

The Building of Verse: Descriptions of Architectural Structures in Roman Poetry

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Abstract

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examines depictions of architecture in the literature of the Roman poets Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Propertius, Statius, and Martial. These poets, whose careers span the most significant building programs of ancient Rome, from the Age of Augustus through the Flavian period (ca. 31 BC – AD 96), often build ekphrases, or extended literary descriptions, around residences, temples, and other structures within their poetry. Besides the poetic evidence, I look at Vitruvius' well-known architectural treatise, also written during the building-rich Augustan period, to explore how the poets share in the description of architectural elements and building practices found in his contemporaneous work. I argue that the depictions of architectural structures in these poets are never meant to function solely as settings but rather are intentionally included to more fully develop and vivify the poem's vocabulary, imagery, and overall narrative and/or purpose.

The first chapter highlights the poetic treatment of caverns and grottoes. It establishes that the poets use a fully developed architectural vocabulary to describe the natural dwellings of monsters and divine beings, as well as the related ideas that these poetically created natural habitats reflect their owners and can even refer to real structures in the Roman world. The second chapter treats both encomiastic and critical depictions of fully developed residences, which serve to identify their owners/inhabitants not only in terms of their aesthetic preferences but also with respect to their social status and their lifestyle. The third chapter turns to temples, hybrid between private (divine) residence and public structure. The poets depict temples in ways that are reflective not of the god or religious ceremony, but rather of how they themselves (i.e., their speakers/narrators) or their characters relate personally and uniquely to the structure, whether they construct or simply view the temple. The fourth chapter focuses on public structures that were used by the people for reasons other than religious worship, such as the curia and baths. It reveals a shift in the nature of poetic architectural descriptions over time, from the late first century B.C.E. writing of Virgil, who uses contemporary architectural terminology to enliven traditional epic structures, to the mid-late first century C.E. poets Statius and Martial, who break generic boundaries in establishing new kinds of poetry to celebrate new, fully Roman architectural structures such as the imperial *thermae*. Chapter Five serves as a conclusion to the project, considering the formation of cities and their development.

Dedication

To my mother, who taught me that true strength comes from within.

Acknowledgments

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INTRODUCTION

As the cab driver steered me towards my destination of the Campo di Fiori, suddenly I saw it—my heart skipped a beat, my stomach knotted, and I smiled. There it was, gleaming in the late afternoon sun, the Theater of Marcellus, a monument I had contemplated for months, anticipating the time I would finally see it in person. I had always admired its three-ordered, travertine façade, yet nothing prepared me for the sense of personal attachment I felt to the structure at that very moment in the taxi. It represented my years of study in Classics and in classical architecture and the culmination of that period in my first trip to Rome. If I could feel such a strong connection to a building constructed thousands of years earlier, I wondered how those in antiquity perceived and responded to the buildings.

In this dissertation I examine the work of six poets, representative witnesses to the dramatic physical changes Rome underwent in the first centuries BCE and CE, turning from a city of brick into a city of marble. Virgil, Horace, Propertius, Ovid, Martial, and Statius all wrote during the most significant building projects Rome had seen, from the Augustan through the Flavian period, and each poet features extended depictions (ekphrases) of buildings in their work. My project analyzes these depictions not simply to understand the architecture of Roman buildings and what they were like, but rather to interpret more broadly the literary texts. I argue that the depictions of architectural structures in these authors are never meant to function solely as settings but rather are intentionally included to more fully develop the poem's vocabulary, imagery, and overall narrative and/or purpose.

As the poet creates his poem, he creates the building in his own mind and in the mind of the reader, who imagines what the structure must have looked like while reading the poem. The reader, whether ancient or modern, is given the same invitation to “view” the building and to

appreciate and admire its interesting features. This “building” of buildings in poetry becomes more fascinating when it is provided a Roman context. Just as poetry consists of a physical text, the building is what creates the physical “text” of any city, and particularly the city of Rome.¹ Buildings become monuments and they comprise a large part of the identity and memory of Rome.²

Along with ideas of identity, memory, and space, I consider the poet’s treatment of buildings (and his poetry) in other ways. The location of the building, whether inside or outside of Rome, can play a role in how the poet chooses to relate and interpret the building. All of the poets discussed below examine the relationship of the structure to its respective owner; every building is in some way strikingly reflective of its builder and/or inhabitant. The architectural features each poet chooses to emphasize, including building materials, size, proportion, exposure, and artistic themes, among others, are not simply vocabulary terms, but in fact demonstrate how a lay Roman reader (i.e., neither an architect nor professional builder) in antiquity would have conceived of and related to structures: their creation, their function, and their meaning. The poets, attempting to appeal to a broad audience of all occupations, typically choose captivating, even awe-inducing, structures and structural features to captivate their readers.

¹ Cf. Kraus 1994, who likens the creation of buildings to the creation of literature in Livy. For other connections between literary and non-literary texts, see Vermeule 1996 and Fowler 1997.

² On the connection between Rome, monument, and memory, see, e.g., Fowler 2000; Gowing 2005 and 2008; Larmour and Spencer (eds.) 2007; Rea 2007. Spencer 2010 investigates how natural landscapes, such as gardens, contribute to the idea of Roman identity. O’Sullivan 2011 considers how the concept of walking around a city, particularly Rome, is essential to understanding one’s identity and relationship to that place; in contrast, my project focuses on artificial movement that is created through a poet’s guidance of his reader up to or through a certain building or structure in his mind. There is no actual movement involved. Indeed the static nature of buildings gives them a sense of permanence and memory.

These descriptions of buildings may provide a means for the poet to read and determine judgment about other people. But they also offer the reader insight into the poet and his particular poetic program. What does each individual poet consider worthy of discussing and memorializing in his poetry, and how may this differ from the other poets? In other words, what makes Virgil's depiction Virgilian? Or Ovid's building Ovidian? Yet even with the large scope of this project, it does not claim to be an exhaustive report of every building depiction in Roman poetry. Rather, the passages discussed here interact most with the questions I am interested in answering and represent a crucial period of time during Rome's physical, political, and ideological transformation. In addition, all of the building depictions below are of substantial length (typically 4 lines or longer), which allows them to be called *architectural ekphrases*.

Here I must define the phrase *architectural ekphrasis*, first by evaluating each word separately, then by discussing them together. Roman architecture spans many centuries but underwent major changes in form and technique in the early imperial period. During the Republic, Rome's long concentration on external affairs, followed by the sequence of civil wars, left the city in a state of neglect. Deterioration of buildings coincided with the deterioration of Roman identity, morality, and morale. Augustus, in an attempt to reverse the physical and symbolic decline of Rome, instituted a widespread building program, establishing the reconstruction and new construction of buildings all over the city, filling Rome with visual symbols of peace, prosperity, and a return to archaic values.³ The renovation and innovation seen in the newly gleaming buildings transformed the physical appearance of the city as well as the

³ For a comprehensive study of this imagery, see Zanker 1988.

symbolic vision of the city. Augustus' building program helped to create a cohesive cityscape with a new center of power; Rome was now seen as a city worthy of representing an empire.⁴

It is at this period in time (late Republic-early Empire), when the word *architectura* first appears in Latin. Cicero describes architecture as belonging to the category of occupations that were beneficial to society and requiring higher intelligence and social status (*Quibus autem artibus aut prudentia maior inest aut non mediocris utilitas quaeritur ut medicina, ut architectura, ut doctrina rerum honestarum, eae sunt iis, quorum ordini conveniunt, honestae, De Officiis* 1.151). Architecture can symbolize the intellect, wealth, and status of a builder or inhabitant, and these characteristics are often featured in the poets' architectural descriptions. Yet the significance of architecture at this time was fully revealed in the publication of Vitruvius' treatise *De Architectura Decem Libri*. Vitruvius' work ostensibly provides practical guidelines to developers on how to build structures in the future, with the use of sensible materials, design plans, and locations, yet, as Elsner establishes, the treatise functions symbolically as a "highly partisan text-book for fulfilling the Augustan political project as it was directed to buildings."⁵ The importance and accessibility of Vitruvius' work are reflected in the poems discussed in this project, as different manifestations of a robust, sophisticated discourse of architecture.

The city would continue to be transformed and enhanced during the first century CE, particularly with the last Julio-Claudian emperor, Nero, and the subsequent Flavian dynasty, consisting of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian. Nero's usurpation of land in the heart of Rome for his own private quasi-rural estate, the *Domus Aurea*, made him the victim of harsh criticism but also laid the foundations for construction of one of Rome's most famous and enduring

⁴ As argued by Favro 1996, responding to Zanker 1988. Cf. Edwards and Woolf 2003: 1-20; Larmour and Spencer 2007: 1-60.

⁵ Elsner 1995: 56. See also McEwen 2003.

monuments, the Flavian Amphitheater, or Colosseum as it is known today.⁶ Elsner's argument that each emperor was compelled to outdo his predecessors is important here:⁷ Nero's superior achievement was to be found partly in revolutionary new uses of concrete and in innovations in domestic architecture.⁸ But neither of these was particularly celebrated by Roman texts (until Statius, at least); magnificence was supposed to be reserved for public architecture.⁹ Nero's public baths did merit great praise,¹⁰ representing a dramatic progression in style, scale, and execution from the Baths of Agrippa. It can be argued that one of the most, if not the most, significant Roman architectural achievements was the mid-late first century CE emperors' (and beyond) revolutionizing of the baths, from small-scale *balnea* to imperial *thermae*.¹¹ Vespasian and Titus sought to surpass (and distance themselves from) Nero by returning the focus of imperial building projects to public works, yet Domitian's architectural contributions surpassed his own brother and father, especially with the construction of the Flavian palace, inhabited by subsequent emperors until late antiquity. Surprisingly we know the architect for Domitian's impressive domestic structure: Rabirius, who was clearly more skilled than Severus and Celer, architects of the *Domus Aurea*, in the creation of advanced spatial shapes and the application of

⁶ The construction and significance of the Flavian amphitheater concerns a very large body of scholarship: see, e.g., Ward-Perkins 1981: 63-70; Sear 1992: 134-144; Taylor 2003: Chapter 4.

⁷ Elsner 1994.

⁸ The title of Ball's 2003 work (*The Domus Aurea and the Roman Architectural Revolution*) explicitly indicates the significance.

⁹ Cicero, *Pro Murena* 76: *Odit populus Romanus privatam luxuriam, publicam magnificentiam diligit*. Horace famously disparages the excesses of private luxury and building in the Roman Odes (esp. 3.1, see also 2.15, 2.18—all discussed below).

¹⁰ Perhaps reflected most in Martial's famous quip: *quid Nerone peius? Quid thermis melius Neronianis?* (*Ep.* 7.34.4-5).

¹¹ For studies of the development of Roman baths and bathing, see, e.g., Yēgul 1995 and 2010; Fagan 1999. See also Chapter 4.

concrete to these forms.¹² Domitian died in 96, but later emperors, particularly Trajan and Hadrian, as well as the Severan dynasty, continued the upward progression of architectural development in Rome.

It is at this point that we turn to the word *ekphrasis*. The study of ekphrasis has expanded tremendously in the last quarter century.¹³ Ancient and modern definitions of ekphrasis differ: whereas the ancient term has been defined generally as “a speech that brings the subject matter vividly before the eyes,”¹⁴ the modern definition has steered discussion towards passages involving depictions and/observations of art. Ekphrases have been defined modernly as “passages that direct the attention of an audience, as it reads or hears a translation of images into language, to the manners, means, and objects of representation in both visual and verbal media,” or more simply, “words about an image.”¹⁵ Ekphrastic description has often been denigrated as an interruption of rather than an aid to the narrative or purpose of the poem, but recent scholarship has aimed to prove exactly the opposite:

Insofar as it disrupts the simple linear and temporal trends of a given narrative, description, especially ekphrastic description, does indeed trespass upon the main story-line; but I would suggest that we see this intrusion not simply as a way to create a change of pace nor even simply as a vehicle for a poet’s Alexandrian virtuosity, but as an integral part of the larger whole, a reflective surface upon which the narrative can not only mirror itself but gains an otherwise unavailable degree of self-awareness.¹⁶

¹² Martial 7.56 provides the name of Rabirius. On the *Domus Flavia*, see *LTUR* 2: 42-45 and esp. MacDonald 1982: 47-74.

¹³ See, to name just a few, Leach 1988; Fowler 1991; Goldhill and Osborne (eds.) 1994; Becker 1995; Laird 1996; special issues of *Ramus* (31.1-2, 2002, edited by Elsner) and *Classical Philology* (102.1, 2007, edited by Bartsch and Elsner). Leach 1974 and duBois 1982 should also not be discounted here.

¹⁴ Webb 2009: 1. Webb conducts a study of ekphrasis in ancient rhetorical theory.

¹⁵ Becker 1995: 6; Bartsch and Elsner 2007: i.

¹⁶ Boyd 1995: 84.

As we shall see below, ekphrasis develops portrayals of characters and reinforces significant themes and contexts in poetry, and the practice of ekphrasis develops to the point where it is the sole purpose of a poem, as with Statius' villa poetry. Ekphrastic studies also contribute to the larger field of Word and Image studies. Squire's monograph *Image and Text in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* is the most recent work to argue, rightly so, that text and image need not agree; the text may not align directly to the image and vice versa, which allows for numerous possible interpretations of both verbal and visual media.¹⁷ The poets discussed in the following analyses often offer multiple interpretations and approaches to the same monuments.

Squire's work, pivotal as it is towards a new interpretation of ekphrastic description, mostly overlooks architectural ekphrases, focusing upon the relationship between words and paintings or sculpture. This is symptomatic of many scholarly treatments of ekphrasis, often considering the connection between text and Greek/Roman art, but omitting text and Greek/Roman architecture.¹⁸ Newlands has recently argued for the importance of architectural ekphrasis to the definition and analysis of ekphrasis in ancient texts. Her particular concern lies in the importance of the description of historical rather than fictitious buildings, particularly in imperial panegyric.¹⁹ My project argues, however, that ekphrases of fictional buildings written by Augustan period poets such as Virgil and Ovid likewise rely on the architectural techniques and building materials of contemporary historical buildings, and can still evoke meaningful responses from the reader as well as reinforce thematic concerns within the text. Ekphrases of

¹⁷ Squire 2009.

¹⁸ Stieber's recent work on Euripides (*Euripides and the Language of Craft*, Brill 2011) does consider architectural depictions.

¹⁹ Newlands 2013: esp. 59; cf. Newlands 2012: 74. See also Keith 2007.

buildings, fictitious or historical, elicit the same multitude of subjective interpretations as those of painting or sculpture featured in the works of Squire, and also of Leach.²⁰

Recent years have produced much scholarship on individual Roman author's treatments of monuments and landscape, often considering architectural ekphrases in the context of how people view and engage with the buildings around them. Works such as Newlands' *Statius and the Poetics of Empire*, Boyle's *Ovid and the Monuments*, and Welch's *The Elegiac Cityscape: Propertius and the Meaning of Roman Monuments* demonstrate how Statius, Ovid, and Propertius (respectively) create meaning in their poetry through references to the topography inside and outside of Rome, and all are formative upon my discussion. My contribution to this work lies in the diachronic nature of my study, which allows us to understand the differences between the poets and how their architectural depictions change over time. Dufallo's recent monograph *The Captor's Image: Greek Culture in Roman Ekphrasis* is an important model for my study, as it represents the first diachronic study of ekphrasis in Roman poetry. Dufallo is primarily interested in the reception of Greek culture within Roman ekphrasis, whereas my project aims to investigate what is Roman about Roman ekphrasis: the architecture and the Romans' reactions to it.²¹ The idea that architectural ekphrases are not only depictions of, but also responses to, buildings is expressed in the very beginning of Edwards' *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City*, another important model for my work. My project complements her work in considering how people responded to architecture outside of Rome, particularly with

²⁰ Leach 1988.

²¹ Here perhaps I should define what I mean by 'Roman.' Roman does not have to mean one's birthplace; in fact none of the poets I discuss is from Rome. Rather it is someone who connects ideologically with the physical and conceptual city of Rome, its monuments, ideals, and values. All of these poets conceived of themselves as Romans, engaging with the city in their work. I use them as witnesses to the Roman perspective of monuments and how they may have transformed.

Stattius' poems centered on the villas around Naples, and how architecture can still be viewed as 'Roman' or 'urban' even if outside the physical city of Rome.

Vitruvius traces the development of building, in particular, homebuilding, in the beginning of Book 2 of his architectural treatise. In 2.1.1-2.1.7,²² he details how the earliest men lived in caves, like wild beasts, until they discovered fire, which brought about social interaction. Because of their desire for continued interaction they began to build shelters, first using mud or twigs or reeds, but over the course of time, learning from each other by means of their intellectual reasoning, they proceeded to construct gabled roofs, wooden houses, and beyond. According to Vitruvius, the evolution of building coincides with the evolution of mankind as humans learned the other arts and sciences through their knowledge of building and progressed from a "savage and uncultivated mode of life to domesticated civilization" (*e fera agrestique vita ad mansuetam perduxerunt humanitatem*, 2.1.6).

Likewise, this dissertation begins by outlining the progression of domestic architecture, first examining depictions of caverns and grottoes in Chapter One in Virgil and Ovid. It establishes that the poets use a fully developed architectural vocabulary to describe the natural inhabitations of monsters and divine beings, as well as the related ideas that these poetically created natural habitats reflect their owners and can even reference real structures in the Roman world. The second chapter moves (for the most part) chronologically through representations of fully developed, mostly imperial-era residences in Ovid, Statius, Martial, and Horace, analyzing each in close readings either to expand upon previous scholarly interpretations or to offer new, alternative interpretations. These residences serve to identify their owners/inhabitants not only in

²² For more discussion of this passage, see DeLaine 2002: 219 and McEwen 2003: 142-150. Vitruvius was not the first ancient author to discuss the progression from caves to houses: Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* 447-453 describes early humans as "living like ants in sunless caves." See Chapter 1.

terms of their aesthetic preferences but also with respect to their social status and their lifestyle. In addition, the recent innovations in construction and engineering successfully (or not so successfully) integrate the features of public architecture into the private domain, which leads to celebration by some of the poets (the first half of Chapter Two) but disapproval in others (the latter half).

The third chapter examines the representation of temples in Virgil, Horace, Propertius, and Ovid. The poets depict the temples in ways that are reflective not of the god or religious ceremony, but rather of how they themselves (i.e., their speakers/narrators) or their characters relate personally and uniquely to the structure, whether they construct or simply view the temple. Chapter Four focuses on other public structures, such as the Roman *curia* and the baths. It reveals a shift in the nature of poetic architectural descriptions over time, from the late first century B.C.E. writing of Virgil, who uses contemporary architectural terminology to enliven traditional epic structures, to the mid-late first century C.E. poets Statius and Martial, who break generic boundaries in establishing new kinds of poetry to celebrate new, fully Roman architectural structures like the imperial *thermae*. Virgil's depiction of the Palace of Latinus shows in particular how the poet projects Roman monuments into the mythic past to help historicize myth. His representation of Roman architectural features within a mythological context would inspire many future poets.

Chapter Five serves as a conclusion to the project, considering cities and their development. It begins by examining walls, the structure that surrounds all of the other buildings highlighted in previous chapters, and their importance to and reminiscence of cities. Next, I analyze the construction of Carthage in Virgil's *Aeneid* and its similar features to Augustan Rome. Finally, I consider different variations of the 'Then and Now' trope as seen in Virgil,

Propertius, and Ovid. Whereas Virgil and Propertius use the ruins of archaic Rome to reflect on the lamentable disappearance of the glorious, moral past, Ovid instead employs the ruins as a means of praising contemporary Rome and how far it has progressed.

Greek Precedents: The Palace of Alcinous, Homer *Odyssey* 7.81-102

The final section of this introduction will consider how Roman poets may have continued a tradition of architectural representation first appearing in Greek poetry. There are several depictions of buildings in Homer's *Odyssey* as well in the *Argonautica* by Apollonius of Rhodes that seemingly have inspired later Roman authors.²³ Here I will examine perhaps the most well-known architectural ekphrasis, the palace of Alcinous in *Odyssey* 7. Its attention to detail, substantial length, and significant features may (unknowingly) anticipate or inspire similar descriptions of architecture in Augustan and Flavian poetry. In the sixth book of the *Odyssey*, Odysseus meets Nausicaa, princess of the Phaeacians, on whose unfamiliar, somewhat magical²⁴ land Odysseus washes up. As the seventh book begins, Nausicaa takes Odysseus to the palace to meet her father Alcinous:

²³ Some examples include *Odyssey* 6.3-10, describing the building of the city of the Phaeacians by Nausithoos, which appears to inspire Virgil's description of the building of Carthage in *Aeneid* 1.419-38. Virgil also may be recalling *Odyssey* Book 13.344-351, where Athena shows Odysseus around his home of Ithaca, familiar and yet not to Odysseus, in the scene where Evander shows Aeneas around Pallanteum in *Aeneid* VIII. The cave of the Naiads in 13.347-8 creates guidelines for later descriptions of caverns and grottos in Virgil's *Georgics* and *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses*. The descriptions of the palace of Menelaus in Book 4.44-48, 71-75 as well as Apollonius of Rhodes' description of the palace of Aietes in *Argonautica* 3.214-48, provide models for later depictions of mythical palaces in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Books 1 and 2. Odysseus' famous description of the olive-tree bed in *Odyssey* Book 23.188-201 finds parallels in Statius and Martial, where architectural features and even entire homes have been designed to fit around a great tree.

²⁴ See, e.g., Garvie 1994: 19-26, who outlines the discussions of the Phaeacians as a land of fantasy or reality. Cf. Garvie *ad* 7.78-132, which calls the Phaeacians and their land "a blend of the ordinary and extraordinary." See also Saïd 2011: 179.

...αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
 Ἀλκινόου πρὸς δώματ' ἴε κλυτὰ· πολλὰ δέ οἱ κῆρ
 ὦρμαιν' ἰσταμένῳ, πρὶν χάλκεον οὐδὸν ἰκέσθαι.
 ὥς τε γὰρ ἠελίου αἴγλη πέλεν ἠὲ σελήνης
 δῶμα καθ' ὑπερεφές μεγαλήτορος Ἀλκινόοιο. 85
 χάλκεοι μὲν γὰρ τοῖχοι ἐληλέατ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
 ἐς μυχὸν ἐξ οὐδοῦ, περὶ δὲ θριγκὸς κυάνοιο·
 χρύσειαι δὲ θύραι πυκινὸν δόμον ἐντὸς ἔεργον·
 σταθμοὶ δ' ἀργύρεοι ἐν χαλκῷ ἔστασαν οὐδῶ,
 ἀργύρεον δ' ἐφ' ὑπερθύριον, χρυσῆ δὲ κορώνη.
 χρύσειοι δ' ἐκάτερθε καὶ ἀργύρεοι κύνες ἦσαν, 91
 οὓς Ἥφαιστος ἔτευξεν ἰδυίησι πραιπίδεςσι
 δῶμα φυλασσέμεναι μεγαλήτορος Ἀλκινόοιο,
 ἀθανάτους ὄντας καὶ ἀγήρωσ ἤματα πάντα.
 ἐν δὲ θρόνοι περὶ τοῖχον ἐρηρέδατ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
 ἐς μυχὸν ἐξ οὐδοῦ διαμπερές, ἔνθ' ἐνὶ πέπλοι 96
 λεπτοὶ εὐνήνητοι βεβλήατο, ἔργα γυναικῶν.
 ἔνθα δὲ Φαιήκων ἠγήτορες ἐδριόωντο
 πίνοντες καὶ ἔδοντες· ἐπιητανὸν γὰρ ἔχεσκον.
 χρύσειοι δ' ἄρα κοῦροι εὐδμήτων ἐπὶ βωμῶν 100
 ἔστασαν αἰθομένας δαΐδας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχοντες,
 φαίνοντες νύκτας κατὰ δώματα δαιτυμόνεσσι.

Meanwhile Odysseus went to the splendid house of Alcinous. His heart pondered many things as he stood there, before reaching the bronze threshold. There was a radiance as if of the sun or moon over the high-roofed house of great-hearted Alcinous. For bronze walls had been drawn both this way and that way, from the threshold to the innermost corner, around which there was a dark blue frieze. Golden doors separated the well-fitted house inside; silver doorposts stood on the bronze threshold, upon them was a silver lintel and gold door handles. On either side were gold and silver dogs, which Hephaistos had made immortal and unaging all their days with skillful ingenuity, guarding the house of great-hearted Alcinous. Inside chairs had been planted along the wall here and there, right through from threshold to the most interior, on which delicate, well-spun garments had been thrown, women's work, and there the Phaeacian leaders sat eating and drinking; for they had great store. Golden youths stood on well-made pedestals, holding lit torches in their hands which gave light throughout the night to the guests in the home.

Just as the land of Phaeacians can be seen as a fantasy, so too Alcinous' palace combines elements of supernatural wonder with elements of reality, possibly taken from Mycenaean, Minoan, or Near Eastern architecture parallels.²⁵ The house resembles a megaron-type palace,²⁶

²⁵ On the possible parallels between Alcinous' palace and Near Eastern architecture, see Cook 2004, who sees the Assyrian palaces and their gardens (Alcinous' palace has a beautifully organized garden, 7.112-132: see Jenkyns 1998: 23-24, 28 and Cook 2004: 53-54, 67-69) as the most likely correspondent. Lorimer 1950: 429 observes parallels with Egyptian art and architecture. On Mycenaean influence, see Lorimer 1950: 406-433; Dougherty 2001: 104-111. On Minoan features, see Garvie and Stanford *ad loc.* Minchin 2001: 118n36 argues that Homer bases his palace off a generic, large, eighth century BCE home, using spatial memory and a preset description to perform or write the poem. In contrast, Dalby 1995: 273-275 finds problematic the tendency of Homeric scholars to view Homer's architecture as reality. Yet even fantastic description needs some elements of or resembling reality, in order to be able to compare the two states of existence.

though in fact Homer uses no word for palace; it is simply a large, lofty (ὕψερεφές) δόμος.²⁷ The poet's description begins with the external features of the courtyard, before moving to the internal features of the home, as if the poet were himself touring the house in his mind and likewise invites the reader to imagine the architectural schematics.²⁸ Yet the representation is filtered through the eyes of Odysseus, "pondering many things" (πολλὰ... ὄρμαιν', 82-83) as he observes and walks into the home.

Homer lists building materials (mostly metals) and employs specific architectural vocabulary to refer to different parts of the house (threshold, inner room, etc.) that could help evoke the imagery in the reader's or listener's mind. Yet these features of reality are connected with those larger than life. Homer compares the radiance of Alcinous' residence to the sun and moon (7.84-85), borrowing the same simile from the description of Menelaus' palace at *Odyssey* 4.45-46. The simile links the two palaces, both brilliant, yet Alcinous' residence actually outshines that of Menelaus because of its luxurious bronze threshold,²⁹ and gold and silver doors and guard dogs, the latter of which were created by the god Hephaistos.³⁰ In addition the house has a frieze of striking blue (87), perhaps emulating lapis lazuli, a glistening dark blue stone mined in the region of Afghanistan,³¹ along with the internal feature of impressive torches held by statues on pedestals (102-103). The color and brightness of all these costly materials is overwhelming, too good to be true. The poet explicitly associates Alcinous' palace dogs with the divine homes on Olympus with the phrase ἰδυίησι πραπίδεσσι (92), also used to describe

²⁶ Lorimer 1950: 406-433; Cook 2004: 51.

²⁷ Knox 1970: 117, 119 suggests that δόμος may have originally meant 'palace,' but eventually came to mean 'house'. See also Dalby 1995: 277.

²⁸ On the reader's imagined palace, see Minchin 2001: 118-119 and Barolsky 2009: 23-24.

²⁹ Most Greek houses, even the earthly houses (temples) of gods, had stone thresholds at this time: see Garvie *ad* 82-83; Saïd 2011: 180.

³⁰ On the watchdogs, see Garvie *ad* 91-94; Faraone 1987; Cook 2004: 53; Barolsky 2009: 24.

³¹ On lapis lazuli, see Stanford and Gurvie *ad loc.*, also Cook 2004: 53.

Hephaistos' construction of the Olympian residences (*Iliad* 1.608, 20.12). Alcinous' palace is simultaneously worldly and other-worldly, reflecting the nature of the Phaeacians themselves.

Homer's descriptive features prefigure many of the features seen in Roman architectural poetry. The importance of scale, the loftiness of the structure, can be seen in just about every Virgilian architectural ekphrasis, as well as Statius' villa poems. Homer's focus on the doors of Alcinous' residence, devoting two lines of description and enumerating each part of the door, finds parallels in Virgil's depictions of the caves of the Sibyl and of Cacus, Latinus' palace, and the temples of Juno and Apollo in the *Aeneid* (the latter of which also features golden doors; the former contains bronze doors), foreshadowed by Virgil's own literary temple in the *Georgics*. Propertius 2.31, on the Temple of Palatine Apollo, focuses on the power of the doors, both in their visual appeal and in their ability to grieve. Ovid too devotes time and space to doors in representations of the houses on Olympus (*Met.* 1) and particularly of the Palace of the Sun (*Met.* 2), which echoes Alcinous' palace in the metals used on the doors (gold, silver, bronze) and in the inclusion of Hephaistos as creator.

Homer's emphasis on shiny building materials underscores the importance of light; this resonates with the Roman poets as well. Statius in particular incorporates many words for light in his villa poems and bath poetry. He too emphasizes metallic building materials: gold in the residences of Violentilla, Vopiscus, and Pollius Felix, silver in the baths of Etruscus, and bronze artwork in Vopiscus' villa. Yet metals also find themselves the objects of scorn; Horace laments the use of gold in particular in *Ode* 2.18, as does Propertius 3.2, which emulates both Horace and Homer.³² Still there is one material missing from Homer's description: marble. Though the Greeks used marble quite extensively in public structures, particularly temples, the Romans'

³² On the Homeric inspiration of Propertius 3.2, see Mader 1988: 329. On Propertius' emulation of Horace, see Chapter 2.

preoccupation with marble is demonstrated not only through the physical remains (Augustus' city of marble from brick) of both public and private buildings but also in poetic renderings of such structures. The Romans created novel architectural uses for marble, and quarried costly, colored marbles from all parts of the globe to complete their visions. In short, marble played a large role in the Roman architectural revolution in the late first century BCE and the first century CE. Though Virgil, Propertius, Horace, Ovid, Statius, and Martial continue the tradition of Homeric and other Greek architectural ekphrases, at times consciously emulating features of the Greek predecessors, the new developments in architecture compel them to find new ways to describe the construction and monuments they encountered daily, whether physically or in their imaginations. The following discussions examine how this process takes place.

CHAPTER 1: CAVERNS AND GROTTOS

At least as early as Homer, caves have appealed immensely to people's imaginations. Caves frequently served as mythological dwelling places for creatures unwelcome in the civilized world, or fostered associations with fertility.¹ They also often carried a mystical or even sacred significance.² According to Ustinova, "caves hid awe-inspiring secrets and treasures, they served as shelters or places of seclusion, they could be exciting, mysterious, or frightening, but they were always numinous."³ Altered states of mind or reality and hallucinatory and revelatory experiences, caused by sensory deprivation and narcotic gases found in caves, make caves suitable locations also for oracles, seers, and even entrances to the Underworld, with the Cave of the Nymphs in Homer's *Odyssey* or the Allegory of the Cave in Plato's *Republic* serving as well-known Greek examples.⁴ All of these cave functions concern the Roman passages I will treat in this chapter: Cacus, described in *Aeneid* 8 as well as Ovid's *Fasti* 1, is considered a monster incapable of proper relationships with human beings and is thus relegated to the outskirts of society. Peleus and (unwilling) Thetis in *Metamorphoses* 11 consummate their own relationship within the confines of Thetis' grotto. The Sibyl, Proteus, and Cyrene, found in Virgil's *Aeneid* and *Georgics*, respectively, are represented as seers living in their cavern-like abodes in nature.

Why include a chapter on caves in my project on architecture in Roman poetry? Caverns and grottos are preliminary and marginal architectural structures, as they lie somewhere between

¹ Ustinova 2009: 2-3.

² See, e.g., Segal 1969: 20; Moore and Sullivan 1978: 3.

³ Ustinova 2009: 1. Ustinova's work will help to shape much of the introduction to this chapter.

⁴ Ustinova 2009: 51-2, 254-259. Cf. Connors and Clendenon (forthcoming): Greek storytellers and philosophers and their Roman successors, while forming their literary cavernous underworlds from actual hydrogeological observational evidence, "use the enigmatic and unknowable features observed in their landscapes to explore ideas about the limits of human experience" (3).

untouched nature and the more “modern” building or dwelling. Cavern dwellings are the precursors to fully constructed, man-made residences. Secondly, caves and grottos shelter creatures which also lie somewhere in the middle of a spectrum, in that they are neither fully human nor fully divine, such as nymphs and the Sibyl, or neither fully human nor beast, like Cacus (who fights a marginally human figure in the form of Hercules).⁵ The liminal status of the caves reflects the liminal status of their inhabitants, and thus function as further characterization of the characters within their own stories. Caves not only reflect their inhabitants, but they also are comprised of a rich, resonant vocabulary. In all of the passages discussed below, the poets incorporate contemporary architectural terms to describe or at least imply characteristics of contemporary dwellings in their portrayals of caves. The line between nature and artifice is blurred even more.

Foundational to this study is an understanding of the different terminology for caves. Whereas in English, the word ‘grotto’ often denotes a manmade structure, the Greeks and Romans did not seem to make a distinction between cavern or grotto or any of the Greek or Latin words that mean such. Ustinova states:

As a rule, modern Westerners distinguish between artificial and natural caves, while the Greeks indiscriminately applied the same words, usually *antron*, *spêlaion*, or *stomion*, both to real caverns and their man-made imitations. This word usage seems to indicate that the Greeks put the emphasis on the function and symbolism of grottoes, rather than on their technological and visual aspects.⁶

As the Romans borrowed many, if not all, of the words for cave from Greek (*antrum* from ἄντρον, *spelaeum* from σπήλαιον, *spelunca* as an adaptation of σπήλυξ, which is the equivalent of σπήλαιον in Greek, *cavernae/cavus* from κόος or κῶος), it is perhaps plausible to assume that

⁵ The progression from caves to houses as a reflector of the evolution of (civilized) man appears in several ancient sources, including Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound* 447-453, and Vitruvius 2.1.1-2.1.7. For a discussion on the Vitruvius passage, see Chapter 2.

⁶ Ustinova 2009: 154.

the Romans may have been as indiscriminate in their uses of these words. Virgil, for example, employs nearly all of the words that mean cave (according to the TLL entry for *antrum*) to describe Cacus' abode: *spelunca* and *recessus* (8.193), *antrum* (8.217), *specus* (8.241), *cavernae* (8.242), and *cavus* (8.248).⁷ That he uses all these words to refer to the same cave and the same characteristics within it (size, etc.) suggests that he does so not so much as a way of distinguishing different parts of the cave but rather to avoid redundancy or to comply with metrical necessities.

The Latin cave word *specus* is the only word not derived directly from Greek, but rather from the Latin verb *specio*. *Specio*, however, is rooted in the Greek σκέπτομαι, meaning “to look at” and also “to consider, examine” (LSJ I-II), which could be seen as referring to the mental revelations frequently occurring in caves. This may lead to Pliny's later use of *specio* as meaning “to interpret oracles” (OLD 1c). It would thus make sense that the caves of the seers might be referred to as *specus*, if the poets were trying to facilitate some sort of wordplay or deeper significance, and this may be true for Proteus' cave, described as *specus* (*Georgics* 4.418). However, the Sibyl's cave is an *antrum* (*Aen.* 6.42), and Cyrene's home filled with caves is portrayed using the term *speluncis*. Thus it seems likely that the Romans typically viewed these terms as mostly interchangeable. Though Ustinova remarks that it was more important for the ancients to appreciate the symbolism of the caves rather than their technologies or visual aspects (as a way of explaining the indiscriminacy between “cave” words), I wonder if in fact it was possible that the Greeks and Romans placed emphasis on *both* the visual aspects and their symbolism, if those visual aspects may have actually contributed to the caves' symbolism.

⁷ The only cave word not used to describe Cacus' cave is *spelaeum*, though Virgil does employ it elsewhere, in *Eclogue* 10.

I. The Sibyl and her Cave (*Aeneid* 6.40-53, 82-83)

According to Parke, the first representation of the Sibyl's cave can be found in Lycophron's *Alexandra* (third century BCE), followed by "numerous later descriptions" throughout antiquity.⁸ Virgil is no exception, as he too depicts the cave of the Sibyl in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, though, as Parke remarks,⁹ it is difficult to identify all of Virgil's sources for the cave. In *Aeneid* 6, Aeneas must approach the Sibyl at Cumae in order to determine how to enter the Underworld and speak with his father Anchises. Having entered the Temple of Apollo, he then is summoned by the priestess to enter her sanctuary and home (6.40-53):

<p>talibus adfata Aenean (nec sacra morantur iussa uiri) Teucros uocat alta in templa sacerdos. Excisum Euboicae latus ingens rupis in antrum, quo lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia centum, unde ruunt totidem uoces, responsa Sibyllae. uentum erat ad limen, cum uirgo 'poscere fata tempus' ait; 'deus ecce deus!' cui talia fanti ante fores subito non uultus, non color unus, non comptae mansere comae; sed pectus anhelum, et rabie fera corda tument, maiorque uideri nec mortale sonans, adflata est numine quando iam propiore dei. 'cessas in uota precesque, Tros' ait 'Aenea? cessas? neque enim ante dehiscent attonitae magna ora domus.'¹⁰</p>	<p>40 Having told Aeneas such things (men do not delay sacred orders), the priestess summons the Teucrians into the lofty temple. A side of Euboean rock had been cut into a huge cave, in which 100 wide entrances lead, 100 45 openings, from which rush out the same number of voices, responses of the Sibyl. The men had just come to the threshold when the maiden said, "It is time to request fates! The god, behold the god!" As she spoke such things in front of the doors, suddenly her face disappeared, it had no color, and her hair no longer remained kempt, but her chest puffed up and heart swelled with wild rage; she seemed larger than life, speaking non-mortal things, she was breathed upon by the divinity of the god coming near. "Do you hesitate to speak your vows and prayers, Trojan Aeneas? Are you hesitating? For the great mouths of the inspired home shall not open beforehand."</p>
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⁸ Parke 1988: 71. See also Waszink 1948: 51-52.

⁹ Parke 1988: 147.

¹⁰ All Virgil text comes from Mynors' Oxford Text. Translations, except where noted, are my own.

Here, as elsewhere, Virgil begins his description with elements of size, commenting upon the loftiness of the structure.¹¹ Size and scale are also highlighted in the adjective *ingens* in line 6.42. Whether *ingens* modifies *latus* or *antrum*,¹² the sense is clear: the Sibyl's abode is enormous. The choice of size as the first notable feature is a natural one: as a person approaches a building, size is one of the first easily distinguishable qualities of that structure. In addition, a reader can often imagine and marvel at the scale of a structure in his mind. But Virgil also is obligated to build up his poem to epic proportions, which often means heightening, enlarging, and emphasizing dramatic features, often to excess.¹³

Virgil continues to depict the proportions of the cave: it has one hundred entryways and one hundred doors out of which the Sibyl provides the same number of responses (6.43-44). While many commentators agree that *centum* is poetic exaggeration,¹⁴ Servius believes that the number may also have to do with the number of words in a typical Sibylline prophecy: *responsa enim Sibyllae in hoc loco plus minus centum sermonum sunt. Inveniuntur tamen Apollinis logia et viginti quinque et trium sermonum: unde melius est finitum pro infinito accipi.*¹⁵ Some scholars have also turned to archaeological evidence to determine whether Virgil has an actual cave in mind when he describes the cavern of the Sibyl here. In 1932 at Cumae, Maiuri excavated what he believed to be the cave of the Sibyl: an underground structure with large galleries cut perfectly out of tufa and passageways leading to an adyton with six lateral windows. Along the sides of the walls he found many holes which he took for sockets that would have held

¹¹ Barchiesi 2009: 178-180 comments upon the proliferation of descriptions of loftiness in Augustan poetry, including passages from Horace, Propertius, and Ovid all discussed in subsequent chapters.

¹² Austin *ad* 42 believes that *ingens* ought to be taken with *antrum*.

¹³ Gowers 2005a comments that there is "hyperbole beyond hyperbole" in this passage (181).

¹⁴ See Gowers 2005a, who calls it a "tired cliché," also Maiuri 1947: 118; Parke 1988: 80.

¹⁵ Serv. *ad Aen.* 6.43. See also Austin *ad* 6.43 and Gowers 2005a: 180.

wooden door frames and doors: “The galleries with their wooden shutters like doors, through which when opened the voice of the Sibyl must have been diffused and re-echoed by the walls of the cavern, fully justify the poetic exaggeration of the *aditus centum* and the *ostia centum*.”¹⁶ Subsequent scholars have generally supported Maiuri’s findings and have used them in their own discussions of Virgil;¹⁷ Austin’s commentary, in particular, relies on an extensive discussion of Maiuri’s cave as the likely source for Virgil’s description, and states that the cave, even in antiquity, was shown as the Cave of the Sibyl.¹⁸

Whether or not Virgil used this cave as inspiration, surely this description is hyperbolic: the size and extent of the cave and its “openings” are difficult to imagine fully, which is thematically relevant. Aeneas is meeting with a priestess who is larger than life, “more than mortal,”¹⁹ and whose prophecies are nearly always difficult to comprehend.²⁰ The idea of one hundred voices emerging from the cave (whether there were actually one hundred openings or not), reinforces the huge extent of the cavern in its physical dimensions (as drawn by Virgil), and also underscores the mysteriousness of the Sibyl and the inevitable frustration of the listener who cannot begin to decipher among the multitude of voices heard: the cave indeed reflects its inhabitant.

As Aeneas approaches the entrance of the cave, the Sibyl bids him to ask his question straightaway, “for the great mouths of the inspired home shall not open beforehand” (6.52-3). Rather than doorways, the openings of the cave are referred to as “mouths” (though *ostia* can

¹⁶ Maiuri 1947: 110-119 (118 cited). See also Pagano 1985-6.

¹⁷ Latimer 1940: 32-33; Pollard 1982: 8 and Parke 1988: 71. Gowers 2005a: 179 argues that the matter is still controversial.

¹⁸ Austin *ad* 42-76. Cf. Reynolds’ preface to Austin’s commentary on Colin Hardie’s contributions to the discussion of the Sibyl’s cave.

¹⁹ Couter 1950: 124.

²⁰ Parke 1988: 83.

have the sense of mouth as well). Austin notes that the verb *dehiscere* is generally used to represent the earth opening up, but here refers to the mouth opening for speech, like its root verb *hiscere*.²¹ Yet here the Sibyl speaks, while the abode itself is silent. Indeed the cave does not merely reflect its inhabitant, but *is* its inhabitant: both Gowers and Austin refer to the cave as a “mouthpiece” for the Sibyl, as she is the mouthpiece for Apollo.²² The cave represents the main function of the Sibyl, who prophesies destinies and is the liaison between mortal prayers and divine answers. That the cave itself provides the answers to the supplicant ought to confuse the supplicant as much as the actual answers given.

The cave then performs exactly as the Sibyl has foretold. After Aeneas has voiced his request to the Sibyl, Apollo fills her with a prophecy and “the hundred huge doors/mouths of the abode open up *of their own accord* and carry the replies of the seer through the breezes” (*ostia iamque domus patuere ingentia centum / sponte sua vatisque ferunt responsa per auras*, 6.81-82).²³ The spontaneous opening of the doors heightens the magical, mysterious environment of the Sibyl. The doors do not even require the system of the portcullis lifted by the pulley, as seen in the cave of Cacus (and built by his father, the god Vulcan), but rather have an invisible, superhuman operator. Pollard fittingly likens the doors to “the automatic doors in a modern garage,”²⁴ an ordinary facet in homes now, but impressive and extraordinary to the ancient Romans. The will of the doors reflects the will of the gods; thus the awe of the viewers directed towards the doors should similarly reflect their awe towards the gods. Overall the Sibyl’s cave

²¹ Austin *ad* 6.52.

²² Austin *ad* 6.53; Gowers 2005a: 179.

²³ Austin *ad* 6.81: There are Greek precedents for the automation of the doors found in *Iliad* 5, when Hera passes through the gates of Olympus, and also in Apollonius of Rhodes.

²⁴ Pollard 1982: 8.

reflects its inhabitant, with features that echo her prophetic nature. The cave structure also alludes to contemporary structures that Virgil may have witnessed and used as inspiration.

II. Hercules and (the Cavern of) Cacus: *Aeneid* 8.190-255, *Fasti* 1.551-564

In Book 8 of Virgil's *Aeneid*, Aeneas travels to the Arcadian settlement to ask for Evander's aid as an ally against Turnus and the Latins. When he arrives, Evander is performing sacrificial rites to Hercules, honoring him for protecting the Arcadians from the monster Cacus. The Arcadian king, as a way of clarifying why they were worshipping Hercules on that particular day,²⁵ narrates the mythological story of Hercules and Cacus to Aeneas in lines 183-275. Evander's account pays close attention to the cave of Cacus, as it provides the setting for the monster's habitation and eventual death. Murgatroyd explains that an ancient (or perhaps a modern) author might choose to describe a monster's lair not only to give clarity and color, but also to show the odds against the opponent.²⁶ This suggests that the lair would reflect its occupant, as each has qualities and characteristics that will aid or, more likely, harm the visitor/intruder. As for Cacus, his cave echoes his own status as a fearsome, yet transgressive character, caught somewhere between the worlds of humans and beasts (and even gods).

Before moving into a discussion of Cacus' lair, we must first briefly define Cacus himself. Much scholarly debate²⁷ has revolved around Virgil's alteration of his character, from the thieving man found in Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus to the monstrous son of Vulcan in *Aeneid* 8. The overall feeling is that Virgil needed to create an opponent suitable to fighting

²⁵ Gransden 1976 calls Evander the "mouthpiece for a series of aetiological disquisitions, explaining the origins of various customs and locations" (26).

²⁶ Murgatroyd 2007: 137.

²⁷ Münzer 1911; Galinsky 1972: 142; Sutton 1977: 391; Jacobson 1989: 101; Clausen 2002: 164 all comment upon this transformation. Small 1982: 4ff refers to Etruscan legend, which refers to a "beneficent seer" named Cacus. She also discusses the etymologies of Cacus vs. *κακός*

Hercules in the context of an epic, which he does in part by allusion to Homer’s characterization of Polyphemus in *Odyssey* IX.²⁸ While both Polyphemus and Cacus are engaged in “gory cannibalism,”²⁹ they also both live in dark caves surrounded by natural landscape. In *Aeneid* 3, Aeneas and his crew pick up a Greek man lost from Ulysses’ crew just after the Polyphemus incident. The reader is given an eyewitness account of what happened in and around the Cyclops’ cave (3.614-638), just as Evander gives a near eyewitness account of the story of Hercules and Cacus. Polyphemus’ cave is described in terms very similar, if not identical, to those found in Virgil’s depiction of Cacus’ cavern—a huge (*ingens*, 3.619), bloody (*cruentis*, 3.618), vast cave (*uasto antro*, 3.617—identical to 8.217), but most intriguingly, still a house/home (*domus*, 3.618). Likewise, Cacus’ cave is referred to as a house (*domus*, 8.192 and *domum*, 8.253). The primary definition of *domus* is a “building in which a person dwells, the home” (*OLD* 1); only in secondary definitions is it applied to animals or other beings. Polyphemus and Cacus are not mere monsters; they are the sons of deities (Neptune and Vulcan, respectively) and as such, exhibit human-like characteristics, which make their gory deeds all the more monstrous, in killing (and eating) their own kind.³⁰ Virgil even calls Cacus a “half-human” (*semihominis*, 8.194), indicating his boundary-crossing nature. Cacus’ cave reflects the nature of

²⁸ See Jacobson 1989, Sansone 1991, Galinsky 1972: 145, and Squire 2009: 226, among others. Münzer 1911: 36 refers to the caves of both characters as fortresses, but stresses that Virgil has to outdo Homer in his description. His thorough discussion of the similarities and differences in Virgil’s and Homer’s treatment of these two characters throughout his book eliminates the need for additional discussion here. But it should be noted that the loftiness (*ὑψηλόν*, *Od.* 9.183) and largeness of Polyphemus’ cave, full of lambs, cheese, and milkpails (9.219-24), find their place in Cacus’ cave (though Virgil has turned the lambs and cheese into blood and gore, making explicit the monstrous nature of Cacus, whereas Homer’s Odysseus must find out the hard way).

²⁹ Hardie 1986: 206.

³⁰ Gransden 1976: 39: “Virgil’s Cacus represents primitive man at his most bestial.” He also acknowledges that Vulcan is considered an ambiguous deity, with powers for both good and evil (pg. 39), which could have generated the transgressive, human yet monstrous nature of Cacus. Davies 2004:34 agrees with Small 1982 that Cacus is portrayed as simultaneously good and evil, human and monster.

Cacus as half-man, half-beast, as it draws together elements of natural habitats and human abodes.

Evander begins his assessment of Cacus' cave by showing Aeneas what the former home of Cacus looks like now—scattered pieces of rock foreshadowing the defeat of Hercules' opponent (8.190-197):³¹

iam primum saxis suspensam hanc aspice rupem,
 disiectae procul ut moles desertaque montis
 stat domus et scopuli ingentem traxere ruinam.
 hic spelunca fuit uasto summota recessu,
 semihominis Caci facies quam dira tenebat
 solis inaccessam radiis; semperque recenti 195
 caede tepebat humus, foribusque adfixa superbis
 ora uirum tristi pendebant pallida tabo.

Now look first at this crag, vaulted by rocks,
 how rock masses have been scattered out at a
 distance, and how a house stands abandoned
 in the mountain, and how the cliffs were
 dragged down in immense destruction. Here
 was a cave, secluded in a deep recess, which
 the terrible figure of half-human Cacus used
 to occupy, unreached by the rays of the sun.
 The ground always used to be warm with
 fresh slaughter, and the yellowish faces of
 men, sadly rotting, were hanging nailed to
 the proud doors.

While Aeneas directs his gaze toward the crag, the reader is also invited to imagine what the scene may look like³² and thus compelled to “see” the mythical structure as clearly as the words on the page. The word *rupes*, likely derived from the verb *rumpo*, “to cause to burst,” indicates what happened in the past to create the landscape. The use of *suspensam*, from the verb *suspendo*, indicates the presence of a roof, which is *solis inaccessam radiis*:³³ when intact, the cave, like a house, lets in no light from the top because it has a ceiling. In the *Aeneid* Virgil often

³¹ Galinsky 1966: 31, also 34: “Rocks are lifted and fall down and thus symbolize, in books VIII and XII, the ascendancy of Aeneas and his mission as well as the downfall of the demonic characters Cacus and Turnus.” Gransden *ad* 190-2 links the destroyed cave to the destruction of Troy.

³² See Leach 1988: 78.

³³ Of course, Virgil may also be reiterating the dark, desolate nature of the cave.

employs the word *tectum* or *tecta*, meaning “covered/roofed,” to refer to a house,³⁴ and later on in this passage will use the word *detecta* to describe what Hercules does to Cacus’ lair. The roof represents the most basic feature of a home—it protects its occupants from many of the elements.³⁵ But this is no ordinary roof: *suspensam* is the ancient builder’s technical term for vaulting, applied here to the natural cavern-roof.³⁶ Virgil’s use of technical architectural vocabulary to describe what is, in essence, a pile of rubble imposes a human frame on the natural structure by demonstrating the formerly spectacular nature of this cave. Rather than being comprised of a mere hole in a rock, Cacus’ dwelling had a vaulted stone “roof” or “ceiling,” similar to some of the concrete-vaulted structures in contemporary Rome, such as the new *Thermae Agrippae* in the *Campus Martius* (completed 25 BCE) or the *House of the Griffins* on the *Palatine* (second century BCE).³⁷ Vitruvius also mentions vaulted roofing in his chapters on building basilicas (5.1) and finishing private houses (7.3.1-3). Such structures may have familiarized Virgil with the concept of vaulting, along with the curved monumental arches and aqueducts that were becoming more prevalent in Rome at that time. Evander and Aeneas engage closely with the *aetion* in viewing its physical setting, but Virgil suggests a similar physical connection to the landscape for his Roman audience by projecting familiar contemporary structural features on the past.

³⁴ Forms of *tecta* are found particularly frequently in Book II, where Virgil is describing the houses of Troy that are burning in destruction.

³⁵ Vitruvius 2.1.3 discusses the origins of mankind and how they come to build houses from spars and horizontal timbers to protect themselves from the elements. In 6.1.2, he begins his description of private housing with enclosure and exposure, re-emphasizing the primary importance of the roof.

³⁶ Fordyce *ad* 8.190. Vitruvius uses the term *suspensurae* to refer to floor tiles “hanging” over the hypocaustic heating system in 5.10.1. See Fagan 1996: 57-58.

³⁷ See Favro 1996: 161-2 and Clarke 1991: 42.

The concept of home is reinforced in lines 191-2: “a house stands abandoned in the mountain.” A being used to live here, but now no longer does. The present verb *stat* acknowledges that it is still a home, not merely a natural feature, and the word *domus* establishes a quasi-human, and indeed quasi-Roman context. Virgil then moves into the perfect tense (*fuit*) to explain the former nature of this *domus*-like cave. Both Eden and Fordyce mention that the adjective *uasto* has a sense of desolation as well as size.³⁸ The reader may feel a foreboding that something may not be right with this cave, even before he/she knows who inhabits it. The feeling of anxiety is strengthened by *Caci facies...dira* in the next line. While *facies* should likely be translated as “figure, shape,”³⁹ instead of “face,” this kind of periphrasis focuses upon the aspect of the individual most relevant to the context.⁴⁰ Perhaps Virgil draws attention to Cacus’ face because faces are a decorative feature within his home. In addition, a person’s face represents him/her as much as a residence does. Both reflect features and tastes that will be recognizable to a friend or visitor.

Virgil then focuses on a description of the *humus* (8.195-6). The earthen flooring of Cacus’ cave is a monstrous perversion of the floors of public baths and perhaps of some of the private baths found in more wealthy Roman houses in Virgil’s time,⁴¹ which would have been heated by a hypocaust. Instead these floors are warmed by blood.⁴² Virgil seizes away any

³⁸ Eden *ad* 8.193; cf. Fordyce *ad* 8.193, who adds that the desolation indicated by *vasto* repels or appalls.

³⁹ As defined by Fordyce *ad* 8.194.

⁴⁰ Eden *ad* 8.194.

⁴¹ Vitruvius 5.10.1-2 describes how a hypocaust works as well as how to build it within his section on public baths. In 7.1.1-7, he lays out the steps for creating durable pavement, a mixture of wood and rock, with slabs or tesserae laid out on top and sealed by lime, so as to eliminate the possibility of moisture seeping in.

⁴² Scarth 2000: 601-2 suggests that Virgil created Cacus’ cave to look like an actual volcano, and thus, the blood resembles “molten lava as it cools.” Cf. Hardie 1986: 116, who compares Cacus himself to a volcano.

sympathy we might have for Cacus by explaining his means for heating the cave—the blood of humans and/or animals that he has killed. We are reminded once again of the monstrous other half of his nature.

Cacus' cave contains not only a vaulted roof and a warm floor, but (multiple) doors as well (8.196-7). Surprisingly, Cacus has actual doors behind the typical large boulder found at monsters' caves.⁴³ Because they are referred to as *foribus superbis*, scholars have linked these doors to two other sets of doors, one of which is found later in Book 8—those of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, on which Augustus attached the gifts of the people (*ipse sedens niveo candentis limine Phoebi / dona recognoscit populorum aptatque superbis / postibus*, 8.720-2). The connection of these two sets of doors creates an association between Augustus and Cacus, which many have found troubling.⁴⁴ Cacus' doors also recall the doors of Priam's palace at *Aeneid* 2.504 (*barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi / procubere*). While Cacus has *foribus*, the word *postis* technically signifies the doorjamb, or the vertical part of the frame on which the door is hung, but it can be used metonymically to mean the door itself. Note also the similar positioning of *superbis / superbi* at the end of the line in each description. *Superbus* derives from *super*, which gives it the sense of height (“towering”) appropriate to an epic context,⁴⁵ but more often conveys moral superiority and pride. However, it too is used by Republican, Augustan (Virgil included), and later Imperial authors to refer to a “grand” building (OLD *superbus* #4). The use of *superbis* surely could reflect the nature of the doors' owners (god, king, or monster,

⁴³ Eden *ad* 8.225.

⁴⁴ Gillis 1983: 138; Putnam 1988: 173; Fordyce *ad* 8.196. Connections have also been drawn to the doors of Augustus' house, to which he affixed oak wreaths. Morgan 1998 responds to Hardie 1993, disagreeing with Hardie's view of the “optimist/pessimist debate” as “reductive” and suggesting that it is possible to have both positive and negative aspects and still produce a positive result. See below.

⁴⁵ Eden *ad* 8.196.

respectively) or the reason for which they are there (indicating and protecting military and/or political supremacy), but in fact may also celebrate the materials of and decoration on the doors of all three characters. The entire Temple of Apollo was made of Luna marble, including the doors and doorjambs, one of which was found in part.⁴⁶ *Aeneid* 2.479-81 describes Priam's doors as oaken with bronze doorjambs (*postes aeratos*). The door materials are sturdy enough to protect but also costly and remarkable. Cacus' doors, no matter what their material, likely would be impressive as well, fitted to the front of the tall cave.⁴⁷

In addition, all three sets of doors have had gifts of pride attached to them. Foreign gold (*auro barbarico*) adorns Priam's doors, increasing their wealth and magnificence, as well as signifying military domination. By attaching the gifts of the people Augustus increases the temple's physical value as well as political (and military) significance: Augustus' god (and thereby Augustus) has been given a place of honor in Roman society after the triple triumph. Like the doors of gods and kings (the most powerful of human beings), Cacus too has tokens of achievement attached to his doors. We are given another glimpse of the potential humanness of the son of Vulcan: the phrase *foribus adfixa superbis* appears first, on the previous line (196), to allow the reader a chance to imagine the possibilities and draw potential comparisons to what they have seen before with Priam (and later with Augustus). But the comparisons end there, as we find out in the following line that Cacus has instead attached the "yellowish faces of men" whom he has killed, demoting him back to the realm of monsters.⁴⁸ Whereas Augustus and Priam imbue importance in the doors through their costly physical materials and politically or

⁴⁶ *LTUR* 1: 55-57; see also Coarelli 2007: 143.

⁴⁷ Vulcan, Cacus' father, has the means and skills for spectacular metalwork doors. But perhaps we are diving too far into speculation.

⁴⁸ Gransden *ad* 196-7 comments that Cacus' trophies are "anti-types" of those found on Latinus' doors and those of the Temple of Apollo.

militarily significant attachments, providing a sight of awe and inspiration to visitors as well as the owners, Cacus has produced yet another sight of horror and disgust. No human being will dare set foot near there, let alone admire the towering nature of the doors, lest he become the next piece of decoration. And yet, to Cacus, the doors and their accessories are a source of pride; he has created a decorative scheme by which he “adorns” his home, not altogether dissimilar from the wax *imagines* of ancestors (and also emperors such as Augustus and their royal families) that Romans would display in the atria of their houses.⁴⁹ In all cases, the proud doors mirror their proud owners. Virgil has again taken what is a typical Roman architectural and decorative practice and subverted it, further converging the human and monstrous sides of Cacus.

While Cacus’ cave is described primarily in lines 190-197, it reappears throughout the episode between Hercules and his opponent. In lines 217-18, once Cacus has stolen the cattle, we are told that one of them moos from within the “vast cave” (*uasto...antro*) and betrays Cacus’ misdeed. The poet uses the same adjective as before (*uastus*) but chooses a different noun to describe the cave (*antrum*).⁵⁰ The word *antrum* is also found in the description of the Sibyl’s cave in Book VI, where one hundred mouths are prophesying the words of the seer. As Small points out, Etruscan legend depicts Cacus as a seer himself,⁵¹ not unlike the Sibyl, and his cave

⁴⁹ See Zanker 1988: 265. Scarth 2000: 602 compares the faces to molten lava clots, which are often elongated and head-sized. Cacus’ decorative scheme can be conceived of as a form of cave art. Moore and Sullivan 1978: 124-126 discuss the nature of cave art in ancient man’s cave, saying that early man (Neanderthals and others) would often create images or figurines of animals they had just killed. Cacus seems to do something similar here.

⁵⁰ See Galinsky 1966: 38. He links the use of the words *antrum* and *spelunca* (line 224) with the underworld terminology of Book VI.

⁵¹ Small 1982: 33-34.

reflects this idea.⁵² The use of *antrum* in both places may indicate an association with interpreting the significance of sound. Humans are expected to interpret the responses of the seer, much as Hercules interprets the sound of the cow, thereby deducing Cacus' plot.

When Cacus locks himself inside, we again see a more human side of the monster: "He shut himself in, and having broken the chains, cast down the enormous rock, which was hanging there by means of iron and his father's skill, and fortified the doors which were given additional support by the barricade" (*sese inclusit ruptisque immane catenis / deiecit saxum ferro quod et arte paterna / pendebat, fultosque emuniit obice postis*, 8.225-27).⁵³ Cacus has a father to whom he evidently looks for help and protection—Vulcan, the god of metal craftsmanship, who has constructed an impressive contraption by forging and arranging the chains so that they hold up the huge boulder. Vulcan's *ars paterna* is *ferrum*: he takes care of his son in the way he knows best, devising metal apparatus to protect Cacus and his house, which perhaps could be considered the invention of the "portcullis."⁵⁴ This defensive feature, known primarily from its use in the medieval period to protect castles (a later example of this device being used to protect a home), was known in the Roman period as the *cataracta*. Livy writes of the first historical appearance of the *cataracta* in his account of the Second Punic Wars (27.28.10-11). In 208 BCE, Hannibal tries to approach the city of the Salapians in the guise of the recently deceased consul Marcellus, but his plan is foiled: the Romans have informed the Salapians in advance that Hannibal has obtained Marcellus' signet ring in order to forge letters. The city is protected by the

⁵² Small 1982: "Even the cave in which Virgil places Cacus fits not only a monster and a son of Vulcan, but also a seer. Italic oracular centers tended to be in wild, non-residential areas such as caves and woods" (p. 33).

⁵³ Galinsky 1966: 35 explains that Cacus, by breaking the chains in haste, has made the outcome of the combat rather definite. Gransden *ad* 226-227 notes that the phrase *fultosque emuniit obice postis* is a good example of how "Virgil builds up a sentence with words whose meanings support and reinforce each other."

⁵⁴ As termed by Fordyce *ad* 8.225.

heavy portcullis, which, as Livy describes, must be lifted by levers and pulleys pulled by various men. It was a successful and remarkable defense mechanism that would continue to be used, along with stone and/or concrete walls, to guard cities such as Pompeii throughout the Roman period. Virgil has taken what he knows to be a military defense mechanism and applied it to simple home protection, creating a kind of mythological aetiology for it. Vulcan's love for Cacus has compelled him to invent a device to defend his son's home that will end up being effective enough to protect the ultimate setting of human civilization: the city.

Cacus' breakage of his father's device seals him (and his fate) within the cave. Hercules can find no other way to penetrate it other than to tear off the peak of the mountain in which Cacus' cave lies: "But the cave and the huge palace of Cacus, uncovered, appeared, and the shadowy cavities lay open deep within" (*at specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens / regia, et umbrosae penitus patuere cauernae*, 8.241-2). The poet chooses yet another word that means "cave" (after *spelunca* and *antrum*), perhaps to avoid repetition, but another explanation is possible. *Specus* (rooted in *specio*) adds to the visual language occurring in this particular passage: there is an extraordinary sight to be seen and Virgil directs the viewer's gaze towards it.⁵⁵ *Specus* is connected grammatically and thus metaphorically with *ingens regia*. *Regia* can be translated more abstractly as "realm," as some translations have taken it to mean,⁵⁶ but here it may also signify the palace structure itself. Cacus' cave can be equated with a building, and not just any building, but a large (*ingens*), grandiose structure that houses the highest of human

⁵⁵ Smith 2005: "The direction of the viewers' eye movement is vertical, moving from the heights to the subterranean cave, shadowy, deep, and suitably pallid" (150).

⁵⁶ Fitzgerald 1983, for instance. Fordyce calls the connection of the two spaces "a heroic description of Cacus' gruesome cave" (*ad* 8.241-2), while Davies 1988 says that the use of *regia* is an "otherwise inexplicably grandiose" description which must only stem from Cacus' association with the Underworld and the kingdom of the dead (287—also referred to in Davies 2004: 32.) The use of *regia* may also recall the Regia in Rome's Forum Romanum, possibly suggesting a Roman context.

beings, the king (or emperor, as it may be). Cacus, too, is master of his domain. But in the same instant, Cacus loses his palace, because it has been “de-roofed” (*detecta*). It no longer functions as a house because it cannot provide shelter, protection, and privacy to its inhabitant; it has been transformed into a *cauerna*, reiterated by the cognate adjective in the phrase *cauo saxo* at line 248. Virgil likens the newly open *cauernae* to the Underworld in lines 243-6,⁵⁷ conceivably the final “home” of human beings, where their shades physically go to remain until they are reincarnated. The Underworld does contain its own palatial structure (only its entrance is mentioned), that of Pluto and Proserpina (*Aen.* 6.629-636). But Virgil uses the comparison to convey a shocking sight—Cacus’ home has been revealed as the house of horrors, and he himself will soon become a shade like those in the Underworld.⁵⁸

When Hercules jumps into the cave, Cacus tries one final survival tactic: he fills the cave with smoke vomited from his own throat (lines 251-5). Yet rather than using another word for cave or hollow, Virgil calls the space *domum*, a house, just when it has fully ceased to be one. Nothing can be seen—no objects of domesticity, no doors, no floor. But even in this state, Cacus still considers it his home and tries to preserve what he can. The reader may even feel some sympathy towards Cacus, who knows he made a mistake and is now doomed to die within his own house. The verb *glomerat* signals the final collapse of the home. What was a vast, towering structure has been shrunk into a dark hole and now collected into a dense mass, where the smoke makes everything look like rock. Once Hercules kills Cacus, he leaves the place a “stony desert”

⁵⁷ See Schubert 1991: 45-50 on the connections to the Underworld. Virgil calls these *cavernae* a *barathrum*: for more on this term and the connection of karstic features to the Underworld, see Connors and Clendenon 2012: 343-345, in particular.

⁵⁸ See Smith 2005: 151.

(*Steinwüste*),⁵⁹ bearing little trace of its former home, a desert which Evander then shows Aeneas.

There is a possibility of taking “stony desert” another way. As scholars have noted,⁶⁰ Cacus was traditionally believed to have dwelled on the Palatine: the ancient *Scalae Caci* led up to the Palatine;⁶¹ however, Virgil situates Cacus on the Aventine (*Aventini montem*, 8.231). While this could allow for Evander’s settlement to reign supreme on the Palatine, the move may also have a religious cause: Cacus was a seer in Etruscan legend, and therefore, when Augustus chooses to erect the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, he could not allow a “private, independent seer to practice almost within Apollo’s new sanctuary.”⁶² Thus Cacus is moved to a hill outside of the *pomerium*, where he would not be in conflict with state religion. Once Cacus is associated with the Aventine, the aforementioned stones (*moles...disiectae*, 191) might evoke the Aventine’s marbles. Coarelli informs us that the Aventine region was also called *Marmorata* (literally, “marbled”) because this was one of the main offloading points for marble in ancient Rome.⁶³ Hercules created the *Steinwüste* by ripping out the top of the Aventine Hill and scattering the rocks. I suggest that the rocks created by his actions could prefigure the marble blocks quarried by digging into the mountains at Luni, Carrara, and other locales, which were then shipped to Rome and offloaded near the Aventine. In a way Hercules has provided the raw materials and the method by which Rome will be re-civilized and rebuilt on a grander scale. If we consider too that Virgil compares the glorious Augustan Rome to humble Pallanteum (8.99-

⁵⁹ Münzer 1911: 33.

⁶⁰ See Eden *ad* 8.190ff. and Tueller 2000: 376-378.

⁶¹ Though they were perhaps named after the Republican man Cacius who lived there, found in Diodorus Siculus.

⁶² Small 1982: 103, see also 33-34. See also Davies 2004: 31-32, which discusses this quote. Gransden *ad* 190-305 references Etruscan legends of Cacus as an Orpheus-figure.

⁶³ Coarelli 2007: 335.

100), not long before Evander narrates Hercules and Cacus, it strengthens the possibility that the rocks of Hercules are the precursor to the marbles of Augustan Rome.⁶⁴

We must also consider how comparable Virgil's Hercules may be to Augustus.⁶⁵ Some have written that Hercules is the mythical paradigm of Augustus or that associating Augustus with Hercules makes the former 'godlike.' They are also both represented as bringers of peace and civilization to the area of Rome. Hercules is a savior and civilizer, having removed the barbaric monster Cacus.⁶⁶ Augustan propaganda idealized the *princeps* as a savior and civilizer, who removed the barbaric "foreign" threat from Rome at the Battle of Actium.⁶⁷ Both allow Rome to develop and flourish. Augustus can be considered a "civilizer" in his reconstruction of and new additions to Rome as well. Because Rome had involved itself in numerous foreign (Punic, Macedonian, etc.) and domestic wars, it had little money to spend on itself and refurbish its physical image. In effect, late Republican Rome may have looked very similar to the Aventine Hill that Aeneas saw with Evander: broken, scattered pieces of barbaric housing, like the remnants of Cacus' cave.⁶⁸ Galinsky states: "the semihomo Cacus stands for a barbaric, uncivilized stage of evolution."⁶⁹ His cave reflects his own evolution in that it lacks the traditional luxuries and materials of a civilized home (even if there are possibilities for taking some of his cave's features as "luxuries"). Hercules' destruction of Cacus' home allows for new construction to take place and civilization to develop. Augustus, in using the marble coming

⁶⁴ See Bellen 1963: 25.

⁶⁵ On this debate, see, e.g., Bellen 1963; Galinsky 1966; Galinsky 1972: 138-41; Gransden 1976: 38; Lyne 1987: 28-34; Putnam 1988: 173; Schubert 1991: 44, 54; Morgan 1998.

⁶⁶ Schubert 1991: 50, 53 comments upon this scene as the triumph of good (Hercules) over evil (Cacus). See Gransden 1976: 38 and *ad* 190-305; Lyne 1987: 29; Galinsky 1972: 149; and McEwen 2003: 115-121 on Hercules as the civilizing god.

⁶⁷ Putnam 1988: 173. Cf. Morgan 1998: 182.

⁶⁸ On Rome's ragged appearance, see Zanker 1988: 18-19 and Favro 1996: 42.

⁶⁹ Galinsky 1966: 40. Gransden 1976: 38 names Cacus as a "symbol of barbarism."

from that same place, is able to bring Rome to a new level of “civilized,” by fashioning a magnificent, gleaming city built of lavish materials. More importantly, it becomes a visually unified city, reflecting the guidance of its sole leader, the *princeps* Augustus.⁷⁰

Ovid also depicts the cave of Cacus in *Fasti* 1. Previously, scholars have noted a change in length and tone in Ovid’s version of the Hercules-Cacus episode, which they attribute to the difference in genre (Virgil’s epic vs. Ovid’s “didactic” elegy),⁷¹ time period (the beginning vs. the end of Augustus’ reign),⁷² or purpose.⁷³ Ovid’s episode is included within the feast day of the Carmentalia,⁷⁴ celebrating the prophetess Carmentis, mother of Evander, rather than as part of a continuous narrative concerning Aeneas and his destiny. Many believe that Ovid writes a more “low-key”⁷⁵ account of the pre-historical myth.⁷⁶ But, in his commentary on *Fasti* 1, Green convincingly argues that previous assessments have been unfair in “downplaying the consciously Vergilian manner in which Ovid has chosen to relate the myth.” He states that the meter does nothing to change the serious tone, and that Ovid’s decision to retain Hercules and Cacus within the realm of the Carmentalia allows for a more chronological, cohesive narrative.⁷⁷ Whereas Murgatroyd suggests that Ovid renders closely Virgil’s account for the sake of *aemulatio*, in order to outdo his predecessor and subvert the power of the *Aeneid* by pointing out its excess

⁷⁰ On the connection of building and public policy, see, e.g., Favro 1996: 141.

⁷¹ Otis 1966: 31-36; Miller 2002b: 189-92. For more general statements about meter and genre’s effect on the *Fasti*’s tone, see Herbert-Brown 1994: 7.

⁷² Herbert-Brown 1994: 27, Newlands 1992: 44, Newlands 1995: 9-10, and Barchiesi 1997b: 199-200 remark upon this, albeit more generally.

⁷³ See Schubert 1991: 43; Fantham 1992: 162; Green *ad* 469-542; Murgatroyd 2005: 37.

⁷⁴ Considering the Hercules-Cacus episode serves as an aetiology to the Ara Maxima rituals, which are celebrated on August 12, it is “startling” to see the myth narrated within the calendar events of January 11. See Green 2004: 8.

⁷⁵ Murgatroyd 2005: 37, 117.

⁷⁶ Otis 1966: 36; Schubert 1991: 47; Miller 2002b: 190.

⁷⁷ Green *ad* 543-82 (pp. 248-9).

hyperbole,⁷⁸ Green claims that Ovid's adaptation differs enough to not directly rival his predecessor, yet is equal to Virgil's epic in tone and drama.⁷⁹ Otis considers the description of Cacus and his lair to be an "interruption" in the narrative,⁸⁰ but Green counters that instead it builds tension and drama before the ensuing action within the cave.⁸¹

In Ovid's explanation of the Carmentalia, Evander is upset because he has been exiled from Arcadia and must move to another land (1.477-8).⁸² Carmentis, his mother, soothes his distress by reminding him of all the past heroes who had endured the same punishment (1.479-96). While they are nearing the future site of Pallanteum, she then prophesizes to him, in a way not dissimilar to Anchises foretelling the future to Aeneas in *Aeneid* VI, about eventual war, Aeneas, and the Augustan household (1.516-536). But she breaks off her words in mid sentence (*substitit...medios sonos*, 1.537), and it is unclear whether Carmentis remains the narrator or Ovid becomes the omniscient narrator for the story of Hercules and Cacus.⁸³ The events recounted by Virgil through the eyewitness account of the elderly father-figure Evander are in fact presently happening in Ovid,⁸⁴ producing a more vivid narration that travels back even earlier in time than Virgil's account. The reader views the cave of Cacus as it actually was, not as Evander remembers it, which may account for some changes in the details.⁸⁵

⁷⁸ Murgatroyd 2005: 107-109. See also Fantham 2006 [1985]: 391 on *aemulatio*.

⁷⁹ Green *ad* 469-542 (p. 216), *ad* 543-82 (p.249-50) and *ad* 551-8 (p.254).

⁸⁰ Otis 1966: 34. See also Schubert 1991: 42.

⁸¹ Green *ad* 551-8.

⁸² Evander moves from the cave-rich landscape of Arcadia to the cave-rich landscape of Italy.

⁸³ Murgatroyd 2005: 36 suggests that Ovid retains Carmentis as narrator as a playful way of bettering Virgil, in that the mother will correct and revise her son's telling of the story.

⁸⁴ Green *ad* 469-542. See also Fantham 1992: 155, 160.

⁸⁵ Newlands 1992 discusses the role of the narrator and how his refusal to take authoritative positions opens up interpretive possibilities, disallowing any sort of "canonical or authoritative view of the Roman past" (50).

Before moving into a description of the cave, Ovid first devotes four lines to the portrayal of Cacus himself (1.551-554). Not unlike Virgil, Ovid makes Cacus the son of Vulcan, though he uses Vulcan's other name Mulciber (554). He too stresses the largeness of Cacus (*corpus grande*, 553-4). In line 553, Ovid reuses the exact phrase *dira facies* seen in *Aeneid* 8.194, but changes the nature of Cacus from *semihomo* to *vir*. Cacus now is not merely half-human, but full man. Ovid's complete humanization of Cacus forms an even more horrific, evil character in the tale: he is a fully human being who commits terrible acts against his fellow mankind.⁸⁶ Whereas Virgil stresses what can be conceived of as the more *human* aspects of Cacus in his description of the monster and his lair, as I have shown above, Ovid instead focuses on the more *inhuman* aspects of Cacus, and, as we will see, of his abode. Once again, the dwelling reflects the inhabitant.

Ovid shapes his discussion of the cave as follows (*Fasti* 1.555-564):

proque domo longis spelunca recessibus ingens,
 abdita, vix ipsis invenienda feris;
 ora super postes adfixaque bracchia pendent,
 squalidaque humanis ossibus albet humus.
 servata male parte boum Iove natus abibat:
 mugitum rauco furta dedere sono. 560
 'accipio revocamen' ait, vocemque secutus
 impia per silvas ultor ad antra venit.
 ille aditum fracti praestruxerat obice montis;
 vix iuga movissent quinque bis illud opus.

Instead of a home, there was a huge hidden cave with long recesses, scarcely to be found even by wild beasts; fixed above the doors, faces and armbones are hanging, and the coarse ground is white with human bones. The son of Jove was departing, with that part of the herd having been lost, but the stolen cows moored deeply. "I hear you summoning me back!" he said, and following the sound through the forest, the avenger came to the impious cave. Cacus had obstructed the entrance with a piece of broken-off

⁸⁶ Green had remarked earlier in his commentary (*ad* 543-82) that Ovid's additions in detail to Virgil's account create a more acute binary opposition between Hercules (good) and Cacus (evil). Barchiesi 1997b: 96 notes that Hercules is about to become a god just after this episode in the *Fasti*; thus he is still human at this point. Since he is still a man, it makes sense, using Green's idea, to construe him as the "good man" and Cacus as the "bad man," and (in my mind at least) strengthens his victory over forces closer to his own nature. Hercules fights mainly monsters and animals up to this point, but only by showing his superiority over fellow human beings does he really seem to become worthy of ascending to divine status. See Schubert 1991: 47-8, 50-1 and Merli 2000: 294 for more on Cacus' humanization in Ovid.

mountain; ten oxen could scarcely have moved that work.

Line 555 clearly recalls *Aeneid* 8.193: Cacus lives in a huge *spelunca* with recesses (*recessibus*; cf. *recessu* in Virgil) that is removed (*abdita*, 556, cf. *summota* at *Aen.* 8.193) from civilized society. *Domus* is found in Virgil (*Aen.* 8.192, 253) to refer to the home of Cacus, emphasizing its human aspects. But Ovid has altered Virgil's sense of *domus* by prefacing it with the word *pro*. This preposition could simply mean "as," but it does not appear to function that way in this context. Green observes in his note on lines 551-558 that Cacus is "placed outside the sphere of civilized conduct in both the symbolic and geographical sense." As an actual man, Cacus ought to live in a house, but he does not. Instead he dwells in a cave more suited to wild animals, yet even they cannot find it (perhaps worse than the sun's inability to access Cacus' cave in Virgil). Whereas Virgil treats Cacus with some sympathy, Ovid portrays him as more bestial than wild beasts.⁸⁷

Lines 557-558 reflect the diction of *Aeneid* 8.195-7, with the reappearance of the words *ora*, *adfixa*, *pendent*, and *humus*. Evidently Ovid's Cacus also enjoys hanging decorations on the doors, but he adds another item to the decorative motif: armbones. Virgil has Cacus attach the faces to the doors, but Ovid instead says they are fixed *above* the doors.⁸⁸ Unlike the warmth of the bloody floor mentioned in Virgil, Ovid chooses to emphasize its color.⁸⁹ Green comments that the ground whitened by bones is a motif found mostly in high poetry to refer to mass human destruction after warfare, and that the fact that this motif is used here to describe genocide

⁸⁷ Green *ad* 555-6.

⁸⁸ Ovid's doors do not seem as clearly thought out as Virgil's; perhaps he mentions them only to heighten the allusion to Virgil.

⁸⁹ Of course Ovid may have been saving the idea of blood on the floor to provide a sense of poetic justice at the end, as the way in which Cacus is killed causes him to cough up blood along with smoke, so the warmth of Virgil's cave would also then be present in Ovid's cave.

stemming from one individual only adds to Cacus' monstrous nature.⁹⁰ In fact, the unnaturalness of the white in the otherwise dark cave points out more clearly the heinous crimes committed within.

The nature of Cacus' crimes is also reflected in Ovid's description of the cave (*antra*) as *impia* (line 562). Virgil includes the word *antrum* in representing Cacus' home (*uasto antro*, *Aen.* 8.217), but while Virgil describes its physical size, Ovid depicts the moral quality of the cave. The cave exhibits the terrible crimes of Cacus, and thus it too shows no regard for morality. Cacus is wrong and unnatural for the nature of his actions, both in killing his fellow human beings but also for living in a cave, unlike ordinary people. Ovid treats Cacus' inhuman humanness in the next line; *aditum fracti praestruxerat obice montis* (1.563) is modeled on Virgil's *fultosque emuniit obice postis* (*Aen.* 8.227). Doors served to make Cacus more human in Virgil but are ambiguous here. Ovid had written earlier that heads and bones hung above doors but makes no further mention of them, utilizing the more general *aditum* instead. There is also no mention of Virgil's portcullis that Vulcan devised to protect Cacus, another humanizing aspect of his story. Instead Cacus rips off a part of the mountain, similar to what Hercules does against him in the *Aeneid*, to serve as a blockade.⁹¹ Ovid qualifies Cacus' labor by stating that ten oxen scarcely could have moved it (line 564). Cacus does not need his father's help and thereby becomes a less sympathetic character than we see in Virgil. The superior nature of his labor as compared to oxen makes him once again more bestial than the beasts of burden. Instead of a

⁹⁰ Green *ad* 557-8.

⁹¹ This is, of course, similar to the giant rock Polyphemus uses in *Odyssey* IX. Green *ad* 563 cites this line as an example of emphatic hyperbole, likening Cacus to monstrous giants, which allows it to ascend to the cosmic scale of Virgil's account. Contrast Schubert 1991: 47, also 57, who writes that the lack of Vulcan's help makes the cave seem more realistic.

monster trying to be human, as in Virgil, here Cacus is a human trying to be, and succeeding as, a monster, reflected by the barbaric nature of his cave and its protection.

III. The Caverns of Proteus and Cyrene: *Georgics* 4.418-422, 4.358-377

...Est specus ingens
exesi latere in montis, quo plurima uento
cogitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos, 420
deprensis olim statio tutissima nautis;
intus se uasti Proteus tegit obice saxi.

There is a huge cave in the side of a hollowed out mountain, to where many a wave is compelled because of the wind and divides itself into the withdrawn hollows. It was once the safest place for sailors caught in bad weather; Proteus protected himself within with a barricade of large rock.

Virgil's earlier work, the *Georgics*, sets precedents for the *Aeneid* in general⁹² and more particularly in the poet's description of caves. In this episode Virgil recalls features of his own Sixth *Eclogue*,⁹³ as well as Homer's *Odyssey* 4.351-570, which chronicles the meeting between Menelaus and Proteus.⁹⁴ Homer's episode depicts a feature emphasized by Virgil in *Georgics* 4. When Eidothea instructs Menelaus on how to approach and extract information from her father, Proteus, she informs him that Proteus takes his midday nap in "hollow caves" (σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσιν, *Od.*4.403). While hollowness ought to be an obvious feature when describing a

⁹² See, e.g., Griffin 2008 [1985]: 243 and Fantham 2006: xxxi (within Fallon 2006) for general connections between the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*.

⁹³ Jacobson 1984: 288, among others. Coleman 1962 examines the Sixth and Tenth *Eclogues* in relation to the Aristaeus epyllion in the *Georgics*, particularly with respect to Virgil's treatment of Gallus. In this article he writes that Virgil must have revised the ending of the *Georgics*, removing any praise of Gallus (*Laudes Galli*) and supplanting it with praise of Augustus, which sparked a huge scholarly debate on the ending of the work. Griffin 2008 [1985] begins his article with a summation of the major arguments for and against emendation. I myself follow the opinion of those who reject the idea of a second version.

⁹⁴ Thomas' 1988 commentary on the *Georgics*, as well as Mynors' 1990 commentary, pays close attention to the ties between the *Odyssey* and *Georgics* episodes. They both point to *Iliad* 13.32 as another source for Virgil's description. Farrell 1991: 265 remarks upon the character of Proteus within both works. Morgan 1999, while being a direct counter to Thomas' work, also provides a recent, thorough analysis, particularly emphasizing the similarities of line 4.400 in both poems.

cave (a cave cannot exist without a hollow in rock), Virgil stresses the feature in *Georgics* 4.419-420 (*exesi...sinus*). Perhaps Virgil acknowledges Homeric inspiration here.

The divided wave (*scindit sese unda*, 420) represents a duplicity echoed in the divided space of the cave: both are reflective of Proteus. Proteus is the epitome of ambiguity, frequently changing shape.⁹⁵ The cave too has shifted shape: it used to be a solid mountain, but over time became a cave.⁹⁶ There are other similarities between Proteus and the cave. The cave has been created by both upper (air) and lower (sea) natural forces; Proteus likewise possesses characteristics from the realms of the air (his prophetic, divine nature) and sea (his ability to live in water). Depending upon the tide, the cave will either be wet (filled with and surrounded by water), or dry (surrounded by dry land). Proteus too dwells in the sea, and thus is normally surrounded by water, but “at noontide, Proteus behaves like a terrestrial shepherd; and, as there are no shade-trees in the sea, he must have a seaside cave, and always the same one, so that we know where to find him.”⁹⁷ In other words, he finds a reasonably dry place in the shade, out of the “fiery sun” (*sol igneus*, 4.426), much as a shepherd upon land would do. That Proteus’ particular cave must be dry at certain parts of the day comes from line 421, which tells us that the cave was once used as a safehaven or anchorage for sailors caught in bad weather. Thus Proteus and his cave are both liminal creations with associations with both land and sea: the cave once again reflects its inhabitant.

Cyrene describes the cave of Proteus to her son Aristaeus, as part of her instructions on how to catch Proteus and request the sea god’s help in regaining his bees (part of the premise of

⁹⁵ See Segal 1966: 314-15 for further discussion. According to Segal, Proteus exists in a realm between myth and nature, which is well-suited to his varying characteristics.

⁹⁶ Caves are constantly in the process of reshaping themselves, reflecting the constant transformation of Proteus.

⁹⁷ Mynors *ad* 418-22. Gale 2003 also refers to Proteus as a shepherd “enjoying his noontday *otium*” (336).

Book IV of the *Georgics*).⁹⁸ Cyrene plays the role not only of Eidotheia in the *Odyssey* but also of Thetis in the *Iliad*, a sea nymph helping her son who has complained to her about his troubles.⁹⁹ Cyrene's own cave-like home underwater is much bigger than Proteus' cave, and all the rivers flow there (*Georgics* 4.358-377):

<p>... simul alta iubet discedere late flumina, qua iuvenis gressus inferret. At illum 360 curvata in montis faciem circumstetit unda accepitque sinu vasto misitque sub amnem. Iamque domum mirans genetricis et umida regna speluncisque lacus clausos lucosque sonantes ibat et ingenti motu stupefactus aquarum 365 omnia sub magna labentia flumina terra spectabat diversa locis, Phasimque Lycumque et caput, unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus unde pater Tiberinus et unde Aniena fluente saxosusque sonans Hypanis Mysusque Caicus, 370 et gemina auratus taurino cornua vultu Eridanus, quo non alius per pingua culta in mare purpureum violentior effluit amnis. Postquam est in thalami pendentia pumice tecta perventum et nati fletus cognovit inanes 375 Cyrene, manibus liquidos dant ordine fontes germanae tonsisque ferunt mantelia villis...</p>	<p>At once she orders the deep rivers to depart widely, whereby the youth might enter. And a wave shaped like a mountain surrounded him and took him in its vast curve and cast him under the river. And now, marveling at the house of his mother and her moist realms and lakes enclosed by caves and resounding groves, he went over and, awe- struck by the enormous movement of waters, he watched all the rivers gliding under the great earth in different directions, Phasis and Lycus and the source whence the deep Enipeus first bursts forth, whence Father Tiber and the flowing Anio and rocky, resounding Hypanis and Mysus and Caicus and Eridanus, golden as to his twin horns and bull's countenance, than whom no other river flows more violently through rich fields into the purple sea. After he reached the bedroom, its ceiling vaulted with pumice, and Cyrene recognized her son's idle tears, her sisters offered flowing water for his hands, as they had been ordered, and brought towels of trimmed fleece...</p>
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⁹⁸ Much scholarship has been written regarding the roles of Cyrene and Proteus in instructing Aristaeus how to regain his bees. Many have said that, while Cyrene may point Aristaeus to Proteus to get aid for his problem, Aristaeus in fact needs both Cyrene and Proteus to accomplish what he needs to do—Proteus explains the *causae* for Aristaeus' problem and Cyrene provides *praecepta* for him to follow. On this discussion, see Perkell 1989: 143; Schiesaro 1997: 67; Gale 2003: 336ff; Nappa 2005: 212; Kronenberg 2009: 182-3, among others. Ustinova 2009 points out that Aristaeus was himself connected with prophecy and divination, through his activities as a beekeeper (99-100).

⁹⁹ Farrell 1991: 107. Many scholars have linked Aristaeus and Cyrene with Achilles and Thetis in the *Iliad*, particularly Book 18.34-147. See, e.g., Coleman 1962: 66; Segal 1966; Putnam 1979: 282-4; Thomas 1988 *ad* 333-86; Farrell 1991:105ff. Oliensis 2009 and others, on the other hand, connect Aristaeus and Cyrene to Aeneas and Venus in the *Aeneid*.

As Wilkinson and Thomas have noted, Virgil may have been emulating Bacchylides, who wrote about Theseus visiting his sea nymph mother Amphitrite in her underwater abode.¹⁰⁰ In his poem, Bacchylides depicts Poseidon and Amphitrite's δόμον as θεῶν μέγαρον, "a palace of gods" (17.100-101).¹⁰¹ We can compare this to Virgil's representation of Cyrene's home (*domum*, 363) as *umida regna*, "moist realms" (*Georg.* 4.363).¹⁰² While in Bacchylides dolphins aid Theseus in arriving at the underwater palace, a wave in the shape of a mountain (4.361) carries Aristaeus under the river. This alludes to the connection made earlier between Proteus' cave and the wave: there is a duality in combining water and land features in a single component. It may symbolize Aristaeus' dual status as farmer (land) and son of a sea nymph (water).

Once each man reaches the underwater dwellings, they both marvel—but at different things. Theseus is awestruck by the Nereids, the beautiful daughters of Nereus (τόθι κλυτὰς ἰδῶν / ἔδεισε <v> Νηρηῖος ὄλ- / βίου κόρας, 17.101-2). Aristaeus instead marvels (*mirans*) at the home itself: the moist realms, the lakes shut within caves (*speluncis lacus clausos*, 4.364) and the resounding groves (*lucos sonantes*, 364).¹⁰³ Note the abundance of sibilants in lines 364, echoing

¹⁰⁰ Wilkinson 1970 (reprint 2008: 184); Thomas *ad* 357-62. Another viewpoint (Morgan 1999: 37) argues that Cyrene's cave is (or is at least a reflection of) the home of Oceanus. For more on karstic features and Oceanus, see Connors and Clendenon (forthcoming).

¹⁰¹ I have used Campbell's Greek text, which numbers this poem 17. Thomas refers to it as Bacchylides 16.

¹⁰² Mynors *ad loc.*: "The theory that under the earth are great caverns, with pools and rivers, already possessing the identity with which they will emerge into the upper world... is common property (Plato, *Phaedo* 111d, V. *Aen.* 8.74-5). Caves under the earth are to be expected, and they make it easier for the reader's imagination to accept the 'groves loud with waters,' which are at home really in the upper air." Putnam 1979: 278-80 and Lee 1996: 105 both characterize this passage as Aristaeus' return to the womb of Cyrene, the source of Aristaeus as well as of the rivers of the world, through feminine imagery found in his descent in a *sinu* and in the dwelling itself.

¹⁰³ Connors and Clendenon (forthcoming) state that this passage is strongly analogous to karstic features that Virgil would have seen in Greek (and also Roman) landscapes.

the sounds of water rushing through the place (also seen at line 370). The home and its environment are awesome and fantastical, as indicated by *mirans* in line 363 and *stupefactus* in line 365,¹⁰⁴ perhaps even more so than the palace of Poseidon and Amphitrite, where Theseus admires the women instead of the walls. Rather than describing Cyrene's house itself as a cave, Virgil instead portrays it as a house *with caves* (*domum...et umida regna / speluncis*, 363-364), making it appear even larger.¹⁰⁵

Yet within the “moist palace,” there are places that remain quite dry, including Cyrene's bedroom to which Aristaeus travels after admiring the vast number of rivers sourced in and around Cyrene's abode. Her bedroom (*thalami*, 374) contains a “ceiling vaulted with pumice” (*pendentia pumice tecta*, 374). Mynors believes the ceiling is “vaulted,” suspended or poised but not literally hanging. In the same note, he describes the pumice stone: “a light lava made porous by the gases which escaped as it cooled. Hence, volcanic rock in general and pumice in particular, but in the poet with two connotations: (1) lightness, especially of a vaulted cavern roof (2) hollowness.” Since this is seemingly a vault, it is sensible that Virgil would mention pumice. Often mixed with volcanic pozzolana, which formed the basis of Roman concrete,¹⁰⁶ pumice stone was a crucial component of vaulted and domed structures in Virgil's day. These domed structures first appeared in Baiae, close to Mt. Vesuvius (source of the volcanic pumice rock) and quickly spread to Rome. Griffin suggests that Virgil may have been inspired to create Cyrene's cave from Roman baths: “the underground cave in the fourth book of the *Georgics*, with its streams of water and echoing water-noise, presents the highest conceivable elevation of

¹⁰⁴ Thomas *ad* 363, 365. He believes that Virgil may too have been influenced by Callimachus' treatise of rivers in the known world (*ad* 363-73). For more on this discussion, see Connors and Clendenon (forthcoming).

¹⁰⁵ This may perhaps foreshadow the Sibyl's cave with one hundred mouths, small hollow openings within the larger cave.

¹⁰⁶ Vitruvius 2.6.1-6.

the physical setting of the Roman baths.”¹⁰⁷ The baths of Agrippa, erected in several stages, were completed in 25 BCE, not long after Virgil publishes the *Georgics*, so it is conceivable that he may have seen some of the earlier stages, as well as viewing other baths in Rome at that time. The baths that arose in the late first century BCE and especially after were large, lofty, complex structures which were able to contain water (through water-proof concrete) in a way never seen before. The Romans and others would have marveled at the construction and ingenuity found in the baths, just as Aristaeus marvels at the underwater home of his mother. In fact Cyrene’s vault is seemingly stronger than any real life vaulted ceiling, because it is able to withstand the force and motion of water. “Marvelously, amid all the wetness of the river-depth, fleeces and napkins stay dry.”¹⁰⁸

IV. The Art of Thetis’ Grotto: Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* 11.229-239

In Book 11 of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid depicts the beginning of the relationship between Peleus and Thetis. Catullus’ epyllion (poem 64) about the marriage of Peleus and Thetis may have inspired Ovid in his own interpretation of the Peleus and Thetis story,¹⁰⁹ but there Peleus and Thetis meet in the sea. Ovid alludes instead to Virgil’s depictions of Proteus and his cave, and even creates a role for Proteus within his episode, as the seer who proclaims the famous prophecy of Thetis’ son overcoming his father and eventually helps Peleus catch

¹⁰⁷ Griffin 1985: 89-90.

¹⁰⁸ Lee 1996: 105.

¹⁰⁹ See Ferguson 1960. The potential unwillingness of Thetis hinted at in Catullus is heightened severely in Ovid, who makes her the victim of rape. This is appropriate to Book 11, according to Glenn 1986, who remarks that all of the prominent characters in this book “display a distinct talent for plunging from positions of eminence to inferior conditions” (147). In the case of Thetis, she has no choice but to give into Peleus’ advances and marry the lowly mortal.

Thetis.¹¹⁰ Given that scholars have frequently linked the Aristaeus-Cyrene episode in the *Georgics* to that of Achilles and Thetis in the *Iliad* (particularly Book 18), Ovid thus seems to complete the circle by bringing Proteus into a discussion of Thetis pre-Achilles in the *Metamorphoses*. There are, of course, natural affinities between Proteus and Thetis, who both can metamorphose into many shapes.¹¹¹ In this episode Ovid plays with the elements of the earlier Protean episodes in Homer and Virgil, as noted by Smith: “Ovid has neatly reversed the normal Proteus motif, for in this case Proteus is consulted about a sea goddess, rather than a sea goddess (Eidotheia, Cyrene) being consulted about laying hold of Proteus.”¹¹²

Ovid directly alludes to Virgil’s (and, to a lesser extent, Homer’s) description of Proteus’ cave when he places Thetis in her grotto: “Recalling the tradition of Proteus in the *Odyssey* and the *Georgics*, he imagined that Thetis too was in the habit of coming into the cave to sleep.”¹¹³ But unlike Virgil, who places most of the emphasis on Proteus’ cave itself, Ovid instead builds an extensive ekphrasis around the surroundings of Thetis’ grotto (11.229-239):

Est sinus Haemoniae curuos falcatus in arcus,
bracchia procurrent: ubi, si foret altior unda, 230
portus erat; summis inductum est aequor harenis.
litus habet solidum, quod nec uestigia seruet
nec remoretur iter nec opertum pendeat alga.
myrtea silva subest bicoloribus obsita bacis;
est specus in medio, (natura factus an arte, 235
ambiguum, magis arte tamen): quo saepe uenire
frenato delphine sedens, Theti, nuda solebas.
illic te Peleus, ut somno uincta iacebas,

There is a bay of Haemonia, curved into bent
arcs which project out like arms: where, if
the wave should be deeper, it is a port; the
sea is brought in over very high sands. It has
a solid shore which neither preserves
footprints nor delays one’s journey, nor does
algae hang hidden there. Myrtle trees grow
nearby, planted with bicolor berries. There is
a grotto in the middle (whether it was made
by nature or by art is unclear, but more likely

¹¹⁰ More and Brewer 1978 discuss the Ovidian invention of Proteus as the “wise counselor” (1326).

¹¹¹ Smith 1997: “Ovid not only derives his version of the tale but transfers and adapts the Protean characteristics to Thetis...it is fitting Peleus consults Proteus, for he knows mutability, indeed the very mutations Thetis inherits from him, better than anyone else” (134). Fantham 1993 discusses the role of “shapeshifters” in the *Metamorphoses*, specifically comparing Proteus and Thetis.

¹¹² Smith 1997: 134.

¹¹³ More and Brewer 1978: 1326.

occupat...

it was made by art): where often, Thetis, you were accustomed to go naked, sitting on a bridled dolphin. There Peleus seized you, as you were lying down, fast asleep...

Ovid creates an idyllic setting removed from reality.¹¹⁴ He offers no descriptive features of the grotto, aside from Proteus' later characterization of it as a "rocky cave" (*rigido antro*, 11.251), but, rather, writes vaguely about its construction methods: "whether it was made by nature or by art is unclear, yet more likely by art" (11.235-6). The cave once again reflects its frequent inhabitant, who can change her form—both are *ambiguum*,¹¹⁵ resembling Proteus and his cave in the *Georgics*. Ovid's emphasis on *arte* highlights a celebration of the construction of caves of art.¹¹⁶ Ovid may be seen as praising his own art or skill in creating something that is not meant to be real: creation for the sake of creation. Perhaps Ovid even believes he has the ability to surpass nature's construction in his own poetic construction, because he can transform natural reality with the movement of his pen.¹¹⁷ Or, the poet may have in mind the *ars* of the reader, who is able to create a picture of a cave in his own mind simply by reading the word *specus* and needs no further descriptive features. Either way, the poet is depending solely upon illusion and imagination.¹¹⁸ According to Stewart,

¹¹⁴ Segal 1969: 21. Bömer *ad* 229 writes that the ekphrasis goes into a time of its own and allows Ovid another way to explore *natura-ars*, also seen in *Met.* 3.157-62, referring to the cave in the valley sacred to Diana. In both of these passages, violence quickly succeeds the peaceful settings (Thetis' rape and Actaeon's ravaging by dogs). For more about caves as erotic settings for sexual violence, see Segal 1969: 20-23, 37 and Salzman-Mitchell 2005: 44-45, 90.

¹¹⁵ Salzman-Mitchell 2005: 90.

¹¹⁶ A similar trope is found in the depiction of the doors of Helios in *Met.* 2 (see Chapter 2).

¹¹⁷ Murphy *ad* 235: "It is *ars* rather than *natura* which is the backcloth of the *Metamorphoses*...Ovid's art simulates nature but improves upon it in the arrangement of landscape features."

¹¹⁸ Martindale 2005: "In Ovid, it is rather narrative moments that depend comparatively little for their effect on their precise linguistic formulation" (205). He goes on to define Ovid's style as

The atmosphere of [Virgil's] caves and grottoes betrays little or nothing of poetic artifice: they evoke feelings and associations which heighten and amplify the narrative, but exist in their own right and are solidly real. Ovid's caves, on the other hand, are ambiguous, poetic constructs which hover between fantasy and reality. They are simply too good to be true.¹¹⁹

Ovid's grotto is intended to function as *ars*, whereas Virgil's caves reflecting Roman architectural realities are meant to supplement the historical angle of Virgil's poetry.

In the *Aeneid*, every detail, while still drawn to epic proportions, has to feel real, including the physical setting. Similar things could be said concerning the *Georgics*, where Virgil inserts the mythological episode of Aristaeus into his didactic work, which, overall, is meant to give the reader factual knowledge about agriculture, basing its teaching from learning and experience.¹²⁰ As we have seen, Virgil often draws upon the world around him to create his images, such as the contemporary housing features used to describe the otherwise primitive caves. In a sense, he has to become the architect, the geographer, the historian, or the farmer in order to present reality. In contrast, Ovid's depiction of caves reflects and celebrates *ars* as a means of achieving transformation (the overarching theme of the *Metamorphoses*). The poem continually transgresses the boundary lines of genre between epic, elegy, and history, with generic distinctions being made and simultaneously deconstructed, becoming what Martindale refers to as a "hypertext."¹²¹ The emphasis in the majority of the work lies on the transformations of different mythological characters. Ovid's settings likewise are transforming and transformative.

superficial, meaning that there is a supple fineness of surface, or a "vain appearance," so to speak.

¹¹⁹ Stewart 1977: 79.

¹²⁰ Batstone 1997 refers to an "epistemological certainty presupposed by didaxis" (135), though he questions this certainty in the *Georgics*. Schiesaro 1997 argues that knowledge, imparted through didactic poetry, "is a divine possession [in the *Georgics*], and the gods decide if and how much of it can be bestowed on mortals" (63, 67).

¹²¹ Martindale 2005: 203, 209.

V. Historical Grottoes

So far we have only considered literary allusion and intertext in the description of the caves. For the conclusion to this chapter, I would like to turn briefly to the possible emulation of actual grottoes built by the Romans in their own coastlines and countrysides. Stewart comments upon how the fictitious cave descriptions of the poets could be inspired by real life examples:

It is these highly contrived settings, their outward peacefulness vividly and pointedly contrasted with the scenes of brutality they all too often witness, that seem to me to give the first real indications in Roman literature that the Romans were alive to the dramatic possibilities offered by a water-filled grotto such as that at Sperlonga.¹²²

Greek myths made use of their people's observations of actual karstic features in the natural landscape.¹²³ It is entirely possible that the Roman poets would have acted similarly, gaining inspiration for their poetic depictions not only from natural caves, but also from the magnificent features of artificially created (or heightened) grottoes, such as that at Sperlonga (note connections with *spelunca*), an early Imperial installation in the villa's architecture.¹²⁴

¹²² Stewart 1977: 80. See also Andreae 1994 for the relationship between Ovid and Sperlonga. Andreae goes so far as to argue that the statue groups within the grotto are based off Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

¹²³ Connors and Clendenon (forthcoming).

¹²⁴ The villa dates to the late Republican period and the grotto to the early Augustan period, with vast improvements made late in the Augustan era or early Tiberian period, and final additions during the emperorships of Nero or Vespasian. See further Kuttner 2003 and Squire 2009, whose third chapter revolves around text, image and Sperlonga (pp. 197-238). He refutes some of the arguments of Stewart and others about Tiberius' inspiration [see, in particular, Weis 1998 and 2001, who suggests that the *Aeneid* inspired the installation of the statues within the grotto. Art imitating life imitating art?]. Squire then examines the later Virgilian frame that was constructed by the ca. fourth century CE inscription of "Faustinus" found in the grotto. Squire's point is that Roman viewers of the first century CE (which appears to be when the statue groups were placed inside the grotto) would not and could not have read the statue groups as part of one thematic program (Virgilian, Homeric, Ovidian, etc.), but instead were asked by the juxtaposition of these sculptural features to contemplate any number of possible thematic narratives. In other words, viewers then would have had the same questions about the statues as scholars do now. Tiberius' grotto, in fact, was not the first to appear in Roman landscapes. Grottoes with or without sculptural decoration were featured in the landscaped gardens of the rich from at least the later

Virgil and Ovid may or may not have seen Sperlonga itself, but its importance here lies in the possibility that grottos, a new and popular feature in the Roman architectural landscape within the homes of the wealthy during or even before the period in which these poets were writing, could have provided inspiration for the description of any cave or grotto, real or fictitious. Yet these actual caves, as constructed rather than natural spaces, may have similarly been inspired by literary cave descriptions. Both literary and actual grottoes seem to have been embellished and constructed according to the same set of *topoi*. The constructed grottoes also help to demonstrate the complex connections between cave and home and their descriptions: caves would have been, in effect, one of the precursors to Republican and Imperial era Roman homes, but now these homes contain caves as part of their features. Virgil and Ovid used the characteristics of contemporary homes to describe the mythological caves of earlier times and characters. It may also be possible that poetic descriptions of caves respond in some way to the Lupercal, the cave where Romulus and Remus were reared by the wolf.¹²⁵ Its associations with the mythic foundation and civilization of Rome, combined with its physical presence in the Palatine, still visible to ancient Romans, similarly connects myth and historical reality.

This chapter has demonstrated three main points. First, cave dwellings, even if situated in natural landscape, typically reflected their supernatural inhabitants. In addition, the actual language that is used to describe the caves is carefully chosen to express the poets' larger priorities and concerns. These terms are not just technical vocabulary, but are rich with significance, helping to develop the poets' themes and overall purpose. Finally, the architectural

years of the Republic. Plutarch writes about Lucullus' estate in Naples, where there were 'hills suspended over vast caverns' (Plut. *Luc.* 39.3), and Appian relates the story of a wealthy Roman who was killed for his grotto by the seashore in the proscriptions of 43 (4.29.125-126). Cf. also paintings, e.g., the cubiculum at Boscoreale.

¹²⁵ On the Lupercal as cave, see *Aen.* 8.343 and Servius *ad loc.*

terms are significant in another way: these poetic structures can often comment on real structures in the Roman world. The poets were inspired by contemporary buildings around them and incorporated their features into the fictitious cave depictions, bringing to myth the features of historical reality.

CHAPTER 2: THE HOMES OF GODS AND MEN

Houses reflect and shape the identities of their owners and provide opportunity for social interaction. Within this interaction, Vitruvius points out a key human characteristic: *Cum essent autem homines imitabili docilique natura, cotidie inventionibus gloriantes alios alii ostendebant aedificiorum effectus, et ita exercentes ingenia certationibus in dies melioribus iudiciis efficiebantur*, “since, moreover, humans were imitative and teachable by nature, every day some of them would show off to others the accomplishments of their building(s), priding themselves in their new discoveries, and their architectural acuties, engaged in competition each day, made for improved (building) standards” (2.1.3). The men were proud of what they had built: their structural achievements represented their own ingenuity. Their interaction with others was a way not only to flaunt their own talents but also to improve the living condition of others. This concept appealed to the Romans of the Republican and Imperial periods: a man’s house was an extension of himself and a tangible symbol of his accomplishments.¹ Each man could use his house as a way to advertise his talents and position, but he needed guests and clients to actually visit his house in order for his own status to be realized and projected.² Thus in addition to the physical structure, Wallace-Hadrill argues that a Roman house also possessed a “social structure”; its architectural plan was specifically designed with different levels of accessibility, based on one’s status. One’s house would tell a guest about the owner as much as the owner could say about himself. Most guests were limited to the most immediate rooms of the home, in

¹ Bodel 1997: 5.

² Hales 2003: 2 argues that the *domus* was the visual, architectural construct of a family’s identity and proof of their participation in Roman society.

particular the *atrium*, which contained wall decoration and high ceilings³ in order to visually impress the viewer as well impress the owner's superior position upon that viewer; however, the person with a higher status, either through financial ties or personal relationship with the owner, was granted access into the more remote parts of the home.⁴

While a Roman's *domus* was intended to be used in part as a place of business (*negotium*), the objective of the Roman villa was quite the opposite: villas were designed with a "pleasure factor" for the owner's "enjoyment and relaxation,"⁵ i.e., *otium*. Inherent in villa ideology is the contrast of country and city, where the "virtues and delights of the one are presented as the antitheses of the vices and excesses of the other."⁶ Residences in the city and the country employed similar building materials and techniques, and both serve to display the achievement that is Roman architecture as it continued to develop and improve. Statius found the new architectural styles so innovative that he proceeded to create a new poetic genre, the villa poem,⁷ using architectural ekphrasis as the organizing factor and combining elements of description and encomium in celebration of the architecture as well as the owner of a particular

³ Cf. Horace 3.1.46: *sublime...atrium*. Leen 1991, drawing upon Cicero's letters, contends that the decorative program (wall painting, sculpture, furniture, etc) in a Roman's house was as vital to demonstrating the status of the owner as the architectural plan.

⁴ Wallace-Hadrill 1988: 43-97. Cf. Clarke 1991: "ancient Romans expended great care on the disposition and decoration of their domestic spaces because they valued spaces that were appropriately located and decorated to fit their designated activity" (1). On Vitruvius' consideration of the social and cultural systems of the house, see Elsner 1995: 59-62.

⁵ Ackerman 1990: 9. He also argues here that the pleasure factor in villas is what distinguishes them from a farm. In contrast, Purcell 1995 contests that a villa was always involved in agricultural production and that relaxing, ideological pursuits went hand-in-hand with practical ones. See also Zanker 1988: 25-31.

⁶ Ackerman 1990: 12. Cf. Hale's 2003 discussion of *Romanitas*.

⁷ Cancik 1965 coins the term *Sachlyrik* to describe Statius' novel poems. On the originality of Statius' poetry, see Szelest 1966 and Newlands 2013. Newlands argues that the title *Silvae* is appropriate, given its relationship to timber, the common building material of domestic architecture (2013: 76).

villa. My discussion of four of the *Silvae* below details the epic precedent and the development of features in the genre of villa poetry.

Hinds' discussion of Statius' "poetics of real estate"⁸ and Newlands' study on the *Silvae*, particularly the poet's treatment of architectural structures, both explore the complex relationship between structures and writing about those structures. As Newlands rightly argues, the *Silvae* "deserve consideration for what they reveal about the role of poetry in imperial society as well as about imperial art and architecture."⁹ As opposed to Bodel and White, who believe the primary purpose of these architectural ekphrases was simply to "gratify a patron's ego,"¹⁰ Newlands demonstrates that the poems have a more complex function as praise poetry in the Flavian era.¹¹ Newlands further believes the *Silvae* are poems of "anxiety as well as praise" and posits that Statius creates a language of power through architecture which articulates the "ambiguous relationship of the aristocracy to the emperor, who limited their political authority in constant awareness of their threat to his supremacy."¹² While architecture can be considered a statement of power, and may contribute to some tensions and ambiguities between classes, architecture can, I believe, also be celebrated by Statius here as an achievement in its own right. Such descriptions can praise the strength of the Roman empire in having the political stability as well as the financial and intellectual means necessary to develop these innovations. In Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.168-180 (the first passage discussed below) and in the *Silvae* it becomes clear

⁸ Hinds 2001: 255.

⁹ Newlands 2002: 2.

¹⁰ White 1974: 43. Also cited in Bodel 1997: 17.

¹¹ Newlands 2002: 24. Cf. Newlands 2013: 68. Newlands 2013 examines the general development of architectural ekphrasis in literature and highlights her particular interest in Flavian era depictions of real structures, the focus of her 2002 monograph.

¹² Newlands 2002: 8, 92.

that humans can now build what only gods used to create. All architectural doors have been opened to human creativity and ingenuity, so to speak.

But the recently developed expressions of architectural creativity in new, luxurious homes did not always meet with praise or approval. As DeLaine comments, “lavish outlay was suspicious under any circumstances, so that the acceptance of *magnificentia* as a virtue was rarely wholehearted, and only where its results were clearly to the advantage of the whole people of Rome,”¹³ i.e., public architecture. Domestic architecture, in particular the country villas, would not have benefitted the public as much as publicly accessible temples, baths or *fora*, and was often deemed by conservative Roman critics as a waste of time and money. With this in mind, the second half of this chapter focuses on critical poetic views towards domestic building. As with the positive appraisals of residences in the first part of this chapter, the homes discussed in the second half also reflect the owner, but this time they point to an owner’s moral or practical shortcomings. I investigate two approaches; the first, in Martial Epigrams 1.12 and 1.82, takes a view opposite to that of Ovid *Met.* 1.168-180 and Statius *Silvae* 1.2, which celebrate the quasi-divine aspects of human architecture. Martial instead explores how humans have gone too far in their striving to be godlike, leading to architectural disaster. The second approach, looking at several poems of Horace as well as another epigram of Martial (12.50), deals with the owner’s sensibility and sensitivity to nature. Horace mourns for more archaic, simpler ways of living (both morally and architecturally) in harmony with nature, while Martial laments the lack of common sense present in the contemporary builder/owner. Each author emphasizes the necessity of practical function (*utilitas*) over, or at least as a complement to, aesthetic pleasure.¹⁴

¹³ DeLaine 2002: 224.

¹⁴ DeLaine 2002: “*décor* and *utilitas* are not just concerned with construction, but are fundamental to the thought patterns of educated Romans” (226).

I. The Palatine of the Milky Way (Ovid *Met.* 1.168-180)

In the beginning of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid presents a myth of creation, detailing how earth and mankind began. Once the Silver Age and the seasons of the year arose, men rushed to seek protection from the heat and cold: *tum primum subiere domos (domus antra fuerunt / et densi frutices et vinctae cortice virgae)*, “then for the first time they approached houses (their houses were caves and dense bushes and twigs surrounded with bark)” (1.121-22). Ovid may allude to Virgil in the use of the word *domus* to refer to a cave,¹⁵ but he may also be referencing Vitruvius’ history of dwellings, as seen in the introduction to this dissertation. Vitruvius describes the initial houses as such: *coeperunt in eo coetu alii de fronde facere tecta, alii speluncas fodere sub montibus, nonnulli hirundinum nidos et aedificationes earum imitantes de luto et virgulis facere loca quae subirent*, “some in that assembly began to build shelters from leafy branches, others dug caves under mountains, and some others, imitating the nests of swallows and their building practices, created places which they could enter out of mud and twigs” (2.1.2). Each author includes three separate kinds of dwellings: caves (*antra/spelunca*), dwellings out of bushy branches (*frutices/fronde*), and those made out of twigs (*virgae/virgulis*), all of which the men would use as shelter (*subire*). But whereas Vitruvius goes on to recount the achievements of man in creating increasingly superior homes, from which originate professional craftsmen, Ovid instead explores the downfall of man through the ages of Bronze and Iron. He no longer traces the development of dwellings,¹⁶ presumably because those can only be seen as a good advancement in mankind. However, he can show how houses have progressed (or at least the inspiration for

¹⁵ See discussion of Cacus’ cave, in which Virgil calls the cave a *domus* (8.192), in Chapter 1.

¹⁶ It seems likely that mankind has figured out how to build more substantial homes of wood, if they have also become capable of fashioning wooden ships that now sail the sea (horror of horrors in Ovid’s tale, 1.132-134).

those progressions) by describing the homes of Jove and the other Olympians, who have assembled together to decide the fate of the most recent age of mankind, exemplified by the treacherous Lycaon.

est uia sublimis, caelo manifesta sereno;
 Lactea nomen habet, candore notabilis ipso.
 hac iter est superis ad magni tecta Tonantis 170
 regalemque domum. dextra laeuaque deorum
 atria nobilium ualuis celebrantur apertis.
 plebs habitat diuersa locis: hac parte potentes
 caelicolae clarique suos posuere Penates;
 hic locus est quem, si uerbis audacia detur, 175
 haud timeam magni dixisse Palatia caeli.
 ergo ubi marmoreo superi sedere recessu,
 celsior ipse loco sceptroque innixus eburno
 terrificam capitis concussit terque quaterque
 caesariem, cum qua terram, mare, sidera mouit.¹⁷

There is a lofty road, clearly seen in the calm sky: its name is Milky, and it is known for its bright whiteness. On this road the gods journey to the kingly home and halls of great Tonans. On the left and right the *atria* of noble deities are crowded, their double doors wide open. The plebeian gods live in different regions: in this region the powerful inhabitants of the sky have placed their Penates; here is the place which, if boldness can be lent to words, I would hardly be afraid to call the Palatine of the great sky. Accordingly, when the gods were seated in the marbled inner room, Jupiter, being higher in position and leaning on his ivory scepter, shook his long, awe-inspiring hair three and four times, by which he moved the earth, sea, and stars.

This assembly of the gods, often called the *concilium deorum*, has received much scholarly attention, due to its epic and satirical predecessors as well its associations with Roman senate meetings.¹⁸ The associations with Rome escalate in Ovid's ekphrasis detailing the journey up to Jove's conference room in the sky. The description highlights a social hierarchy of gods which uses Roman class terminology (*nobilium...plebs...potentes*, 1.172-173),¹⁹ and the

¹⁷ All Latin text of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* comes from Tarrant's 2004 Oxford text. Translations are mine.

¹⁸ Alessandro Barchiesi devoted the 2012 Martin Lecture series at Oberlin College to the topic of the "Council of the Gods." On the correlation between Ovid's *concilium deorum* and Roman Senate meetings, see Heinze 1919: 11; Wilkinson 1962: 86-87; Buchheit 1966: 85; Otis 1966: 98; Rosati 2001: 45; Ginsberg 1989: 228; Nix 2008: 286. See Thompson 1981 concerning Senate meetings held on the Palatine. On the influence of this passage on Statius' *Thebaid*, see Keith 2007: 14-16. She also argues for allusions to the palace of the Sun god (discussed below).

¹⁹ On these lines, see Ahl 1985: 69; Feeney 1991: 199; Rosati 2001: 48. Galinsky 1975 provides a particularly nice analysis and comparison: "As in Rome, there is the palace of the great ruler,

traditional Roman custom of the Penates (1.173-174), which Ovid fashions rather humorously—even the gods worship household gods!²⁰ Ovid makes explicit his intention to compare heaven and the Palatine hill of Rome (*hic locus est quem, si verbis audacia detur / haud timeam magni dixisse Palatia caeli*, “here is the place which, if boldness can be lent to words, I might hardly be afraid to call the Palatine of the great sky,” 1.175-176).²¹ By doing so he takes the ekphrastic device, which can often have a generic, distancing effect, and makes it very specific and very familiar—and very Roman. This explicit association suggests the possibility for other consequences for or connections to Rome within the passage.

The most obvious connection links Jupiter and Augustus, as Ovid elucidates later in the Lycaon episode, when he compares the devotion of the Roman people in aiding Augustus after the loss of Julius Caesar to the gods’ eager devotion to help Jove after the Lycaon incident (1.200-205). Other comparisons to be made between Jupiter and Augustus include Jupiter as leader of the gods, seeking their advice and approval over his actions, much as Augustus is leader of the Romans, seeking the advice and “approval” of the Senate.²² Jupiter, with his regal

and like the population of Rome the divine population is divided into nobles and plebs. The nobles live in their houses on the Champs Elysées whereas the plebs have to be content with lesser quarters” (29).

²⁰ On the potentes’ Penates, see Lee *ad* 174; Galinsky 1975: 29; Glenn 1986: 4-5; Janka 1999: 350; Segal 2001: 79. The humor of this line has caused many scholars to question the overall tone of this passage. Bömer *ad* 163-252 believes it is meant to be serious, while Wilkinson 1962: 87, Hill *ad* 1.171-175, and Galinsky 1975: 190 find it humorous and almost mocking. Anderson *ad* 163-252 and Ginsberg 1989: 228 see evidence of both serious and humorous undertones.

²¹ Feeney 1991 calls it a “self-conscious language of analogy” (295n180). Cf. Solodow 1988: 228 Leach 1988: 441; and Keith 2007: 2-3 on Ovid’s literary consciousness. Many scholars have reflected on the explicitness and boldness of these two lines in comparing Olympus and the Palatine; see, e.g., Bömer *ad* 175-176; Otis 1966: 98; Ahl 1985: 75; Solodow 1988: 84-85; Nadeau 2000: 311-313, 316; Wheeler 2000: 144. Schmitzer 1990 uses this line to justify a “sustained political allegory” of the whole of the *Metamorphoses* (cited in Miller 2004/2005: 166).

²² On this last comparison, see Wilkinson 1962: 86. Cf. Nadeau 2000: 316. For more discussion of these comparisons, see Bretzigheimer 1993: 23 and Barchiesi 2005 *ad* 176. Otis 1966 writes

hair (*caesariem*), resides at the summit of the beautiful Milky Way, surrounded by other divine nobility, just as Augustus resides at the top of the beautiful Palatine, surrounded by Roman aristocrats. In his book about the games Ovid plays with his readers and especially with Augustus in the *Metamorphoses*, Glenn remarks that this particular passage, which “projects a sketch of Roman society upon that heavenly concourse...is all very Roman and aristocratic, but also very human...A bit of air has been released from the lofty gods by making them human.” According to Glenn, Ovid here seems to be suggesting the humanness of divinities, perhaps poking fun at them and playing a game with his audience, all the while “indirectly praising Augustus.”²³ Might Ovid’s comparison of Jupiter and Augustus simply be another instance of “passively acquiescent panegyric”?²⁴ It may be so, but I would like to offer a different interpretation of the comparison of the Palatine to Olympus.

Ovid’s exploration of the likenesses between humans and gods is a recurring theme throughout the *Metamorphoses*, but especially in the beginning of the poem, as stated by Feeney: “the beginning of the [*Metamorphoses*] sets up the problem of how divine humanity is; the corollary is the problem of how human divinity is.”²⁵ My concern is with the former—how godlike are humans? One of the ways humans approach divine status is through their advancements in architecture. Ovid does not discuss the evolution of architecture within his examination of the downfall of humankind, but he is able to allude to it through an ekphrasis explicitly comparing the houses on the Milky Way to those on the Palatine. The word *locus* in

that Ovid is indebted to Virgil in comparing Jupiter and Augustus much as Virgil compares Augustus to Neptune (100). On Augustus-Jupiter as represented in material culture and Augustan ideology, see Zanker 1988: 230-238.

²³ Glenn 1986: 4.

²⁴ Hinds 2006 [1987]: 50.

²⁵ Feeney 1991: 199, see also 232. Cf. Stirrup 1981, who writes that in general, Ovid, as a poet of “imagined reality,” unites in “poetic interplay the world of the gods and its supernatural events with the world of men and its everyday realities” (88).

line 175 may refer not only to the geographical location but also the physical site and structures themselves (OLD 10a, cf. 11). The Palatine was an apt comparison for an architectural ekphrasis because it could demonstrate physically how far Roman architecture has progressed. The so-called “Hut of Romulus” (*Casa Romuli*), dating to the 9th-8th c. BCE, was located next to the Domus Augusti and employed some of the earlier materials and techniques used in building residences, as described in Ovid and Vitruvius—a dwelling carved into the tufa, with a mud and straw-thatched roof.²⁶ Situating the House of Augustus, a modest but nonetheless modernly conceived house in Ovid’s time, as well as the more grandiose and very costly Temple of Apollo²⁷ next to the primitive structure of Romulus, as well as near the Lupercal, the cave in which Romulus was reared, confirms Augustus’ predisposition towards and intended comparisons with Romulus. It also presents very visually the advances in Roman architecture, which travelers walking the Clivus Palatinus would have been able to see.²⁸

Ovid specifies some of the particular architectural advances in Rome within the ekphrasis. In line 172 the poet refers to the *atria* of the divine nobility, which calls to mind one of the main rooms of a traditional Roman house.²⁹ By the late Republic and the time of Ovid, the

²⁶ For more on Iron Age huts and the Hut of Romulus, see Coarelli 2007: 133-134 and Claridge 2010: 131-132.

²⁷ For Ovid’s replacement of Palatine Apollo with Jupiter Tonans, see Miller 2004/5: 173. Cf. Zanker 1988: 65-68 and Favro 1996: 200-206.

²⁸ Hales 2003 calls Augustus and Romulus “neighbors in time, morality, and space” (30). Edwards 1996 wonders, however, if Augustus’ choice to build his home next to the hut of Romulus backfires, in the sense that Rome with its new and expensive buildings has fallen away morally from the more modest times of Romulus (39-40).

²⁹ Lee *ad* 172. He notes that the original atrium had a hearth in the center of the room and a hole in the roof to let smoke out (later replaced by an impluvium), from which the word is derived, according to Servius on *Aeneid* 1.726: *unde et atrium dictum est; atrum enim erat ex fumo*. This connection to specifically Roman houses is strengthened by Ovid’s reference to Jupiter’s house as *domum* (line 171). Vitruvius’ idea that the *domus*, as opposed to the *villa*, defined *Romanitas* and its owner’s Roman identity and was an “open townhouse that served the interests of the state” is discussed in Hales 2003: 25ff (citation from p. 32).

atrium was found only in the homes of wealthy Romans because it was used mainly as a receiving hall for *clientes*.³⁰ While not usually ornately decorated, the *atrium* achieved a feeling of grandeur because of its ever-increasing size; Vitruvius records contemporary *atria* as long as 100 feet (6.8.3). In his article on the social structuring of the Roman house, Wallace-Hadrill places the *atrium* at the grand, public side of his spectrum, because it was open to everyone³¹ and, by the size of the room (and number of clients), would indicate the status and wealth of the owner.³² Likewise, the homes of the gods in Ovid's ekphrasis indicate which have elite status and which are of a more humble status, because, as Ovid writes, the plebeian gods have their dwellings elsewhere (*plebs habitat diversa locis*, 1.173). The homes of the noble gods are thronged with people (*celebrantur*, 172, used only in this instance with *atrium*),³³ similar to the homes of the *patroni* filled with *clientes*.

The impressive nature of domestic architecture with its large *atria* rivaled Rome's public architecture. Ovid begins the ekphrasis by describing the Milky Way (1.168-9), a lofty, shining, and well-known road similar to the shiny, basalt roads the Romans were known for constructing.³⁴ The poet then mentions *ualuis*, "folding double doors," in line 172. While these could be found in more expensive homes, they were more often used (and discussed)³⁵ in public architecture, either as the entrance to temples or as the "royal doors" (*regias ualuas*) in the

³⁰ Vitruvius writes that the lower classes would not have *atria* in their homes because they would be the ones to travel to others' residences to ask for favors (6.5.1). See Clarke 1991: 25. The function of the atrium changes somewhat after the introduction of the peristyle, but overall it was still used as the core of all activity in the house, not just for the *salutatio* (Wallace-Hadrill 1997: 238-239). For more on the interplay between the atrium and peristyle, see Dickmann 1997.

³¹ Cf. Vitruvius 6.5.1-2.

³² Wallace-Hadrill 1988: 55.

³³ Bömer *ad* 172.

³⁴ Less than a century later, Domitian's imperial road is glorified by Statius (*Silvae* 4.3).

³⁵ For their use in temples: Vitruvius 3.2.8, 3.3.3, 4.6.1, 4.8.2. In the theater: 5.5.7, 5.6.3 (cited), 5.6.8. Vitruvius also mentions their use in the less customary *oecus* in certain homes (6.3.10). Cf. Ovid *Met.* 2.4—the Palace of the Sun also has *valvae*. See below.

scaena of the public theater. Ovid might allude to both public uses here: the gods are nobles (Jupiter's house is referred to as *regalem*, line 171), and their terrestrial homes are temples.³⁶ Similar to the *atria*, the impressiveness of the *ualuae* stems from their large size: they are one of the first things a viewer would see when approaching a temple, even with a columnar porch in front. Before moving into the actual discussion of the gods Ovid sets up one last architectural detail: they are sitting in an inner room that is marbled (*marmoreo superi sedere recessu*, line 1.177). In the Augustan era, marble was the building material of choice for the new (and/or remodeled) imperial architectural monuments, which were mainly large-scale, public structures. One such building was the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, to which many scholars think Ovid is referring in this particular line.³⁷ Marble was costly but luxurious, bright, and grand, comparable to Ovid's depiction of the Milky Way, all of which made it a very impressive building material.

With these architectural references, Ovid seems to be playing again with the ambiguities of human divinity and divine humanity. Architecture is an aspect where humans, particularly the Romans, have achieved much. One could say that gods inspired the Romans in their endeavors, considering that this episode supposedly takes place long before the Romans came to be. And yet Ovid refers to Olympus as the "Palatine of the sky" (1.176), which suggests that the Palatine is the pinnacle of architectural achievement in the world to which everything else, including the heavens, must aspire and be compared. Here Ovid projects Roman architecture back to the past in a ring composition: the Palatine of Ovid's day inspires the description of Olympus at the

³⁶ Barchiesi *ad* 172 remarks on the ambiguity established in this passage between the homes of gods and temples. I maintain that these are actual homes, because mortals do not frequent them as a place of worship. For more on temples, see Chapter 3.

³⁷ See, e.g., Bömer *ad* 177. Barchiesi *ad* 177 says that the Temple of Apollo stood out for its use of marble, but that marble in general is associated with temples and gods.

beginning of time, which should end up influencing monumental domestic and public architecture of later periods. According to Ovid's comparison, perhaps the gods take on human qualities in fashioning their homes after those on the Palatine, but in turn this could make the Romans take on divine qualities in their capacity to inspire such action in the gods. Unlike the possible subversion inherent in comparing Augustus to Jupiter, Ovid could be seen as offering straightforward praise towards Augustus' efforts to recreate and beautify Rome. Roman imperial architecture would only continue to enlarge and revolutionize building practices in the decades and centuries to come.

II. The Palace of the Sun (Ovid's *Met.* 2.1-24)

Regia Solis erat sublimibus alta columnis,
 clara micante auro flammasque imitante pyropo,
 cuius ebur nitidum fastigia summa tegebat,
 argenti bifores radiabant lumine ualuae.
 materiam superabat opus; nam Mulciber illic 5
 aequora caelarat medias cingentia terras
 terrarumque orbem caelumque, quod imminet orbi
 caeruleos habet unda deos, Tritona canorum
 Proteaque ambiguum ballaenarumque prementem
 Aegaeona suis immania terga lacertis 10
 Doridaque et natas, quarum pars nare uidetur,
 pars in mole sedens uiridis siccare capillos,
 pisce uehi quaedam; facies non omnibus una,
 non diuersa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.
 terra uiros urbesque gerit siluasque ferasque 15
 fluminaque et nymphas et cetera numina ruris.
 haec super imposita est caeli fulgentis imago,
 signaque sex foribus dextris totidemque sinistris.

Quo simul accliui Clymeneia limite proles
 uenit et intrauit dubitati tecta parentis, 20
 protinus ad patrios sua vertit uestigia uultus
 consistitque procul; neque enim propiora ferebat
 lumina: purpurea uelatus ueste sedebat
 in solio Phoebus claris lucente smaragdus.

The palace of the Sun was tall with lofty columns, distinguished by its glittering gold and bronze mimicking fire, of which its highest points were covered by bright ivory, and the folding double-doors were radiating with silvery light. The work outdid the material: for Mulciber there had embossed the seas surrounding the lands in the middle and the earth and the sky, which hangs over the earth. The water holds blue-green gods, songful Triton and shape-shifting Proteus and Aegaeon driving the huge backs of whales with his shoulders and Doris and her daughters, of whom some appear to swim, others sit on a rock drying their green hair, and some are carried by fish: they did not all have the same face, yet it was not different, but such as was fitting for sisters. The earth bears men and cities and forests and wild beasts and rivers and nymphs and the other rural deities. Over these was imprinted the image of the blazing sky, with six constellations on the left door and six on the right. Here Phaethon arrived by the steep path and entered the home of his doubted father, and

straightaway he brings himself to his father
and stands at a distance; for he couldn't
bring his eyes any closer: Phoebus was
sitting dressed in purple on a throne
sparkling with bright emeralds.

At the end of the first book of the *Metamorphoses*, young Phaethon experiences an identity crisis and decides to visit his father Phoebus, the sun god, to confirm their relationship. Ovid opens Book 2 with a description of the Sun's Palace, described from the viewpoint of Phaethon as he arrives to meet with his father.³⁸ This passage has sometimes been considered nothing more than a conventional epic embellishment,³⁹ due to its grandiose nature and style.⁴⁰ The extravagant building materials of the palace and the intricate detail as well as the content of the imagery on the doors (as created by Mulciber) do recall many epic precedents, including the shield of Achilles in *Iliad* 18, the doors of Apollo's Temple at Cumae in *Aeneid* 6, and the armor of Aeneas in *Aeneid* 8, while the representation of the palace itself may allude to the descriptions of Alcinous' palace in *Odyssey* 7, Aetes' palace in *Argonautica* 3, and the Temple of Palatine Apollo in Propertius 2.31.⁴¹ However, more recent scholarship has shown that this passage is a

³⁸ For more on this ekphrasis as seen through the eyes of the spectator, see Leach 1988: 450. Cf. Bass 1977: 404.

³⁹ Rohde 1929: "nihil... nisi lumen quoddam orationis epicae" (11ff.); also Galinsky 1975, whom Bass 1977 believes attaches no significance to the passage 'ex silentio' (404n1). Cf. Barchiesi *ad* 1-18, who writes that Ovid may be playing with the typical (Homeric) epic convention of a book beginning at dawn: here Ovid begins Book 2 at the location where all the dawns originate.

⁴⁰ Herter 1958: 53, 59; Otis 1966: 110-111; Segal 1971: 335; Glenn 1986: 17; Knox 1988: 542.

⁴¹ For more on this passage's literary antecedents, see, e.g., Herter 1958: 56-58; Leach 1974: 141n43; Knox 1988: 542 (who also discusses the potential influence of this Ovidian passage on Nonnus); Wheeler 2000: 37. Herter, among others, examines (and denies) the possibility of inspiration from Euripides' play *Phaethon* (cf. Diggle's 1970 [repr. 2004] Cambridge commentary on the play, which has an appendix on Ovid and Nonnus, pp. 180ff). However, because the play is so fragmentary (and the fragments that do survive offer little about the Sun's Palace), it is difficult to say with certainty to what extent Ovid borrowed elements from Euripides. Barchiesi 2009: 174-176, 183-188 links the Palatine Apollo and Propertius 2.31 with Ovid: "Ovid has inscribed the presence of a ruler into the Propertian image of a Roman temple, and it is a very Eastern one—the Sun at its point of origin" (176).

fitting continuation of Ovid's epic and plays an essential role in the Phaethon narrative.⁴² In particular, the orderly world depicted on the doors of the Sun's Palace correlates to the creation and organization of the world from Chaos described in Book 1,⁴³ but it also acts as a foil to the destruction and chaos to come from Phaethon's solar ride in Book 2⁴⁴ (comparable to the destructive nature of the Flood in Book 1). Scholars have often noted Ovid's emphasis on water imagery in the tripartite world on the doors⁴⁵—it receives seven lines of description, whereas the earth and sky each receive two lines—and have suggested many possibilities for Ovid's reasoning behind this, such as Brown's argument that the overwhelming amount of water imagery is a subversion tactic used to undermine the Sun.⁴⁶ I would suggest that the water imagery also connects directly to Phaethon, as it represents his final resting place, the last part of the world he will ever "see"⁴⁷ after falling from the chariot. The water's disruption by Phaethon's ride and fall, juxtaposed with its peaceful existence depicted on the doors, will demonstrate to Phaethon the chaos and destruction he has created and the reason for his demise.⁴⁸

Phaethon does not appear to take much time to view the scenes on these doors, as he quickly enters the palace of the Sun (*uenit et intrauit*, 2.20), which has led certain scholars to

⁴² Fränkel 1956: 86; Brown 1987: 212, 215; Wheeler 2000: 37.

⁴³ Dietz and Hilbert 1970: 10; Brown 1987: 215; Holzberg 1998: 89; Wheeler 2000: 38; Hardie 2002: 177; Fratantuono 2011: 31.

⁴⁴ Otis 1966: 111; Leach 1974: 141n43; Bass 1977: 404; Brown 1987: 214-216; Leach 1988: 449; Wheeler 2000: 40; Dufallo 2013: 160-161.

⁴⁵ Herter 1958: 60; Ahl 1985: 174; Wheeler 2000: 39; Fratantuono 2011: 31.

⁴⁶ Brown 1987: 217-218. Bartholomé 1935: 76 posits that Homer had covered sky and earth in his ekphrasis on the Shield of Achilles, but had mostly omitted water, so Ovid was completing his picture.

⁴⁷ On Phaethon's desire to "see" like (and be like) his father, see Ginsberg 1989: 223-225; Hardie 2002: 173; Salzmann-Mitchell 2005: 102.

⁴⁸ Cf. Dufallo 2013:160-165, who reaches a similar conclusion though for different reasons: he suggests Vulcan's world of order is truly asymmetrical and chaotic with shapeshifting figures such as Proteus and overly alike sisters in the Nymphs, which then foreshadows Phaethon's own creation of chaos through his chariot ride.

believe that Phaethon does not comprehend the significance of the imagery on the doors.⁴⁹ I posit, however, that Phaethon does not spend much time observing the doors not only because he is more concerned with discovering his identity, but also because he cannot physically stand to look at them. The palace and its construction materials are all so bright that Phaethon is too blinded to pay attention to the intricate carvings on the doors, and thus does not fully appreciate their content and meaning.⁵⁰ This observation has greater implications for the overall effect of the palace within the Phaethon episode. The structure itself reflects the nature of the inhabitant—the brilliant radiance of the personified Sun⁵¹—but it also represents a world in which Phaethon does not belong. He is too young, too inexperienced, and perhaps most importantly, too mortal to fully comprehend the nature of his father as reflected in the building. The doors of the palace present a world too orderly to be real—it is too good to be true and too difficult to understand or even believe; this divine ‘reality’ is unsustainable in the human world.⁵²

Ovid’s description lends a sense of foreignness and exotic appeal that may be aesthetically delightful yet also unfathomable to Ovid’s Roman audience.⁵³ The over-exaggerated, exotic awesomeness that is presented to Phaethon, both by the palace and by the solar chariot,⁵⁴ along with Phoebus’ confirmation of their familial ties, entices Phaethon to believe that he deserves to be in that world and can take on the responsibilities involved in being

⁴⁹ Herter 1958: 57. Leach 1974: 141n43 disagrees, observing that the course of the sun as appearing on the Sun’s doors seems simple and without peril; thus Phaethon does not realize what he is in for.

⁵⁰ Cf. 2.22-23, where Phaethon is unable to bring himself closer or look directly at his father, who is simply too radiant in his shining emerald throne. See Fontenrose 1940: 434.

⁵¹ See Brown 1987: 213.

⁵² Leach 1974: 141n43 refers to the doors as divine art presenting the “same over-exaggerated image of order that characterizes other ‘official’ self-representations of gods.”

⁵³ Wilkinson 1962 refers to the palace in the “mystic realms beyond the Ethiopians” (90) and calls its description “baroque” in its “grandiose, arresting, theatrical” nature (68).

⁵⁴ Seneca *Ep.* 115.13 is the first to draw parallels between Ovid’s representation of the sun’s palace and chariot.

there. His overconfidence combined with Phoebus' ill-advised eagerness to please his son causes the world to be overturned and provokes Mother Earth's call for help to Jupiter to restore order once more. In the following analysis I will discuss the elements of brilliance, unreality, and foreignness that cause Phaethon's "blindness" to his true status in the world as well as the world's return to its origin of chaos.

Ovid begins the description of the Sun's Palace with the word *regia* (line 1), which signifies a palace here but may also remind the Roman reader of the Regia in the Forum Romanum in Rome.⁵⁵ The reader may expect that this description will echo that of Jupiter's "Roman" home on the "Roman" Milky Way in Book 1,⁵⁶ supported by Ovid's use of *ualuae* in line 4 (cf. the *ualuis apertis* of 1.172) and his allusions in the phrase *sublimibus alta columnis* (2.1) to Latinus' *tectum* in *Aeneid* 7, a precursor of some of Rome's most famous monuments.⁵⁷ The immensity of the palace, its many towering columns, and the wide double doors (*ualuae bifores*)⁵⁸ call to mind temples in Rome such as that of Apollo on the Palatine.⁵⁹ But in lines 2-4, the Roman comparisons quickly fall away with the description of the palace's building materials, particularly *pyropo*, a gold-bronze alloy, and *ebur*, "ivory," two loan words from Greek and Egypt, respectively. The palace is built with exotic foreign materials (along with gold, not so foreign but still costly) which emphasize the gleaming nature of the Sun god himself, evidenced

⁵⁵ Cf. Bömer *ad loc.*, who writes that Ovid often uses the word *regia* for non-Roman things. Bartholomé 1935: 18 connects the *regia* here directly with the Regia of the Forum Romanum, where Augustus as *pontifex maximus* would reside. See also Barchiesi 2009, who sees analogy between this passage and "the urban panorama of the city of Rome" (163).

⁵⁶ See Bömer *ad* 1-30.

⁵⁷ For more analysis of Latinus' *tectum*, see Chapter 4.

⁵⁸ On Ovid's restoration of *bifores* to its original sense, see Anderson *ad* 4.

⁵⁹ Bömer *ad* 1; Bartholomé 1935: 17; Herter 1958: 53; Brown 1987: 211. Barchiesi *ad* 3 compares Ovid's use of ivory to that on the Temple of Palatine Apollo. Keith 2007: 17 comments upon the similar language between the description of the Sun Palace and Propertius' depiction of the Temple of Apollo Palatinus (2.31, discussed in Chapter 3).

by the three different descriptions of these materials—the gold is “glittering” (*micante*, 2.2), the alloy “looks like fire” (*flammas imitante*, 2.2), and the ivory is “bright” or “resplendent” (*nitidum*, 2.3). In line 4, Ovid introduces yet another shining metal: the silver radiating from the double doors (*argenti...radiabant lumine ualuae*). Later in the passage, Phoebus sits on a throne that is “lit up with shining emeralds” (*claris lucente smaragdis*, 2.24). The word *smaragdis* is also a loan word from Greek, reemphasizing the foreign nature of the palace and of the sun god.⁶⁰ The abundance of shiny metals (and ivory) along with their “shiny” descriptive terms create a picture so overwhelming that most people, like Phaethon, could not probably stand to look very long at the palace, just as they cannot view the sun itself for long periods of time.

Wilkinson writes that the polychrome nature of the Sun’s Palace suggests some “fantastically ambitious designs of Benvenuto Cellini,”⁶¹ the 16th century Italian artist. Wilkinson’s suggestion emphasizes the nature of this palace as a work of art—it stems from Ovid’s creative imagination. By contrast Jupiter’s and the Olympians’ homes in Book 1 are much closer to reflecting real Roman structures. Practically speaking, the likelihood of precious metals withstanding the heat of the Sun is very small, even (or especially) with the touch of Mulciber (line 5), the “softener” (*mulceo*) of metal⁶²: the palace ought to melt around him. Of course it will not melt in Ovid’s fantastic depiction. Ovid’s affirmation of the palace as a work of art continues in line 5: *materiam superabat opus*, “the work surpassed the material,”⁶³ demonstrating that the skill of the artist ought to outdo the materials with which he works (as it

⁶⁰ Ovid uses another Greek loan word in this passage: *ballaenarum* in line 9. On *ballaenarum*, see Moore-Blunt *ad* 9. Ahl 1985 calls Ovid’s play with loanwords an “alloying” of Greek and Latin (172). This all confirms the foreignness of this palatial site.

⁶¹ Wilkinson 1962: 70.

⁶² See Ahl 1985: 173 for more on the wordplay with Mulciber.

⁶³ Scholars have related this passage to Ovid and the process of his own poetic creation: see, e.g., Galinsky 1975: 51; Brown 1987: 219; Solodow 1988: 229.

does here). The poet then depicts the imagery of the world Mulciber has embossed on the doors, but does not allow the reader to forget the artistic production: some of the sea nymphs “appear” to swim (*nare uidetur*, 2.11), and the “image” (*imago*, 2.17) of the gleaming sky (*fulgentis caeli*, yet another bright “flashy” word, 2.17) is “imprinted” (*imposita est*, 2.17) above the earth and sea. *Fulgentis* may refer to both the sky itself and the metal with which Mulciber creates it. Ovid’s clever wordplay between *caelarat* “engraving” (2.6) and *caelum* “sky, heaven” (2.7), as well as the imagery on the doors, equates the product of the creator of the world (i.e., the world itself) with the image of the world which the artist produces.⁶⁴ It is all illusion, a fiction Ovid creates to delight his reader, too perfect and too complex to create in reality. How the entire world could fit on two doors, Ovid does not (and cannot) say.⁶⁵

Throughout this passage, Ovid illuminates the gleaming features of the palace, conveying its awe-inspiring brilliance that humans cannot fully comprehend. But there is one building material that (surprisingly) is left out of the ekphrasis: marble.⁶⁶ Particularly when polished, marble radiates light and can be blinding at first glance, which would complement the striking vision Ovid intends. Yet there is no trace of marble anywhere in the description. Herter suggests the lack of marble stems from two possibilities, either that none was used in the temple or that Ovid did not consider it worth mentioning.⁶⁷ The second option seems unlikely, since marble is always otherwise highlighted in Ovid (as Herter himself observes). In Book 1.168-180, Ovid explicitly mentions the marbled inner room in which the gods assemble, so it appears possible

⁶⁴ For more on *caelarat* and *caelum*, see Barchiesi *ad* 6-7 and Ahl 1985: 173. O’Sullivan 2012 compares gilded ceilings (*caelatus*) and the sky (*caelum*).

⁶⁵ Anderson *ad* 9-10, who states the subject matter is more appropriate for mosaic floors in baths.

⁶⁶ Wood, another fundamental building material, is also left out. Perhaps this omission occurs because this is an ekphrasis of a depicted structure rather than an actual structure (thank you to Alain Gowing for this idea).

⁶⁷ Herter 1958: 56.

and even likely that marble would be listed as a building material for another divine residence. The divine abodes of Book 1 and the Sun's Palace are linked in an additional way: the Milky Way, on which the Olympian homes were found, "was created by the catastrophic disintegration of Phaethon's solar chariot—destroyed, we should add, by Jupiter."⁶⁸ The Olympian homes of Book 1 could not have been established without the journey of Phaethon to his father's home and his subsequent chariot ride. The description of their homes employs several instances of Roman terminology, especially through the mention of marble, the typical Augustan building material, which makes the Olympians appear very "Roman." On the other hand, Ovid's description of the palace of the sun god includes many loan words and foreign building materials, exoticizing the sun god and portraying him as more foreign. The implicit foreignness of the sun god is linked to the destruction that ensues. Helios is unable to control his son Phaethon and deny his desire to drive the chariot. Phaethon's path of destruction returns the world to a state of chaos and forces Jupiter, by request of Mother Earth, to restore order once again, through the obliteration of the chariot (and Phaethon).

There are, of course, political implications to be found in the quasi-Roman Jupiter (associated with Augustus in Book 1) annihilating foreign threats and establishing peace once again. Rome endured many destructive wars against enemies foreign and domestic under Augustus before the Pax Romana came into existence. In Augustus' eyes, those wars were necessary to create order again. Likewise Jupiter deems it necessary to flood the world and destroy the sun chariot, for the purpose of reviving ordered peace. On a literary level, Jupiter's reinstatement of peace reinforces the themes of Book 1 of the *Metamorphoses*, where chaos is "a

⁶⁸ Ahl 1985: 75, also 170. This is, of course, a variation of the myth surrounding the creation of the Milky Way, typically involving Juno refusing to breastfeed Vulcan. For more on the connections between the divine abodes of Book 1 and the Palace of the Sun, see Bartholomé 1935: 18-19 and Barchiesi 2009: 166, 172.

state of war and perpetual changefulness...on which the 'god and a better nature' impose order and peace."⁶⁹ Here Jupiter shows his Olympian (and "Roman") superiority over the mortal Phaethon and also the Sun god, who cannot restore peace but continues to create chaos, due to grief over his son, by refusing to drive the sun chariot across the sky. Jupiter has to invoke and threaten Phoebus before he revives the passing of days (2.396-400). Just like Phaethon, Phoebus himself cannot sustain the order that is depicted on the doors of his palace. Only the supreme Olympian god Jupiter can restore the order seen on the doors.

Overall, the exotic appeal of the sun god and his palace cannot replace reality for Phaethon. The young boy is so overcome (or blinded, in fact) by the shiny exterior and artwork of the palace (and chariot) that in his excitement he is able to forget his own mortal status. He believes that he can assume the responsibilities of his father, merging the radiant divine world with his own earthly world, while still replicating the perfect order of the tripartite world portrayed on the doors of the palace. The palace structure itself, as well as its artwork, represents a realm to which the mortal Phaethon does not belong. He cannot fully understand the nature of the palace and what it needs to be maintained, nor can he ever live there in the heavens, but must be sent hurtling back down to earth and to his death.

In these two depictions of divine residences, Ovid presents very different ideas of how these residences can be conceived and understood. Whereas those in Book 1 mirror the homes of men and reflect the achievements in architecture to which mankind has aspired thus far, the Palace of the Sun represents a fantasy world, delightful to the mortal reader/viewer but impossible (at least so far) for him to recreate for himself. It stretches the limits of the imagination, beyond the imagined yet still contemporary reality of the Milky Way's dwellings.

⁶⁹ Hardie 1993: 60.

Yet the description betrays a mistrust of building materials that were coded as exotic; these materials may be brilliant and seductive, but they can represent the antithesis of an orderly society. Ovid may implicitly be endorsing more typically Roman construction materials.

Still Ovid displays a Roman perspective in considering the possibilities of architecture—the imagination and ability to create bigger and better structures using novel materials and innovative techniques that improve the aesthetic quality and function of the building. This striving for bigger and better was characteristic of Roman architecture and its development, turning dream into reality. The consideration of the expanding and evolving nature of architecture is an appropriate way for Ovid to demonstrate his own ability to extend the traditional boundaries of poetry. Ovid may also (unknowingly) inspire later architecture, such as Nero's *Domus Aurea*, which parallels, at least in name, the gleaming features of the Palace of the Sun.⁷⁰ Nero associated himself with the sun god, commissioning a gilt bronze colossal statue of himself, the face of which was changed during the Flavian period to represent Helios.

III. Nero's *Golden House*

Nero's residence bears further discussion. Pliny *NH* 36.111 tells us that Nero's palace was gilded on the exterior of the main façade, echoing the metallic finish of the sun god's palace. Constructed after the fire of 64 CE, the *Domus Aurea* spanned more than three hundred acres in the center of Rome, uniting parts of the Palatine, Esquiline, and Caelian hills. Following the luxurious nature of Hellenistic and later Roman villas,⁷¹ the grounds included lush parks, streams, baths, artwork including the colossos, and the centerpiece, an enormous artificial lake,

⁷⁰ On associations of Nero with Helios, see Boëthius 1960: 111; Bergmann 2013. Fabre-Serris 2003 argues that the *Domus Aurea* is an Ovidian monument.

⁷¹ On the development of Roman villas and their relationship to the *Domus Aurea*, see Boëthius 1960: 96-103.

the base of which would form the foundations of the Colosseum. Most of the material remains were destroyed once Nero left power and the little that survives lies precariously under the foundation of the Baths of Trajan, but archaeologists have been able to reconstruct east and west wings of the palatial residence, which featured fountains, vaulted ceilings, and a remarkable use of concrete construction complete with innovative curvilinear forms, such as the domed ceiling of the unique Octagonal Room.⁷²

The fantastic structure did not meet with approval in the minds of many Romans. Although not the first to seek rustic peace in an urban setting, Nero was most successful at this endeavor.⁷³ The unprecedented amount of rural amenities found in Nero's residence in the center of Rome was incredibly innovative⁷⁴ yet also problematic. Historians such as Tacitus and Suetonius were not enraged so much by the luxuries of the residence as by its creation of artificial nature and by its placement, usurping the homes of many to create a house for a single person.⁷⁵ In his Book of Spectacles (*Liber Spectaculorum*), Martial devotes the second poem to the transformation of the *Domus Aurea* into the Colosseum, in a series of Now-Then contrasts common to epigram.⁷⁶ Coleman suggests that ekphrastic epigrams commemorating buildings concentrate on the function of the structure to the glory of its sponsor, rather than on

⁷² For more on the topography of the *Domus Aurea*, see *LTUR* 2: 49-64; Boëthius 1960: 105-128; Ward-Perkins 1981: 59-61; MacDonald 1982: 20-46; Coarelli 2007: 181-186; Claridge 2010: 301-303, 326-328; and especially Ball 2003.

⁷³ Edwards 1993: 149.

⁷⁴ On this innovation, see Purcell 1987, particularly 198-203. Cf. Longfellow 2011: 28-31.

⁷⁵ Tacitus *Ann.* 15.42; Suetonius *Nero* 31. See also Boëthius 1960: 108-109; Elsner 1994: 121-122. Edwards 1993: 169 argues that excessive building represented a form of tyranny in Roman texts. Welch 2007: 148-158, however, points to the archaeological remains as evidence of public accessibility to parts of the *Domus Aurea*, including its gardens.

⁷⁶ Coleman 1998: 18. Roman 2010 sees this poem as tracking a “temporal change from Neronian to Flavian, and an accompanying transformation of urban space” (93). For more on the Now and Then trope, see Chapter 5. On poem 2 and its context within the beginning sequence of the *Liber Spectaculorum*, see Pailler 1981; Champlin 2003: 201ff; Edwards and Woolf 2003: 1-2; Fitzgerald 2007: 37-41; Rimell 2008: 116-121.

architectural details. She argues that Martial honors Titus through this poem,⁷⁷ which may be seen in the allusion to the construction of the Arch of Titus in *pegmata celsa*.⁷⁸ In poem 2, however, the ambiguous meanings of certain words point to a complex structure of praise whereby Martial may be praising Nero as much as Titus.⁷⁹

<p>Hic ubi sidereus propius videt astra colossus et crescunt media pegmata celsa via, inuidiosa feri radiabant atria regis unaque iam tota stabat in urbe domus. hic ubi conspicui venerabilis Amphitheatri 5 erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant. hic ubi miramur velocia munera thermas, abstulerat miseris tecta superbus ager. Claudia diffusas ubi porticus explicat umbras, ultima pars aulae deficientis erat. 10 Reddita Roma sibi est et sunt te preside, Caesar, deliciae populi, quae fuerant domini.⁸⁰</p>	<p>Here where the colossal statue of the sun sees stars more closely and lofty scaffolding grows in the middle of the road, the hateful atria of the ruthless king used to shine, and one house took the space of the whole city. Here where the honorable structure of the remarkable Amphitheater is erected, once was Nero's lake. In this place where we marvel at the baths, public gifts swiftly completed, the arrogant field had taken houses away from poor people. Where the Claudian portico spreads extensive shade, was the furthest part of that failed palace. Rome has been returned to herself, and with you presiding, Caesar, luxuries which belonged to the emperor now belong to the people.</p>
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Though I have translated *inuidiosa* and *superbus* in ways that reflect the negative, critical attitude towards Nero, each has other meanings which may in fact laud Nero, or at least his architectural endeavors. The primary meaning of *inuidiosa* is “causing hatred, spiteful,” but its subsequent definition is “causing envy, enviable” (OLD 2). The Romans disliked the appropriation of public lands for private enterprise, but they could not deny the remarkable nature of the palace structure and were perhaps jealous of as much as angry at its features. Likewise the word *superbus* can also denote something that is a matter of pride or honor (OLD

⁷⁷ Coleman 1998: 16; cf. Coleman *ad* 2.

⁷⁸ On *pegmata celsa*, see Coleman 1998: 19-21; cf. Coleman *ad* 2.2. She argues that the scaffolding may be part of the construction of the Arch of Titus.

⁷⁹ Coleman 2006: xlv-lxiv summarizes the arguments regarding which emperor was addressed by the term *Caesar* (2.11), Titus, Domitian, or perhaps both together.

⁸⁰ All Latin text of Martial comes from the Lindsay 1929 Oxford text. Translations are mine.

3). Even if the Romans do not feel pride in a structure denying them their homes, the field itself is proud for representing untouched nature in a new way never seen before. The novelty⁸¹ in Nero's residence emphasized the need emperors felt to outdo their predecessors, a trend evident since the time of Augustus.⁸² Nero was not so unusual in his use of luxurious materials, but the way in which he incorporated them into his private buildings along with the placement of such buildings left him open to criticism. Martial had to be careful to project himself as a critic of Nero; too much praise would jeopardize his reputation (and perhaps life) with the new regime. Nonetheless, the ambiguity of *invidiosa* and *superbus* leaves the door open for less critical observations.

Elsner argues convincingly that if Nero's reign had been as long and prosperous as Augustus, "there would be nothing prodigal even about the *Domus Aurea*." Later topography would have been different, and the historians would have praised rather than scorned Nero's architectural efforts in the Golden House, as much as they did praise his reconstruction of other parts of the city damaged in the fire.⁸³ According to this view, in considering the material remains rather than literary accounts of the *Domus Aurea*, Nero's building efforts were absolutely praiseworthy. Architectural commentators have seen the *Domus Aurea* as the turning point of Roman architecture and as a catalyst to the architectural revolution that would continue to transform the face and shape of Rome: its engineering and mechanical feats, and use of concrete in particular, paved the way for future Roman construction.⁸⁴ The newfound confidence in engineers and masons to execute any idea imagined by architects constitutes another

⁸¹ On Nero's pursuit of novelty in his construction projects, see MacDonald 42; Edwards 1993: 149; Ball 2003: 27.

⁸² Elsner 1994: 114-116.

⁸³ Elsner 1994: 114, 122-123.

⁸⁴ Ward-Perkins 1981: 59, 61; MacDonald 1982: 41; Ball 2003: 264; Beste and von Hesberg 2013.

revolutionary moment in Roman architecture,⁸⁵ a concept that would greatly influence Statius' patrons in the passages below.

IV. *Digna deae sedes: Statius and the Silvae*

Writing in a post-Neronian world, Statius focuses four of his *Silvae* on the celebration of magnificent residences owned by his patrons (or their spouses, as we shall see shortly). His use of architectural ekphrasis as panegyric towards his patrons is new and innovative in Latin poetry and celebrates the strides forward in architecture as well as the patrons who have the foresight, taste, and wealth to embrace these new, often luxurious developments.⁸⁶ Nonetheless his first attempt at this kind of ekphrasis, discussed in the following section, is not without its epic precedents.

A. The House of Violentilla⁸⁷: 1.2.144-160

...iam Thybridis arces
 Iliacae: pandit nitidos domus alta penates 145
 claraque gaudentes plauserunt limina cycni.
 digna deae sedes, nitidis nec sordet ab astris.
 hic Libycus Phrygiusque silex, hic dura Laconum
 saxa uirent, hic flexus onyx et concolor alto
 uena mari, rupesque nitent quis purpura saepe 150
 Oebalis et Tyrii moderator liuet aeni.
 pendent innumeris fastigia nixa columnis,
 robora Dalmatico lucent satiata metallo.
 excludunt radios siluis demissa uetustis
 frigora, perspicui uiuunt in marmore fontes. 155
 nec seruat natura uices: hic Sirius alget,

...and now the citadels of the Roman
 Tiber: the tall house reveals gleaming
Penates and the rejoicing swans beat the
 distinguished threshold with their wings. It
 was a house worthy of a goddess, and not
 unworthy of the gleaming stars. Here was
 Libyan and Phrygian stone, here the
 sturdy Spartan rock glows green, here the
 onyx with its wavy bands and veins the
 color of the deep sea, and radiant rocks
 which Laconian purple and Tyrian dyers
 envy. Its rooftops are suspended, held up
 by countless columns; the oak beams

⁸⁵ Ball 2003: 24-25.

⁸⁶ On the social and cultural functions of ekphrasis in Statius' poetry, see Newlands 2002: 41-45. Martelli 2009 argues further that Statius highlights the fusion of both symbolic and economic capital in the *Silvae*.

⁸⁷ Pavlovskis 1965: 166 calls this the house of Venus, but it is clear from the poem that while Venus delights in the house, it is not her own but that of her protégée (1.2.158). Pavlovskis uses this to emphasize the great distinction of the mortals who have drawn Venus out of her "unusually beautiful palace" to toil on their behalf. Cf. Newmyer 1979: 29.

bruma tepet, uersumque domus sibi temperat annum.
 exsultat uisu tectisque potentis alumnae
 non secus alma Venus quam si Paphon aequore ab alto
 Idaliasque domos Erycinaque templa subiret.⁸⁸

shine, coated with Dalmatian gold. The chill sent down by aged trees wards off the sun, clear springs come alive in marble. Nature does not uphold the seasons: here summer is cool, winter is warm, and the house directs the turning of the year for itself. Kindly Venus rejoices at the sight and home of her powerful protégée just as she would upon reaching Paphos from the high seas and the Idalian home and her temple on Mount Eryx.

Stattius includes this description within *Silvae* 1.2, an epithalamium⁸⁹ dedicated to (and commissioned by) Arruntius Stella and his bride-to-be, Violentilla. Stella, a rising politician in the Domitianic era, was also known for his elegiac poetry⁹⁰ written about his relationship with Violentilla (whose pseudonyms were Ianthis and Asteris).⁹¹ Though the extent of the relationship between the two poets is uncertain,⁹² Stattius was familiar with Stella's poetry and genre, and thus incorporates elements of elegy within the epithalamium.⁹³ Due to the less restrictive form of the

⁸⁸ All Latin text of Stattius' *Silvae* comes from the Courtney 1992 Oxford Text. Translations are mine.

⁸⁹ For more on Stattius' poem as an epithalamium, see Pavlovskis 1965; Bright 1980: 6; Hardie 1983: 111-112. Vessey 1972: 177 and Newmyer 1979: 29 call Stattius' poem "epithalamium in form but personal in design."

⁹⁰ On Stella as elegiac poet, see Newlands 2002: 90; Nauta 2002: 158; and Zeiner 2005: 141.

⁹¹ From this some critics have assumed that Stella and Violentilla, a widow, had participated in an illicit sexual relationship before their marriage, though Stattius says nothing on this (perhaps obviously so). See Vessey 1972: 181-2; Zeiner 2005: 140. On Violentilla as a character in Stella's poetry (and thereby Stattius' poetry), see Zeiner 2005: 145, 149 and Zeiner-Carmichael 2007: 165. Martial also writes about the wedding in Epigram 6.21, and makes mention of their affair, but Watson 1999 argues that the poet is referring to their literary affair as described in Stella's poetry rather than their actual relationship (356). She also considers Martial's poem as a response to Stattius, written after his epithalamium. Cf. Grewing 1997: 176-177; Henriksén 1998: 91-94.

⁹² White 1975: 270 and Nauta 2008: 155 both call poetry the basis of the poet's 'amicitia.' Stattius' role at the actual wedding is unclear as well.

⁹³ On the use of elegy in *Silvae* 1.2, see Hardie 1983: 112, 115; Verstraete 1983: 199; Newlands 2002: 90; Zeiner 2005: 141, 143, 149.

epithalamium, allowing for “more digressive material,”⁹⁴ Statius was able to infuse tropes of mythology⁹⁵ and epic⁹⁶ into the poem as well. That epithalamium and epic share the same meter (dactylic hexameter) may play a role in the combination of the two genres, but I argue that Statius looks to epic antecedents for his description of Violentilla’s house, and in particular Virgil’s *Aeneid*.⁹⁷ It has already been noted that there are parallels between Venus’ speech to the statuesque widow Violentilla and Anna’s speech to the statuesque widow Dido in *Aeneid* 4.31-38.⁹⁸ I shall discuss below the similarities found between the architectural ekphrasis in *Silvae* 1.2 and Virgil’s depiction of Latinus’ *tectum* in *Aeneid* 7.⁹⁹

The blending of an ancient Greek literary genre with Roman historical/mythological epic, as found in the description of the house, replicates the union of the Roman Stella with the quasi-Greek (Neapolitan) Violentilla and lends an expansive historical dimension to this poem and the union described within it. The house itself represents history, and not only the history of Violentilla and her family.¹⁰⁰ The architecture and building materials recall places that have

⁹⁴ Hardie 1983: 111.

⁹⁵ On mythology in *Silvae* 1.2, see Vessey 1972: 184, Roberts 1989: 323; Newlands 2002: 94; Nauta 2002: 264.

⁹⁶ For discussions of epic within Statius’ epithalamium, see Vessey 1972: 173, 177; Bright 1980: 7; Hardie 1983: 115; Hersch 2007. On the general use of epic in the *Silvae*, see Newlands and Augoustakis 2007: 124.

⁹⁷ Hersch 2007 has already argued that the description of Violentilla’s house stems from epic, but she believes that Apollonius’ *Argonautica* provides the main parallel. While I do not disagree that those similarities exist, I posit that Statius turns to more than one epic poet in order to truly expand the genre of the epithalamium with his inclusion of an architectural ekphrasis. For more on the *Silvae* and epic, see Gibson 2006 and van Dam 2006.

⁹⁸ Nauta 2002: 266; Newlands 2002: 102-103.

⁹⁹ For additional, extended analysis of Latinus’ *tectum*, see Chapter 4.

¹⁰⁰ Of course the house does reflect its owner Violentilla to a certain extent: its height, beauty, and costly materials echo Violentilla’s height, beauty, and wealth. See Myers 2000: 105; Newlands 2002: 93, 99, 103; Leach 2003: 154; Zeiner 2005: 147; Zeiner-Carmichael 2007: 168-169. The house as representative of Violentilla forms the focus of Newland’s analysis of this passage, who argues that the house makes Violentilla a worthy partner for Stella (2002: 98, 101; cf. Zeiner 2005: 146, 148-149). I differ from her argument in focusing more on historical and

mythological and historical significance to Rome, and the combination of these materials and techniques within a Roman house along the Tiber draws Rome into favorable comparison with these historically important locales. Rome's incredible achievement in architecture also has a long, involved history, and parallels Rome's political achievements in creating a large, visually dominant empire that was at its most powerful during the first century and beginning of the second century CE, when Statius is writing. The history of architecture as seen in this house reflects human, political, and literary history.

The ekphrasis falls within the mythological narrative of the poem, as Venus flies down to Violentilla's house, which is described from her perspective as she arrives (144-145).¹⁰¹ The use of the word *Iliacae* to describe Rome connects the city with Troy, from which its mythical founder arrived, and highlights the history of the union between Troy's Aeneas and Latium's Latinus that created Rome. The *arces* call to mind Latinus' *tectum*, which is also located on top of his city of Latium. Here Venus has come to Violentilla to persuade her to unite in marriage with Stella (in a sense joining two cities, Naples and Rome, the respective origins of the bride and groom), just as the Trojan embassy climb up to Latinus' *tectum* to ask for alliance with the Latins. Venus, of course, as a god, does not have to ascend to the house but flies down from Olympus with her team of swans. She also is not the typical (human) spectator: since she is a god, she notices first not the luxurious building material of the house, but that Violentilla possesses *Penates*, traditional household gods—a Roman custom which originated in Troy.

architectural precedents found in this passage and less on social ramifications, though this does mark the only time Statius depicts a house belonging to a woman (Myers 2000: 105; Newlands 2002: 94).

¹⁰¹ Leach 2003: "Always using the narrative perspective of a visitor to dramatize spectatorship, Statius conveys images of Roman domestic interiors as a dazzle of light and a panorama of color" (153). Nauta 2002 says that in this passage Statius uses a 'mimetic' technique of having the "spatial and temporal point of view of the speaker move along with the events that this speaker describes" (265).

Violentilla has upheld the custom and maintained the gods so well that they sparkle (*nitidos*, 1.2.145).¹⁰² The emphasis on Violentilla's familial gods is comparable to the emphasis Virgil places on the ancestral effigies inside and in front of Latinus' *tectum*. Venus also observes the imposing height of the house (*alta*), a typical feature mentioned at the beginning of architectural descriptions (and often used by Virgil).

In the subsequent description of marbles in Violentilla's home, Statius moves from Roman familiarity to foreign exoticism. He lists the origins of the marbles as follows: first is Libya (*Libycus*), which boasts a marble between golden yellow and red, most likely referring to Numidian *giallo antico*. Next is Phrygia, often a poetic substitution for Troy, from which was quarried the deep purple pavonazzetto, extremely popular by the time of Augustus and frequently used in Domitian's building program.¹⁰³ This is followed by a green marble from Sparta, mentioned again for its purple dye in lines 150-151 along with the desirable purple dye of Tyre, a city in North Africa (frequently substituted in poetry for Carthage). The poet expects his audience (both Stella and Violentilla and any reader of the later published poem) to have a good foundational knowledge of marble's color and origin in order to understand his architecturally learned poetry.¹⁰⁴ The use of these foreign marbles makes Violentilla's house aesthetically pleasing and innovative yet comparable to Domitian's palace.¹⁰⁵ In addition, each marble originates from a place that has a rich history. Troy, Sparta, and Carthage were important ancient cities, all with military and historical ties to Rome. Troy and Carthage were known for being

¹⁰² Newlands 2002: 96.

¹⁰³ Zeiner 2005: 88.

¹⁰⁴ For more on Statius as architectural connoisseur for his audience, see Chapter Four's section on bath poetry.

¹⁰⁵ Newlands 2002: 97. She also comments on the purple and green colors of the marble complementing Violentilla and her namesake violet flower (98). Sartori 1985: 209-211 details the marbles and sees them as an external symbol of Violentilla's wealth.

architecturally beautiful cities;¹⁰⁶ however, Troy's destruction as described in the *Aeneid* made possible Rome's existence, while Carthage was eventually destroyed by the Romans. Sparta was not destroyed but also eventually came under Roman power. It is in part the military and political superiority of the Romans that allowed them to acquire such precious marbles from these regions.¹⁰⁷ The use of foreign marbles in Violentilla's house emphasizes and even celebrates the political and military history of Rome that made such materials attainable.

Stattius turns to building techniques and other materials in lines 152-3: "its rooftops are suspended, held up by countless columns, and the oak beams shine, coated with Dalmatian gold." This calls to mind the one hundred columns supporting Latinus' *tectum* in *Aeneid* 7, as well as the over one hundred columns in Domitian's palace (*Silvae* 4.2.18),¹⁰⁸ which lend a similar sense of majesty to Violentilla's home.¹⁰⁹ Line 153 shows how contemporary Roman housing has surpassed its historic predecessors, making use of beams gilded with Greek gold (*Dalmatico metallo*),¹¹⁰ not unlike Ovid's Palace of the Sun and Nero's later Domus Aurea. What once was only imagined as fit for divine houses has now found its way to human residences. The "beaming" nature of the beams reiterates the bright shininess of the *Penates* and the marbles (*nitidos...nitent...lucent*), a typical Statian description.¹¹¹ And yet the natural beaming of the sun is left out, according to lines 154-155: "the chill caused by aged trees wards

¹⁰⁶ Especially if we recall the *Aeneid*, which describe the construction of Carthage (Books 1, 4) and the destruction of Troy (Book 2).

¹⁰⁷ In fact the marble quarries in all foreign areas fell under imperial control at the end of the first century CE because it was understood how symbolically powerful marble was (Newlands 2002: 97).

¹⁰⁸ At 4.2.18 Statius explicitly references the columns of Latinus' palace (see below).

¹⁰⁹ Wallace-Hadrill 1988: 68 observes that columns transport guests into a world of monumentality and luxury and mark out the space as prestigious.

¹¹⁰ For a fuller discussion of renowned Dalmatian gold (and the ceilings it gilded), see Zeiner 2005: 82-83.

¹¹¹ As seen in the Baths of Etruscus (*Silvae* 1.5), Statius likes to depict light, marbles, and the light that shines off marbles. See Chapter 4.

off the sun.” Newlands finds the presence of woods (*silvis*) puzzling in this description, as it would be highly unlikely that ancient trees would be found in an urban landscape.¹¹² But their presence can be ascribed to several possibilities: first, it is a mythological narrative, which allows for some imagination or ‘imagined reality.’ The ‘magical’ elements in the following lines (the house controlling the seasons, water arising from marble) help to give credence to this argument. More probably (and perhaps more importantly), as Newlands notes, the word *silvae* is often used when referring to literary precedents and the poet’s relationship to that earlier poetry.¹¹³ Here, one of Statius’ epic antecedents is Virgil, whose depiction of Latinus’ *tectum* also includes *silvis* which produce shock (*horrendum silvis*, 7.172), not dissimilar to the shocking coolness caused by the dark shadow of Violentilla’s trees. Yet here the materials of the house seemingly do not need the light of the sun in order to gleam. Moreover there was now an historical model for Violentilla’s house: Nero’s *Domus Aurea*, which was surrounded by parks full of trees, the ultimate *rus in urbe*.¹¹⁴ Violentilla has the best of both worlds: a villa-like mansion in the middle of the city.

Statius ends the passage with instances of controlled nature: fountains spring from marble (155), the weather is the opposite of normal (156-157) and the seasons are guided not by nature but by the house itself (157), personified a second time (after *pandit...domus*, line 145). Within her work on the marvels of technology in the *Silvae*, Pavlovskis comments on Statius’ patrons escaping the city: “their country estates have been developed in such ways that their dwellers do not rightly know where nature ends and art begins, and consequently can enjoy the illusion of

¹¹² Newlands 2002: 99.

¹¹³ Newlands 2002: 100; Hinds 1998: 12-14.

¹¹⁴ On Nero’s house as *rus in urbe*, see McKay 1975: 128; Purcell 1987; Hales 2003: 74-75.

holding nature in a kind of magical grasp, completely at their command.”¹¹⁵ Violentilla is able to escape the city while still living in it, and she and her house employ the same kind of control over nature as those in the actual country. What is important here is that this control was *developed*—men were able to conceive of ways to keep nature under their command. The Romans concentrated on ways of controlling water, through aqueducts, baths, and fountains such as those at Violentilla’s house, and they were able to become masters over the natural element in ways never seen before. This control over nature likens the Romans to gods and other supernatural divinities that have magical powers. Once again architecture paves the way for humans to move closer to the status of the divine.

As a conclusion to this discussion, we must consider line 146: “it was a house worthy of a goddess and not unworthy of the gleaming stars.” Here we find two of Statius’ favorite poetic devices: hyperbole¹¹⁶ and *reduplicatio* (worthy...not unworthy),¹¹⁷ as well as litotes (*nec sordet*), a modest way of comparing Violentilla’s house to Olympus.¹¹⁸ This line indicates the amazing development of architecture from Rome’s beginnings through Statius’ era: the houses which used to be suitable for and made only by gods (as we see in the Palace of the Sun) are now being constructed by humans. Gods now would be happy to live in the homes built by mankind: Venus exults when she sees Violentilla’s home, exhibiting a reaction similar to when she reaches regions sacred to her (lines 158-160). Humans achieve quasi-divine status through their quasi-divine structures. In addition, mythology comes into contact with reality: Venus, part of the mythological narrative in departing from her own (presumably marble)¹¹⁹ home on the Milky

¹¹⁵ Pavlovskis 1973: 5.

¹¹⁶ Pederzani *ad* 147. See also Nagle 2004: 10.

¹¹⁷ On *reduplicatio* in Statius, see Nagle 2004: 11-12.

¹¹⁸ Pederzani *ad* 147.

¹¹⁹ If Statius borrows at all from Ovid’s description of the Milky Way in *Met.* 1.

Way (1.2.51-53), arrives in a fully Roman reality along the Tiber River. As much as the use of myth transfers historic reality into a non-realistic dimension,¹²⁰ here it is “equally true that myth is humanized by being brought into contact with the everyday realm.”¹²¹ Here Statius combines history and myth, just as his predecessor Virgil does in *Aeneid* 7, through their architectural ekphrases. According to Newlands, ekphrasis is a “safer way of writing the present as well as the past.”¹²² The imperial regime should not be offended or threatened by the advancements in architecture; rather they ought to embrace them (and do). And yet architecture as history, depicted in this house and its building materials, is still provocative, because it can represent other types of history—literary, political, and the personal history of Violentilla, which she will carry into her marriage with Stella.

B. The Watery Abode of Manilius Vopiscus (*Silvae* 1.3)

Statius continues to describe exquisite abodes in *Silvae* 1.3, which is centered on the villa of Manilius Vopiscus in Tibur (Tivoli). Unlike *Silvae* 1.2, which included a short architectural ekphrasis as one feature of Statius’ epithalamium to Stella and Violentilla, *Silvae* 1.3 was written with the sole purpose of celebrating Vopiscus’ culture, wealth, and taste through the description of his villa and has been called the first “villa poem.”¹²³ Vopiscus, though seemingly from a senatorial background, had disengaged from politics to become a poet (similar to Stella), and he was devoted to Epicureanism in his old age, which, some scholars have argued, forms much of

¹²⁰ Vessey 1972: 182-183.

¹²¹ Roberts 1989: 327.

¹²² Newlands 2002: 44.

¹²³ Hardie 1983: 177, 179; Myers 2000: 104; Newlands 2002: 123-124; Zeiner 2005: 78, 81. Cf. Newmyer 1979: 113. On 1.3 as the first villa poem, see Hardie 1983: 179; Newlands 2002: 119, 120, 126.

Stattius' exposition.¹²⁴ Stattius does not seem to have been very familiar with Vopiscus, in contrast to his relationship with the patron of the other main "villa poem" in *Silvae* 2.2, Pollius Felix.¹²⁵ Yet he constructs a beautiful poem highlighting the luxurious features of Vopiscus' villa, set in a wondrous landscape.

We as readers are not meant to think of Stattius' poem as an architectural or archaeological guide but more as a recollection of a wonderful day for Stattius as he toured the villa grounds.¹²⁶ Hardie explains why an archaeological guide would not suit this occasion:

The difficulty for a poet was that a surfeit of information on architecture, water supply and drainage schemes could begin very easily to sound like a surveyor's report in verse. The problem was to make a poem out of the prosaic symbol of a patron's style of life, using his medium, the epic hexameter, in such a way that Vopiscus' domestic trivia should not sound absurd and bombastic.¹²⁷

Stattius had to find a way to combine architectural elements with those of pleasure, which he does by appealing to the reader's imagination through the extensive use of *praeteritio* in this poem (lines 34-46; 57-61; 64-69).¹²⁸ Stattius relies on this rhetorical device, conveyed in the form of the question "why should I mention *x*?", through which he compels the reader to imagine in his own mind the features of this amazing villa. The reader is left wondering whether there are even more

¹²⁴ On Epicureanism and *quietism* in 1.3, see Newmyer 1979: 113; Hardie 1983: 176; Nauta 2002: 308; Newlands 2002: 137-138; Zeiner 2005: 79, 189. On the political withdrawal, see Myers 2000: 138; Newlands 2002: 125, 149. For more on the life of Vopiscus (some of which is speculative as we are not entirely sure which Manilius Vopiscus Stattius is discussing), see Cancik 1978: 120-121; Bright 1980: 56; Hardie 1983: 68.

¹²⁵ On the unclear relationship here between poet and patron, see Cancik 1978: 119, 127-128; Myers 2000: 127; Nauta 2002: 226, 239 and 2008: 162. Newlands 1988: 98, 110 argues that Stattius is actually critical of Vopiscus in his poem, though other scholars (Zeiner 2005, Marshall 2008) have refuted parts of this claim. In general, Newlands 1988 and 2002 lean toward a subversive purpose of the *Silvae*, particularly those involving architectural ekphrasis, by celebrating aspects of culture but underlining the social tensions inherent in doing so. And yet Stattius here also seems to be celebrating architecture for the sake of architecture and of Roman achievement. Perhaps Stattius can dislike the patron but still like his home.

¹²⁶ Bek 1976: 160; Myers 2000: 104; Newlands 2002: 126, 129.

¹²⁷ Hardie 1983: 179.

¹²⁸ Stattius uses *praeteritio* extensively in *Silvae* 1.5 as well. See Chapter 4.

fascinating, luxurious, and costly components that Statius chooses not to mention. All in all, the questions serve to enhance the force of those particular features Statius chooses to depict and allow for a genuine celebration of humanly conceived architecture in the midst of fantastic natural landscape. The villa is the dominant feature in the poem.¹²⁹ Although nature has aided the villa's conception and construction (*non largius usquam / indulset natura sibi*, "nowhere has nature indulged itself so profusely," 1.3.16-17), it nonetheless takes a subservient position to the villa and its manmade splendor. In this poem nature accommodates human needs and purposes, not the other way around.¹³⁰

The splendor in Vopiscus' home may also remind the reader of more public architecture. Though Statius provides a glimpse of a private, exclusive home, some of its features are reminiscent of buildings in Rome, particularly the imperial baths of Nero and Titus, places which much of Statius' audience are more likely to have seen, if not visited. The reader can use his own mental pictures of these public structures to help visualize the secluded abode of Vopiscus. The combination of grandiose urban and rural features in these new villas is shocking and contrary to the earlier picture of villas built more modestly and pragmatically for economic, agricultural purposes, as seen in Cato, Varro, and Seneca's letter on Scipio Africanus' villa (*Ep.* 86). This

¹²⁹ Newlands 1988: 99.

¹³⁰ This idea of nature as subservient to human needs is central to most analyses of this poem—see Pavlovskis 1973: 17; Bek 1976: 161; Cancik 1978: 118; Bright 1980: 46; Newlands 1988: 100; Myers 2000: 115; Nauta 2002: 319; Newlands 2002: 121, 132, 135, 146-147. Hardie 1983, however, still believes the villa is an accommodation to nature (177), which could be true when considering the tree that was spared and grows up through the center of the house (lines 59-63). Most other owners would have cut the tree down, but Vopiscus uses architectural ingenuity and builds around the tree, which may show the dominant power of human-made landscape over nature in being able to construct solidly around such an obstacle. Cf. Martial 9.61, which describes the plane tree of Caesar in the middle of Tartessus' house in Spain. For historical reasons, obviously one would not want to cut down the tree that Julius Caesar planted, whereas here Vopiscus appears to be a friend more to nature than political history. Newlands 2011a compares Martial 9.61 in more depth to *Silvae* 2.3, memorializing the tree of Atedius Melior.

leads Spencer to argue that Statius is “tampering with a key part of Roman identity—the citizen’s role as farmer and inheritor of traditional agricultural values dating back the founding fathers.”¹³¹ Yet one might also say that Statius is not so much tampering with traditional Roman identity as he is helping to represent a new tradition of Roman identity that is still strong and proud thanks to Roman achievements in architecture. The poet celebrates the new forms of architecture and Roman identity through his creation of innovative poetic forms, ekphrastically-centered concepts such as the villa poem.

Vopiscus’ villa is described in a way that is very similar to baths. Statius begins the poem as follows, emphasizing the villa’s qualities as a cool retreat from summer’s heat (1.3.1-8):

Cernere facundi Tibur glaciale Vopisci
siquis et inserto geminos Aniene penates,
aut potuit sociae commercia noscere ripae
certantesque sibi dominum defendere uillas,
illum nec calido latrauit Sirius astro 5
nec grauis aspexit Nemeae frondentis alumnus:
talis hiems tectis, frangunt sic improba solem
frigora, Pisaenumque domus non aestuat annum.

If anyone has been able to perceive the icy
Tiburine villa of eloquent Vopiscus and its twin
penates with the Anio inserted between, or could
recognize the interactions between kindred bank
and *villae* each striving to defend its master, the
hot Dogstar didn’t bark at it nor did the protégée
of leafy Nemea look upon it as troublesome.
There is such a wintry feel to the home; in this
way bold chills break up the sun rays, and the
house does not boil during the Olympic season.

Here Statius employs his common trope of describing the landscape from the eyes of an oncoming visitor.¹³² As the viewer approaches, he sees not one, but two mansions with similar, perhaps even “matching”¹³³ layouts (*geminos*) that are located on either side of the Anio river. The word *penates* recalls the first feature Venus sees in *Silvae* 1.2 and attests to the Roman nature of what Statius is discussing. The double-ness of the buildings not only suggests the great wealth of Vopiscus in having *two* mansions next to each other. The duality also calls to mind the cross-axial floor plan of

¹³¹ Spencer 2010: 111.

¹³² Hardie 1983: 179; Newlands 2002: 126-127, 129. Spencer 2010 refers to Statius as the “overall architect...with his audience(s) as clients” (105).

¹³³ Newlands 2002: 131; also Newlands 2012: 58.

imperial baths, such as those of Nero and Titus, where the long axis of the complex connects two sets of symmetrical and identical rooms, positioned on either side of a cold *frigidarium*. Here the Anio acts as a natural *frigidarium*, gliding coolly, slowly and calmly so as to not disturb its “master” Vopiscus (1.3.20-23). It is so narrow at this point that two people can easily see each other, talk to each other, and almost touch each other (1.3.30-31, cf. 1.3.24-26), which suggests that the buildings themselves are nearly attached together. The emphasis on the Anio along with the adjective *glaciale* in line 1 underscores one of the overall themes of the poem, water imagery. As Cancik points out, nearly half of all the verses deal with the different circumstances of water—location, noise, resting, steaming, and cooling.¹³⁴ The different kinds and temperatures of water, as well as the overall control of temperature and of nature seen in lines 5-8, are displayed here as they are in the Roman baths, where each room could be heated to a specific temperature and contained water of varying warmth.

In lines 35-36, Statius proceeds to describe some of the building materials used to construct the mansion and its decoration: *auratasne trabes an Mauros undique postes / an picturata lucentia marmora uena / mirer...?* “Should I marvel at the gilded beams or the citrus-wood doorposts on all sides, or the marbles glowing with colored veins?” Gold and citrus wood signify the expense involved in building this home,¹³⁵ similar to the costly building materials of the baths. Baths are renowned for the colored marbles found in Vopiscus’ home, though we are not told what kind of marbles Vopiscus has procured—perhaps there are too many to list.¹³⁶ In lines 48-59, Statius adds to the list of expensive materials in describing the different kinds of

¹³⁴ Cancik 1978: 119. Newlands 2002: 139 and Zeiner 2005: 92 also point out the general water scheme of the poem (and villa).

¹³⁵ For more on the potential cost and difficulty of procuring gold and citrus-wood, see Zeiner 2005: 82-83.

¹³⁶ This is different from *Silvae* 1.5, where marble is one of the most important features described.

artwork found in the home: figures of gold, art made of ivory and gemstones, silver and bronze (48-50). There were also colossal statues (*enormes...colossos*, 51), which were certainly found in baths,¹³⁷ but perhaps the most famous example was located at Nero's *Domus Aurea*, a residence similar in its rural amenities to the villa of Vopiscus. The piece of art on which Statius expends the most effort (lines 53-57) is the colorful, gleaming floor mosaic. Statius writes:

<p>calcabam necopinus opes. nam splendor ab alto defluus et nitidum referentes aera testae monstrauere solum, uarias ubi picta per artes gaudet humus superatque nouis asarota figuris. expauere gradus.</p>	<p>Unaware, I was treading on a work of art. For a radiance was flowing down from high up and tiles reflecting bronze revealed the gleaming floor, where the ground rejoices, colored in various ways, and outdoes the 'Unswep Style' with its new figures. My footsteps grew fearful.</p>
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Statius evidently knows mosaic types, preferring this mosaic to the 'unswept' styles based in Pergamum (*asarota*, line 56), which were known for being very realistic. The poet is scared to walk on such a fine piece of art that looks so real. He also employs his favorite descriptive feature, citing the shining light that pours down the walls and is reflected in the tiles and colors.¹³⁸ Vopiscus has made use of materials normally left to monumental (usually public) structures and combines the grandeur of public architecture with the privacy of his own home.

Vopiscus also incorporates engineering features of baths: *emissas per cuncta cubilia nymphas*, "water pumped through all the bedrooms" (1.3.37). Vopiscus has supplied running water to each of his rooms, a potentially costly but innovative and exciting aspect of his home. The similarity between Vopiscus' villa and baths is of course most overt when Statius depicts Vopiscus' personal baths (1.3.43-46):

<p>an quae graminea suscepta crepidine fumant balnea et impositum ripis algentibus ignem</p>	<p>Or (should I marvel at) the baths which steam on a grassy platform and the fire placed on chilly</p>
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¹³⁷ The huge Farnese Hercules, originally in the Baths of Caracalla, might be an example, though it is a copy of an earlier Greek work perhaps by Lysippos.

¹³⁸ For more on the brilliant radiance conveyed in these lines, see Newlands 2002: 133 and Zeiner 2005: 91-92.

quaque uaporiferis iunctus fornacibus amnis
ridet anhelantes uicino flumine nymphas?

banks and where the river, yoked to the steam-producing furnaces, laughs at the water nymphs panting with their source nearby?

As Rome manipulates natural water sources through aqueducts for the imperial baths, so Vopiscus has managed to convert the Anio into a source for his own personal baths. Here the river waters that have been put to use in Vopiscus' bath laugh at the panting water nymphs. *Anhelantes* seems to suggest the effective force of the heat generated from the combination of water and steam; the water nymphs sweat and gasp, thirsty for air and water. Vopiscus' baths are powerful and efficient.

The river god and nearby deities seem to love the waters at Vopiscus' home, where they come to relax, play, and wash their hair at night (1.3.70-75):

illic ipse antris Anien et fonte relicto,
nocte sub arcana glaucos exutus amictus
huc illuc fragili prosternit pectora musco,
aut ingens in stagna cadit vitreasque natatu
plaudit aquas. illa recubat Tiburnus in umbra,
illic sulphureos cupit Albula mergere crines...

70

There Anio himself, leaving his cave and spring behind under the cover of night, and having taken off his gray-green cloak, stretches out his chest over the fragile moss here and there, or plunges his massive self in the pools and strikes the glassy waters with his swimming. In that shade Tiburnus rests, there Albula desires to dip her sulphurous hair...

The constructed baths and waters at the villa are so enchanting and pleasant that they entice natural features and deities to leave their own habitat and frolic in the constructed space: nature has in fact been improved. In lines 45-46, Statius personifies the river and its nymphs in a way comparable to *Silvae* 1.5, where the poet personally addresses the nymphs of the Marcian aqueduct (1.5.23-31).

Yet Statius tops that in this poem, when he addresses and personifies the *Aqua Marcia* herself (1.3.66-67), which flows in her daring lead pipe (*audaci plumbo*, line 67) underneath Vopiscus' property and the Anio. On this passage, Newlands writes:

But *audaci*, which modifies *plumbo* (67), suggests the heroic pioneering spirit of Roman technology. The piped water represents material advance rather than moral decadence. Indeed, the aqueduct points to the self-sufficiency of the estate which has all the amenities to be found in the capital city. Marcia, personified,

represents a new mythical figure being fashioned for Flavian society, worthy of comparison in its wonderful structure and course with the legendary Alpheus celebrated by Virgil and Ovid. Thus the aqueduct symbolically marks the close identification of the estate with literary tradition as well as with urban values and imperial prosperity.¹³⁹

Vopiscus' house does not need Rome anymore: it has everything Rome possesses, including Rome's biggest contribution to technology, water control and aqueducts.

The purpose of comparing Vopiscus' house to the baths is not to suggest that Statius used the baths as influence for his poem or that Vopiscus expressly mimicked the baths in the construction of his house (he may have but we will never know). What I have aimed to show is how public and private architecture have been blended together in such a striking, original way.¹⁴⁰ Monumental construction has moved from being used only for public architecture into the private, domestic sector. A lot of this may have to do with Nero, whose *Domus Aurea* I mentioned previously. Nero took what was part of the heart of Rome's urban landscape and turned it into his private abode and rural playland. Imperial architecture, though it may be intended for private use, is still public in the sense that it reflects the leadership of Rome and the cutting edge of Roman technology. According to Newlands, Nero also had a villa nearby Tibur (at Sublaqueum),¹⁴¹ which had the same architectural layout as Vopiscus' abode: twin mansions separated by the Anio.¹⁴² Perhaps Vopiscus used the imperial architectural forms of Nero in creating his private home, yet he was able to avoid the critiques proclaimed against Nero and his *Domus Aurea*, which displaced citizens in its absorption of the Roman landscape. In Statius'

¹³⁹ Newlands 2002: 134. See also Martelli 2009: 154-156, who explores the Callimachean imagery in this passage in detail.

¹⁴⁰ It is striking that Statius uses bath architecture specifically to represent public architecture; it could be argued that baths signify the pinnacle achievement of public architecture at this time, matched by the achievement of Vopiscus' villa.

¹⁴¹ Tacitus *Annales* 14.22.

¹⁴² Newlands 2002: 144.

account Vopiscus' residence brings no harm, only pleasure, to those who encounter it. He has not brought the country to the city; rather he has brought the city to the country, in a way that is still harmonious with nature. Vopiscus has created a landscape that reflects both urban and rural tastes: it is a new kind of villa, transposing the older, agricultural farmstead. Instead of scorning Vopiscus and his overly extravagant, luxurious abode, Statius chooses to emphasize a positive valuation of luxury,¹⁴³ praising Vopiscus for his ingenuity in buying and constructing wisely and stating that the abode actually lacked luxury (1.3.92, *luxu carentes*). In doing so, he creates a new poetic landscape in the form of a new genre, the villa poem,¹⁴⁴ which was designed to describe the new kinds of dwellings and the nature of their owners, creating new identities for themselves through the construction of these dwellings. Here poetry equals architecture:¹⁴⁵ both are innovative reconstructions, blending features of earlier types/genres into one new form. The villa may be the new representative of empire,¹⁴⁶ but it is also representative of the new Roman identity inherent in the empire under the Flavians, where many Romans embraced and aimed for cultural achievements (e.g., architecture), instead of political achievements. Statius embraces and celebrates this new type of Roman through his new type of building in verse.

C. Urbis Opus / Ruris Opes: The Villa “Urbana” of Pollius Felix, *Silvae* 2.2

In contrast to the more official patron-poet relationship between Vopiscus and Statius, Pollius Felix, his wife Polla, and Statius appear to have had a genuine, long-lasting friendship: Statius dedicates another poem (3.1), and the whole of Book 3 of the *Silvae*, to Pollius. His wife

¹⁴³ Newlands 2002: 125-126, 137; Zeiner 2005: 82.

¹⁴⁴ For more on Statius, poetic landscapes, and the nature of his poetry, see Myers 2000: 130, 138; and Newlands 2002: 127; 139, 142, 149, 151, who argues that Statius challenges Horace by writing a new kind of pastoral.

¹⁴⁵ Myers 2000: 131, 134. Newlands 2002: 142.

¹⁴⁶ Newlands 2002: 121. Architecture always played a role in the image of the Roman Empire, starting with Augustus' building program and lasting through Rome's fall.

Polla may in fact have been the widow of the poet Lucan.¹⁴⁷ Statius writes a poem in celebration of Lucan (2.7), which also addresses the virtues of a Polla, quite possibly the same woman. Their friendship may have stemmed from their shared Campanian background;¹⁴⁸ Pollius was a magistrate at Puteoli, who received citizenship in Naples, Statius' hometown. His social origin is uncertain: D'Arms calls him an "economic parasite,"¹⁴⁹ comparing him to Petronius' Trimalchio,¹⁵⁰ and later suggests that he was of servile origin, due to his cognomen *Felix*.¹⁵¹ Nisbet and Hardie reject this claim, stating he was part of the local aristocracy.¹⁵² Either way, he was very wealthy, owning two other villas in addition to this one, and he (or his father) may have become rich through commercial activities "not suited for poetic celebration."¹⁵³ In his old age, Pollius turned to Epicureanism and a life of *quies* at his Sorrentine villa.

Pollius' home was known as a *villa maritima*,¹⁵⁴ located on prime coastal real estate just outside of Sorrento, along the so-called Punta della Carcarella. Unfortunately, few archaeological remains of the villa survive,¹⁵⁵ which means that we must rely on Statius' portrayal of the villa in *Silvae* 2.2, written in about 90 CE,¹⁵⁶ to analyze the possibilities of its internal and external

¹⁴⁷ On the possibility of Polla as Polla Argentaria, the wife of the deceased poet Lucan, see Nisbet 1978: 3-11 and Nauta 2002: 223-225. Polla is truly distinctive: Statius addresses the wife of no other patron in the *Silvae*.

¹⁴⁸ Nauta 2008: 163.

¹⁴⁹ D'Arms 1970: 161.

¹⁵⁰ D'Arms 1970: 125-126.

¹⁵¹ D'Arms 1974: 111.

¹⁵² Nisbet 1978: 3; Hardie 1983: 67-68.

¹⁵³ Nauta 2002: 223. Statius does not provide any hints as to the nature of Pollius' fiscal prosperity.

¹⁵⁴ On the *villa maritima*, see McKay 1975: 115-118. McKay also specifies Pollius' villa as the *porticus* type (121).

¹⁵⁵ For the archaeological reports, see Beloch 1890 and Mingazzini and Pfister 1946. Cf. Cancik 1968: 62 and D'Arms 1970: 220-221.

¹⁵⁶ Van Dam 1984: 3 dates it as specifically as "shortly before the 13th of August of the year 90," due to Statius' reference to the *Augustalia* in Naples, athletic and poetic competitions honoring Augustus and occurring every four years.

appearance. Of course, Statius' poem does not function as an archaeological guide; it is a "perceptual, interpretive response," marked by Statius' (and the reader's) 'wonder' at the villa's marvels,¹⁵⁷ but from it we can begin to understand the basic elements of the villa, the extravagant materials used to create it, and most importantly the impressiveness of its construction. Many scholars have pointed out the overarching theme in this poem: Pollius as civilizer in his dominance over and enhancement of nature, through landscaping and constructing a beautiful villa out of rocky, difficult terrain.¹⁵⁸ Nauta writes that one of the contemporary Roman attitudes towards architecture at that time was valuing victory over natural obstacles,¹⁵⁹ though this may have conflicted with Pollius' Epicurean tendencies.¹⁶⁰ Zeiner argues that the focus of the poem is not the celebration of the subjugation of nature or the architectural wonders of the villa, but rather on its owner "as a philosophical and intellectual marvel."¹⁶¹ I suggest that it is possible to have both the owner and the villa as primary focal points: the villa is the reflection of the owner's vision¹⁶² and accepts due attention from the praise Statius gives it. In particular, the villa contains features typically found within a city (comparable to Vopiscus in *Silvae* 1.3).

Throughout this analysis I will point to elements traditionally associated with cities and/or with public architecture that are now found in the exclusively private sphere. Statius shows how the

¹⁵⁷ Newlands 2002: 157.

¹⁵⁸ Pavlovskis 1973 was the first to write about this in detail, see in particular page 13. See also Bright 1980: 45-46, 61; van Dam 1984: 188, 190; Bergmann 1994: 59; Myers 2000: 115; Newlands 2002: 156, 164-165; Gauly 2006: 468; Newby 2012: 357. For more specifically on the blurred status between art (architecture) and nature in this poem, see Pavlovskis 1973: 15-16; Bergmann 1994: 63; Newby 2012: 354, 382.

¹⁵⁹ Nauta 2002: 319.

¹⁶⁰ Krüger 1998: 25-27. On the other hand, the controlling of nature here has also been compared to the controlling of human passions: see Newlands 2002: 158, 167-168, Zeiner 2005: 178-190. For more on Epicureanism in 2.2, see Nisbet 1978: 1; Nauta 2002: 319-321; Newlands 2002: 170-172; Gauly 2006: 457.

¹⁶¹ Zeiner 2005: 179.

¹⁶² On the villa as reflection of the owner, see Newmyer 1979: 40, 114; van Dam 1984: 190; Myers 2000: 111, 126.

appropriation of public architecture for private uses (a Roman concept in architecture for several generations before Statius' time) has reached a new pinnacle here, combining "the charms of nature and the best comforts of city life."¹⁶³ *Silvae* 2.2 adopts rhetorical and poetic elements from Statius' earlier villa poem and smaller villa ekphrasis (*Silvae* 1.3 and 1.2, respectively, which themselves include allusions to and features of earlier Latin and Greek poets), and brings the villa poem as a genre to new heights of distinction and innovation with its form and unique characteristics.

In *Silvae* 2.2, Statius begins the tour of the villa by describing what he sees on his approach by sea to Pollius' home (2.2.1-3), similar to his description of his approach (via land) to Vopiscus' house in 1.3:¹⁶⁴

Est inter notos Sirenum nomine muros
saxaque Tyrrhenae templis onerata Mineruae
celsa Dicarchei speculatrix uilla profundus...

Between the walls known by the name of the
Sirens and the rocks holding the temple of
Tyrrhenian Minerva, there is a lofty villa looking
out for the sea of Naples...

The generality of the word *est* matches *siquis* at 1.3.2—anyone would see the same scene as Statius does when he arrives. The poet follows epic ekphrastic precedent by starting with *est* and picking up with *huc* in line 6, using the perspective of an arriving, admiring visitor.¹⁶⁵ This visitor admires the height of the structure in comparison to the depth of the sea (*celsa...profundi*). But the hyperbaton between *est* and *uilla* allows for the possibility of the reader believing something else is between or within the walls: typically, a city is found between *muros* (OLD 1). Here the city is replaced with Pollius' villa, which is personified as an active agent (*speculatrix*). Statius continues

¹⁶³ Pavlovskis 1973: 13.

¹⁶⁴ For more on the poem as tour, see Bergmann 1994: 51, who compares Statius to a geographer. See also Newlands 2011b: 13.

¹⁶⁵ Noted first by Friedländer 1912: 67; also mentioned in Hardie 1983: 129; van Dam *ad* 1-3, Newlands *ad* 1-3. Bergmann 1994: 50, 61 compares the scene to the villascape painting style popular during the first century CE; cf. Newlands 2002: 159.

the description with the mention of the calm, crescent-shaped harbor (2.2.13-14), which evokes Virgil's depiction of the Libyan harbor at Carthage in *Aeneid* 1.159ff.¹⁶⁶ Virgil is, of course, portraying a harbor that services an entire city, whereas the harbor in *Silvae* 2.2 appears to service only Pollius' villa. Pollius' home has been given a place by nature (*dat natura locum*, 2.2.15) where land, mountain, and sea intersect, a good place for a city, with access to the sea, mountains for protection, and land for food. Vitruvius offers the same advice for building villas as he had for building cities: look for locations that promote a healthy condition and establish dwelling places there (6.6.1).

In lines 17-20, Statius moves from the natural harbor to the first manmade "attraction"

(*gratia*) of Pollius' villa:

gratia prima loci, gemina testudine fumant
balnea, et e terris occurrit dulcis amaro
nympha mari. leuis hic Phorci chorus udaeque crines
Cymodoce uiridisque cupit Galatea lauari.

The baths, the first attraction of the place, steam under their double roof, and sweet water ran down from the lands into saltwater. Here the nimble group of Phorcus and slippery Cymodoce and Galatea desire to wash their green hair.

The baths are elaborate, a combination of fresh and salt waters and a double roof (*gemina testudine*, 2.2.17).¹⁶⁷ Typically, private baths had just one room, so Pollius' double room suggests his immense wealth.¹⁶⁸ The nature of the word *gemina* may refer to the idea of doubling as in two symmetrical sides—comparable to the twin sets of symmetrical, identical rooms in imperial bathhouses. Pollius' private baths reflect the larger baths found in cities, and they offer such

¹⁶⁶ van Dam *ad* 13-29; Bergmann 1994: 54; Myers 2000: 118; Newlands 2002: 166-167.

Newlands 2002: 186-189 goes so far as to compare Polla with Dido, leader of the Carthaginians.

¹⁶⁷ The *testudo* may also serve as some sort of structure covering basins within a bath system (OLD 4b), but Vitruvius is unclear as to its actual function (5.10.1). Nonetheless, Statius may have been thinking of Vitruvius in using this particular word.

¹⁶⁸ Newlands *ad* 17.

pleasure that nymphs prefer them to their own natural habitats.¹⁶⁹ The use of the word *nympha* personifies the water itself, along with the nymphs who play and bathe in it, and is one of many personifications of nature to be found in *Silvae* 2.2.

Imperial-style baths are not the only urban element of Pollius' villa. His property contains not just one but two temples, one to Neptune and one to Hercules (2.2.21-25). Here we see Statius use the word *domum* to refer to Neptune's temple (2.2.21), which may allude to the difference in size between the smaller temple sitting on the beach and Pollius' larger *villa* spread out over the jagged coastline. While Neptune guards the sea and his temple, Hercules watches over the land, which is *felicia* (23), much like Pollius *Felix*. His temple is never explicitly mentioned, but rather alluded to in line 24: *gaudet gemino sub numine portus*, "the harbor rejoices under the protection of two deities." Here we find personification in the harbor's exultation, another example of nature happily submitting to the gods (and to Pollius), and recurring emphasis on double-ness, for Pollius' villa appears to be important enough to warrant the protection of two gods. Though the temples seem smaller than the villa itself, the gods do not condemn Pollius' wealth; instead they sanction it. Luxury in this context is permitted and even defended.¹⁷⁰ As argued earlier in this chapter, architecture was a human achievement which the gods often celebrated and marveled. Here both nature and religion celebrate at and on behalf of Pollius' villa.

Statius describes Pollius' inclusion into his villa of another external, public form of architecture in the *porticus* (lines 30-35):

inde per obliquas erepit porticus arces,
urbis opus, longoque domat saxa aspera dorso.

There a portico climbs up, zigzagging through
peaks, the work of a city, and it subdues the

¹⁶⁹ Cf. *Silvae* 1.3.70-75 and 1.5.23-30, where Statius addresses the Nymphs of the Marcian Aqueduct, which supplies the waters to Etruscus' commercial baths in Rome.

¹⁷⁰ Newlands 2002: 167.

qua prius obscuro permixti puluere soles
 et feritas inamoena uiae, nunc ire uoluptas:
 qualis, si subeas Ephyres Baccheidos altum
 culmen, ab Inoo fert semita tecta Lechaeo.¹⁷¹

harsh rocks with its long spine. Where before
 the sun mixed with darkening dust and there
 was a unpleasant harshness to the path, now it
 was a pleasure to traverse, just as, if you were to
 approach lofty Acro-Corinth, once ruled by the
 Bacchiadae, the covered way leads up from
 Ino's Lechaeum.

The *porticus* had long been used in maritime villa architecture as a sign of wealth and luxury, and the orientation and length of the porticoed walks were very important in that valuation.¹⁷² Pollius' *porticus* would have had a number of varying orientations because of its zigzag nature, providing different views of the Bay of Naples. Its long path (*longo*, 31) must have extended a considerable distance to reach the *arces* (30), and it dominates nature (*domat*, 31) in doing so—an additional example of personification along with the unusual usage of *dorso*. The word *arces* often refers to the main part of a city or, through metonymy, the city itself (OLD 1 and 2, respectively). In a similar way Statius compares Pollius' portico to the portico leading up from Ino's harbor, the Lechaeum, to Acrocorinth, the very most ancient portion of the city of Corinth and its protector throughout the ages. Here, of course, the *porticus* winds up not to a city but to a private home.

The urban language continues in lines 31-33, with the introduction of the 'now and then' trope, commonly used to discuss cities, and in particular, Rome,¹⁷³ and peaks in line 31 with *urbis opus*, the latter of which refers not only to a work or task but a building or structure, particularly of a public nature (OLD 10). Porticoes were commonly found in Athens, where they were known as stoas, and in Rome and were constructed in some of the most important parts of

¹⁷¹ *Lechaeo* follows Newlands' Cambridge emendation.

¹⁷² Bergmann 1994: 56. On the kinds of porticoes found in maritime villas, see D'Arms 1970: 127-130.

¹⁷³ Van Dam *ad* 32-33. He refers to Evander showing Aeneas the future site of Rome in *Aeneid* 8. For more on the 'now and then' scheme, see Chapter 5.

the city (e.g., the portico of Pompey in the Campus Martius).¹⁷⁴ The association of *opus* with *urbis* makes clear just how city-like this portico (and estate) is in its construction. The phrase *urbis opus* finds predecessors in Virgil *Aeneid* 5.119 and Ovid *Fasti* 6.643, where it means “a building as vast as a city,”¹⁷⁵ which suggests the larger, more general association of the act of building with the completed structure itself: a building in the city equates to part of the building of the city. Pollius’ “city” includes a fantastic portico connecting the publicly-inspired baths and temples to his wonderful home. The portico creates the bond that holds Pollius’ “city” together. As it is found in the estate of a villa rather than in the city, one could expect moral criticism, but Statius once again celebrates a feature that would have been (and was) scorned by other authors.¹⁷⁶

The following section of Statius’ poem (44-51) treats exposure and orientation, using his typical device of praeteritio in the form of a rhetorical question to mark off the section: “Should I marvel at the ingenuity of the location or its master first?” (*locine / ingenium an domini mirer prius*, 2.2.44-45). Pollius’ estate includes orientations in all four cardinal directions: sunrise and sunset, mountain, sea, and land. Statius describes the varying orientations of the multiple buildings within the house, but makes it appear as if there are actual separate houses (*haec domus ortus / aspicit...illa cadentem detinet*, lines 45-47), such as those found within a city. He reprises this idea at lines 50-51: “this part of the house resounds with the noise of the sea, (but) this other part is unaware of the loud waves,” (*haec pelagi clamore fremunt, haec tecta sonoros / ignorant fluctus*), which emphasizes the vast space between the different sections of the house, as if to say they were separate dwellings. In both these passages, Statius employs personification:

¹⁷⁴ Porticoes also had complex connections within the villa itself: see Zarmakoupi 2010.

¹⁷⁵ Van Dam *ad* 31.

¹⁷⁶ Myers 2000: 113 notes that Statius always seems to choose specifically to describe the features despised elsewhere. See below for an example of a *porticus* gone wrong.

the house “watches” (*aspicit*) the sunrise and “detains” (*detinet*) the sunset, comparable to a master-slave relationship.¹⁷⁷ The house’s surveillance of its surroundings, additionally personified as being aware or unaware (*ignorant*) of the nearby sea, fashions the house itself as a master overlooking the function and production of the “servile” natural features.

Just as Pollius’ villa is aware of nature, so nature is aware of Pollius’ villa and in fact favors it (*his fauit natura locis*, 2.2.52, yet another example of personification). Statius uses the next section of his poem to expound upon Pollius’ domination and improvement of nature (lines 52-62). He repeats the urban scheme of then and now, finding manmade landscape and buildings where rocky terrain and natural habitats used to exist (lines 54-56). His shift in verb tense from past to present and from third person to second person (*erat...uides*, 54; *fuertunt...subis*, 55) invites the reader to join along in the poet’s wonder at Pollius’ architectural manipulation of the coastline.¹⁷⁸ The attitude of dominance is enhanced through the use of military language (*domuit*, 56; *expugnantem*, 57),¹⁷⁹ but nature is happy to comply and realizes its improvement: “the ground rejoices” (*gaudet humus*, 58). This marks the sixth (and not the last) use of personification in Statius’ poem: nature, landscape, and architecture have all been personified as if they were citizens populating Pollius’ “city,” pondering its different views and celebrating the renowned architecture of its “multiple homes.” Statius revisits the idea of multiple dwellings in line 59: *inrantesque domos*, where the plural form of *domus* may be a poetic device but matches the earlier depiction of Pollius’ estate as comprised of several houses, all “populated” with natural and manmade features.

¹⁷⁷ Newlands *ad* 47.

¹⁷⁸ Newlands *ad* 54. She compares this scene to Evander’s tour of Rome in *Aeneid* 8, already previously mentioned as inspiration. Van Dam *ad* 52-62 suggests that Pollius here is more Roman than Epicurean, calling Roman architecture an “intrusion upon Nature.”

¹⁷⁹ On the military language used here, see Newlands 2002: 179-180.

Pollius populates his house with works of art as well, which are represented by the names of their famous creators, Apelles, Phidias, Myron and Polycleitos, respectively (2.2.64-67). The notoriety of these artists leaves Statius helpless as to where to begin: “With what purpose should I mention the ancient figures of wax and bronze?” (*quid referam veteres ceraeque aerisque figuras*, 2.2.63). This additional example of *praeteritio* marks the transition from the description of the dominance of nature to the dominance of artists’ creations which best imitate nature, further blurring the space between art and nature (already a fascination in this poem). In addition, the mention of these famous artists suggests the fantastic wealth needed to procure the originals or even copies of their famous works. Yet if they are copies, they still appear to be alive (*animasse*, line 64; *vivere*, line 66). Within Pollius’ abode we also find Corinthian bronze, valued more highly than gold in the Roman world, in busts of renowned leaders, poets, and philosophers (lines 68-72), serving as moral *exempla* for Pollius to follow but also adding more “people” into his city-like villa.¹⁸⁰ Pollius’ inclusion of these expensive busts of famous people, as if they are living now within his home, demonstrates the luxury he has and makes him appear a cultured man who can converse with the famous men of antiquity. They too have cities of origin for which they are remembered and from which they take their identity, but they have “made their way” to Pollius’ villa to inspire him. Or perhaps Pollius has somehow compelled the statues to live with him.

With his next question (*quid mille reuoluam / culmina uisendique uices*, lines 72-73), Statius turns his reader to the “countless” (*mille*) vantage points of Pollius’ villa, revealing views

¹⁸⁰ Newlands 2002: 185 compares these models of virtue to the tradition of ancestral images found in Roman homes.

of different islands.¹⁸¹ Statius refers to each island by its (Greek) name, and in doing so, puts Pollius' villa on the same level as these distinct states, because if Pollius can see the islands, the islands ought to be able to see and name Pollius' villa, as if it were a state of its own. The best view of Naples comes from the *diaeta* surpassing all others (2.2.83) in both sight and site. *Diaeta* is an uncommon architectural term (as Statius is fond of using) that came into use in the early Empire, and it is uncertain to what exactly it refers here: a suite of rooms (as in Pliny 2.17.12) or a single, private room (suggested by *una*, 83).¹⁸² Statius describes the architectural features of the *diaeta* through a marble catalogue (85-94): he names the locations from which the marbles originated (Egypt, line 86; Phrygia, line 87; Sparta, line 90; North Africa, line 91; the Greek islands of Thasos, Chios, and Carystos, lines 92-93), their colors (white and purple, line 89; green, line 91; yellow, line 92), their shine and splendor (*viret*, line 91; *lucent*, line 92) and their high status (*delecta*, line 85). These colorful, expensive marbles fill the *diaeta*, making it equally pleasurable to the view of Naples perceived from its windows. Statius emphasizes the marbles' visual impact over their true function within the room.¹⁸³ Newlands believes that displaying all the marbles in one room conveys Pollius' modesty and discretion,¹⁸⁴ but perhaps featuring all seven foreign marbles (more than the six found in Domitian's dining room)¹⁸⁵ in the *diaeta* reveals even greater extravagance and luxury. Pollius does not allocate the different kinds of marbles throughout the villa but combines them all in one small space where the viewer cannot begin to decide which to admire first.

¹⁸¹ On the use of *mille*, see Newlands *ad* 72-73. On the gaze and the importance of Naples and its bay, see Hinds 2001: 247-255.

¹⁸² Newlands *ad* 83. Semantically, it typically refers to a room or cabin.

¹⁸³ Zeiner 2005: 87.

¹⁸⁴ Newlands 2002: 183-184.

¹⁸⁵ See Newlands 2002: 184 for further comparison between Pollius and Domitian.

Nonetheless the marbles are very much the product of nature and strive to resemble it (*molles imitatur rupibus herbas*, 2.2.91). The marbles were quarried out of the earth as raw materials and subsequently cut and polished to perfection for human purposes, comparable to the conception and creation of the rest of Pollius' villa. The final lines of description of Pollius' estate (98-106) depict the vineyards providing the financial means for the villa, calling them *ruris opes* (98). This phrase can be taken to refer not just to the vineyards but to the villa estate as a whole: the villa (and its portico) could not become an *urbis opus* without the *ruris opes*. The abundant resources of the countryside help provide the foundations and materials for Pollius' city-like villa, which encompasses homes, baths, porticoes, and temples, all of which a true Roman city possessed in its urban space. Provinces located as far away as Africa and Syria erected Roman-style temples and baths so that they could look more like Rome. Pollius' dominance over nature through architecture can be seen as symbolic of Rome's imperial policy.¹⁸⁶ Foreign materials, such as marble, could not be procured without obtaining access (forced or not) to the quarries in far-off countries that fell under Roman power. Pollius' happiness here reflects the happiness of the Empire, because Pollius' political and philosophical self-sufficiency would not exist without the imperial power and control at this time.¹⁸⁷ The Roman city, perpetuated in colonies throughout the world, reaches its pinnacle, just as Pollius' villa reaches an architectural pinnacle in its city-like construction.

Roman poets devise new strategies to represent new heights in architecture. Statius' innovative new form, the villa poem, reaches its pinnacle in *Silvae* 2.2, incorporating and

¹⁸⁶ Cancik 1968: 69.

¹⁸⁷ Gauly 2006: 458, in disagreement with Newlands 2002: 154, 159, who argues that the symbolic imperialism in Pollius' villa signifies a tension between Rome and Naples (Roman and Greek culture). I tend to agree with Gauly: Rome and Naples were both a part of the Empire, and prosperity for Rome meant prosperity for Naples. Rome, particularly under Domitian, had accepted Greek culture as a part of its own.

elevating elements of earlier poems 1.2, 1.3, and 1.5. He begins, as he does in 1.2 and 1.3, with a view of the approach to the villa and its external features, and then moves inside, but here he adds more details about the villa's creation and its relationship to the land. The poet includes more elements of wonder, including a greater amount of *praeteritio*, which helps to structure the poem in its movement from the villa's orientation to construction to artwork to its views, and also heightens the marvelous nature of the villa (and its owner). The power and magnificence of the house is celebrated through many examples of personification. Statius also continues to use in greater depth words that signify dazzling light, extravagant luxury, and exceptional cost, and praises unconditionally the ingenuity involved in bringing all these elements together. He blends architectural terms with geography and mythology to create an amalgamation of poetic and prosaic genre that both informs and delights the reader. His poems bring the private villas of Violentilla, Manilius Vopiscus, and Pollius Felix into the public eye and establish them on the same level of wondrousness and notoriety as the imperial residence of Domitian, described in another of the *Silvae* (4.2). Violentilla, Vopiscus, and Pollius can all be said to be "playing the emperor."¹⁸⁸ To Statius, public and private architecture equally reflect the prosperous state of the Empire. **EDIT Connors: Hinds**

D. The Home of the True Emperor: Statius *Silvae* 4.2.18-31, 38-40

tectum augustum, ingens, non centum insigne columnis,
 sed quantae superos caelumque Atlante remisso
 sustentare queant. stupet hoc uicina Tonantis
 regia, teque pari laetantur sede locatum 20
 numina (nec magnum properes escendere caelum):
 tanta patet moles effusaeque impetus aulae
 liberior campi multumque amplexus operti
 aetheros, et tantum domino minor; ille penates 25
 implet et ingenti genio iuuat. aemulus illic
 mons Libys Iliacusque nitet, multa Syene

It is a revered structure, huge, a visible
 marker distinguished not by 100 columns but
 as many as could support the gods and the
 heavens once Atlas was sent away. The
 adjacent palace of Jupiter Tonans stands in
 awe at this structure, and the gods are
 delighted that you dwell in an equal home
 (not that you should hasten to ascend to
 heaven): a massive structure extends out and
 the uninhibited reach of your halls is poured

¹⁸⁸ Newlands 2002: 174ff.

et Chios et glaucae certantia Doridi saxa;
 Lunaque portandis tantum suffecta columnis.
 longa supra species: fessis uix culmina prenas 30
 uisibus auratique putes laquearia caeli.
 ...sed mihi non epulas Indisque innixa columnis 38
 robora Maurorum famulasque ex ordine turmas,
 ipsum, ipsum cupido tantum spectare uacauit...

out, embracing much of the land and the sky now covered. The structure is lesser than only its master; he who satisfies and pleases the *penates* with his own enormous talent. There Libyan and Trojan rock gleam in rivalry, and Syenian, Chian, and the marbles of bluish Doris all compete; Luna lays out such great foundations for bearing the columns. The sights above were vast: you could scarcely perceive the ceiling with tired eyes and you would believe it was a paneled ceiling of gilded heaven...but for me it wasn't the desire to see feasts or citruswood tables leaning on ivory legs or rows of slavewomen, rather him and only him I wished to see...

In *Silvae* 4.2, Statius celebrates a banquet at Domitian's palace on the Palatine, which he had the privilege to attend.¹⁸⁹ Unlike the earlier villa poems, where Statius was the sole literary source and most, if not all, of the archaeological remnants have disappeared, much more evidence, both literary and archaeological, exists for Domitian's palace (though unfortunately many of the architectural details celebrated in Statius' work no longer exist *in situ* or at all). Martial 7.56 informs us that Rabirius was the architect; the palatial complex was completed around 92 CE. It consisted of two parts: the *Domus Flavia* (the public wing) and the *Domus Augustana* (the private wing). The banquet, of course, was held in the public wing, but scholars have long debated as to whether it occurred in the *Aula Regia* (the Throne Room),¹⁹⁰ the *triclinium* (also known as the *Cenatio*

¹⁸⁹ It is unclear what the specific occasion was for the banquet: Cancik 1965: 82ff suggests it was the *cena aditialis* in 95 CE, while Newmyer 1979: 55 purports the completion of Domitian's palace as the impetus for the feast. While many scholars (e.g., Vessey 1983: 207; Nauta 2002: 335, 386; Zeiner 2005: 71; Nauta 2008: 149) have stressed the honor Statius attains by receiving an invitation, Newlands 2002: 263, 283 argues that it was as much of an honor for Domitian to have the renowned poet Statius there to record and poeticize the event. Newlands 2013: 73 contrasts Statius' invitation here (as one of a thousand guests) with his special invitations to view singly the villas described earlier.

¹⁹⁰ MacDonald 1982: 61-62.

Iovis),¹⁹¹ or a combination of the *Aula Regia*, *Basilica*, *Lararium*, and the *triclinium*.¹⁹² There is good reason for the uncertainty, as the *Aula Regia* and the *triclinium* were similar in size and design, both enclosed by a very tall ceiling perhaps over one hundred feet high¹⁹³ and looking out to a peristyle. Each contained several statue niches on different sides of the room that were flanked by columns of exotic colored marble as well as marble veneer on the walls. Most importantly, each room had a shallow apse flanked by doors, which was unusual in secular contexts at this time, due to the apse's religious connotations.¹⁹⁴ It is unfortunate that Statius does not mention any distinguishing features of either room, such as the large windows in the *triclinium* looking out onto the luxurious fountain courts on either side, which would facilitate a more accurate identification. Given the similarities in the size and features in each room, many of which are mentioned in Statius' ekphrasis, and the fact that this was a banquet and not a meeting, I am more inclined to agree with the scholars who posit the *triclinium* as the location; however, Statius most likely would have walked through the other grand public rooms to reach the *triclinium* and it is therefore possible

¹⁹¹ Gibson et al. 1994: 81n26; Fredrick 2003: 214. Darwall-Smith 1996: 196, 212 believes the question of the location remains unresolved, but leans toward the banquet being held here.

¹⁹² Zanker 2002: 112-114. Zanker concludes that there were potentially 500 guests at the banquet and determines that 20 normal-sized *triclinia* could fit into the Cenatio Iovis, meaning only 180 guests would have been seated there so they would have needed other rooms. Statius, however, mentions no definitive numbers, aside from the hyperbolic *mille*, "countless" (4.2.33), so his assumption is somewhat ungrounded, at least in terms of this poem.

¹⁹³ Gibson et al. 1994: 81 conclude that the ceiling height was somewhere between 30.3 and 35 meters high.

¹⁹⁴ Darwall-Smith 1996: 186. The apses contribute to the official imperial view of Domitian as god who has built a "quasi-temple" for himself (Hulls 2007: 198; cf. Zanker 2002: 107, 111, 118-119 and Fredrick 2003: 217-219), and may account for the abundance of religious language in Statius' poem, first noted by Cancik 1965: 65-87 (cited in Nauta 2002: 392). Cf. Vessey 1983.

that he included aspects of their features in his description to create a more general picture of the public side of Domitian's palace.¹⁹⁵

Though Statius may feign that his interest lies solely in seeing the emperor (4.2.38-40), his attention to detail, particularly in the list of marbles (4.2.26-29), shows that the palace and its banquet are of considerable importance. In fact, the banquet and the palace both serve to represent Domitian and confirm his status as emperor,¹⁹⁶ and Statius' reverent yet enthusiastic portrayal of both can be considered an innovative style of imperial panegyric.¹⁹⁷ Nauta contends that *Silvae* 4.2 shows strong similarities to the other villa poems: it is based on a specific occasion or visit, stems from the poet's visual memories, and is structured by a movement of gaze, emphasizing size, columns, and marble decoration.¹⁹⁸ To this list I add Statius' mention of the *penates* (4.2.25) and use of personification (4.2.20, 26-28) and *praeteritio* (4.2.38-40), three other prominent features in each of the villa poems discussed earlier. Thus Statius does employ his innovative formula for composing a villa poem in describing the imperial palace of Domitian, but because Domitian is no ordinary aristocrat, Statius is compelled to describe everything on an

¹⁹⁵ Or perhaps Domitian used both rooms. Banquets in Roman luxury villas often used entire suites of rooms, and the use of the complex space contributed to the experience: see Zarmakoupi 2011.

¹⁹⁶ On the role of the banquet in establishing imperial authority, especially in its dynamic of gift-exchange, see Roller 2001: 135ff. On the role of the palace in enhancing imperial politics and ideologies, see Zanker 2002; cf. Newlands 2002: 261, 263, 268, 273. Fredrick 2003 argues that the emperor's control of the space in his home reflects his control and surveillance over the Roman people, as seen through his observant presence at the *cena*.

¹⁹⁷ Geysen 1996: 9; cf. Coleman 1988: xxiv and Darwall-Smith 1996: 203. By contrast, Malamud 2007 and McCullough 2008/2009 see the representation of the house and feast more negatively as allusive and inaccessible, much like the emperor himself, who is 'seen but not heard'. As the relationship between the poet and the emperor is rather unclear (Statius never addresses the emperor at the banquet, but only very formally through the poem), these arguments are not unfounded, but it simply is impossible to know Statius' true feelings towards Domitian, rather only his officially sanctioned views (Vessey 1983: 211, 220).

¹⁹⁸ Nauta 2002: 392. His idea of the poet's "visual memories" stems from the argument that the poem was not written and recited at the banquet, but was composed afterwards (2002: 358 and 2008: 149). Cf. Coleman *ad* 4.2.

even grander scale. Yet Statius does not rely on the technical specifics of the architecture (there is far less architectural terminology here than we are accustomed to seeing in Statius). Instead the poet turns to themes of comparison and even of competition, as if to show that Domitian and his home are the culmination of Roman history, politics, and architectural innovation, surpassing any previous or contemporary rivals, and that Statius, in writing this, outrivals any of his literary predecessors or peers.¹⁹⁹

The comparisons begin with line 18 functioning as an obvious allusion to Virgil's *Aeneid* 7.170 (*tectum augustum ingens, centum sublime columnis*).²⁰⁰ Statius' replacement of *sublime* with *insigne* as well as his inclusion of *non centum* distinguishes the overall purpose and effect of the two poets. Virgil's Palace of Latinus is lofty and distinguished not only because of its position in the poem as the location of a potential ally for Aeneas but also because it was created in Virgil's brilliant mind. *Insigne* carries the meaning of distinction, and it has the added feature of visibility.²⁰¹ Statius does not imagine the palace of Domitian; rather, it stands in the middle of Rome on top of the Palatine, where many could see it, challenging Statius to accurately and honorably represent the palace. Yet Statius' position is more privileged than the typical Roman because he earns an insider's perspective of the palace, seeing where the countless columns actually stood in support of a very lofty ceiling.²⁰² Though Virgil may have intended *centum* more in a vague, hyperbolic sense than its actual numerical value, Statius' blatant *non*

¹⁹⁹ On the element of rivalry in this poem, see also Newlands 2002: 269-271; cf. Dufallo 2013: 209-210.

²⁰⁰ Vollmer 1898: 447 is the first to address this, writing that Statius adds further grandeur by replacing Virgil's *centum sublime columnis* with *non insigne columnis*. Cf. Vessey 1983: 216-217; Coleman *ad* 18. Malamud 2007: 235-237 argues that Statius' use of this line is a 'window' allusion referring to a common text: the description of the Cyclops' abode in *Aeneid* 3.

²⁰¹ The notion of visibility is present in both the adjectival (OLD 1) and noun forms (OLD 3) of *insigne*. Here the word could function as either.

²⁰² For more on the architecture of the columns (their three-tiered nature and height), see Gibson et al. 1994: 81n26, 82-86.

centum...sed quantae is meant to surpass Virgil not just in number but in poetic effect: Latinus' entire palace can fit inside of one room of Domitian's house.²⁰³ The number of columns in Domitian's house also equals or even surpasses the strength of Atlas (*Atlante remisso*, 4.2.19), suggesting that the Romans no longer need the help of the Greek hero to prevent disaster. Rome, and more specifically the Palatine and its architecture, are strong enough to sustain the world and avert its possible destruction.

The next lines continue the theme of comparison and contention in describing the reaction of the adjacent palatial temple of Jupiter and of the gods to Domitian's palace (4.2.20-22). The use of the word *regia* instead of *templum* or *aedes* equates the two "dwellings" and thus positions their owners as rivals; here Jupiter seems to play the envious neighbor marveling at the newly constructed house next door, which simultaneously lessens his own status as king of the gods and elevates Domitian's status to godlike, reinforced through the phrase *pari...sede* (21). Now the "Best and Greatest" is no longer such, nor is his "house." If the *uicina regia* refers to the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the nearby Capitoline, as Zeiner argues in comparing its timber roof to that in Domitian's *triclinium*,²⁰⁴ suddenly Domitian's palace is outshining and seemingly replacing a monument that has embodied Roman history and glory since its founding. Domitian's palace represents the current state and future of Rome in architectural innovation, bringing the wondrous monuments around it to a state of awe. Yet it too has elements that draw from the past, such as the coffered timber roof hinted at in 4.2.31

²⁰³ Newlands 2002: 271. Cf. Gibson 2006: 171.

²⁰⁴ Zeiner 2005: 90. There was also a temple of Jupiter Tonans, which Augustus dedicated and used to frequent. Newlands 2002: 269-270 uses this temple to imply a comparison in Statius here between Domitian and Augustus, though Platner and Ashby 1929: 306 state that poetic references to Jupiter Tonans belong to Optimus Maximus.

(*aurati...laquearia caeli*),²⁰⁵ which give it history, architecturally, politically, and even in a familial sense, tying Domitian's Flavian roots to the beginning of Rome through architecture.

Statius next describes the size of the palatial complex (4.2.23-25), which outrivals everything in its enormity except its master, who appeases and even adds powers to the gods by means of his immense talent (*tantum domino minor; ille penates / implet et ingenti genio iuuat*, lines 25-26). Newlands argues that the size would make a visual impact especially on a "first-time" viewer such as Statius, but that at the same time it would isolate Domitian from other mortal men who could not compete with his palace or his *genius*.²⁰⁶ If men cannot build like Domitian, how can they aspire to be like him otherwise? The phrase *tantum domino minor* may allude to Martial 8.36, which highlights the superiority of Domitian's palace to all the other wonders of the world and even equates it to heaven in its concluding line: *par domus est caelo, sed minor est domino* (line 12).²⁰⁷ Nevertheless Statius has outdone Martial here; his representation of the palace suggests not only height but breadth, embracing as much of the land as of the sky (4.2.23-24). The expanse of the house is supported not only by architecture but also

²⁰⁵ *Laquearia*, though it does refer to a paneled ceiling, is not enough to demonstrate that the *triclinium* had a timber roof, and thus much discussion has occurred over what type of ceiling appears here and in the other public rooms. Nearly every type has been suggested: dome (Coleman *ad* 20); concrete barrel vaulting (MacDonald 1982: 57ff, which Sear 1992: 150 finds unconvincing, as does Darwall-Smith 1996: 196), and the coffered and/or gilded timber roof championed by Ward-Perkins and followed by Gibson et al. 1994: 77ff. MacDonald 1982 writes that flat wooden roofs or open courts would have "seriously depreciated or canceled entirely the visual and other sensory effects that the plans indicate so obviously" (63), but many have disputed this claim. In my opinion the timber roof helps to give Domitian the history that is otherwise lacking in his short-lived claim to imperial power. The Flavian era was barely twenty years old when this complex was completed; it needed elements that tied it to earlier Roman history and monumentality.

²⁰⁶ Newlands 2002: 268.

²⁰⁷ Both Martial 8.36 and 7.56 contain even fewer architectural details than Statius; each praises the height of the palace as being tall as the stars (8.36.11, 7.56.1), though 7.56 praises the architect Rabirius more than the structure. For more on Martial's depiction and his comparison to Statius, see Lugli 1960: 181-189; Van Dam 1992: 199; Darwall-Smith 1996: 194, 204; Klodt 2001: 37-62; Nauta 2002: 336.

by Domitian and his support of and contribution to the household gods. Coleman here suggests that *penates* means “household” rather than the gods themselves, yet the appearance of the *penates* as gods occurs in all the other villa poems, with the result that it has become a typical feature of the “villa poem,” indicating the true Romanness of the home. Domitian requires contented gods in order to be secure in his own position, not just in the house but also as representative of Rome, so he must appease them as much as he strives to be godlike along with them.

In the following lines (26-29) Statius describes his much-beloved marbles which rival one another (*aemulus, certantia*) in a manner akin to rival aristocrats.²⁰⁸ In addition to the exotic colored marbles found in the Statian marble catalogs of private homes and Etruscus’ baths,²⁰⁹ which include the Syenian reddish granite from Egypt (*Syene*), the Phrygian purple pavonazzetto (*Libys*), the “Trojan” giallo antico (*Iliacus*), the black Chian (*Chios*), and the blue-green Carystian (*glaucæ...Doridi saxa*), Domitian employs white Luna marble for the bases for the columns and veneers. Coleman here cites Mozley’s argument that the Luna marble was considered inferior to more colored hues and so it only was used for the bases. However, its lesser aesthetic appeal does not explain why Statius gives it the prominent final position in his catalog, receiving the most description (a whole line rather than one or two words).²¹⁰ Luna marble had been used since the time of Julius Caesar to furnish public monuments, such as the Temple of Venus Genetrix and the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, whereby it came to represent Romanness and Roman imperial identity. Domitian, working with Rabirius, moves these features of public religious/imperial architecture internally to his home. The significance of

²⁰⁸ Newlands 2002: 269.

²⁰⁹ Zeiner 2005: 88-89.

²¹⁰ Because of its plainer, less luxurious nature, one might expect Statius to omit mentioning Luna marble at all.

Luna marble as the face of imperial (mainly Augustan) public architecture, as well as its status as a Roman (Italian) product, raises its importance to the level of (if not superior to) the colored marbles, because it brings Roman history and imperial ideology into Domitian's house. The fact that it may be less aesthetically pleasing does not diminish its key practical function: it is used here to support three orders of columns stretching approximately 100 Roman Feet in the air, the top of which only a person with weary, straining eyes (*fessis...visibus*, 30-31) could barely make out. That the Roman marble is required to provide the foundational support for the exotic marbles replicates the role of Rome in holding its own empire together: if Rome is not solid, everything else (the provinces in far-off countries, etc.) will fall apart.

In 4.2 Statius presents a positive picture of Domitian as a gracious host and a master builder, both of which contradict representations of him in other authors, including Pliny the Younger's *Panegyricus* and Suetonius' biography. Fredrick suggests that these authors did not like Domitianic constructions simply because they did not like Domitian, not because of any physical, aesthetic, or political messages intrinsic to the buildings themselves.²¹¹ Indeed Domitian's buildings contained elements that Romans may well have admired: his architectural programs were innovative, taking foreign elements like the Greek *odeon* and *stadion* and making them Roman. MacDonald summarizes the significance of Domitian's architectural program as follows:

[Domitian's] policies, though despotic, had far-reaching influence upon architecture...his rank and presumably sacrosanct person required an architecture that broadcast impressions of the majesty he wished to impose upon the world. Splendor, great size, and luxury, though important, were insufficient. Novelty alone would not do it. It was necessary that the imperial architecture lead, as the *imperator* presumably led, that it allow him to be seen and thought of in dwellings both unique and pertinent.²¹²

²¹¹ Fredrick 2003: 203.

²¹² MacDonald 1982: 71.

His palace represents the pinnacle of his vision (as developed by Rabirius), a perfect combination of Roman and foreign architectural ingenuity, engineering expertise, and building materials. It remembered the past in its arrangement of traditional domestic rooms but also looked to the future by including new features such as the apse. This palace gave Statius plenty of material with which to work and plenty of reason to portray Domitian in a positive light. Through the motifs of comparison and competition, Statius demonstrates how the palace (and Domitian) has surpassed earlier precedents and contemporary rivals and represents a new era of Rome: it would be the imperial dwelling for many subsequent emperors. At the same time, the poet's allusions to other poets (in particular, Ovid)²¹³ and his subtle manipulation and enhancement of their work make him out to be the culmination of Roman literary history. Like Domitian, Statius establishes a new era in Rome, finding new contexts and incorporating novel features into his poetry that was, nonetheless, very Roman.

IV. Negative Portrayals of Residences: Unnatural Hierarchies and the Falling Colonnade

Along with the positive appraisals of residences, championed by Ovid and Statius, we must consider more negative representations. As early as the time of Cato, certain Roman authors adopted negative, philosophical viewpoints towards wealth, using some of the conventions of Greek moral diatribe to rail against luxury and luxurious building in particular.²¹⁴ Edwards argues that these authors' descriptions of buildings functioned not so much to present a picture of the building's physical appearance as to evoke emotionally charged responses from the reader, and were a way for the members of the Roman social elite to air their own anxieties about

²¹³ Keith 2007 explores Statius' conscious emulation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and its reception of contemporary architecture.

²¹⁴ Edwards 1993: 140-141. Cf. Elsner 1995: 52-53.

threats to the social hierarchy and their own places within it.²¹⁵ I suggest that this argument of social hierarchy concern (expressed via building invective) can be supplemented in considering the overall hierarchy of gods and men.

Martial devotes two epigrams to the *porticus* found on Regulus' villa that falls and nearly kills him. Each poem focuses on a different aspect of the incident: whereas 1.82 implies that it was written at the scene and highlights the fortunate position of Regulus, 1.12 takes a more formal approach and considers the significance of the loss of the colonnade itself. In each of the poems, Martial appeals to the gods and Fortune, who play a role not only in the rescue of Regulus but also in the collapse of the *porticus*, suggesting the possibility of divine retribution for humans ascending too high in their acquisition of architectural expertise (as opposed to the earlier divine praise and emulation of human architectural development seen in Ovid and Statius). Perhaps the gods are attempting to reassert their superior status in creation (and destruction).

1.12:

Itur ad Herculei gelidas qua Tiburis arces
 canaque sulphureis Albula fumat aquis,
 rura nemusque sacrum dilectaque iugera Musis
 signat vicina quartus ab urbe lapis.
 Hic rudis aestivas praestabat porticus umbras,
 heu quam paene novum porticus ausa nefas!
 nam subito conlapsa ruit, cum mole sub illa
 gestatus biiugis Regulus esset equis.
 nimirum timuit nostras Fortuna querelas,
 quae par tam magnae non erat invidiae. 10
 Nunc et damna iuvant; sunt ipsa pericula tanti:
 stantia non poterant tecta probare deos.

Where the road runs towards the cool towers
 of Herculean Tivoli and the frothy Albula smokes
 with waters full of sulfur, a milestone, fourth from

1.82:

Haec quae pulvere dissipata multo
 longas porticus explicat ruinas,
 en quanto iacet absoluta casu!
 tectis nam modo Regulus sub illis
 gestatus fuerat recesseratque,
 victa est pondere cum suo repente,
 et, postquam domino nihil timebat,
 securo ruit incruenta damno.
 Tanta, Regule, post metum querelae
 quis curam neget esse te deorum,
 propter quem fuit innocens ruina?

Behold from what misfortune this
 portico, which, disintegrated in much
 dust and unfolding long ruins, lies

²¹⁵ Edwards 1993: 143; 138. Cf. Percy 1977: 772, who writes that Horace's use of building imagery helps to define his own relation to society.

the nearby city, marks out countryside and sacred groves and acres cherished by the Muses. Here a poorly finished portico used to furnish shade in the summer, alas, how it almost dared a new crime! For suddenly it collapsed and fell down, just as Regulus was being carried under it on his two-horse chariot. Truly Fortune feared our complaints, since she couldn't vie with such great animosity. Now even losses are pleasing; the dangers themselves are worth so much: standing structures are not able to prove the gods' existence.

acquitted. For Regulus had just been borne under the structure itself and got out of the way as the structure suddenly was conquered under its own weight, and after it feared in no way for its master, it rushes down, unstained by blood, in untroubled destruction. Regulus, after the fear of such great complaint, who could deny that you are of concern to the gods, you on account of whom the destruction was harmless?

Aquillius Regulus was one of Martial's regular patrons, whom he writes of in respectful terms,²¹⁶ though other ancient authors had little respect for Regulus, given his notorious ties to Nero and Domitian as a vicious prosecutor.²¹⁷ Here Martial celebrates Regulus' "escape from death," a common trope in epigram.²¹⁸ While the tone of Epigram 1.12 is quite formal, almost epic in convention, 1.82 appears less serious, though more dramatic, and may have been composed at the time of the incident.²¹⁹ In the first four lines of 1.12, Martial paints a lovely picture in the form of ekphrasis, describing the grounds of Regulus' villas as being full of cool waters and sacred groves cherished by the Muses. Yet in line 5, he characterizes the *porticus* built by Regulus as *rudis*, which could potentially contradict the idyllic picture of lines 1-4. While some scholars have taken the word to mean "rustic" or "primitive" as a way of complementing the beginning of the poem and perhaps wishing to avoid a sense of excessive luxury,²²⁰ others

²¹⁶ The full nature of their relationship is unclear. Sullivan 1991: 120 believes Regulus is only a patron, while Nauta 2002: 154 assumes that the relationship is more personal.

²¹⁷ On Regulus, see Eden 1990: 160; Sullivan 1991: 17; Nauta 2002: 62-63. Pliny and Tacitus did not appear to care much for Regulus: see White 1975; Nauta 2002: 63, 151-2.

²¹⁸ Citroni 1975 *ad* 1.12.

²¹⁹ On tone in Martial 1.12 and 1.82, see Watson 2002: 253-254 and Watson 2006: 297. On the epic nature of 1.12, see Citroni *ad* 1.12. Howell 1980 believes 1.82 is more 'melodramatic.'

²²⁰ Luxury of which the younger Pliny accuses Regulus (*Ep.* 4.2.5). See Citroni and Watson *ad hoc*. I wonder too if the 'primitive' nature of this particular portico may have to do with its usage

disagree, suggesting it should be defined as “unfinished, in bad repair” (cf. 7.36.2).²²¹ I believe the word employs both senses: the image of a falling colonnade appearing in the lines immediately after line 5 does contrast strongly with the peaceful elements of nature seen in the beginning of the poem, but I suggest that *rudis* may mean not only “unfinished,” but “poorly finished,” as in poorly constructed in the first place, which could then be taken to mean “primitive.” If it had been constructed well, it should have been able to withstand the elements without losing structural integrity and needing repair.²²²

In line 6, Martial personifies the *porticus*: “alas, how this portico nearly dared a new crime!” This use of personification is much like those seen in the poems of Statius and Martial on Claudius Etruscus, as well as Statius’ villa poems discussed earlier, where the inanimate object itself has the choice to feel a certain way and act with agency. In Statius the power of the villa enhances the power of the owner, but here the porticus nearly commits a surprising act against its owner: Martial portrays the structure as if it were attempting to kill its owner but did not quite succeed. The reason why it did not succeed lies in the gods and Fortune, who did not wish to be the subject of hostility and lament (1.12.9-10). Martial then closes the poem in an unusual, oxymoronic way: “Now losses too are pleasing; the dangers themselves are worth so much: standing buildings were not able to prove the existence of the gods” (1.12.11-12).²²³ The

as a kind of hippodrome, rather than as a place of walking accompanied by the sophisticated, philosophical kind of mental stimulation championed in Greek culture and replicated in Roman villas (described in Cicero’s *De Oratore*). See O’Sullivan 2011: 77-79, 132. Vitruvius 5.9.5 also recommends walking in the fresh air within porticoes as a way of producing a healthier body. On other uses/locations of the *porticus*, see Richardson, Jr. 1976: 57-58.

²²¹ Eden 1990: 160; Nauta 2002: 152n30. Eden writes that perhaps it was bad weather, some kind of rainstorm, that was the immediate cause of the collapse.

²²² Perhaps Regulus or his architect did not read Vitruvius, who devotes Chapter 9 of Book 5 to public colonnades and how to construct them properly. On public porticoes replacing private homes (rather than being a part of private homes), see Roller 2010: 144ff.

²²³ For this definition of *probare*, see Howell *ad* 1.12.12.

erection of great buildings is evidently not so pleasing (or worthy of capturing in poetry) as their fall.

Citroni argues that the oxymoron inherent in *damna iuvant* highlights the miraculous nature of Regulus' escape:²²⁴ it does appear to be the work of the gods. Howell here comments that the idea of a striking event, in which divine justice is seen to be carried out, proving that the gods exist, is an old idea originating in Greek poetry. Divine justice here may refer to the gods protecting Regulus from his colonnade but also points to their superiority in creation and in life in general. The gods are (or, at least, are supposed to be) able to create things in nature that endure longer than any manmade structure. Martial's mention of *Herculei* in line 2 suggests an everlasting quality to the nature surrounding Regulus' built *porticus*: the streams and trees will most likely remain in existence longer than Regulus' villa or colonnades. Regulus' colonnade being portrayed as *rudis* could point to the fact that anything made by humans would be less likely to withstand adversities than that of divine creation. And yet the Romans appeared to have perfected their knowledge and skill in architecture to the extent that it was suggested that they did control nature. This may be why Martial writes that no standing building acknowledges the existence of the gods, because the Romans had learned how to construct elaborate yet functional buildings that could stand for centuries (some of which still do): they no longer needed the help of the gods. But the Romans had not mastered overcoming or stopping natural disasters. If Regulus' colonnade is not well-built, it will be subject to structural issues, particular those due to inclement weather.²²⁵ Any natural disaster (believed in those days to have stemmed from divine action) could certainly cause a building to tumble. Thus the gods, while protecting Regulus from death, may still be demonstrating that humans have not quite mastered architecture to the point

²²⁴ Citroni *ad* 1.12.11.

²²⁵ See Eden 1990: 161.

of being equal to the gods as builders. Since Regulus was lucky enough to have survived this divine assertion of power, the event becomes worthy of being celebrated in poetry.

Indeed this event (and thereby Regulus) is celebrated in not one, but two poems. Epigram 1.82 is shorter and more dramatic, creating a magical atmosphere that justifies the miraculous nature of the event.²²⁶ The marvelous environment is achieved in part by Martial's suggestion that he was present in Tivoli and saw the whole occurrence transpire. Words such as *haec* (line 1), *en* (line 3), *nam modo* (line 4), and *repente* (line 6), as well as Martial's direct address to Regulus in lines 9-11, help to portray Martial as a witness to the scene.²²⁷ But these words also give a real sense of presence to the celebrated object, the *porticus*.²²⁸ We readers, like Martial, are able to imagine ourselves standing in a state of shock and awe next to the fallen colonnade. The element of size is introduced by the phrase *longas...ruinas* (line 2): the magnificence of the structure in its existence is replicated by the extent of its destruction and collapse. The preceding line heightens the blow (both to the reader and to the colonnade) because the *porticus* has not only toppled over but also "disintegrated in much dust" (1.82.1). The structural integrity of the building material has vanished along with the structure it created. Either Regulus did not use the appropriate building material or the collapse caused by the gods eliminated any possible chance of its survival (or perhaps both).

Martial's use of *tectis* (line 4) to describe the colonnade reinforces ironically the importance of a roof to a structure,²²⁹ in particular the *porticus*. As there is not a full set of walls, the roof is what makes the colonnade a 'building,' in uniting otherwise separate columns and creating a calm, peaceful environment which shelters one from the elements, whether excessive

²²⁶ Citroni *ad* 1.82, Howell *ad* 1.82.

²²⁷ See Nauta 2002: 154. But this could also be a case of poetic convention (Howell *ad* 1.82.1).

²²⁸ Citroni *ad* 1.82.1.

²²⁹ See discussion in Chapter 1.

heat (1.12.5) or cold rain,²³⁰ and allows him to walk, ride, and think undisturbed. But Regulus' colonnade can no longer shelter him or facilitate his riding in the hot sun; instead, it nearly crushes him. The quickness of the collapse as opposed to the speed of Regulus' chariot is echoed in the writing: Martial uses only two syllables (*victa est*, line 6) to indicate the beginning of the fall of the *porticus*, whereas the verbs denoting Regulus' movement in the chariot under the portico are far more drawn out (*gestatus fuerat recesseratque*, line 5).²³¹ But the colonnade tries as hard as it can to not hurt its owner, in another example of personification (cf. 1.12.6): "after it feared in no way for its master, it rushes down, unstained by blood, in untroubled destruction" (1.82.7-8). The colonnade waits for Regulus to drive out of the way before it falls. It is unstained because Regulus was unhurt, which allows for its destruction to be "carefree." Martial, perhaps as an act of deference to his patron, views the loss of the building not on its own terms but with respect to the life of Regulus. Even if the loss of the structure is substantial, the true significance lies in the preservation of Regulus' life.²³² If the owner can survive such destruction, he can also build another portico. The oxymoronic idea of untroubled destruction is repeated in *innocens ruina* (line 11), which Citroni calls typical for the expression of miracles.²³³ It is a miracle not only that Regulus escapes but also that the portico has the agency and the wherewithal to ensure the safety of its owner before it falls, which Martial attributes to the "concern of the gods" (1.82.10).²³⁴

²³⁰ Vitruvius 5.9.1 discusses colonnades built behind theater stages and at the exits of theaters as a way for the audience members to shelter themselves from sudden rainstorms.

²³¹ Citroni *ad* 1.82.4.

²³² Regulus is certainly luckier than chariot-driving Phaethon, who is killed by the gods as he incompetently directs the sun god's vehicle.

²³³ Citroni *ad* 1.82.8, 11.

²³⁴ For more on the use of *cura deorum*, see Nauta 2002: 152.

Whereas in 1.12 the focus of Martial's attention was on the portico, in 1.82 he pays more attention to the owner, which is befitting to the poet's claim of being an eyewitness to the incident: he would obviously have more concern for a person's life than for a structure at that moment. As time passed and Martial had more time to think, he might then compose a more formal, retrospective poem on the loss of the building itself and the significance of that loss. Martial's diction and form echo his intent: he is more intimate and informal when addressing his friend/patron, but uses more elevated, detached²³⁵ language to illustrate the porticus and its destruction. Nevertheless, both poems have interesting things to say about structures and their vulnerabilities, quite similar to the vulnerabilities of a human being. Each is capable of succumbing to adversity and it is up to the gods and Fortune to determine their fate.

V. Negative Portrayals of Residences (II): The Quest for Sensible Sufficiency

The previous section treated the role of hierarchy that architecture can support or subvert, and considered the problems that may arise in transferring a traditionally public structure in the form of a *porticus* into the private domain. This concern was not new to Martial: Horace wrote several poems that railed against luxurious building, using as models Virgil's *Georgics* 2.461ff and Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* 2.20ff.²³⁶ *Ode* 2.15, disparaging the loss of public land to luxurious private gardens, condemns the preference of private to public architecture. In particular the poet criticizes villa architecture, by drawing attention (as Martial does) to the new use of the *porticus* for private needs: *nulla decempedis / metata privatis opacam / porticus excipiebat*

²³⁵ The first word of 1.12 is *itur*, an impersonal form.

²³⁶ For discussions on Virgil's influence upon Horace, see, e.g., Fenik 1962; Nisbet and Hubbard 1978: 290-291; Santirocco 1986: 113; Nisbet and Rudd *ad* 3.1.1-4; Faber 2005: 97-98. For Lucretius' influence upon Horace, see, e.g., Mendell 1950: 286; Syndikus 1973: 7-9; Nisbet and Hubbard 1978: 291.

Arcton, “no portico, measured out for private citizens by the *decempeda*, captured the chilly shade of the North Wind” (2.15.14-16).²³⁷ Horace employs the modern, private *porticus* as a scornful contrast to earlier, better times where Romans lived happier and more modest lives in simpler homes. He continues this line of thought in *Odes* 2.18 and 3.1, as well as *Epistles* 1.10, all of which I will consider in the following analysis. Horace draws upon imagery from the most basic element of a home, its roof and roofing support, as a means for promoting his philosophical doctrine: exhorting the Romans to return to their old ways of living more practically and more simply.²³⁸ The poet criticizes luxurious building materials, such as ivory, gold, and marble, as well as overly aggressive building practices in order to guide the Romans back towards sensibility and help them to remember that sufficiency and function, not luxury, are the keys to a happier life.

Ode 2.18 likewise considers the role of sufficiency in happiness, i.e., being content with what one has and not relying upon luxury to make oneself happy.²³⁹

Non ebur neque aureum
mea renidet in domo lacunar;
non trabes Hymettiae
premunt columnas ultima recisas
Africa, neque Attali
ignotus heres regiam occupavi,
nec Laconicas mihi

5

Neither (an) ivory nor a gold paneled ceiling
gleams in my home, nor do Hymmetian beams
bear down upon columns cut away from the
furthest regions of Africa. I have neither
acquired the palace of Attalus as an unknowing
heir nor do trustworthy clients pull out Spartan
purple garments for me. But I do have loyalty

²³⁷ The text of Horace is cited from Wickham and Garrod’s 1922 Oxford text. Translations are mine. On the architectural tool *decempeda*, see Quinn *ad* 2.15.13-20 and West 1998: 107. Simpson 2002 discusses Horace’s penchant for using prosaic words (e.g., *decempeda*) in targeting the actual construction of buildings and their builders rather than drawing upon the imagery of their completed form. He rightly attributes this proclivity to the environment of Rome at the time Horace was writing, fully in the midst of the Augustan building program. For more on *Ode* 2.15 and its relationship to the themes of *C.* 2.18 and 3.1, see Mendell 1950: 290-291; Percy 1977: 775-776; Santirocco 1986: 100-101; and Mader 1987: 23.

²³⁸ For more on Epicureanism in these poems, see, e.g., Lyne 1995: 162; Nisbet and Rudd 2004: 4; and Keith 2008: 58. Cairns 1995: 120-122 sees elements of both Stoicism and Epicureanism.

²³⁹ Leach 1993: 299 attributes Horace’s detachment here from wealth and luxury to his persona as a *vates*.

trahunt honestae purpuras clientae:
 at fides et ingeni
 benigna uena est pauperemque diues 10
 me petit: nihil supra
 deos lacesso nec potentem amicum
 largiora flagito,
 satis beatus unicus Sabinis.
 truditur dies die 15
 nouaeque pergunt interire lunae:
 tu secanda Marmora
 locas sub ipsum funus et sepulcri
 inmemor struis domos
 marisque Bais obstrepentis urges 20
 summovere litora,
 parum locuples continente ripa.

and a kindly vein of talent and the wealthy man seeks me, a poor man; I demand nothing over and above from the gods nor do I entreat a powerful friend to lavish me with more items, being blessed enough with the Sabine farm alone. Each day is driven by the next one and new moons proceed to be lost; you're drafting contracts for marble veneers during your own funeral and you build homes disregarding your grave and you press to push out the coastlines of the loud sea at Baiae, which is not rich enough in land so long as the bank maintains its current (natural) position.

Horace begins this poem, the only purely iambic poem in the *Odes*,²⁴⁰ with an allusion to a fragment of Bacchylides (1-2),²⁴¹ to which he adds the contemporary Roman domestic building feature of marble columns (3-4).²⁴² So far Horace has provided a picture of a resplendent home that he does *not* own: his own Sabine farm does not possess a paneled ceiling inlaid with gold and/or ivory,²⁴³ nor a blue marble architrave resting on top of yellow Numidian giallo antico

²⁴⁰ Günther 2013: 317. Rudd 1974: 105 remarks that Horace likely never used the Hipponactean meter again due to its short lines and choppy rhythm.

²⁴¹ Οὐ Βοῶν πάρεστι σώματ', οὔτε χρυσός

οὔτε πορφύρεοι τάπητες,

ἀλλὰ θυμὸς εὐμενής,

Μοῦσά τε γλυκεῖα, καὶ Βοιωτίσιν

ἐν σκῦφοισιν οἶνος ἠδύς. (Bl, Frag. 21; Jebb, Frag. 17)

Cf. *Ode* 1.31.6. On the allusion to Bacchylides in this so-called 'motto poem', see Mendell 1950: 282-283; Filee 1988: 277 (who also summarizes allusions to other earlier authors and the interpretations of subsequent authors); West 1998: 135.

²⁴² Nisbet and Hubbard *ad* 1 call Horace's introduction of the Roman feature onto the Bacchylidean motto poem a 'characteristic' of his.

²⁴³ It is unclear if *ebur* is meant to be taken on its own or with *aureum lacunar*. Quinn *ad loc.* suggests that *ebur* here is impressionistic, referring to either furniture or ornamentation. Ivory and paneled ceilings had arrived in Roman private homes as early as the late 2nd century BCE (Mendell 1950: 289). According to Nisbet and Hubbard *ad* 1, ivory was commonly paired with gold as a conventional symbol of magnificence and wealth, and they were both "extensively

columns.²⁴⁴ One could say that Horace's allusion to Bacchylides in lines 1-2 precludes any interpretation of those lines that would be unique to Horace, but his combination of the allusion with a real, contemporary Roman building practice seen everywhere in his day lends a sense of realism to the whole sentence: these are not conventional devices, but actual, concrete architectural practices that deserve discussion and perhaps even criticism.²⁴⁵ The use of the word *trabes* emphasizes the extravagance in this overly luxurious home, as it is typically employed to refer to wooden beams, which for Horace are perfectly sufficient, functional, and natural. Romans, including farmers, had built their houses of wood and/or reeds and straw since the earliest days of their civilization. These materials were more than capable of creating a safe, sheltered home for the inhabitant. With small wooden roofs, the marble columns and architraves become superfluous. The wood was light, such that it did not require the support of columns, especially those made of costly African marble. In other words, there was no need for gold, marble, or ivory; while they are luxurious, exotic, and aesthetically pleasing, they function no better than the typical building materials found locally.

Horace continues by pointing out that he is not the heir of Attalus²⁴⁶ and his clients do not bring him expensive Spartan purple garments (2.18.5-8); rather, he is content (*satis beatus*, 14) with having loyalty (*fides*, 9), talent (*ingeni*, 9), wealthy acquaintances even if he himself is poor (*pauperemque dives / me petit*, 9-10; *potentem amicum*, 12), and his very own Sabine farm

employed at this time for costly artistic decorations in architecture, sculpture, household furniture, drinking cups, and sundry articles" (Highbarger 1944: 111).

²⁴⁴ On the color contrast of these two marbles, see West 1998: 131.

²⁴⁵ Edwards 1993: 140-141 writes that the Roman authors moralizing against building luxuries used Greek ideas to suit their own purpose, rather than as a conventional rhetorical device. She adds that 'conventional' does not imply 'meaningless.'

²⁴⁶ On the associations of Attalus with foreignness and luxury, see Womble 1961: 539 and Santirocco 1986: 105-106.

(*unicis Sabinis*, 14).²⁴⁷ Horace, a poor man, still acts as a patron-like figure to his wealthy friends, providing them with friendship and poetry. His life is satisfactory and therefore happy. In this way he contrasts himself to the selfish builder referred to only as *tu* (17),²⁴⁸ who is overly occupied with the process of building homes (*secunda marmora / locas*, 17; *struis domos*, 19) and does not realize his life is slipping away (*sub ipsum funus et sepulcri / immemor*, 18-19). The excessively aggressive builder will die without being happy and satisfied, because he cannot content himself with what he already has. Instead he strives to possess more, going so far as to build out onto the water at Baiae because the land is insufficient (lines 20-22). To Horace, this is the mark of a tyrant or madman, who shows “impious disregard for the boundaries of nature.”²⁴⁹ This impiety is reinforced and made criminal²⁵⁰ as the builder evicts the poor tenant farmer and his family, constantly removing and redistributing the boundary stones (lines 23-28). Horace conceives of every way possible to show the landowner’s greed: the builder displaces humans and even nature, while the farmer, who was content to live on and farm the small portion of land he was allotted, is forced to seek shelter elsewhere.²⁵¹ But even these actions will not satisfy the builder, as the only home he will inhabit forever is that of Orcus in the underworld, after he has died (lines 29-40). The builder will never have the opportunity to enjoy the homes he possesses

²⁴⁷ Horace does fail to mention that the Sabine farm was a gift from Maecenas in response to his poetry, so he is involved in some commercial dealings. See Bowditch 2001: 113; cf. Percy 1977: 776.

²⁴⁸ Scholars have long debated whether Horace refers to Maecenas here and in line 12 (*potentem amicum*). Lyne 1995: 126, 129-130 believes it may be addressed to him; cf. Nisbet and Hubbard 1978: 289, Santirocco 1986: 158. West 1998: 132, 135, on the other hand, argues that Horace is a “master of discretion” and would not criticize Maecenas in this way.

²⁴⁹ Nisbet and Hubbard *ad* 21.

²⁵⁰ Quinn *ad* 15-28: “To remove boundary stones was a crime, to dispossess clients was a worse crime.” He adds that the jumping of boundary stones recalls Romulus and Remus.

²⁵¹ Finding a home elsewhere would be difficult if not impossible given the rich man’s avarice in snatching up all the available land and even resorting to unavailable ‘land’ in building out on the water. Oliensis 1998: 111 calls this an example of “debauched imperialism, where formal, spatial, and moral boundaries all give way.”

because he will pass away in the midst of creating more. When he does descend to the underworld, his many homes and wealth will be of no consequence; death has come equally to him as it has to the poor (yet contented) man and it will not accept bribes (lines 32-36). As with the expensive building materials, there is simply no need to spend further money on acquiring lands and building homes; Horace reminds the reader that it is better and more fulfilling to spend one's life with friends (2.18.10-13) than contractors.²⁵² This way he can die happily, unconcerned with obtaining more.

Propertius 3.2.11-16 must be considered alongside *Ode* 2.18.1-6, as both poems were published around the same time (23 BCE) and the language and structure of Propertius 3.2 recall the Horatian poem.²⁵³

<p>quod non Taenariis domus est mihi fulta columnis, nec camera auratas inter eburna trabes, nec mea Phaeacas aequant pomaria siluas, non operosa rigat Marcianus antra liquor; at Musae comites et carmina cara legenti, nec defessa choris Calliopea meis.²⁵⁴</p>	<p>But my house is not supported by Spartan columns, nor golden beams alongside ivory ceilings, my orchards do not equal the Phaeacian forests, Marcian water does not flow through elaborate caves; yet the Muses are my friends and my poems are dear to the one reading them, and Calliope is not sick and tired of my choruses.</p>
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Both authors use the priamel as the organizing frame,²⁵⁵ and Propertius echoes Horace in listing gold rafters, ivory, and Greek marble columns as items he does *not* own as well as implying a

²⁵² Cf. *redemptor* in *Ode* 3.1.34.

²⁵³ On the formal similarities, see Miller 1983: 291 and esp. Mader 1993. Richardson 2006: 322 quips that there is “almost too much Horace in this poem; point after point is borrowed, changed about, dished up as Propertius’ own without apology, a brilliant tour de force.” On the contrary, Solmsen 1948: 107 sees more similarities between *Ode* 3.1 and Propertius 3.2, while Harmon 1979: 317 calls Propertius 3.1-5 the “counterpoint or even the answer to Horace’s ‘Roman Odes.’” Scholars have also noted the similarities between Propertius 3.2.17-24 and Horace *Ode* 3.30; see Nethercut 1970: 387; Miller 1983: 296; Mader 1993: 330ff; Cairns 1995: 127; Keith 2008: 59-60. Whereas Horace writes of his poetry as an immortal monument “more lasting than bronze” (*aere perennius*, 3.30.1), Propertius is content to share this immortality with his subjects; see Harmon 1979: 326.

²⁵⁴ The Propertius text I cite mostly follows the Heyworth 2007 Oxford text (modifications are noted in discussion). Translations are mine.

great height to this overly luxurious home. Like Horace he has friends, but unlike Horace, his other “possessions” are literary, not moral: his friends, the Muses, help him to write wonderful poetry that is dear to them and to any other reader. Propertius expands upon Horace’s description by adding a literary, mythological allusion to *Odyssey* 7 and Alcinous’ palace through his mention of the Phaeacians (13). He also appears to borrow Homer’s structuring from interior to exterior perspectives in composing his own lines. Horace’s moralizing perspective, on the other hand, could not employ a mythological example, as it would detract from the realistic nature of his argument.²⁵⁶ Either way, it is evident that Propertius was concerned more with describing his satisfaction with his literary talents rather than with the Horatian moral way of life. This accords with Propertius’ seeming objective for his third book of Elegies, first observed by Solmsen,²⁵⁷ namely that he examine his status as an elegiac poet rather than as a lover. He thereby uses the poetry of Homer and Horace to suit his own elegiac purposes and to “assert his own place in the poetic tradition.”²⁵⁸ Nethercut considers Propertius’ take on Horace to be a parody,²⁵⁹ but I believe Propertius was inspired by Horace’s use of building imagery, which proved to be a rich yet unique way to demonstrate his own points. To Propertius, as to Horace, material wealth, especially the kind represented by expensive buildings, does not matter; talent is a far better alternative. Both poets are far happier to live simply as long as each can produce beautiful poetry, including descriptions of luxurious architecture.

²⁵⁵ On the priamel, see Mader 1993: 322.

²⁵⁶ On the similar arrangements, see Mader 1993: 328-329.

²⁵⁷ Solmsen 1948: 105; cf. Miller 1983: 291 and Mader 1993: 328, 337.

²⁵⁸ Miller 1983: 298. See also Mader 1993: 327-329 and Keith 2008: 58-59.

²⁵⁹ Nethercut 1970: 406.

Thematic connections to *Ode* 2.18 regarding luxury and sufficiency can be found in *Ode* 3.1, the opening to the so-called ‘Roman Odes’,²⁶⁰ as well as *Epistle* 1.10, where Horace compares and contrasts city and country living. Once again, there is no need for elaborate, enviable houses (*cur invidendis postibus et novo / sublime ritu moliar atrium*, 3.1.45-46)²⁶¹ for the one who is happy with what he has (*desiderantem quod satis est*, 3.1.25, cf. *Epist.* 1.10.6-11). Horace scorns the loftiness of this home, which he once again does not own, in a way similar to the lofty, magnificent ceilings of *Ode* 2.18, and praises his Sabine farm instead (3.1.47-48), akin to the *humilis domos* (3.1.22) or the *pauper tectum* (*Epist.* 1.10.32, cf. *pauperem* in *Ode* 2.18.10).²⁶² Additional luxuries, such as the marble (*Phrygius lapis*, 3.1.41; *Libycis lapillis*,

²⁶⁰ Most of the Roman Odes are concerned with Augustus and politics, so many scholars, beginning with Solmsen 1947, have questioned why this poem seems so much more philosophical and personal (its last 8 lines in particular). Solmsen’s suggestion that Horace preaches a philosophical yet simple way of life as the way for Rome to also recover after the civil wars, which Fraenkel 1957: 262 found convincing, still holds up today. Quinn *ad* 3.1 calls Horace a “disillusioned individualist of the older generation” as opposed to a propagandist of Augustus. Woodman 1984 writes that 3.1 is in fact political, matching up with Augustan ideology and legislation (cf. West 2002: 14), but Mader 1987 responds to and refutes Woodman’s argument. Thom 1998 writes of a ‘lyric double-talk’, where Horace’s language may seem propagandistic but is simultaneously subversive; cf. Lyne 1995: 160-163. Faber 2005: 94 writes that 3.1 may end personally due to Horace’s discomfort in politics, but Woodman 1984: 94, Schenker 1992/1993: 150-152, Cairns 1995: 120, and Thom 1998: 56 see the last 8 lines as necessary for Horace’s argument to seem realistic, sincere, convincing, and truly capable of driving his point home. Günther 2013 provides another intriguing, somewhat convincing response to this debate of public/political vs. private/philosophical: “It comes as no surprise if someone who adopts a hedonistic lifestyle, retired in his private happiness, should not only see that it would hardly be practical if everybody did so, but might also appreciate civic values in others, however different his own choice of life may be, if only because he knows that the very opportunity to enjoy a lifestyle such as his depends on a public order guaranteed by civic virtues” (379).

²⁶¹ For more on these lines, see Nisbet and Rudd *ad* 3.1.45-46; Woodman 1984: 91, 94; Mader 1987: 21-23; Cairns 1995: 120; Newlands 2002: 163; and Faber 2005: 99, 101. It seems plausible that this rhetorical question may have inspired Statius’ extensive use of *praeteritio* in the form of questions.

²⁶² On the *pauper tectum* as Horatian motif, see Kilpatrick 1986: 74. It has been suggested that Horace’s Sabine farm was rather sizeable and perhaps not as *pauper* or *humilis* as the poet implies. On the archaeological and topographical details of the Sabine farm, see Frischer,

Epist. 1.10.19) that creates mosaics (*Epist.* 1.10.19) and lavish, ‘mottled’ columns (*varias...columnas*, *Epist.* 1.10.22), as well as plumbing supplied by aqueducts (*Epist.* 1.10.20-21; cf. Prop. 3.2.14)²⁶³ do not make one’s life better by removing pain (*Ode* 3.1.41-44) or the possibility of death (3.1.16-21).²⁶⁴ In fact they make life more burdensome (*divitias operosiores*, 3.1.48),²⁶⁵ equivalent to slavery (*Epist.* 1.10.39-41, 47).²⁶⁶ In addition, luxuries are certainly no prettier than the beauties of nature (*Epist.* 1.10.19-23), and they often disrupt nature. Extending villas into the sea (*Ode* 3.1.33-37; cf. 2.18.20-22)²⁶⁷ is criticized from the viewpoint of the fish which see their natural habitat diminished, if not eliminated, much like the tenant farmer losing his home in *Ode* 2.18. As in *Ode* 2.18, in 3.1 Horace focuses upon the construction rather than the completion of the maritime villa, once again using prosaic words (*redemptor* and *caementa*, 3.1.35)²⁶⁸ to suggest his familiarity with the building process. On the other hand, those living simply in the country, happy with what they have, are free to rule themselves (*vivo et regno*,

Crawford and De Simone 2006, who come to the conclusion, though they admit it is problematic, that most of the enhancements on the villa were post-Horatian. On the Sabine farm as a poetic landscape, see Leach 1993.

²⁶³ On the aqueducts in *Epistle* 1.10, see Newlands 2002: 133-134.

²⁶⁴ On Horace’s argument of luxury’s inability to relieve pain, see Santirocco 1986: 122; Cairns 1995: 120. Mader 1987 observes that Horace often juxtaposes the motif of death with “representative symbols of material wealth and station in order to demonstrate the vanity and ephemeral nature of the latter” (16). Cf. 2.18.17-22.

²⁶⁵ On this phrase, see Mader 1987: 22; Oliensis 1998: 132; Thom 1998: 57; and Faber 2005: 95-96.

²⁶⁶ Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 90.10: *culmus liberos textit, sub marmore atque auro servitus habitat*, “a thatched roof covered free men, but under marble and gold slavery dwells.” On luxury as slavery, see Mayer 1994: 47, 189; Macleod 2009: 263. Cf. Schmidt 1997: 146-154, who writes that the debate of country (*rus*) vs. city (*urbs*) in *Epist.* 1.10 becomes a debate of freedom vs. not being free. Horace writes several other poems on city vs. country living; see, e.g., *Satire* 2.6.

²⁶⁷ On these lines in *Ode* 3.1, see Solmsen 1947: 342; Woodman 1984: 89-90; Santirocco 1986: 106; Lyne 1995: 160. Nisbet and Rudd 2004: 5 state that there is no evidence for Maecenas having built out onto the water, so he is likely not being condemned here (much as the debate in 2.18 over the possibility of Horace addressing Maecenas). Oliensis 1998 argues, however, that Maecenas is the “over-reader” or implied addressee next to Fuscus in *Epistle* 1.10 (166-168).

²⁶⁸ On the construction vocabulary, see Nisbet and Rudd *ad* 3.1.35.

Epist. 1.10.8), which makes their lives better than kings or the kings' friends (*Epist.* 1.10.32-33). They even sleep better at night (*Ode* 3.1.21-24; *Epist.* 1.10.18).

In *Ode* 3.1 as well as *Epistle* 1.10, Horace makes the same case for simple, sensible living in the countryside, using building imagery as a creative, yet concrete example of what to avoid. The metaphors of excessive building provide the visual impact Horace needs to prove his point; the fact that nature must accommodate humans instead of humans accommodating nature is unacceptable and must be reversed.²⁶⁹ Untainted nature is more beautiful and superior to manufactured luxuries. Harmony with nature, through the older, more modest building practices, allows for a happier, more restful life. In addition, building in the old style, as opposed to the *novo...ritu*, is desirable not only because it is cheaper but it also functions just as well, which allows inhabitants to actually live their lives in the proper way, consumed with family, friends and happiness.²⁷⁰

Martial too writes of the pleasures of the country as opposed to the city,²⁷¹ but the circumstances have now become more complicated in the passing of time. Horace dies nearly a century before the publication of Martial's *Epigrams*. It is no longer a recent development, as it was for Horace, but now a commonplace occurrence (especially after Nero's *Domus Aurea*) for the wealthy to have the residential pleasures of *rus in urbe* (Mart.12.57.21) and, if we consider Statius' villa poems, the pleasures of *urbs in rure*. According to Edwards, "the conceit of villas resembling towns may be seen in terms of a play on and perversion of the ideal of self-

²⁶⁹ Pearcy 1977: Extravagant architecture is a "misunderstanding of the inevitability of death and a violation of natural limits" (781).

²⁷⁰ On the Epicurean equation of happiness and friendship, see Macleod 2009: 268.

²⁷¹ *Epigrams* 12.18 and 12.57 may be the clearest examples of this topic. Like Horace, Martial also sleeps better in the country because there is no noise and no people around to disturb him (12.18.13-16; 12.57). Nevertheless, Martial's view of the pleasures of the country in contrast to the city is more complicated than it may seem: see Howell 1998: 176-178 and Rimell 2008: 193-195.

sufficiency of the villa championed by agricultural proponents.²⁷² But even with a more developed and sophisticated architectural program in and around Rome, Martial still seeks the same virtues for the homeowners as Horace: sensibility, practicality and function. Nonetheless in *Epigram* 12.50 he employs different methods from Horace to prove his point:

<p>Daphnonas, platanonas et acrios pityonas et non unius balnea solus habes, et tibi centenis stat porticus alta columnis, calcatusque tuo sub pede lucet onyx, pulveremque fugax hippodromon ungula plaudit et pereuntis aquae fluctus ubique sonat; atria longa patent. Sed nec cenantibus usquam nec somno locus est. Quam bene non habitas!</p>	<p>You have groves of laurels, planes and lofty pine trees and baths suitable not only for one person. A tall portico stands for you with a hundred columns and onyx gleams, trampled under your foot. A swift hoof beats the dusty hippodrome, and everywhere the flow of passing water resounds; your long <i>atria</i> lie wide open. But there is nowhere to eat or sleep. How well you do <i>not</i> live!</p>
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Martial utilizes the same anonymous second-person addressee as Horace in *Ode* 2.18 and highlights some of the same structural characteristics as Horace and Propertius: the portico (cf. *Ode* 2.15.16) with many columns (*Ode* 2.18.4, *Epist.* 1.10.22, Prop. 3.2.11), the gleam of the polished stone (*renidet*, *Ode* 2.18), the large *atrium* (*Ode* 3.1.46), the flowing water all around and orchards of several different Greek trees (Prop. 3.2.13-14).²⁷³ Whereas Horace and Propertius criticize these as items they neither possess nor desire to possess, Martial seems more willing to accept them and perhaps even praise them. These residential features are no longer shocking, invidious, or impractical on their own: they have become part of the domestic vernacular. The scornful tone in Horace becomes more neutralized in Martial, at least at first. But the owner of this house has made the insensible and seemingly unbelievable mistake of omitting the fundamental necessities such as bedrooms or dining rooms.²⁷⁴ In a villa that is intended to be

²⁷² Edwards 1993: 159.

²⁷³ Mulligan 2013: 382 discusses how Martial uses clusters of Greek words, such as those in line 1, to signal fantastic luxury.

²⁷⁴ Mocking the builder/owner for careless errors is a common theme in Martial; cf. Tucca's baths (*Ep.* 9.75) in Chapter 4.

a visually stunning showpiece, one might assume that the owner would construct *triclinia* in order to entertain his guests inside as well as out.²⁷⁵ The whole point of *luxuria* was to waste space, according to Wallace-Hadrill, which may often have been expressed through the construction of more bedrooms than family members.²⁷⁶ Yet Martial's addressee has somehow built useless bedrooms or *triclinia* (or avoided building them at all?). Martial's neutral, if not encomiastic, tone quickly turns to mockery and criticism (albeit in a humorous way),²⁷⁷ similar to Horace. Martial makes use of Horace's emphatic negative, seen in the anaphora of *non...non...neque...nec* in *Ode* 2.18.1-7 (and copied by Prop. 3.2.11-16), in a clever, surprising way that is typical of his closing (punch)lines: how well you do **not** live!

For Martial, as for Horace, the basic necessities for house dwelling must be fulfilled; a Roman ought to be sensible and practical even when he chooses to build a luxurious house. Whereas Horace finds the new luxurious materials unnecessary, harmful, and less preferable to the simpler ways of the past, Martial appears to acknowledge and accept these features and encourages the addressees and readers to move on from the older, more traditional ways.²⁷⁸

There is, however, a condition to Martial's full acceptance of the luxurious novelties: they must

²⁷⁵ Wallace-Hadrill 1988: 46 speaks of social pressures that applied to rural as well as urban residences: one would be expected to entertain guests and *clientes* inside and outside of Rome. Clarke 1991: 17 notes that the best views in a home, particularly of the imperial period and later, where the inclusion of peristyles along with or instead of *atria* became more common, often came from the *triclinium* towards the peristyle. One might expect the magnificent views and features outside would be matched inside.

²⁷⁶ Wallace-Hadrill 1988: 91-92.

²⁷⁷ Bodel 1997: 17 claims that Martial "waxes sarcastic" here. Myers 2000: 112 links Martial's overall tone most closely with satire.

²⁷⁸ Rosati 2006: "Martial, too, like Statius (and Pliny the Younger) makes his contribution to the process of legitimizing wealth. Clearly, the pleasures of wealth are not proposed by Martial as a general model for everyone to imitate and follow: on the contrary, he often follows the traditional line of Roman moralism, condemning wealth and exalting archaic frugality (*Ep.* 11.11, 12.50). But together with this archaizing motivation, there also emerges in Martial, albeit not so strikingly as in Statius, a modernizing line which celebrates the fullness of an age superior to all those of the past...exalting the expressions of the 'new world'" (52).

be used practically and functionally or at least in addition to the fundamental, practical features of the standard Roman (or any) home. Unfortunately for the owner of the villa in 12.50, he fails to remain sensible in his quest to create a luxurious abode, because the basic idea of home—a place for one to rest and recover from the day through eating, drinking and sleeping—has become lost in the luxury. The lack of common sense is worse than the desire for wealth. Both Horace and Martial rebuke their addressees for this insensibility and for not spending their time usefully. The same personal virtues are valued in each period, because they are Roman virtues, and though the type of residence may change, the inhabitant still ought to abide by those same virtues that helped Rome to survive and prosper.

VI. Conclusion

Each of the passages discussed above helps to bring clarity to the importance of domestic architecture, which defines not only an owner's role but also the poet's role in society. A person's home provides insight into whom he/she is as a person, his/her likes and dislikes, and his/her overall aesthetic, but also into his/her social status and relationships with others. The evolution of domestic architecture from the mythological period of the caves (as seen in Chapter 1) to the highly advanced villas of the late first century CE provides a glimpse into the positive development of Roman civilization as a whole. Even the negative portrayals of luxury and luxurious building give further advertisement to the wealth and power of Rome.²⁷⁹ This chapter considered and aimed to provide new insight into passages from the Augustan and Flavian periods that are popular in modern scholarship. In the following chapter, my discussion of

²⁷⁹ Edwards 1996: 105.

architecture will move outward to the bridge between public and private architecture, the temple, which, in the mind of Aristides, stood for the “greatness of the whole city and her inhabitants.”²⁸⁰

²⁸⁰ DeLaine 2002: 221.

CHAPTER 3: TEMPLES

dumque ea mirantur, dum deflent fata suorum,
 illa uetus dominis etiam casa parua duobus
 uertitur in templum: furcas subiere columnae,
 stramina flauescunt aurataque tecta uidentur
 caelataeque fores adopertaque marmore tellus.

“While they marvel at these things, while they lament the fate of their neighbors, that old cottage, too small even for two owners, turned into a temple: columns supplanted the wooden props, the straw thatching turned yellow and reappeared as a golden roof, the doors were carved and the ground was covered with marble pavement.” (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.698-702)

Ovid’s narration of the metamorphosis of Philemon and Baucis’ small home into a magnificent temple (*templum*)¹ serves as a fitting transition between the residences of the previous chapter and the temples of the current one.² It reflects the types of building materials and techniques that were dominant in temple construction during the Augustan period in which Ovid was writing (gold, elaborately carved doors, marble columns and paving), features that will

¹ Note Ovid’s use of the word *templum* here, the origins of which define it as a sacred, cut off space (for more, see below and Chapter 4), deriving from the same root as the Greek *temenos*, though eventually it is employed by many Latin authors to refer to the building itself. Vitruvius, on the other hand, always used the traditional word *aedes* to denote the temple building. *Delubrum* appears to have originated as a word for a purification space (*deluo-brum*), but also came to be used to mean a more general “sanctuary.” *Fanum* is seen as a more generic word for a sanctuary, but Jordan 1879: 577 argues that it is never used to describe Roman sanctuaries, only Greek or other non-Roman shrines. Jordan 1879: 579 clarifies that, especially in poetry of the late Republic and beyond, *delubra* (typically used in the poetic plural), *fanum* and *templum* were used interchangeably, while *aedes* continued to denote only the temple building and not the entire site. Castagnoli 1984 finds Jordan’s argument that *templa* were built on private land and *aedes* on public land unconvincing, and goes on to discuss other words related to sacred spaces (*sacrarium*, *sacellum*, *luci*). For other discussions of temple words and what a temple site contained, see Barton 1989: 67-68; and Stamper 2005: 10.

² For further discussions of this episode (Ovid, *Met.* 8.611-724), see, e.g., Beller 1967; Griffin 1991; Jones 1994; Galinsky 1996: 231-234; Gildenhard and Zissos 2004: 67-69; Gowers 2005b; Fabre-Serris 2009.

frequently appear in the temple descriptions below.³ But there is a human dimension to the temple as well: the personal attachment of Philemon and Baucis to the structure, as their old (and new) home, is emphasized; this attachment is not only religious but in fact encompasses their entire life. In all of the passages discussed below, the respective authors describe the temples not necessarily as settings for religious or political celebration,⁴ or for the glory of the god,⁵ but rather in a manner indicative of how either they themselves (i.e., their speakers/narrators) or their characters relate personally and uniquely to the structure, whether they are building or viewing the temple or otherwise. There is a dynamism involved in the process of individual, subjective experience with a structure: each experience is very different. This aspect has not been studied by many architectural studies until recently. Yet according to Vitruvius, this intensely personal, individual experience between humans and temples is an innate quality of the structure. The beautiful symmetry and proportions of temples, established as a necessity by Vitruvius, stem from the symmetry and proportions of human beings (3.1.9):

Ergo si convenit ex articulis hominis numerum inventum esse et ex membris separatis ad universam corporis speciem ratae partis commensus fieri responsum, relinquatur, ut suscipiamus eos, qui etiam aedes deorum immortalium constituentes ita membra operum ordinaverunt, ut proportionibus et symmetriis separatae atque universae convenientesque efficerentur eorum distributiones

Thus if it is agreed that a number was found from the fingers of man and that there is a symmetry in the separate limbs and in the whole form of the body, it remains that we esteem those who, in constructing the temples of the immortal gods, have arranged the members of the works in such a way that the distributions of the members, both separately and wholly, are harmonious in their symmetries.⁶

³ Contrast this temple to that of the Nereids in *Met.* 11.359-260, which is distinguished *not* for gold and marble, but rather for its pleasant location in a shady grove and endearingly antiquated wooden materials.

⁴ As would typically be some of the functions of Roman temples: see Stambaugh 1978.

⁵ Unless the godhead is human, such as Octavian or Germanicus, as we shall see in Virgil's *Georgics* 3 and Ovid's *Epistulae ex Ponto* 4.8.

⁶ See also Vitruvius 3.1.6-8 and 4.1.6. Cf. McEwen 2003: Vitruvius insists on the unifying identity of temple and man, "whose defining condition is their mutual dependence on being put

But the relationship between humans and temples is comprised of more than similar physical characteristics. As Stamper argues, “the design of sacred architecture...inherently involves the concept of authority,” both physical and symbolic.⁷ The temple, as divine sanctuary, constitutes the residence of authority for the divinity, but it also symbolizes the authority and/or prestige of its human builder. For the Romans, the prestige and status brought by the establishment of temples originate early in the history of the city of Rome, which Edwards sees as the location most “suffused with religious significance for the Romans.”⁸ Beginning with the kings,⁹ continuing with the erection of victory temples by Republican generals,¹⁰ and finding an apex in the imperial period, temples often functioned as symbols of political propaganda, bringing power and social esteem to the builder. Augustus, in particular, utilized structures, especially temples, as the visual representation of his imperial program, with its emphasis on religious renewal as an important element to becoming a strong global power. As Zanker discusses, Augustus sought to honor the gods by incorporating only the best materials, as well as images of prosperity and power, into the temple structures, turning the rich architectural decoration of temples into state policy.¹¹ Augustus’ policy leads Ovid to quip, *quis locus est templis augustior?*¹² McEwen argues that one of Augustus’ fundamental principles emphasized the political nature of Roman *religio* and the religious nature of Roman politics, positioning

together symmetrically” (197). It is because of man’s symmetry that architects must follow the precepts of temple building.

⁷ Stamper 2005: 1. I would argue that architecture is connected to authority in all the forms discussed in this project.

⁸ Edwards 1996: 44.

⁹ Stambaugh 1978: 562, 582-583.

¹⁰ On this practice, see below and also Stambaugh 1978: 564, 583; Barton 1989: 75; Stamper 2005: 39, 58-59.

¹¹ Zanker 1988: 69, also 104-110.

¹² *Tristia* 2.287.

Augustus as the mediator between humans and gods. Without temples, Augustus would have had, in the strictest spatial sense of the term, “no mediating position.”¹³

Augustus was proud, however, not only of the temples he constructed but of those he reconstructed, including this achievement in *Res Gestae* 20: *Duo et octoginta templa deum in urbe consul sextum ex decreto senatus refeci, nullo praetermisso quod eo tempore refici debebat.*¹⁴ Zanker notes that since the time of the Gracchi, temple restorations had been neglected, perhaps because most believed no glory would be attained in restoring old temples rather than building new ones.¹⁵ The large number of dilapidated temples served as visual symbols of a “weakened moral resolve”¹⁶ and a decline of piety. As we shall see in the final section of this chapter, the poets Horace, Propertius, and Ovid exploit the depiction of neglected temples as evidence not just of a weakened general morality but a particular lack of sexual propriety. The relationship between temple neglect and sexual impurity highlights connected facets of Augustus’ rebuilding of Rome and her empire: the architectural program and the Julian marriage laws passed in 18 BCE, meant to reform Rome morally and socially as well as physically. Nonetheless, the restoration of countless temples inside and outside of Rome would certainly have been perceived as powerful signs of a new era in the political and architectural development of the Empire.

¹³ McEwen 2003: 189-190, 194 (cited).

¹⁴ Cf. also Ovid, *Fasti* 2.59-64, calling Augustus the savior of temples. For more on Augustus’ rebuilding program, see, e.g., Zanker 1988: 103-110 and Kraggerud 1995: 57-60.

¹⁵ Zanker 1988: 19-20.

¹⁶ Stamper 2005: 130; cf. McEwen 2003: 186. Boyle 2003: 39-40 calls the dilapidation of temples a “major social issue.”

The idea of temples as emblems of power is also evident in their poetic descriptions. As Elsner comments, “the primacy of sight in constructing the sacred is central.”¹⁷ Temples have the power to captivate their audiences: Aeneas is fully immersed in viewing the scenes on the temple of Juno in *Aeneid* 1 and that of Apollo in *Aeneid* 6, the first two passages examined here. While the panels on the temples of Juno and Daedalus have been well analyzed by numerous scholars, the other features of the temple buildings have been less scrutinized. Nonetheless these other features are still just as worthy of attention, both in their visual appeal and in the ways they relate not only to their viewers (Aeneas et al.) but also to their respective builders (Dido, Daedalus). Aeneas finds both his past memories and his future identity in looking at these temples, particularly Juno’s temple in *Aeneid* 1. Sight and memory are also crucial to Propertius’ and Ovid’s renderings of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, which formulate another section of this chapter. Propertius and Ovid each combine elements of memory and grief in their depictions of visiting the temple: Propertius causes troubles with (and possible rejection from) his mistress Cynthia for being late to meet her, whereas for Ovid, it is his book that makes the trip but returns sadly rejected from the library next door. Memory and vision also find their way into depictions of future temples, equated to the building of poetry, in Virgil’s *Georgics* 3 and Ovid’s *Epistulae ex Ponto* 4.8, where each poet promises to build a temple to their respective patrons Augustus and Germanicus. My analysis extends Michael Putnam’s observations of symbolic parallelism between the writing of poetry and the construction of buildings and triumphs in *Georgics* 3;¹⁸ I will examine further parallels between temple and poetry construction in Virgil’s diction and compare it with that of Ovid. These temples, or poetic monuments, attest to the power and

¹⁷ Elsner 1995: 96. Cf. also Haynes 2013, discussing the framing of a famous cult statue (Praxiteles’ Aphrodite of Cnidos) within its shrine as a central point of visual focus that is captured rhetorically in the Lucianic *Erotes*.

¹⁸ Putnam 1979: 167-171.

influence not only of their celebrant but also of the poet: each showcases the power of his own poetic ability in constructing a temple so vividly that any reader can see it in his or her own imagination.

Finally, the numerous personal and political attachments that each poet creates in his temple descriptions call to attention their power as ekphrases. John Miller's discussions of many of the same passages in *Apollo, Augustus and the Poets* are important here, as well as Basil Dufallo's recent work, *The Captor's Image: Greek Culture in Roman Ecphrasis*. In his diachronic study of ekphrasis, Dufallo focuses primarily on the cultural appropriation and re-appropriation of Greek culture and poetic tropes into Roman poetry and identity.¹⁹ Dufallo speaks of ekphrasis in the sacred context as very ambitious, "a domain where the text's presumed attempts at domination of the image are highly doubtful,"²⁰ demonstrating the power of the buildings themselves, and of the passages inspired by them, not only over the characters within the poems or the readers but even over their creators (the poets).

I. Virgil's Poetic Temples

a) Juno's Temple at Carthage: *Aeneid* 1.441-493

At the beginning of the *Aeneid*, the Trojans land on the shores of Carthage, a city in the process of construction. After Aeneas meets with his mother Venus, he finds himself in the center of the city in a lush grove of trees that surround a newly erected temple to Juno. Before he meets Dido, he learns more about the Carthaginians through observing and reflecting on this temple, the description of which serves as Virgil's first ekphrasis in the *Aeneid*. Here he learns that his past, i.e., his participation in the Trojan War, is known in other parts of the world,

¹⁹ Cf. also Barchiesi 2005: 295.

²⁰ Dufallo 2013: 108.

through his examination of the scenes on the walls of the temple,²¹ all of which depict events of the Trojan War and even include Aeneas in action (1.488). Most scholarship on this passage has focused upon the imagery of these events and Aeneas' role as viewer/participant.²² Parallels have been observed between these scenes and Calvus' *Io*,²³ as well as larger parallels to Homer,²⁴

²¹ Virgil does not specify what type of images these are or where they are located—possibilities include panels on a frieze, wall paintings, carvings or sculptures. Scholarship on this matter has not cleared up the confusion; each scholar appears to find a different way to describe the images. For different interpretations of the artistic medium, see Williams 1960: 150; Leach 1988: 312, 318; Lowenstam 1993: 37n3 (which also provides a good bibliography on this issue); and esp. Boyd 1995: 81-82 and Laird 1996: 88. Boyd suggests Virgil's vagueness is intentional, as a way of demonstrating the difficulties inherent in viewing and interpreting art in the *Aeneid*. As to the issue of location, there is no actual mention of Aeneas moving inside the temple. He surveys the images *sub ingenti...templo* (1.453), where *sub* could be taken to mean "at the foot of" (OLD 6), though Servius *ad* 453 wishes to take *sub* as equivalent to *in*. I venture, however, that Aeneas would probably not enter the temple for two reasons, the first that it is still under construction and probably not very safe, and the second that he, being *pious*, might avoid entering without permission, particularly that of Dido. For more on their location, see Moormann 2011: 33.

²² Clay 1988: 201 notes that this part of the ekphrasis is distinct from its literary precedents in coming from the role of the viewer (Aeneas) rather than that of the omniscient narrator. On Aeneas as viewer, see also Williams 1960: 145, 150; Stanley 1965: 274; Boyle 1972: 74-75; Johnson 1976: 100-105; Segal 1981: 77, 79; DuBois 1982: 32-35; Clausen 1987: 17; Lyne 1987: 209-210; O'Hara 1990: 39; Fowler 1991: 32; Barchiesi 1994: 116ff.; Boyd 1995: 72-73, 78, 83-84; Laird 1996: 99-100; Smith 1997: 41; Hardie 1998: 76-77; Putnam 1998: 262-263, 273-274; Beck 2007: 533, 540; MacLennan *ad* 454. On Aeneas seeing himself in the action, see Segal 1981; Wiltshire 1989: 69, 133; Barchiesi 1994: 116-117; Dekel 2012: 84. Kirichenko 2013, esp. pp. 67-75, is a recent, stimulating article that discusses how Aeneas' viewing of the images here, based on his own memories of the Trojan War, provides a model for the reader to construct his own reading of the *Aeneid* through the principles of viewing visual imagery, disregarding strict chronology in favor of memory and emotion and the perception of extra-textual reality. In addition, Aeneas' viewing of himself on the panels symbolizes Virgil's transformation of Greek into Roman epic and the transformation of Juno's triumph over Troy into the Roman triumph over Carthage, represented by Aeneas' transformation from Greek (Homeric) hero into the "prototype of a Roman empire-builder" (78). Contrast Dufallo 2013: 142-147, where Aeneas is seen as becoming simultaneously less and more Greek, morphing into an Achillean hero of destruction in the second half of the *Aeneid*.

²³ Thomas 1983: 184; O'Hara 1990: 38-39.

²⁴ Clay 1988: 198 refers to the passages at Ithaca and in the Cyclops' cave, while Dekel 2012: 83-84 speaks more generally of the reading of the *Iliad* into the *Aeneid*. Cf. Hardie 1998, who calls this the "visual equivalent of the Epic Cycle" (77).

particularly in the songs of Demodocus in *Odyssey* 8.²⁵ Many have also attempted to determine the relationship of the temple images to each other as well as to the rest of the *Aeneid*,²⁶ with most agreeing that the Trojan War scenes anticipate later action in the second half of the *Aeneid*.²⁷ Scholars have also commented upon the artistic and architectural implications of the temple's Trojan War depictions, noting the similarities of Vitruvius' thematic preferences in wall painting (7.5.2),²⁸ and frequently discussing the difficulties here in translation between art and text, allowing for multiple interpretations both of the text and of the work it purports to depict.²⁹

However, previous scholarship has offered little to no examination of the first fifteen lines of the ekphrasis (441-456), which portrays the architectural and landscape features of the temple. Some have discussed the unfinished nature of the temple in comparison to Virgil's text: like Carthage, a city still under construction when the Trojans arrive, the future of the *Aeneid* too is still "in the making."³⁰ The incompleteness of Juno's temple suggests "both that the story told

²⁵ Hardie 1986: 60-61; Putnam 1998: 268-269; Nelis 2001: 80; Beck 2007: 533, 543-545; Dufallo 2013: 143-145. Nelis also compares the beginning of the temple ekphrasis (1.446-449) to *Argonautica* 3.215-218, describing the similarities between Juno's temple and Aeete's palace. For more on Aeete's palace, see Introduction. For a recent discussion of Odysseus and Demodocus, see Peponi 2012: Chapter 3.

²⁶ Servius *ad* 456 makes the initial observation of the prominence given in the Trojan War scenes to Diomedes and Achilles, two fantastic Greek warriors who make Aeneas' loss to the Greeks as a Trojan more defensible and honorable. Della Corte 1972: 90 remarks that these scenes do not fall in chronological order, with which Clay 1988: 202 agrees, stating that the order of the images instead has a psychological, psychagogic, and protreptic function. Segal 1981: 79, 82 posits the necessity of tragedy and suffering as depicted in these images in the building of a city or of an epic, for that matter. Lowenstam 1993: 44 sees the images as indicative of the roles of *furor* and *pietas*; cf. O'Hara 1990: 36, who suggests the 'implacability of Juno's anger' underlies the symbolism of each image, as well as Bartsch 1998: 322, 331, who argues that the images depict more generally a struggle between control and violence.

²⁷ Della Corte 1972: 90; Clay 1988: 196, 202; Lowenstam 1993: 43; Barchiesi 1994: 115; Smith 1997: 34; Putnam 1998: 244, 256.

²⁸ See, e.g., McKay 1970: 144; Leach 1988: 319.

²⁹ Stanley 1965: 270; Segal 1981: 76; Clay 1988: 200; Leach 1988: 318; Fowler 1991: 31; Bartsch 1998: 339; Beck 2007: 534-535; and esp. Laird 1996.

³⁰ Clay 1988: 196.

on its walls is incomplete and that Aeneas himself has arrived in time to help determine the direction of the story.”³¹ The scenes on the temple may represent Aeneas’ past (and past failures) in Troy,³² but the construction of the temple itself represents Aeneas’ future. When he establishes the city that will become Rome, much as Dido is in the process of establishing Carthage and its temples (*condebat*, 1.447), he can choose to incorporate the observations he has made here, either of materials, decorative program, or even of the temple plan, in constructing his own temples and other private or public buildings. Commentators as early as Servius have noted the parallels between Rome and Carthage,³³ and some have observed that Juno’s temple seems to have been built in the “Roman” style,³⁴ even suggesting possible architectural precedents such as the Temple of Castor and Pollux in Ardea.³⁵ Aeneas’ wonderment at and appreciation of the architectural and artistic abilities of the Carthaginians points toward his potential use and his descendants’ future use of these architectural features and techniques in what would become Rome. From this passage Aeneas can be seen to be associated not only with the destruction but also with the construction of cities. In the story Virgil tells, Rome looks the way it does because of the observations Aeneas makes at Carthage.

Lucus in urbe fuit media, laetissimus umbrae,
 quo primum iactati undis et turbine Poeni
 effodere loco signum, quod regia Iuno
 monstrarat, caput acris equi; sic nam fore bello
 egregiam et facilem uictu per saecula gentem. 445

There was a grove in the middle of the city,
 taking much pleasure in its shade, in which
 place the Carthaginians, tossed about by
 waves and wind, first dug out a portent
 which royal Juno had made known to them,

³¹ Dekel 2012: 85. See also Austin *ad* 447.

³² Dekel 2012: 83-84.

³³ See Servius *ad* 446. Leach 1988: 312 refers to the “images of Rome-like Carthage” intensifying the reader’s engagement in the protagonist’s point of view and calls the new city an “emblem of Aeneas’s own deferred future.”

³⁴ Leach 1988: 318; MacLennan *ad* 448-449.

³⁵ McKay 1970: 158. He also compares the scenes to the Vatican frieze (p. 144). Boyd 1995 disagrees, stating that the physical precedents are unclear and “the reader cannot know if [Juno’s] temple is based on a particular model or exemplar of temple or if it is a pastiche, a generic temple subsuming all temples into itself” (82).

hic templum Iunoni ingens Sidonia Dido
 condebat, donis opulentum et numine diuae,
 aerea cui gradibus surgebant limina, nexaeque
 aere trabes, foribus cardo stridebat aenis.
 hoc primum in luco noua res oblata timorem 450
 leniit, hic primum Aeneas sperare salutem
 ausus, et adflictis melius confidere rebus.
 namque sub ingenti lustrat dum singula templo,
 reginam opperiens, dum quae fortuna sit urbi,
 artificumque manus inter se operumque laborem
 miratur, uidet Iliacas ex ordine pugnas...

the head of a fierce horse; for thus they would be a nation outstanding in war and prosperous in the necessities of life through the generations. Here Sidonian Dido was building a huge temple to Juno, rich with gifts and the majesty of the goddess, for which brazen threshold kept rising from the stairs, crossbeams interwoven with bronze, the hinge was shrieking on the bronze doors. Here a newly presented situation lessened fear, here Aeneas first dared to hope for safety and to trust more confidently in his wretched circumstances. For, at the foot of the temple, while he surveys its details, awaiting the queen, and while he admires the handiwork of all the craftsmen and the effort of their work, and wonders what fortune would hold for the city, he sees Trojan battles in order...

Virgil begins the ekphrasis conventionally with the impersonal “to be” (*fuit*) along with the location of the temple site in the city center. The *lucus* appears to mark out the boundaries for the *templum*,³⁶ not the building itself but the space of land consecrated by augurs, usually after interpreting a sign from the gods, as was ancient Roman custom.³⁷ Here the Carthaginians have been given a sign from Juno, a horse head (1.443-444), which tells them to build Juno’s temple here but also foretells their future military success and prosperity.³⁸ Lines 441-445 echo details from the very beginning of the *Aeneid* (1.1-7), which similarly establishes the ‘setting’ for the Trojans and their eventual fate. Aeneas is described as *iactatus* (1.3) over land and sea before Aeolus’ wind pushes him towards Carthage; likewise the Carthaginians were tossed (*iactati*,

³⁶ Stégen *ad* 441.

³⁷ On this custom, see Servius *ad* 446.

³⁸ Cf. Clay 1988: 196, who sees the horse as a foreshadowing of the later wars in and beyond the *Aeneid*. There are also parallels between caves and temples here. Much as the *monstrum*, whether savage or supernatural, lived in a huge (*ingens*) cave in Chapter 1, here a new *monstrum*, not only the head of the horse but also a supernatural force in the godhead of Juno, (cognate *monstrarat*, 1.444, see also Servius on this line), lives in a huge (*ingens*) temple.

1.442) over the seas (*undis*) by the wind before finding their new home. Both have gods on their side, with Juno championing the Carthaginians and Aeneas bringing the Trojan gods (*deos*, 1.6) to Latium. In each passage there is an element of savagery associated with Juno, in the horse head (*acris*, 1.444) indicated by Juno and in Juno herself (*saevae...Iunonis...iram*, 1.4). Aeneas will endure, but nonetheless succeed in future wars before he can establish his city (*conderet urbem*, 1.5), much as the Carthaginians will achieve military success³⁹ and continue to establish their city and its temples (*condebat*, 1.447). Finally, both passages foretell a prosperous, long-lasting nation: the Carthaginians will be *egregiam* and *facilem uictu* (1.445) for generations (*per saecula*), while Rome will be great with lofty walls (*altae moenia Romae*, 1.7).

After Virgil explains how the Carthaginians determined the location of the temple, he illustrates the temple building itself. Starting with one of his preferred adjectives, *ingens* (446),⁴⁰ Virgil creates the picture of a large, awe-inspiring temple rich not only in offerings and materials but also in the favor of Juno (447). In an “arresting description of the temple entrance,” the poet places the most emphasis on the doors at the top of the ascending stairs (448).⁴¹ A frontal stairway leading up to the temple would likely strike the reader, ancient and modern, as a very Roman feature. In addition to describing three parts of the door, the threshold (*limina*, 448), the crossbeams (*trabes*, 449), and the doors themselves (*foribus*, 449), Virgil uses a variation of anaphora in choosing three different words for the ‘bronze’ (*aerea...aere...aenis*, 448-449) which functions as building material for the different facets of the door, capturing the richness of the façade.⁴² Scholars since Servius have long debated whether Virgil wrote *nexae* or *nixae* in

³⁹ For the time being, at any rate, overlooking their eventual destruction by the Romans.

⁴⁰ See Chapter 1 for more on Virgil’s predilection for *ingens* and the effect the word creates.

⁴¹ Austin *ad* 448.

⁴² Austin *ad* 448f. The abundance of bronze calls to mind the bronze doors of the Pantheon in Rome, originally built by Agrippa during the age of Augustus (though fully redeveloped and

depicting the relationship between the bronze and the *trabes* (448-449). Either *nexae* or *nixae* helps to convey both the sense of aesthetic awesomeness associated with the temple (anticipated by *ingens*) and the ingenuity necessary to execute such architecture. Virgil projects the temple features he is familiar with in Rome back onto the Carthaginian past. The description of the temple's bronze doors, representing the overall impressiveness of the façade, helps to strengthen the idea of the Carthaginians as a smart, wealthy, and pious nation. Virgil does not desire to construct a conventional temple so much as to unite the building ekphrasis with the narrative, merging architectural details of the building with Aeneas' emotional reaction:⁴³ the Carthaginians and their temple assuage Aeneas' fear, as their religious structures feel familiar and inspire confidence (450-452).

Aeneas also admires the workmanship of the temple, surveying all the details (*singula*). Not only does he appreciate that the Carthaginians know the story of the Trojan War well enough to depict scenes of it on their temple, he also marvels at the artistic skill and architectural cleverness needed to capture the story and properly execute the construction of the temple (*artificum manus inter se operumque laborem / miratur*, 455). Yet while he is doing so, he also wonders about the future fortune of this new city (*quae fortuna sit urbi*, 454). This line might be viewed as ironic, since Carthage would eventually be destroyed by Aeneas' Rome. And yet Virgil appears to link architecture and construction with the establishment and perpetuation of a city: one cannot exist without the other. Aeneas also knows his destiny is to establish a new city, one that he hopes will be and look as promising as the construction of the new Carthaginian *urbs*, which has helped mitigate his fear. The workmanship and devotion of the Carthaginians bolster

moved in orientation by Hadrian). Though the doors seen today are not original to the Pantheon, they are ancient and epitomize the impressive metallic effect that Juno's doors create here. For more on these doors and other ancient doors, see Walsh 1983.

⁴³ Cf. Boyd 1995: 83-84.

their status as potential allies in the mind of Aeneas and inspire him to imitate such qualities in his own new city. Instead of turning to demolished Troy as a model, Aeneas can use evolving Carthage as the model for his city, architectural and otherwise. One could say that Rome, according to Virgil, looks the way it does because of what Aeneas observes at Carthage.

b) The Temple to Apollo at Cumae: *Aeneid* 6.9-41

at pius Aeneas arces quibus altus Apollo
 praesidet horrendaeque procul secreta Sibyllae, 10
 antrum immane, petit, magnam cui mentem animumque
 Delius inspirat uates aperitque futura.
 iam subeunt Triuiaie lucos atque aurea tecta.
 Daedalus, praepetibus pennis ausus se credere caelo
 ut fama est, fugiens Minoia regna 15
 insuetum per iter gelidas enauit ad Arctos,
 Chalcidicaque leuis tandem super astitit arce.
 redditus his primum terris tibi, Phoebе, sacrauit
 remigium alarum posuitque immania templa.
 in foribus letum Androgeo; tum pendere poenas 20
 Cecropidae iussi (miserum!) septena quotannis
 corpora natorum; stat ductis sortibus urna.
 contra elata mari respondet Cnosia tellus:
 hic crudelis amor tauri suppostaque furto
 Pasiphae mixtumque genus prolesque biformis 25
 Minotaurus inest, Veneris monumenta nefandae,
 hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error;
 magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem
 Daedalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resoluit,
 caeca regens filo uestigia. tu quoque magnam 30
 partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare, haberes.
 bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro,
 bis patriae cecidere manus. quin protinus omnia
 perlegerent oculis, ni iam praemissus Achates
 adforet atque una Phoebi Triuiaequae sacerdos, 35
 Deiphobe Glauci, fatur quae talia regi:
 'non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit;
 nunc grege de intacto septem mactare iuuenos
 praestiterit, totidem lectas ex more bidentis.'
 talibus adfata Aenean (nec sacra morantur 40
 iussa uiri) Teucros uocat alta in templa sacerdos.

But loyal Aeneas seeks the peaks over which lofty Apollo presides and the haunts, a vast cave of the venerable Sibyl at a distance, whose mind and spirit the Delian god inspires and to whom he reveals the future. Now they approach the groves and golden roofs of Diana. As the rumor goes, Daedalus, fleeing Cretan rule, having dared to entrust himself to the sky with swift wings, flew on an unaccustomed path to the chilly north and at last stood nimble on the Cumaean peak. Restored to this part of earth for the first time, he dedicated his oarage of wings and established an immense temple to you, Phoebus. On the doors was the death of Androgeos; then seven living Athenian sons ordered to pay the yearly penalty (wretched!); there stands the urn from which the lots of fate were drawn. On the other side the Cretan land appears, lifted above the sea: here are the cruel love of the bull and Pasiphae placed underneath through a trick and the mixed-up, two-shaped Minotaur, the memorial of abominable love; here was that toiling maze of the house that cannot be disentangled; but Daedalus took pity on the great love of the queen and unraveled the tricks and windings of the house himself, guiding blind footsteps with string. You too would have held a significant part on such a work, Icarus, would grief have allowed it. Twice he

tried to fashion your misfortune in gold, twice a father's hands fell. Indeed they would have continued reading everything with their eyes, if Achates, having been sent ahead, had not already appeared together with the priestess of Apollo and Diana, Deiphobe, child of Glaucus, who spoke such things to the leader: 'it is not the time to view those spectacles; now is the time to sacrifice seven bulls and the same number of heifers picked in the customary way from an unbroken herd.' Having addressed Aeneas with such things (nor do the men hinder the sacred orders), the priestess calls the Trojans into the lofty temple.

The *Aeneid's* second temple ekphrasis appears in the beginning of Book 6, when the Trojans land on the shores of Cumae. While his young crew obtains food, water, and shelter (lines 5-8), Aeneas ascends to the peaks of Cumae in search of the Sibyl, who, as his father had instructed (5.735-736), will direct him through the Underworld, and quickly comes upon the temple of Apollo, constructed by Daedalus. This passage has attracted much attention from scholars, particularly in the consideration of the possibilities of interpretation for the door panels that Daedalus has sculpted. On these panels Virgil describes the death of Androgeos (6.20), which in some myths brings about the yearly sacrifice of seven Athenian boys and girls to the Minotaur (6.20-23); the origins of the Minotaur (Pasiphae and the bull, 6.24-6.26);⁴⁴ and Daedalus' aiding the pitiable Ariadne in the labyrinth (6.27-30).⁴⁵ Virgil supplies that the last panel would have been

⁴⁴ Some have argued for the importance of Pasiphae as a counterpoint to Dido: see, e.g., Boyle 1972: 117; Paschalis 1986: 37. Dufallo 2013: 150-151 points to Ariadne, referred to by Virgil as *regina*, as a parallel to Dido.

⁴⁵ On the labyrinth episode, Paschalis 1986: 33n1 lists the relevant bibliography since 1910. For later discussions, see Miller 1995: 225-240, esp. 232; Hardie 1998: 76-77; and Pavlock 1998: 157. Fitzgerald 1984: 55 and Pavlock 1998: 144 discuss Virgil's etymological wordplay associating labyrinth with *labor* at 6.27. Though Theseus is not specifically mentioned in the description of this panel, many scholars have noted parallels between the exploits of Aeneas and

dedicated to Icarus, Daedalus' son, whose recent death causes Daedalus in his grief to abandon the sculpture (6.30-33). Many have examined the unfinished (and perhaps unbegun) nature of the Icarus panel,⁴⁶ which has led to a larger discussion of a failure of art as seen here.⁴⁷ Perhaps the 'failure' here can be attributed to this representation being the first and/or only passage in ancient literature where an artist depicts his own story.⁴⁸

Additional interest has arisen in the role of Daedalus in *Aeneid* 6, with particular emphasis on the potential correspondences between Daedalus and Aeneas⁴⁹ as well as Daedalus and Virgil.⁵⁰ The poet is innovative in bringing Daedalus to Cumae,⁵¹ a site of special cultural

Theseus, with some suggesting that Theseus serves as a model here for Aeneas (albeit not a very good one); see esp. Zarker 1967; also Verall 1910: 44; Boyle 1972: 117; DuBois 1982: 38; Paschalis 1986: 33 and note 2; Boyd 1995: 90; and Casali 1995: 5, 8.

⁴⁶ On the incompleteness of the Icarus panel, see Lee 1979: 59-60; Leach 1988: 355 and 1999: 119; Barchiesi 1994: 114; Putnam 1995: 76-78; Kirichenko 2013: 76; and esp. Bartsch 1998: 335. Dufallo 2013: 151 argues that Daedalus' loss of his son anticipates Virgil's narration of Augustus' loss of Marcellus later in *Aeneid* 6, while Smith 1997: 180 sees the entire ekphrasis as a "father's story of personal loss," comparing the loss on the doors to Aeneas' sense of loss at the Temple of Juno in Carthage as well as his future bitterness at the loss of Pallas. For other discussions on the panels foreshadowing later events in the *Aeneid*, see Boyle 1972: 116; and Paschalis 1986: 40.

⁴⁷ See Segal 1965; Boyle 1972: 118; Pöschl 1975: 121; Conte 1986: 136-138; Boyd 1995: 90; Putnam 1995: 78, 87. In contrast, Paschalis 1986: 36 argues that Daedalus succeeds as an artist, if not as a father, here.

⁴⁸ Many have noted this significance of artistic self-representation; see, e.g., Pöschl 1975: 121-122, Fitzgerald 1984: 53; Putnam 1995: 73; Leach 1999: 118; and Galinsky 2009: 74.

⁴⁹ The most important connections between Aeneas and Daedalus include being exiles forced from other lands to this one, as well as being (less than optimal) fathers. See Pöschl 1962: 150; Segal 1965: 643-644; Rutledge 1967: 311 and 1971/1972: 111; Boyle 1972: 117-119; DiCesare 1974: 95; Fitzgerald 1984: 52-53; Ahl 1985: 253; and Kirichenko 2013: 76-79. Boyle 1972: 116, 119 and Fitzgerald 1984: 54, 56 point to these panels as being representative of both characters dealing with their past. On the other hand, Eichholz 1968: 111 and Leach 1988: 359 see differences rather than similarities between Aeneas and Daedalus. In addition, Rutledge 1971/1972: 113 compares Aeneas and Icarus.

⁵⁰ See Putnam 1995: 75, 77; Casali 1995: 7; Behr 2005: 209-211; and Dufallo 2013: 149-150. O'Sullivan 2009: 470-471 describes Daedalus and Virgil both as problematic fathers—Daedalus of Icarus and Virgil of the *Aeneid* (with Homer as his problematic father); cf. Lee 1979: 161-162.

⁵¹ As noted by, e.g., Norden *ad* 9-13; Schoder 1971/1972: 100; Clark 1977: 63; Leach 1999: 115; and Galinsky 2009: 73.

importance to the Romans and to Virgil.⁵² Virgil and Daedalus have both provided artistic representations that require help for the reader in visualization and interpretation with the rest of the narrative: Virgil must supply Daedalus' possible intentions for the final panel of the temple, yet he does not use Aeneas as a guide for 'viewing' these scenes (as he did for the panels on Juno's temple in *Aeneid* 1). The reader never learns of Aeneas' thoughts on these panels nor is he given any visual clues as to the physical appearance or location of the panels.⁵³ The "abrupt" nature of the ekphrasis has been noted by many, with some calling it a digression or intrusion in the narrative.⁵⁴ Norden even suggests that the description of the temple, slowing down the storyline, "must appear strange" to the reader at first.⁵⁵

Although Virgil may not provide as many hints for interpreting the panels on the Temple of Apollo as he does for the Temple of Juno, there are still important parallels between the two ekphrases. Scholars have briefly acknowledged these parallels, some noting simply that they exist⁵⁶ and others comparing Aeneas' roles in the two.⁵⁷ Only Stégen has pointed out the similarities in representation of the architecture and the builder: Virgil presents an overall appearance of the temples that is large and rich, identifies the founder, and focuses upon the details on the doors.⁵⁸ In examining further architectural, builder, and landscape connections, I

⁵² On the cultural significance of Cumae, see McKay 1970: 203; Schoder 1971/1972: 97; and Clark 1977: 69. On Daedalus bringing significance to Cumae, see Zarker 1967: 221n6.

⁵³ On the role of Aeneas in viewing, see Leach 1999: 118; cf. DuBois 1982: 37, 40.

⁵⁴ See Eichholz 1968: 110-111; Fitzgerald 1984: 52 (cited); Leach 1988: 356 and 1999: 118-119; Boyd 1995: 89.

⁵⁵ Norden *ad* 14ff: "muß der Leser...befremden." Cf. Anderson 1969: 55.

⁵⁶ Austin *ad Aen.* 1.441-493; Lowenstam 1993: 43.

⁵⁷ Clausen 1987: 17; Bartsch 1998: 335. Clay 1988: 201 points to the emotional attachment of the narrator rather than Aeneas in the *Aeneid* 6 ekphrasis (as opposed to *Aeneid* 1).

⁵⁸ Stégen *ad* 1.446-449. His last argument of the focus on door detail can only work if one believes that the images of the Trojan War were on the doors of Temple of Juno in *Aeneid* 1, which Virgil leaves unclear.

believe Virgil's temple ekphrases can be considered as emblematic of Virgilian epic; here Virgil actually constructs the poetic temple he promises to Augustus in the Third *Georgic*.⁵⁹

Both temples are situated near groves (1.441, 6.13);⁶⁰ the groves in *Aeneid* 6 are sacred to Trivia (Diana), Apollo's twin sister. In each passage Virgil showcases the juxtaposition between nature and art; in the first he places a large, pristine, shady grove and temple in the midst of a city that likely was loud and dirty from construction (1.441). In the second passage Apollo's temple (temples?),⁶¹ the abode of a supernatural deity, is located not far from the natural dwelling places of wild animals (6.7-8), and both structures are called *tecta*. Each location was specially chosen and dedicated with a sacred animal limb; Juno points out the horse head which marks the spot for the establishment of her temple, while Daedalus dedicates his bird-like "wings" and a temple to Apollo on the first piece of earth on which he lands (6.18-19). The gods of both temples protect their respective locales and peoples; Juno favors the Carthaginians (1.447), and Daedalus credits Apollo for granting him safe passage back to earth (6.18). Though Apollo did not guarantee Icarus' safety, Daedalus' dedicatory offerings to him still seem appropriate: like Icarus, Phaethon disregarded the advice of his father, the sun-god, and fell out of the sky.⁶² The epithet Phoebus, typically associated with Apollo as sun-god (OLD s.v. Phoebus), facilitates the comparison of Phaethon with Icarus.

⁵⁹ Pavlock 1998: 144; cf. Galinsky 2009: 80, comparing *Aeneid* 6.69-70 to *Georgics* 3.13. Pindar and Callimachus are of course models for Virgil, particularly in the temple description in *Georgics* 3: see Thomas *ad Georgics* 3.13.

⁶⁰ Temples need a water supply, of which a grove is a good indication.

⁶¹ Virgil refers to *templa* in 6.19 and 6.41, as well as *tecta* in 6.13, which may or may not describe a separate sanctuary of Diana (Servius *ad loc.*). While Austin *ad* 13 attributes the plural to Virgil's metrical preferences, Galinsky 2009: 74 states that there were in fact two temples in that area of Cumae, dated to the mid-fifth century BCE, perhaps replacing older sanctuaries. On Cumae's temple topography, cf. McKay 1970: 203-204; Schoder 1971/1972: 99.

⁶² Virgil refers to Apollo here as Phoebus (6.18, 6.35); cf. *Metamorphoses* 1.751, 2.24 and 2.36, where Ovid calls Phaethon's father Phoebus.

There are also similarities between the temples' builders and building choices. Dido and Daedalus are both forced to flee from their respective dwelling places, Tyre and Crete/Athens, to these new locales. Each chooses to build a massive, lofty structure (*ingens*, 1.446; *immania*, 6.19; *altus/alta*, 6.9 and 6.41, completing a ring composition around the description of the temple), which was sheathed in shiny metals, bronze for Juno (1.448-449) and gold for Apollo (6.13, 6.32).⁶³ In addition, both builders choose to depict scenes reflecting a dark, legendary past with acts of murder, punishment, and fiery passion on the façade of their temples.⁶⁴ Lastly, both buildings are incomplete: Dido's temple is still in the process of being constructed (*condebat*, 1.447), while Daedalus has failed to finish sculpting the imagery (perhaps of Icarus, 6.30-33) on Apollo's doors.⁶⁵

Like Daedalus and Dido, Aeneas is an exile, seeking a new destiny. Shortly after arrival on a new shore, Aeneas encounters each of these temples and plays the role of a viewer engaged in its imagery. Each time his viewing is interrupted by the arrival of an important new female character, Dido in Book 1 and the Sibyl in Book 6, each of whom temporarily guides him. It is true that Aeneas displays none of the emotional attachment in *Aeneid* 6 that he possessed in *Aeneid* 1, where he tells the story of his past through his viewing of the temple panels. At the

⁶³ On the deceptive nature of gold in this passage, see Boyle 1972: 119. Segal 1965: 645 points to a possible relation to the golden and bronze ages of Hesiod—bronze denoting Aeneas' warlike past, gold revealing his brilliant future.

⁶⁴ Austin *ad* 6.14-41.

⁶⁵ On the incomplete state of Dido's temple, see above. On the unfinished temple of Apollo, see Fitzgerald 1984: 57; and Putnam 1995: 87. Casali 1995 believes Virgil's description too seems unfinished and suggests possible additional myths that could have been depicted on the doors, including the story of Theseus abandoning Ariadne, which he posits from potential allusions to Catullus 64. Clausen 1987: 113 similarly sees parallels between this passage and Catullus 64, in particular the echoes between *Aeneid* 6.30 and Catullus 64.112-113; cf. Paschalis, who compares 6.20-33 to Catullus 64.71-115.

temple of Apollo he is part of a group that “reads” (*perlegerent*, 6.34)⁶⁶ the story of Daedalus by observing the artist’s panels. The effect is similar, however: both Aeneas and Daedalus are able to ‘tell’ the story of their past, one through words and one through images, and both react to these stories in emotional ways, grieving over important persons now lost.⁶⁷ In a way neither is able to finish telling his story before Virgil’s narrative moves forward. Here Virgil depicts art yielding to grief or at least to new human interaction.

c) Virgil and the Poetic Temple of *Georgics* 3

It is beneficial here to consider the poetic temple⁶⁸ Virgil plans to construct in the beginning of *Georgics* 3. Virgil’s passage follows numerous literary precedents, including Callimachus,⁶⁹ Ennius,⁷⁰ Lucretius,⁷¹ and Virgil’s own Sixth *Eclogue*.⁷² Virgil uses an epinician

⁶⁶ On the word *perlegerent* and the act of ‘reading’ or ‘scanning,’ see Leach 1988: 309-310; and Smith 1997: 180. Eichholz 1968: 111 notes that Aeneas cannot have an intimately personal connection with the images because the verb is plural—others were there.

⁶⁷ It could be argued that the narrator provides more of the emotional attachment in *Aeneid* 6 than Daedalus, though the effect on the reader is seemingly similar; see Leach 1988: 359.

⁶⁸ Wimmel 1960: 186 first observes that Virgil is constructing a temple of epic poetry about Caesar; cf. Thomas *ad* 1-48; Otis 1963: 39; McKay 1970: 121; Dyson 1994: 3-4; Harrison 2007: 154; Thomas 2008 [1983]. Conte 1992 writes that “proems in the middle” are specifically suited for examining one’s literary program. There has been much scholarly debate as to whether Virgil was referring specifically to the *Aeneid* (in completed conception) or more vaguely to a large epic project dealing somehow with Augustus. While I agree with the latter (it seems unrealistic that Virgil would have finalized the conception of his large epic ten years before it is published), I will not comment further upon the matter. On this debate, see Thomas *ad* 1-48; Mynors *ad* 16; Wilkinson 1969: 172; Farrell 1991: 314; Dyson 1994: 3; Jenkyns 1998: 645; and Kraggerud 1998: 12. Nelis 2004: 98n5 compiles a useful list of additional relevant bibliography; to his list I add Harrison 2007: 154-155; Galinsky 2009: 80; and finally Nickbakht 2010: 50-51. Other scholars, however, have argued that Virgil’s “temple” refers as much to the *Georgics* as to a different future composition; see Leach 1988: 174-175 and esp. Morgan 1999: 50-60, who finds Virgil’s ‘completion’ of the temple in the Proteus episode of *Georgics* 4; on the juxtaposition of imperial and rural themes, cf. Putnam 1979: 1681, 171; Miles 1980: 175-177; Hardie 1986: 33; Ross 1987: 184-185; Nelis 2004: 73-74. Willis 2011: 81 suggests Lucan’s *De Bello Civili* is the fulfillment of Virgil’s epic promise.

⁶⁹ See especially Thomas 2008 [1983], who argues extensively for the influence of the recently published fragment of Callimachus, the *Victoria Berenices*, which describes temple building as part of a potential literary program (which Thomas admits is speculative, due to the especially

style reminiscent of Pindar, but there is particular resemblance here to *Olympian* 6.1-5, which describes poetry as a glorious hall (θαητὸν μέγαρον) with golden pillars (χρυσέας...κίονας) and a well-crafted entrance (εὐτειχεῖ προθύρω).⁷³ Architectural parallels have been found between Virgil's temple and various structures in Greece and Italy, including the Temple of Zeus at Olympia,⁷⁴ and the Temple of Hercules of the Muses⁷⁵ and the Mausoleum of Augustus⁷⁶ in Rome. Particular attention has been paid to similarities with the Temple of Palatine Apollo, due to Virgil's seeming allusion to Octavian's triple triumph in 29 BCE, as a part of which Apollo on the Palatine was dedicated.⁷⁷ But as Alex Hardie rightly points out, "we are not to expect a simple metapoetic cross-reference to a single Roman temple."⁷⁸ Whereas most architectural ekphrases describe buildings that are either complete or near completion, Virgil's ekphrasis is unique because it looks at a future "structure" for which composition (construction) has not been

fragmentary nature); cf. Newman 1986: 130-131; Clausen 1987: 14; Conte 1992: 157-158; Hardie 1998: 40-41; Morgan 1999: 55; and Dufallo 2013: 116-123.

⁷⁰ Particularly in the connection of *Georgics* 3.9 to Ennius' self-proclaimed epitaph in the *Annales*. See Clausen 1987: 13; Conte 1992: 154-155; Nelis 2004: 81; Nappa 2005: 122.

⁷¹ Most refer to *DRN* 1.117-119, Lucretius' homage to Ennius, but also 3.48-86, among others. See Mynors *ad* 10; Wilkinson 1969: 167; Perkell 1989: 63; Conte 1992: 158-159; Dyson 1994: 11; Gale 2000; Nelis 2004: 81; Meban 2008: 160. On the combination of didactic and epic here, see Hardie 1998: 41-42.

⁷² See Conte 1992: 152; Jenkyns 1998: 645; and Nelis 2004: 73.

⁷³ See Wilkinson 1969: 165-172 and 2008 [1970]; Newman 1986: 131; Conte 1992: 151; Balot 1998; Barchiesi 2005: 300; Nappa 2005: 122.

⁷⁴ Wilkinson 2008 [1970]: 185; Thomas 2001: 45-49.

⁷⁵ See, e.g., Lündstrom 1976; Hardie 2002: 195-197. Kraggerud 1998: 15-16 argues against the *Aedes Herculis Musarum* as a source for Virgil's temple.

⁷⁶ See Harrison 2005.

⁷⁷ See esp. Drew 1924; cf. Thomas *ad* 26; Wilkinson 1969: 169-170 and 2008 [1970] 184; McKay 1970: 141; Miles 1980: 170-173; Hardie 1986: 123; Spence 1991: 14; Barchiesi 1997a: 273; Balot 1998: 91; Kraggerud 1998: 13, 16; Harrison 2005: 187 and 2007: 154; Meban 2008: 170; Dufallo 2013: 118; and Nelis 2013: 259-260. Some of these scholars argue that this part of the *Georgics* was composed late in Virgil's project, given the allusions to Octavian's triumph.

⁷⁸ Hardie 2002: 196.

started.⁷⁹ The poet is free to allude to any number of physical or poetic constructions as possible inspiration, though it does not mean that he will inevitably use them in the poem (just as patrons can change their minds about building materials, orientation, space usage, and more during the process of construction).⁸⁰ The numerous (and ambiguous)⁸¹ possibilities in influence and construction presented here symbolize the challenges, both positive and negative, of conceiving and writing an epic: Virgil will be glorified with a triumph⁸² for the accomplishment of his temple (i.e., his next project), but it will take considerable time and effort to create and complete such an elaborate structure.

In the first lines of the *Georgics* temple passage, Virgil writes that he will be the first (*primus*, 3.12)⁸³ to “set up a temple of marble in the green field near the water, where the impressive Mincius winds through turns slowly and covers the banks with delicate reeds. In the middle will be Caesar and he will possess the temple” (*et uiridi in campo templum de marmore ponam / propter aquam, tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat / Mincius et tenera praetexit harundine ripas / in medio mihi Caesar erit templumque tenebit*, 3.13-16). The adjective *uiridis* typically means “green” but can also be used to refer to something not yet ripe: it is “green” because it has not yet changed color (OLD 3). *Viridi* modifies *campo*, which often indicates a topographical

⁷⁹ Note the abundant use of future tense verbs here; cf. Kraggerud 1998: 11; and Nappa 2005: 119.

⁸⁰ For an excellent, extensive discussion on Virgil’s poetic parallels to Roman building practices, see Meban 2008, who argues that the comparison of actual building practices to poetic construction generates meaning and supplements the poetics.

⁸¹ Dyson 1994: 4, 16 sees Virgil’s ambiguity in this passage as intentional.

⁸² Many scholars have pointed out Virgil’s associations with Octavian as ‘victors’; see Thomas *ad* 16-17; Drew 1924: 201; Miles 1980: 169; Balot 1998: 87-91; Hardie 1998: 41; Jenkyns 1998: 326n93; Kraggerud 1998: 8; Morgan 1999: 57, 97-98; Meban 2008: 169-170. On Virgil’s allegation of the triumphal success of Roman over Greek poetry, see Mynors *ad* 17; Otis 1963: 39; Putnam 1979: 171; and Nappa 2005: 119.

⁸³ On Virgil’s primacy in this passage, see, e.g., Thomas *ad* 10-15; Citroni 2001: 284-287; Nickbakht 2010: 50-51, 63; and esp. Meban 2008: 160-167.

plain but also the plain of a writer, i.e., his subject matter (OLD 5). Here Virgil states his intention to erect his poetic temple to Caesar, but he may not have determined fully how his process will continue; his material is not yet “ripe” enough to write down, rather it is still blooming within his mind. This interpretation can be supported by the verb *ponam*, which means not only to build or construct (OLD 3) but also to depict or express in art (OLD 19). Poems, like buildings, need time to be built and perfected. In *Aeneid* 6 Virgil describes Daedalus with the same terminology as setting up temples to Apollo (*posuitque immania templa*, 6.19). Daedalus erects the physical temple while Virgil here erects it (and its description) verbally. In depicting the location of the temple,⁸⁴ the poet describes his native river, the Mincius, as *ingens*,⁸⁵ which also appears in the description of the location of Juno’s temple in *Aeneid* 1 (*hic templum Iunoni ingens Sidonia Dido / condebat*, 1.446-447). Mynors notes here that *in medio* does not have to be strictly topographical, while Thomas observes that Virgil not only will construct a temple of poetry centered on Octavian, but he has already done so by placing Caesar in the center of the *Georgics*.⁸⁶ Nonetheless this will take place in the future: Caesar will be in the middle (*erit*) and he will possess (*tenebit*) the temple, but it has not yet been completed (or fully conceived).

After describing his triumphal festivities,⁸⁷ in lines 26-36 Virgil gives a fuller description, particularly of the doors, of the temple he introduces in line 13. This is similar to the way in which the poet presents a brief overall picture of the temples of Juno and Apollo (*Aeneid* 1.446-

⁸⁴ Both Mynors *ad* 13 and Kraggerud 1998: 9 provide possible reasons for Virgil’s placement of the temple near his native Mantua rather than in Rome. I wonder if Virgil establishes the temple there as a way of showing his closeness to the composition of the poem in its initial stages; the poem is not yet ready (nor is Virgil ready for it) to be in Rome with Octavian.

⁸⁵ For a discussion on *ingens* as “native,” see Ross 1987: 115, also 161, 191, 212-213.

⁸⁶ Mynors *ad* 16; Thomas 1983: 179. I add that Caesar also holds the center position of line 16, as the fourth word of seven. Cf. Dufallo 2013: 120, who suggests that this poem is in some way already Octavian’s, and that his divine inspiration is already felt behind the text of *Georgics* 3.

⁸⁷ Putnam 1979 calls these festivities “metaphors for content, for those imaginative frictions of tradition and originality that spark the creative mind” (168).

449 and 6.9-10, 19-20, respectively) before focusing on one particular aspect of the temple, its decorative imagery (Apollo's temple doors, 6.20-30; Juno's Trojan War panels, 1.456-493). "I will create on the doors out of gold and solid marble the battle of the Gangarides and the arms of victorious Quirinus" (*in foribus pugnam ex auro solidoque elephanto / Gangaridum faciam uictorisque arma Quirini*, 3.26-27). Virgil places the phrase *in foribus* at the beginning of both *Georgics* 3.26 and *Aeneid* 6.20, before he describes the embellishment on the doors. Daedalus sculpts his doors in gold (*effingere in auro*, 6.32), just as Virgil's temple doors here have golden embellishment. The addition of marble (*elephanto*, a Homeric usage)⁸⁸ may reference marble-rich temples in Rome.⁸⁹ *Faciam* can mean to construct or create a physical structure but it also refers to the composing of literary works (OLD 5) and other literary/verbal representation (OLD 19). Like Juno's temple, Virgil's temple doors in *Georgics* 3.27-33 feature military battles and arms (cf. also *Aeneid* 1.1), as well as elements of bronze (*Aeneid* 1.448-449; *Georgics* 3.29, *nauali surgentis aere columnas*). The word *surgentis* here reappears at *Aeneid* 1.448 (*surgebant*)—in both depictions, the bronze elements "rise up" impressively. The opulence of the temple's building materials "symbolizes the magnitude of Virgil's achievement" in composing such an important and glorious work.⁹⁰

Virgil's poetic temple will also include statues of Trojan ancestors in Parian marble (*stabunt et Parii lapides, spirantia signa / Assaraci proles demissaeque ab Iove gentis / nomina, Trosque parens et Troiae Cynthus auctor*, 3.34-36).⁹¹ This creates an obvious parallel with the

⁸⁸ Mynors *ad* 26.

⁸⁹ The combination of gold and marble has propelled many scholars towards comparison with the temple of Palatine Apollo; cf. Propertius 2.31 and Drew 1924, with Hardie 1986: 123.

⁹⁰ Meban 2008: 156; cf. Miles 1980: 170. Perkell 1989: 60 finds this wealth and beauty at variance with the practical utility of *Georgics* 2.

⁹¹ For other discussions of the statuary, see Kraggerud 1998: 12-13; Nappa 2005: 122; Meban 2008: 153; and Thomas 2008 [1983]: 200. Dufallo 2013 sees these lines as representative of the

Aeneid's focus on the Trojan ancestry of the Romans. Mynors observes here that the location of these statues is ambiguous, and the nature of the imagery allows for the possibility of the Parian marbles being part of a relief or pediment as much as for free-standing statues. If so, the depictions of the Trojans on the walls of Juno's temple may mimic these Parian depictions. The word *stabunt* would appear to help this suggestion, as it is also used to describe the imagery on the door panels of Daedalus' temple to Apollo (*stat*, 6.22), who appears in this *Georgics* passage as *Cynthius*.⁹² Miles argues that the "breathing statues" (*spirantia signa*) represent the ultimate control of man over nature, a sculptor bringing hard rock to life;⁹³ I would suggest that it is the special power of Virgil's poetry that animates the inanimate objects here, personifying them through the narration of their story here and also in the eventual *Aeneid*. According to Putnam:

Here the dubious apparatus of wealth is paraded – gold, ivory, bronze, Parian marble – but once again it is wealth merely as symbol for the awesome monumentality of the poetic word in its attempts to categorize metaphorically an historical figure of importance. The final role of the hero-poet is as sculptor of two art forms which for a Roman readily served to define an individual: bas reliefs on temple doors to illustrate the *res gestae* on which his fame rests, and statues of ancestors to trace his lineage.⁹⁴

Virgil's originality in using statues of expensive marble to represent future characters points to the originality and grandeur of that future project (cf. *saltus...intactos*, 3.40-41).⁹⁵ Maecenas, of course, prompts Virgil to undertake such compositions: *te sine, nil altum mens incohat* (3.42), where *incohat* can refer to the initiation of a draft of literary work (OLD 1-2). This compliment

Aeneid, which he calls the "supreme cultural document articulating the ambivalent relationship between Rome and the Greek world" (123).

⁹² *Cynthius* refers to Apollo's origin of Delos, which is also mentioned at *Aeneid* 6.12 (*Delius*).

⁹³ Miles 1980: 175.

⁹⁴ Putnam 1979: 170.

⁹⁵ On the 'untouched groves,' see Harrison 2007: 156. It seems highly plausible that Virgil's originality would make him the subject of envy by other poets (3.37-39). On *invidia* in this passage, see Thomas *ad* 37-39; Miles 1980: 178-179; Newman 1986: 130; Kraggerud 1998: 15; Hardie 2002: 198; Meban 2008: 154-156; and Thomas 2008 [1983] 201-203.

to Maecenas reminds the reader that the *Georgics*, and the future *Aeneid* for that matter, are exercises of Virgil's mind and of his words. The building of the temple here in *Georgics* 3 helps to represent that particular process, establishing locations, scenes, and characters for a new poetic project that will glorify both Virgil and Octavian.

In discussing Juno's temple above I remarked that Aeneas was associated with the construction as well as destruction of cities; temples constitute a large component of those cities. Likewise Aeneas plays a large role as protagonist in the construction of Virgil's epic. In *Georgics* 3 Virgil equates the construction of physical temples with that of poetic ones, insinuating a desire to create a larger work to honor Octavian (3.16), which seems to have been the *Aeneid*. In *Aeneid* 6 Virgil enumerates the long victorious history and origins of Rome and Augustus, as he had promised (at *Georgics* 3.26ff.) to sculpt on doors of gold (like the doors of Apollo's temple here). Virgil's two temple construction ekphrases in the *Aeneid* appear to represent metapoetically the poet's endeavor to construct the epic; they symbolize the completed or nearly complete versions of the temple Virgil plans to build in the *Georgics*. The physical descriptions of the temples are vague (beyond a general description of size and expensive materials) because it may still be too difficult or even too dangerous for Virgil to define exactly what he is constructing poetically, in his combination of mythology and history (the subjects of the temple imagery in each passage here).⁹⁶ As the temples are incomplete in form, so too is the *Aeneid* "generically incomplete," according to Putnam, as if it "were to serve as one final,

⁹⁶ Pöschl 1962: "In [the *Aeneid*], myth and history acquire meaning and grandeur as expression of a higher level, the realization of a divine order, the symbol of the cosmic law of destiny revealed in the existence of the world of man" (23).

magnificent metaphor – one masterful artistic symbol – for the incompletions in Roman, which is to say human, life.”⁹⁷

One cannot forget that Virgil’s promise in the *Georgics* is to erect the temple, i.e., write the epic, for Caesar Augustus. There are many Augustan allusions in *Aeneid* 6, beginning with Daedalus’ temple dedication to Apollo, Augustus’ preferred deity. Scholars frequently have associated Daedalus’ temple here with the Temples of Apollo on the Palatine in Rome and on the Acropolis in Athens, and even the contemporary temple at Cumae. Augustus is said to have renovated and rebuilt the latter two of these temples during the time in which Virgil composed the *Aeneid*.⁹⁸ Given the numerous associations scholars have made between Aeneas and Augustus, both trying to establish and/or reestablish the city of Rome, the role of Aeneas as an observer “reading through” (*perlegerent*) the images on the walls could in fact echo Augustus reading the epic itself. Perhaps in *Aeneid* 6 Virgil could not be so bold as to imagine Augustus’ thoughts as he reads the epic, shown through his omission of Aeneas’ thoughts on the panels of Apollo’s temple.⁹⁹ Nonetheless Augustus probably appreciated the difficulties and challenges Virgil faced in devising the poetic structure in and of a large, important epic, similar to the challenges of creating (or re-creating) expansive structures, both ideological and topographical, in a city as important as Rome.

⁹⁷ Putnam 1995: 87; cf. Thomas 2001: 264.

⁹⁸ On the connections between Virgil’s poetic Apollo temple and the Apollo temples in Rome, Athens, and Cumae, see Fletcher *ad* 13; McKay 1970: 203; Paschalis 1986: 36n15; Leach 1999: 115; and Galinsky 2009: 74-77.

⁹⁹ I concede that Virgil does inform the reader of Aeneas’ thoughts regarding Juno’s temple imagery in *Aeneid* 1, though Aeneas’ response is sympathetic, which Augustus might deem appropriate for the situation.

Virgil is not the only poet to associate temple construction and poetic composition. In *Epistulae ex Ponto* 4.8, Ovid, seemingly playing with Virgil's famous *Georgics* passage,¹⁰⁰ ostensibly writes a letter to Suillius, his son-in-law, to thank him for his promised aid, and yet in the letter he appeals more substantially to Germanicus, nephew and adoptive son of Tiberius, to grant his return back to Rome,¹⁰¹ promising him repayment through poetry:

<p>nec tibi de Pario statuam, Germanice, templum marmore; carpsit opes illa ruina meas. templum domus facient vobis urbesque beatae, Naso suis opibus, carmine gratus erit.¹⁰² (4.8.31-34)</p>	<p>I will not build a temple of Parian marble to you, Germanicus; that well-known downfall of mine has seized my wealth. Fortunate homes and cities shall construct temples for you, but Naso will be thankful through his own resource, his poetry.</p>
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Virgil's temple with Parian marble statues (*Geo.* 3.34-36) will *not* be replicated here by Ovid, as indicated by the powerful beginning *nec*; rather, Ovid leaves it to other people and places who have the financial means to do so (*facient*, cf. *Geo.* 3.27). The approximately forty years that have passed since Virgil's triumphal proem have brought about significant changes in the ways that temples, and praise for that matter, come into existence. In Virgil's time victorious generals still were erecting temples as monuments to their military prowess,¹⁰³ a practice to which Virgil makes reference in dedicating his own victorious temple of poetry to Caesar. We can imagine Virgil as poet/architect and his poem as the temple building. By the time Ovid writes his letter as an exile in Tomis, Augustus, followed by Tiberius, had nearly eliminated the opportunity for anyone other than the emperor to establish and build public monuments, particularly in Rome.

¹⁰⁰ Mynors *ad Georgics* 3.13.

¹⁰¹ Galasco 2009: 197 indicates that whereas Ovid dedicates most of *Ex Ponto* 1-3 to Augustus and Tiberius, Germanicus' presence begins to be felt in those books and becomes predominant in Book 4. He also disagrees with the position of other scholars that *Ex Ponto* 4, even if published posthumously, may not be Ovid's work (198).

¹⁰² Latin text is from Richmond's 1990 Teubner edition. Translations are my own.

¹⁰³ For more on *ex manubiis* constructions, see, e.g., Zanker 1988; Wiseman 1994; Favro 1996: 53-54, esp. 82-95; Barchiesi 2005: 299-300; and Meban 2008.

Ovid not only does not possess the financial means to build a temple, but also is seemingly forbidden from building a temple, for fear of subjection to even worse punishment (after having previously offended Augustus, effecting his own *ruina* and the subsequent banishment to the Black Sea). Here the *beatae domus* appear to include only the imperial family and perhaps some governors in far-off provinces (*urbes*) who still had limited power to establish topographical monuments.

However, Ovid's use of the same word *opes* to describe his financial and poetic abilities likens the two types of resources. Ovid plays with the literal and metaphorical meanings of Virgil's construction of a poetic temple—though the poet does not have the financial resources,¹⁰⁴ he possesses perhaps a more suitable (*aptior*, 4.8.44) form of repayment for Germanicus. For Ovid, at least, his poetry is worth as much as, if not more than, money. The poet also argues that poetry confers immortality that is more lasting than physical monuments (4.8.43-64, esp. 49-50, *tabida consumit ferrum lapidemque vetustas / nullaque res maius tempore robur habet*).¹⁰⁵ Ovid's eternal poetic monuments establish him as a literary “architect,” better than those designing and constructing actual monuments. Yet Ovid needs to be physically present in Rome for his poetry to have any worth; he likely has no patrons in Tomis. Furthermore, Virgil's plan to build a temple equates to him creating an epic poem about Caesar; Ovid no longer has the ability to build his temple, i.e., continue his own epic poem, the *Fasti*, which he rededicates to Germanicus, if he cannot be in Rome to complete it.¹⁰⁶ Both authors seem to appreciate the difficulties inherent in such large-scale projects; for Ovid, his main

¹⁰⁴ Nagle 1980: 73 compares Ovid's limited resources to that of an elegiac lover's.

¹⁰⁵ On this well-known trope of the everlasting nature of poetic fame, see McGowan 2009: 112, who also provides a useful list of relevant ancient bibliography. Cf. Welch 2005: 110-111.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Galasso 2009: 203. He suggests that Ovid would need to use the form of occasional poetry to thank Germanicus, which would be difficult to create and accomplish if the poet is not allowed in the same physical space as Germanicus.

difficulty in composing his poetic “temple” may be his exile from Rome. In other words, the “physical structure” of the temple necessitates Ovid’s physical presence in Rome, whereas in Tomis he can only compose shorter poems, such as the *Tristia*, along with his poetic letters, the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. Even those, of course, cry for a return to Rome. Thus Ovid refashions Virgil’s metaphor, negating Virgil’s temple scheme and championing potential gratitude as his overall motivation for praise poetry. Yet in another way he retains the same message: the triumph of Roman over Greek poetry requires the Roman poet’s triumphant return to Italy (cf. *Georgics* 3.10-15). Virgil’s poetry has the impact of a temple because he is physically there in Italy to write it. Ovid may feel as though his own poems no longer have the same impact—physical, ideological, or otherwise—without his own physical presence in Rome. Nonetheless, he recognizes poetry as his best (and only) resource available to him to enable a possible return to his beloved land.

II. Propertius and Ovid Visit the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine

In *Tristia* 3.1 Ovid’s book of poems itself is imagined to travel to Rome. It is guided through the Forum Romanum and catches sight of the Forum of Julius Caesar. The tour then culminates on the Palatine Hill, where the book is astonished at the home of Augustus, assuming that it is the home of a god, before moving onto the temple of Apollo and its libraries.¹⁰⁷ The

¹⁰⁷ Luck *ad* 3.1 calls this tour of Rome a conversion of “epic ekphrasis in an original way.” *Tristia* 3.1 likely continues the story of *Tristia* 1.1, where Ovid sends the book to Rome in his place, telling it what it should and should not see and mentioning the Palatine; see Newlands 1997: 57-58; Miller 2002a: 130; and Hinds 2006 [1985]: 417n2. The fact that the book needs a guide emphasizes its foreignness (see Evans 1983: 51 and Miller 2009a: 219) as well as Ovid’s physical distance from Rome (see Evans 1983: 54 and Newlands 1997: 58). On the tour of the city as poetic trope, see Nagle 1980: 85; Evans 1983: 52; Edwards 1996: 111; Geysen 1999: 719; and Boyle 2003: 227. Huskey 2006 examines the implications, political and otherwise, of the monuments omitted from this particular tour.

four-line description of the temple of Apollo and the nearby Portico of the Danaids¹⁰⁸ at 3.1.59-62, along with Propertius 2.31, constitute the two longest treatments of this famous Roman monument, the most frequently mentioned temple in Augustan poetry.¹⁰⁹ Construction of the temple began in 36 BCE but was not finished and dedicated until 28 BCE, after the triple triumph of Augustus, who established the temple directly next to his own more modest home.¹¹⁰ Though Italian archaeological excavations occurred in the nineteenth century and again in 1937 and 1956, little besides the cement foundation survives; thus scholars have had to rely more than ever on the poetic descriptions of the temple to provide a fuller reconstruction of the temple.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ For the topography and archaeological examination of the portico and the Danaid statues, see Strazzulla 1990; Tomei 1990, 2000, and 2005/2006; Balensiefen 1995; Galinsky 1996: 219-221; Koortbojian 2002: 201-204; Iacopi and Tedone 2005-2006; Quenemoen 2006 (Miller 2009a: 197 summarizes the arguments of Strazzulla, Balensiefen, Iacopi and Tedone, and Quenemoen); Claridge 2010: 143-144.

¹⁰⁹ White 1993: 321n89; cited in Miller 2004/2005: 165n1. The Temple of Apollo Palatinus is mentioned in, e.g., Virgil *Aen.* 6.69, 8.720-722; Horace *Ode* 1.31, *Epistle* 1.3.17 and 2.1.216-217; Prop. 4.6.11-12 (the entire poem is supposedly devoted to the temple, but it is mentioned directly only here—see Welch 2005); Ovid *Am.* 2.2.3 and *A.A.* 1.69-70, 73-74.

¹¹⁰ On the relationship between Augustus and Apollo, see Zanker 1988: 50ff. For more on the general topography of the temple, see *LTUR* 1: 54-56; Ward-Perkins 1982: 36-37; Zanker 1988: 65-69, 85-88; Favro 1996: 147-148, 173-174, 185-186; Stamper 2005: 116-118; Coarelli 2007: 142-143; Claridge 2010: 142-144; and Dufallo 2013: 110-116. There has been much scholarly debate over the purpose of the temple (i.e., a victory temple or otherwise) and whether it was related to the Actian victory: Gurval 1995 argues that it is in no way related to Actium (with which Welch 2005 disagrees in part), while Hekster and Rich 2006 consider it to be primarily a temple for expiation, stemming back to the lightning-strike of 36. Zanker 1988: 86 believes the imagery on the Apollo temple is meant to redeem the misdeeds of the civil war, such that the temple is not a victory temple so much as atonement for the past and gratitude for the new promising future; cf. Heil 2011 on the imagery of atonement. This debate also arises for Propertius 2.31, and scholars have asked whether or not there are political implications in the poem, even if Propertius avoids speaking directly about the possibly political nature of the temple. For potential political interpretations, see, e.g., Boucher 1965: 49n1; Krasser 1995: 88; Armstrong 2004: 529; Welch 2005: 80-87; Cairns 2006: 340-341 (he also calls 2.31 a commissioned poem); Bowditch 2009: 411n30, 429; Heil 2011: 75, 80; and Newlands 2013: 61-62. Those arguing that Propertius avoids or sidesteps politics include, e.g., Boucher 1965: 136; Klodt 1998: 6ff; and Miller 2009a: 204-206.

¹¹¹ Archaeologists have also found a statue base in Sorrento that appears to represent the Temple of Palatine Apollo: see Roccas 1989; Fedeli 2005: 884; and Heil 2011: 70.

But Ovid and Propertius do not depict the Temple of Apollo Palatinus for the purposes of providing an archaeological guide;¹¹² each employs the temple to suit his own poetic purposes. Both poets here associate the temple with themes of grief (or sorrow) and memory.¹¹³

Scholars have commented frequently on the “brilliant visual effects” of each of these poems, particularly of Propertius 2.31, which some have argued describes not the building itself but rather the visual experience of the person gazing upon it and touring around it.¹¹⁴ Each poet likely would have viewed the temple differently, experiencing various emotions, which allows for variation in their descriptions of the temple and their reasons for doing so. Ovid’s description of the temple is much shorter than that of Propertius, presumably because it is only one stop on the book’s grand tour of the city, quickly followed up by the book’s main reason for traveling to Rome: the arrival at (with the hope of remaining in) Apollo’s library with his “brothers”, i.e., Ovid’s other poetic works. Nonetheless there are similarities in the features emphasized by each of the poems. For example, both poets stress the brightness of the monument (Prop. 2.31.9: *claro...marmore*; Tr. 3.1.60: *candida*), as well as its considerable height (Prop. 2.31.9: *surgebat*; Tr. 3.1.59-60: *gradibus sublimia celsis...templa*).¹¹⁵

¹¹² Boucher 1965: 46n3 states that we should think of Propertius neither as an architect nor an archaeologist.

¹¹³ Gowing 2008: 454 explicitly mentions Propertius 2.31 as a poem that deals with memory comparable to the nature of famous monuments as holders of memory.

¹¹⁴ For Ovid’s visual effects, see Miller 2002a: 131, 136 (cited) and 2009: 217. On the visual experience of 2.31, with Propertius as viewer, see Fedeli *ad* 2.31; Richardson *ad* 2.31-2.32; Boucher 1965: 46n3, 49; Laird 1996: 99-100; Welch 2005: 91; Keith 2008: 29; Klodt 2008: 8-9; and Heil 2011: 55ff. Favro 1996: 226-227 argues that Augustan monuments such as the Temple of Apollo Palatinus were built with the purpose of embodying multiple, subjective interpretations, changing and transforming for each and every viewer.

¹¹⁵ Variations of the verb *surgebat* appear in two of Virgil’s lengthy temple descriptions (*Aen.* 1.448; *Geo.* 3.29, see above), such that *surgere* seems to become almost a necessary component in a temple ekphrasis. The rising temples may mimic rising pieces of literature; Prop. 4.1.67 employs a form of *surgere* to describe his poetic work for Rome: *Roma, fave, tibi surgit opus...*

The poems also each mention the Portico of the Danaids, highlighting the contrast of the statues of the Danaids and their father Danaus alternating with Numidian marble columns (Prop. 2.31.3-4: *tantam erat in speciem Poenis digesta columnis / inter quas Danai femina turba senis*; cf. Ovid *Tr.* 3.1.61-62: *signa peregrinis ubi sunt alterna columnis / Belides et stricto barbarus ense pater*).¹¹⁶ Each utilizes comparable diction and word placement, referring to the foreign nature of the columns in the first line of description while leaving the theme of the statues to the second line. Yet the ways in which Propertius and Ovid describe Danaus and his daughters are quite different. Propertius refers to the women as a “crowd” (*turba*), infusing the statues with a more human aspect, whereas Ovid explicitly states their nature as statues (*signa*). Propertius as an elegiac poet seemingly would enjoy perusing a crowd of women as he walks around the Palatine complex,¹¹⁷ yet his ability to bring these statues to life poetically also stresses the enlivening power of his poetry.¹¹⁸ Ovid’s emphasis on the inanimate nature of the statues as *signa* can perhaps be explained if we remember that the poem is written from the perspective of another inanimate object, the book. In addition, unlike Propertius, the power of Ovid’s poetry is questionable: it is unclear what sort of audience Ovid may have had at this point in time, since he remains in exile on the Black Sea (on account of his earlier poetry). In the *Ars Amatoria* Ovid

¹¹⁶ Heyworth *ad* 2.31-3 agrees with Shackleton-Bailey that *in speciem* should be amended to *in spatium* and prefers *tota* to *tantam*. Fedeli *ad loc.* disagrees, calling for *tantam...in speciem*. This disagreement is representative of the poem as a whole, which most scholars believe is corrupt in its transmission and may have several lacunae (Heyworth posits one at line 5, an argument further supported by Barchiesi 2005 but found unconvincing by Miller 2009a). The manuscripts consider 2.31 and 2.32 to be one poem, which several scholars (Richardson *ad* 2.31-2.32; Heyworth *ad* 2.31-2.32; Hubbard 1984; Welch 2005: 94-96; Bowditch 2009) have argued is necessary for more cohesive, persuasive interpretations of the poem.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Barchiesi 2005: 284 and Dufallo 2013: “What Propertius claims to see is in part a monument to the travails of eros and sympathy with victimhood, as though Octavian had unwittingly glorified elegy in building the sanctuary the way he did!” (128).

¹¹⁸ This is strengthened by *vivida signa* in line 8, a seemingly overt allusion to *spirantia signa* in *Georgics* 3.34.

had named this location as a great place to see and meet women,¹¹⁹ comparable to Propertius' view of the "crowd" in 2.31. In *Tristia* 3.1, however, Ovid relies on memory, as he is no longer able to witness in person the monument (and women) he had described previously, nor does he want to remind anyone too directly of that amatory didactic poem.

Propertius' and Ovid's descriptions of the Danaids' father, Danaus, differ as well. While Propertius lends perhaps a more sympathetic tone to Danaus, referring to him simply as "old man" (*senis*), Ovid calls him *barbarus* and draws attention to his unsheathed sword (*stricto ense*). Newlands has compared Ovid's Danaus to Augustus, writing that each is a father figure who should, but doesn't necessarily, guarantee the ultimate welfare of his children and referring to his treatment of the Danaids as a "misuse of *patria potestas*."¹²⁰ Ovid's harsh picture of Danaus may allude to the poet's own harsh, strained relationship with Augustus, who banished him and whom he begs in vain to grant his return to Rome.

Augustus' strong relationship with Apollo may be one reason the god appears nameless and only very briefly in Ovid's poem, with a stock epithet (*dei intonsi*, 3.1.60). On the other hand, Propertius places considerable emphasis on Apollo and his two statues, one outside of the temple (*hic equidem Phoebos uisus mihi pulchrior ipso / marmoreus tacita carmen hiare lyra*, 2.31.5-6) and the cult statue inside the temple, located between his mother and his sister, *deinde inter matrem deus ipse interque sororem / Pythius in longa carmina ueste sonat*, 2.15-16).¹²¹

¹¹⁹ *Ars Amatoria* 1.69-70, 1.73-74. Line 1.74 is nearly mirrored in *Tristia* 3.1.62: *Belides et stricto stat ferus ense pater*. Though Ovid strikingly alludes to the *Ars*, the emphatic position of *signa* in the previous line demonstrates a shift in his thoughts about this particular area; no longer does this place matter to him as a man finding a woman, but rather as a poet, whose book of poems is searching for a home.

¹²⁰ Newlands 1997: 70. Cf. Miller 2002a, who writes that Ovid may see the Palatine itself as a "frightful symbol of imperial power" (130).

¹²¹ Boucher 1965: 50 is the first, though not the last, to point out that the word arrangement in line 15 cleverly mimics the cult statue arrangement. Last 1953 arrives at the conclusion that

Propertius highlights the musical aspects of each of the statues;¹²² in both Apollo appears to be singing songs (or poems). The change of verb tense in line 16 alludes to the possibility that Propertius has again brought to life an inanimate statue, causing Apollo to sing aloud directly to the poet. That Apollo sings *carmina* also calls to mind his role of god of poetry and poets and signals another possible reason for Ovid's near omission of the god at his own temple.

We must consider the reasoning behind Propertius' and Ovid's poems. Propertius 2.31 is not simply ekphrasis but rather ekphrasis within the context of an apology.¹²³ In line 1, Cynthia questions why Propertius is late to their rendezvous and presumably becomes angry at Propertius. The poet likely feels grief at having upset her, and 2.31 is his best way of apologizing to her in explaining his tardiness. The temple doors acquire considerable emphasis from Propertius (lines 12-14); the poet personifies the doors, writing that they grieve (*maerebat*, 2.31.14) over the imagery depicted on themselves. Heil considers the inclusion of the doors a deliberate choice by Propertius that plays into his apology to Cynthia: if the doors can grieve, surely Cynthia can understand Propertius' delay as he too feels mournful looking at the doors and has difficulty leaving them.¹²⁴ Miller finds allusion to Callimachus 2.24 in the treatment of Niobe and Apollo in 2.31: just as the Apolline song in Callimachus ceases marble Niobe's weeping in Callimachus, so too does the Apolline song here replace the sorrowful sounds of the

Propertius is indeed describing two separate statues, rather than an extended description of one, which subsequent scholars have considered convincing. For more discussion of the external statue, see Hubbard 1984: 287-288; Zanker 1988: 50; Laird 1996: 84-86; Fantham 1997: 128; Miller 2009a: 201-202; and Heil 2011: 73. On the cult statue, see Hubbard 1984: 288; Bowditch 2009: 412; Miller 2009a: 206; Heil 2011: 79-80; and Dufallo 2013: 134-135.

¹²² The musical nature of Apollo is commented upon by Fedeli *ad* 2.15-16; Hubbard 1984: 289; Galinsky 1996: 218; Klodt 1998: 10; and Miller 2009a: 202-206.

¹²³ Hubbard 1984: 282; cf. Newlands 2013: 61.

¹²⁴ Heil 2011: 77-78.

door mourning the fate of Niobe.¹²⁵ Propertius hopes that his song will ease Cynthia's grief (or perhaps her anger which, if it continues, will cause Propertius more grief) and highlights Apollo as a symbol of his own poetic power. In displaying his own exquisite artistic taste, he appeals also to the artistic taste of Cynthia, a "*docta puella*,"¹²⁶ with the hope that this will elicit understanding and acceptance in Cynthia.

Unfortunately for Ovid, poetry has caused his grief and his new poetry cannot undo the grief caused to Augustus. In *Tristia* 3.1, Apollo no longer aids Ovid (which may also help to explain the lack of emphasis on Apollo in the poem); his book of poems is in fact rejected and cast out of the god's library after searching in vain to find his brother poems, excepting those the poet wishes he had never written (3.1.63-68).¹²⁷ In other words, the *liber* is not *liber*.¹²⁸ It cannot come and go as it pleases, but must leave the premises immediately. Ovid's book continues its quest for a place to stay in Rome, attempting entrance at another temple and at the Atrium Libertatis, a large public library (69-72),¹²⁹ but all attempts fail. At last he begs to remain in the libraries of private individuals, so as to not be completely rejected by Rome (77-82). Ovid's grief cannot be assuaged by poetry as it is for Propertius. Propertius' Apollo aids in rectifying the situation, but Ovid's Apollo can no longer help him, as strong as his gift may be. Ovid's poetry caused his situation, one worsened by the fact that if people do not continue to read his poetry, whether older works or the new *Tristia* attempting to work their way into Rome, Ovid will be forgotten, the ultimate source of mourning for the poet. Thus both Propertius' and Ovid's poems

¹²⁵ Miller 2009a: 202-204. On the allusions to Callimachus in this poem, see also Gosling 1992; Heyworth 1994: 56-58; Barchiesi 2005: 285; and Dufallo 2013: 133-134. For more on Niobe and the aesthetic value of the doors, see Newlands 2013: 62-63.

¹²⁶ Newlands 2013: 63.

¹²⁷ Newlands 1997: 75 refers to the book here as an *exclusus amator*, with Ovid seemingly mocking the poetic trope (and genre) that helped to make him famous.

¹²⁸ On the pun of *lī ber* (book) and *lī ber* (free), see Barchiesi 1997b: 8-9.

¹²⁹ On the nature of libraries in *Tristia* 3.1, see Dix 1988.

deal with the Temple of Apollo as a source of poetic inspiration and also of potential grief.

Whereas Propertius lauds Apollo and the power of poetry as allusively helpful to his own situation, the power of Ovid's poetry has come on too strong and Apollo can no longer help Ovid in the same way. *Tristia* 3.1 expresses the sadness of rejection, but, like *Epistulae ex Ponto* 4.8, articulates the hope that his poetry (and thereby he himself) may still eventually return to Rome and into the hearts and homes of Romans, perhaps even the heart and home of the one living next to Apollo.

III. Nothing for the Gods...: Temple Neglect, Decline, and Restoration

In this final section I examine the reverse of the bright, magnificent temples of the first part of this chapter by looking at depictions of temples in decay, due to the passing of time, neglect, and disasters of war and (human) nature. Horace, Propertius, and Ovid each connect the neglect of temples with sexual impropriety and compare those living contemporaneously with the people of a distant, wonderful past. Horace and Ovid also employ flood vocabulary and imagery to signal the need for renewal. The depictions of temple neglect aid Horace, Propertius, and Ovid in painting (or perhaps, repainting) a visual picture that was likely already very familiar to the Romans. The temples in decline stood as physical symbols not only of the fall of the piety and morality that helped Rome to become dominant, but also, according to the poets, as representations of divine frustration and anger, helping to explain why Rome found itself in such dire straits after the Battle of Actium and in need of a new era of change.

Horace's Sixth Roman Ode appears to have been written only a few years after the battle at Actium, somewhere around 28 BCE.¹³⁰ In this poem he laments the loss of morality, most evident in the neglect of temples and the sexual license of women,¹³¹ and calls upon the Romans to restore their temples as a means of moral renewal and a return to imperial greatness.¹³² Some scholars have argued that *Ode* 3.6 constitutes a poem of praise to Augustus for beginning his temple restoration program around the same time as the composition of the poem.¹³³ Yet Augustus is never mentioned directly in the ode,¹³⁴ and Horace's tone does not seem to be particularly optimistic or eulogizing,¹³⁵ rather he appears as a stern critic, inciting the Romans to

¹³⁰ Scholars have long debated when Horace wrote *Ode* 3.6, with most agreeing (e.g., Williams *ad* 3.6; Nisbet and Rudd *ad* 3.6; Fraenkel 1957: 261; Williams 1962: 32; Fenik 1962: 86; and Günther 2013: 402) on a date of approximately 28 BCE, older than some of the other Roman Odes. Kraggerud 1995 argues for a date of 26-24 BCE, with which Hutchinson 2002: 525 agrees. West 2002: 64-66 comments more on the problems of dating this poem.

¹³¹ Günther 2013: 402-403 relates temple neglect to sexual impropriety as symptoms of impurity in the city, while Bowditch 2001: 104-105 connects the sexual crimes to the occurrence of the civil wars. Shumate 2005 argues that Horace puts the blame for both instances of immorality on women, positing women as a "barometer of social and moral decline and a metaphor for the decline of body politics as a whole" (98).

¹³² For more on the connection of the temple restoration and moral renewal, see Witke 1983: 66-75; Kraggerud 1995: 59, 63; and Lowrie 2003: 63. Günther 2013: 403 suggests more generally that "proper religious behavior" will return the Romans to their days of glory, whereas Bowditch 2001: 71, 104, 108-109 sees sacrifice more specifically as the sole option to correcting the religious impiety forcing the fall of Rome.

¹³³ Armstrong 1989: 99-101; Günther 2013: 317n387, 374n580, who calls this poem a "clever eulogy" to Augustus, asking him to do what he has already begun. Kraggerud 1995: 60-61 does not see Horace as working independently of Augustus, suggesting that Augustus (and/or the Senate) informed Horace what would happen and expected a poetic response in return. Duckworth 1956: 306 argues for this poem as an indication of Augustus' religious program in general, while *Aeneid* 6, as influenced by Horace's *Odes*, would represent his military and political programs.

¹³⁴ One could make an argument that the singular *Romane* could address Augustus on behalf of the people. Many scholars, however, have seen the singular vocative, though unusual, as indicative of (religious) solemnity: see, e.g., Witke 1983: 66; West 2002: 66.

¹³⁵ Many have commented upon the pessimistic tone pervading in this poem, particularly the last stanza: Nisbet and Rudd *ad* 3.6; Fenik 1962: 89; Witke 1983: 66-67, 76-77 (suggesting that lines 45-48 are a detachable epilogue); Schenker 1992/1993: 163-164. Fraenkel 1957 prefers, I think rightly, to consider Horace as a "shrewd observer and sober judge of human nature" rather than a

start their moral revitalization before circumstances (and subsequent generations) worsen. In doing so he compares their situation to the simpler, more pious, more glorious days of the Romans of the distant past.¹³⁶

This can be seen most vividly in the first stanza of the poem (lines 1-4). Horace writes:

Delicta maiorum immeritus lues
Romane, donec templa refeceris
aedesque labentis deorum et
foeda nigro simulacra fumo.

You will pay undeservedly for the crimes of
previous generations, Roman, until you restore
the temple spaces and the collapsing shrines of
the gods and the statues dirty from black
smoke.

Horace's use of the future tense *lues* as well as *donec* indicates that the Romans' dire situation has existed for some time and will continue to occur, even if undeserved, *until* the restorations begin. Horace here implies that either the restorations have not yet begun or that there is much progress still to be made. Nisbet and Rudd remind the reader that the word *delicta* often comes up in reference to the guilt of the civil wars, though here the civil wars are the punishment, rather than the cause, for the Romans' disregarding of the gods.¹³⁷ The appearance of both *templa* and *aedis* may, at first glance, seem redundant, but, as Kraggerud mentions,¹³⁸ it is likely that Horace begins with the whole temple site, then focuses on the temple building proper, and lastly on the

pessimist (288). On the other hand, Kraggerud 1995: 62-63, 67; Santirocco 1986: 124 and Armstrong 1989: 101 suggest the failure of the Romans as reasons for Horace's gloom, while Williams 1962: 32 contends that Horace is pessimistic due to the failure of Augustus' moral reforms (which would not pass until 18 BCE), relating it to the poet's stanzas about sexual improprieties: cf. Williams 1969: 5; Kraggerud 1995: 64-66; and West 2002: 71 on Horace and the moral/political agenda of Augustus. For more on Horace and Augustan ideology, see Santirocco 1995.

¹³⁶ Both Fenik 1962 and Santirocco 1986: 112-113 see a Virgilian influence (*Georgics* 2.458-542) on Horace's poem, especially in the stanzas reflecting the past connection of sexual purity and the joys of farm life.

¹³⁷ Nisbet and Rudd *ad* 1.

¹³⁸ Kraggerud 1995: 60n11. I respectfully disagree with Nisbet and Rudd *ad loc.*, who write that the *aedes* may be seen as less important than the *templa*. Horace's narrowing in on the actual "home" of the gods as well as their likenesses further clarifies his subsequent points that the gods are angry and have taken away the *imperium* they once gave to pious Rome, presenting the city and its empire with many evils (*multa...mala*, 7-8) instead.

statues. This focalization draws the reader metaphorically into the temple site until finally he comes face to face with the god. The god may exhibit an angry expression or perhaps no expression at all, given the corrupted state of the statue, darkened over a long period of time from urban smoke and pollution,¹³⁹ rather than from pious sacrificial or altar fires. Though Horace presents a mostly negative picture of temples in a state of destruction, there is hope if the Romans follow the poet's advice and restore the temples by physically purifying them from dirt and renewing their image. In doing so, they would be performing a ritual that honors the gods as much as if not more than a typical sacrifice would. Beautifying and refreshing the temples seemingly mirrors the Romans' reversion back to religious devotion, presenting a new and improved façade indicative also of their interior.

This imagery of destruction and renovation continues in lines 5-6: *dis te minorem quod geris, imperas / hinc omne principium, huc refer exitium*, "you rule because you consider yourself lesser than the gods: from them is every beginning, to them attribute every end." Horace here refers to cycles of destruction and renewal in people, in cities, and beyond. The gods figure predominantly in the decision of when these generations and regenerations occur. Destruction and regeneration finds many parallels in the conception of floods, particularly the type found in creation myths, where the gods send a flood to overwhelm and bury the presently terrible humans in order to create anew a better race of men and women. Horace conceives of the recent disaster of female sexual impropriety as a sort of flood from which further destruction originates: *hoc fonte derivata clades / in patriam populumque fluxit*, "ruin originating in this source flowed onto the fatherland and its people" (lines 19-20). *Fons* most often indicates a spring or source of water (OLD 1-3), while *derivare* typically describes rivers and other flowing waters (OLD 1, 2,

¹³⁹ Nisbet and Rudd *ad* 4.

6, 7). The verb *fluere* literally means “to flow” and is used to represent the running of water. Instead of purification and renewal, Horace’s depiction represents only the destructive side of floods, causing further disaster, as marriage beds are defiled (*inquinavere*, line 18). As West points out, *inquinavere* is a cognate of *caenum*, which means “mud.”¹⁴⁰ This too suggests the destructive nature of the flood; the water carries mud that dirties and defiles everything it touches. I wonder if an association in fact can be made between the flood mud here and the darkening of the statues in line 4. *Fumus* can mean “mist, vapour” (OLD 2), consisting of some slight watery substance, and *niger* does not have to indicate something “black,” but can refer to something more generally dark. Even if the *fumus* is smoke, the flow of smoke mimics the flow of a flood, pushing outward as well as forward and backward. The muddy flood of sexual impropriety thereby flows into the city, darkening everything in its path, including perhaps the statues of the gods, which stand neglected due to the citizens’ other preoccupations.¹⁴¹

The destructive nature of the flood makes it such that young women, unmarried though of a marriageable age (*matura virgo*, line 22), are instead learning Greek dances and arts (21-22). When they are married, they still seek younger loves with whom to consummate their passion not secretly but in the open (25-29) and sometimes even with the help of their husbands, resorting to prostituting their wives for financial gain (29-32), reaching a new level of depravity. With this last image of despair Horace contrasts a prior age (33-44),¹⁴² where young men worked hard in military and (primarily) in agricultural pursuits, and never failed to obey their mothers (*matris ad arbitrium*, line 40). The discussion of an earlier, more devoted generation refers back to the concepts of cycles, destruction, and regeneration, especially when compared to the last

¹⁴⁰ West 2002: 68.

¹⁴¹ Propertius in effect makes this argument in 2.6; see below.

¹⁴² On the previous age as a foil to the current generation, see Witke 1983: 67, 71, 75; Shumate 2005: 99; West 2002: 68-69; and Labate 2013: 207.

stanza, lamenting that each generation is worse than the last (45-48).¹⁴³ The deterioration of subsequent generations could be seen as echoing Hesiod's Ages of Man in *Works and Days* (106-201), where earthly agricultural abundance leads to farming, then to war, and finally to depravity and corruption, of which Hesiod mourns to be a part. According to Bowditch, *Ode* 3.6, indicting the present generation, completes the sequence of Roman *Odes* in such a way that Roman history becomes "tragic *mythos*" with a beginning (the time of Romulus), middle (the wars with Carthage), and an end (the corrupt present).¹⁴⁴ Horace laments that the floods of war and sexual promiscuity have only made matters worse, but still hopes for a new beginning in the form of temple restoration, a concrete first step toward an upheaval of morality and the rise of a new era.

Propertius 2.6, written and published contemporaneously with Horace's book of *Odes*, also treats the issue of female sexual promiscuity in relationship to the neglect of temples. The speaker is jealous of everyone Cynthia embraces, including her own "family" (lines 9-14), and ends the poem by proclaiming Cynthia to be not only his mistress (*amica*) but his wife (*uxor*, 42).¹⁴⁵ Propertius promises Cynthia fidelity and chastity (line 41) and refuses to be the type of "husband" portrayed in Horace *Ode* 3.6.25-32, who overlooks his "wife's" indiscretions or worse, partakes in the business of prostitution with her for financial gain. Propertius' comparison of earlier famous Greek prostitutes (lines 1-6), as well as historical examples, both Greek and Roman (lines 15-22), details a degeneration of the ages, echoing Horace's mournful last stanza.

Propertius continues (lines 25-36):

¹⁴³ Along with the generational movement, Witke 1983: 69-70 argues for a movement in genre, from epic (stanzas 1-4) to elegy (stanzas 5-8) to pastoral (stanzas 9-12).

¹⁴⁴ Bowditch 2001: 99; cf. Labate 2013: 207-208.

¹⁴⁵ Bowditch 2009: 407 comments that it is typical of elegy's 'transvaluation of values' for the poet-lover to expect the same fidelity and chastity of his mistress typically expected of the Roman matron.

templa Pudicitiae quid opus statuisset puellis,
 si cuius nuptae quidlibet esse licet?
 quae manus obscenas depinxit prima tabellas
 et posuit casta turpia uisa domo,
 illa puellarum ingenuos corrumpit ocellos
 nequitiaeque suae noluit esse rudis.
 a gemat, in terris, ista qui protulit arte
 turpia sub tacita condita laetitia!
 non istis olim uariabant tecta figuris:
 tum paries nullo crimine pictus erat.
 sed non immerito! uelauit aranea fanum
 et mala desertos occupat herba deos.

What need was there for girls to build temples to Pudicitia, if every bride is allowed to do what she pleases? Those hands which were the first to paint lewd panels and to depict filth to be seen in a chaste home corrupted the tender eyes of girls and refused to let them be ignorant of their own inherent naughtiness. May he groan, he who made known, through *that* art, the disgraces hidden under silent joy! Once upon a time people didn't add color to their homes with those kinds of images: then the wall wasn't painted with anything worthy of blame. But not without our guilt did cobwebs cover over the shrine, and weeds continue to seize hold of the neglected gods.

Propertius questions the point of honoring chastity if no bride actually honors that particular vow.¹⁴⁶ The poet then laments the introduction of what he terms “lewd pictures” into the homes of impressionable young women, which he seems to believe may have served as inspiration or perhaps education promoting infidelity for the women who would soon enter into marriage. In these paintings Boucher sees immorality both on the level of visual realism and on a symbolic level, suggesting that the gods and heroes that most likely would have been portrayed in these pictures also do not respect the morals.¹⁴⁷ But Leach rightly calls into question the word *obscenas* (27): as the pictures in themselves would most likely not have been erotic, Propertius here projects the viewers' reactions to them, using perhaps his own interpretation of the paintings

¹⁴⁶ Richardson *ad* 25 argues that Pudicitia is more important as a concept here than as a cult; cf. Dunn 1985: 255, who sees the temple here as metonymy for morals. Richardson also comments more generally that Cynthia's house certainly should not be seen as a shrine to Pudicitia; cf. Gardner 2010, who argues that 2.6 “deploys physical structure of house and its adornments as tangible evidence of corruption in households of freeborn Romans” (477).

¹⁴⁷ Boucher 1965: 46; cf. Gardner 2010: 477, who compares the paintings to Propertius' own writings of erotic transgressions. Richardson *ad* 27 remarks that genuinely pornographical paintings would have been uncommon in homes and Propertius is probably referring to mythological imagery depicting the amorous passions of gods, goddesses, and heroes/heroines.

as indicative of how the young girls would observe and interpret them.¹⁴⁸ Although the poet never directly says that the women interpret them this way, he assumes this is the case, indicting the image distributor for aiding and abetting the rise of such immoral behavior. In the next lines (33-34), in a manner similar to Horace *Ode* 3.6.33-44 (note also the same beginning line), Propertius mourns for the disappearance of, or perhaps simply imagines,¹⁴⁹ an earlier age, marked by words such as *olim* and *tum*, where these types of images were not depicted on the walls of morally upstanding Romans and would not have inspired impure actions, which thereby may account for the current neglect of the temples and their gods.

Nonetheless, the problematic *non immerito*¹⁵⁰ makes it unclear who exactly is to blame: is it the women who have abandoned the temples, particularly the one to Chastity (Pudicitia), due to their sexual improprieties? Are they too busy in or embarrassed from engaging in infidelity to pay due respect to the gods?¹⁵¹ The transition from past tense *uelauit* to present tense *occupat* in lines 35-36 demonstrates the long-standing nature of this neglect as well as its purported continuance. Or perhaps it is possible to change the translation of *non immerito* to “not undeservedly,” which could suggest the gods are to blame:¹⁵² Pudicitia should be (but is not) a stronger force in women and only has herself to blame for her neglect. Yet it seems unlikely that

¹⁴⁸ Leach 1988: 412-413.

¹⁴⁹ Leach 1988: 412 suggests that Propertius simply invents a new innocent old age, whereas Boucher 1965: 42n1 sees this new dissemination of painting as opposite to the *mos maiorum*.

¹⁵⁰ Commentators, such as Richardson, Fedeli, Heyworth and many before, have noted the disjointed nature of line 35, with Heyworth *ad loc* remarking that the phrase *non immerito* is found nowhere else in Latin poetry and suggesting emendations, and they have struggled to figure out how to punctuate the line, with most choosing the exclamation point as seen above. Camps 1989, after Kuinoel, calls for lines 35-36 to be transposed to just after line 26, deeming the couplet more sensible with the transposition, but Boucher 1965: 371, Fedeli *ad loc.*, and Heyworth *ad loc.* rightly oppose this change. Richardson *ad loc.* does not comment on the possible transposition, though he suggests a similar translation to mine and adds suggestions for emendations: sc. *haec fiunt*.

¹⁵¹ Dunn 1985: 255n108 believes Propertius blames the women.

¹⁵² Gardner 2010: 478 takes this approach.

Propertius would place sole blame on the gods (and the person who brought over Propertius' "dirty pictures," most likely from Greece).¹⁵³ In the first half of the poem, the poet includes several human *exempla* of immoral conduct, including Rome's own founder, Romulus. The young women do not have to interpret the mythological pictures on the walls of their homes as intriguing and naughty: they can simply look to these prior *exempla* for inspiration. And Propertius is not concerned with the behavior of all young women, as he makes clear in line 37, returning from the larger generalization to his singular devotion (*quos igitur tibi custodes...*), merely that of Cynthia, who is named in line 40. Propertius points to the model of the woman too ashamed to sin (*peccare pudet*) as exemplary behavior for his beloved to emulate.

Like Horace, Propertius uses the imagery of neglected temples covered with cobwebs and weeds to demonstrate the moral and sexual impurity inherent in Roman society, particularly in women. Unlike Horace, Propertius does not conclude his poem with harsh social criticism and concern for the overall future of the Romans. Propertius' concern lies solely with himself, his beloved, and their future together, refocusing his efforts (and his poem) within the world of elegy. Indeed Propertius may have been influenced thematically by Horace, even if he does not directly allude to *Ode* 3.6, but the poet employs Horace's moral criticism to suit his own poetic, i.e., elegiac, purposes in a strikingly original way.

The connection between the neglect of temples and an overall lack of piety or purity also appears in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 1. As a part of his creation myth Ovid details the Ages of

¹⁵³ This would work well with Horace's indictment of the young women learning Greek dances and being well-versed in the arts (*in artibus*, 3.6.22). Of course it would be much easier to learn the arts if they are depicted in one's own home.

Man,¹⁵⁴ specifying how each age becomes increasingly degenerate, as in the last stanza of Horace's *Ode* 3.6. The final age, the Age of Iron, is the worst: evils of every sort break out, including sexual improprieties not unlike those discussed above. Modesty or Shame (*pudor*, 1.129) has fled, therefore Propertius' example of good behavior in poem 2.6 no longer exists. Husbands and wives plot the deaths of their spouses (1.146), and the goddesses of Piety (*Pietas*) and Justice (*Astraea*), referred to as the "virgin" (*virgo*), both leave the disgraceful earth (149-150). Jove, frustrated by the decline of humanity, calls a council of the gods,¹⁵⁵ in order to decide what to do next. He convinces the gods to allow him to rid the earth of the current mankind, promising that a better race will succeed them (250-251). Though Ovid is describing a generation thousands of years before the Roman present, the Age of Iron resonates during the era concurrent with and subsequent to the Roman civil wars: evils have broken out in all ways. The Romans are sailing to and fighting over lands that were not theirs originally (cf. *Met.* 1.130-136, 141-143). Crimes of deceit, trickery, and theft abound, and the idea of justice appears either lost or tainted in the battles between Octavian and Marc Antony. But Octavian seeks to purify Rome after this previous period of war, injustice, and immorality, taking on a new name and identity as *princeps* Augustus and creating large-scale programs decreed by the Senate to overhaul Rome's appearance and identity. These ideas are not unlike those of Jupiter at the council of the gods in the *Metamorphoses*, and Ovid explicitly connects Jupiter and Augustus during the council of the gods, when he compares the king of the gods to the leader of Rome (1.200-205, particularly 204-205: *nec tibi grata minus pietas, Auguste, tuorum / quam fuit illa Iovi*). Both are looking for

¹⁵⁴ Coleman 1971 notes a very abrupt transition from science to myth, which he believes was a reflection of a "stage in human thought that had de-mythologized the origins of the physical world but not the prehistory of the race" (473n1).

¹⁵⁵ For a discussion of the setting of their council, see Chapter 2.

positive change in piety and morality, to discontinue the cycles of destruction and begin a new path of regeneration and renewal.¹⁵⁶

Like Horace's flood in *Ode* 3.6.19-20, the flood sent by Jupiter also brings devastation to all the lands and peoples, drowning them or starving them due to the lack of edible food, as all the plants and animals die too.¹⁵⁷ But unlike the flood described by Horace, Jupiter's flood also brings with it the hope and promise of a new, better generation. Yet the "seeds" of the new generation already exist, Deucalion and Pyrrha,¹⁵⁸ both of whom respect the gods and their divinity (1.322-323). As soon as Jupiter sees these last two survivors, both "blameless" and devout "worshippers of the gods" (*innocuos ambo, cultores numinis ambo*, 1.327), he realizes that hope may in fact remain for the previous race and halts the flood, allowing Deucalion and Pyrrha to live and propagate future generations of mankind. But Deucalion and Pyrrha do not understand how to do so and decide to consult the goddess Themis at her shrine.

As they arrive, Ovid writes (lines 371-380):

inde ubi libatos inrorauere liquores
 uestibus et capiti, flectunt uestigia sanctae
 ad delubra deae, quorum fastigia turpi
 pallebant musco stabantque sine ignibus arae.
 ut templi tetigere gradus, procumbit uterque
 pronus humi gelidoque pauens dedit oscula saxo
 atque ita 'si precibus' dixerunt 'numina iustis
 uicta remollescunt, si flectitur ira deorum,
 dic, Themis, qua generis damnum reparabile nostri
 arte sit, et mersis fer opem, mitissima, rebus!'

Thence they sprinkled libations of water over their clothes and heads and turn their steps toward the sanctuary of the sacred goddess, the roof of which grew green with foul moss, and its altars were standing without fire. As they reached the steps of the temple, each bent down on the ground and, trembling, gave kisses to the cold stone and thus spoke: "If deities overcome by just prayers can relent, if the anger of the gods is able to be deflected, tell us, Themis, by what art the loss of our race is able to be restored,

¹⁵⁶ Welch 2005: Octavian emphasizes overall the "rehabilitation of a failing piety" (85).

¹⁵⁷ Human behavior thus determines the fate of the rest of the world, innocent or not. This concurs with Ovid's primary interest in the *Metamorphoses*, in human situations and behavior: he anthropomorphizes the gods, and most of his stories center around humanlike desires and needs. Cf. Segal 1971: 331 and Griffin 1991: 60.

¹⁵⁸ For other brief and fuller accounts of Deucalion and Pyrrha, see Hill *ad* 253-312 and Anderson *ad* 313-415.

and, most gentle one, bring aid to our inundated circumstances!”

Ovid presents the reader with a picture of a temple devastated not only by the flood but also by the neglect of worship that incited the flood. Bömer here points out that the flood occurred too recently to have caused the amount of growth seen on the temple, but believes the poet needs details like this to show how much the temple had dilapidated.¹⁵⁹ And yet these details can also demonstrate a period of neglect occurring before the flood, which only worsened during the natural disaster. That the stone is cold demonstrates both its recently submerged quality¹⁶⁰ and more symbolically the “gloomy” mood during and following the flood.¹⁶¹

Deucalion and Pyrrha have approached very solemnly, as a sign of their respect for the goddess and also indicative of their concern for the challenging situation in which they find themselves. Yet Ovid conveys a humorously naive quality in their interaction with Themis, one that could be seen as an ironic allusion to Horace and Propertius: though they have been married and devoted to each other for years, they do not seem to understand how to consummate their devotion sexually.¹⁶² If they had known how or were able to reproduce through sexual intercourse, they would not have needed to consult Themis to determine how to repopulate the earth, which could be considered an amusing twist on the causes named by Horace and especially Propertius for the initial neglect of the temples. As Miller observes, the story of Deucalion and Pyrrha “is a world away from the stories of sexual passion inaugurated by

¹⁵⁹ Bömer *ad* 373-374; cf. Anderson *ad* 371-374, who furthermore likens Themis’ shrine to the Temple of Apollo at Delphi known to all ancient visitors.

¹⁶⁰ Barchiesi *ad* 376.

¹⁶¹ Bömer *ad* 376.

¹⁶² Or perhaps they are just too old.

‘Daphne’,” a type of *amor* destructive to humans.¹⁶³ Deucalion and Pyrrha have managed to avoid the immorality and impiety caused by excessive sexual devotion and stand as a beacon of hope, piety, and morality to the following generations created from the stones the couple throws over their backs. During the time of Ovid they could also be seen as symbols of the type of people Augustus desired the Romans to be, eventually passing laws on marriage and propriety in 18 BCE (hinted at in both Horace *Ode* 3.6 and Propertius 2.6-7) to force the morality he saw as necessary for the future of the Romans, through emulation of the virtuous (and glorious) Romans of the past.

IV. Conclusion

This chapter has considered various ways in which poets describe temples. The passages above, selected for their substantial length or content, typically provide at least some architectural detail, but they are never meant to serve as archaeological guides or simple plot settings. Though the depictions of marvelous temples by Virgil, Ovid, and Propertius attest to the beauty of the building and the skill of the builder or architect or artist, each temple has a profound and highly personal effect on the builder, the viewer/reader, and/or the poet, highlighting the concepts of identity, memory, loss and gain. The construction of buildings, particularly temples, mimics the composition of poetry, with each containing features, materials, and imagery that make the physical or poetic monument unique, but the fact that much of this poetry often exists in better condition today than its depicted temple attests to perhaps an even higher greatness and permanence of poetry.

¹⁶³ Miller 2009b: 168n4; cf. Fränkel 1956: 76. Ahl 1985 suggests that Deucalion and Pyrrha could have engaged in sexual intercourse to regenerate the human race, but “Deucalion’s desire is to *rePARare*, ‘remake,’ the human race in the artistic manner his father used when creating man in the first place” (107).

Discourse about temples can celebrate their magnificent construction, or it can bemoan their neglect and press urgently for repair and restoration. Horace, Propertius, and Ovid all use the example of temple neglect to reflect upon the fall of morality, sexual and otherwise, in humanity and to call for change and renewal. According to McEwen, descriptions of dilapidated Roman temples, whether real or imagined, also provided “essential rhetorical background” for shining new ones built during the Augustan principate.¹⁶⁴ In effect, Augustus capitalized on the state of physical (and moral) decay in his city in order to promote and execute the large-scale architectural, moral, and political renovations and innovations in the city and people of Rome and beyond. Here authority is expressed through and experienced in architectural forms.

¹⁶⁴ McEwen 2003: 186.

CHAPTER 4: PUBLIC STRUCTURES

So far this dissertation has centered around the more private, domestic spaces seen in Chapters 1-2, and the combination of public and private space found in the temples of Chapter 3. Chapter 4 will explore two other types of public structures: senate-houses and bath buildings. As Carter notes, a city needed more than temples, places for entertainment, and water supply to be able to “claim to possess the dignity and facilities that enabled it to function as the largely independent civic unit which in practice it was.” The city also required buildings for political and administrative dealings, for health and recreation, and for trade and business. In the Republic, when the community (or its benefactors) decided to build, their aim was always to improve the amenities of the city and add to its overall impressiveness.¹ In Rome, famous Republicans erected many public buildings not only to benefit the city but also to improve their own social and political status and reputation among the citizens. Some of these buildings included theaters, basilicas, and *curiae*, or “senate-houses.” Roman senators had met most frequently in the Forum Romanum’s Curia Hostilia until it burned down in the late Republic. Julius Caesar initiated construction of a new senate-house, the Curia Julia, which Augustus completed soon after the subjugation of Egypt, placing victory spoils within the new structure.²

It is at this time that Virgil begins composing the *Aeneid*. In Book 7, Virgil depicts the arrival of Aeneas and the Trojans at the city of Latinus, who greets them in a structure, which is at different times called a *tectum*, *regia*, *templum*, and *curia*. Earlier scholarship has examined this structure’s connections to the Regia in the Roman Forum and several temples in Rome; my focus will be the similarities between the Roman Curia (particularly the Curia Julia) and Latinus’

¹ Carter 1989: 31-32 (quote on 31).

² Cassius Dio 51.22.1-3.

tectum. Virgil's description of Latinus' structure exemplifies one of the larger points of this project, namely that the architectural precedents projected back into mythological times can be and were inspired by contemporary historical Roman buildings that they themselves are meant to influence and foreshadow.

As the republic became a principate and thereby an empire, however, the circumstances around public building changed. As Carter remarks, "architecture passed, at least in respect of great public buildings, from being a method of self-advertisement to an expression and instrument of political power."³ From the middle of Augustus' reign onward, there were "virtually no public buildings by individual members of the elite in Rome, unless they were members of the imperial family."⁴ The freedom for private individuals to build such structures became much more limited, often relegated to building projects in the provinces. Meanwhile Roman emperors used the renovation or new construction of public structures as vehicles for promoting their power and ideology in and around Rome.⁵

One such structure that displayed imperial prowess was the bath complex. Martial famously quips, "What is worse than Nero? What is better than his baths?" (Epigram 7.34.4-5). Baths had become a large part of the Roman architectural landscape, and by the time of Constantine, there were 856 bathing complexes, both large and small, in Rome. The continuous enlargement of and advances in Roman baths helped to revolutionize Roman architecture through both luxurious building materials and experimental interior designs. Costly foreign marbles became a prominent feature of the baths of the late first century BCE and beyond, and vaulting and curvilinear spaces well-suited to the bathing complexes developed through the

³ Carter 1989: 43.

⁴ Edwards 1993: 162.

⁵ Zanker 1988 is the canonical text on this subject.

expanding use of concrete. Nero built the first elaborate and extensive imperial *thermae* (building on the Baths of Agrippa), only to be surpassed by later emperors Trajan, Caracalla, and Diocletian.⁶ In addition, private bathing establishments that were just as luxurious began to arise in the late first century CE.

These new architectural advancements were followed by innovative styles of poetry that properly glorified the new structures, both public and private. Statius and Martial pioneer these groundbreaking types of literature, celebrating private buildings that incorporated both luxury and practical function and positioning these buildings as rivals to imperial constructions. Just as emperors used buildings as facilities to promote official ideologies, so too the poets' "constructions" (i.e, their poetry), serve to promote the smaller, private but still luxurious establishments. In this way poetic discussions of architecture engage with discussions of empire and the relationship between the emperor and his people. Additionally, Newlands argues that monuments functioned as vehicles for "broader critical reflection on the social function of art and literature."⁷ Poets were advertising not only the private establishments but also their poetry and themselves. Newlands suggests that the poets sought to rival the excellence of their patrons' buildings with the excellence of their poetry describing the buildings: words are matched against image, and writer against architect/owner.⁸ The dynamics between poet and patron are heightened when multiple poets reflect on a single structure, as happens with the baths of Claudius Etruscus (described by both Statius, *Silvae* 1.5 and Martial, Epigram 6.42). In each of these poems, but particularly in Statius', the poets assume the position of architectural expert,

⁶ Titus also constructed a bathing complex, but he used the foundations and layout of Nero's own private baths in the *Domus Aurea*. His baths are far surpassed by those of Trajan and the later emperors.

⁷ Newlands 2002: 40.

⁸ Newlands 2002: 41.

lending a sense of authority to the poems as ‘advertisements’ for the baths. This is part of Statius’ poetic program, according to Newlands: Statius is challenging the role of the poet, by taking on different roles or poetic voices to suit the *topos*.⁹

Newlands also argues that Statius and the other poets at this time create a new concept of the nobility, where economic, moral, and artistic values have become essential elements, as well as a shift in attitude towards luxury.¹⁰ Etruscus enhances his status with a smart, sophisticated, and profitable bath building, inciting others to emulate him.¹¹ Yet some of the imitators are not as successful. Martial uses his position as architectural authority to critique Tucca’s set of baths in Epigram 9.75, where excessive luxury and abundance appear to have replaced practical function. Public baths and senate houses were designed for practical purposes; luxurious design, though exciting, was secondary to their public function. Each of the structures discussed below reflects its builder and its history.

I. The Curia Latina (*Aeneid* 7.170-191)

In book seven of the *Aeneid*, the Trojans have finally landed on the shores of Italy, where Aeneas will “grow into Italy”¹² by establishing his own destined kingdom there. Before he can do so, he sends an embassy to the nearby city, ruled by Latinus, to seek a friendly alliance with the Latin people. As the Trojan emissaries reach Latium, they see a large roofed structure (*tectum*, 170) up at the citadel of the city (*urbe...summa*, 171). Virgil then launches into an

⁹ Newlands 2002: 44.

¹⁰ Newlands 2002: 5-6.

¹¹ Edwards 1993: 163 suggests that Etruscus’ baths and their success (attributed in part to the poetry) might also be seen as a way of taunting the freeborn elite with a freedman’s magnificence.

¹² Jenkyns 1998: 464.

ekphrasis about this building, which once was the palace of Picus,¹³ but is now evidently used by Latinus for a number of functions, as it is called a dwelling (*tectum, sedes*), a temple (*templum, sedes*), and a meeting-hall (*curia*) at various points in the description:

<p>Tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime columnis urbe fuit summa, Laurentis regia Pici, horrendum siluis et religione parentum. hic sceptrum accipere et primos attollere fascis regibus omen erat; hoc illis curia templum, hae sacris sedes epulis; hic ariete caeso 175 perpetuis soliti patres considerare mensis. quin etiam ueterum effigies ex ordine auorum antiqua e cedro, Italusque paterque Sabinus uitisator curuam seruans sub imagine falcem, Saturnusque senex Ianique bifrontis imago 180 uestibulo astabant, aliique ab origine reges, Martiaque ob patriam pugnando uulnera passi. multaque praeterea sacris in postibus arma, captiui pendent currus curuaeque secures et cristae capitum et portarum ingentia claustra 185 spiculaque clipeiue ereptaue rostra carinis. ipse Quirinali lituo paruaque sedebat succinctus trabea laeuaque ancile gerebat Picus, equum domitor, quem capta cupidine coniunx aurea percussum uirga uersumque uenenis 190 fecit auem Circe sparsitque coloribus alas.</p>	<p>A majestic, awesome structure, lofty with a hundred columns, the palace of Laurentian Picus, awe-inspiring by its trees and by the piety of its ancestors, was on the top of the city. Here it was a custom for kings to receive the scepter and to raise up the first <i>fasces</i>; for those men this was a meeting-hall and a temple, the place for consecrated feasts; here, after the ram was slaughtered, the elders were accustomed to sit along unending tables. Indeed there were also aged cedar images of the ancestors, Italus and father Sabinus, the vine-grower, keeping a curved sickle in his hand, and old Saturn and the double-faced image of Janus all standing in a row in the entrance-court, along with other kings and those who had endured the wounds of Mars by fighting for the sake of the fatherland. Moreover, many arms hang on the sacred doors: captured chariots and curved axes and the crests of helmets and huge door bolts and arrows and shields and prows stolen from ships. Picus himself was sitting here with a quirinal augur's staff and dressed in a short white robe and was wearing a shield on his left side, Picus, the tamer of horses, whom Circe, his bride captured by desire, struck with her golden wand and poisons and transformed into a bird and spotted his wings with color.</p>
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Previously, scholars have agreed that Virgil must have been recalling Rome when depicting

¹³ See Balk 1968: 46ff and particularly Rosivach 1980 concerning the debate about Virgil's "inconsistencies" in book seven, specifically the confusion as to whether the palace of Picus and the palace of Latinus are one and the same or two different buildings (pg. 146). Carcopino 1968: 254ff suggests that Latinus may have refounded an earlier city (that of Picus') on the same site, which, as Horsfall notes, may help to clear up some of the skepticism.

Latium and its citadel,¹⁴ and most concurred that the depicted *tectum*, though referred to by different terminology, is essentially a religious building.¹⁵ However, they have differed in the opinion of which Roman temple Virgil chose to emulate, with many preferring the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline¹⁶ and others countering that the Temple of Mars Ultor and the Forum of Augustus provided inspiration.¹⁷

However, no study has seriously considered the role of Rome's *curiae*, in particular, the Curia Julia in the Roman Forum, in inspiring Virgil's description.¹⁸ In general, the word *curia* has several meanings: it can refer to the initial voting divisions established by Romulus (OLD 1), or the meeting place where assemblies occurred (OLD 2). In late Republican (Cicero) and imperial authors, it specifies the Senate house, whether in Rome or in other cities (OLD 3, 4 respectively) or the Senate itself (OLD 5). The Curia Hostilia and its later replacements (Curia Julia, Curia Diocletia) in the Roman Forum served as the facility in which the senators made

¹⁴ The idea originates in Van Essen 1939: 235-236 (summarized in Rowell 1941: 264), whose article postulates that the architecture in the *Aeneid* is a general reflection of the architecture Virgil saw in Italy. Horsfall 2000 *ad* 170-191 suggests that Virgil had in mind both literary and actual antecedents: Alcinous' palace in *Odyssey* 7 (see Heinze 1993: 311 = Heinze 1965: 397) and Aeete's palace in *Argonautica* 3, as well as great Roman aristocratic houses.

¹⁵ See, e.g., Rosivach 1980: 148. Rowell 1941 suggests that the palace of Latinus reflects the palace of Augustus and then also the Forum of Augustus and Mars Ultor. Wiseman 1994: 100-102 questions whether the *tectum* is a palace or a temple, and points to Servius *ad* 170 (who writes that Virgil must have had in mind the Palatine complex of the House of Augustus and the Temple of Apollo) as evidence for it being both. See also Della Corte 1972: 256.

¹⁶ On the influence of Jupiter Capitolinus, see, e.g., Camps 1959: 54, Fordyce *ad* 170-191; Rosivach 1980: 148; Horsfall *ad* 170-191.

¹⁷ Rowell 1941; Reckford 1961: 263. Though the argument is attractive (based on our knowledge of what the niches in the Forum of Augustus contained and their physical relationship to Mars Ultor), it seems less likely that Virgil was inspired by Mars Ultor, given that it was not dedicated until 2 BC (almost two decades after Virgil's death). Nor do we know the building and completion stages of the project.

¹⁸ This may be due to the arguments of scholars such as Rosivach 1980: 148, who claims that the civil function is secondary to the religious function of Latinus' *tectum*, based on the word order of line 174 (...*hoc illis curia templum*).

political and military decisions.¹⁹ In these *curiae* ambassadors from countries under treaties with Rome could go to conduct official business, whereas embassies from countries which were not under treaty were allowed to meet with Roman officials in the Curia Pompeia and other establishments outside the Roman *pomerium*.²⁰ According to Varro (*Curiae duorum generum: nam et ubi curarent sacerdotes res divinas, ut curiae veteres, et ubi senatus humanas, ut Curia Hostilia, quod primus aedificavit Hostilius rex, DLL 5.155*), a second type of *curia* existed, where priests performed religious duties, e.g., the Curiae Veteres on the Palatine. Nonetheless, if one considers the narrative frame of Virgil's ekphrasis, it appears less likely that the poet is alluding to a strictly religious *curia*. Unlike Evander in Book Eight, who is preparing sacrifices to Hercules when Aeneas arrives, Latinus is not undertaking any sort of religious ritual when the Trojans arrive, but rather performs a civic duty in welcoming the Trojans to Latium. At this moment, Latinus' *tectum* represents a civil structure conducting important political business with the foreign embassy. Through the *tectum* and its civil function the reader sees many similarities between Latium and Rome, and realizes that Virgil intentionally constructs Latium with features that will influence and easily assimilate into what is eventually Rome and its institutions. In this analysis I will therefore examine the possible architectural influences of the curia, particularly the Curia Julia (replicated closely by Domitian and Diocletian),²¹ on Virgil's depiction as well as further similarities between temples and curiae.

¹⁹ Thompson 1981 argues that Senate meetings happened more frequently on the Palatine at the library within the Temple of Apollo (called the *curia in Palatio*).

²⁰ Taylor and Scott 1969: 570-2.

²¹ See Claridge 2010: 71. The Curia Julia replaced the Curia Hostilia, which had been burned down in 52 BCE but had been renovated since that time, as part of the new Augustan building program which associated many buildings, new and old, in the Forum with the imperial family. See Kondratieff 2010: 103ff for more about the burning of the Curia.

The dwelling of Latinus is first described as *tectum augustum ingens* (7.170). Asyndeton and a majority of spondees add extra solemnity²² and weight to a line (and a site) that is meant to overwhelm the Trojan viewer as well as the reader. Virgil's preferred adjective *ingens* (in its typical way) communicates not only the large size of the structure but also the powerful impression it imposes on the viewer. The technical definition of the adjective *augustum* refers to something that is venerable or religious,²³ and it indeed has that sense here, with religious terminology, including *templum*, appearing later in the description (line 174). Yet the word *templum* does not always refer to the religious structure itself; it is defined primarily as any piece of land consecrated by augurs. This is supported by Servius, who explains on line 170 that *augustum* means *consecrata augurio*,²⁴ In order to make valid decrees, the Senate had to meet in a *templum* inaugurated by augurs, but this does not mean that they could only assemble in established temples such as that of Jupiter Capitolinus. In fact, the Senate's *templum* did not have to be dedicated to any divinity.²⁵ Ancient *curiae*, including the Curia Hostilia, the later Curia Julia, and the Curia Pompeia, were also *consecrata augurio*,²⁶ a practice originated by Tullius Hostilius, the third Roman king and builder of the Curia Hostilia in the Forum Romanum. Thus in line 174, when the words *templum* and *curia* appear next to each other (*hoc illis curia templum*), the reader should realize that these are not only two separate functions of the structure, but they are in fact intertwined: the *curia* is (and is located on) a *templum* and the *templum* can contain (or even be) a *curia*. A *curia* can be as *augustum* as a *templum*. The religious and civic functions present in a *curia* are overlapping, and each has a long history within Roman custom.

²² See Fordyce *ad* 170.

²³ See Horsfall *ad* 170. *Augustum* likely also alludes to the *princeps*.

²⁴ Cf. Ovid *Fasti* 1.609ff.

²⁵ Taylor and Scott 1969: 535.

²⁶ Taylor and Scott 1969: 535.

Virgil continues his description: *centum sublime columnis / urbe fuit summa* (7.170-1). Horsfall suggests that *centum sublime columnis* could mean “lofty on a hundred columns,”²⁷ which would add even more height and grandeur to the building that is already located at the height (*summa*) of the city.²⁸ According to a coin of 28 BCE (Figure 1), the newly inaugurated Curia Julia had a colonnade across the front of the building that supported a low, pitched roof ending right near the three main windows of the façade, a feature later replicated by the Domitianic and Diocletianic restorations:



Figure 1. Curia Julia, 28 BCE. From Morselli and Tortorici, figure 26.

²⁷ Horsfall *ad* 170. Jenkyns 1998: 486 finds this description to be baffling to the eye, that the hundred columns would block every direction of the gaze and in effect shut out the light.

²⁸ See Smith 2005: 56-7, who writes that Virgil is careful to give highly visual details of the palace atop the city in an “area regarded with awe by past generations.” Because of its location at the height of the city, scholars have previously assumed that Virgil is alluding to one of the temples on the hills of Rome (though Balk 1968: 48 suggests comparison to the Greek Acropolis in Athens). I suggest that Virgil is more generally allusive; he may not intend to refer to merely one structure, which can lessen the importance of location. The curia, even in its lower position of altitude in the Roman Forum, can be just as inspiring as any one of the temples on the nearby Capitoline and Palatine Hills.

Claridge's reconstruction (Figure 2) shows at least nine columns before the porch and the large main doors. If one were to stand in front of the Curia from a lower perspective in the Forum (in the Via Sacra) and look directly up at the structure, much like the Trojans' perspective of Latinus' *tectum*, the pitched roof would blend into the main façade of the building and the colonnade could look as if it were supporting the upper half of the building, thus echoing Horsfall's suggestion about Latinus' *tectum*.

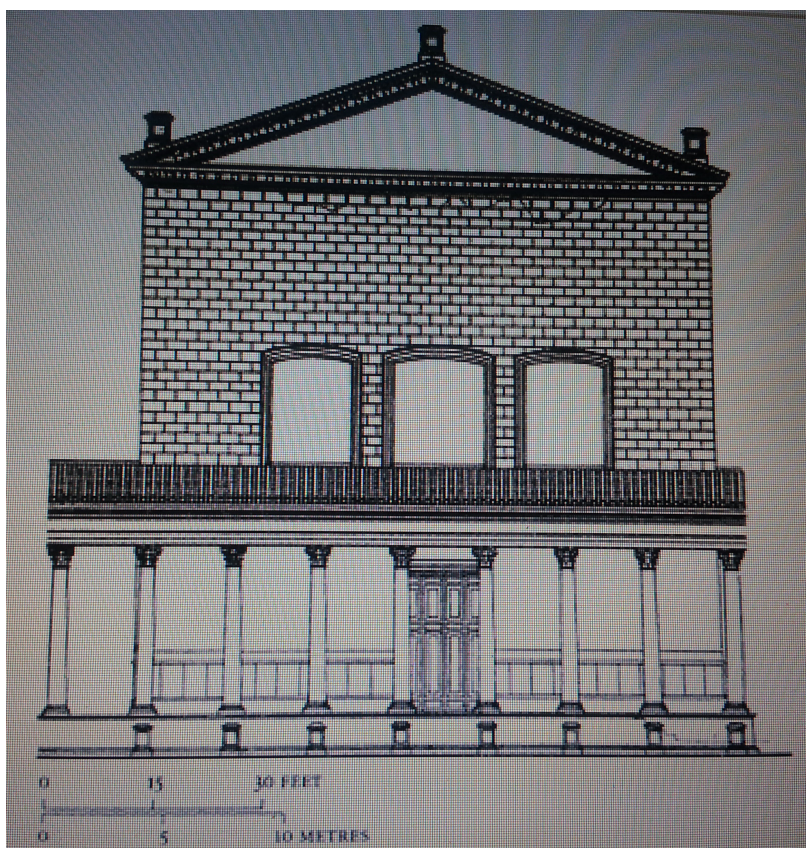


Figure 2. Reconstruction by Claridge 2010: 73 (figure 12).

The possibility that Virgil is evoking the Forum Romanum is strengthened with his use of the word *regia* in the same line (171), which may remind the reader of the Roman Regia higher on the Via Sacra.²⁹ As Bleisch argues, the nomenclature alone is enough to recall this monument.³⁰

The Regia in the Forum was also the former home of a king—Numa Pompilius, the second

²⁹ Rosivach 1980: 147; Horsfall *ad* 171.

³⁰ Bleisch 2003: 97.

monarch of Rome. Like Latinus' *tectum*, it was then appropriated for public use as the meeting place for the Pontifex Maximus and his college of Pontiffs and as the storage facility of their official documents. Like the Curia, it too was a *templum* inaugurated by augurs.

Virgil seemingly alludes to the Forum Romanum's Curia in other ways. In the next line of the ekphrasis, he depicts the *tectum* as *horrendum silvis* (172).³¹ It has been assumed that Virgil is describing the woods around the palace,³² but it is possible to take *silvis* as referring to an interior feature, similar to the wooden coffered ceiling in the Curia Diocletia (which is thought to have retained the same design).³³ The view of this large coffered ceiling, suspended at such a great height, would likely have been quite awe-inducing itself. In a discussion of the "baffling" external appearance of the *tectum*, combining physical and spiritual elements, Jenkyns notes: "There seems to be no distinction made between interior and exterior: tall pillars and ancient trees, the work of nature and the ancient work of man, merge strangely together."³⁴

After mentioning the word *curia* (174), in line 176 Virgil refers to *patres* seated at long, seemingly unending tables (*perpetuis...mensis*) for sacred banquets, which Fordyce views as a customary practice of the heroic age.³⁵ We can imagine this in a senatorial context: Roman senators as far back as Romulus were known as *patres*,³⁶ and during Senate meetings they were accustomed to sit in rows designated by the three steps along the sides of the Curia, not

³¹ Though here one is struck by the structure, in Valerius Flaccus (*Arg.* 1.752), the structure itself is struck (*horruit...maesta domus*) at what was transpiring within.

³² Horsfall *ad* 172.

³³ Ward-Perkins 1981: 418. He describes Diocletian's taste as very conservative in contrast to the previous emperor Aurelian and notes that Diocletian's Curia "followed very closely the time-honored lines and proportions of its Domitianic and Julian predecessors." The coffered timber ceiling, with its height being half the sum of the length and breadth, "still observed the Vitruvian prescription [5.2.1] for the acoustics of such a building" (419).

³⁴ Jenkyns 1998: 486. He believes the description is vivid and resonating but creates no actual picture for the viewer (and reader).

³⁵ Fordyce *ad* 176.

³⁶ See Livy 1.17.8 for just one example.

altogether dissimilar from the picture Virgil paints of the gatherings in Latinus' *tectum*. Latinus of course sits in his ancestral throne at the far middle of the *tectum* (7.169, 192), presiding as the chief magistrate would at Senate meetings.

The imagery of the rows of Senators is continued with Virgil's description of the statues (*effigies*) in lines 177-182 and 187-188.³⁷ They too are found in a row (*ex ordine*, 177) and are comprised of important grandfathers/ancestors (*avorum*, 177), kings (*reges*, 181), and military heroes (*Martia ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi*, 182), all of whom would naturally comprise a Roman Senate. In order to join the Senate, especially in Republican times, Roman men had to work their way through the *Cursus Honorum* by being successful politicians, governors, and soldiers. According to Rowell, "To Vergil, writing of legendary Italy, the greatest men were naturally kings, a status imposed by the period which he is describing. Had he been writing of republican times, such heroes would have been men who had held the highest magistracies."³⁸ Virgil finalizes his depiction of the statues with Picus, who can possibly be seen as the earliest magistrate. As Bleich has argued, the poet employs words that associate the former Latin ruler with early Roman ruler Romulus, wearing and carrying the garb of augury (lines 187-188: note the use of *Quirinali*).³⁹

The positioning of the statues also mimics the position of the Senators: during the course of a meeting some senators would be seated, like Picus (*sedebat*, line 187), and some would be standing (*astabant*, line 181). Because of the growing number of senators, it would have been difficult for all the senators to be seated within the Curia; thus the eldest and/or most important

³⁷ Some may question the comparison of live senators to inanimate statues. Each could be considered part of the architectural decorative program: the statues enliven Latinus' *tectum* just as the Senate enlivens the Curia in the Forum.

³⁸ Rowell 1941: 270.

³⁹ Bleich 2003: 104-105 expands on this discussion.

senators would be given seats first, and the rest left standing.⁴⁰ Virgil then employs an architectural term (*uestibulo*, 181) to describe the location of the statues. Vitruvius designates the term as a home's entrance court open to the public (1.2.6; 6.5.1; 6.7.5). But authors such as Cicero (*Ver.* 2.2.160) have used *vestibulum* to also describe the porch or entryway to large public structures, such as temples. It can be argued that the Curia has a *vestibulum*: the porch enclosed by the pitched roof before the wide central doors, often called the Chalcidicum,⁴¹ where the sons of senators (but possibly anyone) could watch the Senate proceedings.⁴²

However, the connections between the *effigies* and the senators are greater than just their position within their respective buildings. Those in the Senate tended to be older (*ueterum auorum*, line 177); their greatest active achievements, particularly in military roles, are behind them, but they are still remembered and recognized for those achievements—just as the heroic men of Italy's past are remembered and memorialized by their statues in Latinus' *tectum*.⁴³ Military heroics are very important to Latium, as characterized by the arms hung on the doors (*multa...sacris in postibus arma*, line 183), which include *ingentia claustra portarum*, “enormous bolts of gates” (line 185), an architectural feature and a war spoil unparalleled in Latin literature.⁴⁴ This line calls to mind the doors of Priam's palace, Cacus' cave, and Augustus' temple to Apollo on the Palatine in *Aeneid* 2 and 8, respectively: all the doors symbolize wealth, pride, and success in battle, as do the *effigies*. They remind the current and future generations of

⁴⁰ See Taylor and Scott 1969.

⁴¹ *RG* 19: *curiam et continens ei Chalcidicum...feci*.

⁴² Taylor and Scott 1969: 541. On *vestibulum* in other Roman sources, see Wistrand 1970: 204-206.

⁴³ Rosivach 1980: The *effigies* are “civic memorials” (150). See also Balk 1968: 51-53.

⁴⁴ Horsfall *ad* 185.

the prior *exempla* which must be followed.⁴⁵ As the doors and statues of Latinus' *TECTUM* are a monument to his success (and Latium's success), so too was the Curia Julia a monument to Rome and Octavian's success,⁴⁶ as evidenced by the statue of Nike set up by Octavian along with Egyptian booty from his triple triumph behind the consuls' chairs at its inauguration, later celebrated as an "essential part of Rome's identity."⁴⁷

The similar decorative custom of war spoils framing the door links Latium (Latinus), Troy (Priam), and Rome (Augustus). Roman identity, of course, arises from the joining of Latins and Trojans through Aeneas, but their connection originates even earlier: Dardanus, the founder of Troy, was born in this part of Italy, as Latinus' greeting of the Trojan embassy makes clear (*Aen.* 7.195-197, 205-208).⁴⁸ Aeneas and Latinus are thus already of kindred blood, and their blood will continue to be shared in future generations of Romans. Both provide customs that Rome will follow: religious, political, and architectural. The Senate house could have conceivably been influenced by earlier buildings like Latinus' *TECTUM* (at least as Virgil imagines it), as it is a good example of a simple, conservatively-built structure that seemingly remained

⁴⁵ See Rowell 1941: 268; Rosivach 1980: 150; Moorton 1988: 255 (Latium's past and future associations with war).

⁴⁶ Philips 2011: 379. See also De Angelis 2010: 140.

⁴⁷ Edwards 2003: 59. See also *LTUR* 1: 333 and Zanker 1988: 79-80. In addition to the more animate statues which I posit, the Curia too contained positions for genuine statues, not only the Nike statue but also several statue niches along the side walls (see Coarelli 2007: 58) and a winged Victoria on the apex of the roof. Unfortunately it is unclear whether the statue niches were part of the design plan for the original Curia Hostilia and/or Julia or an addition of Diocletian.

⁴⁸ Lee 1979: 70. Virgil's tradition of Dardanus' birthplace (see Servius *ad* 7.207) differs from earlier Greek myths: Homer (*Il.* 20.215) states he came from Mt. Ida on Crete, while Apollodorus (3.12) names Samothrace as Dardanus' place of origin. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.61) cites Arcadia.

unchanged in its physical form from the beginning of the Roman state until the time of Diocletian.⁴⁹

Virgil seems to use the Curia Julia as the inspiration for Latinus' *tectum*, which in turn is supposed to inspire later Roman buildings. As the reader walks along with the Trojan ambassadors through the city of Latium and the *regia Pici*, he finds them to be just like Rome: "We see Latinus' walls and towers through the wondering eyes of the approaching Trojans; and at the same time we see with our own eyes 'our city,' Rome, transformed by antiquity and romance."⁵⁰ Within the description of Latinus' *tectum*, Virgil illuminates many details regarding Latin customs that mimic yet also are meant to influence Roman traditions, which has led some scholars to believe that Virgil wishes to deal more with "history and purpose" than architecture in this ekphrasis.⁵¹ But by projecting Roman architecture and institutions into the past, Virgil's treatment of architectural and decorative aspects is indeed part of the "history and purpose" the poet wishes to portray for Rome.

The ambiguous fate of Latinus' *tectum* at the end of the *Aeneid* may provide some perspective on the future of Rome as well. Virgil does not mention whether the *tectum* survives the battles between the Trojans and the Latins and, if it does remain standing, how it will function once Aeneas takes over as ruler. Though Augustus maintained the physical appearance of the Curia Hostilia in the Curia Julia, his transformation of the interior, i.e., the Senate's role in

⁴⁹ Carter 1989: "[The Curia] is a conservative building, conforming to Vitruvian precepts (5.2) for its proportions, and having a timber roof. Because of its venerable associations it is the sort of structure least likely to be the vehicle of innovation. But curiae were found all over the world, an essential part of the civic scene and a reminder in every forum of the dignity and importance of the local senate" (41). For more on the Curia and its Vitruvian proportions, see Ward-Perkins 1981: 418 and Sear 1992: 15.

⁵⁰ Jenkyns 1998: 493.

⁵¹ See, e.g., Nelis 2001: 283, who remarks that this passage "diverges considerably" from the Apollonius' architectural description of the palace of Aetes in *Argonautica* 3.

making decisions for the benefit of Rome, puts the Senate and its *curia* in a similarly ambiguous position, likely causing many Romans to question just how traditional and republican the new principate was.⁵²

II. Baths and Bath Poetry

The Julio-Claudian and Flavian emperors (and beyond) spent an exorbitant amount of money to make Rome as aesthetically powerful and pleasing as it was militarily and politically:

If Rome was to remain central to the cosmos, to persist as faithful epitome of the world, it had to keep pace with changes in that greater whole. New imperial fora had to be added, bigger and better amphitheaters and basilicae, more splendid *thermae* furnished with artworks appropriate to their theme.⁵³

Baths, in particular, were quickly becoming a large part of the architectural and cultural landscape in Rome, and yet they had developed over a long period of time, both from Greek and central Italian influences (Campania, especially), where they were considered an important part of folk medicine.⁵⁴ We know that the Romans had begun to construct and use baths at least far back as the Middle Republic, as Seneca informs us of his visit to Scipio Africanus' personal bath (*Ep.* 86). The baths remained private ventures throughout the Republic: no baths were ever built by the Senate.⁵⁵ At this time, the baths either tended to be completely private and domestic, adjacent to one's kitchen, or small, simple neighborhood baths, known as *balnea*.⁵⁶ In 19 BCE, however, the scale and grandeur of baths changed with the opening of the *Thermae Agrippae* in

⁵² An excellent suggestion from Catherine Connors: Latinus' combined residential/temple/civic space could also be seen as a "retroactive precedent" for Augustus' Palatine complex.

⁵³ Edwards and Woolf 2003: 8.

⁵⁴ Yöğül 1995: 48ff; Fagan 1999: 85ff.

⁵⁵ Fagan 1999: 105-106. Cf. DeLaine 1999: "[In Sulla's time], baths were necessary and important, but not, it would seem, glamorous" (70).

⁵⁶ From *balneum*, -i. On these baths, see Yöğül 2010: 101.

the Campus Martius. Agrippa had built his *thermae* (the first to ever bear this name)⁵⁷ in conjunction with the new aqueduct, the Aqua Virgo, which supplied the large baths sumptuously decorated with art and statues and set in a large park. These baths marked a striking contrast to the Republican small-scale *balnea*, and the baths would only continue to grow from here.⁵⁸

The later *thermae*, beginning with the Baths of Nero all the way to those of Diocletian, were based upon axial, symmetrical plans which included large concrete-vaulted ceilings, elaborate *frigidaria*, *tepidaria* and *caldaria* with innovative heating systems consisting of a combination of hypocausts and newly invented wall tubing,⁵⁹ adjacent sweat rooms and changing rooms, and Greek-style *gymnasia* surrounded by colonnades. In addition, the invention of window glass (Sen. *Ep.* 90.25)⁶⁰ allowed for better lighting and even more heat to travel into the baths. These imperial baths closely follow Vitruvius' treatise on building public baths (5.10), which calls for heated rooms on the southwest (to allow the best natural warmth to penetrate, 5.10.1), the use of hypocausts placed beneath "the hanging floor" (*suspensurae*, 5.10.2), vaulted ceilings (5.10.3), size based on population (5.10.4), and sweat/steam rooms adjacent to the *tepidarium* (5.10.5). With these elaborate plans, there was opportunity for architectural innovation and experimentation in concrete, types of vaulting, and decorative programs;⁶¹ in the Neronian period and beyond a greater interest in interior decoration arose.⁶² Much of the archaeological remains is unfortunately lost today, but these remains can begin to be

⁵⁷ Carter 1989: 47. For more on the *Thermae Agrippae*, see Nielsen 1990: 43ff, Yöğül 1995: 133-137, and Ball 2003: 232-238, who considers them a "failure" due to poor design, though they do introduce the "large, central dome as a motif in monumental Roman architecture" (236).

⁵⁸ On the differences between *balnea* and *thermae*, see, e.g., Yöğül 1995: 43 and Fagan 1999: 17.

⁵⁹ For more on tubing, see Sear 1992: 39.

⁶⁰ On window glass, see also Lancaster 2005: 147.

⁶¹ Yöğül 2010: 103, 105. Cf. Ball 2003: "Luxury, in short, made Roman bath buildings a special kind of design challenge, a setting where novelty was perfectly acceptable, indeed valuable" (232).

⁶² Nielsen 1990: 47.

reconstructed from some of the literary sources, including Statius and Martial, who lived during the construction of the Baths of Nero and Titus and were able to enjoy bathing in them.

To some extent the increasing size and scale of the baths had to do with the increasing population in Rome. With the larger number of people, there was a need for larger baths.⁶³ This resulted from the long-standing cultural expectation in Rome and also in the provinces that one would go to the baths daily or almost daily to clean their bodies after a hard day's work, and that this everyday experience could even be quite pleasurable.⁶⁴ But a traditionally conservative Roman society also fought against the “dangers” inherent in such pleasure: gluttony and indulgence in luxuries, architectural decoration, and sex.⁶⁵ Scholars have long debated whether men and women bathed together, looking for evidence in the complex and often contradictory stories found in contemporary literature. Were there separate quarters or separate bathing times for men and women? Varro (*De Ling. Lat* 11.41.68) speaks of the original Roman baths having separate gendered quarters, and Vitruvius (5.10.1) calls for separation of men and women in different areas. But Fagan provides the best response to this question, stating that it probably depended on the individual bathing establishment; each was different and had its own rules and regulations.⁶⁶

Many people, however, may not have used the large, magnificent imperial *thermae* if they were not conveniently located, particularly when there still existed a vast number of smaller, neighborhood *balnea* that were becoming just as luxurious: “‘Private sector’ baths borrow from ‘public sector’ and ultimately imperial fashions, with marble decoration, fancy pools, and a

⁶³ Lyncaster 2005: 172.

⁶⁴ Dunbabin 1989: 6-8; Yĕgul 1995: 31; Fagan 1999: 32, 50; DeLaine 1999: 67.

⁶⁵ The conservative rejection of contemporary luxury and excess is reflected in the literature. Seneca *Ep.* 86 is a famous example of moral railing against the luxuries of the present day baths. See also discussion of Martial 9.75 (below). Cf. Yĕgul 1995: 40 and 2010: 22ff.

⁶⁶ Fagan 1999: 24-27.

multiplicity of hot rooms, and are often of considerable size.”⁶⁷ By ‘private sector’ DeLaine means baths that were built by one or a number of private individuals either as a commercial business (where bathers paid a minor fee to enter) or as public benefaction (free to the public). Not only were these neighborhood baths a way for wealthy Romans to display euergetism in doing their “civic duty,”⁶⁸ but they also allowed for the builders to gain popular favor and power in their communities. In addition, the baths were a way to celebrate the wealth of their builders; they could build establishments that, even on a smaller scale, rivaled the larger imperial *thermae* in innovation and impressiveness.

The growing architectural innovation and cultural importance attached to Roman baths coincided with the development of novel ways to discuss and praise these fabulous structural achievements in Roman literature. The new descriptive passages represent a vast change from the ekphrases inserted as setting description between the plot points of earlier Greek and Latin epic and other types of poetry; poets such as Martial and Statius write each poem with the sole purpose of describing a magnificent building: bath, villa, or otherwise. The poems are entirely new and entirely Roman,⁶⁹ breaking new ground to celebrate structural achievements that break new ground from their Greek predecessors. The Bath of Claudius Etruscus, built in the era of Domitian, is one example of a luxurious, private bathing establishment in Rome,⁷⁰ which was found worthy of being celebrated by both Martial and Statius. It is possible that they may have

⁶⁷ DeLaine 1999: 73.

⁶⁸ DeLaine 1999: 12.

⁶⁹ On the poems’ novelty and *Romanitas*, see Hardie 1983: 132.

⁷⁰ The Baths were either on the Quirinal (*LTUR* 1: 118) or in the Campus Martius. See Fagan 1999: 361.

been inspired by attendance at the same dinner party and may have even performed their respective poems at that party.⁷¹

I will begin by discussing Statius' examination of Etruscus' baths in *Silvae* 1.5. Scholars have often questioned the purpose of Statius' poem. One common interpretation is that Statius' poetry is an *encomium* meant to glorify not only the structure but also its builder, where the praiseworthy materials and construction mirror the praiseworthy nature of the builder's taste and skill.⁷² Claudius Etruscus, though he did not pursue a career in politics, could still be exalted for artistic ingenuity and taste in his baths.⁷³ But the nature of the praise also depends upon the relationship between Statius and his addressee: it is unclear whether they are genuine friends⁷⁴ or whether Statius still plays the role of the professional poet, who writes the poem as a response to a formal invitation to dinner.⁷⁵ If Statius has been commissioned by Etruscus to write about the *balneum*,⁷⁶ perhaps we are invited to think of the poem as an advertisement,⁷⁷ which invites wealthy readers to come use the bathing complex. In this "advertisement" the poet assumes the

⁷¹ Statius *Silvae* 1.pref.30 states that poem 1.5 on the baths of Etruscus was composed *intra moram cenae*. See Nauta 2002: 103, 256; Zeiner 2005: 152. Newlands 2002: 206n26 believes Statius' poem was published before Martial's, but does not speak to the possibility of their being composed during the same party.

⁷² Holtsmark 1973: 217; Newmyer 1979: 40; Dunbabin 1989: 17; Nauta 2002: 229, 292; Zeiner 2005: 150, 160; Nauta 2008: 161. Newlands 2002: 200 suggests that the poem praises not only the baths and the builder but also the new, innovative type of poetry Statius uses to praise them; in doing so, he praises himself.

⁷³ For more on Claudius Etruscus and his lack of political career, see White 1975: 275-279; Nauta 2002: 229, 308, 311; Newlands 2002: 201, 212, 221.

⁷⁴ On Statius as *amicus*, see Nauta 2008.

⁷⁵ Hardie 1983: 77, 138; Zeiner 2005: 71, 152; Nauta 2008: 154, 161. Zeiner believes that it is not mere flattery, but deliberately calculated praise (15-16).

⁷⁶ Statius often states whether he has been commissioned for a particular poem, but he does not do so here.

⁷⁷ Nauta 2002: 311.

role of architectural expert and ‘tour guide,’⁷⁸ who leads the readers through the featured attraction. While the poem does not claim to be a map or a floor plan, as it is not specific enough in orienting details,⁷⁹ it does take the reader on a fascinating journey through mythological origins and a list of lavish, yet tasteful architectural features found in these baths.

In descriptions of baths, the prevailing ethos tends to be one of pleasure and beauty,⁸⁰ which is exactly what Statius will project, but he first begins the poem with a thirty-line proemium that sets up his agenda and calls upon deities for help:

Non Helicon graui pulsat chelys enthea plectro,
 nec lassata uoco totiens mihi numina, Musas;
 et te, Phoebus, choris et te dimittimus, Euan;
 tu quoque muta ferae, uolucer Tegeae, sonorae
 terga premas: alios poscunt mea carmina coetus. 5
 Naidas, undarum dominas, regemque corusci
 ignis adhuc fessum Siculoque incude rubentem
 elicuisse satis. paulum arma nocentia, Thebae,
 ponite; dilecto uolo lasciuire sodali.
 iunge, puer, cyathos, sed ne numerare labora 10
 cunctantemque intende chelyn; discede, Laborque
 Curaque, dum nitidis canimus gemmantia saxis
 balnea dumque procax, uittis hederisque soluta
 fronde uerecundis, Clio mea ludit Etrusco.
 ite, deae uirides, liquidosque aduertite uultus 15
 et uitreum teneris crinem redimite corymbis,
 ueste nihil tectae, quales emergitis altis
 fontibus et uisu Satyros torquetis amantes.
 non uos quae culpa decus infamastis aquarum,
 sollicitare iuuat; procul hinc et fonte doloso 20
 Salmacis et uiduae Cebrenidos arida luctu
 flumina et Herculei praedatrix cedat alumni.
 uos mihi quae Latium septenaque culmina, Nymphae,
 incolitis Thybrimque nouis attollitis undis,

The inspired lyre does not strike Helicon with weighty plectrum, nor do I call upon the Muses, divinities tired so often by me; I am dismissing you, Phoebus, and you too, Bacchus, from the choir; you too winged Mercury, keep your loud animal hide quiet: my poem requires a different combination. It is enough to have brought out the Naiads, mistresses of the waters, and the king of the trembling fire, still tired and red from the Sicilian anvil. Theban verses, put aside your harmful weapons for a while: I want to frolic with a dear friend. Boy, gather together the cups but don't try to count them, and string the hesitating lyre; Labor and Care depart, while I sing about the baths bejeweled with glittering rocks and while my bold Clio, fitted in her headband and venerable ivy and leafy garland, plays for Etruscus. Go on, green goddesses, direct your liquid faces toward us and crown your glassy hair with delicate ivy berries, clothed in nothing, such as when you emerge from deep springs and torment

⁷⁸ Zeiner 2005: 153. She also suggests that Etruscus' baths are private and meant only for himself and his friends. Yet Etruscus does not seem to have a job elsewhere, and probably used the baths as a source of income, charging larger amounts of money to a select clientele. See Yégué 1995: 32, and cf. Fagan 1999: 20.

⁷⁹ Szelest 1966 [1969]: 191; Newmyer 1979: 110; Newlands 2002: 200.

⁸⁰ Dunbabin 1989: 11-12. Not surprisingly, the uglier aspects of baths are left out: the dirtiness, the dilapidation, etc. See Fagan 1999: 180-181; Scheidel 2003: 159-160; Jongman 2003: 107.

<p> quas praeceps Anien atque exceptura natatus Virgo iuuat Marsasque niues et frigora ducens Marcia, praecelsis quarum uaga molibus unda crescit et innumero pendens transmittitur arcu: uestrum opus aggredimur, uestra est quam carmine molli pando domus. non umquam aliis habitastis in antris ditius. </p>	<p>25</p> <p>30</p>	<p> the adoring Satyrs by your sight. It does not please me to attract you who dishonor the beauty of the waters with your crimes; let Salmacis with her deceitful fountain stay away from here and the rivers of Oenone, abandoned, dry with grief and the one who stole Hylas away. You Nymphs who inhabit Latium and the seven peaks, who lift the Tiber with new waves, whom the swift Anio delights and the Virgo receiving swimmers and Marcia, bring snowy, chilly Marsian water, whose shifting wave grows on lofty structures and is sent along, suspended on countless arches: we approach your work, it is your house which I open with gentle song. Never did you dwell more richly in other caves. </p>
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Statius' opening recalls a typical opening to an epic poem, but the poet is quick to tell us that he will *not* be undertaking an epic; in fact he is putting one aside—his *Thebaid* (1.5.8-9). He does *not* wish to call upon the Muses, Helicon, or Apollo, traditional deities of epic invocation (1.5.1-6). Instead the poet invokes his own mythological creation: the Roman Nymphs living in and around the Tiber and Roman aqueducts, particularly the Aqua Virgo and the Aqua Marcia, sources for Etruscus' bathing complex (1.5.23-28).⁸¹ Statius is doing something different, innovative but also Roman, in describing the thoroughly Roman baths, which means that he must distance himself from Greek epic conventions and create his own mythology. Yet the mention of the prominent Greek figures (as well as the plethora of vocabulary stemming from Greek in the first line of the poem), even as an instance of litotes, can help to lend a sense of authority to his

⁸¹ For more on Statius' selectivity, see Hardie 1983: 133; Zeiner 2005: 155; Marshall 2008: 613. On the mythology, see Bright 1980: 45; Dunbabin 1989: 15; Yëgul 1995: 31.

poetry.⁸² Greek authority is strengthened by the sympotic nature of the poetry (1.5.9-11) and the mention of more mythological characters.⁸³

Finally, in lines 12-13, we are told the subject of the poem: “while I sing about the baths bejeweled with glittering rocks.” The first mention of the baths emphasizes the brilliance of the shining, beautiful stones, a foreshadowing of the longer description to come in the second half of the poem.⁸⁴ It is a natural beginning to the representation: as the reader imagines walking up to and inside of the bath of Etruscus, the light shining upon the colorful marbles would easily be the first thing one would notice and would continue to observe throughout his experience there. The brilliance conveyed by the word *nitere* in its various forms will appear no less than four more times within the rest of the poem, describing not only the marbles, vaulted ceilings, and basins (1.5.36, 43, 49), but also Etruscus’ *ingenium* in designing and building such a place (*macte, oro, nitenti / ingenio curaque puer*, 1.5.63-64): he is as brilliant as his materials.⁸⁵ In addition to the brilliance of the baths, the word *gemma* is a sign of extravagance and rarity, and also can be used as a literary term of stylistic adornment: “Stattius’ ‘bejeweled’ *Silvae* were to influence decisively the direction of future Latin poetry.”⁸⁶

Before moving to the rest of the architectural description, the Nymphs of the Aqueducts warrant (brief) further discussion.⁸⁷ As Statius addresses them, he writes: “We approach your work, it is your house which I open with gentle song. You’ve never dwelt more richly in any

⁸² Hardie 1983; Newlands 2002: 201, 216, 225; Marshall 2008: 610-612. For more on the Greek influence on Statius’ language and style, see Holford-Stevens 2000.

⁸³ For more on the *symposium* in this poem, see Nauta 2002: 256, 293-4; Marshall 2008: 614.

⁸⁴ This follows Szelest’s explanation of a pattern in Statius where a beginning general description is then followed by an extensive description later (1966 [1969]: 188).

⁸⁵ For more on Statius’ emphasis on shininess, see Nagle 2004: 10-11; Zeiner 2005: 160.

⁸⁶ Newlands 2002: 202-203 (quote on 203).

⁸⁷ On the nymphs: see, e.g., Hutchinson 1993: 37; Newlands 2002: 216; Zeiner 2005: 46-47, 154ff.

other caves” (1.5.29-31). The verb *pando* typically means to open a door or gate, but also is defined as opening a building and making it accessible (OLD 4b). In addition it can be used metaphorically to describe the opening of ears and eyes (OLD 3b), and thereby the mind. Statius is doing both here: the physical opening of the door to the bath can be equated to opening it in one’s mind. The reader imagines Statius ‘opening’ the door, whereby Statius, as the reader’s “tour guide,” will reveal to the reader what he physically sees, inviting the reader to picture it in his imagination. For those who read the poem, lived nearby, and were of sufficient means, it would be an enticement to come visit the baths and experience for themselves. Those who did not live nearby or who could not afford it may still feel as though they experienced the bath through Statius’ own experience of it. The description of the Nymphs’ abode as *domus* (1.5.30) alludes to earlier cave descriptions (e.g., Polyphemus’ cave in *Aeneid* 3 and Cacus’ cave in *Aeneid* 8),⁸⁸ but now the *domus* has changed: nature can no longer keep up with technology. Unlike the Nymphs’ *domus* in earlier Roman texts, these *domus* are manmade⁸⁹ and are better. Statius’ association of a Naiad with a Roman aqueduct (the Aqua Marcia can be seen as both structure and nymph here) subjects the nymph to a control unseen in earlier literary descriptions of nymphs.⁹⁰ The Romans prided themselves on their control of nature through the directing and manipulating of water sources, a concept profoundly expressed in the baths supplied by aqueducts.⁹¹ Here Statius points to the wealth found in their home that was found nowhere before: the wealth of resources and technology.

⁸⁸ See Chapter 1 for discussion of these caves.

⁸⁹ Apparently, however, Venus and Vulcan provide some help (1.5.31-33). In response to the gods’ help, Newlands 2002 suggests that the baths are a “family venture to construct” (217).

⁹⁰ Thank you to Catherine Connors for this suggestion.

⁹¹ See Zajac 1999: 101. Cf. Pavlovskis 1973: 2; Edwards 1996: 105-107, also Myers 2000: 115. *Nymphaea* in and around Rome at this time contained hydraulic features that demonstrated a similar control of nature: see Longfellow 2011.

The imperial period was characterized not only by innovative architectural technologies, but also by costly, imported materials such as marble, which signified the wealth and power of the Roman state.⁹² For baths in particular, marble also had practical value, because it was able to withstand damp and heat well.⁹³ Statius highlights the types of marble used in Etruscus' bath in a striking way (34-41):

non huc admissae Thasos aut undosa Carystos;
maeret onyx longe, queriturque exclusus ophites: 35
sola nitet flauis Nomadum decisa metallis
purpura, sola cauo Phrygiae quam Synnados antro
ipse cruentaui maculis lucentibus Attis
quaeque Tyri niueas secat et Sidonia rupes.
uix locus Eurotae, uiridis cum regula longo 40
Synnada distinctu uariat.

Thasian marble or wavy Carystian marble is not admitted here; onyx mourns far away, and serpentine laments being excluded: only the purple Numidian cut from golden mines gleams, only that which Attis bloodied with shining spots in the cave of Synnas and the Sidonian crag which cuts through the snows of Tyre. There was scarcely room for Eurotas, whose green vein variegates Synnas with great distinction.

He points out first what is *not* there (Thasian white marble, Carystian green, onyx, ophites, lines 34-35), in a manner similar to the proemium. Newlands, consulting Pliny the Elder's writings about each type of marble rejected by Statius, suggests why these would not appear in a bathing context: Thasian white is perhaps too plain (*HN* 36.5.44), Carystian has no unique luster and many varieties (thus it is not rare enough, *HN* 36.7.48), onyx is only used for small objects, not in large-scale monuments (*HN* 36.12.59-61), and serpentine/ophites is only found in small columns, so it is not suitable (*HN* 36.11.55-56).⁹⁴ Martial, however, writes that onyx and ophites do appear in the bath of Etruscus (6.42.14-15). Most scholars have argued that the fault is Martial's: the poet has not listened closely enough to Etruscus' commentary as the owner leads

⁹² Zeiner 2005: 84-86. For more on the uses and types of marbles, see Dodge and Ward-Perkins 1992.

⁹³ Nielsen 1990: 42.

⁹⁴ Newlands 2002: 210.

him (and presumably Statius too) through the bath.⁹⁵ Perhaps Statius emphasizes they are not there as a way of correcting Martial,⁹⁶ but I suggest that his rejection of certain marbles is a way of showing his own discerning taste, rather than merely reflecting the tastes of Etruscus. He shares with Pliny a way of categorizing the suitability of marbles for luxurious buildings, but he also likely saw in person the imported, colored marbles being installed on buildings in and around Rome, picking up his sensibilities as a poet commissioned to write about those particular buildings. In other words, he most likely can read a building as well as he reads a text.

Next he describes what marbles are present: tawny Numidian (36), Phrygian purple (37-38), reddish Tyrian and Sidonian (39), with contrasting strips of green (40-41). Vollmer comments that these particular colors were probably chosen because they reflect and enhance the skin tone and bodies of the bathers.⁹⁷ More important, however, is the way in which Statius refers to the marbles—not by their stone but by the region or town in which they originate. This assumes audience familiarity not only with the type of marble but also its geographical source⁹⁸ (or that the reader who does not already know will try to determine what it is). It also illustrates Statius' own connoisseurship in understanding the kinds of marbles that are needed and where they originate. Zeiner points out that it is remarkable that Numidian marble (line 36) was used not only for the emperor but for a freedman's son (Etruscus' father had been a slave before rising through the ranks of Domitian's court), which shows that marble was fashionable and

⁹⁵ Nauta 2002: 246-247; Zeiner 2005: 157. Cf. Grewing 1997: 294-295, 300; Henriksén 1998: 94-96; and Busch 1999: 54-57.

⁹⁶ This presumes that they either performed at the same occasion, with Statius following Martial, or that Statius read Martial's poem after it was published and corrected the information for his own published poetry. These are only two of the many speculative possibilities.

⁹⁷ Vollmer 1898: 298. See also Newlands 2002: 210.

⁹⁸ Zeiner 2005: 49. Cf. Leach 2003: 152. She suggests that the opulent marble, quarried from imperially controlled regions, provides the opportunity for the celebration of Roman hegemony as well as *luxuria*.

appreciated by all Romans.⁹⁹ I wonder, though, if some Romans would have known as much about the different kinds of marble without turning to the literature of Pliny and Statius to derive information and expand their own aesthetic eye and taste.¹⁰⁰ The (potential) inaccessibility of the descriptions could also seem to heighten the sense of awe and grandeur in the structure.

Statius' description does not end with marble, but moves on to the vaults and ceilings, both of which gleam in the light: "the vaults shine, and the ceiling beams with various colored glass" (*effulgent camerae, uario fastigia uitro /...nitent*, 1.5.42-43; cf. *camarae* in Vitruvius 5.10.3). Yet Statius praises the vaults more for their decoration than for function. In general, the poets tend not to discuss the unique, innovative nature of concrete in creating the revolutionary curvilinear forms of Roman imperial architecture, but it is not due to a lack of knowledge about the material.¹⁰¹ Perhaps the poets have chosen to omit mentioning concrete simply because it is not intellectually or aesthetically pleasing. The poets were trying to delight as well as describe, and they may have thought the concrete too plain or too technical. Even brick-faced concrete, which had unique patterns of its own, may not have been stimulating to the poet's trained eye. In addition, they may rarely have seen the concrete, as the Romans often covered concrete with paint, stucco, or marble (or here, with expensive and colorful glass tesserae).¹⁰² Either way, the

⁹⁹ Zeiner 2005: 87-88.

¹⁰⁰ On texts as an initial means of approach to the city, see Edwards 1996: 16.

¹⁰¹ Vitruvius devotes chapters of his treatise to lime and pozzolana (2.5 and 2.6, respectively) which when mixed together (along with water) become the strong, durable material of concrete, as he describes in 2.6.1. In 2.8.8 Vitruvius states that concrete reticulate walls probably will not last more than 80 years, so in its earlier stages the concrete may not have been as long-lasting. But by the time of Statius and Martial, the much stronger brick-faced concrete had replaced reticulate walls and proved to have more longevity. See Boëthius 1960: 152.

¹⁰² Ling 1998: 13 tells us that glass tesserae were difficult to obtain and their red, green, and blue hues required a more complex production process, which would certainly have been more expensive than the more common stone or marble tesserae of floor mosaics. See also Zeiner 2005: 92.

inherent expectation of aesthetic pleasure (both visual and textual) in poetic architectural ekphrases might be left unsatisfied in reading about technical uses of concrete.

Etruscus' refined tastes go beyond marble: he knows the cost and luxury associated with glass, and also with silver, his material of choice for the water basins. Statius writes, "You will observe Temesean bronze nowhere, but the happy water is propelled by silver and falls in silver, and marveling at its own charms, remains in the gleaming basins and refuses to leave" (*nusquam Temesaea notabis / aera, sed argento felix propellitur unda / argentoque cadit, labrisque nitentibus instat / delicias mirata suas et abire recusat*, 1.5.47-50). The poet's use of the second person verb *notabis* indicates his awareness of being a guide to the reader, telling the reader where to look next. He renews the trope of indicating what is not there, bronze,¹⁰³ and twice repeats the word for silver, *argento*. Silver may gleam more brightly than bronze, but its color assimilates to the water, suggesting that one does not know where the continuous flow of water stops and the basin begins. Yet the personified water is happy to stay where it is: it too is charmed by Etruscus' bath and its costly basins, just like the Nymphs who lived more richly nowhere else. Earlier in the poem, fire also had been awe-struck by the abounding luxuries around it (1.5.43-44). This reinvents a typical feature of ekphrasis, where the poet expresses wonderment at the structure or work of art he describes.¹⁰⁴ By placing the sense of wonderment within an element of nature, the wonderment is made stronger and more surprising.

Statius describes the outside pools and tells characters of myth that they would enjoy the bath before launching into the last stanza of the poem, where he highlights another central architectural feature, the hypocaust: "Why should I now mention the platform spread on the

¹⁰³ Newlands 2002: 210 suggests that Etruscus may not have used bronze because it was so prominent in Domitianic architecture, as a way to remove himself from politics and government.

¹⁰⁴ Geysen 1996: 10; also, Myers 2000: 116; Newlands 2002: 219.

floor, about to hear the crack of balls, where a low fire wanders through the building and the hypocaust causes a light vapor to bellow?" (*quid nunc strata solo referam tabulata crepantis / auditura pilas, ubi languidus ignis inerrat / aedibus et tenuem uoluunt hypocausta uaporem*, 1.5.57-59). Here he employs the rhetorical device of *praeteritio*, pretending to gloss over an essential feature of baths yet using proper architectural terminology found nowhere else in poetry.¹⁰⁵ Statius again shows his architectural expertise in being able to explain where and how the hypocaust works,¹⁰⁶ an element potentially unfamiliar to the reader. And yet, he may have thought that the reader would find this part visually unstimulating,¹⁰⁷ so he feigns skipping over it. This "omission" may again demonstrate an anxiety about representing technical aspects of construction rather than a complete and pleasurable sensory experience.

As a final descriptive tactic, he compares Etruscus' baths with those of Nero in Rome and others at Baiae: "may it be right to compare the small with the large" (*fas sit componere magnis / parua*, 1.5.61-62). Zeiner thinks of the distinction between *magnis* and *parua* as one of quality (superior vs. inferior),¹⁰⁸ but it has as much to do with size. The Baths of Nero are much larger, imperially scaled, yet Statius implies that the much smaller bath of Etruscus make just as great an impact on the viewer. He emphasizes again not only his own familiarity with other similar buildings, but also his own powerful position in literature. Through this poem, Etruscus' bath can become as well known as the imperial baths and the paradisiacal baths in Baiae. Readers will read the poems and bathe in the luxurious words of Statius commenting upon the luxurious baths of Etruscus.

¹⁰⁵ Vitruvius uses a variant, *hypocaustis*, at 5.10.1.

¹⁰⁶ Etruscus may have explained to Statius how it worked but Statius is the authority explaining it to his readers.

¹⁰⁷ The description does appeal to other senses, but Statius' concern seems to lie primarily in visual appeal.

¹⁰⁸ Zeiner 2005: 159.

Zeiner writes of Statius as a “licensed spokesperson,” reflecting the tastes and culture of the Domitianic era.¹⁰⁹ Those with less access to the events, homes, and businesses of the wealthy and powerful may have turned to Statius to determine what was fashionable and what they might be able to imitate in their own homes and businesses. Here he not only describes the baths, but by clearly stating what was not (and should not be)¹¹⁰ there, he adds the flavor of an expert who knows the aesthetics and effectiveness of architecture and building materials. Hardie refers to Statius as a poet who advertises himself as much as the buildings he portrays in his poetry.¹¹¹ The poet is an innovator in developing a new kind of praise poetry, transforming epic themes, motifs, and elements of style through application to new contexts. As Newlands suggests, this new and distinct poetics paradoxically unites tenets of Callimachean refinement with epicizing grandeur, allowing for the interpenetration of poetics and architecture.¹¹²

Martial celebrates Claudius Etruscus’ baths in a different style and genre. Scholars have noted that Statius’ poem is more eloquent than Martial’s poem and “florid to the point of conceit,”¹¹³ which could be due to a difference in motivation. According to Hardie, whereas Statius, arising from the Greek public poetry circuit, is more concerned with formal epideictic praise of public existence and official careers, Martial in his Epigrams is chiefly interested in the

¹⁰⁹ Zeiner 2005: 47. Nauta 2008: 174 asserts that Statius’ opinions were probably only in small part his own, and that his authority derives from the consensus he expresses.

¹¹⁰ Holtsmark 1973 writes that 1.5 is protreptic, that Statius abhors the materials and tells Etruscus to put his talents elsewhere. While I do not agree with his interpretation, he still strengthens my point that Statius does have his own sense of taste and is able to influence the taste of his readers.

¹¹¹ Hardie 1983: 65. Cf. Myers 2000: 105.

¹¹² Newlands 2002: 202.

¹¹³ Pavlovskis 1973: 24; Dunbabin 1989: 9; Yëgul 1995: 31 (quote is his); Fagan 1999: 176. See also Martin 1939.

private social world of friends.¹¹⁴ In the initial lines of Epigram 6.42, this interest would appear to be substantiated: he addresses his friend, Oppianus, telling him that he must go to the wonderful bath of Etruscus (*Etrusci nisi thermulis lavaris / illotus morieris, Oppiane*, 1-2). If we are to believe that Martial, like Statius, may have performed the poem at the bidding of Etruscus at his bath, it seems odd for Martial to address a friend who was present and tell him to use the bath in which he would already be sitting. Yet it is perfectly possible that a speaker will imagine an addressee who is absent or does not even exist.¹¹⁵ Some scholars have taken this ‘addressee,’ and thereby this poem, to be a mockery and/or criticism of Etruscus and his overly extravagant bath,¹¹⁶ assuming that Martial, like “Oppianus,” would have become bored listening to Etruscus drone incessantly about his bath. This lack of attention may account for his “mistake” in the poem, including onyx and ophites in his catalogue of marbles (6.42.14-15), when Statius expressly states that those marbles are NOT there (see discussion above). Henriksén goes so far as to suggest Martial, because of his lack of attention, merely presents a standardized catalogue of marbles and adds onyx to flatter Etruscus.¹¹⁷

These interpretations cast Martial as a harsher critic than the poem would seem to suggest. Sceptic¹¹⁸ epigrams such as those Martial writes are meant to be taken as clever and humorous, as “witty remarks.”¹¹⁹ They do not have to coincide with the critical satires of

¹¹⁴ Hardie 1983: 71-72. Their social status may have played a role in this distinction: Statius’ status was unknown beyond his being the son of a Greek professional poet, but Martial appeared to be an equestrian (Myers 2000: 128; Nauta 2002: 203). Zeiner 2005 argues that Martial’s poem delivers simple praise while Statius does more to “distinguish taste amongst criticism” (152).

¹¹⁵ Nauta 2002: 49.

¹¹⁶ Grewing *ad* 6.42; Busch 1999: 53; Nauta 2002: 247.

¹¹⁷ Henriksén 1998: 96.

¹¹⁸ On sceptic epigrams, see Nauta 2002: 177; Fitzgerald 2007: 3, Livingstone and Nisbet 2010: 105-108.

¹¹⁹ Nauta 2002: 177. He notes that Martial called them *ioci* and that his status obviously grew from such poems. Cf. Hansen 2013: 310.

Juvenal, for instance. Martial can still use the form of the epigram and employ wit, but not necessarily at the expense of the bath or its patron, upon whom he depended for subsistence¹²⁰ (and who, presumably, was present at the recitation of the poem). Instead, I suggest, after Fagan,¹²¹ that Martial uses the clever, witty form of the epigram as an advertisement tactic for the bath, much like Statius. Though the genres are different, the message is the same: come visit the bath! If you do not come, “you’ll die without having experienced a real bath” (*illotus morieris*, 6.42.2).¹²²

Like Statius, Martial begins his description by suggesting what Etruscus’ baths are *not*.¹²³

nullae sic tibi blandientur undae,
 non fontes Aponi rudes puellis,
 non mollis Sinuessa fervidique
 fluctus Passeris aut superbus Anxur,
 non Phoebi vada principesque Baiae.
 nusquam tam nitidum vacat serenum:
 lux ipsa est ibi longior, diesque
 nullo tardius a loco recedit. 10
 illic Taygeti uirent metalla
 et certant uario decore saxa,
 quae Phryx et Libys altius cecidit.
 siccus pinguis onyx anhelat aestus
 et flamma tenui calent ophitae: 15
 ritus si placeant tibi Laconum,
 contentus potes arido vapore
 cruda Virgine Marciave mergi;
 quae tam candida, tam serena lucet
 ut nullas ibi suspiceris undas 20
 et credas vacuum nitere lygdon.
 (6.42.3-21)

No waters will caress¹²⁴ you in such a way, not the waters of Aponus, closed to women, nor the gentle Sineussa and the waves of hot Passer or the proud Anxur, nor the shallows of Phoebus and the leading baths at Baiae. Nowhere else is the serene sky, so bright, free of encumbrances: there the light itself lasts longer, and the day leaves more slowly from no other location. There the minerals of (Mount) Taygetus glow green and the rocks, consisting of Phrygian and Libyan which were cut out deeper, in their varying beauty compete with each other. Rich onyx emits dry heat and serpentine becomes warm from the subtle fire. If the rites of the Laconians are pleasing to you, then satisfied in dry heat, you will be able to be submerged in undisturbed Virgo or Marcia, waters which shine so clear and so calm that you would not believe there were any waters there and you would think that the Parian marble pool, being empty, was gleaming.

¹²⁰ Fagan 1999: 13; Nauta 2002: 57-8.

¹²¹ Fagan 1999: 20

¹²² See Watson and Watson *ad loc.* Grewing *ad loc.*, even with his more cynical interpretation, compares this line to modern advertising slogans.

¹²³ For another extensive comparison of Martial and Statius, see Busch 1999: 35-57.

¹²⁴ Watson and Watson *ad* 6.42.3.

The anaphora of negated sentiment parallels Statius' rejection of the Muses and the epic genre, as well as his denial of certain marbles being used as building features. Here, the waters of other famous baths, essential components of their respective baths, are rejected because Roman water is better, comparable to Statius' rejection of the nymphs of myth in favor of Rome's aqueducts and their own nymphs. The *recusatio* of sorts is reinforced in the next line: "*Nowhere else* is the serene sky, so bright, free of encumbrances"¹²⁵ (6.42.8). In a manner again similar to Statius, Martial praises the light of the bath, particularly its ability to capture the afternoon sunlight from the sky: the bath is as bright as the sky. The use of the word *nitidum* echoes Statius and appears again in the form *nitere* in line 21. The description of light continues in lines 9-10: "there the light itself lasts longer, and the day leaves more slowly from no other location." Here Martial presents an image of unreality—the sun somehow remains for a longer period of time in Etruscus' bath than anywhere else. Whereas Statius offers an unreal atmosphere through his depiction of the gods and other mythological characters present at the bath, here Martial does so through the extension of light, as if the light has chosen to slow down (*tardius*) and remain in the baths (much as the water of Statius attempts to stay in the silver basins).

From light, Martial turns to marbles (as Statius does): perhaps the brightness of the colored marbles will have contributed to the promulgation of the daylight.¹²⁶ The poet writes: "There the minerals of (Mount) Taygetus glow green and the rocks, consisting of Phrygian and Libyan which were cut out deeper (literally: fell), in their varying beauty compete (with each other)" (6.42.11-13). Martial provides the geographical location for each of the marbles but explicitly mentions the stones themselves; the audience does not have to infer the subject. His

¹²⁵ On the manuscript variance of *vacat* and *micat*, see Grewing 1997 and Watson and Watson *ad loc.* Both agree *vacat* is preferable.

¹²⁶ Watson and Watson *ad* 8-10.

personification of the marbles vying with each other gives added life to the verse¹²⁷ and can be compared to Statius' suggestion of the water reveling in its own delights: here the marbles flaunt their own delights, contending against each other to be the most appealing. The word *cecidit*, used to indicate marble that has been dug out of a deeper part of a quarry, rendering it finer and more compact, is a technical term found originally in Varro,¹²⁸ and points to Martial's own awareness of the quarrying and use of marble. Like Statius, he possesses expert knowledge of the process of creating and obtaining an elegant, luxurious decorative program.

Martial adds to the description of marbles: "Rich onyx emits dry heat and serpentine becomes warm from the subtle fire" (6.42.14-15). That the heat is dry (*siccus*) demonstrates that Martial may not be depicting the caldarium, as Statius seems to be (*Silv.* 1.5.44), where heat would originate in part from the steam of the hot water, but rather a sudatorium or Laconicum, a dry "sauna".¹²⁹ This fact is corroborated by *arido vapore* in line 17: a bather commonly moves from the dry heat (*arido vapore*) of the sudatorium to a cold-water plunge (6.42.18).¹³⁰ If Martial and Statius are not describing the same room of Etruscus' bath when discussing the marbles, then Statius cannot be said to 'correct' Martial.¹³¹

Martial ends the description of the baths by combining elements of light and water: "[waters] which shine so clear and so calm that you would not believe there were any waters there and you would think that the Parian marble pool, being empty, was gleaming" (6.42.19-21). Here the water reflects, literally and metaphorically, the clear, calm nature of the sky seen in line 8. The water mirrors the light in its gleam and is so clear that it blends right into its radiant

¹²⁷ Grewing *ad* 12.

¹²⁸ *De Ling. Lat.* 8.62.

¹²⁹ Both Watson and Watson and Grewing note that this refers to the sweat room.

¹³⁰ On the bather's itinerary, see Watson and Watson *ad* 16 and Grewing *ad* 18.

¹³¹ Watson and Watson *ad* 6.42. This is admittedly quite speculative, since we know neither Martial nor Statius provides a definitive floor plan in their poem.

marble pool. Busch mentions that the basins in Statius 1.5 have no comparison in Martial,¹³² but the correspondence between water and marble in these lines creates the same effect as the silver water basins; it is hard to tell where water stops and container begins. The word *lygdon* demonstrates Martial's expertise in marble terminology and ability (similar to Statius) to employ unusual, technical vocabulary in poetry; in fact he is the only Latin author to use this word to describe Parian marble, rather than the more common *parius*, *-a*, *-um*, (cf. *pario marmore*, Horace 1.19.5). Costly Parian marble was used more often for statues, so its existence as the building material of the pool shows the incredible expense Etruscus took in creating his bath.

The poem closes in the same way it began; Martial tells Oppianus that if he does not come to Etruscus' establishment, he will die without ever having truly bathed (*illotus morieris*, 6.42.24). This time he says so for different reasons: Oppianus has stopped listening to him, and by not listening to him, in all probability he will never make it to Etruscus' bath. Scholars have remarked that this passage fulfills different purposes; either Oppianus is not impressed by Martial's description,¹³³ or he is bored (much as Martial may have been bored with Etruscus).¹³⁴ The passage may also be typical artistic self-deprecation.¹³⁵ But there is another approach: Oppianus may never bathe in Etruscus' waters because he does not listen to Martial, but all those who read Martial's poem can still take the poet's advice in experiencing Etruscus' bath and not dying *illotus*. A reader can review the details of the bath and become as informed as Martial. In other words, the poet concludes the epigram with the same advertising strategy with which it began. It is clever without resorting to a satiric commentary against excessive luxury or Etruscus. Martial breaks creative ground by using epigram as legitimate advertisement. Fitzgerald writes

¹³² Busch 1999: 49.

¹³³ Grewing *ad* 22-24.

¹³⁴ Nauta 2002: 247.

¹³⁵ Watson and Watson *ad* 22-23.

of the potential for epigram to be commodified:¹³⁶ here it is a commodity used to sell another commodity. This ingenuity, however, is typical of Martial, who was often able to “exploit the genre to its breaking point and beyond.”¹³⁷

Indeed, Statius and Martial were living at a time where there may have been little freedom of speech regarding contemporary politics, but there was plenty of opportunity to celebrate cultural and architectural achievements.¹³⁸ Even if they write in different poetic genres, the effects of the poetry are still the same. The imperial *thermae* continued to grow larger and larger, and with that, their propagandizing and symbolic meanings grew larger: they represented the power of Rome in its political, military, and cultural domination over the provinces, as well as its expanding wealth.¹³⁹ The baths also symbolized the benevolence of the emperor to his own subjects and expressed his care (sincere or not) for their wellbeing.¹⁴⁰ The ‘private sector’ baths strove to compete with the imperial *thermae* in elegance and luxury,¹⁴¹ but could not expect to have the same notoriety. The symbolic power and innovation of the new poetry, which takes old generic forms and transforms them, mirrors the symbolic power and innovation of the baths, which themselves rose from different, more humble beginnings. These poems provide the means to elevate smaller baths such as Etruscus’ to levels of fame unheard of before and to position them as worthy rivals of the imperial architectural monuments. Through poetry these smaller baths retain a greater sense of monumentality even today, because we are still able to read about

¹³⁶ Fitzgerald 2007: 30.

¹³⁷ Livingstone and Nisbet 2010: 130.

¹³⁸ Myers 2000: 106.

¹³⁹ Yëgul 1995: 128; Newlands 2002: 205. Cf. Coarelli 2007: 164 on baths’ propagandizing effect, particularly those of Nero.

¹⁴⁰ Fagan 1999: 121.

¹⁴¹ “*Aedificatio*, excessive building, and *luxuria*, lavish living, became social necessities in a highly competitive society” (Myers 2000: 108).

them: “the body might decompose, stones may crumble, but reputation, fame, and the orally perpetuated memory of a poet’s work, can survive.”¹⁴²

Nevertheless, as we have seen in previous chapters, admiration and praise are not the only responses to Rome’s topography. Buildings can seem like monstrous symbols of unparalleled luxury and exploitation.¹⁴³ When luxury overshadowed practicality, some Romans, such as Seneca, became critics and moral proponents of a simpler lifestyle. Others, including Horace, Martial, and Juvenal, used the critique of luxury as a means of facilitating witty satire. While I do not read Martial 6.42 as a critique, Epigram 9.75 is most certainly satirical against baths, but more importantly, against those who foolishly build them. In this poem, the culprit is Tucca, an unidentified man of Etruscan origin¹⁴⁴ who appears in several other poems of Martial, often as the dupe who commits some sort of social faux pas.¹⁴⁵ Here Martial juxtaposes¹⁴⁶ the two baths built by Tucca, neither of which is particularly practical:

Non silice duro structilive caemento,
nec latere cocto, quo Samiramis longam
Babylona cinxit, Tucca balneum fecit:
sed strage nemorum pineaque conpage,
ut navigare Tucca balneo possit. 5
idem beatas lautus extruit thermas
de marmore omni, quod Carystos invenit,
quod Phrygia Synnas, Afra quod Nomas misit
et quod virenti fonte lavit Eurotas.
sed ligna desunt: subice balneum thermis.

Not with durable basalt or concrete nor with
baked brick, by which Samiramis surrounded
long-lasting Babylon, did Tucca build his bath:
Instead Tucca has created a bath from the
wreckage of groves and a pinewood frame,
with the result that he would be able to sail the
sea on his *balneum*. The same luxurious man
constructs sumptuous baths from every kind of
marble, that which Carystos found, that which
Synnas sent from Phrygia, which Numidian
sent from Africa, and that with its green vein
which Eurotas washed. But the firewood is
missing: put your *balneum* under the *thermae*.

¹⁴² Rimell 2008: 52.

¹⁴³ Edwards 1996: 97.

¹⁴⁴ Henriksen *ad* 9.75.3.

¹⁴⁵ See, e.g., Epigrams 1.18, 6.65, 7.77, 11.70, 12.41, 12.94. Fagan 1999 comments that the ‘Tucca’ of 9.75 may be a rival epigrammatist of Martial, but acknowledges this is mostly speculation (366). See also Fitzgerald 2007: 90 and Rimell 2008: 33-35 for discussions of ‘Tucca’ in other epigrams, particularly 1.18.

¹⁴⁶ On juxtaposition in Martial, see Fitzgerald 2007.

The poet begins by elaborating upon the *balneum*, using (as before) a *recusatio* to explain what is lacking in the bath: “Not with durable basalt or concrete nor with baked brick, by which Samiramis surrounded long-lasting Babylon, did Tucca build his bath” (9.75.1-3). All the usual materials for building sturdy, long-term walls such as those in Babylon are missing from Tucca’s bath. As discussed before, imperial Roman poets rarely mention concrete, although they knew that it was the foundational building material upon which marble veneer could be laid. Concrete was of particular importance for baths, which required materials that would endure under hot, moist conditions. Martial here inverts the circumstances: most poets will choose not to mention concrete when it is present, but Martial chooses to mention it *because* it is not present (yet should be). Technical building features become more appealing when they can be used as satire.

Martial’s source on good wall-building materials is quite obvious. Vitruvius 1.5.8 describes the process of building walls:

Sed ubi sunt saxa quadrata sive **silex** seu **caementum** aut **coctus later** sive crudus, his erit utendum. Non enim, uti **Babylone** abundantes liquido bitumine pro calce et harena ex cocto latere factum habent murum, sic item possunt omnes regiones seu locorum proprietates habere tantas eiusdem generis utilitatis, uti ex his comparationibus ad aeternitatem perfectus habeatur sine vitio murus.

Martial has listed the materials needed for solid walls in the same order as Vitruvius and has joined them with similar conjunctions, as well as citing the city of Babylon as an example. In order to create the voice of authority so crucial to satirical poetry, Martial turns to another authoritative source. The poet must know and understand building processes and materials before he can possibly poke fun at others who do not know it as well. Architectural terminology is once again able to enrich a poetic genre in a way unseen previously. In paraphrasing Vitruvius

and using phrases seen nowhere else in poetry or prose (e.g., *structili caemento*),¹⁴⁷ Martial presents himself as a building expert who takes advantage of Tucca's imperfect construction as an opportunity to mock Tucca himself.

We must now move to what *is* found there: "Instead [Tucca has created a bath] from the wreckage of groves and a pinewood frame, with the result that he would be able to sail the sea on his *balneum*" (9.75.4-5). Instead of the practical building materials Martial listed earlier, Tucca has inconceivably decided to use wood as the frame of the baths. Henriksén comments, "Considering the heating system, building a *balneum* out of wood is, of course, absurd and certainly makes Tucca penny-wise and pound-foolish."¹⁴⁸ As Statius and Martial described earlier, the hypocaust system creates small fires under the floors and in the walls to provide heat for the bath, but Tucca's wooden bath would obviously be far too hot, as the entire structure would have caught on fire. His foolish choice of material is compounded by the method which he used to acquire it. The word *strages* suggests that Tucca wreaked havoc on groves to obtain the timber to build the bath.¹⁴⁹ Considering the frequent associations of groves with sacred divinities (OLD 2), it is easy to imagine Tucca offending a deity by pillaging his or her sacred grove in order to build a structure that would cause as much destruction in its fall as it did in its creation.¹⁵⁰ Martial then alludes to ships and shipmaking in the rest of line 4. Since Virgil, *conpages* was used to refer to the framework of ships, while pinewood was the "material *par excellence*" in shipbuilding.¹⁵¹ His allusion is made explicit in line 5, with the comment that

¹⁴⁷ Henriksén *ad* 9.75.1.

¹⁴⁸ Henriksén *ad* 9.75.

¹⁴⁹ Henriksén *ad* 9.75.4.

¹⁵⁰ See Myers 2000: 113, who calls these types of features "unnatural perversions of nature."

¹⁵¹ Henriksén *ad* 9.75.4. With the connection of the origin and the product of the trees, arising from groves and becoming ships, I am reminded of the beginning of *Aeneid* 9 where Cybele protects Aeneas' ships, constructed from her sacred trees, from Turnus' fires and turns them into

Tucca could sail his *balneum* on the sea. This connection to shipbuilding strengthens Martial's critique of Tucca's *balneum* as an impractical, unsuitable bath. Its function has been reversed: now the *balneum* has to navigate the water, rather than containing and controlling it for pleasure.

The misguided Tucca unfortunately decides to build another bath, this one in the style of lavish *thermae*: "the same luxurious man constructs sumptuous baths" (line 6).¹⁵² Martial playfully chooses the word *lautus* to describe Tucca; its original meaning stems from the verb *lavare*, meaning to wash or bathe. Tucca is thus a "bathed" man building yet another bath. Why would he build another if the first should already keep him clean? Perhaps the first complex has burned down (or will do so, as we shall see in the concluding line), or perhaps Tucca seeks to flaunt his building 'skill' and 'taste,' by acquiring every type of marble (*marmore omni*, 9.75.7) he could possibly need to construct a more lavish kind of bath. Tucca may have studied the poems of Martial and Statius to find out what marbles to use: three out of the four marbles listed in Tucca's *thermae* are found in the Bath of Etruscus discussed earlier: Phrygian marble from a location near Synnas, Numidian marble from Africa, and Laconian marble from Sparta (9.75.8-9). Martial again incorporates the trope of referring to marbles by their town of origin (rather than pattern or color). According to Henriksén, Martial may have read or re-read *Silvae* 1.5 when constructing this list of marbles, as their similarities in diction are very apparent, particularly in the use of the river *Eurotas*, seen only here and in Statius 1.5, to refer to Laconian marble.¹⁵³ In addition, Carystian marble (*Carystos*, line 7) is not mentioned in Martial 6.42 but is listed as one of the excluded marbles in Statius' poem. We can think of Martial turning to Statius as the marble authority Statius purports himself to be.

sea nymphs. It is a possibility (though I acknowledge it is only speculation) to suggest Martial may have been influenced by Virgil here.

¹⁵² See above for the discussion of *balnea* vs. *thermae*.

¹⁵³ Henriksén *ad* 9.75.7f.

The exposition of all the expensive marbles could compel the reader to assume that Tucca's *thermae* are as enjoyable and luxurious as those of Etruscus, where light and pleasure abound. But Tucca appears to have omitted one very important part of baths and the bathing experience: "the firewood is missing" (9.75.10). As Yëgul comments, "the public enjoyed not only light but heat."¹⁵⁴ Tucca's baths may be aesthetically pleasing but no one can stand to use them because they are too cold, the exact opposite problem of his *balneum*. His obsession with the luxury features of the *thermae* causes him to overlook the practical aspects of running such an establishment. Martial, of course, offers a witty solution to Tucca's lack of firewood, delivering his typical knock out punch in the closing line: *subice balneum thermis*, "place the *balneum* under the *thermae*." Tucca's wooden *balneum* would give the hypocaust the fuel it needs to heat the waters and rooms of the *thermae*. Rather than constructing and running one functional bath building, Tucca has built two useless, unprofitable baths. This epigram may be viewed as criticizing excessive luxury, but it truly disparages the lack of common sense in some people of means during the Imperial period who did not conceive of intelligent, reasonable plans for euergetism. What good is luxury if one is unable to enjoy it, and what good is a luxury establishment if it lacks the means to operate? Tucca's baths may be beautiful, but are neither practical nor functional, a fact that is inexcusable to sensible Romans of the first century CE.

III. Conclusion

Each of the structures examined above is meant to be public in nature, and yet each is strongly connected to the individual who built them. The individual may have personal motivations for building such structures but also expresses his concern for public welfare and

¹⁵⁴ Yëgul 1995: 39.

seeks public appreciation through their construction. The role of propaganda in imperial construction has long been examined in scholarship, but this same kind of propaganda can enhance opinions of the public structures that were still being constructed by private individuals. These public buildings represent their builders and their particular interests. Latinus' *tectum*, emphasizing the political and military heroics of the people of Latium, and Claudius Etruscus' bath, signifying his rise in status from son of a slave to equestrian, both convey the type of message the builder/owner wishes to communicate about himself and his social contributions. On the other hand, Tucca would like for his baths to represent his contribution to society, yet the completed baths convey neither status nor prestige, but rather a lack of architectural and practical understanding. Likewise the poetry used to describe these structures reflects the nature and status of the individual builder, but as the type and nature of the structures changes and progresses, the poetry itself follows suit. Virgil turns to the language of contemporary architecture to develop and historicize his traditional, epic structure, but relies on impressive elements of scale and allusion to enhance a sensory experience. Statius and Martial seem to use the principles of the new Roman architecture as a model for new Roman poetic genres. But even they often avoid emphasizing elements that are too technical (such as concrete), unless the element can reinforce their poetic agenda.

CHAPTER 5: CITY PLANNING

To conclude this project I turn now to the development of cities, which are comprised of all the structures of previous chapters, in their capacity to serve as facilities for religious, political, and social life. According to Mazzolani's analysis of Roman conceptions of the city,

For thinking men in those days, history began when the unformed mass of humanity was converted into a social organization—when the City came into the world. The City is identified with the State, and also with the home of the national gods. It represents the only conceivable formula for a civilized community.¹

Cities can be represented in a number of different ways; physical structure, the inhabitants, and the city as concept or idea signify some of the most important interpretations for the term *city*.

Cities develop from the same beginning the Roman architect Vitruvius attributes to architecture: humans gathering around a newly started fire and communicating with one another, then deciding to build structures to house themselves near each other.² The small settlements develop into villages, towns, and eventually the cities we know today. The Romans became experts at planning and constructing cities as they expanded their domain; incorporating Roman architectural structures into foreign settlements fostered a sense of unity within a vast, diverse empire.

Yet Rome itself remained “unplanned as a product of the unrestricted growth”³ until the time of Augustus, who restructured and rebuilt the city.⁴ As Fantham observes, “as Rome’s residents watched the heart of their city transformed, they must have passed years living in an

¹ Mazzolani 1970: 11.

² Vitruvius 2.1.2-7.

³ Owens 1989: 7. Cf. also Zanker 1988: 18-19, who describes the chaotic, unimpressive nature of pre-Augustan Rome.

⁴ On the transformation of Rome into the world city, see, e.g., Edwards and Woolf 2003: 1-20; Favro 2005. In Latin, Rome the *urbs* becomes a symbol of the *orbs*. On the relationship between *urbs* and *orbs*, see Connors 2000, esp. 508-513.

extended construction site, with the old disfigured and the new still incomplete or raw.”⁵ The Augustan reconstruction of Rome encouraged contemporary writers to contemplate more fully the city of Rome and its growth both physically and conceptually. Edwards comments, “it is no accident that the Augustan era—a time when the material city was profoundly transformed—sees a new concern with the city in Roman texts.”⁶ One way in which ancient authors pondered the city was through comparison between past and present Rome, the so-called “Then and Now” trope, first appearing in the eighth book of Virgil’s *Aeneid*,⁷ followed soon after by Propertius 4.1 and Ovid *Ars Amatoria* 3.113-128, all of which will be discussed below. Virgil, Propertius, and Ovid employ the physical development of Rome, comparing recent to archaic architectural structures (or lack thereof), to examine the evolution not only of the city but also of its citizens.⁸ While Virgil (and Propertius, less explicitly) uses the ruins of archaic Rome “to evoke a superior past,”⁹ Ovid might be said to support the opposite view, using the old ruins to praise contemporary Rome and how far it has progressed.

Cities and the structures contained in them also invite reflection upon the future. Virgil’s discussion of the construction of Carthage in *Aeneid* 1 focuses on the marvelling, even envious reaction of Aeneas as he views the rising Carthaginian walls and buildings and imagines his own future city (1.419-438). Virgil projects contemporary Roman monuments and institutions into the

⁵ Fantham 1998: 122.

⁶ Edwards 1996: 3. Cf. Jaeger 1997: “The city’s physical changes correspond to institutional changes and are, at the same time, historical events in their own right” (7).

⁷ Fantham 1998: 122 calls Virgil the originator of the trope. The development of this trope may have been inevitable; Rome is a place where the “past is irresistibly present” (Edwards 1996: 10). Cf. Jaeger 1990: “Ultimately, the degree to which a work of Augustan literature concerns the topography of Rome, it is to that degree about memory” (8).

⁸ The citizens’ moral evolution is often considered: Newlands 2013: 69 points out the frequent moralizing aspect of the Then and Now trope. Cf. Lowrie 2003: cities’ “persistence through history gives layers, sometimes contradictory, to what they stand or fall for” (57).

⁹ Edwards 1996: 11; cf. Jaeger 1997: 11.

past to inspire Aeneas to include such features in his own city that will assimilate into Rome.¹⁰

The construction of a new city can also mirror the composition of a written text: each grows in time and space. In her article on the fifth book of Livy, Kraus observes an overlap between the “content of Livy’s city (the Urbs he is writing about) and its form (the *Urbs* he is writing)...in this book about the building of the city, both book and city are still in progress.”¹¹ The same can be said for the *Aeneid* and for Virgil, who contemplates his literary past and future as he builds his most famous work. Aeneas’ cry “O fortunate ones, whose walls are already rising!” (*o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!* 1.437) may refer to envy expressed by both Aeneas, who wishes his city was already established, and Virgil, who may wish that his grand epic, only beginning to form in Book 1, was already complete.

Aeneas’ emphasis on the walls in his quip about Carthage demonstrates their importance to cities. Not only do they provide physical protection, but they also offer a sense of common identity to the people within. In his recent monograph on the Aurelian Wall, Dey states:

It is a testament to the complex and often brutal dynamics of power relations, a model and microcosm of the processes whereby racial, ethnic, religious, and national identities are defined, asserted, protected, and ultimately polarized, for nothing makes insiders and outsiders quite like a wall. Building one means choosing sides. It requires picking teams, or rather one team.¹²

Rome came to be known for its walls, both in their enduring physical form and in the implications of warfare and empire they came to represent. Ancient authors often referred to Rome metonymically through its walls. The city of Rome boasted natural defenses in its hills (*muris erant montes*, Prop. 4.4.13) but also had constructed fortifications since the time of the

¹⁰ Mazzolani 1970 argues that Virgil’s *Aeneid* provided “mythological backing not only for the Julian family’s right to rule but also for the City of Rome’s right to supremacy, which heaven had been preparing for hundreds of years” (175). For more on the theme of the city in the *Aeneid*, see Morwood 1991.

¹¹ Kraus 1994: 268-269.

¹² Dey 2011: 1.

Commentators have had varied reactions to this passage: Austin *ad loc.* says that it reads like a painting of universal imagination, while Norden sees horror embodied in strong visual language.¹⁴ While Norden also correctly points out the difficulty in determining the entirety of sources for Virgil in writing this depiction, Anderson reasons that Tartarus is “an old Greek concept.”¹⁵ Virgil’s imitation of Homer and especially of Hesiod here is noticeable,¹⁶ but Virgil adds a very Roman element to the depiction of the walls of Tartarus and those within.¹⁷ The *Romanitas* of Tartarus, both its setting and its inhabitants, would seem to strengthen the notion of horror in the passage—if not to Aeneas (he does not know his full destiny or city yet), then absolutely to the Roman reader.

At the beginning of *Iliad* 8, Homer describes Zeus’ threat to punish any gods who disobey his decree and help either the Trojans or Achaeans; the supreme god claims that he will throw any offender down to Tartarus. Zeus describes the realm as follows: ἔνθα σιδήρειαί τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός / τόσσον ἔνερθ’ Αἴδεω ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ’ ἀπὸ γαίης, “in that place where there are iron gates and a bronze threshold; Hades is as far below the earth as heaven is above it” (8.15-16). In the *Theogony* Hesiod illustrates the similarly equidistant journeys (nine days of a brazen anvil falling) between heaven and earth, and earth and Tartarus, which amounted to the length the Titans fell after being defeated by Zeus. The location of Tartarus appears as follows: Τὸν πέρι χάλκεον ἔρκος ἐλήλαται· ἀμφὶ δέ μιν νύξ / τριστοιχι κέχυται περι

¹⁴ Austin *ad* 548-561; Norden *ad* 548ff. Norden’s main concern is dividing the Underworld into two sections, the popular/mythological and philosophical: this description falls into the first. See Solmsen 1972, who compares Norden’s argument to those of Norwood 1954 and Otis 1963, who prefer a tripartite division.

¹⁵ Anderson 1969: 60; Norden *ad* 548ff.

¹⁶ In *Odyssey* 11, however, Homer does not describe the nature of Erebus, simply those who inhabit it.

¹⁷ For example, Zetzel 1989 writes that the crimes for which figures are punished in Tartarus are “all given a Roman color” (271). Cf. Powell 1998, who argues that Virgil alludes to historical enemies of Rome (and Augustus) in his choice of the inhabitants of Tartarus.

δειρήν· αὐτὰρ ὕπερθεν / γῆς ῥίζαι πεφύασι καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης, “Around it a brazen wall was drawn; night was shed around its neck, circling it three times; and above it, the roots of the earth and the barren sea sprang up” (*Theogony* 726-728).

While Homer and Hesiod both include elements of bronze, Homer also mentions iron, which Virgil incorporates into his own passage. Virgil has taken Hesiod’s tripled circles of Night darkening the bronze wall and converted them into a solid threefold wall made of dark steel or iron (note how *moenia* and *muro* bookend line 549, thereby acting as a sort of “wall” for the poetry), mimicking Homer’s gates.¹⁸ The criminals in Virgil’s Tartarus appear to derive from the Age of Iron; as Savage writes, “we seem here to revert back to an *aetas ferrea*—in another world, it is true—but still colored by the poet’s depiction of savage penalties meted out by Jupiter during the Age of Iron.”¹⁹ This may explain Virgil’s decision to use iron or steel equipment all the way around Tartarus to keep the criminals within and others without (*ferrea turris*, 554; *stridor ferri*, 558).

But Virgil also specifies adamant in the description of the gates (*solidoque adamante columnae*, 552), alluding again to Hesiod, who first uses the word in this capacity (γένος πολιοῦ ἀδάμαντος, *Theogony* 161). Hesiod explains the origin of adamant as the material Gaia devises to create the sickle, the weapon used to castrate Uranus as punishment for his evil deeds (162-182). Virgil’s use of the material for the gates through which similar offenders must enter into Tartarus seems a fitting and clever reworking of Hesiod; as Hesiod is the first to use the word for adamant in this way in Greek literature, so too Virgil appears to be the first to employ it in this

¹⁸ Savage 1962: “the Cyclopean walls separating Tartarus from Elysium were wrought in forges of Cyclopes. Hence they were made of iron or steel” (420).

¹⁹ Savage 1962: 420.

way in Latin literature.²⁰ Though West in his commentary on Hesiod²¹ believes ἀδάμας is simply a pre-Iron age word for “iron,” in Virgil it seems to have a power stronger than iron. Virgil could have chosen to follow Homer and use a form of *ferrum*, the material of Tisiphone’s tower, for the gates. Nonetheless the mythological nature and strength of the adamant may better fill Virgil’s needs by adding further shock and awe to the description: it is a metal unlike anything anyone has ever seen or will see, stronger and more frightening than the typical metals, one that neither man nor even god can break (6.553-554). Its connection with the huge gate (*porta...ingens*, 552, a line heavy with grim-sounding spondees)²² showcases a fearsome display both to Aeneas and to the readers.

Virgil mentions several other foreboding features: the river of fire (551-552), the Fury Tisiphone in her tower guarding over the entryway to Tartarus (554-556), and the groans of men, the noise of capital punishment, and the shrieks of metal from within (557-559; compare also 573-574, *horrisono stridentes cardine sacrae / panduntur portae*, “the sacred gates [of Tartarus] are opened, grating on their hinge, terrible to listen to”).²³ The sights and especially the noises frighten Aeneas into stillness: he cannot move. But it is the Roman elements of the walls and gates of Tartarus that may further frighten the reader. Todd lists the basic elements of an early imperial Roman wall (contemporaneous to Virgil): a stone wall, often backed by an earth rampart with ditches; towers (not always but often); gates with a single or double opening; little architectural elaboration; and typically an irregular circuit. Todd writes that these modes of fortification were created and disseminated by two main agencies: the Roman army and Roman

²⁰ *Adamas* also appears in Ovid *Met.* 4.453 and Prop. 4.11.4, both in reference to the Underworld.

²¹ West *ad Theog.* 161 (cited in Austin *ad Aen.* 6.552).

²² As noted by Austin *ad* 552.

²³ For similar shrieking, see the analysis below of the Gates of War in *Aeneid* 7.

cities (and provinces).²⁴ Virgil's walls include at least three of the basic elements named by Todd: a wall (in this case, hard gray metal, perhaps of a similar color to the stone) backed by other fortifications (the two other walls), a tower, and strong, though unelaborate, gates. Ancient readers may find the descriptions very familiar; perhaps their own cities contain similar walls.

Other Roman elements occur in this description. Virgil's description includes columns (*columnae*, 552), which do not appear in Homer.²⁵ Columns were ubiquitous throughout Roman (and Greek) cities in both public and private architecture; their inclusion here adds to the sense of Tartarus as a built environment and offers a sense of familiarity to a place otherwise difficult or perhaps scary to imagine. Virgil also mentions that Tisiphone watches over the *uestibulum*, which, as Leach notes, links the entrance of Tartarus to the entrance of a Roman house.²⁶ Virgil may be following Homer who speaks of a "threshold" (οὐδός) to Tartarus in *Iliad* 8, but using *uestibulum* rather than *limen* seems to cast the space in a Roman context.²⁷ The iron nature of the tower in which Tisiphone keeps watch over the *uestibulum*, as well as other references to iron, leads Savage to remark that Rome itself had been in a recent Age of Iron, particularly the years 39-31 BCE, where Virgil's Underworld penalties conform to punishments handed out by Octavian to traitors and violators of treaties.²⁸ The idea of Rome as a kind of hellish Tartarus resonates in the post-civil war period, and the Roman elements of Tartarus in Virgil may have been eerily familiar to the readers. Luckily for the readers (and for Rome), Aeneas steps no closer to Tartarus, and turns his attention towards Elysium and his father, who will instruct him, among other things, about the famous lives of his Roman descendants. Virgil's Roman audience

²⁴ Todd 1978: 69-70; cf. Graham 1979: 12.

²⁵ Hesiod refers to the house of Styx as being supported by silver columns (κίονιν ἀργυρέοισι, 779).

²⁶ Leach 1999: 121.

²⁷ In *Aeneid* 7.181, Virgil uses *uestibulo* in a seeming reference to the Roman Senate house.

²⁸ Savage 1962: 416-426, especially 420-423.

may have seen Tartarus as representative of the immediate aftermath of civil war, while the Elysian fields could be symbolic of Rome's Augustan future. According to Jaeger, Virgil's Elysium evokes and reinterprets the Campus Martius in Rome.²⁹

II. The Gates of War: *Aeneid* 7.601-622

In *Aeneid* 7 Aeneas and the Trojans have finally reached Latium, near to the location of Aeneas' destined city. They seek peace and alliance with King Latinus, who happily accepts, but Juno's envoy Allecto stirs up desire for war in the rest of the Latins, including Latinus' own wife, Amata. Eventually their bellicose desire overpowers Latinus' offer of peace, and they prepare for war with the Trojans. In the following passage Virgil portrays the Latin custom of opening the gates of war before battle is begun (601-622):

Mos erat Hesperio in Latio, quem protinus urbes
 Albanæ coluere sacrum, nunc maxima rerum
 Roma colit, cum prima movent in proelia Martem,
 siue Getis inferre manu lacrimabile bellum
 Hyrcanisue Arabisue parant, seu tendere ad Indos
 Auroramque sequi Parthosque reposcere signa:
 sunt geminae Belli portae (sic nomine dicunt)
 religione sacrae et saeui formidine Martis;
 centum aerei claudunt uectes aeternaque ferri
 robora, nec custos absistit limine Ianus. 610
 has, ubi certa sedet patribus sententia pugnae,
 ipse Quirinali trabea cinctuque Gabino
 insignis reserat stridentia limina consul,
 ipse uocat pugnas; sequitur tum cetera pubes,
 aeraeque adsensu conspirant cornua rauco.
 hoc et tum Aeneadis indicere bella Latinus
 more iubebatur tristisque recludere portas.
 abstinuit tactu pater auersusque refugit
 foeda ministeria, et caecis se condidit umbris.
 tum regina deum caelo delapsa morantis 620
 impulit ipsa manu portas, et cardine uerso
 Belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postis.

There was a custom in Hesperian Latium, which later on Alban cities held sacred, and now Rome, greatest of all, holds sacred too: when they set Mars in motion towards the initial battles, whether they prepare to bring mournful war upon the Getae or the Hyrcanians or Arabs, or to march towards Indus, pursuing the Dawn, and to demand back the standards from the Parthians. There are twin gates of War (as they are called), sacred by their religiosity and by the terror of cruel Mars; 100 brazen bars and the everlasting strength of iron keep them closed, and the guardian Janus never leaves the threshold. These the consul himself, distinguished in Quirinal mantle and Gabine belt, unbolts over the grating threshold and he himself calls for fighting, when the *patres* have agreed on a decision for war; then the rest of the youth follow and the bronze horns resound with noisy assent. In this same custom even then Latinus was ordered to

²⁹ Jaeger 1990: 186-203.

declare war on the people of Aeneas and to open the sad gates. Father Latinus refused to touch them and fled away from his horrible duties and held himself in dark shadows. Then the queen of the gods, having descended from the sky, herself drives open the hesitant gates with her hands, and once the hinge was overturned, Saturnian Juno burst the iron-clad doors of War.

This passage is comparable to the description of the walls of Tartarus: each wall/gate structure contains elements of bronze, adamant, and iron, emphasizing their harsh shrieking nature (*stridentia*, 7.613; *stridor*, 6.558). In addition, each has an untiring guard (Janus, Tisiphone). In *Aeneid* 6 Virgil more subtly juxtaposes Rome and Roman features with the features of the underworld, but here Virgil explicitly equates Latin custom with Roman custom (601-606).³⁰ Rome too had gates which were opened when the city went to war, and they remained open for most of the Republican period.³¹ Both cities rely on *patres* in the decision to go to war. Augustus' monumental closing of these gates in Rome in 29 BCE (after his victory in the Battle of Actium), provides an interesting contrast and a clear reference point for Virgil, who seemingly alludes to the princeps' closing elsewhere (*Aeneid* 1.293-296).³² Many scholars have also noted

³⁰ Jenkyns 1998: 490-491 compares this Virgilian site to the other significant architectural structure in Book 7, Latinus' palace.

³¹ Many have assumed, perhaps rightly, that Virgil is alluding to the Temple of Janus, which is thought to have been near the Argiletum in Rome, but the monument's exact physical location has not been determined. In some cases scholars have used this assumption to compare Virgil's description with the little knowledge we have about the architectural structure of the Roman monument (we do know there were gates): see Fordyce *ad* 607ff; Fowler 1998: 158-161; and Green 2000: 306-307 (in comparison with *Fasti* 1). Horsfall, however, warns "exactitude in one site is not to be sought": Virgil thinks in typical sites, not specific ones (*ad* 607ff). I agree that Virgil rarely makes one specific site his clear guide: rather he combines elements of those kinds of sites to create ones truly his own.

³² On Virgil's potential allusion to the newly closed gates in Rome, see esp. Fowler 1998: 158-162; also Fantham 1996: 143; Hardie 1998: 73; Mack 1999: 146; and O'Rourke 2010: 476. On the connection to Book 1, see Putnam 1995: 112; Hardie 1998: 73, and Horsfall *ad* 609.

here Virgil's recalling of Ennian tradition,³³ as well as the use of other antiquarian sources,³⁴ and have seen parallels in the opening of these gates and in the opening of the second half of the *Aeneid*.³⁵ The focus in the second half on war is emphasized also by the acrostic of MARS, the god or personification of war, in lines 601-604.³⁶

Thus both Latium and Rome employ similar customs when preparing for battle. But whereas Rome only opens the gates willingly after the consent of the senate (*patribus*, 611) and the consul (612-614), to the joy of the rest of the Romans (614-615), Latium is not quite so ready to enter battle with the Trojans. Although Allecto has evoked in the Latins a desire for war, Latinus (in a position similar to the *consul* a few lines earlier) refuses to open the gates, aware that this war seems wrong and unnecessary, whereby Juno is forced to descend from Olympus to open the gates herself. Latinus' reluctance is replicated in the description of the gates' architectural features, which itself forms a *mise en abime* (or ekphrasis within ekphrasis).³⁷ The gates possess numerous, if not actually one hundred,³⁸ bronze bars and strong, everlasting iron (609-610): these gates are not meant to be opened easily but rather require time and willingness to unbolt.

³³ Discordia opens the gates of war in *Ann.* 266-267 V³: *postquam Discordia taetra / belli ferratos postes portasque refregit*. See, e.g., Johnston 1981: 27n10; Oliensis 2004: 38; Hardie 2007: 574; Horsfall *ad* 540-640 (who also provides additional relevant bibliography). Nelis 2001: 301 sees a comparison in *Argonautica* 2.598ff, when Athena pushes apart the Symplegades, allowing the Argonauts passage into hellish regions.

³⁴ See Fordyce *ad* 611ff.

³⁵ Several scholars have pointed out the association between Juno opening the gates of War and Virgil asking the Muses to open Helicon (7.640), inspiring his narration of the war between the Latins and Aeneas: see, e.g., Oliensis 2004: 37-39; Hardie 2007: 581.

³⁶ On the MARS acrostic, see initially Hilberg 1899, esp. 269; Johnston 1981: 27; Fowler 1983; Feeney and Nelis 2005; and Grishin 2008: 238.

³⁷ Horsfall *ad* 540-640 makes note of this.

³⁸ A suggestion by Horsfall *ad loc.*

Virgil then personifies the gates in two different ways. First, he describes the gates as “sad” or “melancholy” (*tristis*, 617), producing a greater emotional effect. Latium’s king does not wish to open the gates, nor do the mournful gates wish to be opened. This same emotion is expressed when Juno rushes down to force open the gates (620-622). One might expect the gates to magically fall open for a divinity,³⁹ but Juno’s bursting open of the gates of War has been described as “explosive,”⁴⁰ rape-like,⁴¹ shocking, horrific, and foreshadowing the nature of the strife about to begin.⁴² Juno’s violent insistence on opening the gates is emphasized by their unwillingness to do so. Virgil again personifies the gates as “delaying” or “reluctant” (*morantis*, 620), as though the gates acknowledge (as Latinus seems to) that even at the behest of Juno, war with the Trojans will not be beneficial for Latium. This war will not bring victory or arms to place on the doors of Latinus’ palace; instead countless Latins (and Trojans and/or Trojan allies) will die before Juno finally submits to the will of Zeus. Virgil’s depiction of the gates as being mournful and reluctant, as well as their difficult physical nature, reinforces Latinus’ correct judgment of Aeneas as the man destined both to marry Lavinia and to forge a strong, lasting nation with the Latins. Virgil employs elements of Roman wall construction and war tradition, projecting these contemporary practices on the past.

III. Aeneas and the Building of Carthage (*Aeneid* 1.419-438, 4.86-89)

Upon reaching Carthage, Aeneas and Achates climb up to a promontory where they can observe the new city in the process of construction. Immediately Aeneas is filled with awe (lines 421-429):

³⁹ As argued by Williams 1977: 290.

⁴⁰ Oliensis 2004: 37.

⁴¹ Fowler 1998: 162, 167.

⁴² Small 1986: 279-280, who also refers to the opening as a “bad omen.”

miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam,
 miratur portas strepitumque et strata uiarum.
 instant ardentis Tyrii: pars ducere muros,
 molirique arcem et manibus subuoluere saxa,
 pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco; 425
 iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum.
 hic portus alii effodiunt; hic alta theatris
 fundamenta locant alii, immanisque columnas
 rupibus excidunt, scaenis decora alta futuris.

Aeneas wonders at the massive structures, formerly Punic huts; he marvels at the gates and the noise and the paved streets. The Tyrians eagerly press on, some constructing the walls, building a stronghold and rolling rocks uphill with their hands, while others choose a location for homes and enclose the land with a trench; they choose laws and magistrates and the sacred senate.⁴³ Here some Carthaginians dig out the ports; here others lay out the deep foundations of a theater, and they cut huge columns out of rocks, lofty ornaments for future stages.

Virgil's depiction of Dido's Carthage may have derived from historical accounts of Hannibal's Carthage,⁴⁴ which could possibly account for the use of the Punic word *magalia*.⁴⁵ In addition, Dido's city includes all the features of a Roman city: walls, roads, military fortifications, legislative and administrative facilities, a theater with a *scaenae frons*, ports, and homes for the citizens.⁴⁶ The anachronistic⁴⁷ details allow for the narrator to emerge even in a description of

⁴³ Many have questioned whether line 426 (*iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum*) is spurious or how it is suited to its position. Bondurant 1925 summarizes the arguments of those who feel the line ought to be removed but defends its position himself. Austin *ad loc.* and Starks 1999: 268 see the line as filtered through a Roman perspective, though Austin focuses upon the Romanness of the line itself while Starks highlights the effect the line would have on a Roman reader. MacLennan *ad loc.* believes the line reflects Aeneas' shifting attention among the different construction projects in the city. Like most recent scholars, I do believe the line belongs here. Wulfram 2009: 20 argues convincingly that line 426 represents Aeneas' view of what he *thinks* should happen in this particular location.

⁴⁴ Morwood 1991: 212. See also Wulfram 2009: 24, as well as Harden 1939, whose article explores the topography of the historical city.

⁴⁵ Austin *ad loc.* comments that *magalia* in Roman poetry occurs only here and at *Aen.* 4.259. Clay 1988: 195n2 sees *magalia* as indicative of the narrator's presence in this description, while Leach 1988: 312 attributes the word to Aeneas telling his own descriptive narrative. Wulfram 2009: 17-25 believes *magalia* works as part of a typical fictitious epic language (*Epos übliche Sprachfiktion*, 19).

⁴⁶ Many scholars have noted the parallels between Dido's Carthage and Rome: see, e.g., Della Corte 1972: 88; Clay 1988: 195; Leach 1988: 311; Zanker 1988: 154; Jenkyns 1998: 547; and Morgan 2000: 395. Morwood 1991: 212-213, 219 notes not only the parallels but the irony involved in the eventual destruction of Dido's city by the Romans.

⁴⁷ On the anachronisms in this passage, see, e.g., Austin *ad loc.* 429; and Horsfall 1989.

Carthage as seen through the eyes of Aeneas.⁴⁸ Though there are historical allusions, it is still clear that this description comes from Aeneas' point of view.

Yet Aeneas' and Virgil's viewpoints may not be so distinct. In response to the subsequent simile (lines 430-436), where the activities of the Carthaginians are compared to the work of bees,⁴⁹ Syed comments:

It is not entirely clear whether it is the narrator or Aeneas who compares the spectacle of the foundation of Carthage with a bee colony. But our inability to decide this question only underlines a much more important point: with this comparison narrator and main character fuse in their response to the spectacle. It is quite obvious that both see an idyllic, happy quality to the foundations of a city.⁵⁰

The foundation and construction of a city enable the author and his main character to each consider past, present, and future, relying on his own previous experiences and general viewpoints. In reviewing the past of the Carthaginians, who formerly lived in small huts (*magalia*), Virgil may also be recalling the past of the Romans, who inhabited similar domiciles in the Iron Age, perhaps alluding in particular to the Hut of Romulus, still visible at the top of one of Rome's best lookout points. The comparison of the past then invites introspection on the present and future. Before, the Romans and Carthaginians lived in small huts, but now they have massive structures of all kinds, both public and private. One can see an explicit comparison in the placement of Augustus' modest, but larger home (and the neighboring lavish Temple to Apollo) directly next to the Hut of Romulus. The new construction of Carthage in Virgil's text

⁴⁸ As stated by Wulfram 2009: 23. Cf. Syed 2005: 64.

⁴⁹ On this bee simile, see Grant 1969; Leach 1977: 2-4; Putnam 1979: 255-256, Wulfram 2009: 21-22. Previous scholarship has cited the *Georgics*, particularly at 4.156-169, as the inspiration for this passage. Particular attention has been paid to the similarities (and differences) between the bees and the Romans in the *Georgics* bee passages: see Haarhoff 1960: esp. 163; Miles 1980: 226-236, 240-257; Ross 1987: 189-190, 208-210; Nadeau 1984; Farrell 1991: 239; and Nappa 2005: 166-186, esp. 182-183.

⁵⁰ Syed 2005: 65.

parallels the reconstruction and new construction in Rome and also may refer to Augustus' decision at this time to send Romans to rebuild and recolonize Carthage.⁵¹ The new urban landscapes help to establish glorious futures for both cities. In addition, the construction of a city can be equated to the construction of a new poetic work. Virgil looks to his past poetry to help him compose this episode at the very beginning of a new and important poem. Virgil's future, as he knows it, consists of finishing and polishing this epic, which could (and did) establish his renown and reputation not only with Augustus and the Romans but also with subsequent generations.

Aeneas too considers his own past, present, and future while observing the city of Carthage and its structures. He sees his past depicted on the walls of Juno's temple, but his present consists of finding the location for his future: his destiny to found the city that will become Rome. Aeneas seems to envy Dido and the Carthaginians, who have found their destiny: "O fortunate ones, whose walls are already rising!" (*o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt*, 1.437). At this point, Rome still comprises only an idea, not a "real city of bricks and mortar but a state of mind"⁵² for Aeneas. According to McGushin, "Carthage represents the *moenia* of [Aeneas' own] mission."⁵³ Yet as he views the city, as envious as he may be of the Carthaginian present, he may also be gathering inspiration for his future city. He learns about paved roads and city walls, two eventual important Roman institutions. Line 426 may be Aeneas' envisioning of a future "Rome" with laws, elected magistrates, and a senate that the Romans would always deem

⁵¹ On the recolonization of Carthage, see Harrison 1984: 95-96; Morwood 1991: 219; and Wulfram 2009: 23.

⁵² Morwood 1991: 216.

⁵³ McGushin 1965: 417, who also compares Carthage's *moenia* with the *moenia* mentioned by Jupiter to Venus in 1.264, enumerating Aeneas' destiny (*moresque viris et moenia ponet*).

sanctum.⁵⁴ He sees a theater built with columns and a *scaenae frons*, both of which would become essential components of any Roman theater. The admiration Aeneas has for Dido's Carthage as well as his recognition of similar destinies (establishing a new city) forges a stronger bond between the founder of Carthage and the future founder of Rome.

Later in the *Aeneid* Dido's bond with Aeneas appears to have become too strong. Because of her love for the Trojan leading to likely neglect of her other duties, Carthage's construction comes to a halt (4.86-89):

<p>non coeptae adsurgunt turre, non arma iuuentus exercet portusue aut propugnacula bello tuta parant: pendent opera interrupta minaeque murorum ingentes aequataque machina caelo.</p>	<p>Though begun, the towers do not rise, nor does the youth test their arms or prepare the ports or other safety defenses for war: work is suspended and the huge threatening walls and cranes⁵⁵ as tall as the sky are left hanging.</p>
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This passage stands in contrast to the construction episode in Book 1: the fortifications that were rising (*surgunt*, 1.437) no longer do (*non...adsurgunt*). The ports and other building projects so eagerly worked on earlier now stand empty and unfinished. This is dangerous for Carthage: if the city does not finish its construction, it is more susceptible to destruction. Stopping construction in a city halts civilization⁵⁶ and negates the possibility of a glorious future; buildings decay as can the morale of the citizens in seeing these dilapidated structures.⁵⁷ Aeneas begins working on Carthage as if it were his own city, only to be sorely reprimanded by Mercury (4.265-276),

⁵⁴ On the word *sanctum*, Servius explains that the Romans call the senate *sanctissimus ordo*. See also Jenkyns 1998: 547n83.

⁵⁵ Pease *ad* 89, Austin *ad* 89, and Hardie 1986: 272 all argue that *machina* refers to a crane and not to the fabric of the walls being constructed. Estevez 1978/1979 points out that the only other *machina* in the *Aeneid* is the Trojan Horse and refers to Aeneas here as the "Carthaginian horse", bringing eventual destruction to Carthage (101).

⁵⁶ On the equation of the halt of construction with the halt of civilization, see DiCesare 1974: 22; cf. Wiltshire 1989: 76.

⁵⁷ This is one of the likely reasons for Augustus' decision to rebuild Rome, desiring to erase the Romans' dark memories of a city in decay, renewing the exterior and interior of Rome, and regaining Rome's glory and powerful future. Hardie 1986: 272 sees parallels in this passage between Carthage and Rome.

whose scolding spurs his near immediate departure from Dido's city. Aeneas' destiny of founding Rome is linked so closely with his identity that he begins to lose his own identity when he starts to build the *wrong* city, Dido's city.⁵⁸ In fact he is dressed in Carthaginian garb and weaponry when Mercury approaches (4.261-264). In order to regain his identity (and destiny), he must leave Carthage, no longer endangering his chance of gaining the everlasting fame associated with the founder of eventual Rome.

Like Aeneas, Virgil can lose his fame if he does not continue writing (his own destiny). Just as the halting of urban construction can signal the end of a city's existence and illustriousness, the discontinuation of writing can prevent a writer's fame and reputation from becoming eternal.⁵⁹ Aeneas has to halt his work on Carthage in part because Virgil must move the narrative forward. His Roman epic cannot highlight the founding of Carthage; rather, it must be centered around Aeneas' arrival at and glorious attainment of Latium and the surrounding areas, in which he will establish his own city. Virgil cannot enjoy the benefits of his labor if he does not complete the labor.⁶⁰ In these episodes Virgil employs the commencement and ceasing of urban construction both as a means of exploring the past, present, and future endeavors of Aeneas and as a point of reflection⁶¹ upon his own literary past, present, and future.

IV. Rome Now and Then: Virgil *Aeneid* 8, Propertius 4.1, Ovid *Ars Amatoria* 3

⁵⁸ For more analysis of the Aeneas-Mercury passage, see West 1980: 320; Hardie 1986: 272; Morwood 1991: 214; Starks 1999: 273; and Panoussi 2009: 186.

⁵⁹ Ovid is also very concerned with this in his exile poetry, hoping that the poems written from Tomis can stand for him in Rome and continue his own *fama*, even if he is not there.

⁶⁰ In this way we can think of Mercury here in Book 4 and the Sibyl in Book 6 as guides not only pushing Aeneas along to his destiny but also encouraging Virgil to continue the narrative.

⁶¹ Estevez 1978/1979 suggests 4.86-89 is a "reflective pause" in the narrative (100).

aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret.
 haec duo praeterea disiectis oppida muris, 355
 reliquias ueterumque uides monimenta uirorum.
 hanc Ianus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem;
 Ianiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.
 talibus inter se dictis ad tecta subibant
 pauperis Euandri, passimque armenta uidebant 360
 Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis.
 ut uentum ad sedes, 'haec' inquit 'limina uictor
 Alcides subiit, haec illum regia cepit.
 aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque
 dignum
 finge deo, rebusque ueni non asper egenis.' 365
 dixit, et angusti subter fastigia tecti
 ingentem Aenean duxit stratisque locauit
 effultum foliis et pelle Libystidis ursae:
 nox ruit et fuscis tellurem amplectitur alis.

they trembled at the woods and the cliff. He said, "a god (which one is uncertain) inhabits this grove, this hill with its leafy peak; the Arcadians believe they have seen Jove himself often when he struck his dark aegis and stirred up the clouds with his right hand. Beyond you see these two towns with broken-down walls and the monuments of ancient men. Father Janus founded one citadel; Saturnus the other; this one's name is the Ianiculum, while that one is named Saturnia." With such words spoken between them they approached the home of humble Evander and here and there they saw herds mooing in the Roman Forum and the rich Carinae. As they arrived at his home, Evander said, "the victorious Hercules entered this threshold, this hall received him. Dare, o guest, to despise wealth and mold yourself in a way worthy of a god, and come into desperate means without being disagreeable." He spoke, and led large Aeneas underneath the roof of the short home and left him propped up on strewn leaves and on the pelt of a Libyan bear: night came and embraced the earth with its dark wings.

Though some have labeled this passage anachronistic,⁶⁸ Virgil is in fact working from a dual perspective, both of Evander as speaker⁶⁹ and of the Augustan narrator, creating layers of comparison and contrast between Pallanteum and present-day Rome.⁷⁰ The poet weaves the origins and the current functions both of natural and built features. Monuments, such as the temples on the Capitoline alluded to by Virgil (8.347-348), constitute the perfect resource for examining the past and present, as they look back to the past in their construction and techniques

⁶⁸ See, e.g., Boyle 1999: 152.

⁶⁹ On the role and history of Evander, see Jenkyns 1998: 516, 549-550; and Papaioannou 2003.

⁷⁰ On the multiple layers and perspectives, see Holt 1982: 308-309; Wiseman 1984: 123; Renaud 1990: 86; Edwards 1996: 31; Papaioannou 2003: 687-688; Mayer 2007: 159-160; Spencer 2010: 50-51; Willis 2011: 103; Seider 2013: 51-55.

and to the present (and future) in their stability and permanency.⁷¹ The aesthetic appearance of monuments may change or new monuments may be built,⁷² yet because of their lasting nature, they can also provide continuity from the past into the present. Perhaps old and new Rome are not all that different.⁷³ Jove still resides on the Capitoline (347-354)⁷⁴ and Carmenta lives on through her gate (338-341).

Later in the tour, Evander points out the broken down walls of the earlier settlements of Janus and Saturnus (355-358), both of whom still factor into contemporary Roman monuments and festivals. Earlier in the description Evander's words denote the past and the narrator's the present, but here the reader can merge past and present states of Rome into one: "you see the monuments of ancient men" (*ueterumque uides monimenta uirorum*, 356). The second person address invites the Augustan (and modern) reader as well as Aeneas to view the monuments of Rome as symbols of their builders. The views of the past echo the present view; the broken down walls of Janus and Saturnus can be equated to long-standing monuments in Augustan Rome, built by well-known Romans during the Republic. Many of the Republican monuments had become dilapidated and required the care of Augustus to be restored to their original condition, just as Aeneas could be perceived as assuming and taking care of the site of Evander's and previous settlements.

Finally, they reach Evander's own home (359-369), looking over Rome's present-day Forum Romanum and the Carinae, an expensive neighborhood in the time of Virgil. Evander

⁷¹ On the natural and built monuments looking forward and backward, see Edwards 1996: 31-32; Jenkyns 1998: 551; Smith 2005: 93-94. Bacon 1939 sees the natural landscape as the "bones" of Rome and the monuments as the "clothes" (101).

⁷² For one such discussion of contrast, see Wiesen 1973: 756.

⁷³ For similarities between archaic and present Rome here, see, e.g., Jenkyns 1998: 551 and Rea 2007: 91, 95.

⁷⁴ On elements of *religio* connecting the past and present, see Hardie 1986: 217-219; Willis 2011: 103. On the significance of the Capitol in Roman history, see Edwards 1996: 69-95.

gives Aeneas a lesson in rejecting wealth and cherishing simplicity, particularly with buildings: even mighty Hercules had been more than adequately accommodated in Evander's humble home (362-365).⁷⁵ Aeneas was founding a people as well as a city;⁷⁶ here Evander offers guidelines for Aeneas and his future descendants. Many Romans would continue to follow and to call for Evander's advice through and beyond the time of Augustus. His guidelines were also represented physically in Augustan Rome, through the monument of the Casa Romuli, a simple archaic hut which has been compared to the hut of Evander in this passage,⁷⁷ as both arose on the Palatine in the early days of Rome (or proto-Rome). Here once again the line between then and now is blurred; these guidelines, much like the monuments, stress continuity as much as contrast in the history of Rome.⁷⁸ Religiosity (349-350) and simplicity, according to Evander, could guarantee the welfare of the city. Enduring monuments representing these principles (the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, the hut of Evander / Casa Romuli) would extend awareness of the principles to many further generations.

Propertius opens his fourth book of poems with a tour of Rome in which he imitates Tibullus and Virgil,⁷⁹ whose tour of Evander may have motivated the choice of some of the

⁷⁵ On the simple life of Evander as model for the Romans, see Papaioannou 2003: 694; Rea 2007: 89. For more on Evander's moralizing speech, see Otis 1963: 337; McGushin 1965: 413; Binder 1971: 137-141; George 1974: 34; Lyne 1987: 36; Boyle 1999: 152.

⁷⁶ McGushin 1965: 412.

⁷⁷ See, e.g., Renaud 1990: 97 and Rea 2007: 94.

⁷⁸ The contrast is perhaps highlighted best in the tension in building luxurious homes during the Augustan period and beyond, castigated by critics such as Horace who often called for a return to the simple days of old (Horace, *Ode* 3.1, for example).

⁷⁹ On the influence of Tibullus and/or Virgil, see Weeber 1978; Miller 1982: 382; Rothwell 1996: 830n7, 830-835, 851; Jenkyns 1998: 608-611; DeBrohun 2003: 37-41; O'Rourke 2010 (with additional bibliography): 471n7, 472n8, 473-474, 476. Fantham 1998: 124-126 sees the initial influence of *Aeneid* 8 in Propertius 3.11.

monuments Propertius includes.⁸⁰ In addition, Callimachus' *Aitia* likely inspired Propertius to compose aetiologies in the elegiac meter.⁸¹ That the aetiologies would center on Rome⁸² (and Augustus)⁸³ is evident from the very first line of 4.1:

hoc, quodcumque uides, hospes, qua maxima Roma est,
ante Phrygem Aenean collis et herba fuit;
atque ubi Nauali stant sacra Palatia Phoebo,
Euandri profugae concubuere boues.
fictilibus creuere deis haec aurea templa, 5
nec fuit opprobrio facta sine arte casa;
Tarpeiusque pater nuda de rupe tonabat,
et Tiberis nostris aduena bubus erat.
qua gradibus domus ista Remi se sustulit, olim
unus erat fratrum maxima regna focus. 10
curia, praetexto quae nunc nitet alta senatu,
pellitos habuit, rustica corda, patres;
bucina cogebat priscos ad uerba Quirites:
centum illi in prato saepe senatus erat.

That which you see here, guest, where greatest Rome is, before Phrygian Aeneas used to be hill and grass; and where the Palatine sacred to naval Apollo stands, the banished cows of Evander lay together. These golden temples grew out of clay images of gods, nor was a house simply constructed a cause of disgrace; Jupiter used to thunder from the bare cliff and the Tiber was a stranger to our cows. Where the house of Remus lifted itself on stairs, once one hearth of brothers was the greatest realm. The curia, which now gleams tall with a senate wearing the toga praetexta, held senators clothed in skins, the rustic judges. A horn would summon the ancient citizens to discussions: in that meadow the senate consisted of 100.

Propertius' tour of Rome serves as a fitting introduction to his aetiological poems because the sight of the splendid nature of the Augustan monuments might entice the viewer (and/or reader) to inquire about the history of the monuments and how they came to be.⁸⁴ Propertius enhances the then-now trope of Virgil, creating a clearer and more systematic juxtaposition of the grand monuments of his day against the archaic structures/landscapes with a series of correlative

⁸⁰ Rea 2007: 103-106, 112 calls 4.1 (along with 4.4 and 4.9) an exact reversal of the order of Evander's tour.

⁸¹ For discussions of Callimachean influence, see Pillinger 1969; Miller 1982; Weeber 1978: 503; Garani 2007: 110.

⁸² Fantham 1998: "not only the opening guided tour, 4.1a and the etiological elegies (4.1, 4.2, 4.4, 4.9), but the whole book was designed to reflect the shape and life of the city" (124).

⁸³ On the Augustan theme of Book 4, see Stahl 1985: 255; Newman 1997: 423; DeBrohun 2003: 37; Cairns 2006: 356.

⁸⁴ As argued by DeBrohun 2003: 35.

pronouns, conjunctions, and adverbs (*qua, ante, ubi, qua, olim, nunc*).⁸⁵ The poem features religious structures similar to Virgil, yet this time Apollo on the Palatine (line 3) is emphasized as well as Jupiter on the Capitoline (line 7).⁸⁶ Apollo's epithet *nauali* is used only here and clearly references Actium and Augustus.⁸⁷ Propertius' mention of *aurea templa*⁸⁸ (5) would appear to echo Virgil's *Capitolia...aurea* (8.347-348), while *Tarpeius* (7) recalls *Tarpeiam sedem* (8.347). Scholars have questioned how the Tiber could be an *advena* in line 8, with Hutchinson going so far as to say that Propertius has produced a "useless" line.⁸⁹ Yet Propertius is describing the time before Aeneas (*ante Aenean*, 2), and at that time, the Tiber had a different name, the Albula.⁹⁰ The name Tiber would have been foreign to the people (and cows) living there.

Propertius juxtaposes the current Roman senate and its "tall, gleaming" curia with archaic *patres* who wore skins and were called to meetings in the meadow by a horn (11-14).⁹¹ Propertius here explains the origin of another important Roman institution. Even in early Rome, senators came together to discuss how the settlement could best be governed and what laws were necessary. Evidently the fear driven into the inhabitants by the gods in Virgil (8.349-50, cf. Prop. 4.1.7) was not enough to prevent crime from occurring; as many scholars have noted, Propertius

⁸⁵ On Propertius' more exacting juxtaposition, see Weeber 1978: 492; Rothwell 1996: 837-839; Jenkyns 1998: 609-610; esp. DeBrohun 2003: 41.

⁸⁶ Richardson *ad* 4.1; Weeber 1978: 492; and DeBrohun 2003: 42-43 all note the concentration on structures built or rebuilt by Augustus.

⁸⁷ Hutchinson *ad* 3-4.

⁸⁸ For more on the *aurea templa*, see Rothwell 1996: 847; Rea 2007: 107-108.

⁸⁹ Hutchinson *ad* 8.

⁹⁰ Pliny *HN* 3.53. The river did not receive the name Tiber until one of the Alban kings named Tiberinus drowned in it, a story found in Festus.

⁹¹ Propertius 4.4.9-14, a short then-now passage, also contains a trumpeter (*tubicen*, 9) and a description of the curia (13-14). Like 4.1, it speaks to the violence now overcome by laws. On 4.4, see Stahl 1985: 282; King 1990; O'Neill 1995; Rothwell 1996: 840-841; Fantham 1998: 129; Rea 2007: 116.

includes an aspect of violence in the Roman past that seems to be missing from Virgil's account.⁹² The archaic violence may be displayed most clearly in the description of the *domus Remi* (9-10), which calls to mind the fratricide at the foundation of Rome.⁹³ Consider also Propertius 4.4.11-12 (*ubi nunc terris dicuntur iura subactis / stabant Romano pila Sabina Foro*), which contrasts the present day location of the proclamation of laws to the past arena for Sabine javelins and violence. The order in Augustan Rome is a product of the disorder and violence of early Rome. Yet from the beginning, the Senate has assembled and served as leaders for the people, which represents a continuity from past to present, similar to that seen in Virgil.⁹⁴

In poem 4.1 Propertius proclaims his ambitious desires to write aetiology, realizing his poetry must "ascend" in order to suit the subject matter.⁹⁵ In some ways he elevates his poem by emulating Virgilian epic, yet Propertius aims to make elegy an even more suitable genre for aetiology than epic. He is able to accomplish this in different ways. Within the aetiological poem he incorporates amatory vocabulary (*concupuere*, 4); Propertius relies on what he knows to complete the picture of the past. The meter of the poem is suited to aetiology as well:⁹⁶ the hexameter represents the grand, current state of Rome, while the pentameter represents the smaller, earlier Rome (the pentameter itself being a smaller line) and alternates back and forth in

⁹² In Virgil, the nature may be scary (*silvestris horrida dumis*, 348) but the people are seemingly good, whereas in Propertius, the people are warlike and perhaps evil. See, e.g., Edwards 1996: 56; Rothwell 1996: 829, 837-839; and Rea 2007: 109-113, 122.

⁹³ Camps *ad loc* and Richardson *ad. loc* both argue that Remus serves merely as metrical substitution for Romulus, while Hutchinson *ad loc* posits that it stands for both brothers. Edwards 1996: 39, 41-42 and DeBrohun 2003: 49 both see the mentioning of Remus as problematic, whereas Garani 2007: 105 suggests that *Remi* represents the early harmonic part of the brothers' relationship (cf. Hutchinson *ad loc*) and Newman 1997 interprets it as part of the "regime's effort towards reconciliation" (266).

⁹⁴ On the Augustan present as a continuation of the past rather than a superior age, see Rothwell 1996: 837; DeBrohun 2003: 47; Rea 2007: 103, 106, 108.

⁹⁵ Barchiesi 1997b: 69.

⁹⁶ Morgan 2004: Propertius succeeds in making the elegiac couplet "seem the ideal meter for aetiology" (6).

a manner befitting the now-then trope.⁹⁷ The shift between the meter of epic (hexameter) and the elegiac pentameter also showcases Propertius' movement into a new poetic program, attempting to expand the genre of elegy, while still making use of the typical elegiac features he knows so well.

As opposed to Propertius, who (perhaps wisely) is careful not to specify a preference for the current or archaic period (each age boasts respectable and problematic characteristics),⁹⁸

Ovid makes very clear his love for the present in *Ars Amatoria* 3.113-128:⁹⁹

simplicitas rudis ante fuit: nunc aurea Roma est,
 et domiti magnas possidet orbis opes. 114
 aspice quae nunc sunt Capitolia, quaeque fuerunt:
 alterius dices illa fuisse Iovis.
 Curia, concilio quae nunc dignissima tanto,
 de stipula Tatio regna tenente fuit.
 quae nunc sub Phoebō ducibusque Palatia fulgent,
 quid nisi araturis pascua bubus erant? 120
 prisca iuvent alios: ego me nunc denique natum
 gratulor: haec aetas moribus apta meis.
 non quia nunc terrae lentum subducitur aurum,
 lectaque diuerso litore concha uenit,
 nec quia decrescunt effosso marmore montes 125
 nec quia caeruleae mole fugantur aquae,
 sed quia cultus adest, nec nostros mansit in annos
 rusticitas priscis illa superstes auis.¹⁰⁰

Before there was primitive simplicity: now Rome is golden and possesses the great resources of the conquered world. Look at what the Capitoline is now and what it was: you will say the former belonged to some other Jove. The Curia, which is now very worthy of holding its sizable council, used to be built out of straw, when Tatio was ruling. The Palatine, which now glistens under Apollo and our leaders, what did it used to be if not a pastureland for cows about to plough? Let old stuff please others; I am so glad that I was born at this time now: this age is suited to my way of life. Not because the gold is slowly being led from the ground and the shell is arriving, plucked off a foreign shore, nor because the mountains shrink after the marble has been dug out, and not because the turquoise waters are forced to flee due to construction, but because there is sophistication, and

⁹⁷ On the hexameter vs. pentameter, see DeBrohun 2003: 93-96.

⁹⁸ Though, as DeBrohun 2003: 116 argues, if Propertius likes Rome as he likes his women (natural, low maintenance), he might indeed prefer archaic Rome. Cf. Fantham 1998: Propertius “invites us to deduce his response to the *new* city from his imaginative devotion to the old” (124, italics hers, see also pp. 134-135).

⁹⁹ On Ovid's obvious preference for the present over the past, see Leach 1964: 153-154; Otis 1966: 19; Mader 1988: 365-366, 374-375; Ahern 1989: 288; Hardie 2002: 1; Boyle 2003: 21-22; Lowrie 2003: 66.

¹⁰⁰ Latin text of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* comes from the Kenney 1994 Oxford text. Translations are mine.

because rusticity does not remain in our years, that concept having outlived our ancestors.

Ovid rejects the simplicity that Evander (and Virgil) cherished in *Aeneid* 8, deeming it primitive or even uncivilized (*rudis*, 113).¹⁰¹ Not only are Virgil's and Propertius' temples golden in Ovid's Rome, the entire city has become golden (*aurea Roma*, 113). The imperative *aspice* (115) recalls Propertius' second person address (*vides*, 4.1.1), summoning the reader to consider the past and present states of the Capitoline. The simple, primitive hill about which Jove roamed in *Aeneid* 8.351-354 has disappeared: hints of irreverence or even mockery¹⁰² emerge in Ovid's dismissal of the old dwelling of Jupiter. Ovid incorporates and enhances Propertius' discussion of the *curia*, using the superlative *dignissima* (more emphatic than Propertius' *alta*) to highlight the size and splendor of the facility that houses the very sizable Senate (*concilio...tanto*, 117). Similar to Propertius 4.1, Ovid makes reference to the time of Romulus with Tatius, the Sabine king who lived contemporaneously and was also killed by Romulus (like Remus in 4.1). The background of violence does not seem as obvious or important in Ovid as it is in Propertius; Ovid prefers to poke fun at the archaic curia made of straw (*de stipula*, 118), though this still seems an improvement from the meadow in Propertius 4.1—the archaic senators have an actual building in which to meet. The last structure Ovid mentions is the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine (cf. Prop. 4.1.3-4), formerly pastureland for cows, animals featured in both Virgil and Propertius. Yet unlike Propertius, Ovid alludes here in no way to elegy, but rather describes a rustic, pastoral environment that has no place in contemporary Rome, a thought manifested in the next lines (*prisca iuvent alios: ego me nunc denique natum / gratulor*, 121-122).

¹⁰¹ On the semantics of *simplicitas* here, see Pasco-Pranger 2012: 722. Hardie 2002: 1 contends that if there is no longer *simplicitas*, there must now be *duplicitas*.

¹⁰² On Ovid's mocking tone, see Johnson 1970: 143; Mader 1988: 368; Eigler 2002: 295-296.

With these lines Ovid seemingly takes a playful jab at Propertius and especially Virgil, both of whom make use of and perhaps even prefer archaic themes and poetic genres in their poems discussed above. Ovid includes the then-now trope to invite direct comparison to the earlier poets, yet he rejects their archaic ideals in favor of modernity. In the *Ars Amatoria* Ovid revamps didactic poetry into a modern genre suitable for discussions of attraction and love. Neither religiosity nor simplicity fit into these discussions; rather, Ovid praises *cultus*, “sophistication” (127). He does not mean sophistication in architecture, however, as he lists and renders insignificant the common construction practices of his day; the use of gold, shell, and marble as building materials (123-125) or the construction of villas into the water (126) do not amount to much on their own. Yet they do matter in terms of a new identity and way of life that Ovid is championing. The Romans themselves are expected to mimic the buildings in their refinement: simplicity no longer exists, only sophistication. The new advances in building technology make no difference to Ovid if the people building or inhabiting the structures do not also change their ways of thinking. Here architectural development can be seen as complementing human development—both were rapidly changing as the Republic morphed into the Empire.¹⁰³

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how cities (and the architectural structures within them) function as visual symbols of past, present, and future, and facilities by which to reflect on these stages of time. Virgil’s passages describing walls in the Underworld and in Latium incorporate elements of contemporary Roman walls. Though in some ways these details can be deemed

¹⁰³ On the harmony here of man and environment in the city, see Leach 1964: 154.

anachronistic, they also offer a means of comparing the Augustan city of Rome (in its architecture, customs, and ideologies) to the past Latium. Virgil's inclusion of Roman-style walls in the Underworld adds a visual, physical feature to the complex schematics of Roman history and identity present in Book Six of the *Aeneid* (represented specifically in Anchises' narration to Aeneas of his future descendants). Passages depicting the construction of Carthage and the halting of its construction may inspire Aeneas' hopes for his own city, yet these depictions also provide Virgil with a way to examine both the literary and architectural past and future of cities. Finally, Virgil's, Propertius', and Ovid's treatments of the Then-Now trope represent different approaches to and perceptions of the similarities and/or differences between archaic and Augustan Rome.

Examining the physical development of cities can lead to an examination of the physical, psychological, and emotional development of its citizens: cities can construct people as much as people construct cities. These concepts are representative of my project as a whole. One of the questions I have sought to answer in this study is how the Romans of the first centuries BCE and CE viewed their world as it was changing architecturally and otherwise. The poets, serving as witnesses to this transformation, do not depict the architectural structures to create an archaeological guide. Instead they reveal deeply personal, deeply human *responses to* the architecture of Rome and its provinces. "For the ancient inhabitant or visitor, the buildings of Rome, the public spaces of the city, were crowded with meanings and associations."¹⁰⁴ A building can tell us much about its builder or inhabitant, but it evokes very specific and meaningful responses from its visitors as well. As a viewer looks upon a building, he ponders its different levels of meaning, beginning perhaps with its aesthetic appearance and development,

¹⁰⁴ Edwards 1996: 1.

but he may also consider his reaction to the building, what personal associations he may have or how he relates to the structure. Memories attached to the building can create a connection, or even a relationship, between human and structure that is as enduring as the structure itself.

Favro's *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome* employs the concept of a grandfather guiding his grandchild around the sites of Rome at two different periods in time, where the grandson in Republican Rome becomes the grandfather in imperial Rome.¹⁰⁵ By doing this Favro demonstrates the dramatic physical difference between the city at the end of the Republic and the city of the Julio-Claudian empire (and beyond). Yet her work also showcases the subjective human element constituting part of the development of the city and its architecture. Each person creates his own memories and attachments to Rome, to its structures both public and private, and the response of each is different, unique to his own personal experience, and transforming (even transformative) over time.¹⁰⁶ These claims are often made of works of art, both ancient and modern (painting, sculpture, and so on); this project establishes that architecture evokes similar responses and functions as powerful symbols of mankind's relationship to and identity within the world. In particular, architecture can serve as a physical indication of authority, either of the builder or inhabitant. A person's response to a structure similarly defines his status and relationship with authority.

Along with human development, architectural development complements literary development. I have considered the work of six different poets living at various points during the late Republic and early Empire to examine how depictions of architecture changed over time. Virgil is the first Roman poet to fully explore the many levels of interpretation possible with architectural ekphrasis, and in some ways, every piece of poetic literature after the *Aeneid* (or

¹⁰⁵ Favro 1996: Chapters 2 and 7.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Larmour and Spencer 2007.

even after the *Georgics*) that considers these issues is a response to Virgil. Virgil shows how architectural terms can function as more than just technical terms: they can indicate interpretations and hidden themes with widespread ramifications over the poetic work. In the *Aeneid* in particular, Virgil's projection of the Roman monuments he knows and experiences into the past historicizes myth and helps to validate his epic tracing the beginnings of Rome. Virgil's idea of an idealized past complete with Roman monuments is explored (and for the most part rejected) in Ovid's poetry. Ovid's architectural ekphrases offer more direct, explicit comparisons between mythical and actual architecture and often tries to contemporize myth and the gods, establishing them in a modern Roman setting. Yet Ovid also acknowledges architectural structures where god and man simply cannot mix (e.g., Phaethon, perhaps also the book in *Tristia* 3.1, standing in for Ovid, which has no place in Apollo's library), and where *ars* overshadows reality (Thetis' grotto, for instance).

While Virgil's and Ovid's architectural ekphrases are typically emplotted within longer (mostly epic) works, Propertius, Horace, Martial, and Statius make use of architectural structures within shorter poems. Horace portrays overly luxurious building materials and practices as emblematic of declining Roman morality; buildings to Horace are the perfect visual symbol of the internal shift within the Romans. Propertius often employs and plays with features of Virgil's and of Horace's poetry to create architectural depictions, introducing amatory and other uniquely elegiac tropes into the depictions to suit his own personal and poetic program.

Nearly a century later Martial and Statius begin to compose their own architectural depictions, often writing of the same buildings. The works of Martial and Statius represent a transformation in the relationship between humans and architecture, particularly with respect to how the Romans perceived the evolving architecture. Though Martial may draw upon features of

Horace's poetry to criticize buildings and their builders/inhabitants, he seems more accepting of the luxuries and innovations than Horace: the magnificence of building practices only beginning in Horace's day have continued to develop further in the Roman landscape, both urban and rural, through the first century CE. Martial appears more concerned with assimilating luxury and function: his critique is not the materials or techniques themselves but rather how they are used, with an emphasis on sensibility. As opposed to lamenting society as a whole (as Horace does), Martial instead attacks, or more often pokes fun at, specific individuals who have erred in construction in a variety of ways. On the other hand, Statius ignores the critics and fully celebrates recent architectural innovations in his occasional poems. Statius highlights an increase in Roman knowledge about architectural materials and techniques and positions himself as an architectural authority determining sophistication and taste, from whom other Romans can learn. Architectural development inspires the expansion of literary strategies for representing structures. Statius devises a new genre worthy of praising these innovative materials and features (and the architects/builders/owners who make use of them): the villa poem. Architecture reached such heights in and around Rome that it deserved its own type of poem, a development Virgil and the poets of the late Republic may have anticipated but never fully realized in their own poetry.

This project does not claim to be a fully comprehensive account of every architectural depiction in Roman poetry; rather, I have selected passages of reasonable length that resonated with themes I saw developing in the study. There are many further places to go. In future stages I would like to add second century CE authors such as Apuleius. In addition, I am interested in the role genre plays in descriptions of architecture,¹⁰⁷ and in particular I would like to explore more

¹⁰⁷ Newlands 2013 offers a recent analysis of the generic development of architectural ekphrasis.

fully the genre of satire. Horace and Martial represent an important part of this investigation, but there is much to be said about the work of Persius and of Juvenal in particular, who saw the shift from Flavian to Trajanic and Hadrianic Rome. Of course the project could easily assume later representations from the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and beyond,¹⁰⁸ as ‘the Eternal City’ continued to evolve into the amalgamation of history, literature, and architecture it is today. Even now one can see and appreciate all of these facets while roaming in Rome.

¹⁰⁸ As Edwards explores in *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City*.

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