

JOHN LYDUS

ON THE MONTHS

(DE MENSIBUS)

Translated with introduction and annotations

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
AP	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i> [= <i>Greek Anthology</i>]
BNJ	<i>Brill's New Jacoby</i>
BNP	<i>Brill's New Pauly</i>
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> (most recent editions)
CCAG	<i>Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
Cod. Just.	<i>Codex Justinianus</i>
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
CTh	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>
Diels-Kranz	H. Diels and W. Kranz, <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , 11 th ed. (1964)
EPRO	<i>Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain</i> (series)
FGrHist	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (ed. Jacoby)
FHG	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> (ed. Müller)
HLL	<i>Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike</i> (in Müller's <i>Handbuch</i>)
HRR	<i>Historicorum Romanorum reliquiae</i> (ed. Peter)
IAH	<i>Iurisprudentiae Antehadrianae quae supersunt</i> (ed. Bremer)
IAR	<i>Iurisprudentiae Antejustiniana Reliquiae</i> , 6 th ed. (ed. Huschke)
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library (series)
LSJ	Liddell, Scott, and Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i>
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
NH	<i>Natural History</i> (Pliny the Elder)
PE	<i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i> (Eusebius of Caesarea)
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> (ed. Migne)
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> (ed. Migne)
PLRE	<i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i>
PRE	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
QN	<i>Quaestiones Naturales</i> (Seneca)
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>

INTRODUCTION

The four-book work "On the Months" (*De mensibus*) by John Lydus (that is, John the Lydian),¹ offers intriguing views of Roman and Greek traditions about the calendar, religion, philosophy, natural history, and much else, through the lens of antiquarian scholarship from the late Roman empire. John, its author, was an early Byzantine bureaucrat, working from early in the 6th century into the age of Justinian. He enjoyed a 40-year career with some successes and some setbacks; he ended up with some exposure and recognition at a high level, having delivered a panegyric at court, and then being invited to write the official account of war against Persia. He always took pride in his books and his educational attainments, and he put them to employment in a teaching position and in writing the results of his researches. Bitterness and pessimism, however, are a recurring undertone in his surviving works: the Roman empire had declined from its zenith, he felt, and the ways of the past needed to be remembered and revived. John's personal experiences with "reform" only served to reinforce his longing for an unrecoverable antiquity. All in all, he was a moderately successful functionary and teacher who nevertheless felt that he *ought* to have done much better—that he never achieved the brilliant success and recognition that he truly deserved. Barry Baldwin's summary remark is apt: "Lydus is a complex and fascinating fellow, by turn likeable and insufferable."² Beyond the questionable charms of his personality, however, his works are of lasting importance, yet have been largely inaccessible except

¹ R. Wuensch (ed.), *Ioannis Laurentii Lydi liber De mensibus* (Leipzig, 1898). The name "Laurentius" that appears in Photius' notice, *Bibliotheca* cod. 180 (i.e., in the phrase Ἰωάννου Λαυρεντίου Φιλαδελφέως τοῦ Λυδοῦ) and has sometimes been treated as part of John's name, is more likely his *father's* name. The primary documentation of John's life history is the extended autobiographical section of *De magistratibus* 3.26-30; the other ancient sources are Photius and the Suda entry on John (1 465 Adler). The most recent, full discussion of John's biography is that of J. Schamp in M. Dubuisson and J. Schamp (ed., tr., comm.), *Jean le Lydien: Des magistratures de l'état romain* (Paris, 2006), 1.1: xiii-lxxvi; other treatments are to be found in C. Kelly, "John Lydus and the Eastern Praetorian Prefecture in the Sixth Century AD," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 98 (2005), pp. 431-58; id., *Ruling the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, MA, 2004); M. Maas, *John Lydus and the Roman Past: Antiquarianism and Politics in the Age of Justinian* (London, 1992); J. Caimi, *Burocrazia e diritto nel De magistratibus di Giovanni Lido* (Milan, 1984); A. Bandy (ed., tr.), *Ioannes Lydus: On Powers or The Magistracies of the Roman State* (Philadelphia, 1983), pp. ix-xxvi; T. F. Carney, *Bureaucracy in Traditional Society: Romano-Byzantine Bureaucracies Viewed from Within* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1971), 2: 3-19. Good briefer accounts of John appear in Averil Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (Berkeley, 1985), pp. 242-8; E. Stein, *Histoire du bas-empire*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1949), pp. 729-34, 838-40; R. Kaster, *Guardians of Language*, pp. 306-9; Martindale, *PLRE* 2: 612-15 (s.v. *Ioannes* 75); see also A. Klotz, *PRE* XIII.2: 2210-17 (s.v. "Lydos 7"); T. F. Carney, *PRE Suppl.* XII: 521-3 (s.v. "Lydos 7"); M. Chase, "Lydus (Iohannes -)," in R. Goulet (ed.), *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, vol. 4 (Paris, 2006), pp. 205-10 [*non vidi*].

² Baldwin, "A Byzantine Sir Humphrey Appleby? John Lydus Reconsidered," review article on M. Maas, *John Lydus and the Roman Past*, *Échos du Monde Classique / Classical Views* 38, n.s. 13 (1994), p. 66.

to the specialist, and (concomitantly) fertile territory for finding evidence on a broad range of subjects without sound understanding of the context of such material and the nature of John's work and perspective.

BIOGRAPHY

In A.D. 511, at the age of 21, John came to Constantinople from his home town of Philadelphia in Lydia in search of employment in the civil service, and hoping to secure a position among the officials of the imperial palace.³ While waiting for opportunities, he studied Aristotelian and Platonic philosophy under Agapius, a student of the great Proclus.⁴ His entrée into government work was soon secured by a fellow Philadelphian, the Praetorian prefect Zoticus.⁵ Early on, he prospered in the prefecture, at first as an *exceptor* (short-hand clerk). John's cousin Ammianus was already so employed. Zoticus oversaw John's education in the process of deriving solid financial benefits from his post, as well as his exceptionally quick advancement to the position of first *chartularius* (secretary) in the department of civil law (headed by the *ab actis*) within the prefecture.⁶ Beyond the remuneration he secured through his posts, John was also specifically rewarded by Zoticus for a panegyric he delivered, probably on the occasion of the latter's departure from his brief tenure in office (512); John cites the rate of one gold *solidus* per line. Through the good graces of Ammianus and Zoticus, too, John found a respectable wife who was endowed with a dowry of 100 pounds of gold (7200 *solidi*); little is known about her except that she died early.⁷ John further, and concurrently with

³ For Byzantine bureaucracy in general, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 562-606; C. Kelly, "John Lydus and the Eastern Praetorian Prefecture in the Sixth Century AD"; Dubuisson-Schamp, 2: cciv-ccciii; J. F. Haldon, "Economy and Administration: How Did the Empire Work?" in Maas (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 28-59 (with useful structural diagrams on pp. 42-3, 46-7); M. McCormick, "Emperor and Court," ch. 6 of *CAH XIV* (Cambridge, 2000); S. Barnish, "Government and Administration," ch. 7 of *CAH XIV* (Cambridge, 2000).

⁴ See Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: xxi-xxvii, for further details about this Agapius and discussion of possible locations of this instruction.

⁵ John oddly says (*De mag.* 3.26) that Zoticus was able not only to "persuade" him, but also to "force" him into the service; presumably this means that John was not happy at first to transfer his ambitions from the palace to the prefecture.

⁶ John (*De mag.* 3.27) stresses the special honor of this promotion—the two others were already "old men" and had (unlike John) paid fees to secure those positions. He adds more detail about his role here, describing how he compiled court records (*personalia* and *cottidiana*)—cf. *De mag.* 3.20—as well as judicial reports (*suggestiones*) to the council, that is, to the imperial *consistorium* (Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, pp. 82, 263; Caimi, pp. 51-55; *pace* PLRE 2: 612 and Kaster, p. 307).

⁷ *De mag.* 3.28; John mentions her "sudden" demise in *De mens.* 4.89, without specifying exactly how long she lived.

his duties in the Praetorian prefecture, assisted the *exceptores* in the "temple of Justice" called the *Secretum*, which labors, he says, were putting him in the way of joining the ranks of the *a secretis* of the "court" [*aulê*]. This "temple of Justice" was the law-court of the Praetorian prefecture, not in the palace itself;⁸ but the office *a secretis* was separate from the prefecture, involved with judicial matters presented to the imperial council, or *consistorium*.⁹

Once he found himself without the help of his compatriot Zoticus, however, John's career seems to have stalled somewhat. The subsequent Praetorian prefects seem to have been less well-disposed toward John; bureaucratic infighting was at play, as the prefects more and more frequently came from the financial rather than the judicial branch.¹⁰ Furthermore, in 524 the bureaucracy's financial "double-dipping" (or multiple office-holding) that had seemed to be advancing John's career previously was banned (*Cod. Just.* 12.33.5).¹¹ Still, John mentions that he had moved along in his career path, serving as *chartularius* in the office of *commentarienses* (pertaining to criminal law), probably around 517.¹² At some point, he took a trip to Cyprus;¹³ this was most likely on official business, and was thus prior to 536, when the island was removed from the Eastern Praetorian prefecture; in fact, the trip may well have been connected with this administrative change.¹⁴ Otherwise, however, the 530s were to all appearances extremely difficult for John. Our author's great bugbear, the Praetorian prefect John of Cappadocia, was in office between 531 and 541 except for a few months (late January to mid-October) in 532 in the context of the Nika riots.¹⁵ During that gap, the prefecture was headed by Phocas, with whom John had good relations.¹⁶ The Cappadocian's tenure of office was a time of turbulent change for the bureaucracy. This "efficiency

⁸ Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, pp. 82, 263-4 (with references to further scholarship), *pace* Kaster, p. 307. Cf. *De mag.* 3.65.

⁹ Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, pp. 83, 264 (with further references)—and cf. *De mag.* 3.10 with discussion in Dubuisson-Schamp, 2: ccxxxv-ccxlii (cf. 1.1: xxx); Bandy (1983), p. 315, on the other hand, followed by Dubuisson-Schamp, 2: 77 n. 107, asserts that this is a reference to the "court" of the Praetorian prefect.

¹⁰ Stein, pp. 730-31—citing in particular Zoticus' immediate successor Marinus, and noting too the influence exercised by John the Cappadocian even before he became Praetorian prefect in 531.

¹¹ Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, pp. 83-4; Caimi, pp. 56-7.

¹² Bandy (1983), p. xiii; Stein, p. 838.

¹³ *De mens.* 4.47.

¹⁴ So Stein, p. 838, followed by Bandy (1983), p. xiv and Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: xxxviii. For doubts, see Caimi, pp. 58-9 (as Caimi points out, Carney suggested that John spent some time in Antioch, witnessing the Persian attack of A.D. 540 [*De ost.* 1], and may have fled from there to Cyprus [Carney, *Bureaucracy* 2: 16 n. 16, 32 n. 11]).

¹⁵ For John the Cappadocian generally, see *PLRE* 3A: 627-35 (s.v. *Ioannes* 11); Caimi, pp. 243-57; Stein, pp. 435-49; 463-83.

¹⁶ See *De mag.* 3.73 and further discussion below.

expert"¹⁷ carried through a series of reforms, some of which touched John quite personally—in particular, the curtailing of fee-for-service payments to individual functionaries.¹⁸ John's rancor and vituperation flow freely in his scathing portrayal of the Cappadocian's professional and personal life:¹⁹ to hear John tell it, his arch-enemy was rapacious, petty, cruel, luxurious, and vulgar, a promiscuous drunkard and a glutton.²⁰ John claims to have been an eye-witness of a specific incident in which one Antiochus died of torture after being denounced to the Cappadocian—the latter's "most moderate" deed, he says, with bitter sarcasm;²¹ and he particularly goes on at length about the depredations wreaked by the prefect on his native Lydia.²² Although John carefully holds the Cappadocian, not Justinian himself, to blame for all that he railed against in this context, it is clear that the emperor appreciated the Cappadocian as an able administrator, keeping him in his post for nearly 10 years.²³ Surely this fact galled John more than anything.

One further issue meant much to John: the decline of literary excellence he perceived in the civil service.²⁴ John placed the "beginning of the end" a hundred years earlier, when Cyrus of Panopolis, Praetorian prefect of the East in the early 5th century, stopped issuing his decrees in Latin, using only Greek.²⁵ This brought about the fulfillment of an oracle, in John's view, which stated that when the Romans forgot their ancestral language, Fortune would leave them as well.²⁶ In this area too, John thought,

¹⁷ Carney, *Bureaucracy* 2: 10.

¹⁸ Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, pp. 72-6.

¹⁹ *De mag.* 2.21; 3.57-69 *passim*.

²⁰ Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, p. 57, suggests that John might have included in a lost final section of *De mag.* further allegations of treason against the Cappadocian, in connection with the latter's final disgrace in 541.

²¹ *De mag.* 3.57.

²² *De mag.* 3.58-61.

²³ Kelly, p. 61.

²⁴ For the importance of the traditional education for the civil service, see, for example, M. S. Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition between Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople: A Study of Cassiodorus and the Variae, 527-554* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 48ff., and, more generally, P. Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison, 1992), pp. 35-70. Latin in particular was crucial for working with legal texts; note, for the previous century, F. Millar, *A Greek Roman Empire* (Berkeley, 2006), pp. 88-93. For Latin in Byzantium, including attention to John, see Averil Cameron, "Roman Studies in Sixth-Century Constantinople," in P. Rousseau and M. Papoutsakis (eds.), *Transformations of Late Antiquity: Essays for Peter Brown* (Surrey, 2009), pp. 15-36; J. Schamp, "Pour une étude des milieux latins de Constantinople," in F. Biville and I. Boehm (eds.), *Autour de Michel Lejeune* (Lyon, 2009), pp. 255-72; B. Rochette, *Le latin dans le monde grec* (Brussels, 1997)—esp. pp. 135-9; id., "Justinien et la langue latine: À propos d'un prétendu oracle rendu à Romulus d'après Jean le Lydien," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 90 (1997), pp. 413-15.

²⁵ For Cyrus, see *PLRE* 2: 336-9; P. W. van der Horst, "Cyrus: A Forgotten Poet," *Greece & Rome*, 2nd series 59 (2012), pp. 193-201; Dubuisson-Schamp, 2: lxxii-lxxvii; Alan Cameron, "The Empress and the Poet," in *Wandering Poets and Other Essays* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 37-80.

²⁶ *De mag.* 2.12 and 3.42; *De mens.* fr. 7.

the Cappadocian caused a further shameful decline. The prefect further reduced the use of Latin, and even the Greek he used and tolerated was "old-womanish," "base," and "common"—and thus (of course) drew with it a lamentable carelessness in judicial record-keeping.²⁷

Seeing that literary excellence was not rewarded, John says, he began to "hate" his service in the prefecture, and devoted himself entirely to his books.²⁸ John does not put a precise date on this disillusionment, which could well have been gradual rather than sudden. Carney, however, suggests that it was in fact immediately after the reinstatement of the Cappadocian as Praetorian prefect in 532, given that John does not seem to describe life in the prefecture in detail after this.²⁹ While his attention and heart were no longer in his bureaucratic career, John did not stagnate forever even there. Kelly argues that "it may be one of the greatest ironies of John's career that the reforms carried out under John the Cappadocian actually increased his chances of advancement"—that is, with others leaving under financial pressures, John had a "cushion" that others may not have had, and was able to remain in the prefecture notwithstanding the circumstances, with less competition and more senior posts likely becoming vacant.³⁰

As for the end of his career after forty years in the prefecture, the uppermost office John achieved before his retirement is usually assumed to have been that of *cornicularius*—i.e., the highest position in the judicial branch, under the *princeps officii*.³¹ This is not entirely certain;³² but John does say that he reached the *end / limit* of the ranked levels within the service, with nothing to show for it but the title—and this in the context of a discussion of the *cornicularius* and the monetary rewards formerly granted to this official by the *princeps* of the prefecture.³³ The implication is difficult to miss. It is characteristic of John's enthusiasms that he describes in detail the retirement ceremony,³⁴ including the praise offered by the current Praetorian prefect Hephæstus

²⁷ *De mag.* 3.68. John mentions but dismisses what was likely the administrator's justification for departing from archaizing Classical standards—the desire for clarity and understandability.

²⁸ *De mag.* 3.28.

²⁹ 2: 15 n. 9.

³⁰ *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, pp. 86-7.

³¹ Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, pp. 13, 248 (n. 11); Bandy (1983), p. xiv.

³² Maas, p. 36, following *PLRE* 2: 614, notes the lack of an explicit statement that he *was* a *cornicularius*, and suggests that he might have been *primiscriniius* in his final year of service instead.

³³ *De mag.* 3.25; cf. 3.30. This would also imply that John at some point joined the ranks of the *Augustales*, who alone of the *exceptores* were able to rise to the position of *cornicularius*. For this group, cf. *De mag.* 3.9-10; *De mens. fr.* 3; Kelly, "John Lydus and the Eastern Praetorian Prefecture," pp. 449-56; id., *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, pp. 90-95. Note also that at *De mag.* 3.66-67, John strongly hints also that he served as *matricularius* (keeper of the personnel lists, a high post below the *cornicularius*), and Photius (cod. 180) directly asserts this—see Bandy (1983), pp. xiii-xiv; cf. Caimi, p. 48; Maas, p. 34.

³⁴ *De mag.* 3.30.

(in office 551-552) who named him "most learned" [*logiôtatos*]³⁵—and John says he valued this appellation more than any official title. Yet John's statement that he received this recognition (*timê*) "instead of a great amount of money" seems to reveal at the same time that he thought he deserved more in the way of concrete remuneration.

Although frustrated to the end with the pace of his advancement and self-enrichment in the Praetorian service, John shows more appreciation for the fruit eventually borne by his literary skills outside the prefecture. As John tells it,³⁵ his erudition and learning came to the notice of the emperor Justinian—and so he was invited to deliver a panegyric (presumably in Latin) at court while élite visitors from Rome were present. Next, he was asked to compose an account of a recent Persian war, sparked by the enemy's attacks on Dara. Finally, he was rewarded with a teaching post³⁶—in the "university" of Constantinople, that is, the officially sanctioned higher education establishment, consisting of numerous professors of Greek and Latin studies (grammar and rhetoric).³⁷ John himself cites the letter of appreciation and appointment from the emperor to the Praetorian prefect.³⁸ The dates of these events in John's career are debatable. While some have interpreted the Persian war about which John was asked to write an account as the hostilities of 527-32, Schamp has recently argued strongly for a reference to the siege of Dara in 540.³⁹ This view also provides a more likely context for the presence of Latin speakers from Rome to witness John's panegyric, when Rome was threatened by the Ostrogoth Totila in the early 540s.⁴⁰ It further aligns well with the probability that John's appointment to a teaching position had something

³⁵ *De mag.* 3.28.

³⁶ *De mag.* 3.29.

³⁷ John tells about these three separate aspects of literary recognition in quick sequence in *De mag.* 3.28-29. For the teaching position, note especially Caimi, p. 80, who points out that the precise post is not possible to determine, although Latin grammar is usually assumed on the basis of Justinian's letter (quoted below), which mentions that John's efforts had rendered the Latin language "more august" (*De mag.* 3.29); Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: xliii-xliv; Maas, pp. 35-6; Bandy (1983), p. xvi. For the "university of Constantinople," see J. A. S. Evans, *Age of Justinian* (London, 1996), p. 27; G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale* (Paris, 1976), pp. 142, 144, 383; P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme Byzantin* (Paris, 1971), pp. 63-4; Jones, pp. 707-8.

³⁸ The matter was then taken up by the city prefect, as John further details.

³⁹ Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: xxxviii-xlii, noting Carney's tentative prior suggestion (*Bureaucracy* 2: 15-16) of this same setting; see also Schamp, "Pour une étude," pp. 266-7. Bandy (1983), pp. xv-xvi, Maas, p. 33, and Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, pp. 12-13, more traditionally suggest the war of 527-32, in which Belisarius succeeded in routing a Persian force near Dara in 530; cf. also M. Meier, *Das andere Zeitalter Justinians: Kontingenzerfahrung und Kontingenzbewältigung im 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Göttingen, 2003), pp. 150-51.

⁴⁰ Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: xlii, suggest a date in in this period.

to do with his literary compositions: Gabriel, the city prefect of Constantinople in 543, was reportedly the addressee of *De mensibus* and *De ostentis*.⁴¹

Justinian's letter in recognition of John's literary skills praises his learning (*paideia*) in literature (*logoi*), his precision and accuracy (*akribeia*) in things "grammatical" (*grammatika*)—that is, matters connected to language and understanding of texts—as well as his "grace" (*charis*) among the poets and all-round education (*polymatheia*). The mention of poetry seems likely to reflect specifically the panegyric of the emperor John composed. The letter then mentions that he was especially concerned with the *Latin* language—that his dedication to books and literature was geared toward making the "speech of the Romans" more august or revered (*semnos*). In consideration of all this, Justinian says, it is fitting for John to impart the fruits of his study to others. Later, at John's retirement ceremony, the sitting prefect Hephaestus reiterated these themes, pointing to his literary education (*paideia* and *logoi*), which evoked wonder at both John himself and the pupils he taught, in addition to mentioning his work in the Praetorian prefecture, described as "political affairs" (*politika pragmata*).⁴²

John held his teaching position concurrently, it seems, with the later part of his bureaucratic career in the Praetorian prefecture. Given his admitted "hatred" for the latter, his teaching and his literary work seem clearly to have been his emotional focus in the last years of his official career, although literature and study had been constant interests. After his retirement, he says, he again dedicated himself to his books.⁴³

The date of John's death is unknown, but for a *terminus post quem*, a reference to Justinian's overcoming the Persian king Chosroës "with iron" after doing so earlier "with gold" (*De mag.* 3.55) is frequently cited, taken as a reference to the Byzantine victory and truce of 556-7 (contrasted with the peace of 532).⁴⁴ The peace treaty of 561, of which he shows no knowledge, provides a possible final terminus.⁴⁵ Contrary to the

⁴¹ PLRE 2: 614—suggesting the date of 543 on this basis. The information that these works were dedicated to Gabriel appears in the Suda; the generality and further (garbled?) reference in the Suda to "other mathematical hypotheses" might give one pause about accepting the information uncritically. For Gabriel, see PLRE 3: 498 (s.v. *Gabrielius* 1), suggesting that Gabriel may have been the one who carried out the professorial appointment. The next known city prefect is attested in 547 (PLRE 3: 1317, 1479-80), and Treadgold suggests that Gabriel was city prefect *from* about 542 to 547 (Treadgold, *Early Byzantine Historians*, p. 261); John deals with Gabriel in *De mag.* 3.38, but does not say how long he occupied the office.

⁴² *De mag.* 3.30.

⁴³ *De mag.* 3.30.

⁴⁴ Stein, p. 839, followed by Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: xlvi; Bandy (1983), p. xxiv. Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, p. 249 n. 16, on the other hand, sees the reference of this section as no later than 545.

⁴⁵ Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: xlvi; Caimi, pp. 121-22; Stein, pp. 839-40.

views of some scholars, there is no reason to believe John was still writing under Justinian's successor Justin II, who came to the throne in 565.⁴⁶

RELIGION

From the perspective of the study of ancient religion, John's work holds the highest interest. He was clearly entranced by the idea of manifestations of the divinity in the natural world; this can be seen most directly in his work *De ostentis*, but periodically throughout *De mensibus* as well.

One famous assessment comes to us from the middle-Byzantine writer Photius, who in his *Bibliotheca*, cod. 180, gives a brief, general review of John's works. On *De mensibus*, Photius opines that while the work contains much that is useless, it also includes pleasant and worthwhile material for the study of antiquity. In his opinion, John's writing is very uneven, but certainly of some value. He thinks that John appears to be "superstitious" and inclined toward paganism, but respectful of Christianity as well, making it difficult to judge his true convictions. This observation deserves to be cited in full, since it demonstrates the overall religious impression of John's complete works on the Byzantine polymath:

In matters of religion he seems to have been an unbeliever. He respects and venerates Hellenic beliefs; he also venerates our beliefs, without giving the reader any easy way of deciding whether such veneration is genuine or hypocritical.⁴⁷

Certainly this sentence must be read on the one hand as proving that John at least *professed* Christianity publicly—and his name (John) also indicates, as a *prima facie* assumption, a Christian family background; yet his enthusiasm for pagan religion seemed to Photius to undercut substantially that public profession. Recently, Anthony Kaldellis has attempted to put forward a detailed argument that John was in fact fully pagan in his religious self-identification and beliefs.⁴⁸ This attempt certainly overstates

⁴⁶ For detailed arguments against this supposition, see Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: xlvi-xlix; Bandy (1983), pp. xxiv-xxvi; Caimi, pp. 112-22.

⁴⁷ Tr. N. G. Wilson, *The Bibliotheca: A Selection* (London, 1994), p. 170. The Greek text is as follows: τὴν δὲ θρησκείαν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἔοικε δεισιδαίμων εἶναι· σέβεται μὲν γὰρ τὰ Ἑλλήνων καὶ θειάζει, θειάζει δὲ καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα, μὴ διδοὺς τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ῥάσπου συμβαλεῖν πότερον οὕτω νομίζων θειάζει ἢ ὥς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς.

⁴⁸ A. Kaldellis, "The Religion of Ioannes Lydos," *Phoenix* 57 (2003), pp. 300-316. This is in the context of a series of similar arguments about a number of contemporaries, Procopius, Agathias, and Hesychius: "The Historical and Religious Views of Agathias: A Reinterpretation," *Byzantion* 69 (1999), pp. 206-52;

the case, as Kaldellis implicitly admits in a more recent characterization of John as holding to "an antiquarian and occult form of Neoplatonism, syncretistic except that Christianity seems to have played a small role in it."⁴⁹ Kaldellis does admit that John *claimed* to be a Christian;⁵⁰ in a still more recent contribution, he describes John's religion as "possibly" an inclusive Neoplatonism that embraced some aspects of Christianity.⁵¹ His argument insists, however, that John's Christianity was feigned rather than real—that his *true* sympathies rested with pagan thought. Kaldellis makes much of John's sympathy and friendship with Phocas, the Praetorian prefect for a part of 532, who was overtly accused of paganism and is said to have committed suicide to avoid

Procopius of Caesarea: Tyranny, History, and Philosophy at the End of Antiquity (Philadelphia, 2004); "The Works and Days of Hesychios the Illustrious of Miletos," *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 45 (2005), pp. 381-403; note also "Identifying Dissident Circles in Sixth-Century Byzantium: The Friendship of Prokopios and Ioannes Lydos," *Florilegium* 21 (2004), pp. 1-17; "Republican Theory and Political Dissidence in Ioannes Lydos," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 29 (2005), pp. 1-16. On paganism in the later Roman Empire, especially at the time of Justinian, see most recently the extensive work of P. N. Bell, *Social Conflict in the Age of Justinian: Its Nature, Management, and Mediation* (Oxford, 2013); also M. Whitby, "John of Ephesus and the Pagans: Pagan Survivals in the Sixth Century," in M. Salamon (ed.), *Paganism in the Later Roman Empire and in Byzantium* (Cracow, 1991), pp. 111-131; K. W. Harl, "Sacrifice and Pagan Belief in Fifth- and Sixth-Century Byzantium," *Past and Present* 128 (1990), pp. 7-27; and the judicious treatment of N. McLynn, "Pagans in a Christian Empire," in P. Rousseau (ed.), *A Companion to Late Antiquity* (Malden, MA, 2009), pp. 572-87. For anti-pagan purges, see M. Meier, *Das andere Zeitalter Justinians*, pp. 198-209.

⁴⁹ For critique of Kaldellis' argument, apart from the further discussion below, see R. Scott, "The Treatment of Religion in Sixth-Century Byzantine Historians and Some Questions of Religious Affiliation," in B. Bitton-Ashkelony and L. Perrone (eds.), *Between Personal and Institutional Religion: Self, Doctrine, and Practice in Late Antique Eastern Christianity* (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 195-225, who is, however, too ready to gloss over John's Neoplatonic enthusiasms (pp. 208-9), especially visible in *De mensibus*—Scott cites the "more recent characterization" from Procopius, *The Secret History*, ed. and tr. Kaldellis (Indianapolis, 2010), p. lvi; see also M. Whitby, "Religious Views of Procopius and Agathias," in D. Brodka and M. Stachura (eds.), *Continuity and Change: Studies in Late Antique Historiography* (Krakow, 2007), pp. 73-93. See now also the review of Kaldellis' contributions by Averil Cameron, "Writing about Procopius then and now," in C. Lillington-Martin and E. Turquois (eds.), *Procopius of Caesarea: Literary and Historical Interpretations* (New York, 2018), pp. 15-19, usefully elucidating their connection to "Straussian" efforts to read "between the lines" to find evidence of intellectual dissent under political tyranny.

⁵⁰ In fact, to explain Photius' statement more fully, Kaldellis ("The Religion of Ioannes Lydos," p. 301) suggests that John probably included an explicit profession of Christian faith, now lost. Bandy (1983), p. xvi, says John would have *had* to have professed Christianity to be a teacher—Kaster, p. 309, professes skepticism, but Bandy is presumably thinking of measures such as *Cod. Iust.* 1.5.18 and 1.11.10, on which see now S. Corcoran, "Anastasius, Justinian, and the Pagans: A Tale of Two Law Codes and a Papyrus," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 2 (2009), pp. 183-208; cf. also (e.g.) Bjornlie, p. 65; Whitby, p. 121. The question of enforcement, of course, is rightly perennial.

⁵¹ "The Making of Hagia Sophia and the Last Pagans of New Rome," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 6 (2013), p. 352, comparing the stance envisioned to that of Numerius—and suggesting that John was intellectually the "late pagan equivalent of [the Christian] Lactantius." In n. 21, Kaldellis promises a further study of John's religion that will draw extensively on *De mens.*

conviction.⁵² The argument as regards John, however, is one of guilt by association, and while Phocas was certainly *accused* of paganism, such accusations are notoriously untrustworthy, hardly a good gauge of an individual's inward spiritual convictions.⁵³ At the opposite pole of argument about John's religion stands the late Alan Cameron, whose massive book, *The Last Pagans of Rome*, attempted to put the final nail in the coffin for the once-common reconstruction of a "pagan revival" in the late 4th century.⁵⁴ In that work, Cameron summarily dismisses Kaldellis' views, arguing briefly that antiquarianism should not be taken as an expression of a writer's deeply held religious views, if any.⁵⁵ In his newer critique of Kaldellis' arguments about Justinian-era *literati*, he adds positive evidence that John depended on some Christian sources, and points especially, and most strikingly, to his reference to the Sibylline prediction of Christ's life and crucifixion, which considerations make it likely that John had at least *some* sincere attachment to the Christian faith.⁵⁶ Thus, although Kaldellis displays a sharp eye for the possibility of religious dissimulation in the environment of Justinian's régime, and this is an important consideration to keep in mind,⁵⁷ his analysis pushes too strongly toward a clean, unambiguous delineation of boundaries even when the subjects of his analysis frequently resist the attempt—and even while the method of argumentation smacks of the conspiratorial. One should be on the lookout not only for secret pagans, but also for opportunistic accusations of paganism, as well as for ambiguous or individualistic self-positioning. On the other hand, Cameron's push-back, to the effect that it is not

⁵² Kaldellis, "The Religion of Ioannes Lydos," pp. 304-5; cf. id., "The Making of Hagia Sophia," pp. 348-53. Further on Phocas, see Maas, pp. 78-82; *PLRE* 2: 881-2; Meier, *Das andere Zeitalter Justinians*, pp. 205, 299-300.

⁵³ As Cameron, "Paganism in Sixth-Century Byzantium," pp. 264-5, points out, "Those denounced as pagans may often have been Christians accused of some practice considered pagan (consulting an astrologer, say) for which a witness could be produced, rather than anything so vague as just being a pagan, obviously difficult to prove." For politically motivated charges of "paganism," see Maas, p. 73, briefly; also I. Rochow, "Der Vorwurf des Heidentums als Mittel der innenpolitischen Polemik in Byzanz," in Salamon (ed.), *Paganism in the Later Roman Empire and in Byzantium* (Cracow, 1991), pp. 133-56. Cameron makes a further suggestion that there were really two men named Phocas that have been conflated in the modern accounts, one implicated in 529, the other in 545/6 (p. 264)—if true, this would further weaken the case for "guilt by association" in John's regard.

⁵⁴ Alan Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome* (Oxford, 2011).

⁵⁵ *Last Pagans*, p. 652 n. 126.

⁵⁶ Cameron, "Paganism in Sixth-Century Byzantium," in *Wandering Poets*, pp. 255-86 (258-62 on John Lydus specifically). John's reference to the Sibyl's supposed reference to the crucifixion (*Oracula Sibyllina* 6.26) is at *De mens.* 4.47.

⁵⁷ See Bell, especially pp. 245-6, for a demonstration in effective detail that political environment did truly make overt expression of paganism very difficult, if not impossible (while not actually exterminating pagan sentiments), and the motivation for outward expression of conformity was strong despite any inward doubts or ideological opposition; in this context, there is a strong likelihood that many opportunistic conversions occurred. This does not, however, help judge any individual case *a priori*.

problematic to view John as simply a Christian, might seem unsatisfying to some readers in the face of John's clear fascination with non-Christian practices and beliefs.

Certain further details of John's writings might yield further insight. In one passage, John offers what seems to be a personal statement of belief regarding celestial signs. As he tells it, he was formerly skeptical, but now considers himself a "believer"—on the basis of a comet that appeared as a sign of Persian assault and Byzantine victory:

Once I was actually of the majority opinion, and I supposed that the things written about this by the ancients were mere writings. But since experience of them showed me the truth, and the recent appearance of the comet...and the consequent attack of the wretched Persians, which went as far as the region of the Orontes, but suffered a reverse of the most rapid sort possible—for it was indicating also the victory of our most powerful emperor—I was led by the events themselves and the evidence deriving from them to write about such things... (*De ost.* 1)

This should not, however, be taken as a confession of paganism; despite common assumptions to the contrary, many Late Antique Christians were able to reconcile belief in astrology and signs in the natural world with adherence to Christianity.⁵⁸ The compilation of astrological and teratological material that follows might easily give pause to a pious bishop concerned about John's soul,⁵⁹ but the preface to the work, giving an overview of the *Hebrew* perspective on signs, seems clearly to demonstrate that John saw these various traditions as complementary, not contradictory. What does seem clear, at any rate, is that John strongly believed in the interconnectedness of human events and the natural world.

Maas takes another tack in attempting to delve into John's convictions, arguing that John agreed with the Aristotelianizing perspective that matter was eternal and pre-existed creation, and thus took the "pagan" perspective on an issue that in contemporary thought represented a dividing line between pagan and Christian Neoplatonists.⁶⁰ Maas does effectively assemble passages to demonstrate John's

⁵⁸ For comets, cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum* 1.58-9 (on the "star" of Bethlehem), and N. Denzey, "A New Star on the Horizon: Astral Christologies and Stellar Debates in Early Christian Discourse," in S. Noegel et al. (eds.), *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World* (University Park, PA, 2003), pp. 207-21. On astrology, see, for example, K. von Stuckrad, "Jewish and Christian Astrology in Late Antiquity: A New Approach," *Numen* 47 (2000), pp. 1-40; and Part B of T. Hegedus, *Early Christianity and Ancient Astrology* (New York, 2007).

⁵⁹ Cf. (e.g.) Augustine's description of "many bad Christians" (*multi ... mali Christiani*) who have and justify such interests and enthusiasms (*Enarr. in Ps.* 40.3).

⁶⁰ Maas, pp. 98-100. For this issue and the debates within pagan Platonism as well as between pagan and Christian Neoplatonists, see R. Sorabji, *Time, Creation and the Continuum* (London, 1983), especially

dependence on Platonist and Aristotelian thought, on the distinction between the celestial and sublunary realms, the difference between being and becoming, for example in the following:

All the things that exist both come into being and exist conformably to the nature of the good. The things that exist exist, as they exist, while the things that come into being do not exist perpetually, nor do they exist in the same manner, but they revolve through generation to corruption, then from the latter to generation, and with respect to existence they are perdurative [*athanata*], but with respect to undergoing change they are somewhat different; for, whenever they retire into themselves, they exist by means of substance but come into being by means of corruption because nature preserves them with itself and brings them forth again into manifestation in accordance with the conditions of existence set down by the Creator. (*De mag.* 2.23, tr. Bandy)

Despite John's repeated references, however, to the Demiurge making order out of chaos (most often with a political angle, with Justinian or the emperor in general playing the role of creator or restorer or order), it seems an overreach to allege that John is consciously arguing for the eternal pre-existence of matter. As Schamp argues, John simply does not appear to be directly addressing the question of creation *ex nihilo*.⁶¹ His material is more Neoplatonic *topos* than specific borrowing from extant pagan interpreters.⁶² Furthermore, the distinction between non-Christian and non-Christian perspectives on this question is not watertight, as Maas admits: Synesius, Elias, and (possibly) Boethius are exceptions Maas mentions as self-identified Christians who nevertheless shared a "non-Christian" Neoplatonic perspective on the universe's beginninglessness.⁶³ On the other side, as Sorabji shows, pagans did not necessarily argue for pre-existence of matter.⁶⁴

John was at least nominally a Christian, but as for the truth of his heart, it seems that a modern reader's judgment on John's religion will depend to a large extent on presuppositions about the boundaries of Christianity and the potential deeper significance of John's manifest fascination with details of pagan religious practice and

chap. 13 (pp. 193-209); H. S. Lang and A. D. Macro (ed., tr.), *Proclus: On the Eternity of the World (de Aeternitate Mundi)* (Berkeley, 2001); and for a recent overview, M. W. Champion, *Explaining the Cosmos: Creation and Cultural Interaction in Late-Antique Gaza* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 71ff.

⁶¹ Schamp-Dubuisson, 1.1: liii, lv.

⁶² Schamp-Dubuisson, 1.1: liv.

⁶³ Maas, p. 100, following Sorabji, p. 196; for further discussion of Boethius, see Sorabji, pp. 119-20.

⁶⁴ Note especially Sorabji, p. 313-15.

its interpretation, as well as his clear interest in Neoplatonic philosophy.⁶⁵ Or, seen in another way, one's judgment will depend on the relative plausibility of Kaldellis' and Cameron's discussions. It is impossible to tease out an *anti-Christian* orientation in John except by innuendo and argument from silence. Maas argues that John had much in common with the mentality of the historian Zosimus, who pointed to Constantine's adoption of Christianity and the neglect of traditional rites as the beginning of the end for the Roman Empire—but that it is specifically the overtly anti-Christian attitude that John has pruned away.⁶⁶ Certainly no one could doubt John's showy reverence for tradition. More to the point, however, and clearly visible also in John's discussions, is local pride in his hometown, Philadelphia in Lydia (along with the cultural importance of Lydia more broadly), both in its association with the great philosophical genius of Proclus (*De mens.* 4.58) and in its veneration for antiquity as seen in its preservation of ancient rites (*De mens.* 4.2 and 58).⁶⁷ He certainly does not shy away from any of these associations; on the contrary, he highlights them. Still, given the kind of secular scholarly work he is engaged in as an antiquarian, those emphases should be seen as entirely understandable, regardless of any deeply held personal religious beliefs; the "neglect" of Christianity is easy to interpret as a literary choice rather than an expression of belief.⁶⁸ At most, although his "true" views are not directly accessible to the historian, one can say that *De mensibus* in particular demonstrates almost no interest in Christianity at all, and certainly not in the militant orthodoxy of Justinian's reign.⁶⁹ It would be easy but pointless to read too much into that. As Neil McLynn warns,

⁶⁵ As Cameron points out, one of the weaknesses in Kaldellis' arguments is a failure of definitions: "His Christians are all well-informed zealots, who, if they refer to pagan gods, ideas, or even mythological stories, will always be careful to add 'as the Hellenes (wrongly) say.'...His pagans are people who positively and emphatically reject Christianity, conceal their true beliefs, and worship their own gods in secret" ("Paganism in Sixth-Century Byzantium," pp. 281-2). On the other hand, it is quite difficult to *disprove* the idea that John's interest in Proclus, for example, had no religious significance whatsoever, as opposed to its undeniable philosophical significance.

⁶⁶ Maas, pp. 49-52.

⁶⁷ For this local pride, cf. Maas, pp. 30-31; Scott, pp. 211-12. Proclus himself had been particularly interested in the ancient (i.e., pagan) traditions still preserved in Lydia (Dubuisson-Schamp 1.1: xix). For the survival of pagan practices in Asia Minor at this period, see, concisely, Bell, p. 239; more extensively, F. R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization c. 370-529*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1995), pp. 74-133; id., "Paganism in the Greek World at the End of Antiquity: The Case of Rural Anatolia and Greece," *Harvard Theological Review* 78 (1985), pp. 327-52.

⁶⁸ On Classicizing literary style, see briefly Baldwin, p. 64; and the classic discussions by Averil Cameron of Procopius' style and religious sensibilities, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London, 1985), pp. 113-33, by Alan Cameron of Claudian's poetry, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 189-227, with the pithy observation (p. 214): "...whether or not Claudian was a pagan at heart, he was evidently not a pagan prepared to be a martyr for his beliefs."

⁶⁹ As Maas, p. 78, puts it, "In Lydus' hands ... antiquarianism resisted Justinian's version of Christian imperium."

however, talking about the 5th century, "we fall easily into traps created by our own categories. It was easier to combine Christianity with other, apparently contradictory, allegiances than the ecclesiastical spokesmen from whom we tend to take our cues would wish."⁷⁰ Alan Cameron, on the other hand, would argue that John was a Christian, plain and simple—perhaps with some esoteric interests, but nothing that could not easily be accommodated in the brain of an antiquarian scholar.⁷¹

Rather than assuming a simple pagan-Christian dichotomy, it is useful to explore more sophisticated ways of categorizing people in an attempt to shed more light on John and his self-identification. The tempting, traditional, exclusive dichotomy—whether it is consciously or unconsciously held, and whether it comes from the perspective of an assumption that certain "pagan" elements are inherently incompatible with Christianity or from the perspective of wishfully constructing a unified pagan front in opposition to Christianity—has rightly been under attack in recent scholarship. Maijastina Kahlos, for example, appeals to the idea of a "middle ground" of sorts, a category of *incerti*.⁷² Identifying John in this way, however, while certainly possible, goes beyond the evidence. It is more than the texts can tell us to assert that John saw himself as *both* pagan *and* Christian in any meaningful sense—and the supposition is perhaps superfluous.⁷³ At one point, Cameron himself lays out a more complex system of classification: "committed (or rigorist) Christians" and "committed pagans" on the extremes, "center-Christians" and "center-pagans" near the middle, and between them all, those who "resisted straightforward categorization."⁷⁴ For those whose primary interest is determining the sincere convictions of an ancient personality, the definition of the "center" is disturbingly vague: "Center-Christians would include both time-servers and sincere believers who were nonetheless not interested in or well informed about details of theology, and saw no reason to reject secular culture (Ausonius). Center-pagans would be people brought up as pagans but with no deep investment in the cults themselves (people like Servius)." Under this definition, however, John could easily be classified as a "center-Christian."⁷⁵ Even more suggestive as an approach might

⁷⁰ McLynn, p. 585.

⁷¹ Thus, in "Paganism in Sixth-Century Byzantium," p. 285, he describes the poets of Agathias' *Cycle* (discussed on pp. 277-81) as a quite useful model for understanding the kind of "secular belles lettres" still flourishing at the end of Justinian's reign, and in whose company John would have felt at home.

⁷² *Debate and Dialogue: Christian and Pagan Cultures, c. 360-430* (Aldershot, 2007).

⁷³ One might simply allow for the possibility of a "Christian lay public, some of whom, as in most ages, were poorly informed about and perhaps not even very interested in their faith" (Cameron, "Paganism in Sixth-Century Byzantium," p. 281).

⁷⁴ *Last Pagans*, pp. 176-77. For this last category, Cameron's example is Bacurius, who served as *magister militum* under Theodosius; as Cameron points out, Rufinus considered him a Christian, but Libanius deemed him a pagan (p. 175—citing *PLRE* 1: 144).

⁷⁵ This category is quite similar to the "moderate Christians" who were more and more strongly pressured by rigorists in the 4th cen. to take a more extreme, dichotomous position, as detailed by the

be Éric Rebillard's stress on flexible, indeed multiple, identity (based on "internal plurality") amongst late Antique Christians, as a better way of conceiving of the various elements in concert in complex personalities, moving away from hierarchical categories and toward the different choices made among different commitments in different contexts.⁷⁶ For Rebillard, the crucial observation is not about judging "intensity" of conversion or loyalty, but rather about recognizing the fact "that religious affiliation was given salience only intermittently and that it had no unique relevance in determining Christians' behavior."⁷⁷ What seems relatively clear, in fine, is that John was a Christian—perhaps through the pressure of the times, perhaps by virtue of family tradition, perhaps with sincere conviction—but a Christian possessed of an equally sincere fascination with cross-cultural manifestations of divinity in the world, with the Neoplatonic philosophical tradition, with the historical religious practice of Romans and others, and with the history and traditions of his ancient home. His clear attraction to symbols that could be (and have been) taken to denote self-identification with pagan elements is inextricable from pride in his homeland, his *paideia*, and his antiquarian project.

WORKS

As seen above in the account of John's life, the writer himself records some writings (or projected writings) that do not survive: A panegyric of Zoticus early on, as well as a panegyric of Justinian later; it is not clear whether the imperial commission of a history of a Persian war was ever completed.⁷⁸ John's only other known writings are the extant three works, *De mensibus*,⁷⁹ *De ostentis*,⁸⁰ and *De magistratibus populi Romani*.⁸¹

sympathetic treatment in D. Boin, *Coming Out Christian in the Roman World: How the Followers of Jesus Made a Place in Caesar's Empire* (New York, 2015). As Boin argues *passim*, many Christians only reluctantly came to portray the world in starkly divided terms. By Justinian's time, the correspondingly moderate position would entail public self-identification as Christian, but private feeling that much of "pagan" thought and tradition need not be jettisoned.

⁷⁶ *Christians and Their Many Identities in Late Antiquity, North Africa, 200-450 CE* (Ithaca, 2012).

⁷⁷ Rebillard, p. 95.

⁷⁸ Wuensch, p. lxxvii, discusses one possible fragment, and prints another brief fragment (found in the *Lexicon Seguerianum*) that he believes to belong to this history, but to have been neglected by other researchers; see further Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: lxxviii-lxxix.

⁷⁹ "On the Months"; Gk. *περὶ μηνῶν*.

⁸⁰ "On Signs"; Gk. *περὶ διοσημειῶν*, that is, more specifically "sky-signs."

⁸¹ "On the Magistracies of the Roman State" or "On Powers"—different Gk. titles are attested in the ms.: *περὶ ἐξουσιῶν*, *περὶ πολιτικῶν ἀρχῶν*, and *περὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς Ρωμαίων πολιτείας*. See Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: cxvii-cxviii for discussion. The *Suda* entry does not mention this work, but instead says John wrote on "some other mathematical [astrological?] subjects."

The first of these, the calendrical work *De mens.*, will be discussed in greater detail below. *De ost.* is a compilation of material relating to discovering signs of future events in celestial phenomena such as comets, eclipses, and in astrological observation.⁸² *De mag.* is an account of the various magistracies of the Roman state across the centuries, focusing especially on the Praetorian prefecture (Book 2), its history, and John's personal experience within this branch of government (Book 3).⁸³

The absolute chronology of the works is not firm, but although Photius lists *De ost.* first, it seems clear that *De mens.* was actually the first of these to be written. Both *De ost.* and *De mag.* refer to it explicitly.⁸⁴ More particularly, at *De mens.* 4.79, in a discussion of the interpretation of earthquakes mentioning the legendary Etruscan Tages, John appears to be announcing the work that would become *De ost.* as currently in progress.⁸⁵

De ost. 1, quoted above for John's apparently sincere belief in the possibility of celestial indicators of terrestrial events, provides a *terminus post quem* for the work on signs. John says that he was prompted to take signs more seriously—and write about them—after the appearance of a comet and a Persian invasion of Syria ("as far as the Orontes") roused him from his prior skeptical attitude; this event is identifiable as the

⁸² The reference edition is still C. Wachsmuth (ed.), *Ioannis Laurentii Lydi Liber de ostentis et Calendaria Graeca omnia*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1897). See now also the annotated Italian translation, I. Domenici (ed., intr.) and E. Maderna (tr.), *Giovanni Lido: Sui segni celesti* (Milan, 2007); on the content, see further J. M. Turfa, *Divining the Etruscan World: The Brontoscopic Calendar and Religious Practice* (Cambridge, 2012), including an English translation (pp. 86ff. with Greek text preceding) of the section attributed to Nigidius Figulus / Tages based on Bekker's (1837) Greek text; C. Macías Villalobos, "Terremotos y astrología en el mundo antiguo: El papel de los Etruscos," *MHNH* 10 (2010), pp. 246-66. D. Lehoux, *Astronomy, Weather and Calendars in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 357ff., gives a translation of the *paraepagma* section attributed to Clodius Tuscus (based on Wachsmuth's Greek text, reprinted in the pages before the translation). A. C. Bandy (ed., tr.), *Ioannes Lydus: On Celestial Signs (De ostentis)* (Lewiston, 2013), is problematic but is the sole English translation of the whole work to date. Appendix A below quotes his translation of the section of *De ost.* counted as fr. 8 of Cornelius Labeo by Mastandrea.

⁸³ Because this is a major source of information on Byzantine governmental structures (as well as the main source on John's life), nearly all scholarship that deals with John in any way treats this work—see especially the contributions of Kelly, Maas, Carney, and Caimi. The standard edition of the Greek text (with French translation) is now Dubuisson-Schamp; cf. also D. Feissel, "Traduire Lydos: Notes en marge de la nouvelle édition de Jean le Lydien, *Des magistratures de l'état romain*," *L'Antiquité Tardive* 17 (2009), pp. 339-57. Bandy's original edition, *Ioannes Lydus: On Powers or The Magistracies of the Roman State* (Philadelphia, 1983), is worth consulting, as is Carney's translation, *Bureaucracy* 3 (also printed as a separate volume: *John the Lydian: On the Magistracies of the Roman Constitution* [Lawrence, Kansas, 1971]). Bandy (ed., tr.), *Ioannes Lydus: On Powers or The Magistracies of the Roman State (De magistratibus reipublicae Romanae)* (Lewiston, 2013), which is *not* a reprint of his 1983 edition, has some importance but shares many of the defects of the rest of this posthumous publication, for which see discussion below.

⁸⁴ *De ost.* 7, 25; *De mag.* proem, 1.8, and repeatedly thereafter.

⁸⁵ Cf. John's material attributed to Tages in *De ost.* 27-38, 55-58.

Persian capture of Antioch in 540.⁸⁶ The Suda alleges that this work (as well as *De mens.* and "other mathematical hypotheses") was dedicated to Gabriel, city prefect of Constantinople in 543. If true, this would seem to indicate that John most likely completed it in fairly short order, but doubts are certainly possible. Richard Wuensch's supposition (on the basis of *De mag.* 3.30), on the other hand, that John only began laboring on the extant works after his retirement from the civil service is a misreading of John's self-report.⁸⁷ More justifiably, John's reference to his own literary works as having brought him to the attention of Justinian could easily be understood as pointing in part to *De mens.* and *De ost.*⁸⁸ The sheer length of *De mag.* makes a longer gestation period seem likely, however, and its composition is indeed most frequently dated late in John's life. Stein argues that details of the relations with Persia mentioned in 3.55 reveal a date for that third book between 557 and 561.⁸⁹ *De mag.* 1.2 is sometimes taken to reveal that John was writing the work in 554, but reliance on a clearly mistaken calculation in that passage is dangerous.⁹⁰ Caimi in fact argues that there is little reason to assume any writing after 552.⁹¹

CONTENT OF *DE MENSIBUS* AND JOHN'S INTERESTS

On the Months is in fact much more than a book about the months of the Roman calendar. In its original form, it seems to have been a general account of the Roman calendar including its supposed historical origins. The nature of the first book is obscured by its mutilated condition, but some sense can be made on the basis of 1.37 (from the preface of *De mag.*): it contained discussion of the Lydians and the "mysteries" adopted from them by the Etruscans, and of the insignia of magistrates and soldiers instituted by Numa.⁹² This is the context in which fragments on magistrates' dress or other aspects of the technical details of the state—who established the solar year of 12 months, among other things—should be understood; the apparent confusion is partly due to the fact that frequently John is led to trace the development of early institutions down to his own time (as in the case, for example, of the circus / chariot racing in 1.12). Prior to Numa, John naturally dealt with the foundation of Rome by Romulus—who

⁸⁶ Carney, *Bureaucracy* 2: 16 n. 17.

⁸⁷ Wuensch (ed.), *Ioannis Lydi De magistratibus populi Romani libri tres* (Leipzig, 1903), p. v.

⁸⁸ Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: lxxxiii.

⁸⁹ 2: 329-30.

⁹⁰ For critical discussion, see T. Wallinga, "The Date of Joannes Lydus' *De magistratibus*," *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité* 39 (1992), pp. 359-80; Caimi, pp. 114-17.

⁹¹ Caimi, p. 123.

⁹² Hence also, Wuensch argues, the other similar cross-references from *De magistratibus* belong here—and he prints them as 1.38-40.

established a 10-month year—and the pre-history of Rome involving the migration of people from Asia and Greece to Italy; all this comes out clearly in the existing fragments. In order, then, he appears to have treated Cronus (1.1), the Lydians (1.2-5), the Greeks, including Evander and Odysseus (1.6-12), then Aeneas (1.13), Romulus' foundation of the city (1.14-16), and finally Numa's reign and institutions (1.17ff.). The material Wuensch prints as 1.37-40 reflects material that originally would have appeared in various parts of the book: 1.37 on the Lydians and their rituals gives a glimpse of the early part of the book,⁹³ while its reference to Numa's adaptation of Etruscan elements summarizes a later part; 1.38 presumably refers to the section of the book dealing with Romulus.

With the remaining books, whose titles are preserved and whose text is less mutilated in its broad outlines, at least, the structure becomes quite clear. Book 2 deals with the definition of the *day* and then goes through the days of the week one by one to discuss their astronomical and symbolic significance. Book 3 treats the nature of the *month* and its position within the year as a whole, then the internal divisions and significant days within the month, with consideration of the moon and its movements and phases leading to a broader discussion of the movements of the planets and further time divisions—with the remains of the latter part of the book being significantly less tightly ordered than the earlier part. Finally, in Book 4, John discusses each month of the Roman calendar in sequence; for each month, the beginning exposition of the name of the month and any associated deities often leads to more extended discussions, but each of these individual sections then turns to the significant days within the month, with accounts of religious festivals and astronomical / meteorological phenomena appearing in sequence. In all sections, there is ample room for digressive developments, even in the parts of the work with the most strongly evident structural transparency.

The longest and best-known part, the fourth book, is a systematic month-by-month account, partly resembling a festal calendar, like the inscribed *fasti* of which numerous fragments have been found, or rather, on a more literary level including explanations of dates and practices, Ovid's *Fasti*.⁹⁴ The exposition of the yearly round of

⁹³ It is tempting to suppose that John's discussion of Tages, Tyrrhenus, and Tarchon in *De ost.* 2-3, gives a further sample of the origin legends he provided in this context: in particular, he says that Tarchon learned divination from Tyrrhenus (cf. Cato, *Origines* fr. 45 HRR = fr. 70 Cornell, describing Tarchon as the *son* of Tyrrhenus).

⁹⁴ See Rüpke, *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit: Die Geschichte der Repräsentation und religiösen Qualifikation von Zeit in Rom* (Berlin, 1995), partly translated into English as *The Roman Calendar from Numa to Constantine: Time, History and the Fasti* (Chichester, 2011), for the inscribed *fasti*; for the inscriptional fragments themselves, see A. Degraffi (ed.), *Inscriptiones Italiae*, vol. 13: *Fasti et elogia*, fasc. 2: *Fasti anni Numani et Iuliani* (1963). Rüpke, "Ovids Kalenderkommentar: Zur Gattung der libri fastorum," *Antike und Abendland* 40 (1994), pp. 125-9, argues for the importance of differentiating the *commentary* on the calendar (e.g., Ovid's text) from the simple calendar; cf. also W. Fauth, "Römische Religion im Spiegel der 'Fasti' des Ovid," *ANRW* II.16.1: 104-86; J. Scheid, "Myth, cult and reality in Ovid's 'Fasti,'" *Proceedings of the*

festivals and significant dates seems to have been coalescing as a literary genre in the late Republic and early Empire, as one specific branch of antiquarian research.⁹⁵ Varro demonstrates multiple approaches: he explained time-related words, including festival names, from the linguistic perspective;⁹⁶ described the year with specific reference to significant times for agriculture;⁹⁷ devoted a book of his *Antiquitates rerum divinarum* to an account of festivals;⁹⁸ and most likely treated different time divisions, such as days, months, and years, in successive books of his *Antiquitates rerum humanarum*.⁹⁹ The Augustan grammarian Verrius Flaccus, however, was responsible for the inscribed calendar with accompanying explanations (possibly the inscriptional version of a written book) known as the *Fasti Praenestini*.¹⁰⁰ This account served as one of Ovid's sources. Beyond the discussion attached to specific dates, it included accounts of the months' names, as well as technical aspects of the Roman system such as Kalends, Nones, and Ides. From that point on, as inscribed calendars proliferated in the early Empire, various names also appear in the record as authors of accounts of the Roman festival calendar, although none of these works now survives intact.¹⁰¹ In the later Empire, some accounts of the calendar only including festal days, rather than all the days of the year, survive. These are termed *ferialia* rather than *fasti*.¹⁰² The paucity of evidence for full calendars is more than likely due to the vagaries of transmission,

Cambridge Philological Society 38 (1993), pp. 118-32. Generally on Ovid's sources including calendrical writings, see F. Bömer (ed.), *P. Ovidius Naso: Die Fasten*, vol. 1 (Heidelberg, 1957), pp. 22-44.

⁹⁵ For the earliest developments of written / inscribed calendars at Rome, see Rüpke, *Roman Calendar*, pp. 44-67, 87-108. Rüpke (*Roman Calendar*, p. 124) notes the upsurge of calendrical activity in the aftermath of Julius Caesar, making Augustus' reign the "most productive phase in calendar production," with concomitant writing of antiquarian works. For antiquarian research more generally, see E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (Baltimore, 1985), pp. 233-49.

⁹⁶ *De lingua Latina* 6.2.3-6.4.34.

⁹⁷ *De re rustica* 1.27-28; for the agricultural calendar, cf. Pliny, *NH* 18.lvi-lxxiv — including observations on stars and weather — and cf. also Columella, *De re rustica* 11.2.

⁹⁸ Book 8: fr. 76-79 Cardauns. The following books similarly dealt with *Ludi*.

⁹⁹ See Mirsch's edition, pp. 37-9, with fragments on pp. 119-29. The specifics of the contents are debatable. Censorinus, *De die natali* 16-24, however, provides a good parallel with more development in this respect; although he does not go through the year's festivals, he offers sections systematically discussing different time measures—ages, "great" years, years, months, days, and hours. Cf. Rawson, p. 236 n. 18; K. Sallmann (ed.), *Die Literatur des Umbruchs*, *HLL* 4 (Berlin, 1997), p. 248 (§441.B.3); and see further discussion below about possible connections to Suetonius.

¹⁰⁰ Suetonius, *De gramm.* fr. 17 (with Kaster's commentary); further see Appendix A below.

¹⁰¹ See Mastandrea, *Cornelio Labeone*, pp. 19-20. Note the definition appearing in Festus (p. 78 Lindsay) for this sort of work, cited by Mastandrea, p. 20: *fastorum libri appellantur in quibus totius anni fit descriptio*. For further details on this literature, as well as translation of some important comparanda, see the Appendix A.

¹⁰² Note especially R. O. Fink, A. S. Hoey, and W. F. Snyder, "The Ferial Duranum," *Yale Classical Studies* 7 (1940), pp. 1-222.

rather than an indication that complete *fasti* were no longer used in later times.¹⁰³ Besides religious dates, John includes frequent notes on the astronomical and meteorological events tied to specific days of the year—for example, the risings and settings of stars and constellations, the activity of winds and stormy weather.¹⁰⁴ These "paraepematic" details are already incorporated in the calendrical commentary genre in Ovid's *Fasti*.¹⁰⁵

The first book of *De mensibus* includes what seem to be remains of an overall history of the Roman calendar and religion, although much has been lost. Similarly, John's extant literary parallels such as Ovid and Macrobius also include at least some treatment of the history of the calendar along with the sequential account of the year, with discussion of Romulus' original calendar and Numa's modifications, for example, as well as (frequently) the reforms enacted by Julius Caesar.¹⁰⁶ It is possible that one of John's sources was a lost work of Suetonius. The *Suda* credits Suetonius with a single-book work "On the Roman Year"¹⁰⁷—and because of this, Wissowa in particular argued strenuously that a number of the later extant sources depended on this lost *De anno Romanorum*.¹⁰⁸ Bluhme supported Wissowa's views from the perspective of his examination of John's sources, building the case that John drew on excerpted Suetonian

¹⁰³ M. R. Salzman, *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1990), p. 7; for a list of extant *ferialia* (on stone and on papyrus), n. 18.

¹⁰⁴ The technical term for such a list of astronomical / meteorological phenomena is *paraepema*, and Lehoux, pp. 387-392, includes extracts of this general type from *De mensibus* (with English translation) in his treatment and extensive collection of *paraepemata* in the ancient world. John's information frequently finds parallels in other *paraepemata*, in particular the lists found in Pliny, Columella, Geminus, and Clodius Tuscus (the latter transmitted by John himself in *De ost.* 59-70), but frequently diverges as well. He consistently cites names familiar from other such lists—Eudoxus, Euctemon, Democritus, Metrodorus, Philippus, Varro, Caesar, and so on—but not enough correlation occurs to pin down his source(s) with any confidence. See also E. Gee, *Ovid, Aratus and Augustus* (Cambridge, 2000), appendix 2, pp. 205-8, for the myriad difficulties in evaluating and interpreting the kinds of astronomical references found in such lists.

¹⁰⁵ In later times, also in the calendar of Polemius Silvius (on the basis of Columella); cf. Degraffi, p. 263.

¹⁰⁶ Ovid, *Fasti* 1.27-62; 3.9-166; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12-16.

¹⁰⁷ *Suda* s.v. Τράγκυλλος; the Greek title is περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ρωμαίους ἐνιαυτοῦ. The single "fragment" printed for this work by Roth is Censorinus 20.2, whereas Reifferscheid gives extensive material, especially from Isidore of Seville, which he judges to be derived from it (along with copious parallels and discussion), as fr. 113-23 (pp. 149-92); A. Macé, *Essai sur Suétone* (Paris, 1900), pp. 307-10, attempts to draw connections with passages in the biographies. Cf., briefly, A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius: The Scholar and His Caesars* (London, 1983), pp. 48, 132; and for a critique of Reifferscheid's expansiveness (with further references), pp. 41-2; more positively with regard to Reifferscheid, see brief discussion and references in Sallmann, *HLL* 4: 23 (§404.B.1).

¹⁰⁸ Wissowa, *De Macrobiani Saturnaliorum fontibus* (Berlin, 1880), pp. 16-26 (etc.), building on Reifferscheid; see P. Mastandrea, *Un neoplatonico latino: Cornelio Labeone*, *EPRO* 77 (Leiden, 1979), pp. 15-21 for discussion.

and Macrobian material.¹⁰⁹ As Mastandrea argues, however, the further parallels with *John* argue strongly for Cornelius Labeo instead as a common source for Macrobius and John Lydus.¹¹⁰ Still, John often can be seen to go his own way: Note that he offers different explanation for matrons and masters serving slaves at *De mens.* 4.42, and refers to Sicyonians instead of Acarnanians at 3.5. Mastandrea quite convincingly concludes that Macrobius and John used Cornelius Labeo extensively, but independently, and that both typically retain the authorities cited by Labeo while almost always failing to mention the latter as their primary source.¹¹¹

Maas cautiously argues that the form of John's work is innovative in the sense that it deals with the days of the week (and in particular their numerological associations) along with other discussions of aspects of the calendar.¹¹² The observation that this differentiates John's work from any earlier extant treatise is true as far as it goes, and certainly demonstrates that for John in the 6th century, the week was assumed to be an institutional part of the calendar. The 7-day astrological week, however, is already described by Cassius Dio (37.18.2) as widespread and well known in his time,

¹⁰⁹ Bluhme, *De Ioannis Laurentii Lydi libris περὶ μηνῶν Observationum capita duo* (Halle, 1906), pp. 86-121. Maas (p. 62) asserts that John did not know Suetonius' work on the Roman year, but gives no evidence for this; presumably he is relying on Bluhme's discussion of John's sources, which Maas cites generically at about this juncture (p. 163 n. 74), and which does conclude that John had no direct evidence of this work.

¹¹⁰ See Mastandrea, pp. 47-65, for connections to Cornelius Labeo. See Appendix A below for a translation of the fragments of Cornelius Labeo. Further see Sallmann, *HLL* 4: 77-81 (§409.1); D. Briquel, *Chrétien et haruspices: La religion étrusque, dernier rempart du paganisme romain* (Paris, 1997), pp. 119-37; ead., "Cornelius Labeo: Etruskische Tradition und heidnische Apologetik," in L. Aigner-Foresti (ed.), *Die Integration der Etrusker und das Weiterwirken etruskischen Kulturgutes im republikanischen und kaiserzeitlichen Rom* (Vienna, 1998), pp. 345-56. Mastandrea's conclusions are cautiously endorsed by Rüpke, *Religion in Republican Rome: Rationalization and Ritual Change* (Philadelphia, 2012), p. 250 n. 32; cf. also Cameron, *Last Pagans*, p. 616 with n. 236 (in discussion of Macrobius' knowledge of Varro), leaving the question open whether Macrobius' direct source was Suetonius or Cornelius Labeo.

¹¹¹ Mastandrea, pp. 60-61.

¹¹² Maas, p. 56-7. Note that the cycles of days centered around the market-day (*nundinae*), typically represented in inscribed *fasti* with letters of the alphabet, find no place in John's account—and contrast Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.16.28-36, for discussion *inter alia* of whether market-days are to be considered religious festivals (*feriae*).

"even" to the Romans,¹¹³ and it would be rash indeed to imagine that no one had dealt with it in a calendrical work before John's.¹¹⁴

Two Late Antique examples displaying calendrical / religious knowledge are worth mentioning for comparison: the Calendar of Philocalus (Filocalus) (A.D. 354), also known as the "Chronography of 354," and the Calendar of Polemius Silvius (A.D. 449). Both include notices of festivals held through the year, and both include significant other information as well, some similar to that in *De Mensibus*, some not. The Philocalus document, a sumptuously illustrated compendium originally prepared for a mid-4th-century Roman aristocrat, presents lists of Roman magistrates, bishops, and martyrs, astrological material on the planets and the signs of the Zodiac, portraits of the year's consuls (Constantius II and Gallus), emperors' birthdays, representations of the city *Tychai* of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Trier, material on the calculation of the date of Easter, and a chronicle of the city of Rome.¹¹⁵ Despite the incorporation of both "pagan" and Christian information elsewhere, the calendar itself (section VI of the document), includes no Christian holidays. Rüpke's recent summary comment is most apt: "Religion offered a framework for the orientation of a Roman senator's son who was to be interested in distinctions other than that between paganism and Christianity."¹¹⁶ Nearly a hundred years later, and localized in Gaul rather than Rome, Polemius Silvius offers a more self-consciously Christian calendar, achieving this more by incorporating Christian dates rather than by eliminating pagan festivals wholesale.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ E. Zerubavel, *The Seven Day Circle: The History and Meaning of the Week* (Chicago, 1985), p. 19. For the week, see also F. H. Colson, *The Week* (Cambridge, 1926); Schürer, "Die siebentägige Woche im Gebrauche der christlichen Kirche der ersten Jahrhunderte," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 6 (1905), pp. 1-66; C. Pietri, "Le temps de la semaine à Rome et dans l'Italie chrétienne (IVe-VIe siècle)," in J.-M. Leroux (ed.), *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'antiquité au moyen âge* (Paris, 1984), pp. 63-97; Rüpke, *Roman Calendar*, pp. 160-69.

¹¹⁴ In Reifferscheid's reconstruction of the contents of Suetonius' *De anno Romanorum*, the planetary week is indeed included (fr. 117), but as discussed above, the precise scope of this work is controversial and debated.

¹¹⁵ See Salzman, pp. 23-56, for the complete description of the document, with extensive plates showing extant illustrations. For the calendar portion, see Degraffi, pp. 237-62; cf. the earlier edition by Mommsen, *Inscriptiones Latinae Antiquissimae*, 2nd ed., part 1 (Berlin, 1893), pp. 254-79, printing the calendar of Philocalus and that of Polemius Silvius on facing pages. For the other material, see Mommsen (ed.), *MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi* 9: *Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII*, part 1 (Berlin, 1892), pp. 13-148. For further discussion on the document and bibliography, see Salzman, *passim*; Rüpke, *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit*, pp. 90-94; R. Herzog (ed.), *Restauration und Erneuerung: Die lateinische Literatur von 284 bis 374 n. Chr.*, *HLL* 5 (Munich, 1989), pp. 178-83.

¹¹⁶ "Roles and Individuality in the Chronograph of 354," in É. Rebillard and J. Rüpke (eds.), *Group Identity and Religious Individuality in Late Antiquity* (Washington, DC, 2015), p. 265.

¹¹⁷ As Salzman, p. 242, observes, one of the sources was in fact the Calendar of Philocalus. The reasons for "omissions" are not always obvious; religious sensibilities are a possible motive, but obsolescence of some festivals is equally so. In the case of the days of the week, on the other hand, Polemius Silvius seems

Along with the calendar, his *laterculus* interleaved lists of Roman rulers, provinces, types of animals, buildings of Rome, weights and measures, and much more, including the more calendrically oriented instructions pertaining to the lunar cycle and the Paschal calculation.¹¹⁸ The analysis carried out by Dulabahn indicates that this document (and earlier ones) especially served a pedagogical purpose in a school setting.¹¹⁹ The documents associated with Philocalus and with Polemius Silvius offer frequent parallels with John's text, and will often be cited in footnotes to the translation.

Overall, the number and fragmentary nature of the antecedents of John's work make it difficult to draw firm conclusions about his specific sources on the calendar, but it would be safe to assume that he did not have one single overarching source—and also that he did not personally inspect the works of very many of the authorities he cites. It is quite clear, however, that one of his major sources must have been the lost work of Cornelius Labeo, a writer who likewise combined an interest in the calendar and religion with philosophical analysis.

While it is not itself a work of philosophy, the significance John finds in numerous details of calendrical details and religious practice often displays a clear philosophical background. From John's own reports, as already mentioned, we know some details about his philosophical education, which generally cohere with the impression of John's interests given by the text of *De mens*. John was heavily indebted to Neoplatonic thinkers, especially Proclus, whose student Agapius was John's guide in reading Aristotle and Plato, and to whom he refers warmly.¹²⁰ Possible influence of

to be reporting discomfort with the pagan names: *Dierum necessum non fuit formas depingi ... neque ut stulte gentiles locuntur nomina designari...* (Mommsen, *MGH*, p. 518). This sentence does indirectly show, however, that by this time an account of the days of the week (such as that provided by John in book 2) might well have been expected in a work on the calendar. Polemius Silvius shows similar reticence *inter alia* for (Zodiac) constellations (*ibid.*).

¹¹⁸ For a recent general treatment (rightly complaining that previous scholarship has treated the calendar and the other material separately), see D. Paniagua, "New Perspectives for the *Laterculus* of Polemius Silvius," in D. Hernández de la Fuente (ed.), *New Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2013), pp. 393-406; cf. also Salzman, pp. 240-46. For the calendar portion, see Degraasi, pp. 263-76 (with ms. facsimiles on plates LXXV-LXXX); cf. the earlier edition by Mommsen, *Inscriptiones Latinae Antiquissimae*, 2nd ed., part 1 (Berlin, 1893), pp. 254-79, printing the calendar of Philocalus and that of Polemius Silvius on facing pages. Lehoux, pp. 309-33, prints the Latin text of the calendar (from Degraasi) followed by a translation into English. For the accompanying material, see Mommsen (ed.), *MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi* 9: *Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII*, part 1 (Berlin, 1892), pp. 512-51. For further discussion, see E. S. Dulabahn, *Studies on the 'Laterculus' of Polemius Silvius*, diss. Bryn Mawr, 1987; Rüpke, *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit*, pp. 151-60; G. Wesch-Klein, "Der *Laterculus* des Polemius Silvius: Überlegungen zu Datierung, Zuverlässigkeit und historische Aussagewert einer spätantiken Quelle," *Historia* 51 (2002), pp. 57-88.

¹¹⁹ See Salzman, p. 16 n. 49.

¹²⁰ *De mag.* 3.26.3; cf. Dubuisson-Schamp 1.1: xxi-xxvii, lvi-lxiii. Scholarly literature on Neoplatonism, including Proclus, is extensive; let it suffice here to mention only R. Chlup, *Proclus: An Introduction*

Simplicius and Damascius has also been traced, although these are never cited explicitly.¹²¹ John also shows clear interest in Iamblichus and that philosopher's famous obsession, theurgy.¹²² John's citations of Chaldaean Oracles and Hermetic literature shows that his interests are very much in line with the esotericism of Proclus and Iamblichus.

Arithmology or numerology is a more specialized area that seems clearly to have fascinated John, as it did many ancient thinkers, especially those in tune with Neopythagoreanism and Neoplatonism.¹²³ Early in the 20th century, F. E. Robbins' investigation of the parallels and contrasts between different writers on this subject yielded the convincing conclusion that John's ultimate source for number symbolism was a Neopythagorean work of the 2nd cen. B.C., which was a common source also of Philo and others.¹²⁴ His major direct source, however, was much later, probably of the 5th cen. A.D.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, it remains possible that John used Philo directly for some

(Cambridge, 2012), and to note that many Proclus' works are currently being made more available through translations and scholarly analyses. These will be cited as appropriate for elucidation of John's text below.

¹²¹ Maas, pp. 102-3; cf. Dubuisson-Schamp 1.1: lii-lv.

¹²² Maas, pp. 103-4; Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: lxvii-lxxiii.

¹²³ For a straightforward general work, see V. F. Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism* (New York, 1938). Robin Waterfield's translation of Pseudo-Iamblichus, *The Theology of Arithmetic* (Grand Rapids, 1988), is an accessible, clearly translated and helpfully annotated source that serve as the most convenient reference point for this subject; it will be the most frequent primary source cited for elucidation of John's discussion and for close parallels to the same kind of material in *De mensibus*. One of its major sources was Nicomachus of Gerasa's *Theologoumena arithmeticae*, which John appears to cite three times (4.67, 97 [likely], 162); for the relations between Nicomachus and Ps.-Iamblichus, see F. E. Robbins' discussion in Nicomachus, *Introduction to Arithmetic*, tr. M. L. D'Ooge (New York, 1926), pp. 82-7. Note that Waterfield includes bracketed page references to V. de Falco's Teubner edition—Ps.-Iamblichus, *Theologoumena arithmeticae* (Leipzig, 1922)—within his translation for ease of cross-reference; also see Waterfield's more formal textual contribution, "Emendations of [Iamblichus], *Theologoumena Arithmeticae* (De Falco)," *Classical Quarterly* 38 (1988), pp. 215-27.

¹²⁴ Most significantly, Robbins, "The Tradition of Greek Arithmology," *Classical Philology* 16 (1921), pp. 97-123; also id., "Posidonius and the Sources of Pythagorean Arithmology," *Classical Philology* 15 (1920), pp. 309-22; id., "Arithmetic in Philo Judaeus," *Classical Philology* 26 (1931), pp. 345-61. Robbins argues for a 2nd-cen. work (not 1st-cen., as Maas, p. 59, states) which would have been a source for Posidonius as well. For a recent assessment of the question, see D. T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria: On the Creation of the Cosmos according to Moses* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 25-29, with further discussion of detailed issues, including John's relation to Philo, on pp. 298-308.

¹²⁵ Robbins, "The Tradition of Greek Arithmology," p. 111, points out that John cites Proclus in arithmological contexts, and thus his direct source of such material presumably post-dated Proclus. See further Robbins' *stemma* of the tradition, p. 123; cf. also J. Flamant, *Macrobie et le Néo-platonisme latin, à la fin du IV^e siècle* (Leiden, 1977), pp. 342-54.

material.¹²⁶ John's great innovation in the use of arithmology may have been to apply this symbolism systematically to the days of the week.¹²⁷

The symbolism espoused by John, of course, goes well beyond arithmology. John offers extensive symbolism based on etymology and "allegorical" interpretation of myth. In this realm, frequent parallels are found with the exposition of myth and divine names as found in such authors as Cornutus, Plutarch, and Porphyry.¹²⁸ What Dawson observes about Plutarch is equally applicable to John's treatment: "[He] tends to read the myths as collections of images pointing beyond themselves to a higher mystical reality."¹²⁹ That is, the *stories* are not usually the object of analysis. In this arena too Cornelius Labeo seems to have been a very significant source for John. One characteristic move in Labeo's discussion, observable in Macrobius and John extensively, is the delineation of theological interpretations between the *physici*, that is, "natural" philosophers, and the *mythici*, that is, "mythical" interpreters or writers.¹³⁰ Not only physical or mystical allegory, but also Euhemeristic interpretation (as seen, e.g., in

¹²⁶ As Runia, pp. 299-300, says, the results of the analysis of passages of Philo and John relating to the number seven have not been "conclusive." Note that John has one explicit citation of Philo in a non-arithmological context at *De mens* 4.47; moreover, the tacit use of Philo at 2.8 seems likely to have been direct, as it includes wording from Philo's exegetical context. Other significant points of contact with Philo's writings appear in 1.17, 2.4, 2.12, 3.10, 4.4 (for which note the discussion in the introduction below), 4.17, 4.51, 4.53, 4.74.

¹²⁷ Maas, pp. 59-60.

¹²⁸ For treatment of the allegorical / symbolic interpretation of myth and deities, especially in the Neoplatonic school of thought, see R. Lambertson, *Homer the Theologian: Neoplatonist Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition* (Berkeley, 1986); id., "Language, Text, and Truth in Ancient Polytheistic Exegesis," in J. Whitman (ed.), *Interpretation and Allegory: Antiquity to the Modern Period* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 73-88; D. Dawson, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (Berkeley, 1992). More recently, see P. T. Struck, *Birth of the Symbol: Ancient Readers at the Limits of Their Texts* (Princeton, 2004); id., "The Poet as Conjuror: Magic and Literary Theory in Late Antiquity," in L. Ciriaolo and J. Seidel (eds.), *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 119-131. L. Brisson, *How Philosophers Saved Myths: Allegorical Interpretation and Classical Mythology*, tr. C. Tihanyi (Chicago, 2004) is also useful, and brings the discussion down into the Byzantine world. Two new annotated editions of Cornutus are worth consulting: P. Busch and J. K. Zangenberg (ed., tr.), *Lucius Annaeus Cornutus: Einführung in die griechische Götterlehre* (Darmstadt, 2010); H.-G. Nesselrath (ed.), F. Berdozzo (tr., comm.), et al., *Cornutus: Die griechischen Götter. Ein Überblick über Namen, Bilder und Deutungen* (Tübingen, 2009). Porphyry's treatment in his fragments "On Images" (περὶ ἀγαλμάτων) [fr. 351-360 Smith] is especially comparable to John's; also note Sallustius / Salustius: A. D. Nock (ed., tr.), *Sallustius: Concerning the Gods and the Universe* (Cambridge, 1926).

¹²⁹ Dawson, p. 60.

¹³⁰ Mastandrea, pp. 40, 172. In John's text, μυθικοί are cited in 2.2, 2.8, 4.3, 4.34, 4.64—and οἱ τὰ μυθικά <συγγράψαντες> in 1.1; φυσικοί (much more common in Greek and Latin literature generally) in 2.7, 3.9, 3.10, 4.10, 4.13, 4.21 (*bis*), 4.25, 4.34 (*bis*), 4.64, 4.66, 4.71, 4.94, 4.116, and 4.159 (*bis*)—and οἱ ... τὴν φυσικὴν ἱστορίαν συγγράφοντες in 4.26; note also the combined formula at 4.64: κατὰ μυθικὴν καὶ φυσικὴν θεωρίαν. For Macrobius, cf. *Saturnalia* 1.8.6; 1.9.1-4; 1.17.50, 54; 1.18.15; 1.21.1.

Diodorus Siculus) and rationalization of myth (as in Palaephatus) are frequently found in John's discussion.¹³¹ In keeping with these latter types of reinterpretation of myth, John is frequently attentive to "inventions" (εὐρήματα)—e.g., the Lydian discovered or invented wine and the fig-tree (1.3); Tarquin the Proud invented punishment by torture and the mines (4.29).¹³²

John seems constantly fascinated by various aspects of the natural world and their correspondence with mystical / symbolic lore, as evidenced by his frequent appeals to the views of "natural philosophers" in addition to "mythic interpreters" and philosophers more generally.¹³³ Often his interest in natural philosophy appears to extend more to the scientific than the directly symbolic, and his discussion draws on sources such as Aristotle (e.g., 3.18 on the movement of the heavens) and Seneca (e.g., 4.107 on the Nile). In these realms, however, John relies frequently upon doxographical compilations and collections of "marvels,"¹³⁴ although he may have used certain significant authors more directly.

On the whole, but especially in these latter areas, John as a writer has been seen as a "compiler" more than anything else, quite concerned to indicate the authorities for particular views or pieces of information although not necessarily to reveal his own specific sources (i.e., the compilations)—a literary "pack rat" of sorts. This tendency is

¹³¹ For a good discussion of rationalization, Euhemerism, and allegory in ancient myth interpretation, see G. Hawes, *Rationalizing Myth in Antiquity* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 23-36.

¹³² For the long-standing interest in "first inventors" in Greek tradition, see L. Zhmud, *The Origin of the History of Science in Classical Antiquity*, tr. A. Chernoglazov (Berlin, 2006), pp. 23-44; A. Kleingünther, "Protos heurètes": Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer Fragestellung, *Philologus Suppl.* 26.1 (Leipzig, 1933).

¹³³ For the timeliness of naturalistic and / or supernatural explanations of phenomena such as earthquakes, see Meier, *Das andere Zeitalter Justinians*, pp. 84-6.

¹³⁴ Particularly common are parallels with Ps.-Plutarch, *Placita*, *Parallela minora*, and *De fluviis*. For source analysis of the former, which contains at least fairly credible views attributed to known philosophers, see H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci* (Berlin, 1879); J. Mansfeld and D. Runia, *Aëtiana*, 3 vols. (Leiden, 1997-2010). Much more problematic in terms of content and sourcing are the others, for which see Jacoby, "Die Überlieferung von Ps. Plutarchs Parallela Minora und die Schwindelautoren," *Mnemosyne* 8 (1940), pp. 73-144; *FGrHist*, vol. 3a, pp. 367-9, arguing that John depends on the same (already shortened) source as Ps.-Plutarch. Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 127-34, argues that John depends on an original (sometimes longer) version of the Ps.-Plutarch. Jacoby and Cameron are in general quite skeptical (rightly so) of Ps.-Plutarch's source citations; more indulgent are J. Boulogne (ed.), *Plutarque: Oeuvres morales*, vol. 4 (Paris, 2002), pp. 228-37; E. Calderón Dorda et al. (eds.), *Plutarco: Fiumi e monti*, *Corpus Plutarchi Moraliū* 38 (Naples, 2003), pp. 60-66; K. Dowden on "Agathon of Samos" (843) and "Antipater of Acanthus" (56) in *Brill's New Jacoby* (2014). Cf. now C. Delattre (tr., comm.), *Pseudo-Plutarque: Nommer le monde. Origine des noms de fleuves, de montagnes et de ce qui s'y trouve* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 2011). Pliny the Elder is also a frequent parallel for this type of information, and may well have been a source for John (sometimes through an intermediate source attributed to Apuleius); see P. Mastandrea, "Conoscenza e circolazione del testo a Bisanzio, in età giustiniana," in V. Maraglino (ed.), *La Naturalis Historia di Plinio nella tradizione medievale e umanistica* (Bari, 2012), pp. 9-37.

easy to document on the basis of *De ost.* and *De mag.*, and *De mens.* seems to have been no exception. Andrew Smith observed in regard to Porphyry, "One has the impression that he found it difficult to suppress any piece of information which interested him."¹³⁵ The same thing could easily be said about John. Some questions do remain, however, about the literary form and extent of the original publication. It is relatively easy to add to or subtract from a compilation of information, and the deepest problem in the study of *De mens.* is to imagine what exactly the work included when first compiled. John's most extensive surviving work, *De mag.*, is described as lacking clarity, full of digressions and excursus (sometimes prompted by etymology), with copious source citations.¹³⁶ It would be surprising if *De mens.* were not originally somewhat similar. The text as we have it, of course, is far from pristine.

TRANSMISSION AND TEXTUAL STATE

Among John's works, the *De mensibus* has suffered especially severely from shoddy and piecemeal transmission. Almost none of it appears to have survived in its original amplitude and scope, but excerpts and epitomes have been tracked painstakingly by successive editors in order to recover as much as possible of the author's work. Nevertheless, it is clear that modern editions are at best an imperfect reflection of its primordial state: Much is missing, and it is quite possible that much has also been added, such that great caution is required in making assertions about its contents. It is especially this caution that falls by the wayside in the most frequent way scholars use John's work—in passing. It is therefore my fervent hope that this English version of the text (along with the present discussion of its constitution and problems) will serve as a guide to future use and citation, and a warning against uncritical quotation.

The so-called "Codex Caseolinus" (cod. Par. suppl. gr. 257 = O), of the 9th or 10th cen.,¹³⁷ is the oldest, most important manuscript generally for John's works, and the one that preserves the most complete text. It is therefore the main witness for *De ost.* and *De mag.*, but in the case of *De mens.*, unfortunately, it is totally inadequate: Only 2 folia (99-

¹³⁵ A. Smith, "Porphyrian Studies since 1913," *ANRW* II.36.2: 744.

¹³⁶ Dubuisson-Schamp 1.1: cxxv-cxxvii.

¹³⁷ Wuensch, pp. vi-vii; see also Bandy (1983), pp. xxxix-liv, for the history and description of the ms.—and the original publication with a descriptive preface by C. Hase (ed.), *Joannis Laurentii Lydi De ostentis quae supersunt, una cum fragmento libri De mensibus ejusdem Lydi...* (Paris, 1823). It can now be viewed online at: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b110048901>.

100) from this work survive in the ms.¹³⁸ Nevertheless, the text of *De mens.* was epitomated and excerpted in numerous manuscripts, which thus provide a significant amount of material that can be brought together to get a fuller sense of the original text. There are two families of quite thorough-going epitomes of the text: X, the "Barberini recension" (named after its most significant representative, cod. Barb. II 15 = cod. Barb. gr. 194 = A);¹³⁹ and Y, the "Planudean recension" (so called because it is based on the excerpts made by the late Byzantine scholar Maximus Planudes).¹⁴⁰ Both these families were used by previous editors of *De mens.*,¹⁴¹ but it was Richard Wuensch who made the most painstaking and exhaustive attempt so far to reconstruct the text on the basis of manuscript evidence, and who therefore hunted down as many possible extracts as he could find in various other mss. and sources (e.g., the historian George Cedrenus) as well.¹⁴² His working philosophy in putting his edition together was to follow the order of the large-scale epitomes of *De mens.* in their order to provide a basic framework. After identifying other fragments, he inserted them into this framework as seemed most appropriate, interweaving the text of other fragments where they seemed to fit the text of the major epitomes, not without some guesswork at the margins.¹⁴³ He indicates with sigla in the margins of his edition the families or individual mss. or other sources for the text in its various parts.

An example of the other manuscripts Wuensch found is cod. Par. gr. suppl. 607A (= R), of the 10th cen., which he put to use as one important source of material arguably derived from John Lydus.¹⁴⁴ Although the ms. is an anonymous collection of unattributed excerpts, arranged partly in a rough alphabetical order by topic, Wuensch demonstrates that significant portions of it were quite probably or almost certainly

¹³⁸ Wuensch prints the remains of O's text of *De mens.* in 4.147-150, 154-6 (pp. 165-173). On the basis of 4.149, moreover, Wuensch, p. viii-ix, demonstrates that the text of O itself reflects some loss and supplementation compared to the original.

¹³⁹ Wuensch, pp. lix-lxx. Note that this ms. may be viewed online (http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.gr.194?sid=96ff1667fe6f406871744d1f3e4f142f).

¹⁴⁰ Wuensch, pp. lii-lix.

¹⁴¹ Especially, W. Roether's edition should be mentioned here: *Joannis Laurentii Philadelpheni Lydi De mensibus quae exstant excerpta* (Leipzig, 1827). It is still quite valuable for the annotations included, some by Roether himself, others by Hase and Creuzer.

¹⁴² See Wuensch's detailed descriptions of these mss. and sources (including some material not explicitly attributed to John), and his argumentation for the material he considers to derive from *De mens.*, pp. x-xxxix; note especially the principle enunciated on p. xxxi: In using anonymous fragments, Wuensch looked for sections that were linguistically unified and which agreed verbally with other fragments more certainly belonging to *De mens.* It should also be noted that the section of Cedrenus Wuensch uses in this context (1: 294-99 Bekker) stands out from the surrounding text (on Julius Caesar) as a largely intrusive collection of excerpts (and thus quite similar to the other excerpt-collections Wuensch used), presumably attached to Julius Caesar on the basis of the calendrical information included.

¹⁴³ Wuensch, p. xlvii.

¹⁴⁴ Edited in full by M. Treu, *Excerpta anonymi Byzantini e cod. Par. suppl. gr. 607A* (Ohlau, 1880).

taken from *De mens.*¹⁴⁵ In particular, much of what Wuensch delineates as the first and fifth sections of the ms. (Treu, pp. 3-9, 38-47) is either very close to the extant wording of *De mens.* as otherwise attested (and thus woven by Wuensch into his edition directly)¹⁴⁶ or at least fairly similar, but without the verbatim agreement that would allow him to treat it as a direct witness of John's text. It is quite possible that *some* of the material from this ms. *not* ultimately incorporated by Wuensch does come from John also, but Wuensch is able to demonstrate for other sections of the ms. that the compiler did not necessarily rely exclusively on a single source within a given section, such that due caution must be exercised. Still, I will cite some of this additional material in footnotes as seems appropriate.

Perhaps the most significant additional ms. used by Wuensch is cod. Scorial. Φ-III-1 (= S), of the 14th or 15th cen. As Wuensch describes it, the relevant pages of the ms. contain extracts from *De mens.* interspersed with excerpts from Theodoret and Galen, and also copious marginal notes.¹⁴⁷ Wuensch argues that the material in S too was excerpted roughly in order from the start of *De mens.* to the end, with the divergences from that general practice showing that the excerptor would sometimes go back over a given section of John's text to make additional extracts.¹⁴⁸ This ms., however, includes one specific section of demonstrably extraneous material that nevertheless made its way into Wuensch's text. The section *De mens.* 4.36-38 contains portions of *Maximus Planudes'* translation of Macrobius, which John could not have had access to, with accompanying citations from Plotinus that are also unlikely to have been in John's original text.¹⁴⁹

The painstaking work done by Wuensch resulted in an expanded text compared to previous editions, but a text with great uncertainty still remaining, despite the generally favorable reception of his edition at the time. Even the most complete manuscript does not necessarily preserve the text adequately. As Wuensch himself shows, on the basis of *De mens.* 4.149 as transmitted in O and in the "Planudean recension," the text of O has already undergone some degree of loss and supplementation—that is, it does not always represent the original text of *De mens.* in pristine form.¹⁵⁰ It should not be surprising if significant disagreements remain about what John really wrote.

¹⁴⁵ Some of the other material Wuensch judges to be derived from *De ost.*

¹⁴⁶ Sometimes in the text itself, at other times only in the apparatus—see p. xix for a list of both categories.

¹⁴⁷ Wuensch, pp. xxxix-xlvi. Cf. also the related material described in Tischendorf, *Anecdota sacra et profana* (Leipzig, 1855), pp. 58-65 (Wuensch, pp. xix-xx). There are more potential fragments in this material to consider than Wuensch felt able to include directly in his edition.

¹⁴⁸ Wuensch, pp. xlvii-viii.

¹⁴⁹ See discussion and references in the footnotes *ad loc.* below.

¹⁵⁰ Wuensch, p. viii-ix.

The most thorough-going critique of the edition was provided by Friedrich Börtzler in 1921, the overall thrust of his argument being that Wuensch's text represents a tangled conglomeration of Lydus with notes added by others; that the texts of X, Y, and S go back to the same excerpt-collection, which was itself gathered from multiple sets of excerpts.¹⁵¹ His conclusion is thus that it is difficult to determine how much of Wuensch's edition is *truly* John's original text, how much expanded or re-worded—but that it is always hazardous to assume that the edition does adequately reconstruct the original text. The critique is telling and quite convincing in many details, yet does not wholly vitiate Wuensch's work.

By way of examples, Börtzler analyzes two passages in detail, Wuensch's 4.4 and 2.12, in which he attempts to trace the interventions of excerptors and annotators.¹⁵² He also emphasizes, as evidence for transpositions, the repetitions of certain notes in multiple places: the explanation of Apollo found in 2.4 (p. 21.18ff.), 2.12 (p. 33.12f.), and the apparatus to 3.10 (p. 40); and the passage on the ibis and the ape found in 3.11 (p. 51) and 4.76 (pp. 130-31).¹⁵³ Furthermore, to demonstrate that X, Y, and S all go back to the same compilation, he points to 3.10 (pp. 43.17-44.5), which explains Numa's delineation of *three* monthly days of significance (Kalends, Nones and Ides) briefly but obscurely on the basis of (a) general numerical considerations; (b) the sun; and (c) the moon. In Börtzler's view, John must have originally given a longer, more explicit explanation of these points—and yet the epitome traditions X, Y, and S, all "choose" precisely the same terse phrases.¹⁵⁴

It is worth going through Börtzler's discussion of 4.4 and 2.12 in detail, in order to see clearly the force of his critique and the complexity of the questions involved. First, Börtzler argues that 4.4 as reconstructed by Wuensch is a mixture of John's original text with various notes and interpolations.¹⁵⁵ His opening observation (attributed to an imaginary "innocent reader") is that the text as it stands in Wuensch's edition is "impossible." While John's focus is to give an explanation of the exchange of the New Year's gift known as *strena*, of which one form was laurel leaves, there appears a discussion of the laurel more generally between two explications of the *strena*, and the second one vitiates the prior discussion of the laurel. Further, he notes, two sentences that naturally belong together as treatment of the laurel tree are separated in Wuensch's text: "On this basis too, this tree is hateful to the *daemons*, and wherever there is a laurel, *daemons* go away" and "For neither will a sacred illness or a troublesome *daemon* disturb a place in which there is laurel." Next, Börtzler points to another potentially significant

¹⁵¹ F. Börtzler, "Zum Texte des Johannes Laurentius Lydus *De mensibus*," *Philologus* 77 (1921), pp. 364-79 (364-5 for the summary). On Börtzler see Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: lxxxviii-ix; Caimi, pp. 68-9.

¹⁵² Börtzler, pp. 365-75.

¹⁵³ Börtzler, p. 375; cf. also p. 364 n. 1.

¹⁵⁴ Börtzler, pp. 375-6.

¹⁵⁵ Börtzler, pp. 365-9.

aspect of the text:¹⁵⁶ a part of the discussion of the laurel is actually a quotation from Porphyry—and yet Wuensch's ms. S attributes it to *Plutarch*.¹⁵⁷

To see better the relationships between the text from the various mss. incorporated by Wuensch, and thereby give Börtzler's arguments their full consideration, I present here the text of this section tabulated according to the source mss., arranged as far as possible in sequence for each ms. or group, but in such a way as to make clear the parallels in the different witnesses. Thus, because some of the text of S does not fit the order of Wuensch's reconstruction, those portions are set off with braces ({} below; in S, that material appears after the rest of the notice. Dotted underlining marks out the material in P that derives from Porphyry. Differences of wording (in the Greek) with respect to the parallels are marked by underlining, and similarly minor gaps or omissions (as compared to the parallels) are indicated with a caret (^).

X (A + B)	P	S
<p>So then, as the sun is now lengthening the day, the consul goes forth. The day is one of festival and cessation of hostilities; but the magistrates, for the sake of securing an omen, appear on the raised platform and assemble all the armies along with their standards. And in ancient times they would give each other dried figs, offering first fruits of sweet foods, as I imagine. And they would give laurel leaves,</p>		

¹⁵⁶ In fact, Börtzler also notes that the *Geoponica* (11.2) repeats the discussion of the laurel here. He acknowledges that Wuensch was aware of this parallel (p. xxxiv), and he goes on to argue convincingly that *De mensibus* was the source for the *Geoponica*. This, therefore, need not be further considered here.

¹⁵⁷ Porphyry, *On Images* fr. 359 Smith, quoted in Eusebius, *PE* 3.11.23. Börtzler points out other similar misattributions in S: in 4.6, a passage attested as Herennius Philo is credited to Iamblichus; at 4.86, Plutarch ("the Chaeronean") is invoked again for Porphyrian material. Cf. also, perhaps, 4.148 (O). John does appear to draw on Porphyry's *On Images* directly and explicitly in 4.94 (S), and again in 4.137 (X) directly (it seems) but without attribution; see also Dubuisson-Schamp 1.1: lxiv-lxvii for further references to Porphyry.

<p>which they called <i>strêna</i>, in honor of a certain goddess [<i>daimôn</i>] of the same name, who is overseer of victories. The word <i>strêna</i>, in Greek, signifies the "good beginning as regards military skill." For [they] do not give it by way of trifling or recreation, as the common people do.</p>	<p>And they say that the famous Latinus—Telegonus' brother, Circe's son, and Aeneas' father-in-law—when he was founding the [68] "acropolis" of Rome before the coming of Aeneas, found a laurel tree [<i>daphnê</i>] by chance at the spot, and thus allowed it to remain there. For this reason, here too they designate the Palatium as "Daphne."</p> <p><u>The ancients consecrated the laurel tree to Apollo, because the tree is full of fire, and Apollo is fire—for he is the sun. On this basis too, this tree is hateful to the <i>daemons</i>, and wherever there is a laurel, <i>daemons</i> go away; and it appears that people discovered the manifestation of prophecy while burning [laurel-leaves] in oracular practice.</u></p> <p>And the more ancient</p>	<p>{as Plutarch says, <u>this sort of tree is full of fire,</u></p> <p>and <u>for this reason</u></p> <p>the <i>daemons</i> <u>kept away</u>.</p> <p>And the ^ ancient people</p>
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<p>Elpidianus in his [work] <i>On the Festivals</i> says that in the Sabine language, health is called <i>strêna</i>, for the sake of which laurel leaves were bestowed upon the magistrates by the people on the first [day] of the month of January—for it produces health.</p> <p>For neither will a sacred illness or a troublesome <i>daemon</i> disturb a place in which there is laurel, just as lightning [will] not [strike] where there is a fig-tree—<u>because</u> it is ^ able to dispel apparitions; thus too, those who desire to receive a divine manifestation [<i>epiphaneia</i>] in a dream partake of figs only.</p> <p>But <u>that</u> laurel leaves would be offered <u>together</u></p>	<p>people dedicated the laurel to Ares—for which reason they would crown those who were victorious over their enemies with laurel, just as conversely [they would crown] their saviors with oak, on account of the fact that the oak was what saved those in ancient times, before the discovery of grain; for the ancients would eat acorns in lieu of grain.</p> <p><u>And they say concerning the laurel that</u> it produces health, <u>for which reason</u> laurel leaves were bestowed upon the magistrates by the people on the first [day] of the month of January—</p> <p>For neither will a sacred illness or a ^ <i>daemon</i> disturb a place in which there is laurel, just as lightning [will] not [strike] where there is a fig-tree—but it is also able to dispel apparitions; thus too, those who desire to receive a divine manifestation [<i>epiphaneia</i>] in a dream partake of figs only.</p> <p>But since laurel leaves would be offered along</p>	<p>dedicated <u>this</u> to Ares—<u>and on account of this</u> they would crown those who were victorious over their enemies with laurel and others, after them, to Helios—<u>And they would crown the saviors of the cities with oaken [crowns]; that for savior for the ancients the acorn was actually sustenance, before grain.}</u></p> <p>That a sacred illness or a troublesome <i>daemon</i> will <u>not</u> disturb a place in which there is laurel, just as lightning [will] not [strike] where there is a fig-tree—<u>because</u> it is ^ able to dispel apparitions; thus ^, those who desire to receive a divine manifestation [<i>epiphaneia</i>] in a dream partake of figs only...</p>
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<p><u>with the figs [is] clear from the fact that</u> until the present day [they] put laurel leaves <u>according to custom</u> as well into containers of figs.</p> <p>And yet, the practice remained in a changed form, just because of prosperity: instead of figs, they distribute cakes, and instead of leaves, gold. And the Romans call the cakes [made] from honey <i>plakountes</i> ["flat-cakes"] because this sort of food arrived in Placentia first in Italy from the Greeks (or rather, from the Samians), and therefore it is called by this name, like Tarentine [cakes] from Tarentum, and Canubic [cakes] from Canubus, and Copta [cakes] from Coptus. A certain Samian [named] Dion first made bread by mixing in honey and invented the so-called <i>sesame</i> in Samos—and hence, the place has a name akin to that of the fruit.</p>	<p>with the figs, the custom prevailed even until the present day to put laurel leaves as well into containers of figs.</p>	
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Börtzler's hypothesis to make sense of the state of the various texts, and his judgment on Wuensch's edition in this passage, is as follows: Only ms. group X represents John's original text, which attempted to explain the *strena* and delineated both laurel leaves and figs as part of the New Year practice. All the rest of the material appeared as glosses and annotations to that text. The mention of laurel leaves prompted the addition

of the Porphyry citation (identified as "the ancients"); this in turn led to another note ("the more ancient people"), and to the further reworking and interpolation of the text. The note on Latinus and the Palatine hill, Börtzler thinks, could have been excerpted from another passage of John's text. At the end of this development, Börtzler brings out how each of the dependent sources has re-tooled the material for its own purposes.

It should be noted that (to judge by the fuller text provided by Eusebius) the Porphyry material is not a verbatim quote, but a paraphrase, indeed two progressively freer paraphrases or adaptations. Even in the state of the text as visible in P, we are not talking about an annotator who slavishly copies one passage into a margin, but a reworking of the material. It would not at all be surprising for John to have used Porphyry's discussion to illuminate the significance of laurel in this way. It would further be quite plausible that a direct attribution to Porphyry was garbled in the transmission to S. Finally, the *digressions* that break up the flow of the text (unacceptably, in Börtzler's view) are in fact quite characteristic of John's writing. Börtzler overemphasizes John's presumable coherence and logic. In this instance, at least, it appears that Wuensch's reconstruction is still generally defensible.

For 4.4, as we have seen, Börtzler maintains that the ms. group X largely does preserve John's text, but in his second detailed analysis of a passage he attempts to show that X and Y (the major epitomes) are themselves interpolated.¹⁵⁸ This second passage is *De mens.* 2.12, a discussion of the seventh day / the number seven. For the sake of clear presentation, here is my translation of this passage, according to Wuensch's text, divided into three sections Börtzler identifies in his analysis:

[1] The seventh day is attributed by the Egyptians and Chaldaeans to the Shining One, the loftiest star of all so designated by them, which cools in the highest degree and dries immediately—but the Greeks customarily call it *Cronus* in terms of theology, in terms of etymology "satiated mind," as being full and bursting with years, meaning "Long-Aged" [*Makraiôn*], as has been said.

[2] Now then, the Pythagoreans dedicate the seventh [day] to the ruler of the universe—that is, the One—as witnessed by Orpheus, who says the following:

Seventh [day], which the king who shoots from afar, Apollo, loved.

I have said before that Apollo is mystically called "the One" on account of its being far away from most things—that is, alone. Rightly, therefore, did Philolaus call the number seven "without a mother"; for by nature it alone neither begets nor is begotten—and what neither begets nor is begotten is *unmoved*. For

¹⁵⁸ Börtzler, pp. 369-75.

begetting [occurs] in movement: the one, so that it may beget; the other, so that it may be begotten. And such indeed is God, as the Tarentine orator himself [believes]—he speaks as follows: "For God is the leader and ruler of all things, being always one, steadfast, unmoved, himself like himself [only]."

[3] But the astrologers, tending toward the more mythical [account], address the seventh day [as belonging] to Cronus, as the father of the visible gods. For because the star of their Cronus is said to be *higher* than all the wandering [stars], they dedicated the seventh day, I imagine, to him as the highest of all things.

Börtzler's conclusion is that section [3] is an addition compiled from section [1], a doublet of sorts, while section [2] is an intrusive passage, appearing in the text by accident of transmission. His argumentation proceeds as follows: John's pattern in dealing with the days of the week is first to discuss the corresponding heavenly body, next to treat the numerological significance of the relevant number—but here, suspiciously, discussion of Saturn recurs within the treatment of the number. More significantly, the section on the number [2] is largely copied from Philo, *De opificio mundi* 100.¹⁵⁹ It seems strange (Börtzler says "impossible") for John to imply a connection between the seventh *day of the week* and Apollo; Philo's discussion, in any case, does not originally relate to a *seventh day*. The mention of Philolaus ("Rightly, therefore, did Philolaus call the number seven 'without a mother'") is illogical and not strongly rooted in John's context, assuming rather a background treatment of the *hebdomad* (as in Philo)—and the term "without a mother" relates logically to *Athena*, not to *Apollo*. The illogicality could be put down to John's confusion, but a little later (3.9) he demonstrates perfect understanding of this same material:

The power of the *heptad*, you see, is very great: For its number is *unmingled* and *unmothered*, neither generating nor being generated, like each of the numbers in the *decad*. Hence too the Pythagoreans dedicate the *heptad* to Athena; for by the

¹⁵⁹ In the translation of Colson and Whitaker (LCL):

It is the nature of 7 alone, as I have said, neither to beget nor to be begotten. For this reason other philosophers liken this number to the motherless and virgin Nike, who is said to have appeared out of the head of Zeus, while the Pythagoreans liken it to the chief of all things: for that which neither begets nor is begotten remains motionless; for creation takes place in movement, since there is movement both in that which begets and in that which is begotten, in the one that it may beget, in the other that it may be begotten. There is only one thing that neither causes motion nor experiences it, the original Ruler and Sovereign. Of Him 7 may be fitly said to be a symbol. Evidence of what I say is supplied by Philolaus in these words: There is, he says, a supreme Ruler of all things, God, ever One, abiding, without motion, Himself (alone) like unto Himself, different from all others.

cycle of the *hebdomad* all things are preserved immortally. And for this reason they call her "virgin daughter of a mighty father"—because it is the progeny of the *monad* which alone encompasses and gives subsistence to all things; for the *monad* is the cause of all things.

Börtzler at this juncture suggests it is more likely that this discussion really belongs with 2.12, on the seventh day—rather than that John gave basically the same discussion twice, in two separate contexts.

What could account for the current state of 2.12? Börtzler speculates that what appears in 3.9 was more or less John's original text, but that a reader added in the margin a passage from Philo ("the Pythagoreans liken it to the chief of all things...") to illuminate the reference to the Pythagoreans; further Philonic material ("by nature it alone neither begets nor is begotten...") might have been added, or might have been part of John's text to begin with—but then, the marginal Pythagorean explanation was copied into the main text, combining itself with John's wording in such a way as to obscure the logical progression, and resulting in the strange association of their views with significance of the "seventh day" rather than the number seven. Other parts of the Philonic quotation likewise mixed in with the text as well. Finally, a reader wishing to restore the logic of the seventh day's association with Saturn added in, as section [3], a paraphrase of section [1]; the specific wording, "the star of their Cronus" (ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῖς Κρόνου...ἀστήρ)—as Börtzler renders it, "der Stern, der bei ihnen dem Kronos entspricht"—clearly refers back to the Egyptians and Chaldaean of section [1].

While Börtzler's reconstruction is tentative, his discussion does identify real difficulties with Wuensch's text, and certainly succeeds in highlighting the potential for disruptions and rearrangements in the transmission of John's text. It is not possible, however, to accept the precise solution he offers in all respects. In the first place, he assumes direct influence of Philo's passage on John (and a later marginal commentator)—but such direct use of Philo is itself in question; secondly, and not unrelatedly, his suggestions do not deal with the quotation from Orpheus, which is *not* paralleled in Philo. Although it is possible that John (or another compiler) added the Orphic line from his own stock of material, it seems much more likely that it appeared in an arithmological text among other material on the number seven, especially because John's focus is on the days of the week, whereas the connection with Apollo has to do with the seventh day of the month, sacred to the god because it was the anniversary of his birth.¹⁶⁰ Börtzler is certainly aware of this as the basis for Apollo's relevance, but does not draw the conclusion that one cannot *assume* Philo as a primary source of this passage. Rather, it is plausible that both were drawing on the same, or a similar, source,

¹⁶⁰ Note, e.g., Hesiod, *Works and Days* 770-771.

now lost¹⁶¹—in which case, however, the detailed wording of Philo here cannot be brought to bear with the probative value Börtzler needs. Börtzler also overemphasizes the presumed coherence and organizational tightness of John's original text; he cannot see why John might repeat a similar explanation of the same number at different points in his work. Yet as we see in *De mens.* across the board, John is interested in number at multiple levels: in the days of the week, in the structure of the month generally, and in the specific, individual months of the year. It is unconvincing to reject doublets out of hand, especially when (as here) they are not actually verbally identical.

To conclude the consideration of this section, it is worth tabulating the ms. evidence Wuensch uses in his reconstruction of 2.12, to bring out once again the complicated state of the text and the difficulty of producing a definitive "original text."

X	Y	S
<p>The seventh day is addressed by the Egyptians and Chaldaeans as the Shining One, the loftiest star of all so designated by them, which cools in the highest degree and dries immediately—but the Greeks customarily call it <i>Cronus</i> in terms of theology, in terms of etymology "satiated mind," as being full and bursting with years, meaning "Long-Aged" [<i>Makraiôn</i>], as has been said. Now then, the Pythagoreans dedicate the seventh [day] to the ruler of the universe—that is, the One— <u>and</u> Orpheus, who says the following:</p> <p>Seventh [day], which the</p>	<p>The seventh ^ is addressed by the Egyptians and Chaldaeans as the Shining One, the loftiest star of all so designated by them, which cools in the highest degree and dries immediately—but the Greeks customarily call it <i>Cronus</i> in terms of theology, in terms of etymology "satiated mind," as being full and bursting with years, meaning "Long-Aged" [<i>Makraiôn</i>] ^.</p> <p>Now then, the Pythagoreans dedicate the seventh [day] to the ruler of the universe—that is, the One— <u>and</u> Orpheus, who says the following:</p> <p>Seventh [day], which the</p>	<p><u>For the seventh number belongs to the sun;</u></p> <p><u>for</u> the Pythagoreans dedicate the seventh [day] to the ruler of the universe—that is, the One— as witnessed by Orpheus, who says the following:</p> <p>Seventh [day], which the</p>

¹⁶¹ See discussion of John's use of arithmological sources above.

<p>king who shoots from afar, Apollo, loved.</p> <p>I have said before that Apollo is mystically called "the One" on account of its being far away from most things—that is, alone.</p> <p>Rightly, therefore, did Philolaus call the number seven "without a mother"; for by nature it alone neither begets nor is begotten—and what neither begets nor is begotten is <i>unmoved</i>. For begetting [occurs] in movement, <u>because both the begetter and the begotten are not without movement</u>: the one, so that it may beget; the other, so that it may be begotten.</p> <p>And such indeed is God, as the Tarentine orator himself [believes]—he speaks as follows: "For God is the leader and ruler of all things, being always one, steadfast, unmoved, himself like himself [only]."</p> <p>But the <u>mythographers</u> <u>dedicated</u> the seventh day to Cronus ^</p>	<p>king who shoots from afar, Apollo, loved.</p> <p>^</p> <p>Rightly, therefore, did Philolaus call the number seven "without a mother"; for by nature it alone neither begets nor is begotten—and what neither begets nor is begotten is <i>unmoved</i>. For begetting [occurs] in movement ^</p> <p>But the astrologers, tending toward the more mythical [account], address the seventh day [as belonging] to Cronus, as the father of the visible gods. For because the star of Cronus is said by them to be <i>higher</i></p>	<p>king who shoots from afar, Apollo, loved.</p> <p>I have said before that Apollo is mystically called "the One" ^</p> <p>Rightly, therefore, did Philolaus call the number seven "without a mother"; for by nature it alone neither begets nor is begotten—and <u>this sort of thing is by nature <i>unmoved</i></u>.</p> <p>^</p> <p>And such indeed is God; <u>at least, also Onetor the Tarentine</u> ^ speaks as follows: "For God is the leader and ruler of all things, being always one, steadfast, unmoved, himself like himself [only]."</p> <p>But the astrologers, tending <u>more</u> toward the mythical [account], address the seventh day [as belonging] to Cronus, as ^ <u>first</u> of the visible gods.</p>
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as the highest of all things.	than all the wandering [stars], they dedicated the seventh day, I imagine, to him as the highest of all things.	
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To draw this discussion to a close: Wuensch's edition needs to be used with great care. Nevertheless, the overall impression he gives of John's work is still somewhat secure in outline, and while periodic expressions of the need for a new critical edition are voiced, scholars have been more or less content to use Wuensch's edition of *De mensibus* for the time being.

The most recent (but unfinished) attempt to re-edit the text, by Anastasius Bandy,¹⁶² published posthumously, does not fundamentally differ with Wuensch on the scope or content—only on the arrangement, with no rationale presented, and myriad problems added to the mix. In terms of ordering, he freely rearranged passages and paragraphs in such a way as to achieve greater thematic continuity. Without an explicit argument for his ordering, however, only a convincing internal logic, subjectively perceived, could confirm it; and while some details of the re-arrangement are suggestive, the overall impression is not of an advance in understanding the work's structure.¹⁶³ With regard to the passages discussed by Börtzler, note that in *De mens.* 4.4

¹⁶² Bandy (ed., tr.), *Ioannes Lydus: On the Months (De Mensibus)* (Lewiston, 2013). For a severe review of the publication, see A. Kaldellis at the *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* [<http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2014/2014-01-09.html>]. It is unfortunate that Bandy's work was brought to public view in an inchoate state, although the first-ever English translations of *De mens.* and *De ost.* were most welcome. Especially making the use of his work difficult are frequent misprints in the references to Wuensch's text, and a faulty correlation of Bandy's Greek text and English translation. I include as Appendix B below a table of correspondances between Bandy's edition and Wuensch's to facilitate future use of Bandy's contributions.

¹⁶³ Bandy simply states that his new arrangement was intended to give "a more logical sequence in accordance with the subjects being discussed" (*On the Months*, p. 21). Note that surprisingly, Bandy breaks up parts which are adjacent in O (4.147-148 and 4.154 Wuensch). He also does not adequately indicate where the text of O is lacunose and thus where his text is offering supplements. He does not say anywhere that he looked at O for the purpose of editing *De mens.* Bandy's posthumous publication does include a useful comprehensive set of indices to people, places, and things, in vol. 4—but this is not without problems as well. To take an example more or less at random from p. 113, an entry for "the Mother" (explained as an "epithet of the goddess Demeter") lists *De mens.* III.37; IV.45, 97, 143. The first of these should be III.36 (in Bandy's sections; this would be 3.22 in Wuensch's numeration); and these are all references to Cybele, rather than to Demeter. There are separate listings for alternate ways of identifying persons; hence, there is an entry for "the Pythian god" (i.e., Apollo)—but this entry is not cross-referenced in the entry for "Apollo," although Bandy does seem to have intended to include such cross-references (as can be seen, for example, in the entries for "Homerus" and "the Poet"). Surely in most of these deficiencies,

(Wuensch), Bandy simply takes Wuensch's text as-is. In 2.12 (Wuensch), Bandy's edition of the Greek text clearly demonstrates the force of some of Börtzler's analysis, but does not offer more plausible solutions. Bandy does incorporate the material from Wuensch's 3.9 into the discussion of the number seven in Book 2 (p. 82). He does not, however, address the similarities with Wuensch's 2.12 in a way to achieve a more convincing interweaving of sources, but rather tucks this material in at the end of the entire discussion, along with another sentence (Wuensch's 4.122) he judges to be tied in by a reference to the number nine. It does not appear that Bandy reassessed the manuscript tradition of *De mensibus* and its epitomators, since he includes all (or nearly all) the material Wuensch assembled, including fragments Wuensch identified as *falsely* attributed to *De mensibus*, but nothing more.¹⁶⁴ Further, the edition does not include the sort of manuscript evidence offered by Wuensch even in the apparatus; it is basically a free revision of Wuensch's materials. On the level of text and emendations, unfortunately, Bandy frequently gives the impression of correcting to fit his idea of what John *should have written*, and hence, although some suggestions he makes are quite cogent, many, probably the majority, are either superfluous or wrong-headed.

There have been two important recent developments involving the ms. tradition of John's works that need to be incorporated into the thinking about the text. The first, by L. Perria,¹⁶⁵ reports on the discovery of a new fragmentary witness to John's text: a set of three parchment strips re-used to reinforce the gatherings in another manuscript. This 10th-cen. evidence now represents one of the *oldest* exemplars of *De mens.*, already accompanied (unsurprisingly) with other encyclopedic material.¹⁶⁶ It is possible that other such re-used material might be discovered. The second is a set of studies by L.

the edition is mainly showing its incompleteness and the sloppy posthumous treatment; it makes no implicit claim even to be a critical edition, but rather simply comes across as Bandy's rough working text.

¹⁶⁴ He does not, however, include Wuensch's 1.37-40. Arguably, these are general summaries rather than fragments strictly speaking, but the reader should be provided at least with the information they reveal about John's composition and contents. Also, Bandy relegates to an appendix passages and fragments that did not "fit" anywhere in his reconstructed text.

¹⁶⁵ L. Perria, "Un nuovo testimonio frammentario di Giovanni Lido," *Segno e testo* 1 (2003), pp. 247-55 (+ plates).

¹⁶⁶ For details: (a) For 4.119 (Wuensch, pp. 157-8), the new text is very similar to X. [Variants: some text missing; ἀργήτης / ἀργέτης rather than ἀργέστης; ἀφελιώτης rather than ἀπηλιώτης. Perria prints ἀργήτης in the reconstructed text, but then in the article text reports the ms. reading as ἀργέτης (actually, ἀργέτις—which she calls an itacist spelling error). This is problematic: see LSJ s.v. ἀργής. The reading must be the opening word on the recto of the 3rd parchment strip, which is not on the article's plates. Note also the parallel texts printed by Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: xc-xci, for comparison.] (b) After that (*De mens.* 4.119 ends on the verso of one of the fragments), the text diverges; the further material cited does not appear to be from John Lydus—hence, the conclusion that the original ms. was an encyclopedic compilation.

Ferreri,¹⁶⁷ who investigated the 17th-cen. history of certain mss. relating to the "Barberini" family / recension—the X group in Wuensch's sigla. In particular, he was able to find one ms. copied from Wuensch's ms. A (cod. Barb. gr. 194) which had eluded Wuensch's search: Leo Allatius' copy, which he had made with a view to editing the text of *De mens.* This is Vallic. Fondo Allacci VI, part 13—hereafter called "Va." Ferreri also inspected cod. Vat. gr. 2645, which includes excerpts from the *De mens.* in the Barberini "recension"—another copy made from A; he argues against suggestions that this ms. was either Allacci's copy or Marini's copy. This ms. he calls "V." Ferreri also directly consulted A (and relied on Wuensch's reports of B—which is a copy of Allacci's copy of A) to compile a list of variant readings—a partial collation, only for passages where Wuensch reported the existence of variants in his apparatus. Apart from cataloguing variant readings from Va and V, Ferreri points out numerous instances where Wuensch *mis-reported* the readings of A.¹⁶⁸

A truly new critical edition with the aim of superseding Wuensch's would need to re-examine the manuscript tradition as studied by Wuensch, in addition to both searching through sources not used by Wuensch (manuscripts and later works that drew on *De mens.*)¹⁶⁹ and considering anew the danger that these sources represent expanded or otherwise re-worked versions of John's text, not to mention arguing for a refined or more convincing principle of arranging the fragments of this work. It is to be hoped that the planned new critical edition and commentary of *De mensibus* Books 1-3, with the project led by Emanuel Zingg (and supervised by C. Riedweg), will go a long way to fulfilling this aim.¹⁷⁰

NOTE ON THE TRANSLATION AND FORMAT

For lack of a better alternative, this translation is based on Wuensch's edition of the text, following his section numeration and also indicating in brackets his page numbers, e.g. [5]. Where there are significant variant readings or alternatives offered by newer studies of the mss. or suggested emendations, these have been indicated in the

¹⁶⁷ L. Ferreri, "Il codice *Barberiniano Greco* 194, i suoi apografi e la mancata edizione del *De mensibus* di Giovanni Lido da parte di Leone Allacci," *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Sezione filologico-letteraria* 23 (2001), pp. 271-327; id., "I codici parrasiani della Biblioteca Vaticana, con particolare riguardo al *Barberiniano Greco* 194, appartenuto a Giano Lascaris," *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Sezione filologico-letteraria* 24 (2002), pp. 189-223.

¹⁶⁸ This new evidence does not, however, materially affect the English translation.

¹⁶⁹ For example, besides the material already mentioned in discussion, the works of Anastasius of Sinai, for which see F. Cumont, "Lydus et Anastase le Sinaïte," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30 (1929-30), p. 31-5; Photius (see Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: xcvi for some suggested passages in Photius that may have come from John); and Michael Psellus (*Poem.* 18)—see Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: xcvi-xcix.

¹⁷⁰ See working group announcement at: <http://www.research-projects.uzh.ch/p20081.htm>.

footnotes, and sometimes (but only rarely) incorporated into the main text. To make it possible to compare Bandy's work with Wuensch's edition and the present translation, Appendix B contains a tabulation of correspondences between the two, as well as an indication of which mss. sources Wuensch relied on in the different sections.

In the translation, I have erred rather on the side of caution and a fairly literal translation, and have indicated with brackets words supplied in English for the sake of readability, most often obvious supplements given the sometimes terse, technical writing in the Greek. For *editorial* supplements to the Greek text, angle-brackets < > are used. This especially occurs in the sections of Book 4 on November and December, where the (mutilated) text of the Codex Caseolinus is in play. Where whole words are supplemented, the effect is quite clear, but I have also attempted to indicate where *parts* of words have been supplied by editors (i.e., Wuensch, often following Hase), and the result is unavoidably a little impressionistic. In such cases, of course, the only way of really evaluating the text is in the Greek itself.

I have also used brackets to add *transliterations* of important Greek words within the text itself, most often to make etymological assertions clear, or alternatively, to supply English glosses when in the main text I have used a transliteration. Although I have used brackets for different purposes, then, it should still be quite clear in any individual case what the specific significance of the brackets is, since they will enclose only one of three different kinds of things: numbers, supplementary or English words, or transliterated Greek.

The electronic format of this publication to a large degree obviates the need for a comprehensive bibliography or index. Full bibliographical data are normally included with the first mention of a particular work of modern scholarship (although I have usually felt free to omit subtitles of books and references to their appearance in various monograph series; however, I have avoided abbreviating journal titles). *Editions* of ancient sources are cited (as needed) more briefly, most often by simple mention of the editor's last name, or by using abbreviations catalogued above (e.g., *FGrHist*). I admit to some inconsistency in references to ancient works, sometimes falling back on standard Latin titles, sometimes using English titles—and frequently using fairly straightforward abbreviations.

The task of attempting to understand and annotate John's text has often been exhausting, but the current work is still far from exhaustive in its treatment. I will be satisfied if it provides a useful starting point for future scholarship in comprehending and assessing the textual state and content of this often bewildering mass of material entitled "On the Months."

Finally, I must here especially acknowledge the indispensable help provided by the staff and resources of the Thomas Tredway Library of Augustana College, not least the interlibrary loan department.

BOOK 1

[NO TITLE PRESERVED]

[1]

1. Rightly, then, those who <composed accounts> of the mythical [matters] represented Cronus as doing away with his own children: they were hinting, I suppose, that time [*chronos*] is both father and destroyer of all those who are begotten by him.¹ †*pharygos*.

2. The servants of Dionysus called their procession *thriambos*, from *thyrsi* and *iambi*²— that is, "jibes"—as though [the word was] *thyrsiambos*. Or [the word came] from *throein* ["to cry aloud"], according to Plutarch.³

3. The Lydians (they say) discovered wine—and not only wine, but also the fig-tree.⁴

4. The Romans decided to call wine "*mustum*"—that is to say, *mystês* ["initiate"]. The Sardians were the first to use the term "mystery."

5. Sabinus was well-named, after his husbandry of the vine. For the name *Sabinus* signifies "sower" and "planter" of wine.⁵

6. Calabria [is called] Messapia, from Messapus.⁶

¹ Cf. *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, 2: 319 (no. 1091) = Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.25.64.

² *Thriambos* is the Greek original term later incarnated in the Latin *triump(h)us*, "triumph." The *thyrsus* was the wand carried by worshippers of Dionysus; *iambi* ("iambs") would be the kind of poetry implied to have been part of the celebration.

³ Plutarch, *Marcellus* 22 (cited by Wuensch), explains *ovation* rather than *triumph*; but an etymology of the latter from *throein* (and *iambizein*) is found in Cornutus, *De natura deorum* 30. The first explanation given is not otherwise fully attested, but *Thriambos* was an epithet of Dionysus.

⁴ The more familiar mythological introducer of wine and viticulture was Icarius (Ps.-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.14.7).

⁵ I.e., combining the verb *sero* ('to sow') [perf. pass. ptc. *satum*] with *vinum* ('wine'). The etymology is not explicitly attested elsewhere. Vergil includes *Sabinus vitisator* as one of the ancestor figures depicted in Latinus' palace (*Aen.* 7.178-9), however, and it has been argued that he is alluding to this derivation (see J. J. O'Hara, *True Names* [Ann Arbor, 1996], p. 188). Servius (on *Aen.* 7.179) denies that Vergil's epithet implies that Sabinus was the *first* cultivator of vines. Sabine wine was famously rustic and non-luxurious (Horace, *Odes* 1.9.7; 1.20.1), as the Sabine people were simple and virtuous; this characterization seems to be behind the identification of the ancestor-figure Sabinus as the originator of (Italian) viticulture.

7. Lucania [means] "very thicketed." For the Romans call a thicket a *lucus* [2] by way of negation—from the *lack* of light,⁷ as [we speak of] an "untimbered" forest.⁸

8. Evander first brought letters (the so-called Cadmeian [letters]) from Greece to Italy;⁹ there were not as many as there are now, for antiquity did not pass them down in that way. There were only six in addition to 10: invented later were *xi* and *zeta* and *psi*, for double [consonants], *theta* and *phi* and *chi* for aspirates, *eta* and *omega* for long [vowels].¹⁰ Of old there were five vowels, with *epsilon* filling the role of *eta*, and *omicron* that of *omega*, as is still the case even now among the Romans; their value changes only with respect to [length] of time. Later, Marcus Flavius, an Italian grammar-teacher, following the Greeks, added the remaining letters for the Romans.¹¹ Time indeed tends to transform things.

9. The Phoenicians were the first lenders and usurers, and so they contrived letters and weights and, in a word, *profit*; hence the poets call them shop-keepers.

But let us go back to where we turned aside.

10. They refer to Geryon as "three-bodied," not because he actually had the use of that number of bodies, but because three islands which lie in the Ocean were allied to him.¹²

⁶ Cf. Pliny, *NH* 3.99, and the discussion in Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae* (Königsberg, 1910), pp. 6-8.

⁷ John is alluding to the Latin word for light, *lux* (gen. *lucis*), as the supposed origin of the word *lucus*. For the famously illogical explanation, cf. Servius on *Aen.* 1.22 (*lucus a non lucendo*).

⁸ Cf. Homer, *Iliad* 11.155 (the adjective in question is *axulos*).

⁹ Cf. Hyginus, *Fabulae* 277; Tacitus, *Annals* 11.14.3-4.

¹⁰ For 16 original letters, with eight added later, cf. also Pliny, *NH* 7.192.

¹¹ Here, there seems to have been confusion with the activities of Spurius Carvilius Ruga, a grammar-teacher who is said to have introduced the letter G (Plutarch, *Roman Questions* 54 and 59), or with Gnaeus Flavius, the clerk of Appius Claudius Caecus (whose supposed interest in the alphabet is alluded to by Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, 3.261) and the earliest attested Roman to have publicly posted an inscribed calendar (see Rüpke, *Roman Calendar*, pp. 44-59 for this calendrical work), or again with the "Salvius" mentioned by Isidore of Seville (*Origines* 1.4.10) as having introduced the letter K into the Latin alphabet. L. Pedroni, "'Μάρκος Φλάβιος γραμματιστής Ἰταλός': Un commento a Lido, *De mens.* I, 8-9 W," *L'Antiquité Classique* 73 (2004), pp. 191-202, hypothesizes that M. Flavius, Carvilius, and Salvius may all be distorted reflections of the *same* reform (in the 3rd cen. B.C.), with the name as given by John possibly being attributable to confusion with the Marcus Flavius who assisted Julius Caesar in his calendrical reforms (Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.14.2).

¹² Cf. Servius on *Aen.* 7.662; the islands Servius specifies are the Balearic islands (mod. Mallorca, Minorca, and Ibiza).

11. [When] myth [relates] that Erylus,¹³ [a ruler] in Italy—whom Evander, the son of the prophetess Carmenta, seized and [thus] occupied his territory—[was] "three-souled" it is hinting at most [3] philosophical matters.¹⁴ For Socrates, in the *Phaedo*, teaches that the soul has three faculties: the mind is the charioteer, and the powers of the soul are the horses.¹⁵ Thus too the Oracles decree that one must bridle the soul:

And it is necessary for one who is mortal, intellectual, to bridle the soul,
so that it may not fall into the ill-fated earth, but instead be saved.¹⁶

For since the nature of the universe derives from opposing forces, there is a necessity to accommodate the opposing principles to the soul which has passed through everything. Indeed, its reasoning part comes from the *monad*—that is, mind; its spirited and appetitive parts from the *dyad*—that is, matter. Even so, the Oracle teaches that the entire soul is a divine triad; for it says:

...having mixed the soulish spark with the two concords,
Mind and divine Will, in addition to which he placed a third,
holy Love, the august one who mounts and connects all things.¹⁷

12. There was in Italy a certain Circe, notable for her birth and remarkable for her beauty, who fell in love with Odysseus when he was wandering in Italy with Diomedes; after being united with him, she bore him Auson, who later took power over the entire territory, and from who[se name] the western [land] was called Ausonia.¹⁸ At any rate, this Circe boasted that she was the daughter of Helios¹⁹ on account of her exceedingly great beauty [4], and in honor of her own father, I suppose, she was the first in Italy to celebrate a chariot race,²⁰ which indeed was named *circus* after her. In Greece, Enyalios,

¹³ Spelled *Erulus* in some sources.

¹⁴ See Vergil, *Aen.* 8.563-5, with Servius' commentary (on 564).

¹⁵ *Phaedrus* (not *Phaedo*), 246ab, 253cd.

¹⁶ *Chaldaean Oracles* fr. 113 Des Places / Majercik.

¹⁷ *Chaldaean Oracles* fr. 44 Des Places / Majercik. In the wording "one who mounts" (*epibêtôr*; alternatively, "one who steps upon / embarks on"), the imagery is that of a rider or helmsman (cf. the Chaldaean oracle with John's introductory words cited in 3.8 below)—hence Majercik translates, "guide."

¹⁸ For Auson, son of Odysseus and Circe, see Servius Auctus on *Aen.* 8.328 (Servius on *Aen.* 3.171, on the other hand, makes him the son of Odysseus and Calypso). At 1.13 and 4.4 below, however, John uses the Hesiodic genealogy (*Theogony* 1011-16).

¹⁹ Cf. Homer, *Odyssey* 10.136-8.

²⁰ Lit., "equestrian competition." See J. H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses* (Berkeley, 1986), p. 94, for the connection of Circe with the origins of chariot-racing—and of the latter with the Sun; especially, Tertullian, *De spectaculis* 8.2, refers to those who say that Circe was the first to put on a *spectaculum*, in honor of her father the Sun, and that her name accordingly was the origin of the word *circus*. Treatments

the son of Poseidon, earlier conducted two-horse [chariot-races]—in the days of Moses; and Oenomaus later [conducted] four-horse [chariot-races].²¹ This latter was king of the Pisaeans, and he put on the chariot race in the month of March, on the 24th, when the sun was at its height.²² He himself would wear leaf-green or leek-green, for the earth, while his opponent [would wear] blue, for the sea; and those [who lived] inland took joy in the green, while those [who lived] on the coast [took joy] in the blue. As a prize for this competition, for anyone who defeated him, Oenomaus put forward his own daughter Hippodameia—but whoever was defeated would be immediately killed. Now then, when Pelops was going to compete against Oenomaus on the basis of the agreements as specified, Hippodameia saw him, fell in love, and betrayed to him her father's tricks, whereby he used to win out over his competitors, and thus contrived for Pelops to win. And he, after winning, immediately did away with Oenomaus, married Hippodameia, and ruled over Greece for 38 years; and he called this [area] Peloponnese, from his own [name].²³ But now let my discourse return to the former subject.

The aforementioned Circe first began the practice of chariot races in Italy, and established there a *hippodrome*, of four *stades* in length, and one [*stade*] in width.²⁴ Its middle part she made of wood, calling this [5] foundation "Euripus"—perhaps from the [Chalcidian] Euripus, and from its seven-times back-and-forth course, because indeed that [sea-passage] turns its movement to the opposite direction seven times a day.²⁵

And also, there is a *pyramid* in the middle of the stadium; and the pyramid belongs to the Sun / Helios, since nearby, unshaded, [lies] that sort of altar.²⁶ For while all the [other] light-bringing heavenly bodies produce shadow, that one alone is apart from this [i.e., shadow]. And at the ends of this Euripus, on both sides, altars were

of the symbolism of chariot-races and hippodromes such as the one offered by John here below proliferated in the 6th century (cf. e.g. John Malalas 7.4-5), with some obscure antecedents cited, for example Charax of Pergamum (2nd cen. A.D.). Cf. 4.30 below and notes there.

²¹ For the stories of Enyalios and Oenomaus, cf. the very similar accounts in John Malalas, 7.4-5 (and cf. 4.14 / 4.11 Thurn); John's version here is sometimes briefer, sometimes more extensive than Malalas', and thus it seems likely that our author depends on Malalas' source(s)—identified as Charax of Pergamum and possibly also Philochorus (as in Thurn's text of 4.11). Cameron, "Paganism in Sixth-Century Byzantium," pp. 261-2, by contrast, suggests instead a Christian chronicle as the common source.

²² Gk. *hupsoumenou tou hēliou*; John Malalas reports that these events took place at the time of the festival of the Sun, 25 Dystros (the equivalent of March, as he explains)—the sun being "exalted" (*hupsoumenôî*) above the contest of the earth and sea, *not* at its highest point in the sky necessarily. (Cf. another difficult reference to the sun's "height" in 4.8 below.)

²³ Peloponnesos = "Island of Pelops." For Pelops' reign as 38 years, cf. the *Excerpta Barbari* 2 (= Julius Africanus, *Chronographiae* fr. 50 Wallraff).

²⁴ That is, roughly 800 yards long, and 200 yards wide.

²⁵ The Chalcidian Euripus is the narrow strait between Euboea and the mainland. For the movement of its waters, cf. 2.12; and (more broadly for tides) 4.83.

²⁶ I.e., the altar of Helios.

erected—three above the pyramid, [namely those] of Cronus, Zeus, and Ares; and three likewise below [it, namely those] of Aphrodite, Hermes and Selene.²⁷ [There are] two tripods, of Helios and Selene and a woman wearing a flat bowl on her head—[this] is the Earth, who is bearing the sea. And at the conclusion of the competitions, trumpets summon the victors to their prizes; and [there are] twelve starting-machines, in imitation of the twelve signs of the Zodiac. The man who stands in the middle and holds the [starting-]signal [6] for the race is called a *mapparios*, from what happens regarding the business at that point: The consuls were permitted to feast beforehand in the theatre, and after their feast, to cast away the napkins [they used to wipe] their hands—in the Roman language, these are termed *mappa*, from which [comes] also [the term] *mandulia*—and the so-called *mapparios* picks these up and then immediately celebrates the games. And around the pyramid, which they now call the *obelos*, the competitors make no more than seven circuits (which [are called] *spatia*, that is, "stades," and *missus*, meaning "contests")—on account of the fact that a mile consists of seven stades, and that there are seven planetary circuits, which the Chaldaeans call *firmaments*, apart from that of the moon—because the "dung" of all material substance extends as far as that, according to the Oracle.²⁸

And they would conclude the competition with 24 prizes, on account of the way a pyramid works. A pyramid contains 12 angles—that is, four solid [angles], each made up of three [plane angles]. And still to this day, they bring to completion one day's time by dividing the number 12 in two.

In another way too, the pyramid is fitting for those who are competing; for it is thought to belong to Nemesis. At least, in imitation of Circe, Romulus too later on, when he founded Rome in the month of April, on the 20th,²⁹ constructed such a hippodrome in it, similar in every respect. And he first made three chariots: a red one, belonging to Ares, or fire; a white one, belonging to Zeus, or *aer*;³⁰ a green one, [7]

²⁷ Thus, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars; Venus, Mercury, Moon.

²⁸ Cf. *Chaldaean Oracles*, fr. 58 des Places / Majercik (seven firmaments)—and fr. 158 (the "dung" of material substance).

²⁹ Usually the date given is the 21st, but note that this date is also anomalous as a numbered day of the month rather than the usual counting back from the following Kalends; the number given here may simply be the result of faulty calculation (or textual corruption). Cf. §14 and 4.73 below.

³⁰ *Aer* (Gk. ἀήρ) in Greek thought refers to the atmosphere close to the earth—moist, dense and cloudy, by contrast with the more lofty *aether* (Gk. αἰθήρ). The English words "air" and "ether" are derived from these two terms, but to make the distinction clear in translation, I have frequently used the transliteration *aer* for the former. For Stoics, "fire" and "aether" were equivalents, while in Aristotle's system, "aether" was a fifth, purely celestial element; for extensive discussion and documentation see J. H. Waszink, "Aether," in *RAC* 1: 150-58. It is odd that here, Zeus is connected to *aer*, although John does use the same equivalency in *De ost.* proem.; more commonly, in the Greek tradition, Hera has this association (cf. 4.25 below). The Pre-Socratic philosopher Diogenes of Apollonia (64A8 Diels-Kranz), however, is attested as having equated Zeus and *aer*. "Air" and "aether," moreover, are not always clearly

belonging to Aphrodite, or earth. Later, the Gauls contended for equality of honor, and the blue one was added—because their cloaks were of this color—in honor of Cronus, or rather, Poseidon.³¹ Quite a long time afterwards, the Roman emperor Severus, marching out against Niger and arriving at Byzantium (the present Constantinople, queen of all cities), established immense baths there, on account of the delightful quality of the city. And finding that the adjacent area was dedicated to the Dioscuri, he built *this* hippodrome³² and adorned it with stages and colonnades; he cut down a grove of trees which was in the ownership of a certain pair of brothers and brought it to the beautiful state which can be seen even now.

The Romans called two-horse chariots *bigae*, from which also [comes the term for the drivers,] *bigarii*.

13. Sailing from there, Aeneas, after very much wandering, landed at a city of Italy called Laurentia, which they say was once also called *Oppikê*,³³ from which [name] the Italians call speaking / acting like a barbarian *oppikizein* or (as most people [pronounce it]), *offikizein*.³⁴ Then, after becoming son-in-law to Latinus, who ruled that district, and ruling for three years himself, he left [i.e., died]. After the enjoyment of such hospitality, they called the native inhabitants of Italy *Latini*, and those who spoke Greek *Graeci*—from the [names of] Latinus (whom I just mentioned) and Graecus. [These were] brothers, as Hesiod in the *Catalogues* says:

distinguished; they are treated as equivalent to each other, for example, in *Chaldaean Oracles*, fr. 67 Des Places / Majercik; cf. Des Places, "Notes sur quelques 'Oracles Chaldaïques,'" in *Mélanges Edouard Delebecque* (Aix-en-Provence, 1983), p. 326, citing also Plutarch fr. 179 Sandbach. The precise status of *aether* continued to be debated; Proclus is later attested as having struggled to reconcile Aristotle's fifth element with the (Platonic) four-element theory (cited by John Philoponus, *De aeternitate mundi*, pp. 482-4 Rabe).

³¹ This would thus complete the symbolism of the traditional four elements: fire, aer, earth, and *water*.

³² I.e., the one currently existing in Constantinople. The story that Septimius Severus rebuilt Byzantium, including baths and hippodrome (cf. Hesychius, *Patria* 36-8 [Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* 1:15-16]), appears to be a Byzantine fiction: See T. D. Barnes, *Constantine* (Malden, MA, 2013), p. 112; but cf. A. Kaldellis' notes on Hesychius in *BNJ* 390F7.

³³ Aristotle fr. 609 Rose (cited by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1.72) relates the arrival of some Achaeans to *Opikê* (= Latium) after the Trojan War.

³⁴ While the verb as John gives it (either with the double π printed by Wuensch or with the single π appearing in some of the mss.) seems not to be attested in Greek, the Lat. *Opicus* could be used to mean "clownish, ignorant," a meaning evidenced as early as Cato, *Ad Marcum filium* fr. 1 Jordan (cited by Pliny, *NH* 29.14) [L&S]; for discussion, see O. C. Cockburn, *Los verbos latinos en -izare (-issare, -idiare)* (diss. Madrid 2012), pp. 304-5; Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, pp. 9-10. Note especially two scholia on Juvenal 3.207: (1) *Opizin Graeci dicunt de his qui inperite loquuntur*; (2) *Opicizare dicuntur minuere litteram loquendo*. Finally, Hesychius s.v. Ὀπικοί (glossed as equivalent to "the present" Ὀπικοί), for example, shows knowledge of the same kind of pronunciation variation as John mentions.

[8]

Agrius and Latinus.³⁵

And the daughter of noble Deucalion, Pandora, in the house
mingled with Father Zeus, the commander of all the gods,
in love and then gave birth to Graecus, staunch in battle-joy.³⁶

14. Romulus founded Rome on the 11th day before the Kalends of May,³⁷ in the third [year] of the sixth [Olympiad]³⁸—or, as others [say], in the second [year] of the eighth [Olympiad]³⁹—but the hour of the city [was] the second, before the third,⁴⁰ as Tarrutius the astrologer established—with Jupiter in Pisces, Saturn and Venus and Mars and Mercury in Scorpio, the sun in Taurus and the moon in Libra—<or, as others [say],> with the sun in Taurus, the moon in Virgo, Saturn in Libra, Jupiter in Leo, Mars in Libra, Venus in Taurus, and Mercury in Aries.⁴¹

Romulus made March the beginning of the year, in honor of Ares. For from him [i.e., Ares] he [i.e., Romulus] was born, as the story goes...only ten months.⁴²

15. The *decad* is a "full" number—hence they also call it "all-perfect," as it encompasses all the forms of the other numbers and reasons and proportions and concords. For the *decad* is a *gnomon* in the existing things, marking everything out and delimiting individually what is unbounded in each; it gathers and brings together and

³⁵ *Theogony* 1013. These words do not mesh grammatically or metrically with the lines quoted next; in the transmitted text of the *Theogony* these two are the sons of Circe and Odysseus. It seems likely that some of John's language introducing and commenting on the Hesiodic quotations has been garbled or lost. For discussion of the citations, see M. L. West (ed.), *Hesiod: Theogony* (Oxford, 1966), p. 434; A. Casanova, "Un' aporia in Giovanni Lido (*De mens.* I, 13)," *Maia* 27 (1975), pp. 125-31.

³⁶ Hesiod fr. 5 Merkelbach-West (= fr. 2 LCL). John is the sole witness for these lines, apart from a version of them appearing in a single ms. of the *Theogony*, arguably added on the basis of John's text itself (West, *Theogony*, p. 434).

³⁷ 21 April. Cf. 4.73 below.

³⁸ 754/3 B.C.—so Varro dated the foundation of Rome (his date is usually given as 21 April 753).

³⁹ 747/6 B.C.—Fabius Pictor's date was 748/7.

⁴⁰ I.e., between the second and third hours—that is, between 8:00 and 9:00 a.m.

⁴¹ For Tar(r)utius (a 1st-cen. B.C. friend of Varro) and his calculations, cf. Plutarch, *Romulus* 12; Solinus 1.18. The latter in particular relates the positions of the heavenly bodies exactly as in John's *first* report here; and in fact, the two divergent reports are actually two different manuscript versions that Wuensch combined, adding the supplement "<or, as others [say]>." Full discussion of these traditions can be found in A. T. Grafton and N. M. Swerdlow, "The Horoscope of the Foundation of Rome," *Classical Philology* 81 (1986), pp. 148-53; "Technical Chronology and Astrological History in Varro, Censorinus and Others," *Classical Quarterly* 35 (1985), pp. 454-65.

⁴² This is a lacunose reference to the common supposition that the Roman year originally had only 10 months.

completes everything—all that the intelligible world and the sublunar [world] contain.⁴³ For thus Parmenides teaches us:⁴⁴ First of all [are] the intelligible things; second, those in [9] numbers; third, the things that hold together; fourth, the things that bring to completion; fifth, those that divide; sixth, those that vivify; seventh, those that create; eighth, those that assimilate; ninth, those that dissolve; tenth, the mundane things. Rightly, therefore, Philolaus called it the *decad*, as being "receptive [*dektikê*] of the unbounded";⁴⁵ and Orpheus [called it] "key-bearing" [*kladouchos*]:⁴⁶ from it, like some sort of *branches* [*kladoi*], the numbers grow.⁴⁷

16. From Cronus until the founding of Rome, the year continued to be observed in accordance with the cycle of the moon—but under Romulus, as I said earlier, it was defined as a 10-month [period], with some months receiving more than 30 days, others fewer [than 30]. For they did not yet understand the extent of [a year's] time [as] based on the movement of the sun.⁴⁸

17. Numa Pompilius, in whose time Pythagoras lived, determined that the year be reckoned in terms of 12 months, in accordance with Socrates in the *Phaedrus*, who says that the arrangements of everything are encompassed by the *dodecad*; for over the

⁴³ For the characterization of the decad, cf. Ps.-Iamblichus, *Theology of Arithmetic* (tr. Waterfield), pp. 109ff. The word *gnomon* in the present context, based on the parallelism with this passage, seems to indicate a ruler or square (used by God according to Ps.-Iamblichus to join material things properly together). Cf. also Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* 1.6.76, calling the number 10 *perfectissimus*.

⁴⁴ Cf. Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides*, p. 969 Cousin [tr. Morrow and Dillon (Princeton, 1987), pp. 316-17)]—on *Parmenides* 134e; the list is not precisely parallel, but it seems likely that John is depending on a similar commentary tradition. Dubuisson-Schamp, 1: lxii, suggest parallels primarily in Proclus' *Platonic Theology*, and refer to Saffrey-Westerink, 6: xxx-xxxiii, for further discussion and suggestions.

⁴⁵ 44A13 (appendix) Diels-Kranz = fr. 20b Huffman (*Philolaus of Croton* [Cambridge, 1993], pp. 352-3), who like many emends to *dechad* to make the connection clearer. Ps.-Iamblichus, pp. 112-14, includes a long quotation of Philolaus, but the closest parallel is in the subsequent quotation from Anatolius (p. 114): "it is the limit of the infinitude of numbers." Numerous other sources connect the *decad* with the verb *dechomai*, but normally to assert that it "embraces" *all numbers*.

⁴⁶ Or, "branch-bearing." Orph. fr. 316 Kern (703T Bernabé). Ps.-Iamblichus (p. 111 in Waterfield's translation) calls the *decad* (and also the *tetrad*) κλεῖδοῦχος; cf. also Orphic *Hymn* 2.5. John Lydus' κλαδοῦχος (and thus, the connection with the word "branch") is based on a misunderstanding of the Doric dialect version of the word (LSJ). For influence of Proclus in the references to Philolaus and Orpheus, see Dubuisson-Schamp, 1: lxii-lxiii; Saffrey-Westerink, 6: xxxii.

⁴⁷ Cumont, "Lydus et Anastase le Sinaïte," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30 (1929-30), p. 34, compares this passage of John with Anastasius of Sinai (*In Hexaemeron* 4.3.1 and 7α.8.1-2 [pp. 98, 230 Kuehn-Baggarly]).

⁴⁸ For the lunar character of the earliest Roman months, see Rüpke, *The Roman Calendar from Numa to Constantine*, pp. 24-32; R. Hannah, *Greek and Roman Calendars* (London, 2005), pp. 100-101.

whole universe, God made use of this number in "painting" it, as Plato says.⁴⁹ For this figure is characteristic of the form of the universe: indeed, it is *circular*—since the nature [10] of the *dodecad* too is amazing, both for other reasons and because it is constructed from the most elemental and most ancient of the forms that are received in existent things, as the mathematicians say: a right triangle.⁵⁰ For the sides of this [shape], being [formed] from three and four and five, complete the number *twelve*—the pattern of the life-bringing circle. And when the most generative *hexad*, which is the beginning of perfection, being composed out of its own parts,⁵¹ is doubled...And Numa set in order the twelve-month year in proportion to the full completion of the courses of Helios and Selene. And under Romulus, the month now called March was the first month, but under Numa, January and February were added. Numa decreed that the Romans celebrate the beginning of the year when the sun is in the middle of Capricorn and is increasing the length of the day, turning back toward us from its southerly turning-point, adding half an hour to the day. And not only did he give the year its form in this way, but he also first minted coinage, such that even now, from his name, the *obol* is called *nummus*—that is, *Numa's*.⁵² But yet he also set up the house of the kings, which is called *Palatium*, in accordance with the priestly laws.

18. Hadrian was from the *familia*, or clan, of the Aelii—from which he decided to add the name *Aelius* [11] to [the names of] his subjects⁵³—and from which also Jerusalem [is called] *Aelia*, for in fact he himself built it after it had been sacked.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Phaedr.* 247a; *Tim.* 55c—the latter passage describing God's use of the "fifth figure" [i.e., the *dodecahedron*] in "painting" the universe.

⁵⁰ The words, "The nature of the ... right triangle," find a near-*verbatim* parallel in Philo, *On the Special Laws* 2.177; Philo, however, is primarily commenting on the number 50, not 12. Still, as he points out in the subsequent discussion, the sum of the sides of a right triangle (3 + 4 + 5) comes to 12. (And the sum of the *squares* of the sides comes to 50.)

⁵¹ I.e., $1 + 2 + 3 = 1 \times 2 \times 3$. "Part" here signifies "factor" (LSJ: "submultiple").

⁵² *Suda* s.v. *Assaria* also (citing Suetonius) claims Numa named coins (*noummia*) after himself; similarly also Isidore of Seville, *Origines* 16.18.10. Others rightly derive the word from Greek—cf. A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue latine*, 4th ed. rev. (Paris, 2001), p. 451 s.v. "nummus."

⁵³ This seems to be a confusion with the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, after which there was widespread adoption of *Aurelius* based on the emperor Caracalla's name (and perhaps also confusion with the name-change associated with Roman adoption, by which Hadrian did bestow his own name Aelius on two prospective heirs at different times)—a natural confusion, however, given the popularity in Late Antiquity of nomenclature with such imperial associations, including Aelius (and especially Flavius), without necessarily indicating any direct connections of enfranchisement or patronage; cf. J. G. Keenan, "The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 13 (1974), pp. 283-304; I. Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage* (Helsinki-Helsingfors, 1963), pp. 16-17; B. Salway, "What's in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c. 700 B.C. to A.D. 700," *Journal of Roman Studies* 84 (1994), pp. 133-41—in particular, p. 138, on the adoption of the name "P. Aelius" by some provincial élites already in the 2nd cen.

19. Theonikê used to be named *Hypatê*.⁵⁴

20. It was always characteristic of the high priests to cover their heads, or bind them with a fillet.⁵⁵ And this is clear, from the fact that even until to this day the fillet of the high priest in our time⁵⁶ is circled around his shoulders—the one that (as I said) once used to be placed upon the head; and so, even now it is called a †*kaikaphorion*.⁵⁷

21. Numa established the form of the royal attire,⁵⁸ in honor of Helios and Aphrodite, from purple and scarlet—and *Blatta* too (from which we speak of *blattia*)⁵⁹ is a name of Aphrodite among the Phoenicians, as Phlegon says in his work *On Festivals*.⁶⁰ For we find that Aphrodite is given close to 300 names—and the names are found in Labeo.⁶¹ [He] called the garment itself a *trabea*,⁶² which Agathocles of Sicily is said to

⁵⁴ A scholiast on Thucydides 1.61 reports Hypatê (in addition to Thucydides' *Thermê* and also *Êmathia*) as a previous name of *Thessalonikê*—to which *Theonikê* should thus probably be emended (cf. Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, pp. 10-11). Otherwise, the name and the name-change are of unknown significance.

⁵⁵ Cf. the apparent cross-reference to this passage in *De magistratibus* 2.4.

⁵⁶ Gk. *kath' hêmâs*; alternatively, perhaps, "among us."

⁵⁷ Wuensch tentatively suggests *kephalêphorion* in his apparatus; Bandy emends to *maphorion*, "veil / headdress" (with Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 34 [1899], p. 606-7).

⁵⁸ For Numa in this role (including a Phoenician connection), cf. John Malalas 2.10.

⁵⁹ Lat. *blattia* means 'purple' (orig. 'blood-clot'); for the second (neuter plural) version, the normal Latin spelling would be *blattea*—meaning, "purple-colored [garments]." (The root is also attested in Greek from the time of Diocletian, the latter form being quite frequent in later authors.)

⁶⁰ This is not attested for Phlegon (*FGrHist* 257) elsewhere, although the Suda credits Phlegon with a three-book work on Roman festivals, on which Zosimus drew (*FGrHist* 257F40, with Jacoby's commentary, p. 848); but Eusebius (*PE* 1.10.35) cites (Herennius) *Philo* (*FGrHist* 790F2) as mentioning the goddess named *Baaltis* (equated with Dione). Perhaps not in reference to that passage in particular (although a mangled reference to Philo might explain the appearance of Phlegon), but certainly a feminine form of *Baal* is assumed by John's report; *Ba'alat* is a goddess particularly associated with Byblos (Van der Toorn et al. [eds.], *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 2nd ed. [Leiden, 1999], pp. 139-40). Note too Herodotus' *Mulitta* (1.131, 199), possibly a garbled version of the same, but attributed to the "Assyrians" as an equivalent to Aphrodite; and also the mysterious *Blautê* in an Athenian inscription of the 2nd cen. A.D. (*IG* II²: 5183), for discussion of which see V. Pirenne-Delforge, *L'Aphrodite grecque* (Athens-Liège, 1994), pp. 60-62; G. W. Elderkin, "The Hero on a Sandal," *Hesperia* 10 (1941), pp. 381-7. The fanciful connection John draws with Latin *blattia* does not vitiate a true and natural association between the tutelary goddess and the purple dye for which Phoenicia was famous; note, e.g., Tyrian coins of the later Empire showing the goddess (usually identified as Astarte) in association with a murex-shell, among other things (G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia* [London, 1910], pp. 269-92 *passim*). Cf. also (albeit not connected explicitly with Phoenicia) the *Venus Purpurissa* attested by Servius Auctus (on *Aen.* 1.720); for discussion and further references see M.-K. Lhommé, "Un commentaire en catalogue: Les Vénus du *Servius Danielis* (*Aen.* 1, 720)," *Eruditio Antiqua* 4 (2012), pp. 328-9.

⁶¹ Fr. 4 Mastandrea (*Cornelio Labeone*, p. 231); cf. Mastandrea's discussion, pp. 46-7, and for the 300 names, cf. also 4.64 below.

have invented first.⁶³ And the word *trabea* is used, meaning "thrice-dyed"; for it is finished by the use of three colors, purple, scarlet and dark blue [12]—[from a plant] which is called by many *loulakion*, that is, *Ares'*.⁶⁴

Next, he put in place the city's guardian; we now call him *under-ruler* [*hyparchos*]⁶⁵ or, as some [say], *city-ruler* [*poliarchos*] or *city-justice* [*astydikês*]⁶⁶—formerly they called him *praetor urbanus*, and it is evident that he also presided over the Roman Senate.⁶⁶ And this is apparent from his foot-wear, on which a little moon was stamped, in the form of the letter *sigma*,⁶⁷ by which the Romans indicate the number 100. (This is their so-called "little kappa.") Thus, it is clear that at first it⁶⁸ [consisted of] 100 men of noble birth. For that is the number Romulus selected.⁶⁹

22. In war, the generals would bear symbols of Zeus and Helios and Selene, of Hermes and Ares. [The symbol] of Zeus [was] an eagle; that of Helios, a lion; that of Selene, a cow; that of Ares, a wolf; and that of Hermes, a serpent—for indeed, one might call the standard [made] with a serpent a *herald's staff*.⁷⁰

23. *Privilegia* are certain laws applying to a private person, as opposed to general [laws].

24. The "staff-bearers"⁷¹ [are called] *dekanoi*⁷² according to the Romans.

⁶² Gk. τραβαία (elsewhere τραβέα).

⁶³ At *De mag.* 1.7, John describes the *trabea* as pre-existing Romulus—but goes on to attribute a role in the development of the royal clothing to Agathocles, as here. Isidore of Seville (*Origines* 19.24.8), on the other hand, attributes it to Romulus himself.

⁶⁴ For discussion of the entire treatment of the royal garb / *trabea*, cf. Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.2: dclviii–dclxii; at n. 12 (p. dclx) appear some suggestions for parallels and identifications of the otherwise unexampled *loulakion*.

⁶⁵ A Greek equivalent for Lat. *praefectus* (*prefect*).

⁶⁶ John is conflating the *praefectus urbi* with the *praetor urbanus* (cf. *De mag.* 2.6); still, according to Roman tradition the prefect of the city was originally installed as a substitute for the king during the latter's absence (see, e.g., Tacitus, *Annals* 6.11).

⁶⁷ I.e., the "lunate" sigma, which looks like the letter "C." For this patrician ornament, cf. Juvenal, *Satires* 7.191–2; Plutarch, *Roman Questions* 76; Isidore of Seville, *Origines* 19.34.4.

⁶⁸ Wuensch suggests (logically) that "Senate" needs to be supplied to supplement a lacuna in the text.

⁶⁹ Cf. (e.g.) Livy, 1.8.7.

⁷⁰ *kêryk(e)ion* [= *caduceus*, Hermes' staff].

⁷¹ In Greek, this often means *lictors*.

⁷² In Byzantine times, *dekanos* was a term for an low-level imperial official (originally a lower military officer), often serving as a messenger (*Cod. Just.* 12.26). As the previous note implies, John seems to be equating the *dekanos* with the *lictor*. Cf. *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* s.v. *dekanos* (1: 601). At *De mag.* 3.8, John calls the *applicarii*, a group of special couriers who arrested criminals, "staff-bearers."

25. *Acce<de>* means "approach!"

26. Diocletian was the first after Domitian to be called Lord and King of the Romans, and he adorned his head and feet with [precious] stones instead of laurel, as Eutropius says.⁷³ [13]

27. Under Diocletian the whole Roman army consisted of 389,704; the naval force anchored at the important positions, both on rivers and on the sea, was 45,562. In proportion to this number Constantine the Great disposed the army in the eastern [part] of the realm, such that so many thousands of troops again were added to the Roman state.⁷⁴

28. [What is called] a "baked brick" [*optê plinthos*] among the Greeks is called *laterculus* by the Romans. There was a "public brick-work"⁷⁵ which had the names of the senators and those of the armies written on it, and the "brick" was inscribed as a sort of linear figure on a wall, in the shape of a square. Some too name it a *titlus*,⁷⁶ not knowing that *titlus* properly is used of the written ascription of ranks, *not* indeed of the square figure. The names of the other armies were inscribed on a (wooden) tablet; and among the Romans, the flat, thick plank [14] is called a *matricium*. For the ancients used pieces of wood and bark and lime-wood for writing. And it is indeed a lime-wood tablet on which they used to write the formula of manumission. From this, the book [is called] a *codex*. But it is properly the block of wood that is called *codex*; and the book, *liber*. And the book is properly the *liber*. These things they also call *matricium*—and the wood-workers, *matricarii*.⁷⁷ Hence, even to this day, the so-called *scriba*⁷⁸ of the praetor is brought before the consuls.

Later, Ptolemy, when Aristarchus the *grammatikos* advised him to welcome the Romans' patronage, befriended Rome by [being the] first [to] send a papyrus roll. [Rome] was equally treated with honor by Attalus of Pergamum, with Crates the *grammatikos* taking the lead in [this] enthusiasm in order to compete with Aristarchus

⁷³ *Breviarium* 9.26.

⁷⁴ For a (quite sympathetic) detailed discussion of this and other figures for the size of the later Roman imperial army, see W. Treadgold, *Byzantium and Its Army 284-1081* (Stanford, 1995), 44ff.; cf. also CAH XIV: 292.

⁷⁵ I.e., *laterculus* / *laterculum* in the sense of a "list" or "table." Cf. *Cod. Just.* 1.27.1; Isidore of Seville, *Origines* 6.17.4. The *primicerius* of the notaries was in charge of this official list (Jones, pp. 574-5). Thus, John is here treating the history of the bureaucracy.

⁷⁶ I.e., *titulus*.

⁷⁷ This is perhaps the remains of an explanation of the *matricularius*, an official in charge of the personnel lists within the Praetorian prefecture's judicial branch, in which capacity John himself seems to have served at one time (cf. *De mag.* 3.66-67).

⁷⁸ I.e., a secretary or clerk. For this post, cf. *De mag.* 2.30.

his professional rival. He scraped off sheepskins to a delicate state, you see, and sent to the Romans what they call *membrana*. As a memorial of the one who sent them, the Romans still to this day call [such] *membrana* "Pergamene."⁷⁹

29. You should note that for the Romans, a basket [*kanoun*] is [called], in the case of sacred rites, *satura*, in the case of feasting, *epularia*—which the many, out of ignorance, call *apalaria*. The Romans customarily call feasts *epulae*. [15]

30. It seemed good [to them] to have the Council gather no longer in the marketplace, but in the palace⁸⁰—and the Romans customarily called such a council *conventus*, meaning, a "coming-together." And for the many people taking counsel, silence [*sigê*] was required; from this enthusiasm for silence, which in their ancestral language they call *silentium*, they decided to name them *silentiarii*.⁸¹ And once more or less all [views] had been shared, the considered thought of the so-called *magister* prevailed.⁸² And a certain group numbering 50 men would obey him—these were called *frumentarii* and *curiosi*, that is, the "grain-buyers" and the "inquisitive." The "grain-buyers" would care for the abundance [of the grain-supply] of those in the palace, while the "inquisitive" were in charge of the Public Post.⁸³

31. *Clavularius* [means] "pertaining to a vehicle" [i.e., a chariot]—for they call the steering mechanism a *clavus*.⁸⁴

32. *Velox* [means] "swift"—and he is also called *veredaricus* even to this day.⁸⁵ And the Italians see fit to call yoked horses *veredi*⁸⁶ ... that is, to pull the vehicle. Hence, they

⁷⁹ For this story (including a translation of this passage and other accounts), see R. R. Johnson, "Ancient and Medieval Accounts of the 'Invention' of Parchment," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 3 (1970), pp. 115-122. As Wuensch's apparatus notes, the paragraph does not appear in ms. A; in B, it is bracketed. Ferreri, "Il codice Barberiniano," p. 319, adds the new information that it is not found in his ms. V, but does appear (with a marginal sign) in his Va.

⁸⁰ Gk. *Palation*; this would be the imperial palace in the newly founded Constantinople.

⁸¹ For the *silentiarii*, cf. *De mag.* 2.17; Jones, pp. 571-2.

⁸² For the *magister (officiorum)* as official in charge in the palace administration, cf. *De mag.* 2.24; 3.40-41; Jones, pp. 575-86, delineates the various offices controlled by the *magister*.

⁸³ For the *frumentarii* and *curiosi*, cf. *De mag.* 2.10; 3.40 (John glosses the Latin term as *periergos* ["meddlesome"]); for *frumentarii* alone, 2.26; 3.7; the former passage notes that the *frumentarii* were "now" called *magistriani* (i.e., connected to the *magister officiorum*), while the latter cites the *History of the Civil Wars* of "Victor" for his understanding of them (cf. Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus* 39, who compares them to the later *agentes in rebus*). In general for the duties and categories of the *agentes in rebus*, see Jones, pp. 578-82. For the overblown suspicions of the *frumentarii* and *agentes in rebus* as imperial "secret police," see Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, pp. 134-7; Jones, pp. 581-2.

⁸⁴ This note and the next pertain to the transport resources used by the Public Post; cf. *CTh* 8.5.62. For the *clavicularii* as special couriers who bind criminals with chains, cf. *De mag.* 3.8.

also indicate aspirates when writing the word *rhaeda*, derived from the adverb "quickly" [*rhâidiôs*].⁸⁷

33. *Antiquarii* [are] those [called] "fine writers"⁸⁸ by the Greeks.

34. But this Numa, when Italy was being troubled by barbarian [16] disturbances, arranged for it to be called Great Greece [i.e., *Magna Graecia*] and for the most famous philosophers to come forth—I mean Empedocles the natural [philosopher] and many other pre-Aristotelian [philosophers].⁸⁹

35. Under Numa, and before him, the priests of old times would have their hair cut with bronze scissors, but not with iron [scissors].⁹⁰ For iron, according to the Pythagoreans, is dedicated to *matter*: It too is dark and therefore nearly without form, wrought with much toil and useful for much, but not impassive.⁹¹

⁸⁵ The Lat. term would be *veredarius* ('courier').

⁸⁶ Cf. *De mag.* 3.61, explaining the road system (with presumable cross-reference to this passage): "...yoked horses...the rulers named them *veredi*; and I am aware that I set forth the reason in [my work] *On the Months*"; see also *De mag.* 3.7 for the use of the *veredus* in the Public Post.

⁸⁷ That is, the Lat. word *raeda* ('carriage / wagon') was now frequently written *rhaeda*. John justifies this by an attempted etymology from the Greek.

⁸⁸ I.e., copyists.

⁸⁹ As Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, p. 11-12, notes, the common notion that Numa was taught by Pythagoras seems to be in the background here (cf. §17 above); he cites Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Life* 29, as a parallel.

⁹⁰ Cf. Servius on *Aeneid* 1.448, with reference to the *flamen Dialis*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 5.19.11 (citing Carminius) mentions that *Sabine* priests had their hair cut with bronze. Iron has been the subject of taboos in various societies including Greek and Roman—see J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., 3: 225-36 ("Iron Tabooed"); for Greek religion more specifically, see the evidence collected by T. Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult* (Gießen, 1910), pp. 115-18; for Roman religion, note also Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, 1922), pp. 32-35, 191, 214.

⁹¹ For iron as "dark" (*melas*), cf. Hesiod, *Works and Days* 151; "wrought with much toil" (*polykmêtos*) is a Homeric epithet for iron (e.g., *Iliad* 6.48). Proclus, while commenting on Hesiod's "iron race," explores the symbolism of iron as indicating earthliness, intractability, lack of rationality, and subjection to passions (*Commentary on Plato's Republic*, 2: 77 Kroll). Specifically Pythagorean associations, however, are elusive; note the maxim, "Don't stir the fire with iron" (Plutarch, *The Education of Children* 17 [*Moralia* 12e]—cf. 58C6 Diels-Kranz; but most variant forms have "sword" rather than "iron"). W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, tr. E. L. Minar, Jr. (Cambridge, MA, 1972), pp. 177-78, draws parallels between such Pythagorean "commandments" and the strictures connected to Greek religious ritual, particularly mysteries—including taboos on the presence of iron and / or rings; in this connection, note also the Pythagorean prohibition of wearing rings (especially those engraved with images of gods), cited (e.g.) by Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 5.28.4. (The *flamen Dialis* also could not wear solid rings; see Aulus Gellius 10.15.6; Festus, p. 72 Lindsay.) Cf. also F. Boehm's collection of parallels for the Pythagorean strictures, *De symbolis Pythagoreis* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 29-30, 40; further useful discussion of Greek religious

36. After Augustus, among the contingents of the palace, there was found a college of 60 patricians by whom the "Zeus-fallen" weapons were kept; and furthermore also 30 others, by whom the Sibylline Oracles were kept.⁹²

[The following "fragments" (1.37-40) are passages from *De magistratibus*, i.e., cross-references by John himself to his own work, indicating some of the contents of *De mensibus*.]

37.⁹³ As everyone knows, the eventual magistrates of the Roman state were formerly *priests*—as Tyrrhenus had migrated to the West from Lydia⁹⁴ [and] taught the rituals of the Lydians to those called Etruscans at that time (and [these] were a Sicanian people)—who ended up being renamed *Thouskoi* [i.e., Tuscans], from their "sacrifice-watching" [*thyoskopia*].⁹⁵ I am aware that I have mentioned these at some length in the first [book] of the work I wrote *On the Months*. For King Numa, taking the insignia of the magistrates from the Tuscans, introduced them into his political system—just as [he introduced] invincibility in arms⁹⁶ from the Gauls. Attesting to these things are Capito and [17] Fonteius,⁹⁷ and likewise also the most learned Varro—all Romans—after whom

restrictions on metals and rings appears in C. Le Roy, "Un règlement religieux au Létôon de Xanthos," *Revue Archéologique* n.s. 2 (1986), pp. 286-9.

⁹² The *Salii* kept the "Zeus-fallen" *ancilia* (on which cf. 3.22; 4.42, 49, 55 below)—but there were 24 of these priests (two sets of 12—note that at 4.2, John says there were 12, i.e. the original set instituted by Numa); and the Sibylline Books were kept and consulted by the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, who amounted to 15 (at the end of 4.47 below, however, John gives the figure of 60).

⁹³ *De mag.*, poem.

⁹⁴ Cf. Herodotus 1.94.5-7.

⁹⁵ For this etymology, cf. the derivation from θυ(ο)σκόος in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.30.3; Festus, pp. 486-7 Lindsay.

⁹⁶ Carney: "weapons that were difficult to fight against"; Bandy: "hard-to-fight-against weapons." The assertion could possibly be a garbled reflection of the idea that the Romans adopted new weapons and tactics following the Gallic incursion in the early 4th cen. B.C. (cf. John's version of the story in 4.114 below).

⁹⁷ S. Weinstock, "C. Fonteius Capito and the 'Libri Tagetici,'" *Papers of the British School at Rome* 18 (1950), pp. 44-49, argues that John's various mentions of "Fonteius" or "Capito" or both together (twice: the present passage and *De ostentis* 3) are garbled references to a single man, C. Fonteius Capito—a *pontifex* and contemporary of Varro. F. Graf (*Brill's New Pauly*, 5: 491) denies the possibility of equating the two, thus maintaining the view that "Capito" here is the jurist C. Ateius Capito (d. A.D. 22), "Fonteius" an otherwise unknown writer, only cited in the works of John Lydus (cf. also *Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I. II. III*, 3: 196 [no. 463]). In accordance with this view, the present passage appears as fr. 29 in Strzelecki's edition of Ateius Capito (as in Bremer [ed.], *IAH* 2.1: 287; Huschke [ed.], *IAR* 1: 70). On the basis of the citation of Varro, Mirsch includes the passage as the 4th fragment of Book 6 in his edition of Varro's *Antiquitates rerum humanarum* (1882).

the more recent⁹⁸ Sallustius the historian teaches [again] in the first [book of his] history.⁹⁹

38.¹⁰⁰ [Romulus...] establishing the Rhamnidae and Titii and Luceres.¹⁰¹ But the reasons for these names I have provided for you in the material I composed *On the Months*, as I have said.

39.¹⁰² [The praetorian prefect's belt had] a certain *tongue-piece* or *strap-insert*, also fashioned of gold and made in the shape of a bunch of grapes—for the reason I have provided in the composition *On the Months*.

40.¹⁰³ For in ancient times and also now, in the armed military contingents, the foremost of the so-called "life-rulers" [*biarchoi*]¹⁰⁴ bears a rod interwoven with a branch fashioned of silver, for the sake of honoring Dionysus who was once honored—as I have reported sufficiently in my [work] *On the Months*.

41.¹⁰⁵ The Roman horsemen [are called] *vexillationes*, and *vexilla* [means] hanging cloths fashioned out of purple and gold in a square shape. Hanging these on long spears, as they march alongside the kings¹⁰⁶ in a circle, they cover them entirely. And [these] would be the so-called *flammula*.¹⁰⁷

⁹⁸ Lit. "this." Alternatively, "the famous" (Bandy translates, "the celebrated"; Dubuisson-Schamp, "le fameux").

⁹⁹ Cf. Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 51.37: *insignia magistratuum ab Tuscis pleraque sumpserunt*. (In the same passage, Sallust asserts that the Romans adopted weapons from the *Samnites*.)

¹⁰⁰ *De mag.* 1.9.

¹⁰¹ Cavalry contingents (the original "tribal" names), in Latin usually *Ramnenses*, *Titenses*, and *Luceres*. Cf. Livy 1.13.8; Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.9.55. (This list of groups is actually the end of John's lengthy citation of an account of Romulus' military organization by "the Roman Paternus," for whom cf. *De mag.* 1.47, and Vegetius, *Epitome* 1.8. Accordingly, "these names" may well be meant to refer to more than just the last-named cavalry groups.)

¹⁰² *De mag.* 2.13.

¹⁰³ *De mag.* 2.19.

¹⁰⁴ I.e., those in charge of overseeing *life-sustaining* provisions; LSJ suggest the translation "commissary-general."

¹⁰⁵ Wunsch prints this fragment from the text of Cedrenus, noting as well the parallels at *De mag.* 1.8 and 2.19, in which John notes that he explained the *vexilla* (and *flammula*) in his work *On the Months*. For the explanations of military terminology, cf. also *De mag.* 1.46.

¹⁰⁶ Since John is presumably referring to the cavalry of the Roman empire here, "kings" should be understood to mean "emperors"; at *De mag.* 2.19, he specifies that the *vexilla* are at his time particular insignia of a *Caesar*.

¹⁰⁷ This is a term for a small cavalry standard.

BOOK 2

ON THE DAY

[18]

1. ...It seems necessary to speak about the months—whence and how each one of them received their appellation, and what religious observances the Romans practiced in each of them, at least as far as I have learned from the Roman histories. In addition to this [I must speak] beforehand about the distinction of years, eras and times, and the first principle of days.¹ This too might possibly serve as a kind of relish for many people's hearing.

2. The natural day is understood to be from the rising of the sun until its setting—but [it is] not so [understood] by everyone.² The Babylonians, indeed, understand it to be from the rising of the sun until the setting [19] itself; they make no mention at all of night, as though it comes about not as an actual entity but rather as a contingent consequence.

The Egyptians and Hebrews reckon the coming of the day from the beginning of evening, until the following evening, combining, that is, the foregoing night with the following day and calling both together one day. They begin from the night on account of the fact that the darkness is more primal than the light, and that the cosmographers set down Erebus and Darkness prior to the ordering of the universe,³ and call Night the Mother of all. For this reason too, the mythographers represent Artemis and Apollo as having been born from Leto—and Artemis first, that is, "air-cleaving" [*aerotemis*]⁴ Moon, after her the Sun. Leto would be Night; for indeed in it, forgetfulness [*lêthê*] and sleep occur.⁵

¹ The first sentence correlates with the contents of Book 4, not Book 2; and the next sentence seems to introduce the subjects of Book 3 in addition to the day, which is the main topic of the current book.

² Varro (*Antiquitates rerum humanarum*, Book 16, fr. 2-3 Mirsch) similarly treated the different definitions of the day (cited by Aulus Gellius 3.2). Cf. also Pliny, *NH* 2.77. (Both these, however, disagree with John's characterization of Babylonian views; they say the Babylonians calculate the day from sunrise to sunrise. They also simply say the Romans calculate the day from midnight to midnight. But both bring in the Umbrians—significant presumably because they agreed with the practice of astrologers / astronomers, e.g. Ptolemy.) Cf. also E. J. Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World* (London, 1968), pp. 13-14: Contrary to John's account, the Egyptians reckoned the day from dawn.

³ Cf. Hesiod, *Theogony* 122.

⁴ Cf. Porphyry, *On Images* fr. 359 (line 58) Smith (quoted in Eus. *PE* 3.11.30).

⁵ Cf. Plutarch fr. 157 Sandbach (LCL [*Moralia* vol. 15] and his 1967 Teubner ed.; the passage is quoted in Eus., *PE* 3.1.4); Porphyry, *On Images* fr. 356 Smith (quoted in Eusebius *PE* 3.11.5); Cornelius Labeo fr. 7 Mastandrea.

Now the Umbrians, on the other hand, an Italian people versed in astrology [20], take the day as beginning at noon and call [the time] until another noon one day—just as the astrologers [reckon] in their horoscopes.

The Athenians themselves also [reckon] from sunset to sunset, just like the Hebrews, whereas the Romans at first, exactly like the Babylonians, also defined the day, in accordance with the law of nature, only from the rising of the sun until its setting, making no account of the night—but later, ordained that the day be considered and designated [as being] from midnight, or the beginning of the seventh hour of [the night] until the middle of the following night.⁶

3. It turns out that all the rhythms derive from the movement of the planets. For indeed Cronus [i.e., Saturn] moves to the Dorian [rhythm], Zeus [i.e., Jupiter] to the Phrygian, Ares [i.e., Mars] to the Lydian, and the rest to the others, according to Pythagoras, with a view to the sounds of the vowels.⁷ The [star] of Hermes [i.e., Mercury], you see, effectuates the rhythm of *alpha*, Aphrodite [i.e., Venus] that of *epsilon*, Helios [i.e., the Sun] that of *eta*; and the [planet] of Cronus [i.e., Saturn], that of *iota*, the [star] of Ares [i.e., Mars] that of *omicron*, and Selene [i.e., the Moon] that of *upsilon*, and moreover the star of Zeus [i.e., Jupiter] that of *omega*.⁸ But the sound of the rhythms does not reach all the way to us on account of the distance.

[21]

⁶ Here Cumont, "Lydus et Anastase le Sinaïte," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30 (1929-30), p. 32, supplemented the text with wording from Anastasius of Sinai, *In Hexaemeron*, 1.9.9 [p. 34 Kuehn-Baggarly]: "as Cato and Labeo say"; furthermore, Cumont corrected "Cato" to "Capito." (For the identification of the parallel, cf. also R. Schöne, "Ein Fragment des Joh. Laurentius Lydus bei Anastasius Sinaïta," in *Festschrift zu Otto Hirschfelds sechzigsten Geburtstag* [Berlin, 1903], pp. 327-9.) Accordingly, the passage appears as fr. 35 in Strzelecki's edition of Ateius Capito. Other parts of this section could also be supplemented by reference to Anastasius' text; for further comparison and discussion of the sources, see Mastandrea, *Cornelio Labeone*, pp. 66-73.

⁷ Cf. Pliny, *NH* 2.84. G. Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic* (Chicago, 1993), pp. 69-70, notes the similarity between John's assertion and Pliny's, whereby there is the suggestion that the planets are not simply associated with different *notes*, but with different modes or systems; the specific implications, however, are difficult to determine.

⁸ Cf. Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 1.14.7, quoting the Marcosian view that each of the seven heavens pronounces one of the seven Greek vowel sounds. For the general idea that the sounds of the planets are the (Greek) vowel sounds, see Nicomachus, *Excerpta* fr. 6 Jan. A scholiast ("Porphyry") on Dionysius Thrax similarly gives specific associations, but agreeing neither with John's order nor with standard planetary order. J. Godwin, *Mystery of the Seven Vowels* (Grand Rapids, 1991), pp. 20-21, synthesizing the various statements, argues that the "standard" association was: alpha – Moon; epsilon – Mercury; eta – Venus; iota – Sun; omicron – Mars; upsilon – Jupiter; omega – Saturn. More generally on Pythagorean ideas about the "harmony of the spheres," see the references collected by H. Thesleff, *The Pythagorean texts of the Hellenistic period* (Abo, 1965), pp. 186-7, including the present passage.

[ONE / FIRST DAY, i.e. Day of the Sun (Sunday)]

4. The [followers] of Zoroaster and Hystaspes, the Chaldaeans and Egyptians, gathered together the days in a group of seven, from the number of the planets. And according to the Pythagoreans, the first day is to be called "one,"⁹ from the *monad*—not "first," from the group of seven, on account of its being alone and having nothing in common with the others. For "first" is what one calls that which is first with respect to those after it; but the *monad* is undivided, unchanging, self-moving, and remaining in the same state—it is above number. And so, one would not call it "first," but rather "one." For it does not change, either to even or to odd or to any other number. Rightly [then] it would display the power of Mind¹⁰—that which is noble and exceptional / odd,¹¹ equal and complete; it is light and straight and steadfast; male and skillful / on the right-hand. For Mind is (as the mystic word says) the "once transcendent"¹² in substance [*ousiôdês*], remaining in its own substance [*ousia*] and united with itself, both standing and remaining.¹³ And the *monad* is attributed to Apollo, that is, to the one Helios, who is called Apollo¹⁴ on account of his being far off from [*apôthen*] the many [*pollôn*] [other things]. The Romans call him *Sol*, or "one alone."¹⁵

[22]

5. Helios is addressed by many designations:

Helios, Horus, Osiris, King, Zeus' Son, Apollo
dispenser of seasons and times, of winds and rains,

⁹ Cf. Philo, *De opificio mundi* 35 [9].

¹⁰ For *monad* as mind (*nous*), cf. Ps.-Iamblichus, *Theology of Numbers* (tr. Waterfield), pp. 37, 39. The association with the sun also appears on p. 39, and much of this discussion is illuminated (but not always specifically paralleled) by the context.

¹¹ The same Greek word (*perissos*) can mean "extraordinary" and "odd [number]."

¹² This phraseology is reminiscent of the Chaldaean Oracles and its commentary tradition; as Des Places, *Oracles Chaldaïques*, p. 147, points out, a more precise translation of the Chaldaean term would be "transcendent in a monadic mode"; similarly, Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, pp. 77-78 and n. 43, interpretively translates the phrase *hapax epekeina* as "the uniquely Transcendent" and "He Who is transcendentally One." (cf. also Lewy, pp. 114-15; Majercik, *Chaldaean Oracles*, p. 6). The "mind" or "intellect" is the first emanation of the transcendent Father, or indeed equivalent to the Father himself. The "twice transcendent" (or "transcendent in a dyadic mode") is the *демиург*, as John notes later (4.53).

¹³ John is likely associating the term *monad* with the verb here, "remaining" [*menôn*], as he does explicitly below, 2.6.

¹⁴ Gk. *Apollôn*.

¹⁵ Alluding to the Lat. *solus*. In any case, bringing in the sun indicates that John is here thinking of the first day of the week as the *sun's* day (*dies solis*), our Sunday. In this, significantly, his presentation (implicitly) assumes a Christian week, whereas attested pagan versions of the "planetary week" typically begin with Saturday. (Cf. Maas, *John Lydus and the Roman Past*, pp. 57-58.)

turning the reins of dawn and starry night.¹⁶

6. Pythagoras calls the *monad* Hyperionis on account of its being above all things in its very nature [*ousia*], just as the intelligible Helios, holding [its own] existence above [other] beings, has been called Hyperionidês.¹⁷ And Helios is attributed to the *monad* as being an *image* of that [*monad*], not itself being the *monad*, yet truly "untiring," for tiring [occurs] in composite beings. But the *monad* is simple and male, because indeed it is most fertile and the cause of those things that [come] after it. It is easy to understand in what way [this is true]. For if one reckons together the 24 elements (I mean the letters [of the alphabet]) as numbers, he will find [that they] all [come to] 3,999.¹⁸ To this, when the monad in 6,000 is added,¹⁹ if they are all reckoned up together, the numbers [come to] 9,999—after which nothing will be lacking apart from the *monad*. Hence, the *myriad* [10,000] displays the same figure as the *monad*, on the grounds that it is itself both the beginning and the limit of the incorporeal beings, of which the numbers are the patterns. Orpheus²⁰ [23] calls the number one *Aguieus*,²¹ that is, undivided; for none of the *parts* of the number pertain to it—not one-and-a-half, nor one-and-a-third—[it is] perfect because [it is] whole. The *monad* was given this name because of its remaining [*menein*] by itself; for when plurality is diminished by removal, [the monad], deprived of all number, remains alone [*monê*] undiminished. And the *monad* differs from *one* as an

¹⁶ Oracle cited by Eus., *PE* 3.15.3 (not explicitly from Porphyry, but cf. Wolff, p. 127; A. Busine, *Paroles d'Apollon* [Leiden, 2005], pp. 250-51).

¹⁷ Both epithets mean "son / child of Hyperion" (and are thus in agreement with Hesiod's genealogy in *Theogony* 371-4); but the claim that this is Pythagoras' designation for the *monad* is not attested elsewhere. The sentence is joined with the reference to Orpheus just below as part of Orph. fr. 309 Kern (695[II] Bernabé)—an Orphic "Hymn to Number" cited as such by Proclus (*Commentary on Plato's Republic*, 2: 169 Kroll).

¹⁸ I.e., all the Greek letters in the standard alphabet (not including digamma [6] and koppa [90]).

¹⁹ I.e., the *monad* (1) times 6,000. It is not clear why this should be added, but 9,999 is the highest number that can be expressed through the simple Greek numeral system; 10,000 would be represented by the letter *mu* (the first letter of *myriad* as well as the first letter of *monad*). For 10,000 as the "turning post" of numbers, see Philo, *De plant. Noe* 18.

²⁰ Fr. 309 Kern (695[II] Bernabé). Another version of this fragment appears in Anastasius of Sinai, *In Hexaemeron*, 1.12.3 [p. 46 Kuehn-Baggarly], with a different, presumably corrupt, name for the monad: "Orpheus called the *monad* *Anea*, that is, 'without parts.'" Kuehn and Baggarly, however, in their translation correct the text to *Aguieus* as here (following Cumont). Cumont, p. 33, further points out that Anastasius' text includes elements from *De mensibus* 2.6 and 3.4; in his view, this necessitates an arrangement different from Wuensch's in a properly reconstructed text of *De mensibus*.

²¹ The specific form John provides is actually *aguiea*, the accusative (although some mss. give a variant, nonsense reading, *aguena*—see Wuensch's apparatus and Ferreri, "Il codice Barberiniano," p. 320). *Aguieus* is known as an epithet of Apollo, from ἄγυια ("street"); but John appears to be connecting it to ἄγυιος, -ov ("limb-less") < γυῖον. Cf. "Plutarch" (in Stobaeus, *Anthology* 1.proem.10 [1: 22 Wachsmuth-Hense]) [= Moderatus fr. 3 Mullach]: Pythagoras identified the *monad* with Apollo.

archetype differs from an image: the *monad* is the pattern, but *one* is an imitation of the *monad*. That the *monad* is contemplated in a *triad* can be understood from the hymns: Proclus, on the "once transcendent," [writes] thus:

For the universe, seeing you, a *monad* containing *three*, revered [you].²²

So much for the [number] one, which (as I said) most designate "first," which in terms of perceptible [reality] they dedicated to Helios [i.e., the sun], the dispenser of all perceptible light,²³ by virtue of which it warms and at the same time gently dries [physical] bodies—[it is] one of the planets according to the Greeks, even though Zoroaster would classify it *before* the fixed [stars].²⁴

[SECOND DAY, i.e., Day of the Moon (Monday)]

7. The second day is clearly recorded by the natural [philosophers] as belonging to Selene [i.e., the moon],²⁵ which moistens and at the same time moderately warms [things]—that is to say, it is the overseer of matter. Hence it is also called Artemis,²⁶ from the even [*artios*], material number. [24] For the *even* is separated at the middle when differentiated from the *one*; only the *odd* [remains] undivided.²⁷ For the *masculine* number [is] a square, brilliance and light, subsisting from an equality of sides, while the *feminine* [number] has unequal sides, containing night and darkness on account of its inequality. With unequal sides, it has its shorter side shorter by one [unit], its longer [side longer] by one.²⁸ And so, the number *two* is not pure—first, because it is empty and not solid, and what is not full is not pure, but rather the beginning of unboundedness and inequality (unboundedness on account of matter; inequality on account of [shapes] with unequal sides), and thus the ancients understood the *dyad* as

²² Fr. 2 Vogt (= *Chaldaean Oracles* fr. 26 Des Places / Majercik—both editors, however, acknowledging that it is a quote from Proclus, only indirectly containing Chaldaean material). For the "once transcendent," cf. §4 above.

²³ For this phraseology, cf. *Chaldaean Oracles*, fr. 60 Des Places / Majercik.

²⁴ That is, Zoroaster gave it a higher ontological status than any other celestial body (cf. M. Boyce et al., *History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 3 [Leiden, 1991], p. 539).

²⁵ Hence, *Monday* (and so for the rest).

²⁶ Cf. Plutarch in Stobaeus 1.proem.10. For the association of the number two with the moon, see Ps.-Iamblichus, p. 47.

²⁷ I.e., an even number can always be divided evenly by two; an odd number cannot.

²⁸ Here "masculine" corresponds to the *monad*, "feminine" to the *dyad* (cf. Hopper, p. 39); for the correspondence of monad (and odd numbers) with squares and of the dyad (and even numbers) with oblongs (i.e., unequal-sided rectangles), see Ps.-Iamblichus, pp. 42-43, with Waterfield's n. 2, as well as Waterfield's note on the *gnomon*, pp. 120-21.

matter and difference, while the followers of Pherecydes called the *dyad* "daring";²⁹ and they call [it] "impulse" and "opinion," because truth and falsehood are [both] in opinion—for matter is readily impelled, and unstable, and very changeable, miserable and subject to toil, as it contains by nature division and separation—for the *axis*, passing through the middle of the heavens, first reveals the division into two and the separation from the one; [it is] the cause of all the movement of the perceptible [world], and [is] wholly divorced from the intelligible [realities]. Numa, discovering that these things were so, forbade the dual number in the festivals;³⁰ and furthermore, the Romans do not count [the day as] "before two" in the same way as they [count days] "before four" and "[before] three";³¹ so too the Athenians formerly [25] would remove the second [day] from Boedromion, as Plutarch says in the *Symposium*.³²

[THIRD DAY, i.e., Day of Mars (Tuesday)]

8. The third day they dedicated to the Fiery one³³ (this would be Ares, among the Greeks); that is, to the *aerial* and fertile fire, which sets ablaze the nature of the perceptible universe and does not allow it to lie inert—it dries and at the same time heats [things] in a rushing manner. They say that Ares is the child of Hera—that is, the transparent and fine fire [comes] from the aery [matter].³⁴ Hence, the mythographers

²⁹ 7B14 Diels-Kranz (labeled inauthentic).

³⁰ I.e., he did not allow festivals lasting two days, or festivals celebrated on two successive days? Or possibly, he avoided *even-numbered* days, most festivals in the Roman calendar being on odd-numbered days of the month. Cf. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic* (Ithaca, 1981), p. 62; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic* (London, 1908), p. 290. Elsewhere (3.10 below), John says that Numa honored the odd numbers, not the even numbers—but in the same chapter, he also asserts that the *Romans* generally (rather than Numa) forbade the number two in festivals. "Festivals" can be taken in a broad sense, as in 3.10, John is explicitly referring to the Kalends, Nones, and Ides. In any case, John is of course connecting the aversion to the *dyad* with Pythagorean number lore. Solinus (1.39-40, 43) somewhat similarly connects Pythagorean / Roman preference for odd over even with methods of intercalation, as well as with the character of January and March (odd-numbered, and dedicated to the gods *above*) as opposed to February (even-numbered, and dedicated to the underworld gods); cf. also Censorinus, *De die natali* 20.4, explaining that Numa's year contained 355 rather than 354 years because odd numbers were considered more fortunate; and Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.13.5, on the numbers of days in each month. Servius (Auctus) on *Ecl.* 8.75 (*numero deus impari gaudet*) likewise cites "Pythagoreans" for this preference (including a reference to Varro as authority for their views)

³¹ I.e., In counting days before Kalends, Nones, or Ides—e.g. "three days before the Kalends" in Latin is *a(nte) d(iem) III* [= *tertium*] *Kalendas*; the abbreviated version of such dates especially looks like it should be translated "before three days." For "the day before the Kalends," the form is *pridie Kalendas*—as John says, this is different.

³² *Quaestiones Conviviales* 9.6 (741b).

³³ *Pyroeis*; i.e., Mars.

³⁴ Cf. 4.21. For *aer*, cf. 1.12 above (with note).

join Aphrodite sometimes with Hephaestus, the earthly fire, sometimes with Ares, the aerial [fire]; for through these [two] the perceptible universe is given life, as has been said. And the power of the *triad* is the greatest,³⁵ even in terms of perception—for upon generated things its number has bestowed coming-to-be, growth, and nourishment. And it was not said without a point that "All things have been divided into three,"³⁶ since even the heavenly bodies themselves are three: the aetherial, the starry, and the stony.³⁷ And the *triad* is the beginning of odd numbers, for which reason three is also called a "special number"—since it does not admit division or distinction. The *triad* begins *all* the numbers,³⁸ being the beginning of all the odd [numbers], which fill [26] and are never deficient. And according to Orpheus,³⁹ three principles of coming-to-be first sprouted up: Night and Earth and Heaven; and there are three kinds of gods which are *in* [the world of] coming-to-be: the heavenly, the earthly, and that which is between these. And there are also three supreme [faculties] of the soul: the rational, the spirited, and the appetitive.⁴⁰ And Aristotle teaches that there are also three forms [*eidê*] of mind: the material [mind], the [mind] according to habit, and the [mind] outside.⁴¹ From these there are also three kinds [*ideai*]: nature, learning, and practice.⁴² And of music itself, which moves all things, according to Theophrastus there are three parts: pain, pleasure, and inspiration.⁴³ And still further, there are also three bodily movements: impulse, custom, and increase.⁴⁴ There are also three constituents of spheres: center, diameter,

³⁵ This section (up to and including the Homeric quotation) appears to be derived from Philo, *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 4.8 (fully extant only in Armenian) = fr. 4.8a Petit; cf. further material from Philo at the end of the chapter.

³⁶ *Iliad* 15.189.

³⁷ I.e., objects in the sky fall into these three categories with regard to their substance.

³⁸ For three as the first "real" number, see Ps.-Iamblichus (tr. Waterfield), p. 50: "...the triad causes the potential of the monad to advance into actuality and extension."; Hopper, pp. 35, 41. Cf. also 4.26 below.

³⁹ Fr. 310 Kern (20[V] Bernabé); cf. also fr. 28a Kern (with Bernabé's apparatus to 20[V] for further discussion and bibliography).

⁴⁰ Cf. 1.11. For the tri-partite soul, see Plato, *Republic* 4 (435ff.), etc.; on later instances, cf. Flamant, *Macrobe*, pp. 519-20, citing (e.g.) Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* 1.6.42.

⁴¹ This is a development from Aristotle, *On the Soul* 3.4-5 (429a-430a); for a closely parallel distinction, see John Philoponus, citing Alexander of Aphrodisias, in his commentary on Aristotle's *On the Soul*, p. 518 (Hayduck): the first refers to the minds of children; the second, to those of mature adults; the third, to perfect (i.e., divine) mind, that "steers the universe."

⁴² Cf. Diogenes Laertius, 5.18, where Aristotle is quoted regarding what things are *necessary* for education.

⁴³ See apparatus to Theophrastus fr. 719A Fortenbaugh; John's statement closely parallels a passage in Plutarch, *Quaestiones Conviviales* 1.5.2 (623a).

⁴⁴ Based on standard Aristotelian definitions of types of "movement"—*phora* ("impulse / motion"), *alloiôsis* ("alteration"), and *auxêsis / phthisis* ("growth" / "decrease")—it appears likely that the word *nomos* ("custom / law") here is corrupt. Cf. Roether *ad loc.*; Bandy, strangely, translates *nomos* as "alteration," without emending the text.

and circumference. There are also three movements of the stars: direct motion, retrograde motion, and apex.⁴⁵ There are three differentiations of bodies: some are material, others aerial, and others fiery—as the Chaldaean teaches.⁴⁶ There are also three movements of each figure: width, depth, and length. There are also three circles bounding the Zodiac latitudes: the summer tropic, the winter tropic, and the [celestial] equator.⁴⁷ There are also three supra-terrestrial cardinal points: east, west, and mid-heaven. [27] And one might say many things about the *triad* in perceptible [reality]; and the entire universe is said to subsist on the basis of three powers: arithmetic, geometric, and harmonic—for the intelligible [order] is higher than the present [material] order. For we know that the *triad* set in motion the procession of the divine [beings] and effectuated their eternal standing in the same form, as Ocellus the Pythagorean says in the following words: "The *triad* first put together beginning, middle, and end."⁴⁸ For the odd and limiting equality is creative, in accordance with the nature of a square⁴⁹—for the divine is marked by these three [qualities]: the desired, the sufficient, and the perfect.⁵⁰ Still further, Socrates in the *Phaedrus*,⁵¹ but also in the *Republic*,⁵² teaches that the intelligible places (for itself) a certain third nature in the divine; for its highest [part is] being, its middle [part is] life, and its final [part is] mind. But perhaps someone will say, "What commonality [is there] between perceptible things and the intelligible *triad*?" Well then, one should know that Timaeus teaches [that there are] three *triads*, and Proclus is a witness, when he alleges in his *Outline of Plato's Philosophy* that the summit of the intelligibles, being an intelligible *triad*, is also a *monad*⁵³—for it is able to be in fact

⁴⁵ The point and meaning of the third kind here (Gk. *akrônychia*) is obscure: the word can mean the summit (as of a mountain), hence possibly a reference to the high point of the planet's movement; but the similar *akronychia*, possibly a source of confusion or even the obscured original, means "nightfall," hence possibly a reference to the rising of a planet at nightfall—the related adjective *akronyktos* is used clearly with that sense. It is tempting, however, to imagine that what John is attempting to identify here is the *stationary stage* [elsewhere *stêrignmos*] between a planet's forward and retrograde motions, for which cf. 4.37. Bandy's text at this point has a misprint [ἀκρωνυλῖα], but his translation ("stationariness") is in keeping with this last suggestion.

⁴⁶ Cf. Lewy, p. 138 n. 270.

⁴⁷ By contrast, Ps.-Iamblichus (tr. Waterfield, p. 52) uses the *ecliptic* in his parallel list.

⁴⁸ 48A8 Diels-Kranz; the philosopher's name is given as Ocellus [*Okellos* / *Ôkellos*] in two mss., *Kekilius* in another; hence, Mullach attributes this fragment to "Caecilius" (*Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum*, vol. 2, p. 53). For Ocellus, see also the text in Thesleff, pp. 124-38; the current passage is cited as a variant on p. 138.

⁴⁹ The sequence of odd numbers is associated with successively larger squares; cf. §7 above. The use of the term "equality" seems to be due to the equal length of the sides of a square.

⁵⁰ This is based on Plato, *Philebus* 20d; cf. Proclus, *Platonic Theology* 3.22 (3: 79 Saffrey-Westerink).

⁵¹ *Phaedr.* 246a.

⁵² *Rep.* 511a.

⁵³ This "Outline" is not directly attested outside John Lydus, but elsewhere a work entitled *Prolegomena* is attested; see Saffrey-Westerink, 1: lviii (including n. 3). For the thought here, cf. Proclus,

a *henad*, having in itself the cause and being of all potentials [28], as Parmenides says.⁵⁴ For all the intelligible things are encompassed within the *triad*, and every divine number has come forth in this arrangement, as the Chaldaean himself says in the Oracles:

For all things have been sown in the bosom of this *triad*.⁵⁵

And again:

For from this *triad* the father blended all spirit.⁵⁶

For this reason the Pythagoreans posit the *triad* in numbers, the right triangle in figures, as the basic element of the coming-to-be of all things. So then, there is one measure, according to which the incorporeal and intelligible world subsists—and a second measure, according to which the perceptible heavens solidified, receiving as their lot a fifth and more divine substance [which is] unmoveable and unchangeable⁵⁷—and a third, according to which sublunar things were fashioned, receiving their coming-to-be and destruction from the four powers.⁵⁸

[FOURTH DAY, i.e., Day of Mercury (Wednesday)]

9. The fourth day they dedicated to the Gleaming One,⁵⁹ one of the planets which is designated thus by the Egyptians; on an equal basis it sometimes moistens,

Platonic Theology, 3.24, 27 (3: 84-86, 93 Saffrey-Westerink)—expounding Plato's *Parmenides*; the first *triad* (the "existent one") includes "one," "existence," and the "relation" between them. Cf. also Dubuisson-Schamp, 1: lvii.

⁵⁴ Cf. Plato, *Parmenides* 145a, cited by Wuensch: the "existent one" is a whole and thus contains "beginning, middle, and end"; in the previous sections, Parmenides has shown that it entails the unfolding of all number as well.

⁵⁵ *Chaldaean Oracles* fr. 28 Des Places / Majercik.

⁵⁶ *Chaldaean Oracles* fr. 29 Des Places / Majercik.

⁵⁷ For the Aristotelian "fifth element" (*aether*) cf. §10 below, and the note on 1.12 (*aer* vs. *aether*) above.

⁵⁸ This section (beginning with the reference to "the Pythagoreans") is in close agreement with Philo, *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 4.8 (extant in Armenian) = fr. 4.8b Petit; K. Staehle, *Die Zahlenmystik bei Philon von Alexandria* (Leipzig, 1931), pp. 25-26, prints it as fr. 21a of Philo's work on numbers. The "measures" are originally an allusion to the three "measures" of flour mentioned in Gen. 18.6; this retention of wording seems to argue for a direct use of Philo in this instance at least.

⁵⁹ *Stilbôn*; i.e., Mercury.

sometimes dries, being infused with *pneuma* by its quick movement around the Sun.⁶⁰ The Greeks consider this to be Hermes' [planet]. So then, those who philosophize dedicated the *tetrad* to him as the overseer of [29] mixed souls.⁶¹ For the supports of the soul are four: mind, knowledge, opinion, and perception. For as Pythagoras says, "The soul of a human being is a right-angled quadrilateral."⁶² But Archytas explains the definition of the soul not as a quadrilateral, but as a circle. "Therefore soul [is] that which moves itself; and necessity the first mover⁶³—but this is a circle or a sphere."⁶⁴ Now, this is true in the case of the intelligible [reality], but no less in the case of the perceptible [reality] as well is it possible to comprehend it in the generation of living creatures. For first comes the sowing of the seed, second the distribution into kinds, third growth, and fourth coming to maturity. But further, there are four "turnings" of the sun, in accordance with which existing things are preserved: the two equinoxes, and the summer and winter solstices. There are also four fundamental phases (like roots or first principles) of the moon itself: conjunction,⁶⁵ full moon, and the two [intervening] half-moons. Each phase alters the [moon's] activity: From conjunction to the half-moon it moistens; from then until full moon it heats; from then until the second half-moon it dries; and from then until [30] conjunction it cools.⁶⁶ Hence, I believe, those who spend their time in farming sow and plant with security around the conjunctions and the full moons, since then [they are planting] when the *aer* is moister and has been moved toward the generation of other things. But around the half-moons they chop down wood for use and gather the crops for storage, since [then] the season is drier.

So much regarding perceptible and intelligible things. As regards its principles in terms of number, the fourth number is a quadrilateral. For it alone is naturally produced equally with equal power and equal parts, by addition and multiplication: addition—from two plus two; multiplication—from two times two; thus it demonstrates a certain very beautiful form of harmony, which does not happen with any of the other numbers; and hence it is called *apotelesmatic*.⁶⁷ For if the numbers from

⁶⁰ Cf. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 1.4; Robbins (LCL) translates the phrase, "inspired...by the speed of his motion in the neighbourhood of the sun itself." (Mercury's angular distance from the sun is never greater than 28°).

⁶¹ Cumont, p. 34, notes the similarity of this discussion of the *tetrad* to the discussions of Anastasius of Sinai (In *Hexaemeron* 4.3.1 and 7α.8.1-2 [pp. 98, 230 Kuehn-Baggarly]).

⁶² This is printed by Thesleff, p. 165, as a possible fragment of the pseudepigraphic Doric prose *hieros logos*.

⁶³ Or, "it is necessary [that this be] the first mover."

⁶⁴ 47B9.10 Diels-Kranz (inauthentic).

⁶⁵ I.e., the new moon, when the sun and moon are in conjunction.

⁶⁶ For the number four instantiated in this kind of phenomena, cf. Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* 1.6.59-60, with comments in Flamant, *Macrobe*, p. 344.

⁶⁷ "Productive"—a term with astrological overtones of *influence* ("producing" effects).

the *monad* to the *tetrad* are arranged together in order, they produce [*apotelousin*] the *decad*.

[FIFTH DAY, i.e., Day of Jupiter (Thursday)]

10. The fifth [day] they dedicated to the Radiant One,⁶⁸ the most temperate of all planets. The Greeks theologically call it Zeus, producer of life. Hence they claim, in mythical terms, that he was born on Crete, in which they say nothing mortal is generated—rather, not even a wolf or owl is [to be] found, as Antigonus says.⁶⁹ And it is called Heavenly in accordance with the circle-borne substance [31] in the *pentad*—from this [substance], they say, the heavens were produced, according to Aristotle.⁷⁰ For the *pentad*, taking up the *tetrad* which contains the principle of matter in a certain way underlying the things which are generated from it, both increased it and brought it forth to the eternal revolution that [comes] from its increase⁷¹—for the *pentad* is a boundary-point of the *decad* and, as it were, an image of their shared perfection.⁷² And [there are] five which wander, apart from the sun and moon; and five circles in [the] sphere, and five zones.⁷³ Zeus is called the maker of perception⁷⁴ by the philosophers; and it was reasonable for the *pentad* to have been dedicated to him by nature—for the *pentad* is related to perception, which is divided into five [senses]: sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch. And for this reason Pythagoras says that the number five is dedicated to Heimarmene,⁷⁵ because (it is said) Heimarmene rules perceptible things—thus, the Oracle says that the souls which are being restored are going beyond Heimarmene:

For the *theurges* do not fall under the herd fixed by fate.⁷⁶

⁶⁸ *Phaëthôn*—i.e., Jupiter.

⁶⁹ *Collection of Amazing Histories* 10.2. Recent scholarship has leaned more and more to the idea that the extant collection is a Byzantine-period compilation, but its general authenticity is still defended (e.g.) by M. Leigh, *From Polypragmon to Curiosus* (Oxford, 2013), p. 188.

⁷⁰ See (e.g.) *De caelo* 1.3 (269-70); and cf. the end of §8 above.

⁷¹ For the number five as the principle of "vegetative increase," see Ps.-Iamblichus, pp. 72-3, with Waterfield's n. 18.

⁷² Cf. Ps.-Iamblichus, p. 66.

⁷³ Cf. Ps.-Iamblichus, pp. 66-67. The "five circles" intended are the (celestial) equator, the tropics, and the arctic and antarctic circles; the "five which wander" are the planets.

⁷⁴ I.e., the perceptible world? (Gk. *aisthêsis*.)

⁷⁵ I.e., fate. Cf. Horapollon, *Hieroglyphica* 1.13—the figure of the star symbolizes a "mundane god," or fate, or the number five.

⁷⁶ *Chaldaean Oracles*, fr. 153 Des Places / Majercik.

[SIXTH DAY, i.e., Day of Venus (Friday)]

11. They dedicate the sixth [day] to the Light-Bringer,⁷⁷ which heats and at the same times moistens in a generative manner. And this would be [32] the [star] of Aphrodite, also called *Hesperus*, as it pleases the Greeks [to name it]. One might call the nature of the entire perceptible [realm] Aphrodite—that is, first-born matter, which the Oracles also call Asteria and Urania.⁷⁸ For the number six is most reproductive, as [being] even-odd,⁷⁹ partaking in both *active* substance (in accordance with the odd) and *material* [substance] (in accordance with the even). Hence, the ancients called it "marriage" [*gamos*] and "harmony." For it alone of the [numbers] from the *monad* is perfect in its own parts, being filled out from the same [numbers]: *half* [of it] being the *triad*, a *third* the *dyad*, and a *sixth* the *monad*. To speak simply, it is naturally both male and female, just as Aphrodite herself has the nature of the male and that of the female and therefore is called *male-female* [*arrenothêlys*] by the theologians.⁸⁰

And another says:⁸¹ The number six is generative of soul, being made into a plane figure out of a *hexad* in the sphere of the universe,⁸² and also it moderates opposites. It brings [them] into agreement and friendship, and then, producing health in bodies, concord in the lyre and music, and virtue in the soul; in the city, prosperity; in all, providence.

⁷⁷ *Phôsphoros*; i.e., Venus.

⁷⁸ Cf. *Chaldaean Oracles*, fr. 216 Des Places / Majercik (line 4), cited in 3.8 below. Des Places (followed by Majercik) prints the current passage as fr. 173 (specifically just the phrase "first-born matter")—Majercik understands it as a citation from an unknown text (Orphic or Chaldaean?), and cross-references fr. 216 for the final words.

⁷⁹ I.e., even but equal to two odd numbers (3 + 3) (LSJ)—alternatively, and perhaps more likely, the term is a reflection of the *combination* (by multiplication) of 2 and 3 (cf. Ps.-Iamblichus, p. 75).

⁸⁰ Cf. the doubtful Hermetic fragment and the reference to a Pamphylian androgynous (or even male) Aphrodite in 4.64 below, with notes. The citation of "theologians" however, is in some doubt: Ferreri, "Il codice Barberiniano," notes its absence in three more manuscripts than the one (B) noted by Wuensch—it thus only appears in ms. group Y. On the other hand, the term is attested in descriptions of the nature of the *hexad* (Ps.-Iamblichus, p. 75; Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Republic* 2: 44 Kroll); cf. also Martianus Capella 7.736, a more direct parallel in that he explicitly explains the connection of the number six with Venus on the basis of the "mixture" of the sexes: *quod ex utriusque sexus commixtione conficitur*.

⁸¹ This formula apparently introduces a quotation (not otherwise attested), in keeping with which Bandy formats accordingly; however, it is not clear where that quotation ends. Alternatively, the phrasing might be taken to suggest that a parallel has been added at some point in the transmission process of the text.

⁸² This is obscure, but may be connected to the formation of soul within the spherical living creature that is the universe, out of *six* elements (indivisible existence, divisible existence; indivisible sameness, divisible sameness; indivisible difference, divisible difference) in Plato, *Tim.* 53a; cf. F. M. Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology* (London, 1937), pp. 60-66. Alternatively, it may relate to the fact that in Plato's schema (*Tim.* 54b-d), the equilateral triangle, the fundamental building block of most elements, is composed of *six* right triangles (cf. Cornford, p. 216); see also Ps.-Iamblichus, p. 80.

Hence Orpheus says this about the *hexad*:
[33]

Be gracious, glorious number, father of the blessed ones, father of men.⁸³

[SEVENTH DAY, i.e., Day of Saturn (Saturday)]

12. The seventh day is attributed by the Egyptians and Chaldaeans to the Shining One,⁸⁴ the loftiest star of all so designated by them, which cools in the highest degree and dries immediately⁸⁵—but the Greeks customarily call it *Cronus* in terms of theology, in terms of etymology "satiated mind,"⁸⁶ as being full and bursting with years, meaning "Long-Aged" [*Makraiôn*], as has been said. Now then, the Pythagoreans dedicate the seventh [day] to the ruler of the universe⁸⁷—that is, the One—as witnessed by Orpheus, who says the following:

Seventh [day], which the king who shoots from afar, Apollo, loved.⁸⁸

I have said before that Apollo is mystically called "the One" on account of its being far away from most things—that is, alone.⁸⁹ Rightly, therefore, did Philolaus call the number seven "without a mother";⁹⁰ for by nature it alone neither begets nor is

⁸³ Fr. 312 Kern (698T Bernabé).

⁸⁴ *Phainôn*; i.e., Saturn.

⁸⁵ Cf. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 1.4.3.

⁸⁶ Cf. (e.g.) Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Cratylus* 105, 110 (expounding *Cratylus* 396b, which already includes *koros* and *nous*), albeit without the connection to time—for which cf. the *Kronos / chronos* association in 3.15 and 4.154 below; in the current passage, an etymological connection is being made with *koros*, commonly meaning "satiety" as here understood, although Plato glosses it as additionally connoting "purity." Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, p. 87, notes Plotinus' frequent prior uses of the same etymological associations, especially *Enneads* 5.1.7 (cf. also Lamberton's discussion on pp. 104-6).

⁸⁷ For discussion of John's characterization of the number seven and its relationship with other similar passages of Greek arithmology, see Robbins, "The Tradition of Greek Arithmology," pp. 100-102. Especially noteworthy are parallels with Philo, *De opificio mundi* 99ff. [33ff.].

⁸⁸ Fr. 276 Kern (700T Bernabé).

⁸⁹ Cf. §4 above. Could there be a garbled reflection in this section, which takes pains to associate *seven* and *one*, of the idea that the "planetary week" actually began with *Saturday* as the first day, or of some discussion of the equivalence of Sunday as seventh day in that system, but as first day in the week as John otherwise defines it? This is admittedly speculative.

⁹⁰ 44B20 Diels-Kranz (doubtful)—continuing down to the next explicit quotation (the "Tarentine orator"). See Diels-Kranz (and D. W. Graham, *The Texts of Early Greek Philosophy*, vol. 1 [Cambridge, 2010], pp. 504-7) also for the parallel references in Philo (*De opificio mundi* 100) and Anatolius (*On the Decad*, p. 35 Heiberg). But note Huffman, *Philolaus of Croton*, pp. 334-9 (fr. 20), for further discussion; *inter alia*, he argues that the ms. variant reading *Onêtôr* rather than *rhêtôr* ("orator") should be preserved, and hence the

begotten—and what neither begets nor is begotten is *unmoved*. For begetting [occurs] in movement: the one, so that it may beget; the other, so that it may be begotten. And such indeed is God, as the Tarentine orator [34] himself [believes]—he speaks as follows: "For God is the leader and ruler of all things, being always one, steadfast, unmoved, himself like himself [only]." But the astrologers, tending toward the more mythical [account], address the seventh day [as belonging] to Cronus, as the father of the visible gods.⁹¹ For because the star of their Cronus⁹² is said to be *higher* than all the wandering [stars], they dedicated the seventh day, I imagine, to him as the highest of all things.

Well then, the *hebdomad*⁹³ is comprised of *one* and *two* and *four*, containing two most harmonious ratios, the *triple* and the *quadruple*. And it also encompasses divisions that subsist in pairs, in a certain manner: For it is first divided into the *monad* and the *hexad*, then into the *pentad* and the *dyad*, and finally into the *triad* and the *tetrad*; and the proportion between these numbers is most musical. Its nature extends even as far as the entirety of visible substance—the heavens and the earth; they do say, in fact, the heavens are girded round with seven circles, whose names are as follows: the arctic, the antarctic, the summer [tropic], the winter [tropic], the equinox [i.e., the equator], the zodiac [i.e., the ecliptic], and furthermore, the galaxy [i.e., the Milky Way]. For this sort of number is divine. Hence, the [elements] of our souls are divided into seven by the hegemonic reason: the five [35] senses, the vocal organ, and above all the generative [faculty]. And this whole [universe] too is contemplated in seven [aspects]: in body, in distance, in form, in magnitude, in color, in movement, and in rest. Beyond these, there is nothing else that happens to things that are seen. For prior to perceptible things, solids are conceived of; prior to solids, planes; prior to planes, surfaces; prior to surfaces, lines; prior to lines, points; and prior to points, numbers, which indeed apply to corporeal reality.⁹⁴ And there are also seven changes of sounds: acute, grave, circumflex, sounding-together,⁹⁵ unaspirated—and long and short.⁹⁶ Hence also seven-

second quotation here is from an obscure but attested writer credited with a work "On Arithmetical Proportion" (FGrHist 1113F4, cited by Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Republic* 2: 378 Kroll), not from Philolaus; in his view, Philo's quotation, which names Philolaus explicitly, is confused in its ascription (Graham, 1: 513, endorses Huffman's interpretation of this evidence). Cf. also Thesleff, pp. 138-40, for the possibility that an attested *Onatas* / *Onatos* is intended instead.

⁹¹ "Visible" gods = the gods of celestial bodies.

⁹² ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῖς Κρόνου...ἀστήρ. For Cronus as "highest," cf. 4.53 below.

⁹³ John uses both *hebdomad* and *heptad* with reference to the number seven.

⁹⁴ Or "...which indeed are incorporeal"—with mss. A and V as reported by Ferreri, "Il codice Barberiniano," p. 320 (and 318), supplementing and correcting Wuensch's apparatus.

⁹⁵ Gk. *sumphthongos*. This seems to be corrupt, however; in this context, what is missing is "aspirated"—accordingly, and specifically comparing Philo, *De opificio mundi* 121 (δασὺν φθόγγον), Staehle tacitly emends John's text to δασύφθογγος (*Die Zahlenmystik bei Philon von Alexandria*, p. 48 [fr. 67b]). Bandy prints σύμφωνος and translates "consonantal."

⁹⁶ For this and a number of the following tidbits, cf. Ps.-Iamblichus, p. 87.

month fetuses are able to be born complete, as Hippocrates says.⁹⁷ For the soul-giving power of the number brings forth the seven-month-olds in completeness, because the circuit of spherical perfection is encompassed by a perfect and cosmic number—the soul-controlling⁹⁸ and soul-generating one.⁹⁹ Indeed, Timaeus put the soul together out of seven numbers.¹⁰⁰ And all [possible] movements are seven: up and down, left, right, forward, backward, and circular.¹⁰¹ Of letters, the vowels are seven, because, as it seems, they are sounded in and of themselves, and when put together with the others [36] they produce articulate sounds. They supply what is lacking in the semi-vowels, and render their pronunciation complete; they change and transform the nature of the consonants, so that the unspeakable becomes spoken. And why do I speak at length, when not even the nature of waters has been left outside the power of the *heptad*? At least, Dionysius says in his *Foundations* that the Chalcidian Euripus shifts around seven times a day and stands still only once a week.¹⁰² And on the basis of mentally-perceived *Aiôn*¹⁰³ itself it is possible to understand the *artemonēs*:¹⁰⁴ For they are "brought together"¹⁰⁵ first of all from *hours*, then *days*, then *weeks*; next *months*, then *years*, and after that *occasions*, and

⁹⁷ Hippocrates, *Eight Months' Child* 1-2. The *eight-month* fetus, by contrast, was generally supposed to be less viable.

⁹⁸ Gk. *psychokratêtikos*. Bandy translates "soul-retentive."

⁹⁹ The number six is "soul-generating," as in the previous section (cf. also Ps.-Iamblichus, pp. 83-4); seven is described as "soul-controlling" in 3.9; the "circuit of spherical perfection" may possibly be intended to symbolize a single month. For the statement as a whole, cf. Ps.-Iamblichus, pp. 93-4, where the "spherical cube" of 6 (i.e., 216) is brought into relation with 210 (i.e., $5 \times 6 \times 7$) in the discussion of the completeness of the seven-month ($210 = 7 \times 30$) fetus. Additionally, the sum of the first two cubes ($8 + 27 = 35$), multiplied by 6, yields 210 (cf. also Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* 1.6.15-16).

¹⁰⁰ Plato, *Timaeus* 35bc; cf. Flamant, *Macrobe*, pp. 325-7, citing (e.g.) Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* 1.6.45: *Nam primo omnium hoc numero [i.e., septem] anima mundana generata est, sicut Timaeus Platonis edocuit.*

¹⁰¹ Cf. Flamant, *Macrobe*, p. 346 n. 154, with parallels including Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* 1.6.81 (traced back to Plato, *Timaeus* 34a).

¹⁰² Dionysius of Chalcis, fr. 8 (FGH 4: 395); for Dionysius as a geographer and his fragments, cf. D. Dueck, "Lost Geography: The Geographical Fragments of Daë of Colonaë, Democles of Phygela and Dionysius of Chalcis," *Scripta Israelica* 31 (2012), pp. 40-48. Cf. 1.12 for the shifting waters. John's assertion about its standing still "only once a week" (κατὰ μόνας τὰς ἑβδομάδας) is difficult to interpret; Bandy translates, "only at periods of seven days," Dueck (p. 42), "only every several weeks." The Greek word *hebdomas* indeed frequently refers to a week (i.e., a seven-day period), but may be used for other sets of seven.

¹⁰³ "Life-time" / "time" / "age" (i.e., *aeon*)—but also viewed as a divine entity. Note that John identifies Cronus with *Aiôn* in 4.64 below (but contrast 3.15).

¹⁰⁴ Meaning obscure; attested elsewhere as meaning "fore-sails" and "pulleys" (LSJ)—in Latin, also for the ships that have this sort of sail. The word is derived from the verb ἀρτάω ("hang / depend"), hence this is presumably describing the mechanically connected workings (of time). Bandy translates "spans of time."

¹⁰⁵ I.e., "comprehended" or "composed"?

further, *aeons*, with reference to the archetypal form of the intelligible and Father-begotten *Aiôn*.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ The final language here recalls the Chaldaean oracles; cf. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, p. 99. For the sequence of time divisions, cf. 3.15 below.

BOOK 3

ON THE MONTH

1. Anacharsis the Scythian said that there once arose a quarrel between the Egyptians and the Scythians regarding their antiquity¹—both, perhaps on the basis of the two *Bears*,² thinking it right that they [themselves] preside over affairs—and it was judged that the Scythians were older, because of the fact that their territory lay [37] under Ursa Major, and that by nature the sea near us [i.e., the Mediterranean] takes its beginning from the Hyperborean [= "beyond the North"] Ocean, as from something superior.³ For (as is clear to everyone) there are two in-flows that produce it: the one from Spain, and the other, as has been said, from the Hyperborean Ocean, which the geographers call the Sea of Cronus—contrary to Ptolemy's opinion. *He* asserts that the one and only in-flow is the one from the western Ocean, through Gadeira.⁴ And as for their general antiquity, one could suppose that the Scythians hold first place, on the basis of their fluctuating essence,⁵ which is undisputedly first among the elements. For this reason also the Parthians, or Persians, are proud of their antiquity. But the fact that they are Scythians, all attest—and Arrian demonstrates: For according to him, the word *Parthos* ["Parthian"] is interpreted in the Scythian language as "the Scythian⁶ and immigrant."⁷

¹ Cf. Justin, *Epitome* 2.1, and the discussion in Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, pp. 18ff.; this dispute goes against typical Greek reverence for Egypt's antiquity, contrasted with the relative newness of the Scythians (Herodotus, 4.5, says they call themselves the "youngest" nation). Anacharsis was a figure useful for critique of received norms of Greek culture, about whom legends and pseudepigraphic texts developed; see Kindstrand, *Anacharsis: The Legend and the Apophthegmata* (Uppsala, 1981).

² Gk. *arktoi*—i.e., the constellations. Could John be attempting to connect the word with *archê* ("rule / beginning")?

³ I.e., the Hyperborean Ocean is higher in altitude than the Mediterranean—and hence, so is Scythia, which would have emerged first from primordial water, which Justin proposes as one reason to think of the Scythians as holding priority (cf. Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, pp. 19-20).

⁴ I.e., the Straits of Gibraltar. See Ptolemy, *Geog.* 7.5.3.

⁵ John is equating the nomadic, rootless life of the Scythians (their "fluctuating essence") with the position of formless matter (also "fluctuating essence") in the nature of the universe. Alternatively, John (like Justin) is thinking specifically of the element of *water*.

⁶ This seems odd; Roos (in apparatus to Arrian, *Scripta Minora et Fragmenta, Parthica* fr. 1 [p. 224]) suggests correcting to "runaway" (Gk. *phugas*), based on a comparison with Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. *Parthuaioi*): "The Scythians call runaways *parthoi*."

⁷ Fragment from Arrian's lost *Parthica* (FGrHist 156F32—part of *Parth.* fr. 1 Roos). Note that Photius, in Jacoby's fr. 30a (also fr. 1 Roos), says Arrian asserted that the Parthians were a Scythian people.

But in regard to the antiquity of the Greeks, the books teach us that first of all men after Deucalion [were] Greeks—Arcadians and Sicyonians,⁸ that is, *archadians*⁹ and *archetypes* and *first-born*. Hence also the Arcadians honored Pan—that is, this *universe* [to *pân*], thinking that nothing but perceptible things existed. In addition, myth holds them to be "pre-lunar":¹⁰ not because anyone would ever grant [that there were] human beings before the *moon*, but because (they say) the Arcadians and Sicyonians came into existence before the full delineation of the *months*. [38]

2. The ancients calculated the month in accordance with the course of the moon—hence also the *mên* ["month"] is named after the *mênê* ["moon"],¹¹ that is, the moon [*selênê*]. *Selênê* is derived from its always having fresh *selas* ["light"].¹² For a month is the amount of time—however much the sun would have travelled—in which the light, moving along and around from the sun's position toward the moon, returns into the same place from which it began to revolve.¹³ Hence, honoring the new-moon from conjunction to conjunction,¹⁴ they reckoned the year all together as being composed of 354 days, so that each month comprised 29 ½ days.

3. Timaeus defines the *kosmos* at one time as *generated* in accordance with a cause, at another time as *ungenerated*: *ungenerated* on account of the noetic powers within it, but *generated* as being visible and tangible and corporeal.¹⁵

4. The *decad* is the cycle of all number, and its limit.¹⁶ For the numbers run their "long race" bending and turning around it, as though [around] a turning-post. It is, you see, the boundary of their infinitude. For after counting from the *monad* up to *it* and *it*

⁸ John likely includes the Sicyonians here on the basis of the chronicle tradition reaching back to Castor of Rhodes (*FGrHist* 250F2) which had Aegialeus of Sicyon as the earliest Greek king; in *De mag.* 3.70, John cites Castor by name.

⁹ John is making a play on words / offering an implicit etymology in which the first part of the word "Arcadian" is assimilated to the root "arch-" (meaning "beginning" or "ancient"), justifying the common notion that the Arcadians were the most ancient Greeks.

¹⁰ Cf. Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 4.264; Ovid, *Fasti* 2.289. Censorinus (*De die natali* 19.5) connects this "pre-lunar" designation to the Arcadians' use of months that in no way reflected the moon's circuit (cf. §5 below).

¹¹ This is a word for the moon, rarely used in prose, by contrast with *selênê*, the word for moon used later in this sentence.

¹² Cf. Plato, *Cratylus* 409bc.

¹³ That is, observationally, a (synodic) month is complete when the moon's *phase* (defined by the light of the sun) cycles back to the same point. Meanwhile, the sun would have made a certain amount of progress along the ecliptic, as John also mentions.

¹⁴ The moon is invisible when it is in conjunction with the sun.

¹⁵ Cf. Plato, *Timaeus* 26c.

¹⁶ For the properties of the number 10, cf. Ps.-Iamblichus, pp. 109-10.

alone, and coming into position at *it*, they again turn back to the monad. The *decad* holds together all number, as attested by nature, which supplies a human being with no more than ten fingers—but also no less. In this way, then, also as regards the nature of the *year*, it is possible to discover that once it is completed, it again (just like the number ten) returns into itself. And thus [39] it was named "year" [*eniautos*], because of its moving "in itself" [*en heautôi*]; for it is a circle, turning back upon itself. Now, the circle is a plane figure bounded by a single line, and thus a shape that begins from itself and ends with itself is called "circular"—which is particularly [true of] time which returns into itself and is never terminated. Hence also the Egyptians, in accordance with a sacred discourse, carve a serpent eating its tail on their pyramids.¹⁷ For they posit an abyss, and a serpent in it, from which they claim that the perceptible gods¹⁸ and the perceptible universe itself came into being.¹⁹ Furthermore, it is their custom to engrave a circle marked with a straight-line X on their temples,²⁰ on account of the fact that the year is its own beginning and limit. For this reason the Pythagoreans named the "head" of time not "first" but "one."²¹

5. The Egyptians are said to have reckoned the year as consisting of four months, and hence they record certain people among them as having once lived for 1000 years. And Hesiod and Hecataeus, Hellanicus and Acusilaus and Ephorus and Nicolaus says that the long-lived have passed through even more than 1000 years,²² and not only

¹⁷ Cumont, pp. 32-33, notes the parallel to this section in Anastasius of Sinai, *In Hexaemeron* 1.12.3 [p. 46 Kuehn-Baggarly], which could be put to use in further reconstructing John's text. Cf. *De mens.* 2.6. As for the meaning of the *ouroboros* serpent, Servius (on *Aen.* 5.85) agrees that the *year* was represented by the Egyptians with the image of a serpent biting its tail (cf. Bluhme, p. 17); Horapollon, however, asserts that this represents the *kosmos* (*Hieroglyphica* 1.2—cf. also Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.9.12, on Phoenician representations of Janus as the world), while a serpent *hiding* its tail under its body represents *Aiôn* (1.1).

¹⁸ I.e., the heavenly bodies.

¹⁹ On the basis of this further description, D. Shanzer, *A Philosophical Commentary on Martianus Capella's De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii Book 1* (Berkeley, 1986), p. 155, connects Lydus' interpretation here with the Gnostic Ophite sect's use of a serpent-form *Nous* ("Mind") in their cosmogonic myth (Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 1.30.8).

²⁰ Cf. Plato, *Timaeus* 36c, describing the demiurge as inscribing the sphere of the cosmos with soul-material forming the shape of the letter X (i.e., the celestial equator and the ecliptic); in keeping with this, Proclus alleges that according to Porphyry, the Egyptians use the letter X inscribed within a circle to symbolize the *soul* (*Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, 2: 247 Diehl = Porphyry, *Comm. on Plato's Timaeus* fr. 70 Sodano).

²¹ Cf. 2.4 above.

²² Hecataeus fr. 35 (dub.) Fowler (*Early Greek Mythography* [Cambridge, 2010], 1: 141); this statement (with the list of authorities) appears also in Euseb., *PE* 9.13.5, citing Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 1.108.

those alone who possessed heroic souls, but [40] also some [normal] human beings, as Diogenes claims in his *[Wonders] Beyond Thule*.²³

And the Arcadians reckoned the year as consisting of three months, the Sicyonians of six months, and the Latins of 13 [months];²⁴ but among the Romans in ancient times it had been decreed that the year held 10 months, while later on, two additional [months] were added by King Numa: January, in honor of the *intelligible* [entities], February [in honor of the] *material* [entities].²⁵ But Gaius [Julius] Caesar later, on the basis of Egyptian teachings, ordained that the time [of the year] was 365 ¼ days, and that some of the months should consist of 30 days, others of 31 days, and February of 28. For antiquity reckoned all the 12 months of the solar year [as consisting] of 30 days, and added on the 5 ¼ days in a 13th month.²⁶ And a year is the time in which the sun, after beginning from one or the other equinoctial point, from one *sign* (of those on the dividing circle²⁷), arrives back at the same sign.

6. The lunar months were observed, with the addition of two further months by Numa, as I have said, until the ascendancy of Gaius Caesar. He, they say, outshining all others²⁸ in fortune and wisdom and especially astrology, went up to Rome and increased the lunar months by the addition of 11 days [41], and thus made the year a complete *solar* year.

7. It is called *bisextum* on account of the fact that the Romans reckoned the *sixth* day before the Kalends of March *twice* every four years;²⁹ and in this they were

²³ Antonius Diogenes (S. A. Stephens and J. J. Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments* [Princeton, 1995], pp. 130-31); John cites this work also in 4.42 below.

²⁴ The 13-month calendar seems possibly to be a reflection of the frequent intercalary month of the pre-Julian Roman calendar, for which see Rüpke, *The Roman Calendar from Numa to Constantine*, pp. 69-85. A 13-month year is asserted for the *Lavinians* in a very similar context by Solinus (1.34). Furthermore, Solinus and others (such as Plutarch, *Numa* 18; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.2) specify the *Acarnanians* rather than the Sicyonians as having reckoned a six-month year; Censorinus (*De die natali* 19.7) adds the assertion that this six-month year was actually only half the length of a year as reckoned by others—hence the months themselves were of normal length.

²⁵ Cf. 1.16-17 above.

²⁶ Presumably this is meant as a reference to the Egyptian calendar, with 5 (not 5 ¼) "epagomenal" days outside the regular months.

²⁷ I.e., the ecliptic, as a circle that divides the spherical heavens in two; hence the *signs* are the constellations of the Zodiac—Macrobius' parallel text (*Saturnalia* 1.14.4) uses *signum*; the Latin term commonly means "constellation," and thus likely accounts for John's less well-attested use here of Gk. *sêmeion*.

²⁸ Lit., "hiding / obscuring the others."

²⁹ The *bis(s)extum* was the leap-day added in the Julian calendar; see Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World*, p. 47; Hannah, *Greek and Roman Calendars*, p. 118. In Latin, *sextus* means "sixth," and *bis* means "twice."

observing the life-generating number.³⁰ This belongs to Aphrodite, and Aphrodite [was] a guardian of the Romans.

8. The moon continuously "stands upon" the generated universe, and all things here [below] are manifestly "steered" by it,³¹ as the Oracles say:³²

Nymphs of the springs and all the winds / spirits in the water,
and hollows in earth and aer and [the region] under the rays [of the sun],
moonly ones, who step (male and female)³³ onto all
matter, Heavenly and Starry,³⁴ and abysses.

For as mutable corporeality had been fused around the earth, in proportion to its weight, it was necessary for that which was going to be near it to have a share in every potentiality. Therefore, God fit around [the earth] the lunar sphere which partakes in every potentiality of the efficacious spheres, and set it near the perceptible universe as a guardian of the elements. Hence also the *mystical discourse* teaches that Hecate is four-headed,³⁵ on account of the four elements; and the fire-breathing head of the horse is obviously to be referred to the sphere of fire; the [head] [42] of the bull bellowing a certain daemonic bellow [refers] to the [sphere] of aer;³⁶ the [head] of the water-snake, a bitter and unstable nature, [refers] to the [sphere] of water; and the [head] of the dog—punitive and vengeful—[refers] to the earth. For the same reason also the poets address her as Cerberus, that is, flesh-eating [*kreôboros*]. So then, as the moon rules over the four elements, naturally the ancients dedicated the beginning of the year to both the lights together.

³⁰ I.e., the number 6. Cf. 2.11 above.

³¹ These two actions (the Greek verbs are *epibainô* and *kubernâô*) are taken from the imagery of sea travel: "having embarked" and therefore "standing on" the deck, the steersman guides the ship.

³² *Chaldaean Oracles*, fr. 216 Des Places / Majercik (categorized as "dubious" / of indeterminate origin)—the last line is elsewhere cited as Orphic (fr. 353 Kern). Cf. also Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, pp. 267–8, who argues for Chaldaean provenance.

³³ The text here has two different words, *epibêtores* and *epibêtai*, which could each be woodenly rendered as "on-steppers" or (Lewy's translation) "bestriders" (based on the verb *epibainô* seen already in John's introductory comment)—Des Places and Lewy understand them as masculine and feminine synonyms (hence my "male and female"), but the second term by normal word-formation patterns should also be masculine.

³⁴ Epithets of Aphrodite, conceived of here as primordial matter; cf. 2.11 above.

³⁵ Hecate = the moon. For a *four*-fold Hecate (rather than the usual three-fold one treated in §10 below), albeit with slightly different animal-associations, cf. Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 4.16, where Hecate is said to be *called* "horse, bull, lioness, and dog."

³⁶ For *aer*, cf. 1.12 above (with note).

9. The festivals of sowing, those called *Sementivae*³⁷ among the Romans—that is, "pertaining to sowing"—were not allotted a defined day, because not every occasion is fitting for the beginning of sowing; for it can either occur earlier on account of heavy rains, or later on account of their sluggishness. They were conducted over the course of two days—not one after the other, but with seven days intervening between them. On the first day, they would make sacrifices to Demeter, as to Earth who receives the fruits;³⁸ and then, after seven days, to Korê, the guardian of the fruits—because all seeds sprout on the seventh day. Not only seeds, but also, among living creatures, birds observe the seventh-day principle in addition to the *triad* in their birth process—all but geese, and those noted by the natural [philosophers]. For on the third [day], the heart begins to move;³⁹ on the seventh, the whole [animal begins] to be suffused with blood; on the 13th, the body is fully formed; on the 21st, the shell is broken [43] and [the animal begins] to emit a voice.⁴⁰

The power of the *heptad*, you see, is very great:⁴¹ For its number is *unmingled* and *unmothered*, neither generating nor being generated, like each of the numbers in the *decad*. Hence too the Pythagoreans dedicate the *heptad* to Athena; for by the cycle of the *hebdomad* all things are preserved immortally.⁴² And for this reason they call her "virgin daughter of a mighty father"⁴³—because it is the progeny of the *monad* which alone encompasses and gives subsistence to all things; for the *monad* is the cause of all things.

And it is also called *decision*⁴⁴ because by this number all things receive their transition to what is different, which is clear from the general human lifetime. For in the 63rd year—and [this] comprises seven sets of nine—one's coming-to-be is *decided*,⁴⁵ with

³⁷ Gk. *sêmantivai*. See Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, p. 68; the movable festival is dealt with by Ovid, *Fasti* 1.657ff., that is, in connection with Jan. 24-26.

³⁸ The term translated here as "fruit" [*karpos*] is broader than the English term: It can also mean "seeds" and "harvest" in general. Ovid speaks of offerings to Tellus (Earth) and Ceres; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 294 n. 4 (like Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 2nd ed. [Munich, 1912], p. 193 n. 3 [= 1st ed., p. 160 n. 2]), identifies John's reference to Demeter with Tellus, and Korê with Ceres.

³⁹ Cf. 4.26 below.

⁴⁰ Cf. Aristotle's account of the embryonic development of birds (*Historia Animalium* 6.3 [561a-562a]), which is more detailed but does not agree in all particulars with John's; cf. also John's further section on embryology in 4.26 below.

⁴¹ Cf. also John's discussion of the number seven at 2.12 above.

⁴² The "heptad" and the "hebdomad" are basically synonymous, but the latter is frequently used to denote the *week* (as a sequence of seven days). The significance of the seven-day period is frequently discussed in this kind of numerological exploration, as is the seven-year period; but the reference to *immortality* here seems to indicate celestial phenomena: perhaps the set of seven heavenly bodies?

⁴³ Gk. *parthenos obrimopatra*.

⁴⁴ Gk. *krisis*, from the same root as the verb *krinein* ("to judge / decide").

⁴⁵ This expression appears to be simply a way of saying that 63 years is a "crisis point" (cf. the previous note) in one's earthly existence ("coming-to-be" translates Gk. *genesis*). Note that as Censorinus, *De die natali* 14.15, reports, some considered the 63rd year the *most dangerous* of such moments.

the conjunction of the soul-controlling [number], which is seven, and the body-forming [number], which is nine.

10. Numa, on all occasions honoring odd numbers, but not even numbers,⁴⁶ disposed the festivals of the month in triple fashion. For the tripod is the special possession of Apollo—indeed, [44] it is the image of the *monad*. In this way too he arranged the festivals of the month. For as the courses of the moon are said to be three—quick, middle, and relaxed⁴⁷—(because of which the poets call Hecate, that is, Selene, "Trioditis"⁴⁸), he divided the month with three festivals. For Selene has three forms; how [this is], one should know from the oracle. It says the following:⁴⁹

Here I am, the maiden of many appearances, who walks the heavens,
bull-faced, three-headed, ungentle, endowed with golden darts,
Phoebe, unknowing of craft, giving light to mortals, Eilithyia,
bearing the three-fold tokens of three-element nature.

For it makes a quicker journey, as Aristotle says, near the winter solstice, a slower one near the summer [solstice], and an even one near the equinox.⁵⁰

The first festival of the month, then, is the one called "Kalends" among the Romans, and "New-Moon" among the Greeks. [45] And the Athenians call the first [day] of the month "new," the last day, "old."⁵¹ And the ancients called them "Kalends," on the basis of a Greek signification—from the fact that the chief priest summoned [*kalein*] the Council in the so-called Calabra Basilica,⁵² and indicated whether they should celebrate the festival of the Nones (from which point they would observe the

⁴⁶ Cf. 2.7 above.

⁴⁷ This seems to be a reference to maximum, mean, and minimum apparent speed of the moon's apparent movement with respect to the fixed stars. Cf. Geminus, 18.7-9.

⁴⁸ Meaning, "of the three roads"—i.e., of the *crossroads*, where three roads meet.

⁴⁹ These are the first four lines of an oracle of Hecate quoted from Porphyry (fr. 328 Smith; Wolff, p. 151) by Eusebius, *PE* 4.23. In the lines not included here, the oracle specifies the significance of "three-element nature" in the elements of *aether*, *aer*, and *earth*. For this significance of Gk. *tristoichos*, cf. 4.30 below with notes. For John's interpretation of Hecate / Selene, cf. Porphyry, *On Images* fr. 359 (lines 64ff.) Smith, where the three forms of the moon are identifiable as new, waxing, and full: This would roughly agree with the identification of Kalends, Nones, and Ides in an originally lunar Roman calendar, although Porphyry does not make that connection.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Meteorologica* 3.5 (377a24)—cited by Wuensch—explaining the sun rather than the moon. If this is the intended reference, John's statement is not about apparent *velocity*, but simply about how long the moon is in the sky at the different times of year.

⁵¹ This slightly garbles the significance of the common phrase (*h*)*enê kai nea*, used in reference to the last day of the month (for examples, see LSJ s.v. ἔνος); for the phrase cf. W. K. Pritchett and O. Neugebauer, *The Calendars of Athens* (Cambridge, MA, 1947), pp. 23-31.

⁵² The so-called "Curia Calabra."

mid-moon) on the fifth or on [the day of] the half-moon. For in the case of the months which even now still preserve the lunar festivals⁵³ he would indicate the Nones on the fifth; in accordance with this, on the 13th day (plus a certain fraction) the moon's corporeal mid-point naturally occurs.⁵⁴ For the number 13 is composed of the first two squares—four and nine, even and odd, the even having sides of *two* (the form of matter), the odd [having sides] of *three* (the efficacious form). So then, this number was the greatest and most complete observation among the festivals for the ancients.⁵⁵ For the 15th (minus 6 parts)⁵⁶ is, properly speaking, the mid-moon. For it is the mid-point of its light. Hence they customarily treated it as a festival of Zeus, as *the sun*, by means of which, we agree, the moon shines. But in the case of the solar months, [46] they would indicate the Nones on the seventh. For seven is the sun's number, as was stated earlier. For it is clear that the shortest cycle of the moon consists of 27 days and a few hours, while that of its *light* is close to 30 days, just as the middle point of the moon's corporeal return is the 13th, while that of its *light* is the mid-moon, or the 15th.

The "New-Moon," then, is the first, on which [day] the Romans customarily announced beforehand the second festival, that is, the Nones. From the New-Moon to the Nones there are either four or six intermediate days, so that all together, including the New-Moon itself, it comes to five or seven [days]. So then, if one reckons *nine* further days from the fifth—and this addition is called "Nones" among the Romans, meaning "nine";⁵⁷ for that is how many [days] there are—one will come to the mid-point of the "return" within the short lunar [cycle], that is, the 13th. And thus too, in the case of the [Nones on the] seventh, by counting the nine [days] in addition to it, one will come to the mid-moon of the *light*, that is, the 15th.

They held the Nones to be entirely unlucky [days],⁵⁸ now on the basis of the fifth day, now on the basis of the half-[moon], not allowing either the former or the latter

⁵³ That is, those months which had 29 days (or 28, in the case of February) prior to the Julian reform.

⁵⁴ The "corporeal" mid-point is halfway through the moon's *sidereal period* (27.3 days), as it is the more absolute position of the moon that is in question; references to the mid-point "of its light" (i.e., of the phases) relate to the *synodic period* (29.5 days).

⁵⁵ For this discussion of the number 13, cf. the very similar passage in Philo, *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 3.61 (fully extant only in Armenian) = fr. 3.61 Petit; Staehle, *Die Zahlenmystik bei Philon von Alexandria*, p. 59, prints it as fr. 106 of Philo's work on numbers. The text and connections between ideas are somewhat debatable, but it seems to be the *triad* that Philo was associating with the three major Jewish festivals.

⁵⁶ 6 "parts" appears to mean 6 *hours*, so that this would make 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ days the mid-point of the cycle.

⁵⁷ For this derivation, see, e.g., Varro, *De lingua Latina* 6.28 (and for modern scholarship, Ernout-Meillet, *Dictionnaire etymologique*, p. 447, s.v. "nouem").

⁵⁸ Gk. *apophras*, presumably corresponding to Lat. *nefastus*. Only some months' Nones, however, were officially classified as *nefastus*. Roether cites Suetonius, *Augustus* 92, for an example of the perceived unlucky quality of the Nones (although the implication there is that this was a *private* superstition); and Macrobius' statement (*Saturnalia* 1.15.21) that marriages were not to be contracted on the Nones (or the

term to be used, but [only] the mid-moon coming [47] after nine days—that is, the Ides; or even in another way honoring [them] on account of their observation of the lights.⁵⁹

And one can understand that the word "Kalends" arises from a Greek signification on the basis of the written form itself—for even to this day the Romans write "Kalends" with the Greek *kappa*.

And you should know that the Kalends were in fact a festival of Hera,⁶⁰ that is, of Selene. For the natural philosophers, as I said earlier,⁶¹ considered Helios to be Zeus, and Selene to be Hera—and they dedicated the new moon to her, and the Ides (that is, the mid-moon) to Zeus, or Helios, calling the Ides *plenilunium*, meaning "full-moon." But the word "Ides" we find was applied by the civic [officials]⁶² on the basis of the appearance [*eidōs*] of the moon, by the priests on the basis of a certain manner of sacrifice which was called *eidoulis*.⁶³ And they would announce the Nones either as the fifth or the seventh [day] after the Kalends, because both numbers especially pertain to the *lights*.

Labeo⁶⁴ says that January and February, April and June, Sextilis [and] September⁶⁵ [48] were allotted 29 days in ancient times, while March and May, Quintilis and October [were allotted] 31—and hence, those containing 29 days, as pertaining to the moon, had the Nones on the 5th, while those [containing] 31 [days], as pertaining to the sun, [had the Nones] on the 7th. And [he says] the Tuscans intentionally cut February short, because it had been clearly given over to the festivals of those under the earth by Numa the priest; and it was not lawful for it to be honored on an equal footing with the heavenly [beings]—instead, the [month] set apart for the chthonic [beings] who *reduce* everything was made *smaller*.⁶⁶ For the same reason, whereas all the [other] months contain an odd number [of days], February alone clearly was allotted an

Kalends or the Ides). For further discussion of days informally considered unlucky, cf. A. K. Michels, *The Calendar of the Roman Republic* (Princeton, 1967), pp. 62-8.

⁵⁹ The sentence is obscure; it may be that something has dropped out in transmission.

⁶⁰ Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 1.55-56.

⁶¹ Not in the attested text, but cf. earlier in this section, and 4.3 below.

⁶² Gk. *politikoi*.

⁶³ Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.15.16 for both explanations here; for the second, cf. also Festus, p. 93 Lindsay. Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: xciv, point out the parallel in Photius, *Quaestiones ad Amphilochium* 242, seemingly depending on John, but giving a slightly longer second explanation: "...but the priests of the Romans [derive the name] from the sacred rite practiced among them, which they called *eidoulis*, indicating a sacrifice of white sheep"; it seems likely that the mention of sheep was in John's text originally too.

⁶⁴ Fr. 6 Mastandrea.

⁶⁵ Wuensch (*apud* B. Boehm, *De Cornelii Labeonis aetate Dissertatio* [Königsberg, 1913], p. 72, as adopted by Mastandrea *ad loc.*) suggests the supplement (to rectify an omission due to scribal carelessness), "November and December."

⁶⁶ Cf. 4.25 below (where it is Numa who shortens February for this reason).

unequal [number]⁶⁷—this [kind of] number belongs to *matter*, and on account of it the Romans declare *nefas*⁶⁸ the dyadic number [i.e., 2] in relation to festivals: In their ancestral language they call it *secundus*, that is, "fortunate,"⁶⁹ by way of euphemism, like "Eumenides"⁷⁰ and "Adrasteia"⁷¹ and "Parcae"—in their terms [meaning] the *Moirai*, who "spare" no one.⁷²

And from the Nones themselves, too, until the Ides themselves, they would observe only nine intermediate [days],⁷³ because the number nine is most fitting and connected to the moon. For this [number] generates itself, according to Xenocrates.⁷⁴ For the progression [of numbers] as far as the *ennead* is unbounded,⁷⁵ and associated with plurality.⁷⁶

So then, they called the new-moon "Kalends," and the second [day] of the month "four [days]" or "six [days] before the Nones," [49] as has been said—and let the pattern be as when the Nones are on the fifth—and the third [of the month] "three [days] before the Nones"; the fourth [of the month], "*one* [day] before"⁷⁷ the Nones" (on account of the fact that the number two is considered *nefas*); the fifth, "the Nones"; the sixth, "eight [days] before the Ides"; the seventh, "seven [days] before the Ides"; the eighth, "six [days] before the Ides"; the ninth, "five [days] before the Ides"; the 10th, "four [days] before the Ides"; the 11th, "three [days] before the Ides"; the 12th, "*one* [day] before the Ides"; the 13th, "the Ides." The 14th—if the Nones were on the fifth and the month [had]

⁶⁷ Gk. *anisos*. In this context, this word seems to be functioning as a synonym of "even"; it is elsewhere attested with the meaning "(numerically) odd" (Lampe, s.v.; cf. Lat. *par* and *impar* for "even" and "odd")—but this is the opposite of the sense required here. It seems likely that there has been some textual corruption or simple confusion (perhaps the idea was that February was the "odd one out" among the months). The parallel in Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.13.7) says the *even* number is appropriate for the dead: *quasi inferis et deminutio et par numerus conveniret*. For this connection of the even with the *inferi*, cf. Servius on *Ecl.* 5.66; also see the associations of even numbers in 2.7 above (with notes).

⁶⁸ That is, "taboo / unspeakable"; Gk. *apophrazontai*. For the aversion to the number two, attributed to Numa, see 2.7 above.

⁶⁹ In fact, the generic meaning "favorable" is a metaphorical extension of the basic meaning, "following."

⁷⁰ The Furies.

⁷¹ Nemesis.

⁷² Cf. the Lat. verb *parcere*, "to spare."

⁷³ I.e., counting inclusively.

⁷⁴ Fr. 58 Heinze. Cf. Huffman, *Philolaus of Croton*, p. 370.

⁷⁵ Gk. *aoristos*.

⁷⁶ Cf. Ps.-Iamblichus, who describes the progression to nine as "natural" (p. 105), then goes on to describe the number 10 functioning as "boundary" and "measure" of the "unbounded multitude" of number, the point at which numbers begin to recur cyclically (pp. 109-110). Cf. also John's discussions of the *decad* at 1.15; 3.4.

⁷⁷ Gk. *pro mias*, reflecting Lat. *pridie* (which does not technically have the number 'one' in it—but neither does it use the number two).

30 days, [they called it] "18 [days] before the Kalends" of the following month; but if the Nones [were] on the fifth and the month [had] 31 days, "19 [days] before the Kalends, in similar fashion; and if the Nones [were] on the seventh and the month [had] 31 days, [they called] the 15th "17 [days] before the Kalends," in similar fashion. But in the case of February alone, [they called] the 14th "16 [days] before the Kalends of March"—and so on, in keeping with the succession of the numbers [before] the Kalends. But whenever there is a *bissexum*, they would call the 25th and the 26th "six [days] before the Kalends of March," as has been stated.⁷⁸ March, May, July, [and] October have the Nones on the seventh; all the others [have it] on the fifth. But Caesar saw fit—even after his *solar* apportionment of the months—to leave in place the months' lunar festivals.

So much for the apparent anomaly of the months which have the Nones on the fifth and the seventh.

11. Among the ancients, the new-moon was celebrated as a festival [50] in honor of Hera, who is Selene; the Nones in the name <of Zeus>; and the Ides again in the name <of Zeus>.⁷⁹ Both the Romans and the Greeks called the first [day] of the moon the "new-moon" [*neomênia*] and celebrated a festival in its honor—but it was not neglected among the Hebrews either, as the lyric poet says: "Sound the trumpet in the new-moon."⁸⁰ It is not at all difficult to say briefly, on the basis of the statements of the ancients, what the new-moon is and for what reason the power of the new-moon is manifestly honored among all [peoples]—since, to tell the truth, it is observed in the nature of things. As witness of this is Antigonos,⁸¹ who alleges that ants rest on the new-moons, and so it is impossible to see an ant working on the new-moons, as Archelaus has also stated.⁸² And the very word "new-moon" is honored, as I have said, as a cause of the renewal of the entire perceptible universe. For as all things in [the realm of] sense-perception are in fact in process of growing and diminishing, the nature of the moon, holding together⁸³ [51] the entire [realm of] sense-perception, has in a

⁷⁸ Cf. §7 above.

⁷⁹ The parallel in ms. R (ed. Treu, p. 40.31), confirms the second supplement (and additionally offers the equation of Zeus and Helios). This sentence, however, is the only attestation for the *Nones*' being dedicated to a particular divinity; note that "of Zeus" is Wuensch's supplement, as ms. P, which he is following, gives no name. The parallel in R goes straight from Kalends to Ides, which suggests that the reference to Nones here may be intrusive—cf. John's fuller treatment of the connection of Hera and Zeus to the Kalends and Ides (but not the Nones) in §10 just above.

⁸⁰ Ps. 80.3.

⁸¹ *Collection of Amazing Stories* 126b [140].

⁸² The Archelaus in question is variously termed Archelaus "of Egypt" or "of the Chersonese." This statement has been left out of the editions of Archelaus' fragments (A. Giannini, *Paradoxographorum Graecorum Reliquiae* [Milan, 1965], pp. 24-8; A. Westermann, *Παραδοξογράφοι: Scriptores rerum mirabilium Graeci* [Braunschweig, 1839], pp. 158-60).

⁸³ Or, "encompassing."

certain way been stamped [on things] by the Creator [*dēmiourgos*]. And this is clear from the nature of water and the creatures that [live] in it. For when the moon is growing larger, the things under it [i.e., sublunar things] grow; then, when it draws together, they [also] cease and contract into themselves.⁸⁴

And the Egyptians were pleased to honor the ibis and the ape⁸⁵ for this reason too; for it has also been inferred that both animals are in sympathy with the moon.⁸⁶ The ibis corresponds to it in its form—being darker at the extremities, but white in its mid-section, just like the moon high up in the sky. For when there is no moon visible in the heavens, neither can the ibises *see*—they have their eyes closed during this time and persevere, without food, in waiting for the element that is akin to them. The ape, on the other hand, shows more obvious manifestations: When the light of the moon waxes, their eye-circles widen, but when it wanes, the circumference of the eyes contracts. Some say (and among them is Dercyllus)⁸⁷ that in the Hydaspes river a stone called *lychnis* ["lamp"] is generated.⁸⁸ This emits a melodious sound [52] when the moon is

⁸⁴ John cross-references this section in *De ost.* 7 (referring to the moon's effect on various sea creatures, the livers of mice, and "very many other things"), as Wuensch notes in his *apparatus*. For a recent further discussion about these ideas in ancient authors, see A. Pérez Jiménez, "Plutarch's Attitude toward Astral Biology," in L. Roig Lanzillotta and I. Muñoz Gallarte (eds.), *Plutarch in the Religious and Philosophical Discourse of Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 2012), pp. 159-69. Proclus' commentary on Hesiod, *Works and Days* 765-8, recently edited by P. Marzillo (*Der Kommentar des Proklos zu Hesiods "Werken und Tagen"* [Tübingen, 2010], p. 270, in the context of calendrical / arithmological considerations, discusses the sympathy of various organisms with sun and moon, including the "innards" of mice, also mentioned by John below. For extensive documentation of parallels, see A. S. Pease, *M. Tulli Ciceronis De divinatione* (repr. Darmstadt, 1963), pp. 402-8, commenting on Cicero's account (*De div.* 2.34) of Stoic collection of examples of connections (*sympatheia*) between different parts of nature—to the effect that the livers of mice enlarge around the winter solstice (see below, but, more typical, relating to the moon), that pennyroyal blooms on the winter solstice itself (cf. *De ost.* 7; Pliny, *NH* 2.108), and (as here) that oysters / mussels and other shellfish grow as the moon waxes and shrink as it wanes. These connections furnish theoretical support for the practice of divination (and the passage is printed by Von Arnim as such in *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* 2: 347 [no. 1211]). Further parallels to John's text are to be noted also in Anastasius of Sinai, *In Hexaemeron* 4.7.6 [p. 124 Kuehn-Baggarly]; cf. Cumont, p. 33.

⁸⁵ Gk. *kerkôps*.

⁸⁶ The section on these animals has a near-verbatim parallel at 4.76, drawing explicit connections with the god Hermes (i.e., Thoth); see further discussion there.

⁸⁷ Now in *FGrHist* 288F8 / *BNJ* 288F8a (with extensive commentary and discussion of sources and transmission by P. Ceccarelli); fr. 11 Müller (*FHG* 4: 388-9). See, however, A. Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 127-34, for a severely skeptical position against the credibility of many of the references found in Ps.-Plutarch, *De fluviis* and *Parallela minora*; cf. also Jacoby's discussion of Ps.-Plutarch's "Schwindelautoren" in *FGrHist*, vol. 3a, pp. 367-9 (commentary on authors 284-296).

⁸⁸ Perhaps a ruby (LSJ; adopted by Kuehn-Baggarly in their translation of Anastasius); cf. also E. Calderón Dorda et al. (eds.), *Plutarco: Fiumi e monti* (Naples, 2003), p. 216 n. 9, for further documentation and discussion.

growing.⁸⁹ Furthermore, in the Araris river in the Celtic [territory]⁹⁰—and or rather <in the Aesarus> of Sybaris—a fish is produced, and the locals call it *klopias*. This [fish], they say, whitens as the moon grows, but darkens again when its light is lessened. Callisthenes the Sybarite reports this.⁹¹ But also, Archelaus says that the livers of mice have 15 lobes, which do not come into existence all together, but rather, each one comes into being from nothing and is added [to the whole] on each successive lunar day, from the new-moon until the full-moon—and then again, one by one, day by day, lobes waste away, from the full-moon until the new-moon, [when] they are all gone.⁹² And from *that* [day], they begin [53] to appear once again, in relation to the cycle of the moon and the number of its days—[the lobes] themselves indeed appearing and disappearing, filling out and diminishing. And the same historian says that the eggs of sea urchins go through the same thing.⁹³

12. Now then, Anaximenes⁹⁴ asserts that the circle of the moon is 19 times that of the earth—full of fire just like <that> of the sun. Xenophanes [says] that it is an inflamed⁹⁵ cloud;⁹⁶ the Stoics, [that it is] a mixture of fire and *aer*;⁹⁷ Plato, [that it is] of fiery [substance] for the most part;⁹⁸ Anaxagoras and Democritus, [that it is] a very hot

⁸⁹ Cf. Ps.-Plutarch, *De fluviis* 1.2, who alleges that this stone is found while the moon is growing, πρὸς μελωδίαν αὐλῶν ("accompanied by the music of flutes")—i.e., the stone itself is not assumed to be making the sound. See also discussion in Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, p. 27.

⁹⁰ I.e., in Gaul.

⁹¹ Ps.-Plutarch, *De fluviis* 6.2, gives a very similar report about this fish (called *kloupaia* or *skolopias*), citing Callisthenes of Sybaris' *Galatika* as his source (FGrHist 291). Nothing about Sybaris as a possible location for this fish appears in Ps.-Plutarch, however; as Wittig, p. 28-9, suggests, the reference to Sybaris is likely an intrusive gloss. Cf. also Calderón Dorda et al., p. 224 n. 59.

⁹² Archelaus, fr. 3 Giannini (= Westermann, *Paradoxographi Graeci* p. 160: Archelaus fr. 10); cf. Pliny, *NH* 2.109; 11.196. For discussion, see Leigh, *From Polypragmon to Curiosus*, p. 190 n. 189. Dubuisson-Schamp, 1: lxxxii, translate "mussels" rather than "mice," presumably because of the reference to "sea creatures" at *De ost.* 7; but the Latin parallels include reference to the *sorex* ("shrew-mouse"), which could not be so interpreted, and there are numerous examples that do presumably refer to mice. In any case, the multivalence of the Greek and Latin words (*mys* and *mus* / *musculus* as both "mouse" and, by extension, "mussel") in such collections of phenomena appears to have fostered confusion.

⁹³ Archelaus fr. 8 Giannini (included in fr. 10 Westermann). Cf. Antigonus, *Collection of Amazing Stories* 124b [137]. Giannini suggests that the implied attribution to Archelaus is confused.

⁹⁴ The attribution ought to be to Anaximander (12A22 Diels-Kranz). The views reported in this section (as far as the reference to Eratosthenes) find near-verbatim parallels in Ps.-Plutarch, *Placita* 2.25, 28, 31 (based on Aëtius' *Placita*); cf. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, pp. 355-59, 362-3; Mansfeld and Runia, *Aëtiana* 2.2: 572-87, 601-12, 635-43.

⁹⁵ Ps.-Plutarch here reads *pepilêmenon* ("compressed") rather than John's *pepurômenon* ("inflamed").

⁹⁶ 21A43 Diels-Kranz.

⁹⁷ *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* 2: 198 (no. 671).

⁹⁸ Cf. *Timaeus* 40a; but see Mansfeld and Runia, 2.2: 581, for discussion of the text and potential sources.

solid body, having within itself plains and mountains and ravines;⁹⁹ Heraclitus, [that it is] earth surrounded by mist;¹⁰⁰ Pythagoras, however, [says that it is] a fiery mass.¹⁰¹

But concerning the light connected with it, I will say that Anaximander asserts that it has its own light, but somewhat thinner [than the sun's],¹⁰² whereas Antiphon says that the moon does shine with its own luster, but that the [light] around it is hidden and dimmed by the impact of the sun's [light], since the stronger light naturally obscures the weaker—as also happens [54] to the other "stars."¹⁰³ Thales, on the other hand, and his followers accepted [the idea] that the moon is illuminated by the sun.¹⁰⁴ Yet Heraclitus says that the sun and the moon experience the same thing: being hollow¹⁰⁵ in their shapes, they are illuminated on account of the moist exhalation so as to be visible, but the sun [is] brighter because it appears in pure *aer*.¹⁰⁶

It is said that according to Eratosthenes, the moon is 780,000 stades away from the earth, the sun 4,080,000 [stades away].¹⁰⁷ For the moon, occupying the seventh "zone," is closer to the earth than the other "stars." Hence, they say¹⁰⁸ that it is *not* unmixed compacted *aether*, like the other "stars," but a mixture of aetherial and aerial substance. That [part] of it which appears dark, you see, which some call a *face*, is

⁹⁹ 59A77 and 68A90 Diels-Kranz.

¹⁰⁰ Contrary to the text of John here (and Plutarch), this attribution ought to be to *Heraclides* (Ponticus: fr. 114a Wehrli = fr. 76 Schütrumpf), as in the parallel text of Stobaeus, *Anthology* 1.26.1e (1: 218 Wachsmuth-Hense).

¹⁰¹ Ps.-Plutarch here reads *katoptrooides* ("mirror-like") rather than *purooides* ("fiery"); see Mansfeld and Runia, 2.2: 579 and 581, for discussion of the text and its history.

¹⁰² 12A22 Diels-Kranz; Anaxagoras' view has been inadvertently mixed up with Aristotle's (T19 Gigon [p. 133]), as comparison with Stobaeus (*Anthology* 1.26.2) shows—cf. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, p. 358.

¹⁰³ 87B27 Diels-Kranz.

¹⁰⁴ 11A17b Diels-Kranz. Cumont, p. 35, found supplementary text (without parallel in Ps.-Plutarch) at this point in a series of apparent excerpts from *De mens.* in cod. Angelicus 29 f. 268: "Apollonius says that the moon makes its return in 29 days and 12 ½ hours; Hermes, in 29 [and] a half [and] a third [and] a thirtieth"—the latter is probably meant as 29 ½ + 1/33, as in Geminus, 8.2. The topic is out of place here, but would perhaps fit with the calculation of the lunar year in §2 above.

¹⁰⁵ Lit., "bowl-shaped."

¹⁰⁶ 22A12 Diels-Kranz. Here Cumont finds additional wording (further paralleling Ps.-Plutarch) in his ms.: "whereas the moon [appears] in thicker [air]."

¹⁰⁷ Cf. discussion in Mansfeld, "Cosmic Distances: 'Aëtius' 2.31 Diels and Some Related Texts," *Phronesis* 45 (2000), pp. 186-88; the doxographical tradition is our only source for such figures—Eratosthenes is more famous in the modern era for his estimate of the circumference of the earth.

¹⁰⁸ From this point through the discussion of the dark part of the moon, John's text is a close rendering of a fragment of Chrysippus (*Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* 2: 199 [no. 674] = Philo, *On Dreams* 1.145), beginning in a more paraphrastic mode but ending in verbatim agreement with Philo's words. It seems clear that Philo is the more immediate source, although the subject certainly ties in with the report of the Stoic view of the moon John has transmitted earlier in the chapter.

nothing else but the mixed-in *aer*, which, being dark by nature, extends as far as it [i.e., the moon].¹⁰⁹ And it is right not to overlook that.

The new-moon is called the "head of the month" by the ancients. And they bring in ten "forms" [i.e., phases] of the moon, out of which the 30-day cycle is completed; and they are: "conjunction" [i.e., new moon], "rising," "moon-shaped" [i.e., crescent], "half" [i.e., quarter], "doubly convex" [i.e., gibbous], "full"—and again [55] "half,"¹¹⁰ again "doubly convex," again "moon-shaped," again "conjunction." But others assert that there are 11 forms; for after "conjunction" they reckon also "coming forth," when the moon stands one degree¹¹¹ away from the sun.¹¹²

13. Now then, as I said, the Romans honored the Kalends as the new-moon, and after these in sequence the Nones, and in third ranks the Ides. For the power of *Hecate*, that is, *Selene*, is tri-form. For what *Apollo* is in the sun, *Hecate* is in the moon.¹¹³

14. The number 30 is most connected to nature¹¹⁴—for what the *triad* is in *monads*, this the *triacontad* [30] is in *decads* [10s]¹¹⁵—because, too, the cycle of the month is composed of the four squares in sequence from the monad: 1, 4, 9, 16. Hence *Heraclitus* is not off the mark in calling the month "generation" [*genea*].¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁹ But with Philo's text, "extends as far as the heavens." At this point too Cumont finds supplementary text: "This too is worth asking: For what reason the moon comes to be invisible to us in conjunction [i.e., when the moon would appear nearest to the sun—at the new moon]. Presumably on account of the fact that, being a sphere and having been illuminated by the sphere of the sun, it is not illuminated in its entire spherical body by the sun during its conjunctive cycles. Most likely, then, it is this sort of physical arrangement that renders the moon unilluminated and invisible to us." For the subject in this context, cf. Ps.-Plutarch, *Placita* 2.29.5 (views of the Stoics among others), although without verbatim parallels.

¹¹⁰ In the second half of the cycle, "half" and "doubly convex" are in the wrong order, as this should be a mirror image of the first half.

¹¹¹ Gk. *moira*.

¹¹² For the list of phases, cf. Paul of Alexandria, *Elementa apotelesmatica* 16 [p. 33 Boer], who also reports that some define 10 phases, others 11; but the distinction depends on the addition (or omission) of a phase close to full, *plêsiphâês* ("full-light"), rather than that of *genna* ("coming forth") as John alleges—he does, like John, define *genna* by reference to the moon's standing one degree away from the sun. Paul includes all John's named phases in both versions, but does not count the return to "conjunction" as a final phase.

¹¹³ Cf. Porphyry, *On Images* fr. 359 (lines 60-61, 64-65) Smith—but Porphyry's nearly identical sentence mentions *Athena* in this capacity rather than *Hecate*, although he does go on to identify *Hecate* with the moon as well.

¹¹⁴ Gk. *physikôtatos*.

¹¹⁵ I.e., 30:10 :: 3:1.

¹¹⁶ 22A19 Diels-Kranz.

15. After the Kalends, we find that time is differentiated in many ways—into "ages," into "time," into "occasion," into "year." Now then, "age" is a certain indefinite cycling-around of the heavenly bodies, or a complete revolution of the entire heavens. "Time" is indeterminate extension from "age"—thus too Cronus is said [to be] the child of Heaven; for time [*chronos*] proceeds out of the movement of the heavens.¹¹⁷ And so, "occasion"¹¹⁸ is an example of time, and not time itself.

16. The greatest "return / restoration" [*apokatastasis*] differs from a "complete circuit" [*teleia periodos*] in that the "restoration" comes to be from the same sign [56] to the same sign,¹¹⁹ in accord with length and breadth and depth,¹²⁰ while the "complete circuit" is accomplished on the basis of the gathering of the "terms."¹²¹ For the ancients say that there are three "circuits" of the planets: greatest, smallest, [and] middling.¹²²

The greatest [circuit] of Cronus [i.e., Saturn] [lasts] 57 years; that of Zeus [i.e., Jupiter], 79 [years]; but [that] of Ares [i.e., Mars], 66—and hence Caesar secured for himself / won over that many thousands of men (since he was most experienced in this field too) both in the civil [war] and in the other wars—and naturally, he prevailed; that of Helios [i.e., the sun], 120 [years]—for which reason, it is impossible for a human life to last longer than that number of years; that of Aphrodite [i.e., Venus], 82; that of Selene [i.e., the moon], 108.

The smallest [circuit] of Cronus [lasts] <30> [years]; that of Zeus, 12; that of Ares, 15—on account of which, the Romans set the cycle of the so-called "indiction"¹²³ at this

¹¹⁷ Cf. *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* 2: 318 (no. 1087)—the interpretation recurs in 4.154 below. The equation of *Kronos* and *Chronos* may go back as far as Pherecydes (7B1 Diels-Kranz; cf. 7A9), but is in any case common.

¹¹⁸ Gk. *kairos*.

¹¹⁹ Gk. *sêmeion*, here presumably understood as a reference to one of the constellations of the Zodiac.

¹²⁰ I.e., celestial position (longitude and latitude)—but "depth" is an addition here, by comparison with Nemesius' report of Stoic views (*On the Nature of Man* 38 = *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* 2: 190 [no. 625]).

¹²¹ "Terms" refers to astrological subdivisions of a Zodiac sign (cf. LSJ s.v. ὄριον [2]), that is, the degrees within a particular sign that are associated with the influence of a particular planet (separate from the planetary associations with the signs more broadly). As Neugebauer, *History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1975), p. 606, notes, the figures given for the "greatest" circuits are the totals of the "terms" associated with each planet, but they were also astrologically interpreted as the years of one's lifespan; the "middling" circuits are simply arithmetic means.

¹²² For the numerical values John gives here, as well as their background in Babylonian astronomy for the most part, see Neugebauer, pp. 604-7. The "smallest" circuits are based on the sidereal period (for the outer planets); for Helios, 19 years seems to be the "Metonic" cycle correlating solar years with lunar months; for Selene, 25 years would correspond to the Egyptian luni-solar cycle (Neugebauer, p. 564) correlating lunar months with the Egyptian 365-day year.

¹²³ Gk. *epinēmêsis*. Cf. §22 below, and also 4.111, 124.

number; that of Helios, 19; that of Aphrodite, 8; that of Hermes [i.e., Mercury], 20; and that of Selene, 25.

The middling [circuit] of Cronus [lasts] $43 \frac{1}{2}$; that of Zeus, $<45 \frac{1}{2}>$; that of Ares, $40 \frac{1}{2}$; that of Helios, $69 \frac{1}{2}$; that of Aphrodite, 45; that of Selene, $66 \frac{1}{2}$. Such are the extents of the greatest and smallest and middling *circuits*.

But the "complete restorations" of the planets are as follows. Cronus accomplishes its restoration in 265 years [57]; Zeus, in 427; Ares, in 294;¹²⁴ Helios, in 1,461; Aphrodite, in 1,151; Hermes, in 480; Selene, in 25. But the restoration of the *universe* takes place after 1,753,200 years,¹²⁵ and at that time, there arises a conjunction of *all* the stars,¹²⁶ either in the 30th degree of Cancer or in the 1st [degree] of Leo. In the case of Cancer, a *flood* would occur, but in the case of Leo, a *conflagration*¹²⁷—not, however, a universal one, as the Stoics allege, but certainly a partial one. For they suppose that the whole perceptible universe is in subjection to those sorts of conditions, and they deem it right to offer this sort of reason; and the universe (they say), in the course of boundless time, either is dried out by the conflagrations of the luminaries in the heavens or is liquefied by the deluges of water and falls apart on account of the onslaught of moisture and is dissolved and loses its solidity. For this very reason, it is necessary for Providence to be adapted to both [eventualities], and, like a farmer,¹²⁸ at one time with fire to evoke the heat that is in the depth of nature, and at another time with water to drench the rarefied dryness of the earth.

17. The Greeks reckoned the beginning of the year from the 25th of December, or the solstice,¹²⁹ whereas the Romans [reckoned it] eight days later, on the first of January. The Greeks [did so] by way of observing the solstice itself, the Romans, [waiting for]

¹²⁴ According to Neugebauer's comparisons (p. 605), this should be 284.

¹²⁵ This figure is produced by multiplying 1200 (a common multiple of the afore-mentioned "smallest circuits" of the *planets* and 25, associated with the moon) by the number 1461 (cited above as the "complete restoration" of Helios, that is, the number of years which the Egyptian year would take to return to exactly the same starting point—the "Sothic" cycle). See Neugebauer, p. 606. For the universal "restoration" / "Great Year" more generally and the various ideas about its nature and duration, cf. the references collected by A. S. Pease, *M. Tulli Ciceronis De natura deorum*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA, 1958), pp. 267-70.

¹²⁶ I.e., the planets, moon and sun.

¹²⁷ For the calculations and the features of the *apokatastasis*, John seems to be closely following Antiochus of Athens (CCAG 1: 163 [<http://www.hellenisticastronomy.com/ccag/CCAG01.pdf>]). As John implies, the idea that the universe was periodically destroyed / restored in these ways was a familiar doctrine of Stoic philosophy.

¹²⁸ That is, like a farmer, Providence works with the capabilities of the materials at hand.

¹²⁹ The Boeotian and Elean calendars began with the winter solstice (Hannah, *Greek and Roman Calendars*, pp. 38, 72-3). The Athenian calendar, however, began with the first new moon following the *summer* solstice (see A. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology* [Munich, 1972], p. 64)—cf. §22 below.

when the shadow of the sundial would begin [58] to shrink. For until the eight days [are over], the shrinkage of the shadow [is] imperceptible.

18. On account of "coming-to-be," the movement of the heavenly [bodies] is *double*. For if the circular motion which the fixed sky goes through were *simple*, as it embraced everything and whirled everything around, nothing would [ever] have been brought forth from it [i.e., the motion]—for what apart from itself could be produced from the simple movement? But because many diverse [motions] are caused, in opposition to that single circular motion, all coming-to-be is brought forth from *them*. For thus says Aristotle, in the second [book] *On Coming-to-be and Destruction*:¹³⁰

If there were only the one motion, the two—the *coming-to-be* and the *destruction*—could not both occur, because they are opposites. The same thing, you see, continuing in the same condition, naturally always produces the same result. Thus, there would be either coming-to-be *or* destruction, continually. But the movements must be multiple and opposite, either through the motion [itself] or through its irregularity. For opposites are the cause of opposites. Hence, the *first* motion¹³¹ is not the cause of coming-to-be and destruction, but rather the [motion] on the crosswise circle¹³² [is]; for in this are contained both continuity and two kinds of movement.

19. The fixed sky, having been made wholly *simple* by the one who is beyond all things, according to the Oracle,¹³³ embracing everything and whirling everything around, moves everything and causes [59] everything to partake in itself, and is swifter than all movement, and always remains the same; and it gives *existence* to the whole perceptible universe, having no change and diversity at all.

20. That they honored the year as a god is clear on the basis of the royal city of the Lydians itself.¹³⁴ For Xanthus calls it Sardin, and Xyarin;¹³⁵ and if one calculates the

¹³⁰ 2.10 (336a).

¹³¹ I.e., that of the sphere of fixed stars.

¹³² I.e., the ecliptic, on which the planets, sun and moon seem to move.

¹³³ Cf. *Chaldaean Oracles* fr. 70 Des Places / Majercik; note also the prose fragments of Julian the Theurgist on the creation of the firmament, combined by Lewy, pp. 123-4, as follows: "The demiurge bent heaven into a curved shape, and attached to it the great multitude of the fixed stars, forcing fire to fire, so that they may not move through wearisome strain, but by a fixture that is not subject to vagaries. He sent underneath six planets, and in their midst the seventh: the Fire of the Sun; and He suspended their disorder on the well-ranged girdles of the spheres."

¹³⁴ I.e., the city normally called Sardis. For the reference to Xanthus (*FGrHist* 765F23 = fr. 14 Müller), cf. M. Munn, *The Mother of the Gods, Athens, and the Tyranny of Asia* (Berkeley, 2006), p. 203; T. S. Brown, "The Greek Exiles: Herodotus' Contemporaries," *The Ancient World* 17 (1988), p. 26.

numerical value of the name "Sardin," he will find altogether 365 units. Thus, it is clear from this that the city of Sardis was named in honor of Helios,¹³⁶ who gathers the year together in that number of days. And it is generally conceded that even to this day the common people call the new year "new *sardis*."¹³⁷ And there are those who say that in the ancient Lydian language the year is called *sardis*.¹³⁸

21. The Lydians interpret Pan as the nature of this whole universe [*pan*]: horned (from the moon), with a fiery face (from the *aether*), with a shaggy body (from the earth), and a rather poor form in other respects (on account of the irrational diversity of matter).¹³⁹

22. There are 12 months among all [peoples], but different nations name them differently.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ Possibly the latter should be restored to a nominative form *Xyaris*—but the form *Sardin* is needed for the numerical calculation to come out right. In any case, despite some skepticism, *xyaris* does appear to be a valid reflection of an early form of the city's name—see R. Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1964), p. 202; L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen* (Heidelberg, 1984), p. 542; O. J. L. Szemerényi, "Graeca Anatolica," in Ilievski and Crepajac (eds.), *Tractata Mycenaea* (Skopje, 1987), pp. 350-56—with the name possibly signifying "royal city / castle." O. Haas, "Zu den lydischen Glossen," in M. Mayrhofer (ed.), *Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft und Kulturkunde* (Innsbruck, 1968), p. 62, by contrast, argues that *xyaris* could indeed be a credible report of the Lydian word for "sun." Cf. also T. van den Hout, "Maeonien und Maddunnašša: zur Frühgeschichte des Lydischen," in M. Gorgieri et al. (eds.), *Licia e Lidia prima dell'ellenizzazione* (Rome, 2003), p. 309 n. 60.

¹³⁶ Or simply "the sun."

¹³⁷ Or possibly "new *sardin*"—and similarly for the next occurrence of the word. In both sentences, the word is in the accusative case in Greek, so it cannot be determined with certainty whether John intends a corresponding nominative *sardis* to be assumed, as I have done; I imagine, however, that the place name *Sardin* is meant as a (nominative) form peculiar to Xanthus.

¹³⁸ This has some potential basis in fact: Haas, p. 61, notes that *sarad-* is the Old Persian word meaning "year," although the Lydian word is quite different (*borli-* / *brva-*); cf. Gusmani, pp. 84-5, 277.

¹³⁹ I.e., the diverse types of *irrational* matter. For the interpretation of Pan, cf. Porphyry, *On Images* fr. 359 Smith (cited by Eusebius, *PE* 3.11.44): "they made Pan a symbol of the universe, saying that his horns are symbols of the sun and moon, his fawnskin a symbol of the stars in the heavens, or of the variety of the universe"; also note a scholium on Oppian (*Halieutica* 3.15: p. 328 Bussemaker), with some similar points, and also making the connection with the earth by reference to shagginess (that of Pan's legs).

¹⁴⁰ Except for the Athenian months, the lists of months that follow agree with the parallelisms asserted in the Calendar of Polemius Silvius (i.e., there as here, Roman *September* corresponds to "Greek" *Gorpiaios*, Hebrew *Thesri*, and Egyptian *Thôth*; but the Athenian equivalent there is *Metageitnion*); on these parallelisms, cf. C. W. Jones, "Polemios Silvius, Bede, and the Names of the Months," *Speculum* 9 (1934), pp. 50-56; J. F. Mounford, "De Mensium Nominibus," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 43 (1923), pp. 102-116. For month-lists in the Roman empire, cf. N. Baplu, "Lists of Months in Greek Papyri," *Chronique d'Égypte* 83 (2008), pp. 224-44.

The Athenians indeed [name them] as follows: Elaphêboliôn, Mounychiôn, Thargêliôn, Skirophoriôn, Hekatombaiôn, Metageitniôn, Boêdromiôn, Pyanepsiôn, Maimaktêriôn, Poseideôn, Gamêliôn, Anthestêriôn [60].

The Greeks, as follows: Gorpiaios, Hyperberetaios, Dios, Apellaios, Audonaios, Peritios, Dystros, Xanthikos, Artemisios, Daisios, Panemos, Lôos.¹⁴¹

The Hebrews, as follows: Thesri, Marchesouvan, Chaseleth, Teveth, Saphat, Adar, Nisan, Iar, Sivan, Thamous, Aav, Eloul.¹⁴²

The Egyptians, as follows: Thôth, Phaôphi, Athyr, Choiak, Tybi, Mechir, Phamenôth, Pharmouthi, Pachôn, Paÿni, Epiphi, Mesôri.¹⁴³

The Romans, as follows: September, October, November, December, January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August.

So much for the matter of the months among the [various] nations.

But the Babylonians and the Egyptians defined the beginning of the year as the Spring equinox,¹⁴⁴ adopting, as it were from a head,¹⁴⁵ the equinox in Aries on account of the fact that all perceptible nature grows in the Spring. The Greek tradition made the first degree of Cancer—as one might say, the 23rd of June—the beginning of the year.¹⁴⁶ But while these and all the other nations observed one single starting point of the year, the Romans [observed] three: one, "priestly," a second, "ancestral," and another [61], "cyclical and civic." The priestly [beginning] is in January, when the sun, passing Capricorn, causes an increase of the day. The ancestral [beginning] is what they call the first of the month of March—when it is the Roman custom even to this day to "shake the weapons."¹⁴⁷ The "civic" or rather "cyclical" [beginning] is the first of the month of September, which the Greeks call "apportionment" [*epinêmêsis*], but they themselves call "indiction." For *indictio* [is what] the Romans call the declaration of the yearly cycle in their ancestral language.¹⁴⁸ Antiquity, you see, kept the cycle as the [period] they called

¹⁴¹ Usually known as the *Macedonian* month names, these were still generally preserved in the Greek-speaking Eastern Roman empire, even as the Julian calendar's principles were adopted more widely (see Hannah, pp. 131-8; S. Stern, *Calendars in Antiquity: Empires, States, and Societies* [Oxford, 2012], pp. 259-63).

¹⁴² Wuensch does not emend the names of the Hebrew months, and I have simply transliterated the transmitted Greek spellings here (using 'v' for *beta*).

¹⁴³ The last-named is more usually spelled *Mesorê* in Greek.

¹⁴⁴ Gk. *tropê*; lit., "turn."

¹⁴⁵ Gk. *kephalê*. Hephaestio, *Apotelesmatica* 1.1 (p. 3 Pingree) says that Aries was traditionally called the "head of the *cosmos*."

¹⁴⁶ This is basically true of the Athenian calendar, beginning with the month Hekatombaion—but cf. §17 above.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. 4.42, 49, 55 below.

¹⁴⁸ For the "indiction" cycle (of 15 years) used beginning in the early fourth century A.D., see Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World*, pp. 78-79; more detailed consideration on the basis of papyri can be found in R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 2004), pp. 7-11 and *passim*. Cf. further discussions at 4.111 and 124—in particular, in the latter passage he

a *lustrum*—that is, the period of five years—and there was a purification, and mysteries of the Mother were conducted at that [time].¹⁴⁹ Later on, however, they decided to renew their cycle after 15 years, in honor of Ares (and he was an ancestral god for the Romans, as they say). For the complete "restoration" of Ares [i.e., the planet Mars] is observed in two ways: a small one taking 15 [years] and a "middling" one taking 79.¹⁵⁰ That the Romans held the beginning of the year in March as an ancestral tradition is clear also from the fact that those they called "matrons"—that is, the well-born—entertain the household slaves [then], just as it was the custom for the property-owners to do this in the Cronia.¹⁵¹ The *women* serve the male household slaves, in honor of Ares, on account of their greater stature; the *men*, as it were offering an act of worship averting evil to Cronus [62], would serve their own slaves, so that they would not in reality suffer some sort of retribution and fall into *enemy* servitude.

23. The Greeks, however, named it "apportionment" on the basis of the facts.¹⁵² For when the sun has come to be in Libra, it shows the quality of the crops. And in

claims that the indiction reckoning was established in honor of the Battle of Actium. George Cedrenus includes, at the end of his account of Nero, an explanation of the indiction very similar to what John says here and in the subsequent section, quite possibly dependent on John; it should thus be cited in full: "The name of the yearly cycle—the Roman word signifies the 'declaration'—and this is the *indiction*. But Greece fittingly gave [it the name] 'apportionment.' For in ancient times the tribute payments were not assigned to the subjects as an unalterable and defined burden, but rather the production of the crops kindly set the levy: when it was deficient, [the levy] was lighter; when it was flourishing, [the levy] was not onerous—and it was distributed proportionately to those subject to tribute, painlessly, and at such time as necessity called. And when there was no tribute-payer [?], the tribute was not exacted at all, but all their labor served as profit to the farmers" (1: 378-9 Bekker). Photius, *Epistula* 257, gives nearly the same text (with a brief concluding addition), but instead of the illogical "tribute-payer" reads a participle of the verb *biazomai*—which could be then allow the phrase to be interpreted as meaning, "when there was no compelling need."

¹⁴⁹ The "Mother" would refer to the Magna Mater. There is a combination of material here: In the primary sense, the *lustrum* was the purification ceremony that normally concluded the quinquennial *census* process (in honor of Mars, and carried out on the Campus Martius)—see Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, pp. 232-33; more recent discussion in S. Northwood, "Census and Tributum," in L. de Ligt and S. L. Northwood (eds.), *People, Land, and Politics: Demographic Developments and the Transformation of Roman Italy, 300 BC - AD 14* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 257-9. Thus the *lustrum* also meant a period of five years; five-year tax cycles are attested prior to the 15-year indiction cycle (Bagnall and Worp, p. 7). The focus on March in context seems to be the reason for thinking additionally about the rites of the *ancilia*, also arguably purificatory and associated with the *lustr-* root (cf. 4.34, 42, 60 below)—and the worship of the Magna Mater that was also prominent in the second half of March (cf. 4.49 below).

¹⁵⁰ Cf. §16 above—but the figure for the "middling" restoration does not agree. Some corruption has presumably occurred.

¹⁵¹ I.e., Saturnalia.

¹⁵² This is further explanation of the so-called "indiction"; cf. the previous section.

accordance with it,¹⁵³ the ancients would with kindness allocate the tribute payments to the subjects—so that those subject to tribute would not seem to be impiously oppressed because of the increase of these [tribute-payments]. Quite logically, then, they called it "apportionment"—that is, a sort of distribution of tribute.¹⁵⁴ For the exaction of tribute payments was not so inflexible—nor indeed [was it] a certain defined [amount], or rather one that increased little by little; rather, it was instituted in proportion to the necessity of the rulers, as needs cropped up.¹⁵⁵ In this manner too, the Asians¹⁵⁶ even to this day call the tribute payments "demands." Hence, when they allocated [payments] for the most part in peace-time and the tribute was afterward given back to the contributors, the results for the cities have been such marvellous things—I mean, baths and marketplaces and aqueducts—proclaiming the inhabitants' boundless good fortune.

¹⁵³ That is, the "quality of the crops." (Cf. the parallel explanation in Cedrenus, quoted in the note to the previous section).

¹⁵⁴ Here the word for "tribute" is different: *dasmoi* rather than *phoros* / *phoroi*.

¹⁵⁵ In the late empire, the "indiction" was a kind of budget declaration, indicating projected overall expenses and thus the amount of revenue that needed to be collected, and could thus vary from year to year (see Jones, pp. 448ff.); however, John seems to be suggesting also the development whereby tax payments depended on the *value* of the taxed commodities, that is, in this case, the quality of the crops (N. Oikonomides, "The Role of the Byzantine State in the Economy," in A. E. Laiou, *The Economic History of Byzantium*, vol. 3 [Washington, 2002], pp. 980ff.; CAH XIV: 197). Elsewhere, John describes the oppressive side of things (e.g., *De mag.* 3.45-47, 49, 61—in 3.47 he identifies Anastasius as the one emperor after Constantine who reduced individuals' taxes); the current section thus describes an ideal of non-oppressive taxation.

¹⁵⁶ Presumably, John means the inhabitants of Asia Minor.

BOOK 4

JANUARY

[63]

1. I have spoken sufficiently about the fact that the month of January was defined as the beginning of the priestly calendar by King Numa; in it, they would offer sacrifice to the [beings] above the moon, just as in February [they would offer sacrifice] to the [beings] below it.

And so, I must speak about Janus—who he is and what idea of him the ancients had. Now then, Labeo says¹ that he is called Janus Consivius, that is, "of the council / Senate" [*boulaaios*]; Janus Cenulus and Cibullius, that is, "pertaining to feasting"²—for the Romans called food *cibus*; Patricius, that is, "indigenous";³ Clusivius, meaning "pertaining to journeys" [*hodiaios*]; Junonius, that is, "aerial";⁴ Quirinus, meaning "champion / fighter in the front"; Patulcius and Clusius,⁵ that is, "of the door"; Curiatius,⁶ as "overseer of nobles"—for Curiatius and Horatius are names of [Roman] nobility. And some relate that he is double in form [64], at one time holding keys in his right hand like a door-keeper, at other times counting out 300 counters in his right hand and 65 in the other, just like [the number of days in] the year. From this,⁷ he is also [said to be] quadruple in form, from the four "turns" [i.e., the solstices and equinoxes]—and a statue of him of this type is said to be preserved even now in the Forum of Nerva.⁸ But

¹ Fr. 2 Mastandrea. Mastandrea, pp. 21-43, examines the parallels offered by Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.9) and, less copiously, by Servius (on *Aeneid* 7.607-10) and Arnobius (*Ad nationes* 3.29) to determine the content of Labeo's writing; he argues that John's debt to Labeo is quite extensive, well beyond what the single mention of his name might indicate. For John's discussion in the first two chapters, his analysis is indispensable. According to Mastandrea, Labeo syncretistically equated Janus with Aeon and Helios. See also G. Capdeville, "Les épithètes cultuelles de Janus," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité* 85 (1973), pp. 395-436.

² These epithets, not attested elsewhere, have been questioned and emended by some—the second, *Cibullius*, along with the explanation, being only found in Cedrenus; however, Mastandrea, p. 25, defends Wuensch's text, citing Janus' connections to agricultural fertility.

³ The parallel in Macrobius is *Pater* rather than *Patricius*—but Mastandrea, pp. 25-6, notes the Roman category of "indigenous" gods (*di patrii indigetes*) in justification of the otherwise unattested epithet for Janus.

⁴ For *aer*, cf. 1.12 above and §25 below (with notes).

⁵ For this form of the epithet (elsewhere *Clusivius*), cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 1.130.

⁶ This epithet is not found in the primary parallels, but does appear elsewhere, e.g., Festus, p. 380 Lindsay.

⁷ I.e., from the idea that Janus is connected to the *year*.

⁸ According to Macrobius and Servius, this statue was brought to Rome from Falerii.

Longinus⁹ vehemently tries to interpret him / it as Aeonarius, as being the father of Aeon,¹⁰ or that [he got his name because] the Greeks called the year¹¹ *enos*, as Callimachus in the first book of the *Aetia* writes:

Four-year-old [*tetraenon*] child of Damasus, Telestorides¹²...

Or [he was named] from the word *ia* [used sometimes] instead of *mia* ["one"], according to the Pythagoreans.¹³ Hence, Messala considers this [Janus] to be [the same as] Aeon.¹⁴ For indeed, the ancients celebrated a festival of Aeon on the fifth [day] of this month.¹⁵

⁹ Fr. 37 (a) in I. Männlein-Robert, *Longin, Philologe und Philosoph* (Munich, 2001).

¹⁰ As Mastandrea, p. 32 n. 62, suggests, this is most likely a garbled explanation of the month's name rather than the god's, i.e., *Ianuarius* = Aeonarius (so already Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* [Leipzig, 1904], p. 274). Cf. also the detailed discussion in Männlein-Robert, pp. 369ff., who brings in also Tzetzes, *Posthomerica* 771-2, equally attributing this equation to Longinus. For Aeon (*Aiôn*) in general, see LIMC 1: 399-411; G. Zuntz, *Aion: Gott des Römerreiches* (Heidelberg, 1989)—with pp. 33-36 discussing the present passage; id., *AION im Römerreich: Die archäologische Zeugnisse* (Heidelberg, 1991); id., *Αἰών in der Literatur der Kaiserzeit* (Vienna, 1992); A. D. Nock, "A Vision of Mandulis Aion," *Harvard Theological Review* 27 (1934), pp. 53-104. The word *Aiôn*, of course, could be understood as a common noun, "time / eternity." Börtzler, "Janus und sein Deuter," *Abhandlungen und Vorträgen, Bremer wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft* 4.3-4 (1930), pp. 106-7, appeals to that meaning in his attempt to reconstruct the text here: in his view, the explanation following the quotation of Callimachus (*ia* = *mia*) was originally a marginal gloss, (rightly) presupposing *ia* + *en(os)* as the roots assumed by Longinus for the interpretation of the month's name. For alternative traditions and associations of *Aiôn* with the *monad*, see §17 below (with notes).

¹¹ Gk. *eniautos*.

¹² Fr. 33 Pfeiffer. Reitzenstein, p. 274, sees a further association here with the explanation of Janus' name as being from the word "to go" (Lat. *eo, ire*), thus originally *Eanus* (Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.9.11; cf. Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.26.67). The multiple explanations advanced in Macrobius' text in 1.9.10-12—the year, the act of "going," and the endless cycle (of the universe)—are all arguably connected; John here naturally puts most emphasis on the chronological connection. Note also the association of the *ouroboros* figure (cited by Macrobius in 1.9.12) in regard to the year in 3.4 above, to the world and Agathos Daimon in §161 below—in which connection too, it is presumably significant that Aeon (Plutonium) at Alexandria was identified with the patron god Agathos Daimon (Ps.-Callisthenes, *Historia Alexandri Magni* 1.33 [p. 33 Kroll]).

¹³ This etymology, for John, may indicate a connection with Helios / Apollo (cf. 2.4), which seems to be in the background for cosmological associations of Janus elsewhere in the discussion as well. Reitzenstein, p. 274, posits the intended etymological connection as ἵα ὧν ("being [m.] one [f.]") changing into αἰών.

¹⁴ For Messala, cf. the citation in Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.9.14; also see Zuntz, *Aion: Gott des Römerreiches*, pp. 33-36, who critically analyzes the historical value of these references to Messala (M. Valerius Messala Rufus, cos. 53 B.C.) in detail.

¹⁵ Probably a reference to the celebration of *Aiôn's* birth from Korê attested in Alexandria (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 52.22); cf. Zuntz, *Αἰών in der Literatur der Kaiserzeit*, pp. 11-25; Nock, "Mandulis Aion," pp. 90-96. Reitzenstein, p. 274 (following Plasberg), suggests that the date reference was meant to be the 5th day before the *Ides*, i.e., 9 Jan, with a reflection of the *Agonalia* held on that day (the theory is mentioned with some caution by K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* [Munich, 1960], p. 135 n. 1, and

2. They say that 12 officials were established by Numa—the ones called Salii, who sing hymns to Janus—in accordance with the number of the Italian months.¹⁶ And Varro, in the 14th book *On Divine [65] Matters*,¹⁷ says that among the Etruscans he is called "heaven" and "overseer of all actions" and Popano—on account of the fact that cakes [*popana*] are offered [to him] on the Kalends. Fonteius, in his work *On Statues*, thinks he is actually overseer of time as a whole, and thus, his temple has 12 altars, in accordance with the number of the months.¹⁸ Gavius Bassus, in his work *On the Gods*, considers him to be the *daemon* appointed over the air,¹⁹ and that through him human prayers are conveyed up to the greater [gods]—thus, he is said to be double in form, from his gaze toward us and his gaze toward the gods.²⁰ And in our Philadelphia²¹ even to this day, a trace of his antiquity is preserved: For on the day of the Kalends, Janus himself (supposedly) goes forth, all decked out, with a double-form face; and they call him Saturn, that is, Cronus. Indeed, Lutatius [says he is] the Sun, on account of his ruling over both gates, east as well as west.²² And they say that he is likewise also the overseer of those who go forth to war, that by virtue of the one face he sends the army out, and by virtue of the other he calls it back. And Praetextatus the *hierophant*, who helped Sopater the initiatory [priest] and the Emperor Constantine at the founding²³ [66] of this fortunate city,²⁴ thinks he is a certain *daemon* appointed over both Bears²⁵ and

Degrassi, p. 391, with pp. 393-4 and 536 for Degrassi's further discussion of Agonalia); cf. §155 below with notes.

¹⁶ For the Salii, see now G. Sarullo, *Il "Carmen Saliare": Indagini filologiche e riflessioni linguistiche* (Berlin, 2014), pp. 7-10 specifically on the stories about their origins. Although the correlation with the number of months does not seem to appear elsewhere, there were supposed to have been Salii elsewhere in Italy before Rome, e.g., in Tusculum, according to Servius Auctus (on *Aen.* 8.285). For their activities, cf. §§42, 49, 55 below.

¹⁷ Fr. 201 Cardauns.

¹⁸ For Fonteius, cf. 1.37 and the note *ad loc.*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.9.16, cites Varro (fr. 67 Cardauns) as reporting something very similar to the second part of this sentence.

¹⁹ Gk. *daimôn* was originally used for all sorts of deities, but in Platonic philosophy especially it ended up referring primarily to supernatural forces intermediate between gods [*theoi*] and humans. In Christian usage it normally has the specifically evil connotation of the English derivative *demon*.

²⁰ The word here translated "gaze" [*opsis*] can also mean "face." Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.9.13, cites Gavius Bassus as calling Janus the "door-keeper of the higher and lower [gods]"—but Macrobius, Servius (Auctus—on *Aen.* 7.610), and Arnobius all provide close parallels for the views John attributes to Gavius Bassus here.

²¹ Philadelphia (in Lydia) was John's home town.

²² "East" and "west" also mean "rising" and "setting" [of the sun]. "Lutatius" would be Q. Lutatius Catulus (cos. 102 B.C.); fr. 13 Peter (HRR).

²³ Gk. *polismos*.

²⁴ I.e., Constantinople. The story is problematic, in that the famous Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (d. 384) would have been quite young at the time of the foundation of Constantinople; for further discussion, see M. Kahlos, "Praetextatus — A Senatorial Life" (Rome, 2002), Chapter 1.2, available online at:

that he conveys the more divine souls to the lunar chorus.²⁶ Such [are the views] of the Roman *hierophants*; but another [writer] says that Janus was a *hero*, and was the first to set up sacred precincts and to present honors to the gods, and that he was memorialized in the temples for this reason.²⁷ Indeed, Demophilus supposes that he was the first to build houses and gateways, and that January was named on the basis of the [word] *ianua*—that is, "door"—and also that he has a sister named Camasene.²⁸ Ovid the Roman allegorically depicts Janus as being *chaos*.²⁹

Dio the Roman³⁰ says that Janus [was] a certain ancient *hero*, who, on account of the hospitality he gave Cronus, received the knowledge of the future and the past, and was represented with two faces for this reason by the Romans—and on this basis, the month was called January, and the beginning of the year takes place in this same month.

3. This month was formerly called Monias—from the "monad." And the first [day of the month] is the most highly revered festival of the Kalends, for the Romans.³¹ And the consul, riding on a white horse, himself clad in white, would lead the procession up to the Capitol—and this kind [67] of procession they traditionally called an *ovation*, from the sacrifice of sheep.³² The consul would offer his horse to Zeus [i.e., Jupiter]—for indeed, [he is] Helios himself, according to Pherecydes³³—and then, from there taking

<http://www.maijastinakahlos.net/b/kirjoituksia/praetextatus/vettius-agorius-praetextatus-a-senatorial-life-chapter-12/>. Cf. also R. L. Testa, "Augures et pontifices: Public Sacral Law in Late Antique Rome (Fourth-Fifth Centuries AD)," in A. Cain and N. Lenski (eds.), *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 275-6. Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian*, p. 262, suggests that John may have in mind the long speech of Praetextatus in Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, dealing (*inter alia*) with Janus (1.9), although if so, some distortion has taken place, as this specific view is not reported.

²⁵ I.e., the constellations Ursa Major and Ursa Minor.

²⁶ This is printed by editors as an Orphic *testimonium*—i.e., a witness to Orphic initiatory activity (test. 211 Kern = 663T Bernabé; but note Bernabé's cautions about calling this sort of reference "Orphic" in the introductory essay to this section of testimonia, *Poetae Epici Graeci*, 2.2: 224).

²⁷ This tallies well with the report of the views of one "Xenon" in Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.9.3.

²⁸ FHG 2: 86. For the sister (whom he allegedly married), cf. Draco of Corcyra (FHG 4: 402-3 = Athenaeus 15.692e), and Servius Auctus on *Aen.* 8.330.

²⁹ *Fasti* 1.103.

³⁰ Cassius Dio fr. 6.7 (of book 1), p. 14 Boissevain.

³¹ For the Kalends of January, popular into Byzantine times, see M. Meslin, *La fête des Kalendes de Janvier* (Brussels, 1970), and now also the collection of papers on the Kalends published in 12th volume (2013) of the *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte*, in particular Kaldellis, "The Kalends in Byzantium, 400-1200 AD: A New Interpretation," (pp. 187-203); and still more recently, F. Graf, *Roman Festivals in the Greek East* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 128ff., 219ff.

³² In Latin, "sheep" are *ovēs*.

³³ 7A9 Diels-Kranz; cf. also 3.10 above.

up the consular garment, would go forward.³⁴ This [was done] in honor of Zeus, as it were because the giants had struggled against him—meaning, the winter weather was defeated by the sun. But the mythologists call the winter "Briareus," a many-handed [being], on account of the fact that moisture streams forth in it in multiple ways; and at one time Briareus fights with Zeus (i.e., the sun), and then again becomes his ally, because the moist substance is allied with the warm.³⁵

4. So then, as the sun is now lengthening the day, the consul goes forth. The day is one of festival and cessation of hostilities; but the magistrates, for the sake of securing an omen, appear on the raised platform and assemble all the armies along with their standards. And in ancient times they would give each other dried figs, offering first fruits of sweet foods, as I imagine. And they would give laurel leaves, which they called *strêna*, in honor of a certain goddess [*daimôn*] of the same name, who is overseer of victories.³⁶ The word *strêna*, in Greek, signifies the "good beginning³⁷ as regards military skill." For [they] do not give it by way of trifling or recreation, as the common people do. And they say that the famous Latinus—Telegonus' brother, Circe's son, and Aeneas' father-in-law—when he was founding the [68] "acropolis" of Rome before the coming of Aeneas, found a laurel tree [*daphnê*] by chance at the spot, and thus allowed it to remain there.³⁸ For this reason, here too they designate the Palatium as "Daphne."³⁹ The ancients consecrated the laurel tree to Apollo, because the tree is full of fire, as Plutarch says,⁴⁰

³⁴ For the ritual surrounding the entry into office of the new consuls, cf. F. Pina Polo, *The Consul at Rome* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 17-20; Meslin, pp. 23-7, 53-9: The consuls, wearing the *toga praetexta* (not plain white; later, with even more elaborate garb), went in procession to the Capitol, where they sacrificed a white ox (not a horse) to Jupiter (with a connection to Janus sometimes mentioned). Meslin, p. 59, finds the ritual Christianized by the sixth century, in a description which assimilates the new consuls to candidates for baptism (Ennodius, *Libellus pro Synodo* [CSEL 6: 328]: *ecce nunc ad gestatoriam sellam...mittunt limina candidatos*)—something like this could possibly be behind John's reference to white dress. Note also John's continuation of this subject in §10 below.

³⁵ In mythology, Briareus is the name of one of the primordial "Hundred-Handers" (*Hekatoncheires*); for John's views here, cf. *scholium* on Hesiod, *Theog.* 712 (H. Flach, *Glossen und Scholien zur Hesiodischen Theogonie* [Leipzig, 1876], p. 199), glossing these figures as "the winds in winter" [τὰ ἐν χειμῶνι πνεύματα].

³⁶ Symmachus (*Epist.* 10.35 / *Rel.* 15.1), who also makes the connection with the goddess' name, calls her *Strenua*; Varro (*Antiquitates rerum divinarum*, fr. 132 Cardauns), *Strenia*. For the custom and its origins, see Meslin, pp. 31-32, 39-44; D. Baudy, "Strenarum commercium," *Rheinisches Museum* 130 (1987), pp. 1-28.

³⁷ Gk. *euarchismos*—with Baudy's interpretation, p. 25 n. 92.

³⁸ Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* 7.59-64—but this is set at Laurentum rather than at Rome. The more precise parallel in *Geoponica* 11.2.8 is most likely based on John's text. For Latinus' parentage, see Hesiod, *Theogony* 1013, and cf. 1.13 above. An imperial association was established when Augustus was honored by the Senate with laurel trees flanking the door of his Palatine house (*Res Gestae* 34).

³⁹ That is, in *Constantinople*, where the imperial palace (*palatium*, originally referring to the Palatine hill in Rome) was called "Daphne."

⁴⁰ Fr. 194c Sandbach—but cf. §86 below (with note) for a related fragment and doubts about the attribution to Plutarch; the interpretation and wording are also found in Porphyry, *On Images* fr. 359

and Apollo is fire—for he is the sun. On this basis too, this tree is hateful to the *daemons*, and wherever there is a laurel, *daemons* go away; and it appears that people discovered the manifestation of prophecy while burning [laurel-leaves] in oracular practice. And the more ancient people dedicated the laurel to Ares—and others, after them, to Helios—for which reason they would crown those who were victorious over their enemies with laurel, just as conversely [they would crown] their saviors with oak, on account of the fact that the oak was what saved those in ancient times, before the discovery of grain; for the ancients would eat acorns in lieu of grain. Elpidianus in his [work] *On the Festivals* says that in the Sabine language, health is called *strêna*,⁴¹ for the sake of which laurel leaves were bestowed upon the magistrates by the people on the first [day] of the month of January—for it produces health. For neither will a sacred illness or a troublesome *daemon* disturb a place in which there is laurel, [69] just as lightning [will] not [strike] where there is a fig-tree⁴²—but it is also able to dispel apparitions; thus too, those who desire to receive a divine manifestation [*epiphaneia*] in a dream partake of figs only. But since laurel leaves would be offered along with the figs, the custom prevailed even until the present day to put laurel leaves as well into containers of figs. And yet, the practice remained in a changed form, just because of prosperity: instead of figs, they distribute cakes, and instead of leaves, gold. And the Romans call the cakes [made] from honey *plakountes* ["flat-cakes"]⁴³ because this sort of food arrived in Placentia first in Italy from the Greeks (or rather, from the Samians), and therefore it is called by this name, like Tarentine [cakes] from Tarentum, and Canubic [cakes] from Canubus,⁴⁴ and Copta [cakes] from Coptus.⁴⁵ A certain Samian [named]

(lines 23-25) Smith. See the Introduction above for Börtzler's arguments about the reconstruction of the text.

⁴¹ Cf. Nonius Marcellus, 1: 24 Lindsay: *strena dicta est a strenuitate*. Elpidianus is otherwise unknown, but F. Niggetiet, *De Cornelio Labeone* (Münster, 1908), pp. 52-62, argues that he was one of the sources depending on Cornelius Labeo available to John (yet see Mastandrea's cautions, *Cornelio Labeone*, pp. 18-19, 212, etc.). One *Helpidius* was a correspondent of Symmachus and associates of Virius Nicomachus Flavianus (*PLRE* 2: 535-6, s.v. *Helpidius* 1), but no writings are attested.

⁴² Cf. *De ost.* 45: The fig-tree and the laurel are not struck by lightning. Cf. also *Geoponica* 8.11 on the antipathy of thunder toward laurel (with W. Fiedler, *Antiker Wetterzauber* [Stuttgart, 1931], pp. 85-6).

⁴³ Bandy (with the tentative suggestion in Bekker's apparatus) emends to *πλακέντας*, to turn this into a transliterated form of the Lat. *placenta* ("cake"), which was in fact a borrowing from the Greek term in Wuensch's text; the supposed etymology from Placentia is attested in Latin comedy (cf. Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, p. 30). Athenaeus 14.644b has the correct etymology of Gk. *plakous* (contracted from *plakoeis*).

⁴⁴ More usually, Canopic / Canopus.

⁴⁵ This last is attested in LSJ as *κοπτή* ("chopped / pounded"—i.e., this word actually derives from the verb *κόπτω*); cf. Athenaeus 14.648e-649a (and compare the cake mentioned at 647f: *koptoplakous*). Athenaeus (citing Chrysippus of Tyana) also lists Tarentine and Canopic cakes (647c).

Dion first made bread by mixing in honey and invented the so-called *sesame* in Samos—and hence, the place has a name akin to that of the fruit.⁴⁶

5. In Rome, the emperors⁴⁷ used to receive the magistrates with a kiss, in honor of freedom, after the tyrants had been driven out by Brutus, the consul of the Romans.

6. According to Iamblichus, the serpent is a holy [animal]. [70] For he speaks as follows:⁴⁸

The serpent is a divine animal, most spiritual of all reptiles, and fiery—for which reason also its speed is unsurpassable, on account of the spirit / breath [*pneuma*], with no feet or hands or any other external [body part] whereby the other animals move around. And it produces the forms of diverse shapes and makes twisting movements in its progress at whatever speed it chooses. And it is very long-lived, and not only grows young again by shedding its old age, but also naturally takes on a greater increase [in size]; and whenever it fulfills its allotted measure, it is consumed into itself. Therefore this animal has also been included in sacred rites and mysteries.

⁴⁶ Herodotus 3.48 refers to ritual cakes made with sesame and honey in Samos; as for the confection, Athenaeus 14.646f defines *sēsamides* as round pastries made with honey, sesame-seeds, and olive oil. The text is likely somewhat corrupt (the reference to an unknown "Dion" is Wuensch's conjectural emendation, rejected by Wittig and Bandy); but what seems quite clear is that John is alleging an etymological connection between "sesame-cakes" and "Samos," based on an otherwise unattested account of the invention of this type of pastry. Cf. Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, pp. 31-32, for further discussion.

⁴⁷ Gk. *autokratores*. This appears to reflect the entry into office of the new consuls; however, the standard practice in the late Empire on that occasion was for the emperor, in a sitting position, to receive the consuls, who prostrated themselves before him—Claudius Mamertinus (*Panegyrici Latini* 3[11].28), by contrast, celebrates Julian's modesty, which included bestowing a kiss on the new consul in the old style (Meslin, p. 57); cf. H. Gutzwiller (ed.), *Die Neujahrsrede des Konsuls Claudius Mamertinus vor dem Kaiser Julian* (Basel, 1942), p. 223. For the connection with Brutus' actions in ending the tyranny of Tarquin and instituting the consulship, see *De mag.* (2.8).

⁴⁸ The following quotation is nearly completely attested also in Euseb., *PE* 1.10.46, who is citing Herennius Philo (*FGrHist* 790F4)—quite possibly depending on Porphyry for this material as he was for previous references; see A. I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos: A Commentary* (Leiden, 1981), pp. 88-91, for this question, and S. Morlet, "Eusebius' Polemic against Porphyry: A Reassessment," in S. Inowlocki and C. Zamagni (eds.) *Reconsidering Eusebius* (Leiden, 2011), p. 120 n. 11, for the more recent discussion. The attribution to Iamblichus may be the result of confusion; cf. Dubuisson-Schamp, 1: lxx-lxxi. On the content of the quotation, see commentary in Baumgarten, pp. 252ff.; H. W. Attridge and R. A. Oden, Jr., *Philo of Byblos: The Phoenician History* (Washington, DC, 1981), pp. 94-5.

And it sees the most keenly of all [creatures], for which reason it has been named *drakôn*.⁴⁹

7. On this day, Trajan consecrated a temple to universal Fortune,⁵⁰ decreeing in accordance with the sacred law that no one was to taste the sacrifice except the sacrificer.

Homer nowhere mentions the term Fortune [*Tychê*], but Hesiod [does].⁵¹

Fate [*Heimarmenê*] means "strung together" [*eiromenê*], on account of the need for time and separation, for the sequence [*heirmos*] of the things that exist to be preserved.⁵²

The name of Fortune and Fate was brought forward in reference to the creation⁵³—as witness, Hermes in the so-called *Perfect Discourse*, who said the following:⁵⁴

The so-called seven spheres have as [their] ruling principle⁵⁵ Fortune or Fate, which alters all things and [71] does not allow them to remain in the same state.

But Fate is indeed the fated actualization⁵⁶ [of events], or God himself, or the order that has been put into place, with Necessity, after it [i.e., after Fate], for all things heavenly and earthly.⁵⁷ And the one [i.e., Fate] conceives the very

⁴⁹ Correctly implying a connection with *derkomai* (aor. stem *drak-*), "to see" (cf. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, pp. 264-5).

⁵⁰ Otherwise unattested, it seems—see L. Richardson, jr., *New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore, 1992), p. 155; J. Bennett, *Trajan: Optimus Princeps*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington, IN, 2001), p. 149, however, thinks that certain coins may depict this temple.

⁵¹ *Theogony* 360.

⁵² For this explanation of the term "fate," cf. Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.125; Ps.-Plutarch, *Placita* 1.28: εἰρμὸν αἰτιῶν (and see also John's discussion of Stoic views in §81 below). It likely derives ultimately from Chrysippus, as A. Elter, *De gnomologiorum Graecorum historia* (Bonn, 1893-5), 3: 118, argues (cf. parallels more fully laid out in *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, 2: 265-66 [nos. 913-21]).

⁵³ Gk. *genesis*.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Asclepius* 19 and 39 (Nock-Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum* 2: 319, 350; Scott, *Hermetica* 1: 324, 362—both print John's text as a Greek parallel to the Latin text of *Asclepius*). For "Perfect Discourse" (*teleios logos*) as the title used here by John (and later, §§32 and 149), cf. Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 7.18.3.

⁵⁵ Gk. *archê*. (Scott emends this to *ousiarchê*, "beginning / principle of existence," in conformity with the extant Hermetic text.)

⁵⁶ Gk. *heimartê energeia*, that is, the process of bringing to pass fated events; the Latin text of the *Asclepius* here has the word *effectrix*, "producer / one who brings about."

⁵⁷ Cumont, p. 34 (followed by Nock-Festugière), found supplementary text at this point in a series of apparent excerpts from *De mens.* in cod. Angelicus 29 f. 268: "But Fate and Necessity were both set in order, having been brought into unity with each other."

beginnings of things; the other [i.e., Necessity] actually compels the ends to happen. And these [two] are attended by order and law and nothing disordered.⁵⁸

Porphyry appears to be speaking about Fate quite in accordance with the teachings of Hermes when he speaks as follows:⁵⁹

The ancients connected Fate with the number seven, since it encompassed the "spinning" of the seven⁶⁰—as many things as are "spun" with regard to the living creature⁶¹ and the activity outside of this [effectuated] by it [i.e., Fate], in its sovereignty over all.

And they ascribe Opportunity⁶² to Fortune, because Opportunity in concrete affairs is also the "good aim"⁶³ of each [person] in relation to the given circumstances.⁶⁴ And Proclus, in the *Outline of Platonic Philosophy*, says the following with regard to the teachings about the soul:⁶⁵

Some have been allotted *solar daemons* as leaders, other *lunar* [daemons]; and others, others. People's successes proceed in proportion to the nature of their leaders. For through them as intermediaries, good things are distributed to us from the divine in accordance with merit.

⁵⁸ Cumont, pp. 34-35 (followed by Nock-Festugière), adds further material at this point from the same ms.: "For Fate sets down the beginnings of things like a seed, whereas Necessity follows, bringing to accomplishment <the things> of Fate; and third, Order, pursuing the activities of Necessity." A final sentence added by Cumont (but with no parallel in the Latin text of the *Asclepius*) is rejected by Nock-Festugière in their edition of the *Hermetica*—but could conceivably reflect *De mens.*: "And Nemesis holds sway [*nemetai*], watching over all things that come to be, and sends forth her active force through the universe."

⁵⁹ Fr. 467 Smith; cf. Scott, *Hermetica*, 4: 230 n. 8.

⁶⁰ Cf. Plato's image of the "spindle of Necessity" (*Rep.* 10.616c), which controls the revolution of the fixed stars and the seven other heavenly bodies (Moon, Sun, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn).

⁶¹ I.e., the universe itself—cf. Plato, *Tim.* 30b-d.

⁶² Gk. *kairos*.

⁶³ Gk. *eustochia*. That is, opportunity exists in relation to agents whose skills are prepared to deal with a given situation.

⁶⁴ For the association of the *heptad* with both *Tyche* and *kairos*, cf. Ps.-Iamblichus, *Theology of Arithmetic* (tr. Waterfield), pp. 90, 99.

⁶⁵ The closest parallel in Proclus' extant works is in his *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, 1: 110-111 Diehl. This "quotation," however, is more like an interpretive summary (compare the account of Cronus attributed to Proclus in §154 below); see, however, 2.8 for another reference to this "Outline." Cf. also Dubuisson-Schamp, 1: lviii-lix, for further discussion and references.

As witness, Euripides' Peleus:

For apart from god, no mortal is fortunate.⁶⁶

Alas for mortals! How uneven are their fortunes!

For some do well, but for others <harsh>

disasters come along from god—[even] for the pious (?).⁶⁷

[72]

The Romans, thinking that there is nothing [worthy of note] other than good fortune among human beings, have considered that it and it alone [i.e., good fortune] rules over all, suitably naming it *Fortuna* on the basis of its *moving* [*phora*].⁶⁸ And it is clear that Plato in his inspired simplicity mentions the name of Fortune loosely—yet when discoursing on the gods he does not place it in the rank of the gods.⁶⁹ But Aristotle and Theophrastus,⁷⁰ and those of their type, do not even think that it exists, asserting, "If there is virtue, there is no fortune; for what belongs to fortune is knocked up and down in human affairs—by riches and power and most especially injustice; but those who steer toward virtue and keep God in mind and stir up greater hopes for immaterial and blessed things despise the good things there [below]." For "nothing belonging to fortune is safe"⁷¹—as Euripides says in *Hypsipyle*.

Oh mortal madnesses of men! In vain
they say that there is Fortune, but no gods;
for if there is Fortune, there is no need for god,

⁶⁶ *Peleus* fr. 617a.1 Kannicht (1025.1 Nauck) [= Stobaeus 1.1.17.1; *AP* 10.107(a)].

⁶⁷ *Scyrians* fr. 684.1-3 Kannicht / Nauck [= Stobaeus 4.41.16.1-3; *AP* 10.107(b)].

⁶⁸ John is identifying the Lat. syllable *for-* as equivalent to Gk. *phor-*. For this explanation, cf. *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. *sumphora*. (For the connection of *fortuna* and *fors* with *fero*, frequently assumed in antiquity and more modern scholarship, see Ernout-Meillet, *Dictionnaire etymologique*, p. 249, s.v. "fors" and "Fortūna.")

⁶⁹ Wuensch notes the report of Plato's views in Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, p. 324 (Ps.-Plutarch, *Placita* 1.29 and Stobaeus, 1.6.17—based on Aëtius' *Placita*), although there is no particular parallel with what John says about Plato here.

⁷⁰ For discussion of this dubious fragment of Aristotle and / or Theophrastus (= fr. 490 Fortenbaugh; fr. 79 in V. Rose, *Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus* [Leipzig, 1863]), see W. W. Fortenbaugh, *Theophrastus of Eresus Commentary Volume 6.1: Sources on Ethics* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 427-30. As Fortenbaugh points out, the quotation does not square with known Peripatetic views; however, Vitruvius gives a similar view attributed to Theophrastus (2nd section of the introduction to his book 6)—fr. 491 Fortenbaugh: the learned man can scoff at the reverses of fortune.

⁷¹ Fr. 765c Kannicht. Cf. fr. 942 Nauck.

but if the gods are strong, then Fortune is nothing.⁷²

For "Fortune" signifies something random and insubstantial.

On account of their uneven movement, human affairs are naturally likened to a ladder [73]—for, as someone has said:

In one day it⁷³ has taken one down from on high, raised up another.⁷⁴

Since none of our affairs is of a nature to remain the same, but rather, they change in manifold ways—or do private citizens not become magistrates, magistrates private citizens, rich men paupers, paupers very wealthy, the neglected honored, those without honor most famous?—inferior are those who strive for wealth beyond moderation, for "wealth is more a helper of wickedness than of nobility"—says Isocrates the orator.⁷⁵ And I think Plato had paid attention to this, when he said that no one comes to possess the greatest wealth without having previously suffered damage to his soul.⁷⁶

8. So then, on the first day of the Kalends, as I have said, the priests decreed solemnly in accordance with the Sibylline oracles, for the sake of health, that all must taste unmixed wine early in the morning, before any other sustenance, in order to ward off gout.

And you ought to know that on the day of the Kalends, the sun comes to be at its high point,⁷⁷ and Corona sets at dawn.

⁷² *Phrixus B* fr. 820b.1-2, 4-5 Kannicht. For text and discussion, see also G. W. Bond, *Euripides: Hypsipyle* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 48, 136-7; for the attribution of the second quotation to *Phrixus B*, see Kannicht's *apparatus*.

⁷³ In the text of the fragment as edited by Kannicht and Nauck, "one day" (nom.) is the subject of the sentence.

⁷⁴ Euripides, *Ino* fr. 420.2f. Kannicht / Nauck.

⁷⁵ Isoc., *Or. 1 [Ad Demon.]*, §6: πλοῦτος δὲ κακίας μᾶλλον ἢ καλοκαγαθίας ὑπηρέτης ἐστίν.

⁷⁶ Also cited at *De Mens.* 4.100; although there is no close connection in wording, the thought could conceivably reflect the argument in *Laws* 5 (743ac) that the very rich cannot be good (or happy)—from which passage, incidentally, Stobaeus includes two excerpts in very close proximity to the same quotation from Isocrates John used just above (*Anthology* 4.31.79-80 [5: 760 Wachsmuth-Hense], with the Isocrates passage in §77). For this passage as a reflection of the collection of proverbial material, cf. also Elter, *De gnomologiorum Graecorum historia*, 3: 119 (reference from Wuensch).

⁷⁷ Lehoux, *Astronomy, Weather and Calendars*, p. 389, translates similarly: "the sun is higher"; Bandy: "the sun is at its culmination." Cf. *De ost.* 59 (= Clodius Tuscus) for the same date: ὁ ἥλιος ὑψοῦται (tr. Lehoux, p. 357: "the sun is elevated"); similarly, the "Paris" *paraepagma* (Lehoux, p. 413—cf. pp. 165-66 for its identity). This, however, seems to be the opposite of the truth; north of the Tropic of Cancer, the sun moves highest in the sky at the *summer* solstice. Alternatively, he might be thinking of the sun's furthest

9. On the following [day],⁷⁹ which is the fourth before the Nones [74] of January, they had leisure time on account of the sacred rites of the chariot-races. And before the procession to the chariot-race, in the presence of the high priests, they would offer sacrifices to the *daemons*,⁸⁰ and in the streets they would distribute to the common people the [coins] they called *milliarensia*, in honor of Scipio.⁸¹ For he first in the 109th Olympiad, on account of a dearth of gold, prepared and distributed to the soldiers the *milliarensia*, when Hannibal was threatening [Roman] affairs. For the opportune gift is called "profit," and the *milliarensia* were so called from the *militia*,⁸² that is, the military campaign / service. But Dardanus says in his [work] *On Weights* that the *miliarensia* in former times came to 1000 obols, and it was called this on the basis of this "thousand" number of obols.⁸³

northerly position—but that would also occur on the summer solstice. Of course, the sun also has a *daily* culmination, but that can hardly be the point of John's reference in this context. Cf. another difficult reference to the sun's "height" in 1.12 above. In Polemius Silvius' *Laterculus* (p. 519 Mommsen), the sun is described as "rising to a higher course" (*ad celsiorem tramitem surgens*) on the 25th of December. Could it be that the idea is instead "the sun [begins to] rise" (i.e., after reaching its *lowest* point)? This is tempting, but it is difficult to be sure.

⁷⁹ 2 Jan. There seems to be some confusion, however, as the next section again reflects activities of 1 Jan—the distribution (*sparsio*) of special coins by the consuls, for which see Meslin, pp. 59-61, although the way John associates this with the army suggests that possibly confusion with the giving of donatives to the soldiers at this same time (Meslin, p. 29) may have occurred as well. For the games (including chariot-races) celebrated at this time in the late Empire, see Meslin, pp. 66-70; and Degraffi, pp. 389-90, citing in particular the calendar of Polemius Silvius, which records *circus privatus* for 2 Jan. Possibly in John's mind there is also a connection to the *Compitalia* / *Ludi Compitales*, held on 3-5 Jan. (for these see Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, pp. 58-60; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 279-80).

⁸⁰ Specifically the *Lares*, as being associated with the *Compitalia* (cf. Meslin, pp. 46-9)? Alternatively, this could be a reflection of sacrifices by the consuls to Jupiter (or Janus) on the 1st (cf. Pina Polo, pp. 17-18; Meslin, p. 58).

⁸¹ For the silver coin frequently designated *miliarensia*, minted under the Tetrarchy (only later, from the 8th cen., reappearing again as a standardized denomination), see M. F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c. 300-1450* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 466-67. An office apparently in charge of distributing these coins is attested in administrative texts, e.g. *Cod. Just.* 12.23.7 (late 4th cen.)—see Hendy, pp. 389-91; R. Abdy, "Tetrarchy and the House of Constantine," in W. Metcalf (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage* (Oxford, 2012), p. 594. By introducing Scipio into the story, however, John is conflating this coin with the *denarius*; that is, he is treating all silver coinage as the same (so P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, 3.1 [Washington, D.C., 1973]: 14; for the introduction of the *denarius* during the Second Punic War, see B. E. Woytek, "The Denarius Coinage of the Roman Republic," in Metcalf, p. 316).

⁸² The Latin word means "military service / campaign." Epiphanius, *De mensuris et ponderibus* lines 801-2 Moutsoulas [= §52 of the Syriac text, ed. Dean], explains the coin's name in exactly this way.

⁸³ Dardan(i)us appears to have been active in the 4th cen.; he is mentioned also for weights and coinage by Priscian, *De figuris numerorum* 10 [2: 408-9 Hertz (= Keil, *Grammatici Latini* vol. 3); the relevant text is also printed in F. Hultsch (ed.), *Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae*, 2: 83-5]. Cf. J.-P. Callu, "Les

10. After this, [there were] *vota publica*, that is, "public prayers."⁸⁴ And the consuls also would perform sacred rites on behalf of the state and the people of Rome; and all the magistrates would swear to maintain justice for the subjects.⁸⁵ And they would do this as it were out of necessity, because frequently the magistrates behaving illegally or being caught in a bribe were put in prison by the tribunes. And the common people would jeer at the magistrates without fear—not [only] in words, but also in gestures that strove to be amusing. They would do this in honor of *freedom*, and the magistrates would allow it, yielding to custom as though to law. And [75] the consuls would report to the emperors the bird-omens, through which it was known of what sort the year would be. You see, the natural [philosophers] attribute the first day of the week to Helios [the Sun], the second to Selene [the Moon], the third to Ares, the fourth to Hermes, the fifth to Zeus, the sixth to Aphrodite, and the seventh to Cronus. Accordingly, if it happened that the festival of the Kalends, that is, the first [day] of January, coincided with the day of Helios, they anticipated wars, conflicts of the magistrates and disagreements between the subjects on account of them, and also plentiful dry crops and strange rumors / prophecies. If [the Kalends fell on the day] of Selene, [they anticipated] not those sorts of things, but deaths of babies, dearth of provisions, and a cold spring; and they thought that the fruit-trees would grow bountifully. If [the Kalends fell on the day] of Ares, [they anticipated] conflagrations and diseases, but abundance of wine and olive-oil and pulses, and civil discord. But when [the Kalends fell on the day] of Hermes, deaths of infants and diseases involving abnormal flow from the stomach; and destruction for women in the mid-point of life, and abominable famine in general. And when the festival of the Kalends occurs on the

origines du 'miliarensis': Le témoignage de Dardanius," *Revue Numismatique* 6 (1980), pp. 120-30; H. L. Adelson, "A Note on the Miliarensis from Constantine to Heraclius," *Museum Notes* 7 (1957), pp. 124-35. Callu, probably correctly, treats "Dardanius" as the proper spelling of the name (with F. Hultsch [ed.], *Metrologorum scriptorum reliquiae*, 2: 22-23, and the ms. of John here), whereas Wuensch has corrected it to Dardanus on the basis of (Hertz's edition of) Priscian. Callu further mentions (p. 128) a third interpretation of the coin's appellation: *milliarensis* = 1/1000 of a pound of gold.

⁸⁴ For the *vota publica* and their date, which varied between the 1st and the 3rd of January, the latter ultimately becoming standard, see Meslin, pp. 30-31, 52, 61-3; Degraffi, pp. 389, 391.

⁸⁵ For the entry into office of the consuls, see Pina Polo, pp. 17-20; Meslin, pp. 23-7, 53-9. This would include taking the auspices, as John intimates later in this section. The system of correspondence he further delineates, however, whereby the day of the week on which the Kalends fell was significant for the fortunes of the year, is not attested early (one popular later source, sometimes known as the *Revelatio Esdrae*, appears in the corpus of Bede's writings, PL 90: 951); but generally on private divination at this time, see Meslin, pp. 73-75. As for the "jeering" and amusing "gestures" John mentions, it seems likely that this was a part of the carnivalesque masquerading and Saturnalia-like inversion of roles attested for this time of year in the late Empire (see further M. Harris, *Sacred Folly* [Ithaca, 2011], pp. 16-17; and cf. Meslin, pp. 79-85).

day of Zeus, it was granted to expect everything good, but stormy and rainy times, such that not even the rivers were satisfied with their beds. And on the sixth, which is considered to be Aphrodite's, they anticipated tumult of magistrates, increase of the crops, and [76] wars harmful to public business, deaths of people and especially the youth. On the seventh, they saw omens of winter at all events—for indeed, Cronus [is] cold—and great prosperity—because he has been understood to be guardian of the crops; and also diseases and dangers and winds in the summer⁸⁶ and hailstorm around Cancer⁸⁷ and an unexpected omen for affairs.

11. They say that the *phoenix*,⁸⁸ at intervals of 500 years, comes down to a certain place in upper India, prepares for himself a heap of cinnamon and leaves of spikenard and fennel, and he mounts the heap. Once this is ignited by a certain quick-acting *daemon*, the phoenix himself is consumed by the fire; but not long afterward, a very similar worm grows up out of him, and after its wings have grown it immediately flies off toward the sun. This is done on the altar in Heliopolis, according to Apollonius.⁸⁹ After that, some of the most well-regarded men in Egypt gather together and [the new phoenix] rises up on high and, with an escort of the assembled men, goes off from whence he came.

12. When a sky-omen appeared among the Romans, military campaigning did not proceed and assemblies were not held, even if a hindrance consisting of a few drops of rain lightly grazed them.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Gk. *theros*.

⁸⁷ I.e., during the mid-summer.

⁸⁸ For an exhaustive account of the ancient traditions regarding the phoenix, see Van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix* (Leiden, 1972); for John's account, cf. also Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, pp. 32-33.

⁸⁹ Philostratus recounts a discussion of Apollonius of Tyana on the phoenix (*Life of Apollonius* 3.49); this does not correlate with what John says here, however, and so Van den Broek, pp. 147-8, concludes that John is not relying on Philostratus here, but is unsure whether the source was in fact attributed to Apollonius of Tyana (p. 224). Wittig, p. 32, notes two other passages in which John refers to an "Apollonius" as his authority (4.74, 125), the first of which seems to assume a Stoic philosopher, the second, a doctor; Wittig concludes that John's source in the current passage is some paradoxographical collection.

⁹⁰ For a clear account of Roman auspices in relation to military affairs and assemblies, see J. Scheid, *Introduction to Roman Religion*, tr. J. Lloyd (Bloomington, IN, 2003), pp. 112ff.; among ancient sources, note the idealizing statement of Cicero, *Laws* 2.31: *nihil domi, nihil militiae per magistratus gestum sine eorum [sc. augurum] auctoritate posse cuiquam probari* (cf. A. R. Dyck, *A Commentary on Cicero, De Legibus* [Ann Arbor, 2004], pp. 342-44). Thunder specifically was supposed to put a stop to elections and the passage of laws (Cicero, *De div.* 2.42). Generally on the traditional Roman practice of constantly taking auspices in military affairs, see Cicero, *De divinatione* 2.76-77; in a specific instance, during Julian's Persian campaign, Etruscan *haruspices* are reported to have warned him (in vain) that the appearance of a meteor meant that he should refrain from battle: *face in caelo visa committi proelium vel simile quicquam non oportebit*

13. In the manner in which the magnet-stone changes the position of iron in the direction it moves, on account of the likeness of its naturally similar properties in accordance with the incorporeal principle, [77] in the same manner lifeless things can be changed or moved⁹¹ in obedience to similar living things.⁹² The fact that iron is similar to the magnet-stone in respect to a certain property is easy to understand—for iron extracted from it [i.e., from magnetite] changes the position of iron extracted from some other substance no less, unless it is anointed with the juice of onions, as the natural [philosophers] think.⁹³ And likewise, when smeared with goat's blood, the magnet takes on its attractive property.

14. The production of pepper, according to the ancients and Ctesias of Cnidus, is as follows:⁹⁴ There is a nation by the Azumê, named *Bessadae*,⁹⁵ who are endowed with small and very feeble bodies, large and unshaven heads with plain hair even beyond that of the Indians. They live in underground caves, and even know how to climb the crags on account of their familiarity with the locale. These people gather the pepper,

(Ammianus Marcellinus 25.7). For "a drop of rain" putting an end to an assembly in a Greek context, identified as a "sky-omen" [*diosêmia*], cf. Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 169-71; in warfare, cf., e.g., the prescriptions of Onasander (mentioned by John in *De mag.* 1.47.1), *Strategicus* 10.10.27.

⁹¹ Here "changed or moved" represents the single Gk. word *metapheromena*.

⁹² Cf. Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants* 9.18 (comparing the effect of certain plants to that of magnets).

⁹³ With reference to garlic rather than onions, cf. Plutarch, *Quaest. Conv.* 641c5; *Geoponica* 15.1.28—the latter also with the idea about goat's blood. Pliny allegedly supports this, but no such passage appears to exist. P. Benjamin, *The Intellectual Rise in Electricity* (London, 1895), p. 143 n. 4, reports the interpretations that the source of the notion was a corruption in Pliny's text at *NH* 20.1.2 [*ferrum ad se trahente magnete lapide et alio rursus abigente a sese*]: the word *alio* was mistakenly written *allio* ("garlic"). Pliny does, however, assert that goat's blood can be used to break *diamonds*—and diamonds, he says, have the effect of cancelling the power of a magnet (*NH* 37.15.61). For the ideas of sympathy and antipathy behind these supposed "facts," see D. Lehoux, *What Did the Romans Know?* (Chicago, 2012), pp. 136-40.

⁹⁴ *FGrHist* 688F63; a translation appears in A. Nichols, *Ctesias: On India* (London, 2011), p. 86, but Nichols is dubious about whether the fragment is authentic.

⁹⁵ A people east of the Ganges; cf. Ptolemy, *Geography* 7.2.15. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 65 identifies a people known as the *Sêsatai* [so Casson; *Besatae* in Schoff] as being connected with the collection of the exotic plant *malabathron*. Schoff, *The Periplus*, p. 279, and Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, p. 34, cite a passage appearing (i.e., interpolated) in Pseudo-Callisthenes (3.8 = Palladius, *De gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus* 1.7) with a number of details parallel to John's account. Wittig, pp. 35-6, further suggests some confusion in John's source with the Ethiopian kingdom of Axum (thus also he emends the text from *Azumê* to *Axumê*), although he additionally notes that Ptolemy mentions an Indian town called *Auxoamis* (7.1.60). Cf. also E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 188-89; A. McCabe, "Imported *Materia Medica*, 4th -12th Centuries, and Byzantine Pharmacology," in M. M. Mango (ed.), *Byzantine Trade, 4th to 12th Centuries* (Farnham, 2009), p. 282.

culling it from little miniature trees that grow next to the bushes. And Maximus says:⁹⁶ "It is a plant in India, first of all thornless, and cared for like a vine that climbs a tree or up a pole; and it bears its fruit in clusters like a terebinth, and has ivy-like, longish leaves. Once planted, it begins to bear fruit at three years; [78] and it dies at eight years. When harvested it becomes dark without being roasted, but simply by being placed out in the sun; and thus, it happens that the [pepper] dried in the shade remains white."

15. The high priests among the Romans were called *pontifices*, just as in Athens long ago all the exegetes and high priests of the ancestral rites—the administrators of them as a whole—were named "Gephyraei," on account of the fact that they conducted rites for the Palladium on the bridge [*gephyra*] over the Spercheius river.⁹⁷ For the Romans call a bridge *pontem*,⁹⁸ and the wooden [planks] making up the bridge *pontilia*. Hence also, I suppose, they were called "action-operators" [*praxiergiai*]⁹⁹—that is, "accomplishers" [*telestai*].⁹⁹ For that is what the word *pontifex* signifies, from [the idea of one] "powerful in deeds."¹⁰⁰

16. On the 18th day before the Kalends of February,¹⁰¹ Varro says there occurs a conflict of the winds. Democritus says that the southwest wind arises, along with rainstorms.

17. The philosophers say that the Dioscuri are the hemisphere below the earth and the one above the earth. And in myth they die alternately, as [each] moves under

⁹⁶ Cf. Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* 3.4. A "Maximus" is an attested source for Philostratus, but the report in the *Life* is not particularly similar to this one; Wittig, p. 38, judges John's source to have been a paradoxographical compilation.

⁹⁷ Cf. §102 below. The *Gephyraei* were an Athenian family associated with particular cults (see R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* [Oxford, 1996], pp. 288-89); for critical analysis of this fanciful connection to Lat. *pontifex* (along with the similar statement in Zosimus, *New History* 4.36), see Cameron, *Last Pagans*, pp. 647-50.

⁹⁸ The Greek *pontên* seems to reflect an attempt at an accusative form, for which *pontem* would be correct. The nominative form of the word in Latin is *pons*.

⁹⁹ The latter term is quite usual in Greek as a technical term for priests or officials who conducted initiatory rites; the former, with a slight emendation (*Praxiergidai*) would be the same as the name of an Athenian family connected to certain cults (see Parker, *Athenian Religion*, pp. 307-8, for the family; Cameron, *Last Pagans*, p. 649, for the likely correct emendation, proposed by Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 34 [1899], pp. 607-8).

¹⁰⁰ The derivation of the first element from *pons* ("bridge") is espoused by Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.15.83, who also reports the opinion of Q. Scaevola that it comes from *posse* ("to be able"), which is in view for the latter part of John's note. Both accounts agree that the second element is based on the verb *facere* ("to do"). For these theories cf. also Plutarch, *Numa* 9.

¹⁰¹ 15 Jan.

the *antipodes* in turn.¹⁰² The [school] of Epimenides¹⁰³ related that the Dioscuri were male and female, calling the one *Aiôn*, as a "monad," the other *Physis*, as a "dyad."¹⁰⁴ For from the *monad* and the *dyad* the whole of life-producing and soul-producing [79] number sprang up.¹⁰⁵

And you should know that on this day, the Kids [i.e., *Haedi*] set, and a change¹⁰⁶ occurs, according to Philip.

18. On the 15th day before the Kalends of February,¹⁰⁷ Democritus says that the Dolphin sets, and a change occurs for the most part.

On the 13th day before the Kalends of February,¹⁰⁸ Euctemon says that the Crab [i.e., *Cancer*] sets, while Callinicus says that the Water-Pourer [i.e., *Aquarius*] rises—Hipparchus calls him Deucalion...in the wooded glens and torrential streams of the mountains.

On the 12th day before the Kalends of February,¹⁰⁹ Eudoxus says that Aquarius rises.

¹⁰² For this interpretation of the Dioscuri cf. Philo, *De decalogo* 56; Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos* 9.37. See further discussion in Y. Amir, "Transference of Greek Allegories to Biblical Motifs," in F. E. Greenspahn et al. (eds.), *Nourished with Peace* (Chico, CA, 1984), pp. 20-24.

¹⁰³ 3B26 Diels-Kranz (inauthentic); fr. 18 Fowler (*Early Greek Mythography*, 1: 100; and cf. also commentary, 2: 424-5).

¹⁰⁴ At 2.7, John similarly associates male with the *monad* and female with the *dyad*. For the identification of the *dyad* as *physis* ("nature"), cf. Ps.-Iamblichus, p. 46. There are potential Chaldaean echoes in identifying *Aiôn* and *monad* (cf. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, pp. 99-100); also note the tradition that explains *aiôn* as being derived from *aei ôn* ("always existing")—e.g., Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, 3: 15 Diehl.

¹⁰⁵ Of course, ultimately the *monad* and the *dyad* are the source of number generally, but in 2.11, John specifically calls 6 the "soul-producing" number. Within the Platonic tradition, however, the view was advanced that soul *is* to be identified with number in some sense (Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, p. 360; cf. Witt, *Albinus*, p. 20: soul is "self-moving number" according to Xenocrates [see fr. 165 Parente, etc.]; and Taylor, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* [Oxford, 1928], p. 112: "[Xenocrates] maintained that what Timaeus is really describing under the name of the 'making of the world's soul' is primarily the logical derivation of the series of natural integers" [fr. 188 Parente = Plutarch, *On the Generation of the Soul in the Timaeus* 2 (1012de)]).

¹⁰⁶ Gk. *tropê* (also in the next section). For this translation, see Lehoux, p. 390; but more frequently in the *paraepgmata*, the term for a "change" is *episêmasia*—on which, note especially Lehoux, "Impersonal and Intransitive ΕΠΙΣΗΜΑΙΝΕΙ," *Classical Philology* 99 (2004), pp. 78-85. Bandy supplies "of winds."

¹⁰⁷ 18 Jan.

¹⁰⁸ 20 Jan.

¹⁰⁹ 21 Jan.

On the 11th day before the Kalends of February,¹¹⁰ Caesar says that the sun comes to be in Aquarius;¹¹¹ Eudoxus [says] that it rises, and indicates rain-showers.

On the 10th day before the Kalends of February,¹¹² Democritus says that the south-west wind blows.

19. Fabius the senator was condemned by the Senate, because he was shown to have acquired silver beyond the amount determined by law.¹¹³ For it was not allowed for anyone to possess more than one's rank [permitted], nor indeed for just anyone to wear silk clothing, even if they were merchants; this had been given as a special privilege to the patricians alone.¹¹⁴ [80]

20. They called Domitian "master," not "king," on account of his tyrannical quality.¹¹⁵

21. Some of the natural [philosophers] think that Hera is water, Zeus fire—and fruits are produced by a mingling of moisture <and heat>.¹¹⁶ But they theologize that she is also Selene, in that she has been appointed over moist nature; and they say that

¹¹⁰ 22 Jan.

¹¹¹ There is controversy over whether "Caesar" in this paraepegmatic context refers to Julius Caesar or to Germanicus, who translated Aratus' *Phaenomena* into Latin. See Lehoux, p. 492.

¹¹² 23 Jan.

¹¹³ There seems to be some confusion in transmission here. In the first, most famous case, P. Cornelius Rufus was expelled from the Senate by the censor Fabricius in 275 B.C. for owning 10 lbs. or more of silver tableware (Livy, *periocha* 14; Plutarch, *Sulla* 1)—on which case see E. Zanda, *Fighting Hydra-Like Luxury* (London, 2011), pp. 43-44. A *senatusconsultum* attested for 161 B.C. banned the use of more than 100 lbs. of silver tableware (Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 2.24.2). See also D. P. Miles, *Forbidden Pleasures: Sumptuary Laws and the Idea of Moral Decline in Rome*, diss. University College London 1987 [<http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1141131/1/DX189489.pdf>], especially pp. 96, 228.

¹¹⁴ The wearing of silk by men was banned under Tiberius (Tacitus, *Annals* 2.33.1; Cassius Dio 57.15.1), but only in the later empire was silk controlled and regulated as part of imperial dress—and in the reign of Justinian specifically, according to Procopius, silk-worm eggs were smuggled to Byzantium from China to allow for domestic production (*History of the Wars* 8.17). For further details, see H. B. Feltham, "Justinian and the International Silk Trade," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 194 (2009) [http://sino-platonic.org/complete/spp194_justinian_silk.pdf]; A. M. Muthesius, "Silk, Power and Diplomacy in Byzantium," *Textile Society of America Proceedings* 1992, pp. 99-110; R. S. Lopez, "Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum* 20 (1945), pp. 1-42.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Suetonius, *Domitian* 13, and for John's interpretation of the term, *De magistratibus* 1.6.

¹¹⁶ Zeus is frequently equated with fire / *aether*, but Hera is most often associated with *aer*, not water (cf. 1.12 above [with note]). Something may have been garbled in transmission. For the general thought, however, cf. Eusebius, *PE* 3.3.1 (quoting Diodorus 1.11.5), where the combination of Osiris [= fire and wind] and Isis [= earth and water] generates all things. Note also Plutarch, *Roman Questions* 77 (282bc), arguing that the moon is Juno / Hera in material form, as the sun is Jupiter / Zeus.

Ares was born from her, that is to say, the aerial and active fire [is produced] by compressions of the clouds.¹¹⁷ And the natural [philosophers] assign to the sacred rites of Hera the bird [called] the peacock, that is, the starry aer or the heavens.¹¹⁸

22. The circle of Cincius¹¹⁹ make Athena out to be divine and incorruptible spirit [*pneuma*]. Hence Euripides also calls her Athana,¹²⁰ on account of her deathlessness [*athanaton*]. And [they say] that she came forth from the head of Zeus, as if from the heavens; for the heavens are the "head" of the whole world, according to those who call the whole world "Zeus." And they call her Tritogeneia and Tritonis—not because of her birth from Triton as the poets say, but because the operations of the soul are *three-fold*.¹²¹

And the Chaldaeans¹²² too [81] say that the soul is simple and intelligent and rational; as it comes forth from the intelligible [realm] to the perceptible world, it takes on the spirited [faculty] from the aether—for indeed, the aether is empyrean [i.e.,

¹¹⁷ For the characterization of Ares, see 2.8, where the association of Hera with *aer* comes more explicitly to the fore. Compare also 4.34. Here Ares, as aerial fire, is being equated with *lightning*.

¹¹⁸ That is, the "eyes" on the peacock's tail represent the stars; and the *aer* here demonstrates the association with Hera, albeit in a slightly jarring way, as the *aer* is the lower air, usually contrasted with the *aether* (upper air).

¹¹⁹ For the fragments of this (1st-cen. B.C.) antiquarian author, see Appendix A below; Huschke (ed.), *IAR* 1: 24-26; Funaioli (ed.), *Grammaticae Romanae fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1907), 1: 371-82—and for the differentiation of this Cincius from L. Cincius Alimentus the historian, see now T. J. Cornell (ed.), *The Fragments of the Roman Historians* (Oxford, 2013), 1: 181; Funaioli does not, however, include the current reference, or John's reference at 4.86, in his edition, since, like the earlier editors of Cincius' fragments, he was using Roether's edition of *De mens*. Huschke does include it as fr. 2^a. Cincius was one of the sources of Cornelius Labeo (see Mastandrea, pp. 60-61; Rüpke, *Religion in Republican Rome*, p. 250); but it is conceivable that John may have had more direct knowledge of Cincius, as argued by C. R. Phillips, "Approaching Roman Religion," in Rüpke (ed.), *Companion to Roman Religion* (Malden, MA, 2007), pp. 16-17.

¹²⁰ E.g., *Trojan Women* 24, 52.

¹²¹ Generally similar interpretations of Athena (but with reference to *aether* rather than to the heavens) appear in Cornutus, *De natura deorum* 20 (cf. also the views of Chrysippus and Diogenes of Babylon in *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* 3: 217 [no. 33]). Note that Porphyry, *On Images* fr. 359 (line 61) Smith, identifies Athena with the moon (as Apollo with the sun)—a notion which may have connected Athena's "three-fold" nature here with the three-fold Hecate / moon discussed by Porphyry immediately afterward, and thus eased the transition of thought in the context of John's text; cf. J. Préaux, "Pallas, Tertia Lunae," in J. Bingen et al. (eds.), *Le monde grec: Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Brussels, 1975), pp. 343-52.

¹²² This is not included in Des Places' (or Majercik's) edition of the *Chaldaean Oracles*; cf. however, Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, p. 182 n. 26, who argues that this represents Neoplatonic interpretation of Chaldaean material, on account of the implied tripartite soul, whereas by contrast the Chaldaean Oracles also include a solar stage in the descent of the soul (e.g., fr. 61e Des Places / Majercik, cited by Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* 3: 234 Diehl, specifically for the fact that some Neoplatonists followed the Chaldaean Oracles in describing the soul's descent). For an even more systematized version of the descent, through planetary spheres, see Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* 1.12.13-14 (and cf. Numenius fr. 34-35 Des Places; Servius on *Aen.* 11.51).

fiery]—and the appetitive [faculty] from the lunar sphere¹²³—for indeed, the moon is of a moist nature; hence too (they say) the magical procedures concerning love are practiced and directed toward the moon, that is, Aphrodite.¹²⁴

Others [say] that Athena is the aer¹²⁵—and [they call] her Tritogeneia because the aer is altered by three transformations, that is, into spring, summer, and winter; "grey-eyed" because the appearance of the aer is greyish. And [they say] that Perseus is the sun, the Gorgon the day, from its swiftness, that is to say that the sun, coming out on its course through the aer, cuts off the days, receiving the sickle—meaning "sharpness"—from Athena—that is, Providence. And for this reason it is customary for a Gorgon to be carved on clocks, indicating the day. Hygieia [= Health] is the power that controls the contrary qualities in accordance with the preservation principle.¹²⁶

23. Trajan¹²⁷ was called Ulpus, in conformity with his father's name, but the Romans thought it good to call him Crinitus,¹²⁸ or "Goodly-Locks," on account of his enthusiasm for the hair on his head. In his body he was short, but in other ways noble in the manner of his training with weapons and his exercise of the body. He did not belong to a noble family; for he was formerly a tribune—that is, a (tribal) military commander.¹²⁹ Becoming aware that Nerva was a lover...[82]...of the suburban [estate] belonging to him—for in their properties they were near neighbors to each other—he immediately wrote up a gift-bequest regarding the suburban [estate] and thus gave it to Nerva. But he, in amazement, took Trajan as a son by adoption; and thus *he* obtained a pathway to the throne, since Nerva was rather quickly dying. And perceiving that he was being slandered for drunkenness, he kept away from wine-drinking completely. Trajan founded a city in Asia, Adramyttium, named after Adramyttes the brother of

¹²³ Gk. *seira* (lit., "cord / rope").

¹²⁴ The moon (Selene), frequently assimilated with Hecate, is of course prominent in magic, as is Aphrodite in specifically *love* magic (see, e.g., C. A. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* [Cambridge, MA, 1999], pp. 135-41). Like John here (and in *De ost.* 56), Varro is attested as having equated Venus and Luna (fr. 279 Cardauns); so also Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.8.3, citing Philochorus' *Atthis* (FGrHist 328F184), in the context of the androgynous Aphrodite—see §64 below.

¹²⁵ Attested in Homeric scholia (e.g., on *Odyssey* 1.327, 364); cf. also scholia on Hesiod (*Theogony* 274-6) for the interpretations of Perseus and the Gorgon; for both, cf. scholia on Lycophron (p. 17 Scheer).

¹²⁶ That is, health depends on a state of equilibrium or balance.

¹²⁷ The following discussion may have found its place here because 28 Jan. was Trajan's accession day (cf. Degrassi, p. 404).

¹²⁸ Attested first in Eutropius, *Breviarium* 8.2. This supposed cognomen of Trajan was the basis for the invention of a related adoptive father of Aurelian in the *HA* (*Life of Aurelian* 10-15); see R. Syme, *Emperors and Biography* (Oxford, 1971), p. 100-101; D. den Hengst, "The Biographies of the Roman Emperors," in *Emperors and Historiography* (Leiden, 2010), p. 97-8.

¹²⁹ Gk. *phylarchos*. John is confusing the *tribune of the plebs* (for which office one had to be a plebeian) and *military tribune* (of which there were six to a legion). Cf. the same term in *De mag.* 1.46.

Croesus.¹³⁰ But in ancient times its name was Thebes under [Mt.] Plakos [*Hypoplakioi Thêbai*].¹³¹

24. "What is your great number of sacrifices to me?' says the Lord; 'I am full of the whole-offerings of rams, and I do not want the fat of lambs and the blood of bulls and goats—not even if you come to appear before me. For who sought these things from your hands? You shall not continue to trample my courtyard. If you bring fine flour, it is in vain; incense is an abomination to me. I cannot tolerate your new-moons and sabbaths and great convocation day. Fasting and leisure, and your new moons and your festivals, my soul hates. You have become a surfeit¹³² for me."¹³³

¹³⁰ Presumably John means Trajan re-founded it, since it did exist in the Classical period (Herodotus 7.42; cf. Strabo 13.1.51 [606-7]), as he implicitly admits in the second half of the sentence; for Adramyt(t)es as founder, see Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. *Adramyteion* (= Aristotle, fr. 484 Rose). This later foundation is, however, unattested, although Trajan did found a Trajanopolis on the border between Lydia and Phrygia (Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* [Princeton, 1950], 1: 595; 2: 1452); cf. also Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, pp. 38-40.

¹³¹ Cf. Homer, *Iliad* 6.396-7 (etc.). Strabo (13.1.61) is precise about the distance between this location and Adramyttium (60 *stades*), but Eustathius, while following Strabo himself, notes that *some* think they are the same place (*Comm. on Homer's Iliad*, 2: 340 Van der Valk), as the scholia (e.g. on *Iliad* 1.366) also attest.

¹³² I.e., you have made me full—or, I have had enough of you.

¹³³ Is. 1.11-14. This Biblical quotation is a strikingly odd inclusion in John's text, which rarely adverts to the existence of Christianity or Biblical tradition. It is difficult to resist the idea that the passage was originally a marginal comment by a pious scribe reacting to the details of pagan religion described by John, and thus does not really belong in the text—cf. Maas, p. 67.

FEBRUARY

[83]

25. The name of the month of February came from the goddess called *Februa*; and the Romans understood *Februa* as an overseer and purifier of things.¹ But Anysius² says in his work "On the Months" that *Februus* in the Etruscan language [means] "the underground [one]"—and that he is worshipped by the Luperci for the sake of the crops' increase. Labeo, however, says³ that February was named from "lamentation"—for among the Romans, lamentation is called *feber*⁴—and in it, they would honor the departed. Yet in fact the pontifical books call the action of purifying *februare*, and [call] Pluto *Februs*.⁵ For the sublunar race of *daemons*⁶ is divided into three parts, according to Iamblichus: The earthly [part] of it is punitive, the aerial [part] is purificatory, and the one near the orbit of the moon is salvific; we also know of this one as "heroic." It is said

¹ For an extensive collection of material pertaining to "Februa," "Februus," and related names, see C. Pascal, "Le divinità infere e i Lupercali," *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, ser. 5.4 (1895), pp. 138-56, reprinted in Pascal, *Studii di antichità e mitologia* (Milan, 1896), pp. 149-72. *Februa* (like the related *Februata* and *Februalis*) is most frequently used as a title of Juno; see also Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, s.v. "Juno" [<http://www.ancientlibrary.com/smith-bio/1766.html>].

² Otherwise unknown, although Seeck, "Anysios (4)," *PRE* 1.2: 2654, notes the possibility that this Anysius might be identical to one of three other attested bearers of the name, all living in the 4th or 5th cen. A.D. A fifth Anysius, of the mid-5th cen., is noted in *PRE* Suppl. 1: 98. See also *PLRE* 2: 108—the 3rd Anysius listed there (not included in *PRE*) was present at the Council of Chalcedon (451), having previously served as the city prefect of Constantinople. Graf, *Roman Festivals*, p. 170, notes the parallels with Cornelius Labeo's interests, and suggests that John likely (but not certainly) derived his knowledge of Anysius from Labeo.

³ Fr. 3 Mastandrea.

⁴ This is unattested elsewhere. Wunsch cites Kahl, "Cornelius Labeo," *Philologus* Suppl. 5 (1889), p. 732, for further discussion; cf. also Mastandrea, p. 44: *feber* might possibly be an alternative form of *febris* ("fever"); or there may be textual corruption. Isidore of Seville's *denial* of the view that February was named after *febris* (*Origines* 5.33.4) shows that others did espouse such an etymology. Exploring the possible connection with *febris*, C. Cecamore, *Palatium: Topografia storica del Palatino tra 3. sec. a.C. e 1. sec. d.C.* (2002), p. 118, suggests that the Greek word for fever (*puretos*) may well have inspired comparison with the Latin words relating to purity and purification (*purus*, *purgo*, etc.) in this context.

⁵ Cf. Servius on *Georgics* 1.43: *Februus autem est Ditis pater* (*Ditis* here should be interpreted as nominative; cf. Servius on *Aen.* 6.273); Isidore of Seville, *Origines* 5.33.4. Mastandrea, p. 46, notes that Cornelius Labeo is said to have cited the "pontifical books" similarly, for the names they applied to Maia (Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.12.21).

⁶ For the term *daemon*, cf. §2 above (with note).

that this whole [race] is led by a certain very great *daemon*—and this would pretty clearly be Pluto [84], as Iamblichus likewise says.⁷

They judge that the month of February was rightly dedicated to Hera, on account of the fact that the natural [philosophers] think Hera to be the lower *aer*,⁸ and purification does precisely befit the *aer*. And in this month the temples and the sacred implements were purified. Similarly also in the case of private persons, everyone would take care of purificatory rites.

In February the drink-offerings for the departed were conducted—and for this reason, Numa cut [the month] short, judging it irreligious for the month connected to those who "cut short" everything⁹ to be honored equally with the others.¹⁰

[The month] is not only called February [*Februarius*], but also *Februatus*,¹¹ because its overseer is referred to in the rites as both *Februata* and *Februalis*.¹²

26.¹³ Those of the Romans who write natural history¹⁴ say that when seed is cast into the womb, on the third day it is transformed into blood and "paints"¹⁵ the heart,

⁷ While the specifics of John's references here to Iamblichus are not attested, E. C. Clarke et al., *Iamblichus: On the Mysteries* (Atlanta, 2003), p. 97 n. 131, cite this passage as roughly parallel to the thinking of *De Mysteriis* 2.5; cf. Dubuisson-Schamp, 1: lxxii. This passage also is related to Iamblichus' delineation of different views of how "judgment, punishment, and purification" of souls are accomplished (*De Anima* 40 = Stobaeus, *Anthology* 1.49.65, [1: 454-5 Wachsmuth-Hense]); "the ancients" attribute this to various categories of deities. As Iamblichus says, however, "most Pythagoreans and Platonists" attribute this action to the souls themselves—and this is the view further described in *De Anima* 29 (= Stob. 1.49.40, p. 380 Wachsmuth). See further J. F. Finamore and J. M. Dillon, *Iamblichus: De Anima* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 190-94; Dillon, *Iamblichi Chalcidensis in Platonis Dialogos Commentariorum Fragmenta* (Leiden, 1973), pp. 19, 23-24, 65, and 246, for discussion of this and also of the lost works of Iamblichus John seems to have used in general—in particular, the fragment of Iamblichus' commentary on Plato's *Sophist* seems to confirm that he identified the "sublunar demiurge" as Hades. Cf. also John's citation of Hermes (Trismegistus) below, §32.

⁸ For *aer*, cf. 1.12 above (with note). The connection of Hera with *aer* (see, e.g., Plato, *Cratylus* 404c; Cornutus, *De natura deorum* 3.1) was fostered by etymological play: Hera (HPA) and *aer* (AHP) are anagrams in Greek.

⁹ I.e., underworld spirits connected to death.

¹⁰ Cf. 3.10, where it is alleged that it was the *Tuscans* who cut the month short.

¹¹ The term *februatus* (*dies*) is elsewhere applied to the Lupercalia, rather than to the month as a whole (Censorinus, *De die natali* 22.15; Festus, p. 76 Lindsay).

¹² The form John actually uses for the latter here is *Februaem* (the Lat. acc. form). For these titles, see the note at the beginning of the chapter, on "Februa."

¹³ This section is sometimes known as the *tractatus Splinii* (see Wuensch's introduction, pp. xxv-xxix), copied frequently in a range of mss., some of which attribute the information to "Splinius" or "Splenius"—often understood as a corruption of Plinius (i.e., Pliny the Elder). Wuensch later, in "Zu Sophrons Ταὶ γυναικες αἱ τὰν θεὸν φαντι ἐξελαῖν," *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie Supplementband* 27 (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 120-21, indicated that he had changed his mind about the status of cod. Monacensis Gr. 551, because of its direct attribution of the material to "John Lydus," and thought he should have incorporated its

which is said to be formed first and to die last.¹⁶ For if three is the beginning / ruling principle¹⁷ of numbers, and is an odd number, then consequently the beginning / ruling principle of birth [comes] from it.¹⁸ And on the ninth [day], it congeals and coagulates to form flesh and marrow; and on the 40th [day it is said] to be completed as a comprehensive form of configuration—to put it simply, a complete human being. [85]

Something similar to [these properties of] the days [holds true] in the case of the months. In the third month, [the fetus] held in the womb begins to move; and in the ninth month it is completely finished and hastens to come out. And if it is female, [this happens] in the ninth month, while if it is stronger [i.e., male], at the beginning of the tenth [month], because the number nine, being female and properly belonging to the moon [*Selênê*], is carried along toward matter, while ten is perfect and male. But female and male come into being in keeping with the prevalence of heat: When the heat is plentiful for the seed, since the solidification happens quickly, it is masculinized and transformed quickly; but when [the solidification] is impaired, it is overpowered by the influx [of liquids] and in the struggle it is feminized; it solidifies more slowly, and takes shape more slowly. And the account is true [which states] that male [fetuses] that miscarry even within 40 days come out already formed, while female [fetuses] even after 40 days are fleshy and unformed.¹⁹

After the pregnancy, they say that the newborn child is wrapped in swaddling clothes on the third [day], and that on the ninth [day] it becomes stronger and tolerates

variants into his reconstructed text. I indicate this material in footnotes to the upcoming section. For discussion of the sources, intellectual background, and transmission of this material, see especially G. Dagron, "Troisième, neuvième et quarantième jours dans la tradition byzantine: Temps chrétien et anthropologie," J.-M. Leroux (ed.), *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'antiquité au moyen âge, III^e-XIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1984), pp. 419-30, arguing that the core of dates associated with ritual surrounding the birth of a child was expanded through analogy and numerology to the other contexts. Cf. also Cumont, "La triple commémoration des morts," *CRAI* 62 (1918), pp. 278-94; note especially pp. 289ff. on the astrological use of a competing sequence of 3rd, 7th, and 40th days as significant.

¹⁴ Here cod. Monacensis Gr. 551 has the additional text: "and their 'ornament' [Gk. *kosmos*], the Roman Pliny" (with the ms. reading Σπληνιος corrected to Πλίνιος).

¹⁵ Gk. *diazôgraphein*.

¹⁶ It was Aristotle's view that the heart was the first organ to develop, observable on the third day in chick embryos (*De partibus animalium* 3.4 [665a-667b]).

¹⁷ Gk. *archê*.

¹⁸ For 3 as the first "real" number in Pythagorean thought, cf. 2.8 above. The other numbers that come into the account are also numerologically significant: 9 is the square of 3; and $40 = 4 \times (1 + 2 + 3 + 4)$ —cf. Hopper, pp. 44-45.

¹⁹ For reference to similar views regarding fetal development, see A. E. Hanson, "The Gradualist View of Fetal Development," in Brisson et al. (eds.), *L'embryon: Formation et animation* (Paris, 2008), pp. 95-108. Censorinus, *De die natali* 11, offers numerological interpretations similar in kind to John's here.

being touched;²⁰ and on the 40th [day] it acquires the ability to laugh and it begins to recognize its mother.²¹

And in [the body's] decomposition, they say, nature rounds the turning post and observes precisely the same numbers again, and falls apart by the same [numbers] by which it came together. Indeed, after one has died, on the third day the body is altered completely and its appearance / face²² can no longer be recognized. On the ninth [day], everything dissolves in liquidity,²³ although the heart is still preserved. And on the 40th [day], this too disintegrates along with the rest. For this reason, in the case of the dead, those who make offerings to them observe the third, ninth, and 40th [days], being mindful of its formation at first, its growth after that, and finally its dissolution.²⁴

27. When the Gauls took Rome, Camillus brought together a large number [of soldiers] and fell upon the enemy. A mighty battle ensued, and when their swords were broken as well as their armor—for the Romans did not yet use iron breastplates, but only bronze ones in keeping with the ancient times—for the rest [of the fight] they

²⁰ This likely should be seen as connected to the Roman naming ritual, which took place on the 8th or 9th day (*dies lustricus*) after birth, overseen by the goddess Nundina ("ninth-day"), as Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.16.36, relates; cf. J. McWilliam, "The Socialization of Roman Children," in J. Evans Grubbs et al. (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World* (Oxford, 2013), p. 268. In Athens, babies were named on the 10th day (*dekate*), but Censorinus, *De die natali* 11.7, points out that "in Greece" the 40th day is considered significant (before which the baby cannot laugh / smile, as John also states), with a festival marking it known as *tesserakostê* ("fortieth"); cf. R. Garland, "Children in Athenian Religion," in Evans Grubbs et al. (eds.), pp. 208-9. A (Roman) tradition is also reported by Fulgentius, *Expositio sermonum antiquorum* 7, to the effect that a baby less than 40 days old was buried "under the eaves" of the house in a so-called *suggrundarium*.

²¹ Cf. Aristotle, *Historia animalium* 7.10 (587b).

²² Gk. *opsis*.

²³ The whole phrase is an attempt to represent Gk. *diarrhei*.

²⁴ Greek tradition was to offer meals to the dead on the 3rd day, the 9th, and the 30th (R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Death* [Ithaca, 1985], pp. 39-40), but the 40th was commonly celebrated in the Christian Eastern Empire (E. Freistedt, *Altchristliche Totengedächtnistage und ihre Beziehung zum Jenseitsglauben und Totenkultus der Antike* [Münster, 1928], pp. 1-15—standard practice thus being, as John says, to observe the 3rd, 9th, and 40th days); Romans traditionally held banquets on the day of the funeral itself and on the 9th day after (*novemdiale sacrum*), with later commemorations possible (J. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* [London, 1971], pp. 50-51; H. Blümner, *Die römischen Privataltertümer* [Munich, 1911], pp. 310-11 for further days; and see Freistedt, pp. 127-45 for extensive documentation). Freistedt, pp. 172-8, following up the discussion of Wuensch, "Zu Sophrons τὰ γυναικες," pp. 121-22, traces the slight evidence for pre-Christian observance of the 40th day; on pp. 179-89, he provides further documentation for John's "physiological" explanation of these days. Note also Freistedt's summary tabulation of days commemorated in different regions of the Christian Church (pp. 51-2). For more recent scholarship on the development of Christian commemorations of the dead, see F. S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death* (Ithaca, 1990), pp. 23-24; and R. M. Jensen, "Dining with the Dead: From the Mensa to the Altar in Christian Late Antiquity," in L. Brink et al. (eds.), *Commemorating the Dead* (Berlin, 2008), pp. 107-43, especially 117-18.

resorted to their hands; and they dragged each other by the crests of their helmets and even by the very hair of their beards. Finally, he [i.e., Camillus] drove out the barbarians and saved Rome, and was called a "second Romulus." And thus, they were ordered to shave their beards on the end [of their chins], and to have helmets without crests.²⁵

28. ...in the *oratio* (or address) to the people. [87] The bodyguard is a *spatharios*;²⁶ and the weapon-crafters are *phaurikisioi*.²⁷

29. On the Ides of February.²⁸ From this day, from the sixth hour,²⁹ they would make the sacred things secure by means of drink-offerings for the deceased, and the magistrates would go out in the guise of private persons, until the eighth day before the Kalends of March.³⁰

And the modest women (the Romans call them *matronae*, while the Greeks [call them] "mistresses of households") were so concerned about their modesty that they would not associate with the majority of women, but even set apart for themselves quiet places, apart from the crowds, in the baths, which they call *matronicia* to this day. Now then, these modest women made offerings to the shades³¹ of Brutus, for the following reason: Lucretia, a certain Roman woman who was exceedingly beautiful and modest, is said to have once been raped by Tarquin, the last of the kings, or by his son. And

²⁵ Elsewhere, the story is told that Alexander the Great had his soldiers shave their beards for this reason (Plutarch, *Life of Theseus* 5). The relevance of telling *this* story about the Gauls' sack of Rome is unclear, but John Malalas (7.10-12) and some other late sources connect the naming of the month of February with a senator named "Februarius" supposedly active at that time—cf. Wuensch's fr. 5 "falsely attributed to *De mensibus*" below. More importantly, Camillus is supposed to have had his triumph over the Gauls around the Ides of February (Plutarch, *Camillus* 30.1); cf. Degrassi, p. 409. Note also John's version of the story of the geese in §114 below (and *De mag.* 1.50). For Camillus as a "second Romulus," cf. Livy 5.49.7; Plutarch, *Camillus* 1.1.

²⁶ For *spatharius* as head of the palace bodyguard, cf. (e.g.) Jones, pp. 567-8.

²⁷ This appears to be a garbled reflection of Lat. *fabricenses*, used of armorers in later Latin (e.g. *Codex Theodosianus* 12.1.37). Bandy tacitly emends the spelling of the Greek to *phabrikêsioi*, but note that the spelling with the *upsilon* presumably reflects the pronunciation of this letter (as also the letter *beta*) as 'v' in this context. Note also that at *De mag.* 2.26, John mentions that the making of weapons was under the supervision of the *magister officiorum*; that is, this fragment falls under John's interest in the historical origins of the institutions of Roman government.

²⁸ 13 Feb.

²⁹ For partially reconstructed epigraphic support for this detail, see Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae* 13.2: 408.

³⁰ 22 Feb. (*Cara Cognatio*)—Ovid (*Fasti* 2.33-34), by contrast, thinks these *dies parentales* end with 21 Feb. (*Feralia*). Cf. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, pp. 74-6; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 306-10.

³¹ Lit., *daimones*, but presumably reflecting Lat. *Di Manes*.

history calls him "Superbus"—that is, "arrogant." For he was the first inventor of instruments of punishment [i.e., torture] and the mines [as a form of punishment];³² and, so that he would not be weakened by the torments of those being punished, he would administer to them a plant which provoked incongruous laughter in those who were suffering. (And this sort of plant still grows on the island of Sardinia; hence they call [this] "sardonic" laughter.)³³ For this reason, they called Tarquin "Superbus"—meaning, "harsh and savage." But nothing could produce hatred like this [behavior]. That woman, then, Lucretia, considering her modesty more important than a royal "association" [88]—and not only that, but even [more important] than her very life—sent for her [relatives] and after telling about the sin that could have lain hidden if she wished it, killed herself in the presence of the witnesses to her modesty. So then, the nation was moved at this, hatred of the tyrant increased.....who, grasping the opportunity, became a leader of the Roman people and expelled Tarquin from the kingship.³⁴ Therefore, Brutus was honored by the Roman women, as I have said, with public lamentation after his death, as an avenger of modesty.³⁵ And they thought it fitting that they be called "Brutae" in honor of Brutus.³⁶

30. The Romans call the public slave a *vernaclus*.³⁷ Because the Roman people was divided into three [*treis*] parts, they called the "tribe" [*phylê*] a *tribus*, and the leaders of the commoners tribunes [*tribuni*].³⁸ And they were concerned with chariot-racing³⁹—

³² For Tarquinius Superbus as the inventor of torments, cf. Suda s.v. "Superbus"; on his use of crucifixion, note Cassius Hemina fr. 19 Cornell / fr. 15 Peter (= Servius on *Aen.* 12.603).

³³ The plant's association with Tarquinius Superbus is not otherwise attested, but "sardonic" laughter / smile is attested already in Homer (*Odyssey* 20.302); cf. LSJ s.v. σαρκάνιος.

³⁴ The expulsion of the monarchy, celebrated on 24 Feb. (*Regifugium*), seems to be the warrant for the story here; Ovid, for example, naturally tells the story of Lucretia at length to explain this festival (*Fasti* 2.685-852)—note, however, that the honors for the dead Brutus also tie it to the prior rites for the dead in this month.

³⁵ Livy 2.7 only mentions that they mourned Brutus for an entire year, not that they commemorated his death thereafter.

³⁶ Cf. *De magistratibus* 1.33; as Dubuisson-Champ, 1: 86-7, point out, John appears to be making a connection with a word, *bruta* / *brutes*, regionally borrowed into Latin from a Germanic source (the word is thus cognate with English "bride") during the late Empire—for the use of which, see also J. N. Adams, *The Regional Diversification of Latin 200 BC – AD 600* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 678.

³⁷ This is a syncopated version of *vernaculus*, from *verna*. The reason for this reference is clarified by *De magistratibus* 1.44, where John Lydus says that the tribunes were served by public slaves called *vernacli*.

³⁸ It is not impossible that *tribus* was derived from the number three (cf. Ernout-Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 702, s.v. *tribus*); in any case, there were traditionally three "Romulean" tribes, for which cf. 1.38 above.

³⁹ 27 Feb. was *Equirria*, a festival involving horse-racing. This may be the rationale for the discussion of chariot-races at this point in John's text.

that it should be carried out in a fitting way—and therefore, even now a tribune takes the lead in the *voluptates*, meaning "pleasures."⁴⁰ Since the place is called *agôn* and *agônia*⁴¹ on account of its being round—because it has no corner [*gônia*]⁴²—in accordance with this shape, circular garlands used to be placed on the winners. And the three columns⁴³ make manifest three elements⁴⁴ of nature: water, fire, and earth. For over these alone death exercises its power, and hence myth gives Pluto a dog with three heads, meaning [89] "with three elements."⁴⁵ The air, you see, is *life*-giving. So then, through the columns it becomes clear that they celebrated the *agônia*⁴⁶ in honor of those who died on behalf of their country, as three—not four—chariots competed in the chariot-racing. The one [team is] the *russati*, or "reds," the next the *albat*i, or "whites," the next the *virides*, or "flourishing ones" (but now they call them "greens").⁴⁷ And the

⁴⁰ For this official, attested in the early 5th century in the *Codex Theodosianus*, and quite frequently in the early 6th cen.—but only here for the eastern Empire—see Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 60, 220; R. Lim, "The *Tribunus Voluptatum* in the Later Roman Empire," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 41 (1996), pp. 163-73; J. A. Jiménez Sánchez, "Le *tribunus voluptatum*, un fonctionnaire au service du plaisir populaire," *Antiquité Tardive* 15 (2007), pp. 89-98; A. Puk, *Das römische Spielwesen in der Spätantike* (Berlin, 2014), pp. 107-12. As Puk, p. 110, points out, Cassiodorus' wording (*Variae* 7.10) on the importance of assuring appropriate order in the celebrations parallels John's description of the *tribunus*' role in seeing that the contests were carried out fittingly: *Agantur spectacula suis consuetudinibus ordinata*.

⁴¹ These Greek terms literally mean "contest" or "place of contest."

⁴² This explanation interprets the first letter of *agônia* as an "alpha privative," expressing negation.

⁴³ Gk. *obeloi*. John is referring either to the sets of three conical turning-point markers on either end of the *spina* of a Roman hippodrome (referred to as bronze *obeliskoi* by Hesychius, *Patria* 37 [Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitarum* (Leipzig, 1901), 1: 16]), or to the three columns adorning the *spina* of the Constantinople Hippodrome: the obelisk of Theodosius, the "Serpent Column," and (most likely) the original column standing in the central position now occupied by the "walled obelisk," whose inscription attests that it was repaired by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Cf. B. Ward-Perkins, "Old and New Rome Compared," in L. Grig and G. Kelly (eds.), *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 59-60; Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale*, pp. 324-5; and Jona Lendering's useful comments on the columns adorning the Hippodrome, which are available online at [livius.org: http://www.livius.org/cn-cs/constantinople/constantinople_hippodrome_4.html](http://www.livius.org/cn-cs/constantinople/constantinople_hippodrome_4.html).

⁴⁴ The Greek term *tristoichos* normally means "in three rows" or "threefold"—but John here (presumably because of the association with *stoicheion*, "element") seems to be assuming the meaning "of three elements." Cf. the oracle cited in 3.10 above.

⁴⁵ The association with death (perhaps significantly at the dangerous turning-post area) shows a connection to the theme of February as a month for memorializing the dead. The hippodrome's ties to the chthonic Consus (Humphrey, *Roman Circuses*, pp. 60-61) and a curious mocking ritual of reverence performed in the Constantinople hippodrome by the chariot-drivers to a white-robed figure known as the "ruler of the underground [spirits]" (Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitarum*, 1:80-81; Dagron, p. 338) reinforce this reminder of mortality.

⁴⁶ I.e., the contest.

⁴⁷ The symbolism seen in the colors associated with the circus teams / factions is paralleled in many points by various writers; for extensive documentation, see P. Willeumier, "Cirque et astrologie,"

russati thought they belonged to Ares, the "whites" to Zeus, and the "flourishing ones" to Aphrodite. Later on, [there was] also the blue [team]; they call them the "blues" [*benetoi* / *veneti*] in the local [language]—[meaning] ferruginous⁴⁸—from the *Heneti* [= *Veneti*] around the Adriatic who wear clothing of that [color]. But the Romans call "blue" [*beneton* / *venetum*] the color we call "blue-green" [*kalaiinon*]. Well then, the Gauls were filling a certain place of their own as they watched in the hippodrome; and they called them *Veneti* on the basis of their clothing—and [called] their country *Venetia* because no one there ever had an abundance of garments.⁴⁹ And because of the four elements, they made the contests four in number. The "flourishing" is equivalent to fire, in honor of Rome—and they call it Flora, just as we say "Anthusa" ["flowering"].⁵⁰ Second is the "white," on account of the air; the third group [is dedicated] to Ares; and the fourth, having now been added, [is dedicated] to Cronus or Poseidon—for deep blue is attributed to both.⁵¹

The reds are dedicated to fire [90] on account of the color; similarly the greens to earth on account of the flowers, the blues to Hera,⁵² the whites to water. But others say that green [represents] the spring, red the summer, blue the autumn, and white the winter. And so, they considered it an omen of misfortune for the "flourishing" [team] to suffer a loss—as though Rome itself had been defeated. For because the western "cardinal point"⁵³ was attributed to the element of earth, it was reasonable for them to

Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire 44 (1927), pp. 191-4; Dagron, pp. 330-338; and note also Alan Cameron's discussion in *Circus Factions*, pp. 56-70. Cf. also further details offered in *De mens.* 1.12.

⁴⁸ Gk. *sidêrobaphos*—etymologically, "iron-dyed" or "iron-tempered." This term does not, however, obviously evoke a blue color as it is supposed to.

⁴⁹ For this discussion of blue and Venetia (perhaps a little garbled at the end), cf. Photius, *Quaestiones ad Amphilochium* 323, seemingly derived from John's text: "The country of Venetia was named from the blue [*benetos*] garment." The text of Photius parallels portions of John's material from this point as far as §51 below.

⁵⁰ For "Anthusa" as an alternate name for Constantinople, cf. Cameron, *Last Pagans*, p. 612. In §73 below, John expounds further on Flora as a "sacred" name of Rome.

⁵¹ The foregoing explanation of the four colors (found in the X family of mss.) is disjointed and conflicts with the material printed around it, in particular with the explanation following it in Wuensch's text (found only in Y). Most oddly, it associates *green* (rather than red) with fire—this in particular seems probably to be due to some corruption in transmission. In the first explanation, *as also in* 1.12 (attested only in P), white is connected with *aer* and Zeus, blue with Poseidon (and so, presumably, water) or Cronus; but in the following explanation these connections are reversed: white is associated with *water*, while blue is associated with Hera and *aer*. The former associations are more typical (see Dagron, p. 332; Wuilleumier, pp. 191-2), although one should note that blue quite commonly shows mixed associations with air / sky and water; yet the latter seem equally well worked out as a system, and it seems possible that John reported both versions as alternate interpretations, but that any explicit marking of them as *different* options has fallen out in the process of excerpting.

⁵² Wuilleumier, p. 192 n. 7, endorses a plausible emendation to *aer*.

⁵³ I.e., the Spring equinox.

be concerned about it.⁵⁴ For this reason too the Romans, it is clear, honored Hestia before all [others], just as the Persians [honor] the rock-born Mithras on account of the cardinal point of fire; and those under the Bear [honor] the moist nature on account of the cardinal point of water; and the Egyptians [honor] Isis, the equivalent of Selene, the overseer of all the air.

31. Just as the baby, when it is in the womb, does not need any other sustenance, but is nourished from pure blood—in the same way, they did not pour offerings for those who died in the previous year (as I have said), who lie hidden in "nature"⁵⁵ as though in the womb. For the drink-offerings were offered as a kind of refreshment for the phantoms of those who had died: milk, blood and wine, and fine flour, and conch,⁵⁶ and some other things. And they called them "pourings" [*choai*] from the fact that they were poured out over the graves. Even now, a trace [of this custom] is preserved: In the sacred rites we offer bread and wine.⁵⁷

32. The Egyptian Hermes, in what is called his [91] "Perfect Discourse"⁵⁸ says that the punitive *daemons*, being present in matter, exact vengeance from humanity in accordance with our deserts. The purificatory [*daemons*], being fixed in the air, purify the souls which are attempting after death to ascend, around the hail-filled and fiery zones of the air—which the poets (and Plato himself in the *Phaedo*) call Tartarus and Pyriphlegethon.⁵⁹ And the salvific [*daemons*], being arrayed near the moon's region, save souls.

⁵⁴ In Greek, the pronoun is feminine; it is not clear whether it refers to the "earth" or to "Rome," but the logic of the context seem to favor the latter.

⁵⁵ I.e., in the earth.

⁵⁶ That is, perhaps, mussels (?): a surprising entry on the list. For such offerings to the dead in general, cf. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, tr. J. Raffan (Cambridge, MA, 1985), p. 194.

⁵⁷ This appears to be a reference to Christian use of bread and wine in the Eucharist, and thus an interesting attempt to connect Christian practice to pagan antecedents. The parallel excerpt in Photius, *Quaestiones ad Amphilochium* 323, does not include the sentence, although Photius frequently abbreviates quite severely.

⁵⁸ Although the material John here attributes to Hermes is not a close equivalent of anything in the extant *Asclepius* (also known as the "Perfect Discourse"—cf. §7 above), editors of the corpus have judged that it may correspond to something in the original Greek of the piece: Nock-Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, 2: 334; Scott, *Hermetica* 1: 368. Cf. also John's reference to Iamblichus above, §25.

⁵⁹ Cf. *Phaedo* 112-114.

MARCH

33. The Romans considered March the beginning of the year, as I have already said, and they dedicated it to Ares; it was previously named Zephyrites and Primus.¹ For Romus,² the one who founded Rome and made in it a sanctuary of Ares in this very month, gave it the name "of Martius" [i.e., "Mars' (city)"]—that is, Ares' [city], in his ancestral speech.³

34. The mythologists say: Zeus, by intercourse with his sister Hera, generated Ares—that is, the *aether* in contact with the *aer* squeezes out the *aerial* fire.⁴ But the natural philosophers say that Ares was so named, not, as the children of the grammarians say, from "removal" [*arsis*] and "destruction" [*anaíresis*], but from the "aiding" [*arêgein*] and "helping" [*syllambanein*]⁵ given in occurrences of violence and fighting—or alternatively, as "originative" [*arktikon*] and "causative of change" [*metabolês aition*].⁶ And as his exaltation, they gave him Capricorn.⁷

The Romans [92] called Mars *mors*, that is, "death"⁸—either as being the one who sets crafts in motion, or as being Ares who is honored only by males [*arrenes*], or on the

¹ The name *Primus* ("first") of course reflects the fact that March used to be the first month. *Zephyrites*, on the other hand, indicates a connection to the West wind (as John points out in §152 below), *Zephyros* in Greek, or, in Latin terms, *Favonius*—whose breeze was associated with the beginning of Spring (as famously celebrated by Horace, *Ode* 1.4.1: *Solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et Favoni*), although its appearance is specifically dated by Pliny to 8 Feb. (Pliny, *NH* 2.122).

² Only here and in §47 below does the name *Romus* (rather than *Romulus*) anomalously appear in John's text as the founder of Rome; cf. Plutarch, *Romulus* 2, for different eponymous founder figures, including *Romus*. John Malalas (7.1ff.), on the other hand, for example, has *Romus* consistently.

³ The text is problematic. This *seems* to be a garbled explanation of the origin of the name March (Lat. *Martius*); but following Wuensch's text, "gave it [Gk. ἀντήν] the name" can only be a reference to the naming of the city, which is feminine, as opposed to the month, which is masculine. Textual corruption seems likely. Bandy reports the ms. reading as Μάρτιον rather than Μαρτίου, and adopts it, but leaves ἀντήν in the feminine; if the latter were emended, the text would unproblematically mean, "...gave it [the month] the name *Martius*, that is, *Ares'* [month]..." Bandy's further supplementary correction (<τὸν μῆνα τοῦ>), on the other hand, is superfluous.

⁴ For *aer* and *aether*, cf. 1.12 above (with note).

⁵ This term seems to have been added as a synonym of the previous, not because it has any significant phonetic sequence of its own.

⁶ As before, this term seems to have been added as a synonym of the previous, not because it has any significant phonetic sequence of its own.

⁷ Cf. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 1.19. "Exaltation" (Greek *hupsôma*) indicates that the planet is supposed to be particularly powerful in this sign.

⁸ The parallel excerpt in Photius, *Quaestiones ad Amphilochium* 323, adds the detail that they called him *Quirinus* "in the Sabine language" (cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 2.48.2).

basis of "fighting" [*marnasthai*] (according to Philoxenus).⁹ And in Egyptian he is called "Ertôsi."¹⁰ This signifies generation of every kind and every essence and material in accordance with nature and an ordering, generative power.

Ares was the discoverer of bronze and of iron.

The natural philosophers join Aphrodite sometimes to Ares, sometimes to Hephaestus—as it were, the fiery substance with the moist, obscurely hinting, presumably, that generation proceeds from wetness and heat—or indeed, because Scorpio is common to them [both], with Ares being the stinger and Aphrodite the claws.¹¹ And just as in the myth, Aphrodite turns away from Ares, since storms follow Ares in his own characteristic position, but Aphrodite is temperate. And so, they are opposite to each other, but not wholly so. For indeed, they seem to be connected to each other at adjacent times, since after the winter [storms]¹² the spring returns.

And Ares is worshipped by the sounds of weapons and by trumpets, and for this reason the Romans celebrated their first festival in his honor, calling it *Armilustrum*,¹³ or "purification of weapons," when neither winter cold nor any other circumstance hinders the movement of weapons, on the Field of Mars.¹⁴

And his name according to the Egyptians is *Pyroeis* ["fiery / red-yellow"], hence also *Xanthikos* ["tawny"] among the Macedonians. But the Greeks, as I have said, addressed him as Ares, on the basis of his actions. [93] For no one would [ever] discover the *proper* appellation of a deity, nor indeed the true mark of [a deity's] nature—since the philosophers portray their forms now as male, now female—but they bestowed names on the basis of the [gods'] effects, portraying the creative powers as male deities, and the generative ones as females.¹⁵

35. The star of Ares [i.e., the planet Mars] is especially good—as is that of Cronus [i.e., Saturn],¹⁶ *if*, that is, *all* things are good and nothing despicable, as Plato says.¹⁷

⁹ Fr. 327 Theodoridis. Cf. G. L. Koniaris, "Conjectures in the Fragments of the Grammarian Philoxenus," *Hermes* 108 (1980), pp. 471-2, who suggests that "the one who sets crafts in motion" might be explained by reference to Lat. *movere* + *ars*; and further suggests the emendation μάρεμ (transliterating Lat. *marem*, "male") for Ἀρεα in the next part of the sentence, which would then more logically lead to the explanation here given.

¹⁰ Not elsewhere attested; but cf. a somewhat similar assertion in Vettius Valens 6.3, who says the Egyptians call the "star" of Ares *Artên* (for which a nom. form *Artês* might be reconstructed).

¹¹ The "claws" of Scorpio = Libra. For the associations, cf. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, 1.17.

¹² The Greek term here means both "winter" and "storms."

¹³ Oct. 19, according to others (cf. also Degraffi, p. 524), but see also §42 below.

¹⁴ I.e., the Campus Martius.

¹⁵ "Creative" (*dêmiourgikos*) in the sense of craftsman-like fashioning of materials, "generative" (*zôogonos*) as the "life-giving" reproductive function.

¹⁶ Saturn, like Mars, is classified as "maleficent" (cf. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 1.5).

¹⁷ *Timaeus* 30a.

Sublunar things decay, however, not being able to bear the divinity of these [stars], as Iamblichus says.¹⁸

The astrologers say that Ares is a worker of evil,¹⁹ not because he is such by nature, but because he attends with the law of justice the souls that are descending toward their birth, and does to them what is just, in accordance with their merit—and one who is the ally of justice is good.

One can learn from Proclus Diadochus that evil is not in subsistence or existence; he says:²⁰

Evil is not even able to exist, without appearing contrariwise as good. For evil itself is for the sake of the good; but *everything* is for the sake of the good—and the divinity is not the cause of evil; for the evil is not *evil* because of it, but as a result of other causes, things whose generative action occurs not by virtue of capacity but by virtue of weakness.²¹ It is for this reason, I think, that Plato placed all things around the king of everything,²² and granted the existence of evil when appearing as good. For if it [i.e., divinity] is one of those things that truly exists, and it would thus be necessary to call it [94] the cause of all <good>²³ things—and not simply of all things, nor of evil things, but in fact *not* the cause of the latter *and* the cause of all that exists—then, the gods do not produce evil, but rather make [it first] as good, and [then] remove it as being evil.²⁴

For evil is not defined as a living and animate substance, but as a disposition in the soul that is contrary to virtue and that comes to be there through carelessness on account of a falling away from the good. Therefore, a *pious* understanding of the so-called evil-

¹⁸ Cf. Dubuisson-Schamp, 1: lxxii, for this fragment.

¹⁹ Cf. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 1.5.

²⁰ Proclus, *De malorum subsistentia* 61 (ed. H. Boese, *Tria opuscula* [Berlin, 1960]; cf. also the recent translation by J. Opsomer and C. Steel, *Proclus: On the Existence of Evils* [Ithaca, 2003])—the text presented by John Lydus, however, truncates and diverges a little from Proclus' work as reconstructed by Opsomer and Steel. Cf. also Steel, "Proclus et Denys: De l'existence du mal," in Y. De Andia (ed.), *Denys l'Aréopagite et sa postérité en Orient et en Occident* (Paris, 1997), pp. 89-116 (cited by Dubuisson-Schamp, 1: lix).

²¹ The basic point appears to be that evil *per se* is a deficiency, a lack, rather than a positive substance in its own right. The phrase *kata dunamin*, however, appears to derive from *Tim.* 30a, where it has the meaning, "as far as possible." That is, the phraseology here seems to be based on a misreading of Plato.

²² Cf. Plato, *2nd Letter* 312e. At this point, John's quotation begins to diverge more significantly from Proclus' text.

²³ Here, the term "good" does not appear in Wuensch's text, but is present in the text of Proclus and the passage of Plato still being alluded to; although John's "quotation" of Proclus is quite free at this point, the word "good" does seem to be required by the sense.

²⁴ The last phrase, "and [then] remove it as being evil," is not present in any form in the text of Proclus.

working planets would be that they are not such by nature, but rather contribute toward the providential management of the universe. For if Cronus is cold, and Ares is hot,²⁵ then they contribute to [physical] generation, and by themselves they are destructive, but when mingled together they are salutary.

36.²⁶ Ptolemy, in his *Harmonics*:²⁷ The numbers have been defined through which there arises a concordant harmony in all those things which are in agreement and attunement with each other. And nothing at all is able to harmonize with anything except by virtue of these numbers. They are as follows:²⁸ 4/3; 3/2; 1/1;²⁹ 2/1; 3/1; 4/1.

²⁵ Cf. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 1.4.

²⁶ This section and the next, up to and including the summary of Plotinus, *Enneads* 2.3, is a translation of Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* 1.19.20-27. As pointed out by Dubuisson-Schamp, 1: lxiv (with references to previous scholarship, especially P. Henry, *Les états du texte de Plotin* [Paris-Brussels, 1938], pp. 288-92, with detailed textual comparison on pp. 305-8), these sections are printed by Wuensch from a manuscript (S) that includes adaptation of John's work within Maximus Planudes' Greek translation of Macrobius' commentary on the *Dream of Scipio* (for the translation see the edition of A. Megas, *Μαξίμου Πλανούδη του "Υπομνήματος εις τον Όνειρον του Σκιπίωνος" του Μακροβίου μετάφραση* [Thessaloniki, 1995]). Wuensch, p. xl, in fact explicitly notes the presence of parts of this translation in ms. S, but appears to have missed the fact that the present sections are translated from Macrobius; at least, he gives no indication of such awareness in the *apparatus*. The sections are unlikely to represent the original form of John's text; rather, the ascription to John is due to scribal confusion in the transmission of S. John's use of Plotinus, moreover, is otherwise unattested, and the two quotations from Plotinus appearing in Wuensch's edition, one at the end of §37 and the other occupying the whole of §38, are most likely parallel passages added at a late date to illuminate Planudes' translation of Macrobius, rather than the original text of *De mens.* M. Nicolau, "A propos d'un texte parallèle de Macrobe et Lydus," *Revue des Études Latines* 11 (1933), pp. 318-21, on the other hand, tries, less convincingly, to argue that Macrobius and John were both using a common source.

²⁷ Not a precise quote from a known passage; this is likely meant as a brief summary. The identification of harmonious ratios agrees in particular with the discussion of Pythagorean theory in *Harmonics* 1.5 (see annotated translation in J. Solomon, *Ptolemy Harmonics* [Leiden, 2000], pp. 17-18), although the *unison* (1/1) is not mentioned; cf. also the list given by Panaetius fr. 136b Van Straaten (cited in Porphyry, *Commentary on Ptolemy's Harmonics*, p. 66 Düring).

²⁸ These ratios represent musical intervals: the perfect fourth, the perfect fifth, the unison, the octave, the octave plus a perfect fifth, and two octaves.

²⁹ Gk. *spondeios*, that is, the "spondee" in which the relationship between the two long feet is 1:1. (The first proportion in the list, 4/3, is also a metrical term, *epitritos*, long-long-short-long, in which the relationship between the first two syllables and the last two syllables is 4:3.) At this point in the text, however, Macrobius has *epogdous* (i.e., 9/8—equivalent to a whole tone in music) instead—as does Maximus Planudes' translation. Nicolau, pp. 319-20, rightly notes that the disagreement here between John's text and Macrobius' is significant, but J. Croissant, review of *Une traduction grecque d'un texte de Macrobe dans le Περί μηνῶν de Lydus*, by P. Henry, *L'Antiquité classique* 4 (1935), pp. 513-14, considers it most likely that *spondeios* was a scribal misreading of *epogdoos*. It would still remain slightly problematic, however, that this ratio is not considered harmonious—note, e.g., that in the parallel list cited by Croissant, Plutarch's *E at Delphi* 10 (389d-e), the 9/8 ratio is *not* listed among the harmonious, and cf. also Solomon, p. 18 n. 93. Now, this ratio is mentioned by Ptolemy (as the difference between 4/3 and 3/2),

37. That which pertains to perception³⁰ comes to us from the sun; that which pertains to growth,³¹ from the lunar sphere; and this life of ours—well, our mode of living—has its existence by the special beneficence of these two lights. And the success of our actions is on the one hand attributed to these two lights, and on the other, to the five planets. But some of these stars are beautifully united and joined with the lights [95] by the mediation of the numbers already mentioned, while others [of them]³² no other numerical connection brings together with the lights. Well then, the stars of Aphrodite and Zeus [i.e., Venus and Jupiter] are united to each of the lights by these numbers, but the star of Zeus is joined with the sun by them all, with the moon by the majority, whereas the star of Aphrodite is brought into connection with the moon by all the numbers, with the sun by the majority. Hence, even if each of these produces good, for the most part, nevertheless the star of Zeus is more beneficial when paired with the sun, and the star of Aphrodite with the moon. But the stars of Cronus and Ares [i.e., Saturn and Mars] do not have a conjunction with the lights in this way—nevertheless, by a certain final aspect of the numbers, Cronus looks toward the sun, and Ares toward the moon—and for this reason, they seem less beneficial to human life.³³ But why, sometimes, are they themselves actually believed to provide riches and distinction to men? This is appropriate to a further investigation. Now indeed Plotinus, in his book entitled "How the stars cause [events],"³⁴ giving his opinion about this, says that none of these things happens to human beings by virtue of [the stars'] power or authority, but rather, what the necessity belonging to divine providence has decreed is revealed as such by the forward motion, stopping, or retrograde motion of these seven bodies—just as birds, either flying around or remaining stationary, unknowingly³⁵ indicate the

using the Greek term ἐπὶ γένεσιν, but not as *harmonious*. Ptolemy does not explicitly say so, however, and thus it is possible that a reader running superficially through the text to extract the names for harmonious ratios might accidentally include it too. Croissant is, however, correct to note that as a summary of *Ptolemy* the list is incorrect because (against Plutarch, for example) Ptolemy goes on to argue that the octave plus a fourth should also be considered harmonious.

³⁰ Reading αἰσθητικόν (with Macrobius / Maximus Planudes) rather than Wuensch's αἰσθητόν.

³¹ Reading φυτικόν (with Macrobius / Maximus Planudes) rather than Wuensch's φυσικόν. In Macrobius' Latin, these two are delineated as *sentire / sentiendi natura* and *crescere / crescendi natura*.

³² Reading ἄλλους rather than Wuensch's ἄλλος (likely a simple misprint), on the basis of the parallel (*alias* / ἄλλους) in Macrobius / Maximus Planudes.

³³ For this delineation of the planets' mathematical relationships to the sun and moon, and therefore their astrological significance for human life, cf. Ptolemy, *Harmonics* 3.16. See Solomon, p. 165-66, for discussion and references to scholarship.

³⁴ *Enneads* 2.3: "Concerning whether the stars cause [events]"; in Macrobius' Latin, *si faciunt astra*.

³⁵ This is a correction of Wuensch's text ("knowingly") by reference to Macrobius / Maximus Planudes (*nescientes* / μὴ εἰδότες).

future with their wings or their voices.³⁶ In the same discourse, [96] Plotinus says:³⁷ "So then, they indicate by signs all that [occurs] in the perceptible realm, while they are actually doing other things—all that they manifestly do. But as for us, we carry out Soul's tasks in accordance with nature, as long as we are not made to stumble in the plurality of the universe;³⁸ if we do stumble, we have a punishment in the stumble itself and in being in a worse state thereafter."

38. Likewise, Plotinus says:³⁹

For Plato, the Spindle is comprised of both the wandering and the unwandering aspects of the [celestial] revolution; and both the Fates and Necessity (their mother) turn it, and spin a thread when each thing comes into being, and through it [i.e., Necessity] all begotten things come to birth.

In the *Timaeus*,⁴⁰ the god who creates bestows the first principle of the soul, whereas the gods who are borne about [bestow] the terrible and necessary affections, impulses, and desires, and pleasures and pains likewise, and "another kind of soul," from which arise these affections. For these words⁴¹ bind us together with the stars, as we acquire soul from them—and they subject us to Necessity as we come here [i.e., to the material world]—and moreover, our characters come from them, and in accordance with our characters, actions, and passions⁴² from a disposition subject to passion.

So then, what remains as "us"? Precisely that which we truly are: beings to whom nature has granted the power also of governing the passions. Indeed, you see, among these evils we have received through the body, and despite them, God has given us unmastered virtue. For we have no need of virtue in a state of tranquility, but rather, whenever we are at risk of being among evils in the absence of virtue.

Therefore it is necessary to "flee from here"⁴³ and "remove"⁴⁴ ourselves from all that surrounds us, and not be the *compound*, the body ensouled [97], in which the corporeal nature predominates (with just a trace of soul), such that the "shared" life [i.e., of body and soul] is more the body's life—since everything that

³⁶ Cf. *Enn.* 2.3.3 (end) on birds; otherwise, this is not a very close paraphrase of Plotinus' argument.

³⁷ *Enn.* 2.3.8.

³⁸ In what follows, Plotinus specifies that wealth and poverty come by "encounters" with the things outside; while virtues are due to the ancient state of the soul, vices arise by the soul's encounter with things outside.

³⁹ *Enn.* 2.3.9.

⁴⁰ 69c-d.

⁴¹ Gk. *logoi*.

⁴² That is, emotions and passive experiences.

⁴³ Cf. Plato, *Theaetetus* 176a-b.

⁴⁴ Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 67c.

belongs to it is bodily. It is the other [life],⁴⁵ the one outside [the body], that holds our ascent toward higher things, the good and the divine, which no one controls: One can either make use of it in order to *be* it and live in accordance with it, withdrawing [from the body]—or, coming to be bereft of this soul, live in the realm of Fate. And then, not only do the stars give him signs, but rather he himself becomes as it were a part, and [simply] goes along with the whole of which he is a part.

Each person, you see, is *two-fold*: the one being the composite thing, the other the person himself. And the whole world too [is two-fold]: the one, that which consists of body and soul bound to body, the other, the soul of the whole, not in body, but transmitting traces of its light into the [soul] that is in the body. And the sun indeed, and the other [celestial beings] are two-fold in the same way.

39. Because this universe has been finely and variously crafted with ineffable skill, and is full of blessed harmony, then it is necessary, I presume, that its nature has been, so to speak, "harmonized together" out of shrill and deep, gentle and harsh sounds and rhythms and dynamics.

40. The ancients would burn the bodies after death, deifying as it were the body too, together with the soul. For just as the latter is fiery by nature and rushes upwards, so the body is heavy and cold and tends downwards. Therefore, they thought they were actually purifying the very image of the body by the rite of fire. For the account of Anaximander⁴⁶ is not true [98]—he asserted that this universe is derived from fire, and that for this reason bodies were consigned to fire by the ancients—[nor are] the Stoics [correct], who turned the dead to ashes in advance, since they were awaiting the universal conflagration—for that sort of dissolution of bodies belongs to the most ancient by far of philosophical teachings. The teeth, however, not being of such a nature as to be consumed either by fire or length of time, they would leave behind on the very pyre, as being useless for the future—they were thinking of the doctrine of rebirth; for they themselves strongly accepted the account of this because of the fact that a person who was, it seemed, going to be reborn hereafter had no need of teeth in the mother's womb.

41. There are no "evil-working" stars; they are all good. But since the universe subsists in harmony, some of them are dry, others are moist; and others have some

⁴⁵ Or "soul" (with Armstrong).

⁴⁶ Wuensch plausibly suggests (*in app.*) that this is a mistaken reference to Anaximander, Heraclitus being intended instead.

other quality in relation to their mixtures. For this reason, they seem to cause harm in their effects—but not on purpose—and because earthly things are harmed when, as sometimes happens, they cannot endure their unmitigated powers. So, for example, the eyes are harmed by an excess of light.⁴⁷

42. On the first day of March, they would honor Hera, as the moon, because of the new moon.⁴⁸ And the priest would announce that everyone should partake of sweet drinks and foods, for the preservation of health. And the Romans would "shake the weapons" on the Field (or precinct) of Mars.⁴⁹ [99] On this day, also, they would rest from toils, and those called *matronae* ("matrons") among them—that is, the "well-born"—would feast their household servants, just as at the Cronia⁵⁰ it was customary for those who had slaves to do this. The former, by way of honoring Ares, acted as slaves to their male servants, because of their more powerful nature; and the latter, by way of performing an evil-averting service to Cronus, would serve their own slaves, so as not to suffer some sort of retribution in reality and thereby fall into servitude to their enemies.

And everyone would take sustenance from the bean in March—the bean [*kuamos*] belongs to Ares, based on the "conceiving" [*kuein*] of "blood" [*haima*].⁵¹ They would smear each others' faces, using the oil of the bean⁵² in place of blood, and in this way worshipping Ares.

⁴⁷ Cf. the reference to Iamblichus at the beginning of §35 above.

⁴⁸ All Kalends are associated with Hera (cf. 3.10-11 above), but 1 March was also particularly sacred for Roman matrons as the anniversary of the temple of Juno Lucina, and the occasion of the so-called *Matronalia* celebration, which John goes on to detail; cf. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, pp. 86-7; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 38.

⁴⁹ This refers to the procession in which the Salii would take the *ancilia* (sacred shields said to have fallen from the sky) through the city, striking them as they went along singing and dancing; the procession is usually termed "moving the *ancilia*" (cf. §§ 49, 55 below, as well as 1.36 and 3.22 above). On these priests and their rituals, see Sarullo, *Il "Carmen Saliare,"* pp. 5-22; T. Habinek, *The World of Roman Song* (Baltimore, 2005), pp. 8-33; Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, pp. 85-7, 89; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 38-43. Sarullo, pp. 342ff., collects the ancient literary references to the Salii and their activities, with the relevant passages from John on p. 361.

⁵⁰ I.e., Saturnalia. Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.7; Solinus 1.36.

⁵¹ Cf. Etymologicum Gudianum, s.v. *kuamos*; Photius, *Quaestiones ad Amphilochium* 323.

⁵² Gk. *chrisma tou kuamou*—perhaps more likely "bean juice," that is, the preparation described at the end of the chapter; cf. C. Bennett Pascal, "October Horse," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 85 (1981), pp. 284-5. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 2nd ed. (London, 1907), p. 480 ("Additional Note H: Further Remarks on the Blood Covenant"), cites this passage as a parallel for blood-substitutes in Arab religion.

Pythagoras very much avoided the bean,⁵³ for when eaten, it stirs bodies up toward intercourse much more than the other fruits, and in this manner it draws souls downwards towards "coming-to-be."⁵⁴ And Heraclides Ponticus says⁵⁵ that if someone places a bean in a common receptacle and covers it over with dung for forty full days, he will find that the bean has changed into the appearance of a fleshly man—and that for this reason the poet said:

It is the same, I tell you, to eat beans as to eat the heads of your parents.⁵⁶

And Diogenes says this in the 13th [book] of *Incredible Things*:⁵⁷ [100]

Then, from the same putrefaction, a man was congealed and a bean sprouted. And he supplied clear proofs of this. For if someone should chew apart a bean, grind it with his teeth, and deposit it in the warmth of the sunlight for a little while, then get up and return not much later, he would find that it smells of human gore. And if, while the bean [plant] is blossoming in its growth, one should take a little of the flower as it is ripening and place it in an earthenware vessel, put a cover on top, bury it deep in the ground and watch over it for ninety days after it has been buried, and then after that dig it up, take it and remove the lid, he would find that in place of the bean, the head of a child has taken shape, or a woman's genitals.

Therefore, as Pythagoras says, one should abstain from beans, as well as from the so-called "golden-greens,"⁵⁸ since their process of generation derives from women's *menses*. For this reason, beans are cast into graves on behalf of human salvation.⁵⁹

And the fact that the word "bean" [*kuamos*] derives from "blood" [*haima*] can be ascertained by experiment. For if someone soaks it for a night and a day, he will find the water in it [has become] blood.

⁵³ For this much-discussed aversion, see, e.g., C. Riedweg, *Pythagoras*, tr. S. Rendall (Ithaca, 2005), pp. 69-71; M. Detienne, *The Gardens of Adonis*, tr. J. Lloyd (Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 1977), pp. 49-51; Burkert, *Lore and Science*, pp. 183-5.

⁵⁴ Or, "generation"—that is, the physical world of "coming-to-be" (and sexual reproduction) rather than the non-corporeal world of true "being."

⁵⁵ Fr. 41 Wehrli = fr. 129 Schütrumpf.

⁵⁶ *Orph.* fr. 291 Kern (648 Bernabé). Cf. Thesleff, p. 159.

⁵⁷ Stephens and Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments*, pp. 130-31; the fragment is also preserved in Porphyry, *Life of Pythagoras* 44 (Stephens and Winkler, pp. 144-45).

⁵⁸ Gk. *chrysolachanon*—also called *atraxaxys* and *andraxaxys* (English *orach*) [LSJ s. vv.].

⁵⁹ Or "safety" (Gk. *sôtêria*). John's description may be a reflection of the ritual of throwing beans behind one at the Lemuria to avert the potentially evil influence of dead spirits (for which see Ovid, *Fasti* 5.435-8).

43. And the bakers, being the makers of servile [i.e., coarse] [101] bread,⁶⁰ would send "Romulian provisions" to those of high repute—and so they called these, on account of the fact that sustenance was offered by Romulus to his soldiers at the ninth hour⁶¹...For indeed, Valentinian was uneducated and only...very angry.⁶²

44. On the 4th day before the Nones of March,⁶³ Eudoxus predicts that a fairly violent wind blows, in general.

45. On the 3rd day before the Nones of March,⁶⁴ the "sailing of Isis" was celebrated, which is performed even to this day, and called the *Ploiaphesia* ["Ship-launching"].⁶⁵ "Isis," in the speech of the Egyptians, signifies "old"—that is, the moon.⁶⁶ And fittingly do they honor her as they begin to engage in sea-going travel, because she is in charge of the nature of the waters, as I said. And they say that she is also a giver of health, just as we say Asclepius is. And it would be the same thing.⁶⁷ For just as we, taking the sun as Asclepius after its setting, when night falls—being the cause of sleep and night and rest, the cause and giver of health⁶⁸...they relate...⁶⁹ And the Chaeronean [Plutarch] thinks Isis is the earth, and Osiris the Nile, Typhon the sea, into which the Nile falls and disappears.⁷⁰

⁶⁰ Cf. *De mag.* 3.7.

⁶¹ This specification seems to reflect a (mistaken) etymology deriving *annona*, the term just used for "provisions," from *nona (hora)*—cf. Roether *ad loc.*; a similar assumption in Isidore of Seville, *Origines* 20.2.13. In Photius, *Quaestiones ad Amphilochium* 323, immediately after some brief text relating to the "bakers" (as here), some further material is given, possibly in relation to the *Armilustrum* (and likely taken from John's text): "The Romans called the tunic used for work a 'shirt' [*kamision*], on the basis of a Greek origin, like *armêlausion*—the [garment worn] over the armor." (For the latter reference, cf. Lat. *armilaua*.)

⁶² Some text is missing here.

⁶³ 4 March.

⁶⁴ 5 March.

⁶⁵ In Latin (e.g., in the Calendar of Philocalus), the celebration is called *navigium Isidis*. It signified the beginning of the sailing season (cf. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.5); Apuleius, like John, uses the Greek term *Ploiaphesia* (11.17). For further detailed discussion, see J. G. Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madauros: The Isis-Book* (*Metamorphoses, Book XI*) (Leiden, 1975), pp. 31-47, 268; J. Alvar, *Romanising Oriental Gods*, tr. R. Gordon (Leiden, 2008), pp. 296-300; Degraffi, pp. 419-20, collects the literary references.

⁶⁶ Cf. Diodorus Siculus 1.11.1-4.

⁶⁷ I.e., they have the same function / significance.

⁶⁸ For this interpretation of Asclepius, cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.20.1.

⁶⁹ Missing text here: "they relate the same things about Isis" could be the thought (cf. Roether *ad loc.*). Bandy supplements freely and understands the logic a little differently: "...after its setting when night approaches and we mythologize him as the cause of sleep, night, and rest, thus also the Egyptians mythologize him as the cause and giver of health, but the Chaeronean..."

⁷⁰ Cf. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 32 (363d-e).

46. The Greeks write that Tyche is cow-faced.⁷¹ But I think she is the nature of moisture, and thus the Romans customarily call her⁷² *Aqua* ["water"], from her "equality" [i.e., Lat. *aequ(al)itas*] [102]: water is homogeneous and equal in nature.⁷³ And *aqua* was appropriately named by them, since by derivation from *aqua* they bestow the designation "equality" and "homogeneity."⁷⁴

47.⁷⁵ "Sibyl" is a Roman expression, translated "prophetess" or "seer," whence the female seers were all named, by the single designation, "Sibyls." And there have been ten Sibyls in various places and at various times. First was the one called Chaldaean and Persian and (by some) Hebrew;⁷⁶ her personal name was Sambethe, and she was of the family of the most blessed Noah—the one who is said to have predicted the events pertaining to Alexander the Macedonian; Nicanor the biographer of Alexander mentions her;⁷⁷ she spoke very many oracles about the Lord God and his coming. But the others also harmonize with her, except that to her belong 24 books containing

⁷¹ This description may depend on a syncretic identification of Tyche with Isis / Demeter / Io (and the Egyptian Hathor); for such equations see, e.g., R. E. Witt, *Isis in the Ancient World* (Baltimore, 1997) [= *Isis in the Greco-Roman World* (Ithaca, 1971)], 123ff.; Griffiths, *Apuleius*, pp. 241ff. Also cf. the seven Fates (*Tychai*) and seven "Pole Lords" addressed in the Mithras Liturgy, the former perhaps comparable to the Egyptian "seven Hathors" (but in the text having *asp*-faces), the latter described in the papyrus as having the faces of bulls (see H. D. Betz, *Mithras Liturgy* [Tübingen, 2003], 175-80).

⁷² Or possibly "it"—the word "nature" just mentioned is feminine in gender, so could be the antecedent.

⁷³ Cf. the same association in Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.26.123: ...*aqua, quod aequa summa*.

⁷⁴ This appears to contradict the previous sentence, where John claimed that water (*aqua*) was named after "equality," not the other way around; however, if, in his view, *aqua* "means" equal, then the derivations can work in either direction.

⁷⁵ John's list of the Sibyls ultimately derives from Varro, *Antiquitates rerum divinarum* fr. 56a Cardauns (= Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 1.6); this was re-worked by the *Theosophy* (H. Erbse, *Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta* [Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1995], p. 59 = 3A.1.3 Beatrice), ca. A.D. 500. For the relationships between the various versions, see Erbse, *Fragmente griechischer Theosophien* (Hamburg, 1941), pp. 30-40. Into the list John has added correlations with Hebrew prophecy and history, as well as a justification of the faulty meter to be found in some Sibylline texts; the latter is also a re-working of a passage from the *Theosophy* (pp. 65-66 Erbse = 3A.1.9 Beatrice) derived from Ps.-Justin, *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 37.2-3. The manuscript Wuensch used for this section (Par. gr. 854) was first printed in J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca...Bib. Reg. Parisiensis* 1 (Oxford, 1889): 332-5.

⁷⁶ The *Theosophy* identifies the Persian Sibyl with the Chaldaean (named Sambethe); John adds the fact that this Sibyl was called "Hebrew" by some. Among pagan writers, there are some hints to justify the assertion. Pausanias 10.12 describes one Sibyl (named *Sabbê*), who is called "Babylonian" or "Egyptian," but who "lived among the Hebrews"; similarly, Aelian, *Varia Historia* 12.35, identifies a "Judaean" (or "Jewish") Sibyl. Rare references to a Sibyl as a Hebrew prophetess also appear in Christian writers: Theophilus, *Ad Autolyicum* 2.9; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 6.71.4

⁷⁷ *FGrHist* 146F1.

[messages] about every nation and land.⁷⁸ And as to the fact that her verses are found to be incomplete and unmetrical, it is not the fault of the prophetess but of the stenographers, who were not able to follow along with the rush of her words—or even because they were uneducated and inexperienced in literacy. For the memory of what had been said ceased in her at the same time as the inspiration, and for this reason there are found to be incomplete verses and a halting sense—or else this happened by the providence of God, so that her oracles would not become known to the many who were unworthy. Second was the Libyan Sibyl. Third, [103] the Delphian Sibyl, the one who was born at Delphi—she lived before the Trojan War and wrote oracles in verse during the time of the Judges, when Deborah was a prophetess among the Jews. Fourth, the Italian [Sibyl], who was in Cimmeria in Italy. Fifth, the Erythraean [Sibyl], from the city called "Erythra"⁷⁹ in Ionia, who made predictions about the Trojan War. Sixth, the Samian [Sibyl], whose personal name was Phyto, about whom Eratosthenes wrote;⁸⁰ she too lived in the time of the Hebrew Judges. Seventh, the Cumaean [Sibyl], also called Amalthea and Herophile. Cumae is an Italian city, near which there is a cave, covered over and well-polished,⁸¹ in which this Sibyl lived and gave oracles to those who inquired of her. Eighth, the Gergithian [Sibyl]—Gergithium is a town near the Hellespont. Ninth, the Tiburtine [Sibyl], named Albunaea.

The Jewish Sibyl was also called Chaldaean. For indeed, Philo, writing his *Life of Moses*, says that he [i.e., Moses] was a Chaldaean, but had been born in Egypt, since his ancestors had come down there because of a famine that had struck Babylon and the neighboring regions.⁸² And as it seems, the Canaanites were called this [i.e., Chaldaeans] from the beginning, or because Abraham had set out from there. And Philo likewise, with regard to the writings of Moses, says that they were written by him in the Chaldaean language, but later were translated into Greek by Ptolemy, surnamed Philadelphus, who was the third to receive Egypt after Alexander.⁸³

And I read a book by this Hebrew Sibyl in Cyprus:⁸⁴ in it she treats prophetically many things, including Greek affairs—and indeed even regarding Homer, that God will

⁷⁸ It is unknown where this figure comes from, unless it reflects the state of the text John claims to have seen in Cyprus.

⁷⁹ This should be "Erythrae."

⁸⁰ *FGrHist* 241F26.

⁸¹ Or "very elegant" or "hollow"—but the Greek is a superlative (*glaphyrôtaton*), which seems to exclude this last possibility.

⁸² *Life of Moses* 1.5.

⁸³ *Life of Moses* 2.26-9.

⁸⁴ The contents John goes on to describe seem clearly to indicate that this book was not any particular identifiable part of the extant corpus, but was likely a compilation of passages, conceivably quite extensive, however, as John's mention of 24 books above might indicate; note too that the collection effort resulting in the Sibylline manuscript groups Φ and Ψ (including books 1-8) was arguably taking place at

raise up a certain wise man, who will record the war of the heroes and will praise the noblest of these.⁸⁵ And she also prophesies about Christ and the events that happened after Christ's coming—and indeed even about those that will take place, until the very end;⁸⁶ among these, she also gives a kind of ominous prophecy regarding Cyprus and Antioch:⁸⁷ that the one will fall, as in battle, and will no longer rise up again; and the island will come to be under water. For she says:

Wretched Antioch, they will no longer call you a city,
when you fall in among spears for your wicked-mindedness.⁸⁸

And again:

Alas, alas, miserable Cyprus, and a great wave will cover you
with stormy darts—and the sea stirred up.⁸⁹

This Sibyl anticipated the coming of Christ by 2000 years, and this is her verse predicting the precious cross:

O blessed wood, by which God was stretched out.⁹⁰

Tarquinius Priscus was the fourth king in Rome after the founder, Romus; and a certain woman, Amalthea, came to him carrying with her three books, oracles [105] of the Cumaean Sibyl, and was wanting to give them to him for 30 gold coins. When he showed disdain, she became angry and burned one of the books, and once again approached him and requested 30 gold coins for the remaining two books. When he only despised her the more, she burned a second book, and then finally asked the very same price for the other, single book. So the king, guessing that it was essential for his kingdom, accepted it and gave her the 30 gold coins. He found written in it, especially

roughly John's time, since the prologue extant in Φ uses the *Theosophy*, as John also does. See J. J. Collins in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Garden City, NY, 1983), 1: 320-22.

⁸⁵ Cf. *Oracula Sibyllina* 3.419-32.

⁸⁶ Eschatological predictions are found through most of the extant *Oracula Sibyllina*; treatment of the life of Christ is found in oracles of Christian composition, most notably at 1.324ff.; 6.1-28; 8.216ff.

⁸⁷ For Antioch, cf. *De mag.* 3.54 (cited by Wuensch, p. xxx).

⁸⁸ *Oracula Sibyllina* 4.140-41 (with significant variants).

⁸⁹ *Oracula Sibyllina* 4.143-4 (with significant variants).

⁹⁰ *Oracula Sibyllina* 6.26. This line is cited also by the *Theosophy* (p. 79 Erbse = 3A.1.29 Beatrice).

and exclusively, the fortunes of the Romans; and he put these into the safekeeping of a group of 60 patricians.⁹¹

48. On the Nones of March,⁹² Varro says that Corona sets, and the north wind blows.

49. On the Ides of March,⁹³ there is a festival of Zeus, on account of the mid-month, and public prayers that the year will be healthful. And they would also sacrifice a 6-year-old bull on behalf of the mountain country, under the leadership of the high priest and the "reed-bearers"⁹⁴ of the Mother. And [106] a man clothed with a goat-skin would be led in, and they would strike him with long, slender rods, calling him "Mamurius." (This man was a craftsman involved in weapon-manufacture; in order that the *ancilia* that "fell from Zeus" should not decay from continuously being "moved,"⁹⁵ he crafted [new ones] similar to the originals.) Hence most people say proverbially, when they are mocking those who are being beaten, that those who are doing the beating are "playing Mamurius on him." For according to the story, the [original] Mamurius himself

⁹¹ John's version of this story diverges quite radically from that given in the *Theosophy*, despite some similarities (pp. 61-2 Erbse = 3A.1.4-5 Beatrice). See Erbse, *Fragmente griechischer Theosophien*, p. 33 n. 84 and p. 41 n. 104, for more detailed source analysis. In particular, John is alone in giving the price demanded as 30 (rather than 300) gold coins, and in the figure of 60 for the group entrusted with their care (ultimately known as the *quindecimviri* [i.e., numbering 15 men])—but cf. the conflicting figure (30) in 1.36 above; further, his account shows some similarities with Servius (on *Aen.* 6.72 = Varro fr. 56c Cardauns) at the beginning of the narration, and with Pliny (*NH* 13.88) and Solinus (2.17 Mommsen²) in regard to the *three* (rather than nine) books.

⁹² 7 March.

⁹³ 15 March. See 3.10-11 for the idea that all Ides were sacred to Jupiter; Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, p. 90 and 260, explicitly labels the day *Feriae Iovi* (directly attested by the *Fasti Verulani*). Further, as Roether, *ad loc.*, points out, the 13th was the foundation date for the temple of Jupiter Cultor, hence a possible source of confusion, although unnecessary to explain John's text—for this anniversary, see the Calendar of Philocalus (with Salzman, *On Roman Time*, p. 127). The "public prayers" for a prosperous year, on the other hand, seem to have been part of the usual sacrifices to Anna Perenna on this date; for this connection see Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 51; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.6, says these rites were conducted "so that it may be permitted to pass the year and the years to come commodiously" (*ut annare perennareque commode liceat*).

⁹⁴ Wuensch's text here actually gives *kanêphoroi*, "basket-bearers," but this is commonly understood as an intended reference rather to *kannophoroi*, "reed-bearers," especially given the entry in the Calendar of Philocalus for 15 March (*Canna intrat*, "the reed enters")—the beginning of the celebration of Cybele that took place in the second half of March; John appears to connect this ritual cycle with the Mamurius commemoration. See G. Showerman, "Canna Intrat and the Cannophori," *Classical Journal* 2.1 (1906), p. 28 n. 1; D. Fishwick, "The Cannophori and the March Festival of Magna Mater," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 97 (1966), pp. 193-202.

⁹⁵ "Moving" the *ancilia* was the term used for the act of carrying them in procession.

was beaten with rods and driven out of the city when, because of the removal of the original *ancilia*, difficulties had befallen the Romans.⁹⁶

Metrodorus teaches that this day is bad.

50. The 17th day before the Kalends of April:⁹⁷ No work. On this day, Eudoxus says that Pisces rises and the north wind blows.

51. Liber, the name for Dionysus among the Romans, meaning "free"—that is, the Sun.⁹⁸ Mysteries [*mysteria*], from the removal of impurity [*mysos*] as equivalent to⁹⁹ holiness. Dionysus, "because of whom [is] the race-post" [*di' hon hê nyssa*]¹⁰⁰—that is, the turning-post—and the cycles of time. Indeed, Terpander of Lesbos¹⁰⁰ says that Nyssa nursed the Dionysus called "Sabazius" by some, who was born of Zeus and Persephone, and later [107] torn to pieces by the Titans.¹⁰¹ And it is also told concerning him, according to Apollodorus,¹⁰² that he was born of Zeus and Earth, Earth being

⁹⁶ For the mysterious Mamurius, cf. (e.g.) Plutarch, *Numa* 13; Ovid, *Fasti* 3.383ff.; and, in modern scholarship, note especially J. Bremmer, "Three Roman Aetiological Myths," repr. in J. H. Richardson and F. Santangelo, *The Roman Historical Tradition: Regal and Republican Rome*, Oxford Readings in Classical Studies (Oxford, 2014), pp. 149-53; Sarullo, *Il "Carmen Saliare"*, pp. 234-42; H. S. Versnel, *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1993), p. 297. In the Calendar of Philocalus and elsewhere, 14 March (not the Ides) is designated *Mamuralia*; Degraasi, p. 422, collecting the relevant ancient texts, and understanding Mamurius as originally a representation of the old year, argues that John's confusion of the date is to be simply attributed to a mistaken substitution of the first day of the new for the last day of the old.

⁹⁷ 16 March.

⁹⁸ Liber / Dionysus presumably comes into John's text at this point because of the celebration of the Liberalia on 17 March (for which see Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, pp. 91-2)—in Photius, *Quaestiones ad Amphilochoium* 323, likely from John's text, an explicit reference to the term *Liberalia* appears: "They called the Dionysiac theatres / spectacles *Liberalia*; for among them Dionysius [was called] *Liber*." For John's view that Liber / Dionysus was equivalent to the Sun, cf. Porphyry, *On Images* fr. 359 (lines 44-46) Smith; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.18. At 1.18.21, Macrobius cites an interpretation he found in Cornelius Labeo's work on the oracle of Claros; on the basis of this explicit mention, and a series of correspondences between *De mens.* and Macrobius, Mastandrea (*Cornelio Labeone*, pp. 169-72) argues quite convincingly that Labeo's importance extends well beyond the specific citation to the general framework and details of the "solar henotheism" expounded by Macrobius in 1.17-23 more broadly. For John's text, this would entail that apart from some material in the present chapter on Dionysus, Labeo was a source for certain statements about Apollo (*De mens.* 2.4); the Dioscuri (4.17); Heracles (4.67); and Hermes (4.76).

⁹⁹ Or, "instead of."

¹⁰⁰ Fr. 9 Campbell (LCL)—including only the first part of the sentence; fr. 8 Bergk.

¹⁰¹ This describes the Orphic version of Dionysus (Zagreus); for the equation with Sabazius, cf. Diodorus Siculus 4.4.1.

¹⁰² *FGrHist* 244F131 (= fr. 29 Müller [*FGH* 1: 433]).

designated "Themele" because all things have it as their foundation [*katathemeliousthai*]: By changing one letter, 's,' the poets have called her "Semele."¹⁰³

According to the poets, [there have been] five Dionysi:¹⁰⁴ First, the son of Zeus and Lysithea; second, the son of Nilus, who ruled over Libya and Ethiopia and Arabia; third, the child of Cabirus, who ruled over <Asia>, from whom comes the Cabirian initiation; fourth, the child of Zeus and Semele, for whom the mysteries of Orpheus were performed,¹⁰⁵ and by whom wine was mingled;¹⁰⁶ fifth, the son of Nisus and Thyone, who introduced the "Triennial Festival."¹⁰⁷ So far, the Greek [account]. But the Romans call Dionysus the "Bacchanal¹⁰⁸ of Cithaeron"—meaning, one who is in a Bacchic frenzy and runs up to the heavens, <which> they named "Citharon" on the basis of the harmony¹⁰⁹ of the seven "stars," and hence Hermes mystically gives the *cithara* to Apollo, as the Logos grants the attunement of the universe to the Sun.¹¹⁰ And the mysteries in honor of Dionysus were conducted in secret, because of the fact that the sun's shared association with the nature of the universe is hidden from everyone. [108]

¹⁰³ Cf. *Etymologicum Gudianum* s.v. *Semele*. The plausibility of this phonetic change may have been aided by the term *thumelê* used for the altar of Dionysus found in the theater (LSJ s.v.).

¹⁰⁴ For this list, cf. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 3.23.58. John gives similar lists of homonymous deities, likely the fruit of Hellenistic cataloguing efforts, which often bear striking resemblance to corresponding material in Cicero, also in §§ 64, 67, 71, 86, and 142; parallel lists are extant in other writers as well, such as Servius, Ampelius, Clement of Alexandria, and Arnobius. These parallels are conveniently tabulated in J. B. Mayor (ed.), *M. Tullii Ciceronis De natura deorum Libri tres*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1885), pp. 202-9; for exhaustive documentation and discussion of the details, see A. S. Pease, *M. Tullii Ciceronis De natura deorum*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA, 1958), pp. 1050-56, 1092-1133; see further the fundamental discussions of sources in W. H. Michaelis, *De origine indicis deorum cognominum* (Berlin, 1898) and W. Bobeth, *De indicibus deorum* (Leipzig, 1904), who argues for Varro as Cicero's ultimate source (esp. pp. 24ff.). Mastandrea, *Cornelio Labeone*, pp. 206-9, argues against any connection with the work of Cornelius Labeo.

¹⁰⁵ This is printed in Orphic test. 94 Kern (327[I] and 497[II] Bernabé).

¹⁰⁶ I.e., who first invented wine, although the words could be taken to indicate the invention of mixing wine with water.

¹⁰⁷ At Thebes.

¹⁰⁸ Gk. *Baccheutês*—normally, one who is celebrating the rites of Bacchus. Dionysus is addressed with this term in *Orphic Hymn* 47.6, which further describes the god "running up" as the bond of all things.

¹⁰⁹ The association envisioned here is with the "harmony" represented by the *cithara* ("lyre").

¹¹⁰ The logical connection of the last part here is perhaps lacunose, as Dionysus is no longer in the picture. Ms. R (ed. Treu, p. 4.28-31) has partially parallel (but garbled) material which may well generally derive from John: "They represent in the hands of Apollo a lyre, that is, the sun—the harmony of the universe. For, being mingled with the other stars, it both begets and gives life." For the seven strings of the lyre corresponding to the seven "stars," cf. Philo, *De opificio* 126. The "cosmic" interpretation of the worship of Dionysus here is paralleled conceptually by the cosmic interpretation of the god's clothing (specifically for the Liberalia) in the oracle cited by Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.18.22. For the equation of Hermes with the Logos, cf. §76 below. Cf. also Clement of Alexandria's Christianizing interpretation of this kind of description at *Stromateis* 1.24.164: After an interpretation of Apollo as "the privation of many" (thus = the one God), Clement argues that the fiery pillar and the burning bush are symbols of the "holy light" that "runs up" from the earth to the heavens, "by the wood," enabling us to "see intellectually."

And in his sacred rites they would carry along *phalli*, as being the generative organs, and a mirror, as [representing] the translucent / radiant heavens, and a ball, as [representing] the earth.¹¹¹ For Plato says in his *Timaeus*, "to earth, the spherical form."¹¹² For this reason also Pythagoras says that souls have been scattered in the ten spheres in this way, and in it [i.e., the earth].¹¹³ And in the sacred rites, they would call him Pyrigenês ["fire-born"] and Pankratês ["all-powerful"],¹¹⁴ because on the one hand the sun is of a fiery nature, and on the other, it governs and rules over all. And they say that the *panther* receives its name from him, as [representing] the "all-animal" [*pan-thêr-os*]¹¹⁵ earth which receives from him its life-giving and joy-bringing sustenance. And they depict his Bacchantes and Nymphs as [representing] the waters that obey him, and by the movement of the sun the nature of the waters is given life; and they give them cymbals and *thyrsi*¹¹⁶ [to represent] the sound of the waters. And they depict the Maenads being driven off by Satyrs, as [representing] the production of thunder and noise when the waters are thrust away by the winds. And [they describe] Dionysus as the "mind of Zeus,"¹¹⁷ as [representing] the soul of the *cosmos*; for we find everywhere that the entire *cosmos* is named "Zeus," on account of its eternal life and endlessness.¹¹⁸ They describe him as the son of Semele, as being hidden under earth and coming forth by virtue of Hermes, that is, the Logos; and being fostered in the thigh of Zeus, as lying hidden in the secret places of the *cosmos*;¹¹⁹ and they call him Dithyrambus¹²⁰ and Dimêtôr ["having two mothers"], the one who has two paths of procession: the [109] one, from the East toward the South, in winter, and the other, from the North toward the West, in summer. So much regarding Dionysus.

¹¹¹ The *phallus* is well attested for Dionysiac cult in general (see Herodotus 2.49, etc.); from a more specifically Orphic angle, the mirror and ball were two of the items with which the Titans were supposed to have enticed Dionysus (see West, *The Orphic Poems* [Oxford, 1983], pp. 155-59). Bernabé includes parts of these two sentences as 601T in his collection of Orphic testimonia.

¹¹² *Tim.* 55d, but the standard text reads "cubic" rather than "spherical."

¹¹³ This idea seems likely to reflect Plato's description of the *demiurge* "sowing" souls in the stars (*Tim.* 41d) and the planets (*Tim.* 42d); for the "10 spheres" in the view of the Pythagoreans, see Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1.5 (986a) [= 58B4 Diels-Kranz].

¹¹⁴ For the former epithet used of Dionysus, see Strabo, 13.4.11; Diodorus Siculus, 4.5.1; the latter epithet is used of numerous gods, but not notably of Dionysus; however, cf. *pantodynastês*, applied to him in *Orph. Hymn* 45.2.

¹¹⁵ LSJ, citing this passage alone, interpret this epithet to mean, "supporting all animals"; similarly, Roether, p. 203, expands the wording in his Latin translation: *Terram, quae omnes feras capit*.

¹¹⁶ I.e., the fennel-stalks topped by pine-cones that were brandished in Dionysian worship.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.18.13.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Porphyry, *On Images* fr. 354 Smith (cited in Eusebius, *PE* 3.9.3, 11).

¹¹⁹ Bernabé prints the foregoing part of this sentence as fr. 328[II] in his collection of Orphic material.

¹²⁰ As though from *di-* ["two"] and *thyra* ["door"].

And on the day of the Bacchanalia,¹²¹ Democritus says that Pisces sets, and Varro teaches that there will be a "fight of the winds."

All this, antiquity [has handed down] about the Dionysia.

52. When a disturbance had occurred on the Capitol, caused by the rioters, it is said that at that time, a shepherd seemed to appear in the place and decided that the people should be gathered, and the commons should hurry to assemble; and when the workmen had been sent off thither by the shepherd, the people came to be at peace, and he himself disappeared.¹²²

53. There has been and still is much disagreement among the theologians¹²³ regarding the god who is worshipped by the Hebrews.¹²⁴ For the Egyptians—and Hermes [i.e., Trismegistus] first of all—theologize that he is Osiris, "the one who exists," about whom Plato says in the *Timaeus*: "What is it that always exists, and has no 'coming-to-be'; and what is it that comes to be, but never exists?"¹²⁵ But the Greeks say that he is the Dionysus of Orpheus,¹²⁶ because, as they themselves say, at the holy place¹²⁷ of the temple in Jerusalem, from both pillars vines fashioned from gold used to hold up¹²⁸ the curtains that were variegated with purple and scarlet: On the basis of this, they supposed that it was a temple of Dionysus.¹²⁹ But Livy asserts in his general

¹²¹ Presumably John means the Liberalia (17 March).

¹²² This mysterious story appears to relate to plebeian protest in the Roman Republic and hence was perhaps originally in a context describing the plebeian-oriented worship of Liber and Libera. The idea of a shepherd quelling civil strife possibly also (or instead) holds echoes of the life of the lawgiver Zaleucus (Aristotle fr. 548 Rose).

¹²³ Gk. *theologoi*, used for pagan writers about the gods as well as Christian theologians.

¹²⁴ For a translation and extensive discussion of this chapter, see now F. Shaw, *The Earliest Non-Mystical Jewish Use of Ιαω* (Leuven, 2014), pp. 311-28; for a French translation with commentary, see É. des Places, "Le 'dieu incertain' des Juifs," *Journal des Savants* (1973), pp. 289-94; cf. also id., "Du Dieu jaloux au nom incommunicable," in J. Bingen et al., *Le monde grec: Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Brussels, 1975), pp. 338-42.

¹²⁵ *Tim.* 27d; the identification depends on the LXX description of God as ὁ ὢν (Ex. 3.14). Scott, *Hermetica* 4: 231, records this reference to "Hermes" as a potential citation of Hermetic material, positing a lacuna after "Osiris"; Nock-Festugière ignore it—note their statement in *Corpus Hermeticum* 4: 146: "Pour les *Testimonia*, le lecteur doit se rapporter à l'ample collection de Scott, t. IV. Nous n'avons que peu à ajouter."

¹²⁶ Bernabé includes this sentence as 504T in his collection of Orphic material.

¹²⁷ Gk. *adyton*.

¹²⁸ Or, "hold back." Gk. *anestellon*.

¹²⁹ For the golden vines, cf. Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 15.395; *Jewish War* 5.210. Tacitus, *Histories*, 5.5.5, associates the finding of a "golden vine" in the temple with the identification some proposed of the Jewish God with Liber (= Dionysus); cf. also Plutarch, *Quaestiones Conviviales* 6.2 (671d-672b). For further discussion, see M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (Jerusalem, 1974-1984), 1: 560-62; 2:

Roman history that the god worshipped there is unknown.¹³⁰ Following him, Lucan [110] says that the temple in Jerusalem belongs to an "obscure / unseen"¹³¹ god.¹³² And Numenius¹³³ says that he is "incommunicable / unique,"¹³⁴ and the father of all the gods, who does not consider it worthy for any to share in his honor.¹³⁵ And also the Emperor Julian, when he was going on his expedition against the Persians, wrote to the Jews as follows: "For I am raising the temple of the Most High God with all enthusiasm."¹³⁶ For this reason¹³⁷—and also because of circumcision—some of the uneducated even consider him to be Cronus: For they say that Cronus [i.e., Saturn] is the most elevated of the planets.¹³⁸ But they do not understand that circumcision is a symbol of the purification of the spiritual soul, as the more initiated¹³⁹ Hebrews believe,¹⁴⁰ and that circumcision is not a ritual of Cronus. Those of the Arabs who are called "Scênitae" ["tent-dwellers"] circumcise their own sons at the age of thirteen, as Origen says,¹⁴¹

43; L. Feldman, "The Jews as Viewed by Plutarch," in *Studies in Hellenistic Judaism* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 539-42; Shaw, pp. 100-107, 313-14.

¹³⁰ Stern, 1: 330-31 (no. 134). The statement is not in the extant text of Livy, but presumably appeared in a section now lost. A scholium on Lucan (Stern, 1:330 [no. 133]) cites Livy, "On the Jews / Judaeans." as saying, "They do not state to which of the gods the temple in Jerusalem belongs" (*Hierosolimis fanum cuius deorum sit non nominant*). Note that at *De mag.* 3.46, John cites both Lucan and a commentary on Lucan by one "Polemo." See also Shaw, p. 315, for discussion of the meaning of the term (*agnôstos*); further, the classic discussion in Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, pp. 58-62, is still worth consulting on the Livy and Lucan references here.

¹³¹ Gk. *adêlos*.

¹³² *Pharsalia* 2.592-3: *dedita sacris incerti Iudaea dei*. Stern, 1: 439 (no. 191).

¹³³ Fr. 57 des Places; Stern, 2: 214-15 (no. 367). translating fairly freely, renders this as follows: "...that the power of the god is not to be shared by any other." See also discussion in J. G. Cook, *The Interpretation of the Old Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Tübingen, 2004), pp. 38-39.

¹³⁴ Alternatively, "unsocial / exclusive"; Gk. *akoinônêtos*. For the term, see also Wis. Sol. 14.21; for a full discussion of its significance here, see Shaw, pp. 316-18.

¹³⁵ Gk. *koinônein*, suggesting a connection with *akoinônêtos* just above.

¹³⁶ *Ep.* 134 Bidez (= Bidez, *Lettres*, p. 197); Stern, 2: 568-9 (no. 486b) For this fragment, cf. G. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* (Cambridge, MA, 1978), pp. 120-22; W. C. Wright (tr.), *Works of the Emperor Julian*, LCL, vol. 3, p. xxi; and discussion in Cook, p. 338; Stern, 2: 508-11; D. B. Levenson, "The Ancient and Medieval Sources for the Emperor Julian's Attempt to Rebuild the Jerusalem Temple," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 35 (2004), pp. 414-16, 456 n. 212.

¹³⁷ I.e., because of the designation "Most High."

¹³⁸ Cf. Tacitus, *Histories* 5.4.4, with Stern's commentary (2: 38); cf. also 2.12 above.

¹³⁹ Gk. *mystikoi*; that is, "having to do with mysteries." Shaw, pp. 319-20, rightly argues against taking the dative form as neut. rather than masc.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. the interpretation of circumcision in (e.g.) Philo, *On the Special Laws* 1.8-11; *On Dreams* 2.25.

¹⁴¹ *Philocalia* 23.16 (without reference to the deity being honored—hence, John is presumably using an intermediary source, rather than Origen's text directly). Origen, *Contra Celsum* 5.34, 37-38, cites Celsus' assertion (based on Herodotus 3.8) that the Arabs worship only Dionysus and *Urania* (i.e., the celestial Aphrodite, whom John here calls Astartê); note that Herodotus reports as well that the Arabs cut their hair in a circular fashion. Herodotus (2.104) elsewhere states that the Egyptians, Ethiopians, and

although they are honoring Astartê, not Cronus. And also the Ethiopians mark the knee-caps of the young with a branding iron for the sake of Apollo.¹⁴² Porphyry, however, in his commentary on the Oracles, considers the one honored by the Jews to be the "twice transcendent," that is, the creator of the universe, whom the Chaldaean theologizes as the second after the "once transcendent," that is, the Good.¹⁴³ Of course, the schools of Iamblichus and Syrianus and Proclus¹⁴⁴ think he is the creator of the perceptible world, calling him the god of the "four-element [world]."¹⁴⁵ But the Roman Varro,¹⁴⁶ [111] when discussing him, says that among the Chaldaeans, in their mystical [writings], he is called "Iaô," meaning "mentally perceived light" in the language of the Phoenicians, as Herennius [Philo] says.¹⁴⁷ And he is frequently called "Sabaôth,"

Colchians (in addition to Phoenicians and Syro-Palestinians) are the only peoples to practice circumcision.

¹⁴² Cf. Origen, *Philocalia* 23.16 (without reference to a deity, and referring a process analogous to circumcision, rather than branding).

¹⁴³ Fr. 365 Smith; cf. translation with notes in Stern, 2: 433 (no. 452). It is likely that this comes from a separate work on the Chaldaean Oracles, as Smith prints it; some have assumed a provenance in Porphyry's more general *Philosophy from Oracles*, as Stern points out. For the terminology of "once " and "twice transcendent," cf. 2.4 above (and note). On Porphyry's view here, see also the discussion in Cook, pp. 157-8; Smith, "Porphyrian Studies," pp. 729-30. Smith notes the claims of Waszink and Hadot (echoed by Cook) that in the *Philosophy from Oracles*, Porphyry seems to have granted the Hebrew god a higher position than here—but argues that the difference is apparent and context-determined rather than real, due to the philosopher's speaking "loosely"; cf., similarly, A. Busine, *Paroles d'Apollon* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 282-3.

¹⁴⁴ Lit., "those around Iamblichus " etc.—a frequent periphrasis, in fact, for the simple "Iamblichus" (etc.). Cf. Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: lvi, lxxiii, for discussion of this vague "fragment."

¹⁴⁵ Stern, 2: 485 (no. 467) / 2: 667 (no. 544) / 2: 668 (no. 545). The reference is unidentified (cf. Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: lvi n. 167).

¹⁴⁶ Fr. 17 Cardauns; Stern, 1: 211-12 (no. 75). Cardauns' commentary (2: 146) points out that Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.18.19-21) cites Cornelius Labeo for his information on *Iao*, and plausibly suggests that this was also John's source for Varro's view; cf. (more cautiously) Mastandrea, *Cornelio Labeone*, p. 164 n. 21. See also discussion in Cook, pp. 118 n. 413; and now Shaw, pp. 60-72 (cf. also pp. 322-23), arguing that only the name "Iaô" is securely to be seen as a fragment of Varro's text itself, that the Chaldaeans and "mystical [writings]" are likely additions from a later (Platonic) context of discussion.

¹⁴⁷ *FGrHist* 790F7; Stern, 2: 141 (no. 324). Stern relates Lewy's likely suggestion (*Chaldaean Oracles*, p. 409 n. 32) that the proposed meaning is predicated on an identification of Iaô with Aiôn. Herennius Philo elsewhere (*FGrHist* 790F1[21] = Porphyry, *Against the Christians* fr. 41 Harnack) reports that his account ultimately came from the Phoenician Hierombalus, "priest of Ieuô"—a name which some have seen as significantly equivalent to "Iaô," albeit not without controversy: See Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos*, pp. 54-55; Attridge and Oden, *Philo of Byblos: The Phoenician History*, p. 24; G. H. van Kooten, "Moses / Musaeus / Mochos and His God Yahweh, Iao, and Sabaoth, Seen from a Graeco-Roman Perspective," in Van Kooten (ed.), *The Revelation of the Name YHWH to Moses* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 120, 127; Shaw, pp. 73-9.

meaning the one who is "above the seven heavenly spheres"¹⁴⁸—that is, the creator. So then, there are many opinions about him; but those who theorize that he is unknown and obscure are predominant. They are mistaken, who consider him to be Dionysus, on the basis of the vines which held up the curtains, as mentioned above—and further, on the basis of a conviction (from whatever source) that the profane¹⁴⁹ among the Hebrews abstain from wine. This mistake can be perceived from their very own laws. For they reveal that it is not the profane, but the consecrated who do this, as follows: "Wine and strong drink you shall not drink...when you enter into the tent."¹⁵⁰

54. On the 15th day before the Kalends of April,¹⁵¹ Euctemon says that various winds blow.

And one might call Athena "cephalic prudence."¹⁵² For indeed, prudence is said to reside near the "roots" of the human brain, in the front of the head, opposite the back of the head¹⁵³—hence, Homer represented Achilles becoming angry, [then] seized by Athena from the front of the head, as follows: "And she seized the son of Peleus by his tawny hair."¹⁵⁴ [112] And they write that she is "gleaming-eyed" [*glaukôpis*]¹⁵⁵ on account of her fieriness,¹⁵⁶ and for her bird they attribute to her the owl [*glaux*], which stays awake all through the night, as though one were saying that [she represents] the human

¹⁴⁸ Gk. *poloi*. In early Christian exegesis, "*Sabaôth*" is usually (and correctly) glossed as meaning "of the powers / forces" (e.g., Origen, *Contra Celsum* 5.45); but in the Gnostic treatises *The Hypostasis of the Archons* (Nag Hammadi codex II: 95) and *On the Origin of the World* (II: 104-5)—cf. also Epiphanius, *Panarion* 26.10—Sabaoth, the offspring of Ialdabaoth, is set over the "seventh heaven." I. S. Gilhus, *The Nature of the Archons* (Wiesbaden, 1985), p. 34, suggests that this reflects wordplay with the Hebrew number "seven," *šib'ah* (cf. also Roether, p. 204), citing A. J. Welburn, "The Identity of the Archons in the *Apocryphon of John*," *Vigiliae Christianae* 32 (1978), p. 245, for wordplay of Sabaoth with "seven" and also "Saturn" in "Gnostic-Rabbinic" circles. For the identification of the "heavens" with the planetary spheres, see A. Yarbro Collins, "The Seven Heavens in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses," in J. J. Collins and M. Fishbane (eds.), *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys* (Albany, 1995), pp. 83-5. Van Kooten, pp. 133-35, mentions John's interpretation of Sabaôth, but otherwise focuses on perceived associations with *Sabazius*.

¹⁴⁹ I.e., the non-priestly, or those not consecrated in some special way.

¹⁵⁰ Lev. 10.9.

¹⁵¹ 18 March.

¹⁵² Cf. (e.g.) Chrysippus, fr. 908, 910 (*Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* 2: 256, 258); Porphyry, *On Images* fr. 359 Smith (cited in Eusebius, *PE* 3.11.31). The discussion of Athena was presumably prompted by the fact that 19 March was Minerva's "birthday" (cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 3.809-12), i.e., the dedication date of her temple on the Aventine; see Degraffi, pp. 426-8, and Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, pp. 93-4.

¹⁵³ The spatial relationships here are not particularly clear. A variant reading has Athena seizing him "at" (*epi*) rather than "from" (*ek*) the front of the head.

¹⁵⁴ *Iliad* 1.197.

¹⁵⁵ Traditionally, "grey-eyed."

¹⁵⁶ Cf. *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. *glaux* and *glaukos*.

soul, not idle at any time—for indeed, it is immortal and ever-moving by nature. As Plato says, "That which...ceases to move ceases to live."¹⁵⁷

55. On the 14th day before the Kalends of April,¹⁵⁸ it was the custom for the Salian [priests], whom Numa established, to "put in storage"¹⁵⁹ the weapons that "fell from Zeus," the ones which they called *ancilia*. It was customary for these to be "moved," in honor of Ares, on that day on which it is said that a voice from the heavens was heard, saying that the city would be kept safe as long as the *ancilia* were kept safe.¹⁶⁰

56. Also in Rome, they would laugh at the sins of the citizens on wagons,¹⁶¹ and bring the hidden [sins] to light, in accordance with the practice of the Athenians, who would threaten the sinners with saying the things "from the wagon."¹⁶²

57. On the 14th day before the Kalends of April,¹⁶³ there was a festival which was honored among the Romans not because it was Roman but because it held the highest honor among the Egyptians, for the following reason: When the Nile once refused to provide the yearly beneficence of its waters, and thus the Egyptians were perishing, a certain good *daemon*¹⁶⁴ appeared as a man, his whole body covered in mud [*pepêlômenos*] and proclaimed to the Egyptians that the Nile had [113] gushed forth, and he himself

¹⁵⁷ Phaedrus 245c.

¹⁵⁸ 19 March.

¹⁵⁹ "Storing" the *ancilia* was the term used for returning them after the yearly procession, the "moving" of the *ancilia*. Cf. §42 above.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Festus, p. 117 Lindsay, attributing the prediction to a "vox edita." The *ancilia* are listed as one of the seven "*pignora imperii*" in Servius Auctus on *Aen.* 7.188, although that term is attested already in Ovid, *Fasti* 3.346 and 354.

¹⁶¹ Note that Ovid, *Fasti* 3.675ff., attempts to explain why girls sang "obscenities" in the worship of *Anna Perenna* (on the Ides of March). The practice is presumably the reason why John goes into the matter here. Roether, p. 127, illustratively cites Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 7.72.11, for the use of such coarse jesting in the Roman triumphal procession.

¹⁶² A proverbial expression for ritual obscene / insulting language, or *aischrologia* (cf. Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 122), originally based on the practice of shouting such abuse at the Anthesteria and Lenaia festivals, for which see H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London, 1977), pp. 105, 109; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 103, 125. The emphasis here on mockery of "sins," however, also calls to mind the public shaming of an adulteress attested by Plutarch as in institution at Cumae (*Greek Questions* 2 [291f])—she was paraded around the city on a donkey; for this and similar practices, cf. S. Forsdyke, "Street Theatre and Popular Justice in Ancient Greece: Shaming, Stoning and Starving Offenders inside and outside the Courts," *Past & Present* 201 (2008), pp. 3-50.

¹⁶³ 19 March. The Calendar of Philocalus gives the name of the festival as "*Pelusia*" and the date as 20 March; cf. Degrassi, p. 428, opting for the latter date as correct.

¹⁶⁴ This figure is identifiable as Isis' son Harpocrates, whose appearance heralded the annual Nile flood; see Salzman, *On Roman Time*, p. 174.

had fallen in¹⁶⁵ its waters. When they disbelieved him, but then found that it was really the truth, a festival was established among them and among the Greeks, called *Pêlousion*.

58. Philadelphia in Lydia was built by the Egyptians.¹⁶⁶ The school of Proclus called Philadelphia "little Athens" because of their enthusiasm for it, on account of its festivals and the sacred rites of its images.¹⁶⁷

59. On the 11th day before the Kalends of April,¹⁶⁸ a pine tree would be carried on the Palatine by the *dendrophori* ["tree-bearers"].¹⁶⁹ The festival was established by the Emperor Claudius,¹⁷⁰ a man so just in his judgments that he ordered a mother who was denying her own child to be married to him [i.e., to the child], on the grounds that she was a stranger to him; but by her refusal he determined that she was the mother.

60. On the 10th day before the Kalends of April,¹⁷¹ there is trumpet-purification¹⁷² and movement of the weapons,¹⁷³ and honors for Ares and Nerinê—a goddess so named in the Sabine language, who they understood to be Athena or else Aphrodite.¹⁷⁴ For *nerinê* means "courage" and the Sabines call the courageous *nerônes*.¹⁷⁵ And Homer

¹⁶⁵ Or, "come upon" (Gk. *empesein*).

¹⁶⁶ Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, p. 41, speculates that John here guessed on the basis of Ptolemy II's nomenclature (*Philadelphus*)—in fact, it was a foundation of Attalus II Philadelphus of Pergamum. See G. M. Cohen, *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor* (Berkeley, 1995), pp. 227-30.

¹⁶⁷ For this "anecdotal" information and further details of Proclus' sojourn in Lydia, including the philosopher's visit to a sacred shrine at Adrotta (exact location unknown), see Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: xix-xxi, lvi n. 167.

¹⁶⁸ 22 March.

¹⁶⁹ This was part of the worship of the Magna Mater and Attis (in the Calendar of Philocalus, the day holds the notice *Arbor intrat*); for further details, cf. Degrassi, p. 428-9, who oddly claims that John is dating the celebration to 23 March.

¹⁷⁰ For discussion and further references on the subject of Claudius' probable role in establishing this or other aspects of the worship of the Magna Mater, see G. Forsythe, *Time in Roman Religion* (New York, 2012), pp. 88-90.

¹⁷¹ 23 March.

¹⁷² Equivalent to the Lat. *tubilustrium*.

¹⁷³ Cf. §§ 42, 45, and 55 above.

¹⁷⁴ For this goddess, elsewhere called Nerio (among other variants), see Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, p. 248 n. 114; Degrassi, pp. 429-30; and Frazer's note on Nerio in the appendix to his translation of Ovid's *Fasti* (LCL, pp. 407-11). There seems to be no attestation elsewhere that she was considered equivalent to Aphrodite, but her frequent association elsewhere with Ares may have been responsible for the confusion.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Aulus Gellius 13.23.7; Suetonius, *Tiberius* 1.2; Ernout-Meillet, *Dictionnaire etymologique*, pp. 438-9, s.v. "Nerô." The actual form John gives here is *nerônas*, but is probably to be considered a 3rd-

demonstrates that she does take the lead in warfare, along with Ares: "All these things will be the concern of quick Ares and Athena."¹⁷⁶ For those who consider Nerinê to be Aphrodite are mistaken, and Homer is equally a witness on this point: "My child [i.e., Aphrodite], warlike deeds have not been given to you."¹⁷⁷ [114]

61. Philip says that on the 9th day before the Kalends of April,¹⁷⁸ the Hyades set, along with a south wind; but Metrodorus says they rise. On the 8th day before the Kalends,¹⁷⁹ the spring equinox.

62. A vault¹⁸⁰ is a kind of building having the form of a half-cylinder.

63. Demeter is one who makes the beginning of a city, as being the earth. And hence, they depict her bearing a tower.¹⁸¹ And the earth is also called Cybele, from its cubic shape in accordance with geometry—although the Stoics define it as spherical.

declension (rather than 1st-declension) form—a Greek transliteration of the Roman name *Nero* (nom. pl. *Nerones*).

¹⁷⁶ *Iliad* 5.430.

¹⁷⁷ *Iliad* 5.428.

¹⁷⁸ 24 March.

¹⁷⁹ 25 March.

¹⁸⁰ Gk. *psalis*. The term can also mean "arch" (Lampe s.v.) and John could possibly have in mind a structure like a triumphal arch, deep enough for the space to be described as a half-cylinder. The reason for such a reference is unknown. The word appears in Exodus (27.10-11) for some appurtenances of the tabernacle's columns; in the pseudo-Aristotelian *De Mundo* (399b) God is likened to the key-stones of a vault. The wording of the explanation in Pollux, *Onomasticon* 9.49 is very similar ("A vault is a kind of building..."), likely revealing the kind of source John is working with here.

¹⁸¹ I.e., wearing the so-called "mural crown" representing the walls and towers of a city. This is more standard for the goddess Cybele. As John goes on to discuss Cybele, however, the description may well depend on syncretic identification of Demeter with Cybele (and perhaps also Rhea; note that Cornutus, *De natura deorum* 6.3, describes Rhea as bearing a mural crown).

APRIL

64. Since the first month, as I have said, was dedicated to honoring the intelligible [beings], in accordance with the preeminence of the *monad*, naturally the one after it, that is, the second, which the Romans in their own language call February, was appropriated for Pluto and the underground [spirits], in accordance with the unboundedness of the number [two]. And they call him Aides.¹ For the *dyad* is, as it were, formless and undefined; hence, he himself is said to be king of the formless ones, those who have made a departure from the divine [beings]. Rightly, therefore, Philolaus² says that the dyad is the consort of Cronus, whom one could clearly call "Chronus" [i.e., time]. And the dyad is connected to time, as to the cause of decay; and it is the very mother of matter in flux. The third [month], that is, March [115], they dedicated to this [same part of] the division of number, either [as being] the first odd [number], or [they dedicated it to] Ares as an ancestral god. For the *triad* is the beginning / first principle of number.³ And so, quite philosophically they join Ares with Aphrodite. For when the monad comes together with the dyad, the first number is born, which is called "perfect" by some, because it first indicates all things, and first shows a beginning, middle and end; indeed, it is the image of a plane figure, and a first instantiation of triangles (there are three kinds of [triangles]: equilateral, isosceles, and scalene). The fourth [month], <which> they name April, they dedicated to the number four in accordance with the nature of the elements—that is, to Aphrodite.⁴ For the nature of all perceptible [reality] consists of four elements—and this, according to the naturalists, would be Aphrodite. So then, this number is the first quadrilateral, and the *tetractys*,⁵ but indeed also first displayed the nature of a solid. For [there is first] a point, then a line, then a surface, then a solid—which is a body.⁶ And from four <elements (?)> the ... of the ... they dedicated the fourth number to Aphrodite, that is, to the nature of things.

¹ This version of the name Hades has an apparent etymology in the negative prefix *a/an-* and the verb root *id-* ("to see"), thus meaning "unseen" (cf. Plato, *Cratylus* 403a; Cornutus 5.2; 35.1). The words John employs in the next sentence, translated "formless," have the same associations, and so could be taken to mean, "having no (visible) form."

² Cf. Huffman, *Philolaus of Croton*, pp. 350-52 (fr. 20a), taking the alleged fragment all the way to "matter in flux."

³ Cf. John's comments on the month of February (4.26 above) and on Tuesday (2.8 above).

⁴ For analysis and critique of the traditions which associate April and Aphrodite / Venus, see R. Schilling, *La religion romaine de Vénus*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1982), pp. 176-84.

⁵ I.e., the first four numbers, represented as series of points arranged in four rows, making a triangular figure and yielding a total sum of 10. Cf. Hopper, p. 42.

⁶ That is, four points are needed to describe the most basic solid figure, the pyramid (cf. §76 below).

But [now] I will tell briefly why the Romans decided to name the fourth month in this way; and during this time, in accordance with my prior promise, I will delineate a few of the theoretical considerations regarding Aphrodite.

Now then, the natural [philosophers] make Aphrodite out to be the spring-time—and this would be [when] the sun [is] in Taurus. And they portray her as turning away from Ares—the month of Ares, which [116] would be March—as I have said, and attaching herself to Adonis, that is, to May, at the time when the birds are now heralding the spring. This one [i.e., Adonis] was destroyed by Ares, who had taken the form of a boar—that is, the spring is destroyed by the summer; for the nature of the boar is hot, and the mythologists interpret it as [meaning] the summer. Or, as others think, Adonis is the crop,⁷ and Ares the boar—and [this] animal is hostile to the crops, just as the ox is beneficial; and for this reason, the Egyptians still today abstain entirely from [eating] cattle, but they make use of swine very much indeed for food.

Euripides judges that she was called Aphrodite from the fact that she renders lovers foolish [*aphronas*].⁸ Chrysippus⁹ considers that she is [rightly] named not Dione¹⁰ but *Didone* because she bestows [*epididonai*] the pleasures of reproduction, that she was named Kypris because she provides conception [*kyein*],¹¹ and Kythereia likewise, because she bestows conception not only on human beings but also on wild animals [*thêriois*]. Hence, Hermes in the "Creation of the World" teaches that Aphrodite is male above the loins, female below them.¹² For this reason [too] the Pamphylians at one time honored an Aphrodite who actually had a beard.¹³ And they deem it right that she was

⁷ Cf. Porphyry, *On Images* fr. 358 Smith; Cornutus, *De natura deorum* 28.6.

⁸ Cf. Euripides, *Trojan Women* 989; Cornutus, *De natura deorum* 24.2, also mentions this view.

⁹ *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* 2: 320 (no. 1098).

¹⁰ Dione is frequently Aphrodite's mother (e.g., in Homer, *Iliad* 5.370ff.), not an alternate designation for Aphrodite. It may be that something has been garbled in transmission; but see below for the equation of Aphrodite and Dione.

¹¹ Cf. Pirenne-Delforge, p. 317.

¹² A doubtful Hermetic fragment: see Nock-Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, 4: 145-6; Scott, *Hermetica* 4: 231.

¹³ Ms. R (ed. Treu, pp. 5.24-6.3) has material on Aphrodite, at least parts of which seem to come from John: "Aphrodite's statue, bearing a comb, because it once happened that the Roman women contracted a pestilential itch. When they all shaved themselves, their combs became useless to them; but (it is said) after they prayed to Aphrodite for their hair to grow back, they honored her with a statue, bearing a comb. And they also represent her with a beard, because she has both male and female organs; for they call her the overseer of the universe's generation, and say that she is male from the loins and above, but female below. And they also represent her on horseback, because Aeneas, her son, after sailing all the way to the West, mounted a horse and honored his mother with that kind of statue." From this appear to be derived the Suda entry on Aphrodite (α 4653 Adler); Ps.-Codinus, *Patria Constantinopoleos* 2.7 (pp. 153-4 Preger); and a B scholium on *Iliad* 2.820 (3: 152 Dindorf). For the bearded Aphrodite, cf. (with reference, however, to Cyprus) Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.8.2; Servius on *Aen.* 2.632; Paeon of Amathus (*FGrHist* 757F1 = Hesychius s.v. *Aphroditos*) relates that in Cyprus the goddess was represented as a man. For further

born from the genitals of Cronus—that is, from eternity [*aiôn*]¹⁴—but the nature of things is eternal and incorruptible.

"Doing the business of Aphrodite" [i.e., having sexual intercourse; Gk. *aphrodisiasai*] is called *benisai* / *venisai*¹⁵ by the common people. Plato teaches [that there are] two Aphrodites, the Heavenly and the Common; the one attends the gods, the other, human beings.¹⁵ But others [117], who are poets, teach [that there are] four: one, born from Heaven and Day; another, [born] from sea-foam [*aphros*]¹⁶—from her and Hermes was born Eros; a third, [daughter] of Zeus and Dione—from her and Ares, they say, was born Anteros; a fourth, [daughter] of Syria and Cyprus, the one called Astarte.¹⁶ Others say that first [was the daughter] of Heaven and Day—the Heavenly [Aphrodite]; second, [the daughter] of Aphros and Eurynome the Oceanid; and third,

discussion see also Pirenne-Delforge, pp. 307-69, especially 350-52; W. Sale, "Aphrodite in the *Theogony*," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 92 (1961), pp. 515-19; and Jacoby's extensive commentary on Macrobius' citation of Philochorus in this context (*FGrHist* 328F184; cf. §22 above)—Philochorus reports that opposite-gender dress occurred in the worship of Aphrodite (no location specified, but Jacoby guesses that he was referring to the Cyprian goddess), "because she is held to be both male and female." The ambiguous sexuality of these versions of Aphrodite is connected in John's mind also to the numerological significance of Aphrodite (cf. 2.11 above). J. G. Préaux, "Un nouveau texte sur la Vénus androgyne," *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 13 = *Mélanges Isidore Lévy* (Brussels, 1953), pp. 479-90, argues on the basis of many of these pieces of evidence for an emendation in the text of Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 2.181, that would attribute to Venus *ambifarium genitale* (i.e., both male and female sexual attributes); J. Willis' Teubner edition (Leipzig, 1983) notes the article by way of illustration, but does not adopt the suggested emendation. Cf. also 7.736 (relating Venus to the number six) and, in John's text, 2.11 above. For a parallel, possibly androgynous, version of the goddess Fortuna (Fortuna Barbata), see J. Champeaux, *Fortuna: Recherches sur le culte de la Fortune à Rome et dans le monde romain des origines à la mort de César* (Rome, 1982), pp. 395-403; and for a brief account of such figures more generally, see M. Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite: Myths and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Antiquity*, tr. J. Nicholson (London, 1961).

¹⁴ Roether, p. 215 (in a suggested gloss in his translation), speculatively gives Lat. *venizare*, which is, however, unattested. It may be instead be a distorted version of Gk. βινέω (aor. infin. βινῆσαι).

¹⁵ *Symposium* 180d.

¹⁶ This list is nearly identical to that given by Cicero, *De natura deorum* 3.23.59; cf. also Ampelius, *Liber memorialis* 9.9. The alternate list John gives in the next few lines is similar, but includes details otherwise only partly attested: Eurynome the daughter of Ocean is one of the primordial ruling deities in Apollonius of Rhodes' Orphic cosmogony (*Argonautica* 1.498ff.)—and a fragment of Ister (*FGrHist* 457F7) cited in a scholium on Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 42, makes *Euonyme* (Eurynome has been suggested as an emendation) the mother of the Furies, while verses attributed to Epimenides (3B19 Diels-Kranz) cited immediately before this describe the Furies, the Fates, and Aphrodite as all being daughters of Cronus. This may indicate a connection between Aphrodite and Eurynome, although as the notes in Diels-Kranz and Jacoby point out, a further line attributed to Epimenides mentioning Euonyme (and thus putting her directly into connection with Aphrodite) is inauthentic. Hermes the son of Nilus is mentioned in Cicero, *De natura deorum* 3.22.56. For more references see G. D. Hadzsits, "Aphrodite and the Dione Myth," *American Journal of Philology* 30 (1909), p. 44. For other such lists in John's text and their parallels, see §51 above.

the one who was joined to Hermes the son of Nilus—from her [was born] the second, winged, Eros; fourth, [the daughter] of Zeus and Dione, whom Hephaestus married, but with whom Ares secretly had relations, producing Anteros. And in many places she is also called Pasiphaë—the one who sends forth [*epaphieisa*] pleasures to all [*pâsi*]; and Erykine, because she stimulates [*kinein*] loves [*erôtas*].¹⁷ From her and Hermes, the story goes, was born Hermaphroditus¹⁸—that is, well-spoken and refined speech, which softens harshness by virtue of pleasure. And they say that the star of this [Aphrodite] attends the moon, on account of their nightly conjunctions—and hence, [they say,] it brings about shadow, on account of its being productive of bodies.¹⁹ They would sacrifice geese and partridges to her, because they [i.e., these birds] take pleasure in waters—and Aphrodite belongs to the sea—and because they [i.e., the males of the birds] are led off and caught by the voices of the females.²⁰ Such are the opinions held by the ancients regarding Aphrodite, as regards mythical and natural speculation.

But the philosophers say that Aphrodite *is* Dione²¹—that nature which pervades all being;²² and that she was born from the genitals of Heaven and from the sea—that is, from even number and odd number: odd, from the form,²³ and even [118], from the sea, that is, from unbounded matter. But Cincius the Roman sophist says that Aphrodite was born from the sea-foam [*aphros*], that is, spring is produced from snowy *aer* and cold material.²⁴ So much regarding Aphrodite.

April, [they say,] meaning "of Aphrodite," was named by Aeneas in honor of his mother; but some allege that it was so named by Romulus. For indeed, since the first month was dedicated to Ares, it was natural that the second be dedicated to Aphrodite. So [say] the Greeks; but the Romans say [that it was called] April [*Aprilus*]²⁵—that is,

¹⁷ Cf. Lhommé, "Un commentaire en catalogue," p. 333, for this interpretation of Venus Erycina, more usually explained by reference to the Sicilian toponym Eryx; for the cult of Venus Erycina in general, see Schilling, pp. 233-66.

¹⁸ Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.288.

¹⁹ The logic of the second half of this sentence is opaque: John is naturally associating Venus [the star of Aphrodite] with sexual reproduction—but the further logical connection to "bringing about / producing shadow" is unclear; however, Venus' power to cast shadows is also mentioned by Pliny, *NH* 2.36; Sosigenes, cited by Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's De caelo* 2.12 (p. 504 Heiberg).

²⁰ For this characterization, associated with the partridge and quail, see Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.1.4; cf. also Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* 9.8 (613b-614a).

²¹ For the complete assimilation of Aphrodite and Dione, see (e.g.) Ovid, *Fasti* 2.461, 5.309, and further references at Hadzsits, p. 45 n. 3.

²² Lit., "is *through* all (things) that *exist*"; Gk. *dia pantôn ousan tôn ontôn*.

²³ Cf. Ps.-Iamblichus, *Theology of Arithmetic*, p. 51: "The triad is the form of the completion of all things..."

²⁴ Fr. 2 Huschke / Bremer = fr. 7 Funaioli.

Aperilius—with reference to its "opening"²⁵ of time. For after nature has been, as it were, "locked up" by winter, spring by nature "opens" things up. And it was logical for the month of Aphrodite to be linked together with that of Ares, as has been said—because, as the Egyptians say, the star of Ares is made gentle through the gentleness of Aphrodite. And in hymns we find that Aphrodite is called by nearly 300 names.²⁶ The Phoenicians maintain that Aphrodite is Astarte,²⁷ their civic protector—[her name] meaning "starry" [*asterian*]²⁸ or "the virtue of the city" [*asteos aretên*] [119]. For from the Libanus—there is a mountain there called by that name, from its orientation toward the south-west [*liba*]²⁹—two rivers come down toward the sea: the greater, more transparent of these is called Adonis; the smaller, more earthy one is called Ares.²⁹ And when Ares flows into Adonis it does not preserve its own proper designation as far as the sea. So because Adonis in its entirety is mixed up with the sea, it appears that *he / it* [i.e., Adonis] is loved more by Aphrodite—that is, by the sea.

65. So then, on the Kalends of April³⁰ the respectable women would honor Aphrodite, for the sake of unity of mind and a chaste life. But the women of the multitude would wash themselves in the men's baths, garlanded with myrtle, to worship her—either because myrtle is well-fitted for babies (for it strengthens the

²⁵ The Latin verb *aperire* is here in view. For the etymology, cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 4.87-9.

²⁶ Cf. 1.21 above, where a similar statement is attributed to Labeo.

²⁷ Cf. Philo of Byblos, *FGrHist* 790F2 (cited by Eusebius, *PE* 1.10.32); earlier in this chapter, John has already noted the "fourth" Aphrodite as equivalent to Astarte.

²⁸ Cf. *Etymologicum Gudianum* s.v. *Astartê*.

²⁹ Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, p. 42, speculates that for the unattested "Ares" river, the *Lycus* (Gk.: "wolf") is the intended reference, with "Ares" suggesting itself on the basis of the association between Ares / Mars and the wolf; however, as Wittig acknowledges, the Lycus (mod. Nahr al-Kalb) does not flow into the Adonis (mod. Nahr Ibrahim).

³⁰ 1 April. There has been scholarly controversy in attempting to reconcile the honors for Aphrodite (alone) with those attested for Venus Verticordia and Fortuna Virilis (Ovid, *Fasti* 4.133-62). A note in the Praenestine Fasti records the fact that on this date "women" prayed to Fortuna Virilis, the "lower-class [women] also in the baths"; on the basis of John's description and the other ancient evidence, Mommsen (*CIL* I²: 314) suggested that a reference to the upper-class women worshipping Venus Verticordia was inadvertently omitted from the inscription. Cf. also Plutarch, *Numa* 19; and Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.15, who cites Verrius Flaccus for the fact that "on this day" (presumably 1 April), "matrons" worshipped Venus, for reasons which Macrobius does not go into: *cuius rei causam, quia huic loco non convenit, praetereundum est*. For further discussion, see Schilling, pp. 231-2, 389-95; Deggrassi, pp. 433-34; Champeaux, pp. 378-95; Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, pp. 96-7; I. Ziogas, "Stripping the Roman Ladies: Ovid's Rites and Readers," *Classical Quarterly* 64 (2014), pp. 735-44; E. Fantham, "Women's Participation in Roman Cult," in G. Herbert-Brown (ed.), *Ovid's Fasti: Historical Readings at Its Bimillennium* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 35-6; ead., "The Fasti as a Source for Women's Participation in Roman Cult," in *Roman Readings* (Berlin, 2011), p. 442; A. Staples, *From Good Goddess to Vestal Virgins* (London, 1998), pp. 109-10. Whatever the original distinction or association between these two figures, for John there seems to be no distinction, even if one did exist at one time.

bodies of the new-born, and the myrtle is in fact the most fragrant, beyond all others, of the evergreen plants)—or because it alone among plants takes joy in the sea.³¹ And Aphrodite was honored with the same [offerings] as Hera.

In Cyprus, they would sacrifice a sheep covered with a fleece to Aphrodite³²—but the manner of this priestly practice passed to Cyprus from Corinth once upon a time—and then, they would sacrifice wild boars to her,³³ on account of the plot against Adonis, on the fourth day before the Nones, that is, the second day of April. [120]

66. The natural [philosophers] say that those females who have the opening of their "vessels" on a straight line are fertile, those who [have it] sideways [are] barren.³⁴

67. On the third day before the Nones of April,³⁵ Heracles the Victorious was honored, as giver of good health.³⁶ And it was customary for the Romans to abstain

³¹ Myrtle was traditionally associated with Aphrodite; cf. Frazer, *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Fastorum libri sex* 3: 165 (on Ovid, *Fasti* 4.15), for literary references.

³² Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 2nd ed., pp. 469-79 ("Additional Note G: The Sacrifice of a Sheep to the Cyprian Aphrodite"), argues for an emendation whereby the worshippers themselves, not the sheep, are here described as "covered with a fleece"; he is followed by Burkert, *Homo Necans*, tr. P. Bing (Berkeley, 1986), p. 115. For the Cyprian practices here, including comparison with Lucian's account of the Byblos cult of Aphrodite, see B. Currie, *Pindar and the Cult of Heroes* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 279-83. Pirenne-Delforge, p. 360, however, concludes that John's statements in this paragraph are too problematic to be usable in reconstructing Aphrodite-cult on Cyprus; cf. also p. 390 (where the reference to *De mens.* 4.6 is a misprint for 4.65).

³³ Cf. Frazer's commentary on Pausanias 2.10.5 (*Pausanias' Description of Greece* 3: 67)—who states that pigs are *excluded* from sacrifices to Aphrodite at the Sicyonian sanctuary; likewise, Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 1.14, says that pigs are *not* sacrificed to Aphrodite on Cyprus.

³⁴ Cf. [Hippocrates], *On Barrenness* 1; Soranus, *Gynaecology* 1.34.3; 4.1.2 (= Diocles fr. 171 van der Eijk).

³⁵ 3 April.

³⁶ For the two temples of Hercules Victor in Rome, see Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, pp. 188-89. The observation of this date does not appear to be attested elsewhere (cf. Degrassi, p. 435—and p. 494-6 for the *August* celebration of Hercules Victor). On the basis of the John's discussion here, Champeaux, pp. 397-8, classifies Hercules Victor as an androgynous figure, thematically related to the androgynous versions of Aphrodite (and Fortuna)—cf. §64 above, with note. A representation of Hercules (Victor) at Tibur shows him wearing a long tunic with sleeves, that is, possibly a feminine garment (C. F. Giuliani, *Tivoli: Il santuario di Ercole Vincitore* [Tivoli, 2009], pp. 7, 100 [with fig. 2]), and this has sometimes been connected to the statue of a *Hercules tunicatus* Pliny describes (NH 34.93) as having been in the Roman forum (E. Bourne, *A Study of Tibur—Historical, Literary and Epigraphical—From the Earliest Times to the Close of the Roman Empire* [Menasha, WI, 1916], p. 62; for counter-arguments and further discussion, see S. Ritter, *Hercules in der römischen Kunst von den Anfängen bis Augustus* (Heidelberg, 1995), pp. 159-60; V. M. Strocka, "Der Hercules tunicatus auf dem Forum Romanum," in S. Lehmann et al. [eds.], *Zurück zum Gegenstand: Festschrift für Andreas E. Furtwängler*, vol. 1 [Baier & Beran, 2009], p. 100; LIMC s.v. "Herakles" no. 872a (IV.1: 770), identifies Hercules' dress on the Tiburtine relief as that of the god's priests at Gades (cf. further discussion of Heracles' priests just below).

from cabbage in this month. Heracles was called "Time" [*chronos*]³⁷ by Nicomachus—but indeed, also the sun; he spoke as follows: "Now then, Heracles [is] the one who breaks around the air with the turning cycle of the seasons—that is, the sun."³⁸ Indeed for this reason too in his mysteries they adorn the males with feminine robes,³⁹ in that, after the winter's wildness and sterility, the embryonic offspring begins [now] to be feminized. And they would carry this out in the spring. He [has] three apples / sheep⁴⁰ in his left

³⁷ For this equation, cf. Orph. fr. 54, 57 Kern (76 Bernabé); Roether, p. 220, cites the Orphic address to Heracles as "father of time" (*Hymn* 12.3).

³⁸ The explanation here rests on a perceived association of *aēr* ("air") with the root *kla-* ("break"). Some have suggested that this Nicomachus is the one (*PRE* s.v. Nicomachus 17) attested as having written "On Egyptian Festivals" (e.g., Müller, *FHG* 2: 615; Jacoby, in *FGrHist* 662 does not include the present fragment with that Nicomachus), assuming that writer was not Nicomachus of Gerasa. F. E. Robbins, in Nicomachus, *Introduction to Arithmetic* (tr. M. L. D'Ooge), p. 80, more plausibly suggests that John's reference here was indeed meant as a citation of Nicomachus of Gerasa's *Theologoumena Arithmeticae*, one of the main sources of Ps.-Iamblichus' *Theology of Arithmetic*, and cited in §97 and 162 below. For the content, cf. Porphyry, *On Images* fr. 359 (lines 26-29) Smith (cited by Eusebius, *PE* 3.11): "And as the Sun is a warder off of earthly evils, they called it / him Heracles, on account of his breaking against the *aer* as it / he goes from east to west." The word I have translated in John's text as "seasons" could alternatively be rendered "hours" (Gk. *hōrōn*), and Porphyry's reference to the sun's movement from east to west might support such an interpretation—but Porphyry (like John below) goes on to identify the twelve labors as symbols of the sun's progress through the Zodiac (cf. also Eusebius, *PE* 3.13, commenting on another citation from Porphyry). Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.20.6-12, also equates Heracles with the sun, but without specific parallels to John's discussion here.

³⁹ Cf. Plutarch, *Greek Questions* 58 (304c-e), on the feminine garb of Heracles' priests on Cos; cf. also Silius Italicus, *Punica* 3.24, on the priests of Heracles at Gades (their linen garment is not, however, identified as feminine). In *De mag.* 3.64, John reports that Heracles, feminized in his association with Omphale by being made to wear a certain kind of sheer tunic (*sandyx*), was also known as *Sandôn*—a variant of the name *Sandês* (also Sandan, Sandas) whose equivalence with Heracles is localized in Cilicia by Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 34.192, and reported as part of ancient Persian religion by Agathias, *Histories* 2.24.8 (depending on Berossus and others: *FGrHist* 680F12). Eusebius gives a further variant, Disandan (Syncellus), Desandas (Armenian), or Desanaus (Jerome), historically placed in Phoenicia, but identified as contemporarily equated with Heracles among the Cappadocians and another people, variously Ilians (Syncellus—a correction to "Cilicians" is adopted in Dindorf's edition) and *Helienses* (Jerome)—see Karst (ed.), *Eusebius: Chronik* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 161. Ammianus Marcellinus 14.8.3 asserts that Tarsus was founded by Perseus or Sandan; whether or not Ramsay, *The Cities of St. Paul* (New York, 1908), p. 147 (cf. also H. Böhlig, *Die Geisteskultur von Tarsos im augusteischer Zeitalter* [Göttingen, 1913], pp. 64-5), is correct to conclude that originally the two figures were the same, the mention of Perseus strongly recalls John's similar cosmic treatment of that hero, equated with the sun just as Heracles is in the present passage, in §22 above. For further documentation of the deity, including coinage from Tarsus (with Sandas as founder), in *LIMC* s.v. "Sandas" (VII.1: 662-5).

⁴⁰ Gk. *mêla*, which can mean either "apples" or "sheep"—on one level, then, this is a reference to Heracles' fetching the golden apples of the Hesperides; but the reinterpretation relies on the homonymy of the terms to make a connection with the first constellation of the Zodiac, Aries. For the reinterpretation in terms of sheep, cf. Diodorus Siculus 4.26.2; Palaephatus, *On Unbelievable Things* 18; Varro, *De re rustica* 2.1.6.

hand, as a symbol of the division of time [effected] by him—for the apple / sheep [is relevant] on account of its affinity for the Ram [i.e., Aries]; and the spring equinox is the beginning of time. And further, [there were] three, because time is three-fold.⁴¹ And he is said to bring the three-headed dog up from Hades, because time is a guardian and a destroyer, just as the dog [is]; and it [has] three heads: past time, present time, and future time. And alternatively, the three apples / sheep are to be interpreted in reference to Heracles in accordance with a philosophical teaching, [namely,] that the hero seems to be perfect after completing the three periods of active life. Thus [121] he is also called "of the triple evening," according to Lycophron; for *he* says:

...the lion of the triple evening, whom the saw-toothed
dog of Triton once brought down with his jaws.⁴²

For the myth tells that Heracles was conceived on three nights.⁴³ And it gives him [as wife] beautiful-ankled Hebe, that is, the creative power, and the good that is in the world. The garland is a symbol of perfection—therefore, it was given in the first place to gods and kings and priests. But when Fortune took the garland away from Virtue, the priests thereafter, cutting off their hair, placed a kind of circle of hairs around their head instead of a garland.⁴⁴ Now, they refer to him as "of twelve labors" on account of his traversing the twelve signs of the Zodiac.⁴⁵ And he revived Alcestis and gave her back to Admetus, as the sun brings back to the world the life-giving nature that was moribund during the winter. For the world is [called] Admetus on account of its being untiring [*akamanta*] and ever-living.⁴⁶ And he is said to have destroyed Augeas; for indeed, the sun when it rises disperses the time of morning, which most people call *augê*.⁴⁷ And Heracles was commanded to carry out his twelve labors by Eurystheus—meaning that the sun, by the order of the great god, with Hera—that is, the sphere—moving against it, runs in counterpoise to her through the heavens with its twelve signs of the Zodiac. So [say] the philosophers.

But from the histories we find that there have been seven Heracles: First, [the son] of Zeus [son] of Aether and Lysithoe [daughter] of Ocean; second, the child of

⁴¹ Ms. R (ed. Treu, p. 6.4-7) has a brief parallel, likely deriving from John's text: "*On a statue of Heracles carrying three apples / sheep*. They say that Heracles is Time [*chronos*], which has three parts: spring, summer, and winter."

⁴² Lycophron, *Alexandra* 33-34.

⁴³ Cf. Ps.-Apollodorus, *Library* 2.4.8; Diodorus Siculus 4.9.2—Zeus extended that night to the length of three nights.

⁴⁴ This seems to be a reference to Christian clerical tonsure.

⁴⁵ Cf. the fragment of Porphyry cited above.

⁴⁶ The etymological meaning of Admetus is "unconquered / unbroken" (from the verb *damaô*).

⁴⁷ *Augê* means "sun-beam," "sun-light," or indeed "dawn" (Acts 20:11).

Nilus [122]; third, [the son] of Hellen [son] of Zeus and the nymph Anchiale; fourth, [the son] of Zeus and Thebe the Egyptian; fifth, the [son] of Libanus and Nyssa—the one who was among the Indians; sixth, [the son] of Zeus and Alcmena; seventh, [the son] of Zeus and Maia [daughter] of Atlas.⁴⁸

68. Apelles, when painting the Graces,⁴⁹ who are three, Aglaia, Euphrosyne and Thalia, depicted one as going away, the other two as coming.⁵⁰ For when one grace / favor is being given, more are accruing to the ones who have given.

69. Fire...when the blasts of wind are breaking on the clouds, lightning-bolts are squeezed out.⁵¹

70. Miletus was formerly called Anactoria.⁵²

71. Amalthea, the nurse of Zeus, the one who simultaneously [*hama*], all together, at one time grew the things that exist [*ta onta*] for Zeus. For *althein* means *auxein* ["to grow / increase"].⁵³ But Crates maintains that Zeus⁵⁴—the one who reaches through [*diêkonta*] into all things—was named from the fact that he moistens [*diainein*], that is, enriches [*piainein*] the earth.⁵⁵ Posidonius [says] that Zeus [was named as] the one who manages [*dioikounta*] everything;⁵⁶ and Chrysippus, [that he was named] because everything exists on account of him [*di' auton*].⁵⁷ Others allege that Zeus was named from "necessity / binding" [*dein*], that is, that he binds and holds together the entire material [world]. Others, from "living" [*zên*].⁵⁸ And some, in accordance with the heroic, divided account, make out that there are three [named] Zeus: One, [the son] of Aether;

⁴⁸ Cicero, *De natura deorum* 3.16.42, and Ampelius, *Liber memorialis*, 9.12, provide a similar lists, but only count six Heracles rather than seven. For other such lists in John's text and their parallels, see §51 above.

⁴⁹ Pausanias 9.35.6 attests a painting of *one* Grace by Apelles (at Smyrna). The three names John cites are found in Hesiod, *Theogony* 909.

⁵⁰ The standard representation of the Graces from Hellenistic times onward depicts three nude figures, with the central one facing away from the viewer, the other two facing toward—i.e., in "alternating front and back view" (*LIMC* 3: 200).

⁵¹ Cf. fragments 1 and 4 "falsely attributed to *De mensibus*" below.

⁵² Cf. Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v.

⁵³ Wuensch's text reads ἄλθεῖν (otherwise unattested) for the first verb; the very similar ἄλθεῖν, however, would be the 2nd aorist infinitive of ἀλθαίνω, "to heal."

⁵⁴ In the accusative form, Δία [*Dia*].

⁵⁵ Crates of Mallus fr. 130 Broggiato (p. 71 Wachsmuth).

⁵⁶ Fr. 102 Edelstein-Kidd.

⁵⁷ *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* 2: 312 (no. 1063).

⁵⁸ Cf. variant forms of the name Zeus: nom. Ζῆν; gen. Ζηνός. For the etymology, see (e.g.) Cornutus, *De natura deorum* 2.1.

the second, born in Arcadia, from whom they say Athena [was born]; third, the Cretan [Zeus] [123].⁵⁹ The Phoenicians say that he was a very just king, such that his reputation grew greater than Time [*chronos*].⁶⁰ In this way, he is said to have expelled Cronus from his kingdom, meaning that he went beyond *Time* and the forgetfulness that [comes] from it. But †Melias [says] that he was nursed by Amalthea—meaning, from potency, that is, from "unsoftenability" [*amalakistia*].⁶¹ Crates, however, says that Cronus ruled roughly over Sicily and Italy and the majority of Libya, and that this [man's] son attacked his father; he drove him to the farthest [region] of the west, and took over the kingship most gently—and for this reason, he was honored as a god.⁶²

Eratosthenes, for his part, says that Zeus was born in Crete, and was taken from there to Naxos for fear of Cronus⁶³. But Eumelus the Corinthian⁶⁴ maintains that Zeus was born in what we know as Lydia, and he is rather truthful, as far as [is possible] in history. For even now, in the western part of the city of Sardis, on the ridge of Mt. Tmolus, there is a place, which was formerly called "Birth of Rainy Zeus" [*Gonai Dios hyetiou*], but now, as the language has been altered over time, is called *Deusion*.⁶⁵ The

⁵⁹ Cf. the nearly identical list in Cicero, *De natura deorum* 3.21.53. For other such lists in John's text and their parallels, see §51 above.

⁶⁰ For the identification of Cronus with time, cf. 3.15 above and §194 below; John's mention of "Phoenicians" might suggest that he is thinking of (Herennius) Philo of Byblos, but this equation is not otherwise attested for that author.

⁶¹ Cf. Diodorus 4.35.4 and (e.g.) *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. Ἀμάλθεια. "Melias" is unknown; presumably the text is corrupt—Wuensch *in app.* suggests possibly *Amelius*; Broggiato, *ad* Crates fr. 129, suggests a possible emendation Μήλιος, "the Melian"—i.e., Diagoras (he cites T39 Winiarczyk—no specific parallel is evident, but his point may be simply that Diagoras, like Euhemerus, was thought to be an atheist; note their appearance together in T57 Winiarczyk).

⁶² Crates fr. 129 Broggiato (p. 71 Wachsmuth). Broggiato, p. 277, suggests that Dionysius Scytobrachion was Crates' source (fr. 11 Rusten = *FGrHist* 32F7 = Diodorus 3.61.3).

⁶³ Ps.-Eratosthenes, *Catasterismi* 30 (Aquila).

⁶⁴ Fr. 18 Bernabé / Kinkel = fr. 10 Fowler (*Early Greek Mythography*, 1: 109); cf. also J. G. Pedley, *Ancient Literary Sources on Sardis* (Cambridge, MA, 1972), no. 14. Fowler, 2: 50, notes that these traditions are usually located on Mt. Sipylus, rather than Mt. Tmolus.

⁶⁵ While this name is not elsewhere attested, see R. L. Bengisu, "Lydian Mount Karios," in E. N. Lane (ed.), *Cybele, Attis & Related Cults* (Leiden, 1996), p. 6, for discussion; also, drawing further connections regionally, A. M. Carstens, "Huwasi Rocks, Baityloi, and Open Air Sanctuaries in Karia, Kilikia, and Cyprus," *OLBA: Mersin University Publications of the Research Center of Cilician Archaeology* 16 (2008), p. 78. For the name and story, note a coin of Tralles (late 2nd cen. A.D.) with the inscription *Dios Gonai* ("birth of Zeus") and a representation of an infant Zeus with an eagle—discussed by A. B. Cook, *Zeus* 2.2 (Cambridge, 1925): 961—with very similar iconography also on the slightly later coin of Sardis (B. V. Head, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lydia = BMC Lydia* [London, 1901], p. 261) discussed by Cook, 2.2: 957 and taken as confirmation of the tradition of Zeus' birth on Mt. Tmolus (see also Cook, 1 [Cambridge, 1914]: 151). (*Dios Gonai* was also a place in Boeotia, according to a scholium on *Iliad* 13.1 = Aristodemus fr. 6 Müller.) The association with "rainy" Zeus may indicate that "Deusion" derives in reality from the Gk. verb δέω ("to wet / drench"). K. Tümpel, *PRE* s.v. "Deusios," in fact considers the word simply an epithet

Curetes were [Zeus'] guards. Others say [he] is the son of Prometheus, or "Foresight." But the majority of the natural philosophers assert that Zeus is Idaean and was born on Ida—that is, in the sky that is seen at Ida. And they say [124] that he is the father of Core [i.e., Persephone], that is, that he became the cause of repletion [*koros*]⁶⁶ and feasting. For it is said that when he first became ruler he taught human beings how to farm.

But there are many *Dioi* [i.e., "Zeuses"], from the overall *Zeus*,⁶⁷ like [the plural] Apollos or Dionysi.⁶⁸

72. On the 17th day before the Kalends of May,⁶⁹ the high priests used to go to the theater and throw flowers upon the people; and they would make sacrifices at sowing-time for the sake of prosperity, and outside the city, at predetermined stations, they would pray as sacrificial priests to Demeter.⁷⁰ The name of the sacrifice [was] Fordicalia.⁷¹ In the ancestral language, they called the stations *milia*, meaning "thousands" of steps. Hence also they called soldiers *milites*. For Romulus mustered only 1000 "shield-bearers"⁷² and called them *milites*, from their number—i.e., 1000; formerly they had been designated *satellites*.⁷³ For indeed, in ancient times the multitude [of soldiers] was numbered in thousands, not in myriads,⁷⁴ as Homer himself [says].⁷⁵

of Zeus, equivalent to *Hyetios*—thus with slight emendation of the text, the place would be called (*Gonai*) *Deusiou*.

⁶⁶ Cf. Cornutus, *De natura deorum* 28.2, although the definition of *koros* John has in mind is subject to discussion; Porphyry, *On Images* fr. 357a Smith (cited by Eusebius, *PE* 3.11.7; cf. also 3.13.13) gives an etymological connection with a different *koros* (meaning the "shoot of a plant"); Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, 1: 152 Diehl, following Plato, *Cratylus* 396b, envisions another connotation of *koros* (explained as equivalent to "pure," a Platonic development of the meaning "satiety")—cf. the discussion of Cronus in 2.12 above.

⁶⁷ The genitive form, used here, is *Dios*—which appears to have been reinterpreted as a nom. sg. (2nd decl.) to produce the plural *Dioi* from it.

⁶⁸ Wuensch, p. xv, suggests that a passage of ms. R (ed. Treu, p. 6.8-17), explaining the symbolism of Zeus' statuary representation, may have some connection to John's text. That may well be the case, but no significant verbal parallelism with the otherwise extant text of *De mens.* is to be found; it is, however, pretty clearly a free paraphrase of Porphyry's account in *On Images* fr. 354 (lines 51-61) Smith.

⁶⁹ 15 April.

⁷⁰ In Latin terms, the goddess honored was Tellus (Ovid, *Fasti* 4.634). Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 71 n. 6, suggests that John's reference to "stations" outside the city may be due to a confusion with the *Ambarvalia* (29 May); at the Fordicidia, sacrifices were performed in the individual *curiae*. Degraffi, p. 441, points out that scholars have noted that John apparently includes here elements of the *Floralia* (25 April) and *Robigalia* (27 April), citing especially Wissowa (2nd ed.), p. 192 n. 4 [an addition by comparison to 1st ed., p. 159 n. 8]; cf. also G. de Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, 4.2.1 (Florence, 1953), p. 229.

⁷¹ The name is usually *Fordicidia*, but there is significant variation in the sources (see, e.g., Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 71 n. 1).

⁷² I.e., "squires" or rather, elite infantry (*hyspaspists*).

⁷³ Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.16.89, likewise derives *miles* from *milia*, specifically from the idea that the original legion consisted of 3000 soldiers; however, Varro does indicate that this means 1000 from each of

...as loudly as nine thousand or ten thousand giving a battle-cry.

For the number 10,000 can be indeterminate.⁷⁶

73. On the 11th day before the Kalends of May,⁷⁷ Romulus founded Rome, calling together all the neighboring people and bidding them to bring a lump of earth from their own territory, thus presaging that Rome would be master over every region. He himself, taking up the sacred trumpet [125]—in their language the Romans customarily called it a *lituus*, from *litê* ["prayer"]—proclaimed the name of the city, taking the lead in the whole sacred initiation. And the city had three names:⁷⁸ an initiatory⁷⁹ [name], a sacred⁸⁰ [name], and a political⁸¹ [name]. The initiatory [name] <was Amor>⁸², that is, Love [*Erôs*], so that all were held fast around the city by divine love—and for this reason, the poet enigmatically calls the city Amaryllis in his bucolic poetry.⁸³ The sacred [name was] Flora, that is, "Flowering" [*Anthousa*]⁸⁴—hence the festival of Anthesteria

the three (Romulean) tribes (cf. 1.38 above). For *satelles*, a borrowing from Etruscan, cf. M. M. T. Watmough, *Studies in the Etruscan Loanwords in Latin* (Florence, 1997), pp. 103ff.; and note Varro's reference to the term attested in Servius (on *Aen.* 12.7).

⁷⁴ I.e., tens of thousands.

⁷⁵ *Iliad* 5.860, 14.148.

⁷⁶ I.e., it is sometimes used generically for very large numbers—"myriads" without the specific meaning "tens of thousands."

⁷⁷ 21 April. Cf. 1.14 above for Rome's horoscope.

⁷⁸ For a critical review of the evidence for the "secret" name(s) of Rome, see F. Cairns, "Roma and Her Tutelary Deity: Names and Ancient Evidence," in C. S. Kraus et al. (eds.), *Ancient Historiography and Its Contexts* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 245-66; cf. also Cameron, *Last Pagans*, p. 612; C. Ando, *The Matter of the Gods: Religion and the Roman Empire* (Berkeley, 2008), pp. 189-91. John Lydus is unique in offering *three* names; other Late Antique sources refer to the name Flora but not to Amor, although there is frequent wordplay with the anagrams ROMA – AMOR.

⁷⁹ Gk. *telestikon*, i.e., pertaining to initiatory or otherwise secret / mystical rites. The English words "mystical" or "ritual" would render other associations of this word.

⁸⁰ Gk. *hieratikon*, i.e., "priestly"—and thus, connected to priestly duties and religious rites. Oddly, however, John identifies the *telestikon* name as being "entrusted to the priests" below.

⁸¹ Gk. *politikon*, that is, identifying the city as a political entity.

⁸² I have supplemented the text here; Wuensch's text only preserves the Greek version of the name (*Erôs*), but the word οἷονεῖ (here translated, "that is") implies that something is missing just before it. Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, p. 47, makes the same suggestion. Photius, *Epistula* 257 (line 5), depending on John, confirms this, and a just afterwards offers the observation that reversing the letters of the political name, "Roma," results in the initiatory name; it seems quite possible that John included that detail as well.

⁸³ Cf. Vergil, *Ecl.* 1.5; Servius (*ad loc.*) dismisses the "allegorical" reading of Amaryllis as Rome here.

⁸⁴ Cf. §75 below, where "Anthousa" is associated with *Constantinople*; and §30, for both. Cameron, p. 612, attributes the invention of the name "Flora" for Roma to "some Byzantine antiquarian," to create a parallel with Anthousa.

[was named] in accordance with it.⁸⁵ The political [name was] Rome. Now, the sacred name was manifest to all, and was pronounced without fear, but the initiatory [name] was entrusted to the high priests alone to pronounce at the sacred rites. And it is said that one of the magistrates once paid the penalty because he had dared to pronounce the initiatory name of the city openly, before the people.⁸⁶ And after the initiation⁸⁷ at the public proclamation of the city, he [i.e., Romulus] yoked a bull with a heifer and made the circuit of the walls, putting the male on the side of the plain, the female in the direction of the city, so that the males became terrifying to those outside, the females fertile for those inside. And taking a clod of earth from the region outside the city together with those that had been brought by the others, he hurled them at the city, thus presaging that it would forever increase by the contributions of those outside it... *And a little later...*⁸⁸ Once many foreigners had gathered together in it, Romulus' picked men granted half of their own properties to the immigrants, persuading them to live in Rome—those whom [126] Romulus had proclaimed first as patricians, on account of their noble birth; and to give up their surplus [property] to the foreigners, on behalf of the country.

Ilia⁸⁹—the mother of Romulus.

74. To those who argue against Providence and blame these little creatures—that is, locusts and wheat rust⁹⁰ and [those which] seem to have been introduced inappropriately—Apollonius says that it is laughable, or rather ridiculous, to bring a charge against Providence, if fleas and bugs have come into being. For in order that there not be fleas, it would be necessary for there not to be any animals at all; to prevent bugs, [there could be] no human beings—because bugs come into being from the rubbing of a human being against some [types] of wood; fleas, from all urine; and flies, from excrement or other warm, moist substances.⁹¹

⁸⁵ As Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, p. 46, suggests, John is presumably thinking of the etymologically parallel Floralia / Ludi Florae (with celebrations beginning in late April, hence very appropriate for this section of John's text), for which see Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, pp. 110-11; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 92-5. Cf. also Degrossi, pp. 449-51.

⁸⁶ Cf., e.g., Servius (on *Aen.* 1.277), citing Varro; Pliny, *NH* 3.65; Plutarch, *Roman Questions* 278f; the offender is identified as Valerius Soranus, for discussion of whom see Cairns, pp. 258-63.

⁸⁷ Gk. *teletê*.

⁸⁸ It appears that these words, indicating where a compiler has abbreviated the material, are included by mistake in Wuensch's text (as though in reference to the events narrated).

⁸⁹ Also known as Rhea Silvia.

⁹⁰ Roether, pp. 233-34, plausibly suggests that this is the connection to the end of April: on the 25th of the month, the Romans celebrated the Robigalia to protect the crops from wheat rust (*Robigo*).

⁹¹ Philo, *On Providence* 2.59, similarly argues that venomous snakes come into existence not directly by Providence but as a necessary "attendant circumstance" (*epakolouthêsis*—for this Stoic concept cf. 2.45-54).

75. Rome—Flora; and Constantinople—that is, Anthousa.⁹²

and the note in the appendix to the LCL text, p. 545) of moisture and temperature—and likewise mentions the spontaneous generation of worms and lice. For spontaneous generation and similar ideas, see E. S. McCartney, "Spontaneous Generation and Kindred Notions in Antiquity," *Transactions of the American Philological Society* 51 (1920), pp. 101-115.

⁹² Cf. §73 above.

MAY

76. We have shown that among numbers the power of the *tetrad* is not small—one might also call it *tetractys* and *pyramid*: *tetractys*, in accordance with the definition of the elements; *pyramid*, in accordance with theoretical reason. For the pyramid is the only shape enclosed by four sides and four corners, and the first one extended in three dimensions, based on the most elementary plane, the triangle, as Plato [127] says in the *Timaeus*,¹ and displays by way of similitude the arrangement that holds together the universe.

There remains the fifth [month]—the Romans call it May. And because, according to Hesiod,² the number of the *pentad* is separated from the more divine [things], it was natural for it to have been allotted to the departed. The *pentad*, you see, is dedicated to perceptible nature; for it is a sphere. As often as one multiplies the number 5, it will return into itself.³ For indeed, [the number] 5, as it accompanies the numbers in quantity, ends with the same magnitude even when it is multiplied. In another way too the number totalling five has a certain natural power: Just as things in [the realm of] coming to be are composed of even and odd [number], so it is naturally the same, being assembled from the *triad* and the *dyad*.⁴ At any rate, the Romans thus gave the month over to the honors for the ancestors, honoring the departed with the even [number], those still surviving with the odd—for after the gods, the ancients offered no less honor to their ancestors. And since they called the ancestors "*maiores*" in their native language, they named the month "*Maius*" on account of the honors [paid] to those [ancestors].⁵

But others, thinking that it was from Maia the [daughter] of Atlas and <mother> of Hermes [128] that May was named, say this with other considerations in mind, yet

¹ 54e-55a.

² *Works and Days* 802.

³ That is to say, all the mathematical *powers* (square, cube, etc.) of 5 end with a '5': 25, 125, etc. For this as a property of "spherical" numbers, see Waterfield's comment in his translation of Ps.-Iamblichus, *Theology of Arithmetic*, p. 68 n. 9 and p. 120.

⁴ See Ps.-Iamblichus, *Theology of Arithmetic*, p. 65.

⁵ Cf. Varro, *De lingua Latina* 6.4.33; Ovid, *Fasti* 5.73-6, 427; Plutarch, *Roman Questions* 86 (285b)—also mentioning the derivation from *Maia*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.16.

also because of her temple, since it is said to have been consecrated in this month.⁶ Concerning <her>, Proclus speaks as follows:⁷

Maia is the one who brings forth what is hidden in invisibility into visibility, in very similar fashion to the midwives [*maiai*] here; and Hermes, her child, is the reason [*logos*] pervading all things, which firstly and eternally of [all] reasons [*logoi*] shows forth in dimensionality and providence the extent of the things in the invisible—bringing about sequence and continuity and conjunction, as being revelatory of all the unseen passions of the soul in us.

And Aquilinus⁸ in his commentary on the numbers speaks thus:

Maia is equivalent to the pathway into visibility of (on the one hand) sovereign reason [*logos*] which by its nature pervades the universe and orders all things; hence they say she is the mother of Hermes. And intelligible matter⁹ is of this kind: to set in order the pathway into visibility and to effectuate the coming-to-be of existent things. For things [are made] from matter and form.

Thus runs the account of *theology*; but by the methods of natural philosophy, the majority assert that Maia is *water*. Indeed, among the Syrians who do not speak Greek¹⁰

⁶ Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.21 (citing Cornelius Labeo), on the temple of Maia "under the name of the Good Goddess [Bona Dea]," dedicated on the Kalends of May; and see further discussion of this identification below.

⁷ Cf. Proclus, *Commentary on Alcibiades I*, §187 (p. 127 of W. O'Neill's translation, 2nd ed. [The Hague, 1971]), where Proclus refers to Maia the mother of Hermes as the one "with whom inquiry lies hid"—but beyond this general connection, John's quotation is not extant in Proclus' works. On the basis of this parallel, however, Bidez and Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* (Paris, 1938), 2: 245, suggest emending John's text here from παθημάτων ("passions") to μαθημάτων ("learnings").

⁸ For this figure, possibly a contemporary of Porphyry (cf. *Life of Plotinus* 16: "Aculinus" in Armstrong's LCL translation), see Bidez and Cumont, 1: 156, 2: 245; C. Elsas, *Neuplatonische und gnostische Weltablehnung in der Schule Plotins* (Berlin, 1975), 14ff.; and R. T. Wallis, "Soul and Nous in Plotinus, Numenius and Gnosticism," in R. T. Wallis and J. Bregman (eds.), *Neoplatonism and Gnosticism* (Albany, 1992), pp. 462, 474 n. 10, and 478 n. 46. Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: lvi n. 167, speculate that the foregoing quotation of Proclus could also be attributed to Aquilinus (i.e., originally—but subsequently taken up / cited by Proclus in his own work).

⁹ I.e., matter perceptible by the intellect as opposed to that perceptible by the senses, or rather the *equivalent* of matter in the intelligible realm—the potentiality that serves as a substratum for a lower type of being. For further (brief) discussion of "intelligible matter" in Plotinus and later Platonists, see R. Chlup, *Proclus* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 76ff.

¹⁰ Gk. *barbarizousin*.

water is still to this day called that, so that also water-vessels¹¹ are termed *mêiouri*.¹² And it was not without reason that Varro manifestly dedicated the month to her.¹³ [129] For, as it appears to the philosophers, "tossing" occurs through the movement of the water beneath the surface.¹⁴ And the first festival of May among the Romans [is / was] the supplications regarding earthquakes.¹⁵ For in this way the mythographers represent Maia, the child of Atlas; and we learn that Hermes is guardian of the waters, and it is for this reason that in his [shrines] springs are dedicated or wells are dug.¹⁶

There are those who say that Hermes is the son of Zeus and Maia *allegorically*—hinting obscurely that Zeus is mind, Maia wisdom, and Hermes, the child [born] from both of them, is one who relates to *reason* [*logios*].¹⁷ And they made him the youngest of all [gods], inasmuch as *reason* never grows old. And furthermore, they have made him

¹¹ Gk. *hydrophora*, that is, (neut.) "water-carriers." G. Greatrex and J. W. Watt, "One, Two or Three Feasts? The Brytae, the Maiuma and the May Festival at Edessa," *Oriens Christianus* 83 (1999), pp. 1-21, translate this as "aqueducts," which may agree better with a potential reconstruction of the Syriac word(s) involved (p. 11). The Greek word is attested as an *adjective* supporting either sense, but the neuter plural seems more likely to leave a noun like generic "vessels" (*angeia*) implied.

¹² This discussion seems to be connected with the material on the *Maioumas* festival in §80 below.

¹³ This statement is included in Mirsch's (1882) edition of Varro's *Antiquitates rerum humanarum*, as the 4th fragment of Book 17. Censorinus, *De die natali* 22.12, also asserts that Varro derived the name of the month from Maia. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.19-20, discussing the name and character of the month of May, refers generically to those who believe that the name is derived from Mercury's mother Maia, and those who believe (among these he names Cornelius Labeo) that this Maia is the same as the Earth (*terra*) and is also called "Great Mother" (*Mater Magna*); see Mastandrea, *Cornelio Labeone*, pp. 47ff., for extensive discussion of the connections between Macrobius and John Lydus here, and their sources, and H. Brouwer, *Bona Dea* (Leiden, 1989), p. 353-4 (also discussing Macrobius' statements), for Varro's openness to the identification of various goddesses with the Earth.

¹⁴ This appears to be a reference to earthquakes being caused by underground water, as Roether, p. 239, argues, citing Ps.-Plutarch, *Placita* 3.15 (based on Aëtius' *Placita*; cf. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, p. 379), for the views of Thales, Democritus, and "the Stoics" to this effect. Contrast, however, §79 below.

¹⁵ These "supplications" may be connected to the sacrifice Macrobius (citing Cincius) asserts the *flamen Vulcanalis* made to Maia on the Kalends (*Saturnalia* 1.12.18; cf. also R. Turcan, *The Gods of Ancient Rome* [New York, 2001], p. 70; Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, p. 116). Cf. also §80 below, on the need to avert earthquakes at this time.

¹⁶ The general connection is odd; but near the Porta Capena in Rome there was a fountain known as *Aqua Mercurii*, whose waters were used ceremonially (Ovid, *Fasti* 5.673ff.)—cf. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, p. 122; also, a mountain in Arcadia called Trikrêna ["three springs"] was associated with Hermes' birth (Pausanias 8.16.1), and at Pharae in Achaëa an oracular image of Hermes with water sacred to the god is attested (Pausanias 7.22.2).

¹⁷ Ms. R (ed. Treu, p. 6.18-27) has extensive parallel material for the interpretation of Hermes; but notably, as in the foregoing quotation from Proclus and elsewhere (e.g., §51 above), it makes Hermes *equivalent* to reason (*logos* rather than *logios*): "...for from mind and wisdom, reason [*logos*] is generated." Although *logios* is known elsewhere as an epithet of Hermes, it seems quite likely that John was intending here to make the direct equation and thus, that Wuensch's text should be emended.

very swift—equipping his feet with wings, hinting by this sort of craft¹⁸ at the swiftness of mind and the quickness of reason. The poet, at any rate, says "winged words"¹⁹ and "[swift] as a wing or a thought."²⁰ And then the Greeks fashion this [god] in a square [*tetragônos*] shape, supplying the greatest proof that he is reason [*logos*], and indeed *true reason*. For in fact there are [different] forms of reason: false reason, on the one hand..., and deceitful [reason] more polygonal;²¹ [130] but true reason [is] equal to itself in all its parts—and however it turns, on any of its sides it stands firm without limit; and that is the form of a square. If, therefore, he has been demonstrated to be mind and reason, [not surprisingly] the Egyptians form the image of an *ape*²² for him, because it is more intelligent than all [other] animals, and is able to receive understanding and knowledge. We also know, however, that the Egyptian *ibis* (the bird) is dedicated to him.²³ For it is similar to the heart—with a white body, but blackening on either side—which is an image of the reason / speech [*logos*] in [the process of] thought: Before being spoken it is dark, while being spoken it becomes light, and after being uttered it goes off into invisibility.²⁴ And this animal feeds by the water, just as the heart in us derives its power from moist material. And the ibis alone of all birds does not know how to swim, and is completely helpless when dragged out into deeper water. The same thing is to be observed in the case of the heart: When liquids are drunk in a moderate way, it is naturally strengthened and made firm in its reasoning, and is not displaced from its normal seat, which they call the *diaphragm* [*phrên*],²⁵ and is "sober"—but when quite soaked, by its palpitations it produces its own characteristic quaking motion throughout the body. People experience this on account of drunkenness, when they have paid more attention to unmixed wine than to their own strength.

It has also been inferred that the ibis and the ape are in sympathy with the moon.²⁶ The ibis corresponds to it in its form—being darker at the extremities, but white

¹⁸ I.e., by this form of artistic representation of the god.

¹⁹ E.g., *Iliad* 1.201.

²⁰ *Od.* 7.36.

²¹ I.e., with more sides.

²² Gk. *kerkôps*.

²³ For the Egyptian representations of Thoth (in Greek identified with Hermes) in baboon form or as ibis-headed, see (e.g.) C. J. Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* (Leiden, 1973), pp. 108-11.

²⁴ Thoth was associated with the heart, in that he weighed the heart of the deceased; Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica* 1.36, asserts that an ibis was used to represent the word "heart." Cf. Aelian, *De natura animalium* 10.29, who says that when the ibis buries its head in its breast-feathers, it takes on the form of a heart, and furthermore relates a very similar idea about the ibis' resemblance to *logos*, with its black feathers representing internal thought, its white ones representing expressed words. For more discussion and references, see M. Weber, "Ibis," *RAC* 17: 129.

²⁵ Often translated "mind" because of its assumed function.

²⁶ This would seem natural, given that Thoth was a moon-god; cf. (e.g.), Van der Toorn et al. (eds.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1999), p. 861.

[131] in its mid-section, just like the moon high up in the sky. For when there is no moon visible in the heavens, neither can the ibises *see*—they have their eyes closed during this time and persevere, without food, in waiting for the element that is akin to them.²⁷ The ape, on the other hand, shows more obvious manifestations: When the moon waxes, their eye-circles widen, but when it wanes, the circumference of the eyes contracts.²⁸

77. Aristotle mocked Callisthenes, saying that he had an extraordinary [*perissos*]²⁹ mind, but had lost his *human* mind.³⁰

78. The Alpheius river is seen to descend [into the ground] in the Peloponnese, and to come up [again] in Sicily. And they say that the Tigris and the Lycus and some others experience the same thing.³¹

79. Just as in our bodies there is some liquid circulation and also some gaseous circulation—liquid circulation in the blood, through the veins; gaseous in the breath,³² through the arteries—in the same way also in the earth there is liquid and gaseous circulation in the waters and the winds, but when a blockage or an influx or a compression occurs, the earth trembles just as a man does. And Aristotle identifies the smoky and vaporous [exhalations] of the earth as the cause³³...if it should go favorably. But if not, it applies force to the earth. Tages, in his *Observations of Earthquakes*, says that if an earthquake happens to occur when [troops] are marching for wars, then those among whom it occurred are by all means the losing side. [132] And he also makes mention of other marvels, about which I will speak in a different work.³⁴

²⁷ Aelian, *De natura animalium* 10.29, states that the ibis closes its eyes during lunar *eclipse*.

²⁸ Cf. the same discussion at 3.11.

²⁹ The Greek word means "extraordinary" but also "superfluous" or "odd" (in the numerical sense).

³⁰ Cf. Plutarch, *Alexander* 54.

³¹ Cf. Seneca, *Quaestiones Naturales* 3.26.4-6; Pliny, *NH* 2.225.

³² Gk. *pneuma*.

³³ Cf. *Meteorologica* 2.8 (365b-369a), explaining earthquakes by reference to winds (*pneumata*), and also drawing a parallel between the earth and the human body as John does here; Wuensch cites *Meteor.* 3.6 (378a), which identifies the smoky and vaporous "exhalations." Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, citing parallels for John's discussion in *Aetna* 96-101 and Seneca, *Quaestiones Naturales* 6.14.1, suggests that his more immediate source depended on Stoic thought and included the reference to Aristotle; cf. also Posidonius fr. 12 Edelstein-Kidd.

³⁴ For Tages, cf. also *De ost.* 27-38, where John cites Tages through the intermediary of Nigidius Figulus; at 55-58, he cites Tages' interpretations of the significance of earthquakes *via* Vicellius. On these sources, see now J. M. Turfa, *Divining the Etruscan World: The Brontoscopic Calendar and Religious Practice* (Cambridge, 2012); P. Siewert, "Zum politischen Hintergrund des etruskisch-römischen 'Donnerkalenders' bei Johannes Lydos, *de ostentis* 27-38," in P. Amann (ed.), *Kulte - Riten - religiöse Vorstellungen bei den Etruskern und ihr Verhältnis zu Politik und Gesellschaft* (Vienna, 2012), pp. 153-61. At *De*

80. On the first [day] of this <month> the high priest would proclaim that no one was to taste the feet or head of any sort of animal at all, for the whole month—to guard against joint disease.³⁵

During this month also the festival of the *Rosalia* was celebrated among the Romans;³⁶ and the businessmen would pray to Maia and Hermes that their profits would be free of risk.³⁷ Accordingly, all the profits grow in matter and out of the same, and in it, as it were "god-sends" [*Hermaia*] are found and distributed, they say, in accordance with merit.

But Numenius the Roman asserts that Hermes is the reason [*logos*] expressed in speech. For a baby, he says, will not make an utterance before it touches the earth, such that the many rightly understand Maia as the earth.³⁸ And also in accordance with another sacred discourse [*hieros logos*], Fonteius says that it is necessary to honor the earth on the Kalends of May,³⁹ because the earth, boiling forth its inborn heat with a

ost. 3, John explains more about Tages and his connections to the Etruscan founder figures Tarchon and Tyrrhenus; he asserts that Proclus identifies Tages with "Chthonian Hermes" (an otherwise unattested equation; cf. Dubuisson-Schamp, 1.1: lvi n. 167). Further useful discussion on use of Etruscan traditions in the late Empire appears in D. Briquel, "Tages against Jesus: Etruscan Religion in Late Roman Empire," *Etruscan Studies* 10 (2007), pp. 153-61; ead., "Cornelius Labeo, etruskische Tradition und heidnische Apologetik," in L. Aigner-Foresti (ed.), *Die Integration der Etrusker und das Weiterwirken etruskischen Kulturgutes im republikanischen und kaiserzeitlichen Rom* (Vienna, 1995), pp. 345-56. For example, Longinianus, a pagan correspondent of Augustine, treats Tages as an ancient authority parallel to Orpheus and Hermes Trismegistus (Augustine, *Ep.* 234.1; for the necessary emendation [*Tageticis* for mss. *Ageticis*] and its history, see P. Mastandrea, "Egitto e Roma, Etruria e Costantinopoli: Le vie del misticismo in età tardoantica," in P. Scarpi and M. Zago [eds.], *Ermetismo ed esoterismi* [Padua, 2013], p. 113).

³⁵ Gk. *arthritis*.

³⁶ *Rosalia* was a term for a "rose-festival" often conducted in memory of the dead and / or as a spring celebration, perhaps more institutionalized in the late Empire. There seems to be an indication of such a festival on 23 May on the Calendar of Philocalus; the festal calendar of Dura-Europus designated 10 May and 31 May as *rosaliae* (R. O. Fink et al., "The *Feriale Duranum*," *Yale Classical Studies* 7 [1940], pp. 115-20). For further detail see A. S. Hoey, "Rosaliae Signorum," *Harvard Theological Review* 30 (1937), pp. 15-35; Salzman, *On Roman Time*, pp. 97-99, 183; Degraffi, p. 461.

³⁷ Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.19; Ovid, *Fasti* 5.663-92, attests merchants' prayers to Mercury on 15 May.

³⁸ Numenius fr. 57 *Des Places*; cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.20, citing "some people," including Cornelius Labeo (= fr. 5 Mastandrea)—hence, presumably Labeo cited Numenius. See the discussion in Mastandrea, *Cornelio Labeone*, pp. 48-50; id., "Numenio 57 *des Places* e la cronologia di Cornelio Labeone," *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Patavina di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti Parte III* 87 (1974-75), pp. 77-88.

³⁹ Macrobius, 1.12.21, states that Bona Dea's temple was dedicated on the Kalends of May—citing Cornelius Labeo as his source; most likely John found this reference to Fonteius in Labeo. For Fonteius, cf. also *De mensibus* 1.37.

view to its manifestation, is moved to luxuriate and also leap up—and causes "quakings" in general throughout the month of May. Therefore in this month they honor Maia, [133] that is, by worshipping the earth.

They term the act of celebrating the festival *maioumizein*,⁴⁰ from which also [it is termed] *Maioumas*⁴¹—<for> [the relevant] festal celebration was held in Rome in the month of May. Those serving in the primary magistracies came to the coastal city called Ostia and brought themselves to take their pleasure throwing each other in the waters of the sea. Hence also the time of this sort of festival was called *Maioumas*.⁴²

The moon is the first principle of birth.⁴³

81.⁴⁴ Empedocles judged that the substance of Necessity is a cause making use of the principles and the elements.⁴⁵ But Democritus [argued that] resistance, impact, and motion of matter [were the cause of necessity].⁴⁶ Plato, however, attributes some things to Providence, others to Necessity, as he makes matter on the one hand, the attitude of

⁴⁰ I.e., "doing the *Maioumas*."

⁴¹ The logical connection here is obscure; possibly, "ever since [they] also [called the festival] *Maioumas*," or, "on the basis of [the same reason they] also [call the festival] *Maioumas*." This last translation correlates best with the word "for" (added by Wuensch) in the following clause, but is not the most obvious otherwise.

⁴² For the *Maioumas* / *Maiuma* festival(s) variously attested especially from the area of Syria in Late Antiquity, see Greatrex and Watt; E. Lipiński, "Marna and Maiuma," *Latomus* 72 (2013), pp. 932-7 (noting the epigraphic attestation for the presence of Gazaeans at Ostia, p. 933); N. Belayche, "Pagan Festivals in Fourth-Century Gaza," in B. Bitton-Ashkelony and A. Kofsky (eds.), *Christian Gaza in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 2004), pp. 14-19. R. M. Good, "The Carthaginian *Mayumas*," *Studi epigrafici e linguistici* 3 (1986), pp. 100-102, argues that the term is a Semitic calque from Greek *hydrophoria* subsequently borrowed back into Greek as a technical term; Lipiński, pp. 934-6, more convincingly, derives the festival name from the toponym (most particularly, *Maiuma* the sea-port of Gaza), itself originating from the word for "sea," *yam*, with place-name prefix *ma-*, and thus meaning "sea-side (place)." The notion that the festival's name comes from *may-* ("water") + *yam* ("sea"), as suggested in Greatrex and Watt, p. 13, is less likely. [Note that A. Annus, *The Melammu Project*, http://www.aakkl.helsinki.fi/melammu/database/gen_html/a0000295.php etc., reprints the translations of relevant texts from Greatrex and Watt.]

⁴³ Cf. 3.8 above, where John states that the moon is set over the "generated universe"; also *De ost.* 16a: εἰ γὰρ ἀρχὴ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς σελήνη... (Roether, p. 245, cites these passages to illuminate the likely context, of which what survives here is a mere phrase.)

⁴⁴ The views of the philosophers in this paragraph all appear nearly verbatim in Ps.-Plutarch, *Placita* 1.26-28 (based on Aëtius' *Placita*), although here frequently shortened. Cf. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, pp. 321-323.

⁴⁵ 31A45 Diels-Kranz.

⁴⁶ 68A66 Diels-Kranz.

the creator on the other hand, the cause.⁴⁷ Heraclitus claims that Fate and Necessity are the same,⁴⁸ but Plato also adds the cause that is with us [i.e., free will].⁴⁹ Now then, the Stoics say that Necessity is immutable, while Fate is an interweaving of causes that have been appointed—and in this "interweaving" [they include] free will⁵⁰—such that some things are fated, others co-fated.⁵¹ Heraclitus judged that the substance of Fate is the reason [*logos*] that pervades the universe;⁵² but Chrysippus [thinks it is] the arrangement of the whole, or the reason / system [*logos*] of the things that are [providentially] managed.⁵³ Posidonius, however, advances a third explanation—first is Zeus, second, [134] nature, and third, Fate.⁵⁴ But Plato [argues that Fate is] the eternal reason [*logos*] of the nature of the universe.⁵⁵

82. On the eighth day before the Ides of May,⁵⁶ the Romans used to celebrate the festival called Lemuria, that is, honors for images or apparitions or *daemons* endowed with emotions, which the philosophers say are in-born guardians of bodies, and for this reason they take pleasure in tombs.⁵⁷

83.⁵⁸ Aristotle and Heraclides⁵⁹ say that as the sun moves most of the winds and causes them to circulate, and these push out and are thrust forward, the Atlantic ocean

⁴⁷ This statement reflects Plato's demiurge (*Timaeus* 29d etc.) and "receptacle" (49a), interpreted in Aristotelian terms (with *matter* described as *hylê*).

⁴⁸ 22A8 Diels-Kranz.

⁴⁹ In the context of the argument that "no one is *willingly* bad" (*Timaeus* 86e1), Plato nevertheless highlights the need for people to strive to avoid evil and choose good (87b); one might think also of the souls' choice of their future lives in the myth of Er (*Republic* 10 [617d-620e]). For the phrase "with us" (Gk. *par' hêmâs*), which recurs just below in the characterization of Stoic views that include "free will," cf. Epicurus, *Letter to Menoeceus* (in Diogenes Laertius 10.133; the Stoic phrasing is more often *eph' hêmîn* ("in our power")).

⁵⁰ Lit., "that (which is) with us."

⁵¹ *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* 2: 284 (no. 976). Here Plutarch's text reads "un-fated" rather than "co-fated."

⁵² 22A8 Diels-Kranz.

⁵³ Cf. *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* 2: 264 (no. 913)—here in truncated form.

⁵⁴ Fr. 103 Edelstein-Kidd.

⁵⁵ The language perhaps alludes to the "eternal" [*aïdios*] model to which it is argued the demiurge must have looked in *Timaeus* 29a.

⁵⁶ 8 May.

⁵⁷ For the Lemuria, see Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, pp. 118-19; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 106ff. It was celebrated on 9, 11 and 13 May—the 7th, 5th and 3rd days before the Ides; one wonders whether John's date might have arisen from a misreading or corruption of the last of these [V and III].

⁵⁸ The views described in this paragraph all appear nearly verbatim in Ps.-Plutarch, *Placita* 3.17 (based on Aëtius' *Placita*). Cf. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, pp. 382-3.

swells up and produces the flood tide; and then on the other hand, when [the winds] die down, [the Atlantic] draws away and goes down, and thus the ebb tides occur. But Pytheas of Massilia asserts that the flood tides occur by the waxing of the moon, the ebb tides by its waning. The philosophers among the Romans [say] the same thing,⁶⁰ but Plato⁶¹ makes the oscillation of the waters the cause—for there is a certain natural oscillation that brings around <a backward flow> through a certain aperture [or] opening, and thereby the seas surge back.

84.⁶² Plato says that monstrous births take place in accordance with addition or removal or transposition or evaporation, [135] while Empedocles⁶³ makes the cause out to be the deficiency or excess of breath / spirit [*pneuma*].

85. Amelius says: "The Muses are the souls of the [celestial] spheres, who put forth the operations of the powers and substances of the whole universe and at the same time bring them together into a single harmony—the one ordained by the creator."⁶⁴

86. [There are] four Hephaesti:⁶⁵ First, [the son] of Heaven [*Ouranos*] and Day [*Hêmera*], the father of Apollo who is the Athenians' founder; second, Nilus' child,

⁵⁹ Fr. 117 Wehrli = fr. 78 Schütrumpf. For a Justinianic view of Aristotle's study of fluctuating tides at the Euripus, cf. Procopius, *Wars* 8.6.20, asserting that Aristotle discovered that winds were *not* the cause; but "worried himself to death" (tr. Dewing, LCL) over the problem.

⁶⁰ Cf. Seneca, *De providentia* 1.4 and Pliny, *NH* 2.212, 217, cited with further discussion by Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, pp. 50-51.

⁶¹ Cf. *Phaedo* 112b.

⁶² The views described here closely parallel those in Ps.-Plutarch, *Placita* 5.8 (based on Aëtius' *Placita*)—except that instead of the mistaken attribution to Plato, the first view is there credited to *Strato* (and thus appears as Strato of Lampsacus' fr. 74 Sharples [in M.-L. Desclos and W. W. Fortenbaugh (eds.), *Strato of Lampsacus: Text, Translation, and Discussion* (New Brunswick, NJ, 2011)] = fr. 99 Wehrli). Cf. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, pp. 420-21.

⁶³ 31A81 Diels-Kranz.

⁶⁴ For this view, identifying the Muses with the Sirens of Plato's *Republic* (10.617b), see Porphyry, *On Images* fr. 359 (lines 21-23) Smith; Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* 2.3.1-2; Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 1.27. Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Republic* 2: 237 Kroll, mentions but disputes the equation because it does not agree with Plato's text. For further discussion, cf. Shanzer, *Philosophical Commentary*, p. 115; P. Kalligas, *The "Enneads" of Plotinus: A Commentary*, tr. E. Key Fowden and N. Pilavachi, vol. 1 (Princeton, 2014), p. 79 (on *Life of Plotinus* 22.16-17—the oracle of Apollo received by Amelius about Plotinus). The fragment does not appear in Brisson's account, "Amélius: Sa vie, son oeuvre, sa doctrine, son style," in *ANRW* 2.36.2: 793-860 (note, however, the discussion on pp. 828-30 regarding Amelius' possible authorship of the oracle mentioned above), or in A. N. Zoumpos's earlier collection, *Amelii Neoplatonici Fragmenta* (Athens, 1956).

⁶⁵ Cf. the nearly identical list in Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 3.22.55. For other such lists in John's text and their parallels, see §51 above. The discussion of Hephaestus here seems to have been prompted by

whom the Egyptians call Phtha; third, the [son] of Cronus⁶⁶ and Hera, the Lemnian, the smith; fourth [is] Hephaestus son of Manto,⁶⁷ the Sicilian, from whom [are named] the Hephaestiades islands.⁶⁸ Hephaestus, as Numenius says, is generative fire—the life-generating heat of the sun. Hence indeed they represent Hephaestus as limping, inasmuch as the nature of fire "limps" [when] by itself, when it has not been brought together with other [matter].⁶⁹ And Cincius among the Romans says that Hephaestus is understood as lame in both feet on account of the uneven circuit of the sun.⁷⁰ But the Chaeronean [i.e., Plutarch]⁷¹ says that, addressing the power of the fire as Hephaestus, they made an anthropomorphic representation of him, but they put on him a dark-blue felt cap as a symbol of the revolution of the heavens—where [exists] the fire's elemental [136] and purest [nature].

But as regards history, Manetho, in the third volume of his *Egyptian Commentaries*, says that of all men Hephaestus first ruled as king among the Egyptians—he who also discovered fire for them. From him [came] Helios, from whom [came] Cronus, after which [was] Osiris, then Typhon, Osiris' brother.⁷²

the existence of a festival of Vulcan on 23 May, for which see Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, p. 123; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 123-4.

⁶⁶ In Cicero's list, this Hephaestus (Vulcan) is the son of "the third Jupiter" (who is the son of Cronus / Saturn); at some stage in transmission prior to John, then, the reference to *Zeus* must have been dropped out by omission. Note, however, that Ampelius, *Liber memorialis* 9.4, gives the parents as Saturn and Juno, exactly equivalent to John's version.

⁶⁷ Cicero's corresponding text makes this Hephaestus the son of *M(a)emalius*; Ampelius (with Wölfflin's emendation) has him as the son of *Melite*. Malten, *PRE* VIII.1: 343 (s.v. "Hephaistos"), suggests that the original reference was to *Cedalion*, a name attested in a scholium on *Iliad* 14.296 for Hephaestus' teacher in the smith's art (although elsewhere the name belongs to Hephaestus' slave).

⁶⁸ I.e., the Lipari / Aeolian islands. Pliny, *NH* 3.92 gives both the Greek name (Hephaestiades) and the Latin name (Volcaniae).

⁶⁹ Numenius fr. 58 Des Places.

⁷⁰ Fr. 2^b Huschke; not in Funaioli's edition.

⁷¹ Wuensch cites *De aud. poet.* 6 [*Moralia* 23b], which is an example of a poet (Archilochus) using the name Hephaestus to refer to *fire*. The specific wording here is found, however, in a fragment of Porphyry, *On Images* fr. 359 Smith, quoted in Eusebius, *PE* 3.11.23; Sandbach prints this passage as fr. 194a of Plutarch (LCL [*Moralia* vol. 15], following his own Teubner edition of the fragments in 1967), on the strength of John's attribution, with the assumption that Porphyry was *also* drawing on Plutarch; but he notes the argument of Börtzler, *Porphyrius' Schrift von den Götterbildern* (Erlangen, 1903), pp. 60-61, that the attribution to Plutarch is due to confusion; see also the Introduction above for further discussion of *De mens.* 4.4, also containing a misattribution to Plutarch in this ms. (S). Cited by Sandbach for the "discovery" of the Plutarch fragment is E. Bickel, *Diatribes in Senecae philosophi fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1915), who usefully compares (1: 104-5) John's citation of Antonius Diogenes in §42 above—attested otherwise also in a Porphyrian quotation.

⁷² Cf. *FGrHist* 609F3a (= fr. 1 LCL).

87. But you should know that Manetho, in his [work] *On Festivals*, says that a solar eclipse brings a harmful influx upon human beings around the head and the stomach.⁷³

⁷³ Or "throat" [Gk. *stomachos*]. This passage is printed as *FGrHist* 609F15 (fr. 84 LCL).

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88. So then, the fifth month having been arranged in this way by King Numa, it only remained then for the sixth to be set apart in honor of the youth—for they call the younger people *iuniores*. It is fitting, you see, as Plato says, for the state to be administered by the counsel of the old men and by the courage of the younger men.¹ And it is not without reason, clearly, that he allotted the number six to this.² For this [number] is life-generating, being constituted out of itself, from the *monad* in sequence up to the *triad*,³ and being self-sufficient. And for this reason Pythagoras dedicated this [number] to the first of the Fates.

89. On the Kalends of June⁴ [there is] a festival of Hera and prayers on [137] the Capitol.⁵ All the Romans together take a taste of cold water at dawn, to ward off all manner of sickness, and especially gout—as the oracle desired—and so that there be no twin or monstrous births. This sort of custom was introduced under Hadrian, when there had been sent to him an Egyptian woman who related that on four days at irregular intervals she had given birth to four [children], then a fifth after 40 days,⁶ in accordance with Aristotle who says that [once] 20 offspring were conceived, in four pregnancies.⁷ And Heraclides⁸ says that this happens whenever ejaculation hits the

¹ Cf. Varro, *De lingua Latina* 6.4.33; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.16 (citing Fulvius Nobilior): ...*in maiores iunioresque divisit, ut altera pars consilio, altera armis rem publicam tueretur, in honorem utriusque partis hunc Maium, sequentem Iunium mensem vocasse*. See also John's discussion in §76 above. For the reference to Plato, Wuensch cites ("cf.") *Republic* 412c—but this passage simply indicates that the old should rule over the young. The thought regarding the characters of old and young is proverbial; note, e.g., Pindar fr. 199 (tr. W. H. Race, LCL) on Sparta: "...there the counsels of elders and the young men's spears prevail..."; cf. also Hesiod, fr. 321: "Deeds belong to the young, counsels to the middle-aged, and prayers to the old"; Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 2.14 (1390b); Bion fr. 64 (Diogenes Laertius 4.50).

² It is not clear what the reference of "this" (fem. sg.) is. Simply supplying "month" is impossible because it would be masculine. The most recent fem. sg. noun is "courage"; presumably, then, the idea is that the number six symbolizes the courage of the youth (or simply the youth itself, also a fem. abstract noun in Gk. here)—and the *month* was dedicated to the youth.

³ I.e., $6 = 1 \times 2 \times 3$ (and $1 + 2 + 3$).

⁴ 1 June.

⁵ This would be the celebration of Juno Moneta, whose temple was dedicated on this day (cf. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, p. 127; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 129–30).

⁶ The story is also found in some legal texts (*Digest* 5.4.3 and 34.5.7).

⁷ Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* 7.4 (584b31).

⁸ Maas, *John Lydus and the Roman Past*, p. 128, understands this as a reference to Heraclides Ponticus, but neither Wehrli's edition (*Die Schule des Aristoteles*, vol. 7: *Herakleides Pontikos*) nor Schütrumpf's (*Heraclides of Pontus: Texts and Translation* [New Brunswick, NJ, 2008]) includes it. The explanation cited shares some common features, however, with Democritus' views; cf. [Hippocrates], *On the Nature of the*

mark in the opening twice or three times, from self-control,⁹ or even when the womb has been opened after the prior formation [of an embryo], as many times as the offspring is numbered.¹⁰

June is unsuitable for weddings, as the books of the Roman priests say.¹¹ The account is true, and there is every necessity that a marriage occurring at this time loses [the] younger [one]—and I have experienced this outcome myself, having lost my dearest wife most suddenly.¹² And for three days, it was not permitted for women to have their hair or their nails cut.¹³ [138]

90. The [word] *Sancus* signifies "sky" in the Sabine language.¹⁴

91. Not for no reason do the Hebrews abstain from the hare and the "Libyan sparrow" [i.e., the ostrich] and the "thick-knee" [bird].¹⁵ For—amazingly—the male hare is able by nature to give birth;¹⁶ and the Libyan sparrow is neither a sparrow nor a

Child 31 and the commentary in I. M. Lonie, *The Hippocratic Treatises "On Generation" "On the Nature of the Child" "Diseases IV,"* (Berlin, 1981), pp. 252-4.

⁹ Or, "after a [period] of abstinence." Gk. *apo egkrateias*. It seems likely, however, that this is a corrupt reflection of the Greek term *epikrateia* ("predominance"), which was important for Democritus' theory of how an embryo's sex was determined; cf. 68A143 Diels-Kranz = T 138d in C. C. W. Taylor, *The Atomists: Leucippus and Democritus. Fragments* (Toronto, 1999).

¹⁰ The language here is not clear, but two scenarios are envisioned: first, multiple conceptions in one act of intercourse; second, "superfetation"—fertilization after an embryo is already developing in the womb. For discussion of ancient views of multiple births see V. Dasen, "Becoming Human: From the Embryo to the Newborn Child," in J. Evans Grubbs et al. (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 20-23.

¹¹ Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 6.223-6: Marriages are to be avoided during the first half of June, as also during the whole of May (5.487-90); note that it is for May that Ovid gives a warning similar to John's here: "she who marries then, will not live long" (5.488, tr. Frazer [LCL]).

¹² Some standard treatments of John's biography miss this statement—e.g., Maas, p. 31, says that apart from John's references to his wife in the context of their wedding, he "never mentioned her again." Bandy (2013), p. 3, notes it.

¹³ According to Ovid's depiction, the *Flaminica Dialis* is not permitted to clip her nails or comb her hair during this time (*Fasti* 6.229-30); for the practices connected to her nails and hair (and those of her husband, the *Flamen*), see R. J. Littlewood, *A Commentary on Ovid's Fasti, Book 6* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 73-4; Frazer, *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Fastorum libri sex* 4: 166-8.

¹⁴ This is a reference to the deity Semo Sancus (Dius Fidius), celebrated on 5 June; for the Sabine connection see Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.10.66; Ovid, *Fasti* 6.213-18. R. D. Woodard, *Indo-European Sacred Space: Vedic and Roman Cult* (Urbana, 2006), pp. 184-5, assembles the evidence for the associations of this god with the open sky.

¹⁵ Gk. *charadrios*—a bird sometimes identified as a kind of plover. For these prohibitions, see Lev. 11.5, 16, 19.

¹⁶ Cf. Aelian, *De natura animalium* 13.12.

quadruped—nor even a complete bird;¹⁷ and no one who eats a "thick-knee" does not regret [it].¹⁸

92. For "oily" [*liparos*] [some say] "fatty" [*larinos*], from which [term] also [comes] *lardos* ["pork-fat"]. But different people [explain this] differently / [make] different [assertions].¹⁹

93. They say that the Fates, Lachesis and Clotho <and Atropos>, are the daughters of Necessity, <and that Lachesis administers the past, Clotho> the present, and Atropos the future.²⁰

94. On the fifth day before the Ides of June,²¹ [there was] a festival of Hestia. On this day the bread-makers would keep festival, on account of the fact that the ancient [bread-makers] prepared bread in the shrines of Hestia. Garlanded donkeys were at the head of the procession, because the grain is ground by them.²²

The natural [philosophers] assert that Hestia is the earth, [so called] from its *standing* [*hestanai*];²³ but the theologians assert that she is so-called "being-ness."²⁴ As witness, Socrates in the *Cratylus* says that Hestia is "primal-source-being" [*pêgaia ousia*], being situated in the Father.²⁵ But Porphyry claims that *after* the intelligible Hestia—that is, "being-ness"—[there is] also the overseer of the earth (and they call it *chthôn*) [139]: a Hestia with the same name as the former. He speaks as follows: "And on the one hand,

¹⁷ Cf. Aristotle, *De partibus animalium* 4.14 (697b).

¹⁸ The *charadrios* was proverbially gluttonous (Plato, *Gorgias* 494b—a scholium on this passage explains that the bird eats and excretes simultaneously). On the other hand, seeing (or eating) it was thought by some to cure jaundice (see D. W. Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* [Oxford, 1895], pp. 185-6).

¹⁹ This reference appears to have been part of an explanation that offerings of *lard* (and beans) were made to the ancient goddess Carna on 1 June (Ovid, *Fasti* 6.169; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.33), on whom see Littlewood, pp. 34-6; Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, p. 128; Degrassi, pp. 463-4; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 130-33.

²⁰ Cf. Plato, *Republic* 10.617c.

²¹ 9 June—the *Vestalia*. Cf. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, pp. 149-50; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 148ff.

²² Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 6.311-12; Ovid further explains the interest of bakers in the festival on the grounds that the hearth was the original bread-oven (6.315-17).

²³ Cf. Cornutus, *De natura deorum* 28.2; Philo, *De cherubim* 26.

²⁴ Gk. *ontotês*, the state of (truly) being / existing.

²⁵ Cf. Plato, *Cratylus* 401c (only giving the connection with *ousia* ["being"], with reference to the dialectal variant *essia*); the phrasing here seems to have been influenced by the *Chaldaean Oracles'* description of the primeval "source" or "power," e.g. fr. 37 Des Places / Majercik, lines 15-16: "the Father's first, self-producing Source" (πρώτη πατρός...αὐτοτελής πηγὴ)—cf. also Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, pp. 82-3, 110.

the ruling principle of the divine potentiality has been called Hestia—whose maidenly image is placed at the hearth [*hestia*]; and in as much as the potentiality is *generative*, they signify it by the form of a large-breasted woman."²⁶ But the *hierophants* of the Romans claim that she is nothing other than the earth.²⁷

95. Before the great flood, they say, Sicily was not an island as [it is] today, but was a promontory attached to [what was] later [called] Italy. From the surge of the deluge's currents, however, the island was jarred and moved away from its foundations; and for this reason, the part of Italy from which it broke off was named Rhegium, from the "breaking."²⁸ And formerly, Sicily was called *Sicania*. Italy contained these nine provinces: Campania, Apulia, Tuscia [i.e., Tuscany], Calabria, Umbria, Dalmatia, Lucania, Brettia [i.e., Bruttium], and Sicily.²⁹

96. ...to Prusias king of Bithynia.

97. Among the Pythagoreans, the *dyad* (since it provides a sort of position and "ladder" for number) is called *eleusinê*,³⁰ in that it supplies the forward movement [*proeleusis*] toward the more numerous and unbounded.

98. Eudemus³¹ says that at Peltae in Phrygia there was once a four-faced stone, which, when there was no wind, the farmers would lift with round wooden [poles /

²⁶ Porphyry, *On Images* fr. 357 Smith (cited more fully in Eusebius, *PE* 3.11.7, which Smith numbers as fr. 357a), with parallels from Plotinus and Proclus cited in Smith's apparatus.

²⁷ Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 6.267: *Vesta eadem est et terra*. As pointed out by Dubuisson-Schamp, 1: lxiv n. 186, Maas' attribution of this sentence to a work of Iamblichus on "Roman Priests" has no foundation.

²⁸ Gk. *rhêxis* [with verbal root *rhêg*]. Cf. (*inter alia*) Diodorus 4.85.3; Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, pp. 52-4, cites a number of parallels in an attempt to demonstrate John's ultimate dependence on Posidonius.

²⁹ The enumeration of regions of Italy is not complete, but the inclusion of Dalmatia is especially striking. As Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, pp. 54-55, points out, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus* 2.9, asserts that Dalmatia is part of Italy, since Diocletian came from there. In Late Antiquity, it was *sometimes* included in the prefecture of Italy, but its status between the Western empire and the Eastern was a matter of complex contention, for which see the useful discussion in J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (Cambridge, MA, 1969), pp. 418-27, and, more recently, in P. MacGeorge, *Late Roman Warlords* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 32ff.

³⁰ As Roether, p. 253, points out, Photius reports *Eleusinia* (and Demeter) among Nicomachus' equivalences for the *dyad* (*Bibliotheca* 187 [143b Bekker]); and for the etymology, cf. *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. *Eleusis*.

³¹ Wuensch refers to the discussion in Müller, *FHG* 2: 20 (Eudemus of Paros, or Naxos—a historian of the Classical era = *FGrHist* 497); however, the identity of John's Eudemus is not certain. Aelian cites a "Eudemus" for a number of strange stories of animal lore, which are often attributed to the Peripatetic philosopher Eudemus of Rhodes; cf. S. A. White, "Eudemus the Naturalist," in I. Bodnár and W. W. Fortenbaugh, *Eudemus of Rhodes* (New Brunswick, 2002), pp. 207ff.

logs] placed underneath it—and they would produce winds. And the more the stone was raised up,³² the more powerfully they roused the winds. [140] And then again, they would place the stone on the ground, and there would be calm.³³

99. The poets call minds with understanding "black"—that is, deep; for blackness goes along with depth. For this same reason Pindar calls minds without understanding "white."³⁴

100.³⁵

Alas for mortals! How uneven are their fortunes!
For some do well, but for others harsh
disasters come along from god for the pious.

The Romans call fortune [*tychê*] *Fortuna* on the basis of its *moving* [*phora*]...inspired assistance.³⁶ Aristotle: "If there is virtue, there is no fortune; for what belongs to fortune

³² It appears that the text needs to be emended (ἐξήρθη rather than ἐξηρόεθη) to reflect the verb αἴρειν rather than αἰρεῖν, and I have translated accordingly; Bandy also makes this emendation.

³³ The lore about this stone is reminiscent of the various stones described by paradoxographers and Ps.-Plutarch, *De fluviis* (e.g., 19.4). Stones are in fact frequently connected with rain-making magic, including, for example, one of the stones named *lapis manalis* at Rome (Festus, p. 115 Lindsay: it was *moved about* to produce rain; cf. Fiedler, *Antiker Wetterzauber*, pp. 65ff.); it is perhaps significant in this connection that Cornelius Labeo is attested as having treated such stones (fr. 9 Mastandrea). Frazer notes the use of certain stones in ritual attempts to control the winds (*Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., 1: 322-23 ["The Magical Control of the Wind"]); see also Fiedler, p. 57 (citing Pliny, *NH* 2.115 and Pomponius Mela 1.39, for a rock, or cliff, in Cyrenaica, sacred to the South Wind, which when touched reportedly causes the wind to rise and produce a sand-storm) and p. 87 (citing Pliny, *NH* 37.164, for the "tongue-stone" [*glossopetra*] which supposedly has the power of quelling winds, although Pliny does not believe the story); likewise, E. S. McCartney, "Magic and the Weather in Classical Antiquity," *Classical Weekly* 18.21 (6 April 1925), p. 164. The specifics of John's report here, however, are otherwise unattested. For pagan, magical, and syncretic weather rites in Late Antique Asia Minor, see Trombley, *Hellenic Religion*, 2: 132 and chapter 7 *passim*.

³⁴ *Pyth.* 4.109. For "black" (or "dark") minds (with adverbial *amphi*, "on both sides"), see Homer, *Iliad* 1.103; 17.83, 499, 573—scholia on both Homer and Pindar treat the term as a metaphor based on deep water. Cf. also A. F. Garvie, *Aeschylus: Persae, with Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 86-7 (on line 119).

³⁵ This section is a re-worked / truncated version of 4.7; see notes on that section for the quotations. John's attention to "Fortune" at this point in the text is, however, justifiable on the basis of the fact that 11 June was the commemoration of a temple of Fortune (supposedly built by Servius Tullius)—for which see Ovid, *Fasti* 6.569 (and note also Littlewood's commentary, pp. 172ff.; Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, pp. 150-52; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 156-7). Alternatively (or additionally), the occasion may have been the celebration of *Fors Fortuna*, 24 June (Ovid, *Fasti* 6.773-84; Varro, *De lingua Latina* 6.1.7); cf. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, pp. 155-56; Deglassi, p. 473; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 161-72.

is knocked up and down in human affairs—by riches and most especially injustice; but those who steer toward virtue and keep God in mind and stir up greater hopes for immaterial and blessed things despise the good things there [below]." ... For "nothing in fortune's power is safe" or decided, as Euripides says. Inferior are those who strive for wealth beyond moderation, says the orator. Plato says that no one comes to possess the greatest wealth without having previously suffered damage to his soul. [141]

101. The oracle says:³⁷

Double are the *daemons* in man—and double are their
tribes: they wander over the ever-flourishing earth
†to stand with† human beings, by Zeus' rule.³⁸
Zeus indeed is the giver of all things, both good and bad—
he defines too the time of life for those being born,
mingling mortal bodies with [things] both foul and fair.³⁹
Those *daemons*—whoever should associate with [them] by his wisdom,
and achieve an understanding of what deeds they take delight in—
he would surpass everyone in intelligence and noble deeds,
winning noble gifts from a noble [giver] and fleeing from the foul.

³⁶ "Assistance" (ὠφέλειαν) is simply a variant reading here (i.e., most likely a scribal error) for 4.7's "simplicity" ἀφέλειαν (or vice versa).

³⁷ *Chaldaean Oracles*, fr. 215 Des Places / Majercik (categorized as "dubious" by Des Places, "most likely not Chaldaean" in Majercik's view).

³⁸ Des Places accepts Kroll's emendations, such that the line reads: "having been appointed by Zeus' rule to stand with human beings."

³⁹ Or "for [people] both foul and fair."

JULY

102. One would take the month of July as the fifth [month] of the civic [year], but the seventh of the priestly year. For counting from March—and that was the one instituted by Romulus as the beginning of the civic year—it is fifth, and hence it was formerly named Quintilis. [142] But [it is] seventh, counting from January; and this [is] the priestly [first month], in accordance with Numa. So then, Caesar, who was not only adorned with good fortune, but also with priesthood (indeed, he was *pontifex*, that is, "bridge-man,"¹ chief-priest or divine-worker,² on account of his lineage from Aphrodite), finding the month of Quintilis, changed its name—not only because of the perfection of the number, but also because he himself had been born on the fourth day before the Ides of this month.³

He was named Caesar *not*, as the ancients say, from the fact that his mother Aurelia's womb was cut open⁴ (the claim being that she died while pregnant, and that when she had been cut open he was taken out).⁵ The truth determined by historians regarding this appellation of his is as follows: In the [2nd] Punic War, when Syphax was fighting with Hannibal, it is said that Gaius Rutilius—this man was an ancient ancestor of Caesar—while fighting in the front ranks, launched his spear against the Mauritanian with such force that he brought down the elephant on which his enemy was riding, and thus he took the nickname "Caesar," because among the Phoenicians the animal [known as] the elephant is called *kaisar*.⁶ And Valens, who himself also wrote about Caesar, says

¹ Gk. *gephyraios*. Cf. §15 above.

² Gk. *theourgōs*.

³ 12 July (although, as Degraffi, p. 482, notes, Caesar's actual birthday was the 13th, but the celebration was observed on the previous day; cf. Cassius Dio 47.18.6). Note John's cross-reference at *De ost.* 25: "The fact that this month was formerly named Quintilis, but in honor of Julius Caesar its appellation was changed to this [i.e., July], has been discussed by me at length in my work *On the Months*." The change of name was actually passed by Mark Antony after Caesar's assassination, in Caesar's honor (Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.34; Cassius Dio 45.7.2), not by Caesar himself.

⁴ I.e., explaining *Caesar* from Latin *caedere* [with perf. pass. ptc. *caesum*], "to cut."

⁵ Cf. Plutarch, *Life of Caesar* fragment [= Zonaras 10.11], for which see C. Pelling (tr.), *Plutarch: Caesar* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 77, with discussion on pp. 129-32; see also Pliny, *NH* 7.47, in reference to the "first of the Caesars." At *De mag.* 1.23, however, John espouses (at least generically) the explanation he rejects here.

⁶ Cf. *Historia Augusta*, *Life of Aelius* 2.3; Servius on *Aen.* 1.286 (each including other options as well). For more discussion see A. Alföldi, "Die Erklärung des Namens 'Caesar' in den spätromischen Kompendien (zu v. Ael. 2, 3-5)," in *Caesariana* (Bonn, 1984), pp. 175-88. D. L. Nousek, "Turning Points in Roman History: The Case of Caesar's Elephant Denarius," *Phoenix* 62 (2008), pp. 296-8, rejects any connection between this etymology for the name Caesar and the coin issued by Caesar displaying an elephant on the reverse.

that he [143] was most excellent and most outstanding in size, and furthermore also long-haired.⁷ For in their ancestral language, the Romans call the hair "*caesaries*"—and he says that it was on account of the beauty [he derived] from it that he was named "Caesar." But his proper name was "Gaius"; "Julius" [was] indicative of nobility—from Iulus the [son] of Aeneas [the son] of Aphrodite; and "Caesar" [was indicative] of excellence.⁸

103. Theodosius the Younger, by way of innovating, removed the term "Olympiad" from chronological reckoning.⁹

104. They say that Caesar came to have an epileptic attack from an unending winter;¹⁰ but later, he was treated by taking a decoction of the "Heracleian" plant with the rennet from a seal.¹¹ And it is not surprising that Caesar was well-supplied with seal-rennet. But Aretas the leader of the Arab Scenitae, writing a letter to Claudius Caesar regarding medical treatment using [components from] birds, says that a vulture's liver, roasted with the blood, taken with honey three times a week frees [a patient] from epilepsy, and similarly also the vulture's heart, when it has been dried, taken with water in the same manner, has the same effect.¹²

⁷ Gk. *komêtês*; cf. Festus p. 50 Lindsay. For the mysterious Valens, see Cornell (ed.), *Fragments of the Roman Historians* 1: 649; Peter, *HRR* 2: 161 (printing the current passage as fr. 1, the only fragment)

⁸ Gk. *aretê*: alternatively, "virtue" or "courage."

⁹ George Cedrenus, 1: 573 Bekker, says the Olympics as a festival ceased under Theodosius the Elder; but scholia on Lucian (pp. 176, 178 Rabe) agree with John that it was Theodosius the Younger. The common assumption is that the religious strictures on paganism under the former would have ended the games in any case; but later chroniclers *did* continue to use the dating system (on both points see A. A. Mosshammer, *The Easter Computus and the Origins of the Christian Era* [Oxford, 2008], pp. 16-17).

¹⁰ The Greek term (*cheimôn*) can also mean "storm"—perhaps there has been some confusion on the basis of a translation from Latin *tempestas*, which means "storm" or "time"; but there seem to be no parallels to explain this apparent account of the condition's cause or onset.

¹¹ For this remedy, cf. [Aristotle], *De mirabilibus* 77 (835b32), and Antigonos, *Mir.* 20, citing Aristotle (= Aristotle fr. 370); Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum* 9.11.3; Pliny, *NH* 26.113—the last two offering the closest parallel, with both components included. Epilepsy was frequently referred to as "Heracles' disease." On Caesar's alleged epilepsy in general, see J. R. Hughes, "Dictator Perpetuus," *Epilepsy and Behavior* 5 (2004), pp. 756-64; D. T. Benediktson, "Plutarch on the Epilepsy of Julius Caesar," *Ancient World* 25 (1994), pp. 159-64.

¹² Cf. F. Cumont, "Le sage Bothros ou le phylarque Arétas?" *Revue de philologie* 50 (1926), pp. 13-33; R. R. Möhler, '*Epistula de vulture*' (Hanover, 1990), esp. pp. 63-5. For more general discussion, see L. C. MacKinney, "The Vulture in Ancient Medical Lore," *Ciba Symposia* 4 (1942), pp. 1257-71.

105. The majority of historians say that Caesar was a seven-month baby, and that for this reason he changed the name of the seventh month of the priestly year [144] to his own.¹³ And no one else played the man the way he did.

106. An oracle was given to the Romans by the Mother¹⁴—that throughout the month of July they should not engage in sexual activity at all, if they were to keep their bodies healthy.

107. When the sun is in Leo, the Nile rises.¹⁵ The Nile formerly had the name *Ilas*, then *Aegyptus* (from [king] *Aegyptus*), then *Chrysorrhoas*,¹⁶ and thereafter, *Nile* (from the king so called). For the opinion of the grammarians sees that the Nile was named etymologically on the basis of the *new mud* [*apo tês neas ilyos*].¹⁷ Concerning the increase of its waters in the summer,¹⁸ Anaxagoras says that it is the snows of Ethiopia which

¹³ The name of the month in Latin is *Julius*. Note that this theory is not the one espoused by John in §102 above; clearly some discussion has been lost. For the idea that Julius Caesar was a seven-month child, and the special status that may have been thought to confer, see P. W. van der Horst, "Seven Months' Children in Jewish and Christian Literature from Antiquity," in *Essays on the Jewish World of Early Christianity* (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1990), pp. 233-47, esp. 243-44; S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 19ff., discusses the traditions regarding supernatural aspects of Caesar's birth, without mentioning this passage.

¹⁴ I.e., the *Magna Mater*.

¹⁵ For an exhaustive discussion of the various ancient theories explaining the annual Nile flood, see D. Bonneau, *La crue du Nil: Divinité Égyptienne à travers mille ans d'histoire* (Paris, 1964), pp. 135-214; cf. also P. Vasunia, *The Gift of the Nile* (Berkeley, 2001), pp. 275-82; J. Priestley, *Herodotus and Hellenistic Culture* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 118-37; for the earliest period, see D. W. Graham, "Philosophy on the Nile: Herodotus and Ionian Research," *Apeiron* 36 (2003), pp. 291-310.

¹⁶ For "*Aegyptus*," see (e.g.) Homer, *Odyssey* 4.477; Epiphanius, *Panarion* 66.1, and some later chroniclers, likewise give *Chrysorrhoas* as an alternate name for the Nile; cf. also Athenaeus 5.36 (203c), where the Nile is described as "truly 'gold-streaming' [*chrysorrhoas*]." "*Ilas*," by contrast, is unattested elsewhere. Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, p. 56, notes that Ps.-Plutarch, *De fluviis* 16, gives a similar sequence of names—*Melas*, *Aegyptus*, *Nilus*; whether or not John used Ps.-Plutarch here (and Wittig thinks not, ultimately), *Ilas* should be understood as a variant reading for the original *Melas*. Roether, p. 259, cites some further confirmatory evidence for the name, e.g., Festus (p. 111 Lindsay): *Melo nomine alio Nilus vocatur*; furthermore, a scholium on *Odyssey* 4.356 (356a1 Pontani) mentions that the Nile is also called *Melaina* ("black / dark"); and Eustathius, *Comm. in Dionysii periegetae orbis descriptionem* 222 (p. 257 Müller), also gives *Melas* as the Nile's previous name.

¹⁷ Possibly the etymology is implied by Diodorus Siculus 3.3.3, but is explicit later, e.g., in a scholium on *Odyssey* 4.355 (355e Pontani, with parallels cited; cf. also 356a3); Eustathius, *Comm. in Dion. perieg.* 222 (p. 256 Müller).

¹⁸ From here through the report of the views of Diogenes of Apollonia, John's discussion closely parallels selected portions of the extant remains of Seneca's treatment of the Nile floods (*Quaestiones Naturales* 4[A].2.17-30). For analysis and reconstruction of this section of Seneca's text, see G. Williams, "Reading the Waters: Seneca on the Nile in 'Natural Questions,' Book 4A," *Classical Quarterly* 58 (2008),

melt and feed into the Nile.¹⁹ And of this opinion too are Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.²⁰ But the greatest of Roman philosophers, Seneca, speaks against this,²¹ insisting that Ethiopia <is very hot> (whence also the bodies of the Troglodytes are burnt through—since they cannot tolerate the sun, they dwell [145] under the ground; and the silver in that place detaches from lead [solder];²² and no material does not melt away). And besides, [he says], there are many rivers lying in the South, none of which we observe to rise in flood in the summer, even though mountains lie above them. But Euthymenes of Massilia says that he sailed through the Atlantic ocean and saw the Nile springing from that [ocean]—and that it was more swollen [with water] whenever the so-called Etesian [winds] blow. For at that time, he says, the ocean is pushed outward by the winds, but when these die down it is at rest. And the water of the Atlantic ocean is nearly fresh; and the wild creatures in it are similar to those in the Nile.²³ But Seneca speaks against this too,²⁴ insisting that the fresh and light water is snatched up by the sun, and that the whole sea is in all ways salty—and that this [allegation] is not at all true. For if this were the case, then the Nile would swell also in winter, and indeed more so, the more the movement of the winds is more forceful [then]. And furthermore, it also appears rather muddy and dark blue, which is unlike the waters of the sea. After him,²⁵ Diogenes of Apollonia²⁶ says that as the sun takes away the moisture, the Nile is drawn out of the sea by the dryness; for [the land] being by nature porous and cut through with holes, it draws the wet liquid to itself—and the drier the land of Egypt is

pp. 218-42; cf. also S. Burstein, "Alexander, Callisthenes and the Sources of the Nile," *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 17 (1976), pp. 137-41, dealing with John's relation to Seneca's text.

¹⁹ 59A91 Diels-Kranz.

²⁰ Cf. Aeschylus, fr. 300.2-5 Radt; *Suppliants* 559-61; Euripides, *Helen* 1-3; *Archelaus* fr. 228.2-5 Kannicht; Sophocles, fr. 882 Radt (a scholiast on Apollonius of Rhodes reports Anaxagoras' views, then adds references to the three tragedians, with only a general description of views for Aeschylus and Sophocles, but a direct quote from *Helen* for Euripides; the note is thus parallel to John's text [and Seneca's], but more detailed).

²¹ 4[A].2.18-21.

²² The verb is *apomolyboô*, for which in this passage LSJ suggest "turn into lead"; but the equivalent phrase in Seneca is *argentum replumbatur*, meaning "silver is detached from lead / solder" (in keeping with the alternate meaning offered by LSJ); it may be, however, that John is not correctly understanding Seneca's wording, and is simply constructing an etymological calque of the Latin verb.

²³ For the reference to Euthymenes, see (apart from Seneca) Ps.-Plutarch, *Placita* 4.1 (cf. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, p. 384); and, more fully, the anonymous *De Nilo* fr. 1 (*FGrHist* 647F1[5])—now with commentary by S. Gambetti in *BNJ* 647); cf. Jacoby in *PRE* 6: 1509-11 (s.v. "Euthymenes (4)"). See also Bonneau, pp. 145-6; A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II: Commentary* 1-98 (Leiden, 1976), 99; D. W. Graham, "Philosophy on the Nile," *Apeiron* 36 (2003), 295 n. 14.

²⁴ 4[A].2.23-25.

²⁵ This transitional phrase renders it unlikely that John is using Seneca directly, since he treats Seneca's views as one of a sequence of contrasting opinions.

²⁶ 64A18 Diels-Kranz.

[146], the more it draws the moisture to itself, just as olive oil in lamps rushes more to the place where it is being consumed by the fire.²⁷ But Herodotus says²⁸ that the sun draws the moisture from all rivers as it passes through the southerly zone close to the earth, and that, turning off toward the north in summer, the Nile is summoned forth—and for this reason it floods in the summer. But the Egyptians say that the Etesian [winds] push all the clouds above away toward the south, and as heavy rain comes down from them, the Nile gushes forth. Yet Ephorus of Cyme, nevertheless, says in the first [book] of his *Histories* that Egypt is loose-packed by nature, and that it is silted up by the Nile as the mud accumulates year by year, and that the river, just like sweat, flows down at the time of burning [summer] heat toward the [parts] that are lighter and looser.²⁹ But Thrasyalces of Thasos also says that the Etesian [winds] push the Nile outward; for since Ethiopia is girdled by mountains higher than ours, as it receives the clouds that are driven by the Etesian [winds], the Nile swells.³⁰ As Callisthenes the Peripatetic also says in the fourth book of his *Hellenica* that he campaigned with Alexander the Macedonian, and when he was in Ethiopia he found that the Nile is driven down by the endless rain-storms that take place [147] in that [area].³¹ But Dicaearchus also, in [his] *Circuit of the World*, asserts that the Nile floods because of the Atlantic ocean.³² So then, the opinions about it are diverse, but the truth so far is nowhere, as far as human beings [can judge]. For according to the oracle,

Exactitude is in depth.³³

²⁷ At this point, the extant part of Seneca's discussion breaks off; but John's material probably reflects the lost part—e.g., H. M. Hine's translation, *Seneca: Natural Questions* (Chicago, 2010), pp. 63-64, includes a translation of portions of John's discussion to fill out the missing parts of Seneca's text; cf. also Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, p. 228; P. Rossi, "Le piene del Nilo nelle *Naturales quaestiones* di Seneca," in M. Beretta et al. (eds.), *Seneca e le scienze naturali* (Florence, 2012), pp. 78-80; D. Pellacani, "La piene del Nilo. Nota bibliografica," in M. Beretta et al., pp. 90-92.

²⁸ 2.24-26.

²⁹ *FGrHist* 70F65(b).

³⁰ 35A1 Diels-Kranz.

³¹ *FGrHist* 124F12(a). Burstein, pp. 135-46, argues for the plausibility of this reported expedition.

³² Fr. 113 Wehrli.

³³ *Chaldaean Oracles* fr. 183 Des Places / Majercik. The thought and expression are most strikingly paralleled by a fragment of Democritus (68B117 Diels-Kranz), but as Des Places and Majercik argue, this could be an allusion or Chaldaean adaptation of Democritus' statement (quite possible, especially given the Ionic word *atrekes* in place of Democritus' *alêtheia*). Hine (p. 64) includes this sentence as the last element of John's text he incorporates, translating *logion* as "proverb" rather than "oracle" (a difficult stretch), but if it really is a Chaldaean fragment, it would post-date Seneca. In favor of the possibility that the statement was Seneca's, on the other hand, are the Latin parallels (e.g. Cicero, *Academica* 1.44, 2.32: *in profundo veritatem*), including some elsewhere in Seneca (*Quaestiones Naturales* 7.32.4; *De Beneficiis* 7.1.5), as Pellacani, p. 91 n. 61 points out, suggesting that this would be an appropriate concluding thought for Seneca here. The difficulty with *logion* would remain; however, it might be supposed that the original

And Chrestus the Roman³⁴ says:

In the west there are very large and tall mountains, which separate Libya from Ethiopia; falling upon the furthest roots of these [mountains], [is] the Atlantic sea, from which point Ethiopia begins toward the west. Now then, under these mountains³⁵ there are pools spreading out to an unlimited width; beside them dwell the race of human beings called the Ichthyophagi, who spend their time, from the first hour until sunset, in the water, and feed on the fish. Neighboring these are the so-called Anthropophagi, a most courageous race of human beings, endowed with rounded noses,³⁶ curved faces, and nails almost like the [claws] of lions. From those pools, then, the river takes its origins; for the streams, as they flow out of them, thickly cover [the ground]. Now, from these pools, which those people call *Chaae*, flows a kind of stream, very thin and barely seen, which, as it descends into narrow places and little by little, from various directions, comes down into its own particular river-bed, takes on the appearance of a river. And this would be the Nile, which twists around over various regions and comes [148] through rough and trackless places, of which the ... from there it flows out onto level ground and comes together again into a river-bed—and then goes along through the uninhabited parts of the south as a navigable [river] to Meroe, and as it flows around this [place] it makes an island. (For all [this area] is level.) Now then, from there the whole [river], being confined, turns toward the east and toward Egypt—and from there into the sea, with a rather powerful wind blowing over it. On account of the force of the north wind, you see, as has been said, the river is pushed back or rather is made to flow back, and floods all of Egypt. But when the east wind blows from the east against the Etesian [winds], or the south wind pushes the Nile out from the south, with the north wind gently abating, naturally the river rushes down to the sea. And that is evidence that it does not swell from the melting of snows (because it is not cold, but hot)—and for this reason, when the water settles back, there are found in the mud certain

Greek text here was a reference to a person described as *logios* ("learned" or "eloquent")—with only a slight emendation needed (τὸ τὸν). Or, alternatively, John himself may have inserted the reference to the oracle.

³⁴ Jacoby prints this as *FGrHist* 764F6 (that is, as part of the "Anhang," or appendix, to the writers on Libya; cf. now F. S. Naiden in *BNJ* 764); for the near-unknown Chrestus (possibly a contemporary of Cassius Dio), see Bonneau, pp. 148-9, 156. Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, p. 57, supports the position that John found in *this Chrestus' text* the lengthy report of views derived ultimately from Seneca (rather than that he used Seneca directly, then additionally used Chrestus).

³⁵ I.e., at their feet, presumably.

³⁶ Or "nostrils"?

living creatures partially formed and partially monstrous. These sorts of creatures are naturally generated by heat and moisture, which is not true in the case of other bodies of water. For they only have fish. Others speak by guesswork, but I (says Chrestus) have actually been at the furthest point of Mauretania, at the mouth of the Ocean.

108. Wherever the "pasturage"³⁷ of fire burns, of necessity [149] the earth deep-down is sponge-like, from which cause [arise] hot springs. Hence also the nature of this sort of waters is slimy, because [they are] sea-[waters]. By means of the fire, it [i.e., the earth] changes the salty to something disgusting and becomes bituminous and full of alum and sulfur. †It does not purify, rather drying out somewhat as the vapors of the bitumen sink down deeper by virtue of the greater moisture of the waters.

109. Cestius the proconsul, being in charge of Jerusalem, set up the image of Nero by night in the temple of the Hebrews, so as to have Nero partake in the honor [paid] to God. But they became angry and did away with both Cestius himself and all the Romans that were found in the East—and gave the rulers a clear declaration of war.³⁸

110. The Romans call vagabonds and wanderers *errusali*. But the commoners say "*erruli*" out of ignorance.³⁹

³⁷ Gk. *nomê*. This should be a reference to the material on which the fire "grazes"; alternatively, it could refer to the *spread* of a fire (LSJ s.v. A3b). John clearly is meaning to identify a certain kind of (volcanic) terrain; for more detail, cf. §115 below. It seems possible that the discussion was displaced, but note that Neptune (whom the Greeks worshipped as Poseidon, god of the sea and "Earth-Shaker") was honored on 23 July (Neptunalia)—see Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, p. 168; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 185-7.

³⁸ This note seems to confuse the beginnings of the Jewish War with an event from the reign of Caligula; cf. S. J. D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome* (Leiden, 1979), p. 253. For the famous incident (in which the emperor ordered Petronius, the governor of Syria, to set up an image of him in the temple at Jerusalem), see Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* 199ff.; Josephus, *Jewish War* 2.184-203; *Jewish Antiquities* 18.261-309; for modern scholarship, see most recently E. S. Gruen, "Caligula, the Imperial Cult, and Philo's *Legatio*," *Studia Philonica Annual* 24 (2012), pp. 135-47.

³⁹ The latter seems perhaps to be meant as a reference to the *Heruli* (a Germanic tribe), attempting to connect them to the Latin verb root *err-*. The former is quite opaque; could an association with *Jerusalem* (mentioned in the previous section) be envisioned?

AUGUST

111. Following this is the sixth [month] from the spring, the eighth from the festival known as the "Waxing of the Light."¹ The fact that it is the sixth from March can be grasped even from the [150] ancient appellation of this month—<for> it was named *Sextilis*, after *Quintilis*;² and thus, those after it, as far as the tenth [month] do not [have] a proper designation, but derive their names from the numbers.³ But it was re-named August later—as some say, by Augustus Caesar because he had put an end in this month to the civil wars Rome was involved in at that time, and had now brought the Romans to a state of *concord*.⁴ And because it is the eighth from January, they applied to this eighth [month] the name of the one who was the cause of their concord. (For according to the Pythagoreans, eight is called "agreement" and "persuasion"—for it is the first *cube*, encompassing the form of the perceptible universe, having length and breadth and depth, and could rightly be called "agreement," because in it even and odd come to agreement.)⁵ Others say that when Augustus Caesar died, the Romans named the month August in honor of him. And this Augustus Caesar, the son of Octavius, was previously called Octavianus, being a relation by marriage⁶ of Gaius Julius Caesar through [the latter's] sister. <And> after his many great victories, he was honored with many names. Some named him Quirinus (that is, Romulus); others, Caesar; and by a common vote of the chief priests and the Senate he was designated Augustus. "Augustus" [151] is what the Romans, by their ancestral signification,⁷ call one who is advanced to royal power in accord with augury and the testimony of the gods. After so many most excellent deeds, Augustus introduced the 15-year cycle [beginning] at the autumnal equinox;⁸ in this he was following the philosophers, who say that the standard hour is composed of 15 parts.⁹

The Romans named the month August in honor of Augustus Caesar, who died (they say) on the 16th of this month.¹⁰

¹ Gk. *Auxiphôtia*. Cf. 4.121, 135, 158.

² Gk. *Sextilios* and *Kyntilios*.

³ I.e., September through December.

⁴ The decree of the Senate preserved by Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.12.35) confirms this view.

⁵ Cf. Ps.-Iamblichus, *Theology of Arithmetic* (tr. Waterfield), pp. 102-3.

⁶ Gk. *gambros*.

⁷ I.e., in Latin.

⁸ I.e., the *indiction*. This system was used in the later Roman and Byzantine empires (not, as John alleges, introduced by Augustus), as well as in medieval Western Europe. Cf. also 3.22; 4.124.

⁹ The "standard hour"—literally, the "equinoctial hour"—as opposed to hours that vary depending on the season.

¹⁰ This is incorrect: Augustus died on 19 August (Suetonius, *Augustus* 100).

112. Augustus adapted Sophocles' *Ajax* into his ancestral language. Then, since his literary excellence was flourishing to a lesser degree than his [excellence] in action, he discerned that his own tragedy was unworthy, compared to Sophocles', and erased it. Then, when he was asked by Cicero (with whom he was being educated with enthusiasm¹¹), "Where is the *Ajax* you are writing?"—he answered with wit as well as good sense that his Ajax had fallen on his sponge (as Sophocles' [Ajax had fallen on his] sword).¹²

And he did indeed have concern for language,¹³ to the extent that when a certain uneducated magistrate had the audacity to write a public letter to him, he was so angry that he removed [152] the uneducated man from his office.¹⁴

And he also imposed moderation and limit on festivities and dowries—and did so first in the case of his own daughter.

And he was so concerned about the freedom of his subjects that when one of the sycophants called him "Master" in the Senate, as it were by *hyperbole*, he got up to leave and said, "I learned to converse with free men, not with slaves."¹⁵

113. Chares says:

Never allow unseasonable extravagance,
but strive to control all the stomach's reins.¹⁶

114. The Gauls occupied the Capitol by coming to Rome through the sewers at night—for King Servius Tullius had built the sewers to be large enough that a wagon full of fodder could be driven through them.¹⁷ But when the geese in the temple saw the enemies and cried out (for they have a wakeful nature), the general awoke and pushed the barbarians out of the temple; then, once a force had assembled, he routed them. For this reason [they celebrate] a festival and honors for the geese, because they guarded the city—but destruction for the dogs. <For> on the third day before the Nones of August,¹⁸

¹¹ Or possibly, "haste"? Gk. *spoudê*.

¹² Cf. Suetonius, *Augustus* 85. Cicero, however, does not come into Suetonius' account.

¹³ Gk. *logoi*—i.e., speeches, talk, literary matters, etc.

¹⁴ Cf. Suetonius, *Augustus* 88—the infraction there is orthographic: spelling *ixi* instead of *ipsi*.

¹⁵ Cf. *De magistratibus* 1.6; for the attitude, compare Suetonius, *Augustus* 53; *Tiberius* 27. C. Pazdernik, "Paying Attention to the Man Behind the Curtain," in T. Fögen and M. M. Lee (eds.), *Bodies and Boundaries in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* (Berlin, 2009), pp. 72-76, discusses Lydus' statements in the context of the Justinianic era.

¹⁶ Fr. 2.1-2 Jäkel [in *Menandri Sententiae* (Leipzig, 1964)].

¹⁷ Servius Tullius' predecessor, Tarquinius Priscus, is most often associated with beginning to build Rome's sewer (e.g., Livy 1.38.6).

¹⁸ 3 August. Cf. especially Servius on *Aen.* 8.652, and for analysis of the story in general see N. Horsfall, "From History to Legend: M. Manlius and the Geese," *Classical Journal* 76.4 (1981), pp. 298-311.

they would destroy the dogs in Rome without restraint, in honor of the geese, because the dogs had betrayed [153] the Capitol by falling asleep, while the geese had saved it by being awake. But others say that they used to do this so that [the dogs] would not be troublesome to those who were ill at night. And others [say they did this] so that rabid [dogs] would not harm people. For at that time [of year] rises Sirius, which appears to cause rabies in them.¹⁹

115.²⁰ There is a great deal of underground fire—it returns²¹ into the depth of the earth and feeds on the greasy material [there]—and this is *alum* or *sulfur*.²² For *bitumen* is sulfur that is burned and extinguished in the earth. Of this, that which is burned a little, in so far as it is quickly extinguished, renders the bitumen moister and oilier, such as that which flows over the [area] of Aetna and the lake in Judaea.²³ But if it is burned more violently it petrifies—such is the *lignite* rock near Babylon. At any rate, when the [fire] as it descends feeds on the regions underneath, it does not display to us any effect in the earth. But whenever, by its activity, it makes an extensive area porous, then, being squeezed in the cavities and pipe-shaped areas, if it should succeed in spurting out, it causes nothing less than an agitation of the earth and a roaring sound as a sign. If, on the other hand, it endures when it is formed into a mass, or ... a mountain lying above [it], or land, or sea: a mountain, like Vesuvion²⁴ in Italy and <the one in> the

Horsfall, p. 308, notes the oddity of John's date (whereas in other sources, the assault occurred on 19 July). John tells about the event (and its commemoration) somewhat more extensively at *De mag.* 1.50, but as for the date, he states there only that the commemoration was to occur "while the sun is in Leo" (i.e., during the period from late July to late August). Cf. also §27 above for the struggle against the Gauls.

¹⁹ Cf. Pliny, *NH* 2.107. John mentions this also at *De ost.* 7.

²⁰ John's attention to subterranean fire and volcanic activity was presumably connected to the worship of Vulcan / Hephaestus, as the Volcanalia took place on 23 August (see Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, pp. 178-9; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 209-11. The day after that was one on which "*mundus patet*," and thus underground / underworld concerns continued to be relevant; cf. §§148-9 below with notes (possibly also §137), and note also the apparent explanation of the name *mundus* in Festus (p. 126 Lindsay): ...*dictus est quod terra movetur* ("It is [so] called because the ground moves").

²¹ Or, better, with Wuensch's suggestion (ὕπονοστοῦν), "descends."

²² Gk. *styptêria* and *theion*. The former does not necessarily have the modern meaning of "alum," but may instead refer to a substance containing ferrous sulfate; cf. Pliny, *NH* 35.183 for the various kinds of *alumen*, and G. R. Rapp, *Archaeomineralogy*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 2009), pp. 230-31, for a modern discussion. John's account of volcanism here interestingly does *not* seem to depend much on the popular Aristotelian theory which made winds the cause of seismic activity (cf. §79 above, whereas §108 appears more compatible with the present passage), but rather on the idea of subterranean fire fed by specific combustible materials; cf. (albeit still using the wind-theory to some degree) Seneca, *Quaestiones Naturales* 5.14.4; *Aetna* 388-93 etc. Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, pp. 57-9, offers detailed parallels, in an attempt to trace John's sources ultimately back to Posidonius.

²³ I.e., the Dead Sea.

²⁴ I.e., Vesuvius.

Liparian Islands and the one lying above the city of Catana in Sicily;²⁵ sea, [as that] which Panaetius reports on between Lipara and Italy;²⁶ land, such as there is by Corycus in Lycia.²⁷ Not only does it break out through mountains and land, but it also produces eruptions <from the sea>, as occurred [154] at Thera and Therasia.²⁸ And if the perforated [area] constantly breathes out fire, they are called "springs of fire" and "craters," such as are those around the same Lipara and Strongyle²⁹ and Vesvion. But if they are closed, ... such as the plain at Philadelphia in Lydia and the mountain-spurs at Mazaca (that is, the "Cappadocian [spurs]"), and the plain of Dicaearchia, once called "Hephaestus' [plain]."³⁰

116. According to Aristotle,³¹ there are nine types of comets—but according to the Roman Apuleius,³² ten: horse-like; sword-like; beard-like; beam-like; jug; torch-like;

²⁵ I.e., Aetna.

²⁶ This is Panaetius fr. 136a Van Straaten. Posidonius is also attested as having dealt with this sort of thing: He reported on a volcanic eruption in the area of the Aeolian islands "within his memory" (Strabo 6.2.11 = Posidonius fr. 227 Edelstein-Kidd), and also described the volcanic emergence of an island in the Aegean (Seneca QN 2.26.4 = Posidonius fr. 228 Edelstein-Kidd).

²⁷ For this Corycus, see Strabo 14.3.8, but with no reference to volcanic or seismic activity. Pliny, *NH* 2.236, does note two places in Lycia with "burning mountains" (Mount Chimaera and the "Mountains of Hephaestus"); but it seems possible that John means to refer to Corycus or the "Corycian cave" in Cilicia associated with Typhoeus—or is perhaps conflating the two areas. See further discussion of the geography in A. M. Celâl Şengör, *The Large-Wavelength Deformations of the Lithosphere* (Boulder, 2003), p. 310 n. 147.

²⁸ The present Vulcano (one of the Lipari Islands).

²⁹ The present Stromboli.

³⁰ Also called the "Phlegraean Fields." Dicaearchia is the original Greek name for the later Puteoli.

³¹ Cf. *Meteorologica* 1.7 (344a)—but there, Aristotle only differentiates a couple of different types (see also 1.4 [341b]); ps.-Aristotle, *De Mundo* 4 (395b) has more, yet still not closely corresponding to John's list.

³² See S. J. Harrison, *Apuleius: A Latin Sophist* (Oxford, 2000), p. 29, suggesting Pliny as a source. Pliny, *NH* 2.89-96, gives an extensive list, which mostly find clear parallels in John's here, but in a different order. P. T. Keyser, "On Cometary Theory and Typology from Nechepso-Petosiris through Apuleius to Servius," *Mnemosyne* 47 (1994), pp. 625-51, points to parallels with a list given by Servius Auctus (on *Aen.* 10.272) to argue for a more complex different line of transmission going back to "Nechepso and Petosiris"; John's list here would depend on a 3rd-to-5th cen. astrological work combining prior sources that included Apuleius and Ptolemy (Keyser, pp. 645-6). John's account at *De ost.* 10, on the other hand, is closely parallel to that found in Pliny; there he cites "Varro, Nigidius and Apuleius" as sources, before going on in sections 11-15 to transmit the views of "Campestris" (for whom see Sallmann (ed.), *Die Literatur des Umbruchs*, p. 81 [§409.2]) on comets *in extenso*. Previously, in section 9c, John associates Campestris' account of the sun and moon with Petosiris; Servius Auctus also associates the two names, in connection with comets. Cf. also E. Riess, "Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta magica," *Philologus Suppl.* 6 (1891-3), pp. 342-51 [available online at <http://www.hellenisticastronomy.com/editions/Riess-Nechepso-Petosiris.pdf>]. Finally, Cumont, pp. 33-34, compares the list of comets in Anastasius of Sinai (*Hexaemeron* 4.10.1 [p. 140 Kuehn-Baggarly]) as potentially based on John's list.

long-haired;³³ discus-like; whirlwind; horned. The "horse-like" [comet] was so named from its course and speed, and it disperses its rays sideways and dimly. The "sword-like" [comet] visibly stretches out like a sword or long spear, and is pale and cloud-like. The "beard-like" [comet] disperses [its rays] not on its head but underneath, like a beard. The "beam-like" [comet] is quite similar to the "sword-like," but has edges that are not sharp, but dull. The "jug" [comet] is so called [from its shape]. The "torch-like" [comet] is fiery and naturally shines in the manner of a fiery stone or a burning tree. The "long-haired" [comet] is broad in appearance and as it were "cheerful,"³⁴ drawing along certain silvery-looking "tresses." The "discus-like" (in accordance with the name itself) appears in the form of a discus—not bright, nor red, but like [155] *amber*.³⁵ The "whirlwind" [comet] has the appearance of fire and blood, scattering a sort of thin "tresses." The "horned" [comet] is horn-shaped like the moon—and it is said to have appeared when Xerxes came against Attica.

But Ptolemy in the works written by him to Syrus adds another type of comet as well, called the "trumpet"³⁶—and it appears in the northerly direction.³⁷

The natural [philosophers] say³⁸ that comets are formed in the "hollows" under the moon, displaying a sort of star-like nature. For they are *not* stars, but rather certain "clots" produced from the exhalation of the earth; they come into existence from *aer* that is caught up by contact with the *aether*, and hence they are borne around along with it, at an equal speed, until [they] fall.³⁹ And whenever the *aether's* flow is drawn downwards as it is encircled, "beard-like" and "jug" [comets] are produced, but whenever [it is drawn] sideways, "long-haired" [comets are produced]. The "beard-like" [comets] fall more quickly, but the "jug" and "beam" [comets] much more quickly even than these.

117. They say [there are] two Pans.⁴⁰ And some say that Pan was born from Cronus and Rhea, meaning that from *mind* and *moist substance*, that is, material unboundedness, [comes] this whole universe [*pan*].

³³ Gk. *komêtês*, also used as the general designation for this phenomenon.

³⁴ Cf. Latin *comis*.

³⁵ Gk. *êlektron*; the word could also mean "electrum."

³⁶ Cf. *Tetrabiblos* 2.9.

³⁷ Posidonius fr. 131 Edelstein-Kidd asserts that comets (in general) appear more often in the north.

³⁸ In general, this *meteorological* explanation is quite similar to the views of Posidonius (developing those of Aristotle); see fr. 131-132 Edelstein-Kidd, and for more recent discussion, G. D. Williams, *The Cosmic Viewpoint: A Study of Seneca's Natural Questions* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 273-81.

³⁹ For *aer* and *aether*, cf. 1.12 above (with note). For the earth's "exhalations," cf. §79 above.

⁴⁰ Cf. Aeschylus fr. 65d Mette.

118.⁴¹ When Libanius and many other augurs were attempting to dissuade Julian [156] from the war against the Persians, Julian is said to have spoken the Homeric [verse]:

I have respect for Trojan men and long-robed Trojan women.⁴²

And after passing the Tigris and having brought over to his side many cities and garrisons of the Persians, henceforth he could not be resisted by the barbarians. But nevertheless he and all his army perished by a trick: Two Persians, having cut off their own ears and noses, came and deceived Julian, lamenting that they had suffered such things at the hands of the king of the Persians, but [claiming] that they could put him victoriously in possession of Gorgo itself—the royal [city] of the Persians.⁴³ And he, as fate drove him on, forgot about Zopyrus in Herodotus⁴⁴ as well as Sinon in Vergil:⁴⁵ he burned the ships by which they had been conveyed across the Euphrates—so as not <to give> the Persians license to use them, I suppose—with the army bringing along a moderate amount of provisions, and followed the deceivers. But once they had led him into dry and waterless rough terrain, they unveiled their trick. They themselves (of course) were killed, but the emperor, finding himself unable either to proceed further or to turn back again, was perishing pitifully. When the majority of his army had fallen, the Persians came upon him in his weakened state, but were [at first] defeated, yet nevertheless attacked again—[and Julian] had not even 20,000 [troops], whereas he had brought with him [157] 170,000 previously. Julian fought most excellently, but someone from the Persian forces—those called "Saracens"—suspecting [that he was] the emperor because of his purple robe, shouted aloud in his native language, "*Malcha!*"—that is, "king!" With a whoosh he threw his so-called "long-sword"⁴⁶ and transfixed [Julian's] abdomen. When Oribasius conveyed him to the camp and urged him to make his final dispositions, he himself selected Jovian to rule—and died.

⁴¹ Cf. Dodgeon's translation in M. H. Dodgeon and S. N. C. Lieu (eds.), *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars (AD 226-363): A Documentary History* (Routledge, 1991), pp. 253-4.

⁴² *Iliad* 6.442.

⁴³ Dodgeon by contrast translates, "...bring him to victory over Gorgo herself, queen of Persia." The words could be interpreted in this way, but the scenario makes little sense, and this name is not attested for a queen of Shapur II. Gorgo is a known place name (albeit in Hyrcania), but I imagine that the deceptive promise was originally supposed to relate instead to *Ctesiphon*, the Persian capital, which Julian was in fact seeking to take when he was killed.

⁴⁴ 3.154.

⁴⁵ *Aeneid* 2.57ff.

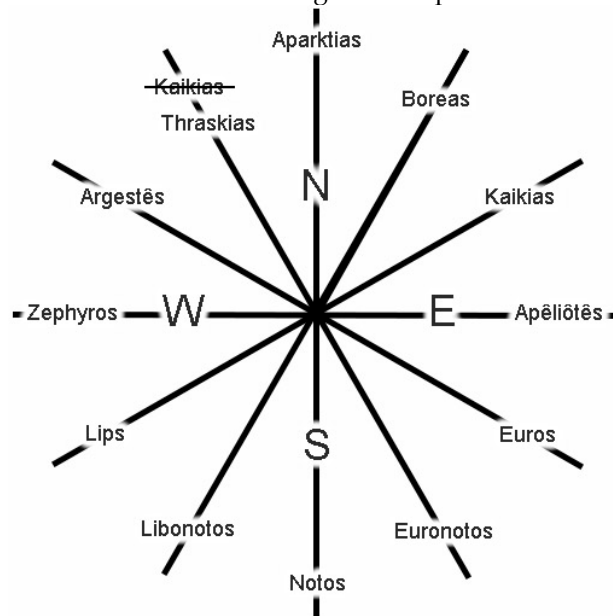
⁴⁶ Gk. *rhomphaia*.

119. Those winds that flow from a great cause⁴⁷ are distinguished according to 12 points of the horizon;⁴⁸ their names, I know, elsewhere ... and those that flow from the "Bears"⁴⁹ themselves and their pole are called *Aparktiai* ["from-bears"], while those [that flow] from the equinoctial sunset⁵⁰ [are called] *Zephyroi*; those from the South,⁵¹ *Notoi*; those from the equinoctial sunrise, *Apêliôtai* ["from-sun"]. As for the [winds] between those [first] mentioned: The one next to the *Aparktias* is the *Kaikias*, which some also call *Thraskias*;⁵² the one [next] to the *Zephyros* is the *Argestês*, which some name *Olympias*, others *Iapyx*. Of those between the *Zephyros* and the *Notos*, the one next to the *Zephyros* is the *Lips*; the one [next] to the *Notos* is the *Libonotos*. Of those between the *Notos* and the *Euros*,⁵³ the one that moves nearest to the *Notos* is called the *Euronotos*; the one [that moves nearest] to the *Apêliôtês*, the *Euros*. And similarly, between the *Apêliôtês* and the *Aparktias*, the one next to the *Apêliôtês* is called the *Kaikias*, while [158] the one [next] to the *Aparktias* [is called] *Boreas*.

As for those [winds] that do not [flow] from a "great cause," the one [that flows] from a small movement of a cloud is the *Eknephias* ["from-cloud"]; the one [that flows]

⁴⁷ I.e., the greater / universal winds.

⁴⁸ For the 12-point categorization of the winds (popularized in the Roman world by Varro), see Williams, *The Cosmic Viewpoint*, pp. 195-99. John's list can be represented in a diagram as follows (using singular forms for the names rather than the mix of singular and plural in the text):



⁴⁹ I.e., Ursa Minor and Ursa Major.

⁵⁰ I.e., due West—cf. the "equinoctial circle" (= the [celestial] equator).

⁵¹ Lit., "the invisible [pole]."

⁵² John's mention of *Kaikias* here is aberrant, and causes a difficulty when he mentions *Kaikias* later (in its normal position).

⁵³ So Wuensch's text—but this seems to be an error for *Apêliôtês* (Bandy thus emends), although Euros for plain East is indeed attested.

from certain gulfs and gaps is the *Kolpias* ["(pertaining-to)-gulf"]; and the one [that flows] from earth and an aggregation of *aer* is the *Gnophias* ["(pertaining-to)-darkness"]. For these breezes are in fact also "flows" of *aer*, and not without reason are they called "winds" [*anemoi*], when they begin their movement at lakes or rivers.⁵⁴ Similar to these are also the *Apogeioi* ["from-earth"], and hence, when the *aer* is still, the conditions are called "calm" [*nênemia*].⁵⁵

120. In the month of August, the oracle decrees that those who wish to have healthy joints abstain from mallow.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Implying an etymology *a-nem-os* = "no pasture / cultivation," it appears.

⁵⁵ I.e., etymologically, "no-wind."

⁵⁶ Majercik prints this as *Chaldaean Oracles* fr. 210a, citing Des Places, "Notes sur quelques 'Oracles Chaldaïques,'" p. 328, for the idea that it contains Chaldaean vocabulary, although it did not appear in Des Places' edition. From this fragment and her fr. 210b (cited in §134 below), she concludes that the *Chaldaean Oracles* contained such prescriptions for every month. John, however, includes similar prescriptions elsewhere—Des Places notes the one appearing in §135 below—more often than not, as in that passage, without reference to "oracles." It seems unwise to argue that the authentic Chaldaean Oracles regularly included such instructions, whether monthly or otherwise; they are a quite different sort of thing from the unknown bird-species' divinely inspired name (*chalkis*) supposedly mentioned by the Oracles (fr. 210), presumably for its magical properties or associations (cf. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, p. 291).

SEPTEMBER

121. What we said was true, that the Romans set the month of March as the beginning of the year, and this can be grasped from the designation of the current month. For they named it September, as being the "seventh" from the "spring"—for "seven" is *septem* and "spring" is *ver*¹—that is, from the month of March, on the 24th day of which the sun, entering Aries, allows [159] the nature of spring to begin. After that, it will not be necessary to go into the names of the following months at length; for October is the eighth from the "Waxing of the Light,"² and so forth for November and December.

122. The number nine is divine, being composed of three threes, and preserving the perfections of theology according to the Chaldaean philosophy, as Porphyry says.³

123. Metrodorus says that at the new moon, Andromeda rises, and with the other winds ceasing, the East Wind prevails.

124. On the fourth day before the Nones of September,⁴ Augustus defeated the Egyptians with Antony and Cleopatra at Leucate.⁵ And for this reason, he introduced the reckoning of the cycle of the so-called "indiction" from the beginning of the month of September.⁶

¹ Transliterated here as βέq. For this derivation of the month name, cf. Isidore of Seville, *De natura rerum* 4.4 (Appendix A below).

² Gk. *Auxiphôtia*. Elsewhere, John Lydus uses this term for the winter solstice (or just afterwards)—see especially §158 below with the note there; and at §135 associates the term with (the beginning of) January—but here, by inclusive counting, October would be the eighth after *March*. Clearly, therefore, the problem is that some garbling in transmission has occurred; note further that at the beginning of his account of August (§111 above), John identifies that month as the *sixth* from the spring, the *eighth* from the "Waxing of the Light."

³ Fr. 366 Smith; as Smith, "Porphyrian Studies," p. 739, points out, this shows that Porphyry "put an ennead at the head of his metaphysics" (i.e., a set of three triads).

⁴ 2 Sept.

⁵ More commonly known as the Battle of Actium (31 B.C.); Leucate was the promontory opposite Actium. At *De mag.* 3.46, John refers to the battle using both terms, Leucate and Actium. For the commemoration, see the sources collected by Degrossi, p. 505.

⁶ The indiction cycles were calculated from the beginning of September, as John says, but the system was not used until the late Empire. Cf. also 3.22; 4.111. Note that Hesychius, *BNJ* 390F5 = fr. 2 Müller (*FHG* 4: 145-6), and George Cedrenus, 1: 573 Bekker, agree also allege that Augustus was the one to institute the indiction cycle, deriving the term *indiktiôn* from a supposed *inaktiôn* (alluding to Actium)—cf. also A. Kaldellis' comments on the Hesychius fragment in *BNJ*; Photius, *Epistula* 257, is aware of this theory, but dismisses it.

On this day, Democritus says there occur a change of winds and a predominance of rain.

125. The various distinctions of flavors⁷ are quite numerous, according to Apollonius, but there are nine principal types: sweet, bitter, sharp [i.e., acidic], pungent, *brinchos*,⁸ harsh / astringent, slimy [?],⁹ severe / rugged,¹⁰ and salty.¹¹

Hence also in this ninth month the Romans would pray for good health. [160]

126. On the eighth day before the Ides of September,¹² Eudoxius indicates that the Horse [i.e., the constellation Pegasus] sets, and the west or north-west wind blows.

127. We know that on cabbage a kind of "worm" grows, called "Curvy" [i.e., the caterpillar]. This animal, when the cabbage dries out in the spring, naturally turns into a winged "worm" like an ant, and somewhat larger, supported by white triangular wings; and it flies around in gardens in a way that is low to the ground and makes it easy to catch it. And it turns out that this sort of "worm" is called "Psychê" [i.e., the butterfly, lit. "soul"].¹³

128. On the 18th day before the Kalends of October,¹⁴ Dositheus indicates that Arcturus rises.

On the 12th day before the Kalends of October,¹⁵ Caesar says that the swallows leave.

⁷ Or, "humors" (Gk. *chumoi*)—i.e., these are the qualities of fluids contained within the body.

⁸ LSJ: "between...pungent...and astringent" (citing this passage).

⁹ Gk. *blennôdês*. Perhaps "greasy," as the parallel in Galen (below) would suggest.

¹⁰ Gk. *austêros*.

¹¹ Galen, *Comm. on Hippocrates' On the Nature of Man* p. 40 Kühn, lists nine basic qualities of taste, nearly all of which correspond to John's list, except that Galen gives a different term for "salty," and in place of *brinchos* and *blennôdês* he gives *stupsis* ("astringency") and *liparôtês* ("oily / fatty"); on p. 80 Kühn, he gives a similar list of eight types of humors (with no equivalent of *stupsis*)—as in Aristotle, *De anima* 2.10 (422b11-15); *De sensu et sensibilibus* 4 (442a17-19). Cf. also Alcinous ["Albinus"], *Handbook of Platonism* 19.4, with a list of seven kinds of taste—all corresponding to elements of John's list, but with no equivalents for *brinchos* and *blennôdês*.

¹² 6 Sept.

¹³ John continues to use the term "worm" (*skôlêx*) in reference to the animal, even though strictly speaking it should only have been used for one stage in its development. On the development of the butterfly ("Psychê"), cf. Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* 5.19 (551a); Plutarch, *Quaestiones Conviviales* 2.3 (636c). The odd reference to the ant does not appear in either of these.

¹⁴ 14 Sept.

¹⁵ 20 Sept.

129. ...of Nicomedes the tyrant of Bithynia.

130. When there has been an excess of fire, a fever occurs; when air [has been excessive], a quotidian fever; when water, a tertian fever, when earth, a quartan fever.¹⁶ And shivering tends to be the first stage of [all] these. For whenever the aforementioned fluids are made thick by the cold¹⁷—since this is a characteristic of both water and earth—at that time, as they travel through the pores they are not able to expel the thicker substances, but come into locations of these and produce a compression and crushing action; this of [161] necessity causes turmoil and quaking—which experience is called "trembling and cold."

131. The Romans, after defeating the Africans, conveyed the wild beasts from there to Rome and slaughtered them in the arena, so that not even the wild beasts from that region would remain unenslaved.¹⁸

132. The column [stêlē] of Tyche which stands in Byzantium was erected by Pompey the Great. <For> after enclosing Mithridates there with the Goths, and dispersing them, he captured Byzantium. And this is attested by the epigram in Latin letters on the base of the pillar, which says the following:

To Tyche Safe-Returner, on account of the defeat of the Goths.¹⁹

¹⁶ Cf. Plato, *Timaeus* 86a; for these types of fevers, see also Hippocrates, *Nature of Man* 15.

¹⁷ For *cold* as the cause of fever, cf. the argument against that view in Erasistratus fr. 211 Giardini (quoted by Galen, *On Antecedent Causes* XIII.167 [p. 43 Bardong])—who, in disputing Erasistratus' views on causation, repeatedly assumes that at least *sometimes* cold is a cause of fever; cf. also Galen, *On the Causes of Pulses* 1.1 [9: 2-3 Kühn] and *On the Causes of Diseases* 2.2 [7: 6 Kühn], with some parallels in the mechanisms involved); on Galen's ideas about causation, see I. A. Johnston, *Galen: On Diseases and Symptoms* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 106-17. Further, regarding "shivering" (*rhigos*): there was an ancient tradition that "fever always follows shivering" (*On the Causes of Symptoms* 2.5.9 [7: 188 Kühn]; *Commentary on Hippocrates' First Book of Epidemics* 3.5 [17a: 276 Kühn]), which, as Galen argues, is not always true. Galen specifically argues *against* the view of fevers espoused in Plato's *Timaeus* in his commentary *On Hippocrates' On the Nature of Man* 2.22 (15: 169-171 Kühn). For a general treatment of his views, see L. G. Wilson, "Fever," in W. F. Bynum and R. Porter (eds.), *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine* (London, 1993), 1: 393-4.

¹⁸ Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, pp. 59-60, argues that this is meant to refer specifically to elephants, brought to Roman after one or another of the Punic Wars; he cites Pliny, *NH* 8.16-17, for parallel accounts.

¹⁹ For the still-extant "Gothic column" and its interpretation, see B. Croke, "Poetry and Propaganda: Anastasius I as Pompey," *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 48 (2008), pp. 462-3; C. Mango, "The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000), p. 177. It is likely to be connected with 3rd- or 4th-century victories over Goths (Claudius Gothicus or Constantine), not with Pompey the Great. Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, pp. 61-2, suggests that local legend provided John with the idea that the column was connected to Pompey; presumably the fact that Mithridates had

The place later became a tavern. The Goths are *Getae*.²⁰

133. ...but the common people call it *delphax* ["pig"].²¹

134. And the oracle recommends drinking milk for the sake of good health all through the month of September.²²

Thracians and Sarmatians, among others, as allies (Appian, *Roman History* 12.10.69) fostered the development of the legend, which otherwise bears little resemblance to history. The Latin inscription on the column base, now barely legible, agrees with John Lydus' account; it reads: *Fortunae Reduci ob devictos Gothos*.

²⁰ John refers to *Getae* (for Goths) also in *De mag.* 3.55-56; cf. (e.g.) Procopius, *Wars* 5.24.30: "...they say that the Goths are a Getic people."

²¹ This may be a reference to a part of the imperial palace at Constantinople; cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis* 1.86 (p. 391 Reiske), etc.

²² Majercik prints this as *Chaldaean Oracles* fr. 210b (cf. §120 above), citing Des Places, "Notes sur quelques 'Oracles Chaldaïques,'" p. 328.

OCTOBER

135. For the Macedonians, October¹ is the first month, but for the Romans, it is the eighth from the spring, and hence they call it October, meaning "eighth." This month was formerly named *Sementilius*, from "sowing"—for that [i.e., *sementis*] is what Romans call "sowing."²

On the [162] Kalends of October,³ the priests would speak oracularly to the people, that they ought not to pay attention to their dreams, because of the images that were due to the moist swelling connected to the autumn fruit. But from the "Waxing of the Light,"⁴ that is, from January, one ought especially to pay attention [i.e., to dreams], in accordance with the opinion of Herophilus,⁵ who accepted that dreams were actually god-sent, whereas Democritus [classifies them] among manifestations of images.⁶

On the Kalends of October, Varro says that the Pleiades rise in the East.⁷

The Romans thought it good to eat leeks all through the month, on the basis of some ancient tradition, to ward off the condition of gout.

136. On the sixth day before the Nones of October,⁸ Eudoxus supposes that there will be rain in the evening.

137. In the case of the seeds that are cast into the earth, there was a certain power, which the sun draws along as it goes around the lower hemisphere at the time of the winter solstice: Korê [i.e., Persephone] is the seed-holding power, while Pluto is the sun under the earth, who is said to have seized Korê, whom Demeter sought while she was

¹ I.e., the Macedonian month *Dios*.

² Gk. *sporos*. Alternatively, this could be translated "seed" rather than "sowing"—and the Lat. equivalent in view would be simply *semen* rather than *sementis*. The Latin version of the month's name John is envisioning could equally well be *Sementilis*, as he similarly transliterates Quintilis and Sextilis with an *-ios* ending (§111 above); neither possibility, however, is attested elsewhere.

³ 1 Oct.

⁴ Gk. *Auxiphôtia*. Cf. 3.22; 4.121, 158.

⁵ T226d Von Staden.

⁶ 68A136 Diels-Kranz = T 132a in Taylor, *The Atomists*; for the references to both Herophilus and Democritus, see Ps.-Plutarch, *Placita* 5.2 (based on Aetius' *Placita*); cf. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, p. 416.

⁷ Or "after sunrise" (Lehoux).

⁸ 2 Oct.

hidden under the earth.⁹ And the myths tell that the seizure [took place] at Aetna in Sicily [163]; for it is said that grain was sown there first.

138. On the fifth of October, the *Regionarchai* and *Sebastophoroi* would dance in the *Gusteion*, as it were, the "Fish-shop,"¹⁰ in honor of Tiberius.¹¹ And now the common people call this sort of place *Augusteion*. In the uncovered [area] of the Daphne,¹² in the small courtyard, Constantine the Great set up a statue [*stêlê*] of his own mother, after whom he named the place *Augusteion*.¹³

⁹ Could the attention to this story here be connected to the fact that on 5 October, the *mundus* "is open," and to the associations of the *mundus* with the underworld (cf. §§148-9 below with notes)—or perhaps rather to the *ieiunium Cereris*, "Ceres' fast," celebrated on the previous day, 4 Oct. (see B. S. Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres* [Austin, 1996], pp. 14-15, 96-7)? In any case, the whole section up to this point is a near-verbatim quotation of the beginning of Porphyry, *On Images* fr. 358 Smith (cited in Eusebius, *PE* 3.11.9).

¹⁰ So LSJ. Alternatively, "Cook-shop" (Sophocles' *Lexicon*); or "Food market" (A. Berger, *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople* [Cambridge, MA, 2013], pp. 57, 59). Gk. *opsopôleion*.

¹¹ The reality behind this reference is elusive (Degrassi, p. 517, admits defeat: *Res ignota. An Lydi verbis error inest?*), but the date seems likely to reflect the *Ludi Augustales* instituted by Tiberius as a multi-day festival (5-12 October) to commemorate Augustus (Tacitus, *Annals* 1.15.2; Cassius Dio 56.46.4, with the commentary of P. M. Swan, *The Augustan Succession* [Oxford, 2004], p. 356). By the mid-4th cen. Calendar of Philocalus, this had been reduced to one day, 12 October (cf. Salzman, *On Roman Time*, p. 141). The term *sebastophoros* was often used for celebrants of imperial cult (cf. fr. 3 below, where John conflates the term with *Augustalis*), and the involvement of regional officials probably stands in John's mind for the neighborhood organization of the worship of the *Lares* and *Genius Augusti*, although the relevant term there was *vicus* rather than *regio* (cf., e.g., P. Herz, "Emperors: Caring for the Empire and Their Successors," in Rüpke [ed.], *A Companion to Roman Religion* [Malden, MA, 2007], p. 310). R. Guillard, "Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin: le sébastophore," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 21 (1963), p. 199, in examining the *sebastophoros* as a later Byzantine official, begins his discussion with this anomalous passage (and the parallels); he strongly doubts the view that *sebastophoroi* and *regionarchai* are here treated as synonymous, a view which is, however, endorsed in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. *sebastophoros* (3: 1862).

¹² Part of the imperial palace at Constantinople.

¹³ This place (*Augusteum* / *Augustaeum* / *Augustaion* / *Augusteion* / *Augustion*—to be distinguished from the *Augusteus*, which was part of the palace) was an open courtyard in front of the imperial palace (ultimately between it and the Hagia Sophia), the earliest development of which is obscure: It certainly existed in the 5th century, and was later remodelled by Justinian. For John Lydus' account, cf. Hesychius' *Patria Constantinopoleos* 40 (Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* 1:17): "And he [i.e., Constantine] erected a statue of his own mother Helena upon a column and named the place *Augustaion*"; Procopius (*Buildings* 1.2.1 and 1.10.5) refers to it as an *agora* (market-place) "which the Byzantines call the *Augustaion*." For the idea that it was originally a "fish-shop," cf. *Suda* s.v. *Augustus* (with the account of the statue of Helena) [based on John Lydus, it seems] and s.v. *Justinian*; and the late Byzantine Ps.-Codinus, *Patria Constantinopoleos*, 2.15 [based on John Lydus, it appears, but substituting "the current ruler" for "Tiberius"] and 2.17: "Justinian, after building the Hagia Sophia, purified the courtyard and coated it with marble stucco—it had previously been a *gusteion*, or 'fish-shop'"; this text is now most conveniently available, with facing translation, in Berger, pp. 56-9; Hesychius' statement cited above is incorporated

139. On the day before the Nones of October,¹⁴ Democritus asserts that the Kids [i.e., the constellation *Haedi*] rise and that the North wind blows, while Eudoxus says that the middle of Aries sets.

On the Nones of October,¹⁵ Varro predicts that the Pleiades rise in the evening, and the West wind [*zephyros*] blows, and then also the South-West wind [*lips*].

140. Concerning the wooden horse, Euphorion says that it was a boat called "Horse" by the Greeks.¹⁶ But others say that it was a gate with this name in Troy, through which the Greeks entered. [164]

141. On the day before the Ides of October,¹⁷ Euctemon considers it to be the absolute middle of autumn.

On the 15th day before the Kalends of November,¹⁸ the sun enters Scorpio, as Callipus says.

On the 14th day before the Kalends of November,¹⁹ Metrodorus says that the Hyades rise in the evening, and [there is] a violent wind.

into this later compilation as 1.44 (Berger, pp. 26-7). C. Mango, *The Brazen House* (Copenhagen, 1959), p. 46, notes that the *Chronicon Paschale* (p. 593 Dindorf) reports that in A.D. 459 the city prefect Theodosius "built the Augustaion alongside the Great Church"—and that this source nevertheless also (pp. 528-29 Dindorf) gives the account that Constantine erected a statue of Helena and called the place "Augustaion." A. Cameron and J. Herrin (eds.), *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (Leiden, 1984), p. 262, citing Mango and the *Chron. Pasch.*, consider the association with Constantine the Great legendary. Finally, Mango (p. 46 n. 50) notes John Lydus' placement of the statue of Helena in the open area of the *Daphne* as a piece of information that conflicts with the location of the Augustaion (Berger, pp. 294-5 n. 4, similarly considers this a confusion with the *Augusteus*); yet John clearly does not see a conflict—it may be that he is using the term *Daphne* loosely to refer to the palace in general, or that the story about the statue of Helena originally did not refer to the Augustaion, but has been garbled at some stage in the transmission.

¹⁴ 6 Oct.

¹⁵ 7 Oct.

¹⁶ Euphorion fr. 68 in J. U. Powell (ed.), *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford, 1925), p. 43 = fr. 93 LCL (*Hellenistic Collection*, ed. J. Lightfoot, pp. 324-5, evincing some doubt about authenticity; some have emended the attribution here).

¹⁷ 14 Oct.

¹⁸ 18 Oct.

¹⁹ 19 Oct.

142. There are said to have been three Asclepii: ²⁰ First, the [son] of Apollo the [son] of Hephaestus; he invented the surgical probe. Second, the [son] of Ischys the [son] of Elatus and Coronis;²¹ <he> was buried <on the> borders <of Cynosuris>.²² Third, the [son] of Arsippus and Arsinoe the daughter of Leucippus; this one invented surgery and the forceps for extracting teeth, and he has a grave in Arcadia. The astronomers say that he is Ophiuchus, who stands over Scorpio.

143. On the day before the Kalends of November,²³ Varro says that Lyra rises together with the sun.

²⁰ For these Asclepii, cf. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 3.22.57—and note that Cicero also says (3.22.55) that the "first" Hephaestus (Vulcan), the son of Caelus, was the father of one particular Apollo. For other such lists in John's text and their parallels, see §51 above. The present passage is printed and translated as T. 380 in E. J. E. and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius: Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies*, pp. 193-4 (repr. Baltimore, 1998). It is unclear why Asclepius appears at this point in the text (the Roman celebration, commemorating the temple foundation, was on 1 Jan.), but it is tempting to see a connection with the timing of the *Athenian* celebration of the god at the Epidauria (18 Boedromion: roughly, early October), for which see Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, pp. 63-5.

²¹ The usual story is that Coronis (already pregnant with Asclepius) fell in love with Ischys, thus arousing Apollo's anger. Cicero's account makes this Asclepius the "brother of the second Mercury," thus (3.22.56) the son of Valens [= Ischys] and *Phoronis*, the latter emended by some editors to Coronis.

²² I.e., Cynosura. Wuensch here (following Hase) prints a supplement based on Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 2.30.2, which also fills out a parallel with Cicero's list.

²³ 31 Oct.

NOVEMBER

144. Cincius, in his [work] *On Festivals*,¹ says that among the ancients, November was called *Mercedinus*,² that is, "Remunerative." For in it, the hired laborers³ would contribute the profits of the past cycle to the [land]-owners, as further returns were coming in in turn. It was called [165] November later, from the number [nine]—for it is *ninth* from March.

145. An oracle from the Sibylline [Books] declared that the Romans would preserve their kingdom just so long as they took care of the city's statues. And this oracle was in fact fulfilled; for when Avitus, who was the last to reign over Rome, dared to melt down the statues, thereafter it was the kingdom of Italy.⁴

146. The Alans are Colchians who are also called Lazi.⁵

147. Marius the Great, while making war upon the Cimbri and the Teutones, saw in a dream that he [would] overcome the enemy if he sacrificed his own daughter to the "Evil-Averting" [gods]—and, preferring his fellow-citizens to his natural instincts, he did this, and overcame the enemy.⁶

¹ Fr. 5 Huschke / Bremer = fr. 10 Funaioli; the Latin title of the work was apparently *De fastis* (Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.12).

² Cf. Plutarch, *Numa* 18.2; *Julius Caesar* 59.4—using the term *Mercedinus* for the intercalary month (elsewhere *Mercedonius*) periodically added near the end of February.

³ Huschke plausibly suggests the correction μισθωταί (i.e., tenant-farmers) rather than μισθωτοί (hired laborers).

⁴ Avitus was emperor 455-456. For the (melting and) selling the metal from bronze statues, and the consequent discontent with Avitus, cf. John of Antioch, *Historia Chronikê*, fr. 202. Compare the oracle mentioned by John Lydus in fr. 7 below, to the effect that the Romans would cease being fortunate when they forgot their ancestral speech; the fulfillment of both happened at about the same time, in John's view.

⁵ John equates the land of the Lazi (Lazica) with that of the Colchians in *De mag.* 3.34 and *De ost.* 56; the further equation of the Alans with these two is not attested elsewhere, but certainly reflects a strong Alan population in the northern Caucasus region of Lazica (cf. Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, p. 62). The area was a zone of military conflict between the Byzantines and the Persians in the mid-6th cen.; see J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1923; repr. New York, 1958), 2: 113-120; A. Alemany, "Sixth Century Alania: Between Byzantium, Sasanian Iran and the Turkic World," in M. Compagnot, P. Raffetta, and G. Scarcia (eds.), *Ērān ud Anērān = Webfestschrift Marshak 2003* (Venice, 2006) [<http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/Articles/alemany.pdf>]

⁶ Cf. Ps.-Plutarch, *Greek and Roman Parallel Stories* [*Parallela Minora*] 20 (310d5-10) = *FGrHist* 289F1. For the generic appeal to "Evil-Averting" (*apotropaioi*) gods, and the use of the term more specifically as epithet of Apollo, for example, see R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society*, pp. 413-14; id., "Apotropaic gods," *Brill's New Pauly* 1: 891-2; Jessen, *PRE* II.1: 189-90 (s.v. Ἀποτρόπαιος).

Erechtheus, the leader of Attica, also did this, persuaded not by a dream but by an oracle, and he defeated his foes.⁷

...the maiden...the kindness of the *daimôn*...the <hammer> she went past every habitation and to those...she roused, according to Var<ro> the Roman.⁸

It is said that <something similar> hap<pen>ed to the Lace<daem>onians... <according to> Aristides,⁹ who, in the fi<fth [?] [book]...> says: When...this [166] <plague was oppressing Lacedaemon, with ma>ny perishing, the Pythian god gave an <or>acle that <t>he disease <would cease> if every year, a yo<uthful and noble> maiden were <sa>crificed to the <"E>vil-Averting" god<s>. <And> as the lawless supers<titio>n was thus practiced <ever>y autumn, it happened at one time that <the lot fell> to Helen, and Tynda<re>us brou<g>ht his daugh<ter, adorn>ed <with g>arl<an>ds, to the altars. When h<e> was beginning the <la>wless <sac>rifice, an eagle swooped down and snatched the ki<ng>'s sword, <and> released it <nea>r a certain white heifer. And his bodyguards, <fo>llowing af<ter>, and becoming eyewitnesses of what had happened, led <th>e cow to Tyndareus. And he, marvelling at Providence, ceased from <th>e

⁷ Cf. Ps.-Plutarch, *Greek and Roman Parallel Stories* [*Parallela Minora*] 20 (310d1-5). The examples of Marius and Erechtheus are similarly cited by Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 3.42.7 (= *FGrHist* 42F4).

⁸ Cf. Ps.-Plutarch, *Greek and Roman Parallel Stories* [*Parallela Minora*] 35 (314d) = *FGrHist* 286F10. Here in particular, the full text of Ps.-Plutarch will help to explain the references:

When a plague had gained a wide hold on the city of Falerii, and many perished of it, an oracle was given that the terror would abate if they sacrificed a maiden to Juno each year. This superstitious practice persisted and once, as a maiden chosen by lot, Valeria Luperca, had drawn the sword, an eagle swooped down, snatched it up, and placed a wand tipped with a small hammer upon the sacrificial offerings; but the sword the eagle cast down upon a certain heifer which was grazing near the shrine. The maiden understood the import: she sacrificed the heifer, took up the hammer, and went about from house to house, tapping the sick lightly with her hammer and rousing them, bidding each of them to be well again; whence even to this day this mystic rite is performed. So Aristides in the nineteenth book of his *Italian History*. (tr. F. C. Babbitt, LCL)

Note that whereas Ps.-Plutarch cites "Aristides," John here cites Varro; Wuensch refers to Mirsch's edition of Varro's *Antiquitates rerum humanarum*—with a version of the story about *Erechtheus* included by John just earlier. A. Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World*, p. 133 n. 45, notes the possibility that John himself added the reference to Varro (so already Jacoby, *FGrHist*, vol. 3a, p. 377). Cameron (pp. 127-34) is in general quite skeptical about the source citations (Jacoby's "Schwindelautoren") offered by Ps.-Plutarch. T. Köves, "Valeria Luperca," *Hermes* 90 (1962), p. 216, on the other hand, building on Jacoby's work, "Die Überlieferung," pp. 73-144 (and cf. Jacoby in *FGrHist*, vol. 3a, p. 368), sees no reason to believe the reference to Varro was not in the common source.

⁹ As Wuensch points out, Aristodemus, not Aristides, is cited by Ps.-Plutarch as the source for this story.

m<urd>erous custom, and, sacrificing the he<if>er, brought relief from the suffering of the plague.¹⁰

148. On the fourth and third days before the Nones of November,¹¹ in the temple of Isis, [is] the con<cl>usion of the festivals. And there was also celebra<ted> the one called Drepan...¹²—<a>t which festival, Metrodorus says the Sout<h wind> blows. And it seemed good to the multitude to go unwashed until the end, as they say, in order to escape from disease.

On the ei<ghth> day before the Id<es of No>vember,¹³ honors for Dem<eter> and <Eilith>yia were performed by the women. Eilithyia <is the> ove<rseer> of <t>hose who are giving birth, <so t>ha<t the on>e, as Plut<arch> says, may <make> t<wo> in <simi>lar fashion <to> itself.¹⁴ And they say that Artemis is <also su>ch, [167] for those who are

¹⁰ Cf. Ps.-Plutarch, *Greek and Roman Parallel Stories* [*Parallela Minora*] 35 (314c5-11) = *FGrHist* 22F1.

¹¹ 2 and 3 Nov. This would correspond with the Hilaria of Isis (celebrating the recovery of the parts of Osiris' body) on the 3rd of Nov., as mentioned on the Calendar of Philocalus. For the fall festival days of Isis (Isia) of which this was the end, see Alvar, *Romanising Oriental Gods*, pp. 300-302; Salzman, *On Roman Time*, pp. 169-72..

¹² The remains of the text here indicate someone connected with a sickle (*drepanê*); however, the space available seems too small to hold an epithet such as *Drepanêphoros* ("sickle-bearer"), which could be a description of Cronus, for example.

¹³ 6 Nov. A. Bendlin, "Mundus Cereris," in C. Auffarth and J. Rüpke (eds.), *Επιτομή τῆς οἰκουμένης: Studien zur römischen Religion in Antike und Neuzeit* (Stuttgart, 2002), p. 69, connects this with the third day on which "*mundus patet*" (8 November—but see pp. 44, 65, for Bendlin's discussion of the dates). The *mundus*, a pit thought to be a sort of gateway from the underworld (Festus, pp. 144-7 Lindsay; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.16.16-18), was normally covered with a dome-like structure, being opened only on 24 Aug., 5 Oct., and 8 Nov. While Festus says the (lower part of the) *mundus* was consecrated to the *Manes*, Macrobius says the time of its opening was sacred to Dis and Proserpina; these associations would dovetail better with John's upcoming discussion of the dead, Pluto, and Persephone (§149). On this aspect of the *mundus* see also B. S. Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres* (Austin, 1996), pp. 63-5. Festus, however, also (p. 126 Lindsay) refers to this pit as *Cereris qui mundus appellatur* ("the pit which is called 'of Ceres'"), and the connections with grain and grain-storage have been seen as at least equally important by many scholars; certainly a focus on Ceres is suitable for *both* (note, e.g., Versnel, *Inconsistencies*, 2: 172-6). Finally, the *mundus* was also linked with the foundation of Rome, serving as the "navel" (*umbilicus*) of the city and the center of the circle marked out by Romulus himself for the new city (Plutarch, *Romulus* 11; cf. Versnel, 2: 173), which connection seems to come to the fore in §150 below. For further discussion of the *mundus*, see M. Humm, "Le *mundus* et le Comitium: représentations symboliques de l'espace de la cité," *Histoire Urbaine* 10 (2004), pp. 43-61 [online at <http://www.cairn.info/revue-histoire-urbaine-2004-2-page-43.htm>]; J.-M. Pailler, *Bacchanalia* (Rome, 1988), pp. 409-65; Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, s.v. "Mundus."

¹⁴ Fr. 188 Sandbach. In this sentence, with Sandbach, I am using the supplements suggested by Hase, printed in Wuensch's *apparatus*. Cf., however (albeit with no close verbal parallel), also Porphyry, *On Images* fr. 359 (lines 74-6) Smith: "And Eilithyia is the same [as Hecate / Artemis], a symbol of the generative power; and she carries a bow, like Artemis, on account of the keenness of the birth-pangs."

p<reg>ant, in their suffering. But accordi<ng to th>e *arithmetical* ac<count>, Artemis <i>s the one who produces the birth-proc<ess> that moves toward completeness / evenness [*eis to ar<tion>*]¹⁵ and for this purpose hurries to c<ome> forth. Therefore, <too>, the myth is told that Apoll<o>, when he was being orn from Le<to>...when he had been displayed, she, serving the mother as midwife, sh<owed[?]>...to the same forth-.....herself and Apo<llo>.....¹⁶

149. <On the seventh day before the Ides of Novem>ber¹⁷.....ten.....is said to be placed underneath.....according to the <Egy>ptian Hermes, who in the so-called "Perfect Discourse" speaks as follows: "But the souls that have gone beyond the rule of piety, when they are freed from the body, are handed over to the *daimons* and move down through the air [as though] launched from a sling, down to the fiery and hail-filled zones, which the poets call Pyriphlegethon and Tartarus."¹⁸ Hermes, for his part, [is speaking] only about the purification of souls; but Iamblichus, in the first [book] of his work "On the Descent of the Soul," also mentions their restoration, allotting the area above the moon as far as the sun to Hades, with whom he says the souls that have been purified stand—and that it [i.e., the sun] is Pluto; and the moon is Persephone.¹⁹ That [is what] the philo<sophers> [say.] But the sacred rites of the festival were performed with words of praise at the unquenchable fire of He<stia, concerning which Porphy>ry s<ay>s the foll<owing>: "By this sacrifice welcoming the visible heavenly gods, and bestowing undying honors on them through fire, they would also preserve

¹⁵ Cf. 2.7 above, discussing the *second* day of the week (Monday): "Hence, she is called Artemis, from the even [*artios*] and material number [i.e., the number 2]."

¹⁶ At the end of this section, the remnants are so scanty that little detailed sense can be made of the odd letter or word preserved. The story, however, appears to be that Artemis helped Leto bring forth Apollo (as in Ps.-Apollodorus, *Library* 1.21).

¹⁷ 7 Nov. The occasion for John's attention to underworld subjects here may be the opening of the *mundus* on 8 Nov. (see the note on the previous section).

¹⁸ Cf. §32 above. For the Hermetic text cited, cf. *Asclepius* 28 (with Nock-Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, 2: 334, printing John Lydus' quotation as a parallel to the extant Latin translation; Scott, *Hermetica* 1: 370-71, by contrast, suggests adding it a little later): "But if, on the other hand, [the highest *daemon*] sees [the soul] besmeared with the stains of misdeeds and befouled by vices, he casts it down from above to the depths and hands it over to the frequently quarreling squalls and twisters of air, fire, and water, so that, with eternal punishments, it may be buffeted and forever driven in different directions by the material currents."

¹⁹ This appears to have been different from Iamblichus' *On the Soul*; cf. Dubuisson-Schamp, 1: lxviii-lxix; Dillon, *Iamblichi Chalcidensis in Platonis Dialogos Commentariorum Fragmenta*, p. 19. Finamore and Dillon (eds.), *Iamblichus: De Anima*, p. 202, cite the present passage to illuminate one of the fragments of that work.

undying fire in the temples for them, on the grounds that it was most exactly like them."²⁰

<Eu>dokus say<s> winter²¹ [begins] from this day.

150. On <t>he following day,²² [there is] a memorial of Remus and Romulus.²³ When Amu<lius>, being tyrannically dispos<ed> <toward Numit>or, <killed his> son, and <comm>anded that his daughter be a prie<stess>—<but once> she <had given birth, as they s>ay, to Ares' [offspring], he himself [i.e., Amulius] <in> fear orde<red the inf>ants to be thrown into the sea. But when his bod<ygua>rds <expo>sed them on the banks of the Tiber, a sh<e-wol>f approa<ch>ed them and offered <to> them her teats. A sh<eph>erd, who had been watching this, to<ok> up the children and reared them as his o<wn>—and they founde<d> Rome. The same [story can be found] also in Zopyrus of <Byzantium>...²⁴

151. Beginning from the fifteenth of November, and all through December, the Romans would be idle, [169] being engaged only in festivities, because of the shortness of the days.²⁵

152. On the seventh day before the Kalends of December,²⁶ Democritus says the sun enters Sagittarius.

It seemed good to the Romans to call beans *faba*, from the [term for the] West wind—when it begins to blow, this sort of plant naturally starts to sprout. And in their [language], the West wind is called *Favonius*.²⁷ Hence also March [is called] *Zephyrites*,²⁸

²⁰ Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 2.5.2 (citing Theophrastus)—the text of Porphyry, however, reads "*we too preserve the undying fire...*" By "this sacrifice," in context, Porphyry (Theophrastus) is referring to the offering of *plants* as the original form of sacrifice.

²¹ Alternatively, "stormy weather."

²² 8 Nov.

²³ T. P. Wiseman, *Remus: A Roman Myth* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 136, suggests some connection here with the *Ludi Plebeii* (4-17 November)—and (p. 212 n. 36) with the fact that 8 Nov. was a day on which "*mundus patet*" (cf. §148 above for the association with the foundation of Rome).

²⁴ Cf. Ps.-Plutarch, *Greek and Roman Parallel Stories* [*Parallela Minora*] 36 (314f1-315a3). Ps.-Plutarch cites "Zopyrus" for the previous story, a Greek parallel to the tale of Romulus and Remus, for which he cites Aristides.

²⁵ Cf. the discussion of *bruma* / *Brumalia* in §158 below.

²⁶ 25 Nov.

²⁷ John gives the Greek letter *beta* in the transliteration of both *faba* and *Favonius*.

²⁸ Cf. §33 above.

and similarly January [is called] *Monias*, from the *monad*,²⁹ and October, *Sementilius*, from the seed³⁰—as antiquity has handed it down. For the year, as established by Numa, begins from January, while the [year established] by Romulus [began] from March. And the chronological beginning [established] by Numa is in harmony with the beginning [established] straightway by Romulus. For indeed, Romulus began to rule in the spring,³¹ but he carefully observed the month of Mars; and Numa, watching for the sun's being in the midst of Capricorn, seems to have been in agreement with Romulus—for Capricorn is the exaltation of Mars.³²

²⁹ I.e., the number one, as being the first month (cf. §3 above).

³⁰ Cf. §135 above.

³¹ Alternatively, "set the beginning [i.e., of the year] in the spring." Interpretation is difficult because the Greek word *archê* can mean either "beginning" or "rule"; here, the beginning of the year has been the main issue, but if that is the only point again (i.e., the year began in March), the next part of the sentence follows illogically and redundantly. As translated above, John Lydus is presumably referring to the Spring date of Rome's foundation (21 April—cf. §73 above) and hence, the beginning of Romulus' reign.

³² Cf. §34 above.

DECEMBER

153. December was so named as being itself the tenth [month] from March.

154.¹ ...with harmony having been divided.....everything and it is guarded.....<the> experience² of <Phaeth>on and [170] the actions of the <wat>er <at the time of Deucali>on <h>int at <a certain image> of th<e passions that> have <become apparent in t>he universe. <But the Phoeni>cians have<a> somewhat different opinion about Cronus, by w<ay o>f homonymy, <or in accordance with> a certain a<llegor>y, as <one can determi>ne <from th>e second [book] of *Phoenician [History]* of Herennius Philo.³ And the history tea<ch>es that he also reigned o<ver> Libya <and> Sicily <and the western re>gions, <as> I related <earl>ier,⁴ and that he founded a city, as Charax says⁵—t<he one then ca>lled Cronia, but now Hierapolis,⁶ as Isigonus <On the Pal>ic Gods⁷ and Polemo⁸ and Aeschylus in his *Aetna* ha<ve taught,⁹ or as> Euhemerus'

¹ The damaged opening of this section must have introduced an association between December and Cronus (in connection with Saturnalia) and the symbolic significance of Cronus; the "homonymy" mentioned early on in the surviving portion would seem to have been that between Gk. *kronos* (the god's name) and *chronos* ("time"), as mentioned a little later—unless John is suggesting that the Phoenicians' "Cronus" was a different person from the usual Cronus; cf. §51 above for lists of such homonymous gods.

² Gk. *pathos*, sometimes to be translated "passion" (as later in this sentence)—or "suffering," which would also be appropriate for Phaëthon.

³ *FGrHist* 790F5. In the extant fragments, Philo in fact *complains* about those who have taken in an allegorical sense the historical events he relates (*FGrHist* 790F1[26]; F2[39]).

⁴ Cf. §71 above: "And Crates says that Cronus reigned over Sicily and Italy and most of Libya, harshly..."

⁵ *FGrHist* 103F32 (= fr. 17 Müller [*FHG* 3: 640]).

⁶ Diodorus 3.61.3 (= Dionysius Scytobrachion, *FGrHist* 32F7) says that many high places in Sicily and western lands were called "Cronia" after Cronus; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1.34, asserts that the Capitoline hill itself was once called the hill "of Cronus" (cf. Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.42)—and that there were many places named after Cronus / Saturn in Italy, which as a whole was once known as *Saturnia* (cf. Vergil, *Georg.* 2.173; *Aen.* 8.329). As for the supposed new name "Hierapolis," Wittig, p. 62-3, reports that cod. O here does have a small lacuna, allowing a potentially different supplement for the text here. Rather than $\nu\upsilon\nu\ \delta\epsilon\ \iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\nu$, he suggests that $\nu\upsilon\nu\ \delta'\ \iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu\ \pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\nu$ could have been the original reading. For a *Kronion* attested near Himera, see Diodorus 15.16.3; some coins of Himera showed representation of Cronus on the obverse (see B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, 2nd ed. [Oxford, 1911] p. 145).

⁷ Fr. 20 Müller (*FHG* 4: 437); cf. also fr. 7 (4: 436).

⁸ Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 5.19.26-29) seems to be quoting the relevant passage of Polemo (fr. 83 Müller [*FHG* 3: 140-41]); the present passage is printed by Müller as fr. 102 (3: 148).

⁹ Aeschylus' *Aetnaean Women* (not *Aetna*) represented the origin of the *Palici* (on which see Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 5.17.15-31, including citation of Aeschylus at 5.17.24). The current passage is fr. 11 Radt.

<whol>e history,¹⁰ adorn<ed> with details, [says], setting o<ut cleverly> his spec<ulations>¹¹ about the so-called gods.....hides <away>...<of al>l sor<ts>...divine; <so that also> P.....¹² says <f>in<ely in h>is [work] *On Dionysus* that the <just among ki>ng<s and pri>ests were honored by <the> gods thems<elves> with equal honors and titles and thus <were called gods> in a <myth>ical manner, while the history <has b>een transmitted <in a> fic<tionalized form>.

But there are some who [171] say that Cron<us—or, b>y a ch<ange of letter, Ch>ronus ["time"]—was the child of Uranus ["sky / heavens"]; for indeed, *time* derives from the <movem>ent of the *heavens*.¹³ And in his temple, as Phyl<archus says in the> 17th [book]¹⁴ and Menander in <the> 1st [book],¹⁵ no woman or <dog o>r fl<y> would enter.¹⁶

Such thin<gs, th>en, have <been said> by "those outside";¹⁷ <but the sacred> account¹⁸ runs as follows, *verbatim*—for <I w>ill addu<ce> the very words of the <gre>at Proclus:¹⁹

¹⁰ T55 Winiarczyk. For Euhemerus, see also M. Winiarczyk, *The "Sacred History" of Euhemerus of Messene* (Berlin, 2013), with a summary of Euhemerus' account of Cronus appearing on pp. 91-2. Note also the tabulation of attested similarities between Euhemerus and other major "Euhemeristic" historians (Dionysius Scytobrachion and Herennius Philo) in Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos*, p. 243.

¹¹ Gk. *theôria*.

¹² Hase suggested "Plutarch" as a supplement here; Wuensch guesses "Polycharmus," citing *FGH* 4:480, where a work "On Aphrodite" by Polycharmus of Naucratis is cited.

¹³ Cf. 3.15 above.

¹⁴ *FGrHist* 81F33 = fr. 34 Müller (*FHG* 1: 343).

¹⁵ *FGrHist* 783F6; fr. 6 Müller (*FHG* 4: 447). Menander (of Ephesus) wrote especially about Phoenician history; Müller reports Meineke's suggestion that *Melanthius*, who was credited with a work on the Eleusinian mysteries, was the intended reference here rather than Menander. Melanthius' fragments are collected in *FGrHist* 326 / *FHG* 4: 444.

¹⁶ Cf. Pliny, *NH* 10.79, who says that neither dogs nor flies enter the temple of *Hercules* in the Forum Boarium; women were also not allowed to participate in the worship of Hercules there (Propertius 4.9.69—specifically in reference to the Ara Maxima; cf. also Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.28). Hence, C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* (Königsberg, 1829), 2: 1095-6, suggests that John's text has confused Hercules for Cronus somehow.

¹⁷ In Christian authors, this expression is frequently used to refer to pagans; here, however, it seems to refer to run-of-the mill historians, as opposed to esoteric philosophers like Proclus, who is quoted next.

¹⁸ Gk. *hieros logos*.

¹⁹ This "quotation," which is not verbally identical to any extant passage of Proclus, is nevertheless at least a compendium of authentic views of Proclus; see especially *Comm. on Plato's Cratylus* 63, 105-7, 111, 148-9; Wuensch (following Hase) usefully cites *Platonic Theology*, p. 258C (in the edition of Aemilius Portus) = 5.5 (5: 24 Saffrey-Westerink); cf. also *Comm. on Plato's Timaeus* 3: 188 Diehl. For general treatment of Cronus in Proclus, see R. M. van den Berg, *Proclus' Commentary on the Cratylus in Context* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 156-60; Brisson, "Kronos, Summit of the Intellective Hebdomad in Proclus' Interpretation of the *Chaldaean Oracles*," in G van Riel and C. Macé (eds.), *Platonic Ideas and Concept Formation in Ancient and Medieval Thought* (Leuven, 2004), pp. 191-210.

And Cronus <indeed>, being fourth,²⁰ <both> receives the scepter of his father <by force> and passes it on to his <child> under <comp>ulsion, according to the outward appea<rance> of the myth. And the myth-writers²¹ appear to have taken the cause of <this sor>t of verbal elaboration from the particular character<istics of the g>od. For he is the leader of the Titan<ic> or<der>, on account of his separative [faculty] and [being] <the> highest of intel<lectual> [entities],²² among which difference shone forth—and for this reason <they say that he> both receive<s> and gives kingship, as <the power> that struggles²³ in a warlike and <forcible> manner <to urge on> the second things against the fir<st>.²⁴ For the ra<ce> of difference is truly ill-dispo<sed and> anti-social, <as> Plato says.²⁵ Hence indeed <the son is said> to separate <himself> from the father, and <the s>on [is said] to seize his <rule in turn>, [172] <for>cing <the> harmony <toward> both on account of the particular Titan<ic> nature.²⁶

²⁰ Cronus is "fourth" in the sequence of regal status: Phanes — Night — Uranus — Cronus — Zeus — Dionysus (Proclus, *Comm. on Crat.* 105).

²¹ Gk. *mythikoi*.

²² Cf. Proclus, *Comm. on Crat.* 107: τῶν νοερῶν ἰδίως καλουμένων θεῶν ἀκρότατος ὢν ὁ Κρόνος (tr. Duvick: "Cronus, who is highest of the gods properly called intellectual...").

²³ Here I would be tempted to suggest a possible emendation to consider in re-thinking the text here: ὀρίζουσιν rather than the ms. ἐρίζουσιν; in Proclus' discussions, Cronus is typically associated with *distinction* and *separation*.

²⁴ Alternatively, "<to add> the second things to the fir<st>." Bandy, using Wuensch's supplements: "he both takes and gives up his kingship, that is, the second rank combatively and forcibly applies the power which contends against the first rank..." The text, however, is uncertain. Hase supplements quite differently, and translates as follows: *idcirco eum quasi pugnans ac vi adhibita cum accipere ferunt tum tradere regnum, potentiamque secunda cum primis contendentes constituunt*. The general point seems to be an elaboration of the idea that Cronus separates between the Uranian (connective) order and the Titanic (disjunctive) order; cf. Proclus, *Comm. on Crat.* 148, describing Cronus as "arming the other [Titans] against their father."

²⁵ M. Mayer, in *Roschers Lexikon* 2: 1474 s.v. Kronos (followed by Wuensch *ad loc.*) cites Plato, *Laws* 3 (701c), arguing that "Proclus" is alluding to Plato's mention of the "Titanic nature" (although the only verbal parallel is the adjective "Titanic"), here identified as the "race of difference," with Cronus being its leader by virtue of his separative power. Cf. Proclus, *Comm. on Plato's Cratylus* 111: τὸ ... Τιτανικὸν γένος διακρίσει χαίρει καὶ ἐτερότησι, προόδοις τε καὶ πολλαπλασιασμοῖς τῶν δυνάμεων (tr. Duvick: "The Titanic class...takes pleasure in discriminations and differences, processions and multiplications of powers").

²⁶ Further "separating" his kingdom from that of his father. The text here, however, is obscure and uncertain. Bandy translates (with Wuensch's supplements): "...hence clearly the son is said also to separate himself from his father and the son, in turn, to seize sovereignty, having violated the harmony between each of the two on account of the individuality of the Titans." Hase supplements differently, and also takes the verb καταλαμβάνειν to mean "understand" rather than "seize", translating: *Quapropter et distingui eum oportet omnino a patre, et sic intellegere Jovis cum utroque concordiam, ob proprietatem Titaniam...* It is tempting to imagine, however, that the original text was something resembling the material

Such things he too wrote in his <ex>planation of the sacred m<yths>.

At the new moon²⁷ of the month, they would refr<ain from [eating] cab>bage and would <pr>ay to Poseidon and Aphrodite and Amphitrite,²⁸ <and> f<urthermore the> powers²⁹ [would pray] to Cronus on behalf of <the> coming winter—<and> lik<ewise> also to Tyche [i.e., Fortune] the Overseer, to Sophrosyne ["moderation / self-control"], and to Eros, whom the myth-writers consider to be the child of Z<ephyrus the gi>ant, as Eurytus the Laced<aemonian l>yric poet says. He begins thus: "Eros, of delightful appearance."³⁰ And Plato in the *Symposium* says that at the birth of Aphrodite, Penia ["poverty"] came up and plotted in secret against Porus ["resources"], who was drunk

immediately following the parallel just cited for the previous sentence, from Proclus' *Commentary on Plato's Cratylus* 111, describing the relations of Cronus, as exemplifying the Titanic class, with both Uranus and Zeus: "Indeed, as a God of division, Cronus separates his own kingdom from that of Uranus, but as pure Intellect he distances himself from the creation in matter. This is why the demiurgic class in its turn is distinguished from him. In either case, then, the 'castration' (*tomê*) has the following significance: insofar as he is a Titan, Cronus is cut from the connecting Causes; but insofar as he does not give himself over to the creation in matter, he is cut from the Demiurge Zeus" (tr. Duvick).

²⁷ I.e., the first day of the month (from the terminology strictly proper to a lunar calendar).

²⁸ Wissowa (2nd ed.), p. 227 n. 4 [= 1st ed., p. 251 n. 11], suggests that these two goddesses are intended as the Greek equivalents of Venilia and Salacia, associated with the Roman Neptune. Degraffi, p. 533, further suggests Fortuna Respiciens (with the Latin cult title calqued as Greek *ephoros*), Prudentia (i.e., Providentia), and Cupido, for the Roman originals of the other names. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, p. 199, reports these as possibilities, but with uncertainty whether they reflect the earlier period. Instead of Prudentia, *Pudicitia* might be intended—cf. Festus (p. 282) for a statue of Pudicitia that was significantly also identified by some as Fortuna; and for Pudicitia Patricia and Pudicitia Plebeia, see Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, p. 322; S. P. Oakley, *Commentary on Livy Books VI-X*, vol. 4 (Oxford, 2008), pp. 247-50.

²⁹ "Powers" (*dynameis*) could be a reference to military "forces," as Bandy translates it; however, what rites are envisioned is unclear. It is further uncertain whether the sentence should be punctuated as above (with Wuensch), or whether (with Bandy) Cronus is the first of a series of four, ending with Eros, all being invoked by the "powers."

³⁰ Gk. *agalmoeidês* (a *hapax*), which could also mean "of glorious appearance" or "statue-like"; for the unknown Eurytus, cf. Bergk (ed.), *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, 4th ed., 3: 639, who endorses Meineke's emendation (not Wolff's, *pace* Wuensch) to *aglaomeidês*, "brightly smiling" (equally unattested, but related to epithets such as *philomeidês*). Bergk dismisses attempts to attribute this to Tyrtaeus (G. Wolff, "Kritisch-Exegetisches: Zu griechischen Dichtern," *Rheinisches Museum* 19 [1864], p. 464) or to Alcman (M. Schmidt, "Kritische Bemerkungen," *Philologus* 18 [1864], p. 226). M. Mayer (in *Roschers Lexicon* 2: 323) suggests that the words cited by John here actually belong with Alcaeus fr. 327 (the preserved letters ΛAK hinting at the original $\Lambda\text{AK}[\text{AIO}\Sigma]$, with further corruption assumed in "Eurytus"), but as Campbell (LCL, *ad loc.*) points out, the word as emended cannot appear at the beginning of an Alcaic stanza, as would be required.

on nectar, and in this manner Eros was conceived.³¹ On this basis the great Moses speaks allegorically about the generation of mankind.³²

On this day,³³ Varro says that the Hyades set and [it is] winter from this point on.

155. On the next day,³⁴ Eudoxus predicts the rising of Sagittarius, and the winter / storm.

And they would also celebrate the festival called Agonalia³⁵ in honor of Helios Daphnêphoros and Genarchês,³⁶ just as at Athens the rites at the Daphnephoria [were celebrated].³⁷ On this [day] also the festival <they> called <"Septi>mundius" was celebrated—that is, the circuit around [173] the ci<ty, since> the walls of Rome were spread <over seven h>ills.³⁸ <And> the name<s> of the<se> are: <Pa>latium, Esquilium, Tarpeium,³⁹ Aventinum, Tibu<rtium, Pra>en<es>tium, Viminalium.⁴⁰ But <among> the

³¹ *Symposium* 203b.

³² Cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum* 4.39, who suggests that Penia in the *Symposium* is equivalent to the serpent in Genesis, Porus to Adam.

³³ I.e., 1 Dec.

³⁴ I.e., 2 Dec.

³⁵ Cf. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, pp. 60-61; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 280-82. This word or related words are associated with various days in the calendar, including Dec. 11 (on the same day as Septimontium).

³⁶ That is, "the Sun Laurel-Bearer and Ancestor." This is likely a reference to Sol Indiges / Patrius, as Degraffi, p. 536, argues (with the Agonalia in his honor completing the cycle of such celebrations, the others being oriented toward Janus [9 Jan.], Mars [17 March], and Vediovis [21 May]); on the other hand, Wissowa (2nd ed.), p. 439 n. 6 [= 1st ed., p. 372 n. 7], refrains from attempting to identify the old Roman god involved here; see further discussion at p. 317 [= 1st ed., p. 262]. Cf. also Diodorus Siculus, 37.11, for an oath of allegiance at the time of the Social War, sworn by "Helios Genarchês."

³⁷ A Daphnephoria is attested in Boeotia (Proclus [probably different from the Neoplatonist philosopher quoted by John Lydus earlier] in Photius, *Bibliotheca* 239 [p. 321b Bekker]), but the epithet Daphnêphoros for Apollo is found more widely.

³⁸ For the term *Septimontium* as a designation for the set of hills constituting Rome and for a religious festival involving those hills, see Varro, *De lingua Latina* 6.24; 5.41ff.; Festus, pp. 458-9, 474-6 Lindsay—and for discussion of the relationship between the sources (specifically Varro and Verrius Flaccus), see M.-K. Lhommé, "Varron et Verrius au 2^{ème} siècle après Jésus-Christ," in F. Glinister et al. (eds.), *Verrius, Festus, & Paul: Lexicography, Scholarship, & Society* (London, 2007), pp. 34-35, 44.

³⁹ An alternate name for the Capitoline hill.

⁴⁰ Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, p. 64 n. 2, reports that, considering these to be masculine accusative names, Wuensch "now" supplements differently: ὀνομά<ζουσι δὲ> τοῦ<του>... ("<And they> name the<se>: <Pa>latius, Esquilus, Tarpeius, Aventinus, Tibu<rtius, Pra>en<es>tius, Viminalius.")

ancients, [they were named] differently, as follows: Aven<t>inus, Caelius, <Esq>uilus, Capitolinus, Velinensius,⁴¹ Qui<rina>lius, Pala<tinus>.⁴²

156. On the third day before the Nones of Decem<ber>⁴³ is a <day> without work, on which Euc<te>mon s<ays> the Dog [i.e., Canis Major] rises and <the wint>er be<gi>ns.

And a chariot-race was held, at which abom<inable [?]>⁴⁴...

157. The *dipundii*, meaning "new soldiers," whom the Italians also call *tirones* from the fact that they serve because of their need for sustenance.⁴⁵ And they called them *dipundii* from their having been recently summoned to military service; for [it is] not [the case]...and they called them <dipun>dii from the fact that they endured military service, and were content with [wages of] just two coins—for the Romans customarily called two obols a *dipundius*.⁴⁶

158. The Romans customarily divided their citizenry into three [groups] and distinguished those who were suitable for arms, those [who were suitable] for farming, and [174] those [who were suitable] for hunting; and the season of winter brings an end to these [pursuits]. For in it, neither do they arm themselves, nor do they practice farming, because of the season's cold and the shortness of the days—and hence in the

⁴¹ This appears to be an adjectival formation from the *Velia* (cf. Wittig, *Quaestiones Lydianae*, p. 64).

⁴² John's lists do not square with any other particular list, although his second one is fairly close to the Late Republican standard Palatine, Capitoline, Aventine, Caelian, Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal (cf. S. B. Platner's important article, "The Septimontium and the Seven Hills," *Classical Philology* 1 [1906], p. 70 [online at http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Journals/CP/1/1/Septimontium*.html]; Degraasi, p. 536, assembles the sources); the odd inclusion of *Tiburtius* and *Praenestius* is presumably inspired by the gates and roads leading to Tibur and Praeneste, as suggested by J. Poucet, "Le Septimontium et la Succusa chez Festus et Varron," *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 32 (1960), p. 44 n. For recent discussion, reacting in particular to the theories of Andrea Carandini (e.g., *Rome: Day One* [Princeton, 2011], pp. 18-50) regarding the antiquity of the Septimontium, see F. Fulminante, *The Urbanisation of Rome and Latium Vetus from the Bronze Age to the Archaic Era* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 75-77; C. Vout, *The Hills of Rome: Signature of an Eternal City* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 59ff.

⁴³ 3 Dec, on which women at Rome worshipped the Bona Dea (cf. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, pp. 199-201; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 255-56).

⁴⁴ The remains of a word here could point to an original meaning "deprecatory (prayers / rites)." Could the reference be to the Consualia of 15 December, at which (as at the festival of the same name on 21 August) there would have been chariot-races (cf. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, p. 177-78, 205; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 206-9)?

⁴⁵ The explanation apparently depends on a connection with the Greek verb *teirô*, "to distress or weaken" (cf. also the Latin *tero*, "to wear down / away"), as John makes explicit at *De mag.* 1.47.

⁴⁶ Cf. OLD s.v. *dupondius*, meaning "two *asses* (small copper coins)." The transference of the term to new military recruits does not appear to be attested in Latin.

old days they named it *bruma*, meaning "short day."⁴⁷ And *Brumalia* means "winter festivals";⁴⁸ so at that time, until the Waxing of the Light,⁴⁹ ceasing from work, the Romans would greet each other with words of good omen at night, saying in their ancestral tongue, "*Vives annos*"—that is, "Live for years."⁵⁰

And the farming people would slaughter pigs for the worship of Cronus and Demeter⁵¹—and hence even now the "Pig-Slaughter" is observed in December.⁵² And

⁴⁷ For *bruma* as originally the solstice, then the period from 24 Nov. to the solstice (and the late Roman / Byzantine celebrations), cf. Degrassi, pp. 532, 545.

⁴⁸ Alternatively, "[The] *Brumalia* [function] as winter festivals," but the Greek word οιοιεί commonly introduces the significance of a term, as just before with *bruma*. For the Byzantine *Brumalia*, see A.-M. Bernardi, "Regards croisés sur les origines de Rome: La fête des *Brumalia* chez Jean Malalas et Jean Lydos," in S. Augusta-Boularot et al. (eds.), *Recherches sur la Chronique de Jean Malalas II* (Paris, 2006), pp. 53-67; Maas, *John Lydus and the Roman Past*, pp. 64-66; J. R. Crawford, "De Bruma et Brumalibus festis," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 23 (1919), pp. 365-96. R. Mazza, "Choricius of Gaza, *Oration XIII*: Religion and State in the Age of Justinian," in R. M. Frakes et al. (eds.), *The Rhetoric of Power in Late Antiquity* (London, 2010), pp. 172-93, discusses one celebratory speech delivered on the occasion in the 530s. See now also Graf, *Roman Festivals in the Greek East*, pp. 208ff.

⁴⁹ Gk. *Auxiphôtia*, presumably referring to 25 Dec., as in the "Calendar of Antiochus" the date is marked: "Sun's birthday; light is increasing" (ἡλίου γενέθλιον· αὐξει φῶς—F. Boll [ed.], *Griechische Kalender, I. Das Kalendarium des Antiochos* [Heidelberg, 1910] = *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaft, Phil.-Hist. Klasse* 1910.16, p. 16); text reprinted in Lehoux, *Astronomy, Weather, and Calendars*, p. 338 (with translation, p. 343). Cf. also Cosmas of Jerusalem, *Comm. in S. Greg. Naz. carm.* [PG 38:464]: "From of old the Greeks [i.e., pagans] kept this day as a festival, on which they would be initiated / would perform religious rites in the middle of the night, going into certain inner shrines, from which they would emerge and shout: 'The virgin has given birth; light is increasing!'" See F. Cumont, "Le *natalis Invicti*," *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 55 (1911), pp. 292-8, for further discussion.

⁵⁰ Lit., "you will live for years." For this wish, and parallels attested later, cf. Crawford, pp. 382-3.

⁵¹ This paragraph is quite confusing in its present state; apart from the mentions of Cronus (Saturn), natural in association with Saturnalia, and of Dionysus, to be connected to the rural Dionysia, the references to Demeter and the Mother (i.e., Cybele) are difficult to account for. Demeter was associated with Dionysus at this time in Athens (see note on the Haloa below), and in Rome, there may also have been rites for Ceres (and Tellus) on 13 December (see Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, pp. 204-5). It is tempting to connect the Magna Mater (whose Roman festivities otherwise focused on March and April—cf. §§ 49, 59 above) with *Ops*, celebrated on 19 December (thus after the beginning of Saturnalia, as John seems to imply), and frequently equated with Rhea (thus also, potentially, with Cybele; cf. §63 above). If so, and given a probable allusion to the Consualia in §156 above, John will have originally described a significant trio of Roman festivals: Consualia (15 December), Saturnalia (beginning on 17 December), and Opalia (19 December), in addition to the more recently popular *Brumalia*. Alternatively, the mention of "priests of the [Great] Mother" and other, more recent "priests" (*hiereis*), is possibly echoed in the later references to "begging" and "wandering" priests (*agurtai* or *mênagurtai*, or "now" *signophoroi*) mentioned later by John Tzetzes (*Chiliades* 13.239-46)—and perhaps inspired by the "begging" (by *agurtai*) attested already by Asterius in the 4th cen. (*Hom.* 4.4); confusion in transmission or over-interpretation could well have postulated an origin for the Byzantine begging priests in literal *mênagurtai* / *mêtragurtai*, the begging priests of Cybele. See the discussion in Kaldellis, "The Kalends in Byzantium," pp. 188-89, for these sources, albeit without my speculation about the confusion here.

the vine-dressers would sacrifice goats in honor of Dionysus—for the goat is an enemy of the vine; and they would skin them, fill the skin-bags with air and jump on them.⁵³ And the civic officials would also [offer as] the firstfruits of the collected harvest wine and olive oil, grain and honey and as many [products] of trees as endure and are preserved—they would make loaves without water and they would bring [all] these things to the priests of the [Great] Mother. And this sort of custom is still observed even now; and in November and December, until the "Waxing of the Light," they bring [these] things to the priests. For the [custom] of greeting [people] by name at the *Brumalia* is rather recent;⁵⁴ and, the truth [is],⁵⁵ they call them "Cronian festivals"⁵⁶—and because of this the Church turns away⁵⁷ from them, And they take place at night, because Cronus is in darkness, having been sent to Tartarus by Zeus—and they mysteriously signify⁵⁸ the grain, from its being sown in the ground and thereafter not being seen. And this is quite true, as has been said: The attention to [these] things goes

⁵² Bernardi, p. 62, plausibly suggests that this "survival" was in John's time simply a (secular) pig-slaughter.

⁵³ Cf. *askoliasmos*, the name for such an "event" at the rural Dionysia, which took place in the latter part of the Athenian month Poseideon (roughly equivalent to December). For critical analysis of the traditions at play here (and references to further scholarship), see N. F. Jones, *Rural Athens under the Democracy* (Philadelphia, 2004), pp. 143-5; A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1988), p. 45. In the same month (26 Poseideon), Dionysus and Demeter were together the object of cult at the *Haloa*, which was connected to the grain harvest; it seems likely that John sees the festive revelry of both the rural Dionysia and the *Haloa* as parallels to the Roman winter festival cycle. For these Athenian festivals, cf. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, pp. 98-103; Pickard-Cambridge, pp. 42-54; Parker, *Polytheism and Society*, pp. 199-201, 316-17. It is only later that a tradition connecting *Brumalia* with *Bromios*, an epithet of Dionysus, is attested—see Crawford, pp. 386-7; Bernardi, p. 63 n. 71. Crawford, pp. 385-6, argues that the 62nd canon of the so-called Council in Trullo (691/2) provides evidence that there were indeed Dionysian elements in the Byzantine *Brumalia* celebrations; but see Kaldellis, "The Kalends in Byzantium," p. 193, for the argument that the Council's proscriptions were scatter-shot, lacking any "underlying and coordinating logic" (and should therefore not be taken as providing such evidence).

⁵⁴ The "greeting by name" seems to reflect the celebration of individuals day by day according to the first letter of their names—with each particular day of the period corresponding to a single day of the Greek alphabet, as Mazza, p. 173, and Bernardi, p. 60, describe—based, for example, on John Malalas 10.7 and Choricus, *Or.* 13.10-13.

⁵⁵ Lit., "the truer [thing]" / "the quite true [thing]."

⁵⁶ I.e., Saturnian festivals (*Saturnalia*). This statement is the most explicit acknowledgement that John is at least partially conflating *Brumalia* and *Saturnalia*.

⁵⁷ Gk. *apotrepetai*; alternatively, "turns [people] away from them." Graf, p. 214, translates, "The Church forbids it." As Bernardi, p. 61 n. 58, points out, at John's period there is no question of any official Church sanction, although the celebration of *Brumalia* (along with the Kalends of January) was later condemned by the Council in Trullo; as Kaldellis, "The Kalends in Byzantium," pp. 193-4 and *passim*, rightly insists, the relevant canon had no discernible effect on the celebrations, which seem to have continued to be popular among all sectors of Byzantine society for centuries.

⁵⁸ Gk. *ainittontai*.

on at night, such that finally, in truth, the *Brumalia* are festivals of the subterranean *daemones*.

[175]

159. The natural [philosophers] say that at one time, before the "setting in order," this universe was formless⁵⁹ matter—and hence the philosophers call matter Hades⁶⁰ and Tartarus—in that it is disturbed [*tarattomenên*] and unstable by nature on account of its formlessness. And [they say] it is timeless, but not without a beginning, and nonetheless [it is] originated⁶¹ and caused;⁶² from eternity waiting for the empowerment of <the> Father himself, having received by his will an existence that is wholly timeless. Hence, the Chaldaean names matter "Father-originated" in the *Oracles*;⁶³ and it is worth hearing how Iamblichus speaks [of it] in the first [book] of his *Chaldaica*.⁶⁴

On the one hand, matter is eternal, because it subsists along with the absolute first causes from eternity,⁶⁵ and it has its existence among them and with them. On the other hand, it never stands on its own,⁶⁶ because it is firmly set among the common [things] in keeping with the same-named and unitary power.⁶⁷ And it is *not* incomplete and limitless, but rather shares in a certain perfection, since nothing proceeds from the paternal triad incomplete, but is led forward of itself into [its] perfection and limit.⁶⁸ So then, when the basic elements⁶⁹ had been

⁵⁹ Gk. *aneideos*.

⁶⁰ According to the frequently assumed interpretation (for which cf. §64 above), "Hades" thus has the same etymological roots as the term "formless": *a-/an-* + *id-*.

⁶¹ Gk. *genêtos*.

⁶² Gk. *aitiatos*.

⁶³ For this, cf. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, pp. 115-19; the term *patrogenês* is attested in the *Chaldaean Oracles* fr. 35 and 49 Des Places / Majercik, albeit not in reference to *matter*. Psellus, however, like John here, in summarizing Chaldaean doctrine, says explicitly that matter is "Father-originated" (*Hypotyposis* 27 [Des Places, *Oracles Chaldaïques*, p. 201]). Smith (*ad* Porphyry fr. 368) suggests that the foregoing material may derive from Porphyry.

⁶⁴ I.e., his commentary on the Chaldaean Oracles, also known as the *Chaldaean Theology*. See Dubuisson-Schamp, 1: lxvii-lxviii—and on the work itself, note L. G. Westerink and J. Combès (eds.), *Damascius: Traité des premiers principes*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1989), p. 215; Dillon, *Iamblichi... Commentariorum Fragmenta* (Leiden, 1973), p. 24—as for the content, Dillon, p. 312, cites John's quotation here as a parallel to what he is printing as fr. 37 of Iamblichus' interpretation of the *Timaeus* (p. 141).

⁶⁵ Or, "from an eternal [cause]."

⁶⁶ Or, "stands away from itself."

⁶⁷ The phrasing is obscure, and it seems likely that Kroll's emendation of ὁμόνυμον ("same-named") to μόνιμον ("stable / lasting") is correct—cited by Dillon, p. 312.

⁶⁸ Or, "...but is led forward from *it* into completion and limit."

⁶⁹ Gk. *stoicheia*.

brought forth in this way after it [i.e., matter in general], but nevertheless were in a state of confusion, the Demiurge, taking up all that was then without order, not at rest, but moving unharmoniously, brought it into order, according to the *Timaeus*.⁷⁰ But when the elements were separated—the fire shining above on account of its natural lightness, the water falling to the depths because of its natural heaviness—then the myth-makers put Cronus in Tartarus, as [if to say that] when the fire went up the water [176] lurked in the hiding-places of the earth. And yet they say that he is the father of Zeus, because of his watery nature, which is known to tradition as the eldest of all the elements, according to the poet, who says: "Ocean, the origin of the gods, and mother Tethys."⁷¹ And they named the water "Tethys" similarly, from the fact that it naturally lies bounded by the dry earth on the one hand, and by the thick air on the other.⁷²

And thus the natural [philosophers spoke] about Cronus.

But we nevertheless find that he is also described in books as the child of Uranus, as being the rain-storm that is born from the air; hence, he is called *hyetos* ["rain"], as though [to say] *hyios* ["son"], or because after the heavens, there is the cold zone, and then the warm [zone]. And concerning the imprisonment of Cronus in Tartarus, Ammonius⁷³ says that Cronus is the mind, or rather the soul—for [these are] not the same thing—while Zeus is generation / birth; and that before generation / birth, the soul has been confined in the body, and thus also the body is named *demas*, as the equivalent of *desmos* ["bond / imprisonment"].⁷⁴ And the "cutting off" [of Uranus' genitals] is the last [step (?)], and is generative and productive of everything; such is the nature of the

⁷⁰ Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 30a.

⁷¹ Hom., *Iliad* 14.201.

⁷² A reference to the explanation of the name Tethys by reference to the verbs διαττάω and ἡθέω (both meaning "to sift"), as in Plato, *Cratylus* 402d, probably lies beneath the surface here, relating to the intermediate position of water, but the connection is not obvious.

⁷³ Maas, p. 120, plausibly assumes this is the Alexandrian Neoplatonist Ammonius (a student of Proclus). The starting point for the discussion here seems to be Plato, *Cratylus* 396b: Zeus is the one "through whom life subsists" (*di' hon zên ... huparchei*)—cf. §71 above—while Cronus is "thought" (*dianoia*); cf. also Proclus' extensive discussion of Zeus, Cronus, and Uranus in his *Commentary on Plato's Cratylus* 96-112, and (more briefly) that of Ammonius' student Olympiodorus (*Commentary on Plato's Gorgias* 47.3-4). John's self-correcting reference to "soul" rather than "mind," however, does not have an analogue in those discussions; but note the argument over the proper identification of the demiurge with either *nous* or *psychê* going back to Porphyry (Smith, "Porphyrian Studies," pp. 729-30)—in particular, Proclus criticized Porphyry for equating him with soul (*Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* 1: 306-7 Diehl; cf. D. T. Runia and M. Share (tr.), *Proclus: Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, vol. 2 [Cambridge, 2008], p. 23). The self-correction may well be a casual interjection based on John's general reading, rather than a faithful representation of Ammonius' view.

⁷⁴ Cf. Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* 1.11.3 (with Lat. gloss *vinculum*, but the same etymology is assumed); for the specific phraseology, see David, *Prolegomena philosophiae*, p. 31 Busse.

genitals.⁷⁵ Cronus, the father of the Cronian nature, cast these down so that the heavens' power of eternity would subsist also in the sea, that is, in the sublunar world (which indeed has been likened to the unstable and much-twisting [nature] of the sea), "where [there are] murder and ill-will and the other kinds of death."⁷⁶

Such things the Greeks [say].⁷⁷

160. Dionysus is the spirit [*pneuma*], that is, the warmth, that arose from the fire, and hence he was called Fire-born and Thigh-bred and Male-female by the Greeks,⁷⁸ since [177] *they* were unaware of the philosophical treatment regarding him and of what he actually was. For [as "Fire-born"] he is the warm spirit that from every sowing of every living, spiritual creature is inserted at the same time for the production of the life and growth of all things that are in the world. And he was called "Thigh-bred" because in the membranes and the genital parts and the veins that are in the thighs, this sort of material has been given a home in every living creature—and from this everything has taken solid form. And he was termed "Male-female" because of the fact that male-and-female sowings result in two, the male and the female natures, and it is not possible for one thing to be engendered from another, if [the two] do not come together. And the things fashioned by this [*pneuma* / Dionysus] will produce the living creatures. They have surmised that he is dissolved and is regenerated, because also the things engendered by him are likewise incessantly consumed and again brought to life.

161. The circle is the most perfect of shapes. Hence, the Egyptians, when they depict the world, inscribe a round, air-like and fiery circle, and a serpent with a hawk's

⁷⁵ Contrast, however, Proclus' explanation in his *Commentary on Plato's Cratylus* 111: Cronus is *also* separated from material creation.

⁷⁶ Empedocles, 31B121 Diels-Kranz.

⁷⁷ Gk. *Hellênes*—this is the one reference in *De mens.* where "Greeks" seems to mean specifically "pagans" (?)—unless the implicit contrast was originally with *Romans*; compare the reference to "those outside" in §154 above as a structural marker.

⁷⁸ The epithets in Greek are *Pyritokos*, *Mêrotraphês*, and *Arsenothêlys*. The first of these is otherwise unexampled, but cf. *Pyrigenês* in §51 above; for *Mêrotraphês*, cf. Orphic *Hymn* 52.3, reading *mêrotrephês*; Eustathius, *Comm. on Homer's Iliad* [1: 481 Van der Valk], gives the epithet spelled as in John's text, but explains it as being connected to a mountain in India named *Mêros*. Although certainly male, Dionysus is frequently depicted with a kind of androgyny in Greek tradition (e.g., in Euripides' *Bacchae* 353, Pentheus refers to him as *thêlymorphos*, "female-shaped"); for the specific epithet *Arsenothêlys*, cf. Porphyry, *On Images*, fr. 358 (lines 13-15) Smith (cited in Eusebius, *PE* 3.11.10), interpreting the *thêlymorphos* form of Dionysus as representing the *arsenothêlys dynamis*, the female-male power (of fruit-production); note also the androgynous Orphic primeval god Phanes (the same epithet appears in Orph. fr. 121 Bernabé [cf. fr. 56 and 60 Kern]; cf. also fr. 80 and 134 Bernabé [fr. 54 and 81 Kern], with Bernabé's annotations), who is equated with Dionysus in Orph. fr. 60 Bernabé (cited in Diodorus Siculus 1.11.3; cf. Kern, p. 250; the same line recurs in a hymn cited by Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.18.12 [Orph. fr. 540 Bernabé = 238 Kern]).

form stretched out in the middle of it as the connective Agathos Daimon. And the whole shape is like our Θ [*theta*].⁷⁹

162. The number eight is feminine and unbounded and imperfect. Hence it is also called *alitomênos* ["missing-the-month"]⁸⁰ by Nicomachus.⁸¹ For the eight-month period is manifestly not in proportional relationship with any of the harmonics; hence, the eight-month-old [fetuses] are not brought to perfection. For, being between the perfection-bringing numbers [i.e., 7 and 9],⁸² it is itself found to be imperfect. For since it partakes in every material power, it has been allotted the powers concerned with matter.

⁷⁹ Cf. the very similar passage of Herennius Philo, *FGrHist* 790F4 (= Eusebius, *PE* 1.10.51). The discussion of the circle and mention of a serpent are reminiscent of John's treatment of the *ouroboros* serpent, (which Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.9.12 [cf. also Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica* 1.2], asserts the *Phoenicians* use to denote Janus as the world), in 3.4 above. Cornutus, *De natura deorum* 27.6, says that *Agathos Daimon* means either the *kosmos* or the reason (*logos*) that presides over it; for further discussion of *Agathos Daimon*, especially celebrated in Alexandria, see D. Ogden, *Drakōn* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 286-309.

⁸⁰ The image relates to a fetus which has not yet reached full gestation.

⁸¹ Cf. Ps.-Iamblichus, *Theology of Arithmetic* (tr. Waterfield), p. 103 (p. 74 De Falco). In Photius' account of Nicomachus' work (*Bibliotheca*, cod. 187 [144b Bekker]), one of the epithets for the number eight is a variant form of the same term, *Êlitomêna*.

⁸² For 7 and 9 as "perfection-bringing numbers," cf. Ps.-Iamblichus, *Theology of Arithmetic*, pp. 87, 107 (pp. 55, 78 De Falco).

FRAGMENTS

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN POSITION

[178]

1 (163). A certain licentious soldier in <Da>dastana made an attempt on a chaste woman, trying to force her into intercourse. When she pleaded with him to stop, since the seducer was very insistent, the woman said to him that if he kept away from her, she would by all means provide him with magical means to keep him safe and unharmed by a sword—and wishing to die for the sake of her chastity, she saw fit to persuade him to use her own neck to test it. He struck her—and deprived himself of his desire, and her of her life. And so, after Stheneboea's Bellerophon, Alphisiboea's Tennes, Astydameia's Peleus, and the great Hippolytus,¹ time has also come to know of the chaste woman of our times.

2 (164). Tages² is of the opinion that in accordance with the Climataarchs,³ *daemons* are engendered as *their* subjects in those who are born in whatever place; they display the power of their supervisors over human activities. For example, Thracians are rapacious and savage on account of the domination of Ares; those who live in the East are quite rash, lovers of gold—and lie awake thinking about the acquisition of this—inasmuch as they lie among *solar* daemons and are [thus] excited about the material that is dedicated to the sun.

3 (165). When Augustus did away with Antony and [179] Cleopatra, he put Gaius Cornelius Gallus in charge of what was once called Aeria,⁴ then Potamia, but now Egypt—decreeing that he be called *Augustalius*, from his own name. And thus it is the custom for the interpreters of the prefects [of Egypt] to be called *Augustalii*.⁵ In the contingents of the Palatium there were also *Augustalii*, whom the Greeks call

¹ All the men were known for resisting the advances of a lustful woman—but in the case of Tennes, the woman (his step-mother) is elsewhere named *Philonome* (Pausanias 10.14.2).

² For Tages, cf. 4.79 above.

³ For "Climataarchs" as spiritual entities overseeing regions of the earth, cf. Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, 1: 106 Diehl; *Commentary on Plato's Cratylus* 57; at *De mag.* 3.68, by contrast, John uses the term for human governors.

⁴ Cf. Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 4.6.4, citing a book written by a friend of his, with miscellaneous contents including changes in place names.

⁵ *Praefectus Augustalis* was the title of the governor of Egypt from the late 4th century; see T. D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius* (Cambridge, MA, 1993), p. 194; S. Mratschek, "Melania and the Unknown Governor of Palestine," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 5 (2013), pp. 262-3. It is not impossible that John is thinking of *Augustales* in the administrative corps of the *Praetorian* prefect of his own time in making this statement (see further the following note).

Sebastophoroi, guarding the tombs of the gods and the statues of the emperors—and the toga.⁶

4 (166). Euripides says the following in the *Helen* about the Sirens:

Winged, maidens,
virginal daughters of Earth,
Sirens...⁷

And Aristotle in the *Peplos* says that they are named Thelxiepeia, Aglaopheme, and Pasinoe.⁸

5 (167).⁹ Fabius the Roman, mortally wounded in the first Punic war, rushed at Hannibal in a rage, seized his diadem and died in it. In the Persian [war], Aristides says, Leonidas the general, after gazing at the multitude of the Persians at Thermopylae, attacked the enemy head on; and when he had been pierced by countless spears, he went after Xerxes—and after stripping off his diadem, he breathed his last. The Persian cut him open and found his heart covered with hair because of the implanted heat.

6 (168). Numa dedicated ten virgins to [180] Hestia, to guard her undying fire, just as at one time in Athens an "undying fire" is said to have been dedicated in the inner sanctum of Athena Polias by Deucalion. So then, if it happened that the fire suddenly went out, the chief priest would beat the virgins with dressed rods—and the fire was re-kindled by the rubbing together of evergreen sticks, not by fire, to the

⁶ For *Augustales* in the administrative apparatus of the early Byzantine state, see C. Kelly, "John Lydus and the Eastern Praetorian Prefecture," pp. 449-56; id., *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, pp. 90-95. The last part of John's note confusingly seems to equate them with the officials of imperial ruler cult, also called *Augustales* (on which see M. Beard et al., *Religions of Rome* [Cambridge, 1998], 1: 357-8)—the reference to "gods" is most likely meant to denote deified emperors. The mention of the toga may have been connected to the privilege of these *Augustales* to wear the *toga praetexta* (cf. Petronius, *Satyricon* 71). Some corruption or omission in transmission is likely to blame for the problems of logical connection, but what John seems to have been doing overall in this fragment is to trace the history of the contemporary civil service and its terminology back to the early empire; cf. *De mag.* 3.9-10 for *Augustales* specifically in this sort of context.

⁷ *Helen* 167-9.

⁸ Different accounts give various names for the Sirens; the closest extant list is that of Ps.-Apollodorus (*Epitome* 7.18): Peisinoê, Aglaopê, Thelxiepeia. For the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Peplos* [= Aristotle, fr. 640 Bekker], see K. Gutzwiller, "Heroic Epitaphs of the Classical Age: The Aristotelian *Peplos* and Beyond," in M. Baumbach et al. (eds.), *Archaic and Classical Greek Epigram* (Cambridge, 2010). The extant text, however, has nothing about Sirens.

⁹ For this section, cf. Ps.-Plutarch, *Parallela Minora* 4 (306de)—which includes citation of Aristides (of Miletus).

accompaniment of certain utterances. For those who are interested, the oracles are available in Tages¹⁰ and Capito¹¹ and Piso.¹²

7 (169).¹³ The words once spoken by Fonteius the Roman came to fruition: For that man reports in his ancestral wording¹⁴ certain verses given, I suppose, to Romulus at one time, which manifestly predicted that Fortune would desert the Romans when they themselves forgot their ancestral speech. And I have inserted the oracle that was spoken in my writings "On the Months."

8 (170).¹⁵ Asonides, falling in love with (Niobe) herself—when she would not give in, he set the house on fire. But she fled and prayed to be turned to stone—and she was turned to stone.¹⁶

9 (171). Among the Romans, verses are called *carmina*, and prophecy *Carmentia*.

10 (172). The Romans call slanderers and informers *delatores*.

11 (173). Among the Romans, happiness [*eudaimonia*] [is called] *fortuna*.¹⁷

12 (174). Among them, a basket is a *sporta*, which is also called *fiscus*, although they differ in that [a basket] made with plaited branches is called a *fiscus*, while a [basket] made of smooth bark is a *sporta*. [181] There is also another kind of basket-

¹⁰ For Tages, cf. 4.79 above.

¹¹ Fr. 30 of Ateius Capito (ed. Strzelecki); Huschke (ed.), *IAR* 1: 71. Cf. 1.47 above, however, for the complications of this attribution.

¹² Fr. 47 Cornell (note especially the translation "incantations" for Gk. *logia*, which I have rendered as "oracles"). For critical discussion of the whole passage, see M. P. Pobjoy's commentary (Cornell [ed.], *Fragments of the Roman Historians*, 3: 220-21), including the suggestion that the number of Vestals should be corrected to *four* (in accordance with Plutarch, *Numa* 10).

¹³ This fragment is from *De mag.* 2.12 and 3.42; John further specifies that it was fulfilled when Cyrus (of Panopolis)—Praetorian Prefect in the mid-5th cen.—issued decrees in Greek rather than Latin. For discussion, see Rochette, *Le latin dans le monde grec*, pp. 135-9; id., "Justinien et la langue latine," pp. 413-15, and the Introduction above, on John's biography. For a Sibylline oracle similarly predicting disaster when the Romans ceased to take care of the city's *statues*, and fulfilled at roughly the same time, cf. 4.145 above.

¹⁴ I.e., in Latin.

¹⁵ This fragment (attributed simply to "the Lydian") is drawn from Homeric scholia. Considering the parallel which includes explicit citation of Xanthus, however, it is much more likely that this is not meant as an excerpt from John. Accordingly, it appears in Jacoby's edition of the fragments of Xanthus: *FGrHist* 765F20(b).

¹⁶ For the story, cf. Parthenius, *Erotica Pathemata* 33.

¹⁷ Cf. John's discussion of Fortune in 4.7 above.

construction, which is placed upon the head like a felt cap; among the Italians it is called a *camela*, from which [comes the word] *kamelaukia*.¹⁸

¹⁸ This is a late word (in the plural) for a kind of ceremonial cap (LSJ Suppl.).

ADDITIONAL FRAGMENT (NOT IN WUENSCH)

From *De mag.* 2.4 (tr. Bandy):

In time of peace, as *pontifex*, namely, 'archpriest of the bridge,'¹⁹ he wore a purple, ankle-length, sacerdotal robe which was trimmed with spearheads in gold, and a pallium, likewise purple, which ended in golden flutings; and he covered his head for the reasons that I have explained in the treatise which I wrote *On Months*....

¹⁹ Cf. 4.15 above.

FRAGMENTS FALSELY ATTRIBUTED TO DE MENSIBUS

1 (175).¹ The philosophers say that thunder-strokes, that is, thunderbolts, occur whenever there is a bursting of clouds; for when the earthy substance that lies beside them is ignited, that which is ignited is borne down to the ground by the force, to the accompaniment of a rushing sound. And if the clouds happen to be moist, it is extinguished at the moment of the downward stroke; but if [they happen to be] earthy, fiery [thunderbolts] are squeezed out. And there are two types of thunderbolt (they say): one, quick and dispersed and all-fiery, is named "bright" [*argês*]; the other, slow and smoky, [is called] "sooty" [*psoloeis*]. The one, on account of its fineness, is quickly borne away and disappears even before it burns up, such that it does not even inflame any of the looser material, but the slower one is able to discolor [an object] as though with soot, and also to burn things it falls on—although the tassel-hyacinth, the fig-tree, the seal, and the hyena remain unharmed; hence their skins, it is said, are wrapped around the masts of ships [182] on account of the lightning. The ancients would abandon the bodies of those struck by lightning unburied, to remain without special treatment. For as the moisture in them is taken away by the fire, having been roasted, as it were, they are naturally durable.

2 (176).² The learned among the Hebrews divide the account of *foreknowledge* into two parts—into signs and marvels. Signs, they assert, are the ones produced up in the sky, while marvels are those things contrary to nature that are seen on earth, such as that reported with regard to Moses himself, in what is called the *Exodus* of the Hebrews: "And he saw that the bush was burning, but the bush was not burning up."³ And again: "Moses threw his rod upon the ground, and it became a snake."⁴ And again: "Moses put his hand into the fold of his garment, and his hand became like snow."⁵ Then, likewise: "And God said to Moses, 'You shall take some of the water from the river, onto the dry ground, and it shall be blood.'"⁶ And then, a little later: "And the Lord said to Moses, 'If Pharaoh speaks to you, saying, "Give a sign or a wonder," take your rod,

¹ Wuensch, p. lxxv, says that this fragment was obviously once part of *De Ostentis*.

² Wuensch, "Zu Lydus de ostentis," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 5 (1896), p. 412, argues that fragments 2 and 3 (176 and 177) were originally part of the lost beginning of *De Ostentis*—and Wachsmuth endorses this view, including the fragment in his edition of that work (pp. 3-5). See also Wuensch, *De mensibus*, p. lxxv. Maas, p. 67, by contrast, argues that the content is so different from the rest of *De ost.* (and John's other works) that it must have been added to the text by someone else (cf. 4.24 above and note); see now Cameron, "Paganism in Sixth-Century Byzantium," pp. 259-60, for a counter-argument.

³ Ex. 3.2. These citations from Exodus are frequently shortened.

⁴ Ex. 4.3.

⁵ Ex. 4.6.

⁶ Ex. 4.9.

and throw it on the ground, and it will be a serpent."⁷ And not only these things, but another wonder, more frightening still, was the turning of all Egypt's water into bloody gore—and the multitude of frogs; and the so-called "gnats" and the gadflies, which they themselves call "dogflies"; and the destruction of the cattle; and the dust that produced sores; pustules and locusts: all these would justly be called *wonders*. But *signs* are those [183] that appear up higher, such as that mentioned in the same writing: "And the Lord showered hail upon all the land of Egypt. And there was the hail, and the fire that burned in the hail."⁸ And again, "And Moses stretched out his hand to the sky and it became gloom, darkness, and squall over all the land of Egypt."⁹ Such, then, is the Hebrews' account of signs—from which, as I believe, the other nations too call these signs (as I know they do) "Zeus-signs."¹⁰ For *Zeus* is the term for the *aer*, according to the natural philosophers, because it is *life-giving*; and so, a sign in the *aer* is a Zeus-sign, just as a gentle and calm condition of the *aer* is called "good-Zeus" [*eudios*].¹¹ Therefore, the simpler folk must not be disturbed at the names and turn away from learning: "For I shall give signs in the heavens above (says [the Lord]), and wonders on the earth below—blood and fire and steam of smoke. The sun will be changed into darkness, and the moon into blood."¹²

3 (177). *Sabaoth*—the demiurge.¹³ For thus the demiurgic number is named by the Phoenicians.¹⁴

4 (178).¹⁵ Thunder occurs when wind¹⁶ is compressed within a thick, rather moist cloud and is pushed out forcibly through it; from this, the contiguous compressed layers of the cloud are broken [open], and a roaring, or ringing sound, and a great clatter, [184] are produced—which is called "thunder," just as when wind is violently set in motion in water. And, set aflame at the bursting asunder of the cloud, the wind emits light and is called "lightning."

⁷ Ex. 7.8-9.

⁸ Ex. 9.23-24.

⁹ Ex. 10.22.

¹⁰ *Diosêmeia*: the first element derives from the stem *Di-* (seen in the oblique cases of the name Zeus), which also appears in words where the primary reference is to the sky, as the soon-to-be mentioned *eudios*. This is quite natural given that Zeus was a sky-god.

¹¹ For *aer*, cf. 1.12 above (with note). Note that Zeus (rather than Hera) is connected with *aer* there too.

¹² Acts 2.19-20 (Joel 2.30-31).

¹³ The Platonic term for "creator" (originally meaning "craftsman").

¹⁴ Cf. 4.53 above, where John attempts to investigate the name of the Hebrew God.

¹⁵ Wuensch, pp. lx-lxi, lxxv, argues that this fragment does not belong to John Lydus.

¹⁶ Gk. *pneuma*.

5 (179).¹⁷ Februarius,¹⁸ bearing Camillus ill-will, prosecuted him for attempting to pursue a tyranny. When the latter had been driven away, and then secured his return again (because in his exile he came to the aid of his homeland which was under siege), Februarius was brought to trial and driven away—and Camillus made the month bearing his name shorter than the others.

6 (180).¹⁹ For they say that Nemesis turns elegant affairs around backwards, by the excesses of fortune (as Numenius says),²⁰ while introducing equality by means of the same wheel;²¹ hence, Mesomedes [writes a hymn] to her more or less as follows:

Under your wheel unsteady, untrodden,
the fierce-eyed fate of mortals is turned.²²

¹⁷ Against Haupt, Wuensch, p. lxxv, argues that this fragment does not belong to John Lydus.

¹⁸ For Februarius, cf. my note on 4.27. The story is very similar to that in Mariev's edition of John of Antioch, fr. 41 [= Suda ϕ 184]; Mariev cites precisely our current fragment as *E(pitome) Pl(anudea)*.

¹⁹ Wuensch, p. lxxvii, argues that this fragment originally appeared in a *history* written by John.

²⁰ Fr. 59 Des Places.

²¹ I.e., the "wheel of Fortune."

²² *Hymn to Nemesis* 7-8.

APPENDIX A: Comparable Accounts of the Calendar

Catalogue and Translation

A. Readily available in English translation (major extant or partially-extant works):

1. **Verrius Flaccus**, late 1st cen. B.C.-early 1st cen. A.D. (grammarian, whose work lies behind the inscribed *Fasti Praenestini*; conceivably he wrote an account of the calendar separate from, but parallel to, the inscription): Inscription text edited in Degrassi, pp. 107-45; discussion and reconstruction of Verrius Flaccus' work are complex.¹ Translation of the inscriptional fragments is available online (tr. Andrew Smith): http://www.attalus.org/docs/cil/add_8.html
2. **Ovid**, *Fasti*: Latin text ed. by J. G. Frazer, rev. G. P. Goold, LCL (1987); and E. H. Alton, D. E. W. Wormell, and E. Courtney, 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1988). Multiple translations now exist: besides J. G. Frazer, A. and P. Wiseman (Oxford, 2011); A. J. Boyle and R. D. Woodard (London, 2000).
3. **Censorinus**, *De die natali* 16-24: Latin text ed. N. Sallmann (Leipzig, 1983); tr. H. N. Parker (Chicago, 2007).

¹ Suetonius, *De grammaticis et rhetoribus* 17; see Kaster's commentary, pp. 190-96. Verrius Flaccus' work was the basis of Festus' *De significatione verborum* (for which see K. Sallmann [ed.], *Die Literatur des Umbruchs*, pp. 240-45 [§440]); many of the entries relate to religion, and thus reveal further aspects of Verrius Flaccus' treatment of festivals, practices, and institutions. See Rüpke, *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit*, pp. 114-23; more recently, F. Glinister et al. (eds.), *Verrius, Festus, & Paul: Lexicography, Scholarship, & Society* (London, 2007); M.-K. Lhommé, "Lectures traditionnelles et relectures augustéennes de la religion romaine: Verrius Flaccus, un antiquaire au service d'Auguste," in Bendlin and Rüpke (eds.), *Römische Religion im historischen Wandel: Diskursentwicklung von Plautus bis Ovid* (Stuttgart, 2009); ead., *Antiquaires et recherches sur la religion romaine à l'époque du Haut Empire: l'exemple du De uerborum significatione de Festus*, diss. EPHE 2003, in particular pp. 10-55; P. Pieroni, *Marcus Verrius Flaccus' De significatione verborum in den Auszügen von Sextus Pompeius Festus und Paulus Diaconus: Einleitung und Teilkommentar* (154, 19 - 186, 29 Lindsay) (Frankfurt am Main, 2004); C. Robert Phillips' planned commentary on the "religious passages" of Festus, adumbrated in Glinister's review of Pieroni, *Historiographia Linguistica* 33 (2006), p. 395, is still in progress. See also A. J. Stevenson, *Aulus Gellius and Roman Antiquarian Writing*, diss. King's College London 1993, pp. 73-80 (now available online at: <https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/files/2931313/388565.pdf>). For other fragments, see Funaioli (ed.), *Grammaticae Romanae fragmenta*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 509-23.

4. **Macrobius**, *Saturnalia* 1.12-16: Latin text ed. / tr. R. A. Kaster, LCL (2011); ed. Kaster, OCT (Oxford, 2011).

B. Works known only through fragments or testimonia:²

1. **Cn. Flavius**, scribe and aedile in the late 3rd cen. B.C.—backed by Appius Claudius Caecus (publicly posted calendar, including *fas* and *nefas* days, festivals): See Rüpke, *Roman Calendar*, pp. 44ff., for discussion and references. Cf. F. P. Bremer (ed.), *Iurisprudentiae Antehadrianae quae supersunt [= IAH]* (Leipzig, 1896-1901), 1: 6.
2. **M. Fulvius Nobilior**, early 2nd cen. B.C. (written calendar published in a temple of *Hercules Musarum*, although the precise form of the calendar is unclear): For discussion and references, see Rüpke, *Roman Calendar*, pp. 87ff.; id., "Ennius' fasti in Fulvius' Temple: Greek Rationality and Roman Tradition," *Arethusa* 39 (2006), pp. 489-512; id., *Religion in Republican Rome: Rationalization and Ritual Change* (Philadelphia, 2012), pp. 152-71. All information about his statements regarding the calendar can be traced back to Junius Gracchanus. H. / G. Funaioli (ed.), *Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta [= GRF]*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 15-16 (for text of fragments 1 and 2, see Junius Gracchanus fr. 6 and 5 below).³
3. **M. Junius Gracchanus**, late 2nd cen. B.C. (unknown title, but cited by Varro, Censorinus, Macrobius for details of the history of the calendar and names of

² In cases where multiple editions of fragments are listed, underlining indicates the edition used as primary reference in the present listings.

³ Funaioli (p. 16), by way of illustration of fr. 1, also prints Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.5, 8, 16:

This was the organization of Romulus, who dedicated the first month of the year to Mars, who begot him...Romulus named the second month April, as though (some think) it were "Aphril," from the foam, called *aphros* in Greek, from which Venus is thought to have sprung...Romulus placed May third. About its name there is wide disagreement among our authorities. In the calendar he set up in the temple of Hercules of the Muses, **Fulvius Nobilior** says that after Romulus divided the people into "elders" [*maiores*] and "juniors" [*iuniores*], so that one set could protect the commonwealth with its wise planning, the other with arms, he named this month May, the next month June, in honor of the two divisions, respectively. [tr. Kaster, LCL]

months; there were originally 10 months): Bremer (ed.), *IAH* 1: 37-38;⁴ P. E. Huschke (ed.), *Iurisprudentiae Anteiusinianae Reliquiae*, 6th ed. [= *IAR*], vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 11-12; Funaioli (ed.), *GRF* 1: 120-21.

Commentarii

1. [Pliny, *NH* 33.35-36][cf. test. (1) and fr. 8 Bremer]

Under Romulus and the Kings they⁵ were called the Celeres, then the Flexuntes and afterwards the Trossuli, because of their having without any assistance from infantry captured a town of that name in Tuscany nine miles this side of Volsinii; and the name survived till after the time of Gaius Gracchus. At all events in the writings left by **Junius**, who owing to his friendship with Gaius Gracchus was called Gracchanus, these words occur: "So far as concerns the Equestrian Order they were previously called the Trossuli, but are now simply designated the Cavalry, because people do not know what the word Trossuli means and many of them are ashamed of being called by that name." He goes on to explain the reason above indicated, and says that they were even in his time still called Trossuli, though they did not wish to be. [tr. Rackham, LCL]

2. [Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.7.42][cf. fr. 5 Bremer]

It is recorded that on this hill was an old town, named Saturnia. Even now there remain three evidences of it: that there is a temple of Saturn by the passage leading to the hill; that there is a Saturnian gate which **Junius** writes of as there, which they now call Pandana; that behind the temple of Saturn, in the laws for the buildings of private persons, the back walls of the houses are mentioned as "Saturnian⁶ walls." [tr. Kent, LCL]

3. [Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.8.48][cf. fr. 6 Bremer]

Junius writes that the Subura is so named because it was at the foot of the old city (*sub urbe*). [tr. Kent, LCL]

4. [Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.9.55][cf. fr. 7 Bremer]

[These tribes were named...] the Luceres, according to **Junius**, from Lucumo... [tr. Kent, LCL]

5. [Varro, *De lingua Latina* 6.4.33-34][cf. fr. 3^a Bremer]

[33] The names of the months are in general obvious, if you count from March, as the ancients arranged them; for the first month, *Martius*, is from Mars. The second, *Aprilis*, as Fulvius writes

⁴ Note also test. (2) Bremer [Cicero, *De leg.* 3.20.49]; fr. 9 Bremer [Varro, *De lingua Latina* 6.95].

⁵ I.e., the *equites*.

⁶ This supplement is not included in Huschke's text or Bremer's text.

and **Junius** also, is from Venus, because she is Aphrodite; but I have nowhere found her name in the old writings about the month, and so think that it was called April rather because spring *aperit* 'opens' everything. The third was called *Maius* 'May' from the *maiores* 'elders,' the fourth *Iunius* 'June' from the *iuniores* 'younger men.' [34] Thence the fifth is *Quintilis* 'July' and so in succession to December, named from the numeral. Of those which were added to these, the prior was called *Ianuarius* 'January' from the god who is first in order; the latter, as the same writers say, was called *Februarius* 'February' from the *di inferi* 'gods of the Lower World,' because at that time expiatory sacrifices are made to them... [tr. Kent, LCL]

6. [Censorinus, 22.9][cf. fr. 3^b Bremer]

Fulvius and **Iunius** are our sources that Romulus gave the names to the ten ancient Roman months, and further that he named the first two after his parents: March from his father, Mars, and April from Aphrodite, that is, Venus, from whom his ancestors were said to have descended. The next two are from the people: May from the *maiores*, the older men; June from the juniors; the rest from their numerical order, Quintilis (July, number five), right to December (number ten). [tr. Parker]

7. [Censorinus, 20.2][cf. fr. 2 Bremer]

Licinius Macer and afterwards Fenestella wrote that the natural year at Rome was twelve months long from the beginning. But **Iunius Gracchanus**, Fulvius, Varro, Suetonius, and others are more believable, who think that there were ten months, just as there were at Alba, which is where the Romans came from. [tr. Parker]

8. [Censorinus, 20.4][cf. fr. 2 Bremer]

Afterwards King Numa (as Fulvius says), or Tarquin (so **Iunius**), created twelve months and a total of 355 days, although the moon in these twelve months was seen to complete only 354 days. [tr. Parker]

9. [Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.13.20][cf. fr. 4 Bremer]

Junius records that king Servius Tullius first performed intercalation... [tr. Kaster, LCL]

10. [Aulus Gellius 14.8.1][cf. fr. 10 Bremer]

Junius declares that the praefect left in charge of the city because of the Latin Festival may not hold a meeting of the senate, since he is neither a senator nor has he the right of expressing his opinion, because he is made praefect at an age when he is not eligible to the senate. [tr. Rolfe, LCL]

11. [Festus v. *publica pondera* p. 288 Lindsay; C. G. Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui*, 5th ed., vol. 1 (Tübingen, 1909), p. 46][cf. fr. 11 Bremer]⁷

<That> the official weights <were fixed by statutory regulation> **Iunius** (Gracchanus) in <the *n*th book of his *De Potestatibus* infer>s for the following reasons that two Sili, Publius and Marcus, tribunes of the plebs proposed a plebiscite in these words: <Let the aediles currently in office look to it in accordance with this statute...> that, in conformity with the official weights which the people at this time is accustomed to use, there be, without malicious intent, equivalences, such that a quadrantal of wine shall weigh eighty pounds, a congius of wine weigh ten pounds, six sextarii shall constitute a congius of wine, forty-eight sextarii a quadrantal of wine, an exact sextarius...(In the two corrupt clauses which follow the plebiscite may have made some statement about the appliances used for weighing and measuring.) If any magistrate in contravention of this shall have made with malicious intent the official weights, dry measures and vessels either too small or too large, or shall have employed fraud to effect this, it shall be lawful for any magistrate who please to fine him, providing that the penalty does not exceed half his estate, <and there shall be suit for that money>; or if anyone (i.e., any prosecuting magistrate) please to assign the money to a sacral purpose, it shall be lawful. [ed., tr. Cloud]

De potestatibus

12. [John Lydus, *De mag.* 1.24 < Dig. 1.13.1 (Ulpian 2252)⁸][cf. fr. 1-2 Bremer]

Now, **Junius Gracchanus** in his work *On Powers* says with these very words about the *quaestor*, as he is called by the Romans.

They instituted him by vote of the people. Tullus the *rex* decided that after these [magistrates] the magistracy of *quaestores* was necessary; consequently, the majority of

⁷ For the text and translation printed here, see J. D. Cloud, "A *Lex de ponderibus* (Festus, p. 288 L)," *Athenaeum* 73 (1985), pp. 405-18; cf. also M. H. Crawford (ed.), *Roman Statutes* vol. 2 (London, 1996), pp. 737-9 (no. 46); A. C. Johnson et al. (with gen. ed. C. Pharr), *Ancient Roman Statutes* (Austin, 1961; repr. Clark, NJ, 2003), pp. 18-19 (no. 10).

⁸ *Digest* 1.13:

The original occasion for establishing the quaestors was long ago and almost earlier than all the other magistracies. Indeed, **Gracchanus Junius** reports in the seventh of his books on magisterial powers that Romulus himself and Numa Pompilius had each two quaestors whom they appointed not on their own say-so, but by popular election. But much as it may be doubted whether there was a quaestor during the reigns of Romulus and Numa, it is quite certain that there were quaestors when Tullus Hostilius was king. Quite the more widely held opinion among the ancients is that Tullus Hostilius was the first to bring quaestors into government. That from the beginning they were called quaestors from the kind of inquests they conduct is stated in the writings of **Junius** and of Trebatius and of Fenestella...Of the quaestors, as we have said, some are the ones who used to be called emperor's candidates and who read out his letters in the senate. [tr. / ed. A. Watson]

the historians have attributed to him and to him alone such an institution. **Junius**, Trebatius, and Fenestella said that they had been named thus from their function of investigating.

And after other statements [he says],

But afterwards the *candidati* of the emperor were set apart as *quaestores*, who devoted themselves to reading, and that alone, of imperial letters; and these same persons read also decisions from the body of the senate on behalf of those being advanced to dignities.

While such are the statements of **Junius**... [tr. Bandy]

4. **L. Cincius**, mid-1st cen. B.C. (*De fastis*; cited by Macrobius and John Lydus on the names of months): Bremer (ed.), *IAH* 1: 252-3; Huschke (ed.), *IAR* 1: 24-6.⁹ Funaioli (ed.), *GRF* 1: 374-5.

De fastis

1. [Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.12][cf. fr. 1 Bremer]

But **Cingius**,¹⁰ in the book he left on the calendar, says the view of some, that the ancients named April after Venus, is uninformed, since our ancestors established not a single holy day nor any significant sacrifice to Venus in the course of this month—moreover, there's not even celebratory praise of Venus, as there is of all the other gods, in the hymns of the Salii. [tr. Kaster, LCL]

2. [John Lydus, *De mens.* 4.64 (p. 118.1) Wuensch][cf. fr. 2 Bremer]

But **Cincius** the Roman sophist says that Aphrodite was born from the sea-foam [*aphros*], that is, spring is produced from snowy *aer* and cold material.

- 2^a. [John Lydus, *De mens.* 4.22 (p. 80.12) Wuensch]

The circle of **Cincius** make Athena out to be divine and incorruptible spirit [*pneuma*].

- 2^b. [John Lydus, *De mens.* 4.86 (p. 135.17) Wuensch]

And **Cincius** among the Romans says that Hephaestus is understood as lame in both feet on account of the uneven circuit of the sun.

⁹ Note also fragments listed by Huschke under other titles: *De comitiis*, *De consulum potestate*, *De officio iuris consulti*, *Mystagogicon*, *De re militari*, *De verbis priscis*.

¹⁰ Kaster (*ad loc.*) notes this as the consistent form of the name in Macrobius' mss.

3. [Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.18][cf. fr. 3 Bremer]

Cingius thinks the month was named after Maia, who he says is the wife of Vulcan, and he bases his argument on the fact that the flamen of Vulcan sacrifices to this goddess on the Kalends of May. [tr. Kaster, LCL]

4. [Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.30][cf. fr. 4 Bremer]

June [takes its name]...from the fact that—as **Cingius** holds—it was called Junonius by the Latin people and was long recorded in that form in the calendars of Aricia and Praeneste... [tr. Kaster, LCL]

5. [John Lydus, *De mens.* 4.144 (p. 164.16) Wuensch][cf. fr. 5 Bremer]

Cincius, in his [work] *On Festivals*, says that among the ancients, November was called *Mercedinus*, that is, "Remunerative." For in it, the hired laborers¹¹ would contribute the profits of the past cycle to the [land]-owners, as further returns were coming in in turn. It was called November later, from the number [nine]—for it is *ninth* from March.

5. **Titius**, 1st cen. B.C.-1st cen A.D. (?)¹² (*De feriis*; probably cited by Macrobius on the nature of market-days and by others for details of religion): Funaioli (ed.), GRF 1: 555-56; Bremer (ed.), *IAH* 1: 131-2.¹³

¹¹ Or "tenant-farmers."

¹² Funaioli includes him among writers of the Augustan age, but there is little or no specific evidence of date apart from an association in citations with Veranius (for whom see Funaioli, p. 429).

¹³ In his preamble, Funaioli notes Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.16.28, citing "Titus" between references to Varro and Julius Modestus. Kaster (*ad loc.*) endorses the emendation "Titius," and translates the passage as follows:

Titius, in writing on religious festivals, did not count market day among the festivals but called them only "customary occasions"...

Funaioli and Bremer similarly argue for a potential reference to Titius in the mss.' "Tertius" at *Saturnalia* 3.11.5 (emendation suggested by Hertz); Kaster, in agreement with this, translates as follows:

In his long discussion of sacrificial ritual **Titius** too says that it occurred to him to query this passage [Vergil, *Aen.* 1.736], and though he looked for the explanation he couldn't set aside his hesitation...

1. [Festus, p. 222 Lindsay][cf. fr. 1 Bremer]

Titius says *offendices* are the knots by which the *apex* is tightened and loosened.

2. [Festus, p. 368 Lindsay][cf. fr. 2 Bremer]¹⁴

Titi<us, however, says the> gar<ment is called *rica* because it is made from> fresh white <wool; and it is> of three types: that ma<de by free->born <virgins>, <that made by those who have> fathers and m<others living, and that made by citizens; once ma>de, it is washed with ru<nnin>g water <and is rendered> dark-<blue by dyeing.>

3. [Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.2.11]

[**Titius** glossed its meaning thus,] "*vitulari* means 'vocally rejoice' ... [tr. Kaster, LCL]

6. Julius Modestus, late 1st cen. B.C.-early 1st cen. A.D. (*De feriis*; cited by Macrobius for the Saturnalia and Agonalia, and later for the worship of Angeronia and the status of market-days). Mazzarino (ed.), *Grammaticae Romanae fragmenta* 2: 14-15, prints only the first of the following (as his fr. 2);¹⁵ but Kaster's notes show that the other two passages of the *Saturnalia* should be considered as akin to the first.¹⁶

[Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.10.9]

Julius Modestus says that sacrifice is made to this goddess [i.e., Angeronia] because the Roman people were freed of the disease called angina after making a vow to her. [tr. Kaster, LCL]

[Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.4.7]

So too **Julius Modestus**, writing on religious festivals, uses the phrase "festival of the Saturnalia [*Saturnaliorum*]" and in the same book says, "Antias relates that Numa Pompilius was the originator of the Agonalia [*Agonaliorum*]." [tr. Kaster, LCL]

¹⁴ The supplements in Festus' ms. are supplemented by reference to Paulus' *Epitome* (p. 369 Lindsay).

¹⁵ Cf. also Valerius Antias fr. 6 Cornell (Antias is cited by Macrobius immediately after Julius Modestus).

¹⁶ See also Suetonius, *De grammaticis et rhetoribus* 20.3, with Kaster's commentary, pp. 213-14.

[Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.16.28]

Julius Modestus is certain that when the augur Messala asked the pontiffs whether Roman market days and Nones are held to be religious festivals, they replied that they did not think so... [tr. Kaster, LCL]

7. **Masurius Sabinus**, mid-1st cen. A.D. (*Fasti*; the 2nd book is cited by Macrobius for details of a couple of festivals): Bremer (ed.), *IAH* 2.1: 363-4; Huschke (ed.), *IAR* 1: 74-5.¹⁷

Fastorum (libri)

8. [Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.4.6][cf. fr. 1 Bremer]

...**Masurius** in the second book of his *Calendar* says, "the day of the Vinalia [*Vinaliorum*] is sacred to Jupiter, not Venus, as some think." [tr. Kaster, LCL]

9. [Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.4.15][cf. fr. 2 Bremer]

Masurius, too, in the second book of his *Calendar*, says, "The pontiffs call the day of the Liberalia [*Liberalium*] the agonium of Mars"... [tr. Kaster, LCL]

10. [Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.4.15][cf. fr. 3 Bremer]

...and in the same book he spoke of "the night and then the following day, which is the day of the Lucaria [*Lucarium*]"... [tr. Kaster, LCL]

11. [Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.10.5][cf. fr. 4 Bremer]

Masurius and others held that the Saturnalia fell on one day, the fourteenth before the Kalends of January... [tr. Kaster, LCL]

12. [Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.10.8][cf. fr. 5 Bremer]

Masurius adds that this goddess' image¹⁸ on the altar of Volupia has a bound and sealed mouth because those who keep quiet about their grief and anguish achieve the greatest satisfaction through the good effects of patience. [tr. Kaster, LCL]

¹⁷ Note also fragments listed by Huschke under other titles: *De iure civili*, *De furtis liber*, *De indigenis*, *Memorialium*; and "uncertain" works.

¹⁸ I.e., Angeronia's.

8. **Nisus**, mid-1st cen. A.D. (?) (*Commentarii fastorum*, cited by Macrobius for the name of June): A. Mazzarino (ed.), *Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta aetatis Caesariae*, vol. 1 (Turin, 1955), p. 340 (fr. 8).

[Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.30]

June follows May. It takes its name either from a segment of the people...or from the fact that—as Cingius holds—it was called Junonius by the Latin people and was long recorded in that form in the calendars of Aricia and Praeneste; and as **Nisus** says in his commentary on the calendar, even among our own ancestors too the month kept this name for a long time, though after some letters were removed it was called June [*Iunius*] instead of Junonius. Note too that the temple to Juno Moneta was dedicated on the Kalends of June. [tr. Kaster, LCL]

9. **Suetonius**, *De anno Romanorum* (?): The Suda (s.v. Τράγκυλλος) attests as Suetonius' "One book *On the Year According to the Romans*." C. / K. L. Roth (ed.), *C. Suetoni Tranquilli quae supersunt omnia* (Leipzig, 1858) assigns a single fragment to this work; A. Reifferscheid (ed.), *C. Suetoni Tranquilli praeter Caesarum libros reliquiae* (Leipzig, 1860) grants it much more extensive remains.¹⁹ K. Sallmann (ed.), *Die Literature des Umbruchs*, p. 23 (§404.B.1), tentatively endorses Reifferscheid.

¹⁹ By way of supplement, it should be noted (as Wallace-Hadrill, p. 132, points out; cf. Macé, *Essai*, p. 310) that Suetonius' accounts of calendrical reforms in his lives of the Caesars most likely reflect the work he did specifically for his calendrical monograph. I include the passages here in Rolfe's (LCL) translation. *Life of Julius* 40:

Then turning his attention to the reorganisation of the state, he reformed the calendar, which the negligence of the pontiffs had long since so disordered, through their practice of adding months or days at pleasure, that the harvest festivals did not come in summer nor those of the vintage in the autumn; and he adjusted the year to the sun's course by making it consist of three hundred and sixty-five days, abolishing the intercalary month, and adding one day every fourth year. Furthermore, that the correct reckoning of seasons might begin with the next Kalends of January, he inserted two other months between those of November and December; hence the year in which these arrangements were made was one of fifteen months, including the intercalary month, which belonged to that year according to the former custom.

Life of Augustus 31.2:

Inasmuch as the calendar, which had been set in order by the Deified Julius, had later been confused and disordered through negligence, he restored it to its former system; and in making this arrangement he called the month Sextilis by his own surname, rather than his birth-month September, because in the former he had won his first consulship and his most brilliant victories.

Quite certain fragment [Censorinus, 20.2: fr. 119 Reifferscheid; cf. Roth, p. 281]

Licinius Macer and afterwards Fenestella wrote that the natural year at Rome was twelve months long from the beginning. But Iunius Gracchanus, Fulvius, Varro, **Suetonius**, and others are more believable, who think that there were ten months, just as there were at Alba, which is where the Romans came from. [tr. Parker]

Less certain fragments [numbered 113-118, 120-123, as in Reifferscheid, pp. 149-77]²⁰

113. [Isidore, *De natura rerum* 1.2]²¹

114. [Isidore, *De natura rerum* 1.4-5; for the beginning of this passage, attested by Priscian 8.20 (Keil, *Grammatici Latini* 2: 387) as stemming from Suetonius' eighth book of "meadows," on which basis Reifferscheid identifies that eighth book with Suetonius' work on the year, cf. also Roth, p. 305]

115. [Scholium on Lucan 5.7; cf. Roth, p. 306]

The "congluvial days"—on which what had been interrupted was carried out.²²

116. [Isidore, *De natura rerum* 2]

117. [Isidore, *De natura rerum* 3]

118. [Isidore, *De natura rerum* 4]

120. [Isidore, *De natura rerum* 5]

121. [Isidore, *De natura rerum* 6]

122. [Isidore, *De natura rerum* 7]

²⁰ Besides these fragments, Reifferscheid also gives a "supplement" of material to consider in connection with Suetonius' work (pp. 177-92): Censorinus 16.7-22.17; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.2-1.14.15; 1.15.4-22; Solinus 1.34-47 (cited as "pp. 3-4"); Polemius Silvius, p. 241 Mommsen.

²¹ For translation of the fragments transmitted by Isidore (in Reifferscheid's view), see below.

²² The full text of the scholium includes a direct general attribution to Suetonius ("as Suetonius says"), not included by Reifferscheid in the fragment itself. For the obscure word (attested only here), cf. *OLD* s.v. "congluuiālis."

123. [Isidore, *De natura rerum* 8]

10. Phlegon of Tralles (?), 2nd cen. A.D. ("On Festivals," attested by the *Suda*, and cited by John at 1.21—but this reference is problematic; see my note *ad loc.*)

[John Lydus, *De mensibus* 1.21]

...and *Blatta* too (from which we speak of *blattia*) is a name of Aphrodite among the Phoenicians, as **Phlegon** says in his work *On Festivals*.

11. Cornelius Labeo, 3rd cen. A.D. (most likely): P. Mastandrea (ed.), in *Un Neoplatonico Latino: Cornelio Labeone* (Leiden, 1979), pp. 230-40; K. Sallmann (ed.), *HLL* 4: 77-81 (§409.1); for the work *De diis animalibus* see S. Montero, "La doctrina etrusca de los dii animales," in R. Teja (ed.), *Profecía, magia y adivinación en las religiones antiguas*, Codex Aquilarensis 17 (Aguilar de Campoo, 2001), pp. 33-43.

Ex Fastorum libris

1. [Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.16.29]

Cornelius Labeo...in Book 1 of his *Calendar* asserts that a market day is a religious festival [*feriae*]. [tr. Kaster, LCL]

2. [John Lydus, *De mensibus* 4.1]

Now then, **Labeo** says that he is called Janus Consivius, that is, "of the council / Senate" [*boulaios*]; Janus Cenulus and Cibullius, that is, "pertaining to feasting"... Patricius, that is, "indigenous"; Clusivius, meaning "pertaining to journeys" [*hodiaios*]; Junonius, that is, "aerial"; Quirinus, meaning "champion / fighter in the front"; Patulcius and Clusius, that is, "of the door"; Curiatius, as "overseer of nobles"...

3. [John Lydus, *De mensibus* 4.25]

Labeo, however, says that February was named from "lamentation"... and in it, they would honor the departed.

4. [John Lydus, *De mensibus* 1.21]

For we find that Aphrodite is given close to 300 names—and the names are found in **Labeo**.

5. [Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.20-22]

[20] Some assert—and **Cornelius Labeo** agrees—that the Maia who receives cult in May is the earth, and that she got this name from her magnitude, just as she is also called "Great Mother" [*Mater Magna*] in her rites. They also derive support from this view from the fact that Maia receives the sacrifice of a pregnant sow, which is the victim appropriate to the earth. They also say that Mercury is associated with her in her cult because at their births human beings get the power of speech from contact with the earth, and we know that Mercury has speech and utterance in his power. [21] **Cornelius Labeo** supports the view that on the Kalends of May a temple was dedicated to this Maia [(that is, the earth)] under the name of the Good Goddess, and he maintains that her identity with the Good Goddess and the earth can be learned from an exceptionally secret ritual of her cult: the pontiffs' books invoke the same goddess as the Good Goddess, Fauna, Ops, and Fatua. [22] Good, because she causes all things that are good for us in living our lives; Fauna, because she nurtures [*favere*] all that is useful to living creatures; Ops, because life depends on her assistance; and Fatua from speaking [*fari*], because (as I said above) newborn babies do not make a sound before they have touched the earth. [tr. Kaster, LCL]

6. [John Lydus, *De mensibus* 3.10]

Labeo says that January and February, April and June, Sextilis [and] September, <November and December,> were allotted 29 days in ancient times, while March and May, Quintilis and October [were allotted] 31—and hence, those containing 29 days, as pertaining to the moon, had the Nones on the 5th, while those [containing] 31 [days], as pertaining to the sun, [had the Nones] on the 7th. And [he says] the Tuscans intentionally cut February short, because it had been clearly given over to the festivals of those under the earth by Numa the priest; and it was not lawful for it to be honored on an equal footing with the heavenly [beings]—instead, the [month] set apart for the chthonic [beings] who *reduce* everything²³ was made *smaller*. For the same reason, whereas all the [other] months contain an odd number [of days], February alone clearly was allotted an unequal [number]...

7. [Anastasius of Sinai, *Hexaemeron* 1.866BC Migne]

The Babylonians take the rising to the setting of the sun as their day. They make no mention at all of the night, because it is not substantial but happens *per accidens*. The Egyptians, however, reckon the day as coming around from evening to evening again. That is because their cosmographers propose that darkness came before the arrangement of the universe, and also because they call night the mother of all things. Accordingly, the myth writers say that Artemis and then Apollo were born from Leto: that is, from night. (Leto would be the night, because sleep and "forgetfulness" [*lêthê*] come during the night.) And first the moon was born, "cutting through the air" [*aerotemis*]. And after her, Apoollôn²⁴ the sun, who is "from all" [*apo holôn*] <was born>.²⁵

²³ Mastandrea prints τόδε τὸ πᾶν (following a suggestion of Wuensch), and thus the phrase would mean "this world / universe."

²⁴ Mastandrea preserves this odd ms. reading as correct, since it correlates with the etymology offered.

²⁵ Mastandrea prints this supplement suggested by Cumont.

This order was necessary so that he might not burn the universe to ashes. The Umbri, an Italian tribe, say that a day extends from noon to noon, because the day does not keep an equal course in all regions. For instance, around the northern seas and Thoule the night is very short. When the sun is setting there, its brilliance is diminished a little, and straightway it appears again in the east. And finally the Athenians and the Romans fix the day from sunrise to sunset—so Cato says and **Labeo**. [tr. Kuehn-Baggarly]

Ex libris Etruscae disciplinae

8. [John Lydus, *De ostentis* 42]

General Observation in respect to the moon from the Summer Tropic derived from the writings of Labeo in translation verbatim:

If in the eleventh degree of Cancer the moon should be in Aries, there will be mists, thunderclaps, and hailstorms, disturbances to trees from rather violent winds, and aerial turbulence, also crops will be costly, and the atmosphere will be dry from pestilential heat.

If it is in Taurus, there will be lack of provisions and especially of olive oil, but items sold by weight will be cheap.

If the moon is in Gemini, however, at the time of the summer tropic, the year will be doubtful, for moisture will precede, and dryness will follow. Also grain will be less, but wine will be more and not least olive oil will continue most plentifully.

If the moon is in Cancer at the time of the summer tropic, as I have shown above, the year will be productive as regards all crops, both dry and moist. Naturally, then, one must expect agricultural abundance.

If, when the moon is in Leo, the summer tropic should occur, one would expect thunderous and stormy air, for it will be cloudy and misty since moisture from the upper regions abounds so as to cause dry crops to decrease but moist ones to increase.

When the moon occupies Virgo at the time of the summer tropic, the year will be barren and almost unproductive of crops, but unexpectedly there will be consolation as regards both dry and moist crops.

When the moon is in Libra, if it should reach the summer tropic, it renders the year productive and self-sufficient as regards dry crops but, however, wet and very rainy, and items sold by weight will be costly and olive oil, including also wine, will be very costly.

If the moon is in Scorpio at the time of the summer tropic, the year will be dry and late as regards crops but not least hail-abounding and turbulent. The seed, even if it is at all beneath the ground, will be beyond expectancy. Assuredly, therefore, there will be famine and dying of humans.

When the moon occupies Sagittarius at the time of the midsummer tropic, there will be flooding of waters, both vapors and hail-abounding rains, perishing of birds, and not a few shipwrecks. Also there will be decreases of moist crops but abundance of dry ones.

When the moon, however, occupies Capricorn at the time of the summer tropic, the air will shed so much abundant rain as to become a hindrance to the harvesting of crops and to cause farmers to repent of their eagerness for sowing, but unexpectedly, as if from Divine Providence, there will be abundance of wine and olive oil, whereas not least the condition of the air will be pestilential.

When the moon spends time in Aquarius or Pisces, there will be nearly the same results as regards the expectation of crops, but, in addition to these, fish will be less and especially those of rivers and as many as are outside a sea will decrease. [tr. Bandy, adjusted²⁶]

9. [Fulgentius, *Serm. ant.* 4: *Quid sint manales lapides*]

Labeo, who in fifteen volumes described the rituals of the Etruscans for Tages and Bacitides, says: "When the liver entrails were a dark red color, then it was the task to drag the spirit stones,"²⁷ that is, those which the ancients used to drag round the boundaries of lands like rollers, for ending a drought.

Ex libris De diis animalibus

10. [Servius on *Aen.* 3.168]

...a rite...about which **Labeo** speaks in his books which are called *On the soulic gods*;²⁸ in these, he says that there are certain sacred rites by which human souls are turned into gods, which are called "soulic" because they come into being from souls. These, moreover, are the "Penates" and "Viales."

11. [Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 22.28]

...**Labeo** tells of two men who died, and who met one another at a certain crossroads. Then, commanded to return to their bodies, they agreed to be friends for as long as they lived, and remained so until they died once more. [tr. Dyson]

12a. [Servius Auctus on *Aen.* 1.378]

...Others, such as Nigidius and **Labeo**, teach that Aeneas' "Penates" are Neptune and Apollo, of whom mention is made—"a bull for Neptune, a bull for you, beautiful Apollo."²⁹

12b. [Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.4.6]

...in the nineteenth book of his *On the gods*, Nigidius asks whether "Penates" is the Trojans' name for Apollo and Neptune, who are said to have built Troy's walls, and whether Aeneas carried them to Italy. **Cornelius Labeo**, too, takes the same view in his book on the Penates... [tr. Kaster, LCL]

²⁶ Specifically, I have revised to include the more familiar names of the constellations of the Zodiac.

²⁷ Lat. *manales...petras*.

²⁸ I have deliberately chosen an odd rendering for an odd expression. The Lat. word *animalibus* in this title is an adjective derived from *anima*, "soul / life / breath"; other possible translations exist, but the connection made in this fragment with "human souls" (*animae humanae*) should be clear from this one.

²⁹ *Aen.* 3.119.

13. [Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 9.19]

But some of these demon-worshippers, if I may so call them, assert that those whom they call demons are called angels by others. **Labeo** himself is one who says this. I see, then, that, if I am not to seem to be disputing merely about words, I must now say something of the good angels. The Platonists³⁰ do not deny the existence of these, but they prefer to call them good demons rather than angels. [tr. Dyson]

14. [Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 2.14]

Labeo considered that Plato should be commemorated among the demigods, like Hercules or Romulus; and he puts the demigods above the heroes, though he places both among the divine beings. [tr. Dyson]

15. [Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 2.11]

...**Labeo**, a man considered to be most learned in such matters, notes that good and bad deities are distinguished by a difference in worship. For evil gods, he asserts, are propitiated by slaughter and mournful supplications, and good ones by happy and joyful service, such as—as he himself says—games, festivals and banquets. [tr. Dyson]

16. [Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 8.13]

...**Labeo** thinks that evil deities are to be propitiated with the blood of sacrificial victims and by rites of that kind, and the good deities by plays and other such things which pertain to joyousness. How it is, then, that the demi-god Plato so unflinchingly ventures to deprive not the demi-gods, but the gods—and, what is more, good ones—of such delights because he deems them base? Moreover, the gods themselves certainly confound the opinion of **Labeo**... [tr. Dyson]

17. [Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 3.25]

...Can any reason be given why Concord should be regarded as a goddess and Discord not? Why should we not regard both as goddesses, but the one as good and the other bad, according to the distinction of **Labeo**? His reason for making this distinction seems to have been, quite simply, that he noticed in Rome one temple dedicated to Fever and another to Health. [tr. Dyson]

³⁰ The Latin text is not so specific, reading only *isti*, "those men."

Ex libro De oraculo Apollinis Clarii

18. [Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.18.19-21]

[19] ...when Apollo of Claros was asked, concerning the god called *Iaô*, which of the gods he should be considered, Apollo replied as follows:

[20] Those who know the mysteries should conceal things not to be sought,
But if your understanding is slight, your mind feeble,
say that the greatest god of all is *Iaô*:
Hades in winter, Zeus at the start of spring,
the sun in summer, delicate *Iacchos* [= Dionysos] in the fall.

[21] **Cornelius Labeo** sought out this oracle's meaning, developing an interpretation of the godhead and his name that identifies father Liber and the sun as *Iaô*, in his book titled *On the Oracle of Apollo of Claros*. [tr. Kaster, LCL]

12. Anysius ("On the Months," cited by John at 4.25—otherwise unknown; see my note *ad loc.*)

[John Lydus, *De mensibus* 4.25]

But **Anysius** says in his work "On the Months" that *Februus* in the Etruscan language [means] "the underground [one]"—and that he is worshipped by the Luperci for the sake of the crops' increase.

C. Excerpts of selected extant works without readily available English translations.³¹

1. Solinus, *Collectanea rerum mirabilium* 1.34-47

T. Mommsen (ed.), *C. Iulii Solini Collectanea rerum mirabilium*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1895; repr. 1958); K. Brodersen (ed., tr., comm.), *Gaius Iulius Solinus: Wunder der Welt* (Darmstadt, 2014). Parallels with Macrobius are indicated by shaded text.

(34) Then, therefore, the system of the year's course was first clearly perceived. It was formerly, from the beginning of things, veiled in deep darkness. For before Augustus Caesar they used to calculate the year in an uncertain manner: among the Egyptians, it was bounded by four months; among the Arcadians, by three; among the Acarnanians, by six;³² in Italy, among the Lavinians, by thirteen—their year was comprised of 374 days.

(35) The Romans at first calculated the year with 10 months, beginning from March,³³ such that on the first day of [March] they would kindle fires from the altars of Vesta, exchange old laurels for fresh ones; the Senate and people would conduct electoral assemblies; the matrons would place dinners before their slaves (just as the masters [would do] at the Saturnalia: the women, so as to elicit prompter obedience by the honor; the men, as it were rendering thanks for completed labor).³⁴ And the greatest evidence that this month was the first is the fact that the [month] which was fifth after it was called Quintilis, (36) and then as the numbers went along,³⁵ December completed the customary cycle within the 304th day: for at that time that number filled out the year, in such a way that six months had 30 days each, and the remaining four were outfitted with 31 each.³⁶ (37) But because that system, before Numa, did not agree with the course of the moon,³⁷ they equalized the year with a lunar calculation, adding 51 days. (38) So, in order to reach a complete 12 months,³⁸ they removed single days from the prior six

³¹ The calendars of Philocalus and Polemius Silvius would generally fit into this category, but because of the additional complications they pose, they have not been included here. See discussion of their texts and the scholarly investigation thereof in the Introduction above.

³² Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.2.

³³ Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.3.

³⁴ Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.6.

³⁵ Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.5.

³⁶ Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.3 / 38.

³⁷ Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.39.

³⁸ I.e., at the time of Numa's modification.

months, and bound these to those 51 days; and the resulting 57 days were distributed into two months, of which one contained 29 days, the other 28 days. (39) In this way, the year began to have 355 days.³⁹

Afterwards, when they perceived that it was rash to have closed off the year within the [number of] days, which I have mentioned above, since it appeared that the sun's transit did not pass through the Zodiac cycle before the 365th day, with the fraction of $\frac{1}{4}$ added as well—they added the $10 \frac{1}{4}$ days, such that the year would clearly be composed of $365 \frac{1}{4}$ days,⁴⁰ urged on by the observation of the *odd number*, which Pythagoras instructed ought to be given precedence in all things. (40) Hence, on account of the odd numbers, both January and March are dedicated to the gods above; on account of the even, February, as though ill-omened, is imputed to the underworld gods.

(41) So then, once this definition had been adopted by the whole world, the favor [i.e., privilege?] of preserving the $\frac{1}{4}$ was intercalated variously by different nations—nor yet was there ever clearly made an equalization of times. (42) Thus, the Greeks took away $11 \frac{1}{4}$ days from individual years, and kept them back, multiplied eight times, for the ninth year, such that the collected 90 were split into three months with 30 days each. These, having been restored, resulted in a ninth year of 444 days, which they called *embolismoi* ["insertions"] or *hyperballontes* ["extras"].⁴¹

(43) Although the Romans endorsed this at first, they soon neglected and abandoned it, offended by the contemplation of the even number⁴²—and the power of intercalation was handed over to the priests.⁴³ These, largely by way of obliging the accounts of the *publicani*, subtracted or added time in keeping with their own whim. (44) Since these things were established in this way, and the manner of intercalating was sometimes more copious, sometimes more diminished, or, being altogether neglected / obscured, was passing away,⁴⁴ it frequently happened that months which had been completed in winter fell now in summer-time, now in autumn.

(45) And so, Gaius Caesar, putting an end to the disturbance of the times, reconciled all this changeability; and, so that the past error might take on a condition of certainty, he intercalated $21 \frac{1}{4}$ days at one time, so that the months, being re-set, would in future keep the ordained times of their order. That year alone, then, had 344 days; the

³⁹ Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.13.1-2 (but with 354 rather than 355, 50 + 6 rather than 51 + 6: at 1.13.5, Numa adds one more day to January).

⁴⁰ Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.13.9—but the subject is the Greeks, and the number added is $11 \frac{1}{4}$ rather than $10 \frac{1}{4}$ (such that the math actually works).

⁴¹ Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.13.9-10.

⁴² Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.13.11. (Different account of the even vs. odd issue.)

⁴³ Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.13.19.

⁴⁴ Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.14.1.

others, thereafter, 365 $\frac{1}{4}$.⁴⁵ And then too, a fault was committed by the priests. (46) For although they had been instructed to intercalate one day [every] fourth year, and this ought to have been observed once the fourth year was completed, they intercalated at the beginning of the fourth [year] rather than at the end. (47) Thus, over the course of 36 years, while nine [intercalated] days should have been enough, 12 were intercalated. When this was apprehended, Augustus fixed it, and ordered that 12 years should pass without intercalation, so that those three days which had been rashly intercalated beyond the needed nine could be made up for in this way.⁴⁶ And on the basis of this understanding, the system of all times thereafter was established.

⁴⁵ Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.14.2-3. (But the number of days in this year was 445.)

⁴⁶ Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.14.13-14.

2. Isidore of Seville, *De natura rerum* 1 - 9

J. Fontaine (ed.), *Isidore de Séville: Traité de la nature* (Paris, 2002), with extensive introduction, translation, and critical notes. See now C. B. Kendall and F. Wallis (tr., comm.), *Isidore of Seville: On the Nature of Things* (Liverpool, 2016). Isidore blends Christian, Biblically oriented source material (here indicated by dotted underlining) along with traditional / pagan Latin sources. Some of the former passages have been summarized (in brackets) rather than translated here, and I have only very selectively noted sources or parallels.

Although this text is now quite readily available in English translation, I have not excluded it here, so as to preserve the convenience of comparison. Material shaded in grey is attributed by Reifferscheid to Suetonius' *De anno Romanorum* (see above); I have selectively indicated some textual divergences or anomalies in this respect here.

1. *On Days*.

(1) The day is the presence of the rising sun until it arrives at its setting. "Day" is customarily used in two senses: properly, from the rising of the sun until it rises again; improperly, from the sun's rise up until it comes to its setting. There are two extents of time in the day—the diurnal and the nocturnal; and the day is composed of 24 hours, [each] division, of 12 hours. (2) In an improper sense, there are *three* parts of the day: morning, mid-day, and evening.⁴⁷

Some reckon the beginning of the day from the rising of the sun, others from the setting, others from the middle of the night. For the Chaldaeans make the sunrise the beginning of the day, calling that whole extent of time one day. The Egyptians, however, take the starting-point of the day as the beginning for the previous night.⁴⁸ But the Romans claim the day begins at midnight and ends at midnight.

[Section (3) deals with Hebrew fasts, including an implicit correlation of Roman and Hebrew months.]

(4) "Fasti" are days on which legal business is conducted [*ius fatur*], as "nefasti" are days on which it is not.⁴⁹ "Feriati" are days on which sacrifice [*res divina*] is

⁴⁷ Lit., "last."

⁴⁸ Lit., "the following day...the night."

⁴⁹ Cf. Suetonius, cited by Priscian 8.20 (Keil, *Grammatici Latini* 2: 387).

performed, and it is proper for people to refrain from lawsuits. "Profesti" are the opposite of "festi"—that is, without religious practice; "festi" consist entirely of leisure and religious practice. "Black" days⁵⁰ are those which are also called "common." "Sidereal" days are those on which the stars / constellations move, and people are kept from sea-faring. The "just" [days] are thirty consecutive ones. "Battle" [days] are those on which it is permitted to attack an enemy in war, about which the book of Kings testifies as follows: "At that time, when kings are accustomed to go forth to wars."⁵¹ (5) "Intercalary" days are the five which are over and above the 12 months according to the Egyptians—they begin on the ninth day before the Kalends of September and finish on the fifth before the same Kalends.⁵² The days of the "add-ons" [*epactae*] are 11, which accrue through individual years in relation to the course of the moon—for since 12 moon-cycles for the year contain 354 days, there remain 11 days for the solar cycle of the year; and the Egyptians call these "add-ons," in accordance with the fact that they are *added on* for the whole year for the purpose of finding the moon.⁵³ The "solstitial" days are those on which the sun stands still, while the length of they days or the nights [begins to] increase. The "equinoctial" days are those on which day and night unfold with equal lengths of hours.

2. On Night.

(1) Night is the absence of the sun, the length of time it takes to run back from its setting to its rising. Moreover, night is produced by the shadow of the earth; we believe it was given for the body's rest, not for the accomplishment of any work. Now, "night" is understood in the Scriptures in two ways: that is, either as the distress of persecution, or the darkness of a blind heart. Further, "night" is so called from "harming" [*nocendo*], because it harms the eyes.

(2) There are seven parts of the night: twilight, evening, all-quiet, untimely, cock-crow, morning twilight.⁵⁴ We call "twilight" [*crepusculum*], that is, "obscure" [*creper*], that which we term "doubtful" [*dubius*—that is, doubtful between light and darkness. "Evening" when the star is rising, whose name [*Vesper*] this is. (3) The "all-quiet" is when all are silent; for "becoming quiet" [*conticescere*] is "being silent" [*silere*]. It is "untimely" [*intempesta*], that is, "unsuitable" [*inportuna*], when nothing can be done and everything is quiet. "Cock-crow" was named on account of the roosters that announce the light beforehand. "Morning twilight" is between the departure of night and the arrival of day.

⁵⁰ Reifferscheid's text adds: "(the day following the Kalends, Nones, and Ides)."

⁵¹ 2 Sam. 11.1.

⁵² Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.15.1, less precisely.

⁵³ I.e., arriving at the moon's cycle.

⁵⁴ For the discrepancy and Isidore's sources (here specifically Placidus), cf. Fontaine's n. 26 (pp. 339-40). Reifferscheid, with an earlier edition of Isidore, has some additional text here.

3. On the Week / Hebdomad.

(1) Among the Greeks and Romans the week⁵⁵ is completed by the course of seven days. Among the Hebrews, however, there are seven *years*. Daniel proclaims this in reference to the 70 "weeks." Now, the week, it is agreed, is composed of seven "holidays" [*feriae*]⁵⁶—also, "holiday" [*feria*] was named from "speaking" [*fari*]⁵⁷ as though it were *faria*, because in the creation of the world on each individual day God *said*, "Let there be..." [*fiat*]⁵⁸—and likewise, because the Sabbath is considered holiday-time [*feriatus*] from the beginning. Thus, the day of the sun is called "first holiday," because it is the first after the holiday. So too, the day of the moon is "second holiday," because it is the second after the holiday, that is, after the Sabbath, which is holiday-time. So too the rest of the days received their design from this kind of numbering.

(2) Among the Romans, these days took their names from the "planets"—that is, the wandering stars. For the first day was named for the sun, which is the foremost of all the stars, just as the same day is the head of all the days. The second [was named] for the moon, which is nearest to the sun in brightness and size, and derives light from it. The third, for the star of Mars, which is called *Vesper* ["evening"]. (3) The fourth, for the star of Mercury, which some call "the bright circle."⁵⁸ The fifth, for the star of Jupiter, which they call *Phaëthon* ["shining"]. The sixth, for the star of Venus, which they call *Lucifer* ["light-bringer"]—which has the most light of all the stars. The seventh, for the star of Saturn, which, situated in the sixth heaven, is said to complete its course in 30 years.

(4) Likewise, the pagans gave the names to the days from these seven planets because they thought that something was produced for them by the same [planets]: they said they have *spirit* from the sun, *body* from the moon, *tongue and wisdom* from Mercury, *pleasure* from Venus, *fervor* [?] from Mars, *moderation* from Jupiter, and *slowness* from Saturn.⁵⁹ Such indeed was the stupidity of the pagans, who invented for themselves such laughable fictions.

4. On the Months.

⁵⁵ Or "hebdomad," that is, "set of seven."

⁵⁶ There is awkwardness because in pagan Latin, *feria* refers to a particular holiday, whereas in Christian usage, it became a (liturgical) term for a particular day of the week; Isidore's discussion does not really manage to get around this difficulty or to explain it.

⁵⁷ Isidore's text reads *a fando*, but the infinitive makes the point more obvious.

⁵⁸ For Mars and Mercury, Reifferscheid notes emendations of these odd points: Mars was known as *Pyroeis*, Mercury as *Stilbon* (cf. *De mens.* 2.8-9). Even if these were the "original" equations, the corruptions likely occurred in the tradition prior to Isidore.

⁵⁹ Cf. Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, 1.12.13-14.

(1) The month is the circuit and restoration of the moon's light, or (that is) the course from new [moon] to new [moon]. Its shape is for the most part understood as the course of this life, which is passed through with its increases, like a month,⁶⁰ and is terminated by its most certain diminutions. The ancients, moreover, defined a month [as follows]: "The time it takes for the moon to go fully through the Zodiac circle."⁶¹ (2) The ancient pagans, moreover, applied names to the months, some on the basis of their gods, some from causes, some from number—beginning from March, because they observed the order of the rising year from that [month]. Now, they gave March this name in honor of Romulus, because they believed him to be the son of Mars. But they named April, not after the name of any of their gods, but rather on the basis of an appropriate reality: as it were, "Opener" [*aperilem*], because at that time most sprouts "open" [*aperiatur*] into flower. (3) Next, the month of May, for Maia the mother of Mercury, whom they call a goddess—or on account of the *older* [*maiores*] people. Next, June, from Juno, who they testify was the sister or wife of Jupiter. Others, however, have said that it was so called for the *younger* [*iuniores*] people, like May for the older. Likewise, they named July after Julius Caesar; August after Octavian Augustus, for previously July was called Quintilis and August Sextilis, but their names were changed by the Caesars—Julius or Augustus. (4) Then, September, because it is seventh from March, which is the beginning of spring.⁶² By the same token, October, November, and December received their appellation from the number of the rains and the spring.⁶³ Going on, they named January from the name of Janus, but it is specially called *January* because it is the door [*ianua*] and beginning of the year. They named February, moreover, after the sacred *februa* / *Februa* rites of the Luperci. So then, among the ancient Latins, the course of the year was reckoned with 10 months. But the Romans added January, Numa Pompilius February, and thus separated the year into 12 months. (5) Moreover, most people claim that Sancus⁶⁴ king of the Sabines had previously divided the year into months, and had established Ides, Kalends, and intercalary days.

Now in the books of Holy Scripture, it is demonstrable that there were 12 months even before the Flood. For thus it is read there: "Now the water was being diminished until the 11th month, and in the 11th month, on the first day of the month, the peaks of

⁶⁰ Or, "as it were, *measured*" (following Fontaine's interpretation of the Latin *mensis*).

⁶¹ Cf. Hyginus, *Astr.* 4.19.

⁶² I.e., "seven" (*septem*) + "spring" (*ver*) = September.

⁶³ This is conflating the previous idea with a further explanation based on "rain" [*imber*]. Cf. Isidore, *Origines* 5.33.11; Cassiodorus, *Variae* 1. epist. 35.

⁶⁴ For Sancus as the first Sabine king, cf. Augustine, *City of God* 18.19. This is Fontaine's emendation of the corrupt ms. tradition (*cingum*); see pp. 341-2 n. 41. Kendall and Wallis, however, p. 118 n. 64, suggest that the ms. reading may be based on a confusion of one of Macrobius' sources, *Cincius* (see above).

the mountains appeared."⁶⁵ For at that time the months were numbered thus, just as now; but not bounded by the Kalends, rather, by the the moon at its beginning and ending.

(6) Kalends were named after "cultivating / worshipping" [*a colendo*], for among the ancients the beginnings of the months were always cultivated / worshipped.⁶⁶ The Ides were named after the "days" [*a diebus*]; the Nones, after the "nine-day-markets" [*a nundinis*]. All the months, further, among the Latins, take their beginning from the Kalends; among the Hebrews, however, from the return of the new-born moon. (7) Among the Egyptians, though, the beginnings of the months are proclaimed four or five days before the Kalends, in accordance with what the figure included below makes plain. [FIGURE: THE MONTHS.]⁶⁷ From there, you will go back to the fourth day before the Kalends of September, and by this sort of calculation the 360 days of the 12 Egyptian months are completed. Five days are left over, which they called "added-on" or "intercalary" or "additional"—these were mentioned above.

5. On the Agreement of the Months.

(1) January agrees with December in the measure of the hours. February takes up an equal time with November. March agrees with October. April equals September. May corresponds with August. June is equal to July.

6. On Years.

(1) A year is the circuit and return of the sun through the 12 months. Indeed, its name figuratively signifies the whole time of this life, as is said by Isaiah: "Proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."⁶⁸ Because not only that [year] in which the Lord proclaimed [his message] was "acceptable," but also this entire time, in accordance with the Apostle's statement: "Behold! Now is the acceptable time."⁶⁹ Finally he added the day of Judgment as the end of this "year," saying: "To proclaim the year of the Lord and the day of retribution."⁷⁰

(2) Now, some consider the year [*annus*] to be so called, as though it were a "ring" [*anus*], that is, a circle—whence also "little rings"⁷¹ [*anuli*] have been named, as diminutives. Further, some reckon the beginning of the year from the *bruma* ["mid-

⁶⁵ Gen. 8.5.

⁶⁶ I.e., they were the occasion for religious ceremony.

⁶⁷ For this (and other) ms. diagrams, see Fontaine's edition.

⁶⁸ Is. 61.2.

⁶⁹ 2 Cor. 6.8.

⁷⁰ Is. 61.2 (?).

⁷¹ I.e., rings worn on the fingers.

winter"], like the Romans; others, from the Spring equinox, like the Hebrews; others, from the solstice, like the Greeks; others, from the Autumn [equinox], like the Egyptians.

The wise of this world, moreover, have said that the year is partly *civil*, partly *natural*, partly *great*. The "civil" year is that which comes to an end with the return of one star through 12 months. (3) The "natural" year is when the moon places itself under the sun, so that, being situated in the middle, between the sun's orb and our eyes, it produces a darkening of the whole orb, which is called an *eclipse*. The way this works was obscure for a very long time, but was explained by a certain Milesian philosopher.⁷² The "great" year is said to be when all the stars, on the completion of certain times and numbers, return to their own place and order—this year the ancients said was brought to a conclusion, or fulfilled, in the 19th year.⁷³

The "solstitial" year is when the sun, completing its circuit through all the signs, returns to the place where it made the beginning of its course. This itself is the "solar" or "civil" year, which passes in 365 days. The "lunar" year is the common [year], that is, the one which recurs through 12 lunar months, that is, 354 days. The "insertion" [*embolismus*] year is the one which is shown to have 13 moons and 384 days, and in which the day of the *Pasch* is delayed longer. The "bissextile" year is that in which the total of one day is combined, from the calculation of the fourth [part of a day], over four years. The "Jubilee" year is the one of relaxation / forgiveness, which is formed over seven "weeks" of years, that is, over 49 years. In it, in keeping with the Law, trumpets were sounded, and everyone's former property was returned.

(5) The Olympiad is, among the Greeks, the fourth year from the Olympic contest, which comes after four years have passed. At the end of this time the contest is set, on account of the four-year course of the sun, and because with the loss of three hours⁷⁴ in the individual years, one full day is completed over a four-year period. At this time they would send [messengers] around the city-states to instruct [people] to assemble—not only from every place, but also from every family, every age and sex.

(6) The "lustrum" is a five-year period among the Romans. Now, it was called "lustrum" because the census was conducted in the state on a 5-year schedule; then, once the census had been completed, a sacrifice was carried out and the city of Rome was purified [*lustrabatur*].

"Indictions" were invented by the Romans: they come through each individual year up until the 15th, and then revert back to the beginning of the first year.

⁷² I.e., Thales.

⁷³ I.e., the "Metonic cycle."

⁷⁴ This seems to be confusing the extra $\frac{1}{4}$ day (i.e., 6 hours) in a $365 \frac{1}{4}$ -day-length year with $\frac{1}{4}$ of the 12 hours of day *as opposed to* night (i.e., 3 hours).

(7) Also, the "era" [*aera*] was established at the time of Caesar Augustus. It was called *aera* from the fact that the whole world made declaration [at that time] of rendering the *aes*⁷⁵ to the state. The "era" starts on the day of the Kalends of January.

The "bissexus" [leap-day] is added to the course of the moon between the sixth day before the Nones of March and the day before the Kalends of January. The Egyptian year without a leap-day has its beginning on the fourth day before the Kalends of September; [the one] with a leap-day, however, on the third day before the same Kalends.

7. On Times [i.e., seasons]

[Section (1) deals with the seasons in Scripture.]⁷⁶

(2) According to the Latins, four time periods are reckoned within a single year: winter, spring, summer, and autumn. Winter is when the sun lingers in the southerly regions—for at that time the sun is farther away, and the earth hardens and contracts from the cold, and the duration of the night is longer than that of the day. For this reason it comes about that by virtue of the winter winds a very great quantity of snow and rain gushes forth. Spring is when the sun, withdrawing from the southerly regions, comes back over the land and makes the night-time and day-time equal, and brings back a moderateness of the air; and as it fosters all things, it constrains them to engage in reproduction, such that the earth germinates, and the seeds are loosened and come back to life in their furrows; and progeny of all the types [of living things] that are in the earth or in the water is perpetuated, with yearly offspring. (3) Summer is when the sun lifts itself up into the north, and prolongs the day's duration, but tightens and shrinks the nights. And so, the more it is joined and mingled with this [lower] air, with constant contact, the more copiously it heats the air itself and, once the moisture is dried out, the earth crumbles into dust and causes the seeds to grow, and compels the fruit of the trees to mature, just like the fresh juice / sap. At that time, since the sun is burning with summer heat, it makes shadows smaller toward the south because it is giving light to this place from on high. Autumn is when the sun, descending again from the heights of the heavens, mitigates the magnitude of its fires, and, with its heat relaxed and put aside little by little, it produces temperateness, followed by storms of winds, whirlwinds of squalls, and the violence of lightning and thunder resounding.

(4) Since I have briefly treated the interchanges of the times according to the definitions of earlier [writers], now let me explain in what manner those same times are

⁷⁵ Lat. *aes*, *aeris*, lit. "bronze"—i.e., in this case, tribute money to be paid into the treasury [*aerarium*].

⁷⁶ Reifferscheid includes one sentence from this first section, with a slightly different text, as a fragment of Suetonius: "Times (i.e., seasons) have been named on the basis of the movement of the stars."

mutually bound to each other by natural links—for indeed, spring is composed of moisture and fire; summer, of fire and dryness; autumn, of dryness and cold; winter, of cold and moisture. Hence, the times have been named from the mixtures of commonality [i.e., the shared elements]—and here is the picture of this commonality: [FIGURE: THE SEASONS]

YEAR ⁷⁷					
moist	warm	spring	:	east	
warm	dry	summer	:	south	
dry	cold	autumn	:	west	
cold	moist	winter	:	north	

(5) The beginnings of these times are as follows: Spring arises on the eighth day before the Kalends of March, and lasts for 91 days; summer arises on the ninth day before the Kalends of June, [and lasts] for 91 days; autumn takes its beginning from the 10th day before the Kalends of September, [and lasts] for 93 days; winter begins on the seventh⁷⁸ day before the Kalends of December, [and lasts] for 90 days. Hence, [all] the turning year's days come to 365. Thus it is, according to the natural differentiation of times.

[Section (6) deals with the allegorical significance of the seasons.]

(7) A recapitulation of what has been written above: The year, therefore, unfolds with the cycle of the sun and the months. The times roll out with the alternations of changes. The month is made complete by the growth and old age of the moon. The week is delimited by the sevenfold number of the days. Day and night are renewed by the alternating exchanges of recurring light and darkness. The hour is filled out by certain movements and moments.

8. *On the solstice and the equinox.*

(1) There are two solstices: the first, the winter [solstice], is on the eighth day before the Kalends of January, on which the sun stands still and the days [begin to] increase; the other, the summer [solstice], is on the eighth day before the Kalends of June, on which the sun stands still and the nights [begin to] grow. Opposite these are the two equinoxes: the one, the spring [equinox], is on the eighth day before the Kalends of April, from which [point] the days grow [longer than the nights]; the other,

⁷⁷ In this chart appears the text from the diagram.

⁷⁸ Reifferscheid: "eighth."

the autumnal [equinox], is on the eighth day before the Kalends of October, when the days become shorter [than the nights].

(2) Now, [the word] "solstice" is used for "sun's standing" [*solis statio*—but "equinox" [is used] because at that time day and night [*nox*] return to an equality of twelve hours, their durations having been made equal. The summer solstice is called "torch" [*lampada*] on account of the fact that from that day the "torch" of the sun takes on greater brightness and pours forth the excessive heat of the on-coming summer.

APPENDIX B: Tabulation of Correspondences between Wuensch and Bandy

(with indication of ms. sources)

Wuensch Numeration	Wuensch Page	MSS or other source indicators (from Wuensch)	Bandy Numeration	Bandy Pg. (Greek)	Bandy Pg. (Tr.)
1.1	1.1-4	X	1.1	48.3-5	49
1.2	1.5-8	X	4.51	174.15-17	231
1.3	1.9-10	X	4.55 (pt 1)	182.19-20	243
1.4	1.11-13	XS	4.55 (pt 2)	182.20-21	243
1.5	1.14-16	X	4.55 (pt 3)	182.22-23	243
1.6	1.17	X	4.91 (pt 2)	218.19	278
1.7	1.18-2.2	X	4.91 (pt 3)	218.20-22	278
1.8	2.3-16	X	1.2	48.6-15	49
1.9	2.17-20	X	1.3	48.16-18	51
1.10	2.21-23	X Cedren.	1.4 (pt 2)	48.34-35	53
1.11	2.24-3.16	Y	1.4 (pt 1)	48.19-33	51
1.12	3.17-7.15	P / XYP / YS / XYS / YP / P / P Cedren. / YP Cedren. / Y / P / Cedren.	1.6 [Wuensch's last element rearranged]	50.3-54.11	53-59
1.13	7.16-8.4	X / X Cedren. / X	1.7	54.12-23	59
1.14	8.5-16	X / XY / Y / X	1.8 (pt 1)	56.1-12	61
1.15	8.17-9.7	X / X Cedren.	2.20	74.8-22	89-91
1.16	9.8-14	X	1.9	56.13-17	61
1.17	9.15-10.22	XY / X	1.10-11	56.18-39	61-63
1.18	10.23-11.2	X	4.57	184.1-3	243
1.19	11.3	S	App. no. 18	252.19	303
1.20	11.4-9	XS / X	4.90	218.8-11	277-8
1.21	11.10-12.12	XS / S / X / XS / X	1.12	58.1-17	63-65
1.22	12.13-18	XS	3.10	96.1-4	121
1.23	12.19	X	App. no. 10	252.10	303
1.24	12.20	X	App. no. 4	252.4	302
1.25	12.21	X	App. no. 1	252.1	302
1.26	12.22-25	S	3.24 (pt 2)	106.8-10	137

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1.27	13.1-10	S	3.24 (pt 1)	106.1-7	137
1.28	13.11-14.20	Cedren. / X / X Cedren. / XY Cedren. / Cedren. / X / BY	App. no. 25 / App. no. 26 / 4.52 (pt 2)	256.1-8 / 256.9-15 / 176.22-29	304 / 304-5 / 235
1.29	14.21-24	X	4.46	170.1-3	223
1.30	15.1-13	X	4.105 (pt 2)	232.11-21	288
1.31	15.14-15	X	App. no. 3	252.3	302
1.32	15.16-21	X	App. no. 23	254.13-17	304
1.33	15.22	X	App. no. 2	252.2	302
1.34	15.23-16.4	X	1.15	58.29-32	67
1.35	16.5-10	XS	1.14	58.25-28	65-67
1.36	16.11-15	S	1.104	232.6-8	287
1.37	16.16-17.3	O [= <i>De mag.</i>]	---	---	---
1.38	17.4-6	O [= <i>De mag.</i>]	---	---	---
1.39	17.7-9	O [= <i>De mag.</i>]	---	---	---
1.40	17.10-15	O [= <i>De mag.</i>]	---	---	---
1.41	17.16-21	Cedren.	App. no. 24	254.18-21	304

2.1	18.3-10	H	2.1	60.3-8	67
2.2	18.11-20.12	XYH / XYHPS / P / XYHPS / XYP / XY / XYHPS / H / HP	2.2	60.9-31	67-69
2.3	20.13-22	X	4.33 (pt 1)	158.18-24	207-9
2.4	21.1-21	Y / XYS / XY / X / Y	2.3	62.1-15	69-71
2.5	22.1-4	X	2.4	62.16-19	71
2.6	22.5-23.18	XY / X / S / XYS / S / X / XY / X	2.5	62.20-64.14	71-73
2.7	23.19-25.2	XY / Y / XY / Y	2.6	64.15-37	73-77
2.8	25.3-28.16	XY / XYS / XY / X / XYS / XY / YS / Y	2.7-8 / 2.14- 16	66.1-31 / 70.10-72.7	77-79 / 83-87
2.9	28.17-30.16	XY / XYS / Y / XY / Y / XY / XYH / XH / X / XY / X / XY	2.17-19	72.8-74.7	87-89
2.10	30.17-31.19	XYS / XY / Y / YS	2.25	76.19-37	95

2.11	31.20-33.1	XY / X / XY / X / X	2.26	78.1-19	97
2.12	33.2-36.14	XY / XYS / XS / XYS / Y / XY / X / XY / XYS / XS / XY / XS / X	2.27 (pt 1) / 2.27 (pt 3)	78.20-82.5 / 82.12-25	97-101 / 103

3.1	36.17-37.25	S	3.1	84.2-25	105-7
3.2	38.1-12	H / XH / H	3.2	86.1-9	107-9
3.3	38.13-16	S	4.33 (pt 3)	160.1-3	209
3.4	38.17-39.15	X / YS / X / Y / X	2.21-22	74.23-42	91-93
3.5	39.16-40.18	HS / S / HS / H	3.3	86.10-28	109-11
3.6	40.19-41.2	X	3.4	88.1-6	111
3.7	41.3-6	XY / Y	3.12	98.13-15	125
3.8	41.7-42.8	Y / XYS / X	3.5 (pt 2)	88.7-25	111-13
3.9	42.9-43.16	X / XYS / XY / X / XYS / XY / Y	3.6 / 2.28 (pt 1)	90.1-13 / 82.26-36	113-15 / 105
3.10	43.17-49.24	XYS / X / XS / XYH / Cedren. / XYHS / XYS / XY / XYS / XY / S / X / XY / Y / XY / X / XY / XS / X / XY / Y / S / YS / S / YS / Y / X	3.9 / 3.11	92.1-94.29 / 96.5-98.12	115-21 / 121-5
3.11	49.25-53.5	P / X / XS / XYHPS / S / YS / YH / YHS / YHPS / XHPS / HP	3.13 / 3.15	98.16-21 / 100.1-38	125-7 / 127-31
3.12	53.6-55.4	X / XS / X / XY / XS / X	3.16-18	102.1-32	131-33
3.13	55.5-9	X	3.19	104.1-4	133-5
3.14	55.10-14	XYS / Y	3.20	104.5-8	135
3.15	55.15-23	X / XH / X	3.21	104.9-15	135
3.16	55.24-57.23	S	3.22-23 / 3.25-28	104.16-27 / 106.12-108.14	135-7 / 137-9
3.17	57.24-58.2	Y	3.29	108.15-19	139
3.18	58.3-20	Y / S / YS / S / YS / Y	3.30	108.20-34	141

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3.19	58.21-59.3	S	3.31	110.1-5	141
3.20	59.4-14	X	3.32	110.6-13	141-3
3.21	59.15-19	S	3.33	110.14-16	143
3.22	59.20-62.3	H / HS / YHS / YH / Y	3.35-36	110.21-112.27	143-7
3.23	62.4-20	XYs / XY / X	3.37	114.1-13	147

4.1	63.3-64.14	XS / S / X / Cedren. / X / XS	4.1	116.4-24	149-51
4.2	64.15-66.17	X / XS / S / X / XH / X / XH / X / Cedren.	4.2 (pt 1) / 4.2 (pt 3)	118.1-15 / 118.18-36	151 / 153-5
4.3	66.18-67.12	H / X / XS	4.3	120.1-13	155
4.4	67.13-69.18	X / P / PS / P / PS / X / XP / XPS / XP / X	4.4	120.14-122.22	155-59
4.5	69.19-22	X	4.25 (pt 2)	144.27-29	189
4.6	69.23-70.13	YS / Y	2.24	76.5-18	93
4.7	70.14-73.15	X / Y / X / S / XS / X / XS / S / XS / S / XS / X / XY	4.5 (pt 1) / 4.5 (pt 4) / 4.5 (pt 6) / 4.5 (pt 14) / 4.5 (pt 8) / 4.5 (pt 10)	124.1-3 / 124.23-126.7 / 126.13-28 / 130.15-19 / 128.1-4 / 128.4-35	159 / 161-3 / 163 / 167-9 / 165 / 165-7
4.8	73.16-22	XHS / X	4.7 (pt 1)	132.1-6	169
4.9	73.23-74.14	X / X Cedren. / X	4.8 (pt 1)	132.13-23	171
4.10	74.15-76.8	X / H / X / XH / H / XHS /	4.9 (pt 1) / 4.9 (pt 3)	134.1-9 / 134.12-35	171-3 / 173-5
4.11	76.9-21	S	4.74	202.19-28	264
4.12	76.22-24	S	4.27 (pt 4)	150.1-2	195
4.13	76.25-77.8	S / XS / XYS / XS	4.27 (pt 2)	148.1-9	193
4.14	77.9-78.4	R / XR	4.73	202.1-18	263-4
4.15	78.5-13	Y / SY / Y	4.89	218.1-7	277
4.16	78.14-16	X	4.10 (pt 1)	136.1-2	175
4.17	78.17-79.3	XY / X	4.7 (pt 2) / 4.10 (pt 2)	132.7-12 / 136.3-4	169-71 / 175
4.18	79.4-17	X	4.11-15	136.5-17	175-77
4.19	79.18-23	Y	4.5 (pt 12)	130.4-8	167
4.20	80.1-2	X	3.24 (pt 3)	106.10-11	137

4.21	80.3-11	X	4.17 (pt 2)	138.1-7	177-79
4.22	80.12-81.19	S / YS / XYS / S / YS	4.79 (pt 3)	212.22-42	272
4.23	81.20-82.11	YS (?) / X / XS	4.5 (pt 3)	124.9-22	161
4.24	82.12-21	X	3.14	98.22-29	127
4.25	83.2-84.13	XH Cedren. / S / X / H / X	4.16-17 (pt 1) / 4.18	136.21-36 / 138.8-14	177 / 179
4.26	84.14-86.11	XS / X / XS / R / XS / X / XS / S / XS	4.21	140.1-35	181-3
4.27	86.12-23	S / SX / S	4.19	138.15-24	179
4.28	86.24-87.2	X Cedren. / Cedren.	App. no. 6 / App. no. 13	252.6 / 252.13	303 / 303
4.29	87.3-88.12	X / X Cedren. / X	4.25 (pt 1)	144.1-27	187-9
4.30	88.30-90.13	X / Y / X / XY / Y / XY / X / XY / X / Y	App. no. 15 / 2.11-13	252.16 / 68.8-70.9	303 / 81-83
4.31	90.14-23	X	4.22	142.1-8	183-5
4.32	90.24-91.9	S	4.24	142.25-31	187
4.33	91.11-17	H	4.26	146.16-21	191
4.34	91.18-93.6	X / Cedren. / X Cedren. / Cedren. / X /	4.27 (pt 1) / 4.27 (pt 3)	146.22-32 / 148.10-29	191-3 / 193-5
4.35	93.7-94.13	S / XS / S	4.28-29	152.1-25	199-201
4.36	94.14-20	S	4.33 (pt 2)	158.25-30	209
4.37	94.21-96.5	S	4.30 (pt 1)	154.1-29	201-3
4.38	96.6-97.14	S	4.30 (pt 2)	156.1-27	203-5
4.39	97.15-19	S	4.32	158.14-17	207
4.40	97.20-98.13	YS / S /	4.23	142.9-24	185
4.41	98.14-21	Y	4.34	160.4-9	209
4.42	98.22-100.20	XHS / X / H / XH / XS / X / XS	4.35	160.10-162.20	209-13
4.43	100.21-101.5	X	App. 21-22	254.7-12	304
4.44	101.6-7	X	4.36	162.21-22	213
4.45	101.8-22	X	4.37	162.23-34	213-15
4.46	101.23-102.4	X	4.6	130.31-35	169
4.47	102.5-105.12	Par. / XS Par.	4.52 (pt 1) / 4.52 (pt 3)	174.18-21 / 178.1-27	231-5 / 235-7
4.48	105.13-14	X	4.44	168.20-21	221

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4.49	105.15-106.12	X / XYH / X	4.45	168.22-34	221-3
4.50	106.13-15	X	4.48	170.9-10	225
4.51	106.16-109.6	X / XS / X	4.49	170.11-172.27	225-9
4.52	109.7-12	S	4.118	238.1-5	292
4.53	109.13-111.15	S / XS / XS Cedren. / S	4.54 (pt 1) / 4.54 (pt 3)	180.6-182.9 / 182.11-17	237-41 / 241-3
4.54	111.16-112-6	X / XS / XYS / S / XYS	4.59 / 4.79 (pt 2)	186.1-2 / 212.11-21	257 / 272
4.55	112.7-13	S	4.63	188.23-27	251
4.56	112.14-17	Y	4.9 (pt 2)	134.9-11	173
4.57	112.18-113.4	X	4.64	188.28-35	253
4.58	113.5-8	Y / XS / X	4.2 (pt 2)	118.15-17	151-3
4.59	113.9-14	X / XS	4.65	190.1-5	253
4.60	113.15-25	X	4.66	190.6-14	253-55
4.61	114.1-3	X	4.67-68	190.15-17	255
4.62	114.4-5	Y	App. no. 11	252.11	303
4.63	114.6-10	Y	3.7	90.14-17	115
4.64	114.12-119.9	XS / X / XS / X / XS / X / HS / XHS / HS / S / X / XY / XS / S / XS	4.70 (pt 1) / 4.70 (pt 3) / 4.70 (pt 4)	190.27-35 / 192.1-8 / 192.9-196.26	255-57 / 257 / 257-61
4.65	119.10-24	X / XS / X	4.71	198.1-11	261
4.66	120.1-3	S	4.85 (pt 2)	216.12-14	275-6
4.67	120.4-122.5	XS / X / XS / X	4.72	198.12-200.23	261-3
4.68	122.6-9	S	2.9	68.1-3	79
4.69	122.10-11	S	4.62 (pt 1)	188.1-2	249
4.70	122.12	X	App. no. 17	252.18	303
4.71	122.13-124.5	X / XS / X	4.75	204.1-32	264-66
4.72	124.6-20	X / XS / X	4.76	206.1-12	266
4.73	124.21-126.4	X	4.77 (pt 1) / 4.77 (pt 3) / App. no. 7	206.13-27 / 206.29-40 / 252.7	266-67 / 267-8 / 303
4.74	126.5-15	S / SX	4.99	228.1-9	284-5
4.75	126.16-17	X	4.77 (pt 2)	206.27-28	267
4.76	126.19-131.7	X / XHS / X / S / X / R / X / XS / X	4.78	208.1-212.8	268-72
4.77	131.8-10	YS	4.98 (pt 2)	224.31-33	283
4.78	131.11-14	S	4.92	218.23-25	278

4.79	131.15-132.2	S	4.42	168.1-11	219-21
4.80	132.3-133.8	XHS / H / X / XY / X / XS / XHS / X / Suid. / X	4.81 / 3.5 (pt 1)	214.1-20 / 88.7	273-4 / 111
4.81	133.9-134.2	S	4.31	158.1-13	205-7
4.82	134.3-7	S	4.82	214.21-24	274
4.83	134.8-20	S	4.100	228.10-19	285
4.84	134.21-135.2	YS / S	4.85 (pt 3)	216.14-16	276
4.85	135.3-7	S	4.5 (pt 5)	126.8-12	163
4.86	135.8-136.6	X / XS / S	4.39	164.6-22	215-17
4.87	136.7-10	XS	4.119 (pt 2)	238.9-10	292
4.88	136.12-22	X / XY / X	4.83	214.28-35	274-5
4.89	136.23- 137.21	X / XH / X / XS / S / XS / HS /	4.85 (pt 1) / 4.86	216.10-12 / 216.17-22	275 / 276
4.90	138.1-2	X	App. no. 12	252.12	303
4.91	138.3-7	S / XS / S	4.87	216.23-26	276
4.92	138.8-9	X	4.41 (pt 2)	166.2-3	217
4.93	138.10-13	X	4.84	214.36-38	275
4.94	138.14-139.7	X / S	4.88	216.27-41	276-77
4.95	139.8-17	X	4.91 (pt 1)	218.12-19	278
4.96	139.18	X	App. no. 9	252.9	303
4.97	139.19-21	X	4.70 (pt 2)	190.35-37	257
4.98	139.22-140.2	S	4.61	186.23-27	249
4.99	140.3-6	S	4.79	212.9-11	272
4.100	140.7-23	X / S	4.5 (pts 8, 10, 14)	128, 130 <i>sparsim</i> [cf. 4.7 Wuensch]	165-9 <i>sparsim</i>
4.101	141.1-11	S	4.5 (pt 15)	130.20-30	169
4.102	141.13-143.7	X / XS / XHS / XS / X / XS / XHS / X	4.93	220.1-26	278-9
4.103	143.8-9	XS	1.8 (pt 2)	56.11-12	61
4.104	143.10-20	S / XS	4.95	222.9-16	280
4.105	143.21-144.2	XS / X	4.96	222.17-19	280
4.106	144.3-5	XHS	4.97	222.20-22	280
4.107	144.6-148.24	X	4.98 (pt 1) / 4.98 (pt 3)	222.23-224.31 / 224.33- 226.42	281-3 / 283-4
4.108	148.25-149.7	S	4.40	164.23-28	217
4.109	149.8-14	X	4.56	182.24-28	243

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4.110	149.15-17	X	App. no. 14	252.14-15	303
4.111	149.19-151.10	X / H / Y / H / XHS / X / XHS / S	4.101	228.23-230.17	285-6
4.112	151.11-152.7	Y / YS / Y	4.102	230.18-32	287
4.113	152.8-10	S	4.5 (pt 11)	130.1-3	167
4.114	152.11-153.6	S / Y	4.106	232.22-34	288-89
4.115	153.7-154.8	S	4.41 (pt 1) / 4.41 (pt 3)	166.1-2 / 166.3-25	217 / 217-19
4.116	154.9-155.18	XS / X / XS / XY	4.27 (pt 5)	150.3-29	195-7
4.117	155.19-22	X	3.34	110.18-20	143
4.118	155.23-157.9	X	4.58 (pt 1) / 4.58 (pt 3)	184.4-16 / 184.18-34	243-5 / 245-7
4.119	157.10-158.9	XS / X / XS	4.60	186.3-22	247-9
4.120	158.10-12	XHS	4.107	232.35-36	289
4.121	158.14-159.4	X / XYHS / XS / X / XY / Y	4.108	234.1-9	289
4.122	159.5-8	X	2.28 (pt 2)	82.37-40	105
4.123	159.9-11	X	4.109	234.10-11	289
4.124	159.12-18	X	4.110	234.12-17	289-90
4.125	159.19-23	XYS / X	4.137	244.17-20	296
4.126	160.1-3	X	4.111	234.18-19	290
4.127	160.4-10	X	4.69	190.18-23	255
4.128	160.11-14	X	4.112-13	234.20-23	290
4.129	160.15	X	App. no. 8	252.8	303
4.130	160.16-161.2	Y	4.43	168.12-19	221
4.131	161.3-6	Y	4.8 (pt 2)	132.23-25	171
4.132	161.7-16	Y / X	4.5 (pt 2)	124.3-8	159
4.133	161.17	X	App. no. 19	252.20	303
4.134	161.18-19	XS	4.114	234.25	290
4.135	161.21-162.11	H / HS / S / X / XHS	4.115-16 / 4.119 (pt 1)	234.29-38 / 238.6-9	290 / 292
4.136	162.12-13	X	4.120	238.11-12	292
4.137	162.14-163.2	X	3.8	90.18-23	115
4.138	163.3-163.9	XRS	4.121	238.13-17	292
4.139	163.10-15	X	4.122-23	238.18-22	292-3
4.140	163.16-19	X	4.58 (pt 2)	184.16-18	245
4.141	164.1-6	X	4.124-26	238.23-28	293
4.142	164.7-13	X	4.38	164.1-5	215

4.143	164.14-15	X	4.127	238.29-30	293
4.144	164.17-165.2	XH / XHS	4.128	240.2-6	293
4.145	165.3-8	S	4.53	180.1-5	237
4.146	165.9-10	S	App. no. 16	252.17	303
4.147	165.11-166.15	S / O	4.117	236.1-27	291
4.148	166.16-167.10	O / OH / O	4.129-30	240.7-20	293-4
4.149	167.11-168.9	O / OS / O / OY / O	4.131-2	242.1-23	294-5
4.150	168.10-20	O	4.133	242.24-31	295
4.151	168.21-169.2	H	4.134	244.1-3	295
4.152	169.2-18	X / XS / S	4.135	244.4-16	296
4.153	169.20-21	H	4.137	244.24-25	296
4.154	169.22-172.18	O / OY / O	4.138 / 4.145 / 4.139-40	244.26-29 / 250.1-40 / 244.30-40	296 / 301-2 / 297
4.155	172.19-173.6	O / OP / O	4.141	246.1-9	297
4.156	173.7-10	O	4.142	246.10-12	298
4.157	173.11-17	X	App. no. 20	254.1-6	303-4
4.158	173.18-174.31	R	4.143	246.13-35	298-99
4.159	175.1-176.25	S	4.144	248.1-39	299-300
4.160	176.26-177.15	X	4.50	174.1-14	229-31
4.161	177.16-20	Y	2.23	76.1-4	93
4.162	177.21-27	Y	2.27 (pt 2)	82.6-11	103

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Fr. inc. sed. 2 (164)	178.15-23	S	4.5 (pt 7)	126.29-35	163-5
Fr. inc. sed. 3 (165)	178.24-179.9	S	4.103 / 4.105 (pt 1)	232.1-5 / 232.9-11	287 / 288
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Fr. inc. sed. 9 (171)	180.20-21	Cedren.	1.5	50.1-2	53
Fr. inc. sed. 10 (172)	180.22-23	Cedren.	App. no. 5	252.5	303
Fr. inc. sed. 11 (173)	180.24	Cedren.	4.5 (pt 9)	128.4	165
Fr. inc. sed. 12 (174)	180.25-181.3	Cedren.	4.47	170.4-8	223
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Fr. fals. trib. 3 (177)	183.18-19	X	4.54 (pt 2)	182.8-10	241
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