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GENDER, SEX, AND THE DOMESTICATION OF THE EMPIRE IN ART OF THE AUGUSTAN AGE¹

TERESA R. RAMSBY AND BETH SEVERY-HOVEN

Like a poet selecting the theme and vocabulary of his *carmen*, Augustus shaped the Roman cultural landscape with a particular emphasis on a “return” to family values. In legislation and other rhetoric, Augustus presented the peace and stability of Rome as resting upon the integrity of the Roman family, and he paid particular attention to relocating women in this domestic context as wives and mothers. This program was meant to be a return to a more ordered past, when, as Natalie Boymel Kampen puts it, “men were men and women were under their control” (1992.161). Augustan artists helped to create new memories of such a past, some of which used this new vocabulary of female participation in the city’s success. The historical works of the period, whether annalistic (Livy) or epic (Virgil), feature females who either participate in the Augustan vision and thereby receive acceptance and rank within society or who demonstrate the disastrous consequences of disrupting gender roles.² Other artists utilized this

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All translations are by the authors.

2 E.g., in Virgil: Dido (*Aen.* 4.296–392) and Amata (7.341–459), and in Livy: Tarpeia (1.11.6–7) and Tullia (1.48.6–7).

domestic focus on family relationships and women's roles in the way they envisioned Rome's imperial rule. In public monuments and private imagery, the conquered were frequently figured as subordinate family members, often women. This paper explores the imagining of a domesticated empire.

As discussed at length in Kristina Milnor's contribution to this volume, part of Augustus's response to the disorder and disharmony of the triumviral wars was to promote laws aimed at restoring old-fashioned Roman morality. Among them were the marital laws of 19–18 B.C.E. and 9 C.E. that penalized the unmarried and adulterous and rewarded bearers of legitimate children. When Augustus thereby rooted Roman prosperity and peace in the Roman family, he drew attention to women as significant participators in the system: their good behavior was partly responsible for the health of the state. Thus in this period, women's roles were becoming at once more constrained but also more visible and more politicized. Over time, the cultural associations and hierarchical relationships of the Roman household developed into a particularly Augustan terminology of control (Severy 2003). The success and significance of this familial language became clear in 2 B.C.E. when Augustus helped articulate his unusual position in the state by accepting the title *Pater Patriae*, "Father of the Fatherland."

Within such a socio-political setting, it should occasion no surprise that Augustan-period artists drew on the iconography of the household in imagining the empire. In particular, the roles of women were writ large in Augustus's Rome: on the Altar of Peace, in Augustus's Forum, on the jewelry of the most powerful, and on the borders of the empire. Women's bodies served both as representatives of Rome's restored patriarchy and as trophies of Rome's conquests. Images of women concisely expressed the success of the Roman imperial project, a control of domestic and international space made visible in an old-fashioned, classicizing style that made the present look like the idealized past. But women were not the only subordinate members of the Roman family. Images of children and male slaves were also used to envision a world ruled by Rome; all who acquiesced or fell to Roman dominion could be displayed as incorporated into the family. The first part of this paper looks at visual representations of the Roman empire from the Augustan period and how they make use of women's bodies, familial imagery, and the language of control over the household.

In the latter part of this paper, we will show how Ovid, an elite Roman male, reflects this imperial vision in his responses to the cultural milieu. Ovid presents female bodies in postures of subordination and dependence with compelling similarities to the imagery that so pervades

the period. In many of these cases, Ovid sardonically presents himself as a *pater/poeta/imperator* figure who has mastered the art of seducing women. In one late passage, however, Ovid imagines a conquered woman in a way that evokes his own predicament vis-à-vis the emperor and reveals anxiety about his position (and perhaps that of many) within the new world order. After all, in some ways the conceptualization of Rome as a family blurred the distinction between citizens and subjects—a significant part of the transition to imperial rule under Augustus, as Andrew Riggsby emphasizes in his conclusion to this volume. In the Roman patriarchy, how many *patres* could there be?

Images presenting the empire as a set of feminized and/or familial subordinates surrounding a central, masculine figure of Roman authority do not appear in the Augustan period without precedent. Such images draw upon some republican forebears, particularly monuments of Pompey and Caesar, and a vast Hellenistic artistic repertoire, as will be discussed below. Nor is this the only means of imagining the empire or Roman domination to come to the forefront in this period. Others include the use of cosmic allegories such as the globe, earth and sea, or day and night (Nicolet 1991.29–47), and the demonstration of control over these forces, such as the monumental Horologium constructed in the Augustan Campus Martius. Contemporaries showed great interest in measuring and mapping the world, even putting a world map on display in the Porticus Vipsania (Nicolet 1991.99–109). Finally, traditions that flowed directly from triumphal imagery continued to flourish, such as reliefs of piled weapons and armor characteristic of specific defeated foes (Ferris 2000.46) and extensive epigraphic lists of conquered peoples and places (Kuttner 1995.79–80).

The visual vocabulary, however, that deployed the recently politicized female body, the family, and their roles in the Roman world articulated certain ideas about the empire difficult to find in these other forms but of critical importance to the *Pax Augusta*. In analyzing this vocabulary, we will be looking at gender in the way that term is defined by Joan Scott (1986.1067, 1069):

Gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power . . . It might be better to say, gender is a primary field within which or by means of which power is articulated. Gender is not the only field, but it seems to

have been a persistent and recurrent way of enabling the signification of power in the West, in Judeo-Christian as well as Islamic traditions . . . For concepts of power, though they may build on gender, are not always literally about gender itself.

Thus we will be looking for the ways in which artists expressed power relationships other than those between men and women—specifically those between Rome and its imperial subjects—by analogizing those relationships to the status differences between men and women.

In order to do so, we must have some sense of how the Romans understood the relationship between men and women. A quick summary is difficult, since the categories of male and female were constantly changing under the normal processes of culture, and in the Augustan period in particular, as we have been stressing, gender relations were highly contested. Epitaphs, legislation, and contemporary literature indicate that ideal Roman women were to be modest, faithful wives, demurely dressed, focused on their families, and respectful of their husbands' authority (Williams 1996.128–31). On the other hand, elite male sources tend to regard women generally as endowed with uncontrollable appetites for sex, wine, and inappropriate power (Skinner 1983, Williams 1996.131–34).

In contrast, the dominant ideology associated masculinity with independence, reason, self-determination, self-control, strength, and an active public life (Vidén 1993.60–61, 137–38). Since this description is derived from elite literature, it is no coincidence that these traits do not just describe a man as male, but as an elite, slave- and landowning father and politician; aristocratic male authors constructed gender in such a way as to make clear their dominance over many facets of Roman life. This ideology involves perceiving people on a spectrum from those who had achieved Roman manhood, the *viri*, to those who failed to do so, including females, children, slaves, lower-class citizens, and foreigners. These opposing categories largely mapped in the sexual plane onto those of active and passive, penetrator and penetrated; they could also be represented in the constituents of the Roman family: the father/*pater* and his wife, children, freedmen, and slaves. The images we will analyze draw upon this array of intersecting hierarchical relationships in subordinating the empire to Rome and Augustus.

Perhaps the most overt examples of this phenomenon are Augustan monuments or displays that utilize female personifications of peoples and

places to represent the subjects of the empire. We know of one precedent in the theater of Pompey, with its statues of fourteen *nationes* (Pliny *NH* 36.41, Suetonius *Nero* 46), presumably nations conquered by Pompey. But many more examples are known from the Augustan period. Written sources inform us of “likenesses of all the peoples” set up by Augustus in the Porticus ad Nationes in Rome,³ “plaques of Spain and the other peoples” in the Forum of Augustus,⁴ and “images of all the peoples acquired by Augustus” displayed in his funeral procession (Dio 56.34.2; cf. Tacitus *Annals* 1.8.4). Fragments of a relief of small female figures survive from the decoration of the inner altar of the Ara Pacis (Kähler 1954), and such female figures are visible standing behind Augustus on a scene from one of the Boscoreale cups (Kuttner 1995.69–93). Thus the form seems to have come to prominence at this time (Smith 1988.71–72).

Such images derive in some sense from the Hellenistic iconography of a city personified as a female figure, but as R. R. R. Smith explains, such iconography did not use political and geographical personifications to enumerate victories (1988.50, 70). In the Roman examples, the female gender of the figures does some of the work of expressing Roman domination over those so represented. But the historical context of Greek art in Rome helps, too. Greek statuary art first entered Rome as triumphal spoils, and from the mid-republic on, display of a conquered city’s art in temples and public buildings formed what Catherine Edwards calls a “visual imperialism” expressing the victories of Roman generals and the spread of Roman power (2003.50). When Roman military interests moved beyond the Hellenized world, the Romans did not develop an interest in the art or religious artifacts of these other peoples, they began instead creating representations of those peoples using Greek styles (Edwards 2003.64–65). Thus in these statues and reliefs, the imperial connotations of Greek and Hellenized art reinforce the impact of the Romans’ move to represent the dominated peoples of their empire as female.

Closer examination of one example of this type of statue group helps confirm our interpretation of the imagery and reveals even more nuances to the feminizing of the empire in such works. Smith (1988) convincingly argues on iconographic and ideological grounds that the so-called *ethne* reliefs of the north portico of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias reproduce an

3 Servius *ad Aen.* 8.721: *simulacra omnium gentium*; cf. Pliny *Natural History* 36.39.

4 Velleius 2.39.2: “praeter Hispanias aliasque gentis, quarum titulis forum eius praenitet.”

Augustan-period monument from Rome, perhaps even the reliefs from the Porticus ad Nationes mentioned earlier. The Sebasteion is, perhaps, our best glimpse into what such early imperial groups from the capital must have looked like.

The *ethne* reliefs stand between engaged columns, each consisting of a single figure in high relief on a base inscribed with the name of the represented *ethnos* (figure 9). The artists clearly designed them to look like a row of statues in a colonnade, a familiar sight in Roman architecture (Smith 1988.53). The surviving inscriptions refer to thirteen peoples and three islands, ranging across the empire from the Callaeci in northwest Spain, to the Bosporans on the Black Sea, to the Judaeans (Smith 1988.57). J. M. Reynolds suggests that the complete set must have been designed to illustrate the victories of Augustus (1981.326–27, 1986.115), which were often presented in such a way as to emphasize the most distant frontiers (Smith 1988.59; *Res Gestae* 26–33).

The figures are individualized, but not by displaying ethnically appropriate dress or attributes.⁵ Instead, drapery, pose, gesture, hairstyle, head types, and attributes from the Greek classical and Hellenistic repertoire are used to express what Smith characterizes as “a range of subtle differences of character and degree of civilization” (1988.60). For example, *ethnos* no. 3 has a carefully bound hairstyle typical of idealized Greek women and goddesses, wears a thick classical *peplos*, and bears a calm facial expression and stance. Smith thus identifies her as a representation of a people or island “unambiguously Greek and ‘free,’ as opposed to barbarian and captive” (1988.65). The surviving head referred to as *ethnos* no. 6, in contrast, has thick, untied, wild hair, widely parted lips, and the broad square face with heavy chin and thick neck that mark her as “barbarian” (69–70). The “half-barbarian” no. 2 has hair not fully untied but loosely looped in back, drapery slipping to bare one breast, and arms crossed in front, all of which suggest the “regular iconography of conquered ‘barbarian’ female figures” (63; figure 9). The fact that her hands are not actually bound indicates to Smith that “she submits willingly” (63). Finally, *ethnos* no. 1, representing the Piroustae, a group of Illyrians, has an idealized but slightly masculine face and late classical controlled hair; she bears a helmet, shield, and

5 Elsewhere in Rome, artists often dressed a female personification in the clothing appropriate for the men of the depicted people; see Kuttner 1995.79.

cloak over her belted dress. Smith identifies her as simply “un-Graeco-Roman,” some kind of ideal female warrior (62). Thus in Smith’s analysis, the dress, hairstyle, and posture of idealized, classical female figures are used to indicate Hellenized or civilized peoples, while being bound, or with hands crossed, untidy hairstyles, or dramatic, Hellenistic facial expressions are used to characterize degrees of barbarity. Such variety allows the artist to render the represented as willing participants, peacefully incorporated into the Roman world, or as subdued prisoners, with a range in between (71). Similar female figures are found in a poorly preserved frieze from the Ara Pacis, including some who bear these “barbarian” iconographic traits (Smith 1988.73). Artists from the Augustan period developed this means of rendering the “peaceful incorporation of new conquests” into the empire (Smith 1988.73).

Smith’s analysis of the variations evident in the Sebasteion and Ara Pacis reliefs is largely compelling. Yet there are other ways of characterizing these differences. Intriguingly, Smith himself uses the term “matronly” to describe the dress, pose, and hairstyle of the most Hellenized of the *ethne* figures (1988.68); in other words, those peoples who acquiesced most fully to Roman rule are presented as respected wives. In contrast, the figures standing for subdued barbarians are depicted partially or fully bound, with parts of their bodies exposed in the iconography of captives—and slaves. The relationship of the various *ethne* to the empire is thus also rendered through references to women’s varied roles within the Roman family, from matron to slave. The empire as a whole is presented as domesticated. Finally, the respectability of each role is reinforced by stylistic references to time: the matrons are classicizing figures, imbued with the approval of the idealized past (Kampen 1992.165), while the expressions, hairstyles, and poses of the slaves are more characteristic of the recent and wild Hellenistic age. Artists thereby rendered both the space and time of the empire—its frontiers, newest conquests, its loyal but still subordinate partners, its past and renewed morality—through images of the dependent women of the family of Rome.

The Forum of Augustus contained a similar row of female statues, but without this deliberate differentiation of the individual figures. Even so, these female bodies participate in the same conversation about gender, familial control, and imperialism. The Forum, dedicated in 2 B.C.E., celebrates Rome’s military and political past and Augustus’s conquests, and displays imagery of domination, much of which depends on an implicit notion that sexual powers are being manipulated and controlled (Kellum 1997).

The roles this space played in Roman life provide a critical context. First of all, the Forum of Augustus was designed to be the focal point of Roman military endeavors. Generals left for campaigns from here, the triumph concluded here, and statues were erected in the portico for generals who had earned triumphal honors (Zanker 1988.214, Kellum 1997.166). To emphasize Augustus's contributions to Roman imperialism, *tituli*, plaques of some sort identifying his victories, were set up here (Velleius 2.39.2), and an equestrian statue of him was erected in the middle of the space inscribed with his title *Pater Patriae* (*Res Gestae* 35).

The god of war was likewise refashioned to play a civic role. Traditionally kept outside the *pomerium*, the god was allowed within the sacred boundary when Octavian vowed a shrine to Mars the Avenger while pursuing the assassins of his adoptive father Julius Caesar. In fact, Divus Julius was enshrined as one of the divinities within the temple, thereby linking the paternal relationship of Mars and Romulus to the paternal role of Caesar to Octavian. Fathers watch over their own, and, in concert, the two gods appear to justify and sanction every warlike move the Romans attempt. To reinforce this divine sanction of Roman military endeavors, Augustus also emphasized Mars's role in avenging wrongs to Rome's imperial dominion by dedicating here the standards once lost by Crassus and Antony to the Parthians. The great political and military leaders of Rome's past, from Aeneas and Romulus to Marius and Sulla, appeared as statues set between the columns of the great portico (Zanker 1988.211). Finally, this military space in the heart of Rome also became the place where future Roman men were literally "made"; boys came to the new forum as part of their coming of age ceremony (Kellum 1997.166; Macrobius *Sat.* 1.6.7, Dio 55.10.2). In this manner, the men of the Roman past and future met here under the paternity of Augustus.

This extremely masculine, and yet also familial, space at the center of the city and empire was made even more so by the presence of a few carefully selected female bodies. Along the upper courses of the porticoes on either side of the Forum were rows of female figures. These are the Erechtheion maidens discussed by Alexandra Lesk in this collection (figure 8). Obviously, as copies of the famed columns from the Athenian Acropolis monument, these female figures are not differentiated representations of peoples and places like the Sebasteion reliefs. Nevertheless, they can be read by us, and were read in antiquity, as images of subordination, perhaps because of the familiarity of imagery like that in the Porticus ad Nationes. As Lesk explains, Vitruvius was not referring to these figures in the Forum of Augustus when he made his famous comments about caryatids in the

opening of his *de Architectura* (1.5), but, soon afterwards, people began to associate his ideas with the Forum images:

Whoever places marble statues of cloaked women called caryatids in place of columns, with mutules and cornices on their heads, offers this explanation to anyone who asks. The city of Carya on the Peloponnese took sides with the Persians against Greece, and after the Greeks were freed through glorious victory, they declared war on the Caryati. Once the town was captured, the men killed, and the city desecrated, they sold the women off into slavery, but did not allow them to remove their matronly garments or their jewelry, so that they were led away not just in one triumph but as lasting examples of servitude; weighed down by heavy humiliation, they appeared to serve the sentence for their city. And so there were then architects who chose for public buildings images of these women designed to carry a heavy load so that the notable punishment of the crime of the Caryati would be handed down even to posterity.⁶

The female figures in Augustus's Forum do not need labels or differing attributes to mark them as representations of conquered places, and, in fact, do the work of subordinating the empire on a number of levels. The decoration of the intercolumniar spaces helps mark the imperial context; surviving reliefs show heads of deities and/or barbarians from the edges of the empire—Jupiter Amon and a male with a characteristically Gallic torque—mounted in the center of massive shields (figure 8). Such images of barbarians may also have encouraged the viewer to compare the female architecture-bearing statues to those depicting Parthian men recently added to the interior of the Basilica Aemilia in the Forum Romanum.⁷ In quoting a classical Athenian monument, the maidens summon the glorious past so idealized by those of Augustus's time and even borrow authority from it

6 For the Latin text, see Lesk in this volume.

7 Schneider 1986.115–24. These may have been the model for the Dacian architectural barbarians in the Forum of Trajan. For a fuller reading of gender in the Augustan restoration of the Basilica Aemilia, see Kampen 1991 and 1992.

(Kampen 1992.165). However, the Forum was constructed when Greece had been conquered by Rome; Greek art was Roman war spoil, and here it may even more specifically refer to Octavian's victory over the Athens-loving Antony (Lesk, this volume). The stone maidens represent and evoke the conquered subjects of the empire in this imperial space in various ways.

The presence of one other woman helps us make the silent maidens even more articulate. At the head of the Forum sits the Temple of Mars Ultor, and, both in the pedimental sculpture and inside the temple, Venus stands beside Mars. Moreover, this Forum abuts the Forum of Julius Caesar, with its focal Temple of Venus Genetrix, in an archaeologically uncertain but perhaps suggestive fashion (Kellum 1997.173). Given triumviral propaganda and the rhetoric of Augustus's marital legislation, Venus beside Mars represents the healing of Rome's recent wounds and moral failings. Venus, ancestress of the Julian clan, and Mars, father of Romulus and the avenger of Caesar's murderers, rise as the patron gods of Rome's stability. The unseemly urges of the recent era, sex and war, are here under control. Augustus's marital legislation sublimates the sexual nature of Venus and draws instead on her fertility, something useful to the state. Mars the Avenger has brought a successful end to both the civil wars and external threats, such as the Parthians. Augustus, like no ruler before him, can celebrate these two tempestuous forces side by side in the same temple: Venus can disarm Mars, but Mars is successful when Venus is in her place. The union of Mars and Venus, a source of laughter in Homer's *Odyssey* Book 8, signifies in the Forum of Augustus that war and uncontrolled lust—and uncontrolled women—no longer threaten.⁸

And this is how the sameness of the Erechtheion maidens in the Forum, in contrast to the differentiation of the female statues in the monument quoted by the Sebasteion reliefs and on the Ara Pacis, underscores the power of Augustus. In the midst of this extremely masculine and yet

8 See also Kellum 1996.179 on the juxtaposition of the text, temple, and an erotic graffito found on the stylobate of the temple. The inescapable eroticism of the relationship of Mars and Venus aroused Ovid's comment and critique (*Ars Am.* 2.561–98, *Tr.* 2.287–88 and 295–97). Augustus was certainly aware of the potential subversive readings of his symbol-laden imagery, being as much a master of image as Ovid was a master of text. The parries and twists between the *poeta* and the *princeps* throughout Ovid's poetic career reflect the competitive aspect of assigning meaning to the ubiquitous and diverse symbols of conquest and achievement seen throughout the city.

familial space, he is the *Pater Patriae*. Through his moralizing legislation, promotion of family values, and military endeavors, the republic has been restored. In his presence, all women are the same: idealized and domesticated, properly old-fashioned in style and demeanor, they all silently and willingly bear the burden of empire.

Another group of monuments employs the language of family and control over the household in imagining the empire, but in different ways from the Sebasteion's female personifications and Erechtheion maidens of the Forum of Augustus. These are monuments that explicitly present family groups, often marked by the presence of women and children. They picture the empire as the family of Rome, often with Augustus as *Pater Patriae* and beside him his sons, wife, and daughter, on down to the lowliest slaves.

The monumental screen that surrounds the Ara Pacis in the Campus Martius, dedicated in 9 B.C.E., is a prominent and much noted example. The reliefs decorating it present the peace of Rome as both predicated upon and ensuring the health of the Roman family. Panels on the west end depict the famed she-wolf and twins with father Mars looking on, as well as Aeneas and his son Iulus. On the east end, an allegorical representation of the fecund earth and her many offspring sits opposite the victorious Roma seated upon a pile of arms. Finally, on the long north and south sides, friezes depict a procession including Augustus, state priests, and members of the imperial family. These latter scenes are anomalous in Roman art, in that historical reliefs rarely feature women and children; here, however, artists deploy them in conjunction with the other reliefs to illustrate the fertility and bounty provided by Augustan victory, peace, and leadership, as well as the role of the imperial family in ensuring that this peace will continue (Kleiner 1978).

But the screen does not just present the imperial family and its place in Roman history and mythology. Here family is also a metaphor for empire, and Augustus is its *pater*. Several children are placed prominently in the procession scenes, usually in close proximity to their parents. Sons and daughters of Augustus's daughter, nieces and stepsons are included, dressed in the *toga praetexta* of childhood and wearing the protective *bullā* amulet. However, one child on the north side and one on the south are shown in distinctively different dress. On the south, the leading child, pulling on Agrippa's toga, is dressed in foreign garments, including a cap, trousers, and torque, and has long, curly locks of hair. Several scholars suggest that he represents an eastern, possibly Ponto-Bosporan child; his mother, also with unusual dress and hairstyle, may be the woman standing behind him,

her hand on his head.⁹ On the north frieze, we see a half-naked, tunic-clad toddler sporting the curly locks and torque characteristic of a Gaul. These children represent young hostages kept in the imperial household as pledges between Rome and client kingdoms or as guests in the imperial household who wait for periods of stability when they might return to their people.¹⁰ Thus these scenes allude to the empire via dependants of Augustus's family, from east to west.

The identity of the Gallic toddler is confirmed by a scene on the Boscoreale Cup of Augustus in which Gallic children are given by their fathers to a seated Augustus under the supervision of a cuirass-clad Drusus (figure 10). One particular baby, grabbing up at the clothes of the man beside him, seems to quote or be quoted by the Gallic toddler on the Ara Pacis. The cup and the now lost monumental relief from which it was derived preserve in silver and stone an actual event from Drusus's Gallic campaign in which children of the leaders were handed over to Augustus for honorable rearing in his court (Kuttner 1995.94–123). The scene is composed entirely of male figures, but the presence of children reveals that a narrative about families and lineage is being presented. Augustus's family is preeminent, and his power over other fathers brings their children over to him: the only successful family is that of Rome. This scene is at once an historical and a familial rendering of themes found on the reverse of the cup, where the artist presents Augustus's world rule in allegory: a seated Augustus receives a Victory from Venus, while Mars leads in a group of female figures personifying conquered provinces (figure 11).

To return to the Ara Pacis, the bodies of women and children on the screen reliefs present Augustus's relationship to Rome as that of a *paterfamilias* to his *familia*, and the barbarian interlopers remind the viewer that the *familia* has been extended. The barbarian hostages (or guests) on the Ara Pacis are treated with much the same dignity as the Augustan family—provided that they cooperate with Augustus. The barbarians in the crowd represent, according to John Pollini (1987.27), “not an unqualified peace between Romans and barbarians, but Roman pacification of barbarian

9 Rose 1990.455–59, Simon 1967, and Pollini 1987. Rose suggests that the child's mother is Dynamis, former wife of the Pontic king Polemon, and that she remained in Rome for a few years until her former husband was dead. See Torelli 1982.60 n.72 for a contrary view.

10 See Rose 1990.455 n. 38 for a list of scholars who identify one or both boys as born of Julia and dressed in “Trojan games” attire.

peoples and the Romanization of future barbarian peoples . . . and chieftains and kings: the barbarian children appear as subordinates, not equals.” The women of the imperial family dutifully produce heirs, and so, too, does the empire itself produce inheritors of Roman prosperity, participants in the Roman empire. The inclusion of these foreign children sends the tantalizing message that Augustus offers opportunities to the insider and outsider alike. Yet the focus on the children of the Augustan household and the adornment of Drusus with military garb¹¹ reinforce the idea that military vigilance and hereditary rights are the domain of Augustus’s family, while the barbarians on the monument are the objects of Roman protection, not agents of their own initiative. As Iain Ferris explains (2000.52):

Such institutionalized pedaphoric acts in this period seem to be part of a narrative thread emerging or created at this time that linked, or rather contrasted, family security and harmony at Rome with the disruption and dislocation of family life in the barbarian world as a consequence of opposition to Roman power.

The women of Rome produce children in an atmosphere of peace and abundance; in that same atmosphere, barbarian women and children may find protection. A threat and a promise are both present: the threat is manifest in the necessary separation of barbarian women from their husbands, who are markedly absent here; the concomitant promise is that, in that sacrifice, they find safety and stability for their families. The only functioning family in the empire is that of Rome.

The artist of the Gemma Augustea presents in intricate detail the same narrative as the Ara Pacis and Boscoreale Cup, but in more explicit terms (figure 12). The cameo, probably a late Augustan or early Tiberian creation (Kleiner 1992.69–71), is divided into two registers that present the yin and yang of imperialism. The upper course displays the comfortable family of Augustus ruling a prosperous world-wide empire. The *princeps* and Roma sit side by side, a couple receiving Tiberius and probably Germanicus in the company of allegorical divinities: a representation of the known world, Oikoumene, crowns Augustus, while Oceanus or Neptune

11 See Syme 1984 and Pollini 1986 on the identification of Drusus.

and a personification of the fruitful earth, with a cornucopia and two babies, look on (Kleiner 1992.70–71).

In contrast, on the lower course of the gem, the artist reveals the military efforts in the provinces and frontiers upon which this rule rests: barbarian families are shown suffering the consequences of defeat while Roman soldiers raise a trophy over them. Two probably Illyrian couples are presented. On the viewer's right, auxiliary troops pull along by the hair a half-nude and kneeling man with a torque and a standing woman who labors to keep her clothing from slipping off her shoulders. A crying child may have been positioned beside the woman before the gem was recut in antiquity (Kleiner 1992.71). On the other side, a draped female and semi-nude, long-haired male are made to sit at the foot of the *tropaeum*. This barbarian man with his hands bound behind his back looks defiantly at his captors, hopelessly expressing his desire to protect his family. The female sits dejected, resting her head between her hands in the iconographic gesture of mourning. The message of the gem seems unmistakable. On the frontier, other families disintegrate in the presence of the overwhelming success of the household of Augustus, which itself promises to last many generations. Resistance to the family of Rome is futile.

One further detail of the gem, however, like the Ara Pacis procession scene, indicates that willing outsiders may be respectably incorporated into the family. Four men participate in raising the battlefield trophy. The artist clearly renders two as Roman soldiers with distinctive helmets and breastplates. But the other two men are shown semi-nude, in the iconography of slaves or captives, and are usually identified as freed slaves who have joined the Roman forces (Kleiner 1992.71). The lower register thus illustrates different roles in the empire for provincials and foreigners by alluding to familial roles; outsiders may join the family and become auxiliary soldiers, that is, freedmen of the family, or, if they resist, they are added as slaves. Augustus provides the world what he offers to Rome—an honorable status in the family—if only it accepts his paternity.

Carved reliefs on the arch at Saint-Rémy repeat a version of this message for an explicitly provincial audience. This arch was part of a series erected in civilian centers in Gallia Narbonensis under Augustus that all feature scenes of captives bound to trophies (Silberberg-Peirce 1986.312). Most of these monuments show just male figures, the import of which will be discussed below, but the arch at Saint-Rémy displays male and female couples. Each of two panels on the east side of the arch, facing the city, features a recently defeated barbarian man and woman flanking a trophy.

On the north end, probably depicting the Gallic or Germanic tribes to the northeast, the woman, dressed in long robes, looks down and away from the semi-nude man in trousers bound to the trophy by a collar on his neck. On the south end, another long-haired woman with diaphanous robes, who crosses her hands in front, stands with a male in trousers and a fringed garment whose arms are bound behind his back. These figures probably represent the Alpine tribes recently conquered by Augustus. The panels continue the themes of family displacement and male emasculation at the borders of the empire that we saw on the Ara Pacis screen in the capital and on the Gemma Augustea.

Similar images appear on the Tropaeum Alpinum, a monumental trophy dedicated in 6 B.C.E. by the senate and people of Rome in honor of Augustus's victories over the Alpine tribes (Pliny *NH* 3.4.20, Strabo 6.1.3). Erected at La Turbie along the via Julia Augusta on the border between Italy and Gaul (Formigé 1949, Silberberg-Peirce 1986.312–13), the monument bears an inscription listing the forty-five Alpine tribes subdued by Augustus. On either side of this, artists expressed a similar sentiment through a relief panel depicting a male and female captive kneeling and bound to a tree trunk trophy. The men struggle against the bonds tied behind their backs; the women's drapery slips to reveal a breast above the hands shackled across the front of their bodies. The bared breast is an element of Amazon iconography and plays a part in rendering these female figures as barbarian (Silberberg-Peirce 1986.313), in that Amazons were the quintessential representations of female disorder and social chaos (Rodgers 2003.84). In addition, Greek artists bared the breast of the Amazon as a sign of defeat, usually violent defeat at the hands of a male Greek warrior (Cohen 1997.74, 77–78). Finally, their nudity also expresses their vulnerability and their partner's inability to protect them; women were among the spoils of war, and the images suggest that they will serve at the pleasure of their masters as slaves in the family of Rome.

To return to the arch at Saint-Rémy, its west side also draws upon the combination of images analyzed above. Artists depict female personifications interacting with defeated enemies. On the north bay, a female figure representing either Roma or Gallia Narbonensis leads a semi-nude and bound male captive. As Susan Silberberg-Peirce explains (1986.318): "She symbolizes the alliance between Rome and this province. She is shown leading a barbarian Gaul into Roman territory; into the civilized world of the Pax Augusta." In the relief on the opposite bay, Roma sits atop a pile of Greek spoils next to a bound Greek male, a scene that refers to the

conquest of Saint-Rémy itself, a Hellenistic Greek foundation (Silberberg-Peirce 1986.317). Here the subject peoples are represented by male figures, but the artist nevertheless emasculates them by putting the captives under the guidance or control of a female figure.

The trophy monument at the far end of Gallia Narbonensis in the small town Saint-Bertrand also employs complex imagery from this genre to express varying degrees of membership in the family of Rome. The massive sculptural ensemble was probably erected in 20 or 19 B.C.E. to celebrate the victory at Actium, defeat of the Pyrenean and Gallic tribes, progress against the Germans, and the continuing alliance of Gallia Narbonensis with Rome (Silberberg-Peirce 1986.313–14). Although now fragmentary, the complex monument once had three groups of life-sized statuary arranged around tree trunk trophies. Surviving figures include a pair of kneeling, bound, semi-nude males and a standing male and female couple. Of the latter, he wears a Gallic torque and long robe, while she is draped in a long, flowing robe. Silberberg-Peirce (1986.313) explains that these “free-standing, unfettered figures in Gallic dress are not prisoners-of-war; rather, they represent the allied Gauls of Narbonensis who helped Augustus subdue the Asterian and Cantabrian tribes (*Iberia capta*) from 28 to 19 B.C.E., represented here by kneeling, enchained captives.” On the top of the monument, artists placed a triumphant statue of Augustus wearing a decorated cuirass that repeats the most militant victory image: two nude and bound male captives flank a central trophy.

The statues of the standing Gauls call for closer scrutiny. The female may be interpreted as personifying the province of Gallia Narbonensis (figure 13). Although she is, indeed, not bound or forced to kneel, the artists present her as disheveled and vulnerable, with one hand holding up her slipping clothes. Her pathetic aspect is emphasized by her hair, which hangs down messily and without ornament.¹² She appears in need of protection. Standing above and behind her, with arm outstretched, would have

12 There is an intriguing similarity between the maiden representing Gallia in the Narbonensis sculpture and Epona, the goddess of the horse in northern Gaul, depicted on a relief sculpture near Metz (Musée d'Archéologie Gallo-Romain, Metz). Wrightman 1985 mentions the worship of indigenous gods and the use of various Gallic deities to represent Augustan *numina* among provincial artists. Although the freestanding female in the Narbonensis monument is not on horseback, there may have been purposeful associations between Gallia in general and the popular horse goddess. This connection may be a means of communicating the cooperation of Gallia with, and even her divine sanction of, Augustan leadership.

been the statue of Augustus himself. His presence provides that protection to this vulnerable maiden, while also implying that he is responsible for her vulnerability; “The emperor made certain that his messages fostered the right attitude toward the new authority of Rome” (Silberberg-Peirce 1986.309). The monument presents both a threat and a promise from the family of Rome and its father, even for those who do not join as slaves.

This multi-faceted imagery utilizing gender and family to subordinate the empire was widely dispersed. We have seen examples from state-sponsored art in the capital and on the frontiers, as well as in private or semi-private jewelry and silverware. Later we shall discuss examples from the architectural decoration of Italian homes. Such motifs can also be found in Arretine ware, a red gloss style of pottery extremely popular across the Roman world during the very early empire. To consider just one example: a mold-made cup depicts a seated and dejected female, labeled Germania, beside a pair of chained male captives identified as Arsacidae and Parthi, that is, Armenians and Parthians (Kuttner 1995.85). Artists thus produced this kind of imagery for patrons of different classes in Rome and for a wide variety of audiences across the empire.

Moreover, these images of barbarian families on the Boscoreale Cup of Augustus, the Gemma Augustea, the arches and trophy monuments of Gaul, and Italian tableware work against certain artistic and ideological traditions in a way that helps underscore the role of Augustus and the gendered language of control over the household being employed. From the Hellenistic world, the Romans inherited a visual tradition with a “theme of male barbarian suicide” (Ferris 2000.14) and a general emphasis on dead or dying enemies, especially Gauls. The famous groups of statues commissioned by King Attalos I of Pergamon for his city, Athens, Delphi, and Delos seem to have featured this motif. These pieces probably included the so-called Suicide Gauls, a composition in which a nude male wearing a torque holds a dead or dying woman in one arm and slides a sword into his own throat with the other, as well as the well-known nude male Dying Gaul (Ferris 2000.6–10). We know from Pliny (*NH* 34.88) that another sculpture from the same group as the latter featured an infant touching his dead mother.

These works were known in Augustus’s Rome; the famous copies of the Suicide Gauls in the National Museum in Rome and of the Dying Gaul in the Capitoline Museum are thought to have been commissioned by Julius Caesar for his estate on the Quirinal (Ferris 2000.8–10, 21–22, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma 1998.44–45), and earlier Italian art featured a motif of dead Gallic warriors being eaten by carrion birds (Ferris 2000.15).

This is not the imagery employed on Augustan monuments. The Augustan-period imagery focuses on the Gallic family, but its members do not die. Those who oppose Rome lose, but they survive and are put to use in the family of Rome. Provinces and peoples who chose marriage will be treated as respected matrons; those who rebel will become Rome's slaves.

Finally, we need to address certain Augustan-period images of empire that do not utilize the bodies of women or children, but can still be read as drawing upon gender, sexuality, and the family to articulate Roman control. Female figures were useful in representing peoples or places, since those people were in general subordinated by the gender of the figure; the status of the province could then be expressed by the artist via the status of the woman so presented (slave or matron). Artists could not rely solely on gender in scenes with male figures, so when males were employed to represent the subjects of the empire, artists subordinated them in pose, clothing, or gesture, that is, they were shown chained, half to fully nude, kneeling or handing something over to a Roman official. The Parthian depicted on the cuirass of the famous Prima Porta statue of Augustus is shown handing one of the lost standards over to Tiberius or a generic Roman official opposite him.

More emphatically hierarchical are monumental depictions of Parthians in Rome. Coins suggest that artists used a similar pose of offering up a standard for the Parthians shown on the so-called Parthian Arch of Augustus in the Forum Romanum (*RIC* 134a/*BMC* 428); these acroterial figures were placed on the outer of the arch's three bays so as to gesture up towards the central statue of Augustus in his triumphal chariot. As noted earlier, columns in the interior of the Basilica Aemilia were carved into images of male Parthians during an Augustan-period restoration of this Forum building. Rolf Schneider has also reconstructed from fragments and later visual allusions a victory monument in which three kneeling Parthian men supported a central statue of Augustus (1986.18–57), and Parthian men returning standards are shown kneeling on *denarii* of 19/18 B.C.E. (*RIC* 315/*BMC* 58).

Gallic and German captives tend to be chained below trophies, although we should keep in mind the Arretine cup with bound Parthians and Armenians noted above. In addition to the many images already discussed, a widely attested example comes from contemporary Italian homes. Campana plaques are mass-produced terracotta moldings mostly used to decorate the architecture of private homes in Etruria and Latium. Dated to the early years of the first century C.E., such plaques are known from multiple workshops with a motif of male Gallic prisoners flanking a battlefield trophy (Kuttner

1995.84, Picard 1957.284–85). We have at least one example in which the bound prisoners are semi-nude (Tortorella 1981.67–69). Finally, *denarii* of 13 B.C.E. depict a barbarian man, nude save for his fringed cloak, kneeling and holding up a *vexillum* in a sign of surrender (RIC 416/BMC 128).

As noted earlier, for Roman elite men, about whom our evidence is best and under whose influence much art was created, masculinity was equated with mastery, independence, self-control, self-determination, active sexual penetration, and even paternity. Thus images of barbarian men, bound, seated, and chained to a trophy, unable to protect their families, or kneeling before, or to support, another man are feminized in their subordination. This degradation is underscored by the stress on nudity in Augustan-period examples. Earlier depictions had focused upon the ethnic dress of the captive as a means of identification, probably an influence from triumphal imagery (Kuttner 1995.79). In Augustan scenes, such men are often shown semi-nude or nude, in the iconography of slavery. This is sexual subordination not in an erotic sense, but in a very Roman sense of being vulnerable to the dominant Roman *vir*—to his gaze, to his sexual penetration, to his political, military, or paternal control. As Edwards notes in a broader context (2003.67): “These powerful alien bodies were frozen in perpetual submission as a permanent reminder of Roman superiority.”

In a significant body of art of the Augustan age, artists pacified the empire by presenting it as feminized and domesticated. They used female figures to stand for whole peoples and provinces; they employed naked and bound male and female prisoners of war and captive children to contrast the impotence of the frontier with the health and prosperity of the family of Rome and its father. This imagery is found in the monumental art of the capital, in towns of the provinces, and in the private homes of Italy. Drawing upon the cultural associations of the Roman family, including the iconographical use of children, the variety of women’s roles, and the family hierarchies of male and female, master and slave, artists fixed the Roman domination of the spaces and people of the empire in timeless stone.

Nor is it a coincidence that such a vision of the empire arose during the Augustan period. An intense political focus was fixed on female bodies and the roles of women as Augustus and his contemporaries tried to solve the problems they felt were revealed by the civil wars. In addition, just as Roman orators and authors deployed the social category of “female” in order to construct Roman masculinity (Williams 1999.142–53), a feminized periphery of the empire helped construct a masculine center. Sometimes this included the male citizenry of Rome as a whole. However, in art, this

masculine center was usually represented by Augustus, and this rendering of the empire helped give shape to the unprecedented role of the emperor.

As usual with the citizen women of Rome, considering their point of view generates more questions than answers, but the questions themselves are suggestive. When women looked at the female personifications in the Porticus ad Nationes or the Erechtheion maidens of the Forum of Augustus, did they read these monuments as expressions of empire and find pride in their city's demonstrated strength? Or did they perceive articulations of the proper, subordinated place of women in Roman society? Did the women of the ancient world sense with foreboding the manipulation that Scott articulates, or did they reinforce it? Did they perceive these images like men, and thereby distance themselves from their own degradation?

Male citizens may have had a similarly complex response. In pondering some images, such as the female provinces, they might have imagined themselves as part of the sexually active, dominant center of the Roman empire. The powerful presence of Augustus in many of the scenes, however, might have had the opposite effect. In a Roman family, there was only one *paterfamilias*. The images we have explored are imperial in two senses: they express Roman dominion over subject peoples and Augustan dominion over Rome. Men, even elite citizens, outside of the imperial family may have felt their roles as self-determined individuals and as Roman *patres* undermined by this understanding of empire.

The poet Ovid provides a useful opportunity to examine male responses, since his career spans the second half of Augustus's reign. His willingness to adopt imperial aims as his theme is an indication of the awareness spread throughout the Roman populace that the new age required new ways of expressing the cultural moment. In some of Ovid's poetry, the vocabulary of conquest, like that seen in the images above, is rooted in corporeal control, particularly in the bodies of women: themes of greatness are articulated in the domination of flesh.¹³

Yet these appearances of dominated women within Ovid's poetry should not be taken too literally, for there are poetic considerations that play into these representations, such as influences of the Hellenistic period. As David Fredrick explains, the dominated woman's presence in Augustan elegy is a result of elegists embracing the "fragmented aesthetic of Callimachus"

13 See Nagle 1984, Johnson 1985, Cahoon 1988 on Ovidian violence—violence posing as love—and Richlin 1992 on pornography in the guise of art.

(1997.179). This aesthetic is defined not merely by the substitution of the personal narrative for the epic; it also includes replacing the epic *agon* on the battlefield with the agonistic forces that dominate the lover/poet: desire and jealousy form one set of such compelling forces (Fredrick 1997.179). Since military imperialism pervades the political and cultural *mise en scène* at Rome, the Roman elegiac poem is where the forces of violence, acquisition, and usurpation play out within the context of private and domestic affairs. Augustus's empire was not obtained by entirely peaceful means, and yet its resulting influence is called *pax*. Similarly, the elegist's desired outcome is the quiet and carefree possession of an elusive woman, yet such success requires manipulation, maneuver, and aggression. Thus the themes of domestication that pervade Augustan imagery provide poets a means of articulating the qualities of an internalized, personal *domus* in which love and violence both reside.

In addition, there exists within Roman elegy some expression of the conflict between artistic freedom and patriotic impulses.¹⁴ We can find many examples where the poet vacillates between appreciation of Rome's power and disappointment in the way the empire circumscribes and limits the power of the individual. Sometimes these sentiments overlap with the themes of erotic conquest. The Roman elegists, and Ovid in particular, demonstrate the complications of domestication and the limits of a man's control over these so-called willing and feminized participants. Our survey here is brief, but the breadth of its scope with regard to Ovid's career demonstrates how an elite Roman man could experience a wide range of anxieties.

In a passage from an early poem, Ovid's lover finds the fruits of Roman imperialism beneficial to his amorous aims: he celebrates the fact that a man can find a delicious variety of lovely maidens throughout the city (*Ars* 1.55–56 and 59–60):

tot tibi tamque dabit formosas Roma puellas
 "haec habet" ut dicas "quicquid in orbe fuit."

. . .

quot caelum stellae, tot habet tua Roma puellas:
 mater in Aeneae constitit urbe sui.

14 See Ross 1977.51–52 and 111–12 for a discussion of subjectivity in elegy and the degree to which it is found in various poets; see also 127–28 on the problems poets faced writing elegy in Augustan Rome.

Rome will provide you with so many girls, you will say:
 “She has whatever the world affords” . . . your Rome has
 as many girls as there are stars in the sky: mother Venus
 is established in the city of her Aeneas.

In the second edition of the *Amores*, published at approximately the same time as the *Ars Amatoria*, the lover brags that he can be passionate about all types of women, from blonde to brunette, from pale skinned to dark (*Am.* 2.4.39–40):

candida me capiet, capiet me flava puella
 est etiam in fusco grata colore venus.

The pale girl will capture me, as will the golden haired;
 and sex is welcome in even a dusky hue.

The booty of Roman conquest is, to put it in vulgar terms, *booty*: the bodies of women are trophies to be admired and enjoyed. If we assume that Ovid was keen to notice the artistic images that represented Augustan rule, then his description of the availability of beautiful women provides a witty and erotic counterpoint to the statues of women that Augustus brought into the city to represent conquered nations and to the later Erechtheion maidens erected in Augustus’s Forum. His observation that Rome can provide such a smorgasbord of female flesh suggests an attempt to perform a Pygmalion-esque transformation such that the idealized statues of foreign women seen about the city (and the empire) become willing sexual partners in the beds of Roman men. This type of conquest works both ways, however; Ovid writes that these girls capture him (39: *capiet, capiet*) and implies that the possessor will eventually become subject to his possession until one is stimulated by renewed opportunities for conquest.

Ovid also explores the problems of dealing with violent forces (whether they be motivated by desire, jealousy, or national interest) and demonstrates that victimization is a fluid property. When Ovid begins his *Amores*, he writes that Cupid, like a conquering general, takes captive the poet’s skills and bends them to his erotic purposes.¹⁵ In the second poem

15 *Am.* 1.1.5: “quis tibi, saeve puer, dedit hoc in carmina iuris?” (“Who, savage boy, gave you such jurisdiction over song?”).

of the collection, he explicitly joins this image to that of the triumphal procession: Cupid is in the chariot and the poet and a host of young men and women march before the chariot as captive prisoners—representative, perhaps, of all inexperienced lovers under Cupid's control, but also, perhaps, of unwilling participants in the experimentation of subjective poetry.¹⁶ In this way, Ovid casts himself as an outsider looking in; he is not the champion within the chariot but the barbarian captive who must learn a new language, a new culture, and undergo all the new experiences of a city under the power of forceful love.

This use of the triumph ironically manipulates the pomp of the archaic ritual to celebrate the powers of Venus and Cupid rather than those of Mars, Venus's violent counterpart. Karl Galinsky (1969), James McKeown (1989), and John Miller (1995) have rightly shown that this and other elegiac uses of the triumph are poetic attempts to deflate the triumphal *topos* through comic exaggeration. Leslie Cahoon (1988:294, 306) adds needed complexity to the interpretation, attributing more than comedy to the depiction: "The theme of erotic warfare is not merely a witty exercise, but also an exposé of the competitive, violent, and destructive nature of *amor*, an exposé that calls into question fundamental Roman attitudes in both the public and the private spheres" and "To regard love as a kind of warfare is not just a funny conceit about the nature of the sexual act because hostility and real violence result from such an attitude." Perhaps Ovid means to reflect upon the notion that violence begets violence, whether it manifests itself on Illyrian battlefields or in the bedroom, or perhaps Ovid's poems simply reflect the violence that was assumed to exist in daily Roman life. In any case, the poet lays claim to territory that is otherwise used to establish Augustus and his successors as the saviors of the empire (Hickson 1991). The purposes of the conquering general and the lover intersect—love is a type of domination.¹⁷

This is made all too clear in the seventh poem of the same book where the lover chastises himself for beating his mistress in a fit of jealous

16 *Am.* 1.2.19–20: "en ego confiteor: tua sum nova praeda, Cupido; / porrigimus victas ad tua iura manus" ("Ah! I admit it, I am your latest booty, Cupid; I stretch out my conquered hands to your control") and 25–28: "inque dato curru, populo clamante triumphum / stabis et adiunctas arte movebis aves. ducentur capti iuvenes captaeque puellae: / haec tibi magnificus pompa triumphus erit" ("And there in your allotted chariot, you will rise to the popular cheers of 'Triumph,' and, with skill, you will drive the harnessed doves of your mother. Captured boys and maidens will be led before you: this procession will be your magnificent triumph").

17 See Kennedy 1993 on the effective force of love, particularly in literary discourse.

rage.¹⁸ As Ellen Greene shows, there are many ways in which the lover distances himself from the violence he has committed (1998.85), and he finds pleasure in the bruised and disheveled appearance of his mistress (86–87). The overdone nature of his abuse brings him to imagine his lover in chains before his triumphal chariot—with an audience mockingly celebrating his victory over a girl.¹⁹ As Greene indicates, a triumph does little to direct sympathy or empathy toward the conquered, it places much greater focus on the conquering hero; even his description of her wounded body blurs into sadistic, erotic satisfaction (1998.88). Ovid has created a contemporary simile that stands in contrast to the more remote, mythological comparisons seen in previous lines of the poem (where he compares her to Atalanta, Ariadne, Cassandra in lines 13–18, and Venus in 31–34), and in contrast to the nature similes he provides in lines 51–56 (Greene 1998.88–89). The reader of *Amores* 1.7 may recall the triple triumph of Octavian in 29, or the triumphs of African proconsuls in 21 and 19, or even (considering that the second edition of the *Amores* was probably published after 7 B.C.E.) the ovations of Tiberius and Drusus in 11 (Hickson 1991.128). Thus the lover's supposed chagrin is entirely suspect as we see him compose a set of responses that elicit identification with him rather than his victim.

The lover commands his girlfriend to commit similar acts of violence on himself, reminding her that wrath turns weak hands into weapons.²⁰ Greene rightly identifies the artificiality of that encouragement, showing that the imperative verbs he uses in the command merely indicate that he continues to control her (1998.91). But in addition, this demand that his mistress repay him in kind does not address the ways in which he should

18 See Cahoon 1988.294: "The love of the *Amores* is inherently violent and linked with the Roman *libido dominandi*." See also Kellum 1996.178: "We tend to read these [poems] as personal criticisms of a strict moral regime rather than recognizing them as a part of the same system of ordering where the martial and the amatory were inherently a part of one another."

19 *Am.* 1.7.35–40: "i nunc, magnificos, victor, molire triumphos, / cinge comam lauro vota que redde Iovi, / quaeque tuos currus comitantum turba sequetur, / clamet, 'io! forti puella viro est.' / ante eat effuso tristis captiva capillo, / si sinerent laesae, candida tota genae" ("So go now, great victor, glory in your tremendous triumph, encircle your crown with laurel and offer the promised goods to Jove, and let the crowd of admirers that follows your car shout, 'io! the girl is yours brave one!' and before you she will go, a sad captive, her hair a mess, all pale, save perhaps the bruises on her cheeks").

20 *Am.* 1.7.63–64: "at tu ne dubita (minuet vindicta dolorem) / protinus in vultus unguibus ire meos" ("But you mustn't hesitate to tear at my face with your nails—vengeance diminishes suffering").

change his own behavior. His wrath, as he admits in lines 43–44, is blind and uncontrollable, and the reader infers that it will reappear. We are reminded again by this poem that violence and love (Mars and Venus) are *coupled*, just as they are in Augustus's Forum within the temple of Mars Ultor, that they cannot be entirely separated, and that, perhaps, one should not wish it otherwise: there is an erotic payoff in the association. The lover in the poem harbors no doubt as to his role as the masculine center of the Roman imperial project, and he enjoys the violence inherent in that position.

Moreover, it is possible to consider this poem a reflection of decreasing individual power under the increasing autocracy of Augustus. The lover's violence against his mistress vents his frustration that he has lost control of his place in the world. He lashes out at the weaker woman to feel the parameters of what power he has left: to play, momentarily, the dominant imperialist, an action he only partly regrets. His excess, but not his motives, repel him.²¹ Ovid's implication that Roman love and the private sphere do not abnegate violence finds corroboration in the coercive efforts to expand the boundaries of Rome's domesticated territories.

In *Tristia* 4.2, written sometime between 11 and 14 C.E., the exiled poet on the western shore of the Black Sea imagines with greater seriousness the triumphal procession of Caesar in celebration of victory over Germany, represented in the poem as a woman. At the climax of the procession, Ovid draws the reader's attention to this figure (*Tr.* 4.2.43–46):

crinibus en etiam fertur Germania passis
et ducis invicti sub pede maesta sedet,
collaque Romanae praebens animosa securi
vincula fert illa qua tulit arma, manu.

Aha! there is Germany carried along with her hair outspread, and under the foot of her unconquered master she sits, her stubborn neck outstretched to the Roman axe, bearing chains in her fists where once she bore arms.²²

21 Fredrick 1997.173: "For its male authors, elegy's wounds are ambiguous metaphors for the transformation of elite masculinity into text." See also Barton 1993.27–28, 46 and Malamud 1993.156.

22 In *Tristia* 3.12.47–48, Ovid creates a similar scene, where Germany lowers her head under the feet of her captor: "teque, rebellatrix, tandem, Germania, magni / triste caput pedibus supposuisse ducis" ("And you, rebellious Germany, lower your pathetic head under the feet of our great commander").

The emphases on her hair and neck echo the presentation of the mistress in *Amores* 1.7 (39: “effuso tristis captiva capillo” and 42: “et collum blandi dentis habere notam”; see above, note 19). In each case, the woman’s hair is disheveled, her countenance sad (*maesta*, *tristis*), and her neck vulnerable—either to a wound already inflicted or to one that impends. Yet where the *Amores* used this figure in a somewhat ironic fashion to highlight the unnecessary forcefulness of the lover’s behavior, Ovid reflects no irony here. Germania represents all the fierceness and barbarity of the Germanic chieftains and priests whose savage and bitter expressions inspire awe and curiosity among the spectators (*Tr.* 4.2.27–36). Her stubborn willingness to die (she offers her throat to the axe) represents her incompatibility with the Roman aim of far-reaching stability. Unless her conquest is total, she will resist to the bitter end. Whereas the lover’s girlfriend cries at the pain inflicted upon her in *Amores* 1.7, Germania’s sadness seems to derive not from mistreatment, but from her inability to continue her battle.

Germania’s demeanor may remind us of the statue of the Suicide Gauls, a piece of art so intriguing to Julius Caesar that he supposedly kept a copy in his personal gardens, as we noted above. The significance of a man and woman represented together suggests more than mere desperation against a superior enemy: the Gallic pair commits suicide to preserve their familial and racial integrity. Germania in Ovid’s poem displays an ethos similar to this, and by her “animosity,” she preserves for herself something more than the degradation that the triumphal procession was intended to effect. There is no existing work of art that precisely captures this scene of a stubborn provincial inside her captor’s chariot. Ovid has brilliantly created a feminized object of imperial acquisition who elicits both the joy of sharing the glory of conquest and sympathy to the extent that we wonder what will become of her. The fact that she does not die “on-stage” suggests that the possibility of clemency still remains and that what we witness in this poem is the initial stage of the process of Romanization whereby she will be transformed into something more akin to the statue of Gallia Narbonensis: under the protection of the emperor and an ally of the empire.²³ It is perhaps a small step from under the foot of the emperor to under the shadow of his hand, but its symbolic character is significant. Germania’s

23 Of course, as we know and as Ovid could never have guessed, Germany would remain one area over which Rome would never entirely gain control, so the imagery here remains pertinent to and prophetic of European history.

position within the poem is perhaps best described as *in flux* between her own will and the will of the emperor.

It is reasonable to connect this shift from triumphal parody to triumphal patriotism to the circumstances in which Ovid finds himself after his arrival at Tomis in 9 C.E. Relegated to a remote outpost of the eastern empire, Ovid has experienced firsthand Roman influence and the seeming omnipotence of the emperor. Although fearful of the savage raiders who regularly invade the region where he lives among the Getae (*Tr.* 3.10, 4.4), his fears are intensely focused on the god-like power of Augustus whose whim has promptly eradicated him from the city where he once found love and acclaim.²⁴

Yet in *Tristia* 4.2, even under circumstances such as these, Ovid's spirit is not broken: there are aspects of this poem that reveal that Ovid still sees the complexities of imperial aims. Though Ovid desires to be among the equestrian throng that precedes the march of prisoners (line 16), the final portion of the poem (lines 57–74) emphasizes his separation from Rome and his perspective as the outsider looking in (57: “ego summotus qua possum mente videbo,” “though exiled, I will imagine [these events]”; 67–68: “remotis / auribus hic fructus percipiendus erit,” “this enjoyment will have to be heard by exiled ears”; 69: “procul Latio,” “faraway from Latium”). We sense at the end of the poem that he identifies his situation as more similar to that of the woman in the chariot and the prisoners in the parade than to that of the joyful spectators. His conclusion to the poem reflects his inner conflict (4.2.73–74): “that [triumphal] day will come, and I will lay aside my sadness, and make the public cause greater than my private grievance.”²⁵

Perhaps it is true that Ovid would choose life under Caesar over death at Tomis, while Germania offers her neck to the sword, but both maintain private grievances against the emperor despite his great authority over them. The identification between the figure of Germania, the people she represents, and Ovid himself suggests his own serious reflection on the nature of empire and on at what costs it achieves its power. Poetically

24 There are many passages in which Ovid calls Augustus a god or compares him to one, see Green 1994.xxxii. See Green's index (Augustus), for a helpful list of identifications between Augustus and Jupiter.

25 “Illa dies veniet, mea qua lugubria ponam, / causaque private publica maior erit.” Habinek 1998.166: “Ovid in Tomis is a figure of both shame and glory, one who valorizes the very power of which he proclaims himself a victim.”

speaking, however, Ovid has given in: the woman in the chariot replaces the *domina* in the lover's bed and the emperor has replaced the *amator*. The collapse between the elegiac world and the real world of imperialism is nearly complete, and in this poem, in part, we are witnesses to the demise of the genre of erotic elegy.²⁶

That a member of the male elite is capable of drawing on points of comparison between himself and the conquered peoples of the empire suggests that, indeed, the artistic renderings of conquest in female form signified more than propaganda to the Roman populace and that their "readings" of Augustan art were complex and aware. Like the statues at Saint-Bertrand, the *ethne* of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, the *nationes* of the Porticus in Rome, and the maidens in the Forum of Augustus, Ovid's Germania serves as a useful metaphor to represent the Augustan version of Rome as the *caput orbis* (*Am.* 1.15.26).

In closing, we offer another quotation from the work of Joan Scott that, though pertinent primarily to the modern world, resonates with the ancient predicament, showing, perhaps not surprisingly, that things have changed little in 2,000 years of human history (1986.1072):

Whether at a crucial moment for Jacobin hegemony in the French Revolution, at the point of Stalin's bid for controlling authority, the implementation of Nazi policy in Germany, or with the triumph in Iran of the Ayatollah Khomeini, emergent rulers have legitimized domination, strength, central authority and ruling power as masculine (enemies, outsiders, subversives, weakness as feminine) and made that code literal in laws (forbidding women's political participation, outlawing abortion, prohibiting wage-earning by mothers, imposing female dress codes) that put women in their place. These actions and their timing make little sense in themselves; in most instances, the state had nothing immediate or material to gain from the control of women. The actions can only be made sense of as part of an analysis of the construction and consoli-

26 Luck 1969.46: "Once the barrier between myth and reality was broken, once the sounds and sights of real life had intruded on the traditional domain of the elegiac art-form, its character was lost."

dation of power. An assertion of control or strength was given form as a policy about women.

Such policies were certainly enacted by the Augustan regime, and this feminizing mode of discourse was utilized by patrons and artists to extend this assertion of control to the provinces. In the images we have surveyed, the empire is imagined as the varied female dependants of the family of Rome, as formerly independent families now adopted into that of *Pater* Augustus as household slaves, and as a sexual buffet available to the appetites of the masculine capital. The words of Ovid help us perceive not only the pervasiveness of this imagery, but also its nuanced implications for the individuals living under the new, familial world order.

*University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Macalester College*

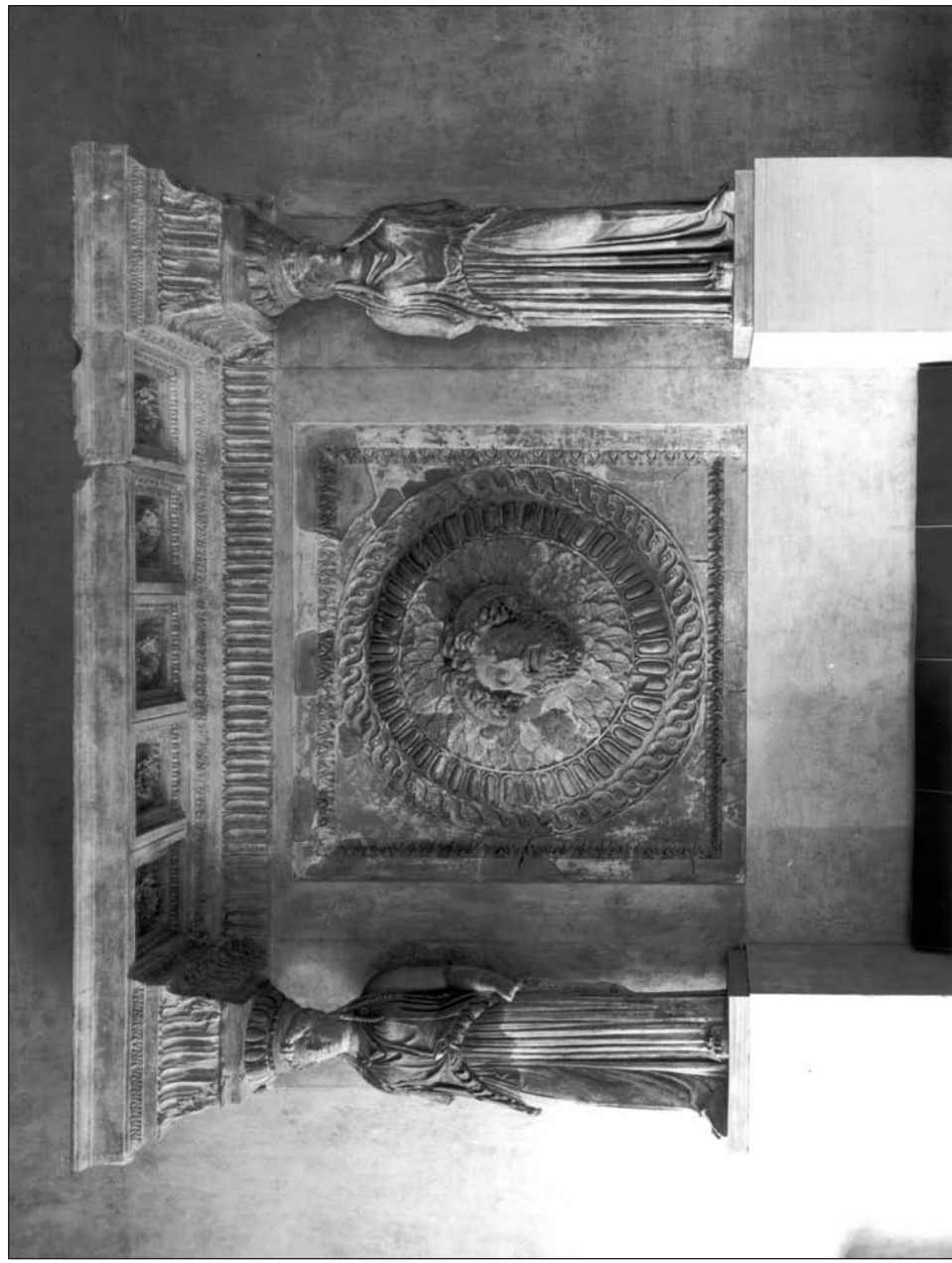


Figure 8.
Reconstruction of
attic story, Forum of
Augustus. Copies of
Erechtheion maidens
and shield with head.
Casa dei Cavalieri
di Rodi. Photograph
by Koppermann
used courtesy of
the Deutsches
Archäologisches
Institut, Rome,
negative 61.1059.



Figure 9. Ethnos #2, "Ethnos with Bull," Sebasteion, Aphrodisias. Photograph courtesy of the Aphrodisias Excavations, New York University.



Figure 10. Seated Augustus receiving Gallic children under the supervision of Drusus. Boscoreale Cup of Augustus. Silver. The Louvre. Photograph after A. Héron de Villefosse, *Le trésor de Boscoreale*, Fondation Eugène Piot, *Monuments et Mémoires 5 (Supplement)*, (Paris 1902), Plate XXXIII.1.



Figure 11. Seated Augustus ruling the world, flanked by Venus holding Victory, and Mars and personified provinces. Boscoreale Cup of Augustus. Silver. The Louvre. Photograph after A. Héron de Villefosse, *Le trésor de Boscoreale*, Fondation Eugène Piot, *Monuments et Mémoires* 5 (Supplement), (Paris 1902), Plate XXXI.1.

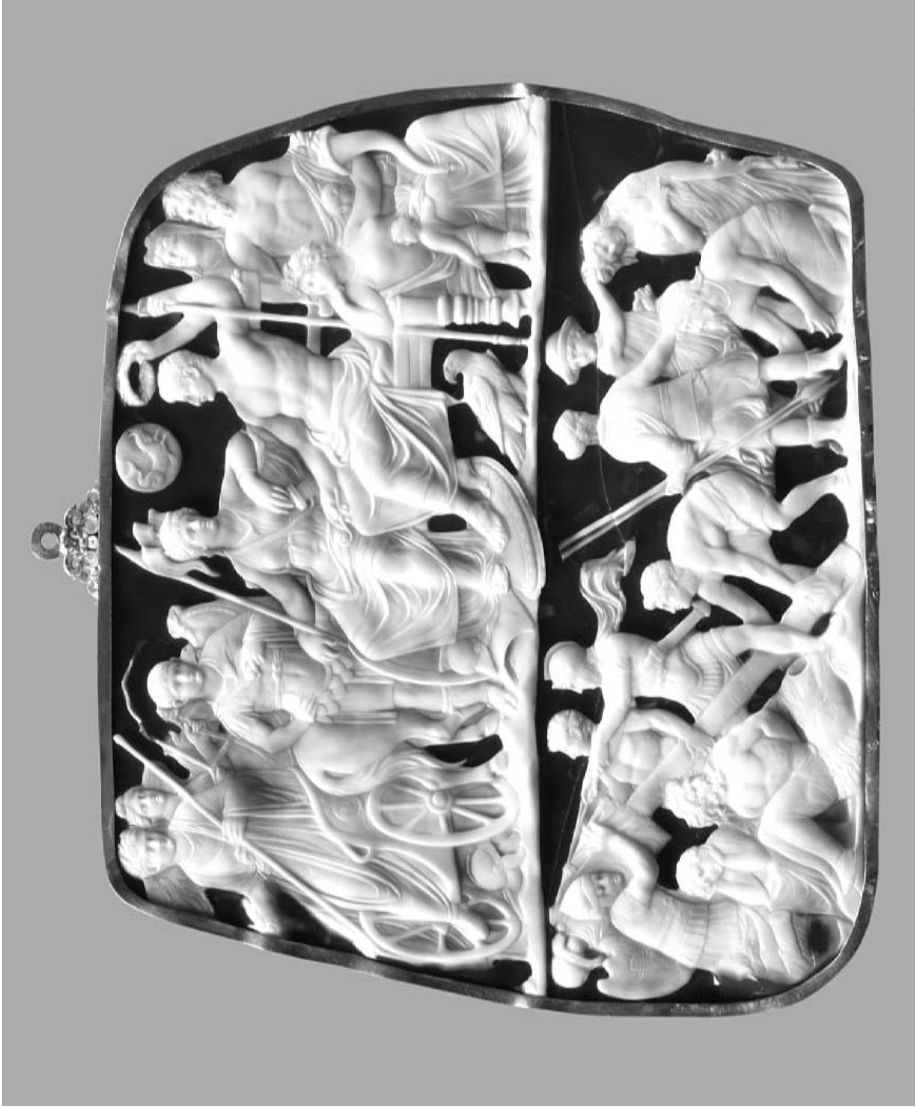


Figure 12. Gemma Augustea. Sardonyx cameo in modern mount. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien. IX.a.79. Photograph courtesy of the museum, negative II.24762.



Figure 13. Female inhabitant or personification of Gallia Narbonensis, trophy monument, forum of Saint-Bertrand. Photograph © Canyonlights/Susan Silberberg-Peirce, used courtesy of the Musée de St. Bertrand.