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Erotic Ecology in Ovid's Heroides

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EROTIC ECOLOGY IN OVID'S HEROIDES

by

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DEDICATIONS

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Earle and Lisa Holt, who always remind me that I am the biggest lion in the jungle.

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Erotic Ecology in Ovid's *Heroides*

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Abstract

This project demonstrates that natural imagery in the *Heroides* is an emotionally charged space that exists as more than just background description. The first chapter explores how descriptions of the pastoral landscape reflect the shifting love affair of Oenone and Paris: when the love is reciprocal, the pastoral landscape is idyllic and peaceful; once Oenone realizes her attempt to win Paris back is futile, the pastoral landscape becomes more antagonistic. Ultimately, Oenone's *rusticitas* proves to be incompatible with Paris' newly acquired *cultus*, which I suggest can be read as an expression of the opposition between modern refinement and renewal of ancient values of Augustan Rome. Chapter Two explores imagery of the sea in *Heroides* 2, 5, 6, and 10, and argues that Ovid uses sea imagery to explore the psychological dimensions of abandonment and its resulting trauma in the women of these poems. The men of the *Heroides* use the sea as a venue of travel to abandon the women they once loved, and the women of the *Heroides* invest the sea with the negative emotions they feel. Overall, this discussion of the emotional aspects of landscape demonstrates the underlying political implications of Ovid's *Heroides*.

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INTRODUCTION

Ovid's collection of epistolary elegiac poems, the *Heroides*, focuses primarily on well-known mythological love stories.[1] The *Heroides* comprise fourteen single letters from mythological women, such as Penelope, Briseis, Oenone, and Dido, writing to their lovers who they believe have abandoned them. The fifteenth letter in the collection is written as if by the Archaic Greek lyric poet Sappho of Lesbos to Phaon, a ferryman who transported people back and forth between Lesbos and the mainland.[2] Another set of six poems, the "double" epistles, present an epistolary exchange between mythological men and women, in which the men write first, then the women respond.[3] It is the prevailing scholarly consensus that the single *Heroides*, 1-15, and the double letters, 16-21 are separate works.[4] Given such scholarly agreement, there have been very few studies that have treated the poems in relation to one another or as a unified collection.[5] Indeed, key themes connect many of the letters despite their sometimes different presentation of these themes. In particular, writing as if from a woman's perspective, Ovid emphasizes the varied emotional states of the mythological women as they ponder their abandonment and attempt to convince their respective lovers to return to them.

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[1] The chronology of Ovid's works is hotly debated and the *Heroides* are no exception. White 2002: 10 does not assert a specific publication date for the *Heroides*, but he does argue that they could not have been published before 13 BCE. Knox 2002: 119 argues that the single *Heroides* (1-15) were composed between 10 and 1 BCE; Knox 2002: 122 places the paired epistles (16-21) around 8 CE, shortly before Ovid's exile from Rome.

[2] For a detailed description of *Heroides* 15, see Jacobson 1974.

[3] The authenticity of several poems in the collection has been a matter of scholarly debate. For a review of the debate surrounding *Heroides* 15, see Tarrant 1981: 136, who argues that the poem is not written by Ovid based on "metrical usages not found elsewhere in Ovid, words and phrases not elsewhere used by Ovid, and, finally, incriminating borrowings from Ovid's genuine works." For a discussion about the authenticity of the paired epistles 16-21, see Tracy 1971; see also Courtney 1965 and 1998.

[4] See Jacobson 1974: ix: "I do consider the last six poems genuine but have, nonetheless, ignored them here for a simple reason: the first fifteen *Epistulae* and the last six are two distinct works."

[5] Of note is Fulkerson 2002 who reads *Heroides* 2 in light of other poems in the collection. Spentzou 2003 reads poems 1-21 as an integrated whole.

My thesis analyzes letters of the *Heroides* intratextually to explore the ways that descriptions of natural imagery reflect and deepen the emotional states of the mythological women. One of the hallmarks of the *Heroides* is how Ovid writes from the perspective of mythological women and how he depicts their emotional vicissitudes. I demonstrate that landscape and seascape descriptions in the *Heroides* are not mere setting but, instead, are emotionally charged environments that allow the women of these letters to explore their emotional trauma. I refer to this investment of romantic emotion in natural surroundings as erotic ecology. Moreover, I suggest a further implication of Ovid's use of erotic ecology that reveals a veiled critique of contemporary Augustan Rome.[6] Ovidian scholarship has often argued over whether Ovid's works are pro- or anti-Augustan.[7] Peter Davis in particular has read the *Heroides* as politically-charged texts that are anti-Augustan.[8] Davis analyzes *Heroides* 7, 9, and 13 specifically to demonstrate that the women in these poems complain about the hardships they face because of male glory. This project is in line with Davis' anti-Augustan formulation, and it attempts to prove that the *Heroides* offer a veiled critique of the political situation of contemporary Rome. In my first chapter, I argue that Ovid's use of *cultus* and *rusticitas* in *Heroides* 5, 16, and 17 suggests that these ideas of refinement and country living are at odds with one another. Then in Chapter Two I suggest that the men of the *Heroides* commandeer the sea, which is a typically feminine space, leaving their women

[6] For a political reading of Ovid, see Holleman 1971. Holleman assesses whether or not Ovid's supposed "anti-Augustanism" was political. By examining passages from the *Amores*, *Tristia*, *Metamorphoses*, and *Ars Amatoria*, Holleman decides that Ovid's anti-Augustanism is indeed political although not explicitly so. See also Galinsky 1996: 261-269 for a discussion of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* generally, and in particular, about its "Augustan" qualities. Galinsky pushes back on the critique of Ovid as anti-Augustan, and he suggests, "it is misguided, therefore to overinterpret the reasons for Ovid's banishment."

[7] On the usefulness of the terms "pro-Augustan" and "anti-Augustan," see Kennedy 1997: 40-41. Kennedy argues for two separate theories of language: one which is static and unchanging and another which is dialogic and stresses the ability for words to change their meaning. He further suggests that within the second framework "the clear-cut distinction between 'Augustan' and 'anti-Augustan' breaks down."

[8] Davis 2006.

helpless on the shore only to wish for their lover to return. In addition, I demonstrate how Ovid's extensive use of sea imagery in the collection can be read as a subtle metaphor for the declining moral situation in Rome.

Intertextuality and Intratextuality

Ovid's use of well-known mythological stories in the *Heroides* required him to work within a tradition of previously written texts that were themselves charged with meaning from still earlier texts. To explain this phenomenon, many classical scholars have used intertextuality as a literary framework to analyze the *Heroides*. Intertextuality is a term introduced by the literary critic Julia Kristeva in the groundbreaking 1980 title *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*. According to Kristeva a text is not self-contained, but it instead refers back to a previous tradition while situating itself within that tradition. Drawing heavily on concepts like Bakthin's dialogism, Kristeva reconceives Bakthinian concepts to create her own idea of intertextuality. In her discussion of texts, Kristeva asserts, "A text is a permutation of texts, an intertextuality in the space of a given text in which several utterances, taken from other texts, intersect and neutralize one another."[9] Thus, a text can never stand alone, since it is constantly referring back to works that have already been written and thus necessarily must be understood within the contexts of those other works. Furthermore, Kristeva states, "any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another."[10] Intertextuality, then, is a tool to analyze texts and the textual traditions associated with them. A text cannot be divorced from its broader cultural context.

[9] Kristeva 1980: 36.
[10] Kristeva 1980: 66

The *Heroides* have often been deemed repetitive by scholars, but the overwhelming opinion began to change with the landmark treatment of the *Heroides* by Howard Jacobson in 1974. Jacobson's monograph devotes a chapter to each of the fifteen single epistles, and each chapter discusses important features of each letter and possible sources for Ovid's rendering of the mythological stories. Since Jacobson, intertextual studies have been prevalent in scholarship about Ovid's *Heroides*. These studies offer insight into potential source texts and the ways in which Ovid deviates from these stories. Stephen Hinds has used an intertextual framework to explore scenes featuring Medea in Ovid.[11] Hinds notices that in *Heroides* 12 Medea sometimes presents conflicting accounts of her journey where she encounters both the Symplegades as well as Scylla and Charybdis.[12] Hinds argues that Ovid here is employing "learned contamination" to evoke the Alexandrian tradition of poet turned scholar. Ultimately, Hinds shows that the Medea of *Heroides* 12 is a strange amalgam of many traditions: she is at the same time the Medea of Euripides, Apollonius, Ennius, and Ovid. Sara Lindheim has explored the intertextual relationship between *Heroides* 5 and Vergil's *Eclogue* 10.[13] Lindheim argues that Oenone, as a pastoral character, is unable to leave her bucolic roots behind despite her attempts to portray herself as an elegiac character. Megan Drinkwater has also contributed many intertextual studies, first with her doctoral thesis on Homer in the *Heroides*.[14] Drinkwater has also analyzed *Heroides* 16 and 17 intertextually with Ovid's *Ars Amatoria.*[15] From these studies, among others, it has become possible to

[11] Hinds 1993.
[12] Hinds 1993: 14.
[13] Lindheim 2000.
[14] Drinkwater 2003. Drinkwater discusses the *Heroides* in terms of the generic tension between epic and elegy in *Heroides* 1, 3, 5, 16, and 17. By analyzing these poems closely with Homeric texts, Drinkwater argues that the influence of the characters' epic past or future problematizes their elegiac personas in the *Heroides*.
[15] Drinkwater 2013a.

realize and appreciate more easily how Ovid is adding his own literary flair to pre-existing stories.

Intertextual studies have revealed much about Ovid's innovation from his source texts, but recently the scholarly discourse has changed to include intratextual studies. Two pioneering studies of this sort are by Laurel Fulkerson and Sara Lindheim.[16] These studies explore the ways letters respond to or reflect other poems in the collection. Whereas intertextuality looks for resonances from outside sources within a text, intratextuality examines the interactions of different parts within a single text. Nevertheless, these two approaches to reading texts are related critical tools. When talking about the difference between inter- and intratextuality, Alison Sharrock asserts:

> It is the hypothesis of intratextuality that a text's meaning grows not only out the readings of its parts and its whole, but also out of readings of the relationships between the parts, and the reading of those parts as parts, and parts as relationships (interactive and rebarbative): all this both formally (e.g. episodes, digression, frame, narrative line, etc.) and substantively (e.g. in voice, theme, allusion, topos, etc.)—and teleologically.[17]

Where intertextuality looks out to a greater tradition, intratextuality looks within a text. Texts are necessarily composed of parts, and intratextuality necessitates the observation of the relationship between these parts. By analyzing the component parts of a text, it is possible to discover and discuss it as a unified whole.

Intratextuality is a useful tool for analyzing the *Heroides* since the collection is made up of several individual poems. Often, for modern readers of the *Heroides*, the many repeated tropes and recurrent language has caused frustration. Indeed, the laments of the women in the *Heroides* are often the same: they have been left behind by a man with whom

[16] Fulkerson 2002, Lindheim 2003, and Fulkerson 2005. All of these texts are summarized in more detail below.
[17] Sharrock and Morales 2000.

they enjoyed varying amounts of time and whom they claim to love. Rather than overlooking this repetition as rhetorically and narratively ineffective, literary scholars have begun to view the *Heroides* through an intratextual framework. Laurel Fulkerson in particular has been a champion of this methodology. Fulkerson has examined Phyllis in *Heroides* 2 intratextually by suggesting that Phyllis' similarities to other women in the *Heroides* is a feature of her poem that allows her to refashion herself as some mixture of Dido, Medea, and Ariadne.[18] Fulkerson has also focused on the collection of the *Heroides* more holistically to show how the women writers of the *Heroides* often interact with the other letters in the collection to frame their own stories.[19] Lindheim has also published an intratextual study about feminine desire in the *Heroides*.[20] With a particular focus on the epistolarity of the poems, Lindheim suggests that Ovid's heroines do not challenge their pre-existing literary narratives. The result of much of this work has demonstrated that the repeated themes, emotions, and complaints of the women of the *Heroides* reveal nuanced differences in the characters' self-representation. My investigation of the *Heroides* in this project is in line with the growing trend of intratextual analysis. Although I consider important intertextual questions, I also employ intratextual methods to explore the thematic and literary connections between *Heroides* 5, 16, and 17 in Chapter One. I also inspect the association between sea imagery and feelings of abandonment that is common to the *Heroides* 2, 5, 6, and 10 in Chapter Two.

Elegy, Epistolary Form, and Natural Imagery

[18] Fulkerson 2002.
[19] See Fulkerson 2005 for readings of individual poems of the single *Heroides*. Fulkerson analyzes nearly all of the single epistles except for Penelope's.
[20] Lindheim 2003.

The generic framework of Roman elegiac poetry was well-established when Ovid wrote his *Heroides*. Literary geniuses including Gallus, Tibullus, and Propertius had solidified in their works the basic expectations of elegy. It is difficult to determine exactly how Gallus influenced the other Latin elegiac poets since so little of his work is extant.[21] Nevertheless, Propertius and Tibullus reveal much about the genre. Both poets wrote elegiac poems of varying lengths which focus heavily on the poet-lover and his emotions toward a woman—Cynthia and Delia, respectively—who often spurn their erotic advances. Scholars who study elegiac poetry often emphasize the authors' use of *servitium amoris* ("slavery of love") as an important trope in their poetry.[22] Typically in the *servitium amoris* trope, the poet-lover is a slave (*servus*) to his mistress (*domina*). In this way, *servitium amoris* demonstrates the power a woman has over a man as he eagerly desires her affection. There are important gendered differences that the trope of *servitium amoris* reveals: the woman is dominant over the man in Roman elegy.

In the *Heroides* mythological women write to men who have left them behind, thus allowing Ovid to invert the typical *servitium amoris* trope of Latin love elegy. Rather than a male poet-lover who pines after a *domina*, the women of the *Heroides* are dependent on their lovers. Indeed, the majority of these letters focus on the emotional trauma that women experience after they have been left behind. By flipping the traditional gendered convention of the *servitium amoris*, I suggest that Ovid is able to more fully consider and express the plight of a woman in love. Furthermore, by using familiar characters from mythology,

[21] On the influence of Gallus on the other Roman elegists see Gibson 2012. As Gibson shows, it is difficult to reconstruct Gallus' impact on Propertius, Tibullus, and Ovid because there are so few extant lines. Perhaps enlightening is Vergil's *Eclogue* 10 where Gallus makes a significant appearance.

[22] On the *servitium amoris* of Latin elegiac poetry, see in particular Copley 1947 and Lyne 1979. Copley 1947 argues that the concept of *servitium amoris* is a Roman invention, and Lyne 1979 confirms Copley's assessment. Lyne further suggests that the trope was invented by Propertius.

readers of the *Heroides* more easily understand the situations of each character. To that same effect, Ovid's use of the epistolary form gives the women of the *Heroides* their own voice, albeit one that is filtered through Ovid's own hand.

Some work has been devoted to Roman epistolography and its conventions.[23] Letters have been and continue to include personal correspondence, though the *Heroides* are, of course, more constructed letters, especially considering the constraints that the pre-existing mythological stories placed on them.[24] By this I mean that Ovid was unable to represent the characters in the *Heroides* without a certain amount of faithfulness to their traditional representations.[25] Patricia Rosenmeyer discusses epistles in Greek literature from Homer to the Second Sophistic.[26] From this source, it is possible to understand an important part of the rich literary history that Ovid uses for inspiration when composing his *Heroides*. Rosenmeyer asserts that there is a strong connection between women and letter writing from Homer onwards, and this is certainly evident in Ovid's *Heroides*. She argues that women are associated with the dangerous aspects of writing, and asserts, "the Bellerophon passage [in Homer] introduces the dangerous combination of a woman thwarted in love who turns to the

[23] For a discussion of epistolarity in Ovid's *Heroides*, see Kennedy 2002. See also Hardie 2002: 106, who argues, "the epistle presupposes the spatial separation of the writer from her or his object of desire; the written text of the amatory epistle is both a means intended to procure the presence of the beloved and a substitute for the immediate communication that would be possible in that presence." In this way, even the form of the composition establishes the expectation that the lovers of the *Heroides* are physically separated from one another.

[24] See Knox 2002: 123 for explication of Ovid's generic innovations. Knox suggests that Ovid's fictional elegiac epistles are unique for being the only collection of such a type of poem we know about in Greek and Latin.

[25] For more on this idea of literary constraints and its connection to Ovid's mythological-elegiac epistolary form, see Lindheim 2003: 23-25. In particular, the writers of the *Heroides* have to present their stories in a believable manner, and they must not diverge too extremely from their own story. This does not mean, however, that they cannot omit or spin certain aspects to fit their own narrative goals.

[26] Rosenmeyer 2001.

power of writing to exact vengeance."[27] Moreover, as she also states, Ovid draws upon this tradition in his *Heroides*. In these letters, the women who write are able, to an extent, to take control of their own stories.

Using the epistolary form, Ovid presents the mythological women's stories from their own perspective. Ostensibly the women are writing their own letters, and therefore they are able to present their stories in their own terms. In order to remain credible, they must tell a story that remains faithful enough to their earlier narratives, but Ovid still omits or changes important details. In many ways, this results in the ability to exaggerate certain aspects of their stories while diminishing the importance of others. Sara Lindheim, in her book *Mail and Female: Epistolary Narrative and Desire in Ovid's Heroides*, investigates this idea of self-representation in a selection of the single *Heroides*.[28] Lindheim uses an intertextual approach to expose the differences in the representation of women of the *Heroides* in their source texts and their self-representation in their own literary epistles. Ultimately, Lindheim argues that the women of the *Heroides* do not seize the opportunity to challenge their representation in their source texts despite possible opportunity for novel self-representation offered by their epistolary mode.[29] Furthermore, since the women of the *Heroides* do not always challenge their previous representations, they tend to become similar to one another. The women of the *Heroides* are very alike in their self-representations, which makes cross-analysis and intratextual reading a fruitful endeavor, as I demonstrate throughout this project.

[27] Rosenmeyer 2001: 43-44. In particular, she remarks on Euripides' Phaedra from his *Hippolytus*, asserting that Phaedra uses letter writing to exact her treachery. Importantly, Rosenmeyer also suggests that Ovid centralizes the importance of women and letters in his *Heroides*.
[28] Lindheim 2003.
[29] Lindheim 2003: 75.

Ovid appears to have innovated significantly by representing mythological stories in his elegiac epistles.[30] This combination of generic expectations of elegy and epistolary form can be found also in Propertius 4.3 where Arethusa writes a letter in elegiac couplets to her husband Lycotas who has been away on campaign. The date of Propertius 4.3 is contested, as is whether Propertius' elegy influenced Ovid's *Heroides* or vice versa.[31] I agree with Richardson who argues that direction of influence largely does not matter, though I do not entirely agree with his rationale.[32] He asserts, for example, that Ovid's *Heroides* are "essentially comedy" especially compared to Propertius 4.3. It seems clear to me that Ovid's collection is not meant to be comedy, but rather a way for him to explore representations of feminine grief and at the same time play with generic convention and literary tradition. Of course, Ovid can at times be intentionally ridiculous or playful.[33] A particular divergence from what Propertius does in 4.3 is Ovid's inclusion of well-known mythological stories and characters, rather than ones like Arethusa and Lycotas who do not have a previous literary tradition.

The stylistic similarities of Propertius 4.3 and Ovid's *Heroides* make comparison between the two a fruitful exercise for discovering the poems' different aims. The reworking of mythological stories in Ovid's *Heroides* marks the most significant difference, yet several

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[30] Cunningham 1949: 100-102 discusses the novelty of the *Heroides* though not in terms of this mixing of mythological content and elegiac-epistolary form. Instead, based on internal evidence and remarks about Ovid's other poetry in the *Tristia*, Cunningham argues that the *Heroides* were lyric monologues accompanied by song and dance.

[31] Knox 2002: 117 suggests that Propertius 4.3 is a possible model for Ovid's *Heroides*. He does not investigate fully which came before the other, but he does admit that Propertius' poem and Ovid's collection of poems are very different types of poems despite their similar form.

[32] See Richardson 2006: 429 for a discussion of the possible date of Propertius 4.3. Ultimately, Richardson decides that the aims of Ovid's *Heroides* and Propertius 4.3 are so different that whether Propertius influenced Ovid or vice versa is largely irrelevant.

[33] See Verducci 1985: 244-285 who suggests that Ovid's presentation of *Heroides* 10 is meant to be a parody of Catullus 64. Verducci pays particular attention to descriptions of Ariadne's hair, which was often emphasized for its beauty in earlier treatments of the heroine. According to Verducci, Ovid's Ariadne is a comically excessive in her display of grief.

literary features are consistent between Propertius 4.3 and Ovid's *Heroides*. Propertius 4.3 begins with a salutatory address: *Haec Arethusa suo mittit mandata Lycotae,* / *cum totients absis, si potes esse meus*, "Arethusa sends this commission to her Lycotas, when so often you are away, if you are able to be mine" (4.3.1-2).[34] Within the first couplet, Arethusa announces that she is the author of a letter which she intends for Lycotas to read. Richardson suggests that the salutation here is an emended form of the typical address of a letter. In general, the address of a letter included some form of greeting as well as the name of the sender and intended recipient.[35] The address in Propertius 4.3 clarifies the immediate situation: Arethusa writes to Lycotas who has often been absent from her. Epistolary salutations like the one at the beginning of Propertius 4.3 are mostly omitted in the *Heroides*.[36] The first letter in the collection, Penelope to Odysseus, does begin with a modified version of the typical address: *haec tua Penelope lento tibi mitti, Ulixe*, "Your Penelope sends these words to you who are lingering, Ulysses" (*Ep.* 1.1).[37] Of the poems analyzed in this project—*Heroides* 2, 5, 6, 10, 16, and 17—only poems 2 and 16 have opening addresses that resemble a typical address.

In both Propertius 4.3 and the *Heroides* the women writers fear that the men they once loved have replaced them with another woman. Readers of the *Heroides* know whether these fears are valid since the women of the *Heroides* have a pre-existing literary identity. Most of the women themselves do not know whether their fears are valid, though Oenone is a notable exception. In *Heroides* 5 she recalls seeing Paris sail back with Helen thus

[34] Latin text is from Richardson 2006. All translations are my own.
[35] Allen Jr. et al. 1973: 122, citing 4 Dziatzko, "Brief," RE 3 (1899) 839.
[36] According to Knox 1995: 36 the MSS of *Heroides* 5-12 have spurious opening couplets that resemble the salutatory openings of Propertius 4.3 and *Heroides* 1. He explains this phenomenon as interpolated openings for letters which were thought to be "insufficiently 'epistolary'."
[37] Latin text of the first fifteen letters of the *Heroides* is from Knox 1995.

demonstrating to her that he no longer cares for her in the way he once did. Hypsipyle also knows that Jason has left her for Medea, and she wishes violence against her toward the end of her letter.[38] The other heroines, like Arethusa, are unsure of whether they have been replaced with another woman, but they fear the worst. In Propertius' poem, Arethusa hopes that Lycotas' war gear harms him rather than another woman (4.3.23-26):

> dic mihi, num teneros urit lorica lacertos?
> num gravis imbelles atterit hasta manus?
> haec noceant potius, quam dentibus ulla puella
> det mihi plorandas per tua colla notas!
>
> Tell me, does your cuirass burn your delicate arms?
> Does the heavy javelin wear out your unwarlike hands?
> Let these things be harmful, rather than some girl
> give marks along your neck with her teeth that I must weep over!

Arethusa knows that her husband has gone on campaign, and so she often employs martial imagery in her letter.[39] Nevertheless, she fears that Lycotas enjoys the presence of another woman. Arethusa hopes that he is being harmed by his military gear, namely his cuirass (*lorica*) and his spear (*hasta*), rather than by neck-kisses from another girl. As readers of this poem, we know as much about Lycotas' actions as Arethusa does; we are equally in the dark. But, as readers of the *Heroides*, we know when the women's fears of other women are legitimate based on their existing literary history.

In addition to lacking a mythological backstory, Propertius 4.3 less frequently employs natural imagery than the *Heroides* to explore the mental state of the female protagonist. The current project aims to demonstrate that in Ovid's *Heroides* landscape is not

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[38] For example, Hypsipyle writes, *paelicis ipse meos implessem sanguine vultus,. . . Medeae Medea forem!*, "I should have filled my eyes with the blood of the mistress . . . I should have been a Medea for Medea!" (*Ep.* 2.149-151).

[39] On the so-called *militia amoris* ("warfare of love") in Latin love elegy, see Murgatroyd 1975. Murgatroyd examines the development of this trope throughout Greek and Roman poetry, and he focuses in particular on its use in the Roman elegists where it finds its most extensive deployment. See also Drinkwater 2013b.

simply some passive setting. Instead, landscape descriptions play a crucial role in Ovid's characterization of feminine erotic distress. Often, the landscape is a reflection of the love affair between the woman writing and the man whom she once loved. In *Heroides* 5, Oenone's recollection of the landscape reflects the changing nature of her affair with Paris. The extensive use of sea imagery in the *Heroides* reflects the trauma of being abandoned that the women experience. They remain stuck on the liminal space of the shore, stuck between the land where they enjoyed their love affairs and the sea by which their lovers abandoned them. In Propertius 4.3 there is perhaps a singular example where the landscape can be read as a reflection of Arethusa's emotional state: *nec me tardarent Scythiae iuga, cum Pater altas / acriter in glaciem frigore nectit aquas*, "Let the ridges of Scythia not slow me down, when the Father harshly binds the deep waters into ice by a chill" (47-48). The imagery that Propertius uses here is similar to Ovid's language in the *Heroides*. In particular, as I explore in Chapter Two, Ovid's use of water imagery punctuates the trauma of being abandoned. Here in Propertius, Arethusa is wishing to be reunited with Lycotas, even if it means crossing the ridges of Scythia to get to him. However, the Father (*Pater*), probably Zeus, has caused the water on the peaks to turn to ice, which in turn would hinder Arethusa's movement. Nature hinders a woman's movement as well in Ovid's *Heroides*. In particular, both Phyllis in *Heroides* 2 and Ariadne in *Heroides* 10 are held back by natural forces: Phyllis wades into the ocean where the waves resist her movement and Ariadne's feet sink into the sand of the shore. Propertius' use of natural imagery is much less a focus in his poem than Ovid's in his *Heroides*. Still, it is possible if Propertius 4.3 existed before Ovid's *Heroides* that Propertius influenced Ovid in more ways than just with his generic mixing.

Chapter Summary

In this thesis, I examine the erotic ecology in Ovid's *Heroides*. The overall project demonstrates that landscape in the *Heroides* is an emotionally charged space that exists as more than just background description. Chapter One, entitled "The Country-City Divide: *Rusticitas* and *Cultus* in Ovid's *Heroides* 5, 16, and 17," explores how Oenone's description of her pastoral landscape in *Heroides* 5 reflects the changing dynamics of her love affair with Paris: when Paris reciprocates her feelings of affection, Oenone remembers the landscape as peaceful and welcoming; but when Oenone realizes that Paris no longer cares for her the pastoral landscape is hostile and unwelcoming. Furthermore, Ovid describes their love affair in terms of *rusticitas* (rusticity and uncivilized country life) and *cultus* (refinement and urban sophistication) to highlight the unsuitability of love between people from the country and the city. Despite her best attempts, Oenone is unable to relinquish her *rusticitas*, and it proves to be a trait incompatible with Paris' newly acquired *cultus*. Finally, I argue that Ovid's representation of *cultus* and *rusticitas* in these poems can be read as a politically charged statement about the opposition between the modern refinement and renewal of ancient values of Augustan Rome. Just as the refinement of Paris and rusticity of Oenone proved to be incompatible, so too is the restoration of ancient values and new refinement of Rome emphasized by Augustus.

Chapter Two, entitled "The Sea of Abandonment: Sea Imagery and Unrequited Love in Ovid's *Heroides*," explores Ovid's use of sea imagery in *Heroides* 2, 5, 6, and 10. In particular, I demonstrate that imagery of the sea is a way for Ovid to explore the psychological dimension of the trauma of abandonment that each woman in the *Heroides* feels. I begin the chapter with a discussion of texts earlier than Ovid that demonstrate the destructive force of the sea. In particular, I show that Plato's *Laws* and Cicero's *De Re*

Publica discuss the sea as a potential corruptive force upon citizens' customs and attitudes in maritime cities. I also analyze Theocritus' *Idyll* 11 to show an early description of the sea as a force that physically separates lovers from each other. I suggest that in *Idyll* 11 Polyphemus' position on the shore demonstrates how stuck he is between two worlds: he is neither able to be with Galatea in the sea, but he also neglects his herding duties on land. I suggest that Ovid draws upon the pre-existing literature that portrays the sea as a corrupting force, and he specifically uses sea imagery as a means for the women of the *Heroides* to convey their grief at being left behind by the men they love. In *Heroides* 2, 5, 6, and 10, Phyllis, Oenone, Hypsipyle, and Ariadne all focus on the sea as a force that facilitated their abandonment. In each case, their former lover has left by sea. The women consider the sea a painful reminder of their previous love affairs.

Overall, through my examination of landscape descriptions and the emotional states of the female speakers in the *Heroides*, I argue that the women of the *Heroides* describe their landscapes as a reflection of their own emotional and mental states. Furthermore, I suggest political readings in both chapters. Ovid's use and characterization of *cultus* and *rusticitas* suggests that the two concepts cannot coexist, and therefore I suggest that Ovid is cunningly commenting on the incompatibility of Augustus' newly monumentalized Rome and renewal of Republican values. Then, in Chapter Two, I suggest that Ovid's use of sea imagery combines two separate traditions where the sea is a corrupting force in both political and erotic terms. Most explicitly, in the *Heroides* the sea is a conduit for a woman's emotional trauma. Nevertheless, Ovid draws on the political presentation of the sea as a corrupting force on a city's morals through outside trade, and therefore it is possible to read this

negative influence of the sea on erotic emotions as a political critique of contemporary Rome.

CHAPTER ONE

The Country-City Divide: *Rusticitas* and *Cultus* in Ovid's *Heroides* 5, 16, and 17

In the *Heroides*, Ovid uses and repurposes key themes from earlier literature, including the division between people who inhabit urban and rural spaces. In this chapter, I examine the ways that *rusticitas* and *cultus* influence the narrative of *Heroides* 5, especially with reference to their articulation in *Heroides* 16 and 17. In these letters, *rusticitas* encompasses traits that define someone who belongs to the countryside, whereas *cultus* demonstrates someone who is defined by the sophistication of the city. *Rusticitas* generally suggests boorishness and lack of amatory skill, whereas *cultus* suggests refinement and the trappings of city life. By tracing the distinction between city and country folk, particularly in *Heroides* 5, I show how *rusticitas* is associated with people from the country, while *cultus* is associated with people from the city. There is a further connection between *rusticitas*, *cultus*, and love in *Heroides* 5. Ovid's Oenone values her pastoral landscape and attempts to argue to the newly urbanized Paris that the countryside is a suitable place for them to enjoy their love. She represents Paris' shift from a herdsman to a son of Priam, and his resulting *cultus*, as a corrupting force that dismantles their love for each other. She further attempts to leave behind the countryside and her *rusticitas* by asserting that she is suited to be a refined city woman. Ultimately, she realizes that she is unable to escape the countryside as Paris did.

I argue that Ovid presents a revaluation of *rusticitas* in *Heroides* 5 through his special focus on *cultus* and its incompatibility with the countryside. He praises the simple over the refined in his presentation of Oenone, but he also suggests that *rusticitas* is an inescapable trait. Paris, in *Heroides* 5 and 16, does escape *rusticitas* and dons the trappings of *cultus*, but he retains aspects of his previous time as a herdsman with Oenone despite his self-

presentation to Helen as a man of refinement. Ovid demonstrates in *Heroides* 5 that *rusticitas* and *cultus* are incompatible traits that are constantly at odds with another. Furthermore, in showcasing this tension Ovid here subtly parodies Augustus' attempt at restoring Republican values to Rome, especially considering Augustus' new monumentalizing and restoration of important Roman spaces.[40] The old-time values that Augustus promotes, implicitly included in the concept of *rusticitas*, do not coincide with his creation of a golden Rome that is defined by the presence of *cultus*.

Since Ovid is working within such a rich tradition in the *Heroides*, existing scholarship on the *Heroides* tends to use intertextual analysis to identify the ways in which Ovid manipulates his source texts in these epistles. Intertextual studies, which analyze the poems in relation to previous literature, have dominated the scholarship on the *Heroides*.[41] Although these types of intertextual analyses tend to dominate studies of the *Heroides*, such a study is difficult to accomplish with *Heroides* 5 since there is no full extant mythological account of Oenone's story.[42] Recently scholars have begun to analyze the poems

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[40] In his *Res Gestae,* Augustus particularly emphasizes his role in rebuilding the temples of Rome. At *RG* 20, he writes: *duo et octoginta templa deum in urbe consul sextum ex auctoritate senatus refeci nullo praetermisso quod eo tempore refici debebat*, "During my sixth consulship I reconstructed eighty-two temples of the gods in the city according to the authority of the senate having passed over none which at that time needed to be reconstructed." Zanker 1988: 101-102 discusses what he calls Augustus' "internal overhaul of Rome" that includes Rome's religious revival and Augustus' push for *publica magnificentia*. Favro 1996: 105-110 discusses Augustus' rebuilding of Rome's temples. She asserts, "the healthy condition of Rome's shrines confirmed for all observers the healthy condition of the State as restored by Augustus."

[41] See, for example, Knox 1986 and Hinds 1993 for a discussion of the intertextuality of Medea in Ovid. See also Kennedy 1984: 417-422 for a discussion of the connections between *Heroides* 1 and Homer's *Odyssey.* For intratextual studies, see, for example, Fulkerson 2002, which analyzes *Heroides* 2 intratextually while still taking into account important intertextual arguments.

[42] Fulkerson 2005: 56 lists the sources where Oenone exists as an important character: Lycophron *Alexandra* 57-68, Bion 15.10, Apollodorus *Bibliotheca.* 3.12.6, Conon *Narrations* 23, Parthenius IV, *Remedia Amoris* 457, Propertius 2.32.35ff., Strabo 596, *Anthologia Palatina* 2.215-21, Luc. 9.973, and Quintus Smyrnaeus. 10.259-489. Jacobson 1974: 176 states: "Our pre-Ovidian sources for this Romance are largely scholia and mythographic accounts, purely of a narrative nature, generally schematic and concerned with the bare exposition of the plot." Knox 1995: 141 discusses the existing stories that mention Oenone, asserting that sources do not exist before the Hellenistic period; nevertheless, given the trend from the other *Heroides* where Ovid reconfigures well known literary figures, Knox asserts: "it is highly likely that in Oenone's epistle his

intratextually—that is, in relation to one another—because of the prevailing themes of love and abandonment.[43] The theme of love and its connection to both rusticity and urban refinement is also at the forefront of *Heroides* 5, 16, and 17. Therefore, analyzing *Heroides* 5 along with *Heroides* 16 and 17 is especially appropriate not only because of their thematic similarities, but also because Oenone, Paris, and Helen are important characters in all three poems.

In *Heroides* 5 Ovid writes from the perspective of the nymph Oenone, an ex-lover of Paris who places prime importance on her love for Paris. Oenone had a love affair with Paris when he was a herdsman and not yet recognized as a son of Priam, and throughout *Heroides* 5 she frames their love in pastoral terms. Paris has recently left Oenone for Helen, whom he won as a prize after the Judgment of Paris. Oenone recalls the time when her love for Paris was requited and how the pastoral landscape they enjoyed was suitable to them. Soon, Paris returns with Helen, and Oenone's hopes of Paris returning to her become more unrealistic and her arguments for his return become more strained. *Heroides* 16 and 17 are thematically related to *Heroides* 5 since they present an exchange between Helen and Paris when Paris is attempting to woo her. The epistolary conversation that Paris and Helen engage in occurs in the narrative time before Oenone sees Paris return with Helen in *Heroides* 5. Paris employs many different tactics in his attempt to win Helen, both misinterpreting signs that their love is fated and also flaunting his newly discovered wealth. In her response, Helen is at first skeptical but soon cedes to Paris' attempts.

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audience was hearing from a figure already known to them from poetry." Fulkerson 2005: 56 agrees: "scholars speculate that [Ovid's primary source] was the *Cypria* or, more likely, Parthenius."

[43] For a theoretical discussion of intratextuality, see Sharrock 2000 as well as Harrison, Frangoulidis, and Papanghelis 2018.

An intratextual reading of *Heroides* 5, 16, and 17 is especially appropriate because of the predominance of the theme of love, its appropriate location, and its relationship to *rusticitas* and *cultus* in all three poems. Love has a strong connection, particularly in *Heroides* 5, to Oenone's descriptions of the pastoral landscape which she inhabits. Ovid emphasizes the erotic ecology of landscape descriptions in *Heroides* 5 by describing the landscape as a reflection of Oenone's emotional state, which in turn depends on the status of her relationship with Paris.[44] Ovid represents Oenone as someone who is unable to make Paris return to her, thus implicitly associating a rustic lover with a lack of amatory skill. Since Oenone emphasizes her sense of belonging to her pastoral setting, she is a representative of *rusticitas*, although Ovid does not use this term specifically in *Heroides* 5, the sentiment is there. Nevertheless, Ovid posits a relationship between rusticity and love in the poem; moreover, Ovid establishes a precedent here for his concept and illustration of rusticity and amatory skill.

In the *Heroides* Ovid only alludes to the characteristics that mark someone as having either *rusticitas* or *cultus*. Although such an explicit description is lacking in the *Heroides* (ca. 10-1 BCE), in the *Ars Amatoria* (ca. 1 BCE) Ovid overtly establishes the qualities that constitute *cultus*, the term Ovid attributes to people with urban refinement, as I demonstrate in the following sentences.[45] In the *Ars*, Ovid further contrasts *rusticitas* and *cultus*, asserting

[44] For a discussion of landscape elsewhere in Ovid, see Newlands 2004: 135-138 who discusses Statius' debt to Ovid's landscape descriptions in the *Metamorphoses*. For other discussions of landscape in the *Metamorphoses,* see Segal 1969 and Hinds 2002. See Bolton 2009: 290 for a discussion of how the heroines of the *Heroides* are limited to land. See also Flanders 2012: 58 which discusses the literary representation of space in *Heroides* 6 and 12 and the way these representations affect the heroines' characterizations.

[45] For a discussion of *cultus* in Ovid, see Ramage 1973: 87-100. Ramage asserts that the *Ars Amatoria*, *Tristia,* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* are the three most informative texts that reveal Ovid's idea of *cultus*. Ramange also argues that Ovid's presentation of urbanity in his poem is different from the urbanity of writers like Cicero and Horace, especially since Ovid uses *urbanus* only three times. As Ramage argues, "this word and its cognates connoted a traditional view of urbanity that the poet could not accept."

that *cultus* is a feature of his contemporary Rome, whereas *rusticitas* is an ancient, old-fashioned virtue. In book 1 of the *Ars Amatoria* Ovid writes to men about how to properly pursue women, and in this book he outlines the way to be a successful lover. He includes a description of the way an urbane lover should present his body in order to be attractive to women. In particular, he asserts that men should take care to avoid excessive grooming: *forma viros neglecta decet*, "An uncared-for beauty is fitting for men" (*AA.* 1.509).[46] Despite this assertion, however, Ovid still suggests what men who exhibit proper *cultus* should avoid. The disregarded beauty (*forma neglecta*, 1.509) that Ovid suggests for men still requires a certain sort of elegance cleanliness: *munditie placeant, fuscentur corpora Campo*, "Let bodies be pleasing by their cleanliness, let them be made dark in the Campus" (*AA.* 1.513). Ovid also encourages men to maintain a tidy look by keeping their hair and beard trimmed by a professional hand: *sit coma, sit trita barba resecta manu* (1.518). He finally suggests that men avoid unpleasant breath: *nec male odorati sit tristis anhelitus oris*, "And do not let the breath of your mouth be bad smelling and bitter" (1.521). In order to maintain a proper *cultus* a man must avoid the bad qualities that Ovid lists in this section of text. They must remain neat, but not overly so, in order to demonstrate to a woman that they are refined and attractive lovers.

Ovid further develops the opposition of rusticity and refinement to include a commentary about contemporary Rome. In *Ars Amatoria* book 1 Ovid suggests a distinction between *rusticitas* and *cultus*, and in book 3 he characterizes *rusticitas* as an ancient value in opposition to *cultus*, which he portrays as a defining feature of Augustan Rome.[47] He

[46] Text from Kenney 1995. All translations are my own.
[47] Watson 1982 discusses the idea of *cultus* in the passage quoted here, examining the sentiments of the passage in relation to other Augustan writers. She argues that *cultus*, in this instance, is used to create a bathetic ending

explicitly relates *cultus* to the new Augustan government that has eliminated ancient simplicity and brought modern refinement to Rome (*AA.* 3.113-128):

> Simplicitas rudis ante fuit: nunc aurea Roma est,
> Et domiti magnas possidet orbis opes.
> Aspice quae nunc sunt Capitolia, quaeque fuerunt:
> Alterius dices illa fuisse Iovis.
> . . .
> Quae nunc sub Phoebo ducibusque Palatia fulgent,
> quid nisi araturis pascua bubus erant?
> Prisca iuvent alios: ego me nunc denique natum
> gratulor: haec aetas moribus apta meis.
> Non quia nunc terrae lentum subducitur aurum,
> lectaque diverso litore concha venit:
> Nec quia decrescunt effosso marmore montes,
> nec quia caeruleae mole fugantur aquae:
> Sed quia cultus adest, nec nostros mansit in annos
> rusticitas, priscis illa superstes avis.

> Before there was uncultivated simplicity: now Rome is golden,
> and it possesses great wealth of the subjugated world.
> Behold the things which now are the Capitol and what sort they used to be:
> You would say they were of a different Jove.[48]
> . . .
> The Palatine now shines under Phoebus and the leaders,
> what was it except a pasture for oxen destined to till?
> Let ancient things please others: I congratulate myself for being born now:
> this age is suited to my habits.
> Not because immovable gold is carried out of the earth,
> and chosen shell comes from a different shore:
> Not because the mountains shrink because marble is dug out from them,
> and not because the blue-green waters are put to flight by a massive structure.
> But because refinement is present, and rusticity did not remain in our years,
> that remnant of our ancient grandfathers.[49]

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to Ovid's quasi-moralizing sentiments expressed. Furthermore, she sees *cultus* not as a term representative of broad sophistication but instead as one that pertains specifically to women's ornamentation in Augustan Rome.

[48] Ovid here alludes to the "Golden Race" in Hesiod's *Works and Days* 109-126. Kronos ruled over this race of men who lived and died happily without toil. See Knox 1978: 179 which states, "the myth of a happy, easy life in the reign of Kronos existed independently of the Ages myth . . . Hesiod combines the two myths. Only the Golden race can be put Kronos: Zeus is in charge of the others (138, 143, etc.), and of the Golden race's fate after death (122 codd.)."

[49] See Galinsky 1996: 98-99 for explication of this passage, with particular attention to the tension between the return to a golden age and the material splendor of the Augustan age.

Ovid distinguishes between simple, ancient Rome, which was characterized by uncultivated simplicity (*simplicitas rudis*, 113), from the current Augustan Rome in which he resides that has become golden (*aurea*, 113).[50] A golden Rome has been achieved through the sacking of the world, and the wealth that was procured from these places has resulted in the golden Rome of Ovid's generation. What follows is a discussion of significant places in Rome that previously seemed insignificant, but now have become monumentalized by Augustus. In particular, Ovid highlights the Capitoline and Palatine hills, both of which were part of Augustus' building program in his time as *princeps*.[51] Ovid connects the new refinement of Rome to these building programs, implying that Augustus' rebuilding of the temples on the Palatine and Capitoline are a tangible expression of the elimination of Rome's ancient rusticity. Finally, Ovid explicitly distinguishes between refinement (*cultus*) as a present virtue and rusticity (*rusticitas*) as an ancient one (127-128), and that *cultus* has overtaken *rusticitas* in Augustan Rome. A similar preference for *cultus* over *rusticitas* is shown in Ovid's *Heroides*, particularly poems 5, 16, and 17.

So far I have established that Ovid's *Heroides* are connected by their prevailing theme of love and that *Heroides* 5, 16, and 17 similarly treat love in terms of the opposition between the rusticity of the country and the refinement of the city. This opposition is further examined in the *Ars Amatoria* where Ovid views *cultus* as an ideal of contemporary Rome, whereas *rusticitas* is seen as an ancient value. Building on this, in the following analysis of

[50] Ovid here reverses Hesiod's myth of the ages, asserting that the current age is golden where it is iron in Hesiod's chronology. Rome is golden not for its moral superiority or elimination of toil but because of Augustus' use of gold in artefacts. Gibson 2003: 136 asserts, "one possible implication of the present passage is that Rome needs to be defended against the ideology of its own architect."

[51] See *Res Gestae* 19 for a list of some temples Augustus restored on the Capitoline and Palatine Hills. See Galinsky 1996: 213-224 for the importance of Augustus' Temple of Apollo on the Palatine. See also Beard, North, and Price 1998: 197-198 for a discussion of the temple of the Magna Mater and the temple of Apollo, two important temples on the Palatine that Augustus reconstructed. Favro 1996: 106 notes the importance of Augustus reworking the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline hill.

Heroides 5, 16, and 17, I aim to show how Ovid uses landscape descriptions as a reflection of a character's emotional state. I also demonstrate that Ovid initially characterizes *rusticitas* as a positive trait, but then eventually backtracks and characterizes it as something antithetical to amatory success. In the process, I wish to show that these elements of love and landscape also permeate the epistles and provide a commentary on *cultus* and *rusticitas* that ties the relationship between these three epistles more closely than previous scholarship has suggested.

Landscape and Love in *Heroides* 5

In *Heroides* 5, Ovid at first seems to portray *rusticitas* as a positive characteristic. While in the *Ars Amatoria*, as explored above, Ovid characterizes rusticity as an ancient virtue, the initial positive portrayal of *rusticitas* in *Heroides* 5 soon changes. It becomes an inescapable and sinister trait for Oenone, the main character in the poem. In this poem Oenone, a fountain nymph, writes to her former lover, Paris, who has recently left her for Helen. At the mythological time that Oenone writes the letter, Paris is a member of the urban aristocracy, yet Oenone reflects on a time when they were in love and he was not yet recognized as such. In Oenone's recollection Paris at first is a herdsman who belongs to their shared pastoral landscape. Then, when she remembers his return, he no longer exhibits his previous *rusticitas* but, instead, exemplifies the *cultus* which Ovid emphasizes in the *Ars Amatoria*. Upon seeing Paris' new refinement, Oenone attempts to escape her rusticity to show that she, too, can be a woman of *cultus*. This endeavor proves fruitless, as Oenone is unable to escape her pastoral lifestyle in the same way Paris could.

Scholarship about *Heroides* 5 has framed pastoral Oenone's inability to love urban Paris in many ways, particularly by analyzing the poem in terms of generic conventions.

However, scholars have not viewed the amatory trouble that Oenone and Paris experience as the incompatibility of someone who is defined by *rusticitas* and someone who exhibits *cultus*. Instead, scholars such as Sara Lindheim have argued that if pastoral Oenone had been a more careful reader of elegiac Paris, she would have recognized from the beginning that their relationship would not work out.[52] Laurel Fulkerson discusses the intersections of genre in *Heroides* 5 as well, particularly arguing that Oenone attempts to fashion herself as a different Helen in order to win Paris back.[53] Megan Drinkwater draws on Lindheim's argument, altering it slightly to assert that the separation of Oenone and Paris as pastoral and elegiac is rather an assimilation of those two genres and also of a third, epic.[54] These scholarly approaches represent important steps in understanding how the character Oenone interacts with the different genres of pastoral, elegy, and epic. While these factors are certainly at play, Ovid builds upon these to emphasize the unsuitability of love between people from the country and people from the city in *Heroides* 5, ultimately demonstrating that *rusticitas* and *cultus* are incompatible traits. Through his exploration of the inherent conflict of these two attributes, it is possible to read a subtle critique of the Augustan regime, which celebrated Rome's new imperialism, but also touted a return to old-time values.[55]

Throughout *Heroides* 5, Oenone draws particular attention to the pastoral landscape that she inhabits as a means to reminisce about Paris. The landscape that Oenone describes is

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[52] See Lindheim 2000: 89-96 for the conflict between the genres of pastoral and elegy.
[53] Fulkerson 2005: 59-65 analyzes *Heroides* 5 in terms of generic codes, especially in relation to *Heroides* 6, Hypsipyle's letter to Jason, and *Heroides* 12, Medea's letter to Jason.
[54] See Drinkwater 2015: 401 for the extension of the genre argument.
[55] At *Res Gestae* 1, Augustus proclaims that he restored the Republic from tyrannical oppression: *rem publicam a dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi,* "I delivered the Republic into freedom which was oppressed by the tyranny of a faction." See Beard, North, and Price 1998: 167-169 for a discussion of Augustan "restoration" particularly regarding Roman religion. For the importance of the connection between past and present in Augustan ideology, see Zanker 1988: 192-193. See also Favro 1996: 140-142 which discusses Augustus' changes to the urban landscape at Rome and how these changes coincided with his own achievements as *princeps*.

at times peaceful and at other times antagonistic toward her. I argue that the pastoral landscape largely reflects the status of Oenone and Paris' love: when the love is reciprocal, the pastoral landscape is idyllic and peaceful; once Oenone realizes her attempt to win Paris back is futile, the description of the pastoral landscape changes. At first the landscape is favorable to the love affair: it offers a bed for Oenone (5.14), and their humble house protects them from the cold of winter (5.16). But this blissful landscape quickly changes and it becomes a place full of Oenone's shouting and tears (5.73-74); it serves as a metaphor for the fickleness of Paris' love (5.109-112); and then finally Oenone reveals that the inhabitants of the countryside—Satyrs, Faunus, and Apollo—have all attempted to assault her (5.135-140). The landscape transforms from a paradise to a hostile environment as Oenone realizes that her relationship with Paris is doomed.

Even at the start of *Heroides* 5, it is clear that Oenone knows Paris has replaced her with another woman (*Ep.* 5.1-4):[56]

> Perlegis? an coniunx prohibet nova? perlege: non est
> ista Mycenaea littera facta manu.
> Pegasis Oenone, Phrygiis celeberrima silvis,
> laesa queror de te, si sinis ipse, meo.
>
> Have you read it through? Or does a new wife prohibit you? Read it through:
> This writing was not made by a Mycenaean hand.
> The fountain nymph Oenone, the most celebrated in the Phrygian forests,
> injured, I complain about you who are mine, if you allow yourself to be mine.

Rather than begin her letter with a salutatory address to the letter's intended recipient, Oenone instead begins with the verb, *perlegis* (1).[57] Oenone repeats the same verb, this time

[56] Latin text is from Knox 1995. All translations are my own.
[57] Allen Jr. et al. 1973: 122, citing 4 Dziatzko, "Brief," RE 3 (1899) 839, states, "the customary heading of a Latin letter was the writer's name in the nominative and the addressee's name in the dative, often followed by some form of greeting, as *salutem* or *salutem plurimam dicit*." This typical address is missing from Oenone's letter, though it appears, for example, at the beginning of *Heroides* 1, 2, 16. The missing address here indicates the intense emotions that Oenone feels as she writes the letter.

in the imperative, to forcefully signal to Paris what she wants.[58] Within the first line Oenone also reveals that she knows that Paris has found a new woman to love whom she refers to as *nova coniunx* (1). Oenone's reference to Agamemnon in the first couplet recalls Paris' epic literary history and, thus, suggests Paris' epic world. Oenone assures Paris that this letter is not one written "by a Mycenean hand" (*non est ista Mycenaea littera facta manu*, 1-2).[59] After Oenone reveals she knows about Paris' new love interest and assures him that the letter is not from a war enemy, she introduces herself as the composer of the epistle. The social status of both Oenone and Paris is important in this epistle, and Oenone's introduction of herself makes this clear. She describes herself as a fountain nymph (*Pegasis,* 3) and as the most distinguished in the Phrygian forests (*Phrygiis celeberrima silvis*, 3). The superlative adjective used to describe her emphasizes her self-described importance and foreshadows her attempt to exaggerate her status throughout the poem. Furthermore, by locating herself in the forest, she also suggests the pride that she has for her pastoral origins. Just as these descriptions describe her pastoral qualities, what she states in the next line positions herself in an elegiac world: *laesa queror de te, si sinis ipse, meo* (4). The use of both *laesa* ("injured") and *queror* ("I complain") nod to the elegiac themes of abandonment and complaint so common among earlier Roman elegists, like Propertius and Tibullus.[60]

Soon after Oenone reveals her identity and her deep connection to her pastoral landscape, she establishes her emotional state. She immediately reminisces about happy times with Paris and the blissful pastoral life they once enjoyed together. Her preoccupation

[58] Knox 1995: 142 points out that this verb is rare in Augustan poetry as a whole, but that it occurs 11 times in Ovid's verses.
[59] Knox 1995: 142 asserts: "the epithet [M*ycenaea*] refers to Agamemnon, king of Mycenae."
[60] Knox 1995: 143 also notes that while these words are indicative of the distress of an elegiac lover, there is also a hint of legal terminology with the use of *laedere* and *queror*.

with the pastoral characterizes not only herself but also her history with Paris. Thus, Paris too is implicated in this pastoral landscape since he was living in the countryside as a herdsman and had not yet been recognized as a son of Priam. An important feature of the pastoral mode is the presence of shepherds singing love songs reminiscent of the Greek pastoral poet Theocritus.[61] In this instance, Ovid manipulates the conventional feature that a typical bucolic speaker is a man from the countryside.[62] In *Heroides* 5 this convention is turned on its head: it is Oenone, a nymph, not a herdsman living in the countryside, who writes about the love she experienced when Paris was a herdsman (*Ep.* 5.9-16):

> Nondum tantus eras, cum te contenta marito,
> Edita de magno flumine nympha, fui.
> Qui nunc Priamides (absit reverentia vero),
> Servus eras, servo nubere nympha tuli.
> Saepe greges inter requievimus arbore tecti,
> Mixtaque cum foliis praebuit herba torum;
> Saepe super stramen faenoque iacentibus alto
> Defensa est humili cana pruina casa
>
> You were not yet so great, when I was content with you as my husband,
> A nymph borne from a great river
> You who now are the son of Priam (let respect be absent from the truth),
> You were a slave; I, a nymph, endured to be married to a slave.
> Often we rested among the flocks covered by a tree,
> Grass mixed with leaves offered a bed
> Often from us lying above the straw and on deep hay
> The white frost was kept off by a humble cottage.

In this passage Oenone discusses the time when she and Paris were in love. Here Oenone emphasizes Paris' low social status, just as she had emphasized her distinct status as the most

[61] For a discussion of typical features in the ancient bucolic poetry of Theocritus, see Hunter 1999: 5-12. One of the defining characteristics of Theocritean bucolic poetry was the inclusion of herdsman and song, but the Roman pastoral poet became a metaphorical herdsman. Hunter further explains how Latin pastoral poetry focused on specific components of Theocritus' poetry, "notably love and the relations between man and nature" (11) as Ovid does most notably in *Heroides* 5.

[62] See Tarrant 2002: 18-20 for a discussion of Ovid's place within ancient literary history with particular attention to the *Heroides* and their literary precedents. See also Harrison 2002: 82-83 for a discussion of Ovid's *Heroides* and their diversification of elegiac themes.

renowned nymph in the Phrygian forests (3). Oenone further highlights the disparity between Paris' social status and her own. Later in the poem, Oenone reveals that Paris is no longer the humble herdsman that she once loved, and so she inflates her own status in an attempt to prove that she remains worthy of him. Oenone claims that Paris was not so great (*nondum tantus eras*, 9) and that because she was a nymph, and thus so much more important than he was, she was only content with him as a husband (*te contenta marito*, 9).[63] Oenone's inflation of her status continues in the next couplet, when she describes how she loved Paris when he was a slave (*servus*, 12).[64] She claims that this was difficult for her, again emphasizing her status as a nymph and asserting that she had to endure to be married to a slave (*servo nubere nympha tuli*, 12). Oenone uses polyptoton here to emphasize Paris' low status, calling him a slave (*servus*) twice in a single line.

After highlighting the difference in social status between herself and Paris, Oenone remembers the love that she and Paris once enjoyed together in terms of the natural environment. Oenone pays particular attention to the peaceful pastoral landscape that was suited to the reciprocity of their love. This landscape provides Oenone and Paris with all that they need to live simply and contentedly. The areas where the flocks would pasture once provided a place for Paris and Oenone to rest: *saepe greges inter requievimus arbore tecti*, "Often, covered by a tree, we rested among the flocks" (13). The pastoral landscape further supplied a comfortable bed of grass mixed with leaves for the two lovers: *mixtaque cum foliis praebuit herba torum*, "The grass mixed with leaves offered a bed" (14). Their humble

[63] Although Oenone is a nymph, Knox 1995: 144 is quick to point out that Oenone's self- description as one born from a great river (*edita de magno flumine nympha*, 10) is misleading: "[Oenone] inflates her status by not naming the river, which was in no way 'great'."
[64] Knox 1995: 144 states: "Agelaus, to whom Priam gave Paris as a baby, was a slave. . . O. introduces an anachronistic note here: a contemporary would of course immediately assume that a shepherd would be a slave."

cottage kept them warm in the winter months: *defensa est humili cana pruina casa*, "The white frost was kept off by a humble cottage" (16). *Humilis* ("humble"), here used to describe the cottage, further emphasizes the fact that Oenone and Paris were content with only the necessities. The repeated *saepe* (13, 15) suggests that these were pastimes that Oenone and Paris enjoyed frequently, but the perfect tenses of *requievimus*, *praebuit,* and *defensa est* indicate that such pleasure is now over. Oenone can only remember the pleasantness of when she and Paris were in love. The pastoral landscape reflects the happiness and peacefulness of their reciprocal love of the past; it provides everything that Oenone and Paris needed to be content.

Pastoral Precedents: Homer, Tibullus, and Propertius

The passage above (*Ep.* 5.9-16) in which Ovid's Oenone describes her love affair with Paris and the way they interacted with the idyllic pastoral environment draws upon many different elements from pastoral and elegiac poetry. In particular, Ovid seems to be drawing on descriptions of love in the elegies of Tibullus and Propertius. For example, Ovid may have been influenced by a passage from Propertius *Elegies* 3.13, where Propertius describes the existence of love in a pastoral setting.[65] Here Propertius writes: *hinnulei pellis tutos operibat amanttes* / *altaque nativo creverat herba toro . . . nec fuerat nudas poena videre deas*, "The hide of a young stag was covering the safe lovers, and the grass grew high for a natural bed . . . nor was there a punishment to see naked goddesses" (3.13.36-38").[66] I argue that Propertius' description of pastoral bliss and love corresponds well to the Ovidian

[65] Knox 1995: 145 suggests the Propertius text as potential influence for Ovid's text here, but he does not explicate the similarities between the passages; he notes "O. perhaps also recalls Propertius' idyllic description of love in a pastoral setting in the time before the Trojan War," and then quotes the text as I have in the paragraph above.
[66] Latin text is from Richardson 2006.

passage in *Heroides* 5. Both passages describe the way in which the landscape provides an ideal setting for lovers to enjoy their love safely. [67] Both Ovid and Propertius discuss the way nature provides a natural bed for the lovers: *mixtaque cum foliis praebuit herba torum*, *Ep.* 5.14; *altaque nativo creverat herba toro*, Prop. 3.13.36. The pastoral landscape serves to provide the lovers protection, a bed, and all else that they might need to enjoy their love. It is also possible that Propertius' assertion that it was not a punishment to see naked goddesses (*nec fuerat nudas poena videre deas*, 38) is a reference to the Judgment of Paris, especially given the way Oenone describes the event later in her poem.[68]

Ovid may also draw upon a passage of Tibullus in which he describes an imagined idyllic countryside that Tibullus and Delia enjoy, but Ovid goes a step further to invert the function of the natural landscape. Tibullus describes how the landscape provides shade from the harsh sun, but when Oenone includes arboreal imagery, it has a malicious effect. In *Elegies* 1.1, Tibullus states: *sed Canis aestivos ortus vitare sub umbra / arboris ad rivos praetereuntis aquae*, "But [I would be able] to avoid summer risings of the Dog star under the shade of a tree near the streams of passing water" (1.1.27-28).[69] Just as nature provided necessary comfort and safety in the Propertius passage noted above, Tibullus' imagined countryside also protects him and Delia. While Tibullus' description of leisurely enjoying Delia's love in a pastoral paradise is a wishful projection of his own imagination, Oenone's

[67] The text is perhaps corrupt here with "safe lovers" (*tutos amantes*). According to Richardson 2006: 374: "the MSS have *totos*, which can scarcely be right." He accepts *tutos* here, since "P. wishes to emphasize the idyllic security of this world" (374). Richardson argues persuasively for this reading, especially based on the assertion that Propertius is emphasizing the safety of the pastoral landscape. I agree with Richardson that *tutos* works well in this instance.

[68] Richardson 2006: 374 admits that this is an obscure reference. Although he suggests that it could refer to Paris, he prefers to think that Propertius is referring to the Graces and Nymphs here. It is also possible that Propertius is referring more generally to myths of young men who were destroyed after viewing nude goddesses.

[69] Latin text is from Putnam 1973. Knox 1995: 144-45 draws a parallel between Oenone's recollection of her idyllic landscape and the one which Tibullus describes in this section of text.

description of her love with Paris is a distinct memory of a real time rather than an unobtainable dream. In fact, Oenone describes a tree that is situated near the bank of a flowing river, just as Tibullus does in the passage quoted above. She writes (*Ep.* 5.27-30):

> populе, vive, precor, quae consita margine ripae
> hoc in rugoso cortice carmen habes:
> CVM PARIS OENONE POTERIT SPIRARE RELICTA
> AD FONTEM XANTHI VERSA RECVRRET AQVA.
>
> Poplar, live, I pray, which is planted at the edge of the bank
> you have this song on your wrinkled bark:
> "When Paris would be able to breathe after Oenone was left behind
> The turned water of Xanthus would run back to the fountain."

Although the way Oenone depicts the environment around her recalls the imagery of Tibullus' imagined and idyllic setting with Delia, the effect of Ovid's Oenone description of a tree planted near the bank of a stream strikes a different tone. Tibullus' imaginary tree casts shade upon the lovers to protect from the sun, thus serving as protection for him and Delia. The tree that Oenone describes, though planted near the bank of a river just like the one Tibullus describes, bears Paris' oath of faithfulness to Oenone. This oath should be a reminder to Oenone of Paris' never-ending love for her, but instead it is a reminder of his infidelity. In fact, one element of the *adynaton* has come true. Paris has abandoned Oenone, which suggests that rivers might as well reverse their course. It is not only a violation of Paris' oath of love to Oenone, but also of the pastoral world.

Oenone's remembrance of Paris' oath propels her into a fit of sorrowful rage which leads her to recall the Judgment of Paris. This memory results in Oenone remembering the landscape as something that no longer provided for her, but instead as a force now acting against her. When she recalls the Judgment of Paris, she tells how Venus, Juno, and Minerva all appeared nude to Paris so that he could judge who of them was the most beautiful.

Oenone asserts that the day of the Judgment was the day that changed everything for her: *illa dies fatum miserae mihi dixit, ab illa* / *pessima mutati coepit amoris hiems*, "That day spoke the fate to miserable me, from that day, the most terrible storm of changed love began" (33-34). [70] Although Oenone does not yet explicitly describe the way the landscape changes, the use of *hiems* (34) initiates a transition from a former blissful time to her current troubled emotional state. In this instance, Oenone realizes that the Judgment was the last day that Paris remained faithful to her, and her use of *hiems* to describe the change in their love affair suggests the way she describes the changed landscape later in the poem.

Hiems further suggests impending emotional trouble for Oenone as the marker of a coming storm of unrequited love.[71] From Oenone's perspective, the Judgment resulted in a storm of a changed love (*mutati . . . amoris hiems*, 34).[72] Oenone no longer describes a peaceful and calm landscape like the one that she remembers providing comfort and safety to her and Paris. Her ideal landscape is now plagued by a most terrible storm (*pessima hiems*, 34). Oenone's love for Paris is no longer requited, and so they can no longer rest and enjoy a safe and harmless love together.

The imagery that Oenone uses to describe the change from requited to unrequited love also has a significant epic precedent. In Homer's *Iliad* 4.274-282, as Agamemnon

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[70] Drinkwater 2015: 392 sees epic significance in the use of *hiems* here, since it is also a storm that joins Dido and Aeneas in the *Aeneid*, and also asserts that *hiems* can be translated as "winter," which would correspond nicely to the "bucolic significance of this passage." If we translate *hiems* as "winter," then Oenone could be obliquely alluding to her assertion that a humble cottage used to protect her and Paris from the harsh cold (*defense est humili cana pruina casa*, 15).

[71] Bate 2004 explores storm narratives in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, *Heroides* 18 and 19, and *Tristia* 1.2, 1.4, and 1.11. Bate argues that these storm-themes serve a dual function by adding "a sense of epic grandeur to the narrative" (296) and as both a physical obstacle between lovers and a "symbolic expression of their erotic anxieties" (296). In this instance, Ovid explicitly makes the storm a reflection of Oenone's erotic anxiety by describing it as a storm of changed love (*mutatae amoris*, 34). This storm separates Oeonone and Paris rather than bringing them together, as the storm brings together Dido and Aeneas at *Aen.* 4.160-172.

[72] Cf. the description of the storm in *Aeneid* 4.160-172 which unites Dido and Aeneas. Ganiban 2012: 97: *ille dies primus leti primusque malorum* / *causa fuit,* "That day was the first cause of destruction and of evils" (*Aen.* 4.169-170).

surveys his men on the battlefield, a simile connects a storm to military forces. Natural imagery dominates this simile even before its official beginning when Homer describes the arrangement of the foot-soldiers like a cloud (νέφος, 4.274).[73] The bucolic context is even more suggestive in the simile proper, since it is a goatherd (αἰπόλος, 4.275) who is described as viewing the cloud of soldiers. He is not only a spectator, but also the storm drives him to take shelter (4.279). Whereas Homer's simile comparing a troop of soldiers to a storm cloud uses pastoral imagery to illustrate terrifying martial power, Oenone's storm is rather one that signals the end of Paris' love for her and also the end of their relationship. When the goatherd and Oenone perceive their respective storms, they feel intense fear. The Homeric simile describes the strong and youthful troops who have gathered around the Aiantes. In this simile, an unnamed goatherd watches the troops which are likened to a large, dark storm cloud. Homer tells how the soldiers resemble a cloud that terrifies the goatherd to the extent that he flees from it (*Il.* 4.277-279):

> ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀπὸ σκοπιῆς εἶδεν νέφος αἰπόλος ἀνὴρ
> ἐρχόμενον κατὰ πόντον ὑπὸ Ζεφύροιο ἰωῆς·
> τῷ δέ τ' ἄνευθεν ἐόντι μελάντερον ἠΰτε πίσσα
> φαίνετ' ἰὸν κατὰ πόντον, ἄγει δέ τε λαιλαπα πολλήν,
> ῥίγησέν τε ἰδών, ὑπό τε σπέος ἤλασε μῆλα
>
> As when a goatherd from his lookout-place sees a cloud
> coming across the sea by the roaring of Zephyrus;
> And to the one being far away it appeared blacker than pitch
> going across the sea, and it draws a great tempest,
> and seeing it he shuddered, and he drove his flocks to a cavern

The dark cloud that the troops are being compared to in this passage are terrifying to the goatherd who surveys them from afar.[74] He is so scared of the storm that he flees with his

[73] *Iliad* text is from Monro and Allen 1920.
[74] See Fränkel 1921: 22-23 for discussion of this simile. Fränkel argues that we as readers see the storm from the shepherd's point of view as he focalizes his experience.

flocks to shelter. Oenone has a similar reaction when she hears Paris tell her the story about the Judgment. She recalls: *attoniti micuere sinus, gelidusque cucurrit* / *ut mihi narrasti, dura per ossa tremor*, "My terrified heart shuddered, and an icy quiver ran through my hard bones as you told it to me" (*Ep.* 5.37-38). Although the specific reactions of the Homeric goatherd and Oenone are different, there is one constant to their reaction of the respective storms they face: fear overwhelms them.[75] The pastoral imagery that Homer employs represents the intense martial power of the troops. While Oenone fears a storm of unrequited love, something that is seemingly very unrelated to martial activity, later in the epistle she explicitly connects her pastoral world to a martial one like Homer does in the simile above.

The fear that overwhelms Oenone after she senses the metaphorical storm of Paris' changed attitude toward her soon catapults her into her state of extreme distress when she realizes his intention to leave. Paris' departure ultimately results in the destruction of the very pastoral space that once cultivated their love for each other. Paris leaves by ship.[76] But, in order to do so, he must cut down trees, repurpose their trunks as timbers, and thus use elements of the landscape that once offered him protection to abandon Oenone: *caesa abies, sectaeque trabes, et classe parata* / *caerula ceratas accipit unda rates*, "After the fir tree was hewn, after the beams were cut, and after the fleet was prepared, the blue sea receives the caulked ships" (*Ep.* 5.41-42). These lines are significant for two reasons. First, they demonstrate Oenone's interest in her natural world; but, second, they also show that Paris is willing to cut down the fir trees (*abies*) and to repurpose them so they facilitate his abandonment of Oenone. Paris does not hesitate to upset the natural order of the pastoral

[75] Kirk 1985: 359-360 explains the importance of both the storm's movements and the goatherd's reactions to it. We feel the scene through the eyes of the goatherd, and he exemplifies "man under the power of nature."
[76] For sailing as a means of attaining profit, see Hesiod *WD* 632. For sailing as a representation of crisis for peace and a destruction of an oath of love, see Euripides' *Medea* 1-48.

world for his own use. They further indicate Paris' metaphorical destruction of Oenone's idyllic landscape of love for Paris.

Pastoral imagery also dominates Oenone's description of the time when she and Paris said their goodbyes to one another. Even in her impassioned anguish, Oenone places prime importance on the landscape as she describes Paris' arms as vines and asserts that it was a light breeze that aided Paris' desertion. In fact, Oenone narrates how Paris seemed unwilling to leave: he cries—not just once, but twice—when he was about to leave (*flesti discedens*, 43; *et flesti*, 45); he complains that the winds are unfavorable when they were fit for sailing: *a quotiens, cum te vento quererere teneri* / *riserunt comites! ille secundus erat*, "Ah how often, when you were complaining that you were held back by the wind, your companions laughed! It was favorable" (49-50). Oenone even compares the way Paris clung to her to the way that vines cling to an elm tree: *non sic appositis vincitur vitibus ulmus, / ut tua sunt collo bracchia nexa me*, "Not so is an elm-tree bound with applied vines, as your arms were fastened to my neck" (47-48). Oenone's simile uses natural imagery to demonstrate how she envisioned Paris' reluctance to leave. Yet her ability to think only in terms of this natural imagery demonstrates Oenone's inability to leave her *rusticitas* and her pastoral world behind. Therefore, she attempts to return Paris to this world by comparing his actions to natural elements.

Regardless of that attempt and Paris' alleged hesitation to leave, eventually he does sail away and abandons Oenone for Helen. When Oenone describes his departure, she again pays close attention to the natural elements that take him away. At this point, Oenone is in such a state of denial that she does not see Paris as the agent of her abandonment. She describes his departure as he is carried by the winds: *aura levis rigido pendentia lintea malo* /

suscitat, et remis eruta canet aqua, "A light breeze lifts the hanging sails from the stiff mast and the water churned by the oars is white" (53-54). Oenone attributes Paris' departure not to his actions but instead to both a natural cause, a light breeze (*aura levis*), and a non-human one, oars (*remis*). It is the light breeze (*aura levis*) that raises the sails of the ships, and it is the oars that churn up the water and carry Paris away.

Landscape soon plays to Oenone's disadvantage when she watches Paris return from a mountain. In her attempt to catch of Paris, Oenone realizes that he has been unfaithful to her. Oenone's use of natural imagery continues to underscore her sense of belonging to her natural world. She clearly describes the place where she sat to watch Paris return. She not only specifies that it was a mountain, but also explains it was an ideal lookout spot to catch sight of Paris: *aspicit immensum moles nativa profundum; / mons fuit: aequoreis illa resistit aquis*, "A natural mass looks upon the boundless sea; it was a mountain: that withstands the watery waters" (61-62). From this mountain it was possible to see the boundless ocean (*immensum profundum*), but Oenone remains situated in her pastoral world. She uses landscape features to further accentuate the physical distance between herself and Paris. The punctuated and succinct "it was a mountain" (*mons fuit*), which is delayed until after the description of the natural mass (*moles nativa*), often is used by Ovid in his epic poem, the *Metamorphoses*.[77] The function of this formula here differs from the typical use that Hinds argues for in epic. Instead of interrupting the narrative, as such phrases do in epic, the phrase *mons fuit* not only punctuates the landscape description, but also enhances both the physical

[77] Hinds 2002: 126 explains how *est locus* and its variations (e.g. *est nemus* or here, *mons fuit*) is used to interrupt a narrative: "When a description of place interrupts or punctuates a narrative, as characteristically in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and other epics, it has available a stereotyped entry formula to set it apart from its surrounding contexts . . . *Locus est* or more commonly *est locus* is the default opening." Hinds claims that such a formula exists in epic, yet Ovid uses it here in a non-epic setting.

distance between Oenone and Paris. It helps construct a similar emotional and social separation that Oenone will soon emphasize when she discusses Paris' officially recognized status as *Priamides* ("Son of Priam," 11).

Rusticitas, *Cultus*, and the Transformation of Landscape

Thus far Oenone has portrayed Paris as the type of man she remembered him to be when they were in love, but this impression changes as soon as she recalls his return. Oenone emphasizes the physical distance between herself and Paris in the previous section (5.61-64) when she describes how she waited on a mountain for him to return. When Oenone sees Paris again, the physical separation between the two is eliminated. However, Paris is now an urbanized man, and so a second type of separation between rural Oenone and urban Paris becomes apparent. Oenone has underscored that their shared rusticity, their *rusticitas*, is one of the defining features of her love affair with Paris. Now, however, Paris is no longer the herdsman whom Oenone loved, but he is rather an urbanized man with a new woman. Still, Oenone highlights the natural elements that reveal this change to her, as I show in the passage below.

When Oenone finally sees Paris, she immediately recognizes that he has changed from the herdsman she once knew. He is no longer an inhabitant of the countryside like she is. He no longer exemplifies the *rusticitas* which she once associated with him. A swift breeze facilitates Paris' return, which reveals that he has a new appearance and a new love interest (*Ep.* 5.65-68):

> Dum moror, in summa fulsit mihi purpura prora.
> Pertimui: cultus non erat ille tuus.
> Fit proprior terrasque cita ratis attigit aura;
> Femineas vidi corde tremente genas.
>
> While I delay, on the high prow purple flashed at me.

I was so scared: that was not your refinement.
The swift ship came closer and touched the land because of the breeze;
With a trembling heart I saw a womanly face.

The first thing to catch Oenone's eye while she sits on the mountain and waits for Paris to return is a flash of purple (*fulsit purpura*, 65). This gleam of purple terrifies Oenone (*pertimui*) because purple would not have been the color of Paris' usual attire (*cultus non erat ille tuus*, 66). Not only does the purple mark his new status as a son of Priam, but it further separates Paris from the *rusticitas* that Oenone claims he displayed at the beginning of the epistle. Wearing purple is not a characteristic of a herdsman. This purple that Oenone sees is a sign that Paris' social status has officially changed. He now exhibits *cultus*, a defining marker of someone who is urbane rather than rustic. Although the purple is the first thing to terrify Oenone, a second revelation strikes Oenone when she sees a woman aboard the ship with Paris. At first, Oenone only sees the woman's face (*femineas genas*, 68), but soon after she sees more clearly that the woman has latched on to Paris: *haerebat gremio turpis amica tuo!* "A shameful girlfriend was clinging to your breast!" (70). Oenone quickly transitions from bewilderment to sorrowful outrage after understanding that Paris has replaced her with another woman.

The use of *amica* to describe Helen is pointedly elegiac.[78] It indicates the cross-generic tension that Paris experiences in this scene. Not only is his changed *cultus* a representation of his transformation from a pastoral figure to an elegiac one, but also Oenone's use of *amica* here suggests a similar transformation. When Paris was in love with Oenone he was firmly situated in the pastoral world and was thus a representative of that genre. Now, with Helen and his new refinement, he is actively leaving that pastoral space for

[78] Knox 1995: 155 remarks on the common use of *amica* in elegy. See also Reitzenstein 1912: 16, cited by Knox.

a new elegiac one. Paris' new *amica* is as important a sign as the purple he wears that he is attempting to relinquish himself not only of his past as a herdsman, but also of Oenone. Oenone, however, remains in her pastoral world even though Paris has abandoned it.

Oenone's description of her surrounding landscape once again changes with her emotions, and the pastoral environment functions to mark the transition between Oenone's emotional states. Just as the landscape reflects her positive emotions toward Paris at the beginning of the poem, the way she depicts the landscape now indicates her negative emotions toward him. The realization that Paris has a new girlfriend prompts her to revisit the pastoral areas spent with Paris. It causes her to realize that her recollections of pastoral idealism (13-16) are now mere illusions. Oenone will no longer be able to enjoy such idyllic spaces since her love for Paris is no longer requited. The places where Paris and Oenone once enjoyed together peacefully are now places for Oenone to mourn: *implevique sacram querulis ululatibus Iden.* / *illuc has lacrimas in mea saxa tuli*, "I filled sacred Ida with my howling. From there I brought these tears to my rocks" (73-74). Oenone fills all of Ida with her wailing and she wets the rocks, which she brands *mea saxa* "my rocks" (74), with tears. The once idyllic pastoral imagery that dominated Oenone's recollections of when her time with Paris was full of love and desire has now changed and become sorrowful. Paris no longer loves Oenone, and the landscape descriptions reflect that change in Oenone's emotional state. It is telling that Oenone refers to the rocks as *mea saxa*, indicating that they are Oenone's alone.[79] They no longer belong to Paris because he no longer belongs to the

[79] Knox 1995: 155 suggests, "the possessive pronoun also associates the landscape with her grief." I agree with his assertion here, but I would further argue that the possessive pronoun marks Paris' permanent removal from the pastoral environment that Oenone and Paris once shared. It is an affirmation of Oenone's enduring *rusticitas* and a mark of Paris' newly established *cultus*.

pastoral realm. He is not a shepherd any longer. Oenone's emotional state and the landscape she describes become inseparable.

Despite announcing that the pastoral landscape is her own, Oenone responds to her loss of Paris with an attempt to divorce herself from her pastoral world. Oenone is not content to live without Paris who is transitioning into an elegiac realm. Therefore, she attempts to dispose of her *rusticitas* by asserting that she is suited to a royal life of luxury. In addition, she defames Helen in an attempt to show Paris that Helen does not love him in the same way she does. She argues, through a veiled allusion to Menelaus, that Helen is the type of woman who is willing to desert her lawfully-wedded husband: *nunc tibi convenient quae te per aperta sequantur* / *aequora, legitimos destituantque viros*, "Now they are suitable to you, those who follow you through open waters, and they abandon lawfully-wedded husbands" (77-78). Helen, who just abandoned Menelaus in order to be with Paris, will desert Paris just as quickly and easily. She may seem like the perfect women, but Oenone is at pains to demonstrate that she is not as good as she seems. Furthermore, Oenone was a good wife to Paris even when he was poor: *at cum pauper eras armentaque pastor agebas,* / *nulla nisi Oenone pauperis uxor erat*, "But when you were a poor man and you were a herdsman driving flocks, no one except Oenone was the wife of a poor man" (79-80). Oenone loved Paris even when he was poor. By contrast, she tries to demonstrate to Paris that Helen loves him only because of his newly acquired wealth.

Oenone attempts to erase her own *rusticitas* by emphasizing the difference between Paris' previous social status and her own; Paris was a lowly herdsman, yet she, a nymph, was content to be his wife. However, now that Paris has acquired a similar level of social importance to Helen, Paris has deserted Oenone. Oenone makes more concerted efforts to

prove that she is not defined by her *rusticitas* by asserting that she is more well-suited than Helen to enjoy a royal couch: *nec me, faginea quod tecum fronde iacebam, despice; purpureo sum magis apta toro*, "Don't look down on me, because I was lying with you on the foliage of a beech tree; I am more suited to a purple couch" (87-88).[80] Oenone clearly distinguishes between the markers of her *rusticitas* and the *cultus* she wishes to show. The bed of leaves (*faginea fronde*) that Oenone is used to is a symbol of her *rusticitas* and is in direct contrast to the purple couch (*purpureo toro*)—a symbol of *cultus*—that she desires to lounge on with Paris. The bed of leaves is the bed of the rustic countryside, while the purple couch is the bed of the luxurious city. Oenone makes a desperate attempt to prove that she is worthy of Paris' love by asserting that she can leave behind the countryside for the city. The goal is ultimately unattainable since she remains firmly situated in the pastoral world which Paris has escaped.

Oenone abruptly changes her line of argumentation by discussing why she would be a preferable wife compared to Helen. Oenone suggests that her love, like the pastoral world around lovers, is safe compared to Helen's. Paris' relationship with Helen is bound to bring war, which is the antithesis of peaceful pastoral (*Ep.* 5.89-92):

> denique tutus amor meus est; ibi nulla parantur
> bella, nec ultrices advehit unda rates.
> Tyndaris infestis fugitiva reposcitur armis;
> hac venit in thalamos dote superba tuos.
>
> Finally, my love is safe; No wars are prepared there
> And a wave does not carry vengeful ships.
> The daughter of Tyndaris is demanded back as a fugitive by hostile weapons;

[80] Drinkwater 2015: 399 suggests a generic reading of this passage as opposed to one which emphasizes the way *rusticitas* and *cultus* are odds with one another: "the language is again generically loaded, with their past cast into pastoral-elegiac terms and their potential future cast in the purple shades of regal luxury and high-style epic life." While this may be the case, Oenone's attempt here is to show that she is capable of exuding the same *cultus* as Paris does despite the fact that she continues to remain in her pastoral environment.

The haughty girl comes into your chambers with this dowry.

Oenone continues to assert that her love is not a risky affair, which is not the case for Helen's love. Paris' choice to love Helen will result in war (*parantur bella*, 89-90). Oenone also alludes to a newly-hostile nature that will be detrimental to Paris: *nec ultrices advehit unda rates* (90). By suggesting that her own love will result in a wave of vengeful ships, Oenone suggests that Helen's love will. Importantly, nature is the agent of destruction here, as the wave (*unda*, 90) conveys the ships. Oenone further asserts that when Helen is demanded back it will be done using hostile weapons (*infestis armis*, 91) as if she were a fugitive (*fugitiva*, 91). In fact, the war will be Helen's dowry. In this way, Helen becomes a representative of war while Oenone a representative of peace.

Oenone soon realizes that her attempts to defame Helen, to assert that she is able to relinquish herself from *rusticitas*, and to prove that she is also worthy of *cultus* are fruitless. Despite previous attempts to remove herself from her pastoral environment, she returns to it. Oenone discusses the previous interactions she has had with figures associated with the countryside, like the Satyrs, Faunus, and Apollo, in order to show that she is faithful. Whereas in the beginning of her letter she stressed the tranquil nature of her pastoral landscape and the bliss of the requited love she shared with Paris, when she discusses these interactions her conception of the landscape is ultimately very different. Her pastoral recollections are no longer calm, but instead Oenone remembers a time when inhabitants of the countryside were hostile against her (*Ep.* 5.135-142):

me Satyri celeres (silvis ego tecta latebam)
quaesierunt rapido, turba proterva, pede
cornigerumque caput pinu praecinctus acuta
Faunus, in immensis qua tumet Ida iugis.
me fide conspicuus Troiae munitor amavit:
ille meae spolium virginitatis habet,

id quoque luctando. rupi tamen ungue capillos,
oraque sunt digitis aspera facta meis.

Swift satyrs sought me (I was hiding protected by the forest)
with a swift foot, a violent crowd,
and encircled around his horned head with sharp pine
Faunus, where Ida swells in huge ridges,
the founder of Troy, distinguished in his lyre, loved me:
he holds the spoils of my virginity,
that also by wrestling. Nevertheless, I tore his hair with my nails,
And his face was wounded by my fingers.

Oenone was able to evade attempts by the Satyrs to rape her, and she achieved this evasion with the help of the landscape (*silvis ego tecta latebam,* 135), which she describes earlier as being a safe and comfortable place for her and Paris. Not only do the Satyrs attempt to rape Oenone in her pastoral landscape, but also Faunus also makes an attempt to do so on the rising ridges of Mount Ida (*in immensis qua tumet Ida iugis,* 138). There is no mention of whether Faunus successfully attacked Oenone, but there is such an assertion about the founder of Troy, Apollo. Despite the fact that the landscape Oenone resides in can provide protection against the Satyrs, it is not enough to protect her against Apollo. Still, she uses this story to differentiate between herself and Helen. While Oenone claims that Helen allowed herself to be taken by different men (132), she asserts that she fought against Apollo's advances by pulling his hair and scratching at his face (141-142). Even though Oenone no longer remembers the countryside as a place of comfort, relaxation, and safety, she is unable to fully escape from it. The memory of the hostility of the inhabitants of the pastoral landscape demonstrates how dangerous the natural world can be for Oenone without a male protector.[81] It serves as a portent of what could happen now that Oenone no longer has Paris

[81] Pearson 1980: 16-18 highlights Oenone's dominant masculine role during her time with Paris. This recollection of past violence against her appears to be a reversal of this masculine role that Oenone was at pains to emphasize throughout the beginning of the epistle.

as protection. Nevertheless, despite her best attempts to argue that she is well-suited to be a member of the urban circles that Paris now frequents, Oenone is unable to relinquish her *rusticitas* and join Paris in the city, as I have shown in this section.

Cultus and *Rusticitas* in Heroides 16 & 17

Heroides 16 and 17 are the first of the paired epistles in which a mythological man writes to a mythological woman, who then responds in a separate letter. In *Heroides* 16 Paris writes to Helen in an attempt to woo her, then Helen responds. This exchange takes place when Helen is still faithful to Menelaus, and therefore before Oenone sees the couple sail by in *Heroides* 5. As I have shown in the sections above, Oenone emphasized her interactions with the pastoral landscape to which she belongs, at first asserting that they offered a peaceful location for her and Paris to enjoy their love. Soon after realizing her attempts to win Paris back will be unsuccessful, she depicts her landscape as being antagonistic toward her. Furthermore, her attempts to prove that she could relinquish her *rusticitas* to follow Paris to a life of urbanized *cultus* were unsuccessful. In *Heroides* 16 Paris attempts to distance himself from his rustic past with Oenone by largely omitting it from his narrative. When he does discuss his time as a herdsman, he emphasizes personal traits that should have revealed his nobility. When Paris provides landscape descriptions, it only serves to show how these natural elements facilitated his journey to Helen. Paris presents himself as an urbanized man of *cultus* throughout the poem.[82] When Helen responds to Paris in *Heroides* 17, she is not fooled by Paris' attempt at representing himself as a refined city man, and she demonstrates her knowledge of his love affair with Oenone.

[82] In *Heroides* 16 Paris assumes the role of the elegiac lover who must attempt to seduce Helen in the presence of Menelaus. See Drinkwater 2013 for a discussion of Paris as elegiac lover and as follower of the precepts of the *Ars Amatoria*.

Scholarship on *Heroides* 16 and 17 tend to treat the poems as a pair, primarily examining the poems intertextually or generically through how they include features of elegy and epic. Howard Jacobson suggests that Ovid is heavily influenced by Ennius in his depiction of Hecuba's dream in *Heroides* 16 and 17.[83] Elizabeth Mazurek argues that Paris' self-representation in *Heroides* 16 reveals an identity crisis, and that this ambiguous representation is meant to reveal Paris as a progenitor of both the elegiac lover and the epic hero.[84] In another article, Mazurek argues for a correspondence between *Heroides* 16 and the *Cypria* since Paris cannot imagine a future Homeric war; whereas the speaker of *Heroides* 17 corresponds to Helen in the Iliadic tradition since she is more able to anticipate the Homeric future.[85] Megan Drinkwater (2013) reads the two poems alongside the *Ars Amatoria* to show that Paris is not the skilled lover he thinks he is, but an inept one who has not learned from the precepts in the *Ars Amatoria*. She argues that Helen shows in her response that she is the well-learned student of the *Ars* that Paris is not.[86] Many of these sources discuss Paris' relative omission of his past as a herdsman.[87] They do this with a view to how Paris is attempting to prove to Helen that he is a worthy lover, but they tend to disregard Oenone's representation of Paris' humble status in *Heroides* 5.

Paris' self-representation in *Heroides* 16 mostly omits his past as herdsman and generally fails to acknowledge his rustic past with Oenone. Landscape descriptions

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[83] Jacobson 1968: 300-303 highlights the similarities in vocabulary and phraseology between Ennius' description of Hecuba's dream and Ovid's.
[84] See Mazurek 2006: 49 for discussion about the incompatibility of elegy and epic in Paris' representation of himself.
[85] See Mazurek 2013: 155 for an extension of the argument that Paris conforms to the *Cypria* and Helen to the *Iliad*.
[86] Drinkwater 2013: 112 emphasizes both Paris' misunderstanding of the precepts of the *Ars Amatoria* and Helen's understanding of them.
[87] Mazurek 2006: 48 and 54 acknowledges the omission of Paris' life as a shepherd in *Heroides* 16 and argues that it results in an ambiguity in his identity. See also Drinkwater 2003: 142-143, who observes that it is only at *Ep.* 16.51-52 that Paris indirectly alludes to his past as a herdsman.

dominated much of the imagery Oenone used in *Heroides* 5. When Paris describes the landscape in *Heroides* 16 it is largely with a view to his future as an urban man. Paris first alludes to the time before he was recognized as a son of Priam when he mentions that he demonstrated beauty and strength of mind. He asserts that these characteristics were evidence of his nobility at the time when he seemed to be a commoner: *forma vigorque animi*, *quamvis de plebe videbar,* / *indicium tectae nobilitatis erat*, "My beauty and strength of mind, although I seemed to be from the plebs, was an indication of my hidden nobility" (16.51-52).[88] Paris' acknowledgment of his past as a herdsman is fleeting. He places his admission, as well, between assertions of his nobility in an attempt to counteract it.

Paris soon describes the pastoral setting of Ida, but even this landscape description exemplifies Paris' desire to be a sophisticated man of the city. Paris' portrayal of Ida essentially mirrors that of Oenone's idyllic description of her pastoral landscape at the beginning of *Heroides* 5 (13-16). He characterizes the location as one that is full of trees and out of the way from civilization: *est locus in mediae nemorosis vallibus Idae* / *devius et piceis ilicibusque frequens*, "There is a place in forested valleys of middle Ida, out of the way and filled with pine and oak trees" (16.53-54). Paris here remembers the landscape that he once belonged to, but his description lacks the connection to the love which Oenone emphasized in *Heroides* 5. Moreover, Paris' landscape serves as a reminder for him about the special distance between him and the city life he desires. It is from Ida that he looks out to Troy: *hinc ego Dardaniae muros excelsaque tecta* / *et freta prospiciens arbore nixus eram*, "From here, I leaned on a tree, looking out at the walls and lofty houses of Troy and the sea" (16.57-58). Paris immediately follows his landscape description with his admiration of the

[88] Text for *Heroides* 16 and 17 is from Kenney 1996.

urban space that he can see from Ida. This passage exemplifies the tension between Paris' pastoral past and his current identity as a Trojan prince especially considering that Ida, as the location of the judgment of Paris, is the very place where his transformation from herdsman to royal prince was initiated.

Paris continues to minimize his past in his passing reference to Oenone. He describes how the Judgment of Paris was a major event for him and how it resulted in his recognition as a prince (*Ep.* 16.89-98):

> interea sero versis ad prospera fatis
> regius agnoscor per rata signa puer.
> . . .
> nec tantum regum natae petiere ducumque
> sed nymphis etiam curaque amorque fui.
> †quas super oenonem facies mutarer in orbem†[89]
> nec Priamo est a te dignior ulla nurus.
>
> Meanwhile, at least, after the fates had turned more prosperous
> I am recognized through established signs as the son of a king.
> . . .
> Not only did the daughters of kings and of leaders seek me,
> but I was even an object of concern and love for nymphs.
> What beauty beyond Oenone is there in the world
> Nor is any worthier than you to be a daughter-in-law to Priam.

Paris emphasizes his elevated status as the son of a king, arguing that his fate changed for the better after his participation in the Judgment (*versis ad prospera fatis*, 89). He fails to mention his status before his fates changed. However, he does attribute an increase in attention from notable types of women, including nymphs. He, of course, means a specific nymph, Oenone.[90] Even this mention of Oenone, however, is fleeting and lacks substance.

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[89] As Kenney 1996: 96 asserts, "the text of line 97 is hopelessly corrupt." The line seems to discuss Oenone's beauty in relation to Helen's, yet Paris affirms Helen's suitability as a daughter-in-law of Priam.

[90] Kenney 1996: 96 notes Paris' misrepresentation of his mythological past here: "[Paris] also fudges the chronology: for to bring in Oenone at this point, especially after 95-6, implies that his acquaintance with [Oenone] postdated the Recognition, which was very far from the truth."

Though the text is corrupt, the sense seems clear that Paris refers to Oenone's beauty, but only in comparison to Helen, who Paris states is worthy to be the daughter-in-law of Priam (*nec Priamo est a te dignior ulla nurus*, 98). This recalls Oenone's assertion in *Heroides* 5 that she would be a worthy daughter-in-law to Priam and Hecuba: *non tamen ut Priamus nymphae socer esse recuset* / *aut Hecubae fuerim dissimulanda nurus*, "It is not only that Priam would not refuse to the be the father-in-law to a nymph or that I should have been ignored by Hecuba as a daughter-in-law" (5.83-84). Paris ignores Oenone as much as possible in an attempt to erase his pastoral past. Furthermore, in disregarding the time when he was a herdsman, Paris emphasizes his current regal status.

Paris continues his self-aggrandizement by comparing the wealth of his city, Troy, to the poor city of Sparta. By boasting about the wealth that his city possesses, he implicitly depicts himself as rich also. Paris describes the elaborate style of living that Helen could enjoy in Troy by using vocabulary that is similar to how Oenone describes Paris when he sailed past with Helen (*Ep.* 16.191-196):

> parca sed est Sparte, tu <u>cultu</u> divite digna;
> ad talem formam non facit iste locus.
> . . .
> cum videas <u>cultus</u> nostra de gente virorum,
> qualem Dardanias credis habere nurus?
>
> But Sparta is poor, you deserve rich <u>refinement</u>;
> That place does not suit such beauty.
> . . .
> When you see the <u>refinement</u> of our race of men,
> what sort do you believe Greek daughters-in-law have?

It is no longer just Paris who is characterized by his refinement, but the whole race of the Trojans with whom he is now associated.[91] Although Oenone ascribed *cultus* to Paris alone in *Heroides* 5 (66), Paris attributes *cultus* to all of Troy. Paris distances himself significantly from his days when he belonged in the countryside not only by neglecting to discuss that time in detail, but also by appropriating Trojan refinement for himself. He distinguishes Sparta as a poor state (*parca*, 191), and argues that Helen is worthy of rich refinement (*tu cultu divite digna*, 191). Troy is the place for such elegance. And it is not only Troy that is defined by the elegance, but also the whole race of men in Troy (*cultus nostra de gente virorum*, 195). The refinement of Troy defines all of its men, and now Paris too is defined by it.

Paris continues to gloss over the time he lived as a shepherd when he attempts to demonstrate that he would be a more suitable lover to Helen than her husband Menelaus. Although Paris once lived the life of a countryman (*rusticus*) he instead projects his previous identity onto Menelaus and refers to him by that term: *paenitet hospitii cum me spectante lacertos* / *imponit collo rusticus iste tuo*, "My reception shames me, when, although I am watching, that rustic man places his upper arms on your neck" (221-222). The use of *rusticus* here to describe Menelaus is further punctuated by the demonstrative pronoun, *iste*. Paris attempts to prove that he is a better man and lover to Helen than Menelaus by attributing *rusticitas* to him. Referring to Menelaus in such a way marks the difference between him and Paris and emphasizes Paris' role as an urban man.

[91] For the incredible wealth of Troy see *Il.* 24.543-546. See Erskine 2001: 68 for Troy as an analogy for Persia in Athens and 73-77 for an extension of the representation of Trojans as barbarian Persians especially in the context of fifth-century drama.

So far in this section I have shown that Paris in *Heroides* 16 fashions himself as a royal Trojan prince by quickly passing over his rustic past with Oenone. In *Heroides* 5 Oenone went to great lengths to remind Paris of his time as a herdsman, but Paris attempts to limit the memory of his time with her when he writes to Helen. Even when he includes pastoral imagery in his poem, he does so with a view to his aspiration to be a Trojan. He mentions Oenone only as a woman worthy of his love, but he admits that Helen is more worthy. Finally, by describing Menelaus as a *rusticus* he attempts to demonstrate to Helen that he would be a more suitable husband. Having read all of this herself, Helen responds to Paris in *Heroides* 17. Helen pays particular attention to Paris' use of *rusticus* to describe Menelaus. She appropriates the term and uses it to describe herself. Furthermore, she sees through Paris' attempts to omit his past with Oenone.

Early on in *Heroides* 17 Helen responds to Paris' assertion that Menelaus is a *rusticus* by asserting that *rusticitas* is not an inherently negative characteristic. She guesses that Paris will find her complaint also to be rustic (*Ep.* 17.11-14):

> nec dubito quin haec, cum sit tam iusta, vocetur
> rusticia iudicio nostra querela tuo.
> rustica sim sane, dum non oblita pudoris
> dumque tenor vitae sit sine labe meae.
>
> Nor do I doubt indeed that, although it may be so justified,
> my complaint may be called rustic by your judgment.
> Truly may I be rustic, so long as I am not forgetful of my chastity
> and so long as the course of my life may be without blemish.

Helen does not claim to be rustic by her own judgment, but rather she assumes that Paris will see her complaint as rustic. However, Helen does not appear to see being a *rustica* as shameful. In fact, Helen wishes to be considered a *rustica* (*rustica sim sane*, 13) as long as she retains her chastity (*pudor*) and continues a life that is unblemished (*sine labe*). To

Helen, *rusticitas* is not something to be ashamed of as long as she is considered chaste. I see in these lines an indication from Helen that she does not believe Paris' self-representation as only an urban man. Despite his attempts to hide this facet of his life, she recognizes that he has not been entirely truthful. She then claims *rusticitas* for herself perhaps signaling her knowledge of his rustic past with Oenone or perhaps as a way to let Paris think that he is seducing her.[92]

Despite Paris' vigorous attempt to conceal his past as a herdsman in *Heroides* 16, Helen reveals in *Heroides* 17 that she is fully aware of his past with Oenone. Paris only acknowledged Oenone in a single line in his poem (97), but Helen knows more than what he told her (*Ep.* 17.195-198):

> tu quoque dilectam multos, infide, per annos
> diceris Oenonen destituisse tuam.
> nec tamen ipse negas et nobis omnia de te
> quaerere, si nescis, maxima cura fuit
>
> You, faithless one, also are said to have abandoned
> your Oenone whom you loved through many years.
> However, you do not deny this and for me it was the greatest concern
> to seek all things about you, if you are unaware.

Helen has not been fooled by Paris' representation of himself in *Heroides* 16. She knows about Oenone despite Paris' attempt to omit her from his story. Paris characterized Oenone as just one of the many women who attempted to become his beloved after his recognition as a prince (16.95-96). Helen reveals that she knows he is lying. She further admits that it was her greatest concern (*maxima cura*, 198) to find out everything she could about him. Helen is

[92] Compare Aphrodite in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* who likens herself to an "untamed maiden" (παρθένῳ ἀδμήτῃ ... ὁμοίη, 82). Bergren 2008: 169 argues that ἀδμήτῃ here signifies a woman who has not yet experienced sexual intercourse and that Aphrodite does this in order to seduce Anchises. By not revealing her divine and sexual nature, she attempts to become more attractive to him here. Similarly, by assuming the role of a *rustica*, Helen attempts to seduce Paris and show that she can be tamed by him.

not fooled by Paris' self-representation as only a royal prince, and these two couplets reveal that she knows about his rustic past.

Reading *Heroides* 5, 16, and 17 in light of one another reveals that the poems are connected each to the other in both theme and subject matter. My discussion of Oenone's epistle has aimed to demonstrate how firmly situated Oenone is in her pastoral world. She describes her landscape in relation to her emotions: when her love with Paris is requited, the pastoral landscape provided for them; when Paris abandoned her, she remembers the landscape as hostile toward her. Despite her attempts to prove to Helen that she can be an urban lover, she is unable to remove herself from her pastoral space. Oenone also went to great lengths to demonstrate to Paris he would not be able to escape his pastoral origins as well.

Paris's self-representation in *Heroides* 16 attempts to minimize his time as a herdsman with Oenone. He presents himself as an urban man and an urban lover to Helen. In *Heroides* 17 Helen reveals that Paris' attempts were ultimately futile because she took it upon herself to discover as much as she could about Paris. Perhaps Helen is a reader not only of *Heroides* 16 but also proleptically of *Heroides* 5. Paris, just like Oenone, is unable to escape his past and effectively depict himself as an urban man. Reading *Heroides* 5, 16, and 17 together demonstrates the constant tension between refinement (*cultus*) and rusticity (*rusticitas*) in all three of the poems, and in particular how this tension is associated with the constant theme of love. Each treats the themes of love, urban refinement, and rusticity from a different perspective, and the interactions between the three themes intricately connects them.

In this chapter I have argued that Ovid's presentation of *cultus* and *rusticitas* in *Heroides* 5, 16, and 17 shows their inherent incompatibility. I suggest that this can be read as a commentary on Augustus' restoration of Republican values in Rome. I also have paid particular attention to the erotic ecology of the poems, particularly in *Heroides* 5, which I argue Oenone uses as a representation of her own emotional state. My second chapter focuses on imagery of the sea in *Heroides* 2, 5, and 6, and 10. The women of these poems pay particular attention to the sea in the hope that what facilitated their lover's departure will enable his return. In this chapter, I argue that Ovid uses water imagery in these epistles to explore the psychological dimensions of abandonment and its resulting trauma that the female speakers in the *Heroides* experience after their lovers leave them behind.

CHAPTER TWO

The Sea of Abandonment: Sea Imagery and Unrequited Love in Ovid's *Heroides*

In Chapter One I examined the way descriptions of the pastoral landscape in *Heroides* 5 reflect the shifting dynamics of the love affair of Oenone and Paris. When Oenone's love for Paris is reciprocated she remembers her pastoral landscape in a positive way, but when she realizes that Paris has abandoned her for Helen the pastoral landscape becomes antagonistic towards her. I further suggest that Ovid's use of *rusticitas* and *cultus* to describe their love suggests the incompatibility of those two characteristics not only in their love story, but also in the context of an Augustan Rome that proclaimed modern refinement and cultural renewal of old-time values. It is not only *Heroides* 5, 16, and 17 that demonstrate the way Ovid uses erotic ecology to enrich his representation of emotion in the *Heroides*. In this chapter I explore Ovid's extensive use of sea imagery in the *Heroides*, demonstrating that this sea imagery provides Ovid a means to explore the psychological dimensions of abandonment and its resulting trauma in the women of the *Heroides.*

Sea imagery features prominently in many of the letters of the *Heroides*. In particular, this chapter examines *Heroides* 2, 5, 6, and 10 to reveal the connections between imagery of the sea and abandonment. In *Heroides* 2 Phyllis writes to Demophöon, an Athenian who leaves Phyllis but promises to return.[93] Ovid writes *Heroides* 5 from the perspective of the nymph Oenone who once enjoyed a love affair with Paris.[94] In *Heroides* 6 Hypsipyle, the

[93] Much of the scholarship surrounding *Heroides* 2 focuses on reading Phyllis in light of other heroines in the *Heroides*; notably, Fulkerson 2002 analyzes *Heroides* 2 in light of other letters in the collection. Fulkerson focuses on aspects of Phyllis' character that reflect Dido, both in the *Heroides* and in Vergil's *Aeneid*, as well as aspects that parallel Ovid's Ariadne in *Heroides* 10.

[94] Scholarship on *Heroides* 5 focuses on the mixing of genres in the epistle. Lindheim 2000 analyzes the epistle as an intersection of pastoral and elegiac themes. Fulkerson 2005 suggests that Oenone attempts to fashion herself as a different Helen in order to win back Paris. Drinkwater 2015 builds upon Lindheim's argument to include a discussion of epic, pastoral, and elegiac themes in the poem.

Lemnian queen, writes to Jason who landed on Lemnos with the Argonauts, enjoyed a brief love affair with Hypsipyle, and then left in search of the Golden Fleece.[95] Finally, *Heroides* 10 is written from the perspective of Ariadne after she realizes she has been left on a deserted island by Theseus.[96] The women of these *Heroides* focus intently on the sea as a force that facilitated their respective lovers' departure and as a source of hope that he will return. An intratextual reading of these poems will demonstrate the prevailing function of sea imagery as a means of exploring the emotional impact of abandonment.

Ovid presents the sea both as a place for male-centered travel and as a natural force that is coded as female by placing men on the sea and women on the shore. The men of the *Heroides* take control of this feminine space and force their ex-lover to remain on the land. In literature before the *Heroides* the sea is a figure that is both male-dominated and feminine.[97] Plato and Cicero present the sea as a place for men to conduct economic activity. In Theocritus' *Idyll* 11 Polyphemus presents his negative perception of the sea in explicitly erotic terms. From his point-of-view, the sea is a natural force that separates him from the sea-nymph, Galatea, whom he loves. Galatea uses the sea to protect her from Polyphemus' unwanted advances on land. Ovid presents both of these traditions of the sea as a space for

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[95] *Heroides* 6 tends to be read by scholars in dialogue with *Heroides* 12, in which Medea writes to Jason. Fulkerson 2005, for example, addresses the similarities between the two letters, and further suggests that comparison with Oenone in *Heroides* 5 reveals much about the careful self-presentation of each heroine. Fulkerson asserts that each of these characters refuses to mention certain traditional aspects of their characterization, and she suggests that these characteristics are intentionally unmentioned because they would be detrimental to the goals of their letters.

[96] Verducci 1985 analyzes *Heroides* 10 in connection with Catullus 64. She argues that the version of Ariadne that Ovid presents, especially when read alongside the Catullan model, is meant to be read as parody of the version Catullus presents in his poem.

[97] The sea is gendered as female in Greek poetry. Semonides 7 tells how some women are from the sea. They are changeable, fickle, and stubborn. In Eurripides' *Hippolytus* Phaedra's nurse tells her to continue to be like the sea: αὐθαδεστέρα γίγνου θαλάσσης, "Be more stubborn than the sea" (*Hipp.* 304-305). Beyond the gendering of the sea as female here, there is a further association in the *Hippolytus* between love and the sea. In particular, Aphrodite is referred to as δέσποινα ποντία Κύπρι, "mistress of the sea, Cypris" (415, 522).

men to travel over and as a space that is representative of feminine distress as this chapter explores.

In literature outside of the *Heroides*, including in philosophy and history, maritime imagery plays an important role in authors' descriptions of corruption within a city. Both Plato's *Laws* and Cicero's *De Re Publica* discuss the ideal state, and they demonstrate that a state's proximity to the sea is of particular importance. In particular, these sources suggest that a city that is founded too close to the sea is at risk for physical and moral degradation. Ovid, I argue, draws upon this earlier literature that links the sea with corruption. Instead of physical or moral debasement, however, I suggest that Ovid extends the corruption of the sea to include emotional corruption that destroys love affairs. In the *Heroides*, the sea figures as a means of escape for mythological heroes to abandon the women they used to love, and so it acts as a force that consistently degrades feelings of love.

In the fourth book of his *Laws*, Plato suggests that a city should not be situated too close to the sea. The sea is a means of acquiring foreign goods that negatively impact the inhabitants of the city (*Lg.* 705A):[98]

> πρόσοικος γὰρ θάλαττα χώρᾳ τὸ μὲν παρ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἡδύ, μάλα γε μὴν ὄντως ἁλμυρὸν καὶ πικρὸν γειτόνημα· ἐμπορίας γὰρ καὶ χρηματισμοῦ διὰ καπηλείας ἐμπιπλᾶσα αὐτήν, ἤθη παλίμβολα καὶ ἄπιστα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐντίκτουσα, αὐτήν τε πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἀπιστον καὶ ἄφιλον ποιεῖ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὡσαύτως.
>
> For the sea neighboring the land is sweet each day, but in fact it is actually a briny and bitter neighbor; for filling it with merchandise and profit through retail trade, creating habits that are untrustworthy and faithless in souls, and it makes it [the city] faithless and loveless to itself and even to other people in a similar manner.

[98] Greek text is from Bury 1926. All translations are my own.

In this passage the sea is destructive to the state that is too near to it. Plato describes the sea in terms of its economic disadvantages. Maritime trade brings foreign goods into the city, goods that act as corrupting forces on the city's inhabitants, spreading to the city as a whole. It is not confined to the city either, but, according to Plato, it causes the city and its inhabitants to become faithless to the rest of the world. The sea then acts as a conduit of this degradation: thus Plato suggests that the ideal state not be situated too close to the sea. Importantly, the corruption of the sea is detrimental not only to the state as a whole, but to all of the citizens who live close to the seaport.[99] Therefore, although Plato's critique of the sea is primarily economic, there is a strong suggestion that the corrupting influence of the sea extends beyond economic considerations. Ultimately, the economic trade the sea provides spreads outside influences throughout the city, which then affect people's habits. These habits degrade society's values and cause people in the city to become faithless and loveless to themselves and to the wider community. Already in this Greek text, then, there is a suggestion that proximity to the sea can alter emotions, an idea that Ovid exploits in the *Heroides*.

Drawing on Plato's *Laws*, Cicero echoes and expands the idea that being too close to the sea is physically and morally dangerous in his *De Re Publica.*[100] He praises Romulus for his placement of Rome, asserting that Romulus made the correct decision not to place Rome too close to the sea or the mouth of the Tiber (*Rep* 2.5). Cicero highlights both the physical and moral concerns that a maritime city may face. In particular, Cicero notes that it is

[99] Leigh 2004: 123 discusses Plato's critique of the port in the *Laws* and its influence on Latin comedy. About the passage of Plato quoted above he states: "this is a striking formulation and one which implies the very character of the sea itself has leached into the souls of those who live by it. For, if the city by the sea is faithless (*apistos*), it is perhaps because faithlessness is the defining quality of its briny neighbour."
[100] For a discussion of Cicero's account of the history of Rome in *De Re Publica* 2, see Cornell 2001, who suggests that Cicero's divergences from other histories indicates that Cicero's aim in *De Re Publica* 2 was not to write a history of early Rome, but instead to demonstrate forms of government using Rome as an example.

difficult to be sure whether people traveling by sea are enemies or allies: *maritimus vero ille et navalis hostis ante adesse potest, quam quisquam venturum esse suspicari queat, nec vero, cum venit, prae se fert, aut qui sit aut unde veniat aut etiam quid velit*, "Truly a maritime and nautical enemy is able to be present before anyone is able to suspect that he is about to come, and truly when he does arrive, he does not reveal either from where he comes or even what he wants" (*Rep.* II.6).[101] Here Cicero emphasizes the practical difficulties of situating a city too close to the sea. A maritime city is exposed to many more dangers than an inland city since the populace then needs to worry about both infantry and maritime forces.

Cicero, like Plato, stresses not only the physical dangers of a maritime city, but also the moral dangers. In particular, cities too close to the sea are at risk for moral degradation because of foreign influences. Cicero discusses the possible corruption of foreign customs in a way similar to how Plato emphasized the threat of foreign trade and merchandise for a city (705A). Foreign influence can be detrimental to a city's ancient customs (*Rep.* 2.7-8):

> est autem maritimis urbibus etiam quaedam corruptela ac demutatio morum; admiscentur enim novis sermonibus ac disciplinis et inportantur non merces solum adventiciae, sed etiam mores, ut nihil possit in patriis institutis manere integrum . . . multa etiam ad luxuria invitamenta perniciosa civitatibus subpeditantur mari.
>
> There is however for maritime cities a certain corruption and change of customs; for they are mixed with new speeches and knowledge and not only foreign goods are brought in, but also customs, so that nothing is able to remain untouched in regard to ancestral habits . . . Also, many dangerous enticements for luxury are supplied by the sea.

Here Cicero represents the sea as a force that corrupts the morals of a city. This corruption is due in large part to the introduction of foreign customs and goods that the sea provides through trade. These foreign goods result in luxury, which causes further corruption and degradation of the city's morals and institutions. The introduction of new institutions forces

[101] Latin text of Cicero from Keyes 1928. Translations are my own.

the ancestral customs of a city situated too close to the sea to change. This degradation of a city's customs reflects Plato's assertion that foreign trade results in changed emotions in a city's inhabitants. Even in Cicero and Plato the sea is not only a negative economic force, but it also has the ability to change habits and feelings. The association between the sea and emotional change is one that Ovid uses throughout his *Heroides*, as I demonstrate later in this chapter. In particular, the women of the *Heroides* focus on the sea as a natural force that aids in the destruction of their love affairs and as an expression of their unrequited love for the men who have abandoned them.

In these texts Plato and Cicero represent the sea as an agent of corruption on the cities that lie close to it. Often the concerns presented in Plato and Cicero are economic, but there are also moral and political components to the corruption of the sea. As we shall see, the poets Theocritus and Ovid also present the sea of as a corrupting force, but the corruption is explicitly amatory rather than economic. In particular, the sea in Ovid's *Heroides* is presented both as a space that represents unreciprocated erotic desire and a venue for travel for men to abandon the women with whom they were once involved. Despite attempts by some of the women of the *Heroides*, they are unable to cross the sea in the same way. The sea acts as a channel for harmful influences on the women. Furthermore, just as there are overtly political ramifications of the sea in Plato and Cicero, I suggest a political reading of the sea in Ovid's *Heroides*. Ovid works within such a rich tradition that depicts the sea as a harmful force, and therefore his use of sea imagery in the *Heroides* can be read a critique of Augustan Rome.

Love and the Sea in Theocritus *Idyll* 11

Ovid's use of sea imagery in the *Heroides* draws inspiration from a rich tradition of texts that explore attitudes about the sea. While Ovid was influenced by Plato and Cicero's discussions, I suggest there is also significant influence from the explicitly erotic poetic context of Theocritus' *Idyll* 11. Whereas Plato and Cicero demonstrate that the sea can be corruptive to attitudes of the state and individuals within it, Theocritus' *Idyll* 11 develops the problematic connection between love and the sea that is clearly expressed later in Ovid's *Heroides*. Much of the poem represents a monody by Polyphemus who laments the distance between him and his beloved Galatea.[102] As the narrator of this *Idyll* addresses Nicias, he reports that there is no cure for love, using the story of Polyphemus and Galatea to demonstrate this. Polyphemus is lovesick and often spends his time pining for Galatea (*Id.* 11.12-16):[103]

> πολλάκι ταὶ ὄιες ποτὶ τωὔλιον αὐταὶ ἀπῆνθον
> χλωρᾶς ἐκ βοτάνας· ὅ δὲ τὰν Γαλὰτειαν ἀείδων
> αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἀιόνος κατετάκετο φυκιοέσσας
> ἐξ ἀοῦς, ἔχθιστον ἔχων ὑποκάρδιον ἕλκος,
> Κύπριδος ἐκ μεγάλας τό οἱ ἥπατι πᾶξε βέλεμνον
>
> Often his sheep departed toward the stables
> From the green pasture. But singing about Galatea
> He was melting away upon the shore full of seaweed
> From dawn, having a most hateful wound in his heart
> Which an arrow from the great Cyprian fixed in his liver.

Polyphemus neglects his herding duties, and instead spends his day upon the shore singing about Galatea. He sings because Venus has wounded him with an arrow of love, a wound that is the most hateful of all (ἔχθιστον ἔχων ὑποκάρδιον ἕλκος, 15). The shore acts a liminal

[102] Hopkinson 1988: 148-149 suggests that a now-lost poem by Philoxenus served as the basic model for this poem. The poem by Philoxenus, according to Hopkinson, was the first representation of Polyphemus in love. That poem influenced Theocritus' characterization of Polyphemus as a combination of the monstrous beast from Homer's *Odyssey* and of a young shepherd in love. For further development on the double nature of Theocritus' Polyphemus, see Spofford 1969: 26 who suggests that Polyphemus is more a representative character of a youth in love, but also is suggestive of his Homeric character.
[103] Greek text is from Gow 1952.

space where Polyphemus is separated both from his flocks in the pastures, but also from Galatea who resides in the ocean.[104] Brooke notes the poet's emphasis on the opposition between land and sea in lines 10-18 and suggests that the difference between the two separate spaces is meant to reinforce Polyphemus' position on the shore in between the land and sea.[105] There is no doubt that a strong distinction between land and sea exists in these lines; but I suggest there is a further emphasis on the shore, as the shore acts literally as a barrier between Polyphemus and his beloved. Yet the shore also occupies a liminal space somewhere between sea and land where Polyphemus is separated both from his daily herding duties and Galatea. I suggest that the shore is also the area in the landscape where Polyphemus is able to articulate his psychological distress. Here on the shore, Polyphemus sings of his unrequited love and expresses his troubled state since he cannot physically be with Galatea in the sea. This physical separation between lovers on sea and shore is expressed throughout Ovid's *Heroides* as well, and in these poems the shore is a place where the female speakers convey their grief. In *Idyll* 11, the separation between Polyphemus and Galatea is further emphasized before Polyphemus begins his song: καθεζόμενος δ' ἐπὶ πέτρας / ὑψηλᾶς ἐς πόντον ὁρῶν ἄειδε τοιαῦτα, "Sitting upon the high rock, looking into the sea, he sings such things" (17-18). Again, Theocritus highlights the physical separation of the lovers: Polyphemus sits on a rock while Galatea remains in the sea.

Polyphemus highlights the sea and land throughout his song. He depicts Galatea's refusal to join him on land as representative of her rejection of him as a lover. The first line

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[104] Brooke 1971: 75 suggests the physical distance between Polyphemus and Galatea could evoke Theocritus' own position in composing this *Idyll*: "As the Cyclops is on the borderline between his own place and the world of the sea-nymph, which for him is the experience of love, so Theocritus here is intermediate between detached observation and participation in the poetic experience of the song."

[105] See Brooke 1971: 74 for an extension of this discussion of the opposition between land and sea in lines 10-18.

of his song demonstrates Polyphemus' confusion about Galatea's rejection: Ὦ λευκὰ Γαλάτεια, τί τὸν φιλέοντ' ἀποβάλλῃ, "Oh fair Galatea, why do you reject me loving you?" (19). The love is one-sided: Polyphemus loves Galatea, but she does not reciprocate that feeling. Polyphemus urges Galatea to leave behind the sea to spend time with him on land. He seems to think that even a single night in his cave will prove that the land is better than the sea (44-50):

> ἄδιον ἐν τῶντρῳ παρ' ἐμὶν τὰν νύκτα διαξεῖς.
> ἐντὶ δάφναι τηνεί, ἐντὶ ῥαδιναὶ κυπάρισσοι,
> ἔστι μέλας κισσός, ἔστ' ἄμπελος ἀ γλυκύκαρπος,
> ἔστι ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ, τό μοι ἀ πολυδένδρεος Αἴτνα
> λευκᾶς ἐκ χιόνος ποτὸν ἀμβρόσιον προΐητι.
> τίς κα τῶνδε θάλασσαν ἔχειν καὶ κύμαθ' ἕλοιτο;
>
> You will spend a sweeter night in the cave near me.
> There are laurels, there are slender cypresses,
> there is dark ivy, there is the vine bearing sweet-fruit,
> there is cold water, which much-forested Aetna
> sends forth for me from its white snow, a divine drink.
> Who would choose to have the sea and waves instead of these very things?

Polyphemus emphasizes what the land can provide Galatea, and he argues that such a landscape would suit her more than the sea. It is the land, not Polyphemus, that will provide the amenities that Galatea deserves. The sea does not have the laurel trees (δάφναι, 45), the cypress trees (κυπάρισσοι, 45), the dark ivy (μέλας κισσός, 46), the fruit-bearing vine (ἄμπελος ἀ γλυκύκαρπος), or the cold water from Aetna (ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ, 47) that the land offers. Polyphemus distinguishes between the land and sea, and he argues that the land would be sweeter for Galatea than the sea. Importantly, the land also is Polyphemus' realm, but he highlights its natural bounties rather than emphasizing his own place on the land.

Polyphemus belongs to the land and Galatea belongs to the sea, yet Polyphemus hopes that either he or Galatea will transcend their boundaries.[106] Polyphemus will learn how to swim in order to be closer to Galatea: νῦν μάν, ὦ κόριον, νῦν αὐτίκα νεῖν γε μαθεῦμαι, "Now indeed, little girl, now immediately I will learn to swim" (60). The repeated use of νῦν in this line followed by αὐτίκα emphasizes Polyphemus' intense present desire to be together with Galatea. As if he realizes that his desire to learn how to swim is foolish, Polyphemus also urges Galatea to leave behind the sea to join him on land: ἐξένθοις, Γαλάτεια, καὶ ἐξενθοῖσα λάθοιο, / ὥσπερ ἐγὼ νῦν ὧδε καθήμενος, οἴκαδ' ἀπενθεῖν, "May you come out, Galatea, and having come out may you forget to go home, just as I do now sitting here in this way" (63-64). Polyphemus urges Galatea to leave the ocean behind to be with him on land. He wishes that Galatea will forget the sea and stay with him on land. Once the two are united in the same place Polyphemus hopes that Galatea will be attracted not only to the amenities of land, but also to him. However, Polyphemus' and Galatea's very nature as land-roaming cyclops and sea-swimming nymph make their love an impossibility. Polyphemus is unable to leave the land behind despite his wishes to grow gills or learn to how swim, while Galatea is unable to leave the sea. There is no place for them to join and realize their love.

So far, I have shown that Theocritus uses imagery of the sea in Theocritus *Idyll* 11 to demonstrate the strained love relationship between Polyphemus and Galatea. Polyphemus sings about Galatea at the edge of the shore, a place that marks the different physical and emotional position of the characters. While Polyphemus, who pines for Galatea, cannot cross

[106] Holtsmark 1966: 256 suggests that Polyphemus' desire to learn how to swim is borne out of his earlier hopeless desire to grow gills in line 54: ὤμοι, ὅτ' οὐκ ἔτεκέν μ' ἁ μάτηρ βράγχι' ἔχοντα, "Alas, if only my mother had borne me having gills." According to Holtsmark the progression from wishing for gills to wanting to learn how to swim demonstrates Polyphemus' growing awareness that he needs to become more of an active participant to win Galatea's love. Yet Holtsmark seeks to show the fundamental incompatibility of Polyphemus who lives on land and Galatea who lives in the sea.

the physical boundary into the ocean to unite with Galatea, he also remains on the shore and thereby neglects his shepherding duties on land. Galatea remains in the sea presumably shunning the love that Polyphemus offers her.[107] Despite the persistent urging of Polyphemus, she refuses to leave her domain in the sea and she therefore rejects the love that Polyphemus feels for her. Below I reveal that a similar use of sea imagery exists in Ovid's *Heroides* to explain the dynamics of interest and love between characters. In the following analysis of *Heroides* 2, 5, 6, and 10, I show that it is the female speakers of the *Heroides* who are unable to leave the shore despite their desire to reunite with their lover. These speakers often look to the sea in the hope that it will return a lover who has abandoned them. In this way, I demonstrate the connection between descriptions of the sea and the emotional distress of the mythological heroines in the *Heroides.* I further suggest that Ovid draws upon a rich tradition of literature that explores the corruptive nature of the sea. Plato and Cicero set a precedent for this connection, when they showed how cities situated too close to the sea are at risk for moral and emotional degradation in the inhabitants of the city. Theocritus explicitly associates sea imagery with feelings of unrequited love in his description of how Polyphemus pines for Galatea on the shore in *Idyll* 11. With these texts as models, Ovid builds upon the pre-existing literary tradition of sea and emotion to further explore the psychological effect of abandonment in the *Heroides*.

The Fickle Sea in *Heroides* 2

[107] Fantuzzi 1995: 18-19 compares the Polyphemus of *Idyll* 11 with that of *Idyll* 6. In *Idyll* 6 there is a complete role reversal from *Idyll* 11 since Galatea is the character attempting to win the affection of Polyphemus. According to Fantuzzi, a version of the story did exist in which Galatea returns Polyphemus' love, but it is not clear whether the source existed at the time Theocritus composed his *Idylls*.

Imagery of the sea is prevalent throughout many of Ovid's *Heroides*. In particular, I examine the use of sea imagery in *Heroides* 2, 5, 6, and 10, which serve as a representative sample of letters that demonstrate the connection between the sea and emotions of abandonment. In each of these epistles the general situation of the heroine is similar: each has been abandoned by her respective lover who has left by boat. The sea means something different for different characters in the *Heroides*: for the men of the *Heroides* it is a means to desert the women they used to love, but for the women of the *Heroides* it is both a reminder of their desertion and a location invested with the hope that their lovers may return. The sea of love is a common literary motif, which includes nautical and marine imagery, metaphors, and similes that apply to romantic and erotic love. This imagery has been explored extensively by Paul Murgatroyd in both Greek and Roman contexts.[108] Stephen Harrison examines imagery of the sea as it relates to epic poetry. In particular, he looks at the use of the sea in Catullus 64, arguing that the journey of the Argo is depicted as the origin of sailing and even the beginning of the epic tradition.[109] Catherine Bolton has examined the sea in the *Heroides*, arguing that women in the *Heroides* are unable to follow their lovers across the sea because the sea is a male-dominated space in the *Heroides*.[110] In *Idyll* 11 Galatea remains in

[108] See Murgatroyd 1995 for a detailed study of the motif of the sea of love in Greek and Latin literature from the archaic period to late antiquity. Murgatroyd examines examples where the sea can be expressive of both sexual and nonsexual acts. In particular he explores the revival of the sea of love which he asserts is common in Propertius and Ovid.

[109] See Harrison 2007: 2-4 for an extension of the argument that Catullus 64 presents the sea voyage of the Argo as the first sea voyage and how this is representative of the origin of epic poetry. For another discussion of the Argo as the 'fist boat' motif see Jackson 1997. For more on Catullus 64 and his allusions to earlier poetry see Thomas 1982 examines Catullus' use of allusion in the first eighteen lines of his epyllion. Thomas explores the allusion in particular to Euripides' *Medea*, Apollonius' *Argonautica*, Callimachus' *Aetia,* Ennius, and Accius. See also Zetzel 1983 who interprets Ennian allusions in Catullus 64 and ultimately suggests that Catullus' use of Ennian material shows that he is not as scornful of archaic Latin poetry than has been previously suggested.

[110] Earlier Augustan elegy often reverses gender stereotypes, so women sometimes travel and leave their elegiac lover behind. This occurs especially in Propertius, when his elegiac *domina* Cynthia travels to Baiae in 1.11. In 1.11 Propertius fears that he has lost Cynthia because of her trip, and then in 1.12 he laments because Cynthia has broken off their affair. Propertius writes, *mutat via longa puellas*, "A long journey changes girls" (1.12.11). In the *Heroides* a long journey changes men instead.

the sea and spurns Polyphemus' erotic advances from the shore. Ovid flips the scene here, and instead it is the women who remain on land while the men sail away on the sea. The sea, while still gendered as female, has been commandeered by the men who use the space to exert control over their ex-lovers.[111] The women are left on the shore to mourn that they have been left behind.

In *Heroides* 2 Phyllis remembers Demophöon's promise to return to Thrace and highlights the importance of sea and wind as agents of this return.[112] When Demophöon left, he promised Phyllis that he would return to her within a set amount of time. Phyllis now writes because that time has expired, and she supposes that he will not come back. Demophöon sailed away from Thrace and so Phyllis pays close attention to the sea and shore while she hopes that he will sail back. In particular, Phyllis remembers how Demophöon promised to return to her: *litoribus nostris ancora pacta tua* est, "Your anchors were promised to my shores" (*Ep.* 2.4). Phyllis emphasizes the importance of her shores (*litoribus nostris*) with its emphatic placement at the beginning of the line. I suggest here a double meaning for Demophöon's anchors: by promising that his anchors will return to Phyllis' shores, Demophöon essentially promises his own return to Thrace also. Within the first few couplets it is clear that Phyllis senses the futility of her hopes: *nec vehit Actaeas Sithonis unda rates,* "the Thracian sea does not convey Athenian ships" (2.6).[113] Already Phyllis expresses their separation in terms of a spatial difference between her and Demophöon. He has left Phyllis alone in Thrace, but the Thracian sea that facilitated his departure does not

[111] For the sea in the *Heroides* specifically, see Bolton 2009: 273 who offers an explanation of the association between landscape descriptions, gender, and morality.
[112] There is no earlier extant treatment of the story of Phyllis and Demophöon. Jacobson 1974: 58-59 proposes that the myth was a popular one given the many mentions of Phyllis in Ovid and Propertius. Jacobson suggests that Ovid based his story on of a lost work of Callimachus of which only four lines remain. See also Knox 1995: 111-113 for a discussion of possible source texts and variations on the Phyllis story.
[113] Latin text is from Knox 1995.

bring him back. Nevertheless, Phyllis often imagines seeing the sails of Demophöon's ships returning: *saepe fui mendax pro te mihi, saepe putavi* / *alba vela referre Notos*, "Often I was deceitful to myself for you, often I thought that the stormy South winds brought back white sails" (11-12). The repeated use of *saepe* in these lines demonstrates how Phyllis repeatedly imagined Demophöon's return. Even in her imagination Demophöon is not the agent of his return, but rather it is the stormy South winds that bring him back. Indeed, Phyllis admits that her hopes are rather delusional when she asserts, with alliterative effect, that she was deceitful to herself (*mendax mihi*, 11).[114]

Phyllis repeatedly links her wishes for Demophöon's return with natural imagery relating to the wind and sea.[115] Just as she imagined his return in the lines above, she often tries to convince herself that Demophöon will come back to Thrace: *saepe videns ventos caelo pelagoque faventes,* / *ipsa mihi dixi, 'si valet ille, venit,'* "Often seeing the winds being favorable to the sky and sea, I myself said to myself, 'if he is well, he is coming'" (19-20). Phyllis often checks the weather, hoping for favorable sailing conditions. If the weather is favorable and Demophöon is healthy, then he has no reason to not be sailing back to Thrace. This is made especially clear by Phyllis' use of a conditional construction with both verbs in the indicative. Finally, Phyllis admits the futility of her hopes, and she again uses natural imagery to describe Demophöon's betrayal: *Demophoon, ventis et verba et vela dedisti;* /

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[114] Scholars have often viewed Phyllis' letter as influenced by Dido in the *Heroides* and in the *Aeneid.* As Fulkerson 2005: 26 asserts, "[Phyllis] lets her reading of other stories persuade her that she has no reason to live." By basing her own story on the stories of other women from the *Heroides* Phyllis becomes deceitful to herself and convinces herself that she must die. There is a particularly irony here as well, since as Fulkerson 2005: 24-25 asserts, Hyginus' telling of Phyllis' story reports that Demophöon does return but late. If Ovid is basing his Phyllis on this version of the story, then Phyllis kills herself immediately before Demophöon comes back to her.

[115] For a list of instances when Phyllis highlights the role of wind and water in her epistle, see Jacobson 1974: 68. Jacobson suggests that the examples he lists demonstrate Phyllis' reliance on the hope that the wind and sea will bring Demophöon back to her. He notes, in particular, the paradoxical nature of such hope, since the wind and sea generally are used as reminders of the fickleness of nature and so also the fickleness of Demophöon.

vela queror reditu, verba carere fide, "Demophöon, you gave both words and sails to the winds; I complain that your sails lack a return, and that your words lack faith" (25-26).[116] According to Phyllis, Demophöon is as fickle as the winds are changing. He gave his words of faith to the winds just as he entrusted his sails to wind that will not allow him to return.

Phyllis soon begins to transfer blame for Demophöon's departure to herself when she recalls how she helped him rebuild his fleet after shipwreck. With the understanding that Demophöon would return to Thrace, Phyllis helped to restore his fleet after he was shipwrecked. He left by boat and still has not returned. Perhaps in an attempt to shift blame away from Demophöon and with the growing realization that Demophöon does not plan to return, Phyllis blames herself for her restoration of the ships (45-48):

> at laceras etiam puppes furiosa refeci,
> ut, qua desererer, firma carina foret.
> remigiumque dedi, quo me fugiturus abires.
> heu, patior telis vulnera facta meis!
>
> But I even restored the wrecked ships in my madness,
> so that the keel would be strong, by which I would be deserted.
> I gave oars, so that you about to flee would leave me.
> Alas, I suffer wounds made by my weapons!

Demophöon would not have been able to sail away without Phyllis' help; thus she realizes she is an unwitting agent of her own desertion.[117] Moreover, I argue here that Phyllis uses imagery of ships as metonymy for water imagery. Just as the water and wind helped Demophöon sail away, so too does his ship. The image of Demophöon leaving Thrace will

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[116] Fulkerson 2005: 28 compares Phyllis' use of *vela* to Dido's similar use in *Heroides* 7.8: *idem venti vela fidemque ferent*, "The same winds will carry your sails and your faith." Fulkerson is right to point out the comparable emphasis on *vela* in these two passages, though I think the use of winds (*venti*) is highlighted as well. Winds are a natural force that allows a man to sail away from his beloved and that destroys promises of loyalty.

[117] See Lindheim 2003: 99-100 for a discussion of lines 45-48. Lindheim highlights how Phyllis' role as queen allows her to refurbish Demophöon's fleet and also emphasizes how Phyllis' own actions allow Demophöon to leave Thrace.

not leave her mind: *illa meis oculis species abeuntis inhaeret, / cum premeret portus classis itura meos*, "That sight of you going away clings to my eyes, when the fleet about to go crowds my ports" (91-92). Phyllis remembers the time when Demophöon abandoned her, and the vision of him leaving remains in her mind. Yet, she remembers how her ports were full of ships, which serves as a potent reminder of their previous love affair.

Phyllis links her grief with sea imagery most explicitly toward the end of her epistle. Phyllis paces the shores attempting to see Demophöon returning to Thrace. Phyllis is unable to cross into the sea as Demophöon did.[118] Instead, she can only go so far as the shores and the ledges (121-128):

> maesta tamen scopulos fruticosaque litora calco;
> quaque patent oculis aequora lata meis,
> . . .
> et quaecumque procul venientia lintea vidi,
> protinus illa meos auguror esse deos.
> in freta procurro, vix me retinentibus undis,
> mobile qua primas porrigit aequor aquas.
>
> Nevertheless, sorrowful I walk over the ledges and the shrubby shores;
> [I look out at] the broad waters wherever they lie open to my eyes,
> . . .
> And whatever sails I saw coming from a distance,
> immediately I predict that those are my gods.
> I rush into the waves, the waves scarcely hold me back,
> where the shifting water stretches out its first waters.

In her sorrow, Phyllis paces on cliffs and the shores in the hope of seeing Demophöon return to her.[119] She focuses on the sea as she wishes for his return. Phyllis hopes that whatever took her lover away will bring him back. Although he was able to travel across the sea, she is only

[118] Bolton 2009: 288 discusses Phyllis' attempt to reunite physically with Demophöon by rushing into the water. Bolton argues that even the waters here work to keep Phyllis from entering them (*retinentibus*) and so Phyllis is unable to transgress her gendered environment on land.
[119] Fulkerson 2005: 35 asserts that the emphasis on landscape here is similar to the landscape Ariadne describes in *Heroides* 10. In particular, both Phyllis and Ariadne pace the shore and look out to the sea, and their similar actions are described using analogous expressions.

able to look out longingly at the sea. As Bolton argues, the freedom to travel freely on the sea is a gender-loaded problem in that women are generally confined to indoor spaces on dry land.[120] Phyllis makes it clear that she is looking for the sails of Demophöon's ships, but she feels excitement whenever she sees *any* sails since they might be Demophöon's (*quaecumque lintea*, 125). Phyllis rushes into the shallow water when she sees these sails (*in freta procurro*, 127).[121] Although she is not constrained to the shore, she is still unable to enter the water in the same way that Demophöon was able to. The ocean here serves as a reminder of the spatial separation between Phyllis and Demophöon. It also serves to highlight the emotional trauma that Phyllis experiences because she has been abandoned. Phyllis specifies her emotional state when she wanders the ledges and shores, asserting that she is sorrowful (*maesta*, 121).

Ultimately, the sea and its vastness serve as a painful reminder to Phyllis that she has been abandoned; moreover, the sea will also feature in her demise, as she soon announces that it will serve a more nefarious purpose as well. Not only does Phyllis pace the shores unhappily, but she also intends to throw herself into the waves to die: *hinc mihi supositas immittere corpus in undas* / *mens fuit, et, quoniam fallere pergis, erit*, "From here I intended to throw my body into the waves placed under, and it will happen, because you continue to deceive me" (133-134). Throughout the epistle so far, Phyllis has used sea imagery to represent her longing for Demophöon's return. He promised her that he would come back, so she looks to the sea in the hope that he told her the truth. Now, Phyllis guesses that

[120] See Bolton 2009: 274 for an extension of the argument that the sea is a gendered location. In particular, Bolton draws attention to the ways in which physical location is a marker of female sexual identity in the *Heroides*.
[121] Lindheim 2003: 96 sees in these lines a reference to Ariadne as well. She asserts that Phyllis represents herself as another Ariadne who is abandoned and wandering the beach in search for a lover who has abandoned her.

Demophöon will not come back, and so the sea not only is a reminder of his betrayal but also will be used by Phyllis as a means to end her life. Phyllis hopes that what once represented the spatial distance between lovers will now reunite them: *ad tua me fluctus proiectam litora portent,* / *occuramque oculis intumulata tuis*, "May the waves carry me flung forth to your shores, and may I come up to your eyes while unburied" (135-136). Not only will Phyllis drown herself, but she also hopes that her unburied body will be carried by sea to Demophöon. When he sees her unburied corpse that the sea brought to him, then he might understand the trauma that his abandonment caused.

Phyllis' attention to the sea first demonstrates her ongoing hope that Demophöon will come back to Thrace and then her despair at the realization that she has been abandoned. Although Phyllis looks to the sea in the hope that she will be reunited with Demophöon, it soon becomes a distinct reminder of her unrequited feelings for him. The sea both represents the spatial distance between the lovers, but also highlights the unfulfilled expectations that Phyllis has for Demophöon. By focusing on the sea Phyllis shows that she hopes that Demophöon will come back to Thrace to be reunited with her. Sea imagery is most explicitly connected with Phyllis' feelings of despair when she recalls the way that she paced the shores while scanning the sea for Demophöon's sails (121-128). Focus on the sea is not restricted only to *Heroides* 2 as I show with the following discussion of *Heroides* 5.

The Revelatory Sea in *Heroides* 5

In *Heroides* 5 Oenone fixates on her pastoral landscape and associates it with the emotions she feels during and after her love affair with Paris. In Chapter One I explored how Oenone remembers her landscape as peaceful while her love for Paris was requited, but how it becomes hostile towards her when Paris leaves. Here I show how Oenone uses water

imagery similarly to the way Phyllis does. Both heroines' focus on water reveals how they have been abandoned in different and important ways. Both Phyllis and Oenone view the sea as an agent that will return their lovers to them. However, while Phyllis never sees Demophöon return, Oenone does. Paris returns by ship, but he does so with Helen alongside him.

In *Heroides* 5 there is a connection between the sea and Oenone's abandonment by Paris. Oenone scans the sea for Paris' sails in *Heroides* 5 just as Phyllis did in *Heroides* 2. Instead of wandering the shores, Oenone chooses a lookout place that also places her in a liminal space between land and sea: *aspicit immensum moles nativa profundum; / mons fuit: aequoreis illa resistit aquis, "*A natural mass looks upon the boundless sea; it was a mountain: that withstands the watery waters" (5.61-62).[122] This location is perfectly situated for Oenone since it offers her a view of the boundless sea (*immensum profundum*, 61). At the same time, the mountain demonstrates Oenone's inability to follow Paris in his sea voyages. The mountain withstands the waters of the sea (*aequoreis illa resistit aquis*, 62), but it also holds Oenone back from entering them as Phyllis did in *Heroides* 2 (2.127-128). Nevertheless, like Phyllis, Oenone considers running into the waves: *hinc ego vela tuae cognovit prima carinae, / et mihi per fluctus impetus ire fuit*, "From here I recognized the first sails of your ship, and I intended to go through the waves" (63-64). Upon seeing Paris' sails, Oenone believes that he has returned to her. She hopes that by entering the sea she will be reunited with the man she loves. However, the sea does not provide the happy reunion that Oenone hopes for.

[122] See Bolton 2009: 282 for a discussion of this *moles*. Bolton argues that the verb here, *resistit*, suggests that the land resists the sea and what it represents, "travel, adventure, and unrestricted sex."

Paris' voyage back to Oenone eliminates much of their spatial separation, but it reveals Paris' changed feelings toward Oenone. As discussed in Chapter One, when Oenone sees Paris she recognizes his new *cultus.* This marks an important shift in their relationship since Oenone begins to realize the futility of her attempt to convince Paris to love her again.[123] In this section of the letter Oenone highlights the function of both the sea and the wind as agents of emotional trauma: *fit propior terrasque cita ratis attigit aura*, "The swift ship came closer and touched the land because of the breeze" (67). Paris has lost his agency, as a breeze is responsible for his voyage. Although Oenone and Paris are back on land, his return has deepened the emotional trauma that Oenone experiences. The sea and wind that facilitated Paris' return has also revealed to Oenone that she has been replaced: *femineas vidi corde tremente genas . . . haerebat gremio turpis amica tuo!* "With a trembling heart I saw a womanly face . . . A shameful girlfriend was clinging to your breast!" (68-70). Instead of inspiring happiness, Paris' homecoming results in a frenzied sorrow. Oenone expected only Paris, and is shocked to discover that she has been replaced by another woman. In response, she displays her grief by fleeing to her pastoral landscape: *implevique sacram querulis ululatibus Iden. / illuc has lacrimas in mea saxa tuli*, "I filled sacred Ida with my howling. From there I brought these tears to my rocks" (73-74). Oenone removes herself from the mountain that overlooked the sea to a place where she is far from the forces that conveyed Paris and Helen.

Oenone's retreat from the shore to her pastoral world exemplifies her comfort with her pastoral space over the shore. I suggest that the pastoral landscape is a more suitable

[123] On the intensification of Oenone's emotion and the description of the arrival of Paris' ship, see Jacobson 1974: 193. According to Jacobson, Oenone's view of the ship is revealed successively (*i.e.*, sail first, then flash of purple, then human faces) and her emotional state changes with each successive revelation.

place for Oenone to grieve her loss of Paris since it is a reminder of their previous shared love. Oenone emphasizes the love she shared with Paris in their peaceful pastoral world (5.13-16). The shore is the liminal space between land and sea where Oenone realizes the futility of her hopes that Paris will return to her. It is from the mountain near the shore that she sees Helen and understands she has been replaced. Thus, the shore serves a similar purpose as it had in Theocritus' *Idyll* 11, where Polyphemus pines for Galatea. He occupied the space between sea and land hoping to connect with Galatea, but since Oenone knows that she has been replaced by Helen there is no reason for her to occupy the space where people in love still have hope that they can reunite with the person for whom they feel affection. Oenone's realization that Paris loves another woman forces her away from this hopeful location.

Land vs. Sea in *Heroides* 6

Beginning with the opening word of her epistle, Hypsipyle emphasizes how important the shores are for her. Jason, who had just visited Lemnos and enjoyed a brief love affair with Hypsipyle, has left to retrieve the Golden Fleece. Hypsipyle begins her letter by highlighting his position on the shores of Thessaly: *litora Thessaliae reduci tetigisse carina* / *diceris auratae vellere dives ovis*, "You are said to have reached the shores of Thessaly on your returned ship, rich with the fleece of a golden ram" (6.1-2).[124] Phyllis places prime importance on the shore by beginning her letter with the word *litora*. Unlike Phyllis and Oenone who lament their position on the shore, it is Jason who is situated on the beach. Ovid

[124] Leigh 1997: 606-607 analyzes the first two lines of *Heroides* 6, and he argues that these lines do more than establish the exact mythological timing of the letter. In particular, based on the lines' similarities to Catullus 64.171-2 and *Aeneid* 2.657-8, Leigh argues that 1-2 subtly suggest the fate of Jason and Medea that is explicit at the end of the poem.

emphasizes the women writers' position on the shore in other poems in the *Heroides.* Here the shore serves to highlight the spatial distance between Hypsipyle and Jason since the beach Jason is on is far away from Lemnos. Nevertheless, like many of the female speakers of the *Heroides*, including Phyllis and Oenone, Hypsipyle finds that her lover has left her by ship. It is clear from the beginning lines that she is unhappy that she has not heard from Jason himself. Her use of the passive verb "you are said" (*diceris*) indicates that Hypsipyle has learned of Jason's fate from someone other than him.[125] Not only are they physically separated from one another, but even their communication has broken down. Jason has not even bothered to write.

Hypsipyle remembers the length of Jason's stay in Lemnos in natural terms. According to Hypsipyle, Jason stayed with her for two years: *urbe virum vidua tectoque animoque recepi. / hic tibi bisque aestas bisque cucurrit hiems*, "I received you, a man, in my widowed city and in my house and in my mind. Here the summer and winter twice passed" (55-56).[126] The word *hiems* in Ovid's *Heroides* tends to have negative erotic connotations, so it is notable that Hypsipyle uses it here in remembering Jason's stay with her.[127] Not only does Hypsipyle welcome Jason into her city and home (*urbe tectoque*), but also she accepts him into her mind (*animoque*). Hypsipyle also figures the time that Jason spent with her not in years, but rather by the number of summers and winters that have passed. Jason has spent two summers and two winters before leaving, and Hypsipyle suggests that this extended

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[125] Knox 1995: 171.

[126] Jacobson 1974: 96 discusses Ovid's deliberate lengthening of Jason's stay. Other sources have Jason staying for only a few days, although Statius has Jason stay for about a year. No other extant source reports that Jason stayed as long as he does in Ovid's account.

[127] See Bate 2004 for a discussion of elegiac and erotic storms in Ovid's *Heroides*, *Metamorphoses*, and *Tristia*. Bate 2004: 304 argues, "the description of stormy weather moves beyond its immediate significance within the narrative to express on the symbolic plane the troubled psychological states of the characters." Here, then, when Hypsipyle remembers Jason's stay in these terms, she reveals her trauma and hurt at him leaving.

period of time is a reason for his unwillingness to leave her and Lemnos: *tertia messis erat, cum tu dare vela coactus* / *implesti lacrimis talia verba suis:* / *'abstrahor, Hypsipyle',* "It was the third harvest when, forced to set sail, you filled such words with your tears: 'I am dragged off, Hypsipyle'" (57-59). Jason did not leave Lemnos of his own accord in Hypsipyle's opinion. She reports that he was forced to leave (*coactus*), and even Jason says that he is dragged off (*abstrahor*). Jason's tears are another sign of his reluctance to leave Hypsipyle behind. Finally, despite his hesitation, Jason boards the Argo and sails away: *ultimus e sociis sacram conscendis in Argo*, "Last of your comrades you embark upon the sacred Argos" (65). Hypsipyle again emphasizes Jason's unwillingness to leave by highlighting the fact that he was the last of his crew to board (*ultimus e sociis*).

After Jason's departure on the Argo, Hypsipyle pays close attention to the sea in the hope that she will see him return. In her recollection of Jason leaving, Hypsipyle diminishes his agency in sailing away. She instead emphasizes the role of the winds and ships, and so the sea by extension: *illa volat; vento concava vela tument*, "She flies; The curved sails billow in the wind" (66). The Argo quickly sets sail after Jason embarks upon it, and it is the wind which carries the ship away. A natural force thus separates Hypsipyle and Jason. Hypsipyle then fixates on the sea and the land after this description of the Argo sailing away: *caerula propulsae subducitur unda carinae; / terra tibi, nobis aspiciuntur aquae*, "The blue-green wave is drawn up from under the driven-forward ship: the land is looked upon by you, the waters are looked upon by me" (67-68). Hypsipyle emphasizes the sea here as the cause of Jason's departure just as she did with the wind before. The departure of the Argo churns up the sea as it moves over it (67); similarly, Hypsipyle's emotions are stirred as she watches Jason leave. Furthermore, Ovid emphasizes a gendered difference between land and sea

where men travel over the sea and women are relegated to the shore: Jason, while sailing on the sea, looks to the land but Hypsipyle, while on the shore, looks to the sea (68). These places are representative of the hopes of both characters. Jason looks to the land because his duty to find the Golden Fleece drives him while Hypsipyle looks to the sea both because it is the natural force which allows her lover to depart but also because it could allow him to return. I suggest that this line is representative of the relationship between Hypsipyle and Jason since she is focused on continuing their relationship while he is more concerned with completing his mission of retrieving the Golden Fleece. And although this line is representative of the concerns of these characters, I further suggest that it is representative of many of the relationships that Ovid explores in the *Heroides*. As we have seen in the epistles of Phyllis and Oenone, the female speakers of the *Heroides* often look to the sea in the hope that their lover will return. Yet, in most cases, the lover does not return, and so the sea functions as a means of exploring the psychological dimensions of their abandonment.

Like Phyllis and Oenone, Hypsipyle articulates her grief about being abandoned using imagery of the sea. Up until this point she has described the sea as a force that helped Jason to leave her. This physical separation also comes with great emotional trauma and sadness, which she highlights when she describes her actions immediately after Jason sails away (69-72):

> in latus omne patens turris circumspicit undas;
> huc feror, et lacrimis osque sinusque madent.
> per lacrimas specto, cupidaeque faventia menti
> longius assueto lumina nostra vident
>
> A tower lying open on every side looks upon the waves;
> I am carried to this place, and my face and breasts are soaked with tears.
> I look through tears, and my eyes favoring a desirous mind
> see farther than they are accustomed.

Hypsipyle rushes to a place where she is able to survey the sea more clearly. This tower (*turris*) looks out the sea, and so Hypsipyle finds herself being drawn there. The use of the passive verb here (*feror*) is particularly striking, since it appears to indicate that Hypsipyle has lost agency over her own body. Grief caused by Jason's departure has overwhelmed Hypsipyle. Indeed, she references her tears twice in the span of two lines. She first remarks that her face and breasts are soaked with her tears (*lacrimis osque sinusque madent*) and then that she must look through her tears (*per lacrimas specto*). Interestingly, Hypsipyle's sorrow has sharpened her ability to see as she looks out over the sea. Hypsipyle's attempt to see Jason leaving by ship recalls Phyllis' attempt to see Demophöon from the shore and Oenone's attempt to see Paris from her mountain. In all of these cases the women are separated from their lovers by the sea. They attempt to minimize the physical distance between them by getting as close to the water as possible, but importantly they are unable to be physically reunited. Ultimately the women of *Heroides* 2, 5, and 6 look to the sea in the hope that their lover will return. Of course, this does not happen for any of these women, and so sea imagery serves as a manifestation of their emotional grief.

Water Imagery and Loneliness in *Heroides* 10

Perhaps it is in *Heroides* 10 where Ovid most fully develops the erotic ecology and the association between the trauma of abandonment and imagery of the sea.[128] The fullness of this connection is perhaps due to the narrative qualities of the Ariadne story: she is known for being abandoned by Theseus on the shore of Dia. It is possible that Ovid is building on

[128] Jacobson 1974: 220 has rightly noticed Ovid's interest in highlighting Ariadne's setting in this poem. As he asserts, "Ovid, it is perfectly obvious, is heavily interested . . . in setting the scene, creating an environment and establishing thereby a mood: spaciousness, desolation, solitude. . . Ovid does not miss the possible implications of the setting and its poetic and psychological potential."

what he has already explored in previous epistles like 2, 5, and 6, where *Heroides* 10 represents the culmination of the expression of the connection between sea imagery and grief. This epistle tells the story of Ariadne and Theseus when Ariadne has just discovered that Theseus has left her alone on a deserted island. In the opening lines of the letter, Ariadne sets her scene: *quae legis, ex illo, Theseu, tibi litore mitto,* / *unde tuam sine me vela tulere ratem*, "The letter which you read, Theseus, I send to you from that shore, from which sails carried your ship without me" (*Ep.* 10.3-4). Ariadne remains alone on the shore although Theseus has sailed away. Ariadne minimizes Theseus' role in leaving, as the women do in the letters explored above, by attributing the departure to Theseus' sails rather than to himself. Ariadne emphasizes her separation from Theseus and exclaims that the ship left without her (*sine me*, 4). While Theseus leaves by sea, Ariadne remains physically separated from him on the shore.

Ariadne passes into a state of confused grief as she grows more aware of her abandonment. She recalls how she searched the island in a desperate attempt to find Theseus. Panicked, she desperately roams the shores (17-20):

> luna fuit; specto, si quid nisi litora cernam.
> quod videant oculi, nil nisi litus habent.
> nunc huc, nunc illuc, et utroque sine ordine, curro;
> alta puellares tardat harena pedes.
>
> The moon was there; I look, if I may see something except the shores.
> That which the eyes could see was nothing except what the shores hold.
> Now to here, now to there, to each of the two places aimlessly, I run;
> The deep sand slows my girlish feet.

Ariadne's panicked action recalls Phyllis' description of her wandering in *Heroides* 2.121-128. Similar to Phyllis, Ariadne tries to see anything possible, though she is hindered by the dark where Phyllis is not. Unfortunately, Ariadne is only able to see the shore, which sends

her into an erratic frenzy. Her running pattern is representative of her mental state: frantic and unsettled (*sine ordine*, 19).[129]And yet, she is firmly located on land despite Theseus' departure from her. Despite her searching she is unable to enter the sea to find Theseus, and the sands even slow her search. Again, nature working against Ariadne recalls how Phyllis remembers the water holding her back (*me retinentibus undis*, 2.127). There is an important difference though, since Ariadne remains stuck on the beach while Phyllis transgresses the boundary of the shore to enter the water.

Ariadne's location not only causes her to remain on the shore, but it even reflects her sorrow. Still unsure that she has actually been left behind, Ariadne continues her search for Theseus. Calling out his name, she hopes to find him more quickly. The natural landscape around her helps to relay her message, but it is ultimately in vain (21-24):

> interea toto clamanti litore 'Theseu!'
> reddebant nomen concava saxa tuum,
> et quotiens ego te, totiens locus ipse vocabat:
> ipse locus miserae ferre volebat opem.
>
> Meanwhile as the whole shore shouts 'Theseus!'
> the hollow rocks were echoing your name,
> and however often I was calling you, so often the place itself was calling you:
> the place itself was wishing to bring help to miserable me.

Ariadne highlights both her grief and the importance of her location in these lines. She is the one who is calling out Theseus' name, but she narrates as if it is the shore that is doing so (*toto clamanti litore*, 21). Even the rocks echo his name as if an ally in Ariadne's attempt to find her lover (*reddebant nomen concava saxa tuum*, 22). Ariadne's use of *saxa* ("rocks")

[129] Ariadne's mental state here is perhaps a foreshadowing of her encounter with Bacchus. This encounter, which is notably missing from Ovid's narrative, is perhaps alluded to in line 48. Ariadne was well-known as the wife of Bacchus as far back as Euripides who refers to her as Διονύσου δάμαρ ("the wife of Dionysus) at *Hippolytos* 339. On the absence of Bacchus in *Heroides* 10 see, for example, Verducci 1985: 252 and Jacobson 1974: 226-227.

here is significant, especially considering that this feature of the landscape appears in other letters as a site where the women of the *Heroides* weep. In particular, this use recalls Oenone's troubled departure back to her pastoral landscape after seeing Helen with Paris: *illuc has lacrimas in mea saxa tuli*, "From there I brought these tears to my rocks" (5.74). Despite Ariadne believing that the rocks are her allies, the echo of Theseus' name also suggests that Ariadne is absolutely alone with only her surroundings to help her (*ferre volebat opem*, 24).[130] And according to Ariadne they do help by repeating her calls to Theseus over and over. The repeated use of *locus ipse* ("the place itself") continues to suggest Ariadne's obsession with the place she has been left. Indeed, her location offers as much assistance as possible, but Ariadne soon discovers that all the help is in vain.

Ariadne is plunged into ice-cold shock after she climbs to a lookout and realizes the gravity of her abandonment. Like many of the other women in the *Heroides*, Ariadne leaves the shore to climb a hill that overlooks the water. She describes the mountain as barren and hollow, yet it allows an appropriate vantage point from which to continue her search for Theseus (25-32):

> mons fuit: apparent frutices in vertice rari;
> hinc scopulus raucis pendet adesus aquis.
> ascendo (vires animus dabat) atque ita late
> aequora prospectu metior alta meo.
> inde ego (nam ventis quoque sum crudelibus usa)
> vidi praecipiti carbasa tenta Noto.
> ut vidi indignam quae me vidisse putarem,
> frigidior glacie semianimisque fui.
>
> There was a mountain: scattered shrubs are visible on its peak;
> from here a cliff hangs gnawed at by hollow-sounding waves.
> I climb it (my spirit was giving me strength) and thus broadly
> I measure the deep waters with my gaze.
> From there (for I also experienced cruel winds)

[130] Jacobson 1974: 222 suggests that Ariadne's belief that the island is attempting to help her exemplifies her self-deceit. The island's echo is not meant to help her find Theseus, but it is a result of its emptiness instead.

I saw your sails stretched from the rapid South wind.
As I saw the things which I thought I was unworthy to have seen,
I was colder than ice and half-alive.

Ariadne's description of the mountain suggests just how deserted the island really is. The shrubs on the mountain's peak are sparse (*frutices rari*) signaling a dearth of vegetation that suggests Ariadne's utter loneliness and perhaps even declining support from the pastoral landscape which just before was allied in Ariadne's attempt to locate Theseus. Similarly, she describes a crag on the mountain that has been worn away by the waves of the oceans. After gathering the courage, Ariadne climbs this mountain in order to survey her position more extensively than she could on the shore.[131] Her language here is pointed. Ariadne says that she measures the waters (*metior*), alluding to the physical distance between Theseus and herself in this moment.[132] And she can only measure as far as she can, as she explains with her use of *prospectu meo* ("with my gaze").[133] Furthermore, Ariadne describes the water as deep (*aequora alta*) thus suggesting that she would be unable to cross into it even if she were to see Theseus. The sea is not only the only natural element that figures as a representation of the distance between Theseus and Ariadne. She also places blame on the winds which allow Theseus to make his escape on ship. From on top of the mountain Ariadne experiences

[131] Compare Ariadne at Catullus 64.126-28: *ac tum praeruptos tristem conscendere montes* / *unde aciem in pelagi vastos protenderet aestus,* / *tum tremuli salis adversas procurrere in undas*, "And then, sorrowful, she climbed steep mountains from which she would stretch her sight into the boundless swells of the sea, then she ran forth into the hostile waves of the shaking sea." In this Catullus passage, just as in the Ovidian passage above, Ariadne's emotional state is emphasized. She is sorrowful (*tristem*) as she climbs the mountains in an attempt to see Theseus. Both authors highlight the imagery of the sea, implicitly comparing how boundless the sea is with the physical distance between Ariadne and Theseus. It seems that Ovid draws upon the Catullus passage here for his characterization of Ariadne. In Catullus Ariadne is able to move freely into the water, transcending the boundary of the shore, in order to chase after Theseus. Still, the waters are described by Catullus as hostile (*adversos*), suggesting that Ariadne should have remained on the shore.

[132] See Jacobson 1974: 219 on this point. According to Jacobson the boundlessness of the sea is contrasted with Ariadne's use of the verb *metior*. As he asserts, the difference between the sea and Ariadne's vision exemplifies the futility of Ariadne's attempts to see Theseus.

[133] Bolton 2009: 284 argues that Ariadne climbs this mountain in order to be become physically closer to Theseus. Ariadne is, of course, unsuccessful at reuniting with him.

the same winds which carry Theseus away (*ventis quoque sum crudelibus usa*). The winds are cruel (*crudelibus*) and her description of the South wind as rapid (*praecipiti*) hints at the intense speed of these winds.[134] At the end of this section which describes the winds and the sea, Ariadne establishes her emotional state. Overwhelmed and shocked at the prospect of being left behind, Ariadne describes her intense sorrow in natural terms. She is colder than ice (*frigidior glacie*) and sad to the point of being only half-alive (*semianimis*).

Ariadne remains on the shore looking out to sea, and she understands the reality of her abandonment only when she is unable to see Theseus' sails. She then slips further into a state of anxious fear. In an even more desperate attempt to see Theseus, Ariadne wanders the shore and compares herself to a Bacchant: *aut ego diffusis erravi sola capillis,* / *qualis ab Ogygio concita Baccha deo*, "Either I wandered alone with my hair flowing in different directions, like a Bacchant stirred up by the Theban god" (47-48).[135] The wandering Ariadne describes here recalls how she ran along the shore when she first realized that Theseus was gone. Now she admits to wandering alone (*sola*), which is suggestive of her realization that Theseus will not return for her. Her disheveled hair (*diffusis capillis*) reflects her frenzied emotional state. When Ariadne was not rushing along the shore, she would sit and stare out at the sea: *aut mare prospiciens in saxo frigida sedi,* / *quamque lapis sedes, tam lapis ipsa fui*, "Or, looking out at the sea, I sat frozen on a rock, and as much as the rock was a seat, so I

[134] See also Knox 1995: 239 who describes *praecipiti Noto* as "a stock poetic term for the winds, but in this context carries a suggestion of the haste of Theseus' departure."
[135] Verducci 1985: 250-251 suggests the whole of *Heroides* 10 is meant to parody the presentation of Ariadne in Catullus 64. In Catullus 64 Ariadne is primarily concerned with Theseus, but Verducci suggests that in *Heroides* 10.47-50 Ovid's Ariadne is more concerned with her own situation than with Theseus. Catullus 64.60-70 describes Ariadne as a marble Bacchant, and the similar wording used by Ovid suggests that his representation of Ariadne here is based on this passage. However, according to Verducci, these lines by Ovid demonstrate comic excess. Similarly, Verducci suggests that Ovid's use of *Ogygio concita Baccha deo* is meant to parody the neoteric trend of obscure allusion, since Bacchus is infrequently referred to as *Ogygius deus* in extant Latin literature.

myself was a rock," (49-50).[136] By looking out at the sea Ariadne realizes the futility of her hope that Theseus will return. The water here is a symbol of Ariadne's abandonment, and Ariadne realizes the extent of her abandonment as she looks out toward the sea. While she stares, she describes herself as cold and sitting on a rock. This chill that Ariadne feels could be a result of her being alone on an island, but I suggest that it is also representative of her fear of being abandoned. Just as she described herself as "colder than ice" (*frigidior glacie*, 32), she remains chilled at the realization that Theseus no longer cares for her. Furthermore, in a sort of quasi-metamorphosis, she compares herself to the very rock she sits on. A rock which is unfeeling and cold represents the numbness that Ariadne feels after being left behind. The repetition of *lapis* twice in the same line, following a line that includes the synonym *saxum,* emphasizes the unemotional shock that Ariadne feels at the first realization of the gravity of her situation. By describing herself as a rock, Ariadne distinguishes herself from other heroines who tend to vacillate between intense sorrow and rage. In particular, Phyllis vows to harm herself and blame Demophöon, while Oenone and Hypsipyle threaten violence against Helen and Medea respectively. Ariadne is completely alone, surrounded only by what the deserted island has to offer, and her reaction to being abandoned manifests as numbness.

Ariadne's awareness of her abandonment develops as she describes the deserted island where she remains. I suggest that the state of the island is a reflection of Ariadne's trauma of being deserted. The natural environment that surrounds Ariadne acts like an extension of her emotional state and is representative of her shock and grief at being left

[136] Compare Ariadne looking out to the sea at Catullus 64.62: *prospicit et magnis curarum fluctuat undis*, "She looks forth and she swells with great waves of love pangs." Murgatroyd 1995: 19 notes the mixing of sea imagery, love, and anxiety in this passage, and he emphasizes the importance of Ariadne on the shore looking out to sea Theseus who has sailed away on the sea.

behind. The island is devoid of human or animal life, which reinforces Ariadne's utter loneliness and feelings of abandonment (59-62):

> quid faciam? quo sola ferar? vacat insula cultu.
> non hominum video, non ego facta boum.
> omne latus terrae cingit mare; navita nusquam,
> nulla per ambiguas puppis itura vias.
>
> What should I do? To where should I be carried alone? The island lacks refinement.
> I do not see works of men; I do not see works of oxen.
> The sea surrounds each side of the land; nowhere is there a sailor,
> there is no ship about to come through uncertain ways.

Ariadne ponders her actions and wonders where she should go. The passive verb here (*ferar*) recalls *Heroides* 6.70 where Hypsipyle describes herself as being carried to the tower from which she looks out. In that instance, I suggested that the use *feror* indicated that Hypsipyle was so overcome with sorrow that she had lost control of her body. Here, the use of *ferar* functions similarly, indicating Ariadne's emotional turmoil has caused her to lose control of herself. The island that Ariadne describes is devoid of all culture (*vacat insula cultu*).[137] She goes on to clarify that the island lacks not only the works of men, but also even those of oxen.[138] Ariadne is utterly alone as exemplified by the lack of living creatures on the island. Ariadne further punctuates her isolation when she describes how the island is surrounded only by water. So far in the epistle, water has represented the physical distance between

[137] Lindheim 2005: 110 sees Ariadne's focus on the emptiness of the island as a reflection of her constructed identity as an entirely helpless woman. Lindheim suggests that Ariadne emphasizes her helplessness and loneliness for dramatic effect since later in the poem Ariadne seems to contradict herself by hinting that there may be other humans on the island after all.

[138] Compare Homer's description of Goat Island at *Odyssey* 9.116-124. Goat island, like the island Ariadne describes, lacks humankind, but it is inhabited instead by goats: ἐν δ' αἶγες ἀπειρέσαι γεγάασιν / ἄγριαι· οὐ μὲν γὰρ πάτος ἀνθρώπων ἀπερύκει / οὐδέ μιν εἰσοιχνεῦσι κυνηγέται . . . οὔτ' ἄρα ποίμνησιν καταίσχεται οὔτ' ἀρότοισιν, / ἀλλ' ἥ γ' ἄσπαρτος καὶ ἀνήροτος ἤματα πάντα / ἀνδρῶν χηρεύει, βόσκει δέ τε μηκάδας αἶγας, "And countless wild goats live on [the island]; for the beaten path of men does not keep them away, and hunters do not enter it . . . and it is not occupied by flocks or fields, but it has been untilled and unplowed for all days, and it lacks people, but it feeds bleating goats" (*Od.* 9.117-124). Goat Island in the *Odyssey* lacks human activity, but it is still a place for wildlife to flourish. This is not the case with the island that Ariadne describes, which appears to not have a trace of human or animal activity.

lovers as well as Ariadne's hope that Theseus would return to her. Here, it emphasizes both how deserted the island is and how lonely Ariadne has become. Ariadne is unable to travel over the sea as Theseus can, and so the fact that the island is completely surrounded by water reveals both how trapped Ariadne is and acts as an explicit reminder of her abandonment. Indeed, she further highlights this fact when she asserts that no one sailor or ship is going to come close.

Throughout the epistle Ariadne highlights the cruelty of the winds and how their harsh powers have played a major role in her abandonment. Winds often act in tandem with the sea to allow lovers in the *Heroides* to leave, and the women of the *Heroides* often focus on the negative effects of winds. Ariadne emphasizes the connection between the winds and her tears as her letter continues: *vos quoque crudeles, venti, nimiumque parati* / *flaminaque in lacrimas officiosa meas*, "You also, winds, cruel and too prepared and the blasts eager for my tears" (113-114). Ariadne explicitly links her tears with the winds in this passage. Indeed, the winds are described as cruel (*crudeles*) and are personified as wishing to bring about Ariadne's tears (*in lacrimas officiosa meas*). The winds acted as a means for Theseus to escape and thus became the cause of Ariadne's lament. Ariadne makes this even more explicit when she asserts that the winds were one of three forces that conspired against her: *in me iurarunt somnus ventusque fidesque*, "Sleep, wind, and trust have conspired against me" (117).

Ariadne's despair is well-illustrated when she pleads with Theseus to imagine her clinging to a cliff surrounded by water. She seems to have abandoned the notion that Theseus will come back when she asks him to imagine her predicament rather than actually see it: *nunc quoque non oculis, sed, qua potes, aspice mente* / *haerentem scopulo, quem vaga pulsat*

aqua, "Now look also upon me not with your eyes, but with what you are able, with your mind, clinging to a cliff, which the wandering water strikes" (135-136). Verducci suggests that these lines and those that follow are "transparently absurd."[139] I think that Verducci has missed the point here. Of course, we are not to imagine Ariadne writing while hanging from a cliff, though it is possible that Ariadne did cling to a cliff while searching for Theseus as described earlier in the epistle (19-32). Perhaps this is even the same cliff (*scopulus*) which Ariadne said had been eaten away by waves (26). Rather than being absurd, these lines demonstrate the extent of Ariadne's frenzied emotional state. The participial verb used to describe Ariadne's action here (*haerentem*) exemplifies her precarious position on the island.[140] Clinging to the cliff, Ariadne hopes to find the strength to not fall into the sea below.[141] On the other hand, Ariadne's clinging demonstrates how close she is to transcending unwittingly the liminal space between land and sea. And this entry into the sea is representative further of Ariadne's complete and imminent emotional breakdown. Indeed, the destructive force of the water is emphasized by Ariadne's use of the verb "strike" (*pulsat*). The recollection of her search for Theseus brings Ariadne to describe her current physical and emotional state. She is in a state of mourning: *aspice demissos lugentis more*

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[139] Verducci 1985: 252-253. First, Verducci questions how Ariadne would be able to write if she is hanging from a cliff; secondly, the sea spray from the pounding water should be what soaks her tunic instead of her tears; and how will Theseus receive the letter if there is no one else on the island except Ariadne? According to Verducci this section of text should not be taken as truth, and instead it is meant to be read as parody which presents "the artificed self-portrait of an Ariadne who grieves for herself."

[140] Jacobson 1974: 222 argues that the participle is associated with "a sense of anxiety and danger."

[141] Compare Odysseus in *Odyssey* 5.428-435: ἀμφοτέρῃσι δὲ χερσὶν ἐπεσσύμενος λάβε πέτρης, / τῆς ἔχετο στενάχων, ἦος μέγα κῦμα παρῆλθε . . . ὡς δ' ὅτε πουλύποδος θαλάμης ἐξελκομένοιο / πρὸς κοτυληδονόφιν πυκιναὶ λάιγγες ἔχονται, / ὥς τοῦ πρὸς πέτρῃσι θρασειάων ἀπὸ χειρῶν / ῥινοὶ ἀπέδρυφθεν, "Hurrying he grabbed the rock with both hands, and groaning he held on to it, until a great wave approached . . . Like when thick pebbles cling to the tentacles of an octopus being dragged from its cave, so his skin was torn off from his bold hands by the rocks." Unlike Ariadne, Odysseus does get dragged into the sea by waves. Still, it is clear from Ovid's account that Ariadne fears the water that buffets the rocks in the same way that Odysseus does. In the *Odyssey* passage above, Odysseus has left Kalypso's island, abandoning her in the same way the men of the *Heroides* abandon the woman they once loved. Odysseus must cling to a cliff after Poseidon destroys his raft while sailing away from Kalypso, but Ariadne clings to a cliff in an attempt to see Theseus.

capillos / *et tunicas lacrimis sicut ab imbre gravis*, "Look upon my hair let down in the manner of a mourner and my tunic heavy with tears just as if by rain" (137-138). Ariadne's description of herself again recalls her frenzied state earlier in the poem. In particular, the description of her hair recalls how she compared herself to a Bacchant wandering the shores of the island (47). Now her disheveled hair recalls the typical torn hair of a mourner thereby connecting her physical state with her emotional despair. Ariadne has even cried so much that her tunic is soaked through. Throughout *Heroides* 10 Ariadne expresses her grief in terms of the natural environment that surrounds her. Ariadne wanders erratically across the shore in an attempt to locate Theseus before realizing that he will not return. Nature at first is an ally to her efforts, but soon the reality of the sparseness of the environment becomes clear. Ariadne focuses on natural elements, most importantly the sea and wind, to describe her feelings of loneliness and to express the trauma she feels at being abandoned.

Conclusion

The female speakers in *Heroides* 2, 5, 6, and 10 all use imagery of the sea to convey their grief at being abandoned. The corrupting influence of the sea had been explored long before Ovid wrote the *Heroides* by authors such as Plato and Cicero who suggest that a city located too close to the sea is at risk of its corruptive influence. Theocritus' *Idyll* 11 serves to demonstrate the precedent of the explicit connection between the sea and unrequited love, which Ovid explores more in depth in the *Heroides*. Theocritus' Polyphemus is confined to the shore as he sings about wishing to be united with his beloved, Galatea. The shore then functions as a liminal space between the land, where Polyphemus should be herding his flocks, and the realm of his beloved. In this poem the sea represents a physical barrier between lovers but also is representative of a Galatea's rejection of Polyphemus.

This association between unrequited love, imagery of the sea, and feelings of abandonment are extensively explored in Ovid's *Heroides*. In *Heroides* 2, 5, 6, and 10, women write to their former lovers who have left by sea. The sea then functions in these poems as a natural force that separates lovers and allows a man to abandon his beloved. Phyllis, Oenone, Hypsipyle, and Ariadne all focus on the sea, hoping that what facilitated their lovers' departures would return them as well. As each female speaker grows more aware of her abandonment, the sea becomes a place that is hostile to their love affairs. The women associate the sea with feelings of unrequited love and with the sorrow they feel at being left behind.

In Chapter One I suggested that Ovid's redefinition of *cultus* and *rusticitas* in the context of his love poetry scould be read as a subtle slight against Augustus' cultural program of mixing refinement with old-time values. Given the political implications of the use of water imagery in Plato's *Laws* and in Cicero's *De Re Publica*, I suggest that it is possible to read Ovid's use of water imagery to emphasize feelings of abandonment as a metaphor for declining morals in Rome despite Augustus' attempt at recuperating important Republican values.

CONCLUSION

This project has aimed to demonstrate that landscape and seascape descriptions in Ovid's *Heroides* are a through line from which to analyze the poems. Rather than being used for simple descriptive emphasis, I have suggested that the natural imagery in the *Heroides* is emotionally charged and both reflects and reinforces the emotional states of the women writers. The women of the *Heroides* use natural imagery in their poems to varying degrees, but many emphasize their emotional trauma of being abandoned using imagery of either the terrain or the seascape. Reading the poems intratextually is consistent with current trends of scholarship and demonstrates that the women express their grief in terms of the spaces that surround them.

In addition to focusing on the emotive quality of the natural environment, I have suggested a political reading of the *Heroides*. Political interpretations of Ovid's works are important, but they focus largely on literature besides the *Heroides*. One exception to this is Peter Davis' monograph on political readings of Ovid's elegies.[142] Through an analysis of *Heroides* 7, 9, and 13, Davis suggests that the *Heroides* can be read as anti-Augustan because the complaints of the female characters demonstrate the negative sacrifices of the quest for male glory. This thesis focuses on different letters of the *Heroides* than Davis does, thus building on his suggestion that they can be read as texts that challenge Augustus. The project argues that the women's interactions with the natural space that surrounds them reveals a veiled critique of Augustan Rome, which boasts new refinement and Republican values that are at odds with one another. In fact, the connection between contemporary politics and

[142] Davis 2006.

natural imagery has been explored in texts like Vergil's *Eclogues*.[143] A particularly interesting approach to the study of the *Eclogues* is William Dominik's geopolitical reading of Vergil's *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*.[144] Dominik argues that Vergil presents contemporary political issues by using natural imagery. Without directly using a geopolitical lens, this thesis project has suggested that Ovid also provides a political commentary on contemporary events in his use of landscape and seascape description in Ovid's *Heroides*. Further investigation of the natural imagery in the *Heroides* through a geopolitical lens would more clearly and thoroughly reveal the political implications of the texts.

Chapter One of this thesis analyzed *Heroides* 5 in relation to *Heroides* 16 and 17. Despite the consensus that the single epistles and double epistles of the *Heroides* are two separate works, this chapter suggests that these three poems are in dialogue with one another.[145] While Chapter Two treats imagery of the sea only in a few of the single epistles, a similar type of investigation might extend to the double epistles. In particular, it would be worthwhile to study the erotic ecology of *Heroides* 18 and 19, in which Leander writes to Hero and she responds. This pair of epistles is particularly interesting because Ovid continues to subvert conventions which he has already overturned by having Leander lament the way the sea separates him from Hero. Such an analysis could draw upon the treatment of *Heroides* 2, 5, 6, and 10 in Chapter Two, which focuses on the seascape as a natural location for feminine grief. Phyllis, Oenone, Hypsipyle, and Ariadne all see the ocean as a location

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[143] For a discussion of these contemporary events in the *Eclogues* see Snell 1953: 291. Snell suggests, "The world of pure feeling cannot escape the intrusion of contemporary events. . . Political matters are closely connected with mythical concepts; and here the combining and blending of myth and reality, which is so characteristic of the Arcadian temper, achieves a singularly impressive result."

[144] Dominik 2009.

[145] See Drinkwater 2003 who also discusses *Heroides* 5, 16, and 17 in relation to one another. Drinkwater is concerned most primarily with discussing epic and elegiac elements of these three lettrers and their Homeric intertexts.

that has been taken over by the male characters and used as a means to desert them. *Heroides* 18 and 19 could be seen as a special case in this instance, since Leander swims across the sea in order to see Hero. Furthermore, the seas often figure as a hostile force even to Leander (*Ep.* 18.29-36):

> rupe sedens aliqua specto tua litora tristis
> et, quo non possum corpore, mente feror.
> . . .
> ter grave temptavi carpere nudus iter.
> obstitit inceptis tumidum iuvenalibus aequor
> mersit et inversis ora natantis aquis.
>
> Sitting on some rock, I look out at your shores gloomily
> and, where I am not able with my body, I am carried with my mind.
> . . .
> three times while nude I attempted to take on the tough journey
> The swelling water hindered my youthful undertakings
> and it plunged the head of the one swimming with its upturned waters.

In this instance, Leander complains about the stormy waters of the sea. In the single *Heroides* these complaints are chiefly a woman's, but here in the double epistles Ovid describes a male character complaining that the sea separates him from the woman he loves. He sits on a rock staring at Hero's shores and longing to be with her in a way that recalls Ariadne in *Heroides* 10 (see Chapter Two).[146] It is a striking reversal to get a complaint from Leander that is gendered as female in the single epistles. The example cited above is but one instance of many in *Heroides* 18 where Leander refers to the sea. There are many times in *Heroides* 19 when Hero complains about the sea as well. For example, *aut mare prospiciens odioso concita vento* / *corripio verbis aequora paene tuis*, "Or looking out at the sea, I scold the waters roused by a hateful wind with words which are nearly yours" (*Ep.* 19.21-22). Here again the sea is the natural force that keeps Hero and Leander physically separate. Both

[146] At *Heroides* 10.49-50: *aut mare prospiciens in saxo frigida sedi,* / *quamque lapis sedes, tam lapis ipsa fui*, "Or, looking out at the sea, I sat frozen on a rock, and as much as the rock was a seat, so I myself was a rock."

Leander and Hero's complaints about the sea is ironic as well. The sea is a natural means for them to connect with one another, but it is also the unrelenting force that eventually drowns Leander and thus destroys their love affair.[147]

While Chapter One focused on landscape descriptions more generally in *Heroides* 5, Chapter Two focused specifically on imagery of the sea. Furthermore, the women of the *Heroides* highlight natural forces besides water that are hostile to them. In particular, they pay close attention to the ways the wind either facilitate a man's departure or hinder his return. Phyllis often refers to the wind when she expresses her hope that Demophoön will return to her. She wishes for the winds to be a source of stability but realizes that they are as fickle as Demophoön is. In *Heroides* 10 Ariadne often complains about the winds in conjunction with the sea, and she suggests that it is the combination of sea and wind that took Theseus away from her. A more complete investigation of nature, broadly defined, in the *Heroides* would be interesting to consider. A fuller study of this type could reveal more nuanced ways of reading feminine grief in the *Heroides*.

Overall, this project has shown that Ovid's use of natural imagery in the *Heroides* punctuates the emotional trauma of the mythological women he writes about. The use of these landscape and seascape descriptions can also be read as a critique of the contemporary Augustan regime at Rome. Using both intertextual and intratextual models, both chapters have revealed the ways that Ovid has inserted himself into a rich literary tradition. I suggest also that close attention to the erotic ecology in Ovid's *Heroides* reveals the way the women of the *Heroides* saturate their surroundings with emotion. This lens of erotic ecology can be

[147] On the story of Hero and Leander, particularly as it is represented in Musaeus, see Norwood 1950.

used as an analytical framework not only of the *Heroides*, but also of other works of Ovid such as the *Metamorphoses* and of other authors as well.

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