

Ovidius Naso, Publius.

OVID

ARS AMATORIA,

BOOK I

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION
AND COMMENTARY

BY

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1977

176. *aduenā . . . amor* : reminiscent of Euripides, *Hippolytus* 32
 ἔρωσ' ἔρωτ' ἔκδημον.

177-228. *Finding a girl at a military triumph.*

Ovid's chief inspiration lies in Propertius iii. 4 (lines 11-18 quoted on 217 ff.). But only at 219 does he start to advise the young man how to behave when watching a triumphal procession together with his girlfriend; the previous lines contain a *propempticon*, or send-off poem, for young Gaius Caesar, soon to leave for the East. Just a few common features of a *propempticon* are observed, e.g. a prayer to the gods for the traveller's safety and success (203-4), a promised offering upon his return (205), and the joyful anticipation of festivities when the wanderer rejoins his countrymen (213 ff.). Statius, in writing a much more formal *propempticon* for Maecius Celer (*Silvae* iii. 2), used Ovid as one of his models (on the type, see Francis Cairns, *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry* (Edinburgh 1972), particularly chs. 1 and 9, and Nisbet and Hubbard on Horace, *Odes* i. 3). Interestingly, we have another *propempticon* written for Gaius at the same time by Antipater of Thessalonica (translated and discussed in my Appendix III); the latter seems to have lived in Rome, and his work shows several points of contact with Ovid, so one poet may be consciously imitating the other.

The ultimate cause of Gaius' expedition lay in troubles over Armenia. Not long before the pro-Roman king Artavasdes had been expelled, together with Roman troops supporting him, by Tigranes III. Things were made worse by the accession of a new king in Parthia, Phraates V, usually known as Phraataces, who gave assistance to Tigranes and did not seem disposed to compromise. Official Roman sources speak either of a revolt by Armenia ('desciscentem et rebellantem' (*Res Gestae* 27)) or of aggression by Parthia (Velleius ii. 100 'Parthus desciscens a societate Romana adiecit Armeniae manum').

Since Ovid has his eye on the disputed Parthian succession (195-200), Phraataces deserves a fuller notice. He was the son of Phraates IV by an Italian slave-girl Musa (or Thermusa) whom Augustus had presented to the king. This lady determined to secure the throne for her son, and, according to Josephus, was instrumental in persuading Phraates to send his four legitimate sons to Rome (probably not in 20 B.C. when the standards of Carrhae were surrendered, but some time later, about 10 B.C.). So Phraataces was being groomed for power, but, as Josephus remarks drily (*A.J.* xviii. 42), he found it boring to await the course of nature, and, following established family custom, had his father murdered. Tetradrachms of Phraataces are known with dates approximating to July, August, and September, 2 B.C.,

EXPLANATION OF PLATE I

(a) Aureus of Augustus, struck at Lugdunum between 5 February 2 B.C. (when Augustus became officially Pater Patriae—see note on line 197) and 31 December 1 B.C. (after which Gaius entered his consulship).

Obverse: CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRI-
AE

Head of Augustus, laureate, to right.

Reverse: C L CAESARES AVGVSTI F COS DESIG
PRINC IVVENT

Gaius and Lucius standing, facing.

The Reverse inscription and the brothers' equipment may be illustrated by Augustus' words in *Res Gestae* 14 'equites autem Romani uniuersi principem iuuentutis utrumque eorum parmis et hastis argenteis donatum appellauerunt' (compare Ovid line 194). My colleague Mr. J. G. Griffith kindly allowed me to reproduce this fine specimen from his collection.

(b) Silver Tetradrachm of Phraataces (Phraates V), struck at Seleucia on the Tigris. As usual with kings of Parthia, he bears the dynastic name 'Arsaces'. Dated Hyperberetaios 310 of the Seleucid era, approximately September 2 B.C. For Phraataces see further on lines 177 ff. and 195-200.

Obverse: Bust of Phraataces to left, with pointed beard. He wears diadem, earring, beaded necklace, and cuirass.

Reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ
ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ ('Of Arsaces, King of Kings, the Benefactor, the Just, the god-made-manifest, the Philhellene').

Phraataces enthroned to right, receiving diadem from Tyche of city. In field IT (310); in exergue [Y]ΠΕΡΒΕΡΕΤΑ[ΙΟC]

This coin is in the British Museum.



I. Contemporary coins relevant to *Ars Amatoria* I

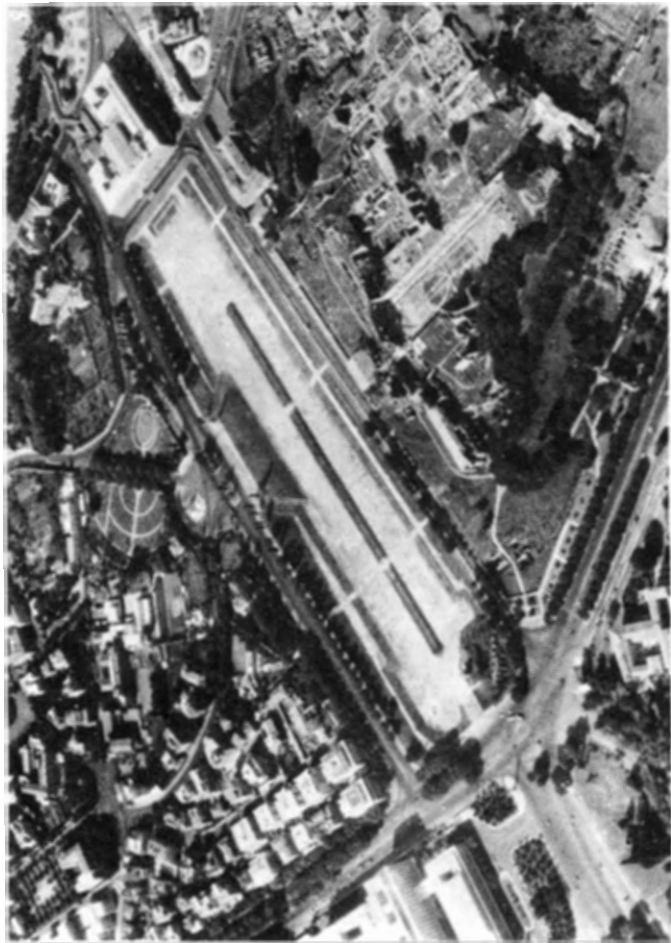
(a) Aureus of Augustus (twice natural size)

(b) Silver tetradrachm of Phraataces (natural size)

For detailed explanation, see page 66



II. A coin of Trajan showing the temple of Venus Genetrix (reconsecrated by him), with the portico of the Forum Iulium and in front the Appiades fountain. Ovid describes exactly this scene in lines 79 ff.



III. Aerial photograph of the Circus Maximus (the setting for lines 135 ff.), between the Aventine and the Palatine



IV. 'Matutinos pectens ancilla capillos' (367). Relief from a tombstone. III Century A.D.

while an isolated British Museum coin (which Mr. D. G. Sellwood kindly re-examined) appears to be of April 2 B.C. Strangely enough Velleius Paterculus, an eyewitness of the eventual meetings between Gaius and Phraataces, thought the young Parthian king impressive (ii. 101 'iuuene excelsissimo').

Neither affairs in Armenia nor the usurpation of Phraataces were tolerable to Augustus—he must have hoped that one of the four hostage-princes whom he had entertained so lavishly in Rome (Strabo xvi. 1. 28) would make a compliant king of Parthia. But dealing with the situation was another matter. He himself had grown too old and feeble to take the field, and Tiberius was sulking in Rhodes. So with great reluctance he appointed his grandson (and adopted son) Gaius, child of Marcus Agrippa and Julia, and elder brother of Lucius and Agrippa Postumus. While preparations for the campaign went ahead, there were diplomatic exchanges between the two principals. Phraataces through an embassy explained the position as he saw it and asked for the return of his half-brothers the hostages—not, I imagine, inspired by any brotherly love, but to remove possible rivals whom Rome might set up against him. Augustus replied by letter with a command for the Parthian to withdraw from Armenia and to abandon the title of king, which suggests that Rome had indeed planned to install one of the four hostage-princes on the Parthian throne (a point confirmed by Ovid in lines 195 and 198, if my interpretation is correct). Phraataces, however, was not abashed and wrote back styling himself 'King of Kings'. So preparations for war continued (all this from Dio lv. 10).

Ovid more than once writes as if the object of the campaign were to conquer the whole Parthian empire (177–8, 202). Such language had been quite regular in the poetry of fifteen to twenty-five years before (e.g. Horace, *Odes* iii. 5. 4, Propertius iii. 1. 16, iii. 4, iv. 6. 79–84), but may surprise us at this date when the lost standards of Carrhae were safely back in Rome, restored through negotiation, and the Roman and Parthian realms had apparently settled down to a comfortable co-existence. There was talk of extending the campaign to Arabia (Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 141, 160). Juba, the scholarly king of Mauretania, fired Gaius' imagination by writing on the natural history of the area (Pliny, *N.H.* xii. 56 'Iuba rex in iis uolaminibus quae scripsit ad C. Caesarem Augusti filium ardentem fama Arabiae'), and Dionysius (?Isidore) of Charax treated the geography (ibid. vi. 141). Even Augustus fostered the young man's ambition, wishing him 'the popularity of Pompey, the daring of Alexander and his own good fortune' (Plutarch, *Moralia* 207e).

Did all this reflect public enthusiasm or the genuine intentions

of the emperor? Such a question is very hard to answer. The idea of a grand Eastern campaign to rival the exploits of Alexander and avenge Carrhae once and for all must have had considerable appeal; clearly the return of the standards did not altogether assuage the feeling that Rome had a score to settle with Parthia. On the other hand Crassus had left for the East amid tribunician curses (Dio xxxix. 39) and the re-introduction of conscription was always feared (Velleius ii. 130). P. A. Brunt in a noteworthy review article (*JRS* 53 (1963), 170-6) argues that we should not dismiss too lightly the poets' words about Eastern conquest, and that they may genuinely have reflected the intentions of Augustus even though he was never free to undertake such an expedition. But what most strikes me about this occasion, when a Roman force actually did campaign in the East, is the ludicrous disparity between the language heralding the event and the final outcome. Not that Gaius tried and failed to defeat the Parthians—he never came to grips with them at all (*Remedia Amoris* 155-6 must obviously be taken with a pinch of salt). In A.D. 1, the year of his consulship, he may have fought in the region of Arabia (see James Zetzel, *GRBS* 11 (1970), 259-66, T. D. Barnes, *JRS* 64 (1974), 22-3, and J. I. Miller, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 15-16, for the theory that he destroyed the port of Aden). Next spring the trouble with Parthia was resolved amicably enough at two working dinner-parties, first on Roman and then on Parthian territory (Velleius ii. 101). Both sides made concessions: Phraataces was recognized as king, but his half-brothers stayed in Rome, whence one of them, Vonones, came to rule Parthia briefly about A.D. 8-12. Even Tigranes of Armenia, after making humble supplication to Rome, was granted the throne which he already held. No sign of any Roman disappointment with this outcome can be detected; Augustus duly describes Armenia as 'domitam per Gaium filium meum' (*Res Gestae* 27). Therefore the whole affair, in my opinion, is most plausibly viewed as a great propaganda exercise for an expedition that was never meant to do much more than show the flag. To finish the story: after meeting Phraataces Gaius became involved in another Armenian disturbance, and received a wound from which he eventually died (21 Feb., A.D. 4). Thus he never returned victorious to fulfil Ovid's prophecy. Nor did Phraataces reign for long; if identical with the 'Phraates son of Phraates' in *Res Gestae* 32, he may have ended his career as a suppliant of Augustus.

Our poet's tone is fulsome (but hardly rivalling Antipater's (Appendix III)), interspersed with characteristic touches of sharpness and humour (e.g. 211, 227-8). In the panegyric parts

I suspect the influence of Hellenistic court-poetry addressed to the king as a god, a type of composition which has perished almost entirely, but we may get some idea of it from epigrams dedicated to the Roman imperial house by Greek poets like Antipater of Thessalonica, Crinagoras, and Philip (all in Gow-Page, *The Garland of Philip*). The question of the emperor's divinity was a tricky one in Rome and Italy; Ovid here avoids the worst excesses which other poets and later he himself sometimes indulged in. He also shows some tact over the future position of Gaius (194). Finally there is just the right division between the parts assigned to Augustus and to Gaius in the coming campaign (see on 177). Nobody could pretend that this is one of the most notable pieces in Ovid, but I myself find it less embarrassing than many similar utterances in Augustan verse. Recently it has become fashionable to portray Ovid as a definite anti-Augustan—a picture hard to reconcile with these lines. We need not take his enthusiasm at face value, but Galinsky (*WS* 1969, 97 ff.) may err in the other direction.

177. **Caesar**: Augustus, as the prime mover of the expedition, rather than Gaius, the actual commander. The emperor himself was unable to take the field because of frailty and advancing age (Dio iv. 10. 18); at 191-2 (see note) Ovid pictures him commanding through Gaius. On the other hand 'dux meus' (202) clearly does refer to Gaius.

domito quod deficit orbi: 'the part remaining before we are masters of the world'. The language is not untypical; cf. Horace, *Epist.* i. 18. 57 (Augustus) 'siquid abest Italis adiudicat armis'. Understand 'nobis' with 'addere' (178, cf. 202). Line 671 'quantum defuerat pleno post oscula uoto?' rather favours keeping these words as a self-contained unit, although Kenney would now consider punctuating 'domito, quod deficit, orbi / addere', making the expression more like Horace, *Odes* ii. 9. 21-2 'Medumque flumen, gentibus additum / uictis'.

179-82. Propertius in 16 B.C. gave a specimen of what the patriotic poet should be composing (iv. 6. 79-84), from which Ovid has taken several hints:

hic referat sero confessum foedere Parthum:
 'reddat signa Remi, mox dabit ipse sua:
 siue aliquid pharetris Augustus parcet Eois,
 differat in pueros ista tropaea suos.
 gaude, Crasse, nigras si quid sapis inter harenas;
 ire per Euphraten ad tua busta licet.'

Line 82 contains a remarkable anticipation: Gaius and Lucius had been adopted as mere infants in 17 B.C.

179. **Crassi gaudete sepulti**: The triumvir M. Licinius Crassus and

his son Publius (hence the plural) met their death in the desert near the Mesopotamian town of Carrhae (53 B.C.). Ovid is presumably making the same point as Propertius (above), that the region where they perished will now become part of the Roman empire. Poetic licence neglects the fact that Crassus never received burial (Val. Max. i. 6. 11).

180. **signa** : In 20 B.C. the Parthians had restored the legionary eagles lost at Carrhae, together with others taken from subordinates of Antony (cf. *Res Gestae* 29, Velleius ii. 91); passages like this show how much and how long the memory rankled. The standards had particular cause for joy at the time of writing (2 B.C.), since they had just been transferred to the new temple of Mars Ultor (171 n., cf. *Res Gestae* 29), henceforth to be the starting-point of generals going on foreign campaigns (Dio lv. 10. 2)—a fact which 'ultor adest' (181) might recall to Ovid's first readers. Compare *Fasti* v. 595, where the temple of Mars Ultor is connected with the avenging both of Julius Caesar and of Crassus.
181. **ducem profitetur** : 'claims the title of commander', not unlike 127 'comitemque negarat'.
- 183 ff. I feel that Hellenistic court-poetry must lie somewhere in the background (see introduction to this passage). Ovid shows more moderation than the Greek poets (e.g. 'child of Zeus' in Antipater (Appendix III), cf. Gow-Page on Crinagoras, *Anth. Pal.* ix. 562. 6 = Crinagoras no. 24, G-P, *The Garland of Philip*). Emperor-worship in Ovid is discussed by Kenneth Scott in *TAPA* 61 (1930), 43-69, but he does not allow for any progression in the language used; only after the exile does our poet throw off all restraint when speaking of the emperor's divinity.
183. There must have been Romans who were worried by Gaius' lack of experience; indeed Augustus appointed him with great reluctance (Dio lv. 10. 18).
184. **Caesaribus uirtus contigit ante diem** : no doubt thinking of Octavian himself, who had commanded in the civil war before he was twenty (cf. Tacitus, *Annals* xiii. 6).
- 185-6. For the doctrine compare Callimachus, *hymn* 1. 55-7 *καλὰ μὲν ἤέειν καλὰ δ' ἔτραφες, οὐράνιε Ζεῦ, / ὄξυ δ' ἀνήβησας, ταχίνοι δέ τοι ἦλλον ἰουλοί. / ἀλλ' ἔτι παιδνός ἐὼν ἐφράσσαο πάντα τέλεια* ('Fair was your growth, and fair your nurturing, heavenly Zeus. Quickly did you come to manhood and swiftly your beard grew. But even as a child you planned everything to perfection'). This may have been a conventional method of praising a young ruler; Callimachus himself probably has one eye on Ptolemy Philadelphus, who, like Zeus, supplanted elder brothers. Later we find precocious maturity among the themes of imperial panegyric in

- prose (e.g. *XII Panegyrici Latini* (Mynors) 4. 7 'inuolucra infantiae uiuidum rupit ingenium').
185. **ingenium caeleste**: avoiding too crude a presentation of Augustus and/or Gaius as a god. Like 'diuinus', 'caelestis' can express enthusiasm without implying actual divinity, e.g. Cicero, *Phil.* v. 28 'illas caelestis diuinisque legiones'.
- 187-90. Hercules and Bacchus are quoted for their precocity. But other parallels with the young Gaius also strike one: (a) both were demi-gods who through their benefits to men achieved full divinity (Cicero, *de Legibus* ii. 19, Horace, *Odes* iii. 3. 9 ff.), (b) they were far-ranging conquerors (compared to Augustus in *Aeneid* vi. 801 ff.), (c) Bacchus had campaigned in the East (190). Victorious Roman generals, like Hellenistic kings before them, might take on the symbols of Bacchus or Hercules, e.g. Marius (Pliny, *N.H.* xxxiii. 150, cf. *N.H.* vii. 95 on Pompey). Much material can be found in Dorothea Michel, *Alexander als Vorbild für Pompeius, Caesar und Marcus Antonius* (Collections Latomus 104, 1967).
- 187-8. Juno, always jealous of her husband's offspring by mortal women, had sent two monstrous snakes in the night against the infant Hercules, but he strangled both with his bare hands.
188. **pressit**: 'strangled' (literally 'squeezed').
et in cunis iam Ioue dignus erat: Any comparison of Hercules to Gaius and Jupiter to Augustus is extremely oblique. Yet contemporary Greeks regularly spoke of the emperor as Zeus (see on 183 ff.), and the same applies to Ovid in exile (see K. Scott, *TAPA* 61 (1930), 52-8).
- 189-90. Euripides (*Bacchae* 15) had described Dionysus leaving 'the walled towns of Bactria'. The myth of his Indian conquest gained impetus in the Hellenistic period, gradually being assimilated to the exploits of Alexander (see A. D. Nock, *JHS* 48 (1928), 21-30). It is the subject of the longest surviving Greek epic, the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus (c. 5th cent. A.D.) in 48 books; no doubt epics had been written earlier on the same theme (e.g. the *Bassarica* of Dionysius, from which we have fragments).
189. **nunc quoque qui puer es**: an ingenious bit of sophistry—like Apollo, Bacchus is ever young (e.g. *Met.* iv. 18 'tu puer aeternus'). Called by T. B. L. Webster (*Hellenistic Poetry and Art*, p. 1) 'peculiarly the god of the Hellenistic age', he appears in contemporary art as a delicate youth (e.g. Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 23).
190. **cum timuit thyrsos**: The ivy-wreathed wand (*thyrsus*), wielded by an ecstatic Maenad with the aid of the god's supernatural power, became a more deadly weapon than sword or spear (see Dodds on Euripides, *Bacchae* 113).
- 191-2. The connection of thought appears to be: *after all we need not worry about Gaius' youthfulness because he will have the moral*

authority (cf. 'auspiciis') and maturity (cf. 'annis') of Augustus behind him. It is true that the compliment to Gaius is lessened, but throughout Ovid keeps a careful balance between praising Gaius and praising Augustus (cf. Galinsky, *WS* 1969, 98-9).

Here the emperor seems almost to be commanding through Gaius. Such a manner of speaking finds several parallels in the latter part of his principate, e.g. Horace, *Odes* iv. 14. 33-4 'te copias, te consilium et tuos / praebente diuos'. Particularly striking is *Tristia* ii. 173-6, where Tiberius, the actual commander in the field, is presented as little more than a puppet: 'per quem bella geris, cuius nunc corpore pugnans, / auspiciis cui das grande deosque tuos, / dimidioque tui es praesens et respicis urbem, / dimidio procul es saeuaque bella geris'. Statements like this were meant to increase the (none too high) military reputation of the *princeps* by proxy.

191. *auspiciis . . . patris*: Originally a Roman commander took the omens in person before battle; the technical phrase for a holder of *imperium* himself leading an army was 'ductu auspiciisque' (Pliny, *N.H.* iii. 136, cf. Ogilvie on Livy iii. 1. 4). But when, as here, the general was only the legate of a magistrate with *imperium*, the auspices would be those of his superior; compare e.g. Tacitus, *Annals* ii. 41 'ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii'. Also implicit is the idea that a campaign 'under the auspices of Augustus' must inevitably be successful because of the moral authority of the *auspex* (cf. *Tristia* ii. 174 quoted above).

annisque: i.e. the experience and wisdom represented by Augustus' years. So Paul Turner translates the line: 'This boy general will have his father's age and authority behind him.' *Tristia* ii. 229 pays the reverse compliment to Augustus, 'nunc te prole tua [Tiberius] iuuenem Germania sentit.' Such a combination of youthful vigour and seasoned judgement is often stressed in panegyric, e.g. Pliny, *Pan.* 8. 4 (Nerva and Trajan), *XII Pan. Lat.* 7. 13. 5 (Maximian and Constantine).

Alan Ker (in *Ovidiana*, p. 224), supported by Kenney, took Ovid to mean that Gaius will be victorious at the same tender age at which Octavian won his first successes. But then the coupling of 'annis' with 'auspiciis' (which Ker misrepresents) surely becomes impossibly awkward—the *present* auspices but the *past* age of his father. True, the youthfulness of Octavian in his first command was a *topos*; the place, however, where we are meant to recall it is line 184.

192. The typical repetition throws emphasis on 'uinces', which is picked up by 'tale rudimentum' in 193.

193. 'Such is the first campaign (i.e. a victorious one) which we expect from you under the tutelage of so great a name.'

rudimentum : as often, a technical term for one's first military service.

tanto sub nomine : The 'great name' is Augustus himself; cf. *Tristia* ii. 442 'quis dubitet nomina tanta sequi?' and Owen ad loc. Alternatively he might mean 'because you bear so great a name' (that of Caesar), but the use of *sub* is not so easy to parallel (see, however, Housman's *Manilius* i, p. lxxi).

194. **nunc iuuenum princeps** : In 5 B.C. Gaius had been saluted by the Equites as 'Princeps Iuuentutis', a title also conferred on his younger brother Lucius in 2 B.C. (cf. *Res Gestae* 14, Tacitus, *Annals* i. 3 and the Augustan coin in my Plate III).

deinde future senum : Undoubtedly Augustus hoped that one of the brothers would succeed to his position in full; witness the private letter preserved by Gellius, *N.A.* xv. 7. But Ovid's antithesis 'iuuenum—senum' suggests for Gaius the impeccably Republican title of 'Princeps Senatus' ('senator' being connected with 'senex') which Augustus held for over forty years (*Res Gestae* 7). One can see here tact, ingenious evasiveness, or even a regard for constitutional propriety. Contrast two less guarded statements: (a) on a centurion's altar set up to the brothers (*I.L.S.* 137) 'nam quom te, Caesar, tempus exposcet deum . . . / . . . sint hei tua qui sorte terrae huic imperent', (b) posthumous honours for Gaius at Pisa (*I.L.S.* 140 = Ehrenberg-Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*², no. 69) 'iam designatum . . . principem' (in spite of appearances, not an official phrase).

195-6. 'Since you yourself have brothers [Lucius and Agrippa Postumus], avenge brothers who have been wronged [the four Parthian hostage-princes supplanted by their half-brother Phraataces]; since you yourself have a father [Augustus], maintain a father's rights [the right of Phraates IV to choose which of his sons should succeed him].' On the historical background, see my introduction to this passage. I am grateful to Mr. E. W. Gray, also to Dr. L. A. Holford-Strevens and others at the Oxford Philological Society for help here. The argument is sophisticated but typically sharp: Gaius, who exemplifies family loyalty, concord, and dutifulness, should punish Phraataces for his flagrant lack of these qualities. This interpretation gives real force to the *cum*-clauses (perhaps its decisive merit).

Almost all commentators and translators assume that 'fratres ulciscere laesos' and 'iura tuere patris' denote Gaius' brothers and Gaius' father. But, while he could reasonably be urged to maintain the rights of Augustus, it would be bizarre in the extreme to describe events in Parthia and/or Armenia as a personal injury to Lucius and Agrippa Postumus. Finally, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, s.v. Erato (probably depending

- on *Res Gestae*, ed. Mommsen², p. 114), refers 'fratres ulciscere laesos' to Tigranes III of Armenia and his sister-wife Erato—does this at least imply a correct understanding of 'cum tibi sint fratres'? But Erato apparently did not abdicate till A.D. 1 after the death of Tigranes, while Ovid writes in late 2 B.C. or early 1 B.C., and in any case Tigranes III, as we have seen, was originally opposed by Rome.
- 197–200. A contrast in filial devotion, picking up 196 'iura tuere patris'.
197. **genitor patriaeque tuusque** : Augustus had long been known as 'pater patriae' unofficially (Horace, *Odes* i. 2. 50). But the title was not formally conferred on him until 5 February 2 B.C.—the year in which this passage was written. So there would be special point in the compliment here. Suetonius (*Div. Aug.* 58) quotes the actual words of Messala Corvinus in proposing the honour: 'quod bonum faustumque sit tibi domuique tuae, Caesar Auguste! sic enim nos perpetuam felicitatem rei publicae et laeta huic precari existimamus: senatus te consentiens cum populo Romano consalutat patriae patrem.' For linking the two types of parenthood cf. Pliny, *Pan.* 10. 6 (on Nerva and Trajan) 'ita ille nullo magis nomine publicus parens, quam quia tuus'.
198. 'Your enemy [Phraataces] took the throne by force from his father [Phraates IV].' See on 177 ff. and 195–6.
- inuito** : implying not merely that Phraates IV was unready to hand over power, but furthermore that he never wished Phraataces to succeed him, preferring another of his sons. While this insinuation seems doubtful (to judge from Josephus, *A.J.* xviii. 42), it would suit the Roman aim of replacing Phraataces with one of the hostage-princes.
199. **tu pia tela feres, sceleratas ille sagittas** : each side designated by its most typical weapon, as at Statius, *Silvae* iii. 2. 126 'Eoas iaculo damnare sagittas'. A Roman would probably refer 'tela' to the heavy legionary javelin (*pilum*) which symbolized Roman power; cf. Lucan, *Bellum Civile* i. 6–7 'pila minantia pilis' and x. 47–8. In reality Gaius would no more carry a *pilum* than would the Parthian king fight as a light-armed horse-archer (see on 209–10).
200. **iusque piumque** : 'Justice and Devotion', cf. *Heroides* 8. 4.
202. **Eoas Latio dux meus addat opes** : The whole of the East was proverbially wealthy—above all Arabia, thought to be among the targets of Gaius. For commercial profit as an acknowledged aim of Eastern conquest, cf. Propertius iii. 4. 1–3 'arma deus Caesar dites meditatur ad Indos . . . / magna, uiri, merces', and, more lightheartedly, Horace to Iccius (*Odes* i. 29).
203. **Marsque pater** : as the father of Romulus (though Greek inscriptions call Gaius both 'son of Ares' and 'the new Ares',

I.G. III. 1. 444 and 444a). Mars also had a special connection with the *gens Iulia* (see Nisbet and Hubbard on Horace, *Odes* i. 2. 36), and, *qua* Mars Ultor, with this campaign (see on 180).

date numen eunti : 'grant him your power as he goes'. Ovid rather jumps the gun in attributing 'numen' to Augustus (Cicero happily spoke of the Senate's 'numen', i.e. the authority and dignity, but 204 shows that the word must bear a fuller sense here). After the exile he does this without qualms, e.g. *Tristia* v. 3. 45-6 'flectere tempta / Caesareum numen numine, Bacche, tuo.' Towards the end of Augustus' reign Tiberius dedicated an Ara Numinis Augusti (? A.D. 5 or A.D. 9, cf. L. R. Taylor, *AJP* 58 (1937), 185-93, D. Fishwick, *Harvard Theological Review* 62 (1969), 356-67). For emperor-worship in Ovid generally, see Kenneth Scott, *TAPA* 61 (1930), 43-69.

204. The line could well be printed in brackets, for it explains (and in Augustus' case half apologizes for) 'numen' in 203.

alter eris : Such was the orthodox doctrine. After his death Augustus would enter the company of heroic individuals like Hercules who won deification by their services to mankind (Horace, *Odes* iii. 3. 9-16).

205 ff. Ovid proposes to write an epic poem as his personal offering for the victory and safe return of Gaius (205). This will be a *Bellum Parthicum*, describing the glorious campaign. To write epics on individual wars was a Roman tradition stretching back to the *Bellum Poenicum* of Naevius; Augustan examples included the *Bellum Actiacum* by Rabirius and the *Bellum Siculum* by Cornelius Severus, on the wars of Octavian against Antony and Sextus Pompey respectively (see further Owen on *Tristia* ii. 529). Gaius, of course, never returned to Rome, but in any case one cannot for a moment take Ovid's proposal seriously. Light poets were always just about to pen a martial epic when some god providentially dissuaded them (for the *recusatio* see Nisbet and Hubbard on Horace, *Odes* i. 6). Even to cry 'I will, I will' and then not to do it can be taken as a sophisticated version of the *recusatio*; by merely outlining the themes which he would like to handle, the poet avoids having to treat them at length (e.g. Propertius ii. 10, iii. 9. 47 ff.). Furthermore Parthian campaigns were recognized as a forbidding subject: 'neque enim quiuis horrentia pilis / agmina nec fracta pereuntis cuspede Gallos / aut labentis equo describat uulnera Parthi' (Horace, *Sat.* ii. 1. 13-15, cf. Persius 5. 4).

For this section our poet may have taken some hints from the complex proem to Virgil's third *Georgic* (1-48). There Virgil looks forward to an epic in which Octavian would be the central figure ('in medio mihi Caesar erit', 16); it was to contain battles ('ardentis . . . pugnas', 46) and a victory over Parthia ('addam

urbis Asiae domitas, pulsumque Niphaten, / fidentemque fuga Parthum uersisque sagittis', 30-1). See L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil*, pp. 165-72 and his Appendix III. There is one great difference between Virgil and Ovid: Virgil, because of his ties with the regime, may have been under some pressure to celebrate military victories, but the same cannot be true of Ovid. These lines represent nothing but a *jeu d'esprit*.

205. **uotiuque carmina reddam**: In the normal manner of a *propempticon* he vows an offering for the wanderer's safe return—his poem. Compare Statius, *Silvae* iii. 2. 131-2 'quanta uotiu mouebo / plectra lyra.' Statius' *propempticon* for Maecius Celer echoes Ovid several times (cf. particularly 213 n.).
206. **et magno nobis ore sonandus eris**: denoting a grandiloquent, epic style. Compare Horace, *Sat.* i. 4. 43-4 'os / magna sonaturum', Virgil, *Georgics* iii. 294 'magno nunc ore sonandum', and for the 'magnum os' also Propertius ii. 10. 12. The expression may go back beyond Horace and Virgil (? to Ennius). In Greek similar is Callimachus fr. 757 φθέγγεο κυδίστη πλειοτέρη φάρυγι (see Pfeiffer's note).
207. **aciemque meis hortabere uerbis**: perhaps a hit at the unreality of many speeches attributed to a general before battle. For some of the conventional topics in a *paraceleusis*, see Ogilvie on Livy iii. 61.
208. 'May the words which I give you be worthy of your spirit!'
- 209-10. The Parthian manoeuvre of shooting from a feigned retreat, which looms so large in Roman literature, was in fact traditionally Asian (cf. Plutarch, *Crassus* 24. 6). Malcolm Colledge (*The Parthians* (Thames & Hudson 1967), pp. 38-9) reproduces graffiti of the Parthian light-armed horse archer, and also of the mailed lance-bearing cavalryman who resembled a medieval knight.
209. **tergaque Parthorum Romanaque pectora**: suggesting (though not very seriously) that the Roman is brave and simple, his foe cowardly and devious. Romans honoured a 'uulnus aduersum', received in face of the enemy (e.g. Cicero, *de Or.* ii. 124, *in Verrem* v. 3), but a wound on the back showed that you must have been running away. The annoying point about the Parthian tactic was that it combined safety with honour, as Plutarch reflects (*Crassus* 24. 6).
211. 'Since flight is your way to victory, what will remain for you, Parthian, in defeat?' One might have thought the Parthian shaft exhausted as a fruitful literary theme. Ovid perhaps deserves credit for a new twist (also 216), but one shudders to imagine a martial epic (see on 205 ff.) written along these lines. For the form of expression compare proverbs like 'when water chokes you, what can you wash it down with?' (Aristotle, *E.N.*

vii. 1146a35), 'if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted?' (Matthew 5: 13).

213-28. *The triumph of Gaius*. For details of a Roman triumph, with illustrations, see Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. *Triumphus*; the younger Pliny pictures a triumph of Trajan as part of his *Panegyric* (17).

213. *ergo erit illa dies, qua tu* : cf. Statius, *Silvae* iii. 2. 127-8 'ergo erit illa dies qua te maiora daturus / Caesar ab emerito iubeat discedere bello.' One finds many such phrases in prophecy, e.g. ἔσσεται ἡμῶν ὄτ' ἄν (*Iliad* vi. 448), ἦξει καὶρὸς ἐκεῖνος (Theocritus 23. 33, cf. Headlam on Herodas 4. 50), 'scilicet et tempus ueniet' (*Georgics* i. 493). The tone is normally solemn, and often doom-laden; here rather it is jubilant. Anticipation of festivities at the traveller's return formed a regular part of the *propempticon* (cf. *Amores* ii. 11. 45 ff., Statius, *Silvae* iii. 2. 133 ff.).

pulcherrime rerum : a surprisingly informal mode of address, cf. Horace, *Sat.* i. 9. 4 'quid agis, dulcissime rerum?' The genitive 'rerum' means literally 'in the world'.

214. *quattuor in niueis . . . equis* : The triumphator would ride in a quadriga drawn by four snow-white horses; cf. Tibullus i. 7. 8, Propertius iv. 1. 32, Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. *Triumphus* figs. 7095 and 7097.

aureus : He wears the triumphal *toga picta*, crimson liberally spangled with gold embroidery (see Mayor on Juvenal 10. 38); also the chariot is gilt. For the favourite Ovidian contrast of colours (aureus—niueis) see my note on *Met.* viii. 9.

215. *ibunt ante duces* : with a typical edge. One expects leaders to go in front of their men, but here they do so in chains. Commanders of the defeated people might be kept alive for the triumph and preceded the triumphator either on foot or in a chariot (Daremberg and Saglio, fig. 7094). Normally they were led away to be executed when the procession reached the foot of the Clivus Capitolinus.

217 ff. This picture of the lover with his girlfriend watching a triumph may be inspired by Propertius iii. 4, particularly lines 11-18:

Mars pater, et sacrae fatalia lumina Vestae,
ante meos obitus sit precor illa dies,
qua uideam spoliis oneratos Caesaris axis,
ad uulgi plausus saepe resistere equos,
inque sinu carae nixus spectare puellae
incipiam et titulis oppida capta legam,
tela fugacis equi et bracati militis arcus,
et subter captos arma sedere duces!

Compare also Horace, *Odes* iv. 2. 41 ff.

218. *diffundetque animos* : 'will release the spirits'. This use of the verb is paralleled by *διαχέω* in Greek.

219. Only here does Ovid start to advise the young man how to behave at a triumph, thus justifying the section which began at 177.

220. *quae loca, qui montes, quaeve ferantur aquae* : cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 41 'uecta spolia captiui simulacra montium fluminum proeliorum'. There might be lists, personifications (as with rivers) or even pictures showing conquered territory. Josephus provides one of our fullest descriptions of a Roman triumph, that of Vespasian and Titus (*B.J.* vii. 132 ff.). He mentions tableaux three or four storeys high, representing episodes in the war; part of his account can be paralleled from the Arch of Titus (see Ernest Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, s.v. Arcus Titi).

ferantur : carried by bearers on a litter (*ferculum*).

221-2. Answer all her questions, and be prepared to volunteer information as well, reeling off the names with an air of complete confidence even if you are making them up.

223-4. Colossal statues of river-gods, usually reclining on one elbow, were familiar in Roman art. We can distinguish a personification of the river Jordan on the Arch of Titus, and Father Danube on Trajan's Column.

223. *praecinctus harundine frontem* : just as the actual river is fringed with reeds. Compare *Met.* ix. 3 of Achelous 'inornatos redimitus harundine crines'.

224. *coma . . . caerulea* : cf. Homer's epithet for Poseidon, *κῆρυξ* ('dark-locked').

dependet : in mourning.

Tigris erit : 'that must be the Tigris'. For the future cf. *Amores* i. 2. 7 'sic erit: haeserunt tenues in corde sagittae.'

225. *hos facito Armenios* : a general mass of undistinguished prisoners.

haec est Danaeia Persis : The Persian kings were supposed to derive from Perses, son of Perseus and Andromeda; Perseus was a son of Danae by Zeus. The myth appears in Herodotus (vii. 150) and might well have interested Hellenistic writers.

Persis : properly the Achaemenid province of Parsa, stretching south and west from Persepolis. At this time Persis was ruled by kings nominally dependent on Parthia who preserved many Achaemenid traditions, and from Persis came the Sasanian dynasty which was to overthrow the Parthians early in the third century.

228. *si poteris, uere, si minus, apta tamen* : a pleasant ending, reminiscent of Seneca's 'uetulus nomenclator qui nomina non reddit sed imponit' (*Epist.* 27. 5). If you do not know their names, invent something suitably complex and colourful.

229-52. *Finding a girl at a party*. A banquet is one of the favourite settings for love-elegy, but here Ovid will not advise the young man how to behave (as at 565 ff.). These are still early days—only at 265 does the poet assume that you have found the ideal girl—and he is more concerned to point out the dangers of making a hasty choice. For the wine and the artificial lighting both tend to rob one of that clear judgement which is the essence of *ars* (246, 249-50).

230. *est aliquid*: for the reticence cf. *Amores* iii. 2. 83, Propertius ii. 33. 42.

231-6. Difficult lines which have caused great trouble to commentators. E. J. Kenney (*CQ* n.s. 9 (1959), 244-6) provides an extremely valuable elucidation of the motifs from both Greek and Roman poetry, and goes a long way towards dispelling the obscurity (my notes are much indebted to him). See also the discussion of Kenney by F. W. Lenz in the Commentary to his Berlin 1969 edition (which does not add anything very substantial), and by H. Tränkle in *Hermes* 100 (1972), 393-6. Finally, Elaine Fantham, *Comparative Studies in Republican Latin Imagery* (1972), 82-91, has a useful collection of material, chiefly from Comedy.

Part of the obscurity is due to constant playing on two levels, a favourite Ovidian turn (see my note on *Met.* viii. 549 ff.). Bacchus may be a horned god at one moment, and at the next simply wine, by metonymy—or even both at once (see on 231 'positi'). Cupid appears first as a winged boy, then as love in the heart of a young man (236). Further difficulties centre around lines 234 and 235, which on the most reasonable interpretation of the allegory might seem contradictory (see *ad locc.*). There I would guess that Ovid was preoccupied with the visual image of the winged god caught in a slightly glutinous liquid and striving to free himself, but at the same time he could not resist adding various conventional ideas about love, the symbolism of which was not wholly consistent. Kenney speaks of Ovid's deficient visual imagery, and suggests that he may have failed to visualize clearly what he was describing. This could be right in the present case, though I would contend that Ovid's visual imagination was generally first-class.

We need not, however, convict the poet of incompetence. There is quite a sophisticated way of writing in which the visual imagery may be fragmented, confusing, or even provocatively absurd. As an example of the last, consider the neoteric conceit mocked by Persius (1. 94) 'qui caeruleum dirimebat Nerea delphin', where readers are surely meant to conjure up momentarily a picture of a dolphin parting the sea-god himself, before rejecting it as ridiculous. I suspect that the technique is

primarily neoteric. Propertius' images often shift alarmingly and produce no coherent picture (see Gordon Williams on iv. 11, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry*, p. 393); it may be significant that similar difficulties have been felt in Propertius ii. 12, an allegorical account of the attributes of Cupid.

Kenney well quotes from the *Anacreontea* (5 Bergk) an erotic allegory concerning Love and wine which in atmosphere has a striking affinity to Ovid:

στέφος πλέκων ποθ' εὔρον
 ἐν τοῖς ῥόδοις Ἔρωτα.
 καὶ τῶν πτερῶν κατασχῶν
 ἐβάπτισ' εἰς τὸν οἶνον
 λαβῶν δ' ἔπινον αὐτόν,
 καὶ νῦν ἔσω μελῶν μου
 πτεροῖσι γαργαλίξει.

('Once when I was plaiting a garland, I found Love among the roses. Holding him fast by the wings, I dipped him in wine and took and drank him down. Now inside my body he is tickling me with his wings.')

231-2. Kenney suggests plausibly enough that this couplet may derive from a painting which showed Cupid and Bacchus wrestling, while 233-6 look like Ovid's own rhetorical exploitation. A struggle between Cupid and Bacchus is familiar in the context of drowning one's sorrows, but then Bacchus will win (e.g. Lygdamus (*Corpus Tibullianum* iii. 6. 4) 'saepe tuo cecidit munere uictus Amor').

231. **positi**: in a double sense (see above). The god reclines on a couch and the wine is set down on a table. We need not consider Lachmann's 'poti'.

teneris . . . lacertis: something of an oxymoron—*lacertus* usually implies brawn and muscle.

adducta: cf. *Met.* ix. 52 (another wrestling match) 'adductaque brachia soluit'.

232. **purpureus . . . Amor**: The epithet indicates a brilliant sheen (cf. Horace, *Odes* iv. 1. 10 'purpureis . . . oloribus') and is often applied to a youthful complexion, e.g. *Aeneid* i. 590-1 'lumenque iuuentae / purpureum'.

Bacchi cornua pressit: Cupid 'forces down' (more than 'holds fast' (Kenney)) the horns of Bacchus, as in wrestling with a bull. Compare *Met.* x. 83-4 'depressaque dura / cornua figit humo' (with Gardiner, *JHS* 26 (1906), 16-17, figs. 7-8), Callimachus fr. 258 θηρὸς ἐρωήσας ὀλοὸν κέρας. For Love as a wrestler see Kenney's parallels and Pearson on Sophocles fr. 941. 13 τῖν' οὐ παλαίουσ' ἐς τρις ἐκβάλλει θεῶν; The bull-form belongs to Bacchus not

as god of wine, but in a more primitive conception of him as god of untamed power (see Dodds's *Bacchae*, pp. xi-xx).

233-4. Love has overcome Wine in wrestling, but in the process his wings are drenched so that for the moment he cannot fly away. Profiting from the accident, Love takes possession of a young man's heart.

233. *bibulas* : 'absorbent'.

234. *permanet et capto stat grauis ille loco* : a paradox. Love is held fast by the drenching of his wings, but makes a virtue out of necessity and captures the territory where he is trapped (a young man's heart). For the literary motif, see on 235.

grauis : Kenney discerns as many as three meanings present here—(1) 'with wet garments', (2) *uino grauatus*, (3) 'troublesome', cf. Theocritus 3. 15 *βαρὺς θεός*.

235. *pennas . . . excutit* : I think Kenney must be right in saying that here Love flies away (he does not merely 'shake out' his wings to dry them). 'Excutit' is equivalent to the simple 'quatit' (cf. 22). The poet appears to mean that passion inspired by wine is impermanent and lasts just so long as the intoxication which gave it birth (Kenney). But would this not contradict line 234 (*permanet* and *capto . . . loco*)?

I have suggested that Ovid may have been intrigued by the picture of the winged god hastening to free himself from the wine. Also he seems to play with two opposing literary motifs. One stressed the difficulty of shaking off a painful love, e.g. Propertius ii. 12. 15 'euolat heu nostro quoniam de pectore nusquam', Meleager 10 Gow-Page (*Anth. Pal.* v. 212). 5-6 *ἐπίπτασθαι μὲν, Ἐρωτες, / οἶδατ', ἀποπτήναι δ' οὐδ' ὅσον ἰσχύετε*; while the other symbolized the fickleness of love, e.g. ii. 19-20 'et leuis est et habet geminas, quibus auolet, alas; / difficile est illis imposuisse modum' or Moschus' poem entitled 'Love the Runaway' (1 Gow). Debaters might argue on either side whether or not Cupid was rightly credited with wings (see Butler and Barber on Propertius ii. 12).

236. 'Cupid, as he flies away, shakes the wine off his wings; the wine is still tinged with love, so that the god leaves some traces of himself behind, and the lover does not get off heart-whole (*nocet*) . . . Even the transitory passion inspired by wine cannot evaporate without leaving some mark behind' (Kenney). Kenney also gives parallels for love conceived as a liquid (even a poison) dripped into the heart, although our passage is not quite typical.

et : Just a few drops can be dangerous.

237-44. *Wine prepares the heart for love; it removes all worries and inhibitions, making men behave in a completely natural way*. From the innumerable parallels (cf. Nisbet and Hubbard on Horace,

Odes i. 18) one may quote Horace, *Odes* iii. 21. 13–20, a passage which Ovid had particularly in mind (239 n.):

tu lene tormentum ingenio admoues
plerumque duro; tu sapientium
curas et arcanum iocoso
consilium retegis Lyaeo;

tu spem reducis mentibus anxiiis
uiresque et addis cornua pauperi
post te neque iratos trementi
regum apices neque militum arma.

237. For the proverbially close connection (Otto, *Sprichwörter*, s.v. *Venus*) between love and wine cf. Callimachus, *Ep.* 42 Pf. 3 ἀκρητος καὶ Ἔρως μ' ἠγάγκασαν, Propertius i. 3. 13–14 'et quamuis duplici correptum ardore iuberent / hac Amor hac Liber, durus uterque deus.'

238. *diluiturque mero* : oxymoron.

239. *tum pauper cornua sumit* : echoing Horace, *Odes* iii. 21. 18 (quoted above). Horns symbolize courage and pugnacity (cf. Otto, s.v. *Cornu* 4)—the poor man will not allow himself to be pushed around. We find the same figure in Greek (Diogenianus vii. 89 κέρατα ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνδρείας ὑπόληψιν ἐχόντων).

241–2. According to L. P. Wilkinson (*Ovid Recalled*, p. 133) the couplet sounds 'innocently Tibullian', and one may agree. But he surely errs in adding 'The *simplicitas* (alias *rusticitas*) is modesty, and the *artes* are the girl's defences.' These are not moral terms; Ovid merely says that wine strips away everything that hides a person's underlying character.

aeuo rarissima nostro / *simplicitas* : because contemporary Rome was polished and sophisticated, the hall-mark of the times being *cultus* (iii. 127). *Simplicitas* sounds like a goddess who only occasionally manifests herself—indeed Ovid may be thinking of Aratus on Justice in the Silver Age (*Phaenomena* 115 ff., a celebrated passage).

242. *deo* : of course Bacchus.

243. *animos iuuenum rapuere puellae* : The hunters have become the hunted, highlighting the dangers of finding a girl at a party.

244. *ignis in igne* : cf. Otto, *Sprichwörter*, s.v. *Ignis* 3, Diogenianus vi. 71 μὴ πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ.

245–52. *Before becoming too closely involved with a girl, be sure to examine her in the daylight, as you would before buying a jewel or a dyed woollen garment.*

The antithesis between lamp-light and sunlight was to some extent proverbial (Otto, s.v. *Sol* 5). I wonder whether Ovid is not giving a new turn to conventional abuse of those who hid them-

selves away in banquets—this would be very much in his manner (cf. 99 n., 166 n.). As Cicero puts it (*pro Caelio* 67) 'lux denique longe alia est solis, alia lychnorum.' The poet agrees, but for an unexpected reason.

245. **nimum ne crede lucernae** : an echo (perhaps unconscious) of Virgil, *Ecl.* 2. 17 'nimum ne crede colori.'

246. **iudicio formae** : pointing forward to the Judgement of Paris in 247-8, lines typical of Ovid's ability to extract a novel point from even the most hackneyed myth.

247 ff. Notice how *luce* (247), *nocte* (249) and *diem* (252) are all emphatically placed at the beginning or end of a line.

249-50. Naturally he mentions the wine and artificial light as an advantage when advising the opposite sex: 'etsi turpis eris, formosa uidebere potis, / et latebras uitii nox dabit ipsa tuis' (iii. 753-4).

251. Also perhaps proverbial was the sentiment that bargains should be made in broad daylight; cf. Euripides, *Cyclops* 137 ἐκφέρετε φῶς γὰρ ἐμπολήμασιν πρέπει.

de tincta murice lana : The ability to distinguish between dyed materials of different quality became a standard example of good judgement; cf. Horace, *Epist.* i. 10. 26-7 'qui Sidonio contendere callidus ostro / nescit Aquinatem potantia uellera fucum', Quintilian xii. 10. 75 'ut lana tincta fuco citra purpuras placet' citing Ovid fr. 5 Morel, cf. *Remedia* 707-8.

253-62. *But places where females congregate are more numerous than grains of sand on the sea-shore.* The poet ends this section with two examples of the many places which he could have added—Baiae (255-8) and the grove of Diana at Aricia (259-62).

254. **numero cedet harena meo** : see Nisbet and Hubbard on Horace, *Odes* i. 28. 1 'numeroque carentis harenae'. 'Cedet harena' may contain a secondary playful idea of the sand yielding under a heavy weight, as in 'inposito cessit harena pede' (560).

255. **Baias** : the fashionable spa on the north shore of the Bay of Naples, surrounded by villas of the rich. Baiae was endowed with superb scenery and a pleasant climate; cf. Horace, *Epist.* i. 1. 83 'nullus in orbe sinus Bais praelucet amoenis', Martial xi. 80. But it acquired a persistent reputation for immorality. Varro wrote a satire entitled *Baiae*; there, according to him, 'non solum innubae fiunt communes, sed etiam ueteres puellascent' (*Saturarum Menippearum* p. 105 Riese). Cicero feared that sober-minded jurymen might be prejudiced against a youth 'qui Baias uiderit' (*pro Caelio* 27), and Propertius (i. 11) was worried by the dangers to which Cynthia exposed herself there. But nobody wrote more pungently than Martial, on the lady who 'Penelope uenit, abit Helene' (i. 62. 6).

praetextaque litora Bais: As Kenney says, the repetition 'Baia . . . Bais' throws emphasis on 'litora', the notorious beaches; the reading 'Bais' has the support of Y as well as O. All the same, I prefer (like older editors) the variant 'uelis', 'the shore fringed with sailing-boats'; cf. *Aeneid* vi. 4-5 'litora curuae / praetexunt puppes' and Lucan x. 537. These small pleasure boats were a prominent feature of Baiae (Juvenal 12. 80 'Baianae . . . cumbae', Seneca, *Epist.* 51. 12 'tot genera cumbarum uariis coloribus picta', Propertius i. 11. 9-10, cf. Horace, *Odes* iv. 15. 3-4). Ovid's practice in a quick review such as we have here is to pack the maximum amount of vivid detail into the minimum of space (cf. 256, 259-60); on this score 'uelis' is superior to 'Bais'.

A grammatical point (noted by Kenney) might also be taken to favour 'uelis'. After 'praetextaque litora', of course 'uelis' would be ablative, but 'Bais' must be dative, and the dative is not apparently associated with 'praetexo' until Silver Latin (though Kenney quotes Cicero, *de Re Publica* ii. 9 for a dative with 'adtexo').

256. et quae de calido sulphure fumat aqua?: Compare Propertius iii. 18. 2 'fumida Baiarum stagna tepentis aquae'. The hot sulphur-springs had earned the town its previous name of *Aquae Cumanae* (Livy xli. 16).

257. uulnus . . . in pectore: Some waters were thought particularly good for wounds (cf. Pliny, *N.H.* xxxi. 6, xxxi. 17). Here, however, the man who came for a cure leaves with a different sort of trauma.

259-62. The grove of Diana Nemorensis at Aricia lay about ten miles south of Rome along the Appian Way (cf. *suburbanae*, 259). This cult was extremely rich and popular, involving a torch-light procession of women which Propertius' Cynthia had often attended (ii. 32. 9-10).

260. partaque per gladios regna nocente manu: The extraordinary conditions of priesthood at Aricia provided the starting-point for Sir James Frazer's great anthropological work *The Golden Bough* (vol. I, ch. 1—see also his index s.v. Aricia and note on *Fasti* iii. 271). The priest was called 'king of the grove', 'Rex Nemorensis' (cf. *regna*); on priestly kings, see *The Golden Bough* vol. I, ch. 2. He had to be a runaway slave, and won the office by slaying his predecessor in single combat.

Clearly the custom looked back to a primitive age and manner of thought. Frazer (on *Fasti* iii. 271) summarized his thesis argued at length in *The Golden Bough* thus: 'Kings are possessed of a divine or magical character in virtue of which not only the welfare of their subjects but the course of nature . . . are bound up with the life of the ruler and will suffer serious damage, or

even perish, if his strength fails through illness or old age. . . . To avert these dangers various measures are adopted. Sometimes the king's reign is limited to a period during which he may reasonably be expected to retain his bodily and mental vigour. . . . Sometimes, without putting a fixed term to his reign and his life, his people allow him to reign till symptoms of old age or serious illness warn them of his threatened dissolution. . . . Sometimes, again, he is suffered to reign and to live so long as he can give proof of undiminished health and strength by repelling any armed attacks made upon him by candidates for the throne.'

Did such a barbarous rite really take place in Ovid's day? The answer seems to be in the affirmative. Strabo's chilling picture of the priest gazing around with drawn sword, ever fearful of an attack (v. 3. 12), suggests an eye-witness. The priest in Caligula's reign had survived for many years—possibly evidence of relaxation?—a fact which displeased the mad emperor: 'Nemorensi regi, quod multos iam annos poteretur sacerdotio, validiorem aduersarium subornauit' (Suetonius, *Gaius* 35). Pausanias in the second century A.D. (ii. 27. 4) implies that the custom had lasted until his lifetime.

261. quod est uirgo: according to Kenney 'although she is a virgin'. That would be a legitimate use of 'quod', which is basically a colourless word ('as for the fact that') deriving its sense, causal, conditional, or concessive, from the context (see M. E. Taylor, *Yale Classical Studies* 12 (1951), 229-49). But I take Ovid to mean that precisely *because* Diana is a virgin and opposed to Cupid, she delights to inflict on the people a *painful* love (cf. 262 'uulnera').

263-8. Recapitulation, and introduction to the second part of the subject—how to catch the girl once you have found her.

263-5. hactenus . . . nunc: echoing the start of *Georgics* ii, 'hactenus aruorum cultus et sidera caeli: | nunc te, Bacche, canam' (see on 35-40). The same pattern can be found in almost any other didactic poet, e.g. Lucretius iii. 31 ff. 'et quoniam docui . . . / hasce secundum res . . .', Manilius iii. 160 ff. 'et quoniam . . . exegimus . . . / nunc . . . canendum est', [Oppian], *Cyn.* iii. 1 ff. ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ κεραῶν ἠέλισαμεν ἔθνεα θηρῶν / νῦν ἄγε . . . φράζωμεν . . .

263. ubi retia ponas: For the significance of the hunting metaphor, see on 45-8. The 'nets of Venus' occur first in Ibycus, *Lyrica Graeca Selecta* 267. 4 (further examples given by Kenney, *Mnemosyne* 1970, 386-8).

264. imparibus uecta . . . rotis: another variation on what may be termed Ovid's favourite joke—cf. *Amores* i. 1. 3-4 (Cupid steals a foot from two hexameters, leaving an elegiac couplet), iii. 1. 8