OVID

ARS AMATORIA

BOOK I

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION
AND COMMENTARY
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being represented in human shape but with horns. The identification with Io was established by the time of Callimachus (*Ep.* 57. 1 *'Ιναχίης . . . "Ισιδος*).

Concerning the unsavoury reputation of Isis in Rome cf. Juvenal 9. 22 ff., Martial xi. 47. 4; the main temple was in the Campus Martius. This cult did not fare so well as Judaism at the hands of the authorities, and we hear of measures against it under both Augustus and Tiberius. But undoubtedly it remained popular, particularly with women—the heroines of Roman elegy are regularly portrayed as devotees of Isis.

77. **linigerae :** The priests of Isis wore linen clothes, avoiding wool, which they considered an impure excrement (cf. Herodotus ii. 37 and 81, Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris* 4).

Memphitica : hardly more then 'Egyptian'. But there might be an allusion to the temple of Isis which the Pharaoh Amasis built in the sixth century B.C. at Memphis (Herodotus ii.176).

79–88. *Believe it or not, a love affair can even start in the law courts.*

79. **et fora :** 'even *fora*'.

(quis credere possit?): One would not imagine that long-winded treatises and turgid rhetoric left much room for intimate emotions. Unlike his brother, Ovid was temperamentally ill-suited to the law (*Tristia* iv. 10. 17 ff.) and states his dislike of the profession (*Amores* i. 15. 5–6 'nec me uerbosas leges ediscere nec me / ingrato uocem prostituisse foro'). Even so he had considerable knowledge of legal terminology, and delights to poke fun at it (see on 83–6 and 585–8). E. J. Kenney, 'Ovid and the Law' (*Yale Classical Studies* 21 (1969), 243–63) examines the poet's own career. One should add that rejection of bombastic oratory was a traditional pose among elegists who practised Callimachean restraint, as Apollo forbade Propertius 'insano uerba tonare foro' (iv. 1. 134).

80. **in arguto . . . foro :** changing from plural to singular because he already begins to particularize, referring to the *Forum Iulium* (see on 81–2). For this reason I prefer no punctuation after 80, but a colon after 82. This also provides a better structure for the whole passage, continuing the sequence of four-line units (67–70, 71–4, 75–8, 79–82, 83–6).

arguto : clearly in a bad sense, 'shrill', 'wordy'.

81–8. Paul Turner's translation sparkles, matching point for point—inevitably not quite the same point as in Ovid (see on 83–6): 'You know where the Appian fountain spurts into the air, just below the temple of Venus? Well, that is where many a learned friend has been transformed into a lover, and many a legal adviser has acted most ill-advisedly. There the fluent speaker is always liable to dry up, as a fresh piece of evidence

suddenly catches his eye, and he finds he will have to plead his own cause. From her marble home next door Venus laughs to see a barrister so badly in need of Counsel.'

81–2. subdita qua Veneris facto de marmore templo / Appias expressis aera pulsat aquis : We are in the *Forum Iulium*, where stands the fountain of the Appiades. Behind the fountain steps lead up to the temple of Venus Genetrix. The scene is portrayed on a coin of Trajan, illustrated by Nash (*Pictorial Dictionary*, vol. I fig. 26, whence my Plate I) who also photographed the site as it is now (fig. 25), showing what may be the foundation walls of the Appiades. Julius Caesar dedicated the *Forum Iulium* and temple of Venus Genetrix in 46 B.C., although both works had subsequently to be completed by Augustus (see Nash, vol. I figs. 519–29). Caesar planned his forum not as a market, but for other kinds of business (Appian, *B.C.* ii. 102), and, appropriately enough, Ovid shows us the lawyers practising there.

82. Appias : the fountain's water-nymph (cf. *Remedia* 660). But the reason for this name eludes us, since the *Aqua Appia* did not extend to that part of Rome. At iii. 452 Ovid speaks of Appiades in the plural, and Asinius Pollio's art collection boasted an 'Appiades' by Stephanus (Pliny, *N.H.* xxxvi. 33), perhaps a copy of the work in the *Forum Iulium*. So there may have been more than one figure of a nymph.

expressis aera pulsat aquis : A jet of water spurts out under high pressure, possibly from the mouth of the nymph. Roman ornamental fountains then as now might be highly ingenious; cf. Clemens Herschel, *Frontinus and the Water Supply of the City of Rome* (1899), ch. 8, and e.g. Propertius ii. 32. 13–16.

83–6. Every line contains a double meaning based on legal terminology—a notable tour de force.

83. capitur : 'is trapped'. Under the obvious amatory sense (e.g. 61, Propertius i. 1. 1) there lies a technical lawyer's use of *capi*, meaning to be tricked by a form of words. It would of course be the business of a *iurisconsultus* to ensure that his client did not suffer this fate: 'tu caues ne tui consultores . . . capiantur' (Cicero, *pro Murena* 22). Compare the formula at Cicero, *de Officiis* iii. 70 'uti ne propter te fidemue tuam captus fraudatusue sim' (see further Douglas on Cic., *Brutus* 178).

consultus : the legal expert (*iure-* or *iurisconsultus*) as opposed to the forensic orator (*disertus*) in 85. For this division cf. *Amores* i. 13. 21 'nec tu consulto nec tu iucunda diserto', Cicero, *Brutus* 148 'consultorum alterum disertissimum, disertorum alterum consultissimum'.

Amori : dative of the agent after a passive verb, cf. Horace, *Epist.* i. 19. 3 'quae scribuntur aquae potoribus'.

84. quique aliis cauit, non cauet ipse sibi : The first use of *cauere* is

rigidly technical of a *iurisconsultus* = pro clientibus cautionum (a bond or pledge to secure the position of one party) formulas scribere (*T.L.L.* s.v. *caueo* III A), the second more general = to look out for oneself. Cicero teases his jurist friend Trebatius in exactly the same way: 'tu qui ceteris *cauere* didicisti, in Britannia ne ab essedariis decipiaris *caueto*' (*ad Fam.* vii. 6. 2). There were also plenty of ancient proverbs about e.g. philosophers or doctors who could not apply their skill to themselves; see Otto, *Sprichwörter* s.v. *sapere*, Phaedrus i. 9. 1–2 'sibi non cauere et aliis consilium dare / stultum esse paucis ostendamus uersibus.'

85. desunt sua uerba diserto : 'the barrister's words abandon him' (for *disertus* as a substantive see on 83). Below the surface meaning (e.g. Plautus, *Bacchides* 37 'ne defuerit mihi in monendo oratio') lurks another image—that of an influential citizen failing to help a friend or client by speaking in court of his good character. Compare Cicero, *pro Sex. Roscio* 30 'patronos huic defuturos putaverunt; desunt.'

86. res . . . nouae : a case for which there is no precedent (*Vocabularium Iurisprudentiae Romanae*, vol. V col. 107 s.v. *res noua*). The barrister's professional experience cannot help him when he first falls in love; he has never met this situation before.

87. hunc Venus . . . ridet : the Homeric 'laughter-loving Aphrodite' (φιλομμείδης Ἀφροδίτη, 'Erycina ridens' in Horace, *Odes* i. 2. 33). Her smile became fixed in later poetry; cf. Sappho, *Lyrica Graeca Selecta* (Page) 191. 14 μειδιαίσαισ' ἀθανάτῳ προσώπῳ, Theocritus i. 94 ἦνθέ γε μὰν ἁδεῖα καὶ ἁ Κύπρις γελάοισα, Horace, *Odes* ii. 8. 13 'ridet hoc, inquam, Venus.'

templis : the temple of Venus Genetrix (see on 81–2).

89–134. *But your best hunting-ground is the theatre. This has been so ever since the time of Romulus* (101–34, interlude on the Rape of the Sabine Women).

90. uoto . . . tuo : ablative of comparison, 'even more productive than you could wish'.

91–2. quod ames, quod ludere possis, / quodque semel tangas, quodque tenere uelis : for the neuter cf. 35 n. Ovid effectively divides the women into two classes with chiasmus—'a girl to love, a girl to deceive, a girl to leave, a girl to keep' (Kenney).

91. ludere : 'to deceive', as at 643. With an accusative (*quod*) the verb can hardly mean 'to flirt with'; we would expect *cum* or *in* +ablative.

93–6. Both these comparisons recall Virgil—the ants *Aeneid* iv. 402–7 and the bees *Georgics* iv. 162–9 (repeated almost word for word at *Aeneid* i. 430–6). They illustrate different aspects of the scene. The ants call to mind an unbroken column making purposefully for the theatre (cf. *Aen.* iv. 405 'calle angusto',

Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* ix. 38. 622b 'they all continually travel on a single path', Ovid line 93 'longum . . . per agmen') while the bees add a touch of elegance and perhaps imply that the girls' attention is easily turned from one sight to another (cf. 96).

93. redit itque : the natural order reversed for metrical reasons (see Kenney on Lucretius iii. 787).

agmen : cf. *Aen.* iv. 404 'it nigrum campis agmen.' Servius supplies the curious information that the same words had been used twice before—by Ennius of elephants and by Accius of Indians. But why does Ovid write '*per* agmen'? It seems almost that he imagined the column as existing independently of the ants which form it, so that they can be said to move *along* the column.

94. granifero : cf. *Met.* vii. 638 (also of ants). The compound does not survive elsewhere.

95–6. The simile is redolent of Virgil's *Georgics* (but note that crowding women are likened to bees earlier in Ap. Rh. i. 879 ff.). Compare particularly iv. 54–6 'illae (the bees) continuo saltus siluasque peragrant, / purpureosque metunt flores et flumina libant / summa leues', and for 'nactae' iv. 77. Virgil himself fashioned iv. 162–9 into a simile at *Aen.* i. 430–6.

99. spectatum ueniunt, ueniunt spectentur ut ipsae : an ingenious line. Perhaps remembering Plautus, *Poenulus* 337 'sunt illi aliae quas spectare ego et me spectari volo', Ovid turns to his advantage an argument which had been used against such displays. One can cite a remark supposedly addressed by Socrates to Xanthippe, 'You see, you are not going for the spectacle, but rather to make a spectacle of yourself' (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* vii. 10). Christian writers made the same point in their condemnation of Games, e.g. Tertullian, *de Spectaculis* 25 'nemo denique in spectaculo ineundo prius cogitat nisi uidere et uideri.'

101–34. Interlude, *The Rape of the Sabine Women.* Ovid presents this in the learned Hellenistic manner as an aetiological tale—ever since then the theatre has been a dangerous place for pretty girls (see on 133–4 for the formal conclusion). It is one of his most pleasant creations. We must imagine the mixed reactions of a Roman audience. The Augustans were particularly fond of stories of their city's infancy, and the Rape of the Sabine Women was firmly established in tradition (cf. R. M. Ogilvie on Livy i. 9, also Dionysius Hal., *Ant. Rom.* ii. 30, Plutarch, *Romulus* 14). But obviously it must have embarrassed upholders of Roman *gravitas*. The women themselves became proverbial for chastity (Juvenal 6. 163–4 'intactior omni / crinibus effusis bellum dirimente Sabina'), though one might view them otherwise. Ovid pokes fun at the primitive character of early Rome (see on 103 ff.), and enthusiastically applauds Romulus' action (131–2),

claiming in effect that the Founder had anticipated his own doctrines (101)! To crown the whole piece, lines 131–2 cast a sly glance at contemporary recruiting difficulties in the Roman army.

A. E. Wardman (*CQ* N.S. 15 (1965), 101–3) points out that the action was normally placed at chariot-races in the Circus. Although preserving a trace of this version (105–6 n.) Ovid transfers the scene to the theatre. Thereby he mocks (a) censorious criticism of the theatre (cf. particularly Tacitus, *Annals* xiv. 20) by suggesting that lax behaviour there, far from being a foreign importation, had existed from Rome's earliest days, and (b) the segregation of the sexes (109 n.)—if Romulus could organize the affair in a segregated theatre, his descendants can hardly be blamed for more sophisticated adventures.

101. primus sollicitos fecisti, Romule, ludos : perhaps an echo of Propertius on the *spolia opima*, 'imbuis exemplum primae tu, Romule, palmae / huius' (iv. 10. 5–6). Ovid here parodies the ancient preoccupation with inventors. Since the time of Aristotle scholars had written works *περὶ εὑρημάτων*, ascribing each innovation to a named individual (see Nisbet and Hubbard on Horace, *Odes* i. 3. 12, and my note on *Met.* viii. 244–5). In didactic poetry too inventors came to have an established place; the author will call down blessings on the man who made a notable advance in technique, as does Ovid in 131–2 and Grattius in *Cynegetica* i. 95 ff., 215–16 'Hagnon, quem plurima semper / gratia per nostros unum testabitur usus'. Virgil's *Georgics* offer Aristaeus as inventor of *βουγονία* (iv. 315–16), Ericthonius of the four-horse chariot and the Lapiths of the bridle (iii. 113–17). Note also the beginning of [Oppian], *Cyn.* ii.

102. uiduos : 'wifeless'—they were not of course widowers! Compare Livy i. 9. 1 'penuria mulierum hominis aetatem duratura magnitudo erat, quippe quibus nec domi spes prolis nec cum finitimis conubia essent.'

103 ff. Romans of the Augustan age delighted to picture the primitive state of their city. They liked to ask with Propertius (iv. 4. 9) 'quid tum Roma fuit?'; mingled with pride in what the city had become there was nostalgia for the time when sheep had grazed on the site of all those splendid buildings. We have many passages which gain their effect by making a sharp contrast between present magnificence and past simplicity. Thus Propertius iv. 1. 1 ff.:

> Hoc quodcunque uides, hospes, qua maxima Roma est,
> ante Phrygem Aenean collis et herba fuit;
> atque ubi Nauali stant sacra Palatia Phoebo,
> Euandri profugae procubuere boues *etc.*

and, viewed from the other end, Virgil on Aeneas' visit to Evander at the site of future Rome (*Aen.* viii. 360–1):

> passimque armenta uidebant
> Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis.

Compare further Tibullus ii. 5. 23 ff., Prop. iv. 4. 9 ff., and in less idyllic manner Martial i. 2, Juvenal 3. 12 ff.

Ovid writes in the same tradition, but his attitude to the past is far from reverential. He amuses himself over the crude entertainment (103–7, 111–13), the men's uncouth appearance and primitive sunshades (108), and the careful way in which they stare at the Sabine women, each marking out one for himself and silently brooding over his plans (109–10).

103–4. Compare Propertius iv. 1. 15–16 (also on primitive Rome) 'nec sinuosa cauo pendebant uela theatro, / pulpita solemnes non oluere crocos.'

103. tunc neque marmoreo pendebant uela theatro : He is probably thinking of the *Theatrum Pompei* (which was in fact sometimes called 'theatrum marmoreum'), built in 55 B.C., Rome's first permanent theatre and always the most important. See Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary*, figs. 1216–23; fig. 1217 shows remarkably how the outline of modern buildings preserves the plan of the theatre. As for the awnings (*uela*) stretched over the top, Q. Lutatius Catulus introduced this idea at the dedication of the Capitoline temple (see Pliny, *N.H.* xix. 23). The awnings would be supported on transverse beams slung between upright masts; holes for such masts have been found in the Colosseum (see Boethius and Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture*, p. 224). Lucretius uses the gaily-coloured awnings for one of his most notable illustrations from Roman life (iv. 75 ff.). It is worth quoting the first three lines:

> et uulgo faciunt id lutea russaque uela
> et ferrugina, cum magnis intenta theatris
> per malos uulgata trabesque trementia flutant.

104. nec fuerant liquido pulpita rubra croco : Pounded saffron would be mixed with sweet wine, and sprayed on to the stage, to produce a pleasant perfume (Pliny, *N.H.* xxi. 33). Besides Propertius iv. 1. 16 (above) cf. Lucretius ii. 416 'cum scaena croco Cilici perfusa recens est'.

105–6. The incident took place in the Vallis Murcia, lying between the Palatine and Aventine hills, site of the future Circus Maximus. Its occasion was the Consualia, a festival in honour of Consus (generally held to have been god of Consilium—cf. Tertullian quoted on 133–4—though a link with *condere* is more probable).

105. Palatia : according to all ancient traditions the first of the seven hills to be occupied.

106. scena sine arte fuit : the phrase with *sine* functions as a Greek adjective with α- privative. Ovid himself would have been familiar with elaborate stage scenery (cf. Val. Max. ii. 4. 6, W. Beare, *The Roman Stage*, Appendix H, Margarete Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, chs. 13–15 (copiously illustrated). But here there are only boughs piled up behind the players.

107. gradibus . . . de caespite factis : They sit on the lower slopes of the Palatine to get a better view. 'Factis' does not imply any special preparation of the seats; rather it points a contrast with the wooden or stone seats of later days.

108. The rape was thought to have occurred in high summer (18 August, the festival of the Consualia), so they break off a leafy branch to act as a sunshade. These branches correspond to the *uela* of the poet's time (103).

hirsutas . . . comas : not having the benefit of Ovid's advice on hair-style (517–18).

109–10. Livy (i. 9. 11) imagines that it was pure chance which girl each man ended up with: 'magna pars forte in quem quaeque inciderat raptae' (cf. Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* ii. 30. 4 'whichever one they chanced upon'). But here at least Ovid makes the Romans act more scientifically, in accordance with his own precept 'quaerenda est oculis apta puella tuis' (44).

109. respiciunt : Seating arrangements are as in Augustan Rome. The emperor laid down that women should occupy only the back rows in the theatre (Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 44); cf. *Amores* ii. 7. 3 'siue ego marmorei respexi summa theatri', Propertius iv. 8. 77.

110. multa mouent : an epic phrase (*Aeneid* v. 608), sometimes with *animo* added (*Aen.* iii. 34, x. 890). For 'tacito pectore' cf. also *Aen.* i. 502.

111–12. The entertainment consists of dancing to a musical accompaniment, in the Etruscan manner. According to Livy (vii. 2) this was first introduced in 364–3 B.C. as part of the remedies for a plague: 'ludiones ex Etruria acciti, ad tibicinis modos saltantes, haud indecoros motus more Tusco dabant.' For a discussion of Livy, see W. Beare, *The Roman Stage*, pp. 16–23.

112. aequatam ter pede pulsat humum : cf. Horace, *Odes* iii. 18. 15–16 'gaudet inuisam pepulisse fossor / ter pede terram.'

aequatam . . . humum : equivalent to the *pulpita* (104, cf. 108 n.).

ter pede : suggesting 'tripudium', a wild ritual dance particularly associated with the Salii or 'leaping' priests, for whom see Ogilvie on Livy i. 20. 3–4. The implied etymology may well be

sound, in spite of Cicero, *de Divinatione* ii. 72. Beare (*The Roman Stage*, p. 16) tentatively connects the tripudium with Saturnian rhythm.

pulsat : a vigorous and inelegant motion (cf. Horace, *Odes* i. 37. 1–2 'nunc pede libero / pulsanda tellus')—even though Ennius wrote of the Muses 'Musae quae pedibus magnum pulsatis Olympum' (*Annals* 1 Warmington). For the uninhibited character of old Roman dancing cf. Seneca, *de Tranquillitate Animi* 17 'Scipio triumphale illud ac militare corpus mouebat ad numeros . . . ut antiqui illi uiri solebant inter lusum ac festa tempora uirilem in modum tripudiare.'

113. **(plausus tunc arte carebant):** in contrast to the organised rhythmical applause which reached its height when the emperor Nero performed. Suetonius (*Nero* 20) even speaks of 'plausuum genera . . . bombos et imbrices et testas'; cf. Tacitus, *Annals* xvi. 5.

114. **praedae signa †petenda† :** For discussion of the text see Kenney, *CQ* N.S. 9 (1959), 242–3 and Goold, *Harvard Studies* 69 (1965), 60–1. 'Petenda' can hardly stand. To take the phrase as = 'signa praedae petendae' would put an intolerable strain on the Latin, while translation as 'the signal to be awaited' misrepresents *peto*; the meaning should be 'the signal which they had to demand', but this is an absurdity (Kenney). The most probable emendation, due to Bentley and Madvig, is 'petita', 'the signal they had been looking for' (Goold). One need not worry about praeda = the *act* of plundering (praedatio); see R. G. Nisbet on Cicero, *de Domo* 50.

Among other tries Josef Delz (*Museum Helveticum* 28 (1971), 52–3) would revive Burman's 'repente', a word not common in poetry but occupying the same position at *Tristia* iii. 8. 8—it seems, however, to lack sharpness after 'in medio plausu'—while Kenney (loc. cit.) tentatively proposed 'rex populo praed*am* signa pet*ente* [so alternatively Burman] dedit.'

117–18. The comparisons with doves fleeing from eagles (cf. *Iliad* xxii. 139–40) and lambs from a wolf (cf. Theocritus 11. 24) are very conventional; both appear at *Met.* i. 505–6 of an amorous pursuit. Yet we are surprised to learn that in fact some of the Sabine women stay put (122–4).

118. **utque fugit uisos . . . lupos :** One glimpse of a wolf is enough to set the lamb off; cf. Theocritus 11. 24 *φεύγεις δ' ὥσπερ ὅις πολιὸν λύκον ἀθρήσασα*, Horace, *Odes* i. 15. 29–30 'ceruus uti uallis in altera / uisum parte lupum'. The second parallel can vindicate the text as against 'ut fugit inuisos' (5) preferred by Goold, op. cit., p. 61 (although his account of the alleged corruption is plausible).

agna nouella : The diminutive is not sentimental but agricultural, as e.g. Pliny, *N.H.* xi. 211 'nouellarum suum'.

121–4. One may suspect, as often, that Ovid has in mind some pictorial representation. The Romans have leapt up and are making for the Sabine women, while the latter are caught in a great variety of attitudes. Ovid achieves clarity and sharpness of visual detail, combined with the utmost economy of words.

121. facies non una timoris : cf. Virgil, *Georgics* i. 506 'tam multae scelerum facies', *Aen.* ii. 369 'plurima mortis imago'.

122. sedet : with the implication of sitting dumbly and hopelessly.

125. ducuntur raptae, genialis praeda, puellae : For the artificial word order with adjective and noun enclosing a phrase in apposition, see my note on *Met.* viii. 226.

genialis praeda : 'spoil for the marriage bed' (cf. lectus genialis). Appearances notwithstanding, it all turns out to be perfectly proper, as in Livy i. 9. 14 'illas tamen in matrimonio, in societate fortunarum omnium ciuitatisque et, quo nihil carius humano generi sit, liberum fore'.

126. potuit : 'it could be that . . .' We are faced with a difficult choice at the end of the line between 'timor' and 'pudor'. The former, which has rather better manuscript support, finds many parallels (e.g. *Met.* iv. 230 'ipse timor decuit', *Fasti* v. 608) and has pleased modern editors. But have we not heard enough about *timor* (119, 121)? The idea that a maidenly blush makes a girl more attractive is equally a commonplace (e.g. *Am.* i. 8. 35 'decet alba quidem pudor ora', Curtius vi. 3. 6 'formam pudor honestabat') and provides a nicer link with 127.

The reading of S_a 'et patuit multis tunc timor ipse dei' looks like a Christian interpolation; the same may be true of 'deo' for 'Syro' in O at 76 and 416.

127. si qua repugnarat nimium : a notion which recurs time and time again in the love-poets. It was right and proper for the girls to put up a show of reluctance, but not to carry their opposition too far (e.g. 665–6, *Amores* i. 5. 13–16, Horace, *Odes* i. 9. 21–4).

comitemque negarat : cf. Horace, *Odes* i. 35. 22 'nec comitem abnegat', with Nisbet and Hubbard ad loc.

128. sublatam cupido uir tulit ipse sinu : From this incident antiquarians derive the Roman custom for a husband to carry his bride across the threshold of their new home (see Plutarch, *Romulus* 15)!

129. 'quid teneros lacrimis corrumpis ocellos?' : for the verb cf. Plautus, *Amphitruo* 530 'ne corrumpe oculos.' So Catullus complained to Lesbia's dead bird 'tua nunc opera meae puellae / flendo turgiduli rubent ocelli' (3. 17–18).

130. quod matri pater est, hoc tibi' dixit 'ero.' : Here again Ovid seems to have one eye on Livy—or at least on traditional justifications of the rape. Compare Livy i. 9. 15 'eoque melioribus usuras uiris quod adnisurus pro se quisque sit ut, cum suam

uicem functus officio sit, parentium etiam patriaeque expleat desiderium' (see Ogilvie ad loc.).

131–2. Romule, militibus scisti dare commoda solus : / haec mihi si dederis commoda, miles ero : Hans Petersen (*TAPA* 92 (1961), 446) was right to see here a reference to contemporary recruiting difficulties, but he exaggerated in saying that these lines 'are in themselves perhaps sufficient to explain, if not to justify, Ovid's exile'.

131. commoda : clearly 'fringe benefits', in addition to the soldiers' regular pay. As a technical term 'commoda' applied particularly to the retirement gratuity, given either in money or land; cf. Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 24 'commoda emeritorum praemiorum', *Nero* 32 'stipendia . . . militum et commoda ueteranorum' (further examples in the *Thesaurus*). There would also be distributions of cash to mark special occasions—under later emperors these became much more important—and in troubled times soldiers might hope for plunder.

Dio Cassius (lv. 23) expressly states that the lowness of these extra rewards had been a cause for complaint in the army. In A.D. 5/6 Augustus was forced to extend the term of service and to increase payment on discharge; henceforward each legionary would get 3,000 denarii, perhaps three times the previous amount (P. A. Brunt 'Pay and Superannuation in the Roman Army', *B.S.R.* 18 (1950), 50–71, particularly p. 63). So Ovid is saying in effect, 'If they could offer a pretty girl as a side-attraction nowadays, that would solve the recruiting problem!'

solus : as often, expressing eminence rather than uniqueness (see Shackleton Bailey on Propertius ii. 34. 26)—'you above all others', with the clear implication 'you above the present Roman leader'.

132. In spite of the contemporary reference, I doubt whether it is relevant that Octavian considered taking the name Romulus rather than Augustus (Dio liii. 16, cf. Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 7).

miles ero : A period of military service was traditional for Romans of the administrative class, and Augustus had a great personal concern for this (Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 38). But, notoriously, Ovid avoided it; cf. *Amores* i. 15. 3–4 (a complaint of Jealousy) 'non me more patrum, dum strenua sustinet aetas, / praemia militiae puluerulenta sequi'.

133–4. scilicet ex illo sollemni more theatra / nunc quoque formosis insidiosa manent : the formal conclusion, linking up with 101. For the phraseology Kenney compares Ap. Rh. iv. 250–2 *τό γε μὴν ἔδος ἐξέτι κείνου* (*ex illo*) / . . . *ἀνδράσιν ὀψιγόνοισι μένει καὶ τῆμος* (*nunc quoque . . . manent*) *ἰδέσθαι*. Learned Hellenistic poets liked to relate their stories to surviving landmarks, ceremonies etc.; besides the *Aetia* of Callimachus cf. Phanocles fr. 1. 27–8 Powell,

and my notes on *Met.* viii. 251–9 (the *Ornithogonia* of Boeus) and viii. 719–20 (the *Heteroeumena* of Nicander).

On the more recent reputation of theatres it is interesting to compare Tertullian's biting scorn (*de Spectaculis* 5): 'et Consualia Romulo defendunt, quod ea Conso dicauerit deo, ut uolunt, consilii—eius scilicet quo tunc Sabinarum uirginum rapinam militibus suis excogitauit. probum plane consilium et *nunc quoque inter ipsos Romanos iustum et licitum*!' The italicized words almost suggest that Tertullian had read Ovid and found in him a unexpected ally (see also 99 n.). Propertius too blamed the moral laxity of contemporary Rome on its founder (ii. 6. 19–22):

> tu criminis auctor
> nutritus duro, Romule, lacte lupae.
> tu rapere intactas docuisti impune Sabinas:
> per te nunc Romae quidlibet audet Amor.

133. **scilicet**: in the literal and emphatic sense. Kenney (in *Ovidiana*, p. 202) notes this as a traditional didactic touch, citing Lucretius i. 377, 439 etc., Virgil, *Georgics* ii. 61.

ex illo: 'from that time'. Quite apart from the parallel at *Heroides* 14. 85 'scilicet ex illo Iunonia permanet ira' one could hardly take 'ex illo . . . more' together. The rape of the Sabine women was a single act performed once, not a *mos*.

sollemni more theatra: For the text see Kenney, *CQ* 1959, 243, and Goold, *Harvard Studies* 69 (1965), 62. Madvig's emendation 'sollemni' for 'sollemnia', 'by hallowed custom' (Goold) is in fact the reading of the *Hamiltonensis* (Y) and would now be accepted by Kenney, who compares Lucretius i. 96–7 'sollemni more sacrorum / perfecto'. Tränkle (Hermes 1972, 393 n. 4) adds in support [Virgil], *Ciris* 127, Suetonius *Div. Aug.* 56.

135–62. *Finding a girl at the chariot races in the Circus Maximus.*

This section is a great disappointment, and a strong support for those who consider the *Amores* superior to the *Ars Amatoria*. We are offered a pallid reworking of the brilliant and delightful *Amores* iii. 2 (readers will enjoy L. P. Wilkinson's translation, *Ovid Recalled*, pp. 57–60). In both places the situation is the same, and Ovid makes extensive verbal borrowing from his earlier poem. But in recasting the monologue as advice to another he dissipates nearly all the wit. Many themes vanish almost without trace, e.g. the ingenious linking of the poet's success or failure to win the girl with the success or failure of the charioteer whom she supports (only line 146 remains). We miss the delicate hint that Ovid already knows the girl—though not a follower of the Turf he has come to be with her (*Am.* iii. 2. 1–4)

—but only slightly, so that he is tentative and unsure of success. In the *Ars* the prospective lover is meeting a girl for the first time (cf. 144). The running commentary on the race has gone, and so have other delights, e.g. the way Ovid is brought down from the clouds to observe that her feet will not reach the ground and to suggest that she stick her toes into the railings in front (*Am.* iii. 2. 63–4). All that remains is a catalogue of the small offices which one can perform for the girl (149–62). Happily, few other episodes are transferred from the *Amores* in so mechanical and lifeless a manner. For a detailed comparison see Elizabeth Thomas, 'Ovid at the Races', in *Hommages à Marcel Renard*, ed. J. Bibauw, vol. I (*Collections Latomus* 101 (1969)), pp. 710–24.

135. nobilium . . . certamen equorum : cf. *Am.* iii. 2. 1 'non ego nobilium sedeo studiosus equorum.' The breeding of race-horses had already been reduced to a fine art, and an expert might reel off whole pedigrees without a slip ('memoriter totam equini generis sobolem computantem', [Cyprian], *de Spectaculis* 5). But to the Christian writer all was vanity: 'quam uana sunt ipsa certamina, lites in coloribus, contentiones in curribus, fauores in honoribus, gaudere quod equus uelocior fuerit, maerere quod pigrior, annos pecoris computare, consules nosse, aetates discere, prosapiam designare, auos ipsos atauosque memorare' (ibid.).

136. commoda : providing a kind of link with 131–2. Compare also *Am.* iii. 2. 20, quoted on 157–8.

137–8. Such methods of communication are familiar in the elegists, particularly at drinking-parties (e.g. 569 ff.).

139. proximus a domina nullo prohibente sedeto : cf. *Tristia* ii. 284. Ovid mentions this as unusual. In the Circus Maximus men and women could sit together; in the theatre seating arrangements were segregated (109 n.). For the amphitheatre see 167 n.

sedeto : This archaic form of imperative suits the measured tone of a didactic work.

141–2. A line marks the space for each individual on the bench, but obviously the accommodation is cramped, so that everyone is wedged against his neighbour whether he likes it or not. Compare *Am.* iii. 2. 19–20 (quoted on 157–8).

141. et bene, quod : 'And what a good thing it is that . . .', cf. Quintilian, *Decl.* 307 'bene, quod magna scelera his ipsis, quibus occultari uidentur, aperiuntur', alternatively 'o bene' (ii. 605, Martial vii. 15. 3 'o bene, quod silua colitur Tirynthius illa!').

si nolis : 'whether one likes it or not'. The second person must be generalizing, as the lover should not lack enthusiasm.

143. hic : 'at this juncture'. Do not rush into intimacies straight away, but start with some everyday remarks (*publica uerba*,

144) about the racing. After 147 your actions become more pointed.

145–6. Since we have not yet had the ritual procession which opens the games (147–8), these lines may refer to a preliminary parade of contestants.

145. studiose : 'as if you were a fan'—you are not genuinely interested in racing (cf. *Am.* iii. 2. 1) but merely support the same team as the girl (146). Compare Petronius 52 'in argento plane studiosus sum; habeo scyphos urnales . . .', Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus* 802 (a man without hobbies) 'qui nisi adulterio studiosus rei nulli aliaest'.

Of course 'studiose' is vocative, not adverb; similar is Tibullus i. 7. 53 'sic uenias hodierne' (see Smith ad loc. and Nisbet and Hubbard on Horace, *Odes* i. 2. 37). With such an accomplished technician as Ovid I would be reluctant to plead metrical exigency alone. He may be imitating Hellenistic experiments such as Callimachus fr. 599 *ἀντὶ γὰρ ἐκλήθης Ἴμβρασε Παρθενίου.*

147–8. Before the actual races, statues of the gods are carried round the Circus in procession (cf. Tertullian, *de Spectaculis* 7), and the people show their devotion by applauding individual gods. From *Amores* iii. 2. 45 ff. it would appear that each man gave especial applause to his patron deity—sailors to Neptune, soldiers to Mars etc. Naturally the lover claps Venus (148, cf. *Am.* iii. 2. 55–6). When Caesar took the unprecedented step of adding his own statue to the procession (cf. Suetonius, *Divus Julius* 76) Cicero expressed his delight that the people withheld the customary applause even from Victory, who was carried next: 'populum uero praeclarum, quod propter malum uicinum ne Victoriae quidem ploditur!' (*ad Att.* xiii. 44. 1).

147. caelestibus . . . eburnis : ivory statues of the gods. Daremberg and Saglio s.v. Circus, fig. 1528, give a representation of the *pompa* in which the statues of Cybele and Victory can be seen, carried on the shoulders of bearers. Ivory may be thought surprisingly grand for this occasion, but Kenney compares Tacitus, *Annals* ii. 83. 2, Suetonius, *Titus* 2, Dio xliii. 45. 2.

Without doubt 'caelestibus . . . eburnis' is the right reading, although some older editors accepted the remarkable variant 'certantibus . . . ephebis', referring it to the Troy Game (cf. *Aeneid* v. 545–603). See Kenney, *CR* N.S. 3 (1953), 7–10; he discusses the manuscript tradition fully, and establishes the superiority of 'caelestibus . . . eburnis' on the ground of sense. For we want some reference to the statues of the gods to introduce 148; also *ephebus* is used by Latin writers of the classical period only (a) of Greek (or sometimes foreign) youths, most often as an exact equivalent for the technical term *ἔφηβος*, or (b) pejoratively, with a suggestion of effeminacy.

149–62. *There are all kinds of small services which you may perform for the girl. You can pick any specks of dirt off her clothing* (149–52), *lift up her dress if it trails on the ground* (153–4), *rebuke the man behind for sticking his knees into her back* (157–8). *Even smoothing a cushion, fanning her or slipping a stool under her feet can win gratitude* (159–62).

Almost all these precepts have been extracted from *Amores* iii. 2. 21–42, but with an unmistakable loss of charm (see on 157–8).

149–50. Compare *Am.* iii. 2. 41–2 'dum loquor alba leui sparsa est tibi puluere uestis: / sordide de niueo corpore puluis abi!' Removing specks from another's clothing was traditionally a mark of the Flatterer (Aristophanes fr. 657, Theophrastus, *Characters* 2).

149. utque fit : 'as will happen'.

153–4. Compare *Am.* iii. 2. 25–6 'sed nimium demissa iacent tibi pallia terra: / collige, uel digitis en ego tollo meis.'

153. pallia : The *pallium* was a Greek cloak, worn by, amongst others, *hetaerae* both Greek and Roman; cf. Cicero, *de Div.* ii. 143 'amica corpus eius texit suo pallio.'

157–8. It is worth dwelling a little longer on the parallel from *Amores* iii. 2. 19–24 (for 19–20 cf. 136 and 141–2 above):

> quid frustra refugis? cogit nos linea iungi;
> haec in lege loci commoda Circus habet.
> tu tamen, a dextra quicumque es, parce puellae:
> contactu lateris laeditur illa tui;
> tu quoque, qui spectas post nos, tua contrahe crura,
> si pudor est, rigido nec preme terga genu.

The *Amores* passage has considerably more bite; in 21–2 Ovid rebukes the man on the other side for sitting too close to the girl—just what he is doing himself, and in any case nobody can help it (19–20). Also there is pleasing irony in the indignant 'si pudor est' (24), and the scornful 'quicumque es' (21) loses its force in the *Ars* (157).

159. fuit utile multis : 'many people have found it beneficial', a keynote of the *A.A.*, which is supposed to be based on tested and proved methods (29). The same idea is often expressed by 'profuit' (e.g. 161), which we also find in Virgil's *Georgics*, as in i. 84 'saepe etiam steriles incendere profuit agros', iv. 267 (cf. Kenney in *Ovidiana*, p. 203). This touch is most at home in didactic poems on medicine (e.g. Nicander, *Theriaca* 926, 935 and *ad nauseam* in the *Liber Medicinalis* of Serenus Sammonicus).

160. puluinum : a cushion.

161. Compare *Am.* iii. 2. 37–8 'uis tamen interea faciles arcessere uentos, / quos faciet nostra mota tabella manu?'

tabella : normally taken to be a fan. But the word does not

seem to recur in this sense, so perhaps it is an ordinary writing-tablet used as an improvised fan.

162. scamna : a foot-stool.

163–70. *Finding a girl at a gladiatorial display.*

Ovid makes no comment on the shows themselves beyond 'sollicito' (164 n.); here his characteristic flippancy is less than pleasing. The problem had worried Cicero ('crudele gladiatorum spectaculum et inhumanum non nullis uideri solet, et haud scio an ita sit, ut nunc fit' *Tusc. Disp.* ii. 41), but his attitude remains ambivalent; he particularly disliked the modern refinements of contests with animals (*ad Fam.* vii. 1. 3), but saw in the traditional man-to-man encounter a prime example of how training can overcome the fear of death (*Tusc. Disp.* ii. 41). Seneca is the first surviving Roman writer to condemn the carnage unequivocally (e.g. *Epist.* 95. 33). Early Christian authors were also firm in their opposition (Tertullian, *de Spectaculis* 19, cf. Augustine quoted on 166).

164. sparsaque sollicito tristis harena foro : cf. Propertius iv. 8. 76 'nec cum lasciuum sternet harena forum', *Tristia* ii. 282. Under the Republic gladiatorial displays took place in the Forum Boarium, and later in the Forum Romanum. Statilius Taurus built the first stone amphitheatre in 29 B.C., but even after then shows were occasionally given in the Forum.

sparsa . . . harena : Sand would be strewn over the central area, to make it level and to absorb blood.

sollicito : not a general epithet of a forum, but applying only to this occasion. It could refer as much to the anxiety of spectators that their favourite should win as to the suffering of the gladiators.

165. illa saepe puer Veneris pugnauit harena : Michael Grant (*Gladiators*, p. 96) mentions artistic portrayals of Cupids fighting as gladiators. This unsavoury idea looks like a Roman twist to the Greek figure of Love as a wrestler (Gow on Theocritus 1. 97–8—see further on 232). Whether it could have any basis in the grotesque mock-fights (*prolusiones*, see Seneca, *Epist.* 7. 3) which provided comic relief between serious encounters in the arena I do not know (cf. iii. 515). Gladiators also might take names like *Ἔρως* or Cupido (Versnel, *Mnemosyne* 1974, 369 n. 13).

166. et, qui spectauit uulnera, uulnus habet : Ovid may be adapting a line of argument used against gladiatorial displays (cf. 99 n.)—that they brutalized the spectators no less than the competitors (e.g. Seneca, *Epist.* 7. 3–5, contrast Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* ii. 41). Augustine tells us about his friend Alypius who was taken to a show against his will be some fellow students, and left, at least temporarily, an addict: 'percussus est grauiore

uulnere in anima quam ille in corpore, quem cernere concupiuit, ceciditque miserabilius quam ille, quo cadente factus est clamor' (*Conf.* vi. 8).

uulnus habet : When a gladiator was wounded, the people would cry out 'habet' or 'hoc habet', 'he has got it!'(e.g. Terence, *Andr.* 83). Compare Servius on *Aeneid* xii. 296.

167. dum loquitur tangitque manum poscitque libellum : Is the young man attracting the girl's attention to ask if he can borrow her programme? In that case he must be sitting next to her. But Suetonius (*Div. Aug.* 44) clearly states that the emperor only allowed women to watch gladiatorial displays from the back seats (cf. 109 n., 139 n. for the theatre and the Circus). Maybe rules were not so tight when the show was in the Forum (164). Alternatively this line may not concern the girl: perhaps our hero is chatting casually, greeting a friend (tangitque manum) or buying a programme, and only catches sight of his Waterloo at 169 'saucius ingemuit.'

libellum : cf. Cicero, *Phil.* ii. 97 'tanquam gladiatorum libellos palam uenditent'; these would be sheets giving the name of each fighter. On the publicity for such shows, see Michael Grant, *Gladiators*, pp. 63–4.

168. posito pignore : Betting was quite regular, as on the chariot-races (e.g. Martial xi. 1. 15, Juvenal 11. 201).

169. telum ... uolatile : Cupid's arrow. The phrase is traditional epic, first surviving in Sueius fr. 8 Morel (see Pease on *Aeneid* iv. 71).

170. muneris : the technical term for a gladiatorial display.

171–6. *How many young men fell in love at the mock sea-battle which the emperor recently put on!*

This was a re-creation of the Battle of Salamis (172) fought on an artificial lake on the right bank of the Tiber. A specially constructed aqueduct, the *Aqua Alsietina* (see Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary*, vol. I figs. 27–8), brought water for the lake, and thirty large vessels together with numerous smaller ones were engaged, involving three thousand gladiators, not counting the oarsmen (*Res Gestae* 23). The site was used later by Nero and Titus for sea-battles (Martial, *Liber Spectaculorum* 28. 1–2 'Augusti labor hic fuerat committere classes / et freta nauali sollicitare tuba'), but Martial (ibid. 11–12) is confident that Titus' show of A.D. 80 will eclipse all previous ones:

> Fucinus et diri taceantur stagna Neronis:
> hanc unam norint saecula naumachiam.

Traces of the Naumachia were still visible in the time of Alexander Severus (Dio lv. 10); see further Platner and Ashby s.v. *Naumachia Augusti.*

171. modo : The sea-battle formed part of the festivities at the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor, vowed by Octavian at Philippi 'pro ultione paterna' (Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 29). This temple was dedicated on 1 August, 2 B.C. (Dio lx. 5 is clear on the date), and the sea-battle must have occurred about the same time—celebrations went on for several days. Some modern authorities give 12 May, 2 B.C. for the dedication of Mars Ultor, but this seems to rest on a confusion with other games honouring Mars (cf. *Fasti* v. 551 ff.). I am grateful to Mr. E. W. Gray for information here.

From this and the following section on Gaius' eastern campaign, we may conclude that books i–ii of the *Ars* were published late in 2 B.C. or early in 1 B.C. There is no very cogent reason for thinking that Ovid inserted the passages in a second edition (see further Introduction p. xiii).

172. Persidas induxit Cecropiasque rates : These naval spectaculars would represent combats between famous fleets of the past; thus Julius Caesar showed 'Tyrians' against 'Egyptians' (Suetonius, *Div. Julius* 39) and Claudius 'Sicilians' against 'Rhodians' (*Div. Claud.* 21). Here we have a re-creation of the Battle of Salamis, more ambitious since the right side had to win (Dio lv. 10 'the Athenians were victorious on that occasion as well').

Cecropias : 'Athenian', from the mythical king Cecrops.

173. ab utroque mari : 'from the Eastern and Western shores of the world', cf. *Met.* xv. 829–30 'gentisque ab utroque iacentes / Oceano', Virgil, *Georgics* iii. 33, Propertius iii. 9. 53. Compare Martial on Titus' games in A.D. 80 (*Liber Spectaculorum* 3. 1–2) 'Quae tam seposita est, quae gens tam barbara, Caesar, / ex qua spectator non sit in urbe tua?'

Some interpret 'from the Adriatic and Tuscan seas' (often called the 'mare superum' and 'mare inferum'). But the sentiment 'from all over Italy' is too tame, and does not match up to 'ingens orbis' (174).

174. ingens orbis in Urbe fuit : Juxtaposing 'urbs' and 'orbis' was a favourite trick, particularly in encomia of Rome; see Otto, *Sprichwörter*, s.v. *Urbs*, Joseph Vogt, *Orbis Romanus*, p. 17 n. 3, E. Bréguet in *Hommages à Marcel Renard*, ed. J. Bibauw, vol. I (*Collections Latomus* 101 (1969)), pp. 140–52. Surely the most elegant expression was in Rutilius Namatianus, *de Reditu Suo* i. 66 (to the goddess Roma) 'urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat.' Today it survives in the Papal 'Urbi et Orbi'. As to the vast crowd, Suetonius writes of an earlier display 'tantum undique confluxit hominum ut plerique aduenae aut inter uicos aut inter uias tabernaculis positis manerent, ac saepe prae turba elisi exanimatique sint plurimi et in his duo senatores' (*Div. Jul.* 39).

176. aduena . . . amor : reminiscent of Euripides, *Hippolytus* 32 ἐρῶσ' 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.,