ovid’s use of water imagery ties in with these two conceptual frameworks, and helps to subtly reinforce them. Ovid is an admirer of the Augustan hydraulic system, and of the kind of lifestyle and poetic inspiration it makes possible, and this affects the value judgements he applies to waters elsewhere. If water is useful and reliable, if it is beautiful or poetic, Ovid imagines it as being urbanized. Even if Ovid imagines the fountain of inspiration as a naturally-occurring spring, he still drinks from it with a cup.

## Chapter 1. BUILDING WITH WATER: THE AUGUSTAN HYDRAULIC PROGRAM

an memorem portus Lucrinoque addita claustra  
atque indignatum magnis stridoribus aequor,  
Iulia qua ponto longe sonat unda refuso  
Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur aestus Auernis?

Virgil *Georgics* 2.161-4

The famous *laus Italiae* in the second book of Virgil's *Georgics* praises both the advantages of Italy's climate, flora and fauna, and the human labour (*operumque laborem*; Virg. *G.* 2.155) which has added to and altered the region's natural advantages. He builds to the climax of his praise with a tripartite anaphora introduced by the phrase *an...memorem* ("Shall I recall...?"; Virg. *G.* 2.158, 159, 161). The third element is an extended description of the alterations made to the Lucrine Lake and the region around Lake Avernus in 37 BCE, a large hydraulic engineering project overseen by Agrippa in his role as naval commander of Augustus' fleet. He connected the Lucrine Lake to the Bay of Pozzuoli in order to form a sheltered harbour for training sailors and testing his newly designed naval war machines. The harbour was named the Portus Iulius, and its construction made extensive use of hydraulic cement, with huge concrete moles forming breakwaters defined by large concrete pillars. The cement used was of widely varying composition, which suggests hurried construction of what was a very challenging engineering project (Brandon, Hohlfelder, and Oleson 2008: 375-7; Powell 2015: 51-3). For Virgil, it is the audacity of this hurried undertaking which merits praise: the *Iulia...unda* ("Julian wave;" Virg. *G.* 2.163) has replaced the angry blasts of the sea, and the bay appears as a haven, sheltered from the violence of the untamed sea.

Strabo, in his description of the Lake Avernus and Lucrine Lake region, claims that Agrippa's construction of a tunnel between Cumae and Lake Avernus, and his deforestation of the

surrounding hills, ended the local belief in stories told about the place. Notably, it used to be thought that this was the site for Odysseus' Nekyia, and that Odysseus had visited the oracle of the dead that used to be located there. The nearby hot springs were connected with the river Pyriphlegethon, and the potable springs were avoided because they were thought to be drawn from the Styx, but, he claims, such beliefs have been shown to be unfounded by Agrippa's transformation of the region's waters (Strabo *Geography* 5.4.5-6). Karstic, volcanic areas such as the Lake Avernus region were frequently associated with the underworld in both Greek and Roman thought. This association is based not just on the underground caves which are characteristic of these landscapes, but, as Strabo's account makes clear, also on their underground rivers and sunken lakes, which constituted the portal between the lower and upper worlds (Connors and Clendenon forthcoming: 33-8). By altering the flow of the waters in this region, Agrippa and his engineer L. Coccieus Auctus (a native of the area who would have been very familiar with its mythology, Strabo *G.* 5.4.5) might well have been thought to have severed its connection with the underworld. So, for Strabo at least, hydraulic engineering could have a serious impact on the mythological and symbolic associations of local people. Virgil's triumphant description of the area does indeed provide evidence of a marked departure from the local traditions described by Pliny. Nonetheless, his use of Lake Avernus as the site for Aeneas' descent to the Underworld in *Aeneid* 6 shows the endurance of the idea that it was, at least at one time, a portal to the realm of the dead.

This dissertation examines these sorts of connections between hydraulic engineering projects and the mythology and symbolism of place in the context of the city of Rome. The city's foundation was remembered as being based upon a hydraulic project: the building of the Cloaca Maxima by Tarquinius Superbus, which drained the marshy area that became the center of civic life, the Forum Romanum, and was considered one of the greatest marvels of the city (Livy *AUC*

1.38.6, 1.56.2; Dion.3.67.5; Strabo *G.* 5.38; Pliny *NH* 36.104). In this chapter, I aim to give an overview of another major epoch in Roman hydraulic transformation. The extensive changes made by Agrippa and Augustus during the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE have had a lasting impact on the water infrastructure of Rome (on which see Rinne 2010) and on hydraulic projects around the globe (see e.g. Kaika 2006 on the dam at Athens, Greece; Cosgrove, Roscoe, and Rycroft 1996 on dams in the Peak District, England; Swyngedouw 1997, on hydraulics in Guayaquil, Ecuador). Given the extensive nature of these changes, and the interdependence of individual projects, my goal in this chapter is to give a summary of the whole building program as a background to discussing the individual structures which feature in Ovid's works. I will assess the evidence for the particulars of the Agrippan-Augustan water projects, as well as for their purpose and impact as represented in the writings of Frontinus, Augustus' own *Res Gestae*, and historians and biographers such as Cassius Dio and Suetonius, as well as epigraphic evidence. Frontinus, Pliny the Elder, and possibly even Cassius Dio, were able to consult Agrippa's own autobiography in their accounts of the construction of Rome's aqueducts, and so offer a particularly valuable perspective (Roddaz 1984: 148 n.51-2).

Studies of Roman water projects tend to be typologically focused (aqueducts, baths, fountains, gardens, the Tiber).<sup>1</sup> Even studies interested in the Agrippan water program as a whole tend to

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<sup>1</sup> Surveys of the archaeological remains of Rome's aqueducts began with Fabretti 1680, and were continued with the important studies of Lanciani 1880; the most important comprehensive surveys of the Roman aqueduct network remain Van Deman 1934 and Ashby 1935, which described, dated, and measured their channels and calculated their heights above sea level at various points. More recent scholarship has focused on smaller stretches, or particular aqueducts and time periods, and will contribute to my account of the Agrippan-Augustan developments in various ways: Evans 1982 focuses on the changes introduced by Agrippa and assesses the rationale behind them; Bruun 1991 examines how the office of the *cura aquarum* worked with a thorough study of the inscriptions found on *fistulae*; Taylor 2000 attempts to determine where and how certain aqueducts crossed the river Tiber; De Kleijn 2001 uses data regarding the Roman water supply to explore the population size and habitation patterns of the city. Thorough overviews of Roman bathing

focus on aqueducts (as e.g. Evans 1982), because they are integral to the development of the other water projects (so, e.g. Taylor and Bannon deal with much of the same evidence and ask very similar questions). A more holistic view of the Agrippan water projects can be gathered from the various biographies of Agrippa.<sup>2</sup> Given the interconnectedness of various water structures in the city, such as the Aqua Virgo and the Pons Agrippae, or the Aqua Iulia and the Thermae Agrippae, I approach the topic chronologically rather than typologically, but I take interest in the different types of water projects that interest Agrippa and Augustus at different times. I aim to give a brief survey of the development of the city's hydraulic infrastructure, and to assess what the motivation for each project seems to have been, which demographics benefited from or were otherwise affected by it, and how the way people interacted with the city and with water might have been altered by its construction. I focus most attention upon structures that feature in Ovid's poetry, but aim to give a broadly comprehensive account.

This provides the background to the rest of the dissertation, in which I consider Ovid as a poet of water, and examine how the waterscapes of his poetry shape and are shaped by the waterscape of Augustan Rome. Chapter 2 will focus on Ovid's portrayal of Roman water monuments, giving a different view of their use and making a new symbol out of the Aqua Virgo; Chapter 3 will look

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practices and the evolution of Roman bathhouses are given in Yegül 2010; Yegül 1995; Fagan 2002. On fountains, Neuerburg 1965 gives an overview and catalogue of Italian architectural typologies, while Longfellow 2011 considers the socio-political implications of imperial fountains across the empire. On gardens, Farrar 1998 provides a historical overview of the development of gardens in Rome; Stackelberg 2009 attempts to uncover the experience of the garden by drawing on material and written evidence to conduct space syntax analysis; Bannon 2009 considers private water rights as they applied to Roman gardens, and aims to uncover the social, economical and environmental considerations that shaped horticultural practice. The landmark studies of the Tiber's hydrology and cultural significance are Le Gall 1953a; Le Gall 1953b; the most up-to-date source on the Tiber's floods is Aldrete 2007.

<sup>2</sup>The most recent biography of Agrippa is Powell 2015, the first English language biography since Reinhold 1933; other important biographies are Signon 1978 and Roddaz 1984.

at the role of water more broadly in Ovid's oeuvre, delineating how unmanaged waters are consistently contrasted with the managed waters of the city, and noting how Ovid uses this distinction to alter certain important water topoi; Chapter 4 focuses on the *Metamorphoses* as a poem which explores the limitations of the human and the non-human, considering the gendering of water and its implications for understanding the appeal and danger of lush spaces such as the Rome of Agrippa and Augustus.

### 1.1 AGRIPPA'S PLEBEIAN AEDILESHIP: AQUEDUCTS, BATHS, SEWERS AND FOUNTAINS

Agrippa's work on the hydraulic infrastructure of Rome began even before his election to the plebeian aedileship in 33 BCE. The work he was to carry out during this term of office was of some significance to the city, and was presumably expected to pay political dividends, which perhaps explains why the former consul would be interested in this low-ranking position (Shipley 1933: 19). Even in advance of this, in 34 BCE Agrippa undertook major restorations of the Aqua Marcia, and provided new conduits to widen its distribution network (Pliny *NH* 36.24.121-2, *Front. Aq.* 104, 1.9, Dio 49.42.2).<sup>3</sup> Built in 144 BCE by Q. Marcius Rex, this aqueduct was renowned for the purity of its waters and was, according to Frontinus, introduced specifically to supply drinking water (Frontinus 92; Pliny *NH* 31.24). Drawn from a series of springs along the upper Anio, just below the modern town of Agosta, the aqueduct travelled above ground for about 10 km. in its approach to the city to empty into a tank on the Viminal Hill (Aicher 1995: 36). As Aicher notes,

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<sup>3</sup> There is inconsistency in these sources as to the date of the repairs to the Aqua Marcia. Dio specifically says that they were undertaken in the year preceding the aedileship, 34 BCE, whereas Frontinus includes the restoration with the other repairs and development undertaken during the aedileship itself. Agrippa's modern biographers tend to think Dio must be correct, and that Frontinus might be referring to the Marcia's repairs being concluded in 33 BCE (Shipley 1933: 27-8; Roddaz 1984: 144-5; Powell 2015: 69).

the surviving arcades of the different Roman aqueducts are each distinctive in their architectural style (Aicher 1995: 14). The Marcia's arcade was built of cut tufa in three different colours (a light soft tufa, a grey peperino and a reddish-brown tufa) with a bossed facing, held together by a cement spine (Figure 1.1). Its arcade is visible in its approach to the city (through the area now known as the Parco degli Acquedotti); at its point of entry to the city at Porta Maggiore, and further along the northern stretch of the Aurelian wall at the Porta Tiburtina. From its terminus on the Viminal, branches led to the Quirinal and the Capitoline (Figure 1.2 a-b); a separate branch, the Rivus Herculaneus, traversed the Caelian and crossed over an arcade to the Aventine (Figure 1.2 c) (Van Deman 1934: 139ff; Ashby 1935: 152ff; De Kleijn 2001: 14-17).

By 34 BCE, it was apparently in bad need of repair (perhaps due in large part to neglect during the civil wars (Shipley 1933: 19)), and Agrippa's intervention was both much needed and a savvy move to increase popularity for Octavian (Roddaz 1984: 145-9). The restoration of the Marcia was only the beginning of an extensive overhaul of Rome's water supply, which Evans has argued was systematically planned right from this restoration. In addition to the repairs, the Marcia's arcade was used to introduce a new aqueduct to the city, the Aqua Iulia.<sup>4</sup> This new aqueduct was drawn from springs near the source of the already-existing Aqua Tepula, whose course and waters were

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<sup>4</sup> Dio dates the Iulia's completion to 40 BCE (Dio 49.49), but Frontinus says 33 BCE (Front. 9.1). Rodgers summarizes the scholarly debate over these two dates (Rodgers 2003a: 171). The majority of scholars think it is Frontinus who errs in including the building of the Iulia with the numerous other water projects carried out in 33 BCE (Ashby 1935: 161 n.5; Shipley 1933: 26-8; Ehlers 1983: 78-9). Others suggest the mistake may be Dio's, confusing the year of Agrippa's praetorship with that of his aedileship (Roddaz 1984: 62, with n. 192). The compromise view is that work at the source may have been undertaken in 40 BCE, perhaps following up on some plan of Julius Caesar's (hence the aqueduct's name), but not completed until 33 BCE (Gardthausen 1891: 608; Robinson 1980: 56-7). Rodgers suggests that 33 BCE could have seen extensive rebuilding of the combined Tepula-Iulia.



Figure 1.1. Arcade of the Aqua Marcia in the Parco degli Acquedotti, Rome. Spandrels of light, soft tufa; rings of arches and projecting slabs of grey peperino; channel walls of reddish-brown tufa.

now mixed with the Iulia's, before being nominally separated from each other and carried in separate conduits on top of that containing the Marcia's water (Front. 9.1-3, 19.1-3). Frontinus notes that this increase to the urban water supply did not adversely affect the communities living near the source of the aqueducts: the (low quality) stream called the Crabra, which flowed past the Iulia's source, was not incorporated into the new aqueduct because it supplied all of the villas in Tusculum (Front. 9.4-7). There is, then, evidence of some concern both for the quality of the water being brought into the city (seen also in the way that the Marcia's waters are kept separate

from those of the Tepula), and for the potential impact of the city aqueducts upon extra-urban communities.

The Aqua Iulia was higher and more capacious than the Tepula, and accordingly had a fairly large distribution network (Figure 1.2 g-h). Frontinus lists the following regions as supplied by the Iulia: Caelian (II), Isis and Serapis (III), Esquiliae (V), Alta Semita (VI), Forum Romanum (VIII), Palatine (X) and Piscina Publica (XII) (Front. 83.2). Evans suggests that it was introduced to increase delivery in the east of the city, and to supplement supplies to the Palatine, Capitoline and the Piscina Publica (Evans 1982: 407). Schmölder-Veit observes that the Aqua Iulia added very little to the total volume of water supplied to the Palatine, and that there was little change to the



Figure 1.2. Distribution network of the Aqua Marcia (a-c), Aqua Appia (d-f), Aqua Iulia (g-h) and Aqua Anio Vetus (i) in 33 BCE. Courtesy Katherine W. Rinne, *Aquae Urbis Romae: The Waters of the City of Rome*, [www3.iath.virginia.edu/waters](http://www3.iath.virginia.edu/waters).

water height or distribution lines on the Palatine after its introduction compared to the earlier supply by the Marcia alone. She concludes that the Aqua Iulia does not seem to have been introduced in order to augment the supply of water to Octavian's private property on the Palatine (Schmölder-Veit 2011: 4-5). Working with the corrupt distribution statistics given by Frontinus (Front. 69.5; 83.1-2), Evans observes that almost 65% of the Iulia's water supplied *usus publici*. It seems, then, that it was intended to supply public buildings constructed by Augustus in the eastern part of Rome, such as the *fora* of Caesar and Augustus, the Horti Maecenatis and the Porticus Liviae. In this way it complemented its sister stream of the Tepula, which mainly supplied private citizens (Evans 1982: 408).

In addition to these major additions to the city's water supply, Agrippa completed restorations to the Aqua Appia and the Aqua Anio Vetus, and built public fountains (*salientes*) (Front. 9.9) -- 500 of them, according to Pliny (*NH* 36.24.121). He cleaned and repaired the drainage and sewer system, supposedly sailing through the sewers into the Tiber (Dio 49.43.1) and offered 170 free baths (*gratuita praebita balnea CLXX*) to the populace (Pliny *NH* 36.24.121). Whether this meant that he provided 170 free bathings (Fagan 1993: 102-3) or that he opened up 170 free bathhouses (Powell 2015: 71, 278 n. 187), this represented a huge change in public hygiene. Powell suggests that, by making bathing accessible and free to the urban poor, Agrippa may have encouraged the adoption of bathing as an ordinary practice. As part of a systematic overhaul of the water supply system, these changes represent a definite improvement in social welfare, primarily funded by Agrippa's private wealth (Dio 49.42.2, 43.1). Their visual impact would also have been substantial: Pliny records that Agrippa built 130 *castella* (water towers), 700 *lacus* (water basins), 500 *salientes* (water-spout fountains), and adorned them with 300 marble and bronze statues, and

400 marble columns (Pliny *NH* 36.24.121-2). Longfellow gives a succinct precis of the sanitary, visual, and political implications of this (Longfellow 2011: 1):

The ancient edifices created metropolitan oases, with vast expanses of sparkling marble, intriguing sculptural displays, and kinetic integration of the natural world into the urban environment. Such monuments engaged passersby through the sound of rushing water and the reflection of sculptural tableaux playing across the surface, issuing an invitation to stop, rest, and savor the moment... Designed as civic landmarks meant to impress residents and visitors alike, these artistic water displays embodied the symbolic and social ideals of the community in general and the benefactor in particular. This type of edifice spoke to the prestige of all involved in its construction: the patron, the city in which it was built, and the gods and emperors to whom it was dedicated.

She sees this exploitation of the visual and acoustic effects of water as a particularly Roman development (Longfellow 2011: 15). The spread of drinking basins throughout the neighborhoods of the city would have made the largesse of Agrippa and Octavian very visible (Longfellow 2011: 21), altering the daily routine of inhabitants of all classes. This fusion of nature and art, and the multi-sensory appeal of urban water displays are integral to the ways in which Ovid would come to write about the city's waters, with erotic effect in the *Ars Amatoria* and with numinous overtones in the *Fasti* (see Chapter 2). The influence of these fountain displays, with their statuary and their transformative effect over the urban space, can also be felt in the *Metamorphoses*' metamorphic, anthropomorphized, and artistically inspired waterscapes (see Chapter 4).

The great impression made by this Agrippan largesse is evidenced in Horace. In the second satire, he depicts Servius Oppidus chastising his two sons -- one a miser, one profligate -- over

their probable management of their inheritance. He advises them against assuming the praetorship or the aedileship, using Agrippa as a cautionary example (Horace *Sermones* 2.3.182-6):<sup>5</sup>

185           in cicere atque faba bona tu perdasque lupinis,  
              latus ut in circo spatiere et aeneus ut stes,  
              nudus agris, nudus nummis, insane, paternis;  
              scilicet ut plausus quos fert Agrippa feras tu,  
              astuta ingenium uolpes imitata leonem?

“Would you waste your wealth on vetches, beans, and lupines, that you may strut proud in the Circus, or be set up in bronze, though stripped of the lands, madman, stripped of the money your father left: to the end that you may win the applause which Agrippa wins -- a cunning fox mimicking the noble lion?”

Agrippa’s hydraulic innovations represent a populist policy, that could clearly also be seen as strategically gaining widespread support for himself and the Caesarian cause.

Yet this was far from a short-lived popularity campaign. Upon completing the term of his aedileship, Agrippa assumed responsibility for the *opera* and *munera* (“works and benefactions;”<sup>6</sup> Front. 98.1, to be understood as referring to permanent public structures cf. Rodgers 2003a: 264) he had established, and so effectively created what would become an important administrative position; as Frontinus with hindsight was able to describe it, *primus M. Agrippa...uelut perpetuus curator fuit* (“Marcus Agrippa became, so to speak, the first permanent water commissioner;” Front. 98.1). This represented a further departure from the piece-meal approach to public works which resulted from the Republican system of short-term magisterial offices. The highly coordinated approach Agrippa took towards the water supply might even have led him to become involved in some capacity with lead pipe production; Bruun uses this hypothesis to explain four *fistulae* stamped with the name *Vipsanius*, and the 84 lead ingots found on board a shipwreck in

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<sup>5</sup> Horace translation adapted from Fairclough. 1942. *Horace: Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

<sup>6</sup> Frontinus translations adapted from Rodgers 2003b.

the River Po which were stamped with AGRIP. (Bruun 1991: 360-63).<sup>7</sup> As well as certainly contributing to the public good, his careful coordination of the water supply would have garnered public support for Octavian, and made for a pointed contrast between his concern for the well-being of the city and its people, and Marc Antony's removal to Egypt (Roddaz 1984: 156-7).

At the end of Agrippa's aedileship, around the same time that the young Ovid perhaps moved to Rome to begin his education (cf. Ovid *Tristia* 4.10.15-16), the city had a plentiful supply of high quality public drinking water carried in large part upon the arcades of the Aqua Marcia, innovative public monumental fountains, and a fully functioning sewer system. These works would remain closely associated with their financier, Agrippa, thanks to his assumption of the as-yet informal role of *curator aquarum*. Tortorici sees the building projects that were to follow the aedileship as part of a coherent reconceptualization of Rome that was initiated by Julius Caesar, and involved the popularization of luxuries which had previously been reserved for the political elite (Tortorici 1990: 22-3; 53-5). Indeed, Pliny recalls a speech of Agrippa's in which he supposedly extolled the advantage of publicly displaying artworks instead of sending them into exile in the villas of the rich, an attitude Pliny considers characteristic of Agrippa (Pliny *NH* 35.26). This sort of public-minded lavishness is evident throughout the aedileship, and would in the next decade become focused upon the area of the Campus Martius.

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<sup>7</sup>The *fistulae* inscriptions are tentatively dated to the late first / early second century CE, and may provide evidence of a workshop established by Agrippa's freedmen: *M. Vipsanius Donatus fec.* (CIL XV 7677); *M. Vipsanius Herma fec.* (CIL XV 7678); *M. Vipsa[-]* (CIL XV 7679); *M. Vipsanius Herma* (BCAR 1909, 125). The ship with the lead ingots is of Augustan date, on which see Domergue 1987, with discussion of the AGRIP stamps at p.118-122.

## 1.2 20s BCE: DEVELOPMENT OF THE CAMPUS MARTIUS AND TIBER FLOOD PREVENTION

During the 20s BCE the Campus Martius was the site for much development, mostly centred around hydraulics. Before Agrippa began this development, though, Augustus completed an important aquatic display begun by Julius Caesar. The temple of Caesar's forum complex was vowed in 48 BCE before the Battle of Pharsalus (Cass. Dio 43.22), but was completed after Caesar's death by Octavian. Laid out abutting the Forum Romanum (Figure 1.3 a) the Forum Iulium was an open square with porticoes on three sides, and a Temple to Venus Genetrix on its short northern end. Designed to rival the Forum Romanum and the Theatre of Pompey, the layout made use of a monumental fountain to direct attention along the long axis of the forum, towards the Temple of Venus Genetrix and its speaker's platform.

Coarelli and Richardson argue that the fountain probably stood against the party wall between the Atrium Libertatis and the Forum Iulium (Figure 1.3 b & c), overlooking the temple (Richardson 1992: 14-15, *s.v.* Appiades; Coarelli in Steinby 1993: 59-60, *s.v.* Appiades). Ulrich instead identifies the fountain with the remains of two shallow, square basins (c. 10cm deep, 10 roman feet square), which were flush with the pavement immediately in front of the temple. These seem to have been designed to catch the spray from (now missing) spouts. They flanked a larger central basin, to which they were connected by two low, narrow walls which accommodated the primary hydraulic lines for the fountain (Figure 1.4 & Figure 1.5) (Ulrich 1986: 410-5). On his reconstruction, the fountain stretched across the entire front of the temple, and was set only 1.35m. in front of it (Ulrich 1986: 409). These current archaeological remains date to the Trajanic restoration of the forum, and any superstructure from the Augustan era fountain would have been



Figure 1.3. The Forum Iulium (a) and approximate location of Atrium Libertatis (b). Location of the Pons Aemilius, or Ponte Rotto (c). Approximate location of the Pons Sublicius (d). Corner of the Naumachia Augusti (e). Courtesy David Gilman Romano, *Digital Augustan Rome*.

destroyed in the fire of 80 CE; Ulrich notes that it is possible that the fountain layout reflects that of the original design, especially as the paving of the forum and the two outer marble basins may be Augustan in date (Ulrich 1986: 420-21).

Coarelli and Richardson rely on equating the fountain sculptures with the statue group of the Appiades mentioned by Pliny as being part of Asinius Pollio's collection, and so associated with the Atrium Libertatis (Pliny *NH* 36.33). Ulrich's reconstruction rests on the assumption that the Trajanic remains preserve the original arrangement of the temple fountain. In either case, all of Ovid's references to the fountain attest to a close connection between it and the temple (Ulrich

1986: 406-7), and give some sense of the visual and spatial effect it must have had within the enclosed forum space.

The name Appiades suggests a connection with the Aqua Appia, Rome's first aqueduct, although there is no known branch line in the area and it ran over the Caelian to the Aventine to supply the Forum Boarium and near-by areas (Figure 1.2 d-f) (Van Deman 1934: 26-8; Ulrich 1986: 406 n.6; Aicher 1995: 34-5; De Kleijn 2001: 10-12). Ulrich suggests that the water supply for the fountains, drawn from the Aqua Marcia or Aqua Tepula, was piped down from the Capitoline and through the podium of the temple, to create a pressurized system (Ulrich 1986: 417). Coarelli suggests that the name Appiades might have been chosen to commemorate the city's first aqueduct, making the fountain almost an allegory of Roman aqueducts (Coarelli in Steinby 1993: 60, *s.v.* Appiades). This would have been appropriate for one of the city's earliest monumental fountains, itself a pioneering infrastructural development. References to nymphs associated with the fountain (Ov. *A.A.* 1.81-2, 3.451-2; *Rem.* 659-662; cf. Chapter 2.2) suggest that there was some kind of sculptural decoration surrounding these basins, probably supported on top of the fountain wall (Ulrich 1986: 415); Pliny's reference to a copy of the Appiades sculptures in the private collection of Asinius Pollio (Pliny *NH* 36.4.33) suggests a contained group, which was possibly posed upon the walls, and poured water into the center pool (Ulrich 1986: 422-3). The placement of this highly decorated fountain immediately in front of the Temple of Venus Genetrix emphasized the unusual design of the temple, which was accessed by lateral stairs rising from the back instead of by the frontal, axial staircase traditional in Roman temple design. Ulrich suggests that the fountain was an important component of the temple's design, and worked to complement the large speaker's platform which jutted out from the front of the temple podium: the fountain

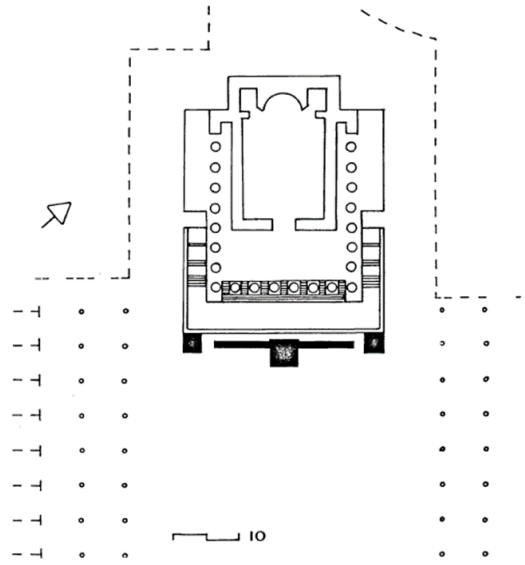


Figure 1.4. Plan of the Temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum Iulium (c. 113 CE). The Fountain of the Appiades structures in front of the temple are shaded. Plan taken from Ulrich 1986: 408, Fig. 1.



Figure 1.5. The Forum Iulium and the Temple of Venus Genetrix (a), view from the southwest. Columns in the foreground are part of the reconstructed portico. The remains of the Fountain of the Appiades are in the centre (b). Photo taken from Ulrich 1993: 76, Fig. 11.

would have both framed the speaker and kept a watching crowd away from the temple (Ulrich 1986: 410, 421-2). Drinking fountains and fountains in sanctuaries had, in the Republican period, been very minimally decorated (Longfellow 2011: 15-16); Caesar seems to have been competing with Pompey by including a fountain in his forum complex, as the Porticus of Pompey's Theatre featured at least one sculptural fountain among the other marvels on display (Longfellow 2011: 16-18; cf. Prop. 2.32.11-16). These two Republican fountains introduced to the public a kind of luxury until then only associated with the private residences of the elite. They anticipated the propagandistic use of water which would be taken up by the emperors to emphasize important nodes of the city (Longfellow 2011: 19), and the provision of aquatic luxuries to the public which would be a defining feature of Agrippa's political career.

The first component of Agrippa's development of the Campus Martius to be begun was most likely the Pons Agrippae, probably started during his third consulship of 27 BCE. An inscription from the Campus Martius reading *M. Agrippae privatum iter* ("private road of Marcus Agrippa;" *CIL* VI 29781 = *ILS* 6003) suggests that this bridge was a private one, built on Agrippa's own land, though this would not have meant it was necessarily closed to the public. If the Pons Agrippae is to be associated with the concrete foundation piers found in the 1880s, it was the northernmost bridge across the Tiber in the Augustan period (Figure 1.6 a) (Lloyd 1979: 193-4, fig. 1).<sup>8</sup> This location would have provided a convenient route to the rapidly developing bathing

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<sup>8</sup> The selce concrete used in these foundations has parallels in the foundations of the *Thermae of Agrippa* and in an Augustan vault of the *Cloaca Maxima*, and Agrippa may have had the *pulvis Puteolanus* imported from Pozzuoli to use in these constructions because of its water resistant properties (Blake 1947: 40, 161, 335). This fact, along with further evidence for the course of the *Aqua Virgo* analyzed by Taylor (Taylor 1995: 80-85), refutes the suggestion made by Coarelli and Le Gall (Le Gall 1953a: 210-11; Coarelli 1977: 824-6; Coarelli in Steinby 1993: 107-8, *s.v.* Pons Agrippae; Pons Aurelius; Pons Valentiniani) that the Pons Agrippae should be identified with the Pons Aurelius (modern Ponte Sisto).

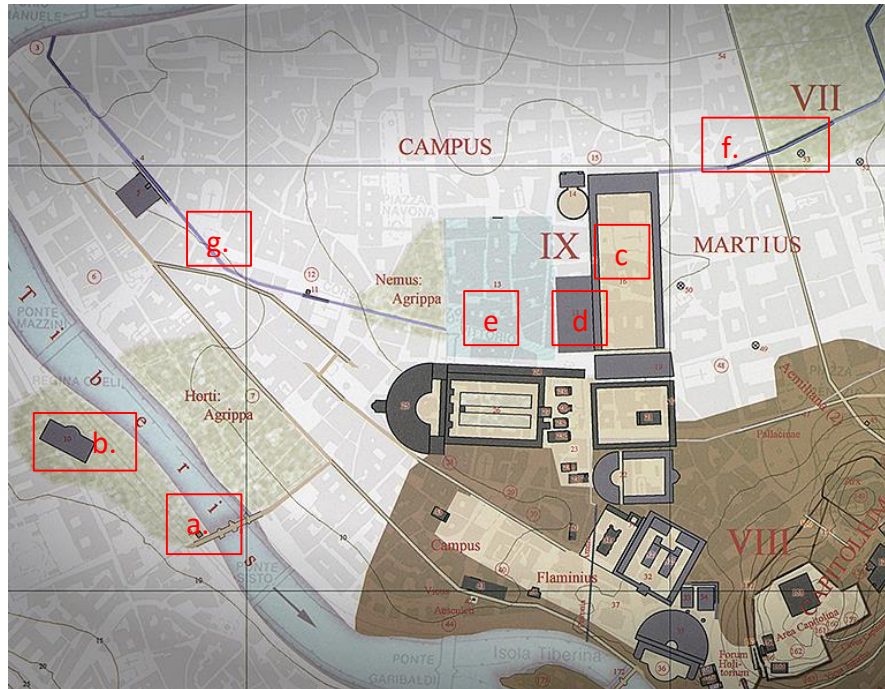


Figure 1.6. Presumed location of the Pons Agrippae (a). “Villa Farnesina”, thought to have belonged to Agrippa and Julia (b). Saepta Julia (c). Thermae Agrippae, originally a sweat-bath with plunge pool known as the Sudatorium Laconicum (d). Stagnum Agrippae (e). Remains of the arcade of the Aqua Virgo (f), close to its terminus. Suggested route of the Euripus, found beneath the Palazzo della Cancelleria (g, cf. Figure 1.7 d). Courtesy David Gilman Romano, *Digital Augustan Rome*.

complex in the Campus Martius, both for Agrippa’s own *familia* from the (probably Agrippan) Farnesina estate (Figure 1.6 b), and for the general population of the Transtiberim (Taylor 2000: 83, 147-8).

Taylor sees this bridge as having great significance for the Transtiberim region. Not only would it have offered them easy access to the bathing complex across the river, it was also most likely the means by which four of the city’s aqueducts were for the first time conducted across the river in order to supply the Transtiberim. According to Frontinus (11.2), all of the public fountains in the Transtiberim were supplied by aqueducts that originated on the other side of the river. Taylor

argues that no bridge before the Pons Agrippae would have been capable of supporting an aqueduct siphon, and concludes that this bridge carried the water of the Aqua Appia, Aqua Anio Vetus, and the Aqua Marcia to the western bank once the addition of the Aqua Iulia had created a surplus supply to the east of the river (Taylor 2000: 136-40). This would have made for a large, lavish distribution in the Transtiberim, whose water supply would not need to be increased for over 70 years, and so would once again have augmented Agrippa's popularity (Taylor 2000: 149). The direct link between the central Campus Martius and the Transtiberim would have served more practical purposes too. As Powell points out, it would have proved useful in transporting construction materials from the Transtiberim warehouses into the Campus Martius building site (Powell 2015: 112). The subsequent boom of the Transtiberim as a residential as well as warehousing district might also have been spurred on by the access and water-supply offered by the Pons Agrippae.

The next aquatic Campus Martius project to open was what Dio refers to as the Stoa of Poseidon (τὴν στοᾶν τὴν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος; Dio 53.27.1), referred to in Latin by names such as the *porticus Agrippiana* (Juvenal 6.153). These names seem to refer to the western porticus of the Saepta Iulia (Figure 1.6 c) (Tortorici 1990: 46-7; Guidobaldi in Steinby 1993: 118-9 *s.v.* Porticus Argonautarum; Richardson 1992: 312 *s.v.* Porticus Argonautarum). According to Dio it was dedicated in honour of naval victories and decorated with paintings of Argonauts (Dio 53.27.1), paintings which are attested by other authors (Juvenal 6.153-4; Martial 2.14.5-6, 11.1.12). It thus offers a point of connection between the hydraulic engineering carried out at the Portus Iulius with military aims in mind, and the hydraulic pleasure facilities which were gradually erected all around it. Next to this portico was the Sudatorium Laconicum (Figure 1.6 d), a small sweat-bath gymnasium (Dio 53.27.1) (Tortorici 1990: 47-52; Yegül 1995: 1333-5). This small sweat-bath

represented the first phase of a much larger bathing complex, which required a greater water supply.

The demand for water in the Campus Martius was met by the construction of the Aqua Virgo, undertaken between 25 and 19 BCE. The aqueduct begins at the eighth milestone outside Rome, and follows the Via Collatina along public land through the north of the city (Front. 10.1-4). Most of its course runs underground, as there is no need to maintain elevation to supply the low-lying floodplain of the Campus Martius. It was the only aqueduct at the time to enter the city from the north (Figure 1.7 a-c), making it an obviously distinct source of water from the Marcia-Tepula-Iulia. Running underground for most of its course, the Virgo's channel was sometimes excavated directly from the bare rock, or else was lined, fully or partially, with opus signinum or concrete or a mixture of the two (Nicolazzo 1999: 37). It has few surviving arcades (Figure 1.8Figure 1.9), and in those that remain the Augustan era construction can be seen only in some traces of reticulate brickwork (Aicher 1995: 70-71). The post-Augustan arcades are of a style distinctively different from that of the Marcia-Tepula-Iulia, with travertine facing.

A curious legend arose surrounding the Aqua Virgo's construction and naming: when Agrippa's engineers were surveying for a source for the new aqueduct, a young woman showed them where to dig and so led them to a plentiful vein. The aqueduct was thus named for her, and the event commemorated in a painting set up next to the source (Front. 10).<sup>9</sup> This story is particularly implausible given that Agrippa must have been very familiar with the area in which the aqueduct's springs arise, both because of its military significance and because in 33 BCE he

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<sup>9</sup> Other explanations include that it was so named for flowing away from the nearby *Herculaneus rivus* (Pliny *NH* 31.42), or that the name reflects the purity of its waters (Cassiodorus *Var.* 7.6.3). Dio records that it was actually known by the name Augusta (54.11.7), though this is nowhere else corroborated.



Figure 1.7. Route of the Aqua Virgo within the city (a) to its terminus near the Pantheon (b), with the possible route to the Transtiberim on the Pons Agrippae (c), and the suggested route of the Euripus found beneath the Palazzo della Cancelleria (d, cf. Figure 1.6 g). Courtesy Katherine W. Rinne, *Aquae Urbis Romae: The Waters of the City of Rome*, [www3.iath.virginia.edu/waters](http://www3.iath.virginia.edu/waters).

had overseen the repairs to the Aqua Appia which has its source close by (Nicolazzo 1999: 31). The protective structure built around the Virgo's source served both to keep away rain, and to keep the river Anio from contaminating its pure waters (Nicolazzo 1999: 35). These efforts meant the Virgo's waters were renowned for their purity, and this quality perhaps helped the story of the source's discovery remain popular. Perhaps as a result of these stories, the Aqua Virgo would become for Ovid a useful site for exploring connections between water, women, purity, and urban development (see Chapter 2.2).



Figure 1.8. Preserved upper portion of the arcade of the Aqua Virgo which led to the aqueduct's terminus near the Pantheon (cf. Figure 1.6 f). Maximum height of the arcade c.10m. Peperino and travertine. This arcade dates to a Claudian rebuild of 46 CE, recorded in the inscription over the arch (foreground) which spanned a roadway (*ILS* 205 = *CIL* 1252). Near intersection of Via Nazzareno and Via del Tritone, Rome.



Figure 1.9. Preserved upper portion of the arcade of the Aqua Virgo which led to the aqueduct's terminus near the Pantheon (cf. Figure 1.6 f). Maximum height of the arcade c.10m. Peperino and travertine. Near intersection of Via Nazzareno and Via del Tritone, Rome.

The Aqua Virgo is frequently praised, along with the Aqua Marcia, for the high quality of its waters.<sup>10</sup> Pliny compares their different qualities and uses (*NH* 31.42.1):<sup>11</sup>

horum annium comparatione differentia supra dicta deprehenditur, cum quantum Virgo tactu praestat, tantum praestet Marcia haustu, quamquam utriusque iam pridem urbi periiit uoluptas, ambitione auaritiaque in uillas ac suburbana detorquentibus publicam salutem.

“On instituting a comparison between the waters of these streams, the difference above-mentioned may be immediately detected, the Virgin water being as much superior to the touch, as the Marcian water is in taste. And yet, for this long time past, the pleasure of drinking these waters has been lost to the City owing to the ambition and avarice of certain persons who have turned them out of their course for the supply of their villas and suburban areas, to the great detriment of the public health.”

The Virgo’s tactile virtues are evidenced by the large number of bathing facilities its waters supplied. The *Thermae Agrippae*, *Stagnum Agrippae*, and *Euripus* in the *Campus Martius* were all supplied by the Aqua Virgo, as well as the *Transtiberim*. These three structures represent the expanded leisure and bathing complex constructed by Agrippa.

The *Thermae* were a development of the simpler *Sudatorium Laconicum* (Figure 1.6 d), and represent the city’s first public baths which would provide a model for the increasingly lavish public baths of the imperial era (Tortorici 1990: 48-52). They appear to have been the city’s first baths constructed under state authority, and were particularly notable for their large size and impressive artistic decoration (Fagan 2002: 108-110). As would become the trend, Agrippa’s baths were elaborately decorated with paintings and stucco, with the thematically appropriate *Apoxymenos* statue by Lysippus standing before the entrance (a statue so beautiful, Pliny claims, Tiberius fell in love with it) (Pliny *NH* 34.19.62, 36.62.189). Despite the evidence of the *Forma*

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<sup>10</sup>For comparisons between the two, see Statius *Silv.* 1.5.19-30; Martial 6.42.3-21. On the Aqua Virgo, see Ovid *AA* 3.383-90, *Fast.* 1.461-8, *Tr.* 3.12.21-6, *Pont.* 1.8.35-40; Martial 5.20.1-10, 7.32.7-14, 11.47, 14.163.

<sup>11</sup> Pliny translations adapted from Rackham. 1940. *Pliny: Natural History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

*Urbis Romae* (Figure 1.10) and the survival of a large section of a rotunda (Figure 1.11), the layout of the baths has proved difficult to reconstruct (Nielsen 1990: 43-5; Yegül 1995: 133-7; Richardson 1992: 386-7, *s.v.* *Thermae Agrippae*; Ghini in Steinby 1993: 40-42, *s.v.* *Thermae Agrippae*), though it was oriented and delimited by the pre-existing buildings in the area. Immediately adjacent to the west was the *Stagnum Agrippae* (Figure 1.6 d), which may have served as a *natatio* (swimming pool) for the baths (Coarelli 1977: 827-9; Richardson 1992: 367, *s.v.* *Stagnum Agrippae*; Buzzetti in Steinby 1993: 344-5, *s.v.* *Stagnum Agrippae*), or else may have been the drainage pool for them (Lloyd 1979: 196). The *Stagnum* was a very large artificial basin built into the *Palus Caprae*, a natural marshy depression to the west of the *Thermae*, measuring roughly 240 x 190m. and accessed from the north by a surviving set of marble steps (Ghini 1988: 169-72, figs. 1, 18-20). It perhaps helped to drain the naturally marshy area of the *Campus Martius* (Lloyd 1979: 203). To the east was the *Nemus Agrippae*, a scene for late night partying in Neronian Rome (Tacitus *Ann.* 15.37), a remainder of the overgrown flood plain that was rapidly becoming built up.

The *Euripus* was an artificial channel running along the western *Campus Martius* and emptying into the Tiber. It has at times been identified with the channel excavated under the *Palazzo della Cancelleria* in 1938 (Coarelli in Steinby 1993: 237-9, *s.v.* *Euripus*), which runs parallel to the Tiber (Figure 1.6 g & Figure 1.7 d). This channel is around 1.70m. deep and 3.5m. wide, edged with travertine and flanked by paved walkways bordered on the south by two walls of tufa and *opus reticulatum* masonry (Nogara 1941: 10-11). Lloyd has argued that the shallow depth and narrow width of this channel would not have made it the choice swimming spot described by Ovid and others (cf. e.g. *Tr.* 3.12.21-6, *Pont.* 1.8.35-40; *Seneca Ep.* 83.5). He adds that the *Euripus* supplied by the *Aqua Virgo* would have harmonized with the surrounding *Nemus*



Figure 1.10. The Thermae Agrippae on the *Forma Urbis Romae*, showing a large circular chamber (cf. Figure 1.11) surrounded by blocks of rooms. Slab III-10, Stanford #38. Image taken from [formaurbis.stanford.edu](http://formaurbis.stanford.edu).



Figure 1.11. Section of the large, domed, circular room from the Thermae Agrippae (cf. Figure 1.10) surrounding a building in the Via dell' Arco della Ciambella, Rome.

Agrippae, resembling a large stream (Lloyd 1979: 197-8). He interprets the remains beneath the Palazzo della Cancelleria as a drainage ditch from the Stagnum Agrippae, and is followed by Richardson who designates the Cancelleria remains as the Euripus Thermarum Agrippae, a drainage ditch for the Stagnum, and distinguishes this from the Euripus Virginis, used as a swimming channel (Lloyd 1979: 198; Richardson 1992: 146-7, *s.v.* Euripus; Euripus Virginis). Lloyd argues that the Euripus Virginis ran parallel to the Transtiberim branch-line of the Aqua Virgo (Figure 1.7 c), and that the cutting of the Euripus channel into the ridge between the aqueduct *terminus* near the Pantheon and the Tiber (Figure 1.6, contours between a & c) would have facilitated the transportation of the Virgo's water along the same route to the Pons Agrippae (Lloyd 1979: 194 Illustration 1, 197). Frontinus' distribution statistics for the aqueduct strongly suggest that the Aqua Virgo was purpose-built for these water structures in the Campus Martius: almost one-fifth of its total water capacity went to supply the Euripus alone, and most of its water was devoted to a small number of *opera publica*, mainly in the Campus Martius (Front. 84). The large supply of water to the Euripus does indeed suggest a substantial recreational feature. Agrippa's Campus Martius complex was the first known garden in Rome to be watered by an aqueduct, and it marks a revolution in gardening possibilities which would develop throughout the city as time went by and more aqueducts were constructed (Farrar 1998: 67-8; Stackelberg 2009: 39).

The Aqua Virgo's distribution plan leads Evans to conclude that it was built to fulfill a specific purpose, and to complement the supply of the recently introduced Aqua Iulia. So, the Aqua Virgo supplied the Circus Flaminius (*regio IX*) and Transtiberim (*regio XIV*) as well as the Campus Martius, and complemented the small supply of the Tepula in the Via Lata (*regio VII*) (Evans 1982: 409; cf. Front. 84.2). The complementarity of the distribution networks of the Tepula, Iulia, and the Virgo, along with the increased specialization of each new line, shows a revolutionary

approach on Agrippa's part. The aqueduct construction of the 30s and 20s BCE followed a systematic, long-term plan which dovetailed with the increasing development, and increased demand for water, encouraged by the Augustan building program. The aqueducts' specialization allowed for an economical and efficient distribution of their water, which had almost doubled the city's supply (Evans 1982: 410-11).

The specialized nature of the Aqua Virgo, its distinctive appearance and location, and the quality of its waters would all have contributed to give it a distinctive character, as we shall see attested in Ovid's writing. Pliny, too, in the passage quoted above, speaks of the Aqua Virgo and Aqua Marcia as easily identifiable characters, each with its own reputation. The nature of the distribution network meant each aqueduct's supply was kept fairly localized around its various *termini*, which would each be the site for a water tower (*castellum*) from which pressurized supply pipes could be run (Aicher 1995: 19-20). It would therefore have been easy to identify the neighbourhoods supplied by each aqueduct, and to know, for example, where a supply of the excellent water of the Aqua Marcia might be gathered. Similarly, any reduction in an aqueduct's supply, through damage or illegal tapping of the aqueducts, would have been very noticeable on the streets of the city as Pliny's complaint also indicates.

This was a problem which greatly exercised Frontinus, who found that many of the *aquarii* were diverting water illegally for their own profit, as well as many landowners along the aqueducts' courses (Front. 9.4, 75.2-3, 115.1-4). As early as 184 BCE the censors had taken action against excessive diversion of public water onto private property (Livy 39.44.4; Plut. *Cato ma.* 19.1), although in this case the water was not necessarily being drawn off illegally (De Kleijn 2001: 95); Frontinus reports that fraudulent water diversions taking place in 144 BCE prompted Q. Marcius Rex to reorganize the water supply and build the Aqua Marcia (Front. 7.1). These

problems point to the fact that water was a valuable commodity, both within the city and on the farms through which the aqueducts ran. Within Rome, piped water into the home would have been a rare luxury. The right to a private pipeline from one of the public aqueducts was a *beneficium* which could be granted only by Agrippa himself (De Kleijn 2001: 93-6), and would have been an important marker of status.<sup>12</sup> The water supply system in Pompeii is illuminating in this regard: those houses which do have piped water use this water to supply domestic fountains around the *impluvia* of their various courtyards, and only rarely is water piped from there into kitchens and bathrooms. The domestic fountain is thus set up much as a civic fountain was, as a constantly running source from which water could be collected; the system also prioritizes display over function, and the social significance of piped water perhaps also explains why water pipes were often laid over the top of decorative mosaic floors (Farrar 1998: 66-7; Jansen 2001: 29, 31-7, 40 ns. 40-2; Longfellow 2011: 27-8).

In the country, demands for water had steadily increased throughout the Republic, as Roman agriculture became market-oriented instead of subsistence focused after the Punic Wars (Gabba 1979: 38-46; De Neeve 1985: 84-97; Erdkamp 2005: 46-54, 95-105; Bannon 2009: 6-8, 27-8). Profitable crops were those which required irrigation and more steady supplies of water, and this put pressure on local water supply. Bannon has examined the legal evidence for disputes over water in the Roman world, and argues that the legal concept of a servitude<sup>13</sup> developed over time

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<sup>12</sup> Studies of *fistulae* stamps have attempted to assess the social status of those granted a private conduit, most notably Eck 1982; difficulties arise both in assessing the statistical significance of the evidence, and in the interpretation of the stamps (as e.g. names in the genitive are assumed by Eck to indicate ownership of a private supply, but this is not the only possible interpretation). Most such grants seem to have been made to elites who owned substantial property (cf. Bruun 1991: 63-96; De Kleijn 2001: 193-223).

<sup>13</sup> There were two kinds of servitude associated with rustic (vs. urban) water rights: *aquae ductus*, which allowed the holder of the servitude to channel water from a neighbour's property onto his own, and *haustus*, which allowed the holder to draw water from a neighbour's water source. Unlike

in response to neighbours' needs to share water fairly and amicably (Bannon 2009a). Farms located close to urban produce markets, such as the *suburbium* outside Rome, were particularly market-oriented and had correspondingly higher demands for water. The owners of these properties would therefore have been more likely to illegally tap the aqueducts which supplied the city (Bannon 2009: 42, 78-9). This was a perennial problem for the *curatores aquarum*, as we have seen, and is a helpful reminder of what a luxury the urban aqueducts represented.

In addition to managing these issues with imported waters, Agrippa and Augustus had to contend with the problems posed by Rome's major native water source. Dio reports that in 22 BCE the river Tiber flooded heavily, and was accompanied by lightning strikes throughout the city, including strikes on the statues of the Pantheon (Dio 54.1.1). These events seemed all the more portentous when a famine and plague afflicted the whole of Italy during the following summer (Dio 54.1.2), and all of these disasters were, apparently, attributed by the people to the fact that Augustus was no longer consul (Dio 54.1.3). The Tiber flooded in a notable fashion with reasonable regularity -- for example, Dio records floods occurring in 32, 27, 23, 22 and 13 BCE (Dio 53.20.1, 53.33.5, 54.1, 54.25.2). Aldrete notes that the region's geology, hydrology and topography, along with more recent flood data, all suggest that floods would have been more regular than recorded, with major incidents every few years (Aldrete 2007: 14). Minor floods would have covered the Forum Boarium area and parts of the Campus Martius (as when the new Theatre of Balbus was flooded upon its inauguration in 13 BCE, cf. Dio 54.25.2, Figure 1.12 & Figure 1.13), and major floods would have submerged the Campus Martius and reached through to the Forum Romanum (as recorded at Horace Carm. 1.2.1-20, referring either to a flood of 27

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the imperial grants to tap city aqueducts, which belonged to a person and were non-transferable upon death or sale of property, servitudes were associated with a property and would transfer over to a new owner provided that the servitude had been continually exercised (Bannon 2009: 1-46).

BCE or later; Figure 1.14 & Figure 1.15). Aldrete points out that imperial bathing complexes built after the reign of Nero favoured higher ground over the low-lying Campus Martius (Figure 1.16), and suggests that this is because they were more susceptible to flood damage than other building types. The intricate plumbing networks would have been more vulnerable to silting and clogging than the city's regular aqueduct and sewer systems, and more difficult and costly to clean. Perhaps bad experiences maintaining the *Thermae Agrippae* and the later *Thermae Neronis* led later emperors to locate their baths outside the flood zone (Aldrete 2007: 208-9).

Although in general the Romans do not seem to have made a concerted effort to control the river's regular inundations (Aldrete 2007: 204-231), there is some evidence that it was a point of concern for Augustus and Agrippa, perhaps as a result of the extensive and costly building program in the flood-prone Campus Martius. These efforts would have had some impact, especially in the summer months when the river's flow was more sluggish and so more prone to get clogged by the debris thrown into it (Aldrete 2007: 189-91).

The long-term planning of the urban water supply, and the concern over the damage caused by its natural waters, attest to a holistic view of Rome's hydrology on Agrippa's part. The leisure complex of the Campus Martius required high levels of planning and co-ordination to construct, and was in that sense a symbol of what the new political order promised. Agrippa left Rome around 19 BCE for an extended period of foreign service, but the monuments and infrastructure he left behind maintained their significance. In the next decade, Ovid would begin to publish his poetry, and would draw time and again upon the newly constructed, modern city made possible by Agrippa's hydraulic projects. The luxurious leisure and bathing complex in the Campus Martius would become particularly representative of Rome for the poet, both while he lived in the city and when he remembered the urban landscape and lifestyle from exile (Chapter 2.2).

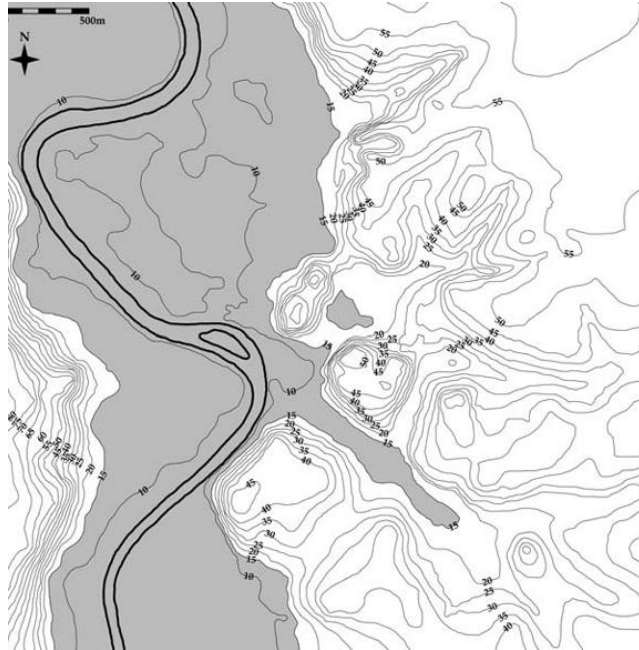


Figure 1.12. Topographic map of Rome showing in grey a flood at 15 masl, covering the Forum Boarium and entering the Campus Martius. Map taken from Aldrete 2007: 47, Fig. 1.8.



Figure 1.13. Drawing by J. H. W. Tischbein of the Pantheon during the flood of 1686. Fototeca Unione, American Academy in Rome, 14130F. Image taken from Aldrete 2007: 37, Fig. 1.4.

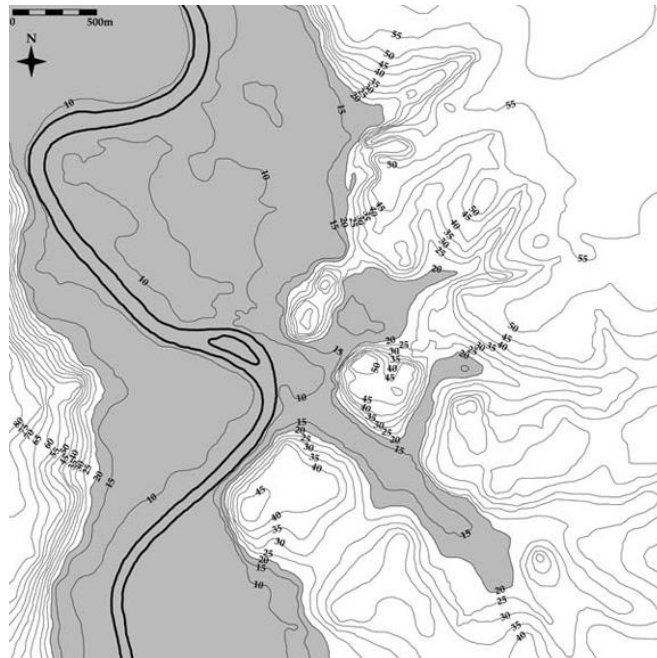


Figure 1.14. Topographic map of Rome showing in grey a flood at 20 masl, covering the Forum Boarium, Campus Martius, and Forum Romanum. Map taken from Aldrete 2007: 48, Fig. 1.9.



Figure 1.15. Forum Romanum seen through the Arch of Septimius Severus during the flood of 1902. Fototeca Unione, American Academy in Rome, VD 270. Image taken from Aldrete 2007: 36, Fig. 1.3.

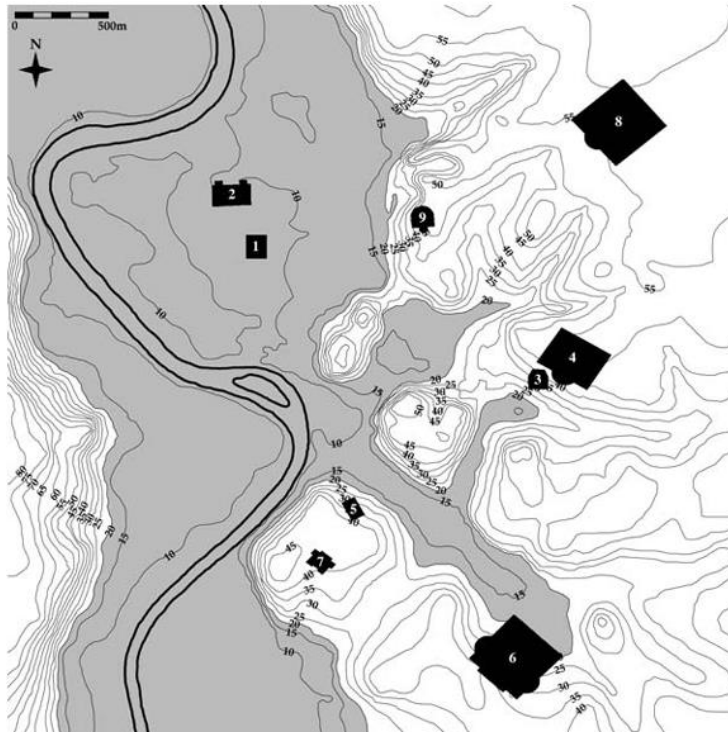


Figure 1.16. Major bath complexes plotted against a 20 masl flood (in grey). Baths, in order of construction date: Baths of Agrippa (1), Baths of Nero (2), Baths of Titus (3), Baths of Trajan (4), Baths of Sura (5), Baths of Caracalla (6), Baths of Decius (7), Baths of Diocletian (8), Baths of Constantine (9). Map taken from Aldrete 2007: 209, Fig. 6.3.

### 1.3 POST-AGRIPPAN AGE: AUGUSTAN AQUEDUCTS, RIVER DREDGING AND A NAUMACHIA

After Agrippa’s death in 12 BCE, the park in the Campus Martius and the *Thermae Agrippae* were gifted to the Roman people, with his estates in Egypt and Sicily left to Augustus to fund their upkeep (Dio 54.29). The unique “nationalization” of the bathing complex sets it apart from the privately constructed *balnea* of the Republican period, and would have helped to strengthen the sense of the beneficence of the Augustan order (Fagan 2002: 109-110). The slave company which Agrippa had set up to maintain the public waterworks was also inherited by Augustus, who made the slaves property of the state. The systematic approach to administration of civic infrastructure

was gradually codified by Augustus. He made the various *curatores* posts permanent, appointing ex-praetors to the positions for extended tenures which would allow them to become experts in their field and to implement long-term plans as Agrippa had done (Favro 1992: 76-9). In 11 BCE, a *senatus consultum* was passed which established a permanent board to oversee the urban water supply, and which further mandated that the *curator* maintain the same number of public fountains constructed by Agrippa (Front. 104, 116). The next *curator aquarum* was Messalla Corvinus, patron of poets.

At around the same time as he was codifying the administration of the water supply, Augustus had the forum square re-paved, an activity which served to further enshrine one of the city's earliest aquatic landmarks. The Lacus Curtius was a pit in the center of the forum (see Map 11a). Several different stories are preserved which attempt to account for its existence and the reverence accorded to it. The most common derived the name from the young patrician M. Curtius, who committed an act of *devotio* in order to close the newly opened chasm of the Lacus, and plunged into it on horseback in full armour (Varro *Ling.* 5.148; Livy 7.6.1-6; Dion. Hal. 14.11.3-4; Val. Max. 5.6.2; Pliny *NH* 15.78; Dio fr. 30.1-2; Paulus *ex Fest.* 24L; Zonaras 7.25; Orosius 3.5). Another version attributed the name instead to the Sabine leader Mettius Curtius, who escaped from the Roman army by riding his horse into the swamp (Varro *Ling.* 5.149; Livy 1.12.9-10 and 13.5; Dion. Hal. 2.42.5-6; Plutarch *Rom.* 18.4). A third variant, supported by Varro, said that the spot was struck by lightning in 445 BCE, and was then fenced off and marked with a puteal by the consul C. Curtius (Varro *Ling.* 5.150). These accounts diverge widely as to the reasons for singling out this particular spot, and even as to whether it was ever actually a lake. There is, though, a general concurrence that it was both the site for some important historic event, and was emblematic



Figure 1.17. Plan of the Forum Romanum showing the Lacus Curtius (a) in the centre of the forum square. The Lacus Iuturnae (b) is tucked away between the Temple of Castor (c), Parthian Arch of Augustus (d), and Temple of Vesta (e). Cf. Figure 1.28 and Figure 1.29. Courtesy David Gilman Romano, *Digital Augustan Rome*.

of the early appearance of the Forum Romanum, a reminder of the dominant forces of nature -- be they sink-hole, swamp, or lightning -- as I will explore in Chapter 2.

The remains of the Lacus Curtius today consist of three layers of pavement covering an irregular area of the Forum Romanum: the lowest is of cappellaccio slabs, the middle slabs of Monteverde tufa, and the topmost slab of travertine (Figure 1.18 a-c). Giuliani believes the rectangular cappellaccio area and the 12-sided plinth of Monteverde tufa form a single unit; this phase is associated with work said by Livy to have been carried out in 184 BCE (Livy 39.44.5) (Giuliani in Steinby 1993: 166-7, *s.v.* Lacus Curtius). The area of the Lacus Curtius was later, it seems, reduced, probably during the re-paving of the forum square by Aurelius Cotta (78-4BCE). Augustus also repaved the forum in 12 BCE, and the travertine slabs form a kind of parapet (Figure

1.18 c), protecting the Lacus Curtius as the floor level rises. Further paving and re-levelling seems to have been carried out around 203 CE (Giuliani in Steinby 1993: 166-7 *s.v.* Lacus Curtius). These pavements mark out the mysterious and important area of the Lacus Curtius. A relief found between the Column of Phocas and the Temple of Castor seems to depict the version of the story where Mettius Curtius was trapped in a swamp (Figure 1.19). The puteal which Varro says the consul C. Curtius set up after the lightning strike may have stood on the Monteverde tufa plinth (Figure 1.18 b) (Richardson 1992: 229-30 *s.v.* Lacus Curtius; Giuliani in Steinby 1993: 166-7 *s.v.* Lacus Curtius). As there is no apparent water source in the area, and each aetiology is clearly an attempt to rationalize the place's name and religious significance, Richardson concludes the monument was very ancient with strong chthonic associations (Richardson 1992: *s.v.* Lacus Curtius). Interestingly, its first mention in Latin (Plautus *Curc.* 477) refers to it simply as *lacus*. According to Suetonius, people used to toss coins into the Lacus Curtius as an offering for the continued health of Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 57.1).



Figure 1.18. The three layers of pavement within the Lacus Curtius: square cappelaccio slabs to the front-left (a); a 12-sided plinth of Monteverde tufa slabs to the front-right (b); travertine along the back (c).



Figure 1.19. Plaster cast of the relief (preserved in the Capitoline Museum) associated with the Lacus Curtius, found between the Column of Phocas and the Temple of Castor. A fully armed man on horseback, either M. Curtius or Mettius Curtius, leaps into a swamp represented by rushes.

In 11 BCE Augustus undertook the restoration and expansion of the Iulia, Marcia, Appia, Tepula and Anio Vetus aqueducts (Front. 125). The senate were in the process of banning the construction of more public drinking basins, and there had been little public building that would have required an increased supply since Agrippa's development of the Campus Martius. It thus seems most likely that this extra water was intended to supply private homes, villas, baths and gardens, for which the low-quality Anio Vetus would have been a suitable source. Augustus' approach to the water supply seems to have been much less civic-minded than Agrippa's, as many of the pleasure estates along the Janiculum and beside the Tiber had some connection with Augustus' and Agrippa's families (Dio 44.35.3, Tac. *Ann.* 2.41) (Taylor 2000: 152-3).

A restoration of the Pons Aemilius bridge at around this time has long been assumed on the basis of the inscription of the “Fornix Augusti” (*CIL VI 878*), a now lost inscription associated with an arch described in the C14 and C15 as standing between the Pons Aemilius and the Theatre of Marcellus. It is reconstructed as reading *CAESAR DIVI F AVGVSTVS PONT MAX EX SC REFECIT* (“Caesar Augustus son of the deified, pontifex maximus, from a decree of the senate, restored it”). The sophisticated flood protection around the base of the bridge is thought to have been added during this Augustan restoration (Richardson 1992: *s.v.* Pons Aemilius; cf. Figure 1.20 and Figure 1.21). Taylor argued that this restoration would have allowed for a larger conduit of the Aqua Appia to be carried on the bridge, and a thereby increased water supply in the Transiberim. More recently, Palombi and Coarelli have expressed doubts that this Augustan restoration took place, as the interpretation of this inscription depends upon exactly how close the Fornix Augusti stood to the bridge and in what connection (Palombi in Steinby 1993: 262-3, *s.v.* Fornix Augusti; Coarelli in Steinby 1993: 106-7, *s.v.* Pons Aemilius). The Pons Aemilius was the first stone bridge in Rome (built 179-142BCE), located a short way upstream from the city’s first wooden bridge, the Pons Sublicius (Figure 1.3 c-d). The wooden bridge in particular was prone to frequent damage when the river flooded (cf. Livy 35.21.5-6; Dio 37.58.2-4, 50.8.3, 55.22.3); an idea of the extent of this flooding and its impact on the bridges can be seen at Figure 1.22, where the Pons Aemilius is almost entirely submerged. The Pons Sublicius was completely destroyed by the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE, but one arch of the Pons Aemilius still stands in the Tiber; known in antiquity also as the Pons Senatorum and the Pons Maior, this bridge is now commonly called the Ponte Rotto (Richardson 1992: *s.v.* Pons Aemilius).

Richardson explains the continued maintenance of two bridges so close together by pointing to their different functions: the Sublicius lead to the southwest and the Via Portuensis, the Aemilius



Figure 1.20. The Pons Aemilius (“Ponte Rotto”).



Figure 1.21. Detail of (Augustan?) flood protection on the Pons Aemilius.



Figure 1.22. The remaining arch of the Pons Aemilius submerged during an unidentified flood; Tiber Island in the background. Fototeca Unione, American Academy in Rome, 586.

Image taken from Aldrete 2007: 116, Fig. 3.3.

to the west, Caere and the Etrurian coast (Richardson 1992: s.v. Pons Aemilius). Although, given that it was only a footbridge (Coarelli in Steinby 1993: 112-3 s.v. Pons Sublicius), it is hard to believe the Pons Sublicius was really used as a major trade route. Hallett has noted that the religious significance of the Pons Sublicius, evident in its use for the ritual of the Argei (on which see Chapter 2.1), must have maintained its importance, even in close sight of the impressive stone pons maximus (Obsequens 16) (Hallett 1970: 222).

Whether or not Augustus arranged for restorations to the Pons Aemilius, he was clearly concerned about the Tiber and its damaging effects. He surveyed the river's banks in 8 BCE and dredged the river in 7 BCE (Suet. *Aug.* 30). The extensive nature of this survey is evidenced by the numerous Augustan *cippi* marking the public space of its riverbanks, and Suetonius states that his aim in dredging the river was flood prevention (Le Gall 1953a: 117-19, 149-73). Clearing the river channel may well have helped to prevent minor floods, and may have been particularly important given the common use of the river as a convenient way to dispose of rubbish of all kinds (Aldrete 2007: 189-91). By 15 CE, a permanent board was established to regulate the Tiber floods, either by Augustus or Tiberius (Suetonius *Aug.* 37, Dio 57.14.7-8, Tacitus *Ann.* 1.76); with the Campus Martius developing into a bustling built-up area, flood damage may well have become more of a concern.

From 11-5 BCE Augustus undertook the restoration of all the city's aqueducts at his own expense (Front. 125; *Aug. RG* 20.2). His beneficence is recorded in an inscription over the Porta Tiburtina, *riuuos aquarum omnium refecit* ("he repaired the channels of all the aqueducts;" *CIL* IV 1244). The Porta Tiburtina is now incorporated as a gate in the Aurelian Wall, but it was originally a monumental aqueduct crossing of the Marcia-Tepula-Iulia over the Via Tiburtina

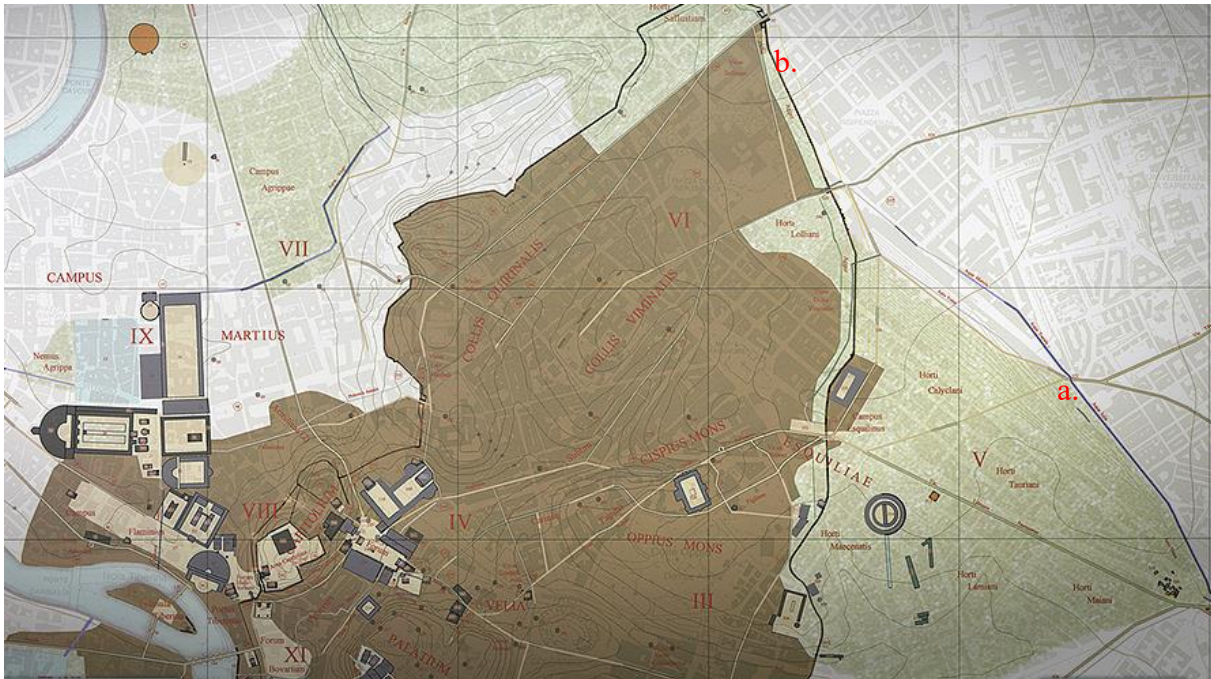


Figure 1.23. Porta Tiburtina, the monumental aqueduct crossing of the Marcia-Tepula-Julia over the Via Tiburtina, now a gate in the Aurelian wall (a). Approximate location of the distribution tank for the Marcia-Tepula-Julia channels (b).

(Figure 1.23 a). Shortly after crossing the Porta Tiburtina, the aqueducts separated out into different channels and ran to their primary distribution tanks (Aicher 1995: 58-9). The aqueduct arcades would have been a prominent sight for anybody approaching the city from the east, on either the Via Tiburtina, the Via Praenestina or the Via Appia, offering the first sign that Rome was close by, and the first glimpse of the city's waters and engineering marvels, as Favro imagines in her 14 CE walk through the city (Favro 1996: 268-9). The Augustan inscription at Porta Tiburtina seems designed to capitalize on the aqueducts' dramatic impact.

The restoration itself would have been quite an undertaking: Frontinus lays out detailed instructions for how to undertake repairs to aqueducts and shows particular concern for retaining as much supply as possible while repairs are ongoing. As well as advising that aqueducts only be repaired singly instead of all at once, he recommends avoiding carrying out repairs during the high-

demand months of summer (Front. 119-124). He ends by quoting a *senatus consultum* relating to these Augustan repairs (Front. 125). As well as observing that Augustus had promised to pay for the repairs himself, the *S. C.* lays out explicit regulations for how the landowners, across whose property the aqueducts ran, should be compensated for their supply of materials such as mud, stone, sand, potsherds, and wood. The maintenance of the aqueducts would thus have caused disruption to a large community of people, both those whose water supply was intermittently affected, and those across whose land the work crews traipsed. These self-funded repairs also helped to set the precedent for subsequent emperors to pay for major renovations (cf. *CIL* VI 1257 = *ILS* 218, for Vespasian; *CIL* VI 1258 = *ILS* 218, for Titus; *CIL* XI 3298, for the Aqua Traina; *CIL* VI 1259 = *ILS* 424, for Septimius Severus and Caracalla) (Rodgers 2003a: 314).

Augustus' next large aqueduct project was markedly different from the ostensibly civic-minded water program of Agrippa. The Aqua Alsietina, which must have been completed by 2 BCE, was built specifically to supply the new Naumachia basin in the *Transtiberim* (Figure 1.24 a-b). Frontinus is very disparaging of the Aqua Alsietina (Front. 11.1):

quae ratio mouerit Augustum, prouidentissimum principem, perducendi Alsietinam aquam, quae uocatur Augusta, non satis perspicio, nullius gratiae, immo etiam parum salubrem ideoque nusquam in usus populi fluentem

“I do not clearly understand what motivated Augustus, an emperor whose qualities were most conspicuously devoted to matters of public interest,<sup>14</sup> to bring in the Aqua Alsietina (which is also called Augusta). It has no commendable quality; indeed, it is so thoroughly unwholesome that it is nowhere delivered for use by the populace”

His disgust is probably partially due to the fact that the aqueduct's flow was significantly reduced by his day, as the level of Lake Alsietinus had fallen (Rodgers 2003a: 179 *s.v.* *Quae ratio*). Nonetheless, its source was not a fresh underground spring but the standing water of a lake, and

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<sup>14</sup> Rodgers translates *prouidentissimum principem* expansively, in order to capture the full force of *providentia* as an imperial attribute: it is a term which ‘conveys a sense of beneficial concern (and expenditure) for vast public projects’ (Rodgers 2003a: 179, *s.v.* *prouidentissimum principem*).

this would indeed have made it low quality, warm water. As well as supplying the Naumachia, Frontinus records that its waters were also diverted for the irrigation of private property just outside the city, precisely because its waters were too low quality to be piped to public drinking fountains. This provision is confirmed by an inscription (dated c. 4-37 CE (Bannon 2009: 77)) which describes how certain *riuales* were allotted water from the aqueduct according to a time schedule (CIL VI 31566 = CIL XI 3722a = ILS 5796). Given that it was clearly never intended to supply public drinking fountains, Taylor concludes that it was built for the sole purpose of supplying the Naumachia, and that the concessions were granted subsequently; the time schedule for the concessions possibly allowed for periods of refilling the large basin of the Naumachia (Taylor 2000: 178-97) . Favro observes that private gardens flourished along the aqueduct lines, and that

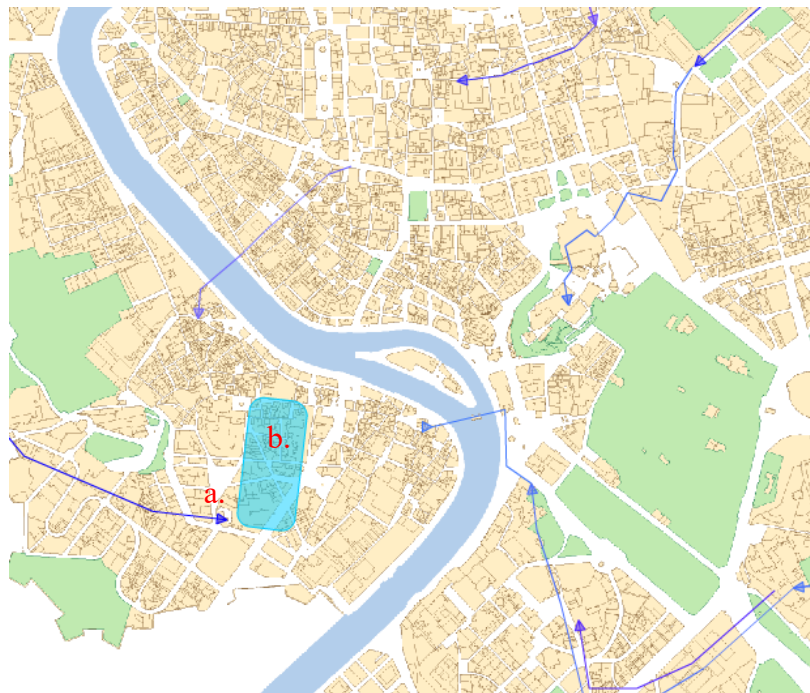


Figure 1.24. Route of the Aqua Alsietina into the city (a). Naumachia Augusti (b). Cf. Figure 1.25.

Augustus himself was known to have an interest in horticulture and landscape design (Pliny *NH* 12.13, 16.140) (Favro 1996: 177-8); the gardens of Rome and the *suburbium* were perhaps the unintended beneficiaries of the increasingly sophisticated urban water delivery system, as well as on occasion its illegal appendages.

The Naumachia itself was inaugurated in 2 BCE, with naval battles staged to mark the dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor (Vell Pat. 2.100.1; Augustus *RG* 23; Suetonius *Aug.* 43.1; Cass. Dio 66.25.3; Hieron *a. Abr.* 2013; Richardson 1992: *s.v.* Naumachia Augusti). Augustus himself gives the measurements of this large basin as 1,800 by 1,200 Roman feet (Augustus *RG* 23), which indicates his pride in such a large undertaking (Favro 1996: 181). The Naumachia was also used by Nero and Titus for sea-battles (Martial *Liber Spectaculorum* 28.1-2), but was only partially intact by Cassius Dio's day (Dio 55.10.7), and its exact location is now disputed, although the excavation of a small section of the Aqua Alsietina shows it was near the monastery of S. Cosimato (Taylor 2000: 191-2). Taylor has used the written record, local topography, and archaeological remains together with the Severan marble plan to suggest a location between the Via della Lungaretta and S. Francesco a Ripa, extending from the area in front of S. Crisogono to behind S. Cosimato (Figure 1.25) (Taylor 1997). The orientation and location of the Naumachia, on Taylor's interpretation, is determined by the roads which lead into the Transtiberim from the Pons Aemilius (Figure 1.3 c & e). This is a good illustration of the importance of the bridges to the development of the Transtiberim, even if the aqueduct water they carried was not used for the Naumachia. It is clear from Frontinus that the public water supply in the region was entirely dependent upon the aqueducts from the other side of the river, as the Alsietina, the only aqueduct to enter the city to the west of the Tiber, was only used to supply drinking fountains in emergencies (Front. 11.2).



Figure 1.25. Proposed positions of the Aqua Alsietina (a) and the Naumachia Augusti (b) in relation to the fragments of the Severan marble plan. The shaded rectangle represents the modern street pattern, the dotted rectangle the Naumachia. (Taylor 1997: 101, fig. 4). Cf. Figure 1.24.

Around the Naumachia, Augustus established the *nemus Caesarum*, the Grove of the Casesars, in honour of Gaius and Lucius (Augustus *RG* 23; Dio 66.25.3; Suet. *Aug.* 43.1; Tac. *Ann.* 43.15). This was probably irrigated with water, not from the Alsietina, but from one of the earlier aqueducts which were already in use to supply the *Transtiberim* (Taylor 1997: 486, with n. 94). The overall effect would have therefore been an interesting blend of “wilderness” with the grand staging of the Naumachia. Ovid uses the occasion of the Naumachia to describe how men and girls *ab utroque mari* (“from each sea;” *A.A.* 1.173) came into the city, and segues into an account of world domination and a predicted triumph. This particular water project, then, had an overtly political impact. Favro notes that the siting of the Naumachia and entry of the Aqua Alsietina on

the west bank of the Tiber, combined with the extensive development of the Campus Martius on the east bank, meant that the river no longer formed a strong boundary to the city (Favro 1996: 212). Leisure complexes stretched along either bank, and were made more easily accessible thanks to the new bridges. Further, the new aqueducts, rising on arches to their *castella* within the city, drew the eye towards these two newly developed areas: the Aqua Virgo's arcade heading towards the Campus Martius, the Aqua Alsietina descending the Janiculum down to the Naumachia (Favro 1996: 221-2).

Within the three years after the inauguration of Augustus' Naumachia, Ovid published the *Ars Amatoria* and the *Remedia Amoris*. By this point, lavish water displays were established as an ordinary part of modern Roman life, and were particularly characteristic of the newly developed areas of the modern city. As I shall examine in Chapter 2, the Agrippan-Augustan hydraulic infrastructure is central to Ovid's portrayal of the city in these markedly urban works. This is also the hydraulic background against which he began work on the *Fasti* and the *Metamorphoses*, and which would remain with him as definitive of Rome from exile.

One final hydraulic development will have significance for Ovid's Rome. The antiquity of the site and the specific way in which it was remodelled and reframed by Tiberius are central to Ovid's presentation of it in the *Fasti* (see Chapter 2). Just two years before Ovid's exile, Tiberius undertook the revetment of one of the oldest water sources in the city, the Lacus Juturnae. Considered one of the earliest sources of water for the city's inhabitants (Front. 4), the Lacus Juturnae was the site of a miraculous visitation by the gods Castor and Pollux, who watered their horses in the pool after leading the Romans to victory against Tarquinius Superbus at the battle of Lake Regillus in 496 BCE (Dion. Hal. 6.13.2-4; Plutarch *Coriolanus* 3.4). This event led to the foundation of the Temple of Castor immediately next to the Lacus Juturnae (Figure 1.17 b & c). It

wasn't until a second miraculous appearance by the Dioscuri, this time aiding L. Aemilius Paullus as he prepared for battle against Perseus at Pydna in 168 BCE (Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.6), that the spring itself was monumentalized. A rectangular basin was built around the spring, aligned with the neighboring temple, and adorned with archaizing statues of the twins and their horses displayed close by (Figure 1.26). Aemilius Paullus thus capitalized upon the cultural memories and significance already associated with the spring, and used the statuary to forge a connection between the place and his own victory (Longfellow 2011: 14). The area was altered again around 117 BCE by L. Caecilius Metellus, who shortened the sides of the basin and built a rectangular platform in the center for the statues to stand on (Figure 1.27), focusing attention on the statues and their reflection in the pool (Steinby in Steinby 1993: 168-70, s.v. *Lacus Iuturnae*). This kind of public, ornate fountain display was unusual in the Republican period, and drew on decorative and sculptural programs common in the settings of private villas (Longfellow 2011: 15).

Tiberius remodelled the fountain in 6 CE, lining the basin with marble and reducing it in size to 5 x 5 meters (Figure 1.27). This would have further intensified the focus on the statues grouped upon the central pedestal (Steinby in Steinby 1993: 168-70, s.v. *Lacus Iuturnae*). The remodelling of the fountain by Tiberius took place while he restored the nearby Temple of Castor, and at the same time as Augustus' Parthian Arch was being constructed. The Temple and the Arch had complementary construction processes: the arch, which was begun in 19 BCE before Tiberius began the temple restorations, is not oriented in line with the temple, but the east lateral stair of the temple has been turned to line up with the south lateral passage of the arch (Gorski and Packer 2015: 414 n.16) (Figure 1.28 and Figure 1.29). The alignment of the stair thus directs foot traffic through the arch. This has the effect of separating the *Lacus Iuturnae* from the forum square, as the arch is placed exactly at the transition from the forum square to the *Summa Via Sacra*, where

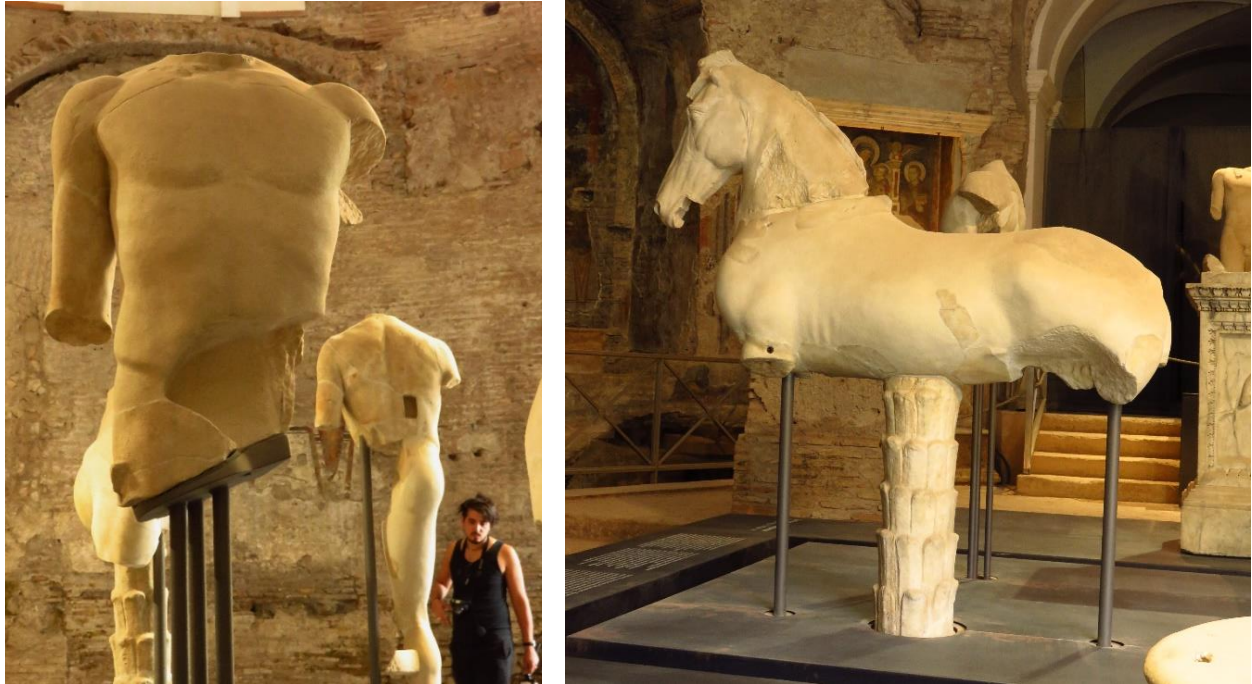


Figure 1.26. Marble Dioscourti statues, and marble horse statue associated with the Lacus Iuturnae, 168 BCE.



Figure 1.27. Current remains of the Lacus Iuturnae. The altar is a copy of a C2 CE marble altar found thrown into the basin. The remains of the basin itself probably date to a Trajanic restoration.

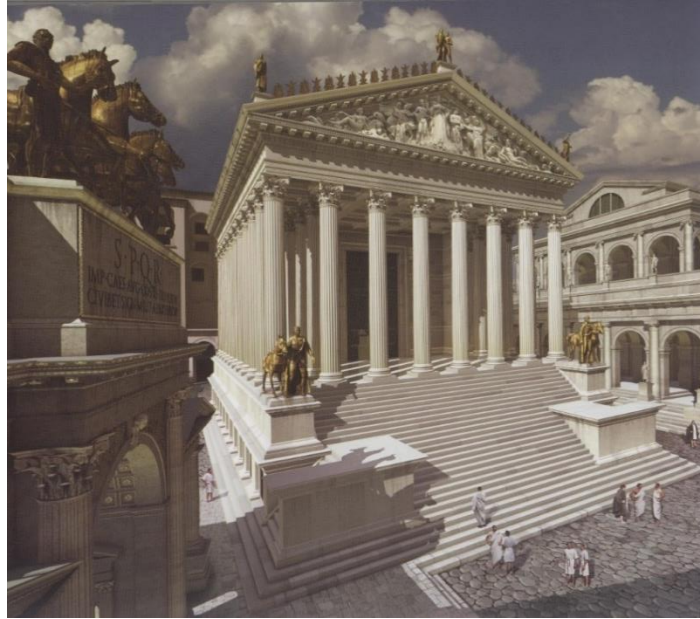


Figure 1.28. Tiberian temple of Castor and Pollux looking southwest, with (front left) the Parthian Arch of Augustus and (back right) the Basilica Julia. Cf. Figure 1.17 and Figure 1.29.

Image taken from Gorski and Packer 2015: 284, Fig. 18.1.



Figure 1.29. Parthian Arch of Augustus (restored) looking southeast, with (front left) the Temple of the Deified Caesar, (behind) the Temple of Vesta), (back right) the buildings of the Palatine, and (front right) the steps of the Temple of Castor and Pollux. Cf. Figure 1.17 and

Figure 1.28. Image taken from Gorski and Packer 2015: 302, Fig. 19.1.

one might turn south-west alongside the Temple of Castor, and directs foot traffic and attention away from the Lacus (cf. Figure 1.17 b-e and Figure 1.29). Although the Lacus Iuturnae was an important and ancient site, the new building program served to make it a more secluded spot. The seclusion of this ancient site within a strikingly modern setting offers a paradigm for Ovid's presentation of the city's natural water sources in the *Fasti* (see Chapter 2.1).

#### 1.4 CONCLUSION

Throughout the Augustan period, the importation of new water sources and the construction of new water facilities was matched by renovations to existing structures. Perhaps the most significant alteration to the city's water supply was in the new systematization of its administration, which led to an overall more reliable and consistent supply that was unique to Rome (Stackelberg 2009: 41). This systematization was physically represented by the co-ordinated new water complex of the Campus Martius, which united new aqueducts, new bridges, new fountains and new baths in a newly public park. These freshly developed water infrastructures, particularly those of the Campus Martius, become emblematic of the city for Ovid and all but eclipse the Tiber river in terms of urban significance. The poet would have seen the slow process of their construction, as well as subsequent failures and renovations. Yet, as we shall see, they become for him an enduring and inevitable symbol of the urban landscape and of the civilized life in general.

## Chapter 2. WATER AND INFRASTRUCTURE IN OVID'S URBAN POETRY

Non sine causa di hominesque hunc urbi condendae locum elegerunt, saluberrimos colles, flumen opportunum, quo ex mediterraneis locis fruges devehantur, quo maritimi commeatus accipiantur, mari vicinum ad commoditates nec expositum nimia propinquitate ad pericula classium externarum, regionum Italiae medium, ad incrementum urbis natum unice locum.

Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* 5.54.4

After the Gallic sack of Rome in 390 BCE, the Romans, dismayed at the destruction of their homes, considered moving to Veii instead of rebuilding their burned city. According to Livy, it was the exile-turned-dictator Camillus who convinced them to stay. In his argument, he points to the advantages of Rome's landscape, and emphasizes several ways in which water shapes the space and gives the city an advantage. He first mentions the *flumen opportunum*, which allows for trade with both those further inland and those overseas. This, of course, is a key reason that water is chosen as a site for building and further landscape development (cf. Vitruvius 1.5.1). He then turns to explain the geographical centrality of Rome in aquatic terms: it is neither too far from nor too close to the sea. This observation draws upon two crucial aspects of human relations with water. On the one hand, water can be life-threatening, and so human settlement should not lie too close to unpredictable waters. On the other, water is a means of transportation which very literally brings people into the city, helping it to thrive by turning it into an important aquatic crossroads. William Cronon, in his work on environmental history, has shown how crucial scene-setting is to narratives charting the progress of civilization, where the narrative arc requires the landscape itself to anticipate and invite its own development (Cronon 1992: 1353-66).<sup>15</sup> The scene described by

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<sup>15</sup> Cronon analyzes different historical accounts of the ecological disaster of the Dust Bowl, which devastated the Great Plains in the 1930s. He shows how historians' conclusions about whether the Dust Bowl was a natural or a manmade disaster are bound up with their valuation of the pre-

Livy's Camillus does exactly this: the useful river leading to the not-too-distant sea inspired Rome's original settlers to build there; the bustling city that is the inevitable result of such a settlement will grow if only the Romans can face their current set-back and wait for the story to reach its proper conclusion.

These two landscapes of Rome - the well-watered, tree-covered hill country and the marble-clad city - themselves represent the narrative of the Roman state's progressive development and its empire's expansion. Ovid frequently juxtaposes these two different versions of the city, and explores the transition from one to the other. Building upon Cronon's observations of the narrative drive inherent to landscape description, I use this chapter to examine the role of water in these two iconic landscapes and in the city's transformation. I analyse Ovid's presentation of water's connection with the infrastructure of Rome: the bridges, monumental fountains and aqueducts of the city's hydraulic infrastructure, and the temples and festivals of its religious infrastructure.

In the first section, Chapter 2.1, I consider water and civic infrastructure in the *Fasti*, where they feature most prominently. The structures discussed here are among the city's oldest, with all but one pre-dating the Augustan regime, and frequently serve as reminders of the city's early history and of that first, pre-civilized landscape. In line with the ideas presented in Camillus' speech, water features in the Roman religious landscape as both place marker and connector. I find that, as water is the locus for divinity, the city's water sources are connected with specific divinities and used to create a very particular sense of place (Ando 2009: 41-4); at the same time, water, that useful but dangerous element, often characterizes ambiguous and threatening divinities. The *flumen opportunum*, the Tiber, also plays a prominent role in the importation of foreign divinities

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agricultural prairie. His analysis demonstrates the rhetorical importance of landscape description, which can drive narrative expectations while seeming impartial.

and cults, and their incorporation into the Roman landscape. Roman water development as narrated by the *Fasti* involves the enshrining of the area's native waters, at the same time as they are used to attract both human and divine settlers to the developing city.

In the second section, Chapter 2.2, I turn to consider water and infrastructure more broadly in Ovid's oeuvre, where structures built or re-built by the imperial family predominate. Here I move beyond the view of water explicitly set forth in Camillus' speech, and focus instead on the way it lends *amoenitas* to the space around it. This quality is particularly associated with rivers and fountains, but very rarely used to describe a city.<sup>16</sup> A striking exception is found in Ennius (*Annales* 163 (Skutsch)):

quod per amoenam urbem leni fluit agmine flumen

“which river flows through the pleasant city with its pliant column”

The city here possesses *amoenitas*, but this quality seems to derive mainly from the river which flows through it;<sup>17</sup> in this instance, the river seems to lend the city *amoenitas*, making it into that almost paradoxical thing, an *urbs amoena*. I argue that Rome's water buildings play a similar role in Ovid's poetry. The newly-built fountains which enhance the city's nodes, that is, its junctions and concentrations of attention (Lynch 1960: 47-8), encourage people to enter and to linger. For Ovid, these pleasant and alluring places take on the character of a *locus amoenus*, which is a rhetorico-poetical device used in the description of natural landscape: a pleasant meadow screened by the shade of a tree or a cave, and featuring water (Curtius 1953: 195). The *locus amoenus*

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<sup>16</sup> On the use of *amoenus* see *TLL* i.1963.55-70, where rivers and fountains form a subset of occurrences; it was one of the two words used most often to describe rivers by Pliny, the other being *nauigabilis* (Beagon 1992: 194). See also Newlands (2002: 130 n.49) on the pleasant, amorous and fertile connotations of this term.

<sup>17</sup> The city in question is usually identified as Minturnae, which was located in a marsh (Skutsch 1985 loc. cit.). Steuart, though, suggests that the city is in fact Interamna Lirensis, suggesting that the line is etymologizing the city's name (Steuart 1925: *ad fr.* 173).

usually alludes self-consciously to its place within a literary tradition of such descriptions (Hinds 2002: 124),<sup>18</sup> a tradition in which the alluring place often becomes the setting for violence, especially sexual violence (Hinds 2002: 124-30). Within the city, Ovid uses this device for a variety of effects, from the light-hearted to the frightening.

In the final section, Chapter 2.3, I focus on Ovid's exile poetry and its nostalgic look back to the hydraulic infrastructure of Augustan Rome. The water structures built or restored by Augustus and the imperial family play a defining role in the exiled poet's vision of the city. In the amatory and exile works, the native waters of Rome are seldom mentioned: it is the imported waters, housed in Augustan architectural splendour, which characterize the modern city. The *Fasti*'s focus upon the ancient structures built beside the city's native waters further establishes these waters as part of the landscape of the past.<sup>19</sup> The contrast between the rural landscape of early Rome and the developed landscape of the modern city is thus expressed as a contrast between the native waterscape, promising but unpredictable, and the imported waterscape, impressive, alluring and seemingly controlled. Ovid's presentation of each of these waterscapes encourages reflection upon

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<sup>18</sup> The highly rhetorical nature of this motif is of course in tension with its supposedly natural and uncultivated, that is, artless, state. Stackelberg adds to this the observation that the poetic creation of the *locus amoenus* is akin to the inclusion of "wild" woodland space within Roman gardens; she notes further that the *locus amoenus* topos could be used by poets to associate actual gardens with mythological tales (Stackelberg 2009: 20-21).

<sup>19</sup> A telling example of the exclusion of Rome's native waters from the amatory and exile works is the river Tiber. In the amatory poetry, the Tiber is mentioned only three times (*Her.* 7.139-48; *A.A.* 3.385-6; *Rem.* 249-58), out of 49 instances where Ovid names a specific river. In the exile poetry, there are 64 instances where a specific river is named, but the Tiber appears only once (*Tr.* 5.31-2), in contrast to Ovid's new "local" river, the Hister, which is mentioned 20 times. In the *Fasti*, on the other hand, the Tiber is the most frequently mentioned river, featuring in 21 different episodes - just under half of all the instances where a specific river is named (*Fast.* 1.229-46; 1.289-94; 1.479-542; 2.67-72; 2.193-208; 2.383-3.64; 2.597-8; 3.517-22; 3.523-6; 4.45-52; 4.237-318; 4.563-72; 5.621-62 6.105-10; 6.227-32; 6.235-40; 6.395-416; 6.517-22; 6.713-20; 6.775-80).

the history of Roman interaction with and control of water, and upon the continuing role of water in shaping Roman customs.

## 2.1 HOLY WATER: ROMAN WATER MONUMENTS IN THE *FASTI*

I start, then, with one of the oldest customs relating to the waters of Rome, as described in a particularly distinctive passage of the *Fasti*. Here, Ovid discusses a ritual associated with the city's first bridge, the Pons Sublicius, supposedly built during the reign of Ancus Marcius in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BCE in order to annex the Janiculum to the city (Livy 1.33.6). As its name indicates, the bridge was originally constructed of wooden piles, and indeed it stayed a mainly timber construction. This meant that the bridge did not survive past the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE, and its exact location is now uncertain; it is presumed to have spanned the river downstream from the city's first stone bridge, the Pons Aemilius (see Figure 1.3 c & d and Figure 2.1 no. 1; Chapter 1.3). In the May-time ritual of the Argei, the Vestal Virgins threw straw effigies off the Pons Sublicius into the Tiber; as discussed in Chapter 1.3, the importance of this ritual perhaps explains the continued maintenance of the less sturdy Pons Sublicius in close proximity to the impressive Pons Aemilius (Hallett 1970: 222). This mysterious and ancient ceremony is given an extended treatment by Ovid which reveals the full range of symbolic significance of water for religious ritual that we shall see played out throughout the poem.

Before learning about the ritual, though, we must learn when it is to be performed.<sup>20</sup> The day is marked by the rising of Taurus (Ovid *Fasti* 5.603-6):<sup>21</sup>

Idibus ora prior stellantia tollere Taurum  
          indicat: huic signo fabula nota subest.  
605 praebuit ut taurus Tyriae sua terga puellae  
          Iuppiter et falsa cornua fronte tulit,

“The day before the Ides marks the time when the Bull lifts his starry front. This constellation is explained by a familiar tale. Jupiter in the shape of a bull offered his back to the Tyrian maid and wore horns on his false brow.”

The myth of Europa showcases the liminal and transformative associations of water, in this case sea water.<sup>22</sup> First of all, the passage focuses on her journey, vividly evoking her frightened response to the waters of the sea, which in fact drive her to cling closely to Jupiter (Fast. 5.607-14):

illa iubam dextra, laeua retinebat amictus,  
          et timor ipse noui causa decoris erat;  
aura sinus implet, flauos mouet aura capillos:  
610 Sidoni, sic fueras aspicienda Iovi.  
saepe puellares subduxit ab aequore plantas,  
          et metuit tactus adsilientis aquae;  
saepe deus prudens tergum demisit in undas,  
          haereat ut collo fortius illa suo.

“She held the bull’s mane in her right hand, her drapery in her left; and her very fear lent her fresh grace. The breeze fills the robe on her bosom, it stirs her yellow hair; Sidonian maiden, thus indeed it became you to meet the gaze of Jove. Often she withdrew her girlish soles from the sea, and feared the contact of the dashing wave;

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<sup>20</sup> Roman religious ritual was intimately linked not just with specific places but also with specific times (Ando 2009: 110-11; Feeney 2007: 184-5). For example, the sacrifice performed on the Quirinal hill by Gaius Fabius Dorsuo during the Gallic sack of 390 BCE (Livy 5.46.2-3), cited by Camillus as another reason the Romans should not decamp to Veii (Livy 5.52), needed to be performed both in a specific location and on a specific day.

<sup>21</sup> *Fasti* translations adapted from Frazer-Goold. 1989. *Ovid: Fasti*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

<sup>22</sup> This dissertation focuses upon fresh waters and their management, and does not deal fully with the symbolism of salt water (on which see e.g. Romm 1992). In various passages, discussed in this section and in Chapter 3, fresh water is brought into dialogue with salt water. So, the framing of the Pons Sublicius rite with the journey of Europa helps draw an analogy between passage by Tiber, and the great east-to-west passages by sea from the Greek world to the Roman

often the god knowingly plunged his back into the billows, that she might cling the closer to his neck.”

On the narrative level, it is this journey which carries Europa from girlhood to womanhood, especially as this stands in for the elided sexual encounter with Jupiter. Secondly, Jupiter turns into the bull in order to enter the water and then resumes his true form upon touching the shore; the bull itself undergoes a castasterism after its transformative aquatic journey (*Fast.* 5.615-8):

615    litoribus tactis stabat sine cornibus ullis  
          Iuppiter inque deum de bove uersus erat.  
          taurus init caelum: te, Sidoni, Iuppiter implet,  
          parsque tuum terrae tertia nomen habet.

“On reaching the shore, Jupiter stood without any horns, and the bull was turned into the god. The bull passed into the sky: you, Sidonian maiden, were filled with child by Jupiter, and a third part of the earth bears your name.”

So powerful is the drive to transformation in this story, that the poet suggests a further one for the constellation, changing it from a bull into a cow which is itself a metamorphosed girl (*Fast.* 619-20):<sup>23</sup>

          hoc alii signum Phariam dixere iuvencam,  
620            quae bos ex homine est, ex boue facta dea.

“Others say that this constellation is the Pharian heifer, which from a human being was made a cow, and from a cow was made a goddess.”

The use of water to define place is no less significant; the main import of the story is the naming of the continent of Europe, to which the girl’s name is transferred on the completion of her journey. Europa’s crossing of the Eastern Mediterranean is a moment of geographical and

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<sup>23</sup> These two alternatives for the aetiology of Taurus, either Europa and the Bull or Io as a cow, were presented without any stated preference at *Fast.* 4.717-20. The role of water in the story of the metamorphosis of Io, herself the daughter of a river, will be examined in Chapter 4.1.

cultural connection<sup>24</sup> and is used to mark the day of ritual associated with another significant connector, the first bridge to cross the river Tiber, the Pons Sublicius. The timing of this ritual of the Argei is thus presented by the poet as redolent with notions of cultural transfer and of transformation. The city's oldest bridge is host to a mysterious rite that seems to defy explanation,<sup>25</sup> a brief account of which follows (*Fast.* 5.621-2):

tum quoque priscorum Virgo simulacra uirorum  
mittere roboreo scirpea ponte solet.

“Then, too, the Virgin is accustomed to throw the rush-made effigies of ancient men from the oaken bridge.”

The next 12 lines are devoted to various suggestions for the significance of the Argei ritual. All of them assume that the *corpora falsa* thrown into the river in Ovid's time represent what were once human bodies, killed either at the obscure command of a god, as an institutionalized execution of older citizens, or as a rebellion on behalf of the younger citizens. All of these explanations view the river as potentially deadly: from the safe vantage point of the bridge, the Vestal Virgins in mid-stream carry out a pseudo-execution. The rite, then, as well as relying on the destructive power of

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<sup>24</sup> This emphasis on motion is a defining feature of the stellar myths of the *Fasti*, which contributes to the poem's consideration of the difficulty of understanding and controlling the natural world (Kimpton 2014: 38-43). The appearances of Europa in the *Metamorphoses* also play upon the theme of “connection”: her story connects Books II and III, as her abduction is related at *Met.* 2.848-875 and the arrival of her and Jupiter in Crete at *Met.* 3.1-2; in Book VIII, her son Minos inspires in Scylla the desire to mimic Europa's transformative journey, and leave her family behind to go to Crete, ...*exponimur orbae / terrarum, nobis ut Crete sola pateret. hac quoque si prohibes et nos, ingrate, relinquis, / non genetrix Europa tibi est, sed inhospita Syrtis, / Armeniae tigres austroque agitata Charybdis* (“I am banished from all the world, that Crete alone might be open to me. And if you forbid me Crete as well, and, o ungrateful one, leave me here, Europa is not your mother, but the inhospitable Syrtis, the Armenian tigress and storm-tossed Charybdis;” Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.117-121).

<sup>25</sup> This confusion is borne out in our other sources: Varro says that there were 27 puppets, and that the rite derived its name from *Argiui* (Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 7.44); Dionysius of Halicarnassus records that 30 puppets were thrown from the bridge in a rite instituted by Hercules to replace human sacrifices (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1.38.3).

the river, is just as dependent upon human ability to tame the river to some degree through engineering works.<sup>26</sup> Following immediately on the account of Europa's crossing of the Eastern Mediterranean, which focused on the fear she felt towards the dangerous water, the calm description of the Virgo on the bridge (*Fast.* 5.621-2) emphasizes the impressive achievement of bridge-building at the same time as the explanations for the ritual reinforce the deadly nature of the water below.

Yet human skill and understanding fails when it comes to a satisfactory explication of the rite, and so the poet turns back to the river. The Tiber next offers his authoritative version, which contrasts with the human explanations listed above and downplays the river's dangerous aspect. According to the river god, after Hercules was hosted by Evander and drove off Cacus, he departed with his cattle, leaving his men behind. One of these men requested that he be thrown into the river once he died so that he might return to his native land; his heir instead buried him in Italy and threw a straw effigy into the river. The strange rites associated with the river's first bridge are, in this account, intertwined with an explanation of what the Tiber himself used to be, as the river has been transformed by the flourishing of the city on its banks (*Fast.* 5.639-46):

'haec loca desertas uidi sine moenibus herbas:  
 640            pascebat sparsas utraque ripa boues,  
 et, quem nunc gentes Tiberim noruntque timentque,  
               tunc etiam pecori despiciendus eram.  
 Arcadis Euandri nomen tibi saepe refertur:  
               ille meas remis aduena torsit aquas.  
 645    uenit et Alcides, turba comitatus Achiua:  
               Albula, si memini, tunc mihi nomen erat.

“These regions I have seen when they were solitary grass-lands without any city walls: scattered cattle pastured on either bank; and I, the Tiber, whom the nations now both

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<sup>26</sup> Frazer's speculative notion that the puppets were meant to appease the river, offended because the bridge denies it the human dead who used to drown at the ford, is based on an implicit awareness of the thematic connection between the examples offered by Ovid here (Frazer 1929: 92-3).

know and fear, was then a thing to be despised even by the herd. You often hear mention of the name of Arcadian Evander: he came from far and churned my waters with his oars. Alcides also came, attended by a troop of Greeks. At that time, if I remember aright, my name was Albula.”

It is striking that the river’s change in status is marked also by a change in his name: Albula was an object of scorn, but Tiber is a name to be feared. This is reflected on the narrative level: within the explanations for the ritual of the Argei, the river has not yet been called by the name of Tiber, and at the time when Hercules visited the city his name was actually still Albula.<sup>27</sup> It is only at the moment which instigates the rite that the name Tiber appears, foreshadowing the river’s name change with emphatic repetition in the instructions of the dying Greek (*Fast.* 5.655-9):

655    mittite me in Tiberim, Tiberinis uectus ut undis  
              litus ad Inachium pulvis inanis eam."  
              displicet heredi mandati cura sepulcri:  
              mortuus Ausonia conditur hospes humo;  
              scirpea pro domino Tiberi iactatur imago

“Throw me into the Tiber, that, borne upon Tiberine waves, my empty dust may pass to the Inachian shore.’ His heir disliked the charge of burial thus laid on him: the dead stranger was buried in Ausonian ground, and an effigy of rushes was thrown into the Tiber instead of him”

The introduction of Tiber’s name in a moment of prayer is particularly significant: Servius notes that petitions to the river must be addressed to *Tiberinus*, not to *Tiberis* or *Thybris* or presumably to *Albula*, in order to be effective (Servius *ad Aen.* 8.31). The name *Tiberinus* thus reveals

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<sup>27</sup> All the accounts of the ritual’s origin avoid referring to the river by name, cf. for example part of Jupiter’s conjectured command at *Fast.* 5.628, *quae Tuscis exipiantur aquis*. All the occurrences of the name Tiber up to this point are made in reference to the river of Ovid’s own time.

something essential about the river deity (Perfigli 2004: 186-8; Corbeill 2015: 108-9). The future origins of this new name were alluded to in Book Two (*Fast.* 2.389-90):

390           Albula, quem Tiberim mersus Tiberinus in undis  
                  reddidit, hibernis forte tumebat aquis

“it chanced that the Albula, which took the name of Tiber from Tiberinus, was swollen with winter rain”

The reason for this name change was then explained more fully in Book Four (*Fast.* 4.45-8):

45        ille dedit Capii repetita uocabula Troiae  
                  et tuus est idem, Calpete, factus auus.  
          cumque patris regnum post hunc Tiberinus haberet,  
                  dicitur in Tuscae gurgite mersus aquae.

“he gave to his son Capys a Trojan name, revived for the purpose, and he was also the grandfather of Calpetus. And when Tiberinus possessed his father’s kingdom after the death of Calpetus, he was drowned, it is said, in a deep pool of the Tuscan river.”

The name of Tiber, which the river dwells on and connects anachronistically with the ritual of the Argei in this account of himself in Book Five, is in fact a memorial of death by drowning. Thus, as the Tiber gives an account of the ritual in which he himself is innocuous, his own name is a reminder of the river’s dangerous nature, a point further reinforced by his own boast that he is *quem nunc gentes Tiberim noruntque timentque* (“the Tiber whom the nations now both know and fear;” *Fast.* 5.641).

While the human explanations characterize the Tiber as a river which had formerly been deadly, but now appears pacified by human engineering, the river himself claims that he was formerly small and harmless, but has become something potentially terrifying precisely because of the development of the Roman state and human interaction with his stream. Ovid’s Tiber gives us a different way of viewing the two Roman landscapes, and a different way of assessing the effects of water management. Pliny’s account of the Tiber draws upon precisely the same paradox, pointing out that the flow of aqueducts and fountains into Rome makes the river swell to its greatest

size within the city. The enlarged Tiber is both more useful, because it is more easily navigable, and more prone to flooding. Yet despite the dangers posed by floods, Pliny does not see the river as a threat to civic life and infrastructure (Pliny *NH* 3.55):

quin immo uates intellegitur potius ac monitor, auctu semper religiosus uerius quam saeuus

“In such a case, however, the Tiber is rather to be looked upon as pregnant with prophetic warnings to us, and in its increase to be considered more as a promoter of religion than a source of devastation.”

From Pliny’s perspective, then, the Pons Sublicius and the ritual of the Argei should each be considered part of the infrastructure which supports human life beside the uncontrollable river.

The civilizing transformation of the area is marked, in Tiber’s account, by a human presence on the river only shortly before the first straw puppets were thrown in: Evander arrived, the first to row up the Tiber. Evander’s arrival in the city up the Tiber is a significant motif throughout the *Fasti*, as the Tiber himself points out with his comment (*Fast.* 5.643-4):

Arcadis Euandri nomen tibi saepe refertur:  
ille meas remis aduena torsit aquas.

“you often hear mention of the name of Arcadian Evander: a stranger, he churned my waters with his oars.”

This arrival echoes and also anticipates Aeneas’ arrival in the *Aeneid* (Parker 1999: 339-47); together with Romulus, Evander replaces Aeneas as Rome’s foundational figure in this poem. His appearance here ‘symbolises the Greek settlement of Italy...and Rome’s adoption of *sacra* and foreign gods’ (Fantham 1992: 163). Arrival by river therefore becomes a marker of definitive, transformative moments in Roman history and Roman culture, and the Tiber as the connector between the Greek world and the Roman, as the conduit by which Greek culture and religion enters the city and becomes transformed by it, is a recurring motif in the *Fasti* (e.g. the long process of the importation of Cybele up the Tiber, *Fast.* 4.247-348).

This epochal riverine arrival serves as a point of contrast for the rite it is supposed to explain: the effigies thrown from the bridge represent men who wish to use the Tiber in order to leave the Italian town and return back to Greece. This idea of cultural shift and nostalgic longing is made more pointed by the introductory story of Europa, which served to define the temporal occasion for the ritual of the Argei and is recalled throughout Tiber's account by the recurring motif of cattle. He describes them, first, grazing on either side of his bank, *haec loca desertas uidi sine moenibus herbas / pascebat sparsas utraque ripa boues* ("These regions I have seen when they were solitary grass-lands without any city walls: scattered cattle pastured on either bank;" *Fast.* 5.639-40). The cattle are themselves a sign of the aquatic potential of the area, as they require a great deal of water, as well as land that is well-watered enough to produce sufficient grass (McInerney 2010: 6-7). Tiber's description of the cows grazing on the grasslands through which he flows is thus a clue to the potential prosperity of this particular area. The marshy grasslands by the Tiber and the saltfields at Ostia did indeed attract cattle herders to the area, contributing significantly to the prosperity of the developing city (McInerney 2010: 110-11). This is undoubtedly what drew the cattle-hustler Hercules to pause here in the first place, a visit which would leave a mark both on the landscape and on Roman religious practice.<sup>28</sup> The phrase *sine moenibus* in particular anticipates the inevitable construction of city-walls and the development of those rich meadows into the Forum Boarium.

The cows of proto-Rome refer us back to the bull who has just poked his head over the horizon (*Fast.* 5.603-4), and, we have just heard, offered his back to Europa on one shore of the Eastern

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<sup>28</sup> Most notably, Hercules was said to have killed the monster Cacus, and then to have dedicated the Ara Maxima in the Forum Boarium area as a center of cult for himself (cf. *Virg. Aen.* 8.185-272; *Ov. Fast.* 1.543-82). He was also involved in the story of Ino, to be discussed in Chapter 2.2 below, which prompted the construction of two temples in the Forum Boarium area (*Fast.* 6.519-48).

Mediterranean (*Fast.* 5.605-6) and upon touching the other shore ascended into the heavens (*Fast.* 5.615-6). Next, Hercules leads his cattle, themselves defined as migratory, away from the Tiber, *uictor abit, secumque boues, Erytheida praedam, / abstrahit; at comites longius ire negant* (“the victorious Hercules departed and carried off with him the cattle, the booty he had taken from Erythea. But his companions refused to go farther;” *Fast.* 5.649-50). He leaves behind his companions whose later instigation of the Argei ritual (*Fast.* 5.653-660) is a memorial, however obscure, of the journey they made from Greece, and of Hercules’ own visit with his cattle to the site and the river of Rome. This nostalgic moment, repeated every year, when men try vainly to return to Greece, indeed attempts to reverse the journey Europa made. Yet its very success depends upon the far reach of the Tiber (*Fast.* 5.655-6), which was already equated, in the river’s own words, with the reach of Rome’s power (*Fast.* 5.639-42, quoted above).

The confusion over the ritual’s significance, then, is a continuation of the transformations and reinterpretations introduced by the constellation Taurus (*Fast.* 5.603-620). It is just one example of many such confusions in the *Fasti*, and serves to emphasize the constantly shifting significance of religious ritual.<sup>29</sup> After a myth of cultural and geographical transformation, and Tiber’s account of the arrival of Evander and of Hercules, it also points out the transformative power the city wields over Greek cultural and religious practice. The Argei ritual, on Tiber’s telling of it, highlights the role of the river in facilitating cultural importation, and at the same time moments of riverine importation become marked as epochal. Finally, the significance of naming and re-naming as part of cultural transition is represented by the perhaps-threatening, ominously-named Tiber. These

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<sup>29</sup> Discrepancies and differences of opinion are features of *fasti*-writing in general, and reflect the dynamic nature of Roman religious practice. Just as Roman religion was not a structured set of orthodox interpretations of any of its festivals, so too was the Roman calendar inherently mutable and open to interpretation (Green 2004a: 7-8).

various transformations are underscored by the watery associations of the rite. Just as the river is the facilitator of cultural connection, so the Pons Sublicius instantiates the idea of connection. The bridge, overarching the river, allows for the performance of the rite and represents the transformation towards which all the others tend: the domination of the natural landscape and expansion of the city. These themes characterize the role of water monuments in the rest of the *Fasti*.

The threatening nature of water was a reality of life in Augustan Rome: the Tiber itself posed a very real danger, with minor inundations every four or five years, and catastrophic floods on average every twenty to twenty-five years (see Chapter 1.2; Aldrete 2007: 232). This latent threat within the landscape of the civilized city is clearly articulated in every interpretation of the Argei ritual. The city's concern for the potential dangers, and the appeasement of water divinities, reached beyond its immediate aquatic environment, too. Thus, Ovid's account of 1<sup>st</sup> June, a day sacred to Carna, the *dea cardinis* "goddess of the hinge," ends with a focus on the Via Tecta and one of the water divinities worshipped there, the Tempestates or "Storms" (*Fast.* 6.191-4):

Lux eadem Marti festa est, quem prospicit extra  
    appositum Tectae porta Capena Viae.  
te quoque, Tempestatas, meritam delubra fatemur,  
    cum paene est Corsis obruta classis aquis.

"The same day is a festival of Mars, whose temple, set beside the Via Tecta, is seen outside the walls from the Porta Capena. You, too, O Storm, deserved a shrine, by our avowal, when the fleet was nearly overwhelmed in Corsican waters."

The temple of the Tempestates was vowed by L. Cornelius Scipio in 259 BCE during a storm; its location, beyond the details given here, is uncertain but was probably close to the Scipio family tomb (Figure 2.1 no. 2) (Haselberger et al. 2002 s.v. "Tempestates, Aedes"). The significance of the salvation of Scipio's fleet is clear from an elogium for Scipio which includes among its honours *dedet Tempestatibus aede merito*[d] ("he deservedly gave a temple to the Tempestates;" *CIL VI*

1287).<sup>30</sup> Indeed, Leigh estimates that three quarters of Roman losses during the First Punic War were due to storms (Leigh 2010: 271). Leigh notes the geographical overlap between Odysseus' travels in Livius Andronicus' *Odusia*, Aeneas' travels in Naevius' *Bellum Punicum* and in Virgil's *Aeneid*, and the experiences of Romans who fought in the First Punic War. He argues that, while Virgil's text most obviously looks ahead to the Punic Wars through the figure of Dido, his allusions to the works of his Latin-writing predecessors would have drawn upon the connection those two poets made between the heroes of epic and the wartime experiences of their contemporaries (Leigh 2010: 272-9). The *Aeneid* likewise speaks to contemporary military experience, part of an oeuvre that is 'constantly and unrelievedly grappling with the problems of existence in a troubled and violent world' (Thomas 2001: xiv).

The route along the Via Tecta presented in *Fast.* 6.191-6, with its emphasis on warfare and the difficulties of naval battles, would have had a less immediate resonance for Ovid's contemporaries, living within the well-established Pax Augusta. These *monimenta* are, then, in one sense memorials to a danger that has passed, although Barchiesi has shown how the *Fasti* also engages with what was an on-going debate about how to deal with the scars left by civil war (Barchiesi 2002: 16-22). After surveying the earthly *monimenta*, though, the poet shifts upwards

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<sup>30</sup> The Tempestates are: thanked for a safe commercial voyage at Plautus *Stichus* 403; recipients of sacrifices from Aeneas as he prepares to leave Sicily (Virgil *Aeneid* 5.772-3); asked to shipwreck Mevius at Horace *Epodes* 10.23-4; listed by Cicero's Cotta as among the ridiculous gods to which traditional religion subscribes (Cicero *De Natura Deorum* 3.51).

to survey the stars which, like the temple down below, are saturated with watery associations (*Fast.* 6. 195-8):

195    haec hominum monimenta patent: si quaeritis astra,  
         tunc oritur magni praepes adunca Iovis.  
      Postera lux Hyadas, Taurinae cornua frontis,  
         evocat, et multa terra madescit aqua.

“These monuments set up by men are plain for all to see: if you look for stars, the bird of great Jupiter with its hooked talons then rises. The next day calls up the Hyades, which form the horns of the Bull’s forehead; and the earth is soaked with heavy rain.”

This upward shift serves as a reminder of the enduring pertinence of these military *monimenta*, and puts the dangers of the fleets at sea into dialogue with the local meteorology of the city; these juxtaposed astronomical notices, *Fast.* 6.195-6 and 6.197-8, are indeed striking in a book which has only ten such notices, a third fewer than Book 5 (Littlewood 2006: 64). The fact that the day following the avowal of the Temple of the Tempestates is marked by stars which augur rain therefore involves the Tempestates in a subtle meteorological web; the day of their temple’s dedication, as recorded by Ovid at least, augurs wet weather for the city’s inhabitants. This meteorological connection affirms the continued relevance of the assertion *te quoque, Tempestatas, meritam elubra fatemur* (“you too, O Storm, deserve a shrine, by our avowal;” *Fast.* 6.195). Careful religious observance of a wide range of divinities brought into or near the city was an important safeguard for the Romans, and was frequently offered as the explanation of the prosperity of the Roman state and as a clear sign of divine favour (Ando 2009: 125-6). The unpredictable, yet highly beneficial, nature of water, whether it be the river Tiber or a rain storm, provides a good model for this view of divinity.

Water is therefore, unsurprisingly, frequently associated with the deity who perhaps best embodies the uncertainties of human existence, the goddess Fors Fortuna, who had at least one

temple on the banks of the Tiber outside of Rome.<sup>31</sup> This riverside location suggests an unusual kind of ritual procession to celebrate the temple's dedication, as worshippers are encouraged to approach both on foot and by boat (*Fast.* 6.775-780):

775   ite, deam laeti Fortem celebrate, Quirites:  
          in Tiberis ripa munera regis habet.  
      pars pede, pars etiam celeri decurrite cumba,  
          nec pudeat potos inde redire domum.  
      ferre coronatae iuvenum convivia, lintres,  
780           multaque per medias vina bibantur aquas.

“Come, Quirites, celebrate with joy the goddess Fors! On Tiber’s bank she has her royal foundations. Hurry some of you on foot, and some in the swift boat, and think it no shame to return home tipsy from your ramble. You flower-crowned skiffs, bear bands of youthful revellers, and let them drink deep draughts of wine in mid-stream.”

This approach, on foot and by boat, was known as the *Tiberina descensio*, and was perhaps the most practical way to reach this temple outside the city (Littlewood 2006: 224). Yet, given Fortuna’s association with boats and the sea, this riverine procession does not seem, in Ovid’s account, to be simply a practical choice. The reasons for the connection between Fortuna and boating are seen most clearly in the Ship of Fortune metaphor, in which the unpredictable dangers of seafaring represent the sudden reversals of human fortune.<sup>32</sup> The reckless onboard behaviour in Ovid’s account of the *descensio* seems appropriate acknowledgement of this goddess’ powers both

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<sup>31</sup> The conception of Fortuna as a *dubia dea* links her with the changeful aspect of the Greek Tyche, an aspect likewise prominent in her Roman cult; her connections with the sea and sailing can be seen from her depiction with a rudder on coinage (Littlewood 2006: 224-5). On the contested location of the temple referenced here, somewhere around the first milestone on the Via Campana, (Figure 2.1 no. 3, see Haselberger et al. 2002, s.v. “Fors Fortuna, Fanum”, 126-7, with bibliography).

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, Ovid’s description of his own shipwrecked fortune at *Tristia* 1.1.85-6, to be discussed more fully below (one example among many from the exile corpus). This metaphor is closely connected with the metaphor of the Ship of State (on which see Brock 2013: 53-68) and goes back to the Greek tradition (see, for example, LSJ s.v. *χειμάζω* III.2).



Figure 2.1. Approximate location of the Pons Sublicius (1). Approximate location of the Temple of the Tempestates (2). Approximate location of the Temple of Fors Fortuna (3).

Courtesy David Gilman Romano, *Digital Augustan Rome*.

for favour and for destruction, and could indeed serve as a particularly vivid instance of the Ship of Fortune metaphor.

In Ovid's work, this metaphor is frequently connected or even blended with the metaphor of poetry as a ship.<sup>33</sup> The *descensio* here, then, is also a poetic tribute: it explicitly focuses -- both in its meter, *pars pede* ("some on foot;" *Fast.* 6.777), and in its tenor, *pars etiam celeri decurrite cumba* ("some of you hurry in the swift boat;" *Fast.* 6.777) -- on the *Fasti*'s impending close, with

<sup>33</sup> Rosen (1990) argues for the Hesiodic origins of the metaphor of poetry as sailing, and even connects this metaphor with Hesiodic concerns with poverty and material success (Rosen 1990: 103-8). He also details the common use of this metaphor in post-Hesiodic Greek poetry, as well as its popularity among Augustan poets, for whom, as he notes, it most commonly forms part of poetic *recusationes* (Rosen 1990: 112-3, n.47). Ovid's use of it is more extensive.

the *tempora cum causis* (“times with their origins;” *Fast.* 1.1) of the poem’s opening picked up in the introduction to Fortuna’s festival (*Fast.* 6.771-4).<sup>34</sup>

Tempora labuntur, tacitisque senescimus annis,  
et fugiunt freno non remorante dies.  
quam cito venerunt Fortunae Fortis honores!  
post septem luces Iunius actus erit.

“Time slips away, and we grow old with the silent lapse of years; there is no bridle that can curb the flying days. How quickly has come round the festival of Fors Fortuna! Yet seven days and June will be over.”

Whether or not this part of the poem was revised after exile, it is helpful to remember that the close of this work will be followed by the shipwreck of Ovid’s own Fortune, *et mea cumba semel uasta percussa procella / illum, quo laesa est, horret adire locum* (“and even my ship, once shattered by a mighty storm, dreads to approach that place where it was wrecked;” Ovid *Tristia* 1.1.85-6).<sup>35</sup> The *Tiberina descensio* enacts, with its reckless approach to water, the power of Fors Fortuna within the reassuringly circumscribed context of a familiar, repetitive ritual that goes only just out of walking distance from Rome (Littlewood 2006: 223). The connection between water travel and Fortuna also prompts a connection with much more serious journeys, such as that of Scipio in 259 BCE, or even of Ovid himself to Tomis. This reinforces the importance of appeasing water deities such as the Tempestates, or deities with a water-like temperament, such as Fortuna.

As well as allowing for travel to temples outside the city limits, the Tiber had another practical role in the importation of foreign cults into the city. In the *Fasti*, importation by river becomes a method of naturalization, as we saw with the arrival of the Greek exile Evander. The incorporation of new cults into the Roman landscape serves to make them in an important sense Roman, even if

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<sup>34</sup> For a full consideration of the metapoetics of time in the Ovidian corpus, see Hinds 1999 and Hinds 2005.

<sup>35</sup> *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* translations adapted from Wheeler-Goold. 1988. *Ovid: Tristia and Ex Ponto*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

their foreign origins continue to be felt. Let us now turn back to the first book of the poem, and the account of the Carmentalia. Once again, it is important to note how the timing of this festival is recorded (*Fast.* 1.461-4):

proxima prospiciet Tithono nupta relicto  
Arcadiae sacrum pontificale deae.  
te quoque lux eadem, Turni soror, aede recepit,  
hic ubi Virginea Campus obitur aqua.

“When next his wife leaves Tithonus’ couch, she shall behold the pontifical rite of the Arcadian goddess. You too, sister of Turnus, the same morning enshrined here where the Aqua Virgo circles the Campus Martius.”

The account of the Carmentalia is interrupted before it has properly begun with the information that the same day saw the dedication of the Temple of Iuturna in the Campus Martius.<sup>36</sup> The nymph Iuturna, made famous as the *decus fluviorum* by Virgil’s Juno (“glory of rivers;” *Aeneid* 12.142), was, according to Servius, associated with a spring beside the river Numicius near Lavinium, whose waters were brought to Rome for ritual purposes on account of their healthful properties.<sup>37</sup> The location of this imported nymph’s temple is defined by the city’s imported waters, which are also characterized as a young woman because of the name Virgo, “maiden”: *hic ubi Virginea Campus obitur aqua* (“here where the Aqua Virgo [*lit.* Maidenly water] circles the Campus Martius;” *Fast.* 1.464).<sup>38</sup> This couplet elides the passage of time between the morning which enshrined Iuturna in 241 BCE, and the construction of the aqueduct in 19 BCE.

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<sup>36</sup> The location of this temple is disputed. Haselberger et al. tentatively place it to the north of the Saepta Iulia (Figure 1.6 c), although Coarelli and Ziolkowski would identify it with one of the temples of the Largo Argentina (see Haselberger et al. 2002, s. v. “Iuturna, Aedes,” with bibliography).

<sup>37</sup> Servius on *Aeneid* 12.139. Whether or not Servius’ information is accurate, Virgil’s association of Iuturna with Turnus, the Rutulians, and the territory of Ardea does suggest that she was considered to have non-Roman origins.

<sup>38</sup> The channel of the Aqua Virgo as it enters the Campus Martius from the north is marked on Figure 1.7; see Chapter 1.2 on the aqueduct’s name.

The Aqua Virgo is presented, then, as a naturalized part of the landscape, its course already determined, and itself defining the city's spaces, 300 years previously.<sup>39</sup> This couplet also blends the idea of the importation of divinity, appropriately a water divinity in this case, with the importation of external waters by means of modern hydraulics. Green notes that *obitur* (*Fast.* 1.464) usually implies motion, and could be used here to refer specifically to the flow of water in the aqueduct (Green 2004a: 214). Water is therefore made all the more vividly present as a theme physically connecting the two, while the strikingly modern, newly constructed arcades of the Aqua Virgo are left out of the account. The imported waterscape is thus imbued with religious significance, aligned with the city's water nymphs.

These two imported water figures, Iuturna and the Aqua Virgo, set the scene for the tale of Carmentis' arrival in the city by boat, an arrival which predates each of theirs. The collapsing of the chronological stages in the narrative reflects the experience of Rome for Ovid's readers: one could participate in the Carmentalia and walk past the Temple of Iuturna and the Aqua Virgo all in a single afternoon. These three figures, and the benefits they bring, are a part of the city's landscape and character. All three have been redirected, like the waters of an aqueduct, to flow into Rome.

The use of these particular spatial referents to define the temporal moment, the day of the Carmentalia, takes the theme of importation even further. The importation of Carmentis has a

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<sup>39</sup> Frontinus lists Iuturna's spring among those used from the foundation of the city, which are still revered for their health-giving properties; he continues, with pride, that the Aqua Virgo and the other aqueducts now supplement the flow of these natural springs (Frontinus *De Aquaeductu Urbis Romae* 4.1-3). Rodgers notes that the springs selected here 'no doubt' antedate the aqueducts and are part of the chronological presentation of the city's hydraulic facilities (Rodgers 2003: 141).

literary significance which draws attention to the appropriative nature of Latin poetry. As he prepares to discuss the festival, Ovid takes a moment to reflect upon his task (*Fast.* 1.465-):

465        unde petam causas horum moremque sacrorum?  
              deriget in medio quis mea uela freto?  
              ipsa mone, quae nomen habes a carmine ductum,  
              propositoque faue, ne tuus erret honor.

“Whence shall I learn the causes and manner of these rites? Who will pilot my bark in mid ocean? Yourself, enlighten me, [O Carmentis,] you who take your name from song, be kind to my enterprise, lest I should fail to give you due honour.”

Ovid refers to his *carmen* using the standard metaphor of a ship at sea, then points out that Carmentis herself, named *a carmine*, is the appropriate goddess to pilot this ship of song. As the story Ovid is about to tell is of Carmentis’ importation to Rome on board a ship (*Fast.* 1.497-542), she is also the literalization of the poet’s metaphor *deriget in medio quis mea uela freto*. As well as being appropriate for a goddess of song, this actualized metaphor signals the aetiology of a Roman literary tradition, as Carmentis arrives in company with her son Evander,<sup>40</sup> an important moment which will be referenced again during the account of the Argei ritual at *Fast.* 5.643-8. The account of the arrival of mother and son here is designed to anticipate the arrival of Aeneas as told in the *Aeneid*, as Carmentis and Evander approach by river and enter the city at exactly the same spot as Aeneas does (Parker 1999: 339-47; Fantham 1992: 160-2; cf. Virgil *Aen.* 8.86-9). Further connection with the epochal arrival of Aeneas is made by Carmentis herself, who issues a prophecy on deck predicting both Aeneas’ arrival and the ensuing war.

The use of Iuturna to define the date of the Carmentalia thus becomes even more pointed, as the very topography of the city affirms the ultimate resolution of the prophesied conflict and the transfer of opposing divinities’ favour to Rome. The Aqua Virgo which was built by Aeneas’

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<sup>40</sup> Green notes that she was ‘popularly recognised’ as Evander’s mother, citing Vergil *Aen.* 8.335-6, Livy 1.7.8, Hyginus *Fabulae* 277 (Green 2004a: 213).

descendant Augustus, of whom Carmentis predicts *et penes Augustos patriae tutela manebit: / hanc fas imperii frena tenere domum* (“in the line of Augustus the guardianship of the fatherland shall abide: it is decreed that his house shall hold the reins of empire;” *Fast.* 1.531-2), forms a coherent whole with the shrine of Iuturna, sister of the man who will kill Carmentis’ grandson, which fact Carmentis herself laments and adds, for comfort, *non humili uindice caesus eris* (“by no mean champion will you be avenged;” *Fast.* 1.522). The description of Roman topography which introduces the Carmentalia is given a pleasing coherence because of the theme of water which continues throughout Carmentis’ story. Thus, when Carmentis arrives in proto-Rome and addresses its *fluminaque et fontes* (“rivers and fountains;” *Fast.* 1.511), the scene before the readers’ eyes is the imported waterscape of the Aqua Virgo and the Temple of Iuturna which introduced Carmentis’ story. This water-based connection between the proto-Roman and modern landscapes tells of the natural and inevitable resolution of conflict in Rome’s favour, and the conduit of gods and their blessings into the city.

Iuturna resurfaces a few hundred lines later as part of another account of the importation of gods into Rome, this time embodied in the Lacus Iuturnae which was a natural spring in the Forum Romanum beside the Temple of Vesta (see Figure 1.17 b; Chapter 1.3). Ovid’s account of the Sementiva ends with an affirmation of the connection between Ceres and Pax; after noting the

foundation of the Temple of Castor, situated beside the Lacus Iuturnae, he moves to describe the foundation of the Ara Pacis (*Fast.* 1.703-710):

sub iuga bos ueniat, sub terras semen aratas:  
Pax Cererem nutrit, Pacis alumna Ceres.  
705 at quae uenturas praecedit sexta Kalendas,  
hac sunt Ladaeis templa dicata deis:  
fratribus illa deis fratres de gente deorum  
circa Iuturnae composuere lacus.  
ipsum nos carmen deduxit Pacis ad aram:  
710 haec erit a mensis fine secunda dies.

“Yoke the ox, commit the seed to the ploughed earth. Peace is the nurse of Ceres, and Ceres is the foster-child of Peace. On the sixth day before the coming Kalends a temple was dedicated to Leda’s divine sons: brothers of the race of the gods founded that temple for the brother gods beside Iuturna’s pools. The course of my song has led me to the altar of Peace. The day will be the second from the end of the month.”

The insertion of the account of the Temple of Castor in between the two references to Pax is somewhat jarring; indeed, Green suggests that these lines may have been inserted after exile, interrupting an otherwise smooth segue (Green 2004a: 319). The framing of the Castor passage by the two references to Pax, appearing in both lines 704 and 709 in the genitive singular with homophonous resonance, perhaps helps to play upon the double nature of the twin gods, a play reinforced by the double polyptoton Green notes in line 707 *fratribus illa deis fratres de gente deorum* (“**brothers** of the race of the gods **for the brother gods**”) (cf. Green 2004b: 227). This cute pairing of pairs of brothers refers not to the temple’s original dedication in 484 BCE, but to its restoration by Tiberius, when it was dedicated in the name of himself and his brother Drusus in 6 CE (Platner and Ashby 1929: 102-3; Haselberger et al. 2002: s.v. “Castor, Aedes (Forum)”; Green 2004a: 320-21). The Temple of Castor, then, is a prominent monument restored by the imperial family. Green notes that flattery of the imperial family takes precedence over any kind of satisfying account of the temple itself (Green 2004b: 226-7), and this emphasis allows the Temple

of Castor to provide an appropriate enough segue to the account of the Augustan monument *par excellence*, the Ara Pacis.

As far as any description of the temple goes, Green is indeed right to focus on the fact that ‘Ovid does not offer the reader much information’ (Green 2004b: 227). It is only the temple’s location, *circa Iuturnae...lacus*, that gives it any kind of specificity; as in the account of the Carmentalia, it is Iuturna who marks the spot, this time with her pool in the forum rather than her temple in the Campus Martius. The Lacus Iuturnae defines the Temple of Castor site in a fittingly doubled way: the temple was built next to the lake because the two mysterious horsemen, Castor and Pollux, who had led the Romans to victory against Tarquinius Superbus, were seen immediately afterwards watering their horses there;<sup>41</sup> thereafter, the Lacus Iuturnae is spatially associated with the temple. That is, the lake is both the action for the founding of the temple, and its spatial marker.

Coarelli argues that ‘[t]he patricians must have had a hand in introducing the cult to Rome, given the ease with which this foreign cult was welcomed in the heart of the city and inside the *pomerium*’ (Coarelli 2007: 74). The myth which connects these foreign gods with the Roman landscape is therefore a justification of their inclusion within the city’s space and religious rites. Their integration in this passage is reinforced once again by Iuturna, and secondarily by the way in which the imperial family have interwoven themselves with the cult. The native spring of the Forum Romanum is used twice to naturalize and legitimize cultural borrowings. Firstly, when it becomes associated, and thereby to some degree coextensive with, the Italic but non-Roman nymph Iuturna, and secondly by the way in which this spring draws the Dioscuri into the city. As in the association of the Aqua Virgo with the Temple of Iuturna and the Carmentalia, so here

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<sup>41</sup> Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus 6.13.2-4, Plutarch *Coriolanus* 3.4.

Ovid's particular way of describing the Temple of Castor, and his insertion of it between the crucial Pax-themed passages, makes use of water to highlight and reinforce the imperial family's shaping of the Roman cityscape. At the same time, the rebuilding of the Temple and the construction of the Parthian Arch of Augustus immediately next to it had cut off the Lacus Iuturnae from the central forum space (see Chapter 1.3); while new aqueducts and fountains were given prominent positions within the redesigned city, this ancient spring was somewhat relegated in favour of Augustan monuments.

The seclusion of the Lacus Iuturnae, and the connection it represents between the proto- and the modern city are explored to sinister effect in the following Book. These passages which center upon Iuturna showcase the ways in which the *Fasti* presents the different temporal layers of the city as co-existing, and highlight the ambivalence of water and water divinities. This technique often serves to make the numinous and threatening nature of pre-civilized Rome a part of Ovid's contemporary city. To apply de Certeau's theorization of city walking, the legends Ovid relates in the *Fasti* allow us to leave a pleasant, familiar city and return to a Rome filled with danger.<sup>42</sup> What were in Ovid's day marble-clad monuments are revealed as *loca amoena* with unsettling histories.

In Book 2, after giving an account of the origins of the Feralia festival, Ovid describes an old woman performing rites to Tacita, the *dea Muta* ("mute goddess;" *Fast.* 2.571-582), and straightaway asks who this goddess is (*Fast.* 2.583). We learn that Jupiter once asked all the nymphs of Latium to help him in his pursuit of their sister Iuturna. Lara, named for her inability

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<sup>42</sup> de Certeau considers the city walk to be a rhetorical act, with walking an enunciative act which relates to the city as the speech act relates to language (de Certeau 1984: 91-110). On his analysis, a city's legends allow the walker to leave the familiar city and re-enter a city that is changed by these associations (de Certeau 1984: 102-109).

to stay silent, instead gives her sister a warning about the dangers of her own waters (*Fast.* 2.603-4):

quae simul ac tetigit Iuturnae stagna sororis,  
'effuge' ait 'ripas', dicta refertque Iouis.

“No sooner did she reach the pools of her sister Iuturna than, ‘Fly the banks,’ said she, and reported the words of Jupiter”

After reporting to Juno on Jupiter’s infidelity, Lara is punished by the angry god. Jupiter rips out her tongue, and hands her over to Mercury with instructions related to more unsettling waters (*Fast.* 2.609-10):

610 'duc hanc ad manes: locus ille silentibus aptus.  
nympha, sed infernae nympha paludis erit.'

“‘Take her to the shades,’ he said, ‘that’s the place for mutes. A nymph she is, but a nymph of the infernal marsh she’ll be.’”

The ominous *locus ille* in Jupiter’s speech serves as entry formula for a trip to the *locus horridus* of the underworld. Before she even reaches those grim marshes, though, Lara is taken to a *locus amoenus* which proves just as forbidding to her (*Fast.* 2.611-14):

iussa Iouis fiunt. accepit lucus euntes:  
dicitur illa duci tum placuisse deo.  
uim parat hic, uoltu pro uerbis illa precatur,  
et frustra muto nititur ore loqui,

“The orders of Jupiter were obeyed. On their way they came to a grove; then it was, she is said, to have won the heart of her divine conductor. He readied force; for want of words she pleaded with a look, and all in vain she strove to speak with her dumb lips.”

Lara’s rape takes place in a grove, near the waters of her sister Iuturna’s pool. The *lucus* is a typical *locus amoenus* setting (Hinds 2002: 126-7; Robinson 2011: 388). The present passive *dicitur*, “she is said,” plays upon the fact that the garrulous Lara can no longer talk (Robinson 2011: 388); it also serves to set the rape narrative apart from its surrounding context, to fit this story with the other stories typically told in this kind of setting, which is, again, a standard way to introduce the

rhetoricized space and typical events associated with the *locus amoenus* (Hinds 2002: 126). The location of this rape is, then, fittingly characterized by Richlin as a familiarly ‘bucolic setting that serves as license’ (Richlin 1991: 172).

Yet, while the other bucolic rapes of the *Fasti* take place in Lydia (Omphale/Hercules by Faunus *Fast.* 2.303-58), on Mount Ida (Vesta by Priapus *Fast.* 6.319-48), at Henna (Persephone by Pluto *Fast.* 4.420-454), and in Arcadia (Callisto by Jupiter *Fast.* 2.616-172), Lara’s is different. Her story starts at the *Iuturnae stagna sororis* (“the pools of her sister Iuturna;” *Fast.* 2.603), that is, at the Lacus Iuturnae (Boyle 2003: 71). The pool’s marble revetments had been recently renovated by Tiberius in 6 CE, but the rebuilding of the whole area had served to increase its seclusion (see Chapter 1.3); this seclusion could lend the *Fasti*’s account of the monument’s history a sinister resonance, despite its updated appearance. Mercury’s attack upon Lara in this spot leads to her pregnancy and the birth of the Lares Compitales, the very guardians of the city (*Fast.* 2.615-6):

615     fitque grauis geminosque parit, qui compita seruant  
          et uigilant nostra semper in urbe Lares.

“She went with child, and bore twins, who guard the cross-roads and ever keep watch in our city: they are the Lares.”

Robinson observes that ‘[a]n aetiological story describing the origin of the Lares would have had considerable relevance for a contemporary audience’ (Robinson 2011: 370) since Augustus, as part of his reorganization of the *regiones* of Rome, had rebranded the Lares Compitales as the Lares Augusti, and each of the new neighbourhoods, or *uici*, would have had a shrine to these Lares located at one of its crossroads (Robinson 2011: 370-71). I would therefore specify that this story would have had particular relevance for a *Roman* audience: the rape narrative which begins within the city is an action for two gods connected very specifically with the city’s streets. Further,

whilst the Lares tie this story very directly to Rome, since a shrine to the Lares Compitales could be found in every neighbourhood they also serve to generalize it. Just as the specific site of the Lacus Iuturnae merges with the generic space of the *locus amoenus*, so too the associations of this action, rather than being linked to one specific site, become generalized throughout the city's crossroads.

This intrusion into the city of the unsettling associations of the *locus amoenus* occurs again in the account of the foundation of the shrine of the Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium (*Fast.* 6.479-550). The dedication is first situated in its astronomical and geographical context (*Fast.* 6.473-478):

iam, Phryx, a nupta quereris, Tithone, relinqui,  
 et uigil Eois Lucifer exit aquis:  
 475 ite, bonae matres (uestrum Matralia festum)  
 flauaque Thebanae reddite liba deae.  
 pontibus et magno iuncta est celeberrima Circo  
 area, quae posito de boue nomen habet

“Now, Phrygian Tithonus, you complain that you are abandoned by your wife, and the watchful Morning Star comes forth from the eastern waters. Go, good mothers (the Matralia is your festival), and offer to the Theban goddess the yellow cakes that are her due. Adjoining the bridges and the great Circus is an open space of far renown, which takes its name from the statue of an ox.”

The bridging of waters, as Lucifer rises into view over the waters in the east, connects the astronomical account with the geographical place defined by its numerous bridges (most likely the Pons Fabricius and the Pons Sublicius are here intended (Littlewood 2006: 153)) which help to characterize the Forum Boarium as a place suited for trade and travel both along and across the river. The story of the shrine which was to be built in this area begins in Thebes, where Ino, the aunt of Bacchus, was driven mad by Juno and leapt into the sea with her son in her arms (*Fast.* 6.483-498). After this suicidal plunge, in the account given in the *Metamorphoses* (4.519-542) and in all other known versions of the story (Parker 1999: 337-8), mother and son are transformed into

gods. In the *Fasti*, though, Ovid introduces a whole new episode: protected by the water divinities, Ino and her son were carried underwater all the way to the mouth of the Tiber.

Their arrival into Rome is described in a manner typical of a *locus amoenus* (Parker 1999: 341-2) (*Fast.* 6.501-4):

nondum Leucothea, nondum puer ille Palaemon  
uerticibus densi Thybridis ora tenent.  
lucus erat; dubium Semelae Stimulaene uocetur:  
maenadas Ausonias incoluisse ferunt.

“They reached the mouth of thick-eddying Tiber before Ino had yet received the name of Leucothea and before her boy was called Palaemon. There was a grove; it is doubtful whether it should be called the grove of Semele or the grove of Stimula: they say that it was inhabited by Ausonian Maenads.”

The scene is introduced with a typical entry formula, *lucus erat* (503), and, once again, using a verb of saying, *ferunt* (504), to introduce the narrative. The narrative itself is one of persecution and fear. What begins as a friendly interaction between guest Ino and her Maenad hosts turns sour when Juno incites the local inhabitants to attack mother and son. Littlewood notes of this passage that ‘surrounded on all sides by deities associated with fertility cult, Ino is exposed to violence, which is associated in the cult of Dionysus with sexual union and procreation’ (Littlewood 2006: xliii), contrasting it with Aeneas’ arrival in the same spot where he sees mainly birds (Littlewood 2006: 159). Ino is rescued fortuitously by Hercules, who had been watering his cattle in the river (*Fast.* 6.519-522).

This passage offers a further example of the importance of the Tiber in the importation and naturalization of cult. Scholars have noted the very strong similarities with the arrival of Evander as related at *Fast.* 1.497-586, and discussed above (Fantham 1992: 163-6; Littlewood 2006: 159-60). Ovid’s novel account of Ino in Latium is used for a similar purpose to that of Evander in Latium: he emphasizes the moment of her importation, and the transformative effect of the Roman

landscape, particularly of the Roman river, upon this Greek divinity. Parker has noted the various ways in which Ovid makes Ino a counterpart to Virgil's Aeneas in order to bring about this "Romanization" (Parker 1999: 339-47); the emphasis on the strong eddies in the river at the point of arrival recalls the Virgilian account of Aeneas' arrival and adds to the sense that 'both are fated to come ashore at the same place' (Littlewood 2006: 159-60).

The addition of the literary topos of the *locus amoenus* to this literary parallel draws out another aquatic theme prevalent in Ovid's presentation of the Roman sacral landscape: the ambivalence of divinities. Just as for Evander, Carmentis delivers a prophecy regarding the fates of the long-suffering Ino and her son (*Fast.* 6.543-548):

‘numen eris pelagi, natum quoque pontus habebit.  
in uestris aliud sumite nomen aquis:  
545 Leucothea Graeis, Matuta uocabere nostris;  
in portus nato ius erit omne tuo,  
quem nos Portunum, sua lingua Palaemona dicet.  
ite, precor, nostris aequus uterque locis!’

“‘You will be a divinity of the sea: your son, too, shall have his home in ocean. Both take different names in your own waters. You shall be called Leucothea by the Greeks and Matuta by our people: your son will have all authority over ports; he whom we name Portunus will be named Palaemon in his own tongue. Go, I pray, be friendly, both of you, to our country!’”

Not only has the Tiber brought these two gods into Rome; in this new version of the myth, they do not become gods until after they have arrived in Rome and marked out the sites of their future temples through their sufferings. The presentation of this site as a *locus amoenus* underscores the ambivalent nature of water, which is an important narrative tool throughout: Ino leaps to her watery death, only to be saved by the water nymphs; mother and son are washed up safely on the banks of the Tiber, only to be attacked by the people who inhabit its shores. In each case, water appears initially threatening, an aspect which the poet reinforces by using the river Tiber, the site of their salvation from drowning, to evoke the atmosphere of the *locus amoenus*. At last, it is the river

which brings Ino into contact with her savior, and the story is resolved with a transformation, predicted by Carmentis. Ino and her son become water divinities, worshipped in the hope of appeasing Rome's waters and favouring Rome's sailors. The ambivalence of water here underscores the ambivalent nature of Ino herself: a destructive figure in Greek mythology, in Roman cult she becomes a 'model of Roman maternal solicitude,' a duality which Ovid's account plays upon more broadly (Littlewood 2006: 151-2). The temples of Mater Matuta and Portunus in the heart of Rome's shipping district are therefore a memorial of their sufferings in what was once a *locus amoenus*; the regular flooding of the Tiber meant that these dangers were not limited to the city's past.

Both episodes analyzed here acknowledge the dangers implicit in these naturalized urban landscapes, and both also draw out the ambivalence of natural forces. As Segal noted, water in particular is a potent symbol for the ambivalent forces of nature, because of 'its ubiquity and its suggestive ambiguities' (Segal 1969: 24). The destructive and redemptive properties of water are most obvious in the Mater Matuta passage, yet they are also evident in the story of Lara. Before Lara's horrific journey from the Lacus Iuturnae to the *palus inferna*, Iuturna had used the waters of her pool as a means of escaping from the unwanted advances of Jupiter (*Fast.* 2.588); when Jupiter asks the other nymphs to help him to pursue Iuturna, he specifically requests that they prevent her from jumping into the water (*Fast.* 2.595-6). The life-giving and destructive power of water helps to characterize the *locus amoenus*, which is pleasant and alluring, and at the same time a site for terrible violence. Newby considers this view of nature and landscape to reflect the Roman view of the gods and their ambivalent attitude towards humans (Newby 2012: 356). It is therefore highly appropriate for Ovid to exploit this kind of rhetoricized setting in order to characterize some of the sacred spaces of Rome.

I close this section very close to the Lacus Iuturnae, with a passage from Ovid’s account of the Vestalia. This festival would also have been of crucial importance to the imperial family after Augustus established a new shrine to Vesta within his own home, and emphasized the connections between Vesta, the Penates, and his adoptive family’s Trojan ancestry (Littlewood 2006: 81-2). The passage I focus on here is, though, surprisingly unconcerned with Vesta, and features as a rather abrupt interlude to the extended treatment of the Vestalia and associated Vesta facts given at *Fast.* 6.249-460; the themes of a changed religious landscape perhaps serve to reinforce the compliment to the Augustan renovations of Vesta’s cult. The interlude consists of an anecdote about the poet’s personal experience at the Vestalia. The sight of a *matrona* heading barefoot into the Forum Romanum astonishes him, suggesting this was unusual and perhaps, as Littlewood suggests, unseemly behaviour (Littlewood 2006: 126). An old lady obligingly interjects to relate the reason for the other woman’s dis-attire, explaining that this is in fact an ancient *mos* of which our poet was somehow unaware, harking back to a time when the landscape of the Roman forum was very different. She draws on the topos of the forum’s former marsh-like state,<sup>43</sup> contrasted with the elaborate monuments of the poet’s own day, including monuments built upon the very ‘lake’ itself which remains only in the name of the Lacus Curtius (Figure 1.17 a) (*Fast.* 6.401-4):

hoc, ubi nunc fora sunt, udae tenuere paludes;  
 amne redundatis fossa madebat aquis.  
 Curtius ille lacus, siccas qui sustinet aras,  
 nunc solida est tellus, sed lacus ante fuit;’

“‘This ground, where now are the fora, was once occupied by wet swamps: a ditch was drenched with the water that overflowed from the river. That Lacus Curtius, which supports dry altars, is now solid ground, but formerly it was a lake.’”

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<sup>43</sup> Cf. Tibullus 2.5.33-8, Propertius 4.2.7-8 (each with etymological wordplay on the Velabrum); *Fast.* 2.391.

As Littlewood notes, the anecdote is linked thematically with the larger account of the Vestalia precisely because of its location, which is ‘inherent in Metellus’ rescue of the Palladium’ recounted at *Fast.* 6.447-54, an episode in which Metellus performs an act of *devotio* like that of Mettius Curtius<sup>44</sup> (Littlewood 2006: 105; 139) (see Chapter 1.3). It is striking, though, that the account of the Lacus Curtius makes no mention of Mettius Curtius (Littlewood 2006: 124) and offers no explanation for the stark change in the landscape it describes. The old woman’s account instead dwells upon the watery paradoxes inherent to the center of the city, without resolving them into a teleological narrative like that connected with Mettius Curtius. The problem to be explained is, of course, one of behaviour, namely the matrona’s method of moving through the space, and this is clarified not by Mettius Curtius’ legend, but by the behaviour of Rome’s earlier inhabitants (*Fast.* 6.405-8):

405    ‘qua Velabra solent in Circum ducere pompas,  
           nil praeter salices cassaque canna fuit:  
       saepe suburbanas rediens conviva per undas  
           cantat et ad nautas ebria verba iacit.’

“‘Where now the processions tend to pass through the Velabrum to the Circus, there was nothing but willows and hollow canes; often the reveller, returning home over the waters of the suburb, used to sing and rap out tipsy words at passing sailors.’”

Her account focuses on the area of the Velabrum, the former stream bed on top of which the Temple of Castor and the Basilica Iulia had been built, which ran past the Temple of Vesta and the Lacus Iuturnae. The Cloaca Maxima ran through the Velabrum, draining the marsh of the forum space and making it possible to pave and build up the area (see the valley behind the Lacus Iuturnae and the Temple of Castor, Figure 1.17 b & c). After this presentation of early interactions with the landscape, the old lady turns to the appropriately shifting figure of the god Vertumnus.

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<sup>44</sup> For explanations of the origin of the Lacus Curtius, see Varro *De Lingua Latina* 5.148-50; Livy 1.12.8-10, 7.6.1-6.

This ancient river god's role in the change to the forum is a crucial one, which once again is immortalized in the name by which Ovid's contemporaries know him. During the period recalled here, Vertumnus has not yet completed his etymological derivation, but instead is presented as a figure who anticipates Roman water management and draining of the forum space (*Fast.* 6.409-10):

410           'nondum conveniens diversis iste figuris  
                  nomen ab averso ceperat amne deus.'

“That god [Vertumnus], whose name is appropriate to various shapes, had not yet derived it from damming back the river.”

The anecdote as a whole therefore presents Rome as a place with a hidden origin, covered over with the dry marble monuments, but which religious ritual nonetheless recalls (*Fast.* 6.411-14):

          'hic quoque lucus erat iuncis et harundine densus  
                  et pede velato non adeunda palus.  
          stagna recesserunt et aquas sua ripa coercet,  
                  siccaque nunc tellus: mos tamen ille manet.'

“Here, too, there was a grove overgrown with bulrushes and reeds, and a marsh not to be trodden with booted feet. The pools have receded, and the river confines its water within its banks and the ground is now dry; but the old custom survives.”

The forum is in truth a *lucus*, and the processional route through the forum seems to be a development of the drunkard's watery route home.<sup>45</sup>

As in the ritual of the Argei, the *mos* described here and the landscape in which it takes place transport us back to Rome's proto-landscape which seems to be waiting for human management of its waters. Once again, change and transformation are explicitly associated with water and shown to be inherent to the nature of the Roman Forum, which our trusty *matrona* insists still on

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<sup>45</sup> One manuscript, *U*, has *lacus* instead of *lucus* at *Fast.* 6.411 (Littlewood 2006: 413-4); this unmetrical error is symptomatic of the blurred identities of this particular space, and of the centrality of water to the notion of a *lucus* in general.

traversing barefoot. As we have seen, these themes are highly appropriate to Ovid's presentation of the sacred landscape of the city, which is full of imported and somewhat naturalized divinities such as Iuturna, Carmentis, Evander, and Castor and Pollux. This idea that, where nature intrudes or is even remembered to have intruded into the city, Rome still resembles an ancient *lucus* or even a *lucus*, allows Ovid to effect yet another transformation of the urban space.

## 2.2 *URBS AMOENA*: ROMAN WATERS AS RHETORICAL TOOLS

In a seminal study on material poetics, Martelli has considered how Statius writes the real world of Roman plumbing into the literary topoi centred upon water. By including his patron's garden fountain in the topos of inspiration, by writing of the Aqua Marcia's pipe as the stream of poetry, by describing a Roman tomb as a *locus amoenus*, Statius both aestheticizes his own socio-historical context and reinvigorates literary tradition with these explicitly economic forms of capital (Martelli 2009). Ovid was an important model for Statius and, I will argue, also writes the material realities of Rome into poetic topoi. Although the *Ars Amatoria* does not advertise its own role in the economy of patronage, as Statius' poetry does, it deliberately engages with the status symbols of the Augustan city and casts them as sites in an urban *locus amoenus*. Segal's influential study of landscape in the *Metamorphoses* demonstrated the defining role of water in the topos of the *locus amoenus* which is employed frequently in the poem; these alluring landscapes would be instantly threatening to the attuned reader, a frisson deriving, in the main, from the literary tradition, and underscored by the ambiguous nature of water (Segal 1969: 23-4). Newby has considered the figure of the *locus amoenus* in the visual realm, focusing in particular on mythological tales presented within the domestic landscape, through statuary collections in villa gardens and landscape paintings on the walls of the domus (Newby 2012). In an analysis which chimes well with Segal's view of landscape in the *Metamorphoses*, she argues that these artistic

ensembles ‘acted as a potent force expressing the powers of nature and the gods, challenging human control of the natural world and implicating the viewer in the dangerous world of myth’ (Newby 2012: 350). I argue that this same process is at work in the *Ars Amatoria*, as he draws on the religious associations of water examined above and intrudes the *locus amoenus* into the city of Rome. However, unlike in the *Fasti*, the implication in the amatory poetry is that the dangers of the *locus amoenus* are carefully controlled by the city’s infrastructure and architecture: readers are encouraged to feel excitement rather than fear.

Pompey and Caesar had changed the experience of the urban landscape with the construction of the first monumental civic fountains, which drew people into their grand architectural complexes, the Theater and Portico of Pompey, and the Forum Iulium respectively (Longfellow 2011: 16-9). I will argue that Ovid draws upon his readers’ personal experiences of the civic fountains and shady porticoes of Augustan Rome, and creates the atmosphere of the *locus amoenus* within the city. Favro sees inward-looking seclusion as the hallmark of the Augustan building program (Favro 1996: 171-6), and this is also evident in Ovid’s account of the modern city. So, his recommendation of the bath house as a space suitable for lovers rests on its guarded seclusion.<sup>46</sup>

The poet asks what use a guard is (*A.A.* 3.639-40)

640 cum, custode foris tunicas seruante puellae,  
celent furtiuos balnea multa iocos,

“When, while the guardian keeps the girl’s clothes without, the numerous baths hide furtive sport?”

The ironic *praeceptor amoris* manipulates the restricted access of the bath house’s plan: instead of keeping out all men, she will instead allow access to those she prefers, enjoying stolen delights

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<sup>46</sup> In line with Favro’s analysis of the porticoes and fora of the Augustan building program, Yegül notes that the imperial *thermae* were enclosed spaces made self-sufficient by their careful and elegant floor-plans (Yegül 1992: 128-33).

while her guard watches for theft in the wrong place (Gibson 2003). The watery seclusion of the bath house can be reinterpreted in Ovid's amatory landscape. This kind of recasting is also applied to the innovative water features of the Porticus Pompeiana and the Forum Iulium, and the city of Rome more broadly, to provide a set of alluring rhetorical spaces which can promise sexual encounter, or bristle with potential violence.

The poet's first major exploration of the city comes at *Ars Amatoria* 1.67-88, where the *praeceptor amoris* maps the love affairs familiar from the *Amores* onto the topography of Rome itself. His very first lesson offers a tour which reinterprets the city, as Ovid explains to his male readers where in Rome to meet with available women. Rome is portrayed as a space in which shade and water are dominant,<sup>47</sup> and created by built structures and hydraulic engineering. The poet sets up these modern spaces as an erotic hunting ground, drawing on the common poetic collocation of love and hunting<sup>48</sup> (A.A. 1.45-50):<sup>49</sup>

45     scit bene uenator, ceruis ubi retia tendat,  
          scit bene, qua frendens valle moretur aper;  
      aucupibus noti frutices; qui sustinet hamos,  
          nouit quae multo pisce natentur aquae:  
      tu quoque, materiam longo qui quaeris amori,  
50             ante frequens quo sit disce puella loco.

“Well knows the hunter where to spread his nets for the stag, well knows he in what glen the boar with gnashing teeth abides; familiar are the copses to fowlers, and he who holds the hook is aware in what waters many fish are swimming; you too, who seek the object of a lasting passion, learn first what places the maidens haunt.”

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<sup>47</sup> Water and shade are, indeed, two crucial elements in Rogers' attempt to reconstruct the sensory experience of Roman towns (Rogers 2001: 83).

<sup>48</sup> Kenney (1970: 386-8) discusses the development of the image of the lover as hunter from Greek lyric, through New Comedy, into Latin poetry where it is particularly extended by the didactician Lucretius (*De Rerum Natura* 4.1141ff.). Davis (1983), in his analysis of this topos in the *Metamorphoses*, attests to the significance of the fraught opposition between lover and hunter for Ovid's broader exploration of social attitudes towards the erotic.

<sup>49</sup> *Ars Amatoria* and *Remedia Amoris* translations adapted from Mozley-Goold. 1979. *Ovid: The Art of Love, and Other Poems*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Just as the fisherman knows which waters teem with the most fish, so the *praeceptor amoris* knows which kinds of architectural space are suited to angling for women. The learned literary and didactic tone helps to mask the violent implications of figuring Rome as an urban hunting-ground, but as the poet goes on to explain which properties of the city's various architectural types make them suitable for hunting for a lover, this violence repeatedly bubbles to the surface.

The tour of A.A. 1.67-88 covers a wide area of the city, and the sites are not visited in a logical order for a walking-tour (Figure 2.2). The coherence of this urban survey is not topographical but architectural. A.A. 1.67-74 deals with a series of porticoes;<sup>50</sup> a four-line interlude on the suitability of religious festivals for amatory hunting allows for a transition to religious buildings (Hollis 1977: 46);<sup>51</sup> the Temple of Venus Genetrix is part of the larger complex of the Forum Iulium, which is then subject to an extended treatment by the poet as an example of the amatory suitability of fora in general (A.A. 1.79-88). As one might expect, given its patron deity, the architectural layout of the Forum Iulium is particularly suited to erotic assignations, and serves as the climax to this architectural survey. The architectural theme is borne out in the poem's following sections, which also deal with the amatory suitability of different building types: *sed tu praecipue curuis uenare theatris* ("but especially do your hunting in the round theatres;" A.A. 1.89); *multa capax populi commoda Circus habet* ("the spacious Circus holds many opportunities;" A.A. 1.136). As all the structures listed here had been either recently erected or else recently restored by Augustus (Hollis 1977: 43), this is very much a tour of the building types of the modern, Augustan city and an exploration of their utility.

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<sup>50</sup> The Porticus Pompeiana (A.A. 1.67-8), the Porticus Octaviae (A.A. 1.69-70), the Porticus Liviae (A.A. 1.71-2) and the Porticus Danaidum (A.A. 1.73-4) (Figure 2.2 nos. 1-4).

<sup>51</sup> The Temple of Isis at A.A. 1.77-8, and then the Temple of Venus Genetrix at A.A. 1.81 (Figure 2.2).

The very first line of the tour is both overtly literary and sets up an emphasis on the experiential impact of the space it describes, the Porticus Pompeiana (A.A. 1.67):

tu modo Pompeia lentus spatiare sub umbra

“Only stroll leisurely beneath the Pompeian shade.”

As Hollis notes (Hollis 1977: 45), this line is an imitation of Propertius, to whom Cynthia had given the instruction (Propertius 4.8.75):

75 tu neque Pompeia spatiabere cultus in umbra

“nor will you stroll all dressed up in the Pompeian shade.”

Martial would later use a similar phrase to evoke Pompey's portico as a place avoided by a certain Lattara who is trying to keep away from tempting women (Martial *Epigrams* 11.47.3):

cur nec Pompeia lentus spatiatur in umbra

“Why doesn't he stroll idly in the Pompeian shade?”

These three poets each in turn work to establish a sense of continuity, drawing on the atmosphere evoked by the earliest poetic account of the portico, Catullus 55.6-12, which had already described the portico as a sexually inviting locus amoenus (Kuttner 1999: 350-1); they establish Pompey's portico as a trope for a certain atmosphere and a certain kind of activity.<sup>52</sup> Ovid's characterization of the Porticus Pompeiana is therefore part of a broader attempt to make of that space a *locus* for erotic assignation, whose key characteristic is the *Pompeia umbra*, “the Pompeian shade,” appropriate for the leisurely promenade implied by the different forms of the verb *spatior* selected by the poets. This shade was provided by the marble colonnades and the

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<sup>52</sup> On Martial's reframing of this line and his approach to Ovidian allusion in general, see Hinds 2007, esp. 114-29.

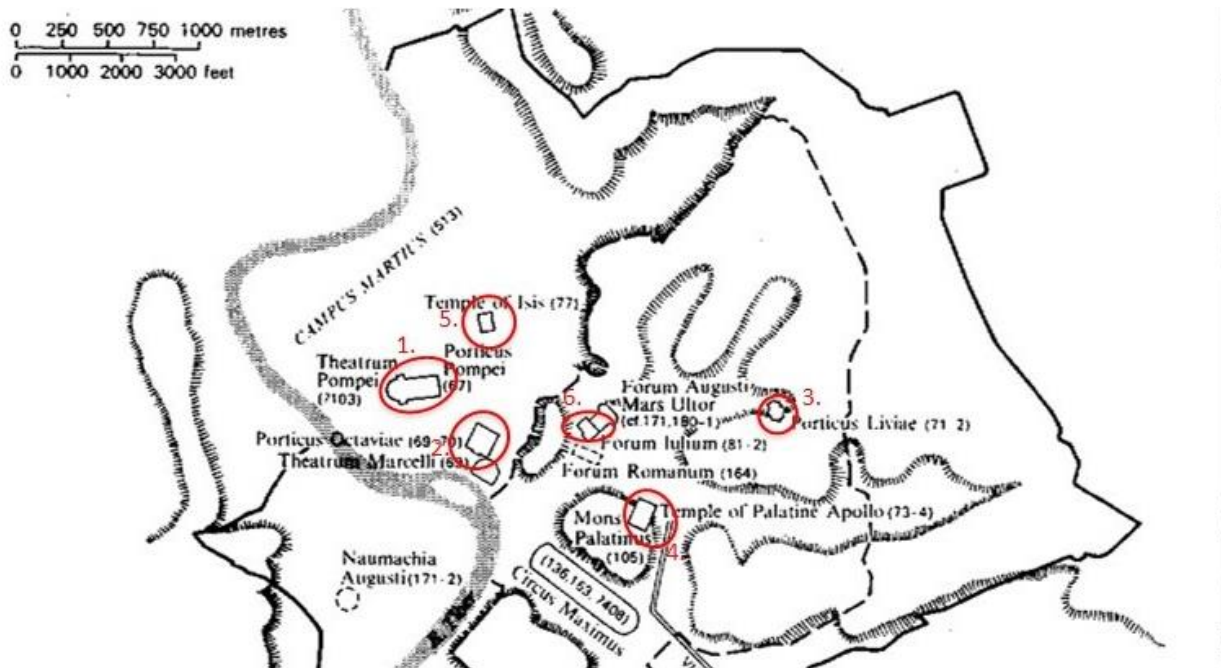


Figure 2.2. Map of the tour of Rome at A.A. 1.67-88. Sites numbered in the order they are visited: (1) Porticus Pompeiana (A.A. 1.67-8); (2) Porticus Octaviae (A.A. 1.69-70); (3) Porticus Liviae (A.A. 1.71-2); (4) Porticus Danaidum (A.A. 1.73-4); (5) Temple of Isis (A.A. 1.77-8); (6) Forum Iulium (A.A. 1.79-88). Map taken from Hollis 1977: 44.

plantings throughout the portico, which Propertius describes as a regimented row of plane trees interspersed with decorative fountains (Prop. 2.32.11-14):

scilicet umbrosis sordet Pompeia columnis  
porticus, aulaeis nobilis Attalicis,  
et platanis creber pariter surgentibus ordo,  
flumina sopito quaeque Marone cadunt

“No wonder Pompey’s Portico with its shady colonnade, famed for its canopy of cloth of gold, seems worthless, and its rising rows of evenly planted plane-trees, and the waters that fall from slumbering Maro, lightly bubbling liquid through the city, till Triton buries the stream again in his mouth.”

These plantings seem to have formed two ranks in the centre of the rectangular colonnade (Gleason 1994: 14, 19-23; Coarelli 1997: 574; Kuttner 1999). The plane tree was particularly valued for its shade-giving properties, and Pliny records the story that it was originally imported to Italy *umbrae*

*gratia* (“for the sake of shade;” Pliny *NH* 12.6). As Kuttner, observes, Propertius describes the columns as if they are shady trees, and the plane trees as if they are a row or *ordo* of columns, emphasizing the stylized arrangement of the whole complex (Kuttner 1999: 355-6) and the deliberate construction of shade. These plants, and the fountains which were interspersed among them, were most likely irrigated with water from the Aqua Marcia (Rinne 2016). The regimented, architectural arrangement of these irrigated plants created a unique public space in Rome -- the first public park (Gleason 1994).

By using this particular portico, and this particular description of it, to introduce the architectural type, Ovid fits the other porticoes of his catalogue into the shade-filled Pompeian trope. Although each is identified by one or other of its distinctive artistic or architectural features, these other porticoes are presented as alternative choices to the Porticus Pompeiana for a shaded walk during hot weather. It is the promise of shade, rather than any artistic adornment, which characterizes the portico as an architectural type, and makes it a convenient place to hunt for women (*A.A.* 1.69-74):

70           aut ubi muneribus nati sua munera mater  
                  addidit, externo marmore diues opus.  
nec tibi uitetur quae, priscis sparsa tabellis,  
                  porticus auctoris Liuia nomen habet:  
          quaque parare necem miseris patruelibus ausae  
                  Belides et stricto stat ferus ense pater.

“or where the mother has added her own gifts to her son’s, a work rich with marble coating. Nor should you avoid the Livian colonnade which, scattered over with ancient paintings keeps its founder’s name, or where the daughters of Belus dare to plot death for their wretched cousins, and their fierce sire stands with drawn sword.”

The shade offered by all of these porticoes is of a distinctively urban kind: unlike Propertius, Ovid makes no mention of any plantings or fountains, focusing instead on cool marble and alluring

artworks. Within these man-made refuges, the murderous Danaids are fixed in place, suggesting the possibility of a violence which will not be realised.

The portico was a dominant architectural motif of the Augustan building program, which was favoured, according to Favro, because it created an isolated, inward-looking complex (Favro 1996: 171-6). She argues that this meant the portico could avoid the ‘danger of having its meaning compromised and visual impact contaminated’ by the surrounding buildings of Republican Rome (Favro 1996: 171). The Porticus Pompeiana, itself a Republican building, was, as Kuttner notes, conveniently suited to this ideology and was deliberately co-opted by Octavian in 32 BCE; she suggests that Pompey was influenced in his design of the complex by the notion that social order could be expressed in tended nature (cf. Cicero *De Senectute* 59) (Kuttner 1999: 345-50). Gleason has shown how the complex was ordered so that perspective would emphasize the juxtaposition of architectural and garden elements (Gleason 1994: 19), a principle which would certainly fit well with the goals of the Augustan portico-builders. The seclusion, and the allure of shade and artworks, features which made this architectural type so appealing to the imperial family, clearly also made it a convenient space for romantic assignations and therefore allowed the intended political message to be compromised. In her application of space syntax models to the cognitive space of the Roman garden, Stackelberg observes that the power of planted spaces (in which she includes porticoes, particularly the Porticus Pompeiana, as well as gardens) ‘is often described in terms of the seduction of the senses...but it can also express forms of temporal, societal, and political coercion’ (Stackelberg 2009: 51). Ovid and the imperial family are therefore each attempting to privilege one of the cognitive associations of the portico over the others. For Ovid, the charms of the portico do not simply provide him with convenient spots to recommend to his

audience of would-be lovers; these secluded, shaded spaces become focal points in a poetic reinterpretation of urban space which he develops in the remainder of this tour.

The next stage of the tour centres on religious festivals and buildings which, by virtue of the particular deity they honour, can create an erotic atmosphere within the city. The lightness of tone in this passage is in tension with the tragic erotic encounters to which Ovid here alludes (A.A. 1.75-8):

75     nec te praetereat Veneri ploratus Adonis,  
          cultaque Iudaeo septima sacra Syro.  
      nec fuge linigerae Memphitica templa iuuencae:  
          multas illa facit, quod fuit ipsa Ioui.

“Do not let Adonis bewailed of Venus escape you, nor the seventh day that the Syrian Jew holds sacred. Don’t avoid the Memphian shrine of the linen-clothed heifer: many a maid does she make what she was herself to Jove.”

We see the dangers of erotic hunting in the the lamented Adonis, and are then led into the Temple of Isis who is here identified with the sad figure of Io.<sup>53</sup> Isis/IO is presented as an ally to the lover because of what she was to Jove, that is, a victim of rape and then unwilling transformation into a cow.<sup>54</sup> The insertion of these myths of sexually charged death and of rape into the middle of the city tour creates a frisson of danger beneath the erotic promise of the passage. This is nevertheless controlled by the poet’s confidently light tone; just as the frightening figures of the Danaids (A.A. 1.73-4) are safely contained within Augustus’ portico, so the reader is encouraged to continue his leisurely stroll (A.A. 1.67) past the sites connected with these myths in a manner which suggests mildly voyeuristic curiosity. The city’s architecture and Ovid’s poetry safely contain these

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<sup>53</sup> Herodotus (2.41) and Diodorus Siculus (1.24-25) record the syncretism of Io with the Egyptian goddess Isis; in the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid recounts Io’s transformation into the goddess as the conclusion to her wanderings over the earth (*Met.* 1.747).

<sup>54</sup> In Ovid’s later telling of the myth of Io in the *Metamorphoses*, Jupiter, as a prelude to the rape, in fact directs the frightened girl into the “protective” shade of a grove (Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.590-591).

erotized stories, using them to help create an amatory suggestiveness within the Rome of this city tour.<sup>55</sup>

The second mention of Venus in this passage takes us to the site of one of her most recently erected temples, in the Forum Iulium. This forms a pleasing complement with the porticoes with which the tour began, as the Forum Iulium was also a very controlled space, enclosed by a surrounding portico, and was a forerunner to the prevalent use of the portico in Augustan buildings (Favro 1996: 171). In this important Augustan space, with a series of clever puns on legal terminology at A.A. 1.83-8 (Hollis 1977: 49-50), Ovid evokes an atmosphere of inescapable eroticism, presided over by a laughing Venus (A.A. 1.81 and 1.87). It is, emphatically, the place itself which makes even such stuffy legal types so susceptible to love (A.A. 1.83-8):

illo saepe loco capitur consultus Amori,  
quique aliis cauit, non cauet ipse sibi:  
85 illo saepe loco desunt sua uerba diserto,  
resque nouae ueniunt, causaque agenda sua est.  
hunc Venus e templis, quae sunt confinia, ridet:  
qui modo patronus, nunc cupit esse cliens.

“in that place often is the lawyer surprised by Love, and he who was careful for others is not careful for himself: in that place often does the glib speaker fail for words: a new case comes on and his own cause must be pleaded. Venus laughs at him from her neighbouring shrine: he who was of late an advocate now wishes to be a client.”

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<sup>55</sup> This idea recurs in Ovid’s presentation of the city in the *Ars Amatoria*. Particularly striking is the passage immediately following the one under discussion, which contrasts the architectural and artistic splendours of contemporary theaters with that in which Romulus orchestrated the rape of the Sabine women (A.A. 1.103-6). That account ends with the comment (A.A. 1.133-4): *scilicet ex illo sollemnia more theatra / nunc quoque formosis insidiosa manent*; the “dangers” within the sophisticated theaters of Ovid’s day are implicitly much less frightening than the threats in Romulus’ wild theater.

While the framing figure of Venus certainly goes some way to explaining this heady atmosphere, it is not Venus who is the subject in the poet's characterization of the Forum Iulium, but the nymph Appias (A.A. 1.81-2):

subdita qua Veneris facto de marmore templo  
Appias expressis aera pulsat aquis,

“where set beneath the marble shrine of Venus, the Appian nymph strikes the air with her upspringing waters”

With the thumping jets of her fountain, she defines the space as the Forum Iulium.

The fountain of the Appiades close to the Temple of Venus Genetrix,<sup>56</sup> and was one of only two known monumental fountains of the late Republic (see Chapter 1.2); the other stood in the Porticus Pompeiana, where our city tour began (Longfellow 2011: 16-9). As well as the shade of porticoes, then, newly prominent displays of imported water would have been dominant sensory features for any Roman reader of this passage. Upon arrival in the Forum Iulium, the poet pauses to guide his readers' response to the presence of the Appiades fountain: Boyle notes the 'sexual imperatives' (Boyle 2003: 176) which Ovid clearly writes into its pounding jets. Longfellow comments on the particular charm which Ovid evokes here: 'the mixture of nature and artifice provided a sensuous setting that was rare in the crowded heart of Rome' (Longfellow 2011: 18). The climax of the amatory city-tour is at this structure which combines nature and art in an inviting fashion. Although, as discussed in Chapter 1.2, the fountain seems to have been designed to draw attention towards and provide a screen for the temple as the forum's religious and political center, for our amatory poet water adds a particular allure to these places. Water displays, newly exploited within the refined architectural settings of the Porticus Pompeiana and the Forum Iulium, become a symbol for the delights offered by the whole tour, where the poetically resonant shade of

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<sup>56</sup> For the debate surrounding its possible location, see Chapter 1.1; Figure 1.3 a & b, Figure 1.4 and Figure 1.5.

porticoes invited enjoyment of marble facades, ancient paintings, and mythological statue groups (A.A. 1.69-74). The shade and water which frame this tour each help Ovid to create the atmosphere appropriate to his subject matter, a relaxed stroll through a city teeming with sexual possibility. They are a crucial part of the poet's rhetorical strategy as he describes the urban landscape.

This rhetorical use of shade and water to create a pleasing setting charged, at the same time, with the expectation of sexual encounter or even of violence, draws upon the same aesthetic principles which underlie the *locus amoenus*. The rhetorical devices Ovid employs in his whistle-stop tour of Rome, using shade and water, blending the natural with the artificial, show a very similar approach to the description and the manipulation of space as in the *locus amoenus*. By creating a naturalized atmosphere in a definitively urban setting out of man-made shade and imported water, Ovid highlights the artificiality of the poetic tradition in regard to natural landscape and at the same time deftly co-opts key features of the city to create a similarly rhetoricized landscape within the urban setting. This is markedly different from the approach of Propertius, who contrasted the Augustan cityscape with the appearance of an early Rome 'moist with dew and rivulets...rich in ivy, foliage, cattle, and shade' (Fantham 1997: 135).

Ovid returns to this city-tour at A.A. 3.385-98, writing this time for a female audience. He conducts the tour with several marked changes, instructing his new readers to approach the city in a different way. First of all, the women are not taken into the city until much later in the book, after they have been advised on appearance, dress, and deportment. Once they enter the city, water and shade again characterize the space, but the female audience is directed to respond to them in a rather different way. The women are taken to almost all of the same sites as the men, but in a different order (Figure 2.3, cf. Figure 2.2); the inclusion of the three theaters of the Campus Martius (A.A. 3.394) (Figure 2.3 no. 7) and the circus (A.A. 3.395-6) (Figure 2.3 no. 8) is a compression of

the more extended treatments of those venues which immediately followed the city tour of Book 1 (theatres at A.A. 1.89-134, the circus at A.A. 1.135-162). The climactic stop at the Appiades fountain in the Forum Iulium (Figure 2.2 no. 6) is strikingly omitted. Yet water still runs through the whole passage, and helps the poet to evoke *amoenitas*.

We start out with the native and imported waters of the Campus Martius, the Tiber and the Aqua Virgo, which are presented as too forbidding for the poet's female readers (A.A. 3.385-6):

385    nec uos Campus habet, nec uos gelidissima Virgo,  
         nec Tuscus placida deuehit amnis aqua.

“You the Campus knows not, nor the cool water of the Aqua Virgo, nor does the Tuscan river bear you down on its placid stream.”

Gibson notes how the ascending tricolon emphasizes these waters as an exclusively male arena (Gibson 2003: 256). The description of the new aqueduct as *gelidissima Virgo* (ice-cold virgin), as with the reference to the *Virginea aqua* at *Fasti* 1.464 (see Chapter 2.1), personifies the aqueduct as a water nymph, apparently welcoming to men but forbidding to women. The following couplet, though, offers up the refuge of the shade of the Porticus Pompei, which was the programmatic structure of A.A. 1.67-88. In Book 3, too, it is the cooling shade of the portico which makes it appealing and which, once again, defines the space, *Pompeias ire per umbras* (“to walk through the Pompeian shade;” A.A. 3.387).

The watery theme continues in the description of the shaded porticoes. Thus, the time of year for visiting the Porticus Pompeiana was, for the men, late July. For the women, the best season is *Virginis aetheriis cum caput ardet equis* (“when the head is scorched with Virgo's celestial steeds;” A.A. 3.388), in August. As Gibson notes, this slight shift in time allows the poet to make a play between the cold waters of the Aqua Virgo, where the men bathe, and the blazing heat of the constellation Virgo (Gibson 2003: 260). Each of these *virgines* represents an extreme of

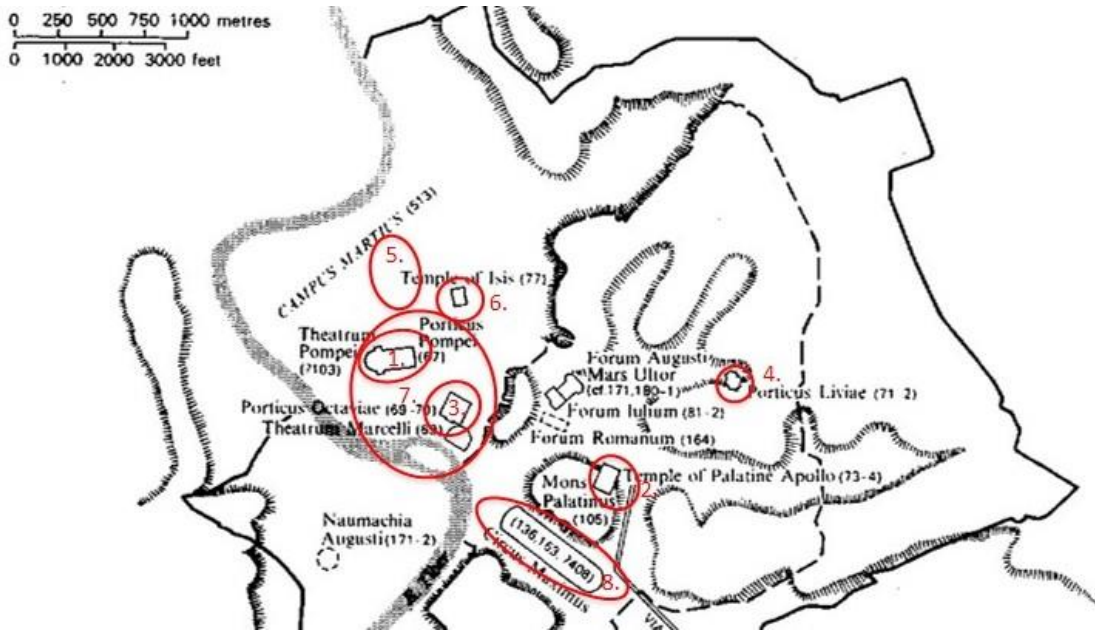


Figure 2.3. Map of the tour of Rome at A.A. 3.385-98. Sites numbered in the order they are visited: (1) Porticus Pompeiana (A.A. 3.387-8; (2) Temple of Palatine Apollo (A.A. 3.389-90); (3) Porticus Octaviae (A.A. 3.391); (4) Porticus Liviae (A.A. 3.391); (5) Porticus Argonautarum? (A.A. 3.392); (6) Temple of Isis (A.A. 3.393); (7) Theatres of the Campus Martius (A.A. 3.394); (8) Circus Maximus (A.A. 3.395-6). Map taken from Hollis 1977: 44.

temperature from which the female audience is advised to flee into the welcoming shade of the Porticus Pompei: in the context of the burning heat of August, the *Virginis* in A.A. 3.398 brings to mind the forbidden waters of the *gelidissima Virgo* in A.A. 3.385, perhaps making them more appealing, and keeping the Aqua Virgo in the readers' minds as the tour moves forward. There is an obvious humour in keeping the amatory women readers away from these virgins. At the same time, Ovid shows the abundant waters of the public aqueduct to be restricted territory. The pairing of the Aqua Virgo with the Tiber in this prohibition is particularly striking, as this is the only mention of the river in the entire poem. The male river and the water maiden shepherd Ovid's women readers into the controlled architectural spaces of the Augustan city.

There are watery undercurrents to these Augustan buildings, too. So, the description of the Temple of Palatine Apollo (Figure 2.3 no. 2) defines the god by his naval role, *ille Paraetonias*

*mersit in alta rates* (“it was he that sank in the deep the Paraetonian [Egyptian] ships;” A.A. 3.390). After describing the Porticus Octaviae and the Porticus Liviae (A.A. 3.391) (Figure 2.3 nos. 3-4) the poet introduces the only building not featured in the survey of Book 1, one which was built by Agrippa: *naualique gener cinctus honore caput* (“and his son-in-law whose head is wreathed with naval glory;” A.A. 3.392). It is, in the first place, striking that the theme of naval battles recurs yet again in characterizing an important Augustan figure and his monuments, a characterization of course particularly appropriate for Agrippa and his water-focused building plan. This building is usually identified as the Porticus Argonautarum (Figure 2.3 no. 5, see Chapter 1.2), completing as it does the couplet which references the porticoes of Octavia and Livia (Gibson 2003: 262), and so continuing the thematic structuring by building type which operates here as well as in Book 1. The identification as the Porticus Argonautarum allows for a further thematic link with the water allusions which run through the Book 3 catalogue, although many of Agrippa’s other buildings would also fit well with this theme.

The rhetorical cohesion of the paired passages of Books 1 and 3 is evident also in the purpose of the tour of these buildings. As discussed above, the Book 1 tour is introduced as an urban hunting-ground. The hunting motif returns at the conclusion of the Book 3 tour, with references again to fishing (cf. A.A. 1.47-8) and hunting (cf. A.A. 1.45-6) (A.A. 3.425-8):

425    casus ubique ualet; semper tibi pendeat hamus;  
                   quo minime credas gurgite, piscis erit;  
       saepe canes frustra nemorosis montibus errant  
                   inque plagam nullo ceruus agente uenit.

“Chance everywhere has power; ever let your hook be hanging; where you least believe it, there will be a fish in the stream. Often do hounds stray in vain through mountain glens, and a stag, without any driving it, falls into the nets.”

For the women, though, these metaphors are not included in order to encourage them to go hunting for men amid the shaded and watered areas of the city. As Gibson notes, the women’s role is to be

more passive, not to actively hunt but simply to present themselves as a lure to passing men (Gibson 2003: 271). The couplet which rounds off the walking tour becomes all the more pointed: *quod latet, ignotum est; ignoti nulla cupido: / fructus abest, facies cum bona teste caret* (“What is hidden is unknown; what is unknown none desires; nothing is gained when a pretty face has none to see it;” A.A. 3.397-8). The shaded and watered areas of the city should be frequented by the women, not as hunting-grounds, but as appropriate backdrops against which they may display themselves.

After offering this advice for luring a lover, the *praeceptor* offers a warning against certain types of men, the effeminate and the deceptive. These men also inhabit the city familiar to us from the tour of Book 1. If they are not careful, the women, like the men, might end up beneath the gaze of Venus and the Appian nymphs of her fountain in the Forum Iulium; they will not be victims of love like the men (A.A. 1.83-6), but of theft (A.A. 3.449-52):

'redde meum!' clamant spoliatae saepe puellae,  
 450            'redde meum!' toto voce boante foro.  
 has, Venus, e templis multo radiantibus auro  
                  lenta vides lites Appiadesque tuae.

““Give me back my own,” robbed women often cry; “give me back my own,” cry their voices over the whole forum: these quarrels you watch unheeding, O Venus, from temples shining with lavish gold, you and your Appian Nymphs.”

As the women walk the city, they must beware of a man who is *cultissimus*,<sup>57</sup> who, as well as being promiscuous (A.A. 3.435-6), is also likely to be a thief. The legal associations of the Forum Iulium afforded the poet a clever series of puns to describe the way in which his male readers could be affected by this setting, presented by the poet as an urban *locus amoenus* where men are typically overcome by desire. This setting for the women, though, is one of spoliation and complaint. The

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<sup>57</sup> A warning which adds point to the change from the *cultus* of Propertius’ description of the man who frequents the Porticus Pompeiana to the *lentus* of A.A. 1.67, discussed above.

personified fountain, Appias, seems just as hostile to women readers as the Virgo aqueduct. The poet pointedly advises them (A.A. 3.455-6):

455     discite ab alterius vestras timuisse querellis;  
          ianua fallaci ne sit aperta viro.

“learn from the complaints of another to fear for your own [complaints]; nor let your door be open to a false lover”

This warning will be fleshed out with the mythological exempla of Ariadne and Theseus, and Phyllis and Demophoon in A.A. 3.457-60, and so is really an instruction to the women to learn from literary precedent. Once again, the dangers of the *locus amoenus* for women, dangers familiar from the literary tradition, are alluded to by the elegist, as he warns of the thefts of property which may take place and be lamented there.

In the *Remedia Amoris*, the Appiades Fountain comes to stand for the entire space of the Forum Iulium and its associations with unhappy relationships. The *praeceptor amoris* explains his disapproval of lovers who end their relationship with quarrels and litigation (Ovid *Remedia Amoris* 659-662):

          turpe uir et mulier, iuncti modo, protinus hostes;  
660             non illas lites Appias ipsa probat.

“Shameful is it that a man and woman, lately united, should be enemies forthwith; the Appian herself does not approve such strife as that.”

The personified waters of the Forum Iulium, then, are repeatedly used to evoke an amatory atmosphere that is at the same time troubled. Although the light-hearted nature of Ovid’s erotic elegy means that the sexual violence associated with the *locus amoenus* is kept at bay, safely contained in literary allusion and mythological statuary, the criminal associations of the Forum Iulium make this fountain an appropriate climax to the rhetorical city tours of *Ars Amatoria* Books 1 and 3, and a symbol of bad relationships in the *Remedia Amoris*.

Ovid's amatory elegies famously expose the rhetorical strategies of the genre, instructing all the participants in the love affair how to behave appropriately, how to fit into the artificial and constructed world of the elegist; Boyd has argued that a major focus of Ovid's poetry is, indeed, on his own and on his poetry's 'personal relationship to a literary tradition' (Boyd 1997: 50). This presentation of the buildings of the city is no different: the *praeceptor amoris* in Book 3 instructs his female readers to find a setting in the city where the sight of them might lead to an erotic encounter. They are to enter these shaded, watered areas which are charged with erotic expectation, and hope that they catch a man's eye. Thus, the poet instructs his audience to exploit this setting, fitted out with all the props appropriate to a *locus amoenus*, which any good *docta puella* would know is designed specifically for a certain kind of narrative. In her consideration of garden statuary, Newby emphasizes the eroticism of the (nude) statues of dying Niobids (Newby 2012: 368); in Ovid's reconfiguration of his tour of Rome, and indeed in his prohibitions, the poet makes allowance, as Newby does not, for a female audience who might respond differently to this kind of story and the space in which it is enacted. So, when recasting his account of the city for a female audience, Ovid in describing the temple of Isis (3.393) suppresses the story of Io's rape which formed part of his description of that temple for his male audience (1.77-8). This rhetorical shift tends to confirm the latent violence which runs through the description of the city designed to appeal to his male readers.

### 2.3 EXILE AND THE LOSS OF ROMAN AQUATICS

After Ovid's exile, Rome becomes a city he can traverse only in the imagination, as he himself emphasizes (e.g. *Tr.* 4.2.57-70). His accounts of Rome and of his new home in Tomis make it clear that he misses his rhetorical excursions in Rome as much as his physical excursions. On several occasions, he returns to the tour of the city so familiar from the *Ars Amatoria*, but finds himself

unable, from exile, to complete the rhetorical exercise. Thus, in the third book of the *Tristia*, the coming of spring offers Ovid the opportunity to reflect upon the difference between the signs of the season in Tomis compared with his memories of Rome. One of the key differences between spring in these two locations is the behaviour and experience of water. His first symbol of springtime in Rome is the enjoyment of the new aqueduct, the Aqua Virgo (*Tr.* 3.12.21-2):

nunc ubi perfusa est oleo labente iuuentus,  
defessos artus Virgine tinguit aqua.

“now the young men, reeking of slippery oil, are bathing wearied limbs in the Aqua Virgo.”

He follows with a brief summary of the different buildings which Romans will be making use of at this time of year. To those who took Ovid’s tour of Rome in Books 1 and 3 of the *Ars Amatoria*, the locations which characterize Rome for the poet are very familiar: the stages of the three theaters of the Campus Martius (*Tr.* 3.12.23-4; *A.A.* 1.89-134 and 3.394), the three fora (*Tr.* 3.12.24; *A.A.* 1.79-88), though none of these are named specifically. For Ovid, the new season is made evident in these urban spaces by the kinds of activity they hold: spring is the season of leisure (*Tr.* 3.12.17-18), when the Campus Martius is filled with young men exercising and bathing themselves in the Aqua Virgo, and with the sound of the festivals being celebrated in the theatres. The city is a markedly Augustan one,<sup>58</sup> and its aqueduct represents a springtime very different from that in

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<sup>58</sup> The Augustan nature of Ovid’s idealized Rome is expressed most explicitly in *Pont.* 2.8, where Ovid describes how looking at a portrait of Augustus transports him in imagination back to Rome: *quantum ad te, redii, nec me tenet ultima tellus, / utque prius, media sospes in Vrbe moror* (“so far as you could effect it, I have returned, I am no more in a remote land; as before I am safe in the middle of the city;” *Pont.* 2.8.11-12).

Tomis. In Rome, there is the easy luxury of bathing in waters channeled into the city by an aqueduct. This provides a point of direct contrast with the waters in Tomis (*Tr.* 3.12.27-30):

at mihi sentitur nix uerno sole soluta,  
                    quaeque lacu durae non fodiantur aquae:  
nec mare concrescit glacie, nec, ut ante, per Histrum  
30                    stridula Sauromates plaustra bubulcus agit.

“But mine it is to feel the snow melted by the spring sun and water which is not dug all hard from the pool. The sea, too, is no longer solid with ice, nor as before does the Sauromatian herdsman drive his creaking wagon across the Ister.”

Thus the Aqua Virgo, the only aqueduct to be mentioned by name in Ovid’s poetry, provides a crucial point of contrast between Rome and Tomis: it is both a sign of a developed urban infrastructure which Pontus lacks, and an important element in the leisure facilities which, as we have seen, serve to shape social behaviour for Ovid. In contrast, the waters in Tomis are rough and untamed, and that cultural relief is consequently scarce.

This is a motif which recurs throughout the exile poetry. In the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, Ovid returns again to the theme of the lack of leisure as he describes how constant warfare in the region keeps him back from the kind of life he would most enjoy. In considering leisure as a cultural artifact, Connors has observed the role which (self-defined) light poems, such as the *Ars Amatoria*, can play in ‘defin[ing] their élite audiences as élite enough to indulge in a literature of leisure’ (Connors 2000: 492). For the poet of the *Ars Amatoria*, the ultimate flâneur, the loss of this particular cultural artifact can therefore be expected to have a detrimental effect upon his ability to indulge in literature, to write the kind of refined poetry the Roman social scene inspires. In explaining this cultural contrast between Rome and Tomis, the poet once again turns to water to illustrate how limited his own wants have become. Describing himself as *Stygias detrusus in oras* (“thrust down to the very shores of the Styx;” Ovid *Epistulae ex Ponto* 1.8.27), Ovid describes three unattainable fantasies, in ascending order of likelihood. Ovid begins with the fantasy of a

tour through the city (Pont. 1.8.35-40). He visits the same key sites, listing fora, temples, theatres and porticoes, the same architectural groups visited in *Ars Amatoria* 1.67-88; the tour culminates with a few specific monuments, all water facilities in the Campus Martius supplied by the Aqua Virgo (Pont. 1.8.35-8):

35      nunc fora, nunc aedes, nunc marmore tecta theatra,  
                 nunc subit aequata porticus omnis humo.  
         gramina nunc Campi pulchros spectantis in hortos,  
                 stagnaque et euripi Virgineusque liquor.

“Now the fora, now the temples, now the theatres sheathed in marble, now every portico with its levelled ground comes before me; now the greensward of the Campus that looks towards the lovely gardens, the pools, the canals, and the water of the Aqua Virgo.”

The magnificence of these sites is, Ovid acknowledges, far beyond his reach. He turns to dwell instead on his own private waterworks; he misses the fields of the Paelignian country, and longs for the garden he used to tend beside the Via Flaminia (Pont. 41-6).

He briefly describes his gardening, culminating with the admission that he even watered the beds himself (*Pont.* 1.8.45-8):

45      quos ego nescio cui colui, quibus ipse solebam  
                 ad sata fontanas, nec pudet, addere aquas:  
         sunt ubi, si uiuunt, nostra quoque consita quaedam,  
                 sed non et nostra poma legenda manu.

“them I tilled for I know not whom, in them I used in person to guide (nor am I ashamed to say it) the spring water upon the plants; somewhere, if they still live, there are certain trees also planted by my hand, but never is my hand destined to gather their fruit.”

Ovid here claims personal experience with the labour involved in gardening and specifically with irrigation, which would have been a standard feature of a private Roman *hortus*; although gardening was a highly respectable activity, and one in which Augustus himself took an interest as discussed in Chapter 1.3, it would nonetheless have been natural for a member of the elite such

as Ovid to assign laborious gardening tasks to slaves (Gaertner 2005: *ad* 1.8.45). Much like with the Aqua Virgo, the poet cannot enjoy the benefits of his private water management. The one wish the poet still cherishes is to be able to tend a garden now in Tomis (*Pont.* 1.8.49-62); as Gaertner notes, this idea echoes the imaginings of Virgil's displaced poet Meliboeus, who lost his Italian land and considered emigrating to Scythia (Gaertner 2005: 453, *ad* 41-62; Virg. *Ecl.* 1.64-6). He extends this fantasy, gladly thinking through all the work which would be involved. His joyful account culminates with the thought of providing water to the plants.

In this fantasy of Pontic water management, he also learns the Getic language to shout at the oxen as part of his mastery of the Pontic landscape (*Pont.* 1.8.55-60):

55     et discam Getici quae norunt uerba iuueni,  
          adsuetas illis adiciamque minas.  
       ipse manu capulum pressi moderatus aratri  
          experiar mota spargere semen humo.  
       nec dubitem longis purgare ligonibus herbas,  
60             et dare iam sitiens quas bibat hortus aquas.

“teaching myself the words which the Getic bullocks know, hurling at them the familiar threats. In person would I control the handle of the down-pressed plough and try to scatter seed in the furrowed earth. I would not shrink from clearing away the weeds with the long hoe and supplying the water for the thirsty garden to drink.”

Yet this irrigation fantasy is beyond him. The constant warfare around Tomis makes this kind of gardening activity impossible (*Pont.* 1.8.61-2); as Ovid's evocation of a rustic idyll in this poem has many Tibullan echoes, the barrier presented by warfare may be intended to evoke Tibullus' praise of peace (Gaertner 2005: 462, *ad* 61-2). Each stage of this anti-climactic comparison, between the city of Rome, Ovid's private Italian property, and Tomis, is capped with an episode of irrigation and water management on an increasingly humble scale. The impossibility of watering even a garden in Tomis emphasizes the extreme barbarity of the poet's surroundings.

The much-abbreviated tour given here at once alludes to the more detailed accounts of the city in Ovid's amatory works, and in doing so highlights its own account as generic and unspecific; Green sees these kinds of 'impressionistic' accounts of Rome in the exilic works and in the, on his view, fully-revised *Fasti* as deliberate illustrations of the limitations placed upon the poet's poetic and mimetic faculties by exile (Green 2004b: 236-9). This metapoetic agenda is prominent at the opening of this poem, where Ovid excuses the quality of his work to the addressee, Severus: *quoque magis nostros uenia dignere libellos, / haec in procinctu carmina facta leges* ("and that you may grant my work greater indulgence, you will read here verses composed on the field of battle;" *Pont.* 1.8.9-10). The poem dwells not upon the effects of war upon the poet's literary output, but, as we have seen, upon the sorry state of hydraulic engineering amid the warring Getans in contrast to the hydraulic marvels which are fondly remembered from Rome. On one level, Ovid is bemoaning the difficulty of writing poetry in a place bereft of culture, where inspiration is hard to come by.

The connection between the lack of inspiration and the rough, untamed waters of the area is drawn out more explicitly in a later letter to the same Severus, where Ovid mournfully describes his struggles as a writer (*Pont.* 4.2.17-20):

scilicet ut limus uenas excaecat inundans,  
                   laesaque suppresso fonte resistit aqua,  
 pectora sic mea sunt limo uitata malorum,  
 20                  et carmen uena pauperiore fluit.

"Surely just as clogging silt jams channels and the outraged water halts in the choked fountain, so my mind has been injured by the silt of misfortune, and my verse flows with a scantier vein."

He contrasts his own position with that of Severus himself (*Pont.* 4.2.47-8):

at tu, cui bibitur felicius Aonius fons,  
utiliter studium quod tibi cedit ama

“but you, who quaff more happily the Aonian spring, continue your love for the pursuit which yields you profit.”

Water is the metaphorical source of inspiration, and the lack of appropriate water sources in Tomis is a corollary for the lack of other culture and for the ensuing difficulty of artistic endeavour.<sup>59</sup> Yet, as the comparison with irrigation in poem 4.2 makes clear, the creation of a water system which Ovid imagines in poem 1.8 is also a metaphor for the artistic process: as Ovid is unable to create an irrigation system, so too he is unable to create poetry of the quality he once produced. Finally, and most crucially, these irrigation passages are also the subjects of Ovid’s poetry. The contrast with his earlier poetry is a poignant one: he previously wrote of the grand water systems which flowed past the marble porticoes of Rome, and used them, as we have seen, to create a rhetorical space from the urban landscape. The frozen waterways and war-torn fields of Tomis cannot be shaped into a *locus amoenus*. The landscape offers no inspiration, it is not a space conducive to artistic creation, and it resists any attempt to transform it into suitable poetic material.

## 2.4 CONCLUSION

The view of the city presented in exile is particularly telling because of the prominence there of Augustan hydraulic structures. While the description of Rome presented at both *Tr.* 3.12.21-32 and *Pont.* 1.8.35-62 is abbreviated and mentions only building types rather than specific monuments as in the tours of the *Ars Amatoria*, the *Aqua Virgo* alone is mentioned by name. While the other building types and activities listed in these exilic tours could perhaps apply to any city,

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<sup>59</sup> See Chapter 3.1 for a full discussion of the imagery of inspiration in Ovid’s works.

the Aqua Virgo gives specificity and character to the account and serves to define the place as Rome. As we have seen, the Aqua Virgo was already integrated into Ovid's view of the city and its waters long before exile, allowing the poet both to reflect upon the importance of importation to Rome's history and appearance (cf. *Fast.* 1.461-8), and to transform the city into a *locus amoenus* (cf. *A.A.* 3.385-98). Its appeal was complex, lying not just in its novelty and its location in the Campus Martius, but also in its name: Green notes the irony in its use at *Fast.* 1.464 to localize the Temple of Iuturna, given that her divinity derives, in the *Aeneid* at least, from the loss of her virginity (Green 2004a: 214); this is much more overt at *A.A.* 3.385-6 where Ovid's female lovers are warned away from the frigidity of the Virgo. From exile, the dominance of this aqueduct in Ovid's nostalgic recollection of the city and in his metapoetic account of his own inspiration and ability testifies to the enduring impact of the Augustan aquatic program on the way Romans viewed water.

### Chapter 3. POEMS, WATERS, PLACES: THE GENERIC AND THE LOCAL IN OVID'S WATER IMAGERY

ὁ Φθόνος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπ' οὔατα λάθριος εἶπεν·  
'οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὃς οὐδ' ὄσα πόντος ἀεῖδει.'  
τὸν Φθόνον ὠπόλλων ποδί τ' ἤλασεν ὧδέ τ' εἶπεν·  
'Ἄσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ  
λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἔλκει.  
Δηοῖ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδαρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι,  
ἀλλ' ἦτις καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει  
πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβὰς ἄκρον ἄωτον.'

Callimachus *Hymn to Apollo* 105-12

In Callimachus' influential hymn, Apollo and Envy couch their discussion of poetic style in the terms of a dispute over the appropriate hierarchical arrangement of waters. Envy, in rejecting the poet who does not sing even as much as the sea, clearly values the volume of water most, and therefore the length or "bigness" of a poet's output. Apollo, though, proposes a different set of distinctions. Choosing fresh waters over Envy's salt water, Apollo contrasts the filth carried by the great stream of the Euphrates with the pure droplets of water obtained from a fountain; his literary criticism is thus based upon quality rather than quantity, and values a pure and "unmixed" style.

This is fertile imagery, as the analogy between different types of water and different aspects of poetry can be easily expanded. Thus, the spring's pure and unmixed water is naturally the best source of drinking water, and its associations with both drinking and high quality poetry became meaningfully combined in the image of the fountain of poetic inspiration (Harder 2012: 100).<sup>60</sup>

Rivers can vary in terms of volume, rate of flow, and reliability, all of which may affect the amount

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<sup>60</sup> Hellenistic accounts of drinking from inspirational fountains can be found at Asclepiades/Archias *AP* 9.64; Alc. *AP* 7.55.5ff.; Antip. Thess. *AP* 11.24. See Harder 2012 94-5 for discussion, with bibliography, of the possibility of this image in Callimachus' account of his meeting with the Muses in the *Aetia*.

of sediment they carry and therefore their purity. Finally, the sea is not just a large and inexhaustible body of water. Salt water, although not drinkable, was nonetheless, in Greek thought, also considered to be pure (Erbse 1955: 424, with n. 3). Further, the passage of Homer to which Callimachus alludes at the conclusion of this hymn (*Il.* 21.193-7) includes the claim that Okeanos is the source of all other waters, including rivers and springs. Thus, as the origin of all waters, the sea can be reincorporated into the poetic imagery of inspiration and, because of the Iliadic passage, Homer was frequently likened to a sea from which other poets drink, an image which might even underpin Envy's reference to the sea in Callimachus' hymn (Williams 1978: 86-9; Traill 1998: 216-22).

In describing the creation of fresh waters at the opening of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid divides them into the categories of springs, standing waters, and rivers (*...et fontes et stagna immensa lacusque / fluminaque...*, "and springs, and vast marshes and lakes, and rivers;" *Met.* 1.38-9). In this chapter, I examine these different typologies as they appear in each of Ovid's works, considering how each category of water is used both in practical and figurative terms. I evaluate whether the use to which each water-type is put relates to its symbolic value, and what kinds of literary topoi get associated with each type of water. I pay particular attention to which real-world waters Ovid names, and how he presents hydrological realities. Finally, I note the types of human interaction with waters which Ovid focuses upon, and the value judgements associated with human water management. Although this chapter focuses on fresh waters, as they were subject to the kind of water management systems with which this dissertation is concerned, the interaction between fresh and salt water, and particularly the blending of the two types, becomes an important component of several of Ovid's fresh water topoi. I reserve an analysis of the waters of the *Metamorphoses* for Chapter 4, where I will consider how water's transformative properties relate

to the water symbolism of Ovid's other works discussed in this chapter; the development of his treatment of the figure of the *locus amoenus* throughout his oeuvre will also be treated fully in Chapter 4.3, as it is a topos far more prominent in the *Metamorphoses*.

The freshwater landscapes of Ovid's amatory works, of the *Fasti*, and of exile differ most strikingly in their connections with Italy and with Rome. Each section of this chapter focuses upon the geographical biases of each poem in relation to each category of water, and considers the implications of geography for water's symbolic value and use in literary topoi. Five specific springs are mentioned in the *Fasti*, of which one is Roman and two others Sicilian, whilst the *Amores* mentions only two Greek springs, with no specific springs appearing in the other amatory poems. From exile, Ovid speaks of just one Sicilian spring, two Greek ones, and adds in the springs of the Pontus area. Out of the fifty-one episodes featuring a named river in the *Fasti*, thirty-three feature Italian rivers, whereas in the amatory works, of twenty-nine different rivers mentioned Greece is best represented, with fifteen episodes featuring Greek rivers, while only five feature Italian rivers. From exile, sixty-three episodes feature named rivers, of which only three feature Italian rivers, while thirty-one feature rivers local to Tomis. Finally, of the four specific bodies of standing water mentioned in the *Fasti*, two are in Rome and one other is Italian, whilst the only standing waters to feature in the amatory works are non-Italian. In the exile poetry, standing waters occur more frequently and in a wider range of territories, with four different countries represented, including two references each to Italian and to Sicilian standing waters. The geographical distribution of water references across Ovid's oeuvre is rather surprising, especially given both the Rome-centric view of the *Ars Amatoria* where so many of the city's recognisable features are deliberately named and explored, and the nostalgic focus upon Rome from exile. The avoidance of Italian and Roman waters in the amatory works and even in the exile poetry seems particularly

deliberate in the light of their dominance in the *Fasti*. Fresh waters thus seem to be crucial to the creation of a sense of place in the formation of the Roman religious landscape, but to be superfluous or even incongruous in other kinds of cityscape.

The geographical foci of Ovid's unmanaged waters further confirm the pattern I discussed in Chapter 2, wherein different poems present two different kinds of waterscape for the city of Rome: natural waters are associated with the early pre-settled landscape and appear solely in the *Fasti*; built water structures are the focus of modern cityscapes and are favoured in Ovid's other works. These two different visions of waterscape suggest, in and of themselves, a narrative trajectory, from undeveloped to managed water. Whilst this is certainly chronologically accurate, Cronon has shown how descriptions of unmanaged, or rather pre-managed, landscapes are often rhetorically coloured and in fact anticipate their own development and subsequent management, thereby making human dominance seem inevitable and even, as it were, natural (Cronon 1992: 1349-57). In this chapter, as well as exploring Ovid's descriptions of unmanaged waters in the Rome of the *Fasti*, I also examine unmanaged waters outside of Rome, and show how these too are charged with expectations of certain types of human interaction.

Although Ovid's natural waterscapes differ from those analyzed by Cronon, in that they do not form the setting for one single narrative,<sup>61</sup> they are nonetheless consistently the setting for particular types of story. These stories serve usually to fetishize the natural, or else, indeed, to anticipate or even welcome development of the landscape. This latter story is most frequently seen in the Rome of the *Fasti*, whilst the former is most common in the amatory works and serves to remove unmanaged waters from the realm of ordinary life represented by the water monuments

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<sup>61</sup> Cronon analyzes different historical accounts of the ecological disaster of the Dust Bowl, which devastated the Great Plains in the 1930s. See the introduction to Chapter 2.

surveyed in Chapter 2. From exile, Ovid describes a very different kind of unmanaged waterscape, one which is neither fetishized and revered, nor inviting of human engagement and development. Bate has argued that technological advances in the eighteenth century, by mitigating some of the dangers of nature, allowed for the development of aesthetic appreciation of the landscape (Bate 2000: 119-24). From exile, Ovid creates the inverse of this narrative: removed from the hydraulic technologies which in Rome had allowed for aesthetic appreciation, Ovid sees neither beauty nor any possible utility in the waterscape of Pontus. Throughout his oeuvre, Ovid values managed, controlled, and thereby beautified waterscapes, and finds in them the imagery for the myriad struggles of human existence.

### 3.1 SPRINGS AND FOUNTAINS

The purity of spring water, valued so highly by Callimachus, means it is particularly prized for drinking and bathing. In Section 3.1.1, I show how fountains and the quality of their water serve to define the landscapes in which they appear. In the amatory poetry, the fountains of Greece represent a privileged source of water, often with numinous overtones. From exile, in contrast, one of the major symbols of suffering is the inferior nature of the fountains of Tomis and the unsatisfactory drinks which can be drawn from them. In the *Fasti*, the fountains of Rome serve as markers of restricted space, which includes both the sacred areas of contemporary Rome and the pre-urban landscape, and are in fact used to restrict access to the fledgling city, according to the *Fasti*, as later discussion will show. This exclusive status of fountains in Ovid's work informs their role in the imagery of inspiration, as I explore in Section 3.1.2. The reverence accorded to natural fountains may derive in part from their absence from ordinary daily experience, wherein drinking



is twice sprinkled with *fontana unda* from an unspecified source in an ancient wood, as part of his ritual preparation for seeking the remedy to a terrible agricultural blight (*Fast.* 4.649-60).

Although there are no rituals involving fountains in the amatory works, bathing and drinking which takes place in natural fountains is nonetheless always tied up with some grave or symbolic action. Thus, Cydippe asks Diana why she has taken Acontius' side against her, and runs through several possibilities (*Her.* 21.177-8):

numquid, in umbroso cum uelles fonte lauari,  
inprudens uultus ad tua labra tuli

“Is it that you may have wanted to bathe in a shaded fountain, and my face, unaware,  
came upon your bathing?”

Just as the *umbroso fonte* can serve as a shorthand for an entire *locus amoenus* description, so too does the simple act of interrupted bathing stand in for a far more complex and serious chain of events. Diana's bath in a fountain represents the transgression, punishment and transformation of Actaeon, and in Ovid's later telling of the story (*Met.* 3.143-252) the water of the fountain (so designated at *Met.* 3.161) is indeed the agent of Actaeon's transformation and therefore of his punishment.

The only reference to natural springs in the *Ars Amatoria* is as part of the highly charged setting of the *locus amoenus*. This distinctive scene involves a highly symbolic fountain-bathing which plays a crucial role in the extended inset narrative of Cephalus and Procris. Ovid's female

readers are advised to learn the dangers of jealousy from Procris' example, and instantly enter an enchanting *locus amoenus* on Mt. Hymettus (A.A. 3.687-90):

est prope purpureos colles florentis Hymetti  
fons sacer et uiridi caespite mollis humus;  
silua nemus non alta facit; tegit arbutus herbam  
690 ros maris et lauri nigraque myrtus olent

“There’s a sacred fountain and sweet green-turfed ground near to the bright slopes of flowered Hymettus; the low woods form a grove; strawberry-trees cover the grass, it smells of rosemary, bay and myrtle”

The Greek landscape and its fountains are the realm of mythology and of literary conceits. Any attempt to pinpoint which part of Hymettus Ovid here describes is confounded by his use of the conventional features of the *locus amoenus*<sup>63</sup> (Fowler 1993: 34, n.14; Gibson 2003: 362), the water here provided by a *fons sacer*, the shade by a range of low-growing plants. Cephalus’ fateful entry into this scene of “natural” beauty happens at midday, conforming exactly to the *locus amoenus* topos (A.A. 3.725-726):<sup>64</sup>

725 ecce, redit Cephalus siluis, Cyllenia proles,  
oraeque fontana feruida mulcet aqua.

“Behold, Cephalus, Hermes’ child, returned to the wood, and soothes his burning face in the fountain’s water”

Cephalus’ immersion in water is deliberately linked with the *fons sacer* of the *locus amoenus* description given at A.A. 3.687-90 by the use of the adjective *fontanus*, appearing here for the first time in Latin (Gibson 2003: 373). This serves to reinforce his act of bathing as one of penetration

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<sup>63</sup> *Locus amoenus* scenes will be considered in Chapter 4.3; see there for a fuller discussion of this particular role of water, and for bibliography.

<sup>64</sup> I follow Gibson here in adopting Wakefield’s conjecture of *mulcet* for *pulsat* of the MSS; he finds the latter verb ‘very odd’ (Gibson 2003: 373). Note that the couplet ending *pulsat aqua* would echo Ovid’s account of the jets of the Fountain of the Appiades at A.A. 1.81-2, which couplet ends *pulsat aquis*. This would provide an interestingly urban parallel for the only natural fountain of the *Ars Amatoria*.

into a marked space, and to increase anticipation of the tragic events which will conclude with a very different kind of bathing (A.A. 3.743-6):

          ille sinu dominae morientia corpora maesto  
                  sustinet, et lacrimis uulnera saeua lauat:  
743  exit, et incauto paulatim pectore lapsus  
                  excipitur miseri spiritus ore uiri.

“He held the body of his dying lady on his sad breast, and bathed the cruel wound with his tears: she died, and her breath, passing little by little from her rash breast, was caught on her sad lover’s lips.”

The *fons sacer* of A.A. 3.688 functions both as a landscape feature and as a useful source of cooling bath water. Each function has a further symbolic significance, as the landscape characterized by the fountain is a threatening *locus amoenus*, and the bath taken in the fountain marks Cephalus’ doomed entry into the grove and anticipates his own bathing of Procris’ wound.<sup>65</sup> Indeed, it was precisely Procris’ informed reading of the landscape setting which made her suspect sexual deviance on the part of Cephalus, not realising it was she herself who was the doomed woman (Hinds 2002: 132).

The *locus amoenus* framed around a fountain occurs on only two other occasions in the amatory works. These two other examples are the only settings in which fountains appear in the amatory works without being used for any acts of drinking or bathing. In these *locus amoenus* scenes, fountains continue to mark out numinous and restricted moments, though without the need

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<sup>65</sup> In the version of this story told in the *Metamorphoses*, the fountain of the *locus amoenus* is entirely absent. It is only the deceptively named Aura (“breeze”) which refreshes Cephalus there, and which leads to Procris’ jealousy and untimely death (*Met.* 7.796-862). The fountain in the *Ars Amatoria* version thus underscores the central theme of the deceptiveness of landscape.

for any direct human contact with the water. The first such scene opens the third book of the *Amores* (*Am.* 3.1.1-4):

1       stat uetus et multos incaedua silua per annos;  
          credibile est illi numen inesse loco.  
      fons sacer in medio speluncaque pumice pendens,  
          et latere ex omni dulce queruntur aues.

“There’s an old wood untouched for many years; it’s believable that a god lives in that place. There’s a sacred spring at its centre and a cave of overhanging rock, and birds sing sweetly all around.”

After plunging his readers into the heart of this grove, the poet explains that it was there he met with *Elegia* and *Tragoedia*, who fought over his generic allegiance. The *fons sacer* (cf. *A.A.* 3.688; *Am.* 3.1.2) thus characterizes a place not entirely mythological, as the poet is walking there, but at the same time an overtly literary and stylized *locus amoenus*. The numinous atmosphere described in the first couplet is borne out by the spring itself, which prefigures the arrival of the two forms of poetry.

This same pattern is repeated for Ovid’s *Sappho* (assuming for the moment that this poem in the single *Heroides* is his). The poet describes her unsatisfactory return to the grove where she used to meet *Phaon*, watered now apparently only by her own tears (*Her.* 15.149-50). After she describes, with pathetic fallacy, the mournful behaviour of the trees and birds of the grove, the final element of the landscape to which she turns is strikingly different (*Her.* 15.157-60):

          est nitidus uitroque magis perlucidus omni  
          fons sacer - hunc multi numen habere putant -  
      quem supra ramos expandit aquatica lotos,  
160       una nemus; tenero caespite terra uiret.

“There’s a sacred fountain, shining, clearer than any crystal - many think a divine spirit lives there - over it water-lotus unfolds its branches, itself a grove; the earth is green with tender turf.”

The sparkling beauty of that same *fons sacer* contrasts with the bleak melancholy of the rest of the scene, and its numinousness again presages a divine arrival, this time of a Naiad with advice for the lovesick Sappho.

The particular beauty of fountains within Ovid's landscape repertoire is made very clear by these three scenes. Each of the three major amatory works features a fountain for its aesthetic, scene-setting properties only once, creating within each poem only one *locus amoenus* scene centred around a fountain. Each of these episodes is markedly set off from its framing narrative, as the numinous events which take place are of a different register from the rest of the poem: an extended mythological narrative embedded in Ovid's witty, urban sex tips;<sup>66</sup> a poem about getting lucky at the races (*Am.* 3.2) prefaced with a transcendental inspiration scene; the historical figure Sappho suddenly visited by a Naiad advising a metamorphic suicide leap. At the same time, these passages reveal the role of humans in demarcating and reverencing these spaces, and the human awe and anxiety that surrounds fountain spaces. Both the Tragedy and Elegy, and the Sappho scene insert human speculation into these restricted places, nudging readers to evaluate the significance of the *fontes sacri* they contain. Thus, in the *Amores* passage Ovid transitions from describing the ancient forest to describing the *fons sacer* with the line *credibile est illi numen inesse loco* ("it's believable that a god lives in that place;" *Am.* 3.1.2). In the *Heroides* passage, this speculation - *hunc multi numen habere putant* ("many think a divine spirit lives there;" *Her.* 15.158) - sites the divinity specifically in the *fons sacer*. These fontane *locus amoenus* scenes explicitly draw upon

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<sup>66</sup> Mythological narrative is a standard feature of both elegiac and didactic poetry, and in that sense of course fits naturally into the program of the *Ars* (Gibson 2003: 359), but there is a deliberate bathos in Ovid's segue from Procris' moving death scene to advice on attending dinner parties (*A.A.* 3.749-68).

reverent attitudes towards fountains in order to create a rarefied atmosphere which no longer depends solely upon aesthetics.

In the exile works, fountains are no longer a refined and exclusive. In fact, Ovid speaks for the first time of his own daily drinking habits, and gives some details about the Getic fountains which now supply his drinking water. This foreign water supply marks the poet out as being out of his proper place, and perhaps even subtly casts him in the role of that famed foreign visitor to the area, Jason. Indeed, Ovid's own surviving *Medea*, in her lament over the *arche kakou* that was the Argo's sailing, had included the same image of drinking the local waters in her summary of the unpropitious voyage (*Her.* 12.8-10):

                  ei mihi! cur unquam iuuenalibus acta lacertis  
                  Phrixeam petiit Pelias arbor ouem?  
                  cur unquam Colchi Magnetida uidimus Argon,  
10                  turbaque Phasiacam Graia bibistis aquam?

“Ah me! why was the ship from the forests of Pelion ever driven over the seas by strong young arms in quest of the ram of Phrixus? Why did we Colchians ever cast eye upon Magnesian Argo, and why did your Greek crew ever drink of the waters of Phasis?”

For *Medea*, with hindsight, the drinking of foreign water is an ominous act which represents a meeting of cultures that should never have taken place. Perhaps Ovid is not deliberately casting himself as a Jason by echoing *Medea*'s drinking image in his exile poetry, but his point is the same: he does not belong in Tomis.

Thus, his first description of his new drinking habits forms part of his reflections upon his encroaching old age, and the lifestyle that would be suited to it (*Tr.* 4.8.25-8):

25      tempus erat nec me peregrinum ducere caelum,  
                 nec siccam Getico fonte leuare sitim,  
                 sed modo, quos habui, uacuos secedere in hortos,  
                 nunc hominum uisu rursus et Vrbe frui.

“It’s time for me to breathe no longer foreign air nor slake my parching thirst with Getic water, but now to withdraw into the retirement of the gardens I once had, now once again to enjoy the sight of men and of the city.”

The environment of Tomis, represented by its air and its springs, is contrasted with the environment of Rome and, implicitly, with the air and springs the aged Ovid could enjoy there. The adjective qualifying his thirst *siccam...sitim* (“parching thirst;” *Tr.* 4.8.26) adds a slight sense of desperation to the description of drinking, hinting that the supply of the Getic *fontes* is perhaps not adequate.

This charge is taken up explicitly in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, in a poem that once again reinforces Ovid’s connection with Jason, opening with an address to the *aequor Iasonio pulsatum remige primum* (“sea first lashed by Jason’s oars;” *Pont.* 3.1.1). Ovid complains about the waters of his new home in some detail, beginning with the freezing of the sea and turning next to the state of the fountains (*Pont.* 3.1.17-22):

                 nec tibi sunt fontes, laticis nisi paene marini,  
                 qui potus dubium sistat alatne sitim.  
rara, neque haec felix, in apertis eminent aruis  
20                    arbor et in terra est altera forma maris.  
                 non auis obloquitur, nisi siluis si qua remota  
                 aequoreas rauco gutture potat aquas.

“You have no springs except those almost of sea water; drink them, and doubt whether thirst is allayed or increased. Seldom is there a tree - and that unproductive - rising in the open fields, and the land is but the sea in another guise. No note is there of any bird save such as remote in the forests drink the brackish water with raucous throat.”

Rather than offering pure and unmixed water like the springs of inspiration valued by Callimachus and enjoyed by Ovid in his earlier poetry (discussed below), the Getic springs are salty and unpleasant to taste. They do little to quench the parching thirst complained of at *Tr.* 4.8.26, and most birds cannot even drink from them. Tomis was a thriving harbour town (Gaertner 2005: 189), and by the fourth century AD would be home to a Roman bath building and aqueduct (Hind 1983: 75). Today it is actually the centre for one of Romania's largest water utilities, drawing water not just from the Danube and two mountain lakes (Galesu and Dealu Vifor), but also from over 400 wells (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development 2014). Fountains become for Ovid a powerful way to express dissatisfaction with the territory, however distorted their image may be.

The seriousness of this problem for the status of the local springs for Ovid is made clear later in the book, where he reveals his own preferred drinking methods. There, he explains why he would have preferred to have heard a speech of Cotta's in person instead of reading a transcript, employing the following set of analogies (*Pont.* 3.5.17-20):

nam, quamquam sapor est adlata dulcis in unda,  
          gratius ex ipso fonte bibuntur aquae.  
et magis adducto pomum decerpere ramo  
20          quam de caelata sumere lance iuuat.

“for although water that is brought to one tastes sweet, more welcome is that which is drunk from the spring itself. To draw down the branch and pluck the fruit gives more pleasure than to take it from an engraved salver.”

By comparing listening to Cotta's speech in person with the act of drinking from a fountain, Ovid reminds his readers of his dissatisfying experience with fountains in Tomis, and links this particular dissatisfaction to the broader litany of dissatisfactions treated in his exile poetry. From exile, the meaning of the word *fons* has suffered a radical revision. Rather than signalling an alluring and awe-inspiring space, the undrinkable fountains of Tomis evoke a strange and hostile environment, and discourage survival instead of inviting approach.

The striking image of the repellent fountain appears in Ovid's work in only one place outside of Pontus, and in fact marks his very first mention of the natural springs of Rome. These springs are the very first to appear in the *Fasti*. Unlike the cooling, pure springs featured in the amatory works, Rome's springs are at first shown to us boiling and sulphurous, driving humans away. Janus explains to the poet how he used these important features of Rome's landscape to repulse the Sabines, who had already been led to the Capitol by the treacherous Tarpeia (*Fast.* 1.269-72):

270            oraque, qua pollens ope sum, fontana reclusi,  
                 sumque repentinas eiaculatus aquas.  
                 ante tamen madidis subieci sulphura uenis,  
                 clauderet ut Tatius feruidus umor iter.

“and by my power I opened up the mouths of the springs, and suddenly let loose the pent-up waters. But first I threw sulphur into the watery channels, so boiling liquid would close off that path to Tatius.”

Here we see the native fountains of Rome playing an active role in admitting or debarring people from the city, an aquatic role which, as I will discuss in the next section, is more frequently played by the river Tiber. The unfamiliar and infernal image presented by Janus is quickly resolved into the safe and pleasant area familiar to Ovid (*Fast.* 1.273-4):

                 cuius ut utilitas pulsus percepta Sabinis,  
                 quae fuerat, tuto reddita forma loco est;

“when the advantage of this course of action had been made clear and the Sabines repulsed, the place took on its secure aspect as before.”

After such a dramatic introduction, the reassuring *forma* of these springs is nonetheless underscored by a sense of their latent volatility, which has been used to characterize them and mark them out as distinct from the usual poetic fountains.

These city springs in fact play the opposite role just a few days later, in the account of the Carmentalia. As discussed in Chapter 2.1, the riverine arrival of Carmentis and Evander is introduced with reference to the imported waters of the nymph Iuturna and the Aqua Virgo,

signalling the importance of this moment for the growth and development of the city and its water supply. Unlike the Sabines, Carmentis makes a point of asking for welcome from the landscape before she and Evander disembark (*Fast.* 1.511-4):

fluminaque et fontes, quibus utitur hospita tellus,  
et nemorum silvae Naiadumque chori,  
este bonis auibus uisi natoque mihi que,  
ripace felici tacta sit ista pede.

“Rivers and springs, of which the welcoming land makes use, and the woods of groves and bands of Naiads, may the sight of you be a good omen for my son and me, and happy be the foot that touches that shore.”

The disconnect between historical and calendrical chronology recalls the sulphurous fountains encountered by the Sabines 300 lines earlier and several centuries in the future. This alternative image of Rome’s fountains underscores the importance of Carmentis’ appeasing address. The site of Rome, described here as a *hospita tellus*, is presented as choosing which guests it will welcome and which it will repulse. The primitive city’s natural fountains, mentioned only at these two moments in the *Fasti*, thus represent the two extremes of local landscape behaviour, and reinforce the reverent attitude towards fountains displayed throughout the poem.

Indeed, the chronological inversion in the presentation of these two episodes serves to create a narrative of appeasement of the region’s volatile fountains. In line with Cronon’s observations on the literary use of landscape to anticipate the progress of civilization, the proleptic *hospita* presents this first landscape of Rome as at once wild and potentially hostile and at the same time as ripe for settlement and exploitation, as suggested by the land itself which already makes use of the springs and rivers: *fluminaque et fontes, quibus utitur hospita tellus* (“rivers and springs, of which the welcoming land makes use;” *Fast.* 1.511). This is made explicit by Carmentis’ subsequent vision of the landscape transforming into the walled city of Rome (*Fast.* 1.515-6), and prediction of that city’s development and dominance (*Fast.* 1.517-36).

Although the repellent nature of the fountains of Tomis might suggest they are comparable to the first glimpse of Rome's fountains offered to us by Ovid, the region and waters of his exile have none of the potential for development with which Rome was so clearly marked. Tomis is presented as emphatically beyond the civilizing reach of empire (*Pont.* 1.2.81-2):<sup>67</sup>

maxima pars horum nec te, pulcherrima, curat,  
Roma, nec Ausonii militis arma timet.

“Most of these neither care for you, fairest Rome, nor fear the arms of Ausonian soldiery.”

The ensuing explanation for this rests upon the area's repellent hydrology - the annual freezing of the river Danube and the lack of potable springs. The bellicose local tribes who march over the frozen river thrive, not because they have learned to find and make use of natural resources, but because they have adapted themselves to the extreme privations of the landscape (*Pont.* 1.2.83-6):

dant illis animos arcus pleneque pharetrae  
quamque libet longis cursibus aptus equus  
85 quodque sitim didicere diu tolerare famemque  
quodque sequens nullas hostis habebit aquas.

“bows and full quivers lend them courage, and horses capable of marches however lengthy and the knowledge how to endure for long both thirst and hunger, and that a pursuing enemy will have no water.”

The emphasis on thirst may reflect Ovid's knowledge of the drought which tends to afflict the Dobruja area, between the Danube, the Black Sea and the Deliorman hills to the south (Gaertner 2005: 189). We see here that the waterscape of Tomis keeps outsiders away and, unlike the waterscape of early Rome, makes the area entirely undesirable to potential settlers or civilizers. Ovid's inability to get a decent drink becomes diagnostic of an incurable problem for the region, making of it a place in which readers primed to revere fountains cannot imagine living.

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<sup>67</sup> With Gaertner 2005 *ad* 1.2.81, I follow Heinsius' conjecture of *horum* for *hominum*.

For Ovid, then, fountains represent two extremes of water quality and, more importantly, two extremes of human relationships with water. Fountains and the quality of their water are critical and defining components of the landscapes in which they appear, and are determinants of both the possibility and the quality of life there. At the same time, access to fountains is consistently presented as restricted, and drinking or bathing in them as a particular privilege.

### 3.1.2 *Sources of Poetry*

The exclusivity I have traced out as inherent to the springs of Ovid's poetry is particularly distilled in the image of the fountain of inspiration, accessible to a select few and essential to creativity. I shall turn now to consider the development of this topos in Ovid's works, as well as its connections with the different fontane landscapes evoked by the works discussed above. Although the traditional fountains of inspiration were conceived of as real springs in Greece, from the first Ovid treats these springs as divorced from geographic reality. Their water is constantly accessible to him, in Rome and in Tomis, without him ever needing to present himself as being transported to the source itself.

The Castalian and Pierian springs are the only specific springs to feature in the amatory works, each being named just once in the *Amores* (for the sites of the Greek springs of inspiration, see Figure 3.1). Drinking from the Castalian and Pierian springs is a highly symbolic act, connected since the Hellenistic period with poetic inspiration and Callimachean aesthetics. Ovid's first account of his own intake of inspiring draughts forms the climax to the first extant book of the

*Amores*, in a poem which is concerned with the immortality of poetry. After running through the great Greek and Latin poets, Ovid comes last of all to himself (*Am.* 1.15.35-9):

35      uilia miretur uulgus; mihi flauus Apollo  
             pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua,  
             sustineamque coma metuentem frigora myrtum  
             atque a sollicito multus amante legar.

“Let the masses gaze at trash; let golden-haired Apollo offer me brimming cups of Castalian waters, and I’ll wear a wreath of myrtle, that hates the cold, and be read by many an anxious lover.”

As McKeown notes, Ovid is here combining two distinct conventions, that of drinking from inspirational fountains, and that of receiving inspiration from Apollo.<sup>68</sup> Although he is defending poetry in general against other popular pursuits, there is nonetheless an implied Callimachean.



Figure 3.1. Map of the Greek sites of inspirational springs. The Pierian spring (in Pieria, top), the Hippocrene spring (on Mt. Helicon, bottom right) and the Castalian spring (in Delphi, bottom left). Map credit: *Pleiades*, pleiades.stoa.org.

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<sup>68</sup> The wreath of myrtle and the readership of lovers also recall Ovid’s grudgingly sworn allegiance to Venus at *Am.* 1.1.29-30, signalled by donning a wreath of myrtle from the seashore (McKeown 1987a: *ad loc.* 1.15.37).

allegiance, as his rejection of what the masses admire recalls the response of Callimachus' Apollo to Envy (McKeown 1987a: 415). The very choice of the Castalian spring may carry a stylistic significance beyond its associations with Apollo, as Latin authors connected it etymologically with *castus* (McKeown 1987a: 417), which would suggest once again the pure droplets of Callimachus' Apollo

Yet, as a comparison with his predecessor Propertius demonstrates, Ovid's commitment to Callimachean stylistics is rather weak. At the opening of Book 3, Propertius reasserts his allegiance to the poetics of Philitas, Callimachus, and Gallus. His account of his own dream of inspiration collects together imagery of inspiration associated with different poets, within a landscape that is also a somewhat disconnected collocation of various sites of inspiration (Ross 1975: 121-2; Heyworth and Morwood 2011: 114-5). Propertius' discussion of his own drinking habits shows a progression from his starting point on Helicon (Figure 3.1) by the Hippocrene (Prop. 3.3.5-6):

5       paruaque iam magnis admoram fontibus ora  
          unde pater sitiens Ennius ante bibit

“I'd already put my small mouth to those lofty streams from which Ennius, thirsting father, once drank”

Apollo interrupts him from the Castalian grove (Prop. 3.3.13, see Figure 3.1), and transports him to a pool, approached by a newly made path (Prop. 3.3.25-6) but probably still containing waters from the Hippocrene (Heyworth and Morwood 2011: *ad* 31-2, 51-2). Calliope next speaks to him, and instructs him to write love elegy instead of grand epic (Prop. 3.3.51-2):

          talìa Calliope, lymphisque a fonte petitis  
          ora Philitea nostra rigauit aqua.

“So Calliope said, and drawing liquid from her fount, sprinkled my lips with water of Philitas”

Propertius' small mouth is better suited to this more obscure Philitean spring, with its appropriately small sprinklings of water, and is supplied through the intermediary of Calliope rather than taking big gulps directly from the spring. All of this serves as a clear generic justification for the love elegist.

Ovid's account of his own inspiration as a love elegist harmonizes in some particulars with Propertius', with Apollo taking over the role of intermediary and himself supplying the inspirational water. Yet both the overt stylistic preferences and the wandering journey through Helicon are absent. Although neither poet drinks directly from the spring, Propertius' experience immerses him in the landscapes of Greek tradition and brings him beside the spring. The inspirational experiences of Greek poets seem to have been concerned with visiting the particular sites of inspiration. So, Hesiod opens the *Theogony* describing the Muses bathing in the Permessus, Hippocrene and Olmeius springs on Mt. Helicon (Hes. *Th.* 1-8); the mountain and its springs are local to the poet, as is made clear by his following encounter with the Muses on its slopes while he grazes his sheep (Hes. *Th.* 23-4). Helicon as a site of inspiration is therefore particularly meaningful to the Boeotian poet.

Ovid instead drinks from *pocula plena* offered by Apollo. These are hardly suited to the *parua ora* of Propertius, and form a striking contrast with the ὀλίγη λιβάς of Callimachus (*Ap.* 112). It has been suggested that 'Ovid is here claiming to enjoy greater inspiration than did Callimachus' (McKeown 1987b: 417), and he does indeed seem to have found a way to retain the Callimachean water aesthetic, of a pure and small source associated with Apollo, but to nonetheless obtain greater quantities of the stuff. Armstrong notes that such gulping down of pure draughts of inspiration has a precedent in Lucretius: *iuuat integros accedere fontis / atque haurire* ("it is a joy to approach untouched fountains and drink them down;" *DRN* 1.927-8) (Armstrong 2004: 537 n.45). Yet the

use of a cup to drink from these poetic springs is, as far as I can find, unparalleled. For Ovid, *pocula* are used predominantly for drinking wine; he twice refers to using them to drink from the Lethe in order to forget (*Tr.* 4.1.47-8; *Pont.* 2.4.23-4), which seems a parallel action to wine drinking.<sup>69</sup> The only other use of *pocula* for water-drinking in Ovid is again in a metapoetic context, when the exiled poet imagines his readers' thirst has already been sated by cups of fresh water from others' poetry, whilst his own poetic waters are already stale (*Pont.* 3.4.55-6).

In the context of Ovid's drink from the Castalian spring, then, the use of *pocula* seems to undercut the Callimachean aesthetics because of their associations with that definitively mixed drink -- wine. This would reinforce Armstrong's suggestion that, with the surprisingly servile verb *ministret* and the emphasis on his attractive blond hair, Apollo is being placed in the role of Ganymede here (Armstrong 2004: 537). Indeed, Ovid's own account of Ganymede in the *Metamorphoses* describes not just his action (*ministrat*) but also the tools of his trade (*pocula*) with precisely these words (*Met.* 10.160-1). Beyond the erotic implications noted by Armstrong, Ovid seems to be mixing not just his drinks but also his literary topoi, confounding the supposed dispute between wine-drinking and water-drinking poets in which Callimachus himself was reputedly involved (on which see Knox 1985).

Ovid's lexical choices lend the air of the symposium to his inspired drinking. His use of a cup to drink in draughts of inspiration is civilized, social, perhaps even "urbane," and almost entirely different from Propertius' isolated sipping out on the mountainside. The fact that Ovid does not describe the spring's location or his journey to it reinforces this sense: a cup full of Castalian water

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<sup>69</sup> In Ovid's amatory works alone, the soporific and otherwise debilitating effects of wine-drinking are detailed at *Am.* 1.4.51-4; *Her.* 16.229-32; *A.A.* 1.233-40, 1.589-94, 3.761-8; *Rem.* 139-48, 803-14.

does not need to be drunk in any proximity to the actual spring, and the lack of interest in the geographical source of the water is perhaps a symptom of habituation to a piped water supply.

The inspiring Pierian spring (see Figure 3.1 for the location of Pieria) is similarly divorced from geographic reality in the amatory works. In this case, though, the mechanics of drinking in inspiration, rather than being over-specified, become confusing and almost unreal. Ovid is lamenting the death of Tibullus and reflecting upon the tragedy of poetic mortality (*Am.* 3.9.25-8):

25     adice Maeoniden, a quo ceu fonte perenni  
          uatum Pieriis ora rigantur aquis:  
          hunc quoque summa dies nigro submersit Auerno;  
          defugiunt auidos carmina sola rogos.

“Add Homer, by whom, as an eternal spring, poets’ mouths are moistened by the Pierian waters: he also at day’s end sank down to dark Avernus; poetry alone escapes the greedy pyre.”

The passage presents us with a strange paradox. Homer is an eternal spring, the spring of the Muses, from whom and from which poets continue to gain inspiration, yet he has also been submerged beneath Lake Avernus. The distinction between poets and their *carmina* made at *Am.* 3.9.25 is at odds with the preceding lines, where Homer is equated with his poetry and its inspirational effects. The image seems deliberately obscure, and the mechanics of inspiration are difficult to piece together. Perhaps it is the *carmina* which form the eternal Pierian spring, or perhaps Homer himself continues to send it up, channelling it through Lake Avernus. Strabo describes a spring of potable water rising up near Lake Avernus, noting that people abstain from drinking it as they consider it to be the water of the Styx (Strabo 5.4.5). This spring which the general populace do not approach could indeed provide the model for Ovid’s account of Homer’s Pierian spring, interestingly inserting the Greek fountain and the Greek poet into the Italian landscape.

The *Fasti* also features a spring of inspiration -- the Hippocrene, which is mentioned twice (*Fast.* 3.449-58; 5.5-10). Hinds has shown how dense a web of literary allusions Ovid has woven around this spring, and how the accounts he gives of its creation here, in the *Metamorphoses*, and in the *Tristia* progressively reflect upon his own evolution and degradation as a poet (Hinds 1987: 3-24). The Hippocrene of the *Fasti* was created by a blow from a light hoof (*Fast.* 3.456), whilst that of the *Metamorphoses* was struck by a hard one (*Met.* 5.257), and this is perhaps a comparison between the tenors of the two different poems (Hinds 1987: 21). Yet it is striking that, although Ovid in the *Fasti* addresses the Muses who haunt the springs of Helicon (*Fast.* 5.7-8), he does not drink from the springs of the Hippocrene, or indeed from any springs in the poem. In stark contrast to the *pocula plena* he enjoys in his amatory elegy, the only inspiration the poet of the *Fasti* drinks is in small sips. The poet is asking for information from Egeria, who inhabits Lake Nemi (*Fast.* 3.273-6):

defluit incerto lapidosus murmure riuus:  
saepe, sed exiguis haustibus, inde bibi.  
275 Egeria est quae praebet aquas, dea grata Camenis:  
illa Numae coniunx consiliumque fuit.

“A pebble-filled stream flows down with fitful murmurs: often I’ve drunk there, but in little draughts. Egeria, goddess dear to the Camenae, supplies the water: she who was wife and counsellor to Numa.”

The poet seeks his inspiration from the Italian waters which feature so prominently in this poem, and this time describes the landscape in which they arise and implies with his repeated *inde...inde...* that he drinks these waters *in situ*. His small sips accord with a slight kind of poetry, which he seemed to robustly deny whilst drinking in inspiration as an amatory poet. As Hinds has noted, Ovid’s small sips of inspiration and the link with the decidedly un-martial Numa help with the reassertion of the *Fasti*’s peaceful, elegiac poetics in the face of the reigning god of the month, Mars (Hinds 1992: 119-20). The whole apparatus of inspiration in this passage is also markedly

different from that of the amatory works, and returns closely to the Propertian model except for the significant location of the spring, provided now by an Italian Muse, in Italy. This emphasis on its Italian location means the inspiration passage characterizes the poem not just as peaceful and elegiac, but also as importantly Italic. Poetic inspiration itself is thereby associated with the foundational and religious acts which the poem consistently associates with Italian waters.

This interest in drinking directly from the source, absent from the amatory works but a definitive part of inspiration in the *Fasti*, is central to Ovid's presentation of fountains from exile. This is most directly stated in his comments upon reading Cotta's speech, quoted in Section 3.1.1 above (*Pont.* 3.5.17-20), which interestingly reconfigure the mechanics of the fountain of inspiration. Cotta's delivery of his speech becomes itself a fountain, the more pleasing source of a drink and a longed-for source of pleasure for Ovid. The written version of the speech, which has been delivered to Ovid and inspired the composition of his poem, is the less pleasing though still sweet-tasting *adlata...unda* ("water that is brought to one;" *Pont.* 3.5.17). The means of delivery is not specified, although a clue to the implications of this phrase may be found in the following analogy, where the written speech likened to fruit taken from an engraved salver. Whereas the amatory Ovid had enjoyed drinking from brimming cups instead of straight from the Castalian spring, from exile he craves immediate access to his sources of inspiration and the use of tableware becomes unappealing.

Indeed, Ovid's emphasis on the inadequacy of the fountains in Tomis is offset by frequent jealous and nostalgic references to fountains in other places. He often claims that his exile is particularly harsh, and illustrates his point in *Pont.* 1.3 by listing mythological exiles who were

sent to much pleasanter places than he. Striking among these is Jason, who of course was sent to the same region as Ovid. Yet even he did not suffer as much as our poet (*Pont.* 1.3.75-6):

75        exul ab Haemonia Pirenida cessit ad undam  
              quo duce trabs Colcha sacra cucurrit aqua.

“from Haemonia to Pirene’s spring fled the exile under whose guidance the sacred ship skimmed the waters of Colchis.”

Jason eventually left the waters of Colchis and was welcomed at Corinth, characterized here by its famous water source, the Pirene spring. The Pirene contrasts with the waves of Colchis which Jason was able to leave. The implication that it marks a place that is more civilized perhaps rests both on the elaborate monumentalization of the Pirene and on its association with the Muses. The implicit contrast with the fountains of Tomis has metapoetic implications. Just six poems later, in a passage discussed in Chapter 2.3, Ovid reminisces about the gardens he used to water using *fontanas...aquas* (*Pont.* 1.8.46), and longs for the ability to do the same in exile. This contrast, as I argued in Chapter 2, again uses the differing fontane situations of Italy and Tomis to express Ovid’s struggles as a poet.

This intertwined poetic and geographic nostalgia is particularly evident in a poem addressed to Pomponius Macer in the following book. After contrasting his own poor poetic decisions with Macer’s appropriate ones, Ovid proceeds to comfort himself by recalling the *communia sacra poetis* (“rites common to poets;” *Pont.* 2.10.17) he and Macer once shared. This phrase draws on the common characterization of poets as priests of the Muses (Helzle 2003: 387 *ad Pont.* 2.9.63-4). The rites Macer and Ovid performed seem to have consisted in travels throughout the

Mediterranean, focusing on sites of literary and historical prestige. Among the sites they saw together as part of these poetic rites were the waters of Sicily (*Pont.* 2.10.25-8):

25     Hennaeosque lacus et olentia stagna Palici,  
          quamque suis Cyanen miscet Anapus aquis.  
      nec procul hinc nympha est quae, dum fugit Elidis amnem,  
          tecta sub aequorea nunc quoque currit aqua.

“the lakes of Henna, the pools of sulphurous Palicus, and the spot where Anapus joins Cyane to his own waters. Hard by is the nymph [Arethusa] who fleeing the Elean stream runs even now covered beneath the waters of the sea.”

Beginning with the standing waters of Henna’s lakes and Palicus, the poet next recalls two fountain nymphs, Cyane and Arethusa. The repeatedly emphasized movement of the latter’s stream contrasts with the standing waters of the preceding couplet: *fugit... / ...nunc quoque currit* (“she flees.../...runs even now;” *Pont.* 2.10.27-8). The springs of Cyane and of Arethusa, like the other springs of Ovid’s nostalgia, have literary overtones that reflect upon the poet’s own present situation in exile. In this case, the allusion, as Hinds has noted, is to his own descriptions of Sicily in the *Metamorphoses*, as the setting for the mythological rape of Persephone; from exile the poet thus seems to assert that his personal experience of Sicily’s waters with Macer was the source for his *Metamorphoses* descriptions (Hinds 1987: 141 n.1).

In the final book of the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, he inverts this image of Arethusa swiftly and continually flowing beneath the sea in order to evoke the distinctive behaviour of the Danube as it meets the Black Sea. He claims that the sea grows sluggish and freezes not just because of the cold

and the winds, but also because so many rivers flow into the landlocked Pontus (*Pont.* 4.10.59-64):

60           copia tot laticum, quas auget, adulterat undas  
              nec patitur uires aequor habere suas.  
              quin etiam stagno similis pigraeque paludi  
              caeruleus uix est diluiturque color.  
              innatat unda freto dulcis leuiorque marina est,  
              quae proprium mixto de sale pondus habet.

“the wealth of so many waters corrupts the waves which it augments, not allowing the sea to keep its own strength. Nay, like to a still pool or a stagnant swamp its colour is scarcely blue and is washed away. The fresh water floats upon the flood, being lighter than the sea-water which possesses weight of its own from the mixture of salt.”

Instead of contrasting with the behaviour of standing waters and fleeing beneath the sea, as Arethusa does, the waters of the Pontic region lie on top of the sea and themselves become like a marsh. The marshes at the mouth of the Hister were places where fresh water mixed in various ways with salt water. Pliny describes this phenomenon very differently from Ovid, emphasizing the force of the Danube's discharge into the Black Sea: for forty miles ‘so it is said, the sea is overpowered and the water tastes fresh’ (*vinci mare dulcemque intellegi haustum; NH* 4.79). While Pliny marvels at the continued separation of the fresh river water from the salt water of the Pontus; Ovid is instead disgusted by the mixture of the two types of water, a disgust encapsulated by the image of a river becoming a marsh. Greek and Roman writers were fascinated by rivers that disappear underground and re-emerge, of which Arethusa was a famous example (Connors and Clendenon forthcoming: 15-6). Pausanias and Strabo both give careful explanations of the geological phenomena that allow the Alpheus river to flow underground and re-emerge in Sicily as a freshwater spring, uncontaminated by the saltwater under which it flows (Strabo *G.* 6.2.4; Pausanias 8.54.2). Ovid’s detailed description of the hydrology of Tomis inverts Arethusa’s behaviour and underground course, which was itself characteristic of the karstic terrain of the

Mediterranean. The memory of the *communia sacra* he and Macer enjoyed, in the form of their inspirational journey with its swift-flowing fountains, remains for the exile a fertile poetic image, whilst the still and frigid waters of Tomis cannot be drunk and cannot inspire.

The perversity of Tomis' hydrology has a pervasive effect upon the exile writing, as both the poet's suffering, and his dissatisfaction with himself and his work are also expressed using disturbed water imagery. In the opening poem of *Tristia* Book 5, Ovid addresses those who wonder why he sings *tam multa.../...dolenda* ("so many grievous things;" *Tr.* 5.1.25-6). He answers that he writes neither by means of *ingenium* nor by means of *ars*, but that his subject is drawn from his own suffering (*Tr.* 5.1.27-8). Elaborating further to an imagined persistent questioner, he draws upon and twists the imagery of inspiration (*Tr.* 5.1.35-8):

35     'quis tibi, Naso, modus lacrimosi carminis?' inquis:  
          idem, fortunae qui modus huius erit.  
      quod querar, illa mihi pleno de fonte ministrat,  
          nec mea sunt, fati uerba sed ista mei.

"What limit, Naso, to your mournful song?' you say. The same that shall be the limit to this state of mine. For my complaining, that state serves me from a full spring, nor are these words mine; they belong to my fate."

The ministrations of this baleful fortune are a mockery of the attention the Ovid of the *Amores* received from Apollo (*Am.* 1.15.33-7). Both drinks are supplied using the same verb, *ministrare*, and the *pocula...plena* that Ovid once gulped from the Castalian spring (*Am.* 1.15.36) find an echo in the *pleno...fonte* from which he currently drinks (*Tr.* 5.1.37). This new account of fountain drinking is offered as a metaphor for his own current sufferings, which are the constant inspiration for his poetry. The image thus neatly folds together the poet's artistic process and the lived reality he describes, as this new fountain of inspiration is as unsatisfactory as the actual drinking fountains of the area, about which, as has already been examined, he makes frequent complaint.

This degraded fountain imagery is applied not just to the limited inspiration afforded in Tomis, but also to Ovid's own talent. In the final poem of *Tristia* Book 3, the poet reflects upon his oeuvre and his current writing. He gives a bleak assessment (*Tr.* 3.14.33-6):

ingenium fregere meum mala, cuius et ante  
fons infecundus paruaque uena fuit.  
35 sed quaecumque fuit, nullo exercente refugit,  
et longo periit arida facta situ.

“misfortunes have broken my talent whose spring was even before unproductive and whose stream was meagre. But such as it was, with none to exercise it, it has shrunken and is lost, dried up by long neglect.”

The spring is no longer something which a poet drinks in order to receive inspiration. Here, the spring issues from the poet himself. Whereas at *Tr.* 5.1, as we have seen, the spring responsible for his exile writing is said explicitly not to be his own *ingenium* (*Tr.* 5.1.27), here it is precisely his *ingenium* which is the referent for the fountain image. Ovid had just once before used the image of a spring to refer to a poet, no less a poet than Homer in a passage discussed above (*Am.* 3.9.25-6). His reuse of the image here on the one hand continues the self-laudatory message of the *Amores* 3.9 passage, where Ovid presents himself as the climax to the catalogue of poets introduced by Homer. On the other hand, while Homer was described as an eternal spring from which poets continue to drink, Ovid here is a dried-up spring, incapable of offering even a few pure drops to anybody. This idea is developed in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, in one of the letters to Severus discussed in Chapter 2.3 (*Pont.* 4.2.17-20):

scilicet ut limus uenas excaecat inundans,  
laesaque suppresso fonte resistit aqua,  
pectora sic mea sunt limo uitata malorum,  
20 et carmen uena pauperiore fluit.

“Surely just as clogging silt jams channels and the outraged water halts in the choked fountain, so my mind has been injured by the silt of misfortune, and my verse flows with a scantier vein.”

Once again, the fountain clogged with silt is an analogy for the poet himself, his mind likewise damaged by silt. The couplet-end *uena pauperiore fluit* (20) echoes in sense and sound the couplet-end in the earlier poem *paruaque uena fuit* (“the vein was meagre;” *Tr.* 3.14.44), the comparative form of a more colorful adjective emphasizing the extent of degradation. Yet the two passages represent this degradation in different ways. In the *Tristia* passage, the fountain has become dry, its function as a source of water is no longer being performed. In the *Epistulae ex Ponto* passage, on the other hand, the water still remains, as the phrase *suppresso fonte* (“in the choked fountain;” *Pont.* 4.2.18) makes clear. The fountain here is forcibly turned into standing water by the silt which represents the misfortunes of Ovid’s exile. This version of the image suggests not that Ovid is a dried-up poet, but that his current situation is stifling his talent. The image of exile as silt is particularly forceful given the tendency of the Danube to silt up around its mouths, which made navigation out of the river into the Black Sea challenging (Batty 2007: 69 n.46) (cf. Strabo *G.* 1.3.7). The idea that Ovid’s abilities would once more bubble up if his exile were reversed or alleviated, if he were to leave these silt-prone regions, is suggested even by the participle describing the silt, *inundans*, whose literal meaning “overflowing” is almost paradoxical in this context. This second version of the image therefore carefully reinforces one of Ovid’s most insistent messages throughout the exile works, that his poetry would cease to be mournful if he were granted a reprieve (as at e.g. *Tr.* 5.1.39-46).

This version of the fountain imagery is in fact introduced by the very first reference to a fountain in the exilic corpus. For two books, no fountains appear either during the difficult voyage described throughout *Tristia* 1, or as elements of the city revisited rhetorically in *Tristia* 1 and 2. It is not until Book 3 that Ovid looks back to fountains visited in his pre-exile life, and then it is to a literary fountain that he first turns. The poem is further marked out, as it is the only poem of the

*Tristia* addressed to a named individual who is not his wife or Augustus -- his assumed step-daughter Perilla.<sup>70</sup> He is eager to know whether she still writes poetry, and reminisces about his own nurturing of her talent (*Tr.* 3.7.13-6):

nam tibi cum fatis mores natura pudicos  
et raras dotes ingeniumque dedit.  
15 hoc ego Pegasidas deduxi primus ad undas,  
ne male fecundae uena periret aquae

“for as well as beauty nature has given you modest ways and a rare dowry of natural talent. This I was the first to guide to the stream of Pegasus lest the vein of fertile water unhappily be lost.”

As Hinds has noted, this passage alludes in both vocabulary and subject-matter to Ovid’s previous description of the Hippocrene at *Met.* 5.262-4. The poet reworks his earlier fictions in this ostensibly autobiographical account, thereby casting Perilla in the role of Minerva and himself in the role played by the Muse Uranie in the *Metamorphoses* account (Hinds 1987: 21; Luck 1967: 200). Yet, whereas Uranie led Minerva to the Hippocrene so that she might marvel at the fountain, Ovid’s purpose in guiding Perilla is more complex. The verb with which he leads her *ingenium*, *deducere*, means not just ‘to lead’ a person, as in this context, but also ‘to draw or lead water off, divert’ (*OLD* s.v. *deduco* 2b), and so anticipates the metaphor of line 16 (Hinds 1987: 20). This helps to connect the two metaphors. Ovid led Perilla’s *ingenium* to the Hippocrene, so that the fertile stream of her *ingenium* would not go to waste. In his role as Muse, Ovid did not simply guide Perilla’s talent to a spring of inspiration, he diverted the stream of her talent to flow productively, presumably into the stream of the Hippocrene itself. The very first fountain to appear in the exile works thus appears at first to be highly familiar: the Hippocrene of the *Metamorphoses*,

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<sup>70</sup> The exceptional naming of Perilla suggests that this is a pseudonym, often assumed to be hiding a real person (Luck 1967: 199). Yet this is the first piece of evidence marshalled by Ingleheart to show that Perilla herself is a *scripta puella* - a literary construct, written to suit Ovid’s exilic poetic programme (Ingleheart 2012: 228-9).

featured as a source of inspiration. Yet the pentameter alters the familiar topos, so that the famous spring appears to be fed by the streams that flow from poets.

The verb *deducere* could also be understood here in its programmatic sense, meaning ‘to compose’, perhaps as a nod to Ovid’s reuse of his own earlier composition in this passage (Hinds 1987: 20-21). Given that the verb’s object is Perilla’s *ingenium*, the idea of Ovid ‘composing’ Perilla leads us to a line of interpretation pursued by Ingleheart. She argues that Perilla is a *scripta puella* invented, or composed, by Ovid after the manner of the fictional mistresses of erotic elegy. Rather than presenting Perilla as a mistress, though, Ovid characterizes her as a poetess; her very name, parsed as *per illam* meaning literally ‘through her’, perhaps hints that she is a mouthpiece for Ovid, and suggests that Augustus has very little control over Ovid’s *ingenium* after all (Ingleheart 2012: 237-8). If we are drawn to understand Perilla as simply a cipher for Ovid himself, the image of Ovid as Muse leading the talent of his own *ingenium* towards the Hippocrene becomes unexpectedly triumphal. Though this seems not to harmonize well with the general tone of the exile poetry, where, as we have seen, Ovid frequently complains of his talent drying up, the only other references to the Hippocrene made from exile help to bolster the message of Perilla’s visit.

Both of the other exilic references to the Hippocrene occur in Book 4 of the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. The first is in a letter to Severus, in which Ovid has complained about the frozen waters and warring tribes of Tomis. He concludes by addressing his friend (*Pont.* 4.2.47-8):

at tu, cui bibitur felicius Aonius fons,  
utiliter studium quod tibi cedit ama

“but you, who drink more happily the Aonian spring, continue your love for the pursuit which yields you profit”

Much as the poem has contrasted Ovid’s current environment with the Rome of his imagination, this couplet emphasizes the contrast between the two poets’ situations, particularly as regards their

success in writing poetry. The contrast lies in the adverb *felicis* (“more happily;” *Pont.* 4.2.47): Severus is more successful and fortunate, but both he and Ovid drink from the Hippocrene nonetheless. Ovid’s continued access to the Hippocrene’s waters is insisted upon more overtly six poems later, as the poet appeals to no less a person than Germanicus for sympathy (*Pont.* 4.8.79-82):

80            quae quoniam nec nos unda submouit ab illa,  
                  ungula Gorgonei quam caua fecit equi,  
          prosit opemque ferat communia sacra tueri  
                  atque isdem studiis inposuisse manum.

“and since the Muse has not removed me from that spring which the hollow hoof of the Gorgonian steed created, may it profit me and aid me that I maintain the same rites as you, that I have set my hand to the same pursuit.”

In this final reference to a fountain in the collection, Ovid asserts his continued poetic identity in spite of the lack of fresh springs in his environment, in spite of the choking of the spring within himself. The reference to Pegasus’ hoof-blow alludes once more to his earlier description of the Hippocrene in the *Metamorphoses* (Hinds 1987: 22-4). The blow of Pegasus’ hoof, which in the epic *Metamorphoses* had been hard and in the elegiac *Fasti* had been light, is now hollow, appropriate to the decay and erosion of Ovid’s talent in exile (Hinds 1987: 23-4). As with the visit of Perilla, the state of the poet’s own talent seems to affect the state of the Hippocrene. The *communia sacra* of poets (*Pont.* 4.8.81), which were characterized elsewhere by the journey Ovid made with Macer in his youth (*Pont.* 2.10.17), make a return here. Once again, these shared rites of poets seem to involve an imaginary return to the fountains of the Mediterranean and their multi-layered literary connections, and to connect Ovid with important poets such as Macer and Germanicus. Yet the blockage and failure of fountains which has pervaded the topography of the exile works and has come to represent Ovid’s own abilities makes itself felt even in these imaginary rites. The very Hippocrene is diminished by Ovid’s continued approaches, and is made

to match the hydrology of Tomis much as the Greek springs of the amatory works were assimilated to the Italian landscape in which he composed. Throughout his oeuvre, then, Ovid's account of poetic inspiration is intertwined with his presentation of the waterscape in which he lives and with his own daily drinking practices, whether this means he drinks brimming cups with triumphant abandon, or instead longingly pictures himself drinking direct from the source.

I will end my discussion of the failure of springs in exile by turning back to the amatory works and to *Am.* 3.7. This follows hard on the heels of *Am.* 3.6, where the poet is obstructed by a flooded river and angrily wishes that it would dry up. Here, Ovid's own juices have dried up and he wonders in frustration what can have caused his impotence. He speculates that it could be a *carmen* (perhaps prompting the reader to speculate that it could be his own curse from the end of the previous *carmen* redounding upon him) and draws a series of troubling comparisons (*Am.* 3.7.31-4):

carmine laesa Ceres sterilem uanescit in herbam,  
deficiunt laesi carmine fontis aquae,  
ilicibus glandes cantataque uitibus uua  
decidit, et nullo poma mouente fluunt.

“Spells turn the stricken wheat to barren grasses, spells stop the stricken waters at their source. Through incantations oaks drop acorns, vines their grapes, and the apples fall down without being shaken.”

The failure of the spring, listed in the context of crop failure and blight, represents an unexpected drought which would indeed have been a constant worry in the unpredictable Mediterranean hydrological system (Campbell 2012: 9). Comparing this with the poet's erectile dysfunction elevates his temporary embarrassment to the level of a natural disaster, and thereby opens up the possibility that this is really a metaphor for poetic impotence, that this is a creative failure of some significance. As a figure for creative failure, the description cleverly reverses the fountain of

inspiration motif, with the *carmen* drying up the fountain rather than the fountain nurturing a *carmen*.

At the same time, the spring loses some of its *gravitas* by being paired with Ovid's temperamental erection. Not only does Ovid's spring suddenly resurge just when he is alone and has no need of it (*Am.* 3.7.67-8), but the disappointed mistress shows at the end of the poem that she has no need of either the poet or the *fons* (*Am.* 3.7.83-4):

neue suae possent intactam scire ministrae,  
dedecus hoc sumpta dissimulavit aqua.

“And lest her servants thought that all was chaste, she took up water and concealed this disgrace.”

The mistress effects her own bathetic reversal of fountain imagery, bathing not for the sake of purity but in order to feign impurity. Supplied with water by her *ministrae*, who echo the ministering role of Apollo at *Am.* 1.15.35-6, she, unlike the thirsting poet of exile, is able to insulate herself from the damaging effects of the droughts. Much as Ovid can enjoy plentiful draughts of Castalian spring water, his mistress enjoys the benefits of a water-abundant society.

### 3.2 FLOWING WATER: RIVERS AND STREAMS

The reverent view of fountains which pervades Ovid's work is perhaps partly a response to the unreliability of the riverine environment of the Mediterranean. Most of the region's big rivers are unstable in terms of both flow and volume, with rain and storms having a dramatic impact. The rivers of the Mediterranean cause erosion, downcutting and deposition, and frequently flood (Semple 1931: 102-129; Campbell 2012: 4-9). A broad array of sources attest to the concern felt by Roman citizens, throughout the republic and the empire, in the face of the changeable and potentially destructive rivers beside which, and because of which, they lived. Legal texts and the writings of the *agrimensores* detail the complex provisions that were in place to deal with the

destruction and confusion arising when a river -- a piece of public property -- moved onto private land (Campbell 2012 83-115). Rome's foundation myth, discussed below, in which Romulus and Remus narrowly escape drowning in the sluggish, flooded Tiber, pivots around the river's unpredictable behaviour, behaviour which would trouble Roman citizens ever afterwards (Campbell 2012: 13; Aldrete 2007: 232).<sup>71</sup>

These anxieties pervade Ovid's treatment of rivers. In the amatory works, the flooding or drought of rivers becomes a dominant trope connected with anxieties over human control and poetic ability. In the *Fasti*, the poet rationalizes the Tiber's unreliability by emphasizing both the river's own agency and its benevolent attitude towards the city of Rome. Finally, from exile Ovid presents his readers with a new type of river in the Hister, whose unfamiliar and scarcely believable behaviour helps to establish Tomis as a place beyond the borders of empire and even of human existence. Whereas fountains represented a strictly delimited set of associations and appeared only in rarefied settings, the behaviour of rivers provides Ovid with a favoured model of thought which informs his exploration of the major themes of each poetry collection throughout his career. In this section of the chapter, I offer a tour of the three very different riverine environments which provide

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<sup>71</sup> Purcell 2013 discusses rivers as boundary markers in ancient thought. The geographical writings of Ptolemy, Strabo, and Pliny the Elder are concerned with rivers as boundaries, a concern exemplified well by the opening of Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*, as well as their navigability. On Ptolemy, see Berggren and Jones 2000; on Strabo and his sources, Clarke 1999; on Pliny, Beagon 1992. Periegetic writings give information about the role of water within the local community; on Pausanias' *Periegesis* see Alcock, Cherry, and Elsner 2001. Roman land surveyors used maps to record small areas, and give a more intimate look at the role of rivers in local settlements; see Campbell 2000. Itinerary maps used rivers as part of the route, or as landmarks to indicate direction; see Salway 2004. Rackham 1996 discusses the problems with relying on ancient sources for environmental history. On ancient geography and geographical writing see Prontera 1983, Sordi 1988, Cordano 1992. On the importance of rivers in Mediterranean history, see Braudel 2001: 19-21.

the location for his amatory, calendrical, and exile works respectively, and tease out the various ways in which anxieties about human control over water are manifested therein.

### 3.2.1 *Amatory Rivers*

The rivers of Italy hardly feature in Ovid's amatory poetry. Of the 49 instances in the amatory works where Ovid names a specific river, only 7 are references to rivers in Italy, and the Tiber receives just two mentions. Rivers are not used to reflect upon the Italian or the Roman landscape, but instead function as ethnographic markers for foreign lands. A river can represent a distant place, as the Ganges stands for India, dominated by Bacchus (Am. 1.2.47-8); a river can help to characterize goods and people as exotic and luxurious, such as the Cydnus near which crocuses grow (A.A. 3.203-4); a river can be used to explain a person's point of origin, as when Phyllis "reminds" Demophoon of her own origins and current location beside the Hebrus (*Her.* 2.107-14); a river can define a person as foreign and therefore barbaric, as when Hypsipyle says Medea should seek a husband from beside the distant Tanais (*Her.* 6.107-18). This ethnographic role of rivers shows that they are considered to be important features of the landscape, and particularly of a landscape that has been divided into territories and named. As rivers were frequently used as boundary markers, within the city of Rome, throughout the landscape of Italy, and within and along the edges of the empire at large (Campbell 2012: 98-101), they serve naturally as defining and representative features of countries, towns, and people. Yet there are also various ways in which Ovid's presentation of these distinctive streams of distant lands reveals his own Mediterranean view of rivers.

I shall take as a case study the river mentioned most frequently in the amatory works, and mentioned in each of the three major works, the Simois.<sup>72</sup> In every instance, the river Simois is named either as part of a fuller description of Troy or as synonymous with that city, and so always functions as a geographic marker. For Laodamia, the Simois is one of several names which evoke for her the terrifying area of the Troad, the dangerously foreign location of her husband (*Her.* 15.51-4):

sed timeo quotiens subiit miserabile bellum;  
 more niuis lacrimae sole madentis eunt.  
 Ilium et Tenedos Simoisque et Xanthus et Ide  
 nomina sunt ipso paene timenda sono.

“But I am fearful as often as the wretched war comes to my thoughts; my tears come forth like snow that melts beneath the sun. Ilium and Tenedos and Simois and Xanthus and Ida are names to be feared from their very sound.”

The anxiety Laodamia feels apparently stems in part from the foreign sound of these names, which reminds her of her separation from Protesilaus. Yet, just as importantly, these are names which evoke the siege of Troy and its attendant dangers for her husband. Indeed, in four of Ovid’s five references to the Simois in the amatory poetry, it is not just Troy but specifically the period of the Trojan War that is thereby evoked.

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<sup>72</sup> In the amatory works, the Simois is mentioned five times (*Am.* 1.15.9-10; *Her.* 1.29-36, 7.139-48, 13.47-54; *A.A.* 2.123-44). Four separate mentions are accorded to both the Styx (*Her.* 9.137-46, 16.205-12; *A.A.* 1.635-40, 2.33-42, 3.11-28) and to the waters of Sulmo (*Am.* 2.1.1-2, 2.16.1-10, 21-40, 3.15.7-14). Three mentions are made of the Nile (*Am.* 2.13.7-10, 3.6(5).19-48; *Her.* 14.83-110) and the Xanthus (*Am.* 3.6(5).19-48; *Her.* 5.29-36, 13.47-54). Two mentions fall to the Eurotas (*Am.* 1.10.1-6, 2.17.31-4), the Inachus (*Am.* 3.6(5).19-48; *Her.* 14.83-110), the Achelous (*Am.* 3.6(5).19-48; *Her.* 9.137-46), the Hebrus (*Her.* 2.15-20, 107-14), the Maeander (*Her.* 7.1-12, 9.53-60) and the Tiber (*Her.* 7.139-48; *Rem.* 249-58). Mentioned once only are the Ganges (*Am.* 1.2.47-8), the Tagus (*Am.* 1.15.33-7), the Padus (*Am.* 2.17.31-4), the Alpheus (*Am.* 3.6(5).19-48), the Peneus (*Am.* 3.6(5).19-48), the Asopus (*Am.* 3.6(5).19-48), the Enipeus (*Am.* 3.6(5).19-48), the Anio (*Am.* 3.6(5).19-70), the Tanais (*Her.* 6.107-12), the Phasis (*Her.* 6.107-12) and the Evenus (*Her.* 9.137-46).

The Simois becomes, then, not just a marker for the city of Troy, but also a marker for a specific part of that city’s history, at its peak size and importance. This focus is, at the same time, a focus on the Homeric presentation of Troy and of the Trojan war, and the Simois itself comes to stand for this nexus of place, time period, and poetic representation. This very particular spatio-“historical” pinpointing is reinforced by the Homeric overtones of using rivers as ethnographic markers (Campbell 2012: 57; n. 91). In fact, Ovid’s very first mention of the Simois does not focus on the 10 year period of the Trojan siege, and speaks instead of Homer’s poetry and of the eternal nature of the landscape and the river. In Ovid’s catalogue of immortal poets, which culminates with himself drinking cups of Castalian water (see Section 3.1.2), Homer is given first place (*Am.* 1.15.9-10):

uiuēt Maeonides, Tenedos dum stabit et Ide,  
10                   dum rapidas Simois in mare uoluet aquas

“Maeonia’s son will live as long as Tenedos shall stand, and Ida, as long as Simois shall roll his waters rushing to the sea”

This couplet heads up an assertion of the immortality granted by poetry, as Ovid lists poets who, he claims, will live as long as their subject-matter persists. As McKeown notes, the confident assertion of immortality is tempered somewhat by the fact that the Simois does not in fact roll his waters to the sea, because it is a tributary of the Scamander. Ovid, who had both read Homer and visited the Troad, must have been aware of this (McKeown 1987a: 397). The elision of the Scamander must be deliberate, and McKeown is surely correct to suggest that we are thus prompted to remember an occasion when neither the Simois nor the Scamander managed to roll their waters to the sea, because of the exploits of Achilles at *Il.* 21.218ff. (McKeown 1987a: 398). This image of the river blocked by human interference will remain an important motif throughout Ovid’s other references to the Simois.

As well as overlooking the Scamander, Ovid has pointedly left out the other prominent feature of the landscape -- the city of Troy. This omission of the name of Troy is a reminder of the city's total destruction, a contrast which reinforces the enduring nature of the river. The Simois and its surrounding landscape thus become the enduring symbol of the transient constructions of man, of the elided Troy. An implicit contrast with doomed Troy underlies several of the other claims to immortality made in the poem. Most strikingly, Virgil's poem tracing the journey from Troy's erasure towards the goal of Rome's foundation is itself guaranteed lasting fame by Rome's own perpetuity (*Am.* 1.15.25-6):

25     Tityrus et segetes Aeneiaque arma legentur,  
          Roma triumphati dum caput orbis erit;

“Tityrus and the harvest, and the arms of Aeneas, will be read as long as Rome shall be the capital of the world she triumphs over”

As with Homer's fame, Virgil's is predicated on Troy's unmentioned erasure. At the same time, this couplet undercuts the primacy of the natural world which the Simois seemed earlier to assert: it is now the city of Rome which stands for the endurance of the world as a whole, and represents an utter reversal of the fortunes of Troy. Further opposition to the notion of the natural world as unchanging and eternal appears at the conclusion of the catalogue of poets, in the form of the river Tagus (*Am.* 1.15.33-34):

          cedant carminibus reges regumque triumphi,  
          cedat et auriferi ripa benigna Tagi.

“Before song let monarchs and monarchs' triumphs yield - yield, too, the bounteous banks of Tagus bearing gold”

Rather than being the guarantor of poetic longevity, the Tagus, and the gold which characterizes it, are as nothing to the lifespan of poetry. The Simois, which is more enduring than the city it

represents, and which shares in the longevity of poetry, is therefore distinctive and unusual among rivers.

The close connection between the marked endurance of the Simois and its role in Homer's poetry becomes clearer in the other amatory works, where the Simois created by lesser storytellers proves all too fragile. In the opening poem of the *Heroides*, Penelope complains of having to watch returning soldiers telling their wives about their experiences of Troy (*Her.* 1.31-6):

atque aliquis posita monstrat fera proelia mensa,  
pingit et exiguo Pergama tota mero:  
'hac ibat Simois; haec est Sigeia tellus;  
hic steterat Priami regia celsa senis.  
35 illic Aeacides, illic tendebat Ulixes;  
hic lacer admissos terruit Hector equos.'

“And someone about the table shows on it the fierce combat, and with scant tracing of wine pictures all Pergamum: ‘Here flowed the Simois; this is the Sigeian land; here stood the lofty palace of Priam the ancient. Over there camped the son of Aeacus; over there, Ulysses; here in wild course went the frightened steeds with Hector’s mutilated corpse.’”

The elegiac setting has reduced the *rapidas aquas* of *Am.* 1.15.10 to *exiguo mero* here, which manages still to encompass the entire city in the conqueror’s map (Knox 1995: 95). The landscape surrounding Troy seems just as fragile as the destroyed city, as the imperfect tense seems to suggest that, just as Ulysses no longer camps there, so the Simois no longer flows there (*ibat.../.../...tendebat; Her.* 1.33-5). The storytelling conjured up here by Penelope seems very insubstantial in comparison with the efforts of Homer and the eternal-flowing Simois which Ovid had employed to represent him. Perhaps there is an implied contrast with the tales Penelope anticipates hearing from Odysseus himself.

Penelope's local storytellers certainly pale in comparison to the Homeric Odysseus, but the elegiac Ulysses who appears in Ovid's amatory poetry matches them pretty exactly in literary technique (A.A. 2.131-2):

ille leui uirga (uirgam nam forte tenebat),  
quod rogat, in spisso litore pingit opus.

“He with a light staff (for by chance he carried a staff) draws in the deep sand the tale of which she asks.”

At the bidding of the eager Calypso, Ulysses is portrayed, surely with some degree of irony (Knox 1995: 95), behaving like the soldiers in Penelope's letter. He sketches out a plan of Troy, labelling only the city itself and the river Simois. Ulysses' sketch and his river are lent a similar fragility to that of the soldiers' because of his emphasis on their fictional status (A.A. 2.133-8):

‘haec’ inquit ‘Troia est’ (muros in litore fecit),  
‘hic tibi sit Simois; haec mea castra puta.  
135 campus erat’ (campumque facit), ‘quem caede Dolonis  
sparsimus, Haemonios dum uigil optat equos.  
illic Sithonii fuerant tentoria Rhesi;  
hac ego sum captis nocte reuectus equis –’

“‘Here,’ says he, ‘is Troy’ (he made walls upon the beach), ‘and here, suppose, is Simois; imagine this to be my camp. There was a plain’ (and he makes a plain) ‘which we sprinkled with Dolon's blood, while he watched and yearned for the Haemonian steeds. There were the tents of Sithonian Rhesus; on that night I rode back on the captured horses’”

The simultaneity of Ulysses' words and his drawing does lend him a special kind of narrative authority, as his words seem to physically create the landscape they describe: *campus erat campumque facit* (“there was a plain and he makes a plain;” A.A. 2.135). His speech makes a further claim upon the Trojan landscape by emphasizing the impact he himself has had upon it: not only is the plain he evokes marked out by the blood of Dolon which he sprinkled upon it, but his own campsite is presented as of equal geographical significance to the Simois itself, *hic tibi sit Simois; haec mea castra puta* (“here, suppose, is Simois; imagine this to be my camp;” A.A. 2.134).

As the Ovidian Ulysses rebuilds Troy in his own image, he puts his own fame on a parity with the endurance of the Simois and so usurps the place Ovid had elsewhere assigned to Homer.

The primacy of water is immediately reasserted, though, as Ulysses' speech is interrupted (A.A. 2.139-42):

140           pluraque pingebat, subitus cum Pergama fluctus  
                  abstulit et Rhesi cum duce castra suo.  
          tum dea 'quas' inquit 'fidas tibi credis ituro,  
                  perdiderint undae nomina quanta, uides.'

“More was he portraying, when a sudden wave washed Pergamum away, and the camp of Rhesus with its chief. Then said the goddess, ‘Those waters which you think will be favourable to your voyage, do you see what great names they have destroyed?’”

The destruction of Ulysses' Simois (which at last rolls its waters to the sea!), sketched in an elegiac manner on the sand, and the silencing of his narration, reinforces how dangerous are the seas he faces, and how daunting his epic journey will be. The generic implications of the competing water sources here further reveal the distinctiveness of the Homeric Simois in *Am.* 1.15, and the uninterrupted legacy of Homer's poetry with which it is coextensive.

This emphasis on the enduring flow of Homer's epic river, in contrast with the unstable and insubstantial Simoentes of Ovid's elegiac lovers, shows how the river carries the concern with poetic longevity and generic validity beyond the explicit discussion in *Am.* 1.15. Yet this metaphorical river discourse gains much of its nuance from the actual riverine experience of Ovid and his audience: the reliability of a river's flow was the primary concern for all of those dependent on natural water sources within Italy. Ovid's Simois serves as a foil not just for an elided Troy, but also for a Tiber that is largely elided in Ovid's amatory elegies. Indeed, in one of only two

amatory references to Rome's river, it is paired and contrasted with the Simois by Dido (*Her.* 7.143-8):

Pergama uix tanto tibi erant repetenda labore,  
Hectore si uiuo quanta fuere forent.  
145 non patrium Simoenta petis, sed Thybridis undas -  
nempe ut peruenias quo cupis, hospes eris

“It would scarcely require such toil to return again to Pergamum, were Pergamum still what it was when Hector lived. It is not the Simois of your fathers you seek, but the waves of the Tiber - and yet, forsooth, should you arrive at the place you wish, you will be but a stranger”

Ovid's Dido here starkly encapsulates the water thematics which run through Virgil's *Aeneid*. As Jones has argued, in Virgil the Trojans' identity crisis is frequently expressed in terms of their uneasy relationship with Italy's waters; their subsequent naturalization as Italians is aided by the river Tiber, who becomes their point of entry into this new territory and point of contact with its peoples (Jones 2005: 93-6). Ovid's epistolary Dido urges Aeneas not to visualize the Tiber in the image of the Simois; for a Roman audience, her words instead challenge them to try and imagine the Simois as familiar and the Tiber as unfamiliar, whilst avoiding modelling the one upon the other.

This is the repeated challenge of the amatory works. The enormous predominance of non-Italian rivers must be read through the lens of literary history, as we have seen with the strong connection between the Simois and Homer; yet they will also, inevitably, be viewed through the lens of actual riverine experience, drawn for the most part from within Italy. The constant emphasis upon the potential for rivers to flood or to disappear reflects the central concern of the Italian experience. The very few references to Italian rivers within the amatory elegies confirm this view. Mentioned briefly in a pairing with the Aqua Virgo at *A.A.* 3.385-6 (on which see Chapter 2.2), the only other reference to the Tiber in Ovid's amatory works appears in the proem of the *Remedia*

*Amoris*, after the poet gains Apollo's approval for his undertaking. The poet here makes the same assertion about the Tiber as he made in his first reference to the Simois (*Rem.* 255-8):

255    non seges ex aliis alios transibit in agros,  
         nec subito Phoebi pallidus orbis erit.  
      ut solet, aequoreas ibit Tiberinus in undas:  
         ut solet in niueis Luna uehetur equis.

“No crops will skip from one field to another, nor Phoebus' orb suddenly grow pale. As usual, Tiber's waters will run down to the sea: as usual, the Moon will ride on snow-white horses.”

The reversal Ovid is now undertaking with his poetry, undoing the work of the *Ars Amatoria* with the *Remedia*, might be expected to influence the behaviour of the natural world, effecting the kind of reversals of the natural order familiar from accounts of magic.<sup>73</sup> The poet assures his audience that the *Remedia* will not cause such havoc, and is instead part of a natural cycle of love and separation.

The specific naming of the Tiber in a list of reversals that is otherwise kept generic makes this river stand as the paradigmatic river, and as a river whose steady flow to the sea is particularly important. The Tiber is an appropriate choice in this regard both because it is the river of most immediate concern to Ovid and to his audience, and because its flow was far from steady, its floods a matter of pressing concern for Roman citizens and senators. The claim that the *Remedia* guarantees some kind of stable flow for the Tiber hints that there is, in fact, a connection between poetry and the flow of rivers, although in this case it will not disrupt the river's behaviour for the worse. The fact that Ovid, in writing about the Simois, explores this same set of concerns, with the

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<sup>73</sup> In the amatory works, the reversal of a river's flow is said to be characteristic of the magical *carmina* of Dipsas at *Am.* 1.8.5-6 and of song in general at *Am.* 2.1.25-6; the cessation of a river's flow is one of Medea's skills, according to Hypsipyle at *Her.* 6.87-8.

continued flow of the river and with the connection between the river and poetry, suggests that the Tiber may indeed be the paradigm upon which he models his versions of the Simois.

The great exception to Ovid's amatory silence about his own interaction with rivers is *Am.* 3.6, which is addressed entirely to a stream he encounters as he travels to see his mistress. The general geographical context of the collection and the stream's own behaviour strongly suggest that this stream is supposed to be understood to be in Italy. Indeed, Campbell observes that this poem realistically reflects human experience of rivers there (Campbell 2012: 124). The topic of the poem is the same thematic concern: the poet berates a previously small stream which has now flooded its banks and cannot be forded, which has caused the greatest elegiac disaster, the separation of the poet from his beloved. The situation here is one typical in the Mediterranean environment, where memory and expectation are confounded by the landscape's reality, leaving the traveller at an impasse (*Am.* 3.6.3-8):

nec tibi sunt pontes nec quae sine remigis ictu  
concaua traiecto cumba rudente uehat.  
5 paruus eras, memini, nec te transire refugi,  
summaque uix talos contigit unda meos;  
nunc ruis adposito niuibus de monte solutis  
et turpi crassas gurgite uoluis aquas.

“You’ve neither a bridge, nor a roped ferryboat, to carry me across, without a stroke of the oar. I remember you as little, and didn’t fear to ford you, and the tops of your waves barely touched my ankles. Now you rush by, full of melted snow from the mountain, and your swollen waters roll on, in murky flood.”

Here, in the erotic oeuvre's only extended discussion of an Italian river, we are faced again with a concern for flooding, in response to which the poet spitefully wishes for the other Mediterranean extreme, that the stream would dry up and disappear (*Am.* 3.6.105-6):

105     at tibi pro meritis opto, non candide torrens,  
  sint rapidi soles siccaque semper hiemps.

“For your services, I wish you, unclear torrents, devouring suns, and ever thirsty winters!”

The poet complains that the stream does not count as a proper *flumen*. The distinction of a *flumen* from a mere *rivus* was indeed a legal one, based partly on the stream's size but also on local opinion as to whether it deserved to be considered a *flumen* (Campbell 2012: 87-8). We are here treated to a list of reasons why the poet considers this particular stream to be unworthy, and to the assertion that this should affect the stream's behaviour (*Am.* 3.6.89-94):

90             quid, si legitimum flueres, si nobile flumen,  
  si tibi per terras maxima fama foret?  
nomen habes nullum, riuis collecte caducis,  
  nec tibi sunt fontes nec tibi certa domus:  
fontis habes instar pluuiamque niuesque solutas,  
  quas tibi diuitias pigra ministrat hiemps

“Why? If you were a true river, if you were a noble stream, if you were widely known throughout the world - you're unknown, a gathering of fallen waters, neither your source nor your springs are certain! For springs you have the inflow of rain and melting snow, the riches that slow winter supplies you with”

The fame of the river among people is given pride of place, before any technical consideration of its characteristics. The melting snow which feeds the river and has, we heard at the start of the poem, made the river such an obstruction, is reframed here as disqualifying the stream from the status of *flumen*, being an undignified source. As the poet elaborates, it becomes clear that the

problem with the stream's source is that it is unpredictable to people, and so of no use to them  
(*Am.* 3.6.97-100):

quis te tum potuit sitiens haurire uiator?  
quis dixit grata uoce 'perennis eas'?  
damnosus pecori curris, damnosior agris:  
100 forsitan haec alios, me mea damna mouent.

“What thirsty passer-by could drink from you? What grateful voice say “Live forever”? Your flow's harmful to herds, more so to farmland. Perhaps that worries others. I'm worried by my own woes.”

The emphasis on a river as something useful again links back with the issues the poet faced at the start of the poem: an untameable and unusable stream such as this one has no bridges and no ferries. It is unuseful and consequently unmanaged, and this furthers its obstructive tendencies, creating the *mea damna* of line 100. Finally, the poet exclaims over the inappropriateness of his own utterance (*Am.* 3.6.101-2):

huic ego uae demens narrabam fluminum amores!  
iactasse indigne nomina tanta pudet.

“Alas for me then! Madly telling the loves of rivers to this [stream]! It's shameful for me to toss out such names unworthily.”

In an extended catalogue at *Am.* 3.6.25-84, the poet had compared the insignificant, nameless stream he faces with the great names of riverine mythology, who would all have empathized with the lover's plight and ceased to obstruct his path. At the poem's conclusion, he realizes that he has now included this stream in his impressive catalogue, giving it the mythological status of which it is unworthy. Indeed, the catalogue of amatory rivers concluded with the assertion (*Am.* 3.6.83-4):

te quoque credibile est aliqua caluisse puella,  
sed nemora et siluae crimina uestra tegunt.

“I believe you also were warmed by some girl: but woods and groves hide your crime.”

The insignificant stream is included in this mythological catalogue because of its imagined amatory behaviour, and its anthropomorphization by the poet. As well as paradoxically according the stream several of the attributes which might help to turn it into a *flumen*, which do, indeed, seem to make it swell still further (*Am.* 3.6.85-6), the inclusion of the stream in the mythological catalogue helps to point out other similarities it shares with those famous rivers. The rivers which experience love all behave erratically, much like the stream itself. Beginning with the Inachus, whose cold waters became warm (*Am.* 3.6.25-6), the poet describes the extreme behaviour of several rivers, including the Enipeus who ordered his waters to recede so that he could embrace Tyro (*Am.* 3.6.43-4).

Ovid moves from Enipeus and Tyro to discuss the story of Ilia and the river Anio. This transition cleverly alludes to Ennius' use of the Enipeus and Tyro story as the model for his account of Ilia's story (Connors 1994: 103-4). Thus, the rare presence of the Italian Anio in the collection is justified by its connection with the Greek river Enipeus. There follows an extended account of Ilia's grief over her rape by Mars and her social shame, during which the river attempts to seduce her. The story concludes with the despairing girl leaping into the Anio to end her misery (*Am.* 3.6.79-82):

80           hactenus, et uestem tumidis praetendit ocellis  
                   atque ita se in rapidas perdita misit aquas;  
           supposuisse manus ad pectora lubricus amnis  
                   dicitur et socii iura dedisse tori.

“With that she held her dress against her swollen eyes, and threw herself, lost, into the swift flood; they say the river placed his slippery hands on her breast, and gave her command over his marriage bed.”

This version of events is at odds both with what is known of Ennius' account, and with that presented in Horace's *Odes*. According to Porphyrio, Ennius told how after Ilia was thrown into

the Tiber on the orders of Amulius, she was married to the Tiber's tributary, the Anio<sup>74</sup> (Porphyr. *ad* Horace *C.* 1.2.18). Horace altered this story by referring to Ilia as the beloved wife of the Tiber himself, whom the poet presents as preparing to flood the Temple of Vesta (Hor. *C.* 1.2.13-20) in vengeance for Ilia's wrongs. Ovid has removed the Tiber from the story entirely, and shows Ilia leaping into the Anio of her own accord, and the river then taking her as a wife. The emphasis on Ilia's suffering and her dishevelled physical state keeps her recent rape vividly in mind, and the very tactile salvation of the waters here, especially when what she wants from them is death, seems to cast the river as a second divine rapist. Thus, the story ends with an image that is part destruction and part salvation, part death and part love, part consolation and part desecration, which further reinforces the sense of human uncertainty and peril which pervades this meditation upon rivers.

The exclusion of the Tiber from Ilia's story perhaps, as Rutledge suggests, helps to preserve his dignity, in line with his crucial role in the *Aeneid* (Rutledge 1980: 303-4). Yet the very obvious challenge to Horace's recent account serves to bring that account, of Ilia's marriage to Tiber and his consequent flooding, to mind, especially in the context of the flooded stream to which Ovid returns immediately after telling Ilia's story. The Tiber thus, once again, becomes the model for the Italian rivers in the poem, as the behaviours exhibited by both the Anio and the unnamed stream are easily associated with him thanks to the Horatian intertext. Further, the difficulties presented by these rivers play into the paradoxes which are the focus of elegiac poetics: the tension between separation and union, between the small and the big, between empathy for the elegist and rivalry with him. As the frustrated poet unwittingly turns the obstructing stream into a poem, it becomes

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<sup>74</sup> The Anio was not only the Tiber's tributary, but also the source for a number of Rome's aqueducts (in Ovid's day, the Anio Vetus and the Aqua Marcia were drawn from the Anio, with the springs of the Aqua Virgo and the Aqua Appia being located close to the river) and so is in another way a rival to the Tiber as a source of water for the city.

all the more representative of the elegiac genre itself. The connection of these ideas with the Tiber would indeed serve to undercut his dignity, but it also demonstrates how frustrations connected with the Tiber's behaviour can fruitfully serve as models for talking about the relationships represented by elegiac erotics and by poetic influence.

These metapoetic reflections are also prompted by the only other Italian waters to appear in Ovid's amatory elegies, the waters of his own home region. The Paelignian waters feature several times in the *Amores*, with the first reference appearing strikingly in the first line of the programmatic poem of the second book (*Am.* 2.1.1-2):

1        hoc quoque composui Paelignis natus aquosis  
              ille ego nequitiae Naso poeta meae

“This, too, is the work of my pen - mine, Naso's, born among the humid Paeligni, the well-known singer of my own worthless ways”

Before launching into his famous account of his conflicted commitment to the genre of elegy, the poet characterizes himself geographically in terms of water. His account of his native landscape is ambivalent in terms of its generic implications. McKeown notes that the Peligni were of Sabine origins and known for their puritanical character, and that this is ‘in pointed contrast to *nequitiae...meae* in the pentameter (McKeown 1987: 4). The passage rather begs the question of how this background and this watery landscape might have influenced such writing.

Later in the book, Ovid returns to Sulmo and offers a much fuller depiction of the town and the surrounding landscape. The region is characterized in the poem's opening couplet by the same abundant waters, which are this time given a very specific character (*Am.* 2.16.1-2):

1        pars me Sulmo tenet Paeligni tertia ruris,  
              parua, sed irriguis ora salubris aquis.

“Sulmo holds me now, third part of the Paelignian fields - a land that is small, but wholesome with channelled streams.”



*solo* (“it is not for the fields lost to me that my heart longs, the fair lands in the Paelignian country;” *Pont.* 1.8.41-2); these irrigation channels seem, then, characteristic of Ovid’s personal connection with Sulmo. Unlike the stream of *Am.* 3.6, these waters are useful rather than dangerous; unlike the fragile Simoentes these waters are not prone to disappear, flowing even under the blazing sun and creating a lush and fertile landscape.

The irrigated paradise described here is ostensibly the formative space for Ovid’s view of water, and an account, so rare in the amatory works, of waters with which he had long experience. Indeed, according to Pliny the area was extensively irrigated at all times of year with waters which had remarkable properties (Pliny *NH* 17.41.1):

Asperiora uina rigari utique cupiunt in Sulmonense Italiae agro, pago Fabiano, ubi et arua rigant. mirumque, herbae aqua illa necantur, fruges aluntur, et riguis pro sarculo est. in eodem agro bruma - tanto magis, si niues iaceant geletue -, ne frigus uites adurat, circumfundunt riguis, quod ibi tepidare uocant, memorabili natura in amne solis, eodem aestate uix tolerandi rigoris.

“The harsher vines need to be watered, at all events in the Fabii district of the territory of Sulmo in Italy, where they irrigate even the plough-land; and it was a remarkable fact that in that part of the country water kills herbaceous plants but nourishes corn, and irrigation takes the place of a hoe for weeding. In the same district they irrigate the land round the vines at midwinter to prevent their suffering from cold, the more so if snow is lying or there is a frost; this process is there called ‘warming’ the vines, owing to the remarkable influence of the sun on the river, which in summer is almost unbearably cold.”

For Pliny as well as for Ovid the waters of Sulmo are distinctive; Oleson sees Pliny’s comment as one of surprise over the fact that irrigation was so extensive around Sulmo, given that it was uncommon for ploughed land to be irrigated elsewhere in Italy (Oleson 2000: 212-13). The utility of Sulmo’s waters is paramount: their destructive properties are also put to use as part of the complex irrigation system whose sophisticated weed and frost prevention methods are still the

means most commonly used today in the USA (Tyson et al. 2001).<sup>76</sup> Both authors, then, respond to this water management system by emphasizing its efficacy and virtues. In Ovid's case, these waters have a strong aesthetic impact, and transform Sulmo into an idealized space, conforming exactly to the literary fiction that is the *locus amoenus*, as the subsequent couplet makes even clearer by emphasizing the pleasant shade which covers over this well-watered greenery (*Am.* 2.16.9-10):

10           perque resurgentes riuis labentibus herbas  
                  gramineus madidam caespes obumbrat humum.

“and over the meadow whose grass ever springs again along the gliding streams, the grassy turf shades thickly the moistened ground.”

Ovid's broader use of the *locus amoenus* topos will be discussed further in Chapter 4.3. For now, it is enough to note the particular way in which the poet has characterized his current location in the poem's introduction. The features of idealized natural landscape are here put to practical use, as the grassy shade is what prevents the cracking caused by the Dog-Star (McKeown 1987: 337) and the water is channelled in to fertilize and protect crops. This creates an image of a real and specific place that is, at the same time, paradise.

These abundant, useful and pleasing waters give way to a meditation upon the waters of the sea, which are instead wild, frightening and filled with dangerous monsters (*Am.* 2.16.21-8). Yet the poet insists that he would rather brave the sea's dangerous waters with his mistress beside him,

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<sup>76</sup> The exceptional quality of the waters described here by Pliny has been the main diagnostic used by archaeologists trying to identify the area of the *pagus Fabianus*, whose location remains uncertain (Wongerghem 1984: 46, n.350). Habitation patterns certainly attest to an intensive agriculture in the Paelignian area in the Roman period, although only some cistern fragments and traces of terrace walls probably connected with villas remain (Wongerghem 1984: 48-9). For a thorough assessment of the evidence for irrigation techniques used in Italy and throughout the Roman empire, see Oleson 2000, Malouta and Wilson 2013 .

than dwell amid the glorious waters of Sulmo without her. He himself seems to marvel at his own attitude (*Am.* 2.16.33-40):

at sine te, quamuis operosi uitibus agri  
me teneant, quamuis amnibus arua natent  
35 et uocet in riuos currentem rusticus undam,  
frigidaque arboreas mulceat aura comas,  
non ego Paelignos uideor celebrare salubres,  
non ego natalem, rura paterna, locum,  
sed Scythiam Cilicasque feros uiridesque Britannos  
40 quaeque Prometheo saxa cruore rubent.

“But here without you, though round about me are fields of vines with their busy life, though the countryside is saturate with running streams, and the rustic summons to the rivulets the flowing wave, and the cool breeze caresses the branches of the trees, I seem not to dwell in the healthful Paelignian land, nor in my natal place, my father’s acres - but in Scythia, and among the fierce Cilicians, and the woaded Britons, and the rocks ruddy with Promethean gore.”

The overdetermined appeal of Sulmo from the introduction is revisited here in every particular, in order to emphasize the force of the love which draws the poet away from the place. First, the generic loveliness of the *locus amoenus* is outlined (*Am.* 2.16.33-4), with a touch of realism introduced by the adjective *operosi* which is a reminder of the unremitting labour that would have been required in the irrigated vineyards of Sulmo (McKeown 1987: 355). This is then given a striking specificity by a brief bucolic description of the land’s irrigation *et uocet in riuos currentem rusticus undam* (“and the rustic summons to the rivulets the flowing wave;” *Am.* 2.16.35). Although, as we have seen, this does correspond to actual agricultural practice in the area, McKeown notes that Ovid also seems to be echoing Virgil’s account of irrigation at *Georgics* 1.104-10 (McKeown 1987b: 356), where the phrase *deinde satis fluium inducit riuosque sequentis* (“then brings to his crops the rills of the stream he guides;” *Georg.* 1.106)<sup>77</sup> seems

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<sup>77</sup> *Georgics* and *Eclogues* translations adapted from Goold-Fairclough. 1999. *Virgil: Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I-VI*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

particularly close to Ovid's account of irrigation. Finally, the place is given a name and marked out by its definitive adjective *salubres* (*Am.* 2.16.37), and affectionately described as *natelem rura paterna locum* ("the healthful Paelignian land, my natal place;" *Am.* 2.16.38). The affective impact of the poet's place of birth is recreated by idealizing its specific features in a literary fashion. Yet the real and personal, overlaid with the ideal and generic in this way, still has no power to overcome a love whose reality has been in question from the start of the collection.

In these two poems, then, Ovid has characterized his home town with some basic characteristics: it is healthful and watery. He has also given a more vivid account of its particular landscape which at the same time makes it into a literary place. In the final poem of the *Amores*, as he bids farewell to erotic elegy, the poet asserts the importance of Sulmo's waters as ethnographic markers. The waters of Sulmo can now function rather like the river Simois, as markers of a specific place but also of a specific moment both in time and in poetic history. In this final erotic poem, the poet himself claims that mention of these waters refers readers back to him and his life; they also refer astute readers back more specifically to *Am.* 2.16 and the particular moment of separation described there (*Am.* 3.15.7-14):

Mantua Vergilio gaudet, Verona Catullo;  
                   Paelignae dicar gloria gentis ego,  
 quam sua libertas ad honesta coegerat arma,  
 10               cum timuit socias anxia Roma manus.  
 atque aliquis spectans hospes Sulmonis aquosi  
                   moenia, quae campi iugera pauca tenent,  
 'quae tantum' dicet 'potuistis ferre poetam,  
                   quantulacumque estis, uos ego magna uoco.'

"Mantua joys in Virgil, Verona in Catullus; I shall be called the glory of the Paelignians, race whom their love of freedom compelled to honourable arms when anxious Rome was in fear of allied bands. And some stranger, looking on watery Sulmo's walls, that guard the scant acres of her plain, may say: 'You who could bear so great a poet, however small you are, I name you mighty.'"

The role of poetry in establishing the reputation and symbolic size of a river is here made explicit. Rivers run through the center of Mantua and of Verona, but it is Sulmo which receives the epithet *aquosus*. This geographical epithet is of course based on Sulmo's literary history as the subject of Ovid's poetry, and confirms the role of art in conferring such fame. Whilst Ovid's references to the Simois played on concerns about the unreliability and dangerous potential of rivers, his presentation of *aquosus Sulmo* promotes a new ideal for "natural" waters that are abundant, useful, and under control.

### 3.2.2 Rivers in the *Fasti*

The riverine landscape of the *Fasti* is dramatically different from that of the amatory poetry. Whereas the Tiber barely receives a mention in the erotic elegies, in the *Fasti* it is far and away the most frequently mentioned river, appearing in twenty different episodes throughout the poem, four times as often as any other river.<sup>78</sup> Further, the Simois, the most frequently mentioned river in the amatory poetry, is not mentioned at all in the *Fasti* where it has been entirely supplanted by the omnipresent Tiber. In Chapter 2.1, I showed how religious rituals and hydraulic infrastructure provide Ovid with opportunities to remember the early days of the city, and the potential dangers

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<sup>78</sup> In the *Fasti*, the Tiber features in twenty different episodes (*Fast.* 1.229-46; 1.289-94; 1.479-542; 2.67-72; 2.193-208; 2.383-3.64; 2.597-8; 3.517-22; 3.523-6; 4.45-52; 4.237-318; 4.563-72; 5.621-62 6.105-10; 6.227-32; 6.235-40; 6.395-416; 6.517-22; 6.713-20; 6.775-80), with one additional mention by the name of Albula (*Fast.* 4.61-74). Five references are made to the Styx (*Fast.* 2.533-40; 3.319-22; 3.799-802; 5.243-50; 5.447-50). Two episodes feature the Achelous (*Fast.* 2.39-46; 5.339-44), the Ladon (*Fast.* 2.267-80; 5.89-92), the Euphrates (*Fast.* 2.457-74; 6.461-6) and the Rhine (*Fast.* 1.281-8; 4.563-72). A single mention is made of the Cremera (*Fast.* 2.193-208), the waters of Thessaly (*Fast.* 2.39-46), the Crathis (*Fast.* 3.579-600), the Numicius (*Fast.* 3.639-56), the Ganges (*Fast.* 3.727-30), the Hebrus (*Fast.* 3.735-40), the Almo (*Fast.* 4.237-42), the Gallus (*Fast.* 4.361-6), the Amenus (*Fast.* 4.465-80), the Acis (*Fast.* 4.465-80), the Cyane (*Fast.* 4.465-80), the Anapus (*Fast.* 4.465-80), the Gelas (*Fast.* 4.465-80), the Symaethus (*Fast.* 4.465-80), the Rhone (*Fast.* 4.563-72), the Po (*Fast.* 4.563-72), the waters of the Paelignian land (*Fast.* 4.683-6), the Nile (*Fast.* 5.263-70), the rivers of Parthia (*Fast.* 5.579-82) and the Tolenus (*Fast.* 6.565-8).

posed by the river. Here, I focus specifically on Ovid's descriptions of the Tiber's behaviour and reactions to the growth of the city around it, and on the anxieties surrounding interpretation of the river's flooding. The view of the Tiber given in the *Fasti* helps to confirm that the Simois of the amatory poetry functions as a place-holder for Rome's flood-prone river.

With this new focus on the Tiber, we find it used, like the rivers of the amatory poetry, as a marker of place. Most frequently, the Tiber stands for proto-Rome, as the one landmark of the city that existed before the city did.<sup>79</sup> Most notable of these are the passages in which we learn of Tiber's crucial role in the founding of the city. Ovid presents the river as an active participant in the story of Romulus and Remus, and the more dangerous and destructive aspects of the Tiber's behaviour are understood as deliberately tending to benefit the city. Thus, in Ovid's first account of the Romulus and Remus story, Amulius orders that the twins be drowned in the Tiber, which is described in terms which underscore its deadly potential (*Fast.* 2.389-92):

Albula, quem Tiberim mersus Tiberinus in undis  
390 reddidit, hibernis forte tumebat aquis:  
hic, ubi nunc fora sunt, lintres errare uideres,  
quaque iacent ualles, Maxime Circe, tuae.

“It chanced that the Albula, called Tiber from Tiberinus drowned in its waves, was swollen with winter rain: you could see boats drifting where the fora are, and there in the valley of the Circus Maximus.”

The river is introduced with an etymological reminder of the drowning of the twins' ancestor. The poet goes on to explain that Tiber is particularly deadly because of the seasonal swelling of his waters. This would be a familiar image for most of Ovid's audience, but he goes on in the following couplet to assure them that the flood he is describing goes beyond normal winter conditions; the

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<sup>79</sup> The Tiber marks the site of Rome in the days of proto-settlement at *Fast.* 1.229-46 (arrival of Saturn and Janus), 1.479-542 (arrival of Carmentis and Evander), 4.563-72 (Ceres' search for Proserpina), 6.105-10 (birthplace of Carna), 6.395-416 (original appearance of the forum), 6.517-22 (Ino's arrival).

centre of the contemporary city, which at that time was not a city at all, was entirely underwater. Because the river has made further travel impossible, this flooded site is chosen for the exposure of the twins. After forcing the attendants to leave the children in this spot, the river next guides them into the shallows (*Fast.* 2.407-10):

                  sustinet impositos summa cauis alueus unda:  
                  heu quantum fati parua tabella tulit!  
                  alueus in limo siluis adpulsus opacis  
410              paulatim fluuio deficiente sedet.

“The hollow trough, where the boys were laid, supported them on the surface of the water: how great a fate the little ark carried! It drifted onwards towards a shadowy wood and gradually settled where the depth lessened.”

It seems, then, that the dangerous, drowning river has deliberately deposited Romulus and Remus in a spot where they will be rescued by the she-wolf. Indeed, in the summary of the same story which introduces the following book of the poem, we are explicitly told as much (*Fast.* 3.51-2):

                  amne iubet mergi geminos. scelus unda refugit:  
                  in sicca pueri destituuntur humo.

“He ordered the twins drowned in the river. The water shrank from the crime: and the boys were left there on dry land.”

Yet the Tiber has done more than save Rome’s founder. He has also, through his seasonal flood, determined the site of the future city, and so determined the paradox that would underpin the city’s identity: it would be founded in a flood plain, and most of what would define the city of Ovid’s time would at first be under water, or in a marsh.

The importance of this idea to reflection on Rome’s origins is evidenced by the poetic topos of the flooded forum, related by Ovid at *Fast.* 6.395-416 and discussed in Chapter 2.1. Concern over the Tiber’s potential to overwhelm the very centre of the city can be seen in various other narratives, too. The river both defines and determines the location for the Equirria horse races,

comprising the border for the Campus Martius but also threatening to force a removal elsewhere (*Fast.* 3.519-22):

520            altera gramineo spectabis Equirria Campo,  
                  quem Tiberis curuis in latus urget aquis;  
                  qui tamen eiecta si forte tenebitur unda,  
                  Caelius accipiat puluerulentus equos.

“You will see horse races again on the grassy Campus, whose side is hugged by Tiber’s winding waters. But if by chance it’s flooded by overflowing waves, the dusty Caelian Hill will accept the horses.”

The inclusion of this possibility within a *fasti* poem serves to codify and regularize flooding as a likely occurrence in March, and is a good example of the way in which the Tiber could elide time by reclaiming the flood plain and showing Romans what the paradoxical vision of *Fast.* 6.395-416 really looked like.

The river’s unpredictability manifests in a very different way the following month, as Ovid’s Erato relates the arrival of Cybele into Rome. As discussed in Chapter 2.1, the arrival of a god by river is a frequent and marked occurrence in the *Fasti*, serving to symbolize their integration into the city. The outlandish cult practices associated with the ever-exotic goddess signalled that this integration was not quite complete, and the story associated with her arrival and her interaction with the river Tiber represent a difficult assimilation on the topographic level. The integration of Cybele is set to take place, symbolically enough, at the point where the Tiber flows into the sea. She approaches, like Aeneas, in ships built from Ida’s pines (*Fast.* 4.273-4), and visits all the

famous waters of the Mediterranean in the rapid progress of her journey (*Fast.* 4.277-90). But upon her arrival at Ostia, the Tiber turns out to be uncooperative (*Fast.* 4.297-300):

sedula fune uiri contento bracchia lassant:  
uix subit aduersas hospita nauis aquas.  
sicca diu fuerat tellus, sitis usserat herbas:  
300 sedit limoso pressa carina uado.

“The men wearied their arms hauling hard on the ropes: the foreign vessel barely made way against the stream. For a long time there’d been a drought, the grass was dry and scorched: the boat stuck fast in the muddy shallows.”

The phrase *hospita nauis* highlights the horrible failure of the guest-host relationship that is supposed to be enacted at this moment. This is, indeed, taken as a bad omen by the amassed onlookers, and it remains for Claudia Quinta to intervene and reconcile the goddess and the river (*Fast.* 4.313-8):

haec ubi castarum processit ab agmine matrum  
et manibus puram fluminis hausit aquam,  
315 ter caput inrorat, ter tollit in aethera palmas  
(quicumque aspiciunt, mente carere putant),  
summissoque genu uoltus in imagine diuae  
figat, et hos edit crine iacente sonos:

“When she’d stepped from the line of chaste women, taking pure river water in her hands, she wetted her head three times, three times lifted her palms to the sky (everyone watching her thought she’d lost her mind), then, kneeling, fixed her eyes on the goddess’ statue, and, with loosened hair, uttered these words:”

Claudia begins by cleansing herself with pure water from the river; her prayer to Cybele will ask for further cleansing, as the goddess is invoked to prove or disprove her claim to chastity. Combining the river and the goddess in this way in her own cause, Claudia succeeds in getting the goddess to move upstream. The passive phrasing, *mota dea est* (“the goddess was moved;” *Fast.* 4.327), leaves the question of agency unanswered: did Cybele stick because the Tiber had receded, or because she was unwilling to enter? Whichever party to the guest-host relationship was

unwilling, they are reconciled by the combinatory ritual performed by Claudia Quinta, and the rest of Cybele's process of arrival and acceptance runs smoothly.

The unpredictable behaviour of the Tiber, prone both to flood and to dry up, perhaps unsurprisingly finds its way into Ovid's characterization of the river. Although the scattered references to the etymology of his name keep the dangers of the river in sight, the overall attitude towards the Tiber's changeability is not fearful or negative. For Ovid, it tends to mean the river determines the course of events at various key points of Roman history, starting with the most important event of all, the exposure and rescue of Romulus and Remus, for which the river chooses a place which would prove a propitious location for the city (for reasons elaborated by Camillus in my header to Chapter 2 (Livy 5.54.4)). As the story of Cybele and Claudia Quinta illustrates, the importation of gods and goods by river is not a straightforward harnessing of natural resources, but a negotiated welcome on the part of the landscape.

Claudia Quinta also highlights the Tiber's role in purification, as she bedews her head three times to symbolically cleanse herself before praying (*Fast.* 4.315). This kind of ritual cleansing is very common in the *Fasti*,<sup>80</sup> and is a property attributed to rivers besides the Tiber.<sup>81</sup> The water in these cases may be used to fully clean the body, as, for example, during the Veneralia the goddess' statue and the women themselves must be fully washed (*Fast.* 4.136-9), or it may simply be

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<sup>80</sup> Water is used to clean people as part of ritual action at *Fast.* 4.313-8 (Claudia Quinta), 4.655-60 (Numa establishes the Fordicidia), 4.725-30, 4.777-80 (both during the Parilia), 5.435-44 (during the Lemuria), 5.673-90 (a prayer to get away with perjury), 6.441-50 (Metellus asks forgiveness before entering the temple of Vesta). Water is used to clean places as part of ritual action at *Fast.* 4.733-8 (the sheep-fold is cleaned during the Parilia) and 6.137-58 (Carna anoints the doorway). Other ritual objects are washed at *Fast.* 3.11-42 (Rhea Silva goes to wash *sacra* in the river) and 4.133-44 (a statue of Venus as part of the Veneralia).

<sup>81</sup> The Achelous is said to have cleansed Alcmaeon of matricide and the waters of Thessaly to have cleansed Peleus of Phocus' murder at *Fast.* 2.39-46; the Almo is used to wash Cybele and her *sacra* at *Fast.* 4.237-42.

sprinkled, as in Claudia Quinta's case, to stand in for a thorough washing. As the example of Claudia Quinta makes clear, the role of water in cleaning a person physically is understood in all of these instances to transfer to moral cleansing as well.

These symbolic purifications find their most vivid expression in Ovid's account of the Tiber's use to sanitize sacred areas of the city. A particularly important moment of purification takes place during the Vestalia, which we saw in Chapter 2.1, was an appropriate occasion for the barefoot ritual commemorating the time when the forum was a swamp. The connection between Vesta and the Tiber seems particularly appropriate if we consider the location of the Temple of Vesta, which sits at the base of the Palatine Hill, adjacent to the valley of the Velabrum. As the original course of the stream running through the forum, and the route for the Cloaca Maxima, the Velabrum is also the route up which the flooding Tiber funnels (see the valley behind the Lacus Iuturnae and the Temple of Castor, Figure 1.17 b & c). In the run-up to his description of the Vestalia, Ovid describes a much more innocuous interaction between the goddess and the Tiber. The poet reports that he was looking for a lucky day to announce his daughter's engagement, and that the Flamen Dialis answered that it should not be done (*Fast.* 6.227-8)

‘donec ab Iliaca placidus purgamina Vesta  
detulerit flauis in mare Thybris aquis’

“until the calm Tiber carries the sweepings from the shrine of Ilian Vesta, on its yellow waves to the sea”

This day finally comes after the Vestalia festival and after Ovid meets the barefoot old woman in the forum, and is described there in very similar terms (*Fast.* 6.713-4):

haec est illa dies qua tu purgamina Vestae,  
Thybrī, per Etruscas in mare mittis aquas.

“It's the day, Tiber, when you send the sweepings of Vesta's shrine down the Etruscan waters to the sea.”

The river's current is able to carry muck right out of the city; as the river is in a constant state of renewal, it can be used to renew the temple space. This is emphasized by the Flamen Dialis' account of how he cannot comb his own hair or cut his nails until that day, when the grooming of his own person will accord with the other purificatory acts (*Fast.* 6.239-32). The specification that Vesta is a Trojan goddess (*Fast.* 6.227) and Tiber an Etruscan river (*Fast.* 6.714) helps to cast this purification as a counterpart to the river's role in importation and naturalization, as seen in the case of Cybele and of course of Vesta herself.

This account of the cleansing of the temple, though, reads suspiciously like a retelling of a very different event. We saw above how Ovid in the *Amores* altered the story of Ilia and the Tiber as presented by Horace, and the same Horatian *Ode* seems to underlie this section of the *Fasti*. Horace describes the Tiber flowing through the Temple of Vesta, not in order to cleanse the temple but in a violent flood (Hor. *C.* 1.2.13-20):

uidimus flauum Tiberim retortis  
 litore Etrusco uiolenter undis  
 15   ire deiectum monumenta regis  
       templaque Vestae,  
       Iliae dum se nimium querenti  
       iactat ultorem, uagus et sinistra  
       labitur ripa Ioue non probante ux-  
 20       orius amnis.

“We saw the sandy Tiber with waves violently hurled back from the Etruscan bank set off to overthrow the king's monuments and temple of Vesta, all the while throwing himself around as the avenger of his over-complaining Ilia and charging over the left bank without the approval of Jupiter, uxorious river that he is.”

Horace's Tiber moves *uiolenter* (“violently;” *C.* 1.2.14) whereas Ovid's is *placidus* (“calm;” *Fast.* 6.227). Yet despite this, Ovid in his brief accounts chooses the same adjectives as Horace to describe the river's appearance: *flauus* (*Fast.* 6.228; *C.* 1.2.13), occurring as an epithet of the river only here in the *Fasti* (Warner 1917: 53); *Etruscus* used to describe the river by Ovid, and its banks

by Horace (*Fast.* 6.714; *C.* 1.2.14). In this light, the reference to *Iliaca...Vesta* (*Fast.* 6.227-8) becomes more pointed. The adjective reminds us not just of Vesta's Trojan origins, but also of the Trojan name of the mother of Romulus and Remus, and Ovid seems to echo here Horace's contrasting juxtaposition *Vestae.../Iliae* (*C.* 1.2.16-7). It has been suggested that Horace is here describing a flood that occurred on 16-17 January 27 BCE, the night before Octavian adopted the name Augustus,<sup>82</sup> which is also described by Cassius Dio (53.20.1). Inundations of the Tiber, and of rivers in general, were usually seen by the Romans as dire warnings (Clark 2010: 262, n.3), and so the fact that the soothsayers, according to Dio, interpreted this particular inundation as propitious for Augustus, certainly displays 'perverse logic' (Clark 2010: 262). Clark argues that Horace's assertion *uidimus* ("we saw;" *C.* 1.2.13) makes it clear that he is indeed describing this flood, witnessed by himself and his contemporaries, and that by seeking an explanation in Tiber's anger over the sufferings of Ilia, the poet 'artfully and tactfully' negotiates the seemingly unlucky event (Clark 2010: 263-6).

Ovid puts Horace's interpretation of the flood into dialogue with Roman purificatory practice. In his own two accounts of the river's interaction with the Temple of Vesta, the Tiber, as active subject, deliberately cleanses the temple and thereby the city, and signals a propitious time for both the Flamen Dialis to cleanse himself, and for Ovid to arrange his daughter's marriage. He has recast Callimachus' description of the Assyrian river: the Tiber, roiling with *purgamina*, represents what is pure rather than what is sullied. He has also inverted the usual understanding of a flood, so that the violent action described by Horace is made, through the chain of allusion and the repetitive action of ritual, into a calm and useful event. Pliny, too, in a passage quoted at Chapter 2.1, would

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<sup>82</sup> For bibliography on the debate over whether or not Horace is responding to this particular flood, see Clark 2010: 262, n.1.

explain the Tiber's floods as warnings issued by a *uates*, rather than as threats to the city which he sees as having a harmonious relationship with the river (Beagon 1992: 196). Read alongside Ovid's presentation of the Romulus and Remus story, his allusive re-reading of a story about their mother and the Temple of Vesta helps to rationalize the Tiber's destructive behaviours into actions designed ultimately to benefit the city.

### 3.2.3 *Rivers of Exile*

Although the Tiber is such an important part of the Rome of the *Fasti*, the nostalgic Ovid of exile does not give him a place in the Rome of his fond imagination. He refers to the Tiber only once in the whole exilic corpus, explaining that he suffers as many ills as the Tiber has grains of sand (*Tr.* 5.1.31-2). The Rome he remembers from exile is very much the Rome of the amatory poetry, and the riverine environment he evokes is that of his immediate surroundings which is strikingly different to that described in any of his earlier work, and indeed to the lived experience of most of his readers. Thus, the exile works consistently focus on the Hister (Danube)<sup>83</sup> and the Styx in their riverine references. Each river is mentioned six times in the *Tristia*, while the Hister becomes more popular in the *Epistulae ex Ponto* where it is mentioned fourteen times, the Styx receiving seven mentions. These two rivers account for around half of the references to specific rivers made in each collection, accounting for twelve out of twenty-one river references to eight different rivers in the *Tristia*, and for twenty out of forty-four river references to twenty-four different rivers in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. Whilst a large number of rivers are mentioned only

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<sup>83</sup> The names *Hister* or *Istrus* and *Danubius* or *Danuvius* (in Greek Ἰστρος and Δανούβιος) were used interchangeably by the Romans to refer to the river Danube, although it was common to refer to the lower part of the river as the *Hister* or *Istrus*, and to the upper Danube as *Danubius* or *Danuvius* (Smith 1878: s.v. Danubius). Ovid uses both terms without apparent distinction, but prefers *Hister*.

once and are exclusive to a single collection, any river which receives more than one mention in one of these collections is also mentioned in the other.<sup>84</sup>

The very first reference to a river in the exile works is to the Styx in the second poem of the *Tristia*, and this first exilic river has programmatic significance for the collection's approach to the local hydrology. The poet describes the great storm that threatens to overwhelm the boat carrying him into exile, which seems to be opening up an entrance to Tartarus below the sea (*Tr.* 1.2.21-2). This poem thus sets up the prominent theme of exile as civil death, which will run throughout the exilic works (Nagle 1980: 22-32). Although this theme is, as Nagle discusses, most explicitly introduced by the following poem (*Tr.* 1.3) which characterizes Ovid's departure from Rome as his funeral, this account of the storm en route to Tomis already shows the poet negotiating the similarities between his punishment and death, and introduces an important topographical

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<sup>84</sup> The most frequently mentioned river in the exile works is the Hister (Danube), which is mentioned a total of 20 times (*Tr.* 2.189-204; 3.10.7-54; 4.10.97-120; 5.1.21-38; 5.7.1-4; 5.10.1-14; *Pont.* 1.2.79-86; 1.5.61-80; 1.8.1-12; 3.5.1-30; 3.2.43-6; 3.3.23-6; 3.4.87-108; 3.5.1-20; 4.2.37-50; 4.6.25-50; 4.7.1-36; 4.9.73-86; 4.10.21-4, 57-8; 4.14.11-14). The next most popular is the Styx, mentioned 13 times (*Tr.* 1.2.59-68; 1.5.17-26; 4.5.17-22; 4.10.85-90; 5.2.61-76; 5.9.15-20; *Pont.* 1.3.9-24; 1.8.27-38; 2.3.41-4; 3.5.55-8; 4.8.57-60; 4.9.73-86; 4.14.11-14). The Lethe receives 5 mentions (*Tr.* 1.8.35-40; 4.1.43-8; 4.9.1-4; *Pont.* 2.4.23-30; 4.1.17-22), and the Nile 3 mentions (*Tr.* 1.2.73-84; 3.10.27-30; *Pont.* 4.10.57-8). All other rivers receive only 1 mention: the waters of Sulmo (*Tr.* 4.10.1-14), the Cayster (*Tr.* 5.1.11-14), the Tiber (*Tr.* 5.1.31-4), the Ganges (*Tr.* 5.3.19-24), the Lixus (*Pont.* 1.5.19-22), the Hebrus (*Pont.* 1.5.19-22), the Anapus (*Pont.* 2.10.23-6), the Cyane (*Pont.* 2.10.23-6), the Alpheus (*Pont.* 2.10.26-7), the Rhine (*Pont.* 3.4.87-108), the Lycus (*Pont.* 4.10.47-8), the Sagaris (*Pont.* 4.10.47-8), the Penius (*Pont.* 4.10.47-8), the Hypanis (*Pont.* 4.10.47-8), the Cales (*Pont.* 4.10.47-8), the Halys (*Pont.* 4.10.47-8), the Parthenius (*Pont.* 4.10.49-50), the Cinases (*Pont.* 4.10.49-50), the Tyras (*Pont.* 4.10.49-50), the Thermodon (*Pont.* 4.10.51-2), the Phasis (*Pont.* 4.10.51-2), the Dryaspes (Dneiper) (*Pont.* 4.10.53-4), the Melanthus (*Pont.* 4.10.53-4) and the Don (*Pont.* 4.10.55-6).

component to this theme. So, the anxious poet on board ship prays to the gods of the sea for help, and explicitly connects the river Styx with his own punishment (*Tr.* 1.2.61-6):

quamque dedit uitam mitissima Caesaris ira,  
hanc sinite infelix in loca iussa feram.  
si quam commerui poenam me pendere uultis,  
culpa mea est ipso iudice morte minor.  
65 mittere me Stygias si iam uoluisset in undas  
Caesar, in hoc uestra non eguisset ope.

“The life that Caesar’s most gentle wrath has granted, let me carry, unhappy man that I am, to the appointed place. If you wish to ruin me with a penalty great as I have deserved, my fault even in my judge’s eyes does not merit death. If before now Caesar had wished to send me to the waters of the Styx, he had not needed your aid in this.”

The Styx is here a fitting representation of death, as it allows Ovid to contrast two different sea-voyages that could have been contrived for his punishment. The journey to the waters of Tomis is considered here to be a milder punishment than the journey to the waters of the Styx that Augustus could have ordered him to undertake. The two journeys now come perilously close together, as Tartarus yawns below Ovid’s ship, and so the poem emphasizes at once the severity of exile as a punishment which carries Ovid so close to death, and at the same time the small scale of Ovid’s crime which, he claims, has averted a possible execution. This is reinforced by the tension between irony and earnestness in the superlative phrase *mitissima...ira* (“most gentle wrath;” *Tr.* 1.2.61). Later in the *Tristia*, Ovid again employs the Styx to represent a disaster averted, as he describes how his friend’s aid at the moment of disaster lifted him out of the Styx (5.9.15-20). Yet with increasing frequency, the underworld and its rivers, instead of providing a contrast with Ovid’s exilic situation, are mapped onto the topography of Tomis and used to emphasize the poet’s desperation.

The mythological comparisons Ovid makes with his own life often draw not just upon situational similarities, but also on topographical similarities and overlaps between the place of

Ovid's exile and the outermost places of myth. This helps to develop a connection between the river Styx and Tomis. The first example brings together a situational mythological comparison and a topographical mythological comparison, as Ovid praises a friend for his loyalty (*Tr.* 1.5.17-22):

20           si tamen haec nauis uento ferretur amico,  
                  ignoraretur forsitan ista fides.  
          Thesea Pirithous non tam sensisset amicum,  
                  si non infernas uiuus adisset aquas.  
          ut foret exemplum ueri Phoceus amoris,  
                  fecerunt furiae, tristis Oresta, tuae.

“and yet if this ship of mine were being borne on by a friendly breeze, perhaps that loyalty of yours would be unknown. Theseus' friendship would not have been so keenly felt by Pirithous if he had not gone while still alive to the waters below. That the Phoecean [Pylades] was a model of sincere love was due to your madness, gloomy Orestes.”

The first paradigm Ovid describes, Theseus and Pirithous, casts his own friend as the loyal Theseus, helping Ovid, cast as Pirithous, in an exile that is thereby characterized as a kind of living death (Hinds in typescript: *ad* 19-20); Ovid will go on in the second half of the poem to compare himself to Ulysses, consistently emphasizing how much greater are his own sufferings than those of the epic hero (G. Williams 1994: 108-9). Pirithous' living death is described in topographical terms as a journey to the underworld, itself represented by its below-ground rivers, and so is made to parallel the disastrous journey of the ship of Ovid's own life as described a few lines earlier (Hinds in typescript: *ad* 20). The next pair of exemplary friends, Orestes and Pylades, are not put into any particular topographical context. Yet, as Hinds notes, the resolution of Orestes' madness and the ultimate test of their friendship takes place beside the Black Sea. The topographical overlap between Orestes' voyage and his own is detailed at some length at *Tr.* 4.4.61-82 and *Pont.* 3.2.43-96. Though no mention of this journey is made in this passage, the strong verbal echoes between this couplet and *Tr.* 4.4.63-4 encourage readers to make the same association here (Hinds in

typescript: *ad* 21-2), especially as the account of Theseus and Pirithous has already primed them to make topographic links.

The Styx continues to be used with reference to Ovid's own life, for example in reference to the death of his parents (*Tr.* 5.9.15-20). By the end of the *Tristia*, though, it represents neither a worse punishment that Ovid has avoided, nor an exact analogy for an exile figured as living death. In a prayer addressed to Augustus, the poet returns to the assessment of his crime and punishment which he made in *Tr.* 1.2. As in the earlier poem, he notes how moderate the emperor's anger has been (*Tr.* 5.2.55-6 cf. *Tr.* 1.2.61-2). Augustus' lenience was evidenced in the earlier poem by a punishment of exile instead of execution, emphasized by the use of the word *exul* to refer to Ovid twice within the poem (*Tr.* 1.2.37 and 74). As the end of the collection approaches, the poet shows a much greater concern for terminological accuracy. Now, Augustus' lenience is seen explicitly in the fact that Ovid is not called *exul*, but *relegatus* (*Tr.* 5.2.57-62), and it is in the difference between these two punishments, rather than that between exile and execution, that the moderated anger can be seen. The greater specificity of the later poem leads to a further departure from the rhetoric of *Tr.* 1.2. Ovid asks not to be pardoned, but tries instead to renegotiate the terms of his relegation by asking for a change of location (*Tr.* 5.2.73-8):

hinc ego dum muter, uel me Zaclaea Charybdis  
deuoret atque suis ad Styga mittat aquis,  
75 uel rapidae flammis urar patienter in Aetnae,  
uel freta Leucadii mittar in alta dei.  
quod petimus, poena est: neque enim miser esse recuso,  
sed precor ut possim tutius esse miser.

“If I may but exchange this place for another, let even Zaclaeian Charybdis swallow me, sending me by her waters to the Styx, or let me be resigned to burn in the flames of scorching Aetna or hurled into the deep sea of the Leucadian god. What I seek is punishment, for I do not reject suffering, but I beg that I may suffer in greater safety.”

Rather than praying to be delivered to Pontus rather than the Styx, Ovid here begs to be sent to the Styx in order to suffer more safely. Augustus' anger may be moderate, but Ovid's punishment is not. The frozen wastes of Tomis' waters are turned into a new paradigm of suffering which surpasses even the elemental and chaotic forces of the Mediterranean surveyed here.

In the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, Ovid more consistently refers to the Styx as his actual location, as at Tr. 4.9.73-4. It has long been noted that Ovid exploits standard literary depictions of the Pontus region in order to portray his location as the underworld (G. Williams 1994: 12-13), but the topographical overlaps between the two develop gradually throughout the *Tristia*, and the equivalence between Tomis and the shores of the Styx is a pose distinctive to the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. This allows him to draw a particularly extreme contrast between his location in exile and his friends' lives at Rome. Thus, he opens a letter to Severus by describing the circumstances of the warfare which plagues him in Tomis (Pont. 1.8.1-20). Before moving on to describe the memories he cherishes of Rome (Pont. 1.8.33-62, discussed in Chapter 2.3) and Severus' own enjoyment of the city (Pont. 1.8.65-70), Ovid reminds his friend of how much time has passed since he was first exiled (Pont. 1.8.27-8):

ut careo uobis, Stygias detrusus in oras,  
quattuor autumnos Pleias orta facit.

“since I have been separated from you, thrust down to the very shores of the Styx, the rising of the Pleiads is now bringing on the fourth autumn.”

The phrase *Stygias detrusus in oras* (“thrust down to the very shores of the Styx;” Pont. 1.8.27) could be taken metaphorically to refer to Ovid's state of living death. In its position in the line as well as in vocabulary this phrase echoes Virgil's description of Jupiter slaying Aesculapius, *Stygias detrusit ad undas* (“he thrust him down to the Stygian waves;” Virg. Aen. 7.773), as (Gaertner 2005: ad loc.; Tissol 2014: ad loc.) note; I would add that this cleverly suggests the



question is both spatial and temporal. Ovid considers himself as close to the Styx both because he feels he will not live much longer (cf. e.g. *Tr.* 4.8), and because Tomis is closer to the topography of the underworld than the topography of (Roman) civilization.

This is nowhere clearer than in his final reference to the Styx, which returns to the same idea seen at *Tr.* 5.2.73-8. Ovid opens a poem in which he explains how much he hates the land he lives in, though he has no complaints against its people, by asking for his friend Tuticanus' sympathy (*Pont.* 4.14.7-12):

10           nulla mihi cura est terra quo mittar ab ista,  
              hac quia, quam uideo, gratior omnis erit:  
              in medias Syrtes, mediam mea uela Charybdis  
              mittite, praesenti dum careamus humo.  
              Styx quoque, si quid ea est, bene commutabitur Histro,  
              si quid et inferius quam Styga mundus habet.

“I do not care where I am sent from such a land, because any land will please me better than this upon which I look. Cause me to sail to the midst of the Syrtes, or Charybdis, provided I escape this present soil. Even the Styx, if such a thing there be, will be well exchanged for the Hister, or whatever the world has that is lower than the Styx.”

Once again, the Styx becomes part of the familiar, if frightening, landscape of the Mediterranean, and a more desirable location than that upon the banks of the Hister. There is thus a clear shift from the opening of the *Tristia*, where the Styx represents the least desirable location of which humans can conceive, to the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, where the Styx starts to become desirable and even a part of a tour of Sicily, such as that he fondly remembers taking with Macer (*Pont.* 2.10.25-8, discussed above). Concurrently, Ovid has begun, with particular vigour in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, presenting the Hister as a terrible river to rival and surpass the Styx. The interplay between these two rivers and their roles in defining the area of exile helps the poet to present Tomis as a land beyond comprehension and control, beyond the borders of real human existence.

Ovid says nothing about the Hister in the first book of the *Tristia* as he describes his journey towards the Black Sea, foregrounding instead the rivers of the underworld. His very first description of his new local river is addressed to Augustus, and insists to the *princeps* that the Hister represents the final, and frighteningly permeable, border of empire (Luck 1967: 115) (*Tr.* 2.187-92):

ultima perpetior medios eiectus in hostes,  
nec quisquam patria longius exul abest.  
solus ad egressus missus septemplicis Histri  
190 Parrhasiae gelido uirginis axe premor;  
Ciziges et Colchi Matereaue turba Getaeque  
Danuuii mediis uix prohibentur aquis

“I am now enduring the extreme, thrust forth in to the midst of enemies; no exile is farther from his native land. I alone have been sent to the mouths of the seven-streamed Hister, I am crushed beneath the Parrhasian virgin’s icy pole. The Ciziges, the Colchi, the hordes of Teretei, and the Getae are scarce fended off by the interposition of the Danube’s waters.”

This first mention of the Hister brings together many of the key motifs that Ovid continues to associate with the river<sup>86</sup> and uses them to explicitly prove the remoteness and severity of his exile. In connection with the Hister, we hear of what characterizes the *ultima* (“the extreme;” *Tr.* 2.187): Ovid’s isolation, *solus* (“alone;” *Tr.* 2.189); the extreme cold (*gelido...axe* (“the icy pole;” *Tr.* 2.190); the many tribes with strange names who are barely held back by the boundary of the river (*Tr.* 2.191-2), which, as Luck points out, would be effective as a barrier only while flowing in summer (Luck 1967: 115).<sup>87</sup> Literary commentators have repeatedly stressed the inaccuracy of

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<sup>86</sup> Ovid repeatedly uses the Hister to emphasize: his own isolation and suffering (*Tr.* 5.1.21-38; *Pont.* 1.5.61-80); the barbarity of tribes and danger of the area (*Tr.* 3.10.7-54; *Pont.* 1.2.79-86, 1.8.1-12, 3.4.87-108, 4.10.1-34); the freezing and seemingly perpetual cold (*Tr.* 3.10.7-54, 5.10.1-14; *Pont.* 2.4.1-30, 3.3.23-6, 4.7.9-10, 4.10.37-64).

<sup>87</sup> The Danube dominated the region, shaping settlement patterns and the economy. It has long served as a political boundary, from antiquity onward; its northern bank is much steeper than its southern, meaning that areas to the south tended to use the river for trade, whereas those to the north were cut off by it (Batty 2007: 68-73). Augustus in the *Res Gestae* refers both to his

Ovid's depiction of Tomis and of his repeated accounts of the dangerous local tribes (e.g. at *Tr.* 5.10.30, *Pont.* 1.2.18-30), pointing out that Tomis was a thriving harbour town inhabited by a majority Greek population. So, Claassen sees Ovid's account of place and people's as entirely literary, with very little basis in reality, a clear result of the externalisation of misery which aims to evoke sympathy from readers (Claassen 1999: 190-191). She points out that the Dacians, Scyths, Sarmatians and Bastarnae are all tribes mentioned in the *Res Gestae* as friendly to Rome, a claim which the exile poetry is at pains to refute (Claassen 1999: 191). Claassen does note that Ovid's geography of the area is more accurate than that in Virgil's *Georgics*, with the Hister following its true course, but points out that every feature is exaggerated (Claassen 1999: 195-6).

In contrast, Batty points out that while many of the tribes Ovid names are familiar from either geographical writers or other literary accounts, he does so with a specificity that moves his account beyond a generic pastiche;<sup>88</sup> he is the first Latin source to mention the Iazyges (*Pont.* 1.2.77; 4.7.9), a subdivision of the Sarmatians, and the diverse range of tribal groups he names is far from illogical (G. Williams 2002: 341-6) but instead accords with the diverse nomadic peoples who have inhabited the region throughout history (Batty 2007: 323-5). While Claassen emphasizes the archaeology of Tomis, with inscriptions, metalwork and coins attesting to a Hellenized and Romanized culture (Claassen 1999: 196-7), Batty points to the incomplete nature of this picture, which focuses on elite remains and by no means proves the absence of non-elites and non-Hellenized peoples. Indeed, evidence of elite, literate peoples of Thracian origin from inscriptions

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establishment of the Danube as the border of Illyricum, and to his crossing of the Danube in order to subdue the Dacians (*RG* 30.1-2), showing that it functioned at once as a dividing line and as a line of control over hostile peoples (Campbell 2012: 188).

<sup>88</sup> Batty gives a historical and archaeological overview of the entire Pontic-Danubian region; this is the first work to consider this area as a whole, and characterizes the area's identity in terms of the persistent interactions between a diverse set of nomadic, semi-nomadic, and settled peoples (Batty 2007).

offer positive evidence for a multicultural society in Tomis (Batty 2007: 334-5). Ovid's comments deliberately focus on the aspects of life in Tomis which would seem most barbaric and would attest to the remoteness of his exilic home.

Even when Ovid speaks of a rare point of cultural contact, this is used to demonstrate that the Hister represents the end of civilization's reach. Thus, as we have seen, Ovid exploits the connection of the voyage of Orestes and Pylades with his own, as the same area is a testing place for his friendships as was for theirs. He reports how the local people also hold these two men up as a paradigm of friendship, and quotes a man from Tauri who situates this fact in a Rome-centric geography (*Pont.* 3.2.43-4):

‘nos quoque amicitiae nomen, bone, nouimus, hospes,  
quos procul a uobis Pontus et Hister habet.’

“We too, good stranger, are acquainted with friendship's name - we whom the Pontus and the Hister hold far from you and your people.”

This man marvels at the shared understanding between himself and Ovid, given that he dwells in the boundary land beside the Hister. Despite the link of *amicitia* which stretches beyond the river, the rest of the poem makes it clear that this boundary in fact divides the civilized from the uncivilized, as the man goes on to relate how the barbaric practice of human sacrifice of foreigners still continues there (*Pont.* 3.2.51-8). Rather than making Ovid feel at home amid people who understand the name of friendship, we see him as a *hospes* in a territory beside the distant Hister, a place that is dangerously hostile to foreigners.

The most emphatic statement of the Hister's remoteness in terms of military conquest and conceptual geography comes in comparison with another northern river. Ovid writes to Rufinus, and emphasizes his remoteness by asking whether his previous poem about Germanicus' triumph (most probably *Pont.* 2.1) has arrived in Rome yet, and complaining that he was unable to be

inspired by seeing it in person. He then tries to avoid being delayed in his responses a second time by predicting a triumph that has not yet happened, this time over the river Rhine. As Hardie observes, the whole poem vacillates between presenting the poet as out of touch, receiving news far too late, and showing him as a prophet who can anticipate triumphs to come (Hardie 2002: 311-12) (*Pont.* 3.4.87-94):

quo pede nunc utar dubia est sententia nobis:  
alter enim de te, Rhene, triumphus adest.  
inrita uotorum non sunt praesagia uatum.  
90 danda Ioui laurus, dum prior illa uiret.  
nec mea uerba legis, qui sum submotus ad Histrum,  
non bene pacatis flumina pota Getis.  
ista dei uox est: deus est in pectore nostro;  
haec duce praedico uaticinorque deo.

“what metre I am now to use I am in doubt: for a second triumph is now at hand, over you, oh Rhine. The prophecies of inspired poets are not empty: a laurel wreath is destined to be given to Jupiter while that other is still green. It is not my words you read - I am far away by the Hister whose waters are drunk by the as yet un-pacified Getae. It is the voice of a god: a god is in my breast; under a god’s inspiration I make this prophecy”

A triumph over the Rhine would mean an important solidification of the border and of empire, and so Ovid’s confident assertion that it is near at hand is clearly intended to be flattering to the imperial family. Throughout his oeuvre, he has reserved accounts of real and imagined triumph over rivers for rivers of particular significance for the borders of empire:<sup>89</sup> the Euphrates and the Tigris (*A.A.* 1.221-4), and another anticipatory account of Germanicus’ triumph over the Rhine (*Fast.* 1.283-6). His account of the procession of the Tigris and the Euphrates through the city is particularly

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<sup>89</sup> The Tigris, Euphrates and Rhine all functioned as symbolic markers of important borders, although the degree to which they would have prevented passage or represented a real dividing line between cultures is debated (Campbell 2012: 186-99). The Euphrates was established as a border with Parthia by Augustus in the treaty of 1 CE (*Tac. Agr.* 41.2). The Rhine marked an important defensive line, for example after the defeat of Quinctilius Varus in 9 CE (*Suet. Div. Aug.* 25.2).

striking, as they are the only rivers to appear prominently in Rome in the *Ars Amatoria*. The presence of these “natural” water sources in the amatory city, from which they have been studiously kept absent, is permissible because these are imported waters, who have been conquered, controlled and managed.

Yet in his exilic account of the Rhine’s subjugation, his immediate contrast with his own location plays out the differences between the all-but subjugated Rhine, and the Hister which is utilized by tribes who have not yet been triumphed over. The Hister has never been, and is not even by Ovid predicted to be about to be, led through the city in triumph, and so it remains at the very edge of the conquered and therefore the known world.

In the next book, Ovid twice instructs his readers to ask Roman generals who have fought beside the Hister to corroborate his own account of it (*Pont.* 4.7.1-36, 4.9.73-86), as it is indeed beyond ordinary comprehension. As Gaertner points out, the visits made by these generals and by other administrators and soldiers to the area would have made it very easy to determine the degree to which Ovid’s accounts of Tomis are exaggerated (Gaertner 2005: 24). This is clearly not discouraging to Ovid, as he deliberately solicits their reports. His literary account of a distant and alien landscape seems, then, to have been constructed less as a way to trick readers into sympathy, than as a way to maintain interest in his situation and the stories he has to tell about it, which are interesting precisely because they have the ring of half-truth.

His explicit statements that the Hister is the ultimate border of the Roman world are reinforced by his characterization of the river. The behaviours he attributes to it are totally different from any riverine behaviours described in his other works, and help to establish the place as entirely alien. Most frequently, Ovid complains of the extreme cold and the strange freezing of the very river and sea. The Danube does indeed freeze in this area, although usually for only a few weeks rather than

for the more extended periods implied by Ovid (Gaertner 2005: 16-19). This affects the way he thinks, notably by presenting a different seasonal pattern and so altering how the poet of the *Fasti* measures time (*Tr.* 5.10.1-4):

1       ut sumus in Ponto, ter frigore constitit Hister,  
              facta est Euxini dura ter unda maris.  
          at mihi iam uideor patria procul esse tot annis,  
              Dardana quot Graio Troia sub hoste fuit.

“Since I have been by the Pontus’ shore, three times has Hister halted with cold, three times has the water of the Euxine sea grown hard. Yet already I seem to have been absent from my country as many years as Dardanian Troy was besieged by the Greek enemy.”

Here, the freezing of the river seems at once to provide an easy marker of time, *ter frigore constitit Hister* (“three times has Hister halted with cold;” *Tr.* 5.10.1) seeming a clear indication of three winters and so three years. And yet by the next couplet this very freezing seems to have made time unmeasurable, as the three years each feel three times as long to the poet. The frozen river at once stretches Ovid’s suffering out towards the epic-worthy length of ten years, and seems to have the ability to halt the composition of his Roman *tempora*-poem the *Fasti*, by altering the poet’s understanding of the progression of time (Hinds 2005: 214-15, with n.23).

The second consequence of the river’s freezing is that it in fact ceases to function as a border at all. It instead becomes a road along which the frightening tribes we have heard so much about are able to ride. Again, this would not have actually been possible, especially given that the freezing of the local waters was by no means as extensive as Ovid claims (Gaertner 2005: 23). The

poet is here working deliberately to make of the Hister an image that is threatening not just to himself but to Rome as well (*Pont.* 1.2.79-82):

80            quaeque aliae gentes, ubi frigore constitit Hister,  
              dura meant celeri terga per amnis equo.  
              maxima pars hominum nec te, pulcherrima, curat,  
              Roma, nec Ausonii militis arma timet.

“and what other tribes, when the Hister halts with cold, wind along the icy back of the stream on swift horses. The most of these people neither care for you, fairest Rome, nor fear the arms of Ausonian soldiery.”

Throughout these examples, Ovid works to create an image of an alien river, less well understood than the Styx, a sense reinforced by the very unusual expression *terga per amnis* (“along the back of the river;” *Pont.* 1.2.80) which starts to appear with Silver Latin writers (Gaertner 2005: 186). At the same time, he continuously holds the Hister in some connection with Rome. His sufferings are thus presented as barely human and belong to the edge of human experience, but the situation at Tomis is still made to seem of relevance to Rome and to Roman security.

The three different riverine environments presented by Ovid’s different poetry collections each reveal concerns about the instability of river behaviour. In line with Cronon’s analysis of landscape’s narrative force, Ovid’s presentation of rivers in the amatory works and the *Fasti* itself exerts and anticipates management of these unruly waters. This is most striking in the amatory works in the exclusion of natural waters from the city, and the valorization of the irrigated paradise of Sulmo. In the *Fasti*, the soothing regularization represented by the calendar helps to create a positive narrative out of the Tiber’s floods and to make him an actor in Rome’s triumphal development. The waterscape Ovid constructs in exile is totally different, centred upon a river whose behaviour is unique in his poetry, and whose wildness is presented in terms that do not lend themselves to the kind of water management systems seen in Sulmo. The fact that the poet longs even for the wildest waters of the Underworld and of the Straits of Messina sends a clear message

as to the value of Tomis' landscape and its potential for domination and aestheticization. Though hydrological realities inform his accounts of landscape throughout his oeuvre, these are nonetheless channelled into courses that suit his thematic purposes.

### 3.3 STANDING WATERS: LAKES, PONDS AND MARSHES

As Giusto Traina has observed, Roman literary accounts of standing waters, particularly marshes, were predominantly negative, and marshy areas were not considered a valuable topic even by geographical writers. Despite the fact that there was a great deal of marshland throughout Italy and Sicily that offered a productive habitat for humans, marshland is considered in the literary record to be at best useless and unattractive, and at worst dangerous and unhealthy (Traina 1988: 77-9). Although marshland in the south of Italy is likely to have been rife with malaria (Sallares 2002: 55-61), in the north where there were no malarial mosquitoes, the wetlands were actually very salubrious as even Strabo and Vitruvius noted (Traina 1988: 82-3; Strabo 5.1.7; Vitruvius 1.4.11-12). Disdain for marshland was first based not upon the diseases frequently associated with this kind of terrain, but upon its changeable and unclassifiable nature. The marsh, which represents the murky distinction between land and water, resists the imposition of boundaries, and frustrated cartographers until the fifteenth century (Traina 1988: 80). This kind of terrain has been undervalued ever since; standing waters in western Europe were particularly degraded during the Industrial Revolution when they served as water sources and drainage sites for factories (Balliett 2010: 30-31). With the growing prominence of the term "wetlands" to replace the negatively viewed "swamp" or "marsh" in the 1970s, perceptions began to shift and conservation efforts began to focus on these bodies of water, which had frequently been drained to provide land for building or agriculture. Wetlands are now understood to be of great ecological importance, as they offer protection against flooding, provide water storage and supply, clean and filter water, as

well as functioning as carbon sinks and habitat for a biodiversity of animals in unique conditions thanks to their hybrid, aquatic-terrestrial, status (Balliett 2010: 3-22; 34-6).

Yet the bias against standing waters is indeed evident in Ovid, both in the small number of references and in the valuation of these types of waters which he offers. The amatory works feature just two references, each of which are to bodies of water marking the limitations of human experience. The first is that symbol of death and transition between worlds, Lake Avernus (*Am.* 3.9.25-8). The second forms part of Hypsipyle's disparaging recommendations for Medea (*Her.* 6.107-8):

illa sibi a Tanai Scythiaeque paludibus udae  
quaerat et a patria Phasidis usque uirum.

“Let her seek for herself a husband - from the Tanais, from the marshes of watery  
Scythia, even from the source of the Phasis.”

The Scythian marshes are chosen as emblematic of a barbaric and remote region. The deliberate specification of the territory's marshes is perhaps related to the wetland as a changing and liminal space, which here reinforces the extreme otherness of husbands who would be suitable for Medea.

Within Rome, marshes are particularly associated with the city's own proto-state, as we have seen. Although the waters that once ran through the forum were drained by the Cloaca Maxima, many other bodies of water remained within the city and probably brought with them the problems of summertime malaria associated with marshes in the countryside (Sallares 2002: 214). Late antique catalogues of Rome's regions list 1,204 lakes within the city (Sallares 2002: 215), meaning these would have formed a dominant part of the urban waterscape. Yet Ovid does not include them in the visions of the city presented in the amatory works, and, in line with the literary trend observed by Traina (Traina 1988: 84), refers to them and the other standing waters of Italy only in the *Fasti*, in the context of sacred moments or rituals associated with them.

In addition to the barefoot rituals associated with the Lacus Curtius discussed in Chapter 2.1, the Palus Caprae which stood to the west of the Saepta Iulia in the Campus Martius (Haselberger et al. 2002: *s.v.* Stagnum Agrippae), is presented as the site for Romulus' mysterious apotheosis (*Fast.* 2.491-6). Lake Nemi, around 18 miles south of Rome, appears twice in the *Fasti* (3.261-4; 6.755-6), and is another site of transition between human and divine. As the second passage explains (*Fast.* 6.739-56), Aesculapius brought Hippolytus back to life against the wishes of Jupiter, and the hero hid himself at Lake Nemi and took on the name Virbius. The first Lake Nemi passage describes the transformational story after Ovid invokes Egeria to explain the ritual of the Salii (*Fast.* 3.261-6):

nympha, mone, nemori stagnoque operata Dianae;  
                   nympha, Numae coniunx, ad tua facta ueni.  
 uallis Aricinae silua praecinctus opaca  
                   est lacus, antiqua religione sacer;  
 265  hic latet Hippolytus loris direptus equorum,  
                   unde nemus nullis illud aditur equis.

“Inform me, you nymph who wait on Diana’s grove and lake; you nymph, wife of Numa, come tell of your own deeds. In the Arician vale there is a lake surrounded by shady woods and hallowed by religion from of old. Here Hippolytus lies hidden, who by the reins of his steeds was rent in pieces: hence no horses enter that grove.”

After describing this sacred Italian location in more detail, the poet reveals that Lake Nemi is a place of connection between Egeria and himself (*Fast.* 3.273-6):

defluit incerto lapidosus murmure riuus:  
                   saepe, sed exiguis haustibus, inde bibi.  
 275  Egeria est quae praebet aquas, dea grata Camenis:  
                   illa Numae coniunx consiliumque fuit.

“a pebbly brook flows down with a fitful murmur; often have I drunk of it, but in little sips. Egeria it is who supplies the water, goddess dear to the Camenae; she was wife and councillor to Numa.”

As we have seen, this passage offers a distinctly Italian and markedly elegiac vision of the *Fasti*'s poet that is set in deliberate contrast to his inspiration in the *Amores* and to the grander genre of

the *Metamorphoses*. The use of this highly sacred *lacus* for inspiration helps to separate this scene still further from Ovid's earlier work, where such waters hardly featured. In the context of the sacred standing waters of the *Fasti*, this becomes a very particular and very appropriate source of inspiration for the poem.

From exile, standing waters make a few brief appearances in Ovid's accounts of the waterscapes of the Mediterranean, although with none of the sacred emphasis that they received in the *Fasti*. In his mental return to Rome as described in the first book of the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, he sums up the longed-for waters of the city with the phrase *stagnaque et euripi Virgineusque liquor* ("the pools, the canals, and the water of the Aqua Virgo;" *Pont.* 1.8.38). The naming of the Aqua Virgo makes it clear that the *stagna* of the city are not unappealing marshes, but civilized products of hydraulic engineering: the *stagna* is a poetic plural referring to the Stagnum Agrippae (Gaertner 2005: *ad loc.*; Tissol 2014: *ad loc.*), the large basin to the west of the Thermae Agrippae, supplied by the Aqua Virgo along with the swimming channel of the Euripus (see Chapter 1.2). Less pointedly, in recalling the grand tour of Sicily which he made with Macer, the poet includes *Hennaeosque lacus et olentia stagna Palici* ("the lakes of Henna, the pools of sulphurous Palicus;" *Pont.* 2.10.23). Each of these passages is explicitly framed as a point of contrast with the environment of exile, and indeed the varied and alluring waters represented in these two lines are very much at odds with the sluggish and frozen waters which he uses to characterize Tomis.

The waterscape of exile is primarily evoked, as we have seen, by the image of the frozen Hister and the frozen sea. This is supplemented, though, by a series of references to the local standing waters which, unlike those of Italy described in the *Fasti*, are clearly intended to seem repellent and to evoke an impossible way of life. There are indeed extensive wetlands in the area of the Danube estuary, which Ovid claims as his location (*Tr.* 2.189, 5.1.21, 5.7.2; *Pont.* 1.5.63,

2.4.1, 3.4.91, 3.5.2) although Tomis lies somewhat to the south-east of it (Gaertner 2005: 18). The Danube Delta is Europe's largest continuous wetland complex, and is host to a wide array of bird, fish and plant life ("Danube Delta - UNESCO World Heritage Centre" 2015) which has been significantly depleted in the last century by drainage for agricultural and fishing developments (Balliett 2010: 45-9). For Ovid, though, the marshes around the Danube offer up the possibility neither of coexistence nor of management and exploitation.

Ovid instead uses the unnerving liminal associations of wetlands to evoke travellers' tales of the edges of human existence. The strangeness of the north-east of the known world had been laid out by Herodotus, who reports what the Scythians themselves supposedly say about the territories neighbouring theirs (Herodotus 4.7):<sup>90</sup>

Τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον λέγουσι τῶν ὑπεροίκων τῆς χώρας οὐκ οἶά τε εἶναι ἔτι προσωτέρω οὔτε ὄραν οὔτε διεξιέναι ὑπὸ πτερῶν κεχυμένων· πτερῶν γὰρ καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν ἡέρα εἶναι πλέον, καὶ ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ ἀποκλιόντα τὴν ὄψιν.

"Above and northward of the neighbours of their country none (they say) can see or travel further, by reason of showers of feathers; for earth and sky are overspread by these, and it is this which hinders sight."

Just beyond the Scythians, human habitation becomes impossible, as strange phenomena impede the senses and the earth and sky become indistinguishable. Herodotus later offers his own interpretation of these feathers, proposing that they refer to the thickly falling snow in the northern winters, and that it is thus because of the extremely cold winters that the area is uninhabited (Her. 4.31). The notion of the blurring of the elements and extreme coldness marking the limits of human endurance is crucial to Ovid's own presentation of the north-easterly Tomis and its wetlands.

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<sup>90</sup> Herodotus translation adapted from Heinemann. 1920. *Herodotus: The Persian Wars*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

As we have seen, Ovid seems to work to make his account of Pontus not wholly credible, placing himself at the limits of the human imagination and plausibility. In focusing on the freezing waters and the marshes that blend unnervingly with the land, he again pushes his account into the territory of the implausible. This sort of account is indeed derided by Strabo, regarding Pytheas' observations of the tidal flows of the Atlantic along the northwest borders of the world (Strabo 2.4.1):<sup>91</sup>

προσιστορήσαντος δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Θούλης καὶ τῶν τόπων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς οὔτε γῆ καθ' αὐτὴν ὑπῆρχεν ἔτι οὔτε θάλαττα οὔτ' ἀήρ, ἀλλὰ σύγκριμά τι ἐκ τούτων πλεύμονι θαλαττίῳ ἐοικός, ἐν ᾧ φησι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν αἰωρεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα, καὶ τοῦτον ὡς ἂν δεσμὸν εἶναι τῶν ὄλων, μήτε πορευτὸν μήτε πλωτὸν ὑπάρχοντα

“and adding his story about Thule and about those regions in which there was no longer either land properly so called, or sea, or air, but a kind of substance concreted from all these elements, resembling a sea lung - a thing in which, he says, the earth, the sea, and all the elements are held in suspension; and this is a sort of bond to hold all together, which you can neither walk nor sail upon.”

This imagery of earth and sea blending is thus well connected with images of the northwest edge of the world. This kind of observational account would later be used by Tacitus to claim for Agricola the honour of having found the edges of the habitable world. Thus, after describing what he claims to be the first voyage to circumnavigate Britain, ordered by Agricola, with the conquest of the Orcades islands and the sighting of Thule, Tacitus talks of the powerful nature of the tides

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<sup>91</sup> Strabo translation adapted from Jones. 1917. *The Geography of Strabo*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

in the extreme north. The northern edge of Scotland is peculiarly infected by the sea, too (Tacitus *Agr.* 10.7):<sup>92</sup>

unum addiderim, nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenuis ad crescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et iugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo.

“I would add but a single word, that nowhere has the sea more potent influence: it gives to many of the rivers a tidal character; nor merely do the incoming tides wash the shores and ebb again, but penetrate the land deeply and invest it, and even steal into the heart of the hills and mountains as though into their native element.”

Waters which invade the land in this way have a long literary association with the extreme north, and more particularly with the edges of life and of conquest.

Ovid draws on this legacy when he describes the wetlands of his exile in the northeast. Thus, before the collection begins to focus upon the image of the Hister, Ovid introduces marshland and makes it a sign of his remoteness and the barbarity of the place (*Tr.* 3.4b.49-52):

Bosporos et Tanais superant Scythiaequae paludes  
50 uixque satis noti nomina pauca loci.  
ulterius nihil est nisi non habitabile frigus:  
heu quam vicina est ultima terra mihi!

“beyond are the Bosphorus and the Tanais and the Scythian marshes and the scattered names of a region hardly known at all. Farther still is nothing but a cold that forbids habitation. Alas, how near to me is the margin of the world!”

The idea that this is the *ultima terra* (“the margin of the world;” *Tr.* 3.4b.52) is brought home with the suggestion that places close by even lack names, and are beyond the boundaries of the habitable world. Ovid here draws upon the common idea, presented at the opening of the *Metamorphoses*, that the outermost zones of the world are frozen and uninhabitable (Luck 1967: 190, with further references; cf. *Met.* 1.49-51). The transition to these limits of human existence is made by

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<sup>92</sup> Tacitus translation adapted from Heinemann. 1914. *Tacitus, Volume I: Agricola; Germania; Dialogue on Oratory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

traversing the changing and liminal space of the *Scythiae...paludes* (49), which, as we have seen, were already a by-word for barbarity in the mouth of Hypsipyle (*Her.* 6.107-8) and in the writings of Herodotus (4.7).

The barbarity represented by life in the marshes is expressed with the same images used to show the degradation of other kinds of water sources from exile. Thus, once again, we encounter the poet's difficulties with finding drinking water. As well as complaining of the degradation of the local fountains, Ovid emphasizes the problems of fresh water access by describing the need to drink from still bodies of water. This reaches an extreme in the winter, when these liminal types of water in fact become solid, and the poet must dig his drinks out of the *lacus* (*Tr.* 3.10.25-6; 3.12.27-8). His explicit complaint about the effects the local climate has upon his mental and physical health is indeed couched in terms of drinking from standing waters (*Pont.* 2.7.71-4):

temperie caeli corpusque animusque iuuatur:  
frigore perpetuo Sarmatis ora riget.  
est in aqua dulci non inuidiosa uoluptas:  
aequoreo bibitur cum sale mixta palus.

“body and mind are helped by a mild climate; eternal cold freezes the Sarmatian coast. There is in sweet water a pleasure that stirs no envy; I drink marshy water mingled with the salt of the sea.”

Again, the *palus* (74) which is always halfway between land and water comes in exile to represent the ultimate in mixed drinking, as sea waters are mingled in. The swamp thus represents the opposite of the ideal drinking source represented in Ovid's earlier work by cool fountains. What were once rare and rarefied accounts of the poet drinking have now become undignified images of his struggle for day-to-day existence, encapsulated in the repellent image of the salt marsh.

Indeed, the waterscape evoked by Ovid's exile works aims in general to give a sense of stagnation. This is evoked by the choked and briny fountains, the frozen river, and the marshland to which these other water types begin to approximate. Just as the same themes and same passages

which were discussed in connection with flowing waters tend to resurface in connection with standing waters, so Ovid explicitly tells us that what makes the Hister and all the other region's rivers so barbaric is their tendency not to flow, or even to flood, but rather to form a swamp (*Pont.*

4.10.59-64):

60           copia tot laticum, quas auget, adulterat undas  
                  nec patitur uires aequor habere suas.  
quin etiam stagno similis pigraeque paludi  
                  caeruleus uix est diluiturque color.  
innatat unda freto dulcis leuiorque marina est,  
                  quae proprium mixto de sale pondus habet.

“The wealth of so many waters corrupts the waves which it augments, not allowing the sea to keep its own strength. Rather, like a still pool or a stagnant swamp its colour is hardly blue and is washed away. The fresh water floats upon the flood, being lighter than the sea-water which possesses weight of its own from the mixture of salt.”

This strange and disorienting image mingles all the waters of the area with the sea. Pliny's reaction to this mingling of salt and fresh waters (*NH* 4.79, quoted in Section 3.1.2) focuses on the marvel of the river's reach out into the Pontus. For Ovid, though, the result of this impure mixture is a stagnant marsh, which thus becomes the characteristic symbol of the local waterscape. As the waters mix, Ovid describes how their characteristics are leached away, their movement slowing (59-61), their colour fading (62). Ovid's emphasis on the lack of salt on the surface of the sea actually approaches climatological accuracy, as the low levels of salt in the northern and eastern Black Sea do, in fact, cause it to freeze (Gaertner 2005: 16-7). For Ovid, this makes the salt-less sea a perverse counterpart to the salty springs and marshes from which he is forced to drink. The marshes of early Rome may not have stood in the way of development in the face of the ingenuity of Roman drainage, but those of Tomis are hardly even recognisable and accord more with fantastic tales of the edges of human existence than with a Roman understanding of a manageable landscape.

### 3.4 CONCLUSION

Water imagery is, by definition, fluid and endlessly variable in its application, yet each genre in which Ovid writes reveals its own distinct attitude towards the management of Rome's waters. The impulse to control and tame water evidenced by the extensive Augustan hydraulic projects is reflected in Ovid's own water imagery. His natural waterscapes work, in Cronon's terms, as the first scene which anticipates and promotes the development of the contemporary, managed Roman waterscape which, as I argued in Chapter 2, is represented by the Augustan hydraulic. In the didactic *Fasti*, Rome's natural waters define numinous sites which often memorialize the city's foundation. These waters offer a point of contact with the wild landscape of the city's earliest days, and at the same time confirm the proper and inevitable management of this landscape by the Romans. In the amatory works, on the other hand, natural waters are entirely absent from the city, but are characterized elsewhere by unpredictable behaviours against which the poet frequently rails. Finally, the exiled Ovid finds the ultimate symbol of barbarism in the lack of water management at Tomis. The frozen waters of Pontus are shown to be without the promise of potential management seen at the site of proto-Rome, leading instead to a lack of drinking water, and to fountains of brine. Throughout his oeuvre, Ovid figures his life and his poetic activity as ways to harness the power of water. The basis for these images can be found in the two managed waterscapes described in his poetry: the city of Rome and his watery hometown, *aquosus Sulmo*.

## Chapter 4. WRESTLING WITH WATER IN THE *METAMORPHOSES*

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀνήρ ὀχετηγὸς ἀπὸ κρήνης μελανύδρου  
ἄμ φυτὰ καὶ κήπους ὕδατι ῥόον ἡγεμονεύη  
χερσὶ μάκελλαν ἔχων, ἀμάρης ἐξ ἔχματα βάλλων·  
τοῦ μὲν τε προρέοντος ὑπὸ ψηφίδες ἅπασαι  
ὀχλεῦνται· τὸ δέ τ' ὄκα κατειβόμενον κελαρύζει  
χώρῳ ἔνι προαλεῖ, φθάνει δέ τε καὶ τὸν ἄγοντα·  
ὥς αἰεὶ Ἀχιλῆα κιχήσατο κῦμα ῥόοιο  
καὶ λαιψηρὸν ἔοντα· θεοὶ δέ τε φέρτεροι ἀνδρῶν

Homer *Iliad* 21.257-64

Achilles in his formidable *aristeia* drives the Trojan army into the river Scamander, glutting its stream with corpses and angering the river god. The hero then fights with Asteropaeus, son of the Paeonian river Axios, and upon defeating him boasts that no river's child is a match for one descended from Zeus. As he moves off to slaughter more Trojans, the river, ἀνέρι εἰσάμενος ("resembling a man;" Hom. *Il.* 21.213), shouts angrily at Achilles, rebuking the hero for clogging his streams with such carnage. When Achilles ignores this reproach, Scamander stirs up his own waters and chases after him as a towering wave. In this form the river frightens and all but overwhelms Achilles, thereby answering his earlier dismissive words about rivers and their offspring. The river's pursuit is described with a striking simile comparing the Scamander to a stream of water in an irrigation canal, which overtakes the farmer clearing obstructions from its channel. This swift overwhelming of Achilles results because the Scamander is a god, and so greater than all men. The passage as a whole clearly serves to emphasize the power of the river, and the simile reinforces this by comparing the river-water to canal-water, thereby maintaining a tight focus on the Scamander as a natural element instead of anthropomorphizing him (Eggers 1984: 71).

This close identification between tenor and vehicle helps to reinforce the connection between Achilles' combative stance against Scamander and the farmer's use of water for irrigation.

Although the channelled water of the simile is not presented as threatening the farmer, and is following a course the farmer has cut for it, the overall point of comparison is to illustrate that water is ultimately more powerful, and is beyond human or even heroic command. This account of the Scamander, the first extended literary description of a nature divinity in the classical tradition (Eggers 1984: 68), is also the first literary description of irrigation in the classical tradition. This important description focuses upon human interaction with and manipulation of water, and presents that relationship as an ongoing struggle. The oppositions humans/water and humans/nature have an influential place in Western thought and have been challenged as deeply problematic, both because they are hierarchical pairs which encourage damaging environmental attitudes, and because of their tendency to be mapped onto and thereby to reinforce other hierarchical oppositions such as logos/pathos, man/woman (see e.g. Kao 2010; Gaard 2001; Rose 1993: 9-11, 66-82; Ortner 1972).

This antagonistic view of human relations to water resonates with the natural waterscapes I examined in Chapter 3. There, I argued that the waterscapes of Ovid's amatory works, *Fasti*, and exile poetry each showcase the dangers of wild waters and create an expectation of their own management by humans, developing an upward narrative trajectory from pre-managed, potentially dangerous landscape to civilized, safe cityscape. In this chapter, I consider how the *Metamorphoses* explores and complicates this perceived struggle between humans and water. Throughout the poem, humans and the physical world each transform into the other, creating a profound connection between the two (Myers 1994: 40). It is tempting to seek the operative principle of this shifting world in the speech of Pythagoras, who asserts the inherent changeability

of all matter with his basic principle, *cuncta fluunt* (“all things flow;” *Met.* 15.178).<sup>93</sup> Pythagoras in fact goes on to explain his pithy maxim by comparing time, ever moving and ever changing, to a river (*Met.* 15.180-85), and his speech as a whole repeatedly returns to water as a useful element for thinking about transformation, particularly, thanks to its immersive and potable qualities, transformation of the human.

Yet transformation in the *Metamorphoses* usually results not in fluidity but in fixity (Solodow 1988: 174; Von Glinski 2012: 13, 25-6). While transforming themselves and others in line with the account of Pythagoras, the waters of the poem also help to assert not flux but fixed hierarchies like that established by Homer’s Scamander: gods over nature over humans over animals, men over women, rivers over fountains, and, paradoxically, humans over nature. I examine the waters of the *Metamorphoses* as sites where the difficulties and resulting conceptual problems of the opposition between the human and the non-human are acknowledged and explored.

I begin in Chapter 4.1 by examining the complexity of Ovid’s depiction of water divinities in the poem. As with the Homeric Scamander, literary approaches to depicting the power and dominance of natural elements over humans paradoxically depend upon anthropomorphizing those natural elements. Ovid plays upon this tension between the anthropomorphic and aquatic forms of water deities, and thereby gives distinctive characters to the different types of fresh water portrayed in the *Metamorphoses*. The strongly gendered waterscape that results from this provides an illuminating comparison with the gendered urban waterscape I discussed in Chapter 2.2. I unpack the implications of these gendered waterscapes in Chapter 4.2. There, I focus upon the female narrators and feminized waters of the poem. Their account of water serves both as a metanarrative

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<sup>93</sup> See Myers 1994, Chapter 4 for a full analysis of the role the “Pythagorean” speech plays in the philosophies of the *Metamorphoses*. On the speech’s recapitulation of the poem’s themes, see also Davis 1980, Swanson 1958.

highlighting the dominant ideology of the poem, and as a counter-narrative repurposing the literary tools familiar from the Homeric account of Scamander -- technological simile and anthropomorphism -- to hint at an alternative way of speaking about water. Finally, in Chapter 4.3 I consider the highly stylized and formally similar scenes of the *locus amoneus* and the *hortus* as representing different views of human valuation of water. As the images of an irrigation canal and of the Scamander in flood are mutually illuminating, so these different images of lushness created by water, either within or beyond human boundaries, complement one another. I trace the ways in which the perceived divinity of water and the gendering of the waterscape, discussed in the previous two sections, contribute to these two different versions of an ideal water-scene. I conclude by considering how the *hortus* and the *locus amoenus* have a tendency to converge, and the implications of this convergence.

#### 4.1 THE ANTHROPOMORPHIC WATERSCAPE: OVIDIAN WATER DEITIES

Before water has even been created in the *Metamorphoses*, it is presented along with the other elements as a divine and anthropomorphic substance (*Metamorphoses* 1.10-14):<sup>94</sup>

10     nullus adhuc mundo praebebat lumina Titan,  
       nec noua crescendo reparabat cornua Phoebe,  
       nec circumfuso pendebat in aere tellus  
       ponderibus librata suis, nec bracchia longo  
       margine terrarum porrexerat Amphitrite

“No Titan as yet shone forth upon the world, nor did waxing Phoebe renew her slender horns; not yet did the earth hang poised by her own weight in the circumambient air, nor had Amphitrite stretched her arms along the far reaches of the lands.”

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<sup>94</sup> *Metamorphoses* translations adapted from Miller-Goold. 1984. *Ovid: Metamorphoses* (in two volumes). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

This first description<sup>95</sup> of (salt) water in the poem makes no reference to the properties of the element: it is only named metonymically for one of its presiding deities, the lapping of the ocean along the borders of the land represented as the embrace of the goddess' arms. This slippage between element and anthropomorphism is well-established in ancient approaches to the natural world, as is clear both from literary accounts such as the Homeric Scamander and from artistic depictions of, for example, rivers as male divinities (cf. Figure 4.1).<sup>96</sup> Ovid's description of Amphitrite, though, introduces a pronounced interest in the tension between anthropomorphic deities and natural elements that is focused particularly on the mutable element, water (Feeney 1991: 233-4; Eggers 1984: 67-83).

In his study of nature-deities in Ovid, Eggers develops a scale of 'Identitätsstufen', to account for the variety of ways that features of the natural world can be presented and given agency. His 5 point scale is broken down as follows: 1 -- Natural phenomenon (geographical or cosmic phenomenon). 2 -- Natural force (natural phenomenon viewed as powerful and so considered divine). 3 -- Natural forces seeming conscious (natural phenomena conceived as able to think and act, sometimes with anthropomorphism). 4 -- Local gods (natural force is so anthropomorphized that it can leave its element/territory, although its powers are mainly based there). 5 -- Independent gods (gods who can leave their territory with complete impunity, and only have slight connections with it). Eggers uses this scale to analyse the nature divinities in Ovid, noting that the poet has a marked tendency to shift between and juxtapose multiple different identity levels at one time. He sees this technique as particular to Ovid (offering brief comparative examples from Homer,

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<sup>95</sup> Five lines earlier we are told what the face of nature was like *ante mare* ("before the sea [existed];" *Met.* 1.5).

<sup>96</sup> See also e.g. Pliny *Ep.* 8.8.5, Homer *Od.* 5.449. For a full discussion of the history of and challenges to the literary use of anthropomorphism in depicting deities in the ancient world, see Feeney 1991: Chapter One.

Callimachus, Apollonius of Rhodes, Plautus, Catullus, Propertius and Vergil), and concludes that this is a key aspect of his interest in humorous, grotesque and paradoxical effects (Eggers 1984: 67-254). I pick up on Eggers' method by focusing on the water deities of the *Metamorphoses* who transition between identity-levels 2-4, focusing in particular on the difference that the use of anthropomorphism can make to the characterization of a water deity at identity level 3. I consider what these identity levels reveal about both the perceived essence of water and its relationship with the human.

The initial story of human creation sets humans up as rulers over all the other animals (*Met.* 1.76-8):

sanctius his animal mentisque capacius altae  
deerat adhuc et quod dominari in cetera posset:  
natus homo est...

“a living creature of finer stuff than these, more capable of higher thought, one who could have dominion over all the rest, was lacking yet. Then man was born”

Humanity is thus given the crowning position in the newly existing universe, a universe which, as Feeney notes, has been created through a process of rational order (Feeney 1991: 189-90), and whose various ecosystems have just been carefully separated out from one another (*Met.* 1.69-75). As humans are capable of ruling over all the other animals, they are therefore unique in having access to each of these environmental zones. The stories of, for example, Phaethon and Icarus test this aspect of human desire and ability to dominate all the zones of creation. This particular human propensity seems to Jupiter, in the wake of his encounter with Lycaon, to be

dangerous to the landscape, and forms part of his justification for sending the flood (*Met.* 1.192-5):

sunt mihi semidei, sunt, rustica numina, nymphae  
faunisque satyrique et monticolae siluani;  
quos quoniam caeli nondum dignamur honore,  
195 quas dedimus, certe terras habitare sinamus

“I have demigods, rustic divinities, nymphs, fauns, and satyrs, and sylvan deities on the mountain slopes. Since we do not yet deem them worth the honour of a place in heaven, let us at least allow them to live in safety in the lands we have given them.”

Jupiter’s aim is to draw a distinction between humans and the landscape deities, and to set them in a hierarchical system over which he himself presides (*Met.* 1.196-8):

an satis, o superi, tutos fore creditis illos,  
cum mihi, qui fulmen, qui uos habeoque regoque,  
struxerit insidias notus feritate Lycaon?

“Or do you think that they will be safe, when against me, who wield the thunderbolt, who have and rule you as my subjects, Lycaon, well-known for savagery, lays his snares?”

The intended separation out of himself and the Olympian gods, these minor deities, humans, and other animals collapses because of both the anthropomorphism of the landscape deities as he himself describes them, and the detailed anthropomorphism of the Olympian gods themselves which introduces his speech. The sustained anthropomorphism of gods and landscape in a passage which decries the behaviour of humans is, as Feeney notes, absurdly humorous (Feeney 1991: 199-200). It also reveals an intensely anthropocentric focus in the world of the *Metamorphoses*, and confirms the poem’s interest in exploring the boundaries of the human (cf. Feeney 1991: 194-5; Barkan 1986: 32-3), and in using the non-human (or “nature”) as a source of images for doing so (Segal 1969: 2).<sup>97</sup> Indeed, Jupiter resolves the comical quandary posed by the anthropomorphism

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<sup>97</sup> This observation of course reveals as much about the anthropocentric concerns of readers and literary critics as it does about the anthropocentric concerns of the *Metamorphoses*. It may well be

of Olympians and of landscape by turning Lycaon into a wolf and thereby reasserting his difference. Anthropomorphism is thus one of the poem's key tools for characterizing and examining the non-human, which at the same time self-consciously runs the risk of erasing that which is distinctive about the non-human.<sup>98</sup>

I will argue here that the personification of different bodies of water as minor deities can serve to distil the important qualities or problems connected with the waters themselves. The identity levels parsed out by Eggers, and the use of anthropomorphism mean that the connection between these deities and the waters with which they are associated is constantly shifting. Following Eggers, I focus in particular upon whether the anthropomorphic or aquatic aspects of the divinity are emphasized. I find that, when anthropomorphic, these minor water deities can either embody the particular qualities and behaviours of water, or they can be presented as masters over their waters, using and controlling them according to some kind of rational purpose. Conversely, by focusing upon their aquatic aspect, the waters themselves can be presented as performing distinctively human actions, or else can subsume or escape the control of their presiding divinity. Waters and their deities in the *Metamorphoses* slip between these different modes of personification depending upon the kind of action that is occurring, and certain kinds of action are consistently personified in the same way. By structuring my analysis within the typological framework I developed in Chapter Three, I find a further set of behavioural and gendered distinctions at work in water personification.

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impossible to create and analyze art about non-human entities in a way that is not anthropocentric (cf. McMurry 1999), and that therefore obscures something distinctive about the non-human. Clark concludes his discussion of ecocritical scholarship on anthropomorphism in aporia: 'All human knowledge must needs be anthropomorphic in some way. Beyond that, is a question like "Why does the universe exist?" anthropomorphic, or not? It would be nice to know.' (Clark 2011: 193).<sup>98</sup> On the classical origins of the ongoing debate about the distinction between humans and other animals, see Sorabji 1993.

I divide the poem's fresh waters into the same categories used to describe their creation (*Met.* 1.38-42), and which I used in Chapter Three. Once again, I find that rivers make up the largest category of fresh waters: they are personified 25 times, compared with 7 personified fountains, 3 personified standing waters, and 2 bodies of water described as both *fons* and *lacus*. Rivers are also the only type of fresh water which is characterized as male; Hermaphroditus, unwillingly fused with the pool or fountain of Salmacis, is the exception which proves this rule. Male divinities, indeed, account for 19 of the 25 personified rivers of the poem, with only 6 rivers having associations with female divinities. Fountains and standing waters are characterized consistently as female, and appear much less frequently than river deities, much as fountains and standing waters in the waterscapes of Ovid's broader oeuvre are much less common than rivers (see Chapter Three).<sup>99</sup> The gendering of the different categories of water becomes a significant part of the poem's presentation of landscape.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Rivers personified as male: those which flood the world (*Met.* 1.274-82); Peneus, father of Daphne (*Met.* 1.481-9; 1.545-52); Inachus, father of Io (*Met.* 1.583-7; 1.645-67); the Nile (*Met.* 1.728-46); all rivers, including the Nile, dry up thanks to Phaethon (*Met.* 2.238-71); the Cephisus (*Met.* 3.341-6; 7.388-90); Nileus falsely claims to be Nile's son (*Met.* 5.187-94); the Acheron (*Met.* 5.539-45); the Marsyas (*Met.* 6.388-400); the Maeander (*Met.* 8.159-68); the Achelous (*Met.* 8.547-9.100); rivers, including the Hebrus, which grieve for Orpheus (*Met.* 11.44-55); the Pactolus (*Met.* 11.116-45); the Granicus, father of Alexirrhoe (*Met.* 11.761-3); the Cebren, father of Hesperia (*Met.* 11.767-95); the Acis (*Met.* 13.885-97); the Tiber (*Met.* 14.426-7; 14.445-8; 14.614-6); the Numicius (*Met.* 14.596-608); Vertumnus (*Met.* 14.623-771). Rivers associated with female divinities: nymphs of the river Ladon (*Met.* 1.700-6); Limnaee, nymph of the Ganges (*Met.* 5.47-58); nymphs chosen to judge contest between Muses and Pierians (*Met.* 5.315-7); nymphs of the river Pactolus (*Met.* 6.14-6); nymphs are the Achelous' serving girls (*Met.* 8.571-4); Italian nymphs who pursue Picus (*Met.* 14.321-34). Fountains personified as female: fountains which dry up thanks to Phaethon (*Met.* 2.238-71); Arethusa (*Met.* 5.572-641); Byblis (*Met.* 9.649-65); springs of Thebes (*Met.* 13.681-96); Italian nymphs who pursue Picus (*Met.* 14.321-34); fountains near Janus' temple (*Met.* 14.785-802); Egeria (*Met.* 15.547-51). Standing waters personified as female: pools which dry up thanks to Phaethon (*Met.* 2.238-71); Hyrie (*Met.* 7.380-1); Italian nymphs who pursue Picus (*Met.* 14.321-34). Personified waters described as both *fons* and *stagnum*: Salmacis' pool, later connected also with Hermaphroditus (*Met.* 4.285-388); Cyane's waters (*Met.* 5.409-37).

<sup>100</sup> On the effect of Latin grammatical gender upon Roman conceptions of the non-human, see Corbeill 2015, esp. p. 1-40.

The programmatic presentation of personified rivers is Neptune's orchestration of the great flood, which follows the council of the gods just quoted and discussed. The tension between the anthropomorphic and aquatic is key to the operation of the flood. The opening scenario presents the *amnes* as anthropomorphic in their social and architectural structures, obeying a tyrannus and living in domus. Their streams seem to be separate entities, trapped and controlled behind this social order, left behind by the *amnes* who travel independently to pay court to Neptune (*Met.* 1.276-80):

conuocat hic amnes: qui postquam tecta tyranni  
intrauere sui, 'non est hortamine longo  
nunc' ait 'utendum; uires effundite uestras:  
sic opus est! aperite domos ac mole remota  
280 fluminibus uestris totas inmittite habenas!'

"He summons his rivers to council. When these have assembled at the palace of their king, he says: 'Now is no time to employ a long harangue. Put forth all your strength, for there is need. Open wide your doors, away with all restraining dykes, and give full rein to all your river steeds.'"

Once the rivers return home, though, this separation collapses, so that it is they themselves who roll to the sea in flood (*Met.* 1.281-2):

iusserat; hi redeunt ac fontibus ora relaxant  
et defrenato uoluntur in aequora cursu.

"So he commands, and the rivers return, uncurb their fountains' mouths, and in unbridled course go racing to the sea."

Rather than a randomly occurring catastrophe, the flood becomes through this anthropomorphization a deliberately planned act of vengeance. Its devastating power then subsumes these statesmen-*amnes* under the irresistible rush of waters: the collapse of anthropomorphism highlights the waters' destructive powers.

This becomes a pattern throughout the poem. Destruction caused by personified rivers is always enacted by their aquatic forms, rather than their anthropomorphic ones. Eggers' identity

levels 2-3 and 4 are usually shown to exist simultaneously and separately from one another. This is perhaps most pronounced in the case of the river Achelous, who warns Theseus of the dangers his own stream can present. When he first starts to speak, his words seem to issue from the “swollen” river itself (*Met.* 8.549-53):

550        clausit iter fecitque moras Achelous eunti  
              imbre tumens: ‘succede meis,’ ait ‘inclite, tectis,  
              Cecropide, nec te committe rapacibus undis:  
              ferre trabes solidas obliquaque uoluere magno  
                                  murmure saxa solent...

“But Achelous, swollen with rain, blocked his way and delayed his journey. ‘Enter my house, illustrious hero of Athens,’ said the river-god, ‘and do not entrust yourself to the greedy waters. The current tends to sweep down solid trunks of trees and huge boulders in zig-zag course with crash and roar.’”

Yet as he describes the damage the waters can cause, he distances himself from this destruction. He associates himself with the covered area of refuge offered to Theseus (*meis...tectis; Met.* 8.550), and says only that he has observed the waters’ actions, not that he participated in them (*Met.* 8.553-9):

555                                ...uidi contermina ripae  
              cum gregibus stabula lata trahi; nec fortibus illic  
              profuit armentis nec equis uelocibus esse.  
              multa quoque hic torrens niuibus de monte solutis  
              corpora turbineo iuuenalia uertice mersit.  
              tutior est requies, solito dum flumina currant  
              limite, dum tenues capiat suus alueus undas.’

“I have seen great stables that stood near by the bank swept away, cattle and all, and in that current neither strength availed the ox nor speed the horse. Many a strong man also has been overwhelmed in its whirling pools when swollen by melting snows from the mountain-sides. It is safer for you to rest until the waters shall run within their accustomed bounds, until its own bed shall hold the slender stream.”

In this introductory speech, he nowhere uses a first-person possessive pronoun to describe the river, preferring instead the third-person reflexive *suus alueus* (“its own bed;” *Met.* 8.559). At the conclusion of his speech, the heroes shelter safely from the aquatic Achelous within the social and

architectural structures of the anthropomorphic Achelous, who inhabits a panelled grotto (*Met.* 8.562-4) and hosts a feast served by attendant nymphs (*Met.* 8.571-3).

From this reassuringly familiar social setting, the anthropomorphic Achelous proceeds to tell stories of the damage he caused in aquatic form. Unlike when he persuaded the heroes into his home, this time he claims personal agency for the waters' destruction: *intumui.../.../...ab aruis arua reuulsi /...nymphas.../ in freta prouolui* ("I swelled.../.../... I tore fields from fields / ... I swept the nymphs into the sea;" *Met.* 8.583-7). Instead of the third-person reflexive *suus aluueus*, he uses the first-person possessive *fluctus noster* ("my flood;" *Met.* 8.587). As identity level 4 comments in lofty, bombastic tones on the behaviour of the swollen, debris-filled stream of identity level 2, the combination of the two identity levels perfectly encapsulates anti-Callimachean aesthetics (Barchiesi 2001: 51-3). The anthropomorphic Achelous and the aquatic Achelous are thus presented as meaningful reflections of one another. Yet his own narration of the epicized actions of his waters over dinner serves to emphasize the fact that it his aquatic form that is destructive, his anthropomorphic form civilized.

This insistence on destruction as the prerogative of the deities' aquatic forms is at times highly illogical. The examples surveyed so far all involve devastation typically caused by water-ways. But the devastating act of rape, a zoomorphic type of violence, is paradoxically also perpetrated by water deities in their aquatic forms. The brief account of the conception of Narcissus emphasizes the role of water in his mother's rape, downplaying the river Cephisus' anthropomorphic violence (*Met.* 3.342-4):

345      caerulea Liriope, quam quondam flumine curuo  
            implicuit clausaeque suis Cephisos in undis  
            uim tulit. enixa est utero pulcherrima pleno  
            infantem nymphe, iam tunc qui posset amari

“sky-blue Liriope, whom once the river-god, Cephisus, embraced in his winding stream and raped, trapped in his waters. The beautiful nymph gave birth to a child whom a nymph might love even as a child.”

The verb *implicuit* when applied to a body of water suggests drowning (cf. *implicitos fluuio...reges* (“the kings wrestling with the flood;” Stat. *Theb.* 8.821 Kl [=813 Kohlm]) and *...prensum ipse comis Neptunus in altum / abstulit implicuitque* (“Neptune grasped him by the hair, and bore him out to sea and entangled him in the waters;” Val. Fl. *Arg.* 2.26-7)). It is the subsequent revelation of her pregnancy that shows this to have been a different kind of suffering. The personification of the Cephisus is kept on identity level 3 without any anthropomorphism, which keeps the account of Liriope’s rape elliptical. Segal argues that this focus on setting softens a reader’s reaction to the rape (Segal 1969: 12), but another possible reading is that the scope of the river’s violent acts has been increased, emphasizing its inherently dangerous nature.

This highly disturbing view of rivers is seen most clearly in the story told by Arethusa of her rape by the river Alpheus. Like Liriope, it is from the god in his aquatic form that she first feels a threat: while she swims in the river, she hears a *sub gurgite murmur* (“murmur deep in the pool;” *Met.* 5.597). After she leaps out of the river, the god in anthropomorphic form pursues her on foot, until Diana conceals Arethusa in a cloud of mist (*Met.* 5.619-22). Terrified, she gradually sweats until she becomes water herself (*Met.* 5.635-8):

635           ...et citius, quam nunc tibi facta renarro,  
          in latices mutor. sed enim cognoscit amatas  
          amnis aquas positoque uiri, quod sumpserat, ore  
          uertitur in proprias, et se mihi misceat, undas.

“...and sooner than I can now tell the tale I was changed to a stream of water. But sure enough he recognized in the waters the girl he loved; and laying aside the form of a man which he had assumed, he changed back to his own watery shape to mingle with me.”

Just as his lust for her began in his aquatic form, so too does he continue his pursuit and rape of her in aquatic form. In Arethusa's harrowing tale, water comes to represent both the distillation of her own fear, and Alpheus' ability to overwhelm and invade her. In this way, personification of water is used in the *Metamorphoses* to forcefully evoke the frightening and destructive capabilities of rivers, expanding the capacity of water to wreak havoc in human life.<sup>101</sup>

Given these memorable accounts of riverine lust, it is perhaps unsurprising that more than a third of the personifications of rivers occur in genealogical contexts. Larson has noted that, in Greek culture, nymphs play a prominent role in genealogies. She suggests that, as the earliest, autochthonous ancestors of peoples, these nymphs provide a link to and an implicit claim upon the land and its resources (Larson 2001: 4).<sup>102</sup> As for Ovid's riverine genealogies, they certainly serve to lend prestige to the descendants. So, one of Perseus' enemies fakes a river ancestry for himself (Met. 5.187-94):

at Nileus, qui se genitum septemplice Nilo  
ementitus erat, clipeo quoque flumina septem  
argento partim, partim caelauerat auro,  
190 'adspice' ait 'Perseu, nostrae primordia gentis:  
magna feres tacitas solacia mortis ad umbras,  
a tanto cecidisse uiro'...

“ But Nileus, who falsely claimed that he was sprung from the sevenfold Nile, and who had on his shield engraved the image of the stream's seven mouths, part silver

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<sup>101</sup> Correggio's 1530 painting *Jupiter and Io* offers an entirely different approach to aestheticizing myths of rape. Correggio anthropomorphizes Jupiter's incorporeal substance: the viewer is drawn in to admire Io's delight in his embrace, rather than to reel from her suffering under a force of nature. See Barkan 1986: 195-8 for a detailed analysis of Correggio's reinterpretation of this myth.

<sup>102</sup> Compare Fenno's analysis of water imagery in the *Iliad*, in which the Trojans and their territory are thematically associated with rivers, against the widely-travelled Greeks who are associated with the sea (Fenno 2005). He sees the links between the Trojans and their territory further reinforced by riverine genealogies. In this vein, note also Stirrup's observation on the double meaning of the phrase *a patrio...flumine* when it is applied to Io's movements in the *Metamorphoses* (1.588-9): in the everyday world, this would refer to the river [i.e. the place] where she was born, but here it refers to the river who begat her (Stirrup 1981: 89) -- or perhaps more accurately to both.

and part gold, cried: 'See, Perseus, the origins of my race. Surely a great consolation for your death will you carry to the silent shades, that you have fallen by so great a man-'"

The iconography chosen by this faker does indeed seem to emphasize the characteristics of the physical river. Rather than portraying an anthropomorphic river god (cf. Figure 4.1), Nileus' shield shows the seven mouths which created the fertile plain of the Nile delta. Perhaps this does indeed assert his claim to these resources. Yet this emphasis on the aquatic aspect of a river deity is actually very rare in the *Metamorphoses'* accounts of paternal rivers. Although, as we have seen, river gods are described in aquatic terms in accounts of conception, the poem's rivers are at their most anthropomorphic when they are fathers.

The programmatic paternal river is Peneus, father of the poem's programmatic victim of sexual assault, Daphne. His name first appears as Daphne's patronymic (*Met.* 1.472), with no explanation of his divinity or reference to his stream. Despite this lack of particulars, Ovid seems to have been the first to cast Peneus in this role. The earliest version of the story (*Parthenius Erotika Pathemata* 15) names the Laconian king Amyclas as Daphne's father, and the most widely attested form of the myth instead gives her father as the Arcadian river Ladon and her mother as Earth (*Stattius Theb.* 4.289-90; *Paus.* 10.7.8; [Palaiphatos] 50 (= *Mythographici Graeci* III.2 [Leipzig 1902] 70; *Aphthonius, Progymnasmata* 5; *Tzetz. Lyc.* 6; *Cass. Bass. Geoponica* 11.2 ; *Knox 1990:* 188, n. 19-20). The choice of Daphne's father is closely bound up with the landscape, as his primary purpose in each of these versions of the myth is to determine its location. Ovid's choice of Peneus as father deliberately locates the myth in Thessaly, near the vale of Tempe. This change in location allows him to link the story of Apollo and Daphne with the account of Apollo's slaying of Python (*Barchiesi 2005*).

Beyond this tie to a significant place, Peneus features prominently as a concerned parent throughout Daphne's story. It is this anthropomorphic paternal role that is dominant, whereas his place-defining aquatic form is at first kept entirely out of sight. After his introduction via patronymic, our first sighting of Peneus is entirely anthropomorphic (Met. 1.481-9):

saepe pater dixit: 'generum mihi, filia, debes,'  
saepe pater dixit: 'debes mihi, nata, nepotes';  
illa uelut crimen taedas exosa iugales  
pulchra uerecundo suffuderat ora rubore  
485 inque patris blandis haerens ceruice lacertis  
'da mihi perpetua, genitor carissime,' dixit  
'uirginitate frui! dedit hoc pater ante Dianae.'  
ille quidem obsequitur, sed te decor iste quod optas  
esse uetat, uotoque tuo tua forma repugnat

"Often her father said: 'Daughter, you owe me a son-in-law'; often her father said: 'Daughter, you owe me grandsons.' But she, hating the wedding torch as if it were a thing of evil, would blush rosy red over her fair face, and, clinging around her father's neck with coaxing arms, would say: "Father, dearest, allow me to enjoy perpetual virginity. Her father has already granted this to Diana.' He, indeed, yielded to her request. But that beauty of yours, Daphne, forbade the fulfilment of your desire, and your form did not fit your prayer."

The repeated line openings emphasize his faculty of speech, and his anthropomorphic form allows his daughter to cling to his neck. Beyond this, his own concern that his daughter marry and have children attests to an interest in social customs, and particularly in the production of male heirs. This paternal emphasis upon grandchildren accords with Larson's interpretation of water-genealogies as asserting a people's claim to the landscape. Yet the story of the childless Daphne is the first in the poem to interrupt the typical genealogical sequence of a mythological manual (Barchiesi 2005: 203-4; 208-9). The genealogical story desired by Peneus is replaced with programmatic significance by a story of sex, pursuit, violence, and transformation. Instead of establishing a link with the river Peneus through her sons, Daphne herself becomes a landscape

feature that is an instant piece of iconography (*Met.* 1.557-9) used as an emblem, not of Peneus or Tempe, but of Augustus' house on the Palatine (*Met.* 1.563-4).

It is at the point of Daphne's transformation that the text of the *Metamorphoses* becomes disputed. Two different appeals for help and metamorphosis are preserved (cf. Anderson's Teubner edition), the first to Tellus (*Met.* 1.544-5), and the second to Daphne's father (*Met.* 1.546-7). It is the latter appeal which is generally accepted as genuine, and is in most editions prefaced with a line adopted from some MSS (*Met.* 1.544a) to produce an appeal to Peneus in his aquatic form (*Met.* 1.544-7):<sup>103</sup>

[uicta labore fugae 'Tellus' ait, 'hisce, uel istam,  
545 quae facit ut laedar, mutando perde figuram.']  
544a uicta labore fugae, spectans Peneidas undas,  
546 'fer, pater,' inquit 'opem! si flumina numen habetis,  
qua nimium placui, mutando perde figuram!']

“[exhausted by the toil of her flight, she cried ‘Earth, gape open, or change and destroy this beauty which has made me suffer.’] exhausted by the toil of her flight, seeing the waters of Peneus, ‘Bring help, father!’ she cried ‘If your waters hold divinity, change and destroy this beauty by which I pleased too well.’

This confusion illustrates the dramatic shift which takes place in Ovid's version of the story, where the mother Earth is replaced as parent and as the agent of transformation by the river god Peneus. Daphne has also been removed from the land of Arcadia, and relocated to the Vale of Tempe. This new location becomes the closing scene of Daphne's story, where Tempe is revealed as a place which the aquatic Peneus beautifies, and which the anthropomorphic Peneus chooses as the seat

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<sup>103</sup> See Murgia 1984: 1-2 with footnotes for the full discussion of this textual issue, and the arguments for a double recension of two Ovidian versions as well as those for an interpolation of the address to Tellus. Barchiesi supports the idea of the double recension, noting that the interpolation of either the Tellus or the Peneus version would assume a highly learned interpolator (Barchiesi 2005: 212-13, *ad loc.*)

of his local government (*Met.* 1.567-576). The climax of the story, then, is the revelation that the anxious father is the water at the heart of Tempe.

The disputed lines of Daphne's prayer are the first reference to Peneus as a river, and locate his ability to effect transformation, indeed his *numen*, in his aquatic form. His divinity enables Peneus to transform her, and so to effect a dubious salvation: the rivers who visit him are *nescia gratentur consolenturne parentem* ("not knowing whether to congratulate or console the father;" *Met.* 1.578). Crucially, the moment his aquatic divinity is revealed is the moment that he ceases to have a daughter, and at which she becomes disconnected from him and the place which he represents, despite the fact that her feet become rooted in his bank (*Met.* 1.551). In stark contrast with the water-based scenes of riverine intercourse, Peneus' role as father is presented throughout the story as a very human one. His own switch back to his elemental form helps to underscore Daphne's own loss of human form and the ending of their relationship.

Other rivers, though deities, are powerless to protect their children. Inachus, father of Io, is similarly disconnected from his daughter in his aquatic form: when the transformed Io walks beside his river, she is frightened by her own alien reflection in his waters (*Met.* 1.640-41); it is only after Inachus in anthropomorphic form offers her grass with his hands (*Met.* 1.645-6) that she can effect a recognition by writing her own name for him to read (*Met.* 1.649-50). In words which echo those of Peneus quoted above, Inachus grieves because his daughter has lost her human



beautiful and a virgin, aim to restrict female behaviour and experience. This is borne out by the roles played by female water deities associated with rivers, who tend to be far less proactive than their counterparts associated with the categorically “female” waters of fountains and pools. In the domus of the river Achelous, the nymphs act as the river’s maidservants, laying out the feast for him and his guests (Met. 8.571-4), and Daphne’s father Peneus maintains a similar social structure in his domus of Tempe: *undis iura dabat nymphisque colentibus undas* (“he was giving commands to his waters and to the nymphs inhabiting his waters;” Met. 1.576). River nymphs are presented as subordinate to their river’s god in settings drawn from human hierarchies.

It is therefore striking that the most prominent role played by river nymphs in the poem is as observers, or even ostensible judges, of female artistic contests: *nymphae Pactolides* (“nymphs of the river Pactolus;” Met. 6.16) abandon their waters to watch Arachne weave; before the singing contest between the Muses and the Pierians, at the Pierians’ suggestion, *electae iurant per flumina nymphae* (“the chosen nymphs swear by their rivers;” Met. 5.316). The Muses’ representative Calliope seems to pander to the judges by affording a prominent place to nymphs within her version of the Rape of Proserpina (Leach 1974: 115; Hinds 1987: 128 n.27; Zissos 1999: *passim*). Yet even she does not concern herself with river nymphs, but with the nymphs Arethusa and Cyane, associated with Sicilian fountains.<sup>105</sup> The river nymphs even as judges play an ancillary role, confirming *concordi sono* (“with harmonious sound;” Met. 5.664) the supremacy of the Muses over their mortal challengers. The nymphs of the river Pactolus similarly reinforce the divine hierarchy which Arachne challenges. Though they leave their waters *huius ut adspicerent opus admirabile* (“in order to examine her [Arachne’s] wonderful work;” Met. 6.14), they instantly

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<sup>105</sup> The nymphs Arethusa and Cyane will be discussed more fully below. Their prominence in Calliope’s song is a marked difference from the *Fasti*’s version of the Rape of Proserpina, where they are each mentioned only briefly.

venerate Minerva when she appears. Minerva simply has to show these river nymphs her own person for them to assume their role as her subordinates and thereby further anticipate Arachne's humiliation: Palladaque exhibuit: uenerantur numina nymphae ("she displayed Pallas: the nymphs worshipped her divinity;" Met. 6.44). By the time that the two tapestries are put on display, there is no room for any judge or any response except that of Minerva herself. So, the river nymphs even in these all female settings serve to reinforce the hierarchy that places the Olympian gods above even the most skilled humans, and above themselves.

The nymphs of springs and standing waters, which are characterized as properly and exclusively female, engage in a much wider range of activity than the nymphs associated with masculine rivers. Unlike the male river gods, though, their actions are very rarely destructive. This bears out the typological distinction observed in Chapter Three, that destructive action behaviour is a defining characteristic of rivers. Indeed, one of the rare examples of a destructive spring from the *Metamorphoses* is a variation on one of the rare destructive fountains of the *Fasti* (Fast. 1.269-72, cf. Ch. 3 p.14-15). There, Janus told the poet of how he had repulsed the Sabines by filling Rome's fountains with sulphur. In the *Metamorphoses*, it is not Janus but the fountain nymphs themselves who, at the request of Venus, oppose the Sabine attack. They begin by flooding their own rivers, and their external control (identity level 4) over their own waters (identity level 2) recalls the organization of the programmatic flood of the rivers in Book 1 (Met. 14.785-89):

785                               ...Iano loca iuncta tenebant  
                                  naides Ausoniae gelido rorantia fonte:  
                                  has rogat auxilium, nec nymphae iusta petentem  
                                  sustinuere deam uenasque et flumina fontis  
                                  elicuere sui...

"The Ausonian naiads held a spot near Janus' shrine, where a cold spring bubbled forth. Venus asked them for help, nor did the nymphs refuse the goddess her just request, but opened up their fountains' streaming veins"

This is the opposite of the *Fasti* narrative: the landscape features, the springs, have become the active subjects, whilst the active subject, Janus, has become a landscape marker. As with the destructive rivers examined above, the naiads are presented as anthropomorphic, listening to the petition of Venus and feeling concern for what is just, and they are separate entities from their own waters which they in turn must persuade to wreak destruction.<sup>106</sup> As the passage continues, the naiads continue to be deliberate actors, in contrast to Janus' static spatial referent, and to seek creative ways to increase the destructive capability of water (*Met.* 14.789-95):

...nondum tamen inuia Iani  
790 ora patentis erant, neque iter praecluserat unda:  
lurida subponunt fecundo sulphura fonti  
incenduntque cauas fumante bitumine uenas.  
uiribus his aliisque uapor penetrauit ad ima  
fontis, et Alpino modo quae certare rigori  
795 audebatis aquae, non ceditis ignibus ipsis!

“Up to that time the pass of Janus was still open, nor had the water ever blocked the way: now they placed yellow sulphur under their living spring, and heated the hollow veins with burning pitch. By these and other means the reeking stream filled the fountain through and through, and you waters, which just now dared to vie with Alpine cold, did not yield in heat to fire itself!”

Janus in the *Fasti* describes this action very briefly *subieci sulphura* (“I placed sulphur underneath;” *Fast.* 1.271). The account of the naiads of the *Metamorphoses* expands on this moment, describing in careful detail how they made the first Roman hypocaust under their fountains, which conveniently doubles as an engine of war.

The distinction between the anthropomorphized naiads and their waters is reinforced by the switch from the third person verbs which relate the naiads' actions, to second person verbs which describe the waters' behaviour: *...subponunt... / incendunt...* (“they place under... they heat...;”

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<sup>106</sup> The verb *elicio* is never simply spatial in its force, but always implies persuasion: “to draw or coax someone or something unwilling out of a place”, cf. TLL 5.2.366.25-55.

Met. 14.791-2), vs. ...certare... / audebatis...non ceditis... (“you dared to compete... you do not yield...;” Met. 14.794-5). The militaristic overtones of these second person verbs give a vivid sense of the violence of the waters’ boiling. As we saw with the destructive rivers above, then, the violence of the scene is associated with the aquatic form of the fountains. The anthropomorphic naiads are the rational controllers of the waters, carefully directing their force toward civic ends.

In both the *Fasti* and the *Metamorphoses*, the account of the sulphurous barricade created by these fountains replaces the famous interception of the Sabine women as the conclusion to the war between the Romans and the Sabines. The substitution of a feature of the landscape for Rome’s first women echoes the reward given to those women, as described by Livy. To commemorate their role in reconciling the two peoples and in founding the Roman state, the *curiae* -- Roman voting divisions and their associated meeting places -- were named after the Sabine women, enshrining them in Roman places as well as in Roman civic and political structures (Connors 2013: 130; cf. Livy 1.13.5). They are the virtuous counterparts to the treacherous Tarpeia, who gave the Sabines access to the Roman citadel and her name to the Mons Tarpeia (Livy 1.11). A brief account of Tarpeia’s treachery immediately precedes the boiling of the fountains in both the *Fasti* (1.261-2) and the *Metamorphoses* (14.776-7). The bipartisan Sabine women, though, are replaced by the pro-Roman fountains, and offer violence instead of concordia.

The erasure of the Sabine women is more marked in the *Metamorphoses*, firstly because the account is preceded by a re-working of the tale of the Sabine women in the story of Pomona and Vertumnus (Jones 2001: 373-5), and secondly because the deliberate violence is attributed to female waters, who thus, like the Sabine women, behave in a way uncharacteristic of their gender. These naiads, although unique in the poem in their violence, still like their sisters support the divine hierarchy (as they act upon Venus’ instruction), and, unlike the erased Sabine women,

unequivocally support the Roman cause. Despite, or even because of, the violent action of these female fountains, then, the *Metamorphoses* consistently presents feminized waters as subservient to the needs of others, in contrast to the unpredictable volatility of masculinized rivers.

Fountains and standing waters, and feminized waters as a whole, differ again from masculinized rivers in that they are very rarely associated with genealogy. Although several characters in the *Metamorphoses* are introduced as the children of nymphae,<sup>107</sup> these maternal nymphs are very rarely specified to be water nymphs.<sup>108</sup> In fact, more attention is devoted to female water deities caring for the children of others, such as the naiads who raise Hermaphroditus (*Met.* 4.288-9), or those who cradle Adonis and anoint him with his mother's tears (*Met.* 10.513-14). Only two freshwater nymphs are described as mothers. The first, a mother of one of Perseus' combatants, is associated with the genealogical body of water, a river (*Met.* 5.47-9):

erat Indus Athis, quem flumine Gange  
edita Limnaee uitreis peperisse sub undis  
creditur, egregius forma...

“There was an Indian youth, Athis, whom Limnaee, a nymph of Ganges' stream, is said to have brought forth beneath her crystal waters. He was of surpassing beauty...”

This brief account of Limnaee's water birth focuses, as did the accounts of riverine conception discussed above, upon her aquatic form. The only other freshwater nymph described as a mother is mentioned briefly by Galatea, but is not even named -- the mother of her own doomed lover, Acis (*Met.* 13.750-51). Further, no freshwater nymph is ever shown playing an extended maternal

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<sup>107</sup> e.g. Ocyrhoe, daughter of Chiron and the nymph Chariclo (*Met.* 2.636-7).

<sup>108</sup> The term *nympha* is incredibly broad, and can refer to mortal women (as e.g. Leucothoe at *Met.* 4.243-4) and minor landscape deities of all kinds (as e.g. the dryad killed by Erysichthon who identifies herself as a *nympha* (*Met.* 8.771)), as well as to deities connected with bodies of water (as e.g. Narcissus rejects *undis aut montibus ortas / ...nymphas* (*Met.* 3.402-3)) (Larson 2001: 1-3).

role, in contrast to the developed paternal characters of the rivers Peneus and Inachus.<sup>109</sup> Their genealogical role, so important in Greek cult (Larson 2001: 4, 122-5), has been erased from the world of the *Metamorphoses*.

The generative properties of water as an element, prominent throughout the first book, liken water to semen and so tend to cast it in a masculinized role. So, Iapetus mixes water with earth to create man (*Met.* 1.82-6), and after the flood that same pairing once again produces life, with the earth explicitly functioning as a womb (*Met.* 1.416-21):

cetera diuersis tellus animalia formis  
sponte sua peperit, postquam uetus umor ab igne  
percaluit solis, caenumque udaeque paludes  
intumuere aestu, fecundaque semina rerum  
420 uiuaci nutrita solo ceu matris in aluo  
creuerunt faciemque aliquam cepere morando.

“As to the other forms of animal life, the earth spontaneously produced these of diverse kinds; after that old moisture remaining from the flood had grown warm from the rays of the sun, the slime of the wet marshes swelled with heat, and the fertile seeds of life, nourished in that life-giving soil, as in a mother’s womb, grew and in time took on some special form.”

Water here acts as the fertile seed within the womb of the earth. Immediately after using this simile, the narrator compares this type of creation to the flooding of the Nile, which supposedly creates *plurima...animalia* (*Met.* 1.425) in the soil it moistens. There is, then, a clear analogy between water-as-semen in these creation passages, and the genealogical role of masculinized rivers. Conversely, female waters and their associated deities in the *Metamorphoses* have very little to do with fertility.

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<sup>109</sup> Even the maternal attentions of the paradigmatic saltwater mother, Thetis, are only briefly alluded to by Odysseus as he makes his case for deserving Achilles’ armour (*Met.* 13.162-4; 13.288-91), and are otherwise absent from the poem’s mini-Iliad.

In fact, female water deities very rarely appear as sexual actors.<sup>110</sup> Davis notes that this phenomenon of the “limited nymph” in the *Metamorphoses* is all the more striking given the folk etymology connecting *nympha* with *nubere* (“to marry”), suggesting that nymphs would be assumed to be intrinsically sexual beings (Davis 1983: 52-3). Yet the poem shows only one water nymph, Salmacis, willingly engaged in sexual activity (on whom see below and Chapter 4.2). When Cyane tries to describe her willing marriage to and sexual union with Anapis, she is violently silenced by the angry Dis (*Met.* 5.415-23). Then we hear how Arethusa was transformed into a water nymph as part of her terrified response to her rapist (*Met.* 5.632-41; see above). The only other mention of the sexual agency of feminized waters is made by Macareus to Aeneas, quoting one of Circe’s own attendants, who is herself either a naiad or non-aquatic nymph (cf. *Met.* 14.264). She tells the poem’s first story set in Latium, thus anticipating Aeneas’ imminent journey from Caieta up the coast to Pallanteum, and she begins by describing the beauty of the Ausonian king, Picus (*Met.* 14.326-32):

ille suos dryadas Latiis in montibus ortas  
 uerterat in uultus, illum fontana petebant  
 numina, naiades, quas Albula, quasque Numici,  
 330 quas Anienis aquae cursuque breuissimus Almo  
 Narue tulit praeceps et opacae Farfarus umbrae,  
 quaeque colunt Scythicae stagnum nemorale Dianae  
 finitimosque lacus;....

“he had attracted to his beauty all the dryads sprung from the hills of Latium; the nymphs of the fountains sought him, and the naiads whom the Albula bore, and Numicus’ stream and Anio’s, short-coursing Almo, headlong Nar, and Farfar’s shady

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<sup>110</sup> In discussing Hermaphroditus and Narcissus as examples of masculine counterparts to anti-sexual nymphs, Davis points out their strong genealogical connections to water nymphs and argues that these links both draw them (fatefully) to water sources, and at the same time make them into anti-sexual beings themselves (Davis 1983: 78-9, 84-5). Despite Davis’ insistence that Narcissus is ‘in a truly substantive sense, a “male nymph”’ (Davis 1983: 84), neither he nor Hermaphroditus is explicitly characterized as such or associated with their own personal body of water (even after Hermaphroditus’ transformation, he leaves behind the pool which still bears Salmacis’ name), and so they fall outside the categories of my discussion here.

waters; and those who haunt the wooded pool of Taurian Diana and the neighbouring lakes.”

These ardent nymphs who confirm the beauty of Picus are each distinguished by their place of origin, without much further characterization. They represent a fairly broad range of landscape features, starting with dryads from the woods of the Latin hills (*Met.* 14.326), and moving on to water nymphs inhabiting fountains (*Met.* 14.327), rivers (*Met.* 14.328-30), and finally lakes and marshes (*Met.* 14.331-2). The passion of the waters is described by the phrase *illum...petebant* (“they were seeking him;” *Met.* 14.327), which cleverly describes both the flow of waters (cf. TLL 10.1.1955.75-8) and amorous pursuit (cf. TLL 10.1.1950.28-48). As with the amorous male rivers, then, there is only a hint of anthropomorphism in this account of the feminized waters’ desire.

The desire of the female waters, though, is not explored in any detail. The speaker’s major interest in these waters is centred upon their place in the landscape. The dryads who introduce the list provide the signal that it is the deities of Latium who are so drawn to Picus, and the water deities which follow represent specific places within that territory. The list of rivers, like the broader narrative, aims the geographically informed reader, like Aeneas himself (*Met.* 14.445-8), towards the Tiber. The very first group of river nymphs comprises the daughters of the Albula, that river’s original name before the drowning death of Tiberinus (*Met.* 14.614-6). This passage marks the Tiber’s re-entry into the poem, after he was dried up by Phaethon’s conflagration early on (*Met.* 2.260). Each of the rivers which follows, except for the Numicus, is a tributary of the Tiber, and the list of their names and their progeny therefore serves to swell his stream. Picus’ love story will conclude with the death and disappearance of Canens on the Tiber’s banks (*Met.* 14.426-7). We could, then, read these nymphs as establishing the love story’s setting, and asserting the landscape’s investment in the human drama in the manner of a pathetic fallacy. The personification

makes for a particularly vivid rendering of a landscape that should be of particular importance to both the internal and the external audience.

The particular interests of Macareus' internal audience, namely Aeneas, allow us to make more of these amorous water nymphs. Their interest in Picus heralds the imminent arrival of Aeneas in Latium, and anticipates the connections he will forge with the waters there (cf. Jones 2005). Immediately after hearing this story from Macareus, Aeneas makes for the mouth of the first and most important of the rivers listed here - the Tiber (*Met.* 14.447-8). Before the end of the book, the second river, the Numicus, will have washed away all that is mortal of Aeneas (*Met.* 14.598-601). The Numic(i)us is mentioned in Roman history and poetry almost exclusively in connection with this significant cleansing (Smith 1878; cf. Liv. 1.2; Dionys. *A.R.* 1.64; Vict. *Orig. Gent. Rom.* 14; Tib. 2.5.39-44). Both internal and external audiences, then, are being briefly introduced to major characters in Aeneas' Italian journey, the external audience with a greater degree of prescience as to the role they will play in his life. The significance of their desire for, and rejection by, Picus is harder to read, particularly because their desires are so anomalous among the feminized waters of the *Metamorphoses*. As we have seen, the erotic attentions of masculinized rivers are, at best, a mixed blessing. These amorous female waters, though, seem to take no for an answer, and entirely recede from Picus' story after his marriage to Canens. It is Circe who assertively offers a lesson in female vengeance (*Met.* 14.384-5):

laesaque quid faciat, quid amans, quid femina, disces  
385 rebus; at est et amans et laesa et femina Circe!

“and you shall learn by experience not only what any woman, loving and scorned, can do, but what the woman, Circe, loving and scorned, can do!”

Aeneas, apparently a careful listener, duly avoids Circe's island in his travels (*Met.* 14.446-7), making instead for the Tiber (*Met.* 14.447-8) whose nymphs seem not to be so threatening in love.

The striking exception to all that I have said about fountains, standing waters, and feminized waters, is the water-nymph Salmacis. Like the water nymphs of Latium, she is an unusual example of a feminized landscape that talks back. In doing so, she acts violently (*Met.* 4.356-77), she is sexually aggressive (*Met.* 4.320-36), she initiates the metamorphosis of another character for her own ends and against his wishes (*Met.* 4.370-75). Salmacis will be discussed in detail at Chapter 4.3, where I draw together the various arguments I will put forth in subsequent sections as well as in this one. For now, it is enough to observe that her transgression of every norm I have traced in feminized aquatic behaviour, and the subsequent erasure of her own identity and silencing of her voice demonstrate the importance of these gender distinctions to Ovid's portrayal of landscape. The overwhelming power of water is expressed for Ovid, as I found in Chapter 3, through rivers. These are masculinized in the *Metamorphoses*, which both associates this power with masculinity but also suggests the means of controlling and harnessing that power is to be found in their masculine anthropomorphic form. The utility of waters is, as in Chapter 3, concentrated upon fountains and standing waters, which are consistently feminized and thereby shown to be subservient and helpful to the Roman state and its established hierarchies. The sexuality of water is consistently masculinized, and expressed as a paradox, both irresistibly destructive and nurturingly generative. Feminine sexuality, when it appears, is focused upon the good of the Roman state and its leaders, and has neither the force nor the fecundity of the masculinized aquatic sexuality.

#### 4.2 THE FEMALE WATERSCAPE: WOMEN TALKING WATER

In contrast with the dominance of masculinized rivers in Ovid's natural waterscapes, the hydraulic infrastructure of Augustan Rome is presented throughout his oeuvre as female. As I discussed in Chapter 2.2, of the seven aqueducts that supplied the city during his lifetime, the only

one to interest Ovid is the “water maiden”, the Aqua Virgo (A.A. 3.385-6; *Fast.* 1.463-4; *Tr.* 3.12.21-2; *Pont.* 1.8.37-8), and the city’s monumental fountains and natural pools are consistently characterized by him as female nymphs (e.g. A.A. 1.81-4, 3.451-2; *Fast.* 1.707-8, 2.603-4). The feminization of the urban waterscape makes it seem less dangerous. Its components are circumscribed and controlled, as the gendered behaviour of waters discussed above makes clear. Both these managed and unmanaged feminized waters can thus be seen as contributing to the tendency Keith has observed in the landscapes of the *Metamorphoses*, where women are violently assimilated into the landscape and become the passive ground for male heroic action (Keith 2000: 50-52).

Keith describes the central role of Latin epic in socializing Roman boys and men in the conventions and expectations surrounding gender (Keith 2000: 8-35), in which epic’s connection between landscape and women plays an important part (Keith 2000: 36-64). Analyzing and critiquing this woman/nature equivalency remains an important issue for feminists in the West. Merchant has shown how the malleability of the topos allows it to endure, even, for example, through the conceptual shifts of the Enlightenment: both nature and woman can be cast in paradoxically contradictory terms -- nurturing, fertile and supportive, but also potentially unruly, unpredictable, out of control -- and both of these aspects can be seen to invite male domination -- this can be conceived as, for example, the rightful plowing of the fertile field (in line with the expectant landscapes analyzed by Cronon 1992 and discussed in Chapter 3), or else as the rightful taming of something dangerous and wild (Merchant 1980). Ortner argued in a seminal article that the woman/nature equivalency was central to the development of all patriarchal societies (Ortner 1972). This universalizing assumption has been strongly criticized, as Kao summarizes, with examples from Chinese, Native American and Kenyan patriarchal cultures where there is no

traditional woman/nature connection (Kao 2010: 618-9). However, the spread (and assumed universalism) of Western habits of thought about the environment in the postcolonial era (on which see Nixon 2005) means that the woman/nature equivalency has now been adopted within some of these patriarchies, as Kao acknowledges has happened in the Chinese context (Kao 2010: 620-21; see also Nixon 2005: 197-8).

The gendered waterscapes of the *Metamorphoses* and Ovidian Rome form a part of this powerful discourse by presenting feminized waters as beautifully alluring, non-threatening and subservient, contained, controlled, and often victimized. But there is another current in the *Metamorphoses*, wherein the built waterscape of pipes and fountains is presented as passive and male. This view is exclusive to female narrators in the poem. The plurality of female voices in the *Metamorphoses* has garnered much scholarly attention (cf. Cahoon 1996; Liveley 1999; Salzman-Mitchell 2005), but the distinctive attitude they have towards water has not been explored. In this section I consider how water is described both by women and by female waters, and assess the implications for our understanding of gender and of the environment.

The first human internal narrators to be quoted in full in the *Metamorphoses* are the daughters of Minyas, who tell stories to one another as they refuse to participate in the rites of Bacchus. Their rejection of Bacchus consists of conformity to behaviours expected of women: they devote themselves to Minerva, continuing with household tasks (*Met.* 4.33-5) which the other women of Thebes have left unfinished (*Met.* 4.9-10), and remaining within the house (*Met.* 4.32). This preference for the domestic realm is preserved by their transformation into bats who prefer rafters to forests (*Met.* 4.414-5); as Leach puts it, bats are ‘natural creatures who shrink from nature’s light and cling to the shelter of the civilized world’ (Leach 1974: 110). Their storytelling role is perhaps an innovation of Ovid’s, as it does not appear in the preserved accounts of either Aelian

or Nicander (Leach 1974: 108-9).<sup>111</sup> Despite their traditionally “feminine” behaviour, the act of storytelling involves them in the masculine action of taking on a voice and a gaze, and this choice to speak is negated by the same metamorphosis which reinscribed their feminine domesticity: *conataeque loqui minimam et pro corpore vocem / emittunt peraguntque levi stridore querellas* (“and trying to speak they emit the tiniest squeak, as befits their bodies, and tell their grief in faint shrieks;” *Met.* 4.413-4) (Salzman-Mitchell 2005: 163-5). The frailty and vulnerability which, for Leach, is inherent to Ovid’s women, makes female artists appropriate representatives for the artists of the *Metamorphoses* who are consistently silenced (Leach 1974: 133). Although the Minyeides’ voices are silenced, they, along with the poem’s other female narrators, offer a different perspective on the overarching narrative (Cahoon 1996: 63). They also offer a different perspective upon the poem’s waterscape.

Three Minyeides tell stories: the first unnamed daughter tells of Pyramus and Thisbe (*Met.* 4.55-166); then Leucippe tells the stories of Mars and Venus (*Met.* 4.167-89), Sol and Leucothoe (*Met.* 4.190-256), and Sol and Clytie (*Met.* 4.256-270); lastly, Alcithoe tells of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus (*Met.* 4.271-388). Salzman-Mitchell sees in these stories and in the women’s behaviour a pronounced ‘fear of mingling, diversity, and change’ (Salzman-Mitchell 2005: 152), an extreme opposition to the metamorphoses which drive the external narrative. This opposition centres in the first and last of their stories upon water metamorphoses. The first of the Minyeides narrates the first human love story of the poem, the tale of Pyramus and Thisbe, and makes the technological interests of herself and her sisters a motif of the tale. Yet each instance of technology

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<sup>111</sup> Aelian *Varia Historia* 3.42; Nicander Book 4 in Antonius Liberalis *Metamorphoses* 10. In Aelian, the Minyeides’ refusal of Bacchic worship is motivated specifically by their desire for marriage; in Nicander, Bacchus appears to them in the guise of a young girl and when they refuse her urging to participate, he terrifies them into offering up Leucippe’s son as a sacrifice.

she describes contains, as Newlands has shown, a fatal flaw which looks ahead to the subjugation of the Minyeides themselves to Bacchus' will (Newlands 1986: 147-8): the walls of Babylon contain a chink through which the lovers converse; Ninus' tomb is not part of a sacro-idyllic landscape, but a watering-place for lions. The final piece of flawed technology appears in the simile which compares Pyramus' suicide by stabbing to the bursting of a lead pipe. This is the only water-pipe to appear in the whole of Ovid's oeuvre. Due recalls feeling 'disturbed' while reading this simile as a schoolboy 'by thinking of broken radiators' (Due 1974: 123). That is precisely the jarring effect the daughter of Minyas' words have in the plumbing-free world of the *Metamorphoses* (*Met.* 4.121-4):

ut iacuit resupinus humo, cruor emicat alte,  
non aliter quam cum uitiato fistula plumbo  
scinditur et tenui stridente foramine longas  
eiaculatur aquas atque ictibus aera rumpit.

“as he lay stretched upon the earth the spouting blood leaped high; just as when a pipe has broken at a weak spot in the lead and through the small hissing aperture sends spurting forth long streams of water, cleaving the air with its jets.”

This simile drawn from what would have been a rather commonplace experience for an inhabitant of Rome (Schmitzer 1992: 523-4), marks the unnamed daughter of Minyas as an artist, and (contra Solodow 1988: 38-9, who claims that none of the poem's narrators are distinguished on the basis of language or style) is a highly idiosyncratic use of language that distinguishes her from the external narrator. The term *fistula* in Ovid only ever occurs in the *Metamorphoses*, and in each of the five other instances it refers to a reed. Each occurrence is linked with an artist, and forms a core part of their artistic identity or creation. Barchiesi has shown that the reed is a key marker of the pastoral poets who appear in the *Metamorphoses*: each of the three instances of pastoral song in the poem, Mercury to Argus (*Met.* 1.664-723), Pan vs. Apollo (*Met.* 11.146-92), and Galatea's account of the Cyclops' song (*Met.* 13.738-897), culminate in the emergence of a

reed ‘the most bucolic of features of a natural landscape’ (Barchiesi 2006: 408). The reeds’ connection with the artistry of these pastoral singers is emphasized in each case by a specific reference to the use of reeds as musical instrument, and underscored by the association of natural acoustic phenomena with the reeds, ‘a sort of vocalisation of the landscape’ (Barchiesi 2006: 409). Musical instruments formed from reeds are designated as either *fistula* or *harundo*, whilst the vocalized landscape features are only ever referred to as *harundines*.<sup>112</sup>

In addition to the pastoral passages identified by Barchiesi, the *fistula* also appears, twice in two lines, as the instrument played by Apollo as lover and servant of Admetus (*Met.* 2.682-3). More innovative uses of *fistulae* appear in simile form. The first of these is used to emphasize the artistry of Daedalus, whose wing composition is likened to the sloping reeds (*avenae*) of a *fistula* (*Met.* 8.191-2) and is described as definitively original: *naturamque novat* (“he renews nature;” *Met.* 8.189). The daughter of Minyas is even more innovative in her use of the *fistula* in a simile: she alone uses the word to refer to a water-pipe. Her *fistula* is connected with the pastoral uses, as an emphasis is placed upon the sound which issues from the pipe (cf. Barchiesi 2006: 409), but much as she has re-purposed the term *fistula*, so the motif of the vocalized landscape has been transformed into a mechanistic utterance.

The striking simile of the broken *fistula* also replaces the original climax of the myth, in which Pyramus and Thisbe were transformed into a river and spring respectively (Due 1974: 125; Knox 1989; cf. Nonnus *Dionysiaka* 6.347-55, 12.84-5). The Pyramus, today called the Ceyhan, is a large

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<sup>112</sup> Mercury plays a *fistula* (*Met.* 1.689), aetiologized by the transformation of Syrinx into a whispering *harundo* (*Met.* 1.707); Pan plays the *harundo* (*Met.* 11.154), and then a patch of *harundines* give away the secret of Midas’ asses’ ears (*Met.* 11.190); Cyclops plays a *fistula* made from 100 *harundines* (*Met.* 13.784), and then Acis is transformed into a god with a *harundo* (*Met.* 13.891).

river in modern Anatolia, ancient Cilicia. According to Strabo, it flowed for part of its course through a deep underground pit, and was so swift that a javelin thrown into the pit would not pierce the surface of the water (Strabo *G.* 12.2.4). The spring Thisbe apparently flowed forth near this river (Himerius Bithynius *Orationes* 1.11). Coinage minted at Hierapolis-Kastabala in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE depicting Pyramus as a river-god shows that this version of the myth antedates Ovid (Knox 1989: 326). Mosaics from Cyprus (Figure 4.1) and from Antioch (Figure 4.2), dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE, depict the un-Ovidian version of the tale (Knox 1989: 316-9): in the Cypriot mosaic, Thisbe flees while Pyramus reclines as a river god, marked out by the reeds in his hand and in his hair; in those from Antioch, Pyramus and Thisbe are paired with another spring-river pair, Arethusa and Alpheus (with whom they are paired also at Nonnus *Dionysiaka* 6.347-55), all four of them marked as water deities by the reeds in their hair. Coinage from the imperial period also frequently depicts Pyramus as a river-god holding a reed;<sup>113</sup> one coin-type<sup>114</sup> shows him holding only a cornucopia, the reed having been edged out, in *Minyeides* fashion, by the large bridge which the coin commemorates. The *fistula* of our simile has thus replaced the reeds associated with Pyramus and Thisbe elsewhere, and acts as a mechanistic reinterpretation of their water metamorphosis.

This innovation upon mythological tradition forms a fitting introduction to the storytelling of the *Minyeides*, which has been characterized as Callimachean in its interest in the *recherché* (Leach 1974; Salzman-Mitchell 2005: 165-6), focalized around stories connected with the near east (cf.

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<sup>113</sup> Coin from Anazarbus, Cilicia. Obverse: Julia Paula, first wife of Elagabalus, Augusta, 219-220 AD, veiled, diademed, and draped bust. Reverse: river-god Pyramus reclining left, holding cornucopiae and reed; B/G to left. Ziegler 384/3 (V4/R9) = SNG Levante Supp. 337.

<sup>114</sup> Coin from Mopsouestia-Mopsus, Cilicia. Obverse: Valerian I, AD 253-260. Dated CY 323 (AD 255/6). Radiate, draped, and cuirassed bust. Reverse: river-god Pyramus, holding cornucopia, reclining left on river bridge consisting of five arches; ΔΩPCA in spans, triumphal arches at either end; ΕΤ Γ/ΚΤ (date) in upper field. SNG France 2998; SNG Levante 1359.

Duke 1971). The removal of the metamorphosis is likewise characteristic of the group, extremely opposed as they are to transformation (Salzman-Mitchell 2005: 152). The unique image of the *fistula*, unparalleled in the Ovidian corpus, represents an interest in technology and a disinterest in transformation that is characteristic of the internal narrator and not of the poem's overarching narrator or of Ovid's poetry in general. The first daughter of Minyas refuses to describe the kind of metamorphosis we have been habituated to expect, replacing it instead with this distinctive simile and then having Thisbe dictate a memorial to the landscape instead of becoming a part of it herself (*Met.* 4.158-61):

at tu quae ramis arbor miserabile corpus  
nunc tegis unius, mox es tectura duorum,  
160 signa tene caedis pullosque et luctibus aptos  
semper habe fetus, gemini monumenta cruoris.”

“And do you, O tree, who now shade with your branches the poor body of one, and soon will shade two, keep the marks of our death and always bear your fruit of a dark colour, suitable for mourning, as a memorial of our double death.”

This refusal to transform Pyramus into a river or Thisbe into a spring, and this transfer of metamorphic power to Thisbe are deliberate re-workings of some of the programmatic metamorphoses of Book 1. The very first *fistula* in the poem was aetiologicalized as the transformed hamadryad Syrix (*Met.* 1.689); the first *harundo*, also the first item made of lead in the poem, was the lead arrow which shot Daphne, precipitating her desperate flight and transformation (*Met.*, 1.471).<sup>115</sup> The two arrows of the Apollo and Daphne story, one gold-tipped and one lead-tipped

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<sup>115</sup> The only other references to lead in the poem are in similes, in which movement through the air (of Apollo, Perseus, and Romulus respectively) is likened to the movement of a lead sling bullet (*Met.* 2.727, 4.710, 14.825). Due notes the lead-connection between the sling bullets and Pyramus' pipe, and sees these similes as 'decidedly Lucretian' for their unusual technological interests (Due 1974: 33).



Figure 4.1. Pyramus and Thisbe, “House of Dionysos”: Nea Paphos, Cyprus. Image taken from Knox 1989: 317, Pl. 1.



Figure 4.2. Pyramus, Thisbe, Alpheus, Arethusa, “House of the Porticoes”: Antioch. Images taken from Knox 1989: 320-21, Pl. 3 a-d.

seem to have been Ovid's own invention (Barchiesi 2005: *ad loc.* 1.471). Ovid's conceit may touch base with Roman realities; Pliny the Elder mentions the libido-killing effects of lead exposure (34.166). Roman authors are also aware of other unwholesome properties of lead -- Vitruvius denounces water piped through lead as foul tasting, and, indeed, destructive of the body (8.6.10-11).

The lead *harundo* and its gold-tipped opposite reinforce the association between sex and violence which runs throughout the poem and is encapsulated in the predator-prey simile used to characterize the arrows' victims (Von Glinski 2012: 102-3; cf. *Met.* 1.505-8, 533-9). The *harundo* instantiates a pattern that will mark out other women, too, as victims of divine aggression. Later, in the first pastoral poem embedded within the *Metamorphoses*, the pastoral poet Mercury, in concert with the overarching narrator, reveals the origins of reeds. The *harundines* (*Met.* 1.684) or *fistula* (*Met.* 1.689) upon which he plays music were once the nymph Syrinx. This reed-woman, like her narrative predecessor struck by a leaden reed, stops her flight at a river (for Daphne, her father the river Peneus, *Met.* 1.544; the Ladon for Syrinx, *Met.* 1.703-4) and prays to its resident deities for a means of escape, *ut se mutarent liquidas orasse sorores* ("she begged her sisters of the stream to change her form;" *Met.* 1.704, cf. Daphne's prayer to her father *mutando perde figuram*, "change and destroy this beauty;" *Met.* 1.547). Syrinx' transformation on the banks of the Ladon is memorialized by the *harundo*, a plant which only grows in watery places and so is instantly associated with water and with the reed-woman Syrinx.

The vegetal metamorphoses granted by these river deities do not give Daphne and Syrinx total respite: the laurel of Daphne is caressed and co-opted by Apollo (*Met.* 1.543-65), and the reeds of Syrinx are grasped by Pan, and moved to murmur by his breath (*Met.* 1.706-8). Syrinx' reed has already been repurposed to pierce and doom Daphne. The narrative arrangement of the two

transformations makes Syrinx' story mimic but also initiate Daphne's. The circularity of these two rape narratives establishes this as a story-pattern, priming reader expectations both about the fate of the poem's young women, and about the relationship between humans and the landscape. The lead *fistula* of the first daughter of Minyas has transformed the reeds of erotic and pastoral narrative into lead plumbing, which removes the necessity to create other sources of freshwater through human transformation.

The course of events serves to undermine the narrative authority of the daughter of Minyas, as she and her sisters are transformed into squealing, wordless bats. Yet she has nonetheless expressed a very different view of landscape than that which predominates in the poem (as do her sisters, some of whose narratives I will discuss below).<sup>116</sup> This view is reflected several books later in the tale told by Galatea (*Met.* 13.738-88). She reworks the tale of the Cyclops' attempt to seduce her, familiar from Theocritus *Idyll 11*. Ovid's Galatea centers her story upon her lover Acis, who does not appear in any of the earlier versions of the story and so is perhaps her own invention (Griffin 1983: 192; Hopkinson 2000: 40). After describing the Cyclops' hundred-reed *fistula* (*Met.* 13.784), along with the words of his song, Galatea concludes by crediting herself with the creation

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<sup>116</sup> Schmitzer, noting the relationship between Ovid and the current *curator aquarum* Messalla, sees this simile as a comment upon the Augustan/Agrippan water program, and argues that it refers to a common problem that would have been embarrassing to the princeps (Schmitzer 1992: 524-32). This would certainly compound our artist's transgression, and make her punishment perhaps all the more inevitable. It should be noted that, based upon inscriptional evidence, *fistula* manufacturers constitute the largest known group of artisans from Rome (Bruun 1991: 304-5); not every burst pipe had Augustus' name on it.

of a new water feature in the form of Acis as she intercepts the Cyclops' act of vengeance (*Met.* 13.882-6):

insequitur Cyclops partemque e monte reuulam  
mittit, et extremus quamuis peruenit ad illum  
angulus e saxo, totum tamen obruit Acin,  
885 at nos, quod fieri solum per fata licebat,  
fecimus, ut uires adsumeret Acis auitas.

“Cyclops ran after him and hurled a piece wrenched from the mountain-side, and though only the merest corner of the stone reached Acis, still it was enough to bury him altogether. But I (the only thing that fate allowed me) caused Acis to assume his ancestral powers.”

Reversing the pattern introduced by the first daughter of Minyas, who replaced a transformation into water with a transformation from blood, Galatea describes how Acis' blood gradually faded until it resembled an eddying river (*Met.* 13.887-90). From this, Acis eventually emerges as a river-god and, as Barchiesi has noted, he too is marked out by a reed (*harundo*) (*Met.* 13.890-98):

890 ....tum moles iacta dehiscit,  
uiuaque per rimas proceraque surgit harundo,  
osque cauum saxi sonat exultantibus undis,  
miraque res, subito media tenus exstitit aluo  
incinctus iuuenis flexis noua cornua cannis,  
895 qui, nisi quod maior, quod toto caerulus ore,  
Acis erat, sed sic quoque erat tamen Acis, in annem  
uersus, et antiquum tenuerunt flumina nomen.

“Then the mass that had been thrown cracked wide open, and a tall green reed sprang from the crack, and the hollow mouth in the rock resounded with leaping waters, and (wonderful!) suddenly a youth stood forth waist-deep from the water, his new-sprung horns wreathed with bending rushes. The youth, except that he was larger, and his face of dark sea-blue, was Acis: but even so he still was Acis, changed to a river-god, and his waters kept his former name.”

This particular *harundo* functions both as a normal part of Acis' paraphernalia as a newly-formed water deity -- as can be seen, for example, in the Pyramus mosaics (Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2), and as a closural marker of the Cyclops' pastoral song (Barchiesi 2006: 409). The transformation of Acis, his assumption of the iconography appropriate for a river-god, his appearance in a

Cyclops-made grotto on the Sicilian coast, and the emphasis on the sound of the waters around him, all create an impression similar to that of a monumental villa fountain, for which Acis, Galatea and Cyclops would indeed serve as suitable adornment (Barchiesi 2006: 422-3). His retention of an anthropomorphic form, with just the addition of the appropriate river-god icons, is very unusual; it seems a privilege when compared with the riverine transformation of the tortured Marsyas (Hardie 2015: *ad* 887-97), who pointedly loses his sense of self and becomes a river with aquatic form only, stuck at identity level 1 (cf. *Met.* 6.385-400).

This effect would be further enhanced if the *harundo* of Galatea's Acis should remind us of the lead *fistula* described by an earlier female narrator, especially given the equivalence between the terms *harundo* and *fistula* established by the story of Syrinx.<sup>117</sup> This reed emerges *per rimas* (*Met.* 13.891), like the words exchanged by Pyramus and Thisbe through the wall (*Met.* 4.65), and its emergence is marked by a noise. This aligns it with the other pastoral reeds of the poem, but the fact that the sound is made by the cracked rock, *osque cauum saxi sonat* ("and the hollow mouth in the rock resounded;" *Met.* 13.892) is a further reminder of the hissing through the crack in the pipe which replaced Pyramus' transformation into a reed-bearing river-god (*Met.* 4.123-4), and of the lovers' words passing through the cracked wall (*Met.* 4.69-70): the "hollow mouth" of the rock both looks ahead to Acis' anthropomorphic metamorphosis (Hopkinson 2000: *ad loc.* 892) and echoes the *anhelitus oris* and various *oscula* ("the mouth's breath; kisses (*lit.* little mouths);" *Met.* 4.72; 4.75, 80) pressed against the lovers' wall.

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<sup>117</sup> The interconnections between reeds, musical pipes, ornamental fountains, and plumbing discussed here inclines me to take seriously King's reinterpretation of Propertius 4.4.3-6: the *dulcis fistula* (4.4.5-6) which invites animals to drink from the waters of a fountain is not, on his understanding, a musical pipe, but actually a water pipe in a fountain which trickles with an inviting sound (King 1990: 231-3).

While the first daughter of Minyas elided the transformation of her hero into a river-god, replacing it with a mechanized *fistula*, Galatea claims her hero's transformation as her own doing. Although the pastoral song is sung by the Cyclops, although he initiates Acis' metamorphosis by hurling the rock, Galatea claims responsibility for Acis' deification. She uses the *harundo* and the architecturally-inspired transformation to mark the conclusion not just of the Cyclops' pastoral song but also of her own. The plausibility of this story and Galatea's credibility as a narrator are thrown into serious doubt by the fact that, as the narrator of a Cyclops story, she is a stand-in for the ultimate liar, Odysseus (Mack 1999: 55). As Acis may be a figure of her own invention, we may be further disinclined to find her story credible. Perhaps, instead, we should read her as a teller of tales like the first daughter of Minyas, from whom she seems to have borrowed the river-god transformation that had been dispensed with in the story of Pyramus.

The first daughter of Minyas offered human hydraulic engineering as an alternative to the poem's dominant narrative of human subsumption into the waterscape, and Galatea alludes to this unusual imagery as she rescues Acis from obliteration beneath the Cyclops' rock. If we read the emergence of Acis as approaching an ephrasis of fountain statuary, then it, along with the death of Pyramus, represents a marked departure from Ovid's own naturalistic descriptions of hydraulic technology which we saw in the *Ars Amatoria* in Chapter 2.2. The marked difference in their approach to waterscape description from that of Ovid himself, both in the *Metamorphoses* and his broader oeuvre, means these hydraulic works disrupt their landscape settings all the more forcefully. The emphasis on breakage and damage that links the hydraulic "transformations" of the two men exposes metamorphosis and engineering as invasive processes. These disruptive tales can draw attention to the loaded ways in which water is described and manipulated both in the *Metamorphoses* and elsewhere.

The rape of Persephone, as told in the *Metamorphoses*, explores the connections between the transformation of humans into landscape features, and rape -- crucially giving voice to those who experience these actions, unlike the stories of Daphne and Syrinx. Unlike in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, where Persephone eventually gets to tell her own story (Hinds 1987b), in the *Metamorphoses* she is largely silent. Her story is told instead by two different bodies of water. These vocal waters are particular to the *Metamorphoses* and its worldview: in the *Fasti*, neither Arethusa nor Cyane speaks, though Arethusa does unwittingly play a crucial role in the *Fasti*'s rape narrative by inviting Demeter to a festival, thereby separating her from Persephone. Although Arethusa is first introduced in the *Metamorphoses* as Alpheias (*Met.* 5.487) she is quick to name herself as Arethusa (*Met.* 5.496) and assert her happiness with her new home. As Zissos notes, her description of her final flight from Alpheus does not make it clear whether or not he catches her (Zissos 1999: 103-4), but the account of her transfer to Sicily uses first-person forms which emphasize Arethusa's separation from Alpheus, as Zissos acknowledges (*Met.* 5.639-41):

640        Delia rupit humum, caecisque ego mersa cauernis  
              aduehor Ortygiam, quae me cognomine diuae  
              grata meae superas eduxit prima sub auras

“My Delian goddess cleft the earth, and I, plunging down into the dark depths, was borne hither to Ortygia, which I love because it bears my goddess' name, and this first received me to the upper air.”

This scene, as has been noted, echoes both the abduction of Persephone and the violation of Cyane's pool which allowed Dis to carry Persephone into the underworld (*Met.* 5.420-24):

420                ...haud ultra tenuit Saturnius iram  
                       terribilesque hortatus equos in gurgitis ima  
                       contortum ualido sceptrum regale lacerto  
                       condidit; icta uiam tellus in Tartara fecit  
                       et pronos currus medio cratera recepit.

“No longer could the son of Saturn hold his wrath, and urging on his terrible steeds, he whirled his royal sceptre with his strong right arm and smote the pool [Cyane] to

its bottom. The smitten earth opened up a road to Tartarus and received the down-plunging chariot in her cavernous depths.”

Arethusa, in speaking for these two victims of Dis, uses language which suggests rape but instantly repurposes it to describe a welcome journey, not to the Underworld, but to the pleasing upper air of Sicily. She chooses a different climax for her story, in a way that is perhaps comparable to the positive spin she tried to put upon Persephone’s new circumstances for Ceres (*Met.* 5.504-8).

Arethusa thus represents an insistence upon having another say, and trying to re-read the rape narratives of the poem. She is, in this respect, the anthropomorphic version of Cyane, whose distress at being dismissed and violated by Dis led to her dissolution into her own pool. The explicit fusion of Cyane with her pool reinforces the sense that Dis’ penetration of the pool is an act of literal violence, the closest the poem comes to describing the trauma of rape (Hinds 2002: 134). Although as a result of this, Cyane has been deprived of that important marker of divinity, anthropomorphism, she nonetheless remains conscious (Eggers’ identity level 3), and continues to act and communicate in support of Persephone (*Met.* 5.465-70):

465 uenit et ad Cyanen. ea ni mutata fuisset,  
omnia narrasset; sed et os et lingus uolenti  
dicere non aderant, nec, quo loqueretur, habebat;  
signa tamen manifesta dedit notamque parenti,  
illo forte loco delapsam in gurgite sacro  
470 Persephones zonam summis ostendit in undis.

“she [Ceres] came also to Cyane. If the nymph had not been changed, she would have told her all. But, though she wished to tell, she had neither lips nor tongue, nor anything with which to speak. But still she gave clear evidence, and showed on the surface of her pool what the mother knew well, Persephone’s girdle, which had happened to fall upon the sacred waters.”

Cyane’s floating display of the fallen girdle tells Persephone’s story just as vividly as Arethusa will, and is the aquatic version of the two heavily anthropomorphic speeches made by the other nymph. The attribution of desire to the pool of water (*uolenti* “to the one wishing;” *Met.* 5.466) is

in itself anthropomorphizing,<sup>118</sup> though the emphasis on Cyane's lack of physical anthropomorphic features reinforces the fact that she is stuck between Eggers' identity levels 2 and 3. And now that Cyane is no longer anthropomorphized as a nymph, the gendering of the pool is much less explicit in Latin than in the English translation (unambiguous gender given only by her name and the past participle *mutata* ("changed;" *Met.* 5.465)). Cyane still operates within the same spectrum of natural representation familiar from Chapter 4.1, but Calliope's account shows how the lack of identity-level shifting and overt gendering of the pool leads to the development of an aquatic method of communication. Thus, Cyane offers a new approach to the existing representational system. The nymphs who watched the singing contest around the Hippocrene spring were indeed being told a tale which valorized the actions of nymphs (cf. Zissos 1999). More particularly, Calliope's song revealed the capabilities of feminized waters to escape the control of others, showcasing two highly distinctive feminized springs.

The narrations of the first daughter of Minyas and Galatea, and of Cyane and Arethusa help to draw attention to the irrepressible violence which characterizes the waterscapes of the *Metamorphoses*. Each offers a small challenge to the dominant dichotomy of violent, uncontrollable, masculine rivers against acquiescent, suffering, female pools and fountains. These four female narrators use water as a means to channel female agency and narrative self-empowerment, and so diverge from the passive acquiescence that typically unites women and water in Ovid's poetry. The technological imagery employed by the first daughter of Minyas and by

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<sup>118</sup> This kind of "psychologizing" anthropomorphism (equivalent to Eggers' identity level 3) is particularly prevalent in writing about animals, and is much less overt than physical anthropomorphism (equivalent to identity level 4). This is a serious area of methodological concern for biological researchers, particularly those researching animals which are close human relatives whom humans seem instinctively to anthropomorphize in this way -- see Rees 2001 on primate researchers and anthropomorphism.

Galatea is a particularly bold challenge to the narrative strategies which attempt to confine them, and introduces new terminology to Ovid's hydraulic poetics. In the next section, I take up these challenges to consider how this gendered dichotomy is bound up with the valuation of watered spaces both on the page and on the ground.

#### 4.3 THE PERFECT WATERSCAPE: WATER IN THE *LOCUS AMOENUS* AND THE *HORTUS*

The *locus amoenus* is a defining setting of the *Metamorphoses*, and has strongly influenced Western notions of loveliness in landscape. Water is one of its essential elements, along with some form of shade, and it contributes both to the important lushness of the setting and to the sense of a divine presence (Curtius 1953: 195; Hinds 2002: 123-5). This dominant and influential topos is particularly characteristic of the *Metamorphoses*; Ovid's other works make only sparing use of this rhetorical figure. As I discussed in previous chapters, this idealization of landscape is completely antithetical to the poet's presentation of the waterscapes of exile and their dulling effect upon his imagination. In the *Amores* it is used only three times, to mark scenes of poetic significance and with strong mythological overtones; even rarer in the other amatory works, it is similarly a setting for mythological set-pieces.<sup>119</sup> Although two of these *loca amoena* in the amatory works are settings for death (of Procris and of Sappho), there is none of the sexual violence so characteristic of the *Metamorphoses'* *loca amoena*.

The *Fasti*, composed concurrently with the *Metamorphoses* and similarly toying with the boundaries of elegy, epic and didactic in order to trace fragmentarily the development of the

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<sup>119</sup> Elysium for birds (*Am.* 2.6.49-50); the grove in which Elegia and Tragoedia fight for the poet's allegiance (*Am.* 3.1.1-8); first extended introduction to Sulmo (*Am.* 2.16.1-10); story of Procris and Cephalus (*A.A.* 3.685-90, cf. Chapter Three); Sappho's encounter with a prophetic nymph (*Her.* 15.157-76); the Judgement of Paris (*Her.* 16.53-8).

Roman state, makes greater use of the *locus amoenus*. The figure remains a site of poetic and mythological import, but is also frequently the setting for (often sexual) violence.<sup>120</sup> Segal observes that there is not such an abrupt shift from the idyllic to the nightmarish in the *loca amoena* of the *Fasti*, and that they are sites for less extreme violence than those of the *Metamorphoses*. He concludes, then, that the *Fasti*'s landscapes create a gentler and more dreamy mood than those of the *Metamorphoses*, which he sees as both reinforcing the wildness and strangeness of the poem's world, and as peaceful traps which conceal great danger (Segal 1969: 18-19). His analysis of the 'ambivalent' symbolism of water, both life-giving and destructive, symbol of both virginity and sexuality, demonstrates the role of water in creating the particular ambivalent atmosphere of the *locus amoenus* (Segal 1969: 23-8).

In the *Metamorphoses*, the *locus amoenus* is a space frequently associated with the "erotic hunt" and the violence associated with it (Parry 1964). The combination of alluring natural beauty with sexual violence, whether threatened or perpetrated, has been read as an exploration of the allurements and dangers of the natural world (Parry 1964: 282; Segal 1969: 23-32). It is also a space both designed by and focused upon human activity and human desire, as we shall see. Although the overarching narrator of the *Metamorphoses* does not include any built waters in the poem's setting, the *locus amoenus* scenes, predominant in particular throughout the earlier books of the poem, represent an idealization of water with important implications for understanding the built environment. As I argued in Chapter 2.2, Ovid in his amatory works had already replaced the

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<sup>120</sup> Grove of Alernus on the mouth of the Tiber, a site for sacrifice (*Fast.* 2.67-72); clearing where Diana discovers Callisto's pregnancy (*Fast.* 2.165-74); cave in which Faunus will attempt to rape Omphale (*Fast.* 2.313-8); river-bank where Mars rapes Rhea Silvia (*Fast.* 3.11-42); grove where Hippolytus is buried and Egeria supplies the poet with inspiration (*Fast.* 3.259-76); grove where Numa traps the drunken Faunus and Picus (*Fast.* 3.295-306); meadow from which Persephone is abducted (*Fast.* 4.427-30); grove where the poet is visited by Juno and Hebe (*Fast.* 6.1-16).

plumbing and concrete of the city's hydraulic infrastructure with the rhetorical constructions of the *locus amoenus*. In this final section, I explore how the aesthetics of the *locus amoenus* in the fantasy landscapes of the *Metamorphoses* connect with the real landscapes of the Roman world and help to reveal an Ovidian valuation of those spaces. I begin by considering the different ways in which the stories of the Minyeides expose the mechanics of the *locus amoenus*' appeal, and then connect this with the Roman *hortus* which works as a counterpoint to the *locus amoenus* topos throughout the *Metamorphoses*.

The connection between water engineering and the naturalistic setting of the *locus amoenus* is made clearest in the framing stories told by the Minyeides. I have already argued in Chapter 4.2 that the unusual hydraulic imagery in the story of Pyramus and Thisbe links the poem's pastoral landscapes with the mechanics of plumbing. The unusual hydraulics of the first of the Minyeides' tales are balanced by an equally unusual hydraulic landscape in the final tale, that of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus. Due notes the ways in which these two stories mirror one another structurally: Pyramus and Thisbe is a tale of two lovers separated in life who achieve a longed-for union in death, as both parties emphasize before their respective suicides (*Met.* 4.108-18, 148-61); Salmacis and Hermaphroditus achieve an unwanted union in life, an event which both pray should be memorialized (*Met.* 4.370-72, 383-6) (Due 1974: 130-31, 188 n. 44). The waters of these two stories also reflect one another, and the memorable eruption of the pipe into the story of Pyramus and Thisbe is matched by the subtler technology of Salmacis' pool. The climactic water imagery of each story challenges the poem's dominant motif of women being violently assimilated into the landscape.

Like the Minyeides' version of Thisbe, who fails to become a fountain, Salmacis behaves unexpectedly for a water nymph (and indeed for the poem's nymphs more broadly, cf. Davis 1983:

64-6). She and her waters are both coded as masculine according to the framework examined in Chapter 4.1. So, she is introduced as the only naiad not to be a devotee of Diana, and her distance from the virgin goddess is evident in her sexual predation, behaviour which we have seen is typical of male water deities but entirely uncharacteristic for female ones. As with the sexually aggressive male rivers, it is Salmacis' aquatic form that is the focus of sexual activity. Hermaphroditus, although unmoved by her anthropomorphic beauty (described in detail at *Met.* 4.313-19), is seduced by the charms of her aquatic form: *temperie blandarum captus aquarum* ("charmed with the coolness of the soothing stream;" *Met.* 4.344). As the embracing word order of this phrase anticipates, it is within these very waters that Salmacis will trap and rape him (*Met.* 4.360-62):

360 et nunc hac iuueni, nunc circumfunditur illac;  
denique nitentem contra elabique uolentem  
implicat ut serpens...

"and she is poured around the young man, now on this side, now on that; at length, as he tries his best to break away from her, she wraps him round with her embrace, like a serpent"

Verbs which describe water's movement are used to narrate her attack, including the same verb, *implicare*, which was used in the previous book to describe the river Cephisus' rape of Liriope (*Met.* 3.342-4, quoted above in Chapter 4.1). Salmacis' disturbing behaviour as a water nymph is thus just as unusual as Thisbe's had been when she chose not to become one.

The stories of Pyramus and Thisbe, and Salmacis and Hermaphroditus both offer a critique of the dominant topoi associated with the poem's waterscape, one centred upon a lead pipe and the other upon the "natural" beauty of a *locus amoenus*. In quite different ways, they expose the artistry which underlies the poetic evocation of landscape. For Salmacis, this is brought out by the particularly pronounced play between her anthropomorphic and aquatic forms, which serves to make the nymph and her pool into two separate entities who nonetheless mirror one another. Like

many of the poem's women, Salmacis is thus closely identified with a feature of the landscape, but she takes on an artistic role and manipulates the overlap between herself and her pool for her own ends. So, Salmacis' own beauty is confirmed by the beauty of the clear pool (*Met.* 4.312):

et, quid se deceat, spectatas consulit undas

“and she consults her waters to see what best becomes her”

The phrase makes the pool both a reflective surface and an extension of the nymph's own person. These two factors enable Salmacis to be deceptive: the pool's reflective clarity both draws the admiring gaze of Hermaphroditus and directs its own, that is Salmacis', desirous gaze back at him (cf. Salzman-Mitchell 2005: 161-3). When the anthropomorphic Salmacis disingenuously tells Hermaphroditus *loca...haec tibi libera trado* (“I yield the places to you;” *Met.* 4.337), her words and the translucency of the pool mean that the boy cannot see that Salmacis and *loca haec* are one and the same, and he cannot understand the implicit menace of her words which function as an abbreviated entry-tag for the *locus amoenus* she embodies.<sup>121</sup>

With these words she rhetorically initiates Hermaphroditus into the pool, and so takes over an important poetic scene-setting duty, which instantly proves successful as Hermaphroditus approvingly tests out the different elements of the scene, the grass and water (*in herbis / ... in adludentibus undis*; “on the grass / ... in the playful waters;” *Met.* 4.341-2). Her established interest in creating beauty makes the role of an artist appropriate for her, extending the preening previously focused on her anthropomorphic form to her aquatic form. Before her initial approach to

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<sup>121</sup> The standard introduction to a *locus amoenus* description is the formula *locus est* (“there is a place”). In the *Metamorphoses*, central actors in the scene often take over the poet's role of introducing and describing the setting, as for example in the scene-settings by Diana (*Met.* 2.455-8) and Orpheus (*Met.* 10.88-106); (Hinds 2002: 127-30).

Hermaphroditus we see her fashioning herself in order to be visually alluring, with verbs appropriate for artistic creation (*Met.* 4.317-9):

nec tamen ante adiit, etsi properabat adire,  
quam se composuit, quam circumspexit amictus  
et finxit uultum et meruit formosa uideri.

“She did not yet approach him, although she was eager to do so, until she had composed herself, until she had arranged her robes and designed her appearance and taken all pains to appear beautiful.”

Although her anthropomorphic appearance does not prompt the desired response in Hermaphroditus, her aquatic composition does.

The narrating Alcithoe captures the deceptive artistry of Salmacis’ waters with a simile, just as her sister had used the striking technological simile of the pipe to highlight her deviation from the poem’s dominant approach to landscape. Alcithoe’s simile describes the moment when Hermaphroditus finally plunges into the pool, comparing him to an ivory statue or to lilies encased in glass. As Hinds notes (Hinds 2002: 138), she thus fuses Hermaphroditus and the pool into a single art object, foregrounding her aestheticization of landscape by choosing another landscape feature -- lilies -- as the art object of the comparison. This moment gains further force from the artistic work already done by Salmacis, who has been subjecting herself, her pool and Hermaphroditus to an aestheticizing gaze. The deceptive translucence of her waters here becomes the basis of their comparison to an art object. (*Met.* 4.353-5):

desilit in latices alternaque bracchia ducens  
in liquidis translucet aquis, ut eburnea si quis  
355 signa tegat claro uel candida lilia uitro.

“he, clapping his body with hollow palms, dives into the pool, and swimming with alternate strokes flashes with gleaming body through the transparent flood, as if one should encase ivory figures or white lilies in translucent glass.”

The transformative power her waters will wield over Hermaphroditus (*Met.* 4.380-82), despite and because of their transparency, is anticipated by this simile in which the clear glass frames the lilies, thereby transforming them into a work of art. The reflective clarity of Salmacis' pool-as-glass thus mirrors Pyramus' river-as-pipe: Salmacis' artistic preparations clarify the mechanics of the *locus amoenus*. The burst pipe with its disruptive, squealing spray, the clear pool with its playful mirror both reveal the full implications of the aesthetic construct of the *locus amoenus* topos, which derives its beauty not from wilderness but from design.

The *locus amoenus*, symbol of the dangers of untamed nature, draws its aesthetic principles from the definitively non-wild space of the Roman *hortus*. The term *hortus* had a very broad application, referring to both domestic and public spaces, and to anything from a small kitchen garden to an urban park. Its definitive feature is as an enclosed space for growing plants, specifically selected by a either a gardener or the property owner for their useful or aesthetic properties (Farrar 1998: 130). A source of water is therefore essential to the existence of a garden (Stackelberg 2009: 6), and the more reliable and abundant water supply offered by the introduction of hydraulic technology enabled both a wider range of plants to be grown and decorative water features to contribute to gardens' sensory appeals (Farrar 1998: 22). From this brief definition, then, the *hortus* offers a reflection of rather than an opposition to the *locus amoenus*. In fact, the features of *loca amoena* that are particularly emphasized -- water supply, greenery, and cooling shade -- are precisely the features that motivate the creation of and so come to define a garden. This similarity may well be grounded in the aesthetic and spiritual preference felt for cultivated, rather than wild, landscapes (Stackelberg 2009: 86): the allure of the *locus amoenus* is evoked by reference to cultivated rather than wild. Stackelberg argues that the Romans considered it a human prerogative to produce 'landscapes of *utilitas* or *amoenitas*' (Stackelberg 2009: 93), which

confirms her observation that there is a large area of overlap between the *hortus* and the *locus amoenus* (Stackelberg 2009: 20-21). The primary point of difference is that the *locus amoenus* is not a useful space as the garden can be.

Gardens appear more rarely than the *locus amoenus* in the Ovidian corpus. As spaces with an often explicitly foregrounded basis in the physical world, they do indeed come to represent a utility grounded in hard work. The graft of cultivating and irrigating a garden is recommended in the *Remedia* as way to distract and thereby cure oneself of love (*Rem.* 193-8). The irony of this suggestion is that the *Ars* has already shown readers that gardens are a source of the aphrodisiac *herba salax* (“rocket/arugula;” *A.A.* 2.422). These erotic associations are of course also reminiscent of the atmosphere of *locus amoenus*. This sexually charged element and its concomitant dangers are brought into gardens not just by the plants growing there but also by the figure of Priapus, whose erect penis was a common subject of garden statues (Farrar 1998: 110-11) and a source for poetic humour (see especially the *Carmina Priapea*; Stackelberg 2009: 97-100).

The *Fasti* showcases the figure of Priapus and confirms the sexual, and violent, associations of the *hortus*. So, *ruber hortorum decus et tutela Priapus* (“crimson Priapus, guardian and glory of gardens;” *Fast.* 1.415; cf. *ruber hortorum custos* “the crimson guardian of gardens;” *Fast.* 6.333) is presented as the menace so common to the *locus amoenus*, as in Book 1 he attempts to rape the sleeping Lotis (*Fast.* 1.415-40), and in Book 2 the sleeping Vesta (*Fast.* 6.335-44). Significantly, each time he is interrupted by the comical figure of a braying ass (*Fast.* 1.433-4; 6.341-2), meaning the episodes end on a “humorous” note appropriate to the more controlled associations of a garden. The first time, all the onlookers laugh at him and his erection (*Fast.* 1.437-8); the second, the onlookers try in vain to capture the attacker (*Fast.* 6.333-4). Despite the humorous conclusion, the donkey must repeatedly pay with its life for breaking off this rape

narrative, becoming the sacrificial victim of Priapus (*Fast.* 1.439-40; 6.345-6). These two very similar episodes, in the poem's first and last books, are the only appearances of Priapus in the entire poem. Newlands observes that this closural technique of marked repetitions helps to make of the common donkey an everyday reminder of the attempted rape of Vesta (Newlands 1995: 129). This repetition similarly establishes the uncontrollable nature of the garden god, and shows that, though he is ineffectual, he is also not to be suppressed.

Gardens in the *Fasti*, then, are contained spaces in which violence is nonetheless just below the surface. A garden is famously the setting from which Tarquinius Superbus orders the execution of the nobles of Gabii (Livy 1.54.6-8). The cultivated beauty of the scene and its irrigation channel (Bannon 2009: 7 n.16) are foregrounded in the *Fasti*'s telling of the story (*Fast.* 2.703-4):

hortus odoratis suberat cultissimus herbis,  
sectus humum riuo lene sonantis aquae:

“Below lay a garden full of fragrant plants, where a gentle stream of splashing water cut the soil.”

Tarquinius then performs another gardening task -- *uirga lilia summa metit* (“with his staff he mowed the tallest lilies;” *Fast.* 2.706) -- that barely ruptures the controlled tranquillity of the scene. Yet outside the garden, his action is translated into the beheading of the Gabian nobles and the surrender of the city. His use of the garden forms a pointed contrast with that of the pious Numa, who in the poem's next book uses the secluded garden space to diffuse rather than to prompt violent action. In a quick exchange, Jupiter's blood-thirsty demands are made civilized and

contained by their application to the controlled realm of the garden instead of to the state as a whole (*Fast.* 3.339-42):

340           ‘caede caput’ dixit; cui rex ‘parebimus’ inquit;  
                  caedenda est hortis eruta cepa meis.’  
          addidit hic ‘hominis’; ‘sumes’ ait ille ‘capillos.’  
                  postulat hic animam; cui Numa ‘piscis’ ait.

“‘Sever a head,’ said the god: the king replied; ‘I will, we’ll sever an onion’s, dug from my garden.’ The god added: ‘Of a man’: ‘You’ll have the hair,’ said the king. He demanded a life, Numa replied: ‘A fish’s.’”

For Ovid, the garden is also associated with his own poetic inspiration and composition, and becomes part of the imagery of inspiration. This is particularly marked in the exile poetry, in which the poet frequently associates *horti* with the civilized landscape of Rome and the poetry he used to write there (cf. Chapter 2.3 on *Tr.* 3.12.21-32 and *Pont.* 1.8.35-62); as Stackelberg observes, these Roman gardens become for Ovid a ‘paradise lost’ (Stackelberg 2009: 14). He contrasts these pleasant gardens as settings for poetry-writing with the landscapes of exile, particularly with the waterscapes of exile. So, ostensibly writing from aboard a ship, he warns readers that *Tristia* Book 1 is inferior because he has been removed from the safety of his garden (*Tr.* 1.11.37-40):

                  non haec in nostris, ut quondam, scripsimus hortis,  
                  nec, consuete, meum, lectule, corpus habes.  
          iactor in indomito brumali luce profundo  
40           ipsaque caeruleis charta feritur aquis.

“they were not written, as before, in my garden or while you, my familiar couch, supported my frame. I am tossing of a winter’s day on the stormy deep, and my paper is sprayed by the dark waters.”

The setting does not just affect the poet’s frame of mind, it also physically marks the paper, creating an even closer link between the poetry and its setting, and further complicating the problem of their veracity. The poet returns to this device in Book 4 of the *Tristia*, where he

contrasts the gardens of Rome with the fountains of Tomis as part of his complaint about the difficulties of ageing (*Tr.* 4.8.25-8):

25      tempus erat nec me peregrinum ducere caelum,  
             nec siccam Getico fonte leuare sitim,  
             sed modo, quos habui, uacuos secedere in hortos,  
             nunc hominum uisu rursus et Vrbe frui.

“It is time for me not to breathe foreign air, nor to slake my parching thirst with Getic water, but now to withdraw into the retirement of the gardens I once had, now once again to enjoy the sight of men and of the city.”

These landscapes evoke a physical reality, focusing on specific places and the poet’s embodied experience of them (...*leuare sitim*/.../*...uisu*... “...to slake thirst...sight...;” *Tr.* 2.8.6-8). At the same time, the Getic fountains, as I discussed in Chapter 3.1.2, are important symbols in the metaphorical waterscape of exilic inspiration. Gardens, then, are here set up as the antithesis to that drought-prone, unlovely and uninspiring waterscape: a site made lush by human labour, and thereby suited to the hard work of poetic composition.

The garden, then, is in dialogue with the *locus amoenus* as a well-watered, shady green spot with a divine presence, that tends to reference earlier (poetic) uses of such space (cf. Curtius 1953: 185; Hinds 2002: 123-5). In fact, the originary gardener -- the goddess Flora, presented in the *Fasti* as an analogue for Ovid himself with a pun on her floral scent and the name Naso (*Fast.* 5.375-8) (Barchiesi 1997: 134), represents the garden as the origin of the *locus amoenus* topos. She

introduces the poet to her garden with a set-piece description which draws on the *locus amoenus* tradition with its entry formula and focus on the features of cool shade and water (*Fast.* 5.209-12):

210           est mihi fecundus dotalibus hortus in agris;  
              aura fouet, liquidae fonte rigatur aquae:  
              hunc meus impleuit generoso flore maritus,  
              atque ait “arbitrium tu, dea, floris habe.”

“In the fields that are my dowry, I have a fruitful garden, fanned by the breeze and watered by a spring of running water. This garden my husband filled with noble flowers and said, ‘Goddess, be queen of flowers.’”

She follows this up with a description that uses rhetorical and poetical terminology to describe the natural features of the setting (Hinds 2002: 135), allying herself and her garden with the poet who creates his *locus amoenus* with language. At the same time, her emphasis on the garden’s fecundity (*fecundus...hortus*) underscores the importance of the charming landscape features of the breeze and water for promoting growth. The utility of the garden is a major component which the *locus amoenus*, as a constructed “wild” space, lacks, and to which Flora devotes considerable attention (*Fast.* 5.261-72). She pointedly claims for herself the growth not just of beautiful flowers but also of agricultural crops, and emphasizes the connections between the two by repeating words derived from her own name: *...floruerint.../...floruerit.../...floruerint.../.../flore.../.../.../florent...* (*Fast.* 5.263-70).

The managed landscape of the fields is thus linked by Flora with the flower blooms that are the focus of the opening of her speech, and they along with the garden seem to be a safe and contained space into which, Flora says, no wild beasts come (*Fast.* 5.373-4). Yet in describing her charming garden, she singles out specific blooms and describes her own creation of these flowers from the wounds of dead young men (*Fast.* 5.227-8). She thus claims as her own stories told elsewhere in the *Fasti* and the *Metamorphoses*, and makes of them her own poetic garland or *corona* (*Fast.* 5.261-2; Newlands 1995: 109-10). By claiming that she herself first created these

flowers, Flora suggests that the topos of the *locus amoenus* was in fact inspired by the space of the garden which contains them. These stories which are elsewhere set in *loca amoena* were first of all contained within Flora's garden, as she herself makes particularly clear in the case of Narcissus (*Fast.* 5.225-6):

225 tu quoque nomen habes cultos, Narcisse, per hortos,  
infelix, quod non alter et alter eras.

“You too have a name in the well-kept gardens, Narcissus, unhappy in that you did not have a double of yourself.”

Read concurrently with the story of Narcissus in the *Metamorphoses*, this couplet shows how like a garden is the *locus amoenus* into which he fatefully wanders. In the *Metamorphoses*, the description of the setting focuses on the *fons* which will be the medium for Narcissus' unhappy love affair. This *fons* is as pure and untouched as the young man himself, ‘an emblem of Narcissus’ selfishness and disengagement from pastoral society’ (Hinds 2002: 133) (*Met.* 3.407-10):

fons erat inlimis, nitidis argeneus undis,  
quem neque pastores neque pastae monte capellae  
contigerant aliudue pecus, quem nulla uolucris  
410 nec fera turbarat nec lapsus ab arbore ramus

“There was a clear pool with silvery bright water, to which no shepherds ever came, or she-goats feeding on the mountain-side, or any other cattle; whose smooth surface neither bird nor beast nor falling bough ever ruffled.”

Even for an idealized natural waterscape, this *fons* seems implausibly and unsustainably secluded. Its wild remoteness is established by the absence of pastoral animals and their herders, but the detail that tree branches do not even fall into it makes the unruffled clarity of its surface seem impossible. Such control and containment strains at the illusion of wilderness appropriate to the *locus amoenus* topos, and reveals the topos to be a very particular kind of secluded garden. In fact, Narcissus' pool even ruptures the illusion of the garden's self-containment. Flora in the *Fasti* uses

the absence of wild beasts to define her cultivated landscapes in opposition to the wilderness (*Fast.* 5.373-4):

non sibi respondit siluas cessisse, sed hortos  
aruaque pugnaci non adeunda ferae

“She replied that her province was not the woods, but gardens and fields, where no fierce beast may come.”

Yet this definition is offered as an explanation for why gentle animals, deer and hares, are hunted at the Floralia: she does not claim to keep all animals and branches out of her garden. Narcissus’ interaction with the unspoilt pool reveals the impossibility of the safety and seclusion offered by the *locus amoenus*. Without the arrival of any wild beast or even a lustful divinity, the unspoilt beauty of the landscape itself is sufficient catalyst for his destruction.

The suggestion that the *locus amoenus* is derived from the garden is enacted by her speech on a micro-level. Flora’s brief allusions to these young men prompt readers to remind themselves of the stories of their deaths, perhaps even by cross-referencing Ovidian tellings of these stories. On the macro-level, her own autobiography tells us more about the involvement of landscape in the stories enacted within it. Beginning in the *campus* where she is pursued and raped by Zephyrus, she then moves after marriage into the garden where she starts to manage the landscape. The cultivated garden is therefore not just the analogue but also the tool for her own domestication.

In this respect, Flora’s counterpart in the *Metamorphoses* is Proserpina.<sup>122</sup> She begins in a *locus amoenus* that is strongly reminiscent of Flora’s garden, covered as it is in flowers, including lilies (*lilia*) and violets (*violae*) which Flora also names (cf. *Fast.* 5.317-8, *Met.* 5.391-2). After her

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<sup>122</sup> The connection between the two is also suggested by the similarity of Flora’s role to that of Ceres, which is evident in Flora’s account of the barrenness of the land she caused after being slighted by the Roman senate (cf. *Fast.* 5.315-30, *Met.* 5.477-86): Flora is the goddess of the harvest’s blossoming, Ceres of its reaping (*Fast.* 5.355-8).

abduction, Proserpina is transferred to a garden in the underworld, the first garden to feature in the *Metamorphoses*. As it was for Flora, it is the garden even more than the *locus amoenus* which is the means of Persephone's domestication (*Met.* 5.534-8):

... quoniam ieiunia uirgo  
535 soluerat et, cultis dum simplex errat in hortis,  
puniceum curua decerpserat arbore pomum  
sumptaque pallenti septem de cortice grana  
presserat ore suo...

“for the girl had broken her fast, and wandering, innocently, in a well-tended garden, she had pulled down a reddish-purple pomegranate fruit, hanging from a tree, and, taking seven seeds from its yellow rind, squeezed them in her mouth.”

The majority of the poem's *loca amoena* are concentrated in the first five books (Hinds 2002: 128), and have found a climax in Persephone's story. Readers are now introduced to a different kind of rhetorical landscape, and this brief vignette of Persephone's second capture outlines its key features: no less appealing than the *locus amoenus*, the *hortus* is more self-contained and (ostensibly) protected from external dangers, and is watered to allow for the growth of fruits and vegetables as well as of flowers. The introduction of this *hortus* topos in a Sicilian story anticipates its importance in the poem's account of the Italian landscape, as we shall see.

The poem's next garden is not located in Italy, but is found in a story that ostensibly functions as a soothing respite from the frightening and violent landscapes that dominate the poem. As Theseus and his friends shelter from the surging flood of the Achelous in the river's own home, Lelex tells the group how Jupiter and Mercury were hosted by the poor but devoted couple Baucis and Philemon. The description of the preparations the humble couple make for their divine guests are described in a detail which emphasizes the hard work that goes in to maintaining their home. The emphasis on careful management vividly evokes the deliberation with which Baucis and

Philemon have built up their small settlement, and the careful use they make of the surrounding landscape (*Met.* 8.646-50):

quodque suos coniunx riquo conlegerat horto,  
truncat holus foliis; furca leuat ille bicorni  
sordida terga suis nigro pendentia tigno  
seruatoque diu resecat de tergore partem  
650 exiguam sectamque domat feruentibus undis

“And she took the cabbage which her husband had brought in from the well-watered garden and lopped off the outside leaves. Meanwhile the old man with a forked stick reached down a chine of smoked bacon which was hanging from a blackened beam and, cutting off a little piece of the long-cherished pork, he put it to cook in the boiling water.”

The well-watered garden with its wholesome produce is a good image for their life of careful management. Philemon’s crop is typical for a humble kitchen garden: Pliny calls the cabbage (*olus*) the *principatus hortorum* (“emperor of gardens;” *NH* 19.136), and Columella sings its praises without naming it, noting how it thrives anywhere and sprouts year-round (*De Re Rus.* 10.127-39; Henderson 2004: 129 n.28). Cato too enumerates the manifold virtues (chiefly purgative) of the cabbage (*brassica*) (*De Agr.* 156-7), and recommends eating plenty of cabbage before drinking lots of wine at dinner in order to avoid drunkenness (*De Agr.* 156.1) -- Philemon’s cabbage is thus the perfect *aperitivo* before the bottomless *cratera* to which the gods will treat them (*Met.* 8.679). As Gamel notes, the domestic details in general provide a deliberate contrast with the luxurious grotto of Achelous, in which the story is being narrated (Gamel 1984: 118). The tidy drainage system implied by this brief reference to their garden also contrasts with the much grander scale of Achelous’ own back-door waterworks. The contrast between the old couple’s relationship with their environment and Achelous’ tales of how he dramatically re-shaped the landscape with his raging flood are all the more evident in the description of Philemon boiling water. The pseudo-epic *feruentibus undis* (*Met.* 8.650) contained in his cooking pot bathetically

emphasize the meal's poverty (Gamel 1984: 120), but also contrast with the real raging flood from which Theseus and his friends are sheltering. Together with the productive garden, then, the waters in the cooking pot are an important symbol of the domestic space Baucis and Philemon have carved out for themselves.

These moments of aquatic management are described using violent verbs, suggesting a struggle with nature and a domesticity that is hard won (Jones 2001: 120): Baucis *truncat* ("maims;" *Met.* 8.647) the garden cabbage, and Philemon *domat* ("tames;" *Met.* 8.650) the meat using the boiling water. The contrast with the framing feast of Achelous and his unconquerable stream, then, helps to underscore the couple's struggle and their fragility in their surroundings. In setting the scene for their story, Lelex describes, not a wild landscape awaiting their domestic taming (cf. Chapter 3), but a wild landscape that has taken over a once domesticated scene (*Met.* 8.624-5):

625      haud procul hinc stagnum est, tellus habitabilis olim,  
          nunc celebres mergis fulicisque palustribus undae

"Not far from there is a marsh, once a habitable land, but now water, the haunt of divers and marsh-coots."

The narrative expectation, then, is doubly reinforced: the old couple's management of water can only be short-lived; the marsh, symbol of a useless and hostile waterscape, is encroaching. Gamel, then, is surely right to read the gods' "transformation" of Baucis and Philemon's home into a temple as an expropriation rather than a reward (Gamel 1984: 123). Indeed, they weep when they turn back and see their whole community over-run by a swamp (*Met.* 8.695-7):

695      tantum aberant summo, quantum semel ire sagitta  
          missa potest: flexere oculos et mersa palude  
          cetera prospiciunt, tantum sua tecta manere

"When they were a bowshot distant from the top, they looked back and saw the whole countryside covered with water, only their own house remaining."

They are only able to glimpse their sole standing tecta very briefly before the gods transform it into a temple of gold and marble (Met. 8.700-702). Even in that moment, though, it too will appear as if overwhelmed by the marsh. The roof was the first part of their home described in the narrative, and like most of their furniture and utensils it had been crafted from materials gathered from the land around (Met. 8.629-30):

630 mille domos clausere serae; tamen una recepit,  
parua quidem, stipulis et canna tecta palustri

“a thousand homes were barred against them; still one house received them, thatched with straw and reeds from the marsh.”

The reeds have now been returned to the marsh, along with the garden and its cabbages, and the wild waters from which the internal audience is sheltering find their echo in the story. The story of Baucis and Philemon reveals the fragility of human relations to water.

Once the poem’s narrative leaves the Greek world, though, the garden becomes less a symbol of human struggle, and more a site for control and containment. Returning to the Sicilian setting where we first encountered the garden, we find the *hortus* working as an idealized image. Galatea faces an unusual predicament for a nymph: she is not trapped in a *locus amoenus*, but rather is trying to avoid being turned into a ‘garden’ which is the Cyclops’ desiderative fantasy of what she could be. Galatea describes the grotesque love song which Polyphemus sang to her. His transition from a list of her charms into a list of her vices pivots, appropriately for a sea-nymph, around her likeness to water, and makes explicit the similarity between male attitudes to women and male attitudes to water. Thus, his final comparison which details Galatea’s beauty is (Met. 13.797):

et, si non fugias, riguo formosior horto;

“and, if only you would not fly, [you are] more beautiful than a well-watered garden;”

Even in describing her loveliness the Cyclops points out that her rejection of him negates her beauty. This rebuke is fittingly couched within a comparison that evokes the beauty of a controlled and restricted space: the segregated, irrigable space of the *hortus*, deliberately adapted to human ideas (Stackelberg 2009: 6-7). As Kenney puts it: ‘a kitchen-garden..., however beautiful, exists for its produce to be gathered - and Galatea won’t stay still for her charms to be harvested’ (Kenney 1984: 35; cf. Hopkinson 2000: *ad loc.* 797). It is therefore logical that Galatea could only achieve this climactic standard of beauty if she should cease to elude the Cyclops’ control. The particular beauty represented by the irrigated garden finds its inverse in the list of Galatea’s vices which follows. Throughout this list, images of dangerous waters recur in order to illustrate the problems with Galatea’s untamed state (*Met.* 13.798-804):

800        saevior indomitis eadem Galatea iuuencis,  
              durior annosa quercu, fallacior undis,  
              lentior et salicis uirgis et uitibus albis,  
              his immobilior scopulis, uiolentior amne,  
              laudato pauone superbior, acrior igni,  
              asperior tribulis, feta truculentior ursa,  
              surdior aequoribus, calcato inmitior hydro,

“you, the same Galatea, are more obstinate than an untamed heifer, harder than aged oak, false than water, tougher than willow-twigs and white briony-vines, more immovable than these rocks, more impetuous than a stream, vainer than a praised peacock, more cruel than fire, sharper than thorns, more savage than a she-bear with young, deaf than the sea, more pitiless than a trodden snake”

The Cyclops covers a range of character flaws, but opens with the telling image of the untamed heifer (*Met.* 13.798). Reinforcing the aptness of this metaphor, each comparison to a different type of water draws upon the dangers and frustrations particularly associated, as I argued in Chapter 3, with natural waters: unpredictable in their unmanaged state, they can be deceptive (*Met.* 13.799), uncontrollable and violent (*Met.* 13.801), and heedless of human needs or suffering (*Met.* 13.804). By fleeing from the Cyclops, then, this sea nymph embodies all that is frightening about water

(and about unmanaged nature more broadly, cf. Hopman 2012: 251), rather than being channelled into an ordered loveliness as represented by the irrigated garden. Indeed, the conclusion of the list of vices returns, as Griffin notes (Griffin 1983: 193), to the complaint with which the list of virtues ended (*Met.* 13.805-7):

805 et, quod praecipue uellem tibi demere possem,  
non tantum ceruo claris latratibus acto,  
uerum etiam uentis uolucrique fugacior aura

“and, what I would most of all that I could take from you, [you are] swifter not only than the stag driven before the baying hounds, but also than the winds and the fleeting breeze!”

The Cyclops’ account of Galatea’s elemental swiftness makes explicit his desire to control, contain and delimit her movement (*Met.* 13.805), and so clarifies the intentions underlying the image of the irrigated garden which these comparisons deliberately mirror. As Hopman points out, his wish that she run slower ‘opens up the grim possibility of a rape’ (Hopman 2012: 248): his fantasy of the well-watered garden is an analogue for violent sexual domination.

All of these troubling associations come to be resolved in the poem’s final garden, which therefore forms a counterpart to the rape of Persephone. This is also the setting for the *Metamorphoses*’ final erotic narrative, that of Pomona and Vertumnus, and so can also be read as resolving the problem of violent sexual pursuit introduced by the first “erotic” story, Daphne and Apollo (Myers 1994b has a full discussion of the relationship between the two passages). Davis, indeed, reads it as showing the conditions under which it is possible for a nymph to ‘transcend the anti-sexual norm and become a mature participant in mutual love,’ and links this contrast with Pomona’s Italian, non-Arcadian origins (Davis 1983: 69-70). Myers notes that, as counterparts to the Apollo and Daphne story, they have a programmatic role at the end of the poem, highlighting the shift to themes of Italian and Roman religious and topographical *aetia* (Myers 1994a: 113-14).

The shift in values associated with the entrance into Italy might also be evidenced in the behaviour of the Latin water nymphs discussed above in Chapter 4.1: the nymphs of the spring next to the Temple of Janus and the nymphs of Latium who so admired Picus behaved differently from their earlier Greek counterparts, and were significantly less resistant to love (the former group because they act upon Venus' request, the latter group in their non-deadly admiration of Picus).

As Davis discusses, Pomona in her gardening habits offers an explicit contrast of untamed nature, represented specifically by *amnes* ("rivers;" *Met.* 14.626), with tamed nature (Davis 1983: 69-70). Further, her approach to gardening is not presented as a struggle like that of Baucis and Philemon, and is described instead with coaxing and nurturing rather than violent verbs, in contrast also with gardening descriptions in the *Georgics* (Jones 2001: 362-7). There is still a fear of violence, which the boundedness of the garden is designed explicitly to keep out (*Met.* 14.635-6):

635 uim tamen agrestum metuens pomaria claudit  
intus et accessus prohibet refugitque uiriles.

"yet, fearing some rustic violence, she shut herself up within her orchard and so guarded herself against all approach of man."

Among the suitors she shuts out is in fact Priapus himself (*Met.* 14.640-41), the symbol of exactly the kind of story she hopes to avoid. Everything we have read about the landscapes of the *Metamorphoses* builds up an expectation of her failure to maintain the boundaries of her secluded area of fertility.

It is the god Vertumnus, the arch shape-shifter, who alone is able to gain entry. He and Pomona are nowhere else paired with one another, although they are both rustic Italian divinities connected with fertility and so form a complementary pair (Myers 1994a: 114). We are given a list of the various forms he adopts in order to enter the garden undetected (*Met.* 6.643-51), which clearly allude to the various forms adopted by Propertius' depiction of Vertumnus as a speaking

statue in poem 4.2 (Myers 1994a: 118). Myers notes that both Latin authors seem to be drawing on a Callimachean account of a statue of Delian Apollo which explains its own appearance and attributes (Call. *Aet.* fr. 114 Pf.). As a speaking statue within Pomona's garden, then, Ovid's Vertumnus bears a strong resemblance to Priapus (Myers 1994a: 118-121), and so represents precisely the kinds of violent sexuality Pomona aims to keep outside the garden walls.

Vertumnus begins his suit in the guise of an old woman (*Met.* 14.656-8), who launches into an extended speech (*Met.* 14.663-764), drawing examples of sexual harmony from the natural world to lend support to his suit, before beginning the meandering tale of Iphis and Anaxarete. This seems to be an attempt to "woo" Pomona, in a manner perhaps similar to the untold tale of Cyane's wooing by Anapis. The old woman urges Vertumnus' case by pointing out his local situation and equating it with erotic devotion (*Met.* 14.680-83):

680           ...nec passim toto uagus errat in orbe,  
              haec loca sola colit; nec, uti pars magna procorum,  
              quam modo uidit, amat: tu primus et ultimus illi  
              ardor eris, solique suos tibi deuouet annos.

"he does not wander idly throughout the world, but he dwells in the wide spaces here at hand; nor, as most of your suitors do, does he fall in love at sight with every girl he meets. You will be his first love and his last and to you alone will he devote his life."

This emphasis on Vertumnus' location provides a further connection with the speaking statue of Propertius' poem, who explicitly locates himself within Rome (Prop. 4.2.7-10):

              hac quondam Tiberinus iter faciebat, et aiunt  
              remorum auditos per uada pulsa sonos:  
              at postquam ille suis tantum concessit alumnis,  
10           Vertamnus uerso dicor ab amne deus.

"Tiber once made his way through here, and they say that the sounds of oars were heard over beaten waters: but after he gave so much ground to his adopted children, I am called the god Vertamnus from the turned back river."

The statue of Vertumnus stood on the Vicus Tuscus (Prop. 4.2.49-50), which ran along the Velabrum through the valley behind the Lacus Iuturnae and the Temple of Castor (Figure 1.17 b & c), the area drained by the Cloaca Maxima. In the *Fasti*, in a passage discussed in Chapter 2.1, the poet is told of this particular etymology of Vertumnus' name by an old woman that she crosses the forum in bare feet in memory of the days when the river still ran through the forum area (*Fast.* 6.409-10). This other old woman who speaks of Vertumnus, in the *Metamorphoses*, thus cleverly emphasizes the god's location, which serves as to anticipate his own anti-riverine tendencies that will lead to the draining of the forum and make him a suitable match for Pomona. Her garden thus becomes a new kind of lush space, in which sexual violence is, at the last moment, apparently kept at bay (*Met.* 14.770-71):

770 uimque parat: sed ui non est opus, inque figura  
capta dei nympha est et mutua uulnera sensit.

“He was all ready to force her: but no force was necessary, and the nymph, smitten by the beauty of the god, felt an answering passion.”

The possibility of violence is foregrounded, but Pomona is, it seems, charmed by his *figura* (“beauty, appearance;” *Met.* 14.771). Davis sees this as the development of a different story type; Pomona is not an anti-sexual nymph, but is open to amatory persuasion once Vertumnus stops trying to deceive her (Davis 1983: 69-70). The ambiguity surrounding Pomona's willingness, as expressed in these lines, makes for a troubling conclusion. Although we have seen Pomona as the active cultivator of her own garden space, we are left with the suggestion that she herself has been forced into submission by the god of fertility. Once again, the notion of the garden as a safe space is predicated upon the possibility of violence.

For the reader, the revelation that Pomona's garden is close to the home of Vertumnus serves to locate the story in the centre of Rome. The final garden of the poem thus represents the pre-

foundational landscape of the city. The extended account of this garden and its careful water management in fact stands in for any detailed account of the city's foundation: Pomona's story begins while Proca rules on the Palatine (Met. 14.622); immediately after the conclusion of the story, we are told very briefly ...*festisque Palilibus urbis / moenia conduntur...* ("and during the Palilia festival, the city's walls were built;" Met. 14.774-5). The garden thus becomes a foundational, harmonious Roman landscape. It is one from which rivers are deliberately excluded, and which thus gives the impression of keeping sexual violence under control.

#### 4.4 CONCLUSION

The garden is a broadly useful and reasonably sustainable kind of space in the Mediterranean. As Semple observes, the Mediterranean climate allows for relatively easy maintenance of gardens, as plants and trees bloom year round, and in the hot and dusty summer months the cool seclusion of the garden has a sensory appeal beyond the profitability of its produce (Semple 1931: 474-6). In the world of the *Metamorphoses*, this kind of useful, restorative, managed space offers both a blueprint for and an alternative to the appeal of "wild" nature. In different ways, Flora, Alcithoe and the first daughter of Minyas reveal the carefully arranged garden space as the aesthetic model for the *locus amoenus*. The shift from the sweating terror of Arethusa in Book 5 to the happy decisiveness of Pomona in Book 14 presents the garden as a safe alternative to the *locus amoenus*.

Thanks to the aqueduct programs of Agrippa and Augustus, the space of the *hortus* was no longer a rural phenomenon. Strabo's description of the Naples coastline makes clear how much planting seemed a natural part of an urban landscape to an Augustan writer: ἅπας δ' ἐστὶ κατεσκευασμένος τοῦτο μὲν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἃς ἔφαμεν, τοῦτο δὲ ταῖς οἰκοδομίαις καὶ φυτεῖαις, αἱ μεταξὺ συνεχεῖς οὔσαι μιᾶς πόλεως ὅσιν παρέχονται. ("and the whole of the gulf is garnished, in part by the cities which I have just mentioned, and in part by the residences and plantations, which,

since they intervene in unbroken succession, present the appearance of a single city;” Strabo 5.4.8). Within the *Metamorphoses*, the story of Pomona’s sheltered garden is immediately preceded by a description of the naming of the river Tiber (*Met.* 14.614-6):

615                   ...regnum Tiberinus ab illis  
cepit et in Tusci demersus fluminis undis  
                        nomina fecit aquae...

“Tiberinus inherited the kingdom from them, who, drowning in the waters of that Tuscan stream, gave his name to the water”

After the characteristic violence of the river Tiber, Pomona’s *hortus* with its anti-river policy offers a safe alternative to the city’s native water source. Favro sees the urban *horti* as a hallmark of the Augustan city, which contribute to the princeps’ architectural message of control by representing the shaping and control of nature (Favro 1996: 179-80). At the same time, part of the appeal of many Roman gardens lay precisely in their connection with the uncontrolled space of the *locus amoenus*. So, as Hinds has observed, the myths of the *Metamorphoses* are frequent subjects for wall paintings in the gardens of Pompeii, where they are often used to enhance the decoration of plumbed water features. As he notes, this interplay between nature, art, myth and plumbing provides an apt evocation of the world of the *Metamorphoses* (Hinds 2002: 140-47). Newby has seen this same play between domestic order, myth, art, and violence in the statuary collections of the Roman *horti Sallustiani* and *horti Lamiani*, which bring violent myths such as the death of the Niobids into the secluded garden space (Newby 2012 *passim*). The aqueduct-fed garden spaces of ancient Rome and its literature were sites where the opposition between the human and the non-human were acknowledged and explored. The waters of the *Metamorphoses*, often in their own words, draw connections between these carefully designed spaces and other hierarchies of Roman life.

## EPILOGUE

Gender has emerged as a key conceptual framework organizing each of the waterscapes I have considered. The valuation of the different typologies of water based upon their perceived usefulness, beauty and destructive potential, discussed in Chapter 3, directly informs the gendering of their associated divinities, as I explored in Chapter 4.1. The assessment of rivers as powerful and potentially violent, and springs as alluring and useful both underpins and is reinforced by the patriarchal social structures of these anthropomorphic water deities. The breadth of my study shows that the mutual reinforcement of gender and environmental hierarchies, which Alison Keith has shown is an important function of Roman epic (Keith 2000: 36-64), is a pervasive aspect of landscape writing across genres, which in the case of water, at least, is further reinforced by religious conceptions of the natural world.

I have also shown how Ovid draws upon this gendered view of the natural waterscape when writing about urban hydraulic infrastructure. Although he tends to treat Rome's man-made water system as distinct from and superior to the city's natural, unmanaged waters, his appreciation of aqueducts and display fountains is rooted in the same patriarchal value system which structures his presentation of natural landscape. So, the charm, reliability and non-threatening character of these urban pipelines is conveyed by presenting them as playful water nymphs, as I showed in Chapter 2.2, while the foundational importance and dangerous potential of the Tiber is explained in the male river god's own words, as discussed in Chapter 2.1. The legacy of Ovid's inclusion of the urban hydraulic infrastructure within this conception of landscape can be seen in Statius, who describes the aqueducts Marcia and Virgo not just as water nymphs but as Italian landscape deities who replace the Greek Muses (Statius *Silvae* 1.5.1-28).

Anthony Corbeill has argued that, for the Romans, gendering the world around them was much more than an arbitrary reflex of the Latin language, and was a fundamental organizational tool (Corbeill 2015: 1-11); he also notes that certain poets were deemed, by ancient grammarians and commentators, to have special insight into the relationship between language and the world, which gave them the ability and authority to play upon grammatical gender (Corbeill 2015: 41-74). My project has shown that gendering offered Ovid an easy mechanism with which to naturalize technological advances and environmental changes. His preference for gendered over technical vocabulary helps to fit the urban hydraulic infrastructure within a very familiar worldview.

As I argued in Chapter 4.2, the imagery used by the first daughter of Minyas and be Galatea provides a startling reminder of the technology which Ovid's poetry hides. The words of these Ovidian women demonstrate how this process of masking technology in gendered language helps to reinforce gendered behaviours and power hierarchies. By applying violent mechanistic imagery to male landscape features, and presenting passive, silent river gods, they question the inevitability of the system which pervades the rest of Ovid's writing. I make no claim that these rare moments of disruptive technology constitute a particularly "subversive" attitude toward the Augustan regime and its building program; Ovid is ultimately an admirer of these new hydraulics and the kind of lifestyle and relationship with the environment that they make possible (see Chapter 2.3). My observation is rather that the ways in which Ovid reconfigures the Augustan city help to reveal the gendered framework which underlies writing about and religious attitudes towards the environment.

While Ovid idealizes the hydraulic infrastructure built by Agrippa and Augustus by equating it with female water divinities who are easily contained and controlled, the city's natural water

features, and particularly the Tiber, tend to fall outside this contained system (as noted in Chapter 1.2). The divinity of water means that management of these waters is not conceived of as a domination of nature. Instead, as I explored in Chapter 2.1, religious ritual works as a second kind of hydraulic infrastructure, aiming to create a harmonious and productive relationship between human society and the unpredictable environment.

So, the *Fasti* often shows early settlers and newly arriving deities as entering into a negotiation with the river and the other local waters; these waters are shown both repelling some who try to enter, and welcoming or even rescuing others. The various water-focused religious rites discussed in Chapter 2.1 work as a continuation of this negotiation. The poet tells us that the Carmentalia commemorates Carmentis' arrival in Rome and her address to the local landscape features. The ritual of the Argei is a prompt to remember many moments in the city's history connected with the river, including both the arrival of Hercules and his cult, and death by drowning in Tiber's waters. Religion, then, is the infrastructure which manages relations with Rome's natural waterscape, working in parallel with the aqueducts built by Agrippa which manage relations with the imported waterscape.

The interconnectedness of environmental attitudes, religious ritual, and poetry is a useful reminder that poetic topoi are embedded in experience (that of the author, of literary predecessors, of the audience). Francesca Martelli's study of literary topoi in Statius brings formalist and new historicist concerns together, and demonstrates that material referents in literary topoi help those topoi remain meaningful. Martelli shows that topoi such as the fountain of inspiration and the *locus amoenus*, being rooted in experience of the world, are kept vivid through reaffirmation of this connection (Martelli 2009: 149-53, 165-74). She argues that these literary conventions do more than simply aestheticize the poet's socio-historical context, and this is very clear in the relationship

between Ovid's water-focused topoi and the Roman environment. Ovid's poetry is both drawing upon a pre-existing value system, as discussed above, and helping to shape that value system. So, as I argue in Chapter 4.3, his *locus amoenus* scenes draw upon the aesthetics of the Roman *hortus* to create a symbol of natural loveliness; the Ovidian *locus amoenus* is then reintroduced into the gardens of Pompeii, and so in its turn alters the experience of garden space. This process is also evident in attitudes toward the Roman aqueducts. The connection between aqueducts, and feminine purity and allure was not new to Ovid: this is made clear by the name of the Aqua Virgo and the various aetiologies of it (see Chapter 1.2), as well as by the painting set up at its source and the later writers who reaffirm those aetiologies. Ovid's poetic feminizations of the Aqua Virgo are just one part of a broader cultural trend. In this light, Statius' eventual incorporation of the Virgo into his list of Roman Muses is an innovation on literary tradition which contributes to and expands upon a broader cultural valuation of the city's aqueducts.

As well as contributing to our understanding of the connection between the urban waterscape and unmanaged landscape, my dissertation has shown how hydraulic infrastructure is used by Ovid to characterize non-urban settings. So, Ovid's vision of a rural idyll, his hometown of Sulmo, is characterized by the irrigation channels which make it watery, lush, and healthful (see Chapter 3.2). This irrigated paradise is thus framed as the appropriate setting to have nurtured a poet who could appreciate the refinement of the city and its constructed waterscape. The inverse of the two ideal waterscapes, Rome and Sulmo, is Tomis, where the hydrological infrastructure is completely dysfunctional. The force of Ovid's dissatisfaction with the location of his exile is expressed by the contrast between the water systems of his past and the unmanageable waterscape of his present. His flashes of memory which bring Rome's aqueducts before his eyes in exile serve only to emphasize the impossibility of such useful, beautiful, controlled waters ever being constructed in

Tomis. The hydraulic infrastructure of Rome and of Sulmo provide Ovid with an aesthetic and social standard against which other places can be judged. These waterscapes are the source of images such as the cup of inspiration, and the lovely wilderness of the *locus amoenus*.

The influence of Ovid's poetry reaches far beyond classical antiquity, in the realms of art, poetry, philosophy and science (see Gildenhard and Zissos 2013; Barolsky 2014; Miller and Newlands 2014). His presentation of landscape, and particularly the figure of the *locus amoenus*, have been particularly significant (Hinds 2002: 124). Hughes has argued that modern societies rely on problematic attitudes with ancient antecedents in their approach to the environment, particularly in their anthropocentric biases (Hughes 1994: 168). In addition to literary topoi such as the *locus amoenus*, notions such as the woman/nature equivalency discussed in Chapter 4.2 underpin Ovid's writings on water and continue to inform approaches to gender and to the environment in the modern world. My dissertation offers insight into the interaction between culture and environment in Ovid's writing, and contributes to understanding and critiquing later environmental writing. Tracing the genealogy of environmental ideas helps identify what we take for granted, and teaches us not to do so.

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