

The Death of a Poet:

Ovid's references to Horace in *Amores* 1.15 and *Tristia* 3.3

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A recurring theme among the lyric and elegiac poets of classical antiquity was the motif of poetic immortality. During the Augustan age, Horace is arguably the most famous of the Romans to utilize immortality in his poems, claiming it in works such as *Carmina* 2.20 and 3.30. Since the publication of his *corpus*, there has been ample discussion of Horace's treatment of death for poets – as well as his attitude towards a broader concept of death.

In the decades following, Horace's near-contemporary Ovid not only visited the same theme but referenced Horace's poems specifically. In *Amores* 1.15, Ovid delivers a *sphragis* to his first publication and directly references Horace's *exegi monumentum* ode.<sup>1</sup> Towards the end of his career, Ovid again discussed his immortality in *Tristia* 3.3 and references Horace a second time – this time with a decidedly negative slant on a literary trope. Although Ovid frequently references his peers and predecessors in his verses, I contend the allusion to Horace in *Tristia* 3.3 specifically touches on his earlier mention of Horace in *Amores* 1.15. This metapoetical theme suggests that Ovid does not entirely wash his hands of the erotic poetry that likely caused his exile. To accomplish this, Ovid refutes the pairing of his *Amores* 1.15 and Horace's *Carmina* by writing a pessimistic discussion of immortality in *Tristia* 3.3 in reference to Horace's success.

Before discussing the merits of his poetry, it is important to understand the nature of Ovid's exile. Although Ovid devotes extensive emotional labor towards describing his punishment in his exilic poetry, he most likely exaggerated the scale of the event. Although Augustus forced him to resettle in a distant province, the punishment was legally only a *relegatio* – a sentence affording him his civil rights, property, and ability to publish new poetry.<sup>2</sup> Ovid also laments the lack of Hellenic civilization in Tomis. Recent archaeological studies, however, show that by Ovid's exile the Getae had a well-developed civilization, a sizable Greek demographic,<sup>3</sup> and Hellenic icons such as a *gymnasium*.<sup>4</sup> Additionally, during Augustus' reign, the empire had

integrated the western shore of the Black Sea into its holdings and furnished it with a fleet, a standing military unit, and an administrative structure.<sup>5</sup>

Evidence outside of Ovid's writing also suggests his erasure from Roman society was not as complete as he suggested. Although Ovid's works were banned from public libraries in Rome, his reputation did not suffer a complete annihilation.<sup>6</sup> The very existence of the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* – works where he bemoans his exile – demonstrate that even in *relegatio* Ovid enjoyed an audience in Rome. Even Ovid himself admits that peers who had once imitated Ovid's poetry now staged reproductions of his tragedy *Medea*.<sup>7</sup>

Finally, it is possible, and perhaps likely, that Ovid was aware of the lenient punishment he was receiving despite his attitude in exilic *opera*. As H.J. Rose points out, the references to winter in Ovid's *Tristia* are inconsistent and suggest the chill in Tomis was a rhetorical tool to gain sympathy.<sup>8</sup> It is unlikely that Ovid would neglect to mention winter until the third book if Tomis carried such a reputation. Rose suggests Ovid instead introduced the theme after spending a complete winter in Pontus.<sup>9</sup> Buried among these pleas for a return to Rome, Ovid acknowledges his *relegatio* and uses the leniency as an argument in favor of his acceptance.<sup>10</sup> Given this awareness, it is likely the dire circumstances in *Tristia* 3.3 are more a persuasive tactic than a realistic portrayal of a personal crisis.<sup>11</sup>

Beyond the context of his exile, a reader must also understand the literary notion of a man achieving immortality. Plato discusses the concept frequently in his dialogues, focusing on it most keenly in the *Symposium*. In the dialogue, Plato depicts his mentor Socrates discussing the prospect of human immortality and arguing poetry is enough of a virtue to earn immortality.<sup>12</sup> Although Plato expounded on it thoroughly from a philosophical perspective, the theme of immortality existed in poetry before and after his *floruit* in the work of authors such as

Sappho<sup>13</sup> and Theocritus.<sup>14</sup> Given that Ovid was able to study abroad at the Academy in Athens itself, he certainly would have been familiar with Plato's theory of immortality.<sup>15</sup> Ovid probably would have read the claims to immortality by Sappho and Theocritus as well, given their legacy in classical literature.<sup>16</sup>

The prevalence of immortality continued into Latin literature, especially among poets of the Augustan era. By publishing the first three books of *Carmina* in 23 BCE, Horace was the first classical lyric poet to claim immortality for himself rather than for his subject.<sup>17</sup> Poets of the Roman elegiac canon also employ immortality in their works. Cornelius Gallus, the first Roman elegist, proclaimed that his verses had earned world-wide fame for his lover<sup>18</sup> – an achievement later connected to immortality by Horace and Ovid. Tibullus references death as well – his poetry, in fact, directly inspiring certain themes in *Tristia* 3.3.<sup>19</sup> The theme of immortality in Propertian poetry is less certain, although his poem 3.1 debatedly claims that he will pursue immortality like Callimachus and Philetas.<sup>20</sup> It is in this context that Ovid writes, manipulating a heritage stemming from both Greek and Roman precursors.

Ovid's own poetic death in the *Tristia* is the culmination of a personal development beginning with *Amores* 1.15. *Amores* 1.15 is the closing of his first publication of poetry and defends the author against criticism for not pursuing typical Roman careers. In his verses, Ovid frequently refers to Horace's *Carmen* 3.30 that proclaims his lyric poetry will become a monument to future generations. For example, Horace's poetry includes the personified "*imber edax*"<sup>21</sup> which threatens but fails to destroy his monument. Ovid's *apologia* includes a similar antagonist with the address to "*Livor edax*".<sup>22</sup> In the closing lines to his poem, Horace writes "*non omnis moriar multaue pars mei / vitabit Libitinam*"<sup>23</sup> which Ovid directly references with the line "*parsque mei multa superstes erit*".<sup>24</sup> Horace also includes a catalogue of places he will

visit as a *biformis vates*,<sup>25</sup> paralleled by Ovid with the abbreviated catalogue of places where Cornelius Gallus' memory persists:

|                                    |                                                        |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| Iam Daedaleo ocior Icaro           | Now, a melodious bird swifter than Daedalean Icarus, I |
| uisam gementis litora Bosphori     | will visit the shores of the roaring Bosphorus and the |
| Syrtsique Gaetulas canorus         | Gaetulican sands and the Hyperborean fields.           |
| ales Hyperboreosque campos.        | The Colchian and Dacian who disguises fear of the      |
| Me Colchus et qui dissimulat metum | Marsic cohort and the distant Geloni will know me, the |
| Marsae cohortis Dacus et ultimi    | skilled Spaniard and the drinker of the Rhone will     |
| noscent Geloni, me peritus         | know of me.                                            |
| discet Hiber Rhodanique potor.     |                                                        |

(Hor. *Carm.* 2.20.13-20)

|                                          |                                                         |
|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| Gallus et Hesperii et Gallus notus Eois, | Gallus will be known as Gallus to the Spaniards and to  |
| et sua cum Gallo nota Lycoris erit.      | the Indians, and his Lycoris will be known with Gallus. |

(Ov. *Am.* 1.15)

Each of the two catalogues calls upon the knowledge of the readers to comprehend the magnitude of the empire and understand the poet's wide influence.

Ovid also mimics the ideological content Horace had produced. Horace includes in his *apologia* a proviso that mandates Roman rituals should continue as normal for his immortality to be preserved.<sup>26</sup> As Commager points out, this line is set in a Roman state where the idea of Rome as an *urbs aeterna* is gaining popularity.<sup>27</sup> In this context, readers would have understood the conditions for immortalization and the implications of these conditions. Ovid also uses a proviso to connect his and Rome's immortality, writing "*Roma triumphati dum caput orbis erit*".<sup>28</sup> Both authors also make claims to immortality through the ideological importance of deities in literature. Where Ovid mentions Apollo and the Castalia,<sup>29</sup> Horace mentions the muse Melpomene.<sup>30</sup> Each poem also calls for the respective deity to crown the poet with a wreath.<sup>31</sup>

The central theme of *Amores* 1.15 – a catalogue of classical authors and their claims to immortality – also reflects Horace's idea of immortality. Although Ovid employs elegiac catalogues frequently in his poetry, this specific catalogue is a parallel to *Carmen* 3.30.<sup>32</sup> Ovid lists thirteen poets – six Greek, seven Roman – and discusses how they obtain immortality through their genres. Some *exempla* from the catalogue include claiming that Menander will enjoy immortality as long as his stock characters are relevant to society,<sup>33</sup> and that Hesiod will live while generations practice agriculture.<sup>34</sup> Ovid also mentions that Tibullus will continue to be read as long as readers are falling in love.<sup>35</sup>

vivet Maeonides, Tenedos dum stabit et Ide,  
 dum rapidas Simois in mare volvet aquas;  
 vivet et Ascraeus, dum mustis uva tumebit,  
 dum cadet incurva falce resecta Ceres.  
 Battiades semper toto cantabitur orbe;  
 quamvis ingenio non valet, arte valet.  
 nulla Sophocleo veniet iactura cothurno;  
 cum sole et luna semper Aratus erit;  
 dum fallax servus, durus pater, inproba lena  
 vivent et meretrix blanda, Menandros erit;  
 Ennius arte carens animosique Accius oris  
 casurum nullo tempore nomen habent.  
 Varronem primamque ratem quae nesciet aetas,  
 aureaque Aesonio terga petita duci?  
 carmina sublimis tunc sunt peritura Lucreti,  
 exitio terras cum dabit una dies;  
 Tityrus et segetes Aeneiaque arma legentur,<sup>36</sup>  
 Roma triumphati dum caput orbis erit;

Homer will live as long as Tenedos and Mt. Ida stand by,  
 as long as the Simois rolls rapid waters into the ocean; and  
 Hesiod will live, as long as the grapes swell with fresh  
 unfermented juice, as long as the leaning wheat falls, cut  
 off with a sickle. Callimachus will always be sung  
 throughout the whole world; Although he does not prevail  
 with his inborn talent, he prevails with his skill. No loss of  
 prestige will come from the Sophoclean boot; Aratus will  
 always be with the sun and moon; while the deceptive  
 slave, the hard-handed father, the untrustworthy pimp, and  
 the charming escort live, Menander will be there;  
 Ennius, lacking skill, and Accius, of a spirited mouth, have  
 a name about to fall [from relevance] in no time. What age  
 will not know Varro and the first vessel, and the golden  
 hides sought by the leader descended from Aeson? Then  
 the poems of sublime Lucretius are about to perish when  
 one day will give the lands over to destruction; Tityrus and  
 the crops and the arms of Aeneas will be read of, as long

donec erunt ignes arcusque Cupidinis arma,  
 discentur numeri, culte Tibulle, tui;  
 Gallus et Hesperii et Gallus notus Eois,  
 et sua cum Gallo nota Lycoris erit.

(Ov. *Am.* 1.15.9-30)

as Rome is the capital of the conquered world. As long as  
 torches and bows are the weapons of Cupid, your verses  
 will be read, refined Tibullus; Gallus will be known as  
 Gallus to the Spaniards and the Easterners, and his  
 Lycoris will be known with Gallus.

Horace similarly connects literary success within a genre to immortality by referencing his success at bringing a Greek genre into Latin literature:

Dicar, qua violens obstrepat Aufidus  
 et qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium  
 regnavit populorum, ex humili potens  
 princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos  
 deduxisse modos.

(Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.10-14)

I will be spoken of where the violent Aufidus roars and  
 where Daunus, poor of water, reigned over rustic  
 people as a powerful leader from a low origin who led  
 Aeolic poetry to Italian meters.

The recreation of Horatian themes in *Amores* 1.15 was only the beginning of a career concerned with its own reception.<sup>37</sup> The exile in the later years of his life was a blow to his self-esteem and he refers to the event as a sort of poetic death that overshadows his eventual physical death.<sup>38</sup> At this point, Ovid's persona employs a superficial attitude toward poetic death that is the complete antithesis of the poetic immortality espoused by *Amores* 1.15. Despite this, the general theme of poetic immortality continues to resurface in his poetry through the reframing of Horatian poetry. However, the *Tristia* 3.3 inverts themes in *Amores* 1.15, as well as Horace's *Carmen* 2.20 to discuss his poetic immortality.

Ovid frames *Tristia* 3.3 as an epistolary poem inserted among his exilic poems addressed to his wife.<sup>39</sup> The poem discusses at length his poor fortune, including a fatal illness that forces him to dictate his verses.<sup>40</sup> Ovid laments that he will die far from home and requests that after his cremation his bones be interred in Italy. For much of the poem, Ovid directs his efforts towards

alluding to Tibullus' *Elegia* 1.3. There Tibullus fears death by illness while accompanying his patron on a military venture and laments having to die in a strange place.

Although the shades of Tibullus dominate *Tristia* 3.3, the influence of Horace is evident. Both this poem and *Carmen* 2.20 end by discussing the poet's tomb, albeit with contrasting tones. Horace confidently discusses his own funeral, admonishing his mourners to conserve their energy rather than participate in rituals for an empty grave:

|                                  |                                                  |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| Absint inani funere neniae       | Let mourning be absent from my empty funeral, as |
| luctusque turpes et querimoniae; | well as ugly cries and complaints;               |
| conpesce clamorem ac sepulcri    | Do away with the shouting and send off the empty |
| mitte supervacuos honores.       | honors of a grave.                               |

(Hor. *Carm.* 2.20.21-24)

In opposition to this attitude, Ovid reworks a *paraclausithyron* where he is locked out of his own grave.<sup>41</sup> Whereas Horace scoffs at the superfluous funeral hosted in his honor, Ovid uses a mythological *exemplum* of Antigone and Polynices to demonstrate how much of a disgrace it would be to die in exile. This *exemplum* strengthens his argument for repatriation by reminding his wife (and, indirectly, Augustus) that even Polynices was buried after waging war against his own city, despite the decree of Creon:

|                                                   |                                                         |
|---------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| Non uetat hoc quisquam: fratrem Thebana peremptum | There is not anyone who forbids this: the Theban sister |
| supposuit tumulo rege uetante soror.              | placed her slain brother below a tomb with the king     |
|                                                   | forbidding.                                             |

(Ov. *Trist.* 3.3.67-68)

In *Tristia* 3.3, Ovid also revisits the theme of monuments that appears in *Carmen* 3.30. After dictating his epitaph, Ovid remarks that he doesn't need to write lengthily, due to the nature of his poetry sent from exile:

quosque legat uersus oculo properante uiator,  
 grandibus in tituli marmore caede notis:  
 "hic ego qui iaceo tenerorum lusor amorum  
 ingenio perii Naso poeta meo;  
 at tibi qui transis ne sit graue quisquis amasti  
 dicere "Nasonis molliter ossa cubent"  
 hoc satis in titulo est. Etenim maiora libelli  
 et diuturna magis sunt monimenta mihi,  
 quos ego confido, quamuis nocuere, daturus  
 nomen et auctori tempora longa suo.

(Ov. *Trist.* 3.3.71-78)

The characterization of Ovid's poetry as "*maiora ... et diuturna magis sunt monimenta mihi*"<sup>42</sup> refers back to Horace's description of his poetry as greater than a monument.<sup>43</sup> The recasting of Horace's trope builds up the embitterment towards poetic immortality by discussing poetry that is lasting but harmful to read in the present. Ovid also uses these lines to reflect the Greek tradition of a poetic epitaph taking the form of a monument speaking to the passerby.<sup>44</sup> Keeping in mind the reference to the construction of a physical epitaph, it also suggests a pitiful reliance on his wife in Rome to erect a monument.<sup>45</sup> Despite the fact that Ovid writes his epitaph in the first person, it could be compared to Antipater of Sidon's memorial of Anacreon. For example, contrast Ovid's claim that his monuments grant "long times"<sup>46</sup> (i.e. a long life) with Antipater of Sidon describing a monument that says the late Anacreon "still sings some song of longing".<sup>47</sup>

Finally, Ovid inverts the use of catalogues seen in both Horace's *apologia* and his own. In *Amores* 1.15, a reader sees Ovid list successful classical authors and their reasons for success, as well as a short inventory of places familiar with his predecessor Cornelius Gallus. In *Carmen* 2.20, Horace likewise employs a catalogue by informing the reader of the various places on the

And cut verses, which the passerby will read with a hurrying eye, in the marble with the large letters of an epitaph:

"I, Naso, who lies here, perished due to my own talent, a player of tender loves [and] a poet;

But for you, who is going by, whoever has loved, may it not be burdensome to say 'may the bones of Naso lie softly'?"

This is enough in the epitaph. For truly the greater and more daily monuments to me are my little books, which I entrust although they harm, that will give a name and long times to their own author.

fringes of the empire which he will visit. *Tristia* 3.3 inverts the expectation by providing a "negative catalogue"<sup>48</sup> of misfortunes that have waylaid Ovid in exile.

Nec caelum patior, nec aquis adsueuimus istis,  
terraque nescioquo non placet ipsa modo.

Non domus apta satis, non hic cibus utilis aegro,  
nullus, Apollinea qui leuet arte malum,  
non qui soletur, non qui labentia tarde  
tempora narrando fallat, amicus adest.

Lassus in extremis iaceo populisque locisque,  
et subit adfecto nunc mihi, quicquid abest.

Omnia cum subeant, uincis tamen omnia, coniunx,  
et plus in nostro pectore parte tenes.

Te loquor absentem, te uox mea nominat unam;  
nulla uenit sine te nox mihi, nulla dies.

(Ov. *Trist.* 3.3.7-18).

I do not endure the climate, nor have I gotten used to these waters, and I, not understanding why, am not even pleased by the land itself.

My house is not suitable enough and this food not useful enough for a sick man, and there is no friend present who lifts up a wretched man with medical skill, who is accustomed to this, who whiles away passing times by slowly telling a tale.

I lie weary in far-off peoples and places and now whatever is absent rises up to me while debilitated. Although everything rises up to me, nevertheless you conquer all these things, wife, and you hold more with respect to your portion in my heart.

I speak to you while absent, my voice names you alone;

No night comes to me without you, nor any day.

Although the experiences recounted in *Tristia* 3.3 are likely not entirely authentic, they allow the reader to explore the continuity of poetic immortality from his amatory poetry, through the *Metamorphoses*, and into his exilic works. Ovid overtly declares that life in exile is already a living death and that his readers forgot him as soon as he entered exile.<sup>49</sup> As already discussed by Conte, Ovid's *Medea* was performed extensively during his exile and is even referenced by Ovid himself.<sup>50</sup> Additionally, Ovid's phrasing when discussing his poetic death continues to glorify his amatory poetry and even isolates it as his legacy.

When Ovid includes an epitaph for his tomb in *Tristia* 3.3, he focuses on a specific aspect of his literature. Although he showed literary range with his *Metamorphoses*, *Heroides*, and *Fasti*, Ovid pinpoints his erotic poems for a passerby to be aware of with the title *tenerorum lusor amorum*.<sup>51</sup> It would not be unusual for a classical poet to select a single aspect of their

career to represent the whole.<sup>52</sup> However, it is surprising that Ovid excludes the personas of his other great works in favor of a collection which he supposedly wishes to absolve himself from. This suggests, as Huskey argues, the poem and the epitaph are a memorial to the narrator of the *Amores*, not of Ovid the Roman.<sup>53</sup> If this is the case, it explains why Ovid would choose the title for his epitaph despite attempting to ingratiate himself to Augustus elsewhere in his exilic poetry.

As Evans observes, *Tristia* 3.3 “affirms Ovid’s poetic immortality” but has a distinct tone of “grimness and death”.<sup>54</sup> The lines following Ovid’s epitaph expound upon his persona and his dedication to his erotic persona.

hoc satis in titulo est. Etenim maiora libelli  
 et diuturna magis sunt monimenta mihi,  
 quos ego confido, quamuis nocuere, daturos  
 nomen et auctori tempora longa suo.

(Ov. *Trist.* 3.3.75-78)

This is enough in the epitaph. For truly the greater and more daily monuments to me are my little books, which, I trust, although they have harmed, that will give a name and long times to their own author.

Throughout his poetry, Ovid uses the word ‘*nomen*’ to refer not exclusively to his name, but to his literary identity.<sup>55</sup> This tendency makes it more significant that Ovid believes his *libelli* would give a *nomen* and that they might cause harm to his wife when she thinks of them.

Although Ovid outwardly seeks forgiveness from Augustus, the details of his poetry show that he is unrepentant. Instead of rejecting his *Amores* and celebrating his *Metamorphoses*, he sends home an epitaph that glorifies and justifies his amatory poetry.

Throughout his career, Ovid revisits the same themes of poetic immortality as first expressed in his *Amores*. He inserts them into the *Metamorphoses* for self-aggrandizing, then revives them in the *Tristia* to express sorrow over his hardships. Despite blaming his exile upon his erotic poetry, he is unable to separate his legacy from such works. In his youth, Ovid describes his poetry as a “*superstes*”<sup>56</sup> that will survive his death and carry on his legacy. This

survivor, which he admits is a part of himself, is the cause for his downfall and exile, since “Augustus could not relegate Ovid’s erotic persona without relegating Ovid, the person”.<sup>57</sup>

Towards the end of his life, Ovid continues to exemplify this failing. Even when he elsewhere states that he died immediately upon his exile from Rome, his epitaph commits his legacy to love poetry. Through a broad view of Ovid’s poetry and his literary context, a reader can witness his reworking of poetic immortality to celebrate his amatory career in *Amores* 1.15. He then refurbishes the same themes years later in *Tristia* 3.3 to highlight his success even in exile.

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<sup>1</sup> J.C. McKeown. *Ovid, Amores: Text, Prolegomena and Commentary*. Vol. 2. (Wolfboro, NH: Francis Cairns Ltd, 1987), 421.

<sup>2</sup> Holzberg, Niklas. *Ovid: The Poet and his Work*. Translated by G. M. Goshgarian. (München: C. H. Beck’sche Verlagsbunchnhanglung, 1998), 24. Holzberg does not cite a specific passage from Ovid to justify this claim, but Ovid does write “*quippe relegatus, non exul, dicor in illo*” (certainly as a relegate, not an exile, I am spoken of in that place) in *Trist.* 2.1.137. This quote is revisited by other scholars who argue Ovid’s exile was overdramatized for the sake of *pathos*.

<sup>3</sup> Adrian Radulescu. *Ovid in Exile*. (Iași: Center for Romanian Studies, 2002), 100. Although Radulescu provides a firmly based defense of the refinement in Tomis, it should be noted his work was published by the Center for Romanian Studies near the modern ruins of Tomis. Even taken with a grain of salt, his book provides plenty of evidence for the unrecognized refinement of Tomis. Even Chester G. Starr (*A History of the Ancient World* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1991), 566) agrees Hellenic culture was alive in Tomis, referring to it as a “bleak Greek outpost” rather than a bleak Sarmatian outpost or a bleak Getan outpost.

<sup>4</sup> Holzberg, 26.

<sup>5</sup> Radulescu, 86. Additionally, Michael Vickers, “Greek Trade in the Black Sea: a Roman Model”, discusses the likely extent of Hellenic culture. The paper examines Rome’s connections to India to argue that Tomis, comparatively closer to the Mediterranean than India, would certainly have been in contact with Greece and Rome.

<sup>6</sup> Conte, Gian Biagio. *Latin Literature: A History*. Translated by Joseph Solodow, edited by Don Fowler and Glenn W. Most. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 359.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 359.

<sup>8</sup> Rose, H.J. and E. Courtney. *A Handbook of Latin Literature: From the Earliest Times to the Death of St. Augustine*. (Wauconda: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, Inc, 1996), 333.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Radulescu, 52. At this point Radulescu references the same quote (*Ov. Trist.* 2.1.137) that Holzberg appears to be discussing, so I conclude that this line is verified enough to be considered evidence that Ovid’s punishment was a *relegatio* not an *exilio*.

<sup>11</sup> If it is assumed that Ovid was aware of the lenience of a *relegatio*, he was also being rhetorical by continuously referring to himself as an *exsul* even though he was legally not considered one. Richard Tarrant, “Ovid and His Literary History” in *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid*, ed. Philip Hardie (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 13-33 discusses the interplay between Ovid’s self-revision and his persona shifts. According to Tarrant, Ovid assumes his final persona for his exilic poetry and reworks poems he wrote under the personas of elegist, lover, or *praeceptor Amoris*. Joseph W. Day. “Rituals in Stone: Early Greek Grave Epigrams and Monuments.” (*The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 109, 1989), 16 discusses the “verbal and metrical parallels” between Greek elegy and epitaph.

<sup>12</sup> Anthony Hooper. “The Memory of Virtue: Achieving Immortality in Plato’s ‘Symposium.’” (*The Classical Quarterly* 63, No 2, 2013): 544.

- <sup>13</sup> Steele Commager, *The Odes of Horace: A Critical Study* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 310
- <sup>14</sup> Lindsay Grant Samson. "The Philosophy of Desire in Theocritus' Idylls". (Phd diss., University of Iowa, 2013), 29.
- <sup>15</sup> Stanley Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome: From the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny*. (London: Routledge, 2011), 81. Over the centuries following Plato's death, the Academy did not always espouse views identical to Plato's (Wayne P. Pomerleau, *Twelve Great Philosophers: A Historical Introduction to Human Nature*. (New York: Ardsley House Publishers, 1997), 6) but it is improbable, in my opinion, that Ovid studied there without encountering the *Symposium*.
- <sup>16</sup> The theories of immortality set forth by Theocritus and Sappho are pertinent because of their influence on Latin literature. Theocritus is accepted to have influenced Vergil's *Georgics* specifically. The increasing frequency of Greek meters such as Sapphic Strophes is evidence that Roman authors maintained interest in Greek lyric and elegiac poets, c.f. Charles McNelis, "Greek Grammarians and Roman Society during the Early Empire: Statius' Father and his Contemporaries." (*Classical Antiquity* 21, no. 1, 2002): 81. Ovid shows specific familiarity with Sappho in *Her.* 15 and with Theocritus in *Met.* 13.750-758 (Robert B. Colton, "Ovid's Polyphemus Idyll," *The Classical Outlook* 56, no. 3 (1979): 60).
- <sup>17</sup> Steele Commager, 310.
- <sup>18</sup> McKeown, 412.
- <sup>19</sup> Samuel J. Huskey. "In Memory of Tibullus: Ovid's Remembrance of Tibullus 1.3 in *Amores* 3.9 and *Tristia* 3.3." *Arethusa* 38, no. 3 (2005): 370.
- <sup>20</sup> R.J. Baker. "Propertius III 1, 1-6 Again. Intimations of Immortality?" (*Mnemosyne* 21, no. 1, 1968), 37.
- <sup>21</sup> Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.3: "devouring rain"
- <sup>22</sup> Ov. *Am.* 1.15.1: "greedy Envy".
- <sup>23</sup> Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.6: "I will not die whole and many a part of me will avoid death"
- <sup>24</sup> Ov. *Am.* 1.15.42: "and a part of me will always be much of a survivor"
- <sup>25</sup> Hor. *Carm.* 2.20.2-3: "a two-formed poet"
- <sup>26</sup> Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.9-10.
- <sup>27</sup> Steele Commager, 314.
- <sup>28</sup> Ov. *Am.* 1.15.26: "as long as Rome is the capital of the conquered world"
- <sup>29</sup> Ov. *Am.* 1.15.35-36.
- <sup>30</sup> Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.14-16.
- <sup>31</sup> Ov. *Am.* 1.15.37 and Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.16 contain the relevant excerpts of the two poets calling for their coronation.
- <sup>32</sup> McKeown, J.C. *Ovid, Amores: Text, Prolegomena and Commentary*. Vol. 2. (Wolfeboro, NH: Francis Cairns Ltd, 1987), 394, 401.
- <sup>33</sup> For a discussion on the figurative use of *vivere* to refer to the relevance of Menander's stock characters versus a literal use of *vivere*, see McKeown, 402.
- <sup>34</sup> Ov. *Am.* 1.15.11-18.
- <sup>35</sup> Ov. *Am.* 1.15.27-28.
- <sup>36</sup> When analysing the reference to Vergil's three poems, we should consider the discussion of classical first lines by A. S. Gratwick, "Catullus 1.10 and the Title of His 'Libellus'," *Greece & Rome* 38, no. 2 (1991): 199-202. Gratwick argues the Greeks and Romans associated first lines with the work as a whole, thus implying that the remembrance of a first line would lead to poetic immortality. He cites Homer, Aristophanes, Theocritus, Vergil, Ovid himself, and other ancient poets.
- <sup>37</sup> Conte, 358-9.
- <sup>38</sup> Nagle, Betty Rose. "The Poetics of Exile: Program and Polemic in the "Tristia" and "Epistulae ex Ponto" of Ovid". (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1975), 8.
- <sup>39</sup> Ovid mentions his wife elsewhere in *Am.* 3.13. It is possible that Ovid's references to his wife were authentic biographical fact, given that Romans were much more lax with male infidelity than female. This perspective is argued in Hermann Frankel, *Ovid: A Poet Between Two Worlds*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1945), 235.
- <sup>40</sup> Ov. *Trist.* 3.3.1-2.
- <sup>41</sup> Harry B. Evans. *Publica Carmina: Ovid's Books from Exile*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 66.

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<sup>43</sup> Ov. *Trist.* 3.3.76: “the greater and more daily monuments to me”. Thomas George Hendren, “Ovid, Augustus, and the Exilic Journey in the “*Tristia*” and “*Epistulae ex Ponto*”. (PhD diss., University of Florida, 2013), 31.

<sup>44</sup> Day, 17 shows that the personification of physical funerary monuments has been verified to begin as early as 575 BCE. This is perhaps similar to Ennius composing separate epitaphs for his tomb and bust, as well as Vergil doing so for his tomb, c.f. Moses Hadas, *A History of Latin Literature*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), 22-23, 142.

<sup>45</sup> Teresa R. Ramsby, “Striving for Permanence: Ovid’s Funerary Inscriptions.” (The Classical Journal 100, no. 4, 2005), 373 makes the case that Ovid’s *Tristia* 3.3 is a plea for his wife to erect a physical monument on his behalf. However, she also refutes the argument that there is a correlation between Antip. Sid. 7.30 and *Trist.* 3.3, suggesting that Ovid’s *Am.* 2.6 is more similar in content.

<sup>46</sup> Ov. *Trist.* 3.3.78

<sup>47</sup> Antip. Sid. 7.30. Translated by W.R. Paton, 1917.

<sup>48</sup> Samuel J. Huskey. “Ovid’s “*Tristia*” I and III: An Intertextual Katabasis”. (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 2002), 71. I cite Huskey’s Phd dissertation as frequently as other peer-reviewed works in my bibliography, but given that he has written several articles and book chapters on Ovid’s *Tristia*, I am inclined to give it significant weight for my research. Another example of his work on Ovid’s *Tristia* (his work “In Memory of Tibullus”) is listed in my bibliography.

<sup>49</sup> Frankel, 236. Frankel’s commentary here is greatly appreciated for my paper, given he has also published commentaries on Horace’s *Carmina*. Unfortunately, he does not extensively discuss the interplay between Ovid and Horace *Carmina* 2.20 and 3.30, other than a comment that Ovid’s He does, however, argue at multiple points such as pp. 267, that Ovid writes with a broad theme of personal expression absent in Horace, including in the respective immortality poems.

<sup>50</sup> Conte, 359.

<sup>51</sup> Ov. *Trist.* 3.3.73: “a player of tender loves”

<sup>52</sup> Huskey, *An Intertextual Katabasis*, 62.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>54</sup> Evans, 56.

<sup>55</sup> Nagle, 194

<sup>56</sup> Ov. *Am.* 1.15.42: “a survivor”

<sup>57</sup> Huskey, *An Intertextual Katabasis*, 66

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## Appendix A: Text and Translations of Ovid and Horace

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| Horace, <i>Carmen</i> 2.20. Edited by Daniel Garrison.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <p>Non usitata nec tenui ferar<br/> penna biformis per liquidum aethera<br/> vates neque in terris morabor<br/> longius invidiaeque maior</p> <p>urbis relinquam. Non ego pauperum<br/> sanguis parentum, non ego quem vocas,<br/> dilecte Maecenas, obibo<br/> nec Stygia cohibebor unda.</p> <p>Iam iam residunt cruribus asperae<br/> pelles et album mutor in alitem<br/> superne nascunturque leves<br/> per digitos umerosque plumae.</p> <p>Iam Daedaleo ocior Icaro<br/> uisam gementis litora Bosphori<br/> Syrtisque Gaetulas canorus<br/> ales Hyperboreosque campos.</p> <p>Me Colchus et qui dissimulat metum<br/> Marsae cohortis Dacus et ultimi<br/> noscent Geloni, me peritus<br/> discet Hiber Rhodanique poter.</p> <p>Absint inani funere neniae<br/> luctusque turpes et querimoniae;<br/> conpesce clamorem ac sepulcri<br/> mitte supervacuos honores.</p> | <p>I, a two-formed poet, will be carried through the clear sky<br/> by feather, neither usual nor slender, and I will not delay<br/> on earth any longer and I will leave behind the cities,<br/> greater than envy. Not I, the blood of poor parents, not I,<br/> whom you call, dear Maecenas, pass away nor am I<br/> trapped by a Stygian wave. Now bitter skins rest on my<br/> legs and I am transformed into a white bird on my torso<br/> and light plumes are begotten through my fingers and<br/> shoulders. Now, a melodious bird swifter than Daedalean<br/> Icarus I will visit the shores of the roaring Bosphorus and<br/> the Gaetulican sands and the Hyperborean fields. The<br/> Colchian and Dacian who disguises fear of the Marsic<br/> cohort and the distant Geloni will know me, the skilled<br/> Spaniard and the drinker of the Rhone will know of me.<br/> Let mourning be absent from my empty funeral, as well as<br/> ugly cries and complaints; Do away with the shouting and<br/> send off the empty honors of a grave.</p> |
| Horace, <i>Carmen</i> 3.30. Edited by Daniel Garrison.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <p>Exegi monumentum aere perennius<br/> regalique situ pyramidum altius,<br/> quod non imber edax, non Aquilo inpotens</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | <p>I have erected a monument more lasting than bronze and<br/> higher than the regal site of the pyramids, which not<br/> devouring rain, nor powerless Aquilo or the uncountable</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |

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| <p>possit diruere aut innumerabilis<br/>annorum series et fuga temporum.<br/>Non omnis moriar multaue pars mei<br/>vitabit Libitinam; usque ego postera<br/>crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium<br/>scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex.<br/>Dicar, qua violens obstrepit Aufidus<br/>et qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium<br/>regnauit populorum, ex humili potens<br/>princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos<br/>deduxisse modos. Sume superbiam<br/>quaesitam meritis et mihi Delphica<br/>lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam.</p> | <p>series of years or the flight of times would be able to ruin.<br/>I will not die whole and many a part of me will avoid<br/>death; I will still grow fresh through recent praise,<br/>provided the priest scales the Capitol with a silent maiden.<br/>I will be spoken of where the violent Aufidus roars and<br/>where Daunus, poor of water, reigned over rustic people<br/>as a powerful leader from a low origin who had led Aeolic<br/>poetry to Italian meters. Take the pride sought by merits,<br/>willing Melpomene, and surrounded my hair with a<br/>Delphic laurel.</p> |
| <p>Ovid, <i>Amores</i> 1.15. Edited by J.C. McKeown.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <p>Quid mihi Livor edax, ignavos obicis annos,<br/>ingeniique vocas carmen inertis opus;<br/>non me more patrum, dum strenua sustinet aetas,<br/>praemia militiae pulverulenta sequi,<br/>nec me verbosas leges ediscere nec me<br/>ingrato vocem prostituisse foro?<br/>Mortale est, quod quaeris, opus. mihi fama perennis<br/>quaeritur, in toto semper ut orbe canar.<br/>vivet Maeonides, Tenedos dum stabit et Ide,</p>                                                                                                       | <p>Greedy envy, why do you throw before me idle years,<br/>And why do you call my poem a work of inert talent;<br/>Why do you cast before me that I, by the custom of my<br/>forefathers, while my vigorous (young) age stands firm,<br/>do not follow the dusty prizes of military service, nor do I<br/>memorize verbose laws nor have I prostituted my voice to<br/>the ungrateful forum? It is a mortal work, which you seek.<br/>Perennial fame is sought by me, so that I might always be<br/>sung in the whole world. Homer will live as long as</p>                             |

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| <p>dum rapidas Simois in mare volvet aquas;<br/> vivet et Ascraeus, dum mustis uva tumebit,<br/> dum cadet incurva falce resecta Ceres.<br/> Battiades semper toto cantabitur orbe;<br/> quamvis ingenio non valet, arte valet.<br/> nulla Sophocleo veniet iactura cothurno;<br/> cum sole et luna semper Aratus erit;<br/> dum fallax servus, durus pater, inproba lena<br/> vivent et meretrix blanda, Menandros erit;<br/> Ennius arte carens animosique Accius oris<br/> casurum nullo tempore nomen habent.<br/> Varronem primamque ratem quae nesciet aetas,<br/> aureaque Aesonio terga petita duci?<br/> carmina sublimis tunc sunt peritura Lucreti,<br/> exitio terras cum dabit una dies;<br/> Tityrus et segetes Aeneiaque arma legentur,<br/> Roma triumphati dum caput orbis erit;<br/> donec erunt ignes arcusque Cupidinis arma,<br/> discentur numeri, culte Tibulle, tui;<br/> Gallus et Hesperii et Gallus notus Eois,<br/> et sua cum Gallo nota Lycoris erit.<br/> Ergo, cum silices, cum dens patientis aratri<br/> depereant aevo, carmina morte carent.</p> | <p>Tenedos and Mt. Ida stand by, as long as the Simois rolls<br/> rapid waters into the ocean; And Hesiod will live, as long<br/> as the grapes swell with fresh unfermented juice, as long<br/> as the leaning wheat falls, cut off with a sickle.<br/> Callimachus will always be sung throughout the whole<br/> world; Although he does not prevail with his inborn<br/> talent, he prevails with his skill. No loss of prestige will<br/> come from the Sophoclean boot; Aratus will always be<br/> with the sun and moon; While the deceptive slave, the<br/> hard-handed father, the untrustworthy pimp, and the<br/> charming escort live, Menander will be there;<br/> Ennius, lacking skill, and Accius, of a spirited mouth,<br/> have a name about to fall [from relevance] in no time.<br/> What age will not know Varro and the first vessel, and the<br/> golden hides sought by the leader descended from Aeson?<br/> Then the poems of sublime Lucretius are about to perish,<br/> when one day will give the lands over to destruction;<br/> Tityrus and the crops and the arms of Aeneas will be read<br/> of, as long as Rome is the capital of the conquered world.<br/> As long as torches and bows are the weapons of Cupid,<br/> your verses will be read, refined Tibullus; Gallus will be<br/> known as Gallus to the Spaniards and the Easterners,<br/> and his Lycoris will be known with Gallus. Therefore,</p> |
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| <p>cedant carminibus reges regumque triumpho,<br/> cedat et auriferi ripa benigna Tagi!<br/> vilia miretur vulgus; mihi flavus Apollo<br/> pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua,<br/> sustineamque coma metuentem frigora myrtum,<br/> atque a sollicito multus amante legar!<br/> pascitur in vivis Livor; post fata quiescit,<br/> cum suus ex merito quemque tuetur honos.<br/> ergo etiam cum me supremus adederit ignis,<br/> vivam, parsque mei multa superstes erit.</p> | <p>although the flintstones and the tooth of the patient plow<br/> are ruined by the field, the poems lack death. Let the kings<br/> and the triumphs of kings yield to poems, and let the<br/> gentle shore of the gold-bearing Tagus yield! The crowd<br/> will wonder at things of little value; golden Apollo will<br/> provide me cups full with Castalian water, and I will<br/> support in the leaves the myrtle fearing the chills and I<br/> will often be read by a worried lover! Envy grazes in<br/> living men; it rests after death, when a man's own legacy<br/> protects him from what is deserved. Therefore even when<br/> the final fire might consume me, I will live, and a part of<br/> me will always much of a survivor.</p> |
| <p>Ovid, <i>Tristia</i> 3.3. Edited by Arthur Leslie Wheeler.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <p>Haec mea si casu miraris epistula quare<br/> alterius digitis scripta sit, aeger eram.<br/> Aeger in extremis ignoti partibus orbis,<br/> incertusque meae paene salutis eram.<br/> Quem mihi nunc animum dira regione iacenti<br/> inter Sauromatas esse Getasque putes?<br/> Nec caelum patior, nec aquis adsuevimus istis,<br/> terraque nescioquo non placet ipsa modo.<br/> Non domus apta satis, non hic cibus utilis aegro,</p>                                       | <p>If you wonder for what cause this letter of mine was<br/> written by the fingers of another, I was ill. I was ill in the<br/> furthest areas of the unknown world and I was almost<br/> unsure of my own well-being. What spirit will you think<br/> there is for me, lying in a dire region between the<br/> Sauromatae and the Getae? I do not endure the climate,<br/> nor have I gotten used to these waters, and I, not<br/> understanding why, am not even pleased by the land itself.<br/> My house is not suitable enough and this food not useful</p>                                                                                                                                                                                    |

nullus, Apollinea qui leuet arte malum,  
 non qui soletur, non qui labentia tarde  
 tempora narrando fallat, amicus adest.  
 Lassus in extremis iaceo populisque locisque,  
 et subit adfecto nunc mihi, quicquid abest.  
 Omnia cum subeant, uincis tamen omnia, coniunx,  
 et plus in nostro pectore parte tenes.  
 Te loquor absentem, te uox mea nominat unam;  
 nulla uenit sine te nox mihi, nulla dies.  
 Quin etiam sic me dicunt aliena locutum,  
 ut foret amenti nomen in ore tuum.  
 Si iam deficiam, subpressaue lingua palato  
 uix instillato restituenda mero,  
 nuntiet huc aliquis dominam uenisse, resurgam,  
 spesque tui nobis causa uigoris erit.  
 Ergo ego sum dubius uitae, tu forsitan istic  
 iucundum nostri nescia tempus agis?  
 Non agis, adfirmo. Liquet hoc, carissima, nobis,  
 tempus agi sine me non nisi triste tibi.  
 Si tamen inpleuit mea sors, quos debuit, annos,  
 et mihi uiuendi tam cito finis adest,  
 quantum erat, o magni, morituro parcere, diui,  
 ut saltem patria contumularer humo?  
 Vel poena in tempus mortis dilata fuisset,  
 uel praecepisset mors properata fugam.

enough for a sick man, and there is no friend present who  
 lifts up a wretched man with medical skill, who is  
 accustomed to this, who whiles away passing times by  
 slowly telling a tale. I lie weary in far-off peoples and  
 places and now whatever is absent rises up to me while  
 debilitated. Although everything rises up to me,  
 nevertheless you conquer all these things, wife, and you  
 hold more with respect to your portion in my heart. I  
 speak to you while absent, my voice names you alone;  
 No night comes to me without you, nor any day. Thus,  
 they even say that I have said unfamiliar things, so that  
 your name would be in a loving mouth. If now I am left  
 wanting, and my tongue pressed up to my palate, scarcely  
 able to be restored by means of consumed wine, someone  
 will announce my mistress to have come here, I will rise,  
 and hope for you will be a cause of vigor for us. Therefore  
 I am uncertain of life, perhaps you spend a pleasing time  
 there, mindless of us? You do not spend time thus, I am  
 sure. This is clear, dearest, to me, that time is not spent  
 without me unless it is sad for you. If, nevertheless, my lot  
 filled the years which are owed and an end of living is  
 present so quickly, how much was it, o great gods, to  
 spare a man about to die so that at least I may be buried

Integer hanc potui nuper bene reddere lucem;  
 exul ut occiderem, nunc mihi uita data est.  
 Tam procul ignotis igitur moriemur in oris,  
 et fient ipso tristia fata loco;  
 nec mea consueto languescunt corpora lecto,  
 depositum nec me qui fleat, ullus erit;  
 nec dominae lacrimis in nostra cadentibus ora  
 accedent animae tempora parua meae;  
 nec mandata dabo, nec cum clamore supremo  
 labentes oculos condet amica manus;  
 sed sine funeribus caput hoc, sine honore sepulcri  
 indeploratum barbara terra teget.  
 Ecquid, ubi audieris, tota turbabere mente,  
 et feries pauida pectora fida manu?  
 Ecquid, in has frustra tendens tua brachia partes,  
 clamabis miseri nomen inane uiri?  
 Parce tamen lacerare genas, nec scinde capillos:  
 non tibi nunc primum, lux mea, raptus ero.  
 Cum patriam amisi, tunc me periisse putato:  
 et prior et grauior mors fuit illa mihi.  
 Nunc, si forte potes (sed non potes, optima coniunx)  
 finitis gaude tot mihi morte malis.  
 Quod potes, extenua forti mala corde ferendo,  
 ad quae iam pridem non rude pectus habes.  
 Atque utinam pereant animae cum corpore nostrae,

by ancestral earth? Whether the punishment had been extended into the time of death or a hurried death had anticipated my flight. Recently, I was able to return this life well while healthy; that I should die an exile, now this life has been given to me. Therefore I will die so far away on unknown shores, and my fates will become sad in this place; and my body will become weak in the usual bed, and there will not be anyone who might cry for me; Nor shall small times approach my spirit while the tears of the mistress are falling onto my mouth; Nor will I give commands, nor, with a great cry, will a friendly hand lay to rest my slipping eyes; But without funerary rituals, without the honor of a grave, barbarian earth covers this unmourned head. Perhaps, when you will hear, when you will be disturbed with respect to your whole mind, you will even strike your loyal chest with a trembling hand? Perhaps, stretching your arms in vain towards these provinces, you will shout the empty name of a miserable man? Nevertheless, spare tearing your cheeks and don't tear your hair: I will not now be torn from you for the first time, my light. When I lost my homeland, then consider me to have passed away: That was a death both earlier and heavier for me. Now, if by chance you are able (but you

effugiatque auidos pars mihi nulla rogos.  
 Nam si morte carens uacua uolat altus in aura  
     spiritus, et Samii sunt rata dicta senis,  
 inter Sarmaticas Romana uagabitur umbras,  
     perque feros Manes hospita semper erit.  
 Ossa tamen facito parua referantur in urna:  
     sic ego non etiam mortuus exul ero.  
 Non uetat hoc quisquam: fratrem Thebana peremptum  
     supposuit tumulo rege uetante soror.  
 Atque ea cum foliis et amomi puluere misce,  
     inque suburbano condita pone solo;  
 quosque legat uersus oculo properante uiator,  
     grandibus in tituli marmore caede notis:  
 "hic ego qui iaceo tenerorum lusor amorum  
     ingenio perii Naso poeta meo;  
 at tibi qui transis ne sit graue quisquis amasti  
     dicere "Nasonis molliter ossa cubent""  
 hoc satis in titulo est. Etenim maiora libelli  
     et diuturna magis sunt monimenta mihi,  
 quos ego confido, quamuis nocuere, duros  
     nomen et auctori tempora longa suo.  
 Tu tamen extincto feralia munera semper  
     deque tuis lacrimis umida sarta dato.  
 Quamuis in cineres corpus mutauerit ignis  
     sentiet officium maesta fauilla pium.

are not able, amazing wife), rejoice since my so many  
 difficulties have been ended by death. What you *are* able  
 [to do], soften the evils, against which you already have a  
 heart not ill-made, by bearing them with a strong heart.  
 And if only my spirit would vanish with my body, and no  
 part of me would flee the greedy funeral pures. For if a  
 high spirit lacking death flies in an empty breeze, and the  
 sayings of the old Samian man are believed, a Roman will  
 always wander among Sarmatian shadows and will always  
 be a guest among wild Manes. Nevertheless, make it that  
 my bones are brought back in a small urn: thus not even  
 dead will I be an exile. There is not anyone who forbids  
 this: the Theban sister placed her slain brother below a  
 tomb with the king refusing. Mix these bones with leaves  
 and amomous dust as well, and place the bones  
 established on the ground outside the city; And cut verses,  
 which the passerby will read with a hurrying eye, in the  
 marble with the large letters of an epitaph: "I, Naso, who  
 lies here, perished due to my own talent, a player of tender  
 loves [and] a poet; But for you, who is going by, whoever  
 has loved may it not be burdensome to say 'may the bones  
 of Naso lie softly'?" This is enough in the epitaph. For  
 truly the greater and more daily monuments to me are my

Scribere plura libet: sed uox mihi fessa loquendo  
dictandi uires siccaque lingua negat.

Accipe supremo dictum mihi forsitan ore,  
quod, tibi qui mittit, non habet ipse, "uale".

little books, which, I trust, although they have harmed me,  
that will give a name and long times to their own author.  
Nevertheless, always moisten the funeral gifts and give  
garlands dampened from your tears. Although the fire  
might change my body into ashes, the mournful embers  
will sense the pious duty. It pleases to write more things:  
but a voice tired from speaking and a dry tongue deny the  
strength of dictating. Receive a statement from me,  
perhaps with an ending mouth, which he who sends it to  
you does not have himself, "be well".