civil wars that is implicated in the Mars Ultor complex as well as in Augustan ideology. (The importance of narrative and diachrony was at least in part a legacy of the strikingly parallel evolution of Apollo Palatinus: a monument vowed and projected in the civil war atmosphere of the Naulochus years, inaugurated and received as a memorial of Actium and Alexandria. The generation of Propertius had learned how to deal with the metamorphosis of civil war into 'Eastern' triumph (i.e. Cleopatra more than Antony), precisely when confronting the monument for Apollo; Ovid capitalizes on this experience, and narrates–over a much longer time gap–the metamorphosis of civil war into Eastern 'triumph'.) But then poetry is also able to defer the closural stabilization suggested by Augustan ideology, and teaches readers of the monument to beware of the Avenger exactly when they accept his martial protection. In so doing they were accepting the challenge offered by the Princeps himself: he had declared in an edict, almost a *prière d'insérer* for the monument, that the statues in the galleries had been set up 'so that both he, while he lived, and the *principes* of future ages should be evaluated by the citizens according to the standards fixed by the lives of those men' (Suet. *Aug.* 31. 5). We do not know whether the memorial proudly placed at the centre of the new Forum was an image of Augustus riding a chariot, or even an empty chariot (a revolutionary choice for a Roman monument and a striking signifier of modesty and *superbia*), a riderless chariot with a *mise en abyme* of Augustus as a triumphal chariot-driver as a bas-relief on the chariot itself.[33] Either of these possible choices would have created a vertical link with the image of Jupiter Capitolinus on the apex of his temple, while the arrangement of the new Forum guaranteed a horizontal alignment with Romulus and Aeneas. In any case, Ovid's readers have to decide which image of Aeneas and which image of Romulus are most helpful in imagining or interpreting the contours of the absent–present driver of this dynamic memorial.[34] They are still arguing as I write.

[33] For this possibility see Rich (1998) 123–5; compare the amount of viewer-cooperation required by the absence of a straightforward personification of Peace on the Ara Pacis in Settis, *Katalog Berlin* (1988), 423–4.

[34] I thank Emma Gee, Ann Kuttner, Maud Reydellet, and the editor, for comments. Now *vidi*, Spannagel (1999), an important study of the art of revenge in the forum.

2

The *Fasti* as a Source for Women's Participation in Roman Cult

ELAINE FANTHAM

In the (g)olden days of the early nineteenth century, scholars turned to Ovid's *Fasti* as a precious source for Roman cult and religious practice: it was the primary source for W. Warde Fowler's great *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic* (1899) and naturally attracted the anthropological learning of Sir James Frazer, who went on to his monumental edition after his commentaries on the Greeks Pausanias and Apollodorus.[1] It is ironic that their learning has since made it easier for more sceptical generations to look at Ovid's great poem less as evidence than as rhetoric, whether operating as panegyric or subversion.

But is Ovid so worthless as evidence for Roman cult practice? He was neither uninterested nor uninformed. We can even deduce whose calendar researches he consulted: those of Verrius Flaccus, former tutor to the imperial princes Gaius and Lucius Caesar. This can be confirmed directly from the remains of the inscribed public calendar composed by Verrius for his home city of Praeneste, and from excerpts on calendar topics preserved in Pompeius Festus' abridgement of Verrius' lost *De Verborum Significatu*.[2]

The problem is more one of Ovid's purposes in composing the poem, both literary and ideological. Certainly Ovid did not write his calendar poem in order to remind Roman readers, still less to instruct posterity, about the duties and

[1] Frazer began his classical commentaries with Pausanias (1898), then the Loeb Classical Library Apollodorus (1921), then the five volumes of *Fasti* in 1929.

[2] On Verrius' calendar see references cited in this author's *Ovid: Fasti Book IV* (1998) 29–30.

privileges of participation in different cults. With rare exceptions like the women's cult of Bona Dea, Ovid's readers knew what laymen and priests were expected to do on feast days or temple anniversaries.[3] Nor, of course, did he set out to provide a representative portrait of specifically female participation in cult. Women's rites find their way into the *Fasti* because they are good elegiac material, offering colourful or emotionally appealing vignettes.

As an imaginative and erudite poet Ovid aimed to enrich the essential calendar structure with aetiological legends from Greek myth and Roman prehistory, diversifying his text with the rising and setting of constellations, and evoking ceremonies through picturesque details. From a more 'political' point of view he also aimed, I believe, to please (or appease?) Augustus by honouring the new Imperial and dynastic anniversaries and assimilating them into the traditional Republican calendar. Indeed it is debatable whether the dead Callimachus[4] or the living and later deified Augustus was more present as a source of authority to the poet engaged in his partly aetiological and partly encomiastic elegiac poem.

Thus what can be learned about the role of laymen, let alone laywomen, in contemporary cult is incidental to Ovid's purpose. Readers will best judge his reliability on women's participation in Roman cults by comparing the passages discussed in this chapter with information about women's religious activities in comprehensive studies like the new history and sourcebook, *Religions of Rome* (1998), or John Scheid's authoritative chapter on 'The Religious Roles of Roman Women'.[5]

Ovid's first reference to any woman in *Fasti* comes on the Carmentalia of 11 January with his pious prophecy of the future godhead of Augusta Julia.[6] 'Who?' you may ask. Certainly not the first Julia, daughter of Augustus, publicly damned and exiled in 2 BC. Let me provide another clue; the same Augusta

[3] On this cult see most recently Staples (1996) 11–54.

[4] For the influence of Callimachus in the *Fasti* the discussion in Fantham (1998) 7–18 owes much to Miller (1982) 371–417; see also Miller (1991) 7–19.

[5] Beard, North, Price (1998). Scheid (1992*b*) 377–408. For a more general investigation of Ovid's credibility as a source for religion see Schilling (1968) 9–24.

[6] *Fasti* 1.536: 'sic Augusta novum Iulia numen erit'.

appears again on 16 January, as 'tua genetrix' and restorer of the altar of Concordia.[7] This is Livia herself, adopted in Augustus' will as Julia Augusta, so both passages originate in Ovid's remodelling after AD 14. Livia of course was unique, and no other Augustan lady, not even Augustus' sister Octavia, who shared her extraordinary religious status as 'sacrosanct',[8] had any prospect either of becoming a deity or of dedicating an altar. Just as Ovid himself returns to Livia Augusta towards the end of the extant poem, so this discussion will need to return at the end to the woman extraordinary, Livia, and her contribution to Roman cult.

Perhaps these two honorific references are sufficient to explain why Ovid does not again mention Livia on 30 January, her own birthday, and the commemorative anniversary of the Ara Pacis Augustae. Instead he follows his brief tribute to the altar by turning to the deity Pax herself: at the imagined moment of sacrifice he addresses her priests with a request that they ask the favourable gods for the perpetuation of both Peace and the imperial dynasty: (1. 721): 'ut . . . domus quae praestat eam cum pace perennet'.

Where Ovid is silent, however, we can turn to one of Rome's best-preserved monuments to see Livia with other women of the imperial family in the procession of dedication depicted on either of the long sides of the Ara Pacis: there, Livia,[9] Augustus' sister Octavia,[10] his married daughter Julia,[11] and his

[7] 1. 649: 'hanc tua constituit genetrix et rebus et ara'. In this revised section of Book 1, Ovid's addressee is Germanicus, Livia's grandson, adopted by her son and his uncle Tiberius to be joint heir with Tiberius' natural son Drusus. Appropriately, the most recent authorities to cite Livia's interest in Concordia are women: Flory (1984) and Herbert-Brown (1994) ch. 4, esp. 162–7. Both treatments build on Levick (1978).

[8] On their early elevation to sacrosanctity in 36 BC, and Livia's subsequent pre-eminence in Roman secular and religious life, see Purcell (1986).

[9] Livia is surely the woman wearing a laurel wreath over her head, veiled like that of Augustus, perhaps because of her role as 'regina sacrorum'. She follows Agrippa and the 'flamines' on the relief of the right long wall: see Simon (1968) 16 and pl. 13. For other, more controversial identifications, see following notes.

[10] Simon (1968) 21, ps. 15 suggests that the matronly woman on the left long wall could be Octavia.

[11] Simon (1968) 21 (ps. 17. 1, 19. 1) identifies as Julia the 'heavily veiled young woman . . . wearing a thin diaphanous veil through which the folds of her garment are visible', in the procession of the left long wall. She is wearing the widow's fringed garment, the 'ricinium', but the figure is damaged, and faceless, so Simon bases her deduction on the figure's position in the procession. By an ironic twist her figure has

daughter-in-law, Antonia Minor,[12] proceed with their children to make offerings in thanks for the Augustan peace at the altar's dedication in 9 BC, just as Horace describes them in *Odes* 3. 14. 3–12:

> Caesar Hispana repetit penates
> victor ab ora.
> unico gaudens mulier marito
> prodeat iustis operata sacris
> et soror clari ducis et decorae
> supplice vitta
> iam virginum matres, iuvenumque nuper
> sospitum. vos o pueri et puellae
> iam virum expertae, male nominatis
> parcite verbis.

Caesar is returning to his household gods as victor from the Spanish shore. Let his wife, rejoicing in her exceptional husband come forth, after performing the due rites, with the sister of the glorious leader and adorned with suppliant headband the mothers of maidens and the young men newly restored. As for you, boys and girls innocent of a man, avoid ill-named [or 'ill-omened': the text is contested] words.

But these women of the imperial family are still laypersons, 'profani', and would normally be expected to stop short of either altars or temples at a moment of public sacrifice. Apart from Livia[13] none of them is 'iustis operata sacris': like the boys and girls, their contribution to the cult occasions will have been only to abstain from words of ill omen, and any sacrifices they have made will be private and domestic.[14] It is rather their male kinsmen, many of them augurs, priests,

been replaced in plaster on the Altar itself, but the original has found its way to the Louvre. (I like to think of Julia escaping from the dynasty to end up in Paris.)

[12] Simon (1968) 19 and pl. 15 notes that the figures behind Livia and Tiberius on the right long wall have been generally identified as Drusus and his wife Antonia Minor.

[13] If she is 'operata' it will be in her special capacity as 'regina sacrorum', who is known to have performed sacrifices on the Kalends of each month.

[14] To quote Beard, North, Price (1998) i. 297: 'In general, however, although the *attendance* [*sic*] of women at most religious occasions (including *ludi*) was not prohibited, they had little opportunity to take any active religious role in state cults . . . much more fundamentally (although the evidence is not entirely clear) they may have been banned . . . from carrying out animal sacrifice; and so prohibited from any officiating role in *the* central defining ritual of civic religious activity.' On the ancient tradition excluding women from blood sacrifice, see de Cazenove (1987).

and flamines, who would be officiating.[15] Certainly women were encouraged to supplicate the gods, and to give them thanks–also referred to by the same word 'supplicatio'. The married women of the Roman elite were even authorized after the Gallic sack of Rome in 390 to ride to the temples in thanksgiving in their special covered wagons (*carpenta*, *pilenta*). This is how Vulcan in *Aeneid* 8 depicts the ladies on the shield of Aeneas, riding in their wagons amid the rejoicing Salii after the Gauls had been driven off in defeat.[16] In the alarms and triumphs of the Hannibalic War the Senate decreed on several occasions that women and children should go together in procession as suppliants or in thanksgiving. But their participation in thanksgiving can be and often is taken for granted by ancient writers. We more often hear of such processions–found also in the heroic world of Homer–in times of emergency when supplication is a desperate appeal: thus Virgil describes the Latin women, led by Queen Amata and her daughter Lavinia, riding to supplicate the goddess Athena to restore her favour and victory, just as Hecuba and the Trojan women had supplicated in *Iliad* 6. This is so typical of women's role in cult that the only scene in which women are represented on the reliefs of Dido's temple in *Aeneid* 1 is the Homeric supplication of Hecuba and the women to Athena.[17] When the women supplicated, it was, of course, for the whole community, not just for themselves, and we should also imagine their private devotions as being made on behalf of their whole household, rather than just their personal needs.

The ordinary woman seems to have been free to visit temples privately to make a personal offering of incense[18] or flowers, even if Ovid in another less devout poem ironically

[15] Simon (1968) 18 distinguishes Livia, perhaps in the role as 'regina sacrorum' (the altar was even dedicated on her birthday), together with Augustus, Agrippa, and the flamines from 'the latter part of the procession, which also includes women and children'. She suggests that this, like the procession of the opposite wall, is of a less official nature.

[16] *Aen.* 8. 665–6: 'castae ducebant sacra per urbem | pilentis matres in mollibus'.

[17] See *Aen.* 1. 479–82 (the relief showing Trojan suppliants) and 11. 477–82 for the Latin queen riding to the temple escorted by the matrons 'nec non ad templum summasque ad Palladis arces | subvehitur magna matrum regina caterva | dona ferens . . . succedunt matres et templum ture vaporant | et maestas alto fundunt de limine voces.'

[18] Cf. *Aen.* 11. 481 quoted n. 17 above.

suggests to Augustus (*Tristia* 2. 287–300) that visits to the temples of Venus or Jupiter Optimus Maximus or Mars Ultor, or even the virgin Pallas, might provoke respectable matrons with dangerous or envious thoughts about the mythical sexual adventures of the gods.

But when women's role in public religion at Rome is raised for discussion we probably think first of the special category of the Vestals, those six selected women of noble birth who were taken up before puberty (usually aged 10) to give thirty years of service to the virgin goddess of generation and the hearth: they naturally feature at Ovid's celebration of the Vestalia,[19] but he also mentions their ritual acts at the Fordicidia, when the chief Vestal burned the embryos of the sacrificial pregnant heifers, and six days later, when the people celebrated the Parilia with a compound based on the ash from these embryos.[20] But Vestals lie outside the limited religious role of ordinary women. Their special status as neither wife nor maiden, female nor male, has received two full scholarly treatments in recent years.[21]

The calendar brings Ovid to some of the most important aspects of religion in women's lives in the books of February and March, Books 2 and 3. I am talking about marriage, chastity, fertility, and childbirth. Chastity naturally appealed less to Ovid than the positive aspects of sexuality. But he gives prominence, like his older contemporary Livy, to the great Roman foundation myth of chastity, the voluntary suicide of the raped victim Lucretia.[22] Lucretia's vindication of her honour supposedly caused the fall of the monarchy and origin of the Republic, just as the chastity of another woman, the girl Virginia, caused the revolution that ended the powers of the Decemviri in the fifth century. Livy is also the primary source for the original patrician cult of Pudicitia, chastity, or better fidelity in marriage, attested from the early Republic, and the

[19] On 9 June Ovid explains Vesta's choice of virgin attendants because of her own choice of virginity in 6. 283–90.

[20] For the Fordicidia see *Fasti* 4. 629–40; Ovid's commemoration of the Parilia mentions Vesta rather than her human ministers, the Vestals: 4. 725–34.

[21] See Beard 1980, 1995. Staples (1996) 129–56 does not really advance beyond Beard.

[22] *Fasti* 2. 721–852. But Lucretia's last words (825–30) omit her moral message to the women of Rome as celebrated by Livy 1. 59: 'no woman henceforth will be immoral because of my example'.

foundation of a rival cult of Pudicitia Plebeia in the late fourth century.[23]

But fertility was even more vital to society and to the woman's self-respect than fidelity. In his account of the festival of the Lupercalia in February Ovid turns to the Roman bride who wants to become pregnant, urging her to welcome the fertile blows from the goatskin whips of the Luperci, and so gratify her father-in-law.[24] The poet's account of the origin of this practice conveys the urgent need for fertility in those days of heavy infant mortality. According to his aetiology, after Romulus had procured wives for his Romans by the rape of the Sabines he found that there was still a dearth of pregnancies, so he sent husbands and wives to the sacred grove of Juno on the Esquiline.[25] There husbands and wives alike prayed to the goddess and her voice was heard to order with oracular ambiguity 'Italidas matres sacer hircus inito' ('let the sacred he-goat penetrate the Italian mothers'). The suppliants were naturally shocked, until an augur, guessing the riddle, slew and skinned a he-goat so that women could offer their backs to be lashed with strips of its hide: as Ovid tells it, in ten lunar months the 'vir' and 'nupta' of 437 became a father and mother (2. 445–8):

> ille caprum mactat; iussae sua terga puellae
> pellibus exsectis percutienda dabant.
> luna resumebat decimo nova cornua motu,
> virque pater subito nuptaque mater erat.

[23] See Livy 10. 23. Virginia, daughter of a patrician, had married a plebeian and was excluded from the patrician cult of Pudicitia. She retaliated by founding her own cult of 'Pudicitia Plebeia'. However, as we will see below, there is good reason to identify the cult of Fortuna discussed by Ovid in *Fasti* 6. 569 f. (the 'Aedes Fortunae in foro Boario') with 'Fortuna Virgo', also identified with the original 'Pudicitia Patricia'.

[24] 2. 427–8: 'excipe fecundae patienter verbera dextrae, | iam socer optatum nomen habebit avi'. Women are usually seen in terms of male interests; when a man has no sons, he must hope that his daughter will give him a grandson. As for his daughter-in-law, unless she comes from an important family with whom a political bond is desired, she has no other function.

[25] 2. 425–52. Note that concern for fertility is used as an alternative *aition* for the feast of Carmenta in 1. 619–36. According to this tale the matrons were so angry when deprived of the use of their padded vehicles (an etymological pun on Carmenta/Carpenta) that they refused to carry their babies full term (i.e. aborted them). So the Senate restored their privilege and instituted two rites, one for boys and one for girls, to Carmenta and the midwife goddesses Porrima and Postverta.

He ends his account with a choice of etymologies for Juno Lucina, protectress of childbirth, either because she was goddess of the 'lucus' or because she controlled the child's first experience of the light ('lucis').[26]

This tale of barrenness must surely be Ovid's own fiction. Certainly from at least the time of Ennius' historical drama *The Sabine Women*, the legend was canonical at Rome that when the parents of the Sabine women 'raped' by Romulus attacked Rome in retaliation, the new brides rushed onto the battlefield clutching their babies to stop the fighting between their fathers and husbands: and Ovid himself had exploited the tale in *Ars Amatoria* 1. 101–32. The women's infertility cannot be reconciled with their legendary role as intercessors, yet Ovid has woven the battlefield reconciliation scene into his double celebration of 1 March, when the anniversary of the dedication of Lucina's temple coincides with the Matronalia. March was the month of Mars and Ovid opens the book by addressing the god and retelling the story of his son Romulus. He passes from the god's rape of Silvia and fathering of Romulus and Remus, to their adolescence and Romulus' establishment of the Roman calendar, in which he made his divine father patron of the first month. All this is leading up to a puzzle based on a paradox: 'since you are so fitted to manly activities', Ovid asks the god, 'why do the married women observe your feast day?' (3. 169–70):

> cum sis officiis, Gradive, virilibus aptus,
> dic mihi matronae cur tua festa colant.

Unfortunately for our concerns, although Mars offers a full and vivid narrative of both the rape and the reconciliation–neither of which were supposed to have occurred on 1 March–he adds nothing to the understanding of women's rites at the Matronalia. Instead, the god's speech offers both rape and reconciliation as unlikely explanations for the women's celebration: 'The wives of Italy have no frivolous duty in celebrating my Kalends, either because they terminated the wars of Mars by their tears, or in thanks for Ilia's successful

[26] For Juno Lucina and her connection with the moon, see Plutarch, *Roman Questions* 77, which may also derive from the learning of Ovid's chief source, Verrius Flaccus.

motherhood.' Through a hymn to the fertility of spring, season of their service as childbearers,[27] Ovid glides back to Lucina, and the anniversary of her temple at the site of the Esquiline grove. The women should bring her flowers and pray for ease in labour. As a nice instance of the merging of religion and magic he adds an injunction: if any woman is already pregnant when she prays to Lucina, she should unbind her hair so as to release her child with ease.[28]

How literally can Ovid's language be interpreted? He claims that Lucina's temple was dedicated (or given to the people) by the Latin 'daughters-in-law': 'a nuribus Iunoni templa Latinis | hac sunt . . . publica facta die' (3. 247–8). But there were strict controls in Rome of the historical period over who could vow or dedicate a temple–it required official authorization from the Senate–and very few instances of any woman being associated with this honour.[29] And when are they supposed to have done this? The poet has already reported the new mothers assembling in this temple ('conveniunt nuptae dictam Iunonis in aedem': 3. 205) before the battle in the year after their rape. The tale is neatly told, but it is no use looking to Ovid for a historical record.

We have seen that Ovid tends to pass over what women actually *do* on public festivals, but he does describe a women's custom on the Ides of March at the popular festival of Anna Perenna–a goddess associated with the renewal of the year. At this early spring festival couples went picnicking at Anna's shrine by the Tiber setting up tents, dancing, singing songs

[27] 3. 243–4: 'Tempora iure colunt Latiae fecunda parentes | quarum militiam votaque partus habet', formally answers 170 'cur tua festa colant?' but glosses several questions. Spring is fertile, but not necessarily the human breeding season. On the other hand it is a fair analogy to present childbirth as woman's 'militia', national service, and so time for the making and fulfilment of vows: one is reminded of Medea's boast in Euripides that she would rather fight three times in battle line than bear one child.

[28] 3. 255–8: 'dicite "tu nobis lucem, Lucina, dedisti": | dicite "tu voto parturientis ades." | siqua tamen gravida est, resoluto crine precetur | ut solvat partus molliter illa suos'. Unbinding was normal before attempting to perform prayers and spells. For the negative corollary–deliberate binding to delay an enemy's childbirth–compare the gesture of Juno crossing her arms to hold back the birth of Hercules in Alcmene's tale of her labour at *Met.* 9. 281–315.

[29] See below for the legendary dedication by women of the temple of Fortuna Publica in the 5th cent.

from the theatre, and praying for long years as they drink abundantly (3. 523–40). All this sounds more like a party than a cult act, but the poet adds that he should explain (3. 675–6): 'cur cantent . . . obscena puellae . . . | . . . certaque probra' ('why girls sing dirty songs and traditional abuse'). This is his pretext to tell a comic tale about old Anna's deception and frustration of the lecherous Mars, but there is surely something more specific here than the general partying; there must have been some kind of fescennine song, mocking men and wishing or forecasting the frustration of misplaced lust. More than that we cannot say.[30]

Since the month of April is so rich in festivals of goddesses–for Venus (Veneralia, 1 April, and Vinalia, 23 April), for Cybele (4–10 April), and for Ceres (12–19 April), there is rather more evidence for women's cult activities in Ovid's fourth book.

Ovid gives the fullest attention to the major festivals of Cybele and Ceres, each including public games which both men and women attended. He opens his account of Cybele's festival with the goddess's ritual procession and the games in theatre and circus–all part of her public celebrations, but of no specific concern to women. Then he introduces two mythical narratives, for the Greek origin of the cult of Cybele as Rhea when she saved Zeus by deceiving Kronos, and for the Phrygian origin of Attis worship. But the largest part of his attention is given to the coming of the goddess to Rome, as a frame for a miracle performed by the goddess on behalf of a woman. Ovid 's account agrees with that of Livy in many respects. When the Senate formally decreed the invitation to the goddess, it was delivered by a distinguished group of envoys to her shrine at Pessinus in Asia Minor. The temple kingdom gave them an aniconic symbol of the goddess, a meteoric stone, which they escorted on shipboard from the Asian coast to the seaport of Rome at Ostia. But once the ship arrived at Ostia Ovid's and Livy's narratives diverge. According to Livy the elite women of Rome collectively proceeded to Ostia to welcome the sacred symbol of the goddess; it was

[30] See now the chapter on 'The Poet, the Plebs, and the Chorus Girls' in Wiseman (1998). Cf. Miller (1991) 138: 'the word *certa* makes it clear that the obscene verses were traditional in a "fixed" form, like other religious formulae'.

taken from the ship by the most virtuous man in Rome, young Scipio Nasica, and then passed to the matrons, who reverently passed it from hand to hand until it reached the city some ten miles inland.[31] But the version Ovid tells is far better known, and was known even before him. Propertius alludes in his last elegy to the miracle of Claudia Quinta pulling the sacred barge: Ovid gives a full narrative in which the sacred ship sticks at the shallow mouth of the Tiber until it is dislodged when Claudia prays to the goddess to vindicate her chastity[32] by following her as she towed the barge. This timely miracle was probably a Claudian family legend, and Ovid himself claims that it was staged in the theatre. Peter Wiseman has argued cogently that it was part of a drama regularly offered to the goddess at the theatre games of the Megalesia.[33]

But near the end of Ovid's more or less historical account of Claudia escorting Cybele to Rome he introduces a diversion for a cult ceremony by the little river Almo, where the image and ritual equipment of Cybele were washed under Claudia's supervision. Ostensibly only the report of what happened on this first occasion, the washing of the goddess, relates awkwardly to what we know of the full ritual in imperial times. By the time of the emperor Claudius, there was a whole long festival of Attis and Cybele held in March, at which amongst other things, the goddess's image was washed in the pure running water of the river. This may well have happened in Ovid's time too; it is not marked in the calendar, but as John Scheid has convinced me, religious acts would not be listed in any calendar unless they were a public responsibility, and such an act by women, and women who were not public priestesses,[34]

[31] See Livy 29. 14. 10–14 and Fantham (1998) with introductory note on *Fasti.* 4. 255–349 for more detail.

[32] Prop. 4. 11. 51–2. Claudia Quinta is a matron in Livy and Ovid, but seems to have been thought of by Propertius, as by several later sources, as a Vestal virgin ('ministra deae'); for a Vestal the issue would be suspicion, not of adultery, but of 'incest'–any sexual contact at all.

[33] See Wiseman (1985) 36; (1979) 94–9; (1998) 3, 23.

[34] Unlike the Greek cities Rome had no priestesses for her native cults. Apart from the Greek priestesses of Ceres/Demeter mentioned below, we know priestesses only of Cybele and Dionysus: the Bacchanalia banned in the early 2nd cent. had originally been women's rituals conducted by women priests, the scandal arose from the inclusion of men as priests and votaries. But there were women priests of Dionysus like

would not be recorded: if this is so, Ovid's only distortion is to report in April a cult act which was normally performed by the women in late March.[35]

But this is not the only ritual washing ascribed by Ovid to this month. Partly as homage to Augustus, Ovid has made Venus patron of the whole month of April as Venus Genetrix, ancestress of the Julian imperial family. But 1 April is a festival of not one but two Venuses. In the thirty lines that celebrate the religious activities of the day Ovid uses these two rites for different aspects of Venus to frame another women's rite in honour of a most unlikely deity–Fortuna Virilis, or Manly Fortune. His account of the day's rituals is framed by an address to the women of Rome ('Latiae matresque nurusque': 133) and a parting request to Venus to protect the women in their capacity as her daughters-in-law ('tuas . . . nurus': 162), and descendants of Aeneas.[36] To recall Mars' approving explanation of women's cult in the previous book he begins this whole section with an echo of 3. 234 'rite colunt matres sacra diemque meum'. 'Rite deam colitis', the poet affirms at 4. 133–4, 'Latiae matresque nurusque | et vos, quis vittae longaque vestis abest.' 'You are acting properly to worship the goddess, both you mothers and daughters-in-law, and you others who go without the *vittae* and long *stola*.' So there are two kinds of women, the respectable ones, brides and their mothers-in-law, wearing the formal ribbons binding their hair and long over-gown, and the others. The poet exploits this group address and his speech of instruction in the successive rituals to blur a social issue; did all women perform each of the three rituals he will describe, or were they socially stratified?

First he honours the Veneralia by giving instructions (4. 135–8: 'demite, lavanda est, reddite, danda est') for the

Agrippinilla, leader of a thiasus of over 400 recorded on a 2nd-cent. AD inscription south of Rome. (See Beard, North, Price (1998) i. 271, 298.)

[35] See, however, Porte (1984*a*).

[36] Since 'Aeneadae' in Latin is the regular m. plural echoing the Greek patronymic, 'Aeneadas' acc. in 161 must come from Greek 'Aeneades'. We note again 'nurus', daughters-in-law, where Ovid could have distinguished the young brides as 'nuptae'. He may have had in mind the foreign origin of Rome's first Sabine wives, but since he calls the women 'descendants of Aeneas' it is more likely that he thinks of the 'nurus' as under the authority of their dowager mothers-in-law. 'Matres' is commonly used as a synonym of 'matronae', and can be applied to all but the newest brides.

ritual washing of the goddess's cult image. The women must remove the golden necklaces of the goddess and all her jewellery so that she can be washed all over. Once she is dry, they are to replace her golden necklace, and give her fresh flowers and a new supply of roses. And the women must wash themselves too, but clutching myrtle branches, 'because she once had to hide from peeping satyrs and used the myrtle to cover her body; that is why you must repeat her action now'.[37] So Ovid describes two different rituals of washing a goddess's image in this single book–one of them not attested in any other Roman source. And he seems to be inviting all the women to join in bathing the image, though this kind of ritual was usually only performed by a few attendants, often indeed by virgins. We noted in connection with the washing of Cybele's image that women's rituals would not be listed in public calendars, because they were not required of public officials. But what makes the washing of Venus suspect is less the lack of corroborating evidence than Ovid's close imitation in the consciously stylized artificial language of his instructions of a famous literary model–Callimachus' elegiac hymn called 'the Bathing of Pallas' which celebrates an equally unattested ritual in which women bathe the image of Pallas Athene in Argos. Could he have invented the whole episode as a pretext to imitate the famous Hellenistic hymn?

At 145 ('discite nunc') Ovid begins a new set of instructions to the women. He explains why they give incense to Fortuna Virilis (Manly Fortune), 'in a place moist with hot water'.[38] What is he talking about? The inscribed *Fasti Praenestini* of Ovid's expert source, Verrius Flaccus, though damaged, reports this offering to Fortuna Virilis on 1 April: 'women supplicate in crowds to Fortuna Virilis, and the humbler ones even do so in the baths'. When I attempted my own interpretation of these rituals in my recent commentary,[39] I tried to resolve the conflicting implications of Ovid's notice and that of his learned friend Verrius by stressing the normality of women

[37] There are other festivals on which women should particularly practise washing themselves, notably 15 Aug.; cf. Plut. *Roman Questions* 100.

[38] Here I tentatively read 'calida' with Frazer and Bömer, against the variant 'gelida' adopted by Castiglioni Landi and most recently Alton *et al.* (1988).

[39] There I have ventured to differ from the simpler account given by Scheid (1992*b*).

using public baths in Ovid's time. But of course this fits Ovid better than Verrius. It was indeed normal for women to use the public baths, but Verrius obviously envisages his 'humiliores' as doing something too daring for their respectable sisters. I have now been persuaded by Champeaux's specialized study of Roman Fortuna[40] that we must divide the rites offered to Fortuna Virilis–essentially a fertility deity–so that the respectable women do indeed bathe in the public baths, but at a time set aside for women, while the 'lower' kind of women uninhibitedly bathed along with the men: hence the explanatory footnote in the *Fasti Praenestini*: 'for this is where men are attracted to the women'.

Ovid's last instalment of instructions to the women, marked by a new imperative 'nec pigeat' (151) bids them take a ritual drink of milk, honey, and poppy seeds,[41] because this is what Venus herself drank on her bridal night. When they drink they must pray to Venus, because she preserves beauty and good behaviour and reputation. This surely introduces the third ritual, performed as worship of the aspect of Venus called Verticordia, 'the Changer of Hearts'.[42] The phases of this cult are clearly recorded by Livy and other sources. As Ovid indicates (4. 157–60), the cult was created in response to a decline in morality 'proavorum tempore' (more likely towards the end of the third century): one of those lapses which happened periodically in Rome, and which the authorities used to counter

[40] Champeaux (1987) i, ch. 6, 375–409, here 384. She sees the old cult of Fortuna Virilis in which all the women would have bathed together, probably in the Tiber itself, gradually being displaced by the mid-Republican cult of Verticordia, to which the myrtle and the drinking of the ritual *cocetum* belong. By the time of Plutarch (*Numa* 19. 3), then Macrobius (*Sat.* 1. 12. 15) and John Lydus (4. 65) the cult of Fortuna Virilis is no longer observed and the rituals are fused into homage to Venus Verticordia alone. On the larger issue of why Virile Fortune should apparently be worshipped only by women, Champeaux uses the analogous Fortuna Barbata to argue for an originally masculine cult in which women came to share because of its benefit of fertility: this would then have been abandoned by the men, when the feminine cult of Venus was assigned to the same date.

[41] The so-called *cocetum*, not unlike the Attic *kukeon* (on which see N. J. Richardson 1974), consumed as part of the cult of Demeter.

[42] I have translated as if Venus' new epithet denoted her power to change the hearts or attitudes of others (the women), since this moral improvement was what the Roman elite needed. Ovid himself derives it from Venus' change of her own heart 'verso . . . corde', that is, her softening of heart towards Rome. I suspect him of deliberate reinterpretation, but can offer no conclusive argument.

by establishing yet another cult of Venus.[43] The issue was of course keeping the women under control: there were few limits on male sexual activity. This time the Sibylline Books ordered the Roman Senate to give new honours to Venus, and as a result Venus relented towards them and was named after this change of heart. Here our knowledge of the phases of this cult can be supplemented from Valerius Maximus and Plutarch. When the statue of Venus Verticordia was authorized, the affair was put into the hands of the elite women, who devised a way to choose who would dedicate it. First a hundred married ladies were chosen, then ten out of these were selected by lot, from whom finally the consul's wife Sulpicia was appointed to dedicate the statue for her meritorious chastity.[44] A century later, in 114 BC, the Vestal virgin Licinia–herself later accused of unchastity–gave Verticordia a temple for her worship.[45]

So did all the women observe all these rituals? Hardly. Only a very few women could be involved in washing the goddess's image in the river's running water, but surely anyone could frequent the baths, and do so without loss of respectability: recent studies seem to have established that women did have their own public baths at this time, and so might bathe in respectable circumstances. But would the women who wanted to appeal sexually to men also be concerned to protect their good reputation?

It seems that Ovid has deliberately wrapped the three different celebrations together so as to confuse the women's roles in association with each cult or offering. What is he up to? My own suspicion is that he is reacting against the bourgeois insistence on distinguishing honest women from elegiac mistresses, ladies of the night, or even simple working women. By addressing all the women together with the same imperatives for each cult in turn he can associate all women together in what may well have been practised by only some of them. We can measure his indulgence for the less respectable ladies in the care with which he celebrates that other Venus festival,

[43] Compare Livy's account (10. 31. 9) of Fabius Gurges' new shrine of Venus erected with the proceeds of fines for women's immorality in 296 BC.

[44] See Valerius Maximus 8. 15. 12 and Fantham (1998) on 155–62.

[45] See Plutarch, *Roman Questions* 83 and Fantham (1998) on 155–62.

of Erycina by the Colline Gate, on 23 April.[46] For this the street women (*volgares puellae*) are to honour Venus, who is well disposed to the earnings of licensed ladies (*professarum quaestibus*). There was only one 'profession' for women in those days: 'profiteri' means to declare yourself on a public list, and the only public list for women was the aedile's register of public prostitutes. According to the reformed poet of love, 23 April is the day when these loose-living ladies offer incense and garlands of myrtle and mint and roses, and pray for beauty and popular favour and seductive gesture and language. To my mind Ovid has carefully balanced the two feast days of Venus and their celebration within his poetic book, designing the objects of their prayers on 1 and 23 April as complementary; while the well-born ladies ask Verticordia for 'mores' and 'bona fama', the others ask for the seductive airs and graces that are far more to the point and will ensure their continued popularity.

I have postponed treating the Cerialia, or feast of Ceres. This was one of Rome's oldest festivals, consisting of a day of cult and sacrifice, followed by three to four days of theatrical performances and a final day of chariot races in the Circus. In Athens the Thesmophoria, one of the major festivals of Ceres' counterpart, Demeter, was exclusively for women, and concerned with the fertility of crop and woman. And women could share with men initiation into the rites at Eleusis, in which, as far as we know, the loss and recovery of Persephone was enacted, at least in symbolic form. Rome had imported a plebeian cult of Ceres with Libera (Proserpina) and Liber (Bacchus or Iacchus), as early as the fifth century, giving them a temple on the Aventine. Because of Ceres' association with the grain crop and the later public dole of wheat, she was a favourite image on Republican coins, which may show her wearing a crown of wheat or holding an ear of wheat: some celebrate the games of Ceres, and others illustrate two phases from her search for Proserpina: a myth so significant for cult and so popular that it was told twice by Ovid. In the longer version in

[46] Erycina is Aphrodite of Mt Eryx in Sicily, a cult employing sacred prostitutes, which was brought to Rome by Fabius Maximus during the Hannibalic war as a political gesture towards Sicily.

Metamorphoses 5 the muse Calliope recounts Ceres' adventures in Sicily as she searched for her daughter. But it is *Fasti* that tells the version truer to the Greek narrative as we know it from the Homeric hymn.[47] Here Ceres first searches in Sicily by night and day, taking up torches which she kindles from Etna, then flies in her chariot drawn by serpents to Eleusis in Greece, where she is welcomed to the home of young Triptolemus and forecasts his role as inventor of the plough.[48]

Only after her stay at Eleusis, according to Ovid's version as told here in *Fasti*, does Ceres discover that Jupiter has agreed to give her daughter to his brother Dis in the underworld. Both here in the *Fasti* and in Ovid's other version, however, Ceres is given powerful arguments against Jupiter, justifying her right to share in deciding on the choice of her daughter's husband. It is these arguments, rather than, as in Ovid's other version, the damage inflicted by Ceres on the crops on earth, which determine Jupiter's bargain that Proserpina shall spend part of each year on earth with her mother.[49] The symbolic meaning of the myth is taken to be the sowing and spring growth of the grain, but the narrative of Ceres' search and complaints would have a more literal significance for women, who would almost all know the time when they had to lose their daughters to marriage, when they would no longer control their access to a beloved child.

Oddly, however, the only references to contemporary ritual acts within Ovid's Proserpina narrative are to *Greek* practices.[50] Stranger still, our poet has actually anticipated in April the divine narrative which Roman women celebrated much later, after midsummer–the 'sacrum Anniversarium Cereris'.[51] This

[47] This has been established in detail by Hinds (1998).

[48] The bulk of the narrative in *Metamorphoses* is concerned with Ceres' wanderings in Sicily before she learns of Proserpina's rape and approaches Jupiter to demand her daughter's restoration. Her visit to Attica and gift of the plough to Triptolemos is only reported parenthetically at the end in *Met.* 5. 642–56.

[49] Cf. *Fasti* 4. 587–618 with *Met.* 5. 514–71.

[50] The lighting of torches (4. 493) and the breaking of fast at evening (4. 535–6). We might add the ritual drink *kukeon* which seems to be described by Ovid at 4. 547–8.

[51] On this occasion, which occurs at a point in the calendar after the six months covered by Ovid, see Spaeth (1996) 12, 13, 105–7, and Fantham (1998) 393 n. This was a night vigil, and the only one expressly approved in Cicero's religious law code of *De Leg.* 2. 21 and 36. But he also allows for 'those made on behalf of the people in proper form'. This category would include the noctural 'sellisternium' of Juno offered

was a specifically women's cult, and Cicero, who calls it a Greek ritual, confirms elsewhere that its priestesses had to be Greeks and were imported from the Greek cities of Velia or Naples.[52] On this summer vigil the Roman matrons re-enacted the loss of Proserpina, crying out to her repeatedly at the street intersections of the city. The Greek practices–of lighting torches at evening, of the ritual drink of milk, honey, and barley–would belong not to the April Cerialia but to this women's summer ritual. In another poem, *Amores* 3. 10, Ovid throws more light on the ritual. After honouring Ceres for her benefactions he reproaches her because his girl is obliged to sleep away from him: 'a feast day calls for sex and song and wine! These are the offerings men should bring to the gods.'[53]

So the women's vigil probably entailed abstinence from wine as well as from sexual intercourse. Propertius complains about similar sexual abstinence by his mistress in honour of Isis, and an earlier passage in the *Fasti* reports the same 'secubitus' in preparation for the worship of Bacchus.[54] It was understood at Rome as in most cultures that men were impure for religious purposes after intercourse, but there is so little interest in women's religion that this seems to be our only evidence for prohibitions affecting them.

This is perhaps the best place to mention another restriction on women's sexual activity which Ovid highlights and even personalizes. As he approaches the June Vestalia he claims that he was about to give his own daughter in marriage, and so made inquiries about the right time to do so: (6. 221–2: 'tempora taedis | apta . . . quaeque cavenda forent'). Women apparently should not marry between 6 and 13 June (the Ides) during the period when Vesta's shrine was being spring-cleaned, and Ovid's authority is no less than the wife of the flamen Dialis, who confirms that she herself cannot even

at the Ludi Saeculares of 17 BC and AD 204. Nocturnal rituals had been part of the indictment against the Bacchanalia in 186 BC.

[52] Cic. *Verr.* 2. 4. 115, *Balb.* 55.

[53] On this poem and distich see Miller (1991) 45–6.

[54] Sleeping apart to be pure for Isis, Prop. 2. 31; for Bacchus, *Fasti* 2. 328–30: 'positis iuxta secubuere toris | causa, repertori vitis quia sacra parabant, | quae facerent pure, cum foret orta dies'.

consort with her wedded husband, the flamen, at that time.[55] Given that Plutarch cites other such restrictions, how many of these taboos on marrying, or married intercourse, may have gone unmentioned in our sources?[56]

Ovid's half-year of festivals marks one other day which was specially celebrated by women, and this for two different but related cults. On 11 June women gathered to celebrate the Matralia in honour of Mater Matuta, but it was also the day for honouring the shrine of Fortuna in the Forum Boarium: indeed the temples of the two goddesses were adjacent, and both cults were associated with the same legendary king, Servius Tullius. As Ovid expresses it after he has told the legend of the goddess's coming to Rome (6. 569): 'The same day and founder and location are yours, Fortuna', 'lux eadem, Fortuna, tua est, auctorque locusque'. There is evidence in other elders and contemporaries of Ovid, in Varro, Livy, and Festus' epitome of Verrius Flaccus, that associates the two female deities more closely.[57] But Ovid treats their cults separately and serially; first he summons the women to worship on this anniversary of Servius' temple to Mother Matuta

[55] Why does Ovid use the 'flaminica' as his informant? The 'flaminica' and her husband the 'flamen Dialis' were subject to multiple taboos. (According to Gellius 10. 15 and Plutarch, *Roman Questions* 40 and 109–13, he would forfeit office on her death.) Besides other taboos affecting her (cf. Gellius 10. 15. 26–7), Plutarch, *Roman Questions* 86, reports that the 'flaminica' may not bathe or adorn herself during the period of the rite of the Argei in May, a time in which other women may not marry; hence perhaps the other requirement mentioned by Plutarch, that she must adopt a stern demeanour ('skuthropazein'). It is part of Ovid's search for variety that he should not mention this restriction in his discussion of the Argei in May, but introduce it only in one of the two periods concerned.

[56] Plutarch actually implies a much wider taboo in stating (*Roman Questions* 105) that it is not customary for maidens to marry on a public holiday, only for widows. This would seem to exclude even Kalends, Nones, and Ides; see Macrobius, *Sat.* 1. 15. 21.

[57] Livy 5. 19. 6 confirms Servius as founder of the temple of Mater Matuta: Varro ap. Nonius 189 reports that the Fortuna of the Forum Boarium was also called 'Fortuna Virgo'; who, according to Festus 282 L, was also construed as 'Pudicitia': 'Pudicitiae signum in foro Boario est ubi Aemiliana aedis est Herculis. Eam quidam Fortunam esse existimant. Item via Latina ad milliarium IIII Fortunae Muliebris, nefas est attingi, nisi ab ea quae semel nupserit.' It is not clear to what aspect of the two cults 'item' applies. As Wissowa (1912) 207 argues, this is also the 'Pudicitia Patricia' from which Virginia was excluded in the narrative of Livy 10. 23. 3 f. (see n. 23 above).

(6. 475–80):

> Ite bonae matres (vestrum Matralia festum)
> flavaque Thebanae reddite liba deae:
> pontibus et magno iuncta est celeberrima Circo
> area quae posito de bove nomen habet.
> hac ibi luce ferunt Matutae sacra parenti
> sceptriferas Servi templa dedisse manus.

Go then, good mothers (the Matralia is your feast day), and offer golden honeycakes to the Theban goddess. There is a much-frequented area near the bridges and the great Circus which takes its name from the statue of an ox; men say that there in this day the sceptre-bearing hands of Servius dedicated a holy temple for Mother Matuta.

Matuta is called 'Thebana dea' because she was equated with Ino, nurse of her nephew Dionysus. Cicero, who reports the identification of Matuta with Leucothea, the deified form of the Theban queen Ino, does not try to explain the equation.[58] In Greek myth Hera vindictively maddened Ino so that she threatened her children: Phrixus and Helle escaped on the golden ram, but she caught up Melicertes and jumped with him into the sea. Together they were saved from drowning by being transformed into the sea deities Leucothea and Palaemon. Building on this Ovid confects a mythical coming of mother and child to Rome in the time of Evander: persecuted by Roman Bacchantes, Ino is rescued by Hercules and heralded as the Roman goddess Matuta by Evander's prophet mother Carmenta.[59] The poet thus incorporates into his fiction two types of female religiosity–Maenadic worship and prophetic inspiration–more acceptable in the heroic period than in the late Republic and his own time.[60]

However, Ovid is also more informative than usual on the form of cult observed. He notes the ritual practice of driving

[58] See *ND* 3. 39 and 48: 'Ino dea ducetur et Leucothea a Graecis, a nobis Matuta dicetur, cum sit Cadmi filia?' See now Smith (2000).

[59] The persecution is instigated by a disguised Juno (6. 507–22); for Carmenta's prophetic frenzy (she swells with inspiration like Virgil's Sibyl 'sanctior et tanto, quam modo, maior') see 6. 541–8 at 545: 'Leucothea Grais, Matuta vocabere nostris'; Ovid echoes Cicero's distinction.

[60] The Maenadic cult of Bacchus was banned throughout Italy by decree of the Senate in 186 BC, though individual worship remained licit. Prophecy too was restricted to official consultation of the written texts attributed to the Sibyl and controlled by the Decemviri.

out a slave girl from the celebration, and another anthropologically interesting feature: the women do not pray to Matuta for their own child, but for their sisters' children. This is probably a trace of an older matrilineal element in Italic society, but Ovid associates both practices with Ino's mythical biography (6. 551–62): she was nurse to her sister's son, and she hated slave girls because a slave girl informed on her to her husband. The poetic narrative is fantasy, but the ritual taboos are also discussed in Plutarch's *Roman Questions* 16 and 17; indeed Plutarch cites the local Greek practice of banning slaves (and Aetolians too) from the shrine of Leucothea.

Who was Matuta and what did she do for women? Dumézil has argued from the root 'matutinus' that she was a Dawn goddess,[61] but the Romans themselves did not know her origin, and saw her only as a protecting goddess like Fortuna. And even Fortuna was a deity they preferred to particularize by defining genitives or adjectives.[62] Wissowa lists along with Fortuna Virilis, whom we met in the women's baths, a number of Fortunes associated with a particular family or college, Fortune the Favourer or Watcher ('Obsequens, Respiciens'), and two Fortunes associated with women: the Fortune of the temple attributed to King Servius Tullius in the Forum Boarium, probably Fortuna Virgo, and Fortuna Muliebris.[63]

The distinctive feature of the Forum Boarium temple was its cult statue, heavily veiled in a toga of mysterious weave. Ovid identifies this as King Servius himself (6. 571 'hoc constat enim'),[64] but reports that others construed it as Fortuna or Pudicitia. Ovid relishes alternatives, and provides not one but three explanations why the statue was veiled: Fortune herself

[61] Dumézil (1970) i. 50–5. For other sources see Beard, North, Price (1998) i. 51 n. 157.

[62] Cf. Dumézil (1970) i. 42.

[63] See Wissowa (1912) 208–12. Are these complementary? Did the girl pass from the cult of Fortuna Virgo as she married to come under the protection of Fortuna Muliebris? Both female fortunes are listed by Plutarch, *Roman Questions* 74 in a discussion of Servius' many foundations for the goddess that is expanded in *On the Fortune of the Romans* 10. But he does not include the cult of Fortuna Muliebris there, perhaps because he has already reported the legend of its foundation (on which see below) in *On the Fortune of the Romans* 5.

[64] Ovid's view is shared by Dionysius 4. 40. 7, Valerius Maximus 1. 8. 11, and Pliny, *NH* 8. 194. But in 8. 197 Pliny reports a contradictory claim that the statue was Fortuna herself.

covered the king's face in shame (573–80); or the Roman people did so to put an end to their grief after his assassination (581–4); or Servius covered his own head before death to avoid looking his murderous daughter in the face (584–620). The poet has devoted attention to this oddity in order to justify a women's cult practice or taboo: married women must not touch the statue's drapery, because the day on which Servius' face is exposed will bring the abandonment of all modesty (620): 'haec [sc. lux] positi prima pudoris erit'. Did women come collectively to pray here on this anniversary? Or was this a general warning to any woman who might come alone?

Understanding the various cults of Fortuna is one of the most baffling problems in approaching Roman cult. But that of the Fortune of women (Fortuna Muliebris), though not considered in Ovid's calendar poem,[65] is known to have been founded by and for women, and inaugurated at least by an officiating priestess. According to Dionysius 8. 55–6, when Coriolanus' stern mother led the matrons of Rome to confront him and shame him from attacking the city in 493, the Senate honoured them by erecting an altar and temple to Fortuna Muliebris at the point where he was turned back. The married women were authorized to nominate a priestess and chose a woman, Valeria, who had helped to organize the deputation to Coriolanus.[66] Dionysius reports that she officiated at the sacrifice, uniquely on this occasion performed *by the women on behalf of the Roman people.* Indeed the goddess's statue actually spoke her approval of the women's act, saying, in language we have also read in Ovid: 'you have dedicated me in proper fashion'.[67]

Why did they need divine confirmation? Since, properly speaking, women had no property, they were not in a position to dedicate anything beyond their personal effects–such as the

[65] Ovid's calendar does not go beyond 30 June. The temple anniversary falls in July and the feast day on 1 December.

[66] This detail suggests that Dionysius' source was Valerius Antias. See now 'Valerius Antias and the Palimpsest of History' in Wiseman (1998) 88. But leaving aside her name, the story of the priestess is authenticated by Livy, Valerius Maximus, and Plutarch in *On the Fortune of the Romans* 5.

[67] The same miraculous speech is reported in Val. Max. 1. 8. 14 'Rite me, matronae, vidistis, riteque dedicastis.'

maiden clothes which the bride would dedicate to Fortuna Virgo.[68]

This temple, set outside Rome, provides a link back to my point of departure through Livia, who restored it, because of its association with chastity and marital respectability: only 'univirae' might enter the temple of Fortuna Muliebris,[69] and it spoke for Livia's concern for marital harmony. So too did the dedication that follows immediately after the story of Fortuna and Servius Tullius, as Ovid brings the *Fasti* towards its early closure: we saw Livia restore the temple of Concord and enrich it with an altar in January (1. 650–1), an act marking her worthiness of her unique husband.[70] In June again (6. 637–44) he describes how she presented Concord with a glorious temple and portico on the site of Vedius Pollio's scandalous mansion; it now became her offering to her husband: 'te quoque magnifica, Concordia, dedicat aede | Livia, quam caro praestitit ipsa viro'.[71]

As Nicholas Purcell (1986) has shown, Livia set herself up as a model for the women of Rome, and the embodiment of Augustus' moral policies. Ovid has skilfully distributed the record of her actions over the calendar to make her stand for women's religious role at both his beginning and as nearly as possible his ending. As he declares of Augustus' actions, so we may say of Livia's pointed choice of shrines to set a noble

[68] Wissowa's evidence for this practice (1912) 207 is partly Virginia's reference in Livy 10. 23 to her own dedication to Pudicitia on marriage, and partly from the Christian Arnobius 2. 67, who refers to the goddess as Fortuna Virginalis.

[69] Cf. Festus 282 quoted n. 57 above. Livia's act of restoration is known from the fragmentary inscription: Purcell (1986) 88 and n. 58.

[70] L. 650: 'sola toro magni digna reperta Iovis' lavishes on Augustus an honorific Ovid might have withheld when he wrote the first draft of *Fasti* bk. 1. See Herbert-Brown (1994) 162–7 for a full discussion of this passage.

[71] On this portico see Herbert-Brown (1994) 145–56. She rightly insists on the coherence of this passage with the preceding passages honouring the women's cults of Matuta and Fortuna, but points out that according to Dio 55. 8. 1 the Porticus was dedicated in January and jointly with her son Tiberius. Thus Ovid has taken a gesture of family concord between mother and son and reinterpreted it as a confirmation of concord between husband and wife, reinforcing this message by associating the event with the women's festivals of Mater Matuta and Fortuna. As she points out (148), Ovid out of tact towards Livia passes over the normal requirement that no one except 'univirae' should participate in the Matralia (also true of the cult of Fortuna Muliebris). By linking these three cults Ovid can focus attention on wifely virtue and Livia's role in providing the model of that virtue.

example: 'sic exempla parantur'.[72] If Ovid tells us less than we would like about the ordinary woman's religious life and practice, one woman at least has been given credit for all her public religious acts, and her religious roles and honours reflect the cults and ideals set before elite women in the days of poet and emperor.

[72] Flory (1984) made this the title of her excellent study.

3
Vaga Signa: Orion and Sirius in Ovid's *Fasti*

EMMA GEE

(i) Introduction

In this chapter two episodes of the *Fasti* will be studied, both of which contain astronomy: the Robigalia of *Fasti* 4. 901–42, where Sirius, the Dog-Star, is present, and the part of *Fasti* 5 in which Orion and Mars Ultor are juxtaposed, lines 493–598.[1] Although these two pieces of text may at first seem dissimilar in structure, content, and programme, it will become clear that they share elements, and that these common features can help to shed light on the way in which astronomical material functions in its immediate context in the *Fasti*, and on the place of astronomy in the work as a whole.

Orion and Sirius are astronomical entities with credentials which go back as far as the beginnings of epic and didactic poetry in Greece.[2] They belong also in the tradition of the agricultural calendar, as it is found in Hesiod's *Works and Days*, Aratus' *Phaenomena*, Virgil's *Georgics*, Varro's *De Re Rustica*, Columella's *Res Rusticae*, and Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia*, book 18.[3] In particular, the first two couplets in Ovid's record of the strange festival of Mildew (the Robigalia) at *Fasti* 4. 901–4, in which Sirius occurs, reflect this tradition; they look like advice on astronomy and meteorology addressed to

[1] Thanks to John Henderson, Elaine Fantham, Geraldine Herbert-Brown, and Michael Reeve.

[2] Sirius: Homer, *Il.* 22. 29, Hesiod, *WD* 582–96; Orion: Homer, *Il.* 18. 486, Hesiod, *WD* 598, 615.

[3] On the *Fasti* and the agricultural calendar, see Gee (2000: 9–20).

Ovid's *Fasti*

Historical Readings at its Bimillennium

Edited by

GERALDINE HERBERT-BROWN

OXFORD