

CLST4106

Research Essay

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Ovid's *Epistulae ex Ponto*: Letters as Poems, Poems as Gifts

In 8 A.D., at the age of 54 and at the height of his powers, Ovid, the greatest Latin poet of his day, was banished from Rome by the Emperor Augustus. He spent the last nine or ten years of his life in exile at Tomis, a frontier town on the Black Sea. His final work was the *Epistulae Ex Ponto*, forty-six epistolary poems in four books, the first three published in AD.13 and the fourth perhaps posthumously after the poet's death in AD.17-18.¹ In this paper I would like to discuss the *Epistulae ex Ponto* from the perspective of their dual forms and dual functions. They are formally both letter and poem and they do two things repeatedly: make a request and/or give a gift. The forms correlate with the functions: as letters for communicating a request and as poems for serving as gifts. But the poem of

¹ “The letters in books 1–3 were gathered into a single collection (‘without order’: so claims 3. 9. 51–4) in AD 13; book 4 probably appeared posthumously (4. 9 written in AD 16).” (*OCD*: Ovid).

course also communicates and the letter - insofar as it is one with the poem - also serves as the gift. Letter, gift, poem and request are intertwined. I will end with a consideration of the *Epistulae* as collected, edited and published books of poems and as letters whose mission was to be individually and urgently dispatched. But first I wish to focus on two elements of these hybrid compositions – names and friendships – without which there would be no requesting and no giving.

Names

An important and distinctive feature of the *Epistulae* is that they include the names of the persons who are being addressed. Including the names was something that Ovid did consciously and deliberately. In the very first poem, which serves as an introduction to the first three books, Ovid describes his latest work to Brutus (possibly his literary agent in Rome) as “no less sad/than what I sent you before [*Tristia*]: same theme but different title,/and these poems openly name their addressees” (1.1.16-18).

In *Tristia*, written at the start of his exile (AD 9 - AD 12), Ovid had expressed a desire to memorialize the *amici* from

whom he had been separated: “Dear friends: I long to / mention each one of you by name” (*Tr.* 4B.63-64). But he had refrained from doing so lest they be punished by Augustus for being in contact with him: “Fear lays cautious restraints on my sense of obligation – / and you yourselves, I think, don’t want to be put / in my poems today. Before, you were eager, it was a much-sought / honour to rate a mention in my verse: / but since that’s a dubious favour now, / I’ll address you only in my silent heart, be a source of fear to none./ I’ll pen no hints that might strip my friends of cover” (*Tr.* 3.4b.65-72). The lack of names meant that “the personages that populate the *Tristia*, apart from Ovid himself, his wife, and (possibly) her daughter, remain nebulous” (Claassen 2009:179). “[In *Tristia*] the absence of the name vitiates Ovid’s ability to memorialise his friend” (Oliensis: 175).

As time passed Ovid’s fear of imperial retribution faded. In that same first poem of the *Epistulae* he displays a new devil-may-care attitude about including names: “While none of you will like this, you can’t prevent it – unwilling recipients tagged by a dutiful Muse” (1.1.19-20). These words are best understood as emanating from a deep affection for his friends, a state of

exuberant magnanimity. Ovid never names his enemies.² It is only his friends that he wants to make known for posterity. He was getting old. Time was running out. He would not make the same mistake twice.

Yet his playful boast about including his friends' names whether they liked it or not was also an exaggeration. The poems themselves indicate that in the rare case where a friend insisted on remaining anonymous, Ovid respected his wish. In poem 3.6 he says: "Yet why do you alone, when it's thought safe by all others, / insist on not being addressed by name in my verse? / The magnitude of Caesar's clemency in mid-anger / you can (if don't know it) learn from me" (3.6.5-8).

Names were essential for other reasons as well. The poems in the *Epistulae* are individualized. They contain information about the addressee, personal details of people who were actual, living-and-breathing Romans, some of them attested elsewhere (for instance, Suillius, discussed below). It would have been very odd not to mention them by name. Most of his friends must have acceded to his wish to identify them. Only three of the

² For a list matching names to poems, see Appendix A.

letters (3.6, 4.3 and 4.16) lack any way of knowing who was the addressee. (Ovid's "nameless wife" (Green: xxiv) is identified by the appellation, *coniunx*.)

Friends

The *Epistulae* are preoccupied with friendship.³ Ovid appears to have been a sociable person. His disgrace and exile were especially painful insofar as, first, they caused some of his companions to fall away and, second, they deprived him of the company (*sodalitas*) of those who remained to some degree loyal. In *Tristia* he derides fair-weather friends: "So long as your luck holds good, your friends will be legion:/if clouds gather, then you're on your own" (*Tr.*1.9.5-6). In *Epistulae* he skewers his former "companions" devoid of "true loyalty," a "treacherous lot [who] grew fat /on the spoils of which they robbed me" (2.7.61-62), and praises "those few friends out of many, who'd stood firm" (*Tr.* 1.3.16). But he was a kind-hearted man, not one to harbour grudges and over time he mellows: "Yet still I forgive those / who turned tail with Fortune, took to flight...not out of hatred, / but because they were just scared

³ A PHI word-search of *amicus* and its case variants in the works of Ovid returns a total of 107 occurrences, of which 56 are found in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*.

stiff. /They had no lack of loyalty” (3.2.7-8,15-17). He even attempts to recover the friendship of “those who don’t deserve to be called bad” (3.2.20), as here: “Severus, dear strand of my heart, accept this greeting / sent you by the Ovid you used to love” (1.8.1-2).

Some of his friends were fellow poets: “Yet we do have rites in common, / you and I, poets, if you admit so ill-starred / a wretch to your company. Friends, our shared existence / made a large part of my spirit. Even now,/ though absent, I cherish you still” (3.4.67-71). Other friends belonged to the patrician class. With these he seems to have been involved in a peculiarly Roman version of friendship, the patron-dependent relationship. What would have been the nature of Ovid’s dependency? Was it the “hard reality that poets faced...[a question which] cannot be asked in its simple form, because poets’ circumstances varied so greatly. At one end of the spectrum were men...who possessed senatorial fortunes and...needed *amici* such as Pliny to attend [their] recitations, but not to share their wealth (*Ep.*8.12). At the other end of the spectrum were humble men for whom this non-material support was simply not sufficient” (Saller: 250).

Ovid belonged in the middle of that range. As the sole surviving son of his parents (his older brother had died young), he would have inherited the family property. He would also have inherited his father's equestrian rank, the antiquity of which he was proud: "If you check on my family background / you'll find an unbroken equestrian pedigree/ going back to our origins" (4.8.17-19).⁴ According to Peter White, "poets who were knights, did not depend on the munificence of their friends for their primary income. They owned enough to live off rents and interest" (White: 89). Indeed Ovid's complaint that greed has ruined friendship indicates that he did not depend on his patrons for pecuniary reasons: "The once-revered goddess of friendship is on the market, /has her pitch like a whore, ready to trade for cash" (2.3.19-20). He praises his friend, Cotta Maximus, for "not going with this outflow of common vice...Virtue, in your judgment, needs no rewarding, /should always be sought for herself / unencumbered with alien lucre" (2.3.19-20, 35-37). Ovid's patrons were useful because they provided a poet with "access to a ready-made audience, and guaranteed a certain amount of publicity for the poet's work"

⁴ For information on Ovid's early life, see Knox 2009.

(White: 92). Ovid would provide some kind of service for his patron and the latter would return the favour. “Don’t forget,” says Ovid to Cotta Maximus, “that your house has had my devoted service / since my own childhood – makes *me* a charge on *you*” (2.3.73-74; italics by Green). Reciprocity was the essence of the patron-dependent relationship and by extension of friendship itself.

But reciprocity became a problem once Ovid was exiled from Rome. Living far away it was not possible for him to compose and sing the epithalamium for a patron’s wedding (1.2.132), express admiration for a patron’s literary scribblings (1.2.135), console a patron who was in mourning (4.11) or join a patron’s retinue as he made his way through the Forum to the Capitol for inauguration as a consul (4.9). If “Ovid’s poems from exile are rooted (as are Cicero’s letters) in the tradition of the Roman system of mutual obligation” (Claassen 1999: 119) then for Ovid in exile, that system was simply not applicable. A close reading of many *Epistulae* reveals how Ovid snakes his way through the damaged framework of that Roman system.

The eighth poem in Book Four is an especially interesting example.

Poem 4.8 begins in true epistolary fashion by identifying the addressee and establishing the text as a reply: “Your letter, Suillius, most refined of savants, reached me / late, but remains most welcome” (4.8.1-2). (P.Suillius Rufus was Ovid’s step-daughter’s husband.) Since the letter took a long time to arrive, Suillius may have forgotten what he had written. There is no epistolary awkwardness⁵ in Ovid reminding him: “In it you say / that, so far as dutiful loyalty can, by petition, / assuage the high gods, you’ll give me aid” (4.8.2-4). Ovid thanks Suillius and graciously elevates the latter’s mere intent to the level of an *officium*: “Though you should grant me no more, your amicable intentions / have made me your debtor: I call the *will* to help/a service” (4.8.6-7; italics by Green). Ovid then attempts to transform his relationship with his step-son-in-law, whom he has likely never met (Green:362), into one of friendship. However, unable to reciprocate with a service of his own, he nevertheless

⁵ A problem in epistolary literature is the occasional need to bring the external reader up-to-date about some news that the character addressed in the letter surely knows.

asserts that his status as a relative amounts to a service performed: “I have some claim upon you through our bonds of kinship” (4.8.9).

At this point the poem takes a sudden turn. Enter Germanicus. There follows an address to this powerful and illustrious member of the imperial family⁶ which takes up almost the rest of the poem (ll.31-88). Germanicus is the real prize. Ovid has found out, perhaps in the aforementioned letter from Suillius, that the latter was serving as *quaestor* to this powerful and influential member of the imperial family.⁷ “The common factor [of the addressees in Book Four]...is service under, or support for, Germanicus [who] with the death of Augustus in August AD 14...was Ovid’s only possible imperial advocate” (Green: 350).

Ovid praises the “young Caesar” (4.8.23) and offers him, for lack of anything else, the gift of his poetry: “That downfall of mine destroyed my wealth. / Let opulent houses and cities

⁶ Germanicus Julius Caesar was the son of Augustus’ step-son, Drusus.

⁷ This fact is attested in the historical literature: *at P. Sullium quaestorem quondam Germanici* (*Tac. Ann.*4.31.3; discussed by Green: 361).

present you with temples: Ovid's gratitude will be shown through his sole riches – verse. / Poor indeed – I admit it – this gift [*munera*], in return for ample / service [*opibus...magnis*], mere words against deliverance” (4.8.33-36). Ovid goes on to equate “mere words” with a service: “For great men nothing's more fitting/ than the homage of poets, [*officio...facto*] offered through their verse” (4.8.43-44).

Ovid extolls poetry for its ability to immortalize great men: “Poems function as public criers of your praises, / [they] see that the fame of your actions never fades: / poems keep virtue alive, un-entombed, familiar/ to posterity down the ages /.../ the written word / defies the years” (4.8.45-51). This was not a new idea. Cicero had alluded to it in his oration *Pro Archia*. Pliny would later call it “ ‘*gloria et laus et aeternitas*’ (Ep.3.21), the promise repeatedly vouchsafed in verses composed by dependants to honour their great friends” (White: 84). “Special honour could be bestowed on a patron or friend by mentioning his name in verse...It was thought to be within the poet's power

to confer immortal fame on his patron through his work”
(Saller: 256).⁸

Ovid ends his address to Germanicus by making a request. He proposes a *quid pro quo*, service for service: “If my homeland’s barred to me in my misfortune,/ set me down anywhere less remote from Rome,/ in a place where I can cry up your latest praises,/ retail your great deeds with minimal delay” (4.8.85-88). But Ovid is not in a position to bargain. By inserting the apostrophe to Germanicus in the subsequently-published letter to Suillius, he does what he promises he will do. His request is audacious: Germanicus is not his friend. As Claassen points out, “the poem [4.8] is aimed at ingratiating the exile with a powerful *potential* patron” (Claassen 1999: 116; italics mine). Ovid attempts to circumvent this obstacle by pointing out that he and Germanicus share an interest. They are both writers: “May it turn to my profit that we have rites in common, / that I set my hand to the same pursuit” (4.8.81-82). This ends Ovid’s attempt to persuade Germanicus. In the last

⁸ Saller cites Martial: “*gaudet honorato sed multus nomine lector,/cui victura meo munere fama datur*” (5.15.3-4). “But the reader enjoys an honoured name / to whom by my gift his reputation is given to live” (translation mine).

two lines of the poem he returns to Suillius, asking him with a touch of self-deprecatory humour to pray for his not quite father-in-law.⁹ The poem which began as an *epistula* and transformed (in the apostrophe) to a *carmina* reverts to an *epistula* at the very end.

Poems as Gifts

“Roman custom...sanctioned the liberal use of presents as tokens of friendship” (White: 87). But in the frontier town of Tomis there was nothing of material value. Ovid jokingly sends a friend a “Scythian quiversful of arrows...[because] there was nothing in the whole of sinister Pontus / fit to be sent as a token of my esteem” (3.8.17-19). Ovid had only one thing to offer. It was an especially valuable gift because he was a talented poet and recognized as such. “My name’s still known world-wide;”, he had boasted early in his exile, “the world of culture’s well acquainted with Ovid” (*Tr.*2.6.118-119). The gift was his poetry which had the power to bestow long-lasting fame: “Yet in so far as our words of praise have power, / you shall live through these

⁹ In the Latin, *pro socero paene precare tuo* (*Pont.*4.8.90).

verses for all time” (*Tr.*1.6.35-36).¹⁰ He had earlier acknowledged “a debt / of friendship” (*Tr.*1.5.8-9), that is to say, an obligation to reciprocate the services they had performed for him. To discharge his debt he planned to memorialize those friends who had remained loyal. He would versify his letters to them and make sure to include their names in the resulting poems. To Cotta Maximus, recipient of six of the poems, more than anyone else, Ovid writes: “[My gratitude] will actually outlive my lifetime / if posterity remembers and reads me still... You too shall win frequent praise from our remote descendants, / your fame bright-blazoned through my works” (3.2.29-30, 35-36). In the *Epistulae* every poem which names the addressee is implicitly a gift to that person.¹¹

Letters for Requests

Ovid’s requests for help are persistent and tinged with self-pity. He admits that “though the words are the same, I write to

¹⁰ See also *Tr.*4.10.125-126 and *Tr.*5.14.1,3-4..

¹¹ The chart in Appendix B shows that there are at least nine explicit references to poems as gifts. See Appendix C for occurrences of *munus*, the Latin for gift.

different people- / one cry for help, but many addressees” (3.9.41-42).¹² The requests are typically expressed in a direct and unadorned manner, for example: “[I] don’t seek a full reprieve, / but greater safety merely in my grim / of exile moved nearer home!” (1.2.102-103,128-129). The urgent tone is reminiscent of pleas for help in letters from Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, for example: “It will be a pious act if you prepare the petition as I drafted it with you in the city...So, brother, exert yourself and now perhaps with your zeal and affection [you] will triumph over my mischance...I have been besmirched before all men” (Hunt: 355). Ovid aims for clarity in his requests probably so as to avoid misunderstandings which could delay his release from the allegedly horrible conditions of his exile. There was enough delay in the mail, the infrequency of which was compounded by his remote location.

His lifeline was the postal system. Sending a letter all but guaranteed a reply. The “rhetoric of epistolography” viewed “the performance of letter exchange as a ‘duty’ (*officium*) of friendship” (Ebbeler: 470, 471). Where there was a reply, there

¹² See Appendix B for a list of the occurrences of requests.

was hope that salvation was at hand.¹³ He seems to have engaged in profuse letter-writing. He reminds one friend, Severus, of their “constant correspondence, / an exchange of friendly letters – in prose [*orba...epistula*]...Poems alone [*carmina sola*]...I haven’t bestowed on you” (4.2.5-8). The qualification, “in prose” suggests that other letters may well have been in verse.

Other passages support this possibility, for example: “While reports are travelling here, and a hurried poem [*carmina* in the Latin] / is written, and, when written, dispatched to you, / a year can elapse” (3.4.59-61). At least some of the poems appear to have been sent out individually, as indicated here: “This work [self-referentially the poem itself] – rushed out in short order, Rufus - is sent you / by Ovid...so that...you may know I’ve not forgotten you” (2.11.1-4). Ovid says that his intention was “not to make a book, but to send the appropriate letter / to each person – this was my object and my care”

¹³ Ovid does not include any replies to his letters though he does occasionally allude to them. For example, here is Ovid’s response to a reply from a friend named Graecinus: “You’re right [to have berated me?], but it’s too late now for such reproof of error /.../shame on you if you offer no kind of assistance / to an old friend in his distress” (2.6.7, 19-20).

(3.9.51-52),¹⁴ a statement which may be disingenuous. To memorialize his friends he needed to “make a book”, i.e. publish the letters. The poems in *Tristia* have a “double nature”, both “public documents” and “private communications” (Oliensis:175). Likewise the name-bearing poems which followed except that these are more transparent.

I began by pointing out the dual function and dual form of these poems. As letters they communicate requests for help. As poems they serve as gifts. The presence in the poems of the addressees’ names was essential to Ovid’s purpose, as was the existence of fellow Romans who could be considered his friends. I argued that Ovid’s forced geographical distancing resulted in a damaged praxis of *amicitia*. Simply put, the expectation that a friend would return a favour no longer applied in Ovid’s situation. This damage complicated his need to request that his friends do something to revoke or at least ameliorate his exile. Turning a personal letter into a published poem was beneficial in at least three ways. First, it satisfied Ovid’s desire to repay a debt that he felt he owed to his friends. Second, it

¹⁴ In the Latin, *Nec liber ut fieret, sed uti sua cuique daretur/littera, propositum curaque nostra fuit* (*Pont.* 3.9.51-52).

enabled him to give a gift in lieu of performing a service. Third, it served as an incentive – sheer gratitude - for his friends to act decisively on his behalf . This also made it possible for him to fulfil his his longstanding desire to memorialize his friends: “Dear friends: I long to / mention each one of you by name” (*Tr.* 4B.63-64).

Reading the *Epistulae* a reader will encounter contrasting styles within the same poem. The style oscillates between prosaic and poetic, a binary which correlates with the dual form, epistle and poem, and dual function, request and gift. The triple dualities of form, function and style raise the question of whether the *Epistulae* were originally not so much epistolary poems as poetic epistles, texts hurriedly written, urgently dispatched with copies having been made beforehand, and later polished for publication. Gareth Williams assumes that most of the letters were originally versified: “While [Ovid] doubtless communicated in prose as well, his commitment to verse allows him to reward his loyal friends through poetic celebration of them in Tomis” (Williams: 339).

The transformation from poetic epistle to epistolary poem entailed expanding the text. The added passages typically consist of an imaginary from Greco-Roman mythology¹⁵ whose function is to make a comparison. These added passages elevated the letters and made them more worthy as gifts and, so believed Ovid and his audience, more impressive as artistic creations.¹⁶ (Modern readers would have preferred that Ovid remain in an imaginary of realism and give us more information about what life was really like in Tomis.) Identifying stylistic cleavages in the poems of the *Epistulae* and stripping away those lines which give the appearance of having been added later¹⁷ may uncover the urtexts of some of the poems. This would shed light on their metamorphosis from letter to poem, a process which invites further investigation.

¹⁵ For example, see 1.2.29-40, 1.2.107-114 and 1.2.119-127.

¹⁶ For example, see 1.2.29-40, 1.2.107-114 and 1.2.119-127.

¹⁷ The address to Germanicus appears to be an interpolation which interrupts the flow of the text. If it is removed (lines 23-88), the poem flows smoothly to its conclusion. Here are lines 21-22 followed immediately by 89-90: “If you think anything can be done by means of petition, / put up a suppliant’s prayer to your special gods - / To ensure, dear Suillius, that this plea affects the heavenly / powers, please pray for your wife’s not-quite-papa”.

Appendix A

Chart of Poem/Name Relationship

Book	Poem	Addressee
I	1	Brutus
	2	Maximus (Paullus Fabius)
	3	Rufinus
	4	wife
	5	Maximus (Cotta)
	6	Graecinus
	7	Messalinus
	8	Severus
	9	Maximus (Cotta)
	10	Flaccus
II	1	Germanicus
	2	Messalinus
	3	Maximus (Cotta)
	4	Atticus
	5	Salanus
	6	Graecinus
	7	Atticus
	8	Cotta Maximus
	9	Cotys
	10	Macer
	11	Rufus
III	1	wife
	2	Cotta (Maximus)
	3	Maximus (Paullus Fabius)
	4	Rufinus
	5	Cotta Maximus
	6	***
	7	“my friends”
	8	Maximus (Paullus Fabius)
	9	Brutus
IV	1	Sextus Pompeius
	2	Severus (Cornelius)

	3	***
	4	Pompeius (Sextus)
	5	Sextus Pompeius
	6	Brutus
	7	Vestalis
	8	Suillius
	9	Graecinus
	10	Albinovanus
	11	Gallio
	12	Tuticanus
	13	Carus
	14	unnamed but almost certainly Tuticanus
	15	Sextus (Pompeius?)
	16	Unnamed “envious wretch”, however Cotta Maximus addressed parenthetically

*** no named addressee

Appendix B

Epistulae which include a request and/or gift of a poem¹⁸

Poem	R	G
1.2	x	“take on this tough brief, make a persuasive plea/.../Speak up for me, I beg you” (1.2.68-69, 115).
1.3	x	“I only fear/lest your efforts to save me are labour lost...I’m overwhelmed by your kindness/and accept the help you offer in good part” (1.3.88-89, 93-94).
1.6	x	“provide me, from a distance,/with comforting words for the heart...Pray that he [Augustus?] may not be deaf to me.../add some words of your own to the prayer I make!” (1.6.17-18,48).
1.7	x	“So class me as you will, Messalinus, provided only/I’m not an alien element in your house” (1.7.67-68).
1.8	x	“you may wish for Caesar to abate his just anger, for me to be a guest/in your villa: ah friend, that’s too much to ask/...What I

¹⁸ The quotations do not necessarily represent all the expressions of request or gift-giving within a single letter. There may be multiple such expressions. Also, these results are only approximate. What constitutes a request can be open to interpretation. Nevertheless the chart is instructive insofar as it highlights the distribution of the repetitive requests and also of giving a poem.

		want is some land nearer home” (1.8.69-72)		
1.9			x	“right that my verses should bear witness,/that generations unborn/may learn, Celsus, of your name” (1.9.43-45)
1.10	x	“Kind haven you are to a sprung vessel,/bringing me the help that so many refuse./Keep on, keep on, I beseech you” (1.10.39-41)		
2.2	x	“if I’m saved at all, it’s you/who’ll be my saviour...use all your charm, your influence to win/a change of abode for me...Don’t try this if you think it might harm me” (2.2.46-47,96-97,125)		
2.3	x	“you take thought/for your old friend in these sorry circumstances,/apply your healing poultices to my wounds” (2.3.92-94)		
2.4	x	“keep faith, be constant, protect your old comrade” (2.4.32-33)		
2.6	x	“see that you keep faith with your fallen friend” (2.6.35)	x	“if my poetry’s destined for survival, then, believe me,/you’ll often find yourself on posterity’s lips” (2.6.33-34)
2.7	x	“You few friends...afford me no small solace./.../Keep it up, I beseech you” (2.7.81-83)		
2.8	x	“Spare me...rein in your vengeance...lighten my punishment minimally, reduce it by removing me somewhere far away from my Scythian foes” (2.8.23-24,35-36)		
2.9	x	“hear this suppliant’s voice, and		

		proffer/what aid you can to an exile” (2.9.5-6)		
2.10	x	“Now do the same for me – let your happier region/hold me for ever in our mindful heart” (2.10.51-52)		
3.1	x	“You should work with your whole heart, strain every sinew,/toil for me night and day!...labour that I may abide in a less hostile region...Choose well the long-watched-for moment to make your petition” (3.1.39-40, 85, 129)	x	“My pages won’t let you go unnoticed - /they’ll ensure you a name no less high in renown/than Bittis of Cos” (3.1.7-59)
3.2	x	“please find it consistent/with such antecedents to succour a fallen friend” (3.2.109-110)	x	“it [my gratitude] will actually outlive my lifetime/if posterity remembers and reads me still...You too shall win frequent praise from our remote descendants,/your fame bright-blazoned through my works” (3.2.29-30, 35-36)
3.3	x	“your house is well accustomed to aiding suppliants - /among whom I beseech you to number myself” (3.3.107-108)		
3.4	x	“grant me this favour,/commend the verses for which I cannot plead!” (3.4.71-72)		
3.7	x	“Now I am out of words, I’ve asked the same thing so often” (3.7.1)		
4.1			x	“Pray accept a poem composed, Sextus Pompeius, by one who owes you his life” (4.1.1-2)
4.7.			x	“your deeds,Vestalis, /are witnessed by my poem for all time” (4.7.53-54)

4.8	x	“you say/...you’ll give me aid./...your amicable intentions/ have made me your debtor: I call the will to help/a service/.../if my homeland’s barred to me in my misfortune,/set me down anywhere less remote from Rome”(4.8.2,4,5-7,85-86)	x	Ovid’s/gratitude will be shown through his sole riches – verse./Poor indeed – I admit it- this gift, in return for ample/service/.../for great men nothing’s more fitting/than the homage of poets, offered through their verse” (4.8.33-36,43-44)
4.9	x	“Could you, when you’re through with your more urgent petitions,/ask for the Prince to assuage his wrath against me?” (4.9.51-52)	x	“Perhaps those poems I’ve written on your late apotheosis/may also reach you there – so I surmise that your godhead’s yielding to my entreaties” (4.9.131-132)
4.12	x	“Search for yourself, I beg you, the ways in which to help me” (4.12.49)	x	“Such was the reason I delayed this offering,/...I’ll promote you...send you poems” (4.12.17-19)
4.13	x	“Do you/.../lend support, in so far as you can” (4.13.42,49)	x	
4.15	x	I’m ashamed and nervous to be forever making/the same requests” (4.15.29-30)	x	

Appendix C

Occurrences of *munus* and its case variants in *Epistulae ex Ponto*

munus	1.3.93
“	1.7.29
“	2.8.3
“	3.6.58
munera	3.8.11
munus	4.1.36
“	4.5.32
munera	4.5.38
“	4.8.35
munere	4.9.12
munus	4.9.104
munere	4.9.122
“	4.10.15
muneris	4.12.17
munera	4.14.54
munere	4.15.19
munera	4.15.37

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