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Migration in Classical Latin Literature

Contents

1 Introduction

1.1 Background and topics at issue

Having in recent years studied the course literature for the bachelor degree in Latin at Lund University, what moved me most was the narratives of people having lost their homes. First and foremost are Virgil's proverbial war refugees in the Aeneid and the fictional evicted Meliboeus in the first Eclogue. I extended my study to the archetype exile, Ovid, whose letters from his place of banishment, in Tomis, by the Black Sea, cover the last part of his life, from his fiftieth year.

To me, there seem to be many similarities between contemporary migration and that described by Ovid and especially Virgil. In recent years we have had civil war in former Yugoslavia, and there is an ongoing one in Syria. Furthermore, there are refugees leaving failing states in Africa. Many of these war victims hope to start a new life in a safe and prosperous European country, and some of them cross the Mediterranean as the epic Trojans once did.

What has changed over the latest millennia? For one thing, the shift in technology has speeded up travelling. It does not take ten years to go from Troy to Rome. The same technology shift implies that there is an element of time travel for to-day's refugees. Some of them lack adequate education and find themselves bewildered and lost in their new environment. Whereas the Trojans, who after having landed their ships, could take out bow and arrows and have a festive meal on freely roaming deer, this can hardly be done in to-day's Europe.

1.2 Purpose

One purpose is to make the reader reflect on the similarities between now and then regarding migration and actions taken or discussed by authorities in migrant countries. "Now", will be represented by facts and presentations supplied by to-day's media, partly as perceived by the reader, and "then" by verse by Ovid and Virgil. A second purpose is to explore vocabulary to do with exile, migration, us and them, etc.

1.3 Method

The method is to present, in my view, applicable quotations that illustrate what the displaced persons, Meliboeus, Ovid and the Trojans experienced and feared. What did their choice of vocabulary disclose? Could they speak their own language? What was the climate like? What about food and clothing? Did they feel safe? Not to mention the loss of friends and family.

To study aspects of migration, I have focused mainly on two works each by Virgil and Ovid. On the receiving end, representing the country of immigration, Livy´s *History of Rome, book 1* and Suetonius´ *Lives of the Caesars* both describe steps and measures taken by the authorities in order to encourage or discourage immigration. Many of them are easily recognizable by us to-day. Then there are occasional references to Cicero, ever the master of Classical Latin.

1.4 Sources

Ovid's works *Tristia* and *Epistulae Ex Ponto* (1924) were both written during his *exilium,* exile, or, formally, *relegatio,* banishment, to the Black Sea after having infuriated Emperor Augustus. What did Ovid miss most? How did he find his new environment? How could he, or his friends, make the almighty emperor change his mind? How was he treated by his new neighbours?

Both works are contemporary and contain firsthand experience. Are they objective? Hardly. They were written with a purpose; either to be forgiven by emperor Augustus or at least to be sent somewhere else.

Virgil´s first *Eclogue* (Virgil 1916) pictures the unhappy fictional Meliboeus, who recently finds himself both *exsul,* an exile, and *proscriptus*, an outlaw, arbitrarily selected to lose his property, but in his case, not his life. What do we learn of his circumstances from the poem? According to Starr (1955, 37) it is probable that Virgil lost his estate in Mantua and deeply felt the unfairness of expropriation.

Virgil´s masterpiece *The Aeneid,* (1916) and (1918), pictures the prospects of the survivors of the epic Trojan war after the fall of Troy from the point of view of the defeated. What are their options? To stay where they are and be killed or enslaved? To flee and become refugees? They agree that their mission is to found a new Troy and set out on a long quest under the leadership of Aeneas, son of the goddess Venus and Anchises, a mortal.

The Aeneid can be described as the Genesis, the story of creation, of Rome. It´s the Roman poetic version of Homer´s *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey. The Aeneid* ends after Aeneas´ struggle to find a place where the Trojans were accepted as settlers finally succeeded.

I have also used Livy´s Book 1 of his opus magnum *Ab Urbe Condita*, (*AUC), (*1919). *AUC* Book 1 covers the period from the arrival of Aeneas and his son Ascanius at Lavinium in Latium up to the end of the Kingdom, with the ouster of the royal Tarquinii dynasty. *AUC* is a mix of legend, myth and hearsay and intended to be edifying. In the preface Livy explains his motive for writing, (1919, 2), [*AUC* Praefatio 3]: '*iuvabit tamen, rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi [1].*

Livy's message seems to be to remind his contemporaries of their glorious past when, in his belief, they were governed by noble leaders of impeccable character and how, over time, morals deteriorated under unsuitable rulers.

Livy would let the reader note "how, with the gradual relaxation of discipline, morals ….sank lower and lower … downward plunge which has brought us to the present time" [2] (1919, 6), [Praefatio 9]. Livy was, however, well aware that his historical facts lacked in accuracy. He

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[1]"to commemorate the deeds of the foremost people in the world."
Latin texts and translations from respective LOEB on-line editions and supplemented with [book and verse, poetry] and [book and chapter/paragraph, prose].

[2] *labente deinde paulatim disciplina velut desidentis primo mores sequatur animo, deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint praecipites, donec ad haec tempora …perventum est.*

claimed (1919, 4), [Praefatio 7] that "it is the privilege of antiquity to mingle divine things with human, and so to add dignity to the beginnings of cities."

What could be more glorious than to have divine ancestors? According to Livy, if any people ought to be allowed to add dignity to its origin, and claim it hailed from gods, it was the Romans, with Mars as a father of their founder [3] and Venus as a mother of Aeneas. [4]

The Aeneid and *AUC* were both in the spirit of Emperor Augustus. What he especially appreciated was their focus on the concept of *Romanness;* valour and to hold their forefathers in veneration and to revere their *penates,* the guardian gods of the family, and the *lares*, the protecting deities of the home and of the state, and that had come with them on the long voyage from Troy to Rome. Thus, he made sure that the *Lares* should be properly honoured.[5]

As regards the texts by Suetonius, (1914a, 1914b) they contain facts of which he cannot possibly have had any firsthand experience. Suetonius was born in 70 AD. In my paper I have used his biographies of Julius Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius.

	Julius Caesar [6]	Augustus	Tiberius	Caligula	Claudius
born	100 BC-	63 BC-	42 BC-	12 A.D-	10 B.C-
dead	44 BC	14 AD	37 AD	41 AD	54 AD

Suetonius, though by no means a contemporary of the emperors included in my paper, had close connections with the imperial court, serving at a time as private secretary to emperor Hadrian. In the *Introduction* by K.R. Bradley to the Loeb-edition, it is suggested that Suetonius, in that capacity, had access to the imperial archives (1914 a, 24-25), something that would greatly add credibility to his accounts. His father and grandfather were also very well informed and passed on their knowledge.

The anthology *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Rome,* (Erdkamp 2013) ed contains a wide range of information on ancient Rome by more than 30 contributors. Some of them are of special interest to me:

Moatti (2013, 77-92) describes immigration and immigration policies. In the same edition there is an interesting chapter, on slaves and slavery, by Herrmann-Otto (2013, 60-76). Morley (2013, 29-44), discusses methods to estimate the size of the Roman population.

1.5 Current research
When searching for books and articles containing the combined search terms "migration", "Roman", "classical" etc., one gets plenty of hits. There are many scholars; historians, sociologists and demographers that are interested in migration that took place in the Roman Republic and in the Principate. A good starting point is the anthology mentioned above, that contains contributions by scholars on every conceivable aspect of ancient Rome.

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[3] *cum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat* (1919, 4), [Praefatio 7]

[4] *ducem Aeneam, filium Anchisae et Veneris* (1919, 10), [1.8]

[5] *Compitales lares ornari bis anno instituit* (Suetonius 1914 a, 198), [*Divus Augustus* 31.4]

[6] Gaius Iulius Caesar, despite his name, never became emperor. Suetonius, however, included him in his "Lives of the Caesars". Julius Caesar's adopted son Octavianus was the first emperor, and he took the name Augustus.

Morley (2013, 32), discusses different methods of determining the theoretical maximum size of the population in the city of Rome by estimating the population housed in *domus,* (home of one family) and in *insulae,* (block of flats). The number residential buildings being known, and applying household ratios from Pompeii will give a very large estimate, more than one million Romans, which makes Morley doubt the accuracy of the number of blocks of flats. Especially when related to the physical area of Rome, the population density would have been almost as high as in to-day's 3rd world slums.

Here some others[7] of special interest can be mentioned: the historians Noy (2000) and Ligt (2012), the sociologist Hin (2013). Hin combines census data with archaeological evidence. The demographer, LoCascio (1994), is an established authority on Roman demography. He (1994) offered an alternative way to look at the Augustan census figures, that fired new discussions. With the exception of Noy's, these studies mostly concentrate on macro level aggregates of hundreds of thousands of people and employ modern demographic theories.

There are three different schools of thought as regards the estimate of the total population, referred to as high-, low- and middle counts. The disparity really boils down to what you believe about Augustus' censuses. Did they encompass the total free population of men and women or just able-bodied men?

Ligt (2012) examines and discusses the relative merits of various high-count and low-count models. He presents factors that could have an impact on the carrying capacity of the surrounding areas, i.e. how large a population could be supported. You can make any number of assumptions regarding the distribution between urban and rural areas, the diet of the ancient Romans, calorific requirements, and about changes in the acreage of cultivated land, climate change, etc, etc.

To estimate the size of the total population the number of slaves must be included. There are no reliable census figures, or any other reliable information on the slave population. All the demographers can do is to present guesstimates, more or less informed guesses, like Scheidel (2005). [8]There is really no way to arrive at a final "truth", but it makes for interesting reading.

My paper does not go beyond micro level sources, on individuals; Ovid, Meliboeus and the Trojans.

The same micro level approach is used by Noy (2000), whose sources are epitaphs of individuals born elsewhere but that died at Rome, thus picturing individual destinies. Where did they come from? What occupation did they have? Though by no means representative of the total migrant population, it is a most interesting study.

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[7] Hin, S (2013) *The Demography of Roman Italy: population dynamics in an ancient conquest society (201 BCE-14 CE),*

Ligt, L. de (2012). *Peasants, citizens and soldiers: studies in the demographic history of Roman Italy 225 BC-AD 100.*

Lo Cascio, E. (1994) 'The Size of the Roman Population: Beloch and the Meaning of the Augustan Census Figures'.

Noy, D. (2000) *Foreigners at Rome. Citizens and Strangers.*

[8] Scheidel, W (2005) Human Mobility in Roman Italy II: The Slave Population

1.6 Concepts

Words that need explanation are listed in the *glossary* based on the Oxford Latin Dictionary, OLD, pp 45. Some of the most important ones will be discussed at length further on.

Proscriptio, to be declared an outlaw, signifies different things in different eras. In the age of Sulla, in the 80s BC, it meant mass killings and expropriation of property of important, wealthy Romans. In the 40s BC, it could amount to the same thing, but often got no further than to confiscation of land.

Exilium, exile, could be forced or voluntary. The latter meant that, to be on the safe side, you (like Cicero once did) judged it wise to leave the country for some time. When forced, *exilium* and *expulsio* both implied loss of citizenship and of property.

Relegatio, banishment, is similar to *expulsion*, but without loss of citizenship and property. Both concepts will be elaborated upon in sections 3.2 and 3.3.

A Roman citizen was a free person, man or woman, with the right to vote. As Noy (2000,1-3) points out, it was a purely legal term. A "*civis romanus/romana* might know no Latin, never visit Rome…. but was defined by a status which was inherited (or bought or acquired by manumission)", *manumissio* (the setting free of a slave by a formal procedure). Whereas *peregrinus* was the legal term for someone who was free but not a Roman citizen but "might even come from a family which had lived in Rome for generations, speak only Latin, and have no known kin outside Rome" but still lack Roman citizenship. (Ibid)

Peregrinus was often used in connection with *advena*, (meaning newcomer or stranger.) (Ibid). The adjective *externus* means foreign or external and is used more often about things than of people. Occasionally it can be used synonymously with *peregrinus,* or the opposite of *civis*. (Ibid)

Noy also remarks that Latin does not have a word for 'immigrant' and no concepts for differentiating between those who planned short time stays and those that intended to spend the rest of their lives in Rome. (Ibid)

2 Immigration to Rome

2.1 The Trojans' flight

In the Greek version of the Trojan war, *The Iliad*, Helen, the most beautiful woman in the world, wife of king Menelaous of Sparta, was abducted by Paris, son of king Priamos of Troy. Menelaus wanted his wife back. In the Virgilian version, *The Aeneid*, Helen had deserted her husband for Paris. Hence the war, which lasted for ten years, took innumerable lives and finally left Troy in ruins.

When the war was ending, Aeneas contemplates the respective fates of Helen vs that of the Trojans: (Virgil 1916, 354), [*Aeneid* 2]

> *'scilicet haec Spartam incolumis patriasque Mycenas*
> *aspiciet, partoque ibit regina triumpho?*
> *coniugiumque domumque, patris, natosque videbit*

> *Iliadum turba et Phrygiis comitata ministris?'* (580)

"'*So is she to look unscathed on Sparta and her native Mycenae, and parade a queen in the triumph she has won? Is she to see husband and home, parents and children, attended by a train of Ilian ladies and Phrygian captives?'*"

Whereas the Trojans were dreading their prospective servitude: (Virgil 1916, 348), [*Aeneid* 2]

> "*At domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu
> miscetur, penitusque cavae plangoribus aedes
> femineis ululant; ferit aurea sidera clamor.
> Tum pavidae tectis matres ingentibus errant
> amplexaeque tenent postis atque oscula figunt.*" (490)

"'But within, amid shrieks and woeful uproar, the house is in confusion and at its heart the vaulted halls ring with women's wails; The din strikes the golden stars. Then through the dwelling trembling matrons roam, clinging fast to the doors and imprinting kisses on them.'"

And Creuosa, Aeneas' wife, of noble birth, wouldn't even contemplate serfdom. (Virgil 1916, 368), [*Aeneid* 2]

> *non ego Myrmidonum sedes Dolopumve superbas* (785)
> *aspiciam aut Grais servitum matribus ibo,*
> *Dardanis et divae Veneris nurus…*

"I shall never look upon the proud homes of the Myrmidons or Dolopians, or go to be the slave of Greek matrons, I a Dardan woman and wife of the son of divine Venus;"

As it turns out, Aeneas is urged by Venus, his mother, to flee Troy: (Virgil 1916, 356-8), [*Aeneid* 2]

> '*eripe nate, fugam finemque impone labori.*
> *nusquam abero et tutum patrio te limine sistam.'* (620)

"'Hasten your flight, my son, and put an end to your toil. Nowhere will I leave you but set you safely on your father's threshold.'"

Creuosa somehow was lost in the confusion of Troy's fall. Apparently, she died, but her spirit, or *phantom,* foretold him what was in store and what to expect. (Virgil 1916, 368), [*Aeneid* 2]

> *longa tibi exsilia, et vastum maris aequor arandum;* (780)
> *et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva*
> *inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris.*
> *illic res laetae regnumque et regia coniunx*
> *parta tibi.*

"Long exile is your lot, a vast stretch of sea you must plough; and you will come to the land Hesperia, where amid the rich fields of husbandmen the Lydian Tiber flows with gentle sweep. There in store for you are happy days, kingship and a royal wife."

Eventually Aeneas proceeds to the appointed meeting point where he is surprised by a large crowd of fellow fugitives. (Virgil 1916, 370), [*Aeneid* 2]

> *'Atque hic ingentem comitum adfluxisse novorum*
> *invenio admirans numerum, matresque virosque,*
> *collectam exsilio pubem, miserabile vulgus.*
> *undique convenere, animis opibusque parati,*
> *in quascumque velim pelago deducere terras.'* (800)

"'And here, astonished, I find that a vast number of new comrades had streamed in, mothers and men, a band gathered for exile, a piteous throng. From all sides they have come, with heart and fortune ready for me to lead them over the sea to whatever lands I will."'

2.2 How were foreigners received by the Romans?

2.2.1 How were the Trojans welcomed in Carthage and in Latium?

On their long, winding way from Troy the companions sought harbour, often in uninhabited areas, where they could fend for themselves. *Hospitium harenae* – "the welcome of the beach" is an interesting concept. On their previous stop, before Carthage, where the Trojans had sought shelter from a storm, they disembarked and went ashore, (Virgil 1916, 274), [*Aeneid* 1.170-197]. Here Aeneas, with his bow and swift arrows, was able to put down seven freely roaming stags and thus provide a festive meal for his men. Then, they arrived in Carthage, ruled by the Sidonian queen Dido, herself a refugee. Dido had, however, managed to found a model city that greatly impressed the Trojan fugitives. The Trojans, met by guards, who prevented them from entering, assured the queen that they had come in peace and were on their way to Hesperia but that tempests had driven them to her country. (Virgil 1916, 298), [*Aeneid* 1]

> ...'o regina... (522)
> *Troes, te miseri, ventis maria omnia vecti'* (524)
> *oramus* (525)

'Queen, …. we, unhappy Trojans, tempest-driven over every sea, make our prayer to you.'

> *non nos aut ferro Libycos populare Penates* (527)
> *venimus aut raptas ad litora vertere praedas;*

"We have not come to spoil with the sword your Libyan homes or to drive stolen booty to the shore."

> *... quave hunc tam barbara morem*
> *permittit patria? hospitio prohibemur harenae;* (540)

bella cient primaque vetant consistere terra.
si genus humanum et mortalia temnitis arma,
at sperate deos memores fandi atque nefandi.

"What land is so barbarous as to allow this custom? [9] We are debarred the welcome of the beach; they stir up wars and forbid us to set foot on the border of their land. If you think light of human kinship and mortal arms, yet look unto gods who will remember right and wrong."

Then queen Dido explains the harsh measures her new kingdom has to employ, to protect her frontiers with guards, but the Trojans' repute has preceded them, and she welcomes them to stay. (Virgil 1916, 300-2), [*Aeneid* 1]

vultis et his mecum pariter considere regnis? (572)
urbem quam statuo vestra est; subducite navis;
Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

"Or is it your wish to settle with me on even terms within these realms? The city I build is yours; draw up your ships; Trojan and Tyrian I shall treat alike."

What could be more hospitable? And that was before she had even seen Aeneas. After Aeneas has made his appearance, Dido is spellbound and, although an utterly competent woman, she completely loses her head. This was partly accomplished by Venus' machinations with the intention to ensnare Dido. (Virgil 1916, 308), [*Aeneid* 1]

quocirca capere ante dolis et cingere flamma (673)
reginam meditor, ne quo se numine mutet,

"Wherefore I purpose to outwit the queen with guile and encircle her with love's flame, so that no power may change her."

2.2.2 The welcome of the beach of to-day's Europe

In the aftermath of the huge wave of refugees, mainly from Syria, culminating in 2015, there was a reaction against the influx of fugitives. Two articles in *The Guardian* give an account. In recent years asylum seekers to Europe were barred from entering ports in Malta and Italy despite the existing EU agreement that "migrants rescued in the open sea should be taken to the nearest safe haven", (Burgen, 2019). Ships operated by charities have rescued some 600,000 in the Mediterranean during the last four years, whereas at least 13,000 have drowned (Stephen, 2018). Critics object that lifesaving schemes are *pull factors*, encouraging migrants to make the dangerous voyage. (Ibid)

2.2.3 The Trojans were able to settle

Delightful though the residence was, Aeneas finally realizes that it is time to leave, in order to fulfill his duty. He has a realm to found. Thus, he and his company sneak away without informing Dido who, hurt and in despair, commits suicide.

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[9] i.e. to deny *hospitium harenae,* the "welcome of the beach"

The Trojans eventually reached their "promised land", Hesperia. When Aeneas landed with his company in the foretold area, it was ruled by a model king, Latinus. (Virgil 1918, 4), [*Aeneid* 7]

> *Rex arva Latinus et urbes* (46)
> *iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat.*

"King Latinus, now old, ruled over lands and towns in the calm of a long peace."

The righteous king was urged by his deceased father's spirit: (Virgil 1918,8), [*Aeneid* 7]

> *"ne pete conubiis natam sociare Latinis,* (96)
> *o mea progenies, thalamis neu crede paratis;*
> *externi venient generi, qui sanguine nostrum*
> *nomen in astra ferant."*

"'Seek not, my son, to ally your daughter in Latin wedlock, and put no faith in the bridal chamber that is ready at hand. Strangers shall come, to be your sons, whose blood shall exalt our name to the stars.'"

Thus, the good king is convinced that Fate demands of him to welcome the Trojans. As in a fairy-tale, king Latinus decides to cancel the planned marriage between his daughter Lavinia and a neighbour, Turnus, and to offer Aeneas his daughter as well as *hospitium,* the ties of hospitality.

Here it is possible to discern the seeds of future dissent: a twice promised bride and a twice promised land. The ground was prepared for trouble.

2.2.4 Trouble to come

This loss of his promised bride was, of course, not well received by the spurned prospective groom, Turnus. (Virgil 1918, 34), [Aeneid 7.458-474]

The Trojans had survived the long, perilous voyage the Cumaean Sibyl had foretold in her prophesy. But there was more to come before Aeneas and his followers could settle properly: (Virgil 1916, 538), [Aeneid 6]

> '*o tandem, magnis pelagi defuncte periclis* (83)
> *(sed terrae graviora manent)*
> *...*   *bella, horrida bella* (86)
> *et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno.* (87)
> .
> *causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris* (93)
> *externique iterum thalami....'*

"'you that have at length survived the great perils of the sea – yet by land more grievous woes lie in wait… Wars, grim wars I see and the Tiber foaming with streams of blood…

The cause of all this Trojan woe is again an alien bride, again a foreign marriage!'"

Settle they did, and the rest is history. But the Sibyl's prophesy was indeed ominous, and plenty of blood would be shed.

2.3 Anybody was welcome in Rome

In the beginning, new inhabitants were badly needed. According to legend in the mid-700s, Romulus was so desperate for newcomers to move into Rome that he opened a haven, accessible to anybody in the neighbourhood. Livy (1919, 32), [*AUC* 8.6]

... asylum aperit. Eo ex finitimis populis turba omnis, sine discrimine liber an servus esset.

"…he" (Romulus) "opened a sanctuary. Thither fled, from the surrounding peoples, a miscellaneous rabble, without distinction of bond or free."

Even though the number of males grew, the rise in population wasn't sustainable due to the scarcity of women. When diplomacy failed – the neighbouring peoples refused intermarriage - the Romans resorted to ruse and force, by abduction of the Sabine young women who had been invited to a festival in the company of their families. (Livy 1919, 34-38), [9.9-16]

An outline of early and later immigration policies is presented by Moatti (2013, 78-81). To grow, Rome had, since it was founded, absorbed people from Carthage, Syria, Greece, Palestine, etc. as well as from its nearest Italian neighbours. Immigrants were merchants, teachers, doctors, astrologers, actors, workers or craftsmen, all of whom had come on their own accord. According to Moatti, mobility was still marginal.

In contrast to Moatti, Morley (2013, 39-42) claims that Rome had been heavily dependent on immigration for centuries and that the number of Romans who were fully Roman over more than few generations, was small. Prisoners of war were brought to Rome as slaves, and over the centuries they were absorbed into the population. Slaves made up an important segment of the population in ancient Rome, though they were not citizens.

Travelling in those days, to go to Rome either by land or by sea, was expensive and by no means risk-free. When you arrived in Rome, you would try to find family, friends, compatriots or likely employers to find lodging and a job. (Noy 2000, 287)

2.4 Slaves in Rome

Herrmann-Otto (2013) gives valuable insights into the Roman world of slaves. There were several ways into slavery. One was debt slavery. Destitute individuals could sell themselves into slavery to avoid starvation. Another way to become enslaved was defeat in war. A further way was to be assaulted and captured, kidnapped, when travelling, or even in your home. (Herrmann-Otto 2013, 60-61) It was something that could happen to almost anybody. Slaves had no influence on where to live. If they were moved to Rome, it was by forced migration.

The kidnapping of *viatores*, (travellers) for use as agricultural slaves is mentioned by Suetonius: (1914a,198-200), [Augustus 32.1]

"….. travellers in the country, freemen and slaves alike, were seized and kept in confinement in the workhouses of the land owners;" [10]

Once enslaved, it was rare to have your freedom returned to you anytime soon. Furthermore, if your mother was a slave, you were born into slavery. Finally, there was enslavement as legal punishment. Criminals could be sentenced to fight in the gladiatorial arena, or worse, to slave in the mines.

What were the tasks of slaves? They varied widely. According to Herrmann-Otto, (2013, 63-65) some worked as manual labourers in agriculture, others in trade and commerce. There were also slaves in private households, working as cooks, attendants and dressers, all male. Female slaves could be hair-dressers or wet-nurses. There were also highly skilled slaves, often in the financial sector as *procuratores* (managers) and *dispensatores,* (treasurers). Especially imperial slaves came to form a new managing elite. (Hermann-Otto 2013, 74)

2.5 Exit from enslavement

There were two ways to gain freedom, one informal, the other, *manumissio,* was formalized and guaranteed that the former slave was granted citizenship, and his offspring became full Roman citizens. To be manumitted, the slave had to pay a tax saved from his *peculium* (ransom).

Libertini, freed slaves, were often held in contempt, at least during the first generation(s) of liberty. Thus Cicero, when defending Sextus Roscius, attacked the prosecutor, Erucius, hinting that he was of slave origin: (Cicero 1930, 160), [*Pro Roscio Amerino* 46]

"If it has not been your lot to be born of a father about whom there is no mistake." [11]

How were non-citizens in Rome distinguished from the Roman population? That question is posed by (Moatti 2013, 81-82). She claims that it is an accepted opinion that Julius Caesar was the first to create an official list of *cives Romani domo Roma,* proper Roman citizens. Caesar relied on landlords of *insulae*, blocks of flats, and owners of houses to exclude foreigners from this official register of *cives*.

Moatti mentions an early, 89 BC, register of *peregrini*, foreigners. According to her, entry into Rome was probably unrestricted, but social control was exercised by e.g. sanctuaries.

2.6 The Roman *census*

Why did the Romans "invent" the census in the reign of Servius Tullis, in the mid-500s BC.?

"For he instituted the census, a most useful thing for a government destined to such wide dominion." [12]

A census serves to discern men fit to fight, to supply the army with able-bodied men and also to establish voting lists and assess tax revenue. According to Livy, Servius Tullius instituted

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[10] *et rapti per agros viatores sine discrimine liberi servique ergastulis possessorum supprimebantur,*

[11] *Si tibi fortuna non dedit ut patre certo nascere.*

[12] *Censum enim instituit, rem saluberrimam tanto future imperio* (Livy 1919, 148), [AUC 42.5]

the census, at that time dividing the population into six different classes, according to their wealth (or lack of it). Every class had specific tasks to perform and the equipment needed to carry out their duties they had to procure themselves. As is shown in the glossary, *census* also has the meaning of property, or wealth.

Taking part in the census was compulsory: (Livy 1919, 154), [*AUC* 44.1]

Censu perfecto, quem maturaverat metu legis de incensis latae cum vinculorum minis mortisque, edixit, ut omnes cives Romani, equites peditesque, ... in campo Martio prima luce adessent.

"Upon the completion of the census, which had been expedited by fear of law that threatened with death and imprisonment those who failed to register, Servius issued a proclamation calling on all Roman citizens, both horse and foot, to assemble at daybreak in the Campus Martius."

Thus, from Livy's account we may infer that Servius Tullius' census included male Roman citizens of fighting age. What the census figures don't tell is the size of the total population.

In my sources, the next mention of censuses is made by Suetonius, who claimed that Julius Caesar (Suetonius 1914, 88), [*Divus Iulius* 41.3] carried out the *census* in a different way:

Recensum populi nec more nec loco solito, sed vicatim per dominos insularum egit atque ex viginti trecentisque milibus accipientium frumentum e publico ad centum quinquaginta retraxit.

"He made the enumeration of the people neither in the usual manner nor place, but from street to street aided by the owners of blocks of houses, and reduced the number of those who received grain at public expense (*annona*)[13] from three hundred and twenty thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand."

Table 1 Roman population cives, 1000s, in the Republic and under Augustus

	Republican last census	Augustus' three censuses		
Year	70-69 BC	28 BC	8 BC	14 AD
	910	4,063	4,233	4,937

Source: LoCascio (1994, 29), based on *Res Gestae*

Methodological problems are discussed by Lo Cascio to account for the huge leap in the registered population between 69 BC, 900 thousand *cives*, and 28 BC, more than 4 million. Different explanations are put forward: The Republican enumeration refers to adult males, whereas Augustus´ censuses might have included women and children, as free women were also citizens. Another possibility is the enfranchisement of *peregrini* in the provinces and large volumes of *manumissio*, the setting free of slaves, that increased the population of *civium capita*. (LoCascio 1994, 33)

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[13] Adult male Roman citizens were eligible to receive subsidized corn.

LoCascio doubts the inclusion of women and children, mainly because it is not reported anywhere. He also mentions the possibility of increased efficiency of Julius Caesar's census-taking by a decentralized method, thus reducing previous underregistration. (1994, 30-31)

The reason for paying attention to the Roman *census* in my paper is that it helps to separate the sheep from the goats, "them" and "us", by excluding non-citizens, *peregrini,* from the *cives.*

2.7 The attitude to foreigners

Cicero was of the opinion that *peregrini* were welcome as a matter of course: to "debar foreigners from enjoying the advantages of the city is altogether contrary to the laws of humanity". [14] (Cicero 1913, 314), [*De Officiis* 3.47]

Cicero, taking a balanced view, added some qualification, however: "It may not be right, of course, for one who is not a citizen to exercise the rights and privileges of citizenship;" [15]

In the early Empire - you had to be somebody. Julius Caesar was particularly eager to encourage educated immigrants of utility to Rome: (Suetonius 1914, 88), [*Divus Iulius* 42.1]

"He conferred citizenship on all who practiced medicine at Rome, and on all teachers of the liberal arts, to make them more desirous of living in the city and to induce others to resort to it." [16]

He took pains to make the foreign-born feel at home and supplied multilingual entertainment of all kinds. (Suetonius 1914a, 84), [*Divus Iulius* 39.1] [17]

Julius Caesar's adopted son, Augustus, followed in his footsteps and gave preferential treatment to doctors and teachers, whereas other *peregrini* were expelled when he found them redundant, e.g. during periods of food shortages.

According to Suetonius: (1914a, 215-7), [Augustus 42.3]

Magna vero quondam sterilitate ac difficili remedio cum venalicias et lanistarum familias peregrinosque omnes exceptis medicis et praeceptoribus partimque servitiorum urbe expulisset.

"..in a time of great scarcity when it was difficult to find a remedy, he expelled from the city the slaves that were for sale, as well as the school of gladiators, all foreigners with the exception of physicians and teachers, and a part of the household slaves."

Noy (2000, 48) explains that, apart from encouraging physicians and teachers, the Roman state did not encourage immigrants. Many foreigners came to live in Rome, mistakenly believing that everybody was entitled to *annona*, (the corn dole). After Julius Caesar and

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[14] *… usu vero urbis prohibere peregrinos sane inhumanum est.*

[15] *Nam esse pro cive, qui civis non sit, rectum est non licere.* (ibid)

[16] *Omnisque medicinam Romae professos et liberalium artium doctores, quo libentius et ipsi urbem incolerent et ceteri adpeterent, civitate donavit.*

[17] *Edidit spectacula varii generis.. . et quidem per omnium linguarum histriones.*

Augustus had limited access and reduced the number of recipients you had to be a Roman citizen who had lived in Rome a period of time to be eligible.

2.7.1 Two thousand years later

It is not easy for doctors trained outside the EU to qualify in European countries. It is particularly tough in small countries with languages with few speakers, like in the Scandinavia. Language requirements are necessarily tough, and there are exams of theoretical and practical medical knowledge. In an article in the magazine *Fokus*, Sweden is pictured as a country where it is exceedingly difficult to qualify for a license to practice medicine.

Despite shortage of medical staff, many non-EU physicians simply give up and spend their working lives as taxi drivers (Blume 2020, 1-3). What would the Roman emperors have thought, if they had known?

2.8 "Pure Roman blood"

As stated by Suetonius, Augustus was an eager patriot: (1914a, 210), [*Divus Augustus* 40.3]

Magni praeterea existimans sincerum atque ab omni colluvione peregrini ac servilis sanguinis incorruptum servare populum, et civitates Romanas parcissime dedit et manumittendi modum terminavit.

"Considering it also of great importance to keep the people pure and unsullied by any taint of foreign or servile blood, he was most chary of conferring Roman citizenship and set a limit to manumission."

And you had to dress properly: (Suetonius 1914a, 212)*, [Divus Augustus* 40.5]

*"*Behold them Romans, lords of the world, the nation clad in the toga." [18]

Augustus instructed his aediles to forbid the wearing of any garment but a toga in the Forum.[19]

Successive emperors continued in the same spirit. Augustus' adopted son and successor, Tiberius, banned the practice of foreign religions: (Suetonius 1914a, 362), [*Divus Tiberius* 36.1]

"He abolished foreign cults, especially the Egyptian and the Jewish rites." [20]

To boot, he repealed the customary right to seek asylum. [21]

To judge from Suetonius, imperial patriotism seemed to increase with time: Claudius was a fervent patriot who wouldn't accept foreign-born subjects assume Roman family names. And anyone who had unfairly appropriated Roman citizenship to himself was simply beheaded. [22] (Suetonius 1914b, 50), [*Divus Claudius* 25.3]

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[18] *en Romanos, rerum dominos gentemque togatam!*

[19] *Negotium aedilibus dedit, ne quem posthac paterentur in Foro circave nisi positis lacernis togatum consistere.*

[20] *Externas caeremonias, Aegyptios Iudaicosque ritus compescuit.*

[21]*Abolevit et ius moremque asylorum, quae usquam erant (*Suetonius 1914a, 364), [*Divus Tiberius* 37.3]

[22] *Civitatem Romanam usurpantes in campo Esquilino securi percussit.*

A Roman emperor, naturally, could lay down all sorts of conditions. Like when Claudius stripped a judge from the province of Greece of his office and of his Roman citizenship because he didn't know Latin. [23] (Suetonius 1914b, 30), [*Divus Claudius* 16.2]

Claudius banished the Jews from Rome.[24] (Suetonius 1914b, 50), [*Divus Claudius* 25.4]

And he finally did away with "the cruel and inhuman religion of the Druids among the Gauls, which under Augustus had merely been forbidden to Roman citizens." (Ibid), [*Divus Claudius* 25.5]

Measures to welcome useful foreigners were taken by Claudius, too. After a long spell of famine, he did everything in his power to ensure the supply of grain, like offering citizenship to a Latin shipbuilder and to assume the risk of ships lost in winter storms. (Suetonius 1914b, 34-36), [*Divus Claudius* 18, 19]

The emperor's resolutions could be characterized as utilitarian or expedient, e.g. when it came to ensuring the food supply, as exemplified above, and when Julius Caesar and Augustus Caesar expelled non-Romans during periods of famine.

Noy (2000, 41-47) discusses expulsions of specific groups. He finds that the "common feature of all the expulsions is that the targets were perceived as foreign," and he doubts that expulsions were efficient. (Ibid)

2.8.1 To-day's Europe: Dress-codes and language requirements

There are sometimes heated to debates in European countries regarding dress that is understood as foreign, such as headscarves and full-face veils. An account of European policies in this respect was published by the BBC[25]. In 2011, France, a secular state, banned the full-face Islamic veil in public places at the risk of being fined. In some countries the ban includes all face coverings, such as ski-masks. Ibid.

Some European countries lay down conditions on knowledge of language that must be met. Countries like the Netherlands, Germany and Denmark have requirements for new arrivals to earn access to e.g. residence permit, citizenship and family reunification. Demands differ between countries regarding what is being tested and level of required knowledge[26].

Unlike many of its neighbours, Sweden so far has no language or civics tests for those applying for citizenship. To have lived there legally for a certain number of years was considered sufficient, but that is probably about to change. The government has appointed a commission to propose legislation that will make Swedish language skills compulsory for citizenship. [27]

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[23] *Splendidum virum Graeciaeque provinciae principem, verum Latini sermonis ignarum, non modo albo judicum erasit, sed in peregrinitatem redegit.*
[24] *Iudaeos impulsore ... Roma expulit.*
[25] https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-13038095
[26] www.swedishpress.com, June 2019
[27] https://thelocal.se/20191029/swedish-citizenship-reforms-prove-your-language-skills-to-become-a-swede

3 Punitive and vindictive measures

3.1 Proscriptions

An account of the gruesome practice of *proscriptio* is given by J.H. Freese in the Introduction to (Cicero 1930,118-9). During Sulla's dictatorship, in the 80s BC, proscriptions were rampant. Those who had actively fought or resisted Sulla in the civil war were declared enemies of the state. As outlaws they could be legally slain during a specified period of time. It was made possible by two laws, *Lex Valeria*, an ex post facto law, and a law *de proscriptione*. The names of those selected were written down and announced in the Forum. A reward was paid to anyone who delivered the severed head from a proscribed person. Everyone who helped or sheltered a person on the list was also outlawed with a price on his head. Some 15,000 were killed in Rome and at Praeneste. The heads of those killed were exposed for anyone to see.

The goods of those proscribed were sold at auctions at a price far below market price and the proceeds divided between the state treasury and Sulla´s favourites. Hence the temptation to those in power: To kill two birds with one stone; to be rid of (political) enemies and to gain large amounts of wealth, satisfying revenge and greed.

As the victims of proscription were most often slain, one could argue that it is outside the subject - migration and losing your home – but as their property was forfeit, their heirs were affected. Thus, in my view, proscriptions would qualify to belong to this topic.

Proscription cannot really be characterized as a legal punishment. A more apt description is probably revenge, or abuse of power.

3.1.1 Cicero as keynote speaker – what it means to lose your home

Who is better suited to set the tone than Cicero? In his first major defense speech, *Pro Sexto Roscio,* he represented a man, Sextus Roscius, whose father, posthumously had his name added to the proscription list. The unhappy Sextus Roscius junior had lost not only his father but also his home and his considerable inheritance. In Cicero's words: (1930, 142), [23]

in praedia huius invadit, hunc miserum, luctu perditum, qui nondum etiam omnia paterno funeri iusta solvisset, nudum eicit domo atque focis patriis disque penatibus praecipitem, iudices, exturbat, ipse amplissimae pecuniae fit dominus.

"he seizes my client's farms, and before the unhappy man, overwhelmed with grief, had rendered all the last tokens of respect to his father, strips and throws him out of his house, and drives him headlong from the hearth and home of his fathers and his household gods, while he himself becomes the owner of an ample property."

It´s about as bad as it can get: Sextus Roscius, grieving his father, was denied performing proper funeral rites and was forced out of his home without the household gods and in a state of destitution. The Romans were particular about venerating their forefathers and Cicero´s arguments were apt to dispose the audience kindly to his client.

After Sulla´s death in 79/78 the next wave of proscriptions was when first Julius Caesar and then Augustus had to remunerate their forces in the 40s.

Judging by his empathy with the dispossessed Meliboeus, Virgil was probably one of those who lost his family estate in Mantua as a consequence of the need of land to reward the veterans in 41 BC after the civil wars, according to Starr. (1955, 37)

Of Suetonius' first two subjects of biography, Julius Caesar was the most considerate one. He divided the spoils of war with his foot-soldiers: (1914a, 82), [*Divus Iulius* 38.1] "He assigned them lands, but not side by side, to avoid dispossessing any of the former owners."[28]

While Julius Caesar took care not to completely dispossess former landowners, his adoptive son and successor, Augustus, was far less sensitive: (Suetonius 1914a,166), [*Divus Augustus* 13.3]

...., ipse veteranos in Italiam reducendos et municipalibus agris collocandos recepisset, neque veteranorum neque possessorum gratiam tenuit, alteris pelli se, alteris non pro spe meritorum tractari querentibus.

Augustus undertook "to lead the veterans back to Italy and assign them lands in the municipalities, he could neither satisfy the veterans nor the landowners, since the latter complained that they were driven from their homes and the former that they were not being treated as their services had led them to hope."

The word *proscriptio* was never used by Livy (1919) though the phenomenon, or something very close to it, is described in several instances. Livy stresses the decline of the rule of law and how arbitrarily citizens could be executed, murdered or exiled after being stripped of their wealth. Tarquinius "without advisers" … "was able to inflict death, exile and forfeiture of property, not only upon persons whom he suspected and disliked, but also in cases where he could have nothing to gain but plunder."[29] (Livy 1919, 172), [*AUC* 49.5-6]

"For this king", Tarquinus Superbus, "was the first to break with the custom handed down by his predecessors, of consulting the senate on all occasions." (Livy 1919, 172), [*AUC* 49.7]

Proscription-like actions are first mentioned in connection with the Tarquinius dynasty:

Multi palam, quidam, …….. clam interfecti. Patuit quibusdam volentibus fuga, aut in exsilium acti sunt, absentiumque bona iuxta atque interemptorum divisui fuere. (Livy 1919, 188), [*AUC* 54.8-9]

"Many were openly executed; some …. were put to death in secret. Some were permitted, if they chose, to leave the country; or they were driven into banishment, and once out of the way, their property was forfeited, just as in the case of those who had been put to death."

I gather that Livy´s point is that he thought that ill-gotten gains had made the Romans lose their moral compass and his aim was to restore virtues of the good old times: (1919,188), [*AUC* 54.10]

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[28] *Adsignavit et agros, sed non continuos, ne quis possesorum expelleretur.*
[29] *sine consoliis ….. occidere, in exilium agere, bonis multare poterat non suspectos modo aut invisos, sed unde nihil aliud quam praedam sperare posset.*

"Thence came largesses and spoils and in the sweetness of private gain men lost their feeling for the wrongs of the nation, ..." [30]

3.1.2 Proscription in Virgil's first Eclogue

Virgil did not use the word *proscriptio* in his *Ecloga prima,* first eclogue, where he gave words to feelings about having to leave one's home. But he depicts a situation closely resembling proscription. We meet the epic sad Meliboeus who, dispossessed, lost and forlorn, his farm confiscated, is driving his small herd of goats into the unknown: (Virgil 1916, 24)

> *nos patriae finis et dulcia linquimus arva*
> *nos patriam fugimus;*   (3-4)

"We are leaving our country's bounds and sweet fields, we are outcasts from our country".

When the poem begins, Meliboeus is greeting his old friend, Tityrus, a former slave, who is fortunate enough, not only to have gained his freedom but also a small farm. The particulars about how he came into possession of the farm are unclear. His way out of serfdom, he finally achieved by saving for his *peculium,* his ransom. We can deduct that his former love, Galatea, was demanding and fond of squandering what he earned, while the present one, Amaryllis, encouraged his saving. (Virgil 1916, 26), [*Eclogue* 1]

> *dum me Galatea tenebat,*   (31)
> *nec spes libertatis erat nec cura peculi.*

"while Galatea ruled me, I had neither hope of freedom nor thought of savings".

Tityrus, a former slave, explains how he went to Rome to gain his freedom, where he, in a miraculous way 'met a god', to whom he will be forever grateful:

> *O Meliboee, deus nobis haec otia fecit.*   (6)
> *namque erit ille mihi semper deus, illius aram*
> *saepe tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus.*

"O, Meliboeus, it is a god who gave us this peace – for a god he shall ever be to me. Often shall a tender lamb from our folds stain his altar."

Titurus swears he will never cease sacrificing to the *deus,* nor will he ever forget his appearance:

> *hic illum vidi iuvenem, Meliboee, quotannis*   (42)
> *bis senos cui nostra dies altaria fumant.*

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[30] *Largitiones inde praedaeque; et dulcedine privati commodi sensus malorum publicorum adimi,...*

"I saw that youth for whom our altars smoke twice six days a year."

Having spelled out that emperor Augustus is behind Tityrus' unbelievable luck, the reader is left with the unfortunate Meliboeus, who seems to have been proscribed just because his small farm was needed as remuneration for one of the soldiers. He certainly appears neither wealthy nor powerful. Rather, we may deduct that, as a farmer in this neighbourhood, he earned a bare living, as he addresses his former neighbour:

> *Fortunate senex, ergo tua rura manebunt*
> *et tibi magna satis, quamvis lapis omnia nudus*
> *limosoque palus obducat pascua iunco.* (48)

"Happy old man! So these lands will still be yours, and large enough for you, though bare stones cover all, and the marsh chokes your pastures with slimy rushes."

Meliboeus fears the future, and his destiny seems uncertain and unsecure. He already misses his simple abode:

> *en umquam patrios longo post tempore finis,*
> *pauperis et tuguri congestum caespite culmen* (68)

"Ah, shall I ever long years hence, look again on my country´s bounds, on my humble cottage with its turf-clad roof?"

Possible destinations vary widely, something that reflects the vast size of the Roman empire. It also raises the question of who is to decide the goal of the journey. Can he himself choose where to go? Virgil does not say.

> *At nos hinc alii sitientis ibimus Afros,*
> *pars Scythiam et rapidum cretae veniemus Oaxen* (65)
> *et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.*

"But we must go hence – some to the thirsty Africans, some to reach Scythia and the chalk-rolling Oaxes, and the Britons, wholly sundered from all the world."

All he has got is his goats, which are to accompany him into his new existence. Meliboeus and his goats are homeless, sleeping rough, and exposed to weather and wind:

> *…….en, ipse capellas*
> *protenus aeger ago; hanc etiam vix, Tityre, duco.* (13)

"… I myself am driving my goats along, and here, Tityrus, is one I scarce can lead."

His care and anxiety for his unhappy flock is heart-rending:

> *ite meae, felix quondam pecus, ite capellae.* (74)
> *..*

> *carmina nulla canam;*   (77)

"Away, my goats! Away, once happy flock! … no more songs shall I sing;"

What could be more ominous than the prospect of singing no more songs? And he worries that the farm won't be properly tended when he is no longer there to do it.

> *impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit,*   (70)
> *barbarus has segetes.*

"Is a godless soldier to hold these well-tilled fallows? a barbarian these crops?"

And the reader is left with the feeling that what pains Meliboeus most is the unfairness of it. He obviously does not have a high opinion of Augustus' veterans as he refers to them as *impius,* godless, and *barbarus,* barbarian.

Meliboeus was uprooted from his farm and his life was turned upside down because Emperor Augustus needed arable land to pay the veterans who fought on his side, and because the sovereign had absolute power to take whatever he wanted.

3.1.3 Cicero – a typical victim of proscription

Cicero was also proscribed. Cicero was powerful, wealthy and obviously a cause of vexation to the ruling elite. He "was proscribed together with his son, his brother and his brother's son and all his household, his faction and his friends." [31]

3.2 Expulsions, exiles and banishments

Just like proscriptions are not legal punishments, neither are expulsions nor banishments. In my view, they are measures, that autocrats can take.

3.2.1 Banishment of ill-behaved members of the imperial family

By his first wife, Scribonia, Augustus had one daughter, Julia. She married Marcus Agrippa and had five children, one of whom also named Julia. (Suetonius 1914a, 242-44), [*Divus Augustus* 63-64]

Augustus had been given the supervision of morals and of the laws for all time. [32] (Suetonius 1914a, 190), [*Divus Augustus* 27.5] He was especially well suited for this task, being a stickler for morality, (at least for other people's morality). As *pater familias* he was most particular about the imperial family setting a good example to the Roman citizens: (Suetonius 1914a, 244), [*Divus Augustus* 64.2] *"In bringing up his daughter and his granddaughters he …. was most strict in keeping them from meeting strangers."* [33]

Obviously, he thought he had cause for worrying about their behaviour to judge from the drastic step he took: (Ibid)

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[31] (Appian 1913, 171), [Book 4.4.19] (*In Greek*)

[32] *Recepit et morum legumque regimen aeque perpetuum,*

[33] *Filiam et neptes ita instituit…., extraneorum quidem coetu adeo prohibuit.*

"He found the two Julias, his daughter and granddaughter, guilty of every form of vice, and banished them." [34]

How the Julias perceived their banishment, Suetonius doesn't say. But life in the Roman imperial palace was in all likelihood a lot more agreeable than that offered on an island in solitude and frugality. What he does say, though, is that Augustus' daughter Julia was denied male company, the use of wine and any kind of luxury.[35] (Suetonius 1914a, 246), [*Divus Augustus* 65.3] After five years she was allowed to leave the island for the mainland, and restrictions were reduced.

Augustus' grandson, Agrippa, brother of Julia, also landed up on an island under even worse conditions: (ibid), [*Divus Augustus* 65.4]

"As Agrippa grew no more manageable, but on the contrary became madder from day to day, he transferred him to an island and set a guard of soldiers over him besides." [36]

The emperor was evidently so vexed by his descendants' behaviour that he even contemplated resorting to what is to-day referred to as "honour killings": "for very shame … even thought of putting her to death" [37]. The power of the *pater familias* to castigate family members, long thought to be self-evident, nowadays has disappeared, more or less, in this part of the world.

3.2.2 No place like home

Romans in general did not like to leave their homes. In year 51 BC, Cicero was governor of Cilicia. He didn't enjoy going there and he didn't like living there. He found the place stifling and longed for Rome: (Cicero 1999, 64), [*Epistulae ad Atticus* 5.15.1]

"for it gives me no adequate scope for the intellectual drive and industry which I think you will concede me," [38] (Ibid).

"When all's said, it isn't this sort of thing I'm pining for, it's the world, the Forum, Rome, my house, my friends" [39] (Ibid).

But he was ready to stick it out as it was only for a year. [40] (Ibid)

Cicero had experienced worse. In 58 BC, when in the aftermath of the extrajudicial killings of Catiline's conspirators, he was banished and had to leave Rome by a minimum distance (of four hundred miles), which took him to Thessalonica in Macedonia. In addition, his Palatine home was pulled down, the site consecrated and a monument to *Libertas,* the goddess of Liberty, erected in its place. (Cicero 1923, 44-45), Introduction by N.H. Watts to [*Post Reditum in Senatu*]. The ordered destruction of his beloved house went to the core of his soul.

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[34] *Iulias, filiam et neptem, omnibus probris contaminatas relegavit;*
[35] *Relegatae usum vini omnemque delicatiorem cultum ademit neque adiri a quoquam libero servove.*
[36] *Agrippam nihili tractabiliorem, immo in dies amentiorem, in insulam transportavit saepsitque insuper custodia militum.*
[37] *pudore, etiam de necanda deliberavit* (ibid), [*Divus Augustus* 65.2]
[38] *non habeat satis magnum campum ille tibi non ignotus cursus animi et industria meae,*
[39] *denique haec non desidero: lucem, forum, urbem, domum, vos desidero.*
[40] *sed feram ut potero, sit modo annuum;*

3.3 Ovid in Tomis

3.3.1 Ovid's exile or banishment

When Ovid was about 50 years old, he was banished from Rome to *Tomis* (today's Constantia in Romania) by the Black Sea at the far end of *Hister,* the Danube delta. Unlike Cicero who had to keep a prescribed distance to Rome, Ovid was offered no alternative destination, to judge from his repeated entreaties to friends to act on his behalf to appeal to the emperor to let him to be banished in a less unattractive area. As opposed to Julia whose banishment was limited to five years, Ovid had to remain for the rest of his life, even after the death of Augustus as we learn from the preface by A.L. Wheeler (Ovid 1924, xxiii).

Ovid used to say, that *duo crimina – carmen et error,* "two crimes – a poem and a blunder" were the cause of his tragedy. The *carmen* was the *Ars Amatoria ,"*The Art of Love", which had much offended the emperor. Augustus thought it obscene and set a bad example for Roman matrons. Ovid thought that most unfair: What about the Aeneid? How did Venus become the mother of Aeneas if not by committing adultery? Not to mention the illicit love story between Aeneas and Dido. When Ovid was banished, the offensive work (*Ars Amatoria*) was expelled from public libraries and placed under a ban. (Ovid 1924, xx)

Over and over again he returns to his *error*, his single mistake, like in: Ovid (1924, 62), [*Tristia* 2.2]

> *cur aliquid vidi? cur noxia lumina feci?*   (103)
> *cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi?*

"Why did I make my eyes guilty? Why was I so thoughtless as to harbour the knowledge of a fault?"

Here he brings in the metamorphosis of *Actaeon*, who unwittingly happened to see Diana and her nymphs disrobed in a spring. Though without intent, he was severely punished and hunted to death.

> *inscius Actaeon vidit sine veste Dianam*   (105)
> *praeda fuit canibus non minus ille suis.*
> *scilicet in superis etiam fortuna luenda est,*
> *nec veniam laeso numine casus habet.*

"Unwitting was Actaeon when he beheld Diana unclothed; none the less he became the prey of his own hounds. Clearly, among the gods, even ill-fortune must be atoned for, nor is mischance an excuse when a deity is wronged."

It certainly raises the reader's curiosity: Ovid had seen some occurrence in the imperial family that he wasn't supposed to have seen. But what did he see? He never said. The night of exile came as a shock to Ovid and he never stopped dwelling on it. (Ovid 1924,18-20), [*Tristia* 1.3]

> *Cum subit illius tristissima noctis imago*   (1)
> *quod mihi supremum tempus in urbe fuit,*
> *cum repeto noctem, qua tot mihi cara reliqui*
> *labitur ex oculis nunc quoque gutta meis*.   (4)

"When steals upon me the gloomy memory of that night which marked my latest hours in the city – when I recall that night on which I left so many things dear to me, even now from my eyes the teardrops fall."

Ovid had to leave his home totally unprepared for his new existence, allowed not even sufficient time to pack or to consider what he might need. (1924, 20), [*Tristia* 1.3]

> *nec spatium nec mens fuerat satis apta parandi:*
> *torpuerant dempta pectora nostra mora.*
> *non mihi servorum, comitis non cura legendi,*
> *non aptae profugo vestis opisve fuit.*　　　　　　　　(10)

"No time had there been or spirit to prepare what might suit best; my mind had become numb with delay denied me. I took no thought to select my slaves or a companion or the clothing and outfit suited to an exile."

Most often Ovid is full of praise for his wife, his esteem knows no bounds. She even outshone Penelope, Ulysses' wife, the prototype of a faithful wife. (1924, 36), [*Tristia* 1.6.22-36]

> *Penelope esset fama secunda tuae:*　　　　　　　　(22)
> *prima locum sanctas heroidas inter haberes,*　　　　(33)

"Penelope´s fame would be second to thine: then thou wouldst hold first place amid the revered heroines,"

But once, losing heart, in *Epistulae,* Ovid scolds his wife for not being persistent enough in ensuring – if not his liberty – at least his transfer elsewhere. (1924, 374), [*Epistulae* 3.1.29-44]

> *pectore te toto cunctisque incumbere nervis*
> *et niti pro me nocte dieque decet.*　　　　　　　　(40)
> *utque iuvent alii, tu debes vincere amicos,*
> *uxor…*

"With thy whole heart, with every sinew thou shouldst work and strive for me night and day. And to have others aid me thou shouldst win our friends, my wife."

3.3.2 Exile vs Banishment

Ovid often discusses his penalty and finds solace in that it might have been even worse: He's alive and not stripped of his property, as he stresses in his letter addressed to emperor Augustus. (1924, 64), [*Tristia* 2.1]

> *…poenae clementia tanta est,*　　　　　　　　　　(125)
> *venerit ut nostro lenior illa metu.*
> *vita data est, citraque necem tua constitit ira,*

"the penalty is milder than I feared. Life was granted me; thy wrath halted ere it achieved my death."

> *insuper accedunt, te non adimente, paternae,*
> *tamquam vita parum muneris esset, opes.*　　　　　(130)

"Then too there is added – for thou takest it not away – my inherited wealth, as if life were too small a gift."

Ovid also seems pleased with not formally being called *exul,* an exile, but *relegatus,* banished.

> *attamen in poenae nomine lene fuit:*   (136)
> *quippe relegatus, non exul, dicor in illo*

"was yet mild in naming my punishment, for it calls me *relegatus,* not exile."

It's a recurring theme and Ovid often expresses his gratitude at the formal difference between being exiled and banished. (1924, 224), [*Tristia* 5.4.19-22]

> *saepe refert, sit quanta dei clementia, cuius*
> *se quoque in exemplis adnumerare solet:*   *(20)*
> *nam, quod opes teneat patrias, quod nomina civis,*
> *denique quod vivat, munus habere dei.*

"Often he recalls how great is the god's mercy, of which he is wont to count himself as an example; for that he retains his father's wealth, the name of a citizen – in fine his very life he holds as a gift of the god."

Table 2 illustrates the vocabulary used for "exile" and "banish(ment)" in Ovid's *Tristia* and *Epistulae,* i.e. Latin words translated into these concepts. Exile is found more than 60 times in *Tristia*, and almost 50 times in *Epistulae*. The most common Latin term is *fuga (fugo),* and *exul/exulo* come second. I found that interesting, since I always thought that *fuga* just means flight.

Exilium is most often translated "place of exile". Words to do with "exile" are more than 10 times as frequent as those to do with "banish(ment)".

Thus, Ovid overwhelmingly uses the concept of exile as opposed to banishment, which is logical. He cannot go back home to Rome; he is stuck in *Tomis,* and to all practical purposes he *is* exiled for life.

Table 2 Latin words translated into "exile" (exiled, exile's) and "banish(ment)" in Tristia and Epistulae.

Latin words	*Exile, etc*		*Banish(ment)*		
	Tristia	*Epistulae*	*Tristia*	*Epistulae*	**Total**
Exilium	8	13			**21**
exul, exulo	23	8			**31**
fuga, fugo	24	19	1	1	**45**
Expello	1	2			**3**
Relego	1	1	1	2	**5**
Other [41]	5	5	3	1	**14**
Total	**62**	**48**	**5**	**4**	**119**

3.3.3 Ovid never gave up hope to be forgiven by the emperor

He often implored his friends to act on his behalf – though with time his friends were fewer than before. But he is pleased that the emperor did not veto written contact with his friends: (1924, 410-2), [*Epistulae* 3.6] In contrast, Cicero had not been allowed contact or help from his friends when he was banished[42].

> *non vetat ille sui quemquam meminisse sodalis,*　　　　(11)
> *nec prohibet tibi me scribere teque mihi.*

"He does not forbid anybody to mention a friend nor does he prevent me from writing to you nor you to me."

Apparently, some friends, fearing guilt by association preferred to become alienated from him. Ovid addressed a letter to a friend, who was afraid to be associated with an exile, even though it was safe. (Ibid)

> *nec scelus admittas, si consoleris amicum,*　　　　(13)
> *mollibus et verbis aspera fata leves.*

"You would commit no crime should you comfort your friend, lightening with gentle words his harsh fate."

> *at tu, cum tali populus sub principe simus,*
> *adloquio profugi credis inesse metum?*　　　　(40)

"But, you, when we, his people, live under such an emperor – do you believe that comforting an exile is dangerous?" (ibid)

In a letter, to "a faithful friend", Ovid observes that "Scarce two or three of you, my friends, once so many, remain to me." (1924, 30-32), [*Tristia* 1.5.33]

vix duo tresve mihi de tot superestis amici　　　　(33)

---

[41] The residual "Other" mostly contains verbs that mean deprive *adimo,* remove *submoveo* or to be absent, *absum.*

[42] Ovid 1924, xviii

"Then watch on behalf of my fortunes, I beg of you, if any of the wrath of the deity can be lessened." (ibid)

> *invigiles igitur nostris pro casibus, oro,* (43)
> *deminui siqua[1] numinis ira potest.*

During his banishment Ovid often dwelled upon the reactions of his fellow Romans and former friends. He complains that his friends didn't speak up enough for him: (1924, 352), [*Epistulae* 2.7]

omnis pro nobis gratia muta fuit. (52)
"on my behalf all favour has been mute."

On the whole, his banishment meant becoming estranged from his friends, a severe loss to him. Whatever their good intentions were, the long distance between Tomis and Rome isolated Ovid from friends and family.

In a letter to Gallio, (1924, 470), [*Epistulae* 4.11] it occurs to the reader that distance can be measured in many ways; in this case how long it takes the mail service bring back the answer to a letter.

> *dum tua pervenit, dum littera nostra recurrens* (15)
> *tot maria ac terras permeat, annus abit.*

"While your letter has been on its way, while mine in answer is traversing so many lands and seas, a year has passed."

Ovid wished to console his friend, bereaved of his wife, and he remarked that by the time his letter reached Rome, Gallio might already be happily remarried.

To-day's migrants are in a different situation. In an age when a mobile phone is possessed by each and every one, you are not dependent on the postal service. You can talk with friends and family in another continent.

3.3.4 Intimidating and repulsive neighbourhood

Ovid especially stresses that he does not feel safe among the tribes of the lower Danube, the *Hister*. No Roman citizen should have to endure such fear. (1924, 70), [*Tristia* 2.1]

> *unde precor supplex ut nos in tuta releges,* (201)
>
> *neu timeam gentes, quas non bene summovet Hister,* (203)
> *neve tuus possim civis ab hoste capi.*
> *fas prohibet Latio quemquam de sanguine natum* (205)
> *Caesaribus salvis barbara vincla pati.*

"And so I offer a suppliant's prayer that thou wilt banish me to a safe abode"….., "that I may not fear the tribes which the Hister holds insecurely in check, that I, thy subject, be not within an enemy's power to capture. Right forbids that anyone of Latin blood should suffer barbarian bondage while Caesars live."

Apparently, Ovid lived secluded from the local population: (1924,154), [*Tristia* 3.14]

> *……..   custodia muri*   (41)
> *summovet infestos clausaque porta Getas.*

"The guard on the wall and a closed gate keep back the hostile Getae."

Even though Ovid had no previous experience of battle, now, when he's old, he must clothe himself in helmet and armour whenever the custodian alerts of a raid. (1924, 162), [*Tristia* 4.1, 71-76] And it seems that Ovid's place of banishment was under constant threat of attack. (1924, 180), [*Tristia* 4.4]

> *sunt circa gentes, quae praedam sanguine quaerunt;*
> *nec minus infida terra timetur aqua.*   (60)

"Round about are tribes eager for plunder and bloodshed, and the land is not less to be feared than the treacherous sea."

Not only is the neighbourhood dangerous, it is also repulsive. (1924, 238), [*Tristia* 5.7]

> *sive locum specto, locus est inamabilis, et quo*
> *esse nihil toto tristius orbe potest,*
> *sive homines, vix sunt homines nomine digni,*   (45)
> *quamque lupi, saevae plus feritatis habent.*

"If I look upon the country, 'tis devoid of charm, nothing in the whole world can be more cheerless; if I look upon the men, they are scarce men worthy the name; they have more of savagery than wolves."

3.3.5 "I lack all things"

Among Ovid's complaints can be mentioned that he did not even have proper drinking water, a severe imperfection especially for a Roman, spoilt by a generous supply thereof. (1924, 354), [*Epistulae* 2.7]

> *aequoreo bibitur cum sale mixta palus.*
> *omnia deficiunt*   *(75)*

"I drink marshy water mingled with the salt of the sea. I lack all things".

The food was different from what he was used to and evidently not to his taste, probably not an unusual experience of migrants as eating habits are formed at an early age.

In a letter to his friend Flaccus: (1924, 314), [*Epistulae* 1.10]

> *os hebes est positaeque movent fastidia mensae,*
> *et queror, invisi cum venit ora cibi.*
> *quod mare, quod tellus, adpone quod educat aër,*
> *nil ibi, quod nobis esuriatur, erit.*   (10)

"But my mouth lacks taste, I feel aversion for the courses set before me, and complain whenever the hour for hateful eating comes. Serve me with any product of sea or land or air; nothing will excite my hunger".

Maybe it is not the food or the dishes *per se* that are unappetizing, it is rather his whole existence. He explains: (1924, 132), [*Tristia* 3.8]

> *ut tetigi Pontum, vexant insomnia, vixque* (27)
> *ossa tegit macies nec iubat ora cibus;*

"Since I reached the Pontus, I am harassed by sleeplessness, scarce does the lean flesh cover my bones, food pleases not my lips."

3.3.6 And the cold

Tomis is not only dangerous and unpleasant, it is also cold. In Ovid's first letter of the second book of *Tristia* – "The poet's plea" – which is addressed to the emperor himself, he says: (1924, 68)

> *mitius exilium si das propiusque roganti,* (185)
> *pars erit ex poena magna levata mea.*

"Grant me a milder and nearer place of exile, and a large part of my punishment will be lightened."

> *longius hac nihil est, nisi tantum frigus et hostes* (195)
> *et maris adstricto quae coit unda gelu.*

"Nothing is farther away than this land except only the cold and the enemy and the sea whose water congeal with the frost."

In a letter to his wife Ovid depicts the hopeless climate of Tomis. (1924, 372), [*Epistulae* 3.1.11-20]

(Pontica tellus…)
tu neque ver sentis cinctum florente corona, (11)
nec tibi pampineas autumnus porrigit uvas: (13)
cuncta sed immodicum tempera frigus habet.
tu glacie freta vincta tenes, et in aequore piscis (15)
inclusus tecta saepe natavit aqua.

"(O, land of Pontus) Thou neither feelest spring girt with wreaths of flowers…. to thee autumn extends no clusters of grapes; but all seasons are in the grip of excessive cold. Thou holdest the flood ice-bound, and in the sea the fishes often swim in water enclosed beneath a roof."

In fact, it seems Tomis is not only cold, but *incredibly* cold. In his letter, "The rigours of Tomis" Ovid (1924, 136), [*Tristia* 3.10] he describes a landscape where the snow doesn't melt:

> *nix iacet, et iactam ne sol pluviaeque resolvant,*
> *indurat Boreas perpetuamque facit.*
> *ergo ubi delicuit nondum prior, altera venit,*   (15)
> *et solet in multis bima manere locis;*

"The snow lies continuously, and once fallen, neither sun nor rains may melt it, for Boreas hardens and renders it eternal. So when an earlier fall is not yet melted another has come, and in many places 'tis wont to remain for two years."

Considering the location of Tomis on the Black Sea, it is difficult to imagine it was *that* frosty. But to perceive the climate of Europe, esp. of northern Europe, as cold, is probably a common experience of to-day's migrants from southern parts of the world. It is also hard to get used to, as is the difference in day-light in different parts of the world. In northern countries, days are short in the winter and long in the summer, whereas further south there is not much difference.

3.3.7 The barbarian Getae didn't speak Latin

In Rome, all inhabitants were supposed to know Latin. (Noy 2000, 36) Latin was used for all official purposes, including proceedings in the courts and official announcements (Ibid).

In addition to the cold, unpleasant and dangerous environment, Ovid also suffered from being surrounded by uncivilized Getae, who knew neither Latin nor Greek. (1924, 218), [*Tristia* 5.2]

> *nesciaque est vocis quod barbara lingua Latinae,*   (67)
> *Graecaque quod Getico victa loquella sono est,*

"The barbarian tongue knows not a Latin voice and Greek is mastered by the sound of Getic".

A most unsettling experience for an immigrant is that he cannot make himself understood, nor does he understand the local lingo. (1924, 248), [*Tristia* 5.10]

> *barbarus hic ego sum, qui non intelligor ulli,*
> *et rident stolidi verba latina Getae;*   (37)

"Here it is I that am a barbarian, understood by nobody; the Getae laugh stupidly at Latin words."

Having established that his native language is unserviceable in Tomis, Ovid goes on to disclose that he has had to learn to communicate in Getic. (1924, 238), [Tristia 5.7.55-64] He sometimes writes in Getic. In order not to forget his native tongue, he even talks to himself, *ipse loquor mecum*. (Ibid) To have Latin words fade from disuse must be a most painful experience for a Roman poet.

That is something that is common for all to-day's migrants to Europe. It is necessary to learn to communicate in a language alien to you, with perhaps an unknown alphabet. Inability to express your thoughts is a most unnerving ordeal. Nowadays, lack of education and ignorance of the local language preclude gainful employment.

3.3.8 How was Ovid treated by the Getae?
The Getae, though in Ovid's opinion, cruel and fearful, were not beyond kind behaviour: (1924, 350), [*Epistulae* 2.7]

> *nulla Getis toto gens est truculentior orbe;*   (31)
> *sed tamen hi nostris ingemuere malis.*

"No race in the wide world is grimmer than the Getae, yet they have lamented over my misfortunes."

To some extent Ovid was looked upon with benevolence by the Getae. In a letter to his good friend, senator Graecinus, twice consul, Ovid somewhat softens his opinion of the Getae. (1924, 454-462, [*Epistulae* 4.9] He notes that:

nec sumus hic odio, nec scilicet esse meremur,   (89)

"Here I am not hated, and indeed I do not deserve to be,"

> *hoc facit ut misero faveant adsintque Tomitae:*   (97)
>
> *illi me, quia velle vident, dicedere malunt:*
> *respectu cupiunt hic tamen esse sui.*   (100)

"This it is which brings me the kindly attentions of the Tomitae in my wretchedness, …. Because they see that it is my wish, they would like to have me depart; yet for their own sake are eager to have me remain."

An interesting mark of special favour worth noting, is his tax exemption. "there are extant upon the wax decrees praising me and granting me immunity" (i.e. from taxes)[43]. Would he otherwise have paid taxes to his place of *relegatio* or to Rome?

3.3.9 The rule of law was important to the Romans
In about 450 BC, the law posted on "The XII Tables", engraved on sheets of bronze was made public for all to read, according to Grandazzi (2013, 22). Forehand knowledge is the basis for the rule of law that should ensure that everybody is equal before the law.

Ovid points out that he hasn't actually broken any laws. (1924, 364), [*Epistulae* 2.9]

> *non ego caede nocens in Ponti litora veni,*   (67)
> *mixtave sunt nostra dira venena manu:*

---

[43] *Extant decreta, quibus nos laudat et inmunes publica cera facit.* (Ovid 1924, 460), [*Epistulae* 4.9.101-2 +footnote]

"I was not guilty of murder when I came to Pontus' shores, no baleful poison was mixed by my hand."

nec quicquam, quod lege vetor committere, feci: (71)

"I have done nought that the law forbids."

The Getae don't abide by the rule of law; something that goes against the grain of every Roman, a contributing factor to his desire to leave Tomis: (Ovid 1924, 238), [*Tristia* 5.7]

non metuunt leges, sed cedit viribus aequum, (47)
victaque pugnaci iura sub ense iacent.

"They fear not laws; right gives way to force, and justice lies conquered beneath the aggressive sword."

On the other hand, to someone living to-day in one of Europe's liberal democracies, Rome would often rather be seen as lawless land. The Sovereign had absolute power to exile, banish or proscribe anyone, with no instance to appeal. Ovid did not even know what he had been accused of. His banishment would seem to be a far cry from the principles of the XII Tables.

4 "Them" and "us"

4.1 Vocabulary for foreign, strange, alien and unknown

In this section I searched for the translated concepts listed above. Then I noted what Latin words Ovid and Virgil had used.

Table 3 Aeneid: Latin words translated into alien, foreign(er(s)), strange(r(s)) and unknown

Aeneid	Alien	Foreign(er)	Strange(r)	Unknown	Total
advena	1	1	2		4
alienus	1				1
externus		3	7		10
exterus		1			1
hospita	1				1
ignarus			1	1	2
ignotus			3	14	17
incognitus				1	1
novus			13		13
peregrinus		1			1
Other[44]	1		2	3	6
Total	4	6	28	19	57

The Aeneid contains more than 50 words meaning foreign, strange, alien and unknown, including corresponding nouns, Ovid's works half as many. The distribution is shown in

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[44] For instance, *causa latet* was in the Aeneid translated "is unknown" [5.5] and *caecis terroribus* "unknown terrors" [12.617].

Table 3 (the Aeneid) and *Table 4* (Ovid). The most frequent words in the Aeneid are *ignotus, novus* and *externus,* in Ovid *ignotus, peregrinus* and *hospes.*

In some cases, the original Latin text was rephrased in translation, here presented as a residual, "Other", in tables 3 and 4. The Aeneid contains more than 50 words meaning foreign, strange, alien and unknown, including corresponding nouns, Ovid's works half as many. The distribution is shown in *Table* 3 (the Aeneid) and *Table 4* (Ovid). The most frequent words in the Aeneid are *ignotus, novus* and *externus,* in Ovid *ignotus, peregrinus* and *hospes.*

Table 4 Tristia and Epistulae: Latin words translated into alien, foreign(er(s)), strange(r(s)) and unknown

Ovid	Alien	Foreign(er)	Strange(r)	Unknown	Total
advena			1		1
alienus	1	1	1		3
externus		1			1
hospes		1	3		4
hospita[45]		1	2		3
ignotus			3	3	6
novus			1		1
peregrinus		5			5
Other		1	1	1	3
Total	**1**	**10**	**12**	**4**	**27**

4.2 Us – Friends and welcome guests

Then we have vocabulary for those that are welcome, such as friends (including friendship, friendly etc.) and guests, presented in *Table 5.*

Table 5 Latin words translated into friend(ship) and guest in Virgil's Aeneid and Ovid's Epistulae and Tristia.

	Friend		*Guest*		**Total**
Latin	*Virgil*	*Ovid*	*Virgil*	*Ovid*	
amicus,amicitia	*23*	*85*			**108**
hospes	*5*		*9*	*6*	**20**
meus, suus, noster	*2*	*8*			**10**
socius	*8*				**8**
fides, fidus	*2*				**2**
sodales		*8*			**8**
optime, mitissime, etc		*4*			**4**
conviva				*1*	**1**
Other	*2*	*7*	*2*		**11**
Total	**42**	**112**	**11**	**7**	**172**

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[45] The adj *hospita*, (foreign) by the look of it seems to be an ordinary adj; (*hospitus, -a -um).* In OLD it says *hospita -ae adj,* i.e. it will only be found with feminine nouns.

What is striking is how often, more than a hundred times, Ovid mentions words for "friend", considering how lonely he was. He didn't meet a single friend during all the time he was banished in *Tomis*. "Dear friend" was the standard form of addressing someone in a letter. And then many of his letters dealt with the concept of friendship and how to maintain the relationship between absent friends. Probably, the thought of his old friends was what kept Ovid alive and going.

The Trojans, on the other hand, were closely knit companions or even relatives, journeying together with a common goal, and who jointly tackled problems they met.

Table 6 "Hostis"(incl all declensions) in "Epistulae", "Tristia" and "Aeneid" by translation into English.

	Epistulae	*Tristia*	*Aeneid*
Foe	8	9	74
Enemy	21	17	6
..		1	
Total	**29**	**27**	**80**

4.3 Them – your enemies

The word *hostis,* "foe" or "enemy", as shown in *Table 6,* is frequent in both The Aeneid and in Ovid's works from his banishment.

Whereas *hostis* according to OLD (as presented in the glossary) has the primary meaning of "a foreigner, stranger" the Loeb-translations of Ovid and Virgil exclusively use "foe" or "enemy" – not a single foreigner.

In *De Officiis* Cicero discusses the vocabulary and the semantic shift in the word *hostis* where he refers to the elder Marcus Cato. (1913, 38-41), [1.37.12]

qui proprio nomine perduellis esset, is hostis vocaretur, lenitate verbi rei tristitiam mitigatam. Hostis enim apud maiores nostros is dicebatur, quem nunc peregrinum dicimus.

"he who would properly have been called a "fighting enemy" (*perduellis)* was called "a guest" (*hostis*) thus relieving the ugliness of the fact by a softened expression; for "enemy" (*hostis),* meant to our ancestors what we now call "stranger" (*peregrinus). "*

4.3.1 Disdaining adjectives and epithets

Judging by Ovid's vocabulary his environment appeared dreadful. *Barbarus* (incl *barbara,* etc)* is a frequent word, found in 13 instances in *Epistulae* and 26 times in *Tristia.* It is overwhelmingly translated with "barbarian", except in the case of *barbarus Hister,* the lower Danube, which is characterized as "the wild Hister". In one case, *barbara turba,* was interpreted as a "barbarous mob". As stated by Noy (2000, 2), *barbarus* always has negative connotations.

I checked the occurrence of epithets for the *Getae*, (incl *Getas, Getes, Getis, Geten*). In *Epistulae, Getae* are mentioned more than 30 times, less than 10 times without a value

judgement, otherwise together with an epithet like *ferus, inhumanus, durus, saevus, pellitus or hirsutos,* none of them flattering (fierce, uncivilized, stern, savage, skin-clad or shaggy.) The *Getae* are less frequent in *Tristia,* but the same pattern of pejorative epithets can be discerned.

5 Conclusion

To me it seems that on the whole, foreigners, aliens, strangers and the unknown in general are looked upon with apprehension in my sources. The prophecy by the Cumaean Sibyl illustrates the ominousness of the unknown: [*Aeneid* 6.93]

causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris
externique iterum thalami.

"The cause for all this Trojan woe is again an alien bride, again a foreign marriage."

According to Noy (2000, 2) *alienusgenus/alienagena*, born elsewhere, was used by Livy and Cicero to give negative associations, linking it to *externus*, foreign, and *barbarus* and contrasting it to *domesticus,* connected with home and *noster,* our.

To judge by my sources, the Romans were fond of their city and of their homes and did not want to leave Rome. Cicero could at most conceive to spend a year in Cilicia, away from home.

Ovid, from his fiftieth year banished to Tomis by the Black Sea, spent the rest of his life pining for Rome, friends and family. He hailed from "Rome, the place of empire and the gods."[46] He never felt at home with a foreign language, alien food and drink or unfamiliar climate. Not to mention his impossible neighbours.

And Virgil's poor, evicted and proscribed Meliboeus ached to remain at his small farm with his little herd. He most certainly did not want to go into the unknown.

The Trojans had themselves chosen to leave Troy after their defeat and on the whole adapted well to changing circumstances. They were not completely on their own but with their friends and comrades, in companionship. But still, the whole Aeneid is pervaded by their *fuga,* flight or exile. The noun *fuga* is found some fifty times. And they had to fight their way into their new realm.

Roman rulers, that had to deal with the inflow of immigration into Rome, were, by and large, pragmatic and did what they thought would be the best for their *cives,* citizens. They attempted to invite and tempt attractive *peregrini,* foreigners, while expelling others, of less competence. In times of famine, non-citizens, like slaves, were expelled if they were considered to be redundant.

At the end of the day, Roman subjects could be arbitrarily treated by their rulers, with nowhere to appeal or to obtain redress.

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[46] *Imperii Roma deumque locus.* (Ovid 1924, 32), [*Tristia* 1.5.70]

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7 Glossary (from OLD)

Advena, ae *m/f*
visitor from abroad, immigrant foreigner
a person or thing recently arrived, newcomer, stranger

adventor, oris *m*
a newcomer, stranger, visitor, also perh an incoming tenant
a newcomer, client (at a taverna)

alienus, a, um
belonging to others
unusual
unconnected, separate
of another country, foreign
unfamiliar

asylum, i *n*
place affording sanctuary for criminals, etc
refuge, asylum

barbarous, a, um
of or belonging to a foreign country, foreign, non-Greek/non-Roman
ignorant, uncivilized
cruel, fierce, savage

census, us *m*
the quinquennial registration of Roman citizens and their property and the classification of them according to
the amount of their property or the written records of the census, census roll, census returns
the money-qualification of a particular class, the members of a particular census class
property in general, wealth, one´s fortune

civis, is *m/f*
a fellow citizen, fellow countyman
Civis totius mundi; a citizen of the whole world, cosmopolitan
a citizen, free person; a Roman citizen

domicilium, i *n*
a dwelling-place, habitation, domicile

exilium /exsilium, i *n*
the fact or condition of banishment, exile, w emphasis on the place of exile

expulsio, onis *f*
expulsion (from territory, into exile, etc), driving out

exul/exsul, is *m/f*
a banished person, exile

externus, a, um
external
not belonging to the object or person in question
foreign, coming from abroad, a foreigner

exter(us), era, erum
outer, external, foreign

fuga, ae *f*
flight, avoidance
exile

hospes, it is *m/f.*
a guest, visitor
a host, entertainer
a person bound to one of another town, country, etc, by personal or inherited ties of hospitality
a stranger, visitor (usu with some implication of guest)

hospita, ae
(of places) etc. affording hospitality (to persons or things, harbouring, hospitable
that is received as a guest
foreign, alien

hospitium, i *n*
the permanent relationship existing between host and guest, the ties of hospitality

hostilis, e
of or belonging to the enemy
characteristic of an enemy
hostile in attitude

hostis, is *m/f*
a foreigner, stranger
one engaged in hostile (military) activity against a country, etc, an enemy
a personal or private enemy

ignarus, a, um
having no knowledge, ignorant
having no experience, unacquainted with, ignorant, unpracticed
unknown, unfamiliar

incola, ae *m/f*
one who lives in a place, an inhabitant
a resident alien, denizen as opposed to citizen

ingenuus, a, um
native to a place, natural, indigenous
born of a free father, free-born

inquilinus, i *m*
an inmate of the same house, tenant, lodger
(in general) An inhabitant, denizen
a type of serf, perhaps originally a barbarian settled on Roman territory

lar, is *m*
one of a widespread class of Roman gods, associated with the protection of certain places a) the tutelary god of the hearth or home: *Lar familiaris*; b) protector of roads; c) a public deity, protector of the state

libertinus, i *m*
a member of the class of freedmen,
the son of a freedman

manumissio, onis *f*
the release of a person from the authority of *manus,* manumission; esp the freeing of a slave

novus a, um
new
not previously known, unfamiliar, strange

peculium, i *n*
money or property managed more or less as his own by a person incapable of legal ownership
a (by a slave)
b (by a person under patria potestas)

penates, ium *mpl*
the tutelary gods of the Roman larder, controlling the destiny of the household
The Penates of the State (those originally brought from Troy)
one's home

peregrinus, i *m*
a foreigner, alien
one of a class of free men under Roman rule, not having Roman citizenship, individuals or communities who were allowed freedom but no political rights on surrender to Rome

proscriptio, onis *f*
written notice announcing a sale
the publication of names of citizens who were declared outlaws and their goods confiscated

relegatio, onis *f*
banishment of a person to a given distance from Rome (or other place of residence) or to a specified place (but without loss of civil rights
bequest (of property) to the original owner