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## **The Poet and the God**

**Ovid, *Tristia* 3.1**  
**Text, Translation and Commentary**  
**with an Introduction**

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## ABSTRACT

### ENGLISH

The author's doctoral research resulted in a literary critical commentary on Ovid, *Tristia* 3.1, with an introduction, text, an English translation, and indexes. The commentary is in line with the most recent commentaries on other books of the *Tristia* and aims at elucidating some passages of difficult literary and topographical interpretation. Firstly, the literary misplacement of some of the monuments on the Palatine mentioned in the poem (the *porta Mugonia* and the temple of Jupiter Stator) fully complies with the assimilation of the figure of the *princeps* with that of Jupiter, which appears for the first time in Latin literature, precisely in the *Tristia*. Secondly, the sequence of the booklet's arrival and request for help can be traced back to the gestural and verbal formulae of the traditional request for *hospitium* by a stranger: the handshake, the production of a letter of introduction, the presence of a seal or an object for identification. The correspondence of the booklet with a *hospes* exerting the *ius hospitii* may identify the conventional request for *hospitium* as a novel model to the composition of *Tristia* 3.1. Thirdly, the linguistic analysis of the poem led to an in-depth investigation of the specific vocabulary of the exile poetry in this elegy, identifying new terms and nuances, discussed in the commentary and listed in a dedicated index.

This commentary addresses the raising of literary and topographical issues, through a multidisciplinary approach which combines both the evaluation of the literary sources with particular attention to the recent scholarly contributions, the diction, the metrics, the intratextual relationship with other works by Ovid and by other authors, and the discussion of the latest archaeological findings and their relevant topographical rearrangements.

## ABSTRACT

### ITALIAN

Il lavoro di ricerca si presenta quale commento critico-letterario a Ovidio, *Tristia* 3.1, corredato di un'introduzione, di testo critico con traduzione in inglese, e di indici analitici.

Lo studio si inserisce nel quadro dei più recenti commenti esegetici di altri libri dei *Tristia* e tenta di chiarire alcuni passi di difficile interpretazione topografica e poetica. In primo luogo, la trasposizione letteraria di alcuni monumenti sul Palatino (la *porta Mugonia* e il tempio di Giove Statore) è riferibile all'assimilazione della figura del *princeps* a quella di Giove, la cui prima attestazione si ha proprio nei *Tristia*. In secondo luogo, l'arrivo del libello a Roma e la sua richiesta di aiuto si articolano secondo formule gestuali e verbali del tutto simili a quelle che esprimevano la richiesta di ospitalità da parte di uno straniero: la stretta di mano, la presentazione di una lettera accompagnatoria, la presenza di un sigillo o di un oggetto di riconoscimento. La corrispondenza del libello con un *hospes* che esercita lo *ius hospitii* farebbe intravedere nella richiesta di *hospitium* un nuovo modello per la composizione di *Tristia* 3.1.

L'analisi filologico-letteraria ha dato esito a un approfondimento del lessico specifico della poesia dell'esilio presente nell'elegia, individuando nuovi termini speciali e accezioni.

Data la rilevanza letteraria e topografica dell'elegia, il commento si caratterizza per un approccio multidisciplinare filologico-letterario e storico-archeologico, che valuta al contempo le fonti letterarie – con particolare attenzione ai contributi della critica, all'uso dei termini, delle locuzioni, della metrica, al rapporto con le altre opere ovidiane e di altri autori – e gli ultimi ritrovamenti archeologici con le relative ricostruzioni topografiche.

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## INTRODUCTION

## 1. WHERE WE HAVE COME FROM

## THE RECENT RECEPTION OF OVID'S EXILIC WORK

magis utile nil est  
 artibus his quae nil utilitatis habent  
*Pont.* 1.5.53-54

Readers of the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*  
 who expect monotony will find it;  
 those who are alert and equipped to respond  
 to symbol, image, suggestion and allusion  
 will be richly rewarded  
 Kenney 1965a p. 49

What we may regard as standard of scholarly approach today may not have always been so. The acknowledgment of a poetical work does not come easy after it has been neglected and considered useless for centuries. Several factors play a role in determining the level of interest in and the 'usefulness' of a particular author or work in each socio-historical context. As Otis summarises the reception of Ovid – favourable in the Middle Ages and troubled in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – he states that «any ancient author must live through many shifts of taste and 'climates of opinion', all having their ups and downs»,<sup>1</sup> and that general trends and

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<sup>1</sup> Otis 1946 p. 57.

philosophical views prevail in driving the changes in artistic taste, by means of a more or less conscious selection of previous material, forging what is known as reception of that very material. On top of that, reception is established also by crises of cultural values, political and financial uncertainty, global humanitarian emergencies, and the like, so as to find in the expressions of the past a suitable paradigm or justification to relate to. Yet not every ideally propitious time for the revival of a classic brings on an effective change of direction: it takes scholars willing to deal with the potential of that author or work and to sail uncharted waters, sometimes regardless of the common opinion.<sup>2</sup>

S.G. **Owen's** edition of all five books of the *Tristia* between 1885 and 1915 (the latter including the *Epistulae ex Ponto* and the *Ibis*), and especially his 1924 commentary on *Tristia* 2 kicked off the recent exilic Ovidian scholarship, in that these editions remain unsurpassed in the *Oxford Classical Texts* series, and have been the main reference for later commentaries and editions. The value of Owen's work is acknowledged as the best since Heinsius in 1661 by Wheeler,<sup>3</sup> who praises his treatment of the extensive updated scholarship. The introduction to Owen's commentary to *Tristia* 2 is structured in a traditional fashion: «the timeworn topic of Ovid's exile and his causes» – where the author supports the idea of a political crime of *laesa maiestas* rather than an involvement in Julia the Younger's adultery – and a thorough

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Miller-Newlands 2014 p. 2: «reception is a dynamic two-way process in that texts do not retain a continuous identity but are constituted by their interpretation over time – all the more insistently the case with the poetry of the master of change» and Laird 2010 p. 356: ☐.

<sup>3</sup> Wheeler 1926.

rhetorical analysis of Ovid's apology, much indebted to Ehwald.<sup>4</sup> Owen's commentary is still well anchored to the interest in the historical background of the banishment, while the accurate rhetorical sectioning of the poem into *exordium*, *propositio* and *tractatio* (including in turn *probatio*, first *epilogus*, *refutatio*, second *epilogus*) reveals a more positivistic attitude, confirming Ovid's use of past rhetorical knowledge, than a quest for a discussion over *Tristia* 2's literary models.

The need for a deeper understanding that counteracted the prejudice against Ovid's poetry from exile was expressed by **Némethy's** 1913 explanatory commentary. The book, with an edited text that occasionally differs from Ehwald's followed by the *adnotationes* (commentary), was intended as a short explanation of those books that had unjustly been disregarded by previous interpreters for the use of both learned people and academic scholars. Its condensed school text-book format provided a comprehensive insight of the *Tristia*, acting like a thread between the more extensive works on single books of the collection produced in the first half of the century – Owen on *Tristia* 2 in 1924 and the doctoral theses of Bakker on *Tristia* 5 in 1946 and De Jonge on *Tristia* 4 in 1951.

A few years later **Landi's** 1918 and **Ehwald-Levy's** 1922 editions came out for Paravia and Teubner, respectively, eliciting further interest in the study of the text of Ovid's exilic corpus.

In 1924 **Wheeler** produced a new edition of the text of the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* for the Loeb collection, with an extensive introduction and an English translation, which has not yet been replaced. The introduction

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<sup>4</sup> Ehwald 1989-92.

discusses whether the identity of the addressees of the elegies of the *Tristia* are the same as those of the *Epistulae ex Ponto*; the author's relationship with the Caesars and his servile attitude towards them; his family connections and the facts that preceded and followed the exile with a delucidation on the *carmen* (the *ars amatoria*) and the *error* (something that he saw) that caused him to leave with charges of bad influence. Then follows a description of the city of Tomis<sup>5</sup> and the ethnical identification of its inhabitants as half Greek and half Getic, covered in skins and pelts, speaking a mixed language. The description of the land surrounding Tomis is taken from Ovid's own words without any critical or literary interpretation: harsh long winters, hard-frozen Danube, Getes with icicles hanging from their beards.<sup>6</sup> Ovid's condition in a city at the border of the empire is constantly put at danger with threatening raids of barbarians and incessant warfare, which prompted Wheeler's assimilation of Ovid to the first colonists in North America.<sup>7</sup> The considerations on the author's delicate health and tedious pastimes during the years of exile served as a justification for the monotony of his poetry, which, in turn, is seen as an appeal to Ovid's contemporary readers, as they were curious to see how such a literary «idol comported himself in exile».<sup>8</sup> Wheeler's point of view is that the poems written in exile are «human documents», and as such «they possess great interest in spite of the author's

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<sup>5</sup> Wheeler 1924 p. xxiv points out that the name of modern Costanza was Tomis in Ovid's time, not Tomi.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* p. xxvii: «this picture, as modern evidence proves, is not overdrawn. Although the latitude of Tomis is about the same as that of Florence, the winters are very severe».

<sup>7</sup> *Id.* p. xxviii: «we are reminded of the tales of colonial America and the warfare of the settlers against the savages».

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* p. xxxii.

weakness and slavish fawning»<sup>9</sup>. Yet at the same time Wheeler acknowledges the subtle poetical artistry in the language, the phrase making and the metrical solutions, recognising in these poems the same refined style as that of Ovid's earlier works, somehow anticipating Rahn's paper in 1958 on the continuation of the epistolary genre in the exile poetry.

**Coon's** article published in 1927 reflects the general judgement that even the eagerest reader of Ovid in those years had of his later poetry. As the *Tristia* and the *Epistulae ex Ponto* were seen as a mere recount of his relegation, they were investigated with a less 'scientific' approach: Coon provides no precise reference whatsoever to any of the passages treated, as if the ninety-six poems were a single running «view of the human mind under unique circumstances».<sup>10</sup> Ovid is pitied through his extreme sufferings: the harsh climate and land, the barbarian environment of Tomis, Ovid's unhealthy condition, poetical decline, nostalgia for the Roman life, friends and family, the misery of a banished existence, are all taken at face value and contribute to justify the poetry's claimed downturn almost from a psychoanalytic point of view.

The last seventy years have witnessed a change in the perspective on Ovid's exilic poetry. Many studies of diverse quality have been published on the poetics, the style, the historical facts, the meaning and the legacy of the poet's last works, featuring a prolific production of monographs, book chapters, conference proceedings, editions, translations, commentaries, review and original articles, not to mention seminars, doctoral dissertations and

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<sup>9</sup> *Id.* p. xxxii.

<sup>10</sup> Coon 1927 p. 355.

unpublished material. The boom of Ovidian exilic scholarship, however, started off quite timidly thanks to chapters in monothorical books, that had no particular claim of encouraging such an expansion.

**Fränkel** published in 1945 the first comprehensive work on Ovid since the nineteenth century, with a thorough chronological excursus of his life and works. The chapters dedicated to the exile poetry, “Ovid’s Banishment” and “Ovid in Exile” present Fränkel’s treatment of the *Tristia* (called *Elegies of Gloom*) and the *Epistulae ex Ponto* (*Letters from the Black Sea Shore*) mainly as a record of his exile in Tomis as a means to make it through the last nine or ten long bleak years of his life. He nevertheless points out some novel poetical aspects, that suggest a more attentive and less biased evaluation. The appeal to the kindness of the reader, the brutal considerations over lost friendship in times of turmoil, the uncertainty of life in a wild land become profound insights into a ‘real’ human tragedy. Fränkel fully trusts Ovid’s account, almost pitying him, and takes at face value the sufferings lamented in his elegies and the description of Tomis and his inhabitants, totally overlooking the historical facts. Even the danger of living on the edge of the empire, where regular rides of the tribes lurked on the other side of the Danube, the poet’s fear of a sudden death by the hand of a barbarian man, and his claimed loss of poetical artistry go practically unquestioned.

In 1946 **Bakker** published his Utrecht doctoral dissertation containing a commentary on the fifth book of the *Tristia* in the Latin language, as the first after Burman’s 1821 commentary on Ovid’s *opera omnia* and Némethy’s 1913 commentary on the five books of the *Tristia*. Despite the introduction gives a further explanation of the causes of exile, it provides a useful chronology of

the poems, an overview of the addressees of the elegies, a presentation of the structure of the book, and an interesting account of the *iudicia de Tristibus* since 1788. The scholars' opinions are divided into favourable or mainly favourable (Gibbon 1788 «they exhibit a picture of the human mind», Plessis 1909 «monotonie et absence de dignité», Owen in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* vol. 16 p. 978 «expression of the state of mind produced by a unique experience»), mainly unfavourable (Mackail 1927 «melancholy record of flagging vitality and failing powers»), and absolutely unfavourable (Pichon 1897 «Ovide ne compose qu'une oeuvre froide et fausse»).

The first stone in the exponential growth of Ovidian scholarship was laid in the decades to come. Another monograph on Ovid appeared in 1955, ten years after Fränkel's, *Ovid Recalled* by L.P. **Wilkinson**, at that time the «most extensive and detailed survey ... that took ample account of all the recent scholarly literature»,<sup>11</sup> in the traditional form of an «anthology with running commentary».<sup>12</sup> Yet again the way Wilkinson's contemporaries reacted to his work is highly representative of the trends in approaching the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*, considered «less interesting»<sup>13</sup> verse than his major and more fortunate works. The reason for his title is also symptomatic: at Wilkinson's time, Ovid was generally neglected and the only poems read by him were excerpts of the works more suitable to school pupils, such as the *Epistulae heroidum*, the *Fasti* and, curiously, some parts of the *Tristia*, «a very

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<sup>11</sup> Otis 1957 p. 90.

<sup>12</sup> Wilkinson 1955 p. xi.

<sup>13</sup> *Id.* p. 91.

melancholy set of poems», as lord Macaulay would put it.<sup>14</sup> After school, Ovid was hardly ever read. The need for an overall revival of the interest in Ovid after over two centuries of silence is what lies behind Wilkinson's book: hence his endeavour to recall to the attention of the newest generations a poet that had said so much to Dante, Shakespeare, Milton and Goethe, bringing him back to life from the 'exile' of oblivion.<sup>15</sup> The two chapters on Ovid's exile poetry are divided into two main topics: the journey to Tomis and the accusation that led to his banishment (*Tristia* 1 and 2); and the life among the 'Goths' (*Tristia* 3, 4, 5, the *ibis* and the *Epistulae ex Ponto*). Wilkinson speculates on the cause of Ovid's relegation to the Black Sea, which will be followed by a lively yet still unsettled – and perhaps irrelevant – discussion:<sup>16</sup> whether he was involved in some kind of court conspiracy or in Augustus' daughter Julia's adultery. Wilkinson sets the difference between *carmen et error* (303), with an explanation of the legal background<sup>17</sup>. Through a narrative commentary of *Tristia* 2 according to the standard sections of an oratorical speech, he points out that Ovid's punishment was a *relegatio*, although he calls it sometimes the tougher *exilium*, and acknowledges the *pro Milone* as a model for its structure<sup>18</sup>. Although he recognises Ovid's old poetical style in the exile elegies, Wilkinson deems the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex*

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<sup>14</sup> Wilkinson 1955 p. xiii reports Macaulay's opinion on the *Tristia* taken from G.O. Trevelyan 1908, *Life and Letter of Lord Macaulay*, p. 725.

<sup>15</sup> Wilkinson 1955 p. xvi.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. e.g. Owen 1924, pp. 1-47, Carcopino 1964, Thibault 1964, Grasmück 1978, Syme 1978 pp. 199-229, Green 1982, Amey 1988, Verdière 1992, Luisi 2001, Knox 2004, Gaertner 2005 pp. 14-16, Luisi-Berrino 2008 and 2010, Ingleheart 2010 pp. 2-5.

<sup>17</sup> Lex Iulia de adulteriis (pp. 297-303).

<sup>18</sup> Wilkinson 1955 p. 301. On the models of *Tristia* 2 see Focardi 1975, Ingleheart 2010 pp. 7-21, Cutolo 1995, Zanoni 2012

*Ponto* as poetry fraught with «worn and mechanical *loci*», whose «perpetual object was to awake pity for his plight».<sup>19</sup> The facts presented by Ovid are almost all taken as true, especially in *Tristia* 3, where the description of the land of exile, Ovid's physical illness, his recollection of Rome and of his wife, and his preoccupation for his lost poetical talent make up for most of the thematical material. However, some things are somewhat hard to believe, even for Wilkinson: the winter conditions in Tomis are perceived as exaggerated, but excusable, especially if experienced by a person accustomed to the Italian climate (!).

A commentary on the fourth book was published in 1951 by **De Jonge**, as the result of his Groningen doctoral work, following in the steps of Bakker and Owen. While producing a text mostly based on Owen's Oxford edition with very little changes, De Jonge fills most of his *prolegomena* with the trite debate of the causes of Ovid's banishment: apart from the crime of having written the *ars amatoria*, De Jonge believes that Ovid was likely to have been charged with *laesa maiestas*<sup>20</sup> and punished according to the *lex Iulia de laesa maiestate* with the direct intervention of the *princeps*. He lists all relevant discussions on Ovid's implication in court affairs by the major scholars from Boissier 1875 to Herrmann 1938, including full reference to Ovid's own mentioning of his crime in the exilic poetry. Yet despite De Jonge's effort to provide scholars with new tools for a fresh interpretation of Ovid's text, his

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<sup>19</sup> *Id.* p. 318.

<sup>20</sup> De Jonge 1951 p. 5.

work was still perceived by his contemporaries as a contribution towards a hopelessly boring book of poetry, with the exception of *Trist.* 4.10<sup>21</sup>

Scholars started to do Ovid's last poetry more justice in the late 1950s, when the bimillennial of his birth approached. **Herescu** 1958a collected some thirty-nine essays from an international board of experts, producing *Ovidiana. Recherches sur Ovide*, the «principal official expression of the learned world on this author», trying to address the question about what Ovid meant to the contemporary world.<sup>22</sup> Notwithstanding the general «lack of true literary criticism»,<sup>23</sup> and the «too much space given to verbiage»,<sup>24</sup> three main areas of interest are featured in the book with respect to the exile poetry, with a majority of Rumanian contributions: the Getic poem allegedly composed in Tomis (Adamesteanu, Herescu and Lozovan), the cause of his exile (Marin and Marache), and the description of the city of Tomis (Lambrino); Paratore provides a stylistic and linguistic analysis of the autobiographic elegy of *Trist.* 4.10, harshly defining it as lacking sincerity by all means, and setting his exile poetry at a lower level than his previous production. The exile poetry is still mainly regarded as a source of autobiographical facts, rather than an original poetical development of earlier forms and themes in a new context.

Another achievement in Ovidian scholarship was the *Convegno Internazionale Ovidiano* held in Ovid's birthplace, Sulmo, in May 1958. Fifty-two scholars from twelve countries gathered to discuss over forty-three

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<sup>21</sup> Dilke 1953 p. 103: «if for no other reason, the fourth book of Ovid's *Tristia* is of particular interest for the full autobiography ... of the poet in IV.10»

<sup>22</sup> Otis 1960 p. 82.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Austin 1961 p. 45.

contributions in the fields of Latin literature, Romance philology, archaeology, medieval studies – intended as an effort towards «una fase nuova ispirata da più sollecito interesse, vivificata da più equa comprensione».<sup>25</sup> The numerous essays on the exile poetry included: Albert's considerations on the publication of the *Metamorphoses* treated in *Trist.* 1.7, Lugli's misleading topographical explanation of the booklet's tour in *Trist.* 3.1, Brugnoli's insight into the reception of Ovid's exilic poetry by the Carolingian exiles, Questa's notification of a new XI-XII century manuscript of the *Tristia*, Marin's investigation of the causes of Ovid's exile, Gregorian's description of the land of Tomis, and Herescu's and Lozovan's discussions on Ovid's composing Getic poetry, as a way to defy Augustus and entertain the Tomitans, much criticised by Kenney, who defines them as products of 'hariolation'.<sup>26</sup> Again, the approach towards the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* is biographical, topographical and still non-literary.

It was only with **Rahn** that a landmark was set in the study of the novel genre of the exile poetry. He compared the elegies of the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* with the epistles of the *Heroides*. Ovid appears to reuse the prior form of mythological content adjusting it to a new theme, without real solution of continuity.<sup>27</sup> Following Rahn's opinion that Ovid's exile poetry should be perceived as connected to his earlier production, **Luck** carried out a rigorous literary and philological analysis while working on his new edition of the *Tristia*. In his 1961 detailed report on the poetry of Ovid's exile poetry, Luck acts almost like a physician before a critical case. He provides copious

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<sup>25</sup> Venini 1959 p. 340.

<sup>26</sup> Kenney 1960 p. 26.

<sup>27</sup> Rahn 1958 p. 206.

examples of literary devices and tropoi (chiasmus, repetitions, hyperbaton, pleonasm and sound patterns) to show how «Ovid's *Tristia* do not seem to take a place apart from his earlier work»,<sup>28</sup> and that his claimed lost talent is a literary convention altogether, maybe a little overstated because his move to Tomis has undoubtedly depleted his earlier source of inspiration.<sup>29</sup> Apart from this last ingenuous consideration still indebted to previous scholarship, Luck is the first to have called for a deeper critical investigation of the language, not only the themes or the format, as a valid tool to demonstrate how the exile poetry is intertwined with his former poetry and must be read as a continuation of it.

A few years after **Thibault** completed a book on the historical issues arising from the event of exile, such as the chronology and the nature of the *error* that caused Ovid's life to be disrupted forever. Far from any literary or philological intent, Thibault's work carries out a historical investigation on a very singular fact that deserved scholarly attention (Kenney 1965b), setting the date of the exile in 8 AD and providing a reference and chronological list of the hypotheses of the cause of Ovid's exile since Sicco Polenton in 1437, which now can be treated as pure curiosity. Despite the lack of any contemporary literary and historical evidence other than Ovid's poetry itself, Thibault's effort to unravel a mystery that can hardly be solved<sup>30</sup> elicited the production of a number of other studies focussing on the *error* and the legal matters that followed (**Grasmück** 1978, **Syme** 1978 pp. 199-229, **Green** 1982, **Verdière** 1992, **Luisi** 2001, **Knox** 2004, **Luisi-Berrino** 2008 and

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<sup>28</sup> Luck 1961 p. 260.

<sup>29</sup> *Id.* p. 261.

<sup>30</sup> Thibault 1964 p. 121: «none [scil. of the hypotheses] is completely satisfactory».

2010). Any attempt at determining the reason for Ovid's banishment and identifying what kind of *error* he committed, however, has proven fallacious along the years: «without any trustworthy corroborating historical evidence the modern reader is forced to rely solely on the poems themselves».<sup>31</sup>

In 1965 **Kenney** stated that Ovid's exile poetry had not «yet been read with the critical attention that is its due»,<sup>32</sup> denouncing a sort of indolence in reading for oneself regardless of the opinion of previous readers, aiming at finding out why and how the exile poems are good. In his short paper he carries on a literary analysis of a selection of poems from the *Tristia* and the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, showing how Ovid takes on some traditional literary material (in this case Horatian echoes in *Trist.* 1.6, 3.12 and *Pont.* 3.3) and elaborates it in a new way, revealing a deeper level of literary dependence on earlier poetry.

A fresh comprehensive edition of the text of the *Tristia* appeared in 1967 by **Luck**, as a reworking of his previous 1963 edition within the Artemis collection. Luck made a new *collatio* of the manuscripts, acknowledging the validity of Owen's, Ehwald and Lewy's editions, but at the same time questioning their conservative approach. The need for a new extensive and complete commentary was urgent,<sup>33</sup> as the interest in Ovid's exile poetry was growing rapidly and the prejudice against it was starting to dismantle. He provided also a facing translation of the elegies into German trying to emulate the spoken language typical of the epistolary genre,<sup>34</sup> arousing

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<sup>31</sup> McGowan 2009 p. 20.

<sup>32</sup> Kenney 1965 p. 37.

<sup>33</sup> Luck 1967 p. 7.

<sup>34</sup> Luck 1967 p. 7.

nevertheless some hostile criticism.<sup>35</sup> The second volume of his work was published ten years later in 1977, consisting of a commentary on all the five books of the collection, with an introduction on the chronology of the composition, their poetical value and their role within Ovid's entire production. In defining the genre of the exilic poetry, Luck recognises that Ovid had no model to relate to neither in Latin nor Greek literature, leading him to carry out a 'poetische Experimente' for a new type of poetical product.<sup>36</sup> Although the text of the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* presents not as many interpretation problems as the *Fasti* or *Metamorphoses*, it requires continuous interventions by the editor given its highly corrupted tradition, to which is added a still poor analysis of its poetical style and art. For this reason Luck was aware that his work, not supported by thorough and extensive scholarly investigations, could not be considered complete, representing «eine ausreichende Grundlage für die künftige philologische Arbeit bildet».<sup>37</sup>

**André's** Budé edition of the *Tristia* came out the year after, in 1968. It provided Ovid's text facing a French translation. After the conventional discussion over the circumstances of exile as either love affairs or political intrigues, André states the difference between *relegatio* (the actual punishment) and *exilium*, saying that «le condamné ne perdait ni ses bien ni ses droits de citoyen ni son droit de tester»<sup>38</sup>, supported by Marcianus', Ulpian's and

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<sup>35</sup> See e.g. Lenz 1968 p. 470 for an unfavourable comparison with Owen's 1889 edition of the *Tristia* and a negative comment on the scarcity of the remarks on the text and translation; or Viarre's disapproval of the spoken language register for the translation, especially into a such non-poetical language like German (1968 p. 306).

<sup>36</sup> Luck 1977 p. 3.

<sup>37</sup> Luck 1977 p. 9

<sup>38</sup> André 1968 p. xvi.

Pomponius' legal dispositions in the *Digesta*. André sets the date of departure in the last quarter of the year 8 AD, after 10 November, basing the chronology of the edict and the exilic venture on *Pont.* 4.6.5-6,<sup>39</sup> where Ovid reveals that he has been in Tomis for five years. A detailed outline of the stages of the trip is accompanied by two useful maps at the end of the book providing two different interpretations of Ovid's sailing from Brundisium to Tomis described in *Trist.* 1.10, one with a section overland from Tempyra to Thynias, and one with a route by sea only, passing through the Hellesponto. Another map of the itinerary of the booklet in the centre of Rome recounted in *Trist.* 3.1 is also supplied. On André's treatment of Ovid's life in Tomis, the reader is offered a new interpretation of the image of the ice-cold land of exile depicted in the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*: the wintry region of Scythia was already a favourite theme in the Augustan poetry (e.g. Verg. *Georg.* 3.349-83 and Prop. 4.3.47), and Ovid himself (*Met.* 8.788-90, *Her.* 12.27). Yet in the poetry of exile this theme, backed by the accounts of the geographers of the climate of Northern Scythia,<sup>40</sup> is generalised and extended «à toutes le côtes du Pont-Euxin»,<sup>41</sup> even to as South as Tomis. According to André, Ovid reused the literary material for the traditional description of Scythia to depict the region of Tomis – although *not exactly* in Scythia, but likely to have had a similar climate – giving him full credit for the representation of the Danube in winter as a frozen-hard surface across which he could walk without getting

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<sup>39</sup> In Scythia nobis quinquennis Olympias acta est: | iam tempus lustris transit in alterius.

<sup>40</sup> Danov 1962, col. 939-43.

<sup>41</sup> André 1968 p. xxiv.

wet.<sup>42</sup> For the description of the the city and dwellers of Tomis, André mentions Lambrino and Herescu in *Ovidiana*.<sup>43</sup> André's introduction still suffers from the interpretation of the exile poetry as less 'poetical' than Ovid's other works, despite his description of the land of exile through a clever adaptation of poetical conventions. Alongside Knecht 1970's praise for André's fluent translation, Kenney argues that «nothing is said about the *Tristia* as poetry», criticising his method of *recensio* and *emendatio* as «slender» and «really not good enough» for minor and less minor inaccuracies.<sup>44</sup>

In the same year as André's edition of the *Tristia*, **Froesch** 1968 published his Bonn doctoral dissertation on the arrangement of the first three books of the *Epistulae ex Ponto* seen as a unit separate from the later-added fourth book. Froesch's contemporary readership of Ovid's exile poems was thus provided with a reflection on the arrangement of the *Epistulae ex Ponto* as a poetical collection with a definite structure, through an analysis of the epistles' addressees, which revealed a clear poetic intention.<sup>45</sup>

The discourse of the genre and arrangement of the poems is developed, among others, by **Dickinson** within the first comprehensive monograph on Ovid resulting from the collection of contributions made by a number of different scholars.<sup>46</sup> In a commentary-like essay, Dickinson mainly picks up

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<sup>42</sup> André 1928 p. xxiv: «Ovide a réellement pu voir de ses propres yeux la mer gelée et les poissons pris dans la glace». The poetical echoes for the conventional description of the land of exile will be investigated by Williams 1994 pp. 8-13.

<sup>43</sup> Herescu 1959a.

<sup>44</sup> Kenney 1970 p. 340.

<sup>45</sup> Schmeling 1970 p. 69: «the real value of Froesch's work lies in its comprehensive approach to Ovid and the *Pont.* as the artist and art work».

<sup>46</sup> Binns 1973.

Rahn 1958's and Kenney 1965's considerations on the unprecedented poetical experiment of the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*, confirming the uniqueness of the genre of the poetry of exile and of the expression of the author's own voice. The development of earlier forms of poetry – especially epistolary – is here analysed alongside a thorough book-by-book treatment of the structure. The composition, the arrangement, and the purportedly monotonous style of the poems all play a part in Ovid's intention «to arouse pity and obtain recall to Rome». <sup>47</sup> While arguing against Wilkinson's main accusation of thematical tediousness as an inevitable poetical result of Ovid's circumstances, Dickinson is still dependent on his opinion that the exile poetry should be unquestionably read as a true account of the life of an ill-fortuned man. <sup>48</sup> Although almost no space is given to the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, <sup>49</sup> and the schematisation of the poems' arrangement reveals the immaturity of approach for obvious reasons, <sup>50</sup> Galinski nevertheless praises Dickinson's effort towards the «still most neglected» part of Ovid's *oeuvre*. <sup>51</sup>

The success of an interdisciplinary approach to the Ovidan studies was demonstrated in 1978 with **Syme**'s book *History in Ovid*: the poetical corpus

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<sup>47</sup> Dickinson 1973 p. 186.

<sup>48</sup> Dickinson 1973 p. 187: «the tough-minded reader ... will be rewarded by the experience of reading a moving human document, a record of personal misfortune presented in a near unique manner by an accomplished poet dependent upon no rooted literary tradition».

<sup>49</sup> Nagle 1980 p. 11: «the enthusiasm of some of the apologists for the exilic poetry weakens before the second collection».

<sup>50</sup> Galinski 1975 p. 458: «the appreciation of the *Tristia* is still in the beginning stage»; Wilkinson 1975 is not very enthusiastic about the schematic analysis, as having a mere «marginal significance» (p. 217); McGann 1975 expresses his disappointment about Dickinson's «concern with apttarning» (p. 231).

<sup>51</sup> Galinski 1975 p. 457.

was revisited with a historical perspective, in order to evaluate any historical fact reported by no other source than Ovid and Ovid's relationship with the *domus Augustana* assembling the «'Ovidian' pieces of the jig-saw puzzle of the latter years of Augustus».<sup>52</sup> He provides a detailed chronology of Ovid's works, a discussion of the otherwise unknown victory of Tiberius and Germanicus in Germany in 14 AD mentioned in *Pont.* 3.4, and of the profiles of friends, mentors, family, *puellae* and people in general named in his poetry. Connected to Syme's interest in political history are Ovid's bonds with the imperial household and cause of banishment, which rejects the most fanciful theories.

In the same year **Lechi** published one of the most revealing studies on the genre of the exilic poetry,<sup>53</sup> which evaluated the use of the elegiac metre within a new type of 'personal' poetry, of non-erotic content. Considering the etymological character of the elegiac poetry as poetry of lament, Lechi develops the idea that Ovid in exile operated a conversion of previous poetical forms and diction, recovering the elegiac metre and unhinging it from its traditional theme.<sup>54</sup> A picture of Ovid's friends and wife as addressees of some of the poems from exile is also drawn in the light of the conventional values of *amicitia* and *coniugium*.

Lechi's considerations were soon to be expanded by **Nagle** in 1980, who revisited the main thematic features of erotic elegy in view of their exilic conversion, taking up Kenney 1965's call for fresh literary analysis of the

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<sup>52</sup> Wiedemann 1980 p. 25.

<sup>53</sup> Lechi 1978.

<sup>54</sup> The poetical conversion acted by Ovid was already studied by Rahn 1958 and Froesch 1968 with respect to the epistolary form.

*Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*. The reelaboration of her doctoral dissertation is well structured in a rigorous classifying fashion with concluding sections at the end of each chapter, and divided into three parts addressing specific questions. The first chapter focuses on ‘Subject and Genre’ and traces a number of correspondences between erotic and exilic elegy, among which are the sufferings of elegiac love and exile, the features of the *puella* and those of Ovid’s wife, the imagery of *Amor pharetratus* and *Getes pharetratus*, the erotic poetic vocabulary transferred to the exilic condition. Nagle then discusses the purpose of writing in exile: not only consolatory or recreative, but also as a means to gain for himself and confer to the addressees immortalising *gloria*, and indeed to obtain a recall. In this respect, the author treats the personification of books or single elegies as surrogates of the poet to intercede for him in Rome where he cannot go, enacting the fantasy of being physically there. Nagle sheds light also on Ovid’s assertion of poetical decadence as a strategy to raise pity, through *recusationes*, the conventional pose of inferiority, the alleged difficulty of revision or presence of barbarian words, reworking themes from Horace and the other elegiac poets. Nagle concludes that Ovid created «the similarity of the *poeta relegatus* and the *exclusus amator*, and hit upon erotic elegy as providing the closest approximation to his new situation», showing a «continuity with his first period» rather than the latest one.<sup>55</sup> This work opened a new phase in the study of the poetics of Ovid’s exilic poetry, considered as the poetical means through which the exilic genre is defined and purpose pursued. It represented a source for further literary investigation, especially on the use of myth, diction, literary

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<sup>55</sup> Nagle 1980 pp. 69-70.

devices, meter and language (Claassen), the treatment of Augustus and the adaptation of poetical conventions (Williams).

**Claassen's** work is one of the most extensive in the study of Ovidian exilic poetry, spanning from the publication of her doctoral thesis in 1986 (Stellenbosch) to the volume *Ovid Revisited* in 2008, which gathers and revisits her most important individual papers. Claassen structures the chronology of the exilic works into five phases, maintaining that the inconsistencies of Ovid's persona as an exiled man – rather than a record of his Tomitan life – is grasped only through reading the exilic corpus as a whole.<sup>56</sup> One of Claassen's most important contributions to contemporary scholarship is the thorough literary analysis of the poems, through which the meaning of exile itself could be explored: considerable space is given to in-depth analysis of special vocabulary, word plays, sound effects, metre, literary devices and mechanisms which help convey greater pathos to the elegies<sup>57</sup> and confirming «che Ovidio esule non sia poeta solo monotono e monocorde».<sup>58</sup> Another feature of Claassen work is Ovid's treatment of mythological characters and situations – especially Ulysses, Jason, Aeneas and the imagery of Homeric and Vergilian storms – as suitable paradigms for Ovid's experience of exile: e.g. his journey to Tomis, Niobe as a prototype of suffering humanity, Penelope

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<sup>56</sup> Claassen 1990. On chronology see also Claassen 1986, 1992 and 2008. Phase one: December AD 9 – march 10, *Trist.* 1 and 2; phase two: March 10 – February 12, *Trist.* 3 and 4; phase three: March 12 – January 13, *Trist.* 5 and possibly parts of *Pont.* 4; phase four: October 12 – December 13, *Pont.* 1-3; phase five: January 14 to Ovid's death, *Pont.* 4.

<sup>57</sup> Claassen 1986 with a table of occurrences of rhetorical devices such as similes, *exempla*, *adynata*, exaggeration, personification, 1988, 1989<sup>o</sup>, 1989b, 1991, 1999a, 1999b, and 2008 with a table of occurrences of special vocabulary (pp. 261-64).

<sup>58</sup> Degl'Innocenti Pierini 2010.

as the model for his wife's loyalty, Jupiter as the picture of the ruling god compared to Augustus.<sup>59</sup>

Among Claassen's main interests is the reception and use of the exilic poetry by modern-contemporary poets, such as South-African Breytenbach, who shared with Ovid a similar political exile «voicing his woe in terms reminiscent of the timelessness of Ovid's despairing poetry», and novelists, who reused Ovid's exilic poetry for totally fictitious literary works, e.g. Horia, Malouf, Ransmayr, and Wishart.<sup>60</sup>

When the book *Banished Voices* by **Williams** came out in 1994 few scholars still took Ovid's assertion of poetical degradation at face value: almost the entirety of scholarship argued that Ovid's previous poetical artistry was preserved intact in exile, and served as a means to put up a dissimulating show. Yet Williams posed new questions as to how that dissimulation is to be interpreted, or was understood by his contemporary readers, how conscious Ovid was about this process and how it develops throughout the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*, making «the most influential of recent critical works on Ovid».<sup>61</sup> The contradiction between Ovid's intention to win sympathy and declaration of poetical impotence are at the core of Williams' reworking of his Cambridge doctoral thesis, which questions the poet's sincerity on a large scale. General assumptions about the life and land of exile are dismantled through the lens of traditional poetical motifs, putting an end to «the

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<sup>59</sup> Claassen 1986, 1988, 2001 and 2008, with a table of occurrences of mythological heroes and imagery (pp. 265-83). See also Huskey 2002. On mythological storms in the *Tristia* see Ingleheart 2006b and Bate 2004.

<sup>60</sup> Claassen 2004 and 2008 pp. 248-251.

<sup>61</sup> Claassen 2008 p. 246.

predisposition to quarry the exile poetry for biographical facts ... and for historical and geographical data about the remote part of the Empire on the Black Sea»<sup>62</sup>. Ovid's exilic imagery related to the description of Tomis and its people is now seen as a product of the reelaboration of traditional poetical patterns, for example the description of ice-cold Scythia of Vergilian reminiscence. Williams' discussion counteracts: the poet's self-depreciation, expressed in the exile poetry through countless *recusationes* traced down to Horace, Catullus and Callimachus; the description of the shabby booklet in *Trist.* 1.1 and 3.1; the epic *exempla*; the love-hate relationship with the Muses; the lameness of the verse; the difficulty of polishing the final product; and, ultimately, the claim of losing the knowledge of the Latin language and the ability to write poetry in Latin. Ovid's dissimulation is carried to extremes when it is analysed with respect to the relationship with his friends and addressees: Ovid's appeal to his friends to intercede for him by Augustus «as his sole – or even prime – motive for writing poetry in Tomis is as misguided as taking his pose of poetic decline at face value»<sup>63</sup>. It is considered as a witty poetical game between poet acquaintances. The relationship between Ovid and the Muses is interpreted as similar to that with his friends, or even deeper, dominated by a love-hate tension. Also the apologetic letter to Augustus in *Trist.* 2 is read as ambiguous, fraught with innuendos on the *princeps'* faulty judgements, where Ovid «proves to be equally adept as an ironist at Augustus' expense»<sup>64</sup>: his recommendations on how poetry should be read are left to the reader for interpretation. Williams questions the

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<sup>62</sup> Anderson 1995.

<sup>63</sup> Williams 1994 p. 103.

<sup>64</sup> Williams 1994 p. 154.

‘sincerity’ of the elegy by identifying an implied message intended to other readers peer to the poet than Augustus who wrongly pronounced his sentence, «in the comforting knowledge that Augustus was unlikely to detect the implicit tone of imperial criticism and satire».<sup>65</sup> Ovid’s exilic poetry is thus ‘exfoliated’ of the «superficial certainties» and read «in a different, and potentially disconcerting, light» made of literary devices and linguistic nuances.

## 2. WHAT LIES BEHIND *TRISTIA* 3.1

### **The genre of the *Tristia***

The poetical format of the poems of the *Tristia* is difficult to define: the random presence of a named or implied addressee is not sufficient element for interpreting the poems as proper epistles in the same way, say, as the *heroides*. Most poems in *Trist.* 1, 3 and 4 were supposed to be sent to Rome and read by real people, but at the same time they present no regular format of the epistolary genre as such. From the fifth book of the *Tristia* through the following collection of the *Epistulae ex Ponto* we witness a development in the presence and consistency of the epistolary pattern as the names of the addressees start to appear and the structure of the letters is more and more

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<sup>65</sup> Williams 1994 p. 201.

definite.<sup>66</sup> Ovid is performing a «poetische Experimente»,<sup>67</sup> which will lead him to a novel type of poetry adapting to an unusual poetical and personal context. Some of the poems in the *Tristia* are accounts of the journey towards Tomis (1.2, 1.4, 1.10, 1.11, 3.8), of the departure from Ovid's beloved homeland (1.3), of the fictional arrival in Rome of the booklet from Tomis (3.1); they feature descriptions of storms (1.2, 1.4), of the land and inhabitants of Tomis (3.2, 3.4b, 3.8, 3.9, 3.10, 3.12, 5.7 and 5.10); they serve as an apology against the poet's charge (2); they contain reflections on poetry, fortune and language (1.7, 4.1, 4.10, 5.7, 5.12 and 5.14), the passage of time (3.11, 3.13, 4.6, 4.8, 5.5, 5.6, 5.8, 5.9, 5.10 and 5.13), and also prayers to gods (1.2, 3.1 and 5.3). Where an addressee is featured, he is never explicitly named, apart from Augustus (*Trist.* 2, 5.2b and 5.11), his step-daughter Priscilla (3.7) and his wife. The elegies 1.6, 3.3, 4.3, 5.2, 5.11 and 5.14 were sent to his third wife, presumably of the *gens Fabia*. The elegies 1.5, 1.9, 3.5, 3.6, 4.5, 5.4 and 5.12 were addressed to an unnamed faithful friend, containing considerations over the value of friendship in difficult times, whereas 1.8, 4.9 and 5.8 to a friend who had betrayed Ovid following his ruin. *Trist.* 1.7, 3.4, 3.11, 5.6 and 5.7 were addressed to an unknown person. The librarian Hyginus has been identified as the addressee of *Trist.* 3.14. M. Valerius Messalla Messalinus, son of Ovid's patron and friend Messalla Corvinus, is the addressee of *Trist.* 4.4, whereas another of Ovid's friends, M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus, is the unnamed addressee of *Trist.* 5.9 and 5.13. Finally, *Trist.* 5.1 is addressed to the reader, and *Trist.* 1.1 is fictitiously addressed to the book itself.

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<sup>66</sup> Hinds 1985 p. 16. See also Kennedy 1984 on the epistolary mode in the *heroides*.

<sup>67</sup> Luck 1977 p. 3.

## Like father, like son

### I

#### *Do what you are told*

The opening elegy of the third book of the *Tristia* has been connected to the first elegy of the whole collection.<sup>68</sup> They both feature the prosopopoeia of the booklet: in *Trist.* 1.1 Ovid speaks to his book before its departure in the Horatian fashion (Hor. *epist.* 1.20), to gain legitimacy for his new poetical experiment,<sup>69</sup> whereas in *Trist.* 3.1 the booklet itself arrives in Rome where its author cannot enter and speaks in the first person, recalling *Am.* 3.8.6 (*quo licuit libris, non licet ire mihi*). In the proem to the *Tristia* Ovid calls on his little book just before its departure for Rome to approach the *princeps* and intercede for its author's recall.<sup>70</sup> Ovid's recommendations to his departing book-roll in *Trist.* 1.1 and the self-introduction of the book-roll in *Trist.* 3.1 to the reader in Rome have several thematic and lexical points in common that reveal a deeper level of correspondence, expanding the relationship between author and work and the concept of exile poetry itself.

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<sup>68</sup> Frécaut 1972 pp. 311-12, Evans 1983, Hinds 985, Williams 1992, Edwards 1996 p. 119, Newlands 1997, Huskey 2002, Tissol 2005 p. 101.

<sup>69</sup> Luck 1977 p. 11, Nagle 1980 pp. 82-91, Evans 1983 p. 33, Citroni 1975 on Mart. 1.70; Citroni 1986 noted that the address to the book as *puer* is a Horatian invention; see Fedeli 1996 for a detailed commentary of the closing epistle of *epist.* 1 and Geysen 1999 for a comparison of Mart. 1.70 and Ovid.

<sup>70</sup> Geysen 2007 provides a detailed analysis of how Ovid addresses the book in *Trist.* 1.1. He argues the gradual identification of the persona of Ovid with the book of the *Tristia*, at the same time distancing from his previous persona of poet of love (pp. 379-80).

The first and third book of the *Tristia* have also been compared on a broader scale: they both have similar overall structures, with a prologue and an epilogue, corresponding elegies (*Trist.* 1.7 and *Trist.* 3.14 are both reflections on the poet's work),<sup>71</sup> similar addressees (*Trist.* 1.6 and *Trist.* 3.3 are addressed to Ovid's wife), and opposite themes (*Trist.* 1 is on Ovid's departure from Rome and journey into exile, while *Trist.* 3 describes the life in the land of exile). The first book pictures Ovid's epic detachment from his beloved homeland, through Vergilian storms with deadly Homeric thunderbolts, and the Apollonian voyage towards the land of the dead,<sup>72</sup> in a literary katabasis. On the other hand, Ovid's attempt to come back from the dead through his poetry in *Trist.* 3.1 will not succeed and will ineluctably fade into the frozen fixity of his condition in Tomis.<sup>73</sup>

In *Trist.* 1.1 and 3.1 we read that Ovid's great success as a Roman poet in the past and his following relegation from the city of his fame directly contrasts with the book-roll's comeback and hope to gain approval from the *princeps* and Ovid's former readership. *Trist.* 1.1 and *Trist.* 3.1 are linked by the opposition between the glorious past and the mournful present, Ovid's distance from and the book-roll's presence in Rome, his identification with and separation from his poetry: the once famous Ovid sits desperate in Tomis far from his beloved city (*Trist.* 1.1), while his son-book has returned to intercede for him and regain favour (*Trist.* 3.1). The poet strives to grasp his last chance to be close to Rome by sending there his book as a part of his flesh and blood to be his advocate. If Ovid cannot return to Rome as a

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<sup>71</sup> Luck 1977 p. 160 and *ad loc.*

<sup>72</sup> On the correspondence between exile and death see Claassen 1996 pp. 576-85.

<sup>73</sup> Evans 1983 pp. 50-51 and more in depth Huskey 2002.

legitimate fellow citizen, at least he can be accepted as a read poet in the form of his books. If Augustus accepts the booklet's prayer, then Ovid will be able to return as a Roman citizen. If the booklet is accepted into the Roman libraries, Ovid will be restored also as a poet within the Roman literary tradition.<sup>74</sup>

In *Trist.* 1.1, sent off to Rome, shabby and messy in its appearance,<sup>75</sup> the booklet carries Ovid's list of dos and don'ts for the accomplishment of its mission:

- “do not care about your unkempt appearance” (*Trist.* 1.1.3-14);
- “go and visit the places so dear to me” (*Trist.* 1.1.15 *uade, liber, uerbisque meis loca grata saluta*);
- “do not speak too much” (*Trist.* 1.1.21-22 *tacitus ... | ne, quae non opus est, forte loquere, caue!*);
- “do not defend yourself” (*Trist.* 1.1.25 *tu caue defendas*),
- “wish well to whoever mourns over my misfortune” (*Trist.* 1.1.31-32 *nos quoque, quisquis erit, ne sit miser ille, precamur, | placatos miseris qui uolet esse deos*);
- “do not worry about your bad reputation” (*Trist.* 1.1.49 *securus famae, liber, ire memento*);
- “do not feel shame if someone should despise your verses” (*Trist.* 1.1.50 *nec tibi sit lecto displicuisse pudor*);

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<sup>74</sup> On the identification between the book and the poet in *Trist.* 1.1 see Mordine 2010 and Geysen 2007.

<sup>75</sup> For the inverted literary convention of the book roll's appearance in classical literature see Williams 1992.

- “go and see Rome on my behalf” (*Trist.* 1.1.57 *i pro me, tu, cui licet, aspice Romam*);
- “do not attract attention” (*Trist.* 1.1.63 *clam ... intrato*);
- “tell whoever refuses to read you that you do not teach how to love” (*Trist.* 1.1.67 *‘inspice’ dic ‘titulum: non sum praeceptor amoris’*);
- “do not dare to approach the Palatine or the house of Augustus” (*Trist.* 1.1.69-70 *forsitan expectes, an in alta Palatia missum | scandere te iubeam Caesareamque domum*);
- “be careful and circumspect” (*Trist.* 1.1.87 *ergo caue, liber, et timida circumspice mente*);
- “do not despise ordinary readers” (*Trist.* 1.1.88 *satis a media sit tibi plebe legi*);
- “consider the circumstances” (*Trist.* 1.1.92 *consilium reque locusque dabant*);
- “wait for someone to escort you” (*Trist.* 1.1.95-96 *siquis erit, qui te dubitantem et adire timentem | tradat, et ante tamen pauca loquatur, adi*);
- “do not harm me, while you are trying to help me” (*Trist.* 1.1.101 *tantum ne noceas, dum uis prodesse, uideto*);
- “do not provoke Augustus’ wrath” (*Trist.* 1.1.103-04 *ne mota resaeuiat ira | et poenae tu sis altera causa, caue!*);
- “go and meet your sibling-books in my old house” (*Trist.* 1.1.107 *aspicies illic positos ex ordine fratres*);
- “scorn the *ars amatoria*” (*Trist.* 1.1 *hos tu .. fugias*);

- “tell the *Metamorphoses* to include in their verses my last unfortunate transformation” (*Trist.* 1.1.119-20 *his mando dicas, inter mutata referri | fortunae uultum corpora posse meae*);
- “go, because the journey is long” (*Trist.* 1.1.127 *longa uia est, propera!*).

Once arrived in Rome at the opening of the third book, the booklet tries to carry out almost all its father’s recommendations in a clever inter-book play, which totally overlooks the second book.<sup>76</sup>

Unfortunately, neither Augustus nor the libraries will welcome Ovid’s request, and his pathetic attempt is immediately shattered as he reaches, under the appearance of his booklet, the library on the Palatine, right next to the private estate of Augustus, where political and literary approval are joint together: his hope of revival is quickly dampened by the book-roll’s definite turndown.

The initial contrast between Ovid in Tomis and his book in Rome is nevertheless counterbalanced by the infelicitous outcome of the book-roll’s attempt, turning its unsuccessful tour of Rome into a direct metaphor for Ovid’s misfortune: not only is the poet exiled from the city, but also his poetry has been officially interdicted. He is no longer at the verge of his poetic fortune supported by the political power, and his request for a recall – which started back in the second book of the *Tristia* – has now definitely been rejected by the *princeps*. The book being thrust out of public libraries has confirmed that Ovid’s public reunification with Rome cannot be effective

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<sup>76</sup> Bonvicini 1991 p. 306: «l’elegia inizia esattamente là dove s’interrompe il componimento introduttivo della prima raccolta dei *Tristia* ... segnala la continuità fra la I e la III raccolta, nonché la conseguente autonomia della II lunga elegia».

and his ambition should now to be downscaled, conveying that the only way Ovid may be restored as a poet is through a private and merciful readership who will maintain his poetical fortune alive by furtively reading his books.

Glancing at the opening lines of both elegies, we see the first correspondence occurring at line 1, where Ovid is telling the book to leave Tomis and go to Rome (*Trist.* 1.1) and where the book announces his arrival (*Trist.* 3.1):

parue – nec inuideo – sine me, liber, ibis in Urbem

(*Trist.* 1.1.1)

missus in hanc uenio timide liber exulis Urbem

(*Trist.* 3.1.1)

In *Trist.* 1.1 Ovid says that the book shall reach the city on its own (*sine me ... ibis in Urbem*), because he has been banished from it, while in *Trist.* 3.1 the book's arrival is confirmed (*in hanc uenio (...) Urbem*): Rome is the place where the book-roll has been sent to and where the book-roll has eventually arrived. In *Trist.* 1.1 Ovid refers to Rome from a distance and sends his booklet where he himself is unable to go, since he is writing from Tomis,<sup>77</sup> whereas in *Trist.* 3.1 Rome is seen from the book-roll's direct point of view, as it is physically there (*in hanc (...) Urbem*).

The connection between the elegies does not lie only on a set of word entries; also metrical and thematic parallelisms allow a joint reading of the passages. The last metrical position of the hexameter in both lines is occupied by the

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<sup>77</sup> Cfr. *Trist.* 1.1.2 *ei mihi, quod domino non licet ire tuo!* and 127-128 *longa uia est, propera! nobis habitabitur orbis | ultimus, a terra terra mea.*

key-word *Vrbem* (|ūrbēm|), which associates the place from where Ovid is exiled with the place where the book-roll arrives in, conveying the idea that Rome is an interdicted *temenos* for Ovid, a fenced place into which he cannot step, nor he would, since he would not be welcomed in praises, and would only be an impediment to the book-roll's success (*nec inuideo*). Ovid warns the book that it might find hostility upon arrival, since it is the book of an exile (*Trist.* 1.1.51-52 *non ita se praebet nobis Fortuna secundam, |ut tibi sit ratio laudis habenda tuae* and 63-64 *clam tamen intrato, ne te mea carmina ledant; non sunt ut quondam plena fauoris erant*).

The contrast between “there in Rome” and “here in Rome” is given by the use of the verb tenses and time relation: in *Trist.* 1.1 the future *ibis* (Ovid subject), focuses on the distance in space and time between the present in Tomis and the future in Rome. *Ibis* anticipates the past participle *missus* and the present *uenio* at *Trist.* 3.1 (book-roll subject) stressing once more the gap between Ovid's being in Tomis<sup>78</sup> and the book-roll's entering Rome.

These lines carry another key metrical match: *libēr* (‘book’), which has an ironical assonance with *libēr* (‘free’), stands in the same verse position at the second half of the fourth foot in both lines: |mē libēr| and |-dē libēr|. The book-roll is *libēr* to leave Tomis and reach Rome in search for a suitable location in one of the public Roman libraries, whereas Ovid is forced to remain in Tomis for the rest of his life: the book-roll is both *libēr* and *libēr*, while Ovid is trapped at the end of the world, wishing to become his *libēr*

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<sup>78</sup> The same concept is stated in *Trist.* 1.1.127-28 *nobis habitabitur orbis | ultimus, a terra terra remota mea*.

and find his way back home (*Trist.* 1.1.58 *di facerent, possem nunc meus esse liber*).<sup>79</sup>

Again, at *Trist.* 1.1.1 the book-roll is described as a small book (*parue*) with no author (*sine me*), which accounts for its being insecure (*Trist.* 3.1.1 *timide* and 21 *furtim lingua titubante*) and unacquainted with anyone in town (*Trist.* 3.1.22 *vix fuit unus*).

The book's arrival in Rome was anticipated also at *Trist.* 1.1.59-60, where Ovid tells the book that the Romans will recognise it as being written by him, although it has never been in the city before, given its unkempt appearance, which is a clear index of its author's condition of exile. Again we can see how *uenias* and *Vrbem* are in the same metrical position as in *Trist.* 3.1, confirming once again the direct connection between these two prologues:

nec te, quod uenias magnam peregrinus in Vrbem,  
  
ignotum populo posse uenire puta.

(*Trist.* 1.1.59-60)

Ovid in *Trist.* 1.1 and his booklet in *Trist.* 3.1 act here as interlocutors in a fictitious, distant-in-time and one-of-a-kind dialogue: while Ovid speaks to his booklet, the booklet speaks directly down to the reader, stressing the role of poetry as mediator between author and reader. This 'linear' dialogue

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<sup>79</sup> On the word pun *liber* (book) and *liber* (free) see Hinds 1985 p. 13: «Ovid is the *dominus* and his book is the slave: yet it is the slave who is free to go where he wants (line 1), and the *dominus* who is not (line 2)» and n. 2 p. 29. See also Barchiesi 1993 p. 78 on the booklet being banned from the Hall of Liberty in *Trist.* 3.1.71-72: «*Libertas*, la divinità che ha la sua casa nella biblioteca, non ha permesso al nuovo libro di toccare il suo atrio (*Trist.* 3.1.70 sgg.): il libro non è "libero" (un gioco di parole facile in latino), e forse anche *Libertas* non lo è più».

follows the author-book-readership direction as the reader welcomes Ovid's poetry back in Rome and reads about his misfortune through his poetry.

The identification of the *persona* of Ovid with his book takes place in *Trist.* 3.1 as the contrast between the immobility of the author and the dynamism of his poetry travelling across sea and land smoothens. Only by identifying with his work and becoming his poetry, can Ovid release his status and free himself from the limitations of space and time. In *Trist.* 3.1 the book-roll becomes an appendix of Ovid's body, turning into his eyes, mouth, ears and feet, even though still speaking about him in the third person (*Trist.* 1.1.15 *uade liber et loca cara saluta*).<sup>80</sup> This kind of metamorphosis is neither sudden nor smooth: we must not forget that Ovid has been banished from Rome *because* of the content of his poetry (specifically the *ars amatoria*). His identification with it cannot be automatic or painless. In his exilic poetry Ovid tries to rebuke and reject his work because it has been the reason for his punishment, by claiming no real correspondence between its poetical content and the conduct of his life,<sup>81</sup> even calling them unintentional 'parricides' (*Trist.* 1.1.114 *Oedipodas ...*

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<sup>80</sup> For the association between poetic corpus and Ovid's body see Farrell 1999 and Tola 2004. On Ovid fathering his books, see *Trist.* 3.1.57 *nostro (...) parenti*, 65-66 *quaerebam fratres, exceptis scilicet illis, | quos suus optaret non genuisse pater*, 73-74 *in genus auctoris miseri fortuna redundat, | et patimur nati, quam tulit ipse, fugam*, 3.14.11-17 *saepe per externas profugus pater exulat oras, | Vrbe tamen natis exulis esse licet. | Palladis exemplo de me sine matre creata | carmin sunt; stirps haec progeniesque mea est. | hanc tibi commendo, quae quo magis orba parente est, | hoc tibi tutori sarcina mair erit. | tres mihi sunt nati contagia nostra secuti*, and *Trist.* 1.1.107 *aspicies illic positos ex ordine fratres*, 115 *siqua est tibi cura parentis*, and 1.7.17-20 *utque cremasse suum fertur sub stipite natum | Thesitias ... | sic ego non meritos mecum peritura libellos | imposui rapidis viscera nostra rogis*. On Ovid's depersonalisation see Claassen 1990.

<sup>81</sup> See *Trist.* 2.89-96 and Mordine 2010: «through this master-(freed) slave relationship Ovid suggests that a poet should not be held responsible for his poetry, that a poem is 'on its own in the world'». Geysen 2007 who sees through the four addresses to the book in *Tristia* 1 an

*Telegonosque*).<sup>82</sup> By doing so Ovid strives to obtain a mitigation of the sentence, so as to convince the judges that his poetry has acted as an independent being fully liable for the crime of teaching the Romans how to love. However, Ovid does not deny his authorship by repeatedly confessing his deep involvement with its books, stating that his own talent has brought him to ruin.<sup>83</sup>

In *Trist.* 1.1 the poet Ovid instructs the book-roll on how it should appear, whereas in *Trist.* 3.1 the book-roll presents itself according to its author's instructions. At the beginning of *Trist.* 1.1 Ovid reveals that his book-roll should look as shabby and miserable as he himself does, reflecting the difficult times during which it was composed. The book-roll should be *incultus*

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evolution of the persona of the poet: that of the *exclusus amator* (as in *am* 3.8), that of the *scripta puella* unable to write good Latin (as in *Her.* 3), and finally that of *poeta relegatus*. On the love-hate relationship between Ovid and his poetry see Claassen 1986 322-30 and Williams 1994 pp. 150-53. On Ovid's multiple identities in the exile poetry see Claassen 1986 pp. 196-202 and 1990.

<sup>82</sup> Hinds 1985 p. 17-18. On the correspondence of Ovid's books with Telegonus and Oedipus who killed their fathers unwittingly see O'Gorman 1997.

<sup>83</sup> Davisson 1984 analyses the relationship of Ovid with his books as a conflicting parent-children one: «just as parents see children sometimes as extensions of themselves and sometimes as members of alien species, so Ovid uses the poet-parent comparison of all his poems to express the tension between involvement and detachment» (pp. 113-14). See also Nagle 1980 p. 84-85. The same process of dissociation and association between the poet and his work occurs at *Trist.* 2.1-2 (*quid mihi vobiscum est, infelix cura, libelli, | ingenio perii qui miser ipse meo?*) as Ovid is trying to overturn the charge of having written erotic didactic poetry, by blaming his own books for their content. Yet, in the following line Ovid admits that his own talent has caused his tragic demise, showing unsteadiness in his position as a prosecuted subject. On this see Zanoni 2012. The evolution of the poet's identity takes place across the opening elegies of the first three books of the *Tristia*, including the second book. By identifying with his works and disengage from his miserable condition, Ovid has the chance to ideally return to Rome and overcome the boundaries of his exiled existence, thereby reducing the distance between 'here' and 'there', the present and the future.

(l. 3), *infelix* (l. 4), *hirsutus* (l. 12), unpolished (ll. 11-12), smudged (ll. 13-14), with a pale complexion (ll. 5-6), carrying the image of its author in sorrow and lacking the embellishment of a refined piece of work (ll. 3 and 10). The external shabbiness of the booklet and the misery of its content create a reversed representation of the traditional booklet:<sup>84</sup>

uade, sed incultus, qualem decet exulis esse;

infelix habitum temporis huius habe.

nex te purpureo uelent uaccinia fuco –

non est conueniens luctibus ille color –

nec titulus mini, nec cedro charta notetur,

candida nec nigra cornua fronte geras.

felices ornent haec instrumenta libellos:

fortunae memorem te decet esse meae.

nec fragili geminae poliantur pumice frontes,

hirsutus passis ut uideare comis

(*Trist.* 1.1.3-12)

In *Trist.* 3.1 the description of the book-roll fully complies with that in *Trist.* 1.1: the book-roll contains gloomy poetry (l. 9 *triste*), limps from the long

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<sup>84</sup> See Williams 1992 for a detailed account of the representation of the book-roll in Latin literature and Ovid's reversed picture.

journey (l. 11 *clauda*), is pale and unpolished (l. 13), smudged by its author's tears (ll. 15-16), and filled with non-Latin words (ll. 17-18). In addition, should anyone still have any doubts as to its contents despite its obvious untidiness, he should be informed that the book is not about love, as the title reads '*Tristia*'. As in *Trist.* 1.1 Ovid advises the book to show the suspicious reader the tag with the title (l. 67 '*inspice*' *dic* '*titulum*'), so in *Trist.* 3.1 the book-roll states that it does not carry any love poetry by using its father's same words (l. 9 *inspice*). reflecting the sadness of its author and the misery of the time in which it was written (*infelix habitum temporis huius*). On the other hand, at *Trist.* 3.1.5-6 the book-roll explains that its author's fate is so miserable (*infelix*) that he is unable to conceal his sorrow by composing playful poems and cannot help but writing sad poetry in such sad times.

haec domini fortuna mea est, ut debeat illam

infelix nullis dissimulare iocis

(*Trist.* 3.1.5-6)

The adjective *infelix* refers both to the wretched events in which Ovid has been shoved into (*Trist.* 1) and to Ovid's own feeling of despair (*Trist.* 3). *Infelix* is also a specific word that denotes the infertility of poetry composed in such unproductive times.<sup>85</sup> Thereby the external unkempt appearance of the booklet reflects the infertility of its content, and Ovid's being *infelix* means that he is also poetically sterile. Ovid invites his book to wear his *infelix*

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<sup>85</sup> Williams 1992 pp. 184, points out the double meaning of *infelix*: «*infelix* in appearance and in the circumstances of its production, the book is also *infelix* because of the sterility of Ovid's poetic talent».

*habitum* in accordance (*deceat*) with his mourning and impossibility of writing a ‘fertile’ work of art.

Again, in line with the appropriate sadness of the book of an exile, another correspondence is found at *Trist.* 1.1.6, when Ovid recommends the book-roll not to be red-coloured like a perfectly finished scroll, since it would not suit its sad mood. The same concept is conveyed at *Trist.* 3.1.10, when the book-roll assures the reader that he is not carrying a collection of shameful love poems, but only mournful ones, given the circumstances in which they were written.

non est conueniens luctibus ille color

(*Trist.* 1.1.6)

carmine temporibus conueniente suis

(*Trist.* 3.1.10)

The word *conueniens* found in both lines stresses once more the need for the book-roll to be sad in its contents and pale in its appearance, just as it should be *incultus* like a ‘respectable’ book from exile (*Trist.* 1.1.1 *deceat*). Both *conueniens* and *deceat* emphasise such recommendation, as part of the ‘guidelines for presentation’ of works written in exile. Furthermore, *conueniens luctibus* (‘suitable for mourning’) directly corresponds to *temporibus conueniente suis* (‘suitable for the book-roll’s time of distress’), given the similarity of *luctus* to the transferred meaning of *tempora* as ‘distressful circumstances’ and ‘sad times’. In keeping with the correspondence between external looks and internal mood, the word *color* does not only refer to the red pigment with

which papyrus scrolls were dyed to embellish their aspect (*Trist.* 1.1.5 *purpureo* (...) *fucō*), but also to the gay spirit of their poetry,<sup>86</sup> claiming that love poetry is not suitable for a book written in exile.

The recommendations on how the booklet should appear continue in the following lines in *Trist.* 1.1. Ovid prescribes that the *titulus* of his book-roll neither should be coloured with minius (a red-tinted mineral), nor with the yellowish citron oil (*nec cedro*), nor exfoliated with pumice stone (*nec ... pumice*). In response to this, the book-roll tells the reader in *Trist.* 3.1 that neither has it been dyed with citron oil (*neque (...) cedro*) nor rubbed with pumice stone (*nec pumice*) so as to properly match its author's untidiness:

non titulus minio, nec cedro charta notetur

...

nec fragili geminae poliantur pumice frontes

(*Trist.* 1.1.7 and 11)

quod neque sum cedro flauus nec pumice leuis,

erubui domino cultior esse meo

(*Trist.* 3.1.13-14)

Another feature of the book-roll's unkempt appearance are the smudges scattered on the surface of the scroll made by Ovid's tears.<sup>87</sup> In *Trist.* 1 Ovid

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<sup>86</sup> Williams 1992 pp. 184-185.

<sup>87</sup> For the image of the words smudged by the poet's tears see also *Ov. Her.* 3.3 and *Prop.* 4.3.3-4 *si qua tamen tibi lectur pars oblita derit, | haec erit e lacrimis facta litura meis*. See Hinds 1985

invites his book not to be ashamed of the smudges (*neue liturarum pudeat*), since they are proof of the author's distress (*de lacrimis*). In *Trist.* 3 the book-roll explains to the reader that the reason for its diffused blots (*suffusas (...)* *litturas*) is that Ovid has marked the written surface of the scroll with his tears (*lacrimis*):

neue liturarum pudeat; qui uiderit illas

de lacrimis factas sentiet esse meis

(*Trist.* 1.1.13-14)

littera suffusas quod habet maculosa litturas

laesit opus lacrimis ipse poeta suum

(*Trist.* 3.1.15-16)

The Catullan description of the book is here not only reversed, but it also represents one of the elements through which the parent-child relationship mostly shows, that is the child's obedience the instructions and his physical likeness to his parent. *Trist.* 3.1 can be read as the book-roll's reply to its author with unconditional obedience, in a sort of full poet-work alignment. The book-roll reflects and maintains Ovid's original intentions in a time and place far from his direct influence: if Ovid is miserable, the booklet must contain sad poetry; if Ovid is in tears, the booklet must carry the sign of

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pp. 14-16 and Rosenmeyer 1997 for the correspondence between the *epistulae heroidum* and the *Tristia*.



longa uia est, propera!

(*Trist.* 1.1.127)

Besides Ovid's instructions on what the book-roll should look like, what places to go, what to say and not to say (*Trist.* 1.1.19, *uiuere me dices, saluum tamen esse negabis*, 21-22 *atque ita tu tacitus (quaerenti plura legendum) | ne, quae non opus est, forte loquere, caue!*, and 25 *tu caue defendas, quamuis mordebere dictis*), the correspondence between *Trist.* 1 and *Trist.* 3 shows when Ovid tells the book-roll what to answer when addressed to by an affectionate reader. In *Trist.* 1 Ovid says that if there should be a nostalgic reader among the crowd still remembering him (l. 17) with nostalgic feeling (l. 27) and asking how he is getting on (l. 18), he should be told that Ovid is alive, yet unsafe (l. 19) in a forsaken land. Moreover, Ovid recommends that the book-roll should greet the reader by wishing him happiness (l. 31) and everything he desires for (l. 33), as long as he secretly wishes for Ovid's recall (ll. 29-30 and 32) and burial in his homeland (l. 34):

siquis, ut in populo, nostri non immemor illic,

siquis, qui, quid agam, forte requirat, erit,

vivere me dices, saluum tamen esse negabis

(*Trist.* 1.1.17-19)

inuenies aliquem, qui me suspiret ademptum,

carmina nec siccis perlegat ista genis,



seruatos cuius indicat huius ope.

adice seruatis unum, pater optime, ciuem,

qui procul extremo pulsus in orbe iacet.

(*Trist.* 3.1.48-50)

quandocumque, precor, nostro placata parenti,

isdem sub dominis aspiciare, domus!

(*Trist.* 3.1.47-58)

di, precor, atque adeo – neque enim mihi turba roganda est –

Caesar, ades uoto, maxime diue, meo!

(*Trist.* 3.1.77-78)

Ovid's prayer for the reader in *Trist.* 1.1 closely relates to that uttered by the book-roll for both the reader and the author in *Trist.* 3.1, as they share a complementary fate. Ovid's prayer (*Trist.* 1.1) that the gods may be merciful towards the reader, who wishes in turn that the gods showed mercy to the *miseri*, is almost a tautology: both Ovid and the reader wish each other that they may not be unfortunate, suggesting that the good fate of the former implies that of the latter. Yet as we read in the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*, *miser* has a particular meaning within the exilic context, denoting the specific condition of the mourning exile.<sup>88</sup> Also the following wish that the reader may accomplish whatever he desires matches Ovid's wish to safely die in his

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<sup>88</sup> See commentary on *Trist.* 3.1.1 below.

homeland – that is Ovid’s *quaeque uolet*. Ovid seems to suggest that the reader will be safe *as long as* he keeps wishing for Ovid’s salvation, and that he will realise his dreams *as long as* Augustus realises Ovid’s. The book-roll’s wish in *Trist.* 3.1 is parallel to Ovid’s wish for the reader to live happily in *Trist.* 1.1 (l. 31 *ne sit miser*), however contrasting the impossibility for Ovid to actually accomplish his dream (*Trist.* 3.1.23 *nostro quod non tribuere parenti*), which conveys a hint of pessimism in the book-roll’s appeal and anticipates the unfortunate outcome of its mission.

Before the book-roll’s departure, Ovid warns his child not to be surprised if the Romans will not set up a welcome reception on its arrival: it is the book of an exile after all (*Trist.* 1.1.65 *quia sis meus*) – although travelling on its own without its author (l. 1 *sine me*) – and it should abstain from seeking appreciation from refined readers (l. 88 *satis a media sit tibi plebe legi*). Since his life was struck by exile, Ovid has belittled the importance of fame and praise for his poetical talent as he used to (l. 64 *ut quondam*). At this point Ovid even considers himself fortunate not to hate his poetry (l. 55 *carmina ... non studiumque odi*) for causing his fall (l. 55 *quod obfuit* and 56 *ingenio sic fuga parta meo*), so that he can still write poetry and keep in contact with Rome, by sending there his writings. On the other hand, the booklet will eventually give up hope on a full, official restoration by begging the crowd (*plebeiae ... manus*) to pick it up and store it privately at the end of *Trist.* 3.1.

donec eram sospes, tituli tangebar amore,  
                   quaerendique mihi nominis ardor erat;  
 carmina nunc si non studiumque, quod obfuit, odi,

sit satis: ingenio sic fuga parta meo.

(*Trist.* 1.1.53-56)

(scil. mea carmina) non sunt ut quondam plena fauoris erant

(*Trist.* 1.1.64)

uos quoque, si fas est, confusa pudore repulsae,

sumite, plebeiae, carmina nostra, manus.

(*Trist.* 3.1.81-82)

The relationship between Ovid and his books is a love-hate one: even if Ovid detests his exilic condition caused by his licentious poetry, he nevertheless cannot help but keep on writing from exile and worrying that his books will be accepted by his readership (ll. 55-56 *carmina nunc si non studiumque (...) odi | sit satis*).<sup>89</sup> Rejection and dependency are at the core of this family tie: Ovid's books are both his own curse and consolation in a time of distress. This fluctuating relationship is enacted as Ovid considers his books not only as the reason for his banishment, but also his offspring: by fashioning the character of his books as his damned-and-loved sons, Ovid stages the fiction of his tormented family life in exile throughout the *Tristia*, especially in *Trist.* 1.1 and 3.1, where the relationship between father and son becomes more evident and turmoiled.

If this booklet arriving from exile is Ovid's child, then all of the other works by Ovid are its siblings. As in *Trist.* 1.1 Ovid instructs his child on what to do

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<sup>89</sup> Cf. Claassen 1989b.



As we continue to read Ovid's prescriptions to his book in *Trist.* 1.1, we notice that the book is highly discouraged by his author to reach the house of Augustus on the Palatine (ll. 69 *in alta Palatia* and 70 *scandere (...) Caesareamque domum*) to plead forgiveness, since that is the place where Ovid's sentence once struck like a bolt of lightning (l. 72 *illa fulmen ab arce*). Should it be rejected a second time, the book-roll's attempt to reach the top of the hill will cast further shame on its author: Ovid's advice is that the book seeks hospitality from private readership, without tempting fate. An open parallel with Icarus is drawn soon after: the father Ovid becomes Daedalus warning his son-book Icarus not to fly too high (l. 89 *sublimia*) given his unsteady flight (l. 89 *infirmis ... pennis*), lest he should fall into the sea and die. Regardless of its father's advice, in *Trist.* 3.1 the son-book will eventually climb the hill (l. 59 *gradibus sublimia celsis*) despite its unsteady feet (l. 56 *alternos intremuisse pedes*), and will be thrust out of the Palatine library definitely failing in its intent. It is worth noticing that in *Trist.* 1.1 the concept of attempting too bold a venture is rendered by words that convey an upward motion or considerable height and insecurity of movement, such as *alta* and *scandere* (l. 69-70) for the climb up to the Palatine, and *sublimia* (l. 88) and *infirmis ... pennis* (l. 89) for the flight of Icarus. The same concept is recalled in *Trist.* 3.1.59 with the same ominous meaning through the epithets *sublimia* (scil. *templa*) and *celsis* (scil. *gradibus*) when the book is ascending (literally *scandere*) the Palatine with unsteady pace (l. 56 *alternos intremuisse pedes*):

forsitan expectes, an in alta Palatia missum

scandere te iubeam Caesareamque domum

ignoscant augusta mihi loca dique locorum!

uenit in hoc illa fulmen ab arce caput.

(*Trist.* 1.1.69-72)

dum petit infirmis nimium sublimia pennis

Icarus, aequoreis nomina fecit aquis.

(*Trist.* 1.1.89-90)

inde tenore pari gradibus sublimia celsis

(*Trist.* 3.1.59)

Ovid cannot guess what conditions the book-roll will find in Rome. Even if Ovid is well aware that his reconciliation with Augustus and the restoration of his fame are quite unlikely, he leaves to the book the decision whether to ascend the Palatine. Ovid suggests that it should enter the city secretly (ll. 20 *cautus* and 63 *clam tamen intrato*) and consider the circumstances carefully before making any decision (l. 87 *timida circumspice mente*):

atque ita tu cautus quaerenti plura legendum

(*Trist.* 1.1.20)

clam tamen intrato, ne te mea carmina laedant

(*Trist.* 1.1.63)

ergo caue, liber, et timida circumspice mente,  
 ...  
 difficile est tamen hinc remis utaris an aura  
     dicere: consilium resque locusque dabunt.  
 si poteris uacuo tradi, si cuncta uidebis  
     mitia, si uires fregerit ira suas,  
 siquis erit, qui te dubitantem et adire timentem  
     tradat, et ante tamen pauca loquatur, adi.

(*Trist.* 1.1.87, 91-96)

In *Trist.* 3.1 the circumstances appear propitious and an unknown reader (compare *Trist.* 1.1.16-17 *siquis, ut in populo ... | siquis erit* and 95 *siquis erit* with *Trist.* 3.1.22 *uix fuit unus*) is ready to escort the trembling, timid booklet to the top of the Palatine hill (compare *Trist.* 1.1.87 *ergo caue, liber, et timida circumspice mente* with *Trist.* 3.1.21 *titubante lingua*, 54 *quatitur trepido littera nostra metu* and 56 *alternos intremuisse pedes*). Despite Ovid's recommendation in *Trist.* 1.1 and his child's fear (*Trist.* 1.1.95 *te dubitantem et adire timentem* and 3.1.53 *uereorque locum uereorque potentem*), the booklet ingenuously and optimistically hopes to recover its father's fortune, and walks towards the hill, passing through the obstructing gate of the city, the *porta Mugonia*. The book-roll's trembling in *Trist.* 3.1 reflects Ovid's fear of insuccess in *Trist.* 1.1: although Ovid truly wishes to be pardoned (l. 71 *ignoscant augusta mihi loca dique locorum*), he feels as though he has a sword drawn against his throat (l. 43-44 *metus ... ego territus ensem | haesurum iugulo iam puto iamque meo*), fearing the gods living on the

Palatine (ll. 74 *timeo quae nocuere loca* and 81 *fateor Iouis arma timere*) like a wounded dove dreads the sparrowhawk (l. 75-76 *terretur ... columba, | unguibus, accipiter, saucia facta tuis*), and a lamb stirs clear of the wolf (ll. 77-78 *nec procul a stabulis audet discedere, siqua | excussa est auidi dentibus agna lupi*). As both Ovid and the book-roll fear Augustus' reaction, the father-child bond shows once again through the similarity of their personal characters.

The opening elegies to the first and third books of the *Tristia* are engaged on a number of levels – from the physical looks, to the inner mood, feelings and personality – revealing the deep connection that binds the poet to his work in times of (fictional?) crisis of poetical identity.<sup>90</sup> Yet, something goes wrong despite Ovid's detailed instructions: like in any parent-child relationship, also that of Ovid and his book is characterised by individualistic forces that have the tendency to split that unity. The book's personal will takes over and enacts a change of strategy, but its resolution to climb the Palatine without its father's telling it so, will further damage the poet's reputation, producing an even worse outcome. The change seems to occur when the booklet approaches the temple of Jupiter Stator and is mesmerised by the gleaming arms (*Trist. 3.1.33 fulgentibus armis*) that lean against the temple's posts, neglectful of its own father's dreading those very arms, which caused his fall:

me quoque, quae sensi, fateor Iouis arma timere

(*Trist. 1.1.81*)

singula dum miror, uideo, fulgentibus armis

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<sup>90</sup> On Ovid's claim of poetical decline see Williams 1994 pp. 50-98.

conspicuos postes tectaque digna deo

(*Trist.* 3.1.33-34)

The booklet climbs the hill unaware of any danger it might be exposed to: its physical rise parallels the rising climax of hammering direct questions at ll. 39-47, where growing apprehension is mixed with positive expectation of finding a merciful *princeps*.

## II

*Hospes in Vrbe*

*Is anyone in?*

The special relationship between Ovid and his books shows also through the book's request of hospitality to the reader in Rome. The book is sent to Rome as a *hospes* (*Trist.* 3.1.20 *hospes in urbe*) seeking for *hospitium* by virtue of his father's relationship with his devoted readers. The booklet's approach to the reader, in terms of actions and language, can be compared to the formal request of hospitality for the exercise of the *ius hospitii* in Roman private law. The relationship of *hospitium priuatum* was contractual and hereditary, with «the biding force of an agreement (*sponsio*) and/or private treaty (*foedus*) ... binding the children and their offspring as well»<sup>91</sup>. It was taken seriously, and any offence towards the guest was considered as an offence towards the gods, especially *Iuppiter Fidius*, the patron-god of *fides* and hospitality. Breaking the contract of *hospitium* by excluding non-citizens from the benefits of Rome

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<sup>91</sup> Bolchazy 1970 p. 27.

was against the laws of humanity, and resulted in religious and ethical sanctions.<sup>92</sup> The relationship of *hospitium* was sought for practical reasons (i.e. safer lodging during a journey) or for legal help and protection for oneself and his children.<sup>93</sup> The contract was stipulated by a handshake<sup>94</sup> or the exchange of a sign of identification, called *tessera* or *tabula hospitalis*, which served as a letter of introduction to ascertain the identity of the pleader and his right to *hospitium*.<sup>95</sup>

In the fiction of the exilic poetry, the booklet is described as a stranger arriving in the city from afar on behalf of a Roman *ciuis* (*trist.* 3.1.49 *unum ... ciuem*), taking on all the features of a true *hospes* asking for help in a strange place.<sup>96</sup> As the book is looking for someone to assist it in its search, it begs the reader to reach out his hand in a typical sign of help in support of castaways and exiles (*Trist.* 3.1.2 *da placidam fesso, lector amice, manum*).<sup>97</sup> The helpful reader, although unknown, is likely to have been acquainted with Ovid as a poet and perhaps as a friend, as Ovid tells the book that he might be remembering and missing him (*Trist.* 1.1.17-18 *siquis, ut in populo, nostri non*

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<sup>92</sup> Cic. *off.* 3.47 *usu vero urbis prohibere peregrinos, sane inhumanum est.*

<sup>93</sup> Bolchazy 1970 p. 27 and note. On the features of *hospitium* in general see Mommsen 1887, Nybakken 1946, Nicols 2001, 2011a and 2011b, Balbín Chamorro 2006.

<sup>94</sup> E.g. Liv. 30.13.8 *recordatio hospitii dextraeque datae* and 25.18.7 *ne hospitali caede dextram uiolet*, Verg. *Aen.* 3.83 *inngimus hospitio dextras et tecta subimus* and 11.165 *iunximus hospitio dextras*.

<sup>95</sup> Plaut. *Poen.* 1047-49 *tesseram | conferre, si uis hospitem*.

<sup>96</sup> Ovid's poems and books from exile are also called *peregrini* (e.g. *Trist.* 1.1.59 *peregrinus in Urbem*, *Pont.* 1.1.3-4 *hospitio peregrinos ... libellos | excipe*), without no indication of their juridical status or relationship with any Roman *ciuis*.

<sup>97</sup> E.g. Sen. *de clem.* 2.6 (scil. sapiens) *dabit manum naufrago, exuli hospitium*. Ovid seeks succour from the reader also in *Trist.* 3.4b.76-78 *fidam proiecto neue negate manum | prospera sic maneat uobis fortuna, | nec umquam contracti simili sorte rogetis idem*: again Ovid combines the request for help with the well-wish for a peaceful life.

*inmemor illic, | siquis, qui, quid agam, forte requirat, erit* and 27-28 *inuenies aliquem, qui me suspiret ademptum, | carmina nec siccis perlegat ista genis*), representing a potential 'literary' *hospes*. To enable the reader to identify the *hospes*' background and connections, the book-roll must present its 'token' from its father Ovid (*Trist.* 1.1.67 *'inspice' dic 'titulum'* and 3.1.9 *inspice quid portem*). Yet the booklet carries nothing but its own poetry as the reflection of the mood, the appearance and the body of its parent in exile, through which it can be easily recognised (e.g. *Trist.* 1.1.3 *uade sed incultus, qualem decet exulis esse, 1.1.13-16 qui niderit illas (scil. lituras), | de lacrimis factas sentiet esse meis. | uade, liber, uerbisque meis loca grata saluta; | contingam certe quo licet illa pede, 1.1.59-62 nec te, quod uenias peregrinus in Urbem, | ignotum populo posse uenire puta. | ... ipso noscere colore; | dissimulare uelis, te liquet esse meum* and 3.1.14 *erubui domino cultior esse meo*). The booklet's words also contain Ovid's greetings and well-wish to the reader as a sign of an existing relationship between its father and the host, through which the booklet is entitled to obtain *hospitium* (*Trist.* 1.1.31 *ne sit miser ille* and 33 *quaeque ulet, rata sint, and Trist.* 3.1.23-24 *di tibi dent, nostro quod non tribuere parenti, | molliter in patria uiuere posse tua*).<sup>98</sup>

The traditional request for *hospitium* can be traced in the booklet's appeal, which features the conventional formulae of the official request, with a variation: in *Trist.* 3.1 the booklet itself serves as *tabula hospitalis* handed to the reader for identification, with a shift between the fictional character of the book to its material entity.

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<sup>98</sup> See also *trist.* 1.5.15-16 *di tibi sint faciles et opis nullius egentem | fortunam praestent dissimilem que meae* and 3.4b.77-78 *prospera sic maneat uobis fortuna, | nec umquam contacti simili sorte rogetis opem*.

## Stator under the book-roll's feet<sup>99</sup>

### I

#### *Out of order*

The prologue to the third book of the *Tristia* gives an account of Ovid's book-roll arriving in Rome from Tomis in a first-person narration: through a *captatio benevolentiae* (l. 2 *lector amice*), the book-roll introduces itself to the reader presenting its sad poetical content (l. 9 *nihil hic nisi triste*), and looking for someone to show it the way to one of the Roman libraries where it can put an end to its journey (l. 20 *quasque petam sedes*). Eventually only one person offers to accompany the booklet, both representing the private character of Ovid's readership in the years of his exile, and anticipating the unfortunate outcome of the book's search.<sup>100</sup> The two start a tour of the city. They pass by the Forum of Caesar, the *Sacra uia*, the temple of Vesta, and the temple of Jupiter, whose doors are decorated with glowing arms and an oaken wreath (ll. 25-48). At this point the booklet prays the *pater patriae* for Ovid's safety,

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<sup>99</sup> This section was first delivered at *Cantieri d'Autunno – Seminari sull'Antico*, University of Pavia (Italy), Aula Volta, on 14 October 2013 with the title «Nuove considerazioni topografiche e filologiche sull'itinerario romano del *liber* (Ovidio, *Tristia* 3.1)». A first revised version appeared as «Augusto *Stator* tra i piedi del libello (Ovidio, *Tristia* 3.1)», in *Dictynna (En-ligne)* 11 (2014).

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Miller 2002 p. 130: «sadly – ominously – only one person steps forward to show the way». Ovid alludes to his private readership while exiled also at *Pont.* 1.1.3-10, when he asks Brutus to accept his poems.

pleading for mercy from the house of Augustus (ll. 49-58). After the prayer interlude, the booklet and its sympathetic companion climb a set of stairs leading to the temple of Apollo and its attached portico on the Palatine, where Augustus founded a public library in 28 BC.<sup>101</sup> As soon as the book reaches the library, it hastens to find Ovid's other poetical works stored there. Yet shortly after it has realised that its sibling Ovidian books have been removed, the booklet is abruptly expelled by a rude librarian. Hence the book and its guide move towards two other libraries, the one at the portico of Octavia (opened in 23 BC) and the one at the *Atrium Libertatis*, the first public Roman library, founded by Asinius Pollio in 39 BC.<sup>102</sup> Unfortunately, the book is not admitted there either (ll. 58-72). Since the book-roll is no longer welcome in public places, there is no other choice for it but to look for a private residence in the city. The elegy ends with a remark on the miserable fate of Ovid and his works: the booklet hopes that Augustus may allow his return one day (ll. 73-76), and finally appeals to Roman citizens for hospitality (ll. 79-82).

The elegy can be divided approximately into three sections: the booklet's self-introduction and request to be escorted to any library (ll. 1-20); the tour of Rome (ll. 21-72); and the final prayer to Augustus and appeal to the reader (ll. 73-82).

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<sup>101</sup> On the Greek and Roman libraries attached to the temple of Palatine Apollo, see Suet. Aug. 29 *addidit porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque, quo loco iam senior saepe etiam senatum habuit decuriasque iudicum recognovit*. Newlands 1997 p. 67 observes: «Augustus would sometimes meet the Senate there. Therefore, it was a place where the book might also encounter the emperor». On this see also Thompson 1981.

<sup>102</sup> On Roman public libraries see Dix 1988 and 1994, and Dix-Houston 2006. See also commentary on ll. 63-64 and 69-72 below.

The elegy is built following the ring-composition scheme. In the first section the booklet humbly introduces itself to an unnamed reader asking him for help (ll. 1-2: ground level). In the second section the booklet and the reader start visiting the city, reaching the top of the Palatine (ll. 27-68: from ground level to top level). Towards the end of the elegy, the booklet is thrown out of the Palatine library, thrust down the hill, and its hope of finding a place in a public place is completely dashed by its removal from the other two Roman libraries. In this third section, the booklet's final appeal that the reader might accept it in spite of its unpopularity after being publicly banished brings us back to the opening of the poem (ll. 81-82: from top level back to ground level): the book-roll has come back down to the ground level and has nowhere to rest apart from the reader's private house.

The circular structure of the elegy is conveyed also 'topographically': not only the booklet and the guide physically return to the *Atrium Libertatis* near the Forum after visiting the main monuments in Rome,<sup>103</sup> but ascend and descend the Palatine, metaphorically describing the poetical failure that Ovid often claims in the exilic poetry.<sup>104</sup> The 'course' of the elegy resembles a 'poetical downward-opening parabola'.

The mention of the monuments in *Trist.* 3.1 is considered by archaeologists one of the major contemporary sources for the mapping of the Forum, the Palatine, and the area of the theatre of Marcellus in the Augustan era.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Lugli 1959 p. 403 gives a list of the places visited by the book-roll and its companion. It both starts and finishes at the «Biblioteca di Asinio Pollione, presso il foro di Augusto».

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Videau-Delibes 1991 p. 260.

<sup>105</sup> Several authors have described the Roman monuments in their poetry to celebrate Augustus. See e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 8.305-69 (tour of Rome) and 720-77 (celebration of Actium),

Ovid's description of these places aims primarily at praising the building plan for the restoration of Rome and the promotion of literature carried out by Caesar and Augustus, purportedly naming in a few lines the three Roman public libraries where the book-roll wishes to be stored.<sup>106</sup> Second to this is the poet's nostalgic evocation of the city from which he has been banned, and which he can reach only with the eye of his mind.<sup>107</sup>

At first sight, the itinerary of the book-roll appears reported quite accurately. The monuments are described by the guide as they are passed by along the promenade, with additional information on their role within Roman history. A more attentive reading in relation to the archaeological evidence, however, will show that this passage of *Trist.* 3.1 should not all be taken as a truthful source for the topographical mapping of the area. In fact, a couple of discrepancies occur between the elegy and the archaeological excavations conducted so far in the Forum and on the Palatine from the 1860s. This chapter will revisit the topography of the places and monuments encountered by the book-roll in the light of the latest archaeological findings. In doing so, I will attempt an explanation of Ovid's misplacement of the Roman buildings

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Tibull. 2.5, Prop. 2.31, 4.3 (temple of Apollo), 4.1 (tour of the Forum), 4.6.11-12 (celebration of Actium). For other descriptions in Ovid of the monuments mentioned in *Trist.* 3.1, see *Met.* 1.168-76 and 553-67, *fast.* 1.614, 4.953, *trist.* 1.1.69-74, *Pont.* 3.1.133-38 (house of Augustus), *Fast.* 6.791-94 (temple of Jupiter Stator), *Am.* 2.2.3-6, *ars* 1.73-74, 3.119, 3.389, *Met.* 15.861-70, *Fast.* 4.951 (temple of Apollo), *fast.* 4.621-24 (*atrium Libertatis*). The tour of Rome will later be recalled in *Mart.* 1.70 and 12.2. On the poetical relationship between Martial and Ovid see Cenni 2009 pp. 171-82 and Hinds 2007.

<sup>106</sup> Lugli 1959 p. 398.

<sup>107</sup> On Ovid's mental travelling in the poetry of exile see Bonjour 1975, Nagle 1980 pp. 91-99, Viarre 1992, Claassen 1996 p. 583, and 1999 pp. 159-61.

in view of the various possible translations of some of the words and collocations in these lines, within Ovid's poetics of exile.

The text of *Trist.* 3.1 gives the following sequence of topographical information:

haec sunt I Caesaris (27)

haec est a sacris quae uia nomen habet (28)

hic locus est Vestae (29)

haec fuit antiqui regia parua Numae (30)

porta est ista Palati (31)

hic Stator (32)

Ioui haec (...) domus est (35)

*prayer interlude*

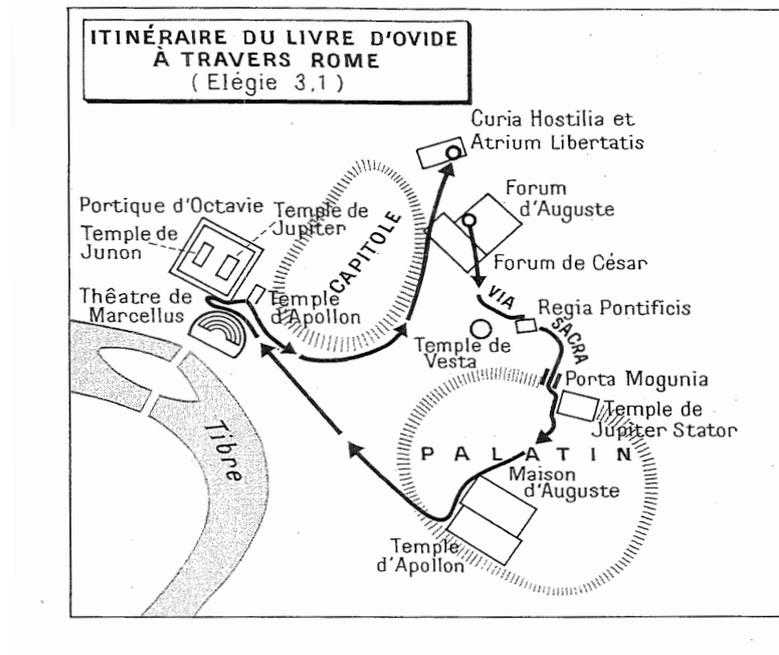
...ad intonsi candida templa dei

signa peregrinis ubi sunt alterna columnis (60-61)

altera templa peto, uicina iuncta theatro (69)

atria Libertatis (72)

Figure 1. André's map of the book's itinerary in the 1968 *Les Belles Lettres* edition (in appendix). The track clearly shows a circular tour.



Ovid's list of places in *Trist.* 3.1 is confirmed by Lugli at the end of his article «Commentario topografico all'elegia I del III libro dei *Tristia*»<sup>108</sup> as corresponding to the true disposition of the buildings, assuming that such sequence corresponds to the exact order in which they were located in Ovid's time, in particular the temple of Jupiter (32), the gate to the Palatine (31), and the house of Augustus (35).<sup>109</sup>

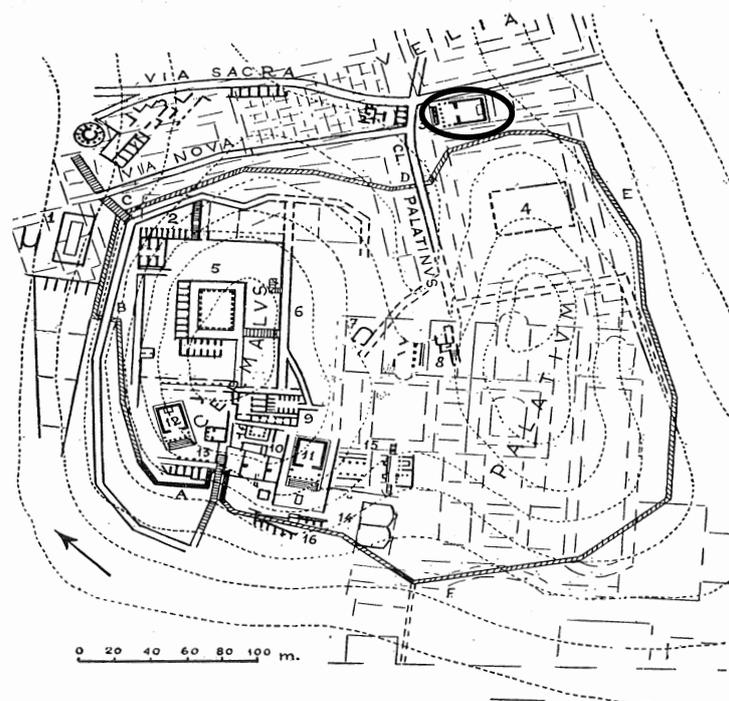
<sup>108</sup> P. 403. Lugli's list also includes some places omitted by Ovid but likely to have been passed along the way.

<sup>109</sup> P. 397: «è il primo esempio di itinerario romano, molto preciso e molto fedele».

Philologists with no or very little clue about material evidence have never doubted Lugli 1959's sequence, which actually followed Ovid's description without question, to such an extent that in the *Les Belles Lettres* edition of the *Tristia* André includes a map of the book-roll's itinerary showing the temple rising inside the wall, almost adjacent to it:

In 1975, in his book *Itinerario di Roma antica*, Lugli revisits his former considerations on the topography of the Forum and Palatium, inverting the sequence gate-temple and giving *Trist.* 3.1 less credit than he previously had. Lugli provides a map with a clear indication of the temple (circled on the map below) standing outside the walls north of the gate to the Palatine, aligning with the hypotheses of his fellow archaeologists:

Figure 2. Lugli's map of the Palatine before the great fire in A.D. 64, from *Itinerario di Roma antica* (1975, fig. 86)



Unfortunately, Lugli's paper delivered at the *Convegno internazionale ovidiano* in 1959 seems to have been more effective in shaping the opinions of philologists and other non-archaeology scholars, who are likely to take Ovid's memory of Roman buildings for granted and who are far less concerned with mere archaeological details.<sup>110</sup> For this reason, I will briefly examine the archaeological and literary evidence confirming that the temple in fact stood outside the walls, in order to dispel any persisting doubt as to *Tristia* 3.1's misleading topography.

## II

### *Facts on the ground*

More recent contributions<sup>111</sup> have questioned the position of the monuments mentioned in *Trist.* 3.1 in the light of new archaeological discoveries and epigraphic sources, especially the temple of Jupiter Stator and the *porta Palati* (i.e. the *porta Mugonia*); these new assessments raise both archaeological and philological issues.

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<sup>110</sup> Bishop 1956 and 1961, Kenney-Melville 1992. Neumeister 1991 pp. 106-124 seems to accept the historiographical evidence that the temple stood outside the gate, without clearly stating it (p. 113: «sie biegen den *clivus Palatinus* ein und haben jetzt zur Linken den Tempel des Jupiter Stator»). His map at p. 110 fig. 33 shows the temple east of the gate near the arch of Titus. Boyle 2003 pp. xiv-xvi shows the temple standing along the west side of the *clivus* (map 3) inside the gate (map 2). Neumeister's and Boyle's accounts of the tour are based mostly on poetical evidence. Huskey 2006 p. 26, instead, acknowledges the temple coming before the door, which in turn becomes the threshold between the ancient Rome and the new Augustan Rome.

<sup>111</sup> Coarelli 1981, 1983, 1985 and 1996, Castagnoli 1988, Arce 1994, Tomei 1993 and 1999, Cecamore 2002, Carandini 2004, Todisco 2007, Carandini *et al.* 2013, Carafa-Bruno 2013, Carafa 2014, Carafa *et al.* 2015 and A. Carandini *et al.* (forthcoming).

According to the legendary history of Rome, Jupiter preserved Rome from Sabine occupation stopping the advancing enemies outside the *porta Mugonia* by fixing his feet firmly on the ground in a blocking position: the epithet *stator* ('placed so as to remain upright or fixed on the ground'),<sup>112</sup> refers to Jupiter's static, blocking position before the enemy. Following this miraculous event, Romulus dedicated a *fanum* to Jupiter on that very spot, which was later converted into a proper temple by Attilius Regulus in 294 BC, when another intervention by Jupiter Stator had been beseeched in a similar time of predicament for the city.<sup>113</sup> The temple had a pivotal role also within Roman literary history: it hosted the performance of the hymn to Queen Juno composed by Livius Andronicus during the second Punic War in 207 BC,

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<sup>112</sup> OLD s.v.; Dion. Hal. 2.50.3 Ῥωμύλος μὲν ὀρθωσίῳ Διὶ παρὰ ταῖς καλουμέναις Μουγωνίσι πύλαις, αἱ φέρουσιν εἰς τὸ Παλάτιον ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ, ὅτι τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ φυγοῦσαν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ὑπακούσας ταῖς εὐχαῖς στήναι τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν τραπέσθαι, Plut. *Rom.* 18.9 ἔστησαν οὖν πρῶτον οὗ νῦν ὁ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Στάτορος ἴδρυται νεώς, ὃν Ἐπιστάσιον ἄν τις ἐρμηγεύσειεν, εἶτα συνασπίσαντες πάλιν ἔωσαν ὀπίσω τοὺς Σαβίνους ἐπὶ τὴν νῦν Ῥήγιαν προσαγορευομένην καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερόν; Florus 1.1.1.13 *ita admissis intra moenia hostibus, atrox in ipso foro pugna, adeo ut Romulus Iouem oraret, foedam suorum fugam sisteret; hinc templum et Stator Iuppiter*, Ov. *fast.* 6.793-94 *Stator aedis ... quam Romulus olim | ante Palatini condidit ora iugj*. Latin words suffixed with *-tor* are nouns of agency (Allen-Greenough 1903<sup>2</sup> p. 143).

<sup>113</sup> The battle of Luceria, Liv. 10.36.11: *inter haec consul manus ad caelum attollens uoce clara, ita ut exaudiretur, templum Ioui Statori uouet, si constitisset a fuga Romana acies redintegratoque proelio cecidisset uicissetque legiones Samnitium*; 1.12.3-6 *confestim Romana inclinatur acies fusaque est ad ueterem portam Palatii. Romulus et ipse turba fugientium actus arma ad caelum tollens, 'Iuppiter, tuis' – inquit – 'iussus auibis hic in Palatio prima urbi fundamenta ieci ... Hic ego tibi templum Statori Ioui ... uoueo'*; and 10.37.15-16 *ad Luceriam utrimque multos occisos inque ea pugna Iouis Statoris aedem uotam, ut Romulus ante uouerat; sed fanum tantum, id est locus tempio effatus, fuerat. Ceterum hoc demum anno ut aedem etiam fieri senatus inberet bis eiusdem uoti damnata re publica in religionem uenit*.

officially initiating Latin literature.<sup>114</sup> The temple was also very well suitable for public conventions: it was so large that it could hold the whole Senate when Cicero delivered his first *Catilinarian*, and a great number of people when the auction of Pompey's property took place.<sup>115</sup> The temple was later restored in the Augustan age; it was then burned down in the great fire in 64 AD. After that, the temple was rebuilt on the Velia in *Regio IV (Templum Pacis)* north of the *Sacra uia*, leading most archaeologists to think that the temple had originally been built there.

Scholars are obviously convinced that the position of the temple of Jupiter Stator should be closely related to the place where the powerful action of Jupiter had once manifested – that is, outside the city gate as literary sources report. There is no reason to believe that the temple was placed inside the walls, since it would have been rather unlikely for a 'protective' god like Jupiter Stator to have stopped the enemy from entering the city by standing still somewhere *inside* the gate.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Perna 2002 pp. 27-30. Liv. 27.37.7 *id cum in Iouis Statoris aede discerent conditum ab Liniio poeta carmen; ps.-Cic., orat. priusquam in exilium iret 24 teque, Iuppiter Stator, quem uere huius imperii Statorem maiores nostri nominauerunt, cuius in templo hostilem impetum Catilinae reppuli a muris, cuius templum a Romulo, uictis Sabinis, in Palati radice cum Victoria est conlocatum, oro atque obsecro; Plut. Cic. 16.3, ὁ Κικέρων ἐκάλει τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς τὸ τοῦ Στησίου Διὸς ἱερόν, ὃν Στάτορα Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν, ἰδρυμένον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ πρὸς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀνιόντων.*

<sup>115</sup> Cic. *Catil.* 1.11 *atque huic ipsi Ioui Statori, antiquissimo custodi huius urbis*, and *Phil.* 2.64 *hasta posta pro aede Iouis Statori*. See also Cecamore 2002 p. 142. On the strategic choice of the temple of Jupiter Stator for the delivery of the first *Catilinarian*, see Vasaly 1993 pp. 40-59, esp. 46 and 49-59. Vasaly points out the similarity of the attack of the Sabines to that of Catiline, thus enabling the correspondence between Romulus and Cicero as defenders of Rome under the protection of Jupiter.

<sup>116</sup> Carandini *et al.* 2013 p. 30. Jupiter Stator was also acknowledged as *Iuppiter Terminalis*: the statue of Jupiter Stator represented the god with his legs stuck into a boundary stone,

Even at this early stage it is possible to notice that the sequence of Ovid's tour – *porta Mugonia* first and temple of Jupiter Stator afterwards – fails to keep with the Roman historical tradition, which archaeologists fully acknowledge. What archaeologists are more concerned with is where exactly the compound temple + gate originally rose.

Coarelli identifies the temple of Jupiter Stator with the otherwise unidentified so-called temple of Romulus in the *Regio IV*, according to the sequence of buildings along the *Sacra uia* reported in the *Notitia* of the Regionary Catalogues (IV cent. BC): *metam sudantem, templum Romae et Veneris, aedem Iouis Statoris, uiam sacram, basilicam Constantinianam, templum Faustinae, basilicam Pauli*. Among these buildings, the temple of Jupiter Stator was the only one missing a sure identification, leading Coarelli to associate it with the only building left unnamed in that area.<sup>117</sup> Coarelli's position is strongly counteracted by Ziolkowski, who backs the traditional interpretation that the *podium* found south of the Arch of Titus is to be identified with the temple of *Iuppiter Stator*. Ziolkowski argues that the place of the arch is still the easiest access to the hill of the Palatine, thus the aptest place for the erection of the *porta Mugonia* and the temple.<sup>118</sup>

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defining the *pomerium* and protecting the inviolability of the city within the walls (Carandini 2004 p. 42). See also the *Haterii* relief for a picture of the temple of Jupiter Stator at the end of the first century AD; cf. Arce 1994, Coarelli 1996, Cecamore 2002 pp. 41 and 144.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Coarelli 1983 p. 29. Coarelli firmly believes that the temple of Jupiter could not have been standing far from the Forum: «le narrazioni dello scontro tra Romani e Sabini divengono incomprensibili, se il tempio (e la *porta Mugonia*) vengono collocati lontani dal Foro» (1996 p. 156).

<sup>118</sup> Ziolkowski 1989 and 2004 pp. 65-89.

Tomei confirms the identification of the ancient temple of Jupiter Stator with the *podium* found by Italian archaeologist Pietro Rosa in 1866 on the road leading to the Palatine before the ruins of the *Domus Flavia*. The *podium* is located in the *Regio X*, at the north foot of the Palatine, outside the walls, opposite the *porta Mugonia*, at the intersection between the *summa Sacra uia* and the *summa Noua uia*.<sup>119</sup> Rosa had already identified the *podium* with the ancient temple of Jupiter Stator; yet this assumption was disregarded shortly after the discovery of another *podium* close to the arch of Titus, which was more suited for the identification with the temple of Jupiter Stator for its position and archaeological evidence.<sup>120</sup>

Arce locates the temple south of the *Sacra uia*,<sup>121</sup> arguing with Mar and Sanchez-Palencia that the remains of the *podium* at the Arch of Titus «ben difficilmente si possono indentificare con quelli di un tempio», especially for some structural details that would exclude the presence of a *cella*; they suggest a new interpretation of the *podium* «affine a quella di un arco quadrifonte» or a huge flight of stairs leadin to the Vigna Barberini.<sup>122</sup> Following Ovid's *Trist.* 3.1, Arce believes that the temple stood in the area of the *Regia* and the

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<sup>119</sup> See Tomei 1993 p. 632 and Carandini 2004 p. 42. Cf. Liv. 1.41.4, *cum clamor impetusque multitudinis uix sustineri posset, ex superiore parte aedium per fenestras in Nouam uiam uersas – habitabat enim rex ad Iouis Statoris – populum Tanaquil adloquitur*; Plin. nat. 34.29, *cum feminis etiam honore communicato Cloeliae statua equestri ... hanc primam cum Coclitis publice dicatam crediderim ... e diuerso Annius Fetialis equestrem, quae fuerit contra Iouis Statoris aedem in uestibulo Superbi domus, Valeriae fuisse, Publicolae consulis filiae*; App. bell. ciu. 2.2.11, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν ἄκοντα ὑπεξήγαγον οἱ φίλοι ἐς τὸ πλησίον ἱερὸν τοῦ Στησίου Διός. See also Coarelli 1996.

<sup>120</sup> Tomei 1993 pp. 627-29. On the *podium* at the arch of Titus, see Platner-Ashby 1929, Castagnoli 1988 and Cecamore 2002 pp. 129-38.

<sup>121</sup> Arce 1994.

<sup>122</sup> Arce *et al.* 1990 pp. 49 and 51; Arce 1994 p. 85.

temple of Vesta. Cecamore argues that there was not enough space there for a temple that size at that time.<sup>123</sup> Cecamore confirms the identification of the temple of Jupiter Stator with the large *podium* at the arch of Titus, after reconsidering the literary and historical sources in light of a detailed archaeological evaluation of such *podium*; consequently she locates there the *porta Mugonia*,<sup>124</sup> maintaining the position of the temple outside the gate.

A more recent discovery by archaeologists Carafa, Carandini, Filippi and Arvanitis has raised new questions regarding the position of the gate and the ancient temple. A new *podium* was found in 2012 on the Palatine, south of the *Sacra uia* and east of the initial segment of the so-called *clivus Palatinus*, where no-one else had excavated before.<sup>125</sup> The site is right opposite the alleged *porta Mugonia*,<sup>126</sup> outside the city walls, close to a *domus* built on public soil, probably the last house of Caesar, at the foot of the hill. Before the discovery, archaeologists taking part in the excavation believed the ancient temple to have stood in the same place where the post-Neronian temple had been built after the fire in 64 AD,<sup>127</sup> directly on the *Sacra uia*, on the Velia, «per ragioni di continuità topografica»,<sup>128</sup> not on the *clivus Palatinus*, as they have recently found out.

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<sup>123</sup> Cecamore 2002 p. 143.

<sup>124</sup> Cecamore 2002 pp. 129-38.

<sup>125</sup> Carandini *et al.* 2013, Carafa-Bruno 2013, Carafa 2014, Carafa *et al.* 2014, and Carandini *et al.* (forthcoming).

<sup>126</sup> Carandini 2004 pp. 32-42.

<sup>127</sup> Tac. ann. 15.41 aedesque Statoris Iouis uota Romulo Numaeque regia et delubrum Vestae cum penatibus populi Romani exusta.

<sup>128</sup> Carandini *et al.* 2013 p. 32. See also Carandini 2004 pp. 42-50 and Coarelli 1983 pp. 26-33 and 1996 p. 156: «possiamo pensare ... che si trovasse sul lato della Velia, ciò che è

As we can see, the hypotheses regarding the exact location of the *porta Mugonia*, and the related position of the temple, do clash with one another. However, despite these disagreements, their conjectures never contradict the topographical sequence of the monuments described in *Trist.* 3.1, according to which the book-roll and the guide meet the temple of Jupiter first, and eventually pass through the gate.

### III

#### *Stator puts his foot down*

On the basis of this archaeological evaluation we can go back to Ovid's text and analyse the order of the monuments described by the book-roll's companion. The reader of *Trist.* 3.1 might be wondering why the book-roll mentions the *porta Mugonia* before the temple of Jupiter Stator, given that the temple stood outside the gate and that the book-roll and his companion are proceeding from the Forum towards the Palatine. The book-roll must have come across the temple of Jupiter before arriving at the gate to the Palatine. The issue is particularly acute when we consider that all the other monuments mentioned in *Trist.* 3.1 are listed in the exact order in which they are encountered.

It is worth noticing that the buildings – all except for the *porta Mugonia* – are accompanied by the determiner *hic*, denoting the proximity of such buildings to the book-roll and its guide as they proceed on their tour: *haec fora, haec uia*,

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confermato in modo decisivo dai Cataloghi Regionari (*Reg. IV*), che lo collocano nella *IV regio*, quindi a N della *Sacra uia*.

*hic locus, haec regia, hic Stator, hoc loco, haec domus*. The use of *hic* is likely to convey the idea that the guide is describing the single monuments as they pass them by with a deictic value, probably pointing at them while standing before them. Only the *porta Mugonia* is introduced by the demonstrative *ista*, breaking the sequential order of appearance before *hic Stator* is mentioned, leading the distracted reader to think that the book-roll actually meets the gate before the temple of Jupiter.

In his 1959 paper, Lugli seems either to overlook the description of the gate or to consider it topographically irrelevant, even if his own translation of the phrase *porta est ... ista Palati* with the Italian ‘*codesta ... è la porta del Palatino*’, and of *hic Stator* with ‘*qui è Giove Statore*’ somewhat implies a different position of the two monuments in relation to the speaker’s point of view.<sup>129</sup> Yet the Italian determiner ‘*codesto*’ indicates something closer to the listener and farther from the speaker:<sup>130</sup> in this case the translation of *ista* with ‘*codesta*’ is rather misleading, as it is quite implausible that the book-roll should precede its guide in a city where it had never been before, so as to be closer to the *porta Mugonia* than its guide. Lugli’s list, though, which contains the «riassunto dell’itinerario» in the same order in which the pair of visitors accomplished it, shows that they passed by the «Porta Mugonia» *before* the «Tempio di Giove Statore», which does not explain Lugli’s translation of *ista* with ‘*codesta*’. If we opt for Lugli’s sequence, the only way to accept ‘*codesta*’ as ‘near to you’ is by assuming that the guide pointed at the temple on his left after having passed through the gate, that is when he was already next to the

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<sup>129</sup> Lugli 1959 p. 399.

<sup>130</sup> *GDLI* s.v.: «vicino a chi ascolta (e può riferirsi anche a persone o cose, idee già nominate nel discorso e che si vogliono mettere in rapporto con chi ascolta)».

temple and the book-roll was behind him closer to the gate – ‘that gate close to you’. Again, if Lugli had meant it this way, he should all the same have inverted the position of the gate with that of the temple on his list, because the latter should have been encountered before the former. These contradictions, in addition to his later map of the Palatine in 1975 and the contributions made by other archaeologists, show that his list should be adopted with extreme caution.

Carandini argues that *ista* has a specific meaning in terms of position (‘over there’) without needing to change the topographical order – temple first, gate after: the unknown companion points at the *porta Mugonia* on the *clivus* from a distance, as if it were a monument of major interest, almost prevailing over the view of everything else around it, interrupting his building-by-building excursion.<sup>131</sup> Since Carandini at the time (2004) supposed that the temple of Jupiter Stator stood on the *Sacra uia* at the intersection with the *clivus Palatinus* – thus not exactly facing the *porta Mugonia* along the *clivus* as the new excavations have revealed – he believed that the tour guide grasped the attention of the book-roll by showing it the prominent *porta Mugonia*, which could be seen from the *Sacra uia* rising amongst the other monuments, while he was turning right onto the so-called *clivus Palatinus* (l. 31 *petens* ‘mentre gira’) and still walking on the *Sacra uia* with the temple on his left, i.e. north of the way.<sup>132</sup> After this brief interruption, he shifts back to the description of the temple of Jupiter on the *Sacra uia* (*hic*).

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<sup>131</sup> Carandini 2004 p. 44.

<sup>132</sup> Carandini 2004 *ibid.* See also Luck 1976 p. 166 *ad loc.* referring to the temple: «er deutet nach links».

The recent discovery of what could be easily identified with the ancient temple by Carafa, Carandini, Filippi and Arvanitis does not invalidate Carandini's opinion that the *porta Mugonia* was in fact pointed at with *ista* before the book and its companion had approached it: in both topographical hypotheses the temple of Jupiter Stator stands outside the door – whether it is along the *Sacra uia* before the turn, or along the *clivus (Sacer/Palatinus)* after the turn – and the *porta Mugonia* is referred to as a monument of greater relevance before the temple is mentioned.

However, Latin *iste* does not simply convey the same meaning as 'that, over there' as *ille* does. *Iste* involves the participation of the third party with a personal tone, almost indicating the possession of that thing, or its close relationship with it: *praevalente fere vi possessiva spectat ad personam compellatam*.<sup>133</sup> *Iste* is also used to refer to writings that are no longer in the hands of the author, now belonging to or having been left with the recipient, implying a sort of detachment from the original owner.<sup>134</sup> What is more strikingly relevant to the tour in *Trist.* 3.1, is that *ista* is also employed in contexts of

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<sup>133</sup> *TbLL* VII.2 497 67: «de eis, quae alterius propria uel alteri proxima sunt» and «c(um) affectu quodam per emphasin dictum (auget uim uocis q(uod) e(st) tuus)». For the correspondence of *iste* with *tuus/vester* see also Plaut. *Bacch.* 1663 *amator istac fieri aetate audes?*; Cic. *de orat.* 1.165 *ut ea digna essent ista sapientia ac tuis auribus*, and 2.362 *cum humanitatem ... tuam, tum ... istam scientiam*. Wheeler's translation reads (Loeb): «'that,' he said 'is the gate of the Palatine'». Luck translates: '*dies* ist die Pforte zum Palatin'. André (Les Belles Lettres): «'voici,' dit-il, 'le porte Palatine'». Della Corte-Fasce (UET): «*questa* è la porta del Palatino». Lechi (BUR): '*quella* è la porta del Palatino, e questo è il tempio di Giove', stressing the relevance of their position by 'quella' versus 'questo'. As we can see, *ista* corresponds to *illa* in Wheeler and Lechi's translation, and to *haec* in Luck, André and Della Corte-Fasce's. It is worth noticing that all the manuscripts agree on the reading of *ista*.

<sup>134</sup> *TbLL* VII.2 499 67. Cf. e.g. Ov. *Her.* 5.2 *ista Mycenaea littera facta manu* and *Trist.* 1.1.28 *carmina nec siccis perlegat ista genis*.

visual demonstrations and displays, when the speaker shows something to the listener, often accompanied by the verb *uideo: demonstratione ad oculos facta*.<sup>135</sup>

In the phrase *porta est ... ista Palati*, *ista* must have an additional meaning to simply ‘further along’ or ‘over there’, suggesting that there is more to it than its position. There is at least another factor involved in the correct translation of *ista* here: the connection of the gate with the stranger book-roll.

Mentioning the *porta Mugonia* before the temple of Jupiter follows an order of importance among buildings, rather than a topographical *ratio*. The *porta Mugonia* is the place that provides access to the Palatine and to where Augustus lives:<sup>136</sup> the aim of the book-roll is to find a library in which to be stored (*Trist.* 3.1.21-22, *dicite ... | quasque petam sedes hospes in Vrbe liber*) and to seek approval from the public (*Trist.* 3.1.2, *da placidam fesso, lector amice, manum* and 81-82, *uos quoque, si fas est, confusa pudore repulsae | sumite plebeiae carmina nostra manus*), especially from Augustus, in order to prepare the road for Ovid’s redemption and return (*Trist.* 3.1.57-58, *quandocumque, precor, nostro placere parenti | isdem et sub dominis aspiciare, domus!* and 1.1.98, *mala nostra leues*). By raising its eyes to the *porta Mugonia* at the foot of the Palatine, the book-roll is filled with awe, hoping to climb the hill and ask Augustus for forgiveness: the door is the gateway to the book-roll’s safe storage and Ovid’s salvation. It is quite easy to see a personal involvement in all this, for the book-roll’s concerns are taken into account when the door is introduced with *ista*, minimising the importance of the building’s topographical location.

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<sup>135</sup> *TbLL* VII.2 499 7. Cf. e.g. Cic. *S. Rosc.* 2 *istorum ... quos uidetis adesse*.

<sup>136</sup> Suet. *Aug.* 72 *habitauit primo iuxta Romanum forum supra Scalas anularias, in domo quae Calui oratoris fuerat; postea in Palatio, sed nihilo minus aedibus modicis Hortensianis*.

Despite the gate rises farther away from the book than the temple, it is actually closer to its interests.

The temple of Jupiter Stator, though, stands in all its magnificent and fearful appearance right in the way of the book's personal accomplishment, just like a barrier (literally *stator*). The eyes of the book-roll, which are gazing up at the gate, are drawn back to the level of the temple, reminding the son-book of its parent-Ovid's recommendation in *Trist.* 1.1, to keep away from the Palatine and the house of Augustus, since that is the place from where his condemnation once struck like a bolt of lightning:

forsitan expectes, an in alta Palatia missum  
     scandere te iubeam Caesareamque domum.  
 ignoscant augusta mihi loca dique locorum!  
     uenit in hoc illa fulmen ab arce caput.

(*Trist.* 1.1.69-72)

The *porta Mugonia* represents the chance for Ovid to gain back his success, while the admission to the library of Apollo stands for Ovid's poetical acknowledgement by the political power. The access to the Palatine library and the realisation of the book's most intimate desire, however, are somehow interdicted by the massive presence of the temple of Jupiter, recalling Ovid's prediction in *Trist.* 1.1 that reaching the place where his punishment was once proclaimed would almost be like ending in the lion's den. Yet even if Ovid is well aware of the fact that his reconciliation with Augustus and the restoration of his fame are quite improbable (*Trist.* 1.1), the decision whether to ascend the Palatine and risk the shame of being rejected is entirely up to

the book. Ovid suggests that it should consider the circumstances carefully once it has arrived in Rome:

ergo caue, liber, et timida circumspice mente,

...

difficile est tamen hinc remis utaris an aura

dicere: consilium resque locusque dabunt.

si poteris uacuo tradi, si cuncta uidebis

mitia, si uires fregerit ira suas,

siquis erit, qui te dubitantem et adire timentem

tradat, et ante tamen pauca loquatur, adi.

(*Trist.* 1.1.87, 91-96)

Despite Ovid's recommendation in *Trist.* 1.1, the booklet ingenuously hopes to recover its master's fortune with vibrant optimism. The *porta Mugonia* – and everything behind it – is by all means charged with the book-roll's – *alias* Ovid's – concern: it is not just the gate to the physical places of the library and the palace of the *princeps*, but also the place where Ovid's fate will be decided and fame restored. The public monuments – like the gate, the library and the political headquarter of the empire – become Ovid's cherished places where his own redemption can be implored.

The expression *porta ... ista Palati* can be better interpreted as 'your *Mugonia* gate', 'the gate you are longing to pass through', 'through which your destiny will be decided', uttered by the guide with a rising tone in the voice, with no particular reference to position. In fact, the exact location of the *porta Mugonia* needed no accurate description to the contemporary reader, since its

importance within Roman legendary history and its position with respect to the temple of Jupiter was likely to be known to almost everybody. Rather, mentioning the *porta Mugonia* in the line preceding *hic Stator* works as an anticipation of the book-roll's personal involvement and as a prelude to a more significant issue treated in the following lines. In fact, from this point in the elegy, the long description of the temple of 'statu-ing' Jupiter will turn the building into a mighty obstacle to the book-roll's proceeding and puzzle the identification of the house of Augustus.

The description of the temple of Jupiter takes up 15 lines (ll. 33-48), after which a prayer interlude takes place from l. 49 to l. 58, before the book-roll actually starts climbing the *clivus* (ll. 59-60, *inde tenore pari gradibus sublimia celsis | ducor*).<sup>137</sup> Through this description, it looks as though Jupiter himself is slowing down the book-roll's ascending pace, consequently predicting its failure.

Another problem of topographical interpretation arises at this point in the elegy. While the booklet is looking at the single features (l. 33 *singula dum miror*), the description of the temple tells us that its door was decorated with an oaken wreath and screened by laurel leaves:

uideo fulgentibus armis

conspicuos postes tectaque digna deo,

et 'Iouis haec' dixi 'domus est?' quod ut esse putarem,

augurium menti querna corona dabat.

cuius ut accepi dominum, 'non fallimur,' inquam,

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<sup>137</sup> Scholars have argued whether the expression *singula dum miror* at l. 33 implies some sort of motion: see Wiseman 1987 p. 404 (motion) and Bishop 1961 p. 127 (no motion).

‘et magni uerum est Iouis esse domum.

cur tamen opposita uelatur ianua lauro,

cingit et augustas arbor opaca fores?’

(*Trist.* 3.1.33-40)

The oak mentioned by Ovid is undoubtedly one of the traditional attributes of Jupiter; it is indeed plausible that the door of his temple was overlaid with it. Besides, the reader is informed by the booklet itself that the house of Jupiter is actually being described (ll. 37-38 *non fallimur ... | et magni uerum est Iouis esse domum*).

However, despite the book-roll’s accurate description – *non fallimur* (!) –, a more ‘civic’ oaken wreath seems to be referred to here. The oaken wreath, which was originally made of wood, was usually given to Roman citizens who had distinguished themselves for their remarkable deeds and for saving the lives of their fellow citizens: it was awarded to Cicero for protecting Rome against the conspiracy of Catiline and to Julius Caesar for the clemency shown to the Pompeians after their defeat.<sup>138</sup> On 13 January 27 B.C. Augustus received the wreath from the Senate because he had saved the Romans from destruction after the civil war (*ob ciues seruatos*). Later at *Trist.* 3.1.47-48 Ovid explains that Augustus was endowed with the *corona ciuica* because he delivered the «repubblica, rimessa al suo posto, sana e salva, dopo

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<sup>138</sup> Weinstock 1971 p. 167. See also Gell. 5.6.11, ‘*ciuica*’ corona appellatur, quam ciuis ciui, a quo in proelio seruatus est, testem uitae salutisque perceptae dat. Neumeister 1991 115-116 briefly discusses the contradiction of the description of the temple, stating that Ovid performs an act of adulation towards Augustus, confirming his similarity with Jupiter. Yet this passage conveys more than adulation or likeness: it fashions subtle coincidence without the slightest perception.

una fase di prostrazione e sfinimento».<sup>139</sup> After the ceremony, the Senate arranged that an oaken wreath was to be fixed over the door of Augustus' house:

corona querc[ea a senatu, uti super ianuam Imp. Caesaris]  
 Augusti poner[etur, decreta quod ciues seruauit, re publica] p(opuli) R(omani)  
 rest[itu]t[a]

(*Fasti Praenestini*, CIL I<sup>2</sup>, p. 231 = *Inscr.It.* XIII, 2, 17, *Ian.* 13)<sup>140</sup>

quo pro merito meo senatu[s consulto Aug]ust[us appe]llatus sum et laureis  
 postes aedium mearum u[estiti] publ[ice coro]naque ciuica super ianuam  
 meam fixa est

(*r. gest.* 34)

causa superpositae scripto est testata coronae:

seruatos ciues indicat huius ope.

(*Trist.* 3.1.47-48)

As we can see, in *Trist.* 3.1 Ovid seems to recollect the civic meaning of the oaken wreath given to Augustus by the Senate, rather than describing the wreath sacred to Jupiter, by almost quoting the text of the *Fasti Praenestini* and the *Res Gestae*. In the *Fasti*, the *corona quercea* (in Ovid *querna corona*), which was fixed over the door of Augustus' house (*uti super ianuam Imp. Caesaris Augusti*

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<sup>139</sup> Todisco 2007 p. 352. Todisco observes that the expression *restituere populi Romani rem publicam* means 'to re-erect, restore the *res publica* of the Romans, saving it from destruction'.

<sup>140</sup> For the text of the *Fasti Praenestini* see Todisco 2007.

*poneretur*, in Ovid *superpositae ... coronae*) was given to him by the Senate because he *ciues seruauit* (in Ovid *seruatos ciues*), after having restored the Roman republic (*re publica populi Romani restituta*; in Ovid *seruatos ciuis indicat huius ope*). Also the *Res Gestae* by Augustus report that the wreath was attached over his door (*corona ciuica super ianuam meam fixa est*) in return for his merit (*pro merito meo*), and that the door shutters were overlaid with laurel (*laureis postes aedium mearum uestiti*; in Ovid *adposita uelatur ianua lauro* and 3.1.33-34 *uideo fulgentibus armis | conspicuos postes*). In *Trist.* 3.1 Ovid undoubtedly recalls the civic oaken wreath given to Augustus, fixed over his door overlaid with laurel, explaining why it had been granted. In addition to this, at l. 40 Ovid does not fail to specify that he is actually describing Augustus' door by using the adjective *augustas*. Even the word *augurium* occurring at l. 36, when the book-roll realises why the wreath is fixed over the door, unmistakably recalls the honourable title of Augustus:<sup>141</sup>

cingit et augustas arbor opaca fores

(*Trist.* 3.1.40)

augurium menti querna corona dabat

(*Trist.* 3.1.36)

The *querna corona* in *Trist.* 3.1 is clearly the reward given to Augustus by the public authority for outstanding civic merit shown in dangerous circumstances for the city, rather than just the symbol sacred to Jupiter.

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<sup>141</sup> See Evans 1983 p. 52: «“augurium” (l. 36) is no doubt a pun on the name of Augustus himself», *Fast.* 1.609-11, Ennius fr. 155 Skutch, Suet. *Aug.* 7.2, Servius on *Aen.* 7.153, Priscian 2.39.7.

However, the booklet's certainty that it is looking at the temple of Jupiter confuses at first the modern reader: in more than one place Ovid states the divinity of the dweller and the sacredness of the wreath, leading the reader to think of Jupiter:

tectaque digna deo.

'an Iouis haec' dixi 'domus est?' quod ut esse putarem,

augurium menti querna corona dabat

cuius ut accepi dominum, 'non fallimur,' inquam,

et magni uerum est hanc Iouis esse domum

(*Trist.* 3.1.34-38)

Once more Ovid seems to refer to the house of Augustus by accurately mentioning his deeds, starting with the gleaming arms leaning against the doorposts, which are the trophies taken by Augustus from the defeated army after the victory at Actium. Besides, in line with the image fashioned by Augustus himself, the sparkling arms in the phrase *fulgentibus armis* evoke the representation of the *princeps* as the sun of the empire.<sup>142</sup> The ambiguity of the description is revealed further on through the book-roll's question *cur?*, asking to explain why the door is covered with laurel, and enquiring whether it represents the military triumphs of the *princeps* at Actium or the everlasting peace he granted to the world. The description of the temple sounds absolutely Augustan rather than Jovian. Let us read:

uideo fulgentibus armis

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<sup>142</sup> For the parallelism Augustus-sun see Videau-Delibes 1991 p. 264.

conspicuos postes...

...

cur tamen adposita uelatur ianua lauro,

cingit et augustas arbor opaca fores?

num quia perpetuos meruit domus ista triumphos,

an quia Leucadio semper amata deo est?

ipsane quod festa est, an quod facit omnia festa?

quam tribuit terris, pacis an ista nota est?

utque uiret semper laurus nec fronde caduca

carpitur, aeternum sic habet illa decus.

(*Trist.* 3.1.33-34.39-46)

Through an ascending *climax* built by successive direct questions in ll. 39-44 Ovid manages to gradually drive the attention of the reader away from the original monument (the temple), and draw it up to the house of Augustus, without moving from the place where the booklet still is. Augustus and Jupiter become the same person, living in the same house, holding the same ruling, almighty position. Ovid subtly produces the traditional correspondence between the ruler of the gods and the ruler of the world, by portraying the temple of Jupiter Stator with the same features of the house of Augustus, inducing the reader to indentify the providential figure of Augustus with that of the omnipotent father of all gods. The temple of Jupiter smoothly becomes the house of Augustus without giving the impression that Ovid is talking about two distinct buildings rising on two different levels of

the city and dwelt by two different rulers altogether.<sup>143</sup> The transposition begins with the mention of the *querna corona* which is both sacred to Jupiter and symbol of Augustus's great deed of salvation. Also the presence of the laurel sacred to Apollo of Leukas (ll. 39 and 42 *lauro* and *Leucadio ... deo*) on the door of the temple/house plays an important part in proving that the temple is not Jupiter's house anymore, since Apollo of Leukas is the promoter of Octavian's victory at Actium.<sup>144</sup> Again, the determiner *ista* occurs in these lines together with the words *domus* and *nota* (ll. 41 and 44), maintaining its deictic function, as if the book-roll pointed at the house of Augustus on the hill: 'that house over there', '(is) that over there a sign (of peace?)'. At this point the overlap becomes more and more consistent: the door is covered with Augustus' shining arms and evergreen laurel, conveying a further vein of sacredness.<sup>145</sup> On top of that, before starting to walk up the rise, the booklet stops for a prayer in front of the temple/house to plead forgiveness for Ovid from the *princeps*, confirming once more the identification of Jupiter with Augustus:

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<sup>143</sup> Wiseman 1987 p. 395 observes that aristocratic private houses and public monuments were similarly decorated, encouraging the identification of the temple of Jupiter Stator with the house of Augustus. On the contrast between the palace being similar to a temple and the humble house of Evander in *Aen.* 8.364-65 see Warde Fowler 1917 pp. 74-75 and Binder 1971 p. 137.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. *Met.* 1.560-65, where Apollo tells Daphne to cover the door of Augustus with leaves of laurel. See also Miller 2002 pp. 133-34.

<sup>145</sup> Todisco 2007 p. 355: «la casa di Augusto sul Palatino (Suet. *Aug.* 72) è così scambiata, nella finzione del poeta, per quella di *Iuppiter Stator*». The correspondence of Augustus with Jupiter is also given by the bolt of lightning (not mentioned in *Trist.* 3.1), which is another attribute of Jupiter and the means by which Augustus inflicted Ovid's fate (*Trist.* 1.1.72, *uenit in hoc illa fulmen ab arce caput* and 81, *me quoque, quae sensi, fateor Iouis arma timere*).

adice seruatis unum, pater optime, ciuem,  
 qui procul extremo pulsus in orbe iacet,  
 in quo poenarum, quas se meruisse fatetur,  
 non facinus causam, sed suus error habet.  
 me miserum! uereorque locum uereorque potentem,  
 et quatitur trepido littera nostra metu.  
 aspicias exsangu chartam pallere colore?  
 aspicias alternos intremuisse pedes?  
 quandocumque, precor, nostro placere parenti  
 isdem et sub dominis aspiciare, domus!

(*Trist.* 3.1.49-58)

Filled with fear to approach the house of the *princeps* (l. 53 *uereorque locum uereorque potentem*), after admitting its trembling, pallor and limping (ll. 54-56 *quatitur trepido littera nostra metu | aspicias exsangu chartam pallere colore? | 56 aspicias alternos intremuisse pedes?*), the book-roll eventually prays that its parent Ovid may one day see that very house dwelt in by the same ruler – that is, while Augustus is still alive. The prayer fully acknowledges the ‘divinity’ of Augustus and confirms his identification with Jupiter, which has been hinted at since l. 33: now that Augustus has been implored with awe and genuineness, he has completely become a deity,<sup>146</sup> and the temple of Jupiter Stator has effortlessly turned into the house of Augustus.

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<sup>146</sup> Cf. later at *Trist.* 3.78 *Caesar, ades uoto, maxime diue, meo!* and *Trist.* 1.1.71 *ignoscant augusta mihi loca dique locorum*.

Another little topographical issue arises when archaeologists point out that the house of Augustus stood at the top of the Palatine, not at its foot, where the book-roll and its guide still are at this point in the elegy.<sup>147</sup> In his list of places, Lugli puts the house of Augustus at the end of the rise, where it actually was, this time disregarding Ovid's sequential order and intentional overlap with the temple of Jupiter.<sup>148</sup> As we can read at ll. 59-60, it is only after the description of the house and the prayer to Augustus that the party starts walking uphill, leading us to believe that the book-roll clearly sees the house of Augustus before the climb, suggesting that his house *is* in fact the temple of Jupiter and that he himself *is* Jupiter.<sup>149</sup>

Scholars are well used to the *princeps*' being identified with Jupiter, which is traced back to the Augustan poets and originates from Ovid's exilic work.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Cf. Luck 1977 *ad loc.*: «das Buch und sein Führer befinden sich jetzt, wie es scheint, an der Nordostecke des Palatins, direkt über der Sacra Via» and *Trist.* 1.1.70 *scandere te iubeam Caesaremque domum*.

<sup>148</sup> Lugli 1959 p. 403.

<sup>149</sup> Unlike Miller 2002 p. 135, who opts for exclusivity: «the oak does not here symbolize Jupiter after all!». I believe that the building described by the booklet is *both* Jupiter's and Augustus', by virtue of their identification, which gives account for my conclusion.

<sup>150</sup> A first timid comparison between Augustus and Jupiter is found in Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.50-57 where Augustus is said to be subject to no-one except for Jupiter, pointing out that Augustus was not yet actually a deity. The distinction between deity and man is still clear at Hor. *Carm.* 3.5.1-4 and *Epist.* 2.1.15-17. The comparison is hinted at also at *Carm.* 3.3.9-12, where Augustus sips the nectar of the gods, and at 4.5.31-35, where he is addressed in prayer. Yet «Horace hesitated about the identification with Jupiter and tried to play it down» (Weinstock 1971 p. 304). On the other hand, in the Greek part of the empire Augustus' identification with Zeus presents no problems. In Ovid the association becomes more and more frequent and effortless. Rather significant is the comparison drawn by Ovid between Augustus and Jupiter, for they both carry the names *rector* and *pater*. Augustus acts on earth as ruler of the empire and father of all Romans like Jupiter is ruler in heaven and father of the gods (e.g. Ov. *Met.* 15.858-60, *Fast.* 2.131-44, 3.421, *Trist.* 2.37-40, *Pont.* 1.2.101). The comparison fades into open identification at e.g. *Fast.* 1.650, *Trist.* 1.5.75-78, 5.2.46 and is

Yet what is new in this representation of Augustus is his association with an unusual quality of Jupiter: Stator. The analogy of Augustus with Jupiter Stator requires that the buildings be transferred and substituted, with the palace in place of the temple: the house of Augustus is not longer at the top of the Palatine, but outside the city walls, at the beginning of the *clivus*. The ‘sliding’ of the palace to the bottom of the hill adds further insight into the role of the *princeps*, connected to the tragic outcome of the elegy.<sup>151</sup> Given his natural correspondence with Jupiter, Augustus himself can easily become Jupiter Stator, the obstructing god standing outside the gate leading to Ovid’s literary recover. As the collocation of the temple takes on a historico-legendary significance only if identified outside the gate, so the correspondence between Jupiter Stator and Augustus Stator is legitimated only if the adobe of the latter is imagined in the same place of the temple. The *princeps* blocks the advancement of the booklet with his imposing presence, through a long and detailed description of the monument, furtherly hindered by the booklet’s doubts regarding its true identification (ll. 33-49). Although it is mentioned after the *porta*, the temple/palace is placed before it, allowing the full correspondence between Augustus and Stator by virtue of his legendary action of defence. In *Trist.* 3.1 the *porta Mugonia* is mentioned before the

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consistent throughout Ovid’s poems from exile, especially in the image of Augustus punishing men with Jupiter’s bolt of lightning (e.g. *Trist.* 1.1.81, 2.143-44). For the Hellenistic theory of kingship see Diotogenes in Stob. 4.270.5 and 265.11. On the identification of Augustus with Jupiter see also Scott 1930 and Weinstock 1971 pp. 300-5, Ward 1933, Fears 1981, and especially in the exile poetry Owen 1924 pp. 79-81, Videau-Delibes 1991 pp. 257-68, Williams 1994 pp. 189-193, McGowan 2009 pp. 61-92. On the comparison between Augustus and Jupiter as judges in the exile poetry, see Galasso 2013.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. Newlands 1997 pp. 64-65.

temple non only to convey greater focus on the booklet's eagerness to reach the Palatine, but above all to emphasise the presence of the temple at a later time in the poem – thanks to Augustus' new epithet *Stator* – when the failure of the book's mission is prevised. It is the temple/palace – not the *porta Mugonia* – that steals the show among every other building nearby. By shifting the attention of the reader to the long description of the temple, the progress of both the elegy and the booklet is obstructed. Ovid presents the palace of Augustus as if it were the temple of *Stator* so as to perfectly realise the correspondence of the *princeps* with the father of the gods and irremovable protector of Rome from any intruder. The portrait of Augustus as *Stator* is not completely encouraging: he is like an enemy to the outsider, a threat to the book approaching the city, an austere ruler to the banished citizen.<sup>152</sup> The gate becomes a feeble projection of the path ascending to the Palatine library, which is abruptly blocked by the barrier of Augustus, who is literally 'under the feet' of the book-roll. The moving of the palace outside the gate aims at reiterating the theme of Ovid's exclusion.<sup>153</sup> As Jupiter *Stator* stopped the invasion of the Sabines, so Augustus 'Stator' blocks the book-roll's entrance to the library on the Palatine and to all the other libraries, predicting Ovid's definite exclusion from public Rome. The only way for Ovid to elude the *princeps'* inflexibility and secure his survival within Roman literature is to be

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<sup>152</sup> The allusions to the legendary action of Jupiter staying the Roman and Sabine troops – and most likely to the defense of Cicero delivering the first *Catilinarian* in this very temple – were probably grasped with ease by the contemporary readers. Cf. Vasaly 1993 pp. 41-59.

<sup>153</sup> On the theme of *exclusus amator* in Ovid's exile poetry, see Nagle 1980 pp. 21-22 and 56-62, and Newlands 1997 pp. 62-63 and 70.

accepted into private libraries outside the city walls, counting solely on the support of a few discreet readers.

### 3. NOTE TO THE TEXT, AIMS AND METHODS

In the present work I carried out a literary commentary of the first elegy of the third book of the *Tristia* in the light of the most recent contributions, which are constantly cited throughout my discussion and listed in the index. To this aim I divided the poem into thematic and narrative sections and subsections with relevant introductions. As *Trist.* 3.1 combines literary, archaeological, topographical, and historical and artistic issues, I attempted to provide as comprehensive an insight as possible into the meaning of the elegy, by gathering information from a wide range of scholarly studies with an interdisciplinary approach. Since my interest was specifically philological and literary, I tried to tackle the complexity of the topography of the Roman areas of the Forum and the Palatine in order to support my analysis and suggestions. Discussion of artistic, architectural and archaeological matters is only intended to provide a deeper understanding of the Ovidian text, within a broader perspective of knowledge, and encourage an interdisciplinary attitude. Careful consideration was given to metrical issues and figures of speech and sound.

An index of the names of modern and ancient authors mentioned throughout the commentary is available for direct reference to the poetical *loci* and scholarly contributions. A second index of *uerba notanda* is provided, listing all

the Latin words in *Trist.* 3.1 that convey a specific meaning within the poetics of exile. The list includes nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs that play a role in defining the condition of the exile, directly or by contrast. The selection of such words complies in large part with Nagle 1980's and Claassen 1986 and 1999a's analyses of the general vocabulary of exile: *carmen* (11 and 82), 1 *exul* (1) – and related *relegatio*, *error* (52), *extremus* (50), *facinus* (52), *fateor* (51), *fortuna* (5 and 73), *infelix* (6), *lacrima* (16), *litura* (15), *liber/libellus* (1, 20, 71), *liber/Libertas* (1, 20 and 72), *miser* (1, 53 and 73), *molliter* (26), *parens* (23 and 57), *pater* (49, 62 and 66), *pax* (44), *peregrinus* (61), *poena* (51), *precor* (77), *procul* (50), *tristis* (9), *triumphus* (41). Yet I identified other 'exilic' words given their relevance both in this elegy and in the entire exilic production: *abeo* (68), *alternus* (11, 56 and 61), *asper* (75), *barbarus* (18 and 62), *ciuis* (48 and 49), *claudus* (11), *clausus* (79), *conueniens* (10), *damno* (8), *dominus* (5, 37 and 58), *euictus* (76), *frater* (65), *genus* (73), *gigno* (66), *hospes* (20), *iaceo* (49), *inspicio* (9 and 64), *intonsus* (60), *iocus* (6), *iubeo* (68), *lector* (2 and 19), *longinquus* (26), *manus* (2 and 82), *mereo* (41 and 51), *odi* (8), *orbis* (26 and 50), *pario* (63), *pateo* (64 and 71), *patria* (24), *pes* (12, 56 and 70), *placo* (57), *priuatus* (80), *pudor* (3 and 81), *publicus* (79), *pulsus* (50), *sero* (8), *repulsa* (81), *seruare* (48 and 49), *tempus* (10 and 76), *terra* (18 and 44). The relevance of each entry to the vocabulary of exile is discussed *ad loc.* in the body of the commentary. The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, the Library of Latin Texts Series A Online (Brepols) and the Perseus Digital Library (Tufts University) were valuable tools for this research.

I provided my own line-by-line translation of the elegy. As it is hardly worth of any little literary merit, it is intended for only quick reference. I follow Wheeler's advice to use simple English.<sup>154</sup>

For the purposes of this commentary I neither investigated the *codices* nor undertook a new *collatio* of the manuscript tradition. I use Hall 1995's (Teubner) text, with the exception of l. 53 (*potentem* in place of *Penates*).

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<sup>154</sup> Wheeler 1924 pp. xxxii-xxxiv: «there is the old skill in the use of remarkably simple vocabulary, the old simplicity of structure, the same limpid clearness and skilful arrangement, the same sweetness and melody in the verse. No translation can hope to render all this. It cannot be separated from the Latin. But the translator can at least use simple English; he can try to be clear and to hint at the beauties of the order. He can do little else».

## TRISTIA 3.1

“Missus in hanc uenio miseri liber exulis urbem  
da placidam fesso, lector amice, manum  
neue reformida ne sim tibi forte pudori:  
nullus in hac charta uersus amare docet.  
5 haec domini fortuna mei est, ut debeat illam  
infelix nullis dissimulare iocis.  
id quoque, quod uiridi quondam male lusit in aeuo,  
heu nimium sero damnat et odit opus!

inspice quid portem: nihil hic nisi triste uidebis,  
10 carmine temporibus conveniente suis.  
clauda quod alterno subsidunt carmina uersu,  
uel pedis hoc ratio, uel uia longa facit.  
quod neque sum cedro flauus nec pumice leuis,  
erubui domino cultior esse meo.

15 littera suffusas quod habet maculosa lituras,  
laesit opus lacrimis ipse poeta suis.  
siqua uidebuntur casu non dicta Latine,  
in qua scribebar, barbara terra fuit.

dicite, lectores, si non graue, qua sit eundum,

20           quasque petam sedes hospes in urbe liber.”  
 haec ubi sum furtim lingua titubante locutus,  
           qui mihi monstraret, uix fuit unus iter.  
  
 “di tibi dent, nostro quod non tribuere parenti,  
           molliter in patria uiuere posse tua.  
 25       duc age! namque sequor, quamuis terraque marique  
           longinquo referam lassus ab orbe pedem.”  
 paruit, et ducens “haec sunt fora Caesaris” inquit;  
           “haec est a sacris quae uia nomen habet;  
 hic locus est Vestae, qui Pallada seruat et ignem;  
 30           haec fuit antiqui regia parua Numae.”  
 inde petens dextram, “porta est” ait “ista Palati;  
           hic Stator, hoc primum condita Roma loco est.”  
 singula dum miror, uideo fulgentibus armis  
           conspicuos postes tectaque digna deo.  
 35       “an Iouis haec” dixi “domus est?”; quod ut esse putarem,  
           augurium menti querna corona dabat.  
 cuius ut accepi dominum, “non fallimur” inquam,  
           “et magni uerum est hanc Iouis esse domum.  
 cur tamen adposita uelatur ianua lauro,  
 40           cingit et augustas arbor opaca fores?  
 num quia perpetuos meruit domus ista triumphos,  
           an quia Leucadio semper amata deo est?  
 ipsane quod festa est, an quod facit omnia festa?

quam tribuit terris, pacis an ista nota est?

45 utque uiret semper laurus nec fronde caduca

carpitur, aeternum sic habet illa decus?"

"causa superpositae scripto testata coronae

seruatos ciues indicat huius ope."

"adice seruatis unum, pater optime, ciuem,

50 qui procul extremo pulsus in orbe iacet,

in quo poenarum, quas se meruisse fatetur,

non facinus causam sed suus error habet.

me miserum! uereorque locum uereorque potentem,

et quatitur trepido littera nostra metu.

55 aspicias exangui chartam pallere colore?

aspicias alternos intremuisse pedes?

quandocumque, precor, nostro placata parenti,

isdem sub dominis aspiciare, domus!"

inde tenore pari gradibus sublimia celsis

60 ducor ad intonsi candida templa dei,

signa peregrinis ubi sunt alterna columnis,

Belides et stricto barbarus ense pater,

quaeque uiri docto ueteres peperere nouique

pectore, lecturis inspicienda patent.

65 quaerebam fratres, exceptis scilicet illis

quos suus optaret non genuisse pater:

quaerentem frustra custos me sedibus illis

praepositus sancto iussit abire loco.

altera templa peto, uicino iuncta theatro:

70 haec quoque erant pedibus non adeunda meis.

nec me, quae doctis patuerunt prima libellis,

atria Libertas tangere passa sua est.

in genus auctoris miseri fortuna redundat,

et ferimus nati, quam tulit ille, fugam.

75 forsitan et nobis olim minus asper et illi,

euictus longo tempore Caesar erit.

di, precor, atque adeo – neque enim mihi turba roganda est –

Caesar, ades uoto, maxime diue, meo!

interea, quoniam statio mihi publica clausa est,

80 priuato liceat delituisse loco.

uos quoque, si fas est, confusa pudore repulsae,

sumite, plebeiae, carmina nostra, manus.

## TRANSLATION

“Sent to this city I come as the booklet of a miserable exile.

Reach out your hand to an exhausted traveller, dear reader,  
and fear not I might be of any shame to you:

no line in this page will teach how to love.

5 The fate of my master is so wretched that he can't disguise it  
with any light verse.

Even that poem, whose composition he wrongly enjoyed in his young

[age,

oh!, it's too late to condemn and scorn!

Look at what I carry: you'll see nothing but sad things;

10 this poetry suits the sad circumstances in which it was written.

That my limping lines falter under unsteady feet,

is due to either the uneven metre, or the long way.

I'm neither golden-coloured with cedar oil nor smoothed by pumice

[stone,

because I felt ashamed of appearing tidier than my master.

15 My letters are spotted with overspread blurs,

as the poet ruined his poem with his tears.

if by chance non-Latin words are found,

it is because of the barbarian land I was written in.

tell me, readers, if it doesn't cause any trouble, where I should go,

20 and what libraries I, a foreign booklet in town, should reach.”

Once I secretly said these words with faltering tongue,  
 hardly one person came forth to show me the way.

“May the gods accord you what they didn’t grant to my father,  
 that you may live peacefully in your homeland.

25 Come on now! I’ll follow you, although I’m weary for having walked  
 here from a distant land through land and sea.”

He agreed, and while he was guiding me “these are the Forums of the  
[Caesars” he said;

“this is the way named after the temples and sanctuaries that rise  
[along it;

this is the place of Vesta, where the palladium and the fire are watched;

30 this used to be the small regal house of Numa.”

After that, turning right, “that” he said “is the door to the Palatine;

this is the temple of Jupiter Stator; in this place Rome was first  
[founded.”

While I admire every single thing, I see door posts that catch my eye  
 for the shining arms lying against them, and a house worthy of  
[divinity.

35 “Isn’t this” I asked “the house of Jupiter?”; The oaken wreath

confirmed to me that it was,

and as soon as I understood whose house it was, “I’m not mistaken” I  
[said,

“it is indeed the house of the great Jupiter!

Yet, why are the doors covered with laurel all around,

40 and the shady branches wreath its notable posts?

Is it because that house has deserved everlasting triumphs,

or maybe because it has always been loved by the Leucadian god?

Is it because it is itself a sign of celebration, or because it makes

[everything gay?

Is it a sign of that peace that it has granted to the world?

45 Or, again, does it carry everlasting honour, just like the laurel leaves  
are evergreen and never wither?"

“the reason for the hanging wreath is given by the inscription saying  
that the citizens have been saved thanks to his help.”

“add to the saved, best of fathers, one citizen

50 cast away, lying wrtched at the edge of the world,  
whose mistake – not crime – is the reason for his punishment,  
which he admits to have deserved.

Alas! I fear this place and I fear the powerful dweller,  
and my words tremble in shaking fear.

55 Do you see my roll paling into a death-like colour?

Do you see that my unsteady feet limping?

I pray that one day, oh house, once at peace with my father,  
you may be seen by him occupied by the same dwellers!"

From there, at the same pace, I am escorted along lofty steps

60 to the white towering temple of the long-haired god,  
where statues of the Belides and their father firmly holding a sword  
alternate with foreign marble columns,  
and where the works, borne in the learned hearts of authors  
ancient and new, are available for anyone to study.

65 I was looking for my brothers, except those, of course,

whose father would wish he had never generated:

while I was looking in vain,

the guardian of that sacred place ordered me to leave.

So I reach the other temples, adjacent to the near theatre:

70 yet I was not allowed there either.

Neither Libertas permitted that I entered her halls,

which first were open to learned books.

The misfortune of a wretched author overflows on his children,

and we, the children, must suffer the same banishment he has

[suffered.

75 perhaps soothened after a long time, Caesar will be milder

to both us and him.

I pray you, oh gods, and especially you Caesar, the greatest god

– in fact I needn't call on the whole crowd – grant my prayer!

In the meanwhile, as I am not allowed to be kept in public libraries,

80 may I be granted to hide in a private place.

and you, hands of the people, if you can, take my poems,

filled with shame at their rejection.

## COMMENTARY

**1-22**

This section contains the opening greeting of the booklet to the reader on its arrival in Rome. The booklet speaks in the first person. It has been sent to Rome by his exiled author in Tomis and is now pleading the reader for sympathy. It is exhausted from the journey. Since Ovid has been banished from the city, the booklet's arrival cannot be openly proclaimed. The book roll is apprehensively and furtively talking to a unknown reader, inviting him to reach out his hand as a sign of help and hospitality, well aware of being the poetic product of an exile, i.e. liable to draw shame on the person who reads it. Proof of the booklet's sorrowful poems is its shabbiness and unkempt appearance. It then asks the reader to be shown into the Roman public libraries to find a place to be stored: only one person answers the booklet's appeal, helping it to find its way in the city.

**1-8****missus in hanc ~ et odit opus!**

Arrival and self-introduction of the booklet to the reader. Request for help and presentation of its poetical contents.

**1****missus**

The booklet has been sent to Rome by Ovid and speaks in the first person.

*Missus* anticipates and completes the following *uenio*. It is linked to Ovid's

recommendation to the booklet before its dispatch in *Trist.* 1.1 (73 *in alta Palatia missum*) and to the end of the third collection (3.14.26 *diuerso missum quod tibi ab orbe uenit*). In the exilic poetry *mitto* is a specific verb to denote Ovid's dispatching his elegies from Tomis to Rome, usually occurring at the beginning or at the end of the poems. It can also describe Ovid's forced departure from Rome and journey to the land of exile, conveying an idea of hyperbolised remoteness and coercion (cf. *Trist.* 1.2.65, 1.3.61, 2.189, 4.9.9, *Pont.* 4.14.7 and 10); less frequently, it refers to the letters sent to Ovid by his friends in reply (cf. *Trist.* 4.2.69, 4.7.23-24, 5.13.15-16). The *Anthologia Palatina* includes few epigrams of 'speaking' books: e.g. Crinag. *AP* 9.239, anon. *AP* 9.191, Antip. Byz. *AP* 9.192, anon. *AP* 9.184, Antip. Thess. *AP* 9.186, Agath. *AP* 6.80. On the personification of books see *Pont.* 4.5.1 *ite, lenes elegi*, Geysen 1999 and 2007, Fedeli 1996, Citroni 1986, Claassen 1990, Harrison 1990, Hinds 1985, Newlands 1997, Hardie 2002b pp. 283-325, Graverini 2004.

### **in hanc ... urbem**

The book-roll has fictitiously arrived in Rome. The demonstrative *hanc* clarifies that the book-roll is physically there. Rome is commonly known as the city by excellence (*Vrbs*). In Ovid's exilic poetry *urbs* holds a nostalgic meaning, being the place from which the poet is exiled and to which his return is forbidden. *Vrbs* is also used in the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* for the city of Tomis as the counterpart of Rome, conveying a character of civilised place to the barbarian town (*Trist.* 1.10.41, 3.9.1 and 5, *Pont.* 3.4.2).

### **uenio**

It is linked to the previous *missus*. The phrase *uenire in urbem* is recalled also with variations in *Trist.* 1.1 (*ibis in urbem*) and 59 (*uenias ... in urbem*), which

anticipate the arrival of the booklet in Rome; in *Pont.* 3.5.49 (*perueni in urbem*), when Ovid imagines to reach Rome with the eyes of his mind (cf. *Trist.* 4.2.57-64, especially 61 [scil. *mens*] *illa meos oculos mediam deducit in urbem*), and *Pont.* 4.5.7 (*uenietis in urbem*), when Ovid instructs his poem on how to reach its addressee. *Trist.* 3.1 is a direct response to *Trist.* 1.1, in which Ovid gives recommendations to his booklet on what it should do once it has arrived in town (cf. the repetition of verbs of motion/travel also in 1.1.3 and 15 *uade*, 57 *i*, and 96 *adi*). For the correspondence between *Trist.* 1.1 and 3.1 see pp. 29ff.

### **miseri ~ exulis**

The booklet introduces itself as the work of an exile as a way to excuse its shabby appearance and sad contents, defining thus its genre as exilic (cf. *Trist.* 1.1.3 *qualem decet exulis esse* and *Pont.* 1.2.109 *exule dignum*, Lechi 1978 and Williams 1994 p. 181: «Ovid exploits the alleged origins of elegy as a song of lament to create a correspondence between his own mood and the mood of his verse»). *Liber* indicates the whole collection of elegies contained in the third book of the *Tristia* (cf. *Pont.* 3.9.51-52), denoting also its physical container, i.e. the book-roll made of papyrus (*TbLL* 1274 6). Although it is the book of an exile, it is not prevented from entering the city: Ovid's books are the only means by which the poet can freely reach Rome (cf. *Trist.* 1.1.2 *domino non licet ire tuo!*, 16 *contingam certe quo loco licet illa pede*, 58 *di facerent, possem nunc meus esse liber!*, 3.14.9-12, *Pont.* 2.2.8). In this view Ovid creates an ironic double entendre through the assonance of the words *liber* 'book' and *liber* 'free', solved only by the rule of the hexameter: with Ovid becoming his *liber*, he is *liber* to reach Rome with the eye of his mind (on the dichotomy and etymology of *liber* and *liber* see Hinds 1985 pp. 13-14, n. 2 p. 39, and *TbLL*

VII,2 1271 13 *deriuatur a liberare*, 44 *arboris cortice dempto atque liberato*. Geysen 2007 n. 20 p. 381 notes that there might even be a pun between the words *liber* (book) and *liberi* (freed children), as in Martial 4.89. On Ovid's mental seafaring see e.g. *Trist.* 3.4b.55-59, 4.2.57-64, *Pont.* 1.2.47-50 and 1.8.33-38, Bonjour 1975, Nagle 1980 pp. 91-99, Viarre 1992, Claassen 1996 p. 583, and 1999 pp. 159-61. On the correspondence between Ovid and his books cf. e.g. *Trist.* 1.1.58 *possem nunc meums esse liber!*). Eventually, though, Ovid's *liber* will not be accepted into any of the Roman libraries, not even that at the *Atrium Libertatis* (ll. 71-72): on this see Barchiesi 1994 pp. 76-79 and commentary on ll. 71-72 below.

Although he was actually sentenced with *relegatio* (which meant he could still retain his Roman citizenship and property – cf. e.g. 2.137 *relegatus, non exul*, 5.2.56-58, 5.11 *passim*; see also Just. 331.2-29 and 654, Appian 6.1.31, Gaius 1.128, Ulpian 11.12, 22.1.2 and Mommsen 1887 pp. 6, 47, 51, 53, 140 and 141), Ovid calls himself *exul* most of the times rather than *relegatus* in order to emphasise his wretched, unique condition (cf. e.g. *Trist.* 2.188, 4.10.74, *Pont.* 1.8.7). *Relegatus* appears only four times in the *Tristia* and twice in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. Considerably pathetic is the expression *miseri exulis* – parallel to *auctoris miseri* at l. 73 – which carries implications of the conventional equation of exile with despair and death (cf. *Trist.* 1.4.28, Ovid's descriptions of his departure from Rome in *Trist.* 1.3, of his deathbed and epitaph in 3.3, and the recurrence of his birthday in 3.13.3; for the connection between exile and death see Claassen 1996). The adjective *miser* can relate to the sphere of emotions ('helplessly unhappy'), in which personal affliction is transferred to the cause of the affliction, which is usually persisting and irrevocable – such

as miserable circumstances, life, misfortune, exile and death (*TbLL* VIII 1101 65 *quasi pro personis mala sorte utentibus*; 1101 75 *tranfertur ad varias condiciones: de fortuna*; 1102 2 *de uita, tempore*; 1104 13-24 *ad mortem*; cf. e.g. in *Pont.* 1.2.70 *misera ... fuga*, Cic. *Fin.* 5.84 *bonum patria; miser exilium, pro Marc.* 13 *fato ... misero*, Liv. 28.29.1 *miserum et indignum exilium*, Cic. *Catil.* 4.3 *mors ... misera*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.829 *hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem*). As an exile, Ovid often calls himself *miser* with the meaning of ‘wretched, unfortunate, pitiable’, ‘without hope’ and ‘living dead’; it occurs twenty-nine times in the *Tristia*, and twenty-eight times in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. *Miser* is undoubtedly taken from the vocabulary of erotic poetry, relating to the infelicitous and immutable condition of the *exclusus amator*. Ovid wishes to set foot in the unreachable Rome just like a lover poet wishes to get hold of the inaccessible *puella* (cf. Pichon 1902, pp. 202-203 and *TbLL* VIII 1103 29 *de amore ipso*; cf. e.g. Catull. 51.5, Tibull. 1.2.91, Prop. 1.1.1, 1.5.29-30, Ov. *Am.* 1.9.28, *rem.* 21. For the topos of the *miseria amoris* from Plautus to the outset of erotic poetry see Nanna 2006; for the reconversion of elegiac patterns into exilic genre and vocabulary see Nagle 1980 pp. 43-68 and Claassen 1999; for the correspondence between Ovid the exile and the unsuccessful lover left standing outside the locked door see Newlands 1997 p. 70; for the correspondence between the imagery of the book allowed into the city in *Trist.* 1.1 and 3.1, and into the *puella*’s house in *Am.* 3.8 see Geysen 2007 p. 377).

## 2

**da placidam fesso ... manum**

This is a typical formula for *captatio benevolentiae* and the renowned custom of hospitality especially shown to foreigners, exiles, people in need (*TbLL* VIII 354 67 *de subsidio, auxilio*; cf. Enn. *Scaen.* 161 *ad uos adueniens auxilium et uestras manus peto*, Liv. 30.13.8 *recordatio hospitii dexteraeque datae*, Sen. *De clem.* 2.6 (scil. *sapiens*) *dabit manum naufrago, exuli hospitium* and *Ep.* 95.51 *praecipiemus ut naufrago manum porrigat, erranti uiam monstraret*). A handshake also validated the contract of the *ius hospitii*, often accompanied by a *tessera* or a written message of introduction, which both suggest that the book is actually seeking *hospitium* (see later at l. 20 the booklet calls itself *hospes*; Plaut. *Poen.* 1047-48 *tesseram | conferre, si uis hospitalem*; on the contract of *ius hospitii* in Rome see Bolchazy 1970 pp. 27-33). The booklet asks the reader not to judge its poetical content and style too harshly, considering the circumstance in which it was composed, and to welcome it in the city, by showing it the way. On the contrary, refusing one's hand means to detach from the model of *sapiens clemens* and *amicus* (2 *lector amice*) or *socius*, (cf. e.g. *Trist.* 2.33-44; see also Val. Max. 6.4.3 *is prompto animo et amicissimo uultu dexteram ei porrexisset, inuicem illi suam porrigere noluit (...) ac tum demum popilius manum eius tamquam socii adrebendit*)

The imperative *da* at the beginning of the line is the first of a set of four requests to the reader expressing stronger emphasis to the appeal of the booklet (3 *neue reformida*, 9 *inspice*, 19 *dicite*). The imperatives are placed at the beginning of distinct sections (introduction, poetical content, request). This expression is parallel to *da ueniam* (*Pont.* 3.9.55) and to similar requests for generous acts frequent in exile poetry (e.g. *Pont.* 1.8.9 *uenia dignere libellos*, *Trist.* 3.4b.30 *fidam proiecto neue negate manum*). *Placidus* means 'benign, merciful' (*TbLL* X,1 2276 2ff.), closely linked to the favourable approach of the

dispenser of mercy often found in Ovid's exilic *corpus* (cf. e.g. *Pont.* 3.4.9 *placido lectore*, *Trist.* 4.5.20 *dum ueniat placido mollior aura deo* (scil. *principe*)); in *Pont.* 1.2.127 *placidus* is accompanied by *aures* (as *uariatio* of *manus*) within a similar context of appeal. The expression *dare manum* as a metaphor for help and clemency shown to someone in difficult circumstances is also recalled in *Trist.* 3.4.76 and in *Pont.* 4.5.28, where the book is offered help upon arrival at Sestus Pompey's house. The book is tired (*fessus*) because of the long journey from Tomis (12) and because of its limping, due to its unpaired metre: the couplet hexameter + pentameter (11-12) holds the book back, reducing its pace and blocking its progress, literally and metaphorically. A book written in elegiac couplets struggles to follow its guide around the city, and at the same time is rejected from public libraries because its metre recalls the guilty *Ars Amatoria*. For the pun of *pes* see commentary on l. 11 below; for the metrical reason for being excluded from the libraries see Miller 2002). In other parts of the *Tristia*, *fessus* describes Ovid's typical wasted condition in exile, body and soul: by metonymy Ovid's tiredness is transferred to the book's physical fatigue and metrical form, matching the appearance of his worn out books, thus becoming one of the key words of the exilic poetry (*TbLL* VI,1 611 40 *de animo*, *Trist.* 1.7.27 *animam ... fessam*, 1.10.20 *fessa carina*, 3.3.85, *uox ... fessa*, 4.3.26 *fessa ... ossa*).

### **lector amice**

The request for help to the work of an exile is often accompanied by the vocative *lector* in the opening elegies of other books of the *Tristia* (e.g. *Trist.* 4.1.2 and *Trist.* 5.1.65-66; it is noteworthy that the first and second book of the *Tristia* open with a formal address to Ovid's books: *Trist.* 1.1.1 *parue – nec*

*inuideo* – *sine me, liber, ibis in urbem* and *Trist.* 2.1 *quid mihi uobiscum est, inflex cura, libelli?*). The person who accepts the work of Ovid is a private reader, one of the crowd (cf. later at l. 82 *plebeiae ... manus*), who must keep up Ovid's poetic tradition by reading and storing his books despite their rejection by official readership (cf. l. 79). The adjective *amice* (substituted by *candide* in *Trist.* 4.10.132, and *studiose* in *Trist.* 5.1.1) enforces the private character of the *captatio* minimising the official literary reception. *Amicus* has a resultative meaning, not necessarily denoting a person closely acquainted with the book or poet, but the person who will help the book: calling the potential helper *amicus* before he has taken the decision whether to help or not serves as a forcing manoeuvre to obtain help. The unnamed reader to whom the book is addressed corresponds to the fictitious character of the guide in the elegy (22 *uix fuit unus*), who is in charge of the booklet's safe storage. The appeal to the reader occurs also at the end of books three and four (3.14.8-9 and 4.10.132), once again linked to the retention of Ovid's writings in Rome and preservation of his *fortuna* for the years to come.

### 3-4

#### neue ~ docet

The first thing a Roman reader would wonder when meeting a book by Ovid after his banishment is whether or not it contains 'dangerous' erotic poetry as the *Ars Amatoria* – which is one of the reasons for Ovid's exile. The booklet reassures the reader that its poetical content does not teach how to love, unlike the *Ars Amatoria*, therefore he should not be ashamed of picking it up (cf. *Trist.* 1.1.67 *'inspice' dic 'titulum: non sum praeceptor amoris'* and *Ars* 1.17 *ego sum praeceptor amoris*; cf. also Ovid's defence at *Trist.* 2.212 *arguor obsceni doctor*

*adulterii*). The booklet stresses the fact that he is *not* like Ovid's love books with the three negatives *neue, ne, nullus*.

### 3

**neue reformida:** 'to shrink in fear', 'to dread' (*OLD*). *Reformido* has a stronger meaning than simply 'to fear': it is also used to recall the moment when Ovid unwittingly saw what he should not have, causing his unfortunate downfall (*Trist.* 2.103 and 207 – allegedly the second reason for his punishment) in *Trist.* 3.6.29-30 *mensque reformidat, ueluti sua uulnera, tempus | illud*. The booklet reassures the reader of the fact that it will not be cause of shame as it does not contain any love poetry like the *Ars amatoria*, the blameful poem. The book's urging concern about not being misinterpreted so as not to damage the recipient's reputation and avoid public scandal originates from Ovid's recommendation to act furtively without revealing its real identity back in *Trist.* 1: it is the book of an exile after all (1.21-24 *atque tu tacitus – quaerenti plura legendum – | ne quae non opus est forte loquere caue! | Protinus admonitus repetet mea crimina lector | et peragar populi publicus ore reus*). The same feeling of self-consciousness is expressed in *Pont.* 4.5.11-14 *si quis, ut in populo, qui sitis et eunde, requiret, | nomina decepta quaelibet aure ferat | Ut sit enim tutum, sicut reor esse, fateri, | uerba minus certa ficta timoris habent*. The phrase *neue reformida* is a negative imperative, the second exhortation after *da* (l. 2).

**ne:** conjunction after verb of fearing *reformida* '(do not) dread that'.

**tibi ... pudori:** double dative construction, 'to (accidentally) be of shame to you'. Anyone reading or storing a book such as the *Ars amatoria* could be covered with shame, because of its impudent teachings (cf. e.g. *pudor* and *doceo* in *Ars* 3.769-770 *ulteriora pudet docuisse; sed alma Dione | «precipue nostrum est, quod*

*pudet, inquit, opus») and because it has led Ovid to his banishment. The word pudor has here the triple meaning of ‘shame of doing something wrong’, ‘sense of decency regarding sexual issues’ and ‘sense of honour and respect’ (TbLL X,2 2492 74 respicitur habitus eius, qui delinquere non uult, turpiter agere recusat, 2494 70 (timiditas quae) pertinet ad rem ueneream, and 2500 55 existimatio, honor). Pudor is also the humiliation of the exile, covering every other person close to him (cf. e.g. Ovid’s wife in *Trist.* 5.11.5 *sum causa pudoris*). The booklet knows that the reader is a respectable citizen and does not wish to lead him into scandal. The adverb *forte* ‘accidentally’, ‘by chance’ undoubtedly recalls the fact that Ovid himself wrote the *Ars amatoria* unaware of the consequences (*Trist.* 2.313-314) and saw something without intention (*Trist.* 3.6.27-28), and that his banishment altogether was a strike of misfortune (*Trist.* 2.341)*

#### 4

**nullus ... uersus:** ‘not one line’. The hyperbaton with *nullus* in the first line position emphasises that the booklet is not at all like the *Ars amatoria* (cf. *Ars* 1.34). The word *uersus* is taken from the farming and agriculture vocabulary: it literally means ‘furrow made by a plough’ and subsequently, by transferred meaning, ‘furrow made by a stylus on a waxed table’, that is ‘line of writing’ and ‘verse of poetry’. As the booklet speaks on behalf of his author, so the lines of its poetry teach not to love (cf. *Trist.* 2.240).

**in hac charta:** ‘written on me’ *alias* on the papyrus roll (TbLL III 997 10 *schedae ex medulla papyri confectae*). The demonstrative *hac* is deictic, as the book-roll is seemingly pointing at itself.

#### 5-8

**haec ~ opus!:** Ovid's condition in exile is so dreadful that it is almost impossible for him to elude it or cover it even by composing light poetry, wretched as he is. The booklet confirms his master's despise for the *Ars amatoria* that caused his downfall. These lines stress what the book-roll said before at l. 4, i.e. that the book will not teach how to love: Ovid could not compose erotic poetry since he is not in the mood for it. The correspondence between the sad contents of the *Tristia* and the sad circumstances in which they are composed is introduced here, widely treated later at ll. 9-18.

## 5

**domini:** Ovid is called *dominus* by his book. The word *dominus* as 'author' appears for the first time in Ovid's exile poetry, although the idea of the book as a *puer* subject to its master occurs in Hor. *epist.* 1.20 (see Fedeli 1996 and Citroni 1986, n. 29 p. 128, Gaertner 2005 on *Pont.* 1.2.134, *TbLL* V,1 1918 73). The connotation of authorship conveyed by *dominus* is stressed especially in the proemial elegies of *Tristia* 1 and 3, where a deep reflection on the poet's work is carried out from the point of view of both the author and the fictitious character of the booklet (*Trist.* 1.1.2 *quo domino non licet ire tuo*, and 97 *dominoque tuo felicitior ipse*, 3.1.14 *erubui domino cultior*, and here), and in the famous elegy on the burning of the unfinished *Metamorphoses* (*Trist.* 1.7.14 *infelix domini quod fuga rupit opus*, and 38 *quasi de domini funere rapta sui*). *Dominus* as 'author' appears also in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, reiterating the poet's relationship with his written work outlined in the *Tristia* (e.g. *Pont.* 1.2.134 *domino qui [scil. libelli] nocere suos*, 3.4.45-46 *assidue domini meditata querelas | ad laetum carmen uix mea uersa lyra est*). By calling its author *dominus*, the booklet recalls the instructions he was given back in *Trist.* 1.1, when Ovid prescribed

how the book should look like and act (see Bonvicini's commentary on *Trist.* 3.1, pp. 306-53). Yet, Ovid's relationship with his poetry will soon turn into a father-son one, by which his books become his own flesh and blood (cf. later at ll. 23 *nostro ... parenti*, 57 *nostro ... parenti* and 66 *suus ... pater*, and elsewhere e.g. 1.1.107 *fratres*, 1.1.114 *Oedipodas facito telegonosque uoces*, 1.7.35 *orba parente suo ... uolumina*, 3.14.14 *stirps haec progeniesque mea est* and *Pont.* 3.9.12 *quidquid genui*, 4.5.29 *parens ego uester*; on Ovid's fathering his books see Davisson 1984; cf. Nagle 1980 p. 85). This metaphor was introduced by Aristophane's *Clouds* (see Telò 2010). Ovid is the first poet to introduce the idea of author=father and work=son in Latin literature, precisely in the exile poetry, which was picked up soon after by later writers, e.g. Quint. *inst.* 10.4.2 *fetus*, Stat. *Theb.* 12.810 *durabisne procul dominoque legere superstes*, and Mart 1.3.9 *tu ne totiens domini patiare lituras*, 5.80.9 *debet domino suo libellus*, 10.104.15 *tuum parentem* (cf. *ThLL* X,1 362 9). The booklet's dual identification of Ovid as *dominus* on the one hand and *pater* on the other enables both detachment and identification between poetry and poet, reflecting the typically fluctuating parent-child relationship, with a «greater degree of emotional involvement» (Davisson 1984 pp. 112-13) than in previous models, e.g. Hor. *epist.* 1.20. For the Greek origin of this concept see Artist. *Nich. Eth.* 1168A., Plat. *sym.* 209a-209d. and Curtius 1948 (2013 ed.) pp. 132-33. *Dominus* holds other meanings in the exile poetry: 'autocrat' as the Greek *tyrannos*, with a negative connotation (*Pont.* 3.6.41 *forsitan haec domino Busiride iure timeres*), 'dweller of a *domus*' (l. 58 *isdem sub dominis*, *Pont.* 1.9.13-14 *cum domus ingenti subito mea lapsa ruina | concidit in domini procubuitque caput*), (especially for feminine *domina*) 'lover' as *puella*, directly borrowed from the erotic poetry (e.g. *Trist.* 2.451-52 *saepe uelut gemmam dominae*

*signumue probaret | per causam meminit se tetigisse manum*, 3.10.74 *scriberet hic dominae uerba legenda suae*; see Pichon 1902 s.v. and Pierrugues 1824 s.v.), and (for Augustus only) ‘ruler’ assimilated to Jupiter (*Pont.* 2.8.25-26 *saecli decus indelebile nostri | terrarum dominum quem tua cura facit*).

**haec ... fortuna ... ut debeat:** *fortuna* is *uox media*, denoting here Ovid’s misfortune, that is his banishment from Rome. As one would expect, *fortuna* frequently occurs with a negative meaning in the exile corpus (e.g. *Trist.* 1.1.52, *Pont.* 2.2.31); here it is even more emphasised thanks to the hyperbaton *haec ... fortuna*, which stresses the wretchedness of Ovid’s fate. The demonstrative *haec* is correlated with the consecutive particle *ut* after the hephthemimeral *caesura*: ‘my master’s destiny has come to such a point that’. *Debeat* has the meaning of ‘to be able’ (*TbLL* V,1 100 8 *plerumque additur negatio*; cf. *Trist.* 5.1.73), in the sense that writing erotic poetry will not be sufficient to distract the author. The same phrase *haec fortuna + ut debeat* occurs also in *Trist.* 1.9.37 *is status, haec rerum nunc est fortuna mearum, debeat ut lacrimis nullus adesse modus*.

## 6

**infelix:** *infelix* is another key word from the vocabulary of erotic elegy (Pichon 1902), generally meaning ‘unfortunate’. It has two major meanings here. The first is synonym of *miser*, conveying the idea of a dishonoured person that has lost protection from the god, recalling the condition of the dead in the underworld (*TbLL* VII,1 *de mala fortuna*; cf. Cic. *Mil* 102 *me infelicem, me miserum* and a large number of mortuary inscriptions e.g. *CIL* VI 35773 *hic iacet infelix Mamertinus eques*). However, as Williams 1992 pp. 182-184 pointed out, *infelix* relates also to the alleged infertility of Ovid’s poetical

stream at the time of exile, meaning ‘sterile’, ‘fruitless’ (the *TbLL* VII,1 1361 10 gives *infecundus, sterilis* as first entry; cf. *Trist.* 1.1.4 and 2.1 both attributed to Ovid’s books; for Ovid’s sterile *ingenium* see 5.12.21-24 ; for the infertility of the land of exile see *Pont.* 3.1.19-20 *rara, neque haec felix ... | arbor*). The position of *infelix* at the beginning of the line followed by *nullis (... iocis)* is quite remarkable, as it draws light on the assumption that Ovid’s ability as a poet has been deeply damaged.

### **nullis ... iocis**

*Nullus* is repeated here for the second time after l. 4 (*nullus ... uersus*), as if the booklet wanted to stress that no love line is to be found in it. Ovid’s exile poetry is full of occurrences of *iocus* as ‘light poetry’ (i.e. erotic poetry *vs.* epic) and related ludic verbs meaning ‘composing light poetry’ (see e.g. *Trist.* 2.493-494 *hic ego deceptus non Tristia carmina feci, | sed tristis nostros poena secuta iocos*, 1.9.61-62, 5.1.20 and l. 7 below). The verb *dissimulare* could mean here both ‘to cover’ and ‘to elude, to deceive’ (*TbLL* V,1 1485 12-15 *ignorare, remove*): Ovid is unable to *cover* his shameful destiny with frivolous poetry so as to appear less miserable than he actually is; yet, at the same time, he cannot find solace in composing erotic verses to *divert* from daily misery since it would constantly remind him of the reason for his punishment (cf. ll. 7-8 below).

## **7**

### **id ... in aeuo**

The *Ars amatoria* ominously (*male*) written during Ovid’s young age (cf. *Trist.* 1.9.61 *hoc iuueni lusum mihi carmen*, 5.1.7 *laeta et iuuenalia lusi*). The verb *ludo* means ‘to compose light poetry’; yet considering that the *Ars amatoria* is both erotic and impudent poetry (to the point that it somehow offended the

*princeps*), we could add ‘with irreverence’ to the translation of *ludo* (*TbLL* VII,2 1775 10 *carmina leuiori generis* and 1776 70 *praeualet color irrisionis*; cf. e.g. Catull. 50.2, Verg. *ecl.* 6.1, Ov. *Fast.* 2.5 *sit numeris prima iuuenta mea suis*, 4.9 *primis lusimus annis*, *Trist.* 3.3.73 and 4.10.1 *tenerorum lusor amorum*, Mart. 1.113.1 *quaecumque lusi iuuenis et puer quondam*). Youth is often described as the green age, according to the traditional metaphor of life as the circle of the seasons, with youth corresponding to spring, when trees start growing their leaves (cf. e.g. *Pont.* 4.12.29, *Trist.* 4.10.17, *ars* 3.557, Verg. *Aen.* 5.295). It is worth noticing that the composition of light poetry is considered a juvenile occupation in most of its occurrences (*TbLL* VII,2 1775 68). *Male* has the same meaning as *infeliciter* here (*TbLL* VIII 240 77, *Trist.* 2.109, *Pont.* 2.2.3) and reiterates what Ovid has already said in *Trist.* 2 about his writings (1 *infelix cura*, 6 *omine non fausto*, 16 *malum ... pedem*). The demonstrative *id* at the beginning of the hexameter is proleptic to the generic *opus* at the end of the following pentameter, anticipating the unspecified work – although very well known to the reader – that has led to Ovid’s exile. The hyperbaton between *id* and *opus* gives cohesion to the whole couplet, which holds the motif of Ovid’s regret for and rejection of his poetical work.

## 8

### **damnat et odit opus**

Such hendiadys creates a strong hyperbole, stretching the meaning of both verbs to the limit as if they were synonyms (on *damno* synonym of *odi* cf. *TbLL* V,1 20 54; for the idiomatic expression *damnare et odiare* cf. Juv. 8.202 and Ps. Ambr. *epist.* 4.9). Ovid cannot help but detest the *Ars amatoria* as one of the reasons for his damnation (cf. *Trist.* 2.61 *carmen et error*): Ovid’s sharp

regret for having written an erotic didactic poem is also expressed at the opening of his apology at *Trist.* 2.1-3 *quid mihi uobiscum est, infelix cura, libelli, | ingenio perii qui miser ipse meo? | cur modo damnatas repeto, mea crimina, Musas?* and 13-14 *si saperem, doctas odissem iure sorores, | numina cultori pernicioso suo*. He despises only the *Ars amatoria* (*id ... quod ... opus*) – not the whole of his corpus or his ability to write in general – since he still composes poetry in exile as a way to find comfort in difficult times (cf. e.g. *Trist.* 1.1.55-56 *carmina nunc si non studiumque, quod obfui, odi | sit satis* and 3.7.9 *et tamen ad Musas, quamuis nocere, reuerti*, and especially 3.14 5-6 *condicis exceptis ecquid mea carmina solis | Artibus, artificum quae nocere suo?*, 4.1.35-36 *nos quoque delectant, quamuis nocere, libelli, | quodque mihi telum uulnera fecit, amo*; for the consolatory purpose of poetry see *Trist.* 4.1.3-56, especially 3 *requiesque mihi ... petita est*, 39-40 *semper in obtutu mentem uetat esse malorum, | praesentis casus immemoremque facit*, and 49 *iure deas igitur ueneror mala nostra leuantes*. See also commentary on ll. 65 below). Ovid's hatred for his books, which are regarded in the exile poetry as the poet's children for the first time in Latin literature (cf. e.g. *Trist.* 3.14.14 *stirps haec progeniesque mea est* and Davisson 1984) inevitably – and tragically – clashes with the innate love of a parent for his offspring, that urges him to write even more as the only possible source of solace in Tomis. For the love-hate relationship between Ovid and his books see pp. 29ff.

### 9-18

#### **inspice quid portem ~ barbara terra fuit**

Description of the booklet's shabby appearance.

### 9-10

#### **inspice ~ suis**

As proof for its sad contents, the booklet shows the reader its unkempt appearance, maintaining exact correspondence between the outer looks of the book, the inner mood the times in which it was written (Williams 1992).

### **inspice quid portem**

*Inspice* opens the first part of the hexameter, ending in a penthemimeral *caesura* in a sort of introductory assertion ‘examine what I, the book, am about’, followed by a list of visible defects which confirm the book’s harmlessness. The verb *inspicio* has the specific meaning of ‘thoroughly examine’ within the context of written works, followed by the indirect question *quid* (*TbLL* VII,1 1952 27, cf. Plaut. *Curv.* 427 *quid sit scriptum* and *Stich.* 454 *libros inspexi*): the recipient of the book is also the reader (*lector amice* at l. 2). Yet, for its primary meaning of visual verb, *inspicio* denotes also the act of *seeing* the book, not only of *reading* it, since the appearance of the book is strongly connected to the subject of its poetry (*Trist.* 1.1.67). *Ispicio* is clearly related to the other visual verb *uidebis* at the end of the line. By analogy, also *uideo*, as for *inspicio*, refers both to seeing and reading. The verb *porto* indicates the topic of the book, meaning ‘to regard, to be about’ (*TbLL* X,2 39 43 *res sermone tractandae* and *Pont.* 3.7.5 *nostraque quid portet iam nostis epistula*). The phrase *inspice quid portem* is the third exhortation of the booklet to the reader after *da placidam ... manum* and *neue reformida*. The words of the book alone will not convince the reader that it is not a liability: except for its sad poetry, facts of its good faith are to be found (or seen) in its despicable looks.

### **nihil ... uidebis**

The employment of two negative particles (*nihil* and *nisi*) aims at emphasising that only mournful (*triste*) poetry is contained in the book (*hic* ‘in here’) and

not salacious poetry like the *Ars amatoria*. It is worth noticing that the Ovidian ‘genre’ of *triste carmen* is defined as the exact opposite of the erotic didactic genre of the *ars amatoria*, as we can see in *Trist.* 2.493-494 *non tristia carmina feci, | sed tristis nostros poena secuta iocos*: the lascivious poetry of the *Ars amatoria* is here defined by its opposite *non tristia carmina* as ‘non-mournful poetry’. Consequently, if the *non triste carmen* is the indecent poetry of the *Ars amatoria*, it follows that the *triste* poetry is *not* the *Ars amatoria* or alike, that is exactly what the booklet is carrying at the opening of book three, in line with the statement made at l. 4 *nullus in hac carta uersus amare docet* and at *Trist.* 1.1.67 *‘inspice’ dic ‘titulum: non sum praeceptor amoris’* (cf. Lechi 1978). *Tristis* means also ‘unfortunate’, ‘miserable’ with regards to: a) the circumstances in which Ovid is living (cf. e.g. *Trist.* 5.12.6); b) the effect of his misfortune on other people (cf. e.g. again *Trist.* 2.494, 3.3.28 and 4.3.33-36); c) the circumstances in which the booklet was composed (see below l. 10 and e.g. *Trist.* 4.10.112, 5.1.47-48); and d) the external unkempt condition of the papyrus roll (see below ll. 11-18). *Nisi* is generally preceded by negative indefinite pronoun *nihil* and sometimes by interrogative pronoun *quid* to state the drastic and exceptional nature of such *nihil* or *quid* (‘nothing but’, ‘what else?’): ‘nothing but sadness you will find here’ (cf. e.g. *Trist.* 5.1.47 and *Pont.* 3.9.37). As for *inspicio, uideo* carries both the transferred meaning of ‘to read’ and the literal meaning of ‘to see’, since the *triste* mood of the booklet is both internal and external.

### **carmine ... suis**

The time of grief in which the booklet was written matches (*conueniente*, ‘goes together’) the grieving content of its poetry (cf. *Trist.* 5.1.5-6 *flebilis ut noster status est, ita flebile carmen, | materiae scripto conueniente suae* and 5.12.36 *digna* (scil.

*carmina) sui domini tempore, digna loco*). The word *tempus* also carries the meaning of ‘sad circumstances’ and ‘time of grief’, making it one of the key words in the exilic corpus (cf. *Trist.* 1.1.4 *infelix habitum temporis huius habe* and 6 *non est conueniens luctibus*). The parallelism between A *carmine*, B *temporibus* and A<sub>1</sub> *conueniente*, B<sub>2</sub> *suis* gives extra cohesion to the line, adding the idea of intertwinement between poetry and topic, and a sense of metrical alternation of the pentameter (see also l. 11 below). The same correspondence of verse and theme will serve as a justification against the accusation of poetical monotony in the *Epistulae ex Ponto* (3.9.35 *laeta fere laetus cecini, cano tristia tristis: | conueniens operi tempus utrumque suo est*).

## 11-12

### **clauda ~ facit**

Again, the external aspect of the book-roll affects the poetical composition, and vice versa. The booklet is limping either because of the metrical reasons of the elegiac couplet or due to the effort of walking such a long way from Tomis. *Quod* works as declarative conjunction, anticipating the principal clause at l. 12 (*boc*). *Alterno uersu* ‘uneven verse’ indicates the elegiac couplet, which is composed by a hexameter and a pentameter, making the elegiac couplet ‘limp’ (cf. *Trist.* 3.7.10 *aptaque in alternos cogere uerba pedes*). The epithet *clauda* ‘limping’ is used here with a metrical sense for the first time (cf. later authors e.g. Quint. *inst.* 9.4.70 *clausulae ... claudae atque pendentis* and Ter. Maur. (ed. Keil) 677 *claudum trimetrum fecit aliter Hipponax*): the second verse of the couplet falls behind (*subsido*) because it is uneven with the first and the chiasmic structure of l. 11 (A *clauda* B *alterno* A<sub>1</sub> *carmina* B<sub>1</sub> *uersu*) accounts for the unsteadiness of the elegiac metre. Besides, the metrical rhythm is quite

illuminating here: dactyls alternating with spondees in the middle of the hexameter (l. 11) confer a sense of metrical unevenness, whereas the perfect metrical symmetry of the pentameter (l. 12) matches the correspondence of its two semantic halves (*uel ... uel*), speeding up the pulse, almost imitating the spoken language. *Pes* is intended both with a metrical (*pedis ratio*) and physical meaning (*uia longa*) using a typical Ovidian pun recurring also later at ll. 56 and 70 (cf. e.g. *Trist.* 1.1.16 *contingam* [scil. *loca grata*] *certe quo licet illa pede*, *Pont.* 4.5.3 *longa uia est, nec uos pedibus proceditis aequis*, *Am.* 1.1.4 (scil. *Cupido*) *dicitur atque unum surripuisse pedem* and *Am.* 3.1.8 *pes illi* [scil. *elegeia*] *longior alter erat*). Nagle 1980 reads the whole elgy as divided into three sections each containing a pun of *pes* (p. 85): firstly on the booklet's arrival (ll. 11-12), secondly at its visit at the house of Augustus (l. 56), and thirdly on its rejection from the libraries (l. 70). For the pun on metrical and anatomical *pes* see Hinds 1985 pp. 17-19, Hinds 1987<sup>1</sup> pp. 16-18, Keith 1999, Hardie 2002 p. 284, Wyke 2002 pp. 122-24, Tissol 2005 p. 111, Mordine 2010 p. 535, Henkel 2014 especially p. 451 n. 1 for comprehensive bibliographical references in classical literature). The apparent hypallage *clauda carmina* (i.e. the epithet *clauda* does not semantically agree with *carmina*, as poems do not actually limp) is explained with the personification of the booklet: as the *carmina* are the booklet's limbs and the *uersus* its feet, a work of poetry written in elegiac metre may as well have impaired pace.

### 13-18

#### quod ~ fuit

These lines contain the description of the booklet. It is divided into three sections corresponding to the three couplets. They respectively regard: a) the

low quality of the papyrus roll and its pale colour (ll. 13-14); b) the ink smudges and blurs (ll. 15-16); c) the use of some Barbarian words instead of Latin (ll. 17-18). These lines are overtly linked to the description of a proper book of an exile presented at *Trist.* 1.1.7-14.

### 13

**quod:** introduces the declarative clause, anticipating the principal clause in the following line. *Quod* as a proleptic declarative conjunction appears also at line 15 and it is substituted by *siqua* at l. 17, still proleptic to l. 18. The anticipation of *quod* conveys more emphasis on the reasons for the booklet's shabby appearance, almost alternating escalating hexameters (13, 15, 17) to more downscaling pentameters (14, 16, 18) in the unbalancing proceeding of the couplets as stated at ll. 11-12.

**neque ~ leuis:** usually, valuable papyrus rolls were dyed in the golden-colour cedar oil for preservation, while their margins were exfoliated by pumice stone until smooth in order to prevent fibres from dismembering (cf. *Trist.* 1.1.7, 1.5.27, Mart. 5.6.14, 1.117.16 and Catull. 1.2). Ovid's pale bookroll not dyed in cedar oil is destined to a short fortune, as it has not received the traditional preservative treatment. The appearance and fate of Ovid's bookroll containing the *Tristia* is opposed to that of conventional successful bookrolls. The coarseness of an unpolished sheet reflects the harshness of both the poetry and the people living in the land of Tomis. For a full discussion of the description of the book-roll in the exilic poetry see Williams 1992 and commentary on ll. 17-18 below).

### 14

**erubui ~ meo**

The booklet resembles its author's feelings: it would be embarrassing for it to have better looks than his. Since Ovid is in distress, it is unsuitable for his book to look otherwise. For Ovid called *dominus* see commentary on l. 5 above. The word *cultus* covers a key meaning here, especially because it is used in a context where the book comes from a barbarian land, where no *cultus* is found.

## 15

**littera:** scil. *litterae*, that is the letters and words that the booklet is made of, rather than 'epistle'. For the use of the singular instead of the plural (synechdoche) in *littera* see *TbLL* VII,2 1528.5-36. For *littera* (*litterae*) as the limbs of the booklet, see commentary on l. 54 below.

**suffusas ... lituras:** the *topos* of the written words blurred by the tears of the writer as a token of despair is taken from Prop. 4.3.3-4 *si qua ... pars Epistulae oblita derit | haec erit e lacrimis facta litura meis* and the *Epistulae heroidum* (3.3 *quascumque aspicias, lacrimae facere lituras*) where *litura* plays an assonance with *lacrimae* (l. 3) and *littera* (l. 1). As Baeza Angulo 2005 *ad loc.* notes, the alliteration is protracted to the end of the next line (l.16 *laesit, lacrimis*), to which I would add *maculosa* (l. 15), to intensify the sense of blurring tears through the repetition of the 'l' sound. The theme of the blurred roll occurs also in *Her.* 15.97-98 (*scribimus et lacrimis oculi rorantur abortis. | Aspice quam sit in hoc multa litura loco*) and 11.3-4, where Canace's letter to Macraeus is covered in blood stains (*si tamen caecis errabunt scripta lituris, | oblitus a dominae caede libellus erit*) (cf. also *Trist.* 1.1.13 *neue lituram pudeat* and 4.1.95 *saepe etiam lacrimae me sunt scribente profusae*, *Stat. silv.* 2.1.17-18 *lacrimis en te mea carmina in ipso | orant natant tristesque cadunt in uerba liturae*). *Litura* has also the meaning of correction

by means of pressing over the wax on a wax tablet so as to erase written words. By metonymy, *litura* represents also the action of erasing and, by a further extension of meaning, that of perfecting the work of poetry according to the aesthetic principle of polished poetry expressed in Catull. 1.2 and Hor. *Ep.* 1.20.2. Williams 1992 p. 188 points out that the smudges do not to imply any attempt of well-refined poetry on the part of Ovid, but remark his neglect to do so by leaving them unfinished, in keeping with his claim of alleged poetical decline in exile. On Ovid's refusal to polish his work see e.g. *Trist.* 5.1.71 *ipse nec emendo, sed ut hic deducta legantur*, *Pont.* 1.5.17-18 *nec tamen emendo. Labor hic quam scribere maior | mensque pati durum sustinet aegra nihil*, and Nagle 1980 pp. 107-25 and 128-131. On *litura* as word correction see e.g. *Mart.* 4.10.8-9 *non possunt nostros multae ... liturae | emendare iocos: una litura potest* and *Cic. Verr.* 2.2.187 *cum ... in manibus tabulas haberemus, repente aspicimus lituras eiusmodi quasi quaedam uulnera tabularum recentia*. It is noteworthy that *Ov. Her.* 3.3, 15.97-98 and *Cic. Verr.* 2.2.187 feature the same verb *aspicio* (*aspicies*, *aspice*, *aspicimus*, respectively) accompanied by *litura* to underscore the physical appearance of the blurred words on the page, connecting to the previous *inspice quid portem* (l. 9), and later *uidebuntur* (l. 16) and *aspicis* (ll. 55 and 56). The unkemptness of the book is a direct consequence of Ovid's grief, validating the correspondence between miserable conditions, sad poetry and miserable looks (cf. *Mart.* 1.3.9-10 *ne totiens domini patiare lituras | neue notet lusus tristis harundo tuos*). Physically blurred words are also token of unpolished poetry, as Horace states in *ep.* 2.1.167 *sed turpem pitat inscite metuitque lituram*. On the parallelism of *liturae* and the book's sad contents see Williams 1992 p. 188. On Ovid's claim of poetical sterility and decline in the time of exile, see Nagle

1980 pp. 19-20, 114-25 and 171, Evans 1983 p. 175, Williams 1994 pp. 50-99. On *litura* and *lacrima* as part of the exilic vocabulary see Claassen 1986 pp. 1999 p. 158. On the parallels between the *Epistulae heroidum* and the *Tristia* see Rosenmeyer 1997.

## 16

### **laesit opus lacrimis**

The verb *laedo* carries here the meaning of ‘to ruin’ as if Ovid physically spoiled or abraded the papyrus roll with his tears in order to make it look like himself. In other places of the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*, Ovid employs *laedere* relating to the offence given to the *princeps* (e.g. *Trist.* 4.10.98 *laesi principis ira*) or to his own life struck by the tragedy of exile (*Trist.* 1.1.86 *illum, quo laesa est, horret adire locum* [scil. *cumba*]). It is worth noticing that *laedo* is also used by Ovid to talk about the damage caused to him by his books in a reversed point of view (cf. *Trist.* 3.7.27 *me laesere libelli*). As a result, *laedo* turns out to be the specific verb for depicting ruin and offence caused by exile no matter whether is the exiled person, the judge or the means by which the offence is produced: each *pars* is *laesa* and *laesit* at the same time. On the themes of lament and tears in Ovid see Baca 1971, and more in general in Latin elegy Osmun 1983.

## 17-18

### **siqua ~ fuit**

This is a typical excuse for Ovid’s alleged loss of poetical ability. The fact that Ovid is exiled in a land far from Rome would supposedly affect his knowledge of good Latin (cf. *Mart.* 1 *praef. in nulla pagina Latine loqui fas sit*, 2.8.1-2 *siqua uidebuntur chartis tibi, lector, in istis | siue obscura nimis siue Latina*

*parum*, Ov. *Her.* 3.2 *uix bene barbarica Graeca notata* (scil. *littera*) *manu*): the occurrence of Getic words in Ovid's poems would indicate his progressive barbarisation and loss of Latinity, and the adverbial *casu* would make the process look natural and unintentional. 'Bar', 'r' and similar sounds found in *nidebuntur*, *scribebar*, *barbara terra* confer a full barbarian resonance to this couplet, resembling the stereotyped barbarian speech. Ovid claims to have forgotten how to speak Latin and to have written poems in the Getic language also in the closing elegy of the third book at 3.14.45-50. The theme of lost *Romanitas* is found also at 5.7.51-64, 12.51-58, and at *Pont.* 4.13.17-22, reflecting Ovid's gradual detachment from the Roman world, both on a spatial and linguistic level, which represents the final stage of a fading oblivion. Ovid's level of barbarisation is proportional to his distance from Rome. On a metaphorical level, the presence of Getic words is justified by the book's actual 'place of birth' (Tomis), and its never having been in Rome before. On Ovid's being a Getic poet and bilingualism see Lozovan in Herescu 1958a, Herescu 1958b, 1958c and 1960, Nagle 1980 pp. 132-40, and Williams 1994 pp. 91-99. On Tomis as *barbara terra* and its considerable distance from Rome, see e.g. *Trist.* 2.194-200, 3.4.83-86 and 5.2.31-32.

**casu**: the author is not in control of his poetical production, nor the book of its content, recalling the picture of the unrefined work described at ll. 9-16.

The same structure *si... casu* is found also at 3.3.1 with the same meaning.

## 19-22

### **dicite, lectores ~ uix fuit unus, iter**

The booklet's appeal to the Romans to be escorted to public libraries with response of only one reader.

## 19

**dicite**

This is the fourth time the booklet addresses the reader with an imperative (ll. 2, 3, 9), opening the request section to the general public. The imperative works as a separator between the self-presentation and the actual request of the booklet, drawing the attention of the reader from the description of its appearance to the main purpose of its arrival. The plural *dicite, lectores* – instead of the singular as in *da, neue reformida*, and *inspice* – puts more emphasis on the single, unexpected reply the booklet will soon get (22 *uix fuit unus*).

**si non graue**

Polite request form. See also *Trist.* 3.3.75, *Hor. Sat.* 2.8.4, *Cic. Ad fam.* 13.73.2.

**qua sit eundum**

This phrase is not common in Latin literature. The verb *eo* is usually accompanied by *quo* ('where to go') instead of *qua* (scil. *uia*) ('which way to go'). *Eo* + feminine ablative appears more frequently in Latin comedy: e.g. *Plaut. Cas.* 973, *Most.* 969, *Ter. Ad.* 580, but also in satire: *Hor. Sat.* 1.9.1. The first occurrence of the impersonal form *eundum* + *qua* in Latin literature is in *Ovid Fast.* 5.3 *incertus qua sit sibi nescit eundum* (see *ThLL* V,2 641 80).

## 20

**quasque petam sedes**

Variation of the request at l. 19. The booklet is determined to find a residence and stay in Rome permanently to restore Ovid's fortune. *Sedes* here means 'libraries'. Ovid pleads that his books may have a place in Rome if he himself is refused return also at *Tristia* 1.7.36 *his saltem uestra detur in Vrbe locus*.

**hospes:** *hospes* is *uox media* meaning both ‘host’ and ‘guest’, given their mutual, friendly and dutiful relationship (cf. Nuti 2011 and Ernout-Meillet 1959<sup>4</sup> s.v.). *Hospes* must be interpreted here as ‘stranger’ and potential ‘guest’, since the book is new to the city (*in urbe* is predicative to *hospes*), sent to Rome for the first time and asking any Roman citizen to be its *hospes* to offer protection (cf. Némethy 1913 *ad loc.*). The word *hospes* appears also in the guided tours of Prop. 4.1.1 *hoc quocumque uides, hospes*, and Verg. *Aen.* 8.364 *aude, hospes, contemnere opes*, although Aeneas, unlike the bookroll, is welcomed by Evander according to the *ius hospitii* (Miller 2002 p. 132). The etymology of *hospes* shows a deep connection between the Latin words for stranger-guest/host (*hospes*) and stranger-enemy (*hostis*), stressing the Roman xenophobic attitude towards strangers. The word *hostis*, originally meaning ‘guest’, shifted its primary meaning onto ‘stranger’, while the word *hospes* ‘host’ widened its semantic range taking on also the complimentary meaning of ‘guest’. The twofold meaning of ‘stranger’ and ‘guest’ applies also to the ancient occurrences of the Greek *xénos* (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 15.532-33, *Od.* 8.158-59, Liddel-Scott 1996 and Chantraine 1968-1980 s.v.). According to Roman private law, though, not any stranger was a *hospes*: a stranger was formally called *hospes* by virtue of a personal contract or official relationship (*foedus*) with his host who could offer him shelter. *Hospitium* was usually conferred to friends coming from abroad who relied on the advantages of private connections for protection or lodging rather than on unsafe reception facilities. The contract of hospitality was binding «not only for the duration of one’s life, but indefinitely» (Bolchazy 1970 p. 27; Plaut. *Poen.* 954-57 and 1050-51 *mibi tuos pater | patritus ... hospes Antidamas fuit*), and breaking such *fides* meant lacking

integrity (Plaut. *Poen.* 1053-54 *apud me hospitium tibi praebebitur: | nam haud repudio hospitium neque Carthaginem*), even during warfare. A stranger, then, was seen as a potential enemy to the city, unless he was formally received by his host. Ovid's booklet is but trying to obtain the reader's protection *because* it is the work of an 'enemy' of the *princeps*, entering the city without holding an official civic status, by means of words and phrases typical of *captatio benevolentiae* (l. 2 *amice* and l. 81 *si fas est*). *Hospes* is thus another key-word in the exile corpus: as Ovid is relegated from the city, though still retaining his Roman citizenship (l. 49 *ciuem*), his book is compelled to ask for *hospitium* like a true barbarian, by offering its handshake (l. 2) and its *tabella* 'written presentation' to the benevolent host (i.e. the booklet itself, especially at ll. 4-18) (on the legal aspects of *relegatio* vs. *exilium* see Mommsen 1887 p. 48 and Garnsey 1970 pp. 111-12; on *ius hospitii* see Nicols 2011a, 2011b and 2001, Balbín Chamorro 2006 pp. 209-18, Bolchazy 1970 pp. 17-34 and Nybakken 1946; on the vocabulary denoting strangers in Rome see Ndiaye 2005). The expression *hospes liber*, then, fully complies with the the booklet's statement on containing non-Latin words and being born in a barbarian land at ll. 17-18. Yet the use of *hospes*, which marks the formal request for *ius hospitii* and clearly unfolds the realisation that the circumstances in Rome are actually unfavourable, clashes with the unfortunate outcome of the book's request: the booklet expects to be treated with the same deference granted to a *hospes*, but only one person in Rome (l. 22 *nix fuit unus*) is willing to welcome it according to the formality of hospitality. On the sacredness of the relationship of hospitality see e.g. Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.110, Liv. 32.21.23 and *CIL* 7.237; on deities revealing themselves in the form of strangers see *Fast.* 1.240,

Juv. 11.60-64; on divine protection endowed on a *hospes* see e.g. Apoll. Rhod. 1042-43, Plat. *Leg.* 5.729e and Ov. *Met.* 8.689-90.

## 21

### **sum furtim lingua titubante locutus**

The book speaks secretly, trembling with fear. The book's faltering tongue cannot but recall its limping feet at ll. 11-12 and 26, and the barbarian words it may contain at ll. 17-18, highly anticipating its feeling of fear when it will stand before the house of Augustus later at ll. 55-56 (*uereorque locum uereorque potentem, | et quatitur trepido littera nostra metu | ... | aspicias alternos intremuisse pedes?*). *Loquor* is an uncommon verb for written words (Plaut. *Bac.* 801 *quid hae locuntur litterae?*).

## 22

### **qui**

It is proleptic to *unus*. This line is metrically significant, rich in 'd', 't' and 'tr' sounds. The verb *monstrare* literally means 'to guide', as the word *monstrator*, 'a person that shows the way' (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.418)

### **uix unus**

'Hardly one'; the book strives to find someone to guide it. *Vix unus* clashes with the book's expectations to be welcomed by a wider public (l. 19 *dicite lectores*).

### **iter**

The way to the libraries in town.

**23-58**

The reader agrees to take the booklet on a tour of the city, starting from the Fora of Caesar and Augustus, along the Sacra uia until the foot of the Palatine, pointing at the landmarks of Rome's glorious past. Bemused at the sight of the temple of Jupiter Stator over all monuments, the booklet wonders whether such mighty a building might in fact be the house of Augustus. A lengthy description of the temple shifts its initial identification with the house of Jupiter to that of Augustus. It then prays the princeps to have mercy on Ovid.

**23-26****di tibi dent ~ ab orbe pedem**

The booklet greets the reader and wishes him well. It begs him to start the tour immediately, although it is exhausted from the journey.

**23-24****di ~ tua:**

Formula of *captatio beneuolentiae*. The book wishes the reader could favourably live in his homeland, which is forbidden to its author. These lines openly recall Ovid's recommendation to the booklet to wish well to whoever would feel sorry for Ovid's fate upon its arrival in Rome: *Trist.* 1.1.31-34 *nos quoque, quisquis erit, ne sit miser ille, precamur, | placatos miseris qui uolet esse deos; | quaeque uolet, rta sint, ablata principis ira | sedibus in patriis det mihi posse mori.*

**di tibi dent**

Optative subjunctive with dative of interest for a wish capable of fulfilment in the future. It takes the infinitives *uiuere posse* in the following line. Like in *Trist.*

5.9.21 (*di tibi se tribuant cum Caesare semper amicos*), *di* include also Augustus, who thus takes on the role of a deity with the power of holding one's fortune in his hands. This fixed phrase is traced back to Hom. *Il.* 1.18; it occurs often in Latin comedy, e.g. Plaut. *Asin.* 44 *di tibi dent quaequomque optes*, *Mil.* 1038 *di tibi dent quaequomque optes*, *Poen.* 208-09 *tibi di quaecumque preceris | commoda dent*, Afran. *Com.* 9.14.358 *di tibi dent propria, quaecumque exoptes bona*; for this phrase in Plautus and Terence see Langen 1857 and Echols 1950. It is also found in Prop. 4.9.59 *di tibi dent alios fontes* with the meaning of 'may the gods grant you whatever you wish for'. Yet, apparently Ovid is the first to employ it for wishing longevity (in a positive or negative way, 'may the gods grant you a good long life' or 'may the gods grant you a wretched long life'), as we can see in *Am.* 1.8.113-14 *di tibi dent nullosque Lares inopemque senectam | et longas hiemes perpetuamque sitim*, *Fast.* 2.65 *dent tibi caelestes ... annos*, *Pont.* 2.1.54 *di tibi dent annos*. There is reason to believe that such formula usually accompanied the plead for *ius hospitii*, together with the exchange of tokens and handshake: in the passage of Plautus' *Poenulus* mentioned in the commentary on l. 2 above, the young Carthaginian Agorastocles, who moved to Calydon in Aetolia at the age of seven, recognises the old Carthaginian Hanno to be his uncle when they compare their tokens, giving account for the relationship of mutual hospitality that their families have had. As soon as Hanno realises that Agorastocles is his *hospes* in a foreign land, he greets him with the expression *di dent tibi omnes quae uelis* (1055), matching the Ovidian *di tibi dent* and confirming that the opening of *Trist.* 3.1 reassembles a formal request for *hospitium*. For the request of *hospitium* in this passage of Plautus' *Poenulus* see Nybakken 1946 and Franko 1996.

**nostro quod non tribuere parenti:** *tribuere* is perfect indicative. *Di* is subject of *tribuere*: the gods – including Augustus – have intentionally not granted the booklet’s father Ovid to live in Rome. *Tribuant* is *uariatio* of *dent* in wish-granting phrases (cf. *di tibi dent*), although uncommon in literature: apart from the *Tristia*, where it appears in addresses to friends (3.5.21 *di tibi posse tuos tribuant defendere semper* and 5.9.21 *di tibi se tribuant cum Caesare semper amicos*), it is found in the *bellum Alexandrinum* in the *corpus Caesarianum* (70.4 *cui di immortales uictoriam tribuissent*), although not in a second person address. The verb *tribuere* also appears at l. 44, relating to the peace granted by Augustus to the whole world (*quam* [scil. *pacem*] *tribuit terris*). By using the same verb *tribuere*, the booklet aims at exaggerating Ovid’s unique exclusion from peaceful living in the general state of *pax Augusta*. This is the first time in the elegy for the book to call Ovid ‘father’ (l. 1 *miseri ... exulis*, 5 and 14 *domini*, 16 *poeta*): the Latin word *parens* actually means ‘parent’, with no distinction between father and mother, denoting the ‘originator’ of the work of poetry, thus its author (*TbLL* X,1 362 10, see also commentary on l. 5 above). Interestingly, the very first occurrence of *parens* in Latin literature with this specific meaning is at *Trist.* 1.1.115; after that it is found at 1.7.35, when Ovid talks about the composition of the *Metamorphoses*, and later in this elegy at l. 57. I maintain Hall’s choice of reading *parenti* against *poetae* recorded on all other manuscripts, keeping with *nostro ... parenti* at l. 57 and the growing identification of Ovid as the booklet’s father rather than author.

**molliter ... uiuere**

That is *non dure*; *molliter* as opposed to *durus* in the exile poetry: it may refer to Ovid’s condition in exile compared to that of Jason, who eventually returned

home (*Pont.* 1.4.45-6 *durius*), to the harsh times in Tomis (e.g. *Trist.* 3.4.1 *tempore duro*, *Pont.* 2.7.53 *in duris ... rebus*), to the place and peoples of exile (*Pont.* 2.9.9 *duro litore*, 1.5.12 *duros ... Getas*), and to exile itself (*Pont.* 3.1.10-11 *duro | ... in exilio*). Therefore *molliter* characterises in Ovid's mind every situation, place and feeling *opposite* to that of and experienced in exile: it identifies the sadly missed life in Rome before relegation, seen from the *dura* Tomis. Indeed the adjective *mollis* is also employed by Roman poets to indicate light poetry (elegy) in contrast with more serious (*durus*) poetry (epic) (e.g. Prop. 2.1.2 *meus ... mollis ... liber* and 41 *nec mea conveniunt duro praecordia versu*, 2.34.44 *dure poeta*, Hor *Carm.* 2.12.3-4 *Poeno purpureum sanguine mollibus aptari citharae modis*, and Ov. *Trist.* 2.308 *uersus euoluere mollis*, see Ingleheart 2010 *ad loc.*). Ovid uses the verb *mollio* in *Trist.* 4.1.6 (*indocili numero cum graue mollit opus*) to refer to the alleviating purpose of poetry in exile (see Williams 1994 pp. 62-67); thus *molliter* might have some connections to Ovid's previous carefree life, devoted to composing light poetry. The adjective *mollis* appears in the exile poetry to denote Augustus' wrath (e.g. *Trist.* 2.28, see Ingleheart 2010 *ad loc.*). Luck's observation that *molliter uiuere* stands for *in otio uiuere*, on the account of Sall. *Catil.* 17.6 *in otio uel magnifice uel molliter uiuere* – which actually holds a negative meaning as in Cic. *Off.* 1.30.106 *delicate et molliter uiuere* – and other places in the *Tristia* (3.2.9 and 4.8.5-12), fails to take into consideration Ovid's point of view. Given the original concept of *otium*, which is 'leisure', 'free time from any public business', 'esp. as devoted to cultural pursuits' (*OLD* s.v.) and that Ovid could not have had more vacant time to spend writing but in Tomis (cf. 5.1.77-80), *molliter* here is more likely to mean 'without trouble', 'peacefully'.

25

**iamque sequar**

Heinsius' conjecture *iamque* is a more suitable reading than *namque*, given parallel in Latin comedy, e.g. Plaut. *Am.* 542-43 *abi prae, Sosia | iam ego sequar*, *Cist.* 773 *ii prae: iam ego te sequar*, *Men.* 431 *iam sequar te*, *Aul.* 802 *iam te sequor*, Ter. *An.* 171 *ii prae: sequar*. See Burman 1821 *ad loc.*

25-26

**quamuis ~ pedem**

The book reiterates the pun on the metric foot (ll. 11-12). One of the feet is unmistakably shorter than the other due to the elegiac couplet; the rhythm of l. 25 is quite variable, alternating the faster dactyls at both ends of the line with the slower spondees in the centre. *Terraque marique* is a typical epic expression, perfectly fitting the end of the hexameter, alluding to the long (*longinquo*) and tiring (*lassus*) journey (e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 10.162, Liv. 33.39.6) and to the epic representation of Ovid's own journey into exile described in *Trist.* 1.5 (cf. Classen 1986 and 2001, Huskey 2002 pp. 87-140). Yet, the pentameter at l. 26 presents an even more irregular rhythm stressed by the hyperbaton between *longinquo* and *ab orbe* which conveys the difficulty of the trip for an impaired-footed book-roll. *Referre pedem* is a military expression applying to infantry (*TbLL* X,1 1901.25) and literally meaning 'to retreat': e.g. Caes. *Gall.* 1.25.5, Verg. *Aen.* 10.794-95 and Ov. *ars* 1.716. It is quite puzzling that Ovid's book-roll is actually retreating to Rome, as it has never been there before: rather, it sounds as if Ovid himself is speaking through the voice of the booklet, returning to Rome after being banned. *Referre pedem* appears also in a proverbial phrase in *Trist.* 2.16, when Ovid blames himself for reiterating

his misery by continuing to write poetry, the reason for his condemnation (*saxa malum refero rursus ad icta pedem*). The image of the foot striking the same rock twice in *Trist.* 2 is very close to that of the book-*Ovid* returning to Rome where a second refusal is to be faced, not to mention the metrical pun.

## 26

**longinquo ... ab orbe:** *orbis* is a key word in Ovid's poetics of exile. Here it may refer either to the Roman empire as a whole ("from a remote part of the empire") or to the known land outside the empire ("from a remote part of the world") (*ThLL* IX,2 916.79 and 917.70). *Orbis* appears with the same meaning also later at l. 50 (*extremo ... orbo*) and in *Trist.* 1.2.85 (*nescio quo uideam positos ut in orbe Tomitas*). In keeping with Ovid's exaggeration of Tomis' distance from Rome, that projects the place of his exile in Scythia far beyond its real geographic position, the interpretation of *orbis* as a land without the boundaries of the empire would seem more appropriate. On the geographic displacement of Tomis see Williams 1994. On the dichotomy between *orbis* intended as *oecumene* and *imperium* see Galasso 1995 on *Pont.* 2.7.66.

## 27-32

### paruit ~ loco est

The scroll and the reader start the first part of the city tour. The reader shows the booklet the major monuments in the Forum as they pass them by: the Forum of Caesar, the *Sacra uia*, the temple of Vesta, the *Regia*, the temple of Jupiter Stator and the door to the Palatine, the *porta Mugonia*. Apart from the latter, all of these sites are introduced by determiner *hic*, which, in combination with the harsh sounds 'k', 's' and 't' in words like *sunt ... Caesaris* (27), *est a sacris quae* (28), *locus est* (29), *antiqui* (30), *Stator ... condita ... loco est*

(32), develops an insistent rhythm that articulates the pressing demonstration of the tour. *Hic* is also used in other guided tours, such as in Verg. *Aen* 8.355 *haec oppida*, 357-358 *hanc Ianus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem* | *Ianiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen* and in Prop. 4.1.1 *hoc quodcumque uides* and 5 *haec aurea templa*. On the importance of the deictic *hic* in Evander's guided tour see Fedeli 2012, pp. 12-13. For the *variatio* of *ista* see below *ad loc.* and Zanoni 2014 §§ 22-33 and introduction pp. 58ff.

27

### **paruit**

Better interpreted as 'he agreed'. Without any preamble, the reader consents to showing the booklet the way to the libraries.

### **ducens**

Direct response to *sequor* in the previous couplet, this participle holds a temporal value, as *petens* at l. 31, 'while he was guiding', thus assuming that the guide and the booklet are walking through the Forum while the former is speaking.

### **haec sunt fora Caesaris**

Here begins the tour of the city, which is a clear parallel to the tour of Aeneas escorted by Evander in *Aen.* 8.306-69 (see Fowler 1918). Most likely the plural *fora* stands for both the *Forum Iulium* and the *Forum Augustum*, «rather than *Forum Iulium* (plural for singular in Latin) alone» (Boyle 2003 p. 227), as the Julian and Augustan Forums are adjacent to one another. The guide escorting the book starts to speak when they are either at the beginning of the *Argiletum*, the street leading from the *Forum Romanum* to the area of the *Subura*, or at the *Atrium Libertatis*, which is not far from the *Argiletum*, right

behind the Julian Forum. On the exact starting spot of the tour see Lugli 1959 p. 398 and Neumeister 1991 n. 9 p. 301. Regardless of this minor detail, both the *Atrium Libertatis* and the *Argiletum* are key places for the booklet: the former is the place where the tour ends at l. 72; the latter is allegedly the best place to find a bookmaker. Both are equally good spots to start a ‘book’-tour. On bookmakers shops in the *Argiletum* see Peck 1914 and Panzoni 1934.

## 28

### **uia**

The *Sacra uia*, one of the most important streets in Rome, running E-W across the *Forum Romanum*, through the *Velia* towards the *Carinae*. It is named after the monuments rising along its route (*a sacris ... nomen habet*). The copious amount of literature on the excavations in the *Forum* over the decades and the diverse attempts at identifying the track of the *uia* will leave the reader nothing but disoriented: Platner-Ashby 1929 pp. 456-61, Coarelli 1981, 1983, 1985 and 2012, Tomei 1993, Carandini 2004, Ziolkowski 1989, 2004, Castagnoli 1980 and 1988. Cecamore 2002 p. 92 provides a comprehensive summary of all these opinions.

## 29-30

### **locus Vestae ... regia parua Numae**

The temple of Vesta and the Regia, two of the sacred places along the *Sacra uia* connected to the founding legends of Rome, symbols of religious piety and moderation. The *aedes* of Vesta was an archaic circular temple in the *Forum Romanum* commissioned by the second legendary king of Rome Numa Pompilius (late VIII-early VII century BC) (cf. Liv. 1.20.3, Fest. 320), for the cult of Vesta, the Roman goddess at times identified with Hestia (protector of

the hearth) (Cic. *N. D.* 2.67, Cic. *Leg.* 2.29). Its rounded shape recalls the spherical shape of the Earth, given the correspondence of Vesta with the Earth (Ov. *Fast.* 6.266-68) as guardians of the eternal fire of the house and life. Third of Ops' (Abundance) daughters, Vesta never married and admitted only the companionship of six virgin servants, the Vestals (Ov. *Fast.* 6.285-94), who were in charge of keeping the sacred fire of Rome burning to assure the city's existence (Ov. *Fast.* 6.267, *vigil ignis*) under the supervision of the *pontifex maximus*. The temple also held the statue of an armed Athena in defence of the city, the *palladium*, which was claimed to be the authentic *palladium* of Troy brought to Italy by Aeneas. The metonymy *Pallada* (Greek accusative singular of *Pallas*), literally the goddess Athena, in place of *palladium* is found in Ovid only (*Fast.* 6.424 *Pallada Roma tenet*). On Vesta cf. Philips 2006.

As Livy recalls (1.32.2), Numa founded the *sacra publica*, the Roman religious law and state cult. He is believed to have divided the days into *Fasti* and *neFasti*, added the months of January and February to the ancient calendar, introduced and formalised religious bodies as the Vestals, *augures*, *Salii*, *flamines*, *pontifices* and *pontifex maximus*, established sacrificial and burial cults, founded the shrine of Janus, the temple of Vesta and the Regia (Cic. *Rep.* 26, Ov. *Fast.* 1.43-50, Liv. 1.18-21, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.62-76, Plut. *Numa* 7-20). The Regia was the place where Numa allegedly took up his residence (Ov. *Fast.* 1.263 *intonsi regia magna Numae*); in the republican era it housed the seat of the *pontifex maximus*, the sanctuary of Mars, the *sacrarium* of Ops Consiva (goddess of harvest and abundance, mother of Vesta), the calendars and annals of the city (*annales maximi*) (cf. Mareile 2006).

The small size and modesty of the Regia matches the house of the poor Evander (*Aen.* 8.359-60) and contrasts with the greatness of the temple of Jupiter/house of Augustus in the following lines.

### 31-32

#### **inde petens ~ loco est**

The party is turning right, moving southwards away from the *Sacra uia* in the direction of the *ciluus Palatinus*, with *inde* standing for ‘from that place, thence’, namely from the Forum, the *Sacra uia*, the temple of Vesta and the Regia, which are all north of the Palatine hill.

#### **porta**

The *porta Mugonia* was the main gate of the archaic Rome located on the natural saddle providing «the easiest access to the Palatine» (Ziolkowski 2004, p. 79; see also Cecamore 2002, pp. 41-42, Carafa et al. 2014 for a report on the latest excavations, and Zanoni 2014 for recent bibliographical references). Its position is closely linked to that of the temple of Jupiter Stator at the foot of the Palatine. During the war against the Sabines, Jupiter stopped the enemies from invading Rome, by fixing his feet on the ground (*stator*, “stayer”) and blocking the way through the gate. Later, Romulus dedicated a *fanum* (consecrated area) to Jupiter Stator in that very spot. In 294 BC Atilius Regulus turned it into a proper temple, after a second miraculous intervention from Jupiter had stopped the Romans from fleeing the Sannites during the battle of Luceria (Dion. Hal. 2.50.3, Plut. *Rom.* 18.9, Flor. 1.1.1.13, Ov. *Fast.* 6.793-94, Liv. 10.36.11, 1.12.3-6, 10.37.15-16). Cicero delivered the first Catilinarian in this place to specifically recall at the time of Catiline’s conspiracy the extreme danger of the past, endowing himself with the same

divinely defensive role as Romulus' and Regulus' (Cic. *Catil.* 1.11; see also Vasaly 1993, pp. 46 and 49-59). Not to mention that the temple was also linked to the outset of Latin literature, as it hosted the performance of the hymn to Juno by Livius Andronicus in 207 BC during the second Punic war. The ancient temple of Jupiter was destroyed by the great fire in 64 AD, and rebuilt on the Velia (Carafa et al. 2014, p. 156). The military, political and literary histories of Rome were associated with the temple of Jupiter Stator, making it «the site where the first Romans stood their ground» (Boyle 2003, p. 231). *Hoc primum condita Roma loco est* is best interpreted as an appositive phrase of *hic Stator* and a *variatio* to the relative clauses that we find at lines 28-29, according to the narrative format of one item per line (27 Forums, 28 *Sacra uia*, 29 temple of Vesta, 30 Regia, 31 *porta Mugonia*, 32 temple of Jupiter). In this case the translation would sound something like “this is Stator, [which is] the place where Rome was first founded”. On the other hand, *hoc ... loco* can plausibly identify the Palatine itself (Neumeister 1991, p. 113) – as the ancient temple of Jupiter was actually built on the Palatine – or even part of the *pomerium Romulaeum* (Bishop 1956, p. 188). In this case, a fitting translation would be ‘this is Stator, and this is the Palatine, where Rome was first founded’. Worth mentioning here is the use of the determiner *ista* at l. 31 (*porta est ... ista*) instead of *haec*, breaking the pattern of *hic*, *haec* and *hoc* of these three couplets, somewhat casting light on the position of the gate with respect to that of the temple of Jupiter. In their fictitious journey the booklet and the guide encounter the temple (*hic* ‘this’) before the gate (*ista* ‘that, over there’), although these monuments are interchanged in the elegy, unlike all the others. However, *ista* is used here to convey a deeper sense of personal

involvement, as we learn from *TbLL* (VII.2 497 67), fairly closer to *tuus* (Plaut. *Bac.* 1663, Cic. *De orat.* 1.1.65 and 2.362): because the *porta Mugonia* is the main entrance to the Palatine, namely the place where Augustus can be implored and the Palatine library accessed, it naturally takes on every personal interest of the booklet, rendered by ‘that over there is your door, passing through which you can gain your restoration’. Besides, Ovid interchanges the buildings so that greater importance is conveyed to the blocking presence of the temple and the identification between Jupiter and Augustus laid out in the following couplets. On the reasons for the interchange of the temple and gate, see Zanoni 2014, §§ 22-29. and introduction pp. 58ff.

### 33-48

#### **singula dum ~ huius ope**

while the booklet is admiring the monuments one by one, the door of the temple grasps its attention for the shining arms that lean against its posts. As it wanders whether it really is the temple of Jupiter, given its divinely magnificence, it is made sure by the oaken wreath that hangs over the door. The book-roll notices that the door is also covered with branches of laurel, which may account for either the victories accomplished by the master of the house, or Apollo’s special protection, or the house’s festive spirit, or the peace granted by Augustus to the whole world, or finally his perpetual glory. The oaken wreath carries an inscription saying that the citizens have been saved by the deed of the master of the house. These lines can be therefore divided into subgroups as follows:

### 33

#### **singula dum miror**

Since the booklet's initial description of the temple outside the *Mugonia* door (ll. 33-38) gradually and skilfully turns into that of the palace of Augustus at the top of the Palatine in the next set of couplets (39-48), *singula dum miror* has elicited several interpretations of the passage. Bishop 1956 and 1961 focus on the lack of motion conveyed by *dum*, stating that the two are still at the foot of the hill, collocating there the house of Augustus, in the nearby of the temple, as he seems to read in Prop. 4.1.3-4 and Verg. *Aen.* 8.305-69, where it could be seen without any impediment. On the other hand, Richmond 1958 provides accurate literary and archaeological evidence that the house of Augustus stood in fact on top of the Palatine, along with the temple of Apollo, the portico and the library. Even *Trist.* 1.1.70, *scandere te inbeam Caesareamque domum*, seems to place the house of Augustus and the top of the climb. Richmond adds that, since the buildings that flanked the Palatine «were obscured by houses» (p. 180), the booklet must have climbed the hill before it could properly see the buildings and accurately describe the house. *Singula dum miror* is thus possible only from above, after the climb, suggesting an upward movement. Wiseman 1987 endorses Richmond's position, adding that private houses and public places were very much alike, both decorated with arms around the doors, accounting for such ambiguous description (See also Fowler 1918, p. 74-76). The booklet marvels at every piece of architecture, while the poet Ovid recalls those places so dear to his heart with the eye of his mind (as in *Pont.* 1.8.34 *cunctaque mens oculis pervidet usa suis*). As the lengthy description of the temple fading into that of the palace in the next eight couplets combines two monuments at two different ground levels, we must assume that the booklet had climbed the hill at some point before he

could see the palace – which it had not seen before –, and compare it with the temple. However, as Ovid is making a skilful identification of the temple that stands outside the gate with the house of Augustus on the hill, based on some shared features, identifying the father of the gods with the father of the homeland, he is actually moving away from the topographical order followed so far, and focusing on the meaning of such identification. For this reason, *singula dum miror* may provide no actual clue as to a stative or dynamic detail, rather relating to what scholars have called Ovid’s mental seafaring, in which the author recalls the beloved Roman sites that become visible in his mind (for bibliographical references see commentary on l. 1 above). The identification of Augustus with an unusual attribute of Jupiter, Stator, is even more enlightening. If Ovid’s descriptive climax results in the equation Augustus = Jupiter Stator, we must picture the booklet still blocked before the temple, as the *princeps* is bestowed with the attributes of a god that obstructs the enemies outside the city walls. The literary comparison between Augustus and Jupiter started off with Horace’s timid attempts (*Carm.* 1.12.50-57, 3.3.9-12, 3.5.1-4, 4.5.31-35, *Epist.* 2.1.15-17) and developed in Ovid, even more so in the exile poetry (see e.g. *Met.* 15.858-60, *Fast.* 1.650, 2.131-44, 3.421, *Trist.* 1.1.71-74, 1.5.75-78, 2.37-40, 5.2.46, *Pont.* 1.2.101). Claassen 1999 pp. 152-53 offers a detailed analysis of the vocabulary related to the imperial deity in the exilic corpus.

### 33-34

#### **fulgentibus armis | conspicuos postes**

The booklet cannot miss the temple’s door-posts among the surrounding elements (cf. *Pont.* 4.7.31 *conspicuos longe fulgentibus armis*). On the habit of

leaning battle arms against temple doors see Verg. *Aen.* 7.183 and 721-22, Wiseman 1987, pp. 394-96.

### **tectaue digna deo**

Plural *tecta* for singular meaning ‘house’, as we learn from l. 35 *domus* (on the use of *domus* for ‘temple’ cf. Liv. 3.17.5 *augustissimas illam domum Iouis optimi maximi*). Ovid is recalling Evander’s words to Aeneas while showing him into his humble house after the guided tour through the future sites of Rome (Verg. *Aen.* 8.364-65): *aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum | finge deo*.

Fowler’s explanation of this Vergilian passage reads: «Hercules once came here to help us, even a son of Jupiter, and did not despise this humble abode. Do thou bravely follow his example. His divinity needed no out-ward show; so reckon thyself like him, as worthy of divinity, and be capable of despising vulgar wealth». Evander is saying to Aeneas that divinity goes together with humble living. The phrase *tecta digna deo*, although literally relating to the temple of Jupiter, may also apply to the following description of Augustus’ (i.e. Aeneas’ descendant) dwelling, as ‘a humble house worthy of divinity’ in the abstract sense. Its door in fact is covered and obscured by laurel (ll. 39-40), in sign of civic devotion rather than personal praise. According to the tradition, Augustus’ house was built on the very site of Evander’s hut (Fowler 1918, p. 74-75), which accounts for the emperor’s policy to live modestly, and matches the description of Augustus’ humble dwelling made by Svetonius (*Aug.* 72).

### **35-38**

#### **an Iouis ~ corona dabat**

The booklet speaks again after the start of the tour. The interrogative particle *an* with a notion of surprise introduces the first of a series of questions regarding the nature of this building. The booklet asks itself whether it is standing before the house of Jupiter, and finds answer in the oaken wreath hung over the door. The repetition of the words *haec/hanc, Iouis, est/esse, domus/domum* at ll. 35 and 38, stressed by *non fallimur* ‘I’m not mistaken’ and *uerum* ‘truly’, confirms that the booklet is still talking about the temple. The oaken wreath was a typical attribute of Jupiter (cf. Verg. *Georg.* 3.332, *magna Iouis quercus*, Ov. *Fast.* 1.614, [scil. *Iuppiter*] *protegat et uestras querna corona fores*, *Met.* 7.623 *sacra Iouis quercus*) and it was likely to have decorated the door of his temple and other buildings (*TLL* IV.0.978- 29-30 *rebus corporeis, praecipue templis, aris, simulacris deorum, statuis hominum, nauibus, calicibus sim. imposita*). Of course the *querna corona* mentioned here purportedly evokes the *corona ciuica* at l. 47 that was given to Augustus on 13 January 27 BC and placed above his house door by the Senate as a sign of civic merit for having put an end to the civil wars, as we learn from the *Fasti Praenestini* (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, p. 231 = *Inscr. It.* XIII, 2, 17, *Ian.* 13, *corona querc[ea a senatu, uit super ianuam Imp. Caesaris] Augusti poner[etur, decreta quod ciues seruauit, re publica] p(opuli) R(omani) rest[itu]t[a]* following Todisco’s interpretation) and the *Res Gestae* (34 *quo pro merito meo senatu[s consulto Aug]ust[us appe]llatus sum et laureis postes aedium mearum u[estiti] publ[ice coro]naque super ianuam meam fixa est*). The *corona ciuica*, originally made of wood, endowed to Romans who had proven valiant for saving the lives of their citizens: Cicero received it for stopping Catilina, and Caesar for sparing the Pompeians after their defeat (cf. Weinstock 1971 pp. 167 and 240, and Gell. 5.6.11). Besides the gleaming arms and the house worthy of divinity (ll.

33-34), the oaken wreath is the third element that features both Jupiter and Augustus. Cf. introduction pp. 58ff.

### **quod**

Connective relative pronoun to the preceding question, “that this truly is [*esse*] the house of Jupiter”.

### **ut esse putarem**

Declarative sentence governed by *augurium* “indication, sign that (*ut*)”, which recalls *augustas* of l. 41 and the unmentioned Augustus (cf. also *Trost.* 1.1.71 and *Fast.* 1.611). The element which asserts the identity of the dweller is precisely the oaken wreath, which is the attribute that will allow the identification of Jupiter with Augustus in the following lines. The name ‘augustus’ is indeed another term of comparison between Jupiter and the *princeps*, as we read in *Fast.* 1.608-616: sacred things and temples are rightly called ‘augusta’ by the Senate (609-10, *sancta uocant augusta patres, augusta uocantur* | *templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu*) and as Jupiter makes things greater by his power, so he augments the *princeps* empire (612-14, *et quodcumque sua Iuppiter auget ope.* | *augeat imperium nostri ducis, augeat annos,* | *protegat et uestras querna corona fores*).

### **38**

### **cur tamen ...**

*Cur* opens the second series of questions, this time on the wreath of bay. The booklet is surprised (*cur tamen?* ‘then, why?’) to see the doors of the building decorated with laurel leaves in sign of victory or celebration. This might be due to the fact that it is new in town, thus has not heard of the news of Augustus’ victory at Actium and the restored peace, or because the temple of

Jupiter usually had no laurel on its posts. The identification of Augustus with Jupiter unfolds here when the Jovian-Augustan attributes of the arms and oaken wreath are sided by the bay garland, which is solely Augustan (cf. *Gest.* 34 *laureis postes aedium mearm u[estiti] publ[ice coro]naque super ianuam meam fixa est*).

### 39-40

#### **uelatur ianua ... arbor opaca**

The civic role of Augustus' house is stressed also by the door covered by branches of laurel in sign of military victory (*adposita uelatur ianua lauro* 'the doors are screened by the laurel that covers them' and *cingit et augustas arbor opaca fores* 'the shading branches conceal the honourable posts'). The image of the shady posts is given also by the word order: *adposita ... lauro* tightly surrounds *uelatur ianua* by way of a garland, and similarly *augustas ... fores* is entangled with *arbor opaca*, as if the words were leaves covering the posts. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.136. In this setting, the *augustas fores* are better read as 'venerable posts', 'belonging to the most honourable man, worthy of divinity', recalling *dignus deo* at l. 34, rather than 'mighty door'. In this way, Augustus' divinity is pointed out and Evander's advice to Aeneas not to scorn humble living is recalled. In *Met.* 1.561-64, on Daphne's transformation into laurel, Apollo tells her to perpetually decorate Augustus's doors and guard the oaken wreath with her evergreen leaves, resembling his unshorn ever-young hair, as a token for godly protection and everlasting glory. On the decoration of the king's door see also *Fast.* 3.137-140.

**num quia:** it introduces the second series of questions with a sense of anxiety and doubt. From here on are listed the six hypothetical reasons for the presence of the laurel frame over the door: (1) military triumphs, (2) Apollo's protection, (3) joyfulness of the laurel, (4) festive apparel of everything decorated with it, (5) peace granted to the world, (6) eternal glory of the house. As these questions are actually advancing hypotheses, rather than seeking answers, the reader's mind goes back to *Tristia* 1.1, when the booklet's father (Ovid) had given it some instructions as to what expect in Rome, although not in particular regarding the presence of the bay wreath on Augustus' door.

### **perpetuos ... triumphos**

The victory ad Actium in August 30 BC under the patronage of Apollo of Leucas (cf. following line) granted Octavian supreme military command, as it put an end to the civil wars that had been protracting since the murder of Caesar in 44 BC. The phrase *perpetuos triumphos* is found in Ovid for the first time, although the epithet *perpetuus* appears in several inscriptions accompanied by words like *semper*, *imperator* and *Augustus* (cf. CIL X 6959 *inuictus ac perpetuus semper Augustus*, III 10170 *uictoris ac perpetui semper Augusti*), which, together with *aeternum* at l. 46, convey the idea of the emperor's everlasting military power over the totality of time. Miller 2002 p. 135 points out the connection between these lines and *Met.* 1.560-64 (especially 564 *perpetuos semper ... honores*), stating that «the glory of Augustus' house is traced back to Apollo's own words».

### **domus ista**

On the particular use of *ista* in this elegy see commentary on l. 31. The determiner *ista* conveys an idea of greater involvement of the booklet with the house of Augustus, since it is the place of its (and Ovid's) potential restoration, or simply relates to the house already mentioned back at l. 35. The accordance of *ista* with *domus*, confirms that of *ipsa* with implied *laurus* rather than *domus* at l. 43.

## 42

### an quia

*An* introduces the alternative of the second question, suggesting an answer to it.

### Leucadio ... deo

Leucas is a Ionian island off the coast of Actium. On the south edge of the island is Cape Leucates, particularly feared by sailors for its dangerous waters (cf. *Trist.* 5.2.76), where stood a sanctuary of Apollo (*Met.* 13.715 *Actiaco quae nunc ab Apolline nota est*), promoter of Octavian's victory against Anthony and Cleopatra. The expression means that the house of Augustus is perpetually protected by Apollo (cf. *Met.* 1.562-64 *postibus Augusti eadem fidissima custos | ante fores stabis mediamque tuebere quercum*).

## 43-44

### ne quod ... an quod ... an

This construction introduces multiple alternative questions, providing other three possible interpretations of the bay wreath: the joy of the house, the festive appearance that the house conveys to everything, the peace granted to the world. This couplet is rich in harsh sound figures, given the repetition of *s* (*ipsa, festa, est, terris, pacis, ista*), *f* (*festa, facit*) and *t* (*festa, est, facit, tribuit, terris, ista*,

*nota, est*). Line 43 features the anaphor of *–ne quod festa ... an quod ... festa*, each occupying the first and second half of the hexameter, i.e. before the main *caesura* and at the end of the line, respectively. All of these repetitions help stress idea of the celebration of the *pax Augustea* granted to the whole world (*quam tribuit terris*) after Actium. Line 44 presents a prolepsis of the relative clause, so that the line may end with the phrase *nota est*, which echoes both *deo est* at the end of l. 42 and *festa est* before the principal *caesura* at l. 43.

#### 45-46

##### **utque uiret ... illa decus?**

The last hypothesis is here introduced with a similarity (*ut ... sic*) between the evergreen bay leaves and the eternal glory of Augustus' house. Once again, the reiteration of the idea of eternity is given by the words *semper* and *aeternum* especially placed before the principal *caesurae* at ll. 45 and 46, respectively. As the *princeps*' house is eternally watched over by Apollo by way of the laurel wreath, so the glory of the dweller resembles that wreath. *Decus* has the same meaning as Greek *doxa* (praise, honour, dignity, splendour, authority, glory) and is found only once before Ovid in Hor. *Carm.* 3.25.5 in *iunctura* with *aeternum* to highly praise Augustus (*Caesaris audiar aeternum meditans decus stellis inserere*).

#### 47-48

##### **'causa superpositae ... huius ope'**

Eventually, the built-up tension of the preceding four couplets is released here with a single answer. The reason for the civic wreath, attested as authentic by the inscription over the door (*causa ... scripto testata*), is Augustus' act of rescue towards the entire Roman people from self-destruction during

the civil wars and the amnesty granted to the defeated party, which had warranted him the Senate's acknowledgement. The reading OB CIVES SERVATOS (also abbreviated O C S) appeared on coins illustrating the *corona ciuica*, and in official and literary texts with some variations (Sen. *Clem.* 1.26.5 *nullum ornamentum principis Fastigio dignius pulchriusque est quam illa corona ob cives servatos*, V. Max. 2.8.7 *ob ciues seruatos corona danda est, qua postes Augustae domus sempiterna gloria triumphant*, Cass. Dio 53.16.4 τὸς πολίτας σώζοντι, Paul. *Fest.* s.v. *coronam ciuicam, ciuicam coronam ciuis salutis suae causae seruatus in proelio dabat, quae erat ilignea, frondem habens perennem*). The divine personification of *Salus*, worshipped as the well-being of Rome and its people, was associated from the late Republican era with ruling personalities such as Julius Caesar who ensured *salus* to the State (Cic. *Marc.* 32.4, Weinstock 1971 pp. 163-64), and became one of the most important features of the Augustan propaganda, with the official worship of the *salus Augusta* as safety and security of both Rome and its ruler (*Trist.* 2.206 *Caesaribus saluis*). As Ovid is being excluded from this safe condition, *salus* and adjective *saluus* are key words in the exile poetry (e.g. *Trist.* 1.1.19 *uiuere me dices, saluum tamen esse negabis*, 1.2.33 *spes est ulla salutis*, 3.5.43 *non possum nullam sperare salutem*, *Her.* 11.1-2 *Aeolis Aeolidae quam non habet ipsa salutem | mittit*). On the worship of *salus* in Rome see Marwood 1988. On the relationship between the *salus* of Rome and the *salus* of its rector see Galasso 1995 on *Pont.* 2.3.98. On the legend *ob ciues servatos* on Augustan coins see Alföldi 1971 pp. 106-110. Some may argue that the booklet fails to answer the question, as no reference to the laurel garland is made here. Yet, the oaken wreath too is hanging over the door in sign of perennial glory and civic bravery alongside the laurel, and it was awarded to

Augustus right after his victory at Actium under Apollo's protection, represented by the laurel decoration. As we recall Apollo's order to Daphne to protect the oaken wreath on Augustus' door in *Met.* 1.563 (*ante fores stabis mediamque tuebere quercum*), we can conclude that both laurel and oak serve a common purpose, that is to be a sign of victory and public valour. Additionally, the mention of the oaken wreath after the description of the house of Augustus proves the connection with the temple of Jupiter and its traditional arboreal attribute, confirming once more the identification of the father of the homeland with the father of the gods.

The hyperbaton and chiasmus of *causa ... testata* and *superpositae ... coronae* at l. 47 help visualise the bay garland entangled over the door, as at l. 39.

## 49-58

**adice seruatis ~ aspiciare, domus!**

The booklet addresses a prayer to Augustus as the father of the Roman people to grant forgiveness to its author, taking inspiration for its first words from the very inscription *ob ciues seruatis*, as Ovid is allegedly the only citizen (*unum ... ciuem*) in the Roman empire not benefitting from the *princeps*' peaceful ruling. The booklet's initiative contrasts with Ovid's fictitious reluctance to send it to Rome to plead for his return in *Trist.* 1.1. Yet, the inscription itself prompted the book-roll to make an attempt to fulfil its master's request (cf. *Trist.* 1.1.92 *consilium resque locusque dabunt*). Although the *ciues seruatos* of the inscription are considered both the Roman people in general saved from intestine wars *and* those Roman citizens who had fought against Augustus and had been spared his revenge, it is indeed plausible to think Ovid as an enemy to Augustus, still pleading for amnesty. This is why the booklet asks Augustus to add one citizen to the list of the saved. The booklet points out that Ovid is exiled because of his fault (*error*), not because of his deliberate blameful action (*facinus*) (l. 52). The prayer is shortly interrupted as the booklet's awe of the *princeps* makes its voice tremble, its pages go pale and its feet limp (ll. 53-56).

## 49

**adice seruatis unum, pater optime, ciuem**

For this phrase cf. *Trist.* 1.1.19 *me ...saluum tamen esse negabis*. This line openly recalls Drances' words to king Latinus to seek a peace settlement with the Trojans in *Aen.* 11.352-55 *unum etiam donis istis ... | ... unum, optime regum, | adicias, nec tu ullius violentia vincat, | quin gnatum ... | des, pater, et pacem hanc eterno*

*foedere iungas*. Drances encourages king Latinus to give his daughter's hand in marriage to Aeneas and put an end to the war. Ovid evokes this passage by overlapping the Vergilian characters of Drances and Latinus with those of the booklet and Augustus. Similarly, the booklet pleads for rescue on behalf of Ovid, making but one (*unum*) request and calling Augustus *pater optime*, in place of the Vergilian *optime regum*. *Pater optime* is an epithet used in prayers to deities, especially Jupiter (e.g. *Acc. trag.* 240, *Enn. ann.* 192, *Hor. sat.* 2.1.12, *Ov. Met.* 7.627). It later addresses the *pater patriae* Augustus, initially as *pater* alone (*Ov. Ars* 1.203, *Met.* 15.860, *Trist.* 2.574), and eventually as *pater optime* (*Fast.* 2.635), in line with the identification of Augustus with Jupiter that takes shape in Ovid (see also commentary on l. 78 *maxime diue* and Claassen 1999's analysis of the title *pater patriae* [pp.142-43]). *Servatos ciues* (l. 48) (the whole of the Roman people) contrasts with polyptoton *servatis (unum) ... ciuem* (Ovid alone), meanwhile stressing the importance of Roman citizenship, already featured in *Trist.* 2.205-06. See Ingleheart 2010 *ad loc.* on Ovid's attachment to his *Romanitas* and *Cic. Verr.* 5.147 *uox et imploratio «ciuis Romanus sum», quae saepe multis in ultimis terris opem inter barbaros et salutem tulit* on milder punishments usually obtained by *ciues Romani* captured in remote lands. Ovid refers to himself as a *ciuis* to remind the *princeps* that as a *relegatus* he has fully retained his Roman citizenship (and maybe his property, at least in Ovid's case), and as such, he claims in vain some kind of legal protection (cf. *Trist.* 5.11.15 *nec uitam nec opes nec ius mihi ciuis ademit*, *Pont.* 1.10.1-2 *Naso suo profugus mittit tibi, Flacce, salutem | mittere rem si quis, qua caret ipse, potest*). For the difference between *exilium* and *relegatio*, Roman legislation and relevant

bibliography, see Ingleheart 2010 on *Trist.* 2.137 and *introduction* pp. 2-4, Scherwin-White 1973<sup>2</sup> and Santalucia 1989.

## 50

### **qui procul extremo pulsus in orbe iacet**

This line gathers a high number of words frequently recurring in the exile poetry, i.e. *procul* (34 times with the meaning of ‘away from the homeland’, at times interchanged with *longe*, e.g. in *Trist.* 3.4b.53 *longe patria est* and *Pont.* 3.4.2 *longe toto sumus orbe remoti*), *extremus orbis* (6 times with the meaning of ‘the furthest land of my exile’, 2 of which with different wording: *Trist.* 3.3.3 *in extremis ignoti partibus orbis* and *Trist.* 3.13.12 *extremam gelidi misit in orbis humum*), *pulsus* (6 times with the meaning of ‘expelled from the homeland’, alternating with the softening *positus* in *Pont.* 1.7.5 *in extremo positus iacet orbe*, and *missus*, e.g. in *Pont.* 4.7.1 *missus es Euxinas ... ad undas* and *Trist.* 4.2.69 *procul Latio diuersum missus in orbem*), creating a hyperbole of the concept of distance from Rome (*procul, extremo, pulsus*) by means of a hyperbaton (normal word order *iacet pulsus procul in extremo orbe*). On the vocabulary denoting distance in the exilic poetry see Claassen 1999 p. 159. On the meaning of *orbis* see commentary on l. 26 above. Also *iaceo* (*iacet*) plays a role in the Ovidian exilic vocabulary as it does not only denote the geographical position of lands through astronomic indications (cf. *Trist.* 4.8.41-42 *Lycaonio terra sub axe iacet* and Galasso 1995 on *Pont.* 2.7.64 *terra sub ambobus non iacet ulla polis*), but also describes the distraught existence of the exile by virtue of the identification of the outer world with that of the inner self, even to its extreme consequences, as we can read e.g. in *Trist.* 4.1.85 *hic ego ... iaceo*, 5.2.7 *mens tamen aegra iacet*, *Pont.* 1.3.49 *orbis in extremi iaceo desertus harenis*, and 2.9.3-4 *fama loquax uestras si*

*iam peruenit ad aures | me tibi finitimi parte iacere soli*, and especially in *Pont.* 4.7.2-3 *positis ... sub axe locis | aspicias en praesens, quali iaceamus in aruo*, *Trist.* 3.3.5 *mibi nunc animum dira regione iacenti*, 13 *lassus in extremis iaceo populisque locisque* and 73 *hic ego qui iaceo*, with the ultimate meaning of being buried. On the exilic death-related vocabulary see Nagle 1980 pp. 22-32 and Claassen 1996. Other passages in the *Tristia* where the identification of Ovid's feelings and the harshness of the landscape takes place are in *Trist.* 3.10, where the winter weather conditions in Tomis are exaggerated to stress even further Ovid's misery, reminiscing Verg. *Georg.* 3. On the description of Scythian winter and its identification with Ovid's moods see Besslich 1972, Evans 1975, Gahan 1978, Claassen 1990 and Williams 1994 pp. 10-18.

## 51-52

### in quo ~ error habet

The booklet intercedes for Ovid as it claims that he is serving a sentence for an involuntary mistake (*error*), not an intentional deed (*facinus*). As *error* literally means 'deviation from the right path due to ignorance of the truth', it is synonym to *culpa*, *peccatum*, and sometimes *crimen* and *delictum* (*TbLL* V,2 817 58-59 and IV 1298 71-75, *Pont.* 1.6.25 *sic culpa uocanda est*, *Trist.* 2.578 *ut par delicto sit mea poena suo*, 4.4.43-44 *afuit omne | peccato facinus consiliumque meo*, 5.11.17 *peccato facinus non adfuit illi* [scil. *Nasoni*], *Liv.* 4.17.4 *nec in errorem uersum facinus*, ). On the other hand, *facinus* is originally a *uox media* from verb *facere* meaning 'deed' in general, taking on a positive or negative connotation depending on the context (*Seru. in Aen.* 1.51 *bonum facinus et malum facinus dicimus*). It is noteworthy that grammarians use *scelus* as a synonym of *facinus* to endorse the negative meaning of *facinus* (*Gloss. Plac.* IV 236.6 *scelus, factum*).

Valerius Maximus provides the definition of *error*, as an action not governed by intention, although possibly leading to harmful outcomes, and more easily excused than any other crime (9.9 *quia non sua sponte, sed uanis concitatus imaginibus culpa se implicat*). The three Caesarian speeches by Cicero (*pro Marcello, pro Ligario, pro rege Deiotaro*), which represent an undoubted contribution to the fashioning of the apologetic genre in the *Tristia* (Zanoni 2012), stress the difference between *error/culpa* and *scelus* (Cic. *Marc.* 13 *etsi aliqua culpa teneremur erroris humani, ab scelere certi liberati sumus, Lig.* 17 *alii errorem appellant Ligarii causam, alii timorem; ... qui gravissime, temeritatem; scelus ... nemo, Deiot.* 13.36 *ille (scil. Antiochus Magnus) enim furoris multam sustulerat, hic [scil. Deiotarus] erroris*). In Ovid, *facinus* assumes a clearly negative sense in each occurrence, that is a deliberate action *in malam partem*. Ovid is often willing to cast light on the difference between *facinus* (or *scelus*) and *error* (or *culpa*) (see e.g. *Trist.* 1.2.98-99 *a culpa facinus scitis, si me meus abstulit error, | stultaque mens nobis, non scelerata fuit*, 1.3.37-38 *quis me deceperit error | dicite, pro culpa ne scelus esse putem*, 3.6.25-26 *si nullum scelus est in pectore nostro | principiumque mei criminis error habet*, 3.11.33-34 *omina uera puta mea crimina, nil sit in illis, | quod magis errorem quam scelus esse putes*), although he fails to determine the nature of such fault, which is one of the reasons for his banishment alongside the *carmen ars amatoria* (*Trist.* 2.207 *duo crimina, carmen et error, Pont.* 1.6.23-25 *qualia quoque modo mihi sint ea facta, rogare | desine; non agites siqua coire velis. | Quidquid id est, ut non facinus, sic culpa uocanda est*). Ovid's mistake is most likely to have involved something that he had seen rather than done (*Trist.* 2.103 *cur aliqui uidi? cur noxia lumina feci?*), as he claims with the mention of the myth of Actaeon, who unwittingly saw Diana naked and was turned into a deer and tore to pieces by

his own hunting dogs (*Trist.* 2.105-06 *inscius Actaeon uidit sine ueste Dianam: | praeda fuit canibus non minus ille suis*; cf. Rosiello 2002). Ovid's relegation to Tomis at the same time as Augustus' daughter Julia's banishment for adultery supported the idea that Ovid had somehow been connected to the imperial scandal or had committed adultery himself, provided that the *crimen* and the *carmen* relate to two distinct charges. On the gravity of adultery in the Augustan era see Raditsa 1980, Lacey 1980, Richlin 1981, Treggiari 1991, Cohen 2008; for further interpretations of the *error* see commentary and bibliographical indications in Ingleheart 2010 on *Trist.* 2.103-04 and *introduction* pp. 2-4, Goold 1983, Grasmück 1978 pp. 135-36, Syme 1978, Thibault 1964. Claassen 1999 pp. 148-151 offers a detailed analysis of the legal vocabulary in the exilic corpus. See McGowan 2009 pp. 37-62 for the legal process behind Ovid's exile, the legal vocabulary used in the exile poetry, the difference between *exilium* and *relegatio*, the alliteration in *carmen* and *crimen*, and the exaggerated punishment exacted on Ovid by Augustus.

**in quo poenarum ... | ... causam ... suus error habet:** '(scil. citizen) whose involuntary negligence is the reason for his punishment' (literally 'in whom an involuntary mistake holds reason for his punishment'). A similar phrase to *in quo ... causam ... habet* is found in court speeches such as Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.214 *vides eandem aestimationem ... in illo laudis causam habere, in te criminis, in illo benefici, in te iniuriae*, Cic. *inu.* 2.169 *aut omnes, aut plurimas, aut maximas causas habet difficultatis*, Sal. *Cat.* 2.2 *lubidinem dominandi causam belli habere*. The anaphorical repetition of the relative at the beginning of lines 50-52 has the purpose of urging the addressee of the prayer with a persistent series of alleviating elements. For a similar use of the relative as an attention-grasping

and climax-building rhetorical device in oral speeches see Cic. *Dom.* 86, *in me, cui dies dicta numquam est, qui reus non fui, qui numquam sum a tribuno plebis citatus, damnati poena esse potuit, ea praesertim quae ne in ipsa quidem rogatione praescripta est?*

The rhythm of the first part of line 51 is considerably slowed down by three consecutive spondees, so as to stress the gravity of Ovid's punishment.

## 51

### **meruisse**

This verb has occurred twice in this elegy, the first time (l. 41) relating to the military triumphs of Augustus, the second to Ovid's own punishment, in open contrast with the first. *Mereo* appears repeatedly in the exile poetry with the meaning of 'to deserve', especially accompanied by *poena* and *fateor*, in line with Ovid's submissive attitude towards Augustus' sentence (*Trist.* 1.1.68 *quas meruit poenas*, 5.5.63 *qui poenam fateor meruissi*, *Pont.* 1.1.62 *poenam, quam meruisse*). It is noteworthy that before Ovid, 'meruisse fateor' appears only in Pl. *Mil.* 547 *meruisse equidem me maximum fateor malum*. Claassen 1999 pp. 148-151 offers a detailed analysis of the legal vocabulary in the exilic corpus.

## 52

### **non facinus ... sed suus error**

The terms *facinus* and *error* are here placed in the first and second hemistichs, respectively, separated by the *caesura*, each after a strong one-syllable conjunction such as *non* and *sed*, so as to convey greater contrast between them, stressed even more by the litotes of *non facinus*. Ovid's open admission of responsibility is given by the use of *suus* and *se* in the previous line (cf. *Trist.* 1.2.99 *meus ... error*, *Catul.* 22.20 *suus cuique attributus est error*). This line is rich

in harsh sounds (*facinus, causam, sed, suus*), so as to help the booklet picture its master's miserable fate.

### 53-56

#### **me miserum ~ intremuisse pedes?**

The booklet describes its feelings and appearance as it is standing before the gate of the *princeps*. The trembling foot and paling colour are clear symptoms of fear (cf. Nagle 1980 pp. 61-63 on the adaptation of elegiac diction related to disease, Willis 1967 on the Homeric origin of Sappho's symptomatology of fear, and Vine 1993 on the Latin transposition of Homeric *tremor occupat artus* in Verg. *Aen.* 7.446, 11.424, and Ov. *Met.* 3.40). The booklet fears the dweller of the house, trembling, turning pale, and limping because of its uneven feet. These lines, fraught with harsh sounds (*m, r, t, s, k, l, p* and their combinations) recall the booklet's self-introduction as an unkempt papyrus roll at ll. 9-14.

### 53

#### **me miserum**

This is the only place in the exilic corpus where this phrase refers to the booklet, as it usually describes the state of the exile himself (see commentary on l. 1 above). *Me miserum* is considerably widespread in archaic and classical authors, from poetry to prose, from comedy to erotic poems, court speeches and philosophical treatises, mostly at the beginning of line or sentence (e.g. Pl. *mos.* 739, *Am.* 159, and at beginning of line: Ter. *ad.* 309, *An.* 882, Catul. 76.19, Prop. 3.23.19, Ov. *Am.* 1.14.51, *Fast.* 4.82, *Met.* 1.508, *Trist.* 1.2.19, 4.3.49 and 51-52, *Pont.* 4.4.43, Stat. *silu.* 5.5.1, Cic. *Mil.* 101, Sen. rhetor *con.* 2.3.9). *Me miserum* is accusative of exclamation in a strong metrical place,

followed by caesura after one and a half feet. On *miser* as part of Ovid's exilic vocabulary see Claassen 1999 p. 158.

### **uereorque locum uereorque potentem**

The booklet fears the house (*locum*) and the dweller (*potentem*). *Vereor* suggests that both place and dweller are somewhat sacred or worthy of reverential awe, as the identification of the house of the *princeps* with the temple of Jupiter and that of Augustus with Jupiter himself in the previous lines anticipated, also conveyed by the repetition of *uereorque* in the same metrical pattern (both theses on syllable *-or-*). As *uereor* has also the meaning of 'to fear, to regard as a source of danger' (*OLD* s.v.), it semantically connects with *quatitur trepido ... metu* ('[scil. my words] are shaken with shivering fear') in the following line, and to *intremuisse* ('(scil. my feet) have gone trembling') at l. 57. In addition, the booklet's trembling stride has already been mentioned at l. 11 *clauda ... alterno subsidunt carmina uersu*, and in the opening elegy of the whole collection of the *Tristia*, which is known to be an open parallel to 3.1 (Evans 1983, Hinds 1985, Bonvicini 1991 on *Trist.* 3.1, Edwards 1996, Galasso 2008 on *Pont.* 4.5, Tissol 2005 p. 101). In *Tristia* 1 Ovid instructs the booklet on how to reach Rome and beg for its author's forgiveness: Ovid's feelings of fear and insecurity as he remembers the day when Augustus' sentence struck his life as man and poet are mixed with those of the booklet when it reaches the house of the emperor: *Trist.* 1.1.74 *timeo qui nocuere deos*, 75 *terretur*, 81 *me ... Iouis arma timere*, 86 *horret adire locum*, 87 *timida circumspice mente*, 95 *te ... adire timentem*, 102 *nam spes est animi nostra timore minor*. The fearful attitude of the suppliant is also described in *Pont.* 2.8, as Ovid receives from his friend Maximus Cotta a relief or three statuettes of Augustus, Livia and Tiberius, to

which he addresses his appeal to return home: both Ovid's plea and thought are fearful (51 *timidis ... uotis*, and 75 *timidae ... mentis*). The verb *uereor* renders both meanings of 'to fear' and 'to revere', accounting for Ovid's and the booklet's fear and worship of both the palace (cf. *Trist.* 1.1.71 *ignoscant angusta mihi loca dique locorum*, 86-87 *horret adire locum, | ergo caue, liber, et timida circumspice mente* and 95 *te dubitantem et adire timentem*) and the *princeps* (cf. *Trist.* 1.1.74 *timeo qui nocuere deos*), linking *Tristia* 3 to *Tristia* 1 even closer (cf. *Nep. Att.* 15.1 *et ueremur et timemus deos*). Hall's choice for the reading *Penates* (the traditional gods of the household) in place of *potentem* is implausible, as the parallelism with *Tristia* 1 suggests that *potentem* (i.e. Augustus) best fits *Tristia* 3, corresponding to *deos* of *Tristia* 1.

#### 54

#### **quatitur ... littera nostra**

Recalls *clauda carmina* at l. 11 and the feeling of fear already seen in *Tristia* 1.1 and in the previous line (see *supra*), anticipating the trembling feet at l. 56. *Littera* (cf. l. 15), meaning 'written character', is accompanied by *nostra*, anticipating *nostro ... parenti* at l. 57. Interestingly, the singular *nostra littera* is used in Ovid only, starting from the *Epistulae heroidum* throughout the exile poetry, featuring the most common meaning of letter as 'written communication', almost always falling in the same metrical position after *caesura* in the middle of the pentameter: *Ov. Her.* 12.114 *deficit hoc uno littera nostra loco*, 16.340 *plura feres, quam quae littera nostra refert*, 17.144 *fungitur officio littera nostra novo*, 18.9-10 *unus, et hic audax, a quo tibi littera nostra | redditur*, 20.172 *ad te, Cydippe, littera nostra redit*, 21.248 *ut adscribat littera nostra 'uale'*, *Trist.* 4.1.92 *tutaque iudicio littera nostra meo est*, 4.4.22 *non fuit arbitrii littera nostra tui*,

*Pont.* 4.11.15-16 *dum littera nostra recurrens | tot maria ac terras*, 4.15.34 *ipsa locum per se littera nostra rogat*. In one place of the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, *littera* (as epistle) embodies the author himself, showing up in Rome on his behalf on Grecinus' appointment to the consulship (*Pont.* 4.9.7-8 *in domini subeat et praestet | amici officium iusso littera nostra die*). However, *nostra littera* here refers not to a missive, but to the words contained in the poems of *Tristia* 3, that is to the bodily parts of the booklet itself, as mentioned earlier at l. 15. For the booklet's shaking entails that its limbs, alias its *litterae*, are shaking too, trembling onomatopoeic sounds of *t* and *r* run throughout the whole line (cf. Neumeister 1991 p. 116). The hyperbole is rendered also by the 'expressionistic' concentration of words meaning 'fear' and 'shuddering', such as *quatitur*, *trepido*, *metu* (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.658 *nos pauidi trepidare metu*, 6.491 *ingenti trepidare metu*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.19.5 *recenti mens trepidat metu*, Ov. *Trist.* 1.5.37 *neue falso nimium trpidate, timentes*, Luc. 8.44 *trepida quatitur formidine somnus*). The booklet is shaking throughout at the presence of Augustus, right when it has to support Ovid's cause.

## 55-56

### aspicis

Both *aspicis* at beginning of each line introduce direct questions without any specific introductory particle. The indicative second person is used to draw the hearer's attention towards something apparent and obvious to the speaker's part, so as to reinforce what the latter is stating, almost in an rhetoric fashion, as in 'can you not see...?'. Ovid uses similar phrases starting with *aspicis* in the exilic corpus to exaggerate his condition or urge someone to do something: see e.g. *Trist.* 3.4.11-12 *aspicis ut summa cortex leuis innatet unda, |*

*cum graue nexa simul retia mergat onus?*, 5.14.35-36 *aspicis ut longo teneat laudabilis aeuo* | *nomen inextinctum Penelopaea fides?*, *Pont.* 4.7.3 *aspicis en praesens, quali iaceamus in aruo*. Parallel to *aspicis* is imperative *inspice* at l. 9 with the meaning of ‘thoroughly consider’ my contents, right before describing its own features (see *supra ad loc.*). More interestingly, in Verg. *Aen.* 4.205-08 (*Iuppiter omnipotens, ... | ... | aspicis heac? ... genitor*) *aspicis* is similarly used in a direct question addressed in prayer to the father Jupiter, straightly connecting to the booklet’s prayer to Augustus the father of the homeland in these lines (cf. l. 49 *pater optime*). The verb *aspicio* appears also a few lines later (58) as the booklet wishes Ovid to see the house of Augustus with his own eyes on his return home, underlining the importance of the sense of sight in the exile poetry. Likewise, *aspicio* occurs in the poetical preamble and counterpart of *Trist.* 3.1, i.e. *Trist.* 1.1, as Ovid sends his poems off to *see* Rome on his behalf (*Trist.* 1.1.57-58 *tu tamen, i pro me, tu, cui licet, aspice Romam. | Di facerent, possem nunc meus esse liber!*) or elsewhere to fashion the contrast between the nothingness of the land of exile and the scenery of the beloved homeland and family (*Trist.* 1.2.23 *quocumque aspicio, nihil est nisi pontus et aer*, and 94 *aspiciat uultus Pontica terra meos*, 1.11.23 *quocumque aspicio, nihil est nisi mortis imago*, 3.8.7-10 *ut tenera nostris cedente uolatibus aura | aspicerem patriae dulce repente solum, | desertaeque domus uultus, memoresque sodales, | caraque praecipue coniugis ora meae*, 3.10.75-76 *aspiceres nudos sine fronde, sine arbore, campos: | heu loca felici non adeunda uiro!* On Ovid’s mental seafaring in exile see e.g. *Pont.* 1.8.33-34 *aque domo rursus pulchrae loca uertor ad Urbis, | cunctaque mens oculis peruidet illa suis*, Gaertner 2005 *ad loc.* and commentary on l. 1 above *miseri ~ exulis*).

**exanguis ~ pedes:** again the booklet draws attention onto its looks, as in ll. 9-18, this time focusing only on the pale colour of the papyrus and the unevenness of its metrical feet, especially considering that it is trembling (pun on uneven feet) out of fear (paling) while it prays before Augustus. Two parallel hyperbata run through this couplet underlining the booklet's sense of anxiety: *exanguis ... pallere colore* is analogous to *alternos intremuisse pedes*. The paling of the booklet is exaggerated by the hyperbole *exanguis* (synonym of *funereus*, *TbLL* V,2 1825 54)... *pallere colore* ('paling with lifeless colour', see *Met.* 4.266-67 *partemque coloris | luridus exsanguis pallor conuertit in herbas*) matching the second hyperbole in the following line *alternos intremuisse pedes* ('uneven feet trembling' as at l. 11 above). The perfect infinitive *intremuisse* is employed for metrical reasons, like *delituisse* at l. 80.

#### 57-58

#### **quandocumque precor ~ aspiciare, domus!**

The climax of the booklet's prayer ends here with the proper request for Ovid's return. The addressee of the prayer has now become the palace of the *princeps* by synecdoche to convey a sort of prudent detachment of the speaker from its urging request. Dense repetitions of 'p', 'k', 'd' and 's' sounds help restore the solemn tone of archaic prayer, stressed by the polyptoton *dominis/domus* and the indefinite relative adverb *quandocumque* at the beginning of the line to express full reliance on the divinity. The use of *quandocumque* states that is not important *when* the prayer will be answered, but that it *eventually* will (see *OLD* s.v., having «a generalized and indefinite force», Ernout-Meillet 1959<sup>4</sup> p. 990 «(scil. *quom* = *cum*) avec l'enclitique *-que* marquant

la généralité», de Vaan 2008 p. 152, and Luck 1977 *ad loc* «früher oder später»).

57

### **precor**

Used sparingly in the extant Latin prose and poetry up to the first century b.C. with only 58 occurrences, it is frequently employed by Ovid with 83 hits in the *Epistulae heroidum* and the exile poetry alone (two in this elegy!, ll. 57 and 77), for a total of 137 in his whole corpus, accounting for over 66% of the total occurrences in Latin literature up to the end of the Augustan era. Ovid's frequent use of *precor* in prayers to gods or appeals to his interlocutors, especially in the epistolary poems, is index of a feeling of suffering, uneven, submissive relationship, subordinate to other people's will, be it fictitious (as in the *Epistulae heroidum*) or real (as in the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*). *Precor* lies before the *caesura* at the penthemimeris to convey greater expectation for the prayer in the remainder of the couplet.

### **nostro placata parenti**

Like at l. 23 *nostro parenti*, the relationship between Ovid and his books is getting more personal than at the beginning of the elegy, given by the word 'father' in place of 'master, author' (5 *domini mei* and 14 *meo domino*). The shift from *dominus* to *parens* accompanies also that of *meus* to *noster*, as an extension of Ovid's relationship with the booklet to its book siblings, involving the remainder of Ovid's poetical production, and anticipating the booklet's (missed) encounter with it at ll. 65-68. *Nostro ... parenti* is both dative of advantage (governed by *placata*) and dative of the agent (governed by *aspicior*). *Placor* is commonly used in sacred contexts, mostly with names of gods

(*TbLL* X,1 2287 4 *saepissime ... placatur ira deorum*). It appears in Ovid's exile poetry for the first time in Latin poetry referred to a living god-assimilated powerful person, namely Augustus, e.g. in *Trist.* 1.3.40 *placato possum non miser esse deo*, 4.4.88 *placato referant et mea uela deo*, 5.8.22 *non est placandi spes mihi nulla dei*, but especially in the elegy parallel to this one, *Trist.* 1.1.32 *placatos ... deos*. The phrase *nostro placata parenti* is linked to vocative *domus* (scil. *Augustana*) in the following line, and is echoed by *enuictus longo tempore, Caesar* (l. 76) in a second prayer at the end of the elegy, which conveys the same indefiniteness of time as *quandocumque* (l. 75 *forsitan ... olim*). One of the most deeply developed and debated themes of the exile poetry is here introduced: the *ira* and the *clementia Caesaris*. On Augustus' wrath in the exile poetry see Gaertner 2005 pp. 9-12 and McGowan 2009 pp. 191-96 for bibliographical reference.

## 58

**isdem sub dominis aspiciare:** *aspiciare* is second person singular passive subjunctive of *aspicio*, *aspiciaris* (scil. *domus*), directly depending on *precor* without any conjunction. *Aspicior* has the meaning of 'to see before one's eyes, present' and 'to be able to see', as the sight of the house on Ovid's part is possible only after his return, contrasting with his mental representation of Rome and Augustus in exile (cf. *TbLL* II 834.75, *Trist.* 4.4.20 *hic* (scil. *Augustus*) *aspicitur, ille* (scil. *Iuppiter*) *creditur deus*, and *Trist.* 2.54 *praesentem conspicuumque deum* (scil. *Augustum*)). The theme of the visual representation of the homeland is thoroughly developed in *Pont.* 2.8.9-21 *spectare deos est adesse putare* (scil. *Caesares*) | *et quasi cum uero numine posse loqui* | ... *redii nec me tenet tulima tellus* | *utque prius media sospes in Vrbe moror.* | *Caesareos uideo uultus, uelut ante uidebam* | ... | *Quid nostris oculis nisi sola Palatia desunt?* | *Qui locus ablato*

*Caesare uilis erit. | Hunc ego cum spectem , uideor mihi cernere Romam* (see Galasso 1995 *ad loc.*). Regular anastrophe of *sub* and *iisdem*, meaning ‘dwelt by these very masters’, i.e. Augustus, Livia, and Tiberius (see *Pont.* 2.8.4 *Caesaribus Livia iuncta suis*). *Dominus* has various meanings in the exile poetry: it refers to the poet himself as author of his books, the ruler with absolute power, the dweller of a house, and, especially in the feminine *domina*, the mistress (see commentary on l. 5 above). The word *dominus* denoting the person in power usually has a negative connotation in the Roman tradition. Wallace-Hadrill 1982 points out how the Greeks felt «no hostility to the institution of monarchy» (p. 35), except for the selfish *tyrannos*, whereas the Roman emperors from Augustus on strived to keep their actual autocratic power within the Republican format, «advertising their magnificence more by what they refused than by what they accepted» (p. 36). On the emperor’s ritual *recusatio* see Béranger 1953 p. 137. Galasso 1995 on *Pont.* 2.8.26 (*terrarum dominum* (scil. *Augustum*) *quem tua cura facit*) notes that *dominus* referred to Augustus conveys more the idea of his assimilation with Jupiter than defining his political title as autocrat. Even more so if we read this line in connection with ll. 35-38 *Iouis haec ... domus ... | ... | cuius ut accepi dominum ... | et magni uerum est hanc Iouis esse domum*, where *domus* stands for the temple of Jupiter Stator (soon after identified with the palace of the *princeps*), and *dominum* for the owner, that is Jupiter/Augustus himself (*TbLL* V,1 1911.48 *is qui domum tenet iure possessionis eique praeest iubendi potestate*; see Gaertner 2005 on *Pont.* 1.9.13-14 *cum domus ingenti subito mea lapsa ruina | concidit in domini procubuitque caput*). The echo to *domus* and *dominus* in the previous lines confirms once

more the assimilation of Augustus with Jupiter Stator alluding to the unfortunate final verdict.

## 59-72

After the prayer before the house of Augustus the action of the elegy is resumed: the booklet and its guide reach the top of the Palatine, passing by the temple of Apollo and the portico of the Danaids. The booklet stops by the Latin library to look for the other poetical works by Ovid (except the *Ars amatoria*, which has been banned since Ovid's exile) and to ask whether it can be stored with them. The librarian, however, forces it to leave the place. An alternative to the Palatine Latin library are the library at the portico of Octavia near the theatre of Marcellus and that at the *atrium Libertatis*, but the booklet is refused also there.

The previous solemn description of the palace, eulogy of the *uictor* and prayer to the emperor move now to a more dynamic narrative pattern. Stative verbs that have dominated the scene from the beginning of the guided tour at l. 25, such as *pareo*, *inquit* (27), *habeo* (28, 46 and 52), *seruo* (29), *ait* (31), *miror*, *uideo* (32), *dico*, *puto* (35), *fallor*, *inquam* (37), *uelor* (39), *cingo* (40), *mereo* (41 and 51), *amor* (42), *uireo* (45), *indico* (48), *adicio* (49), *iacio* (50), *fateor* (51), *uereor* (53), *aspicio* (55 and 56), *palleo* (55), *precor*, *placor* (57), *aspicior* (58), are substituted by verbs and phrases of motion as the pair continue the visit: *gradibus sublimia celsis* | *ducor ad ... templa* (59-60), *abeo* (68), *peto* (68), *adeo* (70). The action becomes fast-paced, with a quick rise to the highest and most important library in town, followed by an abrupt fall to two lower libraries. The walked-

past monuments on the Palatine are described in a few lines, the fictional dialogues with the library custodians are briefly reported by the speaker (67-68 *custos me ... | ... iussit abire loco*, 70 *haec quoque erant pedibus non adeunda meis* and 71-72 *nec me ... | atria Libertas tangere passa sua est*). The limping haste of the booklet, rendered by a continuous shift from dactyls to spondees, helps forge a sort of downward spiral closing, proportionally matching the altitude level of the libraries (from high to low) to the booklet's chance to be accepted, and ultimately to Ovid's poetical fortune. The presence of the unknown companion has nearly faded into the background, but for *ducor* only (60), as all the other singular active verbs denote an almost absolute protagonism of the booklet's character.

#### 59-64

##### **inde tenore ~ inspicienda patent**

The booklet and the guide proceed uphill along lofty steps reaching the portico of the Danaids surrounding the temple of Apollo and the Latin and Greek libraries. As Quenemoen 2006 points out (p. 232), evidence for the temple's proximity to the portico is found in Propertius' use of the genitive *aurea Phoebi porticus* at 2.31.1, Velleius Paterculus 2.81.3 *templumque Apollinis et circa porticus*, the *Acta* of the *ludi saeculares* in *CIL* 6 line 32323 *in porticu eius* (scil. *templi*), the *Tabula Hebana* (19/20 AD) 1 *in Palatio in porticu quae est ad Apollinis*, and in Ovid's use of *templa ... | ... ubi* at 3.1.60-61. The portico, accessed North-East by the Arch of Octavius (Augustus' father), had a «two-story Doric elevation with columns of portasanta, giallo antico, and pavonazzo, (...) the statues of the Danaids standing between the columns of the second story» (p. 244); on the reconstruction of the Arch of Octavius and its

inscription see Tomei 2000 and Plin. *NH* 36.11 *ex honore apparet in magna auctoritate habitum Lysiae opus quod in Palatio super arcum divus Augustus honori Octavi patris sui dicanit in aedicula columnis adornata, id est quadriga currusque et Apollo ac Diana ex uno lapide*). The bewildering architectural magnificence of the complex was even more exaggerated by the contrast of the «dazzling white of the luna marble temple against the golden hues of the portico's columns and statues» (p. 229), as pictured in Prop. 2.31.1-4 *quaeris, cur veniam tibi tardior? aurea Phoebi | porticus a magno Caesare aperta fuit. | tantam erat in speciem Poenis digesta columnis, | quas Danaï femina turba senis*. On the identification of the portico of the Danaids see also Tomei 1990, 2000 and 2002, and Harmaşah and Varinlioğlu in Haselberger 2002 pp. 46-47. The complex syntax here contrasts with the plain parataxis in the previous lines: a long period spans across three couplets in place of more traditional half- or whole-couplet periods. The pace of the booklet's uneven feet striving to climb the high steps to the temple is once more slowed down by the higher epic-like poetical tone of l. 59, given by the presence of mostly dactylic words (cf. Miller 2002), and the analepsis of the main verb *ducor* and the phrase of place *ad ... templa* down to l. 60. The period continues with a double place clause (*ubi sunt* at l. 61 and *patent* at l. 64), interposed by a relative clause (*quae ... peperere* at l. 63), and ends with two verbal adjectives *lecturis* (future participle) and *inspicienda* (gerundive; scil. *quae*).

## 59

### **inde**

'From there' (house of Augustus) (*TbLL* VII,1 1108.20 *ex eo loco*). It is parallel to *inde* back at l. 31 (*inde pentens dextram*), before the turn onto the rise to the

Palatine, acting as a topographical section separator, as the booklet moves to a higher place both times (from the *Sacra uia* to the Palatine; from the house of Augustus to the temple of Apollo).

### **tenore pari**

‘At the same pace’ (as the guide’s), as e.g. in Liv. 23.49.3 *tenore uno* and 4.10.9 *eodem tenore*, Sen. *nat.* 7.23 *uadunt et tenorem suum seruant et paresque sunt*, *ep.* 59.14 *par et aequalis animi tenor* (fig.). Miller 2002 p. 136 interprets *tenori pari* as ‘in the same direction’. He reads a poetical innuendo in this couplet: the booklet’s last try to obtain the *princeps*’ favour as a poetical work by raising its tone to a more epic style (pp. 136-37). In fact, *tenor* and *gradus* can be both regarded as ‘footstep’ (cf. *TbLL* VI,2 2142.73 *actus gradiendi*). Through the recurring metrical pun of *pes*, *tenor pari* can be intended as the even foot of the hexameter in contrast with the limping elegiac couplet (referred to as *impar* in e.g. Ov. *Am.* 2.17.21), and *gradibus ... celsis* with the typical serious themes that match epic poetry. Even more so, if we consider that the booklet is moving uphill, climbing the high steps of the temple, reaching the most important libraries in Rome that stored the works of the classics (ll. 63-64 *uir docto ueteres ... nouique | pectore*). Yet, the impair-footed booklet lacks the ‘physical’ assests suited for a lofty-themed poetry as its vain search for its sibling books ends in an inexorable fall.

**gradibus ... celsis**: ‘lofty steps’ (*TbLL* VI,2 2148.59 *partes scalarum*), in the plural usually the main flight of stairs leading to a building, in particular temples (cf. *OLD* s.v., *TbLL* VI,2 2148.69-2149.6) Sen. *Ag.* 587 *celso gradu*, Ov. *epist.* 20.105 *in templum redeo gradibus sublime Dianae*, Met. 7.587-88 *templum uides contra gradibus sublimia longis: | Iuppiter illa tenet*, Pont. 3.2.50 *per ... quarter*

*denos itur in illa templa gradus*. Luck 1961 p. 258 points out that the phrases *gradibus celsis* and *sublimia templa* form a pleonasm in that they are synonyms, «conveying the impression of a huge monument».

## 59-60

### sublimia ... | ducor ad ... candida templa

‘I am escorted to the towering white marble temple’. The hyperbaton and enjambement between *sublimia* and *candida templa* reflect a more elaborated style compared to that of elegy (cf. Newlands 1997 p. 68, Miller 2002 pp. 136-37, and commentary on 9-10, 59-64 and 59 above). *Sublimis* refers to tall buildings (Ver. *Aen.* 7.170 *tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime columnis*), but is epithet for *templum* in Ovid only (*Met.* 7.587 *templa ... gradibus sublimia longis* and *Her.* 21.105 *templum ... sublime*). The *sublime* temple rising on a tall *podium* appears even higher from the lower level of the portico ( Miller:2002 p. 136). Regular plural *templa* in place of singular *templum*, to fit the metre. *Ducor* recalls *ducens* at l. 27: although the presence of the guide is further mentioned, it is implied by the passive *ducor*.

Vowed in 36 BC after the victory at Naulochus in Sicily (Vell. Pat. 2.81 *templumque Apollinis et circa porticus facturum promisit*; cf. Aeneas’ pledge to build a temple for Apollo in Verg. *Aen.* 6.69-70 *Phoebo et Triuiaie solido de marmore templum | instituam*), completed after the victory at Actium in 31 BC and dedicated in 28 BC (Cass. Dio 53.1.3 τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον τὸ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα τὸ περὶ αὐτό, τὰς τε ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων ἐξεποίησε καὶ καθιέρωσε. καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ γενομένη ψηφισθεῖσαν ἤγαγε μετὰ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου), the temple of Palatine Apollo was one of the greatest expressions of the Augustan building programme that

turned Rome from a city of bricks into a city of marble (Suet. *Aug.* 28 *adeo, ut iure sit gloriatus marmoream se relinquere, quam latericiam accepisset*). The mesmerising sight of Hellenistic architecture reflected in the elaborated Callimachaen style of Propertius' elegy 2.31 (Neumeister 1991 pp. 118-24, Welch 2005 pp. 89-96, Quenemoen 2006 p. 245). Celebrated in Augustan poetry (e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 1.31 and Prop. 4.6; cf. Welch 2005 pp. 96-111 and Miller 2009 pp. 54-94 and 185-252), Svetonius mentions the temple of Apollo as second to that of Mars Ultor among the most remarkable works, noting that it was ordained by Apollo himself in a part of Augustus' house that had been struck by a lightning (*Aug.* 29 *templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinae domus excitavit, quam fulmine ictam desiderari a deo haruspices pronuntiarant*). The temple is mentioned also in the *Res Gestae* among other newly erected buildings (*Aug. Anc.* 19 *templumque Apollinis in Palatio cum porticibus*). The first excavations of the temple date back to the XIX century by Pietro Rosa (see Tomei 1999); Lugli 1965 produces the first relief of the temple (p. 265). Unlike other temples of the imperial age – that used to rise on the ruins of republican ones – that of Apollo on the Palatine was built *ex nouo* on the south-western slope of the hill. It had six Corinthian columns along the *pronaos* and ten on each side, running along a perimeter of 22.4 x 38.8 metres; stairs and terraces are likely to have connected it with the Circus Maximus southwards. After the fire in 64 AD, the temple was restored by Domitian; it was then completely destroyed by another fire in 363 AD, and never restored. What remains of it is only a high concrete *podium* of 19.2 x 27.0 x 4.7 metres as the basement of the *pronaos* and the *cella*, and fragments of engaged Corinthian capitals and drums. The completion of the temple and its

dedication to Apollo shortly after the victory over Antony may have been reflected in a particular Apollinic dedication, i.e. Apollo Actius, especially given Augustus' devotion for the cult of Apollo at Leucas near Actium (cf. l. 42 above), who was officially credited for the final victory (Suet. *Aug.* 18 *quoque Actiacae victoria memoria celebratior et in posterum esset, urbem Nicopolim apud Actium condidit ludosque illic quinquennales constituit et ampliato vetere Apollinis templo locum castrorum, quibus fuerat usus, exornatum navalibus spoliis Neptuno ac Marti consecravit*, Verg. *Aen.* 8.704 *Actius ... Apollo*, Seru. *ad Aen.* 8.704 *Actius* [scil. *Apollo*] ... *quem postea Actium nominavit Augustus*, Prop. 4.6.67 *Actius ... Phoebus*, Ov. *Met.* 13.715 *Actiaco Apolline*, and Lugli 1965 p. 263; on the monumental statue of Apollo placed on the promontorium at Actium after the victory see Jucker 1982 and Cecamore 2014). Although there is no evidence of such a dedication or of any clear propagandistic intention, a connection to the patron god of Augustus' victory cannot have been overlooked in 28 BC, especially considering the vow made before Naulochus (Zanker 1983, Favro 1996 pp.?, Hutchinson 2006 on Prop. 4.6, Clauss 1996, Welch 2005 pp. 81-89; otherwise Gurval 1995, who states the lack of a sole purported connection between the temple and Actium, or at least at the time of the inauguration; on the founding of the temple as an expiation of a prodigy under priestly recommendation see Hekster-Rich 2006). The Apollo complex featured a remarkable combination of styles in the use of materials, colours, architectures, statuary, artistry and imagery in a Hellenistic fashion, outclassing previous similar building enterprises by the Latin elites, such as the Sullan sanctuary of Jupiter Anxur at Terracina, the theatre of Pompey in the Campus Martius and the Forum of Caesar. Such complexes echoed the

great multipurpose Hellenistic sanctuaries, for example that at Pergamum, subtly connecting to the magnificence of Hellenistic dynasts. The Palatine's buildings, with the temple attached to the house of Octavian, endorsed a deeper bond between the ruler and the cult of Apollo as god of victory and promoter of letters, confounding in fact the two figures (Zanker 1983, Galinski 1996, Vermule 1977 p. 50, Welch 2005 pp. 82-83): the building programme played a key role in fashioning Augustus' public image of liberator from the oriental threat of Antony and Cleopatra, combining that of patron of the arts, in the same way Apollo was at the same time a martial and poetic god. The influence of Greek art on the temple complex was especially evident in the statuary workart and motifs. For the first time in the Roman tradition the cult statues of a temple were Greek sculptures transferred from their original site, in sign of both military supremacy and cultural emulation of the Hellenistic world (Dufallo 2013 pp. 110-116 and Zanker 1988 pp. 240-43). Rome's power was boasted also by the employment of foreign resources: Egyptian basalt (statues of the Danaids and their bridegrooms, and Danaus – also Egyptian figures), Chian portasanta and Numidian giallatico marbles (columns), Libyan ivory (doors), Greek marble (statues). In the centre of the portico stood an altar with a statue of Apollo holding a lyre (probably sculpted by Skopas: Plin. *NH* 36.25 *is* [scil. *Scopa*] *fecit* ... *item Apollinem Palatinum*; cf. Cecamore 2004; otherwise Zanker 1983 p. 31, who identifies this statue with the image of Apollo Actius on contemporary coins, i.e. not by Skopas) and four lifelike heifers by V century BC Greek sculptor Myron, famous for his animal representations (Prop. 2.31.5-8 *statque deus* ... | *marmoreus* ... | *atque aram circum steterant armenta Myronis* | *quattuor artificis, uiuida*

*signa, boues*). The roof was decorated with the chariot of the Sun (Prop. 2.31.11 *solis erat supra Fastigia currus*), while statues by Bupalus and Athenis of the VI century BC rose on its top (Plin. NH 36.9-13 *Romae eorum signa sunt in Palatina aede Apollinis in Fastigio et omnibus fere, quae fecit divus Augustus*); sculptures of Germanicus and Drusus were likely to have also adorned the sanctuary (*Tabula Hebana, inter imagines uirorum inlustris ingenii Germani Caesaris et Drusi Germanici patris eius naturalis*). Ivory carvings on the door posts featured reliefs of Apollo's deeds of righteous avenger: the victory over the Gauls that had tried to sack his temple in Delphi (Prop. 2.31.13 *altera deiectos Parnasi uertice Gallos*), and the killing, together with his sister Diana, of the children of Niobe who had boasted superiority to their mother Lato (Prop. 2.31.14 *altera maerebat funera Tantalidos*). Inside the temple was a group of three cult statues of Apollo *citharoedus*, with a Diana by Timotheus (Plin. NH 36.32 *Timothei manu Diana est in Palatio Apollinis delubro*) and a Lato by Cephisodotus on each side (Plin. NH 36.24 *Romae eius [scil. Cephisodoti] opera sunt Latona in Palatii delubro*). Although nothing remains of the original internal statuary, the B side of the Sorrento base truthfully represents the cult group of the temple on the Palatine (Cecamore 2004). The temple was made of luna marble of Carrara, thus the epithet *candida* (elsewhere *clarus, niueus, candens*: cf. Prop. 2.31.9 *tum medium claro surgebat marmre templum*, Verg. *Aen.* 8.720 *sedens niueo candentis limine Phoebi* and Seru. *ad loc.*, Ov. *Fast.* 1.637 *niueo ... templo*, 1.70 *candida templa* (describing the temple of Janus). On the position of the statues of the Palatine temple see Last 1953. On the excavations and reconstruction of the elevation of the temple of Apollo see Lugli 1965 pp. 258-90, Carettoni 1966-

67 and 1978, Zanker 1983, Tomei 2000 Quenemoen 2006, and Bowditch 2009.

## 60

### intonsi ... dei

Apollo's traditional iconography featured a long-haired goodlooking young man (in Greek poetry see e.g. Apoll..2.705-19, Callim. *iamb.* 12.69 and *Apoll.* 36-40). This imagery of Apollo as a sign of perennial youth is extensive also in Latin literature, e.g. Ov. *Met.* 1.564 *meum intonsis caput est iuuenale capillis*, Tib. 1.4.37-38 *solis aeterna est Baccho Phoeboque iuuenta: | nam decet intonsus crinis utrumque deum* and Prop. 3.13.52 *dum petit intonsi Pythia regna dei*, with *intonsus/-i ... deum/-i* in Tibullus and Propertius in the exact same metrical position as in *Trist.* 3.1. Long-haired or -bearded divinities were also Bacchus (Sen. *Phaedr.* 754 *Liber ... intonsa iuuenis perpetuum coma*), Aesculapius (Priap. 36.8 *intonsa semper Aesculapio barba est*), and Hymenaeus (Claud. *carm. min.* 25.83 *dubiam lanuginis umbram caesaries intonsa tegit*). In connection to long-haired divinities is the traditional hair offering made in rituals of passage or mourning, or as a token of devotion to gods or rivers (cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 23.240-49, Aesch. *Cho.* 6, and Leitao 2003). Besides the divine feature of youth and sacrifice, a further use of *intonsus* denotes the disheveled hair and beards of foreign people as a reflection of *incuria* and rufeness opposite to the Roman *cultus* and composure (e.g. Tib. 1.7.16 *frigidus intonsos Taurus alat Cilicas* and Liv. 21.32.7 *Alpium homines intonsi et inculti*). Quintilian uses *intonsus* to relate to a bad oratory style (12.10.47 *do tempori, ne hirta toga sit, non ut serica, ne intonsum caput, non ut in gradus atque anulos comptum*). In the exile poetry *intonsus* denotes the barbarians living around Tomis, as having long and shaggy hair and beards,

almost identifying the land of exile with the land of the unkempt-haired people (*Trist.* 5.7.18 *non coma, non ulla barba resecta manu*, 5.10.32 *longa pectora tecta coma*, *Pont.* 4.2.2 *intonsis ... Getis* and 1.5.74 *hirsutos ... Getas*). And as a product of that barbarian land, also the booklet is unkempt (ll. 9-18), bringing together the shabbiness of its looks and the unpolished style of its poetry, clashing with the god of poetry *intonsus* Apollo. Thus *intonsus* has two meanings, each of which can be regarded as twofold: a literal one – as indication of a) Apollo’s perennial youth, and b) the unkempt hair and beards of barbarian peoples – and a figurative/poetical one – as a) the polished sublime poetry inspired by the *intonsus* Apollo stored in the libraries, and b) the unrefined style of the exilic *libellus*, written in a land of *intonsi* and rejected from the library. In a typical Ovidian fashion of reuse and reconversion of traditional poetical vocabulary (especially erotic) into an exilic perspective, the epithet *intonsus* cannot but evoke by contrast the booklet’s non-Apollinic inspiration in its shabby condition. On the exilic adaptation of conventional poetical imagery see for example the substitution of *Amor pheretratus* with *Getes pheretratus* in Nagle 1980 pp. 55-61. On the identification of the Getae’s character with the environment of Tomis see Williams 1994 pp. 16-23 and more in general Johnson 1960. For an excursion of the epithets describing the Getae throughout the exilic poetry see Gaertner 2005 on *Pont.* 1.2.76.

## 61

### **signa ... sunt alterna**

the statues of the fifty Danaids and their father Danaus decorated the second story of the portico embracing the temple, alternating with marble columns of Chian portasanta and Numidian giallantino (i.e. *peregrinis*, ‘coming from

abroad'; cf. *ars* 1.70 *externo marmore* and *pro.* 2.31.3 *Poenis ... columnis*), with Ionicised Doric capitals, according to the Augustan taste for hybrid architecture (Gros 1976 pp. 200-07). Tomei identified the statues of the Danaids with four 1.2 m herms of *nero antico* and *rosso antico* found by Rosa in 1869 in the nearby of the temple (1990 pp. 35-48), with a ratio of 1:4 between herm and column. The statues reflected the traditional iconography of the Danaids in vase painting in Italy (Keuls 1986), as mixed Archaic and early-Classical style figures with one hand holding the peplos and the other lifted over the head to carry a container, with slight differences between them (see commentary to following line for myth; see Zanker 1988 pp. 243-52 and Dufallo 2013 p. 112 on the Archaic-early Classical style of Roman statuary in Augustan times). The statues served also as supports for the parapet of the second story. Although there is no evidence whatsoever of the exact position of the statuary, the detailed carving suggests a frontal view (Quenemoen 2006 pp. 241-243). The refined architecture of the precinct with the alternating statues and columns surrounding the temple resembles the parallel structure of the line itself featuring a double hyperbaton rich in 's', 'gr', and 'r' sounds, reiterating the hyperbaton at the previous line: A *signa*, B *peregrinis* and A<sub>1</sub> *alterna*, B<sub>1</sub> *columnis* separated by *ubi sunt* in the middle of the line. The portico is simply mentioned by metonymy as '(the place) where the statues of the Belides are' (*ubi sunt*). In fashionable Roman life, the portico at the temple of Apollo was one of the perfect spots for love encounters, as we read in *ars* 1.67ff., where Ovid provides a catalogue (67-262) of the places where to meet a girl, starting with the porticos: the portico of Pompey (67-68), the theatre of Marcellus and the adjacent portico of Octavia (69-70), the portico of Livia

(71-72), and the portico at the temple of Apollo (73-74 *quaque parare necem miseris patruelibus ausae* | *Belides et stricto stat ferus ense pater*). The portico is also mentioned in *Am.* 2.2.3 *illa, quae Danaei porticus agmen habet* as a place for libertine dating (cf. Catull. 55.6, Prop. 2.32.11, 4.8.75, Ov. *ars* 3.387 and Mart. 11.47.3 on meeting in the porticus of Pompey). A dubious scholion to Persius 2.56 by Helenius Acron (~III century AD) says that other fifty statues of the Danaid's cousin-bridegrooms on horseback stood in the courtyard waiting to be killed (Lefèvre 1989 p. 13), hyperbolising the already impressive magnificence of the architectural complex.

## 62

**Belides ... pater:** the granddaughters of Belus father of Danaus (hence usually called Danaids), and their father Danaus. Originally from Egypt, Danaus had fifty daughters pledged to their fifty cousins, sons of Danaus' twin brother Aegyptos. After a fight with his brother, Danaus left Egypt with his daughters to reach Argos (where their ancestor Io came from), breaking the wedding promises. The cousins pursued them to force marriage on them. Instigated by Danaus to agree on marrying the cousins and kill them on their wedding night, all Danaids succeeded in the plan except Hypermestra who refused to kill her bridesgroom Lynceus (Ov. *Her.* 14.1-2 *mittit Hypermestra de tot modo fratribus uni* | *cetera nuptarum crimine turba iacet*). Lynceus vindicated the murder of his brothers by killing the forty-nine impious cousins: as a punishment for their bloodguilt, the Danaids were condemned to prepare their wedding bath by incessantly pouring water into a bottom-perforated tub, or through jars with a hole in them. There are several interpretations of the statuary of the Danaids and their father in the precinct of the temple of

Apollo within the broader meaning of the architectural complex. Bowditch 2009 (p. 75 on Prop. 2.31.4) and Welch 2005 (p. 86) state that the violent Egyptian women may have represented Cleopatra, evoking Octavian's punitive victory at Actium. According to another interpretation that supports the presence of the statues of the cousins on horseback in the courtyard sees the Danaids' murders as an allegory of the Roman's legitimate defeat of the Egyptians (Lefèvre 1989 p. 24 and Spence 1991 p. 14), although it is difficult in Augustan times to detach the Danaids from their family bloodshed (Fowler 1991 p. 30). A third interpretation is that the statues picturing the Danaids while carrying out their ever-lasting punishment may have aimed at making the public loathe fratricidal conflicts, like criminal offences to the institution of matrimony in particular and the civil wars in general (Pianezzola 1991 on *ars* 1.74, Zanker 1983 p. 30 and Kellum 1986). As the statues found by Rosa were in the position of carrying a load as though they were in the process of implementing their punishment, the interpretation of the Danaids as both warning against execrating crimes and legitimate punishment on the Egyptian enemies of Rome is more plausible. Even more so if we consider that the whole Palatine architectural programme featuring a combination of Roman and foreign styles and materials had the purpose of showing the domain of Rome on the rest of the world, symbolised here by the crowd of the Danaids. The barbarian identity of the Danaids may not only have served as the counterpart reflection of the Roman civilised supremacy. In the Greek world, the myth of the foreign Danaids polemicised the autochthony of the Athenians (in the early epic *Danaïs* PEG fr. 2, Isocr. 10.68, Plat. *Menex.* 245 D), although they vaunted Argivian ancestry through Io, Belus' great-

grandmother (Aesch. *Suppl.* 291-325): the Danaids, then, also symbolised the spreading of the cultural, linguistic and ethnic intersection between peoples, undermining the very concept of autochthony. The myth of the Danaids is told in the trilogy by Aeschylus that included the *Suppliants* as the first play, and the lost plays *The Egyptians* and *The Daughters of Danaus*, followed by the satyr play *Amymone*, performed after 470 BC. The trilogy's only extant play tells the story of the Danaids landing on the shores of Argos after fleeing Egypt and pleading before king Pelasgus to be admitted into the city both as Greek descendants and suppliants seeking asylum. Aeschylus problematises the intersection between Greekness and barbarity, showing how the issues of cultural difference and 'otherness' of exiles undercut the standard perception of enthal identity (Mitchell 2006, Papadopoulou 2011). As the themes of exile and supplication run like a connecting thread throughout the *Suppliants*, Ovid may have called upon Aeschylus' representation of the Danaids to fashion the character of the *libellus* arriving in Rome from a barbarian land, borne to a Roman father and seeking *hospitium*, giving a further, personal meaning to the portico's statuary in *Trist.* 3.1. Just like the Danaids before the king of their ancestor's hometown, the booklet is pleading before Augustus to be admitted into the public libraries after having asked a private reader for *hospitium* in its father's hometown (cf. Miller 2002 pp. 137-38). For an *excursus* on the moral and political implications of asylum as a means of mitigating the exile's punishment in Classical authors see Gorman 1994.

Line 62 is almost identical to the pentameter at *ars* 1.74 *Belides et stricto stat ferus ense pater* but for the phrase *stat ferus*. Miller 2002 compares *Trist.* 3.1.61-62 with two other descriptions of the portico of the Danaids – Prop. 2.31.3-4

and *ars* 1.73-74 – stating that *Trist.* 3.1 imitates and re-elaborates the previous poetical material with an exilic distortion, giving it a more indefinite sense of otherness and isolation (p. 137). Propertius' *Poenis* (scil. *columnis*) is substituted with the more general *peregrinis* that recalls the booklet's status of stranger, and Ovid's previous *stat ferus* is changed into *barbarus*, reflecting the perilous condition of the exile at the borders of the empire. The patronymic *Belides* was coined by Ovid for metrical reasons against Danaids (carrying three short syllables) and first used in *Met.* 4.463 (then in *ars* 1.74, *ibis* 177 and 356, and *Juv.* 2.6.655): the Danaids were referred to by other poets with a periphrasis such as *Danai puellas* (Hor. *carm.* 3.11.23), *Danai femina turba senis* (Prop. 2.31.4) or *Danai proles* (Tib. 1.3.79) (Anderson 1997 *ad loc.*) to avoid the problematic metrical sequence. Danaus is called *barbarus pater* wielding a sword so as to incite his daughters to violence. In the exilic context of *Trist.* 3.1, however, where both *barbarus* and *pater* are undeniable key words – the former relating to the people, place and language of exile (cf. l. 18 and 3.3.46 *barbara terra*, 1.11.31 *barbara pars laeva est*, 3.9.2 *inter inhumanae nomina barbariae*, 5.2.67 *barbara lingua*), and the latter to Ovid's role as a poetical producer (cf. ll. 23 and 57 *nostro ... parenti*) – they convey a deeper meaning. Even the phrase *stricto ... ense* has a barbarian echo, when Ovid describes his dangerous life in Tomis where the Getes might even kill him in *Pont.* 1.2.106. Since Ovid turns into a barbarian himself, as he is unable to speak fluent Latin (e.g. *Trist.* 5.10.37 *barbarus hic ego sum, qui non intellegor ulli*, 5.7.56 *Sarmatico cogor plurima more loqui*), composing unrefined poetry containing foreign words (e.g. 3.1.17-18 *siqua uidebuntur casu non dicta Latine, | in qua scribebar, barbara terra fuit* 5.7.55-60 *in hoc non pauca libello | barbara: non hominis culpa, sed ista loci*), writing Getic

poems (e.g. *Trist.* 3.14.48 *uideor Geticis scribuere posse modis* and 4.13.18-20 ... *carmina, quae faciam paene poeta Getes. | a! pudet, et Getico scripsi sermone libellum, | structaque sunt nostris barbara uerba modis*), and learning how to handle arms to defend himself (*Trist.* 4.1.73-74 *nunc senior gladioque latus scutoque sinistram, | canitiem galeae subicioque meam* and 76 *induimus trepida protinus arma manu*), he becomes the *barbarus pater*, father to the stranger non-Latin-polished booklet that creeps back into the long-fled city to seek favour for admission, by virtue of its ancestry. The metaphor of the Danaids as Ovid's ill-fortuned poetical works goes on as we see in Danaus Ovid the father who «has harmed his children and caused their punishment, albeit unwittingly» (Newlands 1997 p. 69), for he has damaged his books with his *ingenium* (*Trist.* 1.1.56 *ingenio sic fuga parta meo*). The connection between the myth of Danaus and the Danaids symbolising Ovid and his books can be taken onto a further level of poetical innuendo. The only other passages in Ovid where the portico is mentioned are the *Amores* (2.2.3) and the *ars amatoria* (1.73-74 and 3.387) as among the most suitable places in Rome for flirting with licentious girls. The mentioning of the portico here cannot but link to the immoral behaviour it hosted thus recalling precisely that poetry – the *ars amatoria* – that caused Ovid's misfortune. The word *pater* refers also to another father present in this elegy, i.e. Augustus who received the title of *pater patriae* in 2 BC (cf. l. 49 *pater optime*) for having saved the Roman people from destruction. Yet, as Newlands 1997 points out, the figure of the *princeps* degenerates against that of Danaus *pater* brandishing his sword, becoming an «ominous sign of the intractability of ... Augustus, who should, but does not, guarantee the ultimate welfare of his 'children'» (p. 70)

## 63-64

**quaeque uiri ~ inspicienda patent**

The portico was home to a Latin and Greek library, where the people could read works by ancient and contemporary authors. Augustus used to summon the Senate there in his older age and examine the college of the judges: Suet. *Aug. 29 addidit porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque, quo loco iam senior saepe etiam senatum habuit decuriasque iudicum recognovit.* The library, always referred to as singular *bibliotheca*, was likely to have consisted of a single large building divided into two departments, the Greek and the Latin ones (Platner 1911 p. 146, Richmond 1914 and Lugli 1962 pp. 109-13), decorated with clipeate portraits of the major authors to «establish a kind of continuity of culture» (Dix-Houston 2006 pp. 710-12), to better suit large meetings, e.g. the convention of the Senate. On Augustus convening the Senate on the Palatine for a special effect see Thompson 1981. Imperial libraries continued the use of late Republican private libraries, made up by private collectors who had gathered books «through individual and block purchases, by having slaves copy select texts, and through gift or bequest» (Dix-Houston 2006 p. 672), stored them in more than one place among their private houses, and lent them to friends or visiting scholars. In the imperial era, the books of the *princeps* were not kept in his private estates, but in halls or porticoes attached to public buildings, so that they were accessible (*patent*) to any Roman. The concept of ‘public library’, however, i.e. to what extent and to what people books were accessible for reading and borrowing, is still unclear. Since Caesar’s project entrusted to Varro of the foundation of a massive library similar to the ones in the Hellenistic world, especially in Alexandria, had been

suspended by his killing (Suet. *Iul.* 44.2 *bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque quas maximas posset publicare, data Marco Varroni cura comparandarum ac digerendarum*), Augustus made his books accessible by storing them in the libraries at the temple of Palatine Apollo and at the portico of Octavia, including the one at the *Atrium Libertatis* founded by Asinius Pollio in the late years of the Republic. Starting from the imperial age, public libraries were not intended to make books available to as many people as possible: libraries were in fact concentrated in the centre of Rome and not spread so as to serve the majority of the public. Books circulated also through private channels. As Galenus (II-III century AD) reports, books were likely to be found in both libraries and stocks of booksellers and private collections of acquaintances «with apparently equal hope of success» (Dix-Houston 2006 p. 710). The presence of a book in the libraries sponsored by the emperor meant official acknowledgement rather than actual circulation. On the accessibility of the library books to the public see Nicholls 2013.

In the text of *Trist.* 3.1 the library is not mentioned directly, but alluded to through a tangled periphrasis that focuses on the works (*quaeque*) stored inside: the books become the ‘things borne in the learned hearts of poets old and new’. The hyperbata and enjambements *docto | pectore* and *quaeque | inspicienda*, coupled with hexameter ending in *–que* contribute to maintaining the epic style of the whole passage (ll. 59-64; cf. l. 25 *terraque marique*). The lines are rich in ‘q’, ‘u’, ‘r’, and ‘p’ sounds that match the poetical seriousness of the theme with a marked rhythmical pattern.

**docto ... pectore:** ‘learned hearts’, in the sense of ‘mind of the learned authors’, with hypallage. The meaning of *pectus* shifts from ‘part of the body

between neck and stomach' to 'the place where the voice and the laughter originate' and eventually to *sedes animi et affectuum* (*TbLL* X,1 914.5), with the specific denotation of *ingenium*, especially accompanied by the epithet *doctus* typically referred to poets (e.g. *Lucr.* 5.1 *pollenti pectore carmen condere*, *Prop.* 4.1.59 *nunc mihi ... uellem, Maeonide, pectus inesse tuom*, *Ov. Trist.* 3.7.43-44 *nil non mortale tenemus, | pectoris exceptis ingenique bonis*, *Met.* 15.64 *Platonis ... eruditissimum pectus*, *Am.* 3.9.62 *docte Catullus*, *Trist.* 1.5.57 *docti ... poetae*, 2.13 *doctas ... sorores*).

### 63

**uiri ... ueteres ... nouique:** the ancient and modern poets, among whom Ovid wished to be acknowledged (*Trist.* 2.119-20 *turbaque doctorum Nasonem nouit et audet | non Fastiditis adnumerare uiris*, 5.3.57 *consortes studii, pia turba, poetae*). Ovid valued the poetical production of the authors of his time as much as those of earlier times, as we read in *Trist.* 5.3.55-56 *ueterum digne ueneror cum scripta uirorum, | proxima non illis esse minora reor*. Ovid, as a 'member' of the crowd of the classical poets whose works were to be stored in the Palatine library, is here alluding to his former popularity as a writer and his faded hopes to win it back (cf l. 67 *quaerentem frustra*).

**peperere:** shortened form of perfect indicative *pepererunt* 'have generated' proposed by Hall, in place of *cepere* (i.e. *ceperunt*, 'have conceived') reported in the manuscripts and maintained by Owen, André and Luck by virtue of *Pont.* 2.7.16 *pectore concipio nil nisi triste meo*. Clearly connected to childbirth on the one hand (*Afran. comm.* 298 *pater me genuit, peperit mater*), and to the notion of *inuentio* on the other (cf. *de orat.* 2.120 *quae tota ab oratore pariuntur*), the verb *pario* gives a deeper insight into the relationship of Ovid with his books, by

presenting the poet composing verses as a mother giving birth to his child. The poet is not only father to his books, as seen previously in the elegy and elsewhere in the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* (see commentary on ll. 5, 14, 23, 57 above and 66 below), but also mother. For this reason, within this extended metaphor, *pario* is more suitable reading than *cipio*.

**lecturis inspicienda patent:** this involved phrase containing dative future participle *lecturis* with gerundive *inpicienda* states the purpose of the Palatine library as a public place where books are always available to anyone who wishes to read them. The indicative *patent* conveys a sense of unchanged condition, whereas *lecturis* bears the idea of the poets' fortune in the years to come. *Inspicio* is technical verb for thorough reading and examination as at l. 9. See commentary on ll. 9-10 above. On the accessibility of library books to the reader see Nicholls 2013.

### 65-68

**quaerebam fratres ~ abire loco:** the booklet is looking for his sibling-books inside the library except the three volumes of the *ars amatoria*, which has already been banned for obvious reasons. As soon as the booklet realises that none of Ovid's books is kept in the library, the custodian forces it to leave at once.

Both couplets have a parallel structure: *quaerebam fratres* (l. 65) and *quaerentem frustra* (l. 67) open each hexameter with identical metrics, ending in *scilicet illis* and *sedibus illis*, respectively, whereas two relative clauses starting with the relative pronoun *quos* (l. 66) and the participle *praepositus* (l. 68) occupy both pentameters.

### 65

**fratres:** in the whole Latin literature, *frater* appears only in Ovid's *Tristia* with the particular meaning of 'books composed by the same author' (cf. Aristoph. *cl.* 536 τὰδελφοῦ and see commentary to l. 5 above). Within the metaphor of the poet fathering his poetical works, *fratres* is found also in *Trist.* 3.1's counter-elegy – *Trist.* 1.1 – when Ovid gives his book instructions on where it should find Ovid's previous works kept in his house in Rome (*Trist.* 1.1.107 *aspicies illic positos ex ordine fratres*)

**exceptis ... illis:** the ablative absolute with *exceptis* is used in Latin verse only in Ovid's exilic poetry, with the sole reference to the *ars amatoria* as Ovid's only source of poetical ruin (*Trist.* 3.14.5-6 *condicis exceptis ecquid mea carmina solis | artibus, artifici quae nocuere suo?*, *Pont.* 1.2.134 *exceptis domino qui nocuere suo*, 2.2.104 *artibus exceptis*). It is widely present, however, in oratorical, didactic and encyclopedic prose (e.g. Cic. *orat.* 26 *quibus exceptis*, Quint. 10.1.9 *exceptis de quibus dixi*, Plin. *NH* 17.1 *exceptis sex arboribus*).

## 66

**quos suus ... genuisse pater:** this line expresses the contrasting feeling of love and hatred of a father for his offspring that caused his misfortune (cf. eg. *Trist.* 2.2 *ingenio perii ... miser ipse meo*, 1.1.114 *Oedipodas facito Telegonosque uoces*). *Suus* in place of *eorum* for metrical reasons. *Optaret* is subjunctive imperfect in a relative clause of characteristic, 'whose father would wish...' (but actually does not) that highlights even more Ovid's inner conflict.

## 67

**quaerentem frustra ... me:** this common collocation (Ov. *Fast.* 1.313, Hor. 2.7.114-15, Sil. 3.309, Pub. *sent.* N.42) is dramatised even more through the polyptoton between *quaerebam* and *quaerentem*, and the consonance between

*fratres* and *frustra*. The booklet's frantic search for its brothers is accentuated by the repetition of the same sounds 'qu', 'r', 'fr', 'tr', anticipating the unfortunate outcome. Hall maintains Heinsius' emendation *me* (also in Luck): *sedibus illis* is governed by *praepositus* at l. 68.

**custos:** the librarian was first identified by Merkel 1837 with C. Julius Hyginus, a learned man with an interest in aetiology, a close friend of Ovid (Suet. *Gram.* 20 *familiarissimus*) and freedman of Augustus, addressee of the last elegy of the third book of the *Tristia*. See van de Woestyne 1929, Luck 1977 p. 227, Evans 1983 p. 68.

## 68

**sancto iussit abire loco:** it is unclear whether or not all or a part of Ovid's works were banned from public libraries, the Palatine library in particular. Luck 1977 (on *Trist.* 3.1.67ff. and in the introduction to *Trist.* 3.14 p. 227) notes that there was no explicit command from the *princeps* after the edict regarding the storage of his books and that it was the decision of the head of each single library. Although Ovid makes it clear in these lines that none of his books was found in libraries, not even those which the booklet expected to find – that is the pre-exilic poetry except the *Ars amatoria* – Luck believes that Ovid's earlier books were in fact stored in the Palatine library and available for everyone to read, including the unfinished *Metamorphoses*. He argues that Ovid's concern about the banishment of his books is fictitious, perfectly matching the fiction of the elegy, and that Ovid might as well not have been interested in the exilic poems' storage in public libraries at all, as he exploits private readership as an alternate channel for the circulation of his poetry. The fate of Ovid's books as presented in the *Tristia* is not set out as

definite from the beginning, but it evolves as the perception of the chances of return fades. Ovid's belief that his books can reach Rome and freely circulate, as they have been spared their author's sentence (cf. *Trist.* 1.1.1-2 *liber, ibis ...* | *... quo domino non licet ire tuo*) is questioned as soon as the booklet gets to Rome and must find shelter in a friend's house. Ovid exaggerates his condition of exile by reflecting his banished status on all of his books, even those which were *digni sancto loco* and contained *castos uersos* (*Pont.* 1.1.8). On the books sharing their author's fate of exile see e.g. ll. 73-74 below and *Pont.* 1.1.5-6 *publica non audent intra monimenta uenire, | ne suus hoc illis clausurit auctor iter*. The adjective *sanctus* denotes divine protection and may refer to poets and ancient poems (Enn. *Inc.* 19 *sancti poetae*, Hor. *ep.* 2.1.54 *adeo sanctum est uetus omne poema*) or people devoted to literary studies (like the addressee of *Trist.* 3.14.1 *cultor et antistes doctorum sancte uirorum* – perhaps the *custos* of l. 67?); it is also used to indicate purity of morality and style (*OLD* s.v.), which totally fails to apply to Ovid's *ars amatoria* undercutting the whole of his later production (cf. *Pont.* 1.1.9-10 *a! quotiens dixi 'certe nihil turpe docetis: | ite, patent castis uersibus ille locus!'*). Many libraries in Rome, including the one on the Palatine, were regarded as 'sacred' and presented with the imagery of scared places: they in fact connected to the first public library at the *Atrium Libertatis*, which stored the first Republican archives under divine protection, which was later taken over by the *princeps* himself (Neudecker 2013). The phrase *iussit abire* recurs in *Trist.* 5.12.10 *solus in extremos iussus abire Getas*, when Ovid recalls the verdict of exile: the book banished from the library by the *custos* corresponds to Ovid banished from Rome by the *princeps*. The verb *iubeo* and its past participle *iussus* frequently appear in the exile poetry in reference to Augustus' edict,

making it a key word in the exile vocabulary: *Trist.* 1.2.95 *et iubet et merui*, 1.3.85 *te iubet e patria discedere Caesaris ira*, *Pont.* 2.10.50 *inque Getas media iussus ab Vrbe uenis*, and *Trist.* 3.8.22 *ex his me iubeat quolibet ire locis* and *Pont.* 3.1.4 *in minus hostili iussus abesse loco* on the change of place of exile. *Iussit* (or *iussus*) *abire* is a common phrase in Latin poetry: e.g. *Plaut. Men.* 1058, *Hor. epod.* 11.20, *Mart.* 1.21.4.

## 69-72

### **altera templa ~ sua est**

The booklet walks down the Palatine hill and seeks admission in the library at the temples in the portico of Octavia near the theatre of Marcellus and at the *Atrium Libertatis*, with no success. The portico of Octavia was built in the *Campus Martius* between 33 and 23 BC replacing the portico of Metellus. According to historiographical sources, the portico was ordered either by Augustus and dedicated it to his sister Octavia (*Suet. Aug.* 29.4 *quaedam etiam opera sub nomine alieno, nepotum scilicet et uxoris sororisque fecit ... item porticus ... Octaviae theatrumque Marcelli* and *Cass. Dio* 49.43.8 τὰς ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων τὰς Ὀκταουιανὰς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ κληθείσας κατεσκεύασεν), or directly commissioned by Octavia (*Festus* 188L) in memory of her son Marcellus (*Plut. Marc.* 30.6 εἰς δὲ τιμὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ μνήμην Ὀκταβία μὲν ἡ μήτηρ τὴν βιβλιοθήκην ἀνέθηκε, Καῖσαρ δὲ θέατρον ἐπιγράψας Μαρκέλλου). It was destroyed by a fire in 80 AD and restored by Domitian. The portico included two temples (one of Jupiter Stator and one of Juno Regina), and a library, also called *schola* and *curia* (*Plin. NH* 36.28-29), serving both purposes of place for study and scholarly discussion, and for political meetings, just like the Palatine library (see commentary on ll. 63-64 above). The library had a

Greek and Latin section too, and it was probably endowed with the books and art works that Octavia had inherited from his husband Antony. Like the other two public libraries in Rome, the library at the portico of Octavia «was under the control of the emperor and users made no distinction between them» (Dix-Houston 2006 p. 687). For an archaeological discussion of the buildings in the area see Platner-Ashby 1929 p. 426, Zanker 1988 pp. 143-46, Dix-Houston 2006 and Gorrie 2007.

## 69

### **altera templa ~ iuncta theatro**

This line is rich in 'lt', 't', 'tr', 'pl', 'ct' sounds which convey a 'trottering' rhythm imitating the lame pace of booklet urging to reach the other libraries. The line is divided into two sections: the first recounts the movement of the booklet, the second provides information on the place where it goes by means of an apposition. The portico of Octavia was large enough to hold two temples (thus *templa*). In the plural, *altera templa* is intended as 'other temples after the one of Apollo on the Palatine', i.e. the second place the booklet will seek admission to. The phrase *templa peto* is found also in Verg. *Aen.* 1.519 *templum ... petebant*. The diction in the second half of the hexameter resembles the proximity of the temples to the theatre through the anastrophe of *uicino* and *iuncta*. Although *iunctus* literally means 'physically joint', apparently in contrast with *uicino*, it can also be synonym of *uicinus* (cf. *TbLL* VII,2 655 7-20), reinforcing the idea of vicinity.

## 70

### **haec quoque ~ adeunda meis**

The structure of the pentameter parallels the booklet's expectation to be admitted: the rhythm of the first hemistich runs fast as the book approaches the library (*haec*, 'here') – also thanks to the synalepha between *quoque* and *erant*, yet the negation *non* placed right after the *caesura* takes on the unpromising value of *quoque* confirming the unsuccess of its search. *Haec quoque* in the first position of the line mark the second attempt of the book to enter a public library. Curiously, while the first person is used at ll. 69 (*peto*) and 71 (*me*), the booklet shifts to the third person through another pun of the word *pes*, somehow detaching from its own content, imitating Ovid's fluctuating identification with and separation from his books (see p. 37 above). On *pes* as physical and metrical foot and the poetical reason for Ovid's book's rejection from the libraries see commentary on ll. 11-12 above and Miller 2002. The phrase (*pedibus*) *non adeunda (meis)* is almost exclusively Ovidian (eleven out of fifteen occurrences), and parallels *Trist.* 1.8.38 *urbe meo quae iam non adeunda pede est*, and is reminiscent of *Fast.* 6.412 *pede uelato non adeunda palus*. The gerundive conveys necessity and interdiction, and is *uariatio* of *iussit* in the previous couplet.

### 71-72

**nec me ... | ... tangere passa ... est**

The booklet resumes the first person to speak about itself: the personification of Liberty prevents the *liber* from entering its halls, ironically questioning the very meaning of *Libertas*. On the double entendre see Barchiesi 1993 p. 78: «*Libertas*, la divinità che ha la sua casa nella biblioteca, non ha permesso al nuovo libro di toccare il suo atrio ... il libro non è “libero” (un gioco di parole facile in latino), e forse anche *Libertas* non lo è più». On the

relationship between poets and power in the Augustan time see Zucchelli 1982. The contrast between *Trist.* 3.1 and *Trist.* 1.1 is clear, as the booklet cannot ‘touch’ the places its parent Ovid had wished it to (*Trist.* 1.1.16 *contingam certe quo licet illa pede*) The verb *tango* is often employed in contexts of prohibition: e.g. Ter. *Heau.* 541 *non licitum esse ... tangere*, Catull. 89.5 *fas tangere non est*, Verg. *Georg.* 4.358-59 *fas illi limina diuom | tangere*, Ov. *met.* 6.173 *non licuit ... tangere*.

### **quae doctis ~ prima libellis**

The relative clause recalls ll. 63-64, referring to the books stored in the Palatine library. Note the parallelism between *quae* (A) *doctis* (B) and *prima* (A<sub>1</sub>) *libellis* (B<sub>1</sub>), divided by *patuerunt* (on *pateo* see commentary on *Libertas* below). On *doctus* for poets and poetry see commentary on l. 63 above. *Prima* is predicative of *quae* (scil. *atria*). The library at the *Atrium Libertatis* was the first Roman public library (see commentary on *Libertas* below).

## **72**

### **Libertas**

The statue of the goddess *Libertas* in the hall, and by metonymy the library at the *Atrium Libertatis*, the first public Roman library founded by Asinius Pollio in the restored complex of the ancient *Atrium* (built in 212 BC) which originally stored public records (Plin. *NH* 35.10 [scil. *Asinius*] *primus bibliothecam rem publicam fecit* and Isid. *etym.* 65.2 *primum autem Romae bibliothecas publicauit Pollio*), perhaps after Caesar’s unaccomplished plan (Dix-Houston 2006 pp. 678-80 with references). Since *publicus* means ‘of or belonging to the Roman people’ and *publicare* ‘to make public property, to place at the disposal of the community’, it is synonym of *pateo* ‘to be open, to offer free access’

(*OLD* s.v.) at l. 74, like at l. 64. As Varro was the only living man of letters to have an *imago clipeata* in the library, its foundation dates back to between 36, the year of Pollio's triumphs over the Parthini, and 28 BC, the year when Varro died and the Palatine library was dedicated. Archaeologists generally believe that the library «stood on the northwest slope of the Arx at the top of the Clivus Argentarius, in an area later occupied by the Forum of Trajan and the rebuilding of the Forum of Julius Caesar» (Dix-Houston 2006 p. 676). The shape of the *Atrium Libertatis* recalled that of a Roman atrium house – thus the name – holding family portraits and records (Plin. *NH* 35.6). The *Atrium* had a peristyle courtyard for the display of the books and was decorated with statuary. The first collection was probably limited to Pollio's private books. Pollio was the first to have introduced the use of authors' portraits (Plin. *NH* 35.2.9-11) and formal literary *recitationes* in public libraries (Sen. *contr.* 4.2 *Pollio Asinius numquam admissa multitudine declamavit, nec illi ambitio in studiis defuit; primus enim omnium Romanorum advocatis hominibus scripta sua recitavit*). The library might have been included in the imperial library group of the Palatine library and the library at the portico of Octavia after Pollio's death. *Trist.* 3.1 may suggest that books were presented to libraries by the authors themselves, giving the library a rather mixed character, with no obligation of acceptance. A full treatment of the library at the *Atrium Libertatis* with extensive bibliographical references is given in Dix-Houston 2006.

**73-82**

Once entrance to the three public libraries in Rome has been denied, the booklet reflects on its father's fate of exile overflowing on his children and repeats the prayer to Augustus, this time with a less optimistic attitude: it intercedes with the *princeps* for a milder punishment, rather than a full recover. The prayer at ll. 74-78 features Augustus as the only god able to fulfil the booklet's wish. At the same time, the poetry and the poet are identified by virtue of their similar fate, through a continuous shift of the first person from singular to plural (74 *ferimus*, 75 *nobis*, 77 *mibi*, 78 *meo*, 79 *mibi*, 82 *nostra*).

After considering the circumstances of public interdiction, the booklet addresses the reader asking whether he is willing to pick it up and store it in his private library to secure its survival.

**73-74****in genus ~ ille, fugam**

The *sententia* that the sins of the fathers will continue to be visited on the children is taken from myth and frequently recurs in Greek tragedy (e.g. Oedipus, Iphigenia, Niobe). By virtue of the parent-children relationship between Ovid and his works depicted in the *Tristia*, all of his books share his exilic fate, being banished from the libraries controlled by Augustus (see introduction p. 29 and commentary on l. 8, 23 and 57 above). Ovid's banishment is caused by his books, and the books' banishment is the result of Ovid's, in an ineluctable vicious circle: *Trist.* 1.1.56 *ingenio sic fuga parta meo*.

**73****in genus auctoris miseri fortuna redundat**

The verb *redundo* literally means ‘to overflow’ relating to rivers with a notion of excess. In Ovid *redundo* is related to punishment, with a hint to the nautical imagery as a metaphor for his fate presented in the exilic poetry (see Ingleheart 2010 on *Trist.* 2.245): e.g. *trist.* 2.545 *sera redundauit ueteris uindicta libelli*, *fast.* 6.451 *si scelus est, in me commissi poena redendet*. The concept of overflowing is rendered also through diction: *in genus* and *redundo* occupy the extremities of the hexameter, conveying the idea of a massive wave hitting Ovid’s offspring, reinforced by the repeated sound ‘d’. The participation of Ovid’s works in his fate is given also in *Pont.* 1.1.5-6 *publica non audent intra monimenta uenire, | ne suus hoc illis clausurit auctor iter*. Even the appearance of the booklet is a reflection of its author’s fate, thus sharing his very misery: e.g. *trist.* 1.1.10 *fortunae memorem te decet esse meae* and commentary on ll. 9-18 above. On *miser* see commentary on l. 1 above.

74

#### **et ferimus nati ... fugam**

This is an explanation of the previous line, hence *et*, going from general to particular. Since the sentence of banishment has fallen on all of Ovid’s works, the booklet speaks in the first person plural as the spokesperson of its sibling-books (*nati*), contrasting Ovid’s request to a friend to store his books somewhere in Rome: *Trist.* 3.14.9-12 *est fuga dicta mihi, non est fuga dicta libellis, | qui domini poenam non meruere sui | saepe per externas profugus pater exulat oras, | urbe tamen natis exulis esse licet*. The shift from the first person singular to the first person plural (*ferimus*) marks the narrative change from the fictitious persona of the booklet walking through the centre of Rome to that of the booklet as the representative of all of Ovid’s poetry, in a collective sense. Up

to this point in the elegy, the use of the first person plural has been limited to ll. 23 *nostro ... parenti*, 53 *littera nostra*, 57 *nostro parenti* (ll. 23 and 57 with a collective meaning); the alternation between singular and plural increases in the last five couplets of the poem: ll. 75 *nobis* and 82 *nostra* alternating with 77 *mibi*, 78 *meo* and 79 *mibi*. For the interpretation of the books as Ovid's children, see commentary on ll. 5, 8, 23, 57 and p. 29 above. The word *fuga* is synonym of *exilium* (*TbLL* VI,1 1465 74 *discessus ex patria et privatio soli patrii*) and appears in Ovid's exile poetry for almost all of its occurrences with this meaning. I accept Hall's reading of *ferimus* in place of *patimur* (codd.): the presence of *ferimus* in the first hemistic as cognate of *tulit* in the second hemistic reiterates the idea of sharing the same destiny, given by the repetition of the same word. The phrase *fugam ferre* is attested in the exile poetry and elsewhere, unlike *fugam pati*: e.g. *Trist.* 4.10.102 *ipsa multa tuli non leuiora fuga* and *Cic. Att.* 7.2.8 *fugam non fero*. Also *quam ... fugam* stresses the correspondence of fate, implying *eamdem* ('the same as his'). The tense difference *ferimus* – *tulit* suggests that the punishment once inflicted on Ovid is the same as that inflicted on his works as a whole, as a consequence of the book's definite rejection from the libraries. The pentameter is rich in consonant sounds which help convey greater gravity to the *sententia*: 'f' (*ferimus* and *fugam*, echoed by *fortuna* of the previous line), 'm' (*ferimus*, *quam* and *fugam*), 't' (*nati* and *tulit*), 'p' (*tulit* and *ille*) sounds.

## 75-76

### **forsitan et ~ Caesar erit**

The booklet reiterates the prayer to Augustus that he may one day show mercy to Ovid and his books. These lines echo the booklet's previous prayer

to the *princeps* at ll. 57-58, that its father Ovid might see the house of Augustus one again. The time word *quandocumque* (l. 57) parallels *forsitan, olim* (l. 75), and *longo tempore, erit* (l. 76) with the same indefinite future connotation. The phrase *nostro parenti* (l. 57) couples *et nobis ... et illi* (l. 75); *placata ... domus* (ll. 57-58) is similar to *minus asper* (l. 75) and *euictus ... Caesar* (l. 76). Yet once the parallelism between the two appeals is set out by their position within the elegy – the first in front of the house of Augustus and before seeking admittance to the libraries, while the second after the book's ultimate public banishment – we read a decline in the booklet's optimistic attitude, backed by a sense of increasing indefiniteness. As the future is initially rendered by the already vague *quandocumque* alone, at ll. 75-76 the booklet stresses the uncertainty of the time in the future when the appeasement might be happening by a combination of words with similar meaning, such as *forsitan, olim*, the future tense *erit* and the phrase *longo tempore*. Similarly, the beneficiary of the original prayer (*nostro parenti*) changes into *et nobis ... et illi*, with the addition of Ovid's poetry, by a shift of the character of the booklet from intercessor to beneficiary, and the indefinite reference to Ovid through the determinant *illi*, which recalls *ille* of the previous line and eventually the more accurate *auctori miseri* at l. 74. Furthermore, the appeasement of the imperial house's wrath (*placata ... domus*) anticipates *euictus ... Caesar*, yet although the prayer originally interceded for Ovid's definite recall (l. 58 *isdem sub dominis aspiciare*), ll. 75-76 feature an appeal for a commutation of the sentence through the unclear *minus asper*. On Ovid's asking for a milder punishment with similar diction (*forsitan, olim, longo ... tempore uictus eris*) see *Trist.* 2.575-77 *non ut in Ausoniam redeam, nisi forsitan olim, | cum longo poenae tempore uictus eris, |*

*tutius exilium pauloque quietius oro*, 4.4.47-48 *forsitan hanc ipsam, uiuam modo, finiet* |  
 ... *fugam* and in general e.g. 2.185 *mitius exilium propiusque roganti*.

## 75

### **et nobis ... et illi**

Emphasis is conveyed to the joint participation of Ovid and his exilic poetry in the same fate by the repetition of the phrase *et* + dative in key metrical places, i.e. right before *caesura* at the end of the line.

## 76

### **asper**

The adjective *asper* is not frequent in the exile poetry, although with a highly exilic connotation: it occurs another time in the *Tristia* (4.1.72) to denote the hardship of the life in Tomis amongst the barabrian tribes, and three in the *Epistulae ex Ponto* to indicate the misery of the author's fate and the bareness of the land (3.6.14 *aspera fata*, 4.4.22 *asperitas huius iniqua loci*, 4.10.36 *qui fert asperiora fide*).

### **euictus ... Caesar**

Ovid's hope that Augustus might soften in *Trist.* 1 is dampned by the booklet's insuccess: *Trist.* 1.1.30 *lenito Caesare* and 93-94 *si cuncta uidebis* | *mitia, si uires fregerit ira suas*. The past participle *euictus* is substituted in the exile poetry by its cognate *uictus* with the same meaning: *trist.* 1.2.99 *uicta ... ira*, *Pont.* 1.7.48 *sua per uestras uicta sit ira preces*, 4.10.8 *duritia ... uicta*. On the persisting theme of Augustus' wrath in the exile poetry see Gaertner 2005 pp. 9-12 and McGowan 2009 pp. 191-96 for bibliographical reference. For *euictus* see e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 4.548 *tu lacrimis euicta meis*, Sen. *Med.* 491 *lacrimis meis euictus exilium dedit*

## 77-78

**di precor ~ diue, meo!**

The invocation is placed at the end of the prayer, with double vocative, each at the beginning of each line (*di precor ... | Caesar ... maxime diue*). Ovid is the first and only Augustan author to employ the address *di, precor* (e.g. *Her.* 1.101, 13.49, *Met.* 15.861), which is limited to Caesar alone with superlative epithet also in *Trist.* 2.27 *precor ... mitissime Caesar*. The invocation *maxime diue* is *hapax legomenon* and recalls *pater optime* at l. 49; *diue* occurs before Ovid only in Horace denoting Apollo (*Carm.* 4.6.1), and later in the age of Tiberius in Val. Max. 1.6.13 *diue Iuli*. The phrase *maxime Caesar*, featuring the vocative and a superlative adjective, appears only in Verg. *Georg.* 2.170. Prayers to the *princeps* as a deity were highly uncommon in the Augustan time, and even refused by the *princeps* himself. The exilic poetry provided a suitable context for the development of the poetical format of the emperor prayer which spread successfully soon after (see p. 58 for discussion and bibliographical reference). L. 77 features two sinalephas (*atque + adeo* and *neque + enim*) and one apheresis (*roganda + est*) to suit the booklet's apprehension.

## 77

**atque adeo**

*Adeo* is equivalent to Greek γἔ, literally 'and moreover, especially' with emphasising meaning; the phrase *atque adeo* is mainly used in comedy (twelve times in Plautus and six times in Terence) and prose, especially forensic speech (thirty-seven times in Cicero only), with a spoken-language tint. It is an Ovidian *hapax legomenon* with the aim of a more realistic and passionate vibe to the booklet's address.

### **neque enim mihi turba roganda est**

The booklet points out that Augustus only can answer its prayer, making him the most powerful (*maxime diue*) among the huge crowd (*turba*) of gods, with a hyperbolising purpose. The worth of a prayer to Augustus only is stated also at *Trist.* 3.8.13-14 *si semel optandum est, Augusti numen adora, | et, quem sensisti, rite precare deum*. The same concept expressed with similar diction, yet with respect to a friend, is found in *Pont.* 3.9.44 *unus amicorum, Brute, rogandus eras?* Cf. also *Trist.* 5.2b for an elegy-prayer to Augustus and 3.8.19-20 *forsitan hoc olim, cum iam satiauerit iram, | tum quoque sollicita mente rogandus erit* (with occurrence of the phrase *forsitan ... olim* recalling l. 75).

### **78**

#### **ades uoto ... meo**

The booklet's – and Ovid's – prayer: the possessive adjective *meo* suggests the identification between the poet and his poetry. The imperative *ades* (literally 'to be present', thus also 'to help, assist', *TbLL* II 923 20) is frequent in invocations to gods, although not accompanied by dative of purpose (e.g. *Fast.* 3.255 *tu uoto parturientis ades*). Following the Hellenistic representation of the ruler as θεός ἐπιφανής contrasting with more distant gods, Augustus is *deus praesens* also in *Trist.* 2.54 *per te praesentem conspicuumque deum* (cf. Ingleheart 2010 *ad loc.*).

### **79-80**

#### **interea, quoniam ~ delituisse loco**

The conclusion of the elegy takes on a more intimate character, given by *interea* at the beginning of l. 79, which marks the change of tone. The temporal adverb *interea* contrasts with the indefinite future reference of

*forsitan, olim, longo tempore, erit* at ll. 75-76 above. *Interea* is highly common in both Latin prose and poetry, recurring almost exclusively in the first or second foot of a dactylic verse, given its metric quantity (e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 3.284, 4.66, 5.1). It is found only five times in Ovid's exilic poetry out of a total of fifty-five occurrences in his whole corpus, mainly denoting the time spent in Tomis in contrast with the time passing in Rome or the moment of his much-longed-for recall: *Trist.* 3.5.23-24 *si tamen interea, quid in his ego perditus oris* | ... *quaeris, agam*, 3.8.21-22 *quod nimis interea est instar mihi muneris ampli*, | *ex his me inbeat quolibet ire locis*, 5.1.47 *interea, nostri quid, agant, nisi triste, libelli?* On the passage of time in Tomis see Claassen 1996 and Williams 2002.

### **statio ... publica**

Public places, i.e. the Augustan public libraries. On public access to libraries in Augustan time and availability of books see commentary on ll. 63-64 above. The oxymoron *statio ... publica clausa*, contrasting with *patuerunt prima ... atria* at ll. 71-72, is found also in *Pont.* 1.1.5-6 *publica non audent intra monimenta uenire*, | *ne suus hoc illis clauserit auctor iter* to highlight the contradiction between literary artistry and imperial control (see also commentary on ll. 71-72 above).

### **mihi**

The booklet and by metonymy Ovid.

### **80**

### **priuato liceat delituisse loco**

The impersonal optative subjunctive *liceat* (with dative *mibi*) is parallel to *si fas est* in the following line, both placed before main *caesura*, denoting concession following public interdiction (*TbLL* VII,2 1396 63 *notione permissionis datae*). In

the exile poetry *licet* is often used to indicate permission granted to the books to enter the city e.g. *Trist.* 1.1.2 *quo domino non licet ire tuo*, 16 *contingam certe quo licet illa pede*, 57 (= *Trist.* 5.4.3) *tu, cui licet, aspice Romam*, 3.1.4.12 *urbe tamen natis exulis esse licet*, *Pont.* 2.2.8 *Vrbe licet uestra uersibus esse meis*. Greater secrecy is conveyed to the book-roll's presence in Rome by the position of the words in the line: the phrase *priuato ... loco* – contrasting with *statio ... publica* in the previous line and *sancto ... loco* at l. 68 – encloses *liceat delituisse*, with the repetition of ‘t’ and ‘l’ sounds so as to verbally render the private retreat of Ovid’s poetry, which was anticipated by Ovid’s insisting on silence and discretion in *Trist.* 1.1 (21 *tacitus*, 64 *clam*, 87 *caue ... et timida circumspice mente*, 95 *te dubitantem e adire timentem*; for the correspondences between *Trist.* 1 and 3 see pp. 29ff.). The infinitive *delituisse* is uncommon in Latin literature and appears for the first time in Ovid (e.g. *ars* 2.240 *in parua delituisse casa*, yet in contrast with *Trist.* 2.116 *ingenio certe non latet illa [scil. nostra domus] meo*). The perfect tense is used for metrical reasons and parallels *intremuisse* at l. 56 (cf. Luck 1977 *ad loc.*). For *locus* as a place for the booklet to be stored for the future see *Pont.* 1.1.4 *quolibet abde loco*, 8-10 *patent castis uersibus ille locus! | non tamen accedunt, sed, ut aspicias ipse, latere | sub Lare priuato tutius esse putant* and for the booklet stored in Ovid’s private Roman house see *Trist.* 1.1.105-06 *cum tamen in nostrum fueris penetrare receptus, | contingerisque tuam, scrinia curua, domum*.

## 81-82

### uos quoque ~ nostra, manus

In the final couplet of the elegy the booklet calls upon the private readership to pick it up notwithstanding the humiliation of banishment. These have a highly entangled syntax featuring a number of hyperbata.

### **uos quoque ... | ... plebeiae ... manus**

The invocation *uos quoque* is very frequent in Ovid to address groups of people, especially friends in the *Tristia*, at the beginning of the hexameter (e.g. *Trist.* 3.4b.17 *uos quoque, consortes studii, pia turba, poetae* and 5.3.47 *uos quoque, consortes studii, pia turba, poetae*). The expression *plebeiae manus* ('hands of the people' in contrast with the admission in official libraries) recalls the vocatives *lector amice* (l. 2) and *lectores* (l. 19), especially for the presence of *da placidam ... manum* (l. 2), which anticipates *manus*, and *si non graue* (l. 19), which corresponds to *si fas est*. The final appeal of the booklet evokes once again the imagery of the request for *hospitium* (see commentary on l. 2 above and pp. 55ff.).

### **confusa pudore repulsae**

Ovid's poetry has been publicly disparaged and denied admission (*repulsae*) to libraries, recalling Ovid's banishment at l.l. 73-74. The phrase *confusa pudore* occurs four times in the entire Latin literature, starting from Ovid (*Her.* 21.111 *nomine coniugii dicto confusa pudore*), and relates to *neue reformida ne sim tibi forte pudori* at l. 3, linking to the request of help at the set out of the elegy (for the implications of *pudor* see commentary on l. 3 above).

### **sumite ... carmina nostra**

The verb *sumo*, literally meaning 'to take in one's hands' is used extensively in Latin literature accompanied by *manum*: e.g. *Tibull.* 2.1.14 *et manibus puris sumite fontis aquam*, *Ov. am.* 2.18.16 *sceptra que privata tam cito sumpta manu*, *Fast.* 2.198 *sumunt gentiles arma professa manus*. The action of picking up the booklet parallels that of reaching out a hand at l. 2 (*da placidam ... fesso*), securing the contract of *ius hospitii* between the reader and the book.



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