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CHAPTER 15

THE MYTHICAL LANDSCAPERS OF AUGUSTAN ROME

LISSA CROFTON-SLEIGH

1. *Introduction*

The term landscape, according to Denis Cosgrove, denotes 'the external world mediated through subjective human experience in a way that neither region nor area immediately suggest. Landscape is a construction, a composition of the world we see; in other words it is a way of seeing the world'. Cosgrove argues that, as a social and cultural product, this type of seeing is restrictive, diminishing alternative modes of experiencing our relations with nature.[1] And yet this restrictive nature of landscape and viewing landscape can generate meaning unique to a specific group of people, i.e., a shared remembrance or memory As Susan Alcock observes, people derive identity out of this shared memory, which can often be tied to the landscape. Collective identity is constituted in part from a 'community's longitudinal relationship to a particular locale...Stability in a landscape might enable, if not ensure, the maintenance of memories'.[2] The Romans in particular saw landscape in this way: the terrain around them was infused not only with memory but also with history. They believed that the gods played a significant role in their history and in the transformation of the landscape. The shaping of the Romans' natural surroundings by the gods enables them to be called 'landscape agents'.[3]

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[1] Cosgrove 1984, 13 (cited), 269-270.

[2] Alcock 2002, 1, 30, 31 (cited here).

[3] Conan 2003b, 16. Cf. also Gowing 2005, 132-159, Sumi 2009, Spencer 2010, and Rosati 2014, 74-75 on the relationship among landscape, monuments, and Roman memory and identity.

Hercules is introduced as such an agent for the Romans and their landscape, as he was for certain regions of Greece. In one such example, Pausanias narrates a Theban myth that describes how the hero diverted the river Cephisus, so that it passed under a mountain and into the sea.[4] Hercules' association with rivers and mountains is heightened in Virgil's *Aeneid*. In *Aeneid* 8 Virgil develops and historicizes the myth surrounding Hercules' return with the cattle of Geryon. The laboring hero passes through Italy and more specifically, Pallanteum, or proto-Rome, on his way to Greece, and rids the land of the sly monster Cacus during his stay there. Virgil structures Hercules' elimination of his opponent and transformation of the landscape within an *aetion* of Hercules' cult, narrated by Evander, king of the Arcadians, who happens to be performing the established cult rites at Hercules' own *Ara Maxima* (*Aen.* 8.271-272) when Aeneas arrives in search of a military ally.[5]

Hercules' act near Pallanteum enables the Arcadians, and eventually the Romans, to inhabit and flourish in the land (*Aen.* 8.51-54). Virgil's account begins and is centered on a depiction of the landscape, emphasizing the features of Cacus' cavernous dwelling in the mountain and its subsequent destruction by Hercules, which demonstrates physically how nature becomes 'civilized' and inhabitable. Virgil's concentration on Cacus, the proto-Roman landscape, and its transformation is an innovation in the myth of Hercules and Cacus, distinguishing it from other contemporary accounts, such as Livy (*Ab Urbe Condita* 1.7),

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[4] 9.38.6-8; see also 2.37.4. Stories of Hercules as hydraulic manipulator also exist in Diod. 4.18.4-6 and Strab. 10.2.19. His most famous water diversion is perhaps that which was associated with the cleaning of the Augeian stables (his fifth Labor). See Salowey 1994 and Stafford 2012, 10 (with additional bibliography).

[5] On Evander's role and history in the *Aeneid*, see Jenkyns 1998, 516, 549-550; and Papaioannou 2003.

Propertius (4.9.1-20), and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.39-1.41).[6] Each of these authors presents Cacus as a local herdsman and thief, fierce but not necessarily monstrous (and certainly not the son of a god), who steals the cattle from a sleeping Hercules and drags them backwards into his cave. Unlike Virgil, these accounts establish only a few basic details about the natural surroundings and do not dwell on the cave of Cacus or the transformation of the landscape.[7]

Virgil's emphasis on landscape cannot be justified as a mere etiological digression regarding the *Ara Maxima*, but in fact links the story with the themes underlying *Aeneid* 8, in particular the interrelationships between 'man, land, nature, nation, locality, identity, time, and history', which Jenkyns sees as one of Virgil's most profound and original achievements.[8] Often discussed are the 'creative anachronisms' in *Aeneid* 8, seen most vividly in Evander's tour of Pallanteum/Rome, which interweaves different temporal and spatial planes, combining Evander's narration with monuments of Virgil's day.[9] The account of Hercules and Cacus

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[6] Although it is possible that the story of Hercules and Cacus occurred in literature as early as Stesichorus (Wiseman 2004, 26-28), extant accounts do not appear until the late first century BCE. For a recent discussion of these narratives, see Holzberg 2012; cf. Nagore and Pérez 1981 and Fox 1996.

[7] In a chapter just preceding the story of Hercules and Cacus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.37), Dionysius presents an extensive description of the Italian land and its suitability for farming and grazing. Perhaps he considered it redundant to repeat these details within the Hercules and Cacus episode. We might also see the Italian landscape in *Ant. Rom.* 1.37 as an allusion to Virgil, not only to the *Georgics* but also foreshadowing the Cacus episode and highlighting landscape as a significant theme within the Hercules-Cacus tradition.

[8] Jenkyns 2013, 272.

[9] On anachronism and/or multi-temporality in Virgil, see Rossi 2004, 179, 186-187 (with additional bibliography); also Smith 2005, 90-95; Jenkyns 2013, 273-274; Seider 2013, 53-54; Hardie 2014, 4, 145; Jenkyns 2014, 24-26. Both Jenkyns 2013, 126, 274 and Hardie 2014, 203 argue that Virgil defamiliarizes familiar spaces in a way that is both charming and fascinating.

reflects similar multi-temporal and multi-spatial qualities. Virgil entwines three layers of time: the battle of Hercules and Cacus, Evander's narration of this myth to Aeneas, and Virgil's own interjections about Rome. The poet also weaves three layers of landscape: Cacus' cave in its original form, the cave as Evander and Aeneas see it, and contemporary Roman architectural forms. In doing so Virgil creates two kinds of landscape agent: Hercules represents the physical landscaper and Evander and Aeneas (through the eyes of Virgil) become what I call conceptual landscape agents. As they look upon the natural terrain, they shape and transform it into human landscapes of value by drawing upon their memories and personal experiences.[10]

Vision and memory play a significant role in the episode of Hercules and Cacus, but they are also driving forces behind Augustus' plan to refound and reshape Rome. The prominence of vision in Augustan texts such as the *Aeneid* can be seen as reflective of the visual imagery of the period.[11] Augustus sought to combine past glories and traditions (both visual and conceptual) with modern construction that would make Rome into a city of the future.[12] Virgil's narrative provides a worthy prototype for Augustus as retrofitter and civilizer of Rome, Hercules. The *Aeneid* also seemingly reshapes Rome through Virgil's decision to place Cacus on the Aventine, contrary to other accounts. In this chapter, I will focus on how Virgil structures landscape and its overarching connections to Augustan Rome. I will conclude by examining Ovid's close emulation of Virgil and summing up my findings.

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[10] Hardie 2014, 203, writes that Virgil's landscapes are 'charged with meaning and memory'. Smith 2005, 90-95, 148 claims that vision provides the connection between past and future in Virgil.

[11] Smith 2005, 3. See also Zanker 1988.

[12] Rea 2007, 5-6, 10 suggests that Virgil's layering of time and space works in conjunction with Augustus' plan for Rome. See also Favro 1996.

2. *The Virgilian Hercules and Cacus*

2.1 *Virgil's Characterization of Cacus*

Virgil introduces an important new facet to Cacus' character, reinventing him as the son of a god:[13] 'Vulcan was the father of this monster: vomiting from his mouth the black fires of that god, he, huge in mass, carried himself' (*huic monstro Volcanus erat pater: illius atros / ore uomens ignis magna se mole ferebat,* Virg. *Aen.* 8.198-199). The poet may have felt compelled to create an opponent suitable to fighting Hercules in an epic context, which he achieves in part by allusion to Homer's characterization of Polyphemus in *Odyssey* 9.[14] In *Aeneid* 3, Polyphemus' cave is described in terms very similar to those found in Virgil's depiction of Cacus' cavern: 'My forgetful comrades left me in the vast cave of the Cyclops, a huge house, dark within, filled with gore and bloody feasts' (*immemores socii uasto Cyclopis in antro / deseruere. domus sanie dapibusque cruentis, / intus opaca, ingens, Aen.* 3.617-619). It is a huge, bloody, vast cave, but most intriguingly, a 'house' (*domus,* 3.618). As we shall see, Cacus' cave is also called a *domus,* (*Aen.* 8.192, 253), which might strike the reader as surprisingly human. Polyphemus and Cacus are not mere monsters; as the sons of deities (Neptune and Vulcan, respectively), they each exhibit quasi-human characteristics, which exacerbate the brutality of

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[13] On this Virgilian innovation, see, e.g., Münzer 1911; Galinsky 1972, 142; George 1974, 50-51; Jacobson 1989, 101; Johnston 1996, 59-60; Jenkyns 2013, 280. Small 1982, 4ff refers to Etruscan legend, which refers to a 'beneficent seer' named Cacus. She also discusses the etymologies of Cacus and its false cognate κακός.

[14] See Galinsky 1972, 145; Jacobson 1989; and Squire 2009, 226, among others. Münzer 1911, 36 refers to the caves of both characters as fortresses, but stresses that Virgil has to outdo Homer in his description. His thorough discussion of the similarities and differences in Virgil's and Homer's treatment of these two characters eliminates the need for additional discussion here. But it should be noted that the loftiness (ὑψηλόν, *Od.*9.183) and largeness of Polyphemus' cave (*Od.* 9.219-24) find their place in Cacus' cave.

their gory deeds, killing (and eating) their own kind.[15] Virgil confirms the transgressive nature of Cacus with the description 'half-human' (*semihominis*, 8.194). Cacus' cave, reflecting the nature of its half-man, half-beast inhabitant, similarly vacillates between human and natural landscape.

2.2. *The* Domus Caci

Evander begins his narration by showing Aeneas what the former home of Cacus looks like now—scattered pieces of rock foreshadowing the defeat of Hercules' opponent.[16] Virgil, through the words of Evander, assumes the role of landscaper by projecting familiar contemporary structural features on the past, facilitating a closer connection to the mythical landscape for his Roman audience (*Aen.* 8.190-197):

> Now look first at this crag, vaulted by rocks,
> how rock masses have been scattered out at a distance,
> and how the house of the mountain stands abandoned,
> and how the cliffs were dragged down in immense ruin.
> Here was a cave, secluded in a deep recess,
> which the terrible figure of half-human Cacus used to occupy,
> unreached by the rays of the sun.
> The ground always used to be warm with fresh slaughter,
> and the yellowish faces of men, sadly rotting,
> were hanging nailed to the proud doors.
>
> *iam primum saxis suspensam hanc aspice rupem,*
> *disiectae procul ut moles desertaque montis*
> *stat domus et scopuli ingentem traxere ruinam.*
> *hic spelunca fuit uasto summota recessu,*
> *semihominis Caci facies quam dira tenebat*

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[15] Gransden 1976, 39: 'Virgil's Cacus represents primitive man at his most bestial'. He also acknowledges that Vulcan is considered an ambiguous deity, with powers for both good and evil, which could have generated the boundary-crossing nature of Cacus. Davies 2004, 34 agrees with Small 1982 that Cacus is portrayed as simultaneously good and evil, human and monster.

[16] Galinsky 1966, 31, 34: 'Rocks are lifted and fall down and thus symbolize, in books VIII and XII, the ascendancy of Aeneas and his mission as well as the downfall of the demonic characters Cacus and Turnus'.

> *solis inaccessam radiis; semperque recenti*
> *caede tepebat humus, foribusque adfixa superbis*
> *ora uirum tristi pendebant pallida tabo.*

Rupes, likely derived from *rumpo*, hints at Hercules' earlier action to create the current landscape: what was once a deep, recessed cave (*uasto summota recessu, Aen.* 8.193)[17] has now been transformed into an airy crag surrounded by strewn rock. But the crag still may have formed part of Cacus' cavern. The term *suspensam* indicates the presence of a roof, through which the sun cannot penetrate: the cave, like a house, admits no light from the top because it possesses a ceiling.[18] Yet this is no ordinary ceiling: *suspensam* is the ancient builder's technical term for vaulting, applied here to the natural cavern-roof.[19] Virgil's use of technical architectural vocabulary imposes a human frame on the natural structure. Rather than being comprised of a mere hole in a rock, Cacus' dwelling had a vaulted stone 'roof' or 'ceiling', similar to some of the concrete-vaulted structures in contemporary Rome, such as the Baths of Agrippa (completed

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[17] Both Eden and Fordyce *ad loc.* mention that the adjective *uasto* has a sense of desolation as well as size. Fordyce adds that the desolation indicated by *uasto* repels or appalls. See also Jenkyns 2013, 279. According to Buxton 1992, 9-15, this repelling characteristic is inherent in mythical mountains themselves, which are home to outsiders, frightening places of transformation, and meant to be viewed from afar.

[18] Of course Virgil may also be reiterating the dark, desolate nature of the cave. Virgil often employs *tectum* or *tecta*, 'covered/roofed', to refer to a house (Cf. *OLD tectum* s.v. 2); in this episode Virgil uses *detecta* (8.241) to describe Hercules' eventual uncovering of Cacus' lair.

[19] Fordyce *ad* 8.190. Though *suspendere* is not mainly an architectural term, *suspensam* at *Aen.* 8.190 is cited as an example of its technical architectural meaning (*OLD s.v. suspendere* 4b 'to build on arches, vaulting, or sim.') Cicero *Hort.* frag.76 = Non. 194.13 first uses *suspendere* in reference to hypocausts. Hypocausts have small vaulted or arched spaces, as Cacus' cave has here. See Fagan 1996, 57-58.

25 BCE) or the second-century House of the Griffins on the Palatine.[20] The inclusion here of the

term *domus* (8.192) similarly establishes a quasi-human, and indeed quasi-Roman context.

Virgil depicts other domestic architectural features besides the roof. Cacus' earthen floor

is a monstrous perversion of the floors of public baths and perhaps of some of the private floors

in Virgil's time,[21] which would have been heated by a hypocaust. Instead the ground here is

warmed by the blood of humans and/or animals that Cacus has killed. Scarth sees the blood as

representative of volcanic elements in the cave, particularly molten lava:

> The lair of Cacus is modeled on the deep, dark crater of a spatter cone, enclosed
> by an overhanging rampart of spatter, where the typical spluttering of erupting
> splatter seems to be echoed in the repetitions of s and p. Broken fragments are
> strewn in the air, like spatter scattered in the craters; and it reeks with fresh blood
> (8.195-196), which molten lava often resembles as it cools.[22]

Scarth also notes the former volcanic activity in the region of the Aventine, where this cave is

located. Virgil seemingly alludes to the natural proclivities of the land within the context of

Cacus' monstrosity. Cacus not only resides in one of the dominant natural features of the area,

but at times embodies that feature, vomiting forth the black fires of his father Vulcan.[23]

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[20] The Greeks were similarly concerned with the connection of past and present landscapes; the Pelasgian wall in
Athens, for example, and the stories surrounding it 'appeal to a deep past of early historical events, the narration of
which articulates current tensions, claims, and grievances in an historically grounded dimension' (McInerney 2014,
34).

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

[22] Scarth 2000, 601-2.

[23] Cf. Hardie 1986, 116. See also Sullivan 1972.

In addition to the vaulted roof and warm ground, Cacus' cave contains multiple doors (8.196-197). Surprisingly, Cacus has constructed actual doors behind the typical large boulder found at monsters' caves.[24] Because they are referred to as *foribus superbis,* scholars have linked these doors to two other sets of doors, one of which is found later in *Aeneid* 8—those of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, on which Augustus attached the gifts of the people: 'The man himself, seated on the snow-white threshold of shining Phoebus, examines the gifts of the nations and fixes them to the proud doors' (*ipse sedens niueo candentis limine Phoebi / dona recognoscit populorum aptatque superbis / postibus,* 8.720-722). Cacus' doors also recall the doors of Priam's palace in *Aeneid* 2: 'Those doorways, proud with barbaric gold and spoils, were brought low' (*barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi / procubuere*, 2.504-505). Cacus' quasi-human doors render him comparable to the most proud and powerful of all men, the leaders of countries, not simply by the existence of the doors but also by the tokens of achievement attached upon them. Yet Cacus' tokens are the 'rotting, yellowish faces of men' whom he has killed (*ora virum…pallida tabo,* 8.197), a perverse imitation of the gold and gifts upon the others' doors. The sight of Cacus' doors may evoke horror and disgust in a human observer, but for Cacus the doors and their accessories are a source of pride. Similar to Augustus and Priam, Cacus rules over the surrounding terrain and displays the evidence of his prowess over his enemies.[25]

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[24] Eden *ad* 8.225.

[25] The association between Cacus and Augustus is striking yet troublesome, perhaps demonstrating Cacus' human side but not discounting a possible monstrous side to the *princeps*. On the relationship between Augustus and Cacus, see, e.g., Lyne 1987, 27-35, Putnam 1988, 173; Morgan 1998: 178-179. Connections have also been drawn to the doors of Augustus' house, to which he affixed oak wreaths.

Once Cacus is caught, however, the thief damages his father Vulcan's defense mechanism in his haste to evade Hercules: 'He shut himself in, and having broken the chains, cast down the enormous rock, which was hanging there by means of iron and his father's skill, and fortified the doors which were given additional support by the barricade' (*sese inclusit ruptisque immane catenis / deiecit saxum, ferro quod et arte paterna / pendebat, fultosque emuniit obice postis, Aen.* 8.225-227).[26] Fordyce calls this mechanism the first use of the 'portcullis,' recognized primarily as the protector of medieval castles, but known in the Roman period as the *cataracta* and employed to defend cities.[27] Virgil applies a contemporary military defense tool to home protection, creating a kind of mythological etiology for it.

2.3. *Evander's Focalization*

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[26] Here we are reminded of the human side of the monster, as Cacus looks for help and protection to his father, Vulcan, god of metal craftsmanship, who has constructed an impressive defense mechanism by forging and arranging the chains so that they hold up the huge boulder. Vulcan's *ars paterna* is *ferrum*: he takes care of his son in the way he knows best, devising metal apparatus to protect Cacus and his *domus*. Vulcan's invention and its civilizing nature may have a precedent in the *Homeric Hymn* to Hephaestus, which lauds the god as the means by which humans developed from beasts living in caves to civilized men in homes. Yet Cacus' breaking of the chains alludes to his more uncivilized side and, according to Galinsky 1966, 35, has made the outcome of the combat rather definite.

[27] Fordyce *ad* 8.225. Livy (*AUC* 27.28.10-11) writes of the first truly historical appearance of the *cataracta* in his account of the Second Punic Wars. Hannibal approached the city of the Salapians in 208 BCE, but the city was protected by the heavy portcullis, which, as Livy describes, must be lifted by levers and pulleys pulled by various men. It was a remarkable and successful defense mechanism that would continue to be used, along with stone and/or concrete walls, to guard cities such as Pompeii throughout the Roman period.

Virgil positions Evander as a 'secondary narrator-focalizer',[28] who employs visual and verbal cues to prompt Aeneas and the reader that he was present during the battle of Hercules and Cacus and observed exactly how and where the landscape was transformed. In the first line of his story, he captures Aeneas' attention with the phrase *primum…aspice* (*Aen.* 8.190), which defines the exact battle landscape and also highlights the new visibility of the natural cavern feature.[29] As Evander and Aeneas view the cave, Evander's description, with its architectural terminology, shapes the natural terrain into landscape significant to the Romans.[30] Evander then reiterates that this battle by the Tiber has an audience of immigrant Arcadians: 'Then for the first time our people saw Cacus shaken up, with fear in his eyes' (*tum primum nostri Cacum uidere timentem / turbatumque oculis, Aen.* 8.222-223). Cacus unseen in his dark cave is perceived as a fearsome monster, but Cacus, as he views Hercules raging towards him, is observed by the Arcadians for the first time as fearful, less monstrous, and conquerable. The vision is in fact twofold, consisting of the vision of the Arcadians watching Cacus as the battle happens and the vision and memory of Evander resetting the scene for Aeneas. Once again we are reminded of Virgil's temporal and spatial layering.

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[28] de Jong 2014, 50.

[29] *Primum* accentuates the recent nature of the visibility: it is as if for the first time Evander and Aeneas actually see the crag that was once hidden deep within the mountain. Cf. George 1974, 59.

[30] de Jong's discussion (2014, 60-65) of 'spatial standpoint' can be applied to Evander's description of the cave and landscape, which occupies an 'actorial panoramic standpoint' (61), in which a secondary narrator offers a panoramic view of the scene around him. Yet the Roman allusions I discussed above can be called examples of 'embedded focalization' (de Jong 2014, 50-56), as Evander presents details (inserted by the primary narrator Virgil) which contain additional meaning for a Roman audience.

Later, as Hercules searches for his missing cattle, Evander's eyewitness account, drawing from memory, pinpoints how Hercules observes and navigates the landscape to determine his path to Cacus (*Aen.* 8.228-232, cited and discussed further below).[31] Evander's interjection 'Behold!' (*ecce,* 8.228) focuses attention on the exact motion and place in the landscape, compelling Aeneas (and the reader) to 'see' and imagine Hercules' frenzied search. Yet Evander's *ecce* also directs the viewer towards the heated emotions of Hercules (*furens…dentibus infrendens…fervidus ira,* 8.228-230). Hercules' rage likens him to Cacus and his fiery tendencies, problematizing associations between the hero and Aeneas or Augustus.[32] Yet his emotion, described so visually by Evander, precipitates the transformation of nature into a landscape of memory for Evander, and subsequently, Aeneas and the Romans.

2.4. *Hercules as Proto-Roman Landscaper*

Hercules is introduced into the episode as he travels triumphantly with the recently acquired cattle of Geryon (*Aen.* 8.201-204):

> For Hercules, the greatest avenger, appeared,
> proud from killing triple-bodied Geryon and gaining spoils.
> The victor was leading the large bulls to this place,
> and the cattle were occupying the valley and the river.
>
>   *…nam maximus ultor*
> *tergemini nece Geryonae spoliisque superbus*
> *Alcides aderat taurosque hac uictor agebat*
> *ingentis, uallemque boves amnemque tenebant.*

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[31] Conan 2003c, 287 discusses the importance of the observer for motion in landscape: space and motion are remembered because the observer 'exercises self-awareness and memory'. Unlike time, space is not divisible into numerable intervals, but requires observation and memory to be remembered.

[32] As argued by Labate 2009, esp. 129-134, suggesting that as many, if not more, similarities lie between Hercules and Cacus (including their fury) as between Hercules and Aeneas. Cf. Morgan 1998, 181-192.

Like Cacus and his doors, Hercules too is proud of his spoils (note end position of *superbus* here as at *Aen.* 8.196, 8.721, and 2.504). Hercules' role as a herdsman associates him with the land, specifically with proto-Rome, grazing his cattle in the valley near the Aventine, close to the later Forum Boarium and the river that would be called Tiber. Cacus serves as foil to the good herdsman by stealing the cattle and locking them within his cave. He tricks Hercules' powers of sight by reversing the footsteps of the cattle, confusing the hero as to which direction they headed. Yet sound aids sight: one of them moos from within the vast cave and betrays Cacus' misdeed, at which sign an enraged Hercules charges Cacus and his cavern (*Aen.* 8.228-232):

> Behold the Tirynthian hero approached, raging in his mind,
> and scouring every access point he bore himself here and there,
> gnashing his teeth. Fiery with anger,
> three times he roamed the whole hill of the Aventine,
> three times he tested the rocky thresholds to no avail,
> three times he sat down in the valley, exhausted.
>
> *ecce furens animis aderat Tirynthius omnemque*
> *accessum lustrans huc ora ferebat et illuc,*
> *dentibus infrendens. ter totum fervidus ira*
> *lustrat Aventini montem, ter saxea temptat*
> *limina nequiquam, ter fessus valle resedit.*

Hercules uses the power of sight and surveying, traversing the whole hill three separate times, to determine the best visible point of entry into the cave, but his sight fails. His strength likewise fails in his unsuccessful attempt to move the boulder guarding the entrance of the cave. The landscape proves uncooperative, protecting its inhabitant Cacus within the mountain.

Hercules finds no other way to penetrate the cave than to tear off the peak of the mountain in which it lies (*Aen.* 8.233-240):

> A giant stone peak stood there,
> rising up along the side of the cave with cut rock on all sides,
> the tallest point to see, a suitable dwelling for horrible birds in their nests.
> Where this crag leaned left toward the river, overhanging the mountain,
> Hercules' striving right hand forced it in the opposite direction

and broke it away, torn out from its deepest roots,
and suddenly he pushed it down from there;
at this blow the whole sky thundered,
the banks leapt apart and the terrified river flowed back in the other direction.

stabat acuta silex praecisis undique saxis
speluncae dorso insurgens, altissima visu,
dirarum nidis domus opportuna volucrum.
hanc, ut prona iugo laevum incumbebat ad amnem,
dexter in adversum nitens concussit et imis
avulsam solvit radicibus, inde repente
impulit; impulsu quo maximus intonat aether,
dissultant ripae refluitque exterritus amnis.

Here Virgil includes the motif of redirecting the river, as we saw with the river Cephisus, yet Virgil fashions the redirection as a reaction of nature. Hercules' assault on the land shocks and frightens the different elements of nature, throwing them into disarray. His attack also demonstrates that a superhuman agent is present.[33] The transgressive status of Hercules, similar to Cacus, is echoed in his crossing between worlds, traversing from light, earthly landscape to the dark depths of a huge realm below, revealed by the hero's extraction of the peak. Virgil likens the newly opened *cauernae* to the Underworld (*Aen.* 8.243-246), the shades of which flee the light.[34] The enormous *barathrum* ('abyss', 8.245)[35] represents the most terrifying aspects of the natural landscape, in particular because these elements are typically unseen and thereby

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[33] Miller 2014, 456n58 views the 'more benevolent response of nature to the Salian song of Hercules' exploits (*consonant…resultant,* 305) as a "restorative" counterpoint to nature's frightened reaction, in Evander's telling, to Hercules' violent assault upon Cacus' lair'.

[34] See Schubert 1991, 45-50 on the connections to the Underworld.

[35] For more on the term *barathrum* and the connection of karstic features to the Underworld, see Connors and Clendenon 2012, esp. 343-345.

unknown.[36] Their sudden visibility foreshadows the imminent demise of Cacus, as he will soon become a shade like those in the Underworld.[37]

As Hercules leaps into the cave, Cacus resorts to one final survival tactic: he fills the cave with smoke vomited from his own throat (*Aen.* 8.251-255):

> But Cacus, for there was no longer any refuge from the danger above,
> vomited an immense smoke from his throat (marvelous to speak of)
> and filled the house with dark gloom, blinding the eyes,
> and within the cave below he collected smoky night,
> where darkness intermingled with fire.

> *ille autem, neque enim fuga iam super ulla pericli,*
> *faucibus ingentem fumum (mirabile dictu)*
> *euomit inuoluitque domum caligine caeca*
> *prospectum eripiens oculis, glomeratque sub antro*
> *fumiferam noctem commixtis igne tenebris.*

Cacus once more embodies the volcanic energy of the land around him, his home.[38] The verb *glomerat* signals the final collapse of the home. What was a vast, towering structure has been shrunk into a dark hole and now collected into a dense mass, where smoke makes everything resemble rock. Dashing through the blinding smoke, Hercules finds and vanquishes his opponent. According to Münzer, once Hercules kills Cacus, he leaves the place a 'stony desert' (*Steinwüste*),[39] bearing little trace of its former home, a desert which Evander then shows Aeneas (*disiectae procul… moles*, *Aen.* 8.191). Hercules' destruction of the natural landscape can be construed as problematic, but his action enables the land to become civilized and domesticated

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[36] Kuttner 2003, 153: 'Roman eyes, shooting out rays to grab at the surrounding world, were active. Romans equated seeing with knowing'.

[37] See Smith 2005, 151.

[38] Cf. Buchheit 1963, 128-130; Morgan 1998, 191-192; and Buxton in this volume.

[39] Münzer 1911, 33.

by the Arcadians. The violent destruction is paradoxically constructive and creative.[40] A reader might be tempted to observe parallels between Hercules' constructive destruction and Roman military conquest, destroying and rebuilding cities in Roman fashion, and most particularly the recent wars between Antony and Augustus. The problematic nature of Hercules' conquest may correspond to the problematic destruction of civil war, accentuated by Evander's focalization of Hercules' terrifying rage as avenger for his cattle (perhaps echoing Augustus' rage as the avenger of Julius Caesar).[41] Yet Evander's overall account of the episode (especially *Aen.* 8.200-201) portrays the rage and destruction of Hercules as necessary to the salvation of the land, a message which Augustus may have found suitable to offer to the Romans after the civil wars. Rome and Roman identity, according to Virgil, could not have existed in the same way if the Arcadians had been unable to survive in that area. The landscape takes on an ontological capacity;[42] its existence in the condition Hercules leaves it paves the way for Roman existence, and thereby creates a landscape of value to the Romans.

3. *Hercules and Augustan Rome*

Virgil's account relates not only the origin of Hercules' cult in Rome but also the 'natural' origin of one of Rome's most historic hills, the Aventine, home to many of Rome's citizens.[43] Without the leveling of Cacus' cavern, no one would have been able to build on the Aventine. Yet Cacus

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[40] Morgan 1998, 185-186, 190. He argues further that the paradox is a deliberate choice by Virgil, who posits the battle of Hercules and Cacus as a mythical model for the civil wars.

[41] On Augustus' rage, cf. Sen. *Cl.* 1.11.1.

[42] On the ontological aspect and experience of landscape, see Conan 2003c, 302.

[43] On the residential history of the Aventine, see Mignone 2010. On the integration of mountains into stories of civilization, see König in this volume.

was traditionally believed to have dwelled on the Palatine: Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch locate his cave there.[44] In addition, the ancient *Scalae Caci* led up to the Palatine.[45] Virgil instead situates Cacus and his cave on the Aventine (*Aventini montem*, *Aen.* 8.231). This could allow for Evander's settlement to reign supreme on the Palatine, as a precursor to Augustus' house on the Palatine.[46] But Virgil's choice to designate the Aventine also imparts value to this hill in other ways. Hercules' elimination of Cacus has been connected to Romulus killing Remus, who preferred the Aventine Hill, suggesting that eliminated threats to Rome must typically come from the Aventine.[47] Furthermore, the Aventine boasts a significant connection to Hercules, whose son Aventinus provides the hill with its name (*Aen.* 7.655-663).[48]

I wish to suggest, in addition, that Hercules' landscape creation and his scattering of stones (*disiectae…moles*, *Aen.* 8.191) find a contemporary counterpart in the prominence of marbles in the Aventine landscape.[49] The region of the Aventine was also called *Marmorata* (literally, 'marbled') because this was one of the main offloading points for marble in ancient

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[44] Diod. 4.21.2; Plut. *Rom.* 20.4. On these sources, see Eden *ad* 8.190ff. and Tueller 2000, 376-378. Spencer 2010, 29 also favors the Palatine over the Aventine.

[45] The Scalae Caci were perhaps named after the Republican man Cacius who lived there, found in Diod. 4.21.2. See also Kuttner 2003, 149.

[46] D.H. *AR* 1.31.4: the Romans derived the word *Palatium* from Pallanteum. Dionysius also describes how Evander founded the cult to Pan, the site of which Romans call the Lupercal, located on the Palatine (1.32.3-5).

[47] Morgan 1998, 186.

[48] Servius *ad* 7.657 records an Alban king named Aventinus, who died on the hill and may have been its eponym. The commentator also argues that Hercules' son was named after the hill, not vice versa.

[49] Perhaps the Romans would also have seen a resemblance in the fragmentary *Mons Testaceus*. Its parallels with the Aventine include its nearby location, similar physical resemblance to the scattered marbles on the Aventine, and its existence as a visual symbol of thriving commerce in imperial Rome.

Rome.[50] I suggest that the rocks created by Hercules' labors could seem to prefigure the marble blocks quarried from the mountains at Luni, Carrara, and other locales, which were then shipped to Rome and offloaded from the Tiber near the Aventine.[51] In a way Hercules has provided the raw materials and the method by which Rome will be re-civilized and rebuilt on a grander scale, establishing a specific means of interaction with the natural landscape that links him to the later Romans. As Spencer observes, 'consciousness and memory together – and thereby humanity and, ultimately, Roman identity – are only possible in a laborious world where work depends on experience and therefore on knowledge and continuity of practice'.[52] The Romans create a continuity of landscape practice by following the example of Hercules.

Virgil's Hercules finds further parallels in Augustus.[53] Some have written that Hercules is the mythical paradigm of Augustus or that associating Augustus with Hercules makes the former 'godlike'. They are also both represented as bringers of peace and civilization to the area of Rome. Hercules is a savior and civilizer, having removed the barbaric monster Cacus.[54]

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[50] Coarelli 2007, 335.

[51] There is a potential textual link. The peak which Hercules eventually extracts is described with 'stones sheared off' (*praecisis saxis, Aen.* 8.233) and located near the river Tiber (*incumbebat ad amnem, Aen.* 8.236). Though *praecidere* is seemingly not attested as a term for quarrying marble until the early church fathers (*ThLL s.v.*), its root *caedere,* in the sense 'to quarry' (*OLD s.v.* 9), first appears in Cicero (*Ver.* 1.147).

[52] Spencer 2010, 44.

[53] On this debate, see, e.g., Bellen 1963; Galinsky 1966; Galinsky 1972, 138-41; Gransden 1976, 38; Lyne 1987, 28-34; Putnam 1988, 173; Schubert 1991, 44, 54; Hardie 1993, 67; Morgan 1998; Rea 2007, 119-122; Stafford 2012, 153; Holzberg 2012, 450-451; Hardie 2014, 129.

[54] Schubert 1991, 50, 53 comments upon this scene as the triumph of good (Hercules) over evil (Cacus). See Gransden 1976, 38 and *ad* 190-305; Lyne 1987, 29; Galinsky 1972, 149; McEwen 2003, 115-121; Rea 2007, 118-

Augustan propaganda idealized the *princeps* as a savior and civilizer, who removed the barbaric 'foreign' threat from Rome at the Battle of Actium.[55] Augustus deliberately associates himself with Hercules by beginning the triple triumph celebrating the defeat of Egypt and Antony on or around the same day (13 August) as the annual celebration of the *Ara Maxima* in the Forum Boarium.[56]

In addition, Hercules' civilizing destruction of the proto-Roman landscape resonates strongly in an Augustan context: Augustus can be considered a 'civilizer' by engendering change in the topography of Rome. Because Rome had involved itself in numerous foreign and domestic wars, the city had little money to spend on refurbishing its physical image. Zanker's and Favro's accounts of Rome's ragged appearance at the beginning of Augustus' reign make it plausible to suggest that Rome may have looked very similar to the proto-Roman Aventine that Aeneas saw with Evander: broken, scattered pieces of barbaric housing, like the remnants of Cacus' cave.[57] Galinsky remarks, 'the semihomo Cacus stands for a barbaric, uncivilized stage of evolution'.[58] His cave reflects his own evolution in that it lacks the traditional luxuries and materials of a

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120; Stafford 2012, 51; and Rosati 2014, 74-75 on Hercules as the civilizing god. Rea comments on the importance of *labor* linking Hercules, Augustus, and Aeneas: see also McGushin 1964, 232-239.

[55] Putnam 1988, 173. Cf. Morgan 1998, 182. In his chapter on Ovid in Tomis in this volume, Pieper argues that Augustus was not seen as a civilizer outside of Rome. Ovid stresses that culture is a more powerful tool than warfare for 'Romanization'.

[56] For discussion of these simultaneous events, see Galinsky 1972, 140-141; Rea 2007, 120. Augustus may have also found this date particularly fitting since the family of Marc Antony claimed they were *Heracleidae* (Plut. *Ant.* 4.1).

[57] Zanker 1988, 18-19; Favro 1996, 42. Cf. Aug. *RG.* 19-20, where Augustus describes the extent of the construction and reconstruction.

[58] Galinsky 1966, 40. Gransden 1976, 38 names Cacus as a 'symbol of barbarism'.

civilized home.[59] Hercules' destruction of Cacus' home allows for new construction to take place and civilization to develop. Augustus, in using the marble stored at that same place, is able to bring Rome to a new level of 'civilized', by removing old ruins and fashioning a magnificent, gleaming city built of lavish materials.

4. *Hercules and Cacus in Ovid*

Ovid also depicts the Hercules-Cacus myth in *Fasti* 1.543-582.[60] This episode is included within the feast day of the Carmentalia,[61] celebrating the prophetess Carmentis, mother of Evander. Though Ovid incorporates elements of other versions of the Cacus episode, his representation reflects the 'consciously Vergilian manner in which Ovid has chosen to relate the myth',[62] including a significant focus on the landscape. In Ovid's explanation of the Carmentalia, the poet

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[59] Evander's Palatine home (and the rest of proto-Rome) may have been primitive and lacking of luxuries, but this was due in part to a reverence for modesty and simplicity, which Hercules is said to have appreciated (*Aen.* 8.364-365). Augustus' own home on the Palatine reflected that same modesty.

[60] Scholars have noted a change in length and tone in Ovid's version of the Hercules-Cacus episode as compared to Virgil's account, which some attribute to the difference in genre (Virgil's epic vs. Ovid's 'didactic' elegy; see Otis 1966, 31-36; Miller 2002, 189-92). Others have considered the difference in time period, one at the beginning and the other at the end of Augustus' reign (cf. Herbert-Brown 1994, 27; Newlands 1992, 44; Newlands 1995, 9-10; Barchiesi 1997, 199-200), or the difference in purpose (Schubert 1991, 43; Fantham 1992, 162; Green *ad* 469-542; Murgatroyd 2005, 37). In contrast, Green *ad* 543-582 (also *ad* 469-542 and *ad* 551-558) argues that Ovid's adaptation retains the serious of tone of Virgil and is equally dramatic. Otis 1966, 34 considers the description of Cacus and his lair to be an 'interruption' in the narrative (see also Schubert 1991, 42), but Green counters that instead it builds tension and drama before the ensuing action within the cave.

[61] Here Ovid may have borrowed from Livy, who also connects the *Ara Maxima* with Carmenta. See also Green 2004, 8.

[62] Green *ad* 543-82.

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quickly turns from Carmentis' prophesies about war, Aeneas, and the Augustan household (similar to Anchises foretelling the future to Aeneas in *Aeneid* 6) to an introduction of the landscape.[63] Evander's position as an exile is suddenly assuaged by his new locale; as he steps onto the Latian grass (*Latia…herba,* Ov. *Fast.* 1.539), he feels fortunate to be situated in this place (*felix, exilium cui locus ille fuit,* 1.540).[64] Evander is then presented (indirectly) as a physical landscape agent as he constructs a new settlement on the Palatine (*nec mora longa fuit: stabant nova tecta,* 1.541), shaping the site that would become a prominent feature of Rome.

The mention of grass as the first natural feature emphasizes the suitability of the land for grazing, which explains why Hercules would soon choose to stop here (1.543-546)*.* As he introduces Hercules, Ovid employs the verbal (and visual) cues *ecce* and *illuc* (1.543)*,* echoing Evander's *aspice* (*Aen.* 8.190) and *ecce* (*Aen.* 8.228), to direct the audience's attention to an exact point in the landscape. However, the events recounted by Virgil through the eyewitness account of the elderly Evander are in fact presently happening in Ovid,[65] producing a more vivid narration that precedes the time of Virgil's account. Ovid removes a layer of narration by offering the reader an opportunity to view the episode of Cacus and Hercules as it actually occurs and as Evander witnesses it, not as he remembers it.

Hercules' ineptitude as a herdsman in leaving the cattle unattended allows Cacus to remove two of the animals (*Fast.* 1.547-550), dragging them backwards into his cave. Ovid's

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[63] It is unclear whether Carmentis remains the narrator or Ovid becomes the omniscient narrator for the story of Hercules and Cacus. Murgatroyd 2005, 36 suggests that Ovid retains Carmentis as narrator as a playful way of bettering Virgil, in that the mother will correct and revise her son's telling of the story.

[64] Evander's place of exile might seem very familiar: he has moved from the cave-rich landscape of Arcadia to the cave-rich landscape of Italy.

[65] Green *ad* 469-542. See also Fantham 1992, 155, 160.

Cacus retains many of the same features highlighted in Virgil: he is the monstrous, terrifying son of Vulcan (552-554) who can breathe fire (569-572).[66] Ovid repeats the exact phrase *dira facies* (553) seen in *Aeneid* 8.194, but changes the nature of Cacus from *semihomo* to *vir*. Cacus now is not merely half-human, but full man. Ovid's complete humanization of Cacus creates an even more horrific, evil monster in the tale: a fully human being who commits terrible acts against his fellow mankind.[67]

Ovid shapes his discussion of the cave (*Fast.* 1.555-564) with language clearly recalling Virgil. Cacus lives in a huge cavern with recesses (*spelunca recessibus, Fast.* 1.555; cf. *recessu, Aen.* 8.193) that is removed (*abdita, Fast.* 1.556, cf. *summota, Aen.*8.193) from civilized society. *Domus* in Virgil (*Aen.* 8.192, 253) seemingly emphasizes the human aspects of the home of Cacus. But Ovid has altered Virgil's sense of *domus* by prefacing it with 'instead of' (*proque domo, Fast.* 1.555)*.* Green observes that Cacus is 'placed outside the sphere of civilized conduct

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[66] Ovid heightens the Virgilian innovation of Cacus embodying volcanoes and volcanic action by directly comparing Cacus to Mount Etna as well as fire-breathing Typhoeus: 'as many times as he breathes flames, you would believe that Typhoeus is blowing and that a swift lightning flash would be hurled from the fire of Etna' (*quas quotiens proflat, spirare Typhoea credas / et rapidum Aetnaeo fulgur ab igne iaci*, 573-574). The explicit naming of Etna reassociates Cacus with his father Vulcan, who, in some myths, establishes his metal workshop in the base of Etna. In doing so Ovid conflates the destructive nature of fire with its constructive powers in metalworking and the creation of tools and weapons. On Etna's volcanic tendencies, see Buxton in this volume.

[67] Green *ad* 543-82 remarks that Ovid's additions in detail to Virgil's account create a more acute binary opposition between Hercules (good) and Cacus (evil). Barchiesi 1997, 96 notes that Hercules is about to become a god just after this episode in the *Fasti*; thus he is still human at this point. Only by showing his superiority over fellow human beings does he really seem to become worthy of ascending to divine status. See Schubert 1991, 47-48, 50-51 and Merli 2000, 294 for more on Cacus' humanization in Ovid.

in both the symbolic and geographical sense'.[68] As a man, Cacus ought to live in a house, but he does not. Instead he dwells in a cave more suited to wild animals, yet even they cannot find it.[69] In this way Ovid portrays Cacus as more bestial than wild beasts.

As part of this more monstrous characterization, Ovid has omitted many of the contemporary Roman architectural details featured in Virgil's description of Cacus' cave, which transformed natural cavern into human landscape and presented a more human dimension of Virgil's Cacus. Yet he retains the doors and their decoration motif. *Fasti* 1.557-558 reflect the diction of *Aeneid* 8.195-197, with the reappearance of the words *ora, adfixa, pendent,* and *humus*. Ovid's Cacus adds another item to the doors' decoration, armbones, which serve to further stress the bestiality of Cacus. Ovid's heads and armbones seemingly allude to the heads and hands of proscribed men killed during the period of the Second Triumvirate, i.e., the civil wars.[70] The association with civil warfare is strengthened by Ovid's description of the ground. The same phrase *ossibus albet humus* describes both Cacus' floor and the battleground at Philippi (*Fast.* 3.708). The ground whitened by bones is a motif found mostly to refer to mass human destruction after warfare, and that the fact that this motif is used here to describe genocide stemming from one individual only adds to Cacus' monstrous nature.[71] In fact, the unnaturalness of the white in the otherwise dark cave points out more clearly the heinous crimes committed within.

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[68] Green *ad* 551-558.

[69] This would seem to trump the sun's inability to access Cacus' cave in Virgil (*Aen.* 8.195).

[70] This draws a potentially troublesome parallel between Cacus and the warrior Octavian, *pace* Holzberg 2012, 458, who claims that Ovid here glorifies Augustus without irony or subversion. Narducci 2009, 9 observes a parallel between descriptions of Cicero's death and Cacus' doors in *Aeneid* 8.

[71] Green *ad* 557-8.

The nature of Cacus' crimes is also reflected in Ovid's description of the cave (*antra*) as *impia* (*Fast.* 1.562), ascribing a moral quality to the natural feature.[72] The personification of the cave's nature transforms it into a human landscape, evaluated and judged by Ovid's narrator. The cave exhibits the terrible crimes of Cacus, and thus it too shows no regard for morality. Yet not only has Cacus terrorized mankind, he also seemingly wrongs nature itself, by tearing out a part of the mountain in which he resides, to serve as the cavern blockade against Hercules (*aditum fracti praestruxerat obice montis*, *Fast.* 1.563; cf. *fultosque emuniit obice postis,* Virg. *Aen.* 8.227).[73] Cacus too is represented as an agent of the landscape, manipulating natural features for his own benefit. Ovid qualifies Cacus' labor by stating that ten oxen scarcely could have moved this piece of rock (*Fast.* 1.564). The magnitude of his labor as compared to oxen makes him once again more violent and bestial than the beasts of burden.

But Hercules, as a hero and eventual deity, possesses the same strength (*Fast.* 1.565-568):

> Hercules strained with his shoulders (on which the
> the sky too had once rested) and by that effort
> he loosened the enormous load. As it toppled over,
> the crash frightened heaven itself, and the ground,
> having been struck, sank under the weight of the mass.
>
> *nititur hic umeris (caelum quoque sederat illis),*
>   *et vastum motu conlabefactat onus.*

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[72] Cf. the 'savage doors' (*implacidas…fores*) in Prop. 4.9.14. Ovid may also be alluding to the *arma…impia* (Virg. *Aen.* 6.612-613) of civil war.

[73] Cacus' tearing of rock resembles what Hercules does against him in the *Aeneid.* This is, of course, similar to the giant rock Polyphemus uses in *Od.* 9. Green *ad* 563 cites this line as an example of emphatic hyperbole, likening Cacus to monstrous giants, which allows it to ascend to the cosmic scale of Virgil's account. Contrast Schubert 1991, 47, 57, who writes that the lack of Vulcan's help makes the cave seem more realistic.

> *quod simul eversum est, fragor aethera terruit ipsum,*
> *ictaque subsedit pondere molis humus.*

The hero forces the rock out of the way, disturbing nature by the crash of the stone, which is so impactful that the sky itself is shaken up. The movement of the rock also causes the ground to be leveled under the weight of the stony mass. Once Cacus is struck dead by Hercules' club (*Fast.* 1.575-576),[74] his fatal plunge serves to further level the ground by beating it down with his large chest (1.577-578). Much as Hercules' removal of the rock in *Aeneid* 8 allows the Aventine to be more easily domesticated and inhabitable, likewise here the flattening of the Aventine facilitates future construction on the hill. The violent destruction can again be construed as constructive and creative.

Ovid describes the establishment of the *Ara Maxima* in greater detail than Virgil (*Fast.* 1.579-582). Hercules sacrifices one of the cattle to Jupiter in order to show his appreciation for the victory but also in a likely effort to appease the god for any harm done to nature or the gods themselves. In this way he would seem to mitigate the violent nature of his actions, thereby civilizing them. The hero then sets up an altar to himself (*constituitque sibi, quae Maxima dicitur, aram,* 1.581),[75] possibly using the rock he moved to create a physical altar. Hercules not only establishes the practice of cult religion and rituals in Rome, but once again he can be seen as providing a possible model for the use of stone and other natural features in the topography of the proto-Roman (and future Roman) landscape. Ovid directly connects the *Ara Maxima* to Rome, specifying its location in the *Forum Boarium* in the next line: 'here, where a part of the

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[74] Here Ovid follows the versions of Livy, Propertius, and Dionysius. Virgil's Hercules strangles Cacus until his eyes rupture.

[75] Barchiesi 1997, 95-98 labels this line as Ovid's greatest innovation in the Hercules-Cacus episode, in particular that Hercules himself establishes his own cult, a point vaguely glossed over in Virgil.

City derives its name from a cow' (*hic ubi pars Urbis de bove nomen habet*, 1.582). In this way the poet reintroduces the multi-temporality mostly overlooked in the rest of his account of Hercules and Cacus (as opposed to Virgil's narrative, where the layers of time and space are continuously highlighted). The story of Hercules and Cacus impacts both the generation of Evander and also the generations to come, including the age of Augustus, which is prophesied earlier in the narrative by Carmentis. The prophetess reemerges at the end of the narrative here to foretell Hercules' future as a god as well as be celebrated for her own divinity. Her focalization of the episode highlights her prophetic nature and reveals the precision of her prophecies, as Hercules and his self-established cult might be seen to serve as the preliminary fulfillment of Carmentis' divination about Augustus: 'when the same man will protect you and the world and a god in himself shall hold the sacred rites' (*cum vos orbemque tuebitur idem / fient ipso sacra colente deo*, *Fast.* 1.529-530).

Ovid retains many of the Virgilian innovations in the character of Cacus, describes the cave of Cacus with similar diction, and employs similar visual cues. Yet whereas Virgil stresses what can be conceived of as the more *human* aspects of Cacus in his description of the monster and his lair, Ovid instead focuses on the more *inhuman* aspects of Cacus and his abode. Hercules' victory over an even more monstrous Cacus further justifies his deification, which, in Ovid's version, seemingly happens just after the eradication of Cacus. His deification is solidified by a new and lasting feature in the landscape, the *Ara Maxima*. Hercules' establishment of his own cult, highlighted by the narrator Carmentis, can be seen as providing another appropriate model for Augustus, who would soon be deified and worshipped himself.[76] The restoration and recivilization of Rome by both Augustus and his model Hercules, as

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[76] Barchiesi 1997, 37, 97-98.

emphasized in Virgil, help to validate their eventual deifications and cults in Ovid. Carmentis links Augustus and Hercules more explicitly than Evander by indicating their similar futures.

5. *Conclusion*

The Hercules and Cacus episode features troubling violence and bloodshed upon the natural terrain, yet, as Rea argues, these were typical characteristics of stories surrounding Rome's foundation and its development. This is particularly true of accounts written during the Augustan period, which reflected the mood and atmosphere after the civil wars. Augustus wanted Rome to reconsider the significance of its origins as a part of the healing process after the civil wars. He achieved this reconsideration in part through his transformation of Roman topography, uniting old and new construction in a way that was inspiring to the poets.[77] Virgil's and Ovid's allusions to war in their descriptions of the Hercules-Cacus episode appear to insinuate that war, though devastating, is necessary to reshape and transform landscape. Hercules' civilizing destruction of the proto-Roman landscape in both authors seemingly prefigures Augustus' efforts. The layers of space and time in both poets, though especially Virgil, can be seen as a 'mythological reflection' of the changing landscape of Augustan Rome and represent the visual memory of the Roman landscape.[78] Romans could view structures and natural features in their city and recall events and monuments of the past, both historical and personal. Virgil's and Ovid's accounts of the Hercules-Cacus episode, as witnessed and narrated by Evander and Carmentis, signify the human

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[77] Rea 2007, 4-5, 11-14; cf. Gowing 2005, 132-159.

[78] Salowey 1994 uses the term 'mythological reflection' to describe the relationship between Hercules' cleaning of the Augiean stables and the Mycenaean water projects developing at that time.

element of landscape.[79] The evolution of the landscape here occurs in large part due to human (and superhuman) forces, both visual and physical. The nature of landscape, consisting in large part of these verbal and visual memories, enabled the Roman people to see the landscape as multivalent and valuable, and to consider it a part of their history and identity.

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[79] Landscape 'embraces the physical environment, patterns of settlement, boundaries and frontiers, fields, cities, natural features, monuments, pathways, holy places, wilderness, and much more, yet it derives its multitude of meanings from human experience, perception, and modification' (Alcock 2002, 29-30).

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