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Conversations in exile

Ovid, Dante, Mandelstam

This essay examines three central poets of the Western canon – Ovid, Dante and Mandelstam – who shared the experience of exile. In different paragraphs are presented the historical context, in particular regarding their banishment, and their works inspired by such a pivotal biographical event. Moreover, the intent is to highlight the relation that has been established among them and that allows an authentic “conversation among writers”, for in literature time and space are not as clear and defined as thought.

According to Isidore (ca. 560-636), someone is an *exul* “*quia extra solum suum est*”:¹ for being outside (*extra*) his own soil (*solum suum*). In other words, it expresses someone’s physical location away from his homeland. The immediate consequence of this legal status would be political disenfranchisement and social contempt. Therefore, we tend to consider this condition as imposed. Nevertheless, Giorgio Agamben (1942) reminds us that the issue is not as plain as it seems, since historians of law still discuss whether in the Classical period banishment would have been experienced either as a punishment or – on the contrary – as a voluntary leave, in order to exercise the right to avoid the application of the sentence.² Indeed, it is Cicero who asserts that “*Exilium non supplicium est, sed perfugium portusque supplicii*”.³ However, by the time of Augustan rule, this form of deportation was perceived as the gravest conviction after the death penalty, since it became a forced expulsion, and also because a citizen could gradually suffer the consequences of the “decrease of head” (*capitis deminutio*), which implies a declining of legal rights, up to the loss of liberty.

Having defined the term, now I intend to share a few considerations on this theme, focusing on diverse exemplary cases: Ovid, Dante and

Mandelstam; but before commencing, I wish to illustrate the reasons of my choice. I believe that these poets embody the Vichian interpretation of history in the literary sphere. Vico's methodological model can be used to verify how a personal experience – in our case, that of uprooting – can be recognized as evidence of a recurring cycle (*ricorso*) within the European tradition. More specifically, I refer to the fact that their poetry rose within a shared cultural ground of “*barbarie della riflessione*”:⁴ such a period when – despite, respectively, the splendour of the Empire, the Florentine financial might, or the hopes of revolution – “Like beasts, these people use to think of nothing else but their advantage”.⁵ It goes without saying, that I could have chosen some other names which, by all means, would have been as superb – think of Spinoza or Celan,⁶ or even that of Natalia Ginzburg who, strange enough, remembers her time of confinement as “the best time of [her] life”.⁷ My selection has been defined by the Dantesque appropriation of Ovid and afterwards that of Mandelstam of Dante's *Comedy* as well as Ovid's poems. This will enable me to present a paradigm of intertextuality as both literary device and biographical appropriation, displaying what, elsewhere, I have labelled as “the conversation among writers”.⁸

Ovid

Publius Ovidius Naso (43 BC, Sulmona, - AD 17, Tomis) was a member of the knightly class; he studied rhetoric and enjoyed great success already from his first publication, *Amores* (*The Loves*). His following works confirmed expectations,⁹ to the extent that such a reception allowed him to become one of the protagonists of the sophisticated circles and befriend the most influential poets: Tibullus, Horace and Propertius. At this stage his poetics is distinguished by a witty tone, an exquisite style of writing and, thematically, by flighty amorous matters. In short, it means that Ovid is more preoccupied to report on the praxis of his (literary) love enterprises, rather than on capturing her ontology. Later on, he undertook to compile two prestigious catalogues, namely the *Fasti* (*The Festivals*) and the *Metamorphoses*, at any time his best known and most influential title. It is 8 AD when he gets banished to Tomis, the remote and savage periphery on the Black Sea. Now he is an outsider, left out of the elegant environment he was enjoying and contributed to put a sheen on (see Image 1). Despite much research, to this day, the reasons of his relegati¹⁰ “continue to confound critics and will likely always remain shrouded in mystery”.¹¹ The most likely speculations prompt that his poems

have frustrated Augustus' design to morally revive Roman society promoting family values.¹² Indeed, in the *Ars amatoria* Ovid – who proudly considered himself an “erudite of obscene adultery”¹³ – offers practical advice on seduction and invites his readers, men and women, to consider love just as a joyful game. It is easy to understand that such precepts did not quite agree with those sought by the leadership. Bearing in mind the ample prestige of its author, and his proximity to the court, these verses could be perceived as a legitimization to moral imprudence.

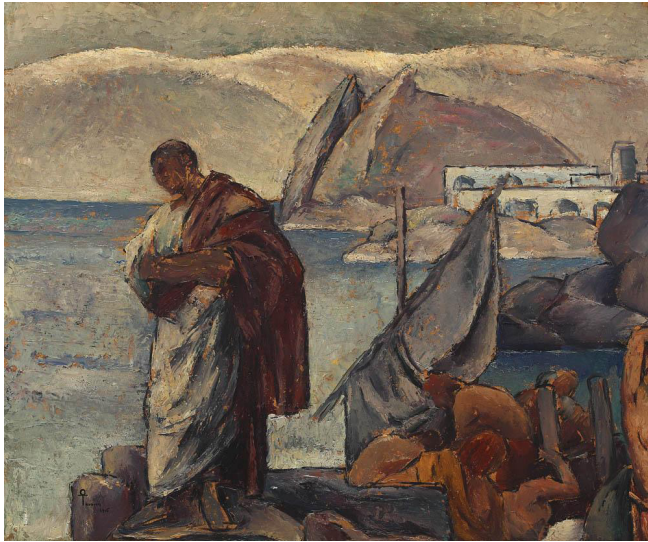


fig. 1. Ion Theodorescu Sion, The Poet Ovid in Tomis, 1915.

Away from all he cared for and everybody he was fond of, Ovid kept quiet about the cause of his reversal of fortune, but resumed writing. The most notorious titles of this period are *Tristia* (*Sorrows*) and the *Epistulae ex Ponto* (*Letters from the Black Sea*). He regularly sent his texts to Rome, complaining about his most miserable state. In doing so, Ovid actually invented “exile poetry” and deploys all strategies of the elegy and the lamentation genre, where style retains its elegance and the timbre is sombre. His aim was to be condoned, but there is more.

In the former collection, he also concealed some information to make understand that “talent brought [him] exile”;¹⁴ while in another passage he mentions more specifically that “Two misdeeds ruined [him]: a poem and

an error and on the latter silent must be preserved”¹⁵ Most of the poet’s discomfort was caused by a lack of communication, since Latin was barely spoken in the region. So, it seems that he fabricated an imaginative and fictional linguistic space:

I, exiled, will see this only with my mind:
it [my mind] keeps the right to that place which has been torn from me:
it rides freely throughout immense lands,
it reaches the sky in rapid flight,
it leads my eyes to the very centre of Rome.¹⁶

I do not think that this is merely a consolatory mechanism. Instead, Ovid really (re)possesses the right to be in his city (*Vrbem*) by placing it in the middle of his mind. Basically, he implements a Cartesian method in order to define a clear distinction between corporality (the immanent reality) and spirit (the transcendent rationality). In layman’s terms, it means that, although it is indisputable that Ovid’s body is positioned in an eccentric (i.e. outside the centre) site, the lyrical ego is capable to reconstruct its spatial coordinate as it pleases.

The same applies to the temporal coordinate. It seems that Ovid’s experience is not narrated resting on the pillar of memory, but on the certainty that, sometime in the future, it will happen.¹⁷ Such manipulation permits to include *Tristia* in the nostalgic literature and, more precisely, to sum it up by the formula “nostalgia for the future”, because:

While harboring the sadness of irreversible loss, memory in the guise of nostalgia can also quicken the resolve to deal creatively with an indeterminate future in which one’s resources of hope may triumph over psychological resignation to irreparable loss.¹⁸

Such change of perspective, widens the meaning of the concept of νόστος (return) because it allows Ovid to avenge the secular power and to hold his supreme Cartesian right of being through the intellect and imagination.

Dante

Very much related to Ovid’s case is that of Dante (full name: Durante di Alighiero degli Alighieri; Florence, 1265 – Ravenna, 1321), yet the legal framework has fundamentally changed. In the Middle Ages, the Latin

institution of exile merged with the Germanic system of the *bannum*. As a consequence, a banned person was considered a *diffidatus ad mortem* which simply meant that anybody had the right to kill him. None the less, the Italian city states, did not enforce it and considered banishment as a forced confinement from the city (*datio finium*). Dante is the most illustrious record of this practice.

Already in his early years, the Florentine made his name as a member of the intellectual élite and as one of the leading poets of the so called *Dolce Stil Nuovo*: a bunch of bold guys who launched a poetical reform programme.¹⁹ He also took part in public life as a White Guelph, being at last elected as Prior (1300). In office, he stood for liberty and the defence of the communal autonomy from the interference of the Papacy into secular matters. His political commitment was ardent and his recognized moral virtue did not bestow him any form of compromise.²⁰ His misery started when the Blacks (the intransigent wing within the party) – with the help of the French and the political intrusion of Boniface VIII – seized power and dismissed the administration. Probably, while still engaged in a diplomatic mission at the Curia, in 1302 he got banished concomitantly with most of his fellows who opposed the unconstitutional ruling regime. Dante spent the rest of his life as a celebrated “writer in residence” and legate at some of the most honourable houses in Central and Northern Italy (see fig. 2).²¹ The poet never returned to his beloved Florence, and far from his “handsome San Giovanni” baptistery,²² he drafted most of his works,²³ and notably the *Divine Comedy*²⁴ which, as the Argentine Jorge Luis Borges (1899-1986) declares, he [Dante] wrote “in



Fig. 2. Domenico Peterlin, Dante in Exile, 1860 ca.

order to imagine he was with her [Beatrice]”.²⁵

In the *Commedia*, his future is predicted by his ancestor Cacciaguida:

You shall leave everything you love most dearly:

this is the arrow that the bow of exile

shoots first. You are to know the bitter taste

of others’ bread, how salt it is, and know

how hard a path it is for one who goes

descending and ascending others’ stairs.²⁶

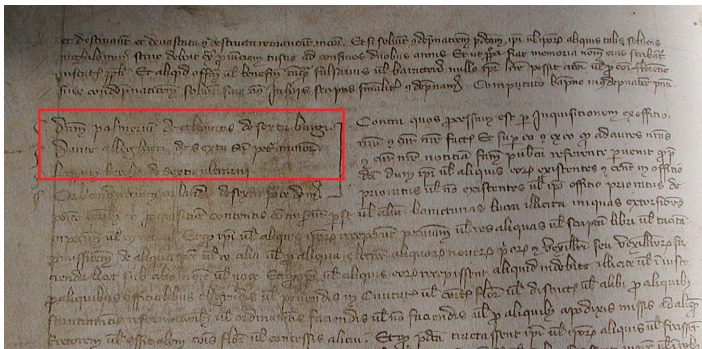


Fig. 3. Dante’s exile sentence in the Book of sentences against rebel families in the Commune of Florence from 1302 to 1379, known as Libro del Chiodo, Florence, State Archives

He also mentions Ovid’s name in many passages of his entire *œuvre*.²⁷ A pivotal passage is to be found in the first *cantica*, where Dante escorted by Virgil encounters Ovid in the company of other poets from antiquity (Homer, Horace and Lucan). During the meeting, Dante considers himself as the “sixth among such intellects”.²⁸ In this quote, metaphors aside, he is not just putting together the canon of Western literary tradition, but has actually included himself in such an exclusive club. In regard to the comparison between Dante’s and Ovid’s respective experiences of expulsion, there are analogies and distinctions that need to be highlighted. Firstly, the Latin poet – probably to regain the Emperor’s favour – recognizes his blunder (*error*) and, in doing so, he legitimizes his punishment. Dante, in reverse, does not acknowledge any guilt. He is, if anything, the victim of a scandal.

The second divergence is of a sentimental kind. Ovid's exile had mostly existential consequences; while to Dante his displacement meant first of all exclusion from civic life. Such apolitical circumstance is inconceivable to him, because it deprives the *Civis* (the citizen) of his fundamental rights and turns him into a lesser man:

A human being is by nature a political animal, and that anyone who is without a city-state, not by luck but by nature, is either a poor specimen or else superhuman.²⁹

In both poets, however, I can also catch a glimpse of similitude. As I mentioned above, Ovid, has the intellectual ability of being – in a near future! – somewhere else than the real space in which he is confined; similarly, Dante's human sojourn – either in Florence or in the reigns of the hereafter – are part of his existential *peregrinatio* which, in any case, has as destination the heavenly homeland. This intriguing and persuasive reading is indicated by Michelangelo Picone, who, considering Dante's theological and teleological metaphysics, explains that:

Exile is transformed from an act of social alienation into a potent means of spiritual identification. The Christian, who realizes that he no longer belongs to the world in which he lives, prepares himself to become a citizen of the place where he will live forever.³⁰

This metaphysical shift pulls together Ovid's and Dante's perspective on their prospects. Both poets, in fact, nostalgically long to the future as a way of salvation from their current discomfort:

Ovid's painful longing for Rome is replaced by the Christian's equally fervid desire to regain the place of his original happiness, namely, Paradise.

However, as much as this sentiment is shared, I must emphasise that there is a substantial difference on the degree of certainty that their wish will be granted: Dante, as a believer, does not question Hope, a theological virtue; while Ovid can only trust the unpredictable indulgence of a fellow man.

Mandelstam

Ovid and Dante are surely the champions within the genre of exile literature. I even dare to say that they enjoy more fame than the starring fictional counterparts Ulysses and Aeneas. This occurs, in my view, because they are of flesh and blood and, therefore, their lyrical artefacts are felt by common

readers as “real”. Such projection of a literary theme on the person, surely may confuse, because it reverses the role of literature as instrument of consolation into that of the writer as healer. Such a swap, where biography tends to be more relevant than the text itself, is most visible in Romantic literature. The word exile got incorporated in its philosophical imaginary, while the extradite became the corporeal symbol of the tormented political rebel (e.g. Lord Byron) or the picture of the disdainful isolated (Foscolo). Such public figures,³¹ who influenced enormously their generation, promoted a self-presented³² anti-bourgeois iconography, which disclosed their performances as an act of uprising.

The use of this rhetoric survived, in an adapted form, in the twentieth century, when exile – whether voluntary or forced – can be considered as a key-determinant of Modernism. It is in this time of recent history that the personal event started to be seen as a cultural insignia that links personal memory (i.e. biography) to the literary production.³³ However, I challenge Seidel’s utilitarian hypothesis that the writer makes an “artistic virtue of exilic necessity”,³⁴ but certainly I am persuaded that a personal vicissitude of this emblematic magnitude can be proposed as a role-model. Specifically, I mean that, since “displacement and misplacement are this century’s commonplace”,³⁵ the ancient poets can be considered as an archetype to be imitated or, even emulated. The stereotype of this operation is Brodsky, who fully identified with the Roman poet. Among other documents, during his confinement he wrote *Otryvok*.³⁶ The poem cannot be seen as a mere reference to Ovid, nor a reflection upon him. It is, instead, a vivid talk that a contemporary poet holds with one of the past that he [Brodsky] considers to be alive. Staging this talk, Brodsky reaffirms the idea that boundaries of time and space can be broken. Conversations of this kind are sparkling forms of creative reception, palimpsests that are able to constitute a circle that includes all ages and places. Certainly, it is so for Osip Mandelstam (Warsaw, 1891 - Vladivostok, 1938), the editor of the manifesto of the Acmeist movement³⁷ and the author of a fundamental collection of contemporary poetry entitled *The Stone* (1913) (image 4). In 1934, he was arrested and



Fig. 4. Osip Mandelstam

sent to the Ural Mountains because of his *Stalin epigram* (or *The Kremlin Highlander*, 1933), a satire that exposes the state of fear of the period. In 1938, he was caught again and sentenced to hard labour in Siberia, where he died in de *gulag* (transit camp). As a poet he had a durable relation with the classics, and the finest illustration of this affection are *Tristia* (1922)³⁸ and *Conversation about Dante* (1933). In these works, Mandelstam truly has a one-on-one discussion with both Ovid and Dante.

In *Tristia*, Mandelstam puts in place the principles of his organized movement, so much so that it seems he fully took possession of the admirable Latin style. This approach raises two questions; first: is it not a contradiction to use such an amiable language for the unpleasantness of the narrated facts? Second: was a personal form of nostalgia for the past that inspired the book? I think that Mandelstam, through the perfection of the language, wished to handle his own feelings with the delicacy that the style allowed him to; the elegance of the text does not serve as medicine, but reflects the intimacy of this pain. Only the elegiac tone is able to reflect it. Recalling Ovid, he also tries to elevate his own sufferings to those of a world class lover. Secondly, and as a whole, in Mandelstam's poetics, this strategy conforms rather well with that of the European *Retour à l'ordre*.³⁹ Classicism, after chaos, is always the instrument to mend and rearrange the turmoil of history. I am convinced of this, because in Mandelstam's poems the appropriation of the ancient *fabula* crosses the trope of loss and amalgamates his tale with Ovid's. Of course, a literary choice that privileged the elegy – where the feelings of the individual prevail on the ideology of the masses – was rather different from the revolutionary poetry and, no need to remark, that it was seen by the Communists as a declaration of adversity. The first stanza introduces *in medias res* evoking the “essence of farewell [...] woman's cry mingled with muse's song”.⁴⁰ This clear imitation of the elegiac genre is strengthened by mentioning a «barefooted Delia»,⁴¹ who, of course, recalls Tibullus' girl⁴² as well as Pushkin's *To Delia* (1812). Mandelstam, in this way, reaffirms my premise that in literature there are continuous, and sometimes unpredictable, discourses held between writers of different ages, places and poetics.

Certainly, this is just one example of how Mandelstam confers with poets of the past; the other refers to Dante. He studied the *Comedy* in Anna Akhmatova's company, and this reading was creatively used in poems of both. Namely, Mandelstam wrote one in 1932,⁴³ and then, just a year later, he also dictated an essay to his wife Nadezhda who learnt it by heart to ensure its survival. He entitled it *Conversation about Dante*,⁴⁴ and what he admired

the most in the Italian, was the capacity to represent his times as if they were Mandelstam's days. He writes that:

It is unthinkable to read the cantos of Dante without aiming them in the direction of the present day. They were made for that. They are missiles for capturing the future. They demand commentary in the futurum.⁴⁵

This quote, I hope, clarifies that great literature is always supposed to be part of the continuous segment of time (or space). Mandelstam, in a kind of Einsteinian way, sees the arts as a unity; so, for instance, reading *Inferno XXXIII* – the canto of Ugolino and his starving children – he describes it as “enveloped in the dense and heavy timbre of a cello like rancid, poisoned honey”.⁴⁶ Now, we are sure that Mandelstam was aware that the cello was invented much later, but what he tries to tell is that:

The cello could only take shape and be given form when the European analysis of time had made sufficient progress, when sundials were superseded and the ancient observer of the shadow stick moving around Roman numerals drawn in the sand had been transformed into an impassioned participant of a differential torture, into a martyr to the infinitesimal.⁴⁷

In case, we would doubt such a bold statement, he invites his readers to trust the authority of the experts: “Ask Brahms – he knew it. Ask Dante – he heard it”,⁴⁸ inviting to transcend any kind of empirical reality.

If what Mandelstam says in the above quotation can be considered *poetically* true, then it must be possible to imagine that Ovid knew Dante, or that Dante had read Mandelstam. How so? Because to the exile (and they did share this very condition) “his sole, forbidden and irretrievably lost city is scattered everywhere – he is surrounded by it”.⁴⁹ Everywhere at any time.

This attitude expands the concept of *Weltliteratur* from the sole conceptualization of space right into that of time. The *condicio sine qua non* is that poets keep on conversing with each other, inasmuch as talking to the dead does not necessarily need to be more difficult than doing it with the living.

Notes

1. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, X 84.
2. See Giorgio Agamben, “Politica dell'esilio,” *Derive Approdi* VII, 16 (1998): 25.
3. Marcus Tullius Cicero, *For Aulus Caecina*, XXXIV, § 100: “banishment is not a

- punishment, but is a refuge and harbour of safety from it".
4. "barbarism of reflection": Giambattista Vico, *La scienza nuova* {Giusta l'edizione del 1744 con le varianti dell'edizione del 1730 e di due redazioni intermedie inedite}, 2 vols., ed. Fausto Nicolini (Bari: Laterza, 1928), II, axiom § 1106, 163.
5. Ibidem; my translation.
6. Paul Celan in his collection *Die Niemandsrose* (1963) continuously refers, among other poets, to Dante.
7. Natalia Ginzburg, "Winter in the Abruzzi," in *A Place to Live and Other Selected Essays of Natalia Ginzburg* (New York-London-Toronto-Melbourne: Seven Stories Press, 2002), 40; note that also Cesare Pavese and Joseph Brodsky write in these terms about their banishment.
8. To follow up on the matter, see my *Michelangelo in Parnaso. Scrittori a contatto con le «Rime» buonarrotiane: la ricezione critica, creativa e le traduzioni d'autore* (Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht, 2013), 284.
9. *Heroides (Heroines)*, *Medea* [lost], *Ars Amatoria (The Art of Love)*, *Medicamina Faciei Femineae (Facial Cosmetics for Women)*, *Remedia Amoris (Remedies for Love)*.
10. Relegation did not involve confiscation of property or, most importantly for a Roman, loss of his citizenship.
11. Matthew M. McGowan, *Ovid in Exile: Power and Poetic Redress in the "Tristia" and "Epistulae ex Ponto"* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2009), 20.
12. Of course this operation had to commence giving to the people an honourable image of the Imperial family; so, since some scandals that had involved his daughter, Julia the Elder, had come to light in 2 BC he commanded to arrest her for adultery and treason and let her be confined on the island of Pandateria.
13. "obsceni doctor adulterii", *Tristia* II 212; all translations from Latin are mine.
14. "ingenio sic fuga parta meo": idem, I i 56.
15. "Perdiderint cum me duo crimina, carmen et error / alterius facti culpa silenda mihi": idem, II 207-208.
16. "haec ego summotus, qua possum, mente videbo: / erepti nobis ius habet illa loci; / illa per immensas spatiaturs libera terras, / in caelum celeri pervenit illa fuga; / illa meos oculos mediam deducit in Urbem": idem, IV ii 55-61.
17. "vidēbo" is the future tense of the verb *videō*.
18. Patrick H. Hutton, "Memory. Witness, Experience, Collective Meaning," in *Sage Handbook of Historical Theory*, eds. Sarah Foot and Nancy Partner (London: Sage Publications, 2013), 368.
19. Dante himself uses the term in *Purgatorio* XXIV and literally can be translated as "Sweet New Style". Its poetics supported the idea of stylistic renovations in the use of vernacular and had as main themes "love" and "gentleness". Other representatives are Guido Guinizelli and Guido Cavalcanti.
20. For instance, he even banished his best friend, Guido Cavalcanti.
21. Gherardo da Camino, the Malaspina counts, Guido da Battifolle, Cangrande della Scala in Verona and Guido Novello da Polenta in Ravenna.
22. "che que' che son nel mio bel San Giovanni": *Inferno* XIX 17.

23. *De vulgari eloquentia* (1303-1304 ca.), *Convivio* (1303-1308 ca.), *De monarchia* (1310-1313 ca.), *Egloghe* (1319-1321), *Quaestio de aqua et terra* (1320).
24. *Inferno* (1306/7-1309 ca.), *Purgatory* (ante 1313/1314), *Paradise* (1316-1321).
25. Jorge Luis Borges, "Nine Dantesque Essays 1945-1951," in *Selected Non-Fiction*, ed. Eliot Weinberger (New York: Viking, 1999), 304.
26. "Tu proverai sì come sa di sale / lo pane altrui, e come è duro calle / lo scendere e 'l salir per l'altrui scale. / E quel che più ti graverà le spalle, / sarà la compagnia malvagia e scempia / con la qual tu cadrai in questa valle;": *Paradise* XVII 58-63. As mentioned, Dante will be exiled in 1302 and will write his masterpiece years later, while his otherworldly journey takes place in the year 1300: this allows him to create the perfect fictional situation where some souls will predict him his unfortunate future. Besides the one quoted, other references are also given in *Inferno* X 77-81, *Inferno* XV 61-64, *Inferno* XXIV 140-142, *Purgatory* VIII 136-138. The citation in English are from *The Divine Comedy*, ed. Allen Mandelbaum (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1980-1982).
27. *Inferno* IV, XXV; *Convivio* II i, v, xiv, III iii, IV xv, xxiii, xxvii, *Vita nuova* XXV, *Rime* XLVI; *De vulgari eloquentia* I ii, II vi; *Monarchia* II vii, viii.
28. "sì ch'io fui sesto tra cotanto senno": *Inferno* IV 102.
29. Aristotle, *Politics* 1253a 4.
30. Michelangelo Picone, "Dante, Ovidio e la poesia dell'esilio," *Rassegna europea di letteratura italiana* XIV (1999): 7-24, but I quote from "Ovid and the Exul Immeritus," in *Dante for the New Millennium*, eds Teodolinda Barolini and H. Wayne Storey (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003), 392.
31. Other names worthy of mention are Voltaire, Victor Hugo, Pushkin and Dostoevsky and Oscar Wilde.
32. I borrow the term from a study on Renaissance literature; however, I suppose they can very well be extended to other periods: Richard Helgerson, *Self-Crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton, and the Literary System* (Berkeley-London: University of California Press, 1983).
33. Think, among many others, of T.S. Eliot and Pound, Luis Cernuda Bidón, Thomas Mann, Giuseppe Ungaretti, D.H. Lawrence and Hemingway; lately Brodsky, Anna Achmatova, Nabokov, Solzhenitsyn, Kundera, Rushdie and Derek Walcott; besides these names, I have to mention Bertolt Brecht, a stronghold of the German *Exilliteratur* and particularly in reference to his *Flüchtlingsgespräche* (*Conversations in Exile*) – a prose dialogue written in 1940 when the play writer was in exile in Finland – which is taken up in the title of this paper.
34. Michael Seidel, *Exile and the Narrative Imagination* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), 5.
35. Joseph Brodsky, "The Condition We Call Exile," in *On Grief and Reason: Essays* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995), 101. *New York Review of Books*, 21 January 1988.
36. *Fragment* (1962).
37. *The Morning of Acmeism*, 1913 but published in 1919.
38. It can be interesting to know that it was Mikhail Kuzmin who suggested the title after

- the eponymous and central poem of the book.
39. The return to order rejected the avant-garde that preceded the first World War and fully rehabilitated realism: in Italy through the journal «*Valori plastici*» (1918-1922) and in France with Cocteau's essays *Le rappel à l'ordre* (1926).
 40. Osip Mandelstam, *Tristia*, in *Complete Poetry of Osip Emilevich Mandelstam*, translated by Burton Raffel and Alla Burago, with an introduction and notes by Sidney Monas (Albany: State University of New York, 1973), 102.
 41. Ibidem.
 42. See *Corpus Tibullianum* I 3.
 43. *Novellino*, in Mandelstam 1973, 207-208.
 44. As said before, written in 1933 but published only in 1967 after the rehabilitation of the poet's name.
 45. Osip Mandelstam, "Conversation about Dante," in *The Poets' Dante*, eds Peter S. Hawkins and Rachel Jacoff (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux., 2001), 67.
 46. Idem, 75.
 47. Ibidem.
 48. Ibidem.
 49. Idem, 81.