INTRODUCTION

1. OVID'S LIFE AND CAREER

Arma graui numero uiolentaque bella parabam
edere, materia conueniente modis.
par erat inferior uersus – risisse Cupido
dicitur atque unum surripuisse pedem.
(Ovid, *Amores* 1.1.1–4)

Arms and violent wars in a weighty metre I was preparing to utter, the content suiting the metre. The lower verse was equal [in length] – Cupid is said to have laughed and stolen away a single foot.

Ovid starts his poetic career with the *Amores*, but begins as if it were an epic, telling of arms and war. His first word is identical to Virgil's in the *Aeneid* (1.1 *Arma uirumque cano*). Immediately Cupid intervenes, steals a foot, and turns the continuous hexameters into elegiac couplets. That is the metre fitted for love, the central topic of the elegists Gallus, Tibullus, and Propertius; and when Ovid complains that he is not a lover, Cupid takes an arrow and shoots him, so he will have material to write about in elegy. The collection will in fact contain *arma*, but in the metaphor of the *militia amoris*, the soldiery of love, in which the poet is a captive of Cupid (1.2) or has to plot strategy like a general (2.12): the equation is explored at amusing length in 1.9, which begins *Militat omnis amans* ('Every lover is a soldier'). Alongside the self-conscious play with earlier texts and generic appropriateness, we should notice Cupid's laughter: humour is characteristic of the Ovidian style, and he shows his first reader responding aptly to his work (not least perhaps to his parody of Virgil's grand opening).

Publius Ouidius Naso was born in central Italy, at Sulmo (now Sulmona, in Abruzzo), on 20th March 43 BC, as he informs posterity at the start of his poetic biography (*Tristia* 4.10.3–14: 813 n.). Later in the poem he tells us that he started writing poetry in his mid teens: 'when I first read my youthful poems in public, my beard had been cut twice or once' (57–8). His career was both productive and long: the latest datable references in his poetry are to events of AD 16 (*Ex Ponto* 4.9.3–4 hopes that the poem arrives in Rome on the day when P. Pomponius Graecinus takes up his suffect consulship, presumably on 1st July 16); Jerome gives AD 17 as the date of his death, and the bimillennium was marked by many conferences in 2017.

The *Amores* go on to present the poet as a lover in the elegiac mode, repeatedly separated from his mistress and distrustful of her, but unfaithful himself. The collection extends the norms of the genre by exploring more

deeply such topics as violent anger (1.7) and slavery (2.2–3, 2.7–8), and introducing others such as loss of hair (1.14), abortion (2.13–14), impotence (3.7) – the realities behind the romance. At times, however, the dominant tone is rhetorical whimsy (the attempt to delay Aurora/dawn in 1.13, the variety of appealing *puellae* in 2.4) or fantasy (the Elysium for dead birds at 2.6.49–58, Ovid wishing he were the ring given to his mistress in 2.15).

According to a prefatory epigram the version we have is a second edition, in which five books have been reduced to three: this explains how he can in 2.18 review his career beyond the *Amores*, including his move into the grander territory of tragedy, followed by a return to erotic material, in the form of the *Ars Amatoria*, a didactic poem, guiding young men (1–2) and women (3) in how to be successful lovers, and the *Heroides*, letters written to the men whom they love by women of myth[1] and the poetess Sappho. The poet's placing of 2.18 helps the reader to see that it is a new poem composed for the second edition, for in book 3 the ascent to tragedy is still to come.[2] *Amores* 3.1 tells how when the poet was walking in a grove, considering his next work, he was visited by two nymphs, Elegia and Tragoedia, each of whom tried to persuade him to work in her genre. At the end he promises Tragoedia that her turn will come once he has finished writing the *Amores*, and the plan is revisited in 3.15, the final poem of the book, where he says farewell to Venus, Cupid, and elegy. Conversation with deities will play a large part in the *Fasti*, and in other ways too *Amores* 3 looks ahead: the move away from love elegy is symbolized by poems talking of estrangement from the mistress (3.3–8, 10–11a), by the revelation that Ovid has a wife (3.13), and by the lament for the death of the elegist Tibullus (3.9). A number of poems discuss or narrate myths (3.6, 3.10, 3.12) and thus prepare for the importance of myth in the *Heroides*, the *Metamorphoses*, and the *Fasti*. Three pieces involve religious occasions:[3] 3.2 is set at chariot races in the Circus, and within Ovid's speech to the pretty girl sitting next to him is a description of the procession of the gods (43–62); 3.13 describes the festival of Juno in his wife's home town, Falerii; 3.10 is an attack on the goddess Ceres for requiring sexual abstinence during her festival, despite her own susceptibility to love in the case of the Cretan Iasius, ending with this couplet (47–8), which typifies some of the celebrations Ovid will enjoy describing in the *Fasti* (notably Anna Perenna at 3.523–42):

[1] Including Dido in 7 (cf. *Fasti* 3.545–50) and Ariadne in 10 (cf. *Fasti* 3.459–516).

[2] On the sequence, see e.g. Hollis 1977: xi–xiii, 150–1, followed by Harrison in Hardie 2002: 80–1, in a clear-headed account of the 'evolutions of an elegist' (79–94).

[3] On '*Sacra* in the *Amores*', see Miller 1991: 44–57.

festa dies Veneremque uocat cantusque merumque;
haec decet ad dominos munera ferre deos.

A festival day calls for love and song and alcohol: these are the gifts it is right to offer to the gods, our masters.

Festivals and temples also play a part in the *Ars Amatoria*: they provide opportunities to meet the opposite sex (1.67–262), as Romulus taught the Romans when the rape of the Sabine women was planned for the games (1.101–34). As an aetiology for life in Rome that story looks ahead to the *Fasti*, and in particular it provides the narrative that is omitted at 3.199–200. A Greek aetion comes at *Ars* 1.525–64, explaining why Bacchus provides assistance to the lover – he is himself the lover of Ariadne, a story revisited at *Fasti* 3.459–516.

The urge to work in a grander, more expansive genre continues to affect Ovid's development (especially in the form of the *Metamorphoses*); but there is continuity too, as is shown by the conversation with Venus at the start of *Fasti* 4 (1–12):[4]

Alma, faue, dixi, geminorum mater Amorum;
ad uatem uultus rettulit illa suos;
quid tibi, ait, mecum? certe maiora canebas.
num uetus in molli pectore uulnus habes?
scis, dea, respondi, de uulnere. risit, et aether
protinus ex illa parte serenus erat.[5]
saucius an sanus numquid tua signa reliqui?
tu mihi propositum, tu mihi semper opus.
qua decuit primis sine crimine lusimus annis;
nunc teritur nostris area maior equis.
tempora cum causis, annalibus eruta priscis,
lapsaque sub terras ortaque signa cano.

'Nurturing mother of the twin Loves, give me your favour', I said. She directed her gaze to the poet. 'What', she said, 'do you want with me? You were certainly singing of grander things. Surely you don't still have the old wound in your soft heart?' 'Goddess,' I replied, 'you know about wounding.' She laughed, and the heavens immediately became clear in that direction. 'Wounded or whole, have I abandoned your standards at all? You have always been my programme, always my achievement. As was fitting in my early

[4] Miller 2013: 246–7 and Chiu 2016: 149–54 also set this passage against the background of Ovid's career.

[5] This line implies composition at a time when one part of the pantheon had become angry with the poet, i.e. in exile.

> years I played without charge; now a grander area is trodden by my horses. I sing times, together with explanations, dug out of the ancient annals, and the setting and rising of constellations.'

This clearly recalls *Amores* 1.1, where a god of love laughed and Ovid was wounded, and 3.15, where he said farewell to Venus and headed (18) to an *area maior* (in *Fasti* 4.10 the phrase refers to the *Fasti* itself, not tragedy). Verses 7–8 seem to mean that love has been Ovid's topic whether he was writing as a lover himself (*saucius*) or about the affairs of others, as in the *Heroides*: here, and in the *Ars Amatoria* Venus was his announced topic (*propositum*). Elsewhere he is not writing directly under her influence, but she is still at the heart of the work (*opus*); thus many of the stories in the *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* have erotic aspects, and even the *Medea*, Ovid's renowned[6] but lost tragedy, dealt with a story of love turned bad.

At some point in mid career Ovid turned to composition on a larger scale, an epic longer than the *Aeneid*, and a didactic poem on the calendar that would fully have matched the scale of Virgil's poem, as well as its representation of Rome through aetiology. There is no prior promise of the *Metamorphoses* or the *Fasti*, but the poet indicates that they were being composed together through what he says about them in *Tristia* 1 and 2 (see Section 2). The *Tristia* was the first work written by Ovid after Augustus suddenly despatched him into exile in AD 8 or 9, to Tomi on the Black Sea.[7] Ovid's own works are our only source for information on the exile. He tells us that a *carmen* and an *error* were the causes (*Tristia* 2.207): the poem is the *Ars Amatoria*, presumably because as a didactic poem it was felt to encourage marital infidelity, a matter of concern to Augustus from the 20s on,[8] and an increasingly touchy subject as he sent into exile for adultery first his daughter Julia (in 2 BC) and then her daughter, also Julia, in AD 8. The *error* involved Ovid's chancing to see something wicked (*Tristia* 2.103–6: see Ingleheart *ad loc.*), and failing to report it (so *Tristia* 3.6.11–16 implies).

Some have held that the *error* was the real cause, and the *Ars* was simply a cover; but the poem had been published years before. Rather, then, the immoral teaching of the poem created an attitude towards the author

[6] See Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 10.1.98, Tacitus, *Dial.* 12. The two extant fragments come from quotations in the Elder Seneca (*Suas.* 3.7) and Quintilian (8.5.6).

[7] In legal terms he was 'relegated', not 'exiled', as he did not lose citizen rights. Tomi is now Constanța in Romania. Hutchinson 2017: 80–2 presents a case for dating the exile to 9 rather than 8, the canonical date. I ignore in what follows the fascinating theory that exile in Tomi was Ovid's own invention: see most recently Bérchez Castaño 2015.

[8] See e.g. Nisbet & Rudd 2004: 98–100, Galinsky 1996: 96–7, 128–38. A recently published inscription (Eck 2016) has shown that Augustus was struggling to get more stringent marital legislation passed from AD 5 to 9: see Hutchinson 2017 for how this might matter for Ovid's exile.

that meant he could not be forgiven when he was found to have known of an illicit act but not to have acted properly – as an informer. Despite living on for eight years or more, and despite the death of Augustus, he was never recalled. But he continued to write, producing in the exile poetry a description of life on the edge of the empire, threatened by icy winters and barbarian incursions; direct pleas for leniency combined with indirect assertions of independence; letters to friends, thanking them for assistance and communication; and curses on enemies (notably the *Ibis*) and those who had forgotten him. He also continued with other projects, a revised version of the *Fasti*, i.e. the one that survives, and the double epistles, *Heroides* 16–21: a marvellously impudent creation in the circumstances, as they begin with an exchange of letters between Paris and Helen, the most famous pair of adulterers in classical myth.[9]

To sum up, here is a list of the major works in approximate chronological order (all in elegiac couplets except *Medea* and *Metamorphoses*):

Amores (5 books reduced to 3 after the first edition of the *Ars*)
Medea (only tiny fragments survive; tragedy: iambics and anapaests)
Epistulae Heroidum (1–15: probably 3 books)
Ars Amatoria (2 books, later expanded to 3)
Remedia amoris (1 book)
Metamorphoses (15 books; dactylic hexameter)[10]
[*Fasti* (12 books drafted, but apparently not published)]
Tristia (5 books)
Ibis (1 book)
Epistulae ex Ponto (4 books)[11]
Fasti (1–6 revised and published)
Epistulae Heroidum (3 pairs: 16–21)

2. *FASTI* AND *METAMORPHOSES*

Ovid first mentions the *Metamorphoses* at the end of *Tristia* 1.1.[12] He instructs the book on what to do when it reaches Rome, ending with arrival in the library of his own home (105–22), where it will see its brothers, among

[9] On the date of *Ep.* 16–21 (probably published posthumously, given the incendiary subject matter), see Heyworth 2015: 143–8, with references to earlier discussions.

[10] The bulk of the *Metamorphoses* was written before Ovid's relegation in AD 8/9, but the poem was apparently revised slightly before publication, which occurs between the order to go to Tomi and the publication of *Tristia* 1, perhaps as he leaves Rome: see e.g. Kovacs 1987: 462–5.

[11] Augustus dies and Tiberius becomes emperor in AD 14, during the composition of *Ex Ponto* 4.

[12] See Heyworth 2018a: 110–14 for a longer examination of themes discussed in this section.

them the three books of the *Ars Amatoria*, skulking away in a dark corner, but also the fifteen rolls of the *Metamorphoses* (117–18):

> sunt quoque mutatae, ter quinque uolumina, formae,
> nuper ab exequiis carmina rapta meis.
>
> There are also fifteen volumes of the *Metamorphoses*, poetry recently snatched from my funeral procession.

The poet instructs his book to tell the *Metamorphoses* to add the change in Ovid's own fortunes to their tales, an intention fulfilled in poem 7. Here he tells anyone who has a bust of him to remove the garland from his head (*temporibus*[13] *non est apta corona meis*, 1.7.4), and to read his poems, especially the *Metamorphoses*, instead. This poem he tried to burn, but there were several other copies, and now he prays that it survives, gives pleasure to readers, and reminds them of him. He thus tells his reader that the poem circulating in Rome is authorized by the poet. Work on the *Fasti* was also interrupted by the bolt from the blue, as he reveals at *Tristia* 2.549–52, near the end of his long letter appealing to Augustus for leniency:

> sex ego Fastorum scripsi totidemque libellos,
> cumque suo finem mense uolumen habet,
> idque tuo nuper scriptum sub nomine, Caesar,
> et tibi sacratum sors mea rupit opus.
>
> I have written six books of *Fasti*, plus the same number, and with its month each volume finds its end, and this was recently written under your name, Caesar, and my fate broke a work dedicated to you.

These lines announce the existence of the *Fasti*, but as a poem that consists of six books plus six. They then emphasize the way the poem is divided into discrete books, name Caesar as the poem's dedicatee, and describe it as 'broken' by his lot. It is tempting to read *rupit* as 'broken in two', implying the separation of one half from the other, but the verb does not clearly mean this, for the same expression has been used at 1.7.14 *quod fuga rupit opus* – and there is no other reason to think that the fifteen books of the *Met.* are only half of the original plan. On the other hand the division of the *Fasti* into two groups of six books looks significant, as two other occurrences of *sex* + *totidem* evoke the *Fasti* itself: the count of the number of days left in June (and the poem) at *Fasti* 6.725, and the arrangement of the signs of the zodiac on the doors of the Sun's palace at *Met.* 2.18. Perhaps Ovid was already planning his publication

[13] *temporibus* 'temples' plays on the alternative sense 'times', and evokes the first word of the still unpublished *Fasti* (Hinds 1999: 56–7).

of January to June. The following verses (*Tristia* 2.555–62) encourage Augustus to have the end of the *Metamorphoses* read to him, thus confirming that the poem is available in Rome. Nothing is said, however, about reading the *Fasti*: this text has been written, but apparently not published.[14] Yet the use of the same phrase, *rupit opus*, to describe the damage done to both works draws attention to the fact that they were being composed at the same time, and invites us to consider in what other ways they are associated. The proem of the *Met.* (1.1–4) has an important, if covert, reference to the *Fasti*:

> In noua fert animus mutatas dicere formas
> corpora: di, coeptis (nam uos mutastis et illa)
> adspirate meis primaque ab origine mundi
> ad mea perpetuum deducite **tempora** carmen.

My mind impels me to tell of forms changed into new bodies: gods, inspire my beginnings (for you have changed them too), and from the first beginning of the world, bring the perpetual poem down to my own **times**.

Tempora is both the first word, and the subject matter of the *Fasti*: he points to it as the next work in the corpus. Both poems announce their subject matter in their opening lines: each is a catalogue poem, with transformations the subject in one, the calendar, including the celestial calendar, in the other (*Fasti* 1.1–4, 7–8, 13–14):

> Tempora cum causis Latium digesta per annum
> lapsaque sub terras ortaque signa canam.
> excipe pacato, Caesar Germanice, uultu
> hoc opus et timidae derige nauis iter, … 4
> sacra recognosces annalibus eruta priscis
> et quo sit merito quaeque notata dies. … 8
> Caesaris arma canant alii: nos Caesaris aras
> et quoscumque sacris addidit ille dies. 14

Times spread through the Latin year I shall sing, together with their explanations, and the constellations setting beneath the earth and rising. Caesar Germanicus, receive this work with calm face, and guide the voyage of my fearful ship. … You will read rituals dug out of the ancient annals and by what service each day has earned its mark. … Let others sing Caesar's arms, us Caesar's altars and whatever dates he added to the sacred calendar.

[14] Again in *Tristia* 3, when the *Met.* is mentioned as available in Rome (3.14.19–24), there is no talk of the *Fasti*.

The *Fasti* promises *Tempora cum causis*, where *causis*, just like *origo* (*Met.* 1.3), is a Latin equivalent to *aetia*; and both poems are full of aetiological tales, explanations of the origins of species (in the *Met.*), of constellations, of rituals, and of names (in the *Fasti*). Each poem tells its *aetia* by narrating myths, mainly Greek in the *Met.*, a rough balance of Greek and Roman in the *Fasti*. They both begin with creation out of chaos, the *Fasti* with the two-faced Janus' self-identification as a world without proper place and order, kept at the start of the Roman year as a memorial of creation (1.103–12). The *Metamorphoses* passes through the various cycles, such as the divine rapes of books 1 to 2, the grouped stories about Thebes (*Met.* 3.1–4.606), Theseus (7.404–9.97), and the Trojan War (11.751–13.622), leading into an *Aeneid* (13.623–14.608), and then tales of Italy and Rome in 14 and 15.

However, change remains the dominant topic of the *Metamorphoses*, in all kinds of ways, far beyond the concern to tell tales that involve a transformation of a human being into animal or bird, spring or tree (or occasionally *vice versa*) – there are perpetual changes of pace, tone, characterization, and genre. In the *Fasti*, on the other hand, the basic topic is not unitary: as the prologue announces, the poem will be concerned with other subjects; besides *tempora cum causis* (itself a plurality) and *dies*, the poem sings *sidera*, *stellae*, *signa*, *astra*; *sacra* and *aras*. It has rightly been a concern of recent research to explain this variety: it would for example have been entirely possible to write a poem on the Roman calendar without including any star-myths.[15] It may be that the contribution to variety is an essential point (see Section 6(f)). Ovid certainly gives the reader two different ways in which time may be apprehended, linearly and cyclically (Hinds 1999: 53).

When he tells the reader of the *Tristia* that both *Met.* and *Fasti* were interrupted by his exile, he encourages us to read the intertextuality between the two poems in each direction. Thus both include lengthy versions of the story of Persephone (*Met.* 5.341–571; *Fast.* 4.417–618), and each provides material which informs the other (Hinds 1987a).[16] As well as brief references (such as *arbore Phoebi*, 139, to the Daphne of *Met.* 1; 153–4 to Pythagoras in *Met.* 15), book 3 has longer episodes that connect directly with the *Met.* Numa and Egeria (259–392) carry the narrative also

[15] See e.g. Newlands 1995: 28–9; and for a rather different take on the question, Gee 2000: 9–20.

[16] Hinds 2005: 208–11 shows how the Minyeides episode in *Met.* 4 exploits the *Fasti* for March: as workers of wool (*Met.* 4.32–5) they celebrate Minerva (19th March; 3.817–20), but when they should be worshipping Bacchus, on the Liberalia, as it were (17th). Another repeated myth is Jupiter's rape of Callisto, with her metamorphoses into bear, and then Great Bear, the constellation (*Met.* 2.401–530; *Fast.* 2.153–92): see Robinson on *Fasti* 2.153–92.

in *Met.* 15.1–551 (see 261 n. for precise links to Egeria's metamorphosis). At 459–516 we revisit Ariadne and Bacchus some time after he brings her *amplexus et opem* on the shore of Dia (*Met.* 8.174–82). Once again she complains (*querentis*, 507; *querenti*, *Met.* 8.176), but now Bacchus, not Theseus, is the one accused of deserting her, and he brings an embrace (*amplexu*, 509), but an offer of godhead rather than practical help. Both poems have hymns to Bacchus, but, unlike the summoning prayer and praise reported at *Met.* 4.11–31, *Fasti* 3.715–24 is a negative hymn, listing the stories of the god that will not be told, including at 721 the killing of Pentheus by Agave (*Met.* 3.513–731), and culminating in 723–4 with the desire to speak of the transformation of the Etruscan pirates into dolphins, a promise that will be fulfilled at *Met.* 3.582–691.

More complex and significant is the interplay between the deification of Aeneas in *Met.* 14 and Anna Perenna at *Fasti* 3.647–56. Dido's sister arrives, shipwrecked, on the coast of Latium, in the third year after Dido's death (3.551–600). She meets Aeneas walking barefoot on the shore (3.603–26). He takes her home, asks Lavinia to look after her, and then disappears from the story (3.627–32). In the *Metamorphoses*, when the Trojans are settled in Latium, Venus persuades the gods that it is time for Aeneas to become a deity, Indiges, and arranges for his mortal elements to be washed away by the river Numicius (14.581–608). This fits with the prophecies of Jupiter in the *Aeneid* that he will reign for three years in Latium (1.265–6) and become the god Indiges (12.794–5). The *Fasti* story ends with Anna jumping out of the window to escape Lavinia's murderous jealousy, and becoming a nymph of the Numicius when she falls into the river; a reader who combines this with the information from Ovid's intertexts may feel that there is something in Lavinia's suspicions about an illicit relationship between her husband and the Punic princess. Both Aeneas and Anna become gods associated with the river Numicius, and in the same year. If we ask where Aeneas was going when they met on the shore, the answer is surely 'to the Numicius'; and he disappears from the narrative because he disappears from mortal sight. In Dionysius of Halicarnassus, it is Aeneas' disappearance that leads to his apotheosis, and the reported inscription actually equates him with the river Numicius (*Rom. Ant.* 1.64.4–5). Anna and Aeneas, Perenna and Indiges, thus end up together as the deities of the Numicius, happy ever after. The story could be woven together without the help of *Met.* 14, but Ovid has encouraged the reader to do the weaving through the use of shared language to connect the passages and by leaving the loose end of Aeneas' apparently inconsequential walk on the shore.[17]

[17] See 599, 601–4, 611, 647–8 nn. For a fuller account of this intertextual play, see Heyworth 2018b.

3. *FASTI* AND EXILE

The reference to the *Fasti* at the end of *Tristia* 2 is significant in laying foundations for *Tristia* 3, the first of the exile books to engage in detail with life in Tomi. After a sequence of poems that establish the distance from Rome, and family, and friends, some of the later pieces deal with aetiological and calendrical material: 3.9 explains the name of the city, derived from Medea's 'cuttings' (τόμοι) of her brother Absyrtus to expedite the escape of the Argo; 3.10 describes winter, and 3.12 spring, verse 3 referring to Aries (cf. *Fasti* 3.851–76) and 4 to the equinox in words reworked from 3.878 – but in Tomi spring seems barely different from winter, the snow just melting (3.12.27–30: 235–42 n.).[18] *Tristia* 3.13 is a poem on Ovid's birthday (20th March: 813 n.), aptly placed adjacent to the equinox (26th March for Ovid), but misleadingly placed after it, perhaps a deliberate contribution to the disordering of time. Burial is imagined as happening on the roads leading out of Rome (3.3.65–78): Tomi is a place without ritual, without memorials, without interlocutors (3.14.39–40). No temples are mentioned, and the constellations that appear frequently are not those that measure out the progress of the sun by their risings and settings, but the Bears, Greater and Less (3.4.47, 3.11.8, 4.3.1, 5.3.7), which (in the poet's poetic fantasy) mark his place in the frozen north. The interest in calendrical material continues in later books, e.g. in *Tristia* 5.3, on the Liberalia (713–90 n.), and some of the instances of *tempora* are suggestive of comments on the work and its (lack of) progress, e.g. 4.1.105 *non melius quam sunt mea tempora carmen*, 5.10.5–6: *stare putes, adeo procedunt tempora tarde,* | *et peragit lentis passibus annus iter.*[19]

Tristia 1 and 2 present the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti* as both fully drafted and in the later stages of composition when Ovid received the sudden edict dismissing him into distant exile. He authorizes the publication of the *Met.*, but the *Fasti* has not been made available to the public. The extant *Fasti* shows its lateness through the dedication to Germanicus, nephew and adopted son of Tiberius, presumably thought a more sympathetic figure than the emperor himself, perhaps because of his translation of Aratus' *Phaenomena*, the poem about the constellations, and their relationship to time and weather.[20] Late details appear also in the prophecy

[18] Green 2008: 188–95 compares the Ovid of *Fasti* 1.1–288 to the Ovid of the *Tristia*, 3.12 in particular, arguing for 'a consistent exilic persona'.

[19] See Hinds 2005: 213–25 on calendrical play in the later books of the *Tristia*, including 214–15 on 5.10.

[20] Fantham 1985. 1.285–6 indicate composition after 1st January 15, when the Senate voted Germanicus a triumph; the triumph was eventually celebrated on 26th May 17 (Syme 1978: 24).