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## The Roman Months in Art and Literature

By Edward Courtney, Stanford

A. Riese's *Anthologia Latina*<sup>1</sup> contains seven poems (117, 394, 395, 490a, 639, 665, 874a) about the Roman months; of these 639 more properly belongs in an edition of Ausonius, and appears as *Ecloga* 9 in S. Prete's edition<sup>2</sup>, where its neighbour 10<sup>3</sup> is on the same theme. In addition the ninth book of the *Palatine Anthology* has three similar poems, 383 μῆνες Αἰγυπτίων, 384 μῆνες Ῥωμαίων, 580 εἰς τοὺς μῆνας. These poems have a close relationship with a number of ancient representations, particularly in mosaics, the descent of which can be traced back to the second century B.C.<sup>4</sup>, and the tradition of both poetry and artistic representations persists throughout the Middle Ages. It is unfortunate that the two disciplines (at least they too often regard themselves as two) of philology and art history/archaeology have not properly come together on this topic; philologists tend to ignore archaeologists, archaeologists tend to misunderstand philologists. There is one shining exception to this generalisation, and that is the fine work of Stern mentioned in n. 4, which I shall henceforward refer to as Stern<sup>1</sup>, for Stern has put us yet deeper in his debt by his article 'Les calendriers romains illustrés'<sup>5</sup>, to which I refer as Stern<sup>2</sup>, and a number of other publications, mentioned as occasion arises. The learning, sagacity and breadth of vision shown by Stern are such as to surpass any superlatives which I could devise; for my purposes his work almost completely supersedes earlier discussions such as those by Levi (n. 4) and J. C. Webster, 'The Labors of the Months'<sup>6</sup>, which is concerned mainly with the mediaeval period. The literature of the mediaeval period on this topic has been surveyed by G. Berndt<sup>7</sup>. A related field which sometimes needs to be taken into account (though I have kept it out of this paper as far as possible) is the iconography of the seasons<sup>8</sup>.

1 Leipzig <sup>2</sup>1894–1906.

2 Leipzig 1978.

3 See pp. 104–106.

4 H. Stern, *Le Calendrier de 354* (Paris 1953); D. Levi, *Art Bulletin* 23 (1941) 241.

5 In ANRW II 12.2.431 (written in 1977, published in 1981).

6 Princeton 1938.

7 *Das lateinische Epigramm im Übergang von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter* (Munich 1968) 290sqq.

8 This is best approached through B. Andreae, ANRW II 12.2.58, G. M. A. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks* (Cambridge, Mass. 1951), P. Kranz, *Jahreszeiten-Sarkophage* (Berlin 1984), and D. Parrish, *Season Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (Rome 1984), who discusses the months on p. 52.

When I reviewed<sup>9</sup> D. R. Shackleton Bailey's 'Towards a Text of *Anthologia Latina*'<sup>10</sup>, I pointed out that failure to take into account the figured representations had caused him in one case to go seriously astray; now that the first volume of his edition of the *Latin Anthology*<sup>11</sup> has appeared, it can be seen that in 395.23 (June) he has again gravely erred through continuing to ignore the representations (note that here and throughout I adopt Riese's numeration, rejecting Shackleton Bailey's reprehensible decision for reprehensible reasons, duly castigated by M. D. Reeve<sup>12</sup>, to introduce a new numeration). It therefore seems worthwhile to edit the texts of all of these poems together so that they can be placed in relation to each other and their content can be given a minimum of elucidation, taking proper account of the monuments. I should like the purpose of this paper as defined in the last sentence to be clearly understood. I do not seek to cover the whole complex of related questions, which would involve extensive duplication of Stern's materials, but rather to supplement him in this one area; be it noted that much of his exegesis is based on 395.

## I

It seems best to begin by listing those monuments which have come to light since the appearance of Stern<sup>1</sup>:

- (1) A mosaic from Thysdrus (El-Djem) with pictures of all the months<sup>13</sup>.
- (2) Mosaics discovered under Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, from which battered pictures of September and November survive<sup>14</sup>. These are dated to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. by M. Salzmänn<sup>15</sup>, to the 3rd by I. Levin<sup>16</sup>.
- (3) An Argos mosaic of which Stern<sup>1</sup> knew only January and February<sup>17</sup> has now been completely excavated and published by R. Ginouvès<sup>18</sup> and G. Åkerström-Hougen<sup>18a</sup>.
- (4) A Beirut mosaic of which April and October survive<sup>19</sup>.
- (5) A Theban mosaic with February, April, May and June<sup>20</sup>.

9 CR 31 (1981) 41.

10 Cambridge Philol. Soc. suppl. vol. 5 (1979).

11 Teubner, Stuttgart 1982.

12 Phoenix 39 (1985) 175.

13 Stern<sup>2</sup> 435.

14 Stern<sup>2</sup> 453.

15 TAPA 111 (1981) 215–227.

16 AJA 86 (1982) 429.

17 Pl. 32.1.

18 BCH 81 (1957) 216.

18a *The Calendar and Hunting Mosaics of the Villa of the Falconer in Argos* (Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, ser. 4, 23, 1974).

19 Åkerström-Hougen 126 and fig. 82.1–2.

20 Stern<sup>2</sup> 462, Åkerström-Hougen 121.

- (6) A mosaic known to Stern<sup>1</sup> with May, June and September<sup>21</sup> has been identified as in the possession of Harold Acton and given a doubtful provenance from Aquileia<sup>22</sup>. I would wager that this piece was originally part of the same work as the season mosaic from Aquileia listed by Hanfmann<sup>23</sup>.

## II

Since I propose to edit the poems by months, which will obstruct perception of the character of each poem as a unit, I here briefly describe the nature of each.

117, entitled *Laus omnium mensuum*<sup>24</sup>, appears in the Salmasian Anthology, compiled around 530 A.D., and is probably not much older than that. It shows the characteristic metrical features of the time: hiatus (1), false quantities (9?, 16), unclassical lengthening (*aestivā prandia* 11) and a lengthening not in itself unclassical (*ornāt* 11) but in this case probably due to negligence since it is easily avoidable. It is noticeable that elision is entirely absent. For an apparent non-classical feature of vocabulary see on 10 (May). This poem is in distichs.

394 appears in a number of manuscripts from the 9th century and later, and is entitled *Versus de numero singulorum dierum*. The meaning of this<sup>25</sup> was realised by W. Froehner, whose discovery is reported by Riese<sup>26</sup> with a list of most of the deductions to be drawn from it; it is that each line is composed so that the number of letters in it corresponds to the number of days in the month (one line of the distich being allotted to each month). This poem has a metrical lengthening (5) standing on much the same footing as that in 117.11. Because of a reminiscence of Cicero's Aratea it uses the archaic genitive in *-ai* (see under November), and also has the non-classical *reduce* (see under March) and *aëra* (August<sup>27</sup>). The spelling *exāgōna* (May) is discussed ad loc.; here we may note the two false quantities within this one word. On the other hand the poem is polished enough to have no elisions, and all the pentameters end in dissyllables. Line 2 (February) seems to indicate dependence on 395, which is therefore presumably earlier.

395, which has a similar transmission, is entitled *Tetrastichon authenticum de singulis mensibus*. The meaning of the second word is not plain; applied to documents it means 'original', 'autograph', so here it may mean something like

21 No. 10 p. 217.

22 Stern<sup>2</sup> 465; this identification is unknown to K. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (Oxford 1978) 121 n. 43.

23 2.152 no. 178.

24 For the form of this last word see TLL s.v. 746.40.

25 Still unknown to J. Hennig, *Traditio* 11 (1955) 72.

26 2 p. 375.

27 Neuter plural, not otherwise known earlier than the 5th century; see TLL s.v. 1047.3, where this case is not adduced.

'derived direct from the images' with which it was once associated (see below). The metre<sup>28</sup> and diction of this seemed so pure to Baehrens that he dated it near to Augustan times. There is however one give-away, the appearance of the form *olli*<sup>29</sup> in 10 (March); no other writer except Orientius commits the impropriety of admitting this into elegiacs, and no one writing in an age still in contact with classical canons of style could have done so.

490a, entitled *Officia duodecim mensium*, appears in Vat. Regin. 215 of the 9th and Harl. 3091 of the 10th centuries. This is considered Carolingian by Stern<sup>30</sup> because of the allusion to war in May, which he sees as referring to a regular military review in that month instituted in 755 A.D.; this terminus post quem would be matched by the terminus ante quem of 877 A.D. which is the probable date of the Reginensis manuscript. This manuscript is attributed to Fleury, which, argues Stern, would suit the attention paid in the poem to viticulture (March, September, October, November). The Carolingian dating would also suit the reference to the slaughter of pigs in December. This is mentioned by John the Lydian<sup>31</sup>, but is not elsewhere featured in the poems with which I am concerned; it does however appear in November on the Gate of Mars at Reims<sup>32</sup> of unknown date, and becomes a feature of mediaeval representations and poems<sup>33</sup>. These deductions are challenged in my note on May, and I do not see this poem as significantly later than the others with which we are dealing, though we may note the unclassical *Baccha* 'vintage' (11; November); the shape of the line-end in 5 (May; see ad loc. for the text); the unclassical scansion *Iānuarius, Dēcember*. On the other hand the versification is so smooth that elision is totally absent. Each month has a hexameter.

Ausonius Eclogae 9–10, the life of whose author more or less spans the 4th century, are entitled *Monosticha* and *Disticha de mensibus*, and are composed in a clear relationship to each other (see under November).

665 This is preserved in association with the illustrations of the Calendar of Filocalus, which dates it before 354 A.D.; for the nature of its transmission see below. As with 395, metre (all pentameter endings are dissyllabic; only short final open vowels are elided, see on 10, May) and diction are so pure that Baehrens<sup>34</sup> was tempted to date it close to Augustan times; Housman<sup>35</sup> points out that the shortening *concedō* (23) in a word of this shape gives a terminus post quem rather of mid 1st century A.D. Unawareness of Housman's paper is the

28 For elision usage see on 11, March.

29 v.l. *illi*, but this is a case in which 'difficilior lectio potior' can be applied without reservations.

30 Rev. Arch. 45 (1955) 146sqq.

31 *De mensibus* 4.158, p. 174.9 Wuensch.

32 Levi 287, Stern<sup>1</sup> 208–209, <sup>2</sup> 452.

33 E.g. the *Ydioma mensium singulorum* 32 (MGH, Poet. Lat. Aevi Carolini 2, ed. E. Dümmler, Berlin 1884, p. 645) and the next poem in Dümmler (p. 646) 23.

34 PLM 1 (Leipzig 1879) 204.

35 CQ 26 (1932) 130 = *Classical Papers* (Cambridge 1972) 3.1185.

biggest gap in Stern's work. I do not know whence Riese derives the false title *Monosticha de mensibus*; it ought to be *Disticha*. The text of this poem is very corrupt.

874a In 1554 B. Corio, writing his history of Milan, quoted from an old manuscript a poem of Dracontius (duly edited by F. Vollmer in his editions of that author<sup>36</sup> as well as by Riese) *ad Trasimundum comitem Capuae de mensibus*. Corio however failed to realise that the Thrasimund of Dracontius was not the *comes* of Capua of that name but the Vandal king of North Africa, who reigned 496–523. Each month has two hexameters.

AP 9.383 shows nothing distinctive. The reader of this article has to remember that the Egyptian year began on 29th August; each month has one hexameter.

AP 9.384 In this the months speak a distich each, not naming themselves; this seems to imply an original association with representations, and many of the couplets read like interpretations of pictures, like Anth. Lat. 395.

AP 9.580 In this January–April are referred to as nos. 1–4, July and September are indicated by a third-person deictic pronoun, and the remaining months speak in the first person; again no month is named, but we are restrained from deducing any close connection with representations by the unequal length of the descriptions, some occupying a full line, some only half a line (there are nine lines altogether). The date of the poem can be defined on the one hand by reference to the consuls (January), which puts it before 542 A.D., and on the other by allusion to the Byzantine festival of the Brumalia (November), which puts it after c. 500<sup>37</sup>. H. Beckby in his edition of the Anthologia ad loc.<sup>38</sup> (see too the Budé edition<sup>39</sup>) thinks that the allusion under August to the rising of the Nile indicates an Egyptian composer, and would presumably argue the same for 384, though he does not explicitly do so; but Dracontius (see July) was not writing in Egypt.

The literary and artistic traditions intersect in the Calendar of Filocalus, to which I now turn. This was a chronological compendium executed in 354 A.D. (internal references establish the date) for a certain Valentinus by the famous calligrapher and engraver Furius Dionysius Filocalus, who is also known to have executed some fine inscriptions for Pope Damasus<sup>40</sup>. Filocalus was a craftsman, not a writer; all the written material he took from earlier sources. Among such things as *fasti consulares*, *natales Caesarum* etc. one section of his

36 PLM 5 (Leipzig 1914) and MGH, AA 14 (Berlin 1905).

37 Stern<sup>1</sup> 228–229, 284–286; the same author REG 65 (1952) 375.

38 Munich <sup>2</sup>1965.

39 Vol. 8 ed. P. Waltz and G. Soury (Paris 1974).

40 Illustrated Stern<sup>1</sup> pl. 25.5; cf. J. Halporn, JAC 19 (1976) 87; M. Ihm in his edition of Damasus, *Anthol. Lat. suppl.* (Leipzig 1895) vii n. 5; A. Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasciana* (Vatican 1942) 21–35; N. Gray, PBSR 24 (1956) 5.

Calendar consists of images and fasti of the months, arranged so that on facing pages would appear a picture of the month on the left and a calendar on the right. Each month was accompanied by a distich (poem 665), of which the hexameter appeared at the foot of the left page and the pentameter of the right. The distichs alone are preserved in Sangallensis 878 of the 9th century (a collection of useful odds and ends put together at various times by Walahfrid Strabo<sup>41</sup>), but the original lay-out of the work appears in Renaissance copies of a now lost codex Luxemburgensis, of which only a manuscript now split between Vat. Barb. Lat. 2154 and Vat. Lat. 9135 preserves any of the verses (15 in fact)<sup>42</sup>. 665 can be seen to be part of the original design, but 395, which also appeared in the Luxemburgensis, was not, for it is squeezed into the right margins of the left pages, written vertically and without the calligraphic effect of 665; it was therefore a secondary addition. Nevertheless it was originally composed to accompany artistic representations; the reader is invited to look at such in 1, 18, 30, there are deictic particles in 1, 25, 40 (cf. 117.4), there are references to colours which would be seen in such representations in 5 and 25, and the writer emphasises the process of recognition and explanation of the images in 9–12 and 25; there is nothing like this in 665. Stern<sup>1</sup> 293 points out that Constantine built baths at Constantinople with seven niches to imitate the seven planets and twelve porticoes corresponding to the twelve months (in the words of our source κατὰ τῶν ἑβ' μηνῶν τὰς κράσεις<sup>43</sup>); in view of the close correspondence between 395 and the pictures of the months by Filocalus he suggests that a common source may be found for them in representations and verses which could have appeared in the baths which Constantine built at Rome. I have one venturesome hypothesis to pile on top of Stern's hypothesis: could AP 9.384 be verses from the baths at Constantinople? Be that as it may, in all the sources which I discuss the descriptions and images of the months fall into three categories: (1) official: state and religious events, (2) astronomical: signs of the Zodiac, solstices, equinoxes, (3) weather and activities, particularly agricultural.

With this background we are now ready to look at and comment on the individual months. I do not propose to list all representations, since they can readily be traced from Stern<sup>1</sup>, Stern<sup>2</sup> and the list given above; only when there is a specific point which needs comment shall I give precise references, and for the rest I shall refer generally to the discussion arranged month by month in Stern<sup>1</sup> 232sq. and Stern<sup>2</sup> 457sq. There is one other point which elicits remarks from me only for specific reasons. Agricultural operations may naturally extend over more than one month, or take place at different times in different regions; it is

41 See B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien* 2 (Stuttgart 1967) 34sq., esp. 43.

42 See Stern<sup>1</sup> pl. 8 and 10–13.1, K. Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illustration* ed. H. L. Kessler (Chicago 1971) 105–107.

43 Cf. Hanfmann 2.116 n. 42.

therefore not surprising that their position in poems and images may vary by a month. It would be of interest if any two poems were consistently early or late in relation to each other, as we might thereby be able to deduce a relative geographical location for them, but so far as I can see this does not happen. Again, signs of the Zodiac succeed each other about the 20th of the month, so they may be applied to either of two months<sup>44</sup>.

## III

## January

- 117.1–2 *fulget honorifico indutus mensis amictu  
signans Romuleis tempora consulibus.*  
*mensis AV, iam mensis B, Ianus Shackleton Bailey ap. J. Hunt,  
CP 77 (1982) 255.*
- 394.1 *dira patet Iani Romanis ianua bellis.*
- 395.1–4 *hic Iani mensis sacer est (en aspice ut aris  
tura micent, sumant ut pia tura Lares),  
annorum saeclicque caput, natalis honorum,  
purpureos fastis qui numerat proceres.*  
*purpureos Scaliger: -us, -um, -is codd.*
- 490a.1 *artatur niveus bruma Ianuarius alba.*  
*alba C. Brakman, Miscella Quarta (Leiden 1934): arua codd.*
- Auson 9.1 *primus Romanas ordiris, Iane, kalendas.*
- Auson. 10.1–2 *Iane nove, primo qui das tua nomina mensi,  
Iane bifrons, spectas tempora bina simul.*
- 665.1–2 *primus, Iane, tibi sacratur †et omnia† mensis,  
undique cui semper cuncta videre licet.*  
*nomine Bücheler, -us it ordine Housman.*
- 874a.1–2 *purpura iuridicis sacros largitur honores  
et nova fastorum permutat nomina libris.*
- AP 9.383.5 *Τυβὶ δὲ πορφύρεον βουλευφόρον εἶμα τιταίνει.*  
384.1–2 *ἔξ ἐμέθεν λυκάβαντος ἴππηλιοιοῦ ὑρέτρα  
Αὔσονίοις ὕψος δέρκεται Ἥλιος.*  
*ὑπερχομένοιο P. Waltz, REG 50 (1937) 211.  
Αὔσονίης Reiske.*
- 580.1 *μὴν ὑπάτων πρῶτος.*

<sup>44</sup> My best thanks are due to Prof. Thomas Gelzer for generous help in putting this paper into shape for publication, and in particular for providing a xerox of Binder's book (see under April), of which no library in North America appears to possess a copy.



Stern<sup>1</sup> 266, <sup>2</sup> 457; Anth. Lat. 352 by Luxorius is *De Ianuario mense*, but has nothing of interest. For an image of January not represented in the above poems see the Appendix to this paper.

- 117.1 Shackleton Bailey's discontent here and at 394.2 (February) is not without reason, but the absence of more specific identification is intelligible if the lines in question were once attached to a picture (note the deictic particle in 117.4 and 394.6). Archaeologists are much concerned (Levi 276 and 284–285, Hanfmann 2.122 n.105, Stern<sup>1</sup> 295, <sup>2</sup> 456) whether they can speak of these representations as 'personifications' of the months, a term which as they define it seems to carry an implication of a fixed iconography. In this sense they are right to deny it, but in a broader sense 'personification' was certainly intended in those images which represent the month as a single figure and in this poem, 395, AP 9.384 and, less distinctly, 580. Kranz speaks of such figures on sarcophagi as 'season-genii', but I should like to know his warrant, since people and places have *genii*, but periods of time do not (cf. E. Simon, *Gnomon* 58, 1986, 349).
- 117.2 Levi 255 understands *tempora* to mean 'temples', taking *consulibus* as dative; but it is much more likely to be ablative of instrument, with *tempora* meaning 'times' (see Auson. 10.6, March). On the Filocalus picture the consul does indeed wear a peculiar cap, but in the first place the nature of this has not been established, and in the second we here have only the Vienna copy, which is not wholly reliable in detail (see under April).
- 395.2 The former *tura* may well be corrupt (*flamma micet* W. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne* 59, 1931, 395); probably not the latter, because of *pia tura* in Mart. 8.8.3, a Janus-January poem.
- 395.4 Martial 11.4.5, 12.26.5 speaks of *purpurei fasti*, Sidonius Ep. 8. 8.3 of *purpurissati fasti*; attempts have been made to see a purple book of fasti on the Argos mosaic (Åkerström-Hougen pl. 1.1), either on the stool (where however what we see is more likely to be a cushion) or in the consul's left hand (where there is more probably a sack of coins for a *sparsio*). *Purpureis* might be right, but *purpureos* looks more stylish.
- 490a.1 For *alba* S. Mariotti ap. S. Timpanaro, SIFC 25 (1951) 42 quotes Avien. Arat. 987 *albenti ... bruma*. This seems more convincing than to construe *artatur arva* together.
- Auson. 10.2 The double-faced Janus (cf. 665.2) appears frequently in mediæval calendars (Webster 62–63).
- 665.1 Auson. 10.1 supports *nomine*.
- AP 9.384.1 ὑψηλιοιο is an error of anticipation. ὕψος is usually taken to mean 'the supreme magistrates', οἱ ὑπατοί, cf. 580.1; Stern, REG 65 (1952) 378–379 less probably interprets 'looks towards the zenith', turning north from the winter solstice of December.

## February

- 117.3–4 *rustica Bacchigenis intentans arma novellis  
hic meruit Februi nomen habere dei.*
- 394.2 *vota deo Diti februa mensis habet.*  
*Februe ... habes* Shackleton Bailey.
- 395.5–8 *at quem caeruleus nodo constringit amictus  
quique paludicolam prendere gaudet avem,  
daedala quem iactu pluvio circumvenit Iris,  
Romuleo ritu februa mensis habet.*
- 490a.2 *Piscibus exultare solet Februarius altis.*
- Auson. 9.2 *februa vicino mense Numa instituit.*
- Auson. 10.3–4 *post superum cultus vicino februa mense  
dat Numa cognatis manibus inferias.*
- 665.3–4 *Umbrarum est alter, quo mense putatur honore  
pervia terra dato manibus esse vagis.*
- 874a.3–4 *sol hiemis glacies solvit iam †verbere nives†,  
cortice turgidulo rumpunt in palmite gemmae.*  
*vere renidens* L. Alfonsi, *Aevum* 34 (1960) 102, alii alia.
- AP 9.383.6 *σημαίνει πλωτῆρσι Μεχειρ πλόον ἀμφιπολεύειν.*  
384.3–4 *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ θαμινῆσι γύην νιφάδεσσι διαίνω,  
τεύχων εἰαρινῆς ἔγκυον ἀγλαΐης.*  
580.1 *ὁ δὲ δεύτερος αὐλακα τέμνει.*

Stern<sup>1</sup> 234, <sup>2</sup> 457.

- 117.3 ‘applying the hoe to the new vine-shoots’; such hoeing of the vines can be seen alluded to on the Beisan mosaic of the convent of the Lady Mary and on one of the Carthage mosaics (for the latter see Åkerström-Hougen fig. 80). *Novella* means the young shoot of any tree (Pliny NH 17.234, Vulgate Psalm 127.3), particularly of the vine (874a.6, March; Corippus Iohannis 3.327); cf. *novellare* Suet. Dom. 7.2.
- 394.2 See on 117.1. Presumably Shackleton Bailey considers the text of this line to have been wrongly assimilated to 395.8; it seems to me more likely that its writer imitated that line. *Februus* is said by TLL s.v. to be the name of the month in 680a.8, 864.10, but in the former, where it is parallel to *Iani*, it may be the name of a god (cf. 117.4); the latter is quoted on 874a.3.
- 395.5 The knot is on top of the hood in the pictures. On the Argos mosaic the cloak is green, but Ginouvès 259 n. 1 points out that there are no blues in this mosaic.

- 395.6 i.e. the duck; so on many representations (as also of the season Winter).
- 490a.2 Pisces (preceded by Aquarius) cover late February–early March. Aquatic themes are one of the characteristics of this wet month (Levi 283), but the single fish which appears in the images probably alludes to the sign of the Zodiac. *Altis* means ‘aloft’.
- 874a.3 Spring was often considered to begin in February, cf. AP 9.384.4, Stern<sup>1</sup> 238 n. 4, Anth. Lat. 864.10 *inducit Februo* (see on 394.2) *verudus Aquarius arvo*.
- AP 9.383 This is rather early for the end of *mare clausum*; though some resumed navigation early in March, none of the other poems mentions this until April. On the other hand June (874a) is rather late, though some timorous souls did wait until the end of May. For the general topic see Vegetius 4.39 and E. de Saint-Denis, REL 25 (1947) 196; L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (1971) 270; R. Nisbet/M. Hubbard (Oxford 1970) on Hor. Odes 1.4.2.

### March

- 117.5–6 *Martius in campis ludens simulacra duelli  
ducit Cinyphii lactea dona gregis.*
- 394.3 *incipie, Mars, anni felicia fata reduce.  
reduce Scaliger, reduci codd.*
- 395.9–12 *cinctum pelle lupae promptum est cognoscere mensem;  
Mars olli nomen, Mars dedit exuvias.  
tempus ver haedus petulans et garrula hirundo  
indicat et sinus lactis et herba virens.*
- 490a.3 *Martius in vites curas extendit amicas.*
- Auson. 9.3 *Martius antiqui primordia protulit anni.*
- Auson. 10.5–6 *Martius et generis Romani praesul et anni;  
prima dabas Latiis tempora consulibus.*
- 665.5–6 *condita Mavortis magno sub nomine Roma  
non habet errorem; Romulus auctor erit.*
- 874a.5–6 *Martia iura movet, signis fera bella minatur  
excitet ut turmas, et truncat falce novellas.  
truncat Riese, -et codd.*
- AP 9.383.7 Ἄρεος ὄπλα φέρειν Φαμενώυ δείκνυσι μαχηταῖς.  
384.5–6 ἄρχετ’ Ἄρης ἀπ’ ἐμεῖο, καὶ ἄνθεα καὶ γλάγος ἠδύ,  
ἴση δ’ εἰκοστῷ ἡματι νύξ τελέθει.  
ἠδύ Scaliger, ἠδη codd.
- 580.2 ὁ τρίτος Αὐσονίων γενεὴν ἐπὶ μῶλον ἐγείρει.

Stern<sup>1</sup> 239, <sup>2</sup> 457–458.

117.5 Cf. *Lucr.* 2.41 *belli simulacra*. Mars had his *Natalis* on 1st March (Stern<sup>1</sup> 225). This line, 874a.5, AP 9.383 and 580 must refer to some ceremony of the nature of a military tattoo. I wonder if that was the ceremony at which Lucretius saw the military manoeuvres which he describes *loc. cit.* Stern wishes to see a sharp distinction between agricultural March themes for the West and military for the East, but these Latin poems blur this (he does notice and brush aside 874a, but overlooks 117; *loc. cit.*).

117.6 For *ducit* ‘brings in’ cf. 394.5, May. The goat appears on many representations (cf. Stern<sup>2</sup> pl. 15.34; Zliten).

394.3 *reduci* can only be construed if *fata* is vocative in apposition to *Mars*, but that makes no sense. This and several of the following poems stress the archaic institution of beginning the year with March, and on the Thysdrus mosaic the series of months does begin with this one. In another context Stern<sup>1</sup> 230–231 mentions Christian efforts to make March 1st into New Year’s Day, the festivals of January 1st being regarded as irredeemably pagan; though neither this nor any other poem shows anything Christian, perhaps we should make a link. On the union of pagan and Christian in the Calendar of Filocalus see Stern<sup>1</sup> 113.

395.9 Curiously, the hide in which the figure of this month is clothed in the representations is not a wolf’s, but belongs to a cloven-footed animal; the composer was probably being too clever here in thinking of the wolf which suckled Romulus.

395.11 *tempus ver<num>* Scaliger, but, as Shackleton Bailey points out, this author only permits the gentlest of elisions; *primum ver* Baehrens.

665.5 I have printed the tradition, but I believe Housman’s emendation *Mavortis magno sub nomine tempora condi* to be right; this will refer to the institution by Romulus (*auctore Romulo* Macrobian. Sat. 1.12.3) of the ten-month year beginning with March. The *natalis urbis Romae*, which would otherwise be referred to, was on April 21st, and is so recorded by Filocalus himself.

874a.6 For *novellas* see on 117.3, February.

#### April

117.7–8 *sacra Dionaeae referens sollemnia matris  
lascivis crotalis plaudit Aprilis ovans.*

394.4 *tunc Aries Veneri lutea sarta legit.*

395.13–16 *contectam myrto Venerem veneratur Aprilis;  
lumen veris habet, quo nitet alma Thetis.*

*cereus et dextra flammam diffundit odoras,  
balsama nec desunt, quis redolet Paphie.*

15 *et*) a Burman.

490a.4 *dat sucum pecori gratanter Aprilis et escam.*

Auson. 9.4 *fetiferum Aprilem vindicat alma Venus.*

Auson. 10.7–8 *Aeneadum genetrix, vicino nomen Aprili  
das, Venus; est Marti namque Aphrodita comes.*

665.7–8 †*Caesarem ut† Veneris mensi, quo floribus arva  
compta virent, avibus quo sonat omne nemus.*  
*compta* Riese, *prompta* S.

874a.7–8 *post chaos expulsum rident primordia mundi;  
tempora pensantur noctis cum luce diei.*

AP 9.383.8 εἰαρινῶν Φαρμουθὶ ρόδων πρωτάγγελός ἐστι.

384.7–8 ἐντύνοι τημόσδε φυτοσκάφος, ἔρνεα τάμνων,  
ρίζη ἐπ' ἀγροτέρη ἡμερον ἀκρεμόνα.

ἀγροτέρη Reiske, ἀκροτάτη codd.

580.3 τέτρατος ἀγγέλλει ροδοδάκτυλον εἶαρος ὄρην.

Stern<sup>1</sup> 268, <sup>2</sup> 458.

117 and 395 are based on cult details of the festival of this month. Three sources of comparative material need to be analysed:

(1) Iconography. The Vienna copy of Filocalus (s. fig. 1) shows a man dancing in front of a male statuette in the pose of a Venus pudica; this is placed under a little arch formed of garlands of myrtle. A Carthaginian mosaic (s. fig. 2) shows a female (Stern is wrong to deny this; J. Halporn, JAC 19, 1976, 94 n. 80) dancing in front of a statuette, of which the upper part is not extant, placed in a trellis. An Ostia mosaic (s. fig. 3) shows a Venus pudica statuette in an arch like that of the Filocalus picture; only the feet of the dancer survive. In the Thysdrus mosaic (s. fig. 4; Stern<sup>2</sup> pl. 5.14) two men(?) dance in front of a statuette of Venus, not however of the pudica but of the Anadyomene type, in which her arms are raised to dry her hair; the statuette is placed in an aedicula. The sex of the dancers is discussed in detail by Stern in 'Atti del Convegno internaz. sul Tema Tardo Antico a alto Medioevo, Accad. Naz. dei Lincei, Problemi attuali di Scienza e di Cultura, Anno 365, Quaderno 105' (Rome 1968) 186 n. 39.

(2) Ovid Fasti 4.133–144 describes a festival of 1st April, evidently to Venus Verticordia (160), on which the statue of the goddess was washed. Ovid instructs the women of Rome to bathe as well *sub viridi myrto*, which means, as Plut. Numa 19.2 and John the Lydian De mensibus 4.65 (p. 119.14 Wuensch) show, wearing a garland of myrtle. The αἴτιον is this: Venus was naked and drying her hair on the shore (thus in an Anadyomene pose), and, when some



Fig. 1. Filocalus picture of April, Vienna copy.

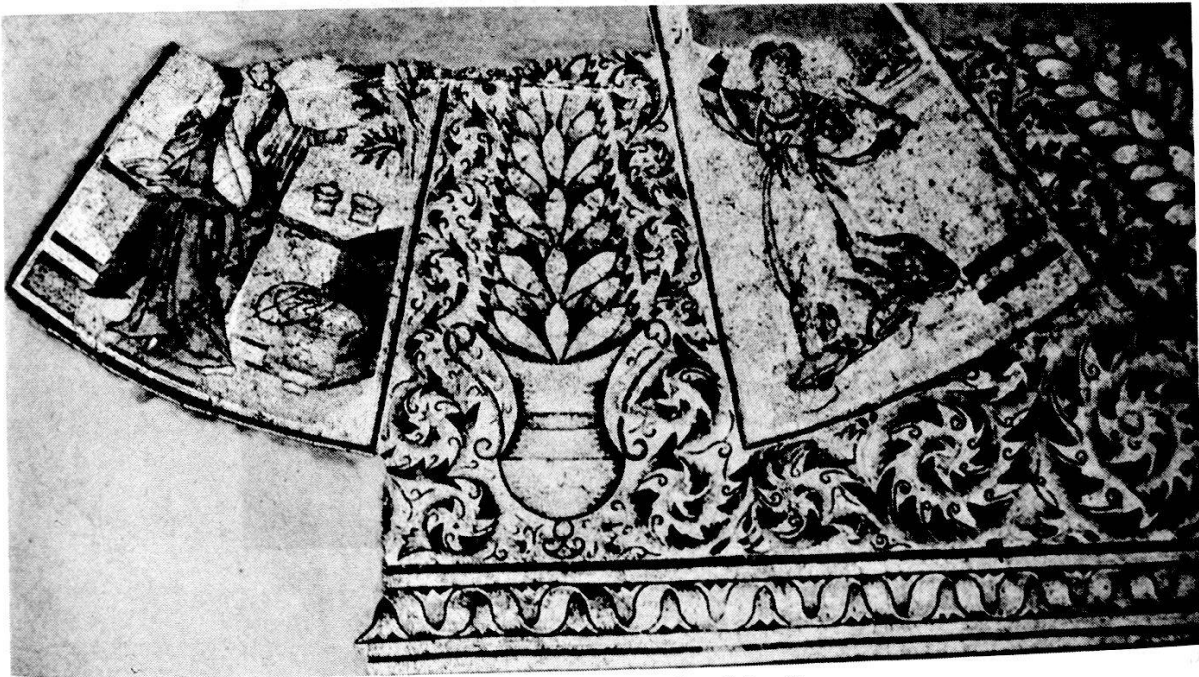


Fig. 2. Carthage mosaic of April.

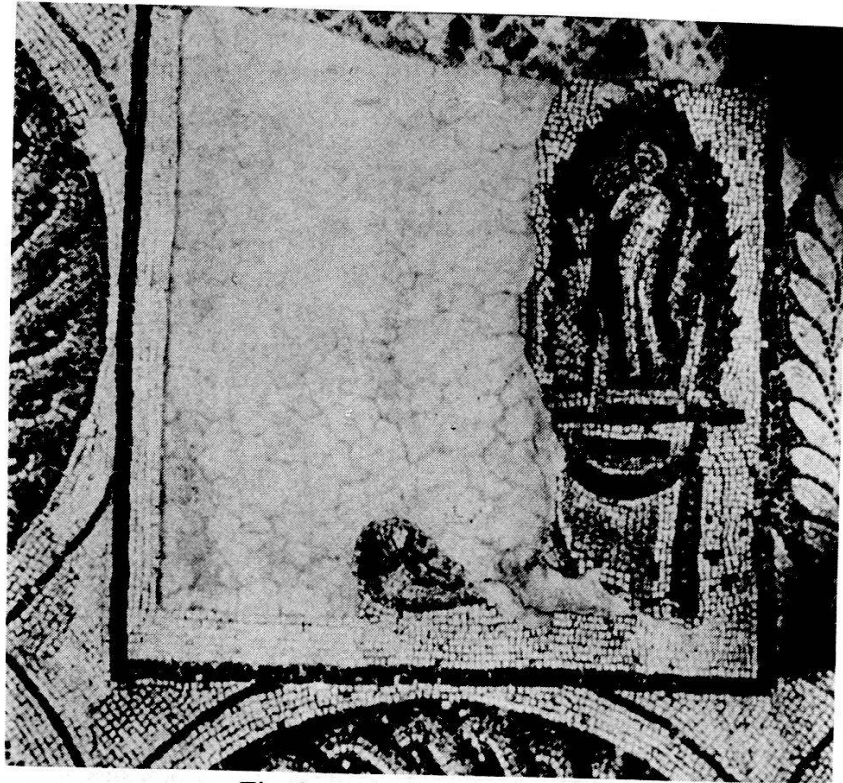


Fig. 3. Ostia mosaic of April.



Fig. 4. Thysdrus mosaic of April.

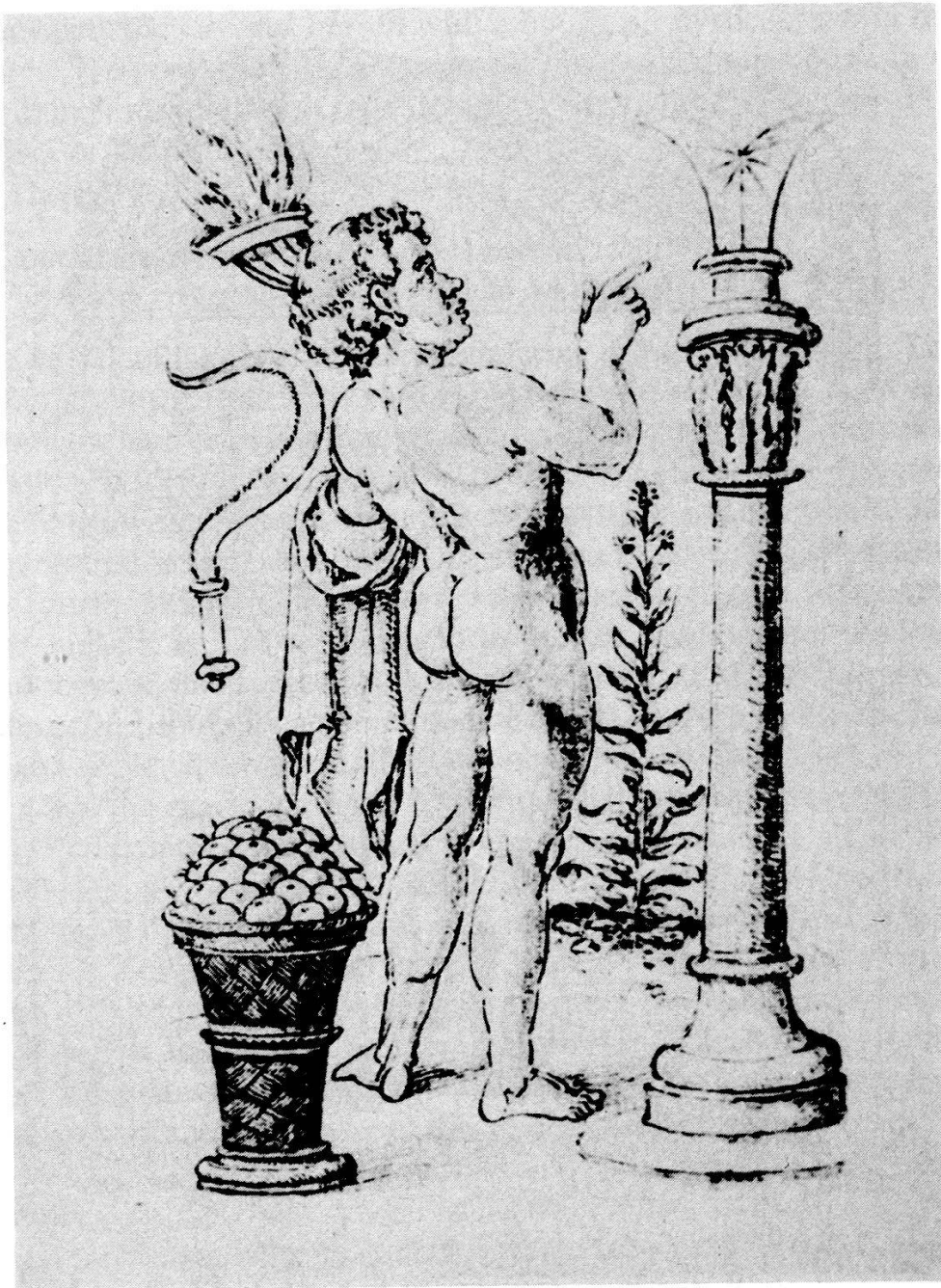


Fig. 5. Filocalus picture of June, Vienna copy.



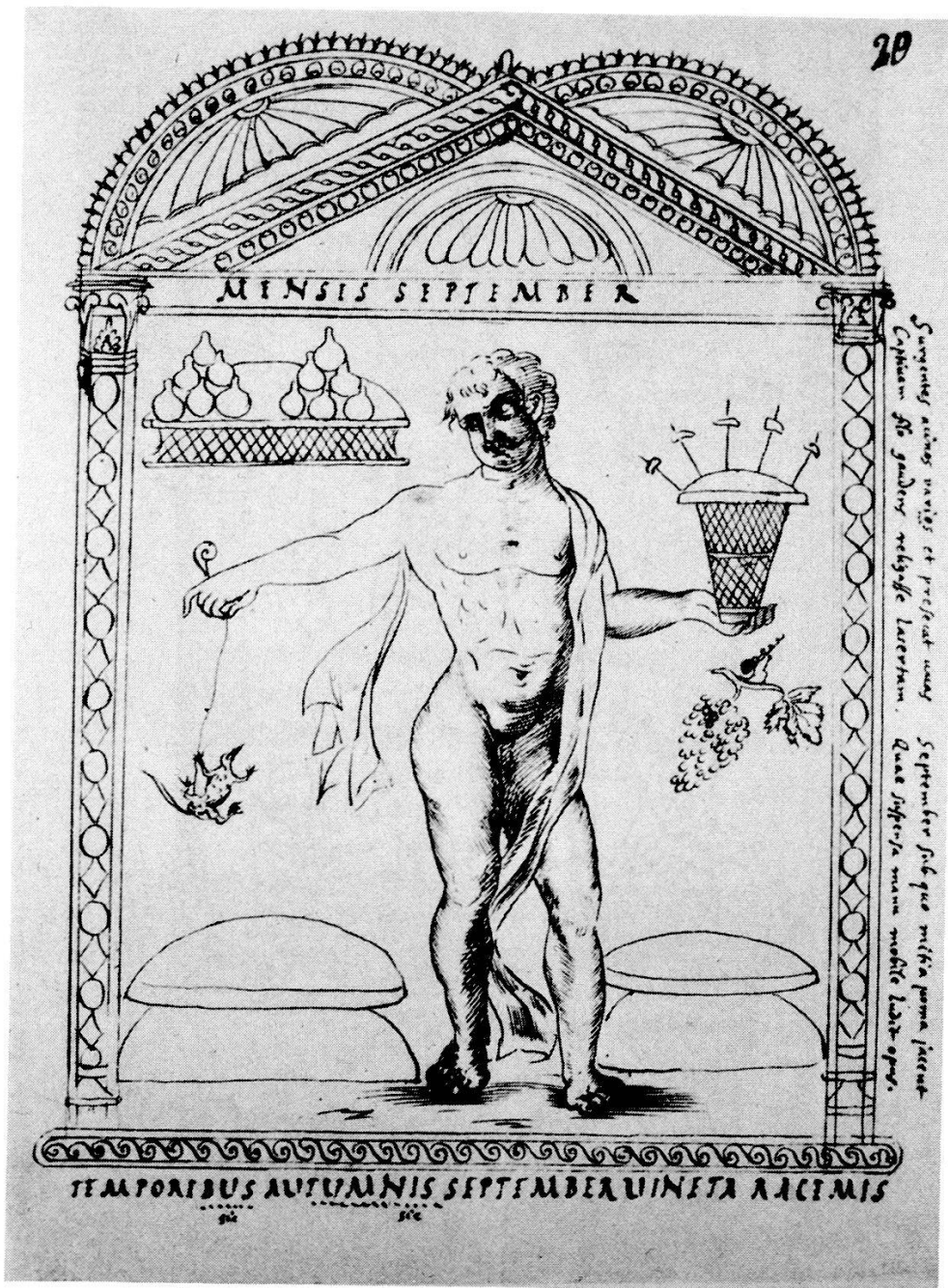


Fig. 6. Filocalus picture of September, Vatican copy.

Satyrs saw her, she covered herself with a bough of myrtle, *opposita texit sua corpora* (v.l. *tempora*) *myrto*, thus approximating to a pudica pose. In view of the next item, it may be worth remark that the Pervigilium Veneris 9–11 speaks of the birth of Venus from the sea.

(3) The Pervigilium Veneris 5–6 says

*cras amorum copulatrix inter umbras arborum  
implicat casas virentes de flagello myrteo*

and (44) speaks of bands of dancers wandering *myrteas inter casas*. These are arbors for humans; however, we cannot but believe that they are mirrored in the iconography, which shows both myrtle and *casae*, though not, unfortunately, in combination. It frequently happens, of course, that cult acts by humans mirror acts associated with the deity, as in this case both the statue of the goddess and her human worshippers take a bath. One will note too the presence of a candle to the right (*dextra* 395.15) of the dancer in the Filocalus picture, of two candles in the Ostia mosaic, and of torches held in the left hands of the dancers in the Thysdrus mosaic; this suggests a nocturnal festival, i.e. a *pervigilium*.

There is indisputably a common core in all this, though artistic licence in written and depicted representations has obscured it to such an extent that it is hard to grasp the exact significance of the items; see the discussions in Stern<sup>1</sup> 272–277, P. Boyancé, *Études sur la religion romaine* (Coll. *Éc. Fr. de Rome* 11, 1972) 383–399, R. Schilling, *Kokalos* 13 (1967) 11–15, J. Halporn, *JAC* 19 (1976) 86–102. I should also note, and record my dissent from, the view of M. Salzmann, *AJA* 88 (1984) 43 that the Vienna Filocalus picture refers to the Megalesia and shows a Gallus dancing in front of a statuette of Attis. This ingenious notion does not account for the pose of the statuette; it seems easier to attribute its maleness to the caprice of the artist, who is much more independent and creative than the executants of the other two copies of the Luxemburgensis (for his identity see under November). Much of our difficulty would evaporate if G. Binder, *Der Kalender des Filocalus* (Meisenheim/Glan 1970–71) 8 were right in seeing the statuette as female, but that runs counter to the judgment of everyone else who has looked at the picture.

If what we see began as the festival of Venus Verticordia, it turned at some point into the Veneralia recorded by Filocalus for 1st April. A corollary which deserves stress because it is so unexpected is that there seems to be more cult reality behind Ovid's story than is usually granted (e.g. by D. Porte, *L'étiologie religieuse dans les Fastes*, Paris 1985, 469).

394.4 Perhaps we should think of the *floreae coronae* of Per. Ven. 44; cf. Anth. Lat. 570 (a season poem). 1 *vere Venus gaudet florentibus aurea sertis*.

395.14 This line has caused great and unnecessary perplexity (even to Boyancé 388). Only Binder 9 seems to have understood that it means 'it has the radiance of spring, with which the benignant sea smiles'; i.e.

- navigation can now start again, cf. AP 9.384.9 (May) and on 383.6 (February).
- 665.7 Baehrens suggested *at sacer est Veneri mensis*, but it is not clear to me that this poet would have linked the months with such a conjunction; 9 and 15 are not really comparable. Something like *cessit ver* 'spring has been allotted to Venus' month' would enable us to avoid change in the rest of the line.
- 874a.7 The belief that the world came to birth in spring is expressed in a number of passages which can be collected by following up the references given by E. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes* (Leipzig/Berlin 1924) 16–17; Vergil Georg. 2.336–339, Macrobius Somn. Scip. 1.21.23, Firm. Mat. Math. 3.1.17–18, Proclus on the Timaeus 30a, Philo on Exodus 12.2 (Loeb ed., suppl. vol. 2, pp. 5–6) and De Spec. Leg. 2.151–152 (this is a more comprehensible form of a reference given by Norden). Sabine MacCormack draws my attention to Pan. Lat. 8.3.1 (pp. 216–217 Mynors). But above all note Per. Ven. 1 *vere natus orbis est* and *ibid.* 59–67; L. Catlow in his commentary (Brussels 1980) p. 55 quotes Ambrose Hex. 1.4.13. See also Stern<sup>1</sup> 231, F. E. Robbins, *The Hexaemeral Literature* (Chicago 1912) 59, H. Gelzer, *Sex. Julius Africanus 2* (Leipzig 1885) 190 and 248.
- 874a.8 I do not know why the spring equinox, which is sometimes given specifically as the birthday of the world, is put a month late; 394.7 (July) likewise seems to put the summer solstice a month late.

### May

- 117.9–10 *Maius Atlantis natae dicatus honori  
expoliat pulchris florea senta rosis.*  
*dignatus* Pithoeus, *ditatus* Riese, cf. J. Ziehen, *Neue Studien zur Lat. Anth.* (Frankfurt a. M./Berlin 1909) 36; *honori* BV, -e A.
- 394.5 *dulcia, Maie, tuis ducis exagona nonis.*
- 395.17–20 *cunctas veris opes et picta rosaria gemmis  
liniger in calathis, aspice, Maius habet,  
mensis Atlantigenae dictus cognomine Maiae,  
quem merito multum diligit Uranie.*
- 490a.5 *Maius hinc gliscens herbis generat †nigra bella†.*
- Auson. 9.5 *maiorum dictus patrum de nomine Maius.*
- Auson. 10.9–10 *Maia dea an maior Maium te fecerit aetas  
ambigo, sed mensi est auctor uterque bonus.*
- 665.9–10 *hos sequitur laetus toto iam corpore Maius,  
fama sato Maia quem tribuisse Iove⟨m⟩.*  
*laetus* Riese, *laicus* S. *fama sato ... Iovem* Housman, *Mercurio et ... Iove* S.

- 874a.9–10 *prata per innumeros vernant gemmata colores,  
floribus ambrosiis caespes stellatur odoris.*
- AP 9.383.9 λήϊα δ' ἀνανυθέντα Παχῶν δρεπάνησι φυλάσσει.  
384.9–10 οἴγεται ἄρτι θάλασσα· ἐφοπλίζοιτε δὲ νῆας·  
ῶριον ἀκλύστων ἐκτὸς ἄγειν λιμένων.  
580.4 εἰμὶ ῥόδων γενέτης.
- Stern<sup>1</sup> 249, <sup>2</sup> 458.
- 117.9 The false quantity *dīcatus* may be defended by *dīcata* 126.1 and *flābella* in 16 below.
- 117.10 This seems to be correctly explained by Heinsius on Ovid Met. 13.562, to whom Shackleton Bailey refers; it means 'robs' (from *spoliare*) 'the blossoming thickets of fair roses', i.e. plucks wild roses from them. *Sentum* meaning *senticetum* is not found elsewhere, but all conjectures are detrimental (*exornat*, which Shackleton Bailey repeats from Burman, being the most detrimental of all because of *ornat* 11).
- 394.5 This line is rightly transmitted. *Exagona* (on which Shackleton Bailey comments 'neque damno neque intelligo') means hexagonal honey-cells (TLL adduces Ambrose Hex. 5.21.69 *hexagonia illa cellularum*; cf. BICS 30, 1983, 52 and F. Bömer, Heidelberg 1986, on Ovid Met. 15.382), and was so spelt that the line should have the correct number of letters, 31; cf. the spelling *ospes* enforced by an acrostich 120.4. For early May as the date of the resumption of activity by the bees see Verg. Georg. 4.231, Colum. 9.14.4, Pliny NH 11.30, 35, 43 and 18.253, Geopon. 15.5.1; this activity is a mark of spring in a list of season characterisations, W. Peek, Gr. Versinschr. (Berlin 1955) 1897.19. For *ducis* see on 117.6 (March).
- 395.18 For *liniger* see Stern<sup>1</sup> with the reference to pl. 10.2.
- 395.20 Urania being the muse of astronomy, she loves this month because of the familial connection with Atlas, the inventor of astronomy (see D. Gain, London 1976, and A. Le Bœuffle, Paris 1975, on Germanicus fr. 5, whether that is genuine or not; also A. S. Pease, Cambridge, Mass. 1935, on Verg. Aen. 4.247); Mercury (cf. 665.10) is the god of astronomy, Eratosthenes Catast. 43 p. 196 ed. C. Robert (Berlin 1878).
- 490a.5 The inferences which Stern based on the transmitted text of this line have been discussed in the introduction, but I do not believe them. *Nigra bella* is an absurdly melodramatic expression for military manoeuvres (see how 117.5, March, expresses the notion) and to judge from the silence of TLL s.v. *bellum* 1848 is never found as a combination (whereas *atrum bellum* is, ibid. 1846.66; this is consistent with the usual differentiation that *niger* means 'black' whereas *ater* means 'black and sinister'). I suggest that this is a corruption for *pigra mella*

‘viscous honey’; for the honey see 394, for *pigra* Lucr. 3.192 *mellis ... pigri latices*. A rival, but violent and unfocussed, emendation is put forward by Shackleton Bailey, *Towards a Text* 65. Emendation removes the only ‘official’ reference in the poem, but I do not count this as an argument in its favour since likewise 2 (February) is the only astronomical reference. When I gave a talk based on this paper at the University of Colorado in Boulder, a member of the audience informed me that the first honey is often dark because the bees cannot yet sip from their usual blossoms, and next day proved the point by producing a jar of dark honey. It might then be possible to read *nigra mella*, but I cannot locate any ancient reference to this phenomenon.

665.9 *Laicus* ‘layman’ is a simple *interpolatio Christiana*.

665.10 Housman supposes the original text to have been disturbed by the intrusion of a gloss. Apart from anything else, the elision *Mercuri(o)* is improbable in this poem (see the introduction). For the connection of May with Mercury see Stern<sup>1</sup> 282, <sup>2</sup> 437 and 442–443; he had his *Natalis* on the 15th.

### June

117.11–12 *sanguineis ornat aestiva prandia moris*  
*Iunius; huic nomen fausta iuventa dedit.*  
*ornat* Shackleton Bailey after Vinetus, -an A, -ans BV.

394.6 *arce poli Geminos Iunius ecce locat.*

395.21–24 *nudus membra dehinc solares respicit horas*  
*Iunius ac Phoebum flectere monstrat iter.*  
*lampas maturas Cereris designat aristas*  
*Floralesque fugas lilia fusa docent.*

490a.6 *Iunius auratis foliis iam pascua miscet.*  
*pascua* H, *pocula* R.

Auson. 9.6 *Iunius aetatis proximus est titulo.*

Auson. 10.11–12 *Iunius hunc sequitur duplici celebrandus honore,*  
*seu nomen Iuno sive Iuventa dedit.*

665.11–12 *Iunius ipse sui causam tibi nominis edit*  
*praegravida attollens fertilitate sata.*

874a.11–12 *messibus armatis flavae crispantur aristae;*  
*rusticus expensas et fluctus nauta reposit.*  
*flavae crispantur* Baehrens, *crispae flavantur* Corio.

AP 9.383.10 εὐκάρπου δὲ Παῦνι προάγγελός ἐστιν ὀπώρας.

384.11–12 μεσσάτιος ῥόδου εἰμί καὶ ἀργεννοῖο κρίνοιο,  
καὶ ξανθῆς κεράσου βρίθομαι ἀκρεμόσιν.

AP 9.580.4      καὶ ἐγὼ κρίνα λευκὰ κομίζω.

Stern<sup>1</sup> 252, <sup>2</sup> 458–459.

395.21      In Stern<sup>1</sup> pl. 9.3 the figure of June (s. fig. 5) is looking towards a sun-dial, which symbolises the sun's zenith at the summer solstice, referred to in the following line.

395.23      The adoption by Shackleton Bailey of the alteration of *lampas* to *iam falx* is the greatest wound inflicted on these poems by ignorance of the archaeological material; the figure of June (loc. cit.) holds a torch in his left hand. On the other hand the comments of the archaeologist Levi show equally culpable failure to grasp the facts (262): 'the young man holds a big torch, which has caused an interpolation in the tetrastich, where certainly there was no mention of this detail originally'! The torch in the picture and the associated festival of the *dies lampadarum* seem to symbolise summer heat (so Fulgentius quoted by Stern<sup>1</sup> 253). Here we see the root of the error of those who have wished to alter the text; they treat this poem as if it described things which happen in June, whereas in fact it tells a spectator how to interpret the visual symbols used by the artist of a picture to which it is attached. For another instance of failure to appreciate symbolism see the appendix.

395.24      I do not know what this refers to; the Floralia were at the end of April – beginning of May. TLL declares that *floralis* always means 'connected with Flora'. Note *mense flusare* (? *Flusare*) on CIL 1<sup>2</sup>.756 = ILS 4906 = A. Degrassi, *Inscr. Lat. Liberae Rei P.* (Florence 1963) 508, which means *florali* (? *Florali*), July of the pre-Julian calendar = April of the Julian (cf. G. Radke, *Rh. Mus.* 106, 1963, 313).

.874a.11      There is no verb *flavo(r)*. *Armatīs* refers to the sharp ears of the grain, their *spicae*; see TLL 2.618.65.

874a.12      Stern<sup>2</sup> 459 relates this to the Filocalan picture of July, in which coins are being poured out from a large purse; this is a symbol of the monetary return brought by harvest to the farmer.

### July

117.13–14      *Quintilis mensis Ceriali germine gaudet;*  
*Iulius a magno Caesare nomen habet.*  
*mensis) quondam* Shackleton Bailey; *gaudens* Burman's text.

394.7      *Iulius ardenti devertit lumina soli.*  
*divertit* codd. pler.

395.25–28      *ecce coloratos ostentat Iulius artus,*  
*crines cui rutilos spicea sarta ligat.*  
*morus sanguineos praebet gravidata racemos,*  
*quae medio Cancri sidere laeta viret.*

- 490a.7 *Iulius educit falces per prata, virecta.*  
grata Riese.
- Auson. 9.7 *nomine Caesareo Quintilem Iulius auget.*
- Auson. 10.13–14 *inde Dionaeo praefulgens Iulius astro*  
*aestatis mediae tempora certa tenet.*
- 665.13–14 *quam bene, Quintilis, mutasti nomen! honori*  
*Caesareo, Iuli, te pia causa dedit.*
- 874a.13–14 *umida dant siccas messes domicilia Lunae;*  
*fontanas exhaurit aquas, ut Nilus inundet.*
- AP 9.383.11 καὶ σταφυλὴν κατέχων εὐάμπελός ἐστιν Ἐπηφί.  
384.13–14 Καρκίνον Ἥελιος μετανίσσεται, ἀστάχνας δέ  
καρφαλέους κείρει γειοπόνος δρεπάνη (-η).  
580.5 οὔτος ἀμαλλοδέτης.
- Stern<sup>1</sup> 287, <sup>2</sup> 459.
- 117.13 See 'Towards a Text' 20; the emendation is adjusted by R. Renehan, CP 77 (1982) 255 to *qu<ondam Qu>intilis*.
- 394.7 *Divertit* cannot be right; it is not even transitive. TLL s.v. 855.22 rightly adopts *devertit* here. It is certainly true that we should expect to find an allusion to the solstice under June, but see on 874a.8 (April). Shackleton Bailey's *demit iam* is a very improbable alteration ('the insertion of *iam* is a recurrent *re-medium Shackletonianum*' M. D. Reeve, Phoenix 39, 1985, 179 apropos of another case).
- 395 This is the only month in which this poem diverges substantially from the Filocalus picture, here known only from the Vienna copy (see under April).
- 395.26 Cf. 573.2 (Summer in a season poem) *spicea sarta ligat calidissima solibus aestas*, and the Catania (Stern<sup>1</sup> pl. 39.4, <sup>2</sup> 36.96) and Tegea (Åkerström-Hougen 120) mosaics.
- 395.27 The tree is visible on a Carthage mosaic, Stern<sup>2</sup> 465 and pl. 37.98a; cf. one of the Beisan mosaics, Åkerström-Hougen 122 and fig. 78.
- 395.28 For *medio* see O. Zwierlein (Krit. Komm. zu d. Tragödien Senecas, Stuttgart 1986) on Sen. Phaedr. 767.
- 665.13–14 There are minor textual uncertainties here, which I do not mention as they do not affect anything substantial.
- 874a.13–14 This is explained by Housman, CQ 4 (1910) 192–193 = Classical Papers 810–811.

*August*

- 117.15–16 *Augustum penitus torret Phaethontius ardor,  
quem recreant fessum gillo flabella melo.  
flabella Heinsius, fabilla, fabella, faula codd.*
- 394.8 *aera flammigero cuncta Leone calent.*
- 395.29–32 *fontanos latices et lucida pocula vitro  
cerne ut demisso torridus ore bibat  
aeterno regni signatus nomine mensis,  
Latona genitam quo perhibent Hecaten.*
- 490a.8 *Augustus Cererem pronus secat agmine longo.*
- Auson. 9.8 *Augustus nomen Caesareum sequitur.*
- Auson. 10.15–16 *Augustus sequitur cognatum a Caesare nomen,  
ordine sic anni proximus ut generis.*
- 665.15–16 *tu quoque, Sextilis, venerabilis omnibus annis  
numinis Augusti nomen †in anno venis †.*
- 874a.15–16 *atria solis habet, sed nomen Caesaris adfert;  
mitia poma cadunt, siccas terit area fruges.  
cadunt Courtney (cf. aliquatenus 395.34), dabit Corio.*
- AP 9.383.12 *καὶ Μεσορὶ Νεῖλοιο φέρει φυσίζοον ὕδωρ.  
384.15–16 κρίνω ἐγὼ Δηῶ καὶ ἀχυρμιάς· ἐν δὲ Λέοντι  
ἀτρεκέα τελέθει χεύματα Νηϊάδων.  
580.5 τὰ δ' ἐμὰ πτερὰ Νεῖλον ἐγείρει.*

Stern<sup>1</sup> 258, <sup>2</sup> 459.

- 117.16 The brilliant restoration of Heinsius is established by those representations which show August with a water-jar (see Anth. Lat. 136), a fan and a melon; as well as those listed by Stern<sup>1</sup> loc. cit., the Beisan (Stern<sup>1</sup> 261) and Argos mosaics. For the false quantity *flābella* see on 9 (May).
- 395.32 refers to the Natalis Dianae on 13th August; cf. the representation on the Thysdrus mosaic (Stern<sup>2</sup> pl. 6.18) and the Ostia painting (Stern<sup>2</sup> 440).
- 665.16 *anno* is a persistence error from 15. *adepte venis* Housman, *in ora* (perhaps rather *astra*) *vehis* Bücheler and Riese between them.
- AP 9.384.15 'I separate the corn from the straw'.  
384.16 evidently refers to the rising of the Nile, though the Budé edition challenges this.



*September*

- 117.17–18 *aequalis Librae September digerit horas,  
cum botruis captum rure ferens leporem.*
- 394.9 *poma legit Virgo maturi mitia solis.*
- 395.33–36 *turgentes acinos varias et praesecat uvas  
September, sub quo mitia poma iacent,  
captivam filo gaudens religasse lacertam,  
quae suspensa manu mobile ludit opus.*  
36 *onus* Housman ad Manil. 5.87.
- 490a.9 *maturas munit September ab hostibus uvas.*
- Auson. 9.9 *autumnnum, Pomona, tuum September opimat.*
- Auson. 10.17–18 *nectuntur post hos numerumque ex ordine signant  
September, Bacchi munere prela rigans,*
- 665.17–18 *tempora maturis September vincta racemis  
velate, e numero nosceris ipse tuo.*  
*tempora maturis* Haupt, *temporis autumnni* S, *temporibus autumnis* P;  
*e* Haupt, *iam* SP.
- 874a.17–18 *aestuat autumnus partim variantibus uvis,  
agricolis spondens mercedem vina laborum.*  
*passim* Vollmer.
- AP 9.383.1 *πρῶτος Θῶν ἐδάη δρεπάνην ἐπὶ βότρυν ἐγείρειν.*  
384.17–18 *βρίθω ἐγὼ σταφυλῆ, βρίθω δ' ἐπὶ πάσῃ ὀπώρῃ,  
αὔθις δ' ἰσοπαλῆς γίγνεται ἥματι νύξ.*  
17 ἔτι Brunck.
- 580.6 *οὔτος ἐρισταφύλω πεφιλημένος ἔπλετο Βάκχῳ.*
- Stern<sup>1</sup> 263, <sup>2</sup> 460.
- 117.18 395 attributes this to October, and so do the representations.
- 394.9 Verg. Georg. 1.65–66 *glæbas ... coquat maturis solibus aestas.*
- 395.34 The Argos mosaic, which well illustrates 33, shows a basket at the feet of September which Ginouvès and Åkerström–Hougen 26 think held grapes; if it in fact held apples, that would account for *sub*. There is a basket at the feet of September in a Carthage mosaic too (Åkerström–Hougen fig. 80).
- 395.35 The damaged sarcophagi mentioned by M. Lawrence, AJA 62 (1958) 274b (= Kranz, Jahreszeiten-Sarkophage p.189 no.19) and 281b (= Kranz p. 191 no. 26) probably originally showed the dangling lizard; Ginouvès 264 thinks that in the Argos mosaic the figure must have held something else (a bunch of grapes?), and the same appears to be true of the damaged sarcophagus noted by Lawrence 286b (= Kranz

p. 287 no. 588). The dangling lizard is perhaps to be seen on the Apollo Sauroctonos of Praxiteles (as suggested by J. Maxmin, G&R 20, 1973, 36 and *Ἀρχαιολογικὰ Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν* 6.2, 1973, 296, and tentatively before her by Levi 268). This lizard seems to be intended somehow (vague parallels in Stern<sup>1</sup> 264; not much help either in Pliny NH 29.73, adduced in another context by A. D. Nock, *Selected Essays*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, 1.275) to scare off the *hostes* of the grapes mentioned in 490a; on another Thysdrus mosaic (Levi 268 and fig. 15, Stern<sup>1</sup> 263) Bacchus holds the lizard. The representations suggest to me that it may be intended to drop the lizard, a creature which does no harm at all to grapes, into a wine-jar and seal it in, though Hanfmann 2.184 speaks of pulling it out of a vat. As for the *hostes*, grapes have many such (thieves, birds, foxes, etc.), but I wonder if in this context hares in particular are meant; the mosaic of *dominus Iulius* (Levi fig. 19, Stern<sup>1</sup> pl. 45.5, Åkerström-Hougen fig. 81.1) shows 'a vintager return(ing) from the vineyard with a basket full of grapes on his shoulder and a captured hare in his left hand' (Levi 278 n. 65); the October representations show a hare being taken out of a trap (cf. on a mosaic Dunbabin (above n. 22) 255a no. 9 = pl. D). Hanfmann 2.190 no. A-39 (cf. Lawrence 292b, Kranz p. 243 no. 311) lists a season sarcophagus on which Autumn holds a hare in his left hand and a basket or cornucopia (not apparently a trap) in his right; similar are Kranz p. 279 no. 553 and p. 219 no. 131. R. Billiard, *La vigne dans l'Antiquité* (Lyon 1913) 395 n. 2 (cf. fig. 126) lists representations which show hares attacking grapes; note also the picture recorded by W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* (Leipzig 1868) p. 400 no. 1603, though Helbig says that figs, not grapes, are there depicted. One representation of a hare and grapes is part of a recumbent statue of Autumn (W. Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, Berlin 1903, I pl. 31 no. 6); another is a sarcophagus in San Lorenzo fuori le mura (G. Rodenwaldt, *Jahrb. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 45, 1930, 119 fig. 2, 155 fig. 31); another is listed by Kranz p. 200 no. 57; for another on a mosaic see Dunbabin 270 no. 18. I do not know why Parrish 39 n. 142 insists that the Filocalus picture (s. fig. 6) and the Carthage mosaic refer specifically to hunting. Billiard states that there are no literary references to hares attacking grapes, but he has overlooked Agathias AP 6.72.

395.36 'lacerta manus onus est, nullum opus ludit' Housman loc. cit. The emendation does not seem necessary to me.

Auson. 9.9 Cf. *ibid.* 16.9 (p. 109 Prete) *Bacchum September opimat.*

665.18 Cf. Anth. Lat. 573.3 *temporaque autumnus cingit tua, Bacche, racemis.* Riese proposed *vela tegant*, which he intended concessively, (*licet*) *vela tegant tempora, nosceris.* This is still espoused by Shack-

leton Bailey, CP 77 (1982) 120, who builds another unnecessary conjecture on top of it, but the introduction of such *vela* is à propos de bottes.

*October*

- 117.19–20 *conterit October lascivis calcibus uvas  
et spumant pleno dulcia musta lacu.*
- 394.10 *fundit et October vina Falerna lacis.*
- 395.37–40 *dat presum leporem cumque ipso palmite fetus  
October, pingues dat tibi ruris aves.  
iam Bromios spumare lacus et musta sonare  
apparet; vino vas calet ecce novo.*  
*Bromio* Baehrens, sed cf. TLL s.v. 2204.23
- 490a.10 *elicit October pedibus dulcissima vina.*
- Auson. 9.10 *triticeo October fenore ditat agros.*
- Auson. 10.19–20 *et qui sementis per tempora fenore laetus  
October cupidi spem fovet agricolae,*
- 665.19–20 *Octobri laetus portat vindemitor uvas;  
omnis ager, Bacchi munere, voce sonat.*  
*munera* Riese.
- 874a.19–20 *promitur agricolis saltantibus ebrius imber,  
rusticitasque madet gaudens plus sordida musto.*  
*madet* Courtney, *deceat* Corio.
- AP 9.383.2 *ἰχθυβόλοισι Φαωρὶ φέρει πανδήμιον ἄγρην.*  
384.19–20 *τίς δέ κ' ἐμεῖο πέλοι γλυκερώτερος, ὃς μέθυ <λείβω>,  
ληνῶ ἐπεὶ κατὰ γω Βάκχον ἀπ' οἰνοπέδου;*  
580.7 *τεύχω δ' οἶνον ἐγὼ μελιηδέα, χάρμα βροτοῖσι.*
- Stern<sup>1</sup> 245, <sup>2</sup> 460.
- 394.10 For the form *lacis* see TLL s.v. 861.7.
- 395.37–38 See under September.
- 874a.20 The rustic revelry on the Argos mosaic is a good illustration of this line, especially as emended by me.

*November*

- 117.21–22 *arva November arans fecundo vomere vertit,  
cum teretes sentit pinguis oliva molas.*  
*vomere vertit* Sannazaro: *nomina* ABV, *vestit* A, *bestiae* A<sup>1</sup>BV.
- 394.11 *aret tota soli species vi dura Nepai.*

395.41–44 *carbaceos post [quam] hunc artus indutus amictus  
Memphidos antiquae sacra deamque colit,  
a quo vix avidus sistro compescitur anser  
devotusque tuis incola, Memphi, deis.*

*tuis* Shackleton Bailey, *satis* codd.

490a.11 *Baccha November ovans condit sub clave fideli.*

Auson. 9.11 *sidera praecipitas pelago, intempeste November.*

Auson. 10.21–22 *quique salo mergens sollemnia signa November  
praecipitat, caelo mox reditura suo.*

665.21–22 *frondibus amissis repetunt sua frigora mensem,  
cum iuga Centaurus celsa retorquet eques.*

874a.21–22 *pigra redux torpescit hiems; mitescit oliva  
et frumenta capit quae fenore terra refundat.*

AP 9.383.3 Πληιάδων φαίνουσαν Ἀθὺρ τεκμαίρεται ὄρην.

384.21–22 εἶ τοι Ἀθηναίης πέλει ἔρνεα, ὄριον ἤδη  
καρπὸν ἀποθλίβειν, μνηστὶν ἔχειν καμάτων.

580.8 δαῖτα φέρω χαρίεσσαν ἐς οὔνομα φωτὸς ἐκάστου.

Stern<sup>1</sup> 279, <sup>2</sup> 460.

For the representation of this month see R. Hari, *Mus. Helv.* 33 (1976) 114, who follows the identification of the executant of the Vienna copy of the pictures of the Filocalus calendar as the elder Lucas Cranach (so also Stern<sup>1</sup> 36); others attribute it to the Vischers or a member of their Nuremberg group (so e.g. M. Salzmann, *AJA* 88, 1984, 49a).

117.21 For the ploughing see the Argos and Santa Maria mosaics (on the latter it is being performed not by oxen but by some equine creature; F. Magi, *Il calendario dipinto sotto Santa Maria Maggiore*, *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana*, *Memorie* 11, 1972, 35).

394.11 imitates Cicero *Aratea* 418 *cum vero vis est vehemens exorta Nepai.*

395.44 is a very difficult line. *Incola* in what? presumably the temple of Isis, though this is not mentioned. *-que* prima facie suggests that something other than the goose is meant; perhaps the serpent which in the representations the priest carries round on a tray. If this is not right we shall have to contemplate more extensive alteration, e.g. *devotus fanis i. M. tuis* (*tuis* here Burman).

395.43 For the connection of the goose with Isis see the note on Juvenal 6.540 in my commentary (London 1980).

490a.11 For *Baccha* see the introduction; for the key Pliny *NH* 14.89 and R. Nisbet/M. Hubbard on *Hor. Odes* 2.14.26 (Oxford 1978).

Auson. Cf. *Ecl.* 16.11 (p. 109 Prete) *Scorpios hibernum praeceps iubet ire Novembrem; Scorpion* Charpinus, *hibernus* Tollius, *November V* (the

most important ms. of Ausonius). Since Ecl. 10 has an adjective which gives at least some specification to the *sidera*, and this is sorely missed in 9, I see 9 as based on and subsequent to 10.

665.22 Sagittarius makes the northerly Plough begin to rise again; so Housman.

AP 9.383 See the note in the Budé edition p. 189.

580 See the introduction.

### December

117.23–24 *pigra suum cunctis commendat bruma Decembrem,  
cum sollers famulis tessera iungit eros.*

394.12 *ude December, amat te genialis hiemps.*

395.45–48 *annua sulcatae coniecta en semina terrae  
pascit hiems; pluvio de Iove cuncta madent.  
aurea nunc revocet Saturno festa December;  
nunc tibi cum domino ludere, verna, licet.  
coniecta en Heinsius, coniecti codd.*

490a.12 *more sues proprio mactat December adultas.*

Auson. 9.12 *tu genialem hiemem, feste December, agis.*

Auson. 10.23–24 *concludens numerum genialia festa December  
finit, ut a bruma mox novus annus eat.*

665.23–24 *argumenta tibi mensis concedo Decembris  
†quae sis quam vis annum claudere possis†  
Decembris Housman, December codd.*

874a.23–24 *algida bruma nivans onerat iuga celsa pruinis  
et glaciale gelu nutrit sub matribus agnos.*

AP 9.383.4 Χοιὰκ σπειρομένων σταχύων δείκνυσι γενέυλην.

384.23–24 παύσασθαι νειοῦ κέλομαι· γλαγόντι γὰρ ἤδη  
σπέρματι ῥιγεδανὴ πηγυλὶς ἀντιάσει.

580.9 φορμίζειν δεδάηκα καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρειν.

Stern<sup>1</sup> 283, <sup>2</sup> 461.

394.12 *Ude* (so Scaliger; the manuscripts read *unde*) means 'drunken'. The spelling *hiemps*, provided by two manuscripts, is required (with the emendation *ude*) to make up 31 letters.

395.45 For *conicio* followed by a dative see TLL s.v. 306.81, 310.51, for *en* above p. 38. A Beisan mosaic shows a sack of seed (Levi 272).

665.24 Hopelessly corrupt; Housman offers a very precarious emendation.

**Appendix: Anth. Lat. 197 De circensibus**

This is one of a series of texts, discussed e.g. by A. M. Cameron in her note on Corippus *In laudem Iustini* (London 1976) 1.314–344, which give a cosmological interpretation to the circus. Lines 7–8 run thus:

*cardinibus propriis includunt saepta quadrigas,  
Ianus vexillum quas iubet ire levans.*

E. Castorina in his edition of Tertullian *De spectaculis* (Florence 1961) lxxxv remarks ‘lo «starter» corrisponde a Giano, che comincia l’anno’; but I think that the poet had in mind more particularly those representations in the calendars which showed for January a consul holding aloft his *mappa* (see Åkerström-Hougen 73; a starter is a *mapparius*, John the Lydian *De mensibus* 1.12, p. 4.15 Wuensch, where it is naturally spelt in Greek letters; see my note on Juvenal 11.193).

Since I have mentioned this poem, I shall comment on another point of interest in it. Shackleton Bailey reads 13–14 thus:

*iamque his Euripus quasi magnum interiacet aequor,  
et medius centrum (-i codd.) summus obliscus obit (adit codd. adest Riese)*

and comments ‘Sed vide ne totum distichon subditivum sit. Quid enim Euripus ille (i.e. spina) et obeliscus ad poli imaginem pertinent?’ The answer to this rhetorical question is this. *His* in 13 refers to the *metae* or *axes gemini*, the turning-points at the end of the *spina* (misunderstood by Castorina lxxxvii), and these signify *ortum obitumque*. What could be more appropriate than to say that Ocean lies between the setting and the rising of the sun? And this is said not only by our author, but by Cassiodorus *Var.* 3.51.8 and John Malalas p. 175 ed. Bonn. As for the obelisk, this symbolizes the sun at its zenith; see Isidore 18.31. Failure to recognize such symbolism is what has led Shackleton Bailey astray here as at 395.23 (see under June).